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**NAPOLEONIC PAINTING FROM GROS TO DELAROCHE
A STUDY IN HISTORY MINOR**

by

DERIN TANYOL

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of
New York**

1999

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INTRODUCTION

NAPOLEON AND HISTORY

In a recent article in the *New Yorker*, Adam Gopnik addressed France's historical romance with Napoleon Bonaparte, saying the literature on Napoleon is "probably the largest pile in the French language devoted to a single subject."¹ Indeed Napoleon's literary empire has stretched far beyond France and far beyond the literal empire he created himself. Thousands of volumes have been written on the general and Emperor, as hero or villain, in countries that he never managed to conquer--testimony to a fascination with Napoleon's persona which, we can only imagine, he would find soothing in the wake of his failures.

Napoleon's conquest was not only bibliographic, but also pictorial; from the First Empire and throughout the nineteenth century, enough images of Napoleon were produced to create whole museums dedicated to his remembrance and to satisfy the most historical-minded, or imperially obsessed, of private collectors. But despite the countless works of art based on the grandiloquent Napoleon Bonaparte, he has remained, uncharacteristically, an unimposing figure in art historical writing. The many artists who worked under his rule, among these Jacques-Louis David and Antoine-Jean Gros, have of course had their share of scholarly attention. But art historians have been so concerned with these artists' placement within a discourse

opposing Neoclassicism and Romanticism that the role their patron had in simultaneously encouraging such different artistic strategies has been left out of the picture. Notwithstanding what history has shown to be the many faces of Napoleon, his artistic strategies are presumed to have been one-sided: Napoleon chose classicism as the foundation for a propagandist language because, in its allusion to the emperors of ancient Rome, classicism was the most logical vehicle for his own imperial aspirations. But to insist on Napoleon's choice of a uniquely classical idiom, problematically termed "the Empire Style," ignores the possibility that historical novelties emerged from his regime; while surely the iconography of antiquity regularly performed many of Napoleon's political tasks, he relied significantly on the more contemporary languages of journalism and genre painting.

It is my aim to illustrate how vital changes in history painting, and its gradual disappearance from artistic production during the nineteenth century, can be traced in large part to the Napoleonic administration's own propagandist tactics. By encouraging brands of contemporary history painting that were traditionally repudiated by artistic doctrine, the profusion of government commissions under Napoleon provided a gateway into history even for artists who had received only perfunctory training as history painters. With similar inexperience in literary domains, many of Napoleon's soldiers picked up their pens for the first time in order to record their adventures on the battlefield. The abundant painted and written accounts of Napoleon's deeds that resulted--some legend, some fact, some identifiable as neither one nor the other--ultimately suggest that history, under Napoleon, had been redefined

as an overtly fictional realm. While discussion of actual Napoleonic events is of course necessary to interpreting their representations, I have kept it to a minimum; furthermore, as the order of my discussion is determined by artists rather than Napoleonic events, I at times maneuver in non-chronological ways that the refined historian might find chaotic. Readers in search of more expert analyses of the circumstances surrounding a particular historical event will find a venerable scholar in Jean Tulard, whose copious publications often rescued me from the murky trenches of Napoleon's history.² Thus, deferring to Tulard and the many other scholars who have braved the battle, I have not set out to write another history of Napoleon. Rather, this is a study of the pictorial dynamics of the Napoleonic legend and their broader implications for historical representation in the nineteenth century.

While it is certainly understood today that Napoleon was very adept at self-promotion, and that he propagated a good number of historical lies, his manipulation of the visual arts and language has never been analyzed in a way that illuminates how a kind of artistic reformation was born out of propaganda. One of the questions motivating this study is: how could a repressive government such as Napoleon's support artists, for example Gros, whom we now consider innovators of modernism? Gros is typically designated the first Romantic painter, his radical painterliness having influenced the more "confirmed" Romantics of the next generation, Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix. These artists' untraditional artistic means have bolstered the concept of Romanticism as a language of dissent, an expression of liberal politics or, it has been said, an artistic democracy designed by outsiders.³ But

if Gros can be called a Romantic painter, he had nothing subversive about him; his version of "artistic democracy" was sanctioned by Napoleon's very undemocratic government. Thus we might wonder how the "official" plays a role equal to the "unofficial" in creative progress and, within this last question, how the politics of history-telling can create illusions of governmental progress. It will be possible to show that what we now view as a Romantic historical consciousness was in part activated by the language of Napoleonic politics, a government-sanctioned narrative strategy intended to invite public interest in the present. For a despot-hating post-revolutionary public, authority needed to be presented in an accessible, unintimidating manner that would reach all levels of society. The fictional or literary impulse that motivated much Napoleonic history painting came to be accepted as a necessary method for opening the historical field to all viewers; this is particularly paradoxical given history's once hallowed status as a province reigned over by truth alone.

Underlying these inquiries is a theory for which I certainly cannot take credit, but upon which I hope to expand: namely, that history was born in the nineteenth century. As will be examined in Chapter 1, early nineteenth-century writings on history and historical theory are often characterized by contradictory assessments of history as having either a scientific or a poetic function. Was history's goal to document, to edify through example, or to promote ideals of historical well-being? How could history include the uneducated who needed, as much as anyone else, to find history captivating if they were to be seduced into myths of Napoleon as their savior? It was thus through democratic conceptions of historical education, as well as

artistic avoidance of complex historical allegories or obscure historical events, that history in early nineteenth-century France developed along more broadly accessible, pretentiously populist lines--at times even suggesting that a union between history and entertainment was in the making.

But while it is not difficult to locate a shift from an eighteenth-century scientific to a nineteenth-century poetic version of historical discourse--revealing the genesis of a personalized historicism that might provide insight into the Romantic conundrum--it is clear that some historians were staunchly opposed to anything remotely diverting in historical writing. Pleasure was not history's purpose or, rather, pleasure could not be derived from history that relied on excesses of detail for its aesthetic character; conservative distaste for the "unnecessary" or "ahistorical" detail shall be addressed at various points throughout the chapters to follow. Further conflicts on history's function involved considerations of which time periods were worthy of the historian's attention. Traditional-minded historical theorists who applied maxims equating history with "pure truth" and moral enlightenment were generally not eager to see contemporary history become a field of study or artistic devotion. Opposing views on the primacy of the present versus the antique past tore at the unity of the artistic establishment as well; despite overtures by the late eighteenth-century arts administration to embrace modern history, antiquity remained, for many, the site of ideal morality. Depictions of current events--never as large a field of representation as under the Empire--were for some the ideal of historical realism, for others, historical anathema.

The works of Gros, examined in Chapter 2, demonstrate a number of significant splits in historical representation under Napoleon. The chapter's focus is two-fold: first, my hope is to demonstrate how in Gros's early Napoleonic works, history is presented as a boundless narrative available to viewer participation, thus overturning academic or Enlightenment models of history as fundamentally instructive and necessarily about the past. Secondly, I will discuss how Gros's large-scale history paintings, namely the famous examples of *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa* (1804) and *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau* (1808), give pictorial priority to the victimized "enemy" and solicit viewer engagement before fulfilling the propagandist goals expected from official commissions of the Empire. This is demonstrated through Gros's reversal of standard compositional schemes and, importantly for subsequent chapters, his intensive focus on historical anecdotes that divert attention from the singular moment that history painting was, ideally, to portray. The use of anecdote was, in fact, sanctioned by the government programs behind the commissions, although it could be argued that Gros went beyond the administration's expectations. The historical anecdote would become a commonly used device in the Napoleonic government's desire to blur the line between history and legend, fact and fable.

In Chapter 3, I address the developments of historical genre and conspicuous historical invention in paintings of the Empire. Often recounting events that were not reported in the standard historical or journalistic venues of the era (Napoleon's battle reports, newspapers), Napoleonic painting took to methods of historical substantiation

that were already the rudiments of so-called Troubadour painting: the anti-historical anecdote and the supra-historical detail. Renowned for their vivid historical creations, Troubadour painters such as Pierre Révoil and Fleury-François Richard depicted obscure and, according to their detractors, insignificant details in the lives of historical personages from the Middle Ages and Renaissance; yet so realistic was the archaeological detail in their paintings that the artists' historical research was assumed to have extended beyond museum study and into the private lives of their historical protagonists. Authenticity was in the eye of the beholder. In similar fashion, artists such as Nicolas-Antoine Taunay and Adolphe Roëhn, by picturing seemingly minor historical anecdotes--Napoleon in his barracks, camping out with his men, or being welcomed by the urban populace--manufactured ready-made legend, easy to believe because so realistically rendered, easy to tell because undemanding in theme. Within this context, the official use of historical genre is the most compelling proof of the government's aim to present current events in a popular language, one that made claims to a "democratic" regime by permitting historical access to all. Painters were to write history by way of sentimental reference rather than directly factual description: to create the visual counterpart to oral history.

Addressed throughout subsequent chapters is Napoleon's most legendary incarnation in painting and writing: the egalitarian *homme du peuple*, nicknamed the *petit caporal*, who sports the grey greatcoat and plain black hat that are now visual clichés. The simple, good-natured *petit caporal* appears more frequently in history painting than Napoleon the stark embodiment of authority; all the same, paintings that

use conventional imperial iconography to assert Napoleon's dominance, for example Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* (1806) or Jacques-Louis David's *Coronation* (1806), have been, in canonical studies, named prime examples of an Empire Style. More accurately, such imperialistic images constitute just one aspect of the Empire's multipartite pictorial machine. Portraits like Ingres's were the fundamental idiom of imperialist historical discourse, commandeering the authoritative and arcane language of history painting and thus denying entry to a common public. In turn, history painters such as Taunay and Roëhn adopted the more accessible, anecdotal narratives and miniaturist methods of genre painting. The Salon walls thus simulated Napoleon's paradoxical fusion of imperial ambitions with democratic pretensions; grand-scale works depicting Napoleon robed in imperial finery and small-scale history paintings of Napoleon the *homme du peuple* performed symbiotically in a historical mirage of balance between imperial and republican extremes. The Empire Style was therefore a combination of at least two distinct categories of discourse: while the *grandes machines* of Ingres or David brandished authority and historical erudition in ways that might flatter the educated elite, painters of small-scale Napoleonic histories eased the less historically aware into approval of the Napoleonic regime by focusing on anecdotal events that, beyond the painting, often had no external referent.

Whether or not the two types of painting, monumental history and historical genre, divided up so neatly in terms of audience is, by necessity, a matter of occasional conjecture. In addition to using the infinitely useful resource of

contemporary criticism, my reading of history painting is based on what might fall under the methodological heading of "reception aesthetics." In the words of Henry Schmidt, the method of reception aesthetics "derives its reader from the literary text; the reader is thus a theoretical construct, the implied receiver of textual signs."⁴

Certain of my readings arise from what I assume to be a particular kind of viewer, or a particular kind of reaction, based on what I perceive as a painting's focus group; in the case of historical genre, I feel this group often consisted of the uneducated. Such a method, Andrew Shelton has pointed out, risks appearing ahistorical because it assumes viewers during a particular era have followed the internal directives of a painting, without ever providing documentation to that effect;⁵ of course, in the case of uneducated viewers (who did not write Salon reviews), such documentation is non-existent, although in some instances I have cited critics who, in something of a charitable vein, hoped to speak for the illiterate masses. The application of reception aesthetics, while requiring circumspection, is in essence no different from the many other theoretical processes of the historian who, Shelton notes, is always "dealing in incomplete, personally inflected, hypothetical scenarios as opposed to historical absolutes."⁶ In the writing of art history, we know that paintings are always made for somebody, without necessarily having historical documents specifying the intended audience; in the case of the paintings discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, almost exclusively official commissions, their presumed propagandist intent would suggest that the "somebody" for whom they were painted--the viewer implied by the text--included, in theory, everybody in France. But in order for the government's political

and historical messages to reach everybody, several levels of discourse were required.

Chapters 4 and 5 investigate how the anecdotal narrative idiom that served popular interests under the Empire persisted in historical representations after the collapse of Napoleon's regime. After 1815, the restored Bourbons banned Napoleonic representation; however, the attempt to repress the image of a man who had so dominated historical life could only fail, and lithographers and painters, whether politically Bonapartist or simply nostalgic, set about preserving Napoleon's memory. I shall in particular consider the lithographer Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, a student of Gros, and the painter and lithographer Horace Vernet. As the Restoration's most prolific practitioners of the genre-like historical dynamic that became prevalent under Napoleon, Charlet and Vernet demonstrate how history and legend were further conflated in Napoleon's absence. Of particular relevance to the present study is Vernet's dual historical mode; he painted either in the "scientific" manner exemplified by the battle paintings of Louis-François Lejeune (whose work functions here as the standard of traditional military representation, as descended from eighteenth-century battle painting), or in the manner of historical genre. Susan Siegfried first made such a distinction between what she has called the "documentary" and "affective" modes exemplified by the battle paintings of Lejeune and Gros; my indebtedness to her ideas will be clear throughout the dissertation.⁷ Through Vernet we perceive the fundamental divergence in history painting's uses as both a system of documentation and as a realm of personalized delight in narration; this would ultimately result in the transfiguration of history painting, once a forum for academic

idealism, into an expression of public and personal consciousness. Vernet is understood as the quintessential agent of *genre historique's* success as a national style in France, although traditional critics saw it as the demise of history painting; yet it has never been remarked that Vernet's sentimental version of historical presentation was actually an elaboration on one of Napoleon's official styles. If *genre historique* first had official sanction as a propagandist language serving the First Empire, it was appropriated by King Louis-Philippe as the only mode suitable to the constitutional monarchy of 1830-1848; *genre historique* became, then, the most regularly called-upon form of history painting for official commissions of the July Monarchy.

A word about the literature on the current topic. While there are many valuable studies of French history painting, a few deserve particular mention for having opened up new avenues of inquiry into the aesthetics and artistic strategies attending history painting before the nineteenth century. Jean Locquin's *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (1912) has achieved recognition as an art historical classic; with peerless clarity, Locquin's book divulges the institutional debates surrounding history painting during the second half of the eighteenth century, demonstrating that efforts to develop a *grand style* of painting were wrought with polemic as to which periods and sources--antiquity or the modern age, mythology or epic poetry--constituted history itself. Of course the histories of Ancient Greece and Rome prevailed, with classicism appointed as the style most able to convey the nobility of the ancients; hence Locquin's study ends in 1785, when David (who has been canonized as the Neoclassical painter *par excellence*) exhibited his *Oath of the*

Horatii at the Paris Salon. However, as Robert Rosenblum has shown in *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (1967), classicism itself constituted so many categories of representation that it can hardly be called a unified style or set of themes. Despite Rosenblum's pivotal study, the received ideas of neoclassical homogeneity--promulgated, in large part, by critics who saw the works of the Neoclassical "school" when they were first exhibited, and henceforth referred to them as creative paradigms--have to a certain extent persisted. In an effort to productively reopen Rosenblum's analysis, Norman Bryson demonstrated in *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (1981) how, especially in the work of David, classicism and thematic unity were far from synonymous. The ideas with which these art historians are credited shall arise at various points throughout the dissertation, in the hope that readers will not conclude that the classical idiom vanished altogether under Napoleon, or that he "invented" contemporary history painting. Neither is the case; but while the problems of classicism and historical representation never ceased to inspire critical debate, Napoleon's demand for paintings of contemporary history--and David's contribution to the cause--at least seemed to settle the question of whether or not great history painters could paint the contemporary without compromising their reputations.

Thomas Crow's *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (1985) must be recognized as the first study to thoroughly address the diversity of the eighteenth-century Salon public and its role in the making of aesthetic opinion; Crow has further made clear that the working classes formed an important presence at the

official Salons, which have so often conjured up images of the well-heeled peering at pictures through their *pince-nez*. Final mention goes to the organizers, including Robert Rosenblum and Geneviève Lacambre, of the exhibition *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* (1975), which traveled from the Grand Palais in Paris to the Detroit Institute of Art and the Metropolitan Museum, New York; this formative exhibition, which included many of the paintings discussed in the ensuing pages, first brought to light important works that would have otherwise remained unknown to all but those who have navigated the dark passageways of Versailles.

History painting with specifically Napoleonic themes has been the focus of two popular books: the richly illustrated *L'Histoire de Napoléon par la peinture* (1991), for which Jean Tulard has provided commentary on many of the Napoleonic paintings housed in the museum at Versailles; and Timothy Wilson-Smith's *Napoleon and His Artists* (1996), an enjoyable read geared toward a wide public rather than a specifically art historical audience. On another level of scholarship altogether is Christopher Prendergast's *Napoleon and History Painting* (1997), which focuses primarily on Gros's *Eylau*; published while the present project was underway, the probing historical and pictorial analyses of Prendergast's book make for an unsurpassable precedent. For art after 1815, in particular popular illustration, Barbara Day-Hickman's *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France, 1815-1848* is scheduled for release in early 1999; judging from her article on Napoleonic representation of the Restoration (1993), Day-Hickman's book will be a welcome arrival to a field that has had surprisingly little scholarly attention. Beth

Wright's *Painting and History during the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past* (1997), while not concerned with Napoleonic art, is a highly original investigation of Restoration historiography and its implications for painting of the era; Marie-Claude Chaudonneret's many publications on the Troubadour painters and *genre historique* demonstrate an equally profound understanding of historical representation from the Empire through the July Monarchy. Michael Marrinan's *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orléanist France* (1986) is the most thorough study of art of the July Monarchy since Léon Rosenthal's *Du Romantisme au Réalisme* (1914); demonstrating how *genre historique* functioned as the official style of Louis-Philippe's government, Marrinan's book has set the standard for discussion of an era previously looked upon as a transitional phase between the more brilliant Romantic and Realist "movements." A collection of essays on art of the July Monarchy edited by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy* (1994), has helped further awaken art historical interest in this period.

As for the individual artists addressed by the dissertation, Gros has received a considerable amount of scholarly attention, although the most comprehensive books written on him, by Jean-Baptiste Delestre and J. Tripier-le-Franc, date from the nineteenth century. Another is expected from David O'Brien in the years to come, based on his dissertation "The Art of War: Antoine-Jean Gros and French Military Painting, 1795-1804" (1994); he has also published an excellent article on the period Gros spent in Italy (1995). Close readings of Gros's major works of the Empire,

Jaffa and *Eylau*, constitute articles by Pascal Griener (1984), Norman Bryson (1988), Michael Marrinan (1991), and Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (1995), while Gros's little-discussed *Battle of Nazareth* is at the heart of Susan Siegfried's argument (1993) for a shift in historical methods in early Napoleonic battle painting. These articles have all been formative in my own analyses of Gros's history paintings; I hope to be able to complement the works of those art historians who have lit my path.

Roëhn and Taunay are another story. Despite Roëhn's role in major commissions of the Empire, he has been entirely ignored; I can only attribute this to his status as a "minor master" overshadowed by artists such as Gros who, in a word, painted large. Yet as I hope to prove, Roëhn's smaller-scale history paintings (he was a regular choice for commissions requiring *moyens tableaux*) were perceived as necessary mitigators of the monumental works by Gros and other well-known contemporaries. Taunay, also a "minor master," forms part of a thesis written for the Ecole du Louvre in 1973 by Yveline Cantarel-Besson; unfortunately the thesis was not available for consultation, as it was in preparation for publication for the duration of my own research and writing. Happily, articles by Charles Otto Zieseniss (1966 and 1967) on the decorating schemes for the Tuileries Palace and the Grand Trianon at Versailles at times guided me to hidden details of both artists' output; yet my research on Roëhn and Taunay was primarily archival, by necessity. My assertions regarding these artists' functions in the Napoleonic historical program draw on both contemporary Salon criticism and a certain amount of what will, I hope, be perceived as art-historical common sense.

The lithographs of Charlet and Vernet have been catalogued and commented upon by the nineteenth-century writers Germain Hédiard and L.-M. Bruzard. Charlet's biography and letters have been consolidated by Joseph de la Combe (1856); the artist's problems with censorship during the July Monarchy are discussed in an article by Michael Paul Driskel (1987), also the author of a comprehensive account of the return of Napoleon's remains from the island of St. Helena in 1840 (1993). Vernet's paintings, many of which were shown in the large exhibition of his work at the French Academy in Rome (1980), have been of particular interest to Nina-Athanassoglou Kallmyer; her articles (both 1986) on Vernet's *Studio* and the image of the *soldat laboureur* illuminate Vernet's fascinating position within a social history of art.

Delaroche is the subject of a well-documented dissertation by Norman Ziff (1974), which kindled interest in an artist who spent much of the twentieth century in obscurity. Stephen Bann's recent book *Paul Delaroche: History Painted* (1997) has brought to light issues on the artist that were previously not considered; he perceptively analyzes the artist's position within broader historiographic concerns, many of which Bann addressed in his influential *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (1984).

Bann's work not only as an art historian, but as a historiographic theorist, has in many ways motivated the lines of questioning running throughout the dissertation. His *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (1995) has guided me through the complex changes in historical consciousness in the nineteenth century, while *The Clothing of*

Clio first opened my eyes to the problems inherent to historical narration. Francis Haskell's essays in *Past and Present in Art and Taste* (1987), as well as his monumental *History and its Images* (1993), have provided art historians with a manageable way of questioning the pictorial aspects of historiography. Equally influential are Hayden White's pioneering studies on the fictional components of historical narrative, starting with his well-known *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973) and further developed in collections of essays published in 1978 and 1987. Concerns with history's position as an openly performative field, or with the literary and artistic structure of history, have found almost no voice in art history, with the first full-length interdisciplinary study of painting's historical aesthetics in Beth Wright's outstanding book on the Restoration. While such valuable studies have dealt almost entirely with historical representation after 1815, I hope to demonstrate how the mechanics of history were analyzed and reassessed even earlier. Propagandist painting under Napoleon, by alternately manipulating the political and apolitical sensibilities of the spectator, directed the French nation's consciousness of its own historical position, with far-reaching results for nineteenth-century painting.

Introduction Notes

1. Adam Gopnik, "A Critic at Large: The Good Soldier," *New Yorker* 73, no. 36 (1997): 106.
2. One of Tulard's most informative studies, *Napoléon, le Mythe du sauveur*, has been translated into English; see Jean Tulard, *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour*, translated by Teresa Waugh (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984). Other selections from his extensive writings include *Le Mythe de Napoléon* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1971); *Le Grand Empire: 1804-1814* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1982); *La France de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995) and *L'Histoire de Napoléon par la peinture* (Paris: Belfond, 1991).
3. Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Romanticism: Breaking the Canon," *Art Journal* 52 (Summer 1993): 18-21; Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art* (London: Faber & Faber, 1984), 39.
4. Henry J. Schmidt, "'Text-Adequate Concretizations' and Real Readers: Reception Theory and Its Applications," *New German Critique* 17 (Spring 1979): 159.
5. Andrew C. Shelton, "From Making History to Living Legend: The Mystification of M. Ingres," (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1997), vol. 1, 6-10. I am grateful to Professor Shelton for giving me the opportunity to present the paper "Portraits of Authority and History's Kindly Image: Napoleon's Two Faces" at the Annual Conference of the College Art Association, Los Angeles, February 1999, and for, by way of his dissertation, pointing me in the direction of this valuable theoretical tool.
6. *Ibid.*, 14.
7. Susan Siegfried, "Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France," *Art Bulletin* 75 (June 1993): 236.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY AND ITS DISCONTENTS: THE CONTENTS OF ROMANTIC HISTORY

He abandons himself to the flow of his memories, and begins to relive the whole ordeal, as it happened. . . Before Napoleon's very eyes, the false decor of pastoral calm, with its fields and cows and plow on the horizon, parts like a naively painted country scene on a theater curtain, revealing the somber truth that is always there, hidden behind the veil of appearances.

Simon Leys, *The Death of Napoleon: A Novel*.¹

That something monumental happened at the turn of the nineteenth century, in artistic, literary, and historical realms, is generally understood as a response to the Enlightenment, either as a reaction against it—because the *philosophes*' rational intellectualism no longer seemed relevant after the French Revolution—or as a harmonious coda, a romantic search for individuality and personal freedom. Lionel Gossman and other historiographic theorists have interpreted the Revolution as the clarion call to a new vision of France's past: it "illuminated all previous history and made it possible to totalize it and thus decipher it."² Such a profound revelation in historical vision was equally instrumental in constructing new ways of looking at and deciphering the present. How contemporary history was romanced during the post-Revolutionary period shall be one of the major concerns throughout the chapters to follow.

We know, after almost two centuries of debate, that the notion of a Romantic

era cannot be held to be self-evident, nor can its proponents be considered to have consciously enacted any sort of movement away from the ideals of the past. It is impossible to pinpoint a unified literary or artistic activism that sought, consciously, to enact a new series of creative goals. The popular mythology of a Romantic movement begs for temporal boundaries, which we simply cannot impose without making unfeasible, or at least unhelpful, generalizations. The trends we link under the heading Romantic, utterly lacking in manifesto, are about equally unspecific changes in history, simple or complex. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Romanticism was a re-evaluation of the meaning of history itself: how history was understood by its makers and its witnesses, and how these groups acted together to form a romantic historical consciousness. I cannot overemphasize the importance of this coupling of Romanticism with historical vision, and hope to further contribute to its integration into art historical thought by posing a number of questions: how does Romanticism correspond to an impulse to understand the present and its differences from the past? How does Romanticism manifest historicism, a desire to represent historical change and historical sensibilities while captivating viewers or readers with fantasies of their own participation in historical progress? And how were change and time depicted in painting of the Romantic "era"?

Historicism is defined by Arnaldo Momigliano as "the recognition that each of us sees past events from a point of view determined or at least conditioned by our own individual changing situation in history."³ The early nineteenth-century texts and paintings that I shall examine demonstrate how history itself took on an entirely

new dimension, one geared as much toward the spectator's involvement as toward presenting evidence of historical reality. It is often suggested, most recently and with the greatest precision by Beth Wright, that the Bourbon Restoration (1815-1830) is the period in France when historical representation underwent a revolution; after 1815 the historical text "sought to describe historical meaning through narrative description,"⁴ a new form of descriptive narration that had its impetus in the collective trauma of a nation suffering from the reverberations of the French Revolution. Equally compelling is the notion that the July Monarchy (1830-1848) was the period in which France most openly expressed its love affair with the historical; Petra ten-Doesschate Chu has persuasively argued that under King Louis-Philippe, distinctions between so-called high and low forms of historical presentation came to be blurred, with theater, advertising, and other visual media combining to grant entry of all classes into a domain formerly occupied by an intellectual elite.⁵

Undoubtedly the Restoration and July Monarchy are fertile grounds for the study of modern approaches to the historical field; both are rife with examples, textual and pictorial, of what has been understood as Romantic historicism, that is, history redefined against classical or traditional "norms." But I would like to establish how even earlier, Napoleon took a broad step in the direction of modern exposition by encouraging an openly narrative and literary treatment of history. The Napoleonic era (1796-1815) witnessed elaborate restylings of historical tactics, with both painters and writers endeavoring to create a history that, in its simple address to the spectator, ensured its absorption and diffusion, efficiently hatching legend from

current events. One of the major forces acting in this renovation of historical approach was what is commonly understood as the "anecdotal" in history, where history is a matter of the particular, the episodic, rather than the universal and moralizing. In both literary and painterly contexts, historical representation of the Napoleonic period made frequent use of the mechanics of genre, which served the regime's democratic pretensions by creating the illusion of history as something by, for, and about the people. My suggestion is that the ultimate loss of history painting in the nineteenth century (replaced, it seems, by genre painting) was actually sanctioned *by* history, and by one of its principal ingredients, propaganda.

A major, no doubt obvious, aspect of historical representation under Napoleon was overtly causal in the series of historiographic shifts to be examined here: the present was newly cast as a valid historical field, while the preceding eras had idealized antiquity to, if not the exclusion, the detriment of modern history. Of course eighteenth-century writers and artists were not unanimous about the primacy of the distant past as a historical domain. Voltaire decried those historical projects which had as their sole object long-gone eras; his *Philosophy of History* (1766) is a merciless rebuttal of the myths of world history and religion, created by writers who attempted to characterize epochs they never inhabited.⁶ Meanwhile, modern history began to achieve a certain amount of official sanction in the artistic projects of eighteenth-century France; but apart from battle paintings (those of Charles Parrocel, for example), contemporary history was presented almost exclusively in the form of allegory.⁷ There were, however, a few important exceptions. Realism in modern

historical representation emerged most famously in the series of paintings commemorating national events proposed by the Comte d'Angiviller, Director General under Louis XVI. The subjects of the d'Angiviller commission--*The Death of Duguesclin*, *The Contenance of Bayard*, *Admiral Coligny Confronting his Assassins*, and *President Molé and the Insurgents*--were offered to artists for exhibition at the Salon of 1777, although the project took longer to complete.⁸ While d'Angiviller championed above all Greco-Roman themes that provided moral instruction, figures like Bayard or Coligny (the first a chivalrous warrior, the second a devoted freedom fighter in the Wars of Religion) could also serve edifying roles. Noting that "we have been ignoring the resources our own history offers to painting," d'Angiviller clearly felt that nationalism, in addition to the generally desirable themes of righteousness or nobility, was itself a virtue. Although d'Angiviller's historical aims were progressive by comparison to those of his predecessors, the famous men commemorated by his project, it is important to bear in mind, hailed from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the depiction of fully contemporary figures in eighteenth-century dress was, according to his aesthetic, suitable only to portraiture. Furthermore, d'Angiviller demanded that "le grand style" of antiquity was maintained even in paintings of the great men of modern France;⁹ while they were to be dressed like Renaissance men in historically accurate clothing, they had to borrow the poses--and composure--of Greek heroes.

However, depictions of contemporary historical events, although rare, were not entirely absent or masked by allegory around the time of d'Angiviller's tenure.

Using as his case study Benjamin West's *Death of General Wolfe* (1771), showing the English general who expired on a Canadian battlefield in 1759, Edgar Wind has demonstrated how history painting in the late eighteenth century dared to address the purely contemporary, while--to avoid offending Academic taste--still resorting to the grand manner rhetoric once reserved for Greco-Roman histories. In the 1790s, Jacques-Louis David would take something of a similar approach in his "martyr portraits" of the French Revolutionary figures Marat, Bara, and Le Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau, applying universal ideals of the heroic while underlining the individuality of his subjects in a way that suggested pure reportage¹⁰--journalism in the hands of the tragic author.

But what was, in the case of West and David, creative defiance of the established academic order became, under Napoleon, official decree. Grand-scale paintings of Napoleon's victories at battle (or claims thereof) were practically commissioned from the front lines, pushing to the extreme any analogy between journalism and painting that the projects of West or David may have hoped to convey. But the Napoleonic era's historical innovations were not only in the realm of battle painting which, after having experienced a fairly substantial existence under Louis XIV, fell into obscurity in the second half of the eighteenth century. Under Napoleon, paintings of contemporary history came to include official ceremonies or diplomatic negotiations between Napoleon and his neighboring countries, as well as more private events, such as Napoleon communing with his soldiers or tending to the wounded. Such a radical shift away from antiquity, and away from themes that could

claim to espouse universal ideals, required a new understanding of the history painter's role and of the history painter's rights; no longer was temporal distance a prerequisite for historical exposition¹¹ and in fact proximity (geographic or temporal) to an event was seen to enhance the realism of its presentation.

This new need for the present liberally acknowledged the role both painters and spectators had in history's interpretation; allowing history to be so personalized could, with benefit to its protagonists, render the historical and the fictive, reality and dreams, at times indistinguishable. The historian of ideas Morse Peckham considers historicism a "personal manipulation of a social tradition" that pervaded all aspects of Romantic culture.¹² His term "stylism" refers to the creation of self-consciously styled personality types and behavior patterns,¹³ rooted in a human impulse to be a conscious participant in history rather than a powerless viewer watching, but not experiencing, a more glorious past. Such an impulse, found among artists, writers, politicians, society in general, had particular importance for the historian. The historian, Peckham suggests, is not simply one who transcribes information, reporting on history "as it really was" (Leopold van Ranke's 1824 dictum, a regular conversation piece among historiographic theorists); rather the historian acts out a part in a personalized game of self-inscription on events or social attitudes, motivated by the desire to give an anti-traditional aura to his or her present.

The role of the artist-as-historian, played by any history painter working under government commission, is one that can be productively linked to Peckham's notion of the historian's "stylist" role. As has been shown by numerous social historians of

art, and as will be addressed in the chapters on Antoine-Jean Gros and Horace Vernet, historical veracity and the chronicler's conviction are invariably connected to the history painter's image. But we might speculate that the artist envisioned praise of his or her painterly prowess before seeking approval for journalistic aptitude; appearing to report objectively was only a part of the artist's broader hope that his or her knowledge of the facts would result, foremost, in a pleasing picture. With illusions of historical reality more in the interest of the patron (in our study, primarily governments), it seems that writing the final word on history meant less to artists than did becoming themselves a part of history by earning, in a word, fame. Of course none would admit to this, and as painters such as Louis-François Lejeune (1775-1848) declared, historical truth was the painter's primary concern. In a letter to the *Moniteur universel*, France's official newspaper through several regimes, Lejeune proposed that the historical detail of his *Battle of Marengo* (fig. 1, 1801) was necessarily accurate because he was there at the battle itself: he witnessed history first-hand.¹⁴ Lejeune's painting of this early and ultimately legendary Napoleonic battle falls within a long tradition of battle painting as a documentary mode, in which a raised vantage point, broad topographic view of the battlefield, and meticulously detailed artillery and costume create the illusion of scientific dedication to fact;¹⁵ melodrama, emotional responses on the part of the painting's characters, would be historically inappropriate. The historian or history painter intent on proving, in a forum as public as the *Moniteur universel*, the truth of a narrative by pointing to his personal involvement seems on one hand contrary to the idea of an objective historical

récit; but as Roland Barthes suggested in his provocative "Discourse of History," an especially direct form of historical conviction is claimed when "the historian, who is an actor with regard to the event, becomes its narrator," either by way of writing in the first person or the present tense.¹⁶ In addition to publishing the letter in the *Moniteur universel*, Lejeune painted his portrait into the battle scene, on horseback at the lower right--the closest approximation of first person narrative to the medium of paint. As a result, objective observation and personal involvement serve paradoxically synonymous functions. Such a paradox, we shall see, characterizes one of the nineteenth century's most complex history painters, Horace Vernet.

The motivation of the artist, in traditional myths of genius and artistic heroism, is deemed a matter of personal and emotional involvement with the act of creation, whereas the historian's heroism resides in precisely the opposite: a disciplined, dispassionate objectivity. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century critiques of historical writing or painting are frequently characterized by statements pointing to the aesthetics of a stark, unemotional historical structure. The Director of Fine Arts under Napoleon, Dominique Vivant-Denon, would praise the Napoleonic submissions to the Salon of 1810 with the words "the facts of his reign are presented with the severity, simplicity, and truth of history;"¹⁷ the veneer of scientific heroism in Lejeune's *Marengo* inspired one critic to recite the classical poet Nicolas Boileau's maxim, "Nothing is beautiful but the true, the true alone is to be loved."¹⁸

Such models of historical clarity are at the root of the well-known concept of the *beau idéal*, the academic precept that the arts would flourish by imitation of the

simple and pure morality of the Greeks. History painting's status at the pinnacle of the academic hierarchy was bound to its duty as an art of pure truth; writers ranging from the ultra-conservative Quatremère de Quincy to the republican and Bonapartist Pierre Chaussard would denounce any art that resorted to unnecessary and distracting use of excessive detail, or anecdotal rather than universally edifying themes. In Chaussard's words, the Greeks were superior because "truth was their object; simplicity their means. They expressed a lot with a little."¹⁹ Yet, as studies of modernism and the ultimate liquidation of academic hierarchies have pointed out, such an ideal of historical representation had to dissolve. Chaussard's complicated identity alone—a republican who idealized antique form, a Bonapartist who demanded that artists turn to purely contemporary subjects—indicates the emergence of a radically disunified aesthetic. Where the dissolution of academic history painting is often attributed to a romantic and necessarily subversive artistic force, artists regularly designated Romantics, such as Gros or Delacroix, were working within a system of historical representation that was undergoing a rather different sort of transformation. It was not a drive against the establishment that set history painting on a course antithetical to academic theory, but the establishments (Napoleonic, Bourbon, and Orléanist) themselves, which encouraged anecdotal history as, in fact, the ideal of historical clarity. Furthermore, historical purity was not such a simple matter; even those who generally represented the reactionary forces of art criticism were not entirely convinced of history's obligation to simple representation of truth. Quatremère wrote:

The muse of history is no less exposed to the errors of this false zeal for truth. We cannot doubt that the first duty of the historian is veracity and fidelity to the facts he recounts. But the manner of presenting them also enters, up to a certain point, into the domain of poetic imitation; and the art of illuminating the causes of events, bringing out in clearly traced portraits all the varieties of characters, giving the narrative life, color, and movement, is an art rival to that of the poet or the painter . . . We were at the point of pretending that all art had to be banished from historical accounts, that it had to limit itself to being chronicles or simple gazettes.²⁰

But in pointing to the creative function of the historian, Quatremère's statement does not, of course, remark on the fact that any of the components of history that he enumerates are subject to the author's fancy, and can be altered—exaggerated, erased, falsified—by a turn of phrase, a touch of paint.

The ease with which the untrue can be made to appear true has forced the historian's project, at times, into one of constant self-justification. Writing about Fleury-François Richard, painter of the private pasts of France's clergy and kings, a critic of 1804 located the artist's expertise in "scenes that could take place within the walls of an ancient monastery, or beneath the stronghold of those old castles, which the eye of the traveler will see no more."²¹ With the flourish of a conditional verb and a few prepositions, the writer enacted the plight of history: a province of constant conjecture about events that *could have* taken place in a past buried beneath the blinding force of time. With conjecture often the only recourse, historians are compelled to provide their narratives with internal systems of substantiation. While written histories might be supported by textual equipment such as quotations or footnotes, can historical sources be cited in painting? As an instrument of propaganda, history might easily report fictions under the guise of the real. In the well-known case of Antoine-Jean Gros's *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at*

Jaffa (fig. 9, 1804), the gesture of an intrepid Bonaparte touching the wound of a plague victim was first invented, then invested with historical authority—an authority largely derived from the lengthy description of the fictitious event in the Salon *livret*. What Quatremère considered the history painter's acceptable use of poetic license was, in propagandist imagery such as *Jaffa*, exploited to the point of pure fantasy.

But whether or not such "histories" were perceived by viewers as fantasy depended on what those viewers—whether members of the working class, Salon critics, or bourgeois businessmen—expected from the discipline of history itself. Was history to be learned and understood as a means to remembrance (an academic process) or seen and felt, with still the same ends (an experiential process)? The distinction between history as a positive science and history as an art form finds a space for sorting in the Napoleonic period, where the two disparate categories act together in a way that can be looked upon as first the meeting of the Enlightened and the Romantic, then their ultimate rupture of ties. But, as Stephen Bann rightly contends, a view of the Romantic era as entailing a formulaic breakdown of a classical historical model, replaced unequivocally by a romantic view of historical process, is impossible: attempts at, or pretensions to, "objective history" were never entirely replaced by the types of poetic, anecdotal, or personalized history that shall form the foundation of this study.²² The divergence in historical methods that will be under investigation is most forcefully illustrated by the co-existence of artists like Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres and Gros: representative types in the boldly battling forces of historical representation under the Consulate and Empire, a battle underway

long before the well-known conflict of the 1820s between the Classicists and the Romantics, or the advocates of Ingres and those of Delacroix.

The entry of poetic historical devices into a province once commanded by the pragmatic and scientific is at the foundation of Karl Kroeber's compelling notion of the "temporal sublime." Kroeber uses the term Romantic Historicism to describe visual or written histories which purposefully call attention to the intermediary position a historian (writer or painter) has between an event and its telling. Comparing the painter J.M.W. Turner and the historian Thomas Carlyle, Kroeber demonstrates how both use obscurantist techniques to address the difficulties inherent in historical representation. Turner, using dazzling color or blurred line to mimic how one actually sees in a storm or blazing sunshine, obscured the subjects of his paintings in order to emphasize the role of the presenter's own perception in representation;²³ Carlyle, by writing in a roundabout, stylized manner, offered readers "clouded revelations"²⁴ in order to challenge the axiom of objective clarity in history. This purposeful disjunctiveness resulted in what Kroeber calls a *sublime* presentation of history, in Edmund Burke's sense of the word: overpowering obscurity. History, in its sublimity, can never exist as linear, immutable, or instantly comprehensible.

This obscurity in historical narrative was, for proponents of a classical historical tradition, problematic; Jean-Louis-Eugène Lerminier, comparing Carlyle and the French historian Jules Michelet, complained that the latter "leaps, according to his spirit's liking, from one idea to another [and] associates the most disparate of

details." Lerminier, although writing in 1847, was still working with a classical notion of historical simplicity, one that warned against distracting detail. He went on to say that Carlyle, while "more equitable" than Michelet, was equally "fantastic" in his approach to history.²⁵ Yet the "fantastic," if we take Lerminier literally, is precisely the foundation of much Napoleonic history, where points of legend and fact are conflated to form a literary whole that was the most regularly used tool in the Napoleonic propaganda mill; similarly, the obscure in history, equally unknowable and unverifiable, could be easily exploited by the government and its painters. Thus in Kroeber's conception (admittedly of a later period), rationalist, Enlightened history came to be challenged by a stylistically charged one—a distinction between "pure history" and history as transformed by an author whose emotions and temperament are overtly inscribed on the text. Such composites of narration and documentation, or of poetry and fact, were seen by some as an invasion of literature into history proper; one critic, pointing a reproachful finger specifically at histories of the Napoleonic era, bemoaned history's "exploitation by poets, playwrights, and *romanciers*."²⁶ This is quite a different interpretation from Quatremère's who, when remarking on pretensions that history had to be a "gazette," was undoubtedly referring to Napoleonic battle painting, which was the supreme culprit in his pessimistic view of artistic destiny.²⁷

The type of investigation in which Kroeber engages forms part of a historiographic field that has developed over the past three decades. Analysis of the conventions and literary configurations of history, its practice as a discipline and as a

range of literary or artistic forms, has been the subject of a number of influential texts by, most notably, Hayden White and Stephen Bann. Their work is founded in exploration of history as a domain that, while theoretically grounded in uncovering and presenting fact, inevitably constructs poetic or performative texts that preclude any possibility of historical objectivity: history is thus as available to literary analysis as other textual genres. It would be impossible to summarize such far-reaching projects in the current context, yet one key point, albeit simplified here for the sake of brevity, needs to be addressed. The studies of both White and Bann point to a shift in nineteenth-century historical writing away from empiricism, away from the simple chronology, and toward the self-consciously stylized; the problem of expressing how shifts from a classic to romantic mode of presentation manifested themselves is at least partially solved by the historical text's linguistic approximation to, at the extreme, autobiography—that is, when the text is overtly inflected with the author's own position as a historical being.

White's vast intellectual undertaking involves structural analyses of historical writing, based on different systems of "emplotment" of the text according to literary modes rarely considered within the historian's domain, such as comedy and tragedy.²⁸ Demonstrating how authorial strategies in various literary genres—history, the novel, poetry, plays—can be considered substantially the same, White has formulated an important rule: "Viewed simply as verbal artifacts, histories and novels are indistinguishable from one another."²⁹ His analysis has an earlier correlative in the writing of Marie-Joseph Chénier, who in a survey (1808) of literature since 1789

located the literary bridge between history and poetry in the novel, calling it "a genre allied with history by narrating the events of a period through fabulous action, . . . with tragedy through the passions, [and] with comedy through painting society."³⁰

The implications of White and Chénier are not that history and fiction serve the same functions, for clearly they do not; furthermore, the reader's mediating act of interpretation invariably affects a text's overall meaning. The point, rather, is that history and fiction (or, for that matter, journalism and poetry) are constructed through parallel textual strategies, such as irony or metaphor, with the writer's creative imagination intervening throughout the entire process. The same can of course be said for painting, and assumptions regarding the structural inseparability of fact and fiction were exploited to the maximum by the artistic and journalistic projects of the Napoleonic regime; said another way, it was understood that if fictions were introduced into history painting, they might very well have gone unnoticed because of their structurally "historical" context. Representations of either actual events or fiction differ only in how they are received by readers or viewers, but not in their status as representation. Barthes put it thus:

Does the narration of past events, which. . .has generally been subject to the sanction of historical "science," bound to the unbending standard of the "real". . . really differ, in some specific trait, in some indubitably distinctive feature, from imaginary narration as we find it in the epic, the novel, and the drama?³¹

We might add to these inquiries a pictorial counterpart: how, if at all, is history painting different from any of the other painting genres? Its reality is purely a matter of its visual structure, its canvas, composition, line and color; but none of these make a history painting any more real than a painting of a basket of fruit or a miscellaneous

kitchen maid. There exists, it perhaps goes without saying, no irrefutable painterly proof of objectivity: only codes, visual footnotes that point to an artist's research and erudition.

In "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality" (1980), White targets the impossibility of purely objective historical narrative; as long as language is present, a motivation or moral is necessarily beneath the surface of the recounted events. He wonders rhetorically "what would a non-narrative representation of historical reality look like?"³² Without narrative--said otherwise, story-telling--history is an empty set of dates and events; it is through language that meaning, itself relative to by and for whom the history was written, is superimposed onto history. In his presentation of nineteenth-century historical techniques, White often works with Foucauldian models of language (although in one essay he openly expresses disillusionment with the French theorist).³³ Michel Foucault, in his penetrating *Order of Things* (1970), describes a fundamental linguistic shift from the Classic to the Modern age, which he only once, perhaps uncomfortably, labels Romantic:

From the Romantic revolt against a discourse frozen in its own ritual pomp. . . it becomes clear what the function of literature was, in the nineteenth century, in relation to the modern mode of being of language. . . it breaks with the whole definition of genres as forms adapted to an order of representations, and becomes merely a manifestation of a language which has no other law than that of affirming . . . its own precipitous existence.³⁴

Words become active as words themselves, not as "meanings" or "ideas;" language, no longer the hierarchical, purely representational system of identification of the Classic Age, becomes literary, a "poetic flash."³⁵ Does the nineteenth century, then, bear witness to the advent of style? Or the willing of the subjective into domains

formerly reserved for neither expression nor experience, but for purist notions of truth?

The active role of the author, painter, or spectator in the formalization of history is a major component of Stephen Bann's concept of a "desire for history," described in *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (1995). He suggests a rising experiential sense of the historical past, one that manifested itself in the practices of artists, writers, and in particular collectors who attached romantic significance to objects from the past, displaying them in historiophilic settings that encouraged public consciousness of the past by way of historical allure. History was not only something about which people were curious, but rather became an "autonomous vehicle for imaginative reflection;" history was thus the subject of fictions, dramas, and other seemingly "non-historical" media.³⁶ A desire for history, in paintings of contemporary events, can equally be applied to notions of historical progress, while the new popularity of historical fictions and dramas can be said to have worked, indeed, in the reverse: that is, the tools of fiction or the performing arts entered into historical reportage, especially historical painting, with a force that had long-lasting effects on the perception of history as a discipline.

Bann's work on Romantic historiography has shed light on the poet-historian relationship, defining a shift between types of history-writing in the nineteenth century as based on either positivist or poetic forms of historical writing. Using the historians Leopold von Ranke and Prosper Barante as examples, he examines two opposite strains in historical exegesis: Ranke, by way of stylistic dryness--a pretension to

stylistic lack—claimed to present history “as it was,” while Barante openly stylized historical texts for the sake of popular appeal.³⁷ History is as open to literary device and poetic embellishment as fiction; even history which claims a scientific rationalism reveals, in its very claim to objectivity, an authorial presence that obviates the possibility for history to purely “tell itself.” The contributions of historical theorists as diverse as those outlined here are rich in possibilities for further art historical application, of which Beth Wright’s recent *Painting and History during the French Restoration* is a rare and compelling example.

Historicism during the period in question was not, it shall become clear, simply a question of interest in events of the past or the present, but a desire, or a sanctioned aim, to involve the individual in history itself. This will be of primary importance to the paintings of Gros, as well as certain of the historical genre paintings discussed in Chapter 3. It is ultimately through the poetic and, of special concern to the chapters to follow, the anecdotal (particularly detailed but not particularly moralizing) in history that I think history under Napoleon reveals its stylistic differences from prior ages, a type of stylization that had as its goal culling popular support for the new regime by way of popular expressive means.

While presenting “truth” remained a consistent goal for the historian, definitions of history, both its content and its form, changed in subtle ways after the French Revolution. I would like to briefly consider what regions of history were believed worthy of study, the theoretical divisions between past and present postulated by historians in early nineteenth-century France and, of particular value to the present

study, how historical narrative was seen by certain critics to involve a poetic or painterly component. While the survey to follow is far from exhaustive, I hope to demonstrate how truth during the Napoleonic era was given an artistic allowance.

School curricula dating from the Revolution and shortly thereafter demonstrate, if anything, a lack of historical education in France, with an emphasis instead on language, mathematics, and science; these were practical subjects that were useful to the ordinary life of the citizen while recalling none of the cultural or religious elitism of educational programs during the *ancien régime*.³⁸ History, of course, was not entirely absent from education, and a number of documents might serve to construct what history looked like in France at the turn of the century. In 1799, the Minister of the Interior François de Neufchâteau circulated a survey among history professors at the *collèges* and universities throughout France, requesting that each professor or another representative of the school send a course curriculum and list of texts used in that school's history course(s). Many of the respondents replied that the histories of Claude-François Millot and Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Condorcet, the latter a major advocate of scientific methods of historical analysis, were the primary texts used. Most focused on histories of the ancients, from the Hebrews to the Assyrians through the Greeks and Romans, some teaching history until the Middle Ages; the instruction of what today might be called current events or social studies had not yet entered into traditional historical education. A small number of the survey respondents taught modern history which, according to Millot's book, went as far as the reign of Louis XIV; but very recent history, in fact most of the eighteenth

century, was largely untouched.

While the present was not entirely ignored, it was taught within a rigidly law-bound framework. A school in St. Sever, whose only history course was on Rome from its founding through Augustus, also offered a course entitled "Legislation" in which students were taught the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme*³⁹--the inviolable rights drawn up in 1789 as the foundation of liberty and justice for all. Children were inculcated with the principles of the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme* at an early age in a variety of suitably youth-oriented media: abécédaria, illustrated song books, or question-and-answer books.⁴⁰ Varying points of view existed on the usefulness of teaching contemporary history, namely the events of the French Revolution; as might be expected, such points of view were determined by the politics of the historians themselves. In the late 1790s, a period marked by sweeping and ultimately unrealized attempts at educational reform, the Revolution as a topic of historical education was by some considered crucial to ensuring the proper upbringing of wholesome republican youth. Those historians who supported the Revolution reasoned that the teaching of recent history was crucial to a solid education, while those nurturing conservative beliefs felt that the blemish of a failed, godless Revolution was best avoided. Attitudes toward the Revolution persisted as a barometer of liberal or conservative views among critics of art and history throughout the nineteenth century.

J. André Brun, in his *Nouvelle Méthode d'étudier l'histoire* (1799), put forth a democratic model of an exemplary historical education. His apparent literary muse

was Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile*, which reflected upon how children learn through experience and sensation rather than through lessons given in the customary academic sense.⁴¹ Brun's premise was that all people are created equal and thus are linked by "natural right."⁴² Only flawed educational systems engendered inequalities, he felt; therefore judgments on the superiority or inferiority of certain societies, and pejorative language commonly used in the study of humans--words like "barbarian" or "savage"--must be avoided in the classroom.⁴³ It is with such egalitarian ideas in mind that Brun suggested the history of the world must be understood by way of "the people of today," *peuples actuels*: "It is natural that people, young people above all, are more. . . pressed to know about things that exist, that they can see and verify for themselves, than they are about things already shrouded by the darkness of time."⁴⁴ Such insistence on the instructiveness of the present is paradoxically met by Brun's remark that throughout the course of time, humanity had changed little: "If you examine the different degrees of civilization through which the human species has successively passed, and at which it has arrived in the present day, in the different countries of the world, you will find between the last and the first an incontestable similarity."⁴⁵ This belief in a kind of universal and timeless humanity had been applied earlier in the eighteenth century by David Hume, who suggested that humanity had remained so much the same throughout time that history's "chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature."⁴⁶ History in such a formulation was not a matter of the particular event or cultural detail; indeed, as theorists such as Quatremère believed, history was not a succession of happenings,

but an abstract realm in which to seek moral example. Yet despite Brun's belief in a common human current uniting different historical periods, his method was founded upon the idea that "The lessons of the past are useless to the happiness of the present generation."⁴⁷ Observation and reasoning, examining and drawing conclusions based on present peoples, were the only ways in which the human race could be understood.

In an egalitarian spirit similar to Brun's, P.N. Chantreau's *De l'importance de l'étude de l'histoire, et de la vraie manière de l'enseigner* (1802) proposed a concept of historical education in which democracy should be not only the aim of humanity, but also the basis of education itself. In Chantreau's estimation, traditional methods of teaching history were founded in a faulty routine that inexplicably demanded that all historical understanding begin with antiquity; this, he advised, "teaches us nothing certain and is far from our own mores." He thus put forth an experiential model of historical learning, whereby the students teach themselves, and are given a choice in how to do so:

It's not really with history that we should begin, but by studying the ideas and the means whereby we might come within reach of understanding it; and the true task of the professor is not so much to teach history to his students, but to put them in a position to read it themselves.⁴⁸

Rather than doling out facts and dates, the teacher's role was to inspire in students a historical sensibility, to position them within a framework of historical consciousness. The teacher would also supply bibliography, not "assigned reading" but "suggested reading," from which the student is then able to choose. Indeed Chantreau's teaching philosophy was radical in its replacement of pedagogy by a kind of audience participation, the Montessori method *avant la lettre*. On the one hand, it refused to

allow authoritarianism to infect historical experience; on the other, it was an invitation to students to invent historical experience based on their interest level and sense of history's relevance to their own lives.

Theorists who drew up educational plans based on learning history in an ideally democratic atmosphere of choice naturally considered the study of the French Revolution a positive component of history courses, not because it was the culmination of all things past, but because it could serve as the foundation for future happiness. In direct opposition were historians such as Antoine Ferrand, whose *L'Esprit de l'histoire* (1802), a world history presented in the form of a series of letters to his son, made clear from the beginning that the Revolution would not sully his text. Saying that his history book will end with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) and "les derniers beaux jours de la France,"⁴⁹ he provided as the foundation for his historical approach "le progrès des lumières," otherwise known as Christianity. Viewing history as a genealogical tree that sprouted from Noah,⁵⁰ he argued that the constant need of modern society to compare the French Revolution to the revolutions of Greece and Rome was ill-founded because "the philosophers of antiquity attacked neither religion nor authority," while eighteenth-century philosophy "declared a war to the death against all religious and political power." Antiquity, Ferrand believed, was worthy of study not because of any relationship it might have to the present, but because it proved that even in the philosophically rich period which eighteenth-century republican writers claimed as their source of inspiration, religion was not lost; Socrates, after all, was put to death for having blasphemed, and thereby

got his just dessert.⁵¹ Studying the ancients was beneficial because of the ultimate purity underlying their history, a notion which of course equally dominated artistic doctrine; but that is as far as Ferrand's link between past and present went. In a glowing review of Ferrand's book, a critic for the *Journal des débats* wrote that the beauty of his method of recounting history resided specifically in its religious foundation; people of the recently inaugurated century could find consolation in the return to morality after the atheism and anarchy of the Revolutionary period, when "people who called and believed themselves philosophers. . . dominated in despotic fashion."⁵²

Despite writers such as Ferrand, a gradual disillusionment with antiquity as a model for society is particularly evident, indeed boldly obvious, in the historical and artistic priorities established by the commissions and *concours* of the Napoleonic period. Roman antiquity, once the paradigm of revolution and ideal republicanism, could hardly serve as a precedent for the Napoleonic regime; with the cult of Brutus and his cohorts having shortly before impelled France to insurrection, ancient Rome was perceived as a historical threat that needed to be subdued. The 1809 report to Napoleon on the candidates for the *prix décennal* in General History is a telling example of this fear. The *prix décennaux*, founded by Napoleon to commemorate his rise to power with the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire (9 November 1799), were to be awarded every ten years for outstanding achievements in the arts and sciences; the project ultimately failed due to numerous organizational problems.⁵³ For books in General History, the jury gave strong commendation to the *Histoire critique de la*

République romaine by Pierre-Charles Lévesque, published in 1807. The author's goal, the jury noted, was "to combat the excessive admiration that the moderns have maintained for the Romans: an admiration he regards as potentially dangerous on the levels of morality and politics."⁵⁴ Ultimately the jury recommended that the Emperor choose a different candidate for the prize, Claude-Carloman de Rulhière's posthumously published *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne*, which the jury chose not because it shed new interest on Poland, but because "in serving the political system of France, [the author] was upholding the best cause."⁵⁵ Nonetheless, it is significant that a history of Rome that aspired to disabuse readers of "Rome romance" was among the top candidates for the prize; in fact, not surprisingly, Lévesque's anti-Rome book was cited in another report as "the most important" book on Rome published between 1806 and 1808.⁵⁶ In short, the jury encouraged (or hoped to appear to do so) Napoleon's desire to erase certain of the dangerously revolutionary politics of Roman antiquity. Of course it was only Republican Rome that posed a political threat. Imperial Rome remained an inspiring prototype, as it had for one of the first public ceremonies of Napoleon's tenure, the pompously imperial Fête de la Liberté of 1798, which commemorated the "acquisition" of European masterpieces as war trophies from Bonaparte's campaigns.⁵⁷ Imperial Rome was a regular source for the iconography of authority, most notably in portraiture, acting as an ageless, infallible justification of power. However, as we will see, Roman imperial iconography was used only sparingly when presenting a public image of Napoleon, who needed to avoid alienating a public whom he wanted to convince of his populism.

Although educational models at the turn of the century generally avoided recent history, there were also those historians who refused to idealize antiquity, either out of preference for the present, fear of antiquity's models of revolution, or both. The question remains: how were past and present reconciled in historical education and writing, if at all? A commonly held belief in the ability of the past to determine the future characterizes the words of one of the respondents to Neufchâteau's survey, who wrote: "The future is written in the history of the past."⁵⁸ For Léger, another of the respondents in 1799, history revealed how *useful* the past could be to the present, serving the categories of "moral usefulness," "political or social usefulness," and "scientific usefulness."⁵⁹ But in the same year, Brun had written that the study of the antique past shed no light on the present. Obviously no incontrovertible conclusions can be drawn on opinions regarding the superiority of the past over the present, or vice versa; but it is undeniable that it was in the interests of the Napoleonic regime to reinvent a historical sensibility that encouraged pride in the present to the point of forgetting that any former eras or regimes had existed. The varying approaches to which historical periods should be studied were determined by broader concepts of the functions—social, cultural, instructive, personal—history was to serve. Historians like Ferrand saw history in authority-based terms, having its foundation first and foremost in government, with the people under that government assigned a secondary, and subordinate, role: "The real history of a people is thus that of its government and laws, of their influence on morality, and of the influence of those laws and morality on public happiness."⁶⁰

Chantreau held exactly the opposite opinion, saying one must never "confuse the public spirit with that of the government."⁶¹ He then went on to wonder where, in historical writing, the people had been all along:

Historians have almost unanimously limited themselves to recounting battles, court intrigues, and the faults of kings, or to lying eulogies which have misled readers, to their own advantage, and have neglected to concern themselves with that which really encompasses or constitutes the *history of peoples*, in that they have told us little of their rights, and even less of their private lives, so able to provide us with information about the civil state of individuals.⁶²

Chantreau invited study of history from the inside out: first the interior lives of humanity, then the ways in which these bore themselves out in civic spheres. As Chantreau hoped, although perhaps not with the intentions he might have had, the conferring of personality traits and personal lives on the characters of history would become a pervasive trend in painting under the Empire, with the growth of what has been called the Troubadour Style: highly detailed, archaeologically loaded paintings that depict the private moments of history's renowned protagonists. Troubadour painters like Richard, to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, preferred nostalgic historical anecdotes that might not have made it to the traditional history books that Chantreau's new method aimed to reform.

The historians discussed in this chapter, regardless of political persuasion or philosophical standpoint, have a point in common that illustrates how history was considered not only an instructive discipline, but one bound equally by aesthetics: many linked the responsibilities of the historian with those of the painter. When in the next chapter we look at history paintings themselves, the strategies artists and critics considered when approaching the literal act of painting history will be of

primary concern; but for the moment we shall examine the very specific correlations historical theorists made between the passage of time and its ultimately pictorial or poetic nature.

The artistic, indeed painterly, role of the historian was pointed out by the above theorists in ways that range from the cliché to the profound. Léger, for example, said that "the paintbrush of history" traces the progress of states and Empires,⁶³ taking the metaphor no further. Ferrand, however, used the history-as-painting metaphor to rather specific ends, describing the difference between "l'histoire de nos jours" (defined as the hundred-year period between the treaties of Westphalia and Aix-en-Chapelle) and ancient history as one primarily established by distance, a distance which creates a verbal variant of atmospheric perspective. In a remarkable passage, Ferrand asserted that the closer the historical event under study is to the present, the more visible the details, whereas an event buried by time leaves only an abstract vision, or what he describes as a past event's "large strokes, strong colors."⁶⁴ The historical blur imposed by distance could be rectified, but only insofar as the language available to the historian would allow. The abstraction of distance, it might be argued, was the impetus for painters like Richard and other so-called Troubadour painters to stock their work with intensely clear historical detail.

Chantreau also rendered history pictorial by way of one of his proposed techniques of instruction: that professors use *tableaux historiques* as the substructure of their courses. Chantreau was of course referring to *tables* or charts, not paintings. But the translation of the French word *tableau* as both "table" and "painting" is not

without relevance, for Chantreau's table-method is based on the belief that history was best understood not when *read*, but *seen*. Indeed historical tables must be read, and such a schematic presentation of data seems opposed to Chantreau's hope to create a living history for students. However the *tableaux historiques* would, he implied, promote instantaneous absorption of history by way of experience.

Chantreau's historical tables vary according to the period under study, but follow a predictable format, giving historical event, date, general facts about the event, and sources to which students may turn if they choose to pursue the subject further. "By this method," he said, "the student will have before his eyes not one lesson, but ten, twenty, all, the entire course at the same time; he will therefore need only an instant, a blink of an eye, to remember everything he has learned." The tables would confer upon students the ability to "grasp all the facts in ten minutes, which would be impossible to do in fifty pages using another method;"⁶⁵ the primary advantages of the *tableaux*, in other words, were retention and speed, history at a glance. If ten minutes before a *tableau* provided a historical lesson more comprehensive and memorable than reading a book over a longer period of time, when a lapse in attention was more likely, it also decreased the sense that education was burdensome. Chantreau even suggested a surreptitious way to encourage students to associate learning history with amusement: the efficient historical tables which he described with such ardor would be placed not only in the classroom, but in the common room at the student boarding-house, such that "without them even knowing it, play-hour would become an hour of instruction."⁶⁶ Like Salon-goers who mill about the

galleries more for social interaction than artistic edification, casting an occasional glance at the paintings on the wall, the students in Chantreau's theoretical playroom would be subliminally edified by the looming *tableaux* which they may or may not choose to acknowledge.

It seems historians of the period, or today for that matter, were enormously concerned with how to make history memorable, as if the very word "history" automatically implied boredom; witness a certain Professor Feulat who entitled a section of his history course "How history is interesting" and another "Learn only that which is possible and useful to retain."⁶⁷ If the catalyst behind the series of new methods of historical study published at the turn of the century was concern that readers or students normally found history dull, it seems making historical education quick and painless was considered the best solution. Equally important was making history accessible to the masses by disassociating knowledge of one historical region from another, to enact historical events in a way that dispensed with the need for awareness of what came before. Under Napoleon it was less historical enlightenment that was at stake, but encouraging historical curiosity and pleasure in history--propaganda's vital hook.

The concern with making history easy, memorable, and relevant to the public was not exclusive to the education of students, that is to say, youth. Historians had a duty to hold the attention of those whom they addressed, and adults as well needed to be entertained while being educated. Turning history into the painting of men rather than static, ideally non-judgmental reportage was a goal of many of history's critics

under the Empire. The jury's report on the 1810 *prix décennal* for the author of the best history describes the historian's tasks in the following terms:

The first, without a doubt, is faithfulness in the presentation of facts; but this is not the most difficult.

The art of establishing the causes and analyzing the effects of events, of bringing together and linking circumstances in such a way as to form dramatic pictures or scenes; the art of giving the principal actors a distinct appearance, and of making them act and speak in the spirit and tone which fits their character; the art, finally, of imprinting the general color fitted to the subject upon the style of its presentation, and of varying the movement and nuances following the nature of the things one is describing and the situations one wants to depict [peindre]; that is what distinguishes superior historians, what, by strongly fixing the reader's attention, contributes to diffusing a vivid interest in history, thereby making it more generally useful, more efficient.⁶⁸

The historian was to make history play itself out before the eyes of the reader--and I should underline that the pictorial metaphors used in the above excerpt were being applied to *books*, not paintings. The jury's insistence on the historian's ability to make events "speak," to give a moment "color and movement" is part and parcel of the Napoleonic enterprise to make history an accessible form of public diversion. This is not to say it lost its seriousness as a discipline; rather, history was believed to be more enjoyable and understandable if it operated in such a way as to fix the reader in its performance. Of course the more inclusive and entertaining historical narrative was, the more efficiently its political benefits could be reaped.

The historical anecdote did much of the work. Both history books and journalism of the Napoleonic era reveal a trend away from the self-consciously factual toward nostalgic historical reminiscences based in strong part on oral accounts. Such a redirecting of historical focus can in part be traced to broader literary interests; popular literature in general was on the rise, encouraged by Napoleon's professedly

unsophisticated reading tastes, with an enormous increase in subscription libraries that catered to the bourgeoisie and those members of the working class who could read.⁶⁹ If ever there was a quintessentially Napoleonic newspaper, it was the short-lived and popularly geared *Bulletin de Paris* (March 1802-June 1803), a journalistic attempt at giving readers a healthy dose of *esprit de corps*. It was the journal the First Consul (then "Bonaparte" rather than Napoleon) hoped would carry his official voice, where he could say all he wanted, but would not have got away with, in the official *Moniteur universel*.⁷⁰ The *Moniteur universel*, as the journal in which news items were supposedly printed first, had to maintain an image of non-judgmental reserve; the *Bulletin de Paris*, then, was conceived as the servile agent of Bonapartist politics.⁷¹ It became the forum for diehard propaganda, including a persistent justification of Christianity's place in France, as the journal entered the world shortly after the Concordat signed between Bonaparte and the Pope (July 1801) reestablished the dominance of the Catholic Church in France. The *Bulletin de Paris* is further characterized by an editorial obsession with Voltaire (he is quoted and praised at random points throughout almost every issue) and viciously tabloid treatment of the English, who are ridiculed with libellous regularity, despite the Treaty of Amiens, signed in March 1802, that supposedly marked peace between France and England.

The prospectus of the *Bulletin de Paris* states one of its key features: while publishing political events, acts of legislation, happenings related to commerce and the arts—in short, all things current and fit to print—it would "dedicate several pages to the most interesting of anecdotes, those which will be able to make known the true

public spirit, and even the men who would like to take charge of its real direction."⁷² About a third of the journal's numbers end on a section called "Anecdotes," while the sections headed "Nouvelles" or "Variétés" make up the largest part of each number of the journal. Articles on what might be considered more newsworthy events play a secondary role to anecdotal Aesop-like tales of the honesty and good will of everyday French citizens, or snippets of conversation overheard at cafés, such that news takes on the tabloid or conversational tone of, for example, the *New York Times*' "Weekend Journal." One anecdote has a foreign officer, "wearing the uniform of an army which had many opportunities to appreciate the valor of the French soldier," watching a battalion of French troops passing through the Parisian streets. Remarking under his breath that French soldiers don't know how to march, he is overheard by one of the men at whom his critique is aimed. The French soldier turns to him and retorts "It is true, you run much better than we march." At this, the foreign soldier scurries off in shame; the French army wins even when the battle is of words.⁷³ Such "news items" make no pretension to being verifiable moments of contemporary history, relying purely on their moral usefulness to justify their presence in what Bonaparte hoped to pass off as the official mouthpiece of the French nation.

But particularly pertinent to anecdote's entry into the historical domain is a variety of book, about Napoleon himself, divided into two separate sections entitled "History" and "Anecdotes." The History section supplies dates, sites of particular happenings, the circumstances surrounding an event and so on: formal, educational

material. This is then be followed by the Anecdote section, entertaining and not-necessarily provable paragraph-length tales of Napoleon's camaraderie with his troops or kindness to strangers met on the road. From a history/anecdote book of 1815 comes the following:

On the night following the battle of Arcola, the General-in-Chief dressed himself as a simple officer and went to make the rounds of the French camp. He finds a sentinel asleep, his head resting on the cross of his rifle. He softly lays the poor wretch on the ground, takes up his rifle, and completes the sentinel's watch. At the end of the prescribed two hours. . . the sleeper awakens to the sound of "Who goes there!" and trembles at the sight of another officer in his place; his terror doubles when he realizes it's the general. "Bonaparte!" he cries, "I'm done for!" "No, my comrade," replies Napoleon, "After such hardships, the brave soldier is certainly allowed a little rest; but next time, time yourself better."⁷⁴

Most of these book-bound anecdotes are based on Napoleon's persona as "petit caporal," the egalitarian leader who affected solidarity with his troops to the point, even, of dressing down, in the famous plain two-cornered hat and grey greatcoat. Almost invariably, the anecdotal *petit caporal* and his soldiers address each other in the familiar "tu" form (above, "choisis mieux ton temps"); the traditional hierarchies of army organization were made to appear non-existent by Napoleon's informal approach to language.⁷⁵ The anecdote books, as well as the many memoir-style histories spawned by the pens of Napoleon's soldiers, frequently quote his supposed own words (whether speeches or repartee), relying on the pretense that speech carries greater historical clout: instant, but unpursuable, footnote. This binding of possible fact with what was more overtly fable in written histories is perhaps not new; history has had, all along, the potential to fabricate. What is new, however, is the format's open acknowledgement of history as not simply a report of the facts, but a combination of serious study (History) and amusing tale (Anecdote). Whether or not

the anecdotes were based on reality--we can assume some were--was immaterial to their function as diversionary tales, designed to engage the reader.

The regular appearance of the poetic anecdote in Napoleonic history-telling is inseparable from the fact that Napoleon's history, even in his own day, was fashioned as the Napoleonic Legend, conspicuously unadorned by the armor of factual fidelity. Implicit in such a redesigned historical style was the simple rationale that people would be more inclined to listen (or look or read) if they felt the histories offered to them were somehow relevant to their own daily experience. This type of history was not necessarily inspired by Napoleon himself; the drive for easy historical presentation was equally apparent in the Revolution-inspired educational texts of Brun and Chantreau (and of course Napoleon, even as Emperor, was masterful at using Revolutionary ideologies as his support system). But the case of Napoleonic anecdotes disseminated during his reign would seem a rather drastic rewriting of history's purpose: entertainment, with claims to truth no longer being a first priority.

That history could be made more enjoyable if embellished with casual references to non-documentable sources had, for some, a place in pictorial histories as well. The painter and critic François Boher wrote in 1801: "Painting and poetry are two sisters who look exactly like one another. So why would we want to condemn the first to servile copies of historical facts, without allowing it to enrich its project with the noble fictions of which the second avails itself with such success?"⁷⁶ The painter's poetic sibling offered license to fabricate, thereby enhancing narrative, even when history was the subject of his work. Boher's suggestion fell within a rather

audacious defense of the virtues of allegorical painting:

Very few people, even those well-versed in letters, want to bother to instruct themselves on how we should represent the figures that we put in the composition of allegorical paintings; and as it is impossible for he who does not know how to read to understand anything of the greatest writers' productions, in the same way allegorical paintings, no matter how clear they are, become unintelligible to those who lack knowledge of the figures which this sort of painting uses . . . not just with allegory, but almost everything that exists in nature presents nothing but obscurity to he who lacks instruction and insight. So we should not be surprised that many a person, even those of cultivated minds, prefer paintings which simply represent the acts of history over the best conceived allegories.⁷⁷

On the one hand, Boher suggested that allegorical painting was made for an educated elite; on the other, this same elite was as impatient as the rest, preferring simplistic summaries of history over the pain of deciphering the most elevated of artistic creations.

Boher's mini-treatise was no doubt inspired by Antoine-François Callet's Salon entry of the same year, an *Allegory of the Eighteenth Brumaire*, intended to commemorate Bonaparte's *coup d'état* and rise to power as First Consul. The painting's impenetrable symbolism sparked a litany of critical discontents.⁷⁸ One critic openly admitted his confusion before the painting; he thought it depicted "the goddess of Egypt bringing back Victory" and was able to understand the painting's intended historical referent only after consulting the Salon *livret*.⁷⁹ Another critic used Callet's painting to come to the following annoyed conclusion about allegorical painting: "Allegory just disguises history, such that pages of explanation are needed to free it from the clutter that painting calls its poetry, but which is really nothing but a word-puzzle [*logogryphe*] that altogether eliminates simplicity, truth, and interest."⁸⁰ Both critics relied on contemporaneity as the ideal site of historical clarity, distinct

from emulation of antiquity; and both, to their credit, were unfazed by public admission of their inability to decipher Callet's painting—admissions which functioned as a call to boycott allegory and seek a more modern historical alternative.

According to these writers, the problem and its solution were quite simple: a painting illustrating a recent event should not resort to mythological figures and arcane symbols; explaining the facts "as they happened" was infinitely preferable. Similarly, critics such as François Guizot or François-Guillaume Ducray-Duminil called for ease of historical presentation—again, a type of ease far removed from the vaunted "simplicity" of the Greek ideal—by remarking upon the inequity of historical works that required a reading of the Salon *livret*, in short literacy, to be understood.⁸¹

How, then, did history paintings perform for viewers who could not read or, another question altogether, satisfy critics who considered the *livret* a hindrance to the pure historical experience that painting was supposed to offer?

In a bid at proving to the masses that they, too, deserved inclusion in the great unfurling of history, one of the major propagandist tactics of the Napoleonic regime was the commissioning of historical genre, paintings that required no textual gloss for the government's political messages to reach a broad public. The anecdotal, sometimes even caricatural, paintings of Nicolas-Antoine Taunay or Adolphe Roëhn, to be examined in Chapter 3, allowed viewers to visualize history in ways that works by more academic or "erudite" history painters might not have. Even in paintings by artists as diverse as Gros and Vernet, and spanning from the Empire through today, the historical anecdote was a regular feature of Napoleonic history. The impetus

behind such a tactic was to make history clear and, just as importantly, unclear when necessary; furthermore, it was hoped that such works would appear to constitute a "democratic" presentation of history as encouraged by a regime that was, of course, anything but democratic.

Chapter 1 Notes

1. Simon Leys, *The Death of Napoleon: A Novel*, trans. Patricia Clancy and the author (London: Quartet Books, 1991), 38.
2. Lionel Gossman, "History as Decipherment: Romantic Historiography and the Discovery of the Other," in *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 282.
3. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Historicism Revisited," in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1977), 366.
4. Beth S. Wright, *Painting and History during the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 9. For another strong argument for how the Bourbon Restoration saw historical representation undergo its most radical changes, see Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, "Historicism and 'Heritage' in the Louvre, 1820-1840," *Art History* 14, no. 4 (1991): 488-520.
5. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "Pop Culture in the Making: The Romantic Craze for History," in *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 166-188.
6. Voltaire, *The Philosophy of History*, with a preface by Thomas Kiernan (New York: Philosophical Library, 1965).
7. Jean Locquin, *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785. Etude sur l'évolution des idées artistiques dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1912), 276-283.
8. Only the first two were actually carried out, by N.-G. Brenet and L.-J. Durameau respectively, as part of the Salon commission; the latter two, dealing with more recent subjects, would wait until subsequent Salons. They were ultimately executed by J.-B. Suvée (1787) and F.-A. Vincent (1779). Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 191-197.
9. Locquin, 50-53.
10. Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938-9), 116-127.

11. Wind points out that the distant geographic setting of West's *Death of General Wolfe* (set in Canada, while West and his viewers were in England) helped to "[offset] the shock of seeing the hero die in a modern uniform." When John Singleton Copley exhibited the *Death of Chatham* (1783) in England—where Chatham had actually died five years before—reactions were more dramatic, as Copley had crossed the boundary into uncomfortable historical proximity. *Ibid.*, 117, 120.

12. Morse Peckham, "The Dilemma of a Century: The Four Stages of Romanticism," in *The Triumph of Romanticism: Collected Essays* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1970): 45.

13. *Ibid.*, 53.

14. Lejeune [Louis-François], "Beaux-arts. Au Rédacteur," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 12 (4 octobre 1801): 46.

15. For an excellent study of Lejeune's *Battle of Marengo* and the changes in the tradition of battle painting, see Siegfried (as cited in Introduction, n.7).

16. Roland Barthes, "The Discourse of History," *Comparative Criticism* 3 (1981): 8 and 11.

17. Denon to Napoleon, *Salon de 1810* (11 septembre 1810). Archives nationales, Paris (henceforth abbreviated as A.N.), AF IV 1050/6/7.

18. The critic continues: "Ici [in Lejeune's painting], nul mensonge pour obtenir de l'effet. C'est un récit fidèle, une image historique de la bataille, des scènes, de l'action, du terrain: on y reconnaît jusqu'à l'heure et la couleur du jour; on y sent l'air; tout y est vrai." "Peinture. Suite de l'analyse du Salon," *Journal des arts, des sciences, et de littérature*, no. 160 (20 vendémiaire an X): 74.

19. Pierre Chaussard, *Le Pausanias français, ou description du Salon de 1806* (Paris: Buisson, 1808), 10.

20. Quatremère de Quincy, *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts* [1823] (Brussels: Archive d'architecture moderne, 1980), 92-93.

21. M.B. [Jean-Baptiste Boutard], "Salon de l'an XII," *Journal des débats* (9 novembre 1804): 2.

22. Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), esp. 37-40, 80.

23. Karl Kroeber, "Romantic Historicism: The Temporal Sublime," in *Images of Romanticism: Verbal and Visual Affinities*, ed. Karl Kroeber and William Walling (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 160.

24. Ibid., 157.
25. Lerminier, "Les Nouveaux historiens de la Révolution française," *Revue des deux-mondes* 18 (1 avril 1847): 1059.
26. Charles Louandre, "Statistique littéraire de la production intellectuelle en France depuis quinze ans. Seconde partie," *Revue des deux-mondes* 20 (1847): 434.
27. On pessimism in art theory at the turn of the nineteenth century, see Alex Potts, "Political Attitudes and the Rise of Historicism in Art Theory," *Art History* 1, no. 2 (1978): 191-213.
28. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).
29. Hayden White, "The Fictions of Factual Representation," in *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 122.
30. Marie-Joseph Chénier to the Conseil d'état, in a proposal for his *Tableau historique de l'état et des progrès de la littérature française depuis 1789*. A.N., AF IV 1050/4/19, p. 13.
31. Barthes, 7.
32. Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 4.
33. Idem, "Foucault Decoded," in *Tropics of Discourse*, 230-260.
34. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 300.
35. Ibid., 286.
36. Bann, 11. For how the desire for history manifested itself in performative ways, see "Staging the Past" and "Living the Past," 102-162.
37. Idem, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 8-22.
38. H.C. Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 212-213.
39. *Programme générale de l'exercice public qui soutiendront les élèves des différents cours de l'Ecole Centrale du département des Landes, les 29 and 30 thermidor, an VII, dans les salles de l'école à St. Sever*. A.N., F¹⁷/1344 (5)/139.

40. For a detailed bibliography of textbooks published during the period, see Hans Christian Harten, *Les Ecrits pédagogiques sous la Révolution* (Paris: Institut national de la recherche pédagogique, 1989).
41. J. André Brun, *Science de l'organisation sociale démontrée dans ses premiers éléments, ou nouvelle méthode d'étudier l'histoire, les voyages, l'économie politique, la morale, le droit des nations, et d'assurer le succès de l'enseignement public* (Paris: Cerioux, 1799), 190-205. See also Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* [1762] (London: Everyman Press, 1993).
42. *Ibid.*, 63.
43. *Ibid.*, 10.
44. *Ibid.*, 3-4.
45. *Ibid.*, 3.
46. David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* [1748] (cited by Wright, 17).
47. Brun, 1.
48. P.N. Chantreau, *De l'importance de l'étude de l'histoire, et de la vraie manière de l'enseigner* (Paris: Deterville, 1802), 5-6.
49. Antoine Ferrand, *L'Esprit de l'histoire, ou lettres politiques d'un père à son fils, sur la manière d'étudier l'histoire en général, et particulièrement l'histoire de France*, vol. 1 (Paris: Nyon, 1802), iii.
50. *Ibid.*, 11-12.
51. *Ibid.*, xii-xiv.
52. "L'Esprit de l'histoire," *Journal des débats* (15 septembre 1802): 3.
53. For further information on the *prix décennaux*, see Ferdinand Boyer, "Napoléon et l'attribution des grands prix décennaux," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1948): 66-72; also Darcy Grigsby, "Classicism, Nationalism, and History: The *Prix Décennaux* of 1810 and the Politics of Art Under Post-Revolutionary Empire" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1995).
54. *Extrait du rapport du jury, institué par Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, pour le jugement des prix décennaux, en vertu des décrets des 24 fructidor an 12 et 28 novembre 1809 (pour la classe d'histoire et de littérature ancienne)*. A.N., AF IV 1050/6/26, p. 12.

55. Ibid., 3.
56. *Etat des ouvrages les plus importants publiés depuis janvier 1806 jusqu'en janvier 1808*. A.N., AF IV 1050/4/11.
57. See Patricia Mainardi, "Assuring the Empire of the Future: The 1798 Fête de la Liberté," *Art Journal* 48 (Summer 1989): 155-163.
58. *Envoie des cahiers du C. Jouchy, professeur d'histoire dans l'école centrale de l'Hérault*. A.N., F¹⁷/1344 (5)/127.
59. Léger, *Discours préliminaire pour servir d'introduction à l'étude de l'histoire* (1796). A.N., F¹⁷/1344 (5)/149.
60. Ferrand, xviii.
61. Chantreau, 72.
62. Ibid., 73.
63. F¹⁷/1344 (5)/149.
64. Ferrand, 12.
65. Chantreau, 11, 20.
66. Ibid., 26.
67. Professeur Feulat, *Cours d'histoire, pour l'Ecole Centrale Departement de la Mense (an VII)*. A.N., F¹⁷/1344 (5)/147.
68. AF IV 1050/6/26, p. 2.
69. Tulard, *Napoleon, the Myth of the Saviour*, 213-214.
70. E. Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique en France* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1866), 311-312.
71. For a political analysis of the journal, see Pierre Riberette, "Un Journal officieux sous le Consulat: le *Bulletin de Paris*," *Revue de l'Institut Napoléon* (1969): 121-132.
72. "Prospectus," *Bulletin de Paris*, no. 1 (20 ventôse an X): 4.
73. "Nouvelles," *Bulletin de Paris*, no. 2 (25 ventôse an X): 53.
74. *Les Fastes de Napoleon, ou l'homme du siècle* (Paris: J.B. Imbert, 1815), 100.

75. For a discussion of Napoleon as *petit caporal*, see Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orléanist France, 1830-1848* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 158-159.

76. Boher, "Sur l'allégorie, relativement aux arts d'imitation," in *Précis historique des productions des arts*, vol. 1, ed. Charles Landon (Paris: Didot Jeune, 1801), 322.

77. *Ibid.*, 321-322.

78. For a discussion of the Callet as a rare example of allegory in Napoleonic iconography, see Pierre Lelièvre, "Les Débuts de l'iconographie napoléonienne au Salon de 1801," in *Humanisme actif, mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain*, vol. 1 (Paris: Hermann, 1968), 309-312.

79. "Peinture. Exposition des ouvrages des artistes vivants au Salon du Louvre," *Journal général de la littérature, des sciences, et des arts*, no. 28 (10 vendémiaire an X): 111.

80. "Beaux-arts. Coup-d'oeil sur le Salon. Suite," *Décade philosophique* 1 (10 vendémiaire an X): 43.

81. See Chapter 2, 127.

CHAPTER 2

ANTOINE-JEAN GROS: HISTORY, TALE, AND A "TRANSPARENT VEIL"

Of all of David's students, none was more respectfully devoted, and docile, to his master than Antoine-Jean Gros; none did more, without wanting to and without knowing it, to prepare for and arm the insurrection which was to dethrone his school . . . And thus it was, that this man of genius fought against himself his entire life.

André Michel, *L'Ecole française de David à Delacroix*.¹

Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835), known primarily for paintings based on Napoleonic history, is considered the nineteenth-century successor to battle painters such as Charles Parrocel and Adam Frans van der Meulen, who depicted France's military feats under Louis XIV. But rarely did Gros picture charging troops, burning villages, or fighting in action: either he was not really a battle painter, or the terms attending historical depictions of battle had changed considerably during the Napoleonic era. Even the apparent political reasoning behind the tradition of military painting—to document victory in the service of nationalism—is at times suppressed, or turned against its own interests, in Gros's depictions of Napoleonic events. For despite his facility in fulfilling the requirements of the regime, it is impossible to interpret Gros's works as univocal statements of Napoleonic supremacy. Inflected with as much weakness as power, with as much empathy for the enemy as admiration for the victor, Gros's paintings defy propagandist logic. Invoking a battle between

present and past, fact and fable, sense and sensibility, Gros analyzed history's proceedings from a dramatically humanitarian standpoint, while simultaneously disclosing his own sense of historical entrapment. The immediately recognizable emotional charge of Gros's manner, and his uncertain relationship to traditions of history painting, have marked him as either "the first Romantic painter"²--a paradigm of modernism--or a "transitional figure,"³ essentially a semi-colon between much more remarkable artistic locutions. Retroactively assigning Gros a role in a network of movements or styles has become something of an art historical conundrum, the critical fallout of his ambiguous status in his own day: as a student of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), he was pedagogically destined to carry on a neoclassical tradition, but did nothing of the sort. Having made his fame painting blazing spectacles from contemporary history--patently un-Davidian productions--Gros broke rank (or, as he remorsefully interpreted later, interrupted progress) for the sake of an entrepreneurial venture.

Gros has often been characterized as the embodiment of a Neoclassical/Romantic conflict. But, in his successful Napoleonic paintings, Neoclassicism rarely seems to enter the picture, while his regret about having turned down David's tacit offer to become his successor would be revealed only after Napoleon's final exile in 1815. Thomas Crow has recently analyzed the generational affinity between three of David's students: Jean-Germain Drouais (1763-1788), Anne-Louis Girodet (1767-1824), and Gros. Girodet's and Gros's ties to David were severed by the Revolution, when Napoleon stepped in with demands for a new brand

of contemporary history painting; although both Girodet and Gros--not to mention David himself--would serve those demands, successfully and seemingly free of guilt, Gros would eventually attribute the demise of classical history painting to his own "misspent youth."⁴ His contrition came to a public climax at the 1824 funeral of Girodet--in Crow's eloquently Zola-esque account, an event of melodramatic proportions.⁵ It was there that Gros, in an oft-cited speech, blamed himself for having contributed to the loss of a national style.⁶ The stacks of correspondence between Gros and David after the latter's self-exile to Brussels in 1815, and Gros's ill-received attempts at a return to classical history painting, reveal Gros's post-Napoleonic conflict at having strayed from the path provided by David. David encouraged Gros's recuperative efforts; when in 1821 Gros completed his oddly rococo *Bacchus and Ariadne*, David approved of his student's choice to finally abandon "those gilded uniforms and boots."⁷ Having inherited David's studio, Gros would become, at least in words, an avidly Davidian theorist. Trying to instill classical tenets in young painters in a Davidless Paris, he wrote in 1820 that his teaching was structured on "nature, M. David, and the Greeks."⁸ His devotion to David is equally apparent in the campaign he inaugurated to bring David back to Paris; David, however, refused.⁹ Perhaps most revealing of Gros's regrets is the fact that in 1834, he rejected a commission to paint the Napoleonic battle of Jena for the *Galérie des Batailles* at Versailles. He gave an openly self-critical explanation for turning down the commission, saying "having already done many paintings of that sort, I feel the need to put myself to rest with subjects more appropriate to the study

of art."¹⁰ In the following year, Gros committed a final act of self-destruction by drowning himself in the Seine: perhaps suffering from his failed efforts at Davidian mythologies (his *Hercules and Diomedes* of 1835 met with particularly insulting critical disfavor),¹¹ perhaps feeling personally responsible for the "degeneration" of French history painting--but more likely for darker reasons that no amount of research will be able to uncover.

The ultimately disastrous biography of Antoine-Jean Gros has lent itself, over the past century, to poignant musings on the artist's depression and personal drama. Gros's biographers tell us he was given to frequent bouts of maudlin self-doubt, which either interrupted his work or manifested itself therein. Ernest Chesneau diagnosed "profound troubles, inexplicable and easily exaggerated bitternesses [that] had, even from the very beginning, invaded and ravaged Gros's feminine spirit."¹² Eugène Delacroix attributed periods of inactivity in Gros's career to a Michelangelesque ennui,¹³ and even suggested that Gros had juvenile suicidal impulses; in 1785, when the possibility arose that David might not take him as a student, the young Gros supposedly sobbed "je vais mourir!"¹⁴ (reminiscent, perhaps, of David's own legendary considerations on suicide).¹⁵ The two major studies of Gros, by J.-B. Delestre (1845) and J. Tripier-le-Franc (1880), cite a series of letters Gros sent from Italy to his mother, abundant in discouraged ruminations on the artist's part. Delestre in particular uses (and at times rewords) these letters as proof of Gros's incurable sense of suffering; however the full lot, published by Philippe Bordes,¹⁶ reveals that Gros had moments of great optimism, especially

around the time of his introduction to Napoleon Bonaparte in 1796. Nonetheless stories of Gros languishing in the misery of solitude, finding consolation only upon returning to Paris where he once again "found himself. . . in his mother's arms,"¹⁷ and reassured only in knowing that "he would never leave her again"¹⁸ have labeled him frail, "feminine," unable to cope alone.

The validity of Gros's psychological profile as presented by his poetic biographers is not, of course, entirely under suspicion--his suicide alone is enough to prove that something was amiss. But his at times depressive character has tempted portrayals of the artist as a Romantic stereotype, with the assumption that his unsteady psychological state bore itself out in his work--his handwriting, even, has been analyzed as "flamboyant, urgent...a magnificent work of art."¹⁹ Distant generations of art historians have used Gros's depression to implicitly insist on a correlation between Romanticism and emotional instability (Goethe's famed "Romanticism is sickness") or, as suggested by the above critics, Romanticism as "feminine"; meanwhile Classicism is robust and masculine, an artistic sign for psychological well-being. Admittedly, Gros himself made reference to the question of artistic "health," warning David of the "sickness which threatens the French school."²⁰ But did the classical-romantic conflict lead to Gros's tragic suicide?

Raymond Escholier thinks so:

Gros. . . had to die of Delacroix as much as of David. Torn between his master and his disciples, between the insolent triumphs of the young school who made use of him and the rigorous decrees of the exile in Brussels, the painter of *Eylau* could only find salvation in suicide without glory.²¹

Said more plainly, "Torn between his classical training and his romantic future, the

painter committed suicide in 1835."²² Although this might be an alluring analysis from our retrospective remove, it is purely art historical convenience to claim that Gros killed himself because he couldn't reconcile his position within a set of incongruous critical constructs. Rather than looking for latent signs of Gros's "impending" suicide in his work, I would propose that Romanticism, in the case of Gros, was an expression of the most positive aspects of his approach to creativity, and of his approach to his own position within a historical lineage. Gros was aware that he had broken some of the artistic laws of his teacher; but if it was guilt that he felt after 1815, under Napoleon Gros did not feel guilty of anything—and in fact flagrantly relished the idea of defying David.

Flagrant defiance came in the form of *Sappho at Leucadia* (fig. 2, 1801).²³ As the only antique subject Gros painted between 1798 and 1815, *Sappho at Leucadia* was a deviation from his newfound position as chronicler of current Napoleonic events. As David's student, Gros was educated in antiquity's exemplary role in world history and artistic practice; that he would paint the desperate suicide of a classical poet who goes blindly into the abyss—toga, lyre, bare feet, and all—seems all too disloyal, a literal killing off of ancient history in favor of the present. It could be argued that Gros used the painting to mark his abandonment of neoclassical stylistics, and to pronounce the death of the antiquity-centered brand of historicism which had guided the telling of history before the Napoleonic era. The unheroic subject and thematic peculiarity of the painting within Gros's oeuvre signify *Sappho's* anti-classical program. The predominantly dark blue-gray painting shows the poet of

Lesbos about to leap into the moonlit sea below the Leucadian cliff which, according to a long mythical tradition based on Ovid's "Epistle from Sappho to Phaon," she did after discovering that her unfaithful (male) lover Phaon had left her (and town) for another woman.²⁴ Sappho clutches a lyre, the attribute of Poetry, as she goes to her death, although Ovid has her set it aside before jumping;²⁵ in the distance, her last offerings burn on an altar, a toppled amphora and shield abandoned at its base. These forsaken Greco-Roman clichés act as material counterparts to the poet's sacrifice; Sappho and the archaeological remnants of the antique and now obsolete past that she occupied have been displaced into oblivion. The implication of such an "execution" of an ancient literary heroine is that she was no longer relevant; she was better replaced by the heroes of the present, such as the painting's patron General Jean-Joseph Dessolles (who had just scored brilliantly in the Italian campaign),²⁶ or Bonaparte himself, who by the time of Sappho's exhibition, had become Gros's artistic ally.

Was antiquity dead? Although certain historians discussed in Chapter 1 felt it was, of course the classical age remained, for many, the pinnacle of Western civilization. But certainly Gros's pessimistic presentation of antiquity—with its poetic muse teetering on the edge of death—has a parallel in the disillusionment with the past expressed by historians like J. André Brun or Pierre-Charles Lévesque. As both authors described the uselessness of the past to present generations (or in Lévesque's case, the danger of the past to present generations), so Gros relegated the past to a vision of calamity in *Sappho*—his only remotely Davidian painting of the Napoleonic

period (Davidian because thematically classical, but deceptively un-Davidian in its anti-idealized assault on antiquity).²⁷ Furthermore, by depicting a suicide committed for love, not honor—contrary to Enlightenment paradigms of suicide as self-sacrifice for State²⁸--Gros completely severed the rapport between the classical and the desirable, between the past and its ability to perform as a model for the present.

Critics, when remarking on *Sappho* at all, point out the parallel between Sappho's death and the artist's: both committed suicide, both did so by watery means, both Sappho and Gros speak for the pessimistic romantic ethos of "desolation and isolation."²⁹ J.-C. Bordier du Bignon would parody this parallel in a painting showing Gros leaping from a cliff, clutching his palette in the same way that Sappho clutches her lyre.³⁰ But it would be a teleological gaffe to view *Sappho*--exhibited thirty-four years before Gros's own suicide--as a foreshadowing, a premonition, a threat; the juvenile episode reported by Delacroix is, if true, perhaps more foreboding than Gros's interest in Sappho. On the contrary, at the time of the admittedly lugubrious painting's commission and production, Gros was basking in a positive beginning. He had just been named a *Commissaire du gouvernement à la recherche des objets de sciences et des arts*,³¹ the verbose euphemism for those who supervised the looting of European art collections for works to install in the Louvre. He was also given the probably more titular than actual position of "inspecteur aux revues" in the Italian army.³² Gros had the most pivotal advancement to his career in 1801, his first government commission, for the *Battle of Nazareth*. In short, by the time the bleak Sappho was painted and exhibited, Gros--having accumulated titles,

commissions, and powerful allies--was in a far from bleak artistic situation.

By eliminating Sappho, the poetic anti-heroine and agent of antiquity's purely literary history, Gros cleared the way for Bonaparte and what he planned to establish as "real" history. Perfectly aware of the relevance of Greco-Roman history to the French Revolution (or the *ancien régime*), and particularly adept at self-promotion, Bonaparte encouraged the painting of contemporary French history instead. His penchant for the present required an updated visual language that directly contrasted Neoclassicism, shown to be a politically impotent style by the time of the Revolution's inconclusive conclusion. Of course he did not altogether banish Neoclassicism, and particularly after declaring himself Emperor in 1804 Napoleon was compelled to resort to the iconography of Imperial Rome. But Neoclassicism was not "the" Empire Style; it was, perhaps, one of several Empire styles, although "neoclassical" is not a term that can be easily applied to Gros's paintings. In an attempt to cull popular support by finding visual equivalents for the Revolution's democratic reforms, Napoleonic painters--Gros early on, then painters who will be discussed in the next chapter--devised a system of history-telling which adopted poetic, anecdotal, even genre-like means to describe the historical present. As one way to garner popular support, the Napoleonic regime contrived a brand of history painting devoid of art theory, devoid of potentially obscure references--paintings that pretended to serve all viewers in post-Revolutionary France by doing away with the monumental rhetoric of antiquity and the *beau idéal*, of which Sappho was certainly a failed representative.

Salon-goers in 1801 had an effective précis of Bonaparte's rewriting of history in Gros's pairing of *Sappho* with *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola* (fig. 3, 1796-7), his first painting of the general.³³ *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola* commemorates the first Italian Campaign, the campaign which made Bonaparte a nationally known figure. Together the paintings of Sappho, the suicidal antique anti-heroine, and Bonaparte, the modern hero, played the opposite poles of history. Karl Kroeber's keen characterization of classical historiography seems almost to parody this pair: "We, the now-living, look back on the long-dead."³⁴ Such a historical view is effectively killed off by Gros's two pictures, pendants forcing the split between past and present, between stillness and vibration, between history's debris and history's hopes.

Arcola captures an ambiance rather than an event—historical triumph without insistence on historical truth. Our history-maker is solitary, given no geographical markers to place him in a specific context, no historical data but uniform and flag, no details of the event—a battle—within the confines of the painting; neither the bridge nor the Arcola of the title is in any way confirmed by the picture's contents. Bonaparte's concentration upon an action beyond the frame suggests that the battle still rages nearby—history is told in the present tense. Walter Friedlaender comments on the painting in the following terms: "Everything is concentrated on the human being. . . all set down as in a direct impression."³⁵ Is Bonaparte, then, the "Romantic individual" par excellence? What is so unusual about *Arcola* as a history painting is precisely what Friedlaender points to: that Bonaparte is alone. A writer

for the *Moniteur universel* described how Gros's solitary Bonaparte effectively characterizes battle, without the addition of historical details:

His head is bare; we are thus able to see the part of his physiognomy. . . which we regard as the center of his genius. We perceive in the background the fires of battle; but we see neither the bridge, nor the French, nor the enemy. Bonaparte is alone, yet we sense the two armies are there.³⁶

History, in Gros's *Arcole*, becomes the image of a single being.

By way of a case study of the alternate strains of historical narrative that mark the Napoleonic era, we might profit from examining Gros's *Arcola* alongside David's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (fig. 4, 1801). The early period of Gros's employment by Bonaparte—who, of course, also employed David—forced student and teacher into inadvertent competition; David painted the same soldiers, gilded uniforms and boots for which he would later chastise Gros. Where Gros's painting avoids documentation of Bonaparte's presence at Arcola, David's painting of Bonaparte crossing the St. Bernard Pass is a kind of textbook diagram replete with historical sources and dates within the frame. The picture is ordered according to a linear historical program. The landscape, first of all, clearly situates Bonaparte in an Alpine setting. The soldiers and artillery in the background foreshadow a battle to follow, this being the battle of Marengo (June 1800), which despite failings in its early hours resulted in French victory—Bonaparte's first in his capacity as First Consul.³⁷ The date on the horse's harness assigns historical time (corresponding to the painting's completion, not the event), while the names Hannibal and Charlemagne (history's other Alp-crossers) assign Bonaparte a position within a historical genealogy.³⁸ David's Bonaparte gazes sharply down at the viewer, establishing a hierarchical relationship

between viewer and viewed that freezes image into icon, a moment definitively sealed off from the viewer's realm of experience. In both paintings, history is inscribed within the image of a single figure: but David's figure is flagrantly endowed with supremacy, while Gros's Bonaparte, presented in the role of flag-bearer, embodies egalitarianism as he plays the common citizen-soldier.³⁹ History is authority in one, humanity in the other.

The paintings by David and Gros, viewed as emissaries of opposing parties, form a synopsis of the early nineteenth-century division between didactic and popular, or Enlightened and Romantic, methods of telling. The David-Gros comparison might be considered one between the old-form historical chronology and the narrative styling of Romantic historicism. Studying the progression of historical methods from the middle ages through the nineteenth century, Hayden White has demonstrated an evolution away from simple "annals," these being listings of events by year, to "chronicles," in which events are linked by a central subject, to "history," in which data is sewn together by a narrator's moralizing need.⁴⁰ In David's work, Bonaparte is the last line of an annals-like progression, the culmination of an authoritarian series beginning with Hannibal. But in Gros's painting, with neither references to the past nor a footnote in sight, we are given mood without means, style without sources, the historian's brushmark effacing the gap between the event and its telling. Drawing a methodological line between the annalist and the historian, R. de Beaunoir and A.-H. Dampmartin, editors of the 1805 *Annales de l'Empire français*, wrote "the annalist allows himself no judgment; simple and pure in his accounts, his only responsibility

in the face of posterity is truth to the facts." The historian, on the other hand, must "tastefully intermingle the telling of facts, the study of morals, and the painting of men. . . let him satisfy reason with thought, imagination by images, the ear with diction."⁴¹ In short, according to this formulation, annals are objective and scientific, while history is literary, exercising its aesthetic potential openly to solicit the senses. Although the David is far from unopinionated, the painting's insistence on lineage aims for a stark image of history (whose objectivity is all the same exploded by David's block-letter signature at center). But Gros's *Arcole*, refusing to categorize the battle of Arcole as part of a timed progression, and with the artist's presence heavily brushed into the picture's surface, obliterates the supposedly "scientific" structure of history. The structures of classical historical narrative, a hierarchy in David's painting based on authority and time, are in the Gros replaced by the vitality of history's maker. Gros's Bonaparte—more actor than authority figure, more action hero than symbol of conquest—is a poetic study of history's inner life.

As described by Michel Foucault, the classical historical model was transformed in the nineteenth century by a reversal in narrative priorities in which the inner life of a subject took precedence over its visible, empirically derived data; history obtained a living, even biological, aspect. Describing classical taxonomy as being based on shape, size, and other data similarly gleaned about a subject by way of observation, Foucault pointed out that at the turn of the century (using the naturalist Georges Cuvier as his example), the inner life and function of beings came to be used as their primary characteristic for classification.⁴² He wrote "For eighteenth-century

thought, chronological sequences are merely a property and a more or less blurred expression of the order of beings; from the nineteenth century, they express, in a more or less direct fashion. . .the profoundly historical mode of being of things and men."⁴³ Expanding on this experiential model, Stephen Bann uses museology to demonstrate a romantic reversal in how history was structured or perceived. The Musée des monuments français (today's Musée de Cluny) in Paris, as first developed by Alexandre Lenoir, organized medieval fragments, primarily from abbeys and *châteaux*, by time, making them stand metonymically for a particular period or century (in short, they were objects in a chronology); then, at the hands of Alexandre du Sommerard, new acquisitions were made and the museum was organized not by date, but by theme, with a focus on household, military, and religious objects--articles of everyday life. Du Sommerard, in Bann's reading, represents the nineteenth-century shift (which Bann more readily than Foucault calls "Romantic") toward studying objects or history by way of their function, their interior lives.⁴⁴ Time, in a nineteenth-century reconstruction of history, was no longer the only valid historical container; theme--or meaning--grants the reader, museum-goer, or viewer a sense of historical inclusion themselves, the illusion of having lived the history presented before them. Bann further demonstrates how the desire for history in early nineteenth-century France produced works of art or theater that aspired to put history on display, to re-enact it rather than simply granting spectators a parsimoniously distanced, time-bound peek at the events of the past.⁴⁵ Foucault and Bann's assessments of history's overtly subjective status in the nineteenth-century find an

archetype in Gros's *Arcola*: the painting is history from the inside out, its sublime instability worn on the face of its protagonist, its witnesses admitted into its indeterminate progression.

If Davidianism pretends to freeze history into "unmotivated" annals (at least on the occasion of *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps*), then Gros's work is more characteristic of the desire for a poetic, personalized history that infused early nineteenth-century discourse. Bann points out that to view the Romantic era as having completely replaced one model by another is not entirely sound, for indeed *histoire* and *discours* interrupt each other regularly: that is, authorial attempts at "objective history" were not altogether supplanted by written or painted works in which both author and audience are fundamental presences.⁴⁶ Nor, for that matter, was objective history ever entirely possible; as White has written, "the process of fusing events, whether imaginary or real. . . is a poetic process."⁴⁷ Christopher Prendergast's excellent study of history painting in the Napoleonic period demonstrates the impossibility of pinpointing a singular historical voice; outlining a battle between paintings which engage polar approaches to the historical project, Prendergast presents Napoleonic painting as an artistic upheaval of ambiguous intentions that ultimately defy translation.⁴⁸ The battle was, perhaps, between David and Gros: while David can be placed at the more transparent end of the spectrum, the interior view of history in Gros's *Arcola* would become an important, and ultimately victorious, approach to historical presentation, both during Napoleon's tenure and long after his disappearance.

The previously cited exhortations of the *prix décennaux* jury, that history "act and speak," perform, and constitute "dramatic pictures," announced the democratic pretensions of one of the Napoleonic era's official styles. An orientation of history toward the sensibilities of viewers, an attempt to make history more comprehensible by luring the viewer's sense of experience, was one way to create the sense that history and its representations were equitably directed toward all members of society. Blurring the line between history and tale, the mechanics of legend were set in motion from the very beginning, the Italian campaign, with Bonaparte working the controls. It was Bonaparte himself who delivered reports of the battle of Arcola to the French populace with two articles in the *Moniteur universel*. This was only the beginning of what would turn into his notorious control of the press. While a detailed analysis of the press and censorship under Napoleon is a subject unto itself, it might suffice to note that immediately after Bonaparte's *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire (9 November 1799), he reduced the number of Parisian journals from seventy-three to thirteen, and by 1811, to four.⁴⁹ But as early as 1796, when Bonaparte was little more than a very admirable military man, the editors of the *Moniteur universel* deemed that only Bonaparte could furnish readers with an accurate report of the battle of Arcola. Stendhal, in his never-finished *Vie de Napoléon* (1818-1838), wrote that the battle at Arcola "struck the French imagination by the very romanticness of its telling."⁵⁰ Stendhal was writing after the idea of "the romantic" had already come into contemporary discourse, so I will not analyze that aspect of his terminology. But key to his characterization of Arcola's effect on the French mind is that the *telling* of

the event was what produced such an effect. It is therefore necessary to examine the verbal accounts of the battle of Arcola in order to see how the French imagination received history as it was made.

Bonaparte's reports of the battle of Arcola ran in the 2 and 4 December 1796 issues of the *Moniteur universel*. The first of the articles (actually reprints of letters from Bonaparte to the Directors) contains a description of the Adige region, an analysis of the maneuvers of the French and Austrian armies, and the number of prisoners, flags, and canons taken by the French, who ultimately "decided the fate of Italy."⁵¹ In this aspect, the article might be called objective or scientific military analysis. But Bonaparte spent equal time setting up the psychological drama of warfare, recounting the injuries of his men (leaving out the fact that he, too, was injured in a fall near the bridge),⁵² the momentary loss of the army's morale, and the inspirational effect his presence had on the troops:

It was in vain that all the generals, feeling the importance of time, threw themselves to the front in order to force our columns to pass the little bridge at Arcola; so much courage destroyed, they were almost all hurt: generals Verdier, Bon, Verne, Lasne were put out of the combat. . . However we had to cross the bridge. . . I went to the front myself. I asked the soldiers if they were still the conquerors of Lodi; my presence produced a movement among the troops, which made me decide to once again attempt passage.⁵³

The question Bonaparte said he put to his troops--if they were still the conquerors of Lodi--was intended to help the men muster up their former courage; but this aspect of the question has little to do with the reader, who is given the information only as a reminder of Bonaparte's other conquests. Bonaparte then enumerated the fruits of victory--4000-5000 prisoners, 4 enemy flags, and 18 cannons, concluding "Our loss, negligible though it was, was still a sensitive one in that it was almost all officers of

the greatest distinction."⁵⁴ Bonaparte's brief account is one that denied any great loss on the part of France, took a certain thrill in the number of enemy dead ("General Robert covered the battlefield with cadavers"), and found room to credit himself for having braved the bridge first. Combining historical data with dramatic detail, Bonaparte masked the reality of war with poetic evocations of inspiration and heroism.

Bonaparte's second report, printed two days later, was intended to dissolve any uncertainty that the battle of Arcola had been a victory. While the first article presented statistics as proof of victory, closing with Bonaparte's rather nonchalant claim to having lost only a few men, the article of 4 December consists of narrative aimed purely at the reader's sense of personal drama. Bonaparte now turns to the men he did lose, using their brave devotion to establish that the victory was not just a military one, but a moral one:

Never has any battlefield been disputed like that of Arcola; I had hardly any generals left; their devotion and courage are without precedent. Brigade General Lasne [actually Lannes] came to the battlefield, not yet cured from the injury he received at Governolo. He was hurt twice during the first day of the battle; he was, at 3:00 in the afternoon, stretched out on his bed and suffering, when he learns that I am going myself to the front of the column, he throws himself to the foot of his bed, mounts his horse, and comes back to find me. . . . At the end of the Arcola Bridge, he received a shot that knocked him unconscious.⁵⁵

Bonaparte's switch mid-story from the past to the present tense brings readers closer to the action, using Lannes's efforts to help his general as the turning point. For a second time, Bonaparte reminds readers that he headed the victory himself by going to the front; this, between details of Lannes's suffering, offers the reader two brands of hero—one who was injured in battle, and one who won the battle.

This subtle self-lauding mixed with praise for his men's valor is characteristic of Bonaparte's writing although, according to his admirers, he never took the credit himself and always passed the responsibility for victory on to his soldiers.⁵⁶ This was the essence of Bonaparte's most legendary persona, the *petit caporal*, the nickname that referred to Bonaparte as an egalitarian leader, friend to all his soldiers.⁵⁷ Said one, "Bonaparte always proved communicative; the most inferior of soldiers saw him take care of his needs and his rights, and never was a leader more cherished, and more respected."⁵⁸ The guise of *petit caporal* would become a major propagandist ploy in the art and literature of the period. The most important feature of Bonaparte's image as *petit caporal* is costume; his purportedly democratic sense of the army's structure inspired him even to dress down, in the famous plain two-cornered hat ("petit chapeau") and grey greatcoat ("redingote grise") that marked his simple, unpretentious comportment. Whether or not Napoleon's hat is plumed in this or that painting may seem trivial; but I cannot over-emphasize the importance of this sort of detail. It is not a question of fashion, but of political identity.

As for the intended effect of the reports in the *Moniteur universel*, the combination of factual detail and emotional anecdote demonstrates how Bonaparte appealed to both those demanding proof and those craving stories. Bonaparte was consciously being a writer, not just commander-in-chief reporting to the government. He was certainly aware that his reports would not be taken as the final word, as evidenced by his alleged remark that "Newspapers are not history any more than bulletins are history."⁵⁹ But, asked Stendhal, "Who would dare, after Napoleon, to

recount the battle of Arcola?"⁶⁰ Indeed no one at the time did, as Bonaparte's reports are the only references to the battle of Arcola in the *Moniteur universel*; such insistence on his word as final would culminate in 1807, when Napoleon decreed that news reports of his military activity could provide only information given in the *Bulletins de la Grande Armée*,⁶¹ which he wrote himself. That the *Moniteur universel*--the official paper--presented a historical event told in the first person--an anecdotal narrative form--typifies the oppositions between formal history and legend in the evolution of Napoleonic history. The use of first person narrative also acted as a new brand of substantiation; by filling his text with the pronoun "I," Bonaparte simultaneously affirmed the eyewitness nature of his account and made readers feel the general was addressing them directly. In the same way that history-telling and personality-bearing are opposing forces in Gros's *Arcola*, objective reportage and personal anecdote are intertwined in Bonaparte's accounts. What Stendhal called "the romanticness" of Arcola's telling is, I think, grounded precisely in these oppositions. The unleashing of subjective views into supposedly objective contexts forced the development of a romantic legend from the very start of Napoleon's career.

With Gros's first government commission, the *Battle of Nazareth* (fig. 5, 1799-1801), the origins of his anti-traditional approach to history-telling are apparent. The battle of Nazareth (16 April 1799; also known as the battle of Mount Tabor) fell during the Syrian expedition of the Egyptian campaign. The campaign began in 1798 in an effort to isolate England by cutting off its important trade routes with India. In addition to this fundamental rationale, it had a scientific pretext. French engineers

who joined the campaign inaugurated plans for the Suez Canal (not realized until 1869). In Cairo Bonaparte established the Institute of Egypt as a center of ethnographic study, run by the French although the Egyptian and Mameluck locals were invited to use the library.⁶² Dominique Vivant-Denon produced a two-volume book of archaeological drawings which would become an important sourcebook for artists.⁶³ The campaign's archaeological veneer marked the advent of the especially French discipline that Jean-François Champollion would later call Egyptology; despite its foundation in academic study of the culture of Egypt, French Egyptology has, because of Bonaparte (and later Napoleon III), a persistently ethnocentric tinge.

As a series of military exploits, the Egyptian campaign lacked the cachet of the Italian campaign for the simple reason that it failed, bringing home the last straggling Frenchmen in 1801; Bonaparte himself abandoned the campaign in 1799 and made his way to Paris in order to overthrow the Directory on the fateful 18th Brumaire. The nine months separating the dramatic French victories at Embabeh (which Bonaparte would sensationally name the Battle of the Pyramids) and Nazareth were, in the words of one historian, a time of "make-believe;" Bonaparte was under the almost pathetic delusion that he had conquered all of Egypt and won its people's admiration, a delusion that was conveyed to France by way of his reports to the Directors.⁶⁴

The Syrian expedition from Egypt was necessitated by threats from Turkey, who in February of 1799 sent its armies through Syria to defend Egypt, then part of the Ottoman Empire. The French defeated the Turks at Nazareth but, the following

month, lost decisively at the all-important site of St. Jean d'Acre, forcing their retreat back to Egypt and, ultimately, Bonaparte's escape.⁶⁵ A grand-scale depiction of the victory at Nazareth could fruitfully remove focus from Bonaparte's losses at St. Jean d'Acre and, perhaps, was conceived as a way of concealing the atrocities that had met Frenchmen, Turks, and the natives of Syria at nearby Jaffa; Jaffa, however, would eventually become the subject of a commission that forced Gros to altogether abandon the Nazareth project.

Gros's *Battle of Nazareth* was the winning sketch in a government competition announced in 1801 by, among other official newspapers, the *Journal des débats*.⁶⁶ Although the original program for the painting has not been located, Susan Siegfried has reconstructed its contents using these announcements and an excerpt from the program that Gros displayed underneath his sketch.⁶⁷ It appears that the program for the *Battle of Nazareth* required painters to include General Junot, Colonels Duvivier and Desnoyers, and that the army be clad in the uniforms of the Second Light Infantry and the Fourteenth Dragoons.⁶⁸ In accordance with these criteria, Gros's painting includes the three officers, but only in a truly minimalistic fashion. Rather than assigning them center-stage status, Gros removed Junot, Duvivier, and Desnoyers to remote areas of the picture, requiring a prolonged visual scan by viewers who, knowing these men were somewhere in the fray, hoped to spot them. Junot, at mid-ground, turns his face toward the left; his white horse charges the other way. Duvivier, to the right of Junot, covers his face entirely with his sword-brandishing arm; he is reduced to a uniform on horseback, lost within a tumult of

bodies, smoke, and flags. Desnoyers, almost entirely out of sight, is in the background right of center, a dark shadow on a dark horse amid a dark swarm of soldiers.⁶⁹ The men credited with being the main players in the event are made nearly invisible.

Meanwhile, the foreground contains three independent anecdotes with no narrative connection but time and place. Artists submitting sketches for the Nazareth competition were, according to Siegfried's reconstruction of the program, required to include the following vignettes: a wounded rifleman taking his last shot at the enemy while his comrades hold him in position; the struggle for a Turkish standard between a French soldier and a Turk who, in Gros's painting, clings desperately to the Frenchman's sash and bares his throat to receive his enemy's sword; and the death of the son of the former pasha of Acre. It can be inferred from the remarks of certain critics that the scene at the far left of Gros's canvas, showing a French soldier protecting a Turk from French gunfire, was not in the program; how critics responded to this scene might suggest what were considered good historical ethics. Philippe Chéry (a painter who had studied with Joseph-Marie Vien, David's teacher) was outwardly annoyed that Gros won the competition, perhaps feeling, as some writers claimed, that it had been fixed in Gros's favor;⁷⁰ Chéry defended his negative position with the fact that Gros dared deviate from the program. Speaking of the French soldier shielding the Turk, he wrote "I simply ask, what does this scene mean, and was it in the program?" He then went on to describe sarcastically certain of the painting's anecdotes as "beautiful ideas which emerged, perfect, from the

artist's forehead, in the same way we say Minerva emerged from Jupiter's brain."⁷¹ For Chéry, only that which was sanctioned by official documents was worthy of being reported because only that, he assumed, was true; history was, to him, acceptably defined by government decree. Another critic, however, seemed not to mind that Gros's painting departed from the program: "Some of the scenes were indicated as historical by the program; those which the artist himself imagined are no less felicitous."⁷² This critic appears to have agreed with François Boher, who in his defense of allegory had suggested that history painters, like poets, should not be bound to "servile copies of facts." If imagination or invention could improve the aesthetic appearance of a work of art, history was in no way done a disservice.

The government sanction given Gros's anecdotal treatment of the battle could be said to correspond to Bonaparte's own methods of narration in his reports on the battle of Arcola, which accommodated varying types of reader interest with different brands of narrative. Shattering the ideal of history's single, unified moment, Gros offered the viewer an open-ended historical experience, a choice of what to look at, what to identify with, or perhaps even what to dislike about battle. One can either admire the upright and victorious Frenchman stealing the Turkish standard, or disdain his thirst for blood. Indeed the active struggle of this central scene--each figure simultaneously being pulled toward and repelled by the other--is, in its implied continuity, presented as an unfinished act conferring solid judgment on neither man. The narrative order, or lack thereof, refuses to dictate a singular moment or a singular moral. This decentralized approach to historical narration was, for some,

problematic. The architect Detournelle wrote that there were "too many episodes which distracted me from the principal subject."⁷³ But we might ask: what is this principal subject that Detournelle seemed to feel existed? Was there even supposed to be one? Formally speaking, the centralized struggle between the bare-throated Turk and the Frenchman brandishing a flag and sword would seem to be the "principal subject:" but what does this do to the event's supposed heroes, Junot, Duvivier, and Desnoyers?

The painting's organization is entirely lacking in hierarchy. Figures, horses, drapery, and smoke conspire to form an amorphous mass with no prescribed reading order (the comparison here being to any number of classically constructed pictures in which a pyramid, triangle, or other device directs the viewer's reading, dictating which parts of a picture take precedence over others). The *Battle of Nazareth*, both thematically and compositionally, is an insistently anti-structured work. Siegfried suggests that "there was a sense of a dangerous populism afoot in Gros's painting, where a proliferation of minor episodes threatened to upstage the principal action of General Junot."⁷⁴ But if this was populism, it was also precisely the government's point: the program for the *Battle of Nazareth* required the anecdotes in Gros's painting. If it had indicated that Junot, Duvivier, and Desnoyers had to be presented as the event's principal actors, Gros's noncompliance was ignored; if Gros went too far by placing the anecdotes in the foreground, his reversed approach was, apparently, a pleasing tactic for, after all, he won the competition. Gros would continue to cultivate this anti-classical narrative structure in his paintings of contemporary history,

and anecdotal historical moments would become his domain.

Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola and the *Battle of Nazareth* secured Gros a position within the Bonapartist propaganda mill which, of course, demanded greater quantities of proverbial grist as Bonaparte's political sphere increased. The Constitution of Year VIII, drawn up in the month after the 18th Brumaire, installed Bonaparte at the head of the Consulate's three-man executive branch, along with Jean-Jacques Cambacérès and Charles François Lebrun, who had held governmental posts under the Directory; however as Second and Third Consuls, they served little more than advisory roles.⁷⁵ In 1802, Gros was commissioned to paint the famous *Bonaparte as First Consul* (fig. 6), which Bonaparte gave to Cambacérès and is now in the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, Paris. Gros was then requested to paint a further series of consular portraits to hang in various official spaces in Rouen, Lyon, and Lille.⁷⁶ The portrait presented to the city of Lille was publicly destroyed during the Restoration;⁷⁷ the others are presumed lost, but were most likely based on the version in the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, which became the prototype for a series of ten Consular portraits by various artists, installed in cities nationwide.⁷⁸

The rich, compelling *Bonaparte as First Consul* has a lesser-known sequel, the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor after the Battle of Marengo* (fig. 7, 1803), which Bonaparte ultimately presented as a gift to Marshal Bessières.⁷⁹ Both paintings are based on the three-quarter view of Bonaparte in Gros's *Arcola*, the only one of the three to have been done from life.⁸⁰ Bonaparte was, story has it, impatient with the necessity of putting in an appearance for the sake of being painted,

while practically speaking, his constant perambulations made frequent sittings impossible. Thus a certain amount of redundancy and copying on the part of Bonaparte's artists was necessary, although not without, in the case of Gros, varied conclusions. *Arcola*, *Bonaparte as First Consul*, and the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor after the Battle of Marengo* are, on the one hand, triplets: it is not simply the same man painted three times, but the same man painted at the same angle, and wearing the same sidelong gaze, superimposed onto three different compositions. While that point seems rather obvious, the three images function more surreptitiously as a triumvirate diagramming Bonaparte's evolving historical postures and official posts. *Arcola*, painted before the establishment of the Consulate in 1799, is the first chapter of the legend, showing the spirited General-in-Chief of the army in Italy at the dawn of his rise to authority. Gros's portrait of 1802, then, takes the same vital, youthful visage, and seasons it with the sobriety of the now more experienced First Consul, ensconced within his spare office. Bonaparte's achievements include not only military victories (denoted by a sword hanging at his left side), but a long list of political and administrative feats, to which he points. The list enumerates the Treaties of Campo-Formio, Lunéville, and Amiens. The Treaty of Amiens looms particularly large on the parchment; it was Bonaparte's most recent accomplishment at the time of Gros's portrait, marking the closure of the Revolutionary wars and, if only for a few months, diplomatic peace with England, which would remain unconquerable for the duration of the Consulate and Empire. Towards the bottom of the parchment are listed the Concordat and the 18th Brumaire,

itself a part-military, part-executive action marking the trailhead of Bonaparte's imperial travels. This list, in turn, lies atop maps labeled Passage of St. Bernard and the event directly following, the battle of Marengo. Engaging a similarly word-based strategy of empowerment as David's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps*, Gros's *Bonaparte as First Consul* demands the viewer literally read in order to gain access to the portrait's historical motives. The three sheets of well-covered parchment, accompanied by three quill pens (one toppled, apparently just used), make for a scholarly still-life arranged by Bonaparte's gesturing hand. While in *Arcola* the swirling, billowing flag blurs the outline of Bonaparte's head (the "center of his genius," as our critic called it), here the blank wall and his now-shortened coif heighten the viewer's focus on Bonaparte as an absorbed, productive man of affairs. In *Arcola*, the general's sideways focus, enveloped within a vortex of movement, suggests action and even mayhem beyond the boundaries of the image. But in *Bonaparte as First Consul*, that same sidelong gaze is placidly frozen into a contained intellectualism. Is he, as has been suggested, responding to a knock at some unseen office door, or averting his eyes to address a visitor?⁸¹ If we try to impose a narrative on the picture, perhaps: but the painting so relies on documents of Bonaparte's historical performances--unfailing evidence of pastness--that it defies historical replay. While *Arcola* establishes identity through action, *Bonaparte as First Consul* becomes an austere personification of historical closure. Historical narration is superseded by documentary proof of Bonaparte's authoritative competence: a seamlessly stable image of stability.

This was an unusual idiom for Gros, and he would not repeat it, at least not in such unambiguous terms. The burgeoning autocrat of *Bonaparte as First Consul* would soon find himself magnanimously conferring accolades to an unknown soldier in Gros's *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor after the Battle of Marengo*. The painting might be considered Gros's answer to his teacher's painting of Bonaparte crossing the St. Bernard pass *before* the battle of Marengo; pendant-like status is, in any case, suggested by the painting's current installation directly across from David's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* at the Château de Malmaison. In Gros's painting, Bonaparte has apparently just given the saber of honor to the soldier closest to our plane of vision, who clutches the sword to his chest, humbly looking upward toward Bonaparte, whose stock sidelong gaze is now turned to approval for a soldier's bravery. A critic who saw the sketch for the painting at the Salon of 1801 called the recipient of the saber a "wounded grenadier,"⁸² although there is nothing in the finished painting to suggest the soldier has been hurt; we assume, rather, that he has committed some act of bravery on the battlefield. Philippe Chéry complained that the soldiers were larger than the First Consul,⁸³ finding this discrepancy in scale not just displeasing to the eye, but inappropriately distracting from Bonaparte's superior role. Chéry quite frankly disliked Gros (his response to Gros's having won the Nazareth competition seems nothing short of jealous), and he had very definite ideas on the history painter's obligation to the State before all else. But if the scale of Bonaparte in relation to the soldiers in the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor* seems faulty, do we say that Gros suffered a sudden bout of bad draughtsmanship? If the

painting's intended subject is a charitable general commending nameless men who, although equally responsible for victories at battle, would never have the chance to share Bonaparte's glory, why *not* paint the soldiers at a larger scale? The *petit caporal's* legendary respect for his men is openly addressed by the painting's theme; his purported modesty, even voluntary self-effacement, is visually transmitted through Gros's manipulation of scale.

Although Gros's painting encodes Bonaparte's democratic reverence for the common soldier, full-blown humility was not becoming to Bonaparte's imperial self-styling; he is thus enthroned on a gleaming white steed modelled after the much-imitated Roman equestrian statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius at the Campidoglio in Rome. Then, in a radical shift of dialect, Gros seeks an affiliation in popular imagery: the caricatural soldiers, especially the one closest to the painting's right edge, seem more like colorful cut-outs from any miscellaneous Epinal print⁸⁴ than they do accessory figures in an official portrait. It would thus seem that in allotting the soldiers more height and brawn than optical precision would demand, Gros has privileged a tradition of popular illustration over the lackluster symbols of Roman antiquity. Furthermore, by inscribing his name in block letters on a rock at the painting's bottom edge--he elsewhere signs invariably in cursive--Gros emulated and updated the tactic David used when painting Bonaparte en route to the battle of Marengo. Bonaparte's illustrious historical ancestors, Hannibal and Charlemagne, are in Gros's painting replaced by the artist's name alone; history becomes a purely contemporary encounter between its makers and its narrators.

Simultaneously invoking antique traditions and contemporary illustration, eminence and anonymity, portraiture and caricature, Gros's *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor* consolidates the contradictory political ideologies of Napoleonic France. The effort is assisted by a kind of sartorial collaboration between democracy and autocracy. Bonaparte's costume is a pastiche of selections from his wardrobe; the familiar two-cornered black hat, a regularly used symbol for Bonaparte's simple demeanor, seems a rather unlikely accessory for so lush an ensemble as the gold-trimmed red velvet consular uniform, which Bonaparte certainly didn't wear to fight the battle at Marengo (as in David's painting, he dressed in the uniform of the army of the Republic).⁸⁵ Bonaparte's non-factual ensemble denotes his dual identity as common soldier and future Emperor, *petit caporal* and *Premier Consul*, completing the triumvirate contrived by Gros's series of portraits. In August of 1802, shortly before the painting's exhibition, Bonaparte was named "consul for life."⁸⁶ Gros's painting of Bonaparte handing out sabers of honor might, in retrospect, seem to us a parody of the Republic's demise--when Bonaparte, dictator, handed down decisions, like consolation prizes, to the two mute and obsequious consuls in his shadow.

As a painting that simultaneously conveys dictatorial concepts of rank and authority and characterizes Bonaparte's respect for otherwise unsung heroes, Gros's *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor* has another layer which calls for examination. The painting is a none-too-cryptic allegory for the reward system that Bonaparte instituted in May of 1802, the Legion of Honor, conferred upon anyone from the common citizen who had performed a selfless deed to outstanding members

of the army, simple foot-soldiers or already-decorated generals alike; its intention was to reward the "aristocracy of merit" rather than the "aristocracy of birth." It was an all-purpose award which, according to one of the many Napoleonic soldiers who wrote memoirs of their glory days, embodied "courage, talent, and virtue, all in one medal"⁸⁷—an effective cure-all for the otherwise terminally anonymous. Two years after its institution, something like a literary version of the Legion of Honor was ordered by government subscription: Ternisien d'Haudricourt's *Fastes de la nation française*. The book is a collection of engravings with accompanying text extolling acts of humanity by unknown citizens, for example a certain Hubert Goffin, a mine-worker who saved his co-workers from drowning in a flood, or exploits of the more famous, such as General Junot at the battle of Nazareth. The *Fastes* include a story of a soldier, François Mathieu, who was given a "fusil d'honneur" on the battlefield at Marengo; the accompanying engraving (fig. 8) is clearly based on Gros's painting of the awarding of a saber of honor. Arranged in no particular order, Haudricourt's book relates primarily contemporary acts of heroism; but in order to create historical prototypes for the heroes named therein, there is an occasional story of the humanity of long-dead figures, for example Joan of Arc.⁸⁸

The democratic character of the book's message, that history does not discriminate, paralleled the function of the Legion of Honor; and in fact both the *Fastes de la nation française* and the Legion of Honor have a precedent in the Revolutionary propagandist system of recognition for all, the establishing of lists of *traits de courage et d'humanité*.⁸⁹ But despite the Legion of Honor's seemingly

democratic patina, it met with opposition from many "friends of liberty": such a prize was tantamount to re-establishing the titles which the Revolution had fought to banish.⁹⁰ The inconsistent interests of the Legion of Honor were embodied even in the ceremony celebrating its inauguration which, according to a later pamphlet, "gleamed all at once with the brightness of republican grandeur and imperial pomp."⁹¹ It might seem that, since at the time of Gros's painting the question of the Legion of Honor was still too fresh and politically uncomfortable to be directly addressed by a monumental painting, Gros masked the newly established award with a lesser-known instance of Napoleon's generosity toward the common soldier.

The apparent incongruities of the Legion of Honor were easily explained away by René Barbet du Bertrand in his *Trois hommes illustres, ou dissertations sur les institutions politiques de César-Auguste, de Charlemagne, et de Napoléon Bonaparte* (1803). Barbet, describing how the Legion of Honor would make nationally known names of deserving citizens,⁹² used the idea of such a system to insist on the imperative nature of titles and social hierarchies, without which anarchy would become the word of the day. His bombastically anti-Revolutionary text makes very clear that he considered democracy and insurrection one and the same: "Democracy . . . only inspires murderous furors in the people who subscribe to its cult."⁹³ Barbet was an impressively prolix ambassador of France's precarious political identity in the last days of the Consulate, when the possibility that the French were standing on a rapidly disintegrating border between Republic and dictatorship became fact with Bonaparte's election to lifelong authority. Barbet, writing for a nation that had

recently attempted to break the chains of absolutism, proposed that a Republic and an Empire could work together without appearing contradictory:

France would add to the name 'Republic,' which it takes from the Revolution, the majestic title of Empire which its military fortune and political supremacy seem to merit; for the collective word 'Empire' supposes a reunion of states, independent in and of themselves, but which exist under the protective influence of a more powerful state: and so, we shall say henceforth, 'the Empire and Republic of the Gauls.'⁹⁴

Barbet was the editor of the richly propagandist *Bulletin de Paris* in its last days; it was he who urged the journal to shed its republican skin, it was under him that the entertaining Anecdote section disappeared, and it was his editorship that reflected, in journalistic form, the concrete reality that France's Revolution was not to have a democratic conclusion. What was a political dilemma--reconciling Bonaparte's interests in simultaneously safeguarding France's republican image and creating an Empire by increasing his territorial gains--is at the agitated core of Barbet's theories of history. But, as we saw in Gros's *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor*, the oxymoronic co-existence of democracy and autocracy could be skillfully turned into a kind of elementary logic.

This conflict between opposing political ideologies is more problematic in Gros's *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa* (fig. 9), begun in 1803. The precise origins of the commission are unknown; however, the event's historical proximity (three weeks prior) to the battle of Nazareth, and the fact that Gros's *Battle of Nazareth* never went further than the winning sketch of 1801, would suggest that *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa* replaced the *Battle of Nazareth* in propagandist urgency.⁹⁵ Historically, Gros's *Jaffa* is a document of political and

authoritative discomfiture; visually, it is a site of physical and psychological discomfort. The painting's mammoth proportions (533 x 715 cm.) and grandiose allusions to Bonaparte's magnanimity would seemingly signal its position at the forefront of an imperialist propaganda campaign, which we might reasonably assume to have been actively launched in 1804, the year the Empire was declared (of course the campaign began much earlier, and paintings like Gros's *Bonaparte as First Consul*, when held up against *Bonaparte at Arcola*, prepared the public for further metamorphoses in Bonaparte's identity). Yet, as Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby has demonstrated in an in-depth article devoted to the painting, Gros's *Jaffa* is far too complex to be classified as purely laudatory jargon in the service of politics.⁹⁶

In 1799, during the Syrian leg of the Egyptian campaign, the indigenous peoples and the French army alike suffered an outbreak of bubonic plague. Death's constant presence (Bonaparte reported sixty deaths a day)⁹⁷ naturally crushed army morale; Bonaparte, in keeping with his image as bearer of good will and friendship to his men, sought a means of dispelling their fear and misery. Condolence came in the form of a claim on the part of Bonaparte and his medical staff that bubonic plague was not contagious; it was, in fact, more mental than physical, and Bonaparte proposed that "imagination caused an illness more real than illness itself."⁹⁸ Such was the appraisal that Bonaparte gave the soldiers of bubonic plague's course of infection. But his report of 10 May 1799 to the Directory suggests that he was quite aware of the disease's contagiousness: "Scattered across the city [of St. Jean d'Acre], it would have been impossible to prevent the soldier from sacking it; in the evening,

he would have brought back to the camp the germs of this terrible plague, to be feared more than all the armies of the world."⁹⁹ The city, Bonaparte claimed, was the source of the plague; the soldier's apparently uncontrollable instinct to sack the town would cause this "indigenous" disease to be transported to the French camps. Bonaparte's combined medical analysis, then, was that bubonic plague could be passed from the inhabitants of Syria to French soldiers; the soldiers would then bring the germs to camp but, miraculously, they could not contaminate their fellow men. As proof of the plague's non-communicability, Bonaparte visited the temporary hospital set up at the mosque of Jaffa; this much of the oft-repeated Jaffa legend seems to be true, as Bonaparte was, in any case, forced to remain surrounded by plague in Jaffa as he prepared for the massive, and failed, siege of St. Jean d'Acre.¹⁰⁰ But Gros determined to invoke Bonaparte's bravery by way of a gesture, undocumented, in which the intrepid general touched the open lesion of a pestilential soldier.¹⁰¹ The Salon *livret* described the "event" as follows:

General-in-Chief Bonaparte, wanting to destroy the discouragement which an exaggerated fear of this disease could arouse in the army, and to prove that its effects were less terrible than the dread that it caused, visited Jaffa's hospital for the plague-stricken. . . After having had brought all possible forms of assistance. . . the General-in-Chief, followed by his *état-major* and the army's chief doctor, who tried to persuade [Bonaparte] to keep his visit short, devoted no less time to all the details of the hospital. . . To further distance the terrifying idea of a sudden and incurable contagion, he had opened before him a number of pestilential tumors, and touched several of them.¹⁰²

Superficially, this is the subject of Gros's painting, although hardly without the intervention of a series of more complex historical concerns and cover-ups.

The situation at Jaffa was particularly macabre, one which on several counts had the potential to devastate Bonaparte's image as savior and hero. Not only did the

army sack the town but Bonaparte, claiming a dearth of provisions, ordered the summary stabbing, shooting, and drowning of even the inhabitants and Turkish soldiers who had surrendered to the French.¹⁰³ An inglorious death, however, was dealt not only to the enemy. Even Bonaparte's own plague-infected soldiers were said to have been systematically poisoned by Bonaparte's team of medical professionals. Incurable, the soldiers' rapid degeneration made them useless to the French cause. Infectious, they posed a risk (albeit denied) to those soldiers as yet fit for war, including the General-in-Chief. Neither consolable nor portable, the dying soldiers were a psychological and physical burden, and a logistical impediment, to the campaign's progress. That a mass-poisoning ever took place was not, of course, the sort of news to be reported by the highly regulated French press. However, news of the story no doubt leaked in France and definitely reached England; there, French censorship laws could do nothing to stop Bonaparte's denunciation by writers and caricaturists¹⁰⁴--although in 1802 Napoleon had tried, in the Treaty of Amiens, to include a clause stating that anyone who dared ridicule him should be subject to extradition (the treaty was, in any case, ruptured in 1803).¹⁰⁵ The Jaffa incident would become one of the richest sources of anti-Bonapartist fodder in French texts after Napoleon's exile, his detractors using the incident as a classic demonstration of Napoleon's tyranny. In 1814 Chateaubriand would decry Napoleon's hypocrisy in the *Jaffa* commission: "Bonaparte poisons the plague victims of Jaffa: a picture is made depicting him touching, by an abundance of courage and humanity, these same plague victims."¹⁰⁶ His champions would also bring up the incident, but only to refute

what they claimed were rumors spawned by the unfaithful. In 1823, Emmanuel de Las Cases, Napoleon's confidant and memoirist, wrote:

The absurdest details, the least probable of circumstances, the most ridiculous of accessories, build up around this first lie; ill-will seizes upon and exaggerates it. We read it in all the newspapers, it's reported in all the books; and since then it is for everyone an avowed fact. . . Indignation is at its height, the clamor universal. . . And yet, it was all for nothing. That's what I have gathered from the highest source, from the mouth of Napoleon himself.¹⁰⁷

In 1804, however, Napoleon was not speaking of the alleged incident; instead of verbal denial, or direct address of the poisoning issue at all, Gros's painting was silently commissioned. There was no competition for the painting, as there had been with *Nazareth*; in fact in 1803, the year Gros began painting *Jaffa*, Denon had suggested that Bonaparte renounce the Revolutionary system of *concours* in favor of direct commissions¹⁰⁸ (although a competition would still be perceived as necessary with *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau* in 1807). But no clear records of a commission for *Jaffa* exist, while the sheer magnitude of Gros's canvas precludes the possibility that it was his own independent venture. All this suggests that the decision to create a painting based on the plague was made hastily, perhaps in defensive response to newly surfaced rumors; or, as Grigsby has suggested, the *Jaffa* commission was an audacious brand of propagandist reverse psychology which intentionally exposed the affair to public discussion, assuming that viewers would question the validity of the poisoning rumors upon seeing that the government was willing to be the first to bring up the incidents of Jaffa in a public forum.¹⁰⁹

Given the conflicting accounts of what happened at Jaffa, Gros was under pressure to both aggrandize Bonaparte and dispel rumors of his heartlessness.

However, as Grigsby has shown, *Jaffa* cannot be read as unequivocally pro-French propaganda. Far from simplifying French supremacy into incontrovertible fact, the painting takes as its point of departure French weakness, terror, and disempowerment. The only Frenchman invested with strength in the painting is, of course, Bonaparte himself. Otherwise, the French are literally a dying breed: at the lower right, a French doctor breathes his last, defeated in the noble line of duty, but defeated nonetheless. The rest of the painting is a sprawling collage of emaciated, haggardly French soldiers—unheroic nudes who tear out their hair, crumple under the sheer unbearability of pain, and look vacantly at their benefactor. Grigsby discusses the very salient role of these men as physical opposites of the classical *académie*; rather than using the male body as a vessel of cultural and aesthetic superiority, here nudity signifies the defeated body.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, even Bonaparte's healthy medical advisors lack the mettle to face their task: one pusillanimous officer covers his mouth to protect himself from airborne germs while the army's chief doctor, Desgenettes, taps Bonaparte on the shoulder to warn him against exposing himself too long to the soldier's open tumor. Of the three, only Bonaparte can maintain the fiction that bubonic plague is not contagious.

While the Frenchmen in *Jaffa* are in such a fragile condition as to contradict propagandist reasoning, the Syrians (often identified by critics as Egyptians or Turks, or simply Arabs) function, like Bonaparte himself, as models of vitality and mental resolution. At left, a stern-faced local, lavishly draped in a billowing white robe, offers a loaf of bread to the sick soldiers in the lower left of the canvas, a region of

darkness so profound as to transform the plagued into little more than a groping mass of hands entreating their robust provider. In the right foreground, a more lushly outfitted Syrian, eyes fixed raptly upon the tools of his task, prepares to dress the wound of a naked patient; the latter, in turn, is supported by an ideally muscular, youthful Syrian in red, who looks away. While the Frenchmen's nudity is a sign of cultural ruin, the clothing of the Syrians in *Jaffa* exalts local color. As the sick invaders, literally stripped of their uniforms, are metaphorically stripped of their national identity, so the Syrians maintain their regal heritage through the agency of costume. Their colorful, ornate robes, turbans and scarves differentiate them as, if not the protagonists of the painting itself, then the legitimate inhabitants of the city in the background—a conglomerate of standardized Islamic architectural forms, topped off by a tricolor flag (as ineffectually marking the city as "French" as the Oriental tapestry around Bonaparte's waist marks him as "Arab"). While the inhabitants of Jaffa were forced into submission—and therefore *affected* subjectification—they sustain their emotional fortitude in the presence of the invader, genuinely subjectified by illness.

Indeed there is nothing to distinguish the passive and dying Frenchmen from a white European conception of the supposedly barbaric Middle Eastern other. A critic calling himself "Pasquino, Roman traveler" admonished Gros for making "his *académies* all of the same character, the same shape, the same age, *the same color*."¹¹¹ Surely what "Pasquino" objected to was that these bearded, dark-haired Frenchmen are distinctly swarthy, especially those in the shadows at left; the fact that

they all looked the same, while perhaps perfectly admissible if these were Arabs, was unbecoming to a group of Europeans. Jacques-Philippe Voiart wondered "are these Egyptians who have the plague? No, they are Frenchmen. Have they taken on the air and character of the country?"¹¹² A comparison of the profiles of the Syrian serving bread, the Syrian in blue in the right foreground, and the nude Frenchmen forming the trio to the right of Bonaparte, suggests Gros used the same model, or the same semitic stereotype, for all five figures. A number of critics echoed the "lack of variety in the heads,"¹¹³ while one even suggested the artist's own head served as model to several¹¹⁴ (definitely possible, as Gros had a long, thin nose like that of some of the victims). If the heads of the Arabs were all similar, this might be accounted for by Eurocentric ethnic stereotyping; but to paint the Arabs and the French as physiognomically undifferentiated complicated to the extreme any straightforward propagandist message of French dominance in Middle Eastern lands. The "Arabesque" physiognomic qualities of the dying Frenchmen in *Jaffa*, and the possibility that these men could be mistaken for dying natives of occupied Syria, served as a reminder of the thousands of Arabs who did in fact die during the campaign. As for Gros's own physiognomy being somewhere in the mix, one critic has more recently suggested that he "identifies involuntarily" with one of the dying men.¹¹⁵ But copying one's own head is hardly an involuntary act. By writing himself into a series of emaciated *académies*, Gros portrayed his own entrapment within the rigors of a dying historical idiom.

Apart from a few displeased remarks from critics like those cited above, 1804

was the year in which Gros had his first great Salon success; for even though Gros emerged victorious in the Nazareth competition of 1801, his sketch, we saw, did not inspire unanimous approval. Reviews in both major and smaller journals invariably open with Gros's *Jaffa*, which met with a crown and laurel decoration, placed on the painting by a group of David's students at the Salon opening,¹¹⁶ and an effusive poem by Girodet, recited at a dinner held in Gros's honor.¹¹⁷ The complex narrative scheme of *Jaffa* was matched in complexly narrated reviews. Although identifying theme and key characters in a history painting are tasks critics were generally wont to undertake, Gros's *Jaffa* was subjected to elaborately detailed, point-by-point descriptions of the figures, their activities, their thoughts. From all appearances, no one disagreed as to who was experiencing what. The soldier whom Bonaparte touches is deriving new strength from his general; J.-B. Boutard even improvised specific dialogue, saying the soldier "is responding to the general's questions regarding the nature of the pain he is feeling."¹¹⁸ The blindfolded man clutching a column at the right of the canvas, without exception diagnosed as having ophthalmia,¹¹⁹ was interpreted by several critics as struggling to guide himself toward the voice of his general.¹²⁰ His motion, in short, was given a conversational subtext: he hears a voice and wants to respond. Critics' interpretation of the blindfolded soldier was, however, logical given his placement at the very edge of the picture, into which he seems to pull himself; his hands, one grasping, the other groping, direct him laterally toward the figure of Bonaparte. But that this figure was consistently read as *listening* to Bonaparte is an exemplary case of poetic, or critical,

license, especially since in Gros's painting, Bonaparte's mouth is quite closed. Critical agreement also rested with the French doctor expiring in the lower right corner; it wasn't the plague itself which brought him to death's door, but zealous dedication to his countrymen.¹²¹ The sickly figures in the foreground shadows—a nude splayed face down, wrenching out his hair in pain, the hooded nude supporting himself on his arms for one last look at his general—also attracted the poetic eye of critics. Oddly, but not without reason, none of these writers remarked on the riveting figure of a muscular, crouching plague victim at the lower left, resting his head between his fists. This figure is immediately modeled after a detail in Michelangelo's Last Judgment, where a muscular shade clutches a rosary as he descends into Hell; the association between an invading French soldier and a sinner condemned to eternal suffering was perhaps best left untouched.

The eloquent and explicit descriptions that critics made of *Jaffa* were quite assuredly based on observation; the experiences they assigned to the painting's characters feasibly match the suffering gestures and facial expressions. What is striking, however, is the literally circuitous path these writers paved for the painting's reading: it was a picture whose peripheral narratives carried more weight than the narrative suggested by the title, the *livret*, or the reasons for the commission in the first place. Said another way, critics attended more to Gros's stories than to Napoleon's history, or what Napoleon wanted to make appear like history. A writer for the *Décade philosophique* opened his reading of the painting as follows: "At the center of the composition appears Bonaparte, followed by several officers. He guides

his fingers to the sore of a soldier."¹²² That is the first and last mention of Bonaparte, while the remaining two pages of the discussion deal with the soldiers, the Syrians, disease, costume, color, composition. That Bonaparte visited the plague-stricken, and claimed to have touched one of them, is all but a minor detail, not just in the *Décade philosophique's* account, but in all those mentioned here. One critic even resorted to something of an *ad hoc* lesson in art historical methods as an excuse to avoid over-discussing the presumed main theme of Bonaparte's munificence. Saying that after describing the subject of a painting, the art critic's job is to "describe the composition, meaning the distribution of the figures,"¹²³ he takes the reader on a detour *away* from Bonaparte. The text enumerates the plague-stricken, the doctors, and the servile Syrians, down to their very exact placement on the canvas: to the right and slightly above, in the left corner but not exactly at the border, here in the foreground and slightly off-center--but never goes into a solid description of anything. In a similarly evasive manner, Boutard, who with great determination verbalized every inch of the painting, explained how the blindfolded soldier's function is "to populate the borders;"¹²⁴ he is, on one hand, characterizing the artist's duty to fill the picture, but on another has found ample excuse to avoid the painting's center. Such dodging of content was, in fact, Boutard's critical specialty, characterizing much of his writing on Napoleonic imagery; as a known royalist, it was the only way he could keep his job.¹²⁵

One critic who was less inclined to take the tangential approach dictated by Gros's painting was Ducray-Duminil, who found the blindfolded soldier's "vigor" so

overpowering as to "make him stand out as much as the principal group." His critique is more negative than evasive, adhering to standardized theories of how a history painting should perform: the blindfolded soldier, as well as the group in the shadow at left, created too many scenes, detracting from the "unity of effect"¹²⁶ so necessary to successful historical representation. Indeed Gros's *Jaffa*, and critics' subsequently circuitous approaches to it, signified the apparent degeneration of doctrinal considerations (from Diderot to Ducray-Duminil) of history painting's most important qualification: a single, unified event. The reasoning behind critical focus on the anecdotal tributaries of the main theme has at least two interpretive possibilities: writers were so fascinated by Gros's mastery of the historical detail that they collectively found the painting's main theme less compelling, or they preferred to avoid a full-fledged account of the now-suspect Bonaparte's actions at Jaffa. There is nothing to explicitly suggest this latter interpretation, for in 1804 those papers not suppressed by Bonaparte's censors remained in business precisely because of their positive treatment of him; however, had even the most devoted of journalists caught wind of the poisoning rumor, it would, at least temporarily, have inhibited outspoken reverence for Bonaparte's otherwise "saintly" conduct at Jaffa. Another reason why critics pushed Bonaparte to the narrative sidelines resides in Gros's own historical tactics which consistently, though subtly, refuse overt supremacy of one subject over another. In *Nazareth*, historical anecdotes upstaged the painting's supposed heroes; in the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor*, the caricatural soldiers loom as historically large as Bonaparte. In *Jaffa*, the detail-laden borders create a vacuum

where Bonaparte stands. It is as if Gros had painted two independent history paintings: a small one about Bonaparte's bravery, and a much larger one about anonymous Frenchmen who suffered.

The struggle between the languages of democracy and imperialism in paintings like the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor* was etched into Gros's own course of action when painting *Jaffa*. In principal, the theme of *Jaffa* is not far removed from the ubiquitous legend of the *petit caporal*. The same kindly general who circulated among his troops, boosting morale and sharing campfire stories, could be expected to do no less than visit his hapless soldiers in their last moments or, for that matter, administer medical care himself. One of Gros's first sketches for the painting exploited the legend of Bonaparte's intimate camaraderie with his soldiers, showing him supporting the languid corpse of a plague-victim (he is believed by some to have actually helped carry a corpse out of the morgue as a demonstration of the plague's non-communicability¹²⁷). While the final painting reduces camaraderie to a regal touch, the preliminary drawing implies that the soldier died in his general's embrace. David O'Brien has identified Gros's source for these early sketches as the Roman statue nicknamed the *Pasquino* (no relation to the critic), believed at the time to depict Menelaus carrying the body of Patroclus.¹²⁸ The *Pasquino*, contrasting the muscular and viral form of Menelaus to the limp body of the expired Patroclus, is both an essay on military nobility and a formal comparison between paragons of male beauty: alive, the male nude represents cultural and aesthetic domination; dead, it becomes the feminized ephebe of Winckelmann's ideal.¹²⁹ Gros's drawing of

Bonaparte supporting the departed plague victim effects a similar contrast between vitality and loss, but does so without engaging a dialogue on different types of physical ideal. Of course in both the drawing and the final painting, Bonaparte is clothed; Grigsby points out that he even emerges as the dandy of the painting, ostentatiously bedizen amid the suffering, exhausted bodies. Quite a reversal on neoclassical rhetoric, *Jaffa* associates nudity with weakness, dress with power.¹³⁰

Gros's plan to structure the painting's main group on the Pasquino was replaced by a more rigorously classical choice; in the finished painting, it is the venerable Apollo Belvedere whom Bonaparte imitates.¹³¹ Such a philosophical upgrading of antique prototypes was not without a political rationale. Between the painting's commission in 1803 and its exhibition in 1804, Bonaparte had determined to declare himself Emperor. The god of Reason, Art, Light, and Knowledge, who could impart rationality in the midst of irrationality, was an infinitely more imperial figure than a strong but mortal general gathering up the wasted flesh of his army. Whichever emissary of Greco-Roman supremacy Gros used, he was in theory following a Davidian strategy, which of course emphasized the primacy of antiquity as an artistic, and moral, paradigm. Thus, perhaps appropriately for the neoclassical son, *Jaffa*'s composition applies a Davidian geometric lay-out; as in the *Oath of the Horatii* (fig. 10, 1785), the figures are arranged frieze-like across a stage set off by an arcaded backdrop. Gros's antique models and theatrical relationship of figures to background ascertain a degree of adherence to his mentor's teaching; but surely the figures that bleed to far-flung stretches of the canvas, and the painting's altogether

disordered train of narrative, signal the organizational hemorrhaging of classical history.

However, paintings by, most notably, David rarely meet standard notions of neoclassicism as necessarily didactic, while conservative theories of "unity of narrative" in history painting were only remotely observed by its supposed paragons. Norman Bryson has shown how, for example, David's *Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of his Sons* (1789), by simultaneously thematizing devotion to country and destruction of family, has anything but a single moral.¹³² But while David's paintings are problematized by moral divergences, Gros's *Jaffa* is so thematically and iconographically overloaded that it explodes into contradictory fragments of historical matter. This is true not only of the seemingly reversed power relations of Syrians to Frenchmen, but of the figure of Bonaparte himself. Following up on Walter Friedlaender's watershed iconographical reading of Gros's Bonaparte as "roi Thaumatourge," a king who could heal by touch (most specifically Louis IX, or St. Louis),¹³³ recent writers have described *Jaffa*'s seemingly illogical assembly of multiple Christian and pagan identities. Gros's Bonaparte is the modern version not only of St. Louis, but of St. Roch (patron saint of plague victims) and Christ healing Lazarus. Add this to Apollo, and Bonaparte is all at once king, Lord, Saint, and pagan god. But Bonaparte is also equated with St. Thomas, the "doubting" saint who probed the wound of a bare-chested Christ. Insofar as iconographical decipherment leads us, this makes the nude plague-victim Christ and, writes Bryson, "it is only a step further to see Napoleon as an attendant figure."¹³⁴ As Bonaparte adopts the

role of the unbelieving Thomas, he doubts his own conviction that bubonic plague is "not contagious." In the same way that the peripheral narratives seemed to decentralize Bonaparte, so his association with Thomas imperils his position of authority and omniscience.

The contradictory terms in Gros's paintings summon different types of authority, different artistic traditions, and different outlooks toward history. In *Jaffa*, Bonaparte is the *petit caporal* who mingles among and provides encouragement to his men even in their state of contagion; simultaneously, he is the regal healer who effectively plays God. Bonaparte is either a welcome comrade or an intimidating idol; within the painting, his figure is the site of these conflicting identities. In terms of stature, Bonaparte is tiny, dwarfed by the surrounding figures; the nude on his knees to the right of center is gigantesque by comparison. Yet in order to compensate for Bonaparte's diminutive physique, Gros topped off his hat with a high red plume, illusionistically making Bonaparte the tallest figure in the painting. Bonaparte's clarity within the narrative is at once highlighted and suppressed. With similar ends, Gros has placed Bonaparte at *almost* the painting's center; he is actually shifted to the right. Bonaparte is large but small, centralized but slightly off-center: these are neither mistakes nor coincidences, but artistic choices. Where *Bonaparte as First Consul* and the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor* overtly encode Bonaparte's dual role as beloved general and able administrator, *Jaffa* opens to the page where pretensions to a combined democracy and imperialism most literally clashed. While Gros offered viewers the option to see either authoritarianism or liberalism in

Bonaparte, whichever most suited their own historical desires, many chose not to confront history at all.

History under Napoleon was admitted to be without boundaries, without rules, and without universal truths: history was as clear or unclear as Napoleon or viewers wanted it to be, with truth replaced, rather unexpectedly, by aesthetics. Prendergast characterizes the pluralism of Napoleonic painting thus: "Painting was to be everything: antique and modern, general and particular, universal and national, respecting yet confounding the hierarchy of the genres."¹³⁵ Gros, and the artists who will be looked at in the next chapter, distinctly confounded the hierarchy of the genres. But perhaps most importantly in *Jaffa*, Gros confounded the notion of historical truth. By this I do not simply mean that he blurred or altered the truth; that is practically a given in propagandist imagery. I mean, rather, that he openly addressed the impossibility of presenting historical truth—of creating unambiguous, objective descriptions of events—by filling his work with confrontations between alternate perspectives on historical moments, both positive and negative, both sympathetic and condemning. In his report to Napoleon on the Salon of 1804, Denon said of Gros's *Jaffa*: "He has skillfully thrown a transparent veil over all the horror of his subject."¹³⁶ We might ask Denon to pray solve this enigma: what precisely would a *transparent veil* do? If Gros were to "throw a veil" over his subject, we would assume the point was to mask the horrors of Jaffa in order to keep his painting within the bounds of good taste and, of course, obscure anything incriminating to the government; but if the veil is transparent, does this mean that Gros, in fact, tells all?

Indecisively, Denon has implied that Gros's painting either came equipped with a historical filter, or admitted all the horror there was to be admitted. Which he meant will have to remain unsolved, but we do know--Denon probably did too--that Gros did *not* recount every horrible aspect of Jaffa. Indeed the logistic discrepancy in Denon's "transparent veil" mirrors the ambiguity of Gros's painting: his combination of illusionary realism and illusions of benevolence, illusions of truth and illusions *tout court*, place the viewer in the same position as Gros's blindfolded plague-victim: unable to see all, perpetually trying to get closer to the event.

The issue of what actually constituted fact was rarely broached by Gros or his employers. Of course the historical effort to demonstrate that something happened somewhere undeniably played a role in *The Battle of Nazareth* or *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa*: but who could prove that the struggle for the standard between a Turk and a Frenchman at Nazareth actually happened, or that Desgenettes was visibly concerned about Bonaparte's safety in the hospital at Jaffa? Are these history, or histrionics? Such anecdotal historical details could be associated with, but would never entirely recount, the events of their respective histories. Although it is understood that no history can ever present the whole picture, Gros's selective approach to historical events served a number of goals: avoiding potential controversy, distracting the public away from the inglorious implications of an event, and captivating that same public with inspirational tales of Napoleonic heroism, tales that allowed history and legend to function as synonyms.

Gros's *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau* (fig. 11, 1808) relies even

more forcefully on anecdote, while citing Roman imperialist traditions to lend those anecdotes greater historical legitimacy. The painting tells of Napoleon's (his Imperial name replaced "Bonaparte" in 1804) visit of mercy to the wounded enemy soldiers left on the battlefield after the indecisive Franco-Russian combat of February 1807. The battle of Eylau went so badly, with French and Russian deaths totalling nearly 40,000, that both sides were forced to abandon their efforts; victory against the Russians would have to wait for the more conclusive battle of Friedland in June.¹³⁷ However Napoleon, with peerless aplomb, declared a French victory at Eylau; according to his report, the battle resulted in 7000 Russian dead against 1900 French.¹³⁸ While scholars are generally suspicious of the figures reported by Napoleon's battle reports (which gave rise to the witticism "to lie like a bulletin"),¹³⁹ his numerical manipulation of the casualties at Eylau verged on absolute perversion; some historians report that Napoleon actually lost one man in three.¹⁴⁰

However, by this point it was law that only Napoleon's *Bulletins de la Grande Armée* could be used as sources for news reports.¹⁴¹ Napoleon's bulletins, circulated in the French press, were presented not only as documentary journalism, but as a sort of entertainment; they were read aloud during the intermission at most theaters in Paris¹⁴² and even took on something of a biblical tenor when priests cited them in their sermons.¹⁴³ The bulletins' syndication, combined with their theatrical and ecclesiastical presence, assured that the French public would have the same statistics, no matter where they looked; the well-worn historical strategy of repetition

secured the statistics' absorption as fact. Michael Marrinan's detailed study of the *Bulletin de la Grande Armée* for the battle of Eylau points to the text's insistence on objective historical reportage; not only had Napoleon, by now, adopted third person narrative in his reports (the "I" of the Arcola reports is replaced by "he" or "l'Empereur"), but his use of the *passé simple*, according to Marrinan's Benvenistian model, gave the illusion of events "telling themselves." But, Marrinan points out, with the insertion into the bulletin of a single phrase, "cette partie du champ de bataille fait horreur à voir," Napoleon "opened a space for his exclamation of horror" and allowed a moment in which history was no longer a matter of dispassionate narration,¹⁴⁴ not just by finding horror in history, but by shifting to the present tense. Gros would effectively transfer this present-tense horror onto the victims in his painting, who are forever captured in an ongoing state of dying.

Upon Napoleon's orders, Denon wrote an announcement for a painting competition commemorating the battle of Eylau, published on 2 April 1807 in the *Moniteur universel*, the *Journal de Paris*, and the *Journal de l'Empire*.¹⁴⁵ As with the many-sided incidents at Jaffa, there was the possibility that the regime would be caught in deception about what "really happened" at Eylau; since claims to victory were false, it was better to avoid choosing a historical moment that might be considered foremost in an account of battle (which generals carried the day? how did the Emperor inspire his troops?), or that had anything to do with the actual battle at all. Denon's notice tells of how the day after the battle, Napoleon went with his medical staff and administered care to the wounded and dying. Denon's published

requirements for the *Eylau* painting embellished the general theme of Napoleon's benevolence on the battlefield with details of how the Emperor "relieved [the victims] with his eyes" and "spoke to them in their own language" (we suppose Napoleon knew any number of Russian dialects). The notice further recounted the story of a young Lithuanian hussar who tried to place himself within Napoleon's line of vision, exclaiming "Caesar, you want me to live; good! If I am cured, I will serve you as faithfully as I served Alexander." Denon also went into elaborate detail about the horrifying disarray of the scene. Amid the dead horses and the debris of artillery, "the dead were piled up on top of the dying;" adding a particularly surrealistic touch to Denon's account is his description of the striking contrast created by blood on the deep, thick snow.¹⁴⁶

Taking refuge in the same affiliation between Napoleon and compassion for the dying that was *Jaffa*'s point of departure, Gros's winning entry in the *Eylau* competition capitalized on the image of Napoleon as a fearless healer (an identity prevalent in Empire imagery).¹⁴⁷ The difference, of course, is in who is on the receiving end of the Napoleonic cure: in *Jaffa* it is Frenchmen, in *Eylau* it is the enemy Russians. Whatever the nationality of the suffering, in both histories the men to whom Napoleon purportedly offered assistance were also his victims. In the case of *Jaffa*, it was unknown to most that there were Frenchmen among Napoleon's victims; in the case of *Eylau*, however, the claimed number of Russian victims—or, taking on the tone of the victor, enemy dead—was published across France with great journalistic flourish.

This resulted in either a propagandist problem, or a cold propagandist point. As with the dying Frenchman and subservient, conquered Syrians in *Jaffa*, the suffering victims of Napoleon's conquest at Eylau are again Gros's main theme. Was this the ultimate in proof of French dominance? Or something slightly less megalomaniacal? Gros was so faithful to the graphic *details* of Denon's notice that Napoleon is upstaged by a proliferation of monumental, frost-covered enemy cadavers and the groping forms of the nearly dead. We enter the picture by a startling pile of frozen faces and limbs, one corpse cropped by the bottom edge in such a way as to demand viewers complete the figure's form. From this centralized mass of dying flesh emerges the red head and waving arm of a Russian soldier, struggling to address Napoleon. To both sides are symmetrical themes of French doctors attempting to give aid to foreign soldiers. At left, a doctor lifts a shiny brown decanter over the body of another red-headed Russian soldier (red hair serving the same kind of ethnographic function of differentiation here as costume in Gros's *Jaffa*). This soldier, mostly obscured by a cloak draped over his body as he hugs the snow-covered ground, raises his left hand in an undefined, but seemingly ineffectual, gesture. Is it an attempt at saluting the Emperor? Perhaps, although his semi-conscious state would suggest he is barely aware of Napoleon's presence. Is he resisting the attentions of his medicine-bearing benefactor? Defiance is certainly the case with the Prussian in the red miter-like hat at the painting's lower right. As another doctor implores him to treatment, the Prussian violently twists his body away, only to come face to face with one of his expiring colleagues. His terror is three-

fold: the terror of such close confrontation with death, of his own suffering, and of being touched by the enemy. Of all the figures in the painting, it is the Prussian's horrified gaze that instantly meets that of the viewer; surrounded by so many who amidst the death and commotion seem not to see at all, he is transformed into the viewer's mirror image. Our own horror in inspecting the painting's goriest details is met and challenged by the eyes of a figure more involved than we.¹⁴⁸

It has been pointed out that in history paintings—which, we have seen, can easily falsify events—painters ensure their credibility by making a show of fidelity to their historical sources.¹⁴⁹ In the case of *Nazareth*, the "source" was the government program, an excerpt of which Gros displayed with his sketch; in the case of *Eylau*, it was Denon's notice. Yet the details which Denon's notice outlined, and to which Gros attended with such fidelity, have little to do with optimistic notions of French triumph or goodwill, instead giving precedence to what would seem, in a propagandist image, a secondary level of historical discourse. At the same time, the deathly omnipotence in Gros's *Eylau* was not just "a fact of war" that needed to be addressed in a painting of history; rather, it pictorialized a catch-phrase that appears countless times in Napoleon's bulletins, or the eye-witness accounts of his soldiers: "the battlefield was covered with cadavers."¹⁵⁰ This would, for the invading army, seem more a point of pride than an exclamation of horror. That pride was mixed with a certain amount, we might hope, of guilt comes through in the phrase's insistently passive tense: not "we covered the battlefield with cadavers," but the battlefield, of its own accord, came to be so covered.

The horror factor in Gros's *Eylau* was not without its own set of aesthetics. As today thousands throng to cinemas to witness the latest "slasher" film, so past history is loaded with public delight in gore. To bring such a remark closer to home, we need only reflect on the Parisian thousands who made pleasure-outings of guillotinings,¹⁵¹ the market for "Gothick" horror novels, the fascination with violent "phantasmagoria,"¹⁵² or the apparent relish expressed in the words "the battlefield was covered with cadavers." While upright critics could hardly express delight in *Eylau*'s blood-stained snow or the crumpled, greening corpse under Napoleon's gleaming steed, the crowds that gathered before Gros's canvas, we might speculate, were not simply transfixed by their Emperor's godly image.

Indeed *Eylau*, like *Jaffa*, is a painting so overwhelmed by ancillary anecdote, mostly death-related, that the Emperor's godly image becomes an unremarkable, standardized figuration of imperialism in an arena of highly individualized victims. One critic, writing on *Eylau*, remarked that "Gros is one of the painters who knows best how to add to the general effect by way of pleasing episodes which appear to be little in and of themselves, but which give perfect unity and harmony to his compositions."¹⁵³ But could he have really felt that *Eylau*'s episodes appear "little in and of themselves?" Certainly critics of *Jaffa*, as we have seen, were more attracted to the painting's episodes than they were to its "general effect," and likewise *Eylau*'s episodes are nothing short of major. Jean Clay has brilliantly characterized the painting as one "whose main subject is undermined by an overpowering fragment. The eye can scarcely move beyond the foreground, with its heap of thrown-back

heads, to take account of Napoleon's blessing hand."¹⁵⁴ As in *Jaffa*, the surrounding anecdote of *Eylau* maneuvers Napoleon into the position of, if not a minor character, a stoic, even unimpressive, image in a mass of more compelling figures. Between the larger-than-life, almost caricatural corpses in the central foreground and the glaring Prussian at right, distraction is the operative word behind *Eylau*. Based on the painting's title, and on a generalized notion as to a history painting's apparent objectives, we as viewers might be inclined by a sense of implicit submissiveness to seek out the figure of Napoleon, and to contemplate his authoritative elocutionary gesture or his gaze heavenward. But we have seen many times before the poses of both Napoleon and his horse; between ancient statues of Trajan¹⁵⁵ or Marcus Aurelius, or the famous bronze *Oratore*, it seems that Gros has lapsed into cliché.

The imperial "we" of the last paragraph needs clarification, for I have been referring only to art historians, or to those people under the Empire whose education allowed them perusal of books containing engravings of ancient works (for example Ennio Visconti's volumes of engravings after works of ancient Rome¹⁵⁶), or whose leisure time permitted promenades through the galleries of antique sculpture at the Louvre. Another source for Gros's *Eylau*, one closer to France's reach, has been quite convincingly proposed by Robert Herbert, who links the figure of Napoleon to H.-F. Gravelot's engravings in a 1768 edition of Voltaire's *Henriade* (fig. 12).¹⁵⁷ Putting aside the question of whether the general public was able to make the connection between Gros's painting and this particular edition of Voltaire's poetic

tribute to King Henri IV, Herbert's discovery is of broad historiographic consequence. Analogies between Napoleon and Henri IV were not uncommon and would, as we shall see later, gain new importance during the Bourbon Restoration. Napoleon found a useful kin in the original "People's King," whose renowned military prowess and adoration by the people left a popular nationalist legend in his wake. As Napoleon cultivated the imaging of his nickname, "petit caporal," so Henri IV was as much a nickname, alternately le "Vert Gallant" and "le Béarnais," as he was a favored hero of history. Despite censorship laws against monarchical references, in 1806 Napoleon allowed the production of a play, Gabriel Legouvé's *Death of Henri IV*, which would be voted by the jury for the *prix décennaux* of 1810 as the best tragedy;¹⁵⁸ the assumption motivating the play's production was that the public would "make the necessary historical connections" between Henri IV and Napoleon.¹⁵⁹ That his favorite actor Talma played the leading role could only further encourage a sense of Napoleon's own identification with Henri IV; Talma would later find himself, in 1818, in a morass of censorship when he played Etienne de Jouy's Belisarius to the tune of Napoleonic remembrance.¹⁶⁰ In 1810, another play based on Henri IV's life, *Clémence d'Entragues*, had none of the characters refer to Henri IV as king; furthermore, the play made allusions that would purposely confuse the audience as to whether it was Napoleon's or Henri's history they were witnessing.¹⁶¹ Napoleon even claimed he looked like the great king, and had a monument to Henri IV at Ivry inscribed with the words "Great men love the glory of those who resemble them."¹⁶² The municipal council of Lyon suggested a historical

and sentimental link between Henri IV and Napoleon when determining that their version of Gros's *Bonaparte as First Consul* would be installed in the Hôtel de Ville, saying "a name that has borne feeling in the hearts of all for the past two centuries is kept there; the room housing the portrait of the best of princes is called the Salle d'Henri IV; that in which the portrait of the hero, France's savior, and the best of fathers is to be placed will be called the Salle de Bonaparte."¹⁶³ But based most notably on Henri IV's Edict of Nantes, which professed religious tolerance in France, and Napoleon's Concordat, a Henri-Napoleon connection could be made without appearing to exaggerate. For Salon-goers of the popular classes, there is no reason to assume that Gros's Roman imperial references, or references to Henri IV, were immediately clear; but certainly Henri IV was more of a popular hero in France than Trajan, and the references to Henri which inundated the Empire carried more meaning for the uneducated than references to ancient Rome.

For viewers upon whom iconographic allusions to past historical figures might have been lost, Napoleon's superiority in Gros's *Eylau* is indicated by conventional formal devices, primarily repoussoir. A network of communication--an active circle of gazes and gestures of speech radiating from all over the canvas--marks Napoleon as the painting's nucleus. Situated off-center within an isocephalized line of officers, Napoleon is given only the slightest amount of personal space which, however, suffices to highlight his mastery within the scene. His cream-white horse, rather daintily perched in profile (while all others are presented as three-quarter views of rumps and haunches), provides for an elegant equine pedestal. Despite these routine

compositional moves to attract attention to Napoleon, Gros has nonetheless detracted from his centrality by placing him in the second layer of pictorial space, distanced from the cadaver-filled first plane of vision by a diagonal of blank snowy ground. Napoleon is distinguished by his anti-presence, his pictorial refusal to overshadow an image dedicated, ostensibly, to his dominance. Furthermore, the feathers and filigree of Napoleon's entourage divert attention away from the Emperor in his unadorned bicorne hat. Denon pointed to the necessity of such an artistic gesture when, in 1806, he wrote to François Gérard (1770-1837), then preparing his *Battle of Austerlitz* (fig. 27): "Emphasize the costumes of the officers who surround the Emperor, since that contrasts with his habitual simplicity, which makes him immediately distinguishable among them."¹⁶⁴ In short his *lack* of lavish accoutrements was to make him more noticeable—an absolute reversal of, say, royal portraiture in the age of Louis XIV. One of Napoleon's army musicians, Philippe Girault, wrote in his memoirs that only on rare occasions would Napoleon *not* wear his *redingote grise*;¹⁶⁵ in the case of Eylau, the freezing temperatures required something more substantial. In *Eylau*, Gros has combined Napoleon's wardrobes, as he had done in the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor*: a fur-lined velveteen cloak to keep him warm and regal, but the plain black hat to keep him recognizable in his "simplicity."

The ways in which Napoleon appears slight in the painting were disagreeable to some critics. One writer calls upon Leonardo da Vinci's theories of perspective to express his disturbance at the fact that "the principal heads of the second plane, in which the Emperor is found" should have been detached from the horizon;¹⁶⁶ Gros's

eschewal of Renaissance perspective has succeeded only in crushing the Emperor out of his rightful centrality. In like manner, the critic who was contented by how Gros's "episodes" added to the painting's unity went on to remark that the "colossal figures in the foreground have such a hideous expression, and go nearly to the point of caricature."¹⁶⁷ But again, we would only be abiding by conservative critical guidelines were we to accuse Gros of making "mistakes" when we note that the cadavers in the foreground were painted at a larger scale, or that the horizon-line does indeed surpass Napoleon's head. Rather, Denon's request that artists paint Napoleon with his "habitual simplicity" (although he was referring to costume) has a compositional counterpart in Gros's *Eylau*. Napoleon becomes immediately recognizable not by traditional compositional tactics (such as placing him full center or situating him at the painting's highest point), but rather by viewer engagement--viewers within the painting who see and respond to Napoleon's presence (and not unremarkably, there are figures who remain oblivious to his presence), and viewers outside the painting who, wading through the foreground chaos, are compelled to seek out the painting's main personality.

A final detail of the painting needs to be addressed, one that most efficiently advances the image's propagandist content: this is the injured Lithuanian hussar who supposedly pledged fidelity to Napoleon, conspicuously gesturing on the left side of the canvas. Prendergast has rightfully suggested that the detail announces the painting's predominant historical message: "The happy consequence of the battle of Eylau is that even the enemy switches sides."¹⁶⁸ But the Lithuanian's speech has,

as a detail of history, no built-in system of verification; no one could prove or disprove the program's or the painting's claim that this soldier, or anyone, called out to Napoleon. The anecdote books discussed in Chapter 1, and other forms of Napoleonic historical reporting, frequently resorted to quotations, either of the words of followers or of the Emperor himself, with the assumption that speech (especially when set off by quotation marks) would, in its specificity and immediacy, seem to best capture the essence of an event. But in a painting, it is not simply a matter of whether speech can be verified or denied, but--before anything else--whether it can be understood. A critic in 1801 pointed out the difficulty of using speech as the narrative foundation in painting:

Painters must be aware that their art cannot paint the spoken word, and that, if the Salon *livret* reports the speeches which they lend their characters, and thereby instruct those who know how to read, the others who don't have [the *livret*] will never be able to guess the subject of their paintings.¹⁶⁹

Speech could not successfully be "heard" in a painting without the painting's subordination to a supplementary text.

The problematic of painting speech was addressed by another of Gros's paintings, *Napoleon's Speech to his Soldiers before the Battle of the Pyramids* (fig. 13, 1810), commemorating one of the victories of the otherwise failed Egyptian campaign. Bonaparte gestures toward the Great Pyramids of Egypt as he--according to both Denon's plans for the picture and, ultimately, the *livret*--tells his soldiers "From atop these monuments, forty centuries contemplate you."¹⁷⁰ As was often the opening critical tactic for writers, Fabien Pillet described the moment in Gros's *Pyramids* by simply quoting the *livret*. He then took the opportunity to wonder about:

The method of painting speech? The more profound the thought, the more difficult it is to make us sensitive to it by the single resource of gesture and attitude; it belongs to the painter-poets alone, to make all the resources of their art contribute to the expression of an internal feeling.¹⁷¹

While Pillet (being able to read) was pleased with how Gros painted speech, to the point of saying "when his figures speak, we hear them," Ducray-Duminil used Gros's *Pyramids* to gripe that many a history painting's intelligibility depended entirely on the Salon *livret*. He claimed that a Salon visitor who could not read stood before Gros's *Pyramids* and surmised "Look here, you see, he's telling them they have to go attack them there big buildings."¹⁷² Although Ducray-Duminil mocks the spectator for not knowing what the "big buildings" are, he is, at the same time, using the immediate, untutored reaction of the popular classes as a gauge for the painting's readability; his concern was with how history was to be approached by those who liked pictures but had no historical background. If history was to serve an educational purpose, it had to be legible, even to the unlearned.

Legible or not, speech is the narrative core in Gros's *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau*, the *Battle of the Pyramids*, as well as his *Capitulation of Madrid* (1810). By employing historical anecdote and conversation, Gros exposed the complex transiency of history in a way that, for certain critics, resulted in a lack of clarity. But this lack of clarity was the very substance of Napoleon's historical project: the fewer the historical particulars, the less definable the narrative; the less definable the narrative, the remoter the possibility that history as he wanted it reported would invite disagreement. I refer less to cover-up and more to evasion, less to obscuring what really happened and more to avoiding events altogether. If this

lack of fact and dogma encouraged rumor—and in the case of *Jaffa*, it did—then it also allowed a space for personal engagement. *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola* eludes classical narration; Bonaparte's seduction by an action outside the picture grants the viewer a position in the margins of historical progress. The reliance on speech in *Eylau* and *Pyramids* begs a conversational engagement between painting and viewer, or among viewers. A narrative lacking in specifics becomes open to description, discussion, and conjecture, if viewers are interested in filling in the blanks. Whether or not the blanks were filled in with details complimentary to Napoleon was perhaps immaterial; creating a public murmuring, where Napoleon was on the lips of all of France, would ensure his omnipotence in the social mind. The unverifiable moments of speech depicted in these paintings were a call to sanctification of oral history in the Napoleonic legend.

As I suggested at the outset, Gros's paintings reverse the nationalist role of history painting, by according the Syrians a physical presence more regal than that of the French in *Jaffa*, by focusing on the morbid havoc Napoleon wrought at Eylau, or by having Napoleon remind the French that they are being watched, even judged, by forty centuries of *Egyptian* history in the *Battle of the Pyramids*. Viewers are made to engage with the histories placed before them—but in *Jaffa*, *Eylau*, and the *Pyramids*, it is the bodies of the dead or dying filling the foreground whom the viewer must first confront. In two of these paintings, the invitation for viewers to experience the ongoing deaths of these victims has striking agents: in *Eylau* the wild-eyed Prussian demands we return his gaze; in *Jaffa* a barely visible plague-victim

glares out of the shadow of the lower left. His gaze is paradoxically imploring and elusive; he faces out of the painting, but looks away. Yet through his horrified glare, he becomes the seer of the painting, the antipode of his blindfolded compatriot on the other side—and we are forced to question our own simultaneous vision and blindness before history. Through speech and sight in Gros's paintings, historical meaning is extended to the viewer's senses. Although of course the symbols of antiquity remained well intact, the closed theatricality of Neoclassicism¹⁷³ was an impossible vehicle for depictions of the contemporary, where viewers were, wittingly or not, involved in some way.

The "unique moment" that had been so important to history painting was now rapidly disintegrating. This was not single-handedly Gros's doing, and as the next chapter will discuss further, the anecdotal in history, and the individualized and realistic details dreaded by such staunch theorists as Quatremère de Quincy,¹⁷⁴ would emerge with as much force as the didactic and moralizing had in eighteenth-century classical history painting. Gros, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, would rue his role in history painting's evolution away from the *beau idéal*. Although he tried again after Napoleon's exile, Gros was never a particularly able painter of classical history; his *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1821), *Love Stung by a Bee* (1833), or the *Hercules and Diomedes* (1835) so often linked to his suicide are mediocre forays into ancient mythologies, lacking the lustre and sophistication of his Napoleonic paintings. But was it the antique *per se*—classical architecture or heroic nudes—that Gros had difficulty confronting? Or was it David's legacy?

His unfinished painting *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor to Artists at the Salon of 1808* (fig. 14, 1808), might provide a few early clues to Gros's conflict: he could never fully admit that he rejected David, and that he and his master were, during the Napoleonic era, undergoing a complex form of rivalry.¹⁷⁵ The enormous (350 x 640 cm.) sketch is a fluidly brushed pastiche of portraits; Napoleon stands among a group of artists invited to attend the opening of the Salon of 1808 with him, a select few of whom were to receive the medal of the Legion of Honor. In Gros's painting, it is David, at center, who receives the award; the left side is occupied by the other recipients of the Legion of Honor, reading left to right Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, Carle Vernet, the sculptor Cartellier, Gros and Girodet. Differing accounts say the painting was commissioned by Napoleon,¹⁷⁶ or was an artistic group-decision, by subscription, to have Gros commemorate the event.¹⁷⁷ The painting's incompleteness, we can surmise, was due to Gros's having received more pressing commissions for a *Battle of Wagram* for Marshal Berthier¹⁷⁸ and the *Battle of the Pyramids*, or to an insufficient number of subscribers. But from a point of view that has nothing to do with the pragmatic, Gros could not comfortably complete *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor* because of his own position within the narrative. Tripiier-le-Franc's suggestion that Gros feared jealousy from artists who did not themselves win the Legion of Honor seems a possibility.¹⁷⁹ Another possibility is that Gros was unable to abide by David's necessarily superior position—he was *premier peintre* to the Emperor since shortly after Napoleon's coronation—within the painting. Furthermore, David's *Coronation*, exhibited at the Salon of 1808, was

much larger than anything Gros had ever done, and stole the show with its masterful combination of David's signature meticulousness and studied historicism with journalistic panache.¹⁸⁰

A frequently told story has Gros as the last artist to receive the medal at the ceremony, either due to Napoleon's oversight or as a cruel joke he wanted to play on the artist. Tripier-le-Franc presents the story in the first person, which he says is Gros's own account of the events: "The artists, gathered to attend or take part, . . . formed an oblong circle before His Majesty. . . With each cross that the Emperor gave out, I felt very emotional, and said to myself 'All right, this one is still not for me. . .'" Then, without decorating Gros, Napoleon started to leave the room, nodding his farewells to the crowd of artists. Suddenly stopping in his tracks, he "approaches me, takes from his uniform his own medal, holds it out to me, and says, smiling and in a low voice: 'What, you thought I forgot you? But you do know the proverb!'" Tripier-le-Franc finishes the story, explaining that the proverb is "au dernier le bon."¹⁸¹

This poignant story is, perhaps, the best existing description of Gros's legendary fear of rejection. As a result, it has been recounted as "vintage Gros" by almost all writers who discuss Gros's sketch for *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor*. Oddly, however, none seem to have looked at the sketch very closely. While David is in the process of being decorated, the other five artists, Gros included, are all shown attaching something to their lapels;¹⁸² Gros's in particular looks suspiciously like a medal. Apart from the plain visual evidence, Charles Otto

Zieseniss has further debunked the myth with a letter written by David (which we might venture to call evidence more substantial than Tripiet-le-Franc's uncited quoting of Gros), describing his own decoration as having taken place last,¹⁸³ precisely what Gros has depicted in the sketch.

While the story of Gros feeling disconsolate at being almost forgotten is, it seems, nothing short of fiction, Gros's sense of humility—or something else—before his teacher is revealed in the composition's focus on David; it is as if the ceremony were in honor of him alone. Of course it would have been ungracious, egotistical, and entirely out of character for Gros to have painted his own moment of decoration; the sketch is thus easily read as evidence of a student's deference for his master. Yet deference for David is far from evident in paintings like Gros's *Sappho at Leucadia*, or for that matter his major Napoleonic works. If he were really intent on paying grand-scale homage to his teacher, or to the institution of the Legion of Honor itself, might he not have made more of an effort to complete the work? We know well enough that Gros later wanted to show the greatest of respect for David; but try though he did to paint the occasional Davidian work, it was not without a certain amount of visible turmoil. As with *Hercules and Diomedes*, *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor* was not Gros's pictorial domain; such grandiose and symbolic Imperial ceremonies were, rather, the specialty of his master, who was commissioned to paint the Imperial ceremony par excellence, the *Coronation*, as well as the *Distribution of the Eagle Standards* (1810), an enormous scene of contemporary pageantry infused with determined classical eloquence. While David was chosen to

paint the symbolically authoritative, Gros's line of duty was amid the incidental details of military ephemera. Was Gros unable to complete *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor* because he was unmoved by history's symbolic events? Of course the earlier *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor after the Battle of Marengo* referred to the institution of the Legion of Honor; but Gros stripped the emblem of its grandeur, and invoked the Legion of Honor only by metaphor. A symbol of historic worth was, perhaps by necessity for Gros, turned to an intimate ceremony involving two nameless *grenadiers*. But when, in *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor*, Gros attempted the symbolic, Davidian branch of Napoleonic history, he could not even complete the painting. The veils of symbolism were not transparent enough.

Chapter 2 Notes

1. André Michel, *L'Ecole française de David à Delacroix* (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, 1891), 46-49.
2. As suggested by, for example, *Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, 1771-1835: Painter of Battles, The First Romantic Painter*, exh. cat. (Minneapolis Institute of Arts and Cleveland Museum of Art, 1955).
3. Walter Friedlaender, *David to Delacroix* (New York: Schocken Books, 1952), 64-65.
4. Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 222.
5. Ibid., 217-221.
6. Etienne-Jean Delécluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps* [1855] (Paris: Macula, 1983), 293-294.
7. Letter from David to Gros (1 avril 1821). J.-L. Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David. Souvenirs et documents inédits* (Paris: Victor Havard, 1880), 577.
8. Letter from Gros to David (4 août 1820). Ibid., 573.
9. For a particularly pleading letter from Gros to David (20 juin 1817) on the subject of David's coming back to France, see *ibid.*, 539-540.
10. Henri Lemonnier, *Gros* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1928), 83.
11. For example, Charles Lenormant, "De l'école française en 1835. Salon annuel," *Revue des deux-mondes* 2, 4ième sér. (avril 1835): 180-181. "Vous voyez, ou plutôt vous êtes invité à voir Hercule livrant Diomède à ses propres chevaux qui le dévorent . . . Le public, qui n'a plus la clef de la peinture mythologique de M. Gros, s'afflige et se comporte comme devant une grande ruine; il semble qu'on ne voit plus qu'une fantôme du peintre des pestiférés de Jaffa."
12. Ernest Chesneau, *Les Chefs d'école* (Paris: Didier, 1862), 77.
13. Eugène Delacroix, "Peintres et sculpteurs modernes III: Gros," *Revue des deux-mondes*, n.s., 23 (juillet-septembre 1848): 655.
14. Ibid., 651.

15. Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, 203.
16. Philippe Bordes, "Antoine-Jean Gros en Italie," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1978): 221-244. For readers doing research on Gros, Bordes's thorough transcriptions should be used in place of Delestre, who tends to edit Gros's prose.
17. Delacroix, 655.
18. G. Dargenty, *Les Artistes célèbres: le Baron Gros* (Paris: Librairie de l'art, 1887), 15.
19. Thomas Brumbaugh, "An Unpublished Letter of Baron Gros," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 71 (février 1968): 123.
20. Letter from Gros to David (15 décembre 1819). David, 562.
21. Raymond Escholier, *Gros, ses amis et ses élèves* (Paris: Librairie Floury, 1936), 5.
22. Eric Turquin, "La Victoire selon Gros," *Connaissance des arts* 431 (janvier 1988): 74.
23. This section is excerpted from my "A Napoleonic Death Sentence: Classical Execution in Gros' *Sappho at Leucadia*," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 128 (juillet-août 1996): 51-62.
24. Ovid, "Epistle of Sappho to Phaon," from the *Epistolae Heroidum* in *The Songs of Sappho*, trans. Marion Mills Miller (Lexington, KY: Maxwellton Co., 1925), 379-398.
25. Ovid uses the lyre as Sappho's final offering to Apollo (for whom the fire in the background of Gros's painting probably burns): "Lesbian Sappho, Beloved, O Pheobus, by /thee for her singing/ As thou by her for thy grace, a lyre/ is gratefully bringing/As offering meet for thy shrine, a/token of thee, and a token/of her, though it soundeth no more." Ibid., 395. Representations of Sappho immediately predating Gros's work show Sappho's lyre symbolically broken: e.g. Charles Louis Didelot's ballet "Sappho et Phaon" (first produced in Paris in 1797), p. 43, and J.J. Taillasson's 1791 painting *Sappho se précipitant à la mer* (Musée de Brest).
26. M. le Chevalier de Courcelles, *Dictionnaire historique et biographique des généraux français*, vol. 5 (Paris: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1822), 278-279. Dessolles secured a name for himself as a brigadier general in the battle of the Valtelina (March 1799) between the French and the Austrians. On 13 April of that year, he was pronounced Division General, and continued his ascent up the ranks of Napoleon's troops in Italy.
27. Critics often suggest Gros was trying to please David, and emulate him, with *Sappho at Leucadia*; e.g. Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres français au 19ième siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Cauville Frères, 1845) 330; J. Tripier-le-Franc, *Histoire de la vie et de la mort*

du Baron Gros (Paris: Jules Martin, 1880), 186-7. Tripier-le-Franc suggests Gros's *Sappho* was a response to David's *l'Amour, Sappho, et Phaon*, which he mistakenly refers to as having been painted in 1799; the actual date of the David is 1809.

28. This is addressed at length in the manuscript for Margaret and Patrice Higonnet's forthcoming book, *Death, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness: Suicide in Eighteenth-Century France*, especially Chapter 10, "Deathframes in Art."

29. Alena Marchwinski, "The Romantic Suicide and the Artists," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 109 (février 1987): 67.

30. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. The artist studied with Jean-Baptiste Regnault. I am grateful to Nancy J. Troy for making me aware of this painting.

31. Gros received 200 francs per month for this post, money which he sent to his mother in Paris. Jean-Baptiste Delestre, *Gros, sa vie et ses ouvrages* (Paris: Renouard, 1867), 36-37.

32. Ibid., 47. Susan Siegfried wisely remarks on how writers on Gros, namely Delestre and Tripier-le-Franc, over-emphasize the importance of such posts in order to romanticize Gros as "painter-soldier," although her research reveals no record of Gros having served in a truly military capacity. Siegfried, 237, n.10-11.

33. The sitting for *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola* was held upon the artist's request in 1796-7, when he was in Milan. Delestre, 33-34. In a letter to his mother of 6 décembre 1796, Gros relates the story of his first meeting with Napoleon, complete with dinner and a portrait sitting.

34. Kroeber, 156.

35. Friedlaender, 62.

36. D..., "Beaux-arts. Salon de l'an IX," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 353 (14 septembre 1801): 1459-1460.

37. For a detailed analysis of the Battle of Marengo, see David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 286-298.

38. For instances of the tradition associating Hannibal, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, see for example François Xavier Pagès, *Histoire du Consulat de Bonaparte*, vol. 2 (Paris: Testu, 1803), 511-512; René Barbet [du Bertrand], *Les Trois hommes illustres, ou dissertations sur les institutions politiques de César-Auguste, de Charlemagne, et de Napoléon Bonaparte* (Paris: Michelet, 1803).

39. David O'Brien, "Antoine-Jean Gros in Italy," *Burlington* 137 (October 1995): 654.

40. White, "Value of Narrativity," *passim*.
41. R. de Beaunoir and A.H. Dampmartin, eds. *Annales de l'Empire français. Par une société de gens de lettres* (Paris: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1805), vii-viii.
42. Foucault, 252-268.
43. *Ibid.*, 276.
44. Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 82-90.
45. Bann, "Staging the Past" and "Living the Past," in *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, 102-162.
46. *Ibid.*, 37-40, 80. See also Barthes, as in Chapter 1, n.16.
47. Hayden White, "The Fictions of Factual Representation," 125.
48. Christopher Prendergast, *Napoleon and History Painting: Antoine-Jean Gros's "La Bataille d'Eylau"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
49. Riberette, 121; Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Repression in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 42. Similarly, a decree of 29 July 1807 reduced the number of Parisian theaters from 33 to 8; Robert Holtman, *Napoleonic Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 147.
50. Stendhal, *La Vie de Napoléon [1818-1838]* (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1959), 213.
51. "République française. Armée d'Italie. Buonaparte, général en chef de l'armée d'Italie, au Directoire exécutif," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 72 (2 décembre 1796): 235.
52. *Ibid.*
53. "République française. Armée d'Italie," 235.
54. *Ibid.*
55. "République française. Armée d'Italie. Extrait d'une lettre du général en chef Buonaparte, commandant l'armée d'Italie, au citoyen Carnot," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 74 (4 décembre 1796): 293.
56. See, for example, Eugène Fieffé, *Napoléon I^{er} et la Garde Impériale* (Paris: Furne fils, 1859), 4: "l'un des traits particulières de son caractère fut de ne jamais s'attribuer le mérite de ses grandes actions ni l'éclat de ses victoires . . . Quand la France l'appelait son sauveur . . . quand ses lieutenants . . . le reconnaissaient pour maître . . . c'était

moins de lui qu'il était fier que de ses soldats."

57. See Chapter 1, 53.

58. *Napoléon et la Grande Armée, par un ancien officier supérieur* (Paris: Dalibon, 1822), 14.

59. J. Christopher Herold, *The Mind of Napoleon: A Selection of His Written and Spoken Words* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 133.

60. Stendhal, 5.

61. Michael Marrinan, "Literal/Literary/Lexie: History, Text, and Authority in Napoleonic Painting," *Word and Image* 7, no. 3 (1991): 177.

62. Tulard, *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour*, 66-67; J. Christopher Herold, *The Age of Napoleon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), 75.

63. Dominique-Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte, pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte*, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné, 1802).

64. Herold, *The Age of Napoleon*, 70.

65. Tulard, *Napoleon, the Myth of the Saviour*, 69-70.

66. "République française," *Journal des débats* (21 germinal an IX): 3-4. Siegfried cites additional announcements in the *Journal des bâtimens civils* and the *Moniteur universel*.

67. Siegfried, 243. Gros's "Extrait du programme" (1801) is held in the archives of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

68. Ibid., 242.

69. Ibid., 243.

70. René, artiste, "De l'inutilité des concours," *Journal des arts, des sciences, et de littérature*, no. 173 (30 frimaire an X): 398-99.

71. CH.Y. [Chéry], "Beaux-arts. Peinture. Aux artistes qui ne déshonorent pas ce titre," *Journal des bâtimens civils, des monumens et des arts* 5, no. 133 (1801): 389.

72. D..., "Salon de l'an IX," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 6 (26 septembre 1801): 22.

73. Détournelle, "Réflexions sur le jugement qui vient d'avoir lieu à l'occasion des esquisses de la bataille de Nazareth," *Journal des arts, des sciences, et de littérature* 173

(30 frimaire an X): 394.

74. Siegfried, 249.

75. For a detailed description of the Constitution of Year VIII, see Tulard, *La France de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, 120-122.

76. *M. Gros. Trois portraits. 1^{er} Consul* (an XI). Gros received 3000 francs for each portrait. Documents in file are undated and unsigned but for one of 11 fructidor an XI from Denon. A.N., F²¹ 1/08. At the writing of this document, Lille was not included in the commission; the portrait ultimately intended to hang in Lille was originally commissioned for the Tribunal d'appel in Paris. See Edward Lilley, "Consular Portraits of Napoleon Bonaparte," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 106 (novembre 1985): 145, 147.

77. Nicole Hubert, "A propos des portraits consulaires de Napoléon Bonaparte. Remarques complémentaires," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 108 (juillet-août 1986): 23.

78. The other artists commissioned for this project were Robert Lefèvre, Meynier, Benoît, Ingres, Vien fils, Dufau, and Greuze. See Lilley for a thorough account of the project.

79. The full circumstances surrounding the painting's commission are vague. A sketch for it was exhibited at the Salon of 1801. We can reasonably assume that the completed painting is what appears in the Salon *livret* of 1802, with the note that the picture belonged to the First Consul (*livret* supplement, *Portrait du Premier Consul décernant un sabre d'honneur*, no. 970). The fact that the painting is signed "GROS AN XI," while the Salon opened on 15 fructidor an X (2 September 1802) suggests that Gros completed it after the Salon opened, further confirmed by its presence in the supplement (where works that arrived late were listed). Malmaison's documentation on Gros's *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor* (MM 47.7175) notes that Napoleon gave the painting to Marshal Bessières, in whose hands it remained until his death in 1813. While this and the note in the *livret* of 1802 suggest that the painting was purchased by Napoleon, it leads to no definitive conclusions regarding whether Napoleon actually commissioned it from Gros in the first place.

80. D..., 1459.

81. Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Bonapartism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), 50.

82. D..., 1459.

83. C...Y [Philippe Chéry], "Beaux-arts. Au rédacteur du Journal des bâtimens civils," *Journal des bâtimens civils, des monumens et des arts* 5, no. 109 (1801): 5.

84. The famous factory in Epinal was opened by the brothers Nicolas and Gabriel Pellerin in 1740. It saw its first great period of production during the years 1792-1814, with of course Napoleon being a favorite subject for prints. See P.L. Duchartre and R. Saulnier, *L'Imagerie populaire* (Paris: Librairie de France, 1925), 176-188. For the problems the factory suffered during the Restoration, see Barbara Ann Day, "Political Dissent and Napoleonic Representations during the Restoration Monarchy," *Historical Reflections* 19, no. 3 (1993): 409-432.

85. Château de Malmaison, MM 47.7175 and MM 49.7.1.

86. The most commonly reported statistics suggest that the plebiscite resulted in a landslide ratification of Bonaparte's role as Consul à vie: of 3,577,259 votes nationwide, 3,568,845 voted in favor. "Bulletin particulier de Paris," *Bulletin de Paris*, no. 28 (19 thermidor an X): 911. Voting was not done anonymously; many of those who voted against Bonaparte were liberals led by La Fayette. Tulard, *La France de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, 136.

87. *Napoléon et la Grande Armée*, 206.

88. Ternisien d'Haudricourt, *Fastes de la nation française et des puissances alliées, ou tableaux pittoresques gravés par d'habiles artistes, accompagnés d'un texte explicatif, et destinés à perpétuer la mémoire des hauts faits militaires, des traits de vertus civiques, ainsi que des exploits des membres de la Légion d'Honneur*, 2 vols. (Paris: De Gillé fils, 1807). The book has neither page nor plate numbers; the stories of Junot and Mathieu are in vol. 1; those of Goffin and Joan of Arc are in vol. 2.

89. For a discussion of the *traits de courage et d'humanité* and their relevance to Gros's conception of the *Nazareth* sketch, see Siegfried, 251-254.

90. Antoine Arnault, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*, vol. 1 (Paris: Emile Babeuf, 1822), 127.

91. *Principaux faits de la vie de Napoléon, dit l'homme du siècle, et des siècles à venir* (Paris: Sétier, 1833), 8.

92. Barbet (as in n.38), 254-255.

93. *Ibid.*, 81.

94. *Ibid.*, 254.

95. In a report to Napoleon of 1806, Denon implied that there was still a possibility Gros would complete *Nazareth*, but that having outdone himself with *Jaffa*, he was under no obligation to do so. *Etat des tableaux, statues, gravures, et autres monuments commandés aux artists* (19 février 1806), A.N., AF IV 1050/2/16.

96. Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Rumor, Contagion, and Colonization in Gros's *Plague-Stricken of Jaffa* (1804)," *Representations* 51 (Summer 1995): 1-46.
97. "République française. Armée d'Orient. Bonaparte, général en chef, au Directoire exécutif. Au camp devant Acre, le 21 floréal an 7 [10 mai 1799]," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 18 (10 octobre 1799): 66.
98. *Principaux faits de la vie de Napoléon*, 5.
99. "République française. Armée d'Orient," 66.
100. Chandler, 236.
101. For a through study of Gros's *Jaffa*, in particular the question of historical invention presented by Bonaparte's touching a plague victim, see H. Mollaret and J. Brossollet, "A propos des pestiférés de Jaffa de Gros," *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, Jaarboek* (1986): 263-308.
102. Salon of 1804 (no. 224).
103. Herold, *The Age of Napoleon*, 71-72.
104. Finding directly contemporary French accounts of the alleged Jaffa poisoning is of course impossible; however a number of contemporary English caricatures criticizing the event are reproduced by Grigsby, 28.
105. Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989), 97-98.
106. François René de Châteaubriand, *De Buonaparte, des Bourbons, et de la nécessité de se rallier à nos princes légitimes, pour le bonheur de la France et celui de l'Europe* (Dijon: Bernard Defay, 1814), 14.
107. Emmanuel de Las Cases, *Mémorial de Saint-Hélène* [1823], vol. 1 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1961), 135-136.
108. Philippe Bordes and Alain Pougetoux, "Les Portraits de Napoléon en habits impériaux par Jacques-Louis David," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 102 (juillet-août 1983): 21.
109. Grigsby, 33-35.
110. *Ibid.*, 11-13.
111. *Critique raisonnée des tableaux du Salon. Dialogue entre Pasquino, voyageur romain, et Scapin* (Paris: Debray, 1804), 32. Emphasis mine.

112. Un Amateur [Jacques-Philippe Voiart], *Lettres impartiales sur les expositions de l'an XIII* (Paris, 1804), 23-24 (cited by Grigsby, 6).
113. Ambulator, "Mélange. Tableaux de Paris. Sur le Salon de peinture," *La Revue, ou Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique* 43 (1804): 47; M.B. [Jean-Baptiste Boutard], "Salon de l'an XII," *Journal des débats* (25 septembre 1804): 3.
114. Un Artiste, "Premier coup-d'oeil au Salon," *Le Courrier des spectacles* (21 septembre 1804): 3-4.
115. Anita Brookner, *Jacques-Louis David* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 161.
116. "Paris," *Le Citoyen français*, no. 1761 (4-5 jours complémentaires an XII): 2.
117. A.L. Girodet, "Vers lus au dîner donné à M. Gros par les peintres de l'école française, à l'occasion du couronnement de son tableau de la peste de Jaffa, le 2 vendémiaire an XIII," *Journal des débats* (6 octobre 1804): 3-4.
118. M.B., 3.
119. Such universal diagnoses can sometimes be traced to the Salon *livrets*, which often serve as critics' guides to discussion; however the *livret's* entry for *Jaffa* makes no mention of ophthalmia, or for that matter any potential side-effects of the plague.
120. Ambulator, 46; M.B., 3.
121. D.D., "Salon de l'an XIII," *Nouvelles des arts* 3 (1804): 372-373; Ambulator, 46; M.B., 3.
122. Ambulator, 46.
123. "Variétés. Peinture. Salon de l'an XII," *Annales des sciences, de la littérature, et des arts* 1 (1804): 242.
124. M.B., 3.
125. Susan Siegfried, "The Politics of Criticism at the Salon of 1806: Ingres' *Napoleon Enthroned*," in *Proceedings of the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe*, vol. 2 (Athens, Georgia, 1980), 70.
126. Ducray-Duminil, "Beaux-arts. Salon de peinture. M. Gros," *Petites affiches de Paris*, no. 1919 (22 frimaire an XIII): 18997.
127. Chandler, 236.
128. O'Brien, 660.

129. See Alex Potts, "Beautiful Bodies and Dying Heroes: Images of Ideal Manhood in the French Revolution," *History Workshop Journal* (Fall 1990): 1-21.

130. Grigsby, 4-5, 11-12.

131. While the resemblance between the representation of Bonaparte's pose and that of the Apollo Belevvedere is quite clear, O'Brien, 660, makes a fascinating correlation based on Ennio Visconti's belief that the Apollo was commissioned by the Athenians specifically after a plague.

132. Norman Bryson, *Word and Image. French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 234-235. See also idem, *Tradition and Desire from David to Delacroix* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), especially Chapter 3.

133. Walter Friedlaender, "Napoleon as Roi Thaumaturge," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4 (1941): 139-141.

134. Norman Bryson, "Representing the Real: Gros' Paintings of Napoleon," *History of the Human Sciences* 1, no. 1 (1988): 97.

135. Prendergast, 77.

136. Denon, *Notes sur le Salon de l'an XIII. Tableaux d'histoire. Sujets nationaux*. A.N., AF IV 1050/1/38. "Il a adroitement jetté un voile transparent sur toute l'horreur de son sujet."

137. Tulard, *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour*, 145-147.

138. "58^{me} Bulletin de la Grande-Armée. A Preussich-Eylau, le 9 février 1807. Combat d'Eylau," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 55 (24 février 1807): 215.

139. Chandler, 548.

140. Ibid.

141. Marrinan, "Literal/Literary/'Lexie'," 177.

142. Jean-Marie Thomasseau, "Le Mélodrame et la censure sous le premier Empire et la Restauration," *Revue des sciences humaines* 162 (1976): 177.

143. Tulard, *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour*, 138.

144. Marrinan, "Literal/Literary/'Lexie'," 182.

145. Denon's notice for the Eylau competition is reprinted in Pascal Griener, "L'Art de persuader par l'image sous le premier Empire: à propos d'un concours officiel pour la représentation de Napoléon sur le champ de bataille d'Eylau," *L'Écrit-Voir* 4 (1984), 9. See also Prendergast, 135-137, for a detailed analysis of Denon's notice.

146. Griener, 9.

147. Just a few examples of the theme of Napoleon as healer, in addition to Gros's *Jaffa* and *Eylau*, are Charles Meynier's *Napoleon on the Island of Lobau after the Battle of Essling* (1812, Versailles, M.V. 1746) and Alexandre Véron-Bellecourt, *Napoleon Visiting the Infirmary at the Invalides* (1812, Versailles, M.V. 1733).

148. See Prendergast, 4-5, for a fascinating discussion of this gaze.

149. Griener, 11.

150. Although this is such a commonly used phrase as to fill an inordinately long footnote, I cite four examples for readers who might want to follow up on this: "République française. Armée d'Orient," 66; "République française," *Journal des débats* (21 germinal an IX), 3; "République française, armée d'Italie," 235; and Paul Thiébault, *Journal des opérations militaires du siège et du blocus de Gènes* (Paris: Magimel, 1801), 12.

151. For an overview of the guillotine's spectacular nature, the following readings are suggested: Daniel Arasse, *The Guillotine and the Terror* (London: Allen Lane Penguin Press, 1987; and idem and Valérie Rousseau-Lagarde, *La Guillotine dans la Revolution*, exh. cat. (Vizille: Musée de la Revolution Française, 1987); Hector Fleischmann, *La Guillotine en 1793: d'après des documents inédits des Archives Nationales* (Paris: Librairie des publications modernes, 1908).

152. For a brief overview of the "phantasmagoria" in early nineteenth-century Paris, see Wright, 51-53.

153. A.M.G., "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1808," *Le Publiciste* (21 octobre 1808): 4.

154. Jean Clay, *Romanticism* (New York: Vendome Press, 1980), 289.

155. John McCoubrey, "Gros' *Battle of Eylau* and Roman Imperial Art," *Art Bulletin* 43 (June 1961): 135-139.

156. See Francis Haskell and Nicolas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), *passim*.

157. Robert Herbert, "Baron Gros' Napoleon and Voltaire's Henri IV," in *The Artist and Writer in France: Essays in Honor of Jean Seznec*, ed. Francis Haskell et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 52-75.

158. *Extrait du rapport du jury, institué par sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, pour le jugement des prix décennaux. . . pour la classe de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, A.N., AF IV 1050/6/27, pp. 13-14.

159. Herbert, 57-58.

160. Jouy had Talma dressed up to look like Napoleon in his 1818 play *Belisarius*, which provoked a censorship debate based on references that were interpreted as relevant to the recently departed emperor. See "Nouvelles littéraires," *La Minerve française* 4 (1818): 297-309. Also Alan B. Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 120.

161. Thomasseau, 175.

162. Herbert, 52. This inscription was made after Napoleon saw the Henri IV statue at Ivry and ordered its restoration.

163. *Ville de Lyon, Conseil municipal. Procès-verbaux des séances. 1800-1870*, vol. 1 (cited by Lilley, 145).

164. Cited in Friedlaender, "Napoleon as Roi Thaumaturge," 141, n.1. The full letter from Denon to Gérard is published in *Lettres adressées au Baron François Gérard, précédée d'une notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de François Gérard*, vol. 2 (Paris: A. Quantin, 1886), 31-2. See Chapter 3, 192-195, for a discussion of Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz*.

165. Philippe-René Girault, "Campagne d'Autriche (1809). Souvenirs d'un musicien d'état-major," *Revue rétrospective* (juillet-décembre 1890): 194.

166. "Salon d'exposition," *Affiches, annonces et avis divers*, no. 318 (4 novembre 1808): 4990.

167. A.M.G., 4.

168. Prendergast, 137.

169. "Arts. Peinture. Suite de l'exposition des ouvrages des artistes vivants au Salon du Louvre," *Journal général de la littérature, des sciences, et des arts*, no. 29 (15 vendémiaire an X): 116.

170. *Pyramids* was commissioned for the Salon of 1810 as part of a series depicting Napoleon's conquests across Europe and Africa. Denon to Napoleon, *Tableaux à exposer au Salon de 1810* (17 mai 1809), A.N., AF IV 1050/5/10 and 11.

171. F.P. [Fabien Pillet], "Exposition des tableaux, 5me article," *Journal de Paris*, no. 324 (20 novembre 1810): 2293.

172. Ducray-Duminil, "Salon de 1810," *Petites affiches de Paris*, no. 4122 (26 décembre 1810): 6225.

173. I refer here to Michael Fried's intriguing study of Diderot's ideal of "absorption" in theater (where the spectator is absented from the action) and its influence on Neoclassical painting. Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Image and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

174. See Prendergast's discussion of Quatremère and Émeric-David's theoretical debate over the virtues of the general, or ideal, versus the individualized and particular in painting, 58-62.

175. Delécluze suggests that David admitted to this: "L'émulation, pure de toute jalousie, qu'excitèrent en lui à cette époque les succès que son élève Gros venait d'obtenir en peignant des sujets contemporains, est un fait non moins remarquable; et pendant l'exécution du *Couronnement*, David parla plus d'une fois de l'auteur de la *Peste de Jaffa* comme d'un rival qui avait ranimé sa verve et étendu le cercle de ses idées." Delécluze, 246.

176. David, 444.

177. Tripier-le-Franc, 269.

178. Gros's sketch for the *Battle of Wagram* was exhibited at the Salon of 1810 (no. 391); the full painting was never executed.

179. Tripier-le-Franc, 269-270.

180. I have perhaps cryptically abbreviated the title of David's painting as simply the *Coronation* because of the notorious difficulties in interpretation presented by the full title, *Sacre de l'Empereur Napoléon et Couronnement de l'Impératrice Josephine*, and the painting itself. See Prendergast, 42-43, for a discussion of the purposeful confusion regarding whether the painting depicts Napoleon crowning himself, or about to crown Josephine.

181. Tripier-le-Franc, 267-268.

182. Delestre's account of the event, apparently that which provoked the myth of Gros's being "almost forgotten" in the first place, also rather inexplicably points out that in Gros's painting, while David receives the award, "les autres [Girodet, Gros, Prud'hon, Vernet, and Cartellier]...portent la croix à leur habit, pour l'y suspendre." Delestre, 136. (It should be noted that although I have been throughout using Delestre's 1867 version of Gros's life, his first work on Gros was published in 1845; thus much of Delécluze or Delacroix's information comes from the 1845 edition.)

183. Charles Otto Zieseniss, "Napoléon au Salon de 1808," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1971): 212. David's version of the events are also published in David, 444. Those convinced by the admittedly alluring story of Gros's being ignored by Napoleon could perhaps propose that the story is the truth, and Gros's painting is fiction. That, however, would also require saying David misremembered the events when he wrote the letter cited by Zieseniss.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL GENRE AND ILLUSIONS OF THE REAL

But now there happens something which should never have happened. Napoleon, the man who counts his coats as he counts his soldiers; the man who in the army gives promotion only for good service, and will never make an inefficient soldier a lieutenant merely because he is someone's son or nephew; the man who sits contentedly in a barn among his officers, or by the camp-fire among his grenadiers; the man who has expunged the privileges of birth from his legal code; the man who has contraposed the new idea of individual ability to the old idea of hereditary dignity, and has thus turned a whole continent upside down—this same Bonaparte . . . founds a new nobility, "because it is a part of human nature that a man should wish to hand down to his children, not property alone, but also tokens of esteem."

Emil Ludwig, *Napoleon*.¹

The artists in Antoine-Jean Gros's unfinished ceremonial painting, *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor to Artists at the Salon of 1808* were invited by Denon to join Napoleon at the Salon's opening in 1808. In addition to the six artists who received the Legion of Honor—Girodet, Gros, Prud'hon, Carle Vernet, Cartellier, and David—were François Gérard and Pierre-Narcisse Guérin, both of whom had received the Legion of Honor on other occasions.² Gérard, David, and Prud'hon, having created sumptuous documents of Imperial grandeur, represent for many the quintessence of Napoleonic painting, while the Imperial couple's taste for neo-Grec *chaises longues* and toga-like dresses have suggested a not implausible alignment of the terms Empire Style and Neoclassicism. But this is intensely

problematized by the full sampling of painters—thirteen in addition to those already mentioned—whose invitation to accompany the Emperor on his Salon rounds seems to designate the administration's choice as agents of government styles. The presence of Adolphe Roëhn, Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, Nicolas Monsiau, or Marie-Nicolas Ponce-Camus among the chosen few at the 1808 Salon opening suggests that administrative notions of history painting under Napoleon had gone so far as to accept genre into the ranks. While, as suggested in Chapter 2, the monumental and the anecdotal operate simultaneously in Gros's historical productions, the painters covered in this chapter took anecdote alone as their point of departure. Denon, as will be discussed, would define these artists as painters of *histoire anecdotale*, a term later recast as its more famous variant, *genre historique*. While *genre historique* as a terminology belongs most solidly to the July Monarchy,³ its development as an artistic dialect can be traced to the Empire, indeed even earlier. Yet during the eighteenth century, contemporary history painting was avoided by, in the words of Jean Locquin, "the real history painters, the leaders of the school. . . as if they were afraid of falling into the anecdotal style of genre painting by being too interested in the current."⁴ But under Napoleon, painters were faced with the proposition of painting contemporary history or falling into governmental neglect. While "real history painters" like David continued to refuse the anecdotal in contemporary depictions, artists who specialized in genre saw an opportunity for promotion into the coveted domain of history painters. Before the eyes of critics and the less verbal public alike, history went small.

Something of a critical phenomenon was underway, most conspicuous in Salon reviews of 1808 and 1810. As Richard Wrigley has shown, the long-established hierarchy of genres—which placed history painting on a rung far above genre painting, portraiture, landscape, and still-life—was a tool which critics, regardless of their sympathies or antipathies for Academy doctrine, used to measure artistic worth.⁵ But it seems that at the height of the Empire, the hierarchy of genres lost its preeminence as a system of judgment to become, rather, a simple system of classification, something of an outline to which critics conformed when preparing reviews. Furthermore, although history painting remained the first class in critical discussions, it no longer had a clear definition: hence the well-known debacle of the 1810 *prix décennaux* for history painting, where the dual categories *tableaux d'histoire* and *tableaux français* had to be created to accommodate both paintings of antique history and paintings of the contemporary.⁶ If anything, history painting diverged into three categories, often discussed in Salon reviews in the following order: grand-scale paintings of contemporary events, smaller contemporary historical genre paintings, and lastly—if at all—paintings of Greco-Roman history. Of course this reversal of priorities did not seep into every critic's writing process, but what would have seemed impossible a decade prior had become a critical reality: the antique had lost its pride of place. Considering Napoleon's control of the press, the priority critics gave to paintings of contemporary events cannot be regarded as entirely ingenuous. But such a change in critical tack is equally a reflection of changes in artistic production proper—so astounding that some journals felt compelled to publish statistical analyses

of the paintings on view at the Salon. In 1810, the *Journal de Paris* listed the number of paintings exhibited within nine different categories of history, including religion and mythology. Against the 29 paintings of *histoire grecque* and 5 paintings of *histoire romaine* were 47 paintings of *événemens historiques du règne de l'Empereur* and 22 paintings of the *campagnes de l'Empereur*.⁷ The paintings of Napoleonic military campaigns were of such a number as to merit their own category separate from the more general historical events of Napoleon's reign; together they more than doubled the paintings of Greco-Roman history. Although classical history painting was not exactly banished from the Salons, it had come upon a nemesis in renderings of the contemporary.

This proliferation of paintings of contemporary history, needless to say, was not cause for unanimous rejoicing. Noting that antiquity was customarily, but not necessarily, the domain of history painters, A.-L. Castellan endorsed the contemporary in history painting (he had to, writing as he was for the official *Moniteur universel*) with the important disclaimer that artists needed to be particularly cautious of excessive detail, which would send history painting plummeting to the depths of genre. His designation of choice for contemporary history painting, "le genre historique nationale"--although he is using the word "genre" in the sense of "mode" rather than "genre painting"--would in any case suggest he felt compelled to create a category that distinguished his object of discussion from *tableaux d'histoire*, understood in Academic circles as Greco-Roman history.⁸ Meanwhile, writers who reserved their most favorable criticism for antique histories (generally those whose

politics clashed with Napoleon's) protested that the Salons were filling up with *tableaux d'apparat*--the pejorative term adopted for grandiose paintings of Imperial events, literally "pomp paintings," although through usage it came to refer to official commissions in general. The *tableaux d'apparat* were, according to Charles Landon, visible in such large quantities because they required little in terms of skill, and talent was rarer than ever. He wrote:

The *tableaux d'apparat*, in the style more properly called historical, present much fewer difficulties than subjects of action and pathos. The latter require a profound knowledge of the passions; the former, on the contrary, seem to require nothing but a lively, abundant imagination, subject even to certain caprices.⁹

"Abundant imagination" in history painting was less than a recommendation in the minds of adherents of history-for-history's-sake. Landon's critical ally Quatremère de Quincy lamented that Napoleon's artistic dictatorship, as he saw it, stripped history painting of its poetry, sending "its paintbrushes running after armies. . . and travelling through bivouacs."¹⁰ Together Landon and Quatremère would, in 1812, attempt a scheme that permitted the retention of a genre hierarchy while removing any suggestion that one form of history painting was more important than another. History painting would thus include all genres "which have man as the principal object of imitation: history properly speaking, family scenes, portraits, battles, etc."; landscape and still life were kept as separate categories. While such a bulk category aimed to dispel notions of Napoleonic events having triumphed as history's most prevalent incarnation,¹¹ it also made it impossible for Landon and Quatremère to escape placing history painting ("properly speaking") and genre painting side by side.

Nor could they escape statistics. But perhaps to their good fortune, the

overwhelming number of paintings of contemporary events in the Salons of the Empire did not allow for consistently grandiose proportions, and many of these history paintings were small-scale scenes of Napoleonic genre. Reasons for this are many and complex. One reason historical easel-paintings began to fill the Salons is that artists could not afford, uncommissioned, to embark on works of Davidian proportions, but still hoped to win government support in return for devoting their efforts to the regime. But that only accounts for some of the small historical works newly populating the Salons, for in fact many of these works *were* actually commissioned by the government; historical genre was more than just a way for artists to parade their skills in the hope that larger commissions were on the horizon. Furthermore, even some of the most immense paintings on view at the Salons engage the vocabulary of historical genre.

Critics, meanwhile, often gave scenes of Napoleonic genre a long section in their Salon reviews. They had, really, little choice, for genre painting had quite literally taken over as the painted version of oral history, as compared to David's lengthy historical tomes. Thus, for example, a critic in 1808, welcoming the fact that "this year is no less rich in paintings of genre and landscape than in history paintings and portraits," moved immediately from a discussion of David, Gros, and Gérard, to the Napoleonic genre painters Taunay, Roëhn, and Louis-Léopold Boilly.¹² Another writer created a category in and of itself, *histoire en petit*, in an approving critique of Taunay's specialty;¹³ and another still, saying David's monumental *Distribution of the Eagle Standards* exhausted itself with grandeur, determined that "great events are

not always the most appropriate to painting, and it is often the case that the picturesque is not directly proportional to the importance of the object."¹⁴ A broad critical space was opened for historical genre in the telling of Napoleonic events; and where later in the century, the infelicitous "invasion" of genre painting would become something of a critical obsession for traditionalists, historical genre painting was for many critics under the Empire a welcome arrival--and for the arts administration itself, a necessary tactic. Had the monumental and moralizing become tiring? Or had history, obeying Revolutionary ideals of educational democracy, developed a new strategy? As early as the competition in 1801 for the *Battle of Nazareth*, the Napoleonic arts administration had encouraged the anecdotal in the telling of history, aiming to impress upon viewers the magnetic appeal of historical figures rather than the historical veracity of their feats. While, as in the case of Gros, anecdote was one way to avoid direct historical exposition, it was also a viewer-friendly means of transmitting Napoleon's image, a language that pretended Napoleon was an accessible leader who spoke eye-to-eye with all his subjects, a kind of concession to the average citizen with implications not unlike those of the Legion of Honor: everyone gets a chance in Napoleonic France.

The splitting of historical consciousness under the Empire bore itself out in writing, theater, painting, fashion.¹⁵ This division has many possible nomenclatures, among others classical versus romantic, monumental versus private, scholarly versus anecdotal. We could use "classical versus romantic" as something of a broad (but potentially unwieldy) heading, so long as the term "classical" does not get confused

with "antique;" that is, we should bear in mind that classical representation does not always entail scenes of Greco-Roman antiquity. As Robert Rosenblum has shown, classicism involves such a broad range of thematic categories (from the didactic to the erotic, the epic to the mythological) as to only with difficulty constitute a "style." Yet the type of moralistic, heroic classical painting--Rosenblum's famous "exemplum virtutis"--that seemed to most represent academic doctrine bore little relevance to the insistently contemporary nature of Napoleonic commissions; in Rosenblum's words, "Napoleonic art marked the epic swansong of the *exemplum virtutis*."¹⁶ The erasure of the monumental and didactic from the presentation of history, in favor of the dazzling and charismatic, rendered even more distant the paradigm of antiquity.

However the term "classical" refers also to a historical idiom encompassing a symbolic and often arcane language of representation that remained intact among artists like David and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867), even when painting contemporary history. Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* (fig. 15, 1806) might be considered a classical historical text rather than a "portrait," for its sitter is entirely lacking in idiosyncrasy and signs of self. But if the symbolically saturated image is to be understood as a portrait, it is one, foremost, of historical ancestry. Scholars disagree as to whether the painting resulted from an official commission or Ingres's own daring, not to mention costly, venture to win the government's notice.¹⁷ We know that the painting was, in any case, purchased by the Corps Législatif, the puppet legislature established by the Constitution of Year VIII (the same constitution that outlined Bonaparte's entitlements as First Consul);

while the fact that it was bought *before* its exhibition at the Salon of 1806 is suggestive of an official commission, Ferdinand Boyer's research on the Palais Bourbon (where the Corps Législatif had its offices) indicates that Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* was complete before any members of the legislature knew it existed.¹⁸ Not insignificantly, the painting was exhibited a year before the Civil Code so often considered Napoleon's contribution to modern legislation (although he didn't write it) was renamed the Code Napoléon; this, as Jonathan Ribner has shown, corroborated the fiction of Napoleon's authorship¹⁹ and, in the spirit of sturdy dictatorship, created a metonymic link between the concept of law and one man's name. Napoleon is said to have described the ideal legislature as "impassive, having neither eyes nor ears for what surrounds it."²⁰ Apparently the Corps Législatif was able to at least *buy* its eyes and ears, ready-made. In 1814, Napoleon would dismiss the Corps Législatif with an angry diatribe, saying "I am the throne"²¹—a neat refurnishing of Louis XIV's famously authoritarian dictum "I am the State."

Either claim virtually oozes from Ingres's Napoleon. Devoid of sensation or private musings, he becomes a stark historical symbol in permanence, as unquestionably immutable as the halo-like throne with which his impassive form seems fused. Salon critics complained that the likeness was poor,²² but likeness seems positively irrelevant in what is less a representation of somebody, more a representation of something, or things, attesting to the sitter's historical legitimacy. Napoleon's achievements are retrieved only by laboriously sifting through the artifacts over which he presides as defiantly as an antiquarian with his most prized, age-valued

objects. He is heir to a Roman crown of laurels, Charlemagne's sword, Charles V's scepter,²³ and a Renaissance lace ruff that, in such a dynastic context, evokes the image of Henri IV. Norman Bryson has traced a compelling path through Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* as a palimpsest of historical eras from antiquity, through Byzantium, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. However, in Bryson's words, this "trope of synecdoche or totality" was something of an ironic art historical joke in which Ingres proclaimed his "personal immunity from the hazard of influence."²⁴ A perhaps less probing analysis might suggest that Ingres's totalizing art historical view is one that insists, immodestly, on his inheritance of and dominance over tradition; indeed as an image of propaganda, this is certainly a necessary implication regarding the painting's sitter, whose historical imperialism is testified to by the very same symbolic pluralism signifying Ingres's iconographical literacy.

But the picture is so loaded with Christian symbolism and references to past rulers that, upon over-examination, the historical ideal of clarity is eclipsed by a search for meaning. Of course the overall authoritative message is perfectly transparent; but any viewer in search of more than mere propaganda would be compelled to question the painting's accretion of symbolic detail. A haphazard decipherment might proceed like this: the hand of justice pointing to the painting's upper right forms a diagonal link to the scales (the zodiac sign for Libra) at lower left; Napoleon has brought justice to France. Moreover: the hand of justice is the hand of a blessing Christ Enthroned (it has been pointed out elsewhere that the image

as a whole recalls God the Father in Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*²⁵); Napoleon is God. Furthermore: the sword of Charlemagne—who was crowned Emperor by the Pope, thus founding the Holy Roman Empire—refers to both Napoleon's own coronation as Emperor, and his holy act of restoring religion to France with the Concordat. However: the cross on Napoleon's chest is not a Christian symbol, but rather the five-pointed cross of the Legion of Honor; Napoleon is a secular hero who has created a system of distinction for the citizens of France. Then: the eagle on the rug is a Roman emblem of military victory, the attribute of Jupiter, and a Christian symbol of the Ascension; Napoleon is god of war, god of all mythological gods and, yet again, *the* God. And on and on through a profusion of symbol: but wouldn't this iconographical parade just overwhelm the viewer unarmed with a few reference books and an insatiable taste for symbols of the past? In what is by far the most in-depth reading of *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne*, John Connolly has decoded the painting's intensively astrological scheme (including the zodiac signs on the carpet and seven stars on Napoleon's throne) to determine that, in fact, the image represents Napoleon on a particular date: 2 December 1804, when he was crowned Emperor in the church of Notre Dame.²⁶ Connolly's argument is thoroughly convincing from an art historical perspective, although it is unlikely that the average Salon viewer possessed such astrological acuity, not to mention patience with Ingres's labyrinthine methods. The specific narrative proposed by Connolly—that Ingres's painting represents the Emperor on Coronation Day—would have been lost upon all but a classically educated cabal.

The complicated rhetoric of Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* is proof that the arts under Napoleon were not entirely motivated by a search for historical legibility. But the loss of the monumental which can be traced through the nineteenth century has singularly profound roots in painting under Napoleon. History's other side—or one of its other sides—found its most prevalent form in the intimate, anecdotal paintings of the so-called Troubadour Style. The Troubadour Style was a highly nationalistic one, narrating France's past as one-act plays, fable-sized romances loaded with decorative, microscopically rendered archaeological detail. Artists such as Pierre Révoil and Fleury-François Richard painted the private moments, or less momentous moments, in the lives of history's players: the domestic lives of kings (Charlemagne, François I^{er}, and Henri IV making the most frequent appearances), chivalric love stories, or the schooling of the clergy.

The advent of the Troubadour Style has been traced to historical illustrations of the eighteenth century, having accompanied such poetic historical epics as Voltaire's *Henriade*, a text seen by some as the clarion call to a new historical aesthetic.²⁷ Indeed the Troubadour Style has even been looked upon as Neoclassicism's opposite and the origin of French Romanticism.²⁸ However we choose to identify its placement within an art historical lineage, the style's popularity in painting under Napoleon signals that the non-classical past, that is to say France's own evolution as a modern nation, carried enormous weight in the construction of a cultural identity. Francis Haskell has proposed that Napoleon—having named himself Emperor in the wake of Revolution—had a specific political use for the monarchical

history of France:

Upstart Emperors. . . always needed to find ancestors, and Napoleon could hardly look to the leaders of Republican Rome for his. Indeed Napoleonic imagery runs entirely against the current of revived antiquity, and from the moment he was crowned he did everything he could to link his reign with that of earlier French kings . . . Charlemagne above all.²⁹

By what Haskell calls scenes "more meaningful to contemporaries than the iconography of Greece and Rome,"³⁰ Napoleon aimed to further establish a sense of French nationalism, and to define a more believable lineage between heroes of the past and himself. But Napoleon had, of course, politics to fear, and the Empire's partial eschewal of antiquity was as much about avoiding reference to republics and revolution, about "combatting the excessive admiration that the moderns have maintained for the Romans,"³¹ as it was about finding historical subjects that would appeal to national sentiment. The uncertainties involved in deciding which lineage most suited Napoleon are effectively evoked in, once again, David's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (fig. 4). "Karolus Magnus" just barely hugs the bottom edge of the canvas; Charlemagne remains a candidate for ancestry. However, in the name "Annibal" the initial letter *A* and the first *n* have been severed to near illegibility. He who combatted the Romans, though unsuccessfully, makes a bid at ancestry, if only to lie at Napoleon's feet; but antiquity must ultimately be cut from the historical picture.

The Troubadour Style's political usefulness to Napoleon, beyond the question of French nationalism, was undeniably fused with redefining the language of history and the regime's need to settle upon a propagandist formula more effective for those who might have been left unmoved by works like Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial*

Throne. Without doing a full-fledged study of the Troubadour painters (the subject of highly informative books by Marie-Claude Chaudonneret and François Pupil),³² two mechanical aspects of Troubadour painting must be addressed: its intensive, realistic detail, and its reliance on anecdote in the telling, or invention, of history. That this set of stylistic and thematic criteria is so completely at odds with neoclassical norms is particularly worthy of consideration given the fact that the best-known of the Troubadour Style's representatives, Révoil and Richard, were both students of David. Like Gros, they turned their backs on their education without suffering official reproof: the Empress Josephine collected them avidly,³³ Denon (and his successor under the Restoration the Comte de Forbin) regarded them with the highest esteem,³⁴ and critics--of course not all--were lured by their novelty.

Richard's *François I^{er} and the Queen of Navarre* (fig. 16, 1804) was, like Gros's *Jaffa*, a magnet for audiences, suggesting to critics an enormous shift in the qualifications for history painting. The painting depicts a casually seated François I^{er} directing his sister to a window upon which he has just used his diamond to etch the following: *Souvent femme varie, Bien fol est qui s'y fie* (Often fickle is woman, more fool is he who trusts her), a couplet which the *livret* explains was once visible on a stained glass window at the Château de Chambord.³⁵ The painting's simple historical narrative is a matter of friendship between royal siblings and a proverb that was, at least to those who shared Napoleon's notorious disdain for female intellect (most famously in the case of Madame de Staël), witty. Such a private familial incident might speak to any viewer with siblings; whether or not he or she could read

the *livret* was of little import to what is clearly a scene of private mirth. Whether viewers knew the details of François I^{er}'s reign had no bearing on the picture's decipherment. As one critic said, Richard's work had "the advantage of speaking to the spirit and the memory of the French"³⁶--and spirit and memory, whether founded in advanced knowledge of history or romantic nostalgia for the age of chivalry, were the substance of nationalist pride.

Yet the undemanding simplicity of Richard's theme does not in any way condemn him as a simplistic painter, and works such as *François I^{er} and the Queen of Navarre* are flawless explorations of perspective, decorative detail, and texture. As one writer suggested, Richard could have followed an artistic path more conducive to perceived greatness: "M. Richard could just as well, and better than many others, give himself over to the composition of *grandes machines*; surely he lacks neither the instruction, nor the imagination." But there was only so much need--and only so much wall-space--for *grandes machines*, and the small historical paintings of Richard served a different, and important, function. The critic continued, in the passage previously cited:

The dispositions of his hand and of his vision brought him to excel in the imitation of gothic interiors. . . scenes which could take place behind the walls of an old monastery, or beneath the stronghold of those old castles, which the eye of the traveler will see no more. . . The charm of his subjects [is that they are] so national, so touching, so happy for the French.³⁷

Troubadour painting savored the pleasures of beholding one's unseen historical past, targeting nationalist sensibilities and impressing viewers with perfect imitation--or in any case, appearing to imitate perfectly. Virtuositic imitation was at the core of even

one as stoutly opposed to digressions from the *beau idéal* as Quatremère de Quincy. The central principle of his *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts* (1823) is that imitation in the arts must satisfy two conditions: merit and pleasure, or accurate mimesis and artistic virtuosity, without falling into "servile realism." To illustrate the difference between simple resemblance and artistic imitation, Quatremère proposed the following: if a room contains a vase on a table, and we look to another part of the room to see the same vase on a table just like the first, we might not even remark on the similarity, or in any case will not be impressed. However, if a painter reproduces the vase and table on canvas, "there will be, in this type of resemblance, a new virtue which will fix our gaze."³⁸ Quatremère attempted to simplify his technical fascination with the mimetic function of art thus: "Suffice it to say that the image is nothing but an appearance of the represented object," then turned his argument away from vases and tables to what he considered the most essential site of artistic imitation, the human body.³⁹ Yet his subsequent devaluation of material objects does not discount the premise of his thesis: that viewers derive aesthetic pleasure in the presence of what appears to be an accurate copy of reality.

Painters like Révoil and Richard (we shall continue with the latter example) do no less than stun the eyes with their tangible recreations of apparent artifact.

François I^{er} and the Queen of Navarre puts on display the furnishings of a Renaissance château, the stained glass and intricately carved wooden chair and desk constructed with such convincing surface and craftsmanship that their situation as

"appearances of the represented objects"--rather than the objects themselves--is suspended until we catch ourselves in reverie. Such an attempt to obliterate any sign that representation is at work is the ultimate gesture of Richard's own Romantic historical desire; by virtuosic imitation of objects he created a bond between himself and his work, while his historical inventiveness takes on the veneer of reality.⁴⁰

Realism is an artistic effect, and especially in history, the attempt to suppress all traces of an author is, in itself, a stylistic gesture of truthfulness. Analysis of Richard's methods calls to mind Roland Barthes's famous term "reality effect," designating "superfluous details" which amplify the illusion of truth in a narrative, either historical or fictive, without being integral to the events being told.⁴¹

Barthes's ingenious term has often been misconstrued as a code for objectivity; yet Barthes makes clear that the reality effect denotes the author's aesthetic positioning within the work, pointing to the truth of what is being told while luxuriating in the tools of his or her craft. The stunning illusionism of Richard's interior both establishes the authenticity of the depicted objects, and acts as a call to admiration: a seamless alliance between historicity and artistry.

A fundamental precept in history painting is "accurate detail." But when a painter like Richard confirmed the historicity of his work by way of polished visual claims to historical accuracy, it is the vivid representation of objects that ensures their being perceived as truth--when they may easily be anything but. Realistic detail, like a footnote in a written text, is a claim to having a valid, impersonal backup--a "source." A painter such as David might have sought out classical fragments at the

Capitoline in Rome, copied them into his sketchbook, then assembled them into an ideal, in other words an aggregate of history's most physically and morally attractive elements. Révoil and Richard haunted the historicized rooms and fragment collections that made up Alexandre Lenoir's Musée des monuments français,⁴² poured over manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale and, using the techniques of their teacher, could just as easily construct artifacts piece by piece. But how can those historical sources be cited within a painting? Is there anything to suggest, in examining Richard's painting, that the table upon which François I^{er} rests his elbow is a studied representation of an actual table (upon which the king may or may not have rested his elbow) once housed at Chambord? If Chaudonneret's identification is correct, the furnishings in Richard's painting were actually copied from a medieval manuscript⁴³-but all the same their visual authenticity makes them seem historically authentic as well. This is not to say Richard "cheated" history; the point, rather, is that while historians might feel it incumbent upon them to check for the artist's sources--whether Chaudonneret, or a Salon visitor who was a specialist in Renaissance history--how many viewers would have even thought to doubt Richard's archaeological accuracy? Such details, accurate or not, documented or not, create a convincing illusion of reality; the past derives its allure from being a site of spectacle rather than a site of events.

The object fascination or antiquarianism of the Troubadour Style, or the growth of the actual antiquarian profession in the early nineteenth century, has been developed by Bann as a major factor in the historical mindedness so crucial to

concepts of Romanticism. The replacement of the monumental by the antiquarian saw the decorative infiltrate, and even subvert, the didactic.⁴⁴ What, then, was to happen to history painting's value as a device of moral or historical instruction? While the Eyckian object fascination in Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne*, or his even more "Flemish" portrait of *Bonaparte as First Consul* (1804), is a historicizing tool in the service of an authoritative and ancestral rhetoric, how did painters of historical genre under the Empire safeguard the believability of their works as representations of history? The Troubadour painters' reliance on hyper-realistic archaeological detail, I've suggested, provided a kind of scientific grounding that gave their paintings the historical power of researched fact. But this has only to do with costumes and furnishings--the stage set. The representation of the human figure in the works of the Troubadour painters is another matter altogether: miniature people who reveal the artists' dedication to manuscripts or illustrated books. Richard's François I^{er} and Queen of Navarre were modeled on historical, or artistic, sources--Titian for the king, any number of male or female representations by Leonardo da Vinci⁴⁵ for the queen--then were turned into animated miniatures of a delightfully lyrical naivete. As for the stories they tell, how were the performances of these Renaissance actors to be given historical validity? Did it even matter? The critic cited earlier notes that Richard's realm of thematic expertise was in scenes that *could* take place [des scènes qui se peuvent placer] *within* the walls [dans l'enceinte] or *beneath* the stronghold [sous la place forte] of places that the eye of the voyager will see no more [que l'oeil du voyageur n'apercevra plus]: a series of intimations regarding the hiding and burial

of history, our blindness before the past, and the necessary condition of conjecture about events that *could have* taken place. Based on, in the case of *François I^r and the Queen of Navarre*, an inscription on a window, a painting of king and queen engaging in friendly banter in a room of a chateau becomes history, simply by virtue of its being represented. Based on, in the case of Richard's *Henri IV Visiting Gabrielle d'Estrées* (1810),⁴⁶ Voltaire's fantastic *Henriade*, a story of Henri IV coming to see his loved one (only to find another male caller hiding under the bed, to whom the gallant king offers bread and jam) becomes history, simply by virtue of its romantic appeal. Viewers' historical awareness was sublimely irrelevant to their vulnerability before Richard's alluring historical dreams.

Historicity in Troubadour painting was a matter of visual realism, narrative ease, and—perhaps most significantly—entertainment. Its anecdotes could shed interest on history for the masses who might find oaths, edicts, and ceremonies less than enjoyable subjects for pictures. It was, at least in part, a question of education; speaking generally, Wrigley points out that "the extraordinary vogue for genre paintings was explained by the public's untutored ability to identify with them."⁴⁷ But although Troubadour painting and other forms of anecdotal history began to fill the Salons of the Empire, the search for an uncomplicated form of historical presentation had earlier been apparent in such Revolution-inspired educational texts such as P.N. Chantreau's *De l'importance de l'étude de l'histoire* of 1802, which made clear that "private life" was an essential component of the history of peoples.⁴⁸ A writer for the *Bulletin de Paris*, reviewing a new edition of the unedited letters of

Henri IV, pointed out that the writing of "private history" dates as far back as Plutarch, who eloquently proved that "it is less on the battlefield and in great political moments that the hero must be studied, than in scenes of private life."⁴⁹ The Napoleonophilic writers of 1805, Beaunoir and Dampmartin, summarized the advantages of privatized history in the most revealing of ways:

The historian. . . has the right to embellish the facts he recounts. He judges men. . . he sees through their palaces, he enters their tents, he opens their closets, he slips into the very interior of their homes, he strips them of their entire entourage, he guesses their thoughts, he gets out of them their secrets.⁵⁰

Was history acceptably a matter of "embellishment" and "guessing?" The portrayal of the little known, or undocumentable, suggested that historians had inside knowledge; their works would most likely be taken as truth by a public who felt ill-equipped to argue with history or, in the case of painting, disinclined to contradict the erudition of its artistic heroes. Avoiding allusion to indubitable fact, the privatized, literary approach of anecdotal history could support the notion of historical truth by virtue of, not in spite of, its seemingly ahistorical status. Such was the assumption behind the Napoleonic genre to be examined next: the less loaded with history's "scientific" points (as opposed to human), the less encumbered by treaties, specific battle sites, specific historical paraphernalia, the more likely a story was to be absorbed into the public spirit—by word of mouth, by popular press, by pictures.

The Troubadour painters' small-scale historical romances and miniaturist realism had a very clear counterpart in paintings of contemporary events. In his report on the Salon of 1810, Denon wrote the following to Napoleon regarding the remarkable number of paintings of a new genre that he considered particularly

French:

It's anecdotal history, or the representation of characters whose historical lives make us want to get close to them and to know their private life, a genre that we could call "noble comedy" or "painting drama." Monsiau can almost be looked upon as the creator of this genre: he has since been equalled and even surpassed by Richard, Bergerer, Roëhn, Mulard, Madame Auzou, Laurent, Maingeot. . . and this year in particular by Révoil.⁵¹

Denon chose as the finest example of anecdotal history Révoil's *Charles V with François I^r*. Yet Denon's "anecdotal history" was not just a matter of painting the past, for he also named Adolphe Roëhn (1780-1867). Although Roëhn did paint a few works based on Medieval history (just as Révoil and Richard painted Napoleon), he won acclaim at the Salons and strong government support for small-scale paintings of Napoleonic genre: military hospitals, campsites, meetings between Napoleon and his men in candlelit barracks--journalistic variants on the Medieval and Renaissance fables that flourished under the Empire. The formal qualities of his Napoleonic paintings were cause for commentaries that had been previously reserved for artists like Richard or Révoil. Roëhn's book-illustration-like figures and honed Flemish realism, for some, prompted positive characterizations of his "preciously finished detail."⁵² Another critic, remarking with satisfaction that Roëhn was a member of the same class of artists as Taunay and Louis-Léopold Boilly, pronounced that Roëhn "imitates all his accessories with great truth; but his figures are incorrectly drawn, and rarely grouped artfully."⁵³ But if realistic accessories and "artless" figures were Roëhn's specialty, such characteristics seemed to have had a publicly appealing precedent in the Troubadour painters, and would play a significant role in the popularization of the Napoleonic legend.

In his Salon showings between 1800 and 1806, Roëhn exhibited scenes from the Old Testament and Dutch-style genre paintings including a market, a tooth-extraction, and a fair (the latter of which was bought for Josephine's collection).⁵⁴ At this point an artist of no single thematic conviction, Roëhn sought out patronage and, like many, government sponsorship by dipping his brush into military themes, such as his *Soldiers' Rest-Stop* of 1804. In 1801 Roëhn had entered the competition, ultimately won by Gros, for the *Battle of Nazareth*; his sketch went entirely unnoticed but for a critic who, saying "it was understood by no one," called it "a big canvas representing nothing but two or three episodes."⁵⁵ Yet after a few more years of painting and exhibition experience, Roëhn earned recognition in the form of a *prix d'encouragement* for his entry in the 1807 competition for *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau*.⁵⁶ As an artist who began his career painting rustic genre, as a painter of unknown origins in a sea of David's progeny,⁵⁷ and as a man who, unlike Gros, was not personally acquainted with Napoleon, Roëhn's bids for *grandes machines* like *Nazareth* and *Eylau* had little chance for success. He instead became something of a runner-up-in-residence which, although playing such a part would seem to require the steady accompaniment of a plaintive second fiddle, kept him gainfully occupied. From his *Eylau* prize on, Roëhn had continuous official endorsement, from Denon's invitation to the 1808 Salon opening attended by David and Gros, to regular commissions for the *moyens tableaux* needed for Salon series based on the Emperor's military campaigns, and their subsequent administrative purchases. Roëhn was the standard of the artistic middle-class under the Empire: he

received a mid-sized salary for mid-sized Napoleonic paintings (ranging from 125 x 152 to 238 x 186 centimeters)⁵⁸—the most visible population in canvas society, themselves somewhere in the middle between the categories of history and genre. But Roëhn's middle-class status (tempting the use of the much-debated term *juste milieu*) as a painter was not necessarily a reflection of whom his paintings addressed; and the anecdotal simplicity of his Napoleonic genre paintings, it could be argued, targeted the poor and uneducated as part of an all-encompassing historical project—in and of itself a *grande machine* which needed smaller paintings of Napoleon the man to mitigate and democratize the grandiose image of Napoleon the Emperor.

Roëhn's name first started to appear frequently in reviews of the Salon of 1808, with his *Military Hospital of the French and Russians at Marienbourg*, commissioned in 1807, along with larger works by Gérard and Guérin, for a series of paintings based on the Prussian and Polish campaigns.⁵⁹ Roëhn's *Military Hospital* was a heart-warming claim to wartime camaraderie between the wounded French and enemy Russians, who shared the same space in a temporary hospital after the battle of Friedland. The enemy soldiers were, according to a writer for the *Journal de Paris*, "brought closer by their pain. . . yielding to mirth despite their suffering."⁶⁰ Echoing the same conviction that "after combat, we are enemies no more, especially when suffering," another critic suggested that if painting always treated such subjects, "the results would all be to humanity's advantage."⁶¹ Of course a successful entry in a project commemorating Napoleon's gains could be neither grim nor gory (although Gros's *Eylau* makes us wonder), even when a hospital for the war-mutilated was the

subject; but indeed the *Military Hospital's* caricatural good cheer, and the responses it engendered, proposed that war was a happy way to make friends.

Such a supposition was implicit in Roëhn's other Napoleonic entry of 1808, *Napoleon and Alexander I on the Niemen*, depicting the negotiations before the signing of the Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807) between the Russians and the French in the wake of Friedland;⁶² it was this treaty that, if only temporarily, established a peace among France and all of the Continent, with a promise from Alexander I to mediate in peace talks with England.⁶³ Roëhn's painting, perhaps rightfully, did not attract a great deal of attention; it appears only half-finished, the work of an artist unsure of himself, with a tiny, dwarflike Napoleon floating rather helplessly in a composition much too big for itself. But by 1810, Roëhn seems to have found his element in Napoleonic genre scenes, and met huge Salon success with his *Napoleon's Bivouac on the Battlefield of Wagram, Night of July 5 - 6 1809* (fig. 17). The painting, along with a *Bombardment of Vienna* by Louis Bacler d'Albe (a battle painter frequently engaged by the government), was among the smaller canvases in a series of twelve paintings commissioned in 1809 to commemorate the Austrian campaign, for exhibition at the next year's Salon; among the *grands tableaux* for the project were works by Carle Vernet, Pierre-Narcisse Guérin, and Jean-Baptiste Debret.⁶⁴ The government bought Roëhn's *Wagram* and by 1811 it was hanging in the Grand Salon de l'Empereur in the Grand Trianon, Versailles.⁶⁵

The battle of Wagram was fought by a tired French army that had crossed the Danube after forty-three days of camping on the island of Lobau under very

unpleasant conditions; bread lacking, the soldiers were forced to kill some of their horses for food.⁶⁶ When compared to the utterly shattering triumph at the battle of Austerlitz in 1805—often regarded as the quintessence of Napoleonic strategy—the French victory at Wagram was an unexciting matter; not wanting to lose more men, the Austrian commander withdrew, but Napoleon’s cavalry was dwindling, making pursuit impossible. With body count so often the means of gauging victory, Napoleon was easily able to claim having won at Wagram;⁶⁷ the event’s depiction, however, was best left to Napoleon’s roadside bivouac on the night between the battle’s two stages. Roëhn’s painting shows Napoleon by the camp fire, arms folded as he naps among his maps, his officers looking on in quiet admiration. The painting’s title, but not its content, explicitly documents location—apparently the battlefield at Wagram—and date—apparently early July, although the fire and blanketed, cloaked figures would suggest unusual meteorological conditions for the Summer of 1809 (the second day of the battle was particularly sweltering, exhausting the troops and making further efforts at pursuing the Austrians impossible).⁶⁸ The act of documentation itself is inscribed within the work, where at left Marshal Berthier (a.k.a. the Prince de Neufchâtel) is seen writing a report or letter. Apart from this, documentation and historical detail cease to exist; the date could be any, the place could be any, a moment of history whose reading makes no demands on the viewer to identify, memorize, or even know what happened at Wagram in the first place. Instead we are presented with a behind-the-scenes view of a tired leader who, like anyone else, needs rest. Although certainly the Caravaggesque lighting and halo-like effect of the smoke

behind Napoleon's seated form have vaguely Christian associations (Jean Tulard has called this painting the "Agony in the Garden, in reverse"),⁶⁹ the work is decidedly lacking in authoritative evocations. Napoleon is a shadow slouching low in the composition; anything but the Emperor Enthroned, he is humbly outdone by the grandeur of his officers' uniforms. Rather than cataloging the facts of a battle at Wagram, Roëhn's *Bivouac at Wagram* commemorates a private moment *between* the acts of history. It is, effectively, a historical parenthesis. It is, literally, history asleep. Such a seeming non-moment, however, is substantiated by Roëhn's microscopic detail, particularly in the uniforms--doll-like miniatures in history's new clothes. Critics went on at length about Roëhn's vivid lighting effects, the evocative mixture of flame and haze, and how Napoleon's profile was immediately recognizable despite his being in shadow.⁷⁰ But none felt the need to explain the theme any further than "the Emperor is resting;" the battle of Wagram as a contemporary historical event was left untouched. Long descriptions in Salon *livrets* or reviews were perceived as necessary for complex paintings that aimed to present the details, and the official version, of history; as Ducray-Duminil pointed out regarding Gros's *Battle of the Pyramids*, such textual reliance in the clarification of history painting could only leave the illiterate in something of a historical fog. But Roëhn's theme needed no subtitles or summary in the *livret*, while his highly finished visual realism was a sufficient validation of the painting's historical status, compensating for the absence of historical particulars--potentially intimidating to those not entirely in touch with current events, potentially controvertible to those who were.

In his *De l'état des beaux-arts en France et du Salon de 1810*, François Guizot singled out Roëhn's *Bivouac at Wagram* as a painting that was accessible to the masses by virtue of its simple clarity:

[It] strikes the most simple of spectators, while giving food for thought to the most learned . . . M. Roëhn would have been wrong to give his figures a heroic stature; the scene would have shrunken, and thus the impression that it makes weakened. . . for, no matter what one says about it, a badly ordered composition is a big, very big defect in a painting that is made to be seen, and made to be seen clearly.⁷¹

Throughout his study, Guizot submits that painters should avoid exaggerated dedication to the rules of Davidian classicism when painting history; he was particularly opposed to the "over-anatomized" heroic figures resulting from excessive usage of antique statuary in the place of real, human models.⁷² However, where classical idealism was too false, there was also such a thing as too real; Guizot was as perturbed by extravagant heroism as he was by unrestricted realism. The features of the blacks and Arabs in Gros's *Battle of the Pyramids* were, he claimed in a highly Eurocentric vein, "of a repugnant truthfulness,"⁷³ while the "ornamental charlatanism" of painters such as Révoil led him to conclude that "excessive research destroys simplicity."⁷⁴ While Guizot felt realism could have detrimental effects on both beauty and legibility, Roëhn's painting had apparently struck a perfect medium: neither too truthful, nor too ornamental, nicely packaged in a painting that was "made to be seen clearly."

Guizot's appreciation of the easy legibility of Roëhn's painting was rooted in a concern for how pictures should address all Salon visitors regardless of education; such a view was an early incarnation of the Guizot who later would put forth a liberal

notion regarding the rights of all classes to primary education, and would warn that higher education had the potential to create class conflict in the form of intellectual snobbery.⁷⁵ Guizot felt that while art criticism was perhaps best left to the educated, the public was still a factor in the creation of aesthetics. In his discussion of Roëhn's *Bivouac at Wagram*, he reflected: "Paintings are made for those in the know, fine; but supposing only those people judge them, the public has a right to enjoy them; its approval is not as insignificant as we like to say."⁷⁶ While it has been pointed out that the development of anecdotal history under Napoleon is a reflection of the "embourgeoisement of nineteenth-century society,"⁷⁷ history painting also had to reach beyond the *bourgeoisie* to classes that might not have had a secondary education, or barely a primary education. A critic writing two years earlier made an even more pointed commentary on the place of the poor in art-viewing:

It appears that this pleasure [of Salon-going] calls equally to the ignorant and the knowledgeable, although it is not the same for all; I see there workers, artisans, women of the ball, and good peasants who don't miss the occasion to have an opinion completely independent of rules and schools, and sometimes give good council to the fine gentlemen who disdain them.⁷⁸

The Salon was not the domain of intellectuals and middle-class pleasure-seekers alone; the diversity of the Salon public required the formulation of a historical language that could be understood by anybody. Napoleonic historical propaganda had to reach the working classes as well—perhaps especially so, given the important role played by the oppressed and downtrodden, city-dwellers and farmers alike, in the planning of the Revolution. In order to develop an image of Napoleon as popular hero, the stories of Napoleon's goodness and historical worth recounted in paintings had to be accessible

on an all-encompassing public scale. However, it was not simply historical "ease" that was at stake, but historical even-handedness and avoidance of an overtly dictatorial language, all part of the illusion of democracy so important to keeping the populace acquiescent.

Can Roëhn's *genre historique* be considered the type of humanized history desired by educational and historiographic theorists of the period? The soft-spoken, unambiguous message of Napoleon's humanity in his *Bivouac at Wagram* revolves around precisely the kind of language that characterizes the Napoleonic anecdote books. Roëhn's painting is a sentimental camp-ground meditation; an anecdote recounted in *Napoléon Bonaparte, sa vie civile et militaire* (1815) has the Emperor, the evening before the battle of Austerlitz, reflect on the impending loss of his brave soldiers, whom he thinks of as his children⁷⁹ (the much-told story, referred to as "La Veille d'Austerlitz," would later be addressed in an Epinal print modeled directly after Roëhn's *Wagram*).⁸⁰ I am not suggesting a source-relationship—that the writer of the anecdote modelled his work on Roëhn, or that Roëhn based his paintings on specific textual sources; I am proposing, rather, that the anecdote became an accepted substitute for documented fact in both verbal and visual historical imagery. It was, apparently, a much more useful—and infinitely less tedious—tool in the creation of the Napoleonic legend. Making history entertaining and memorable, avoiding obvious and potentially intimidating statements of its political function—what better way to invite witnesses, unsuspecting or otherwise, into its trust? We might easily characterize this approach to history—anecdotal and easy to digest—as propaganda in

democracy's clothing.

Democracy's clothing often came in the form of a *redingote grise* and *petit chapeau*, and one of the most important strategies in the formulation of Napoleon's legend was his incarnation as *petit caporal*. This was actualized in prints and paintings, large and small; a more numerically adept historian might spend a few months compiling statistics on just how many images of Napoleon employ the grey greatcoat and two-cornered hat with, to be sure, a many-digited result. But the *petit caporal* was also a personality type and could therefore be effectively embodied without the well-worn ensemble. Roëhn's *General Bonaparte Receiving the Flags Taken from the Enemy at Millesimo, 13 April 1796* (fig. 18), exhibited in 1812 then bought upon Denon's suggestion for the Grand Trianon at Versailles,⁸¹ commemorates Napoleon's early career, and the inauguration of the legend, with the Italian Campaign of 1796. Seated on a canopied bed, map on his knees, a young and long-haired Bonaparte looks up from his plans as a group of soldiers, headed by General Junot,⁸² bursts into his room to display the day's catch: a spray of enemy flags taken in battle at Millesimo. The historical moment is turned from warfare into an affably conversational bedroom scene. While the youthful troops file in boisterously from the left side of the canvas, Junot appears to be explaining to Bonaparte his version of the day's events. As the two men talk—it would seem at the same time, since Bonaparte's mouth is also open, while he gestures with an elocutionary hand—the soldiers look upward with excited admiration at their newly acquired symbols of conquest, simultaneously trying to prevent the flags from hitting

the ceiling. At right, peering in from another room, is Berthier, once again at work with plume in hand; he and two other men pause over their writing project and cock their ears in the direction of the main scene, apparently listening for additional details.

Like Roëhn's *Bivouac at Wagram*, *Bonaparte Receiving the Flags at Millesimo* is a nocturne of gold and orange alternating with deep shadow. The Flemish lighting plays upon a wandering array of personal details: the maps dropped at Bonaparte's feet, a red leather-bound book with crumpled sheets of paper crammed between its pages, and a dresser, its half-open top drawer intimating that the military strategist was less than orderly in matters of personal linen. Like Flaubert's assortment of piano, barometer, and stacked boxes that Barthes used to illustrate the reality effect,⁸³ such artistic additions promote a documentary ambience, but could be erased without detriment to the central action. The anecdotal minutia of Bonaparte's private persona are in turn confronted by the rumbling military public; such an encounter between Bonaparte and his retinue—in his private quarters, no less—highlights the casual, class-free camaraderie of the *petit caporal* with his men. Taking further the displaced hierarchy of the *Bivouac at Wagram*, Roëhn has cradled the *très petit caporal* in his canopied bed, at the composition's lowest point.

The figural innocence of Roëhn's manner was not, on this occasion, cause for kind words from the Emperor. When he saw Roëhn's *Millesimo* for the first time at Versailles in 1813 (the Russian campaign had kept him from the Salon of 1812), he is said to have snarled "What pig painted me that way?" Not wanting to implicate Roëhn in any porcine parentage, Lauzan, the administrator in charge of room

decoration at the Grand Trianon, responded simply "the painter of Your Majesty's Bivouac at Wagram," implying that Roëhn's *Wagram* would be on some level memorable to the Emperor. Napoleon remarked that Roëhn must have been "asleep when he did this one," and invited Lauzan to refrain from putting similar paintings before his Majesty's eyes.⁸⁴ Either Napoleon felt the image was physically unflattering, or Roëhn had gone too far in his depiction of the now-worldly general, exhausted from his defeat in Russia, as an easy spirit. Roëhn had no further dealings with imperial ire, and his paintings usually found their way into Napoleon's residences: his *Battle of Rivoli* was placed in the Salon des maréchaux at the Tuileries;⁸⁵ the *Military Hospital at Marienbourg*,⁸⁶ along with two Troubadour paintings, were bought for the Grand Trianon.⁸⁷ The *Bivouac at Wagram* too, after the 1810 Salon, had been bought for the Grand Trianon, but within two years was sent to the Manufacture de Sèvres to be copied onto a vase, styled in the Greek manner (fig. 19, 1812);⁸⁸ this left a space to be filled, if only temporarily, by the ill-fated *Millesimo*.

Roëhn was also commissioned to paint the *Entry of the French Army into Dantzic, 27 May 1807* (fig. 20, 1812) for the Cabinet topographique in the Grand Trianon. Of all Roëhn's Napoleonic paintings, *Dantzic* is, apart from its vertical format, the most reminiscent of large-scale military compositions, combining a vast landscape, looming sky, and a regimented, rhythmic pattern of marching bayonets and feathers, flagpoles and church spires. Yet paradoxically, it is also Roëhn's most "Troubadourian" painting of Napoleonic history, with miniature figures overwhelmed

by the precisely detailed, looming Gothic architecture of the Dantzic castle. Roëhn's intense Ruysdael-like luminism magnifies individual bricks on the imposing castle and the minute mechanical workings of the drawbridge the French are about to cross. The minutia-packed focus of *Dantzic*, for an image of a triumphal entry into a conquered city, lacks the pomp and regalia that such an event would seemingly call for, replaced instead by the viewpoint of an eye-witness who watched the scene from just outside the picture plane. Indeed this modest approach to grandeur, while desirable in the small projects which became Roëhn's domain, reflects on his inability to secure commissions for the *grandes machines* of *Nazareth* or *Eylau*. Although Guizot found Roëhn's simple realism just as perfect as Goldilocks eventually found her porridge, Ducray-Duminil thought Roëhn, at times, went beyond decorum, describing his version of *Eylau* as a livid blood-bath which was "let's just say it, really disgusting."⁸⁹ Yet Roëhn's realism (Ducray-Duminil admits that it was only on this one occasion that Roëhn offended) was not intended to convince viewers of the artist's objective historical observation, as might have been the case in the battle paintings of Louis-François Lejeune; rather, Roëhn used it to encourage viewers to believe in the relevance of the represented events to their own lives, allowing them easy entry into an understanding of the present. Rather than painting the entry into Dantzic from a raised viewpoint, a tactic crucial to the process of Lejeune or other painters of contemporary military events, Roëhn depicted the scene at ground-level. And, in a singularly odd twist of historical perspective, the scene is *backwards*, with the figures marching away from the viewer's space as if this were a retreat rather

than a triumphal entry. Only the profile slivers of the minuscule Napoleon (distinguishable by way of his plain bicorne hat amid a sea of plumes) and Marshal Lefebvre (who had engineered the city's capture)⁹⁰ are visible in the tightly packed, faceless brigade. It is not simply the army who turns its back to us, but the small crowd of spectators in the foreground—ostensibly Polish residents, but here given no nationalist identity which would prevent French viewers from equally sharing their spectatorial role; as Dantzig now belonged to France, so its invasion was an act belonging to all the French.

This kind of implied viewer participation in a nationalist crowd mentality is more pronounced in the paintings of Nicolas-Antoine Taunay (1755-1830) and Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761-1845). Taunay, trained in landscape, battle painting, and genre,⁹¹ produced under the Consulate some of the earliest examples of Napoleonic genre: Bonaparte at St. Bernard encouraging an exhausted soldier carrying a cannon wheel; Bonaparte asleep on the campaign trail while his soldiers file quietly by.⁹² Taunay, like Roëhn, was regularly recruited for projects needing *moyens tableaux*, which often allowed for historical anecdote in the midst of the documentary. His *Entry of Napoleon into Munich* (fig. 21, 1808), destined for the Galerie de Diane at the Tuileries,⁹³ is a compositional correlative to Roëhn's *Dantzig*: dominated by sky and architectural detail, the bottom register is a figure-packed display of history and its witnesses. The rigorously compacted regiments file into the city—this time towards the viewer—from the distant city gates at the painting's vanishing point. Merry Bavarians dance, leap, and climb trees as they welcome the arrival of their

benefactor, with whom they would join forces against the Austrians. The foreground is a poignantly disorderly mass of physiognomic types: rosy-cheeked disheveled children, fetching damsels, gruff unkempt men who appear to be tavern regulars. Emerging from the foreground anecdote is a white horse mounted by Napoleon himself, who materializes by way of a visual trail created by a child running straight at him, the bowing gentlemen of the city, and the flourish of his bicorn hat, just removed.

A seemingly confused but contented critic remarked that the *Entry into Munich* placed Taunay among the top ranks of genre painters. He was disinclined to address the disparity of calling Taunay a "genre painter" when the painting in question depicted an actual entry of Napoleon's army into an actual city on an actual day in 1805. Rather, his designation was understood to be self-evident in Taunay's style: "If M. Taunay did not have the fault of taking his figures' expressions to the point of caricature, and if he didn't so often draw in the style of caricature, this painting would be one of the best in the Salon."⁹⁴ In short, the painting would be much improved if Taunay did not paint like Taunay—tantamount, perhaps, to saying that if *Candide* were not so witty, Voltaire might be more easily considered a serious author. J.-B. Boutard, on the other hand, felt caricature *per se* was not a problem, but rather that Taunay, "the most grandiose of our genre painters," tried too hard to adopt a caricatural manner, when in fact his faculties were more refined: "His burlesque subjects wouldn't know how to lend themselves to the elegance of his compositional manner, and for his part he lacks the naivete necessary to treat them

appropriately."⁹⁵ Ducray-Duminil saw this in the reverse: Taunay was *meant* to paint in his own charming way, namely small (at least by comparison to the *grands tableaux* of the Salons), and only failed when he left his element in search of the *grand*, namely battles.⁹⁶ Like Roëhn, Taunay had entered the *Nazareth* competition to no avail;⁹⁷ significantly, Taunay's entry employed a standardized battle painting design, but it was Gros's more anecdotal variant that was chosen above his. In 1830 Quatremère, in his eulogy for Taunay read at the Académie des beaux-arts (when he had no choice but to say good things), would find an insipid compromise, remarking that Taunay had the good grace to know his place, "without lifting his pretensions higher than his means." Quatremère then proceeded to discuss primarily Taunay's early manner, his small historical landscapes: an opportune excuse to ignore Taunay's Napoleonic works, which Quatremère, hating Napoleon and hating Napoleonic painting, could not have lauded without lying.⁹⁸

The problem emerging from this sequence of critiques was what to call Taunay's work--genre or history. He was either made for the first, and so failed at the second, or made for the second, and so sabotaged himself by attempting the first. Based on theme, his element was, at least under Napoleon, definitively history: he painted scenes from actual historical events. But it would seem that Taunay's works were so readily associated with genre for at least two reasons, in addition to their size. The first was their abundant, and apparently improvised, detail--artistic profligacy for academics who believed that incidental detail was the sign of a second-rate, "effeminate" painter.⁹⁹ But, as was the case with the Troubadour painters,

abundant detail had far-reaching prospects in illusions of historical reality; indeed practically any history painting—whether grand-scale or anecdotal, whether based on an officially decreed program or on the painter’s imagination—resorts to detail as either narrative garnish, or narrative underpinning (and, as we saw, Gros’s *Nazareth* met alternately with approbation or condemnation for anecdotes that strayed from the official program). Similarly, improvisation—which, surprisingly, Quatremère found to be Taunay’s forte¹⁰⁰—was a necessary condition for painters who certainly had no first-hand experience of the events they described, let alone the real Napoleon to come and pose for thousands of portraits. Like the neoclassical painters’ sketches of antiquities or Richard’s studies of fragments in the Musée des monuments français, Napoleonic painters had to collect sources, samples of costumes, maps, already-existing images of their subject, and build history from there. The difference, perhaps, was that Taunay’s improvisations appeared more imagined than others.

Another reason why some critics were able to so effortlessly conflate Taunay’s work with genre is the anonymity of his history. Apart from his *Entry into Munich*—which reduced Napoleon to a figurine in green on horseback—Taunay avoided the eminent, instead painting anonymous members of the Grande Armée and street-folk attending to the news of great events. Said another way, his specialty was Napoleonic history without Napoleon. His *French Army Crossing the St. Bernard Pass* (fig. 22, 1808) was commissioned as an overdoor for the Galerie de Diane at the Tuileries, part of a complex and administratively frustrating project for decorating the palace, beginning in 1806 and dragging on through 1813.¹⁰¹ In addition to changes of mind

as to what should go where and who should paint what, the artists seem to have had difficulty meeting deadlines. Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz*, commissioned for the ceiling of the Conseil d'état at the Tuileries, and Taunay's *French Army Crossing the St. Bernard Pass* were slated for the 1808 Salon opening,¹⁰² but did not appear (although Gérard and Taunay, among the group of artists invited by Denon, did). Taunay's *St. Bernard*, showing a wounded soldier tended by locals during the same Alpine crossing commemorated in David's monumental historical portrait, is the quintessence of history's anecdotal side under the Empire. Taunay's small canvas turns a major military move into a simple tale of humanitarian good will, complete with a faithful canine at the ready. The painting is an ode to the sympathy that strangers felt for the travails of soldiers, while soliciting the sympathy of viewers by way of its sentimentality and evocative detail. Each flake of snow falls, drifts, then settles silently upon props of war as picturesque as the robust pines—a microscopic precision that renders the perilous conditions at St. Bernard as tangible as they were legendary. The high detail of Taunay's work was a matter of illusionary historicity, as with the Troubadour painters; but in events closer in time than the Medieval and Renaissance histories of Révoil or Richard, it had the added benefit of creating, for viewers, the sense of being at the scene of action.

The historical benefits of intensive detail were also reaped by writers under Napoleon, perhaps most blatantly François Xavier Pagès; his three-volume, 1056-page history of Bonaparte's Consulate alone, published in 1803, while purporting to be limited to the "important facts," relies on effusively explicit descriptions. His version

of the St. Bernard crossing vividly details the thickness of the brambles over which the armies marched, the consistency of the snow through which they trudged, how the soldiers soaked their biscuits in snow to quench their thirst. All this detail, he explained, is in the interest of bringing readers to the scenes described.¹⁰³ Where descriptions of biscuits, and their anecdotal equivalents, abound in the personal memoirs of Napoleon's soldiers,¹⁰⁴ Pagès's was a "history book"—made only that much more historical by its reliance on what appeared to be first-hand detail.

Memoirs and small-scale history paintings took advantage of history's potential to involve and entertain in order to ingratiate audiences to Napoleon's regime. Despite Napoleon's pictorial absence, he could still be invoked—and in the most sentimental of ways—by pictures of the good men to whom he gave the honor of military service. As picturesque a work as Taunay's *St. Bernard* is his *Crossing of the Sierra de Guadarrama* (fig. 23, 1812) commissioned, as was Roëhn's *Dantzic*, for the Cabinet topographique at the Grand Trianon.¹⁰⁵ Taunay's painting turns what was the crucial move of the invasion of Spain—Tulard calls it the campaign's equivalent of the St. Bernard crossing¹⁰⁶—into an animated vision of soldiers pushing cannons uphill. The painting's most prominent narrative detail, in fact the main event of the foreground, shows an exhausted youth who has dropped to the ground, snatched off his shoe, and is attempting to find temporary solace in an impromptu foot massage. The mysterious and powerful machine of the Grande Armée consists, after all, of humans with the same potential for fatigue and occupational despair as any working French person—and in front of Taunay's *Guadarrama*, history becomes

an obligingly mundane matter.

Taunay also used the appeal of the Napoleonic soldier as a source for paintings of crowds. His *Entry of the Imperial Guard into Paris, Barrière de Pantin, 25 November 1807*¹⁰⁷ (fig. 24, 1810) characterizes the effect of historical spectacle in the lives of the suburban populace. The return of France's brave soldiers from the victories in Poland (to be followed shortly thereafter by departure for a new destination, Spain) lures the top-hatted *bourgeois gentilhomme* and ragged urchins, the demure bonnetted maiden and infant-laden mothers, while local bakers appear on the scene to vend their goods. Everyone loves a parade, whatever the call, and the sense of historical revelry and curiosity in Taunay's painting is generated by the common people; meanwhile, the cause of all this celebration--the army--is pushed to the mid-ground. But perhaps to avoid being accused of having painted a triumph of the people, which would have unaccommodating Revolutionary implications, Taunay gave a large portion of his canvas over to the triumphal arch temporarily installed at the Barrière de Pantin, topped with a laurel-crowned Napoleon and six-horse chariot. While Napoleon had nixed proposals for such self-serving "colifichets" in the case of a triumphal arch after the battle of Marengo, and wanted his statue removed from the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel raised in honor of the Egyptian campaign,¹⁰⁸ he seems to have relinquished his disaffection for architectural flattery in direct proportion to the Empire's stretching circumference. The arch at the Barrière de Pantin was perhaps Paris's answer to Berlin's Brandenburg Gate, through which Napoleon had marched in the year prior. Begun in 1789 as a symbol of national

ambition under the newly crowned Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia, the Brandenburg Gate, to Denon's sycophantic fancy, was the fruit of a German premonition that Napoleon was coming to town: "The Brandenburg Gate," he emoted, "seems to have been erected to serve as a triumphal arch on this occasion."¹⁰⁹ And so, in a particularly audacious act of monument-mutilation, off came its quadriga, taken by the French as a trophy of war.¹¹⁰

Taunay's triumphant entry of the Imperial Guard has a less joyful analogue in Boilly's *Conscripts of 1807 Parading Past the St. Denis Gate* (fig. 25, 1808), showing the drafted rookies who might, one day, return as triumphant guardsmen; for the moment they are en route to an uncertain future. Conscription meant, of course, farewells to home and family, and the onus of possible death on the battlefield—which didn't prevent one patriotic historian from describing it thus:

The braves are revived; the wreckage is reassembled; the conscripts march to the flags that await them. Spectacle, no less honorable than victory! The French armies, triumphant everywhere, are disciplined everywhere, respect order everywhere.¹¹¹

Although "no less honorable" a spectacle than victory, the departure of drafted soldiers was less likely to bring out the bakers than their triumphant return. Boilly's image is a solemn tribute to nameless soldiers, some drinking, many sullen, as they pass before a curious but subdued crowd.

Works like Taunay's *Entry of the Imperial Guard* or Boilly's *Conscripts of 1807* introduce the historical viewpoint of the involved, but not necessarily informed, populace. By documenting popular interest in the events of the day, they proposed that the understanding of current events was not a matter of schooling, but of basic

curiosity—that the citizenry was actively engaged in history’s progress and even supported Napoleon’s campaigns. Boilly’s *Reading of the Bulletin of the Grand Armée* (1808) shows a family reading the official military reports put out by Napoleon as they trace the army’s movements on a map. History is taken into the home to become a family affair, inspiring even a young boy—decked out like a foot-soldier—to want to become a part of history’s process. In works by Taunay or Boilly, Napoleon’s machinations are implied but unseen, his simultaneous presence and invisibility a given for the average citizen. To most, Napoleon’s reality was a matter of monuments—the statue atop the arch at Pantin, a copy of Antonio Canova’s Imperial bust on the mantelpiece in Boilly’s *Reading of the Bulletin*; monuments were then given motion, and the legend a life, in newspapers, in Salon-going, and in talk.

Whether presenting a behind-the-scenes look at Napoleon’s barracks life, a crowd watching the passage of the army, or a few nameless souls around a map as they trace the text of the Bulletin into their own, homemade picture of events, Roëhn, Taunay, and Boilly turned history painting into an expression of the public’s romance with their own historical situation, while impressing upon viewers the myth of Napoleon’s unfaltering public support. From within their homes, on city streets, and of course at the Salons, the public—educated or otherwise—was watching. Susan Siegfried has made a very pointed analysis of Boilly’s *Public in the Salon of the Louvre, Viewing the "Coronation"* (begun 1808)—showing a crowd looking at David’s painting, which itself depicts a crowd looking at the actual coronation—as a two-fold commentary on "viewing as a means of bearing witness to history."¹¹² Viewing,

the very process of looking at images of history, is itself an act loaded with strategies of substantiation: to see is to believe. Taking the case of an uneducated witness, as claimed in the *Journal des arts, des sciences, de littérature et de politique*:

A young man from the provinces was asking yesterday, on the rue du Coq, how to get to the Salon. A practical joker thought it funny to point him towards Martinet's boutique, always surrounded by loiterers busy admiring the new caricatures. He made himself some room and stood a long time before a colored engraving of the *Coronation* which, said he, he imagined much bigger.¹¹³

Whether events were presented in a *tableau d'apparat*, a small historical genre painting, or an engraving at Martinet's¹¹⁴ was altogether irrelevant to these works' ability to function historically; all were, after all, representations, and realness was purely in the eye of the beholder. Our poor provincial believed he was witnessing David's *Coronation*, and by association, the last word on the event itself; the fact that he was looking at nothing but an engraving in a shop window had no bearing on how well he was able to conjure up the historical dream he sought—it was only a little shorter than he had hoped.

Having historical representations both large and small, grandiose and anecdotal, in the same viewing space at the Salon assured that visitors of different social and educational backgrounds would feel embraced by a historical evolution that was, for most, quite out of their hands. But as importantly, it provided for the illusion of historical continuity: between the moments put forth by the *grands tableaux* were the "medium-sized" moments (and many more of them) which kept the foundations of the *grande machine* in perfect harmony. Paintings by David and Ingres, or Gros's uncharacteristic *Bonaparte as First Consul*, were the voice of

authority; those by Roëhn and Taunay, the voice of the nation: all put together, a structured pictorial analogy of democracy, soundly in place. Of course the highly rhetorical pictures of Napoleon in imperial glory risked shattering the balanced mirage—but, then again, no one ever said Napoleon was *not* Emperor, and the Empire produced far more images of him as military hero, benevolent bearer of medical assistance to the wounded, and sensible man of affairs than it did works of an explicitly dictatorial tenor. It may seem inconsistent that so many of these anecdotal paintings—paintings seemingly done for the people—were commissioned for, or bought for, Napoleon's palaces, where the populace would have little chance to go. But the Salon was the locale where painting had its chance to play to an audience. A painting's ultimate destination was quite separate from its power to serve a historical function in public; and historical imagery under Napoleon could engender conversation, verbalizing legend, among the public milling at the Salon—like a library, only louder, filled with so many books from which to choose.

History's monumental and anecdotal consorted on the Salon walls, from one work to the next, or within commissions that were conceived as series of large and medium-sized works. Such bilingualism, however, also found its way into individual works, even those of immense proportions. Works like Gros's *Eylau* pushed history painting to the boundaries of illustration, with its caricatural cadavers and poetical foreground anecdotes through which the viewer must travel in order to reach the main event. Pierre Gautherot's *Napoleon's Speech to the Second Corps on the Lech Bridge* (fig. 26, 1808)¹¹⁵ applies the well-used idiom of speech, and the well-known

character of the *petit caporal*, in a way that first demands that the viewer submit to Napoleon's authoritative gesture, then permits a responsive visual mingling with history. The painting is essentially an over-sized (385 x 620 centimeters) Epinal print in its schematic array of lively saluting soldiers, its simple, unmodulated covering of white, red, black, and blue, and visual gags such as the two men in the left midground, whose faces are deleted by the rhapsodic arms of the soldiers in the foreground.

But it was perhaps Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz* (fig. 27, 1808) that most subtly fused the alternately imperialist and populist voices of the Napoleonic historical machine. Fought on 2 December 1805 (the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation), the decisive victory against the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz would for years be a regular reference point for Napoleon's military ingenuity;¹¹⁶ Napoleon's identity as the "vainqueur d'Austerlitz" would become the standard by which all his actions were judged. One of the many critics who disliked Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* would complain that the blank-eyed portrait lacked the "energetic countenance of the conqueror of Austerlitz,"¹¹⁷ although, to be sure, Gérard's conqueror of Austerlitz is equally wanting in energy, if not altogether lethargic. The painting, part of the same decorating project as Taunay's *Entry into Munich* and *St. Bernard*, was finished and installed on the ceiling of the Conseil d'état at the Tuileries in 1808. It was then taken down so it could be seen at the 1810 Salon where, hanging across from David's *Distribution of the Eagles Standards*, it was at the center of attention. Gérard, of all of Napoleon's artists, has been considered the court

painter *par excellence* because of his painted flattery, particularly in the form of portraiture. But *Austerlitz* leaves imperial adulation completely up to the viewer. The painting is of a distinctly tripartite arrangement; left of center, the excited General Rapp announces the retaliation of the Russian army, forming the anterior of the chaotic mix of Russian soldiers, mamelucks, charging horses, and billowing flags that makes up the left side of the composition. Stretching end to end along the canvas' bottom is a wide strip of military fable, a collage of demolished weaponry and enemy soldiers in various stages of death. We enter the scene by way of a mameluck sprawled on his back, quite literally decapitated by the painting's bottom edge. His feet point the eye to the composition's center: a patch of empty ground. To the right of the void is a stoic Napoleon on a white steed, enveloped by a staid group portrait of institutional calm. As Denon had requested of Gérard in the early stages of the *Austerlitz* project, Napoleon's plain uniform and unadorned hat contrast with his officers plumed and gilded uniforms, molding him into a hero of modesty.¹¹⁸ These three narrative sections demand a rotational reading of objects and figures around the central void; Napoleon becomes the focus of the painting by way of his unassuming presence within it. Rather than conventional measures such as centralizing the Emperor or placing him on higher ground, Gérard asserted the Emperor's authority by manipulating the viewer's gaze through several layers of narrative; viewers are compelled only by the title to seek out Napoleon's form. The anti-presence of Napoleon in Gros's *Eylau*, produced by a disorienting series of anecdotes under, in front of, and next to the Emperor, is taken to a more decisive

conclusion in Gérard's painting.

As with Gros's *Jaffa*, critics consistently described Gérard's *Austerlitz* through its accessory moments. After a brief reference to Napoleon, the painting's hero apparent, the critic Castellan fell into veritable story-telling:

Among a group of French soldiers, an old grenadier expresses the regret of not being able to step out of rank in order to help a young and handsome enemy officer who falls dying on a cannon, broken to pieces. . . a soldier, injured and thrown to the ground, listening to the steps of a horse on the verge of trampling him underfoot. . . a chasseur brings the flag that he took from the enemy, and dies just at the moment when he was about to place it at the feet of his sovereign. . .

He went on to enumerate as many more of the painting's anecdotes, concluding that Gérard could not have chosen a better moment—although it seems, particularly by virtue of Castellan's description, that there is more than one. Had Gérard chosen to make "just" a battle painting, Castellan felt, it would have detracted from the variety of the scene, for battle paintings ineffectually try to "express with a single group an action which occupies several levels."¹¹⁹

Pierre-François Gueffier felt Gérard achieved those several levels by combining two approaches: the foreground of the canvas is *en action*, the rest *en récit*.¹²⁰ By "en récit," Gueffier points to the fact that the main subject of *Austerlitz* is narration itself, General Rapp's description of the French army's success. Gueffier adds that jokes were made based on Rapp's verbal dominance of the painting: that "dans ce tableau, il n'y a que Rapp à citer" (a play of words on "rapacité"). But for Gueffier, the painting was a balanced historical essay in both action and exposition, with the double appeal of story-telling and clarity of moment.

Gueffier was, along with Castellan and the often difficult-to-please Landon,

moved by the wounded cuirassier whose body emerges from behind the charging brown horse at left; holding his hand to his heart, he takes one last look at the Emperor before passing on to that great celestial battlefield where soldiers become saints of war. The cuirassier is, in Prendergast's eloquent quip, "repoussoir on its best behavior."¹²¹ Indeed the entire foreground could be thought of as anecdotal repoussoir: stirring stories of patriotism and devotion which guide the viewer to Napoleon's less than prominent patch of earth. Yet such compositional tactics served also as stories in and of themselves, stories which could—and would—make for individual paintings, such as Théodore Géricault's *Wounded Cuirassier* (fig. 28, 1814), modeled in part on the cuirassier in Gérard's painting.

Are the anecdotes of Gérard's *Austerlitz* any different from the historical improvisations of Roëhn or Taunay? They are in one very important way: their theatrical stylings which, at least on this occasion, Gérard seems to have inherited from his teacher David. But as a representation of history, Gérard's foreground engages viewer sentimentality as much as Taunay's wounded soldier at St. Bernard, or Roëhn's sleeping Emperor at Wagram. It is not "sentimentality" alone which lends such images their romantic ambiance, but their sidestepping of the narrative unity considered so crucial to neoclassical theory, their replacement of the documentary and textually ratified by the sensational and anecdotal. This was crucial to the development of a popular legend. But the pressure of classical history and classical painting lingered, and the frequent intersection of dialects created no small amount of critical confusion, then or now (witness the classical-romantic conundrum that

pervades nineteenth-century art historical discourse). Few artists were immune to the conflict, not even the great David—and the recent suggestion that his *Coronation* is something like "a giant Troubadour painting"¹²² aptly summarizes the era's overlapping historical consciousnesses. This went in the other direction as well, as evidenced by the particularly compact example of Roëhn's *Bivouac at Wagram* having been copied onto a "Greek" vase. As modern pop met classical amphora, historical novelties rubbed elbows with the historical elite; but it was the novelty of historical genre that would allow it to set up court in nineteenth-century history painting.

Chapter 3 Notes

1. Emil Ludwig, *Napoleon*, trans. by Eden and Cedar Paul (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1926), 279.
2. Delestre, 136. The full list of painters who accompanied Napoleon is: David, Gros, Girodet, Carle Vernet, Prud'hon, Gérard, Guérin, Meynier, Gautherot, Sérangeli, Monsiau, Barthélemy, Taunay, Mulard, Berthon, Debret, Roëhn, Ponce-Camus, Peyron, Garnier, Hue, and Robert Lefèvre. Also invited were the miniaturists Augustin, Aubri, Saint, and Parent; the sculptors Cartellier, Delaistre, Corbet, and Foucou; and medal engravers Galle, Andrieu, and Brenet. "Nouvelles," *Journal des arts, des sciences, de littérature et de politique* (24 octobre 1808): 437.
3. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret locates the advent of the term *genre historique* in 1833; "Historicism and 'Heritage'," 509-510; Michael Marrinan places the term's establishment as a critical category in 1835; *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 24.
4. Locquin, 284.
5. Richard Wrigley, "The Hierarchy of the Genres," in *The Origins of French Art Criticism from the Ancien Regime to the Restoration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 285-349.
6. See Boyer, "Napoléon et l'attribution des grands prix décennaux" (as in Chapter 1, n.53).
7. "Nouvelles des sciences, des lettres et des arts," *Journal de Paris*, no. 315 (11 novembre 1810): 2222-2223. Also published in "Concernant la littérature, les sciences et les arts. Observations critiques; faits remarquables, etc.," *Journal des arts, des sciences, et de littérature* 3 (10 novembre 1810): 190-192.
8. A.L.C. [Castellan, Antoine-Laurent], "Exposition au Musée Napoleon des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure des artistes vivans. 1810," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 314 (10 novembre 1810): 1238-1239.
9. C.P. Landon, *Annales du musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts. Salon de 1810* (Paris: Pillet aîné, 1829), 27.
10. Quatremère de Quincy, *Recueil de notices historiques lues dans les séances publiques de l'Académie royale des beaux-arts* (Paris: Adrien Le Clere et C^{ie}, 1834), 317.
11. Wrigley, 338-339.

12. A.M.G., "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1808," *Le Publiciste* (4 décembre 1808): 3-4; (31 décembre 1808): 3.
13. Ambulator, 233.
14. M., "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1810. M. David," *Journal des arts, des sciences et de littérature* 3 (25 novembre 1810): 242.
15. See Bann, "The Splitting of Historical Consciousness," in *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, 60-75.
16. Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 102.
17. Despite the lack of commission records, most art historians feel the painting is, in scale and intention, too massive of an endeavor to have resulted from Ingres's own initiative. See, for example, Hélène Toussaint, *Les Portraits d'Ingres* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1985), 32-41; also Robert Rosenblum, *Ingres* (New York: Abrams, 1967), 68. Susan Siegfried, however, has presented a convincing argument for the painting as Ingres's independent project, conceived by the young artist as a way to make an eye-catching public debut; Siegfried, "The Politics of Criticism at the Salon of 1806."
18. Ferdinand Boyer, "Le Palais-Bourbon sous le premier Empire," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1936): 105.
19. The Code Napoléon was in fact drafted by a group of jurists headed by Jean-Etienne-Marie Portalis. Jonathan Ribner, *Broken Tablets: The Cult of the Law in French Art from David to Delacroix* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 31-36.
20. Louis Bergeron, *France under Napoleon*, trans. by R.R. Palmer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 6 (a different edition is cited by Ribner, 37).
21. Napoleon's speech dismissing the Corps Législatif is reproduced in Charles D***, *Napoléon Bonaparte, sa vie civile et militaire* (Paris: L'Ecrivain, 1814), 185-186.
22. The Salon criticism, quite unanimously negative, for Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* has been surveyed in numerous places; see for example *Ingres*, exh. cat. (Paris: Petit Palais, 1967), 32-33.
23. Rosenblum, *Ingres*, 68.
24. Bryson, *Tradition and Desire*, 112-113.
25. Rosenblum, *Ingres*, 68.

26. John L. Connolly Jr., "Napoleon and the Age of Gold: A Bicentennial Celebration of the Birth of J.-A.-D. Ingres," in *Proceedings of the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe*, vol. 2 (Athens, Georgia, 1980), 52-68.
27. Juliette Rigal, "L'Iconographie de la *Henriade* au XVIII^e siècle ou la naissance du Style Troubadour," *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century* 32 (1965): 23-71. See also *Le Style Troubadour*, exh. cat. (Bourg-en-Bresse: Musée de l'Ain, 1971), 7.
28. François Pupil, *Le Style Troubadour, ou la nostalgie du bon vieux temps* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1985), 14-15.
29. Francis Haskell, "The Manufacture of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Painting," in *Past and Present in Art and Taste* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 78.
30. Ibid., 75.
31. See Chapter 1, 44.
32. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Fleury Richard et Pierre Révoil, la peinture Troubadour* (Paris: Arthéna, 1980); Pupil, as in n.28.
33. For further information on Josephine's extensive collection, see Serge Grandjean, *Inventaire après décès de l'Impératrice Joséphine à Malmaison* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1964).
34. Chaudonneret, *Fleury Richard et Pierre Révoil*, 24.
35. The painting was acquired by Josephine and re-exhibited in the Salon of 1814. Ibid., 66-67; Grandjean no. 1127.
36. Ambulator, 231.
37. M.B., (9 novembre 1804), 2.
38. Quatremère de Quincy, *Essai sur la nature*, 6.
39. Ibid., 10, 16-17.
40. See Paul de Man, *Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 3-7, for an analysis of how language in Romantic poetry attempts to "become" the object it represents; in painterly terms, artistic occupation of the canvas is evident also, paradoxically, in the form of impasto. See Clay, 7, 98-99.
41. Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect," in *French Literary Theory Today*, ed. Tzvetan Todorov (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 11-17. A thoughtful application of Barthes's reality effect to Troubadour painting is Bann's term "technical

surprise," designating details which rely on their novelty to be convincing. Bann, *Clothing of Clio*, 57-62.

42. Chaudonneret, *Fleury Richard et Pierre Révoil*, ii and idem, "Du genre anecdotique au genre historique: une autre peinture d'histoire," *Les Années romantiques: la peinture française de 1815 à 1850*, exh. cat. (Nantes: Musée des Beaux-Arts; Paris: Grand Palais, 1995-1996), 77.

43. Chaudonneret, *Fleury Richard et Pierre Révoil*, 67, 97-98.

44. Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, 73-74.

45. Most notably St. Anne in Leonardo's *Madonna and Child with St. Anne*, or the *St. John*, both housed in the Louvre.

46. Lost. Reproduced in Chaudonneret, *Fleury Richard et Pierre Révoil*, fig. 73; discussed 75-76.

47. Wrigley, 346.

48. Chantreau, 73.

49. "Littérature, *Lettres inédites d'Henri IV*," *Bulletin de Paris*, no. 6 (15 germinal an X): 177.

50. Beaunoir and Dampmartin, vii.

51. A.N., AF IV 1050/6/7.

52. G., "Variétés," *Journal de Paris*, no. 289 (15 octobre 1808): 2068.

53. A.M.G., (4 décembre 1808), 3.

54. Grandjean, no. 1132.

55. D..., "Salon de l'an IX," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 26 (19 octobre 1801): 102.

56. Denon et. al, *Musée Napoléon, Budget de 1807, Fonds de 8,000. Encouragements aux artistes, concours de la Bataille d'Eylau*. A.N., O²839.

57. Barring any hidden information regarding Roëhn's education, it seems he was self-taught; such is the conclusion of Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler* 28, 486.

58. Roëhn received 5000 to 6000 francs for his paintings, by comparison to the 16,000 Gros received for the immense *Eylau* (A.N., O²839, *Musée Napoleon, Budget de 1808, tableau du lendemain de la bataille d'Eylau. Etat de proposition de payement à faire à l'artiste chargé de l'exécution de ce tableau.*

59. The original request was for Roëhn to paint a *Diner des soldats français, russes, et prussiens à Tilsitt*. Denon, *Tableaux d'histoire à exécuter*. A.N., AF IV 1050/4/9 (note there are two pieces marked "9" in this file). Cf. n.86.

60. G., "Variétés. Salon. 4ème article," *Journal de Paris*, no. 298 (24 octobre 1808): 2137.

61. "Salon d'exposition," *Affiches, annonces et avis divers*, no. 340 (26 novembre 1808): 5341.

62. Eudore Soulié, *Notice du Musée national de Versailles*, vol. 2 (Paris: Charles de Mourgues Frères, 1880-1881), 17. Salon of 1808 (no. 525). M.V. 1728. 125 x 152 cm.

63. Tulard, *La France de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, 153; Chandler, 588.

64. Maison de l'Empereur, Intendance générale [Daru], *Rapport à S.M. l'Empereur et Roi sur la demande d'un crédit de 120,000 francs pour l'exécution de 12 tableaux représentant les principaux événements de la campagne d'Autriche en 1809* (18 août 1809), A.N., AF IV 1050/5/16. The original commission consisted of 5 large paintings (15 x 10 feet) and 7 medium (8 x 5, although in the end Roëhn's was smaller). The artists who ultimately carried out the project are cited in Denon, *Musée Napoléon, Budget de 1811, Fonds de 42,000, 12 tableaux de la campagne d'Autriche*, A.N., O²839

65. Charles Otto Zieseniss, "Napoléon et les tableaux du Grand Trianon," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1967): 295.

66. Girault, 203-212.

67. Chandler, 728-729.

68. Ibid., 729. Critics of Horace Vernet's *Battle of Wagram* of 1836 (discussed in Chapter 5) were perturbed by what they considered the artist's historically inaccurate outfitting of Napoleon with his hot grey greatcoat in July (cited by Michael Marrinan, "Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe's Versailles," in *The Popularization of Images*, 139).

69. Jean Tulard, *L'Histoire de Napoléon par la peinture*, 221.

70. A***, *L'Observateur au Muséum, ou revue critique des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, et gravure exposés au Musée Napoleon en l'an 1810* (Paris: Aubry, 1810), 17; F.P. [Fabien Pillet], "Exposition des tableaux," *Journal de Paris*, no. 316 (12 novembre

1810), 2234; [Pierre-François Gueffier], *Entretiens sur les ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure, exposés au Musée Napoleon en 1810* (Paris: Gueffier jeune, 1811), 54-55.

71. François Guizot, *De l'état des beaux-arts en France et du Salon de 1810* (Paris: Maradan, 1810), 102-104.

72. Ibid., 53-54.

73. Ibid., 28.

74. Ibid., 96-97.

75. Idem, *Essai sur l'état actuel de l'instruction publique en France* (Paris: Maradan, 1816), 6 and 131. Guizot's thesis is that while education is a national concern that should, in theory, ignore class boundaries, it must be liberal only insofar as "education for all" is concerned; however, the State must remain a dominant authority behind any educational program, lest mayhem--read Revolution--break out once again. See also Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le Moment Guizot* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), 233-246.

76. Guizot, *De l'état des beaux-arts*, 104.

77. Prendergast, 74.

78. "Nouvelles de Paris," *Journal de Paris*, no. 302 (28 octobre 1808): 2165-2166.

79. D***, 193.

80. The Epinal print depicting *La Veille d'Austerlitz* is by François Georgin, who after 1830 embarked on a large series of Napoleonic woodcuts; it is reproduced in Jean Mistler et al., *Epinal et l'imagerie populaire* (Paris: Hachette, 1961), plate 95.

81. Zieseniss, "Napoléon et les tableaux du Grand Trianon," 261.

82. Soulié, vol. 1, 461.

83. The example Barthes uses comes from Gustave Flaubert's *Un Coeur simple*. Barthes, "The Reality Effect," 11.

84. Zieseniss, "Napoléon et les tableaux du Grand Trianon," 305-307, citing a letter from Lauzan to the Secrétaire général.

85. A.N., AF IV 1050/2/16. Here Denon notes that Roëhn's *Battle of Rivoli* was finished and hanging in the Salon des maréchaux at the Tuileries as of the report's writing on 19 février 1806.

86. *Mariembourg* was bought at 5000 francs. *Musée Napoléon, Budget de 1808, Fonds de 60,000*, A.N., O²839. It was sent by Denon to Versailles in April 1809. Zieseniss, "Napoléon et les tableaux du Grand Trianon," 272.

87. *Charlemagne entouré des grands de sa cour, entrant dans la cathédral de Worms and Vue intérieure de Seligenstadt, lors des funérailles d'Eginard et d'Emma*. Zieseniss, "Napoléon et les tableaux du Grand Trianon," 260, 294.

88. Tamara Préaud, "Sèvres: le vase du bivouac de l'Empereur," *Sèvres* 2 (1993): 48-51.

89. Ducray-Duminil, "Salon de 1810," *Petites affiches de Paris*, no. 4142 (15 janvier 1811): 236. Under the Budget of 1809, Roëhn was paid 8000 francs to execute the 1808 *Eylau* sketch as a full painting for Marshal Berthier; Denon, *Salon de 1810*, A.N., AF IV 1050/6/10.

90. Soulié, vol. 2, 16-17; Tulard, *L'Histoire de Napoléon par la peinture*, 107.

91. Taunay studied with the artists Lépicié, Brenet, and Casanova. He was named an agréé of the Academy in 1784, and studied at the Académie de France in Rome until 1787. While I shall only touch on his Napoleonic works, his output is vast; critical attention to his career, however, is not. For further basic information Taunay's career, see "Notes sur les Taunay," *Revue universelle des arts* 14 (1861): 125-128; Claude Pétry, "Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Nicolas Antoine Taunay," *Revue du Louvre* 44 (avril 1994): 72. A dissertation by Yveline Cantarel-Besson, "Recherches sur les petits maîtres de la peinture militaire à l'époque napoléonienne" (Ecole du Louvre, 1974), addresses Taunay's career, but was unavailable for consultation at the time of this writing.

92. Salon of 1801, *Passage des Alpes par le Général Bonaparte* (no. 334); *Attaque du fort de Bard* (no. 333). For a critique of these works, see D..., "Beaux-arts. Salon de l'an IX," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 356 (17 septembre 1801): 1472.

93. Denon to Napoleon, *Tableaux ordonnés par Sa Majesté, décret du 3 mars 1806* (15 août 1808), A.N., AF IV 1050/4/34. Taunay received 6000 francs for the *Entry into Munich*; *Musée Napoleon, Budget de 1807, Fonds de 82,000, tableaux de la campagne de Germanie*, A.N., O²839.

94. J.D...Y, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1808," *Journal des arts, des sciences, de littérature et de politique* (16 décembre 1808): 357.

95. M.B. [Jean-Baptiste Boutard], "Salon de l'an XII," *Journal des débats* (17 octobre 1804): 2.

96. Ducray-Duminil, "Avis divers. Suite de l'exposition des artistes modernes au Louvre," *Petites affiches de Paris*, no. 638 (5 vendémiaire an X): 10627.

97. Siegfried, "Naked History," 246.

98. Quatremère de Quincy, *Suite du recueil de notices historiques lues dans les séances publiques de l'Académie royale des beaux-arts* (Paris: Adrien Le Clere et C^{ie}, 1837), 51-65.

99. See Naomi Schor's discussion of perceptions of detail and femininity in *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine* (New York: Metheun, 1978), 11-20.

100. Quatremère de Quincy, *Recueil de notices historiques*, vol. 2, 60.

101. For a detailed study of the Tuileries project, see Charles Otto Zieseniss, "Le Décor pictural de la Galerie de Diane aux Tuileries sous le premier Empire," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1966): 199-235. Taunay's 1808 *French Army Crossing the St. Bernard* has been frequently misidentified by scholars on the collections at Versailles as the *Passage des Alpes par le Général Bonaparte* that Taunay exhibited at the Salon of 1801 (cf. n.92). The error was rectified in the catalogue to the formative exhibition *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, exh. cat. (Paris, Grand Palais; Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), 627.

102. "Salon d'exposition," *Affiches, annonces et avis divers*, no. 311 (28 octobre 1808): 4876. Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz* is even listed (no. 239) in the Salon *livret* of 1808 with the explanation that "il n'a pu être terminé pour l'époque du Salon, à cause des portraits que l'auteur a faits par ordre supérieur." The long list of portraits Gérard exhibited in 1808 included one of the Empress Josephine in coronation robes and one of the Queen of Naples, Napoleon's sister Caroline Murat, with her children.

103. Pagès (as in Chapter 2, n.38), vol. 1, 26-29.

104. Girault, 201-202. While waiting for the army to cross to the Island of Lobau (before the Battle of Essling), Girault denotes the hunger Napoleon's troops experienced by way of his own personalized reality effects: "Moi, j'avais encore, dans mon petit sac, deux biscuits que je gardais précieusement depuis deux mois. . ."

105. Versailles, M.V. 1735.

106. Tulard, *L'Histoire de Napoléon par la peinture*, 192.

107. AF IV 1050/4/9. Taunay's *Entry of the Imperial Guard* was among the medium-sized works that Denon recommended for purchase at 5000 francs each, along with Roëhn's *Mariembourg* (cf. n.86). In his *Salon of 1810* (AF IV 1050/6/10) Denon suggests lowering the price to 4000 francs and installing the painting in the prefecture of the Dept.

de la Seine. It seems Taunay, however, was unable to secure its purchase; the work was in the Taunay collection at his death. Claire Constans, *Musée national du Château de Versailles: les peintures*, vol. 2. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), no. 4808.

108. Ferdinand Boyer, *Le Monde des arts en Italie et la France de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 105-109.

109. Denon, *Médailles des campagnes de 1806 et 1807* (list attached to letter from Denon to Napoleon of 22 février 1808), A.N., AF IV 1050/4/28; Denon describes a medal showing Napoleon crossing under the Brandenburg Gate, to which the cited flattery corresponds.

110. Denon to Napoleon (9 septembre 1807), A.N., AF IV 1050/3/10, noting that the Brandenburg quadriga had safely arrived in Paris, to be used as his Majesty saw fit: Denon recommends against its being placed upon a triumphal arch honoring the Jena campaign because there it would, as it had on the Brandenburg Gate proper, "become a meager accessory." He includes a proposal for, instead, a fountain on the Pont Neuf. The Brandenburg quadriga was ultimately determined to become part of a "Temple of Victory." It was restored to Berlin after the Congress of Vienna. Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars," *The American Historical Review* 50, no. 3 (1945): 457.

111. [Roederer], *La Première et la seconde année du Consulat de Bonaparte. Extrait du Journal de Paris du 19 brumaire an IX et an X* (Paris: n.d.), 6-7.

112. Susan Siegfried, *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly. Modern Life in Napoleonic France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 160.

113. "Variétés," *Journal des arts, des sciences, de littérature et de politique* (22 octobre 1808): 436.

114. Martinet's was a highly productive caricature shop, where "Napoleon, Louis XVIII, and the Comte d'Artois were made fun of in turn." A.M. Broadley, *Napoleon in Caricature, 1795-1821*, vol. 1 (London: John Lane, 1911), 30-31.

115. Commissioned for the Galerie de Diane, Tuileries Palace. Versailles, M.V. 1512. Napoleon requested the painting be removed after his marriage to Marie-Louise because of its relevance to the invasion of Austria, potentially offensive to the new empress; Zieseniss, "Galerie de Diane," 204. However, it ultimately stayed in place until the Restoration; Ministère de la maison du Roi (unsigned, from the Comte de Pradel to the Comte de Forbin), *Observations sur le budget du Musée en 1816* (14 mars 1816), A.N., O³1396. Here the point of discussion is the removal of Napoleonic works such as Gautherot's from the Tuileries upon Louis XVIII's return.

116. Tulard, *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour*, 139-140.

117. *L'Observateur au musée Napoléon* (cited in Petit Palais, *Ingres*, 32).

118. See Chapter 2, 124.

119. A.L.C. [Castellan, Antoine-Laurent], "Exposition au Musée Napoleon des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure des artistes vivans. 1810," *Gazette nationale, ou le Moniteur universel*, no. 323 (19 novembre 1810): 1273-1274.

120. *Entretiens sur les ouvrages de peinture*, 18.

121. Prendergast, 19, n.31.

122. Todd Porterfield, "Resanctification through Historical Genre Painting: the Case of the Sacristy at Saint-Denis (1811-1822)" (paper presented at the conference *The Image of History*, University of Kent, Canterbury, 11 September 1997). While I agree with Porterfield's assessment in regard to the intensive, Flemish detail in David's *Coronation*, the theme is a little more grandiose than even the most monarchical of Troubadour paintings.

CHAPTER 4

NAPOLEON'S EXILE AND THE RESTORATION OF HENRI IV

*J'ai vu des héros en peinture,
De grands hommes en miniature. . .
J'ai vu des grands tableaux d'histoire
Et des petits de chevalet;
Des nains crottés, à poil follet,
Se faisant un mince auditoire,
A leur caquet donnaient l'essor,
Et jugeaient en dernier ressort.
Dans le jargon de la peinture
Ces nains sont nommés des croûtons
Ainsi qu'on dit des feuilletons
En style de littérature.*

(I saw heroes in painting
Great men in miniature. . .
I saw big history paintings
And little easel paintings;
Dirty dwarves, with short fuzzy hair,
Gave progress to their prattle
While speaking to a very small audience,
And made judgments only as a last resort.
In the jargon of painting
These dwarves are called daubers
Just as we say of pamphleteers
When speaking of literature).

*Feu Mirabeau, Le Palais royal, ou coup d'oeil sur le tems
présent. Visite de Mirabeau au Salon de peinture de 1810.¹*

Our poet, writing in 1811, tells us he is the spirit of Mirabeau living in a "corps d'emprunt," an on-loan body.² The above lines convey the reader into what is both a farcical invective against painting of the Empire and a requiem for the great classical painters Lebrun, Poussin, and Jouvenet. Camouflaged in aesthetic terms, "Mirabeau's" poem is a royalist lament for the great age of Louis XIV,³ although on the surface, it is a diatribe against trends in painting. Mirabeau complains of the ever-insidious *croûte*, otherwise known as a bad painting, and the *croûtons*, artists who lacking skill and judgment made bad art as common to the Salon as the pamphlet was to literature. The "dwarves" to which the poet has ambiguously referred are,

alternately, the painters or the paintings: in the first case, too small in genius, in the second too small in size, to attract anything but a meager following. The dwarves, however, have a third identity: they are the characters in the paintings. It takes no great leap of recognition to identify what "fuzzy-haired dwarf" also gave frequent audience and, perhaps the most important word-play in the poem, judged "en dernier ressort." The untalented painter-dwarves make judgments only as a last resort; but "juger en dernier ressort" also means to *judge without appeal*—the sign of a dictator, fuzzy or not. In a matter of a few lines, Mirabeau transformed the Empire into a ridiculous Lilliputian fantasy: a land of small paintings, small history, and in particular, a small Emperor. The anti-Napoleonic penchant of Mirabeau's poem, its crypticness necessitated by Empire censorship, would become the essence of a literary lifestyle under the Bourbon Restoration, the subject of this chapter.

After Napoleon's abdication and exile to Elba in 1814, his "Hundred Day" return to power in France, his final exile to the island of Saint Helena in 1815, and the ultimate restoration of Bourbon rule in the person of Louis XVIII, detractors were finally given the freedom to unleash their hatred for Napoleon--no longer the *petit caporal*, but "Buonaparte," the invading foreigner. Chateaubriand's *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons* (1814) presents Napoleon as a Corsican (that is, more Italian than French)⁴ who dared, in fact was chosen, to wear the crown of Louis XVI. Yet in order to be "regal," wrote Chateaubriand, Buonaparte had no recourse but to take lessons in kingliness from the actor Talma.⁵ Although he was perceived by liberals as a son of the Revolution, he abused the French, forced unthinkable thousands into

military service--thus shredding the moral and religious fabric of the family⁶--and took all the credit for France's glory. Chateaubriand was particularly rancorous regarding Napoleon's mythical image as healer and provider of medical assistance; rather, he felt, Napoleon was the "executioner of the French" who never took the medical precautions necessary in war. During the Russian campaign, "they dressed the wounds of the injured with hay; hay lacking, they died."⁷ Chateaubriand's anti-Napoleonic tirade is simultaneously a panegyric to Bourbon legitimacy and, after some sixty pages of political catharsis, ends on a sigh of royalist relief, spelled "Vive le roi."⁸

As we saw earlier in Chateaubriand's scathing remarks against Gros's *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa*--where history, he said, was distorted for Napoleon's benefit⁹--Napoleon's selective historical methods were particularly open to condemnation. In 1814, Jean-Baptiste Couchery published a collection of Napoleonic anecdotes, *Le Moniteur secret*, in Paris and London. The preface admits that the book should not be seen as having any "official truths;" it is "based in part on fiction, but for the most part on truth," combined in order to help the reader understand the "true character of the tyrant."¹⁰ The text begins with an imaginary conversation in which Napoleon asks his court historian, Comte Réal, what he has "written on the diverse epochs of my obscurity and of my glory." Réal stammers, saying "Sire, I have nothing but a few fragments, nothing finished. . . . You have exhausted the pen of history." Napoleon insists on seeing these fragments, Réal insists they are unimportant and besides, they are no longer in his possession. He has

given the text over to an actor with the Théâtre Français named Baptiste. "Aha!" bellows the Emperor, "and it would have been revealed the day after my death! You would coldly prepare yourself to slander my memory!" Well, Napoleon has his way, the notes are brought, and Réal is forced to read them aloud to his employer. He begins: "At the siege [of Toulon], like the God of War, appeared the man who later had to resolve the problem of the French Revolution." Napoleon interrupts: "I like this image of the God of War, but Comte Réal, this word *man* is not very respectful. Write 'the *hero*.'" Réal has written of Napoleon's "revolutionary fervor," but the Emperor prefers "the enthusiasm of genius." And so on, until a passage Réal recites truly piques the imperial ire: a hungry and tired post-Toulon Napoleon, according to the court historian, had received food and board from the actor Baptiste, Réal's friend. The grey greatcoat bursts at the seams: "Who told you that, you vile historian, you fearful propagator of lies!"¹¹ The Napoleon-character then launches into a harangue on history's obligations:

You are going to teach posterity that I received charity from an actor? . . . You think that to prove I am a great Emperor, it is necessary to establish that I was a beggar? . . . In order for us to be respected, one does not need to know what we once were. History must leave all of that vague. . . I want there be a great void in history from the moment I was born to my rise to power. I want the French Revolution to be presented as the chaos preceding my creation. . . I do not want history to record a single name of that era; mine alone must emerge.¹²

During this speech, Réal fell asleep. The contrived argument between historian and dictator illustrates how the pen of history was manipulated by its makers—Napoleon is the real "propagator of fearful lies"—while the real scholars, unable to truly practice their profession, were forced to take dictation. Obviously a play on *Moniteur universel*, the title *Moniteur secret* satirizes the gap between official history—what

Napoleon allowed to be common knowledge—and reality, which only those in the know (apparently the writers of the *Moniteur secret*) knew.

Napoleon, in his exile, became the leading man in countless historical burlesques. Charles Doris's *Amours secretes de Napoleon Buonaparte* (1815) uses a series of contrived accounts of Napoleon's sexual profligacy to allegorize the Emperor's intrusive and shifty methods of governing. In one, an eight-year old Napoleon falls in love with his cousin—a beautiful thirty-seven-year-old widow (three years older than Josephine, a widow, when Napoleon and she were married in 1796). Through his infantile but wily agencies, the little Napoleon manages to convince his mother that he absolutely must have the right to share a bed, every night, with his cousin (whom he has, meanwhile, threatened with blackmail). The cousin agrees to *sleeping* with Napoleon and nothing else; but, as befitting a precocious burgeoning dictator, he breaks his promise and makes a pass at his cousin, who faints and, simultaneously, loses her nightgown. Unconscious and bleeding from her fall, Napoleon feels tempted to take advantage of his cousin's helpless state. Instead he seeks out the injury (it is right above her knee) and sucks on it—Doris's vampirical spoof on myths of Napoleon as a heroic humanitarian who nursed the wounded or touched the plague-stricken. The cousin wakes up and, "drained of her resistance," is forced to give herself over to her pursuer: like a defeated prisoner of war, or the helpless occupied nation, she has no choice but to accept the dictator's rules.¹³

The anti-Napoleonic literary fervor of the Restoration—barely touched upon here—had of course a counterpart in writings on art, more to the point than

"Mirabeau's" abstruse allegory could have been in 1811. As Chateaubriand had condemned the arts under the Empire for pure historical servitude, so Marie Mely-Janin saw the Napoleonic government as having used artists to "inoculate the nation" with belief in the Emperor's glory. Mely-Janin was convinced that, to paint Napoleon's history:

It was not necessary to have done any serious studying, to have meditated a long time on the power of line, the effects of chiaroscuro. . . everyone was more or less able enough to paint a *petit chapeau* and a *redingote grise*; everyone knew enough to draw shakos and make boots shine. . . our soldiers in painting were almost as numerous as our soldiers in action.¹⁴

Charles Landon, readers will recall, made precisely this association between paintings of contemporary history and lack of artistic study or seriousness. David, as well, would in 1820 criticize Gros for having wasted his time with "those gilded boots and uniforms."¹⁵ Similarly, in 1827 Charles Farcy--voicing the common dislike for, rather specifically, paintings involving boots--censured subjects that ignored what he felt to be the infinitely superior antique. Citing Quatremère de Quincy (by this time *Secrétaire perpétuel* of the Académie des beaux-arts), Farcy extended his criticism to the realm of public opinion and ultimately politics, saying that the public's unjustified appreciation for national subjects would lead to the loss of the arts in France.¹⁶

In the Restoration Salons, shiny boots and shakos gave way to scepters and crowns, saints and crosses. Abel de Pujol's *St. Etienne* (1817) was among the most-discussed paintings of the first Restoration Salon, while Ingres's famous *Vow of Louis XIII* (1824) represented the artistic culmination of the Restoration's efforts to rechristianize France and redirect its people toward traditional values. The theme

blatantly encoded the reunification of Church and State, Altar and Throne,¹⁷ while Ingres's overt citation of Raphael signalled the hope of a return to the pinnacle of the modern artistic tradition, the Renaissance. Yet the pictorial conversion of Napoleon and his generals into Christ and his attendant saints—from *tableaux d'apparat* to *tableaux d'église*—was, even for certain conservative critics, a regression in artistic progress. Critics wondered how it was that the Salon had, rather all of a sudden, taken on a monastic ambience; but those who found excessive the parade of "saints, altars, crosses, candles, monks, palms, martyrs, and virgins"¹⁸ were not necessarily apostles of the Napoleonic era, when religious art, by comparison, was on hiatus. One of the Salon mockeries regularly published under the title "Arlequin de retour au Muséum" described the transition from contemporary history painting under Napoleon to religious painting under Louis XVIII as nothing more than the exchange of one form of extremism for another:

*Je ris de nous, pauvres Français,
Quel destin est le nôtre!
A peine sortis d'un excès,
Nous tombons dans un autre.
Ces murs n'offrent plus de combats;
Autre temps, autres maîtres;
Autant on voyait des soldats,
Autant on voit des prêtres.*¹⁹

(I laugh for us, we hapless French,
What a destiny we face!
Scarcely from one excess wrenched,
Another takes its place.
These walls that offer war no more;
Another time, other masters;
As many soldiers as we saw before,
We now see as many pastors.)

With similar sarcasm, in 1819 the writer Monnin deplored how even secular history paintings such as Gros's *Embarkation of the Duchesse d'Angoulême* (1818), in its proliferation of outstretched arms, resorted to "cross-mania."²⁰ Monnin pointedly warned against painters allowing their art to "fall once again into the misery of darkness and ignorance" by choosing their subjects from "the stock-pile of lies hidden

away in the dust of cloisters," exhorting artists to instead choose exclusively from the long and rich history of France.²¹ In the same year Etienne de Jouy, writing for the outspokenly Bonapartist journal *La Minerve française*, turned his anti-religious agenda to a call for, more specifically, recent national history:

Saints, monks, power, and riches, everything has found painters at this exhibition, except the homeland. It is in vain that one would search for a great monument to our national glory. For the first time in twenty-five years, it has found our artists without paintbrushes and without memories.²²

The twenty-five-year period upon which Jouy reflects so wistfully was, of course, filled with images first of the great Revolution, then of Napoleon, whose exile in literal terms was matched by his exile from the Salon. This brings us to the complex role of censorship in Napoleon's history after 1815.

The monarchy tried to erase Napoleon from public life after 1815, although indecisive press censorship during the Restoration allowed liberals and Bonapartists sporadic expression depending on the year. For example in 1817, all periodicals required the king's authorization. In June 1819, a freedom of expression law loosened these restrictions, but was revoked in 1820 after the assassination of the duc de Berry, heir to the throne, sent the administration into a panic.²³ Similarly, censorship in theater waxed and waned: plays that had been censored under Louis XVIII for references to the Revolution--sometimes no more than a tricolor flag--were allowed to be produced in some theaters after Charles X ascended the throne in 1824.²⁴ However, it was Charles X's harsh press censorship laws that in large part provoked the Revolution of 1830.

Censorship in the visual arts was, in theory, more consistently inflexible

throughout the Restoration. Pictures were as readable to the illiterate as written texts were to the educated; it was, in short, the universal availability of imagery that signalled its comparative detriment. Surprisingly, while the written word was regulated, no official laws censoring caricature—historically, a medium of subversion—existed until the government was roused into action by the royal assassination in 1820. Louis XVIII was himself fond of satire and, seeking edification, even subscribed to the fiercely anti-Bourbon *Nain jaune* during the First Restoration; the periodical was eventually repressed by the (understandably) more paranoid government of the Second Restoration.²⁵ But even before restrictions on caricature were officially imposed in 1820, Restoration authorities were highly sensitive to Napoleon's pictorial incarnation. While quiet suppression of publications containing Bonapartist engravings was one alternative, some producers of Napoleonic prints even faced prosecution; in 1816, the famous Pellerin factory at Epinal was tried for sedition against the government for a series of portraits of Napoleon.²⁶

In painting, Napoleon was decisively inadmissible. The project for the decoration of the Parisian Church of Sainte-Geneviève (today, and at various points in France's history as a republic, called the Panthéon) is a telling scenario of the government's instability in the early Restoration, and of the protean maneuvers that artists were obliged to perform. In 1811, Gros had been commissioned by Denon to paint the cupola with the apotheosis of St. Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, attended by French rulers and their wives rendering homage to the Catholic religion. His original plan consisted of Clovis and Clotilde, Charlemagne and Hildegarde, Saint

Louis and Marguerite, and of course Napoleon with his second wife, Marie-Louise of Austria. However, after Napoleon's abdication in 1814, Gros was ordered by the Minister of the Interior Beugnot to replace the exiled Emperor with Louis XVIII and his niece, the duchesse d'Angoulême. Fortunately Gros was only in the sketch phase, but the rest of the story is sadly predictable: in 1815 Napoleon returned for the Hundred Days, Gros was ordered to replace Louis XVIII with Napoleon; three months later, Napoleon was exiled for a second and final time, and the artist was ordered to reinstate Louis XVIII. A frustrated Gros, wanting to be sure that this time the Bourbons were going to rule for more than just a few months, lingered over the project; the completed cupola painting was not unveiled until November of 1824--shortly after Louis XVIII died.²⁷ Like the building itself, whose identity as either a church or secular pantheon to the heroes of history changed with France's equivocations between monarchy and republic, Gros's cupola was, throughout its complicated gestation, a "hollow icon:" Albert Boime's effective term for monuments that, while surviving changes of regime, undergo variant forms of official manipulation in the service of politics.²⁸

Once Napoleon was definitively banished to the remote Saint Helena, 700 miles west off the southern coast of Africa, there was no question as to whether his image should be seen in public or not. Napoleon's image, in fact depictions of all events since 1789, were kept from the Salon walls by juries whose duty it was to uphold the Bourbon faith. The jury's apprehension, Jouy and his associate Antoine Jay wrote, derived from an illogical assumption that "the passions can be more

violently roused by a painting than by a speech,"²⁹ although indeed the government placed restrictions on speech as well. While a survey of the salon *livrets* for the years 1815 to 1830 suggests that anti-Napoleonic restrictions were vigorously applied, the occasional Napoleonic work was permitted. Perhaps the determinant was the jury's mood; more likely, it was hoped that images of Napoleonic events would remind viewers of what was wrong with the past. Meanwhile, works of art depicting Napoleon were removed from public spaces and put into storage;³⁰ some, such as one of Gros's portraits of *Bonaparte as First Consul*, were publicly destroyed, celebrating the despot's ruin.³¹ But regardless of the potentially factious content of Napoleonic paintings, some Restoration officials felt they could still testify to the creativity of the French school. In 1824, three years after Napoleon's death (when there was no danger of a sequel to the Hundred Days), the Comte de Forbin, who had taken over Denon's position as Directeur des musées, attempted to convince Charles X to allow certain Napoleonic works, including Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz* and Gros's *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau*, to be placed at Versailles and the Invalides, saying this was "in the interest of art" and would not undermine the king's majesty.³² The proposal was rejected; the Napoleonic paintings of David, Gérard, Gros, Roëhn, and Taunay were to remain in the back rooms and basements of the Louvre until the July Monarchy.³³

In a series of letters to David (in self-imposed exile in Brussels) published in 1819, a group of his students marveled at the hypocrisy of the Academy, who appeared to rate historical content over artistic worth. Appalled that masterpieces by

their teacher, as well as artists like Gérard, Gros, and Girodet, were confined to dusty storage rooms simply because of their content, David's students compared "the prudish sentiments affected by our royalists" when confronted with Napoleonic scenes to the embarrassment felt by "young girls who pass without lowering their eyes before a statue of Antinous."³⁴ While remarking on the establishment's overt squeamishness, David's students also wondered how certain images of obviously Napoleonic origin—for example, anonymous soldiers in the uniform of the Imperial Guard—were able to get past censors while others, of absolutely no Napoleonic relevance, were suspected of historical allegory. Hence the lamentable tale of Marie-Nicolas Ponce-Camus (1778-1839), rejected by the Salon jury of 1819. Ponce-Camus, a student of David, was among the group of artists invited to accompany Napoleon to the 1808 Salon opening, having won imperial favor with a small canvas of Napoleon meditating upon the tomb of the Prussian king Frederick the Great.³⁵ In 1819, Ponce-Camus submitted a painting of *Alexander the Great Visiting Apelles*, representing the Emperor granting Apelles the exclusive right to paint his history. The jury rejected the painting on the grounds that it was an allegory of Napoleon's appointment of David as *premier peintre* in 1804. The jury's assessment that Alexander the Great and Apelles were convincing historical semblances of the pair of recent exiles, Napoleon and David, is not illogical. But empathy falls just as easily with David's students who, noting that the jury primarily consisted of non-artists culled from among royal administrators, accused the jury of caring little for art and more for "party mentalities, systems of interpretation and allusion."³⁶

While censors could prevent the exhibition of works whose themes were potentially subversive, there was little escaping the pictorial style that had thrived, in official and public domains, under Napoleon: *histoire anecdotique*. Critics of all mentalities deemed definitions of history and history painting muddled by the seemingly unstoppable force of genre:

Genre paintings are decidedly invading the school; and if they have the advantage of spreading and popularizing the taste for painting in all ranks of society, it is also to be feared that the simple and natural pleasure they provide might render the public less sensitive to the beauties of a more severe genre, and that a similar attraction guiding the artists themselves might become a cause of decadence.³⁷

Even Gros, viewed as one of the remaining glories of the French school, would be accused of letting anecdote infect his history. During the Empire he had painted a work, *François I^{er} and Charles V Visiting the Church of St. Denis* (1812), which certainly qualifies as a "Troubadour painting;" later, his *Louis XVIII Leaving the Tuileries* was dubbed disparagingly as "genre anecdotique."³⁸ Critical disgruntlement during the Restoration towards the triumph apparent of *histoire anecdotique* was not, of course, detached from the political sympathies of the disgruntled and, according to one government report, it was all the fault of Napoleon: having commissioned a relatively select group of artists to paint his reign, he left the rest to invent history themselves³⁹—and it was easier to come up with anecdotes than to do research. Degeneration in history itself explained what many a critic had perceived as a degeneration in history painting under Napoleon: but if the decadent Napoleon had himself been done away with, his "decadent" artistic legacy was irreversible.

In the first Restoration Salon, in 1817, Napoleon's image was replaced, as might be expected, by that of Louis XVIII, as well as by those of his most renowned predecessors: Louis IX, Henri IV, and, carrying the most political weight, Louis XVI. Having had his head lopped off by the republicans who brought to an end the *ancien régime*, Louis XVI was resurrected as proof that the *ancien régime* had never really ended. In 1817 Louis Hersent (1777-1860) exhibited his *Louis XVI Distributing Alms* (fig. 29), an example of the type of genre-like propaganda common under Napoleon and now used by the Bourbon government to convince the French people of both the monarchy's excellent track record and of their good intentions in present times. Hersent's painting of the king's humane treatment of the country poor recalls, in its somber and rustic realism, any number of seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings. Landon, voicing the common academic distaste for the overly realistic, appreciated that Hersent remained within the bounds of good taste: his poor folk were realistic "without being too grotesque and lowly." Landon then determined that the painting was "history in the manner with which it is treated," but genre in terms of its subject and costumes.⁴⁰ Such a combination of history and genre, clearly having the power to serve Bourbon interests in works such as Hersent's, could not be excluded from official approbation; hence a new prize for history painting of the "genre secondaire" was established by the Comte de Forbin. The *genre secondaire* was a broad category applying to paintings that, while neither large enough nor sufficiently within academic standards to constitute *tableaux d'histoire*, Forbin felt deserved recognition; the prize was conceived as a *prix d'encouragement* of a slightly higher

order. In a letter of 1817 to the Comte de Pradel, Directeur du ministère de la maison du Roi, Forbin drew up a list of artists who merited such encouragement, including Pierre Révoil, Abel de Pujol, and Hersent.⁴¹ Ultimately the first of these prizes for the *genre secondaire* went to Hersent for his *Louis XVI Distributing Alms*, although Marie-Claude Chaudonneret has suggested that Forbin established the prize foremost to encourage Troubadour painters (he was a friend of both Richard and Révoil). Encourage it did, to the point that Troubadour painting, an alluring novelty under the Empire, became so commonplace under the Restoration that it suffered a rapid fall from grace.⁴²

While the prize for history painting of the *genre secondaire* demonstrates that conservative forces were making an effort to accept what seemed to be an inevitable change in the criteria for history painting, such anecdotal histories had already had clear official sanction under the Empire. A comparison of the Hersent to an example of Empire *genre historique* by Charles-Jacques Lebel (active 1801-1827), *Bonaparte Visiting the Hospice at St. Bernard* (fig. 30, 1810) suggests that painters of royal themes during the Restoration saw Napoleonic painting not as an opponent, but as an effective model of historical exposition. Lebel's painting depicts Bonaparte and the French army communing with the monks at the monastery on the Mont St. Bernard, who will serve them soup.⁴³ Here, the paunchy, unheroic First Consul (looking more as he did in 1810 than at the time of the 1800 Alpine crossing) assures an assembly of shivering, star-struck monks that they are safe from harm.⁴⁴ Lebel has reduced the famous Alpine crossing to a series of conversational, culinary details.

Where David's dazzling, authoritarian depiction of Bonaparte crossing the St. Bernard is a dense historical overstatement, Lebel's painting--presenting Bonaparte as a gentle, unassuming man in need of rest and sustenance--is a calculated understatement.

The monks' gestures and reactions betray a mixture of obsequiousness and uncertainty. At center Bonaparte meets an elderly monk, identified by the *livret* as Père Berenfaller, and extends his right hand in a gesture that remains vague but for one purpose: to create a compositional connection between Bonaparte's hand and the monk's rosary cross, suggesting if not the First Consul's own piety, then his political embrace of Christianity with the Concordat (to be signed a little more than a year after the depicted moment). In turn, the monk touches his breast, a gesture that questions if it is actually he whom Bonaparte is addressing, and leans forward as if to ascertain that his visitor is, in fact, whom he suspects. Viewers, meanwhile, have no trouble identifying this visitor; Lebel depicted Bonaparte in the guise of *petit caporal*, sporting the trademark two-cornered hat and grey greatcoat which, despite the Alpine climate, remains open to reveal the modest uniform of a *grenadier à pied*.

The main action of Lebel's picture--two gesturing men attempting to get a sense of one another--is situated at a pictorial valley between, at left, a somber slope of monastic browns and, at right, a brightly plumed and pelted array of generals. The army is offered provisions; soldiers take bowls and pitchers from the servile monks. Yet the monks' servility is downplayed by compositional tactics: the monks at left, perched above, must kneel down to the level of the soldiers who are quite literally compelled to look up to their benefactors. Similarly, it is not Bonaparte who

occupies center stage, but the elderly Père Berenfaller, who complicates his centrality by stepping forward and lowering himself before his grand, but short, guest. On one hand, the painting is a panoply of the French army's impressive bearing: Napoleon's *état-major* (including Berthier and Murat), their lush feather and fur accoutrements, and a billowing tricolor flag, make for an ostentatious display of military grandeur. But reading from the unadorned figure of Napoleon toward the left edge, the painting is an exercise in humility: the monks' and the soldiers'. Thus ensues a complicated dialogue between who, in this painting, directs history. The officers in Lebel's painting quite outshine and outplume their general, as they had--under official order--in Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz*; their pageantry is met, deflected, and neutralized by the sobriety of the picture's monastic half, with Napoleon mediating between. He is the average of the two parts, occupying the middle ground without, however, being literally centralized.

Hersent's *Louis XVI Distributing Alms* adds a similarly democratic veneer to monarchy by dethroning the king and placing him on the same patch of ground as a group of poor people. The Lebel and the Hersent have in common central action: charity between an authority figure and his subjects, although in the Hersent the monarch gives, while in the Lebel the monarch receives. In both, the subjects react with awe and obsequiousness toward their august visitor--yet it is that visitor's ability to share common ground with those of supposedly lesser stature that supports each painting's claim to equality between ruler and ruled. The popular image of Napoleon the *homme du peuple*--not Napoleon the Emperor, but the egalitarian who mingled

with the underlings—was the post-Revolutionary persona with whom the Bourbons would have to vie. Paintings like the Hersent, or the Restoration revival of Henri IV (the original People's King), raced to contend with the memory of the *petit caporal*. In the Hersent, even Louis XVI's neutral-toned greatcoat and plain two-cornered hat, fur-lined though they are, act as royal analogies to the *petit caporal*'s modest costume; the Petit Roi has deposed the Emperor. So it is paradoxical, but not surprising, that to dissolve popular enamorment with Napoleon, the restored Bourbons had little choice but to retain the same signifiers of benevolent authority that had fueled Napoleon's appeal. Although *histoire anecdotique* was not considered history painting at its most serious, it had apparently worked under the Empire and, like ammunition pilfered from the enemy camp, might facilitate Napoleon's expulsion from the popular imagination.

This, of course, did not happen, despite varying degrees of anti-Napoleonic censorship and a multitude of monarchy-revering paintings under the Restoration. Forced repression of a particular idea seems only to cause a stronger attachment to it, and the attempt to write Napoleon out of history naturally backfired. Through various types of textual and visual expression, the legendary sheen of Napoleon's history was polished to perfection during the Restoration. The recently developed technique of lithography,⁴⁵ woodblock prints from the prolific and steadfastly incorrigible Pellerin factory, and songs by the likes of Pierre-Jean de Béranger joined forces in a successful campaign to Napoleon's memory. In addition to such tangible memorabilia was another medium rather impossible to regulate: the spoken word. Although royal

police tried to restrain speech by, for example, arresting "seditious" citizens who dared utter "Vive l'empereur" in public,⁴⁶ no amount of stricture could prevent veterans of the Imperial Guard or the countless nostalgic anonymous citizens from constructing an oral legend in their homes, at taverns, or at gatherings of secret Bonapartist societies.⁴⁷ Clandestine conversation replaced the murmuring crowds of the Empire Salons. In its transference from social to private sectors, from public historical productions to table talk, the Napoleonic legend's evolution after 1815 mimicked the stratagem that had been a major propagandist instrument of the regime itself: just as the paintings of Roëhn or Taunay had enacted oral history in painted form, so during the Restoration oral history and the historical anecdote worked to keep Napoleon a part of daily life.

Ineffectual censorship was thus one factor in the prosperity of Napoleon's legend under the Restoration: by disallowing specific references, censorship encouraged a diffusion of historical language away from the instructive and toward the poetic or mythical. Another factor involves the historical-psychological profile of the era--an era when Bonapartists were suppressed and Napoleonists were born. Pro-Napoleonic political agendas (claims, for example, that the economy, foreign relations or social well-being had never been stronger than under Napoleon) were superficially repressed, that is, made to appear non-existent by censorship. Napoleonism, however, was a historical circumstance, insuppressible because undefined. Historical circumstance, as I use the term, has been addressed by historians as a primarily generational phenomenon--the Generation of 1820. For members of this generation,

who were born during the Revolution and first experienced monarchy under the Restoration, "the Bourbon dynasty meant no more than the Carolingian," wrote Alan Spitzer in his valuable study of the Generation of 1820.⁴⁸ Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve described the generational mindset of Napoleonism in the following terms: "There is a generation composed of those born at the end of the last century, still children or too young under the Empire, which liberated itself to don manly garb in the midst of the storms of 1814 and 1815."⁴⁹ This was a generation born into the attitude, though not always the action, of political dissent--without necessarily knowing what it was fighting for. Michael Marrinan has distinguished Bonapartism from Napoleonism thus: the first "sought to reestablish the Bonaparte family's dynasty" whereas the more "patriotic Napoleonism. . . admired the exploits of the general but was not particularly inclined to reinstate imperial rule."⁵⁰ Yet it was not so specifically Napoleon's exploits, but more generally his presence, for which the Napoleonists pined; their historical adulation of the departed hero was a not necessarily political, nor necessarily educated, form of sentimentality. This was perhaps the natural result of the kind of charismatic demagoguery fostered by many history paintings of the Empire, which dealt not in fact, but emotional appeal. The Napoleonists' (and I cite no particulars because I refer to a population) nostalgia was a matter of historical idealism and preference for the familiar. This sometimes translated into what was called "liberalism," an imprecise political identity disparaged by ultra-royalist journals such as *La Foudre*, whose writers took every possible opportunity to humiliate the factious and fickle followers of Bonaparte (or, in any

case, non-followers of the Bourbons).⁵¹ Through the network of liberalisms—not entirely, it should be said, made up of the younger set—Bonapartism and republicanism were conflated into a single anti-Bourbon unit: the Revolution and the Empire were one phenomenon, not just contiguous but synonymous, 1789-1815 was one epoch,⁵² Napoleon and the Republic were soulmates (of course the perceived fusion of revolutionary and imperial ideologies had been a fundamental illusion promoted by propaganda under Napoleon). Napoleon embodied a haven for liberals alienated by the restored monarchy;⁵³ and Napoleonism became the historical force for an enormous store of imagery in which the lack of historical specificity that had served Napoleonic imagery under the Empire was sealed as the legend's primary tool. While removing Napoleon's visage from public view might have intended to eradicate belief in Napoleonic politics, the resulting imagery, based on unnamed battles and nameless soldiers, indicated that historical euphemism was a powerful tool of non-cooperation. But now the question of the legend's political clout needs reconsidering. I cannot say Napoleonic imagery of the Restoration was apolitical—it was of course a form of counter-Bourbon propaganda—but disengaged from government service, the legend lost its status as a justification of power and authority. Napoleon, under the Restoration, became an almost fictional hero of a historical sensibility.

The most prolific and well-known artists who fueled the Napoleonic legend during the Restoration were Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet (1792-1845) and Horace Vernet (1789-1863). Charlet was an accomplished lithographer who, after a brief period of study under Lebel, worked in the studio of Gros from 1817-1820.⁵⁴ Gros

himself, although personally not much interested by lithography, was a friend of François Delpech,⁵⁵ the printer behind many of Charlet's productions. Charlet, a young-blooded Bonapartist born in the year marking the inception of Spitzer's network (comprised of people born between 1792 and 1803), is a prime candidate for inclusion in the Generation of 1820, although Spitzer himself points out that "the birthdates that fix the identity of the generation are not self-evident benchmarks but more or less arbitrary boundaries suggested by my reading of the past".⁵⁶ Charlet is said to have served in 1814 at the Barrière de Clichy,⁵⁷ the National Guard's last-ditch effort to oust the invading allies who forced Napoleon's abdication. Faced with the fate of many, Charlet was dismissed from the military in 1816 for his Bonapartist allegiances; the resulting loss of salary was little compensated by his artistic income, as his Napoleonic subjects were necessarily marketed through secretive means.⁵⁸ Alienated by the government for his Bonapartist affiliation, Charlet's Napoleonist sentiments are among the most poignant in Restoration imagery.

Charlet's works deal primarily with two topics: children playing at being soldiers and members of Napoleon's army relishing the glory of battle. Ranging from the campy to the downright violent, Charlet's lithographs appealed to viewers' sense of humor while suppressing any appeal to viewers' knowledge or historical expertise. Surely the facts that Charlet's images never identify a specific battle as, for example, Wagram or Eylau, and never include Napoleon himself, are directly related to censorship. But, as signalled by the Salon rejection of Ponce-Camus's *Alexander the Great Visiting Apelles*, government censors were as wary of historical euphemism as

they were of blatant reference; thus Charlet's *Petit caporal* (fig. 31, 1826), showing not the real *petit caporal*, but a child playing dress-up, could just as easily be labeled seditious. Images such as *He Wants to be a Grenadier à pied* (1823), depicting an urchin being introduced by a comrade to an old member of the Imperial Guard, implied that the next generation of soldiers dreamed of fighting for Napoleon rather than the king.



The anonymity of Charlet's actors, as well as the non-specific historical moments they enact, had an immediate precedent in the Empire's specialist in Napoleonic imagery without Napoleon: Taunay. Taunay had, in 1816, emigrated with a small group of artists to the non-Bourbon pastures of Brazil, where he continued painting and even created his own Académie des beaux-arts; he would return to France in 1824, upon his brother's death.⁵⁹ Without necessarily suggesting a direct line of emulation, Taunay left behind an artistic descendant in Charlet. In *Leave Me Some, My Old Man!* (fig. 32, 1823), we are witness to an anecdote on the sidelines of battle: a young soldier imploring his senior to save him a few enemy targets. The when and where of the moment is irrelevant to its perception as an incarnation of militaristic fervor and the camaraderie shared by members of the army—just as, in Taunay's *Crossing of the Sierra de Guadarrama* (fig. 23), the fact that the scene is situated in Spain in 1808 made no difference to viewers' understanding of the painting as a simple homage to anonymous heroes gallantly suffering for the good of France. What was, in Taunay's work under Napoleon, an administrative gesture of historical accessibility became, under the Restoration, a language of historical

necessity, imposed by censorship, and a language of nostalgia for the deposed Emperor. Just as the painters of royal history, like Hersent, adopted the language of *histoire anecdotique* as a way—apparently ineffectual—to suffocate Napoleon's memory, so Restoration artists who remained faithful to the Emperor preserved the ahistorical methods of Napoleonic genre under the Empire. If painters such as Roëhn and Taunay were the *vox populi* under Napoleon, lithographers like Charlet, or song-writers like Béranger, served the same function under the Restoration.

Charlet's populism extended to an appreciation of public fascination with violence, making picturesque and comical the grim face of war. The caricatural relish of *Leave Me Some, My Old Man!* mellowed the fact that viewers were witnessing a blood-thirsty youth straddling a cadaver; the chubby-cheeked glee of a soldier in *The Second Shot* (fig. 33, 1824), who pumps a bullet at point-blank range into the chest of the enemy (while using the flat-topped hat worn by one of his colleagues as a foothold) makes death into a burlesque spectacle bordering on entertainment for the whole family.

While Charlet's works are literally caricatures, it seems worthy to note that the painters by whom he was to a certain extent influenced—Taunay in terms of style and thematic approach, Gros in terms of artistic instruction—had both been accused of painting in a caricatural manner. Of course, "caricatural" was something of a critical cliché used to berate artists who, at one time or other, failed to offer satisfaction. All the same, it is not coincidental that an artist who specialized in caricature emerged from the studio of Gros, who himself had relied on popular imagery in paintings like

his *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor after the Battle of Marengo* (fig. 7) and had, in *Eylau* (fig. 11), filled his foreground with caricatural cadavers. We assume, based on his letters to David, that Gros's teaching was founded on veneration for the antique (although he rarely followed his own teaching methods); we hear, from Charlet's biographer Armand Dayot, that Gros politely dismissed Charlet with the words "Follow your caprices, you have nothing to learn here"⁶⁰—meaning either Gros found Charlet beyond hope, or Charlet had mastered his manner and was ready to embark on artistic independence. Although many a lithographer emerged from Gros's studio,⁶¹ there is no documentary evidence to suggest that Gros openly encouraged his students to venture into lithography. Yet, as we have been examining along the way, Gros's tendency to insert anecdotal details into his history paintings would ultimately flourish among other artists, forcing a reassessment of the hierarchy of the genres. The medium of lithography was yet another place, more available to the public, through which the anecdotes of history could be diffused.

Charlet's lithographs illustrate how Napoleonism was more a historical state of mind than a political ideology. In saying so I don't mean to suggest that the Napoleonists were necessarily unconcerned by political affairs of the day. Rather, their historical outlook on both present and past was motivated by the memory, vague or detailed, of Napoleon's presence rather than by the events of history; they sought to relive the national ambiance of the Napoleonic era. Napoleon, by necessity, became less a historical fact, more a historical dream; hence the flourishing, particularly after 1815, of the anecdote books described earlier, which were

tantamount to oral history in textual settings. The documents of history, although still cited by writers who idealized history as truth founded in research, were openly supplemented by memory, an inherently unverifiable source; wrote one of Napoleon's officers in 1822, "the historical documents. . . are here before me, [while] a throng of heroic acts hurries through my memory and beneath my pen."⁶² To recapture an era is, of course, one of the foundations of history as a discipline; to do so by evoking memory, then encouraging nostalgia, turns the discipline into an emotional expression of historical loss. Beth Wright has made a classic argument for how the archaeologically specific, object-filled Troubadour paintings of the Restoration were constructed to "embody historical presence rather than enact historical meaning;" history itself was a "consolation for loss" of identity and stability felt by those who suffered historical trauma at the hands of the French Revolution.⁶³ Of course the desire to relive history, to recapture a former presence, was not unique to royalists or others who suffered in history's wake; the Generation of 1820, or perhaps anyone who had fond memories of life under the Empire, could equally use history as a means of consolation for the loss of an era. We saw that during the Empire, Napoleonic equivalents of Troubadour paintings, such as Roëhn's *Entry into Dantzig* (fig. 20), used minute detail and a kind of object fascination to recreate both a mood and a sense of realist specificity that could be said to cherish, rather than document, moments of history. In turn, the specific visual and historical props in Troubadour painting, other forms of historical genre, or in Charlet's lithographs work in harmony with the *non-specific* historical moments or figures whom they serve; the memory

evoked by an object or an ambience is thus an open historical space in which the viewer may roam freely. Historical meaning was to be invented by the anonymous viewer upon his or her entry into a space where historical emotions and backdrops, but not evidence of fact, were amply provided for. In the case of Charlet, that emotion was predominantly humor, allowing Napoleon's memory to live on in a light-hearted, non-didactic way that might have seemed, to academic proponents of history's function, antithetical or detrimental to history as a discipline.

It was not only on the popular front--prints, pamphlets, and other media of the surreptitious--that Napoleon's legend retained (and gathered) strength during the Restoration. Horace Vernet, highly active as a lithographer of, in large part, Napoleonic subjects,⁶⁴ is better known as a painter. His paintings have earned him a dual reputation: early in his career, he was the voice of subversion, later the voice of artistic authority and government approbation. He is of prime significance both to the artistic survival of Napoleonism and to the overshadowing of the *grandes machines* of history by *genre historique*, an aesthetic concept which would gain official status during the course of his career. Vernet's mixed reception by critics, sometimes praised, sometimes savaged, his heroic status among disaffected liberals, and his position as a gauge of governmental indecision regarding the dangers of history have placed him at the vortex of an aesthetic and historical melee often described as "romantic." More importantly, his vision was based on a complex combination of Romantic historicism's conflicting components.

Vernet was the last in a line of eminent painters. His father Carle (1758-

1836), although often considered little more than a painter of horses, was a well-known battle painter under the Empire;⁶⁵ his grandfather Joseph (1714-1789) was an accomplished marine painter who, more than any other, managed to elevate critical reception of seascape to the ranks of history painting.⁶⁶ Horace Vernet, born on 30 June 1789--two weeks before the eternally symbolic toppling of the Bastille--has been deemed the quintessence of French republicanism. His childhood sketches of horses and soldiers have suggested to some that a kind of inborn patriotism motivated his output,⁶⁷ while critics regularly attributed to him an innate sensibility for soldiers' manners, founded in his own military experiences.⁶⁸ The fact that his aunt (Carle Vernet's sister) was guillotined during the Terror despite his father's pleas to Jacques-Louis David, then a member of the Committee of Public Safety, has been convincingly interpreted as the seed from which sprung Horace Vernet's life-long disdain for Neoclassicism.⁶⁹

If Vernet had any personal reasons for turning against the antique histories of the Davidian school, he was equally working in partnership with liberal critics and proponents of what, by 1824, could be described as a Romantic ideology. In his both witty and profound "Salon of 1824," Stendhal berated the *beau idéal* as categorically un-*beau*: "the school of David," he complained, "can paint nothing but the body; it is decidedly incapable of painting the soul." Thus David's *Sabines*, so often seen as the epitome of artistic perfection, was to Stendhal a dull parade of warriors who, if they knew what was best for them, would never go into battle nude.⁷⁰ Sainte-Beuve cynically wondered why the "friends of the boring" thought it necessary to paint Ajax

in perpetuity;⁷¹ Vernet himself would, in a comfortably definitive fashion, write to François Gérard that "history paintings are no longer exclusively those whose subjects are drawn from ancient history. The great circumstances of our epoch are now entering into their domain."⁷² It was inevitable that, between Revolution, Empire, and Restoration, the extreme motions of history itself would incur extreme changes in its systems of representation; of course it was not so simple as this and, as we have seen, the ever-present voice of the likes of Quatremère de Quincy cried persistently to stop the madness. But whatever parallel existed between the development of Vernet's style and critics' gradual disillusionment with antiquity, Vernet's personal stake in refusing Davidian ideals was equally a sign of his own ideological radicalism. Given David's erstwhile radical politics, it is impossible not to remark on the paradox; for if David was early in his career the ideal revolutionary, Vernet was precisely that during Restoration. David's students would suggest that Vernet, as a painter of battles, was following in their master's patriotic footsteps;⁷³ but David's paintings of Napoleonic fanfare were to Vernet as retrograde as David's Greco-Roman productions.

It is well-known that Vernet was comrade, counselor, and master of ceremonies to now jobless military men, artists such as Charlet, and liberal writers who met in Vernet's studio—something of a Napoleonist clubhouse where the Generation of 1820 talked, smoked, read and, after Napoleon's death on 5 May 1821, mourned.⁷⁴ Vernet depicted the collective mourning of Napoleon's death in a lithograph poetically entitled *Soldat, je le pleure* (fig. 34, 1821) in which an anonymous soldier and lugubrious dog weep over the newspaper report of Napoleon's

death. In addition he produced two paintings of Napoleon's tomb, one of which, wrapped in black crepe, attracted Bonapartist pilgrimages to Vernet's studio.⁷⁵

Vernet represented a class of political outcasts who were viewed as dangerous by the Restoration government. In addition to having participated in the defense of Paris at the Barrière de Clichy, Vernet was reported to the police, along with the painter Ary Scheffer (1795-1858), for involvement in a fund-raising plot to bribe the warden of the Bicêtre prison to free a group of young French soldiers, condemned to death for their role in a Carbonarist plot to overthrow the Restoration monarchy.⁷⁶ Long after Vernet's death, the often unforgiving Charles Blanc would describe the artist as "one of the first to confuse, by a rather strange misunderstanding, burgeoning liberalism with defeated Bonapartism."⁷⁷ Blanc was a republican who aligned his politics with the aesthetics of antiquity, as we saw had been the case with Pierre Chaussard; yet where Chaussard sought an ideal alliance of antique form with contemporary subject matter, Blanc's conservative aesthetics shunned such a union. However the liberal "confusion" which Blanc disdained, more aptly described as a stylish contempt for monarchy, was at the root of Vernet's sense of history; it was also the point in common for the circle of writers, including Jouy, Jay, and Stendhal, who looked upon Vernet as the voice of their personal politics and, more broadly, the voice of the nation.

Vernet's long career, and its accompanying volumes of criticism, bears witness to an enormous range of thematic and stylistic idioms. His Napoleonic works, both paintings and lithographs, embody Vernet's unique historical vision and his response

to painting of the Empire which, although technically hidden from view, provided him with a foundation for artistic research and historical information. What was, in the works of Gros or Gérard, a dialogue between the monumental and the anecdotal aspects of history—reportage mixed with reminiscence, "documentation" with narrative luxury—would serve Vernet's own fusion of the now more openly battling categories of history painting and genre. He embarked on grand-scale militant works in the manner of Lejeune, for example his *Battle of Jemmapes* (fig. 35, 1821) or *Battle of Montmirail* (1822); on the other end of the spectrum, works of military genre like Vernet's *Dog of the Regiment* (fig. 36, 1819) present anecdotal events not as incidents in a broader history (as Gros had done), but as events in and of themselves, while relying on animated figural types and anecdotal themes that appear directly influenced by Taunay. Vernet's paintings are thus elaborations on the Empire's variant official styles. But unlike a number of Napoleonic painters discussed in Chapter 3, Vernet rarely mixed historical types: rather, his output was composed of the two distinctly different historical idioms that had worked symbiotically under the Empire in creating an illusion of historical balance. His facility in migrating between what appeared to be history (raised viewpoints of battlefields, researched arrangements of troops and artillery) and what appeared to be fiction (anonymous soldiers bandaging a sweet dog caught in the line of fire) could only further complicate notions of what constituted history; where was the boundary between the nobility of history painting and the "capriciousness" of genre to be drawn? Apparently, judging from the accolades and administrative posts to which Vernet's resumé testifies, he was ultimately able to

make the hierarchy of the genres practically irrelevant to perceptions of artistic worth. Vernet's complex role in art historical discourse suggests he was the single most convincing representative of the hierarchy's dissolution.⁷⁸ Did Vernet bring about the end of history painting? Or, equally drastic, the end of the Salon?⁷⁹

In 1820, Vernet painted the *Barrière de Clichy* (fig. 37), the 1814 defense of Paris in which Charlet and Vernet himself are said to have participated. The event brought together workers, writers, and formerly anonymous Parisians including the blacksmith J.-B. Odier, the patron of the work; he is found at center, standing beside the horse of Colonel Moncey, who architected the ultimately failed proceedings (Charlet is in the right background, capping a rifle).⁸⁰ Vernet would be honored for his service at the Barrière de Clichy with the title of *chevalier* of the Legion of Honor; he received the award not, as might be expected, during Napoleon's Hundred Days but, rather, from King Louis XVIII himself, on 7 December 1814.⁸¹ That Vernet would be inexplicably honored by the monarchy for what was an explicitly anti-monarchical gesture is, perhaps, symptomatic of Vernet's complicated position within Restoration politics; the honor would, in any case, be dealt a blow in 1822, when his *Barrière de Clichy* was rejected by the Salon jury for its seditious subject matter.

The painting is firmly ensconced within a tradition of military painting under Napoleon, adopting characteristics of both the monumental and the anecdotal. On the one hand, the *Barrière de Clichy* adheres to the kind of composition favored by Gros: a centralized group for the main players, Odier and Moncey, whose primacy is then

reduced by secondary anecdotes bleeding out to the edges of the small canvas.

Furthermore, in a pictorial tactic we saw in Roëhn's *Entry into Dantzic*, the supposed main action of the picture is effectively backwards, with Moncey's horse providing the posterior of a mass of figures charging toward a distant vanishing point. In the right foreground, a woman—described by Auguste Jal as a particularly romantic detail⁸²—shields her baby from the commotion while looking out of the painting. Without being involved in the actual fighting, she is the painting's poignant marker of historical involvement: even those who play no active part are involuntarily witness to, and absorbed by, the passage of events.

Vernet's *Barrière de Clichy* introduces the art historical problem of the so-called *juste milieu*, a term that, most famously entered into our lexicon by Léon Rosenthal,⁸³ has resulted in a theoretical battle regarding its service as either a formal or a political concept. The term *juste milieu* has functioned primarily to define a "middle ground" between the conflicting forces of Classicism and Romanticism; the resulting style is one that, formally, resists all extremes and, socially, expresses its "bourgeois inspiration."⁸⁴ *Juste milieu* has been used to suggest a kind of artistic "moderation" that even critics of the period would inflect with political signification; for example Henri Delaborde, without ever directly implying an equation between style and politics, would refer to Paul Delaroche—frequently labeled a *juste milieu* painter—as "something of a Girondin of art."⁸⁵ Rosenthal used the term to signal a mix of classical and romantic tendencies that ultimately resulted in paintings where subject, usually anecdote, rules so oppressively

that any signs of artistic expertise are rendered invisible; summing up his entire argument is that the *juste milieu* artists "have no style."⁸⁶

The term was originally used to describe government policy under the July Monarchy, which sought a middle ground politic catering to both republicans and legitimists, radicals and conservatives. Albert Boime has argued that what he considers the "eclecticism" of artistic style under the July Monarchy was a visual metaphor for *juste milieu* policy, while Rosenthal's devoutly formalist text avoids politics altogether.⁸⁷ Boime's intelligent application of the political signification of *juste milieu* to pictorial analysis has resulted in no small amount of art historical dispute, even among writers who otherwise subscribe to a social history of art.⁸⁸ The controversy was sparked primarily by Boime's implication that *juste milieu* politics had a "trickle-down" effect into art and culture, resulting in a July Monarchy *Zeitgeist*, a notion which Boime has at least partially recanted.⁸⁹ But no matter in what context the term *juste milieu* is used today, it is particularly dangerous because, throughout its many incarnations, it has evolved into a more critically appealing synonym for either formally insipid or politically non-committal. It is equally precarious because "*juste milieu* artists" have been assimilated by evolutionary views of the nineteenth century into transitional figures between the Romantic and Realist "movements." Yet the idea of this sort of transition, remarkable only from a retrospective vantage point, is inherently faulty, for we—as historians and as historical beings—inevitably load historical change with our own approaches to what came before and what came after.

All the same it would be irresponsible not to address the concept of the *juste milieu* here, for it seems to have developed in response, above all, to Horace Vernet. Vernet's acceptance, along with Delaroche, by arbiters of official artistic taste represented for Rosenthal a "triumph of the *juste milieu*" that was only temporary;⁹⁰ these artists' triumph was, he implied, justifiably annulled when the revolutionary events of 1848 set the ultimately victorious avant-garde into action. That Vernet "had no style" but all the same appealed to viewers seems to have bothered, in particular, Stendhal: he generally approved of Vernet because, if for no other reason, he reached the people—but he regularly wished Vernet were more stylistically expressive, for instance noting that Vernet didn't use enough chiaroscuro and often "lacked passion."⁹¹ He admired Vernet's works, but simultaneously wished other artists would stop trying to paint like him, and insinuated that Vernet was noteworthy *because of* his mediocrity: "il fait bien, il fait vite, mais il fait à peu près."⁹²

Notions of Vernet as *juste milieu* have, more recently than Stendhal, been used to suggest a certain failing on his part. In the catalogue to the Vernet retrospective held in 1980 at the Académie de France in Rome, the *Barrière de Clichy* is described as "regrettably" resorting to the licked surfaces of eighteenth-century history painting, when in fact "the subject permitted more fire, liberty, fluency in the manner of a Delacroix or a Charlet."⁹³ But although according to this assessment the painting is not romantic enough, it seems only logical that Vernet's work never approaches the fiery impasto and colorism of Delacroix. His licked surfaces, minute detail, and anecdotal realism are directly related to, it might seem obvious, the Troubadour Style

or other variants of *genre historique* under Napoleon. Did the *juste milieu* (if it could be said to have existed) take form with the Troubadour painters, themselves obvious *romanciers*? If so, this would make the painters of the *juste milieu* the ultimate representatives of historical revisionism in the nineteenth century, rather than the inconsequential mayflies that Rosenthal suggested they were. If Vernet is in any way the prime delegate of a *juste milieu*, this is because of his engagement not in conflicting styles of painting, but in variant historical systems: on the one hand a "classical" construction of narrative, as his battle paintings demonstrate, on the other a "romantic" engagement of personalized histories which—looking far ahead—would find their more radical incarnation in the biographical histories of Gustave Courbet, or Impressionist street scenes in which history is turned to a matter of social condition. The mother gazing out of Vernet's *Barrière de Clichy*, lost somewhere between historical engagement and absolute denial of her surroundings, becomes an effective figuration of the spiralling of historical narrative into the biographical.

History painting under Napoleon, and then in the works of artists such as Vernet, was in many ways a reaction against earlier scientific ideals of history as an objective, authorless medium. This development was seen by many as part of the progressive degradation of a noble discipline; it also created a dispassionate excuse for the Salon jury's rejection of artists whom it perceived as politically dangerous. The *Barrière de Clichy* and Vernet's *Battle of Jemmapes* were rejected in 1822 on the grounds that they glorified forbidden regions of recent French history. *Jemmapes* was commissioned by the duc d'Orléans (to become, after 1830, King Louis-Philippe),

whose own role in the 1792 battle of Jemmapes was a regular point of reference for his revolutionary sympathies.⁹⁴ Vernet ultimately had only one work on view at the Salon of 1822, *Joseph Vernet Tied to a Mast in a Storm* (fig. 38), showing his grandfather the seascapist attempting to capture the effects of nature at its most turbulent. Defying his rejection from the Salon, Vernet launched an exhibition of fifty works, many Napoleonic, in his studio.

But obviously it was more than fear of Vernet's subject matter that motivated the jury's decision in 1822, for other artists managed to have works of an explicitly Napoleonic character accepted into the Salon. In response to this apparent discrepancy, the *Miroir des spectacles, des lettres, des mœurs et des arts*, edited by a notorious team of Bonapartist liberals including Jouy, Jay, Jal, and Antoine Arnault, intimated that the jury (and by extension, the government) was deliberately discriminating against Vernet. In the same year that Vernet's *Jemmapes* and *Clichy* were rejected, Charles Langlois's *Battle of Sedinam* and Jean-Louis Gudin's *Dubois at Alexandria*, showing the Napoleonic general Kléber receiving medical attention, were admitted; the same went for a series of less specific, but equally obvious, military paintings by Hippolyte Bellangé. The *Miroir* puzzled:

Horace Vernet is thus slapped with a special measure: why? Are we to say that Vernet's works would have been able to arouse memories that should be able to be erased? That he would have been the cause or the pretext for public brawls and discussion? I'll respond that in 1817 and 1819, this painter and his competitors aroused, or said better, perpetuated these memories without having provoked discussions or brawls by exhibiting works whose analogues are today forced away.⁹⁵

While Bellangé's unnamed but nonetheless Napoleonic soldiers were considered innocuous, perhaps because the artist was a student of the now "converted" Gros,

Vernet was believed to possess a particularly dangerous political formula.

A mini-play by "Le Bequillard," published in *La Foudre*, satirized the political problem posed by Vernet, with the added suggestion that Vernet's politics were offensive to the great tradition represented by his grandfather, Joseph Vernet. After all the Salon visitors have gone for the day, a few paintings at the 1822 Salon—Satan, Orestes, "Pepe the Fisherman," Sappho, and Ariadne—hang about discussing their personal lives or, art historically speaking, their themes: love, justice, crime, and other such morally appropriate ideas. They fall upon the word "politics." A new voice breaks in, grumbling "Who here's talking politics? *Mille sabords, mille canons!*" Sappho, embarrassed by this outburst, wonders who has permitted himself such insolence among good society. The swearer is identified: it is Joseph Vernet, who launches a diatribe while tied to his sea-bound soap-box:

As a sailor, I think I can swear—and I swear most of all when people talk politics . . . [Politics] fill the painter's palette with false, ephemeral colors. . . today they dazzle and captivate the ninnies who they're ground up for; tomorrow, they'll be faded and will no longer hide the mistakes they covered up. . . *Corbleu!* If my grandson, instead of letting himself be *liberalized* by a heap of unmasted corsairs, had devoted the time and talent he puts into doodling those grenadiers with the eagle, those riflemen with the three colors, to representing with dignity his grandfather, I'd be a lot better off.⁹⁶

The disagreeable sailor was unhappy not only with his own appearance, but with how his ancestor has shamed the family name and the discipline of history painting.

While the character of the sailor, or the critic for whom he speaks, saw nothing but ruination, the actual painting of *Joseph Vernet Tied to a Mast in a Storm* is a figuration of Horace Vernet's complex position within traditions of history painting. His grandfather, bound to a mast in order to best study the effects of

nature, willingly limits himself to eighteenth-century empiricist ideals, pure observation as the only means to reporting on the world around him. That world, however, is a raging storm; its inhabitants, represented here by the ship's crew, crouch in fear of an unknown future. The story of Christ on the Sea of Galilee, guiding the weak of spirit to safety, comes quickly to mind;⁹⁷ Lorenz Eitner's notion of the "storm-tossed boat" as a metaphor for a kind of romantic dilemma is equally compelling.⁹⁸ Yet Vernet's painting of his grandfather, scientifically devoted to pure observation while inescapably engaged, enthralled, and endangered by the site of his study, is a poetic evaluation of the plight of history itself, in the process of being torn apart. Vernet's grandfather, like Vernet himself, is simultaneously trapped within and able to illustrate that destruction: objective observation and subjective experience are bound into a historical whole.

Contradictory approaches to historical representation, as symbolized by *Joseph Vernet Tied to a Mast in a Storm*, can be pinpointed throughout Vernet's vast output. Vernet's participation in the defense of the Barrière de Clichy might be used to explain the ground-level vantage point and *sur le vif* appearance of the painting; on the other hand, in *Jemmapes*, a standardized battle painting with a raised viewpoint, it was the actual historical distance between the event (1792) and the artist's rendering of it (1821) that permitted the illusionistic, seemingly uninvolved approach to the scene. An equally traditional viewpoint is used in Vernet's *Battle of Montmirail* of 1822 (exhibited at the Salon of 1824, without a title), a battle fought during the Campaign of France (1814), when the Grande Armée was attempting to fight off the

invading allies. The intensely detailed battlefield, military paraphernalia, and charging troops could be said to have been rendered with either the "eye of a soldier" (what made Vernet endearing to some, contemptible to others) or the eye of a distanced observer: involvement and objectivity are no longer opposite forces. Might this seeming paradox of historical approach explain why Stendhal would say "Horace Vernet's masterpiece, the *Battle of Montmirail*, is what is romantic in painting"⁹⁹—as if the painting singlehandedly defined a whole era? He was particularly enthusiastic about the painting's chiaroscuro; the foreboding sky, in its interplay of purple cloud and glimmering twilight, might remotely conform to accepted characterizations of a romantic style. But the highly detailed, glistening surface, with a trace of neither impasto nor melancholy, makes it difficult to reconcile how both Vernet and, for example, Delacroix have come to represent Romantic exemplars.

For Stendhal, it was a matter of theme: "The Romantic in all the arts is that which represents the men of today, and not those of the heroic times so far from us, and who probably never existed."¹⁰⁰ Stendhal's enthusiasm for Vernet's *Battle of Montmirail* was equally a matter of its unique qualities when compared to other battles, of which Stendhal claimed to have witnessed two or three thousand in painting, and two or three in reality.¹⁰¹ This comment might suggest a certain battle-weariness on Stendhal's part, although his *Vie de Napoléon*, begun in 1818 and never completed, reveals an almost boyish relish for the mechanical details of battle. Stendhal's predilection, in his historical writing and art criticism, for military history was relevant to his political opinion of Napoleon, one which might explain why

Napoleon's military image has, to the present day, outlived his imperial one: "In a word, Napoleon knew how to make himself obeyed as general, but he did not know how to act as king" (this opinion was shared by many who seemed to otherwise support Napoleon).¹⁰² Stendhal, like much of France, had been moved by Bonaparte's military charisma in the Italian Campaign but expressed utter disgust upon Napoleon's coronation as Emperor;¹⁰³ a famous counterpart to Stendhal's anger is found in Ludwig van Beethoven, who scribbled out the dedication to Bonaparte on his Third Symphony, the "Eroica," when he learned of Napoleon's new title.¹⁰⁴ His secret scorn notwithstanding, Stendhal was accorded the title of "deputy war commissioner" in 1806 and participated in the disastrous Russian campaign of 1812. As had been the case for many, he found himself seduced by the regime after having been offered a personal role in its dealings. In a letter to his sister in 1808, Stendhal expressed enthusiasm that, while a few years prior he had been wearing boots full of holes, he had suddenly "become somebody: I receive many letters in which the Germans call me Monseigneur; important Frenchmen call me Monsieur l'Intendant."¹⁰⁵ Stendhal was, at least temporarily, lured into Napoleon's imperial aristocracy which, taking advantage of human vulnerability in the face of flattery, courted the citizenry so as to remedy the shock produced by Napoleon's suddenly monarchic identity. In the astute words of J. Christopher Herold, "A man may experience difficulty in calling another man, who all his life has been his equal, 'Your Majesty'; but the difficulty is considerably lessened if that man himself is suddenly addressed as 'Your Highness.'"¹⁰⁶ But by the time of Stendhal's attempts

at writing Napoleon's history—a frustrating endeavor involving twenty years of vacillation before he abandoned it—he was convinced of Bonaparte's fatal flaw: in the persona of Napoleon, he had resorted to antiquated principles of legitimacy which Stendhal, in his liberalism and his modernity, could not abide.

If "modernity" was the basis of Stendhal's notion of the romantic, then Charles Baudelaire would seem to have been in agreement when he proclaimed "Romanticism and modern art are one and the same thing."¹⁰⁷ But where for Stendhal modernity was a purely temporal term, for Baudelaire, Romanticism and modernity were matters of style. Hence Baudelaire championed Delacroix and looked upon Vernet as an enemy of art, not simply because he found battle painting as reprehensible as war itself ("I hate the army," he griped), but because Vernet was *populaire*: "this *vox populi*. . . simply oppresses me."¹⁰⁸ Baudelaire was writing in 1846, long after Vernet had entered the mainstream of official art; but his general hatred for battle painting equally applied to the early work Vernet did as a young radical. Beyond Baudelaire's intellectual sphere, popularity—that is, being both adored by and aligned with the common people—was either Vernet's worst crime or greatest attribute. After his death one critic, somehow charitably, remarked that Vernet was popular because he was able to charm without being a talented draughtsman or colorist;¹⁰⁹ it was his status as *populaire* that would make him the logical, and necessary, official choice under the regimes of both Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III.¹¹⁰ Vernet was familiar to all; everyone knew by heart, wrote Sainte-Beuve, his paintings of 1819, the *Dog of the Regiment* and the *Trumpeter's Horse*, while prints based on the pair were in "all

the windows."¹¹¹ Jal remarked that everyone had at least one of Vernet's lithographs, just as everyone knew the songs of Béranger.¹¹² Yet Jal felt Vernet's popularity was not simply a matter of providing entertainment for viewers; rather, Vernet was a philosopher who knew "how to make us think. . . I don't know of a single work by this artist, however light the subject, that doesn't contain a philosophical idea."¹¹³

Among Vernet's lightest works is the pair of 1819, the *Dog of the Regiment* and the *Trumpeter's Horse*, that most definitively fixed Vernet's reputation as a painter of historical genre. As was the case with the *Battle of Montmirail*, the two paintings, listed in the *livret* simply as *plusieurs tableaux, même numéro*, were allowed into the Salon despite the fact that their players seemed to be members of Napoleon's army; their sentimental treatment of wartime misfortunes made them, apparently, universal enough to escape censure. The *Trumpeter's Horse* shows a dead military trumpeter being mourned by his horse and dog, the latter of whom licks his head; the same dog is the subject of the *Dog of the Regiment*, where the dead soldier is reduced to a pair of legs emerging from a smoke-obscured trench. David's students wrote that only the "indifferent" could pass before such a painting without blushing;¹¹⁴ Jouy remarked on the crowds that gathered before the pair, noting that only someone who had served as a soldier could paint the scene so realistically, albeit a bit "naively." Jouy then sarcastically remarked upon the Salon public, pointing out that while he overheard many a viewer exclaim "oh, the poor dog," not a single person said "oh, the poor trumpeter."¹¹⁵ The public of 1819, he seems to have

been suggesting, was either too cowardly or too self-interested to be concerned with the countrymen who died in the line of duty; even though the trumpeter was "safely" anonymous, and given little in the way of historical context, the cute spaniel was a more securely apolitical focal point for public sympathy. The pair was sufficiently moving to reach even Charles Landon who, without naming the painting, remarked on the touching image of "a horse sadly looking at his rider, hit by gunfire."¹¹⁶ What was clearly a soldier from Napoleon's army became, to Landon, just "a rider"—a timeless, history-less figure, whose identity was limited to his having once been on a horse.

Under the same pretext that what is not said directly can have no adverse influence on the public, Vernet also exhibited in 1819 one of his most moving paintings, listed in the *Salon livret* as *A French Grenadier on the Battlefield* (fig. 39, 1818). Commissioned by the duc d'Orléans, the painting shows a nameless soldier seated on a mound of dirt, a shovel planted between his legs as he contemplates the surrounding scene of death; at his feet is a just-buried comrade, in the right distance bodies are strewn on the hillside, and on the horizon, a grave is marked by a lonely wooden cross. The sky, a glowing abstraction of pink, grey, and deep blue, is both gloomy and heavenly as the sun sets on a scene whose circumstances are obscured by the unrevealing title. The painting's physical mystery, profound colorism, and eerily stark cross are reminiscent of the Christianized landscapes of Caspar David Friedrich; the difference resides in the human presence in Vernet's painting, a man identified by only a French soldier's uniform, stained with blood, and an expression where

personal pain speaks of a timeless, universal tragedy. History is reduced to material symbols, the graves, cross, and sunset signifying loss. Perhaps the painting's most important historical symbol emerges from the lower right corner: a Napoleonic eagle standard. The eagle standard was certainly not missed by censors, but it was ignored because the soldier, Vernet would reveal, had a very specific historical identity. This time in Vernet's favor, "special measures" (which the *Miroir* had complained were used to discriminate against Vernet) allowed the painting's exhibition.

The *French Grenadier on the Battlefield* reappeared at Vernet's 1822 studio exhibit, along with many Napoleonic battles, portraits, and genre paintings. Of course the notorious rejected works, *Jemmapes* and the *Barrière de Clichy*, joined in the rebellious festivities. The catalogue of the exhibition, written by Jouy and Jay, describes the battle of Jemmapes and the Barrière de Clichy as "the two extreme points of our military glory: it was the first spark and the last sigh, not of our courage, but of our fortune."¹⁷ Jouy and Jay's characterization of these events of 1792 and 1814 as "first" and "last" moments of an era hints that the jury rejected them for the frame they implied around Napoleon. The *French Grenadier on the Battlefield* that had been exhibited at the Salon of 1819 appeared in Jouy and Jay's catalogue with a new title: the *Soldier of Waterloo*. Of course it could have been no secret to Salon-visitors in 1819 that the mysterious battlefield was Waterloo, the site of Napoleon's defeat once and for all; at what other point could Napoleonic history be portrayed as so hopeless? For perhaps this reason alone, the painting with its imperial eagle had been admitted: there could be no danger in a painting that

signalled, albeit wistfully, the end of the tyrant. The same amnesty was also granted the Pellerin print factory, repeatedly hassled by government censors; in 1820 and 1821, they were permitted to publish images of the retreat from Moscow and the battle of Waterloo—with Napoleon absent from the scenes—for the simple reason that both events signified Napoleon's failings.¹¹⁸

The *French Grenadier on the Battlefield* (of Waterloo) went undiscussed by reviewers of the 1819 Salon. While Vernet's Napoleonic works were poison on the lips of many and required euphemistic titles if he was to have any hope of their gaining access to the public eye, paintings such as P.R. Vigneron's *Soldat laboureur* (1822) were ushered in with, it seems, no threat to the Restoration government. The title of Vigneron's work immediately identifies the subject of the painting as a necessarily disgruntled *demi-solde*, the term given to veterans of Napoleon's Grande Armée who, as chastisement for their service to the usurper, were deprived of half their military salary and thus forced to return to their peasant origins, farming in order to supplement their diminished means.¹¹⁹ Even their new name, *demi-solde*, or "half pay", was a degrading play on words, the "demi-soldat" who was reduced to being but half a man. Vigneron's *Soldat laboureur* was one of many paintings that piqued the curiosity of Vernet's supporters at the *Miroir*: why was Vigneron's *demi-solde* at the 1822 Salon, while Vernet's painting of the same title and subject was to be seen only at his studio exhibition of that year? While Vernet seems not to have submitted his *Soldat laboureur* in the first place, the point made by the *Miroir*, rather, was that Vigneron's *Soldat laboureur* was seen as less dangerous than Vernet's

paintings of even more distant revolutionary history.¹²⁰ Of course what his advocates ignored was the fact that the *soldat laboureur*, champion of Napoleon though he may have been, represented the Bourbon monarchy's power to administer just punishment. The critic J.-P. Brès tactfully claimed a royalist message for Vigneron's painting; it represented a soldier's regret for his past, ill-spent covering with blood the earth he now tills, a regret that could only be soothed by the calm stability of his present life.¹²¹

Vernet's *Soldat laboureur* (fig. 40, 1820), according to Jouy and Jay, portrays the same man as the one found in the *Soldier of Waterloo*,¹²² linking the two paintings into chapters in a history of desolation and defeat. Yet where the *Soldier of Waterloo* is slumped dejectedly on a mound of earth, bareheaded, deprived of all glory, in his later rustic incarnation he is upright and proud. While stone walls behind the *soldat laboureur* crumble and dissolve, metaphors for the destruction of the Empire, the man himself is solid, defiant, still wearing his military hat and, most significantly, clutching the medal of the Legion of Honor. In both the *Soldier of Waterloo* and the *Soldat laboureur*, the past is personified through anonymous philosophers, as Jal might have called them; history is presented as a psychological state devoid of time and place.

The *soldat laboureur* was a hero of Bonapartist literary narrations that often sowed their sentimentality from Virgil's *Georgics*.¹²³ The *Soldier of Waterloo* was equally open to poetic applications. The duc d'Orléans had a catalogue made of his painting collection, with poems accompanying engravings of his works. A poem by

Anatole de Montesquiou, dedicated to both Vernet and the French soldier, accompanies the engraving of the *Soldier of Waterloo*.¹²⁴ Jouy and Jay's catalogue entry cites a poem by Lord Byron: "Tears, big tears gush from the rough soldier's lid/His tread is on an Empire's dust/The grave of France, the deadly Waterloo." Byron's verses then give way to Jouy and Jay's own romantic analysis of the soldier's lot: the exact moment is when, as he contemplates the "sleep of glory" into which his companions have fallen, he "gives a last sigh to his flags, and a last thought to our glory."¹²⁵ In both Vernet's painting and Jouy and Jay's description, a fictional figure is made into the delegate of an entire population. While in works such as *Jemmapes* and *Montmirail* Vernet seems to have preferred the precision and illusionistic accuracy of battle painting, the broader historical implications of Waterloo were most effectively conjured up by a solitary, anonymous figure who represented national suffering.

However, even Vernet's champions occasionally complained about the anonymity of his histories. Stendhal seemed to feel that the genre-like nature of Vernet's histories, their lack of portraits of specific historical figures, was an oversight on the artist's part.¹²⁶ But Jal made clear that Vernet was not to blame; he was simply trying to avoid trouble with the government. How, he wondered, could a battle include neither:

the general-in-chief, nor the generals who assured the day's success? . . . If I'm not mistaken, Napoleon commanded the army, and it was generals Bertrand and Ney who wrested victory from the Russians. . . . So why don't these people figure in the painting of M. Horace? Would we forget Condé at Rocroy, Henri IV at Ivry, and the duc d'Angoulême at the Trocadero? . . . Do you think that images of Napoleon and Ney would have today caused a big sensation? . . . Denying such truths would liken us

to children who are afraid of shadows.¹²⁷

Writing three years after Napoleon's death, Jal had, indeed, a valid point: government paranoia was so high as to fear a return of Napoleon's ghost. But even before Napoleon's death, anonymity was an important feature in Napoleonist aesthetics. The replacement of specific generals with unnamed figures, the personification of Waterloo as a single, unknown soldier, had in the final analysis little to do with fear of censorship; Vernet was audacious enough to submit *Jemmapes* and *Clichy* for consideration by the Salon jury, painted many works which included the very recognizable features of Napoleon, and seemed almost to hope for government officials to bang down his door on the occasion of his studio exhibition. If anything, censorship during the Restoration chapter of Vernet's career seemed to solicit his own counter-reaction. Thus while censorship sometimes bore obvious marks on Vernet's output, in works like the *Dog of the Regiment* or the *Soldier of Waterloo*, anonymity allowed Vernet a predominantly literary, as opposed to documentary, characterization of history.

Vernet's literary attributes resulted in his being regularly compared to authors both ancient and modern. Albert de Malvoisine called Vernet the "French Horace," comparing him to the Latin poet of the same name: "we read the works of one as we see the works of the other; with a sort of emotion, a secret feeling of pleasure and melancholy. There is soul in all of their pages."¹²⁸ Jouy and Jay compared Vernet to Sir Walter Scott, having only a few sentences prior compared him to François Lejeune; the rather incongruous comparison is explained by the critics' suggestion that

Vernet, Lejeune, and Scott were all equally poets of "national emotions." Jouy and Jay's primary point of comparison between Vernet and Scott is each artist's understanding of, and respect for, the mores and glories of their respective countries. Yet if nationalism was the driving force linking Vernet and Scott, both were equally clear on how to make nationalism personally relevant to the public.

One of two preambles to Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1817) is written as a treatise on historical methods, dedicated to the esteemed historian Dr. Dryasdust. Himself a devoted antiquarian of Scottish history, Scott satirized history's sad potential for dryness, especially English history, whose authors so often relied on "musty records and chronicles. . . [and] conspired to suppress in their narratives all interesting details."¹²⁹ He then went on to describe how historians, or historical novelists, could only suffer from compulsions to remain entirely faithful to the language and style of the period they endeavored to characterize. As Chaucer is incomprehensible to the modern reader, so the "unfortunate Chatterton"--who at seventeen committed suicide because he failed to acquire a devoted readership--too zealously tried to imitate the language of a long-gone age. The fact, Scott put forth, is that the object of any historian's study risks appearing dull; and with less disdain than Stendhal would a few years later, Scott fully admitted the "repulsive dryness of antiquity."¹³⁰ Happily, however, the historical writer has at his disposal, albeit in sparse quantities, hints to the *vie privée* (here Scott resorted to French) of our forefathers. Thanks to these hints, and by keeping the "general coloring" of an age (and here, he resorted to the metaphor of painting),¹³¹ it is possible to create narratives that are both

historically accurate and relevant to a modern public. The Anglo-Saxon history outlined by *Ivanhoe* thus appears faithful to the facts of eleventh-century England; it is made pleasing and relevant to a not-necessarily-informed public by invented characters woven throughout the story. Anglo-Saxon history is unravelled as a secondary backdrop to the more important narration of the book's fictional events. In the historical novel, "real history" is necessarily upstaged by the imaginary. Is this in any way different from the Napoleonic histories of Vernet, or even paintings of the Empire such as Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz*, Roëhn's *Entry into Dantzic*, or Gros's *Battle of Nazareth* and *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa*—where the documentary and "officially" historical are subordinated to anecdotes of the anonymous?

While perhaps in terms of historiographic methods, Vernet and Scott were seen as artistic kin, supporters of Vernet were inclined to cite his philosophical ancestry in France's most politically precarious author: Voltaire.¹³² If Vernet was Voltaire's artistic counterpart, it was only partially because of the penchant for political satire that characterized, most notably, his lithographs. While perhaps Vernet's paintings do not exhibit the kind of wry erudition that characterizes the work of Voltaire, Vernet still paralleled the famous writer in terms of the public to whom he appealed: liberals, intellectual or otherwise, who found the monarchy good for little but scorn. Voltaire was himself famed for (among other things) getting himself into trouble with kings; it was this sort of calculated political rabble-rousing to which, if not intentionally emulating the great author, Vernet resorted as a means of

establishing a public identity.

Vernet's devotees, most notably Jouy, were pretenders to a cult of Voltaire, even imitating his authorial style.¹³³ Jouy's previously cited railing against "church paintings" might be seen as the Restoration analogue to Voltaire's legendary anti-clericalism. Voltaire's name was enough to signal both anti-monarchic sentiments and irreproachable literary panache all at once. With a similar brand of associative anti-royalism, the *Bulletin de Paris*--the journal that had served as the unofficial mouthpiece of official propaganda under the Consulate¹³⁴--bears witness to a kind of editorial fixation on Voltaire, whose works were excerpted (or at the very least, whose name is dropped) with impressive regularity in almost every issue. Of course Voltaire, or his equally influential contemporary Jean-Jacques Rousseau, were writers whose words and ideals had, to republicans, provided the models for an ideally free and French state; to conservatives, these same writers had almost single-handedly fomented revolution. Napoleon himself was said to be, in his youth, an avid reader of both;¹³⁵ as an occasional man of letters, his writings contain insistent, even clichéd, Rousseauian evocations of the plight of nations enchained by monarchy.¹³⁶

Voltaire was, in a word, stylish, especially under the Restoration, and especially under its second half, about which one writer quipped: "Under Louis XVIII, the formidable ghost was above all Bonaparte; now [under Charles X], even more than Bonaparte, it is Voltaire."¹³⁷ Fear of Voltaire was not unlike the fear of Napoleon's ghost that Vernet's paintings generated, founded in the possibility of an impressionable public lashing back; furthermore, that Voltaire and Vernet were even

likeable as cultural heroes pointed to the monarchy's failure to inspire universal admiration. Writing in 1828, Philippe-Alexandre Coupin would suggest that the monarchy's fear of ghosts was nothing short of silly. At the Salon of 1827, Vernet exhibited his *Bridge at Arcola* (fig. 41, 1826), showing Bonaparte exhorting his troops to cross the bridge. As seemed to be almost regular practice with Vernet's paintings, the *Bridge at Arcola* was left untitled in the *livret*. While the classification of an artist's works under *plusieurs tableaux, même numéro* is often an indication that individual works weren't registered in time for the publication of the *livret*, Coupin said that in Vernet's case this was a "useless little precaution" aimed at protecting viewers from being scandalized by mention of Napoleon, although "everyone recognized the subject perfectly, not to mention the main character."¹³⁸ Coupin's criticism was aroused by what he perceived as a lapse in logic: it was useless to suppress the title of the work, not only because the subject was perfectly clear, but because the name of Napoleon, himself quite dead, had by that point "become completely historical, and no longer [had] the party influence that some insist on attributing to it."¹³⁹ Coupin was irked by the paranoia of Charles X's government, although indeed censorship had (if only momentarily) softened considerably; no painting depicting Bonaparte as clearly as Vernet's *Arcola* would have, earlier in the Restoration, been permitted to disgrace the Salon walls. The painting even makes a formal allusion to art under Napoleon, as the figure of Bonaparte is clearly based on Gros's *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola* (fig. 3). A critic for *Le Mentor*, without mentioning Vernet by name, criticized the painting of *Arcola* as "an outdated

subject," although the same writer found nothing outdated in a painting of a much more distant subject, Henri IV.¹⁴⁰ An explanation for the admission of Vernet's overtly Napoleonic history painting might reside in the Restoration monarchy's desire to remain within Vernet's good graces: his friendship with the anti-Bourbon duc d'Orléans was intimidating. In 1828, Vernet was appointed Director of the French Academy in Rome; if this was the Academy's surprising concession to popular taste, the government, we might surmise, was pleased to get him out of the country.

Vernet's *Arcola*, in lithographic form, had illustrated an episode in the enormous two-volume paean to the *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon* (1822) by the somewhat tendentious Antoine Arnault. Arnault's book could be considered a Napoleonic classic in its alternately objective and anecdotal presentation of historical events in the form of individual one or two-page "tableaux." From the start Arnault claims to proffer a fully objective account of Napoleon's life and deeds, leaving the reader to make all judgments. His clear, often minutely detailed presentation of events is biased, albeit gently, in favor of Napoleon, whose ability to share the pain and fatigue of the common soldier is, as is so often the case in the history of the *petit caporal*, a point to which Arnault repeatedly returns. As his contemporary Emmanuel de Las Cases, writer of the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, had done in his account of the Jaffa affair, Arnault attempted to exculpate Napoleon from claims that the plague-victims had been poisoned. Las Cases's reaction (discussed in Chapter 2) to Napoleon's having been slandered (as his supporters claimed) was an outraged and impassioned demonstration of, he admits, blind devotion: "Admiration made me

follow [Napoleon] without knowing him."¹⁴¹ Arnault's words, on the other hand, are calm and, at least in appearance, objective. Rather than insisting on Napoleon's mercifulness, he wrote that the sacking of the villages at Jaffa stopped "more from fatigue than from pity."¹⁴² Then, addressing the question of poison, he wrote:

Several men found themselves in this horrible situation. They only had a few hours to live. . . The rear-guard, by the order of the general-in-chief, postponed its departure by three days, and did not start up again until death brought an end to these unfortunate men's suffering, which was not shortened by any artificial means. However, slanderers reported the opposite.¹⁴³

His concise, sober characterization makes his narrative more convincing, while Las Cases claimed his account was true because it came from "the mouth of Napoleon himself:"¹⁴⁴ enough to render the story a bold-faced lie in the minds of many. The effusive *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* is, appropriately, the book Stendhal's Napoleon-struck Julien Sorel cries over when his father knocks it into the mill stream.¹⁴⁵

Arnault, although even-handed and not in all regards enamored of Napoleon, was nonetheless trouble as far as the Restoration government was concerned. Along with Jouy, Jay, and Jal, Arnault served on the editorial board of the polemical *Miroir* and, like his cohorts, had a past that seemed to warrant wariness on the government's part. Under Napoleon Arnault held numerous governmental posts, was appointed a member of the Institut, and was placed on the committee in charge of writing the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*; he was stripped of these official titles in January of 1815, then regained them temporarily during the Hundred Days. After the second Restoration, Arnault was exiled to twenty leagues from Paris.¹⁴⁶ His fellow liberals Jouy and Jay, suffering similar castigation from the monarchy, were jailed for writing

inflammatory reports on the execution of Napoleon's officers after the Hundred Days.¹⁴⁷ Jouy was particularly notorious for censorship battles over his 1818 play *Belisarius*, which made obvious reference to the recently departed Emperor.¹⁴⁸ In their literary lifestyles and regular clashes with the royal government, Jouy, Jay, and Arnault seemed to model their very existence on Voltaire. While it has been suggested that their Voltairianism was something of an intellectual pose, the comparison of these writers to Voltaire is not unconvincing; nor was their designation of Vernet as the "Voltaire of painting" illogical. This brings us to an important, though previously ignored, project by Vernet: his lithographic illustrations for an 1825 edition of Voltaire's *Henriade*.

Voltaire's epic poem, written as the *Ligue* in 1723 then published in 1728 as the *Henriade*, devotes ten cantos to the legendary Henri IV of France, generally credited for bringing to an end the decades-long civil war between Protestants and Catholics. His Edict of Nantes (1598-99) is considered a paradigm of religious tolerance; it granted amnesty to the Protestants who had endured countless forms of persecution, although it has been argued that the Edict of Nantes was more an attempt at pacification, a political bid at pleasing all parties, than it was testimony to the king's tolerance and compassion for the downtrodden.¹⁴⁹ It was, in any case, through Henri IV's generosity and outspoken hope to serve all members of society, his ability to "align simplicity with grandeur,"¹⁵⁰ that he earned respect and adoration as France's most legendary king.

Voltaire's *Henriade* was the single most fruitful source for later literary and

pictorial renderings of Henri IV.¹⁵¹ However, as a document of history, the poem is unshy about its mixture of fact and fable; this is perhaps the most compelling reason for the link that art historians have made between Voltaire's poem and the advent of the Troubadour Style, which had equally unshy contemporary equivalents in the paintings of Roëhn and Taunay. Voltaire addressed this issue in a lengthy footnote, remarking that certain readers might be displeased to find fictions in their history, while others might not like to have history in their fiction; attempting to justify his methods for all parties, he wrote that he wanted to be considered neither a historian who lies, nor the author of a dull "gazette in verse."¹⁵² The purely fictional aspects of the poem seem to have had the most staying power; thus, for example, the legendary story of Henri IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées that gives a romantic flair to Canto IX is one of the most regularly recounted chapters from the life of the good king, although its intimate details are clearly poetic creation rather than documented fact.

Beyond possessing general amiability, Henri IV was France's first Bourbon monarch, thus appointing him the ideal candidate under the Restoration to revive public trust in royalty. Hence the enormous number of Henric devotional images in the Salons of the Restoration, although he had also been a popular figure in Troubadour paintings by Révoil and Richard under the Empire as well. In addition to regular appearances in easel paintings, Henri IV was the subject of six large-scale paintings commissioned between 1817 and 1818 for the monarchic cycle in the Galerie de Diane in the Château de Fontainebleau, including works by Taunay, Jean-

Baptiste Mauzaisse (1784–1844), and Louis-Etienne Watelet (1780–1866).¹⁵³ Horace Vernet and his father Carle had been called upon to paint works for the Galerie de Diane project; both refused.¹⁵⁴ While Vernet did occasionally bow to monarchic expectations by painting royal themes,¹⁵⁵ he was not easily convinced of, or cared little for, the connection between diplomatic obeisance and financial advantage. Vernet was in this regard a rare case; many of the painters who owed their first taste of fame to Napoleonic commissions had little choice but to solicit and accept royal commissions. Roëhn, immediately after Napoleon's first exile, sent to the Salon a painting of *Louis XVI Receiving the Duc d'Enghien* (1814), the latter of whom, executed without trial in 1804 for suspicion in an assassination conspiracy against Napoleon, was a regularly evoked martyr of the Napoleonic era during the Restoration.¹⁵⁶ Gros, of course, became a painter of royal portraits and was given the title of Baron in 1824.

Perhaps the most evocative contribution by an erstwhile Napoleonic painter to the royal cause is the *Entry of Henri IV into Paris* (fig. 42, 1817) by François Gérard. Commissioned for the Salle du Conseil d'état in the Tuileries to replace Gérard's *Battle of Austerlitz*¹⁵⁷ (which went to the Louvre storage rooms), the painting resulted in Gérard's being named *premier peintre* to the king.¹⁵⁸ This was a move as politically motivated as Gros's receiving the title of Baron. Both Gros and Gérard, major painters for Napoleon, were now officially royal property.

Gérard's elaborate canvas recounts the triumphal entry of Henri IV into Paris in 1594, having been crowned in 1589 but unable to take power due to Paris's

besiegement at the hands of the Catholic League. His official ascension to the throne marked a final peace after the wars of religion. Gérard's painting portrays Henri IV among his devoted entourage, including the legendary heroes Sully and Montmorency; overjoyed citizens welcome he who would restore stability to the French people, while his beloved Gabrielle d'Estrées watches from a balcony. The painting was, of course, a historical metaphor for the present, equating Henri IV's entry into Paris with the return of the legitimate Bourbon king in 1815. The analogy between Henri IV and Louis XVIII was immediately grasped by critics, one of whom remarked "I cannot look at this painting without being reminded of the day when, after so many misfortunes, the inhabitants of Paris saw for the first time a Bourbon within their walls. . . in the features of the Sullys, the Montmorencys, Matignons, Brissacs, and Lhuilliers, I see the expression that animated those of the Magdonalds, the Marmonts, Oudinots, Victors, and Chabrols."¹⁵⁹ Another writer stated more simply, "we don't know if the artist has represented the past or the present."¹⁶⁰

While it is possible that when painting the *Entry of Henri IV into Paris*, Gérard sought sources in the many illustrated editions of Voltaire's *Henriade*, he would have risked criticism for such a move, as one royalist had castigated Voltaire for "superimposing his own irreligion" on the king and using "upbraided democracy . . . for undermining monarchy."¹⁶¹ But the critic Miel made a direct association between Voltaire's poem and Gérard's painting, saying "The *Henriade* of M. Gérard, without having as many detractors as that of Voltaire, will attain no less success." He then remarked that such a "vraiment populaire" painting should not be hidden

away in a palace, where the people would be unable to see it; "[Henri IV's] statue, on the Pont Neuf, is saluted by the people; let the representation of his return among his people. . . be no less accessible than the statue."¹⁶² The bronze statue to which Miel refers, erected on the Pont Neuf in 1614, destroyed in 1792, then resurrected in 1818 by a project involving the melting of several bronze statues of, naturally, Napoleon himself,¹⁶³ was and remains an important public symbol for Parisians. At the Salon of 1819 Roëhn exhibited the *Enthusiasm of the French for Henri IV*, depicting the new bronze statue on its way to installation on the Pont Neuf, accompanied by a procession of Parisians. The students who published a book of letters to David, while generally annoyed by anything that smacked of monarchy, were able to say of Roëhn's painting "if therein we are able to see, without being troubled, a group of men jumping on the bandwagon of a prince, it is because he is no more, and homages to a bronze necessarily proceed exempt of flattery and venality."¹⁶⁴

There is no telling if Miel, Roëhn, David's students, or the public in general knew about the big secret behind the famous equestrian statue of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf. Tucked away inside the right arm of the bronze king was another bronze, a little statuette of Napoleon by Auguste Taunay, brother of the more famous historical genre painter.¹⁶⁵ The statuette, along with some anti-monarchist pamphlets, was hidden in the Henri IV statue by a certain Bonapartist named Mesmel, who had been hired to assist with the casting sometime around 1818;¹⁶⁶ clearly intended as a snub to royal hopes of removing Napoleon's image from the public eye, the statuette was

the object of surreptitious worship by the crowds who came to visit the larger, visible statue of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf. This politically loaded gesture was one of many in the Napoleonist reclamation of Henri "le Grand" as their own. As discussed in Chapter 2, Henri IV had, during the Empire, been cited as Napoleon's ancestor; while the restored Bourbons could turn to him as the first in their dynasty, the Bonapartists could just as easily claim that the great warrior king and man of the people was Napoleon's historical kin. Napoleon's imperial allies such as Alexander the Great or Caesar could only reinforce anti-Bonapartist notions of Napoleon "the foreigner;" a French precedent was needed to promote Napoleon's identity as a national hero. In the same way that, for instance, a popular print of *Saint Napoleon, Patron of Warriors* (fig. 43, n.d.) dressed Napoleon in the Renaissance lace ruff and satin bloomers of the age of Henri IV, so attributes of the *petit caporal* were used by liberals in descriptions of Henri IV. Describing a painting of 1819 by Guillaume-Frédéric Ronmy in which Henri IV, camped near Paris, receives the victims of famine, Jouy complained that Henri IV and his troops were too richly armored; not only were the brilliant accoutrements of the painting, felt Jouy, historically inaccurate, "if they had been wearing them that day, the Béarnais would have made them take them off, so as to not insult, by a shocking contrast, the misery of those who had come to ask him for bread."¹⁶⁷ Henri IV, like Napoleon, preferred comparatively simple dress in the interest of not intimidating his subjects. The story of Henri IV delivering bread to the enemy was the subject of a new engraving for the second edition, published in 1825, of Ternisien d'Haudricourt's *Fastes de la nation française*,

which had originated in 1807 as a textual counterpart to the Legion of Honor. That an image of Henri IV's charity was inserted immediately following an engraving of Napoleon's hospitable visit to the palace of his enemy neighbor, Frederick III of Prussia (which had figured in the 1807 edition and was kept in that of 1825), might be seen as an editorial gesture of historical analogy.¹⁶⁸

At the Salon of 1824, a statue by François-Joseph Bosio of Henri IV as a child elicited a lengthy accolade from Jal:

Henri IV! ah! that's my hero. . . Merciful, liberal, brave and spiritual, the Béarnais was the model prince. He appeared to our eyes, if not as a sage, as at least a very good spirit. We saw the virtues that sprouted from his heart in the first days of his youth develop in the age when the passions have such an imperious effect on the best of dispositions. The court and its seductions, power and its deceptive illusions, civil war and its hatefulness, proscription and its misfortunes—nothing altered the happy nature of his character. He was always worthy of love; despite his weaknesses, he commanded esteem. Indulgent of all human errors, he was inflexible before all vices that degrade the heart. Tolerant by principle, he respects all consciences; generous in victory as he had been noble in disgrace, he gave the example of forgive and forget; and this sentiment was not at all hypocritical. Before knowing that he was able to be king, he learned that he had to be a man; on the throne, he always remembered this. Happy monarch, who could receive such a eulogy: he was the king of the people.¹⁶⁹

Citing the same personality traits—liberal, brave, tolerant, and cheery—that had made Napoleon a hero to his followers, Jal referred to Henri IV by name only once, at the beginning, and only at the end as king. What came between could apply to any ideal leader. While there is nothing to suggest that Jal was specifically blurring the identity of his idol to imply Napoleon, one thing is clear: Henri IV was adored by liberals as a symbol of justice and concern for the populace, not as a symbol of Bourbon legitimacy.

Such a non-royalist approach to Henri IV is at its most apparent in Vernet's 18 lithographs for the edition of the *Henriade* published by E. Dubois in 1825. Vernet's

illustrations to the poem were amply supplemented with portraits of its key figures by Jean-Baptiste Mauzaisse. The poem itself was perfectly suited to Vernet's expertise in military narratives, to which a third of his lithographs for the project were dedicated; meanwhile, Vernet avoided portraying Henri IV as having royal blood or, for that matter, royal anything. Rather, he consorts with the people, woos and is wooed by Gabrielle d'Estrées, fights victorious battles; fully the beloved commander of his men, Voltaire and Vernet's Henri IV never demands the submission of his people. Henri IV is even adored by the enemy when, in Canto X, he makes his way toward Paris, then under his siege, offering the people peace and sustenance. Vernet depicted him giving bread to the starving inhabitants, who cry that they are not worthy of living under his benevolent rule.¹⁷⁰

This kind of "conversion of the enemy" had many a parallel in Napoleon's career, with a precise analogue in the Lithuanian swearing lifelong service to Napoleon in Gros's *Eylau*—a painting for which Gros had consulted an edition of the *Henriade*.¹⁷¹ Vernet, too, must have consulted earlier editions of Voltaire's poem and, in his lithographs as well as a number of paintings to be discussed in the next chapter, it is clear that Vernet was highly influenced by the work of Gros. The simultaneous centralization and de-centralization of Napoleon affected by Gros's *Eylau* re-emerges in Vernet's treatment of Henri IV, a kind of compositional democracy which had worked equally in royal imagery such as Hersent's *Louis XVI Distributing Alms*. In Vernet's lithograph of Henri IV at the battle of Ivry from Canto VIII (fig. 44), the hero is clearly centralized, his white horse and glimmering

panache marking him as the picture's dominant personage. Henri IV points to his white panache, a regular iconographical feature of Henric imagery, and smiles "This brilliant panache billowing on my head/You will see it evermore on the road to honor."¹⁷² Surrounding Henri IV are soldiers who salute, or simply point, in his direction; the figure at the lower left, and another at direct eye level with the king, most readily capture the viewer's attention. While these gestures toward the king serve to solidify his centrality, they equally distract attention away from him. The viewer's eye is forced to move to Henri IV, then toward his gesturing men:

repoussoir in reverse. The king's authority is turned to solidarity by an egalitarian apportioning of gesture: a network of motions and gazes that lock the central hero and his men into one unit, as Gros had done in *Eylau*.¹⁷³ The image's anti-authoritative message, promoted by figural arrangement and the lack of royal accoutrements and iconography, is sealed by the simple, cheering narrative moment: Henri IV bantering with his troops about a feather in his cap, or on his head.

It has been remarked, with obvious reasons, that Vernet's lithographs for the *Henriade* are representative of "la manière troubadour,"¹⁷⁴ a stylistic characterization that cannot be disassociated from the question of theme. The historical era portrayed by the *Henriade* (very broadly speaking, the Renaissance) was the one most frequented by the Troubadour painters and, as mentioned earlier, Voltaire's poem was a fundamental source of narrative for painters like Révoil and Richard. Yet Vernet's *Henriade* lithographs differ fundamentally from the works of the Troubadour painters in their lack of insistent archaeological detail, especially with

regard to royal accessories. One of the Troubadour painters' predominant tactics was to charge their works with historical props, evidence not only of their research but, after the Restoration, reminders of royal worth. A critic for *La Quinzaine littéraire* was compelled to complain, rather petulantly, of the apparent craze for monarchic artifacts in certain Troubadour paintings. Taking as his point of departure Georges Rouget's *Death of St. Louis* (1817), he stated:

It is a delicate, fine manner of characterizing people and their dignity that instructs the ignorant, without hurting the self-esteem of the educated. But such is not the manner of our painters. Do they believe, for example, that we really need to see a crown on a stool, next to the bed of a dying king, to understand that he is a king? . . . Our painters are wrong to think that, without a certain show of luxury and magnificence, they won't be able to make us sufficiently understand that their characters are kings.¹⁷⁵

The critic's reaction was to the fact that after 1815, some painters went too far in filling their works with fleurs-de-lys in the hope of inviting government patronage. Vernet, of course, could not be accused of such opportunism; not a single fleur-de-lys sullies his renderings of Henri IV, the first Bourbon. Furthermore, his *Henriade* lithographs, while Troubadourian perhaps in costume, are too historically generalized to compare with the works of Révoil and Richard; while in the paintings of the Troubadour Style, scenes are arranged with the specificity of a carefully researched stage set, Vernet's *Henriade* lithographs are devoted entirely to the emotional interaction of their characters. Historical setting and circumstance are left to Voltaire's narrative and the reader's imagination. If anything, Vernet's *Henriade* lithographs are his most Davidian productions: in his illustration of the assassination of Henri III (Canto V), the king and his murderer are frozen into an intensive psychological combat against a flat, panelled backdrop, reminiscent of the stage-like

settings in David's major works of the 1780s.¹⁷⁶

A way in which Vernet's lithographs for the *Henriade* do indeed comply with his Troubadourian predecessors is, of course, through their often genre-like themes: but history in the form of genre often characterized Vernet's approach regardless of subject. In an illustration to Canto I (fig. 45), Henri IV embraces a hermit who has predicted his ascension to the throne: "With regret he takes leave of this virtuous old man/Tears, as they embraced, from his eyes ran."¹⁷⁷ As Hersent had done with Louis XVI, Vernet depicted Henri IV in close commune with the impoverished; yet while Hersent's king only daintily offers a coin at arm's length, Vernet has the Béarnais actually hug the poor man. Such an affectionate exchange between royalty and the underclass was not to be met kindly by all, even the marginally open-minded. Miel expressed a kind of philosophical discomfort before Roëhn's *Henri IV and the Peasant*, in which the king and a peasant ride upon the same horse: "However much the anecdote's telling enchants me, I don't know why I dislike seeing this boor on the same horse as the king. It's here a question of propriety, that which is better felt than expressed."¹⁷⁸ But when, in 1804, Taunay had exhibited his own version of *Henri IV and the Peasant*, another writer was able to see it in a more charitable light: the scene simply represented one of the many "good-natured deeds of the best of kings . . . the history of other monarchs hardly offers us such anecdotes."¹⁷⁹

But this classless rapport between a leader and his subjects, a mutual admiration between supposedly opposite members of a social hierarchy, was of course the ideal sign of democracy. Vernet truly foregrounded the issue in his *Henriade*

lithographs, as he would in many of his Napoleonic paintings. While he gave full-fledged historical value to anonymous soldiers in paintings such as the *Soldier of Waterloo* or the *Soldat laboureur*, his *Napoleon's Farewell to the Imperial Guard at Fontainebleau* (fig. 46, 1825) is an almost forced example of the compositional democracy put forth by his illustrations to the *Henriade*. Completed in the same year as the lithographs, the painting of the Imperial Guard's tribute to Napoleon upon his abdication involves the same kind of emotional unity between a leader and his subjects that characterizes Vernet's lithographs of Henri IV at the battle of Ivry and in the woods with the hermit. A crowd of saluting guardsman encircle Napoleon; he is embraced by one of his generals who, according to Napoleon's early biographers, gave an eagle standard to his Emperor, who then covered it with kisses. In Vernet's painting, that general, rather ironically named Petit,¹⁸⁰ has to contort himself considerably to achieve a formal equality with the diminutive Napoleon; while demonstrating in a perhaps overly literal way Napoleon's eye-to-eye relationship with his men, this tactic also respectfully avoided drawing attention to Napoleon's size. The group of Napoleon and Petit are posed similarly, although in reverse, to Henri IV and the hermit in Vernet's illustration to Voltaire's Canto I; while artists are, of course, known to repeat previous compositions, the arrangement demonstrates Vernet's penchant for making national heroes more symbols of egalitarianism than lofty embodiments of authority.

The similarities in composition and narrative simplicity between Vernet's *Henriade* lithographs and his Napoleonic paintings, if not suggestive of a direct

connection Vernet was trying to make between the Béarnais and the *petit caporal*, do in any case reveal his own historical program--what he deemed important about a historical figure. The fact that all of Vernet's Henri IV lithographs are devoid of royal iconography, and that his Napoleonic pictures are decidedly non-imperial, shows how his interest in France's rulers was not in symbolizing autonomous authority, but in depicting the qualities that made these men human. In this way Vernet put forth his own agenda for good government in France: a ruler was to be established at the nation's head not by divine right, but by meriting leadership through fighting on the people's side. In works ranging from the *Soldier of Waterloo* to his *Henriade* lithographs, Vernet was particularly adept at historical euphemism, even allegory.¹⁸¹ Napoleon and Henri IV, through Vernet's thematic and compositional codes of democratic rule, prefigured the leader who was Vernet's closest ally, the duc d'Orléans. As the constitutional monarch Louis-Philippe, enthroned by the Revolution of 1830, he would inherit the time-honored title of People's King.

Chapter 4 Notes

1. *Le Palais royal, ou coup d'oeil sur le tems présent. Par Feu Mirabeau. 1^{er} cahier. Visite de Mirabeau au Salon de peinture de 1810* (Paris: Janet et Cotellet, 1811), 5.
2. Ibid., 3.
3. Ibid., 27-29.
4. A certain amount of doubt was entertained regarding Napoleon's date of birth. His detractors claimed he was born on 5 February 1768, while Corsica was still part of Italy; they felt that the more commonly cited date of 15 August 1769 was invented to give Napoleon unwarranted French identity, as Corsica became French territory in June of 1769. Arnault (as in Chapter 2, n.90), vol. 1, 1.
5. Chateaubriand (as in Chapter 2, n.106), 38.
6. Ibid., 21-25.
7. Ibid., 31.
8. Ibid., 64.
9. See Chapter 2, 100.
10. Jean-Baptiste Couchery, *Le Moniteur secret, ou tableau de la cour de Napoléon, de son caractère, et de celui de ses agens* (London: Sculz and Dean, 1814), a-iii.
11. Ibid., 1-5.
12. Ibid., 6-9.
13. Charles Doris, *Amours secretes de Napoléon Buonaparte* (Paris: Germain Mathiot, 1815), 18-54.
14. M.J. [Mely-Janin, Marie], "Salon. Exposition de 1822," *Lettres champenoises* 8, 71^e lettre (1822), 218-219.
15. See Chapter 2, n.7.
16. F. [Charles Farcy], "De l'état actuel de la peinture," *Journal des artistes* 1, no. 3 (1827): 437-441.

17. See Carol Duncan, "Ingres' Vow of Louis XIII and the Politics of the Restoration," in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*, ed. Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978), 80-91.

18. *Arlequin de retour au Muséum, ou revue des tableaux en vaudevilles* (Paris: Brasseur aîné, 1819), 4: "D'où nous arrivent tant de saints/Tant d'autels, de croix et de cierges/Tant de moines, de capucins/De palmes, de martyrs, de vierges."

19. *Ibid.*, 5.

20. Monnin, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1819," *Annales françaises des arts, des sciences, et de lettres* 5 (novembre 1819): 135.

21. *Idem*, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1819," *Annales françaises des arts, des sciences, et de lettres* 5 (octobre 1819): 72-75.

22. E.J. [Etienne de Jouy], "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1819," *La Minerve française* 7 (1819): 263.

23. Anna Elsa Shumway, "A Study of the *Minerve française* (1818-1820)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1934), 11-12. The press was further repressed by the seizure of *brevets*, or publishing licenses, from publishers whose output was deemed dangerous. Spitzer, 251.

24. Thomasseau, 180-181.

25. Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature*, 101-103.

26. Day (as cited in Chapter 2, n.84), 409-410. Day's article presents an overview of some of the ideas to be addressed in her forthcoming book (scheduled for publication in February 1999): Barbara Ann Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France, 1815-1848* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999).

27. Daniel Ternois, "Dessins inédits de Gros au Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs," *Revue du Louvre* 25, no. 1 (1975): 24-28. Also Gérard Auguier, "La Coupole du Baron Gros," in *Le Panthéon, symbole des révolutions*, exh. cat. (Paris: Hôtel de Sully, 1989), 248-251.

28. Albert Boime, *Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1987).

29. Etienne de Jouy and Antoine Jay, *Salon d'Horace Vernet. Analyse historique et pittoresque des 45 tableaux exposés chez lui en 1822* (Paris: Ponthieu, 1822), 5.

30. A.N., O³1396 deals specifically with the removal of Napoleonic works from the Galerie de Diane in the Tuileries, where several of the works discussed in Chapter 3 had been displayed. Among others, Gautherot's *Napoleon's Speech to the Second Corps on the Lech Bridge*, Taunay's *Entry into Munich*, and Gros's *Capitulation of Madrid* were targeted because when Louis XVIII arrived at the palace, "on sentit l'inconvenance d'une décoration de ce genre."
31. Hubert (as in Chapter 2, n.77), 23.
32. Ferdinand Boyer, "Le Sort sous la Restauration des tableaux à sujets napoléoniens," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1966): 275-276.
33. Ibid., 276-281. Boyer reproduces a document listing 132 paintings in the Louvre reserves as of 1824.
34. [Emile Dechamps, Antoine-Nicolas Beraud, Hyacinthe de la Touche, Louis-François Lheritier], *Lettres à David sur le Salon de 1819, par quelques élèves de son école* (Paris: Pillet aîné, 1819), 6.
35. *Napoléon au tombeau du Grand Frédéric II à Potsdam*, 1808. 189 x 285. Versailles, Musée national du Château (M.V. 1721).
36. *Lettres à David*, 66-67. Cf. *Arlequin de retour au Muséum*, 21-23.
37. A.-D., "Beaux-arts. Peinture. Salon de 1822," *Tablettes universelles* 22 (juillet 1822), 109.
38. Wrigley, 347.
39. Chaudonneret, *Fleury-Richard and Pierre Révoil*, 24, citing the Ministère de la Maison du Roi, *Rapport du 16 février 1816* (A.N., O³1890).
40. C.-P. Landon, *Annales du musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts* (Paris: Chaigneau, 1817), 54.
41. Comte de Forbin to Comte de Pradel, Directeur général du ministère de la maison du Roi (14 juin 1817). A.N., O³1396.
42. Chaudonneret, *Fleury-Richard and Pierre Révoil*, 24-25.
43. Napoleon sent funds in advance so the monks could ready provisions for the army's arrival. See Capitaine de Cugnac, *Campagne de l'Armée de Réserve en 1800*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie militaire R. Chapelot et C^{ie}, 1900), 446-447; Adolphe Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1972), 114-115; Pagès, 31-33.

44. Salon of 1810 (no. 477). "Le 28 floréal an 8, S.M. l'Empereur franchit le mont S. Bernard, à la tête de l'armée française. Arrivé à l'hospice, S.M. daigna rendre visite aux religieux qui l'habitent. Ces hommes respectables par leur dévouement pour l'humanité, implorèrent la protection du héros, qui les assure de sa bienveillance, et leur promet la conservation de ce pieux établissement."

45. For a study of lithography's invention and development, see Michael Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). For a thematic overview of lithography, see Beatrice Farwell, *French Popular Lithographic Imagery, 1815-1870*, 12 vols. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981).

46. Day, 428.

47. In the hope of preventing such societies, the Restoration government tried to limit private gatherings of men to no more than 20; Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Imago Belli: Horace Vernet's *L'Atelier* as an Image of Radical Militarism under the Restoration," *Art Bulletin* 68 (June 1986): 279.

48. Spitzer, 38.

49. Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits littéraires* 1 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1862), 296 (cited in *ibid.*, 5-6).

50. Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 153.

51. For example, a lithograph "dedicated to all liberals," called "Le double serment, ou fidélité constant à tout le monde," depicts Benjamin Constant at the center of a portrait of confused liberals sporting both phrygian caps and sashes decorated with fleurs-de-lys. *La Foudre* 5, no. 74 (1822): 201.

52. J. Lucas-Dubreton, *Le Culte de Napoléon, 1815-1848* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1960), 132-133.

53. Day, 415.

54. Germain Hédiard, *Les Maîtres de la lithographie: Charlet* (Le Mans: E. Monnoyer, 1893), 3. This is the only reference I have found to Charlet's having studied under Lebel; Hédiard says simply that Lebel was a student of David, which the Lebel discussed above was.

55. Armand Dayot, *Charlet et son oeuvre* (Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1893), 21.

56. Spitzer, 6.

57. Dayot, 14.

58. Hédiard, 3-6.

59. Pétry, 72. Quatremère de Quincy wrote that it was Taunay's son who died in 1824, an error that was corrected in "Notes sur les Taunay," 125.

60. Dayot, 22.

61. Artists from Gros's studio for whom lithography became an important medium include, in addition to Charlet, Hippolyte Bellangé, Richard Parkes-Bonington, and Denis-Auguste Raffet. All of Gros's students are listed in Tripier-le-Franc, 583-593.

62. *Napoléon et la Grande Armée*, 55.

63. Wright, 47, 73.

64. For Vernet's lithographic output, see L.M. Bruzard, *Catalogue de l'oeuvre lithographique de J.-E. Horace Vernet* (Paris: J. Gratiot, 1826) and Germain Hédiard, *Les Maîtres de la lithographie: Horace Vernet* (Le Mans: E. Monnoyer, 1893).

65. Some of the works the Napoleonic government commissioned from Carle Vernet are the *Battle of Marengo* (1806), A.N., AF IV 1050/2/16; *The Entry of Napoleon into Dantzic* (painted in collaboration with Hippolyte Lecompte, 1807), A.N., AF IV 1050/4/9; *Napoleon Giving Orders to the Marshals and Generals of the Empire, Morning of the Battle of Austerlitz* (1807), A.N., 0²839.

66. Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, 105; Wrigley, 299.

67. *Horace Vernet (1789-1863)*, exh. cat. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1980), 20.

68. [Prosper Mérimée], "Salon de 1839," *Revue des deux-mondes* 18 (1 avril 1839): 93; Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, "Horace Vernet," *Revue universelle des arts* 17 (1863): 147-148.

69. Janet Emily Ruutz Rees, *Horace Vernet. Paul Delaroche* (London: Sampson, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1880), 4.

70. Stendhal, "Le Salon de 1824," in *Mélanges d'art et de littérature* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1867), 152 and 161.

71. Sainte-Beuve, 152.

72. Horace Vernet to François Gérard, 29 avril 1829. *Correspondance de François Gérard. . . précédée d'une notice. . . par M. Adolphe Viollet-le-Duc* (Paris: A. Lainé et J. Havard, 1867), 189.

73. *Lettres à David*, 105.

74. See Kallmyer's "*Imago Belli*" for a descriptive analysis of Vernet's studio life; also Amédée Durande, *Joseph, Carle et Horace Vernet. Correspondance et biographies* (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1864), 64-65.

75. J. du Seigneur, "Appendice à la notice sur Horace Vernet. Ses Tableaux et ses lithographies," *Revue universelle des arts* 17 (1863), 345; Durande, 75.

76. Lucas-Dubreton, 215.

77. Charles Blanc, *Une Famille d'artistes. Les Trois Vernet: Joseph, Carle, Horace* (Paris: Renouard, 1928), 110.

78. Wrigley, 348-349.

79. See Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 14-22, for a discussion of one of many conflicts leading to the Salon's ultimate demise: its status as a space for either pictures "to see" or pictures "to sell," that is to say the monumental versus what was perceived as the inconsequential, or the official versus the commercial. Vernet could be said to have straddled both categories.

80. *Horace Vernet*, 58-59.

81. Ibid.

82. Auguste Jal, *L'Artiste et le philosophe, entretiens critiques sur le Salon de 1824* (Paris: Ponthieu, 1824), 139.

83. Léon Rosenthal, *Du Romantisme au Réalisme: essai sur l'évolution de la peinture en France de 1830-1848* (Paris: Macula, 1987).

84. *Louis-Philippe: l'homme et le roi*, exh. cat. Paris: Archives nationales (1974-1975), 126.

85. *Oeuvre de Paul Delaroche. Reproduit en photographie par Bingham. Accompagné d'une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Paul Delaroche par Henri Delaborde, et du catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre par Jules Goddé* (Paris: Goupil et C^{ie}, 1858), 5.

86. Rosenthal, 203.

87. Albert Boime, "Introduction" in *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), especially 8-10.

88. See Marrinan's summation of the problematics of the term *juste milieu* in *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 206-211; also Rosen and Zerner, 113-129. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret has criticized Marrinan and Boime for using the term *juste milieu* at all which, she feels, is perhaps best left as Rosenthal would have wanted it, free of politics. "La Peinture en France de 1830-1848: chronique bibliographique et critique," *Revue de l'art* 91 (1991): 71-80.

89. Albert Boime, "Going to Extremes over the Construction of the *juste milieu*," in *The Popularization of Images*, 213-235.

90. Rosenthal, 228.

91. Stendhal, "Le Salon de 1824," 243.

92. Ibid., 155, 240.

93. *Horace Vernet*, 58.

94. Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 78. The battles of *Jemmapes*, *Valmy*, *Montmirail*, and *Hanau* were all commissioned by the duc d'Orléans for his painting gallery at the Palais Royal; see H. Jacoubet, "Une Source peu connue du Romantisme: la galerie de tableaux du duc d'Orléans," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 41 (1934): 375-396+.

95. "Salon du Louvre (1822). Ouverture--Le Jury," *Le Miroir des spectacles, des lettres, des mœurs et des arts* 1, no. 459 (1822): 2-3.

96. Le Bequillard [Mathurin-Joseph Brisset], "Les Tableaux parlans," *La Foudre* 5 (20 mai 1822): 219-220. Italics in the original.

97. For a compelling study of Vernet's painting of his grandfather, see George Levitine, "Vernet Tied to a Mast in a Storm: The Evolution of an Episode of Art Historical Romantic Folklore," *Art Bulletin* 49 (June 1967): 93-100.

98. Lorenz Eitner, "The Open Window and the Storm-Tossed Boat: An Essay in the Iconography of Romanticism," *Art Bulletin* 37 (December 1955): 281-290.

99. Stendhal, "Le Salon de 1824," 244.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., 145.

102. Stendhal, *La Vie de Napoléon*, 42. A parallel comment comes from the pamphlet *Sur Napoléon (extrait de la Revue germanique)* (Paris: V. Dondey-Dupré, n.d.), 11: "Napoléon citoyen fut un grand homme; Napoléon empereur ne fut plus qu'un roi; le

citoyen créa, le roi ne fut qu'imitateur."

103. See Jean Tulard, "Le Napoléon de Monsieur Beyle," in *Le Mythe de Napoléon*, 71-76.

104. Herold, *The Age of Napoleon*, 122.

105. Tulard, "Le Napoléon de Monsieur Beyle," 74.

106. Herold, *The Age of Napoleon*, 166.

107. Charles Baudelaire, "The Salon of 1846," in *Selected Writings on Art and Artists*, trans. P.E. Charvet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 53.

108. Ibid., 87.

109. C. Bernel, "Horace Vernet," *La Critique française* (15 février 1863): 100.

110. Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 91-92.

111. Sainte-Beuve, 151.

112. Jal, 130.

113. Ibid.

114. *Lettres à David*, 255.

115. E.J. [Etienne de Jouy], "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1819," *La Minerve française* 8 (1819): 68-69.

116. Charles Landon, *Salon de 1819. Recueil de morceaux choisis parmi les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture exposés au Louvre le 25 août 1819* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1819), 51.

117. Jouy and Jay, 6.

118. Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature*, 112. The Pellerin factory nonetheless came under investigation for distributing the images for free in the provinces.

119. See Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Sad Cincinnatus, Soldat Laboureur: An Image of the Napoleonic Veteran after the Empire," *Arts Magazine* 60 (May 1986): 65-75.

120. "Salon du Louvre (1822). Ouverture—Le Jury," *Le Miroir des spectacles, des lettres, des mœurs et des arts* 1, no. 457 (1822): 3. An engraving by Jazet after Vernet's *Soldat laboureur* appears in the Salon livret of 1822.

121. J.-P. Brès, "Beaux-arts. Exposition au Louvre des productions des artistes modernes," *Annales de la littérature et des arts* 8, no. 93 (1822): 40.
122. Jouy and Jay, 98.
123. Kallmyer, "Sad Cincinnatus;" Jouy and Jay's entry for the *Soldat laboureur* quotes Virgil in Latin, 96.
124. Jean Vatout, *Notices historiques sur les tableaux de la Galerie de S.A.R. Mgr. le duc d'Orléans*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1826), 299-302; cited in the documentation generously provided by the Norton Simon Art Foundation (Malibu, CA), who currently owns Vernet's *Soldat de Waterloo* (accession no. M.1977.26.3.P).
125. Jouy and Jay, 93-95.
126. Stendhal, "Le Salon de 1824," 176-177.
127. Jal, 135-136.
128. Albert de Malvoisine, "Salon de 1822," *L'Album* 4, no. 70 (1822): 121.
129. Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (New York: Penguin Books, 1962), xvii.
130. Ibid., xx-xxi.
131. Ibid., xviii, xxii.
132. Monnin, "Beaux-arts," *Annales françaises des arts, des sciences, et des lettres* 6 (janvier 1820): 225; Jouy and Jay, 7.
133. Spitzer, 121, 175-176.
134. See Chapter 1, 51-52.
135. Thierry Lentz, "Essai sur les idées de jeunesse de Bonaparte," *Le Souvenir napoléonien* 57, no. 395 (1994): 5, 7-8.
136. See for example Frédéric Masson and Guido Biagi, ed., *Napoléon, manuscrits inédits, 1786-1791* (Paris: Société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1907), 5.
137. Pierre de la Gorce, *Charles X*, as cited by Lucas-Dubreton, 237.
138. P.A. [Philippe-Alexandre Coupin], "Beaux-arts. Exposition des tableaux en 1827 et 1828," *Revue encyclopédique* 37 (1828): 861.
139. Ibid.

140. "Salon de 1827," *Le Mentor*, no. 1380 (18 novembre 1827): 2.
141. Las Cases, vol. 1, 3.
142. Arnault, vol. 1, 70.
143. Ibid., vol. 1, 76.
144. Las Cases, vol. 1, 136.
145. Stendhal, *The Red and the Black*, trans. C.K. Scott Moncrieff (New York: The Modern Library, 1926), 28-29. It is noteworthy that Stendhal frequently cites Las Cases in his *Vie de Napoléon*; clearly the *Mémorial* was close to both the novelist and the historian in him.
146. Antoine Arnault, Auguste Jal, Etienne de Jouy, et al., *Biographie nouvelle des contemporains*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie historique, 1820), 257-260.
147. See for example "Ney" in ibid., vol. 15, 47-63.
148. See Chapter 2, 122.
149. Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV* (London and New York: Longman, 1984), 76-79.
150. M*** [Miel], *Essai sur le Salon de 1817, ou examen critique des principaux ouvrages dont l'exposition se compose* (Paris: Didot le Jeune, 1817), 294.
151. Pupil, 471; see in particular Rigal (as in Chapter 3, n.27).
152. Voltaire, "La Henriade," *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 8 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1877), 57-58, n.3.
153. For the complete list of artists who participated in the project, as well as archive numbers corresponding to the commissions, see Chaudonneret, *Fleury Richard and Pierre Révoil*, 39-41. The commission records refer only to the works' dates of completion and the amount received (each artist received 2000 francs).
154. *Horace Vernet*, 23, citing A.N., O³1282. The carton was missing from the Archives nationales during a period of several months, obscuring any potentially interesting reasons for why the two Vernets refused such a commission.
155. For example, his *Revue du second régiment des grenadiers à cheval de la garde royale* (Salon of 1819) and his portrait of the *Duc d'Angoulême* (Salon of 1824).

156. For a moving account of the duc d'Enghien's execution, see Chateaubriand, 9; on the general circumstances of the conspiracy, see Tulard, *La France de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, 141-142.

157. Gérard's *Entry of Henri IV into Paris* was ultimately too large for the space on the ceiling of Salle du Conseil d'état and remained in the Louvre until at least 1824. Ruth Kaufmann, "François Gérard's 'Entry of Henri IV into Paris': The Iconography of Constitutional Monarchy," *Burlington* 117 (December 1975): 802, n.54. Kaufmann's thorough study of Gérard's painting provides insight into the political uses of Henri IV by the Bourbon Restoration. The painting ultimately went to the Galerie des Batailles at Versailles under the July Monarchy; see Chapter 5, 296-297.

158. Landon, *Annales du musée*, 104.

159. "Tableau de Henri IV," *La Revue* 1, no. 5 (1817): 147.

160. An unidentified critic writing for the *Moniteur universel* (9 juillet 1817), cited by Kaufmann, 798.

161. Herbert, 55.

162. M***, 144, 157.

163. Herbert, 70.

164. *Lettres à David*, 174.

165. "Notes sur les Taunay," 127.

166. Herbert, 71.

167. E.J., 557. The painting in question is *Henri IV au siège de Paris* (no. 987).

168. Ternisien d'Haudricourt, *Fastes de la nation française*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Decrouand, 1825). As in the first edition (see Chapter 2, n.88), the book is unpaginated; Napoleon's visit to Frederick III and the story of Henri IV correspond to plates 5 and 6 of vol. 2.

169. Jal, 22-23. The statue of Henri IV earned Bosio the title of *premier statuaire* to Louis XVIII; the statue, now in the Louvre, decorated the king's bedroom. E. Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gründ, 1976), 194. In 1819, Bosio was commissioned by the Maison du roi to execute a marble statue of the martyr of the Napoleonic era, the duc d'Enghien. Comte de Forbin, *Musée Royal, tableaux et statues à commander ou à acquérir* (19 décembre 1821). A.N., O³1401.

170. *La Henriade, poème de Voltaire, ornée de dessins lithographiques* (Paris: E. Dubois, 1825), 162-163. Voltaire's lines, forming the legend to Vernet's lithograph, are "Quel est de ces mourants l'étonnement extrême!/Leur cruel ennemi vient les nourrir lui-même." Later, the inhabitants cry "Cet ennemi de Dieu, qu'on peint si plein de rage?/Hélas!du Dieu vivant c'est la brillante image;/C'est un roi bienfaisant, le modèle des rois;/Nous ne méritons pas de vivre sous ses lois."

171. See Chapter 2, 121.

172. *La Henriade*, facing p. 121. "Ce panache éclatante qui flotte sur ma tête/Vous le verrez toujours sur le chemin de l'honneur."

173. Prendergast, 171, discusses the "centrifugal" effect of this reverse repoussoir in Gros's *Eylau*.

174. Henri Béraldi, *Les graveurs du XIX^e siècle*, vol. 12 (Paris: L. Conquet, 1892), 220.

175. "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1817—Exposition des nouveaux ouvrages de nos peintres," *La Quinzaine littéraire* 3 (1817): 41.

176. *La Henriade*, facing p. 77. "Le monstre au même instant tire un coutelas,/L'en frappe, et dans le flanc l'enfonce avec furie."

177. *Ibid.*, facing p. 11. "Il quitte avec regret ce vieillard vertueux/Des pleurs, en l'embrassant, coulèrent des ses yeux."

178. M***, 294-295.

179. Ambulator, 233.

180. *Vie civile, politique et militaire de Napoléon, depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa mort* (Paris: Gauthier, 1830), 10. General Petit was said to be one of Napoleon's most devoted guardsmen, never leaving his side during the Battle of Marengo. Pagès, vol. 1, 46.

181. Expanding on the question of allegory, Lucy Marion MacClintock has suggested that Vernet may have used a kind of reverse psychology to aggrandize Napoleon when painting his *Massacre of the Mamelucks under the order of Mohamed Ali Pasha*, exhibited at the Salon of 1819. MacClintock suggests that Vernet's painting, showing the proud Egyptian leader who heartlessly massacred the enemy, was meant to recall Napoleon's own *modus operandi*; while this seems to me too critical of an approach for Vernet to take to Napoleon, I agree with her proposal that the Pasha's acquiescence to French mannerisms after the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt would recall Napoleon's influence. Lucy Marion MacClintock, "Romantic *actualité*: Contemporaneity and Execution in the Work of Delacroix, Vernet, Scheffer, and Sigalon" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1993), 100-103.

CHAPTER 5

HORACE VERNET, PAUL DELAROCHE, AND NAPOLEON AFTER 1830

Now that the day has come when subjects that have as their goal the representation of the glorious deeds of France, in all periods, are able to be painted, and that I can use with impunity all the colors of my paint box, without incurring the risk of being harmful to anything whatsoever (something to which, despite everything, I paid little attention), I shall deliver myself to the fine memories of my youth.

Horace Vernet, cited in Amédée Durand, Joseph, Carle et Horace Vernet. Correspondance et biographies.¹

Such were Horace Vernet's celebratory remarks upon learning of Louis-Philippe's ascension to the throne after the Revolution of July 1830. The uninhibited use of "all the colors" of his paintbox, including the red, white, and blue of the tricolor flag prohibited under the Bourbons, was Vernet's artistic metaphor for the freedom accorded liberal and Bonapartist artists under the new monarchy. While certainly not encouraging Bonapartist sentiments, Louis-Philippe permitted and even relied upon Napoleonic representation, suppressed during fifteen years of censorship. The government of Louis-Philippe had reason, of course, to want to disenchant France with Napoleon's imperial image; but Napoleon the military hero and star of legend, the *petit caporal*, was given the right of resurrection. Napoleon's popularity made him desirable as a precedent for the new king; Louis-Philippe's nicknames "King of the French" and "Citizen-King" were the regal equivalents to Napoleon's characterization as "homme du peuple." The *petit caporal* came to symbolize the

kind of egalitarian relationship between a leader and his subjects that Louis-Philippe himself claimed to adopt as his philosophy of rule. This chapter shall examine a relatively small number of Napoleonic works painted after 1830. While the July Monarchy's political interest in Napoleon has been covered in great depth by Michael Marrinan, I shall focus more on how codes of representation as established by Napoleon remained the primary historical idiom in the nineteenth century, serving the July Monarchy with particular force.

The reasons for the return of Napoleon's image to the public sphere after 1830 are complicated and, at times, contradictory. While the myth that history "repeats itself"--as if generated from within by the cogwheels of destiny--cannot be sustained, such a notion could at least be used to cultivate hope in the present by reminding the French nation of its past glories. A pamphlet of 1833 presented Louis-Philippe's rise to power as the apex of an illustrious historical continuum; the Revolution of 1789 was its implied impetus, and the Bourbon Restoration, an unwanted interlude:

With the allies having decided that they would not negotiate with Napoleon, the latter preferred to condemn himself to exile rather than be an obstacle to the good of France. He retired to Elba with a handful of braves. But soon the Bourbons. . . proved to France that they had learned nothing, and made themselves hated. Then Napoleon disembarked at Cannes, and the imperial eagle, flying from steeple to steeple, comes to chase from France a race that, to its misfortune, was soon to return, and weigh upon her, for many years, an ignominious bondage from which the July Revolution finally delivered us.²

The Revolution of 1830 returned France to its proper state, that is to say free of Bourbon rule; the presence of the Bourbon "race" during the Restoration only interrupted, but did not destroy, France's glorious evolution.

While historical continuity could be invoked to affirm the stability of the

present regime, it would have made little sense for Louis-Philippe's government to suggest historical conformity by way of political analogies between the new monarchy and the Napoleonic Empire. Louis-Philippe was to sustain the ideal compromise between absolutism and republicanism, namely constitutional monarchy. Michael Paul Driskel has suggested that one of the most boldly and superficially "Bonapartist" gestures of the July Monarchy, the return of Napoleon's body from Saint Helena in 1840 and its ultimate enshrinement in the Invalides, was inspired by a kind of reverse political psychology: "The act of bringing Napoleon's body back to France might be considered Louis-Philippe's assertion that he was strong or secure enough to bring a major ideological adversary into his synthetic embrace."³ However, it was not only Louis-Philippe's strength of spirit that could be broadcast in this manner. Ideological adversity was attractive for its power of contrast: the Napoleonic regime was the before, the government of Louis-Philippe, the much-improved after.

Such a contrast would be played out across the galleries of Louis-Philippe's most well-known artistic project, the Musée historique at Versailles, opened in 1837. The museum was a pictorial textbook of France's history from the Middle Ages to the present, its depictions of kings and coronations, battles and popular uprisings offering a little of everything to visitors. Charles Gavard, commissioned by the king to compile a 16-volume set of engravings and explanatory text based on the museum, wrote of Versailles:

It's a great book, ready made, whose plan was given by a king, in which the engravers, artists, poets, historians, orators, and politicians of modern France are called upon to write, each on his own and all together; an immense book to which each of the distinguished minds of our time must bring this one his science, that one

his imagination.⁴

The museum was, in short, a communal enterprise down to its very conception: the fruit of a democratic monarch with whom an idea germinated, then blossomed by engaging all of France's thinkers and artisans to create a history both instructive ("science") and enjoyable ("imagination"). Meanwhile, the pan-historical, all-inclusive nature of the paintings in the museum—many painted before Louis-Philippe's rise to power and gathered from collections nationwide—has resulted in a commonly held view of the project as one with "reconciliation" between conflicting political ideologies as its predominant message: the foundation of what many have called the *juste milieu* politics and *juste milieu* style of the July Monarchy.⁵ While of course communicating a sense of reconciliation would have been politically advantageous, it is perhaps doubtful that installing royal, revolutionary, and imperialist imagery in the same space could have actively served to assuage animosity between opposing political groups. Yet the step-by-step historical structure of the museum at least simulated an uninterrupted historical progression from one era to the next,⁶ creating an evolutionary illusion that made political differences seem a natural, unintrusive fact of history itself.

The pictorial program of one of the many Napoleonic rooms at Louis-Philippe's Versailles, the Salle du Sacre, sought to invoke the contrast between how the Empire and the July Monarchy came to be: the first, by usurpation, the second, by popular revolution. While the Salle de 1792 and the Salle de 1830, dedicated to portraits of generals (including Napoleon) and scenes of Louis-Philippe's military and

diplomatic acts, were decorated primarily with recently commissioned works (including copies of Vernet's *Battle of Jemmapes* and *Battle of Valmy*), the paintings placed in the Salle du Sacre consisted of paintings that had been in storage since the fall of the Empire: Gros's *Battle of Aboukir* (1806), David's *Coronation* (1806) and *Distribution of the Eagle Standards* (1810), and on the ceiling, Callet's *Allegory of the Eighteenth Brumaire* (1801). Marrinan has made a lucid argument for the Salle du Sacre as Louis-Philippe's fashioning of Napoleon into his antithesis; from the Egyptian campaign, which Napoleon abandoned, to his violent overthrow of the Directory, to his coronation, the paintings traced the evolution of a dictator.⁷ I would add to this that, stylistically, the works decorating the Salle du Sacre are of a type entirely opposed to the *genre historique* Louis-Philippe adopted as his preferred mode of representation in official commissions; those by David in particular are the essence of imperial pomp, *tableaux d'apparat par excellence*, while the symbolic overloading of Callet's *Eighteenth Brumaire* had, in 1801, sparked critical annoyance because of its illegibility as a representation of an event from contemporary history.⁸ The Salle du Sacre thus argued for Napoleon as the anti-exemplar of good government, with the Davidian and allegorical branches of Napoleonic painting serving as pretentious, overbearing examples of how history should *not* be presented if it is to be understood. As part of a museum where historical accessibility was a major factor in the selection and arrangement of pictures, the Salle du Sacre documented not only history past, but past, or *passé*, historical methods.

Significantly, it was only the *grandes machines* of Napoleonic history painting

that were unfavorable, and displayed as such, to Louis-Philippe's ideal of historical comprehensibility. But all of the Napoleonic genre paintings by Adolphe Roëhn and Nicolas-Antoine Taunay discussed previously, having been stored away during the Restoration, were to arrive at Versailles as part of Louis-Philippe's project (and remain there today), along with works by Pierre Gautherot, Charles Lebel, and Marie-Nicolas Ponce-Camus. Making history seem available to a broad public was, I have argued, a major propagandist component of Napoleonic commissions, and would be equally important to Louis-Philippe's artistic vision. The historical ease of works by Roëhn or Taunay, especially in their reliance on anecdotal historical fragments whose decipherment required little to no knowledge of current events, served not only to ensure that people of all levels of education would absorb messages of Napoleon's benevolence and kinship with the average citizen, but the simple historical language itself proved to viewers that Napoleon *spoke* like them as well. It could only serve Louis-Philippe's purposes too well to suggest that Napoleon the *homme du peuple* and Louis-Philippe the Citizen-King spoke the same dialect.

In an illuminating essay on Louis-Philippe's historical vision in the creation of the museum at Versailles, Marrinan argues that the "illustration-like" style that has been considered one of the primary (and least appealing) characteristics of so-called *juste milieu* painting was necessary in such a museum space, designed as "an apparatus of historical narration—not an arena of aesthetic delight."⁹ It is his broader conclusion that an art which encouraged simplicity of historical approach, what he with understandable reserve says could be called a "popular" approach, was the

official style of the July Monarchy. This, of course, is *genre historique*, which as a term designating painting that hovered somewhere between history and genre saw its advent in criticism of the July Monarchy.¹⁰ *Genre historique* was the style, or perhaps more accurately the method, of choice for paintings commissioned under the July Monarchy, while pre-existing examples from the Empire, such as those by Roëhn and Taunay, were to act as the leading voice of historical instruction in Louis-Philippe's museum. The simplified, at times caricatural or comical presentation of history that united artists like Taunay and Vernet served Louis-Philippe's vision of the museum at Versailles as a pictorial education-center that would address all viewers, while Vernet's popularity with members of the opposition under the Restoration made him appealing to Louis-Philippe by signalling his own allegiance to an anti-Bourbon contingent.¹¹ If *genre historique* was the official style of the July Monarchy because it acted as a visual code for Louis-Philippe's own affectations to simplicity and solidarity with the popular classes, it also served to further the impression of history as itself a democratic province; such had been the inviting claim of much historical representation under the Empire. By expanding on a historical language that had served Napoleon's popularity so effectively, Louis-Philippe not only assured his own, but created a parallel between himself and Napoleon that allowed absolutism and populism to be conflated into a non-contradictory whole.

The Galerie des Batailles was the most comprehensive addition to the palace at Versailles, involving complete renovation of the south wing in order to create a space where thirty-three grand-scale battle paintings could be exhibited. Twenty-nine of the

paintings, of more or less like size, were newly commissioned from artists including Delacroix, Ary Scheffer, Eugène Deveria, and Horace Vernet; the four painted prior to Louis-Philippe's reign, to be discussed below, are of much larger proportions. In the sequential manner on which the museum as a whole was founded, the Galerie des Batailles undertook to present a chronology of France's military history from Clovis to Napoleon: an opportunity not only for visitors to relish France's might throughout the ages, but equally a space in which battle painting—as of Napoleon, an especially French and especially contested category—could proclaim its supremacy as the pictorial domain of kings.

Thomas Gaetgens's excellent book-length study of the Galerie des Batailles analyzes the choice of battles for the project: the themes are generally founded upon the defense of Christianity and national unity, or battles won by a coalition between different levels of France's population, from royalty to clergy to the bourgeoisie and working classes. While the gallery's series of alliances between governments and varied social classes, from the Middle Ages to the Empire, meant to implicate Louis-Philippe's own regime as its culmination, the new king does not figure in the cycle; a portrait of Louis-Philippe and a battle in which he took part were planned, then dismissed.¹² Instead, the cycle ends with three Napoleonic battles by Vernet. History before the July Monarchy, according to this ornate, 380-foot-long timeline, ends with Napoleon. The Bourbon Restoration is left out of the historical picture.

This, on one hand, may seem perfectly natural, given the Orléanist predilection for viewing the Restoration as a rude interruption of national progress.

Yet the Bourbons—minus Louis XVIII and Charles X—form an integral part of the cycle: Louis XIV is depicted in Jean Alaux's *Taking of Valenciennes*, and evoked by six other paintings;¹³ Louis XV is the subject of Auguste Couder's *Battle of Lawfeld*. But most importantly to the place of Bourbon history in the Galerie des Batailles is François Gérard's *Entry of Henri IV into Paris* (fig. 42). One of the gallery's four larger paintings not commissioned by Louis-Philippe, Gérard's *Entry of Henri IV* had served, in 1817, as the ultimate message of the Bourbon Louis XVIII's legitimacy. Here, of course, in the Orléanist king's most important project, Gérard's painting is stripped by its context of all legitimist content (although probably not for legitimist viewers); instead, the bourgeois who cheer Henri IV's arrival become the key carriers of meaning. Furthermore, Louis XVIII's entry into Paris was architected by the allies; Louis-Philippe's entry into Paris was, he claimed, like Henri IV's, called for by the population.¹⁴ However, the analogy between Louis-Philippe's and Henri IV's entries into the city is not airtight: supporters of Henri IV argued for his coronation (over his opponent, the duc de Guise) based on pure primogeniture, which made Henri IV the rightful heir to the throne; Louis-Philippe, of course, could make no such claims. But Louis-Philippe so desired to make the analogy between himself and the original "People's King" that he had Gérard's painting installed in a gallery of, ostensibly, battle painting—when it depicts nothing even remotely related to battle.

The *Entry of Henri IV* was installed diagonally across the room from another work by Gérard, the *Battle of Austerlitz* (fig. 27), where a major historical event's presentation as, instead, a series of vignettes of heroism and sacrifice made the

painting perfectly suited to the history museum at Versailles. Gérard's two paintings, along with Vernet's battle paintings of *Bouvines* and *Fontenoy*,¹⁵ are almost twice as long as the other paintings in the Galerie des Batailles; by virtue of their size and placement, they are the room's multipartite centerpiece. The *Entry of Henri IV* was originally commissioned by Louis XVIII to replace *Austerlitz* in the Salle du Conseil d'état at the Tuileries, but was too large; now, for the two paintings' new placement in the Galerie des Batailles, Gérard's *Austerlitz* had to be slightly enlarged to match the *Entry of Henri IV*.¹⁶ The choice of two works by Gérard, both of which apply the tactics of historical genre, links Henri IV and Napoleon in a way we've seen before; the latter hoped to inspire belief in a historical parallel, even ancestry, between himself and the beloved Bourbon. The complex discourse on legitimacy, ancestry, and historical parallels created by the gallery's pictorial confrontation between Henri IV and Napoleon—with Louis-Philippe falling invisibly in between—suggests, no doubt inadvertently, that Bourbons, Bonapartists, and Orléanists are separated by nothing but their temporal placement within history. Yet the fact that a painting of Henri IV, and the taboo painting of Napoleon that it was commissioned to replace, were now to be displayed as pendant-like centerpieces of a chronology of France, can only suggest Louis-Philippe's intention to re-invent a historical mirror that the Bourbons had hoped to shatter.

Reading down the wall of the Galerie des Batailles after Gérard's *Austerlitz*, the next and final series of paintings are by Vernet, who had returned from Rome in 1835 (his post there as Director of the French Academy now filled by Ingres).

Vernet's Napoleonic battles of *Jena* (fig. 47), *Friedland* (fig. 48), and *Wagram* (fig. 49), all exhibited at the Salon of 1836, are rightly considered typical examples of July Monarchy *genre historique*. All of his Napoleonic paintings for the Galerie des Batailles depict not actual battle, but anecdotal moments in which the general is either speaking or being spoken to. Although painting speech is not necessarily an idea original to Napoleonic history painters, Vernet clearly took cues from those who painted in the Emperor's own day; one need only call to mind a number of Gros's paintings in which gestures of speech form the narrative crux: *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau* (fig. 11), *Napoleon's Speech to his Soldiers before the Battle of the Pyramids* (fig. 13), or the *Capitulation of Madrid*. The complex network of stories making up Gros's *Eylau* includes the wounded Lithuanian hussar swearing lifelong service to Napoleon if he is healed; Vernet's *Battle of Jena* depicts a somewhat less grandiloquent outburst, described in the *livret*. A young soldier calls out "En avant!" from the sidelines, soliciting Napoleon's attention but eliciting, instead, his ire: Napoleon, the *livret* makes clear, did not appreciate advice from his less-experienced soldiers.¹⁷ The moment depicted by Vernet's painting has recently been characterized, quite fittingly, as "what might well be the most strategically trivial episode ever sanctified by a major battle painting."¹⁸ Such triviality, said another way anecdotalism, was of course the core tactic of many history paintings under Napoleon: Vernet's paintings in the Galerie des Batailles simply reiterate, on a monumental scale, the anecdotal historical devices of artists such as Roëhn, whose *Napoleon's Bivouac on the Battlefield of Wagram* (fig. 17) would be, thematically and

stylistically, very much at home in the Galerie des Batailles. Vernet's paintings equally resort to the tactics of textual historical reportage used under Napoleon; the anecdotes chosen for Vernet's series are taken directly from Napoleon's own reports in the *Bulletins de la Grande Armée*, a fact announced in the Salon *livret* entries for *Jena* and *Wagram*.

An examination of Vernet's *Battle of Jena* alongside another of Gros's paintings, the *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor after the Battle of Marengo* (fig. 7), would suggest that Vernet consulted Gros's work when determining the format for his own. The overall compositions of the two paintings are identical: at center is Napoleon on horseback, staged on an earthy platform above a scene of receding soldiers, one of whom, in both paintings, turns from his distant point to acknowledge the foreground action. The right sides of both works consist of a group of soldiers in profile, standing at attention and cropped by the edge of the canvas. Details of action and figural treatment also link Vernet's *Jena* with Gros's *First Consul Awarding a Saber of Honor*: the way in which the horse brakes mid-gallop as Napoleon turns his head to address the soldiers at the lower right; more notably, the caricatural treatment of those soldiers, simultaneously surly and obeisant as they look up towards their general. It seems no small coincidence that Gros was the artist originally asked, in 1834, to paint the *Battle of Jena* for the Galerie des Batailles.¹⁹ Gros refused, being at the height of his post-Davidian guilt; Vernet, in turn, imparted a strong dose of Gros's presence to the painting. Was it simply an homage to Gros, who died in the month after Vernet received the commission? This is certainly part

of the reason, although the *Battle of Jena* is not Vernet's only painting that cites Gros; his previously discussed *Bridge of Arcola* (fig. 41) is clearly based on Gros's version. Rather, Vernet's Napoleonic paintings, quintessential specimens of the *genre historique* that became formulaic under Louis-Philippe's regime, reflect Napoleon's return to the mainstream by way of the very codes he established.

The next in the series of paintings commissioned from Vernet is the *Battle of Friedland*; according to the *livret*, it shows Napoleon directing General Oudinot, at right on a brown horse, to pursue the enemy Russians.²⁰ While the *livret* entries for *Jena* and *Wagram* note the *Bulletin de la Grande Armée* as Vernet's source, *Friedland* is given no such citation; yet there is no reason to doubt that Vernet consulted the Friedland bulletin for details of his painting while he was seeking out the anecdotes used in the others (Napoleon's bulletins had been compiled by Alexandre Goujon in 1820-21). The moment is potentially that when, as reported in the bulletin, "The Emperor, after having reconnoitered his position, made a spot decision to take the city of Friedland, abruptly making a change of front"—hence explaining Oudinot's look of surprise. However, if Vernet did not choose one specific moment from the bulletin (as the *livret* would seem to suggest), he generalized details of the report into narrative accessories. Napoleon's reports regularly gave the number of enemy dead, and Friedland was notoriously bloody. Napoleon wrote, first, that "thousands of men met their death there," then a page later (as he had noted for Eylau), "the battlefield is one of the most horrible that one can see" and brought the total of Russian dead to 18,000.²¹ Death is thus brought to the fore in Vernet's *Friedland* with, at left, a

stiff, cloaked cadaver wedged between two pieces of canon; to the right of Oudinot, a pair of nearly disembodied boots linger on the edge of the mound serving as Napoleon's stage, Vernet's morbidly humorous sign for death on the battlefield (used also in his *Dog of the Regiment*, fig. 36). The contrast between the somber, rigidly sculpted cadaver with a sword of honor on his torso, and the caricatural synecdoche of boots for death, creates a dialogue between the monumental and lithographic forms of history to which Vernet dedicated his career; one studied, posed, and aggrandized by symbolic props, the other simplified and poetically crude, the two cadavers of Vernet's *Friedland* represent opposite historical models.

Friedland conforms to a compositional type that Vernet developed in the 1820s. Napoleon forms the foremost corner of a triangular group that includes Oudinot and, in the center, Grouchy.²² The triangle is nearly torn apart by the horses of Napoleon and Oudinot, which trot away from one another; but the grouping is then saved, or solidified, by a series of responsive gestures and gazes. Napoleon points out of the picture, yet no one follows his gesture. Rather, Oudinot leans forward to eye Napoleon more closely, while Grouchy, from the back of the group, looks on with a kind of nonchalant reserve. The direction in which Napoleon points is entirely irrelevant to the figures within the painting, as well as to the viewer; Napoleon's gesture serves only to create a bridge between himself and Oudinot's gaze. The ensuing visual exchange causes the viewer to read from Napoleon, to Oudinot, and back to Napoleon, necessarily traversing Grouchy in the process. Based on the same gestural dynamics used in his lithograph of the *Battle of Ivry* (fig. 44),

Vernet creates an optical interchange between the central hero and his men, a structure in which leadership and heroism are pictorially shared by several figures at once. Vernet's *Friedland* and *Battle of Ivry* are also based on the same compositional scheme, from the triangular arrangement of the central figures to the canon in the lower left of both works. As with Vernet's lithograph of *Henri IV with the Hermit* and his painting of *Napoleon's Farewell to the Imperial Guard at Fontainebleau*, *Friedland* and *Ivry* address a parallel politic: the camaraderie and egalitarianism between a leader and the less eminent members of his entourage. In *Friedland*, Vernet made sure that this message was not lost by dressing Napoleon in the costume of *petit caporal*, not only his most legendary incarnation, but his most "democratic."

It is not unlikely that Vernet looked to Gros when planning *Friedland*, as he had with *Jena*. *Friedland* takes its compositional cue from Gros's *Eylau*: Napoleon and his generals are at the painting's focal point (common enough), while the captured and wounded enemies are concentrated at the lower left. The most obvious detail shared by the two paintings is Napoleon's Aurelian gesture and the horse's compliant horse-of-Aurelius stance. In *Friedland*, the prisoner at left, his arm in a sling as he looks up to Napoleon, is a subdued ancestor of the enemy soldier, his arm also in a sling, who pays his respects to the Emperor in Gros's painting. The one cloak-covered cadaver stretching graphically across the lower left of *Friedland* is outnumbered by the many cadavers strewn across Gros's canvas; yet this detail, atypically eerie for Vernet, suggests a further source in Gros's painting. Finally, in both, the figure who dominates the left-side group is a hussar in profile; in Gros's

painting, the hussar is a Lithuanian, in Vernet's he is French, yet the similarity in costume design—necessitated by Vernet's decision to make this figure specifically a hussar—creates an undeniable parallel between the two works.

What was Vernet's reason for such explicit quotations of details from Gros's *Eylau*? One might be the fact that Friedland was the battle that came next in the campaign, after Eylau; Vernet indicated the historical proximity of the two battles by pictorial parallel. Furthermore, such precise citations point the informed viewer to Vernet's source, giving his depiction of *Friedland* greater historical credibility; by citing Gros, who knew Napoleon and experienced the Napoleonic era from a more mature perspective than did Vernet, Vernet invokes an expert historical mentor. On a more personal level, Vernet's overt indebtedness to Gros in his paintings for the Galerie des Batailles amounts to a claim of inheritance: the tradition of Napoleonic history painting, of which Gros was the vanguard, had been passed on to Vernet—because Gros was unwilling to return to his roots as a Napoleonic history painter and then, shortly thereafter, died in the most pathetic of scenarios.

Of course the question of battle painting as a tradition was in itself problematic. The pictures in the Galerie des Batailles confirmed that the type of battle painting most sanctioned by earlier traditions—that is, the Lejeunian mode, with broad overviews of battlefields and figures of necessarily diminutive proportions—was an art of the past. While all of the thirty-three paintings in the Galerie des Batailles reverse the Lejeunian mode in favor of figures so monumental that, logically speaking, a whole battle could not fill the frames, Vernet—as the painter who most

represented Louis-Philippe's own artistic predilections--was targeted as a typical representative of the problems in contemporary history painting. Critics tended to discuss *Jena*, *Friedland*, and *Wagram* all in one group, as if they were one painting; Victor de Nouvion's stern explanation for this was that "one can shift around indiscriminately the titles of *Jena*, *Friedland*, and *Wagram* without causing historical truth to suffer any noticeable damage."²³ The predominant sentiment among critics was that the trio was simply not historical enough--by now a rather standard complaint that had plagued Vernet's work in the 1820s as well. Fabien Pillet determined that Vernet painted *Jena*, *Friedland*, and *Wagram* too quickly, whereas true history paintings required long reflection: "in a rush to arrive at the end, he has not reached the goal at all." Speed of execution was, perhaps, more admissible with genre painting; hence Pillet suggested that Vernet's paintings for the Galerie des Batailles might have been more successful were they reduced in size.²⁴ Vernet's perceived rush to complete *Jena*, *Friedland*, and *Wagram*, Pillet wrote in an earlier article, was part of a broader problem that was at least partially beyond the control of artists; since the Salon had become an annual event with the advent of the July Monarchy, artists were forced to work at an unmanageable pace in order to be ready to exhibit their work.²⁵ Yet his charitable displacement of blame does not reduce the severity of his criticism: in the interest of anecdote, Vernet had forgotten about history.

A critic for *L'Artiste* said of Vernet's paintings for the Galerie des Batailles that instead of "grasping the entire action . . . we perceive nothing but an almost

indifferent circumstance"²⁶—reminiscent of David's accusation that Gros's Napoleonic histories were nothing but "paintings of circumstance." He then went on to note that the work (all three paintings, although he was writing in the singular) "is not one of those heroic bulletins written for posterity by the Emperor on the battlefield, and summarizing his colossal actions in several lines; it's an anecdote written in a corner by an officer whom the general effect escaped."²⁷ But, of course, the bulletins whose absence the critic laments were precisely the source for Vernet's paintings; furthermore, his suggestion that the bulletins summarized Napoleon's battles "in several lines" is far from accurate. The bulletins are long, painstakingly detailed reports including statistics and anecdotes from the battle; what the critic found problematic, then, was apparently Vernet's choice of moment from those bulletins.

Where in *Jena* the anecdote Vernet selected from the bulletin related directly to Napoleon, for *Wagram*, the last painting in the Galerie des Batailles, he adopted the moment when Marshal Bessi res falls from his horse, downed by gunfire.²⁸ This is the site of interest for four other soldiers who make up the right side of the picture; the farthest from our view cranes his neck to get a better look. Of course, for a painting to be installed in the great Galerie des Batailles, Vernet needed to include Napoleon in *Wagram*; for that, he invented a generalized scene of communication between the general and a youthful member of the army (similar to the theme of *Jena*). Napoleon, peering into the distance to the left of the picture frame, hands a map behind him to no one in particular, correctly assuming that

someone will come to relieve him of it; the young soldier, eager to grasp that which was graced by the imperial touch, stretches forward to receive the map and, we assume, receives no thanks for his efforts. If anything, Vernet's paintings for the Galerie des Batailles show Napoleon to be hot-tempered in *Jena*, impulsive in *Friedland*, and presumptuous in *Wagram*.

The critic for *L'Artiste* was perturbed that such trivial episodes were the narrative core of Vernet's battle paintings, when Napoleon's bulletins offered so many other "colossal actions." But most of the action in the *Bulletins de la Grande Armée* is offered in the form of detailed descriptions of the positioning of troops at different points of a battle, movements in one direction or the other of a particular division, number of enemy dead, number of prisoners taken, and so forth: details that were absolutely unpaintable without reducing painting to, as Quatremère de Quincy had felt about Napoleonic history painting in general, "gazettes." In the case of the bulletin for the battle of Wagram, the death of Bessières's horse was the most paintable action because it was a specific event that could be concentrated into one moment.

Wouldn't Vernet's choice of such an anecdote be more in keeping with moralistic calls for the "single moment of history painting" than a painting of, say, 1500 hurt Frenchman, 8000 dead Austrians, and 15 pieces of canon taken from the enemy? The critic for *L'Artiste* does, ultimately, partially excuse Vernet for his paintings of "circumstance," saying "in spite of the dimension of these canvases, it was impossible to represent the whole of a battle, with the condition of having large-sized figures. No one could have [done it]."²⁹ Figures in history painting were, as a rule,

supposed to be the most important components of the narrative; how is it that Vernet's reduction of battle from a wide-angle view to a staged, singular action—a kind of anecdotal Davidianism—was condemnable? Obviously the rules of battle painting and other types of history painting did not coincide; Vernet took a genre whose scope was supposed to be detailed, broad, full of the tumultuous and conflicting actions that characterize battle proper, then adapted it to the more staid, centralized format of traditional history painting—and was then accused of not having painted history at all.

As is so often the case with critical opinion, it had no affect on Vernet's popularity with the broad public, who still flocked to his works at the Salons, or with the government, for whom Vernet remained, up through the Second Empire, the artist of choice for official commissions. However, Vernet's comfortable status under the July Monarchy did not prevent him from being, or perhaps encouraged him to be, candid about his conflicts with the artistic establishment, conflicts that lingered in varying incarnations since his Salon rejection of 1822. Along with the painter Paul Delaroche (1797-1856), Vernet protested against Academy practice, particularly the rejection of artists who broke from its conservative mold, by temporarily resigning from the Salon jury in 1836. *L'Artiste* commended Vernet and Delaroche's bold gesture, saying that the jury had, in recent years, shown itself to be reprehensible purveyors of conservatism and unwarranted favoritism: "they have engaged a battle from school to school, of an old art, overused, powerless, and decrepit, against a youthful art, vigorous, full of prospect."³⁰

Vernet's relationship with Delaroche was based on similar views toward conservative artistic policies and on family ties. Delaroche married Vernet's daughter Louise in 1835; the couple would respectfully name one of their boys Horace. But unlike Vernet, Delaroche's resentment for the artistic establishment would extend to his permanent self-exile from the Salons after 1837, although he had exhibited there regularly and successfully since 1822. One of his disputes with the government involved his having received a commission, and advance payment, for a fresco cycle in the church of La Madeleine in Paris in 1835; after working on sketches and plans for the project, he was dismayed to learn that the government wanted him to share the decorating project with the little-known Jules-Claude Ziegler. Delaroche abandoned the project (some say petulantly, others say gracefully) and returned the money.³¹

Before looking at the series of Napoleonic works Delaroche painted during his own period of exile--from 1837 until his death--a brief word about his educational background is necessary, as I will discuss how this was formative to his own brand of historical representation. Little is known of the details of Delaroche's artistic training, although it is likely that he was not the *Ecole des beaux-arts*' idea of a model student.³² Delaroche's intolerance for a system that had, up until his early career, been conducted by ideals and tastes of a Davidian variety is not unrelated to his training. Delaroche's teacher from 1818-1820 was Antoine-Jean Gros,³³ himself a student of David. Without claiming that if Delaroche learned one thing from Gros, it was subversion, Gros's own anti-Davidian historical ethics had important consequences for Delaroche.

Stylistically, Delaroche is best-known for technically polished, grand-scale paintings of *genre historique*; among his most famous works are the *Princes in the Tower* (1830), *Cromwell and Charles I* (1831), and *Lady Jane Grey* (1834). The rich, exquisitely rendered costumes and furnishings that characterize the work of the Troubadour painters are, in Delaroche's oeuvre, carried to monumental proportions--stunning to some, distracting to others. As we might expect based on earlier reactions to these features in the works of, for example, Fleury-François Richard, many critics felt Delaroche's mimetic realism drew too much attention to "accessories" at the expense of action or drama. Charles Blanc claimed that the "obscure" histories to which Delaroche attended were chosen only as pretexts to bring to the foreground excessive, ancillary details because "he barely knew how to model a torso;" he then accused Delaroche of pandering to "bourgeois tastes," being a crowd-pleaser, and the painter for the public--indeed not to be read positively, as there were higher powers (like Blanc) whose opinions mattered more.³⁴ Yet Louis Ulbach, reviling precisely the kind of classical painting that Blanc favored, attributed Delaroche's scrupulous archaeological research and resulting polished details to a nineteenth-century realist ethic, the desirable outcome of modern vision: "[Delaroche] has perfectly understood that the nineteenth century is too skeptical, too disillusioned, too blasé to still be moved by the caprice, the dream, allegories."³⁵

Thematically, Delaroche is best known as a painter of catastrophe, primarily executed monarchs: tragedy or catastrophe for royalists, historical adventure and even justice for republicans, and lushly relishable horror for many in between. Calling

upon Heinrich Heine's famous label for Delaroche as "the painter of decapitated monarchs," Paul Mantz pondered how Delaroche's "fantasy feeds on atrocious executions and bloody visions, and his paintings, clean, spotless, and in other respects very well-bred, are of a perfect placidness, of a calm that all of a sudden restores serenity even to those who, from nothing but reading the title, felt themselves chilled by a shiver of terror."³⁶ The calm of Delaroche's paintings, the suppression of violence in scenes where violence is the underlying theme,³⁷ would seem to have discounted their historical accuracy for some; yet, in Delaroche's Napoleonic paintings, the calm of catastrophe is largely inflected with the historical depression and loss that Napoleon's exile represented for many.

After 1838, Delaroche painted a series of Napoleonic works for private collectors, as his friend and mentor Vernet had done in the 1820s. These works deal not with catastrophe per se, but emotional exile. Napoleon was a figure both triumphant and tragic, whose end came about through none of the violent means so often addressed by Delaroche's paintings (beheading, stabbing, suffocating) but, rather, the less chaotic act of being sent away by the restored Bourbons--away from France and away from history, although with less success in this latter expulsion. Even in those paintings by Delaroche which depict moments long before Napoleon's exile, loss of historical identity is the emotion that predominates Napoleon's image. In his recent study of Delaroche, Stephen Bann suggests that through changes of composition, the trial and error of pictorial problems, even the development of the signature he used in his paintings, Delaroche sought to inscribe himself in his work in

a way that reflected his autonomy from tradition; the guiding principle of Delaroche's output was a search for self-identity. In the absence of any painted self-portraits, and drawing on the fact that contemporaries noted a resemblance between the artist and the deposed Emperor, Bann demonstrates how in particular Delaroche's Napoleonic paintings "assume the burden of self-expression," an assertion which gains particular credibility based on the fact that Napoleon is the only deposed monarch Delaroche painted repeatedly.³⁸ The argument is particularly compelling in light of both figures having been exiles from French life; Napoleon, of course, was forced to Saint Helena, while Delaroche's exile--from public exhibitions, from official approbation, and from engagement in a communal artistic life in Paris during the 1840s and 1850s--was self-imposed.

Delaroche's first Napoleonic painting, *Napoleon in his Study* (fig. 50, 1838), has the medal-bedecked Emperor in the uniform of a *grenadier à pied*, shown in three-quarter length and three-quarter profile as he poses, cramped, between a desk and a velvet armchair. His right hand is tucked into his waistcoat, the legendary stance attributed to Napoleon's frequent stomach pain; here, the gesture takes on a regal, un-self-consciously introspective dimension. However Napoleon's facial expression, while equally introspective, does not bear the signs of a confident man of affairs who has paused from his diplomatic endeavors; rather, he appears at once worried, weary, even disgusted as he suffers in silence. Delaroche clearly was calling upon the same theme and the same details of costume as a famous precedent, David's *Napoleon in his Study*, now in the National Gallery, Washington D.C.

(1812). Yet as Bann has pointed out, in Delaroche's version Napoleon's unsettling sidelong gaze is invested with such a sense of interiority as to make the portrait nearly the opposite of the David.³⁹ If Delaroche was indeed citing painters who lived during the Empire, his *Napoleon in his Study* invoked David for archaeological details, but Gros's version of the bureaucrat, *Bonaparte as First Consul* (fig. 6), for an ideal of Napoleon the passionately absorbed thinker. The intensely "ocular" nature of Delaroche's Napoleon—truly the Emperor's eyes speak before any other aspect of the picture, and demand our sustained attention—even more readily recalls Gros's *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola* (fig. 3), where the general (in the same three-quarter stance/profile combination) stares out toward the right side of the painting at some unspecified action. In Delaroche's *Napoleon in his Study*, however, Napoleon's gaze is emptied of all object, as in Gros's *Bonaparte as First Consul*; he looks at nothing, exhibiting, instead, a vague yet profound omniscience. Delaroche's Napoleon is more intensely weighted, retrospectively branded with his historical failure, than he could have been in the paintings of Gros.

Even when painting an event in Napoleon's history that led to victory, Delaroche presented Napoleon as the tragic hero. *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (fig. 51, 1848) again takes a theme made famous by David, then strips it of its heavily historicized elements, turning history into a character study framed by a collage of Napoleonic anecdote. Together, the accounts by David and Delaroche of Napoleon's Alpine crossing en route to the battle of Marengo have served thought-provoking analyses in which the running point of comparison is idealism versus realism, or myth

versus truth.⁴⁰ This is not without good reason, as to the critical eye, whether historically tutored or not, the paintings side by side ring one false, one true. David's version depicts Bonaparte "calm on a fiery steed," the now-clichéd self-characterization Bonaparte offered, says Delécluze, to David.⁴¹ Alternately, Delaroche's painting shows (some might say) history "as it actually was:" Bonaparte irritable on a clumsy mule. In the David, Bonaparte's Adonis-like visage and impeccable uniform make him a pinnacle of masculine authority, while Delaroche has presented us with a rumpled, weary-eyed traveler in mud-splattered boots--just a man.

This distinction between the David as myth and the Delaroche as truth can, however, be turned against itself to prove something of the opposite: that David applies the codes of a formal history, while Delaroche uses the tactics of legend pure, legend simple. Separating these two works are not simply degrees of realism, but methods of telling and methods of reading: textbook versus tabloid, pedantic versus popular. David's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps*, as discussed previously, imposes a hierarchy on one moment's role within a broader world chronology, presenting history in diagram fashion. It is a painting which simultaneously instructs and demands prior instruction in order for the viewer to decipher the relevance of the names Hannibal and Charlemagne, etched in the rocky foreground. On the other hand Delaroche's version refers to no history but the one depicted, avoiding explanatory text and authoritative announcements: the result is a palpably miserable sensation of the cold, perilous Alpine crossing. But where Delaroche's down-to-earth Bonaparte is commonly considered the factual successor to David's mythical hero on

a high horse, we might wonder: does pictorial realism really have anything to do with historical realism? Might the hyper-realistic detail of the Delaroche--the unimpressive mule, the dark circles under Bonaparte's eyes, his splotchy and wrinkled overcoat--be lures into the legend, rather than evidence? And don't the different historical sensibilities of viewers also determine a painting's believability? The David with all its textual trappings plays the side of "high history," while the Delaroche might be compared to the oral account, a legend told by the fireside. Delaroche's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* reports a history without assumptions, a tale of humanity that could be easily understood by viewers, regardless of education, regardless of historical awareness. As one of his biographers so aptly said, Delaroche's histories pleased the public because "People appreciate any appeal to their latent knowledge."⁴² In short, Delaroche's popularity resided in the fact that his works jogged historical memory, perhaps recalled old lessons in school, but made no demands on viewers' intellect--something which, for his antagonists, proved the un-believability of Delaroche's histories.

Delaroche's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* shows a windblown and weary Bonaparte gazing out from against a watercolor-like glitter of turquoise and lavender. More abstract than Alpine, the specifics of locale are a matter of viewer imagination. But as if to correct David's equine editing, Delaroche detailed the mule down to its leather accoutrements, murky coat, and burdened visage. A guide, his gaze downcast and expression lifeless, trudges alongside as the mule's human counterpart. At left, beyond the blurred face of a guardsman, are a billowing blue cape, a hat, and a hand

holding it in place—details which eternalize the effect of wind during a split second.

The *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (1845) by Adolphe Thiers served, Delaroche's biographers tell us, as his source for the painting. Thiers's description of the St. Bernard crossing recounted the fleeting companionship Bonaparte formed with the guide and the First Consul's distracted state of mind,⁴³ the latter serving as Delaroche's main theme. With a countenance that speaks of utter lack of will, Delaroche's Bonaparte is believable and empathic; the anti-hero solicits viewers to identify with him rather than ruminate on authority, power, or the lessons of history. As Gros did in *Arcole*, Delaroche presents a historical event as the protagonist's mindset rather than a timed, trackable moment. Both paintings are, in a sense, biographical profiles of history. But unlike Gros, who avoided detail in order to focus on Bonaparte's mental state, Delaroche filled his work with minute details: the hat about to be blown away, the wrinkles in Bonaparte's coat, mud on the mule's coat and Bonaparte's boot, splattered by the same puddle. Such effects are turned into fact purely by the clarity of their representation, while the props of the Napoleonic legend (grey greatcoat, two-cornered hat, hand tucked against belly) accentuate the materiality of the myth's artifacts. That Bonaparte crossed the Alps, thereby creating history, is subordinated to questions of historical representation: how did Bonaparte look, physically and emotionally, when he crossed the Alps, and how could these details be best expressed through the medium of paint? Delaroche's realism is as much proof of his artistic presence as it is of the absence presupposed by licked surfaces and the "photographic" realism for which the artist is often noted. Where

archaeological accuracy on the one hand might convince viewers of a painting's truth, it also fulfills an aesthetic function by drawing the viewer more vividly into the historical dream. This is why I suggested that a comparison between "myth" and "truth" in David's and Delaroche's versions of *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* might lead to a seemingly paradoxical conclusion. In Delaroche's version, the artist's presence in the painting, either autobiographical (as Bann suggests), or as the self-conscious defender of its "realness" (Barthes's reality effect), lends a subjectivity to the image far more profound than David's block-letter signature on the horse's harness. The Delaroche thus teeters on the brink between truth and personal legend. And, as I hope is clear by now, the anecdotal realism of the Delaroche is as much derived from one Napoleonic historical tactic as David's idealism is from another.

Yet the allure of detail was not, to critics, proof of Delaroche's historical aptitude. The attention given to Bonaparte's realistically stitched and wrinkled grey greatcoat--Thiers called it "the envelope Bonaparte always wore"⁴⁴--was seen by Mantz as proof that Delaroche was pre-occupied by the superficial; making direct reference to Thiers, Mantz wrote that Delaroche "knows the envelope. . . but not the man."⁴⁵ Addressing the issue of Delaroche's training, Mantz claimed that Gros's expertise could have only grazed Delaroche's artistic skin. It was the factor of realism that bothered him: Delaroche's straightforward realism touched common taste too easily, whereas Gros exhibited a disciplined, erudite grasp of history. Blanc, meanwhile, implied that Delaroche lacked an education in the grand manner *because* he studied with Gros, who was so "modern" that Delaroche would have had to go

elsewhere had he wanted to learn to paint the *beau* and the *idéal*. Blanc was suggesting a kind of degenerative emulation; Gros, already one step below the high-minded antique-based tradition, gave Delaroche the means to carry history painting to its ultimate demise: genre. This critique was also based on the question of detail; for, according to Blanc, the "great painter" idealizes and suppresses detail, where Delaroche could do nothing but draw unnecessary attention to it.⁴⁶ Where Mantz felt Delaroche didn't profit from Gros's genius, and Blanc felt Gros was not genius enough to have been profited from in the first place, their conclusions remained the same: Delaroche was popular because he managed to entertain the masses by way of his preference for realistic detail over the idealized or allegorical, making his histories easy reading. In a similar vein, Alphonse de Calonne said Delaroche turned Bonaparte's Alpine crossing, "this great page from our annals," into "a poorly told anecdote." Not surprisingly, Calonne called upon David's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* as an example of real history: "more grandeur, more truth, how he lifts himself higher in the interpretation of history!"⁴⁷ Where François Guizot, in 1810, had suggested that the opinion of common viewers counted, the mighty Mantz and Blanc felt an artist's artistry, and capacity as historian, were less credible when popular taste judged them highly; and Calonne made it quite clear that he liked his histories lofty. This notion of "popular history"—that is to say, an elite discipline degraded by its appeal to the less than elite--while displeasing to supporters of conservative art theory, was supremely useful to the forces of government in an age of incipient democracy: both Napoleon and Louis-Philippe took full advantage of history's

pleasure principle.

Historical prototypes, the effect of realistic detail--these are issues that appear nearly irrelevant before Delaroche's most penetrating Napoleonic painting, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* (fig. 52, 1845).⁴⁸ In keeping with the historical mode for which Delaroche is so well-known, it is a painting of catastrophe: Napoleon, having returned to Paris in 1814 only to find the city surrendered to the allies, retreated to his Fontainebleau residence to reflect upon his only option, abdication. His massive form (both pictorially massive and portly) fills the picture frame, while the details to which Delaroche has attended with characteristic refinement--chair, curtain, sword and, again, Napoleon's muddy boots--fade into invisibility as the viewer is compelled to empathy, pity, perhaps even hatred for the painting's psychologically vanquished protagonist.

Delaroche's *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* is not, however, a portrait. Like his *Napoleon in his Study*, it is structured by the formal equipment of portraiture; but the fact that both were, of course, painted without a sitter already calls into question either's status as portraiture. Particularly in the case of *Fontainebleau*, Delaroche's Napoleon is so burdened with failure that his image becomes one of historical shame: shame at his present state of failed European dominance and a broader, posthumous shame that would infiltrate his history after his exile. As another critic had suggested with regard to Vernet's paintings for the Galerie des Batailles, Calonne proposed that if the Napoleons of Delaroche's *Fontainebleau* and *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* were substituted one for the other, it "would change nothing in the meaning of the two

paintings."⁴⁹ His assessment was based on Napoleon's equally dejected expression in both paintings. Buried within his remark is a paradox that points directly at the apparent motivation of Delaroche's like treatment of Napoleon at different moments of history. Like so many of Delaroche's critics, Calonne complained of the artist's "excessive" detail while, inconsistently, demanding specific markers identifying each historical moment as unique. This, for Delaroche, would have been impossible, for his Napoleonic paintings are not about events: history is past, but the man who carries its meaning remains. The expression of tragedy that unites *Fontainebleau* and *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* results from Delaroche's own retrospective analysis of Napoleon as a figure of history; while Delaroche's politics are elusive and we cannot generalize regarding his views on Napoleon as a national figure, Napoleon was the ultimate expression for Delaroche of failure, both historical and personal.

In Napoleon's farewell speech to his army at Fontainebleau, painted by Vernet in 1825 (fig. 46), the Emperor is said to have consoled his men that even in exile, he would make a great contribution: "I will write our history," he said.⁵⁰ The speaker of this phrase is the Napoleon depicted in Delaroche's *Fontainebleau*: it is Napoleon in his metahistorical phase, the holder of nascent historical meaning before its textualization, the site of the historical poetics (either adoring or loathing) that would follow Napoleon into his exile.⁵¹ Delaroche's *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* is caught at the precise moment of historical loss, the inexpressible instant of filtering between the events of his history before 1814, and the formalization of his historiography after 1814.

Delaroche's Napoleonic paintings represent historical "moments" no more than Gros's *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola*, which I suggested captured a historical ethos without even alluding to the presence of historical fact. While stylistically—I speak primarily of surface and contour—Delaroche's work is more readily approximated to that of David, his refusal to equate history and unity, to reduce events to lessons in morality, was the most lasting effect of his tutelage under Gros. The similarity between the two artists' historical sensibilities is most evident in their images of Napoleon alone; both were particularly adept at expressing the interior Napoleon, history's mental state made vivid, rather than the public figure. In Gros's larger paintings, namely *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa* and *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau*, the historical catastrophes wrought by Napoleon overwhelm the heroism of the hero-apparent; in Delaroche's work, that hero's failures are more overtly thematized. Broadening our scope to Delaroche's entire *oeuvre*, it would not be difficult to consider the catastrophic aspects of paintings such as Gros's *Jaffa* or *Eylau* as having been those which most influenced Delaroche's own attraction to, it must be said, the gore of history. The festering plague-victims of *Jaffa*, the rotting cadavers of *Eylau*—the distaste which some critics expressed in the presence of such details would also be voiced by Delaroche's detractors who found, for example, the dog sniffing the trail of blood from the corpse starring in the *Assassination of the Duc de Guise* (1834) to be of questionable decorum,⁵² or the decapitated, then reattached, head of Charles I in the *Cromwell* beyond "the limit of useful truths."⁵³ Did Gros and his student Delaroche have a communal goal in horrifying the public?

Perhaps not--yet the public fascination with the grotesque, or simply the frightening, that I suggested was at least one reason for *Eylau's* success was even more of a factor in Delaroche's public popularity with paintings like *Cromwell*. Meanwhile the audiences for these paintings had lived through quite a lot of violence since 1789; classical traditions must have seemed empty in comparison to the revolutions of modern history. More importantly for both Gros and Delaroche was, I think, their own latent distaste for classical modes of history painting. The ideal and the symbolic, as well as the academically sanctioned elision of realistic detail, were historical dishonesties that neither Gros nor Delaroche could sustain.

It is not coincidental that Delaroche, like his teacher, made only one foray, almost clichéd, into classical representation. Readers will recall Gros's *Sappho at Leucadia* (fig. 2) of 1801, an anomaly dating from the beginning of his career as a painter of Napoleonic history; in 1845, Delaroche painted a nude *Girl in a Basin* (fig. 53), often identified as Sappho⁵⁴ because of the lyre at the painting's lower right. Bann, however, suggests that the painting represents Delaroche's wife, who died around the time of the painting's execution;⁵⁵ Delaroche opted for a classical idiom, only once, when painting a symbolic death, which reminds us of the death blow Gros dealt to classicism by way of Sappho's suicide. Both Gros and Delaroche, at the height of their careers, made one uncharacteristic attempt at painting in a classicizing mode; both opted for, quite literally, lyric subjects with languid female protagonists. Delaroche's *Girl in a Basin* is, appropriately, incomplete; he could not follow through on a work that went entirely against his modern historical ethic, especially when the

subject was so close to his own sense of personal loss. As with Gros's painting of *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor to Artists at the Salon of 1808*, Delaroche's personal life—whether that means his biography, or his sense of artistic individuality and style—intervened in the creation of a picture, preventing its total realization.

While it was the anecdote that survived in the telling of the Napoleonic legend, and the anecdotal that suffused Delaroche's historical productions, his final depiction of Napoleon—and one of his final works of art—turned Napoleon into a monument of history made eternal. In *Napoleon at Saint Helena* (fig. 54), a drawing found on Delaroche's studio wall at his death, the pensive, immutable figure of Napoleon is fused with a rocky throne; an image of history personified, Napoleon appears as a stoic philosopher endowed with scholarly eminence. If, as he was drawing his last Napoleon, Delaroche knew he would soon draw his last breath, he also knew that he would be outlived by the tragic hero of his artistic efforts.

Chapter 5 Notes

1. Durande, 81.
2. *Principaux faits de la vie de Napoléon, dit l'homme du siècle* (as in Chapter 2, n.91), 10.
3. Michael Paul Driskel, *As Befits a Legend: Building a Tomb for Napoleon, 1840-1861* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1993), 29.
4. Charles Gavard, "Prospectus," in *Galleries historiques de Versailles*, vol. 1 (Paris: Charles Gavard, 1838), n.p.
5. Claire Constans, *Versailles: La Galerie des Batailles* (Paris: Khayat, n.d.), 3; see Chapter 4, 241-242.
6. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret argues that in particular after 1815, museums in France (in her example, the Musée Charles X in the Louvre) served to promote a concept of historical continuity. See Chaudonneret, "Historicism and 'Heritage,'" 491, 497.
7. Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 150-152.
8. See Chapter 1, 55.
9. Marrinan, "Historical Vision" (as cited in Chapter 3, n.68), 122.
10. See Chapter 3, n.3.
11. Rees, 11.
12. Thomas Gaehtgens, *Versailles, de la résidence royale au Musée historique: la Galerie des Batailles dans le Musée historique de Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1984), 251-254.
13. Constans, *Galerie des Batailles*, 32.
14. Gaehtgens, 183.
15. Vernet's *Battle of Bouvines* and *Battle of Fontenoy* were both commissioned by Charles X in 1827. That two previously painted works by Vernet were chosen for the cycle, in addition to his being commissioned for an additional three, further demonstrates Louis-Philippe's favoritism.

16. Both paintings are 510 x 958 cm.; the artist charged with enlarging the *Battle of Austerlitz* was Pierre Franque. Constans, *Galerie des Batailles*, 43.
17. Salon of 1836 (no. 1804).
18. Marrinan, "Historical Vision," 132.
19. Gaehtgens, 236, 393.
20. Salon of 1836 (no. 1805).
21. Alexandre Goujon, "79e Bulletin," in *Bulletins officiels de la Grande Armée*, vol. 2 (Paris: Baudouin Frères, 1820-1), 92-93.
22. I have identified this figure as Grouchy based on a portrait of the general by Sébastien Rouillard, although I must admit my lack of certainty. Grouchy distinguished himself at the battles of Jena and Friedland and is, along with Oudinot, one of the generals to which the 79th *Bulletin de la Grande Armée* refers.
23. Victor de Nouvion, "Salon de 1836," *La France littéraire* 24 (mars-avril 1836): 296 (cited in Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 168).
24. F.P. [Fabien Pillet], "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1836," *Moniteur universel*, no. 67 (7 mars 1836): 417.
25. F.P. [Fabien Pillet], "Beaux-arts. Peinture, sculpture. Salon de 1836," *Moniteur universel*, no. 64 (4 mars 1836): 399.
26. "Salon de 1836, 2e article," *L'Artiste* 11 (1836): 78.
27. Ibid.
28. Goujon, "25e Bulletin," vol. 2, 283.
29. "Salon de 1836, 2e article," 78.
30. "Salon de 1836. 1er article," *L'Artiste* 11 (1836): 61-2.
31. Delaborde, 17; Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche, History Painted* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 15.
32. Bann, *Paul Delaroche*, 40.
33. 1818 is agreed by most to be the year Delaroche entered Gros's studio (after studying under the landscape painter Louis-Etienne Watelet), but the amount of time he spent there is not certain. Henri Delaborde suggests a four-year period, perhaps because

Delaroche's first Salon showing was in 1822; *Oeuvre de Paul Delaroche*, 3. The period 1818-1820 was most recently suggested by Bann, 40.

34. Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles*, vol. 3, *Ecole française* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1863), 3, 10.

35. Louis Ulbach, "Paul Delaroche," *Revue de Paris* 34 (1 avril 1857), reprinted in *Catalogue des tableaux, esquisses, dessins, et croquis de M. Paul Delaroche* (Paris: Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs, 1857), 357.

36. Paul Mantz, "L'Oeuvre de Paul Delaroche," *Revue française* 9 (1857): 70.

37. Norman Ziff, *Paul Delaroche, A Study in Nineteenth-Century French History Painting* (New York: Garland, 1977), 48.

38. Bann, *Paul Delaroche*, 246, 249, 154.

39. *Ibid.*, 248.

40. Edward Morris, "Napoleon Crossing the Alps by Paul Delaroche," *Walker Art Gallery Liverpool, Annual Reports and Bulletin* 2-4 (1971-1974): 65-83; Elisabeth Foucart-Walter, "Paul Delaroche et le thème du passage du Saint-Bernard par Bonaparte," *Revue du Louvre* 34, nos. 5/6 (1984): 367-384. The articles, based on slightly different versions housed in the Walker Art Gallery and the Louvre, disagree as to which Delaroche painted first; the Louvre's version, acquired subsequent to Morris's discussion, is generally accepted as the first.

41. Delécluze, 233.

42. Rees, 64.

43. Thiers (as in Chapter 4, n.43), 122.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Mantz, 74.

46. Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles*, vol. 3, 2, 6, 18.

47. Alphonse de Calonne, "Paul Delaroche et son oeuvre," *Revue contemporaine* 31 (1857): 508.

48. This version of *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* was commissioned by Adolph Heinrich Schletter. Ziff, 214. There has been a certain amount of confusion regarding the different versions of this painting, as was the case with Delaroche's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps*. The version reproduced here is generally believed to be an enlargement of the original

of 1840, probably that housed in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris. Foucart-Walker, 381, n.26.

49. Calonne, 508.

50. *Histoire de Napoléon Bonaparte suivie des Immortels* (Paris: Pierron, 1831), 17.

51. My use of the term "metahistory" is based on White's concept of the metahistorical as the pre-figurative, or pre-conceptual, mode of historical analysis: essentially the historian's mental organization of data before actually writing.

52. Calonne, 504.

53. *Oeuvre de Paul Delaroche*, 10.

54. Ziff, 211; *Les Années romantiques*, 374.

55. Bann, *Paul Delaroche*, 244.

CONCLUSION

Napoleon blew out his candle and lay down. Somewhere in the neighborhood the first roosters of the dawn were beginning their fanfare. He shivered: from now on his destiny was posthumous.¹

Simon Leys, *The Death of Napoleon: A Novel*.

When in 1852 Napoleon Bonaparte's nephew, Louis-Napoleon, was named Emperor Napoleon III, plans were immediately made for a grand Salon de l'Empereur in the Hôtel de Ville, Paris. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres was commissioned to paint a large ceiling medallion legitimizing the new Emperor with a representation of the apotheosis of his legendary uncle; surrounding it were eight smaller medallions by Ingres's students, personifying the foreign capitals conquered by Napoleon I.² The paintings were destroyed by fire during the Commune of 1871; nonetheless the appearance of Ingres's *Apotheosis of Napoleon I* is retrievable through a painted sketch at the Musée Carnavalet, a photograph of his installation at the Universal Exposition of 1855 (where the painting was displayed before moving to the Hôtel de Ville), and the artist's own written description of his intentions. Napoleon, fully nude but for a billowing cape, departs from exile on the island of Saint Helena by way of a golden chariot; he is attended by the allegorical figures of Fame and Nemesis, the latter of whom expels Uprising and Anarchy into the abyss of infamy. Floating about Napoleon's person is an assortment of imperial symbols, including the well-worn

eagle and signs of the zodiac, all of which had been of great importance to Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* of 1806. Inscribed on the throne above which Napoleon's chariot hovers, according to Ingres's description, was the Latin phrase for "renewed in the nephew,"³ stating with academic concision that the glory days of Napoleon I would be relived under the Second Empire.

Ingres's resolutely classicizing network of symbols and deities, not to mention Napoleon's heroic nudity, aligned Napoleon with Roman imperialism more explicitly than any works painted during the First Empire; of course Antonio Canova's marble statue of *Napoleon as Mars* (1806), which ultimately embarrassed Napoleon because of its nudity,⁴ is another matter altogether, one that will have to wait for a comprehensive study of Napoleonic sculpture. Andrew Shelton has made a convincing argument for Canova's statue as Ingres's source for the *Apotheosis of Napoleon*, remarking that the painting is not simply neoclassical, but specifically neo-imperial in the context of imperial revivalism characterizing the Hôtel de Ville project.⁵ That Ingres went so far in making Napoleon a Roman hero, replete with a Latin statement of ancestral legitimacy, is not surprising given his duty to aggrandize Napoleon III's new regime, which—overshadowed by the memory of the revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848—risked fatal instability in the public eye. But when the *Apotheosis of Napoleon I* was exhibited in 1855, it met with dismay on the part of critics who were under the spell of the "new history painting" exemplified by Gustave Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* (1849), a biographical episode of everyday life painted in monumental proportions. The Napoleon-loathing Charles Baudelaire called Ingres's

painting "a balloon without gas which. . . is inevitably going to smash to the surface of the planet" because of the excessive weight of its notorious occupant.⁶ Even the Courbet-loathing conservative A.-J. DuPays⁷ felt Ingres's allegorical painting, in fact the whole Hôtel de Ville program, was an exercise in "historical negation."⁸ There were two levels to DuPays's cynicism: while implying that, politically, Napoleon III's regime amounted to little more than a show of national recidivism, the accusation equally applied to Ingres's now retrograde variant of historical representation. By mid-century, the fusion of history with the personal aspects of daily life--by way of artists like Courbet and, soon thereafter, Edouard Manet--had (against the will of many) secured painting's service in the expression of historical awareness, not historical ideals;⁹ Ingres's *Apotheosis of Napoleon I* was too far removed, aesthetically and philosophically, from the public consciousness.

The Hôtel de Ville commission was originally offered to Horace Vernet, who rejected it; it was then offered to Paul Delaroche, with a similar result.¹⁰ Ingres's position as the government's third choice, after the infinitely more *populaire* Vernet and Delaroche, is in no uncertain terms a statement of what the Second Empire administration hoped to achieve with public works of art; Vernet's and Delaroche's rejection of the project equally testifies to their own personal artistic policies, if not their politics. While Vernet, during this late stage of his career, was far more acquiescent to governmental needs than he had been during the Restoration, Delaroche remained, since his renunciation of the Salon as of 1837, resistant to official commissions; the exception was his mural in the École des beaux-arts (1841),

customarily referred to as *Artists of All Ages*—a safely non-partisan theme. Although Vernet, like many Bonapartists, was generally supportive of Napoleon III, his rejection of the Hôtel de Ville commission, we might infer, was founded in his inability to endorse legitimacy and ancestry as justifications of authority. The pictorial scheme of the Hôtel de Ville was intended, first and foremost, as a celebration of Napoleon III's right to rulership, based on his blood ties to the original Emperor of the French; but as we saw in his *Henriade* lithographs and paintings of Napoleon I, Vernet thoroughly disassociated himself from questions of divine right, and could never divorce his ideal of Napoleon from his own republicanism. Similarly Delaroche, like Stendhal, saw Napoleon I not as an embodiment of power, but as an intriguing human who sometimes succeeded, sometimes failed; a straightforward statement of his imperial magnificence was far beyond Delaroche's own convictions. Unavoidably, Vernet's and Delaroche's impressions of Napoleon I were determined by the self-image the Emperor himself had offered to the public domain: that of *homme du peuple*, the inspiring soldier and humanitarian of the battle scenes and historical genre paintings dating from the First Empire.

Throughout the course of their long careers, Vernet and Delaroche synthesized Napoleonic painting's opposing elements, historical grandeur and historical anecdote, thus representing *genre historique's* ability to survive several regimes. In matters of content, composition, and historical outlook, both painters incorporated into their work precedents set by Antoine-Jean Gros—sometimes in homage to an artist whose suicide profoundly affected his contemporaries, but more pointedly out of

philosophical empathy. Gros, arguably the most versatile of Napoleon's painters, consolidated the polar pictorial dialects of authority and populism that were otherwise allocated to separate types of history painting, a political strategy claiming legibility for viewers of different social backgrounds. While works like David's *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* or Ingres's *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne*, and elements of Gros's *Jaffa* and *Eylau*, attempted to apply an academic rhetoric to contemporary history (and at least tried to appease the Quatremères and Landons of the era), *genre historique* had developed as a trend with, in its accessibility, a "democratic" purpose. Troubadour painting, having reached the public's nationalist sensibilities with historically undemanding romances of the past, provided an adaptable prototype for the developing practices in contemporary representation; following such a model, artists like Taunay and Roëhn whittled the conquests and conflicts of the Napoleonic era into anecdotal paintings that described for average citizens the honest simplicity of their Emperor. Such anecdotal versions of Napoleon's history were, of course, at odds with David's more imposing productions--but no more so than Napoleon's claims to being a defender of the Republic were at odds with his monarchic aspirations. The trivial or anecdotal aspects of Napoleon's history have remained his biographical milieu; France, in its development toward the republic it is today, has always held the memory of the *petit caporal* in higher esteem than that of the Emperor. Meanwhile the dialogue between the factual and the anecdotal, or the monumental and the private, that characterized historical representation during the Empire has prevailed to the present day; and in Napoleonic exhibitions and museums,

manuscripts of the Code Napoléon can be found in the same glass display case as the Emperor's striped pajamas.

Conclusion Notes

1. Leys, 79.
2. Shelton, 445-446.
3. Ibid., 447.
4. H.W. Janson, *19th-Century Sculpture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985), 54
5. Shelton, 452.
6. Cited by Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire*, 77.
7. Ibid., 94.
8. Cited by Shelton, 462.
9. For a thoughtful summation of history painting from David to Courbet, see Stéphane Guégan, "Quelle peinture pour quelle histoire?" *Le Débat* (mai-août 1997): 77-87.
10. Shelton, 445.

ILLUSTRATIONS

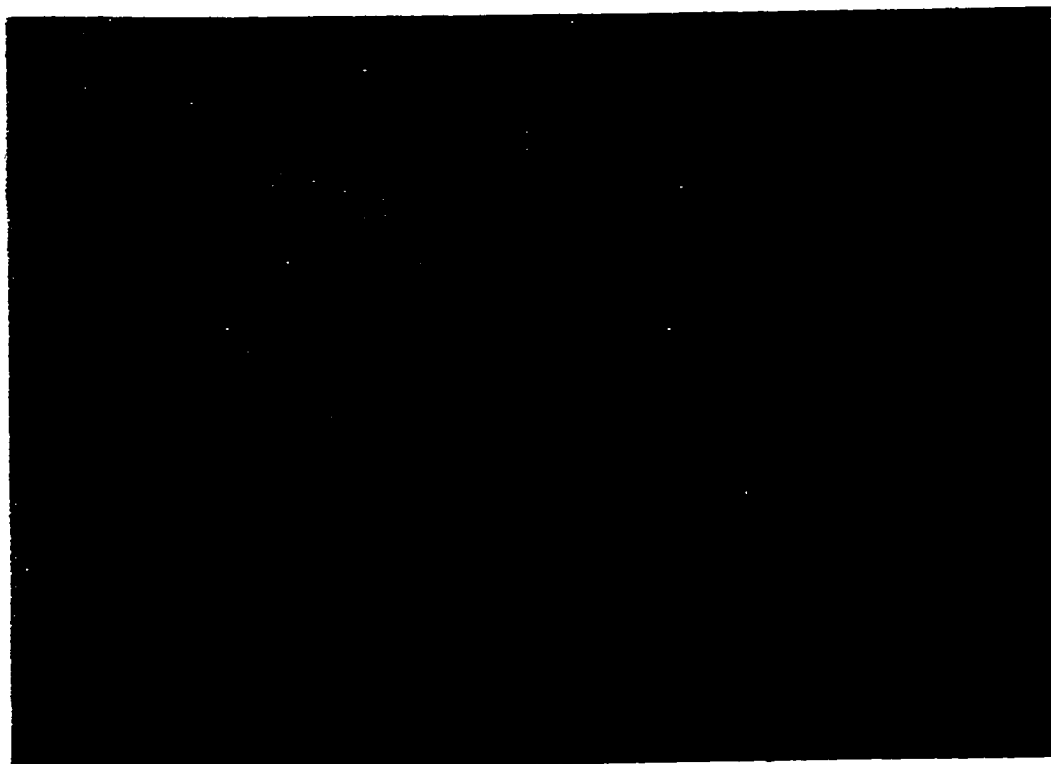


Figure 1. François Lejeune, *Battle of Marengo*, 1801.



Figure 2. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Sappho at Leucadia*, 1801.



Figure 3. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcola*, 1796-7.

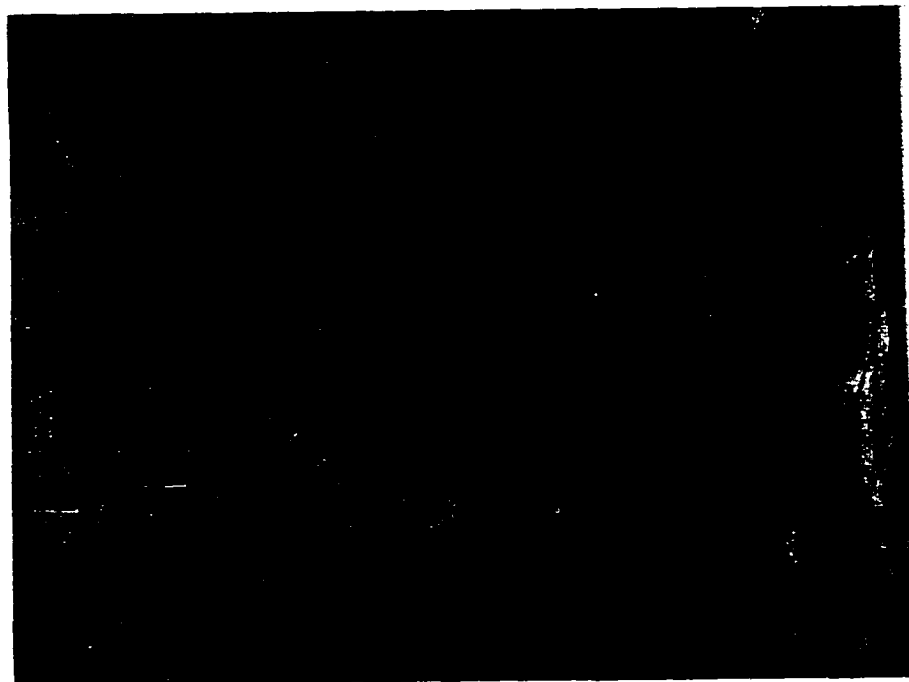


Figure 4. Jacques-Louis David, *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps*, 1801.



Figure 5. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Battle of Nazareth*, 1801 (sketch).



Figure 6. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte as First Consul*, 1802.



Figure 7. Antoine-Jean Gros,
*First Consul Awarding a Saber
of Honor after the Battle of
Marengo*, 1803.

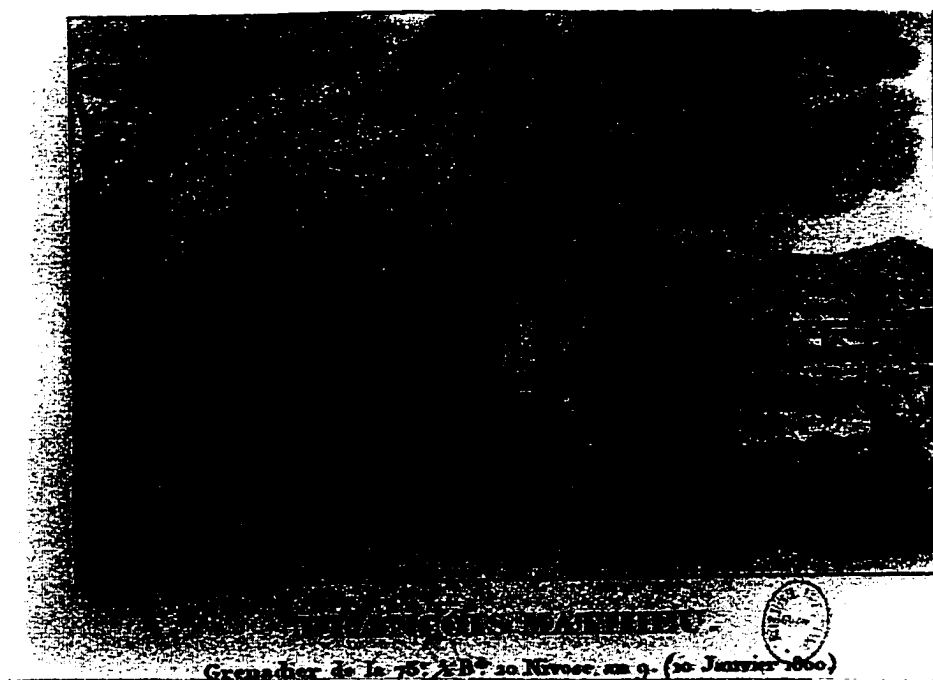


Figure 8. Colored engraving, *François Mathieu*, from *Ternisien d'Haudricourt's Fastes de la nation française*, 1807.



Figure 9. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa*, 1804.

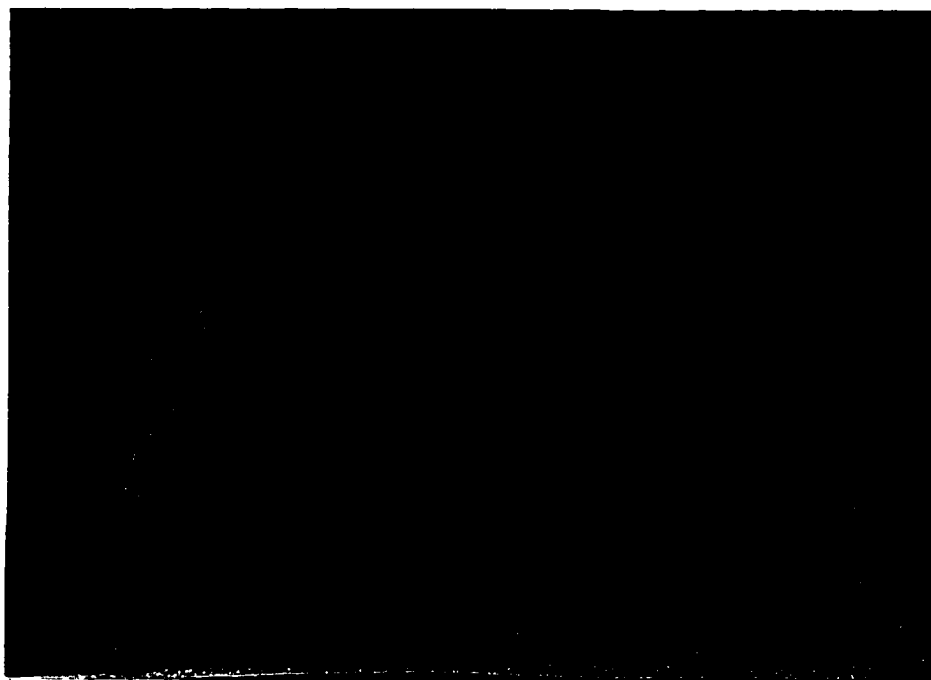


Figure 10. Jacques-Louis David, *Oath of the Horatii*, 1785.



Figure 11. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau*, 1808.



Figure 12. H.-F. Gravelot, *The Battle of Ivry*, engraving for Voltaire's *Henriade*, Canto VIII, 1768.



Figure 13. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon Speech to his Soldiers before the Battle of the Pyramids*, 1810.



Figure 14. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon Distributing the Legion of Honor to Artists at the Salon of 1808*, 1808.



Figure 16. Fleury François Richard, *François I^{er} and the Queen of Navarre*, 1804.



Figure 15. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Napoleon on the Imperial Throne*, 1806.

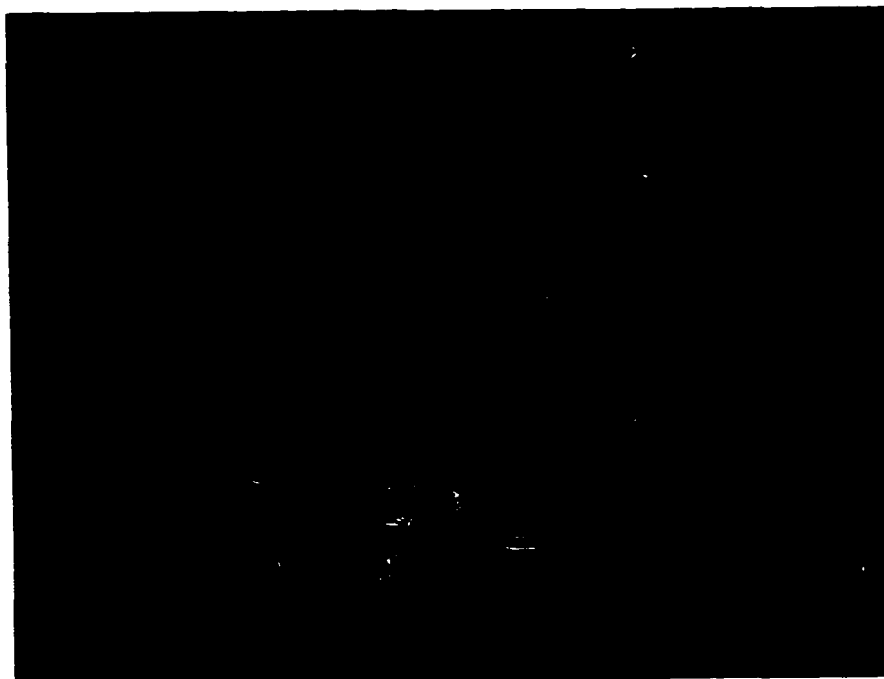


Figure 17. Adolphe Roëhn, *Napoleon's Bivouac on the Battlefield of Wagram, Night of 5 - 6 July 1809*, 1810.



Figure 18. Adolphe Roëhn, *General Bonaparte Receiving the Flags Taken from the Enemy at Millesimo, 13 April 1796*, 1812.

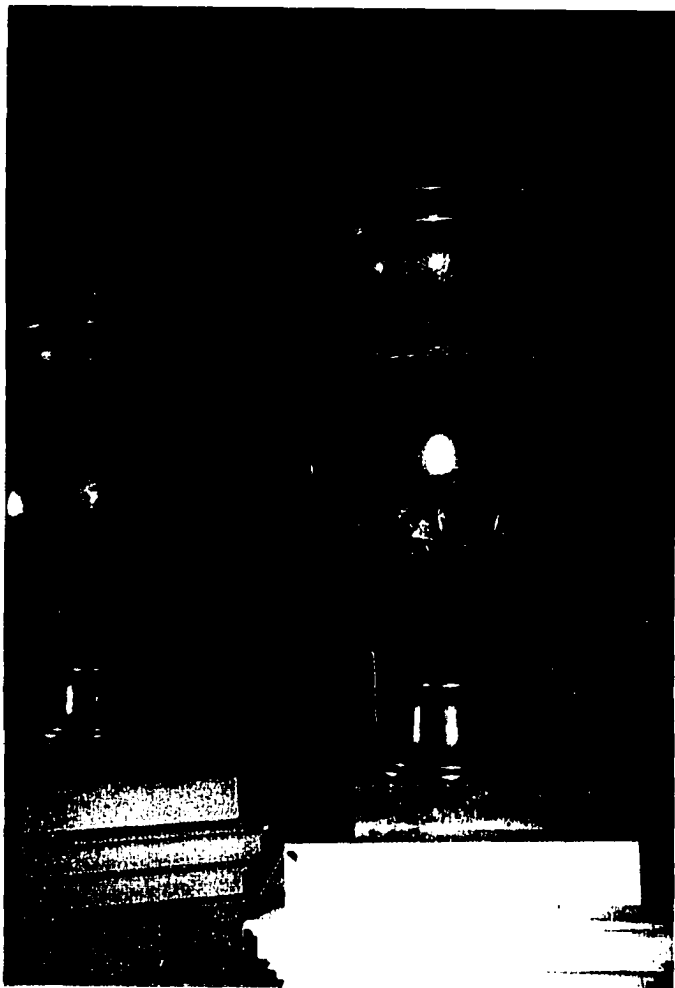


Figure 19. Jean Georget, after Adolphe Roëhn, "Etruscan" vase after *Napoleon's Bivouac on the Battlefield of Wagram*, 1812.

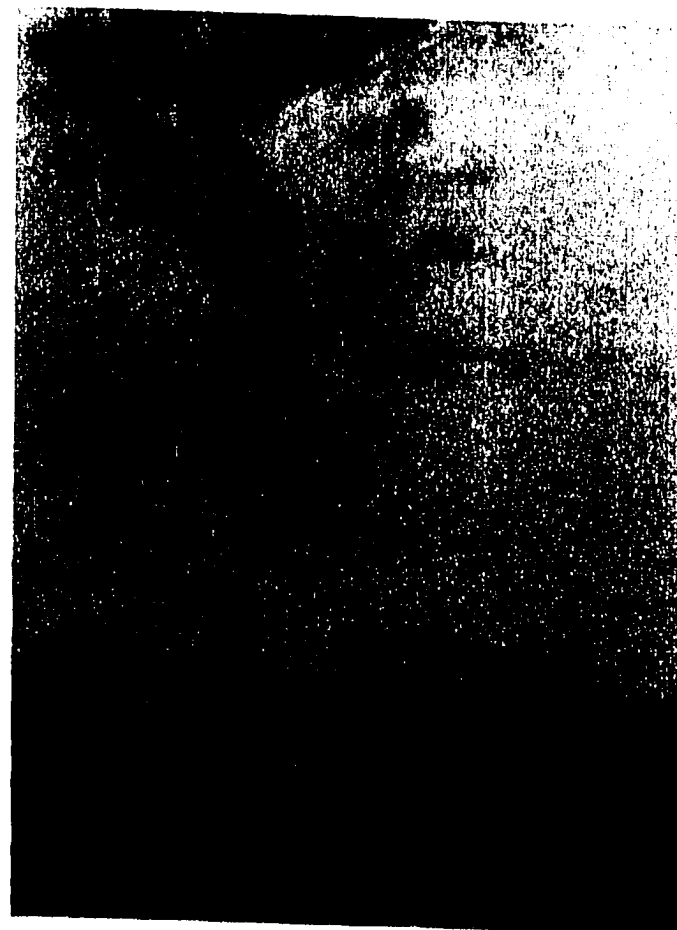


Figure 20. Adolphe Roëhn, *Entry of the French Army into Dantzic*, 7 May 1807, 1812.



Figure 21. Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, *Entry of Napoleon into Munich*, 1808.



Figure 22. Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, *French Army Crossing the St. Bernard Pass*, 1808.



Figure 23. Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, *Crossing of the Sierra de Guadarrama*, 1812.

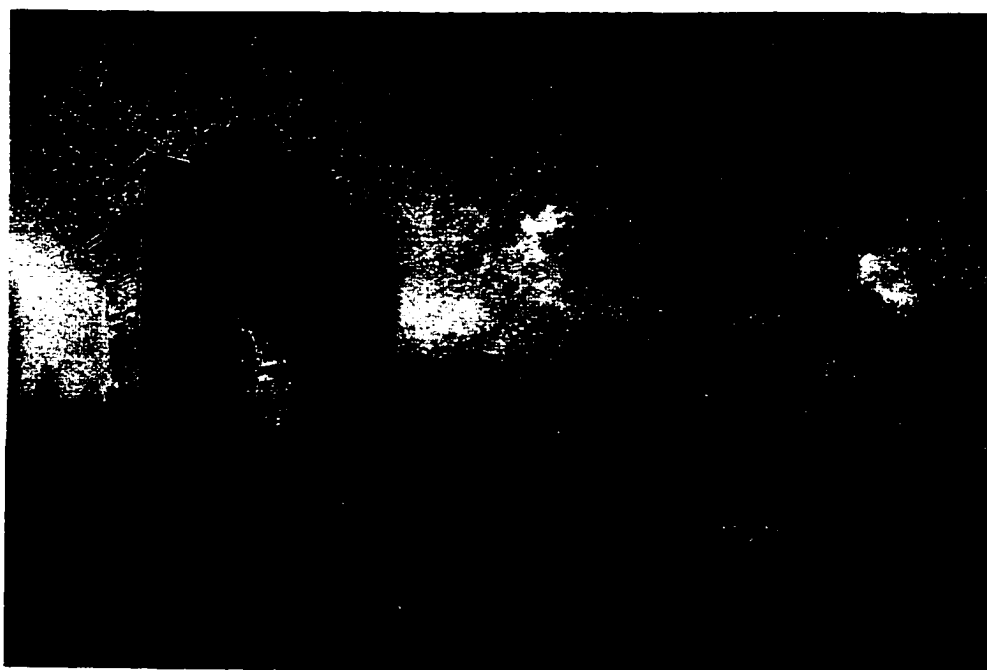


Figure 24. Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, *Entry of the Imperial Guard into Paris, Barrière de Pantin, 25 November 1807*, 1810.

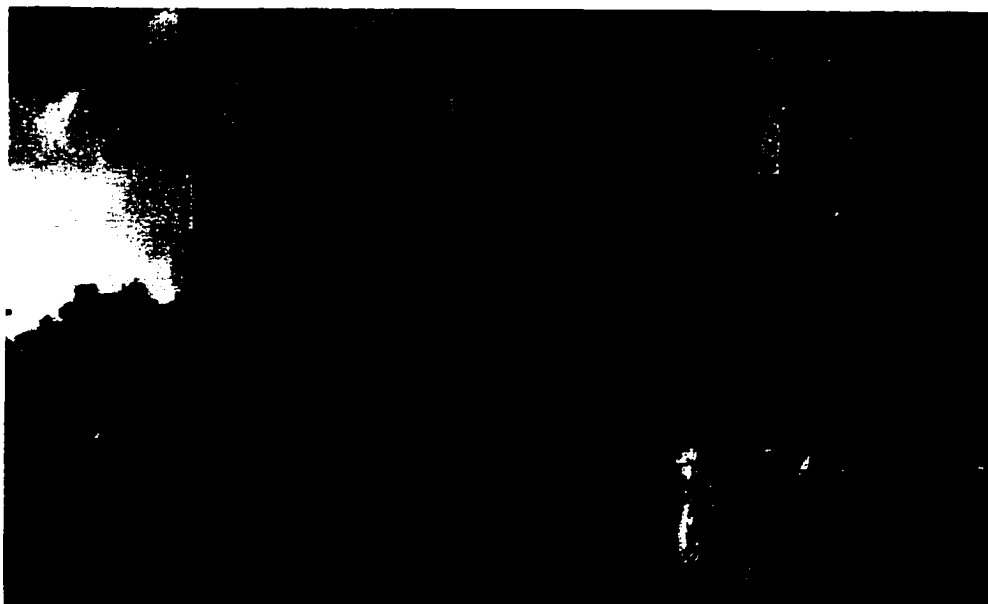


Figure 25. Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Conscripts of 1807 Parading Past the St. Denis Gate*, 1808.

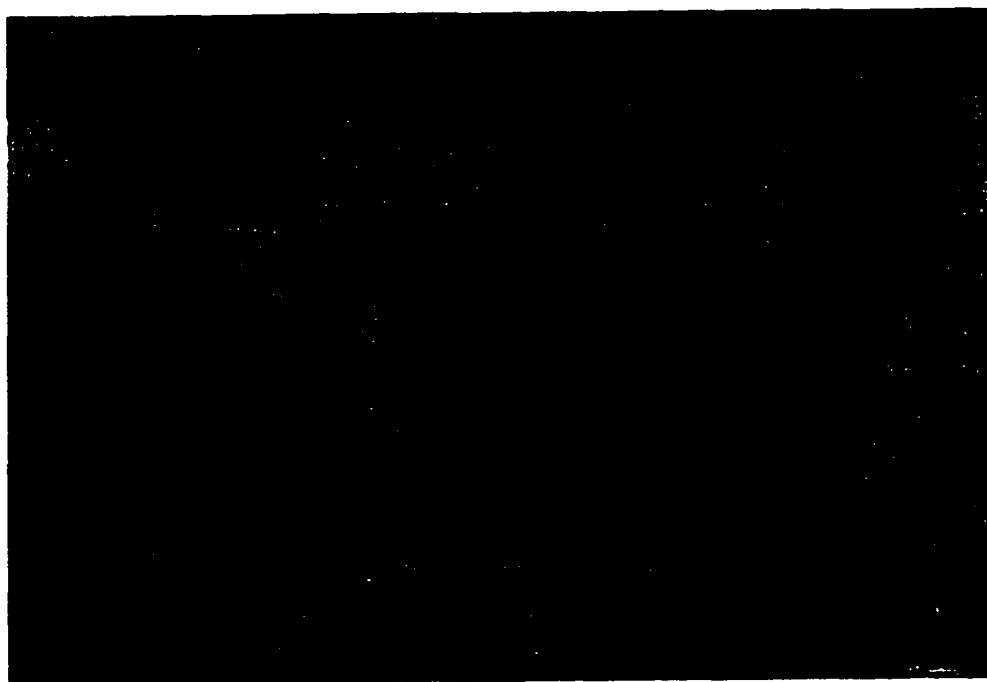


Figure 26. Pierre Gautherot, *Napoleon's Speech to the Second Corps on the Lech Bridge*, 1808.



Figure 27. François Gérard, *Battle of Austerlitz*, 1808.



Figure 28. Théodore Géricault, *Wounded Cuirassier*, 1814.



Figure 29. Louis Hersent, *Louis XVI Distributing Alms*, 1817.

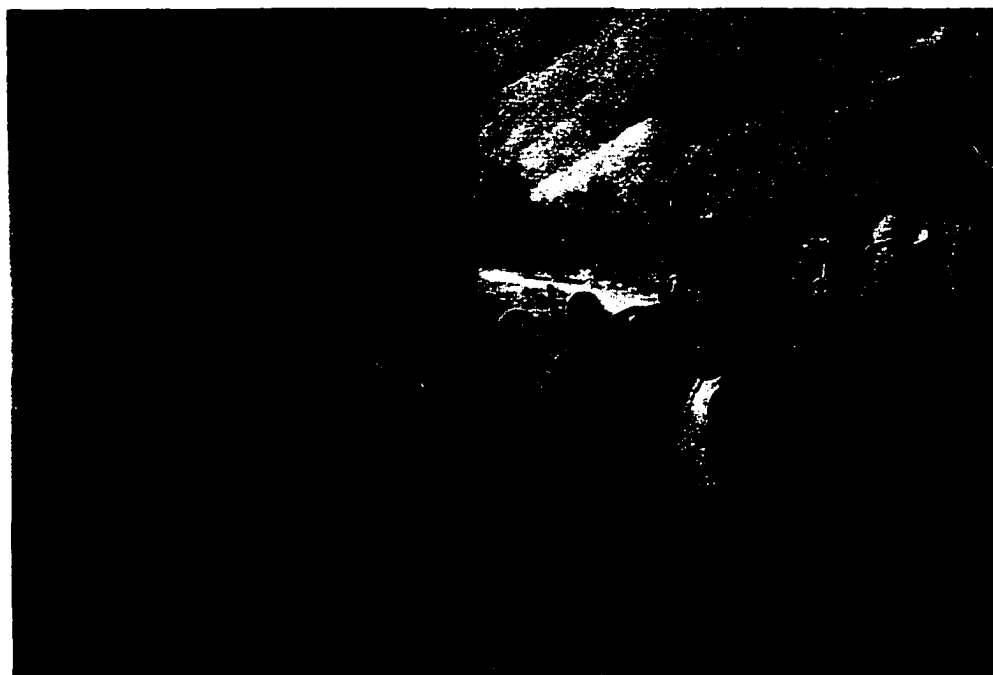


Figure 30. Charles Lebel, *Bonaparte Visiting the Hospice at St. Bernard*, 1810.



Figure 31. Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, *Petit caporal*, 1826. Lithograph from the *Album lithographique* by Gihaut Frères.

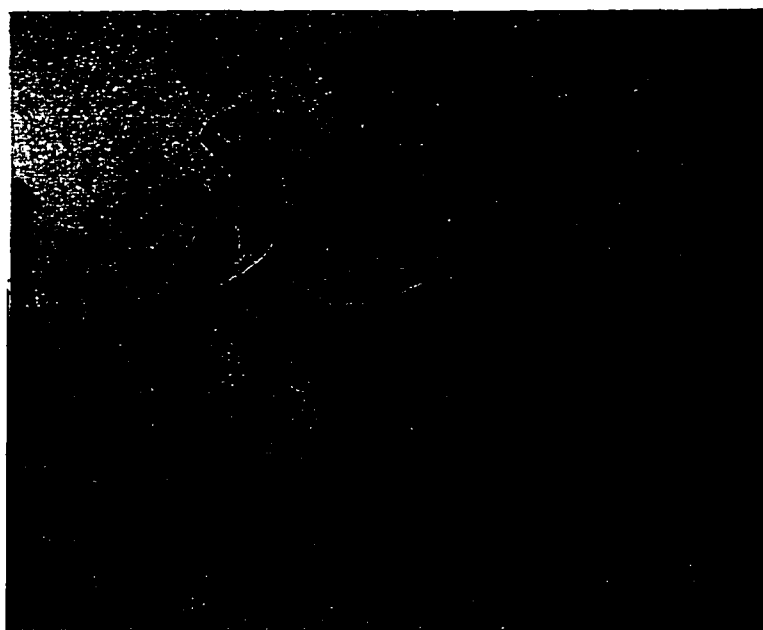


Figure 32. Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, *Leave Me Some, My Old Man!*, 1823. Lithograph from the *Croquis lithographiques* by Gihaut Frères.

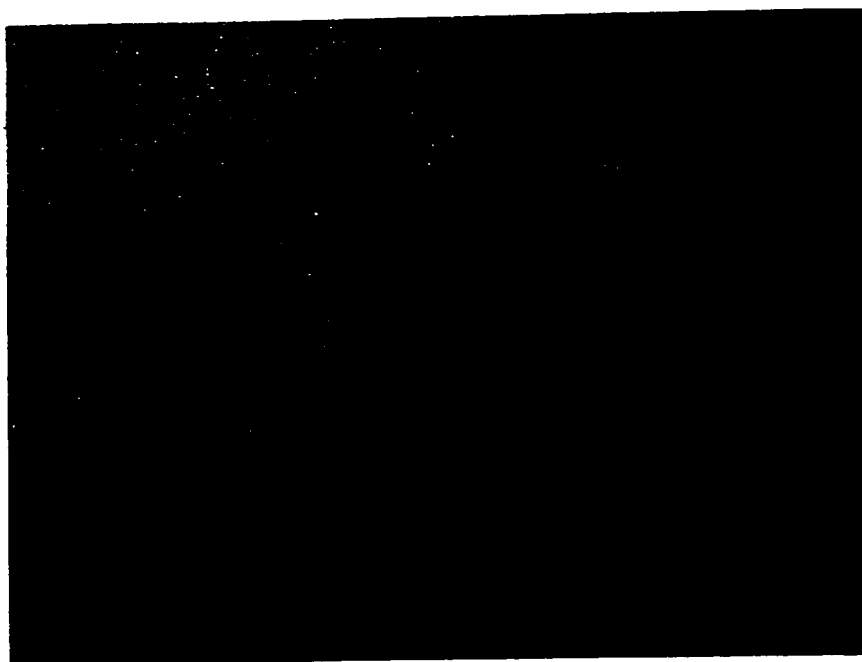


Figure 33. Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, *The Second Shot*, 1824. Lithograph, Villain.



Figure 34. Horace Vernet, *Soldat, je le pleure*, 1821. Lithograph.



Figure 35. Horace Vernet, *Battle of Jemmapes*, 1821.



Figure 36. Horace Vernet, *Dog of the Regiment*, 1819.

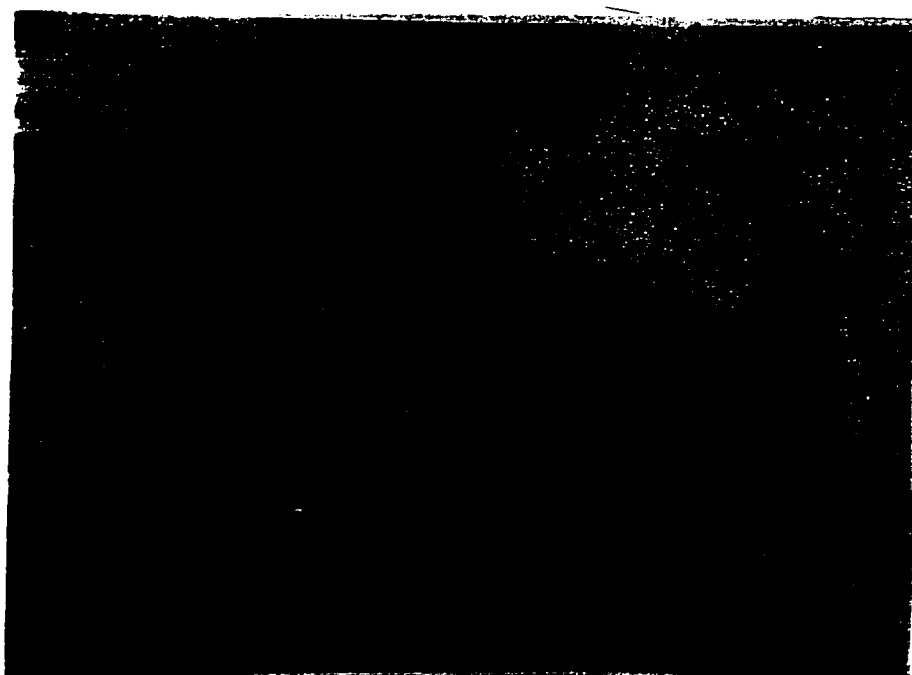


Figure 37. Horace Vernet, *Barrière de Clichy*, 1820.

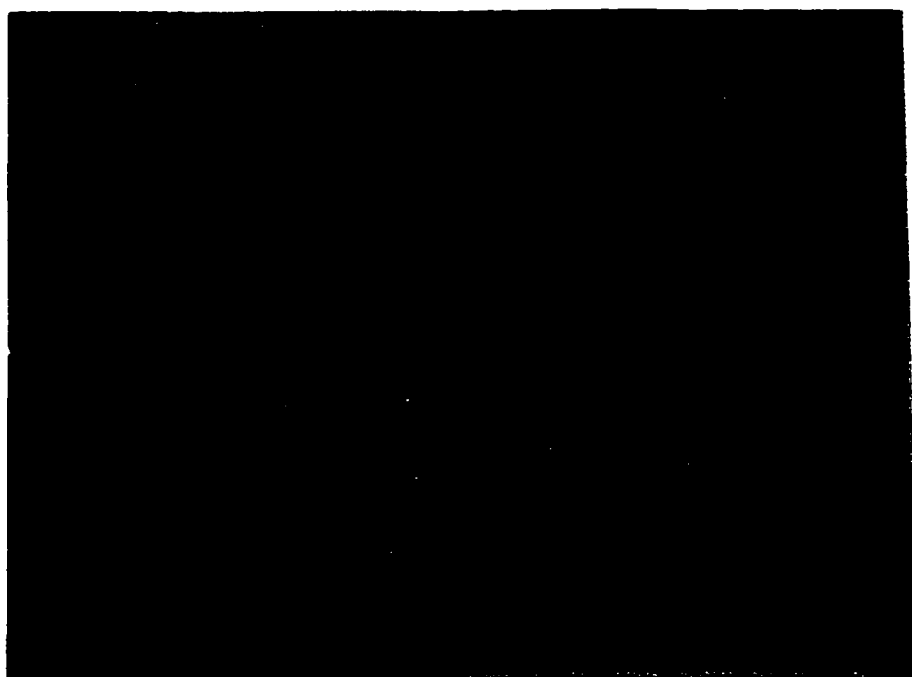


Figure 38. Horace Vernet, *Joseph Vernet Tied to a Mast in a Storm*, 1822.



Figure 39. Horace Vernet, *A French Grenadier on the Battlefield (Soldier of Waterloo)*, 1818.

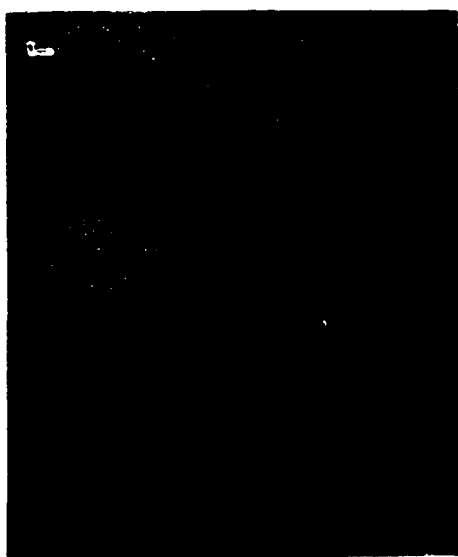


Figure 40. Horace Vernet, *Soldat laboureur*, 1820.



Figure 41. Horace Vernet, *Bridge of Arcola*, 1826.



Figure 42. François Gérard, *Entry of Henri IV into Paris*, 1817.



Figure 43. *St. Napoleon, Patron of Warriors*, n.d. Engraving.

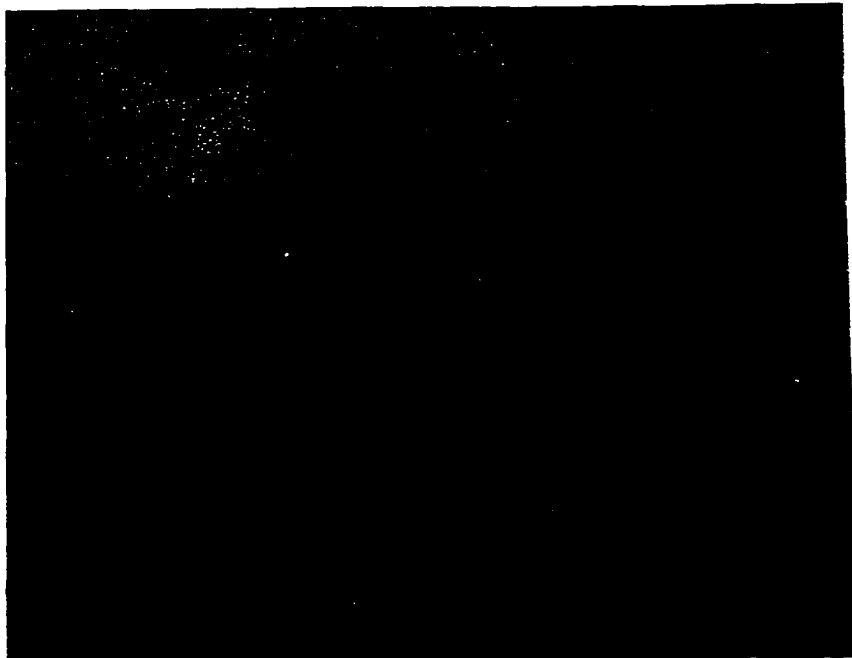


Figure 44. Horace Vernet, *Battle of Ivry*, 1825. Lithograph from Dubois edition of Voltaire's *Henriade*, Canto VIII.



Figure 45. Horace Vernet, *Henri IV with the Hermit*, 1825. Lithograph from Dubois edition of Voltaire's *Henriade*, Canto I.

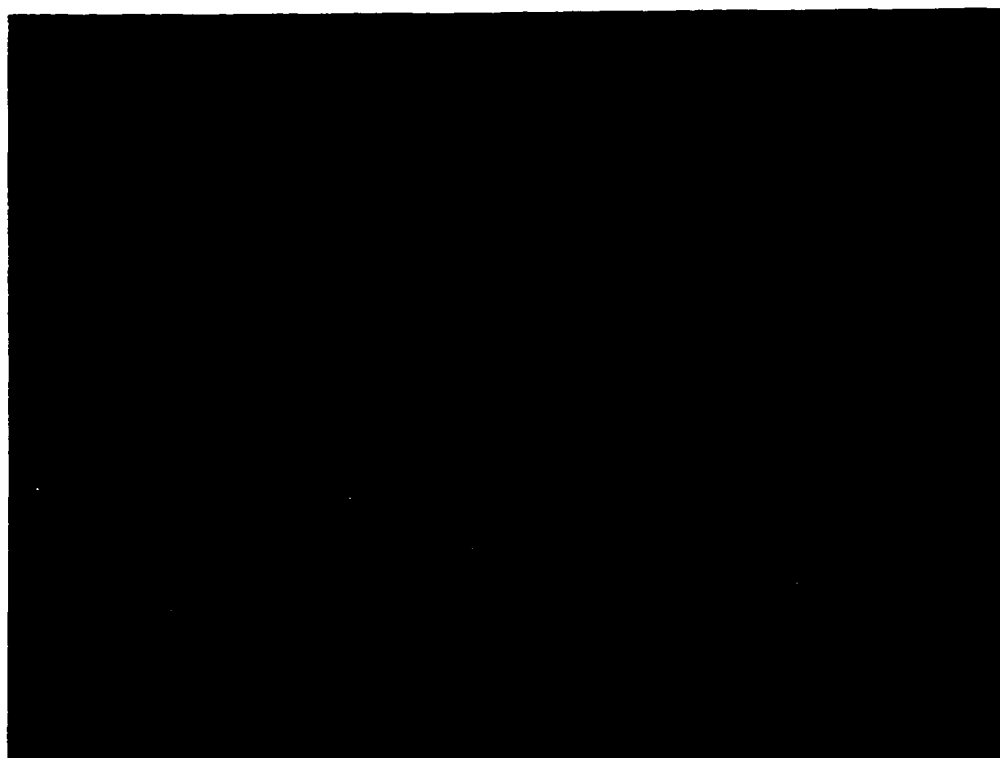


Figure 46. Horace Vernet (copy by Antoine-Alphonse Montfort), *Napoleon's Farewell to the Imperial Guard at Fontainebleau*, 1825.



Figure 47. Horace Vernet, *Battle of Jena*, 1836.



Figure 48. Horace Vernet, *Battle of Friedland*, 1836.

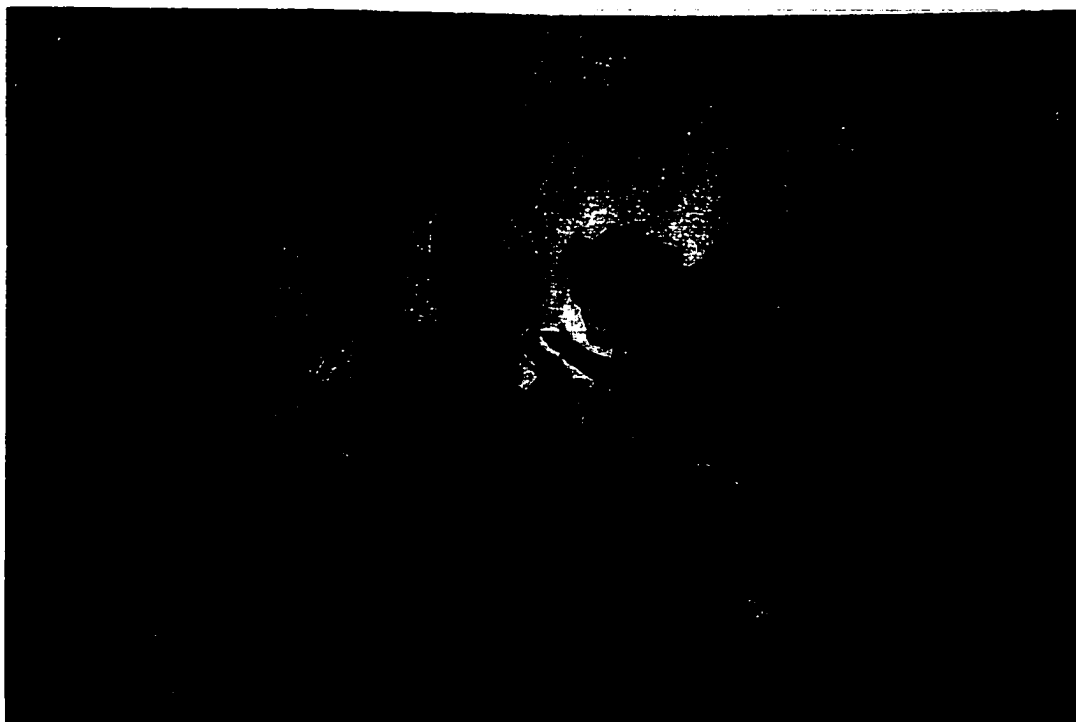


Figure 49. Horace Vernet, *Battle of Wagram*, 1836.



Figure 50. Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon in his Study*, 1838.



Figure 52. Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, 1845.



Figure 51. Paul Delaroche, *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps*, 1848.

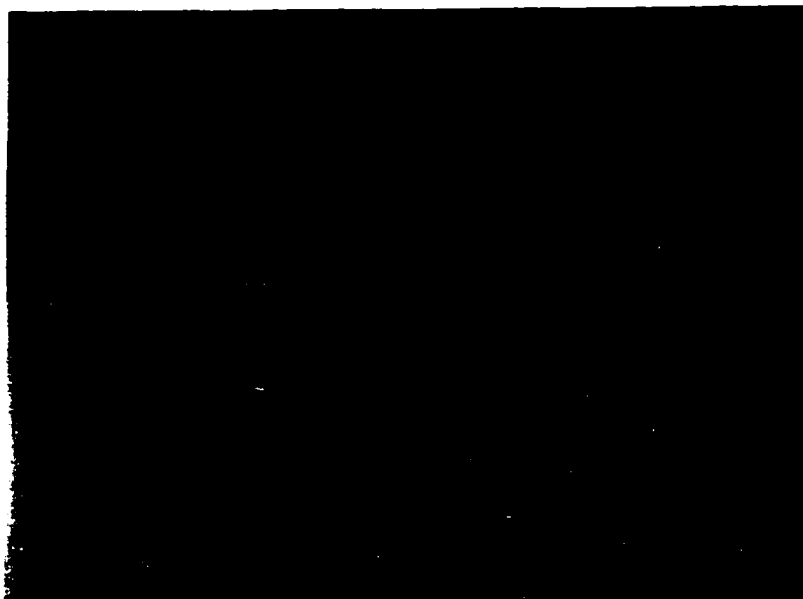


Figure 53. Paul Delaroche, *Girl in a Basin*, 1845.

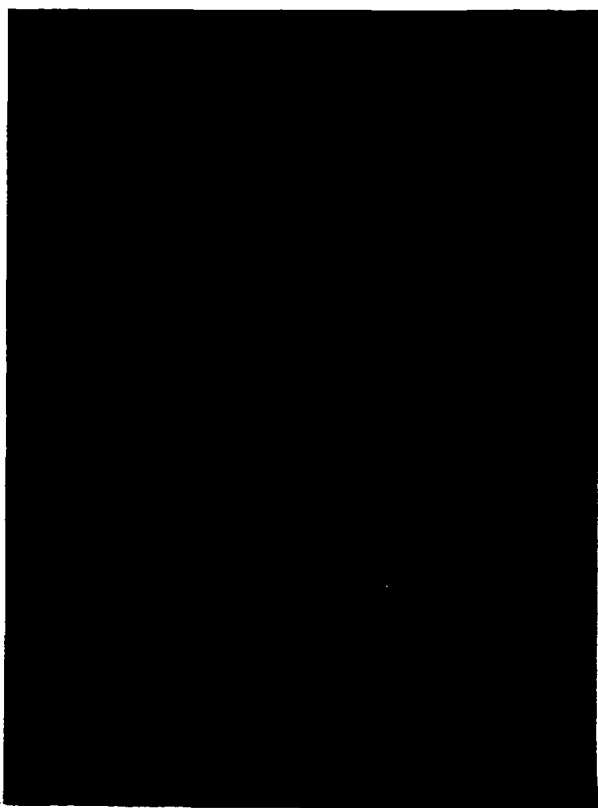


Figure 54. Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon at Saint Helena*, c. 1855. Wall drawing, destroyed.

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AF IV 1050/1/38	Denon. <i>Notes sur le Salon de l'an XIII. Tableaux d'histoire. Sujets nationaux.</i>
AF IV 1050/2/16	Denon. <i>Etat des tableaux, statues, gravures, et autres monuments commandés aux artists</i> (19 février 1806).
AF IV 1050/3/10	Denon to Napoleon, letter (9 septembre 1807).
AF IV 1050/4/9	Denon (unsigned/undated). <i>Tableaux d'histoire à executer.</i>
AF IV 1050/4/11	<i>Etat des ouvrages les plus importants publiés depuis janvier 1806 jusqu'en janvier 1808.</i>
AF IV 1050/4/19	Marie-Joseph Chénier to the Conseil d'état, proposal for his <i>Tableau historique de l'état et des progrès de la littérature française depuis 1789.</i>
AF IV 1050/4/28	Denon. <i>Médailles des campagnes de 1806 et 1807</i> (list attached to letter from Denon to Napoleon, 22 février 1808).
AF IV 1050/4/34	Denon to Napoleon. <i>Tableaux ordonnés par Sa Majesté, décret du 3 mars 1806</i> (15 août 1808).
AF IV 1050/5/10 - 11	<i>Tableaux à exposer au Salon de 1810</i> (17 mai 1809).
AF IV 1050/5/16	Maison de l'Empereur, Intendance générale [Daru]. <i>Rapport à S.M. l'Empereur et Roi sur la demande d'un crédit de 120,000 francs pour l'exécution de 12 tableaux représentant les principaux événements de la campagne d'Autriche en 1809</i> (18 août 1809).
AF IV 1050/6/7	Denon to Napoleon. <i>Salon de 1810</i> (11 septembre 1810).

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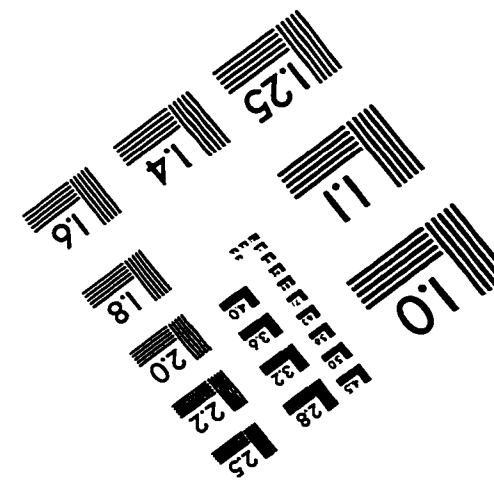
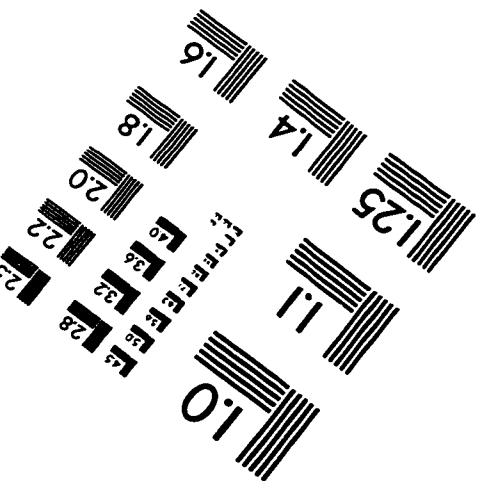
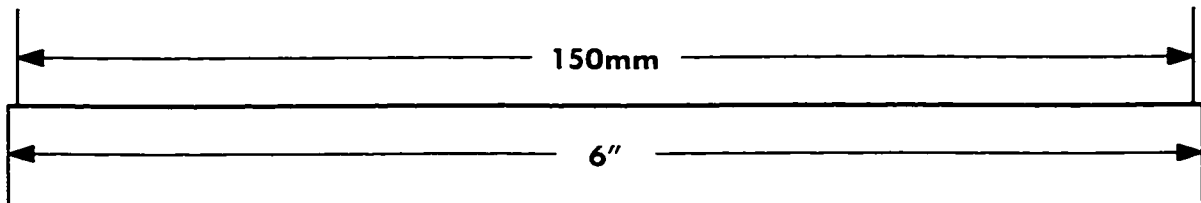
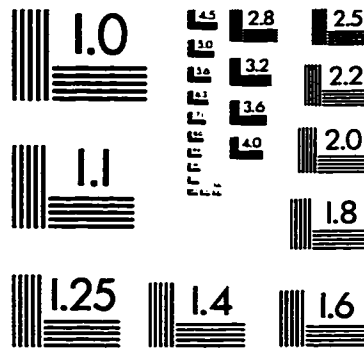
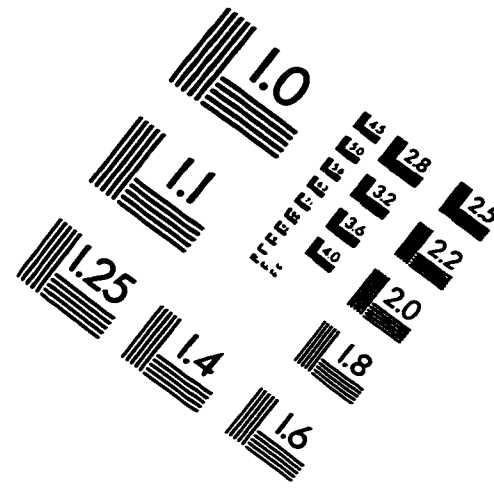
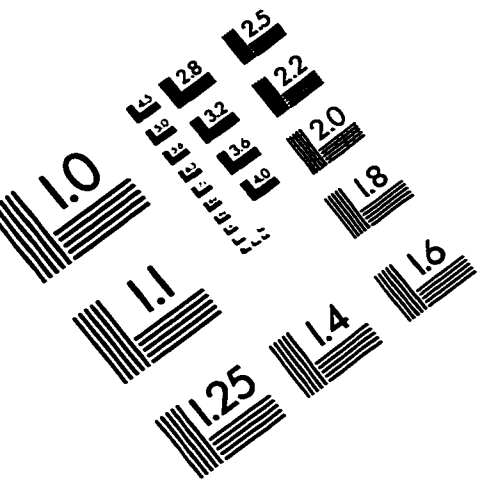
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