

A NEOCLASSICAL CONUNDRUM: PAINTING GREEK MYTHOLOGY IN
FRANCE, 1780-1825

by

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Abstract

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Adviser: Professor Patricia Mainardi

This dissertation analyzes Greco-Roman mythological subjects as a thematic subset of French Neoclassical painting between 1780 and 1825. This style and time period are better known for moralizing and heroic subjects from Roman history and Napoleonic conquest, while amorous and fantastical mythic subjects have remained marginalized. By highlighting this thematic subset, however, my dissertation emphasizes the complementarities between mythological subjects and the more widely studied themes of virtuous action within French Neoclassical painting in particular, as well as continuities with traditions and new directions in French painting more generally.

I contextualize paintings by Jacques-Louis David, Anne-Louis Girodet, Antoine-Jean Gros, Pierre Guérin, and Jean-Baptiste Regnault, as well as the commissioning and purchasing practices of the Director of King's Buildings, the comte d' Angiviller, within contemporaneous art theory, criticism, and mythography to illuminate thematic trends and cultural contexts for the reception of mythic painting. From these sources, I propose new interpretations of paintings depicting the Deucalion flood, Orpheus, Aurora, Morpheus, Ariadne, and Mars, as well as the poet Sappho. My dissertation is divided

into thematic chapters analyzing myth as a cultural constant for exhibition, Ovid's illustrated *Metamorphoses*, otherworldly perfection in superhuman narratives and bodies, myth's embodiment of creative inspiration, and myth as a forum for legacy formation.

French Neoclassical painters' utilization of fanciful narratives from Greek mythology demonstrates continued interest in Rococo subjects as well as the broadening of thematic considerations that would be paramount among Romantics. My dissertation, by considering Neoclassicizing mythologies as a group constituting a trend, demonstrates that such paintings are not isolated anomalies, but rather integrated threads in the art historical fabric, bound to what came before as well as to what would follow. This consideration of mythological paintings as a poetic subset of Neoclassicism promotes a more organic view of French painting; by presenting them as hybrids, at once Rococo (in their ambiguity and eroticism), Neoclassical (in their style and antique characters), and Romantic (in their focus on passions and creative processes of the human mind), my dissertation identifies continuities within French narrative painting from the eighteenth into the nineteenth centuries.

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 132. Isidore-Stanislaus-Henri Helman (French, 1743-c.1809) after Charles Monnet (French, 1732-c.1808), Frontispiece for Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Philosophie* volume I. Volume 29 of the *Oeuvres complètes de J. J. Rousseau* (Paris: Picout, 1788-1793)
 133. Pierre Guérin, *Two Geniuses*, c.1800. Ceiling of the former apartments of Anne of Austria, Louvre, Paris
 134. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, *Study Guiding Genius*, c.1800. Ceiling of the former apartments of Anne of Austria, Louvre, Paris
 135. Jean Godefroy (French, 1771-1839) after Anne-Louis Girodet, *The Dream of Aeneas*. Virgil, *Aeneid*, book III (Paris: Didot, 1798). Engraving. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
 136. Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon Bonaparte Crossing the Alps at the Grand-Saint Bernard*, 1800-1801. Oil on canvas, 260 x 221 cm. Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Rueil-Malmaison
 137. François Gérard, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1824. Oil on canvas, 204 x 228 cm. Louvre, Paris
 138. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, *Psyche carried away by Zephyrs*, Salon of 1808. Oil on canvas, 195 x 157 cm. Louvre, Paris
 139. François Boucher, *Aurora and Cephalus*, undated. Oil on canvas, 142 x 117 cm. Louvre, Paris
 140. Pierre Legros (French, 1629-1714), *Aurora Mounted on Pegasus Enticing Cephalus*, 1687. Marble. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles
 141. Laurent Cars (French, 1699-1771) after François Lemoyne (French, 1688-1737), *Cephalus Abducted by Aurora*, undated. Etching and engraving, 49.5 x 37.8 cm. Louvre, Paris

142. Pierre Guérin, *Aurora and Cephalus*, 1810. Graphite on tinted paper, 12 x 16 cm. Musée des beaux-arts, Valenciennes
143. Pierre Guérin, *Cephalus*, n.d. Charcoal and white heightening on paper, 33.7 x 54.4 cm. Musée des beaux-arts, Valenciennes
144. Pierre Guérin, *Cephalus*, n.d. Chalk on tracing paper, 43 x 57.9 cm. Musée des beaux-arts, Valenciennes
145. Pierre Guérin, *Phaedre and Hippolytus*, 1802. Oil on canvas, 257 x 335 cm. Louvre, Paris
146. Pierre Guérin, *Andromache and Pyrrhus*, 1810. Oil on canvas, 342 x 457 cm. Louvre, Paris
147. Jean-Honoré Fragonard (French, 1732-1806), *Aurora*, 1755. Oil on canvas, 95 x 137 cm. Wildenstein, New York
148. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Diana and Endymion*, 1755. Oil on canvas, 95 x 137 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC
149. Charles Meynier, *Wisdom Protecting Youth Against Love*, 1810. Oil on canvas, 242 x 206 cm. Sold by Christie's –New York 13 January 1995
150. Anon., emblem for *Aurora*. Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie, tirée de divers auteurs. Ouvrage utile aux gens de lettres, aux poètes, aux artistes, et généralement à tous les amateurs des beaux-arts*. Vol. 1 (Vienna: Trattner, 1766)
151. Anon., emblem for *Idea*. Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie, tirée de divers auteurs. Ouvrage utile aux gens de lettres, aux poètes, aux artistes, et généralement à tous les amateurs des beaux-arts*. Vol. 2 (Vienna: Trattner, 1766)
152. J. Fuller, emblem for *Idea*. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia: Or, Moral Emblems*, ed. P. Tempest (London: Motte, 1709)
153. Anon., emblem for *Idea*. Cesare Ripa and George Richardson, *Iconology: Or A Collection of Emblematical Figures* (London: Scott, 1779)
154. René-Antoine Houasse (French, c.1645-1710), *Morpheus Waking at the Approach of Iris*, c.1701. Oil on canvas, 206 x 152 cm. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles

155. Pierre Guérin, *Orpheus at the Tomb of Eurydice*, 1800. Oil on canvas, 195 x 130 cm. Musée des beaux-arts, Orléans
156. Charles-Paul Landon (French, 1760-1826), *Orpheus*, 1796. Oil on wood, 31 x 36 cm. Musée des beaux-arts et de la dentelle, Alençon
157. Anne-Louis Girodet, *Orpheus*, 1794. Black and white chalk on paper, 31 x 36 cm. Musée Tavet-Delacour, Pontoise
158. Jean Restout (French, 1692-1768), *Music (Orpheus in Hades Requesting Eurydice)*, 1763. Oil on canvas, 355 x 575 cm. Louvre, Paris
159. François-Louis Dejuinne (French, 1784-1844), *Girodet Painting Pygmalion and Galatea in the Presence of Sommariva*, 1821. Oil on canvas, 65 x 54.5 cm. Musée Girodet, Montargis
160. Jacques-Louis David, *Sappho, Phaon, and Cupid*, 1809. Oil on canvas, 225 x 262 cm. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
161. Pierre Guérin, *Sappho*, undated. Oil on canvas, 82 x 70 cm. Sold by Christie's –New York 25 April 2008
162. Charles Normand after Claude Ramey (French, 1754-1838), *Sappho*, c. 1801. Plate 60 of Charles-Paul Landon's *Annales du musée* vol. 1 (Paris: Didot jeune, 1801)
163. Jacques-Louis Copia (German, 1764-1799) after Anatole Devosge (French, 1770-1850), *Sappho Inspired by Love*, 1795. Engraving, stippling, and etching. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
164. Jean-Baptiste Greuze (French, 1725-1805), *Voluptuousness (Girl with a Dove)*, 1790. Oil on canvas. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
165. François Forster (French, 1790-1872) after Pierre Guérin, *Aurora and Cephalus*, c.1821. Engraving. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
166. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1820-1821. Oil on canvas, 90 x 105 cm. Phoenix Museum of Art
167. Jacques-Louis David, *Mars Disarmed by Venus and the Graces*, 1824. Oil on canvas, 308 x 262 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels
168. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon Visiting the Plague Victims at Jaffa, March 11, 1799*, 1804. Oil on canvas, 523 x 715 cm. Louvre, Paris

169. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Ariadne, Abandoned by Theseus on the Island of Naxos, is Taken in and Consoled by Bacchus*, Salon 1822. Oil on canvas, 90.8 x 105.7 cm. National Gallery, Ottawa
170. Charles Natoire (French, 1700-1777), *Bacchus and Ariadne*, Salon 1743. Oil on canvas, 95 x 160 cm. National Assembly, Paris
171. Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée (French, 1724-1805), *Bacchus and Ariadne*, Salon 1769. Oil on copper, 25 x 34 cm. Musée national, Stockholm
172. Jean-François de Troy (French, 1679-1752), *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1717. Oil on canvas, 140 x 165 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin
173. Nicolas Bertin (French, 1668-1736), *Bacchus and Ariadne*, c.1710. Oil on canvas, 75 x 50 cm. Musée d'art et d'Industrie, Saint-Etienne
174. Antoine Coypel (French, 1661-1722), *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1693. Oil on canvas, 73 x 85.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art
175. Andrea Mantegna (Italian, 1431-1506), *Parnassus*, 1497. Oil on canvas, 159 x 192 cm. Louvre, Paris
176. Rosso Fiorentino (Italian, 1494-1540), *Mars Disarmed by Cupid and Venus Undressed by the Graces*, c.1530. Brown and grey ink and white heightening on brown prepared paper, 42.9 x 33.9 cm. Louvre, Paris
177. Joseph-Marie Vien, *Mars and Venus*, 1768. Oil on canvas, 225, x 151 cm. Hermitage, St. Petersburg
178. Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée, *Mars and Venus*, 1770. Oil on canvas, 33 9/16 x 29 3/4 inches. The Getty Center, Los Angeles
179. Jacques-Louis David, *Study of Mars Disarmed by Venus*, 1817. Black crayon on paper, 13.5 x 17.5 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts
180. Augustin Belle (French, 1757-1841), *Allegory of Peace*, 1821. Oil on canvas, 132 x 97 cm. Current location unknown. Sold at auction at Thierry de Maigret on December 7, 2005, lot 126
181. Antonio Canova (Italian, 1757-1822), *Venus and Mars*, 1816-1822. Marble, 210 cm. Courtauld Institute Galleries, London
182. Jacques-Louis David, *Hector*, 1778. Oil on canvas, 123 x 172 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier

183. Jacques-Louis David, *Patroclus*, 1780. Oil on canvas, 122 x 170 cm.
Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg
184. Jacques-Louis David, *Andromache Mourning Hector*, 1783. Oil on
canvas, 275 x 203 cm. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris
185. Valentin de Boulogne (Italian, 1591-1632), *Last Supper*, 1625-26. Oil on
canvas, 139 x 230 cm. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome
186. Jacques-Louis David, *Coronation of Napoleon and Josephine*, 1805-1808.
Oil on canvas, 629 x 979 cm. Louvre, Paris

Introduction

In his 1755 *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, art historian and theorist Johann Joachim Winckelmann praised the sensuality of Greek art and speculated that its gracious qualities would appeal most to French painters working in the new, archeologically-based style that was then developing.¹

Winckelmann observed that the physical and moral climate of a nation would impact the formal qualities of its artistic output and, with regard to France, he noted: “The Gauls had still other moral qualities that characterize the French nation even today; and we know that emperor Julian observed that, in his time, there were more dancers than citizens in Paris.”² Ultimately, it would be heroic, overtly virtuous subjects in a somber palette and sober, archaeologically-based style that took center stage in French Neoclassical painting. Still, the lighter pleasures expected of French artists remained prevalent and it is one such warm, fantastical, and often graceful thematic subset of French Neoclassical painting that is the focus of this dissertation: Greco-Roman myth.

This dissertation is not intended as an exhaustive catalogue, but rather as an interpretive foray into the painting of Greco-Roman mythology in France, c.1780-1825, that will stress that myth provided something to history painters that subjects from history could not. The time period under consideration in the present study is bracketed by the maturity and death of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), recognized as the leading

¹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (1755; expanded edition 1756).

² Winckelmann, “Réflexions sur l’imitation des artistes grecs dans la peinture et la sculpture,” in *Recueil des différentes pièces sur les arts* (Paris: Barrois l’aîné, 1786), 142-143. “Les Gaulois avoient encore d’autres qualités morales qui caractérisent de même aujourd’hui la nation Française ; et l’on sait que l’empereur Julien a observé que, de son tems, il y avoit à Paris plus de danseurs que de citoyens.” All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

French Neoclassical painter in his lifetime and ever since. David completed his training as a student of the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture when he left its Roman outpost upon completing his Rome Prize sojourn in 1781. He ended his career with a solo exhibition in Paris in 1824 and died, in political exile in Brussels, the following year. David and his pupils, Anne-Louis Girodet (1767-1824) and Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835), are central figures in this study. Equally important are his peer and early rival Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) and Regnault's pupils Pierre Guérin (1774-1833) and Charles-Paul Landon (1760-1826). As all of these artists were trained in the French academic system and exhibited in its Salons, focus will also be given to that institution, its exhibitions, theories, and critics.

Mythological characters and narratives featured prominently in French art produced under the auspices of the French Academy from its foundation in 1648. Within the hierarchy of subject matter established by the Academy, and outlined in a treatise published by 1669, mythology ranked in the highest tier called *peinture d'histoire*. The category of history painting also included allegories and narrative subjects, from the Bible and other literature, as well as history.³

The primary project of the Academy in its earliest days was the decoration of Versailles for Louis XIV, after he moved his official residence from the Louvre. Louis XIV had long used the guise of Apollo, as had his royal predecessors to a lesser degree, as an honorific reference to his sun-like nurturance and essentiality vis-à-vis his nation and also as a referent for his comparably divine status. Some have seen the refusal of Charles Le Brun's first two ceiling plans for the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, one of

³ André Félibien, Preface to *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant l'année 1667* (Paris: Frédéric Leonard, 1669).

which featured Apollo (submitted in 1678) and the other Hercules (proposed in 1679), in favor of a ceiling program depicting the king's own accomplishments, with the sovereign appearing as himself complete with his characteristic wig, as indicative of the king's shift from considering himself Apollo-like in his grandeur to being above that deity's pantheon, a pantheon that was featured in the rooms leading to the Hall of Mirrors and in niches below the Louis XIV ceiling within that room.⁴

Thereafter, in the final decades of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century, the gods appeared frequently in paintings for domestic decoration (such as the king's residence at Marly and his brother's at Meudon) and for cabinets of private collectors, and as guises in portraits of courtiers. With the king no longer publicly portrayed as Apollo-like, Apollo and his cohort became fodder for personal puns and analogies for libertine exploits, as Philippe Le Leyzour has shown.⁵ Such portrayals of gods and goddesses often referred only generically or even ambiguously to the nominal deity, without obvious relationship to narrative, with themes like Venus at her Toilet or Diana Resting becoming especially popular and remaining so well after the reign of Louis XIV. Such paintings featured heavily among the contributions to the 1727 and 1747 *concours de peinture* (competitions for history painters), initiated within the Academy to stimulate production in its highest category of subject matter, and at the Paris Salon after its regularization in 1737.

⁴ Edouard Pommier, "Versailles: The Image of the Sovereign," in *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 3: chap. 8. On the dates for the proposed decorations, see: Gérard Mabillet, "The Apollo Gallery in the Historical Context of France's Royal Galleries," trans. Deke Dusinberre in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris: Gallimard and Musée du Louvre, 2004), 20.

⁵ Philippe Le Leyzour, "Myth and Enlightenment: On Mythology in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Loves of the Gods Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin Bailey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 20-31.

The master of mythological painting in eighteenth-century France was François Boucher (1703-1770).⁶ The artist was phenomenally successful and regularly executed paintings with mythological themes for decorative panels, cabinet pictures, and large-scale paintings shown at Salons and in the 1747 *concours*, and his works were reproduced in prints, tapestries, and other decorative media. His luminous palette and his lithe figures complemented the light-hearted subjects of many of his mythological works. Boucher's figures look more like dancers than soldiers, as Winckelmann observed at mid-century about Parisian citizens and their art.

Around the mid-century, Rococo works began to draw criticism and another stylistic trend, that of an archaeologically-based classicism, arose at home and abroad. This vogue for a new classicism was spurred by the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii (in 1737 and 1747 respectively), with corresponding publications of the artistic findings, and by the intellectual hub in Rome where artists, collectors, and scholars converged. What began as a fashionable alternative to the Rococo, became a politically and socially charged choice, at least for some theorists, by the 1780s in France.

The Enlightenment passion for compiling and analyzing information contributed to eighteenth-century study of ancient art and culture, including myth, and also to inquiry into the social purposes of art more generally. Fundamental to the analysis presented in this dissertation is the art theory and criticism, as well as the philosophical studies of myth, written during the latter half of the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth centuries.

⁶ On Boucher's mythological subjects and their interpretations, see for example: Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and his Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006); Jo Hedley, *François Boucher: Seductive Visions* (London: Wallace Collection, 2004); Mark Ledbury and Melissa Hyde, eds., *Rethinking Boucher* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006).

Art-historical scholarship on Neoclassicism in general and on French Neoclassical painting in particular is vast; however, there has not yet been a broad-based study of mythological subjects as one of Neoclassicism's unified thematic subsets. This dissertation seeks to illuminate this understudied aspect of French Neoclassical painting, by highlighting the work and role of the long-overlooked Jean-Baptiste Regnault, by reconsidering the narratives and contexts of under-studied paintings by Jacques-Louis David, Antoine-Jean Gros, Pierre Guérin, and Regnault, among others, and by drawing attention to paintings and theories of the female body during this period, which has been overshadowed art-historically by studies of the male nude, so prominent during the period.

Moralizing subjects from ancient and medieval history were certainly on the rise in the second half of the eighteenth century, as Jean Locquin has aptly demonstrated, but not to the exclusion of what he calls agreeable mythic ones.⁷ In his 1912 study of *peinture d'histoire* from 1747 to 1785, Locquin described a divide between agreeable narrative subjects (often termed either *sujets d'agrément* or *sujets gracieux*) and active ones (literally, *sujets d'action*).⁸ He placed amorous narratives, especially those drawn from Ovid's texts, into the first category, while heroic and tragic narratives from ancient history and Homeric epic occupied the latter. Locquin associated the "agreeable" subgroup with the "*petite manière*" of François Boucher's mid-century decorative work ("decorative" itself being a pejorative term in 1912), and saw the subsequent heroic mode

⁷ Jean Locquin, *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris: Laurens, 1912), 223. Part 3 of his study is divided into analysis of the gracious subjects in one chapter and the active/heroic ones in a separate chapter.

⁸ The French "*peinture d'histoire*" translates literally as "history painting," but more accurately means "narrative painting" as the French "*histoire*" indicates both story and history, unlike the standard usage of its English cognate.

as a development of the 1760s that created the context that eventually gave rise to Jacques-Louis David's iconic paintings of the 1780s.⁹ Locquin's pioneering study served as a precursor for the separation of active from agreeable subjects in twentieth-century studies of eighteenth-century *peinture d'histoire*.

In the late 1960s, Hugh Honour aligned the sober Neoclassical style with the use of stoic subjects. He wrote: "In place of the Rococo Olympus of amorous gods and goddesses [...] we now find themes and subjects of a very different kind: sobering lessons in the more homely virtues, stoic exemplars of unspoilt and uncorrupted simplicity, of abstinence and continence, of noble self-sacrifice and heroic patriotism. [...] And an equally severe and chastened style was required for the expression of these noble and edifying themes."¹⁰ Around the same time, Robert Rosenblum took a quite different tack in his *Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art* (1967), which drew attention to the limited (and limiting) scope of then-current assessments of Neoclassicism and revealed previously unstudied thematic subsets.¹¹ Rosenblum's insistence that the themes of some Neoclassical-style works are more Romantic or Rococo in tenor provides an essential basis for my study. Rosenblum pushed this notion further in his essays for the exhibition catalogue *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* (1975) to indicate that during this period elements of Neoclassicism and Romanticism coexisted in France in a way that has been overlooked when Romanticism is seen to begin only after the fall of Napoleon.¹² This exhibition catalogue also provided entries on the careers of

⁹ On Boucher and the decorative, see Locquin, 225; on the heroic mode, see Locquin, 25.

¹⁰ Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968), 19-20.

¹¹ Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), chap. 1.

¹² Antoine Schnapper and Robert Rosenblum, eds. *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), especially Rosenblum's essays "Painting Under Napoleon, 1800-1814," 161-174 and "Painting During the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830," 231-246.

art-historically lesser-known artists as well as reproductions and analysis of some of their works, thereby encouraging a broader view of Neoclassical painting.

Yet, decades later, the teleological assessment of Neoclassicism as a singular, unified stylistic and thematic surge, achieving its triumph in David's *Oath of the Horatii*, retains a foothold in art-historical scholarship, as though Rosenblum's chapter on the *exemplum virtutis* (example/pattern of virtue/valor) eclipsed the other contributions of his *Transformations*. The 2010-2011 Neoclassicism exhibition and catalogue entitled *Neoclassicism: A Taste for the Antique, 1730-1790* (for its American venue) reinvigorated the traditional teleological interpretation of Neoclassicism that culminates in those Davidian works wherein a sober, archaeologically-based style is united with virtuous subjects.¹³

Two authors have touched on Neoclassicizing mythologies circa 1800 as forming a coherent trend. René Schneider's article "L'Art Anacréontique et Alexandrin sous l'Empire," in the 1916 *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, focused on love scenes and mythological subjects painted during the first decade of the nineteenth century and noted that these subjects constituted a shift in narrative sources from classical to Hellenistic Greece; however, he denigrated these subjects as merely forms of escapism promoted by women, although it has since been established that their major patrons were men.¹⁴

¹³ Guillaume Faroult, Christophe Leribault, and Guilhem Scherf, *L'Antiquité rêvée: Innovations et résistances au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Louvre and Gallimard, 2010). The exhibition will travel to the Museum of Fine Arts Houston in 2011 (to be on view March 20 – May 30, 2011).

¹⁴ For information on the collector Nikolay Yusupov, see: Marina Krasnobaïeva and Ludmila Kiruchina, "Le 'palais-parc' d'Arkhangelskoïe," in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg: les commandes de la famille impériale et des princes russes entre 1773 et 1802* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), 66-71; Lioubov Savinskaïa, "La Collection de peintures de Nikolai Borissovitch Youssoupov," in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg: les commandes de la famille impériale et des princes russes entre 1773 et 1802*, 72-82. For information on the collector Giovanni Battista Sommariva, see: Francis Haskell, "More about Sommariva," *Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 835 (October 1972): 691-695.

Dorothy Johnson, in her 1990 article “Myth and Meaning: Mythological Painting in France circa 1800,” argues the intellectual weight of these subjects, though her brief essay provides in-depth analysis of just one painting: François Gérard’s *Cupid and Psyche* (1798).¹⁵ Johnson expanded upon her article’s assessment of the mythological paintings as presenting a psychologically intensified analysis of youthful amorous interaction in her Getty publication *Jacques-Louis David: The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (1997).¹⁶ While my own conclusions differ from Johnson’s in that I will be analyzing different artworks and will not be addressing the psychology of adolescent love, her studies provide a valuable precedent for treating mythological subjects in French Neoclassical painting as a subset carrying intellectual and social weight.

The 1992 exhibition and catalogue *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David* provides a model of a myth-themed study and contributes essential background information for my study as its focus ends where mine begins.¹⁷ *The Legacy of Homer: Four Centuries of Art from the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris*, the 2004-2006 exhibition and catalogue, also complements my project.¹⁸ *Legacy of Homer* focused on narratives from epic poetry, many of which are martial and lend themselves to the *exemplum virtutis*, whereas I have chosen to focus instead upon gracious mythic subjects, especially Ovidian narratives and mythic allegories, that were not included within the purview of that exhibition and catalogue and

¹⁵ Dorothy Johnson, “Myth and Meaning: Mythological Painting in France circa 1800,” in *Frankreich 1800 Gesellschaft, Kultur, Mentalitäten*, ed. Gudrun Gersmann and Hubertus Kohle (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), 23-33.

¹⁶ Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1997).

¹⁷ Colin Bailey, ed., *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992).

¹⁸ Emmanuel Schwartz, *The Legacy of Homer: Four Centuries of Art from the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

have remained less fully considered. Mythic narrative and allegory prove difficult to separate, in period documents and the mind of the present author, since many mythic narratives could double as allegories (for example Bacchus and Ariadne interact in mythic narrative and provide the basis for some allegories of Autumn). I have included only those allegorical works with fully mythological casts and, following the lead of the *Loves of the Gods* catalogue, omitted “mythological allegories related to specific people, places, and events” as well as mythological portraits.¹⁹

Also crucial to my own work are the revisionist assessments of a few of the artists under consideration. Mary Vidal’s studies of David’s *Paris and Helen*, *Cupid and Psyche*, and *Telemachus and Eucharis* furnished an important model of analysis, by considering those works both within contemporaneous social, intellectual, and artistic developments and in relation to the painter’s own better-known works; her work contributes mightily to our understanding of those previously under-studied paintings.²⁰ The 2005 exhibition and catalogue *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile* provides a revised assessment of the famed artist’s life and works in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The anthology of essays, entitled *David after David: Essays on the Later Work* and based on the proceedings of the exhibition’s coordinating conference, further fleshes out the context of this understudied period and some lesser-known works

¹⁹ Carrie A. Hamilton and Rosamund Downing, “Mythological Paintings Exhibited at the Salon, 1699-1791,” in *The Loves of the Gods Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin Bailey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 544. Hamilton and Downing cite as an example of an omitted allegorical work Jean-Jacques Lagrenée’s *Mercurius, représentant le commerce, répand sous les auspices de Louis XVI, l’abondance sur le Royaume*, which was exhibited at the Salon of 1781.

²⁰ Mary Vidal, “David among the Moderns: Art, Science, and the Lavoisiers,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 4 (October 1995): 595-623; Vidal, “‘With a Pretty Whisper:’ Deception and Transformation in David’s *Cupid and Psyche* and Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses*,” *Art History* 22, no. 2 (June 1999): 214-243; Vidal, “David’s *Telemachus and Eucharis*: Reflections on Love, Learning, and History,” *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 4 (December 2000): 702-719.

in the career of this acclaimed artist.²¹ My own approach to David and his contemporaries builds on these studies, which will be cited more specifically within the relevant chapters of this dissertation.

In the last few decades there has been a resurgence of interest in Girodet, exemplified by Thomas Crow's *Emulation* (1995), Abigail Solomon-Godeau's *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (1997), and the exhibition and catalogue *Girodet, 1767-1824* (2005).²² Along with numerous articles, these studies highlight Girodet's *Endymion* and its deviations from Baroque and Rococo representations of the myth in which Endymion figures.²³ Such careful consideration of the painting's imagery and its relationship to narrative precedents, as well as its personal place in the artist's oeuvre and its critical reception, provide valuable models for my own study of other works by Girodet and his contemporaries. The attention lavished on this icon of Neoclassical mythological painting has, ironically, seemed to further devalue chronologically subsequent mythological works. Guérin's reputation has suffered the most from the rise in Girodet's, though Gros's and Gérard's mythological paintings have also been described as impossible without the example of *Endymion*.²⁴

²¹ Mark Ledbury, ed., *David after David: Essays on the Later Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press; Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007).

²² Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997); Sylvain Bellenger, ed., *Girodet, 1767-1824* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2006).

²³ James Rubin, "Endymion's Dream as Myth of Romantic Inspiration," *Art Quarterly* (Spring 1978): 47-84; Barbara Stafford, "Endymion's Moonbath: Art and Science in Girodet's Early Masterpiece," *Leonardo* 15, no.3 (Summer 1982): 193-198; Stephen Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994); Alexandra K. Wettlaufer, "Girodet/Endymion/Balzac: Representation and Rivalry in Post-Revolutionary France," *World & Image* 17, no.4 (Oct-Dec 2001): 401-411; Petra ten Doesschate Chu, *Nineteenth-Century European Art* (New York: Abrams, 2003).

²⁴ Josette Bottineau, "Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique: *L'Aurore et Céphale, Iris et Morphée*," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 134 (1999): 271-288; Sylvain Bellenger, "*Aurora and Cephalus: A Story of Acquisition*," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 8 (2003): 188-199; Monique Moulin, "*Daphnis et*

Gros's career before 1815 has received recent attention in David O'Brien's monograph and Gros's artistic and cultural milieu after 1825 has been analyzed by Marie-Claude Chaudonnert and Sébastien Allard in *Le Suicide de Gros*.²⁵ My own focus will be on the work Gros created in the interim, between 1815 and 1825, to complement these studies and to build on the important 1978 article by Thomas Gaehtgens on Gros's *Bacchus and Ariadne*.²⁶

The now lesser-known Jean-Baptiste Regnault is an especially important figure within the current study as he focused on mythological subjects for the bulk of his career, which coincided with that of David. The two artists overlapped in Rome during their Rome-Prize stays and both made names for themselves in Paris in the 1780s. The exhibition and catalogue *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* (1975) reintroduced Regnault to art-historical scholarship.²⁷ Christopher Sells, in his dissertation and various articles, subsequently catalogued Regnault's oeuvre and compiled the artist's biography and historiography.²⁸ While Sells's estimation of Regnault as the final hanger-on of *ancien régime* taste positions the artist and his work as retardataire vis-à-vis David, Serge Prigent and Milovan Stanic have contextualized Regnault's 1782 *Education of Achilles*, 1785 *Pygmalion*, and (undated) allegorical self-portrait within contemporaneous intellectual contexts, opening the door to further

Chloé dans l'œuvre de François Gérard (1770-1837)," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 33, no. 2 (1983): 100-109.

²⁵ David O'Brien, *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda under Napoleon* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 2006); Marie-Claude Chaudonnert and Sébastien Allard, *Le Suicide de Gros: Les Peintres de l'Empire et la génération romantique* (Paris: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2010).

²⁶ Thomas Gaehtgens, "Bacchus and Ariadne by Antoine-Jean Gros," *Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Canada* (1978-1979): 62-78.

²⁷ Jean-Pierre Cuzin, "Regnault," in *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, ed. Antoine Schnapper and Robert Rosenblum, 576-584.

²⁸ Christopher Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, Courtauld Institute, 1980).

revisionist reassessment.²⁹ Medhi Korchane, in his as-yet unpublished dissertation on Regnault's pupil Pierre Guérin, has fleshed out Regnault's prominent place within reconfigurations of art institutions in the 1790s, before he was politically denounced by David.³⁰ Korchane, in his dissertation and his contribution to the *David After David* anthology cited above, also has shed important new light on the life and works of Guérin.³¹

The one mythological subject depicted during this period to have received extended consideration is that of Cupid's love of the mortal Psyche.³² As an allegory of the soul moved by love and transformed by trials, the Cupid and Psyche myth has been fitted into philosophical thought of the later eighteenth century and this scholarship promotes reconsideration of other mythological narratives depicted contemporaneously. Indeed, the theme of Cupid and Psyche was not an anomalous amorous, mythic narrative choice, nor was it unique in the profound consideration of its narrative implications by artists and theorists of the period.

²⁹ Serge Prigent, "Achille-Émile ou les idées Rousseauistes dans un tableau de Jean-Baptiste Regnault," in *Imaginaire et création artistique à Paris sous l'ancien régime: art, politique, trompe-l'oeil, voyages, spectacles, et jardins*, ed. Daniel Rabreau (Bordeaux: William Blake and Co., 1998), 209-228 passim; Milovan Stanic, "Pygmalion révolutionnaire," in *Revue d'esthétique* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1990), 78-98; Stanic, "La Bibliothèque de Jean-Baptiste Regnault," in *Curiosité: Études d'histoire de l'art en honneur d'Antoine Schnapper* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), 203-210.

³⁰ Mehdi Korchane, "Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833) et l'art français de la Révolution à la monarchie de Juillet" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Lyon 2, 2005).

³¹ Korchane, "Overlapping Destinies: David and Guérin in the Public Eye from the Directory to the Empire," in *David after David: Essays on the Later Work*, ed. Ledbury, 255-270 builds upon studies by Josette Bottineau and by Philippe Bordes. Philippe Bordes, *La Mort de Brutus de Pierre-Narcisse Guérin* (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française, 1996); Josette Bottineau, "De Bélisaire à Marcus Sextus: Genèse et histoire d'un tableau de Pierre Guérin 1774-1833," *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 43, no. 3 (1993): 41-53; Bottineau, "Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique," 271-288 provides analysis of the preparatory drawings, conditions of the commissions, and an overview of Salon criticism; Josette Bottineau and Élisabeth Foucart-Walker, eds., *L'Inventaire après décès de Pierre-Narcisse Guérin* (Troyes: Trait de Union, 2004);

³² Paul Lang, ed., *Regards sur Amour et Psyché à l'âge néo-classique* (Carouge: Musée; Zurich: Kunsthaus, 1994).

My own study of mythological paintings was aided immeasurably by the work of intellectual historians, who have analyzed the study of myth during the eighteenth century. Crucial in this regard are the classic works of Frank Manuel, Burton Feldman and Robert Richardson, as well as the more recent scholarship of Christopher Jamme and Dan Edelstein.³³ Further consideration of existing literature will be presented within the chapters where it is most germane.

The value of myth as an artistic source was hotly debated in the mid-eighteenth century and two opposing views collided; one interpretive mode disparaged myth as false and immoral, while the other celebrated mythic fiction as a remnant of early human creativity. Chapter one, “Enlighten-myth: Fable, Mythology, and History Painting in the Later Eighteenth Century,” contextualizes both of these viewpoints and demonstrates that the latter underlies myth’s presence in institutional commissions and purchases in the 1760s through 1780s. I focus in particular on the *morceaux de réception* (reception pieces for Academy membership) assigned between 1764 and 1780 to decorate the ceiling of the Louvre’s Apollo Gallery as part of its projected future as a national museum, as well as the institutional purchases made and *travaux d’encouragement* (1777-1789) commissioned to hang on that museum’s walls. Reconsideration of their contemporaneous mythographic, theoretical, and critical contexts allows us to see how these mythic works reinforce the Enlightenment goals of civic improvement and education that underpinned the development of the national art museum.

³³ Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959; reprinted, New York: Atheneum, 1967); Burton Feldman and Robert Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1972); Christopher Jamme, “Portraying Myth More Convincingly: Critical Approaches to Myth in the Classical and Romantic Periods,” *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 12, no. 1 (2004): 29-45; Dan Edelstein, *Myth and Enlightenment* (Forthcoming).

Chapter two, “Educating Ovid in the 1780s,” considers a previously unanalyzed illustrated edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, published by Pierre Didot with engravings after Regnault’s drawings. In this chapter, I explore the conceptual re-envisioning of Ovid’s text, announced in the prospectus for the new publication, through a formal/stylistic comparison of Regnault’s illustrations to Rococo precedents and to contemporaneous depictions of historical subjects; I also situate this work within the philosophical context of contemporaneous mythography. Analysis of this publication opens reconsideration of Regnault’s 1789 Salon contribution, *The Deluge*, his first translation of one of the book illustrations into a finished painting. Chapters two, three, and four draw attention to the emulation of Regnault by David’s pupil Girodet, a recognized as a master of turn-of-the-century mythological painting.

Chapter three, “Otherworldly Perfection: Mythic Bodies, Mythic Ideals,” reconsiders the painterly and textual theorization of the female nude in a period better known for representations of male nudes. This chapter places special focus again on Regnault, but now on his solo exhibition in 1800 that opened just months after David’s better-known exhibition of his *Intervention of the Sabine Women*. Regnault’s exhibition featured the female mythological nude prominently and, in his exhibition pamphlet, Regnault elucidated his use of myth and placed his exhibition in conversation with David’s precedent.

Chapter four, “Classically Inspired: The Poetics of Neoclassicizing Mythologies,” focuses on the theme of creative inspiration as embodied for Neoclassical artists and mythographers by myth. This chapter expands upon James Rubin’s 1978 article, “*Endymion’s Dream as Myth of Romantic Inspiration*,” which addressed only Girodet’s

Endymion, to demonstrate a larger cultural and artistic context and to propose a thematic subset of mythological paintings, of various subjects, all addressing the theme of creative inspiration.³⁴ This chapter analyzes in depth Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus*, *Iris and Morpheus*, and *Orpheus*, as well as David's *Sappho*, in conjunction with Girodet's *Endymion*, to demonstrate a common mythopoeic approach to these ancient subjects. This chapter also addresses the mythopoeic goals of François Noël's *Dictionary of Myth*, to which Girodet contributed a description of his *Endymion* for the book's second edition, to demonstrate the congruence of paintings and literary studies of myth circa 1800.

Chapter five, "'Late Works' as 'Legacy Pictures: Mythic Finales of David and Gros,'" considers these artists' choices to close their careers with mythological paintings. This chapter challenges the modernist trope of these artists' "late works" as stemming from diminished faculties and a faulty grasp on then-current directions in the visual arts, by positing that David's and Gros's late works take up purposefully selected narratives in carefully considered compositions that were exhibited with a view toward achieving a legacy within the public's and art history's view. This chapter looks in-depth at two paintings, one each by David and by Gros, to consider their chosen narratives, their accompanying works, and the critical response to their exhibitions. Returning to the themes of chapter one, I propose that Neoclassical artists concluded their careers as history painters with mythic themes not because they were out of step with new developments in the visual arts, but because they saw those subjects as *exemplum humanitatis*—that is, as eternally resonant aspects of culture safe from changing political tides and thus from museum storerooms.

³⁴ Rubin, "Endymion's Dream," 47-84.

In my conclusion, I point to ways in which the treatment of myth during the eighteenth century would set the stage for mythological painting throughout the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER ONE

Enlighten-myth:**Fable, Mythology, and History Painting in the Later Eighteenth Century**

Amatory and fantastic mythological subjects are a hallmark of early- and mid-eighteenth century French art. Such light-hearted themes abounded in Rococo domestic interiors and the cabinets of elite private collectors. The last quarter of the century, in opposition to the first seven decades, has been characterized by the ascendancy of heroic and tragic historical narratives in large-scale French painting. The somber colors and sober themes of these works have been considered hallmarks of the serious, civic purposes of institutional patronage in the 1770s and 1780s. Yet, amatory and fantastic mythological subjects continued in institutional commissions for art to adorn artistic spaces (for performance and exhibition) in the 1760s, 1770s, and 1780s. The *morceaux de réception* (reception pieces for Academy membership) assigned between 1764 and 1780 to decorate the ceiling of the Louvre's Apollo Gallery as part of its projected future as a national museum, and the institutional purchases made and *travaux d'encouragement* (1777-1789) commissioned to hang on that museum's walls, attest to a previously unnoted enduring commitment to gracious myth in institutional patronage during this period.

Institutional patronage under marquis de Marigny and comte d'Angiviller (*directeurs des Bâtiments du Roi* [directors of Kings Buildings] from 1751 to 1773 and 1774 to 1789, respectively) has been closely linked with Enlightenment aims of social

improvement and civic edification. This linkage may account for amorous and fantastical mythological subjects being understudied with regard to these programs: myth and the Enlightenment initially seem incompatible. Yet, while Enlightenment inquiry at first undermined mythic fantasy and fiction, a shift in philosophical estimation of myth around mid-century, toward an appreciation of it as a remnant of early humanity's creativity, may help to elucidate the presence of mythological fantasy in institutional patronage of the later eighteenth century. Such a context for mythic fantasy helps unify understudied institutional commissions and purchases of mythic works with the better-known overtly virtuous and valorous ones, of which the most canonical is Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii* (fig. 1).

By reexamining their contemporaneous philosophical context, these mythic works too may be seen to offer a positive exemplar, which I term an *exemplum humanitatis* (example/pattern of culture) to complement Robert Rosenblum's well-known *exemplum virtutis* (example/pattern of virtue/valor) in evidence in the art of this time period. While Rosenblum noted the presence of amorous and fantastical subjects, mythological and otherwise, in his study of Neoclassical art, he deemed those works "Rococo eroticism in new classicizing clothing."¹ This estimation underlines the continuity of artistic commitment to such subjects throughout the century.² Yet, as this chapter demonstrates, a divergence in the interpretation of myth occurred around the mid-eighteenth century.

¹ Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 19.

² A glance at the Salon catalogues confirms the continued presence of mythological painting throughout the century, what interests me here is an elucidation of the Enlightenment context for such painting after mid-century and which has not been the focus of previous art-historical study. For a listing of the mythological paintings at each Salon, see the appendix of this dissertation for the Salons from 1781-1824. For previous Salons, see: Carrie A. Hamilton and Rosamund Downing, "Mythological Paintings Exhibited at the Salon, 1699-1791," in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin Bailey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 544-561.

The mode of interpreting myth as frivolous and antithetical to Enlightenment reason that was prominent in the first half of the eighteenth century, and in some mid-century criticism of Rococo painting, gave way to a more celebratory mode that would become dominant thereafter and, within which, I contextualize the institutional commissioning and collecting of mythic works in the latter part of the century.³

As art-historian Alden R. Gordon has demonstrated, Abel-François Poisson de Vandières (who would be ennobled as marquis de Marigny in 1754) “had already overseen the preparations for the opening in October 1750 of the first permanent exhibition, for the benefit of visitors and students, of the royal collection in the Palais du Luxembourg, Paris. One of the early achievements of his tenure was to clear and complete the Cour Carrée of the Palais du Louvre, Paris [...]. In the late 1760s, he pursued projects that would have completed the palace for use as a centre of culture and learning, housing the royal library, the academies and the royal art collection.”⁴ An art museum within the Louvre would not open until the 1790s; however, the plans for that project were well underway, both physically and philosophically, in the 1760s and would be continued and elaborated upon by Marigny’s successor the comte d’Angiviller.

Angiviller conceived of a program of commissions called the *travaux d’encouragement* (also sometimes called the *travaux d’émulation*) to support history painters and, in so doing, to supply the (projected) museum with exemplary new works.

As Barthélémy Jobert has noted, Angiviller’s artistic policy in the *travaux* “was in every

³ Philippe Le Leyzour has studied the context of myth in the visual arts in the first half of the century. His study provides an important model for mine, which instead begins at mid-century. See his “Myth and Enlightenment: On Mythology in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Loves of the Gods*, ed. Bailey, 20-31. My study also diverges from his conclusion that Euhemerism rang the death knell of myth and mythic art after mid-century.

⁴ Alden R. Gordon, “Poisson,” In *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T068290pg2> (accessed January 6, 2011).

respect turned towards the public.”⁵ Jobert noted that “this perspective should also be related to another aspect of [his] activities, the opening of the ‘Museum’, intended for the Louvre; for throughout his directorship he was occupied in making good the lacunae in the royal collection. For the display of the ‘*travaux d’émulation*’ at the Salon and their temporary presentation to the public, always insisted on as essential, was only to be the prelude to their definitive inclusion in a Museum including both past schools as well as a panorama of contemporary painting.”⁶ These paintings, Jobert continued, had “a didactic objective” and would form “the centerpiece of the future museum, offering a ‘series of virtues’ to the public and glorifying the great men of national history in an obvious moralizing and educational spirit.”⁷ Jobert’s article focused primarily on establishing the “actual process of the commissions,” but he also noted the absence of the mythological works from previous studies of the *travaux*.⁸ Omission of the mythological works from studies of the *travaux*’s didactic purposes seems to imply that gracious myth did not fulfill those aims.⁹

⁵ Barthélémy Jobert, “The ‘Travaux d’encouragement’: An Aspect of Official Arts Policy in France under Louis XVI,” trans. Richard Wrigley, *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no.1 (1987): 4.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 3. He also observed in footnote 1 (on page 10) that the mythological *travaux* were missing from previous assessments of the project. In that regard, he cited Rosenblum’s *Transformations* and Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁹ On the omission of mythic subjects, see: Philip Conisbee, *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and Oxford: Cornell University Press and Phaidon, 1981), 99-100; Frederick J. Cummings, “Painting Under Louis XVI, 1774-1789,” in *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 31-43, especially 35. Philip Conisbee and Frederic Cummings both suggested that during Angiviller’s tenure as Director of King’s Buildings myth was banished from serious history painting. Cummings asserted, for instance, that after the Salon jury of 1775 received very precise instructions from Angiviller and First Painter Jean-Baptiste Pierre to bar nudity and indecent subjects, “mythologies were virtually nonexistent.” Although there were slightly fewer mythological paintings at the 1775 Salon than at the previous Salon or the subsequent one, mythic paintings did not disappear. Assumption of myth’s indecency, and thus incompatibility with institutional aims, is evident also in Conisbee’s assertion that under Angiviller Salon paintings “were now carefully vetted in order to exclude, as far as possible, any nudes or mythological subjects that were not morally exemplary.” Conisbee contended that Angiviller and Pierre promoted a grand style with subjects that would inspire virtue and

The subjects for the *travaux* were assigned to artists, rather than selected by them, up until 1785.¹⁰ Thus, the presence of amorous mythic subjects within the *travaux*, for example Amédée Van Loo's *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig. 2) and Jean-Hugues Taraval's *Triumph of Amphitrite* (fig. 3) both displayed at the 1777 Salon, can be seen fairly as exemplifying institutional embrace of such subjects –neither of which conforms to standard views of the *travaux*, which tend to paint them as moralizing, civic works.¹¹ Angiviller indeed aimed to increase the quantity of virtuous history paintings and eight of the ten *travaux* at the 1777 Salon depicted overtly moralizing subjects, but this program did not exclude works without overtly moral themes. Another part of Angiviller's vision for the projected museum was to fill gaps in the royal collection and, in addition to commissioning new works for the royal collection housed at the Louvre, he also purchased existing examples.¹² In June 1776, Angiviller sought to acquire the paintings from the Hôtel Lambert (largely by Eustache Le Sueur and mythic in theme), from whence he succeeded in buying the Cabinet of the Muses, the Cabinet of Love (figs. 4-8), and a Ganymede ceiling (fig. 9).¹³ In 1777, he acquired Carle van Loo's *Aeneas Saving his Father* (fig. 10) and François van Loo's *Triumph of Galatea* (fig. 11) from the Prince

patriotism. Yet, the Salon of 1777, which Conisbee cited as an example, included among the *travaux d'encouragement* Van Loo's *Aurora and Cephalus* and Taraval's *Triumph of Amphitrite* –neither of which conforms to standard views of the *travaux* or their commissioner's aims. The *travaux* have become exemplary of the didactic, civic works commissioned by an institutional body and intended for public viewing first in the Salon in then in a (projected) national museum, but the *sujets d'agrément* among them have been absent from this estimation. Such an omission of the *sujets d'agrément* implies that those do not conform to the model of virtue and thus cannot fulfill this important institutional aim in the visual arts. While works like *Aurora and Cephalus* and *The Triumph of Amphitrite* do not depict virtuous actions, in the manner of Rosenblum's *exemplum virtutis*, that does not necessarily indicate that they were without civic potential within an institutional context. Yet, this perceived incompatibility of mythological narratives and Enlightened civic aims has been heightened by the assumed incompatibility of mythic fantasy with Enlightenment thought that was equated with institutionally patronized painting.

¹⁰ Jobert, 7.

¹¹ Ibid., 5 for a list of the subjects for the *travaux* at the 1777 Salon.

¹² Fernand Engerand, ed., *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des bâtiments du roi (1709-1792)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), 529 and 540-594.

¹³ Ibid., 578-582.

de Conti sale; at the Salon of the same year, Amédée van Loo's *Aurora and Cephalus* and Taraval's *Triumph of Amphitrite* appeared among the commissioned *travaux*.¹⁴

Angiviller's purchases of mythological paintings extended throughout his tenure, to the 1786 Watelet sale, at which he purchased two paintings by Pierre-Charles Trémolières, one depicting *Venus Seated on a Cloud and Caressed by Cupid* (now known only from a reduced-size copy [fig. 12]) and the other *Venus Remanding Cupid's Bow and Arrow* (now lost), and two mythological works by François Boucher (figs. 13-14).¹⁵

How could amorous and fantastical mythological subjects be included within programs of commissions and purchases intended to inspire civic pride when viewed at the Salon and in the nation's (projected) museum? Essential to understanding the status and perception of mythology in French history painting after mid-century is an understanding of the mythographic context. Myth's validity for the arts was hotly contested at mid-century and two opposing views collided; one disparaged myth as false and immoral, while the other celebrated mythic fiction as a remnant of early human creativity. Myth had come to be imbued with social utility and worthy of inclusion within a museum meant for public and artistic edification, both as an example of ancient human cultural output and as a thread of continuity in its function as a source of inspiration for new works—in other words, as an *exemplum humanitatis*.

¹⁴ Ibid., 583. François van Loo's *Galatea* had been included in the 1727 *concours de peinture*, see: Pierre Rosenberg, "Le Concours de peinture de 1727," *Revue de l'art* no.37 (1977): 38, fig. 13, and 42 n.65.

¹⁵ Engerand, 593-594. Jean-François Méjanès, *Pierre-Charles Trémolières, 1703-1739* (Nantes: Musée Dobrée, 1973), 83-84 lists the paintings (each measuring 154 x 97.5 cm) as paired under number seven in the 1786 Watelet sale where they were purchased for 4500 livres, after which they were deposited into the Pavillion Neuf du Louvre that year and made part of the Musée Central des Arts in 1797. Alexandre Ananoff and Daniel Wildenstein, *François Boucher* (Lausanne: Bibliothèque des arts, 1976), 1: 217-219 notes that the painting in Nancy is now recognized as *Aurora and Cephalus*, but was listed as *Venus and Adonis* in the 1786 sale.

Certainly, the inclusion of mythological subjects in the ceiling decorations and the collections accrued for display within the galleries would harmonize with the foundational principles of the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The tenets of Charles Le Brun, the Academy's first director, underpinned the revival of decoration (c.1764-1780) at the Louvre's Apollo Gallery, a space originally designed by Le Brun for Louis XIV, and the promotion of history painting by comte d'Angiviller in his *travaux d'encouragement* (1777-1789). The founding principles of the Royal Academy are codified in the seven lectures compiled and edited by André Félibien in his role as the Royal Academy's honorary counselor and the historiographer of Royal buildings. In his preface to the lectures, which were published in Paris in 1669, Félibien remarked:

A painter who can only make portraits, has not as yet attained to this high perfection of art, and cannot pretend to the same honor as more knowledgeable painters. For that, he must advance from painting one single figure, to the representation of several together; he must paint history and fable; he must represent great actions like the historians, or agreeable ones as the poets; and soaring yet higher, he must, with allegorical compositions, be able to cover with the veil of fable the virtues of great men, and the most intriguing mysteries. We call grand painters only those who acquit themselves well in enterprises of this kind. It is herein that the force, the nobility, and the grandeur of this art consists.¹⁶

Félibien believed that myth served the aspirations of a great painter even better than the events of history, because myth accommodated allegory and mystery.

¹⁶ André Félibien, Preface to *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant l'année 1667* (Paris: Frédéric Leonard, 1669). This quote comes from the fifteenth page of the unpaginated preface. "Un peintre qui ne fait que des portraits, n'a pas encore atteint cette haute perfection de l'art, et ne peut prétendre à l'honneur que reçoivent les plus sçavans (sic). Il faut pour cela passer d'une seule figure à la représentation (sic) de plusieurs ensemble; il faut traiter l'histoire et la fable ; il faut représenter (sic) de grandes actions comme les historiens, ou des sujets agreables (sic) comme les poètes (sic); et montant encore plus haut, il faut par des compositions allegoriques, sçavoir (sic) couvrir sous le voile de la fable les vertus des grands hommes, et les mysteres les plus relevez. L'on appelle un grand peintre celuy (sic) qui s'aquite bien de semblables entreprises. C'est en quoi consiste la force, la noblesse et la grandeur de cet art." All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

Félibien continued in his preface: “We see then that a painter is not only an incomparable artisan, in that he imitates natural bodies and the actions of men, but further he is an ingenious and learned author, in that he invents and produces thoughts that he borrows from no one. As a result, he has the advantage of being able to represent everything in nature, and everything that has happened in the world; and moreover, to show things completely new, which he has created.”¹⁷ Here again, in the foundational documents of the academy, myth allows for greater demonstration of artistic ingenuity and intellectual ability thanks to its inclusion of things, such as hybrid beings (like satyrs) or physically impossible actions (like levitation), that the factual and human basis of history dared not permit. Ingenuity distinguished the truly worthy subject and the great painter: “There must appear in great subjects something marvelous in order to provoke an admiration of the story that is treated, and of the painter’s own genius.”¹⁸ Myth and mythic allegory provided just such marvels.

Later eighteenth-century commitment to these foundational tenets (in the museum plans, *travaux*, and ceiling decorations) cannot, however, be wholly explained by longstanding Academic tradition. Even in the late seventeenth century, Félibien’s confidence in both fable and allegory was not universally shared. Myth had been the subject of great intellectual inquiry, much of it disparaging, since Félibien’s text was published and, indeed, intervening philosophical opinions colored later estimations of mythic art. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his 1750 “Discourse on the Arts and Sciences,”

¹⁷ Ibid., page 16 of the unpaginated preface. “L’on fera donc voir que non seulement le peintre est un artisan incomparable, en ce qu’il imite les corps naturels et les actions des hommes, mais encore qu’il est un auteur ingénieux et sçavant (sic), en ce qu’il invente et produit des pensées qu’il n’emprunte de personne. De sorte qu’il a cét (sic) avantage de pouvoir représenter tout ce qui est dans la nature, et ce qui s’est passé dans le monde, et encore d’exposer des choses toutes nouvelles dont il est comme le créateur.”

¹⁸ Ibid., page 18 of the unpaginated preface. “Il faut dans les grands sujets qu’il y paroisse quelque chose de merveilleuse pour faire davantage admirer l’histoire que l’on traite, et le génie du peintre.”

decried the prominence of mythological subjects in the visual arts: “Our gardens are decorated with statues and our galleries with paintings. What would you think these masterpieces, exhibited for public admiration, represent? Defenders of the nation or even greater men who have enriched the nation by their virtues? No. They are images of all the perversions of the heart and of reason, taken meticulously from ancient mythology, and presented to the early curiosity of our children, without a doubt such that they might have before their eyes models of bad behavior before they even know how to read.”¹⁹ His treatise was intended to answer the question of whether the rejuvenation of the sciences and the arts contributed to morality; clearly, he found depictions of the pagan gods and goddesses unsuitable to that social purpose.

Rousseau’s estimation of myth is rooted in the works of Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle and of Pierre Bayle, whose viewpoints on myth had been prominent in French thought for several decades prior to Rousseau’s treatise. Critic Etienne La Font de Saint-Yenne’s now well-known Salon critiques published in 1747 (*Reflections on Several Causes of the Present State of Painting in France*) and in 1754 (*Sentiments on Several Works of Painting, Sculpture, and Engraving*), also are grounded in the philosophical work of Fontenelle, whom La Font called “a mind of the first order of the last century and from whom this century still has the good fortune to win renown.”²⁰

¹⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours qui a remporté le prix à l’Académie de Dijon en l’année 1750 sur cette question propose par la même Académie: Si le rétablissement des sciences et des arts a contribué à épurer les mœurs* (Geneva : Barillot et fils, 1750-1751), 52-53. “Nos jardins sont ornés de statues et nos galeries de tableaux. Que penseriez-vous que représentent ces chefs-d’œuvre de l’art exposés à l’admiration publique ? Les défenseurs de la patrie ? ou ces hommes plus grands encore qui l’ont enrichie par leurs vertus ? Non. Ce sont des images de tous les égarements du cœur et de la raison, tirées soigneusement de l’ancienne mythologie, et présentées de bonne heure à la curiosité de nos enfants, sans doute afin qu’ils aient sous leurs yeux des modèles de mauvaises actions, avant même que de savoir lire.” In reprint editions this tract is more commonly known as the “Discours sur les sciences et les arts.”

²⁰ Etienne de La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l’état présent de la peinture en France. Avec un examen des principaux ouvrages exposés au Louvre le mois d’Août 1746* (La Haye: Jean

Fontenelle's essay *Of the Origin of Fables*, written in the 1690s and published in 1724, strongly criticized veneration of antique myth and especially denigrated allegorical interpretation of its narratives. Fontenelle equated the ancient mind with that of a child or savage in that, he believed, all were weak, gullible, easily fascinated, enamored of marvels, and prone to embellishment and exaggeration.²¹ Regarding allegorical interpretations of myth, Fontenelle claimed: "The name of the ancients is always an imposing one, but it is certain that those who made the fables were not men who understood Morality or Physics, nor ones to discover the art of disguising such knowledge under borrowed images. Therefore, do not seek anything in fables except the history of the errors of the human spirit."²² In Fontenelle's estimation, the ancient mind had not developed higher-level thinking that was capable of allegory, so moderns should not look for allegory within myth, or study myth at all, since myth, he held, was simply the residue of a disproved mode of thinking. As a parallel, he noted that one would not continue to use debunked scientific treatises.²³

Fontenelle further undercut the value of mythological narrative by asserting that even the study of myth was not a scientific pursuit. Fontenelle argued that the human mind "is less capable of error when it knows to what extent it is subject to error. It is not a science to fill one's head with all the extravagances of the Phoenicians and the Greeks,

Neaulme, 1747); La Font, *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris [?], 1754). La Font, *Réflexions*, 5-6. "Un esprit (*Mr. de Fontenelle) du premier ordre du siècle dernier, et dont celui-ci a encore le bonheur de s'illustrer." The parenthetical naming of Fontenelle is printed in the margin of the 1747 publication.

²¹ Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959; reprinted, New York: Atheneum, 1967), 44; Burton Feldman and Robert Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1972), 8.

²² Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, *De l'Origine des fables* (Paris, 1724), reprinted in *Oeuvres diverses de M. de Fontenelle* (Amsterdam: Compagnie, 1742), 1: 499. "Le nom des Anciens impose toujours (sic): mais assurément ceux qui ont fait les Fables n'étoient (sic) pas gens à sçavoir (sic) de la Morale ou de la Physique, ni à trouver l'art de les déguiser sous des images empruntées. Ne cherchons donc autre chose dans les Fables, que l'Histoire des erreurs de l'esprit humain."

²³ Feldman and Richardson, 8.

but it is a science to know what led the Phoenicians and the Greeks into these extravagances. All men resemble one another enough that there is no people whose folly should not make us tremble.”²⁴ In short, Fontenelle believed that perpetuating such follies, by continued contact with myth, prevented human progress. This distinction underscores the designation of “*la fable*” as made-up stories and “*la mythologie*” as the study of those stories, a distinction that has been used in studies of the eighteenth century to distinguish myth in general and mythological painting in particular from Enlightenment aims, in terms of truth, reason, rationality, and morality.²⁵

Fontenelle also identified a new development: “Until recently, no one retained the memory of things past, except out of pure curiosity; but then people perceived that it could be useful to remember, whether it be to preserve the things which nations honored, or to understand the differences that can arise among peoples, or to furnish examples of virtue; and I believe that this last is the most recent that has been thought of, though it is the one that we make the most of. All of this required that history be true; I mean true as opposed to ancient stories that are comprised only of absurdities.”²⁶ Fontenelle’s

²⁴ Fontenelle, *De l’Origine des fables* (Paris, 1724), reprinted in *Oeuvres diverses de M. de Fontenelle*, 1: 499. “Ne cherchons donc autre chose dans les Fables, que l’Histoire des erreurs de l’esprit humain. Il en est moins capable, des qu’il sçait (sic) à quel point il l’est. Ce n’est pas une science de s’être (sic) rempli la tête (sic) de toutes les extravagances des Phéniciens et des Grecs, mais c’en est une de sçavoir (sic) ce qui a conduit les Phéniciens et les Grecs à ces extravagances. Tous les hommes se ressemblent si fort, qu’il n’y a point de Peuple dont les sottises ne nous doivent faire trembler.”

²⁵ Le Leyzour, 27. This argument is based in the work of Jean Starobinski. Jean Starobinski, “Le Mythe au XVIIIe siècle,” *Critique* (1977): 975-997. Dorothy Johnson also takes up this distinction in her work: Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 242.

²⁶ Fontenelle, *De l’Origine des fables* (Paris, 1724), reprinted in *Oeuvres diverses de M. de Fontenelle*, 1: 498. “Jusque-là, on n’avoit (sic) gardé le souvenir des choses passées que par une pure curiosité; mais on s’aperçut qu’il pouvoit être utile de le garder, soit pour conserver les choses dont les Nations se faisoient (sic) honneur, soit pour décider des différends (sic) qui pouvoient (sic) naître (sic) entre les peuples, soit pour fournir des exemples de vertu, et je croi (sic) que cet usage a été le dernier auquel on ait pensé, quoique ce soit celui dont on fait le plus de bruit. Tout cela demandoit (sic) que l’Histoire fût vraye (sic) ; j’entens (sic) vraye (sic) par oposition (sic) aux Histoires anciennes, qui n’étoient (sic) pleines que d’absurditez (sic).”

opposition of historical truth and its examples of virtue to fable's absurd falsehoods foreshadows La Font's tack in his 1747 and 1754 critiques.

La Font's critiques have become quite well-known in art-historical scholarship, in part because his 1747 championing of virtuous subjects for history painting presages a major direction in the visual arts of the second half of the century.²⁷ La Font wrote: "The Painter-Historian is the only painter of the spirit, the others paint only for the eyes. He alone can put into his works this enthusiasm, this divine fire that makes him conceive of his subjects in a strong and sublime manner: he alone can form the heroes for posterity, by the grand actions and the virtues of famous men that he can present to their eyes, not by a cold lecture, but by envisioning the facts and the actors."²⁸ Herein, La Font praised painting that celebrates human action and virtue rendered in a strong, sublime style. In his 1754 *Sentiments*, La Font specifically disparaged myth for its failure to fulfill those aims and, indeed, challenged mythological subjects suitability for modern art on Enlightenment grounds. La Font wrote: "Is it possible, being distanced from the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, that we would be still so blind to the follies of their inventions and their ridiculous divinities that we would work every day on perpetuating their memory? What are their most ancient divinities? Abominable men. [...] They gave Jupiter the scepter and the empire of their highest celestial court, composed of gods equally villainous and of which the crimes fill volumes. [...] Fable is nothing but an

²⁷ Ellen Munro, "La Font de Saint-Yenne: A Reassessment," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 126 (September 1995): 65-78 on how well and widely known La Font's writing was. See also the introductory essay "Le citoyen, l'œuvre, le monument," in La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Oeuvre critique*, ed. Etienne Jollet (Paris: Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 2001), 7-35.

²⁸ La Font, *Réflexions*, 8. "Le Peintre Historien est seul le peintre de l'ame (sic), les autres ne peignent que pour les yeux (sic). Lui seul peut mettre en œuvre cet enthousiasme, ce feu divin qui lui fait concevoir ses sujets d'une manière forte et sublime : lui seul peut former des Héros à la postérité, par les grandes actions et les vertus des hommes célèbres (sic) qu'il présente à leurs yeux (sic), non par une froide lecture, mais par la vue (sic) même des faits et des acteurs."

uninterrupted succession of horrors and of the evacuation of reason for four thousand years.”²⁹ According to La Font, myth is antithetical to truth and reason, which were so prized by Enlightenment thinkers and, which he sought in the visual arts of his time. While his 1747 opinion was prescient, his disparagement of myth in the 1754 tract provides an outlook on pagan gods and goddesses that should not be understood to presage the future (abandonment or disparagement) of mythic painting in the second half of the century, but as a last gasp of an older philosophical view.

In deeming the pagan gods villains and criminals, La Font’s tract also recalls the work of Pierre Bayle, in addition to that of Fontenelle and Rousseau. In seeking to debunk mythology, Bayle focused on its ridiculous and immoral aspects to undermine the grandeur of its personages in his 1697 *Historical and Critical Dictionary*.³⁰ But in demonstrating that such foolish, lewd, and vicious qualities made myth the enemy of reason and truth, he not only robbed it of worth (as intended), but also unwittingly highlighted what fun its ridiculousness could be. After all, if the ancients were not better than the moderns, but were still remembered centuries later for their contributions to humanity (in the arts and philosophy, for example), why should eighteenth-century Frenchmen behave any better than the ancients’ *gods*?

For Bayle, myth was without mystery and without power; it was simply ridiculous and in need of abandonment. Allegory could not save myth, in Bayle’s view, because allegory was not inherently high-minded. He demonstrated (too well) how allegorical

²⁹ La Font, *Sentiments*, 296-297. “Est-il possible qu’étant aussi éloignés des Egyptiens, des Grecs et des Romains, nous soyons encore assez aveugles sur leur folles inventions et leur divinités ridicules pour travailler tous les jours à en perpétuer la mémoire! Quelle est leur mythologie? Quelles sont leur plus anciennes divinités? Des hommes abominables. [...] Ils lui [Jupiter] donnent le sceptre et l’empire sur toute la cour céleste, composée de dieux aussi scélérats et dont les crimes rempliraient volumes. [...] La fable n’est donc qu’une succession non interrompue d’extinction de raison et d’horreurs depuis quatre mille ans jusqu’à la République Romaine et à la religion chrétienne.”

³⁰ Feldman and Richardson, 19.

interpretations of myths could be used to justify or dignify anything, no matter how immoral, citing the various sexual exploits of Jupiter as simply cover stories for women's indiscretions (ie: it is not her fault she is pregnant and not by her husband, she was visited by Jupiter).³¹ Thus, in the early eighteenth century in France, as art-historian Philippe Le Leyzour has demonstrated with examples from art (especially cabinet paintings, portraits, and prints), theater, and literature, myth became inappropriate for use in high-minded intellectual and political pursuits, but perfect for personal puns and libertine exploits.³² Bayle unwittingly theorized this subsequent vogue for privatized, erotic myth, but also simultaneously spurred even greater interest in intellectual study of its origins and purposes.³³

When permitted to execute a history painting with a subject of one's own selection, the academicians involved in the 1727 and 1747 *concours de peinture* (competitions initiated by the director of king's buildings to encourage history painters) predominantly chose Ovidian myth.³⁴ The prevalence of mythological subjects in previous periods made choice of a mythic subject attractive for artists wishing to demonstrate their status vis-à-vis previous masters.³⁵ Coincident with the 1747 *concours*, La Font's *Reflections* (which critiqued the 1746 Salon) appeared and included his preference for virtuous historical subjects, as well as his concern over unimaginative thematic repetition: "I return to the choice of subject, on which the success of a painting most often depends. Despite the almost infinite number of subjects offered by history,

³¹ Manuel, 15-41; Feldman and Richardson, 19-21.

³² Le Leyzour, 22-24.

³³ Feldman and Richardson, 19.

³⁴ Conisbee, 77-80; 91-93.

³⁵ For example, regarding Charles-Antoine Coyvel's self-positioning vis-à-vis historical examples in his *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* (Louvre) for the 1727 *concours*, see: Bailey, ed., *The Loves of the Gods*, 300-307.

sacred, profane, and fabled, every day we see indolent authors, born plagiarists, restrict themselves to subjects treated thousands and thousands of times.”³⁶ He questioned the intellectual status of artists due to this plagiarism and suggested that repetition demonstrated a lack of study of history and literature; the 1747 *concourse* showcased paintings with oft-repeated themes, making the La Font’s criticism particularly biting at the time of its publication.

In the wake of this criticism, the Academy acquired in excess of 175 books for artists to consult in search of subjects and instituted the *Ecole royale des élèves protégés* to ensure that young artists acquired the habit of literary and historical study during their formative training.³⁷ The acquired books covered myth and mythography quite thoroughly: in addition to the works of ancient poets whose poems were mythically populated, such as Ovid, Sappho, and Anacreon, there were eighteenth-century studies of myth, such as Pierre Chompré’s *Dictionary of Fable* and Antoine Banier’s *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients Explained by History*.³⁸ The Chompré provided an allegorical handbook and the Banier a Euhemerist interpretation of myth that also accommodated allegory.³⁹ Euhemerism entailed the understanding of myths as perversions of ancient history, and is an interpretation of myth that underlies an understanding of myth as counter to the Enlightenment quest for truth.⁴⁰

³⁶ La Font, *Réflexions*, 6. “Je reviens au choix des sujets dont dépend le plus souvent la fortune des tableaux. Quoique le nombre soit presque infini de ceux que nous offrent l’histoire sacrée, la profane et la fable, nous voïons (sic) tous les jours des auteurs indolens (sic), plagiaires nés, s’attacher à des sujets traités mille et mille fois.”

³⁷ Jean Locquin, *La Peinture d’histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris: Laurens, 1912), 9-10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁹ Feldman and Richardson, 86-87 and 130-131.

⁴⁰ Le Leyzour, 28 claims that Euhemerism, as found in Banier’s work, rung the death knell on mythic art in the eighteenth century.

It was not merely repetition that irritated and concerned La Font. Like Bayle and Fontenelle, he believed that mythic fable was antithetical to morality and rationality and, thus, should be abandoned in order to promote human progress. La Font wrote:

Is it believable that the perfected human spirit has not only failed to relegate these poetic imbecilities to the class of reveries and absurdities, but that it still works every day to embellish and immortalize them? Antiquity, the only support that sustains them, should be the reason for their fall. In the infancy of the world, it was plausible that they would amuse, one still needed toys. But today to employ our most agreeable talents—for which the perfection has cost so much study, travel, work—retracing and resuscitating these follies that are so shameful to morality and reason, of which they are the complete reversal, this is what considered good sense would not grant to this pretended perfection. [...] If the most noble goal of painting is to instruct us by speaking to our eyes with the charm of imitation and with pleasure, the most sure of all the routes to direct us to persuasion, if the object of the instruction is to correct our vicious inclinations, could we more fully abuse our talents with this beautiful art? Why not use our talents to offer proper examples to elevate our spirit above the senses?⁴¹

La Font concluded that he would relegate mythology into dusty corners: “To give immortality only to interpreters of nature and to painters of reason; and certainly it would never be the painters of fable. I avow, I tell you, that despite the torture that ancient and modern savants have put themselves through to extract with effort some moral from this ridiculous mythology by lending it some mysterious allegories and forcing their real logic, they were all as equally useless to readers as to spectators.”⁴² Convinced that

⁴¹ La Font, *Sentiments*, 296-297. “Est-il croyable que l’esprit humain, si perfectionné, non seulement n’ait pas relégué dans la classe des rêveries et des absurdités, ces imbécillités poétiques, mais qu’il travaille encore tous les jours à les embellir et les immortaliser ? L’ancienneté, le seul appui qui les soutient, devrait être la raison de leur chute. Dans l’enfance du monde, il était vraisemblable qu’elles en fissent l’amusement, il lui fallait alors des jouets. Mais d’employer aujourd’hui nos talents les plus agréables, dont la perfection nous coûte tant d’études, de voyages, de travaux, à retracer à notre siècle et à ressusciter des folies si honteuses aux mœurs et à la raison, dont elles prouvent l’entier renversement, voilà ce que le bon sens qui réfléchit ne saurait accorder avec cette prétendue perfection. [...] Si la fin la plus noble de la peinture est de nous instruire en parlant aux yeux par le charme de l’imitation et par le plaisir, la plus sûre de toutes les routes pour nous mener à la persuasion, si l’objet et de l’instruction est de corriger nos penchants vicieux, pouvons-nous faire un plus grand abus de nos talents dans ce bel art? Pourquoi ne les pas employer à nous offrir des exemples propres à élever notre âme au-dessus des sens?”

⁴² *Ibid.*, 298. “Toutes ces misères classiques et usés, ressources des rimailleurs et des artistes sans génie, pour ne donner l’immortalité qu’aux interprètes de la nature et aux peintres de la raison; et certainement ce ne seront jamais les peintres de la fable. J’avoue, me direz-vous, que malgré la torture que se sont donnés

mythology lacked reason or even allegory, La Font denied its value in the modern world. He urged artists instead to work from nature and reason toward paintings able to instruct viewers; such goals, he clearly believed, could not be fulfilled by subjects featuring pagan gods.

If we view the gods and goddesses as subjects for painting the way La Font and Rousseau did, it seems unreasonable that such subjects would be included in projects intended for a museum aimed at educating and inspiring the French people. But, understanding that La Font and Rousseau voiced one (older) philosophical view, which was being challenged by new voices, allows the context of the mythic ceilings, commissions, and purchases of the 1760s through 1780s to become clearer.

Myth's detractors had loomed large in French intellectual realms of the early eighteenth century, but voices reclaiming and stressing myth's value as fantasy, rather than its uselessness as disproven record of historical events or physics, challenged myth's detractors in the late 1740s. One such champion of myth was Voltaire. Already by 1745, Voltaire had written in this regard: "Rigorists, more severe than sage, recently wanted to prohibit ancient mythology, as a collection of rotten stories not worthy of the seriousness of our morals. It would be sad though to burn Ovid, Homer, Hesiod, and all our beautiful tapestries, and our paintings, and our operas; after all, many fables are more philosophical than the gentlemen who call themselves philosophers."⁴³ Thus, disparagements of myth

tous nos savants anciens et modernes pour tirer avec effort quelque morale de cette Mythologie ridicule en lui prêtant quelques allégories mystérieuses et en forçant leur vrai sens, ils ont été tout aussi inutiles aux lecteurs qu'aux spectateurs."

⁴³ Voltaire, "Discours sur la fable (1745)," reprinted in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire. Dictionnaire philosophique* (Basel: Jean-Jaques Tourneisen, 1786), 40: 188. "Rigoristes, plus sévères que sages, ont voulu proscrire depuis peu l'ancienne mythologie, comme un recueil de contes puériles indignes de la gravité reconnue de nos mœurs. Il serait triste pourtant de brûler *Ovide, Homère, Hésiode*, et toutes nos belles tapisseries, et nos tableaux, et nos opéra; beaucoup de fables après tout, sont plus philosophiques que ces messieurs ne sont philosophes."

as false and amoral, if not immoral, began to lose traction as new interpretations of myth and appreciations of its artistry percolated thanks to ongoing Enlightenment inquiry.

Voltaire specified: “Just as they are divine, the arts are all friends: Whoever seeks to separate them is far from knowing them. History teaches us what humans are, myth [*la fable*] what they should be.”⁴⁴ Herein, the Enlightenment quest to understand myth’s origins had already begun to account for those origins being artistic and for the use value of myth being a fantasy of what could be, rather than a document of what was.

Particularly compelling in this regard is the work of Nicolas Fréret, a colleague of comte de Caylus at the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Literature.⁴⁵ Fréret’s “General Reflections on the Nature of the Religion of the Greeks and on the Idea that One Must Form of their Mythology,” delivered orally in the late 1740s at the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Literature, appeared in the 1756 edition of that academy’s papers after the author’s 1749 death.⁴⁶ He asserted: “One must not, far from it, treat mythology as history; to declare that one finds everywhere in it facts, and facts linked together and re-clothed by real-seeming circumstances, this would be to substitute a new historical system for that which was transmitted to us.”⁴⁷ Fréret avowed the prominence

⁴⁴ Ibid., 40: 191. “Tous les arts sont amis, ainsi qu’ils sont divins: Qui veut les séparer est loin de les connaître. L’histoire nous apprend ce que sont les humains, La fable ce qu’ils doivent être.” This quotation follows a paragraph describing human (mis)fortune. That paragraph begins: “Henri VIII, tyran de ses parlements, de ses ministres, de ses femmes, des consciences et des bourses, vit et meurt paisible. Le bon, le brave Charles I périt fur un échafaud.”

⁴⁵ Caylus was admitted to the *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* in 1742. For more on his activities there, see: Marc Fumaroli, “Le comte de Caylus et l’Académie des Inscriptions,” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’année – Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 139, no.1 (1995): 225-250. Page 225 includes a transcription of the January 3, 1742 letter to the academy’s president (l’abbé de Rothelin) signed by le comte de Maurepas (minister and secretary of state) announcing Caylus’s induction into the academy.

⁴⁶ No precise date for the reading of Fréret’s treatise is offered in the 1756 publication of the academy’s papers. Fumaroli, “Le comte de Caylus et l’Académie des Inscriptions,” 226 confirms the absence of records regarding the lectures read at the academy between 1743 and 1748.

⁴⁷ Nicolas Fréret, “Réflexions générales sur la nature de la religion des Grecs, et sur l’idée qu’on doit se former de leur mythologie,” *Histoire de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* 23 (1756): 20. The present quotation, which differs from the original only in its more modern orthography, has been taken

of Euhemerist interpretation in his era, but, like Voltaire, clarified that myth is not a record of historical events, people, or physics, so to treat it as such is to misunderstand myth and history.⁴⁸

Fréret instead celebrated myth's diversity of origins and interpretations, and even suggested that the search for its origins be abandoned and its chaotic genesis embraced.⁴⁹

In his "General Reflections," he avowed:

The fictions [...], confused collection of marvels and absurdities, must be consigned to the chaos from which the passion for systems has declared vainly to have extracted them. From there, they can furnish images and allegories to poets. Moreover, the spectacle that they [the fictions of fables] offer to our reflections, as strange as it seems, teaches us by its very bizarreness. One follows there the march of the human spirit; one discovers there the makings of the national genius of the Greeks. They had the art to imagine, the talent to paint, and the good fortune to feel.⁵⁰

Herein, he provided a rather glowing view of ancient myth and its makers, akin to

Voltaire's opinion and quite divergent from those put forth by Fontenelle and Bayle, and echoed by La Font and Rousseau.

from the *Oeuvres complètes de Fréret*, ed. M. de Septchènes (Paris: Dandré, 1796), 148-149. "On ne doit pas, à beaucoup près, traiter la Mythologie comme l'Histoire; que prétendre y trouver par-tout (sic) des faits, et des faits liés ensemble et revêtus de circonstances vraisemblables, ce seroit (sic) substituer un nouveau système (sic) historique à celui que nous ont transmis."

⁴⁸ Fréret acknowledged how widespread were the attempts to reconcile myth with historical fact, and his own opinion that those attempts were completely wrong-headed, in another article in the same volume. Fréret, "Recherches sur le culte de Bacchus parmi les Grecs," *Histoire de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* 23 (1756): 242-243. The present quotation, which differs from the original only in its more modern orthography, has been taken from the *Oeuvres complètes de Fréret*, ed. M. de Septchènes (Paris: Dandré, 1796), 250-251. "Je dois avertir qu'on ne trouvera ici aucune de ces explications historiques imaginées par les partisans modernes de l'éuhémérisme, qui supposent que toutes les divinités du paganisme, sans exception, ont été des hommes élevés par l'apothéose au rang des dieux supérieurs, des événemens (sic) d'une ancienne histoire qu'ils placent comme ils peuvent, soit pour le temps, soit pour le lieu. J'ai beaucoup étudié ce système; et cet examen m'a convaincu de sa fausseté absolue."

⁴⁹ Fréret, "Réflexions générales," 18-19.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Quotation taken from *Oeuvres complètes de Fréret* (1796), 145-146. "Les fictions [...], assemblage confus de merveilles et d'absurdités, doivent être reléguées dans le chaos d'où l'esprit de système a prétendu vainement les tirer. Elles peuvent de là fournir aux poètes des images et des allégories. Dailleurs le spectacle qu'elles offrent à nos réflexions, tout étrange qu'il est, nous instruit par sa bizarrerie même. On y suit la marche de l'esprit humain ; on y découvre la trempe du génie national des Grecs. Ils eurent l'art d'imaginer, le talent de peindre, et le bonheur de sentir."

To approach myth, as Fréret did, as a bizarre spectacle ensuing from the ancient Greek human spirit, allows the tales and their study both to provide insight into the history of human culture, rather than historical events per se, as in the Euhemerist model that underlies much previous mythography. Mythographic assessments by Banier, Bayle, and Fontenelle of myth as a false record of historical people and events or as poorly-reasoned philosophy or physics could only be damning if the value of myth resided in its assumed historical, documentary, or demonstrable truth. For Fréret, myth's value is not contingent upon truth; fables could be both untrue (in terms of historical events or of explanations of natural phenomena) and valuable as remnants of early human thought and creativity, as an *exemplum humanitatis*. For Voltaire, too, myth went beyond history or the rigors of modern morality as art.

Even Caylus appreciated the complexity of mythic narrative and its status as an on-going source for inspiration in the visual arts. Caylus feared a lack of ingenuity in artists' choices of subjects for paintings and his 1757 treatise, promoting Homer and Virgil as sources for the visual arts, has been cited as disparaging Ovidian myth in favor of heroic and tragic narratives.⁵¹ Caylus's aim in mentioning the *Metamorphoses* was not merely to comment that its subjects "often express nothing," but rather to liken the complexity of Ovid's fantastical narratives to the complexity of Homer's and Virgil's legendary epics. He wrote:

The grand imagination of Homer primarily consecrated his imagery to the universal, whether by the painting of passions and by the beauty of situations, or

⁵¹ Emmanuel Schwartz, "Reading Homer in France: From Text to Image," in *The Legacy of Homer: Four Centuries of Art from the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 10-11. Specifically, "In the eighteenth century Ovid's work was subsumed under the rubric 'fable' and was considered a treasury of childish and picturesque narratives. [...] Homer and Virgil, meanwhile, were considered masters of the adult genre of epic. The Academies imposed this hierarchy of literary genre on the visual arts."

by their link with myth [*la fable*]. All of Europe should blush, it seems to me, to see the greatest number of these beautiful subjects to little known, or more accurately totally ignored/unknown. One may not tell me that it a reason not to treat them is that the viewer wants to be instructed by what we present him and the pleasure of viewing vanishes when the spirit has to work for it; all these reasons, good enough in and of themselves, are out of place: in the present circumstances, I will demand only if we are bound by that consideration, when, since the renewal of the art of painting, subjects from the *Metamorphoses* have so frequently been chosen, subjects that often express nothing, and most of which require an explanation.⁵²

Thus, Caylus opined that since subjects from the *Metamorphoses* regularly appear in painting: “I will not be persuaded that painters are constrained by the fear of not being understood; rather, they are subdued by habit; it encourages them to ceaselessly turn in a mediocre circle, and I prefer to suggest that laziness and nonchalance only contribute to the negligence for which painters can be reproached in all countries.”⁵³ Caylus, like La Font in this regard, chided artists for repeated portrayal of the same narratives and urged them toward under-represented subjects from Homer’s and Virgil’s epic poems, not for their greater historical truth, but for their novelty. Caylus’s remarks were critical of Ovidian myth; however, whereas La Font would deem the gods and goddesses unfit subject matter in his 1754 treatise, Caylus pointed to links between epic poetry and

⁵² Count de Caylus, *Tableaux tirés de l’Iliade, de l’Odyssee d’Homere et de l’Eneide de Virgile; avec les observations générales sur le costume* (Paris: Tilliard, 1757), xxix-xxx. “La grand imagination d’Homere les [les tableaux] a principalement consacrés à l’Univers, soit par la peinture des passions et la beauté des situations, soit par leur liaison avec la Fable. L’Europe entière (sic) devoit rougir, ce me semble, de voir les plus grand nombre de ces beaux sujets si peu connus, ou pour mieux dire absolument ignorés. Qu’on me dise point que c’est une raison pour ne pas oser les traiter, que le Spectateur veut être instruit des objets qu’on lui présente, et que le plaisir des yeux s’évanouit lorsque l’esprit est obligé de travailler ; toutes ces raisons, bonnes en elles-mêmes, ne sont point à leur place : dans la circonstance présente, je demanderai seulement si l’on été retenu par cette considération, lorsqu’après le renouvellement des Arts les Peintres ont choisi souvent les sujets de la Métamorphose, sujets qui souvent n’expriment rien, et dont la plupart avoient besoin d’un commentaire.”

⁵³ Caylus, xxx-xxxi. “Je ne puis donc me persuader que les peintres soient retenus par la crainte de n’être point entendus ; ils sont plutôt soumis par l’habitude ; elle les engage à tourner sans cesse dans un cercle médiocrement étendu, et je veux supposer que la paresse et la nonchalance contribuent seules à la négligence qu’on peut leur reprocher dans tous les pays qu’ils habitent.”

mythic fable as contributing to epic poetry's "universal" qualities.⁵⁴ These fictions were not grounded in a specific time or culture, but were enduring because of their fictional, emotional, and beautiful qualities, making of them an *exemplum humanitatis*.

Both Jean Starobinski and Philippe Le Leyzour would have *la fable* indicate a body of falsehoods and *la mythologie* the academic study of those stories to clarify that Enlightenment study of myth was separate from (and did not include) valorization of mythic narratives. As intellectual historian Dan Edelstein has demonstrated, however, there is little practical distinction between the two terms in the *Encyclopédie*, where the definition for *la fable* included scholarly interpretation of mythic narratives, while that for *la mythologie* addressed assessment of aesthetics.⁵⁵ To Edelstein's observations, I would also add that the two terms may be leagues apart depending upon the mythographer's methodological and philosophical stance. Thus, if one cannot abide by the absurdities of *la fable* and thus sees the goal of *la mythologie* as liberating a kernel of truth from the matrix of fiction, then indeed, per Starobinski's distinctions, the two terms connote ideas worlds apart conceptually. Bayle and Fontenelle would be apt exemplars of this model of approach. But if instead—as was evident by mid-century and increasingly prevalent thereafter—one embraces the fabulous as essential to *la fable* because it is fiction (comprised of dream, fact, emotion, natural observation, etc.), then

⁵⁴ See the footnote two previous to this one for the full citation and quotation of Caylus.

⁵⁵ Dan Edelstein, *Myth and Enlightenment* (forthcoming), chap. 1. Edelstein cites Starobinski, "Fable and Mythology," in his *Blessings in Disguise, or, the Morality of Evil*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). Le Leyzour, 26-27 also employs this distinction. I would add to Edelstein's assessment of the *Encyclopédie* definitions the conflation of the two terms in Jean-François Féraud, *Dictionnaire Critique de la langue française* (Marseille: Mossy, 1787), 2: 204. "L'histoire fabuleuse des Dieux, etc. En ce sens, il n'a point de pluriel. "Un Poète doit savoir la Fable (sic)." — On dit plus souvent, *la Mithologie* (sic)." The dictionary of the French Academy upheld a distinction between the two terms, suggesting there may have been differentiation of the terms in more erudite realms. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th edition (1762), 5th edition (1798), 6th edition (1832-1835) all maintain a distinction of "la fable" and "la mythologie." The sixth edition adds the noun "mythe" for the first time.

the study is not so disparate from the story, since both acknowledge that *la fable* is fabulous and *la mythologie* is thus a study of fiction.⁵⁶ This mode of analysis is much more akin to that of Fréret, Voltaire, and Caylus. The thread of history within *la fable* is that of the longevity of human culture, which is man-made.⁵⁷ To scrub out the fiction does not purify and reveal historical facts hidden within, but rather destroys both *la fable* and *la mythologie*. Destroying ancient Greek fictions does not render one Greece's cultural heir; recognizing that fiction's continued validity does. This viewpoint aligns nicely with artistic aims in the second half of the eighteenth century; indeed, Johann Joachim Winckelmann's praise of ancient Greek culture also promoted a celebration of ancient human cultural output incompatible with the damning assessments of Bayle and Fontenelle.⁵⁸ Winckelmann, like Fréret, Voltaire, and Caylus, promoted the ancients as providers of an *exemplum humanitatis*.

Accommodating and celebratory philosophical interpretations of myth were ultimately more prevalent and more sought-after than damning ones in the second half of the eighteenth century. Intellectual historians Burton Feldman and Robert Richardson have demonstrated that Banier's Euhemerist handbook achieved decidedly less popularity in the eighteenth century than more flexible handbooks, such as Chompré's or the compendia of mythological information and interpretive ideas offered in mythographies,

⁵⁶ Fréret, "Réflexions générales," 20; *Oeuvres complètes de Fréret* (1796), 149. In Fréret's words: "La Fable n'est point un tout composé de parties correspondantes: c'est un corps informe, irrégulier, mais agréable dans les détails; c'est le mélange confus des songes de l'imagination, des rêves de la philosophie, et des débris de l'ancienne histoire."

⁵⁷ Feldman and Richardson, 94.

⁵⁸ Edouard Pommier, "Winckelmann et la vision de l'Antiquité classique dans la France des Lumières et de la Révolution," *Revue de l'art* 83 (1989): 9-20 traces the transmission and availability of Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* in France from 1755 to 1799.

Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, and other compendia.⁵⁹ Indeed, Fréret was given preference over Banier by the Encyclopedists, and Fréret's "General Reflections" was even plagiarized by Chevalier de Jaucourt for the *Encyclopédie*'s entry for *la mythologie*.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the philosophical milieu of the Encyclopedists, as Thomas Crow has demonstrated, underlay institutional thinking in the Angiviller era.⁶¹ Thus, these celebratory interpretations provide the Enlightenment context within which to view the mythic ceilings, commissions, and purchases funded institutionally in the 1760s through 1780s. Moreover, approving assessments of myth's fictional status reappeared throughout the latter half of the century. In his *Dictionary of Antiquity*, Antoine Mongez (whose wife studied painting under both Jean-Baptiste Regnault and Jacques-Louis David) quoted Jean-Paul Rabaut's 1787 statement: "We believed [...] that mythology was a body of history mixed with fables; and the thesis that I assert is that it is all fabulous."⁶² Thus, Le Leyzour's conclusion regarding the essential place of the Enlightenment quest for historical truth in the death of myth and of art using its themes is untenable.⁶³ Mythographers did not kill off myth; rather, their probing inquiry provided its philosophical resurrection within Enlightenment inquiry. The intellectual and moral value and status of myth as history painting was questioned at mid-century by

⁵⁹ Feldman and Richardson, 130-131. In addition to Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* came the later *Encyclopédie Méthodique*.

⁶⁰ Feldman and Richardson, 94.

⁶¹ Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, 186 and 189.

⁶² Antoine Mongez, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Dictionnaire d'Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des chartes et chronologie* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1792), 4: 231. "On a cru [...] que la mythologie étoit (sic) un corps d'histoire mêlé de fables ; et le thèse que je pose, c'est que tout en est fabuleux." Here, Mongez quoted Jean-Paul Rabaut (de Saint-Etienne), *Lettres à M. Bailly sur l'Histoire primitive de la Grèce* (1787). The *Correspondance littéraire* (1786-1787; Paris: Furne, 1830), 13: 290 included a review of Rabaut's work and reminded readers that this thesis was not Rabaut's alone: "Ce système, comme l'on sait, n'est pas neuf; M. Court de Gebelin, l'auteur du *Monde primitive*, l'avait embrassé avec toute la chaleur..."

⁶³ Feldman and Richardson, 94 demonstrate the status of Fréret and Banier at mid-century. Contrast this with Le Leyzour's use of both, 28.

philosophers and critics, but myth emerged with strong philosophical and institutional support.

While some amateur-critics in the late 1740s had, indeed, joined La Font in questioning the status as history painting of mythological works with gallant and pleasing subjects, in 1751 Charles-Antoine Coypel (First Painter to the King and Director of the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture) defended them.⁶⁴ In so doing, his viewpoint harkens back to foundational principles of the Academy, as outlined by Félibien, and reaffirms an inclusive definition of history painting, while also harmonizing with renewed mythographic appreciation of myth as a noble creation.

Coypel contributed his “Parallel of Eloquence and Painting” to the 1751 *Mercure de France* to defend painting’s status as a liberal art with expressive potential akin to that of rhetoric. He specifically addressed his article to interested amateurs and critics as well as to students.⁶⁵ Coypel asserted: “It appears to me, gentlemen, that history and fable offer almost no subjects to painting that are not part of one of these three genres” of rhetoric –the judicial, demonstrative, and deliberative.⁶⁶ Coypel then related that the three styles of rhetorical address –the simple, moderate, and heroic– also apply to painting. Regarding *sujets d’agrément* (agreeable subjects), he wrote: “It seems to me that it is the moderate style that a painter must select to render the gallant subjects taken from fable or from good novels, and history furnishes us numerous of these, that are

⁶⁴ Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and his Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 93 cites “Lettre sur la cessation du Sallon de peinture” (Cologne, 1749) reprinted in *Collection Deloynes* 4, n.40, 31-32. With regard to Academicians’ insistence on an inclusive definition of history painting, Hyde concluded that “the strategy of insisting that *sujets d’agrément* were legitimate (and masculine) forms of history painting would rove ineffectual against a mounting theoretical orthodoxy that defined history painting exclusively in terms of classicizing forms and heroic narratives.” My conclusions on this topic, as this chapter will demonstrate, differ from hers.

⁶⁵ Charles-Antoine Coypel, “Parallèle de l’éloquence et de la peinture,” *Mercure de France* (May 1751): 9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 10. “Il me semble, messieurs, que l’histoire et la fable n’offrent presque point de sujets à la peinture, qui ne soient de l’un de ces trois genres.”

noble without being heroic.”⁶⁷ He then listed a variety of mythological themes (including Venus at her toilet, Diana and the nymphs, and Cupids at the forge of Lemnos) as examples, stating that Francesco Albani would be better at these subjects than his master, Annibale Carracci, because the latter excelled only in the heroic, not “these fine and noble thoughts, these delicate expressions” necessary for the enumerated subjects.⁶⁸ These subjects are more referential to mythic characters than illustrative of mythic narratives and they do not present noble virtues; rather, they resonate with “the art to imagine, the talent to paint, and the happiness to feel” that exemplified myth and the Greek spirit that developed it, according to Fréret. Coypel saw gallant mythological subjects in painting as “noble,” thereby taking a viewpoint akin to Voltaire’s, rather than Rousseau’s. Coypel’s recognition that myth sparked “fine and noble thoughts” and “delicate expressions” in great artists reinforces its value as an *exemplum humanitatis*.

Michel-François Dandré-Bardon, history professor at the *Ecole des élèves protégés* from 1755 until its closure in 1775, wrote his 1765 *Treatise on Painting* as a manual on academic ideals for history painting to be internalized by its most promising aspiring practitioners and, in it, in no way shied away from gracious, gallant myth, despite its disparagement by some critics and amateurs, like Rousseau and La Font.⁶⁹

Contrary to their opinions, Dandré-Bardon extolled the benefits of fable and of allegory,

⁶⁷ Ibid., 27. “Il me paroît (sic) que c’est du style temperé (sic) que le peintre doit faire choix, pour rendre les sujets galands (sic) tirés de la fable ou des bons romans, et nombre de ceux que nous fournit l’histoire, qui sont nobles sans êtres héroïques.”

⁶⁸ Ibid. “Ne pouvons-nous pas dire, par exemple, que l’Albane n’a point cherché d’autre style dans la plûpart (sic) de ses tableaux ? N’y reconnoît (sic) on pas ces pensées fines et nobles, ces expressions délicates, ces ornemens (sic), ces fleurs qu’offre sans prodigalité le style temperé (sic) ? Annibal, qui ne pouvoit (sic) perdre de vûe le sublime, eût été moins propre que son Eleve (sic) à nous représenter Vénus à sa toilette, environnée des Graces (sic) ; les Amours aux forges de Lemnos ; Diane et ses chastes Nymphes désarmant les Dieux de Cythere (sic) endormis, et portant leurs mains timides, armées de ciseaux, sur les aîles (sic) de ces redoutable enfans (sic).”

⁶⁹ Conisbee, 18.

the latter of which he asserted also typically appeared in the form of ancient deities, to enliven well-worn themes and to clarify otherwise obscure historical compositions.⁷⁰ His treatise harkens back to Félibien's, of course, but should also be seen in the light of renewed valorization of myth.

For Dandré-Bardon, myth is a necessary well-spring for the arts: "In gracious paintings of fable, one will employ the pencils and brushes which the painter-poets have used. Like poetry, painting supports itself through fable and lives by its fictions."⁷¹ Certainly, Dandré-Bardon's assertion derives from the notion of *ut pictura poesis*, which underlies academic art theory, but, more specifically, and more germane to the present study, is his particular praise of mythic fiction.⁷² Regarding historical subjects, Dandré-Bardon warned readers that "if the spirit, the enthusiasm of art are neglected or, so to speak, eclipsed therein, the exactitude of historical research will absorb genius and will cool other aspects of talent."⁷³ While historical research risked cooling or stifling creativity and inspiration, fictional fables permitted them to live. Like Voltaire, Dandré-

⁷⁰ Michel-François Dandré-Bardon, *Traité de peinture suivi d'un essai sur la sculpture pour servir d'introduction à une histoire universelle, relative à ces beaux-arts* (Paris: Saillant, 1765), 1: 131 and 135.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1: 133. "Dans les tableaux gracieux de la fable, on emploiera les crayons et les pinceaux dont les peintre-poètes ont fait usage. Ainsi que la poésie, la peinture se soutient par la fable et vit des fictions."

⁷² Academic principles were grounded in the theory of *ut pictura poesis*, which highlights the parallel between academic painting and narrative poetry. Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (originally published *Art Bulletin* (1940); reprinted, New York: Norton, 1967) clearly and succinctly clarifies the historical import of this phrase and the theory surrounding its use as primarily deriving from the dearth of theoretical information on painting in antique sources, whereby the limited references to painting in treatises on literature came to be applied with impunity to the visual arts. Furthermore, during the Renaissance and in academic theory thereafter to ascribe to painting the status of a liberal art already conferred onto poetry. Lee outlines the critical arguments of Lessing, among others, regarding the inadequacy of this doctrine to deal with the differences inherent in the visual as opposed to literary arts. Marian Hobson has provided a thorough analysis of the contemporaneous debate of the roles and limits of various artistic formats in her *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), which addresses visual art, poetry, prose, theater, and music. The underlying import of "ut pictura poesis" in Dandré-Bardon's tract remains that the fundamental link between great painting and great poetry resides in their shared subject matter.

⁷³ Dandré-Bardon, 1: 103-104. "Si l'esprit, l'enthousiasme de l'art y sont négligées et pour ainsi dire éclipsées; l'exactitude des recherches historiques aura absorbé le génie, et l'aura refroidi sur les autres parties du talent."

Bardon praised myth for offering something history may fail to provide and, like Fréret, he embraced myth as fiction, rather than deploring its lack of veracity.

Dandré-Bardon even likened the creative process to myth by making the artist a mythic protagonist and he described the artist's creative inspiration as taking him up to Olympus and into commerce with the gods, thereby rendering specific that divine inspiration comes from the Greco-Roman, not Christian/Catholic, divine.⁷⁴ Thus, Olympus and its pantheon were themselves a crucial part of the realm of art. Myth's avowed fictional status differentiated it from "true religion." Indeed, the embrace of Greco-Roman myth as creative fiction could separate it from understandings of religious faith in a positive light.⁷⁵ In this regard, Voltaire asserted: "These fables have outlived the religions that consecrated them; the temples of the gods of Egypt, of Greece, of Rome are no longer, and Ovid survives. One can destroy the objects of faith, but not those of pleasure; we will always love these true and joyous images."⁷⁶ The Enlightenment questioning of faith, tradition, dogma, and superstition diminished belief, but myth occupied the realm of pleasure outside of the requirements of fact; its deities were not upheld for religious devotion, nor its stories for physics, but its fanciful qualities were prized as art.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 1: 146-147. "Il élève (sic) son vol jusqu'à l'Olimpe (sic), et se mettre, s'il faut, en commerce avec les Dieux. Que tantôt d'un pinceau hardi et vigoureux, il affronte avec les Titans le courroux de Jupiter même ; et que tantôt descendant dans l'Empire des morts, nouvel Orphée, par l'harmonie et les tons pathétiques d'une coloris aimable et tendre, il arrache des sanglots aux Manes plaintifs et à l'Époux de Proserpine ! Que par les effets d'un clair-obscur frappant, il ose provoquer Eole dans les airs et Neptune dans son humide Empire ! Qu'avec autant de grace (sic) que de suavité, réunissant sous un pinceau moëleux (sic) et spirituel les riches nuances des trésors de Flore, il en forme des guirlands." This comes from his section on enthusiasm.

⁷⁵ Schwartz, 23 on the death of religion actually favoring the fantasy of Greco-Roman myth over the dogma of Christian faith.

⁷⁶ Voltaire, "Discours sur la fable (1745)," in *Œuvres*, 40: 188-189. "Ces fables ont survécu aux religions, qui les consacraient; les temples des dieux d'Égypte, de la Grèce, de Rome, ne sont plus, et Ovide subsiste. On peut détruire les objets de la crédulité, mais non ceux du plaisir; nous aimerons à jamais ces images vraies et riantes."

Regarding the mythological décor of the new Versailles opera house, the *Mercur de France* for 7 August 1770 declared: “The marquis de Marigny, always occupied with his careful encouragement of the arts, has proven, by the choice of the subjects employed to help bring about the creation of this room, how much he would desire that this monument serve to illustrate the talents entrusted to his administration.”⁷⁷ Herein, the author points to Marigny’s choice of subjects as exemplary of the institution’s goals and its promotion of talent; those subjects were amorous and fantastical mythic narratives and allegories. The *Mercur* article described Jacques-Louis Durameau’s painted contributions: “Mr. Durameau, already known for several works and responsible for both the grand ceiling and the twelve small ones of the third-floor gallery loges, has brought together in these different pieces all the parts that characterize the man of genius, by the correction of the drawing, the beauty of the plans, and the magic of the colors.”⁷⁸ The twelve small ceilings “portray the loves of the gods,” while on the large ceiling of the main room (fig. 15) “the painting represents Apollo, having on his right Venus and Cupid preparing for him the crowns destined for the arts and on his left Pegasus soaring into the air.”⁷⁹ Apollo is flanked by amorous deities and a fantastical hybrid being while he prepares to crown the arts, embodied by allegorical figures below him.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ “Arts. Architecture. Salle de Spectacle de Versailles,” *Mercur de France* (7 August 1770): 183. “M. le Marquis de Marigny, toujours occupé du soin d’encourager les arts, a prouvé, par le choix des sujets employés à concourir à la confection de cette salle, combien il desiroit (sic) que ce monument servît à illustrer les talens (sic) confiés à son administration.”

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 183. “M. du Rameau, déjà connu par plusieurs ouvrage et chargé tant du grand plafond que des douze petits de al galerie des troisièmes (sic) loges, a réuni dans ces différens (sic) morceaux toutes les parties qui caractérisent l’homme de génie, par la correction du dessin, la beauté des plans et la magie des couleurs.”

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 180 states that the twelve small ceilings “représentent les amours des Dieux;” 181 includes a paragraph-long description of the large central ceiling that begins: “Le tableau représente Apollon, ayant à sa droite Vénus et l’Amour lui préparant des couronnes qu’il destine aux arts, à sa gauche Pégase s’élevant dans les airs.”

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 181. “Plus bas on voit différens (sic) groupes ; la Comédie, la Tragédie et la Musique en forment un ; la Poésie pastorale, la Poésie lyrique, et la Danse en forment un autre. On trouve d’un côté des auteurs

Durameau's 1770 ceiling decoration for the Royal Opera at Versailles closely resembled his ceiling for the theater in the Royal Academy of Music, painted a few years earlier.⁸¹ The Olympian decoration of a performance space would be taken up again in the 1780s, this time after a design by Jean-Jacques Lagrenée, for the decoration of the Queen's Theater at Trianon. During this period, the Academy also recommenced decorating the ceiling of Apollo Gallery within the Louvre. Such ceilings provide an apposite example of the renewed appreciation of myth's ability to accommodate allegory and to celebrate the realm of art, as championed by Dandré-Bardon, Voltaire, and Fréret.

Durameau's *Apollo Crowning the Arts* makes iconographically literal the pinnacle presence of myth for the arts. Thus, Apollo glorifies and dignifies the arts which in turn dignify him concomitantly. That a Greco-Roman deity bestows laurels on the arts more largely indicates the honor and prestige lent to the arts by these ancient narratives, which serve as a well-spring of inspiration and source of dignity for the arts, as Dandré-Bardon avowed.

The first viewing of Durameau's *Apollo Crowning the Arts* in the Versailles opera house occurred during the festivities celebrating the marriage of the Dauphin in 1770. The inaugural performance in the newly painted theater was a production of Jean-Baptiste Lully's and Philippe Quinault's 1682 *Perseus* on May 17, 1770.⁸² The coupling of mythological subjects for the ceiling décor and the stage performance might remind attuned viewers that the arts are all "divine" and all "friends" as Voltaire had remarked. The mythic ceiling and mythic operas performed on stage attest to this divine friendship

se livrans (sic) à l'étude, de l'autre la Peinture, la Mécanique et l'Architecture. Ces différens (sic) sont accompagnées des attributs qui les caractérisent."

⁸¹ Anne Leclair, *Louis-Jacques Durameau (1733-1796)* (Paris: Arthena, 2001), 32-33.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 36.

of the literary, theatrical, and visual arts and such friendship among the arts was especially evident during the 1770 performance of *Perseus*, because the opera's houselights remained illuminated to allow for continued appreciation of the painted ceiling during the performance. The duc de Croÿ proclaimed in his journal with regard to the wedding festivities of the Dauphin that "the most superb of all was the *salle des spectateurs* thanks to its ornament and its decoration. Ordinarily, during a performance, the room is dark so as to not detract from the stage, but this one remained illuminated by twelve grand candelabras, between the grand order of columns, which ennobled and distinguished the drawing of this room, [and] which, lighting the superb ceiling from beneath, created an admirable effect."⁸³ Of all of the grandeur he experienced during the weekend-long wedding celebrations, the duke found the fantastical décor of the opera house to be the very best and most impressive.

Like the first opera performed in the space, the decorations, too, harked back to the seventeenth century. Indeed, Durameau likely borrowed some elements of his Apollo ceilings from Bon Boullogne's 1698 Hercules ceiling for the Comédie française.⁸⁴ A kinship is thus suggested in the classical thematic and stylistic congruences between antiquity, the age of Louis XIV, and the (then) present as comparable ages of flourishing arts.⁸⁵ These mythic fictions could provide a visual reminder of France as the heir to Greek artistic and cultural traditions, as espoused by Fréret in his study of myth.

⁸³ Emmanuel de Croÿ-Solre, *Journal inédit du duc de Croÿ (1718-1784) publié d'après le manuscrit autographe conserve à la bibliothèque de l'institut, avec introduction, notes et index par le vicomte de Grouchy et Paul Cottin* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1906-1921), 2: 401. "La plus superbe de tout fut donc la salle des spectateurs pour sa partie d'ornement et décoration. Ordinairement pendant le spectacle, une salle est sombre pour ne pas nuire au théâtre, mais celle-ci reste éclairée de douze grands lustres, entre le grand ordre de colonnes qui anoblit et distingue le dessin de cette salle, ce qui, d'en bas, éclairant un superbe plafond, fit un effet admirable."

⁸⁴ Leclair, *Louis-Jacques Durameau*, 32-33.

⁸⁵ Conisbee, 91 regarding fascination with the era of Louis XIV in the later reign of Louis XV.

The Greco-Roman pantheon and artistic tradition lent dignity to the arts by bestowing upon them the status of intellectual pursuit.⁸⁶ Indeed, as noted, in Félibien's theory, myth stands out above even historical events as a source for subjects in the visual arts because myth lends itself to allegory –thus, allegory crowns myth, while Durameau's ceiling visualizes mythic allegory crowning the artistic space. My proposition of a more generalized allegory for the ceiling stems in part from the reassignment of the subject for the opera's ceiling from the narrative of Cupid and Psyche to *Apollo Crowning the Arts*. The former subject was deemed too specific to the space's use for the wedding of the Dauphin, while the latter was viewed as more generally applicable to the venue.⁸⁷ This preference for a mythic personage with a more expansive interpretive potential suggests the merit of both generalized and specific allegorical interpretations for the ceiling. Indeed, a specific iconographic reference to the monarch as Apollo overseeing, promoting, and supporting the arts, and thus national culture, appears evident, as Anne Leclair has suggested; Louis XV had seen fit to occasionally assume Louis XIV's discarded guise.⁸⁸ More generally, a mythic personage crowning the arts, as the subject of a ceiling for a theatrical performance space, enacts the glorification of the arts through myth and mythic tradition by literally occupying the crowning space within the opera house. Thus, the mythic realm oversees and approves of this opera; the mythic dignifies

⁸⁶ Katie Scott, "Hierarchy, Liberty, and Order: Languages of Art and Institutional Conflict in Paris (1766-1776)," *Oxford Art Journal* 12, no.2 (1989): has asserted that status as a liberal art was not a foundational concern of the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. On page 12 of the Félibien's unpaginated preface to the seven conferences, he does make a case for such status.

⁸⁷ Leclair, *Louis-Jacques Durameau*, 138 cites a letter from Marigny to Cochin indicating that the new subject was preferable to that previously projected as the new one was, in Marigny's words, "more analogous to the purpose of the edifice." Katie Scott, "D'un siècle à l'autre: History, Mythology, and Decoration in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris," in *Loves of the Gods*, ed. Bailey, 52 has suggested that the subject of Cupid and Psyche was anti-monarchical.

⁸⁸ Anne Leclair, "Louis Jacques Durameau. *Summer or Ceres and Her Companions Beseeking the Sun*," trans. Charles Penwarden, in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 138 acknowledges this iconographic resonance.

this opera house *and* marks it as a space of fantasy, creativity, inspiration, in short as a world apart, a world of art. A similar interpretation elucidates the renewed interest in and work on the ceiling of the Louvre's Apollo Gallery, which Louis XV gave to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1764 and which had previously functioned as an exhibition space for that academy's 1727 and 1747 *concours* and would again in the plans for the (projected) museum.⁸⁹ After the 1764 gift, the Academy immediately began to attend to the unfinished ceiling decorations of the Apollo Gallery. Several aspiring academicians, particularly those who were students of First Painter Jean-Baptiste Pierre or favorites of the Director of King's Buildings (or both), were received to the Academy with mythological contributions to the Gallery's ceiling program (figs. 16-20).⁹⁰

For the Apollo Gallery's ceiling, Charles Le Brun's program was revived (though not his specific compositions) and new works assigned for its completion. Therein, the Academy could visualize its history, dating back to Le Brun, and its privilege, divine and royal. Moreover, as with the Versailles opera house, deities crowning the exhibition space glorify the art on view below, which in turn glorifies and dignifies them. Suites depicting the times of day and the four elements were begun and installed under Le Brun; yet, when new works were dispensed, while *Morning* was assigned to complete the times, the elements were overlooked in favor of starting the suite of seasons.⁹¹ In renewing the decoration of the room, it was not the central ceiling panel, depicting Apollo, that was immediately commissioned. Considering Durameau's great success with the ceiling of

⁸⁹ Regarding the Louis XV's gift to the Academy and the room's use in 1747, see: Brigitte Gallini, "Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture: Its Role and Activities," trans. John Tittensor, in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 125. Regarding the Apollo Gallery's use in the 1727 competition, see: Rosenberg, 30.

⁹⁰ Taraval, *Autumn*, Salon 1769; Durameau, *Summer*, Salon 1775; Lagrenée le jeune, *Winter*, Salon 1775; Callet, *Spring*, Salon 1781; Renou, *Morning*, Salon 1781.

⁹¹ Le Brun's *Triumph of Neptune: The Awakening of the Waters, Evening: Morpheus*, and *Night: Diana* are still *in situ*. His *Dawn* has since been destroyed by water damage (c.1790) and replaced (c.1851).

the Versailles opera house, and Lagrenée le jeune's work on the Apollonian-themed ceiling of the Trianon's opera in the 1780s, the central and largest panel of the Louvre's Apollo Gallery also could have been readily assigned. Instead, the overt Apollo/Louis reference was trumped by one of the longevity of the arts and of classicism more generally thanks to the theme of duration visualized through the suites of seasons and times of day.⁹² Myth dignifies art, but art also dignifies and justifies myth's continued presence and relevance through the ongoing use of its narratives and characters for new works of art, which in turn need myth as a collective cultural reference bank to ensure their intellectual elevation and their comprehension by their audience.

It was just such a combination of erudition and legibility that earned the last in the seasons suite, Antoine-François Callet's *Spring* (fig. 19), especially great praise at the 1781 Salon.⁹³ In 1781, with regard to *Spring* (which was Callet's *morceau de réception*), the anonymous critic for the *Mémoires secrets* enthused:

One is pleased to witness the return to the historical genre by an *agréé* [artist approved by the Academy] whose trial shot, four years ago, had been acknowledged as a master stroke [referring to his *Jupiter and Ceres*], and who seems not to have wasted any time since then. He has markedly perfected his promising talent through excellent studies. I speak of Mr. Callet, to whom one of the ceilings commissioned to decorate the Apollo Gallery has been entrusted. Considerable genius is inevitably required to fill these ambitious academic paintings. The subject prescribed to this artist was Spring; he broadened it into a fertile and natural allegory. Zephyr and Flora hasten to crown with flowers

⁹² Bénédicte Gady, "The Reign of the Sun: Conception, Construction, and Interpretation of the Apollo Gallery," trans. Michael Gibson, in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 58-68 addresses themes of duration within the program, but does not discuss the order in which the subjects were assigned.

⁹³ While Philippe Bordes's [in his *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 215] description of Callet as painting in an "un-self-consciously retardataire" "neo-baroque" style may seem to disqualify his work from consideration in the present dissertation, it is more the status of myth and mythic allegory and its institutional support that interests me here. Moreover, Rosenblum (*Transformations*, 54 n.13) has urged reconsideration of the stylistic hegemony of what we term Neoclassicism during this period. As an aside, Callet's *Venus Wounded by Diomedes*, from the 1795 Salon and in reference to which Bordes made his stylistic evaluation, was commissioned by Gobelins for a tapestry, further underscoring the status of pleasurable mythic subjects throughout the period under consideration in this dissertation.

Cybele, representing earth; the gentle winds revive, Cupids resume their activities, and the inhabitants of the countryside celebrate the return of this charming season with their dances and games. You may imagine, Sir, how much this rich poetry imparted to the artist's brush.⁹⁴

The critic claims myth as serious history painting and describes mythic allegory as fertile and natural, viewpoints akin to Fréret's in mythography or to Félibien's, Coypel's, and Dandre-Bardon's in art theory. The artist was assigned his subject, but required the sum of his studies, ambition, and genius to expand that subject into an engaging allegorical scene. The same publication had found fault with Lagrenée and Durameau, in their Apollo Gallery contributions (figs. 17-18) shown at the 1775 Salon, for including details that failed to equal literary precedents. The anonymous critic began by asserting that Lagrenée's *Winter* "is, in effect, a masterpiece of pictorial erudition. One admires in it all the tour de force of the Artist."⁹⁵ But, despite this overall acclaim, the critic complained about Lagrenée's winds at the far right of the composition: "Their impetuosity which Virgil expressed so well, 'where access has been given, rush out,' is distinguished here only by the puffing-up of their cheeks, a natural image that has become trivial through

⁹⁴ "Lettre première sur le salon du 25 août 1781," *Mémoires secrets* 19 (1783): 298-299. "On a vu avec plaisir revenir au genre historique un agréé dont le coup d'effai avoit été décidé, il y a quatre ans, un coup de maître, et qui ne paroît point avoir perdu son temps. Il a singulièrement (sic) perfectionné par de bonnes études le talent qu'il avoit annoncé. Il s'agit de M. Callet, chargé d'un des plafonds destinés à décorer la galerie d'Apollon ; ces grandes machines exigent nécessairement un génie vaste pour les remplir. Le sujet prescrit à cet artiste étoit (sic) le printemps ; il l'a étendu par une allégorie féconde et naturelle. Zéphyr et Flore accourent pour couronner de fleurs Cybelle, représentant la terre ; les vents doux renaissent, les amours reprennent leur activité, et les habitants des campagnes, par leurs danses et leur jeux, célèbrent (sic) le retour de cette saison charmante. Vous concevez, Monsieur, combien cette poésie riche prètoit (sic) au pinceau de l'artiste." See also, Brigitte Gallini, "Antoine-François Callet. *Spring or Zephyr and Flora Crowning Cybele with Flowers*," trans. Michael Gibson in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 148. Neil McWilliams, ed., *A Bibliography of Salon Criticism from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration, 1699-1827* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 74-75 tentatively identifies the author of the 1781 *Mémoires secrets* as Moufle d'Angerville.

⁹⁵ *Lettre première sur les peintures, sculptures et gravures de Meisieurs de l'Académie Française, exposée au Sallon (sic) du Louvre le 25 Août 1775* (Paris: 7 September 1775); reprinted in *Lettres sur les peintures, sculptures et gravures de Mrs. de l'Académie Royale, exposée au Sallon (sic) du Louvre depuis 1767 jusqu'en 1779* (London: Adamson, 1780), 177. "C'est en effet un chef-d'œuvre d'érudition pittoresque On y admire, qu'on me passe le terme, tous les tours de force de l'Artiste."

repetition.”⁹⁶ Though the critic found Lagrenée’s treatment of the winds to be too obvious and lacking ingenuity, he also warned against too great of novelty in Durameau’s attempt to visualize a heatwave: “The artist substituted grand and poetic ideas with an obscure hieroglyph, a limp and petty allegory. He presented this harmful sign in the vulgar form of a *canicule* [dog days / heatwave], that is to say as a small dog vomiting a few smoky flames.”⁹⁷ With respect to Durameau’s composition, the critic also nitpicked: “Phoebus is in his chariot: he carries out his course; there is lightness, something ethereal in this machine: but neither the chariot nor the horses responds to the brilliant and rapid description found in Ovid.”⁹⁸ Clearly, innovation, erudition, and legibility had to strike a perfect chord to receive high praise, such as Callet’s work earned in 1781.

The author of the *Mémoires* was not alone in his praise of Callet’s *Spring*. This particular *morceau de réception* received acclaim from most critics, whose opinion can be summarized by one exemplary quotation from Denis Diderot, perhaps an unexpected fan.⁹⁹ He wrote: “Zephyr and Flora rush up to crown Cybele, representing the earth; gentle winds renew, cupids recommence their activity, and the inhabitants of the earth celebrate the return of spring with their dances and games. I confess that this painting caused me the greatest pleasure. The scene is well depicted, it is full of harmony. Flora’s

⁹⁶ Ibid., 178. “Leur impétuosité qu’a si bien exprimée Virgile, le quâ data porta ruunt, ne se distingue ici que par la boussissure des joues, image naturelle et devenue trivial à force d’être répétée.”

⁹⁷ Ibid., 179. “A ces grandes et poétiques (sic) idées l’auteur a substitué un hiéroglyphe obscur, une allégorie platte et mesquine. Il représente ce signe malfaisant sous la forme vulgaire d’une Canicule, c’est-à-dire d’une petite chienne dont la gueule vomit quelques traits de flamme enfumée.”

⁹⁸ Ibid., 180. “Phébus est dans son char ; il remplit son cours ; il y a de la légéreté (sic), quelque chose d’aérien (sic) dans cette machine : mais ni le char ni les chevaux ne répondent à la description brillante et rapide qu’on en trouve dans Ovide.”

⁹⁹ Gallini, “Antoine-François Callet,” 145 notes that Diderot’s praise summarizes general critical opinion regarding Callet’s *morceau*.

head might have been more agreeable, the color truer and more vigorous, but the charm of the whole hardly allows one to be severe. It is a good work.”¹⁰⁰

Diderot’s praise may come as a surprise because the *philosophe* is known as a detractor of mythic and allegorical painting. Indeed, Diderot’s remark that “allegory is rarely sublime, it is almost always cold and obscure” has been used by art historians to downplay the importance and value of allegory in the latter half of the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ Yet, isolation of this one line from Diderot’s “Detached Thoughts on Painting” (c.1781) presents a fragmented and incomplete sense of Diderot’s ideas and the contemporaneous conceptualization of mythic allegory.

Diderot was inconsistent in his estimation of mythic allegory and not just within the “Detached Thoughts.” Within his 1767 Salon, for example, he derided Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée’s *Cupid the Knife Grinder* and then, a few pages later, recounted a conversation with the same artist wherein Diderot himself proposed a mythic allegory to Lagrenée when asked for a good subject. Regarding *Cupid the Knife Grinder*, Diderot complained: “A bad picture. Such is the effect of all these allegorical subjects borrowed from pagan mythology. Painters immerse themselves in this mythology and lose all taste

¹⁰⁰ Denis Diderot, “Salon de 1781,” in his, *Salons*, ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 4: 368. “Callet 147. Le Printemps. C’est un plafond destiné à décorer la galerie d’Apollon. Zéphyre et Flore accourent pour couronner Cybelle représentant la Terre; les vents doux renaissent, les amours reprennent leur activité, et les habitans (sic) de la terre par leurs danses et leurs jeux célèbrent le retour du Printemps. J’avoue que ce tableau m’a fait un très-grand plaisir ; la scène est bien représentée, il est plein d’harmonie. La tête de Flore pourrait être plus agréable, la couleur plus vraie, plus vigoureuse, mais le charme du tout ne laisse guère la liberté d’être sévère. C’est une bonne chose.”

¹⁰¹ Diderot, “Pensées détachés sur la peinture, la sculpture, et la poésie pour servir de suite aux Salons.” Originally published in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot publiées sur les manuscrits de l’auteur* (Paris: Naigeon, 1798). Here, *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot*, tome III (Paris: Brière, 1821), 178. “L’allégorie, rarement sublime, est presque toujours froide et obscure.” On the demise of allegory in the later eighteenth century, see: Jérémie Benoît, “La Peinture allégorique sous le Consulat: Structure et politique,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 121 (1993): 77-92 ; Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation : Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 38; Craig Owens, “The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism,” *October* 12 (Spring 1980): 67-86; Owens, “The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism Part 2,” *October* 13 (Summer 1980): 58-80.

for the natural events of everyday life, producing nothing but scenes that are indecent, mad, extravagant, idealized, or at least empty of genuine interest. For what concern to me are the dubious exploits of Jupiter, Venus, Hercules, Hebe, Ganymede, and all the other divinities of fable?"¹⁰² Yet, when the same Lagrenée requested of the author a subject for Peace, Diderot proposed and championed at length an adulterous mythological subject for such an allegorical composition.¹⁰³

By 1781, Diderot asserted that ancient art was great not because the ancients were better human beings per se than the moderns, but because ancient artists worked with ancient philosophers. He wrote: "Why do the works of the ancients have such grand character? It is because they had all frequented the schools of the ancient philosophers."¹⁰⁴ In the Diderot-edited *Encyclopédie*, Edme Mallet clarified that those philosophers were responsible for allegory in general and allegorizing of fable in particular.¹⁰⁵

Assessment of mythological allegories as fertile and natural ground for painters to tread carried into the new century. Aubin-Louis Millin, in his 1806 *Dictionary of Art*, asserted:

Knowledge of mythology is most necessary and most agreeable, and at the same time most useful for a cultivated spirit, that wants to enjoy fully all of the beauties

¹⁰² Diderot, *Diderot on Art*, ed. and trans. John Goodman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), trans., 2: 52-53. Sez nec, ed., 3: 96-97. "Mauvais tableau. Et voilà l'effet de tous les sujets allégoriques empruntés de la mitologie payenne. Les peintres se jettent dans cette mitologie, ils perdent le goût des événements naturels de la vie ; et il ne sort plus de leurs pinceaux que des scènes indécentes, folles, extravagantes, idéales, ou tout au moins vuides d'intérêt. Car, Que m'importe toutes les aventures malhonnêtes de Jupiter, de Vénus, d'Hercule, d'Hébé, de Ganimède, et des autres divinités de la fable."

¹⁰³ Diderot proposed the adulterous affair of Mars and Venus to Lagrenée in 1767. I discuss this subject at length in chapter five of the present dissertation.

¹⁰⁴ Diderot, "Pensées detachés sur la peinture," as reprinted in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot*, tome III (Paris: Brière, 1821), 177. "Pourquoi est-ce que les ouvrages des Anciens ont un si grand caractère? C'est qu'ils avaient tous fréquenté les écoles des philosophes."

¹⁰⁵ Edme Mallet, "Allégorie," in *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de letters*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (Paris: Le Breton, 1751-65), 1: 280.

offered by works of imagination, of all the masterpieces born of poets and of artists. It is not composed only of fables, but these fables all are ingenious and piquant, awaken grand ideas, attract us by the sublimity of the images or the freshness of the descriptions. It is the fertile source of allegory that itself animates poetry and painting. Such is the sentiment that the greatest men have of the subject.¹⁰⁶

Millin affirmed myth as a fertile body of ingenious stories capable of awakening in artists images and ideas by which the arts live. Moreover, he ascribed this estimation of myth and mythic allegory not to himself, but asserted that it is the opinion of the greatest men.

Crowning the Apollo Gallery with a mythological program painted in classicizing fashion by French Academic artists from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries would reinforce the notion of French culture as heir to ancient classical Greek culture, while also demonstrating the longevity of that pedigree in France. In the Versailles opera house, the ceiling could contextualize what took place on stage within the cultural tradition and heritage of historical France and ancient Greece, while in the Apollo Gallery, the ceiling's mythic program announced French visual art's continuity with classical Greek art and also demonstrated the tradition of the classicizing Academy from Le Brun to the (then) present. The Apollo Gallery's decorative program probably also encompassed an understanding of that room as a venue for exhibiting art, thereby enfolding what was on view at eye level into the trajectory of classical heritage claimed (from) above.

Once open, the museum would continue to commission promising and prominent contemporary artists to execute ceiling paintings to harmonize with the works on display

¹⁰⁶ Aubin-Louis Millin, *Dictionnaire des beaux-arts* (Paris: Desray, 1806), 2: 568. "La connoissance (sic) de la mythologie est une des plus nécessaires et des plus agréables, et en même temps des plus utiles pour un esprit cultivé, qui veut jouir pleinement de toutes les beautés qu'offrent les ouvrages d'imagination, de tous les chefs-d'œuvre enfantés par les poètes et par les artistes. Elle ne se compose que de fables ; mais ces fables sont toute ingénieuses et piquantes, réveillent de grandes idées, nous attachent par la sublimité des images ou la fraîcheur des descriptions. C'est la source féconde de l'allégorie qui elle-même anime la poésie et la peinture. Tel est le sentiment que les plus grands hommes en ont porté."

below. This became quite explicit in the commissions given by the council of the museum for the ceiling decorations of the Museum of Antiquities (within the Louvre) under the Consulate and Empire. Notably, the *Diana* ceiling (fig. 21) was commissioned from Pierre-Paul Prud'hon with an iconographic program detailed by E.-Q. Visconti to harmonize with the so-called *Diana of Versailles* (Louvre; first or second century Roman copy of a 4th century BCE Greek original) displayed below.¹⁰⁷ The Diana room connected the former apartments of Anne of Austria, which were on the mezzanine and housed the Museum of Antiquities, with the *Cour Carrée* on the ground floor. The careful arrangement, reception, and promotion of this museum within a museum during the Consulate and Empire has been studied by Daniela Gallo, who noted that Visconti organized the galleries thematically in concert with the ceiling paintings *in situ* there.¹⁰⁸ The galleries presented a harmony of new classicizing paintings by contemporary artists, with the Baroque classicism of Giovanni Romanelli's seventeenth-century ceiling frescoes and the varied classicisms of the mélange of antique Greek and Roman works housed below, many with mythological subjects.

The museum ceiling commissions held great prestige, as they ensured an artist's permanent presence within that museum and the history of art it conveyed. Perhaps most telling in this regard was David's own unfulfilled desire for a museum ceiling commission that led him to imagine one for himself in his 1812 drawing *Venus Wounded by Diomedes, Appeals to Jupiter* (fig. 22). With regard to David's fantasized ceiling painting, Philippe Bordes has noted that Prud'hon's *Diana* ceiling within the museum's antiquities collection "was a nagging reminder to David that he had never accomplished

¹⁰⁷ Sylvain Laveissière, *Pierre-Paul Prud'hon* (New York: Abrams, 1998), 154-155.

¹⁰⁸ Daniela Gallo, "Le Musée Napoléon et l'histoire de l'art antique," in *Les Vies de Dominique-Vivant Denon*, ed. Gallo (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2001), 2: 685-723, especially 687.

such a work, on which the great names of the Italian school and Le Brun's team at Versailles founded their prestige."¹⁰⁹ Additionally, putting one's own work in such direct conversation with ancient art, on view in that part of the museum, must also have been appealing as a means to create a visual trajectory of oneself as an heir of that tradition. Certainly, the permanence and public home of such a ceiling commission must also have been inviting, considering David's frustrations with commissions on Imperial subjects.¹¹⁰ The example of Le Brun's Apollo Gallery contributions served as an example of the safety of mythic décor in the museum from the vicissitudes of French politics. The room's decorative program was continued by new generations with commissions maintained not only from Louis XIV to Louis XV, but also through Louis XVI and (unfinished) commissions under the Empire (and, beyond David's lifetime, the completion of the program in 1851).¹¹¹ The mythic museum ceiling program could breach political gaps and survive intact. As Voltaire had noted, one could abolish objects of credulity, but not those of pleasure, and while faith in the systems of religion and government shifted, enjoyment of culture remained.

Clearly, myth's place in the museum –as a remnant of early human culture, as a theme with which to position one's own work vis-à-vis great masterpieces of the past, and as a way to ensure one's ongoing museum presence– cannot be over-estimated and has, until now, been largely overlooked in studies of this period. This theme will be expanded upon in chapters three, four, and five.

¹⁰⁹ Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 216.

¹¹⁰ Brooks Adams, "Painter to Patron: David's Letters to Youssuopoff about the *Sappho, Phaon, and Cupid*," *Marsyas* 19 (1977-1978): 29-36 addresses the financial necessity for David to send the painting directly to its patron, so that he might press for the fulfillment of Imperial payments for other works for which payment had been delayed. Napoleon also had required David to reenvision his composition of the *Distribution of Eagles* in order to focus on the emperor himself by removing the airborne Victories.

¹¹¹ Françoise Mardrus, "The Apollo Gallery from the Revolution to Duban: Exhibition Venue, Open Space," trans. Charles Penwarden, in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 155.

The academy was inclusive at its foundation. Reconsideration of institutional patronage in the 1770s and 1780s reveals comparable commitment to an inclusive definition of history painting. The mythological bent of major decorative commissions for artistic spaces in the 1770s and 1780s reveals eighteenth-century France's on-going commitment to ancient fable as a remnant and, indeed, model of early human culture. Faith in mythic allegory and in the didactic power of art outside the *exemplum virtutis* model also appeared in works for private viewing, such as Jean-Baptiste Regnault's previously unstudied illustrations for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, under consideration in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

Educating Ovid in the 1780s

The stories of abduction, adultery, and jealousy that abound in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* stand outside the *exemplum virtutis* long aligned with new directions in French painting in the late eighteenth century. This analytical model has inhibited study of Ovid's narratives in French Neoclassical painting; yet, models of virtue were not the only exemplars promoted in classicizing painting of the late eighteenth century. This chapter focuses on the re-envisioning of Ovid's classic text as exemplary and instructive in the 1780s by Jean-Baptiste Regnault and progressive publisher Pierre Didot.

Alignment of Ovid's narratives with decadence in studies of eighteenth-century French painting has been long-standing. In the mid-nineteenth century, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt wrote of François Boucher: "From his [Boucher's] unwearying pencil emerged the mythology of the eighteenth century. His Olympus is neither the Olympus of Homer nor of Virgil: it is the Olympus of Ovid. And there is indeed a resemblance between these two painters of decadence, between these two masters of sensuality, Ovid and Boucher! A page from the former has all the brilliance, the fire, and the appearance of a canvas by the latter."¹ Even today, Ovid's narratives remain so firmly associated with the "age of Boucher" (when they were, indeed, often depicted), that despite recent reassessment of Boucher's work to probe beyond superficial sensuality, even revisionist

¹ Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *French Eighteenth-Century Painters*, trans. L. Goldscheider, ed. Robin Ironside (original French, 1856-1875; trans. 1948, reprinted Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 64-65.

authors assert that Jacques-Louis David and his contemporaries staunchly avoided this literary source.²

Yet, David's peer and early rival Jean-Baptiste Regnault drew on Ovid throughout his long career. Regnault and his work have been understudied in art-historical scholarship and the 1787 Didot publication of the *Metamorphoses* and Regnault's illustrations for it have not been the focus of sustained art-historical analysis.³ Through revisionist reassessment and historicization of Regnault's 1787 illustrations for Pierre Didot's publication of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, this chapter demonstrates that the artist and the literary source were closely in step with contemporaneous artistic, political, and philosophical concerns and thus part and parcel of a socially conscious reinvigoration of classicism in the 1780s. Reestimation of Regnault's work removes him from a retrospective position vis-à-vis David and instead confirms their similar aims in encouraging moral behavior in and aesthetic reform of France through alignment with classical precedent in an unexpected mythic source.⁴

² On Boucher's subjects: Jo Hedley, *François Boucher: Seductive Visions* (London: Wallace Collection, 2004), passim; Melissa Hyde, *Making up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), passim. On the avoidance of Ovidian narrative by David and his contemporaries, see: Mary Vidal, "David's *Telemachus and Eucharis*: Reflections on Love, Learning, and History," *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 4 (December 2000): 702; Emmanuel Schwartz, "Reading Homer in France: From Text to Image," in *The Legacy of Homer: Four Centuries of Art from the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 10-11.

³ Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses*, trans. Antoine Banier (Paris: Didot, 1787). Jean-Pierre Cuzin, "Regnault's *Deluge*" in *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 579-580; William Howard Adams, *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1976), cat. 269. Both Adams and Cuzin note that the Louvre's painting of the *Deluge* derives from the artist's composition for the same subject in the 1787 publication without further comment. Christopher Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, Courtauld Institute, 1980), 78-79 comments on the brittle style of the illustrations and notes their borrowings from Reni, Rubens, and Correggio, but concludes that the illustrations were a "very personal achievement" to which Regnault returned throughout his life. On page 428, Sells refers to the 1787 illustration of the *Deluge* as the prototype for the Louvre's canvas. Carol Osborne, *Pierre Didot the Elder and French Book Illustration, 1789-1822* (New York and London: Garland, 1985) begins two years after the 1787 Ovid and thus makes no mention of it.

⁴ Assessment of Regnault in opposition to David has been longstanding, see: Charles Blanc, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault," *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: École française* (Paris: Renouard, 1865), 2 refers to

The prospectus for the 1787 publication notes that, while there were other illustrated publications available of Antoine Banier's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the current one was preferable because its small octodecimo size (approx. 16.5 x 10.15 cm) and modest price made it ideal for young people.⁵ The prospectus does not identify the specific precedent considered by the publisher and artist, but the obvious basis of some of the 1787 illustrations in those from the 1767-1771 publication of Banier's translation (in which the engraved illustrations are based on compositions by Boucher, Charles Eisen, Hubert Gravelot, Charles Monnet, Jean-Michel Moreau, and others) clarifies with which particular precedent the 1787 version was in conversation and competition.⁶ As art historian George Levitine has demonstrated: "A work of art, based on a literary production, constitutes a visual comment on its content as well as a visual extension of its meaning."⁷ So, while certain fables maintain nearly identical imagery, such as the repopulation of the Earth by Deucalion and Pyrrha (figs.

Regnault as the "spiritual antagoniste de David." On the David/Regnault binary more recently, see also: Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonne," *passim*; Sells, "A Late Work by Jean-Baptiste Regnault," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 8 (1976), 60; Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault's *Judgment of Paris*," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 53, no.3/4 (1975): 119; Jean-Pierre Cuzin, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault," in *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, 577 asserts that "the mythological or allegorical language he favored permitted him to evoke a delightful world of adolescents, children, and young women. [...] He thus created a smiling and refined universe, sometimes slightly simpering, but original and completely opposed to the world of David;" Mehdi Korchane, "Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833) et l'art français de la Révolution à la monarchie de Juillet" (Ph.D. diss., Université Lyon 2, 2005), 41.

⁵ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Estampes EF139a *Oeuvres de Coigny Père*, 79.

⁶ Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses*, trans. Abbé Banier (Paris, 1767-1771). The book is in quarto format. The Bibliothèque nationale (Paris) credits the publication of the illustrations to Hochereau and to Basan and Le Mire and the text to that publisher as well as a variety of others including Delormel, Despillly, and Leclerc. The New York Public Library's copy (Spencer Collection. French 1767) lists Basan and Le Mire for volume one, Barrois for volume three, and Despillly for volume four, but no one for volume two. The National Art Library (London) records a similar variety of publishers. I have seen these copies as well as the digital file housed by the University of Virginia. Renaissance literary historian Daniel Kinney has noted the visual similarity between the 1767-1771 Ovid and that of 1787 in his online catalogue of Ovidian illustrations [<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/latin/ovid/>]; however, he has not taken that observation further nor has he identified the Renaud responsible for the 1787 illustrations. Kinney has also noted that neither the 1767-1771 nor the 1787 *Metamorphoses* has been the focus of scholarly inquiry into its imagery. <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/latin/ovid/metamorphosesdovide.html>

⁷ George Levitine, "Some Unexplored Aspects of the Illustrations of Atala," in *Chateaubriand Today*, ed. Richard Switzer (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 140.

25-26), those with greatly differing visual representations (such as figs. 27-28) will be most illustrative of shifting tastes, views, and cultural contexts. The differences between the two illustrated Ovids, in concert with the later publication's goals as stated in the February 1787 prospectus, elucidate the changing face of Ovidian myth in late eighteenth-century France.

Although the full suite of illustrations was never published, Regnault kept his suite of 140 drawings for the *Metamorphoses* and used them as a sourcebook for painted repetitions and variations throughout his long career.⁸ Experts on illustrated books believe that there may have been a lack of interest (commercial and/or artistic) in the book, though it may also have been the victim of bad timing; the engraver, Jacques-Joseph Coigny, undertook an extended trip to Italy from 1788 until 1790.⁹ The onset of the Revolution would have further stalled work on the project, and subsequently the

⁸ Little information has remained regarding this publication, which was advertised in the *Mercure de France* in June of 1787 and issued by Didot the elder. Charles Paillet, *Tableaux, esquisses, dessins, et croquis de M. le Baron Regnault, peintre d'histoire...* 1-5 March 1830 (Paris: Bonnefonds de Laviolle, 1830), 27, n.174. Hôtel Drouot, "Collection de M.G.L Livres, Tableaux, Dessins Originaux," (Paris, Dec. 1927), 63, no.501. The Drouot sale catalogue, annotated by Georges Andrieux, asserts that the drawings were never intended for publication. Experts on illustrated books disagree regarding the number of prints ultimately issued. Henry Cohen and Jacob Lewine each assert that fifty-two plates were published, ending at *Perseus and Andromeda*, which was also the subject with which Regnault was admitted to the Academy in 1782 [now destroyed]. The *Inventaire des Fonds Français* claims that only three sets, totaling eighteen images, were executed by Coigny, though the organization of the print collection of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, by engraver rather than the draftsman prevents clear analysis of whether subsequent images may have been engraved by another print-maker. Regnault expert Christopher Sells reported this discrepancy as well; in his search, he too found only eighteen images. This difficulty derives from the publication and sale of the images separately from the text of the *Metamorphoses*, as well as the lack of any information identifying artist or engraver on the plates themselves. I have located two sets of thirty three engravings after Regnault bound into Didot's 1787 publication of the text; these volumes are housed at Adelaide University (Australia) and the University of Virginia. *Inventaire des fonds français: Dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: BNF, 1939), 5: 143-144; Jacob Lewine, *Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Art and Illustrated Books, Being a Guide to Collectors of Illustrated Works in English and French of the Period* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, and Co., 1898), 396; Henry Cohen and Roger Portalis, *Guide de l'amateur de livres à gravures du XVIIIe siècle*, 5th ed. (Paris: Rouquette, 1886), 436. The *American Book Prices Current* 26 (New York: Dutton, 1921), 628 reports a copy with fifty-two illustrations being sold at the November 10, 1919 sale of the collection of the late Samuel P. Avery at the Anderson Galleries; Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 78-79.

⁹ *Inventaire des fonds français: Dix-huitième siècle*, 5: 143-144; Roger Portalis and Henri Bérardi, *Les Graveurs du XVIIIème siècle* (Paris: Damascène Morgand et Charles Fatout, 1880), 1: 573-574.

publisher, Pierre Didot (also called Didot the Elder to distinguish him from his younger brother Firmin Didot), focused his attentions on large-scale luxury editions.¹⁰

Nonetheless, extant prints, with two different lettering systems (figs. 23-24), demonstrate that they were published on multiple occasions.¹¹

Simply re-engraving pre-existing compositions on a smaller scale would have been more affordable for the publisher, a savings he may have then passed on to his customers to ensure a modest price. His decision instead to engage Regnault, an academician celebrated for his mythic works, suggests an attempt to re-imagine Ovid in light of new trends. The prospectus and frontispiece credit the illustrations to “M. Renaud, de l’académie royale de peinture” (Mr. Renaud of the Royal Academy of Painting), a variant spelling of the artist’s name consistent with his sobriquet “Renaud de Rome” regularly used in the Salon livrets of the 1780s. Christopher Sells believes that Jean-Baptiste Regnault used the name “Renaud de Rome” to designate his stylistic affiliations and differentiate himself and his work from the style popular in France before the rise of the new classicism.¹² The painter’s designation as the Roman one also

¹⁰ Osborne, *passim*.

¹¹ I have located two bound copies of the 1787 Didot publication of Ovid, at the University of Virginia and at Adelaide University, that include the frontispiece specifying “Renaud” as the illustrator and that each contain the same thirty-three illustrations. Unfortunately, neither of these copies nor the unbound sheets at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris include the names of the illustrator or engraver on the sheets themselves, so secure attribution remains elusive. The first eighteen plates in the Virginia and Adelaide books match the images held by the BN; however, the format of plate designation differs. The illustrations housed at the BN include the plate number above the upper left corner of the image, while the Virginia and Adelaide illustrations offer the book number above the upper left corner of the image and the page number above the upper right thereby providing more specific information for the binder regarding where to interleave the illustrations into the printed text. Lewine, 396 noted that the engravings were completed by Coigny and Couché. Lewine did not specify whether this was Jacques Couché (c.1750-c.1821) or his son Louis-François Couché (1782-1849). The participation of a second engraver, not listed in the prospectus or on the frontispiece, might account for the two different lettering systems on extant prints.

¹² Christopher Sells, “Regnault, Jean-Baptiste,” in *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T071165> (accessed August 19, 2009). I find it equally probable that he may have adopted the moniker to distinguish himself from the slightly older French sculptor Jean-Martin Renaud (1746-1821) to whom even Regnault’s paintings are sometimes misattributed in art-historical scholarship due to the variant spelling, and comparable pronunciation, of

highlighted his extensive residence in that city.¹³ Regnault had indeed undertaken much of his formative training in Rome, having studied there with Jean Bardin from 1768 until 1772 and staying again for a four-year sojourn, following his 1776 Rome Prize, that overlapped with those of Jacques-Louis David and Jean-François-Pierre Peyron. With regard to Regnault's second stay, Alexandre Lenoir recorded: "The young student, who was twenty-two then, returned to Rome, where, to honor merit with a glorious remembrance, the Romans attached to his name that of the capital of the world; they called him Regnault de Rome."¹⁴ So, the sobriquet held geographical, as well as stylistic significance. It may also alert the viewer to the origins of the theoretical ideals and ideas embodied in his works and to which I will return below.

With regard to Regnault's compositions, the 1787 advertisement clarifies their purpose: "It is very interesting to familiarize young people for a goodly amount of time with the study of mythology; and the most efficient way to do it is to present them with this study, not as work, but as a diversion from more serious occupations. We believe to have been able to fulfill this goal by offering a good translation of the *Metamorphoses*, each accompanied by one or more engravings that will make the subjects visually comprehensible. This method of speaking to the eyes as much as to the spirit of children is especially advantageous for the goal that we have in view."¹⁵ In deeming mythology

Regnault's last name; Bernadette Fort, ed., *Les Salons des "Mémoires secrets" 1767-1787* (Paris: Ecole des beaux arts, 1999) credits Jean-Martin Renaud with Jean-Baptiste Regnault's *Return of Andromeda to her Family and Education of Achilles*, for which the files in the documentation department at the Louvre contains no question of its attribution to anyone except Regnault.

¹³ Cuzin, 577-578.

¹⁴ Alexandre Lenoir, "J. B. Regnault, 2e article," *Journal des artistes et des amateurs ou l'observateur des beaux-arts* (December 27, 1829): 408. "Le jeune élève, il avait alors vingt-deux ans, retourna à Rome, où, pour honorer le mérite par un glorieux souvenir, les Romains rattachèrent à son nom celui de la capitale du monde ; ils l'appelèrent *Regnault de Rome*." All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

¹⁵ BN Estampes EF139a *Oeuvres de Coigny Père*, 79. "Il est donc très intéressant de familiariser de bonne heure les jeunes gens avec l'étude de la mythologie; et le moyen le plus efficace pour y parvenir est de leur

not only worthy of study, but also a pleasurable diversion from serious work, the prospectus resonates with the pedagogical theories of François de Salignac de la Motte Fénelon (1651-1715). Indeed, Fénelon's writings were widely read in the eighteenth century and were of particular interest to social reformers in both the educational and political spheres.¹⁶ François-Ambroise Didot (Pierre's father) released a nine-volume edition of Fénelon's complete works in 1787, the same year his son published his prospectus for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Pierre Didot later released two luxury editions of Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* himself (1796), an indication not only of his family's keen interest in the author, but of Fénelon's marketability in the late eighteenth century.

Regnault's own engagement with myth and its educational potential was not limited to his Ovidian works for the 1787 publication and was well-established by the time of his association with the Didot family. As Serge Prigent has demonstrated, Regnault's *morceau de réception*, *The Education of Achilles* (fig. 29), reflected the educational principals outlined in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) by presenting a non-parental preceptor instructing a youth of elevated social status through physical experience in nature.¹⁷ Rousseau doubted the value of book-learning in early childhood and was particularly vitriolic with regard to mythology; otherwise, his pedagogical theories are similar to those of Fénelon, who promoted pleasure as an essential

présenter cette étude, non comme travail, mais comme le délassement d'une occupation plus sérieuse. Nous avons cru pouvoir remplir ce but, en leur offrant une bonne traduction des Métamorphoses d'Ovide, accompagnées chacune d'une ou de plusieurs gravures, qui rendront sensible aux yeux chaque sujet. Cette méthode de parler aux yeux autant qu'à l'esprit des enfants est d'autant plus avantageuse pour l'objet que nous avons en vue." All translations my own unless otherwise noted.

¹⁶ Albert Chérel, *Fénelon au XVIIIe siècle en France (1715-1820): Son prestige, son influence* (1917; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1970).

¹⁷ Serge Prigent, "Achille-Émile ou les idées Rousseauistes dans un tableau de Jean-Baptiste Regnault," in *Imaginaire et création artistique à Paris sous l'ancien régime: art, politique, trompe-l'oeil, voyages, spectacles, et jardins*, ed. Daniel Rabereau (Bordeaux: William Blake and Co., 1998), 209-224.

component of childhood education. The lack of emphasis on pleasure, Fénelon wrote, was “a great defect in ordinary educations: All of the pleasure is put on one side, and all of the boredom on the other; all of the boredom in study and all of the pleasure in distractions. What can a child do except to impatiently put up with this rule and to passionately run after games? Let us try to change this order; let us make study agreeable; let us hide it under the appearance of liberty and pleasure.”¹⁸ The instructive potential of the 1787 *Metamorphoses*, as stated in its prospectus, was precisely in its ability to mask educational content in an agreeable form or mode of acquiring information for young people.

By contrast, the relatively large, quarto size (approx. 30.5 x 24.15 cm) of the four-volume 1767-1771 *Metamorphoses* marks it as a product for well-heeled customers, and the garlands adorning each image coded the scenes as artifice, as manipulated nature like courting itself, to an attuned, savvy viewer.¹⁹ As chapter one of this dissertation has shown, in the early eighteenth century, Pierre Bayle and Bernard Fontenelle, among others, deemed mythology irrational and immoral; they questioned even its allegorical potential and rendered it good for little else than titillation. Thereafter, as art-historian Philippe Le Leyzour has shown, this relative impotence and insignificance of the gods allowed them to become merely instruments of pleasure; the tales of Ovid’s

¹⁸ François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, *De l’Education des filles*, in *Oeuvres de M. François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon* (Paris: François-Ambroise Didot, 1787), 3: 47-48 “Remarque un grand défaut des éducations ordinaires: on met tout le plaisir d’un côté, et tout l’ennui de l’autre; tout l’ennui dans l’étude, tout le plaisir dans les divertissements. Que peut faire un enfant? sinon supporter impatiemment cette règle, et courir ardemment après les jeux. Tachons donc de changer cet ordre: rendons l’étude agréable; cachons-la sous l’apparence de la liberté et du plaisir; souffrons que les enfants interrompent quelquefois l’étude par de petites saillies de divertissement, ils ont besoin de ces distractions pour délasser leur esprit.”

¹⁹ Owen Holloway, *French Rococo Book Illustration* (London: Tiranti, 1969), 55; Philip Stewart, “Décence et Dessin,” in *Aimer en France, 1760-1860: Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand*, ed. Paul Viallaneix and Jean Ehrard (Clermont-Ferrand: Association des publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1980), 1: 38.

Metamorphoses became metaphors for libertine amorous conquest as evidenced in theater and pornographic literature as well as prints and paintings.²⁰

Indeed, as art-historian Jo Hedley has demonstrated with regard to Boucher's 1732 *Rape of Europa* (fig. 30), the work lends itself to interpretation as gallant pursuit, hardly an "exemplary" endeavor.²¹ Alexandre Ananoff and Daniel Wildenstein identified the 1732 painting as the model for the *Rape of Europa* illustration in the 1767-1771 edition of Ovid *Metamorphoses* and the engraver likely also was aware of Boucher's 1747 rendition of the subject (fig. 31).²² Boucher avoided the inherent violence of the abduction narrative in his paintings by focusing on the events leading up to it: The unsuspecting Europa has delicately climbed atop the bull with the assistance of her companions. Jupiter, disguised as the bull, has deceived Europa and her entourage with his seemingly docile demeanor and intrigued them with his pretty white fur and pearly horns. As Hedley has demonstrated, paintings like that of 1732 "aimed to create the feelings of *douceur de vivre*, sweetness of life, pursued by contemporaries such as Voltaire who believed that 'Happiness is an abstract idea, composed of various sensations of pleasure' and that 'sight is the fore-runner of pleasure.'"²³

In translating Boucher's work into a print for the 1767-1771 edition of Ovid (fig. 27), the engraver Augustin de Saint-Aubin added a hint of anxiety not present in the

²⁰ Philippe Le Leyzour, "Myth and Enlightenment: On Mythology in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin Bailey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 21-30.

²¹ Hedley, 44.

²² Alexandre Ananoff and Daniel Wildenstein, *François Boucher* (Lausanne: Bibliothèque des arts, 1976), 1: 234 identify the Saint-Aubin engraving for the *Metamorphoses* as based in the 1732 *Rape of Europa*, which was painted for a private collector and is now in the Wallace Collection in London. The 1747 composition also served as the basis for a Beauvais tapestry "woven at least thirteen times between 1750 and 1772," according to Edith A. Standen, "The 'Amours des Dieux': A Series of Beauvais Tapestries after Boucher," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 19 (1984-1985): 77-78.

²³ Hedley, 45 and n.35, which cites Voltaire, *Dialogues et entretiens philosophiques*, Dialogue 25.

paintings, likely to harmonize better with the text below the engraving that indicates Jupiter will abduct the girl.²⁴ In the book's illustration, the playful, cloud-borne cupids block Jupiter's eagle from view, but those near the bull's hooves now appear surprised and they struggle to restrain the passionate animal. Still, the viewer is invited to smile at Jupiter's predicament; even the grandest of all the gods reduces himself to a big, dumb animal in the face of amorous desire.²⁵ The garlands and ribbons bedecking the print's frame, as well as the loose, slipping chemises of the delicate ladies portrayed therein create a sensually pleasurable effect. Yet, such an effect might not have been enjoyable for all viewers. Indeed, as Thomas Crow has demonstrated, critic Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne, in his 1754 *Sentiments*, followed Jean-Jacques Rousseau's lead in decrying specifically the nudity prevalent in artworks as an offense to the morality of young women of good education; La Font directed this criticism toward Boucher's mythological pendants of the *Rising and Setting of the Sun* (figs. 32-33) and assured readers that, as a result of the pervasive nudity on view at the Paris Salon, modest women refused to bring their daughters there.²⁶ In light of La Font's concern, Boucher's *Europa*, even with the hints of anxiety added by Saint-Aubin, likely also would not have suited modest daughters.

²⁴ The text below the print reads: "Jupiter Métamorphosé en Taureau, enleve Europe jusque dans l'Isle de Crète." On the changes Augustin de Saint-Aubin made when translating another of Boucher's works, his drawing of *Diana and Actaeon*, to print for the same publication Steven Z. Levine, "To See or Not to See: The Myth of Diana and Actaeon in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin Bailey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 85.

²⁵ Hedley, 44 regarding the 1732 painting.

²⁶ Thomas Crow, "La Critique des Lumières dans l'art du dix-huitième siècle," *Revue de l'art* 73 (1986): 11. Crow cites La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (1754), 34-43.

Not surprisingly, Regnault radically re-envisioned the *Rape of Europa* (fig. 28) for the new publication, which was “specifically destined for the education of children.”²⁷ The pleasure and visual interest of Regnault’s illustration needed to achieve quite a different effect than Boucher’s in order to suit the new, youthful audience. Though his eagle’s disproportionately long neck and strangely twisting pose confirm Regnault’s awareness of Augustin de Saint-Aubin’s engraving for the earlier edition, Regnault’s Europa presents a classical profile that distinguishes her from Boucher’s figures, with their modern, diminutive features.²⁸ While Boucher’s figures appear dressed for the boudoir in provocatively slipping chemises, Regnault’s Europa is attired and coiffed in Greek fashion, and her companions wear modest chitons. While such changes might seem, at first glance, merely fashionable updating in keeping with changing visual trends, Regnault’s revision also omits the cupids and adds distance between Europa and her companions, while heightening the drama through Europa’s outstretched arm. The panicked strain of her turning torso and neck, echoed by the aggressively flared nostrils and violent torsion of the bull, further intensify the scene’s emotional impact and shift focus to the fear engendered by the abduction, rather than the pleasurable playtime leading up to it. Despite the consistency of the captions, the two prints (figs. 27-28) present radically different takes on the story. Rather than highlighting the humor of amorous pursuit as Boucher’s composition had, the imagery in the 1787 edition now undertook to vivify the emotion and action of the narrative and to redirect focus to a different moment in the fable. As such, the engaging qualities of the *Metamorphoses*

²⁷ Prospectus housed in BN Estampes EF139a *Oeuvres de Coigny Père*, 79. “Spécialement destiné à l’éducation des enfants.”

²⁸ Hyde’s *Making Up the Rococo* includes extensive discussion of Boucher’s representation of figures with eighteenth-century French faces and fashions in both pastorals and mythological works.

would not render them frivolous or inappropriately immodest, but rather would increase their educational potential for the youthful audience indicated in the 1787 prospectus.²⁹

The prospectus provides an elaboration of the publication's educational purpose: "In effect, among the agreeable knowledge, which is admitted to enrich the spirits of youthful people, there is perhaps nothing more important than that of mythology. Firstly, this science is an introduction to the history of almost all the people of antiquity, whose origins are lost in the night of time and whose first historians were poets who replaced missing historical monuments with fables. It becomes more so an indispensable necessity for the study of literature in general, and in particular poetry, that takes from this source its paintings, its allusions, its allegories, its ideas, even its expressions."³⁰ Herein the prospectus affirms myth as necessary to the cultured individual and as open to a variety of interpretive models. The particular translation selected for the publication reinforced such interpretive flexibility; indeed, Banier prided himself on his translation's accommodation of moral allegory as well as political history.³¹ Still, in his preface to the translation, Banier indicated that he generally avoided supplying allegorical interpretations, which he considered too obvious to merit explanation. Moreover, the allegorically minded or interested reader, he claimed, would enjoy the mental exercise of

²⁹ This aspect of myth was also highlighted by Charles Rollin in his *Traité des études* (Paris, 1726), which was reprinted at regularly prior to the Revolution.

³⁰ Prospectus housed in BN Estampes EF139a *Oeuvres de Coigny Père*, 79. "En effet, parmi les connoissances (sic) d'agrément dont il convient d'enrichir l'esprit des jeunes gens, il n'en est peut-être pas de plus importante que celle de la mythologie. En premier lieu, cette science est une introduction à l'histoire de presque tous les peuples de l'antiquité dont les origines se perdent dans la nuit des temps, et dont les premiers historiens furent des poètes qui remplacèrent par des fables les monuments historiques qui leur manquoient (sic). Elle devient encore d'une nécessité indispensable pour l'étude de la littérature en général, et en particulier de la poésie, qui puise dans cette source ses tableaux, ses allusions, ses allégories, ses idées, ses expressions mêmes."

³¹ Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959; reprinted, New York: Atheneum, 1967), 106-107.

making the connections without assistance.³² Thus, Banier's translation would allow for the imagery to direct interpretative focus.

Such pleasurable mental exercise was also promoted by Fénelon who asserted: "Indirect instructions must often be used, which are not annoying like lessons and admonitions."³³ Perhaps the "indirect instruction" intended by Regnault's *Rape of Europa* would be a subsidiary allegorical moral. The narrative and the tension of Regnault's composition lend themselves to many possible messages. In a most basic sense the *Rape of Europa* conveys the need to be wary of false presentations, of those putting on false faces, and thus of false friends. More specifically, as Europa twists aboard her bovine transport and reaches toward her female companions back on shore, the composition suggests an admonition against animal, bestial passions and a preference for civilized, human company and society. The image could thereby reinforce the type of allegory to be conveyed, since Banier did not detail allegorical possibilities but left them for the reader to discover. Moreover, literary historian Kay S. Wilkins has demonstrated that admonitions against passionate amorous liaisons, and promotions in favor of marriage matches sanctioned by parents, abounded in French children's literature in the 1780s, making such a resonance quite likely in a child's acquaintance with Ovid's tale of bovine abduction.³⁴

³² Antoine Banier, preface to Ovid, *Métamorphoses* (Paris: Le Mire, 1767), xviii. Banier includes two examples of allegorical interpretations of Ovid's fables in this portion of the preface to spark reader's imaginations and to remind readers how evident the allegories are.

³³ Fénelon, *De l'Education des filles*, in *Oeuvres de M. François de Salignac de La Motte Fénelon*, 3: 34. "Je crois même qu'il faudroit (sic) souvent se servir de ces instructions indirectes, qui ne sont point ennuyeuses comme les leçons et les remontrances."

³⁴ Kay S. Wilkins, "Children's Literature in Eighteenth-Century France," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 176 (1779): 437 and 440-442. For an overview of codes regarding love and marriage in eighteenth-century France, see: Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives, and Lovers: Marriage and its Discontents in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 4-12.

By the 1780s the creative retelling of historical events interwoven with moral messages came to be acknowledged as part of the fables' worth. Myth's interpretive openness was viewed as inherent to its value, something that had permitted its continued use and relevance through the centuries and seemed to forecast its continued future significance.³⁵ The segment of the prospectus that acknowledged myth as a source for "paintings, allusions, allegories, ideas [and] even expressions" harmonizes with a renewed appreciation of myth that had begun to percolate at mid-century, as discussed in chapter one, and that gained strength and prominence by the 1780s. German philosophers including Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Georg Hamann, as well as Johann Joachim Winckelmann, championed the creative ingenuity of ancient peoples and bolstered the critical reinterpretation and revaluation of mythology.³⁶ The international milieu of Rome—where Regnault undertook much of his training and earned his nickname—promoted the spread of interpretations of ancient art and culture as much as visual information about its forms. Thus, Frenchmen would have been familiar with theories not yet published in translation through that Roman contact. Indeed, by the 1770s, a similar championing of the creativity and ingenuity of ancient culture gained strength in French mythography, notably in the work of Antoine Court de Gébelin, whose nine-volume publication was received by hundreds of French subscribers between 1773 and 1782.³⁷ Court de Gébelin promoted an allegorical reading of mythology, as having

³⁵ Antoine Mongez, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Dictionnaire d'Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des chartes et chronologie* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1786-1794), 4: 225.

³⁶ Christopher Jamme, "Portraying Myth More Convincingly: Critical Approaches to Myth in the Classical and Romantic Periods," *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 12, no.1 (2004): 29-45 discusses German intellectual history; Manuel, chap. 6; Burton Feldman and Robert Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1972), 224-228 and 230-232 for an excerpt in translation of Herder's 1767 "On Contemporary Uses of Mythology."

³⁷ Manuel, 250-251. The full title of the publication was Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne considéré dans son génie allégorique et dans les allégories auxquelles*

developed from primitive language, which necessitated metaphorical and emblematic concepts to express conceptual ideas. He wrote: “As soon as man tried to pass beyond, to depict ideas relative to moral, intellectual, spiritual, abstract subjects which were not directly comprehensible by the senses, it was necessary to employ artifice, and the sensible or physical objects came to the aid of those which were not.”³⁸ According to intellectual historian Frank Manuel, “Court de Gébelin effected a concordance between the neoclassic idealization of antiquity and the new psychology which related primitive mentality with the concrete and the pictorial. His was the French theory nearest to the German vindication of primitive wisdom, to Hamann, Winckelmann, and Herder.”³⁹

Rather than seeing mythology as stemming from irrational responses (fear or joy in the face of natural forces) or erroneous records of historical events, Court de Gébelin held that mythology shed light on the formation of abstract language. He believed that the impossibility of explaining myth in terms of a single allegory or system was not a flaw, but a sign of primitive intelligence. As restated by Manuel: “There was a natural tendency to complicate ideas and make them subtle in order to test the human capacity for understanding. [...] Far from intending to obfuscate or deceive, the ancient allegory was designed to vivify, to move, to render passionate great moral truths by stimulating the imagination.”⁴⁰ The goals outlined in the 1787 prospectus for Didot and Regnault’s Ovid thus coincide with the renewed appreciation of myth circulating in French high society, thanks to Antoine Court de Gébelin, as well as within the international set of Regnault’s Roman sojourns.

conduisit ce génie précédé du plan general des diverses parties qui composeront ce monde primitif 9 vols. (Paris, 1772-1782).

³⁸ Court de Gébelin, 1: 13. Translation by Frank Manuel.

³⁹ Manuel, 254.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 255.

The 1787 prospectus concludes that the study of myth is essential to a cultivated individual: “It is, after all, only with this torch that one can penetrate the sanctuary of the arts to admire the productions of our Apelles and our Phidias. They have animated marble and canvas with the fire of their genius in vain; these masterpieces remain mute before the spectator who does not know mythology and they present that spectator only unintelligible hieroglyphs.”⁴¹ Thus, study of the stories provides access to the visual arts, but the prints within the text also would commence a child’s training in appreciating and reading imagery and in the development of artistic taste.

It might seem that a Neoclassical style was the obvious, or even the only, choice in the 1780s. Yet, as Melissa Hyde recently has demonstrated, Boucher’s posthumous popularity was sufficient to merit biting criticism well into the 1780s by promoters of the classicizing style.⁴² Thus, the former first painter to the king would have been a desirable figure for emulation, in terms of self-conscious competition, for Regnault as a recently received academician with decidedly classicizing ideals. Emulation functioned as a primary mode of childhood education as well as adult interchange –including very notably within the visual arts– to inspire achievement through competition with peers, mentors, and predecessors.⁴³ Boucher had excelled (and among reformers achieved

⁴¹ Prospectus housed in BN Estampes EF139a *Oeuvres de Coigny Père*, 79. “Ce n’est enfin qu’avec le flambeau de cette science, qu’il est permis de pénétrer dans le sanctuaire des arts pour y admirer les productions de nos Apelle et nos Phidias. En vain le feu de leur génie a-t-il animé le marbre et le toile ; ces chefs-œuvre restent muets devant le spectateur qui ne connoit (sic) point la mythologie, et ne présentent à ses yeux que des hiéroglyphes inintelligibles.”

⁴² Hyde, 17-19.

⁴³ R. R. Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 24-25 underlines the importance of emulation within colleges and also between colleges as a major educational impetus, especially from 1747 until 1789; Daniel Roche, *Le Siècle des Lumières en province: Académies et académiciens provinciaux, 1680-1789* (Paris, 1978), 1: 327 notes the prevalence of competition not just within schools, but also in adult interactions; Candace Clements, “The Duc d’Antin, the Royal Administration of Pictures, and the Painting Competition of 1727,” *Art Bulletin* 78, no.4 (1996): 656-657 discusses the pedagogic practice as the underpinning of competitions within the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The Winter 2003 issue of *Eighteenth-*

notoriety) for his mythic works and the timing of the 1787 publication coincided with a major purchase by comte d'Angiviller of mythological paintings by Boucher in 1786 (figs. 13-14).⁴⁴ That purchase may have spurred Regnault's desire to compete with a formerly venerated (and still popular) artist, by treating the same themes in a new manner and with a new philosophical underpinning. Regnault had reason to be confident in his own ability to render myths visually; the young academician's *Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 34) received praise at the 1785 Salon and his Ovidian *Pygmalion* (fig. 35) from the same Salon was destined for use as an overdoor in the palace at Versailles.

The purchase of *Pygmalion* by *Bâtiments* (those in charge of the King's Buildings) confirms Regnault's financial success during this period. The painting was paired with another of Regnault's works, depicting the Corinthian maiden (fig. 36), to serve as a set of overdoors, a prestigious placement for the new academician, and one that may have further spurred a competitive spirit vis-à-vis Boucher who had previously provided so many mythic paintings for royal interiors. Regnault also had executed a *travaux d'encouragement* of the largest, and thus most lucrative, format for the 1785 Salon and received yet another commission from *Bâtiments* thereafter to undertake a new altarpiece for the Trinity chapel at Fontainebleau (fig. 37). That altarpiece appeared at the 1789 Salon and received high praise and compensation.⁴⁵ While David's pupil

Century Studies was devoted to the concept of emulation; see especially: John Iverson, "Introduction. Forum, Emulation in France, 1750-1800," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no.2 (Winter 2003): 217-223; Laura Auricchio, "The Laws of Bienséance and the Gendering of Emulation in Eighteenth-Century French Art Education," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no.2 (Winter 2003): 231-240.

⁴⁴ Ananoff and Wildenstein, 1: 217 lists the purchase of *Venus Requesting from Vulcan the Arms for Aeneas* of 1732 and the 1733 *Venus and Adonis* as purchased by M. le comte d'Angiviller for the Cabinet du Pavillon neuf du Louvre. See also my discussion of this purchase in chapter one of this dissertation.

⁴⁵ Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 79-81 indicates that Regnault received 6,000 livres for the altarpiece, the sketch for which was advanced by February 1788, though the date of the commission itself remains unknown. Barthélémy Jobert, "The *Travaux d'encouragement*: An Aspect for Official Arts Policy in France Under Louis XVI," trans. Richard Wrigley,

Etienne-Jean Delécluze would later attribute late-eighteenth-century participation in book illustration to lack of available work, clearly Regnault's participation in the 1787 publication did not stem from shortage of money, commissions, or recognition.⁴⁶ The project must have suited his interests.

Regnault's illustrations for the *Metamorphoses* suggest a keen awareness of recent trends in classicism among the German set in Rome and thus his close affiliation with that circle. This bolsters my interpretation of Regnault's work within contemporaneous theory as based in both German and French intellectual developments. Regnault had become so thoroughly immersed in the Roman milieu that, upon seeing Regnault's work, Anton Raphael Mengs exclaimed: "This one is from our school!"⁴⁷ And, as Sells noted, Regnault subscribed to the blending of naturalistic observation and antique idealism promoted by Mengs and Winckelmann.⁴⁸

According to Alexandre Lenoir: "Regnault linked himself in friendship with Mengs, who showed him the beauties of antique statues."⁴⁹ Regnault's shared interests with Mengs's circle also may be evident in certain borrowings in his suite of illustrations. Regnault's illustration of *Jupiter Ravishing Io* appears to draw heavily on Antonio Correggio's *Io* (figs. 38-39), but Regnault's figure's twisting pose also recalls Raphael's

Oxford Art Journal 10, no.1 (1987): 9 outlines the standardized pricing for the *travaux* with 6,000 livres as the highest price. Jean-Claude Boyer and Jean-Pierre Changeux, eds., *Les Passions de l'âme. Peintures des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles de la collection Changeux* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2006), 180-183 refer to Regnault's altarpiece as the highest paid religious work of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁶ Arlette Sérullaz, "Quelques dessins de Gérard pour le Virgile des Frères Didot," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 1 no.2 (June 1977): 217-222 articulated this problem with studying illustrated books in her article on François Gerard, Anne-Louis Girodet, and David's contributions to the Didot illustrated Virgil of 1797. She notes that Etienne-Jean Delécluze disparaged such works of the 1790s in his *Souvenirs* (1855) referring to drawings made for prints to adorn books as "inferior works" that artists only took on because the political climate of the Revolutionary era prevented young artists from "exercising their talents."

⁴⁷ Paillet, iv. "Questo è di scuola nostra!" Mengs's comment was made in response to Regnault's (now untraced) *Baptism of Christ*.

⁴⁸ Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 42.

⁴⁹ Lenoir, "J. B. Regnault, 2e article," 408. "Regnault se lia d'amitié avec Mengs, qui lui fit remarquer les beautés des statues antiques."

seated female nude in the *Wedding of Psyche* for the Villa Farnesina in Rome (fig. 40), while Regnault's *Age of Iron* draws on the setting and action of Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo* (figs. 41-42). Both of Regnault's compositions for these subjects differ drastically from their 1767-1771 precedents (figs. 43-44).⁵⁰ In the 1762 treatise *On Beauty and Taste in Painting*, Mengs noted: "Raphael was the most estimable, because he possessed the most necessary and noble parts of the art. Correggio possessed the most amiable and enchanting [parts]: Titian contented himself with pure necessity, which is the simple imitation of nature."⁵¹ Correggio's importance to Neoclassicism has been understudied, but, as Robert Rosenblum noted, the painter was admired by Gavin Hamilton as well as Mengs.⁵² Regnault's compendium of rather overt classicizing references suggests not an unimaginative mind, but rather the spirit of emulation, wherein the ability to update and combine or vary recognizable (and recommended) sources demonstrated one's skill.

While Regnault's borrowings and his sobriquet clarify his alignment with the classicizing developments stemming from Rome, his borrowings also underscore the longstanding tradition of and taste for classicism in his own nation through homage to and emulation of works in French collections. Correggio's *Io* had inspired a copy (by François Stiemart) for the *Hôtel du Grand Maître* at Versailles.⁵³ The somewhat mannered proportions and pose of the female figure in Regnault's *Io*, as well as in his

⁵⁰ Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 79 also notes the visual similarity of Regnault's *Io* to Correggio's and his *Dejanira* to Guido Reni's without further analysis of these borrowings.

⁵¹ Anton Raphael Mengs, *The Works of Anthony Raphael Mengs, First Painter to his Catholic Majesty Charles III*, trans. Chev. Don Joseph Nichols d'Azara (London: Faulder and Robinson, 1796), 131-32. This treatise originally appeared in German as *Gedanken über die Schönheit und über den Geschmack in der Malerei* in 1762 (published by Heidegger in Zurich). A French edition of Mengs's works was available translated into French by 1781 [*Oeuvres de M. le chevalier Antoine Raphael Mengs* (Amsterdam et se vend à Paris, 1781)].

⁵² Robert Rosenblum, *The International Style of 1800: A Study in Linear Abstraction* (New York and London: Garland, 1976; reprint of his Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1956), 14 n.3.

⁵³ Jean-Luc Bordeaux, "La Commande Royale de 1724 pour l'Hôtel du Grand Maître à Versailles," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 104 (October 1984): 120-121.

Age of Gold (figs. 38 and 45), both of which differ markedly from their 1767-1771 precedents (figs. 44 and 46), also recall similar treatments of the female form in Primaticcio's work at Fontainebleau (fig. 47).

Primaticcio and the School of Fontainebleau not only provided a respected precedent for the dissemination of compositions through prints, but the prints of the Fontainebleau School also constituted the first major print effort of the French Renaissance, thus providing a source of national pride.⁵⁴ Indeed, in spite of the somewhat mannered distortions of Primaticcio's figures, and of the poses those bodies assume, he was championed by French classicists of the late seventeenth-century for being the first to bring the "Roman style" to France and for introducing into French art the beauties of ancient painting and sculpture.⁵⁵ Fontainebleau and its decorations retained a firm grasp on French artistic vision throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thanks to textual references to and prints of the imagery housed there.⁵⁶ Poussin even remarked with regard to Primaticcio's *Gallery of Ulysses* that he knew "nothing more appropriate for forming a painter and for warming his spirit,"⁵⁷ while Comte de Caylus later urged artists to draw inspiration from Primaticcio's use of mythic

⁵⁴ Christine Jenkins, "Les Graveurs de Primatice au XVIe siècle à Fontainebleau," in *Primatice: Maître de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux), 38-44. On the prints of the Fontainebleau school in general, see: Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (New York: Abrams, 1969).

⁵⁵ André Félibien wrote in his *Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1666-1688): "Ce que je vous puis dire, est que nous sommes redevables au Primatice, et à Meser Nicolo, de plusieurs beaux ouvrages; et l'on peut dire qu'ils ont été les premiers qui ont apporté en France le goût Romain, et la belle idée de la peinture, et de la sculpture antique."

⁵⁶ Marianne Grivel, "La Fortune de Primatice dans l'estampe au XVIIe siècle," in *Primatice: Maître de Fontainebleau*, 45-53; Bernadette Py, "Histoire des dessins de Primatice du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle," 58; Sylvie Béguin, Jean Guillaume, and Alain Roy, *La Galerie d'Ulysse à Fontainebleau* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), appendix "Textes Anciens."

⁵⁷ Grivel, 45 quotes Poussin: "ne connaissait rien de plus propre à former un peintre et à échauffer son esprit."

narrative.⁵⁸ Carol Osborne ascribed any Mannerist formal influences in Didot's publications to the publisher's personal tastes and professional interests and Regnault may have been introduced to the Fontainebleau work by the printer or become aware of it through the other textual and printed sources listed above.⁵⁹ Certainly, inclusion of visual references to the Fontainebleau decorations acknowledges not just Didot's and/or Regnault's personal affiliations, but also French national heritage in the School of Fontainebleau engravings, as a major French contribution to Renaissance visual arts, and thus a longstanding tradition for classicism in that nation.⁶⁰ Regnault's awareness of this French tradition of classicism and of German philosophy on classicism should not be ascribed solely to the Didot family. The subject of Regnault's *morceau de réception*, *The Education of Achilles* (fig. 29), had also provided the young artist a clear forum for emulation and for self-positioning within a French tradition of classicism. The subject, as treated by Rosso Fiorentino and his assistants, famously adorned the gallery of François I at Fontainebleau, the previously discussed cradle of classicism in France. More recently, a fresco portraying Achilles' education had been unearthed in the ruins of Herculaneum and praised by Winckelmann for its expressiveness.⁶¹ Regnault had been engaging with classical emulation and myth's expressive potential prior to his work on Didot's 1787 publication; indeed, Didot may have selected Regnault on the basis of their shared interests.

⁵⁸ Anne-Claude-Philippe Comte de Calyus, *Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homère et de l'Eneide de Virgile* (Paris: Tilliard, 1757), xx.

⁵⁹ Osborne, 62-65 on Didot's interest in Mannerism.

⁶⁰ Jenkins, 38 on the Fontainebleau School and the French Renaissance.

⁶¹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art de l'Antiquité*, trans. M. Huber (first edition 1764; trans. Leipzig, 1781), 326.

Regnault's illustrations deviate least from those in the 1767-1771 edition when these precedents already exhibited classicizing bodies and compositions, as in *Apollo Killing the Python* (figs. 48-49). Gravelot's composition included an airborne Cupid and mid-ground river god, omitted by Regnault, but both Gravelot and Regnault foregrounded the classically proportioned human body standing in contrapposto. The fashion for classical aesthetics had begun by the 1760s; however, it took until the 1780s for the implications of this fashion to achieve full effect in France.⁶² Both illustrations appear to draw on Johann Joachim Winckelmann's beloved Apollo Belvedere (fig. 50), a must-see during a visit to Rome in the eighteenth century. The mixing of Rococo and classicizing illustrations in the 1767-1771 edition attests to classicism's trendiness, whereas Regnault's 1787 reworking of the suite provides a thorough classical aesthetic. By the 1780s that aesthetic came to be paired in France with moral and political meaning, thanks to better, more complete translations of Winckelmann's work as well as new interpretive treatises. Indeed, Winckelmann's discussion of antique art urged his contemporaries to emulate its ideals in order to achieve or even surpass the greatness of ancient art and culture. Yet, while Winckelmann interpreted the slight sneer in the facial expression of the Apollo Belvedere as signifying the god's complete disdain for his enemy, by 1787 the python-slayer's contempt had been refocused onto the previous era of French painting by French critics, following on Winckelmann's social determinism of style.⁶³ Contemporaneously, the *Ami des artistes au Sallon* (sic) highlighted historical moments of French classicism, but warned that even those examples were imperfect and

⁶² Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 26-27 and 306 n.70; Hyde, 17-19.

⁶³ Crow, *Emulation*, 27; *La Patte de velours* (London, 1781), 36.

that only concerted active reform of French society would allow for truly great art comparable with that of ancient Greece.⁶⁴

The classicism in the earlier edition of Ovid added fashionable variety that ensured appeal to audiences of varying tastes; since a single print need not carry the entire success or interest of an illustrated book, patrons of both modern and classicizing taste might procure the suite. Alternatively, the thorough-going classicism of Regnault's suite carried a more focused burden of appeal and of message. Regnault's classicizing style harmonized with the Didot edition's moral imperative as an educational tool—the classical style could inculcate the owner with good aesthetic taste as well as provide an impetus toward moral behavior.⁶⁵

Sells's contention that Regnault was a rearguard artist painting "affairs of flesh" without "serious" content for an audience exclusively of wealthy, *ancien régime* connoisseurs is thus untenable.⁶⁶ The artist's classicizing style in the 1780s carried messages of social and artistic reform, if not also more radical political connotations. Regnault produced Revolutionary allegory in the following decade, so participation in a work with potentially radical political subtexts in his illustrations of 1787 would not be out of character.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Regnault worked with publisher Pierre Didot whose Revolutionary politics have been studied at length by Carol Osborne.⁶⁸ While an art-

⁶⁴ *L'Ami des artistes au Sallon* (Paris, 1787), 14-15.

⁶⁵ For an example of a classicizing artwork in 1780s France inspiring moral behavior, see: Crow, *Emulation*, 29 wherein he relates a story from 1784 about virtuous behavior spurred by Jean-Germain Drouais's winning Rome Prize entry.

⁶⁶ Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 233-234.

⁶⁷ J. R. Gaborit, *La Révolution en France et en Europe 1789-1799* (Paris, Grand Palais, 1989), nos 828 and 846; *Droits de l'homme et conquête des libertés* (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, 1986), catalogue no. 16; Korchane, "Pierre-Narcisse Guérin," 41-56.

⁶⁸ Osborne, *passim*. Osborne focused on Didot's relationship with David and on the luxury editions on which the two worked in the 1790s; however, even in her bibliography of Didot's projects she entirely omitted this Ovid. Regarding Ovid, Osborne asserted that Pierre Didot reprinted images from his father's

historical binary might place Regnault in a retrospective position vis-à-vis David, careful reconsideration of his work in the 1780s suggests similar aims in encouraging moral behavior in and aesthetic reform of France through alignment with classical precedents. Moreover, Regnault's visual references link him to the well-known history of classicism in France.⁶⁹ Clearly the project provided him a forum for a variety of compelling interests beyond merely fleshy titillation.

Many of Regnault's most radical reconfigurations of the 1767-1771 illustrations occur in those that invoke erotic narratives combined with titillating imagery. Regnault's *Io* and *Rape of Europa* illustrations (figs. 28 and 38) for the 1787 Ovid depict considerably heightened emotional intensity vis-à-vis their 1767-1771 precedents (figs. 27 and 44). Such heightened emotion differentiates Regnault's contributions markedly from previous Rococo visualizations of amorous mythological scenes. Such an emotional impact also aligns with Court de Gébelin's interpretation of myth as something that could move, vivify, and stimulate human capacity for understanding. Moreover, Court de Gébelin insisted that symbolic or pictorial language was natural to humans and

Ovid during the 1790s because he could not afford new illustrations and she credits those images to Cochin, but provides no further information on the publication (78). I have not been able to locate any Didot *Metamorphoses* with illustrations by Cochin and Osborne makes no mention of the 1787 publication with the "Renaud" illustrations. Such recycling of illustrations by the Didot family does however suggest the possibility that the "Renaud" illustrations marked in two different modes may represent two separate printings of the suite by the Didot house. Furthermore, David and his pupils seem to have followed Regnault's lead in undertaking illustrations for *les Didot* in the 1790s, thereby placing Regnault a proactive position as regards book illustration.

⁶⁹ By the end of the 1790s, Regnault would also pair the print after his *Education of Achilles* with one after Guido Reni's *Rape of Dejanira*, which had been in the French Royal collection since 1662 and, according to the documentation file at the Louvre, had received a new frame in 1784 to ready it for museum viewing. Nearly a century later Edouard Manet would undertake a similar project of self-positioning within the tradition of French painting through overt quotations. Michael Fried, "Manet's sources: Aspects of His Art, 1859-1865," *Artforum* 7, no.7 (1969): 28-82 and his reprint and reassessment of these arguments in his *Manet's Modernism or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

that its comprehension required feeling untapped in the cold, analytical mode practiced by so many of his contemporaries.⁷⁰

Furthermore, this intensification of emotional expressivity in Regnault's compositions corresponds to the goal, indicated in the prospectus, of making youthful viewers sensitive and susceptible to the narratives through their visual forms. The increased emotional intensity of Regnault's illustrations and the publication's educational intent indicated in the prospectus, also resonate with Etienne Bonnot de Condillac's theories of the primacy of sensory information in the acquisition of knowledge, which were highly influential in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in France (especially after the death of Condillac in 1780).⁷¹ The illustrations and prospectus thus resonated with aesthetic theories praising the ability of visual art to educate by appealing to emotion and bodily sensation. Whereas the diminutive faces and gentle, almost vapid, expressions of the figures in the 1767-1771 edition lend humor or sweetness to the scenes, Regnault's figures often demonstrate more intense emotional states –whether by pairing an obscured face with a body in torsion or by the intensity of facial expressions. Comparison of illustrations in each edition for the encounter of Jupiter and Io (figs. 38 and 44) provides an illuminating example. Charles Monnet's representation of this narrative (fig. 44) in the 1767-1771 edition appears above the caption, "Jupiter covers the earth with clouds to possess Io."⁷² Jupiter is seen within the clouds, embracing Io, while

⁷⁰ Manuel, 254.

⁷¹ Lynn Hunt, "The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures," in *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789-1799*, exh. cat. Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988, 34-35; Isabel Knight, *The Geometric Spirit: The Abbé de Condillac and the French Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968); Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*, 225 and 255-256 for information on the ideas of Condillac as the foundation for renovations of French education in the 1790s.

⁷² "Jupiter couvre la terre des nuages pour jouir d'Io." According to the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1694), "jouir d'une femme" indicates carnal possession. The fourth edition (1762)

Cupid, bearing a quiver and bow, looks on from beneath the eagle's wing. The proximity of the chubby Cupid to Jupiter's eagle renders the bird non-threatening. Furthermore, the figure of Io conveys more pleasure than resistance, or even surprise, as she arches her back and inclines her head in physical pleasure, her hands fondling the surrounding clouds and complementing the more possessive fondling of Jupiter's hand immediately adjacent. Her pose, moreover, fully exposes and highlights her bare torso. As previously noted, La Font de Saint-Yenne had decried the abundant nudity in mid-century paintings as an affront to the modesty of female visitors to the Salon, a viewpoint informative with regard to how a print such as this one might have been understood by contemporary viewers.⁷³

Regnault's composition (fig. 38), by contrast, presents a frightened woman turning her body so as to hide her bare torso from the viewer and the text below stresses the ominous aggression of the illustration: "Jupiter, enamored of Io, covers the earth with darkness/gloom with which he envelops this nymph to rob her of her honor."⁷⁴ The exertion evident in the female figure's shoulder muscles and buttocks contrasts markedly with the softness of Monnet's Io (fig. 44). Rather than opening herself up to both Jupiter and the viewer as Monnet's Io does, Regnault's Io turns away from the viewer and looks down and away from Jupiter's head, suggested by the wiry lines near her hair. The omission of Cupid, and the aggressive presence of the forward-thrusting beak of the eagle, further the tense, threatening quality of Regnault's rendering of the scene, as does

gives the same phrase the meaning "to have commerce with her;" the definition for "commerce" then clarifies that when used to indicate communication between people of differing sexes it was meant "in a bad way."

⁷³ Crow, "La Critique des Lumières," 11.

⁷⁴ "Jupiter amoureux d'Io, couvre la terre de ténèbres (sic), dont il enveloppe cette nymphe pour lui ravir son honneur."

the selection of dark, gloomy clouds (*ténèbres*) rather than the soft, rounded white ones (*nuages*) of the 1767-1771 interpretation. While neither print allows close scrutiny of the female figure's facial features to read the feelings they might express, in her study of Charles Le Brun's treaty on expression Jennifer Montagu has demonstrated the importance of context clues and posture in human interpretation of emotion.⁷⁵ The upturned eyes and open mouth of Monnet's Io are consistent with Le Brun's descriptions of love and rapture, while a down-turned face, such as that of Regnault's Io, typically coincides with negative emotions.⁷⁶

The amorous narratives of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were not incongruent with the 1787 publication's educational aim. Indeed, Regnault's highly expressive visualizations of such narratives would allow the viewer to feel the anxiety and terror of the depicted experience and thus learn from it emotionally, but at a safe, chaste distance of sentimental observation. In Fénelon's educational texts too, love was not simply an obstacle to be overcome on the path to heroic action, but rather an essential component of knowing oneself and of empathizing with others.⁷⁷ In the *Adventures of Telemachus*, Mentor (Minerva) says to the young man: "This is the purpose of life's misfortunes; they make princes moderate and sensitive to the sufferings of others."⁷⁸ According to Fénelon, all actions and emotions assist in moral development, wherein personal experiences create lasting knowledge that helps one seek virtue and avoid the pains of vice. Moreover, as

⁷⁵ Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 2.

⁷⁶ Le Brun's lecture on expression is reprinted in Montagu, 112-124.

⁷⁷ I am indebted to Mary Vidal's excellent analysis of Fénelon's examination of love in her "David's *Telemachus and Eucharis*," 707-709. Vidal only discusses David's 1818 painting made while in exile in Brussels and shipped to a private patron in Germany. My exploration of Fénelon's education principles broadens their application away from the singular genius of David and back into the cultural milieu in which he matured.

⁷⁸ Quoted and translated in Vidal, "David's *Telemachus and Eucharis*," 708.

Winckelmann noted, “Love was regarded by the ancient artists and intelligent philosophers as, in the words of Euripides, the associate of Wisdom.”⁷⁹ Thus amorous, emotional subjects and situations were not to be overlooked or avoided in one’s quest for knowledge, but approached carefully and intelligently.

Such reasoned emotion and emotional response are consistent with the eighteenth-century vogue for and understanding of sentiment.⁸⁰ As clarified by Emma Barker, sentiment had positive connotations thanks to its inclusion of insight, intuition, conviction, conscience, and consciousness along with *sensibilité* (sensitivity and sensory perception); thus Rousseau and Denis Diderot could praise sentiment, while dismissing *sensibilité* alone as indicative of unreasoned emotion and thus self-indulgence or weakness.⁸¹ Indeed, sentiment need not be achieved or conveyed through extremes such as theatrical gestures and facial expressions, but could be apprehended by careful contemplation of quiet, complex emotional states and situations.⁸²

⁷⁹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art* as quoted and translated in Curtis Bowman, ed., *Essay on the Philosophy and History of Art* (London: Continuum, 2005), 843. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Histoire de l’art chez les anciens*, trans. M. Huber (Paris: Barrois; Savoye, 1789), 78. “Dans l’antiquité l’Amour a été regardé par les artistes, ainsi que par les philosophes sensés, comme le collègue de la sagesse. [A footnote to Euripides is then provided.]”

⁸⁰ Emma Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), introduction. Barker outlines the historiographic disregard for sentiment in modernist art history stemming from the Goncourt brothers and reaching through the end of the twentieth century. Barker also contributes to art-historical understanding of sentiment in the visual arts by clarifying the words *sensibilité* and *sentiment* (or sentimentalism) both in their eighteenth-century critical and philosophical contexts as well as in subsequent art history.

⁸¹ Barker, 9.

⁸² Moreover, literary scholar Giles Barber has demonstrated that publication of erotic narratives (those driven by emotion, rather than one propelled by adventure or heroic action, which are epics) surged in late-eighteenth-century France. During this tumultuous era, classical texts were the surest money-makers for publishers and those propelled by sentiment were the preferred type. See: Giles Barber, *Daphnis and Chloe: The Markets and Metamorphoses of an Unknown Bestseller* (London: British Library, 1988), 29. Michael Moriarty, “Structures of Cultural Production in Nineteenth-Century France,” in *Artistic Relations: Literature and the Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, ed. Peter Collier and Robert Lethbridge (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 21 addresses the tastes and trends under the Old Regime. For an in-depth consideration of the literary world at this time, see: Robert Darnton, “The High Enlightenment and the Low-Life of Literature in Pre-Revolutionary France,” *Past and Present* no.51 (May, 1971): 81-115.

Regnault's most radical revision appears in the quiet complexity of his sentimentally charged *Deluge* (fig. 51), the first of his illustrations to reappear as a painting (fig. 52). Art-historical publications that have recognized the origin of Regnault's painting in his print have not explored or elaborated upon how the illustration and its reiteration in oil might inform and elucidate each other.⁸³

Diderot had opined that "Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses*, will furnish painting with bizarre subjects; Homer will supply great ones" –an assertion used in art-historical scholarship to disparage Ovidian subjects– but Diderot's opinion underestimated both late-eighteenth-century artist and ancient author to strike a chord with sentiment.⁸⁴ While Ovid's flood narrative provides "bizarre" ideas, such as dolphins swimming through trees, to indicate the magnitude of the flood, Eisen and Regnault both focused on the human impact of the deluge (figs. 51 and 53). This focus keeps the imagery more immediately relatable on an emotional level for the reader, though the two prints otherwise differ markedly. Whereas Eisen's illustration for the 1767-1771 *Metamorphoses* provides a deep space teeming with activity, Regnault's is spare, with the drama focused onto a single, foreground group. Both Eisen and Regnault foregrounded a female figure lifting a child toward a male rescuer, but to quite different effect. This

⁸³ Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 428. Cuzin, 579-580 and Adams, *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*, cat. 269 acknowledge the print as the painting's model and credit Sells with its identification. Previously, without knowing of the existence and appearance of Regnault's Ovidian illustrations, art historians had found Regnault's *Deluge* painting "historically undetermined," biblical, or based in Salomon Gessner's poem *Scene of the Deluge* (translated into French in 1770) or in Virgil's *Aeneid*. George Levitine, "Some Observations on the *Deluge* of Girodet: Ambiguity and Invention," 622 calls it undetermined. Within the *French Painting 1774-1830: Age of Revolution* exhibition catalogue, Rosenblum calls Regnault's painting biblical (page 167) while Schnapper sources it to Gessner (page 425) despite Cuzin's acknowledgement of its Ovidian basis (page 579-580). Carol Duncan, "Fallen Fathers: Images of Authority in Pre-Revolutionary French Art," *Art History* 4, no.2 (June 1981), 197 makes a case for the father/son dynamic deriving from Virgil's *Aeneid*.

⁸⁴ Denis Diderot, "Pensées détachés sur la peinture, la sculpture, et la poésie pour servir de suite aux Salons," in *Oeuvres de Denis Diderot* (Paris: Brière, 1821), 3: 175. "Ovide, dans ses métamorphoses, fournira à la peinture des sujets bizarre ; Homère les fournira grands." Schwartz, 10.

choice does not reflect Ovid's narrative, wherein no such event occurs, but rather Poussin's celebrated painting then at the Luxembourg Palace (fig. 54). This detail at the right of Poussin's landscape enjoyed the most admiration within his famed painting during the eighteenth-century.

Poussin's *Deluge* also inspired Nicolas Loir's 1668 lecture at the French Academy; the lecture itself was often re-read, thus keeping the painting in the forefront of artists' imaginations.⁸⁵ Loir praised the expressive distillation in Poussin's *Winter (Deluge)* and, indeed, it was the family group at the far right of Poussin's canvas that fascinated French viewers most. Eighteenth-century viewers found the impossibility of the action—the mother not quite able to reach the father to secure the child's safety—the most heart-wrenching in this bleak scene, making it a desirable model for emulation.⁸⁶

Eisen presented a somewhat similar grouping in the foreground of his composition. Apart from this non-textual focal point, Eisen's image otherwise closely adheres to Ovidian narrative. Indeed, he depicted people struggling to swim over the lands they had previously worked (that labor hinted at by the floating cow in the mid-ground), while others sought refuge on an isolated hilltop. In the background, a duo aboard a boat glides toward the horizon where a towering mountain appears, suggestive of Parnassus where Deucalion and Pyrrha (the only two survivors) would land. Inclusion of the survivors sailing to safety and the evidently successful outcome (at least for the moment) of the foreground rescue scene, with its rather modern-looking lady lifting a contented baby, lends Eisen's composition a pleasurable note. Eisen has presented a

⁸⁵ Nicolas Loir's 1668 conference appears in Henry Jouin, ed., *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* (Paris, 1883), 100ff. On the popularity of the painting and of Loir's lecture on it, see: Richard Verdi, "Poussin's *Deluge*: The Aftermath," *Burlington* 123, no.940 (July 1980): 389-401.

⁸⁶ Verdi, 391.

woman lifting a child toward a grounded man in his illustration; however, he has heightened the scene's pleasure (and lessened its pathos) through the success of that gesture and the prettification of the coiffed and fleshy figures, recalling somewhat the happy tumult of Neirids and Tritons in Rubens's Medici cycle (fig. 55). Eisen also shows one man lifting the woman while another receives the child; therein, family bonds become totally unclear but man's (or humanity's) goodness resonates providing an additional sense of security and enjoyment to the viewer.

Regnault also isolated and redirected the Poussinian human drama, but Regnault's configuration ultimately presented quite a different crisis than that of Poussin, Eisen, or Ovid in his dramatic confrontation of infant, adult, and elder. The moment Regnault has presented is invention more than illustration despite the assertion in the prospectus that the images would follow the text closely. The outcome of the deluge described by Ovid is the survival of only the most equitable man and the most virtuous woman (the previously mentioned Deucalion and Pyrrha). This renders the generational drama—the man's choice between elder and infant—even more peculiar in Regnault's composition, given that the outcome of Ovidian narrative stipulates that only husband and wife survived together when their boat hit land at mount Parnassus. In Regnault's composition the woman appears beyond rescue. Regnault presented a man with an impossible decision between venerable past and potential future; Regnault's composition garners its power through the uncertainty of the outcome of its depicted scene.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Duncan, "Fallen Fathers," 196-198 identifies the impossible decision. It merits mentioning that not all critics in 1789 saw this as a family drama. The "Suite du Salon de 1789," *Correspondence Litteraire* (Nov. 1789; reprinted Paris: Garnier, 1881): 14, 537-538 supposes no relationship between the figures prior to the encounter visualized in the painting.

No criticism of Regnault's book illustrations remains, but reactions to the comparable painting (fig. 52) provide a contemporaneous viewpoint. As Louis-François-Henri Lefébure noted in 1789:

The sensitive viewer, witness of this sublime struggle, turns pleading eyes toward the father, calls him to the aid of these compelling victims; the viewer beseeches him not to abandon two beings so dear: it is then, reviewing this sad group, the soul strongly affected, that one penetrates the real cause of the sadness, gloomy and profound in which the husband finds himself. In effect, what a horrible alternative –he sees himself forced either to throw his father into the torrent or to abandon his wife to it. The moment hastens that he must decide. What a deplorable situation! What dreadful anxiety! Thanks to the chaos into which pity throws our soul, the genius of the painter takes hold of it; he surrounds his subject with sinister objects: at every point on the canvas where the eye refers, one discovers a new disaster; the least apparent object, the lightest index, two feet that jut out from the water become a frightening image; everywhere that the spirit alights it finds no rest; everything right up to the naïve graces of the child who smiles in the danger, terrifies the imagination. One's soul is moved, one's heart is broken and tears brimming in the eyes of all tell the creator of such a beautiful work that he is worthy to be placed among the most famous artists.⁸⁸

Herein, the critic pinpointed the major change Regnault enacted; Regnault enhanced pathos through distillation of the scene *and* inclusion of a moral dilemma. Lefébure found the composition so moving that he claimed: “Voilà, the first touching subject in ten years to be treated all at once with wisdom, interest, and dignity by our school.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ [Louis-François-Henri Lefébure], *Verités agréables ou le Salon vu en beau* (Paris: Knapen et fils, 1789), 14-15. “Le spectateur sensible, témoin de cette lutte sublime, tourne des yeux suppliants vers le père, l’appelle au secours de ces victimes intéressantes ; il le conjure de ne pas abandonner deux objets si chers : c’est alors qu’en revoyant ce malheureux groupe, l’ame s’affecte plus vivement, on pénètre la juste cause de la douleur, morne et profonde ou l’époux se montre plongé. En effet, quelle horrible alternative il se voit forcé de rendre son père au torrent, ou d’y abandonner son épouse. L’instant presse, il faut se résoudre. Qu’elle situation déplorable ! qu’elle funeste anxiété ! C’est à la faveur du désordre ou la pitié jette notre ame, que le génie du Peintre s’en empare ; il entoure son sujet d’objets sinistres : à chaque point de la toile où l’œil se reporte on découvre un nouveau désastre ; l’objet le moins apparent, l’indice le plus léger, deux pieds qui sortent de l’onde deviennent une image effrayante ; par tout où l’esprit s’arrête il ne trouve plus de repos ; tout jusqu’aux graces naïves de cet enfant qui sourit dans le danger, épouvante l’imagination. L’ame s’émeut, le cœur se déchire, et des larmes prêtes à s’échaper (sic) de tous les yeux annoncent à l’Auteur d’un si bel ouvrage qu’il est digne de se placer parmi les Artistes les plus célèbres.”

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 13. “Voilà, depuis dix ans, le premier sujet pathétique traité tout-à-la-fois avec sagesse, intérêt et dignité par notre Ecole.”

A few decades earlier critics and theorists had lamented the uninspired repetition of Ovid's tales in paint. La Font had decried the immorality of mythological subjects and lamented the lack of narrative interest in the moments selected by painters at mid-century.⁹⁰ He found such subjects unworthy of great art in part because they were boring and repetitive; Diderot echoed this in his admission that rosy nudes were lovely, but that he had had enough of them and wanted to be moved first and then titillated –again, it is not just morality at stake, but also boredom.⁹¹ Caylus also took issue with Ovidian myth as overused in eighteenth-century French art and as difficult to interpret without the assistance of a written description.⁹² Thus, Regnault's reconfiguration of the *Deluge* narrative fit with renewed philosophical appreciation of myth and also addressed critical concerns over lack of artistic ingenuity in the depiction of well-known Ovidian subjects. Indeed, the anonymous critic of the *Observations Critiques* in 1789 noted that "Regnault had the art to find new beauties in subjects already treated in so many different ways;" he specified that Regnault's *Deluge* "is new and the effects are singular."⁹³

Critics also praised Regnault in comparison to illustrious predecessors. Regarding the *Deluge*, Lefébure opined that "Poussin himself would have been honored by it."⁹⁴ In the *Journal de Paris*, the critic proclaimed that "even though I do not like comparisons, I hope at least that Mr. Regnault will pardon me... I cannot stop myself from comparing this painting to Guido Reni, as much for the tone as for the beautiful

⁹⁰ Etienne de La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris, 1754), 297-299.

⁹¹ Diderot, *Essais sur la peinture* (1766), reprinted in *Oeuvres esthétiques*, ed. Paul Vernière (Paris: Garnier, 1959), 714.

⁹² Caylus, xxx.

⁹³ *Observations critiques sur les tableaux du sallon (sic) de l'année 1789. IIIe suite du discours sur la peinture* (Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1789), 20. "Il a eu l'art de trouver de nouvelles beautés dans deux sujets déjà traits de tant de manieres différentes." On page 21, "La conception du second tableau [the *Deluge*] est neuve, et les effets sont singuliers."

⁹⁴ [Lefébure], *Verités*, 13. "Possin (sic) lui-même s'en serait fait honneur."

manner of painting.”⁹⁵ The anonymous *Observateur* critic declared that “Carracci, treating the same subject, did not have a more sublime thought.”⁹⁶ Clearly, Regnault’s contemporaries were attuned to and appreciative of his successful emulation.

In addition to competitive updating of previous generations’ portrayals of the *Deluge*, Regnault’s composition also suggests emulation of the work of Michel-Honoré Bounieu that had been rejected from the 1783 Salon, exhibited in the artist’s studio that year, and engraved twice by 1788 (fig. 56).⁹⁷ Bounieu placed in the foreground a man, woman, and infant atop modest boulders surrounded by rushing water within a landscape that is desolate save one additional figure swimming in the mid-ground. Regnault upped the ante by adding the elderly male and nearly submerging the woman. Regnault’s revision presents not the pathetically doomed trio of Bounieu’s painting, but a sentimentally compelling and evocative choice. In neither Eisen’s nor Bounieu’s compositions is the viewer encouraged to work for the outcome or meaning, while in Regnault’s the ambiguity of the scene’s outcome encourages sentimental contemplation. As with the Ovidian love scenes, here again Regnault’s composition encourages the reader/viewer to learn through the misfortunes of others; however, there is now an added layer of complexity in that the outcome of the choice portrayed remains visually undecided and textually unspecified. Knowledge of the literary source does not guarantee comprehension of the scene; instead, viewers may ask themselves what they would do in a similar predicament. Therein readers and viewers would be encouraged to

⁹⁵ “Arts. Suite des observations sur le Salon de 1789,” *Journal de Paris* (October 7, 1789): 1282. “Quoique je n’aime point les comparaisons, j’espère qu’au moins M. Regnault me le pardonnera.. Je ne puis m’empêcher de comparer ce table au Guide, tant pour le ton que pour le belle manière de peintre.”

⁹⁶ “L’Observateur au Salon,” *L’Observateur* 8 (Paris: Chez Garney et Volland, 8 August 1789): 50. “Le Carache, en traitant le meme sujet, n’a pas eu une pensée plus sublime.”

⁹⁷ George Levitine, “Le *Déluge* oublié de Michel-Honoré Bounieu,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 103 (January 1984): 44-50.

tease out the moral and allegorical message themselves as suggested by Banier and reinforced by Court de Gébelin's preference for emotionally evocative symbolic language. Such qualities were precisely what attracted the critic Lefébure to Regnault's *Deluge* in 1789: "The great merit of this work is that the more one looks at it, the more one feels growing within oneself the movements of pity, of natural compassion, thanks to the successful disposition of the figures and the truth of the expression that animates them."⁹⁸

Regnault's *Deluge* received unanimous praise when he exhibited it at the Salon of 1789 for its pathos, but also for the interesting choice of subject. Furthermore, Regnault depicted a moment of tension wherein the choice had not yet been made, unlike David's more resolute *Horatii* or *Socrates*, but more akin with David's *Paris and Helen* shown at the same Salon (figs. 1, 57-58). In Regnault's *Deluge*, the pregnant moment becomes one of indecision rather than one hinting at a known future outcome, but the narrative of the composition is only indistinct in that regard; the moment itself and its psychological import are abundantly clear. The ambiguity of the outcome, thanks to the impossibility of the choice, contributes to the emotional impact of Regnault's work, thereby making out of Ovid a sentimentally compelling scene, rather than an obscurant one as Caylus had bemoaned a few decades prior. Indeed, the emotional and/or narrative tension in Neoclassical treatments of myth help to differentiate them from previous examples and unify them with canonical Neoclassical paintings.

Regnault may have selected this composition for a painted distillation for the 1789 Salon for a variety of reasons. Perhaps he hoped to advertise for the Didot

⁹⁸ [Lefébure], *Verités*, 13. "Le grande mérite de cet Ouvrage, c'est que plus on le regarde, plus on sent croître en soi les mouvements de la pitié, de la compassion naturelle, et cela par l'heureuse disposition des figures et la justesse d'expression qui les anime."

publication, which may have been lacking subscribers. Indeed, the artist recognized the importance of prints to disseminate his compositions, as well as the hierarchy of media that championed paintings over drawings and prints.⁹⁹ Clearly the composition and subject satisfied the artist enough for him to deem them worthy of almost immediate appearance at the Salon in a larger format and full color. While the drawings that would serve as the engraver's model for the final print were laboriously planned and executed, they were not as time-consuming to produce as a history painting, so print work allowed artists to explore a greater quantity and thus variety of ideas (in terms of subjects, compositions, and emotions) than would have been possible in the same amount of time in paint. Perhaps he found it to be his most successful composition among the 140 illustrations he had drawn, though he did translate many others to paint thereafter.

Perhaps, then, he found it to have a contemporaneous relevance and resonance that merited its immediate exhibition. Regnault actively inserted himself into the French classical tradition through his emulative updating of the *Deluge*, a worthwhile undertaking for the young Academician with a thriving studio. Furthermore, as George Levitine has demonstrated, the human focus and reduced cast of characters in Bounieu's *Deluge* may relate to Michel-François Dandr -Bardon's texts or to Salomon Gessner's poem, while the choice of subject may have been guided by recent natural disasters (such as the 1783 earthquake in Calabria) or the apocalyptic premonitions of S bastien

⁹⁹ Prigent, *passim* on Regnault's participation in the engraving of his *Education of Achilles*; Regnault was also one of the artists who signed Armand-Gaston Camus's report on Didot's illustrated edition of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The report commended the illustrations, despite their status as mere drawings, for having been executed by excellent artists. Armand-Gaston Camus, *Rapport fait   l'Institut national, au nom d'une commission speciale sur le Virgile de Didot l'ain * (Paris: Baudouin, 1798), 8-9.

Mercier.¹⁰⁰ Any of these might also have directed Regnault's interest within Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for the subject of a painted Salon contribution.

Regnault did not simply repeat the printed composition, however, but further distilled and intensified its drama for the painted variation. In the painted composition, Regnault includes no other survivors who could step forward to rescue the cute, chubby infant. In the printed illustration, adults huddled at the far right suggest a potential alternative for the infant, though none of those figures appears concerned by this central drama and the infant's thinner body and more strained gestures in the print intensify the dire immediacy of the situation. In the painting, Regnault has reoriented the woman and child to face the passing men and also lessened the distance between these two pairs thereby increasing the sense of immediacy in their confrontation. As Lefébure noted in 1789: "This old man carried by his son is of the most beautiful character, the head of the son comes out marvelously from the mantel of the elder naturally sprawling from the lively action. The looks of fear that the father and the son cast at the same time, in recognition of the collapse, prepare the soul for the spectacle of a new misfortune. In effect, two beings no less important will die."¹⁰¹ In both the painting and the print, the elder gestures dramatically with his outstretched arm and open hand in response to the duo below and, in so doing, visualizes not only his own reaction, but also that which his porter cannot articulate visually, his hands otherwise occupied as they are. Elder and man both look to the woman and child below and it is this moment of recognition, and of choice recognized but suspended, that creates the intense visual drama of the

¹⁰⁰ Levitine, "Le Déluge oublié de Michel-Honoré Bounieu," 44-50.

¹⁰¹ [Lefébure], *Verités*, 13. "Ce Vieillard porte par son fils est du plus beau caractère, la tête du fils ressort merveilleusement sur ce manteau du Vieillard naturellement étendu par une action vive. Ces regards d'effroi que jettent en même-temps le fils et le père, en se sauvant du naufrage (sic), préparent l'ame au spectacle d'un nouveau malheur. En effet, deux objets non moins intéressants vont périr."

composition. The left leg of the elder appears amputated at the knee, heightening his requirement of a porter; thus, by extension, the past literally cannot continue on without the support of the present.

Carol Duncan has demonstrated the possibility of sublimated feelings of aggression toward patriarchal authority on the eve of the French Revolution in Regnault's painted *Deluge* and in the proliferation of depictions of similarly inept, decrepit male elders in much French history painting in the second half of the eighteenth-century.¹⁰² Duncan saw Regnault's work as evoking Aeneas's rescue of his father and his son from burning Troy in Virgil's tale, which presents the continuity of cultural patrimony. She wrote: "If Regnault evokes Virgil's message, he appears to do so in order to throw its wisdom into doubt. In his treatment of the theme, the duty of the son is no longer self-evident, and the past now jeopardizes the future."¹⁰³ My identification of the source of Regnault's imagery in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* alters interpretation of the scene's implications, but in a way that nevertheless bolsters Duncan's overall argument regarding anxiety with patriarchal authority. The Deucalion deluge described in Ovid's text was precipitated by the appalling behavior of a king who literally fed on his people, rather than safeguarding their well-being. Jupiter metamorphosed that particular king, Lycaon, into a wolf, but subsequently decided that all humans were criminals and the entire population must be obliterated: hence, the deluge. Jupiter bellowed: "One house has fallen, but others deserve to also. Wherever the earth extends the avenging furies rule. You would think men were sworn to crime! Let them all pay the penalty they deserve,

¹⁰² Duncan, "Fallen Fathers," passim.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 197.

and quickly.”¹⁰⁴ This narrative certainly provides a strong indictment against the sins of Duncan’s “fallen fathers.” More specifically, Lycaon’s deeds may provide a suitable metaphor for the bleeding of the French treasury and the food shortages leading up to the French Revolution.

Flood narrative and imagery in particular may have another socio-political and literary resonance, previously unexplored with regard to Regnault’s work. Perhaps the focus upon the flood in Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger’s mythography and his interpretation of human history and social establishments directed the artist’s interest toward the deluge in his Ovidian undertaking, especially considering that Regnault’s library contained Boulanger’s work.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, Boulanger saw a universal deluge (specifically not the biblical flood) as the defining event of human history, which spawned the fear-driven religions and punishing governments predominant around the world. This controversial mythographic and socio-historical interpretation enjoyed especially great acclaim after 1789, because Boulanger’s assessment of human institutions as fear-driven and obsolete converged with Revolutionary thought; indeed, Boulanger’s texts enjoyed reeditions in the 1790s for just this reason.¹⁰⁶

Regnault devoted great attention to refocusing his *Deluge* composition for the 1787 *Metamorphoses* and exhibited his painted distillation of that composition both in 1789 and 1791, suggesting its relevance to his era as well as his own satisfaction with it.

¹⁰⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book one: fable 7 as translated by Anthony Kline.

¹⁰⁵ Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *L’Antiquité dévoilée par ses usages, ou examen critique des principales opinions, cérémonies et institutions religieuses et politiques des différens peuples de la terre* (Amsterdam: Rey, 1766). A counterpart to Boulanger’s posthumously published work was released in his name, though actually the work of Baron d’Holbach and his assistants: *Le Christianisme dévoilé, ou Examen des principes et des effets de la religion Chrétienne* (Paris, 1767). On the presence of Boulanger’s *Antiquité dévoilée* in Regnault’s library, see: Milovan Stanic, “La Bibliothèque de Jean-Baptiste Regnault,” in *Curiosité: Études d’histoire de l’art en honneur d’Antoine Schnapper* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), 211 and n. 108.

¹⁰⁶ Manuel, 210-227.

Furthermore, at the 1789 Salon the *Deluge* was paired with Regnault's *travaux d'encouragement*, the *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 37), suggesting Regnault's awareness and comprehension of mythographic interpretations of the interrelatedness of world religions; notably, Boulanger saw all Christian figures as derivations of pagan counterparts and Christianity itself as a fear- and wrath-based religion wherein man required salvation from himself and from this world.¹⁰⁷ As Barthélemy Jobert has demonstrated, artists were free to select (or at least suggest) their own subjects for the 1789 *travaux*.¹⁰⁸ Regnault's commission was to replace the damaged 1642 altarpiece by Jean Dubois (fig. 59), thus the general subject was predetermined; however, Regnault refocused the scene to highlight the human impact rather than the divine presence and in so doing also heightened the altarpiece's pathos. Regnault's focus on the Christian narrative of the passion of Christ reminds the viewer of humanity's fallen state that necessitated such a sacrifice; the flood (whether biblical or Ovidian) also arose from Godly/godly dissatisfaction with humans. Indeed, the conceptual pairing of his *Deluge* and his *Descent* altarpiece at the 1789 Salon, while previously unanalyzed, is underscored by Regnault's submission of an oil sketch of the latter to the 1791 Salon, where he re-exhibited the *Deluge*, as the altarpiece itself had left his possession.¹⁰⁹

Art-historical focus on the *exemplum virtutis* has placed impetus on stoic, heroic, civic works with strong, clear narrative thrust. Yet, civic conviction to the extreme of killing or dying for one's cause is clearly not the only worthy model (virtuous exemplar)

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Jobert, "The *Travaux d'encouragement*," 8.

¹⁰⁹ Mary Vidal, "David among the Moderns: Art, Science, and the Lavoisiers," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no.4 (October 1995) suggests a similar conceptual pairing of David's *Paris and Helen* with his much larger portrait of the Lavoisiers, despite their intended destinations with different owners, because he painted and intended to exhibit the works together at the Salon. The portrait was, of course, ultimately withheld from the Salon for political reasons.

painting could, should, or did provide. The ambiguity of Regnault's *Deluge* makes it a subtle, contemplative example urging the viewer to think and feel in order to complete its narrative, whose outcome is not dictated by the image or by knowledge of literary precedent. Regnault's is a cabinet-sized painting with a mythological underpinning and contemporaneous-looking protagonist, but is light years away from Boucher's works that would also fulfill those superficial criteria. Regnault's small painting exists in the same orbit as David's *Socrates* or *Paris and Helen*, yet even those small works are decidedly obvious in their narrative outcomes, for all they portray a moment of decision, their literary basis promises the viewer's comprehension of the outcome. The survivors of Ovid's flood are husband and wife, not parent and child as posited by Regnault's illustration and subsequent painting wherein the expiring female figure undertakes the essential role of reminding the present (man and elder) of the future (child). Bracketed between elder and infant, Regnault depicted a dwelling suggestive of civilization, which is at stake in (literally in the balance of) the man's decision.¹¹⁰

The emotional impetus of Regnault's painting underscores its kinship with David's reception piece and his *Paris and Helen* (figs. 184 and 58), while also recalling the emotional weight and presence in David's other famed works of the 1780s. Indeed, David's critics recognized favorably the human interest of the scene's emotional complexity in the female and the male figures depicted in his *Oath of the Horatii* (fig. 1).¹¹¹ The narrative tension comes via the emotionally charged figures and unites not just David's Roman and his mythic paintings, but also David's work in the 1780s with that of

¹¹⁰ I would like to thank the students in my summer 2009 course "Painting Mythology in France, 1700-1900" at the American University of Paris for bringing this observation to my attention.

¹¹¹ For example "Salon de 1785," in *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc.* (Paris: Garnier, 1880), 290.

his peers. Furthermore, art historian Mary Vidal has demonstrated that David's mythological *Cupid and Psyche* and *Telemachus and Eucharis* (figs. 60-61, which I address further in subsequent chapters), through narrative and composition, promote acquisition of knowledge through trial and error.¹¹² Her studies address not the overall status of mythology in French intellectual culture or within Neoclassicism, but rather David's consistent use of classical subjects for moralizing ends, as well as his clever invention of moments outside the written narratives he drew upon. Expanding on Dorothy Johnson's interpretation of David's pupil François Gérard's *Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 62) as indicative of visual and conceptual exploration of the psychological nuances of adolescent amorous interaction in the 1790s, I propose that such focus on youth and on emotion demonstrates a great dramatic and emotional investment in Neoclassical painting in general, in the era of David and Regnault, to stress the congruence of mythic and historical subjects in their emotional focus, which aligns with contemporaneous perception of the importance of emotion in human development and artistic engagement.¹¹³ A critic who praised Regnault in 1789 found fault with Joseph-Marie Vien in this regard: "Mr. Vien is always the same: always pure, always noble, always correct, and always of a severity that approaches frigidity."¹¹⁴ Emotions, including love,

¹¹² Mary Vidal, "'With a Pretty Whisper': Deception and Transformation in David's *Cupid and Psyche* and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*," *Art History* 22, no. 2 (June 1999): 214-243; Vidal, "David's *Telemachus and Eucharis*," 702-719.

¹¹³ Dorothy Johnson, "Myth and Meaning: Mythological Painting in France circa 1800," in *Frankreich 1800 Gesellschaft, Kultur, Mentalitäten*, ed. Gudrun Gersmann and Hubertus Kohle (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990): 23-33.

¹¹⁴ "L'Observateur au Salon," 48. "M. Vien est toujours le meme : toujours pur, toujours noble, toujours correct, et toujours d'une sévérité qui approche de la froideur."

are valid and valuable aspects of life essential to teaching and to understanding humanity.¹¹⁵

Recognition of the 1787 Ovid's educational imperative moves the study of mythology's potential for moral instruction away from David and his studio and into the larger cultural sphere, thereby moving away from the Modernist quest for individual genius and toward a broader cultural conception reincorporating myth into the fabric of Neoclassicism and of 1780s France. Regnault functioned as an important exemplar to his own studio of pupils as well as some of David's. David's pupil Anne-Louis Girodet, for example, sketched Regnault's *Deluge* at the 1789 Salon (fig. 63) and, shortly thereafter, painted his *Dead Christ Supported by the Virgin* (fig. 64), which draws on Regnault's *Descent* (fig. 37) that had been on view along with the *Deluge* (fig. 52).¹¹⁶ Girodet would later return to the flood theme for his 1806 Salon submission (fig. 65).¹¹⁷ Regnault's *Deluge* had not been forgotten; in a review of the 1806 Salon, Pierre Chaussard included an article on Regnault, wherein he asserted of the 1789 painting that "many artists consider it Regnault's masterpiece."¹¹⁸

Acknowledging the educational potential of myth, through focus on emotion and experience, in Regnault's production in the 1780s underscores and demonstrates cultural continuity with more canonical Neoclassical works and their interpretation in a moralizing context. While myth in the 1780s was less overtly politically or civically

¹¹⁵ Mary Vidal, "David among the Moderns," 595-623 discusses positive connotations of human amorous relationships current in France during the 1780s. Wilkins, *passim* addresses emotion in childhood education.

¹¹⁶ For a summary of scholarship on Girodet's *Dead Christ Supported by the Virgin*, see: Sylvain Bellenger, ed., *Girodet, 1767-1824* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2006), 202-205.

¹¹⁷ For a summary of scholarship on Girodet's *Deluge*, see: Bellenger, ed., *Girodet, 1767-1824*, 282-299.

¹¹⁸ Pierre Chaussard, "Notice historique et inédite sur M. Regnault," *Pausanias français; l'état des arts du dessin en France, à l'ouverture du XIXe siècle: Salon de 1806* (Paris: Buisson, 1806), 250. "Beaucoup d'Artistes regardent ce Tableau comme le chef-d'œuvre de M. Regnault."

motivated than say David's *Horatii* (fig. 1), it was not devoid of social utility or contemporaneous relevance. Mythic focus suggests continuity with Rococo subjects, while the style and educational focus demonstrate consistency with historical subjects more typically associated with canonical Neoclassicism. Recognition of Regnault's educational, socially conscious Ovidian illustrations for Didot in 1787 allows for reintegration of Ovid's classic text into the study of French Neoclassicism and also prepares us to better appreciate Regnault's solo exhibition in 1800 as charged with social, mythological, and artistic meaning, the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Otherworldly Perfection: Mythic Bodies, Mythic Ideals

French Neoclassical painting has been characterized by the prominence of the male body, especially the nude, as the bearer of ideals of form and narrative. Focus on the heroic Romulus and Ambassadors (figs. 66-67) or ephebic Endymion and Cupid (figs. 68-69) suggests that female figures functioned as domestic, emotive foils to the heroic men or were altogether eliminated from serious, progressive painting in the late eighteenth-century. Yet, as this chapter demonstrates, female nudes, like the ephebe, also inhabited and, indeed, embodied a realm of mythic ideal.

In his 1995 *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France*, Thomas Crow asserted: “The school of [Jacques-Louis] David from the time of the Revolution had wedded itself to the presupposition that a liberated society could be figured only in a male body of perfect soundness and beauty.”¹ Historian and gender theorist Joan Landes contrasted this high art ideal of the male body with the female dominated print culture of the Revolutionary era in her *Visualizing the Nation*, which builds on studies of the female body in Revolutionary prints and politics by Lynn Hunt, Maurice Agulhon, and Madelyn Gutwirth, among others.² Landes demonstrated that beautiful female bodies proliferated

¹ Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 299.

² Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 139. See also: Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne au combat: L’Imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979); Madelyn Gutwirth, *Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985).

in Revolutionary prints to render abstract ideals desirable and loveable (figs. 72-73). By considering paintings on public view, but without overtly political subjects, this chapter provides a broader artistic context. Expanding on Landes's work, I move beyond print culture to consider "high" art media and its theoretical underpinnings in order to broaden the context of a shift from a male artistic ideal to a female one, and one that moves beyond immediate political aims to claim ideals that transcend history.

Scholarly focus on heroic and ephobic male figures has promoted the notion of "sexual difference without women," to use art-historian Abigail Solomon-Godeau's turn of phrase, in the final decades of the eighteenth century.³ Solomon-Godeau held that, by the 1830s in French painting, "whereas male nudes had been traditionally embedded in narratives, their nudity itself a signifier of their ideal and heroic status, the female nude effectively became a genre in and of itself, increasingly detached from narrative, myth, or allegory."⁴ Perception of female nudes as a devoid of narrative import long colored study of nineteenth-century French academic painting as well as studies of Rococo painting, so closely linked with the female body. Recent revisionist assessments have revealed complex social resonances in the narrative ambiguity and surface pleasures of François Boucher's and Alexandre Cabanel's nudes (figs. 70-71).⁵ Yet, the scholarly hold of the all-male world of French Neoclassical painting, as described by Solomon-

³ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 61. The quoted phrase is a sub-heading within her chapter "The Body Politics of Homosexuality."

⁴ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation," *Art History* 16, no.2 (June 1993): 286. She expands upon this notion with regard to Ingres particularly in her "The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. Victoria de Grazia (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1996), 113-150.

⁵ On Boucher, see: Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and his Critics* (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2006); Jo Hedley, *François Boucher: Seductive Visions* (London: Wallace Collection, 2004). On Cabanel, see: Jennifer Shaw, "The Figure of Venus: Rhetoric of the Ideal and the Salon of 1863," *Art History* 14 (1991): 540-570.

Godeau, Crow, Alex Potts and others, insists upon its gendered difference from both the Rococo and later classicizing work and leaves its female nudes unanalyzed.⁶ The female figure in French Neoclassical painting has been associated instead with domestic, familial concerns enacted by history's virtuous wives' and mothers' bodies, covered, save the occasional maternal breast (fig. 66).⁷

Solomon-Godeau described Jean-Baptiste Regnault as “producing (somewhat exceptionally for the period) icons of eroticized femininity, as in the 1812 Judgment of Paris [fig. 74], succeeding manly heroes, or even couples in which a doll-like and diminutive femininity is contrasted with an exaggerated masculinity, as in his [...] Alcestis [fig. 75].”⁸ Indeed, she observed that a “withdrawal of the eroticized male body from visual culture and its replacement by an eroticized female one can be traced in the careers of many of the period's artists, such as Regnault as well as David's own students,” though the eroticized female body was not the focus of her study.⁹ Thus, it is to the “exceptional” Regnault that this chapter turns to explore the proposed but unanalyzed presence of the mythic female nude during the heyday of the ephebe.

In avowing Regnault as an alternative to David, recent scholarship has perpetuated the notion of Regnault as David's binary opposite.¹⁰ While I do not wish to

⁶ Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*; Crow, *Emulation*; Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994). On the gendering of style, see: Hyde, *passim*.

⁷ Carol Duncan, “Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art,” *Art Bulletin* 55 (December 1973): 570-583; Robert Rosenblum, “Caritas Romana after 1760: Some Roman Lactations,” in *Woman as Sex Object: Studies in Erotic Art, 1730-1970*, ed. Thomas B. Hess and Linda Nochlin (New York: Newsweek Books, 1972), 42-63; Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, “David's *Sabine Women*: Body, Gender, and Republican Culture under the Directory,” *Art History* 14, no.3 (September 1991): 397-430.

⁸ Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 69-70. Parentheses per the original. I have removed the title *Abduction of Alcestis* that Solomon-Godeau gave to Regnault's *Hercules and Alcestis*, as it does not accurately describe the subject, nor does it reflect period titling of the work, as cited below.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

¹⁰ Sylvain Bellenger, ed., *Girodet, 1767-1824* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2006), 224 and 260 n.11.

recast Regnault as another David, viewing Regnault as the antithesis of David posits Regnault as rearguard to David's avant-garde and implies a lack of contemporaneous socio-political resonance in Regnault's work. Sylvain Bellenger, for instance, referred to Girodet's 1798 *Danaë* (fig. 76) as "the painting in Girodet's oeuvre that most closely resembles the work of Jean-Baptiste Regnault," though no particular work was mentioned or illustrated.¹¹ Since Girodet's painting was a private commission for interior decoration, this linkage seems to equate female nudity and Regnault's work with decoration and elite private consumption.¹² But, while Girodet's 1798 painting was seen by a limited audience in the collector's home, Regnault's female nudes appeared at Salons (for example, figs. 34, 35, and 77 at the Salons of 1785 and 1795) and at his own, as yet unanalyzed, for-profit exhibition at the Louvre in 1800.¹³ Recognition of Girodet's female nudes, as Bellenger noted, has "changed the twentieth-century's vision of Girodet, a vision influenced by a fascination for *Endymion*'s [fig. 68] homoeroticism. Wider knowledge of Girodet's production has revealed his equal interest in female eroticism."¹⁴ Thus, there has been a call for a move away from the male-centered art-historical studies

Charles Blanc, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault," *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: École française* (Paris: Renouard, 1865), 2 refers to Regnault as the "spiritual antagoniste de David." On the David/Regnault binary more recently, see: Christopher Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, Courtauld Institute, 1980); Sells, "A Late Work by Jean-Baptiste Regnault," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 8 (1976): 87-95; Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault's *Judgment of Paris*," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 53, no.3/4 (1975): 119; Mehdi Korchane, "Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833) et l'art français de la Révolution à la monarchie de Juillet" (Ph.D. diss., Université Lyon 2, 2005), 41; Jean-Pierre Cuzin, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault," in *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 577.

¹¹ Bellenger, 257.

¹² Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 91 and 133.

¹³ The existence of Regnault's exhibition has been mentioned, for example: Udolpho van de Sandt, "Institutions et concours," in *Aux Armes et aux arts! Les Arts de la Révolution, 1789-1799*, ed. Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel (Paris: Adam Biro, 1988), 161. Blanc, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault," 2 asserts that it was a great success. Jacques-Louis-Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David* (Paris: Havard, 1880), 1: 364 assures readers that Regnault's exhibition was a failure, because Regnault's name was familiar to only a small group of amateurs, though this supposed unfamiliarity is quite clearly untrue. Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 154 asserts that Regnault's exhibition brochure demonstrated his interest in his subjects.

¹⁴ Bellenger, ed., 259.

of the 1980s and 1990s, which focused on painted ephebic bodies as well as their perceived homosocial environment.

Susan Siegfried's recent study of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres builds on Bellenger's recognition of Girodet's interest in female eroticism and contextualizes Ingres's early work (fig. 79) therein.¹⁵ Yet, focusing upon Girodet's 1798 painting as a possible motivator in the younger artist's commitment to the female form, further reinforces a trajectory of female nudity as primarily a formal, decorative concern, while entirely overlooking the example of Regnault. While Girodet's *Danaë* and Ingres's *Venus* (figs. 76 and 79) share striking similarities, and while Ingres, as Siegfried proposed, indeed may have seen Girodet's unexhibited painting or his sketches in his studio, I contend that Regnault's public championing of the mythic female nude provides a broader context for studying the idealized female form and the vogue for its inclusion in the Roman *envoi* of Ingres and his peers in the first decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ Indeed, Regnault presented to a "liberated society," to repeat Crow's words, carefully selected and executed representations of the *female* "body of perfect soundness and beauty." This chapter's reconsideration of Regnault's work elucidates previously understudied French Neoclassical paintings and allows for exploration of theory and criticism of mythic female nudity, which has been overshadowed by the ephebe in art history and which harkens new directions in nineteenth-century painting.

Regnault's contemporaries recognized the excellence of his nudes. In 1786, Hubert Robert recorded an interaction he had with David within a letter to the comte d'Angiviller: "I fear that he [David] will not take on the small painting after Bouchardon

¹⁵ Susan Siegfried, *Ingres: Painting Reimagined* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), chapter 2 "The 'Imaginary' of the Female Nudes and Portraits," especially 98.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73-75 regarding the Roman *envoi*.

presumably for fear of not succeeding at it as he would wish to, since he told me that no one could do this better than Regnault.”¹⁷ The female bather that Regnault executed after a drawing by Bouchardon (and which is recorded in Angiviller’s 1794 inventory) is now lost, but David’s perceived insecurity in that area of representation vis-à-vis his peer confirms Regnault’s apparent early pre-eminence.¹⁸

In his 1806 notice on Regnault in the *Pausanias français*, Pierre Chaussard declared: “The purity of drawing and the charm of the brush come together in Regnault in a grand vigor of execution: perhaps no artist better painted the torso. [...] The character of this artist is no less recommendable than his talent.”¹⁹ The critic was also a champion of David, but when it came to the nude Chaussard favored Regnault.²⁰ This assessment continued throughout the artist’s lifetime. Alexandre Lenoir, writing in 1830, also drew attention to Regnault’s facility and excellence in rendering the mythic female nude. He highlighted “the *Judgment of Paris* [fig. 74], where one remarks above all the figure of Venus; everything about her is enchanting; she is beautiful; she is beauty itself.”²¹ He

¹⁷ Hubert Robert manuscript letter to comte d’Angiviller dated as received February 7, 1786. Archives National (Paris) O/1/1919. “J’ai vu aussy David. Il m’a paru tres sensible au Refus de la permission pour fair mouler le gladiateur il espere vous flechir en allant vous expliquer luy meme ses raisons. Je crains qu’il ne se charge pas du petit tableau d’après Bouchardon dans la crainte vraisemblablement de n’y pas reussir comme il le desirait car il m’a dit que personne ne pourrait faire cela mieux que Renaud.” All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

¹⁸ L. Tuetey, ed., “Rapport des commissaries de la commission des monuments chargés par elle de se transporter dans la maison de l’émigré d’Angiviller, bis rue de l’Oratoire, des 10 et 12 avril, l’an 2e de la République,” reprinted within the “Procès-verbaux de la Commission des Monuments,” *Nouvelles archives de l’art français* 17 (1901): 335. “24. Un de Regnault, de forme ronde, d’après le dessin de Bouchardon de 18 pouces, représentant une femme au bain.”

¹⁹ Pierre Chaussard, “Notice historique et inédite sur M. Regnault,” *Pausanias français; l’état des arts du dessin en France, à l’ouverture du XIXe siècle: Salon de 1806* (Paris: Buisson, 1806), 257. “La pureté du dessin et le charme du pinceau, s’unissent chez lui à une grande vigueur d’exécution : aucun Artiste n’a peut-être mieux peint un Torse. [...] Le caractère de cet Artiste n’est pas moins recommandable que son talent.”

²⁰ On Chaussard’s championing of David, see: Lajer-Burcharth, “David’s *Sabine Women*,” passim.

²¹ Alexandre Lenoir, “Cabinet de feu Regnault,” *Journal des artistes* (1830): 31-32. “Plusieurs grands tableaux y figurent, entre autres le *Jugement de Pâris*, où l’on remarque surtout le personnage de Vénus; tout en elle est enchanteur; elle est belle; elle est la beauté même. Les vers adressés à la Vénus de Cnide, qui se lisent dans l’Anthologie, expriment mieux que je ne puis le faire le mérite de l’ouvrage de Regnault.

had even greater praise for Regnault's *Three Graces* (fig. 80), which he believed depicted "the perfection of the human form."²² Lenoir also reminded readers regarding the *Three Graces* and *Death of Adonis* (figs. 80-81): "One can see with pleasure these two very classical paintings in the king's museum."²³ Thus, Lenoir found the perfection of the human form in Regnault's paintings of mythological *female* nudes, rather than in his *Education of Achilles*, *Descent*, or *Deluge* (figs. 29, 37, and 52) all of which were also mentioned and celebrated in Lenoir's article, but which feature the male body.

Moreover, Lenoir followed his praise of the "truly classical" paintings of the female nude by warning the younger generation that "if they do not promptly return to serious study of antique statues and of paintings by great masters, they are lost."²⁴ Herein, Lenoir's article implicitly recommended Regnault's own classicizing female nudes for study in the museum.

While Lenoir's description of the 1793-1794 *Three Graces* (fig. 80) as "very classical" may seem obvious, it has been long overshadowed by Charles Blanc's estimation, in the 1860s and heyday of Realism, that the combination of real and ideal elements gave the work the "character of a genre painting."²⁵ Regnault's three idealized nudes present the female body in frontal, rear, and profile views (as is typical of depictions of the Graces) against a dark background with subtle indications of an outdoor

Cypris passait à Cnide, elle y trouva Cypris.... O ciel ! dit la déesse émue, Quel objet se présente à mes regards surpris ! Aux yeux de trois mortels j'ai paru toute nue : Adonis, Anchise et Pâris ; Mais Praxitèle, où m'a-t-il vue ? Regnault a peint aussi les trois *Grâces*, tableau dont le dessin peut être considéré comme la perfection des formes humaines. Il n'a jamais eu la prétention d'être grand coloriste ; mais la peinture des *Grâces*, dont on admirait la fraîcheur, est aujourd'hui (sic) si décolorée, qu'elle ne fait presque plus que l'effet d'un dessin. Un autre tableau qui représente la *Mort d'Adonis*, nous montre le beau faire de Guide, sous un aspect plus agréable et moins prétentieux. On verrait avec plaisir ces deux tableaux, vraiment classiques, au Musée du roi."

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 32. "Mon ami, s'ils ne retournent promptement à l'étude sérieuse des statues antiques et des peintures de nos grands maîtres, ils sont perdus."

²⁵ Blanc, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault," 2.

setting; however, the distinctive faces and varied hair colors of the three women fueled later nineteenth-century speculation on Regnault's use of his female pupils for models, or at least live studio models.²⁶ More recent publications have proposed classical and Renaissance Graces (figs. 82-83) as further sources, but none, to my knowledge, has suggested a Venus model.²⁷ Specifically, Regnault's two peripheral Graces appear to be rendered from two viewpoints of the Medici Venus, as reproduced in the engravings accompanying Gérard Audran's 1683 treatise on human bodily proportions (fig. 84), which was part of Regnault's library.²⁸ The central figure may be based on the back view of the same sculpture or on the Callipygian Venus, famed for her ideal posterior, also included in Audran's treatise (figs. 85-86). Certainly, basing the Graces on a Venus prototype harmonizes with the role of the Graces as companions of Venus. More generally, Audran's seventeenth-century treatise promoted a viewpoint on classicism similar to that of Johann Joachim Winckelmann in the eighteenth century, in their shared linkage of a nation's art with its climate and in their belief in the superiority of Greek sculptures, even over nature, as models for modern artists.²⁹ The "perfection of the

²⁶ Writing during the heyday of French Realism, Blanc ("Jean-Baptiste Regnault," 2) insisted upon Regnault's commitment to live models. Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 451-452 repeats the gossipy speculation of the late nineteenth century that the Graces were based on Regnault's pupils. A.Y., "Mademoiselle Hémery," *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* no. 574 (February 29, 1892): 222-223 references two previous discussions in the same publication regarding speculations of Regnault's having posed his female students in the nude for his *Three Graces* and clarified that Regnault used his students faces, but not their bodies, for the painting, citing Hémery's *Souvenirs*, which the 1892 author admitted to having not consulted. Albertine Clément-Hémery, *Souvenirs de 1793 et 1794* (Cambrai: Lesne-Daloin, 1832), 22 and 49 n.11 asserts that Regnault employed studio models and borrowed his pupils faces for certain "tableaux de chevalet" including *Diana and Callisto* and *Mars Disarmed by the Graces*; she makes no mention of the *Three Graces*.

²⁷ On classical and Renaissance Graces as sources, see: Musée du Louvre, Documentation de peinture, MI 1101; Guillaume Faroult, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault: Les Trois Grâces," in *Catalogue de la collection La Caze* (Paris: Hazan and Musée du Louvre editions, 2007), 631-632.

²⁸ Gérard Audran, *Les Proportions du corps humain* (Paris: Audran, 1683), plate 15. On Regnault's library, see: Milovan Stanic, "La Bibliothèque de Jean-Baptiste Regnault," in *Curiosité: Études d'histoire de l'art en honneur d'Antoine Schnapper* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), 211 and 216 n.83.

²⁹ Audran, preface.

human form” that Lenoir saw evidenced in Regnault’s 1793-1794 *Three Graces* (fig. 80) embodies contemporaneous theoretical issues regarding the idealized female nude, grace, and the Graces found in Winckelmann’s work as well as a variety of French treatises.

Winckelmann wrote specifically about the Medici Venus (fig. 87); however, with so much scholarly attention focused on the male body in Neoclassical painting, his studies and theories of the female form have been generally overlooked.³⁰ In his 1764 *History of Ancient Art*, translated into French by 1766 and updated regularly thereafter, Winckelmann praised the Medici Venus as embodying the ideal female form. He wrote:

Among the goddesses, Venus is outstanding, not only as the goddess of beauty, but because she alone, with the Graces, and the Seasons or Hours, has the privilege of appearing undraped. She also is found represented more frequently than any other goddess, and in different ages. Now, I will give a brief description of the statue of this goddess located in Florence. The Medici Venus resembles a rose which appears, after a lovely dawn, and unfolds its leaves to the rising sun. She passes from an age which is hard and somewhat harsh –like fruits before their perfect ripeness– into another, in which all the vessels of the animal system are beginning to dilate, and the breasts to fill out. When I contemplate her attitude, it brings to mind Lais who Apelles instructed in love: I imagine seeing her as she appeared, when she saw herself obligated to remove her clothes for the first time and to present herself nude to the eyes of the ecstatic artist.³¹

³⁰ Despite Regnault’s lengthy Roman sojourn and acquaintance with Anton-Raphael Mengs, his work has been only marginally addressed in studies of Winckelmannian notions of ideal male beauty, which have instead focused on the work of David and his pupils. See, for example: Potts, chapter 7; Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*. Moreover, such studies have overlooked Winckelmann’s analysis of female form, because of its brevity in comparison to his study of the male body. Since he spent the 1780s and early 1790s following his signature with “*de Rome*” to confirm his allegiances with developments taking place there, Winckelmannian ideals, both of the female body and of grace in general, should not fail to be considered in terms of his 1793-1794 *Three Graces*. I addressed Regnault’s acquaintance with Mengs at length in the previous chapter.

³¹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Histoire de l’art chez les anciens*, trans. Gottfried Sellius, ed. Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet (Paris: Saillant, 1766). I have used the more comprehensive 1789 translation for the present chapter, since it is more contemporaneous with the paintings under consideration. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Histoire de l’art chez les anciens*, trans. M. Huber (Paris: Barrois; Savoye, 1789), 2: 76. “Parmi les divinités, Vénus comme la déesse de la beauté, occupe à juste titre le premier rang. Elle seule avec les Graces (sic) et les déités des saisons ou les Heures, a le privilège de paroître (sic) sans vêtement. Elle se trouve aussi représentée plus souvent que les autres déesses, et cela dans différens (sic) âges. Je ferai ici une courte description de la statue de cette déesse, conservée à Florence. La Vénus de Médicis est semblable à une rose qui paroît (sic) à la suite d’une belle aurore, et qui s’épanouit au lever du soleil. Elle entre dans cet âge où les vaisseaux commencent à s’étendre, où le sein prend de la consistance. Quand je la contemple dans son attitude, je me représente cette Lais qu’Apelle instuisoit (sic) dans les mystères de

Winckelmann thus concluded with a flattering notion of the artist's privileged view of the modest beauty. In depicting mythic female nudes, artists could self-position within this history of great artists as those granted access to perfection. Honoré Lacombe de Prezel, in his 1779 *Iconological Dictionary*, found the Medici Venus to improve upon nature in its idealism: "Everyone who saw it agrees that it is the most beautiful female body that one could imagine, and that art, in this point, seems to have surpassed nature."³² Thus, to depict the goddess's form was to outdo nature in achieving the perfection of art, and it is no surprise that artists of the nude would emulate the Medici Venus, which was also praised in French art theory of the 1760s by Charles-Henri Watelet and Michel-François Dandré-Bardon.³³

The classical female form departed considerably from the ideal type of earlier eighteenth-century France, as seen in François Boucher's female figures (figs. 88-89). The typical Boucher nude (of the 1730s through 1760s) had small shoulders and a slim waist surmounting full hips and thighs that tapered toward delicate feet. The whole was typically rosy and topped by an ovoid head with large eyes, jutting chin, and full cheeks.³⁴ This sort of nude deviated markedly from the classical profile and diminished ratio of hip to waist to shoulder evidenced in the Medici Venus, which was not even

l'amour : je me figure la voir comme elle parut, lorsqu'elle se vit obligée la première fois d'ôter ses vêtemens (sic) et de se présenter nue aux yeux de l'artiste extasié."

³² Honoré Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique, ou Introduction de la connoissance des peintures, sculptures, estampes. Nouvelle édition, revue et considérablement augmentée* (Paris: Hardouin, 1779), 2: 277-278. "Tous ceux qui l'ont vue conviennent que c'est le plus beau corps de femme que l'on puisse se figurer, et que l'art en ce point semble avoir surpassé la nature."

³³ Claude-Henri Watelet, *L'Art de peindre. Poëme, avec des réflexions sur les différentes parties de la peinture. Nouvelle édition* (Amsterdam, 1761), 81 and plate following page 86; Michel François Dandré-Bardon, *Traité de peinture suivi d'un essai sur la sculpture pour servir d'introduction à une histoire universelle, relative à ces beaux-arts* (Paris: Saillant, 1765), 55.

³⁴ Philippe Perrot, *Le Travail des apparences. Le Corps féminin XVIIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1984), 69-70.

mentioned in Lacombe de Prezel's *Iconological Dictionary* of 1756, but received glowing praise in the second edition, published in 1779, perhaps attesting to a shift in French taste during this period.³⁵

When the female body type favored in earlier eighteenth-century painting began to be replaced by the classicizing Grecian model of antique sculptures, many critics objected. Jean-Hugues Taraval's *Autumn: Triumph of Bacchus* (fig. 16), the first eighteenth-century contribution to the completion of the Louvre's Apollo Gallery's ceiling, appeared at the 1769 Salon where Daudet de Jossac deemed the chariot's female occupant "*une grosse dondon*" or a big fatty.³⁶ Charles-Nicolas Cochin affirmed this assessment of the female figure in his rebuttal: "Haven't you been told that drinkers have a fondness for big fat women?"³⁷ These pejorative descriptions implicitly contrasted the hearty body with the delicate, doll-like type common to so much Rococo painting. Even Denis Diderot described Taraval's figures as "low and ignoble," reinforcing conceptual alignment of broader bodies with coarseness.³⁸ Yet, a few years later, when Louis-Jacques Durameau exhibited his *Summer: Ceres and her Companions Beseeking the Sun* (fig. 17) at the 1775 Salon, critics praised the classically proportioned female figures

³⁵ Honoré Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique, ou Intrudction de la connoissance des peintures, sculptures, estampes* (Paris: Hansy, 1756), 289-293 for the entry on Venus; Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique...Nouvelle édition* (1779), 2: 277-278.

³⁶ [Daudet de Jossac,] *Lettres sur les peintures gravures et sculptures qui ont été exposées cette année au Louvre, par M. Raphael, peintre de l'Académie de Saint Luc, entrepreneur general des Enseignes de la ville, faubourgs et banlieu de Paris, à M. Jérôme, son ami, rapeur de tabac et riboteur*, 30-31, in *Collection Deloynes* 9, no.123. As quoted and cited in Brigitte Gallini, "Jean-Hugues Taraval. *Autumn* or *The Triumph of Bacchus*," trans. Michael Gibson in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris: Gallimard and Musée du Louvre, 2004), 130. On the term "dondon," see Louis-Antoine Caraccioli, *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentieux* (Lyon: Benoît Duplain, 1768), 1: 113. "DONDON. Cela ne se dit que d'une fille du commun, et cela signifie une personne grosse et grasse, et de taille un peu ramassée."

³⁷ [Charles-Nicolas Cochin,] *Réponse de M. Jérôme, rapeur de tabac à M. Raphael*, 26-27, in *Collection Deloynes* 9, no.125. As quoted and cited in Gallini, "Jean-Hugues Taraval. *Autumn* or *The Triumph of Bacchus*," trans. Gibson in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 130.

³⁸ Denis Diderot, "Salon de 1769," in his *Salons*, ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 4: 102. "Des caractères bas et ignobles."

as “beautiful, noble, well-drawn” and specified that “Ceres’ pose and the composition of these reclining and orderly nymphs at the front are the most pleasing part.”³⁹ By the time Antoine-François Callet’s Apollo Gallery contribution, *Spring: Zephyr and Flora Crowning Cybele with Flowers* (fig. 19), appeared at the 1781 Salon, the fuller female form (albeit fully clothed) of his Cybele was wholly approved. Indeed, the ample body struck critics as appropriate for an allegorical figure of Spring, a season of plentiful regeneration. The anonymous author of the *Mémoires secrets* remarked the “striking” Cybele “a corpulent and robust woman, whose exuberant vitality foretells the effects of the season on nature when she revives all things to distribute and lavish her treasures upon them.”⁴⁰ Critics found that the fuller female figure of Cybele embodied notions of vigor, strength, and health, as well as natural abundance and her classical facial type exuded nobility and grace. By contrast, within the same painting, Flora’s head was seen to lack beauty in comparison to the classical Zephyr or to Cybele’s “noble and graceful” visage.⁴¹

³⁹ *Observations sur les ouvrages exposés au Sallon (sic) du Louvre, ou Lettre à M. le comte de **** (Paris, 1775), as transcribed in Collection Deloynes 10, no.160. “Belles, nobles, bien dessinées.” Diderot, “Salon de 1775,” in his *Salons*, ed. Sezneq and Adhémar, 4: 289 repeats the wording of the *Observations. Lettre première sur les peintures, sculptures et gravures de Meisieurs de l’Académie Française, exposée au Sallon (sic) du Louvre le 25 Août 1775* (Paris: 7 September 1775), reprinted in *Lettres sur les peintures, sculptures et gravures de Mrs. de l’Académie Royale, exposée au Sallon (sic) du Louvre depuis 1767 jusqu’en 1779* (London: Adamson, 1780), 180. “L’attitude de Cérés, l’ordonnance de ces Nymphes, couchées et rangées sur le devant du Tableau, sont ce que l’on aime le mieux.”

⁴⁰ “Lettre première sur le salon du 25 août 1781,” *Mémoires secrets* 19 (1783): 298. “Le plus saillant est celui de Cybelle, sous la forme d’une femme corpulente et robuste, dont la surabondance de vie annonce l’effet de la saison sur la nature, à ces instants où elle se ranime de toutes parts pour épancher et prodiguer ses trésors.” Neil McWilliams, ed., *A Bibliography of Salon Criticism from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration, 1699-1827* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 74-75 tentatively identifies the 1781 *Mémoires secrets* author as Moufle d’Angerville.

⁴¹ Brigitte Gallini, “Antoine-François Callet. *Spring or Zephyr and Flora Crowning Cybele with Flowers*,” trans. Michael Gibson in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 145. The quoted description comes from the anonymous, *Panard au Sallon* (1781), as transcribed in *Collection Deloynes* 12, no.259. “Beau tableau dont le plus grand défaut est de n’être pas vu à la place qui lui est destinée. Composition riche, riante et vigoureuse. Le groupe de la Terre traînée par ses lions, est admirable, le caractère de tête de Cibèle est noble et gracieux ; mais Flore est d’un ton de craie.”

This equation of the robust female body with abundance and nature also appeared in French medical and social treatises of the period. Indeed, the frail body came to be associated with the corset and infertility, while a more robust female body suggested the strength and health required to populate the nation.⁴² This viewpoint certainly aligned women with procreation and domestic tasks, divorced from urban and political activities, but it also broke with notions of a debauched and artificial femininity of the *ancien régime*.⁴³ Although Landes ascribed the revival of classical bodies to a Revolutionary desire to dissociate from national history, the shift in artistic ideal also predated the Revolution, as did association of it with regeneration; robust people were even deemed one of the king's greatest riches as early as 1778.⁴⁴ The hearty female body of ancient Greek sculptures evoked notions of the natural, albeit in its most perfected form.

Regnault's *Three Graces* (fig. 80) inhabit an outdoor setting underscoring the alignment of these bodies with nature. The blossoms in their hair heighten this linkage and also recall Winckelmann's sensual language, evoking opening flowers and ripening fruit, used in discussing the perfection of the Medici Venus. Such language resembles his now better-known descriptions of male nudes and also identifies the female figure as youthful, just at the moment of transition from childhood toward maturity, thus comparable to an ephebe. The youth of Regnault's figures, their antique model, and

⁴² Perrot, 80. Jacques Bonnaud, *Dégradation de l'espèce humaine par l'usage des corps à baleine : Ouvrage dans lequel on démontre que c'est aller contre les lois de la nature, augmenter la dépopulation et abâtardir pour ainsi dire l'homme de la mettre à la torture dès les premiers moments de son existence, sous prétexte de le former* (Paris: Hérisant fils, 1770), passim regarding the more robust female body as embodying the strength and health required to populate the nation.

⁴³ Erica Rand, "Depoliticizing Women: Female Agency, the French Revolution, and the Art of Boucher and David," in *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History after Postmodernism*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2005), 143-157 on the exclusion of women from political activities.

⁴⁴ Perrot, 76; Jean-Baptiste Moheau, *Recherches et considérations sur la population de la France* (Paris: Moutard, 1778), 11 describes robust people as the king's greatest riches.

comparable ephebes aligned them with eighteenth-century notions of the natural being, but also made them resolutely divine.⁴⁵

Although scholarship on the ideal, youthful body has been so dominated by the male ephebe (figs. 68-69), as to imply no female equivalent, Winckelmann observed that “the youth of divinities of both sexes has its degrees and its different ages, in the representation of which art strives toward rendering all kinds of beauty.”⁴⁶ On the youth of Greek gods *and* goddesses, Winckelmann declared:

Could human perception, in creating living divinities, embody anything more dignified, anything more attractive for the imagination, than the state of eternal youth, than the spring of an unalterable life, of which the memory alone contrives to enchant us still in our more advanced age? This picture would be analogous to the idea of the immutability of a divine being: the beautiful stature of a young and brilliant divinity would give birth to love and tenderness, the sole affections that can ravish the soul in sweet ecstasy. And is it not this ravishing of the senses that consists the human felicity that was sought in all religions, well or badly understood?⁴⁷

Beauty and youth, according to Winckelmann, ravish the viewer’s spirit and inspire love and contentment. Such ideas reverberate in Winckelmann’s description of the Medici Venus, which he claimed to inspire love courtesy of the youthful perfection of its forms. Winckelmann’s analysis of the ancient Greeks’ equation of their deities with youth and beauty was common enough knowledge in France for the 1792 *Dictionary of Art* to

⁴⁵ D. G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), chapter 7 addresses eighteenth-century understandings of children as natural as compared to adults; chapter 8 outlines the eighteenth-century alignment of nature with benevolence and goodness and demonstrates contemporaneous understanding of women as closer to nature than men and as always remaining child-like (see especially 165 in that regard).

⁴⁶ Winckelmann, *Histoire*, 2: 52. “La jeunesse des divinités de l’un et de l’autre sexe avoit (sic) ses degrés et ses âges différens (sic), dans la représentation desquels l’Art s’attacha à rendre toutes les beautés.”

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 50-51. “La conception humaine, en créant des divinités sensibles, pouvoit-elle se figurer rien de plus digne, rien de plus attrayant pour l’imagination, que l’état d’une jeunesse éternelle, que le printemps d’une vie inaltérable, dont le souvenir seul nous enchante encore dans un âge plus avancé ? Ce tableau étoit (sic) analogue à l’idée de l’immuitabilité d’un être divin : la belle stature d’une divinité jeune et brillante faisoit (sic) naître l’amour et la tendresse, les seules affections qui puissent ravir l’ame (sic) en une douce extase. Et n’est-ce pas dans ce ravissement des sens, que consiste la félicité humaine qui a été recherchée dans toutes les religions, bien ou mal entendues ?”

include it, without further justification, in the entry on mythology.⁴⁸ Recognition of the context of contemporaneous art theory extends our understanding of the alignment of desirable forms with desirable ideas from the particular historical and political confines, outlined by Landes, into a larger social and artistic context.

The youthful beauty of the *Three Graces* conveyed more than just their divine status, it also reinforced their conceptual association with innocence, charm, and good deeds. Regarding the demeanor of the Graces in ancient sculptures, Winckelmann found that “the physiognomy of these deities expresses neither gaiety nor gravity, it announces the sweet satisfaction, peculiar to the innocence of this age.”⁴⁹ Antoine Mongez (whose wife was in Regnault’s studio during 1793-1794) plagiarized this line from Winckelmann for his own assessment of the Graces in his 1786-1794 *Dictionary of Antiquity* and ascribed further resonance to the youthfulness of the mythic Graces.⁵⁰ He elaborated that “they are painted young because charms are always regarded as the lot of youth.”⁵¹ Moreover, Mongez wrote: “They are young because the memory of a good deed should never age; light and lively because one must oblige promptly and a good deed must never be kept waiting.”⁵² Thus, the youth of the Graces also conveyed their essential divine association with gratitude and recognition.

⁴⁸ Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Lévesque, eds., *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris: Prault, 1792), 3: 531. “Winckelmann a observé, que, dans la représentation des divinités, les artistes de la Grèce, ont toujours eu soin d’exprimer la beauté et de l’associer à la jeunesse.”

⁴⁹ Winckelmann, *Histoire*, 2: 83. “La physionomie de ces déités n’exprime ni gaieté ni gravité : elle annonce cette douce satisfaction, propre à l’innocence de cet âge.”

⁵⁰ Clément-Hémery, 7 on Mme Mongez’s presence in Regnault’s studio during the 1790s.

⁵¹ Antoine Mongez, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Dictionnaire d’Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des chartes et chronologie* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1786-1794), 3: 56. “On les peignoit (sic) jeunes, parce qu’on a toujours regardé les agréments (sic) comme le partage de la jeunesse.”

⁵² *Ibid.*, 3: 57. “Elles sont jeunes parce que la mémoire d’un bienfait ne doit jamais vieillir; vives et légers, parce qu’il faut obliger promptement, et qu’un bienfait ne doit point se faire attendre.”

Youth aligned with the concept of grace in both genders, but like ideal nudity, late eighteenth-century grace recently has been ascribed solely to the male body in art history. Winckelmann's statement that "grace in works of art concerns principally the figure of man" has been taken from the French translation, wherein the final word in the sentence is "l'homme," to indicate only the male body; however, his original German formulation is "die menschliche figure" and refers to the human body generally, as opposed to animal bodies or inanimate objects and he references male and female sculptures as examples of grace.⁵³ Moreover, as Robin noted in the 1792 *Dictionary of Art*, "the Medici Venus, the Crouching Venus, the Apollino, the Hermaphrodite, are, as very well indicated by Mengs, the true models of grace that we have in the antique."⁵⁴ Winckelmann's close associate and his emulators also identified grace across gender. Eighteenth-century readers were thus unlikely to have been misled by the wording.

Watelet's tract on grace, from his 1760 *Art of Painting*, which reappeared in the 1792 *Dictionary of Art*, specified that grace was the purview of youth and of women. He asserted: "Grace consists in the accord of these movements [of the body] with those of the soul. In childhood and youth, the soul moves freely and immediately on the springs of expression. [...] Consequently, childhood and youth are the ages of the graces. Suppleness and gentleness of the parts are so totally necessary to the graces, that the

⁵³ Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 43. Chapter two begins with this misunderstanding of Winckelmann. In her article of the same name (page 286), she gives the sentence to Caylus, but with the same interpretation. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, "De la grâce dans les ouvrages de l'art," in *Recueil de différentes pièces sur les arts par M. Winckelmann. Traduit de l'allemand*, trans. H. Jansen (Paris: Barrois l'aîné, 1786), 287. "La grace (sic) dans les ouvrages de l'art, regarde principalement la figure de l'homme." Winckelmann, *Werke. Einzig rechtmäßige Original-Ausgabe* (Stuttgart: Hoffmann, 1847), 2: 65 transcribes the original German.

⁵⁴ Robin, "Grace," *Dictionnaire*, ed. Watelet and Lévesque, 2: 459. "La Vénus de Médici, la Vénus accroupie, l'Apollino, l'Hermaphrodite, sont, comme indique fort bien Mengs, de vrais modèles de grace (sic) que nous avons dans l'antique."

mature age is excluded.”⁵⁵ He specified: “The gender that is the most supple in its motivations, the most sensitive in its affections, in which the desire to please is a sentiment to a certain degree independent of it, because it is necessary to the system of nature; this gender that makes beauty more interesting, when it escapes from artifice and affectation also offers the graces at their most seductive.”⁵⁶ Winckelmann concurred, asserting in his *On Grace in Works of Art*, that the Graces should look “as one would want to see a young beauty that one loves exiting one’s bed,” again reinforcing an alignment of desirable concepts with desirable forms.⁵⁷ The casual stances and outdoor environs of Regnault’s *Three Graces* resonate with these assessments of grace as natural, in its freedom from affectation, and as alluring.

Regarding female divinities and their youthful purity, Winckelmann assured readers: “Among goddesses, one attributed a perpetual virginity to Diana and to Pallas; the other goddesses who had lost it could recover it [...]. This is the reason that the breast of goddesses and amazons is always represented like that of young ladies [...] who have not yet tasted the fruit of love: that is to say, that on these figures the nipple is not yet developed.”⁵⁸ He elaborated: “In divine figures the breast always has a virginal form [...]. The breasts are tight and similar to hillocks terminated in a point: this form of the

⁵⁵ Watelet, “Grace,” in *Dictionnaire*, ed. Watelet and Lévesque, 2: 452. “La *grace* (sic) consiste dans l’accord de ces mouvemens (sic) avec ceux de l’âme. Dans l’enfance et dans la jeunesse, l’âme agit d’une manière libre et immédiate sur les ressorts de l’expression. [...] Conséquemment, l’enfance et la jeunesse sont les âges des *graces* (sic). La souplesse et la docilité des membres sont tellement nécessaires aux *graces* (sic), que l’âge mûr s’y refuse.”

⁵⁶ Ibid. “Le sexe le plus souple dans ses ressorts, le plus sensible dans ses affections, dans lequel le desir (sic) de plaire est un sentiment en quelque façon indépendant de lui, parce qu’il est nécessaire au système de la nature ; ce sexe qui rend la beauté plus intéressante, offre aussi, lorsqu’il échappe à l’artifice et à l’affectation, les *graces* (sic) sous l’aspect le plus séduisant.”

⁵⁷ Winckelmann, “De la grâce,” in *Recueil de différentes pièces*, 292. “Ainsi qu’on voudroit (sic) voir sortir de son lit une jeune beauté qu’on aime.”

⁵⁸ Winckelmann, *Histoire*, 2: 51. “Parmi les divinités du sexe, on attribuoit à Diane et à Pallas une virginité perpétuelle ; les autres déesses qui l’avoient perdue pouvoient la recouvrer [...] C’est par cette raison que la gorge des déesses et des amazones est toujours représentée comme celle des jeunes filles [...] qui n’ont pas encore goûté le fruit de l’amour : c’est-à-dire, qu’à ces figures le bout du sein n’est pas encore développé.”

breast seems to have been regarded as the most beautiful [...]: for this is the form of this part in the age of innocence.”⁵⁹ Winckelmann singled out Andrea del Sarto’s depiction of breasts (fig. 91) as an exemplary model in paint.⁶⁰ The concept was clearly quite well known, as François Gérard, Girodet, Ingres, and Regnault all also depicted their fabled females with modest hillocks topped by a delicate pale peak (figs. 62, 76, 79, 80). Ingres even annotated his drawing of Venus (fig. 90) “virgin nipple not yet developed” at the upper left and elaborated that “among the ancients the nipples are not visible on goddesses because such is the form of this part in adolescence” near the lower left of the sheet, thereby affirming his intent to evoke youth and virginity in rendering this female form.⁶¹

In Regnault’s *Three Graces* too, the nipples appear pale in comparison to the figures’ own flushed cheeks or lips and contrast those of lustful women depicted in his *Socrates and Alcibiades* of 1791 (fig. 92). Regnault was keenly engaged with narrative in his work and his home and studio housed extensive libraries.⁶² One of his volumes was Lacombe de Prezel’s (previously cited) *Iconological Dictionary*, which included this assessment of the Three Graces: “They are nude, because one must oblige one’s friends with sincerity and without affectation. They are young: the memory of a kind deed must never age. They are virgins: what virtue demands more prudence and more restraint than

⁵⁹ Ibid., 2: 150-151. “Dans les figures divines le sein a toujours une forme virginale [...]. Les mamelles sont resserrées et semblables à des éminences terminées en pointe : cette forme du sein paroît (sic) avoir été regardée comme la plus belle [...] : car telle est la forme de cette partie dans l’innocence de l’âge.”

⁶⁰ Ibid., 2: 152. He cites an untraceable drawing by Andrea del Sarto, but based on his criteria for praise I have substituted a known painting; the Domenichino imaged here is the specific example cited by Winckelmann.

⁶¹ Georges Vigne, *Dessins d’Ingres: Catalogue raisonné des dessins du musée de Montauban* (Paris: Gallimard/RMN, 1995), 157, no.849 includes a full transcription of the autograph annotation. “Le bout du sein vierge. non encore dveloppé. [...] chez les anciens le bout [...] seins ne se sont pas visibles aux [illegible word] et deesses car telle est la forme de cette partie dans l’age de l’adolescence.”

⁶² Stanic, 210-211 for an itemized list of the contents of Regnault’s libraries.

the generous inclination? Socrates seeing a man who gave lavishly of his kindnesses without distinction and to all who came: may the gods confound you, he cried: the Graces are virgins, and you make them courtesans.”⁶³ Clearly, Regnault would have understood the need to insist on his *Graces*' virginity.

Girodet's two depictions of Danaë (figs. 76 and 93) present another apt contrast in this regard. The standing Danae, executed as part of an erudite decorative scheme and rife with intellectual content, as well as eroticism, displays nipples that, in hue, are barely discernable from the surrounding flesh.⁶⁴ The seated Danae, mocking the actress Mlle Lange for her venality, exhibits more prominent and roseate nipples (that match the flush of her cheeks and lips) indicative of her lust and essential to the work's satirical intent.⁶⁵

These mythological figures stand apart from the virtuous mothers painted by many artists of the period and so often discussed by art historians.⁶⁶ Women, excluded from political action by late 1793, have been associated with the body, sexuality, and reproduction, whether virtuous and nourishing, in the case of patriotic mothers, or debauched and unnatural, associated with aristocratic women of the *ancien régime*.⁶⁷

This Madonna/whore binary is problematized by the youthful and virginal female nudes

⁶³ Ibid., 211 and 216 n.75 regarding the presence of Lacombe de Prezel's work in Regnault's studio library. Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique...Nouvelle édition*, 1: 264. "Elles sont nues, parce qu'il faut obliger ses amis avec sincérité et sans affectation. Elles sont jeunes : la mémoire d'un bienfait ne doit jamais vieillir. Elles sont vierges : quelle vertu demande plus de prudence et de retenue que l'inclination bienfaisante ? Socrate voyant un homme qui prodiguoit (sic) ses bienfaits sans distinction et à tout venant : que les Dieux te confondent, s'écria-t-il : les Graces (sic) sont vierges, et tu en fais des courtisanes." [Italics per the original.]

⁶⁴ Bellenger, ed., 256-260.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 272-281; George Levitine, "Girodet's *New Danaë*: The Iconography of a Scandal," *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 58 (1969): 69-77.

⁶⁶ Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 206 "French artists of the Revolutionary period preferred to depict virtuous mothers when they undertook to create patriotic subjects;" Duncan, "Happy Mothers," Rosenblum, "Caritas."

⁶⁷ Solmon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 205 on ancien regime, 207 on Jacobins' exclusion of women from politics after a bloody riot between market women and female Jacobins in October of 1793, and 214 on alignment of women with body, sex, and reproduction.

of myth, who are more akin to ephebes (figs. 68-69) than to the mothers or aristocrats the binary posits. The erotic charge of the idealized female nude could bring to mind the ideal spouse and future mother; as Landes has demonstrated, the youthful female body used in Revolutionary allegorical prints (figs. 72-73) connoted notions of nature and nurturing as opposed to the artificial or haggard appearance of female bodies associated with aristocracy (fig. 94).⁶⁸ The youthful, virginal mythic female nudes, more akin to the fantasy world of the mythic ephebes (figs. 68-69), than the maternal domain (or aristocratic memory), also provide a third alternative. I contend that the mythic female nude, like the ephebe, could also be read as transcending immediate socio-political concerns and embodying an ideal of beauty that, as Winckelmann asserted, “may transport the spirit to a sweet ecstasy.”

Winckelmann urged readers not to judge goddesses by body alone, but to consider carefully the face as well in order to appreciate character. Writing of the general similarity of female figures in antique sculptures, he noted: “My remark as to the similarity of the nude parts of female figures is to be understood only of the shape of the body, and does not exclude a distinctive character in their heads. This has been strongly expressed in each goddess as well as in the heroines, so that both superior and inferior goddesses can be distinguished, even when the emblems usually adjoined to them are wanting.”⁶⁹ The particularized faces of Regnault’s *Three Graces* (fig. 80) may reflect just such consideration.

⁶⁸ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 120.

⁶⁹ Winckelmann, *Histoire*, 2: 75-76. “Il faut remarquer pourtant, que quand je parle de la ressemblance du nu dans les figures de femmes, j’entends alors la taille, et que je n’exclus pas par-là le caractère de tête, imprimé particulièrement à chaque déesse ainsi qu’à chaque héroïne : caractère qui fait connoître (sic) non-seulement les déesses supérieures, mais aussi les déités inférieures, quand même elles seroient (sic) privées des attributs qu’on leur donne ordinairement.” As translated in Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*,

Whereas, as art historian Candace Clements has shown, earlier eighteenth-century artistic theory posited that the female form must be most idealized and generalized in its extremities (she specified “head, hands, and feet”), the Academy’s expressive head competitions (founded in 1759), like Winckelmann’s treatise, drew attention to the expressive and individual qualities of female faces.⁷⁰ Unlike Boucher’s nearly identical Graces (figs. 88-89), who differ only in their poses, Regnault individualized his goddesses in feature and coloration (fig. 80). The red-head at far left displays a classical profile, quite distinct from the typical Rococo facial silhouette, with its lower brow and snub nose, as seen in Boucher’s Graces. While the face of Regnault’s flaxen-haired central figure is obscured, the raven-haired Grace at right presents a full frontal view of the face that allows for close consideration. Her pronounced lower lids correspond to a particular feature Winckelmann praised in the Medici Venus, on which Regnault’s brunette Grace clearly is based. Winckelmann wrote: “All representations of Venus have in their softly opened eyes that expression of tenderness and love which the Greeks term ‘liquid,’ which I will elucidate in my later discussion of the beauty of eyes. This look is, however, entirely free from wantonness, by which certain modern sculptors claim to characterize their Venus, for Love was regarded by the ancient artists and intelligent philosophers as, in the words of Euripides, the associate of Wisdom.”⁷¹ Winckelmann clarified, in his discussion of eyes, that in depictions of Venus, “the elevated lower eyelid

in *Essay on the Philosophy and History of Art*, ed. and trans. Curtis Bowman (London: Continuum, 2005), 841-842.

⁷⁰ Candace Clements, “Academy and the Other: *Les Grâces* and *Le Genre Galant*,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25, no.4 (Summer 1992): 486.

⁷¹ Winckelmann, *Histoire*, 2: 78. “Mais l’une et l’autre Vénus ont des yeux pleins de douceur, avec un regard languissant et amoureux que les Grecs nomment ΥΓΡΩΝ, comme je le ferai voir ci-après dans mes remarques sur la beauté des yeux. Ce regard toutefois est bien éloigné des traits lascifs, par lesquels certains sculpteurs modernes ont prétendu caractériser leur Vénus : car dans l’antiquité l’Amour a été regardé par les artistes, ainsi que par les philosophes sensés, comme le collègue de la sagesse. [A footnote to Euripides is then provided.]”

characterizes this grace and this languor that the Greeks call ‘liquid.’”⁷² Regnault’s serious Graces, with wise, “liquid” eyes, suggest to the viewer a deeper wisdom than the beauty of their graceful bodily forms. An erotic charge need not negate the intellectual and philosophical dimensions in a female form; as previously noted, Winckelmann himself opined that graceful Graces should look as though freshly out of bed. Moreover, a similar inflammation of the lower lid appears in Gérard’s *Psyche* and Ingres’s *Venus* (figs. 62 and 79), suggesting the evident commonality and comprehensibility of this feature for mythic female nudes.

The notion of “wisdom,” indicated by the gaze, relates also to period concepts of grace itself as of the mind. Grace, according to Winckelmann, “is that which pleases the mind” and “is formed by education and reflection.”⁷³ Regnault’s *Three Graces* aligns closely with contemporaneous scholarly interpretations of the theme. Indeed, one should not be surprised to find a deeper meaning within the pleasing forms, as Lacombe de Prezel assured readers. He noted that a depiction of the Three Graces featured prominently at the school in Athens “to show that they could form an alliance with philosophy and that the useful must appear only in the guise of pleasure.”⁷⁴ While not overtly patriotic, like some depictions of virtuous mothers, these female figures must not

⁷² Ibid., 2: 133. “La paupière inférieure tirée en haut caractérise cette grace (sic) et cette languueur que les Grecs nomment ΥΓΡΩΝ.”

⁷³ Winckelmann, “De la grâce,” *Recueil de différentes pièces*, 285. “La grace (sic) est ce qui plaît à l’esprit. [...] La grace (sic) se forme par l’éducation et par la réflexion.”

⁷⁴ Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique...Nouvelle édition*, 1: 266. “Les trois Graces (sic) étoient (sic) représentées [...] dans l’endroit le plus apparent du Lycée à Athènes, pour montrer qu’elles peuvent s’allier à la Philosophie, et que l’utile ne doit paroître que sous les dehors de l’agrément.”

be dismissed as simply titillating surfaces for a moneyed clientele; the pleasing mythic female form had deeper potential.⁷⁵

Regnault included a half-sized version of his *Three Graces* (as reproduced by Charles Normand [fig. 95]), in his 1800 for-profit exhibition in the Louvre, along with *Hercules and Alcestis* and *Death of Cleopatra* (figs. 75 and 96) (also engraved by Normand [figs. 97-98]).⁷⁶ That exhibition was announced in January of 1800, open by

⁷⁵ Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel, eds., *Aux Armes et aux arts!: Les Arts de la Révolution, 1789-1799* (Paris: A. Biro, 1989) asserts that paintings with amorous themes, mythological or otherwise, were made only to fulfill the desires of bourgeois clientele.

⁷⁶ Christopher Sells (in his “Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné,” 450-451) and Faroult (631), echoing Charles Blanc (“Jean-Baptiste Regnault,” 2), specified that the *Three Graces* on view in Regnault’s exhibition was the Louvre version, formerly in the Louis La Caze collection. The Louvre’s painting, dated “an II” (1793-794) on the canvas and measuring 204 x 153 cm, would seem the obvious candidate for an exhibition held in the artist’s studio in 1800. Yet, in his February 1800 review of Regnault’s exhibition, Charles-Paul Landon lamented that the Graces were not life-size (Landon, “Réflexions sur les tableaux de Regnault exposés dans une des salles du palais national des sciences et des arts le 30 pluviôse an 8. 19 février 1800,” *Collection Deloynes* 21, no.604). Landon included Regnault’s *Three Graces* again in the first volume of his *Annales du musée et l’école moderne des beaux-arts* (Paris: Didot jeune, 1801), 146 wherein he specified that Normand’s engraving reproduced the work exhibited “two years ago, in the studio of the artist in the Louvre” and which was “a bit under half life-size.” [“Le tableau des trois Graces (sic) dont cette planche offre l’esquisse, a été peint par Regnault, et exposé, il y a deux ans, dans l’atelier de l’artiste au Louvre, avec ceux d’Hercule, enlevant Alceste des enfers, et de la Mort de Cléopâtre. Celui des trois Graces (sic) est de proportion un peu au dessous de demi-nature.”] No extant Regnault painting replicates the composition of Normand’s engraving. Regnault’s “life-size” Louvre *Three Graces* was known by 1806 when Chaussard catalogued it in his article for the *Pausanias français*, 251: “Les trois Graces (sic). Elles sont grandes comme nature.” The possibility of the large Louvre *Three Graces* having been shown in the 1800 exhibition cannot be entirely ruled out; it is possible that the artist switched canvases after the exposition opened; an inconsistency in Landon’s 1801 *Annales* opens room for speculation. Landon referred to the *Death of Cleopatra* as “shown last year with the painting of Alcestis and that of the three Graces, in the studio of the artist, in the Louvre [...]”; it is about three-and-a-half feet wide by two-and-a-half high.” [Page 134: “Cette peinture fut exposée l’année dernière avec le tableau d’Alceste et celui des trois Graces (sic), dans l’atelier de l’artiste, au Louvre [...] : elle a 3 pieds et demi de largeur environ, sur 2 et demi de hauteur.”] The measurements noted by Landon correspond fairly closely to those of the painting in Germany, but Normand’s engraving presents differing facial expressions and hairdressings, thereby suggesting that those in the engraved *Three Graces* may not be entirely consistent with the painted version. The *Hercules and Alcestis* appeared in Landon’s second volume of the *Annales du musée* (1805), 7-8 and specified that the canvas was “environ 9 pieds de hauteur sur 7 de largeur” a size consistent with the now lost canvas. “Les Variétés de 20 nivôse an 8,” *Décade philosophique* (January 10, 1800): 182 and “Variétés,” *Journal des arts* 35 (25 Nivôse an 8. January 15, 1800): 11 both announce that Regnault has just finished two paintings, Hercules and Alcestis and Death of Cleopatra, that he intends to present in a public exhibition. The two paintings were described in both articles as having just been completed, as the *Journal* noted: “Le citoyen Regnault vient de terminer deux Tableaux dont il se propose de faire incessamment une exposition publique.” “Variétés,” *Journal des arts* 41 (25 Pluviôse an 8. February 14, 1800): 9 adds the *Three Graces* to the exhibition announcement. “Nous avons annoncé, il y a quelques jours, l’exposition prochaine de deux tableaux, par le citoyen Regnault, Membre de l’Institut: l’un représente Hercule enlevant Alceste aux enfers pour la rendre à son époux; l’autre la mort de Cléopâtre.

February 19th or 20th, and closed on July 20th to allow the artist to use the exhibition space to paint a new large-scale work (of an unspecified subject) that was commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior.⁷⁷ In the pamphlet that accompanied the exhibition, Regnault referenced David's neighboring exhibition of the *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (fig. 66), which had opened in December 1799, an apparent demonstration of Regnault's self-alignment with contemporaneous developments in the art world.⁷⁸ "Without recalling all of the reasons developed by citizen David," Regnault wrote, he wanted to remind readers that the practice of exhibiting one's work "was commonly used by the most famous

L'auteur y joint un troisième tableau représentant les trois Graces." The third, newly added, painting is not described as having just been finished, as the two others had been in the previous announcement, so the exhibited *Three Graces* may indeed not have been newly completed.

⁷⁷ "Les Variétés de 20 nivôse an 8," *Décade philosophique* (January 10, 1800): 182 and "Variétés," *Journal des arts* 35 (25 Nivôse an 8. January 15, 1800): both announce the upcoming exhibition. The exhibition was reviewed by Landon, "Réflexions," *Collection Deloynes* 21, no.604. The transcription of Landon's article includes the date as "le 30 pluvoise an 8. 19 février 1800" in the title, but does not include the name of the periodical within which the article was originally published. I have located another, previously uncited, review by Landon within the *Journal des arts* which has a very similar text, but different title than that transcribed in the *Collection Deloynes*. Landon, "Sur les Tableaux du citoyen Regnault, exposés dans une des salles du Palais National des Sciences et des Arts, depuis le premier Ventôse," *Journal des arts* 43 (5 Ventôse an 8. 24 February 1800): 9-11; continued in Landon, "Peinture," *Journal des arts* 47 (25 Ventôse an 8. March 16, 1800): 1-2. Another announcement of the exhibition has it opening one day earlier: "Variétés," *Journal des arts* 41 (25 Pluviôse an 8. February 14, 1800): 9 indicates that "l'exposition aura lieu à commencer du 30 Pluviôse, depuis dix heures jusqu'à quatre, dans une des salles du Palais National des Sciences et des Arts. On y entre par le vestibule qui conduit au quai. Le billet d'entrée et le livre sont ensemble du prix de 1 Franc 80 centimes." Regarding the closure of the exhibition, see: "Variétés," *Journal des arts* 69 (15 Messidor an 8. July 4, 1800): 12-13 "Le citoyen Regnault, Membre de l'Institut national, [...] nous invite à prévenir le Public que la salle où est placé son Tableau d'Alceste ne lui ayant été accordée par le Ministre de l'Intérieur que pour le tems de son exposition ; mais que depuis ayant obtenu de ce Ministre, constamment zélé pour le bien des Arts, la jouissance provisoire du même local pour l'exécution d'un très-grand ouvrage (ce nouveau Tableau n'est point celui de la Mort de Général Desaix, que nous venons de citer), il va s'empreser d'en profiter ; en conséquence le Tableau d'Alceste ne sera visible pour le Public, que jusqu'au 1^{er} Thermidor."

⁷⁸ Regarding the opening of David's exhibition, Frédérique Debuissans, "A Ruin: Jacques-Louis David's Sabine Women," *Art History* 20, no.3 (1997): 432 states December 21, 1799, while Lajer-Burcharth, "David's Sabine Women," 424 n. 2 gives the opening date as December 4, 1799. Jean-Baptiste Regnault, *Exposition de trois tableaux dans une des salles du Palais National des Sciences et des Arts, Pavillon du Midi, sous le vestibule qui conduit au Quai, par Le Cen. Regnault, membre de l'Institut National* (Paris: Delance, An 8), 4. The pamphlet is written in the first person, so I am treating it as though it was written by Regnault. Blanc, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault," 2-3 doubted the authorship of the notice, believing it to be written on Regnault's behalf rather than by him.

artists of ancient Greece.”⁷⁹ In justifying his independent for-profit exhibition, Regnault asked: “Can we disapprove of the manner by which the artist offers to amateurs the interesting results of his art, endeavors to know their judgments, provokes their censure or their praise, works in short to form his taste and that of his era, in multiplying, for the perfection of talent, some useful lessons, and for the interest of the public, some agreeable instruction?”⁸⁰ Regnault believed that his exhibition would instruct the public and inspire the perfection of talent in other artists. So, that which might form the era’s taste, instruct the public, and perfect artistic talent should be sought in his *Three Graces*, *Hercules and Alcestis*, and *Death of Cleopatra*. His display of them, in conjunction with his textual proclamation in the brochure, thus affirmed his perception of these paintings as important for the arts in particular and for society in general.

The male body so dominated life studies at the academy (and at David’s neighboring exhibition), that it may seem odd that Regnault would highlight the female nude. Yet, students petitioned in 1790 for access to female models. While the request was refused, the terms of the refusal are revealing:

The secretary read a memo addressed to the Academy by students competing for the Painting Prize, in order that it would permit them to have female models in their loges. After this reading, the Academy thought that the same reason of decency, which was determined by the king to disallow the posing of female nudes in the schools, is the same which has always prohibited them from the individual loges of students. Moreover, for the Academy to encourage/promote students in their work as much as possible, the Academy, which has always permitted studies of the female nude on the outside, permits students also to bring in those painted after nature, on the condition of showing these nude studies to the

⁷⁹ Regnault, *Exposition*, 4. “Sans rappeler toutes les raisons qu’à développé le citoyen David, nous nous contenterons d’observer seulement que, dans l’antiquité, cette coutume étoit (sic) usitée par les plus célèbres artistes de la Grèce.”

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3. “Pourra-t-on désapprouver un moyen par lequel un artiste offre aux amateurs les résultats intéressans (sic) de son art, tache a connoître (sic) leurs jugemens (sic), provoque leur censure ou leur éloge, travaille enfin à former son gout et celui de son siècle, en multipliant, pour le perfectionnement du talent, des leçons utiles, et pour l’intérêt du public, d’agréables instructions.”

professor and to make them in a proportion different from that of the figures in their painting.⁸¹

Clearly, the importance of the female nude in artistic training was not questioned.

Rather, issues of propriety limited access to models and probably held the number of painted female nudes in check.

This stance differs markedly from that presented by comte de Caylus in his lecture on Watteau at the Academy in 1748. Caylus observed: “I recognized, to my advantage, how deeply Wateau (sic) thought about painting, and how inferior was his execution to his ideas. Indeed, since he had no knowledge of anatomy and had never drawn from the need, he was unable either to comprehend or express it; so much so that the complete rendering of an academy study was for him an exacting and consequently a disagreeable exercise. The female body, requiring less articulation, was somewhat easier for him.”⁸² Caylus thus implied that failing to master the male body, one could resort to the female body as a fall-back artistic focus. This Aristotelian understanding of the female body (as an imperfect male), that also underscored Winckelmann’s theories, had been debunked in French thought by the 1780s.⁸³

⁸¹ Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Procès-verbaux de l’Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris: Charavay, 1892), 10: 57. “Demande des Élèves pour avoir dans leurs loges des Modèles de femme, refusée ; mais permission d’en prendre des études, de proportion différente de leurs tableaux ou bas-reliefs. –En ouvrant la séance, le Secrétaire a fait lecture d’un Mémoire adressé à l’Académie par les Élèves concourants au Prix de Peinture, à l’effet qu’il leur soit permis de faire entrer des Modèles de femmes dans leurs loges. Après cette lecture, l’Académie a pensé que la même raison de décence, qui a déterminé le Roi à ne point permettre que l’on posât des femmes nues dans les Écoles, est la même qui les a toujours fait défendre dans les loges particulières des Élèves. Au surplus, pour favoriser autant qu’il est en Elle ses Élèves dans leurs travaux, l’Académie, qui a toujours permis les études du nud (sic) à l’extérieur pour les femmes, leur permet de plus d’en apporter de peintes d’après nature, à la charge de montrer ces études du nud (sic) au Professeur et de la prendre d’une proportion différente de celle des figures de leur tableau.”

⁸² As quoted by the Goncourt brothers in Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *French Eighteenth-Century Painters*, trans. L. Goldscheider, ed. Robin Ironside (original French, 1856-1875; trans. 1948, reprinted Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 22-23. Caylus took private rooms and engaged models privately so that Watteau could study the nude, so issues of propriety (vis-à-vis study of the female body) were nothing new.

⁸³ Perrot, 78.

Even Director of King's Buildings comte d'Angiviller's confessed in 1780 that he "would not be upset" to see "women and nudes" in commissioned paintings as long as the artist drew well, to say nothing of his predilections for his personal collection as noted previously in his 1786 desire for a painting of a female bather after Bouchardon.⁸⁴ Furthermore, Lenoir's later identification of Regnault's *Graces* as the embodiment of "the perfection of the human form" presents a viewpoint on the female body in French art that harmonizes with praise of ancient Greek sculptural female beauty in later eighteenth-century art treatises and large-scale paintings and that diverges from Caylus's dismissal of the female body as an artistic focus.

The female form *à l'antique* also appeared increasingly in everyday life as a vogue for Grecian fashions swept Paris in the 1790s. As fashion historian Aileen Ribeiro has noted, when Directory society mavens Mesdames Josephine Beauharnais, Thérèse Tallien, and Juliette Récamier appeared together dressed *à l'antique*, they were referred to by contemporaries as the Three Graces.⁸⁵ Coincident with Regnault's 1800 exhibition, one social critic sanctioned current revealing trends in women's fashion by calling on antique precedents: "Let women dress like Aspasia, or, more accurately, undress like the Graces; if they remain faithful spouses, tender mothers, sincere friends, they will always be decent; but she who would lack these sentiments, had she all the madras in the world around her neck, will be alone immoral in my eyes."⁸⁶ Thus, the author urged readers to judge women by their character, rather than by their surface appearance alone.

⁸⁴ Comte d'Angiviller's letter of April 2, 1780 to Joseph-Marie Vien, as transcribed in *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey (Paris: Schemit, 1905), 14: 14 no.8014. "Je ne serois (sic) pas fâché que l'un des deux fût un sujet où il y eût des femmes et nues, car il dessine bien."

⁸⁵ Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution* (London: Batsford, 1988), 127.

⁸⁶ Henrion, *Encore un tableau de Paris* (Paris: Fabre, an 8 [1799-1800]), 9-10. "Laissons donc les femmes s'habiller comme les *Aspasie*, ou, pour mieux dire, se déshabiller comme les *Grâces* ; si elles restent

Regnault made a similar plea in his exhibition pamphlet. Regarding his *Three Graces*, Regnault included a line by Jean de la Fontaine: “Grace is more beautiful than beauty.”⁸⁷ Regnault’s quotation from La Fontaine derives from his description of Venus in the poem “Adonis.”⁸⁸ In Regnault’s pamphlet, the quotation encouraged attuned viewers to seek something more, something deeper than lovely forms and Charles-Paul Landon, in his review of the 1800 exhibition, remarked: “This captivating painting of the *Three Graces* collects universal praise. This exquisite group, by the delicacy and correctness of the forms, the sweet opposition of the movements and poses, corresponds perfectly to the idea of these amiable divinities given to us by poets.”⁸⁹ The following year Landon again wrote about Regnault’s *Three Graces* in his *Annals of the Museum*: “The ancients expected from these beneficent divinities the most precious of all qualities, gaiety, even temper, pleasing manners, liberality, eloquence, wisdom. They preside also over good deeds and gratitude.”⁹⁰ Landon’s list of characteristics associated with the Graces very much recalls the *Encyclopédie* entry, thereby reiterating and reinforcing commonly understood meanings of these figures.

Regnault’s quotation of La Fontaine’s description of Venus also underscores his own use of a Venus prototype and, in conjunction with his clever modification of the sculptural model, urges the viewer beyond beauty (Venus) and toward grace (Graces).

fidelles épouses, tendres mères, amies sincères, elles seront toujours décentes ; mais celle qui manqueroit (sic) à ces sentiments, sera seule immorale à mes yeux (sic), eût-elle tous les madras du monde sur le col.”

⁸⁷ Regnault, *Exposition*, 9. “Et la Grace plus belle encor (sic) que la beauté.”

⁸⁸ Jean de la Fontaine, “Adonis,” in his *Oeuvres* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1799), 239. The verse was included in the entry on Venus in Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique* (1756), 290; Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique...Nouvelle édition*, 2: 275;

⁸⁹ Landon, “Réflexions,” *Collection Deloynes* 21, no.604, 843. “Tableau seduisant des trois graces reunite tous les suffrages. Ce groupe delieieux, par la delicatesses et la correction des formes, la douce opposition des mouvemens et des attitudes repond parfaitement à l’idée que nous ont donné les poètes de ces aimables divinités.” Orthography per the manuscript.

⁹⁰ Landon, *Annales du musée* (1801), 145. “Les anciens attendaient de ces divinités bienfaisantes les plus précieux de tous les biens, la gaieté, l’égalité d’humeur, l’agrément des manières, la libéralité, l’éloquence, la sagesse. Elles présidaient encore aux bienfaits et à la reconnaissance.”

Although Regnault drew closely on the model of the Medici Venus (figs. 84, 85, and 87), he modified the sculpture's pose for his Graces, especially in the crossing of the peripheral figures' legs. This crossing of the legs gives the Graces the air of dancing and of perpetual motion, rather than stasis or singular reaction. Regarding the dance of the Graces, Antoine Mongez wrote: "They dance in a circle, to teach us that there must be a circulation of good deeds among men, and that, by means of gratitude, kindness must naturally return to the place from whence it departed."⁹¹

This endless turning dance and the giving, receiving, and returning of gifts that it embodies also reinforce Regnault's stated desire for his for-profit exhibition. Regnault wrote:

Should we blame these artists if, in difficult circumstances, in order to continue their work and to compensate themselves for the expenses occasioned by their work, they try to procure themselves some remuneration, as voluntary on the part of the public, as it is legitimate on the part of he who claims it. [...] It is practiced generally among our neighbors, and in a manner so advantageous to artists that they often obtain by this route a more considerable price for their work than that which they could have hoped in selling it: with the result that they can sometimes offer it as a gift to a city, a public establishment, a national museum, and thus reconcile the price of a glory well-deserved, with that of a legitimate profit.⁹²

This giving of art, receiving of financial compensation, and returning of the art to the public (through donation to an institution) recalls the dancing Graces as symbolic of the giving, receiving, and returning of kindness. Regnault's stated justification for his

⁹¹ Mongez, 3: 57. "Elles dansent en rond, pour nous apprendre qu'il doit y avoir entre les hommes une circulation de bienfaits, et que, par le moyen de la reconnaissance (sic), le bienfait doit naturellement retourner au lieu d'où il est parti."

⁹² Regnault, *Exposition*, 2-5. "Devra-t-on blâmer ces artistes si, dans des circonstances difficiles, pour se mettre en état de continuer leurs travaux, et se dédommager des dépenses qu'ils leur ont occasionnées, ils essayent de se procurer une indemnité, aussi volontaire de la part du Public, que légitime de la part de celui qui la réclame. [...] Elle est pratiquée généralement chez nos voisins, et d'une manière si avantageuse aux artistes, qu'ils ont souvent obtenu, par cette voie, un prix plus considérable de leur ouvrage que celui qu'ils pouvoient (sic) en espérer en en cédant la propriété : de sorte même qu'ils ont pu quelquefois l'offrir en don gratuit à une cité, à un Etablissement public, à un muséum national, et accorder ainsi le calcul d'une gloire bien entendue, avec celui d'un profit légitime."

exhibition also harmonizes with the *Encyclopédie*'s interpretation of the Graces, as aligned with professions aspiring toward public approbation. Chevalier de Jaucourt's entry says of the Graces:

The most beautiful of all the prerogatives of the Graces, is that they preside over kindness and gratitude. [...] One can take only from them this gift, without which the others are useless; I mean the art of pleasing. Also among the many goddesses of paganism, there is none other who has a greater number of followers. All the stages of one and the other sex, all the professions, all the ages, address their wishes to them, and offer incense to them. Each science and each art has its particular titular deity; but all the arts and all the sciences recognize the empire of the Graces. Orators, historians, painters, sculptors, musicians, and generally all those who seek to merit public approbation, can be assured of a happy success only insofar as they can render the Graces favorable to them.⁹³

In presenting the *Three Graces* in his 1800 independent, for-profit exhibition, Regnault aimed to obtain just such public approbation.

In his *Iconological Dictionary*'s entry on the Three Graces, Lacombe de Prezel wrote: "The names signify *brilliant, sweet, vivacious*, to teach us that in a discourse, a single pleasure will not suffice to maintain our attention for a long time. The brilliant alone tires us: the sweet alone becomes tasteless: the vivacious alone dizzies: the Three Graces must therefore hold each other [...]; that is to say, that the brilliant must be sweet, the sweet lively, and the vivacious sweet and sparkling."⁹⁴ In Regnault's composition,

⁹³ Le chevalier de Jaucourt, "Graces (Mythologie)," in *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de letters*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (Paris: Le Breton, 1751-65), 17: 798. "La plus belle de toutes les prérogatives des *graces* (sic), c'est qu'elles présidoient (sic) aux bienfaits et à la reconnaissance (sic). [...] On ne pouvoit (sic) tenir que d'elles seules ce don, sans lequel les autres sont inutiles ; je veux dire le don de plaire. Aussi parmi tant de déesses du paganisme, il n'y en avoit point qui eussent un plus grand nombre d'adorateurs. Tous les états de l'un et de l'autre sexe, toutes les professions, tous les âges, leur adressoit (sic) des vœux, et leur présentoient (sic) de l'encens. Chaque science et chaque art avoient en particulier sa divnité tutélaire ; mais tous les arts et toutes les sciences reconnoissoient (sic) l'empire des *graces* (sic). Les orateurs, les historiens, les peintres, les statuaires, les musiciens, et généralement tous ceux qui cherchoient à mériter l'approbation publique, ne se promettoient (sic) un heureux succès, qu'autant qu'ils pouvoient se les rendre favorables." Italics per the original.

⁹⁴ Lacombe de Prezel, *Dictionnaire iconologique...Nouvelle édition*, 1: 265. "Les noms signifient *brillant, douceur, vivacité*, pour nous apprendre que dans un discours, un seul agrément ne suffit pas pour soutenir long-temps notre attention. Le brillant tout seul nous fatigue : la douceur toute seule affadit : la vivacité

the differentiated heads remind the viewer of three distinct qualities unified by the figures' gestures and uniformity of body type. Regnault's *Three Graces* (figs. 80 and 95), painted during and exhibited after a decade of social and political tumult and factionalization, seems an appropriate conciliatory subject, as grace was something universally appreciated. In the 1792 *Dictionary of Art*, Robin wrote: "Grace knows neither rules, nor conventions. Each nation can have its genre of beauty, but grace is universal."⁹⁵

Perhaps Regnault's choice to exhibit three paintings, rather than a single one like David did, derived from a comparable desire to show three complementary sides of his oeuvre for visitors to contemplate. Regnault's engagement with sources, theory, and communication with his contemporaries –artists and amateurs alike– takes on further layers in his *Hercules and Alceste*, also on view there. This painting, now lost, is known only through a contemporaneous print by Normand (fig. 98) and a black and white photograph (fig. 75) and has received very little scholarly consideration.⁹⁶

Regnault specified the moment he had selected from the Hercules and Alceste story, popularized by Euripides and retold in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century operas, in his exhibition notice and this may assist in an understanding of the antique source upon which he modeled Alceste.⁹⁷ Regnault retold the Alceste narrative as follows:

toute seule étourdit : les trois Graces (sic) doivent donc se tenir [...] ; c'est-à-dire, que le brillant doit être doux, la douceur vive, et la vivacité douce et lumineuse." Italics per the original.

⁹⁵ Robin, "Grace," *Dictionnaire*, ed. Watelet and Lévesque, 2: 456. "La grace (sic) ne connoît (sic) ni les principes, ni les conventions. Chaque nation peut bien avoir son genre de *beauté* ; mais la grace (sic) est une pour tout pays." Italics per the original.

⁹⁶ Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 69-70 included it as an example of a binary between "diminutive femininity" and "exaggerated masculinity." Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault in Louisville," 1 and 5 noted that the painting was included in "a sale of 5 June 1920 at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris" and "was exhibited by Regnault in 1800, concurrently with David's exhibition of the *Sabines*."

⁹⁷ Euripides, *Alceste*. Jean-Baptiste Lully's opera *Alceste* with a French libretto by Philippe Quinault was first performed in Paris in 1674, see: Patricia Howard, "Lully's Alceste," *Musical Times* 114, no.1559

Alcestis was the daughter of Pelias and the wife of Admetus, king of the Thessalians. This prince being attacked by a mortal malady, Alcestis asked the oracle about the destiny of her husband: he responded that the king would die unless a voluntary victim consented to die in his place. No one being offered, Alcestis sacrificed herself, obeyed the oracle and accomplished the sacrifice. Hercules arrived in Thessaly the same day as the death of Alcestis. United for a long time with Admetus by bonds of hospitality, and touched by his profound sadness, he resolved to return this virtuous spouse to her love, and descended into hell, from whence he extracted Alcestis in spite of Pluto. I chose the moment when Alcestis, being no longer in the retreat of the dead, is however not yet entirely returned to life. The soul/spirit, that has been separated from the body, returns to its residence, and will soon reanimate all its organs.⁹⁸

Landon echoed this narrative synopsis in his review of the exhibition.⁹⁹ Landon specified the parentage of Regnault's *Hercules and Alcestis* in a February 1800 review of the exhibition: "The ancients, jealous to conserve the purity of forms, never gave their personages a degree of expression that could alter its beauty. It is thus that Regnault used expression. The figure of Hercules is truly heroic. The artist steeped himself in the Farnese Hercules. Vigor and lightness find themselves reunited here. As for the figure of Alcestis, one finds here the purity of antique contours and the head offers that genre of expression that distinguishes the admirable Niobe group."¹⁰⁰ According to Landon,

(January 1973): 21-23. Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Alceste* was first performed in Paris in 1776 with a French libretto by Marie-François-Louis-Gand-Leblanc Bailli du Roulet, see: Patricia Howard, "Gluck's two Alcestes: A Comparison," *Musical Times* 115, no.1578 (August 1974): 642-643. Gluck's opera was performed again at Versailles in 1786; *Spectacles représentés devant Leurs Majestés à Versailles et Fontainebleau pendant l'année 1786* (Paris: P.R.C. Ballard, 1786) contains six libretti including that by Roulet.

⁹⁸ Regnault, *Exposition*, 9-10. "Alceste étoit (sic) fille de Pélias et femme d'Admete, Roi des Thessaliens. Ce Prince étant attaqué d'une maladie mortelle, Alceste interrogea l'Oracle sur le destin de son époux : il répondit, que le roi mourroit (sic), à moins qu'une victime volontaire ne consentit à mourir en sa place. Personne ne s'étant offert, Alceste se dévoue, obéit à l'Oracle et accomplit le sacrifice. Hercule arriva dans la Thessalie le jour même de la mort d'Alceste. Uni depuis long temps avec Admete par les liens de l'hospitalité, et touche de sa douleur profonde, il résolut de rendre à son amour cette épouse vertueuse, et descendit aux Enfers, d'ou il arracha Alceste malgré Pluton. J'ai choisi le moment où Alceste n'étant déjà plus dans le séjour des morts, n'est cependant point encore entièrement rendue à la vie. L'âme, qui s'étoit (sic) séparée du corps, rentre dans sa demeure, et va bientôt en ranimer tous les organes."

⁹⁹ Landon, "Réflexions," *Collection Deloynes* 21, no.604.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. "Les anciens jaloux de conserver la pureté des formes, ne donnaient jamais à leurs personnages un degré d'expression qui put en alterer la beauté. C'est ainsi qu'en a usé Regnault. La figure d'Hercule est vraiment heroique. L'artiste s'est penetré de Hercule Farnese. La vigueur et la legereté s'y trouvent reunies.

Regnault evoked a Hercules sculpture (fig. 99) for his own depiction of the same demi-god, but recalled models of a comparable emotional, expressive tenor (figs. 100), rather than identical personage, for his Alcestis.¹⁰¹ Regnault's notice and Landon's identification of the antique precedent demonstrate a close engagement with narrative, visual sources, and contemporaneous art theory.

Winckelmann enthusiastically praised the Niobe group in his *History of Art*:

The daughters of Niobe, against whom Diana directed her murderous arrows, are represented in this unspeakable anxiety, in this numbness of the senses, when the inevitable presence of death snatches away from the spirit even the ability to think. The fable gives us an image of this stupor, of this privation of all feeling, in the metamorphosis of Niobe into rock: hence, Aeschylus in his tragedy of Niobe, makes her appear to guard a profound silence. In such a situation, which suspends sentiment and reflection, and which resembles almost indifference, does not alter the features of the physiognomy: consequently, the wise artist could imprint on his figures the highest beauty, as he did it. So, Niobe and her daughters are and will always be models of true beauty.¹⁰²

Winckelmann recommended the antique sculptural group as a notable model of a horrific narrative (with figures terrified to the point of being deprived of their senses) rendered with beauty.¹⁰³ Regnault's Alcestis has, like the daughters of Niobe, had her soul ripped away by death and appears in a state of suspended animation. The antique model was not

Quant a la figure d'Alceste, on y retrouve la pureté des contours de l'antique et la tete offre ce genre d'expression qui distingue le groupe admirable de Niobé." Orthography per the source manuscript.

¹⁰¹ For discussion of a comparable borrowing from the antique based on demeanor in a French Neoclassical painting of the 1780s, see: Todd Magreta, "Marius at Minturnae by Jean-Germain Drouais: A Classical Source and the Sublime," *Burlington Magazine* (forthcoming).

¹⁰² Winckelmann, *Histoire*, 2 : 101-102. "Les filles de Niobé, contre lesquelles Diane a dirigé ses flèches meurtrières, sont représentées dans cette anxiété indicible, dans cet engourdissement des sens, lorsque la présence inévitable de la mort ravit à l'ame jusqu'à la faculté de penser. La fable nous donne une image de cette stupeur, de cette privation de tout sentiment, dans la métamorphose de Niobé en rocher : de-là Eschyle dans sa tragédie de Niobé, la fait paroître (sic) gardant un profond silence. Une pareille situation, qui suspend le sentiment et la réflexion, et qui ressemble presque à l'indifférence, n'altère point les traits de la physionomie : par conséquent, le savant artiste pouvoit (sic) imprimer à ses figure la plus haute beauté, ainsi qu'il l'a fait. Aussi Niobé et ses filles sont et seront toujours les modèles du vrai beau."

¹⁰³ Potts, chapters 3 and 4 include Winckelmann's assessment of Niobe. In chapter three, he defines it is an example of a "high" classical style wherein the ideas the figure reveals overwhelm it to the point of it appearing stiff/dead and archaizing. Potts then interprets it in Freudian terms, in chapter four, as exemplary of a fetish through the refusal or denial of the character's subjectivity or sexuality.

simply an aesthetic selection, but, as with the Medici Venus for the *Three Graces*, lends an enhanced meaning and resonance. Moreover, criticism during the Revolutionary decade highlighted an expectation of sentiment as an essential component of works of art.¹⁰⁴ In his “Réflexions,” Landon compared the *Hercules and Alcestis* to Regnault’s celebrated *morceau de réception*, *The Education of Achilles*, but, after cataloguing their stylistic similarities, declared the new work superior. Immediately after that comparison, Landon described the antique aesthetic and expressive borrowings evident in the new work, suggesting that its emotional impact contributed to his preference for it as opposed to the more emotionally neutral reception piece.¹⁰⁵

Landon described Regnault’s *Alcestis* as having “antique contours” and, indeed, the body is not dissimilar to those of Niobe and her daughters, but has been relieved of drapery. While Regnault did not justify the nudity of his figures, as David did in his exhibition notice, a few years later Chaussard noted that nudity was appropriate for figures emerging from the land of the dead, noting of *Hercules and Alcestis*: “They are both nude, as is suitable for the land of shadows, and this gave the artist a means to showcase his talent for drawing, which conveys force in one and grace in the other.”¹⁰⁶ The assertion of a *Décade philosophique* critic, identified only by the initials A. D., that David’s male protagonists in his *Sabines* (fig. 66) look more like Apollo and Hercules than Tatius and Romulus, thanks to their nudity, indicates an expectation of nudity for

¹⁰⁴ Claudette Hould, “Aux Armes et aux arts! La Société populaire et républicaine des arts et le Journal de Détournelle,” *Man and Nature: Proceedings of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10 (1991): 47-56.

¹⁰⁵ Landon, “Réflexions,” *Collection Deloynes* 21, no.604.

¹⁰⁶ Chaussard, “Notice,” *Pausanias français* (1806): 250. “Ils sont nus tous deux, comme il convient au séjour des ombres, ce qui a donné à l’Artiste le moyen de faire ressortir son talent pour le dessin, qui exprime dans l’un la force, et dans l’autre la grace (sic).”

Greco-Roman deities, due to their appearance in ancient sculptures and analysis of them, while the nudity of Roman warriors provided fodder for debate.¹⁰⁷

Chaussard's observation also recalls the Audran treatise that seems to have influenced Regnault's treatment of his *Three Graces* (figs. 80, 84-86, 95). In his preface, Audran noted that the Greeks "brought together in Hercules all the traits that mark force and in Venus all the delicacy and all the graces that can form a complete beauty."¹⁰⁸ He continued: "They made a sort of religious cult out of making figures of their gods with so much nobility that they could attract the love and veneration of people. Their own glory is found here, we bestow on them singular honors when they succeed."¹⁰⁹ In the 1800 exhibition, it appears that Regnault aimed for his mythological works, one demonstrating strength and the other grace, to attract the love and veneration of his people, with the goals of receiving honors himself and of inspiring his countrymen.

While Landon credited the force and lightness of Regnault's Hercules to the artist's study of the Farnese Hercules, the pose of the painted Hercules appears to be based on the Pyramus (of the Ludouise garden in Rome) included in Audran's treatise

¹⁰⁷ A.D., "Beaux-arts. Examen du tableau des Sabines," *Décade philosophique* (10 pluviôse an XVIII [January 30, 1800]): 228. "A leur tête est un beau jeune homme : il a la taille et le port d'un Dieu : c'est Romulus. Il tient d'une main son bouclier, de l'autre il va lancer un javelot sur Tatius. Ce Tatius s'apprête aussi à le frapper de son épée. Il est plus âgé, plus robuste que Romulus. L'un est Apollon, l'autre Hercule. [...] L'un et l'autre sont nuds (sic): ils n'ont que leur bouclier pour défense." The critic justifies the nudity on the following page. 229: "Voici les principales critiques que l'on a faites de ce chef-d'œuvre: car où ne trouve-t-on pas à critique? D'abord, a-t-on dit, c'est une inconvenance de présenter deux guerriers absolument nuds. –David répond : ce sont des héros ; l'un même est un demi-Dieu : les anciens ont toujours représenté nuds les demi-Dieux et les héros. –J'ajouterai : laissons peindre les *vêtemens* (sic) aux femmes ou à ces artistes médiocres qui n'ont pas assez étudié la nature. Pourrais-je voir sous une tunique ces admirables contours que m'offre le nud ? L'homme vêtu est un masque ; il n'est lui, que déshabillé ; ce sont des hommes qu'il faut peindre, et non des simulacres d'hommes."

¹⁰⁸ Audran, page two of the unpaginated preface to his *Les Proportions du corps humain*. "Ils ont rassemblé dans l'Hercule tous les traits qui marquent la force, et dans la Vénus toute la délicatesse et toutes les graces qui peuvent former une beauté achevée."

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. "Ils regardoient (sic) comme une sorte de culte Religieux de faire les Figures de leurs Dieux avec tant de noblesse qu'elles peussent (sic) attirer l'amour et la veneration (sic) des Peuples. Leur propre gloire s'y rencontroit (sic), on leur decernoit (sic) des honneurs singuliers quand ils avoient réussi."

(fig. 101), rather than the Farnese Hercules also found therein (fig. 102). The congruence is even more striking in Regnault's oil sketch for the composition (fig. 103). Clearly, the Farnese Hercules' static pose could not serve as a model for Regnault's active Hercules surging forth from Hades, but that may not be the only reason Regnault looked to Pyramus. Perhaps, as with the Niobe/Alcestis substitution, the artist was similarly aware of narrative congruence between the role of Hercules in the Alcestis story and that of Pyramus in the narrative of his relationship with Thisbe. Pyramus and Thisbe were star-crossed lovers and a sub-theme in the Alcestis story was Hercules' own unrequited love for his friend's virtuous wife.¹¹⁰

Recognition of Regnault's engagement with contemporaneous theory, criticism, and mythography, as well as his overt emulation of the antique is not merely an issue of source-hunting. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth has noted the political ramifications of the antique style under the Directory, particularly as promoted by the publication *Décade philosophique*, where journalist Chaussard extolled ancient Greece as a model of the alignment of "artistic excellence and political liberty."¹¹¹ This periodical was also the one that was to "eagerly announce to the public" Regnault's plans for an exhibition of "beautiful works [that] are worthy of the reputation that the author acquired for himself long ago with his painting of the *Education of Achilles*, and will uphold the reputation of a first class artist."¹¹² Those who recalled the artist's moral and educational reception

¹¹⁰ The story of Pyramus and Thisbe can be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 4: 55-166. Regnault, as detailed in chapter two of this dissertation, had illustrated Ovid's text in the 1780s. The unrequited love of Hercules for Alcestis appears only in Philippe Quinault's libretto for Jean-Baptiste Lully's seventeenth-century opera, as discussed by Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces: The Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism* (Birmingham: Summa Publications, 2001), 98; Howard, "Lully's Alceste," 21.

¹¹¹ Lajer-Burcharth, "David's Sabine Women," 397.

¹¹² "Les Variétés de 20 nivôse an 8," *Décade philosophique* (January 20, 1800): 182. "Nous nous empressons d'annoncer au public [...] Ces deux beaux ouvrages sont dignes de la réputation que l'auteur

piece (fig. 29) probably imagined that comparable socially-resonant content would appear in the 1800 exhibition.

Doubtless, the presence of Hercules there spurred political reflections in exhibition visitors, since Hercules figured regularly in Revolutionary prints and monuments (figs. 104-106), where he frequently stood for the French people.¹¹³

Hercules appeared in Philippe-Auguste Hennequin's densely allegorical *Triumph of the French People*, shown at the 1799 Salon and later destroyed by the artist, so while Hercules iconography was more prevalent in the earlier 1790s, it was still circulating coincident with Regnault's exhibition.¹¹⁴ Hennequin's canvas was perhaps the most widely lauded of that Salon until the late arrival of Regnault's pupil Pierre Guérin's *Return of Marcus Sextus* (fig. 107), which caused a stir and received accolades from a wide audience, including David's pupils (who were Hennequin's studio mates).¹¹⁵ As Guérin's painting portrayed a narrative germane to the returning émigrés, it may be tempting to see Regnault's work—made and exhibited around the same time—as thematically similar.

Rescue themes also were common in popular prints of the period, such as one depicting the Third Estate, wherein a group of three men retrieve a female figure of France from a torrent (fig. 108). The popularity of this type of imagery may elucidate

s'est acquise depuis long-temps par son tableau de l'Éducation d'Achille, et faits pour soutenir celle d'un artiste de la première classe."

¹¹³ On Hercules in Revolutionary iconography, see for example: Lynn Hunt, "Hercules and the Radical Image in the French Revolution," *Representations* no.2 (Spring 1983): 96-117.

¹¹⁴ On Hennequin's Herculean iconography, see: Stefan Germer, "In Search of a Beholder: On the Relation between Art, Audiences, and Social Spheres in Post-Thermidor France," *Art Bulletin* 74, no.1 (March 1992): 19-36; Jérémie Benoît, "La Peinture allégorique sous le Consulat: Structure et politique," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (February 1993): 77-92.

¹¹⁵ Germer, 27-31 for a review of and expansion upon analysis of Guérin's painting. On Guérin's painting, see also: Josette Bottineau, "De Bélisaire à Marcus Sextus: Genès et histoire d'un tableau de Pierre Guérin 1774-1833," *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 43, no.3 (1993): 41-53.

Regnault's painting of a rescue scenario, but the virtuous Alcestis defies clear metaphorical categorization: This virtuous wife could stand for French liberty and virtue, or for monarchy, as the fabled Alcestis was a queen. Moreover, Hercules reclaiming the virtuous queen from hell cannot simply be seen as anti-revolutionary or even royalist, since it was counterbalanced within the exhibition by the definitive demise of another queen in his *Death of Cleopatra* (fig. 96).

Regnault selected a subject and specific moment challenging in its associations.

He noted the subject's complexity in his exhibition pamphlet:

Certain commentators have said that Admetus, attacked by some powerful people and vanquished by them, lost his wife, who was carried away by the enemy king; that Hercules, neighbor of the other king, came to his aid, avenged his defeat, and returned his wife to him. If this commentary is true, it is not worthy of the fable for which it has been substituted, and in this instance the fiction is preferable to the reality. Alcestis, who sacrificed herself, is much more touching than Alcestis abducted; and Hercules conqueror of hell is greatly superior to Hercules victor of a troop of soldiers.¹¹⁶

Regnault dismissed a martial narrative in favor of a marvelous one. He favored love over war, as David did in his *Sabines*. Yet, Regnault made a point of stressing the unreal, fabulous aspect of the story, which dissociated it from historical, factual possibility and, thus, from overt parallels with current events. Regnault's choice of narrative moment also differentiates his canvas from precedents set for the Alcestis narrative in the fine arts. For example, Regnault's hell-raising Hercules differs markedly from the almost comic Hercules, in Charles-Antoine Coypel's depiction of the narrative for the suite of

¹¹⁶ Regnault, *Exposition*, 10-11. "Quelques commentateurs ont dit qu'Admète, attaqué par des Peuples puissans (sic), et vaincu par eux, perdit sa femme qui lui enleva le Roi ennemi; qu'Hercule, autre Roi son voisin, vint à son secours, vengea sa défaite, et lui rendit son épouse. Si ce commentaire est vrai, il ne vaut pas la fable à laquelle on le substitue, et pour cette fois la fiction est préférable à la réalité. Alceste qui se dévoue, est bien plus touchante qu'Alceste enlevée; Hercule vainqueur de l'Enfer est plus grand qu'Hercule vainqueur d'une troupe de soldats."

opera-inspired tapestries, who is recognizable only by his club (figs. 109-110).¹¹⁷

Regnault's selection of the most fantastical moment of the narrative also differentiates his canvas from Pierre Peyron's *travaux d'encouragement* shown at the Salon of 1785, his *Death of Alcestis or the Heroism of Conjugal Love* (fig. 111), the subtitle of which confirms its moral message.¹¹⁸ Regnault's choice of moment for his *Hercules and Alcestis*, as well as the manner in which he grouped his work for display in 1800, complicates interpretation of his intent.

Solomon-Godeau included Regnault's *Hercules and Alcestis* among depictions of a massive Revolutionary Hercules dwarfing female companions (figs. 105-106), arguing that "the masculinization of symbolic visual language could function to camouflage conflict between different classes of French (male) citizens. This, [she has] argued, was the ideological use-value of the ephebic body, but the hero warrior, or the stalwart Hercules can be seen to perform a like function. [...] The honorific of male citizen, in revolutionary France as in classical Athens, could therefore function to invoke a specious equality symbolically ratified by the shared prerogatives of masculine supremacy and feminine subordination."¹¹⁹ By contrast, Regnault's exhibition highlighted women: of the eight bodies on view, only one was male, and Regnault's Hercules hardly dwarfs Alcestis, who instead appears but naturalistically smaller than the muscle-bound male figure.

¹¹⁷ Musée du Louvre, Documentation des objets d'art, OA 9389. The Coypel illustrates Quinault's version of *Alceste* and was part of a tapestry suite that Louis XV gave to the duc de Choiseul in 1766.

¹¹⁸ Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), chapter 2 on the prominence of deathbed scenes.

¹¹⁹ Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 212.

Regnault's pamphlet proposes that the merit of mythological subjects is that they are not historical and thus can present ideas and ideals that transcend particular events.

The closing paragraph of Regnault's brochure declared his allegiance to myth:

These grand ideas of expiations, of voluntary victims, of miraculous events inspired by the heavens, and performed by valor to the benefit of virtue, all these ideas, rejected by a philosophy too narrow and arid, but admitted by all people and at all times, elevate the spirit, warm souls, and cause grand sentiments to germinate there. In place of an event of which all histories would offer examples, fable presents us here the tableau of the noblest virtues, the heroism of devotion, the most beautiful tokens of gratitude, in a word, life triumphing over death for the prize of courage and of conjugal love.¹²⁰

Regnault asserted that fable has perfection to offer, while the men and women of human history are just that: human. Regnault avowed that fable offers a history painter and his audience something that is lacking in historical subjects, recent or ancient. In this, his concluding paragraph, Regnault made a strong claim for the value of myth, a claim that was not his alone. Indeed, the definition of mythology for the 1792 *Dictionary of Art*, concurred: "Mythology will always open a vast and fertile field to artists, because it is favorable above all to what is called the ideal in art. The men of history are only men."¹²¹

A similar idea had been put forth by Voltaire in his 1745 *Discourse on Fable* (as

¹²⁰ Regnault, *Exposition*, 11. "Ces grandes idées d'expiations, de victimes volontaires, d'événements miraculeux inspirés par le Ciel, et opérés par la valeur au profit de la vertu, toutes ces idées, rejetées par une philosophie étroite et aride, mais admises chez tous les Peuples et dans tous les temps, élèvent l'esprit, échauffent les âmes, et y font germer de grands sentiments. Au lieu d'un événement dont toutes les histoires offriraient (sic) des exemples, la fable nous présente ici le tableau des plus nobles vertus, l'héroïsme du dévouement, les plus beaux témoignages de la reconnaissance (sic), enfin, la vie triomphant de la mort pour prix du courage et de l'amour conjugal."

¹²¹ Watelet and Lévesque, eds., "Mythologie," *Dictionnaire*, 3: 529-530. "Elle ouvrira toujours aux artistes un champ vaste et fécond, parce qu'elle est sur-tout (sic) favorable à ce qu'on nomme l'idéal des arts. Les hommes de l'histoire ne sont que des hommes." Regnault owned a *Dictionnaire des arts*, but it is unclear from the posthumous inventory if it was Watelet and Lévesque's or Aubin-Louis Millin, *Dictionnaire des beaux-arts* (Paris: Desray, 1806): see, Stanic, 210 and 215 n 48.

discussed in chapter one of this dissertation), which was included again in a re-edition of his oeuvre in 1786.¹²²

In expressing his preference for fable, Regnault may have meant to contrast his own exhibited paintings in that vein, the *Three Graces* and *Hercules and Alcestis*, with the historical scene on display: *The Death of Cleopatra*. None of these works was without potential contemporaneous resonances, which may have occurred to the artist in organizing his exhibition and to viewers in visiting it, but grander ideas may supersede those resonances, given Regnault's stated preference.¹²³

In *Cleopatra* (fig. 96), the group of three female figures is united by Cleopatra's red royal robe. Their indecorous poses and half-dress contrast with the three upstanding nude Graces, united by shared ideals and bonds of friendship. That which remains upright in *Death of Cleopatra* is the statue of Isis at the far left, more easily appreciated in Normand's line engraving of the composition (fig. 97). The presence of the statue in this scene can begin to be explained by Cleopatra's self-alignment with that mythic nature goddess.¹²⁴ Yet, in light of Regnault's preference for myth over history, it is noteworthy that it is that lofty mythic figure that transcends history here, the mythic rises above human frailty.

¹²² Voltaire, "Discours sur la fable (1745)," in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire. Dictionnaire philosophique* (Basel: Jean-Jaques Tourneisen, 1786) 40: 191. "Tous les arts sont amis, ainsi qu'ils sont divins: Qui veut les séparer est loin de les connaître. L'histoire nous apprend ce que sont les humains, La fable ce qu'ils doivent être." Stanic, 210 records an edition of the complete works of Voltaire in Regnault's home library. Again, the posthumous inventory did not provide adequate information to determine the specific edition.

¹²³ While it may be tempting to see Napoleon's Egyptian campaign in Regnault's *Cleopatra*, the artist painted it prior to the 1798-1799 campaign. Period viewers may have recognized that like Octavian, Napoleon had just triumphed over Egypt, but could not have known that he too would go on to be an empire-builder.

¹²⁴ Irina Khomenko, "Regnault, *La morte de Cléopâtre*," in *Cléopâtre dans le miroir de l'art occidental*, ed. Claude Ritschard and Allison Morehead (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire; Milan: Five Continents, 2004), 325.

While people perish and even religions change, the beautiful ideas of art, in myth's stories and imagery, remain timeless and eternal, as Voltaire had so eloquently noted in his *Discourse on Fable*.¹²⁵ Comparing *Death of Cleopatra* to the *Three Graces*, one might also see a triumph of Western culture over Eastern, with the dancing Graces contrasting the slumped suicides or the static Isis. Regnault was keenly aware that Greco-Roman myth owed something to Egyptian myth, which lived on co-opted in Greco-Roman narratives. Isis was the precedent for the Greek Io, as the inscription on Regnault's 1798 print of Io relates (fig. 112).¹²⁶

Regnault's exhibition grouping may have been conceived as a meditation on death or on beauty. The three subjects present three different types of beauty –dangerous (Cleopatra); divine (Graces); pure of heart (Alcestis). Cleopatra provides an object lesson in the risks of reliance on superficial beauty, as her feminine wiles failed her in maintaining Egyptian sovereignty in the face of Octavian/Augustus. Regarding the painting, Regnault wrote:

Cleopatra was the daughter of Ptolemy Auteles and queen of Egypt. After the crushing defeat of Antony, at the battle of Actium, as her fate and that of her crown depended solely on Octavian, she tried to seduce him by the wit and the graces that she had employed, with so much success, with Antony and even Caesar. But having failed in her plan, in order to avoid the shame of being led in triumph to Rome, she had herself bitten by an asp, and died aged 39, 30 years before the Christian era, after having reigned for 22 years. I chose the moment when Cleopatra, after adorning herself in her royal clothes and placing herself on her deathbed, expired suddenly and without convulsion, by the subtlety of the poison of the aspic. Octavian, who feared that Cleopatra might take some act of desperation against herself, had dispatched two officers of his court to her: but they already retired, having found Cleopatra dead, and Charmion

¹²⁵ Voltaire, "Discours sur la fable (1745)," in *Œuvres*, 40: 188-189. "Ces fables ont survécu aux religions, qui les consacraient; les temples des dieux d'Egypte, de la Grèce, de Rome, ne sont plus, et Ovide subsiste. On peut détruire les objets de la crédulité, mais non ceux du plaisir; nous aimerons à jamais ces images vraies et riantes." For a more extended discussion of this quotation, see chapter one of my dissertation.

¹²⁶ Sells, "Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné," 579-580 provides the *dépôt légal* date as December 5, 1798. The print was announced in the *Moniteur* on February 23, 1799 and exhibited, along with a print depicting Jupiter and Callisto, at the 1799 Salon, no.601.

and Iras, those of her ladies who were most attached to her, expired from the shame of her death, from which they could not survive.¹²⁷

The viewer is thus faced with the scene encountered by the Roman officers of Octavian's court. To her shame, Cleopatra's shallow beauty could not stand up to, let alone overcome, Republican virtue. Her death marked the end of the pharaonic age and the beginning of Egypt's governance by Rome, but it is unclear if that message would favor her suicide as virtuous or disavow it as selfish.¹²⁸ Thus, one should be wary of Cleopatra's surface beauty that enthralls, but leads to downfall, and should prefer the soulful beauty of Alcestis. Regnault's exhibition, with a dead queen and a resurrected queen balanced by the Graces, may, like David's, have constituted a call for reconciliation. As both Cleopatra and Alcestis were queens—one dead, the other revived—a political reading becomes complicated, as Revolutionary or reactionary ideals cannot immediately be determined and probably were not obvious even to contemporaneous viewers. As indicated by Regnault, Cleopatra died to avoid shame, while virtuous Alcestis sacrificed herself so that her husband might live; the divine Graces, of course, are immortal. As such, the group presents death, resurrection, immortality; again, myth provided outcomes preferable to that of history.

¹²⁷ Regnault, *Exposition*, 7-8. "Cléopâtre étoit fille de Ptolomée Aulète et reine d'Egypte. Après la déroutte d'Antoine, à la bataille d'Actium, comme son sort et celui de sa couronne dependoient (sic) uniquement d'Octave, elle essaya de le séduire par l'esprit et les grâces qu'elle avoit (sic) employés, avec tant de succès, à l'égard d'Antoine et de César même. Mais ayant échoué dans son projet, pour éviter la honte d'être menée en triomphe à Rome, elle se fit piquer par un aspic, et mourut âgée de 39 ans, 30 ans avant l'ère chrétienne après avoir régné 22 ans.

J'ai choisi le moment ou Cléopâtre, après s'être parée de ses vêtements (sic) royaux et s'être placée sur son lit de mort, expire subitement et sans convulsion, par la subtilité du poison de l'aspic. Octave, qui craignoit (sic) que Cléopâtre ne se portât contre elle-même à quelqu'acte de désespoir, avoit (sic) dépêché vers elle deux officiers de sa cour: mais ils se sont déjà retirés, ayant trouve Cléopâtre morte, et Charmion et Iras, celles de ses femmes qui lui étoient (sic) le plus attachées, expirantes du chagrin de sa mort, à laquelle elles n'ont pas pu survivre."

¹²⁸ Claude Ritschard, "La mort à la porte," in *Cléopâtre dans le miroir*, 179-183 on late-eighteenth-century interpretation of the suicide.

Regnault also may have been subtly challenging David's concurrent exhibition of a historical subject. Frenchmen were to see themselves in David's Romans, whereas Frenchmen were to be inspired by the ideas conveyed in Regnault's exhibition, beyond mere repetition of history.¹²⁹ David may also have recognized his rival's exhibition as a confrontation, considering that he released a notice on February 19, 1800—the same day Regnault's exhibition was slated to open and on which one of Landon's reviews appeared—stating that he (David) would extend the open hours of the *Sabines* exhibition to accommodate more working-class visitors.¹³⁰ David's exhibition, open from nine to five, then accommodated visitors for an extra hour prior to the opening of Regnault's in the morning and an extra hour after Regnault's closed in the evening. Within days, Regnault announced: "Citizen David, my colleague, alerted the public that, after demands reiterated by a large number of amateurs, businessmen, and office employees, his exhibition, as of the first of Ventôse [February 20] would be open from nine in the morning until five in the evening. I am honored to alert you that the same reasons have made me adopt the same measures, and that the exhibition of my paintings is open the same hours."¹³¹ Regnault, in his announcement to the press and in his exhibition

¹²⁹ On David's exhibition and his use of a mirror to enhance viewers' appreciation of themselves as part of the painted drama, see: Lajer-Burcharth, "David's *Sabine Women*," passim.

¹³⁰ Jacques-Louis David, "Avis," *Décade philosophique* (30 Pluviôse an 8): 371. "D'après les observations et les demandes réitérées d'un grand nombre d'amateurs fonctionnaires publics, employés dans les bureaux, que l'heure du travail empêche de venir, comme ils le désireraient, à l'exposition de mon tableau des Sabines ; je me trouve dans la nécessité de faire savoir au public qu'à commencer du 1^{er} Ventose prochain, le lieu de l'exposition sera ouvert depuis 9 heures du matin jusqu'à cinq du soir. Le prix des billets est toujours d'un franc 80 centimes." "Variétés," *Journal des arts* 41 (25 Pluviôse an 8. February 14, 1800): 9 had announced that Regnault's exhibition was scheduled to open on 30 Pluviôse. For a review of the exhibition dated to that day, see: Landon, "Réflexions."

¹³¹ Jean-Baptiste Regnault, "Autre lettre aux Rédacteurs," *Journal des arts* 43 (5 Ventôse an 8. February 24, 1800): 9. "Le Citoyen David, mon collègue, a prévenu le public que, d'après les demandes réitérées d'un grand nombre d'amateurs, de fonctionnaires et d'employés dans les bureaux, sa salle d'exposition, à commencer du premier Ventôse, serait ouverte depuis neuf heures du matin jusqu'à cinq heures du soir. J'ai l'honneur de vous prévenir que les mêmes motifs m'ont fait adopter les mêmes mesures, et que la salle d'exposition de mes tableaux est ouverte aux mêmes heures."

pamphlet, insisted upon the complementarity of his exhibition and David's.¹³² The congruence of Regnault's central figure in *Death of Cleopatra* with David's *Death of Marat* (figs. 96 and 113) further underscores the sense of artistic confrontation and the visual reminder that death in the human sphere is permanent, but its meaning is equivocal, as were interpretations of Cleopatra and of Marat.

Regnault's exhibition pamphlet encourages interpretation without stating intent. Regnault had employed a narrative and composition with an open-ended interpretation previously in his famed 1789 *Deluge* (fig. 52), which presents a situation without an obvious resolution. Faced with the choice of saving father or child, its protagonist is in a heart-breaking no-win situation. In this way, as art-historian Ekkehard Mai has noted, Regnault's *Deluge* problematizes the *exemplum virtutis*.¹³³ Likewise, the exhibition of 1800 could not be read unequivocally, apart from Regnault's overarching avowal of myth's triumph over history.

Regnault's *Hercules and Alcestis* (fig. 75) may have been even more personal in motivation. While Landon noted that Regnault looked to the Farnese Hercules (fig. 99) while painting his own demi-god, the painted face's shape bears little resemblance to the antique model apart from the presence of a beard. The painted face, with its broader

¹³² Positive comparison of the two artists was long-standing in art criticism of the period, see for example: *Encore un coup de patte* (1787), transcribed in *Collection Deloynes* 15, no.378: "M. David se faisoit (sic) distinguer par la sévérité de son style. M. Renaud se fait reconnoître à l'élégante pureté du sien. Le premier paroît asservi au goût antique ; le deuxième paroît destiné à fonder un gout moderne, digne de lui être opposé ; le Peintre des Horaces donne aux carnations une teinte un peu factice ; le Peintre d'Iphigénie possède le secret de les rendre à la fois vigoureuses, brillantes et fines. M. David nous a montré différentes scènes sous un ton qui est trop généralement le même ; au contraire M. Renaud, dans divers tableaux, suivant la nature des sujets, a su varier ce ton. M. David semble avoir cherché à bien disposer ses groupes (sic), et il y réussit. M. Renaud dispose heureusement les siens, et semble ne pas l'avoir cherché. Du reste, ces deux grands Peintres paroissent également pourvus de toutes les connoissances (sic) qu'exige leur Art. Si je présume que M. Vincent l'emporte sur eux par une exécution hardie, je crois entrevoir aussi qu'il leur cède en fait de style. Après tout, quand il s'agit de trois hommes de cette espèce, quoique l'on soit très sûr de ne pas se tromper en les plaçant parmi les grands Maîtres, on n'ose pas, avec autant d'assurance décider du rang qu'ils doivent tenir."

¹³³ Ekkehard Mai, "Regnault," in *Triomphe et mort du heros* (London: Nelson Press, 1988), 269.

cheeks and round rather than long overall shape, recalls more closely that of its painter, as known from an undated self-portrait (fig. 114) that provided precedent for the engraved frontispiece to Chaussard's 1806 notice on Regnault (fig. 115).¹³⁴ Regnault's self-representation also ventured outside strict portrait confines on several occasions. He included his own visage in his Rome Prize-winning *The Meeting of Alexander and Diogenes* (fig. 116), among the Macedonian troops.¹³⁵ Art-historian Emmanuel Schwartz described the work as a "bold and intelligent interpretation [...] in which the encounter of monarch and free man is made to symbolize the rise of bourgeois individualism and the death throes of monarchic absolutism."¹³⁶ The youthful artist placed himself as an observer of that process, whereas the mature artist became the mythic protagonist in his *Hercules and Alcestis*. Regnault's features, older and marked by a furrowed brow, reappear as the primary figure in his complex allegory, *Physical, Moral, Intellectual Man* (fig. 117), which is undated but tentatively assigned to the years 1810-1815 based on the figure's grey hair.¹³⁷ Therein, the brow recalls that of Hercules in *Hercules and Alcestis*. Regnault is clean-shaven in all of the established self-portrayals, but the artist, according to his pupil Albertine Clément-Hémery, grew a beard in the 1790s, so he could model for his own painting of a classical subject.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Chaussard, "Notice," plate 11.

¹³⁵ Alexandre Lenoir, "J. B. Regnault, 2e article," *Journal des artistes et des amateurs ou l'observateur des beaux-arts* (December 27, 1829): 408.

¹³⁶ Emmanuel Schwartz, "A Brief Administrative and Artistic History," in *The Legacy of Homer: Four Centuries of Art from the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 74.

¹³⁷ Jacques Vilain, "Regnault: Liberty or Death," in *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, 582 on dating the painting and 580-583 for one interpretation of its iconography. For an alternative reading of its iconography, see: Stanic, 203-210. The title of Stanic's article is misleading only in that the bulk of the text is devoted to Regnault's use of bibliographic sources for this complex allegory and only the two-page annex of the article (210-211) addresses the library itself.

¹³⁸ Clément-Hémery, 22.

The artist, like Hercules, had emerged from a hellish situation. Human history recently had failed him twice as the source of subjects for his works in the 1790s; his commission from the Commune for a large allegorical representation of the Revolution (fig. 118) never came to fruition and *Liberty or Death* (fig. 119), commissioned by the Convention for its debating chambers, which illustrated a slogan of year II (1793-1794), was panned when exhibited at the 1795 Salon, by which time the political context was markedly more moderate.¹³⁹ Regnault had also been appointed to the commissions of monuments and of the museum, before both institutions were dismantled in 1793 at the insistence of David. David went so far as to personally denounce his rival as having a patriotism “without color,” an accusation that could have taken Regnault to the guillotine.¹⁴⁰ Clément-Hémery placed Regnault’s possession of a classical beard as coincident with David’s denunciation of him and reported that the beard was part of the rival’s complaint; indeed, so uncommon were beards at the time that Regnault’s was deemed seditious.¹⁴¹ According to Clément-Hémery, Regnault received a tip regarding the beard and shaved it just in time to be spared further investigation or incident.¹⁴²

In Regnault’s painting, Hercules wrests Alcestis from Hades; one might read this metaphorically as the artist wresting the female nude and mythology from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century. Having appeared in prints and pageants of the 1790s as everything from the embodiment of Liberty to the *ancien régime*, the female body was in need of rescue, as was myth, which had served interests as disparate as the Herculean

¹³⁹ Jacques Vilain, “Regnault: Liberty or Death,” in *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, 580-583; Sells, “Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829) Biography and Catalogue raisonné,” 120-131.

¹⁴⁰ Korchane, 45-56 provides a thorough assessment of Regnault’s situation during the Revolutionary decade and of David’s accusation of him.

¹⁴¹ On facial hair in eighteenth-century France, see: Angela Rosenthal, “Raising Hair,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no.1 (2004): 2-3; Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years* (London: Peter Owen, 1965), 300-302. On Regnault’s beard as seditious, see: Clément-Hémery, 22-23.

¹⁴² Clément-Hémery, 22-23.

emblem of the Revolutionary French and the Apollonian avatar of historical monarchs, to the referent for new revealing fashions. *Hercules and Alcestis* perhaps signals the reemergence and resurrection of myth and of the female nude for a new era.

Regnault's focus on mythic female nudes was prescient; by 1802, the ancient Greek *female* nude had become the "triumph of art," according to the inscription of a celebratory medal (fig. 120). In 1802, Landon reported on this medal and on the contents of the gallery of antiquities within the Louvre:

Among the antique monuments that enrich this gallery, one remarks [...] the admirable statue of Venus, known under the name of Venus de Medici, model of grace and of perfection, comparable to the Apollo Belvedere, by the sublimity of the conception and the ideal beauty of the forms. We have made a medal to consecrate the epoch of the arrival of this masterpiece in France, and the gift that the First Consul has made to the arts with it. It was executed by M. Jeuffroy, member of the National Institute. One side represents the head of the First Consul, and the other the figure of Venus herself, surrounded by these words: to the arts, victory. [...] The Napoleon Museum offers, through this new reunion, the most astonishing ensemble of masterpieces of all times and of all nations, and France can offer it with pride to the admiration of foreigners.¹⁴³

Landon equated the perfect beauty of the Medici Venus (fig. 87) –ideal to the point of sublimity– with that of the renowned Apollo Belvedere (fig. 50). While the Apollo has been art-historically highlighted with regard to tastes of this period, it was the Medici Venus that was emblematic of art's triumph in the medal cast in 1802 (fig. 120). As art-historian Katie Scott has demonstrated, in eighteenth-century France, "medals, because of their material incorruptibility, were traditionally regarded as constitutive as well as

¹⁴³ Charles-Paul Landon, *Nouvelles des arts, peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure* (Paris: Migneret, 1802), 2: 323-324. "Parmi les monumens antiques dont cette galerie vient encore de s'enrichir, on remarque: [...] l'admirable statue de Venus, connue sous le nom de Venus de Medicis, modèle de grâce et de perfection, comparable à l'Apollon du Belveder (sic), par la sublimité de la conception et la beauté idéale des formes. On a fait frapper une médaille pour consacrer l'époque de l'arrivée de ce chef-d'œuvre en France, et le don que le premier consul en fit aux arts. Elle a été exécutée par M. Jeuffroy, membre de l'Institut national. Un côté représente la tête du premier consul, et l'autre la figure même de la Vénus, entourée de ces mots : aux arts, la victoire. [...] Le Musée Napoléon offre, par cette nouvelle réunion, l'ensemble le plus étonnant des chef-d'œuvres de tous les temps et de tous les pays, et la France peut l'offrir avec orgueil à l'admiration des étrangers."

merely reflective of history [...]. Medals were credited with an actual historicity quite different from the merely discursive validity of literary texts.”¹⁴⁴ It was not with the image of the Apollo Belvedere (favorite of Winckelmann and of 1990s art history) that Frenchmen rendered the incorruptible triumph of art, but rather with the mythic female form embodied by the Medici Venus.

Moreover, art-historian Patricia Mainardi has shown that the Parisian display of ancient art looted from Italy “symbolically marked the transfer of the cultural capital of Europe from eighteenth-century Rome to nineteenth-century Paris.”¹⁴⁵ French artists decorated the ceilings of the rooms housing these antique treasures, thereby visually ensuring this French claim as the heir and the future of classical culture, as I have discussed in chapter one.

So much was made of the ephebic male nude in art-historical scholarship of the 1990s as to suggest that the female nude had ceased to be of importance. Yet, as this chapter has shown, ideal beauty was also associated with the female body and, ultimately, Neoclassical-era France embodied the triumph of art and culture with a mythic female nude. Both Regnault’s exhibition and the 1802 medal champion myth as the triumph of art. The next two chapters expand upon what myth offered to history painters that history itself did not or could not offer; as the following chapters demonstrate, myth, embodied in idealized male *and* female bodies, provided a forum for creative inspiration and legacy formation.

¹⁴⁴ Katie Scott, “*D’un siècle à un autre: History, Mythology, and Decoration in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris*,” in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin Bailey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 34.

¹⁴⁵ Patricia Mainardi, “Assuring the Empire of the Future: The 1798 *Fête de la Liberté*,” *Art Journal* 48, no.2 (1989): 155.

CHAPTER FOUR

Classically Inspired: The Poetics of Neoclassicizing Mythologies

Themes of high emotion and imagination in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are typically characterized as emanations of Romanticism. The Romantic cult of the individual and celebration of genius are noted in the proliferation of personalized styles and subjects as well as in the vogue for portraits of creative individuals in French art of the 1820s through 1840s. Thus, it has been easy to overlook that Neoclassical painters addressed the same Romantic theme of creative inspiration using Greco-Roman mythology. This chapter proposes a group of Neoclassicizing mythologies that visualize creative inspiration as indicators of a distinct trend within Neoclassicism, rather than as isolated or idiosyncratic anomalies.

In his 1978 article “*Endymion’s* Dream as a Myth of Romantic Inspiration,” James Rubin convincingly attributed the theme of poetic inspiration to Anne-Louis Girodet’s 1791 *Endymion* (fig. 68); however, description of the work as Romantic has separated it from consideration as part of a Neoclassical trend.¹

Assessment of the work and its artist as Romantic has been tenacious; indeed, the 2005-

¹ James Rubin, “*Endymion’s* Dream as Myth of Romantic Inspiration,” *Art Quarterly* 1, no.2 (Spring 1978): 47-84. Many other interpretations of the imagery of Girodet’s *Endymion* depart from Rubin’s assessment of it as visualizing inspiration. For a radically different interpretation of the iconography of Girodet’s *Endymion*, see for example: Barbara Stafford, “Endymion’s Moonbath: Art and Science in Girodet’s Early Masterpiece,” *Leonardo* 15, no.3 (Summer 1982): 193-198. Stafford offers a scientific reading of the atmosphere and lighting of Girodet’s *Endymion*. She explains the eighteenth-century understanding of light as affecting the objects it hits and as emanating from those objects. She also asserts that there was a fascination with meteorology and with the effect of weather on human mood during the late century. Additionally, she identifies an interest in the ability of matter to exist in three different states (solid, liquid, gas) as a way of understanding Diana’s actual presence in the scene as light rather than a physical body—indeed, what the viewer sees is what is on display for the goddess; her presence is essential.

2007 monographic exhibition and catalogue of Girodet's work was subtitled "Romantic Rebel" for its North American venues.² Girodet's rebelliousness and efforts to differentiate himself from his peers and his teacher also resound in Thomas Crow's influential 1995 *Emulation: Marking Artists for Revolutionary France*, wherein the chapter addressing Girodet and his *Endymion* is entitled "Rebel Rebel."³ Such a view of Girodet has allowed for interpretation of the artist, and his mythic *Endymion*, as distinctively idiosyncratic among his peers.

Endymion was a work Girodet himself considered important and emblematic. Made as a highly elaborated *académie peinte*, it was subsequently kept by the artist, who frequently signed letters as Endymion, bolstering Romantic notions of self-motivated and exceptional eccentricity. Girodet's youthful desire to distinguish himself from his teacher, his self-identification with *Endymion*, and his disappointment with his inconsistent attainment of academic honors have allowed him to be viewed as a "Romantic rebel" working outside the norms of Neoclassicism and the French Academy.⁴ As such, similarities between Girodet's work and that of his peers have been read as homages to the frustrated genius and not as indicative of a trend within Neoclassicism.⁵ Even Girodet's own 1819 *Pygmalion* (fig. 121), thanks to its more diffuse light and literal imaging of artistic creation, has been interpreted as a relapse into an exhausted classicism

² Sylvain Bellenger, ed., *Girodet, 1767-1824* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2006). When the exhibition appeared at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, it was entitled "Girodet: Romantic Rebel." At the Louvre, the exhibition's title matched that of the catalogue.

³ Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995). Regarding Girodet's use of *Endymion* to achieve this differentiation, see especially pages 133-138.

⁴ For an excellent summary of scholarship on Girodet see: Sylvain Bellenger, ed., *Girodet*, passim, and on *Endymion*, see especially 206-17.

⁵ For examples of this, see: James Rubin, "Gros and Girodet," *Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 920 (Nov. 1979): 708, 713-721; Sylvain Bellenger, "Aurora and Cephalus: A Story of Acquisition," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 8 (2003): 188-199; Monique Moulin, "Daphnis et Chloé dans l'œuvre de François Gérard (1770-1837)," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 33, no.2 (1983): 100-109.

and its thematic kinship with his earlier *Endymion* largely dismissed.⁶ Those who have acknowledged *Pygmalion*'s thematic congruence with Girodet's early work continue to stress the singularity of the artist's achievement by interpreting the work exclusively in terms of Girodet's personality and individual artistic goals.⁷ Yet, while the *Pygmalion* was indeed Girodet's swansong –his last history painting prior to abandoning his paintbrushes to focus on composing and translating poetry– it had been commissioned by an admiring patron, rather than sprung from self-motivated eccentricity.

Moreover, as this chapter demonstrates, mythic compositions (figs. 122-124) by Girodet's peer, Pierre Guérin, present variations on the iconography of inspiration and establish that this theme of creative inspiration was neither unique to Girodet, nor so hermetic as Rubin suggested.⁸ Guérin's modified iconography indicates not slavish imitation, but rather nuanced comprehension and a thematic trend in mythic painting. Contextualization of these works within a larger revalorization of mythopoesis (the creation of myth or myths) as it pertains to contemporaneous mythography and theories of allegory in France, as yet overlooked in art-historical scholarship, elucidates the presence of a mythopoeic thematic trend and a renewed appreciation of mythopoesis. To

⁶ Stephanie Nevinson Brown, "Girodet: A Contradictory Career" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, Courtauld Institute, 1980); James Rubin, "Pygmalion and Galatea: Girodet and Rousseau," *Burlington* 127, no.989 (August 1985): 517-520; Alexandra K. Wettlaufer, *Pen vs. Paintbrush: Girodet, Balzac, and the Myth of Pygmalion in Postrevolutionary France* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Chiara Savettieri, " 'Il avait retrouvé le secret de Pygmalion': Girodet, Canova e l'illusione della vita," *Studiolo* 2 (2003):14-42. Only Bellenger, ed., *Girodet*, 462-68 acknowledges thematic congruence, but in so doing stresses the singularity of Girodet's achievements by interpreting these works exclusively in terms of his personality and individual artistic goals.

⁷ Bellenger, ed., *Girodet*, 462-68

⁸ I am indebted to the essential archival work, which provides basis for further study of Guérin's mythological paintings, found in Josette Bottineau, "Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique: *L'Aurore et Céphale, Iris et Morphée*," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 134 (1999): 271-288. My work takes hers a step further by interpreting and contextualizing the subjects and compositions. See also: Mehdi Korchane, "Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833) et l'art français de la Révolution à la monarchie de Juillet" (Ph.D. diss., Université Lyon 2, 2005). Korchane provides a formal reading of Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus*, as a *paragone* of painting and sculpture, but follows Bottineau in avoiding narrative interpretation or contextualization within a wider mythographic context.

flesh out the presence of a mythopoeic thematic trend, I explore how renewed appreciation of mythopoesis underscores not just paintings emblematic of creative inspiration, but also is manifest in artists' engagement with the writing of mythography and the depiction of mythic and mythopoeic authors, such as Orpheus and Sappho. Indeed, isolating Girodet as rebellious Romantic has obscured identification of a larger trend in the visualization of myth in the period circa 1790-1810.

Girodet's 1791 *Endymion* has taken precedence in art history over Guérin's 1810-1811 mythic paintings (figs. 122-124) in part due to chronological primacy and the modernist preference for firsts. Moreover, the similarity of the male figures in Guérin's paintings to Girodet's has led to the categorization of Guérin's paintings as merely formal emulation of Girodet's work.⁹ Yet, the figure of Endymion was not an eccentric invention; Girodet himself acknowledged that he derived its pose, proportion, and details from famed classical sculptures (figs. 50, 125-126) and drew inspiration from the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann.¹⁰ Furthermore, the upturned face and chest bathed in light derive from allegorical representations of *Inspiration*, widely known from popular emblem books (figs. 127-130).¹¹ Similar emblematic poses and light also appear in Gros's 1801 *Sappho* and in the circa 1788-1793 frontispiece for Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Philosophie* (figs. 131-132), further underscoring their evident commonality and legibility in the visual arts before and after Girodet's painting. Standardized poses and expressions were fundamental to academic training and emulation of antique art

⁹ Thomas Crow, *Emulation*, 262; Stephen Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994 and 2002), 61; Sylvain Bellenger, "Aurora and Cephalus: A Story of Acquisition," 188-199.

¹⁰ Bellenger, ed., *Girodet*, 206-217.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs. Ouvrage utile aux gens de lettres, poëtes, aux artistes, et généralement à tous les amateurs des beaux-arts* (Vienna: Trattner, 1766), 2: 129.

essential to Neoclassicism; thus, likeness should thus suggest thematic congruence, not empty imitation, in the work of the comparably trained Guérin.¹² Furthermore, a degree of spirited emulation may be expected in Guérin's canvases, considering that he and Girodet saw themselves as collegial competitors when they formed an art subscription society, along with François Gérard and Gioacchino Giuseppe Serangeli, in 1800.¹³

Guérin clearly grasped the emblematic nature of *Endymion*'s compositional format as he posed his two geniuses in this way for the circa 1800-1801 ceiling medallion (fig. 133) in the newly opened Museum of Antiquities within the Louvre.¹⁴ Charles-Paul Landon identified as a pair the medallions painted by Guérin and by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (figs. 133-134) and specified that Prud'hon's depicted an allegory of drawing, with study guiding the ascent of genius, while Guérin's presented the successful genius reclining and holding a laurel wreath, while receiving recognition in the form of the crown of immortality delivered by an airborne genius.¹⁵

¹² Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Recueil de différentes pièces sur les arts*, trans. H. Jansen (Paris: Barrois, 1786); Pierre-Marie Gault de Saint-Germain, *Des Passions et leur expression générale et particulière sous le rapport des beaux-arts* (Paris: Delance et Lesueur, 1804); Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500 – 1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), passim.

¹³ "Variétés," *Journal des arts* 50 (10 Germinal an 8. March 31, 1800): 15. "Quatre artistes dont le public a su apprécier les talents, les citoyens Gérard, Guérin, Girodet, Sérangéli, viennent de former une souscription qui semble offrir plusieurs avantages aux amis des Arts, celui de contribuer à leurs progrès et à leur encouragement, et l'espérance de devenir à peu de frais possesseur d'un ouvrage ou de plusieurs, que l'on peut supposer précieux et intéressans par la réputation des auteurs, et par le soin qu'ils mettront sans doute[...]. Cette lutte honorable entre de jeunes Artistes dont quelques-uns ont acquis justement le premier degré de célébrité, promet les plus heureux résultats, et fait désirer que leur exemple ait des imitateurs." All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

¹⁴ The painting was commissioned in 1800 and in place by 1801. It is in a room that was formerly part of the apartments of Anne of Austria and was known within the Museum of Antiquities as the *Salle de Laocöon*.

¹⁵ Charles Paul Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts* (Paris: Didot jeune, an IX, 1801), 19. "Ces deux groupes d'enfans, dans des encadremens circulaires, exécutés, l'un par Prud'hon, l'autre par Guérin, ont été peints au plafond de la sale du Laocoon, dans le Musée des antiques. Le premier offert une allégorie relative aux arts du dessin, dont on aperçoit divers attributs : le second représente une génie tenant une couronne de lauriers, et recevant, des mains d'un autre génie, la couronne de l'immortalité."

Guérin's reclining males in his mythic paintings (figs. 122-124) are, like Girodet's *Endymion*, asleep. Rubin equated sleep in *Endymion* with Rousseau's theorization of restful repose as a state of openness to expanded consciousness and communion with the divine.¹⁶ Somnambulant reverie appears also in Girodet's illustration of Aeneas' receipt of mystical intercession for the Didot luxury edition of the *Aeneid* (fig. 135). While such zoned-out passivity certainly distinguishes these male figures from the alert, active men portrayed in David's paintings of Roman history or Napoleonic conquest (figs. 1 and 136), sleeping figures were in no way idiosyncratic to Girodet.¹⁷ Many Neoclassical-style mythological works painted during this period depict slumbering characters (figs. 34, 60, 68, 122-124, 137-138) suggesting the broad contemporaneous importance of Rousseau, whose work is more often linked with nascent Romanticism. Moreover, the mental functions of the sleep state have been equated with mythic narrative in many cultures thanks to their shared status as fabulous internal ideational experiences, as opposed to actual physical experience. As Waud Kracke has observed, myth "in its construction as a series of vivid images depends on inner visualization for its communication and impact; thus, myths are constituted in a spatial-sensory modality, like that of dreams."¹⁸

Girodet's *Endymion* (fig. 68) depicts the shepherd boy beloved by the moon goddess and charmed into perpetual slumber, while Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig.

¹⁶ Rubin, "Endymion's Dream," 74; Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 113 and 168.

¹⁷ Regarding active mature male bodies versus passive ephebic male bodies in the visual arts during this period, see: Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997); Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994 and 2000), especially chap. 7.

¹⁸ Waud Kracke, "Myths in Dreams, Thought in Images: An Amazonian Contribution to the Psychoanalytic Theory of Primary Process," in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations*, ed. Barbard Tedlock (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 32.

122) presents the goddess of the dawn with a huntsman she coveted and stole from his wife.¹⁹ Whereas the Endymion narrative calls for sleep, the Aurora and Cephalus story relates that Aurora abducted a resistant hunter, not a languorous sleeper. The livret from the 1810 Salon, reprinted by critic and artist Charles-Paul Landon in his review, provides a brief synopsis: “Aurora lifts the starry veil of night and scatters flowers on the Earth. In her rapid course, she see Cephalus sleeping: she becomes enamored and robs him of the tenderness of his wife.”²⁰ While the basics of the story appear in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, the specific moment represented by Guérin does not.²¹ In Ovid, Aurora snatches a resistant Cephalus while he is hunting and promptly dismisses him, since he cannot stop singing the praises of his wife; in Guérin’s painting, Aurora ravishes a peaceful, languorous sleeper.

Girodet, in his replacement of Diana with moonbeams, has been understood to have engaged closely with the Endymion narrative.²² So too must Guérin have appreciated the complexity of mythic narratives in approaching his own subject. Indeed, Girodet’s interpretive innovation with the Endymion narrative was not purely

¹⁹ Ovid, *Nouvelle traduction des Métamorphoses d’Ovide par M. Fontanelle* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1767), 1: book 7; Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses d’Ovide, traduites en vers, avec des remarques et des notes, par M. Desaintange* (Paris: Desray, 1808), 2: book 7.

²⁰ Charles-Paul Landon, *Annales du musée et de l’école moderne des beaux-arts. Salon de 1810* (Paris: Annales du Musée, 1810), 19. “Aurore soulève le voile étoilé de la nuit et répand des fleurs sur la terre. Dans sa course rapide, elle a vu Céphale endormi: elle en devient éprise et ravit le jeune chasseur à la tendresse de son épouse.” The last portion of the quotation could also be translated: “robs him from the tenderness of his wife.” Aurora stole Cephalus *from* Procris, his wife, but Aurora was also behind Procris’s death thereby robbing Cephalus *of* her tendernesses. The latter seems more appropriate given that in no version of the story is Cephalus with his wife at the time Aurora ravishes him, thus he is not taken from Procris’s tender embrace, but robbed of (having) it.

²¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. David R. Slavitt (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), book 7: 686ff; Ovid, *Nouvelle traduction des Métamorphoses d’Ovide par M. Fontanelle*, 1: book 7; Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses d’Ovide, traduites en vers, avec des remarques et des notes, par M. Desaintange*, 2: book 7. Bottineau and Korchane both credited Ovid as the source for this scene, though neither proposed narrative interpretation; see: Bottineau, “Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique,” *passim*; Korchane, 242-247.

²² For a summary of the scholarship on Girodet’s *Endymion*, see Bellenger, ed., 206-217.

idiosyncratic innovation; rather, contemporaneous mythographers widely promoted and underscored such flexibility. Already by the 1780s, mythographers increasingly promoted, and indeed praised and encouraged, study of myth that accommodated variety rather than forcing any singular analytical model or stripping away accreted variants in search of a singular, original narrative. In his *Dictionary of Antiquity*, David's friend Antoine Mongez specifically warned against rigid approaches to myth, while the myriad mythographies available by the late eighteenth century compiled varied interpretations for readers' consideration.²³ For instance, that of François Noël (an acquaintance of Girodet) warned staunchly against monocular analysis in its preface: "It seems to me permissible to say, or rather to repeat, in general that the danger of systems is that they bring together everything, by force or by will, to the more or less ingenious hypothesis that one has conceived; and each system becomes a Procrustean bed, to the dimensions of which the explanations must be subjected by means of torture or of mutilation."²⁴ Guérin also seems to have followed the more advised flexible and erudite interpretive model in approaching his subject.

Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca*, a somewhat more esoteric source than Ovid, reveals that there were two Cephaluses: one married to Procris, the other ravished by Aurora.²⁵

²³ Antoine Mongez, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Dictionnaire d'Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des chartes et chronologie* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1792), 4: 227. "On n' imagine pas aujourd'hui ce qu'on pourroit dire sur un sujet en apparence aussi stérile qu'un lever ou un coucher d'étoiles; et cependant on verra que le génie fécond des orientaux a tiré de ce fond aride les fictions les plus variés, et que les débris de ces vieux poèmes sont encore aujourd'hui le dépôt le plus riche où la poésie, la sculpture, et la peinture prennent les idées des grands tableaux qu'elles nous présentent."

²⁴ François Noël, *Dictionnaire de la fable; ou, Mythologie grecque, latine, égyptienne, celtique, persane, syriaque, indienne, chinoise, mahométane, rabbinique, slavonne, scandinave, africaine, américaine, iconologique* (Paris: Le Normant, 1801), 1: iv. "Cependant, qu'il me soit permis de la dire, ou plutôt de la répéter, en général le danger des systèmes est de ramener tout, de force ou de gré, à l'hypothèse plus ou moins ingénieuse qu'on a conçue; et chaque système devient le lit de Procruste, aux dimensions duquel toutes les explications doivent être assujetties, au moyen de la torture ou de la mutilation."

²⁵ Apollodorus, *The Library of Greek Mythology*, trans. Robin Hard (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 44, 131, 189, 239.

An eighteenth-century French mythography by Antoine Banier noted that over time these two Cephaluses had become one.²⁶ Noël combined the two Cephalus stories, stating that after the death of Procris, Aurora took Cephalus away to Syria in an effort to ease his pain, echoing the version recounted in the *Encyclopédie*.²⁷ Guérin was not the first artist to ignore Ovid's assessment of the youth hunter's resistance; François Boucher completed several compositions in which Cephalus, clothed and replete with hunting dog and quiver (figs. 14 and 139), seems pliant.²⁸ More frequently, however, artists had showed Cephalus, per Ovid, resisting the lusty goddess (figs. 140-141). Guérin's may have looked to Boucher for inspiration or he may have consulted the *Encyclopédie* or one of the many mythographies being published in the early nineteenth century.

In Guérin's painting (fig. 122), Cupid assumes a central location and also participates in the drama of the scene. With one hand he seems to push Aurora toward the sleeping youth, while with the other he grasps the hand of Cephalus, thereby bridging the gap between the two protagonists and urging them together. Although Cupid is absent from Guérin's compositional sketch (fig. 142) –which echoes the grouping from the circa 1800 Louvre medallion (fig. 133)– drawings for the figure of Cephalus reveal Cupid's intended presence in the shift of Cephalus's arm and hand positioning from the life drawing to the idealized figural sketch (figs. 143-144).

²⁶ Ibid.; Antoine Banier, *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients, Explain'd from History. Translated from the Original French* (London: Millar, 1739-1740), 379.

²⁷ François Noël, *Dictionnaire de la fable; ou, Mythologie grecque, latine, égyptienne, celtique, persane, syriaque, indienne, chinoise, mahométane, rabbinique, slavonne, scandinave, africaine, américaine, iconologique, etc.* 2nd edition (Paris: Le Normant, 1803), 1: 166; Le chevalier du Jaucourt, "Aurore," in *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (Paris: Le Breton, 1751-65), 1: 889.

²⁸ Colin Bailey, ed., *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 66 suggests that Boucher invented this scene. Given the literary precedents for an amorous pair, Boucher's invention of the scene seems unlikely.

A compliant Cephalus and helpful Cupid were paired in the opera “The Rape of Cephalus” written by Gabriello Chiabrera on the occasion of Henri IV’s marriage to Marie de’ Medici and published in Florence in 1600, with a French translation available as early as 1608.²⁹ According to Chiabrera, when Aurora cannot have Cephalus, she abandons her duties of starting the day, causing general disorder in the heavens, so that Cupid is obliged to make Cephalus to fall in love with Aurora –at which point she carries him off to heaven.³⁰ The prominent placement and the role of Cupid in Guérin’s painting suggest that the artist knew Chiabrera’s play or some derivation of it.³¹ A theatrical source would also harmonize with Guérin’s avowed interest in the theater and his friendship with the actor Talma.³² Indeed, many of Guérin’s canvases displayed subjects

²⁹ Irving Lavin, “Cephalus and Procris: Transformations of an Ovidian Myth,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 17, no.3/4 (1954): 279-280. Gabriello Chiabrera, *Le ravissement de Cefale: Représenté à Florence aux nocces royales*, trans. Nicolas Chrétien (Rouen: T. Reinsart, 1608), passim. This publication, which included full descriptions of the Italian staging of the opera, was intended for readership, rather than for performance. John S. Powell, *Music and Theater in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 166 and 233. There was continued interest in Chiabrera’s work in the eighteenth century. Chiabrera was included in the program for the *La sublime Scuola italiana, ovvero le piu eccellenti opere di Petrarca, Ariosto, Dante, T. Tasso, Pulci, Jassoni, Sannazzaro, Chiabrera, Burchiello, Macchiavelli, Boccaccio, Casa, Varchi, Sperone Speroni, Lollo, Gozzi, Martinelli, Algarotti...* Edizione di Giuseppe de Valenti, 6 vols. (Berlin: A.-A. Lange, 1786-1789). His letters were published: Gabriello Chiabrera, *Lettere di Gabriello Chiabrera, nobile savonese*, ed. Giacomo Filippo Porrata (Bologna: L. dalla Volpe, 1762). Re-editions of others of his works, for example: Chiabrera, *Angelica in Ebuda* (London and Livorno: T. Masi, 1789) [tome 8 of *Teatro italiano antico*]; Chiabrera, *Delle Guerre de’ Goti, di Gabriello Chiabrera, canti quindici, cogli argomenti del signor dottore Antonio Frizzi, e con un indice d’ogni occorrenza*, ed. Giuseppe Cavalieri and Antonio Frizzi (Venice: Coleti, 1771); Chiabrera, *Delle Opere di Gabriello Chiabrera*, 4 vols. (Venice: A. Geremia, 1730-1731); Chiabrera, *Rime di Gabriello Chiabrera*, 3 vols. (Milan: Società tip. de’ classici italiani, 1807-1808); Chiabrera, *Rime di Gabriello Chiabrera nuova edizione*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1718); *Teatro italiano antico*, 10 vols. (Milan: Società tipografica de’ classici italiani, 1808-1812), vol. 9.

³⁰ Chiabrera, *Le ravissement de Cefale*, act 5. For discussion of the opera, see: Lavin, 279.

³¹ On Guérin’s library, see: Josette Bottineau and Élisabeth Foucart-Walker, eds., *L’Inventaire après décès de Pierre-Narcisse Guérin* (Troyes: Trait de Union, 2004), 21-22. Unfortunately, some of the lots in the posthumous inventory simply provide a quantity of books, rather than listing each book individually. For example, lot 242 consisted of fifty books and lot 243 was 150 books including “Pausanias, Description de la Grèce, ouvrages de théâtre, Essai sur les beaux arts, Lavater et autres.” Josette Bottineau and Élisabeth Foucart-Walker, in their notes regarding the inventory of books (page 60), confirm the impossibility of knowing specifically what these lots contained and even the difficulty of determining the precise titles, authors, and editions of the works listed in smaller lots or individually (lots 244-287) as the books were inventoried in a short-hand, abbreviated fashion.

³² Françoise Debaisieux, “Musées des Beaux-Arts de Caen: Nouvelles Acquisitions du XIX^e Siècle,” *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* no. 6 (1968): 354.

taken directly from the theater, especially from seventeenth-century dramas written by Jean Racine (figs. 145-146).

Giovanni Battista Sommariva (1760-1826), a prominent Italian collector in Paris, commissioned Guérin's first version of *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig. 122) in 1810 to be placed in his collection at his Paris townhouse and may have appreciated a visual reference to a jointly French and Italian opera.³³ Thomas Crow argued that an unpublished letter between Girodet and the actress Julie Candaille, stating that Sommariva requested to purchase the *Endymion* from Girodet in 1809, proves that Guérin's canvas is merely a replacement for the Girodet painting Sommariva could not acquire, however, Sommariva's own correspondence with artists remains extant only beginning in 1814, so the original request cannot be consulted.³⁴ Thus, it is useful to attempt to establish the circumstances of the painting's genesis.

Sommariva collected works from many of the major names in French painting in the early nineteenth century including Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, François Gérard, David, eventually Girodet, and of course Guérin –to name the most prominent– and preferred piquant mythological subjects featuring ephebic nudes.³⁵ Madame d'Houdetot, Sommariva's neighbor and closest friend in France, had been a friend of most of the prominent intellectuals in the eighteenth century, including Denis Diderot, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and many of the Encyclopedists; a fan of the sentimental-erotic art of

³³ For information on Sommariva and on his collection, see Francis Haskell, *Past and Present in Art and Taste* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), Haskell, "More about Sommariva," *Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 835 (October 1972): 691-695, and Fernando Mazzocca, "G. B. Sommariva o il Borghese Mecenate: Il 'Cabinet' Neoclassico di Parigi, la Galleria Romantica di Tremezzo," *Itinerari* 2 (1981): 145-293.

³⁴ Crow, *Emulation*, 262.

³⁵ Haskell, *Past and Present in Art and Taste*, 59.

the eighteenth century, Madame d'Houdetot apparently influenced Sommariva's preferences.³⁶

Given Sommariva's decided interest in amorous mythological subjects, it seems likely that he may have wanted *both* Girodet's *Endymion* and Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus*; one would not necessarily have excluded the other in his collection.³⁷ In fact, a tradition of pairing the two narratives existed in French decorative programs, since Aurora emblemized morning and Diana and Endymion night. Fragonard executed one such pair as the overdoors for an unidentified private patron around 1755 (fig. 147-148); Jean Jouvenet completed another in 1680 for the Hôtel de Saint-Pouange; and in 1752-1753 Boucher designed cartoons of the rising and setting sun for the Bellevue château of Madame de Pompadour, using Aurora (though without Cephalus) and Diana and Endymion respectively.³⁸

Sommariva had begun his career as a barber and only secured his fortune and social prominence while serving under Napoleon in Northern Italy. His rise in society had not been entirely scrupulous and, around 1806, he moved to Paris where he hoped to escape his unsavory past and attain social legitimacy by establishing a great art collection.³⁹ Thanks to his new status and respectability, as well as his friendship with Madame d'Houdetot, Sommariva may have been familiar with earlier decorative cycles in which scenes featuring Aurora and Endymion were paired, leading him to desire similar subjects for his own home. But, rather than purchase Rococo works, Sommariva commissioned new canvases. Certainly, the presence of his name in Salon livrets would

³⁶ Ibid., 59-60.

³⁷ Ibid., 53-54.

³⁸ Bailey, ed., 479-482.

³⁹ Crow, *Emulation*, 262.

be one motivator, but the new works he commissioned also exhibit novel deviations from precedents in composition and iconography.

Ultimately, for Sommariva, Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus* received a pendant subject that does not reflect earlier precedents. It was paired with a work by Charles Meynier entitled *Wisdom Defending Youth Against Love* (figs. 149). Charles-Paul Landon, an artist and conservative critic as well as former pupil of Regnault, praised Meynier for the beauty and clarity of this allegorical painting in his commentary on the Salon of 1810. Landon identified Wisdom as Minerva shielding Adolescence, the male nude, from the arrows of a throng of cupids. Landon then identified the female nude reclining in the foreground as Voluptuousness from whom the youth reluctantly distances himself, under the guidance of Wisdom.⁴⁰ Minerva enacting the role of wise Mentor to an impressionable male youth also harkens back to François de Salignac de la Motte Fénelon's *Adventures of Telemachus*.⁴¹

Aurora and Cephalus and *Wisdom Defending Youth* enact a traditional pendant format of complementary opposites, as noted by critic Baron Jean-Baptiste Boutard in 1810.⁴² For instance, the recumbent slumbering female figure in the foreground of the Meynier mirrors the similarly inactive male in the Guérin. The pendants also feature

⁴⁰ Landon, *Annales* (1810), 61-62.

⁴¹ Isabelle Mayer-Michalon, *Charles Meynier, 1763-1832* (Paris: Arthena, 2008), 145 confirms Fénelon's book as the source of the subject without providing narrative or pendant interpretation. I would add that when the painting was re-exhibited at the 1814 Salon, the livret provided this additional information: "Sujet allégorique puisé dans le poème Télémaque." *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1814), no.701; reprinted as *Catalogues of the Paris Salons*, compiled by H.W. Janson (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977). I discuss Fénelon at length in chapter two of this dissertation.

⁴² Baron Jean-Baptiste Boutard, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1810," *Journal de l'Empire* (Dec. 7, 1810), 4. "Cet ouvrage, fait aussi pour M. de Sommariva, sera le pendant de l'Aurore de M. Guérin. Les deux artistes ont eu le bon esprit de s'entendre pour établir des rapports généraux et de symétrie entre leurs deux compositions: je suis porté à croire que celle de M. Guérin étoit (sic) faite la première, et qu'elle aura déterminé la figure couchée, le jeune homme debout, et en général la disposition un peu gênée du tableau de M. Meynier; quoi qu'il en soit l'un et l'autre ouvrage sont fort gracieux, et ils se feront valoir réciproquement, par cela seul qu'on reconnoitra (sic) qu'ils ont été faits avec soin pour aller ensemble."

contrasting settings; the figures in Guérin's painting are clearly airborne, with diminutive mountains in the distance, while Meynier's *Wisdom and Adolescence* appear to stand firmly on a stone outcropping, though the figures in both paintings are enveloped in clouds. The artists also have presented opposing color palettes, with Meynier employing warm, earthy tones and Guérin cooler ones. These formal contrasts between the two pictures suggest that their subjects would also be opposed, and indeed the male youth of Meynier's composition resists love, while that of Guérin's work succumbs.

Given these myriad oppositions, it seems likely that the kinds of love portrayed might also be opposed. Two types of love –sacred and profane– had been recognized in Western culture since at least the time of Plato and had gained prominence in the Middle Ages. The *Encyclopédie* elaborates on the Platonic notion that profane love is based on sensual delight (*volupté corporelle*) and sacred love on spiritual qualities.⁴³ Interest in Neoplatonism and the writings of Renaissance humanist Marsilio Ficino, one of the major authors on the question of love, had enjoyed a resurgence in France at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ The pendants by Meynier and Guérin appear to adhere to this Platonic division between shameful, voluptuous love, and honest, celestial love, respectively. The situation of their figures underscore the earthiness of profane love and divinity of sacred love; the youth in Meynier's painting resists the tempting earthbound nymph (embodying unvarnished carnal desire), while the pendant shows that the love of a goddess elevates the youthful male towards the heavens. Moreover, the warm tones of

⁴³ Le chevalier de Jaucourt, "Platonisme," *Encyclopédie*, ed. Diderot and d'Alembert, 12: 749.

⁴⁴ Rubin, "Endymion's Dream," 63-64 discusses this rebirth of interest in Neoplatonism in terms of ideas connecting love and knowledge and in terms of notions of sleep. For a summary of Neoplatonic treatises on love, see Nesca Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), chapter 6 "Tratto d'Amore."

Meynier's palette contrast with the cool hues of Guérin's, further underscoring their opposition of the earthly and the celestial.

The similarity of pose of Meynier's youth to Cephalus in Guérin's composition and the similarity of the action of the cupid tugging on one hand of each, along with Sommariva's intention to display the paintings as pendants, encourages reading the two as illustrating an interrelated theme. Minerva, goddess of Wisdom, guides the youth in Meynier's painting away from selecting a woman based on physical attraction alone; contemporaneous wisdom in French society held that young people should not select their own mates, as physical attraction was deemed momentary and insubstantial, but should rather await the partner selected by their families. Meynier's painting seems to present a visual warning against love based on physical attraction, urging adolescents to employ wisdom to resist such a mistake; indeed, marriage by minors without parental consent was strictly outlawed by the 1804 Napoleonic Code, making such a choice by an adolescent not only unwise, but illegal.⁴⁵ By pairing Meynier's canvas with Guérin's painting of divine love, associations of sacred and profane love cannot be avoided. Guérin also personally promoted resistance to earthly amorous liaisons in his teaching by way of drawings made for pupils such as his now lost *Study Blinded by Love*.⁴⁶

Guérin heightened the divine aspect of the amorous narrative in *Aurora and Cephalus* by downplaying the fable's theme of abduction and highlighting instead the erotic, amorous potential of this divine love story, thanks in part to Cupid's presence. Equation of divine love with poetic inspiration also dates back to Plato and had enjoyed a

⁴⁵ Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives, and Lovers: Marriage and its Discontents in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 13.

⁴⁶ John Lambertson, "The Genesis of French Romanticism: P.-N. Guérin's Studio and the Public Sphere" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994), 30.

resurgence in the late eighteenth century in France thanks to translations of ancient texts and renewed inquiry into artistic process. As Rubin demonstrated regarding *Endymion*, divine love or possession by a god (the ancient literal definition of enthusiasm) became inextricably linked with notions of poetic inspiration by the late eighteenth century thanks to Nicolas Boileau's translation of Longinus's *Treatise on the Sublime* (reprinted in Michel-François Dandré-Bardon's 1765 *Treatise on Painting*, among others).⁴⁷ Yet, Boileau, who was upheld by eighteenth-century thinkers as an esteemed precedent and whose work was reprinted in deluxe and in stereotype editions published by the Didot family, also subscribed to the belief that poetry sprang from innate ability in conjunction with some "secret source" in his more classically-minded *Art Poétique*.⁴⁸ Furthermore, while most Enlightenment philosophers explained that artists were simply especially keen observers of the natural world, Denis Diderot, at least for a time, championed enthusiasm as the root of creativity.⁴⁹

Although erotic imagery and adulterous story lines had been decried by critic Etienne La Font de Saint Yenne in his review of the 1753 Salon, over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century the status and analysis of Greek mythology changed

⁴⁷ Michel François Dandré-Bardon, *Traité de peinture suivi d'un essai sur la sculpture pour servir d'introduction à une histoire universelle, relative à ces beaux-arts* (Paris, 1765; reprinted: Genève: Minkoff, 1972), 1: 145-46; Rubin, "Endymion's Dream," 75-76 also mentions Diderot, Jean-François Marmontel's supplement to Voltaire, Lebrun-Pindar's odes, republications of Plato's *Ion* on the subject of enthusiasm.

⁴⁸ Gordon Pocock, *Boileau and the Nature of Neo-classicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 86 cites Boileau's *Art Poétique*, lines 3-5. See Carol Osborne, *Pierre Didot the Elder and French Book Illustration, 1789-1822* (New York and London: Garland, 1985), passim for discussion of David's relationship with the Didot family. I would also mention that not only did the Didot family republish Boileau's works, but several artists of this generation were involved in illustrating re-editions. Léopold Carteret, *Le Trésor du bibliophile romantique et moderne, 1801-1875* (Paris: Conquet, 1928) lists Moreau as illustrator of a c.1800 version for Didot and J. Desenne, Hersent, and Horace Vernet as illustrators of an 1821 edition of Boileau's works (for a different publisher).

⁴⁹ Kineret S. Jaffe, "The Concept of Genius: Its Changing Role in Eighteenth-Century French Aesthetics," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41, no.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1980): 579-599.

markedly.⁵⁰ Its immorality was no longer taken literally; instead, amorous and even bawdy mythological stories were interpreted as poetic celebrations of natural creativity, as discussed in Charles Dupuis's influential 1795 *Origin of All Cults*.⁵¹ A proliferation of amorous mythological subjects in large-scale French painting coincided with this new appraisal of myth. Prominent wings and placement of figures and structures aloft on clouds heighten the supernatural dimension of such scenes, leaving no visual doubt that they portray the loves of gods (figs. 60, 62, 122-123, 138, 166).

Instead of viewing mythology as the perversion of ancient historical events or as primitive man's irrational fearful response to nature, as had been common before mid-century, later eighteenth-century thinkers, such as Nicolas Fréret, praised myth as evidence of the longevity of the human creative impulse. Philosophers such as Giambattista Vico, Johann Gottfried Herder, Georg Hamann, and Karl Moritz, among others, characterized mythology's inability to be explained in terms of a single, rational origin or system as a fundamental aspect of its poetry.⁵² In studying the creation and origin of myths, theorists came to see them as creative acts, and thus to understand mythology not as a static body, but as a living mode of thinking and a creative process to which modern poets and painters could contribute –not only by devising new stories and characters, but by reworking ancient myth to reveal new ideas in a symbolic form. This mythopoesis –as espoused by Vico, Herder, Moritz, et al.– has been acknowledged as an

⁵⁰ Etienne de La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris, 1754); Frank Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1972); Christopher Jamme, "Portraying Myth More Convincingly: Critical Approaches to Myth in the Classical and Romantic Periods," *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 12, no.1 (March 2004): 29-45.

⁵¹ Charles Dupuis, *Origine de tous les cultes, ou, Religion universelle* (Paris: Chez Agasse, 1794-1795); Manuel, 259-270.

⁵² Jamme, *passim*.

important basis for the use of myth throughout much of the nineteenth century in France.⁵³

Yet, mythopoesis had begun to infiltrate French mythography already in the second half of the eighteenth century. Fréret's studies of myth, available by 1756 and borrowed for entries in the *Encyclopédie*, embraced the irrational and inventive aspects of myth as part of its value, and Antoine Court de Gébelin interpreted mythology as stemming from primitive wisdom and imagination in his studies, which were widely received between 1773 and 1782.⁵⁴ Moreover, myth was, according to Jean-François Marmontel's 1787 *Elements of Literature*, "one of the most beautiful inventions of the human spirit;" Marmontel's assertion resonated enough with contemporaneous artistic opinion and theory to be quoted a few years later in the introduction to Hubert-François Gravelot and Charles-Nicolas Cochin's 1791 *Iconology through Figures*.⁵⁵ This recurring assessment of myth as evidence of early humanity's creative powers, underscores another avenue for its use and interpretation in the visual arts at this time; yet, this mythographic context has been overlooked in art-historical analysis of mythic painting in France during the 1790s and the first decade of 1800.

Poetic History, released in five editions in Paris during the later eighteenth century, asserted that "the language of fable is that of poetry, one must not separate them

⁵³ Feldman and Richardson, 426-431. These ideas are discussed at greater length in chapter one of this dissertation.

⁵⁴ Manuel, chaps. 1, 3, 4. Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Monde primitif, analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1773-1782), especially vol. 1. For more on this mythographer, see chapter two of this dissertation.

⁵⁵ Jean-François Marmontel, *Elémens de littérature* (Paris: Née de la Rochelle, 1787), volume 9 quoted in Henri-François Gravelot and Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Iconologie par figures, ou, Traité complet des allégories, emblèmes, etc. à l'usage des artistes* (Paris: Le Pan, 1791; reprinted: Genève: Minkoff, 1972), 1: v-vi. "On peut appliquer à l'allégorie ce qu'un homme de goût a dit de la mythologie: *c'est une des plus belles inventions de l'esprit humain.*"

[...]. Mythology is nothing more than a knowledge of fable and of poetic history.”⁵⁶

Aubin-Louis Millin, in his 1806 *Dictionary of Fine Arts*, declared that “mythology has its truth just as history has its truth.”⁵⁷ The eighteenth-century *Encyclopédie* clarifies the distinction between history and poetry: “The orator and the historian have nothing to create, they do not need genius except to find the real aspects that are already there: they have nothing to add, nothing to take away; they barely dare to transpose, whereas the poet creates models for himself without burdening himself with reality. The orator must speak the truth in a way that makes it understood, with persuasive force and simplicity. The poet must speak of the plausible in a way that makes it more agreeable, with grace and energy that can charm and astonish.”⁵⁸ Like poetry, mythology was associated with creativity and genius; in embracing mythology artists could abandon reality and “reportage,” as it was understood to relate to explanation and portrayal of historical events. Therefore, I contend that mythology released Neoclassical painters from literal, historical reality and allowed them to explore ideal unreality, and thus inventiveness and creativity, so intimately linked with the supernatural forces celebrated in ancient religion.

Guérin deviated from the traditional narrative of the Aurora and Cephalus story, but in so doing created something poetic and, indeed, references to poets and poetry resounded in critical responses to his *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig. 122) when it was

⁵⁶ Jean Armand de Bessuejouis de Roquelaure, Guillaume Bertoux, and Jean François de Lacroix, *Histoire poétique* (Paris: Savoye, 1786), ad and 9: “La langage de la Fable est celui de la Poésie; on ne doit point les séparer...la mythologie n’est point autre chose que la connoissance de la Fable ou de l’Histoire poétique.”

⁵⁷ Aubin Louis Millin, *Dictionnaire des beaux-arts* (Paris: Desray, 1806), 2: 568. “On peut dire qu’il y a une vérité mythologique comme il y a une vérité historique.”

⁵⁸ Louis de Jaucourt, “Poésie,” in *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (Paris: Le Breton, 1751-1765), 12: 837: “L’orateur ni l’historien n’ont rien à créer, il ne leur faut de génie que pour trouver les faces réelles qui sont dans leur objet: ils n’ont rien à y ajouter, rien à en retrancher; à peine osent-ils quelquefois transposer, tandis que le poète se forge à lui-même ses modèles, sans s’embarrasser de la réalité. L’orateur doit dire le vrai d’une manière qui le fasse croire, avec la force, & la simplicité qui persuadent. Le poète doit dire le vraisemblable d’une manière qui le rende agréable, avec toute la grâce et toute l’énergie qui charment, et qui étonnent.”

exhibited at the Salon of 1810. M. Boutard, who unfailingly championed classicism and the academy, wrote: “Aurora smitten with Cephalus was a subject suitable to the poetic brush of M. Guérin...[who] has by all means maintained the happy ideas to which this subject should give birth.”⁵⁹ Antoine-Laurent Castellan, who avowed his own love of mythological subjects in the preface to his critique, described Guérin as “putting into this picture the most truthful poetry,” while François Guizot, a statesman, writer, and historian with a preference for conservative politics and historical subjects, asserted: “It is this good sense, vivified by a poetic sentiment and ennobled by a pure and elegant taste, that I find and that charms me in compositions by M. Guérin: there is reason, poetry, and beauty in his painting of *Aurora Abducting Cephalus*.”⁶⁰ Guizot was so certain that he sensed something poetic in Guérin’s painting, that he quoted Petrarch’s *Laura* and wrote that Guérin’s compositions put one in mind of poetry: “Is it possible, when one knows this charming description [from Petrarch], to not be reminded of it by the sight of Cephalus sleeping under the flowers Aurora drops on him? And after having seen the painting, one will rediscover the description, won’t it recall the painter who so happily realized it? Beautiful alliance of the arts, which, in conserving their distinct domains, give each other mutual assistance and join together to charm us.”⁶¹ For Guérin’s

⁵⁹ Boutard, 2-3. “L’Aurore éprise de Céphale étoit (sic) aussi un sujet convenable au pinceau poétique de M. Guérin. [...] L’artiste a en général recherché [...] à entretenir des idées riantes que son sujet devoit (sic) faire naître.”

⁶⁰ Antoine Laurent Castellan, “Beaux-Arts: Expositions de 1810. Quatrième article,” *Moniteur Universel* (December 3, 1810): 1353 for his introduction and 1354 for information on Guérin. “C’est ainsi que M. Guérin a su rajeunir un sujet usé par les poètes et les peintres; il ne l’a pas rendu aussi pompeux que le Carrache et Le Guide, mais il y a mis plus de véritable poésie.” François Guizot, “De l’État des Beaux-Arts en France, et du Salon de 1810,” in *Études sur les beaux-arts en général* (Paris: Didier, 1852), 48. “C’est ce bon sens, vivifié par un sentiment poétique et ennobli par un goût élégant et pur, que je trouve et qui me charme dans les compositions de M. Guérin: il y a de la raison, de la poésie et de la beauté dans son tableau de l’*Aurore enlevant Céphale*.” On Guizot as a critic, see: Pascal Griener, “Guizot, François,” *Grove Art Online* [November 18, 2005].

⁶¹ Guizot, 51-52. “Est-il possible, quand on connaît cette charmante description, de ne pas se la rappeler a la vue de Céphale endormi sous les fleurs que répand sur lui l’Aurore? Et lorsqu’après avoir vu le tableau, on

contemporaries, the painting appeared poetic in its finish, its sentiment, and its similarity to familiar verses.

Additionally, Aurora had been associated with poetry and poetic inspiration since at least the time of Homer (who included Aurora in the *Odyssey*) and continued to be so linked in early nineteenth-century mythographies. François Noël, for instance, noted that Homer “depicts her with a great veil on her head that recoils to the back to indicate that the obscurity of night is beginning to dissipate while she opens the doors of the day with her rose-colored fingers;” he called Aurora a friend of poets, relating that the flowers derive from the admiration she pours forth onto them.⁶² As the goddess who brought light to the world each day, Aurora was aligned with enlightenment as well as inspiration.⁶³

Guérin’s poetic adaptation of narrative and imagery correspond to a contemporaneous renewal of allegorization. Winckelmann, in a 1766 study of allegory (which appeared in a full French translation by 1799), explained antique emblems *and* promoted deployment of deities in new allegories as akin to “taking a verse from an ancient poet and presenting it in a new way. Such an application often becomes more beautiful than even the original.”⁶⁴ Both Winckelmann’s well-known publication and

retrouvera la description, ne rappellera-t-elle pas a son tour le peintre qui l’a si heureusement réalisée? Belle alliance des Arts, qui, en conservant des domaines distinct, se prêtent de mutuels secours et se réunissent pour nous charmer toutes les fois que l’un d’eux ne cherche pas, aux dépens du bon sens, a empiéter sur les droits des autres.”

⁶² Noël (1803), 1: 166. “Homère...la peint avec un grand voile sur la tête recule en arrière pour marquer que l’obscurité de la nuit commence a se dissiper, et ouvrant avec des doigts de rose les barrière du Jour; allégorie ingénieuse, et devenue usée.”

⁶³ Jane Davidson Reid, *Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1: 382.

⁶⁴ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst* (Dresden, 1766), 26-27 and in the 1799 French translation entitled *De l’Allégorie*, 74-80 outlines three different ways that modern artists might use antique figures and allegories. I have made my translation from the French “Il en seroit de cela comme de l’emploi d’un vers tire d’un poète ancien et présenté dans un sens nouveau. Une pareille application devient souvent plus belle que la pensée originale même du poète.”

Hubert-François Gravelot and Charles-Nicolas Cochin's 1791 *Iconology through Figures* encouraged artists not just to repeat clichéd historical examples, but to rework well-known characters, symbols, and incidents in modern allegories. Appreciation of myth as poetry encouraged interpretive adaptation rather than strict illustration and artistic handbooks equated poetic to painterly language, since both call on the imagination through allusion.⁶⁵ Guérin's patron, Sommariva, clearly welcomed new allegorical works, as his collection included not just amorous mythic allegorization, but also political allegory, as evidenced in his patronage of Giuseppe Errante's *Allegory of the Cisalpine Republic* (now Musée national du Château, Malmaison), which highlights a political effort wherein Napoleon created an independent northern Italian state that was allied with France and for which Sommariva himself was a member of the government committee.⁶⁶

The Aurora and Cephalus narrative allowed for associations of creative inspiration through visualization of divine love and presentation of a goddess closely associated with inspiration and poetry. The female figure, while obviously Aurora, as named in the painting's title and depicted pushing back the veil of night while depositing flowers, conspicuously lacks the chariot and orange robes described in many emblem books and mythographies.⁶⁷ Jean-Baptiste Boudard's 1766 *Iconology* describes an alternative depiction of Aurora (fig. 150) whose garb anticipates that of Guérin's goddess: "Aurora. This allegorical divinity, celebrated by poets, is personified by a young lady who has wings, to indicate the promptness of her passage. Her light, transparent

⁶⁵ Ibid., 1 (German) or 21 (French); Gravelot and Cochin, v.

⁶⁶ Jérémie Benoît, "La Peinture allégorique sous le consulat: Structure et politique," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 121, no.1489 (1993): 85.

⁶⁷ Jean Baudoin, ed., *Iconologie ou la science des emblems devises, etc. Qui apprend a les expliquer dessiner et inventer ouvrage tres utile aux arateurs, poetes, peintres... Enrichie et augmentee d'un grand nombre de figures avec des moralites, tirees la plupart de Cesar Ripa* (Amsterdam: Adrian Braakman, 1698), 30.

drapery allows the color of her skin to be seen. She also has a second flying drapery, which is of golden fabric. Her attributes are a firebrand or a flaming torch that she holds in one hand and flowers of various species that she scatters with the other.”⁶⁸ Guérin’s Aurora –wingless, torchless, hovering aboard clouds, and just barely clad in white gauze– seems also to take on the characteristics emblematic for *Idea* (figs. 151-153). Boudard described: “*Idea* is an exemplary form born in the mind/spirit of the poet or artist, and by which they express the thought or the thing that they imagined; but Plato means by this time the essence that emanates from the divine spirit, which is separate from the material of created things; this is why she [*Idea*] is represented beautiful, nude, elevated on a cloud, having an abundant flame above her head and a circle of gold on her forehead.”⁶⁹ Cesare Ripa’s emblem book, cited as a major source by Winckelmann and by Gravelot and Cochin, includes the following description of *Idea*: “A beautiful Lady, rapt into the Air; covering her Nakedness only with a fine white Veil; a Flame on her Head; her Forehead surrounded with a circle of Gold [...] points at a very fine Country lying underneath. In the Air, because immaterial, and immutable; naked, exempt from corporeal Passion: the white Veil, the Purity of Ideas, differing from corporeal Things: The Golden Circle denotes the Perfection of Ideas, being the Model of all Things. The

⁶⁸ Boudard, 1: 55. “Cette Divinité allégorique, célébrée par les Poètes(sic), se personnifie par une belle jeune fille qui a des ailes, pour marquer la promptitude de son passage. Sa draperie légère (sic) et transparente, laisse voir la couleur de sa chair. Elle a aussi une seconde draperie volante, qui est d’étoffe d’or. Ses attributs sont un brandon, ou flambeau allumé qu’elle tient d’une main, et des fleurs de diverses especes (sic) qu’elle seme (sic) de l’autre main.”

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: 100. “L’Idée est une forme exemplaire qui naît dans l’esprit du Poète, ou de l’Artiste, et par laquelle ils expriment la pensée, ou la chose qu’ils ont imaginée ; mais Platon entend par ce nom, l’essence qui émane de l’esprit divin, laquelle est séparée (sic) de la matière (sic) des choses créées ; c’est pourquoi on la représente belle, nue, élevée sur un nuage, ayant une abondante flamme de feu sur la tête, et un cercle d’or sur le front. Elle allaite un enfant, et au dessus de la nuage qui la porte est un gracieux paysage.”

Country pointed at, the inferiour, sensible World.”⁷⁰ While Boudard and Ripa call for a golden headband, Guérin has encircled the goddess’s torso with a golden belt; otherwise, Aurora matches the emblematic description of Idea closely, heightening its emblemization of mental process in mythological guise.

As John Lambertson has demonstrated, the aristocratic viewing public of the eighteenth century changed in the early nineteenth century, becoming more diverse and bourgeois, but perhaps less familiar with classical literature or at least attuned to such sources in different ways than their contemporaries with aristocratic heritage.⁷¹ Guérin’s clear narrative and emblematic program might then have been intended to appeal to Salon-goers and the *nouveau-riche* Sommariva. His overt reference to ideas of poetry and inspiration might have resulted not so much from the impoverishment of the artistic tradition as from a desire to appeal to this new audience.⁷² Whereas the theme of poetic inspiration in Girodet’s *Endymion* was veiled and relied upon extensive background knowledge of the story (and the artist’s life), Guérin made such an association quite forthright in his *Aurora and Cephalus* using a comparable composition and narrative.⁷³ Moreover, as Northrop Frye has shown, this period was not lacking in mythopoeic thought and engagement; however, such symbolism was to be comprehensible to its

⁷⁰ Ceare Ripa, *Iconologia*, trans. P. Tempest and engravings by J. Fuller (London: Motte, 1709), 48, fig. 192; this description appears in an elaborated version in the 1764-1767 Italian edition printed in Perugia on page 237 of volume 3. A similar description accompanies the concept “Vraye Sagesse” in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, et autres figures...* (Paris: Mathieu Guillemot, 1664), 144 and in Baudoin, ed., *Iconologie*, 470.

⁷¹ Lambertson, 3.

⁷² Crow, *Emulation*, 265 describes Guérin’s work as an impoverishment of Girodet’s.

⁷³ Rubin, “*Endymion*’s Dream,” 84 on Girodet’s hermeticism.

audience, rather than suggestive as would become commonplace in Romantic art and literature of the following generation.⁷⁴

Guérin's and Girodet's contemporaries indeed encouraged poetic invention in painting. In the 1792 *Dictionary of Art*, Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Lévesque defined the criteria for a poetic artist: "That he invents beautiful dispositions of groups, masses and figures; that he even adds to this merit those of his ingenious thoughts that one calls poetic; that his mind furnishes him allegories, episodes no less happy than those found in the greatest poets."⁷⁵ Jacques-Philippe Voiart specified in 1805 that the "poetics of art" could also be called "the metaphysics of painting," which were to "be found in the choice of a subject the elevates the soul" and "resides more so in the ideal, than in the real."⁷⁶

Guérin's success in visualizing the ideal in *Aurora and Cephalus* received praise in a lengthy, unsigned letter on the *beau idéal* in the *Moniteur universel*:

I find this rare quality in the painting of *Aurora and Cephalus*. The subject, much repeated since the Renaissance, has taken on a new character, has rediscovered its freshness under the smooth brushes of Mr. Guérin.... Cephalus is carried off in the clouds, and this beautiful sleeping figure glows both with vigor and with the graces of youth.... The beauty of Cephalus and his elegant pose, the purity of the design and the truth of the coloring of this figure, the vigor of the tone that makes

⁷⁴ Northrop Frye, *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake* (1947; reprint, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 421. The title suggests that the book only addresses Blake, however, the passage I have cited provides an international context for Blake's work and is thus applicable to the situation in France.

⁷⁵ Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Lévesque, eds., *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris: Prault, 1792) 5: 119. "Qu'il invente de belle dispositions de groupes, de masses et de figures; qu'il ajoute même à ce mérite, celui de ces pensées ingénieuses qu'on appelle poétiques; que son imagination lui fournisse des allégories, des épisodes non moins heureux que ceux des plus grands poètes."

⁷⁶ Jacques-Philippe Voiart, *Entretiens sur la théorie de la peinture, pour aider aux progrès des jeunes personnes qui cultivent cet art* (Paris: Alexis Eymery, 1820): 110 indicates that the definition of *poétique de l'art* stems from his own ephemeral publication of 1805 and also includes "ce qu'on nomme *poétique de l'art*, on pourrait appeler *la métaphysique de la peinture*." [Italics per the original.] On pages 111-112, Voiart explains that the poetic in art resides primarily in the uplifting and the ideal: "La poétique de l'art se trouve dans un choix de sujet qui élève l'ame (sic). [...] Elle réside plutôt dans l'idéal, que dans le réel."

him project forward, his luminous transparency, and many other qualities still, assure this composition an honorable place.⁷⁷

Many of the reviewers specified an affinity between Cephalus and ideal ephebic male sculptures, most notably the *Antinous* and the *Apollo Belvedere* (fig. 50).⁷⁸ Certainly the pose of Cephalus recalls the positioning of the limbs of the *Apollo Belvedere* in their “restored” state, but the paunchy belly suggests another beloved sculpture, the *Apollino* (fig. 126), which art historians Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny described as “among the most frequently copied antique statues.”⁷⁹ During Guérin’s *Prix de Rome* stay in Italy he would have encountered myriad classical sculptures. In addition, he owned an extensive collection of casts and copies, including the *Apollino*.⁸⁰ Such a reference to classical sculpture would have flattered the taste of Sommariva, an avowed enthusiast of classical and classicizing sculpture, and also would have reinforced notions of the ideal for Guérin’s audience. Moreover, Guérin’s selection of Apollo figures as prototypes underscores the poetry of *Aurora and Cephalus*.⁸¹ Here again, Guérin layered ideas and references, rather than merely illustrating a fable.

Despite the preponderance of praise heaped on Guérin’s painting, not everything about it was deemed ideal. *Aurora and Cephalus* received some criticism for the Cupid’s being too small, too cute, or too flabby and for the clouds, which were deemed too

⁷⁷ “Au Rédacteur: seconde lettre sur le Salon de 1814,” *Moniteur universel* (December 10, 1814): 1385-1386. “Je retrouve cette qualité rare dans le tableau de *Céphale et l’Aurore*. Ce sujet tant répété depuis la renaissance des arts, a pris un nouveau caractère, a retrouvé sa fraîcheur sous les pinceaux suaves de M. Guérin.... Céphale est enlevé dans les nuages, et cette belle figure endormie brille à-la-fois de la vigueur et des grâces de la jeunesse.... La beauté de Céphale et sa pose élégante, la pureté du dessin et la vérité du coloris de cette figure, la vigueur de ton qui lui donne de la saillie, sa transparence lumineuse, beaucoup d’autres qualités encore assurent à cette composition un rang honorable.”

⁷⁸ Bottineau, “Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique,” 273; Castellan, 1354; E., “Salon d’Exposition de 1810,” *Journal de l’Empire* (November 18, 1810): 4.

⁷⁹ Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 147

⁸⁰ Bottineau and Foucart-Walker, eds., 48 and 161; Andrew Robertson, *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson, A.M., Miniature Painter to his Late Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex*, ed. Emily Robertson (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), 238 letter dated September 18, 1815.

⁸¹ Apollo was associated with patronage of the fine arts and poetry.

numerous and too mauve.⁸² Critics, however, suggested that the purple tonality resulted not from any fault of the painter, but simply appeared odd at the Salon because the picture was intended for private viewing in a collector's home and was to be illuminated by the lighting of such a domestic space.⁸³ Sommariva engaged in idiosyncratic installation and lighting of his art collection and placed his prized Antonio Canova sculpture, the *Magdalene*, in a room outfitted entirely in purple with a single alabaster lamp to illuminate it.⁸⁴ The situation of Guérin's painting within Sommariva's Paris townhouse remains unknown; however, given Sommariva's penchant for dramatic displays, the purple tonality of the *Aurora and Cephalus* may have been commissioned to reflect the surroundings it was meant to adorn.

Apart from those few small criticisms, the *Aurora and Cephalus* was so widely esteemed that Guérin immediately received a commission for a second version (fig. 123) from another military man, Prince Nikolay Yusupov (1750-1831) of Russia.⁸⁵ For this variant, Guérin made a few alterations, most notably to the offending body type of Cupid and to the overall purplish palette. Yusupov installed his art collection in the Salon manner at his classically styled home outside Moscow; thus the change in the overall tonality may result either from the criticism Guérin received at the Salon or from the projected destination of the new work.⁸⁶

⁸² Landon (1810), 19-20; E., 4;

⁸³ Guizot, 50; Castellan, 1354.

⁸⁴ Crow, *Emulation*, 262; Haskell, *Past and Present*, 56.

⁸⁵ Marina Krasnobaïeva and Ludmila Kiruchina, "Le 'palais-parc' d'Arkhangelskoïe," in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg: les commandes de la famille impériale et des princes russes entre 1773 et 1802* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), 68.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Yusupov had held prominent political and cultural positions, including managing the Hermitage and the Russian imperial theaters.⁸⁷ Upon retirement in 1802, he maintained his engagement with the visual and performing arts in his new estate, Arkhangelskoïe, which housed four hundred works of art and twenty thousand books.⁸⁸ Like Guérin, he was an avid bibliophile, so discrepancy between text and image would not have gone unnoticed and, hence, must have been intentional and appreciated.⁸⁹ In Yusupov's *Aurora and Cephalus*, Guérin maintained the compositional elements and the narrative divergence demonstrated to be emblematic of poetic inspiration.

Yusupov's estate was also home to his own theater, including a ballet company and orchestra.⁹⁰ This intimate involvement with the visual arts and theater colored his first interaction with Guérin in 1802, when he attempted to purchase Guérin's *Phaedra and Hippolytus* (fig. 145), which depicts a scene from Racine's play *Phèdre*.⁹¹

Yusupov's participation in and love of theater also resonates with Guérin's likely reference to Chiabrera's opera in his pairing of a compliant Cephalus and a helpful Cupid. While Cupid no longer occupies the central location in the Yusupov version of *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig. 123) that he held in the Sommariva composition of the same subject (fig. 122), his importance remains clear. Foregrounded, he aids the goddess in

⁸⁷ Ibid., 67.

⁸⁸ Ibid. and Lioubov Savinskaïa, "La collection de peintures de Nikolai Borissovitch Youssouпов," in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg*, 77. Yusupov's art collection displays a preference for piquant mythological subjects similar to Sommariva's. Yusupov's collection of nineteenth-century art includes works by P. Guérin, J.-A. Gros, P.-P. Prud'hon, H. Vernet, F. Gérard, J.-L. David, and A. Canova among myriad other more minor names. He also had avidly collected in the eighteenth century focusing on contemporaneous and Renaissance works from France and Italy. Much of his former collection is now divided between the Hermitage and the Pushkin.

⁸⁹ Bottineau and Foucart-Walker, eds., 21-22. See also Lambertson, 33; Bottineau, "Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique," 280; Robertson, 238 letter dated September 18, 1815; Kransobaïeva and Kiruchina, "Le 'palais-parc,'" in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg*, 69 lists Yusupov's library at over twenty thousand volumes.

⁹⁰ Kransobaïeva and Kiruchina, "Le 'palais-parc,'" in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg*, 67 and Savinskaïa, "La collection," in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg*, 77.

⁹¹ Bottineau, "Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique," 286-287 n. 30 and n. 31.

lifting the sleeping Cephalus heavenward, in effect pushing him toward her, underscoring Cupid's role, so prominent in Chiabrera's opera, in facilitating love between the two. Yusupov spent an extended period in Turin, allowing him extensive travel throughout Italy while he was in the military; he avidly collected both French and Italian art and books, making a theme recalling a jointly Italian and French theatrical source particularly apposite.

This second poetic *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig. 123) was to be paired with a complementary pendant, *Iris and Morpheus* (fig. 124), in which Guérin also deviated from classical precedent. Ovid is the only classical author to relate a story including both Iris and Morpheus; however, in the *Metamorphoses*, Juno's faithful messenger Iris visits Hypnos, the god of sleep, to implore him to send Alcyone a dream alerting her to the death of her husband, King Ceyx.⁹² Hypnos then selects his son Morpheus, one of the gods of dreams, to impersonate the king in Alcyone's dream; Iris and Morpheus have no immediate contact in Ovid's tale.⁹³ Guérin's painting presents a clever elision wherein Iris appears directly to Morpheus without the intervention of Hypnos. The subject of Iris and Morpheus is understandably a rather rare one in the visual arts, though Guérin was by no means the only artist to combine the two figures; René-Antoine Houasse painted *Morpheus Awakening at the Approach of Iris* (fig. 154) for the château of the Grand Trianon at Versailles around 1701, though any contact Yusupov or Guérin may have had

⁹² Reid, 608 lists eleven classical sources for Iris, of which only Ovid includes Morpheus. Reid's book does not include an entry for Morpheus.

⁹³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites en François, avec des remarques et des explications historiques par l'Abbé Banier* (Paris, 1757), 3: 51ff; Ovid, *Nouvelle traduction des Metamorphoses d'Ovide par M. Fontanelle* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1767), 2: 156ff; Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites en vers, avec des remarques et des notes, par M. Desaintange* (Paris: Desray, 1808), 3: 381ff.

with Houasse's work has yet to be determined.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, certain striking similarities, including the firmness of the paint handling, the pose of Morpheus and to a certain degree that of Iris, with her flowing blue drapery, all suggest some familiarity with the Houasse painting or an as yet unidentified common source for both.⁹⁵

Any literary or theatrical source for this deviation remains unclear, but close consideration of the roles and skills of the characters depicted sheds light on Guérin's departure from Ovid's text. While the typically aged Hypnos could have been rendered in youthful form to pair with Cephalus, Guérin's choice of Morpheus instead suggests the importance of that particular figure.⁹⁶ According to contemporaneous mythographies and emblem books, as well as the *Encyclopédie* and Ovid, Morpheus, of all his brothers, was "the most able to take on the gait, appearance, air, and voice of those he wanted to represent."⁹⁷ His very name further highlights this ability to *morph* into those he wished to insinuate into one's dreams.⁹⁸ The details of Yusupov's commission for this painting are no longer extant, making it impossible to know if the artist or the patron selected its subject; however, with their shared love of the theater, it seems apposite that, for Yusupov, Guérin would produce a picture of a mythological character notable for his acting skills. The composition itself also displays a theatrical quality in the choreographic way Iris's arm seems to cause Morpheus's to rise, as noted by art historian Josette Bottineau; she asserted that this compositional novelty would have charmed the

⁹⁴ Antoine Schnapper also noted the similarity of the Houasse painting and Guérin's compositional drawing in Philippe Bordes, Antoine Schnapper, and Arlette Sérullaz, *Autour de David: Dessins néoclassiques du Musée des beaux-arts de Lille* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), 144.

⁹⁵ Regnault also used a similar composition for his 1785 *Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 34), which Guérin may have known from a sketch or variation in his master's studio.

⁹⁶ Gravelot and Cochin, 97 assert that Hypnos could be portrayed either as youthful or elderly.

⁹⁷ Noël, 1: 164; Ovid, see n. 93 above; *Encyclopédie*, 10:715. "Le plus habile à prendre le démarche, le visage, l'air, le son de voix de ce qu'il veut représenter: son nom même le prouve."

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

actors and dancers Yusupov befriended, while the intricate details of the bed would appeal to his more erudite guests.⁹⁹ Moreover, the performers and statesmen Yusupov hosted would have been amused by the ingenious adjustment of the Ovidian tale. Through its pairing with *Aurora and Cephalus*, which preserves its connotation of poetic inspiration, *Iris and Morpheus* suggests the interpretive creativity of actors and the theater as well. Neither Ripa, Gravelot and Cochin, nor Winckelmann provided an emblem for theatrical inspiration apart from the Muse of theater; here, Guérin devised a specialized, modern allegorical image.

While the selection of Morpheus rather than Hypnos allows for connotations of acting, the details of Guérin's picture suggest that the two characters may have been conflated. The *Encyclopédie* relates the Ovidian tale of Iris waking Hypnos, without any reference to Morpheus, and states that Sleep rests in an ebony bed surrounded by a black curtain, a description strikingly similar to that of the environs of Guérin's Morpheus. The *Encyclopédie* entry also includes the detail that an unnamed poet portrays Hypnos holding the head of a sleeping lion; Guérin's Morpheus appears to sleep atop a lion skin of which one paw dangles over the edge of the bed.¹⁰⁰ The entry pertaining to Morpheus refers to him as an envoy or representative of Sleep and Night, but makes no reference to Iris or his visitation to Alcyone.¹⁰¹ Perhaps the combination of elements of Sleep with those of Morpheus, one of the gods of dreams, results from the negative connotations many philosophers gave to dreams –which were considered manifestations of the

⁹⁹ Bottineau, "Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique," 281-282. To the left, Mercury beheads Argus in order to liberate Io who had been metamorphosed into a cow to protect her from Juno (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*). To the right, Jupiter slumbers on Juno while she directs Sleep to have Neptune aid the Greeks in the Trojan war. Juno has also been aided by Venus in this mission (*Iliad* XIV, 153ff).

¹⁰⁰ Jaucourt, "Sommeil, (Mythol.)," *Encyclopédie*, 15: 333-334.

¹⁰¹ Jaucourt, "Morphée, (Mythol.)," *Encyclopédie*, 10: 715.

irrational mind— while sleep itself was understood as a recuperative mechanism used by the body to recharge its nervous system and all of its waking capacities.¹⁰²

Guérin altered the pose of Cephalus for the Yusupov composition to match that of Morpheus, underscoring the interrelatedness of the two visually and thematically; these reclining figures with their arm bent over the head take on the emblematic pose typical for allegorical figures of Sleep. While Cephalus's restful repose allows him to come closer to the divine, Morpheus is about to wake into purposeful action, or acting as it were; in neither case, then, is the protagonist abandoned to an irrational dream state. Rousseau's notions of the potential of such restful repose to expand consciousness align nicely with the subjects presented by Guérin. Furthermore, Yusupov esteemed Rousseau and his library prominently featured a bust of the philosopher; perhaps, Yusupov also subscribed to the notion of sleep as a period of Rousseauian reverie allowing for expanded consciousness and divine communion.¹⁰³

Reconsideration of Guérin's mythologies expands understanding of the specific paintings and elucidates the cultural context, thereby suggesting the merit of analyzing these works as part of a unified subset of French Neoclassical painting and of reconsidering patronage. Guérin and Girodet both provide examples of emblematic portrayals of poetic inspiration as deriving from divine love and divine intervention. In addition to such emblematic, iconographic portrayals of poetic inspiration, another track within the selection and treatment of mythological subjects during the period circa 1790-1810 addresses this theme even more literally. Indeed, Neoclassical painters depicted

¹⁰² Jaucourt, "Songe, (Métaph. & Physiol.)," *Encyclopédie*, 15: 355; idem, "Sommeil, (Physiol.)," *Encyclopédie*, 15: 331.

¹⁰³ Kransobaïeva and Kiruchina, "Le 'palais-parc,'" in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Pétersbourg*, 70.

fables that overtly thematize creative process, such as the narratives of the fabled sculptor Pygmalion and legendary poet Orpheus, and also portrayed the human writers of mythic poems, such as Sappho and Anacreon in the throes of heightened emotion induced by intercession. Renewed appreciation of mythology, not as perverted history or as the fearful response of ignorant ancients to natural phenomena they could not understand, but rather as a creative, poetic remnant of early humanity allowed for appreciation, rather than derision, of its authors as well as its narratives.

The mythic poet par excellence was Orpheus, who was depicted by Girodet, Guérin, and Landon, among others during the period circa 1780-1810 (figs. 155-157).¹⁰⁴ Guérin's *Orpheus*, exhibited in Paris in 1800-1801, displays the requirements of the *académie peinte* in the male nude, but adds a greater emotional intensity. Both Girodet and Landon had also undertaken *académies* circa 1796 that they elaborated using the Orpheus theme.¹⁰⁵

Orpheus, driven by his love for Eurydice to compose music, had previously served as the model for Jean Restout's celebrated *Music* (fig. 158), but appears there with a light-hearted air, thanks to the color palette, the facial expressions of the cast of characters, and Restout's selection of a successful moment within the narrative. The tale of Orpheus relates that, bereft by the death of his young wife Eurydice (who was killed by a snake bite), Orpheus went to the underworld and so charmed its inhabitants with his song that Eurydice was released. Her return to life, however, hinged upon Orpheus

¹⁰⁴ Catherine Camboulives and Michèle Lavalée, eds, *Les Métamorphoses d'Orphée* (Tourcoing: Musée des beaux-arts, 1994), 53-66. Therein, Catherine Camboulives ascribes the popularity of the theme in the late eighteenth century to Gluck's opera. Yet, the 1774 French production of Gluck's rendering of the Orpheus narrative deviated from those presented elsewhere by including a happy ending. Cupid talks Orpheus out of suicide and as a reward restores Eurydice to life.

¹⁰⁵ Both Landon's painting and Girodet's drawing were at the 1796 Salon; however, while Landon's is dated to that year, Girodet's is dated 1794. Both artists were in Rome at the time the works were executed and the dating discrepancy remains unresolved.

ascending without looking back at his beloved whose shade followed him. Just before reaching daylight, he turned toward her and lost her forever. Orpheus then sang of his love and sorrows, charming nature and even inanimate objects around him, but inspiring ire in the Thracian women whose advances he refused.¹⁰⁶

Guérin, Girodet, and Landon all presented Orpheus in the emblematic pose of melancholy adjacent to Eurydice's tomb (figs. 155-157). In his 1801 assessment of Guérin's painting, Landon pinpointed the moment depicted as after Orpheus's second loss of Eurydice. He did not stop there, but included the rest of the Orpheus narrative and some interpretive details as well. Landon told readers that Orpheus "excelled in poetry and in music and the brilliance of his talents made him seem to be thereafter the son of Apollo and of the muse Calliope."¹⁰⁷ Expanding beyond the amorous tale, Landon wrote: "Whatever may be the marvels consecrated by mythology, it seems certain that Orpheus was a famous poet, that he introduced many innovations in the cult of Bacchus, that he gave Greeks the principles of astronomy, and that he was one of the first reformers of their religion."¹⁰⁸ Landon observed that the grace of the forms in Guérin's painting combined with the figure's expression to recall the "pathetic brush" of the author of the *Return of Marcus Sextus* (fig. 107).¹⁰⁹ *Orpheus* was Guérin's first work exhibited in Paris since his celebrated *Marus Sextus* in 1799 and he was concurrently working on the medallion (fig. 133) for the Louvre's ceiling that was, additionally, a featured print in

¹⁰⁶ Noël (1801), 2: 336.

¹⁰⁷ Landon, *Annales* (1801), 121. "Il excella dans la poésie et dans la musique, et l'éclat de ses talents le fit passer, dans la suite, pour fils d'Apollon et de la muse Calliope."

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 122. "Quelles que soient ces merveilles consacrées par la mythologie, il paraît certain qu'Orphée fut un poète célèbre, qu'il introduisit plusieurs innovations dans le culte de Bacchus, qu'il donna aux Grecs les principes de l'astronomie, et qu'il fut l'un des premiers réformateurs de leur religion."

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 122. "Dans ce tableau, peint par Guérin, Orphée est représenté pleurant sur le tombeau d'Euridice (sic), qu'il a perdue pour la seconde fois, et sans espoir de retour. Sous le rapport de l'expression, de la grâce des formes, de la finesse du coloris, cette peinture rappelle le pinceau pathétique de l'auteur du tableau de Marcus-Sextus."

the 1801 *Journal des Arts*. Guérin's much-acclaimed *Marcus Sextus* utilized antiquity to engage current events and it may be that Landon, a fellow pupil of Regnault and one who had recently painted Orpheus, alluded to similar potential in Guérin's mythic subject.¹¹⁰

Landon's assessment of Orpheus appears at first glance Euhemerist (the practice of interpreting myths as faulty accounts of the lives of historical people); however, Landon openly avowed the fictional nature of mythological stories as well as their essentially allegorical value, although he did not pinpoint specific interpretations in his *Annals*.¹¹¹ Other contemporaneous interpretations assist in shedding light on that which Guérin's contemporaries saw in this subject. In his *Dictionary of Antiquity*, Antoine Mongez settled on the allegorical interpretation of Orpheus previously put forth by Gaspard-Michel Le Blond: "The story of Orpheus is nothing other than an allegorical fable relative to the invention, to the progress, and to the perfection of the arts and sciences."¹¹² Mongez concurred with Le Blond's assessment that the qualities and achievements ascribed to Orpheus were simply too much for a single human and must therefore be understood allegorically. Mongez was both a personal friend of Jacques-Louis David and also an associate of E.-Q. Visconti, who oversaw the circa 1800 Louvre ceiling commissions (including Guérin's medallion) and their iconographic program, thus supporting the very real possibility of artists' awareness of his work and suggesting

¹¹⁰ James Rubin, "Oedipus, Antigone, and the Exiles in Post-Revolutionary French Painting," *Art Quarterly* 35, no.3 (1975): 141-171. Rubin also addresses the theme of *Marcus Sextus* as it relates to Revolutionary exiles, though that subject is not indicated in his article's title. Josette Bottineau, "De Bélisaire à Marcus Sextus: Genèse et histoire d'un tableau de Pierre Guérin 1774-1833," *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 43, no.3 (1993): 41-53.

¹¹¹ Landon, *Annales du musée et l'école moderne des beaux-arts* (Paris: Didot jeune, 1802): 121-122. The author describes his own *Daedalus and Icarus*.

¹¹² Mongez, 4: 462 credits Géraud de la Chau and Gaspard-Michel Le Blond, *Description des principales pierres gravées du cabinet de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, premier Prince du Sang* (Paris: Chez l'abbé de L Chau et chez l'abbé Le Blond, chez Pissot, 1780-1784), 2: 2. "L'histoire d'Orphée n'est donc autre chose qu'une fable allégorique relative à l'invention, au progrès et à la perfection des arts et des sciences."

the merit of proposing an allegorical interpretation of their paintings of Orpheus. Perhaps the choice of Landon, Girodet, and Guérin to depict a suffering, anguished Orpheus, quite unlike that depicted by Restout, related to the contemporaneous status of the progress and perfection of the arts.¹¹³

According to Noël's 1801 mythography, Orpheus changed the manners and way of life of the previously savage and coarse Greeks through his artfully and emotionally conveyed message. Orpheus had developed the Greek system of religion and morality through consultation with Egyptians, and he rendered this doctrine more palatable by forming it into verses accompanied by his lyre, using beauty and sentiment to change a nation for the better.¹¹⁴

Noël knew and respected Guérin and Girodet and he explicitly articulated ancient myth's role as artistic (poetic) creation and as a springboard to invention:

I believed I was making something agreeable to artists, in consecrating to them especially a aspect that, until now, has not entered in the plan of works of this genre. I want to speak of iconology, what could be called modern mythology, since ancient mythology has often been only a veritable iconology. It is not that I have the pretention to suggest ideas to superior artists: the Davids, the Girodets, the Gérards, the Guérins, and all of this brilliant school that recognizes Vien for its guide, have shown that they were not made to walk with crutches. But if genius is not given, it is warmed and fertilized by study, meditation, and

¹¹³ Indeed, simple equation of Orpheus with poetic inspiration oversimplifies the context; the timing of these works and their depiction of this emotionally wrought Orpheus (rather than Orpheus confident before the jury in Hades, as in Restout's composition) suggests an additional social historical resonance (figs. Guérin, Landon, Girodet). Orpheus, as a figure who went to hell and emerged without the desired prize after his arduous journey, may have the additional resonance in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era of France's (or the French people's) experience of the Revolution, whose ultimate utility (success) was still in question. France had gone through hell (of the Revolution in general or the Terror in particular) and emerged wiser, but without the achievement of the lofty goals with which it entered into that course of action. The art world too had idealized the end of the monarchy as the beginning of artistic freedom, but found that without strong institutional support the arts suffered rather than flourished. The destruction of the hierarchies of the Academy also failed to bring about the anticipated perfection of the arts, but rather encouraged abandonment of traditional training in favor of striking out in new, idiosyncratic directions. The artist (Orpheus) emerged from the Revolution/Terror (hell) without the cultural perfection/ideal (Eurydice) foreseen at the outset of the journey.

¹¹⁴ Noël (1801), 2: 336.

examples; and it is in this same view that I strove, whenever possible, to indicate the mythological subjects already created by great masters of various schools.¹¹⁵

Noël's *Dictionary of Fable* championed mythopoesis and he envisioned the merit of his mythography to be its utility for artists.

Noël saw his book as both an aid to study and a stimulus for the imagination, not just a repository of established narratives, emblems, and allegories to be memorized and/or repeated. Noël's confidence in the value of modern mythopoesis was so strong that in the second edition's preface (1803) he noted the vast quantity of new material sent to him by modern poets to enrich and expand it: "More profound research procured for me abundant harvests, and the two mythologies, ancient and modern, received considerable additions. National and foreign poets furnished me with fictions, with allegories, often ingenious and sometimes bizarre; but which all contribute to throw into the work a great variety."¹¹⁶ Noël also employed Girodet to contribute explanations and analyses of recent artworks, seeing these, too, as part of the on-going growth of modern mythology. While Girodet's description of his own *Endymion* in Noël's second edition of the dictionary has become well known, neither the overall aim of Noël's publication

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 1: xvii-xviii. "J'ai cru faire une chose agréable aux artistes, en leur consacrant spécialement une partie qui, jusqu'à présent, n'était pas entrée dans le plan des ouvrages de ce genre. Je veux parler de l'iconologie, qu'on pourrait appeler la mythologie moderne, comme la mythologie ancienne n'a souvent été qu'une véritable iconologie. Ce n'est pas que j'aie la prétention de suggérer des idées aux artistes supérieurs: les David, les Girodet, les Gérard, les Guérin, et toute cette brillante école qui reconnaît Vien pour son guide, ont prouvé qu'ils n'étaient pas faits pour marcher à la lisière. Mais si le génie ne se donne pas, il s'échauffe et se féconde par l'étude, la méditation et les exemples; et c'est dans la même vue que je me suis attaché, autant qu'il m'a été possible, à indiquer les sujets mythologiques déjà traités par les grands maîtres des différentes écoles."

¹¹⁶ Noël (1803), 1: vi. "Des recherches plus approfondies m'ont procuré des récoltes plus abondantes, et les deux mythologies, l'ancienne et la moderne, ont reçu des additions considérables. Les poètes nationaux et étrangers m'ont fourni des fictions, des allégories, souvent ingénieuses, quelquefois bizarres; mais qui toutes contribuent à jeter dans l'ouvrage une grande variété."

within the contemporaneous mythographic and artistic context, nor the special praise afforded to Guérin has been noted in art-historical scholarship.¹¹⁷

Noël recognized that ancient myth's value resided in its poetry: "An ingenious and sensitive nation, with a lively and fertile imagination, populates the oceans, the air, the prairies and woods, with fantastic beings, with charming allegories, from which the domain of poetry expands; and the poets, in their turn, creators of a magic work whose brilliant illusions animate all of nature, are led by the crowd to the base of the altars that they erected themselves, and finish, like sculptors, by adoring the work of their own hands."¹¹⁸ He confirms that myth derives from the sentiment and ingenuity of the nation, which also allows poetry to flourish; he suggests, moreover, that the nation attuned to emotion and to imagination will not only produce myths, but see growth in all the arts.

According to Noël, the "ingenious and sensitive nation" fosters creative individuals *and* creative works worthy of adoration by crowds and by their own makers. Herein, Noël also alluded to the Pygmalion fable, wherein the sculptor falls in love with his own creation and compels Venus to animate this sculpted female beauty. It is noteworthy that this is the subject with which Noël's colleague Girodet concluded his career as a history painter (fig. 121).

Girodet self-identified closely with mythopoesis in the subjects he selected, in his contributions to Noël's mythography, and in his translations and completions of mythic

¹¹⁷ Regarding Girodet's description of his *Endymion* in Noël's book, see: Bellenger, ed., *Girodet*, 206-217. In addition to Girodet's *Endymion* [Noël (1803), 1: 476], his *Danaë* is also featured: Noël (1803), 1: 386. As I have noted above, Guérin's name appeared in the preface for Noël's 1801 edition. Additionally, Guérin's *Hippolytus and Phaedra* of 1802 was highlighted by Girodet in the 1803 edition's entry regarding Telemachus.

¹¹⁸ Noël (1801), 1: v. "Une nation ingénieuse et sensible, d'une imagination vive et féconde, peuple les mers, les airs, les prairies et les bois, d'êtres fantastiques, d'allégories charmantes, dont s'agrandit le domaine de la poésie; et les poètes, à leur tour, créateurs d'un monde magique dont les illusions brillantes animent la nature entière, sont entraînés par la foule aux pieds des autels qu'ils ont érigés eux-mêmes, et finissent, comme les statuaires, par adorer l'ouvrage de leurs mains."

poems, such as those of Sappho, Moschus, and Anacreon, which he also illustrated.¹¹⁹ While such poems and illustrations were published posthumously, Girodet's *Pygmalion* (fig. 121) was commissioned by Sommariva in 1813 and shown at the 1819 Salon. In the intervening years, Girodet made such a spectacle of himself completing the work that it has been easy to overlook its patronage and to align the artist with the Romantic cult of the individual; yet, this Romantic trope suggests that the artist is misunderstood and unsupported by his contemporaries, which was clearly not the case with Girodet who was even depicted by a contemporary in the act of working on this painting for his admiring patron (fig. 159). Additionally, Girodet's subject and spectacle align with the contemporaneous socio-cultural appreciation of mythopoesis both modern and ancient, a context obscured by identification of the artist with later Romantic ideas and especially with hermetic eccentricity. Indeed, the paintings more literally depicting creative inspiration were made largely for the same purposes as the emblematic ones discussed above; they were painted academy studies or commissions from Sommariva or from Yusupov, further underscoring the patrons' taste for imagery depicting inspiration that likely flattered them as the patrons supporting such creative work in their own era.

In 1808, Prince Yusupov had also commissioned a mythopoeic work from David (fig. 160) that engages a Noëlian conception of the coexistence of ancient and modern myth. David depicted Sappho, the seventh- to sixth-century BCE poet best known for her few remaining amorously themed and mythologically populated poetic fragments. The poetess enjoyed a considerable vogue in translations and reprints of her works and

¹¹⁹ Antoine Schnapper et al., *Jacques-Louis David, 1748-1825* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989), 440 lists Girodet's translations and illustrations of Sappho as appearing in 1829. For thorough information on Girodet's posthumous publications, see Barthélémy Jobert, "Girodet and Printmaking," trans. Deke Dunisberre, in Bellenger, ed., *Girodet*, 163-173.

biography, as well as visual representations of them during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹²⁰ In addition to David, Guérin and Gros also painted Sappho (fig. 131 and 161), and Girodet's translations and illustrations of her poems were published in 1829 with an introduction by David's biographer P.-A. Coupin.¹²¹

Though she was a historical person, Sappho had come to be perceived as mythic due to the paucity of information available about her life and to the mythic bent of her story in Ovid's *Heroides* as well as more recent biographies.¹²² Indeed, in response to a (now destroyed) painting by Alexandre-Charles Guillemot at the 1822 Salon, Landon provided a justification for designating a representation of Sappho as mythological: "Although Sappho might be a historical person, as time has transmitted to us some fragments of her poems, the subject of the painting presents itself naturally under the aspect of a mythological composition. Mr. Guillemot used the license accorded to painters as well as to poets."¹²³ Since comprehension of Sappho's life was based in poetry, rather than history, she became mythic. Her legend was more valued than whatever grain(s) of historical fact her poems and reconstructed biography contained; her

¹²⁰ Peter Tomory, "The Fortunes of Sappho: 1770-1850," in *Rediscovering Hellenism: The Hellenic Inheritance and the English Imagination*, ed. G. W. Clarke (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 121-135 passim; Joan DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho, 1546 – 1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), chapter 2.

¹²¹ Schnapper et al (1989), 440 mentions Girodet's posthumous publication and its contributor. Korchane has questioned the attribution to Guérin of the Hermitage Museum's *Sappho*, which I have not illustrated here, but Josette Bottineau upheld its attribution when she identified the undated *Sappho* (referred to above as fig. 161) as an autograph work from Guérin's early career when the painting was up for auction at Christie's (New York) on April 25, 2008 (sale 1986, lot 347).

¹²² For example, Hilaire-Bernard Requeleyne de Longepierre, trans., *Les Oeuvres d'Anacréon et de Sappho* (1684; pages are from the reprint of Paris: Clouzier, 1692), 349-373; Joan DeJean, 59 on the importance of Longepierre's translation.

¹²³ Formerly Musée des beaux-arts, Rennes; now destroyed. Landon, *Annales du musée et l'école moderne des beaux-arts. Salon de 1822* (Paris: Annales du Musée, 1822), 44. "Quoique Sappho soit un personnage historique, puisque le temps nous a transmis quelques fragments de ses poésies, le sujet du tableau se présente naturellement sous l'aspect d'une composition mythologique. M. Guillemot a usé d'une licence accordée aux peintres comme aux poètes."

legendary passions and productions were her legacy.¹²⁴ Recognition of David's depiction of Sappho within the contemporaneous interest in, and respect for, mythopoesis permits renewed interpretation of this under-studied painting.

David's *Sappho* went directly to Yusupov upon its completion in 1809, without ever appearing at the Salon.¹²⁵ The painter's personal friend Alexandre Lenoir nevertheless singled it out as one of the painter's chef-d'oeuvres and described it thoroughly in his 1835 article on David: "Sappho of Mitylena, who was nicknamed the tenth Muse, that one from whom Boileau translated a passage in his *Treaty on the Sublime*: 'Happy [the one] who, near you, sighs only for you,' seated and inspired by poetic genius, is caught unawares by Phaon. Venus's protégé stands behind the seat of his mistress who does not see him; with his right hand that he passes subtly over her face, he gently touches her left cheek. At that moment Sappho, visibly moved, drops her lyre. Cupid, who is at her feet, seizes it; he makes chords vibrate from it and sings the hymn to Venus attributed to Sappho."¹²⁶ In highlighting a verse from Sappho's poetry that had been included in Boileau's famed treatise, Lenoir lends insight into the light-hearted

¹²⁴ This preference for a fictional legend also helps to explain the contemporaneous vogue for Ossian, despite revelation of the bard's invention by James Macpherson.

¹²⁵ Brooks Adams convincingly demonstrated that the artist's decision to send the work directly to Russia, without displaying it at the Salon, derived from his need to appear focused only on the Imperial works whose payment was being withheld. See: Brooks Adams, "Painter to Patron: David's Letters to Youssouppoff about the *Sappho, Phaon, and Cupid*," *Marsyas* 19 (1977-1978): 29-36 addresses the financial necessity for David to send the painting directly to its patron, so that he might press for the fulfillment of Imperial payments for other work. Thus, Adams demonstrates that the surreptitious completion and shipment of David's painting should not be interpreted as the artist's distaste for the work or its patron. Moreover, it was David's working practice at this time to compose directly on canvas, rather than working up all of the academic drawings his training and instruction might predict.

¹²⁶ Alexander Lenoir, "Mémoires. David. Souvenirs historiques," *Journal de l'institut historique* 3 (1835): 5. "Sappho de Mitylène, qui fut surnommée la dixième Muse, celle dont Boileau a traduit un passage dans son *Traité du sublime*:

Heureux qui, près de toi, pour toi seule soupire,
assise et inspirée du génie poétique, est inopinément surprise par Phaon. Le protégé de Vénus se place derrière le siège de sa maîtresse qui ne l'aperçoit pas; de la main droite qu'il passé subtilement vers son visage, il lui touche légèrement la joue gauche. À l'instant Sappho, vivement émue, laisse tomber sa lyre. L'Amour, qui est à ses pieds, s'en saisit; il en fait vibrer les cordes et chante l'hymne de Vénus qui est attribuée Sappho."

theme and mood of the painting as well as the venerable status of the poet, but Lenoir's assessment has been overlooked in recent scholarship on the painting.¹²⁷

The figures' smiling faces and ungainly poses, atypical of David's earlier narrative paintings, have led to recent interpretations of his *Sappho* (as well as his other late mythological paintings) as a means for the artist to "dissociate himself from a pictorial tradition and iconography of amorous rapture, whose immorality he anathematized" and as mockery of narrative painting and of mythology itself as a valid subject for serious art.¹²⁸ Yet, the subject of the Yusupov commission was David's choice and the artist also used outward gazes for protagonists in paintings that do not address amorous rapture, such as the *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (fig. 66) and *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (Louvre).¹²⁹ Moreover, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, such passion need not be considered immoral, but can be equated instead with creative inspiration when brought on by a divine source. In David's painting, Sappho's pert nipple and glassy eyes (along with the rumpled bedclothes behind her) indicate passionate rapture, while her otherwise fully covered body, and fully-clothed beloved caressing only her face, remind the viewer of the mental and metaphorical rather than

¹²⁷ Lenoir's assessment of the painting has been largely overlooked in scholarship, where it appears only in Antoine Schnapper, *Jacques-Louis David*, trans. Helga Harrison (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, c.1980), 268-270 which simply includes part of Lenoir's description without offer further interpretation. Schnapper et al (1989), 440 omits quotation of Lenoir and assesses the painting as depicting Cupid playing Sappho's lyre, which she has dropped due to the surprise arrival of Phaon; Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 246 finds the psychological intensity of the painting to thematize the detrimental effects of erotic love; Philippe Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 209 refuses Schnapper's 1989 interpretation on account of Phaon's posture of repose; Susan Siegfried, "The Artifice of Antiquity: Sappho's Dream," in *David after David: Essays on the Later Work*, ed. Mark Ledbury (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 93-105 identifies the scene as Sappho's erotic dream as described in her second ode. Johnson, Bordes, and Siegfried do not include Lenoir's assessment.

¹²⁸ The quotation comes from Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 209. On the mocking of tradition, see: Beth S. Wright, "'David, Where Are You?' David's Continuing Presence in Restoration Art Criticism," in *Jacques-Louis David: New Perspectives*, ed. Dorothy Johnson (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 143-155.

¹²⁹ Schnapper et al (1989), 440 indicates that the subject of *Sappho* was the artist's choice.

physical nature of her ecstasy. The presence of Cupid and of the doves of Venus further underscores the metaphysical aspect of the passion imaged therein. Understanding the poet's amorousness as something more than base lust sheds light on David's selection of the subject and its treatment. Indeed, Lenoir identified the scene as a depiction of poetic inspiration spurred by love/Love and cited a fragment of Sappho's poetry that explicates the smiling faces of all three protagonists.

It appears that David was inspired by Sappho in general rather than interested in illustrating a particular poem or passage and several excerpts of Sappho's poems and biography appear germane to the composition.¹³⁰ Lenoir's description includes a relevant passage from Sappho that had also been included in Boileau's work –one that David and his contemporaries would know thanks to the Didot family's reeditions, among others. The placement of Cupid in front of the window open onto a tree and mountain scene may relate to Sapphic verse: "Now like a mountain wind the oaks overwhelming, Eros shakes my soul.... I would fly to the high summit of your mountains, and I would enlase you between my arms, you for whom I sigh.... You inflame me."¹³¹ In David's painting, the precariously positioned Cupid (also called: Love, Amour, Eros) clasps Sappho's lyre from which she expresses her soul. Hilaire-Bernard Requeleyne de Longepierre's famed

¹³⁰ Mark Ledbury, "Stages of Creation: History, Epic and Theatre in David's Early History Painting Projects," *Studiolo* 3 (2005): 169-190 has confirmed the accepted view of David as "a widely and well-read, intellectually curious painter" with archival evidence of his reading and thinking with regard to several early history paintings. It is therefore well within reason to speculate that he may also have considered a variety of literary sources in combination with some individual invention in his *Sappho*.

¹³¹ I am not arguing for botanical accuracy, but comparable components between text and image. Julien-Jacques Moutonnet de Clairfons, *Anacréon, Sapho, Bion, Moschus, Théocrite, Musée, la veillée des fêtes de Vénus, choix de poésies de Catulle, d'Horace et de différents Auteurs*, Seconde édition, revue et corrigée (Paris: Barrois l'aîné, 1781), 1: 169. "L'Amour agite mon ame, comme le vent agite les feuilles des chênes sur les montagnes.... Je volerois sur le sommet élevé de vos montagnes, et je t'enlaserois entre mes bras, toi, pour qui je soupire.... Tu m'enflames." The ellipses are per the 1781 publication of this poetic fragment. I have been assisted in my translation of this verse by that found in Edwin Marion Cox, *The Poems of Sappho, with Historical and Critical Notes, Translations, and a Bibliography* (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1925).

translation and interpretation of Sappho's work and biography includes a lengthy description of the poet as charming both humans and nature itself, including trees and rocks, providing further possible explication of the landscape outside the window.¹³²

Longepierre wrote of Sappho's environs as a place where art and nature collide: "In the most beautiful place in these charming gardens, in this lovely location, I say, where art and nature, seeming to want to injure each other, lavish enviously their sweetest pleasures."¹³³

The scroll unrolling across the lap of David's Sappho reads "To Phaon" followed beneath by "That one seems to be equal to gods" before the words become illegible.¹³⁴ Susan Siegfried argued that this line identifies the scene as that of Sappho's erotic dream described in Ode II, which begins with the second line written on the scroll, though this ode includes no reference to Phaon.¹³⁵ While unquestionably David depicted Sappho in a moment of amorous rapture, Siegfried's conclusion that in portraying the *petit mort* (orgasm) the artist foreshadowed the poet's *grand mort* (her suicide) and thus thematized the incompatibility of personal pleasure and artistic success, seems untenable.¹³⁶

Siegfried, Dorothy Johnson, and Philippe Bordes all focused on the negative outcome of Sappho's love for Phaon, which led to her suicidal leap from the cliff at Leucadia (most

¹³² Longepierre, 365-369. Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 208-209 dismissed the scenery as possibly added by Ignace-Marie Degotti, who assisted David in rendering the bed's perspective, and thus as scenic rather than meaningful.

¹³³ Longepierre, 365. "Dans l'endroit le plus beau de ces jardins charmans (sic): Dans ce bel endroit, dis-je, où l'Art et la Nature, Semblant vouloir se faire injure, Prodiguent à l'envy (sic) leurs plus doux agréments (sic)."

¹³⁴ Siegfried, 94 and Schnapper et al (1989), 440 both identify the text as from Ode II.

¹³⁵ Siegfried, 94.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 99-100. Siegfried also interpreted David's reference to Ovid in titling the poem on the scroll Phaon (like the "Sappho to Phaon" in his *Heroides*) as anti-feminist in that it takes agency away from the creative female by giving creative voice to a male author writing about her, rather than to her describing herself. Considering that David's agreement with Yusupov to complete the *Sappho* was contingent upon Yusupov's also purchasing a work from Angélique Mongez (wife of Antoine Mongez, discussed earlier in this chapter), it seems highly unlikely that the artist intentionally thematized "a conventionally feminine role of enabling dependence on a male creator."

famously recounted in Ovid's *Heroides*), in recent interpretations of David's composition.¹³⁷ While paintings that depict Sappho's actual leap, such as Gros's (fig. 131), have been interpreted by some as thematizing the death of classicism by way of the Romantic topos of the misunderstood artist dying for her/his art, interpretive collapse of the moment David depicted with the protagonist's later demise overlooks another contemporaneous context more in keeping with the depicted scene.¹³⁸

Instead of the melancholic or leaping Sappho, David has conspicuously entwined the happy poet with her grinning beloved; Cupid's discarded bow, as well as the beaking doves further suggest amorous success. David made no overt visual reference to the tragedy that would ensue, and was not alone in his joyous focus.¹³⁹ The catalogue of the Salon of 1801 describes a similarly happy interaction of Sappho, Phaon, and Cupid in a (now lost) painting by David's peer Jean-Charles-Nicaise Perrin: "Venus, wishing to accord Phaon charms capable of enflaming Sappho, gave him the divine essence with which she counseled him to transform himself. He had no sooner executed her orders when he was seized by surprise in seeing his transformation. Cupid, by his smile, acknowledged to his mother the pleasure that he felt from it."¹⁴⁰ Thus, Cupid and Venus conspire to inflame Sappho's enthusiasm. Even when Phaon was not included, his enthusiastic effect was assumed. In Landon's 1801 *Annals of the Museum*, he illustrated

¹³⁷ Johnson, 246; Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 209; Siegfried, 95.

¹³⁸ On the suicidal Sappho, see: Alena Marchwinski, "The Romantic Suicide and the Artists," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (Feb 1987): 62-74; Derin Tanyol, "A Napoleonic Death Sentence: Classical Execution in Gros's *Sappho at Leucadia*," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 128, no.1530-1531 (July-August 1996): 51-62.

¹³⁹ Contrary to my assessment of David as working within a trend, Johnson, 244 asserts that David "creates a work that is compelling in its strangeness and startling divergence from other mythic compositions of the time."

¹⁴⁰ *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1801), no.262. "Venus voulant douer Phaon de charmes capables d'enflammer Sappho, lui donna l'essence divine avec laquelle elle lui conseilla de se transformer. Il n'eut pas plutôt exécuté ses ordres, qu'il fut saisi d'étonnement en voyant son changement. L'Amour, par un sourire, témoigne à sa mère le plaisir qu'il en ressent."

and discussed Claude Ramey's sculpture of Sappho alone (fig. 162), but identified the scroll in that depiction as "a letter that she just wrote to Phaon."¹⁴¹ Citing the passage of Sappho's poetry that had been included in Boileau's treatise and would be highlighted again by Lenoir ("happy who near you sighs only for you"), Landon quoted the poem at greater length than Lenoir would, and concluded that the sculptor "had without doubt chosen the moment when Sappho just wrote these impassioned verses."¹⁴² David's student, Anatole Devosge, portrayed a similar seated Sappho with upturned eyes, inspired by a smiling Cupid, a decade before his teacher did (fig. 163), in a composition that was engraved by Jacques-Louis Copia and included in the Salon of 1795, along with engravings by Copia after works by David himself.¹⁴³ Devosge's Sappho, like David's and Ramey's, sits bare-breasted, with writing materials perched on her lap. Contextualization of David's painting within this larger cultural and artistic context frustrates the modernist notion of singular genius, but clarifies David's work, its patronage, and Lenoir's strong praise for it.

These depictions of an inspired poet, writing materials at the ready, may reflect contemporaneous debate over female inspiration. As historian and philosopher Geneviève Fraisse has shown, Gabriel-Marie Legouvé's enormously influential *La Mérite des femmes* (*Women's Merit*), of 1801, praised and encouraged female poets and the delirium of inspiration they experienced.¹⁴⁴ Women's inspiration and creativity was clearly a hot topic at this time, as Legouvé's defense of female poets was written in response to the

¹⁴¹ Landon, *Annales* (1801), 124. "Une lettre qu'elle vient d'écrire à Phaon."

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 124. "Ramey [...] a sans doute choisi l'instant où Sappho vient de tracer ces vers passionnés."

¹⁴³ *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1795), nos. 3016, 3017, and 3019. "3016. Sappho inspire par l'Amour, d'après Devosge (sic). 3017. Cadre renfermant deux Gravures, d'après le C. David. [...] 3019. Cadre contenant plusieurs Gravures, d'après les Citoyens Prudhon et David."

¹⁴⁴ Geneviève Fraisse, *Reason's Muse: Sexual Difference and the Birth of Democracy*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 39-40.

virulent opposition to women writers found in Ponce-Denis-Ecouhard Lebrun's 1796 *Aux Belles qui veulent devenir poètes* (To Lovely Ladies Who Want to be Poets).¹⁴⁵

Sappho would continue to be a model for inspired female poets until well into the middle of the nineteenth century in France.¹⁴⁶

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Sappho frequently embodied the artist passionately consumed by creativity, whether she was seated with her lyre or leaping to her death.¹⁴⁷ Sappho's emotionality in general, and sensitivity to love in particular, had made her a sentimental exemplar.¹⁴⁸ The heightened emotional state of David's Sappho recalls Greuze's description of his own painting of amorous rapture (fig. 164) for Yusupov, the same patron for whom David was working. As Greuze told Yusupov: "Sentiment makes us equal to the gods momentarily."¹⁴⁹ While Johnson has attributed the portrait-like physiognomies and outward gazes of David's figures to their removal from the mythic and into the modern world, thus creating a disturbing psychological confrontation with the situation that led to the poetess's death, it seems more likely that David's painting accords with the concept of "modern mythology" that Noël's *Dictionary of Fable* promoted, wherein myth continues to be a living (growing) part of artistic culture and its imagery encourages sentimental engagement.¹⁵⁰

David's Sappho may be read as an inspired artist, her facial expression suggestive of her intoxication by divine love. The manner in which her head is cradled by her

¹⁴⁵ Fraisse, 38.

¹⁴⁶ Janis Bergman-Carton, *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), chapter 5.

¹⁴⁷ Tomory, *passim*.

¹⁴⁸ Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 206.

¹⁴⁹ Louis Réau, "Lettres de Greuze au Prince Nicolas Borisovitch Iousoupov," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1922): 398. "Le sentiment nous égale aux dieux pour un instant." Bordes, 209 cites the Greuze letter to Yusupov to suggest that David was simply pandering to Yusupov's tastes.

¹⁵⁰ Johnson, 246.

beloved and her instrument held aloft by Cupid reminds the viewer of the powerful sources of inspiration –emotion and divine intervention. As Bordes observed, the frieze on Sappho’s bed appears to depict Apollo and the Muses based on antique sarcophagi and votive reliefs.¹⁵¹ Perhaps pertinent, then, is that that Lenoir, too, identified David’s Sappho as the tenth muse. Sappho’s outstretched hands with fingers poised to play (though not touching the lyre) underscore the notion that the song comes not from her alone, but through divine intervention (mystical intercession), that “secret source” of creative inspiration. Divine intervention is dually noted: Phaon’s beautiful appearance embodies the work of Venus, while Sappho’s lyrical verses derive from Amour’s intercession.

Bordes suggested that the somewhat indifferent expression of David’s Phaon hints at Phaon’s preference for art and insensitivity to Sappho’s feminine charms, noting that he “falls in love with Sappho’s songs and not the woman.”¹⁵² It may also be that Phaon’s outward gaze calls for further narrative and allegorical interpretation. Phaon loved Sappho’s compositions rather than her physical form, which lacked beauty; he found beauty in her art instead and was moved by her poetic gifts. In approaching David’s painting, the viewer gazes back at Phaon and is drawn in by the rushing perspective of the bed behind him, intrigued by the ungainly poses and expressions of the woman whose head he cradles and of the Cupid toward whom she gestures. It is a “weird” painting, but the viewer, like Phaon, is to be moved by it for its art, not for its perfect forms (formal qualities / beauty) or seamless recreation of visually observed reality. Like Phaon, one is entranced in spite of oneself; one cannot look away because

¹⁵¹ Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 209.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 210.

the artistry of the impeccably rendered perspective and minute archaeological details, as well as the somewhat unsettled and unsettling appearance of the figures refuse to be ignored. Classical conventions dictate that form, subject, and message should conform; the tale of the unlovely though talented poet, thus, should be presented in a skillful though somewhat visually unsettling form.

Alternatively, the outward gazes of both Phaon and Sappho may also encourage the viewer toward empathetic identification. The viewer is thus presented the choice of becoming enthralled with visual perfection or of being moved by artistry, in spite of visual oddities. Sappho has been rendered rapturous thanks to Venus imbuing Phaon with otherworldly physical perfection; Phaon has fallen for Sappho thanks to her compositions, whose creation has been aided by Cupid. Thus, irrespective of which mode the viewer enacts, the viewer too has become sensitive to David's rendering of divine intervention.

Johnson, Bordes, and Siegfried all described David's painting as emblematic of the incompatibility of artistic and personal/physical fulfillment; however, in a letter of September 22, 1808 David wrote to his patron, Yusupov: "My prince. I have just drawn on canvas the subject of the sensitive Sappho and her lover Phaon, whose heart love/Love has finally succeeded to set aflame: you promised to come by my studio to see it, so that you could leave the country with a fixed idea of the picture you've commissioned from me. If I have delayed granting you this pleasure for so long, this is because I was waiting for the right moment of inspiration, and I think I've found it."¹⁵³ Bordes contends that this is not the final subject, that David altered the narrative prior to completion of the

¹⁵³ On the incompatibility of artistic and personal fulfillment, see: Johnson, 246; Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 210; Siegfried, 98. David's letter, now housed in the papers of Jules David (BN, Ms. N. acq. fr. 6610), is quoted in Schnapper et al (1989), 440 and transcribed, 612.

painting.¹⁵⁴ Yet, Phaon falls for the song, which Cupid supplied to Sappho; thus, Phaon could be depicted at the moment of love indeed. Phaon does not love what he sees, but instead what he hears, so his ear is aligned toward the sources of that sound.

In his letter to Yusupov, David also presented *himself* as an inspired artist as he conceived this image of the enthusiastic poet.¹⁵⁵ As Renssaelear Lee has demonstrated, “throughout the whole critical tradition of classicism in Italy and France it is insisted not only that expressive movement is the life blood of all great painting, but that the painter himself, like Horace’s tragic actor, if he is to move the beholder of his picture with the human emotions expressed therein, must first feel these emotions himself.”¹⁵⁶ Thus, it follows that to depict enthusiasm (possession by gods) is to claim one’s own experience of the same; the artist must be divinely inspired (enthusiastic) before he can convincingly portray its occurrence.

These ideas and their context within renewed appreciation of mythopoesis also inform Girodet’s self-alignment first with Endymion, then with Pygmalion, and ultimately with Anacreon (in completing his poems for a translated and illustrated publication). Indeed, it is noteworthy that Neoclassical painters frequently turned to mythological subjects at moments of transition in their careers, as they sought to reclaim

¹⁵⁴ Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, 206 “In his letter, David pretends to have treated the self-awakening of Phaon to love of Sappho” and 209 “the finished drawing or painted sketch David wanted to present to Yusupov in March 1809 is not preserved, thus it is impossible to know how the composition evolved in its final stage. This would shed light on the exact subject of the painting, which remains uncertain. It does not appear to be the awakening of Phaon to the love of Sappho, as David intended before his revision.”

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 206 explains David’s self presentation as inspired differently than I do. “Rarely taken as openly as here, the dramatic posture of the inspired artist is perhaps the sign of a discomfort with the situation strongly reminiscent of the relation of artists to aristocratic patrons during the Ancien Régime. A few precautions help to make it more tolerable, however: he imagines himself dealing with a man of taste and a friend. Reference to artistic inspiration also allows David to offset the business considerations which conclude his letter.”

¹⁵⁶ Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (originally published *Art Bulletin* (1940); reprinted, New York: Norton, 1967), 24.

their own poetic inspiration and their own status as divinely inspired thinkers, rather than mere manual technicians or reporters of received/perceived information.

Both Girodet and Guérin selected to close their careers as history painters using amorous mythological subjects. Girodet's 1819 *Pygmalion* (fig. 121) has been interpreted recently as the swansong of an ailing man or as a last-gasp effort to earn the Legion of Honor, in the pursuit of which Girodet had long been frustrated.¹⁵⁷ Guérin, on the other hand, had been one of the most sought after painters and teachers in Paris during the first two decades of the nineteenth century and he went on to take up the prestigious post of director of the French Academy in Rome; yet, his request in his will that each of his pupils receive a print after his *Aurora and Cephalus* has heretofore gone without notice.¹⁵⁸ Girodet's *Pygmalion* and the c.1821 engraving by François Forster after Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig. 165) share a focus on amorous mythological themes, a stilted quality in their depicted gestures, and a cloaking of the male genitalia; as such, both downplay the literal sexual potential of amorous interaction, while highlighting the celestial, and thus, the metaphoric celebration of creativity. Their antique subjects demonstrate belief in the longevity of the creative spirit *and its* supernatural aspect –that is to say, that artistic genius was not merely learned, but bestowed lovingly from above. In presenting ideal bodies and classical narratives characteristic of Neoclassicism in the service of a theme that is Romantic in tenor, these paintings represent continuities in French narrative painting from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century. Rather than instances of a “narrowed and comparatively

¹⁵⁷ For a resume of scholarship on Girodet's *Pygmalion*, see Bellenger, ed., *Girodet*, 462-468.

¹⁵⁸ Bottineau and Foucart-Walker, eds., 97-98 is a transcription of Guérin's will. For analysis of his status in the art community see Lambertson, *passim*; Medhi Korchane, “Overlapping Destinies: David and Guérin in the Public Eye from the Directory to the Empire,” in Mark Ledbury, ed., *David After David: Essays on the Later Work* (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007), 255-270.

impoverished version of the classical tradition,” these works can be seen as a bridge between that tradition and the Romantic one that was just beginning.¹⁵⁹

That two such distinct artists (one abandoning his brushes for poetry and the other directing the French Academy in Rome) marked their careers’ ends on such similar notes urges situation of these works culturally, and, indeed, other Neoclassical painters, such as Jacques-Louis David and Antoine-Jean Gros, also closed their careers with mythological works, further underscoring the merit of reexamining these paintings as a unified group. It is this notion of mythic legacy in Neoclassical painters “late works” that provides the focus of my next chapter.

¹⁵⁹ Crow, *Emulation*, 265 with regard to Guérin’s mythological paintings as well as David’s late works.

CHAPTER FIVE

“Late Works” as “Legacy Pictures”: Mythic Finales of David and Gros

The trope of “late works” is well worn in art history. While some artists found religion, such as Sandro Botticelli, others preferred more physical, earthy pleasures, as made manifest in Pierre-Auguste Renoir’s abundant nudes. Particularly within modernist assessments, the “late works” have been discussed in terms of the artist’s failing health and slippage from contemporary relevance as s/he loses touch with the newest developments in the art world. A pronounced example of such assessment is found in accounts of the later career of Jacques-Louis David, and a similar view has been taken of the late work of David’s one-time student Antoine-Jean Gros. The late productions of both men, much of it mythological in theme, has been characterized as out of step with the trends of their times. I consider them here, however, as the result of considered and deliberate choices and show that with these works the artists staked their claims for a desired and chosen legacy.

Gros initiated the stylistic and thematic direction of the final fifteen years of his career with his *Bacchus and Ariadne* of 1820 (fig. 166), while David punctuated the terminus of his career with his *Mars Disarmed by Venus and the Graces* in 1824 (fig. 167), which he proclaimed would surpass all his previous works.¹ Attention to the narratives that these artists selected and to contemporaneous critical responses shows that

¹ The painting was claimed as the culmination of his career in the Belgian periodical *L’Oracle* (December 8, 1823); transcribed in Daniel Wildenstein and Guy Wildenstein, eds., *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l’oeuvre de Louis David* (Paris: Fondation Wildenstein, 1973), 228 no.1947. “C’est le dernier tableau que je veux faire, mais je veux m’y surpasser. J’y mettrai la date de mes 75 ans et je ne veux plus ensuite toucher un pinceau.”

these “late works” are better be understood as “legacy pictures.” Considering the mythological décor of the national museum of the Louvre, the choice of mythic works to secure one’s place in history and in relation to artistic tradition seems entirely logical.²

Gros’s 1820 *Bacchus and Ariadne* marked the beginning of the classicizing, mythological direction of the final fifteen years of his career. Yet, Eugène Delacroix’s 1848 championing of Gros’s verve in the Napoleonic paintings (such as fig. 168) and disappointment in his return to classicism under the Restoration has fueled a similar model for studying Gros in modernist art history, despite the already retrospective quality of Delacroix’s remarks.³ Exemplary of this assessment is Walter Friedlaender’s assertion: “To grasp Gros’ art and personality correctly we must see him through the eyes of Delacroix.”⁴ Friedlaender specified that, in his later career, “Gros developed an outspoken opposition to everything modern and [...] it was above all a feeling of inner insecurity which drove him to a sort of old-age melancholia.”⁵ David O’Brien echoed this estimation in his 2006 monograph, wherein he asserted that *Bacchus and Ariadne* “brought Gros’s self-abnegation and unhealthy dependence on David into full view” and described “Gros’s heavy reliance on orthodox Davidian models as a reversion to an ossified mode of painting.”⁶ A comparable assessment, and eschewal of analysis of Gros’s choice of narrative, also appeared in J. Tripièr Le Franc’s monograph in the late

² Philippe Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 59 notes also that “on account of the pictures by great masters that adorned the Musée Napoléon, artists were more than ever before incited to meditate on the art of the past.”

³ Eugène Delacroix, “Gros,” *Revue des Deux-Mondes* (September 1, 1848), reprinted in Eugène Delacroix, *Ecrits*, vol. 2 *Essais sur les artistes*, chapter 7.

⁴ Walter Friedlaender, *David to Delacroix*, trans. Robert Goldwater (German, 1930; English trans., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952; paperback, New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 66.

⁵ Friedlaender, 65.

⁶ David O’Brien, *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda under Napoleon* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 2006), 220-222. As the title of the book indicates, his focus in this important monograph is on Gros as a painter of Empire

nineteenth century, as well as studies by Dorothy Johnson and Thomas Gaehtgens in the late twentieth century.⁷ More recently, Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret have reassessed Gros's later career, but they did not include his *Bacchus and Ariadne* in their study.⁸

Since the definitive Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1815, Gros had experienced first-hand the dangers of painting recent, local history. The Napoleonic paintings (for example, fig. 168), for which he was best known, were removed from public view and the replacements commissioned by the Bourbons –such as the 1817 *Departure of Louis XVIII from the Tuileries on the Night of 20 March 1815* (Versailles, Musée National du Château) and the 1819 *Embarkation of the Duchess of Angoulême* (Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts)– remained uninstalled.⁹ Furthermore, Gros's commission (from Napoleon) to paint the cupola of the Parisian Pantheon (Sainte Geneviève) had been reconfigured several times thanks to the ever-changing political climates of the century's second decade, and its completion ultimately took thirteen frustrating years (1811-1824).¹⁰ In addition to being urged by his mentor, David, toward

⁷ J. Tripier le Franc, *Histoire de la vie et de la mort du Baron Gros* (Paris: J. Martin, 1880), 366-368; Thomas Gaehtgens, "Bacchus and Ariadne by Antoine-Jean Gros," *Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Canada* (1978-1979): 66 and 77 Gaehtgens acknowledged that "Gros's contemporaries recognized the worth of the painting," but concluded, in accordance with Delacroix, that Gros's late classicism was "against his own nature" and unfortunately passé. I am indebted to the archival work of Gaehtgens; my study builds on Gaehtgens's by analyzing the narrative and the relationship of Gros's painting to the pendant painted by David, which Gaehtgens did not discuss; Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1997), 87.

⁸ Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Le Suicide de Gros: Les Peintres de l'Empire et la génération romantique* (Paris: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2010).

⁹ Geneviève Lecambre and Jean Lecambre, "La galerie de Diane aux Tuileries sous la Restauration," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* no.1 (1975): 39-50 and O'Brien, *After the Revolution*, chap. 6. The paintings for the Bourbons were large paintings, so the artist must have been disappointed over their lack of public presence. The 1817 painting measures 405 x 535 cm; the 1819 painting measures 326 x 504 cm.

¹⁰ Jacqueline Lafargue, "The Revival of Decorative Painting in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Apollo* 106 (1977): 473-477; O'Brien, *After the Revolution*, 222.

literary subjects, Gros must have recognized for himself the potential merits of painting timeless narratives to ensure his place in art history and on public view.¹¹

Gros's first such undertaking was spurred by Count Franz-Erwin von Schönborn's 1820 commission for a pendant to David's 1818 *Telemachus and Eucharis* (fig. 61).¹² David had portrayed Odysseus' son, Telemachus, bidding farewell to his beloved nymph on Calypso's island in order to resume his filial duties.¹³ The extant work thus established a general amorous tone, as well as parameters for the size of canvas and scale of figures, as Gros set to work on its pendant.

Despite Gros's assertion that "a subject given by you, my dear teacher, would be for me the most sacred work to fulfill; you know what would suit me, I await it religiously," when David suggested four legendary couples as possible subjects for Gros's pendant –Theagenes and Chariclea; Daphnis and Chloe; Sappho and Phaon;

¹¹ I have specified "traditional" history painting as David clearly did not count Gros's Napoleonic works as history paintings, since he wrote that his pupil had yet to paint a history painting. Letters of Dec 27, 1819 and June 22, 1820 transcribed in vol. 2 of Jacques-Louis-Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David* (Paris: Havard, 1880). Period critics were also beginning to express this point of view on traditional history painting, as favorable in comparison to national subjects; P.A., "Nécrologie. Regnault," *Revue encyclopédique* 51 (1831): 435-436 comments on Gros's ceiling painting in this regard: "Du tems des empereurs, on faisait à Rome, comme en Grèce, une singulière mutilation: on enlevait la tête de la statue d'un dieu, d'un empereur, d'un personnage quelconque, pour y substituer la tête d'un autre personnage, bientôt abattu de nouveau pour recevoir une nouvelle consécration. C'est ce qui a eu lieu pour le tableau de M. Regnault, dans lequel la figure de Napoléon a été remplacée par celle de la France, ce qui devient un non-sens ; c'est ce qui a eu lieu aussi au dôme de Sainte-Genève, où M. Gros avait représenté les chefs de quatre dynasties qui ont régné sur la France. Napoléon, Marie-Louise, le roi de Rome, composaient la quatrième dynastie, dont l'avenir alors semblait bien assuré ; mais cette dynastie a disparu avant que le peintre eût terminé son ouvrage, et l'on a imaginé de la remplacer par Louis XVIII et sa famille, dont on a voulu ainsi indiquer le retour au trône de France. La branche aînée des Bourbons a quitté le sol à son tour ; comment la remplacera-t-on ? Je l'ignore : ce que je sais bien, c'est que les monuments de la flatterie humaine sont peu durables de leur nature." On Gros's over-reliance on David, see O'Brien, *After the Revolution*, 220 regarding the Bacchus and Ariadne: "Gros's most ambitious history painting in the first half of the 1820s brought his self-abnegation and unhealthy dependence on David into full view."

¹² Jacques-Louis-Jules David, 569 transcribes a letter written to David by Gros dated April 5, 1820 describes the Count's commission. French orthography of the patron's last name is Schoenborn and this is the spelling found in Gros's letter to David and his letters to the patron. For Gros's letters to his patron, see: Katharina Bott, *Ein deutscher Kunstsammler zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts : Franz Erwein von Schönborn (1776-1840)* (Alfter: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1993), 39-40.

¹³ As Dorothy Johnson has convincingly demonstrated in her *Jacques-Louis David: Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (page 1) the scene depicted is based on Fénelon's narrative, not Homer's, however the moment itself is of the painter's own creation.

Hysmines and Hysminiae— Gros opted not to paint one of the subjects supplied by David, but rather to select his own.¹⁴ Upon review of David’s suggestions, Gros wrote:

With regard to the sweet, naïve aspect of your composition, I saw that the pendant would give me a female torso and I have that in the subject I would like to do: It is Ariadne gently persuaded and turned away from the rock that she bathed with her tears by Bacchus. The study of it was made right away and seemed to satisfy M. de Schoenborn. The subjects that you indicated to me are more virginal and more delicate; but already the small proportions bring with them delicacy, and besides, you inculcated in me the hatred for humdrum.¹⁵

Indeed, an equally chaste pair would have been somewhat monotonous, so Gros instead took up Ariadne, who after helping Theseus defeat the Cretan Minotaur, was abandoned by him on Naxos only to be discovered and wedded by the god of wine.¹⁶ This voluptuous foil for David’s innocent *Telemachus and Eucharis* conforms to a tradition of complementary pendants, as does Gros’s composition.

Gros indicated that the pendant would “give [him] a female torso,” which is to say that the bare-chested male in David’s painting merited a complementary opposite in the form of a bare-breasted female. Gros reprised David’s pairing of profile and three-quarter faces, while again reversing the genders of the figures. His Rubensian warmth

¹⁴ Jacques-Louis-Jules David, 569 transcribes Gros’s letter dated April 5, 1820 to David and 571 transcribes David’s letter dated June 22, 1820. Gros’s letter reads: “Un sujet donné par vous, mon cher maître, serait pour moi l’œuvre la plus sacrée à remplir. Vous savez ce qui peut me convenir, je l’attends religieusement.” All translations my own unless otherwise noted.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 573. The transcription of Gros’s August 4, 1820 letter to David reads: “À l’aspect de votre douce et naïve composition, j’ai vu que le pendant me donnait un torse de femme et j’avais cela dans un sujet que je désirais faire; c’est Ariane doucement persuadée et détachée par Bacchus du rocher qu’elle baignait de ses larmes. L’ébauche en fut faite aussitôt, et parut satisfaire M. de Schoenborn. Les sujets que vous m’avez indiqués depuis sont plus vierges et plus délicats ; mais déjà la petite proportion ramène à la délicatesse, et d’ailleurs vous m’avez inculqué la haine des train-train de style.” O’Brien, *After the Revolution*, 221 excerpts the second clause of the first sentence, which he translated as “the pendant gave me [the opportunity to paint] the torso of a woman.” Rather than seeing this as an exigency of the status of the work as a pendant, he demonstrates this to be evidence of Gros’s interest in the commission as it afforded him an opportunity to paint a female nude, which he had not done since his youth.

¹⁶ Jane Davidson Reid, *Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1: 363.

and vibrant outdoor space contrast David's cooler classicism and stark, dim interior, but the manifest symmetry between the two pictures reinforces their interrelatedness.

Their visual complementarity suggests the narrative tenor of Gros's painting should likewise oppose David's, a point overlooked by those who have derided Gros for failing to replicate the same psychological nuances of youthful amorous interaction at play in *Telemachus and Eucharis*. Dorothy Johnson, for instance, dismissed Gros's pendant as "one-dimensional" and chastised Gros himself for misunderstanding David's "innovatory meanings."¹⁷ Gros, however, seems to have understood David's work well and deviated from it intentionally, for he wrote to David regarding *Telemachus and Eucharis*: "In seeing it, my predicament came to its peak, as the subject is of a moral delicacy and physical simplicity without parallel. [...] To find an equally delicate subject, not possible, two figures more naïve, not possible."¹⁸ In recognition of David's achievement, Gros concluded that no parallel subject would match its innocence and morality. As Gros told Schönborn: "The figures by my illustrious master were smaller than mine, but the tender age of Telemachus and Eucharis can entail this delicacy, whereas Bacchus represents a god in all his power and Ariadne is no longer a child. That appears to me, therefore, to further distinguish the true character of the figures."¹⁹ Thus, an eye to complementarity accounts for the mood and narrative of Gros's work: specifically, while the chaste Telemachus and Eucharis resign themselves to the impossibility of their union, the lusty Bacchus wins over Ariadne as his wife.

¹⁷ Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis*, 88.

¹⁸ Jacques-Louis-Jules David, 569 letter from Gros to David dated April 5, 1820: "En le voyant, mon embarras est devenu au comble, car le sujet est d'une délicatesse morale et d'un simplicité physique qui n'a pas son pareil. [...] Trouver un sujet aussi délicat, pas possible, deux figures plus naïves, pas possible."

¹⁹ Gros to Schönborn on April 21, 1821. Transcribed in Bott, 40. "Les figures de mon illustre maître étaient plus petites que les miennes, mais l'âge (sic) tendre de Télémaque et d'Eucharis peut comporter cette délicatesse, tandis que Bacchus représente (sic) un Dieu dans toute sa puissance et Ariane n'est plus un enfant. Celà (sic) me paraît donc ne pouvoir que marquer les vraies manières des personnages."

It seems notable that, left to select their own narratives, David, in exile, portrayed a couple's recognition of the impossibility of remaining together, much as the painter was, simultaneous with this work's creation, accepting his own separation from France.²⁰ Stoic departure allowed Telemachus to achieve greatness, just as David was beginning to appreciate the artistic freedom brought about by exile.²¹

Gros, too, found his artistic existence radically altered. Recently instated as the head of David's Paris studio, and thus beginning a new direction in his career, Gros aptly selected a narrative of rebirth. Unlike the subjects David had proposed to him—each of which focuses on a tumultuous relationship that ends in union—Gros chose a couple that thematizes the ease and prosperity of separation and a fresh start, something he likely also hoped for himself. I am not suggesting a literal self-identification with these characters, but a conceptual kinship between the artist's life and his choice of subject. Indeed, the notion of emotional or expressive congruence between artist and image, derived from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, underlay French classicism: in order for emotions to be believable to the beholder, many held that the artist portraying them must feel them himself.²²

²⁰ For discussion of the choice of subject being the artist's own, rather than one specified by the patron, see: Helmut Engelhart, "The Early History of David's *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis*," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996): 21-43. For analysis of David's choice of subject as pertains to his own life, but with a conclusion different than, though not incompatible with, my own, see: Mary Vidal, "David's *Telemachus and Eucharis*: Reflections on Love, Learning, and History," *Art Bulletin* 82, no.4 (December 2000): 702-719. Vidal concluded her article (716) by asserting that "David's treatment of a 'youthful' subject—by this I mean one treating the rashness and mistakes of youth, the difficult choices made early in life with little or no experience, the moral development of a young man—makes perfect sense as an older man's meditation on the course of his own long odyssey through life."

²¹ For David's acceptance of his exile, see: David O'Brien, "Exile and Artistic Practice in David's Letters from Brussels," in *David After David: Essays on the Later Work*, ed. Mark Ledbury (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007), 289-298.

²² Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (originally published in *Art Bulletin* (1940); reprint New York: Norton, 1967), 24.

Gros's exploration of Ariadne's new trajectory has further parallels with his career. Abandoned by a previous love, Ariadne soon achieves immortality through divine love. As the highly influential French mythographer Charles Dupuis related in his 1795 *Origin of All Cults*:

In the course of events, Bacchus passed by Naxos, where Theseus had left the unhappy Ariadne. This god found her there; she had fallen asleep on the water's edge; he admired her charms and fell in love. [...] Finally the unfortunate princess awoke, and her awakening was also that of her complaints and sadness. She pronounced the name of Theseus, and missed the illusions of sleep, which had made her able to see her lover in her dream. Here is a long and touching discourse of this unfortunate lover, who made her regrets resound in the island where Theseus abandoned her. Bacchus listened with interest; he recognized the lover of Theseus in this woman; he approached her and tried to console her. He offered her his faith, and made her hope that his love will compensate her for the loss of the unfaithful Theseus. He promised her to place her in the skies/heavens, and to give her a crown of stars, that will perpetuate the memory of her loves with Bacchus. This conversation, these promises of the god calmed the sadness of Ariadne, and made her forget her cowardly abductor.²³

Dupuis's description of the interaction of Bacchus and Ariadne closely resembles the quiet scene and attentive Bacchus presented by Gros as well as his sad, but hopeful Ariadne clasping a starry headband. The female figure's half-open eyes and bodily pose suggest this transitional moment as Ariadne gestures her love and her farewell to mortal men with her right hand, while leaning toward immortality. Moreover, while Ariadne's relationship with Theseus was not fruitful, that with Bacchus led to many offspring and to

²³ Charles Dupuis, *Origine de tous les cultes, ou, Religion universelle* (Paris: Chez Agasse, 1794-1795), 87-88. "A la suite de ces événements, Bacchus passe à Naxe, ou Thésée avoit laissé la malheureuse Ariadne. Ce Dieu l'y trouve ; elle étoit endormie sur le rivage ; il admire ses charmes, en devient amoureux : il invite ses Bacchantes et Pan à ne point faire de bruit de crainte de la réveiller. Enfin l'infortunée Princesse se réveille, et son réveil est aussi celui de ses plaintes et de sa douleur. Elle prononce le nom de Thésée, et regrette les illusions du sommeil, qui lui avoit fait voir son amant en songe. Ici est un discours long et attendrissant de cette amante infortunée, qui fait retentir de ses regrets l'île où Thésée l'a abandonnée. Bacchus écoutoit avec intérêt ; il reconnoit l'amante de Thésée dans cette femme ; il s'approche d'elle et cherche à la consoler. Il lui offre sa foi, et lui fait espérer, que son amour la dédommagera de la perte qu'elle a faite de l'infidèle Thésée. Il lui promet de la placer aux cieus, et de lui donner une couronne d'étoiles, qui perpétuera le souvenir de ses amours avec Bacchus. Ce discours, ces promesses du Dieu calmèrent la douleur d'Ariadne, et lui firent oublier son lâche ravisseur."

the increased fertility of the island of Naxos that they inhabited.²⁴ By 1820, Gros doubtless was looking to secure his legacy through history paintings that would stand for his achievement after his death, like successful offspring. David had advised: “My friend, you must do a great history painting; Europe awaits this from you, people tell me frequently, and I respond to strangers from all countries: ‘When one has made the works that he has already produced, one can equally well make a history painting.’ That does not convince them, they want to see for themselves in order to properly judge you; to that there is no response.”²⁵ Keenly aware of the need to plumb the fecund ground of history, Gros signed and dated the painting on the raised portion of ground adjacent to the figures’ hands, firmly situating his agency in this fertile space. After having been effectively abandoned by governmental patrons, Gros sought his own rebirth and immortality in private commissions and in timeless themes through classical narrative history painting.²⁶

Although Gros’s painting depicts its protagonist caught between conflicting situations and emotions, the work’s details clearly signal Ariadne’s successful transformation. The crown of stars and leaves she holds in her left hand signifies her marriage to Bacchus and thus foregrounds her choice to forget Theseus, a man, in favor

²⁴ Reid, 1: 363; François Noël, *Dictionnaire de la fable; ou, Mythologie grecque, latine, égyptienne, celtique, persane, syriaque, indienne, chinoise, mahométane, rabbinique, slavonne, scandinave, africaine, américaine, iconologique, etc.* (Paris: Le Normant, 1803), 1: 134; Dupuis, 2: 87-88.

²⁵ Jacques-Louis-Jules David, 571 transcribes a letter from David to Gros, dated June 22, 1820. “Oui, mon ami, il faut faire un grand tableau d’histoire; l’Europe attend cela de vous, on m’en cause souvent, et moi je réponds aux étrangers de tous les pays: « Quand on fait les ouvrages qu’il a déjà produits, on peut bien faire également un tableau d’histoire. » Cela ne les convainc pas, ils veulent voir pour bien vous juger ; à cela il n’y a rien à répondre.”

²⁶ Tripier le Franc, 366 indicated that from 1821 to 1826 Gros received no governmental commissions, per archival research undertaken at the Louvre. For another interpretation of Gros’s choice of a classical subject that related to his career trajectory, see: Derin Tanyol, “A Napoleonic Death Sentence: Classical Execution in Gros’ *Sappho at Leucadia*,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 128 (1996): 51-62.

of Bacchus, a god who will give her immortality.²⁷ Reading the composition from left to right reinforces this chronological progression:²⁸ Theseus's ship recalls the past, while the conversation and consolation of the central figures occupies the present, and the starry crown foretells Ariadne's celestial future, promised by Bacchus and described by Dupuis. Gros, too, sought his immortality in his turn toward mythic subjects and away from the mundane. Unlike the subjects suggested by David, Gros's selection bespeaks successful separation and a new beginning.

In addition to painting *Bacchus and Ariadne* for Schönborn (fig. 166), Gros produced a reprise for public display at the 1822 Salon (fig. 169).²⁹ According to the Salon livret its title was *Ariadne, Abandoned by Theseus on the Island of Naxos, is Taken in and Consoled by Bacchus*, an elaboration that stresses the scene's transitional trust.³⁰ At this point of transition in Gros's career, his Salon contribution publicly repositioned him vis-à-vis both contemporaneous artistic developments as well as longstanding traditions in French Academic painting.

Contemporary commentators took note of the difference between Gros's new work and those on which his reputation rested. The anonymous critics writing under the penname of the "Observer and Harlequin" praised Gros's departure from his usual sobriety and noted: "The grace of the contours, the freshness of the colors, and the sweetness of the expressions show that Mr. Gros, who treats severe, male subjects with

²⁷ Reid, 1: 363; Noël, 1: 134; Dupuis, 2: 87-88.

²⁸ I am indebted to Janet Cox-Rearick for this observation at my 2009 presentation at the Frick Collection. Katie Hanson, "The Restoration of Antoine-Jean Gros: Mythology and Legacy in *Bacchus and Ariadne*" (paper presented at the Symposium on the History of Art, The Frick Collection, New York, New York, April 4, 2009).

²⁹ Gaetghens, 64.

³⁰ *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1822; reprinted New York and London: Garland, 1977), no. 616: "Ariane, abandonnée par Thésée dans l'île de Naxos, est recueillie et consolée par Bacchus."

so much mastery, is inferior to no one in those that require more softness and flexibility.”³¹ Another, writing for *Journal de Paris*, was generally pleased with *Bacchus and Ariadne*, but complained that “the red tone of the painting seems to insist on a system of painting that distances itself from truth.”³² Apart from such modest criticisms, the *Bacchus and Ariadne* was well-received. It was Gros’s other exhibited work, *David Summoned by Saul to Soothe the King’s Melancholy with Music*, that disappointed critics at the Salon of 1822. The *Journal de Paris* critic, for instance, wrote: “I decidedly will not inform my readers about the Saul by Mr. Gros. To err is human. When a man of genius is mistaken, it is never indifferently, and in this case he is owed even more consideration since his error is unlikely to have any repercussions... Let us turn preferably our gaze onto another work by Mr. Gros, onto his *Ariadne*, for example.”³³ Even though the critic found the *Bacchus and Ariadne*’s pink tones lacking in verisimilitude, he assured readers: “Mr. Gros tricks us with so much grace [and] our illusion is so delightful, that I am tempted to write below his painting: ‘That which is pleasing is beyond reproach!’ (Molière).”³⁴

³¹ L’Observateur et Arlequin aux Salons, *Critique des tableaux en vaudeville* (Paris: Chez les marchands des nouveautés, 1822), 9. “La grâce des contours, la fraîcheur du coloris, et la suavité des expressions montrent que M. Gros qui traite avec tant de supériorité les sujets mâles et sévères, n’est inférieur à personne pour ceux qui exigent plus de mollesse et de flexibilité dans le pinceau.”

³² “Musée Royal. Exposition des tableaux. Troisième article,” *Journal de Paris* no. 121 (May 1, 1822): 3. “La chair de ce Bacchus me semble trop fleurie, trop efféminée. [...] Enfin le ton rouge du tableau semble tenir à un système de peinture qui s’éloigne de la vérité.” One of Gros’s pupils echoed this complaint when he penned a letter ridiculing Gros’s use of carmine and ultramarine in his *Bacchus and Ariadne*, in response to which Gros is reported to have smashed a plaster medallion self-portrait, on which, see: Tripier le Franc, 369-370 for mention of the mocking letter; see also, O’Brien, *After the Revolution*, 222 in that regard.

³³ “Musée Royal. Exposition des tableaux. Troisième article,” *Journal de Paris* no. 121 (May 1, 1822): 3. “Décidément (sic) je n’entretiendrai pas mes lecteurs du Saul de M. Gros. Errare humanum est. Quand un homme de génie se trompe, ce n’est jamais médiocrement, et dans ce cas en lui doit d’autant plus d’égards, que son erreur ne tire point à conséquence.... Tournons de préférence nos regards sur quelque autre ouvrage de M. Gros, sur son Ariane, par exemple.”

³⁴ Ibid. “Mais admettons que M. Gros nous trompe, il le fait avec tant de grâce, notre illusion est si délicieuse, que je suis tenté d’écrire sous son tableau, « Le moyen de *blâmer* ce qui fait du plaisir ! » MOLIÈRE.”

In addition to complementing David's *Telemachus and Eucharis*, Gros's painting alluded to prestigious precedents including the Apollo Belvedere (fig. 50).³⁵ The sculpture had been in Paris during the Empire, and the classical profile of Gros's Bacchus relates closely to this ancient sculptural precedent. Reversed –as the sculpture might appear in engraved reproduction– the Apollo's arms seem to have inspired the disposition of Bacchus's. Contemporaneous theorists of mythology noted the conceptual similarity of Apollo and Bacchus, both in their generative properties and in the somewhat androgynous appearance of each (both of which had long golden curls emblematic of eternal youth).³⁶ Jacques-Philippe Voiart's 1820 treatise on painting also described the Apollo Belvedere as an example of the poetic in art: "Let us explain that which constitutes more essentially still the poetic in art; it resides more in the ideal, than in the real; it is less true than plausible. [...] Let us cite the Apollo Belvedere; who could fail to feel its beauty? But who would dare affirm that he saw in nature a man so perfect? It is therefore only plausible."³⁷ Gros's own critics found his figure of Ariadne to also embody a perfect type. As one asserted: "Lucky Mr. Gros, if he ever had the good

³⁵ Recently, the similarity between Gros's Bacchus and Girodet's Pygmalion has undermined Gros's work as imitative and unoriginal; however, I propose comparison of both to Winckelmann's beloved Apollo Belvedere as perhaps more apposite. O'Brien, *After the Revolution*, 222 also notes that Gros had not previously had the opportunity to paint an epebic male nude that had been so popular in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. Thus, Girodet's example, since he had made his reputation with the epebic *Endymion*, would be the "logical source" for him. This observation is problematic both in that Bacchus, thanks to his ample carmine robe, is hardly nude and, moreover, that Gros referred to his figures as mature adults in his correspondence to his patron transcribed in Bott, 39-40.

³⁶ Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique dans lequel on trouve les allégories fabuleuses des poètes, les métaphores, les énigmes et les terms barbares des philosophes hermétiques expliqués* (Paris: Delalain l'aîné, 1787), 53 and Noël, 1: 183.

³⁷ Jacques-Philippe Voiart, *Entretiens sur la théorie de la peinture, pour aider aux progrès des jeunes personnes qui cultivent cet art* (Paris: Alexis Eymery, 1820): 110 indicates that the definition of *poétique de l'art* stems from his own ephemeral publication of 1805. On page 111, Voiart explains: "Mais expliquons ce qui constitue plus essentiellement encore la *poétique de l'art* ; elle réside plutôt dans l'idéal, que dans le réel ; elle est moins vraie que vraisemblable : par exemple, elle écarte du dessin les détails qui ne sont pas absolument nécessaires à l'action, et, par ce moyen, elle simplifie, elle agrandit la forme, et produit ce que les Italiens ont appelé *grandiose*. Citons l'Apollon du Belvédère ; qui pourrait ne pas sentir sa beauté ? Mais qui oserait affirmer, qu'il a vu dans la nature un homme aussi parfait ? Il n'est donc que vraisemblable."

fortune to find such an alluring model! Imagine that there might exist outside the regions of the *beau idéal* a woman that exudes at once so much feminine charm and an equally touching voluptuousness!”³⁸ The anonymous critic for the *Journal de Paris* added that, “this time, the famous painter was less successfully inspired by truth [...] than by the fictions of Greek mythology.”³⁹ After so many years of painting known people in current fashions, Gros’s classical quotation and figural idealization demonstrate his ability to undertake the *beau idéal* so admired in the French Academy.

Gros’s choice of subject also suggests strategic positioning vis-à-vis French artistic tradition. Paintings of Bacchus and Ariadne had not been common during Gros’s lifetime, but the subject had been a favorite in the *ancien régime* and Gros’s composition bears similarities to academic precedents.⁴⁰ Thomas Gaehtgens has noted similarities between Gros’s composition and treatments of the same subject by academicians Charles Natoire (fig. 170) and Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée (fig. 171).⁴¹ Natoire, a noted academician, had been a master of the female form and became director of the French Academy’s program in Rome in 1751, making him an potentially desirable model for Gros to emulate.⁴² Gros’s work also finds precedent –mainly figural– in renderings of the subject by an even older generation of French painters and Gros’s alignment with

³⁸ “Musée Royal. Exposition des tableaux. Troisième article,” *Journal de Paris* no. 121 (May 1, 1822): 3. “Heureux M. Gros, s’il a jamais eu le bonheur de trouver un modèle aussi séduisant! Conçoit on qu’il puisse exister, autre part que dans les régions du beau idéal, une figure de femme où respirent à la fois tant de coquetterie et une aussi touchante volupté!”

³⁹ “Musée Royal. Exposition des tableaux (No. 1),” *Journal de Paris* no.115 (April 25, 1822): 3. “Pour cette fois, ce célèbre peintre a été moins heureusement inspiré par la vérité [...] que par les fictions de la mythologie grecque.”

⁴⁰ Only one painting, by Bertier at the 1806 Salon, depicted this moment in the Ariadne narrative. The titles for several others indicate Ariadne’s abandonment, but make no mention of Bacchus’s arrival [1793: Neuve and Bonvoisin; 1796: Fortin and Harriet; 1801: Chantillon; 1804: Fleury and Greuze; 1812: Legrand and Monanteuil]: *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1673-1882).

⁴¹ Gaehtgens, 66.

⁴² Colin Bailey, ed., *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 333-369.

artists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries corresponds to his aim to uphold that tradition as the head of David's former studio. The general comportment of Gros's Bacchus and Ariadne resembles those seen in a treatment of the subject from 1717 (fig. 172) by Jean-François de Troy, a former director in the French Academy.⁴³ The oddly gesturing fingers of Ariadne's right hand in Gros's painting even more particularly resemble De Troy's. Bacchus's hairdo, with curls tumbling over his shoulder, recalls that seen in Nicolas Bertin's *Bacchus and Ariadne* of circa 1710 (fig. 173), which itself resembles Jacques Prou's 1699 plaster grouping for Marly.⁴⁴ The garments of both figures, and the setting in which they interact, certainly resemble those in Antoine Coypel's 1693 treatment of the subject (fig. 174), as does Bacchus's grasp on Ariadne's arm. Gros's specific acquaintance with these works remains unknown, but, as Carol Duncan has shown, a revival of interest in eighteenth-century themes and artists was well underway in Restoration France.⁴⁵ Gros's desire to ally himself with illustrious forebears was, moreover, in tune with his professional aspirations.

He also may have been inspired by the more immediate example of a *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the décor of the Louvre's Apollo Gallery. Hughes Taraval's *Autumn: Triumph of Bacchus* (fig. 16) depicts the same duo Gros portrayed, although Taraval's ceiling decoration shows Bacchus and Ariadne riding a chariot in a boisterous triumphal procession. The positioning of Gros's Bacchus resembles Taraval's somewhat in the face's profile orientation, the arms' disposition, and the body's placement relative to its female companion. The reverse orientation of Gros's figures suggests that if he looked to

⁴³ On De Troy's career, see: *Ibid.*, 203-209.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 166 notes the similarity of curls in Bertin's painting and Prou's plaster.

⁴⁵ Carol Duncan, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: The Rococo Revival in French Romantic Art* (New York and London: Garland, 1976), *passim*.

Taraval, it was via a print source. The similarity of the two representations of Bacchus may also derive from a common source, such as the Apollo Belvedere, considered by Taraval and Gros alike.

Despite its echoes of eighteenth-century renderings of the theme, Gros's painting is, according to Gaehtgens, decidedly different from earlier works in its psychological concentration.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Gros also conspicuously balanced the erotic and the divine in his composition. He highlighted the erotic and thus generative potential of Bacchus and Aridane's union through the figures' moist, full lips and the painting's abundant pink flesh tones as well as the otherwise curiously positioned thrysus. Yet, while Gros's figures interact in a sensual manner, the artist conspicuously foregrounded the crown of immortality and made reference to Bacchus's divinity by stressing his immortal youth and displaying attributes –the panther, grape-cluster headband, and aforementioned thrysus– that visually identify him as a god, and a highly generative one at that.⁴⁷ Mythographer Charles Dupuis even argued that myth itself was a celebration of the Earth's creative powers.⁴⁸

Gros's emotionally and psychologically charged mythological painting also embodied a contemporaneous trend in French painting, noted by Etienne-Jean Delécluze in his review of the Salon of 1822: "With the ancients, the public and the artists regarded *beauty* as the goal of art; with the moderns, it is *expression*. It would be absurd to deny this fact and even more so to harbor pretensions to change it. Therefore it is certain that

⁴⁶ Gaehtgens, 66.

⁴⁷ Regarding divine love as associated with themes of artistic inspiration, see the previous chapter of this dissertation. Count Schönborn owned prints after both Girodet's *Endymion* and Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus*, works discussed in my chapters as emblematic of enthusiasm, that is of creative inspiration as arising from the love of a god. See: Bott, 225-226 for a listing of Schönborn's collection of French prints.

⁴⁸ Dupuis, *passim*.

our painting must be expressive; but, that which cannot be recommended enough in the interest of truth and of art, is that it is not abused.”⁴⁹ He went on to praise Gros’s painting for bringing “new expression” to the mythic subject:

In that [the head] of Ariadne, M. Gros seems to have brought together the entire subject of his canvas. This carelessly reclining beauty is supported by Bacchus. In one hand she already holds the crown of immortality. The ship of the unfaithful Theseus flees on the waves, and the tender victim, while weeping over his departure, wished to smile at her consoler. This double expression, rendered with much artistry and finesse, explains and characterizes this painting.⁵⁰

The unnamed critic for the *Journal de Paris* shared this view:

But what charms in the figure of Ariadne! If the smile on her ruby-red mouth seems, at first view, a bit out of accord with this tear falling from her eyes, one must not be in a hurry to see an incongruity. Just moments ago the daughter of Minos dreamt only of the treacherous Theseus; now she finds herself in the arms of a young immortal who possesses, in the highest degree, the talent for consolation.⁵¹

Both critics were struck by the expressive quality of Gros’s painting and it was, according to them, a successful, modern take on a classical story.

Darcy Grimaldo Grisby recently has argued that accolades accorded to the expressive distillation of narrative in Girodet’s *Scene from a Deluge* of 1806 (fig. 65)

⁴⁹ Etienne-Jean Delécluze, “Beaux-Arts. Exposition. Salon de 1822 (7e article),” *Moniteur universel* (June 1, 1822): 785. “Le public et les artistes chez les anciens, regardaient *la beauté* comme le but de l’art; chez les modernes, c’est l’*expression* qui en est la fin. Il serait absurde de nier ce fait, et plus encore d’avoir la prétention d’en changer les résultats chez nous. Il est donc certain que notre peinture doit être expressive; mais, ce qu’on ne saurait trop recommander dans l’intérêt de la vérité et de l’art, c’est qu’on n’abuse pas de ce moyen, qui, comme nous espérons l’avoir fait sentir, conduit insensiblement à l’exagération et à l’oubli des études indispensables aux arts d’imitation.” [Emphasis in the original.]

⁵⁰ Ibid., 786. “Il y aurait de la pédanterie à exiger dans ce tableau l’observation rigoureuse des traditions antiques. M. Gros a eu l’intention de présenter sous un voile brillant et ingénieux, une de ces vérités rebattues qui n’ont de charme que par l’expression nouvelle qu’on leur prête. [...] C’est dans celle [la tête] d’Ariane que M. Gros semble avoir rassemblé tout le sujet de son tableau. Cette beauté négligemment (sic) couchée est soutenue par Bacchus. D’une main elle tient déjà la couronne immortelle. Le vaisseau de l’infidèle Thésée fuit sur les ondes, et la tendre victime tout en pleurant son départ, voudrait sourire à son consolateur. C’est cette double expression rendue avec beaucoup d’art et de finesse, qui explique et caractérise ce tableau.”

⁵¹ “Musée Royal. Exposition des tableaux. Troisième article,” *Journal de Paris* no.121 (May 1, 1822): 3. “Mais que de grâces dans la figure d’Ariane! Si le sourire de sa bouche vermeille semble, à la première vue, peu d’accord avec cette larme qui tombe de ses yeux, il ne faut pas se presser d’y voir une incohérence. Tout à l’heure encore la fille de Minos ne songeait qu’au perfide Thésée; maintenant elle se sent dans les bras d’un jeune immortel, qui possède au plus haut degré le talent de la consolation.”

altered expectations for history painting after it earned top ranking in the Decennial Prize competition of 1810.⁵² Such heightened emotionality certainly resonated with critics of Gros's *Bacchus and Ariadne* and this was precisely the innovation Delécluze highlighted favorably in his Salon review of 1822. Gros had not been considered for top honors in 1810, but rather earned an honorable mention in the second-tier category of national subjects with his *Napoleon Visiting the Plague Victims at Jaffa* (fig. 168). By 1820, Gros sought his artistic immortality in updated treatment of a legendary subject, since it evaded him in paintings of recent, national subjects on several occasions in the intervening decade.⁵³

However, in his choice of legends Gros may also have considered a certain resonance with current events. Since politically charged subjects had dominated Gros's oeuvre for the twenty years prior to his painting *Bacchus and Ariadne*, wholesale abandonment of contemporary themes in his initial return to traditional history painting seems unlikely; his personal political interests may have guided his direction within the myriad stories of mythology.⁵⁴ While other mythological narratives present a human protagonist achieving immortality through divine intervention, Ariadne's story has additional layers that may have piqued Gros's interest. Unlike many mythological subjects, Ariadne's is geographically specific; it takes place on the Greek islands of Crete and of Naxos and the plight of modern Greece weighed on Gros's mind as he began work on *Bacchus and Ariadne*. In his August 4, 1820 letter to David, just a few sentences prior

⁵² Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "The First Painter and the Prix Décennaux of 1810," in *David after David*, ed. Ledbury, 19-38.

⁵³ As previously mentioned, Gros's Napoleonic paintings were removed from public view, while his Bourbon-commissioned replacements remained uninstalled and his painting for the cupola of the Parisian Panthéon underwent repeated revision.

⁵⁴ For a similar demonstration of underlying political motive in a seemingly apolitical work, see: David M. Lubin, "Ariadne and the Indians: Vanderlyn's Neoclassical Princess, Radical Seduction, and the Melodrama of Abandonment," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 3, no.2 (Spring 1989): 3-22.

to his discussion of the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, Gros mentioned his interest in painting Themistocles, a 5th-century BCE Athenian responsible for urging naval strength against the Persians, noting that “that which we have experienced in our modern Athens has steered my ideas in this direction.”⁵⁵ Clearly, the Greeks’ burgeoning struggle for independence from the Ottoman Turks directed Gros’s interest toward this ancient subject. Ultimately, he did not undertake a Themistocles composition; however, Gros’s contemporaneous painting with an ancient Greek subject, the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, also may have been tinged by his interest in current events in Greece, especially considering that he wrote of the two matters mere lines apart in his correspondence.

Gros presented Theseus’s departing ship overly large for its supposed distance and drew additional attention to it with Ariadne’s dramatic gesture and her billowing drapery, which echoes the ship’s wind-filled sail. Immediately after abandoning Ariadne, Theseus assumed leadership of the Athenians and unified the Greek people under an early form of democracy.⁵⁶ Certainly such a parallel with current events in Greece may have struck Gros, who also highlighted Theseus’s role and the story’s geographic location in the painting’s Salon title. The politically factionalized environment and strict censorship of Restoration France encouraged indirect language and even critics forewent discussion of subjects in favor of stylistic concerns to avoid potential offense.⁵⁷ This period silence obfuscates reassessment of even what might have been quite evident at the time and also contributes to the art-historical avoidance of interpretation of this work’s narrative. To support Greek independence was to take an anti-royalist stance in the early

⁵⁵ Jacques-Louis-Jules David, 573: “Ce que nous avons éprouvé dans notre moderne Athènes avait dirigé mes idées de ce côté!”

⁵⁶ Reid, 2: 1020. Noël, 2: 668-669.

⁵⁷ Daniel Harkett, “Exhibition Culture in Restoration Paris” (Ph.D. diss. Brown University, 2005), chap. 3.

1820s and Gros remained a committed Bonapartist under the Restoration, bolstering the possibility that Gros's choice of myth may obliquely reference the Greek struggle.⁵⁸

Employment of mythological stories and characters for new allegorical ends, whether political or personal, was theorized favorably in the last decade of the eighteenth-century in France, as Johann Joachim Winckelmann's 1766 study of allegory (available in French by 1799) and Hubert-François Gravelot and Charles-Nicolas Cochin's 1791 *Iconology through Figures* encouraged artists to use myth as a springboard for modern allegories, just as Gros appears to have done here.⁵⁹ Delécluze's closing remark with regard to Gros's *Bacchus and Ariadne* may illuminate further its allegorical nature:

One must see this work as a pretty piece of *light poetry* in painting. Considered in relation to the great works of the same author, one can only, in viewing this canvas, applaud the happy flexibility of his talent; but relative to the state of the Ecole, it is perhaps upsetting that a master would treat by chance a gracious subject, of which misunderstood imitation could lead students toward affectation for which they have too much tendency today.⁶⁰

Like the Observer and Harlequin, Delécluze praised Gros's demonstration of stylistic "flexibility," but the words "light poetry" and "affectation" have been extracted from the review to disparage Gros's *Bacchus and Ariadne* in recent scholarship.⁶¹ Thus, those

⁵⁸ Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *French Images from the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1830* (New Haven: Yale Press, 1989), chap. 1; O'Brien, *After the Revolution*, chap. 6.

⁵⁹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst* (Dresden, 1766), 1 and in the 1799 French translation entitled *De l'Allégorie*, 21; Henri-François Gravelot and Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Iconologie par figures, ou, Traité complet des allegories, emblèmes, etc. à l'usage des artistes* (Paris: Le Pan, 1791; reprinted: Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1972), v. See chapter four of my dissertation for a more sustained discussion of allegory.

⁶⁰ Delécluze, "Beaux-Arts. Exposition. Salon de 1822 (7e article)," *Moniteur universel* (June 1, 1822): 786. "Ce tableau que l'on doit regarder comme un joli morceau de *poésie légère* en peinture. Considéré par rapport aux grands ouvrages du même auteur, on ne peut, on voyant ce tableau, qu'applaudir à l'heureuse flexibilité de son talent ; mais relativement à l'état de l'Ecole, il est peut-être fâcheux qu'un maître ait traité par hasard un sujet gracieux, dont l'imitation mal entendue pourrait, entraîner les élèves vers l'affectation pour laquelle on n'a que trop de tendance aujourd'hui." [Emphasis per the original.]

⁶¹ O'Brien, *After the Revolution*, 222 presents only the words "light poetry" and "affectation" extracted from Delécluze's review.

terms merit fuller consideration within the context of Delécluze's review and period art theory. Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Lévesque's 1792 *Dictionary of Art* reveals that "light poetry" was not necessarily negative, since the entry on poetry declares: "The poet is the one who does, who produces, who invents. The painter is poet when he creates; he is but a painter when he copies or imitates."⁶² Academic principles dictate that pupils engage in copying and emulation during their training, so it is rather easy to understand, in this regard, how and why a poetic work would appear affected if imitated by a student and, indeed, this opinion was echoed by the anonymous critic for the 1822 *Journal de Paris*.⁶³ The word *léger* (light), according to Watelet, is the synonym of "spiritual," but he warned readers that "the application of *léger* to character is absolutely not tolerated," because in that case *léger* "is absolutely the synonym of frivolous."⁶⁴ Considering Delécluze's praise of the figures' expressions in Gros's painting, it seems unlikely that he intended his use of the description "light" to connote frivolousness. Winckelmann had also employed lightness in a positive manner when he wrote of Greek mythology: "The Greeks represented intellectual nature with a light step."⁶⁵ Myth itself was light poetry. Furthermore, the bulk of Watelet's entry addresses lightness of physical weight and painterly touch that also implied an intelligence of composition and a spiritual or celestial quality.⁶⁶ The latter two criteria might be outside

⁶² Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Lévesque, eds., *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris: L. F. Praul, 1792), 5: 118. "Le poète [sic] est, par excellence, celui qui fait, qui produit, qui invente. Le peintre est poète [sic] quand il crée; il n'est que peintre, quand il copie, ou qu'il imite."

⁶³ "Musée Royal. Exposition des tableaux. Troisième article," *Journal de Paris* no.121 (May 1, 1822): 3. "Je crois même qu'en se proposant d'imiter cette brillante manière, nos jeunes artistes s'engageraient dans une route qui ne tarderait pas à les égarer."

⁶⁴ Watelet and Lévesque, eds., 3: 220 "Le synonyme de *spirituel* " and 221 "On ne tolère pas encore, c'est que le *léger* s'étende au caractère, [...] parce que le *léger* alors est absolument synonyme de *frivole*."

⁶⁵ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les anciens*, trans. M. Huber (Paris: Barrois; Savoye, 1789), 2: 52. "Les Grecs ont figuré la nature intellectuelle dans sa marche légère."

⁶⁶ Watelet and Lévesque, eds., 3: 220-222.

the pupil's capabilities, but certainly describing a work as "light poetry" need not be seen as derogatory in and of itself. Critics expressed a similar concern with regard to Eugène Delacroix's virtuosity as possibly leading younger painters away from their classical training.⁶⁷ Thus, Delécluze's description of Gros's painting unites it with contemporaneous artistic innovation –something unanticipated by the modernist stance outlined at the outset of this chapter. Concern over the impact Gros's painting might have on students may also pertain to the reinstatement of the expressive head competition in 1821 and the *Prix La Tour* (for a painted half-figure) in 1822.⁶⁸ Gros's figures, in partial shadow and displaying both hands, recall criteria for the *Prix La Tour* and indeed may have been of interest to pupils, in his large studio and beyond, with an eye toward emulation in that competition.

Moreover, as pertains to "light poetry," L'évesque's entry on poetry in the 1792 *Dictionary of Art* continues: "Poetry in art consists therefore of seeing one's subject and of expressing it. The expression is therefore that which characterizes the artist poet. May he invent beautiful dispositions of groups, of masses and of figures; may he even add to this merit, those ingenious thoughts that we call poetic; may his imagination furnish him allegories."⁶⁹ Thus, allegory and invention are fully within the purview of "light poetry."

Mythological subjects allowed for openness of interpretation and allegorization, as I have

⁶⁷ Barthélémy Jobert, *Delacroix* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 69, 70, 77, 83-85, 217-218.

⁶⁸ On the reestablishment of the competitions, see: François Fossier, "La Pratique du dessin, condition nécessaire de l'artiste au tournant des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles," in *Jean-Baptiste Wicar et son temps*, ed. Maria Teresa Caracciolo and Gennaro Toscano (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Septentrion, 2007), 119. Bailey, ed., 532 has discussed regarding Gros's early (c.1791) painting of a female bather that "the conditions of the *Prix la Tour* apply, informally, in this most private of exercises," since the criteria of the competition stipulate that the figure must be male.

⁶⁹ Watelet and L'évesque, eds., 5: 119. "La poésie (sic) de l'art consiste donc à voir son sujet et à l'exprimer. L'expression est donc ce qui caractérise l'artiste poète (sic). Qu'il invente de belles dispositions de groupes (sic), de masses et de figures ; qu'il ajoute même à ce mérite, celui de ces pensées ingénieuses qu'on appelle poétiques (sic); que son imagination lui fournisse des allégories."

demonstrated in terms of Gros's *Bacchus and Ariadne*'s personal and political resonances, in their poetic qualities. Delécluze, within his 1822 Salon review, also avowed the positive connotation of poetry in this regard: "One only finds poetry in the era when nations begin to civilize themselves. It is in the grand human institutions, particularly in religions, that one discovers the principle of all the arts."⁷⁰ In embracing mythology, Gros could align himself with the grandeur of civilization and abandon reality and "reportage" required in portrayal of historical events, which had been the primary focus of his paintings for the previous twenty years; thus, his *Bacchus and Ariadne* served as a visual, conceptual, and thematic rebirth.

Much as Derrin Tanyol has argued that Gros signaled the end of an era in painting with his 1801 depiction of Sappho leaping to her death (fig. 131), I contend that in his *Bacchus and Ariadne* Gros appears to have signaled his optimistic hope for a new phase in his career through his image of emotional transition and of legendary rebirth.⁷¹ In selecting a couple whose union was abundantly fertile and joyous, Gros signaled his positive ambition for this new phase in his career. This work set the course for the remainder of Gros's oeuvre and his years as a prominent instructor.⁷²

Coincident with Gros's development and display of *Bacchus and Ariadne*, David—exiled in Belgium—was working out a mythological composition of his own, the *Mars Disarmed by Venus and the Graces* (fig. 167). The "light poetry" of that work, made manifest in such characteristics as the cloud-borne architecture, vibrant palette, humorous expressions, and seemingly inexplicable gestures, has long generated disdain and directed

⁷⁰ Delécluze, "Beaux-Arts. Ecole française. Salon de 1822," *Moniteur universel* (May 1822): 674. "On ne trouve de poésie qu'à l'époque où les nations commencent à se civiliser. C'est dans les grandes institutions humaines, particulièrement dans les religions, que l'on découvre le principe de tous les arts."

⁷¹ Tanyol, 51-62.

⁷² On the final decade of Gros's career (1825-1835) and its context, see: Allard and Chaudonneret, *passim*.

scholarship toward its formal qualities.⁷³ For instance, Walter Friedlaender's early assessment of David's "late work:"

In the works executed after David's banishment, the glassy over-all tone and the hard colors become constantly more disagreeable. His themes and compositions (Mars disarmed by Venus, and the like) grow ever more conventional and empty. Unlike most great artists, David did not develop a style of old age. He lacked those large inner 'ideas' with which such geniuses and Titian, Rembrandt, and Poussin overcame the natural physical decline and rose to the sublime. David's 'grand manner' was from the first too theoretical, and it faded more and more as the possibility of its exerting moral influence was withdrawn. For such influence the ground had long been cut from under him; in his old age the contact with contemporary events which had formerly supplied so much of his vitality was lacking also. Consequently—for internal as well as for external reasons—it was impossible for the aging David to rise above himself.⁷⁴

Empty themes, physical decline, and disagreeable forms characterize the "late work" according to Friedlaender. Robert Rosenblum also saw the "late works" as in opposition to earlier triumphs:

The classical subjects of his last years—*Cupid and Psyche*, *Telemachus and Eucharis*, *Mars Disarmed by Venus and the Three Graces*—paradoxically revive the eighteenth century mode of the Neoclassic Erotic that his *Horaces*, *Socrates*, and *Brutus* had seemingly obliterated as decisively as the Revolution had obliterated the Ancien Régime. In these late works, the goddess of love dominates the god of war, and a feminine environment of lacquered sensuality and voluptuous abandon replaces the stark ambiance of Spartan virility that pervaded his art of the eighties and nineties. Ironically, David follows here the effete and precious vision of antiquity explored around 1800 by his most refractory and unpolitically-minded pupils.⁷⁵

Norman Bryson, Anita Brookner, Louis Hautecoeur, Klaus Holma, and Antoine Schnapper have generally concurred with Friedlaender, but more recently Dorothy

⁷³ Klaus Holma, *David: Son évolution et son style* (Paris: Lejay, 1940), 94 asserts that the degeneration of style and taste evokes pity. Harkett asserts that the painting and especially its Parisian installation were intended as a formal, academic lesson.

⁷⁴ Friedlaender, 32.

⁷⁵ Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (third printing, 1974; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 102-103.

Johnson, Philippe Bordes, and Daniel Harkett have re-assessed this period of David's career.⁷⁶

Focusing on the formal qualities and light-hearted mood of *Mars Disarmed* by *Venus and the Graces*, some have concluded that the painting constitutes self-conscious mockery on David's part.⁷⁷ Yet, the critic writing for the *Journal des Débats* in 1824 had quite a different opinion about David's choice to leave rational history for fantastical myth in this painting: "The Horatii, the Belisarius, the Death of Socrates, Leonidas, and the Sabines, do not aspire beyond the natural and the severe historical style. There are [...] only terrestrial models. Now more daring, M. David placed the scene of his painting in the plains of the Empyrean Heaven, on the threshold of the palaces of Olympus."⁷⁸

According to this critic, David's final work exceeds his previous severe historical compositions by boldly confronting a subject so reliant on imagination.

The *Journal des débats* was not alone in its assessment of the artist's "late work."

Romantic sculptor Théophile Bra wrote in response to David's *Mars Disarmed* in 1824:

⁷⁶ Norman Bryson, *Tradition and Desire from David to Delacroix* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 115; Louis Hautecoeur, *Louis David* (Paris: Table ronde, 1954), 271; Klaus Holma, *David: Son évolution et son style* (Paris: Lejay, 1940), 94 (chap. 8 is entitled "Le déclin"); Antoine Schnapper, *Jacques-Louis David*, trans. Helga Harrison (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, c.1980), 300-302. More favorable estimations of David's final painting appear in: Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 263-264; Bordes, *Empire to Exile*, 143-155; Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, "Histoires Belges," in *David contre David*, ed. Régis Michel (Paris: La Documentation française, 1993), 2: 1011-1018.

⁷⁷ Beth S. Wright, "'David, Where Are You?' David's Continuing Presence in Restoration Art Criticism," in *Jacques-Louis David: New Perspectives*, ed. Dorothy Johnson (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 143-155; Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, "Histoires Belges," in *David contre David*, ed. Régis Michel (Paris: La Documentation française, 1993), 2: 1011-1018.

⁷⁸ M.B., "Beaux-Arts. Tableau envoyé de Bruxelles par M. David," *Journal des débats* (June 6, 1824): 4. "Les Horaces, le Bélisaire, la Mort de Socrate, Léonidas et les Sabines, ne prétendirent point au-delà du naturel et de la sévérité du style historique. Il y a, dans le dernier de ces tableaux, des figures d'une élégance parfaite, des femmes et des enfants d'une beauté admirable, qui ne sont cependant ni les dieux, ni la Vénus, ni les amours de la fable. Hélène et le beau berger du mont Ida n'étoient eux-mêmes que des modèles terrestres. Aujourd'hui plus hardi, c'est aux plaines de l'Empyrée, sur le seuil des palais de l'Olympe que M. David a placé la scène de son tableau."

“Nature granted David what she has granted no other genius, in any genre: Not only does she preserve intact his intellectual faculties, but she gives all the strength and the bloom of youth to his talent and his ideas.”⁷⁹ The unnamed *Pandore* critic remarked: “Never was the author, in the force of his age, better inspired than he was in his seventy-seventh year by the divine subject where his genius knew how to unite all the freshness of a youthful imagination with all the maturity of a consummated talent.”⁸⁰ Auguste Jal, writing for the *Mercure*, concurred: “This work is in no way below the colossal reputation of its immortal author; far from it, I see there the entirety of David, David in the force of his age and the excellence of his genius.”⁸¹ Although Jal alluded to verbal complaints or concerns voiced about David’s painting, the published criticism is overwhelmingly laudatory. Even the reviewer for the *Oriflamme*, who felt that “this painting will add nothing to the artist’s reputation,” conceded, “we are nevertheless surprised that, in so advanced an age, the artist still maintains a vigor that younger artists could envy” and acknowledged the painting’s demonstration of David’s technical mastery.⁸²

⁷⁹ Théophile Bra, “Tableau de David,” *Feuilleton littéraire* 88 (May 28, 1824): 2. “La nature fait pour David ce qu’elle n’a fait pour nul autre génie, dans aucun genre: non seulement elle lui conserve intactes ses facultés intellectuelles, mais elle donne à son talent, à ses idées toute la force et toute la fraîcheur de la jeunesse.” As translated in Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David Art in Metamorphosis*, 261.

⁸⁰ “Mars désarmé par Vénus. Tableau de M. David, exposé rue de Richelieu, n. 115,” *Pandore* (May 29, 1824): 3. “Jamais l’auteur, dans la force de l’âge, ne fut mieux inspiré qu’il ne l’a été dans sa soixante-dix-septième années par le sujet divin où son génie a su réunir toute la fraîcheur d’une jeune imagination à toute la maturité d’un talent consommé.”

⁸¹ Auguste Jal, “Beaux-Arts. Peinture. Mars, Venus et les Graces, par David,” *Mercure du dix-neuvième siècle* 5 (1824): 376. “Je m’empresse de le proclamer: non, cet ouvrage n’est point au-dessous de la réputation colossale de son immortel auteur; loin de là, j’y vois David tout entier, David dans la force de l’âge et l’excellence de son génie.”

⁸² “Beaux-Arts. Mars désarmé par Vénus et l’Amour,” *L’Oriflamme* 1 (1824): 116. “Ce tableau n’ajoutera rien à sa réputation. On s’étonnera néanmoins que, dans un âge aussi avancé, l’auteur conserve encore une vigueur que des artistes plus jeunes pourraient lui envier.” On technical mastery, see 115. “La pose, le dessin, les chairs, les draperies, tout annonce le grand peintre. La mécanique de l’art y est portée au plus haut degré.”

Lest the critics appear to have protested the effects of age too much, it merits mention that the kinship of David's *Mars Disarmed* with his earlier works was also noted in 1824. The critic for the *Journal des débats* specifically named the 1809 *Sappho* (fig. 160), 1817 *Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 60), and the 1819 *Anger of Achilles* (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum) as within the artist's third style along with the *Mars Disarmed*.⁸³ The critic's recognition of David's much earlier *Sappho* as comparable to his *Mars Disarmed* counters Friedlaender's claim that the 1824 painting's appearance resulted from the artist's advanced age and failing health.⁸⁴ The 1809 and 1824 works, indeed, resemble each other in their figures' outward gazes, smiling faces, and peculiar poses, which require sustained consideration, but add nuance to the depicted scenes. Mary Vidal has likewise argued that these features in David's *Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 60) require effort from the viewer to puzzle out the work's meaning, much as Psyche reached her immortality after sustained trials.⁸⁵

Period criticism's focus on formal properties has engendered a similar focus in contemporary scholarship and overshadowed assessment of the painting's concept and

⁸³ M.B., *Journal des débats* (June 6, 1824): 4.

⁸⁴ A similar line of inquiry met my 2010 presentation of this material at the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era. The similarity of the facial expressions and poses to those David used in the 1809 *Sappho*, as discussed at length in chapter four of this dissertation, and the longevity of David's engagement with the Mars and Venus narrative (as discussed below in this chapter) counter such claims. Katie Hanson, "Formal Fiction and Sublime Legacy: Jacques-Louis David and Classical Narrative in 1824" (paper presented at the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era, 1750-1850, Charleston, South Carolina, February 27, 2010).

⁸⁵ Mary Vidal, "'With a Pretty Whisper': Deception and Transformation in David's *Cupid and Psyche* and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*," *Art History* 22, no. 2 (June 1999): 214-43. Vidal proposes a close relationship of David's painting to Apuleius's story in terms of narrative and structure. She suggests that the painting is meant to distract the viewer from its moralizing message through its detailed puzzling appearance at first glance. But, like the story, it merits further consideration; if the viewer looks deeper, the painting leads him/her to greater levels of knowledge. Psyche, according to Vidal, becomes the Romantic hero who learns through life experience which, in Psyche's case, leads to immortality. The painting provides the necessary information for an intelligent, curious viewer to read its allegorical message, but does not offer up its full message simply, without effort on the viewer's part. The painting causes confusion because it does not function in the expected fashion, but revealing its full message would negate the message of knowledge through trial and error, through experience.

theme. Dorothy Johnson proposed a literary model for David, noting in Pierre Ronsard's ode "A son lic" a similar "confluence of the real and the ideal," a theoretical concern in the French art world of David's own time and one visually evident in David's final work.⁸⁶ Johnson, however, argued that Ronsard's literary precedent finds echo, in David's work, in formal and compositional terms. Also on a formal level, Johnson argued David sought to align himself with illustrious tradition by paying homage to the School of Fontainebleau.⁸⁷ Reconsideration of the painting's narrative, suggests that David also adopted an allegorical message popular among Renaissance artists.

The narrative dimension of David's painting has been less probed than its formal sources, perhaps because the theme of Ares/Mars (a god associated with force and war) being disarmed by Aphrodite/Venus (a goddess associated with beauty and love) is self-evidently allegorical. When the picture was first shown, the anonymous writer for the *Annals of the Arts* noted that "this painting expresses an idea at once voluptuous and moral, that of force succumbing to beauty."⁸⁸ When the picture was first shown, Auguste Jal called the painting an allegory and Pierre Coupin described it as promoting a veiled message, though neither explained its meaning.⁸⁹ That neither troubled to explain its meaning suggests that it was transparent and, indeed, David extolled the value of readily recognizable subjects, writing to Gros in 1820: "Choose a subject known by everyone;

⁸⁶ Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis*, 263

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁸⁸ "Peinture. Mars Désarmé par Vénus et les Graces, tableau de M. David," *Annales des arts, spécialement de l'architecture et des sciences y relatives; par une société d'artistes et des gens de lettres* (Paris: Eberhart, 1824), 1: 77. "Ce tableau exprime une idée à-la-fois voluptueuse et morale, celle de la force cédant à la beauté."

⁸⁹ Jal, 379; Pierre-Alexandre Coupin, "Beaux-Arts. Peinture. Mars désarmé par Venus, l'Amour et les Graces," *Revue encyclopédique* 22 (1824): 773.

that matters a lot.”⁹⁰ The voluptuous aspects of David’s late work have overshadowed recognition of its moral ones in more recent scholarship; however, the amorous interaction of Mars and Venus suggested allegorical resonances to David’s contemporaries and, indeed, had long been associated with deeper meaning beyond the evident love affair.

Often, the amorous interaction of Mars and Venus, recounted in Homer’s *Odyssey* and retold by Ovid, highlights the revenge sought by Venus’s spouse, Vulcan, who ensnared the adulterous pair and exposed them to ridicule.⁹¹ But the Aristotelian *Problemata*, which had been translated into French and popularized as early as the fourteenth century by Evrart de Conty, saw a higher message in these particular gods’ dalliance: “Ares is the name of strife, Aphrodite that of love. Homer tells how these two ancient enemies were reconciled. From the two is born Harmony, which reduces everything to concord and tranquility. Thus the gods laugh and rejoice out of gratitude that the accursed strife is over and transformed into unanimity and peace.”⁹²

The allegorical aspect of the illicit love of Venus and Mars was popular among Renaissance humanists and portrayed by artists, including Mantegna in his *Parnassus* (fig. 175) and Rosso Fiorentino in his own treatment of *Mars Disarmed* (as a gift to François I) (fig. 176), both familiar to David’s generation.⁹³ Rosso’s well-known

⁹⁰ The June 22, 1820 letter from David to Gros is transcribed in both Jacques-Louis-Jules David, 572 and Wildenstein and Wildenstein, eds., 219. “Choisissez un sujet connu de tout le monde; cela importe beaucoup.”

⁹¹ Reid, 1: 195 for “Ares and Aphrodite,” including a full listing of classical sources for their tale.

⁹² On the *Problemata* in France, see: Françoise Guichard-Tesson, “Evrart de Conty, poète, traducteur et commentateur,” in *Aristotle’s Problemata in Different Times and Tongues*, ed. Pieter de Leemans and Michèle Goyens (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 145-174. The *Problemata* as quoted and translated in Ernst Gombrich, “An Interpretation of Mantegna’s *Parnassus*,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld* 26 (1963): 197.

⁹³ Mantegna’s painting entered the Louvre in 1801. On Mantegna’s work, see: Gombrich, 196-198; Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford

composition was repeated in various media and has previously been suggested and refuted as a formal model for David, though never addressed in its narrative dimension as important to David.⁹⁴

In 1767, Denis Diderot proposed the theme of Mars and Venus as suitable for new allegorical works. In his Salon of that year, he reported on a discussion he had had with the painter Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée:

Lagrenée said to me, ‘Give me a subject for Peace,’ and I answered him, ‘Show me Mars fitted out in his breastplate, his sword slung from his hip, his head beautiful, noble, proud, disheveled. Place at his side a standing Venus, but a Venus who is nude, imposing, divine, voluptuous. Show her with one of her arms thrown over her lover’s shoulders and have her, smiling an enchanting smile, show him the one piece of armor he’s lacking, his helmet, in which doves have made a nest.’ ‘I understand,’ says the artist; ‘a bit of straw protruding from underneath the female, the male perched on the visor keeping watch, and there’s my picture.’⁹⁵

Joseph-Marie Vien as well as Lagrenée followed Diderot’s directive, in 1768 and 1770, respectively (figs. 177-178).⁹⁶ Diderot also cited verses from Lucretius’s poem “De Rerum Natura” (“On the Nature of Things,” first-century BCE) regarding the story’s allegorical aspect. Diderot paraphrased the Latin poem:

University Press, 1939.; Reprinted, Boulder: Westview Press, 1967 and 1972), 163-168. On Rosso’s composition and its availability in a variety of media, see: Eugene Carroll, *Rosso Fiorentino, Drawing, Prints, and Decorative Arts* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 170-181.

⁹⁴ For the proposal of Rosso’s composition as a formal model, see: Anthony F. Janson, “The Sources of David’s ‘Anacreon’ Paintings,” *Source* 3, no.1 (Fall 1983): 19-22. For the refusal of Rosso’s composition as a formal model, see: Antoine Schnapper et al., *Jacques-Louis David, 1748-1825* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989), 542.

⁹⁵ As translated in John Goodman, *Diderot on Art: The Salon of 1767* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 66. The French has been transcribed in Jean Seznec, ed., *Diderot Salons*, 2nd edition (Oxford: 1986), 109. “La Grenée me dit, Donnez-moi un sujet pour la Paix, et je lui répons (sic): montrez-moi Mars couvert de sa cuirasse, les reins ceints de son épée, sa tête belle, noble, fière, échevelée. Placez debout à son côté Vénus, mais Vénus nue, grande, divine, voluptueuse; jetez mollement un de ses bras autour des épaules de son amant, et qu’en lui souriant d’un souris enchanteur elle lui montre la seule pièce de son armure qui lui manque, son casque dans lequel les pigeons ont fait leur nid. J’entens (sic), dit le peintre; on verra quelques brins de paille sortir de dessous la femelle; le mâle posé sur la visière fera sentinelle; et mon tableau sera fait!”

⁹⁶ Thomas Gaetgens and Jacques Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du roi (1716-1809)* (Paris: Arthena, 1988), no.208

Make it such, oh Venus, that the furors of war cease on earth, on the seas, throughout the universe; for it is you alone who can grant mortals peace; for it is on your breast that the terrible god of battle seeks respite from his work; it is your arms to which he has recourse and that restrain him with the wound of your eternal arrow. When he has placed his head on your knees, his avid eyes fix on your own; he looks at you; he becomes intoxicated, his mouth gapes, and his soul is as suspended from your lips. In these moments in which your sacred members sustain him, bend tenderly over him and, enveloping him in your celestial body, pour into his heart your sweet persuasion. Speak, oh goddess, that the Romans might be beholden to you for peace and tranquility.⁹⁷

Herein, Diderot provided another classical source equating the sensual interaction of Mars and Venus not with bawdy, adulterous narrative, but with an allegory of peace and repose. The tableau Diderot envisioned was a distillation of what he knew of the narrative into a single telling moment that was his own. David, too, presented a distillation of narrative to create a novel, dramatic composition, as he had done in several of his earlier history paintings.⁹⁸

David's peer Jean-Baptiste Regnault exhibited paintings depicting Mars and Venus, without specific reference to the allegory, at the Salons of 1787 and 1795 (fig. 78), as did David's pupil Angélique Mongez in 1806 and again in 1814 (now lost).⁹⁹ Mongez's *Mars and Venus* in the 1814 Salon catalogue lists Giovanni-Battista Sommariva as its owner, though the patron ultimately took her *Perseus and Andromeda*

⁹⁷ As translated in Goodman, *Diderot on Art : The Salon of 1767*, 69. The French has been transcribed in Jean Seznec, ed., *Diderot Salons*, 111-112. "Fais cependant, ô Vénus, que les fureurs de la guerre cessent sur les terres, sur les mers, sur l'univers entier ; car c'est toi seule qui peux donner la paix aux mortels; car c'est sur ton sein que le terrible dieu des batailles vient respirer de ses travaux; c'est dans tes bras qu'il se rejette et qu'il est retenu par la blessure d'un trait éternel. Lorsqu'il a reposé sa tête sur tes genoux, ses yeux avides s'attachent sur les tiens; il te regarde il s'ennyvre (sic), sa bouche est entr'ouverte, et son âme reste comme suspendue à tes lèvres. Dans ces moments où tes membres sacrés le soutiennent, panche-toi (sic) tendrement sur lui, et l'enveloppant de ton céleste corps, verse dans son cœur la douce persuasion. Parle, ô déesse, et que les Romains te doivent la paix et le repos."

⁹⁸ Mark Ledbury, "Stages of Creation: History, Epic and Theatre in David's Early History Painting Projects," *Studiolo* 3 (2005): 169-190 has confirmed the accepted view of David as "a widely and well-read, intellectually curious painter" with archival evidence of his reading and thinking with regard to several early history paintings.

⁹⁹ *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1787-1814; reprinted New York and London: Garland, 1977).

instead, in a deal brokered by David himself.¹⁰⁰ Because of David's role in this acquisition, it has been suggested that Mongez's *Mars and Venus* sparked David's interest in the subject, of which he made a compositional sketch by 1817 (fig. 179).¹⁰¹ The description of Mongez's painting that was included in the 1814 Salon catalogue suggests a somewhat different narrative moment than that presented, in drawing or painting, by David; Mongez's Mars "burns to fly off to battle," more like the Mars envisioned by Diderot, while David's sits still enough for Cupid to attend to his sandals' removal.¹⁰² Regardless of how David became interested in this particular subject, he clearly had myriad opportunities to encounter it and, thus, likely believed that it would be comprehensible to his audience.

David's peer Augustin Belle exhibited a Mars and Venus at the 1801 Salon that explicitly cites its allegorical meaning. Supported by a Prize of Encouragement, Belle's painting was not exhibited with the title *Mars Disarmed*, but rather as *Emblem of Peace* with the explanation in the Salon catalogue furnishing the narrative of that allegory: "Mars receiving caresses from Venus and crowned by her with myrtle and laurels."¹⁰³ That painting is now lost, but when Belle revisited the theme for the 1822 Salon (fig. 180), no narrative description was needed, suggesting its evident comprehensibility.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Bordes, 237 n.5.

¹⁰¹ Mary Vidal, "The 'Other' Atelier: Jacques-Louis David's Female Students," in *Women, Art, and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 261, n.47. Vidal proposed Mongez's work as prompting David's interest in the subject as a foil to the legend that David took the subject from his assistant Dupavillon. The Dupavillon affair is recounted in Schnapper et al., 541-542. On the dating of David's *Mars Disarmed* sketch, see: Bordes, 244-246 and 249, n.3.

¹⁰² *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1814; reprinted New York and London: Garland, 1977), no.708. "Mars et Vénus. Vénus fait de vains efforts pour retenir auprès d'elle Mars qui brûle de voler au combat."

¹⁰³ *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1801; reprinted New York and London: Garland, 1977), no.15.

¹⁰⁴ *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris: Salon, 1822; reprinted New York and London: Garland, 1977), no.67.

Thus, lack of critical discussion of the allegorical message of David's painting in 1824 can reasonably be construed as tacit acknowledgement of its obviousness. While the lack of interpretation of the painting's subject in contemporaneous letters and criticism sometimes is viewed as evidence of viewers' confusion in the face of David's painting, it seems likely that the subject's allegorical reference was obvious enough to speak for itself.¹⁰⁵

The painting's composition, which flabbergasted Angélique Mongez, who was clearly quite familiar with the subject, was more reminiscent of Renaissance mythologies than the Neoclassicism for which David was first known.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, comparison of David's painting (fig. 167) to other renderings of the subject made during his lifetime (figs. 78, 177-178, 180), including even his own initial compositional drawing (fig. 179), reveals the painting's greater complexity, in terms of quantity of visual information such as facial expressions, gestures, cast of characters, and even props. Such features relate it more closely to the congested compositions of Mantegna and Rosso (figs. 175-176). In her article on David's *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (fig. 66), Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby reminded readers: "In his best pictures, David always took risks that were hotly debated. This was part and parcel of his art's productive work; its eloquence and intelligence resided in David's capacity to locate such hot spots, such vital sites of

¹⁰⁵ Lebensztejn, "Histoires Belges," in *David contre David*, ed. Régis Michel, 2: 1013 states that the hyperbolic praise David's students offered with regard to his final painting poorly masks the actual discredit of the artist. Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis*, 262 states that Gros delayed writing to David and diverged from his usual detailed response as evidence that Gros was puzzled by the painting.

¹⁰⁶ Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis*, 262 includes a translation and transcription of Mongez's letter recounting her reaction to the painting. Lebensztejn, "Histoires Belges," in *David contre David* ed. Régis Michel, 2: 1013 states that the hyperbolic praise David's students offered with regard to his final painting poorly masks the actual discredit of the artist. Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis*, 262 states that Gros delayed writing to David and diverged from his usual detailed response as evidence that Gros was puzzled by the painting.

dissension and anxiety.”¹⁰⁷ If some of his viewers were surprised by *Mars Disarmed*, that may have been because they were accustomed to distillations of this subject provided by David’s contemporaries as well as to the starkness of many of David’s early narrative works.¹⁰⁸

The high spirits at play in David’s painting are also in keeping with Renaissance depictions of the scene. In his discussion of Mantegna’s humorous Cupid and dancing Muses, Ernst Gombrich wrote: “There is no reason, in this [allegorical] reading, to underplay the cheerful character of the subject [...] for the surface of the story is humorous and its deeper meaning joyous.”¹⁰⁹ A similar interpretation elucidates David’s humorous Cupid and Graces, which were light-hearted additions to the final painting (as compared to the earlier sketch, fig. 179). David’s omission of Vulcan, in the drawing and the final painting, also focuses the composition onto this joyous and peaceful allegorical tack.¹¹⁰

The painting’s predominant cheerfulness, however, is off-set by a degree of tension implied by the figures’ stilted gestures and (as Adolphe Thiers noted) in the facial expression of Venus.¹¹¹ A similar combination of sensuality and anxiety in Rosso’s

¹⁰⁷ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, “Nudity à la greque in 1799,” *Art Bulletin* 80, no.2 (1998): 312.

¹⁰⁸ This confusion is best evidenced by the format of some laudatory publications as a response to overheard criticism of the painting. For example, Jal’s article and the *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. J.-L. David, avec portrait* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1824), 71.

¹⁰⁹ Gombrich, 197.

¹¹⁰ In the period under consideration in this dissertation, Vulcan was included with Mars and Venus in the titles of works by Boichot at the Salons of 1801 [no.30] and 1806 [no.45] and by La Fitte at the Salons of 1806 [no.291] and 1808 [no.330]. These works are no longer known, so they could not be consulted visually to verify the presence of Vulcan within the compositions and, more typically, Vulcan was excluded. Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives, and Lovers: Marriage and its Discontents in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 93-95 has demonstrated that one of the reasons that Vulcan was regularly omitted from representations of this subject in eighteenth-century France was to avoid visualizing the theme of adultery. Vulcan’s presence could have added another layer of humor, but which may have distracted from the positive message in David’s painting.

¹¹¹ Adolphe Thiers, “De Monsieur David et de son dernier tableau,” *Revue européenne* I (June, 1824): 335-339 asserted of Venus that “il y a plus d’anxiété que de charmes dans son visage.”

composition has been related to the allegory's seriousness, as a reminder to the viewer that the god of war does not lay down his arms readily, nor is strife easily overcome.¹¹² While the critic Coupin complained that love was not irresistible enough in David's painting, Jal praised the painting's emotional complexity and asserted that Venus's lovebirds signified emphatically the imminent coupling of the gods.¹¹³ Jal described David's clever solution for the visualization of the gods' amorous union: "He made Venus's bird intervene; he placed it on the bed, between Mars's knees, where, the wings extended and beak enlaced with the beak of its companion, it seems to complete an action that the presence of witnesses would have rendered odious, and that it makes us realize will happen soon enough. Thus the allegory has been reconciled with the interests of decency; thus the passion of Venus and Mars is there in its entirety."¹¹⁴ The writer for the 1824 *Annals of the Arts* also identified the action of the doves as a projection of the desires of the gods.¹¹⁵ Doves nibbling each other's beaks were standard Rococo tropes for maintaining decency while unequivocally indicating amorousness.¹¹⁶ Allegorically, the amorous union of Venus and Mars begets harmony and peace.

The *Pandore* critic asserted of David's Mars that his "repose does not appear to have been commanded by fatigue."¹¹⁷ Instead, "the goddess promises him the sweet

¹¹² Carroll, 172-173.

¹¹³ Coupin, 773.

¹¹⁴ Jal, 378-379. "Il a fait intervenir l'oiseau de Vénus ; il l'a placé sur le lit, entre les genoux de Mars, ou, les ailes étendues et le bec enlacé au bec de sa compagne, il semble compléter une action que la présence de témoins aurait rendue odieuse, et qu'il fait pressentir pour un temps peu éloigné. Ainsi l'allégorie a concilié les intérêts de la décence; ainsi la passion de Vénus et Mars est là tout entière." Italics added.

¹¹⁵ *Annales des arts* (1824), 77. "Mars a les yeux fixés sur Vénus, ses yeux sont animés du feu de l'amour, et les oiseaux, compagnons de la déesse, places avec une adresse admirable, ne permettent pas de voir ce que ce sentiment pourrait exciter de trop vif dans d'autres parties du corps."

¹¹⁶ Philip Stewart, "Décence et Dessin," in *Aimer en France, 1760-1860: Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand*, ed. Paul Viallaneix and Jean Ehrard (Clermont-Ferrand: Association des publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1980), 38.

¹¹⁷ "Mars désarmé par Vénus. Tableau de M. David, exposé rue de Richelieu, n. 115," *Pandore* (May 29, 1824): 3. "Du dieu, dont le repos ne parait pas être commandé par la fatigue."

prize of his victories; the god stretches himself lethargically on the celestial bed [...] and shows in the serenity of his look the calm and the peace returned to the earth for a moment.”¹¹⁸ David’s inclusion of victory chariots on Mars’s shield reinforces the god’s successes in battle; thus, failure does not motivate Mars to abandon military pursuits, instead, like the artist, he deliberately chooses peace, love, and harmony.

Antonio Canova also undertook a *Mars and Venus* (fig. 181) in the 1810s that employs a degree of psychological tension. Though David’s knowledge of it has yet to be firmly established, the head of Venus in David’s painting so closely resembles that in Canova’s sculpture as to suggest a common source, at least.¹¹⁹ Canova’s commission for *Mars and Venus* came from the British Prince Regent (future George IV) in December 1815 in “recognition and veneration” of the assistance the prince provided Canova in repatriating looted Italian works from the defunct Napoleon Museum in Paris.¹²⁰ The sculptor described his work as “an ideal group of Venus and Mars, symbolizing Peace and War.”¹²¹ Building on Canova’s own description, art-historian Christopher Johns asserted: “The austere, rhetorical character of *Venus and Mars* as an allegory of war and peace trumpets the notion of public duty on the part of both deities, metaphorically speaking. Rather than focus attention on the intimate sorrow of an imminent separation or stress the essentially irreconcilable natures that Venus and Mars represent, Canova gives them an air of resigned constraint that subdues individual desire for a greater good.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. “La déesse lui promettre le doux prix de ses victoires; le dieu s’étendre mollement sur la couche céleste, souffrir les jeux des colombes amoureuses, et montrer dans la sérénité de ses regards, le calme et la paix rendus pour un moment à la terre.”

¹¹⁹ Schnapper et al., 542 asserts that A. Sérullaz suggested that David took Venus’s head from an engraving by Enea Vico, but includes no further information, such as title, date, or location, of that engraving.

¹²⁰ Christopher M. S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), 159.

¹²¹ Canova to Cicognara in Milan on January 17, 1816 as quoted and translated in Johns, 159.

Sculpture teaches a moral lesson with a political subtext.”¹²² Even if David’s painting seems more pleasure-oriented than Canova’s sculpture (with Mars apparently turning to leave and resume his martial duties), it should not be assumed that David’s lacks similarly serious allegorical implications. Moreover, the “resigned constraint” and “austerity” Johns used to describe Canova’s figures were also observed in David’s painting by some contemporaneous reviewers.

In David’s painting, the rather stilted gestures and the combination of joyful Graces and Cupid with the more reserved Mars and Venus may alert the viewer that the move toward peace is in progress, rather than already complete. Théophile Bra noted: “Venus wants to calm his [Mars’s] martial fervor. [...] She lifts a crown of flowers to adorn her lover’s brow; but before depositing it there she seems to fret again; one last look achieves her triumph.”¹²³ Venus’s open mouth could convey surprised concern (as Thiers also opined) or excitement and her straight left arm might imply halted progress in her crowning of Mars, whom she has not yet engaged in a warm amorous gaze and whose head she could not reach from her depicted pose and placement. Venus also may be speaking or about to speak, as Lucretius (quoted by Diderot) had urged: “Speak, oh goddess, that the Romans might be beholden to you for peace and tranquility.” The awkwardness that apparently struck Bra and Thiers as anxiety may also reinforce the status of the depicted scene (and achievement of peace) as “in progress.” Jal’s observation that the kissing doves indicate what “will happen soon enough” between the gods further underscores the sense of the depicted scene as caught, rather than fully

¹²² Johns, 164 and 229 n.51 credits Fred Licht, *Canova* (New York, 1983), 219.

¹²³ Bra, 2. “Vénus veut calmer son ardeur guerrière. [...] Elle élève une couronne de fleurs pour en orner le front de son amant ; mais avant de la déposer sur la tête elle semble craindre encore ; un dernier regard achève son triomphe.”

resolved. Furthermore, as I have already addressed, David employed complex and unsettling compositions to harmonize with the depicted narratives in other late myth-themed works.

Philippe Bordes has observed that the artist's initial conceptualization of the subject of *Mars Disarmed* (fig. 179) may have been intended as a conceptual pendant to his *Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 60), which had already been sold to the collector Giovanni Battista Sommariva.¹²⁴ When David wrote in October of 1817 to request a canvas "to make a pendant for my Psyche," he had sketched an amorous Mars and Venus (fig. 179) whose horizontal composition mimics that of his *Cupid and Psyche*, although the dimensions of the requested canvas did not match those of the already completed work.¹²⁵ With regard to David's *Cupid and Psyche*, Mary Vidal has argued that "the forms and structure of David's painting suggest that it was designed to delay and therefore extend the experience" of understanding its allegorical meaning, a strategy comparable to that of Psyche's experience of trials that protracted her achievement of immortality.¹²⁶ Certainly, the awkward pose and odd facial expression of Cupid, as well as the juxtaposition of naturalism in his figure and idealism in Psyche's, encourage the viewer to contemplate the painted subject carefully. David appears to still have had the Psyche story in mind when he expanded his *Mars Disarmed* composition to include the

¹²⁴ Bordes, 244.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 249 n.2 cites and quotes David's letter of October 20, 1817 to Mathieu-Ignace Van Brée that can be found in Wildenstein and Wildenstein, eds., 208 no.1808. The requested canvas was to measure 210 x 280 cm. The *Psyche* measures 184 x 241 cm, the *Telemachus and Eucharis* 87 x 103 cm, and the *Mars Disarmed* 308 x 262 cm, so David seems not to have used the requested canvas for either of the works proposed as the pendant to *Psyche* and, furthermore, did not intend the painting and its conceptual pendant, whatever the subject he had in mind, to be identical in size. Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* treats *Telemachus and Eucharis* as the conceptual pendant of *Cupid and Psyche*. Mary Vidal, "David among the Moderns: Art, Science, and the Lavoisiers," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no.4 (October 1995) suggests a similar conceptual pairing of David's *Paris and Helen* with his much larger portrait of the Lavoisiers, despite their intended destinations with different owners and their divergent sizes.

¹²⁶ Mary Vidal, "'With a Pretty Whisper,'" 214-243, with the quotation above taken from 219.

Three Graces, which recall those in Raphael's fresco of Cupid and Psyche's wedding feast (fig. 40). He also appears to have continued his deployment of a complex, challenging composition to sustain visual and intellectual engagement with the subject and to suggest the message of (that subject as) a process not yet complete.

To render the act of Venus disarming Mars too easy a conquest, too obvious an outcome might reduce the encounter to an evocation of base lust, rather than high-minded allegory. The anonymous 1824 *Pandore* critic asserted: "That which strikes me the most in this [David's] beautiful production is this elevated thought that knows how to lift itself up to the gods that it wishes to paint. The heavens have opened for David as for the ancient poets."¹²⁷ This equation of elevated ideas with the gods echoes Winckelmann's opinion of Greek myth: "The first founders of the religion, who were poets, furnished elevated ideas for the images of these divine intelligences: these ideas gave wings to the imagination to elevate its work above itself and above the sphere of the senses."¹²⁸ In this regard, Auguste Jal pinpointed within David's painting the weightless bed: "This furniture that the artist has isolated from all terrestrial objects in resting it on clouds, original and delicate thought, places his composition in ethereal spaces and seems to transport the spectator to the heart of an imaginary world, where thoughts of love are purer, voluptuousness more decent, and supplications to Venus happily modest."¹²⁹

¹²⁷ "Mars désarmé par Vénus. Tableau de M. David, exposé rue de Richelieu, n. 115," *Pandore* (May 29, 1824): 3. "Ce qui me frappe dans cette belle production, c'est cette hauteur de pensée qui a su s'élever jusqu'au dieu qu'elle a voulu peindre. Les cieux se sont ouverts pour David comme pour les anciens poètes."

¹²⁸ Winckelmann, *Histoire* (1789), 2: 50. "Les premiers fondateurs de la religion, qui étoient poètes, fournirent les hautes idées pour les simulacres de ces divines intelligences : ces idées donnèrent des ailes à l'imagination pour élever son ouvrage au dessus d'elle-même et de la sphère des sens."

¹²⁹ Jal, 276. "Ce meuble que l'artiste a isolé de tous objets terrestres en l'appuyant sur des nuages, pensée originale et délicate, qui place sa composition dans les espaces éthérés, et semble transporter le spectateur au sein d'un monde imaginaire, où les pensées d'amour sont plus pures, la volupté plus décente, et les supplications de Vénus heureusement pudiques."

Physical and metaphorical levity confirmed for critics the painting's erudition and provide the earth-bound viewer with intellectual transportation.

Indeed, as discussed at length in the previous chapter, amorous mythological subjects need not necessarily be interpreted as immoral, but may instead suggest divine love and poetic inspiration. David's long-standing acquaintance Antoine Mongez (husband of the aforementioned Angélique Mongez) affirmed, in his encyclopedia of antiquity, that myth sprang from human creativity in celebration of nature and in an allegorical form akin to early human language.¹³⁰ Such attitudes support a reading of David's *Mars Disarmed* as allegorical and celebratory. Its stilted gestures and cloaked genitalia downplay literal sexuality, while the cloud-borne setting heightens the supernatural aspect, thereby highlighting its metaphysical poetry and allegorical intent.¹³¹

Contemporaneous critical references to the painting's poetry suggest that notions of creativity and divine inspiration were evident to its viewers.¹³² The 1824 *Pandore* critic asserted: "If by the magic of his talent, he separated you from the Earth and transported you to the skies, not only is he a painter, he is a poet, he attained the pinnacle of his art."¹³³ Jal concurred: "I have tried to initiate you into the most secret thoughts of the painter; I saw his work as a man who feels with warmth, and not as a surveyor who coldly measures. We thus cannot understand each other: You judge with a square, I am

¹³⁰ Antoine Mongez, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Dictionnaire d'Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des chartes et chronologie* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1792), 4: 226-232.

¹³¹ Voiart, *Entretiens*, 110 indicates that "ce qu'on nomme *poétique de l'art*, on pourrait appeler *la métaphysique de la peinture*." [Italics per the original.] On pages 111-112, Voiart explains that the poetic in art resides primarily in the uplifting and the ideal: "La poétique de l'art se trouve dans un choix de sujet qui élève l'ame (sic). [...] Elle réside plutôt dans l'idéal, que dans le réel."

¹³² I have expanded upon the contemporaneous linkage of poetry with creative inspiration and divine intervention in the previous chapter.

¹³³ "Mars désarmé par Vénus. Tableau de M. David, exposé rue de Richelieu, n. 115," *Pandore* (May 29, 1824): 4. "Si, par la magie de son talent, il vous a séparé de la terre et transporté dans les cieus, non-seulement il est peintre, il est poète, il a atteint le comble de son art."

under the prestige of the poetic composition.”¹³⁴ Such acknowledgements of creativity and of heat, in conjunction with divine love, confirm again the notion of enthusiasm, which was longstanding in French academic art theory. Michel-François Dandr -Bardon noted in his 1765 *Treatise on Painting*: “The poetic, that raises, so to speak, the artist above his art is not only the product of knowledge, of study, and of reflection; it is also the work of enthusiasm, of that divine transport of a creative genius.”¹³⁵

Praise of David’s artistic elevation and divine transport in *Mars Disarmed* was also manifested in descriptions of the work as “sublime,” an achievement Friedlaender found to be missing from David’s “late works.”¹³⁶ The *Pandore* critic asserted that David “elevated himself in the expression of the *beau id al* up to the sublime. This scene definitely takes place on Olympus, and the painting itself offers nothing terrestrial.”¹³⁷ Bra’s glowing praise of the painting also invoked sublimity: “Such a beautiful conception cannot be described. This admirable work will be epoch-making within the annals of painting, it ranks first among the works of the artist who knew how to bring art back to its true principles. The artist transported himself to Olympus to see Mars and Venus there and, while there, to come upon the most graceful scene that poetry could invent. He

¹³⁴ Jal, 280. “J’ai essay  de vous initier aux plus secr tes pens es du peintre; j’ai vu son ouvrage en homme qui  prouve avec chaleur, et non en arpenteur qui mesure froidement. Nous ne pouvons donc nous entendre: vous jugez avec une  querre, je suis sous le prestige de la composition po tique.”

¹³⁵ Michel-Fran ois Dandr -Bardon, *Traite de peinture suivi d’un essai sur la sculpture* (Paris, 1765), 145. “Le Po tique (sic), qui  leve (sic), pour ainsi dire, l’Artiste au-dessus de son Art, n’est pas seulement le fruit du s avoir (sic), de l’ tude et de la r flexion (sic) ; il est encore l’ouvrage de l’Enthousiasme, de ce transport divin d’un G nie Cr ateur.”

¹³⁶ Friedlaender, 32 quoted at length earlier in this chapter.

¹³⁷ “Mars d sarm  par V nus. Tableau de M. David, expos  rue de Richelieu, n. 115,” *Pandore* (May 29, 1824): 3. “[II] s’est  lev  dans l’expression du beau id al jusqu’au sublime. Cette sc ne se passe bien dans l’Olympe; et la peinture m me n’y offre rien de terrestre.”

reached the sublime.”¹³⁸ These critics’ use of the term does not reference the “terrible” sublime, but rather the marvelous and unearthly.¹³⁹

Jean-Claude Lebensztejn has demonstrated that the conception of sublimity as beautiful and uplifting sprang from Boileau’s 1674 translation of Longinus and appeared in French art theory as early as 1699 thanks to Roger de Piles.¹⁴⁰ Lebensztejn also noted that the Latin “sublimis” indicated both literal and figurative elevation (of style, thought, or conduct), concepts which also underpinned Chevalier de Jaucourt’s definition of “sublime” in the *Encyclopédie*. Dandr -Bardon described the sublime as lifting the mind of the viewer beyond what is merely seen: “The surest index of the sublime in a work is when it noticeably strikes the artist and the connoisseur; and when after having excited in them a certain enthusiasm, it leaves in their spirits an idea greater than that which they have seen there. If it imprints no elevated sentiment, the spectacle was only for their eyes.”¹⁴¹

With regard to the sublime of beautiful elevation, Longinus had likewise expressed the importance of looking skyward by revealing the detriment of the opposite: “men will no longer lift up their eyes [...] and sublimities of the soul fade when men are lost in admiration of their own mortal parts and omit to exalt that which is immortal.”¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Bra, 2. “Une aussi belle conception ne peut se d crire. Cette  uvre admirable fera  poque dans les annales de la peinture; elle se place au premier rang parmi les ouvrages de celui qui sut ramener l’art   ses vrais principes. L’auteur s’est transport  dans l’Olympe pour y voir Mars et V nus, pour y surprendre la sc ne la plus gracieuse que la po sie puisse inventer. Il a atteint le sublime.”

¹³⁹ Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, “Note sur le d luge et le sublime,” in *Visions du d luge de la Renaissance au XIXe si cle*, R mi Cariel, Sylvie Wuhrmann, Maria Susanna Seguin, and Jean-Claude Lebensztejn (Paris : RMN, 2006), 37-61 traces these two notions of the sublime in French art and theory from the late seventeenth through the early nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁰ Lebensztejn, “Note sur le d luge et le sublime,” 46.

¹⁴¹ Dandr -Bardon, 163. “L’indice le plus s r de la sublimit  d’un ouvrage est, lorsqu’il frappe sensiblement l’Artiste & le Connoisseur (sic); & quand apr s avoir excit  en eux un certain enthousiasme, il leur laisse dans l’esprit une id e au-dessus de ce qu’ils y ont vu. S’il ne leur imprime point un sentiment  lev , le spectacle n’a  t  que pour leurs yeux.”

¹⁴² Longinus, *Treatise on the Sublime*, Chapter 44, no.8. Translation, W. Rhys Roberts.

This sublime of perfection and grandeur was also defined by Aubin-Louis Millin in his 1806 *Dictionary of Fine Art*, even as he acknowledged a fearsome sublime as well: “The sublime is the highest perfection of art, and must be employed when one wants to produce on the soul strong impressions, when one wants to excite admiration, veneration, a violent desire, a great courage, or maybe terror or fear, everywhere; in a word, where one wants to retain or excite with vigor the activities of intellectual fortitude.”¹⁴³ The Longinian sublime, which inflected art theory in David’s lifetime, connoted intellectual engagement and elevation of thought. Since David’s painting does not inspire fear or terror to create an uplifting sensation, it must be the admirable and courageous message that rendered it sublime for its viewers and the work’s peculiar beauty may further “retain or excite the activities of intellectual fortitude” by prolonging observation and contemplation. Indeed, a critic identified only as R*** asserted that “the apparition of his painting produced the most vivid sensation” among viewers in 1824.¹⁴⁴ The composition’s weightlessness struck contemporaries as visionary, reinforcing its sublime and metaphorical aspects.

Dandr -Bardon also addressed later generations’ role in assessing sublimity: “The strongest consideration that must engage the artist aspiring to the sublime, is the judgment that posterity will place on his productions (Longinus, Chapter 12). [...] Let him not content himself to work for his contemporaries, may he work for the centuries to come! This idea encourages him to redouble his efforts to attain, if possible, the summits

¹⁴³ Aubin-Louis Millin, *Dictionnaire des beaux-arts* (Paris: Desray, 1806), 603. “Le sublime est la plus haute perfection de l’art, et doit s’employer lorsqu’on veut produire sur l’ me de fortes impressions, lorsqu’on veut exciter l’admiration, la v n ration, un violent d sir, un grand courage, ou bien la terreur et la crainte, par-tout, en un mot, ou l’on veut retenir ou exciter avec vigueur l’activit  des forces intellectuelles.”

¹⁴⁴ R***, “Salon de 1824,” *Annuaire historique universel* (Paris: Thoissier-Desplaces, 1825), 867. “L’apparition de son tableau   produit la sensation la plus vive.”

of perfection.”¹⁴⁵ The sublime was thus well-suited to a legacy picture and, as David O’Brien and Philippe Bordes both have noted, the exiled David became increasingly concerned with his posthumous reputation.¹⁴⁶

The Longinian sublime would have been familiar to David from Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux’s translation of and commentary on Longinus, published by the Didot family, whom David advised artistically in the 1790s, when Pierre Didot’s Boileau edition was begun.¹⁴⁷ According to literary historian Gordon Pocock, Boileau’s classicizing *Art Poétique*, in tandem with his translation of Longinus, provides precedence for the compatibility of classicizing and sublime tendencies as theoretical interests in literature.¹⁴⁸ Such a Neoclassicizing mythology as David’s demonstrates their compatibility in the visual arts. Thus, classicizing stillness and idealization need not always be earthly or rational, as they were in David’s canonical *Oath of the Horatii* (fig. 1). Instead, those formal features could be turned toward the marvelous and otherworldly, especially since idealized forms are themselves not of this world, but in the realm of artistic invention.¹⁴⁹ One reviewer of David’s painting in 1824 even likened David to Boileau: “Just as Boileau was a poet [...] David was a painter.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Dandré-Bardon, 170-171. “La plus forte considération qui doit l’engager à prétendre au Sublime ; c’est le jugement que la Postérité portera de ses productions (Longinus, ch. XII). [...] Qu’il ne se contente pas de travailler pour ses contemporains, qu’il travaille pour les siècles (sic) à venir! Cette idée l’encouragera à redoubler ses efforts pour atteindre, s’il est possible, au faite de la perfection.” The citation of Longinus refers to the *Treatise on the Sublime*.

¹⁴⁶ Bordes, 188; O’Brien in Ledbury, ed., 293.

¹⁴⁷ See Carol M. Osborne, *Pierre Didot the Elder and French Book Illustration, 1789-1822* (New York: Garland, 1985) for discussion of David’s relationship with Didot. I would also mention that not only did Didot republish Boileau’s works, but several artists of this generation were involved in illustrating various re-editions. Carteret lists Moreau as illustrator of a c.1800 version for Didot and J. Desenne, Hersent, and Horace Vernet as illustrators of an 1821 edition of Boileau’s works (for a different publisher).

¹⁴⁸ Gordon Pocock, *Boileau and the Nature of Neo-classicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 2-5.

¹⁴⁹ Voiart, *Entretiens*, 110-111 equated the poetic with the metaphysical and the ideal in painting.

¹⁵⁰ R***, 867. “Comme Boileau a été poète (sic), Pascal a été éloquent, David a été peintre.”

In discussing Boileau's importance in the eighteenth century, Pocock has asserted: "The major writers lay much more emphasis than used to be recognized on matters having little to do with rules, morality, or rationalism. In various guises, such as the *je ne sais quoi* or the sublime, the crucial element in poetry is seen to be intuitive, irrational, indefinable."¹⁵¹ Indeed, eighteenth-century French theorists upheld Boileau as an esteemed precedent for the compatibility of rational order with the passionate, marvelous, or bizarre.¹⁵² With regard to painting, Dandr -Bardon declared: "An artifice of oppositions contributes infinitely to making poetry [in paintings] sparkle."¹⁵³ Thus, critics' responses to *Mars Disarmed* harmonized with longstanding academic expectations of poetic paintings. David's poetic composition holds varied opposites in intriguing visual balance such as the cloud-borne furniture and architecture or the idealized bodies topped by individualized faces.¹⁵⁴

The tendency to conflate fantasy and reality was attributed by mythographer Nicolas Fr ret to the familiarity with which eighteenth-century Frenchmen held myth.

He wrote:

Fable is the patrimony of the arts; it is an inexhaustible source of ingenious ideas, humorous images, interesting subjects, allegories, emblems, whose more or less successful use depends upon taste and genius. Everything moves, everything breathes in this enchanted world, where intellectual beings have bodies, where fields, forests, rivers, elements have their particular divinities. These are chimerical personages, but the role they play in the works of ancient poets and the

¹⁵¹ Pocock, 12. He elaborated upon the play of seemingly conflicting opposites in Boileau's writing and theoretical interests on page 36 as well.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁵³ Dandr -Bardon, 141. "L'artifice des oppositions contribue infiniment   faire briller la po sie (sic), dont nous parlons." The final clause in the quoted sentence refers to the previous paragraph, in which Dandr -Bardon discussed poetic style for paintings. Thus, I have made the bracketed addition in the translated quote and omitted the final clause for the sake of clarity.

¹⁵⁴ Moreover, as art-historian Mary Vidal has noted regarding Ang lique Mongez's work, "Mars and Venus represented the resolution of opposites in nature in [Alexandre] Lenoir's graphs" within his 1814 treatise on Freemasonry, and David was himself a Freemason. Vidal, "The 'Other' Atelier," 261, fn.47.

frequent allusions of modern poets has made them almost real to us. Our eyes are so familiar with them that we can hardly regard them as imaginary beings.¹⁵⁵

While the particularized faces of David's late mythological figures have troubled art historians, this combination of reality and fantasy found theoretical support in eighteenth-century France and Fréret's ideas were plagiarized within the *Encyclopédie*.¹⁵⁶

David's Graces seem to embody those passages wherein fabled fictions breathe and live, vacillating between appearing imaginary and seeming real. With its many oppositional elements, the composition lays bare its fiction, rather than presenting a seamless representation of rational, observable reality or an enamel-smooth fantasy (like those painted by Anne-Louis Girodet and Pierre Guérin). Indeed, David disdained such perfectly refined surfaces and preferred a textured canvas for his history paintings, again stressing the status of the scene painted on it as artful artifice.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, David painted almost precisely what Jean-François Marmontel warned against in his *Encyclopédie* entry on "fiction," which holds that one may devise his own world provided that it "follows the order of nature [...] requiring that painters and poets not erect in the heavens marble palaces with [...] heavy columns, and clouds for

¹⁵⁵ Nicolas Fréret, "Mythologie," *Histoire de l'académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres* 23 (1756): 17; *Œuvres complètes de Fréret* (Paris: Dandré, 1796), 17: 142. "La Fable est le patrimoine des arts ; c'est une source inépuisable d'idées ingénieuses, d'images riantes, de sujets intéressans (sic), d'allégories, d'emblèmes (sic), dont l'usage plus ou moins heureux dépend du goût et du génie. Tout agit, tout respire dans ce monde enchanté, où les êtres intellectuels ont des corps, où les campagnes, les forêts, les fleuves, les éléments (sic) ont leurs divinités particulières. Personnages chimériques ; mais le rôle qu'ils jouent dans les ouvrages des anciens poètes, et les fréquentes allusions des poètes modernes, les ont presque réalisée pour nous. Nos yeux y sont familiarisées au point que nous avons peine à les regarder comme des êtres imaginaires." As translated in Burton Feldman and Robert Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 96.

¹⁵⁶ Lebensztejn, "Histoires Belges," 2: 1015 summarizes the art-historical difficulty with David's real-looking mythic characters. For more on Fréret, see chapter one of my dissertation.

¹⁵⁷ The letter was written to Mathieu-Ignace Van Brée on October 20, 1817 and is transcribed in Wildenstein and Wildenstein, eds., 208, no.1808. Bordes, 244 quotes and translates the relevant passage: "Since it is for the historical genre, we rather like the cloth to have a grain; don't go over it with a pumice-stone, that I can do in Brussels should it have too much grain."

foundations.”¹⁵⁸ Still, Dandré-Bardon assured readers: “The man of genius must, when elevating himself above the rules, which he knows when to respect, risk some strokes that reveal enthusiasm, and that far from shackling his imagination, he elevates his flight up to Olympus, and places himself [...] in commerce with the gods.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, it was the classically trained poetic painter’s right –or even duty– to create a charming fiction revealing his creative genius. But, as Dandré-Bardon noted, it was also a risk, and David’s risk always has met mixed reviews.

Dorothy Johnson has proposed that David engaged the discourse of idealized beauty, real beauty, and reality active in contemporaneous critical aesthetic discussions within the forms of *Mars Disarmed*.¹⁶⁰ David’s subject of impending peace may thus also be seen as suggesting a comparably imminent reconciliation of seemingly disparate aesthetic criteria: classical theory dictates that style and subject should conform.

The painting’s 1824 Paris exhibition furthered the play of opposites. David carefully conceived the Parisian installation in consultation with his son, his students Michel Stapleaux and Angélique Mongez, and curator of the Luxembourg Museum Jean-Claude Naigeon.¹⁶¹ The first of three rooms contained David’s *Hector* (fig. 182) and *Patroclus* (fig. 183), his 1783 *morceau de réception Andromache Mourning Hector* (fig.

¹⁵⁸ Jean-François Marmontel, “Fiction,” in *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (Paris: Le Breton, 1751-1765), 6:681. “Il veut [...] que la fiction et le merveilleux suivent le fil de la nature [...] à vouloir que les peintres et les poètes (sic) ne bâtissent pas en l’air des palais de marbre avec des voûtes massives, de lourdes colonnes, et des nuages pour bases.”

¹⁵⁹ Dandré-Bardon, 146. “Il faut que l’homme de génie, s’élevant à propos au-dessus des règles, qu’il sçait (sic) respecter à propos, hasarde des traits qui décèlent (sic) l’enthousiasme, et que loin de donner des entraves à son imagination, il élève (sic) son vole jusqu’à l’Olimpe (sic), et se mette, s’il le faut, en commerce avec les Dieux.”

¹⁶⁰ Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis*, 267. Lebensztejn, “Histoires Belges,” 2: especially 1018-1021 addresses the disjunctive combination of the real and the ideal in David’s late works, asserting both that the union of real and ideal had always posed a problem for David and that Neoclassicism comes undone in David’s final work. His aim is not to propose a logic for the visual incongruity, but rather to acknowledge and describe it.

¹⁶¹ Schnapper et al, 521.

184), and two now-lost works: his study for the Sabines' Romulus (who is the foreground man with the prominent shield in the final work, illustrated in figure 66) and his copy after Valentin's *Last Supper* (fig. 185). The second room held the new painting, *Mars Disarmed* (fig. 167), surrounded by green drapery and hung opposite a mirror, while the third room contained only seating.¹⁶² David's former student Angélique Mongez noted that upon approaching the second room from the first, one saw *Mars Disarmed* in the mirror hung opposite it, and "since one doesn't notice the frame, one believes one can see all of Olympus."¹⁶³ With no frame to ground it, the scene's otherworldly fiction was enhanced. Aloft in the realm of ideas, *Mars Disarmed* contrasted markedly with the paintings in the first room, so grounded in human experience. Like the chariots on Mars's shield, the first room reminded the viewer of the successes that preceded the choice of fabled peace.

The installation included subjects from the academy's preferred sources—ancient history, the bible, and mythology. Thus, while Daniel Harkett's recent study of the installation has asserted its depoliticization of David's oeuvre by the omission of his Revolutionary and Napoleonic subjects, it may also be that through such omissions the 1824 installation insisted upon David's status (and legacy) as a history painter, rather than a painter of national subjects.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, in 1820, David had chastised Gros for his commitment to recent, national subjects first under Napoleon and then under the Restored

¹⁶² Harkett, chap. 3 discusses the 1824 installation at length. David had also included a mirror in his 1799 exhibition of the *Intervention of the Sabine Women*, as discussed at length in Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "David's Sabine Women: Body, Gender, and Republican Culture under the Directory," *Art History* 14, no.3 (1991): 406-424.

¹⁶³ As quoted and translated in Frédérique Debuissons, "A Ruin: Jacques-Louis David's Sabine Women," *Art History* 20, no.3 (1997): 435-436.

¹⁶⁴ Harkett, chap. 3 for the installation's depoliticization of David's oeuvre. David clearly distinguished between traditional history painting and national subjects at this point, as evidenced in the 1820 letter to Gros that I have just quoted.

Bourbons: “You love your art too much to hold yourself to futile subjects, to paintings of circumstance. Posterity, my friend, is more severe; it will demand of Gros some beautiful history paintings. [...] Immortality counts your years, do not attract its reproaches.”¹⁶⁵ David could not have missed the personal import of his words as he was contemporaneously working on a repetition of the *Coronation* (fig. 186), a painting for which he earned first place for national subjects in the 1810 Decennial Prize competition, but lost the more prestigious category of history painting to Girodet’s *Deluge* (fig. 65).¹⁶⁶ Instead of depoliticizing David’s oeuvre, the installation highlighted David’s myriad uses of historical subjects. Moving from room one to room two would have shown David’s shift from grounded patriotic action to lofty peaceful disarmament, from mortality to immortality.¹⁶⁷

David’s letters from exile also promote classical history painting as enabling “artistic freedom,” as David O’Brien has recently observed.¹⁶⁸ The artist’s letters indicate that, in exile, relieved of his political and academic burdens, David was free to explore the lofty realm of art divorced from other obligations. David extolled his experience in Belgium: “Ever since my return from Rome [to France] in 1781, I never ceased to be persecuted, tormented for my works... let me enjoy the peace of repose that

¹⁶⁵ Letter of June 22, 1820 from David to Gros as transcribed in Jacques-Louis-Jules David, 571; Wildenstein and Wildenstein, eds., 219. “Vous aimez trop votre art pour vous en tenir à des sujets futiles, à des tableaux de circonstance. La postérité, mon ami, est plus sévère; elle exigera de Gros de beaux tableaux d’histoire. [...] L’immortalité compte vos années, n’attirez pas ses reproches.”

¹⁶⁶ Grigsby, “The First Painter and the Prix Décennaux of 1810,” in *David after David*, ed. Ledbury, 19-38.

¹⁶⁷ Mars’s lofty achievement of peace is further underscored by the grief and death in *Andromache* wherein the warrior’s grave immobility is echoed by his ponderously grounded helmet, which contrasts markedly with its fantastically weightless twin in *Mars Disarmed*. I would like to thank the “Gravity and Levity in Art” session chairs, Mary Edwards and Elizabeth Bailey, for bringing this contrast to my attention in preparation for my participation in their session: Katie Hanson, “Jacques-Louis David Disarmed”(paper presented at the College Art Association 97th Annual Conference, Los Angeles, California, February 27, 2009).

¹⁶⁸ O’Brien, in Ledbury, ed., 293.

I am experiencing in this country and that has been unknown to me until now.”¹⁶⁹ As both O’Brien and Ewa Lajer-Burcharth have recently demonstrated, David promoted a view of himself as content in exile through his letters.¹⁷⁰ The artist wrote that he was drawn to Brussels by “the infinite price that I attach to my tranquility, the need that I have of moral repose in order to consecrate the rest of my life to an art that I cultivate.”¹⁷¹

In addition to his depiction of repose in *Mars Disarmed* reflecting David’s own personal situation, its message of peace is a universal one appropriate for a legacy painting. Such a message also suited the factionalized political and artistic spheres of Restoration France, without becoming a mere “painting of circumstance,” in that it was suprapolitical. Myth, as poetry, was not history, but historic creativity; as such, myth inhabited the realm of art reinforced visually in *Mars Disarmed* through sublime and fictional forms.

David, in his characteristically clever way, selected a narrative and composition relevant to himself and to contemporaneous politics, but also one with a timeless message: peace. Indeed, the author of the 1824 *Notice on the Life and Works of Mr. J.-L. David* observed that in Brussels “principles directed his brushes.”¹⁷² *Mars Disarmed* is not just a formal exercise; its composition supports allegorical interpretation and, thus, its

¹⁶⁹ November 2, 1819 letter from David to Gros transcribed in Wildenstein and Wildenstein, eds., 215 no.1855. “Depuis mon retour de Rome en 1781, je n’ai jamais cessé d’y être persécuté, tourmenté dans mes travaux [...]; laissez-moi jouir en paix du repos que j’éprouve en ce pays et qui m’a été inconnu jusqu’à présent.” As translated in Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, “The Self in Exile: David’s *Portrait of Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès*,” in Ledbury, ed., 233.

¹⁷⁰ Lajer-Burcharth in Ledbury, ed., 233; O’Brien in Ledbury, ed., 288-298.

¹⁷¹ Manuscript of 1816 from David to Count Mercy d’Argenteau, transcribed in Wildenstein and Wildenstein, eds., 205 no.1767. “Le prix infini que j’attache à ma tranquillité, le besoin que j’ai d’un repos moral pour consacrer le reste de ma vie à un art que je cultive, avec quelques succès peut-être, ont fixé mes regards sur un pays [...].”

¹⁷² *Notice*, 70-71. “C’est dans cette ville de Bruxelles où il a transmis à quelques amateurs privilégiés, les principes qui dirigent ses pinceaux, qu’il vient de terminer, à l’âge de soixante-seize ans, le tableau aujourd’hui exposé à la curiosité des Parisiens.”

status as history painting. Its forms, in concert with its narrative and installation, resonate with contemporaneous issues in the art world, in politics, and in the artist's own life.

Jal declared that *Mars Disarmed* was the crown of David's career: "When I will say that I was ravished, transported; when I will exclaim that the work is admirable, prodigious, I will have barely made conceivable what I thought of the painting, and to what degree of superiority David raised himself in crowning his career."¹⁷³ The "late works" were neither merely excuses to paint bare breasts nor senile jokes. Instead, these "legacy pictures" were to surmount factionalized and changing social and political climates to ensure the place of these artists in the public's and in art history's view. This chapter finishes in harmony with the conclusions of the first. Myth provides the crown to art and is in turn sustained by its repeated use in art and presence in the museum.

¹⁷³ Jal, 376. "Quand j'aurai dit que j'ai été ravi, transporté; quand je me serai écrié que l'ouvrage est admirable, prodigieux, j'aurai fait concevoir à peine ce que je pense du tableau, et à quel degré de supériorité David s'est élevé en couronnant sa carrière!"

Conclusion

Sustained by its repeated use in art, Greco-Roman myth provided artists with a well-spring of inspiration. Functioning as what I have called an *exemplum humanitatis*, myth provided a link with earlier human culture, and the instances of its reuse over centuries lent an aura of continuity across changing social and political divides. In this thesis, I have shown that, in mythic subjects, Neoclassical painters found possibilities for the exploration of sentimental instruction, otherworldly perfection, and creative inspiration, as well as the investigation of one's position with respect to the history of art.

In the preceding chapters, I have identified myth as an important thematic subset of French Neoclassical painting. Mythic narratives had ancient roots and had been the fodder of inquiry and imagery ever since antiquity. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, myth increasingly was understood as early humanity's poetry, and was equated with creativity and genius; as such, mythology released Neoclassical painters from historical reality and allowed them to explore fantasy, establishing kinship with the ancients, exploring divine inspiration, and maintaining an unbroken lineage in art. Thanks to contemporaneous mythography, art theory, and criticism, there was a lively and expansive cultural context for these fantastical works, which were prized by artists, as well as by their patrons, by the Academy, and by the public.

Mythological subjects complemented historical narratives to fulfill institutional and social aims of civic improvement by celebrating the history of ideas and of cultural continuities, well beyond those exemplified by historical events. Major institutional projects such as comte d'Angiviller's *travaux d'encouragement* and the decoration of the

ceilings of the Louvre for its use as a national art museum highlighted myth as a thread of continuity binding modern art to the ancient past, through style and narrative, and to intervening great masters, by uniting even stylistically divergent works through a continuity of commitment to myth, which thus constituted the lingua franca of narrative painting. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, myth was a viable, potent source of subjects, because it traverses cultural and historical confines in a way that specific histories and moralities may not; indeed, while the *exemplum humanitatis* extends well beyond the chronological period of this study, the *exemplum virtutis* petered out after its late-eighteenth-century heyday.

Amorous and fantastical subjects, as this thesis demonstrates, complemented better-known stoic or tragic ones to provide exemplars that are noble without being heroic, as can be seen in Jean-Baptiste Regnault's illustrations for Pierre Didot's 1787 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (and his painted variations of those illustrations), as well as in his for-profit exhibition of 1800. This dissertation identifies Regnault, who was committed to myth as his major source material throughout his career, as in competitive conversation, rather than opposition, with his now better known peer, Jacques-Louis David, and as a model whom David's rebellious pupil Anne-Louis Girodet repeatedly emulated. This study highlights Regnault's use of Ovidian myth and, in so doing, confirms the value of such tales for Neoclassical artists. Indeed, while all myth liberates the mind as a vehicle for thought, Ovidian myth is especially fertile in this regard; its open, sometimes decadent or morally ambiguous, aspects make it particularly good for artists to think with. Through reconsideration of Regnault, I have also reinstated the importance of the female nude in French Neoclassical painting. By reassessing and

historicizing such works in the context of contemporaneous art theory and criticism, this study integrates the female nude into the fantasy realm of the ephebe and establishes a base from which to assess the female nude's eclipse of the male in nineteenth-century art.

Mythic fantasy and poetry also permitted personal explorations and visualizations of creativity and its inspiration by allowing artists and even patrons, such as Nikolay Yusupov and Giovanni Battista Sommariva, to participate in its ongoing development and dissemination. Girodet's *Endymion*, *Orpheus*, and *Pygmalion* all employ myth to visualize poetic inspiration, and Girodet's peer, Pierre Guérin, likewise thematized creative inspiration through mythological subjects, such as *Orpheus*, *Aurora and Cephalus*, and *Iris and Morpheus*. Girodet's teacher, David, did the same in his *Sappho*, *Phaon*, and *Cupid*. Thus, when, in 1803, the writer François Noël revised his earlier *Dictionary of Myth* in order to address myth as a growing body of narratives and imagery to which modern artists could contribute, Girodet supplied additional entries.¹ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as this thesis shows, the aims and interests of artists and mythographers coincided and a mythopoeic trend developed. Myth encouraged individual engagement through new contributions that reinforced its status as an entry point into a world larger than that of the individual, as a medium for thought and for the liberation of individual consciousness.

I have shown that, by highlighting the continuity of human creativity, myth served as a link between the present and the past and allowed artists to envision and position themselves vis-à-vis great masters and within the museum. Since its subjects were safe

¹ François Noël, *Dictionnaire de la fable; ou, Mythologie grecque, latine, égyptienne, celtique, persane, syriaque, indienne, chinoise, mahométane, rabbinique, slavonne, scandinave, africaine, américaine, iconologique* (Paris: Le Normant, 1801); Noël, *Dictionnaire de la fable; ou, Mythologie grecque, latine, égyptienne, celtique, persane, syriaque, indienne, chinoise, mahométane, rabbinique, slavonne, scandinave, africaine, américaine, iconologique, etc.* 2nd edition (Paris: Le Normant, 1803).

from political turmoil, artists believed that mythic works were less likely than historical ones to be hidden away in storerooms. Thus, David, Girodet, Gros, Guérin, and Regnault all closed their careers as history painters with mythic subjects. I have dubbed such works “legacy pictures” to insist that by closing with timeless subjects open to flights of invention artists sought to fortify their own status as divinely inspired, poetic creators and to ensure their place in the history of art.

Although the mythological finale of David’s 1824 exhibition ends this study, it certainly was not the end of mythic subjects or of the mythopoeic approach to their use. While poet and critic Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) hoped to be “delivered from the ancient Greeks and Romans” and presented with subjects from modern life, myth and its *exemplum humanitatis* continued throughout the century.² Even while poking fun at traditions of academic paintings, Honoré Daumier’s suites of prints, such as the *Histoires anciennes* (1841-1842), *Physionomies tragiques* (1851), and *Bons bourgeois* (1846-1847), highlight a long-standing tendency to see the present, and to attempt to understand it, in terms of mythological personages and themes. Myth’s familiarity allows for an exploration of what is new through recourse to what is already culturally legible. It was in this spirit that Edouard Manet employed mythic compositions, and to some degree mythological narratives, to approach modern life in several of his major paintings.³

² Baudelaire’s *Painter of Modern Life* (written in 1859 and published in *Le Figaro* in 1863) and his Salon and other exhibition reviews (1845-1862) and Honoré Daumier’s mocking *Histoire ancienne* (1841-1842) are both discussed in Jacquelynn Slee, “Daumier’s *Sapho* and Academic Painting,” *Print Collector’s Newsletter* 8, no. 5 (Nov-Dec 1977): 138-139. For Baudelaire’s writings, see: Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, ed. and trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1964), 178. The quoted passage is actually phrased as the question “Qui nous délivra des Grecs et des Romains?”

³ Manet’s employment of compositional devices from historical works of art is well-known, see especially: Michael Fried, “Manet’s sources: Aspects of His Art, 1859-1865,” *Artforum* 7, no.7 (1969): 28-82 and his reprint and reassessment of these arguments in his *Manet’s Modernism or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996). I address Manet’s engagement with mythic narrative in my 2003 master’s qualifying paper and June 2003 presentation for the Graduate

Throughout the nineteenth century, mythological subjects also continued to be commissioned to decorate places of art and learning; some notable examples include Eugène Delacroix's decorations for the Palais Bourbon library (1838-1847), the ongoing decoration of the Louvre's Apollo Gallery (completed in 1851), and Pierre Puvis de Chavanne's suite for the fine arts museum in Lyon (1884-1886).⁴ Puvis's archaizing classicism evoked an atemporal fantasy space, and mythic personages, situations, and themes, without overtly illustrating any single, particular myth.⁵ His museum decorations draw upon a mythological repertoire to establish a visual linkage with a shared cultural past, in keeping with the function of the art museum they ornament.⁶ As such, Puvis's works may be seen as a later manifestation of the *exemplum humanitatis*.

Within the doctrines and traditions of history painting, myth's fantastic narratives persisted in offering a forum for innovation throughout the nineteenth century. As Scott Allan and Peter Cooke recently have demonstrated, Gustave Moreau would take this up in his symbolically laden representations of mythological characters in the 1860s through the 1890s.⁷ His work, like that of Puvis de Chavannes, demonstrates the ongoing

Program in the History of Art at Williams College, from which a portion was published as Katie Hanson, "Olympia as Danaë: Myth, Modernity, and Prostitution," *Wandering Scholars* 2, no. 1 (February 2008): unpaginated.

⁴ On the Apollo gallery in nineteenth century, see: Françoise Mardrus, "The Apollo Gallery from the Revolution to Duban: Exhibition Venue, Open Space," trans. Charles Penwarden, in *The Apollo Gallery in the Louvre*, 154-160. On Delacroix's ceilings, see: Anita Hopmans, "Delacroix's Decorations in the Palais Bourbon Library: A Classic Example of an Unacademic Approach," *Simiolus* 17, no. 4 (1987): 240-269; Lee Johnson, "Eugène Delacroix's *Education of Achilles*," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 16 (1988): 25-32; Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon and Oxford University Press, 1981-1989).

⁵ Jennifer Shaw, *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁶ Aimée Brown Price, *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1994).

⁷ Geneviève Lacambre et al, *Gustave Moreau: Between Epic and Dream* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with Princeton University Press, 1999); Scott Allan, "Interrogating Gustave Moreau's Sphinx: Myth as Artistic Metaphor in the 1864 Salon," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 7, no.1 (Spring 2008); Peter Cooke, "Gustave Moreau and the Reinvention of History Painting," *Art Bulletin* 90, no.3 (Sept. 2008): 394-416.

commitment to mythopoesis in large-scale French narrative painting throughout the nineteenth century. This mythopoeic approach to myth was in evidence already in the 1790s and continued to flourish throughout the nineteenth century.

Myth's familiarity allowed artists to evoke themes and ideas without needing to be overtly narrative; this aspect of myth also underscored its use throughout much of the twentieth century, as Judith Bernstock has shown with Surrealist, Abstract Expressionist, and post-WWII-era German examples.⁸ Her identification of a "humanistic approach," wherein artists are "less concerned with illustrating narrative content" and more attuned to myths "symbolically in accordance with their personal experiences," can be seen as an ongoing engagement with myth as an *exemplum humanitatis*, rather than construed as a particularly twentieth-century phenomenon. As a remnant of ancient human culture that nurtured a growing body of narrative fiction and imagery, myth provided an important linkage from present to past and past to future. By reconsidering this understudied thematic subset of French Neoclassical painting, my study not only reinforces threads of continuity within French history painting, it also establishes a framework for evaluating the value and use of myth in Modern art.

Greco-Roman mythology furnished French Neoclassical painters with a fruitful body of narratives, imagery, and ideas. Myth, as a fantastical and fictional body of narratives whose interpretations and visualizations were undergoing constant change, offered artists narratives that could complement historical subjects as well as artistic flexibility beyond what could be achieved within historical or religious subjects. The ancient roots of mythic stories linked their modern interpreters to a long history of human

⁸ Judith E. Bernstock, "Classical Mythology in Twentieth-Century Art: An Overview of a Humanistic Approach," *Artibus et Historiae* 14, no. 27 (1993): 153-183.

creativity and lent legitimacy and comprehensibility to their creative forays. Through its continued representation in art, myth lived and flourished. Paintings in concert with contemporaneous philosophical studies kept myth alive, thriving and continually important, and these ancient stories continue to be understood and represented as a living organism that grows with each new contribution.

APPENDIX

Mythological Painting on View at the Salon, 1781-1824

This appendix overlaps for the years 1781-1791 with a comparable appendix by Carrie A. Hamilton and Rosamund Downing in the 1992 exhibition catalogue *The Loves of the Gods*, which provided an important precedent for my own work.¹ The present appendix differs significantly enough from the precedent to merit my inclusion of the years 1781-1791 here. In the Salon livrets, paintings, drawings, enamels, miniatures, and porcelains were all included in the section entitled *Peintures* (Paintings), so I have included all of those media in my appendix, whereas the precedent included only what its compilers were able to determine were finished oil paintings and oil sketches. Additionally, I deviated from the precedent by including full titles and descriptive passages from the livrets, rather than truncating the (sometimes very long) titles at the point where the basic subject can be gleaned. I also elected to include representations of Sappho, as justified in chapter four of this dissertation. I omitted subjects from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, which were included in the precedent. While Hamilton and Downing justified that Tasso's narrative was understood as mythological in the early eighteenth century, I have not found his characters within mythographies published during the period under consideration in this dissertation and, for that reason, chose to exclude them. Creating a system of classification at a historical and cultural remove, as Michel Foucault famously observed in his *The Order of Things*, is fraught with challenges; not least among these in

¹ Carrie A. Hamilton and Rosamund Downing, "Mythological Paintings Exhibited at the Salon, 1699-1791," in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, ed. Colin Bailey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 544-561 for a listing of the mythological paintings at each Salon.

creating the present appendix was that the livrets include only titles and some descriptions, but not reproductions of images.² Despite its inherent limitations, I hope that the present appendix provides an overview of the abundance of mythological subjects considered by painters and viewers of *Peintures* during this period.

The present appendix is organized chronologically by Salon and alphabetically by artist's last name within the chronological divisions. An index organized by last name follows the chronological appendix to facilitate searching by maker. The orthography of artists' names has been updated in accordance with the accepted spellings found in the Getty's Union List of Artist Names to ease recognition of the maker; however, the original orthography of the titles (and lengthy descriptions) has been maintained.

² Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 7. The book's English translation does not provide a translator's name: *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon, 1970), xv.

Mythological Painting on View at the Salon, 1781-1824

1781

BERTHÉLEMY, Jean-Simon (1743-1811)

153. Apollon, après avoir lavé le sang dont Sarpédon étoit tout défiguré et l'avoir parfumé d'ambrosie, ordonne au Sommeil et à la Mort de la porter promptement en Lycie, où la famille et ses amis lui firent de Funérailles.

Ce tableau est le morceau de réception de l'Auteur.

BRENET, Nicolas-Guy (1728-1792)

16. Combat des Grecs et des Troyens, sur le corps de Patrocle.

Pendant le combat des Grecs et des Troyens, pour la possession du corps de Pallas, se montre désarmé sur le bord du camp des Grecs ; sa présence et sa voix effraient les Troyens qui prennent la fuite. *Tiré du 18me. Liv. de l'Iliade*. Ce tableau est pour le Roi.

17. Adoption d'Œdipe par la Reine de Corinthe.

Phorbas, Berger de Polibe, Roi de Corinthe, ayant détaché le jeune Œdipe d'une arbre, auquel il avoit été suspendu par les talons, l'emporta et le présenta à la Reine, qui, attendrie sur son sort, et n'ayant point d'enfans, l'adopta pour son fils.

CALLET, Antoine-François (1741-1823)

147. Le Printemps.

Zéphir et Flore accourent pour couronner de fleurs Cybelle, représentant la Terre, les vents, doux renaissent, les Amours reprennent leur activité, et les Habitans de la Terre, par leurs danses et leurs jeux, célèbrent le retour du Printemps.

148. Hercule sur le bûcher, déchirant la chemise de Nessus. Etude.

DOYEN, Gabriel-François (1726-1806)

19. Mars vaincu par Minerve.

Mars, combattant avec acharnement contre l'armée des Grecs en avoit détruit la plus brillante Jeunesse, et surtout parmi les Étoliens ; Minerve indignée obtint de Jupiter la permission de s'opposer à sa fureur, et de le combattre. Elle rencontre Diomède, monte sur son char, pousse les coursiers droit à Mars, qui dépouilloit les victimes de sa rage ; dès que ce Dieu aperçoit Diomède, il lui lance un javelot, Minerve en détourne le coup, et en même temps conduit le trait parti des mains de Diomède : dirigé par la Déesse, il va frapper, au défaut des côtes, le redoutable Adversaire du Héros Grec. Le Dieu tombe, arrache le fer de son flanc, et jettant un cri épouvantable qui répand la terreur dans l'armée, il s'élance vers l'Olimpe dans un tourbillon de poussière. *Iliade, ch. 5*.

JOLLAIN, Nicolas-René (1732-1804)

124. Le Réveil d'Éndimion.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques (1740-1821)

36. Ulysse secouru par Nausicaa.

Ulysse échappé nud d'une horrible tempête, vint se jeter couvert de quelques branches d'arbres aux pieds de Nausicaa, fille du Roi des Phéaciens, qui étoit venue sur les bords du fleuve, pour laver ses vêtemens, elle lui fit donner des habits, le mena au Palais de son père, et lui procura les moyens de retourner dans sa Patrie.

38. Mercure, représentant le Commerce, répand, sous les auspices de Louis XVI, l'abondance sur le Royaume ; deux branches, d'oliver et de laurier, placées près du Buste du Roi, marquent qu'il fait également fleurir le Commerce, pendant la paix et pendant la guerre ; dans le lointain, on aperçoit des Vaisseaux marchands escortés par un Vaisseau de guerre.

Ce tableau est destiné pour la Salle d'Assemblée du Corps des Drapiers-Merciers.

44. Calipso, s'apercevant de la douleur de Télémaque au récit des aventures d'Ulisse, son pere, ordonne aux Nymphes d'interrompre leurs chants. Dessin.

LAGRENÉE, Louis-Jean-François (1724-1805)

2. Préparatifs du combat de Pâris et de Ménélas.

Paris ayant proposé un combat singulier contre Ménélas, Priam et Agamemnon se réunissent, et, par des sacrifices et des sermens, jurent à l'Autel de Jupiter d'être fidèles à remplir les conditions du Traité, par lequel Hélène et toutes ses richesses appartiendront au Vainqueur.

Ce tableau est pour le Roi.

4. L'Amour des Arts console la Peinture des écrits ridicules et envenimes de ses ennemis.

8. Hercule et Omphale.

11. Combat de l'Amour et de la Chasteté.

MARTIN, Guillaume (1737-1800)

165. Sacrifice d'Iphigénie. Esquisse.

MONNET, Charles (1732-1808)

158. Vénus sortant du Bain.

PASQUIER, Pierre (1731-1806)

102. L'Amour. D'après Corrège.

RENOU, Antoine (1731-1806)

78. Castor, ou l'Etoile du matin.

TARAVAL, Hugues (1728-1785)

50. Triomphe d'Amphitrite.

51. Diane au bain, surprise par Actéon.

52. Télémaque dans l'Isle de Calipso.

VAN LOO, Charles-Amédée-Philippe (1718-1795)

18. Les Amants unis par l'Hymen et couronnés par l'Amour.

VIEN, Joseph-Marie (1716-1809)

1. Briséis emmenée de la tente d'Achille.

Agamemnon, irrité contre Achille, envoie demander Briséis, qui est emmenée au milieu de ses femmes, malgré le désespoir de ce Héros. *Iliade d'Homere.*

Ce tableau est pour le Roi.

1783

DAVID, Jacques-Louis (1748-1825)

162. La douleur et les regrets d'Andromaque sur le corps d'Hector son mari.

JULIEN, Simon (1735-1800)

188. Tête d'une Bacchante.

190. Psiché portée par les Nymphes sur l'autre bord du Fleuve, où elle vouloit se noyer. Dessin.

191. Titon et l'Aurore. Dessin.

193. Phaëton demandant à conduire le Char de son Père. Dessin.

194. Cupidon donne un prix à celui des Amours, qui lui apporte plutôt une Colombe. Dessin.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques (1740-1821)

14. Fête à Bacchus ou l'Automne.

Tableau pour le Roi.

16. Bacchus apporté par Minerve aux Corybantes.

19. Mort d'Adonis.

Ce tableau est tiré du Cabinet de M. le Comte d'Angiviller.

21. Télémaque parmi les Bergers d'Egypte.

22. Télémaque laissé seul avec Mentor, regarde avec plaisir les beaux habits que les Nymphes de Calypso lui avoient préparés, Mentor semble lui reprocher de s'occuper de pensées indignés du Fils d'Ulysse.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François (1738-1826)

152. Le Sommeil de Jupiter. Esquisse.

MÉNAGEOT, François-Guillaume (1744-1816)

29. Astyanax arraché des bras d'Andromaque par l'ordre de Ulysse.

Après la prise de Troye, les Grecs craignant qu'Astyanax, fils d'Hector, ne vengeât un jour la mort de son père, résolurent de la faire périr en le précipitant du haut d'une tour. Ulysse, chargé de la chercher, découvre qu'Andromaque l'avoit fait cacher dans le tombeau de son époux. Il l'en fait tirer, et le livre à la fureur des Grecs, malgré la douleur et les larmes de cette malheureuse Mere.

Tableau pour le Roi.

REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste (1754-1829)

166. Persée délivre Andromède, et la remet entre les mains de ses Parens.

167. L'Éducation d'Achille par le Centaure Chiron.

169. Énée offre des présents à Latinus, et lui demande sa fille en mariage. Esquisse.

170. Pyrrhus tue Priam sur le dernier de ses fils. Esquisse.

172. Répétition d'Andromède délivrée par Persée.

172. Le Mariage de Persée et Andromède.

173. L'Aurore et Céphale.

177. Etude dessinée d'un Persée.

SUVÉE, Joseph- Benoît (1743-1807)

32. Fête à Palès, ou l'Été.

Tableau ordonné pour le Roi.

34. Le Don réciproque, ou l'Amour et la Fidélité.

TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph (1745-1809)

184. Hector sur un lit funèbre, et entouré de sa Famille en pleurs. Esquisse lavée.

184. Priam conduisant le corps d'Hector à Troie, arrêté par la foule du Peuple aux portes de la Ville. Esquisse lavée.

TARAVAL, Hugues (1728-1785)

28. Tête d'Enfant, c'est un Amour battant le tambour avec son flambeau.

VAN LOO, Charles-Amédée-Philippe (1718-1795)

4. Zéphire et Flore, ou le Printemps.

Ce tableau est ordonné pour le Roi.

VIEN, Joseph-Marie (1716-1809)

1. Priam partant pour supplier Achille de lui rendre le corps de son fils Hector.

Ce Roi est représenté dans le moment où il se dispose à monter sur son char. Pâris tient les rênes des chevaux, tandis que ses freres s'emprenent de charger, sur d'autres chars, les vases, trépieds et tapis, que ce Pere destine en présent au vainqueur de son fils. Andromaque, accablée de douleur, s'appuye sur l'épaule de Priam ; et Hécube, suivie de ses femmes, et tenant une coupe d'or, semble exciter son époux à faire des libations, pour obtenir des Dieux un heureux succès. L'Aigle, qui plane dans le ciel, annonce que ses vœux seront exaucés.

Ce tableau est ordonné pour le Roi.

VIGÉE LE BRUN, Elisabeth-Louise (1755-1842)

113. Junon venant emprunter la ceinture de Vénus. *Iliad. d'Homère*, l. I 4.

114. Vénus liant les aîles d'Amour.

VINCENT, François-André (1746-1816)

93. Achille secouru par Vulcain, combat les Fleuves du Xante et du Simois. *Sujet tiré d'Homère*.
Tableau pour le Roi.

94. Enlèvement d'Orithie.

Morceau de réception de l'Auteur.

96. Autre Enlèvement d'Orithie.

1785

BARDIN, Jean-Hippolyte (1732-1809)

150. Retour de Mars. Dessin.

154. L'Amour répandant ses bienfaits, tire du Cabinet de M. P***. Dessin.

CALLET, Antoine-François

62. Achille traînant le corps d'Hector devant les murs de Troye et sous les yeux de Priam et Hécube, qui implorant le Vainqueur.

Ce Tableau est pour le Roi.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

14. Dessin au bistre, représentant les filles de Niobé, tuées par Diane et Apollon.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

134. Jupiter endormi sur la Mont Ida.

Ce Tableau est le morceau de réception de l'Auteur.

MÉNAGEOT, François-Guillaume

20. Alceste rendue à son mari par Hercule.

Le sujet très-connu de ce Tableau, est tiré d'une Tragédie d'Euripide. Le poète suppose qu'Hercule ayant reçu l'hospitalité chez Admete, le jour même qu'Alceste s'est dévouée pour son époux, est lui-même descendu sur-le-champ aux enfers, pour l'arracher à la mort, et présente à Admette une femme voilée, en l'invitant de lui donner la main, pour la conduire dans son Palais. Ce Roi s'en excuse, sur ce qu'il a promis à son épouse de n'y jamais recevoir aucune femme. Il résiste long-temps, enfin Hercule l'exige, et dans l'instant que le Roi lui présente la main, Hercule leve le voile, et Admete reconnoît Alceste, à qui il étoit défendu de parler, qu'après la troisième aurore.

PEYRON, Jean-François-Pierre (1744-1814)

178. L'héroïsme de l'amour conjugal.

Alceste s'étant dévouée volontairement à la mort, pour sauver les jours de son époux, fait ses adieux à son mari, que le désespoir accable ; et, après lui avoir fait promettre de rester fidèle à sa mémoire, elle lui confie ses enfans, dont elle est entourée, et qui, baignés de larmes, participent à la douleur d'une si cruelle séparation, à proposition de leur âge. Les femmes plongées dans la tristesse remplissent le Palais de deuil, et la statue de l'hymen est voilée à jamais, comme ne devant plus éclairer d'autres embrassemens.

Sujet tiré d'Euripide.

Ce Tableau est ordonné pour le Roi.

184. Reconnoissance d'Oreste et d'Iphigénie. Dessin.

185. Œdipe assis auprès du Temple des Eumenides, et de l'Autel qui lui sert d'asyle, accable de reproches son fils Polinice, pour qui une de ses sœurs demande grace.

Sujet tiré d'Œdipe, à Colonne de Sophocle.

REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste

106. Mort de Priam.

Priam voyant la ville de Troie livrée aux ennemis et aux flammes, s'étoit réfugié avec Hécube sa femme, et ses filles, dans une cour du Palais, près d'un Autel consacré aux Dieux Pénates. Polite, son fils, poursuivi par Pyrrhus, vient expirer à la vue de ses parens ; ce pere infortuné voulant venger la mort de Polite, tombe sous le fer de Pyrrhus qui l'immole sur le corps du dernier de ses fils.

Ce Tableau est pour le Roi.

107. Pigmalion amoureux de sa Statue.

108. Psyché venant à la faveur d'une lampe, pour poignarder son amant qu'elle croit un monstre : elle reconnoît l'Amour.

109. Deux Bacchantes.

SUVÉE, Jean-Benoît

22. Énée, au milieu de la ruine de Troie, n'ayant pu déterminer Anchise, son pere, à quitter son Palais et sa Patrie, veut, dans son désespoir, retourner au combat ; Créüse, sa femme, l'arrête, en lui présentant son jeune fils Ascagne.

Ce Tableau est pour le Roi.

TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph

110. Philoctete à qui Ulysse et Néoptolème enlèvent les flèches d'Hercule.

Après un accès de douleur, suivi d'un assoupissement, Philoctete s'aperçoit que ses flèches lui ont été enlevées; il reconnoît Ulysse, qui avoit conseillé aux Grecs de l'abandonner dans l'isle de Lemnos, il lui témoigne toute son indignation. Les Guerriers lui annoncent qu'ils viennent de la part des Dieux, pour le conduire au siège de Troie.

Ce Tableau est le morceau de réception de l'Auteur.

114. Vénus arrêtant Adonis, prêt à partir pour la chasse.

TARAVAL, Hugues

18. Hercule - Enfant étouffant deux serpens dans son berceau.

Amphytrion, au rapport de Diodore de Sicile, voulant s'assurer de la distinction qu'il devoit faire des 2 enfans qu'Alcmene avoit mis au jour, fit lâcher 2 serpens entre leur berceau ; le courage du petit Hercule détermina son choix. Il reçut son fils Euristée, qui se jeta tout effrayé dans ses bras, en présence d'Alcmene, de la nourrice, et des femmes, témoins de cette épreuve. C'est le moment du Tableau.

Ce morceau est ordonné pour le Roi.

VIEN, Joseph-Marie

1. Retour de Priam avec le corps d'Hector.

Priam revenant du camp d'Achille avec le corps d'Hector son fils, est arrêté par sa famille, qui vient au-devant de lui ; Hécube embrasse Hector ; Andromaque, après s'être livrée à la plus grande douleur, lui prend la main, et semble se plaindre aux Dieux de la mort de son époux ; Astianax, conduit par sa nourrice, tend les bras à Andromaque sa mere, qu'il voit éplorée : Pâris et Hélène, craignant les reproches, se tiennent à l'écart derriere Andromaque ; et Cassandre, qui a prédit tous ces maux, paroît s'être jettée sur une des roues du char, arrêté à la porte de Troie ; le corps du Héros est représenté dans un état de conservation, qu'il devoit aux soins de Vénus et d'Apollon.

Ce Tableau est ordonné pour le Roi.

VIGÉE LE BRUN, Elisabeth-Louise

86. Bacchante assise, de grandeur naturelle, et vue jusqu'aux genoux.

WERTHMÜLLER, Adolf Ulrik (1751-1811)

120. Un jeune Faune qui danse.

121. Une petite tête de l'Amour.

1787

CALLET, Antoine-François

83. L'Automne, ou les Fêtes de Bacchus, que les Romains célébroient dans le mois de Septembre.

Pour le Roi.

DOYEN, Gabriel-François

11. Priam demandant à Achille le corps d'Hector.

Priam conduit par Mercure dans le camp des Grecs, laisse son char sous la garde de son Ecuyer, entre dans la tente d'Achille, qu'il trouve assis à table et vers la fin du repas, n'ayant auprès de lui qu'Alcime et Automédon. Alors, se précipitant à ses pieds, il lui dit, les yeux baignés de larmes :

« Achille égal aux Dieux, ayez pitié de ma vieillesse ; je vous en conjure par celle de votre pere. Il est peut être attaqué, pendant votre absence, par des ennemis injustes, mais il a un fils pour le venger ; et moi j'ai perdu Hector, que vous avez tué, et je viens me jeter à vos genoux pour vous demander son corps. »

Achille, frappé de la douleur de ce vieillard, qui lui rappelle le grand âge de son père, éprouve dans son cœur un combat entre la colere et la pitié. Sa main repousse doucement le Roi Priam ; il détourne la tête pour lui cacher ses larmes ; et au milieu des gémissemens des spectateurs de cette scène touchante, il lui rend le corps de son fils.

Homère, Iliade, liv. 24.

Ce Tableau est ordonné pour le Roi.

JULIEN, Simon

190. L'Amour qui d'une main répand des fleurs sur un globe, et de l'autre y met le feu. Dessin.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

13. Ulysse arrivant le Palais de Circé.

C'est le moment où cette Enchanteresse lui présente le même poison avec lequel ses compagnons avoient été changés en pourceaux. Mais Ulysse tirant son épée l'épouvante, et exige qu'elle les lui rende. Aidé de Mercure, qui mêla des herbes salutaires au breuvage, il délivra les siens, et les ramena dans leur patrie.

Pour le Roi.

PERRIN, Jean-Charles-Nicaise (1754-1831)

166. Esculape reçoit des mains de Vénus les herbes et simples nécessaires à la guérison d'Énée. Ce Tableau est le morceau de réception de l'Auteur.

169. Esquisse, lavée au bistre, sur papier gris, représentant les Femmes Spartiates portant les secours nécessaires à leurs Epoux, dans le combat que Pyrrhus donna aux pieds des murailles de leur ville.

REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste

120. La reconnoissance d'Oreste et d'Iphigénie, dans la Tauride.

Oreste et Pylade viennent en Tauride par l'ordre d'Apollon pour enlever la statue de Diane. Ils font pris et menés au Roi Thoas, qui les envoie au Temple de Diane pour être sacrifiés, comme l'étoient tous les étrangers qui abordoient sur ces côtes. Iphigénie promet de sauver l'un d'eux,

aux conditions qu'il portera pour elle, dans sa Patrie, un écrit à ses parens. Pylade, après un grand combat de générosité, cède à Oreste la gloire de mourir, et reçoit l'écrit des mains d'Iphigénie, qui en fait la lecture, et commence ainsi : Vous direz à Oreste, mon frere, que sa sœur Iphigénie.... A ces mots, Pylade prend la Lettre et la remet à son ami, en disant à Oreste : Recevez la Lettre de votre sœur, et à Iphigénie, voilà votre frere. Ils se reconnoissent, enlèvent la statue de Diane, et retournent à Argos.

Sujet tiré d'Iphigénie en Tauride, Tragédie d'Euripide.

Ce Tableau est pour le Roi.

121. Mars désarmé par Vénus.

SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph (1744-1818)

93. Une Bacchante faisant danser les Enfants.

TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph

123. Electre.

Cette Princesse, mise par Egiste au rang des Esclaves, va faire des libations au tombeau d'Agamemnon ; elle y aperçoit des cheveux, des fleurs, une épée. Elle pense qu'Oreste seul a pu faire ces présens ; elle se livre à l'espérance de revoir un frere qu'elle aime, et de trouver en lui le vengeur de sa famille.

125. Une tête de Nymphé de Diane.

VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de (1750-1819)

174. Paysage, dans lequel on aperçoit l'entrée d'une ville antique ; sur le chemin qui y conduit, on voit un Hermès, et sur le devant deux figures de femme qui offrent des fleurs aux Nayades d'une fontaine.

VIEN, Joseph-Marie

1. Les Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque.

Le moment est celui où Hector sortant de la porte de Cée, pour monter sur son char, est arrêté par Andromaque, qui lui fait présenter par sa nourrice le jeune Astianax, lequel s'effraie du panache dont le casque de son père est ombragé.

Ce Tableau est ordonné pour le Roi.

4. Sapho chantant ses vers en s'accompagnant de la lyre.

1789

CALLET, Antoine-François

65. L'Été ou les Fêtes de Cérès.

Cette Déesse avoit enseigné aux Hommes la manière de faire venir le bled et d'en former du pain ; au milieu des Sacrifices qu'on lui offroit, les Femmes, vêtues de blanc, couroient avec les flambeaux allumés en ressouvenir de Cérès, qui, à la clarté des torches enflammées, avoit parcouru la Sicile pour chercher sa fille Proserpine enlevée par Pluton. On lui offroit des procs pour victimes.

Tableau pour le Roi.

DAVID, Jacques-Louis

89. Les Amours de Pâris et Hélène.

GIROUST, Jean-Antoine-Théodore (1753-1817)

341. Œdipe à Colone.

Œdipe retiré à Colone, près du Temple des Euménides, accompagné de ses deux filles Ismène et Antigone, accable de sa malédiction son fils Polynice, qui vient implorer son pardon. *Tragédie de Sophocle.*

C'est le morceau de réception de l'Auteur.

HUE, Jean-François (1751-1823)

70. Un Paysage représentant l'Île de Chypre, caractérisée par des Nymphes, des Amours et des Offrandes portées au Temple de Vénus, placés sur une éminence.

71. L'intérieur d'un bois, où Vénus présente son fils à Calypso, au moment que cette Nymphé étoit seule près d'une Fontaine et loin de sa Grotte.

JOLLAIN, Nicolas-René

62. Philoctète.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

9. Télémaque et Mentor jetés dans l'Île de Calypso.

Le moment est celui où, tous deux retirés après la tempête dans la grotte de la Nymphé, le jeune Télémaque paroît se complaire à considérer la beauté et la magnificence des habits que Calypso y avoit fait apporter, et où Mentor lui reproche de trop s'y arrêter.

Tableau pour le Roi.

10. Achille sous l'habit de fille, reconnu par Ulysse au milieu de la cour de Lycomède.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

98. Ulysse sortant de Sparte avec Pénélope pour retourner à Ithaque, ou la Pudeur.

Icarius ayant marié sa fille à Ulysse, voulut engager son gendre à se fixer à Sparte ; mais ce fut en vain. Trompé dans ses espérances, il tourna ses efforts du côté de sa fille et la conjura de ne le point quitter ; et au moment qu'il la vit partir pour Ithaque, il redoubla ses instances, et se mit à suivre son char.

Las de tant d'importunités, Ulysse dit à sa femme qu'elle pouvoit opter entre son pere et son époux, et qu'il la laissoit maîtresse, ou de venir avec lui, ou de s'en retourner avec son pere.

Alors Pénélope rougissant ne répondit qu'en mettant un voile sur son visage.

Pausanias, Voyages de Laconie.

Ce Tableau appartient à M. Avril et sera gravé par lui pour faire suite à douze sujets moraux tirés de l'Histoire.

PERRIN, Jean-Charles-Nicaise

117. Thésée prend en horreur le crime de son Epouse, et déplore la perte de son fils Hippolyte.

PEYRON, Jean-François-Pierre (1744-1814)

113. Ulysse faisant naufrage et demandant l'hospitalité à Nausicaa, qu'il trouve occupée à laver son linge avec ses Esclaves, sur le bord de la mer. Esquisse.

REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste

91. Le Déluge.

92. L'Amour et Vénus. Dessin.

SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph

74. Tableau représentant l'Amour appuyé sur un casque, tenant son arc de l'autre main. Derrière lui est un bouclier antique, accompagné de differens objets de nature morte.

VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de (1750-1819)

118. Œdipe trouvé par le Berger.

Laius, Roi de Thèbes, apprit de l'Oracle qu'il seroit tué par son fils ; mais Jocaste, sa mere, au lieu de faire tuer son fils, chargea un de ses serviteurs de l'exposer sur le mont Cithéron. Ce serviteur, touché de la beauté de l'enfant, se contenta de lui percer les talons, et le suspendit à un arbre. Un berger, conduit par hasard dans ce lieu, en eut pitié et le porta à la femme de Polybe, Roi de Corinthe, qui l'adopta.

119. Pyrrhus apercevant Philoctète dans son antre, à l'Île de Lemnos.

Vers la dixième année du siège de Troies, les Grecs ayant appris de l'Oracle qu'ils ne pourroient prendre cette ville, si Philoctète, qu'ils avoient abandonné dans l'isle de Lemnos à cause de l'infection de sa plaie, ne leur apportoit les flèches d'Hercule, députerent vers lui Ulysse et Pyrrhus, fils d'Achille.

VIEN, Joseph-Marie

1. L'Amour fuyant l'Esclavage.

1791

AGESCI, Bernard d' (1757-1828)

652. La Poésie érotique à qui l'Amour présente le portrait de Sapho.

BALTHASAR, François (c.1779-1800)

184. Sacrifice d'Iphigénie. Esquisse.

536. Bacchanale. Dessin de l'encre de la Chine.

622. Hero, après avoir traversé la mer, arrive près de Léandre, sa Maîtresse.

BOICHOT, Guillaume (1735-1814)

247. Bacchanal. Dessin.

416. Achille trempé dans le Styx. Dessin.

504. Diomède. Esquisse.

BONVOISIN, Jean (1752-1837)

697. Apollon veut ravoir un Trepied qu'Hercule emporte du Temple de Delphes.

CHAISE, Charles-Edouard (1759-1798)

724. Les Bergers d'Arcadie.

733. Les Filles de Pelias, demandant à Médée le rajeunissement de leur Pere.

764. Fête à Bacchus.

CHANCOURTOIS, René-Louis-Maurice Béguyer de (1757-1817)

32. Paysage, dont les figures représentent la mort d'Hippolyte.

CHEVREUX [Peintre, rue Sainte-Appoline, n.6.]

75. Enée invoquant les Dieux pour venger la mort de Pallas, son ami.

DÉSORIA, Jean-Baptiste-François (1758-1832)

58. Thésée, en présence de sa Mere et de son Grand-Pere, levant la pierre sous laquelle étoient l'épée et les brodequins de son Père.

703. Diane et Endymion.

FORTY, Jean-Jacques (1744-1800)

785. Ganimède.

GAUFFIER, Louis (1761-1801)

720. Achille reconnu par Ulysse.

HUE, Jean-François

139. Narcisse.

JOLLAIN, Nicolas-René

150. Niobé.

270. Œdipe, aveugle conduit par Antigone.

278. Énée et Didon.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

17. Ulysse dans l'Isle de Phéacins, venant se jeter aux pieds d'Alsinoüs et d'Areté sa femme, par le conseil de Nausicaa, leur fille, afin d'en obtenir des secours pour retourner dans sa Patrie.

LAVILLE-LEROUX, Marie-Guilhelmine de (1768-1826)

164. Les Adieux de Psyché à sa Famille.
LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François
737. Le Pouvoir de l'Amour.
LE SUEUR, Pierre-Etienne (c.1791-c.1810)
276. Apollon dans son exil.
644. Œdipe près du Temple des Euménides. Aquarelle.
670. Un Clair de Lune réfléchi dans un Lac, des Bacchantes en fureur, des Torches à la main.
LEFEBVRE, [Peintre, rue Saint-Honoré] (c.1791-c.1793)
777. Énée, prêt à déposer son Pere Anchysé sur le Mont-Ida.
LEFÈVRE, Robert (1756-1830)
37. Des jeunes Filles apportant des offrandes à Vénus et l'Amour porté par les Graces.
51. Vénus embrassant l'Amour.
53. Vénus enlevant les armes de l'Amour.
MONSIAU, Nicolas-André (1754-1837)
13. Ulysse de retour dans son Palais, après avoir tué les Amans de Pénélope, ordonne aux Femmes de sa suite d'emporter leurs corps.
248. Vénus au sein de sa Famille. Dessin colorié à l'aquarelle.
311. Diane vue par Actéon.
626. Philoctete dans l'Isle de Lemnos.
MOREAU, Jean-Michel (1741-1814)
749. Hector, arrachant Paris d'auprès d'Hélène, pour le mener au combat.
PARSEVAL, Auguste (1745-1837)
147. Junon, attachant les yeux d'Argus à la queue de son Paon.
PEYRON, Jean-François-Pierre
118. Mort d'Alceste.
403. Ulysse et Nausicaa. Dessin.
663. Naufrage d'Ulysse dans l'Isle des Phéaciens, implorant le secours et l'hospitalité de Nausicaa, fille du Roi Alcinous.
REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste
211. Un Déluge.
302. Jupiter, sous la forme de Diane, séduisant Callisto.
303. L'Éducation d'Achille par le Centaure Chiron.
TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph
14. Sapho ne pouvant se faire aimer du jeune Phaon, se précipite du rocher de Leucate dans la mer.
THONESSE [Peintre, rue des Blancs-Manteaux, n.53.]
181. Téré et Philomèle. Esquisse.
758. Phylomèle présentant à Térée la tête de son Fils.
TRINQUESSE, Louis-Rolland (1745-c.1800)
254. Deux Epoux offrant leur Enfant à l'Amour.
VALENCIENNES, Pierre Henri de
38. Paysage représentant une vue de Colonne, le Temple des Euménides sur le Mont-Cythéron, et Œdipe et sa fille Antigone, implorant les Coloniates qui veulent le chasser de ce lieu sacré.
42. Paysage dans lequel on voit Ulysse, implorant l'assistance de Nausicaa, fille d'Alcinoüs.
VIEN, Joseph-Marie
369. Les adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque.

VIGNIALIS [Peintre, à Rome.]

33. Le jeune Pyrrhus à la Cour de Glaucias, Roi d'Illyrie.

VINCENT, François-André

750. Le jeune Pyrrhus à la Cour de Glaucias.

1793

BELLE, Augustin-Louis (1757-1841)

219. Thésée, après avoir trouvé les armes que son pere avoit caché sous une pierre, se refusant aux instances de sa mere et de son grand-pere qui l'invitoient à s'embarquer pour éviter les dangers qu'il avoit à courir par la route des rochers ; mais, voulant marcher sur les traces d'Hercule, il indique la route que ce demi-Dieu avoit déjà purgé d'une partie des brigands.

BIDAULT, Jean-Pierre-Xavier (1745-1813)

67. Œdipe détaché de l'arbre par un Berger. Les figures sont de Lethiers.

BONVOISIN, Jean (1752-1837)

80. Enée retenu par Creuse sa femme, à l'instant où il alloit combattre au milieu de l'embrâsement de Troies.

204. Euridice rendue à Orphée.

613. Ariane donnant à Thésée le Peloton de fil.

BOSIO, Jean-François (1764-1827)

145. Hector sur son lit funèbre avec Andromaque, et Astianax, son fils, pleurant sa mort.

CAZIN, Citoyenne [Peintre, au Louvre.]

380. Apollon, après avoir terrassé le serpent Pitton, est blessé par l'Amour, pour avoir insulté ce petit Dieu.

CHANCOURTOIS, René-Louis-Maurice Béguyer de

508. Paysage avec figures, dont le sujet est Œdipe à Colonne.

755. Orphée abandonné à sa douleur, fait préparer un sacrifice aux compagnes d'Euridice qui ornent son tombeau de fleurs. Tiré de l'Opéra de Moline.

756. Mercure ayant dérobé un troupeau à Jupiter dans les vastes plaines de Messine, prie Battus de ne pas décélérer le lieu où il va les cacher.

CHÉREAU [Peintre, au Palais de l'Égalité.]

556. Le Jugement de Pâris. Miniature.

CHEVREUX [Peintre.]

222. Psyché conduite au Rocher.

COLIBERT, Nicolas (c.1750-1806)

385. Vénus amenant l'Amour chez Calipso pour surprendre Télémaque.

COLLET [Peintre, rue Vielle du Temple.]

792. Salmacis et Hermaphrodite. Dessin.

DÉSORIA, Jean-Baptiste-François (1758-1832)

25. Des Nymphes au bain, visitées par un Amour.

153. Achille reconnu par Ulysse à la cour de Licomède. Esquisse exécutée en Tapisserie.

153. Achille rendant Briseïs aux Députés d'Agamemnon, sous le même numéro. Esquisse exécutée en Tapisserie.

DEVOUGE, Louis-Benjamin-Marie (1770-1842)

775. Vertumne et Pomone.

DESMARQUETS, Jeanne-Marie-Catherine (1775-1835)

777. Une Bacchante.

DUPUIS PEPIN [Peintre, rue d'Orléans, Porte Saint-Martin, n.19.]

5. L'Ecole de l'Amour.

FONTAINE, Jacques-Michel-Denis de (active c.1793-1800)

232. Un cadre renferment Jupiter et Semélé, Jupiter et Io, et un Jupiter-Enfant en Camée

FOUGEAT [Peintre.]

218. Psyché endormie, entraînée par Zéphir.

GARNIER, Étienne-Barthélémy (1759-1849)

104. Hippolyte saisi d'horreur après l'aveu que Phèdre, sa belle-mère, vient de lui faire de la passion qu'elle ressentoit pour lui depuis long-temps, s'enfuit, laissant son épée au pouvoir de cette Princesse, qui la lui avoit arrachée pour le punir elle-même. Oenone, sa nourrice, s'empresse de la retenir.

295. Diogène demandant l'aumône à une Statue.

302. Un Guerrier se sauvant du Naufrage et se cramponnant à des Rochers, c'est le même instant où Ajax fils d'Oilée s'écrioit : j'en échapperai, malgré les Dieux.

GIRODET, Anne-Louis (1767-1824)

296. Endymion. Effet de Lune.

HOUZEAU [Peintre, rue neuve Saint-Nicolas, n.29, Faubourg Saint-Martin.]

688. Othriade prêt à expirer.

L'Auteur a choisi l'instant où Othriade ayant fini d'écrire, (Nikai ou à la Victoire) et prêt à subir le trépas, il fixe ses regards sur les caractères *qu'il a tracés*.

LABOREY, Félicité (active c.1793-1795)

190. Une tête d'étude de Bacchante.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

539. L'Amour et Psyché.

LAMBERT [Peintre, rue de l'Hirondelle, n.3.]

717. Nosicaa apporte des Vêtements à celui qui vient d'échapper au Naufrage, pour le conduire à la Cour de Roi, son Pere.

719. Œdipe, près du Temple des Euménides, se livre aux remords et au désespoir; Antigone le serre dans ses bras, et tâche de le consoler. Tire de l'Odissée.

LEBRUN, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre (1748-1813)

628. Didon expriante sur un bûcher, et soutenue par Anne, sa sœur, qui étanche son sang. Iris sur un nuage, et les ailes étendues, se dispose, d'après les ordres de Junon, à couper le cheveux fatal qui retient encore Didon à la vie : plusieurs Femmes attachées à cette Reine infortunée, sont livrées à la douleur ; le Peuple, présent à ce spectacle, en témoigne de l'effroi. On apperçoit, dans le fond du Tableau, la mer et la flotte d'Enée.

LEDOUX, Jeanne-Philiberte (1767-1840)

730. Une jeune fille repoussant l'Amour.

LEJEUNE, Nicolas [Peintre de l'Académie de Berlin, rue Bétizi, n.344.]

151. Hercule terrassant le Lion de la forêt de Nemée.

738. La Peinture conseillée par Minerve. Dessin-esquisse.

LÉLU, Pierre (1741-1810)

492. Ajax frappé de la Foudre.

Ajax s'étant échappé seul de la Tempête qu'avoit suscité contre lui Neptune et Minerve.

Abordant les rochers, il dit : en s'élançant dessus, *j'en sortirai, malgré les Dieux*. A cette parole impie, Minerve prend un foudre et l'écrase contre le rocher.

493. La Mort de Didon.

Elle est expirante dans les bras de sa sœur, Iris reçoit son ame, sa Nourrice et ses Femmes sont saisies de douleur et d'effroi. L'alarme se répand dans toute la Ville, tandis qu'un vent frais favorise la fuite d'Enée.

495. Vénus blessée par Diomède dans la bataille de Troyes.

Venus atteinte au bras d'un trait de javelot que lui porta Diomède, est secourue par Iris ; Apollon soutient Enée presque mourant, il est entouré de différens Guerriers qui ont éprouvé la vigueur de Diomède. L'action se passe auprès du Fleuve Scamandre.

498. Polyxène immolé par Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus retournoit dans ses Etats, après la prise de Troyes, sa Flotte passant près du rivage où étoit le Tombeau d'Achille son Pere, il met pied à terre, fait ordonner un sacrifice, et prend pour Victime Polyxène, Fille de Priam, qui avoit été fiancée à Achille, et l'immoie lui-même à ses Mânes.

528. Psyché et l'Amour. Dessin colorié.

Ces deux Epoux sont jouissans paisiblement du bonheur d'être ensemble, ils se racontent les tourmens qu'ils ont essuyés, des Nymphes leur servent un repas de fruits délicieux.

535. Le Lever de l'Aurore au Printemps.

L'Aurore est assise dans son char, qui précède celui du Soleil. Son éclat dissipe les phantômes de la nuit, l'exhalaison de Fleurs, la Rosée, etc. forment son cortège, les Habitans de la Terre sont émus de son brillant spectacle.

555. L'Ouragan.

On voit les vents pompons les eaux d'un Fleuve, et les élevant en l'air, tandis que d'autres les répandent avec impétuosité, et de leur soufflé glacial, les changent en grêle. Elle tombe sur Cybelle, son char en est renversé, ses lions terrassés, elle adresse ses vœux à Jupiter. D'autres Vents ébranlent la Terre, jusques dans ses fondemens.

LEMIRE [Peintre, rue du Temple.]

788. L'Education de Télémaque. Dessin.

LETHIERE, Guillaume (1760-1832)

118. Orphée et Eurydice.

MONSIAU, Nicolas-André (c.1754-1837)

2. L'Amour et la Folie. Dessin à l'Aquarelle.

NAIGEON, Jean-Claude (1753-1832)

617. Le Déluge.

NEVEUX [Peintre, rue d'Amboise, n.6.]

289. La Barque à Caron.

578. Ariane abandonnée dans l'isle de Naxos.

764. Jupiter, Io, Argus et Mercure.

POTAIN, Victor-Maximilien (active 1793-1798)

608. Télémaque présentant à Entiope la tête du Sanglier qui avoit mis sa vie en danger.

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul (1758-1823)

576. Dessin à la plume, sujet tiré du premier acte d'Andromaque.

679. L'Union de l'Amour et de l'Amitié.

680. L'Amour réduit à la Raison.

SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph (1744-1818)

734. Une Bacchante jouant avec des Enfans. Tableau imitant le bas-relief, de vieux marbre.

SCHALL, Jean-Frédéric (1752-1825)

22. Le nid d'Amour.

767. L'Amour est un enfant trompeur.

SCHELL [Peintre, place de Thionville, n.13.]

180. Paysage historique. Sur le devant, la Sibylle demandant à Apollon de vivre autant d'années qu'elle tient de grains de sable dans sa main.

VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de

331. Narcisse se mirant dans l'eau.

VALLAIN, Nanine (active 1787-1810)

211. Ceyx et Alcyone.

749. Acconce et Cydipe.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine (c.1760-c.1831)

134. Quatre Tableaux de Nymphes et Bacchantes dans des Paysages, sous le même numéro.

VAVOQUE, Jean-Jacques [Peintre, aux Gobelins.]

802. L'Offrande à l'Amour. Tableau imitant le bas-relief en vieux marbre.

VERNET, Carle (1758-1836)

647. Les Courses de Chars ordonnées par Achille pour les Funérailles de Patrocle.

VIEN, Joseph-Marie

306. Hélène, au moment de l'Incendie de Troyes, poursuivie par Enée, jusques dans le Temple de Vesta où elle s'étoit réfugiée. Dans l'instant qu'Enée vient la frapper, Vénus lui arête le bras, et lui conseille d'aller secourir son Pere Anchise, et de laisser là Hélène qu'elle protège.

1795

AUZOU, Pauline (née Desmarquets) (1775-1835)

11. Daphnis et Philis (sujet tiré de Gesner).

Daphnis présente à son Pere Philis sa Bergère chérie. Amyntas, après l'avoir considérée attentivement, s'écrie, ah! quels traits mes yeux découvrent sur ton visage ingènu ! ce sont ceux de Palémon! Oui: ce sont les traits du plus sincère des Amis.

BARDIN, Jean-Hippolyte (1732-1809)

19. Iris envoyée par Jupiter, pour défendre à Junon et à Minerve de porter secours aux Grecs, contre les Troyens. *Iliade* L. VIII. Dessin.

20. Fêtes de Bacchus. Dessin.

CALLET, Antoine-François

60. Venus blessée par Diomède.

Venant au secours d'Enée déjà blessé par Diomède, Vénus, blessée elle-même, abandonne son fils aux soins d'Apollon, qui oppose un nuage au Vainqueur. Celui-ci ne voyant plus que Venus, lui jette un regard menaçant, en insultant à son malheur. Iris, Messagère de Junon, la prend dans ses bras pour l'enlever de la mêlée et la conduire au Palais de sa mère. *Iliade. Livre V.*

Iliade. Livre V.

CALLIER [Peintre, rue du Grand Chantier, n.3.]

61. L'Amour et l'Amitié. Dessin à la plume.

CASTELLAN, Antoine-Laurent (1772-1838)

70. Apollon Berger; Paysage.

CAZENAVE, J.-F. [Peintre, rue des Noyers, n.15.]

71. Nid d'Amours à l'Encre de la Chine. Dessin.

DÉSORIA, Jean-Baptiste-François

130. Jugement de Paris.

DETARÉ [Peintre, rue des Poulies, n.206.]

140. Offrande à Jupiter. Esquisse.

DESVOSGE, François (1732-1811)

143. Sapho inspirée par l'Amour. Dessin.

144. Leçon à l'Amour. Dessin.

FRAGONARD, Alexandre-Évariste (1780-1850)

202. Nimphe qui coupe les ailes à l'Amour. Dessin.

203. L'Amour pleurant la perte de ses ailes. Dessin.

204. Les égaremens de l'Amour. Dessin.

GARNIER, Étienne-Barthélémy (1759-1849)

214. Dédale et Icare, sur les murs du Labyrinthe de Crete, prêts à fuir à l'aide des ailes, qu'ils se sont attachées. Le pere prévoyant le péril auquel son fils va s'exposer, le conjure de ne point trop s'élever de peur que le soleil ne fonde la cire, qui joint les plumes de ses ailes.

216. Nausicaa, fille d'Alincoüs, recoit Ulysse dans l'isle des Phéaciens. *Odis. Ch. VI.*

Cette Princesse sur le point de retourner au Palais de son pere, ayant fait atteler les mules au charriot et replier les vêtemens qu'elle étoit venu laver à l'embouchure du fleuve, sur le bord de la mer, chantoit et jouoit à la balle avec les filles de sa suite. Ulysse échappé du naufrage et fatigué s'étoit endormi dans le bois voisin. Eveillé par la voix de ces jeunes filles, il se couvre de feuillages et sort de sa retraite. Son aspect épouvante ces femmes. Nausicaa seule l'attend, l'écoute, lui fait donner des vêtemens et l'invite à se rendre au Palais de son pere.

217. Consternation de Priam et de la Famille après le combat d'Achille et d'Hector. *Ili. Ch. XXII.* Andromaque tombe évanouie dans les bras de ses femmes à la vue du corps de son Epoux traîné au char d'Achille et en proie aux outrages des Grecs.

Priam à cet horrible spectacle s'efforce de descendre pour aller reclamer le corps de son fils. Il est retenu par les prières des vieillards et des chefs de l'armée. Hécube soutenue par ses filles s'abandonne à la plus profonde douleur. Esquisse.

GIBELIN, Esprit-Antoine (1739-1813)

230. Le Vrai Bonheur. Dessin

L'ame sous l'embleme de Psyché, éclairée par le génie, jouit avec extase des beautés de la nature et des productions des Arts. Elle a derriere soi les passions endormies, que la raison surveille. Dans un des angles supérieurs, l'ignorance met un bandeau sur les yeux de Psyché, qu'elle tient liée et la livre aux traits d'Anteros c'est-à-dire l'amour malheureux.

Dans l'autre angle la vérité souleve le bandeau de Psyché, et lui présente son miroir. L'ignorance est repoussée et les amours, qui ne connoissent d'autres plaisirs que les sens, prennent la suite.

GUÉRET LA JEUNE, Citoyenne [Peintre.]

232. Deux Tableaux, l'un une Bacchante et l'autre une Vestale, appartenant à la Société des Amis des Arts.

HOUZEAU [Peintre, rue neuve Saint-Nicolas, n.29, Faubourg Saint-Martin]

243. Jupiter et Antiope.

LAGRENÉE, Louis-Jean-François

269. Toilette de l'Amour par les Graces.

270. Diane change Actéon en Cerf, en lui jettant de l'eau au visage, pour avoir osé la regarder au bain.

274. Jupiter sous la forme de Diane, séduisant Calisto.

LAMBERT [Peintre, rue Basse-des-Ursins, n.3.]

281. Plusieurs Tableaux, dont l'un, Antigone implorant le pardon de son frère.

LANDON, Charles-Paul (1760-1827)

288. Le Temps brise les armes de l'Amour.
290. Jupiter and Io.
- LAURENT, Jean-Antoine (1763-1832)
293. Première scène du ballet de Psyché. Tableau en Miniature.
- LAVILLE-LEROUX, Marie-Guilhelmine de (1768-1826)
300. Tableau représentant Sapho.
- LEFÈVRE, Robert (1755-1830)
313. Venus qui désarme Amour.
314. Une Bacchante jouant avec un satyre, un Amour lui tire les oreilles, deux autres Enfants le tirent par la queue. Esquisse.
- LEMIRE, Charles [Peintre, rue de Vaugirard, n.113.]
329. Un Amour mettant son Carquois, et sous ses pieds les attributs de la Prudence et de la Force.
- LEROY [Peintre, rue du Hurepoix, n.18.]
336. Une Bacchante.
- LEROY [Peintre, Faubourg Honoré, n.13, ou chez Suvée, au Louvre.]
344. Œdipe descendant de la Montagne appuyé sur Antigone. Dessin.
- LETHIERE, Guillaume (1760-1832)
356. L'Amour et les Graces dérobent la Ceinture de Vénus, tandis qu'elle sommeille.
357. Dessin de ce même sujet.
- MERIMÉE, Jean-François-Léonor (1757-1836)
362. Une Bacchante jouant avec un petit Satyre.
- MEYNIER, Charles (1768-1832)
368. L'Amour adolescent pleurant sur le portrait de Psyché, qu'il a perdue.
369. Réveil d'une Bacchante.
- MOURICAULT [Peintre, rue des Deux-Portes-Saint-Jean, n.8.]
384. Esculape rappelant Hypolite à la vie, à la priere de Diane.
385. L'Amour et l'Amitié.
- REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste
422. Mars et Vénus. Il est désarmé par les Graces.
425. Fiez-vous-y.
425. Ne vous y fiez pas.
425. Hébé versant le Nectar à Jupiter.
426. Tête de Danaé. Tableau ovale.
427. Io ; Danaé. Petits Tableaux faisant pendants.
- SABLET, Jean-François (1745-1819)
445. Une Bacchante.
- SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph (1744-1818)
454. Deux tableaux imitant les bas-reliefs de bronze. Ils représentent, l'un, un Satyre faisant danser des enfans, et l'autre, une femme couvrant d'un bandeau les yeux de l'Amour, au milieu de petits Satyres.
455. Un Bacchanal, bas-relief imitant le bronze.
456. Deux ronds sur marbre blanc: l'un représente une femme faisant sauter l'Amour après son Carquois; l'autre, une Femme jouant d'un instrument antique.
- TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph

474. Sapho sur le point de se précipiter du Rocher de Leucade, adressant encore à Phaon ses derniers soupirs et ses derniers regards. Dessin.

475. Hercule rendu furieux par la jalouse Junon, a tué sa femme et ses enfans, revenu à lui-même, il se livre au désespoir.

Tableau appartient à la Société des Amis des Arts.

TAUREL, Jean-Jacques-François (1757-1832)

280. Sapho se précipitant du rocher de Leucade. Marine.

Il appartient à la Société de la réunion des Beaux-Arts.

VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de

494. Paysage. On y voit Enée et Didon obligés par l'orage de se réfugier dans la grotte.

495. Paysage. Daphnis et Cloé, au moment où il la voit la première fois dans le bain.

496. Paysage. Argus et Mercure.

497. Sacrifice à Diane, au clair de Lune.

498. Pirame et Tisbé, au clair de Lune.

VERNET, Carle

517. Les Courses des chars ordonnées par Achille pour les funérailles de Patrocle.

VINCENT, François-André

532. L'Amour et l'Innocence.

1796 [An 5]

ANSIAUX, Jean-Joseph-Eléonore-Antoine (1764-1840)

2. Les Bergers d'Arcadie.

3. Ganimède donnant à boire à Jupiter.

4. Hébé présentant le nectar à Jupiter.

AUZOU, Pauline (née Desmarquets) (1775-1835)

9. Deux scènes de Daphnis et Philis, tirées de Gesner, faisant pendans.

BARRY, François [Élève de l'Académie de Saint-Luc, à Rome, rue Ménéilmontant, n.3.]

19. Un enfant représentant Bacchus, qui s'enivre du vin qu'il fait.

BENARD, Pierre [Peintre, rue Saint-Magloire, n.3.]

21. Erato couronné par l'Amour. Dessin.

21. Psyché reconnaît l'Amour son époux. Dessin.

BERTHON, René-Théodore (1776-1859)

32. Tableau représentant Cloé se baignant dans la grotte des Nymphes.

BERTIN, Jean-Victor (1767-1842)

36. Une forêt. Vénus retient Adonis.

38. Site d'Italie. Apollon poursuivant Daphné.

BIDAULT, Jean-Joseph-Xavier (1758-1846)

853. Un tableau représentant le petit Œdipe détaché par les Bergers.

BOURGOIN, François-Jules (active 1796-1812)

67. Enée défendu par Apollon contre Diomède qui avait blessé Vénus.

69. Pendans: Salmacis et Hermaphrodite ; Persée qui délivre Andromède du monstre qui allait la dévorer.

70. Pendans: Orphée qui perd Euridice ; Orphée déplorant la perte d'Euridice.

BRIANT, Jean (1760-1799)

73. Œdipe près de temple des Euménides.

74. Le berger Forbas apercevant le jeune Œdipe suspendu à un arbre.

CHANCOURTOIS, René-Louis-Maurice Béguyer de (1757-1817)

85. La statue colossale de Memnon, fils de l'Aurore, qui rendait un son plaintif au moment où la Déesse paraissait sur l'horizon ; mais alors Lucifer, autre fils de l'Aurore l'entraîne vers un autre hémisphère.

CHAUDET, Antoine-Denis (1763-1810)

94. Les honneurs divins rendus à Psyché. Dessin.

CHAUDET, Jeanne-Elisabeth (1767-1832)

95. L'Amour qui vient de dérober un rose.

DAMAME-DEMARTRAIS, Michel-François (1763-1827)

110. Tableau représentant l'Etude tourmentée par l'Amour.

DEMARNE, Jean-Louis (c.1752-1829)

119. Hermine chez le Berger.

FORTIN, Augustin-Félix (1763-1832)

171. Ariane abandonnée.

172. La nymphe Hespérie, fuyant Aesacus, tombe et meurt de la morsure d'un serpent. Son amant, après avoir vengé sa mort, se précipite dans la mer, où il est changé en Plongeon.

173. Diane, esquisse.

174. Vénus et Adonis, esquisse.

177. Le triomphe de l'amour, grande frise.

GAUTHEROT, Pierre-Claude (1769-1825)

189. Bacchus, figure d'étude.

GÉRARD, François (1770-1837)

194. Quatre dessins, Amours de Psyché, renfermés dans un cadre.

GOUZIEN, René [Élève de feu Brenet, rue des Bourdonnais, n.5, à Versailles.]

198. Hébé, suivie des Amours, versant le nectar à Jupiter. Dessin.

HARRIET, Fulcran-Jean (1778-1805)

200. Ariane abandonnée par Thésée, dans l'île de Naxos.

201. Sujet de Léandre et Héro.

201. Sujet de Léandre et Héro; même numéro.

202. Oedipe à Colonne. Dessin.

202. Sapho et Anacréon. Ce dernier appartient à la société de la réunion des Arts.

HOLAIN, N.-F. [Peintre, rue de Ménil-Montant, n.132.]

209. L'Amour courant après des papillons.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

230. Le rêve de Psyché, peint sur glace, figures colorées sur fond noir.

232. Achille reconnu par Ulysse. Dessin.

LAGRENÉE, Louis-Jean-François

229 bis. Déluge.

229 bis. L'Aurore enlève Céphale.

229 bis. Diane et Actéon.

229 bis. Jupiter sous la forme de Diane séduit Calisto.

LAMBERT [Peintre, rue Basse-des-Ursins, en la Cité, n.5.]

234. Œdipe à Colonne.

Antigone et Isménie, sa sœur, dans les bras de leur père, implorent le pardon de Polinice leur frère.

236. Les mœurs de l'âge d'or, deux esquisses à l'aquarelle.

LANDON, Charles-Paul

238. Les regrets d'Orphée.

LAURENT, Jean-Antoine (1763-1832)

252. L'Amour et l'Innocence

LEDOUX, Jeanne-Philiberte

262 bis. L'Amour caché.

LE ROY, Joseph [Élève de Suvée, rue des Saussayes, Faubourg Saint-Honoré, n.1239.]

301. Œdipe et Antigone

Œdipe, aveugle, exilé par son fils Polinice, après avoir erré longtemps, arrive enfin, accablé de lassitude et guidé par sa fille Antigone, sur le mont sacré où est bâti le temple des Euménides, près de Colonne. Là, n'espérant plus trouver d'asyle, il dit à sa fille, dont le bras soutient ses pas chancelans : Ah ! n'avançons pas davantage, La fatigue m'accable....

Antigone : Appuyez-vous sur moi.

Œdipe : Mais dis, où somme nous ?

Antigone : Sur un rocher terrible. Plus loin sont des cyprès ; sous leur ombre paisible on voit un temple antique....

LEROY, Denis-Sébastien (d.1832)

305. Apollon inspirant Homère. Dessin.

Ce dessin appartient à la Société de la réunion des Beaux-Arts.

306. La Folie arrache le voile à l'Innocence, et lui montre l'Amour et la Volupté. Dessin.

Ce dessin appartient à la Société de la réunion des Beaux-Arts.

MESSIER, Jean-L. [Peintre, rue Saint-Honoré, n.199.]

325. Salmacis et Hermaphrodite.

MEYNIER, Charles

330. Une Bacchante éveillée par un jeune Faune.

MONGIN, Pierre-Antoine (c.1761-1827)

335. Pendans : Une jeune homme reçoit la rose, de la main de l'Amour ; Une jeune fille dessine dans un bosquet: les Amours étendent un voile.

338. Des baigneuses jouant avec les Amours. Ovale.

MOREAU, Jean-Michel

861. Un cadre renfermant quatre dessins, deux de l'Iliade.

MOUCHET, François-Nicolas (c.1749-1814)

344. Léda. Demi-figure.

ORSIN, Joseph [Peintre, rue Saint-Dominique, F. G., n.180.]

353. Un cadre contenant :

Le coucher du Soleil chez Thétis.

Métamorphose de la nymphe Coronis.

L'Amour dansant avec Psyché.

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul

389. Trois Dessins lavés à l'encre de la Chine, sujets du roman de Daphnis et Cloé, qu'imprime le citoyen Didot l'aîné.

SERANGELI, Gioacchino Giuseppe (1768-1852)

434. Orphée et Euridice.

THEVENIN, Charles (1764-1838)

457. Echo et Narcisse, pendans.

458. Clytie éprise du Soleil.

- VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de
468. Psyché, cherchant l'Amour, rencontre le vieillard qui lui aide à passer le ravin pour la conduire dans sa grotte.
- VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine
470. Deux pendans : amusemens de Bacchantes.
471. Un autre. Bacchantes.
472. Autre. Sommeil de Bacchantes.
- VERZI, Jean-Baptiste [Élève de Bounieu, place Vendôme, n.967.]
493. Vénus sortant des eaux. Dessin.
494. Les amours d'Hercule et d'Omphale. Dessin.

1797-1798 [An VI]

- AUZOU, Pauline (née Desmarquets)
6. La Prudence éloignant l'Amour.
L'Amour s'est glissé auprès de l'Innocence, il est parvenu à l'intéresser; mais la Prudence l'oblige à s'éloigner.
- BERTON [Peintre.]
820. Erigone.
- BIDAULT, Jean-Pierre-Xavier
34. Grand Paysage.
La figure sur le devant représente Orphée.
Ce tableau est un prix d'encouragement.
- BODOUIN [né à Douai, dép. du Nord, élève de David.]
37. L'Amour ayant cassé la corde de son arc, réfléchit tristement sur cet accident. Dessin.
38. Narcis, revenant de la chasse, se mire dans un ruisseau qui lui réfléchit ses traits, dont il devient amoureux. Dessin.
- BOSIO, Jean-François
54. Tableau représentant l'Amour qui enlève l'objet qu'il aime. Derrière eux on aperçoit un Cupidon tenant les rênes de la *Frivolité*.
- BRUYÈRE, Elise (née Lebarbier) (1776-1842)
69. Orphée et Glicère, sous le même numéro.
- CHAUDET, Antoine-Denis
86. Enée fuyant avec sa famille.
87. Les honneurs divins rendus à Psyché. Dessin.
La réputation de sa beauté était si grande, que l'on accourait de toutes les parties de la terre pour la contempler. On abandonnait les autels de Vénus pour suivre Psyché. Lorsqu'elle marchait par les rues, on lui présentait des couronnes, on lui offrait des prémices : la terre trouvait jonchée de fleurs sous ses pas ; on se prosternait, on l'adorait..... et chacun, en lui rendant hommage, prenait l'expression et l'attitude de son culte habituel.
Sujet tiré du quatrième Livre de l'Ane d'or d'Apulée.
- CLAVAREAU, Auguste-François [Peintre, rue des Filles Saint-Thomas, n.71]
91. Dessin allégorique, lavé à l'encre de la Chine. L'Amour, le Plaisir et le Repentir.
- DÉSORIA, Jean-Baptiste-François
117. Achille délivrant Iphigénie, au moment où Calchas allait l'immoler.
- DEVOGES, père [Peintre.]
818. Cléobis et Bithon.

DUNOUY, Alexandre-Hyacinthe (1757-1841)

144. Pâris abandonnant la nymphe Cœnone dans la vallée du mont Ida.

DUPERREUX, Alexandre-Louis-Robert Millin (1764-1843)

150. Paysage représentant une chasse de Diane.

FRAGONARD, Alexandre-Évariste

178. L'Amour faisant danser une jeune fille. Dessin.

179. L'Amour enlevant une jeune fille. Dessin.

GÉRARD, François

191. Psyché et l'Amour.

HENNEQUIN, Philippe-Auguste (1762-1833)

208. Pâris s'arrachant des bras d'Hélène pour aller combattre Ménélas.

HONNET, Alexandre-Romain [Élève de Regnault, rue André-des-Arts, n.44]

212. La séparation de Télémaque et Mentor en Egypte.

Le fils d'Ulysse demande en vain à Métopis, ministre prévaricateur de Sésostris, roi d'Égypte, de n'être point séparé de Mentor : celui-ci reproche à son disciple sa faiblesse, et lui dit de se confier aux Dieux, qui ne l'abandonneront pas s'il se montre digne de leur protection.

HUIN, Citoyenne [Élève de David, rue Meslée, n.51.]

215. Un cadre renfermant divers portraits en miniature, une Hébé, etc.

LAGRENÉE, Louis-Jean-François

226. *Cassandra* avait envoyé des soldats déterminés pour tuer *Olympias*, mère d'*Alexandre*; ils ne purent soutenir le regard de cette Princesse, et s'en retournèrent sans avoir exécuté cet ordre.

227. Jupiter foudroie Phaéton, pour avoir voulu inconsidérément conduire le char du Soleil.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

231. Psyché dans le Palais enchanté, où elle a été transportée par l'Amour.

Des Nymphes la servent ou lui préparent les plus riches parures ; des sons harmonieux se font entendre ; Zéphire brûle des parfums ; mais au milieu de ces délices, Psyché reste triste et pensif, car elle ne voit personne, ni même l'Amour qui la contemple.

Dans le fond on aperçoit Vénus qui va se plaindre à Jupiter.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

250. Six dessins des amours de *Daphnis*, dans un cadre.

LEFÈVRE, Robert

260. L'amour aiguisant ses flèches.

Ce tableau est un prix d'encouragement obtenu dans un des concours.

LEROY, Joseph

272. Œdipe et Antigone. Dessin au noir.

LESUEUR, Pierre-Étienne

277. L'amour filial. Esquisse peinte.

Œdipe et sa fille Antigone, passant le mont Cithéron.

LETHIERE, Guillaume

278. Philoctète dans l'île déserte de Lemnos, gravissant les rochers pour avoir un oiseau qu'il a tué.

C'est le moment où Philoctète éprouve une de ces crises douloureuses causées par la blessure qu'il se fit au pied en laissant tomber une flèche d'Hercule.

Sujet :

J'appris à soutenir mes misérables jours.

Mon arc, entre mes mains, seul et dernier recours,

Servit à me nourrir ; et lorsqu'un trait rapide
Fesait du haut des airs tomber l'oiseau timide,
Souvent il me fallait pour aller le chercher,
D'un *pied faible et souffrant, gravir sur le rocher.*

279. Le sommeil de Vénus.

L'Amour et les Grâces jouent autour de Vénus avec sa ceinture.

280. Deux jeunes femmes au bain, jouant avec un cygne.

MALARD-SERMAISE [Peintre, rue Nicaise, n.500.]

286. Vénus et Adonis.

Vénus trouve Adonis expirant, et met sa main sur son cœur pour sentir s'il palpite encore.

MARTIN, Guillaume

291. L'enlèvement d'Hélène.

Au moment de s'embarquer, cette princesse sent qu'elle est mère et balance à partir. –Pâris à ses genoux la presse. –Sa nourrice la conjure. –Ils la déterminent.

MENGEAU [Élève de Renaud.]

817. La mort de Clitemnestre.

MÉRIMÉE, Jean-François-Léonor

297. Vertumne et Pomone.

MEYNIER, Charles

301. Calliope, Muse qui préside au Poème épique.

302. Clio, Muse qui préside à l'Histoire.

303. Apollon, Dieu de la Lumière, de l'Eloquence et des Beaux-Arts, accompagné d'Uranie, Muse qui préside à l'Astronomie.

Ces trois tableaux appartiennent au C. Boyer-Fonfrède, de Toulouse. Ils sont destinés à orner une galerie, ainsi que les autres Muses, dont la suite est demandée à l'auteur.

MORIN, Eulalie (née Cornillaud) (active 1798-1800)

319. Amphion. Dessin.

PAJOU, Jacques-Augustin (1766-1828)

324. Orphée perdant son Euridice pour la seconde fois.

Sujet extrait des Géorgiques, traduction de l'abbé Delille.

Presque aux portes du jour, troublé, hors de lui-même,

Il s'arrête, il se tourne... il revoit ce qu'il aime :

C'en est fait, un coup-d'œil a détruit son bonheur.

Le barbare Pluton révoque sa faveur,

Et des Enfers charmés de ressaisir leur proie,

Trois fois le gouffre avare en retentit de joie.

Orphée ! ah ! cher époux, quel transport malheureux,

Dit-elle : ton amour nous a perdus tous deux.

Adieu : l'Enfer se rouvre et mes yeux s'obscurcissent ;

Mes bras tendus vers toi déjà s'appesantissent ;

Et la mort déployant son ombre autour de moi,

M'entraîne loin du jour, hélas ! et loin de toi.

Elle dit, et soudain dans les airs s'évapore.

PERRIN, Jean-Charles-Nicaise

331. Jupiter sous la forme de pluie d'or venant visiter Danaé.

Son père l'avait fait renfermer dans une tour et garder par une vieille, l'oracle lui ayant prédit que le premier enfant qu'aurait sa fille serait funeste à sa maison.

PEYRON, Jean-François-Pierre

334. Ulysse demandant l'hospitalité à Nausicaa, fille d'Alcinoüs, roi des Phéaciens. Tableau, peint sur bois.

Ulysse, battu par la tempête, aborde dans l'île des Phéaciens, et se repose sur les bords du fleuve qui l'a sauvé. *Nausicaa*, inspirée par Minerve, était venue avec ses compagnes y laver ses vêtements, quand *Ulysse*, réveillé par les jeux et les chants de ces jeunes filles, ose paraître devant elles, et demande à *Nausicaa* de quoi se couvrir pour paraître plus décemment.

335. Les jeunes Athéniens et Athéniennes tirant au sort pour être livrés au Minotaure. Dessin. Egée, roi d'Athènes, avait fait assassiner *Androgée*, fils de Minos, roi de Crète : celui-ci, voulant venger la mort de son fils, après avoir saccagé plusieurs villes qui auraient pu défendre Athènes qu'il assiégea, la réduisit à demander la paix en suppliante. Il ne l'accorda qu'aux conditions que tous les ans elle lui livrerait sept jeunes garçons et autant de filles pour être exposés au Minotaure, monstre renfermé dans le labyrinthe de Crète. Ce traité conclu, Minos emmena avec lui les premières victimes du salut de leur patrie.

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul

344. Projet de frise représentant une Bacchanale. Dessin.

SERANGELI, Gioacchino Giuseppe

368. La mort d'Euridice.

TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph

383. Léandre et Héro.

Léandre, jeune homme de la ville d'Abidos, traversait l'Hellespont à la nage, pour aller voir *Héro*, prêtresse de Vénus : un flambeau allumé au haut d'une tour, lui servait de guide. Long-temps l'Amour couronna ses efforts ; mais enfin, sur le point d'arriver aux bords qui lui étaient si chers, il trouva la mort dans les flots. Héro ne voulut point lui survivre.

Ce tableau est un prix d'encouragement accordé par la République.

384. Le même sujet répété.

TAUREL, Jean-Jacques-François

388. Ulysse ayant reconnu Télémaque et Minerve sous la figure de Mentor, s'en éloigne avec précipitation.

La scène est dans l'île déserte où Mentor et Télémaque étant abordes, trouvent au autre vaisseau qui attendait, comme eux, un vent favorable pour partir.

THEVENIN, Charles

390. Œdipe et Antigone.

Fugitif proscrit par ses fils, errant pendant une violente tempête dans un pays aride et sauvage, Œdipe tourmenté de ses remords, s'écrie dans un accès de désespoir ; *écrasez-moi grands Dieux et punissez mes crimes*. Sa fille s'efforce de calmer *son transport*, etc.

Ce tableau est un prix d'encouragement décerné dans un concours national.

VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de

395. Une jeune fille.

Ayant trouve dans les bois d'Idalie, l'Amour couché sur des roses, essaye sur son amant les flèches qu'elle lui a dérobées. Tableau paysage.

397. L'Amour jouant à collin-maillard avec les Grâces. Tableau paysage.

1799 [An VII]

AUZOU, Pauline (née Desmarquets)

9. Une Hébé.

BOUILLON, Pierre (1776-1831)

31. Œdipe et Antigone.

Œdipe accablé du souvenir de ses malheurs que lui rappellent le mont Cythéron et l'aspect du temple des Euménides, dans l'horreur de ses égarements invoque la mort ; mais Antigone alarmée, conjure le ciel de ne point exaucer les vœux de son père malheureux.

BOUTON, Joseph-Marie (active 1790-1803)

32. Flore, demi-figure.

CHANCOURTOIS, René-Louis-Maurice Béguyer de

39. L'Arrivée de Thésée au port de Trézène, reçu par son fils Hypolite. Paysage historique.

On remarque devant le temple de Jupiter, qui était sur la place du port, le tombeau de Pittée, sur lequel étaient trois sièges, où il rendait la justice avec ses deux assesseurs.

DESRAIS, Claude-Louis (1746-1816)

78. Le Triomphe de Bacchus dans les Indes, dessin lavé à l'encre de la Chine.

DUCQ, Joseph-François (1762-1829)

86. L'Amour chassant les mauvais Songes. Tableau allégorique

DUPUIS, F.-N. [Élève de Lépicié, Chartres.]

101. Psyché à l'instant où elle vient de recevoir de ses sœurs le poignard et la lampe.

FLEURY, Antoine-Claude (active 1795-1822)

103. La fureur d'Athamas.

Junon ayant envoyé Tisiphone dans le palais d'Athamas, y cause tant de trouble et de désordre, que ce prince, devenu furieux, écrase contre une muraille le jeune *Léarque* son fils ; il poursuit ensuite sa femme *Ino*, qui se précipite dans la mer avec *Mélicerte* son autre fils.

FORTIN, Augustin-Félix

110. Bas relief, peint sur marbre noir, représentant des Bacchantes sacrifiant à l'Amour.

FOURNIER, Jean-Simon (active 1791-1799)

112. Tableau représentant trois jeunes femmes offrant des fleurs à l'Amour.

FRADONARD, Alexandre-Évariste

113. Psyché montrant ses richesses à ses deux sœurs. Dessin.

GAUTHEROT, Pierre-Claude

128. Pyrame et Thisbé.

Métamorphoses d'Ovide, livre premier.

GENSOUL, J. [Peintre, rue de Bondi, n.51.]

135. Hercule, emblème de la force et du courage, brise les chaînes qui tenaient la Vertu captive.

GENSOUL, Antoinette [Département de la Seine.]

137. Le goûter de Philis et de Daphnis.

Philis ayant apporté des figues, des grenades et du raisin, prit la plus grande grappe et mettant le premier grain sur les lèvres de Daphnis, elle mangea le second, et elle continua ainsi jusqu'à ce que la grappe fût mangée. La mère les regardait d'un air riant. (*Extrait du Poème de Gessner.*)

GIRODET, Anne-Louis

149. Une jeune nymphe au bain, étude à mi-corps.

LANDON, Charles-Paul

176. Dédale et Icare.

LEBRUN, Jacques [Département de Vaucluse, rue de la Loi, n.748.]

186. Clytemnestre. Gouache.

Ayant découvert que, sous le prétexte d'unir sa fille à Achille, Agamemnon ne l'avait fait venir dans le camp des Grecs que pour immoler Iphigénie, s'échappe et fuit avec elle. Friphile, leur captive, instruite de leur fraude, en prévient aussitôt le grand-prêtre Calchas, qui ordonne, au nom du ciel, ce barbare sacrifice, et de concert avec Ulysse, excite l'armée à la poursuite d'Iphigénie.

LEDOUX, Jeanne-Philiberte

191. Tableau représentant l'Amour surpris.

LEFÈVRE, Robert

194. Andromède attachée à un rocher par l'ordre de Junon, pour être dévorée par un monstre marin. L'Amour pleure sur le sort qui attend cette malheureuse victime.

LEGRAND, P.-S. [Né à Rouen.]

201. Chute de Phaéton. Esquisse.

C'est le moment où la Terre embrasée offre sa prière à Jupiter. On voit autour de cette déesse, des mères au désespoir, poser sur leurs seins des enfans naissans. Ces innocentes créatures semblent aussi implorer la mère commune. La déesse est exaucée, Jupiter lance la foudre contre un jeune orgueilleux dont l'ignorance et la vanité ont failli anéantir le genre humain.

205. Le retour à l'amitié.

L'auteur a voulu représenter le tems de l'âge où les feux de l'Amour commencent à s'éteindre; mais les époux se retournant vers la douce Amitié, voyent encore un avenir consolant et heureux. Pénétrés de cette idée, ils disent: si l'Amour s'envole, du moins la sincère amitié nous reste: nous n'avons rien perdu....

MÉRIMÉE, Jean-François-Léonor

224. Tableau représentant Vertumne et Pomone.

PEYRON, Jean-François-Pierre

252. Tableau allégorique représentant le Tems et Minerve, qui n'accordent l'immortalité qu'à ceux qui ont bien mérité de leur patrie.

Solon, comme Sage et Législateur, se présente à leur jugement : *Platon*, disciple de Socrate, doit bientôt l'éprouver.

La *Sagesse* propose, et le Tems indique la place que les Grands-Hommes doivent occuper dans le Temple de mémoire.

Le *Génie de l'Histoire* attend leur décision pour la transmettre à la Prospérité.

Ce tableau est un prix d'encouragement accordé à l'auteur par le Jury de l'an III.

253. Esquisse du même sujet, composée différemment.

RABILLON, P.-P. [Élève de Regnault.]

267. Reproches d'Hector à Pâris.

Hector, fils de Priam, n'apercevant point son frère Pâris, à l'instant où l'on allait combattre, le cherche et le trouve auprès du lit d'Hélène sa femme. Enflammé de colère, il lui reproche sa mollesse au moment où sa patrie est sur le point d'être saccagée par les Grecs.

ROMANY, Adèle (1769-1846)

278. L'Amour se plaignant à sa mère d'avoir été piqué par une abeille.

TARÉ [À l'Ecole centrale du Panthéon.]

312. Offrande à Jupiter. Esquisse.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine

316. L'Amour conduisant deux amans au temple de l'Hymen.

VAN DAEL, Jan Frans (1764-1840)

324. Offrande à Flore.

Devant la déesse, sur un autel d'albâtre, orné de bas-reliefs, on voit une masse de fleurs. Au pied de la statue, qui est entourée de guirlandes, sont des corbeilles, des vases remplis aussi de fleurs, et des instrumens de musique.

VILLERS (née Lemoine), Marie-Denise (1774-1821)

345. Une Bacchante endormie.

VINCENT, F.-Ph. [Élève de David, rue de la Monnaye, n.14.]

350. Vénus sortant du sein des ondes. Dessin

351. Psyché surprise par l'Amour. Dessin

VINCENT, Louis [Élève de Lagrenée le jeune, rue de Varennes, n.1495.]

353. Œdipe détaché de l'arbre par le berger Phorbas.

L'oracle avait prédit à *Laius*, roi de Thèbes, que l'enfant qui naîtrait de son mariage avec *Jocaste*, lui donnerait la mort. Laius, l'esprit troublé de la prédiction, ordonna à un domestique affidé d'aller exposer l'enfant dans un lieu désert, et de l'y faire périr. Celui-ci, touché de pitié, se contentera de lui lier les pieds, et le suspendit à un arbre, ce qui fit donner à l'enfant le nom d'Œdipe, qui signifie, *j'ai le pied enflé*.

1800 (An VIII)

BELLONI, Francesco (1772-1863)

702. Un Amour qui joue de la lyre, assis sur un lion. Peinture en mosaïque.

703. Une Diane en camée. Peinture en mosaïque.

704. Un Bacchus en camée. Peinture en mosaïque.

706. Une menade étrusque. Peinture en mosaïque.

707. Un satyre, étrusque. Peinture en mosaïque.

BERTIN, Jean-Victor

22. Un paysage éclairé au matin. Sur le premier plan, deux bergers, Daphnis et Philis, prétendent au prix du chant; le vieux Palémon est leur juge.

BOUNIEU, Emilie [Élève de son père, rue de Paradis, n.55.]

50. Hélène, occupée à broder, voit arriver Laodice.

BROC, Jean (c.1780-c.1850)

55. L'Ecole d'Apelle.

BRUYÈRE, Elise (née Lebarbier)

60. L'Amitié qui console l'Amour.

CARAFFE, Armand-Charles (1762-1822)

70. L'Amour abandonné de la Jeunesse et des Grâces, se console, dans le sein de l'Amitié, des outrages du Temps.

71. La mort de Philopemen, au C. Chenard. Esquisse.

CHALLIOU, P.-J. [Peintre, cloître Benoît, n.350.]

82. Deux dessins faisant pendans, sujets tires de l'*Enéide*.

1. Hélène, s'étant retirée dans le temple de Vesta, pendant l'embrassement de Troyes, est secourue par Vénus au moment où Enée allait l'immoler à la vengeance de sa patrie dont elle avait causé les malheurs.

2. Enée et Didon, étant à la chasse, sont surpris par un orage ; ils se retirent dans la même grotte. Aussi-tôt les célestes feux éclairent leurs amours et servent de flambeau à l'Hymen

COURTEILLE [Peintre, cour Abbatiale, n.1129, Faubourg Germain.]

99. Sapho à Leucade, déplore l'insensibilité de Phaon.

CRÉPIN, Louis-Philippe (1772-1851)

100. Une figure d'étude de grandeur naturelle, représentant Io. (*Métam. d'Ovide*).

DESHAYES, Jean-Eléazar [Élève de Schmidt, rue Rochechouard, n.660.]

125. Un paysage représentant une offrande à Cérès.

FLEURY, Antoine-Claude

145. L'enlèvement d'Hélène du temple de Diane, par Thésée et Pirrithoüs.

GARNIER, Étienne-Barthelémy

159. La consternation de la famille de Priam après la mort d'Hector.

Achille, vainqueur près des sources du Scamandre, retourne au camp, trainant à son char les corps d'Hector dans les rangs des grecs, accourant en foule pour contempler cette victoire. Quelques-uns, ne pouvant se contenir, outragent les restes de celui qui eut la gloire d'embraser leurs vaisseaux.

Les cris et les gémissemens dont retentir la ville de Troyes, ont redoublé l'inquiétude d'Andromaque. Suivie de deux femmes et de son fils Astyanax, elle court et monte sur le rempart, au-dessus des portes Scées, s'avance au milieu des soldats, dirige de tous côts, ses regards : elle aperçoit le char et les rapides coursiers traînant le corps de son époux devant les murailles ! Aussitôt ses yeux se couvrent d'un épais nuage ; elle tombe évanouie entre les bras de ses femmes, qui s'empresent de la secourir ; les soldats même lui rendent des soins.

Hécube, succombant à sa douleur, reste abattue sur les degrés du rempart, persécutée par l'image de la barbarie exercée sur ce fils qu'elle vient de voir périr victime de son courage. Elle avait épuisé les plus touchantes prières pour l'engager à ne pas s'exposer seul contre Achille. —*Hector, mon cher fils* (s'était-elle écriée, en découvrant son sein inondé de larmes), *rappelez-vous avec quels soins j'appaisais vos cris dans votre enfance : rentrez dans nos murs, et, par pitié pour moi, dérobez-vous à cet ennemi implacable*. Elle déchire ses vêtemens et s'arrache les cheveux. Sa fille Laodice la presse dans ses bras pour modérer les transports de son désespoir. Assise aux pieds d'Hécube, Polyxène, la plus jeune de ses filles, absorbée par le pressentiment des suites d'un tel événement, paraît une victime dévouée aux manes d'Achilles.

Pâris, cause de cette guerre, se détourne et se couvre les yeux pour échapper aux reproches de tout ce qui l'environne.

Priame, saisi de trouble et d'indignation, veut descendre pour aller réclamer le corps de son fils. Il s'oppose aux conseils de ses amis, qui s'efforcent de le retenir. *Laissez-moi* (dit-il) *sortir de ces murs : j'irai seul pupplier cet homme terrible, dont la fureur n'a point de bornes ; mon extrême vieillesse lui rappellera peut-être le souvenir de son père, et lui inspirera du respect et de la compassion*.

Panthéus, prêtre d'Apollon, est aux pieds de Priam, et l'arrête par son manteau : Anténor représente à ce père infortuné les périls auxquels il va livrer sa personne et tout son peuple. Auprès, sont Ucalégon, Clytius, fils de Laomédon. Cassandre, éperdue, ne pouvant obtenir de confiance, se précipite sur les genoux de son père pour lui fermer le passage. Polydamas et un autre chef de Troyens se prosternent devant lui, et le supplient de ne pas les abandonner. (*Iliade, Chant XXII.*)

Ce tableau appartient au Gouvernement.

GAUDAR DE LA VERDINE, Auguste-Alphonse (1780-1804)

161. Ciparisse, jeune chasseur de l'île de Cos, pleure un faon qu'il chérissait, et qu'il avait tué par mégarde. (*Métamorphoses d'Ovide.*)

GAUTHEROT, Pierre-Claude

162. Pyrame et Thisbé. (*Métamorphoses d'Ovide, liv. 4.*)

GIRODET, Anne-Louis

170. Un cadre renfermant 5 dessins, sujets tirés de l'*Andromaque* de Racine.

Oreste vient, de la part des grâces, demander à Pyrrhus qu'il lui livre Astianax; Entrevue d'Oreste et d'Hermione; Pyrrhus ordonne à Andromaque d'aller l'attendre au temple où il doit l'épouser; Hermione abandonnée de Pyrrhus, le menace de sa vengeance; Oreste, après avoir tué Pyrrhus par l'ordre d'Hermione, se présente à elle: Hermione lui reproche son crime.

Ces dessins appartiennent au C. Didot aîné, et sont destinés à la nouvelle édition in-folio des *Œuvres de Racine* qu'il prépare, actuellement sous presse.

HENNEQUEIN, Philippe-Auguste

185. Les remords d'Oreste.

La longue absence d'Oreste du palais de son père, lui avait facilité les moyens de rentrer dans Argos sans y être reconnu. Comme étranger, Pilade et lui visitant les lieux chers de leur naissance, arrivent près d'une fontaine. Là, ils aperçoivent une personne accablée par l'affliction et la douleur; ils s'approchent d'elle et Oreste lui demande des nouvelles d'Agamemnon, Clytemnestre son épouse, et d'Electre, leur fille chérie: il va même jusqu'à en demander d'Oreste. C'est alors que les larmes coulerent de ses yeux et la firent reconnaître à son frère qui ne tarda pas à se découvrir pour le fils d'Agamemnon. Electre lui apprit aussi-tôt les malheurs qu'elle avait éprouvés, et l'affreux patricide que Clytemnestre avait commis sur son mari pour épouser Egyste son amant. Livré à la douleur la plus profonde, excité par la vengeance que sa sœur alimente, Oreste prépare tout pour immoler Clytemnestre aux manes d'Agamemnon. Déjà le moment est arrivé: la main d'Oreste a frappé.... Clytemnestre n'est plus! ... Ce crime qui révolte la nature, les lois et les Dieux, trouble sans cesse le repos d'Oreste. Poursuivi par ses remords, qui le chassent et le retiennent, déchiré par les furies qui l'accablent de coups, il ne peut se cacher à lui-même. Sans cesse une d'elles est occupée à lui montrer le poignard encore plongé dans le sein maternel, spectacle affreux que lui seul aperçoit, qu'il voudrait éviter, mais que le sort le condamne à voir, jusqu'à ce que les lois d'Athènes l'aient absous de son crime.

HONNET, Alexandre-Romain

190. Pyrame et Thisbé reconnus par leurs parents.

HUE, Jean-François

194. Un paysage agreste; on y voit Œdipe et Antigone traversant un torrent sur un pont de bois.

JULIEN, Simon (feu)

215. Titon et l'Aurore, au moment où la Déesse sort des bras de son époux pour commencer dans son char sa course qu'elle parseme de fleurs.

Nota. Ce tableau avait été fait pour la réception de l'auteur à la ci-devant Académie de peinture, dont il était membre agréé; les circonstances avaient changé sa destination.

216. Jupiter endormi dans les bras de Junon sur le mont Ida.

217. Figures académique, sous le même numéro, l'un un Bacchus et l'autre un berger.

219. Venus blessée par Diomède. Dessin.

220. Le *Quos ego* de Virgile, ou colère de Neptune contre les vents. Dessin.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

224. La muse Erato, tableau sur marbre.

228. Une esquisse représentant les enfans de Niobé, tués par Apollon et Latone.

LE DRU, Hilaire 1769-1840)

186. Etude d'une Querculane.

Nymphe des bois, dont la vie est attachée à celle des chênes, à la conservation desquels elles président particulièrement.

C'est avec d'inutiles efforts que celle-ci voudrait ne point se séparer de son écorce frappée par la foudre.

MEYNIER, Charles

266. Télémaque pressé par Mentor, quitte l'île de Calypso en se dégageant des bras de la nymphe Eucharis qui cherche à le retenir auprès d'elle.

Dans le même instant, Calypso arrive de la chasse, accompagnée de plusieurs de ses nymphes. Elle est témoin des regrets des deux amans ; une jalousie terrible et concentrée se peint sur son visage.

267. Polymnie, muse qui préside à l'éloquence ; elle est représentée à la tribune, un diadème est sur sa tête, un sceptre est à côté d'elle.

268. Erato, muse qui préside à la poésie lyrique ; elle est représentée par une jeune fille couronnée de fleurs ; elle trace, avec une des flèches de l'amour, des vers qu'il semble lui inspirer.

Ces deux tableaux servent à compléter les neuf Muses, dont trois ont été exposées il y a deux ans.

MONSIAU, Nicolas-André

275. Adonis partant pour la chasse.

Venus ne voulant pas se séparer de son cher Adonis, et pressentant les dangers qu'il va courir, employe et prières et caresses pour le retenir auprès d'elle.

ROGER, Pierre-Louis [Élève de Regnault, rue Grange-Batelière, n.3]

318. Zéphir enlevant Psyché endormie. Dessin.

SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph

332. Deux petits bas-reliefs peints en porcelaine avec couleurs du C. Dihl. L'un représente Minerve donnant une leçon de folie ; l'autre, Vénus donnant une leçon de sagesse.

SCHELL [Peintre, rue du Marché-neuf, n.9.]

722. Un paysage historique.

La sybille interrogée par Enée, lui indique le chemin des enfers par lequel il doit descendre pour aller chercher le *rameau d'or*.

TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph

723. Andromaque offrant des dons funèbres à la cendre d'Hector.

« Andromaque offrait des dons funèbres à la cendre d'Hector, près de la ville de Buthrote, dans un bois sacré qu'arrosait un ruisseau, auquel elle avait donné le nom de Simois. C'est là qu'elle appelait les manes de son cher Hector, à qui elle avait élevé un tombeau de gazon au milieu de deux autels ; triste objet qui entretenait sa douleur et faisait sans cesse couler ses larmes. »

Enéide, liv. III.

Ce tableau est un des travaux d'encouragement

VERNET, Carle

374. La mort d'Hyppolite. Dessin.

WALLAERT, Pierre-Joseph (1753/55-c.1812)

383. Le déluge.

1801 (An IX)

ANSIAUX, Jean-Joseph-Eléonore-Antoine

4. Sapho.

5. Léda.

BELLE, Augustin-Louis

15. Emblème de la paix.

Mars recevant les caresses de Vénus, et couronné par elle de myrte et de lauriers.

Ce tableau est un prix d'encouragement.

BOICHOT, Guillaume

28. Achille plongé dans les eaux du Stix. Dessin.

29. Bacchus et Cérès. Dessin.

30. Mars et Vénus surpris par Vulcain. Dessin.

31. Le jugement de Pâris. Dessin.

33. Réunion des divinités champêtres. Dessin.

34. Une pompe isiaque, d'après le songe d'Apulée dans son Ane d'or. Dessin.

BOUCHET, Louis-André-Gabriel (1759-1842)

37. Cléobule donnant des leçons de sagesse à sa fille.

BOSIO, Jean-François

702. La mort d'Anchise.

Enée arrivé au port de Drépane, fait descendre le corps de son père du vaisseau, pour lui rendre les derniers devoirs. Il dit : Vous m'avez donc abandonné en ce lieu, mon père, et c'est en vain que j'avais su vous sauver de tant de périls. Ni le devin Héléna, ni la Céléno, parmi tant de funestes prédictions, ne m'avaient point préparé à une perte si sensible.

BOUNIEU, Emilie

40. Bacchante.

BROC, Jean

45. La mort d'Hyacinthe.

BROCAS, Charles (1774-1835)

46. Apollon instruisant Cyparisse.

Chassé du Ciel, ce Dieu fut contraint de garder les troupeaux d'Admète, roi de Thessalie. Il avait pris en affection le jeune Cyparisse à qui il montrait à jouer de la flûte.

L'instant représenté est celui où le berger venant de faire un faux ton, est repris par Apollon qui chante lui-même. La figure de Cyparisse exprime le regret de sa faute, et le désir de s'instruire.

A leurs pieds repose la biche chérie de Cyparisse, réveillée par les sons mélodieux d'Apollon.

Le fond offre un paysage avec une fontaine consacrée au Dieu Pan, et un rocher au pied duquel est déposée une lyre, instrument que le Dieu inventa chez Admète.

CALLET, Antoine-François

49. Le Dix-huit Brumaire, tableau allégorique.

Le vaisseau de l'Etat surgit au port ; des lauriers lui servent d'amarres et l'attachent fortement au rivage. A bord du vaisseau on remarque les trophées les plus chers aux amis des Arts : les chevaux de Venise, le Laocoon, l'Apollon du Belvédère, le Lantin, la Transfiguration de Raphaël ; les richesses littéraire du Vatican. A côté, sont des piles de drapeaux ennemis, sur le drapeau impérial, à demi déployé, une branche d'olivier est jetée en signe de paix. En avant et au-dessus du vaisseau, s'élève la France victorieuse montrant le symbole de la paix promise au 18 brumaire. Elle est portée sur le pavois militaire, soutenu par quinze Renommées qui représentent les armées de la République. Une de ces figures, qui, sous le costume égyptien, accompagne la France de plus près, semble annoncer des merveilles récentes. Plus loin, le Tems, privé de sa

faulx, garde un bouclier où sont inscrits les noms des héros morts les premiers pour la patrie. Autour du Témis sont les Génies, distingués par les symboles de la gloire et de l'immortalité, qui viennent couvrir de lauriers et de palmes l'épithaphe des héros. Sur le devant du tableau, le gouvernement sous la forme d'Hercule, embrasse le faisceau départemental, enfoncé dans un roc ; il foule aux pieds et comprime sous le poids de sa massue les monstres ennemis de l'ordre et de la paix. En vain le léopard britannique sème les guinées autour des monstres expirans. La Discorde fuit aux premiers rayons d'une aurore nouvelle. L'époque mémorable de Brumaire est marquée par le signe du Sagittaire qu'on aperçoit au ciel.

CHANTILLON [Peintre, rue Saint-Florentin, n.6.]

68. Départ de Bacchus et Ariane de l'île de Naxos, grand camée.

GROS, Antoine-Jean (1771-1835)

164. Sapho à Leucate.

HONNET, Alexandre-Romain

176. Pyrame et Thisbé retrouvés par leurs parens.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

214. Le premier homme et la première femme.

L'on suppose le premier homme à son réveil, couché à côté d'un buisson de roses, qui se métamorphose en une créature qui fixe ses regards et excite son admiration. La première femme enfin naît de la reine des fleurs. Elle palpe une rose qui ne lui répond qu'en exhalant ses parfums. Elle touche son cœur, et l'Amour, en l'animant d'une flamme céleste, lui fait sentir que ses battemens sont l'effet du premier sentiment de l'objet qui la contemple, et qui doit faire son bonheur. Le lion qui lui lèche les pieds est l'emblème de la force soumise à la beauté.

215. Hélène et Pâris.

Hélène, dans son appartement, est entourée de ses femmes qui travaillent à la broderie, tandis qu'Hector vient faire des reproches à Pâris de son inaction, et lui ordonne de venir au combat, et défendre sa patrie.

MEYNIER, Charles

247. La muse Erato écrivant sous la dictée de l'Amour.

Elle est représentée par une jeune fille couronnée de fleurs. L'Amour est auprès d'elle qui lui prête ses traits, avec lesquels elle écrit les vers qu'il semble lui indiquer.

Ce tableau fait suite à ceux exposés aux Salons derniers, et est destiné, ainsi que les autres, à décorer une galerie à Toulouse.

NOËL, Alexandre-Jean (1752-1834)

259. bis. Sapho au printemps de son âge, va dans une forêt consacrée offrir sa lyre à Apollon.

PALLIÈRE, Etienne (1761-1820)

260. Sacrifice à l'Amour.

PERRIN, Jean-Charles-Nicaise

262. Phaon transformé en jeune homme.

Vénus voulant douer Phaon de charmes capables d'enflammer Sapho, lui donna l'essence divine avec laquelle elle lui conseilla de se transformer. Il n'eut pas plutôt exécuté ses ordres, qu'il fut saisi d'étonnement en voyant son changement. L'Amour, par un sourire, témoigne à sa mère le plaisir qu'il en ressent.

PILLEMENT, Victor (1767-1814)

270. Driope, nymphe d'Arcadie, métamorphosée en arbre, pour avoir arrachée une branche de lotus. Dessin.

ROLLAND, Benjamin de (1777-1855)

711. L'enlèvement d'Iphigénie par Oreste et Pylade.

Oreste, contraint par l'oracle d'Apollon de se transporter dans la Tauride, fut arrêté avec Pylade, par les ordres de Thoas, roi de cette contrée, et condamné, ainsi que son ami, à être sacrifié à Diane. Iphigénie, prêtresse de cette Déesse, ayant reconnu son frère au moment qu'elle allait l'immoler, s'enfuit avec eux, emportant la statue de Diane.

L'Artiste a saisi le moment où, sous le prétexte de purifier la statue et les victimes dans l'eau de la mer, la prêtresse se sauve avec elles dans un vaisseau, malgré tous les efforts des gardes du prince pour la retenir.

SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph

305. Deux ronds en marbre blanc, sous le même numéro, représentant un Satyre et une Bacchante, éclairés de reflet, destinés à être placés sur des portes.

VERGNAUX, Nicolas-Joseph (active c.1798-1818)

354. La grotte de Neptune.

Ce Dieu, assis sur le gazon avec deux nymphes, écoute les chants d'un styre et de plusieurs enfans qui jouent de divers instrumens.

1802 (An X)

AUZOU, Pauline (née Desmarquets)

7. L'Amour dissipant les alarmes.

En l'absence du guerrier qu'elle adore, troublée par un songe qui le lui représente Infidelle, Thélaira vole au temple de l'Amour, et lui immole deux tendres colombes qu'elle-même avait élevées. Ce Dieu touché de sa douleur et de son sacrifice, se présente et lui fait voir son amant regardant avec tendresse le portrait qu'elle lui donna à son départ ; dans son ravissement, elle s'écrie : Il respire !... et il m'aime !...

BEAUNIER, Firmin-Hyppolyt (1782-c.1824)

731. Thésée apprend le secret de sa naissance.

Extr. De Plutarq. Vie de Thésée (VI traduc. d'Amyot.

« Thésée, arrivé qu'il fut aux premiers ans de sa jeunesse, et qu'il monstra avec la force du corps avoir une grandeur de courage, jointe à une prudence naturelle et à un sens rassis, à donc sa mère Oethra, fille de Pitthée, roi de Trézène, dont Egée, roi d'Athènes, avoit obtenu les faveurs, en revenant de Delphes, le mena au lieu où estoit la grosse pierre creuse ; et lui déclarant au vrai le farce de sa naissance, et par qui il avoit esté engendré, lui fit prendre les enseignes de la recognoissance que son père y avoit cachées, et lui conseilla de s'en aller par mer devers lui à Athènes. »

Une des suivantes de la reine veille à ce que personne ne vienne troubler le mystère qui doit régner dans cette scène, à raison de la haine que les Pallantides portent à la race d'Egée.

BELLONI, Mille [Peintre, rue de la Montagne Sainte-Genève.]

15. Bacchante de l'Herculanum, avec le fond de mosaïque.

BONIEU, Emilie

34. Tableau représentant Psyché.

Psyché prête à sortir du souterrain qui l'a conduite aux Enfers, ne peut résister au désir d'ouvrir la boîte de fard de Proserpine ; il en sort une fumée noir et fuligineuse. *Lafontaine.*

BROCAS, Charles

36. L'Amour endormi rêve que Psyché est près de lui.

L'instant est celui où ayant inutilement levé le bras pour la saisir, il le laisse retomber.

BUGUET, Henri (1761-1833)

900. Le mort de Procris dans les bras de Céphale.
 CHANCOURTOIS, René-Louis-Maurice Béguyer de
 50. Jupiter élevé par les Curètes et les Corybantes, dans les grottes de l'île de Crète, où il fut allaité par la chèvre Amalthée.
 CHÉRY, Philippe (1759-1838)
 59. Mercure devient amoureux d'Hersé, fille de Cécrops, fondateur d'Athènes, lorsqu'assise au milieu de ses compagnes et ses sœurs, Aglaure et Pandrose, elle est occupée à tresser des guirlandes de fleurs.
 COSWAY, Maria Louisa Catherine Cecilia (1759-1838)
 963. Eros ou l'Amour debroui lait le Chaos ; sujet tiré de la Theogonie d'Hésiode.
 DANLOUX, Henri-Pierre (1753-1809)
 965. Un épisode du Déluge.
 DELAFONTAINE, Pierre-Maximilien (1774-1860)
 70. Jupiter endormi dans les bras de Junon, sur le Mont Ida.
 DESHAYES, Jean-Eléazar
 738. Œdipe trouvé par le berger Phorbas. Paysage.
 FLEURY, Antoine-Claude
 100. Un Amour traçant un serment de fidélité sur le sable, au bord de la mer.
 FONTALLARD, Jean-François-Gérard (1777-1858)
 739. Une Nymphé essayant la flûte de Pan. Grande Miniature.
 GAREIS, Franz (1775-1803)
 712. Orphée redemandant Euridice à Pluton et à Proserpine.
 GROHAIN, Pierre-Joseph (1780-1872)
 120. Enée déterminant son père Anchise à quitter sa patrie et à se sauver en Italie, au moment de l'embrasement de Troie. Dessin.
 GUÉRIN, Pierre (1774-1833)
 121. Phèdre et Hyppolite.
 Accusé par Phèdre d'avoir conçu pour elle une passion criminelle, et d'avoir tenté de la satisfaire par la force, Hyppolite paraît devant son père, et répond aux reproches menaçans dont celui-ci l'accable, par ces vers admirables de Racine :
 D'un mensonge si noir justement irrité,
 Je devrais faire ici parler la vérité,
 Seigneur : mais je supprime un secret qui vous touche.
 Approuvez le respect qui me ferme la bouche ;
Phèdre, Acte IV, Scène II.
 HERSENT, Louis (1777-1860)
 910. Narcisse changé en fleur.
 HUGLER, Etienne [Peintre, place des Trois-Maries, n.53.]
 717. Sapho se précipitant dans la mer.
 718. Daphnis et Philis dans un paysage
 Sujet tiré des *Idylles de Gessner*.
 IMBAULT [Élève de Vincent et Vestier, rue Saint-Denis, nos. 134 et 31.]
 136. Le repos d'une Bacchante.
 Une Bacchante profite du revers d'une fontaine pour se soustraire à l'ardeur du soleil et se reposer au frais
 137. Un Amour menaçant.

JACOB, Nicolas-Henri (1782-1871)

139. Les trois principaux passages de la vie humaine. Dessin.

L'Amour tenant la quenouille, inspire Clotho qui file les jours de l'homme. Elle est assise sur un berceau et, ainsi que l'Amour, entourée de fleurs, emblème du premier âge et de la fraîcheur du printemps de la vie.

La laborieuse Lachésis devide la trame. Les cailloux, la lyre et le chardon, représentent la peine et les difficultés attachées à la vie. Plus loin, le Génie de la philosophie, ami de la Nature, suivant le fil, en examine le tissu, et regarde avec tranquillité l'instant où la cruelle Atropos va trancher le fil.

Le Génie est entouré de fruits, désignant par là, que la philosophie est le résultat de l'âge mûr et d'une étude continuelle. Le vieux tronc est l'emblème de la décrépitude. Atropos est assise sur un fragment du Temple de la Guerre. La terrasse aride conduit à un hibou, qui, sur une urne presque enterrée, représente la nuit éternelle du tombeau.

KRAFFT, Johann-Peter (1780-1856)

745. Œdipe et Antigone.

LACOUR, Pierre (1745-1814)

157. Orphée et Euridice sortant des enfers, au moment où il se tourne et la perd pour jamais.

Esquisse peinte.

LAFOND, Charles-Nicolas-Raphael (1774-1835)

159. Rencontre de Télémaque et d'Eucharis à la chasse.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

915. Le tombeau de Daphnis.

MARILLIER, Clément-Pierre (1740-1808)

204. Les quatre saisons. Dessins sous le même numéro.

Le Printemps, offrande à l'Amour ; l'Été, Diane et ses Nymphes au bain ; l'Automne, le triomphe de Silène ; l'Hiver, sacrifice au Dieu Pan.

MONGEZ, Angélique (1775-1855)

207. Astyanax arraché à sa mère.

Lorsque les Grecs entrèrent dans Troie, Andromaque renferma, selon quelques traditions, son fils Astyanax dans le tombeau de son père Hector. Ulysse l'apprit, força l'asile de ce malheureux enfant, et le fit arracher des bras de sa mère pour le précipiter du haut des murs de Troie.

MORIÉS, J. (c.1760-c.1812)

212. Alphée et Aréthuse.

La nymphe Aréthuse revenant de la forêt de Stymphale, fatiguée de la chasse et de la chaleur du jour, arrive sur les bords d'un ruisseau limpide. La beauté des eaux, qui étaient si calmes et si claires, que l'on eût pu compter les cailloux qui étaient dans le fond ; de grands saules que l'eau du ruisseau entretenait toujours verts, formaient un ombrage charmant. D'abord timide et craintive, Aréthuse rejette ensuite les alarmes de la pudeur, dépose son arc, son carquois et tous ses vêtements pour se plonger toute nue dans le fleuve.

Bientôt elle croit entendre un léger murmure au fond des eaux, effrayée elle gagne le rivage.

Alphée est debout, et sans être encore aperçu de la nymphe, enflammé à la vue de ses charmes, il est prêt à s'écrier : *Où fuyez-vous, belle Aréthuse ?*

Ovide, *Metam.*, liv. 5.

ODEVAERE, Joseph-Denis (1778-1830)

917. Cyparisse venant de tuer son jeune cerf.

PEYTAVIN, Jean-Baptiste (1767-1855)

233. Les sept Athéniennes livrées au Minotaure.

L'auteur a supposé qu'afin d'épargner à ces victimes, jusqu'au moment fatal, l'idée horrible du sort qui leur est réservé, on les a conduites jusque dans le vestibule du Labyrinthe de Crète, aux pieds de la statue de Jupiter, sous le prétexte de faire des offrandes et des sacrifices à cette divinité, à laquelle on rendait un culte particulier dans cette île, et que c'est au moment où elles se disposaient à remplir ce devoir religieux, que le Minotaure les aperçoit, paraît et se précipite sur l'une d'elles pour la dévorer.

QUEYLAR, Paul du (1771-1845)

730. Danaë et son fils Persée.

Acrisius, roi d'Argos, averti par l'oracle qu'il périrait par la main de son petit-fils, fit enfermer Danaë, sa fille unique, dans une tour d'airain. Mais Jupiter changé en pluie d'or, triompha de cet obstacle, et Danaë mit au monde Persée. Acrisius, pour échapper à la prédiction, condamna la mère et l'enfant à mourir exposés sur une frêle planche à la merci des vents et des flots.

Le moment est celui où Danaë ayant perdu de vue le rivage, invoque Jupiter, père de son fils et auteur de ses maux, et semble lui reprocher de l'avoir abandonnée.

REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste

919. Alceste.

Alceste, accusée d'avoir eu part au meurtre de Pélidas, fut poursuivie par Acaste son frère, qui fit la guerre à Admète, le fit prisonnier, et allait venger sur lui le crime des filles de Pélidas, lorsque la généreuse Alceste alla s'offrir volontairement au vainqueur pour sauver son époux. Acaste emmenait déjà à Yolchos la reine de Thessalie, dans le dessin de l'immoler aux manes de son père, lorsque Hercule, à la prière d'Admète, ayant poursuivi Acaste, l'atteignit au-delà du fleuve Achéron, le défait et lui enleva Alceste pour la rendre à son mari.

ROQUES, Joseph (1754-1847)

922. Narcisse est métamorphosé en fleur ; la nymphe Echo pleure sa mort.

984. Narcisse changé en fleur.

ROSSET-L'ETOURVILLE, A.-F.-C. [Peintre, rue de Limoges, n.7.]

257. L'entrevue de Télémaque et de Pénélope, à Ithaque.

SUAU, Jean (1758-1856)

262. Hercule assommant le fameux brigand Cacus, qui lui avait volé des bœufs. Dessin.

263. Hercule. Dessin.

Revêtu de la chemise empoisonnée et dans la souffrance, aperçoit Lychas qui lui avait apporté ce funeste présent ; il le saisit par le bras, le fait tourner en l'air, et le précipite dans la mer.

VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin (c.1777-1838)

280. La mort de Jocaste.

Œdipe ayant appris combien il était coupable, incestueux, parricide, voulut terminer ses maux et se punir de ses crimes ; mais la mort lui paraissant un supplice trop doux, il résolut de vivre, mais de vivre malheureux. Il se crève les yeux du même fer dont il voulait se donner la mort ; et fuyant de Thèbes, il fut arrêté par les cris et les derniers adieux de sa mère et épouse Jocaste, qui s'était frappée de l'épée qu'il avait jetée sur la place. Ses deux filles, Antigone et Ismène, tombent évanouies sur le sein de leurs malheureux parents. L'Hiérophante ajoute encore à leur maux, en appelant sur eux la colère des Dieux. Quelques Thébains, saisis d'horreur, fuient et remercient les Dieux du terme qu'ils mettent à la peste que le crime d'Œdipe avait attirée sur leur ville.

1804 (An XII)

BLANCHARD, Laurent (1762-1819)

37. Le mariage d'Hercule avec Hébé.

BOUCHET, Louis-André-Gabriel

53. Pâris donnant la pomme à la plus belle.

BOUNIEU, Emilie

58. Vénus blessée par Diomède, est soutenue par Iris qui l'entraîne loin du camp des Grecs, et la conduit vers le char du dieu Mars.

BOURGEOIS, Albert-Paul (d.1812)

905. Le berger Philitas fait connaître à Daphnis et à Chloé ce que c'est que l'amour.

CHANCOURTOIS, René-Louis-Maurice Béguyer de

91. Paysage. Temps orageux.

Le sujet des figures est Apollon et Diane poursuivant les enfans d'Amphion et de Niobé dans un hippodrome, dont on voyait encore les restes du tems de Pausanias, hors la porte Pratide de Thèbes.

COURTEILLE

110. Persée et Andromède.

Après avoir changé le monstre en rochers, et brisé les chaînes d'Andromède, qui rend grâces aux Dieux de sa délivrance, Persée transporté d'amour et plein de respect, la remet entre les bras de ses parens qui la lui donnent pour épouse.

DEVILLERS, Georges [Élève de David, place Dauphine, n.19.]

130. Enée sauvant son père de l'embrasement de Troie.

« Nous entendions à travers les murs les éclats du feu ; déjà la flamme les perçait et se montrait à nos yeux. Allons, mon père, lui dis-je, passez vos bras autour de mon cou, je vous porterai sur mes épaules ; ce fardeau ne me sera point pesant : quoiqu'il arrive, salut, danger, tout nous sera commun. Que le jeune Ascagne marche à mes côtés ; ma femme suivra nos pas à peu de distance. »

Enéide, liv. 2.

DUBOST, Antoine (1769-1825)

143. Pastorale.

Sujet tiré de l'idylle d'Amyntas, de Gessner.

DUCQ, Joseph-François

147. Sujet de la vie de Méléagre.

Tiré du 9^e livre de l'*Iliade*.

DUMONT, François (1751-1831)

157. Une Hébé.

DUPRÉ, Augustin (1748-1833)

165. Diane et Calisto. Dessin

Les nymphes découvrent à Diane le malheur arrivé à Calisto, et cette déesse la chasse.

DUVIVIER, Bernard (1762-1837)

172. Hector pleuré par les Troyens et sa famille.

174. Une Hébé. Aquarelle.

ERRANTE, Giuseppe (1760-1821)

907. Psyché rappelée à la vie par l'Amour.

909. Endymion.

FLEURY, Antoine-Claude

176. Thésée allant combattre le Minotaure, et recevant d'Ariane la pelote de fil qui doit lui servir à se retrouver dans le labyrinthe.

FORESTIER, Marie-Anne-Julie (b.1789)

184. Minerve, déesse de la sagesse et des beaux-arts, unissant leurs divers attributs, les enlace d'une guirlande de laurier dont elle serre les nœuds.

GARNIER, Étienne-Barthélémy

193. Des nymphes qui se reposent.

GIRODET, Anne-Louis

212. Un cadre renfermant 5 sujets de la *Phèdre* de Racine. Dessins.

1. Phèdre avoue à Oenone son amour pour Hippolyte.
2. Phèdre, après avoir déclaré sa passion, veut se tuer avec l'épée d'Hippolyte.
3. Phèdre se refuse aux embrassemens de Thésée.
4. Imprécations de Thésée contre son fils.
5. Mort de Phèdre.

GRANDIN, Jacques-Louis-Michel (1780-c.1814)

217. Daphnis frappé d'aveuglement.

Daphnis, fils de Mercure, fut berger dans les riches campagnes de la Sicile. Il devint éperduement amoureux d'une jeune nymphe qu'il obtint des Dieux. En leur présence, ils demandèrent que celui des deux qui trahirait la foi conjugale, devînt aveugle. Daphnis ayant oublié son serment, et s'étant épris d'une nouvelle nymphe, fut privé de la vue au même instant.

GREUZE, Jean-Baptiste (1725-1805)

220. Ariane dans l'île de Naxos.

HENRI, Ambroise [Élève de Regnault, rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, nos. 10 et 47.]

229. Achille abordant au rivage de Troie.

J'aurais trop de regret si quelqu'autre guerrier

Au rivage troien descendait le premir.

Figure d'étude.

HERSENT, Louis

230. Achille livrant Briséis aux hérauts d'Agamemnon.

LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques

258. Apollon et Diane frappant Niobé et ses enfans.

LAURENT, Jean-Antoine

273. L'Amour endormi au fond d'une coupe de cristal, dont le pied est environné de vigne et de myrte.

LENOIR, Adélaïde (née Binart) (1771-1832)

304. Euterpe dans un fond de paysage.

MARLET, Jean-Henri (1771-1847)

313. L'enlèvement de Briséis.

315. Orphée jouant de la lyre. Dessin.

316. Chasse de Diane. Dessin.

MAYER, Constance (1775-1821)

319. Le mépris des richesses, ou l'Innocence entre l'Amour et la Fortune.

MONSIAU

326. L'éducation de l'Amour.

MOREAU, Jean-Michel

334. Cadre renfermant 12 dessins, sujets tirés des Métamorphoses d'Ovide.

PAJOU, Jacques-Augustin

352. Œdipe.

Il repousse avec indignation son fils Polynice, qui implore son pardon ; et Antigone sollicite la grâce de son frère.

PALLIÈRE, Etienne

920. Pan et Syrinx.

PASTOR [Peintre.]

359. L'arrivée de Tydée et de Polynice à la cour d'Argos, au moment où les princesses royales Argie et Déiphile leur sont présentées. Esquisse.

L'oracle avait prédit que les filles d'Adraste, roi d'Argos, seraient mariées l'une à un lion et l'autre à un sanglier. Polynice et Tydée se présentent chez lui vêtus de la peau de ces deux animaux, Adraste leur présente les princesses pour éprouver si c'était ainsi que l'oracle devait s'accomplir. *Thébaïde*.

Thebaïde.

PELLIER, Pierre-Edme-Louis (active 1800-1827)

362. Calypso recevant dans son île Télémaque et Mentor.

« Cependant Calypso se rejouissait d'un naufrage qui mettait dans son île le fils d'Ulysse si semblable à son père ; elle s'avance vers lui, et sans faire semblant de savoir qui il est, d'où vous vient, lui dit-elle, cette témérité d'aborder en mon île ? Sachez, jeune étranger, qu'on ne vient point impunément dans mon empire. Elle tâchait de couvrir sous ses paroles menaçantes la joie de son cœur, qui éclatait malgré elle sur son visage. »

SABLET, Jacques-Henri (1749-1803)

413. Une bacchante.

SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph

418. Une bacchante faisant danser des enfans.

Bas-relief éclairé de reflet, imitant la terre cuite.

SERANGELI, Gioacchino Giuseppe

424. La naissance de Vénus.

425. Orphée suppliant.

Les divinités infernales, entraînés par la puissance de sa lyre, lui accordent Eurydice.

Le tableau représente le moment où l'ombre d'Eurydice, touchée par une des parques, commence à revenir à la vie.

TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph

445. Hercule ramenant Alceste à Admète.

Alceste s'était dévouée à la mort pour sauver Admète. Hercule l'arrache aux enfers et la conduit à son époux ; il a lui présente voilée, lui dit que c'est un esclave, le prix de ses travaux ; il l'engage à la recevoir dans son palais ; Admète, après quelque résistance, s'approche de l'inconnue pour l'y conduire ; Hercule la dévoile : Admète reconnaît Alceste.

VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin

466. Mort d'Œdipe.

Œdipe se croyant appelé à la mort par les Dieux, arrive accompagné de ses filles, au chemin où Thésée et Pirithoüs s'étaient jurés une fidélité éternelle. Là, s'étant revêtu de la robe que l'on donnait aux morts, les bras élevés vers le ciel, et implorant pour elles la bonté des Dieux, il leur dit, après les avoir embrassées : Mes filles, vous n'avez plus de père, j'achève de mourir, je vous quitte enfin pour toujours.

VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de

472. Paysage représentant une partie de la vallée de Tempé, et la danse de Thésée.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine

478. Vénus traversant les mers pour se rendre auprès d'Adonis.

479. Marche de Silène et des Bacchantes.

VERGNAUX, Nicolas-Joseph

515. Paysage.

Les jeunes filles d'Athènes, revenant du temple de Pallas, offrir leurs offrandes, Mercure guidé par l'Amour, considère avec admiration la belle Hersé, et conçoit pour elle la plus vive passion.

Métam. d'Ovide.

VESTIER, Antoine (1740-1824)

523. Une bacchante tenant une coupe de vin.

1806

BACLÈRE D'ALBE, Louis-Albert-Guislain (1761-1824)

12. Un paysage.

Vers la fin du siège de Troie, Pâris blessé mortellement, se souvient qu'Oenone qu'il avait aimée, et qu'il avait trahie pour suivre Hélène, avait reçu d'Apollon la science de guérir les blessures, il se fait transporter sur le mont Ida, implore les soins d'Oenone; cette nymphe indignée refuse ses secours à l'infidèle, et rejette les sollicitations de ses compagnes : Bientôt Pâris expire à ses yeux.

BERTIER, Louis-Marie (b.1769)

32. Le reveil d'Ariane.

Ariane délaissée par Thésée dans l'île de Naxos, après s'être abandonnée à son désespoir, vaincue par la fatigue, s'est endormie. Bacchus la voit, en devient amoureux et l'épouse.

BOICHOT, Guillaume

45. Mars et Venus surpris par Vulcain. Dessin.

BOISFREMONT, Charles Boulanger de (1773-1838)

330. Les reproches d'Hector à Pâris.

BOUNIEU, Emilie

56. Pigmalion amoureux de sa statue.

BUGUET, Henri

80. Psyché, après avoir fait des présents à ses sœurs, leur fait entendre un concert.

CASTELLAN, Antoine-Laurent

87. Un paysage.

Télémaque de retour à Ithaque, reconnaît son père chez le fidèle Eumée.

DEMARAIS [Élève de M. Doyen, résidant à Florence.]

140. Les hérauts d'Agamemnon emmènent Briséis de la tente d'Achille.

DUMONT, François

178. Atalante vaincue à la course par Hippomène.

DUVIVIER, Bernard

184. Borée enlevant Orithie, fille d'Erechtée, roi d'Athènes

185. Apollon et les Muses. Dessin.

FABRE, François-Xavier (1766-1837)

191. La sixième églogue de Virgile.

FLEURY, Antoine-Claude

196. Le songe d'Oreste.

Déchiré de remords pour avoir assassiné sa mère, il se jette sur un lit croyant y trouver le repos ; mais les furies le poursuivent jusques dans son sommeil : l'une lui montre Clytemnestre un poignard dans le sein ; l'autre veut lui faire boire la coupe ensanglantée, et la dernière l'accuse, et le fustige avec des serpens.

198. Vénus et Adonis dans l'instant où il est prêt de partir pour la chasse.

FRANQUE, Joseph (1774-1833)

207. Hercule arrachant Alceste des enfers.

Arrivé aux portes du jour, il jette un dernier regard aux Puissances infernales.

GIRODET, Anne-Louis

223. Scène du déluge.

Une famille est prête à être engloutie par la tempête.

GRANDIN, Jacques-Louis-Michel

230. Télémaque, pasteur en Egypte.

Le moment représenté est celui où les bergers des environs viennent en foule écouter la douceur de ses chants.

HARRIET, Fulcran-Jean

244. Hylas enlevé par les nymphes.

245. Héro et Léandre. Dessin.

LA FITTE, Louis (1770-1828)

291. Vulcain, Mars, et Vénus. Frise.

LANDON, Charles-Paul

306. Léda, Pollux et Hélène.

LAURANT, Jean-Antoine

317. L'Amour soufflant une lampe.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

324. L'Amour perché sur un arbre, lançant ses traits.

LEMONNIER, Anicet-Charles-Gabriel (1743-1824)

349. Départ d'Ulysse et de Pénélope pour Ithaque.

Icatius, roi de Lacédémone, ayant marié sa fille Pénélope à Ulysse, ne cessa de les conjurer de ne le point abandonner ; les voyant en chemin pour aller à Ithaque, il les suivit en redoublant ses prières.

Ulysse vaincu par cette importunité, donna le choix à son épouse ou de le suivre ou retourner à Lacédémone avec son père : pour toute réponse, elle se contenta de laisser tomber son voile sur son visage.

Icatius la laissa partir ; et fit ériger en ce lieu même où coule le fleuve Eurotas, une statue à la Pudeur.

MARLET, Jean-Henri

370. Les Nymphes de Calipso, guidées par l'Amour, allant mettre le feu au vaisseau d'Ulysse. Dessin.

371. La chasse de Télémaque dans l'isle de Calipso. Dessin.

372. Télémaque allant aux enfers. Dessin.

MAYER, Constance

375. Vénus et l'Amour endormis, caressés et réveillés par les zéphyrus.

MENAGEOT, François-Guillaume

379. Supercherie de Vénus.

Vénus avait dérobé à Diane le petit Adonis, que cette déesse faisait élever parmi ses nymphes. Un jour qu'elle revenait de la chasse, elle aperçut Vénus au coin d'un bois, et alla lui demander cet enfant. Vénus l'apercevant de loin, et ne voulant pas le lui rendre, imagina de lui faire croître des ailes, de lui donner en tout la ressemblance de l'Amour ; et lui présentant ensemble ces deux enfans, elle lui dit de choisir : Diane effrayée dans la crainte de prendre l'Amour, lui laissa le petit Adonis.

MONGEZ (née Le Vol)

386. Thésée et Pirithoüs purgeant la terre des brigands, délivrent deux femmes des mains de ces ravisseurs.

PEYRON, Jean-François-Pierre

419. Œdipe à Colone.

Ce prince, soutenu d'Antigone, aveugle, exilé, errant de contrée en contrée, est amené par le hasard à Colone, près du temple et de l'autel des Euménides : là il accable d'imprécations son fils Polynice, pour lequel Ismène, sa sœur, implore son père.

PEYTAVIN, Jean-Baptiste

420. Polixène.

Le moment est celui où Pyrrhus vient l'arracher des bras de sa mère, pour l'immoler sur le tombeau d'Achille.

PROT, Louis (active 1806-1819)

427. Le songe d'Alcione.

SULMONT [Peintre, rue des Fossés-Saint-Jacques, n.20.]

476. Calypso recevant Télémaque et Mentor dans son île.

477. Calypso courant dans la forêt.

VALLAIN, Nanine

516. Sapho chantant un hymne à l'Amour.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine

517. Un paysage représentant une chasse de Diane.

1808

APPIANI, Andrea (1754-1817)

7. Vénus qui caresse l'Amour.

BOISFREMONT, Charles Boulanger de

368. Orphée aux enfers.

Orphée ayant perdu son épouse Euridice le premier jour de ses noces, dans l'excès de sa douleur, descendit la chercher au séjour des ombres, et implorer les divinités infernales qu'il sut toucher par les divins accords de sa lyre.

BOUNIEU, Emilie

65. Psyché.

Ayant endormi, par ses chants, le dragon qui gardait la fontaine, elle saisit l'instant de son sommeil pour y puiser de l'eau.

BOURDON, Pierre-Michel (1778-1841)

68. Télémaque dans l'île de Calypso.

Vénus irritée du mépris que Mentor et Télémaque avaient montré pour son culte, chargea l'Amour de la venger, et le descendit dans l'île. Là, caché sous les traits d'un enfant ordinaire, il inspira à Télémaque de la passion pour la nymphe Eucharis, et excita la jalousie de Calypso.

BRUYÈRE, Elise (née Lebarbier)

81. Sapho assise sur le rocher de Leucade.

DE LA FONTAINE, Rosalie [Peintre, rue du Faubourg-Montmartre, n.75.]

153. L'Amour n'ayant pu blesser Pandrose.

Il vient se plaindre à Venus qui le console en lui conseillant de cacher ses ailes pour réussir. Dans le lointain, Pandrose montre à ses compagnes une flèche de l'Amour qu'elle vient de briser.

DELÉCLUZE, Etienne-Jean (1781-1863)

158. Mort d'Astianax.

Après la prise de Troie, Astianax, fils unique d'Hector et d'Andromaque, donna de l'inquiétude aux Grecs victorieux. Calchas prédit que s'il vivait, il serait plus brave que son père, vengerait sa mort et la ruine d'Ilion dont il releverait les murs. Andromaque cacha son fils, mais Ulysse l'ayant découvert, le fit précipiter du haut des murailles.

L'action se passe à l'instant où Andromaque qui a suivi son fils jusque sur la fatale muraille, fait tous ses efforts pour l'arracher des mains du soldat qui va le précipiter.

Ulysse et Calchas attendent dans l'éloignement l'issue de l'événement, pour se convaincre de la mort d'Astianax.

159. L'enlèvement d'Europe.

DELORAS, François [Peintre.]

160. Œdipe soutenu par Antigone.

DEVILLERS, Georges

180. La mort de Patrocle.

Le moment est celui où Achille après avoir reçu de Thétis sa mère des armes divines et vaincu Hector, retourne auprès du corps de son cher Patrocle.

DUCIS, Louis (1775-1847)

188. Héro et Léandre.

Léandre, amoureux de Héro, passait toutes les nuits l'Hellespont à la nage pour se rendre auprès de son amante, et la quittait aux premiers rayons du jour pour retourner à Abydos, mais il fut un jour surpris par un orage et périt au milieu du trajet. Le moment du tableau représente la dernière séparation de ces deux amans.

189. Orphée et Eurydice.

DUMONT, Joseph-François

198. Psyché enlevée par Zéphyre.

DUSAULCHOY, Charles [Peintre, place du Musée Napoléon, n.21.]

209. L'enlèvement d'Hélène. Dessin.

FABRE, François-Xavier

212. Le jugement de Pâris.

FRAGONARD, Alexandre-Évariste

221. Les fureurs d'Œdipe. Dessin.

FRANQUE, Joseph

225. Daphnis montrant à jouer de la flûte à Chloé.

FREMY, Jacques-Noël-Marie (1782-1867)

226. La Pudeur et l'Amour. Allégorie.

GIACOMELLI, Sophie (1786-1813)

256. Les Athéniens et les Athéniennes tirant au sort pour être envoyés au Minotaure. Dessin.

GRANDIN, Jacques-Louis-Michel

265. Sapho et deux de ses compagnes.

266. Deux nymphes au bain.

GUÉRIN, Pierre

277. Amyntas.

Deux bergers se reposent auprès d'un tombeau une jeune fille qui vient puiser de l'eau à la source qui coule auprès, leur raconte l'histoire du vieux pasteur qui y fut enterré ; il avait planté les arbres qui l'entourent, et conduit la source en ce lieu pour rafraîchir les voyageurs.

Gesner, Idille, t. 3.

GUILLEMARD, Sophie (1780-1819)

278. Lorsque la misère entre par la porte, l'amour s'envole par la fenêtre. *Proverbe anglais.*

LAFITTE, Louis

330. Vulcain, Mars et Vénus. Frise.

LAIR, Jean-Louis-César (1781-1828)

335. Hylas ravi par les nymphes.

LAURENT, Jean-Antoine

356. L'Amour captif.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

363. Antigone où la piété fraternelle.

Après l'horrible combat sous les murs de Thèbes, où Etéocle et Polynice s'entreteurent, Antigone, malgré la défense de Creon, qui s'était emparé du trône, alla chercher, pendant la nuit, le corps de Polynice, son frère, et le traîna sur le bûcher, où était déjà celui d'Etéocle.

365. Une bacchanale.

366. Les *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, dans deux cadres. Dessins.

LE GRAND [Peintre, hôtel de Cluny, rue des Mathurins-Saint-Jacques, n.14.]

373 bis. Vénus sortant du sein des eaux.

LEGUAY, Etienne-Charles (1762-1846)

377. Vénus sur les eaux. Frise.

379. Diane au retour de la chasse. Dessin.

380. La toilette de Vénus.

MALLET, Jean-Baptiste (1759-1835)

403. Une nymphe au bain, environnée d'Amours.

MARLET, Jean-Henri

412. Plusieurs cadres renfermant des dessins, sujets de Télémaque.

MAYER, Constance

417. Le flambeau de Vénus.

Cette déesse à son réveil invite toute sa cour à venir puiser des flammes à son flambeau ; les Amours accourent en foule autour d'elle, leurs expressions et leurs attitudes annoncent les différents caractères de la passion qu'ils inspirent.

MONGEZ, Angélique

435. Orphée aux enfers.

Inconsolable de la perte de sa chère Eurydice, Orphée descend aux enfers pour la demander à Pluton, qui la lui accorde, attendri par les sons touchants de sa lyre.

MONSIAU, Nicolas-André

440. Un cadre contenant plusieurs dessins pour la nouvelle traduction des *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*.

MOREAU, Jean-Michel

441. Un cadre contenant 68 dessins [dont] 4 dessins pour la nouvelle édition in-4 des *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*.

MULLEN, Mlle [Peintre, rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, n.45.]

444. Camille dans le souterrain.

Elle implore le ciel pour son fils prêt à périr de besoin.

PELLIER, Pierre-Edme-Louis

464. Œdipe maudissant son fils.

Polynice supplie son père de lui pardonner son crime, et de lui rendre sa tendresse. Antigone et Ismène emploient les prières les plus pressantes en faveur de leur frère ; mais Œdipe, irrité par la présence de ce fils, assure sa vengeance en le vouant aux Furies.

PERRIN, Jean-Charles-Nicaise

466. Hector reprochant à Pâris son inaction.

PEYTAVIN, Jean-Baptiste

471. Métabus poursuivi, suspend sa fille à son javelot, et la lance au-delà du fleuve. Sujet tiré de l'*Eneide*.

PEYTAVIN, Victor (1773-1849)

472. Les Grecs et les Troyens se disputant le corps de Patrocle.

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul

485. Psyché exposée sur le rocher, est enlevée par les Zéphirs qui la transportent dans la demeure de l'Amour.

QUEYLAR, Paul du

488. Les héros grecs tirant au sort les captifs qu'ils ont faits à Troie.

ROLLAND, Benjamin de

528. Psyché, Vénus et l'Amour.

Jupiter a résolu de mettre un terme à la haine de Vénus, et de couronner les amours de Psyché et de Cupidon, leur hymen vient d'être célébré dans l'Olympe. Vénus docile aux ordres du maître des Dieux introduit Psyché dans le palais de l'Amour. Peu rassurée, elle ne présente à la Déesse qu'une main tremblante, mais l'Amour dissipe ses craintes.

ROQUES, Joseph

537. L'Amour et Psyché. Effet de lampe.

SICARDI, Louis-Marie (1746-1825)

557. L'Amour quêteant des cœurs pour une chanteuse.

VAN DORNE [Peintre, rue de Cléry, n.60.]

596. Vénus blessée par Diomède, va se plaindre à Mars.

1810

ARMAND, Charles (b.1783)

12. L'Amour chassant les mauvais Songes.

BALTARD, Louis-Pierre (1764-1846)

1201. Philoctète dans l'île de Lemnos.

BERTIER, Louis-Marie

66. La toilette de Psyché.

L'Amour ayant obtenu l'aveu de Jupiter pour s'unir à Psyché, descend en terre et trouve sa mère faisant l'office de Grâce autour de cette belle, qu'elle comble de louanges et de caresses.

67. Un faune montrant à jouer de la flûte à une jeune nymphe.

BERTIN, Jean-Victor

74. Autre forêt.

On y voit Apollon et Daphné.

BOLDRINI [Peintre, de Milan.]

99. Le retour d'Ulysse, au moment où il est reconnu par sa nourrice.

BORDIER DU BIGNON, Jacques-Charles (1774-1846)

103. Hippolite exilé par son père.

A peine sorti des portes de Trézène, il est attaqué par un monstre envoyé par Neptune ; tous ses gardes fuient.

Hippolite, lui seul, digne fils d'un héros,

Arrête ses coursiers, saisit ses javelots,

Pousse au monstre, et d'un dard lancé d'une main sûre, etc.

BOUNIEU, Emilie

111. Galatée.

Malo me Galatea. Eglog de Virg.

BRALLE, Jean-Marie-Nicolas (1785-1863)

126. La mort de Procris. Esquisse.

CALLET, Antoine-François

139. Une Erigone.

140. Une Ganimède.

DELAVAL, Pierre-Louis (1790-1870)

214. Télémaque réduit à conduire un troupeau dans le désert d'Oasis, reçoit des consolations de Termosiris, prêtre d'Apollon.

DELÉCLUZE, Etienne-Jean

218. L'enlèvement d'Hélène par Pâris.

DE ST-POL [Peintre, rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, n.7.]

242. Electre calmant les fureurs d'Oreste, par les sons de la lyre.

DUCIS, Louis

262. Pyrame et Thisbé.

DUMET, Jean-Philibert (active 1808-1810, died c.1814)

270. Circé.

Sujet tiré des *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*.

Ulysse instruit de la métamorphose de ses compagnons, se rend au palais de Circe pour les délivrer. Il trouve cette princesse entourée de nymphes occupées à séparer des plantes propres à ses enchantemens : il jette le breuvage qu'elle lui présente pour le transformer lui-même, et va la frapper de son épée, si elle ne lui accorde ce qu'il demande. Circé trouvant son art sans force contre ce prince, qui est muni de moly, plante que Mercure lui a donné pour le préserver de tout charme, à recours aux prières et l'appaise en rendant à ses compagnons leur premier être.

DUMONT, François

273. Vénus et Adonis.

ENOUF [Élève de Regnault, rue de la Huchette, n.16.]

289. Salmacis et Hermaphrodite.

La Naiade dans l'onde élancée à son tour,

Saisit le beau nageur rebelle à son amour,

Tient malgré lui l'ingrat qui résiste et qui lutte,

Dérobe avidement des baisers qu'il dispute.

Les Métam. d'Ovide.

FORTIN, Augustin-Félix

304. Le départ de Bellone pour la guerre.

306. L'Amour vaincu par la Beauté.

308. Nymphes mortes de la blessure d'un serpent.

315. Léda au bain.

GAGNERAUX, Baptiste (1765-1846)

327. Mercure dérobant à Vulcain ses tenailles.

GIACOMELLI, Sophie

367. Achille pleurant sur le corps de Patrocle.

GUÉRIN, Pierre

395. Andromaque et Pyrrhus.

Oreste, au nom des Grecs, demande Astyanax. Avertie du danger de son fils, Andromaque court se jeter aux pieds de Pyrrhus, et, suppliante, l'implore en faveur du seul bien qui lui reste et d'Hector et de Troie. Ses larmes ont touché le cœur de Pyrrhus ; en vain Oreste lui fait envisager la vengeance des Grecs, prête à suivre son refus ; le fils d'Ulysse a prononcé : son sceptre protégera à la fois le fils et la mère. Témoin du pouvoir de sa rivale, Hermione s'éloigne furieuse.

V. Racine, dans Andromaque.

396. L'Aurore et Céphale.

Escortée de l'Amour et du Zéphire, l'Aurore soulève le voile étoilé de la nuit, et répand des fleurs sur la terre. Dans sa course rapide, elle a vu Céphale endormi; elle en devient éprise, et ravit le jeune chasseur à la tendresse de son épouse.

GUILLEMARD, Sophie

400. La Fortune qui ramène l'Amour.

HALLÉ [Peintre, de Mons.]

403. L'éducation de Jupiter.

HENARD, C. (c.1757-c.1814)

405. Psyché abandonnée sur le rocher.

LANDON, Charles-Paul

461. Vénus et l'Amour.

LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François

475. La chasse aux papillons, ou allégorie de la beauté qui veut fixer l'inconstance.

L'Amour caché sur un chêne, lance des traits aux nymphes. Une d'elles en a reçu un dans le sein, et sa compagne appliqué sur sa blessure une rose, emblème du plaisir qui guérit les maux causés par l'Amour.

Une autre nymphe se pique en voulant cueillir des roses.

LEFÈVRE, Robert

696. Venus désarmant l'Amour.

L'esquisse de ce tableau a été exposée au salon de 1795.

697. Psyché

Restée nue sur le rocher après la destruction du palais d'où elle a fait fuir l'Amour, elle le supplie d'oublier sa faute et proteste de son innocence. La lampe et le poignard sont dispersés autour d'elle.

LE GRAND [Peintre, collège des Grassins, rue des Amandiers, n.14.]

486. L'Amour tourmente l'Innocence.

LEROY, Denis-Sébastien

502. Les adieux d'Ariane et de Thésée prêt à descendre dans le labyrinthe pour y combattre le Minotaure.

C'est l'instant où après l'avoir armé d'une épée et du fil qui doit le guider dans les détours du labyrinthe, elle lui donne le baiser d'adieu.

MARLET, Jean-Henri

541. Sujets de Télémaque. Dessins.

MEYNIER, Charles

572. La Sagesse préservant l'Adolescence des traits de l'Amour. Sujet allégorique.

MOENCH, Charles-Victoire-Frederic (1784-1867)

575. Polyxène conduite au supplice.

MONGEZ, Angélique

577. La mort d'Adonis.

MONSIAU, Nicolas-André

581. Philoctète dans l'île de Lemnos.

C'est le moment où après qu'Ulysse lui fait rendre ses armes, Philoctète dit à Néoptolème :
laisse-moi percer mon ennemi.

584. Centaure jouant avec des enfans.

PAILLOT DE MONTABERT, Jacques-Nicolas (1771-1849)

612. Léda.

PÉQUIGNOT, Pierre (1765-1807)

635. Les Grecs évacuant l'Asie après la guerre de Troie.

PÉRIÉ, Hilaire-Henri (1780-1833)

637. Caron passant les morts.

PERRENOT [Élève de Swobach et Vincent, enclos du Temple, n.20.]

640 Les douze Mois de l'année.

641. Les douze Heures du jour.

642. Les nymphes de Calipso, brûlant le vaisseau construit par Mentor.

POCHOU, Hippolite [Élève de Regnault, rue Saint-Anastase, au Marais, n.4.]

658. Thésée vainqueur du centaure Biennor.

Aux noces de Pirithoüs et d'Hippodamie, les Centaures ayant insulté les femmes des Lapithes, dans le combat qui eut lieu, Thésée sauta par la croupe du centaure Biennor, et le fit expirer sous ses coups.

REMY, Louis-Jean-Marie (1792-c.1869)

670. Acis et Galathée.

Le jeune Acis aimait Galathée, dont il était chéri. Le cyclope Polyphème avait conçu pour cette nymphe un violent amour ; assis sur un rocher, il faisait retentir les montagnes voisines d'une chanson en son honneur, lorsqu'il l'aperçut avec son amant qu'elle tenait étroitement embrassé : furieux, il se met à leur poursuite, saisit un roc dont il écrase le malheureux Acis : Galathée n'échappe qu'en se précipitant dans la mer.

RIBAULT, Julie (b.1789, active 1810-1826)

673. Offrande à Esculape.

ROGER, Pierre-Louis

709. Retour d'Agamemnon dans sa patrie.

Agamemnon, après la prise de Troie, retourne dans sa patrie, emmenant avec lui, captive, Cassandre, prêtresse d'Apollon, fille de Priam. Arrivé à Argos, Cassandre lui prédit, mais en vain, que s'il entre dans son palais il y sera assassiné. Agamemnon, charmé à l'aspect de sa

famille, n'écoute pas cet avis salutaire ; ses enfans, Oreste et Electre, vont au-devant de lui, tandis que Clytemnestre, son épouse, d'une main l'accueille, et de l'autre, reçoit un épée d'Egyste (son amant) pour l'immoler.

SERANGELI, Gioacchino Giuseppe

729. La mort d'Alceste.

Sujet tiré d'Euripide.

730. Psyché et ses sœurs, ou l'Ame et ses passions.

SICARDI, Louis-Marie

732. Le couronnement de la rose par l'Amour accompagné des Zéphirs et des Plaisirs.

TREZEL, Félix (1782-1855)

783. Phèdre jugée aux Enfers.

TURPIN DE CRISSÉ, Lancelot-Théodore (1782-1859)

787. Daphnis et Chloé demandant à un vieux chevrier ce que c'est que l'amour.

Sujet tiré de Longin.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine

799. Thésée et Hippolite.

800. Diane et ses nymphes au bain, surprises par Actéon. Effet de soleil couchant.

VANDERLYN, John (1775-1852)

808. Ariadne endormie et abandonnée par Thésée dans l'île de Naxos.

1812

AUBUISSON, Julien-Honoré-Germain Marquis d' (b.1786)

236. Dernier adieu de Pâris à Hélène.

BÉFORT, Mlle (active 1812-1819)

40. Thésée et Ariadne.

BERTHON, René-Théodore

65. Le jugement de Pâris.

L'instant représenté est celui où l'Amour enlève au ciel Vénus victorieuse.

BERTIER, Louis-Marie

67. La puissance de Cupidon.

Ce dieu paroît assis sur un char tiré par des tigres. Derrière ce char, un petit Amour mène en laisse quatre grands dieux, Jupiter, Hercule, Mars et Pluton, tandis que d'autres enfans les chassent et les font marcher à leur fantaisie.

BLANCHARD, Laurent

93. Télémaque dans l'île de Calypso, raconte ses aventures.

94. Vénus se plaignant à Jupiter du mépris de Télémaque pour ses autels.

96. L'Amour endormi.

97. L'Amour riant.

BLANKENSTEIN, Mme [Peintre.]

1303. Vénus désarmant l'Amour.

BOISSELIER, Félix (1776 or 1781-1811)

112. La mort d'Adonis.

BOSSSELMAN [Peintre, Faubourg Saint-Denis, n.82.]

120. Créon.

Il dédaigne les conseils du devin qui lui prédit que s'il persiste à condamner Antigone à la mort, tous les maux du ciel fondront sur ses états et sur lui.

BRUNET [Peintre, rue du Sentier, boulevard Poissonnière, n.10.]

148. Télémaque raconte ses aventures à Calypso.

CALLET, Antoine-François

156. Achille à la cour de Nicomède.

CELS, Cornelis (1778-1859)

177. Le lever de Vénus.

178. Sapho traçant ses premiers vers.

CHANCOURTOIS, René-Louis-Maurice Béguyer de

1304. Jupiter élevé par les Corybantes, et nourri par la chèvre Amalthée.

CHAUDET, Jeanne-Elisabeth

200. Un Amour tenant un arc.

CHÉRY, Philippe

209. La toilette de Vénus.

CHRETIEN [Peintre, quai d'Alençon, n.11.]

210. Les reproches d'Hector à Pâris.

DELAVAL, Pierre-Louis

260. Orphée perdant son Euridice.

DESPOIS, André-Jean-Antoine (b.1787)

310. L'espérance nourrit l'Amour

DEVOSGE, Anatole (1770-1850)

311 Hercule délivrant Phillo.

Si l'on en croit les Phigiens, Hercule devint amoureux de Phillo, fille d'Alcimédon, héros grec, qui, après la couche de sa fille, fit exposer la mère et l'enfant sur le mont Ostracine. Une pie, à force d'entendre crier l'enfant, apprit à le contrefaire ; si bien qu'un jour Hercule passant par là, et entendant la voie de la pie, crut entendre les cris d'un enfant, il se détourna, vit la mère et son fils, les reconnut et les sauva du danger où ils étoient d'être dévorés par un lion.

DUBUFE, Claude-Marie (c.1790-1864)

323. Achille prenant sous sa protection Iphigénie, que son père Agamemnon vouloit sacrifier.

DUCIS, Louis

327. Sapho.

Sapho, lorsqu'elle eut appris l'infidélité de Phaon, perdoit souvent l'usage de ses sens dans les accès de mélancolie auxquels elle s'abandonnoit, rien ne pouvant alors la soulager. Un philosophe célèbre eut recours au charme puissant de la musique, qui parvint à la rappeler graduellement à la vie.

328. Pyrame recevant le rendez-vous de Thisbé, son amante.

Tableau faisant pendant à celui expose par l'artiste au dernier salon.

DUVIVIER, Bernard

362. Hector pleuré par les Troyens et sa famille. Dessin à l'aquarelle.

364. Hercule et Omphale. Dessin au bistre.

366. Orysthie enlevée par Borée. Dessin au bistre.

367. Hébé. Dessin au crayon noir.

FORESTIER, Marie-Anne-Julie

1310. Sacrifice à Minerve.

Une jeune fille brule sur l'autel de cette Déesse les armes et le bandeau de l'Amour, qui la supplie vainement.

FORTIN, Augustin-Félix

380. Bacchante et enfants.

381. Un satyre et une jeune femme.

FRAGONARD, Alexandre-Évariste

387. Pithias condamné a mort par Denys le tyran, obtient de lui la permission d'aller voir sa famille, en laissant un otage à sa place.

Le moment est celui où Pithias, au milieu de sa famille, accueille froidement les marques de sa tendresse, étant préoccupé de son malheur.

GASTON [Peintre, rue Notre-Dame des Victoires, n.16.]

410. L'Amour et Psyché.

Psyché, persuadée par ses sœurs que l'époux qui lui avoit toujours interdit sa vue, n'étoit qu'un monstre hideux dont elle devoit se défaire, quitte sans bruit, au milieu de la nuit, la couche nuptiale, prend une lampe, s'arme d'un poignard, et agitée par mille sentiments divers, avance vers son époux endormi. Mais quelle est sa surprise ! ce n'est point un monstre qu'elle va frapper, c'est l'Amour. Hors d'elle-même, le poignard lui échappe ; elle admire, et ses yeux ne peuvent abandonner tant de charmes. *Voyez le poème de La Fontaine.*

GRANGER, Jean-Pierre (1779-1840)

434. Figure de Ganimède.

GRENIER DE SAINT-MARTIN, Francisque-Martin-François (1793-1867)

437. Atalante et Hippomène.

Surpris par un orage dans une partie de chasse, ils se réfugient dans une caverne, et y sont dévorés par un lion et une lionne qui y viennent après eux. Ce qui fit dire à la fable, qu'ils avoient été métamorphosés en lions dans un temple de Cybèle.

GUTTENBRUNN, Ludwig (c.1750-1819)

428. Apollon et les Muses sur le Parnasse.

KARPPF, Jean-Jacques-Casimir (1770-1829)

511. Sapho rêvant au lever du soleil, sur le rocher de Leucade.

512. Sapho se précipitant.

LAFOND, Charles-Nicolas-Raphael

523. Apollon devenu berger.

Il s'abandonne encore au délire de son art, la beauté de ses chants divins semble tenir en extase plusieurs groups de bergers chasseurs, qui goûtent, dans un agréable repos, les charmes d'une riche contrée de la Thessalie.

LAIR, Jean-Louis-César

526 bis. Thétis

Accompagnée de ses nimphes, elle se prépare à plonger son fils Achille dans le Styx, pour le rendre invulnérable.

LANDI, Gaspare (1756-1830)

528. Vénus aidé des Amours, s'oppose au départ de Mars pour la guerre.

LEGRAND [Peintre, collège des Grassins, rue des Amandiers, n.14.]

554. Ariadne abandonnée dans l'île de Naxos.

555. La rose enlevée par l'Amour.

556. Psyché revient des enfers.

Elle tient la boîte fatale que Vénus lui a dit de demander à Proserpine. C'est le moment où Caron lui propose d'entrer dans sa barque.

LE GROS D'ANIZY, François-Antoine [Peintre, rue du Cadran, n.9.]

560. Une Sapho. Sur porcelaine.

LE SAGE [Peintre, boulevard Saint-Denis, n.19.]

575. Une Erigone.

LIBOUR, Esprit-Aimé (1784-c.1845)

587. Vénus sortant des eaux et surprise par des satyres, donne naissance au myrte opur se cacher.

LORDON, Pierre-Jérôme (1780-1838)

590. Hylas attiré par les nymphes.

MAYER, Constance

631 Une jeune naïade veut éloigner d'elle une troupe d'Amours qui cherchent à la troubler dans sa retraite.

MONANTEUIL

657. Ariadne abandonnée.

MONGEZ, Angélique

658. Persée et Andromède.

MONGIN, Pierre-Antoine

660. Pastorale.

Des bergers rassemblés près d'une statue de Pan, écoutent un faune qui joue de la flûte.

ODEVAERE, Joseph-Denis

684. L'arrivée d'Iphigénie en Aulide.

PINSON, Isabelle (active c.1796-c.1812)

729. Offrande de deux époux à Philémon et Baucis, métamorphoses en arbres.

POCHON, Hippolyte (active c.1810-1819)

730. Philoctète dans l'île de Lemnos. Figure d'étude.

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul

742. Vénus et Adonis.

ROMANY, Adèle

290. Daphnis ayant apporté à Philis un oiseau, elle l'en récompense par un baiser.

SARAZIN DE BELMONT, Louise-Joséphine (1790-1870)

835. Fête de Junon. Effet du matin.

Cléobis et Biton s'attachent au char de leur mère, et la traînent en triomphe au temple de la déesse.

SERANGELI, Gioacchino Giuseppe

843. Pyrrhus, après avoir tué Priam, enlève Polyxène pour la sacrifier sur la tombe d'Achille.

VANDERLYN, John

922. Ariadne endormie et abandonnée par Thésée dans l'île de Naxos.

1814

ALBERS, Anton (1765-1844)

4. La soirée, paysage composé.

On y a représenté Œdipe conduit par Antigone.

AUBUISSON, Julien-Honoré-Germain Marquis d'

235. Hector force Pâris à quitter Hélène, et le conduit au combat.

BALTARD, Louis-Pierre

1340. Paysage dans le style antique.

Il représente la mort d'Adonis.

BÉFORT, Mlle

42. Thésée allant combattre le Minotaure, reçoit le peloton de fil des mains d'Ariane.

43. Eurydice fuyant les poursuites d'Aristée, est piquée par un serpent.

44. Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque.

BERTHON, René-Théodore

72. Phèdre.

Entraînée par la puissance de Vénus jusque dans les forêts que parcourt Hippolite, Phèdre s'est arrêtée dans le lieu le plus sauvage, mais revenant à elle, tout-à-coup, elle profère ces mots : *où ma raison s'égaré-t-elle ? Je l'ai perdue, les dieux me l'ont ravie* (Euripide). Cependant Oenone est allée se jeter aux genoux d'Hippolite qui la repousse avec indignation.

74. Enlèvement d'Hélène.

BLONDEL, Merry-Joseph (1781-1853)

107. La tendresse maternelle.

Hécube tombe évanouie dans les bras de ses femmes, à l'aspect d'Ulysse qui vient, d'après l'ordre des Grecs, lui arracher sa fille Polyxène pour être immolée aux mânes d'Achille.

BOISFREMONT, Charles Boulanger de

241. Jupiter enfant, nourri dans l'île de Crète, par les nymphes du mont Ida.

Tableau destiné à décorer, aux Tuileries, les appartements des enfants de France.

BORDIER DU BIGNON, Jacques-Charles

128. Combat d'Hippolite contre le monstre.

129. La mort d'Hippolite.

Soutenu par Thérémène, il jette un dernier regard sur Aricie, son amante; les débris de son char et de ses armes l'environnent ; ses chevaux fuient au loin, à travers les rochers.

BOUCHET, Louis-André-Gabriel

131. Pâris donnant la pomme à la plus belle.

BOUTON, Joseph-Marie

152. Une Flore.

BROC, Jean

155. Hyacinthe blessé.

CAPET, Marie-Gabrielle (1761-1818)

170. Hygie, déesse de la santé.

CHAVASSIEU D'HAUDEBERT, Adèle (1788-1832)

212 Un cadre renfermant plusieurs émaux : La Sagesse préservant l'Adolescence des traits de l'Amour, d'après Meyner ; Psyché enlevée par les Zéphirs, d'après Prud'hon ; Vénus qui caresse l'Amour, d'après Appiant ; La colère d'Achille, d'après Appiant.

DEBRET, Jean-Baptiste (1768-1848)

244. Andromède délivrée par Persée.

Cassiopée, reine d'Ethiopie, mère d'Andromède, eut la vanité de se croire plus belle que Junon ; la déesse irritée pria Neptune de la venger ; ce dieu envoya un monstre marin qui fit des ravages épouvantables. L'oracle apprit que les malheurs ne finiroient qu'en exposant Andromède, attachée par des chaînes, sur un rocher, pour être dévorée par le monstre ; mais Persée, monté sur le cheval Pégase, pétrifia ce monstre en lui montrant la tête de Méduse, et délivra Andromède, qu'il rendit à son père, lequel, en reconnaissance, la lui donna en mariage.

DELAVAL, Pierre-Louis

269. Hélène.

Elle désigne à Priam les principaux personnages de l'armée des Grecs, qu'ils aperçoivent du haut de la tour de Scée.

270. Orphée perdant Euridice.

DELÉCLUZE, Etienne-Jean

276. Mort d'Astianax.

Le moment est celui où Andromaque, qui a suivi son fils jusque sur la fatale muraille, fait tous ses efforts pour l'arracher des mains du soldat qui va le précipiter. Ulysse et Calchas attendent dans l'éloignement l'issue de l'événement, pour se convaincre de la mort d'Astianax.

DESCAMPS, Guillaume-Désiré-Joseph (1779-1858)

303. Prométhée sur le mont Caucase.

DESMARAIS, Frédéric (d.1814)

306. Œdipe et Antigone.

DE TOURNAY [Peintre.]

313. Un paysage historique.

Il représente Énée et Didon sortant de la grotte après leur hymen.

DEVILLERS, Georges

315. La mort de Patrocle.

Le moment est celui où Achille, après avoir reçu de Thétis, sa mère, des armes divines, et vaincu Hector, retourne auprès du corps de son cher Patrocle.

316. Énée sauvant son père Anchise de l'embrasement de Troie.

DEVOUGE, Louis-Benjamin-Marie

318. Les bains de Diane. Esquisse terminée.

DRÖLLING, Martin (1752-1817)

322. Sapho et Phaon chantant leurs amours dans une grotte.

DUBOIS DE BEAUCHENE [Peintre, rue de Cléry, n.96.]

330. Etude d'Antigone.

DUBOST, Antoine

331. Vénus et Diane.

Diane voulant ravoir le jeune Adonis, que Vénus lui avoit enlevé, surprend cette déesse qui se promenoit avec Adonis et l'Amour dans la vallée de Cythère. Vénus, ne pouvant échapper, fait venir des ailes à Adonis, et présent à Diane les deux enfants. La ressemblance étant parfaite, la déesse des bois n'osa choisir de peur de prendre l'Amour.

332. Pénélope.

Ulysse, importune des instance d'Icarius, son beau-père, qui avoit suivi le char de Pénélope pour la supplier de rester auprès de lui, laisse son épouse maitresse de le suivre ou de retourner avec son père : elle ne répondit qu'en rouissant et se couvrant le visage de son voile.

Le moment est celui où Ulysse fait le mouvement de retourner à Sparte.

FLEURY, Antoine-Claude

390. Le songe d'Oreste.

FRANQUE, Pierre (1774-1860) et FRANQUE, Joseph (1774-1833)

406. Hercule délivrant Alceste.

GARNIER, Étienne-Barthelémy

415. Orphée et Eurydice.

Eurydice, femme d'Orphée, piquée par un serpent, est représentée expirante, soutenue par une de ses compagnes. Orphée presse une de ses mains et espère encore la rappeler à la vie.

GAUTHEROT, Pierre-Claude

422. Pyrame et Thisbé.

GENEVE-RUMILLY, Victorine-Angélique-Amélie (1799-1849)

1391. Vénus et l'Amour.

- GIRODET, Anne-Louis
 436. Une scène de déluge.
 438. Endymion.
- GRANDIN, Jacques-Louis-Michel
 1363. Sapho et deux de ses compagnes.
 1364. Deux nymphes au bain.
- GUÉRIN, Pierre
 483. Phèdre.
 484. Andromaque.
 485. Céphale et l'Aurore.
- GUILLEMOT, Alexandre-Charles (1786-1831)
 491. Bacchus et Faune. Figures d'étude.
- GUTTENBRUNN, Ludwig
 460. Vénus et Pâris, avec l'Amour, sur le mont Ida.
- HENNEQUIN, Philippe-Auguste
 502. Oreste poursuivi par les Furies.
 504. L'escarpolette, ou l'Amour cache derrière les roses
- HUE, Jean-François
 530 bis. Echo pleurant Narcisse.
- JUHEL [Peintre, rue du Faubourg Montmartre, n.9.]
 538. Œdipe et Antigone.
 Antigone dans les bras de son père, remercie les dieux de les avoir protégés.
- KARPPF, Jean-Jacques-Casimir
 176. Sapho. Dessin.
- LAFOND, Charles-Nicolas-Raphael
 557. Apollon devenu berger.
- LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François
 590. Sujet tiré de la sixième églogue de Virgile.
 Des bergers et bergères viennent répandre des fleurs et poser des couronnes sur le tombeau de Daphnis. L'un d'eux en explique l'inscription.
- LEDOUX, Jeanne-Philiberte
 606. Une jeune femme cachant l'Amour.
- LEMIRE, Antoine (1773-c.1814)
 622. Œdipe et Antigone.
 L'auteur s'est inspiré de ce vers de l'opéra d'Œdipe : Dieux, ce n'est pas pour moi que ma voix vous implore.
- LEROY, Sébastien
 639. Ariane et Thésée.
 L'instant est celui où Thésée, prêt à descendre dans le labyrinthe pour y combattre le Minotaure, après avoir reçu d'Ariane une épée et le fil qui doit le guider, en reçoit le baiser d'adieu.
- LESAGE
 642. Vénus sortant des ondes.
- MANUFACTURE ROYALE DE SEVRES
 Peintures sur porcelaine, exécutées dans ses ateliers.
 665. Neuf plaques faisant partie d'un coffret à bijoux. Les miniatures par M. Leguay, les camées par M. Béranger.

La plaque du milieu représente Psyché faisant des présents à ses sœurs, et les camées les divinités mentionnées dans l'histoire de Psyché.

Les quatre plaques longues représentent des Amours préparant les différents objets de la toilette des femmes.

Sur les quatre plaques carrées sont peintes les quatre divinités, Amphytrite, Cybèle ou la Terre, Flore et Arachné, qui président aux choses employées dans la toilette.

666. Pénélope surprise par ses amants au moment où elle défait son ouvrage, d'après la composition de Flaxmann, par Degault.

MEYNIER, Charles

700. Le berger Phorbas présente Œdipe, enfant, à Peribée, femme de Polybe, roi de Corinthe. Après avoir détaché Œdipe de l'arbre où il étoit suspendu par les pieds, sur le mont Cythéron, Phorbas l'apporte dans le palais de Peribée. Cette reine étoit entourée de ses femmes et de jeunes filles occupées à divers ouvrages, dont elles sont distraites par l'intérêt que leur inspire cet enfant.

701. La Sagesse préservant l'Adolescence des traits de l'Amour.

Sujet allégorique puise dans le poème de Télémaque.

MONGEZ, Angélique

707. Persée et Andromède.

Voir, pour l'histoire de ce tableau, l'article de M. De Bret, qui a traité le même sujet.

708. Mars et Vénus.

Vénus fait de vains efforts pour retenir auprès d'elle Mars qui brûle de voler au combat.

PAILLOT DE MONTABERT, Jacques-Nicolas

730. Léda.

L'Amour l'entraîne vers le rivage, et le cygne paré de roses est à ses côtés.

PALLIÈRE, Etienne

738. Vénus et Adonis.

Le moment choisi est celui où Vénus reçoit les adieux d'Adonis ; elle semble avoir quelques pressentiments funestes, et craindre pour les jours de son amant.

PELLIER, Pierre-Edme-Louis

745. Patrocle remet Briséis aux hérauts d'armes envoyés par l'ordre d'Agamemnon.

746. Ulysse l'emporte sur les Phéaciens.

Assistant à leurs jeux et provoqué par un athlète, Ulysse saisit le disque le plus lourd et le lance plus loin qu'aucun des Phéaciens. Minerve, sous la figure d'un héraut, marque la place où le disque est tombé.

747. Œdipe maudit son fils Polynice, malgré les supplications d'Antigone et d'Ismène.

PROT, Louis

1387. Le songe d'Alcyone.

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul

770. Psychée enlevée par les Zéphirs.

771. Jeune zéphir se balançant au-dessus de l'eau.

REMY, Louis-Jean-Marie

781. Acis et Galathée.

Le géant Polyphème épris de Galathée, l'aperçoit avec Acis, son amant, qu'elle tenoit étroitement embrassé : furieux, il les poursuit, saisit un roc dont il écrase le malheureux Acis.

Galathée n'échappe qu'en se précipitant dans la mer.

ROUGET, Georges (1783-1869)

818. Œdipe et Antigone.

SCHEFFER, Ary (1795-1858)

1393. Euridice mourant dans les bras d'Orphée.

SCHMITZ, Antoine-Guillaume (b.1788, active 1813-1830)

1394. Driope changée en lotos, embrasse pour la dernière fois sa sœur Iole.

Métamorph. D'Ovide. Livre IX.

SERANGELI, Gioacchino Giuseppe

835. La mort d'Alceste.

TREZEL, Félix

881. Phèdre jugée aux enfers.

Tragédie de Racine, acte IV, scène Vi.

VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin

886. Electre.

Pour venger son père et par l'ordre des Dieux, Oreste avoit tué sa mère. Fatigué de ses remords, il y succombe et s'endort dans les bras d'Electre. Les compagnes de celle-ci viennent s'informer de l'état d'Oreste, Electre les conjure, les supplie de ne pas l'éveiller. « Mes compagnes, mes amies, faites silence, n'avancez pas, ne l'éveillez point. »

Euripide, tragédie d'*Oreste*.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine

894. Le bain de Diane, effet de soleil couchant.

VAN BRÉE [Peintre, rue et hôtel Serpente, n.16.]

897. L'Amour domptant la Force.

1817

BEAUNIER, Firmin-Hyppolyt

28. Le Premier Navigateur.

L'Amour fait remarquer au premier navigateur un lapin porté sur les eaux dans un vieux tronc où il avait cherché un abri ; et lui inspire l'idée de franchir par le même moyen, la mer qui le sépare de sa maîtresse. *Gessner*, 1^{er} *Navigateur*, *Chant* 1^{er}.

BÉFORT, Mlle

29. Les Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque.

Hector va prendre Astyanax dans ses bras ; mais l'enfant, effrayé de l'éclat des armes et du panache qui flotte sur le casque de son père, se rejète sur le sein de sa nourrice.

BELLE, Augustin-Louis

34. Allégorie à la Paix.

Mars a déposé ses armes ; il reçoit un baiser de Vénus, qui le couronne de myrtes et de lauriers.

L'Amour présente le rameau d'olivier ; il tient le sceptre du monde et le globe terrestre sur lequel se voient les fleurs de lis, emblème de la France.

Tableau d'encouragement, obtenu par l'auteur, en 1799.

BERTHON, René-Théodore

56. Songe d'Oreste.

Oreste goûte à peine un moment de repos qu'il doit aux soins touchans de sa sœur Electre, lorsqu'un songe terrible, l'arrachant au sommeil, vient lui retracer son crime, en offrant à ses yeux le corps sanglant de Clytemnestre que les Euménides entraînent aux enfers.

Tableau commandé par S. Exc. le ministre de l'intérieur.

57. Le Jugement de Paris.

BOICHARD, Henri-Joseph (1783-c.1859)

81. Paysage.

Des nymphes dansent au son de la lyre.

BOISFREMONT, Charles Boulanger de

199. Enlèvement d'Ascagne.

Vénus voulant enflammer le cœur de Didon pour Énée, lui avait envoyé son fils Cupidon sous les traits du jeune Ascagne, qu'elle enlève dans ses bras et dépose endormi dans les bosquets du Mont Ida.

(*Eneide de Virg.*)

200. Ulysse sous la forme d'un mendiant.

Pour éprouver les sentimens de Pénélope, il lui raconte ses aventures sans être reconnu ; elle versait des torrens de larmes, au récit des maux d'un époux qu'elle croyait perdu pour jamais. Tableau commandé par S.E. le Ministre de l'Intérieur.

CHERADAME, Mme (née Bertaud) [Peintre, rue Hauteville, n.30.]

157. Les Filles de Minée travaillant le jour d'une fête en l'honneur de Bacchus.

Alcithoé raconte à ses sœurs l'histoire de Pyrame et Thisbé. En punition de leur désobéissance, elles furent changées en chauves-souris.

COCHET, Augustine (1788-1832)

160. Mort de Camille, Reine des Volsques.

Diane, prévoyant la fin de Camille, que lui avait consacrée son père, ordonne à Opis, l'une des ses nymphes, de venger sa mort. Les compagnes de Camille accourent et la soutiennent ; sa main ne peut retirer le trait qui l'a blessée ; elle meurt en adressant à Acca, celle de ses compagnes qui seule avait sa confiance, un dernier avis pour Turnus.

Virg. En. Liv. XI

COLSON, Guillaume-François (1785-1850)

1043. Agamemnon.

Ce Prince, vainqueur de Troie, est de retour dans sa famille. Sa fatalité lui fait mépriser les sinistres prédictions de Cassandre qui lui annoncent qu'il va mourir victime de la perfidie de Clytemnestre qu'il tient dans ses bras. Derrière le trône, près du tombeau d'Iphigénie, Egyste attend le signal pour consommer son crime. Au pied de la statue de Minos, Electre et Oreste annoncent par leur étonnement ce qui doit arriver.

DROLLING, Michel-Martin (1786-1851)

255. Orphée perdant Eurydice.

DROUILLIÈRE [Peintre, rue du Cloître Saint-Benoît, n.14.]

258. Sapho aux pieds de l'infidèle Phaon.

DUBOST, Antoine

268. Vénus et Diane.

Diane voulant ravoir le jeune Adonis, que Vénus lui avait enlevé, surprend cette déesse qui se promenait avec Adonis et l'Amour, dans la vallée de Cythère. Vénus ne pouvant échapper, fait venir des ailes à Adonis, et présente à Diane les deux enfans. La ressemblance étant parfaite, la déesse des bois n'ose choisir de peur de prendre l'Amour.

269 Pénélope.

Ulysse, importuné des instances d'Icarius, son père, qui avait suivi le char de Pénélope pour la supplier de rester auprès de lui, laisse son épouse maîtresse de le suivre ou de retourner avec son père ; elle ne répond qu'en rougissant, et en se couvrant le visage de son voile.

Le moment est celui où Ulysse fait le mouvement de retourner à Sparte.

DUCHEMIN [Peintre, rue du Paon Saint-André, n.1.]

273. Un cadre contenant neuf dessins à l'aquarelle.

6°. Le désespoir de Cérès lorsqu'elle aperçoit sur le lac de Cyane la ceinture de sa fille.

DUVIVIER, Bernard

313. Andromaque auprès des cendres d'Hector.

314. Pythie, nymphe aimée de Pan et de Borée.

Borée, indigné de ce que la nymphe avait donné la préférence à son rival, l'enleva dans un tourbillon et la jeta sur des rochers où elle expira.

ESPERCIEUX, Jean-Joseph (1757-1840)

320. Dessin imitant le bas-relief.

Sujet tiré de la seconde scène du second acte de la tragédie d'Agamemnon, de M. le Mercier.

FLEURY, Antoine-Claude

330. Les Adieux d'Andromaque.

FREMY, Jacques-Noël-Marie

342. La Nymphe Echo pleurant Narcisse changé en fleur.

GRANGER, Jean-Pierre

384. Apollon et Cyparisse.

Cyparisse ayant tué le jeune cerf qu'il aimait passionnément, expire de douleur dans les bras d'Apollon qui avait en vain cherché à le consoler. (*Métam. D'Ovide.*)

GUÉRIN, Gabriel-Cristophe (1790-1846)

1051. Polynice.

Créon, s'étant emparé du gouvernement de Thèbes, défendit, sous peine de mort, de mettre les ennemis sur le bûcher, voulant qu'ils devinssent la pâture des oiseaux de proie. Argie, femme de Polynice, ayant appris à-la-fois et la mort de son époux et la défense du barbare Créon, part d'Argos, dans l'espérance de découvrir le cadavre de son cher Polynice, et de la brûler en secret. Antigone avait conçu le même dessein qu'Argie ; elle s'échappe de Thèbes pour se rendre sur-le-champ de bataille, et frémit de surprise et de frayeur à la vue d'une femme baignant de ses pleurs le corps d'un guerrier. Bientôt elle reconnaît Argie ; elles unissent leurs douleurs, et se disposent à porter Polynice sur un bûcher qu'on voit dans le lointain.

GUÉRIN, Pierre

398. Clytemnestre.

399. Didon.

GUYOT [Peintre, Vieille rue du Temple, n.44.]

410. Aquarelles, sujets tirés de Daphnis et Chloé.

HERSENT, Louis

415. Daphnis et Chloé.

LAFITTE, Louis

458. Psyché au bain.

459. Trois sujets représentant: Psyché abandonnée ; Psyché donnant le gâteau à Cerbère ; Psyché sortant des enfers.

LAFOND, Charles-Nicolas-Raphael

463. Énée sur le Mont-Ida.

« Énée voyant toute la ville gardée par les Grecs, et le jour commençant à paraître, retourne sur le mont Ida ; arrivé au sommet, il y trouve une grande quantité de Troyens de tout âge et de tout sexe disposés à le suivre. Alors Énée reprend son père sur ses épaules, et, chargé de ce précieux fardeau, quitte Troie pour toujours ; il s'arrête un instant pour jeter un dernier regard sur sa patrie

qu'il aperçoit à travers la forêt. » Anchise, dans ce moment, n'éprouve d'autre sentiment que celui de sa confiance dans les dieux. Iule est effrayé de l'aspect terrible de Troie en flammes. Différens groupes expriment la douleur qu'ils ressentent d'une si grande catastrophe.

(*Fin du second livre de l'Enéide.*)

LANGLOIS, Jérôme-Martin (1779-1838)

478. Cassandre ; figure d'étude.

Elle implore la vengeance de Minerve sur Ajax qui l'avait outragée.

479. L'Enlèvement de Déjanire par le centaure Nessus.

LE BRUN, Hippolyte [Peintre, rue Mauconseil, n.31.]

495. Paysage.

Il représente Hercule et Omphale.

496. Paysage représentant le Repos de Diane.

LEROY, Denis-Sébastien

522. Ariane et Thésée. Dessin.

Prêt à descendre dans le labyrinthe pour y combattre le Minotaure, Thésée après avoir reçu d'Ariane une épée et le fil qui doit le guider, en reçoit le baiser d'adieu.

LOCHE, Étienne (b.1786)

541. Phèdre mourante avoue son crime à Thésée.

MOENCH, Charles-Victoire-Frederic

579. Borée enlevant Orythie.

MONSIAU, Nicolas-André

582. Une scène du IV.e acte d'Iphigénie en Aulide.

Clytemnestre, serrant sa fille dans ses bras, adresse à Agamemnon ces paroles terribles :

Aussi barbare époux, qu'impitoyable père,

Venez, si vous l'osez, la ravir à sa mère.

(Tableau commandé par S. Ex. le Ministre de l'intérieur.)

MOREAU, Jean-Michel

589 Hercule étouffant le lion de Némée. Dessin.

PAILLOT DE MONTABERT, Jacques-Nicolas

597. Diane venant visiter Endymion. Sujet tiré de Lucien.

Il fait parler ainsi Diane ou la Lune dans son dialogue avec Vénus. « Endymion est à mes yeux d'une beauté parfaite, surtout lorsque s'étant fait un lit de sa tunique étendue sur une pierre, il s'endort tenant d'une main des traits qui sont prêts à lui échapper..... Quand il est plongé dans le sommeil, sa bouche exhale une odeur aussi douce que l'ambrosie. Je descends alors sans faire de bruit et je marche sur la pointe du pied, de peur qu'en s'éveillant tout-à-coup il ne soit effrayé de ma présence. »

PALMERINI, Peitro (active 1810-1819)

604. Andromaque évanouie à la vue d'Hector trainé au char d'Achille.

PELLIER

607. Philoctète veut se venger d'Ulysse.

Je dis à Néoptolème, « digne fils d'Achille, laisse-moi percer mon ennemi. » J'allais lirer une flèche contre votre père, mais Néoptolème m'arrêta, en me disant : « la colère vous trouble et vous empêche de voir l'indigne action que vous voulez faire. »

Pour Ulysse, il paraissait tranquille contre mes flèches que contre mes injures.

(*Télémaque, livre 15.*)

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul

623. Andromaque.

C'est le moment où la veuve d'Hector pleure sur le sort de son fils, dont les traits lui retracent vivement ceux de son époux.

« C'est Hector, disait-elle, en l'embrassant toujours ;
Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace :
C'est lui-même, c'est toi, cher époux, que j'embrasse. »

(Racine.)

QUEYLAR, Paul du

629. Pâris et Hélène.

630 Bacchus enfant, élevé par les Nymphes.

RIBAUT, Julie

646. Un Amour.

VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin

732. Didon et Énée se réfugient dans la grotte pendant l'orage. (4^e Livre de l'*Énéide*.)

VIGÉE LE BRUN, Elisabeth-Louise

1052. Amphion jouant de la Lyre.

Près de lui sont trois jeunes Naiades.

1819

Explication des plafonds.

Grand escalier du Musée Royal.

MEYNIER, Charles

La France, sous les traits de Minerve, protège l'élan des Beaux-Arts sous l'olivier de la douce et bienfaisante Paix, et le flambeau vivifiant du génie. (Maison du Roi.)

Coupole de la salle d'Apollon.

La décoration de cette coupole est formée de cinq compartiments représentant le soleil et les quatre éléments figurés par des sujets de la fable.

Deux de ces compartiments peints par M. Merry-Joseph BLONDEL, représentant :

-La chute d'Icare.

-Éole déchaînant les vents contre la flotte troyenne.

Trois autres par M. Auguste COUDER (1789-1873) :

-Combat d'Hercule et d'Antée.

-Achille près d'être englouti par le Xanthe et le Simois irrités du carnage qu'il fait des Troyens

-Vénus recevant des mains de Vulcain, les armes qu'il a forgées pour Énée.

ALBRIER, Joseph (1791-1963)

9. Narcisse.

Au retour de la chasse, il se regarde dans une fontaine et devient épris de lui-même

10 Cypris, fils de Télèphe.

Il nourrissait un cerf qu'il tua par mégarde, et en eut tant de regret qu'il voulut se donner la mort.

Apollon le métamorphosa en Cyprès.

ANSIAUX, Jean-Joseph-Eléonore-Antoine

15. L'éducation de l'Amour par Mercure. (Maison du Roi.)

16. Mercure remet la pomme à Paris.

Il lui montre les trois déesses qui viennent pour être jugées. (Maison du Roi.)

17. Nymphe de Diane endormie sur les bords du Parthénius.

BACLÈRE D'ALBE, Louis-Albert-Guislain

33. Œdipe errant dans la Grèce.

BÉFORT, Mlle

1588. Céphale et Procris.

BERGERET, Pierre-Nolasque (1782-1863)

55. Vénus sortant des eaux.

Mercure la conduit dans l'Olympe par l'ordre de Jupiter.

BIDAULD, Jean-Joseph-Xavier (1758-1846)

91. Paysage historique représentant Psyché et le Dieu Pan.

Psyché eut le malheur de blesser l'amour, et elle fut abandonnée. Alors elle se livra à tout ce que la douleur a de plus excessif. Elle courut au bord d'un fleuve et se précipita dans son sein ; le fleuve secourable l'enveloppa d'une vague respectueuse et la porta mollement sur une de ses rives, garnie de fleurs et de gazon. Elle y rencontra le Dieu Pan qui la consola.

BOISFREMONT, Charles Boulanger de

267 Ulysse sous la forme d'un mendiant.

De retour chez lui, après une absence de vingt ans, il cherche à éprouver les sentiments de Pénélope en lui racontant ses propres aventures sans un être reconnu ; elle versait des torrens de larmes au récit des malheurs d'un époux qu'elle croyait perdu pour jamais.

Odysée d'Homère. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

BOSIO, Jean-François

132. Vénus ramène Hélène à Paris.

BOSSelman

135. Les Amours de Télémaque et d'Eucharis.

BOUCHET, Louis-André-Gabriel

138. Hazaël rendant Mentor à Télémaque. (Ordonné par Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

BOURDON, Pierre-Michel

157. Œdipe et Antigone.

BURCY, Mlle [Peintre, rue des Petits-Augustins, n.26.]

179. Bergers d'Arcadie. Etude.

COCHET, Augustine

231. Cérès.

Elle allume ses flambeaux sur le mont Etna pour chercher sa fille Proserpine ravie par Pluton.

COEURÉ, Sébastien (1778-c.1831)

232. Niobé reçoit le dernier soupir de ses enfans.

DECHALAS, Adèle [Peintre, rue de la Marche, n.11.]

274. Céphale et Procris.

DEJUNNE, François-Louis Hardy (1784-1844)

281. L'été représenté par une moisson,

Cérès, après y avoir présidé, remonte dans son char, accompagnée de la Paix et de l'Abondance, et ordonne à Triptolème d'aller enseigner l'art de cultiver le blé par toute la terre. (Maison du Roi.)

282. L'automne représenté par une vendage.

Bacchus y préside ; le vieux Silène est déjà tombé aux pieds du dieu qui, tout chancelant, proclame sa victoire. (Maison du Roi.)

DELAVAL, Pierre-Louis

301. Psyché et l'Amour.

Le moment représenté est celui où l'Amour abandonne Psyché. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

DENIS [Peintre, rue Saint-Denis, n.356.]

324. Narcisse se mirent dans l'eau.

DESCAMPS, Guillaume-Désiré-Joseph

333. Helene ramenée près de Pâris par Vénus. (*Illiade*, chap. 3.)

DEVILLERS, Georges

345. Pan et Syrinx.

Pan poursuivant Syrinx ; la Nymphé, arrêtée par les eaux du fleuve Ladon, se jette dans les bras d'une Naïade, sa sœur, et la supplie de changer sa figure, pour la soustraire aux désirs du Dieu. (Métam. d'Ov., liv 1^{er})

DROLLING, Michel-Martin

353. Orphée perdant Eurydice.

Presqu'aux portes du jour, troublé, hors de lui même,

Il s'arrête, il se tourne, il revoit ce qu'il aime,

C'en est fait, un coup d'œil a détruit son bonheur.

(Georg. de Virg., trad. de Delille) (Maison du Roi.)

DROUILLIÈRE

357. Mentor et Télémaque à la cour de Sésostris.

FORTIN, Augustin-Félix

450. Une Nymphé.

451. Un Satyre.

GAUTHEROT, Pierre-Claude

500. La vaccine.

Vénus sort des eaux ; l'amour a fait trouver sur le rivage Esculape et la vache Io. Le dieu d'Epidaure détache le bracelet de la déesse, et assure par l'inoculation la conservation de sa beauté. Esquisse.

GIRODET, Anne-Louis

1641. Pygmalion amoureux de sa statue.

GOSSE, Nicolas-Louis-François (1787-1878)

521. La passage du Styx.

Carou a reçu dans sa barque les Trois Ages de la Vie et les dirige vers les Champs-Elysées.

GRANGER, Jean-Pierre

526. Une jeune nymphé au milieu des Amours.

GUILLEMOT, Alexandre-Charles

574. Mars, attirée par l'Amour, surprend Rhéa-Sylvia endormie.

Rhéa-Sylvia, fille de Numitor, fut enfermée avec les vestales, par Amulius son oncle, qui avait détrôné Numitor, et qui ne voulait point de concurrent au trône ; mais un jour en allant puiser de l'eau dans le Tibre, dont un bras passait alors à travers le jardin des vestales, elle s'endormit sur le bord, et rêva qu'elle était avec le dieu Mars : elle devint mère de Rémus et de Romulus.

(Maison du Roi.)

575. Sapho et Phaon. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

HUBERT [Peintre, rue Childebert, n.9.]

607. Une scène de déluge.

KOLBE [Peintre, quai des Grands-Augustins, n.5.]

654. Vénus ramène Hélène à Pâris.

LAFOND, Charles-Nicolas-Raphael

663. Le réveil de Psyché.

Plafond exécuté dans la maison, rue d'Enfer, de M. Barbier, chirurgien en chef du Val-de-Grace.

LAGRÉNÉE, Anthelme-François (1774-1832)

667. Œdipe rencontre Laius dans le sentier funeste.

...Et ma main furieuse arrête des coursiers la fougue impétueuse.

(*Voltaire.*)

LAIR, Louis

676. Circé présente à Ulysse le breuvage enchanté. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

677. Prométhée sur le Caucase.

LEROY, Denis-Sébastien

756. Vénus arrêtant Énée prêt à venger la ruine de Troie sur Hélène, réfugiée près de l'autel de Vesta.

« Venus ma mère m'apparut tout à coup, et me dit d'un ton plein de douceur : Mon fils, quel objet allume ainsi votre colère ? Ne vous en prenez aujourd'hui ni à *Hélène*, ni à *Paris* ; ce sont les dieux, oui, ce sont les dieux irrités qui renversent cet empire, et détruisent la superbe Troie. »
(*Récit d'Enée à Didon, Énéide, chant second.*) (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

LE SAGE

760. Supplice des Danaïdes.

L'artiste, en représentant quelques-unes des danaïdes occupées des travaux auxquels elles sont condamnées, s'est plus particulièrement attaché à peindre dans les autres les tourmens du remords et l'extrême accablement qu'elles éprouvent. Il a éclairé la scène d'un jour faible et bleuâtre, pour ajouter encore à leur pâleur et exprimer l'état de leurs souffrances.

LETHIÈRE, Guillaume

576. Paysage historique.

La scène est près de Carthage, qu'on aperçoit dans le fond du tableau. Sur le devant, Énée et Didon cherchent un abri contre l'orage. Junon, précédée de l'hymen, descend de l'Olympe pour présider à leur union. Sur le second plan, des chasseurs dispersés par la tempête, portent au temple de Junon-protectrice les prémices de leur chasse. Plus loin, des cavaliers courent à toute bride, cherchant la reine et le troyen que l'orage a séparés de leur suite. (*Énéide.*) (Maison du Roi.)

578. Vénus sur les ondes.

Le zéphir s'est emparé de sa ceinture, et s'en sert comme d'une voile pour diriger la conque, qui est poussée par un Triton. Une Néréide présente à la déesse des coraux ; d'autres Néréides s'empressent de former son cortège.

MAUZAISSE, Jean-Baptiste (1784-1844)

804. Un groupe de Danaïdes. (Maison du Roi.)

805. Prométhée. (Maison du Roi.)

806. Tantale. (Maison du Roi.)

MAYER, Constance

809. Le rêve du bonheur.

Deux jeunes époux dans une barque, avec leur enfant, sont conduits sur le fleuve de la vie par l'Amour et la Fortune.

MOENCH, Charles-Victoire-Frederic

841. Diane surprise au bain par Actéon.

MONGIN, Pierre-Antoine

846 La rêverie. (Idylle.)

Chloé, sortant du bain, est venue se reposer au pied d'un platane ; charmée de la solitude et de la fraîcheur du lieu, elle n'a pas songé à reprendre ses vêtemens ; elle est tombée dans une profonde rêverie : toutes ses pensées, tous ses souvenirs sont pour Myrthil.

MONTAGNY, Elie-Honoré (d.1864)

851. Cupidon combattant avec Antéros pour lui ravir une palme.

La scène est près d'Amathonte, où Vénus était spécialement honorée. Toutes les divinités champêtres assistent à ce combat dont l'Amour sort vainqueur.

MUTEL, Mme [Peintre, rue du Temple, n.63.]

856. Zéphyr se jouant sur les eaux.

Peint sur porcelaine d'après M. Prud'hon.

PALLIÈRE, Louis-Vincent-Léon (1787-1820)

869 Une Nymphé chasserresse sortant du bain.

PALMERINI, Peitro

875. L'enlèvement d'Europe. (Maison du Roi.)

PERRIN, Jean-Charles-Nicaise

889. Sujet tiré des travaux d'Hercule.

Cigne, fils de Mars, s'opposant au passage d'Alcide (sur le point de terminer ses travaux), et le provoquant au combat, est puni de sa témérité.

A peine Hercule sortait-il victorieux de cette lutte ; que le dieu de la guerre, irrité de la mort de son fils, se présente pour en tirer vengeance. Mais au moment où ils allaient en venir aux mains, Jupiter, armé de son foudre, les sépare, en ordonnant à Mars de se retirer, et de laisser un libre cours aux actions généreuses de l'ennemi des vices.

PICOT, François-Eduard (1786-1868)

898. L'Amour et Psyché.

L'Amour quitte Psyché pendant son sommeil, pour n'être pas connu d'elle.

PINEAU DU PAVILLON, Isidore (1790-1856)

911. Psyché et l'Amour.

PUJOL, Alexandre-Denis Abel de (1785-1861)

3. Sisyphe aux Enfers (commandé par le ministre de la Maison du Roi)

RATHIER [Peintre, rue Montmartre, n.130.]

931. Ulysse chez Laërte est reconnu par Dolius et ses enfans.

Ulysse, roi d'Ithaque, de retour dans son royaume, accompagné de son fils Télémaque, s'est fait reconnaître de Laërte, son père. Bientôt accourent le vieux *Dolinus et ses enfans*. Ils arrêtent leurs regards sur Ulysse, et l'ayant reconnu, demeurent sur le seuil, immobiles d'étonnement. Le héros, d'une voix douce et sensible, les convie au festin.

Dolius, attendri, lui baise les mains et exprime les transports de sa joie. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

RÉMOND, Jean-Charles-Joseph (1795-1875)

941. Paysage historique représentant Œdipe.

Ce roi aveugle, exilé de son pays, ayant pour guide Antigone sa fille, alla, par hasard, vers Athènes, et s'arrêta dans un lieu près du temple des Euménides, non loin de Colone.

Le moment choisi est celui où ce vieillard, accablé par le malheur, se repose dans le bois sacré ; une troupe d'anciens du pays lui crie d'en sortir, s'il ne veut attirer sur sa tête la vengeance des

villes de la nuit. Antigone les conjure d'y laisser reposer son père. Œdipe, entendant ces paroles, se met sous la protection de ces noires divinités.

(Voyez Sophocle, tragédie d'Œdipe.)

942. Paysage historique représentant Philoctète dans l'île de Lemnos.

O rochers escarpés, c'est à vous que je me plains : vous êtes accoutumées à mes gémissements ; je nourris une plaie qui me dévore, et l'espérance est éteinte dans mon cœur.

REVEST, Cornélie-Louise (1795-1856)

939. La toilette de Psyché.

ROGER, Pierre-Louis

979. La muse Calliope dans un moment d'inspiration. (Maison du Roi.)

ROUGET, Georges

994. Œdipe et Antigone sur le mont Cythérou. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

SICARDI, Louis-Marie

1033. Une Bacchante.

Tête d'étude d'après mademoiselle Bigottini, première danseuse de l'Opéra.

SIMON, Gervais [Peintre, passage Franconi, n.355.]

1034. L'Amour faisant danser les Grâces.

TARDIEU, Jean-Charles (1765-1830)

1058. Clio.

Cette muse, inspirée à la vue du buste de Louis XVIII, va retracer les bienfaits du règne de ce monarque. (Maison du Roi.)

1061. Une famille de Centaures.

Un Centaure rapporte, dans sa caverne, le produit de sa chasse.

TREZEL, Félix

1084. Les adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque. (Maison du Roi.)

VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin

1104. Sapho.

Elle est retirée de l'eau par les soins d'un étranger.

1108. Cassandre, tête d'étude.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine

1112. Des nymphes se disposent à se baigner.

1114. Des bacchanales.

1115. Télémaque instruisant les bergers.

VAUDECHAMP, Jean-Joseph (1790-1864)

1684. Persée délivrant Andromède.

VÉRON, Alexandre-Paul-Joseph Bellecourt (b.1773, active 1801-1838)

1172. Couronne votive à la déesse Flore.

Les fleurs y sont disposées par ordre de saison ; au milieu est un camée sardoine représentant la déesse.

VIGNAUD, Jean (1775-1826)

1176. Amphion apprend de Mercure à jouer de la lyre. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

1822

ALBRIER, Joseph

9. Aminte délivrant Sylvie.

...Le Satyre prit fuite et Aminte eut le loisir d'admirer tous les charmes de son amante.....

10. Daphnis montrant à jouer de la double Flûte à Chloé.

ALIGNY, Théodore Caruelle d' (1798-1871)

1690. Daphnis et Chloé.

AUBUISSON, Julien-Honoré-Germain Marquis d'

28. Puniton d'Hébé. (Maison du Roi.)

BELLE, Augustin-Louis

65. Les Danaïdes, grande esquisse peinte.

Elles se réfugient à Argos, leur ancienne patrie pour éviter l'hymen impie qu'on veut les forcer à contracter avec leurs cousins, les fils d'Egyptus.

(*Tragédie d'Eschyle, intitulée Les Suppliantes.*)

66. Hersé, fille de Cécrops, aperçoit Mercure qui se dirige vers son palais. (*Métam. d'Ovide.*)

67. Allégorie à la paix.

BERTHON, René-Théodore

91. Une Léda.

BLONDEL, Merry-Joseph

Plafond du cabinet du Roi, attenant à la salle des séances royales pour l'ouverture des Chambres.

112. La dispute de Minerve et de Neptune au sujet d'Athènes.

Les Dieux, arbitres du différent, décidèrent qui celui qui produirait la chose la plus utile donnerait son nomme à la ville. Neptune, frappant la terre de son trident, en fit sortir un cheval ; mais Minerve produisit un olivier ; ce qui lui assura la victoire.

115. Esquisse d'un fragment de plafond du salon de Diane à Fontainebleau.

Diane, sur son char, est environnée de Zéphyrus qui cherchent à la dérober aux regards des mortels, en l'enveloppant du voile de la Nuit. L'Amour, caché parmi eux, dirige sa course vers Endymion ; autre sujet de l'un des tableaux du même salon.

BOISFREMONT, Charles Boulanger de

291. Psyché.

Elle est privée de vie et de sentiment par l'effet des vapeurs malfaisantes, sorties de la boîte de Proserpine, imprudemment ouverte.

L'amour vole à son secours et lui rend l'existence en la piquant d'une de ses flèches.

BOSIO, Jean-François

137. La poésie érotique écrivant sous la dictée de l'amour.

BOUILLON, Pierre

149. Aréthuse échappe à la poursuite d'Alphée. (Maison du Roi.)

BOULLAND [Peintre, rue de l'Observance, n.10.]

150. Paysage historique.

Ulysse, arrivant à Ithaque, est reconnu par le berger Philète, intendant de ses troupeaux.

BOURGEOIS, Amédée (1798-1837)

152. Œdipe, fils de Laïus, rencontre dans un chemin étroit de la Phocide, son père qu'il ne connaissait pas ; il lui dispute le passage, et le tue.

BOUTON, Joseph-Marie

162. Flore, grande miniature.

BROCAS, Charles

173. Psyché au bord du précipice.

174. Psyché adresse sa prière à la Lune.

175. Psyché se précipitant dans le gouffre, est sauvée par Zéphire

CHAIX, Georges-Pierre-Paul-Joseph (1784-1834)

202. Œdipe maudit son fils Polynice.

Antigone et Ismène ses filles, intercèdent en faveur de leur frère.

CHAVASSIEU D'HAUDEBERT, Adèle

226. Un cadre renfermant plusieurs émaux.

4. Zéphire, d'après Prud'hon.

5. L'Amour et Psyché, d'après David.

6. Vénus et Ascagne, d'après M. de Boisfremont.

COGNIET, Léon (1794-1880)

241. Métabus, roi des Volsques.

Détrôné et poursuivi par ses sujets, il est arrêté dans sa fuite par un torrent. Prêt à le franchir, il attache sa fille à son javelot, et la voue à Diane avant de la lancer sur l'autre bord. (*Virg. Enéid, liv. XI.*)

COLLET, Jean-Baptiste [Peintre.]

250. Une Nymphé au bain. Esquisse.

COLSON, Guillaume-François

254. Agamemnon méprisant les sinistres prédictions de Cassandre.

Cassandre, qui avait été amenée captive, avait vainement prédit à Agamemnon qu'il devait mourir victime de la perfidie d'une femme et de sa trop noble confiance en elle.

COUNIS, Salomon-Guillaume (1784-1859)

263. Un cadre d'émaux :

4. Pigmalion et Galathée, d'après Girodet-Trioson.

DEJUNNE, François-Louis Hardy

297. L'Automne, représenté par Bacchus et sa suite. (Maison du Roi.)

298. L'Hiver, représenté par Borée enlevant Orythie. (Maison du Roi.)

DELANOE, Frédéric [Peintre, rue du Foin-Saint-Jacques, n.18.]

311. Mort de Procris.

D'une épouse chérie innocent assassin,

Je la prends dans mes bras, la soutins sur mon sein,

J'arrache ses tissus, je ferme sa blessure ;

Je la presse de vivre, et cent fois la conjure

De ne pas me laisser le crime de sa mort.

Procris pour me parler fait un dernier effort,

Etc.

DELAVAL, Alexandrie [Peintre, rue de Richelieu, n.32.]

323. Alexis.

Il vient de célébrer la beauté de Daphné qu'il aime sans le lui dire ; il s'aperçoit que son secret est découvert ; Daphné et Chloé, sa compagne, écoutaient ses chants. (*Idylles de Gessner.*)

DELORME, Pierre-Claude-François (1783-1859)

325. Céphale enlevé par l'Amour.

326. Derniers adieux d'Héro et Léandre.

DROLLING, Michel-Martin

375. La séparation d'Hécube et de Polixène.

(*Hécube, tragédie d'Eurip., acte 1^{er}.*) (Maison du Roi.)

DUBUFE, Claude-Marie

388. Apollon et Cypris.

389. Psyché rapportant à Vénus la boîte de beauté.

Aussitôt qu'elle eut atteint notre monde, elle eut envie de savoir quel était ce fard dont Proserpine l'avait chargée. Le moyen de s'en empêcher ! elle serait femme, et laisserait échapper une telle occasion de se satisfaire ! Une certaine appréhension toutefois la retenait, elle regardait la boîte, y portait la main, puis l'en retirait et l'y reportait aussitôt.... Après un combat qui fut assez long, la victoire demeura, selon la coutume à cette malheureuse curiosité. (Lafontaine.)

DUMONT, François

409. L'Amour et la Beauté soumettant la Force.

DUVIDAL DE MONTFERRIER, Louise-Rose-Julie (1797-1865)

454. Bacchus enfant.

DUVIVIER, Bernard

457. Une Hamadryade.

Elle supplie Arcas, jeune chasseur, de détourner l'onde rapide qui déracine l'arbre auquel sa vie est attachée.

FORTIN, Augustin-Félix

1701. Vénus et l'Amour.

1706. Une nymphe endormie.

FRANQUE, Pierre (1774-1860)

501. Jupiter endormi dans les bras de Junon, sur le mont Ida. (Maison du Roi.)

GROS, Antoine-Jean

616. Ariane, abandonnée par Thésée dans l'île de Naxos, est recueillie et consolée par Bacchus.

GUÉRIN, Paulin (1783-1855)

1747. Anchise et Vénus.

Vénus, éprise d'amour pour Anchise, que sa beauté rendait semblable aux Dieux, s'offre à ses regards, dans une demeure retirée de l'Ida, sous les traits d'une jeune Vierge, grande et belle, fille mortelle d'un roi de Phrygie, afin de ne pas le troubler ni l'intimider par son éclat céleste. Pour mieux le rassurer et le bien pénétrer de confiance, elle lui raconte que Mercure vient de l'enlever du milieu de ses jeunes compagnes et l'a transportée dans ce lieu après lui avoir dit que, d'après un oracle, elle était destinée à devenir l'épouse d'Anchise. Anchise, cédant alors aux charmes secrets de la Déesse, l'accueille avec des transports de tendresse et d'amour, et la presse, au nom des immortels, de se rendre à ses vœux légitimes.

(Sujet tiré d'un hymne d'Homère à Vénus.)

GUILLEMOT, Alexandre-Charles

654. La mort d'Hypolite, suivant le récit de Thérémène

La timide Aricie est alors arrivée ;

Elle approche, elle voit l'herbe rouge et fument,

Elle voit (quel objet pour les yeux d'une amante !)

Hypolite étendu, sans forme et sans couleur,

Elle veut quelque tems douter de son malheur ;

Et, ne connaissant plus ce héros qu'elle adore,

Elle voit Hypolite et le demande encore ;

Mais trop sûre à la fin qu'il est devant ses yeux,

Par un triste regard elle accuse les dieux ;

Et, froide, gémissante, et presque inanimée,

Aux pieds de son amant elle tombe pâmée.

Ismène est auprès d'elle, Ismène toute en pleurs,

La rappelle à la vie, ou plutôt aux douleurs.

(Maison du Roi.)

655. Les amours de Sapho et d Phaon. (Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

HENRY, Mlle [Peintre, rue Saint-Louis, n.75, au Marais.]

1749. Sapho en méditation.

LANCRENON, Joseph-Ferdinand (1794-1874)

766. Borée enlevant Orythie. (Maison du Roi.)

LANGLOIS, Jérôme-Martin (1779-1838)

775. Diane et Endymion.

LA RIVIÈRE [Peintre, rue Saint-Florentin, n.14.]

1752. Mars en repos. (Maison du Roi.)

LAURENT, Jean-Antoine

789. L'Amour dans un instant de loisir trouble avec le bout de son pied les eaux limpides d'un ruisseau.

LEBRUN, Hippolyte

813. Hercule endormi entre les bras d'Omphale.

Ainsi l'amour avilit les héros.

LECOEUR, Jean-Baptiste (1795-1838)

823. Psyché et ses sœurs.

Ses sœurs soupiraient à la vue de ces objets. C'étaient autant de serpents qui leur rongeaient l'ame. (*La Fontaine.*)

LETHIÈRE, Guillaume

658. Esculape, fils d'Apollon, allaité par une chèvre, est trouvé par un berger.

LIBOUR, Esprit-Aimé

895. Philoctète dans l'île de Lemnos.

Néoptolème, par les conseils d'Ulysse, enlève à Philoctète les flèches d'Hercule. Touché du désespoir de ce héros, il veut les lui rendre : Ulysse l'entraîne ; imprécations de Philoctète.

MAUZAISSE, Jean-Baptiste

913. Plafond de la salle carrée attenante à la salle ronde à l'extrémité de la galerie d'Apollon.

Il représente le temps montrant et les ruines qu'il amène et les chefs-d'œuvre qu'il laisse ensuite découvrir.

Peintures en grisaille exécutées dans les pendentifs de la voûte de la salle ronde.

MUTEL, Mme

964. Daphnis et Chloé, d'après M. Hersent. Peinture sur porcelaine.

Ce tableau appartient à S.A.R. Mme la duchesse de Berry. Le tableau original fait partie du cabinet de M. Casimir Périer.

697. La Beauté dirige les traits de l'Amour d'après le dessin de M. Franque. Peinture sur porcelaine.

PAGÈS, Aimée (1803-1866)

998. Psyché enlevée par Zéphire.

PICOT, François-Eduard

1025. Oreste, après ses fureurs, s'endort dans les bras d'Electre.

O ! chères amies ! marchez d'un pas tranquille. Silence ! point de bruit. Votre amitié m'est bien douce ; mais si vous éveillez cet infortuné, ce serait pour moi une douleur mortelle.

(*Oreste, tragédie d'Euripide, traduction de Prévost.*)

RENAUDIN, Rosalie [Peintre, rue de Rochechouart, n.8.]

1070. Daphnis et Chloé, grande miniature, d'après le tableau de M. Hersent.
(Cet tableau appartient à la Société des Amis des Arts.)

RIOULT, Louis-Edouard (1870-1855)

1093. Daphnis et Chloé.

1094. Le berger Lamon trouve le petit Daphnis.

1095. Le Sommeil d'Endymion.

1096. Le lever de l'Aurore.

ROMANY, Adèle

335. Philis couronnant de fleurs Daphnis.

(*Idylle de Gessner.*)

STEUBEN, Charles (1788-1856)

1203. Mercure endormant Argus.

Jupiter, voulant venger les mauvais traitements qu'Argus faisait éprouver à la nymphe Io, métamorphosée en génisse, chargea Mercure de le tuer. Ce dieu prit forme d'un berger, endormit Argus par le charme de sa flûte, et exécuta l'ordre de Jupiter.

STRASBAUX [Peintre, rue du Faubourg Montmartre, n.4.]

1771. Enée et Didon dans la grotte.

THUAIRE, Jean-François (1794-1823)

1251. Psyché.

Elle est condamnée à trier des graines éparses devant elle. L'amour suscita des fourmis, qui se chargèrent de la punition infligée par Vénus. (Maison du Roi.)

VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin

1273. Ulysse demandant des secours à Nausicaa, fille du roi Alcinoüs.

Ulysse, après un naufrage, aborde dans l'île de Corcüs. Accablé de fatigue, il s'endort sur un amas de feuilles. Nausicaa et ses compagnes, non loin de là, se livraient à divers jeux.... Réveillé par leurs ris et leurs cris, Ulysse s'avance.... Saisies d'épouvante, elles fuient et se cachent. Seule, la fille d'Alcinoüs ne prend pas la fuite ; Minerve lui inspire cette fermeté.... Ulysse délibère s'il embrassera ses genoux ou si, restant dans un respectueux éloignement, il s'adressera à elle d'une voix suppliante ; il s'arrête à ce dernier parti.... Je t'implore, ô reine, est-tu mortelle ou déesse....

(Ce tableau appartient à M. Lafitte)

1277. L'Automne, tête d'étude.

VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine

1289. Vénus endormie au son de la mélodie.

1290 Vénus et Adonis dans un jardin solitaire.

1291. Cérès donnant des leçons d'agriculture à Triptolème, fils de Célus, roi d'Eleusis.

1292. Apollo gardant les troupeaux d'Admète.

1293. L'ivresse de Bacchus.

VILLENEUVE, Jules-Louis-Frédéric (1796-1842)

1324. L'enlèvement de Proserpine.

VOLPELIÈRE, L.-P.-Julie (1785-1842)

1331. Un Amour endormi.

1824

ALBRIER, Joseph

14. Une Naïade endormie, auprès d'une fontaine.

ALAUX, Jean (1786-1864)

15. Scène du combat des Centaures et des Lapithes.

16. Pandore descendue sur la terre par Mercure. (Maison du Roi.)

ARSENNE, Louis-Charles (1780-1856)

31. Psyché

L'Amour quitte la couche nuptiale aux premiers rayons du jour ; des nymphes s'empres-
sent autour de Psyché.

AUBOIS [Peintre, rue du Cimetière-Saint-André des Arcs, n.13.]

43. Ariane.

Abandonnée par Thésée dans l'île de Naxos, elle est recueillie et consolée par Bacchus.

BERGER, Joseph (1798-1870)

107. Bacchus. Esquisse.

BERTHON, René-Théodore

131. Echo, tenant la fleur de Narcisse sur son cœur, se laisse mourir de douleur.

BIDAULD, Jean-Joseph-Xavier

142. Souvenirs des environs de Gènes.

Chloé, après avoir été enlevée par des pirates, vient d'être rendue à Daphnis, qui, en la voyant,
était tombe par terre tout pâmé de joie ; à force de soins et de caresses, elle le fait revenir et lui
conte tout ce qui lui est arrivé pendant sa détention dans les galères des pirates.

(Le sujet des figures est tiré du roman de Longus traduit par Amiot.)

BLANCHARD [Peintre, rue d'Anjou-Dauphine, n.2.]

156. Méléagre et Atalante.

Paysage historique.

BOSIO, Jean-François

213. Achille.

Agamemnon, roi de Mycènes et d'Argos, lui envoie deux députés pour lui enlever la belle
Briséis, sa captive ; il ordonne à son ami Patrocle de la remettre aux députés qui doivent la
ramener dans le camp d'Agamemnon.

214. La Poésie lyrique écrivant sous la dictée de l'Amour.

COLSON, Guillaume-François

353. Agamemnon méprisant les sinistres prédictions de Cassandre.

Cassandre, qui avait été amenée captive, avait vainement prédit à Agamemnon qu'il devait
mourir victime de la perfidie d'une femme et de sa trop noble confiance en elle. (Ministre de
l'Intérieur.)

COUNIS, Salomon-Guillaume

377. Pygmalion et Galatée, email d'après Girodet-Trioson.

COUTAN, Amable-Paul (1792-1837)

383. Ceix et Alcyone.

384. Arion.

385. Erésichton.

DARBOIS, Pierre (b.1785)

402. Vénus endormie, d'après le tableau de Jean Hemmessen.

DEBIA, Prosper (1791-1876)

414. Paysage historique ; Inachus reconnaissant Io.

415. Paysage ; le berger Lamon trouve Daphnis qu'une chèvre allaitait.

DEJUNNE, François-Louis Hardy

435. La famille de Priam pleurant la mort d'Hector ; Pâris jure de le venger. (Maison du Roi.)
436. Borée enlève Orithye.
DELORME, Pierre-Claude-François
470. Psyché, après avoir connu l'Amour.
« Elle demeura immobile, et baissant les yeux, elle attendit avec des transes mortelles sa destinée. » (La Fontaine.)
471. Hector adressant des reproches à Pâris.
DESCAMPS, Guillaume-Désiré-Joseph
492. Vénus, suivie des Grâces, se fait reconnaître d'Hélène en la ramenant à Pâris. (*Illiade*, chant 3°.)
DESMOULINS, Jean-Emmanuel [Peintre, rue de l'Odéon, n.19.]
503. Oreste au tombeau d'Agamemnon.
Oreste, sous le costume de berger phocéén, arrive à la cour de Mycènes, il y sacrifie aux mânes de son père. Son gouverneur est près de lui, qui lui rappelle l'oracle de Delphes.
- DROLLING, Martin-Michel
532. La séparation d'Hécube et de Polyxène.
(*Hécube*, tragédie d'Euripide.)
- DUPONT [Peintre, rue Villedot, hôtel de Bussy.]
596. L'Amour désarmé ; tableau sur porcelaine, d'après le Corrège.
DUVIVIER, Bernard
626. Damon et Philis.
(Idylle de *Gessner*.)
627. Une hamadryade sortant d'un arbre.
Elle supplie Arcas, jeune chasseur, de détourner l'onde rapide qui déracine l'arbre auquel sa vie est attachée.
(Ce tableau appartient à M. Kératry)
- FÉLIX [Peintre, place de la Pointe-Saint-Eustache, n.10.]
639. Jalousie d'Oenone.
Pour se venger de l'infidélité de son époux, elle envoie son fils à la cour de Priam, dans l'espoir qu'il charmera Hélène, et que cette passion la détachera de Pâris. Ce stratagème réussit ; un jour Pâris trouva son fils aux pieds d'Hélène.
- FRANCK, Philippe (c.1780-1837)
677. Hylas et les nymphes du fleuve Ascanius.
GAUTHEROT, Pierre-Claude
734. Vénus vaccinée par Esculape.
Esculape est au moment d'opérer la piqûre sous le bracelet de Vénus ; l'Amour soutient sa mère. Le dieu d'Epidaure a pris sur la jeune Io, née du sang des Divinités et métamorphosée en vache par la jalousie de Junon, le remède préservateur de la beauté.
- GÉRARD, François
751. Daphnis et Chloé.
GIROUX, André (1801-1879)
781. Orphée et Eurydice.
GRANGER, Jean-Pierre
804. Phèdre et Hippolyte.
« Tu combles tous mes vœux, et tu guéris ma fureur. En me donnant la mort, tu sauves ma vertu ; frappe, je périrai volontiers de ta main. »

GUÉRIN, Paulin

837. Ulysse en butte au courroux de Neptune.

La tempête a brisé le navire d'Ulysse. La foudre sillonne le ciel ; la mer est soulevée. Emporté sur un débris du mât de son vaisseau, le héros a dépouillé ses vêtements et vient de ceindre l'écharpe, gage de salut, que lui remet une divinité tutélaire. Puisant dans son précipite à la nage ; son regard exprime sa résignation aux ordres du destin.

Neptune paraît soudain. Furieux, il brandit le trident. « Misérable jouet des vagues, dit-il, fléchis sous mon pouvoir, et puissé-je reculer encore longtemps le terme de tes infortunes. »

(Ministre de l'Intérieur.)

(Sujet tiré du 5^e chant de l'Odyssée.)

GUIMET, Rosalie (née Bidault) (1798-1876)

854. Danaë exposée sur les flots avec son fils Persée.

O mon fils, il n'est plus d'espoir :

Déjà le gouffre nous dévore ;

Sur mon sein je te presse encore,

Mais je ne dois plus te revoir.

(M. Casimir Delavigne)

HESSE, Nicolas-Auguste (1795-1869)

908. Oenone et Pâris.

JACOB, Nicolas-Henri

936. Hippolyte, reine des Amazones, assaillie par un lion. Dessin sur pierre.

LAFOND, Charles-Nicolas-Raphael

994. L'Amour et la Discorde contemplant leurs œuvres.

On aperçoit Troie en flammes.

LAUZIER, Adèle [Peintre, place du Palais-Bourbon, n.101.]

1048. Sapho.

Elle vient de composer sa dernière élégie. Sa mère et sa fille cherchent à la consoler.

LAVAUDEN, Alphonse (1796-1857)

1050. Ulysse et Calypso.

Calypso va chercher Ulysse, elle le trouve assis sur le rivage où il passait les jours à pleurer et à se consumer, soupirant après son congé qu'il ne pouvait obtenir de cette déesse ; elle lui adressa ces paroles : « Ne vous affligez plus sur ce rivage, je suis prête à vous renvoyer aujourd'hui même dans votre chère patrie. »

(*Odyssée* d'Homère.)

LEBRUN, Hippolyte

1070. Paysage ; le bain des nymphes troublé par les satyres.

LECARPENTIER, Paul-Claude-Michel (1787-1877)

1073. Stratagème de Vénus.

Vénus, après avoir endormi Ascagne, envoie à sa place l'Amour à Carthage pour enflammer Didon en faveur d'Énée.

Et toi, pour cette nuit quittant tes traits divins,

Enfant ainsi que lui, prends ses traits enfantins ;

Et lorsque, dans le feu d'une fête brillante

Qu'échauffera du vin la liqueur enivrante,

Didon va t'imprimer des baisers pleins d'ardeur,

Mon fils, glisse en secret ton poison dans son cœur.

Énéide, liv 1^{er}.

MICHALLON, Achille-Etna (1796-1822)

1219. Œdipe et Antigone près du temple des Euménides.

MONVOISIN, Raymond-Auguste-Quinsac (1794-1870)

1245. Callirhoé.

Etant allée, selon la coutume, offrir sa virginité au Scamandre, un jeune homme, qui l'aimait depuis long-tems sans espérance, fit si bien, par son stratagème, qu'il reçut ce qui était destiné au fleuve.

PAGÈS, Aimée

1285. Daphnis et Chloé.

Ainsi que Daphnis, était en ces termes, une cigale poursuivie par une harondelle, se vint jeter en sauvegarde dedans le sein de Chloé, de quoi Chloé ne sachant ce que c'était s'écria hault, et Daphnis, se riant de sa peur, prit la gentille cigalle.

(Traduction d'*Amyot*.)

PARANT, Louis-Bertin (1768-1851)

1296. L'Amour à la porte d'Anacréon.

PETIT [Peintre, rue Saint-Honoré, n.302.]

1339. Paysage historique.

Anténor délivre Lasthénie d'un taureau furieux, en se saisissant d'un bâton ferré que tenaient des bergers accourus à son secours.

(Voyage d'Anténor en Grèce.)

PICOT, François-Eduard

1351. Céphale et Procris.

PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul

1384. Andromaque.

La Veuve d'Hector pleure sur le sort de son fils dont les traits lui retracent vivement ceux de son époux.

« C'est Hector, disait-elle, en l'embrassant toujours ;

Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche et déjà son audace :

C'est lui-même, c'est toi, cher époux que j'embrasse ! »

(Racine.)

(Ce tableau appartient à M. De Boisfremont.)

PUJOL, Alexandre-Denis Abel de

2. Ixion dans le Tartare.

Mercure, par ordre de Jupiter, a attaché Ixion a une roué entourée de serpens. (Maison du Roi.)

RÉMOND, Jean-Charles-Joseph

1403. Orphée ; paysage.

RENAUDIN, Rosalie

1409. Le sommeil d'Endymion ; grande miniature d'après M. Girodet.

1410. Zéphire jouant sur les eaux d'une fontaine ; d'après feu Prud'hon.

1411. Ariane, abandonnée par Thésée dans l'île de Naxos, est recueillie et consolée par Bacchus ; d'après Gros.

ROBINEAU, Claire [Peintre, rue des Marais-Saint-Germain, n.16.]

1459. Daphnis et Chloé ; paysage, soleil couchant.

SAMBAT, Mlle [Peintre, rue Saint-Germain-des-Près, n.6.]

1522. Clytie.

Cette nymphe, fille de l'Océan et amante d'Apollon, se laissa mourir lorsque ce dieu cessa de l'aimer, et fut métamorphosée en tournesol.

...Jamais elle ne remua de l'endroit où la douleur l'avait contrainte de s'asseoir, elle tournait seulement la tête selon qu'elle voyait aller le soleil, afin de suivre au moins des yeux ce dieu qu'elle aimait encore.

(Ovide)

1523 Une bacchante, tête d'étude.

SMITH, Constanti-Louis-Félix (1788-1873)

1577. Andromaque au tombeau d'Hector.

Le moment représenté est celui où la veuve d'Hector, entendant les pas des Grecs qui viennent de pénétrer dans le monument, serre son fils contre son sein, n'espérant plus le dérober à la vengeance de ses ennemis.

1578. Vénus conduite par l'Amour sur l'élément qui lui a donné naissance.

TREZEL, Félix

1630. Circé.

Sujet tiré de la cantate de J.-B. Rousseau.

TURPIN DE CRISSÉ, Lancelot-Théodore

1638. Apollon, chassé du ciel, enseigne la musique aux bergers.

VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin

1649. La fleuve Achéloüs.

Sous la figure d'un fleuve, un jeune homme déclare son amour à une jeune fille sortant du bain.

1653. Une muse, tête d'étude.

1656. Hélène et Pâris.

1661. L'Automne, tête d'étude.

WERNER, Jean-Charles [Peintre, rue de la Parcheminerie, n.11.]

1754. Diane.

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 CHAUDET, Antoine-Denis (1763-1810) : 1796
 CHAUDET, Jeanne-Elisabeth (1767-1832) : 1796, 1798, 1812
 CHAVASSIEU D'HAUDEBERT, Adèle (1788-1832) : 1814, 1822
 CHERADAME, Mme (née Bertaud) [Peintre, rue Hauteville, n.30.] : 1817
 CHÉREAU [Peintre, au Palais de l'Égalité.] : 1793
 CHÉRY, Philippe (1759-1838) : 1802, 1812
 CHEVREUX [Peintre, rue Sainte-Appoline, n.6.] : 1791
 CHRETIEN [Peintre, quai d'Alençon, n.11.] : 1812
 CLAVAREAU, Auguste-François [Peintre, rue des Filles Saint-Thomas, n.71] : 1798
 COCHET, Augustine (1788-1832) : 1817, 1819
 COEURÉ, Sébastien (1778-c.1831) : 1819

COGNIET, Léon (1794-1880) : 1822
 COLIBERT, Nicolas (c.1750-1806) : 1793
 COLLET [Peintre, rue Vielle du Temple.] : 1793
 COLLET, Jean-Baptiste [Peintre.] : 1822
 COLSON, Guillaume-François (1785-1850) : 1817, 1822, 1824
 COSWAY, Maria Louisa Catherine Cecilia (1759-1838) : 1802
 COUDER, Auguste (1789-1873) : 1819
 COUNIS, Salomon-Guillaume (1784-1859) : 1822, 1824
 COURTEILLE [Peintre, cour Abbatiale, n.1129, faubourg Germain.] : 1800, 1804
 COUTAN, Amable-Paul (1792-1837) : 1824
 CRÉPIN, Louis-Philippe (1772-1851) : 1800
 DAMAME-DEMARTRAIS, Michel-François (1763-1827) : 1796
 DANLOUX, Henri-Pierre (1753-1809) : 1802
 DARBOIS, Pierre (b.1785) : 1824
 DAVID, Jacques-Louis (1748-1825) : 1783, 1789
 DEBIA, Prosper (1791-1876) : 1824
 DEBRET, Jean-Baptiste (1768-1848) : 1814
 DECHALAS, Adèle [Peintre, rue de la Marche, n.11.] : 1819
 DEJUNNE, François-Louis Hardy (1784-1844) : 1819, 1822, 1824
 DELAFONTAINE, Pierre-Maximilien (1774-1860) : 1802
 DE LA FONTAINE, Rosalie [Peintre, rue du Faubourg-Montmartre, n.75.] : 1808
 DELANOË, Frédéric [Peintre, rue du Foin-Saint-Jacques, n.18.] : 1822
 DELAVAL, Alexandrie [Peintre, rue de Richelieu, n.32.] : 1822
 DELAVAL, Pierre-Louis (1790-1870) : 1810, 1812, 1814, 1819
 DELÉCLUZE, Etienne-Jean (1781-1863) : 1808, 1810, 1814
 DELORAS, François [Peintre.] : 1808
 DELORME, Pierre-Claude-François (1783-1859) : 1822, 1824
 DEMARAIS [Élève de M. Doyen, résidant à Florence.] : 1806
 DEMARNE, Jean-Louis (c.1752-1829) : 1796
 DENIS [Peintre, rue Saint-Denis, n.356.] : 1819
 DESCAMPS, Guillaume-Désiré-Joseph (1779-1858) : 1814, 1819, 1824
 DESHAYES, Jean-Eléazar [Élève de Schmidt, rue Rochechouard, n.660.] : 1800, 1802
 DESMARAIS, Frédéric (d.1814) : 1814
 DE ST-POL [Peintre, rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, n.7.] : 1810
 DESMARQUETS, Jeanne-Marie-Catherine (1775-1835) : 1793
 DESMOULINS, Jean-Emmanuel [Peintre, rue de l'Odéon, n.19.] : 1824
 DÉSORIA, Jean-Baptiste-François (1758-1832) : 1791, 1793, 1795, 1798
 DESPOIS, André-Jean-Antoine (b.1787) : 1812
 DESRAIS, Claude-Louis (1746-1816) : 1799
 DESVOSGE, François (1732-1811) : 1795
 DETARÉ [Peintre, rue des Poulies, n.206.] : 1795
 DE TOURNAY [Peintre.] : 1814
 DEVILLERS, Georges [Élève de David, place Dauphine, n.19.] : 1804, 1808, 1814, 1819
 DEVOGES, père [Peintre.] : 1798
 DEVOSGE, Anatole (1770-1850) : 1812
 DEVOUGE, Louis-Benjamin-Marie (1770-1842) : 1793, 1814

DOYEN, Gabriel-François (1726-1806) : 1781, 1787
 DRÖLLING, Martin (1752-1817) : 1814
 DROLLING, Michel-Martin (1786-1851) : 1817, 1819, 1822, 1824
 DROUILLIÈRE [Peintre, rue du Cloître Saint-Benoît, n.14.] : 1817, 1819
 DUBOIS DE BEAUCHENE [Peintre, rue de Cléry, n.96.] : 1814
 DUBOST, Antoine (1769-1825) : 1804, 1814, 1817
 DUBUFE, Claude-Marie (c.1790-1864) : 1812, 1822
 DUCHEMIN [Peintre, rue du Paon Saint-André, n.1.] : 1817
 DUCIS, Louis (1775-1847) : 1808, 1810, 1812
 DUCQ, Joseph-François (1762-1829) : 1799, 1804, 1808
 DUMET, Jean-Philibert (active 1808-1810, died c.1814) : 1810
 DUMONT, François (1751-1831) : 1804, 1806, 1810, 1822
 DUNOUY, Alexandre-Hyacinthe (1757-1841) : 1798
 DUPERREUX, Alexandre-Louis-Robert Millin (1764-1843) : 1798
 DUPONT [Peintre, rue Villedot, hôtel de Bussy.] : 1824
 DUPRÉ, Augustin (1748-1833) : 1804
 DUPUIS, F.-N. [Élève de Lépicie, Chartres.] : 1799
 DUPUIS PEPIN [Peintre, rue d'Orléans, Porte Saint-Martin, n.19.] : 1793
 DUSAULCHOY, Charles [Peintre, place du Musée Napoléon, n.21.] : 1808
 DUVIDAL DE MONTFERRIER, Louise-Rose-Julie (1797-1865) : 1822
 DUVIVIER, Bernard (1762-1837) : 1804, 1806, 1812, 1817, 1822, 1824
 ENOUF [Élève de Regnault, rue de la Huchette, n.16.] : 1810
 ERRANTE, Giuseppe (1760-1821) : 1804
 ESPERCIEUX, Jean-Joseph (1757-1840) : 1817
 FABRE, François-Xavier (1766-1837) : 1806, 1808
 FÉLIX [Peintre, place de la Pointe-Saint-Eustache, n.10.] : 1824
 FLEURY, Antoine-Claude (active 1795-1822) : 1799, 1800, 1802, 1804, 1806, 1814, 1817
 FONTAINE, Jacques-Michel-Denis de (active c.1793-1800) : 1793
 FONTALLARD, Jean-François-Gérard (1777-1858) : 1802
 FORESTIER, Marie-Anne-Julie (b.1789) : 1804, 1812
 FORTIN, Augustin-Félix (1763-1832) : 1796, 1799, 1810, 1812, 1819, 1822
 FORTY, Jean-Jacques (1744-1800) : 1791
 FOUGEAT [Peintre.] : 1793
 FOURNIER, Jean-Simon (active 1791-1799) : 1799
 FRAGONARD, Alexandre-Évariste (1780-1850) : 1795, 1798, 1799, 1808, 1812
 FRANCK, Philippe (c.1780-1837) : 1824
 FRANQUE, Joseph (1774-1833) : 1806, 1808
 FRANQUE, Pierre (1774-1860) : 1822
 FRANQUE, Pierre (1774-1860) et FRANQUE, Joseph (1774-1833) : 1814
 FREMY, Jacques-Noël-Marie (1782-1867) : 1808, 1817
 GAGNERAUX, Baptiste (1765-1846) : 1810
 GAREIS, Franz (1775-1803) : 1802
 GARNIER, Étienne-Barthélémy (1759-1849) : 1793, 1795, 1800, 1804, 1814
 GASTON [Peintre, rue Notre-Dame des Victoires, n.16.] : 1812
 GAUDAR DE LA VERDINE, Auguste-Alphonse (1780-1804) : 1800
 GAUFFIER, Louis (1761-1801) : 1791

GAUTHEROT, Pierre-Claude (1769-1825) : 1796, 1799, 1814, 1819, 1824
 GENEVE-RUMILLY, Victorine-Angélique-Amélie (1799-1849) : 1814
 GENSOUL, Antoinette [Département de la Seine.] : 1799
 GENSOUL, J. [Peintre, rue de Bondi, n.51.] : 1799
 GÉRARD, François (1770-1837) : 1796, 1798, 1824
 GIACOMELLI, Sophie (1786-1813) : 1808, 1810
 GIBELIN, Esprit-Antoine (1739-1813) : 1795
 GIRODET, Anne-Louis (1767-1824) : 1793, 1799, 1800, 1804, 1806, 1814, 1819
 GIROUST, Jean-Antoine-Théodore (1753-1817) : 1789
 GIROUX, André (1801-1879) : 1824
 GOSSE, Nicolas-Louis-François (1787-1878) : 1819
 GOUZIEN, René [Élève de feu Brenet, rue des Bourdonnais, n.5, à Versailles.] : 1796
 GRANDIN, Jacques-Louis-Michel (1780-c.1814) : 1804, 1806, 1808, 1814
 GRANGER, Jean-Pierre (1779-1840) : 1812, 1817, 1819, 1824
 GRENIER DE SAINT-MARTIN, Francisque-Martin-François (1793-1867) : 1812
 GREUZE, Jean-Baptiste (1725-1805) : 1804
 GROHAIN, Pierre-Joseph (1780-1872) : 1802
 GROS, Antoine-Jean (1771-1835) : 1801, 1822
 GUÉRET LA JEUNE, Citoyenne [Peintre.] : 1795
 GUÉRIN, Gabriel-Cristophe (1790-1846) : 1817
 GUÉRIN, Paulin (1783-1855) : 1822, 1824
 GUÉRIN, Pierre (1774-1833) : 1802, 1808, 1810, 1814, 1817
 GUILLEMARD, Sophie (1780-1819) : 1808, 1810
 GUILLEMOT, Alexandre-Charles (1786-1831) : 1814, 1819, 1822
 GUIMET, Rosalie (née Bidault) (1798-1876) : 1824
 GUTTENBRUNN, Ludwig (c.1750-1819) : 1812, 1814
 HALLÉ [Peintre, de Mons.] : 1810
 HARRIET, Fulcran-Jean (1778-1805) : 1796, 1806
 HENARD, C. (c.1757-c.1814) : 1810
 HENNEQUIN, Philippe-Auguste (1762-1833) : 1798, 1800, 1814
 HENRI, Ambroise [Élève de Regnault, rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, nos. 10 et 47.] : 1804
 HENRY, Mlle [Peintre, rue Saint-Louis, n.75, au Marais.] : 1822
 HERSENT, Louis (1777-1860) : 1802, 1804, 1817
 HESSE, Nicolas-Auguste (1795-1869) : 1824
 HOLAIN, N.-F. [Peintre, rue de Ménil-Montant, n.132.] : 1796
 HONNET, Alexandre-Romain [Élève de Regnault, rue André-des-Arts, n.44] : 1798, 1800, 1801
 HOUZEAU [Peintre, rue neuve Saint-Nicolas, n.29, Faubourg Saint-Martin] : 1793, 1795
 HUBERT [Peintre, rue Childebert, n.9.] : 1819
 HUE, Jean-François (1751-1823) : 1789, 1791, 1800, 1814
 HUGLER, Etienne [Peintre, place des Trois-Maries, n.53.] : 1802
 HUIN, Citoyenne [Élève de David, rue Meslée, n.51.] : 1798
 IMBAULT [Élève de Vincent et Vestier, rue Saint-Denis, nos. 134 et 31.] : 1802
 JACOB, Nicolas-Henri (1782-1871) : 1802, 1824
 JOLLAIN, Nicolas-René (1732-1804) : 1781, 1789, 1791
 JUHEL [Peintre, rue du faubourg Montmartre, n.9.] : 1814

JULIEN, Simon (1735-1800) : 1783, 1787, 1800
 KARPPF, Jean-Jacques-Casimir (1770-1829) : 1812, 1814
 KOLBE [Peintre, quai des Grands-Augustins, n.5.] : 1819
 KRAFFT, Johann-Peter (1780-1856) : 1802
 LABOREY, Félicité (active c.1793-1795) : 1793
 LACOUR, Pierre (1745-1814) : 1802
 LA FITTE, Louis (1770-1828) : 1806, 1808, 1817
 LAFOND, Charles-Nicolas-Raphael (1774-1835) : 1802, 1812, 1814, 1817, 1819, 1824
 LAGRÉNÉE, Anthelme-François (1774-1832) : 1819
 LAGRENÉE, Jean-Jacques (1740-1821) : 1781, 1783, 1785, 1787, 1789, 1791, 1793, 1796, 1798, 1800, 1804
 LAGRENÉE, Louis-Jean-François (1724-1805) : 1781, 1795, 1796, 1798
 LAIR, Jean-Louis-César (1781-1828) : 1808, 1812, 1819
 LAMBERT [Peintre, rue de l'Hirondelle, n.3] : 1793
 LAMBERT [Peintre, rue Basse-des-Ursins, en la Cité, n.5.] : 1795, 1796
 LANCRENON, Joseph-Ferdinand (1794-1874) : 1822
 LANGLOIS, Jérôme-Martin (1779-1838) : 1817
 LANDI, Gaspere (1756-1830) : 1812
 LANDON, Charles-Paul (1760-1827) : 1795, 1796, 1799, 1806, 1810
 LANGLOIS, Jérôme-Martin (1779-1838) : 1822
 LA RIVIÈRE [Peintre, rue Saint-Florentin, n.14.] : 1822
 LAURENT, Jean-Antoine (1763-1832) : 1795, 1796, 1804, 1806, 1808, 1822
 LAUZIER, Adèle [Peintre, place du Palais-Bourbon, n.101.] : 1824
 LAVAUDEN, Alphonse (1796-1857) : 1824
 LAVILLE-LEROUX, Marie-Guilhelmine (1768-1826) : 1791, 1795
 LE BARBIER, Jean-Jacques-François (1738-1826) : 1783, 1785, 1789, 1791, 1798, 1801, 1802, 1806, 1808, 1810, 1814
 LE BRUN, Hippolyte [Peintre, rue Mauconseil, n.31.] : 1817, 1822, 1824
 LEBRUN, Jacques [Département de Vaucluse, rue de la Loi, n.748.] : 1799
 LEBRUN, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre (1748-1813) : 1793
 LECARPENTIER, Paul-Claude-Michel (1787-1877) : 1824
 LECOEUR, Jean-Baptiste (1795-1838) : 1822
 LEDOUX, Jeanne-Philiberte (1767-1840) : 1793, 1799, 1814
 LE DRU, Hilaire (1769-1840) : 1800
 LEFEBVRE, [Peintre, rue Saint-Honoré] (c.1791-c.1793) : 1791
 LEFÈVRE, Robert (1756-1830) : 1791, 1795, 1798, 1799, 1810
 LE GRAND [Peintre, hôtel de Cluny, rue des Mathurins-Saint-Jacques, n.14.] : 1808
 LE GRAND [Peintre, collège des Grassins, rue des Amandiers, n.14.] : 1810, 1812
 LEGRAND, P.-S. [Né à Rouen.] : 1799
 LE GROS D'ANIZY, François-Antoine [Peintre, rue du Cadran, n.9.] : 1812
 LEGUAY, Etienne-Charles (1762-1846) : 1808
 LEJEUNE, Nicolas [Peintre de l'Académie de Berlin, rue Bétizi, n.344.] : 1793
 LÉLU, Pierre (1741-1810) : 1793
 LEMIRE [Peintre, rue du Temple.] : 1793
 LEMIRE, Antoine (1773-c.1814) : 1814
 LEMIRE, Charles [Peintre, rue de Vaugirard, n.113.] : 1795

LEMONNIER, Anicet-Charles-Gabriel (1743-1824) : 1806
 LENOIR, Adélaïde (née Binart) (1771-1832) : 1804
 LEROY [Peintre, rue du Hurepoix, n.18.] : 1795
 LEROY, Denis-Sébastien (d.1832) : 1796, 1810, 1817, 1819
 LEROY [Peintre, faubourg Honoré, n.13, ou chez Suvée, au Louvre.] : 1795
 LE ROY, Joseph [Élève de Suvée, rue des Saussayes, Faubourg Saint-Honoré, n.1239.] : 1796, 1798
 LE SAGE [Peintre, boulevard Saint-Denis, n.19.] : 1812, 1814, 1819
 LE SUEUR, Pierre-Etienne (c.1791-c.1810) : 1791, 1798
 LETHIERE, Guillaume (1760-1832) : 1793, 1795, 1798, 1819, 1822
 LIBOUR, Esprit-Aimé (1784-c.1845) : 1812, 1822
 LORDON, Pierre-Jérôme (1780-1838) : 1812
 MALARD-SERMAISE [Peintre, rue Nicaise, n.500.] : 1798
 MALLET, Jean-Baptiste (1759-1835) : 1808
 MANUFACTURE ROYALE DE SEVRES : 1814
 MARILLIER, Clément-Pierre (1740-1808) : 1802
 MARLET, Jean-Henri (1771-1847) : 1804, 1806, 1808, 1810
 MARTIN, Guillaume (1737-1800) : 1781, 1798
 MAUZAISSE, Jean-Baptiste (1784-1844) : 1819, 1822
 MAYER, Constance (1775-1821) : 1804, 1806, 1808, 1812, 1819
 MÉNAGEOT, François-Guillaume (1744-1816) : 1783, 1785, 1806
 MENGEAU [Élève de Renaud] : 1798
 MERIMÉE, Jean-François-Léonor (1757-1836) : 1795, 1798, 1799
 MESSIER, Jean-L. [Peintre, rue Saint-Honoré, n.199.] : 1796
 MEYNIER, Charles (1768-1832) : 1795, 1796, 1798, 1800, 1801, 1810, 1814, 1819
 MICHALLON, Achille-Etna (1796-1822) : 1824
 MOENCH, Charles-Victoire-Frederic (1784-1867) : 1810, 1817, 1819
 MONGEZ, Angélique (1775-1855) : 1802, 1808, 1810, 1812, 1814
 MONGIN, Pierre-Antoine (c.1761-1827) : 1796, 1812, 1819
 MONNET, Charles (1732-1808) : 1781
 MONSIAU, Nicolas-André (1754-1837) : 1791, 1793, 1800, 1808, 1810, 1817
 MONTAGNY, Elie-Honoré (d.1864) : 1819
 MONVOISIN, Raymond-Auguste-Quinsac (1794-1870) : 1824
 MOREAU, Jean-Michel (1741-1814) : 1791, 1796, 1804, 1808, 1817
 MORIÉS, J. (c.1760-c.1812) : 1802
 MORIN, Eulalie (née Cornillaud) (active 1798-1800) : 1798
 MOUCHET, François-Nicolas (c.1749-1814) : 1796
 MOURICAULT [Peintre, rue des Deux-Portes-Saint-Jean, n.8.] : 1795
 MULLEN, Mlle [Peintre, rue du faubourg Saint-Honoré, n.45.] : 1808
 MUTEL, Mme [Peintre, rue du Temple, n.63.] : 1819, 1822
 NAIGEON, Jean-Claude (1753-1832) : 1793
 NEVEUX [Peintre, rue d'Amboise, n.6.] : 1793
 NOËL, Alexandre-Jean (1752-1834) : 1801
 ODEVAERE, Joseph-Denis (1778-1830) : 1802, 1812
 ORSIN, Joseph [Peintre, rue Saint-Dominique, F. G., n.180.] : 1796
 PAGÈS, Aimée (1803-1866) : 1822, 1824

PAILLOT DE MONTABERT, Jacques-Nicolas (1771-1849) : 1810, 1814, 1817
 PAJOU, Jacques-Augustin (1766-1828) : 1798, 1804
 PALLIÈRE, Etienne (1761-1820) : 1801, 1804, 1814
 PALLIÈRE, Louis-Vincent-Léon (1787-1820) : 1819
 PALMERINI, Peitro (active 1810-1819) : 1817, 1819
 PARANT, Louis-Bertin (1768-1851) : 1824
 PARSEVAL, Auguste (1745-1837) : 1791
 PASQUIER, Pierre (1731-1806) : 1781
 PASTOR [Peintre.] : 1804
 PELLIER, Pierre-Edme-Louis (active 1800-1827) : 1804, 1808, 1814, 1817
 PÉQUIGNOT, Pierre (1765-1807) : 1810
 PÉRIÉ, Hilaire-Henri (1780-1833) : 1810
 PERRENOT [Élève de Swebach et Vincent, enclos du Temple, n.20.] : 1810
 PERRIN, Jean-Charles-Nicaise (1754-1831) : 1787, 1789, 1798, 1801, 1808, 1819
 PETIT [Peintre, rue Saint-Honoré, n.302.] : 1824
 PEYRON, Jean-François-Pierre (1744-1814) : 1785, 1789, 1791, 1798, 1799, 1806
 PEYTAVIN, Jean-Baptiste (1767-1855) : 1802, 1806, 1808
 PEYTAVIN, Victor (1773-1849) : 1808
 PICOT, François-Eduard (1786-1868) : 1819, 1822, 1824
 PILLEMENT, Victor (1767-1814) : 1801
 PINEAU DU PAVILLON, Isidore (1790-1856) : 1819
 PINSON, Isabelle (active c.1796-c.1812) : 1812
 POCHON, Hippolyte (active c.1810-1819) : 1812
 POCHOU, Hippolite [Élève de Regnault, rue Saint-Anastase, au Marais, n.4.] : 1810
 POTAIN, Victor-Maximilien (active 1793-1798) : 1793
 PROT, Louis (active 1806-1819) : 1806, 1814
 PRUD'HON, Pierre-Paul (1758-1823) : 1793, 1796, 1798, 1808, 1812, 1814, 1817, 1824
 PUJOL, Alexandre-Denis Abel de (1785-1861) : 1819, 1824
 QUEYLAR, Paul du (1771-1845) : 1802, 1808, 1817
 RABILLON, P.-P. [Élève de Regnault.] : 1799
 RATHIER [Peintre, rue Montmartre, n.130.] : 1819
 REGNAULT, Jean-Baptiste (1754-1829) : 1783, 1785, 1787, 1789, 1791, 1795, 1802
 RÉMOND, Jean-Charles-Joseph (1795-1875) : 1819, 1824
 REMY, Louis-Jean-Marie (1792-c.1869) : 1810, 1814
 RENAUDIN, Rosalie [Peintre, rue de Rochechouart, n.8.] : 1822, 1824
 RENOUE, Antoine (1731-1806) : 1781
 REVEST, Cornélie-Louise (1795-1856) : 1819
 RIBAUT, Julie (b.1789, active 1810-1826) : 1810, 1817
 RIOULT, Louis-Edouard (1790-1855) : 1822
 ROBINEAU, Claire [Peintre, rue des Marais-Saint-Germain, n.16.] : 1824
 ROGER, Pierre-Louis [Élève de Regnault, rue Grange-Batelière, n.3] : 1800, 1810, 1819
 ROLLAND, Benjamin de (1777-1855) : 1801, 1808
 ROMANY, Adèle (1769-1846) : 1799, 1812, 1822
 ROQUES, Joseph (1754-1847) : 1802, 1808
 ROSSET-L'ETOURVILLE, A.-F.-C. [Peintre, rue de Limoges, n.7.] : 1802
 ROUGET, Georges (1783-1869) : 1814, 1819

SABLET, Jacques-Henri (1749-1803) : 1804
 SABLET, Jean-François (1745-1819) : 1795
 SAMBAT, Mlle [Peintre, rue Saint-Germain-des-Près, n.6.] : 1824
 SARAZIN DE BELMONT, Louise-Joséphine (1790-1870) : 1812
 SAUVAGE, Piat-Joseph (1744-1818) : 1787, 1789, 1793, 1795, 1800, 1801, 1804
 SCHALL, Jean-Frédéric (1752-1825) : 1793
 SCHEFFER, Ary (1795-1858) : 1814
 SCHELL [Peintre, place de Thionville, n.13.] : 1793
 SCHELL [Peintre, rue du Marché-neuf, n.9.] : 1800
 SCHMITZ, Antoine-Guillaume (b.1788, active 1813-1830) : 1814
 SERANGELI, Gioacchino Giuseppe (1768-1852) : 1796, 1798, 1804, 1810, 1812, 1814
 SICARDI, Louis-Marie (1746-1825) : 1808, 1810, 1819
 SIMON, Gervais [Peintre, passage Franconi, n.355.] : 1819
 SMITH, Constanti-Louis-Félix (1788-1873) : 1824
 STEUBEN, Charles (1788-1856) : 1822
 STRASBAUX [Peintre, rue du Faubourg Montmartre, n.4.] : 1822
 SUAU, Jean (1758-1856) : 1802
 SULMONT [Peintre, rue des Fossés-Saint-Jacques, n.20.] : 1806
 SUVÉE, Joseph- Benoît (1743-1807) : 1783, 1785
 TAILLASSON, Jean-Joseph (1745-1809) : 1783, 1785, 1787, 1791, 1795, 1798, 1800, 1804
 TARAVAL, Hugues (1728-1785) : 1781, 1783, 1785
 TARDIEU, Jean-Charles (1765-1830) : 1819
 TARÉ [À l'Ecole centrale du Panthéon.] : 1799
 TAUREL, Jean-Jacques-François (1757-1832) : 1795, 1798
 THEVENIN, Charles (1764-1838) : 1796, 1798
 THONESSE [Peintre, rue des Blancs-Manteaux, n.53.] : 1791
 THUAIRE, Jean-François (1794-1823) : 1822
 TREZEL, Félix (1782-1855) : 1810, 1814, 1819, 1824
 TRINQUESSE, Louis-Rolland (1745-c.1800) : 1791
 TURPIN DE CRISSÉ, Lancelot-Théodore (1782-1859) : 1810, 1824
 VAFFLARD, Pierre-Antoine-Augustin (c.1777-1838) : 1802, 1804, 1814, 1817, 1819, 1822, 1824
 VALENCIENNES, Pierre-Henri de (1750-1819) : 1787, 1789, 1791, 1793, 1795, 1796, 1798, 1804
 VALLAIN, Nanine (active 1787-1810) : 1793, 1806
 VALLIN, Jacques-Antoine (c.1760-c.1831) : 1793, 1796, 1799, 1804, 1806, 1810, 1814, 1819, 1822
 VAN BRÉE [Peintre, rue et hôtel Serpente, n.16.] : 1814
 VAN DAEL, Jan Frans (1764-1840) : 1799
 VANDERLYN, John (1775-1852) : 1810, 1812
 VAN DORNE [Peintre, rue de Cléry, n.60.] : 1808
 VAN LOO, Charles-Amédée-Philippe (1718-1795) : 1781, 1783
 VAUDECHAMP, Jean-Joseph (1790-1864) : 1819
 VAVOQUE, Jean-Jacques [Peintre, aux Gobelins.] : 1793
 VERGNAUX, Nicolas-Joseph (active c.1798-1818) : 1801, 1804
 VERNET, Carle (1758-1836) : 1793, 1795, 1800

VÉRON, Alexandre-Paul-Joseph Bellecourt (b.1773, active 1801-1838) : 1819
VERZI, Jean-Baptiste [Élève de Bounieu, place Vendôme, n.967.] : 1796
VESTIER, Antoine (1740-1824) : 1804
VIEN, Joseph-Marie (1716-1809) : 1781, 1783, 1785, 1787, 1789, 1791, 1793
VIGÉE LE BRUN, Elisabeth-Louise (1755-1842) : 1783, 1785, 1817
VIGNAUD, Jean (1775-1826) : 1819
VIGNIALIS [Peintre, à Rome.] : 1791
VILLENEUVE, Jules-Louis-Frédéric (1796-1842) : 1822
VILLERS (née Lemoine), Marie-Denise (1774-1821) : 1799
VINCENT, François-André (1746-1816) : 1783, 1791, 1795
VINCENT, F.-Ph. [Élève de David, rue de la Monnaie, n.14.] : 1799
VINCENT, Louis [Élève de Lagrenée le jeune, rue de Varennes, n.1495.] : 1799
VOLPELIÈRE, L.-P.-Julie (1785-1842) : 1822
WALLAERT, Pierre-Joseph (1753/55-c.1812) : 1800
WERNER, Jean-Charles [Peintre, rue de la Parcheminerie, n.11.] : 1824
WERTHMÜLLER, Adolf Ulrik (1751-1811) : 1785

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