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Revolutionizing the Antique: Ingres and Artistic Community in Napoleonic Rome, 1803-1817

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Revolutionizing the Antique: Ingres and  
Artistic Community in Napoleonic Rome, 1803-1817

By

Camille Suzanne Mathieu

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, Chair

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Spring 2014

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Abstract

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by

Camille Suzanne Mathieu

Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, Chair

French painters working in Napoleonic Rome were faced with a quandary: how were they to render and interpret the Antique they had been sent to emulate in a newly French city, despoiled of its canonical treasures? In this changed landscape, artists such as Ingres, Blondel, Heim, and Géricault looked to newly excavated Ancient artifacts and sites, to the “restoration” of Ancient Roman monuments by their fellow *pensionnaires* at the Villa Medici, and to the Roman *popolo* as descendants of the Ancient Romans to recast the Antique from a traditional Beaux-Arts model to a radically non-canonical, Rome-specific Antique. The art this group of Frenchmen produced in Rome belies the common art-historical narrative that blames a blind adherence to a stable Antique for the ossification of Academic painting. The Villa Medici is instead understood as a location of dissent and the Antiquities remaining in Rome as having the potential to alter the canon by asserting themselves, as opposed to their more famous counterparts, in the oeuvre of these history painters.

Rome’s contemporary position as both colonial outpost and revered origin point of empire provided Ingres, and indeed any other French painter looking to establish himself, with a ready market in the French Bureaucrats that had been sent by Napoleon to modernize the city. Newly isolated from Paris by the constant wars of the period, the *pensionnaires* at the Académie de France à Rome developed into a tightly knit community, each frequently adopting the singular aesthetics of one another’s media to invigorate their own. Painters appropriated the flatness of architectural drawings and followed in the footsteps of their fellow architects in taking creative license with the Antique. Sculptors and painters chose similarly novel subjects and represented those subjects in drawings emphasizing exterior contour lines. Together across disciplines, the artists at the Villa Medici invented a new Antique which no longer revolved around the heroic nude male body. The female nude, who was drawn from a traditionally Roman model, a woman of the *popolo*, took the place of the male *académie* for the first time in French history. In so doing, she began her ascendance into a new, less high-minded—but nevertheless Antique—history painting. This politically and aesthetically motivated shift effectively divorced history painting from its moral imperative and encouraged genre, writ large, to become the new language of monumental painting in France.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	xv
Introduction. Napoleonic Rome, French Artists, and the Roman Remnants of Antiquity.....	1
Chapter 1. Building a Clientele: French Painters in Rome and Their Markets.....	16
Chapter 2. Architects, the Found Antique, and the Aesthetic of Flatness.....	44
Chapter 3. Sculptural Transgressions and Contour.....	75
Chapter 4. Ingres and Invention of the Female <i>Académie</i> .....	96
Chapter 5. Reviving Rome: Painting History outside the Academy.....	123
Coda. Géricault: Violence and Volume in Restoration Rome.....	144
Bibliography.....	155
Appendix of Images.....	165

## LIST OF FIGURES

Please note that the medium for all images depicted is “oil on canvas,” unless otherwise specified. All dimensions, when available, are given in centimeters. All works marked “n.d.” signify that no formal date has been attributed to the work in existing scholarship.

### Introduction.

#### **Napoleonic Rome, French Artists, and the Roman Remnants of Antiquity**

- Figure i.1. Hagesandros, Athenedoros, and Polydoros, *Laocoon and His Sons*, Roman copy after a Hellenistic original from c. 200 BC. Marble, 242 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.
- Figure i.2. *Apollo Belvedere*, Roman copy after a Greek original of c. 320 BC. Marble, 224 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.
- Figure i.3. Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Napoleon as First Consul*, 1804. 227 x 147 cm. Musée d’Art Moderne et d’Art Contemporain, Liège; on deposit at the Musée d’Armes, Liège, Belgium.
- Figure i.4. Ingres, *Napoleon Enthroned*, 1806. 259 x 162 cm. Musée de l’Armée, Paris, France.
- Figure i.5. Ingres, “Villa Medici,” c. 1807. Graphite and sepia wash on paper, 29 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban, France.
- Figure i.6. Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte at the Bridge at Arcole*, 1796. 130 x 94 cm. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles, France.
- Figure i.7. Jaques-Louis David, *Napoleon Crossing the Alps at the Saint-Bernard Pass*, 1800. 259 x 221 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.
- Figure i.8. Andrea Appiani, *Napoleon, King of Italy*, 1805. 99 x 73 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Figure i.9. David, *Pope Pius VII*, 1805. 87 x 72 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure i.10. *Cisalpine Republic Letterhead*, Ms. 318.69. Engraving on paper. Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA), Paris. France.
- Figure i.11. Luigi or Filippo Agricola? *The Emperor Giving her Code of Laws to Rome*, c. 1812. Museo Napoleonico, Rome, Italy.

### Chapter 1.

#### **Building a Clientele: French Painters in Rome and Their Markets**

- Figure 1.1 Pelagio Palagi, “Joachim Murat at the Campidoglio Salon, November 14, 1809,” 1809. Brown ink with brown wash, white gouache, and graphite on brown paper, 49 x 68 cm. Museo di San Martino, Naples, Italy.
- Figure 1.2. Palagi, Sketch for “Joachim Murat at the Campidoglio Salon, November 14, 1809,” 1809. Pen and ink on paper. Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio Bologna, Italy.
- Figure 1.3. Benjamin Zix, “Visite aux Flambeaux Faite par l’Empereur et l’Impératrice, Salle de Laocoon,” c.1800. Brown and black ink and graphite on paper, 26 x 29 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.4. Ingres, *Dormeuse de Naples*, c. 1830s. 10 x 48 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

- Figure 1.5. Francois-Marius Granet, *Crypt of the Basilica of San Martino ai Monti*, 1806. 126 x 159 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier.
- Figure 1.6. Ingres, *François-Marius Granet*, 1807. 75 x 62 cm. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.
- Figure 1.7. Ingres, *Madame Duvaucy*, 1807. 76 x 59 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
- Figure 1.8. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Ida Bruni*, 1809. Marble, 57 cm high. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.
- Figure 1.9. Ingres, “Hercules and the Pygmies,” 1807. Pen and ink on paper, 18 x 18 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban, France.
- Figure 1.10. Ingres, “Venus Standing on a Shell Pulled by Dolphins,” c. 1806. Graphite on paper, 10 x 6 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 1.11. Ingres, “Portrait of Lucien Bonparte,” c. 1807. Graphite on paper, 26 x 18 cm. Private Collection.
- Figure 1.12. Ingres, “Antiochus and Stratonice,” 1806. Graphite and black ink, brown and black ink wash on paper, 25 x 40 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.13. David, *Anne-Marie-Louise Thélusson, Comtesse de Sorcy*, 1790. 129 x 97 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.
- Figure 1.14. Ingres, *Madame Cécile Panckoucke née Bochet*, 1811. 93 x 68 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.15. Ingres, *Madame de Sennones*, 1814. 106 x 84 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, France.
- Figure 1.16. David, *Portrait de Monsieur Pierre Seriziat*, 1795. 129 x 96 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.17. Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Sampson Gideon and an Unidentified Companion*, 1766-67. 276 x 189 cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Figure 1.18. Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham*, 1767. 233 x 161 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles.
- Figure 1.19. Pompeo Batoni. *Colonel the Honorable William Gordon*, 1765-66. 259 x 188 cm. The National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle, Fyvie, Scotland.
- Figure 1.20. Ingres, *Charles-Marie-Jean-Baptiste Marcotte, dit Marcotte d’Argenteuil*, 1810. 93 x 69 cm. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.
- Figure 1.21. Ingres, “Edme Bochet (the Elder),” c. 1811-1813. Graphite on paper, 22 x 16 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- Figure 1.22. Ingres, *Edme Bochet (the Younger)*, 1811. 94 x 69 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.23. Ingres, *Charles Joseph-Laurent Cordier*, 1811. 90 x 60 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.24. Ingres, *Joseph-Antoine Moltedo*, c. 1810. 75 x 58 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- Figure 1.25. Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c. 1530. Oil on wood, 97 x 75 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- Figure 1.26. Ingres, *Hippolyte-François Devillers*, 1811. 96 x 79 cm. Fondation EG Bührle Collection, Zurich.
- Figure 1.27. Ingres, *Comtesse de Tournon, née Geneviève de Seytres Caumont*, 1812. 92 x 76 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.
- Figure 1.28. Ingres, *Jacques Marquet, baron de Montbreton de Norvins*, 1811. 97 x 79 cm. National Gallery, London.
- Figure 1.29. Detail, Ingres, *Norvins*, 1811.

- Figure 1.30. Alexandre Brachard and Jean-Jacques Oger after a marble original by Henri Joseph Ruxthiel, *Roi de Rome*, 1811. Biscuit de Sèvres and blue porcelain, 39 cm. high. Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Malmaison.
- Figure 1.31. Ingres, *Mademoiselle Caroline Rivière*, 1806. 100 x 67 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.32. Ingres, *Caroline Murat, née Caroline Bonaparte, Queen of Naples*, 1814. 92 x 60 cm. Private Collection.
- Figure 1.33. Contemporary photograph of the Terrace of the Palazzo Reale, Naples.
- Figure 1.34. Jean-Baptiste Wicar, *Joachim Murat*, 1809. 56 x 40 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.
- Figure 1.35. Ingres, *La Grande Odalisque*, 1814. 91 x 162 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.36. Ingres, *Paola and Francesca*, 1814. Oil on wood, 35 x 28 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
- Figure 1.37. Ingres, *The Betrothal of Raphael and the Niece of Cardinal Bibbiena*, 1814. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 93 x 80 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MD.
- Figure 1.38. David, *Madame Recamier*, 1800. 174 x 244 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 1.39. Antonio Canova, (*Paolina Borghese as*) *Venus Victrix*, 1805-1808. Marble, 200 cm. high. Villa Borghese, Rome.
- Figure 1.40. Ingres, “Le Vésuve et la Mer à Naples,” c. 1814. Graphite on paper, 18 x 23 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

## Chapter 2.

### Architects, the Found Antique, and the Aesthetic of Flatness

- Figure 2.1. Ingres, *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, 1808. 146 x 97 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 2.2. Ingres, *Oedipus [and the Sphinx]*, 1827. 189 x 144 cm. Louvre, Paris
- Figure 2.3. Ingres, *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, c. 1826. 17.5 x 13.7 cm. National Gallery, London.
- Figure 2.4. Ingres, *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, 1864. 105 x 87 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.
- Figure 2.5. *Hermes Adjusting his Sandal*, formerly known as *Cincinnatus*, Roman copy of a Greek original of c. 4 BC. Marble, 161 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 2.6. Jean-Germain Drouais, *Wounded Warrior*, 1785. 125 x 182 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 2.7. Probable 1808 proportions of Ingres’s *Oedipus [and the Sphinx]*, in the opinion of curator Paul Jamot. Image taken from Jamot 1920, 58.
- Figure 2.8. Ingres, Detail from *Oedipus [and the Sphinx]*, 1827. Cropped in accordance with the 1808 proportions as represented by Paul Jamot in Jamot 1920, 58.
- Figure 2.9. David, Detail showing Ingres’s 1808 works from “Sketch of the *Envois* from Rome by David’s Students in 1808,” 1808. Black chalk on paper, 29 x 19 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.10. Ingres, “Copy of the *Apollo Belvedere*,” 1798-1806. Charcoal with stumping, black chalk and graphite on tan paper, 58 x 46 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge.
- Figure 2.11. Ingres, “Copy of the *Gladiator Borghese*,” 1798-1806. Charcoal with stumping on beige paper, 56 x 41 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge.
- Figure 2.12. Felix Massard, Engraving after Ingres’s drawing of *Apollo Lykeios*, c. 1803. 35 x 28 cm. Published in *Le Musée Français* 1803-1812, Vol. 4, Plate 10.
- Figure 2.13. Ingres, “Echo and Narcissus,” c. 1804-1806. Graphite and watercolor on paper, 11 x 17 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

- Figure 2.14. Ingres, “Alexander and Hephaestion,” c. 1809-1815. Graphite on tracing paper, 23 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.15. Ingres, “Jupiter and Hermes at the House of Philemon and Baucis,” c. 1800. Graphite, pen and black ink with grey and brown wash, 30 x 39 cm. Musée Crozatier, Le Puy, France.
- Figure 2.16. Ingres, *Madame Paul Sigisbert Moitessier, Seated*, 1856. 120 x 92 cm. National Gallery, London.
- Figure 2.17. Ingres and Studio, “The Wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne,” 1835-1840. Ink on tracing paper, 19 x 41 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.18. Primato Painter, *Italiote Skyphos with Red Figures*, c. 360-320 BC. Ceramic. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy.
- Figure 2.19. Ingres, “Copy of Female Figure from a Vase by the Primato Painter,” c. 1814. Graphite on tracing paper, stuck to a page with dimensions 50 x 65 cm, along with 24 other drawings. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.20. Ingres, “Copy of the *Farnese Hercules*,” c. 1804-1806. Graphite on paper, 29 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.21. *Farnese Hercules*, Roman copy of a 4th c. BC Greek original by Lysippos. Marble, 317 cm. high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.
- Figure 2.22. Bartoli, “Oedipus and the Sphinx,” printed in 1680. Engraved copy of a now-lost Ancient Roman Wall painting from the Tomb of the Nasonii, Via Flaminia, Rome, painted in second half of the 2nd c. AD. Originally published in *Le Pittore Antiche del Sepolcri de’ Nasonii*, 1680. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 77.2.
- Figure 2.23. Cut out panel with decorative details from *Petit Sarcophage avec Guirlandes*, Roman, late 2nd c. AD. Marble. Inserted into the wall of Palazzo Mattei, Rome. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 81.
- Figure 2.24. “Oedipus and Sphinx” detail from the *Petit Sarcophage avec Guirlandes* at Palazzo Mattei, Rome. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 82.
- Figure 2.25. General View of a Floor Mosaic from a Tomb in the Necropolis of Pinabella, Ostia, Italy, c. 2-3 AD. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 84.1.
- Figure 2.26. Detail of “Oedipus and the Sphinx” in Floor Mosaic from a Tomb in the Necropolis of Pinabella. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 84.2.
- Figure 2.27. Ingres, *The Ambassadors of Agamemnon*, 1801. 110 x 155 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.28. *Ludovisi Ares*. Roman copy after a late 4th c. BC Greek original. Marble, 160 cm. high. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome.
- Figure 2.29. Plaster Cast after the Vatican *Phocion*, c. 1838 (?). Plaster and wood, 221 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 2.30. Ingres, “Copy of *Phocion*,” c. 1800. Graphite on paper, 27 x 12 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.31. Plaster Cast after the *Apollo Sauroctonos*, 18th c. Plaster. Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, UK.
- Figure 2.32. Engraving after an Ancient Roman wall painting of “Perseus and Andromeda,” found at Pompeii or Herculaneum. Plate 37 from Volume 4 of the *Antichità di Ercolano*, 1757-1779.

- Figure 2.33. Felix Boisselier, “Copie d’après l’Antique: Neptune,” c. 1806. Graphite on paper. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Senlis, France
- Figure 2.34. Bartoli, “Figures from the Ara Pacis,” Plate 28. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.
- Figure 2.35. F. A. David, Detail of Plate 20 in d' Hancarville, *Antiquité Erusques, grecques et romaines...* 1785-88.
- Figure 2.36. David, Detail showing Granger’s 1808 *Grecian Warrior* from “Sketch of the *Envois* from Rome by David’s Students in 1808,” 1808. Black chalk on paper, 29 x 19 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.37. Anne-Louis Girodet, *Endymion*, 1791. 198 x 261 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 2.38. David, Detail showing Heim’s 1808 *Warrior Drinking from a Fountain* from “Sketch of the *Envois* from Rome by David’s Students in 1808,” 1808. Black chalk on paper, 29 x 19 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.39. Antoine-Felix Boisselier, *A Shepherd Crying over the Tomb He Erected to His Bee*, 1808. 195 x 146 cm. Private Collection, USA.
- Figure 2.40. Ingres, *Mercure*, 1809. Copy after Raphael’s work in the loggia of the Villa Farnesina, Rome. 245 x 212 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.41. Louis-Sylvestre Gasse. “Drapery Study,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 17 x 10 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.42. Ingres, “Jean-François Ménager,” 1806. Graphite on paper, 24 x 18 cm. Private Collection.
- Figure 2.43. Ingres, “Auguste Guenepin,” 1809. Graphite on paper, 21 x 16 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.
- Figure 2.44. Ingres, “Thomas-Charles Naudet,” 1806. Graphite on paper, 24 x 18 cm. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI.
- Figure 2.45. Ingres, “François-Marius Granet,” 1809. Graphite on tracing paper, 43 x 32 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.46. Figure 2.46. Ingres, “François-Marius Granet, Seated,” 1812. Graphite on paper, 28 x 21 cm. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France.
- Figure 2.47. Ingres, “Achille Leclère and Jean-Louis Provost,” 1812. Graphite on paper, 31 x 24 cm. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, MA.
- Figure 2.48. Jean Alaux, *Pictot in his Room at the Villa Medici*, 1817. 51 x 36 cm. Private Collection.
- Figure 2.49. Alaux, *Pallièrre in his Room at the Villa Medici*, c. 1816. Private Collection.
- Figure 2.50. Michel-Martin Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot in his Room at the Villa Medici*, c. 1812. 30 x 40 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.51. Detail from Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot*.
- Figure 2.52. Detail from Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot*.
- Figure 2.53. Detail from Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot*.
- Figure 2.54. Jean-Nicolas Huyot, Detail from *The Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, Envoi de Rome*, 1811. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.55. Auguste Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.

- Figure 2.56. Huyot, Detail from *The Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, Envoi de Rome*, 1811. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.57. Huyot, Detail from *The Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, Envoi de Rome*, 1811.
- Figure 2.58. Contemporary photograph of the Roman Forum, c. 2011.
- Figure 2.59. Contemporary photograph of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina on the Roman Forum, c. 2013.
- Figure 2.60. Luigi Rossini, “Altra Veduta del Monte Palatino e parte del Foro Romano,” 1828. Ink and wash on paper, 53 x 71 cm. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome.
- Figure 2.61. Jean-François Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.62. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.
- Figure 2.63. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.
- Figure 2.64. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.
- Figure 2.65. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.
- Figure 2.66. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.
- Figure 2.67. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.
- Figure 2.68. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.
- Figure 2.69. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.
- Figure 2.70. Luigi Rossini, “Arch of Titus,” c. 1813. Engraving, Plate 13 from *Cinquanta Principali Vedute di Roma*, 1818.
- Figure 2.71. Contemporary photograph of the Arch of Titus, c. 2011. Roman Forum, Rome.
- Figure 2.72. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.
- Figure 2.73. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.
- Figure 2.74. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.
- Figure 2.75. Ingres, *Jupiter and Thetis*, 1811. 327 x 260 cm. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.
- Figure 2.76. Thomas Piroli after a drawing by John Flaxman, “*Thétis supplie Jupiter....*” Engraving, 17 x 24 cm. Printed in *L’Iliade d’Homere*, 1845. Arthur and Janet C. Ross Library, American Academy in Rome, Rome.
- Figure 2.77. Ingres, “Jupiter,” c. 1809-1811. Graphite on paper, 21 x 12 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.78. Ingres, “Ensemble de la Composition de Jupiter et Thétis,” c. 1809-1811. Graphite on paper, 17 x 18 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 2.79. Bartoli, Detail of “Jupiter Enthroned,” Plate 27. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.
- Figure 2.80. Bartoli, Detail of “Jupiter Enthroned,” Plate 81. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.

- Figure 2.81. Thomas Piroli after a drawing by John Flaxman, “Council of Jupiter, Minerva, and Mercury,” 1805. Etching, 17 x 24 cm. Printed in *The Odyssey of Homer*, 1805. The Tate Britain, London.
- Figure 2.82. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.
- Figure 2.83. Achille Leclère, Detail from *The Pantheon, Envoi de Rome*, 1813. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 2.84. Detail from Ingres, *Jupiter and Thetis*, 1811.
- Figure 2.85. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.
- Figure 2.86. Detail from Ingres, *Jupiter and Thetis*, 1811.
- Figure 2.87. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.
- Figure 2.88. Bartoli, Detail of “Gods at War,” Plate 22. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.
- Figure 2.89. David d’Angers, *Thetis [Bringing Arms to Achilles]*, 1815. Plaster, 105 cm. high. Musée Pierre-Jean David d’Angers, Angers, France.
- Figure 2.90. Bartoli, “Marcus Aurelius Arriving in Syria,” Plate 7. Engraving copied from a bas-relief in the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.
- Figure 2.91. Bartoli, Image of “Clementia,” Plate 12. Engraving copied from a bas-relief in the Medici Gardens, Rome. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.
- Figure 2.92. “Woman Uncovering the Phallus,” from fresco covering the East Wall of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries, c. 60-40 BC. Pompeii, Bay of Naples, Italy.
- Figure 2.93. Drawing of an Antique “Cameo with uncovering of mask.” Original cameo located at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Reproduced in Gazda 2000, 91 as “After Bieber, 1928, fig. 8.”
- Figure 2.94. “Campania Relief with Uncovering of the Phallus.” Bas-relief in the collection of the Louvre, Paris. Reproduced in Gazda 2000, 86 as “After Sauron 1998, fig. 20.”
- Figure 2.95. Engraving after an Ancient Roman wall painting of “The Ascanian River Nymphs Abducting Hylas,” found at Pompeii or Herculaneum. Page 31 from Volume 4 of the *Antichità di Ercolano*, 1757-1779.
- Figure 2.96. Engraving after an Ancient Roman wall painting of “The Actor as King,” found at Pompeii or Herculaneum. Plate 41 from Volume 4 of the *Antichità di Ercolano*, 1757-1779.

### Chapter 3.

#### Sculptural Transgressions and Contour

- Figure 3.1. François-Dominique Aimée Milhomme, *Copy of the Borghese Hermaphrodite*, 1808. Marble. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille.
- Figure 3.2. David, *The Death of Joseph Bara*, 1794. 119 x 156 cm. Musée Calvet, Avignon, France.
- Figure 3.3. Joseph-Charles Marin, *La Baigneuse*, 1808. Marble, 147 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 3.4. *Sleeping Cupid*, 1635-1640. Based on a Hellenistic Original. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

- Figure 3.5. Milhomme, *General Hoche*, 1808. Marble, 192 cm. high. Musée du Château de Versailles, France.
- Figure 3.6. Luigi Valadier and Studio, Copy of the so-called *Albani Faun*, c. 1775-1780. Ancient Roman “Albani Faun” was probably copied from a bronze Greek original of the late 4th c. BC. Bronze, 58 cm. high. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 3.7. Clodion, *Satyr and Bacchante*, 1780. Terracotta, 48 cm. high. Detroit Institute of the Arts, Michigan.
- Figure 3.8. Marin, *Oedipe et Antigone*, 1805-6. Terracotta, 15 cm. high. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d’Archéologie, Besançon.
- Figure 3.9. Marin, *La Charité Romaine*, 1807. Terracotta, 16 cm. high. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d’Archéologie, Besançon.
- Figure 3.10. Marin, *Telemachus as a Shepherd, Prisoner of King Sesostris*, 1811. Marble. Château de Fontainebleau, France.
- Figure 3.11. *Standing Venus*, Possible Roman copy of the Cnidian Aphrodite, c. 2 AD. Marble, 250 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican..
- Figure 3.12. *Venus Felix*, Possible Imperial portrait of the younger Faustina-as-Venus, c. 2 AD. Marble, 214 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican.
- Figure 3.13. Milhomme, *Psyche Abandoned*, 1805. Marble, 215 cm. high. Château de Compiègne, France.
- Figure 3.14. Joseph Odevaere, “A Woman Bathing (or Bathsheba),” 1810. Watercolor over graphite with metallic gold detail on paper, 18 x 12 cm. Leclère Album, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.
- Figure 3.15. Jérôme-Martin Langlois, *Cassandra*, 1810. 180 x 193 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chambéry, France.
- Figure 3.16. David d’Angers, *Othryades Blessée à Mort Ecrivant sur Son Bouclier*, 1810. Plaster, 94 cm. high. Musée David d’Angers, Angers, France.
- Figure 3.17. David d’Angers, *Ulysses*, 1812. Marble, 64 cm. high. Musée David d’Angers, Angers.
- Figure 3.18. David d’Angers, *Jeune Berger/Narcisse*, 1816. Marble, 150 cm. high. Musée David d’Angers, Angers.
- Figure 3.19. Jean-Pierre Granger, *Ganymède*, c. 1810. 176 x 112 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux.
- Figure 3.20. *Ganymede*, Roman copy, 2nd c. AD, after a Greek original of the late 4th c. BC. Marble. Vatican Museums, Vatican.
- Figure 3.21. Ingres, “Nereid,” n.d. Graphite on paper. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 3.22. Jean Pierre Cortot, “Diane et Endymion,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 17 x 21 cm. Folio 12, Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 3.23. Ingres, “Warrior and Amazon,” c. 1811. After a bas-relief by Jules Auguste. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 25 x 25 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.
- Figure 3.24. Ingres, *Romulus, Victor over Acron*, 1812. Tempera on canvas, 276 x 530 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 3.25. Cortot, “Pyrame et Thisbé,” n.d. Graphite on tracing paper, 18 x 21 cm. Folio 19, Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.

- Figure 3.26. Cortot, “Orphée Emmenant Eurydice,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 12 x 14 cm. Folio 24, Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 3.27. Cortot, “Entrevue de S. M. Ferdinand VII et de S. A. R. Mgr. le duc d'Angoulême,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 18 x 30 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 3.28. Jacques-Louis David, *The Intervention of the Sabines*, 1799. 385 x 522 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 3.29. David, *The Love of Paris and Helen*, 1788. 146 x 181 cm. Louvre, Paris.

## Chapter 4.

### Ingres and Invention of the Female *Académie*

- Figure 4.1. David, *Académie, the so-called “Patroclus,”* 1780. 122 x 170 cm. Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg, France.
- Figure 4.2. Ingres, *Half-Bather*, 1807-1808. 51 x 43 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.
- Figure 4.3. Théodore Chassériau, *Le Tepidarium*, 1853. 171 x 258 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
- Figure 4.4. Ingres, *Venus Anadyomene*, 1807-1848. 163 x 92 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
- Figure 4.5. Ingres, “Alexandre Cédant Campaspe à Apelle,” c. 1804-1806. Graphite on paper, 25 x 35 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.6. Ingres, “Venus,” c. 1807. Black pen and graphite on paper, 10 x 16 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.7. Ingres, “Venus,” c. 1807. Pen, ink, and graphite on paper, 19 x 10 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.8. Ingres, “Venus,” c. 1807. Graphite on paper, with a collaged square of paper added, 27 x 15 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.9. Ingres, “View from the Villa Gardens - The ‘Casino di Raffaello’ at the Villa Borghese,” c. 1806-1811. Graphite on paper, 11 x 19 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.10. Ingres (?), *The Casino di Raffaello Seen from the Villa Medici Gardens*, c. 1806- 1811. Oil on wood panel. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
- Figure 4.11. Ingres, *Little Bather*, 1828. 35 x 27 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 4.12. Ingres, *Odalisque à l’Esclave*, 1839-1840. 72 x 100 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Figure 4.13. Ingres. *Le Bain Turc*, 1852-1859. Oil on wood, 108 x 110 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 4.14. Ingres, “Copy of The Crouching Venus,” c. 1807. Graphite on paper, 19 x 13 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.15. Ingres, “Copy of Diana Bathing from the *Sarcophage à Guirlandes*,” c. 1807. Graphite on paper, 15 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.16. Ingres, “A Woman, Bathing,” c. 1807. Copied from Tischbein 1800-1803, vol. 3, pl. 50. Graphite on tracing paper, 15 x 13 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.17. Ingres. Detail from *Mademoiselle Caroline Rivière*, 1806.
- Figure 4.18. David, *The Lictors Bringing to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons*, 1789. 323 x 422 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 4.19. *La Bocca della Verità*, Roman, c. 1 AD. Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome.

- Figure 4.20. Merry-Joseph Blondel, “Traditional Italian Hairstyles,” n.d. Graphite and watercolor on paper, 15 x 24 cm. Drouais Album, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, France.
- Figure 4.21. Blondel, Detail from “Sketch of traditional Italian Hairstyles,” n.d.
- Figure 4.22. Raphael, *La Fornarina*, 1518-1520. Oil on wood panel, 85 x 60 cm. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.
- Figure 4.23. Ingres, “‘Mariuccia’ drawing with address,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 14 x 26. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.24. Ingres, “‘Bourgeois’ portrait of Mariuccia,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 12 x 8 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.25. Giacomo Caneva, *Nu Allongé*, c. 1851. Calotype, 19 x 25 cm. Collection of Thomas Walther, Vaduz.
- Figure 4.26. Ingres, “Peasant Women,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 22 x 9 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.27. Ingres, Detail, “Peasant Woman,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 19 x 16 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.
- Figure 4.28. Blondel, “Standing Woman,” c. 1809-1810. Graphite on paper, 14 x 9 cm. Leclère Album, Harvard Art Museums.
- Figure 4.29. Ingres, Detail of Julie Forestier from “La Famille Forestier,” 1806. Graphite on paper, 23 x 32 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 4.30. Ingres, *Laura Zoëga(?)*, c. 1813. Oil on paper, 28 x 20 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 4.31. Ingres, “Madeleine Ingres, née Chapelle,” 1814. Graphite on paper, 19 x 14 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- Figure 4.32. Ingres, *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1814. 65 x 53 cm. Harvard Art Museums.
- Figure 4.33. Ingres, *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1813. 58 x 46 cm. Formerly the Museum of Foreign Art, Riga, Latvia; lost in 1944.
- Figure 4.34. Ingres, “Raphael and the Fornarina,” 1825. Graphite and white pencil on paper, 18 x 15 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 4.35. Ingres, *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1840. 35 x 27 cm. Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio.
- Figure 4.36. Ingres, Detail from *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1850-1865. Formerly in the Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, VA; present whereabouts unknown.
- Figure 4.37. Raphael, *Madonna della Sedia*, 1513-1514. Oil on panel, 71 cm. diameter. Palazzo Pitti, Florence.
- Figure 4.38. Ingres, “Study for ‘Raphael and the Fornarina,’” c. 1814. Graphite on paper, 25 x 20 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- Figure 4.39. Ingres, “La Dormeuse de Naples,” c. 1808. Graphite on paper, 12 x 23 cm. Private Collection, Paris.
- Figure 4.40. Ingres, “La Dormeuse de Naples,” 1831. Pen and ink on paper. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
- Figure 4.41. Ingres, *Copy of Titian’s Venus of Urbino*, 1822. 116 x 168 cm. Walters Art Museum.
- Figure 4.42. Ingres, “Nude,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 15 x 17 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Figure 4.43. Ingres, “Nude,” n.d. Graphite on two pages of paper, 9 x 16 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Figure 4.44. Ingres, “Nude,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 10 x 23 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Figure 4.45. Ingres, “Two Studies of a Nude Woman, turned to the right,” c. 1814.

Graphite on three fragments of paper, cut out and glued in the middle, 25 x 27 cm.

Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.

Figure 4.46. Ingres, Detail from *Le Bain Turc*, 1852-1859.

## Chapter 5.

### Reviving Rome: Painting History outside the Academy

Figure 5.1. Ingres, *Virgil Reading the Aeneid to Augustus, Octavia, and Livia or Tu Marcellus Eris*, 1812. 326 x 311 cm. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, France.

Figure 5.2. Raffaele Stern’s Plan for renovating the Quirinale Palace as depicted in his report of 17 September, 1811. As reprinted in Natoli and Scarpati I, 37. Original plan in the Archives Nationales de France, O2528.

Figure 5.3. Carlo Albacini, *Barbarian Fireplace Sculptures*, 1812. Marble, 155 cm. high. Reception Salon, Quirinal Palace, Rome.

Figure 5.4. Thorvaldsen, Details from *The Triumph of Alexander*, 1812. Plaster, 125 x 3545 cm. Reception Salon, Quirinale Palace, Rome.

Figure 5.5. Agostino Tofanelli, *Apollo and the Muses*, c. 1812. 357 cm. in diameter. Quirinale Palace, Rome.

Figure 5.6. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian*, 1813. 348 x 275 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Figure 5.7. Joseph D. Odevaere, “Tanaquil Predicting the Greatness of Severus Tullius,” 1813. Musée Magnin, Dijon.

Figure 5.8. Guillaume Guillion Lethière, *Brutus Condemning his Sons to Death*, 1811. 440 x 783 cm. Louvre, Paris.

Figure 5.9. “Second Salon of the Empress” as it stands today. Quirinale Palace, Rome.

Figure 5.10. Guglielmo Cortese/Guillaume Courtois, *The Battle of Joshua at Jericho*, 1656-7. Fresco. “Second Salon of the Empress,” Quirinale Palace, Rome.

Figure 5.11. Gros, *Napoleon on the Battle Field of Eylau, 9 February 1807*, 1808. 521 x 784 cm. Louvre, Paris.

Figure 5.12. Ingres, “Study for Acron,” c. 1811. Graphite on paper, 15 x 31 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

Figure 5.13. Ingres, “Study for Acron,” c. 1811. Graphite on paper, 20 x 37 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 5.14. Ingres, “Female Acron,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 11 x 29 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Figure 5.15. Ingres, “Medea,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 19 x 14 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Figure 5.16. Ingres, “Polynice and Eriphyle,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 13 x 8 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Figure 5.17. Charles Boily after Pierre Rouvier, “Soyez Libres et Citoyens” (“Be Free and Citizens”), 1789. Engraving, frontispiece to Benjamin-Sigismond Frossard, *La Cause des Escalves Nègres...*, 1789. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

- Figure 5.18. Gros, *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa, 11 March 1799*, 1804. 523 x 715 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 5.19. Ingres, *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*, “Second Version,” 1812-1814. 138 x 142 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles.
- Figure 5.20. Ingres, *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*, after 1832. Oil on paper painted over engraving by Charles-Simon Pradier of 1832, 59 x 49 cm. La Salle University Art Museum, Philadelphia.
- Figure 5.21. Achille Reveil, after Ingres, “Virgil Reading the Aeneid,” 1851. Engraving produced for and printed in *Oeuvres de J.-A. Ingres... gravées au trait sur acier par Ale. Reveil, 1800- 1851*.
- Figure 5.22. David, *The Oath of the Horatii*, 1784. 330 x 425 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 5.23. Ingres, *Don Pedro of Toledo Kissing the Sword of Henri IV*, 1819. 45 x 36 cm. Musée du Château de Pau, Pau, France.

## **Coda.**

### **Géricault: Violence and Volume in Restoration Rome**

- Figure 6.1. Théodore Géricault, *Charging Chasseur*, 1812. 349 x 266 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 6.2. Géricault, *Wounded Cuirassier*, 1814. 358 x 294 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 6.3. Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 1819. 491 x 716 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 6.4. Géricault, Detail from “Sketches after Fragments from the Bas-Reliefs of the Temple of Apollo Epicourios at Bassae,” c. 1814-1816. Probably copied from prints in Wagner and Ruschweyh, *Bassorilievi Antichi della Grecia*, 1814. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 6.5. Géricault, “Mars and Hercules Chariot Racing,” n.d. Graphite and ink on paper, 20 x 10 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.
- Figure 6.6. Géricault, “Hercules and the Nemean Lion,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 8 x 6 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.
- Figure 6.7. Géricault, “Ugolino and His Sons in Prison,” 1817-1818. Brown and black ink, brown wash, and oil on paper, 22 x 17 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.
- Figure 6.8. Géricault, *Cattle Market*, 1817. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 60 x 50 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.
- Figure 6.9. Géricault, “Six Studies after the Antique,” 1816. Graphite on paper, 27 x 21 cm. Kunsthhaus, Zurich.
- Figure 6.10. *Belvedere Torso*, probably 1st C. BC. Marble, 159 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.
- Figure 6.11. *Torso of an Athlete, Hero (Meleager) or a Young God (Hermes?)*, Roman copy after a 4th c. BC. Greek original in the Polykleitan style. Marble, 59 cm. high. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.
- Figure 6.12. *Apollo Sauroctonus*, Roman copy of a Greek original, probably by Praxiteles, of 350-340 BC. Marble, 149 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 6.13. *Lysippian Eros*, Roman copy of a Greek original from 400-330 BC. Marble, 123 cm. high. Capitoline Museum, Rome.

- Figure 6.14. *Belvedere Antinous*, Dating, iconography, and origins strongly debated among specialists; perhaps a Roman copy or variant of a Greek original by Praxiteles. Marble, 195 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.
- Figure 6.15. Géricault, *Severed Heads*, 1818-1820. 50 x 61 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
- Figure 6.16. Géricault, *Anatomical Fragments*, 1818-1820. 52 x 64 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier.
- Figure 6.17. Leon Cogniet (?), *Anatomical Fragments*, 1818-1819. 37 x 46 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.
- Figure 6.18. Géricault (?), *Anatomical Fragments*, 1818-1819. 54 x 64 cm. Private Collection.
- Figure 6.19. Géricault, "Figures Surrounding an Injured Man," 1816-1817. Graphite and black ink on paper, 19 x 31 cm. Present whereabouts unknown.
- Figure 6.20. Géricault, "Figures Surrounding an Injured Man," 1816-1817. Black chalk. Present whereabouts unknown.
- Figure 6.21. Géricault, "Roman Herdsmen," 1817. Black chalk, brown wash, and white gouache on brown paper, 21 x 28 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.
- Figure 6.22. Alexandre Colin, tracing after a now-lost Géricault drawing, "Two Men Killing a Bull," 1816-1817. Graphite on paper, 16 x 23 cm. Private Collection, Switzerland.
- Figure 6.23. Géricault, "The Boxers," 1819. Lithography with black ink and chalk, 35 x 41 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 6.24. *Farnese Bull*, Roman copy after a Greek original from the 3rd c. AD. Marble, 370 cm. high. Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples.
- Figure 6.25. Géricault, "Two Men Killing a Bull," 1816-1817. Pen and brown ink on paper, 8 x 12 cm. Denise Aimée-Azam Collection, Paris.
- Figure 6.26. Géricault, "Ancient Sacrifice," 1816-1817. Pen and brown ink and white gouache on brown paper, 29 x 42 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 6.27. Géricault, "Studies after Michelangelo," 1816. Pen and brown ink and graphite on paper, 23 x 28 cm. ENSBA, Paris.
- Figure 6.28. Michelangelo, *Tomb of Lorenzo di' Medici*, 1520-1533. Marble. Church of San Lorenzo, Florence.
- Figure 6.29. Géricault. "Leda and the Swan," 1816-1817. Black chalk, brown wash, and blue watercolor on brown paper, 22 x 28 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 6.30. Géricault, "Couple Embracing," c. 1815-1816. Black and brown ink with brown wash, white gouache, and graphite on paper, 21 x 11 cm. Private Collection.
- Figure 6.31. Géricault, *Satyr and Nymph*, c. 1818. Stone, painted with brown glaze, 29 cm. high. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.
- Figure 6.32. Géricault, "Scene of Cannibalism on the Raft of the Medusa," 1818-1819. Black chalk, brown wash, and white gouache on brown paper, 28 x 38 cm. Louvre, Paris.
- Figure 6.33. Géricault, *Italian Family*, 1816-1817. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 23 x 30 cm. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.
- Figure 6.34. Géricault, "Execution in Rome," 1816-17. Graphite on paper, 19 x 32 cm. Present whereabouts unknown.
- Figure 6.35. Géricault, "Prayer to the Virgin," 1816-1817. Pen and brown ink on tracing paper, 27 x 40 cm. ENSBA, Paris.

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## INTRODUCTION

### NAPOLEONIC ROME, FRENCH ARTISTS, AND THE ROMAN REMNANTS OF ANTIQUITY

In 1813, French academic history painting was in crisis. In every Salon since Napoleon's coronation in 1804, subjects depicting scenes from Ancient History had lost out to those lauding the present bellicose moment.<sup>1</sup> Artists trained to emulate the Antique, such as Jacques-Louis David's students Antoine-Jean Gros and Anne-Louis Girodet, were using their skills in the service of Napoleonic war propaganda, creating scenes populated by modern-dress soldiers acting bravely in battle.<sup>2</sup> If its emulators were subject to the political necessities of Napoleon's empire, so too was the Ancient art they had been trained to study. The iconic Greco-Roman freestanding sculptures that composed the Beaux-Arts canon, such as the *Laocoon* or the *Apollo Belvedere*, were no longer to be found at the Vatican or the Capitoline in Rome; by 1802, they had been transported to Paris and adorned the halls of the Louvre (Figures i.1 and i.2).<sup>3</sup> Paradoxically for those young French artists who had won the Prix de Rome and the scholarship for four or five years of study in Rome that accompanied it, Napoleon's actions stripped Rome of its Academic sources of inspiration. Was Rome still worth the journey if its most famous works were not *in situ*?

The director of the Académie de France à Rome in 1813, Guillaume Guillon Lethière, certainly thought the journey worthwhile. For Lethière, Rome offered both a cause and the solution to the crisis of history painting. Writing to his mentor, friend, and fellow artist François-André Vincent in December of 1813, Lethière argued for the continued vitality of Roman studies:

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<sup>1</sup> For subjects, particularly military works and portraiture, that were most represented in Salons, see William Olander, *Pour Transmettre à la Postérité: French Painting and Revolution, 1774-1795* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983). For a more in-depth discussion of the issue of the painting of contemporary history winning out over the painting of the Antique, see Darcy Grimaldo 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). For a discussion of the nature of "history" in history painting, see Grigsby 1995, 420-433.

<sup>2</sup> Grigsby 1995, 275-362, and Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 105-164.

<sup>3</sup> The Peace of Bologna, concluded on June 23, 1796 after Napoleon had successfully invaded the northern part of the Papal States on behalf of the French Revolutionary government, was the first treaty to specify that 100 of the most beautiful works of art from Italian public (or Papal) collections would be shipped off to France as part of the peace agreement. Only two of those 100 works were specified: the Antique portrait busts of Lucius and Marcus Brutus from the Capitoline Museum. The choice of the other 98 works would be at the discretion of the French. However, the Treaty of Tolentino, signed on February 19, 1797, is generally credited with providing for the French spoliation of Roman and Northern Italian art. This Treaty was signed as a result of Napoleon's second assault on the Papal States which the Austrian military had continued to defend in the name of the Pope, despite the latter's signing of the Peace of Bologna. This second treaty effectively reiterated the art seizures first noted in the earlier Bologna treaty and added to those terms a heavy monetary indemnity to be paid by the Pope. France's continued expansion into Italy and subsequent disbanding of monasteries and churches allowed for considerably more than 100 works to be taken back to Paris. For more on the seizure of art by the French, see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 108-116. For the terms of the different treaties, see Coleman Phillipson, *Termination of War and Treaties of Peace* (New York: Dutton & Co., 1916), 271.

*C'est aujourd'hui, plus que jamais peut-être, qu'il faut nourrir le feu sacré du beau et former de véritables peintres d'histoire. Les sujets de batailles modernes n'offrent guère d'intérêt [que celui] qui leur est propre sans doute, mais des habits bleus, des bottes, des guêtres, des gants, des fusils, des chapeaux, des queues et des moustaches allemandes ne forment guère au sublime, et il y a loin d'un hussard à l'Apollon du Belvédère qu'on possède à Paris et qu'on étudie à Rome.*<sup>4</sup>

The cause of the decline in the painting of subjects from Ancient history could be found in the very wars that brought Rome under Napoleonic control; these wars dominated the visual vocabulary of State-commissioned history paintings. Lethière's solution to returning history painting to its Ancient subject matter and to its rightful purpose of moral elevation was to immerse the young men who were becoming history painters in the environment of Ancient Rome. Though he resented the displacement of Rome's canonical sculptures to Paris, Lethière still imagined that the Eternal City provided the needed antidote to Napoleonic battle painting in the masterful works that remained *in situ*.

Lethière seems to suggest that the emulation of whatever was left in Rome—Renaissance paintings or lesser Antique works—was not antithetical to the practice of the *beau-idéal* that his *pensionnaires*, or students, were meant to be practicing. For Lethière, as for his *pensionnaires*, the “empty” city of Napoleonic Rome was still rich in visual culture, both Antique and Renaissance:

*C'est à Rome et ce sera toujours à Rome, sous l'influence d'un beau ciel, loin de notre tumultueuse capitale, que ses habitants viendront puiser à la source intarissable du vrai beau.... Loin des objets de dissipation, des petites intrigues, Rome sera toujours essentiellement le pays de l'étude.*<sup>5</sup>

These words could have been written by the artist Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) who came to Rome deeply skeptical of its importance and, within a year, was proclaiming it a city of wonders, “un Babylone.”<sup>6</sup> Winner of the Prix de Rome in 1801, Ingres served most of his *pensionnat* in Rome (1806-1810) during Lethière's tenure as director and remained in the Eternal City throughout the period of Napoleonic domination and the first years of the Restoration. He left Rome for Florence in 1820, returning to Paris only in 1824. Ingres took on students in Paris, one of whom published a description of Ingres's *atelier* and included many of

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<sup>4</sup> Guillaume Guillion Lethière, Rome to François-André Vincent, Paris, December 1813, Carton 14, f. 262, Villa Medici Archives, Académie de France à Rome, Villa Medici, Rome, Italy. Hereafter Villa Medici Archives. “Today, more than ever, it seems, we must feed the sacred fire of the beautiful and form true history painters. Modern battles offer little interest as subjects [except for] that inherent to them, of course, but blue uniforms, boots, leggings, gloves, guns, hats, plumes and German mustaches are hardly the stuff of the sublime, and there is a great distance from a Hussar to the Apollo Belvedere that we own in Paris but study in Rome.” All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Grammar updated to reflect modern conventions.

<sup>5</sup> “It is in Rome and will always be in Rome, under the influence of a beautiful sky, far from our tumultuous capital, far from that which might lead to dissipation or insignificant intrigues, that its inhabitants [Parisians] will come to draw on the inexhaustible source of true beauty. Rome will always be, in its essence, the place one goes to study.” Ibid. Grammar updated to reflect modern conventions.

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Lettres de France et d'Italie, 1804-1841*, ed. Daniel Ternois (Paris: Champion, 2011), 121. Hereafter *Lettres* 2011. All of Ingres's known extant correspondence was definitively edited and published in 2011 by Ingres scholar Daniel Ternois. We can therefore rely on the credibility of these sources.

Ingres's recommendations for superlative painting strategies in his description.<sup>7</sup> This student, Eugène Amaury-Duval, famously underscored Ingres's promotion of Italy as a fertile territory for personal expansion and artistic development. One time at the atelier, Amaury-Duval queried Ingres about the difference between his winning Prix de Rome entry of 1801, painted in Paris, and his *Half-Bather* of 1806, painted in Italy.<sup>8</sup> In reply Ingres explained the change in his work by recounting his experience of discovering Rome for himself—a Rome so full of revelations for the artist that no one could ever accuse it of being “empty”:

*‘C’est que je n’avais pas vu l’Italie,’ nous dit M. Ingres, ‘quand je fis ce tableau [Les Ambassadeurs de Agamemnon], et cette étude [la Demi-Baigneuse] est la première que j’ai peinte sous l’inspiration de ces maîtres [en Italie] .... On m’avait trompé, messieurs, et j’ai dû refaire mon éducation.’<sup>9</sup>*

The idea of a Beaux-Arts artist having to “re-educate” himself upon arrival in Rome is doubtless contradictory to the Parisian Academy’s conception of the trip as an extension of the artist’s current Academic education. Seeking inspiration in site-specific paintings of Renaissance masters or in examples of Ancient Roman art, as Ingres and his fellow *pensionnaires* did during the Napoleonic period, would, however, ultimately yield an art that departed in significant ways from the principles embedded in the Academic canon. This canon had been principally shaped by the great examples of Greco-Roman freestanding sculpture: many of them, like the *Laocoon* and the *Apollo Belvedere*, previously synonymous with Rome. In the newly “empty” city, Ingres and his fellow *pensionnaires* collectively looked towards an “alternative” Antique for inspiration: the Antique of bas-reliefs, sculptural decorations on imperial monuments, wall paintings, sarcophagi, and vase paintings. The existence of this “alternative” Antique and its influence on the art produced by Frenchmen in Rome during this period has never been assessed. This dissertation will address the specific Ancient artworks that composed this “left-over” Antique and the ways in which its difference from the canonical sculpture that young Academic artists had been taught to copy in Paris affected the substance and aesthetics of the work produced by Frenchmen in Rome.

This dissertation concerns the struggle of young artists like Ingres trying to define what kind of art they would and could make successfully in a world in which the shape of success had changed markedly: from creating paintings exposing the lofty ideals of Ancient history to depicting heroism in modern battles. I address how artists, attempting to perform the difference between their training and the new demands of state propaganda, struggled to do so, with mixed results. Ingres and his fellow artists in Rome responded to these new demands by innovating within their already developed skill set. I ask why such innovations—such quotations of Antiquity that fell well within the realm of *Beaux-Arts* practice—were not fully understood as such during the *pensionnats* of Lethière’s young artists but were perceived as willful degradations of art.

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<sup>7</sup> This was Eugène Emmanuel Amaury Pineux Duval (1808–1885), who simply went by “Amaury Duval” in his published work. His *L’Atelier d’Ingres*, first published in 1878, has most recently been republished in an annotated volume by Ingres expert Daniel Ternois. For Ternois’s thoughts on Ingres’s slight embarrassment over the question posed by his pupil, see Amaury-Duval, *L’Atelier d’Ingres: édition critique de l’ouvrage publié à Paris en 1878*, ed. Daniel Ternois (Paris: Arethena, 1993), 35, 165-167.

<sup>8</sup> “Nous [Ingres’s students] fûmes tous frappés de la différence de peinture qui existait entre [Ingres’s 1806 *Demi-Baigneuse*] et son [Ingres’s] prix de Rome [*The Ambassadors of Agamemnon*], et je [Amaury-Duval] lui fis part de cette impression.” Amaury-Duval, *L’Atelier d’Ingres: Souvenirs* (Paris, G. Charpentier, 1878), 88.

<sup>9</sup> Amaury-Duval 1878, 88.

Though Ingres's life, letters, and work appear throughout my discussion, this dissertation is not solely about Ingres in the traditional, monographic sense. Instead, Ingres serves as the lens by which I examine the solutions adopted by young history painters like himself, working in Napoleonic Rome to keep the Antique relevant to history painting. Ingres's diverse Roman production, as both a student and later as an independent artist, helps to illuminate the changes that Napoleonic politics, excavation policies, and society in Rome wrought on the experience of the *pensionnaire* and ultimately on the art he produced there. As a sort of "court painter" to the wealthy families of the Second Empire, Ingres went on to accrue great fame later in his career and is today the most well-known painter to have practiced in Lethière's Villa Medici.<sup>10</sup> And yet, *Ingristes* have long seen his work during his first Roman period as a series of eclectic mishaps in his inevitable fumbling towards staid Classicism or, alternately, as a prequel to his lifelong interest in female nudes.<sup>11</sup> Never has his early work been given serious consideration as a production shaped by a non-canonical, alternative Roman Antique, developed as a reference point in tandem with nearly all of the Académie de Rome's *pensionnaires*. I will argue that, far from repeatedly failing at canonical Classicism or deliberately striking out on his own, Ingres's goal was instead to innovate within the bounds of Beaux-Arts acceptability.<sup>12</sup>

Ingres was instructed in the art of drawing through the Beaux-Arts method of copying engravings and plaster casts from an early age.<sup>13</sup> Born in 1780 in the town of Montauban in Southern France, Ingres was encouraged by the local art establishment as well as his sculptor father to pursue painting as a career.<sup>14</sup> At the age of eleven, he was sent to Toulouse to study drawing and painting with various Academically trained local artists.<sup>15</sup> Ingres's talents were recognized relatively early in his youth; in Toulouse, he won several prizes for his drawings done after the *ronde bosse*.<sup>16</sup> In 1797, he finished his scholastic and artistic training in Toulouse and moved to Paris; his name appears on the registers of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts beginning in October. Later that year, he was admitted to Jean-Louis David's Atelier, the most prestigious atelier in Paris.<sup>17</sup> He was only seventeen years old.

Ingres's rapid rise to prominence in David's atelier and relatively quick win of a Rome Prize reveals his skill at absorbing and performing Academic art. Though much has been written about the atmosphere in David's atelier after the Revolution and the results of David's paternal affection for and competition with his students, Ingres himself has left us no contemporary

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<sup>10</sup> For more on his late career portrait production and connections, see Gary Tinterow and Phillip Conisbee, eds. *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 2-23, 350-495.

<sup>11</sup> Susan Siegfried brilliantly sums up the current state of Ingres criticism in the introduction to her most recent work on Ingres. Susan Siegfried, *Ingres: Painting Reimagined* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009), 1-20. As she notes, two of Ingres's early chroniclers, Etienne-Jean Delécluze and Herni Delaborde are chiefly responsible for the Classicist view. See Siegfried 2009, 13-15 and Henri Delaborde, *Ingres, sa vie, ses travaux, sa doctrine, d'après les notes manuscrites et les lettres du maître* (Paris, H. Plon, 1870). See also Etienne-Jean Delécluze, *Louis David, Son Ecole et Son Temps: Souvenirs* (Paris: Didier, 1855). For Rome as a pre-quel to Ingres's interest in nudes, see Stéphane Guégan, *Ingres: Erotic Drawings* (Paris: Flammarion, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Siegfried 2009, 4.

<sup>13</sup> For an excellent summary of young Ingres's life and work in Montauban, see Vincent Pomarède et al., *Ingres, 1780-1867* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 91-103. See especially p. 95 for a description of Ingres's earliest known drawings: a head of Niobe, and an Antique torso, both probably copies after plaster casts.

<sup>14</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 92-95.

<sup>15</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 100-103.

<sup>16</sup> Eric Bertin in *Ingres* 2006, "Biochronologie Ingres," n.p.

<sup>17</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 104-105.

account of his studio experience.<sup>18</sup> Another student of David's, Etienne-Jean Delécluze, created the myth still prevalent today of Ingres's excessive studiousness and purposeful isolation from the rest of the students in the atelier.<sup>19</sup> Though he must have been a serious student—David entrusted Ingres, after less than three years in his studio, with realizing parts of *Madame Recamier* (1800)—he was no isolationist.<sup>20</sup> He made friends with the sculptor Bartolini, painting him as he would paint his friend Francois Marius Granet in Rome: as a sort of advertisement of Ingres's skills in portraiture. This advertisement must have worked, for Ingres completed portrait commissions of Charles Desmarests, A.F. Talma, "La Belle" Madame Zélie, and the Rivière family before he left for Rome.<sup>21</sup>

Runner-up in 1800 and winner of the Rome Prize in 1801 with his *Ambassadors of Agamemnon*, Ingres was forced to remain in Paris until the government obtained the means for him to travel south to Rome. Ingres profited from the occasion, continuing the arduous process of making a name for himself by seeking out government commissions and prestigious patrons.<sup>22</sup> He was allowed the free use of space in the converted Capuchin convent for a studio. There he became better friends with artists occupying neighboring spaces, including Granet.<sup>23</sup> Ingres also completed his first government commission, *Napoleon as First Consul*, based on Gros's previous portrait of the subject (1804) (Figure i.3).<sup>24</sup> His second portrait of Napoleon was probably created on speculation with several different patrons in mind; the legislative branch of the government, the Corps Législatif, bought it prior to its being shown at the 1806 Salon with the intention of hanging it in the Salon du Président of the Assemblée Nationale.<sup>25</sup> Shown in the Salon of 1806 as Ingres was en route to Rome, *Napoleon Enthroned* depicted the Emperor as a gaudily overdressed Byzantine saint and ruler (Figure i. 4).<sup>26</sup> It was "an unmitigated critical disaster," and was "met with hostility and ridicule across the board."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Grigsby 1995; Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Ewa-Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 1999); Norman Bryson, *Tradition and Desire: from David to Delacroix* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Arlette Sérullaz, *Gérard, Girodet, Gros: L'Atelier de David* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2005); Mark Ledbury, ed., *David after David: essays on the later work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> Etienne-Jean Delécluze, *Louis David, Son Ecole et Son Temps: Souvenirs* (Paris: Didier, 1855), 84. See also *Ingres* 2006, 104.

<sup>20</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 105-106.

<sup>21</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 104-105.

<sup>22</sup> *Ingres* 2006 suggests that Ingres thought of painting not only as high art but also as work that put money in his pocket; he allegedly inherited this way of thinking from his sculptor father who did whatever work was asked of him, from making free-standing sculpture to *boiserie*-decorating to stucco work. *Ingres* 2006, 98-99, 104-105. This suggestion strikes me as accurate; it is certainly in line with traits Ingres would exhibit later when attempting to establish himself in Rome.

<sup>23</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 106-107.

<sup>24</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 142-144. Napoleon himself never sat for Ingres; both this work and *Napoleon Enthroned* were based off of circulating Napoleonic imagery.

<sup>25</sup> Siegfried 2009, 274; *Ingres* 2006, 144.

<sup>26</sup> For a longer description of the painting of *Napoleon Enthroned* and all of its layered references, see Susan L. Siegfried and Todd Porterfield, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 25-63.

<sup>27</sup> Siegfried and Porterfield 2006, 91.

Ingres's letters from Rome in late 1806 and early 1807 keenly register his sense that he had been betrayed as well as his incomprehension of the virulence of the critique.<sup>28</sup> His defensiveness and anger in these letters have encouraged many scholars to conclude that Ingres's Roman works, either implicitly or explicitly, were created in response to the intense criticism of *Napoleon Enthroned*.<sup>29</sup> This would explain what some see as a deliberately programmatic strangeness in these works: Ingres stubbornly pursuing a “wrong,” anti-Beaux-Arts route in order to punish his detractors.<sup>30</sup> The development of such an antagonistic program on Ingres's part was asserted as early as 1808 by the Parisian Academicians and firmly derided in 1811 as an unsuccessful “...système qu'[Ingres] paraît avoir adopté.”<sup>31</sup> More recently, scholars such as Susan Siegfried have turned the observation on its head, viewing Ingres's still deliberate choices—his “willfully uncompromising personal vision” and his “seeking a singularity of style”—as conscious, positive developments.<sup>32</sup> I will argue that Ingres's Roman works were not part of a program of willful deviation from all Beaux-Arts tactics, but, as works crafted in the language of the Antique, were fully engaged in Academic strategies. Their emulation of a non-canonical bas-relief style of sculptural definition, their assembly of disparate Antique elements to compose a whole, and their interest in remaining faithful to Antique texts and painted or carved sources reveals Ingres's adherence to Beaux-Arts methodology. This rich, experimental period in Ingres's oeuvre is filled with references to the Antique, as the work of any well-trained Academic artist in the early nineteenth-century should have been; my argument recognizes these sources, looking at the content of the Roman art “vacuum” in which Ingres found himself while pointing to his innovative use of this archive.

This dissertation focuses on one artist's attempt to create original works using the entire arsenal of his long Academic training in a city where those idolized Academic models were absent. The city and institution on which *pensionnaires* were meant to rely, Napoleonic Rome and its Académie, will be treated as places newly made strange to Frenchmen steeped in their lore: the Académie de France à Rome in its re-organization and new isolation from Paris and Napoleonic Rome in its status as a subjugated and ultimately newly occupied colonial site .

The Villa Medici provided a new building for the re-formed Napoleonic Académie de France à Rome (Figure i.5). Acquired in 1803 in an exchange with the Prince of Etruria for the Académie's old seat, the Palazzo Mancini on the busy Corso, the Villa Medici offered a more protected position looking out over the city and a vastly superior atelier space.<sup>33</sup> After having been disbanded in 1792 by David and others, the Académie de Rome was re-formed beginning with the nomination of Joseph Benoît Suvée (1743 –1807) as its new director in 1795.<sup>34</sup> Its new, stronger rules—first proposed by Suvée in 1797—were doubly ratified in 1799 and in 1804;

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<sup>28</sup> See Ingres's earliest letters to Monsieur Forestier, the father of his then-fiancé, from the winter of 1806 to the summer of 1807. *Lettres* 2011, 114-175.

<sup>29</sup> These biographers and scholars include Delécluze in 1855, Vincent Pomarède and Susan Siegfried in 2006. Delécluze 1855, 393-394; Vincent Pomarède in *Ingres* 2006, 147; and Siegfried and Porterfield 2006, 111-112.

<sup>30</sup> The most recent expression of this can be found in *Ingres* 2006, 147-152; Siegfried 2009, 373 speaks to his programmatic strangeness and response to failure.

<sup>31</sup> Jean-Michel Leniaud, ed., *Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 1, 1811-1815, ed., A. Goudail and C. Giraudon, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001), 438. Hereafter *Procès Verbaux* I 2001.

<sup>32</sup> Siegfried and Porterfield 2006, 111-112.

<sup>33</sup> For a short history of the disbanding and reformation of the Académie de France à Rome and the Rome Prize, see Olivier Bonfait, ed., *Maestà di Roma, da Napoleone all'unità d'Italia*, Vol.2, *D'Ingres à Degas: Les Artistes Français à Rome* (Milano: Electa, 2003), 51. Hereafter *Maestà di Roma* II.

<sup>34</sup> *Maestà di Roma* II, 51.

students in architecture, painting, sculpture, and engraving were to draw from the live model and make drapery studies together daily.<sup>35</sup> We know from their letters and drawings that the pensionnaires followed at least the spirit of the law, taking horse anatomy lessons and sketching Rome's remaining art works together.<sup>36</sup> The friendships already forged in David's atelier between students working in different media blossomed in these group drawing sessions, while the isolation of the Académie de Rome from Paris due to the constant warfare forced the students to rely more strongly on one another for inspiration and criticism than ever before. The subject choices of sculptor *pensionnaires* came to influence those of painters and vice-versa; the aesthetic of flatness that dominated the architectural *envois* crept into the painting *envois*.<sup>37</sup> The work of the painter *pensionnaires* was criticized for collectively exhibiting this flatness by the Parisian Academy, while the novel subjects the students represented were passed over in stunned silence. The collective character of these Academic "failures," I will argue, had to do with the novel cross-media influence between painters, sculptors, and architects—all in pursuit of emulating Rome's "left-over" Antique.

If the Académie de Rome's environment was newly strange due to its extreme isolation from Paris and the collective interest of its student body in each other's work, Rome was even stranger for its newfound "emptiness" and increasingly French identity. The Second City of the Empire, officially annexed in 1810, was, in many respects, to be an emulation of Paris—the very opposite of what these *pensionnaires* were striving to accomplish in their art. The Parisian "*objets de dissipation*" and "*petites intrigues*" that Lethière had decried as cheap distractions to the creative process would take the form of private portrait commissions for wealthy French bureaucrats in Rome and dalliances with models or archeologists' daughters.<sup>38</sup> The Rome the *pensionnaires* encountered was all the stranger for being stripped of its signature, canonical works—seemingly contradicting the Academic reasons for the *pensionnat*. However, French ownership of Rome meant that the city was once again a site of constant archeological discovery.<sup>39</sup> Excavations—mostly initiated by the French government and sometimes carried out by the architect *pensionnaires* themselves—of the Ancient Roman Forum and the Colosseum

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. See also Joseph-Benoît Suvée, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome: Nouvelle Série*, vol. 2, *Directorat de Suvée, 1795-1807* (Roma: Ed. dell'Elefante, 1984). Hereafter Suvée *Correspondance*. See pages 159-169 for 1799 regulations, 419-423 for 1803 rule addenda, and 553-560 for 1804 addenda.

<sup>36</sup> *Maesta di Roma II*, 53-56. See also the *pensionnaire* Michel-Martin Drolling's letters to his father, Martin Drolling on 11 June 1811 and 28 November 1811. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.

<sup>37</sup> This "aesthetic of flatness" I describe reflects the conscious choice to cheat depth. In their "Reconstruction" *envoi* drawings, architects used an aesthetic shorthand for rendering three dimensions that connoted depth as opposed to representing it in any "realistic" sense. My argument is that Ingres, among other painters, adopted the architect's method for connoting, rather than representing, depth in his history paintings, such as 1808's *Oedipus*. See Chapter 2 for more discussion of this subject.

<sup>38</sup> For more on this, see Chapters 1 and 4. Guillaume Guillion Lethière, Rome to François-André Vincent, Paris, December 1813, Carton 14, f. 262, Villa Medici Archives

<sup>39</sup> Leonard Barkan has mulled over the ways in which new excavations—his work concerns mostly Renaissance excavation activity in Rome—supplement or correct old ideas about the canon and the past; the canon, for Barkan, thus becomes unstable and instantly modifiable. My own work draws on this concept of the unstable past, exploring the widening definition of what was "Roman" as a result of nineteenth-century excavations in Rome and changing attitudes towards those excavations and their material results. For more see Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

uncovered new information and new fragments daily.<sup>40</sup> French artists had free access to all museums and most collections within the city; they were free to copy whatever Ancient art they could find *in situ*.

The impetus for French artists, including Ingres, to replace the canonical Antique with an alternative one would not have existed without Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power and his attendant marshaling of contemporary artists and famous Greco-Roman sculpture to serve his visual propaganda machine promoting the greatness of his Empire. A brief history of the way in which Napoleon's power over France was born of Italian domination and capped by the annexation of Rome will be necessary before we proceed to analyze the French production of art in the Eternal City in the first half of the nineteenth-century.

### **A Brief History of Napoleonic Rome**

Rome's history as a part of Napoleonic Europe is the exception rather than the rule. The Italian peninsula held a special significance for Napoleon; it was here, during the first and second Italian campaigns of 1796-1797 and 1800-1801, that the Corsican son of a minor noble distinguished himself.<sup>41</sup> Promoted to the rank of general for his work in securing the French nation against the British at Toulon during the French Revolution, Napoleon achieved legendary status beginning with the 1796 battle of the bridge at Arcole, south of present-day Verona.<sup>42</sup> His overarching battle strategy depended on speed and responding decisively to his enemy's errors; this strategy was developed in a variety of come-from-behind, daring victories against the Austrians, from Rivoli to Marengo.<sup>43</sup>

Antoine-Jean Gros's portrait of Napoleon at the battle of Arcole, painted in 1801, romanticizes the young leader, showing him headed straight into Austrian gunfire with only a Revolutionary Standard to protect him (Figure i.6). At this bridge, in an act calculated to cut off Austrian reinforcements, Napoleon staged an assault with a vastly inferior number of soldiers, which ended up succeeding and changed the direction of the war.<sup>44</sup> The painting emphasizes his fearlessness and discipline, but also highlights his importance to the event—no throng of soldiers supports his actions in this portrait of leadership. Bonaparte's act of bravado catapulted him to instant national fame.<sup>45</sup>

The image of the general in *Napoleon Crossing the Alps*, painted by Jacques-Louis David in the same year, represents much of what Napoleon's leadership meant for France and for Italy (Figure i.7). This picture commemorates Napoleon's second journey over the Alps to secure

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<sup>40</sup> For more on the Colosseum and Forum excavations, see Ronald T. Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade: Archaeology in Rome during the Napoleonic Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 109-126 and 137-152.

<sup>41</sup> It is not my goal here to give a complete biography of Napoleon. One of the most comprehensive, recent biographies is Steven Englund, *Napoleon: A Political Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

<sup>42</sup> For a good, short description of the circumstances of the Battle of Arcole, see the classic military history of James Marshall-Cornwall, *Napoleon as Military Commander* (London: Penguin, 1967), 67-69.

<sup>43</sup> Innumerable books have been written on Napoleonic war tactics. One of the most recent and interesting is Martin Boycott-Brown, *The Road to Rivoli: Napoleon's First Campaign* (London: 2001). A particularly good summation of Napoleon's innovative applications of older war tactics can be found in Marshall-Cornwall, 4-33.

<sup>44</sup> Marshall-Cornwall, 67-69.

<sup>45</sup> Englund, 108-109.

Italy for the French state in 1800.<sup>46</sup> Like Gros, David shows Napoleon as an active man, leading his men forward and controlling their fear as easily as he controls his rearing horse. In this painting, he is not shown defending a France weakened by years of Revolution but a France strong enough to attack monarchical powers. This strength is represented by the never-ending line of bayonets snaking up the mountain pass behind Napoleon. While these bayonets are often overlooked in readings of the painting, they are vital to an understanding of it; these Frenchmen were willing to unify not because of their agreement on internal politics but in response to an outside threat. Furthermore, they were willing to put their trust in one man again.

Napoleon, argues Steven Englund, originally appeared to the French as one in whom the hopes and gains of the French Revolution were consolidated—Jacques-Louis David, who had been a staunch believer in the Revolution, even dated the work “Anno X,” of the Revolutionary Calendar.<sup>47</sup> For David, as for modern viewers, there was doubtless no more heroic image of Napoleon than this one of the invasion of Italy. Italy—here meaning the northern part of the peninsula above the Papal States—was responsible in large part for creating the myth of Napoleon, in painted iconography as well as in politics, as the ultimate and glamorous problem solver for the French.<sup>48</sup> This status allowed him to usurp power progressively as First Consul in 1799, Consul for Life in 1802, and finally Emperor of the French in 1804.<sup>49</sup>

Napoleon further consolidated French power in the Italian peninsula by making its city-states increasingly more dependent on France than Austria. At end of the Second Italian Campaign in 1801, a new Pope, Pius VII, had been installed in Rome, ironically with Napoleon’s backing, to rule over a much stripped-down Papal State.<sup>50</sup> Northern Italy had been reorganized into a new republic under French supervision, while Southern Italy—the Kingdom of Two Sicilies—remained in the hands of the Bourbons.<sup>51</sup> The French gained definitive control over the majority of the peninsula in 1805. With the end of the War of the Third Coalition, which saw the banding together of the Russians, the Austrians, and the British against Napoleon and ended with their defeat at the legendary battle of Austerlitz, Austria was forced to give up its Venetian territories. All of northern Italy was now under French control.<sup>52</sup>

In March of 1805, Napoleon replaced the Cisalpine Republic of northern Italy with a kingdom and crowned himself its king.<sup>53</sup> A bust-length portrait by the Roman painter Andrea Appiani from 1805 shows the emperor as King of Italy, barely distinguishable under the amount of gold brocade he wears (Figure i.8). Even Napoleon’s white gloves are embroidered. He

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<sup>46</sup> For more on Napoleon’s two crossings of the Alps and the Wars of the First and Second Coalition, see Mike Rapport, *The Napoleonic Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 22-37.

<sup>47</sup> Englund, 196-205, 227-229, 236-243.

<sup>48</sup> Napoleon’s “victory” in Egypt also helped to create this mythology; the beginning of Napoleon’s military fame in Italy, his actual successes there, and its greater proximity to France makes Italy a useful myth-making apparatus. For more on Napoleon’s military campaign in Egypt and its results, see Paul Strathern, *Napoleon in Egypt* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008). For more on the Italian Campaigns, see Boycott-Brown, 2001 and Nicola Raponi, *Il Mito di Bonaparte in Italia : atteggiamenti della società milanese e reazioni nello Stato romano* (Roma: Carocci, 2005).

<sup>49</sup> For the effect of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens on Bonaparte’s rise to power, see Englund, 222-242; see also Marshall-Cornwall, 70-79, 94-113.

<sup>50</sup> Michael Broers, *Europe Under Napoleon, 1799-1815* (London: Arnold, 1996), 69-70.

<sup>51</sup> Marshall-Cornwall, 115-116.

<sup>52</sup> For a short description of the War of the Third Coalition, see Broers 1996, 38-43.

<sup>53</sup> For more on the formation of the Kingdom of Italy, see Frederick C. Schneid, *Soldiers of Napoleon’s Kingdom of Italy: Army State and Society, 1800-1815* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995), 3-10.

grasps the crown of Italy with his left hand, his index finger playing with the jewel at its top-most point; his lacey cravat obscures his Legion of Honor medal and his sword is hidden by a silk bow. David's energetic warrior has been domesticated into a sedentary, grasping monarch. Northern Italy was the only separate kingdom that Napoleon, despite much protest from the Milanese, ruled directly as opposed to offering it to a dependent regional king.<sup>54</sup> For Napoleon in many ways, the Italian kingship was a symbol of what he had achieved. It crowned his Italian military victories, reminding challengers not only of the origins of his power but also of his very real capacity to actualize his ambitions.

Napoleon strengthened his hold on the Italian Peninsula in December of 1805 by declaring war on, then conquering, the Bourbon-held Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which he had rightfully suspected of supporting British interests. In two months, he successfully pushed the Bourbons off of the mainland into Sicily and installed his brother Joseph on the throne of Naples.<sup>55</sup> In 1806, Napoleon would replace Joseph with his friend and brother-in-law General Joachim Murat, who had married his sister Caroline. The Papal States were, at this point, utterly surrounded by French interests.

If Italy was the first of Napoleon's conquests, Rome would be one of his last. From 1805 to 1808, the gap between Napoleon's territorial and political ambitions and the concessions Pope Pius VII was willing to offer him widened irreparably (Figure i.9).<sup>56</sup> A long series of tactical moves designed to irritate the opposite party was pursued by each side. The Pope used his ecclesiastic authority to deny every request Napoleon made of him; Pius VII would not allow his clergy to accept a Roman version of the French Concordat, which submitted priests to government regulation, nor legitimize the divorce of Napoleon's brother Jérôme.<sup>57</sup> Napoleon responded by inching his troops closer and closer to Rome on trumped up pretenses of curtailing brigandry, enforcing the continental blockade, and rooting out traitorous British sympathizers. Eventually Napoleon, losing patience long before Pius VII, gave the order for his troops, under General Sextius Miollis, to invade and occupy Rome in February of 1808.<sup>58</sup> They did so without much overt local resistance.

Rome was then progressively shoehorned into becoming the capital city of a French *Département*—or at least into replicating some semblance of French governing practice. In February of 1808, the former Papal States of Ancona and Urbino were annexed to the Empire. On June 10, 1809, Rome was proclaimed a “free imperial city,” and a temporary government composed of five French and Roman citizen-bureaucrats, the *Consulta Stordinaria*, was set up to rule it.<sup>59</sup> When Pius VII, still residing in Rome, responded by excommunicating all those who had contributed to strip the Papacy of its temporal power, Napoleon saw to it that the Pope was arrested and removed from Rome on July 5, 1809. Without the Pope present to challenge its authority, the *Consulta Stordinaria* was able to accelerate their task of creating a new, French-

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid. See also Michael Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796-1814: Cultural Imperialism in a European Context?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

<sup>55</sup> For more on Napoleon and Southern Italy, see Englund, 280-283 and John. A. Davis, “Divided Destinies? Napoleonic Rule in Northern and Southern Italy” in Philip Dwyer and Alan Forrest, eds., *Napoleon and His Empire*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007): 165-184.

<sup>56</sup> Englund, 350-355.

<sup>57</sup> Thierry Lentz, *Nouvelle Histoire du Premier Empire*, vol. 1, *Napoléon et la Conquête de l'Europe, 1804-1810* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 349-370.

<sup>58</sup> Englund, 352-354.

<sup>59</sup> Bruno Foucard et al., *Camille de Tournon: le Préfet de la Rome Napoléonienne, 1809-1814* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 2001), 27-29.

style administration for the city.<sup>60</sup> Though its members continued to play a prominent role in the Napoleonic government of Rome, the *Consulta* officially gave up its powers to the new government it had created in December of 1810.<sup>61</sup> Officially annexed to the French State on February 17, 1810, the city of Rome would be run by an army of French bureaucrats in the typical French provincial system of prefects and sub-prefects.<sup>62</sup> Camille de Tournon was the energetic young administrator who, after having admirably reorganized the province of Bayreuth, was again called upon to reconcile Napoleon's generic administrative demands with the particularities of a city hostile to the Emperor and to his "efficient" systems.<sup>63</sup>

Though the deposition of the Pope cost him much political capital, Napoleon had won Rome and unified Italy under French control. Politically, after 1810, Rome was a French province like any other in the Empire, but in practice it was more than that. In its designation by the Emperor as the Second City of the Empire and the official kingdom of his son after the latter's birth in 1811, Rome received attention and funding from Paris that few other annexed regions could claim. Napoleon authorized expenditures for extensive urban renewal projects from the clearing and restoring of monuments to the building of pleasure gardens, roads and bridges.<sup>64</sup> The Roman Forum was to be cleared of all houses and the monuments in it preserved and restored. A pathway snaking around them was to be built so that the Palatine and the Forum would form a massive public imperial-themed pleasure garden.<sup>65</sup>

Such projects were of a scope and kind only equal to Napoleon's reforms for Paris. Unlike every other dominated state, Rome did not feel the pangs of conscription, of the continental embargo, and of agricultural and monetary taxation until late in 1810; these started to intensify only in 1813.<sup>66</sup> In other words, Rome's status as an annexed state and as mythical origin point of empire prevented it from being treated, at least initially, in a bluntly colonial manner by the French government; it was, however, never to achieve full equality with the provinces of Napoleonic France.<sup>67</sup> Clothed by the rhetoric of annexation, attempts at assimilating Rome into the maternal state involved making the city more like Paris, both in its infrastructure and in its laws. Napoleon's temporary government, the *Consulta Stordinaria*, and later his Prefects, reformed the justice and legal systems, took the first census in years, and began

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> The Papal States were incorporated into the French Empire on May 17, 1809 and Rome officially became a French Département on February 17, 1810. For the decrees, see [http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/diplomatic/c\\_annexations.html#a](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/diplomatic/c_annexations.html#a).

<sup>63</sup> *Camille de Tournon* 2001, 27-29.

<sup>64</sup> The only complete history of Napoleonic Rome is a stridently pro-French account from 1906 with too few footnotes to lend it the credibility frequently ascribed to it in Napoleonic studies: Louis Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon: la Domination Française à Rome de 1809 à 1814* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1906). Though there is no good, short scholarly history of Napoleonic Rome in English, parts of it are brilliantly explained in Ridley's work. See Ridley 1992, 63-65.

<sup>65</sup> Ridley 1992, 63-65, 70-71. See also Susan Vandiver Nicassio, *Imperial City: Rome under Napoleon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 34-36. Vandiver Nicassio's work is very lively and descriptive; however, it is meant for a general audience and does not contain as many footnotes or original source research as one might like.

<sup>66</sup> Vandiver Nicassio, 148, 181-183.

<sup>67</sup> The fact that so few histories of Napoleonic Italy address Rome's status bears out its uncomfortable actual position between colony and annexed state.

draining the Pontine Marshes around Rome to decrease the risk of infectious disease spreading throughout the city.<sup>68</sup>

Two contrasting images of Italia and Roma created during the years of Napoleonic domination of Italy bear out the privileged position of Rome: official Cisalpine [North Italian] Republic letterhead from 1801 and a painted sketch of *The Emperor Giving the Code of Laws to Rome* from 1813 (Figure i.10 and i.11). On the letterhead, found atop a letter to the painter Jacques-Louis David in the archives of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, a willowy, stooping Italia with downcast eyes approaches an arrogant, seated France.<sup>69</sup> Italia meekly offers the bounty of her natural resources—grain and grapes, quite literally the fruit of her loins in this depiction—to her implacable ruler. France, playing the part of a conquering Athena with her helmet and gorgon's head, receives Italia's bounty thornily. Seated on her rocky throne, France is physically supported by a fasces—the tied bundle of sticks which symbolized the strength of the people during the French Revolution. The spear in her hand is topped by a Phrygian cap, also a Revolutionary symbol of the people. Her oddly forceful hand gesture at once distances Italia, yet beckons the subjugated woman to move closer. France's eyes are fixed not on Italia's face, as they might be an equal's, but on the grain in Italia's arms. The resources of this new colony and the maintenance of her docility are her most important attributes for the colonizer.

The painting of Roma and Napoleon, in contrast, shows the city not as a downtrodden, conquered victim but as a proud and grateful recipient of due favors. *The Emperor Giving the Code of Laws to Rome* is one of only two images of Napoleon originally planned for the redecoration of the Quirinale Palace.<sup>70</sup> Designated the future home of the King of Rome, the Quirinale Palace, previously the Pope's summer residence, was redecorated for Napoleon's arrival in Rome with images of the great leaders of Rome's past. This oil sketch destined for the Salon of the Ministers was erroneously assumed to be by David but was most probably painted by Luigi or Filippo Agricola. Never completed as a finished painting, it has come down to us through a painted sketch.<sup>71</sup>

Napoleon is depicted enthroned, benevolently bringing order to a warrior-like personification of Rome. Unlike Italia, Rome is not subjugated or defenseless, yet she receives the proffered scroll like a loyal subject, worthy of Parisian help. Though military triumphs are depicted or alluded to in the subjects chosen for the redecoration of the Quirinale Palace, Rome (and Empire) are always triumphant in these scenes; Roma herself is never treated like a subdued barbarian. In this painting, Roma receives a gift—a restoration of the rule of law proper to her, in keeping with the traditions of the secular founders and lawmakers of the city. The She-Wolf who fed Romulus and a River God watch over this transaction and legitimate Napoleon's actions as profoundly Roman. This transaction takes place at the civic heart of Rome, the Campidoglio, as opposed to its ecclesiastical heart, the Vatican. The artist thus stresses the reasoned, secular aspect of Napoleon's Code and points to the state's dominance over the church in the temporal realm. Roma has found in Napoleon not an exploiter of resources, but a man who will work for her improvement in the vein of her great civic heroes like Alexander, Trajan, and Julius Caesar.

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<sup>68</sup> Carla Nardi, *Napoleone e Roma: la Politica della Consulta Romana* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1989), 16-34.

<sup>69</sup> "Lettres autographes adressées à David et à son fils," Ms.318, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Paris, France. Hereafter ENSBA.

<sup>70</sup> Marina Natoli and Maria Antonietta Scarpati, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale: il mondo artistico a Roma nel periodo napoleonico* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1989), 148.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

This brave new world of French-supported Roman law, endorsed, in this image, by the civic institutions of Antiquity, was designed by French bureaucrats and fueled by the French treasury. Its French administrators, trained in Paris in the arts of engineering, economics, and law, faced many challenges in imposing formal political superstructures onto a seemingly ad hoc Roman political system previously dependent on charity and patronage.<sup>72</sup> Full of the 1789-styled Revolutionary zeal of their training and steeped in the glorious imagery of Ancient Rome from the Latin textbooks of their youth, French bureaucrats nevertheless considered a posting in Rome to be a great honor.<sup>73</sup> Their presence in Rome helped to create an art market for Rome Prize winners such as Ingres. Both during his *pensionnat* in Rome and for years afterwards, Ingres filled the demands made by Frenchmen at high levels of the Roman government for portraits, genre paintings, and even some history paintings.

My first chapter examines the social and political world of the French men and women that Ingres depicted in Rome, from the Minister of Forestry to the Prefect of Rome's mother. Ingres depicted the men in ways that promoted their social position, earned through their work for the government. Ingres frequently used Rome as a backdrop for these portraits in the way that these men used the city as the backdrop for their career advancement. The opportunities Ingres and other young painters would have had to court this private market, such as the public art exhibition of 1809 where Ingres sold his first female nude, will also be considered.

The second and third chapters turn inward from the political and social scene to closely examine the artistic community created during the Napoleonic period at the Villa Medici. The new location of the Académie de France à Rome at the more secluded Villa atop the Pincio Hill encouraged the *pensionnaires* to see it as a privileged space apart.<sup>74</sup> The never-ending wars of the period blocked regular shipments of *pensionnaires'* work to Paris and thus stalled the ostensibly annual critiques offered by the Academy there. As a result, the Académie de Rome was more isolated than ever from its parent institution; this encouraged its young *pensionnaires* to interact with each other's work across disciplines. I see this interaction as a continuation of that which existed at David's studio in Paris, where the sculptor Bartolini had worked alongside Ingres. The Académie de Rome experience, however, added engravers and architects to the mix with fascinating results. The network of these relationships has not been studied in depth beyond binaries relating to specific artists.<sup>75</sup>

The relationship between Ingres's work and that of the architect *pensionnaires* is examined more closely in my second chapter. Ingres's interest in the available Antique left in Rome would have been encouraged by the archeological undertakings of the architect

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<sup>72</sup> French bureaucrats were tasked with creating everything in Rome afresh, from schools to a standing militia to an impartial justice system. Vandiver Nicassio, 62-64, 74-76, 181-183.

<sup>73</sup> Vandiver Nicassio, 31.

<sup>74</sup> This is in contrast, of course, to the centrally located Palazzo Mancini, the previous location of the Académie de France à Rome. The Villa Medici was certainly in far better shape than the Palazzo Mancini, as the latter had been rendered practically unusable due to the destruction caused by angry Roman mobs sacking the Palazzo during the French Revolution. For more information on the Revolutionary history of the Académie de France à Rome, see Crow 1995, 119-123, 149-159.

<sup>75</sup> Here, I am referring to "Ingres and Cortot" or "Ingres and Delacroix" comparisons, just to name a few that have been the subject of good work recently. See Phillippe Durey, "Ingres et Cortot" in *Ingres, un Homme a Part: Entre Carrière et Mythe*, ed. Claire Barbillon et al. (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2009): 203-219. See also Andrew Carrington Shelton, "Ingres versus Delacroix," *Art History* 23, No. 5 (December 2000): 726-742. Even the recent *Maesta di Roma II* catalogue, which attempted to make creative links between the artists working in Rome, did so across time rather than within groups of *pensionnaires*.

*pensionnaires*, for their research constantly uncovered new parts of monumental buildings. Ingres's early *envois* reveal a profound interest in this left-behind, overlooked, or just-uncovered Antique; his work cites Antique bas-reliefs remaining in local museums as well as engravings from the Villa Medici's library depicting Pompeian wall paintings. His aesthetic choices cite the low-relief decorative elements so carefully elaborated by his architect *pensionnaire* friends in their *restauration* or "reconstruction" drawings of the monumental buildings they were excavating. Their meticulous working methods, carefully codified shading techniques, and aesthetics of assemblage and flatness influenced the style of Ingres's *Oedipus* (1808) and *Jupiter and Thetis* (1811).

Chapter 3 addresses Ingres's personal and aesthetic relationship to the sculptors at the Villa Medici. Their works, I argue, informed Ingres's provocative choice of subject for one of his first *envois*: the de-mythologized and profoundly Roman female nude. Marin, one of the oldest sculptors at the Villa Medici during Ingres's tenure, paved the way for Ingres's contested *Baigneuse de Valpinçon* (1808) by sending as his *envois* a de-mythologized nude female bather and the torso of a Roman female peasant. The sculptors David d'Angers's and Cortot's method of drawing bodies by emphasizing exterior contours and using drapery folds to describe movement is taken up by Ingres in his *Romulus, Victor over Acron* (1812).

Ingres seemed to have discovered the female nude as a subject in Rome; this discovery and his profound interest in representing the ethnographically Roman traits of his female models is the subject of Chapter 4. Ingres's revolutionary move of submitting a faceless woman as his *académie* will be assessed in the light of two other submissions of female nudes by his fellow painter *pensionnaires*, both of which received a kinder reception in Paris than his own work. In this chapter, I consider how the ideologies of difference underlying Napoleon's conquest and administration of Italy were grafted onto the experience of French artists working there. Instead of the Davidian embodiment of *exemplum virtutis*, Rome could be envisioned by the artists at the Villa Medici as a dominated "other," embodied in the *Trasteverina* female model as opposed to the canonical Antique.

My final chapter will look at the two multi-figure Ancient history paintings Ingres produced in Rome after having left the Villa Medici: one, a private commission for the military commander of Rome, the other a public, French state commission for the Quirinale Palace. The difference between these two works is not only related to their ultimate venues, but also to their processes of development. The Quirinale Palace redecoration project and its lack of contemporary Napoleonic imagery will be given extensive consideration as one of the few Napoleonic visual programs that both neared completion in this period in Rome and relied mostly on allusions to Ancient history to transmit its imperialist message. The Roman language of these commissions allowed Ingres and his viewers alike an escape from the painted rhetoric of modern battles, and, consequently, of the wars that plagued the rest of Europe. The two Roman Ancient history paintings were to be Ingres's last in the genre until he returned to the Villa Medici as its director in 1834 and began his *Antiochus and Stratonice* in earnest.

The use of Ancient Roman iconography for increasingly trivial pursuits and the failure to make the Beaux-Arts male nude speak heroically are the legacy of the Rome Prize winners of the Napoleonic period. Unlike Ingres, Théodore Géricault was greatly acclaimed for his Napoleonic military portraits, but never won a Rome Prize; he set off to visit the city at his own expense, arriving there in late 1816 during the early years of the Restoration. While there, Géricault copied elements of many Ancient and Renaissance works of art. To learn how to represent volume, something his art had been lacking in Paris, he looked to the violent imagery of selected

Antique works as well as to the abjection of street life in Rome. Ultimately, he chose an aesthetic path opposite from Ingres's: Ingres worked towards flatness in Rome and Géricault towards volume. Géricault's search for new subject matter led him not towards the depiction of local women as Ingres's would, but rather towards the abject. Géricault could only represent the ideal male nude volumetrically by stripping him of his lofty morality, infusing him not with heroism but with the raw baseness of violence and desperation. This violence was common to the *Raft of the Medusa* (1819) as it was to many of the sketches he realized in Rome. My coda will serve as a conclusion to my consideration of the role of the Antique in the history painting of Napoleonic Rome by addressing Rome's part in shaping the future of the sculptural, canon-based ideal male nude of French history painting.

The goals of this project include making the city of Rome and its contemporary cultural and political status matter to the art historical innovations that occurred there, too often explained away under the rubric of individual genius. In presenting the Académie de France à Rome as a location of dissent and invention as opposed to a sedate training ground for a rigid and unchanging Classical style, I seek to challenge the common art-historical narrative that blames a blind adherence to Antiquity for the ossification of Academic painting. The Antique of these French painters in Napoleonic Rome, I argue, is a dynamic, shifting, uniquely Roman Antique through whose copying and adaptation French History painting was irrevocably changed.

## CHAPTER 1.

### BUILDING A CLIENTELE: FRENCH PAINTERS IN ROME AND THEIR MARKETS

Annexed to France in 1810 as opposed to being assigned a puppet ruler of its own, Rome was treated by Napoleon like a wealthy provincial French capital from the beginning of the temporary *Consulta's* rule in June of 1809.<sup>76</sup> The city received attention and funding from Paris that few other regions of the Empire—whether annexed to France or not—could claim.<sup>77</sup> On a symbolic level, the Emperor named his son after the city and renovated the Quirinale Palace so that the Bonapartes would have a princely home there.<sup>78</sup> On a practical level, Napoleon authorized expenditures for extensive urban renewal projects—the clearing and restoring of monuments and the building of pleasure gardens, piazzas, roads, and bridges—projects of a scope and kind, at least in their intent, that were only equal to his reforms for Paris.<sup>79</sup>

Napoleon was keen to bring law and order to Italy, but he also wanted to be seen by the locals as reviving what the French considered to be a stagnant art scene. At his request, the French government of Rome gave new powers and a budget to the *Accademia di San Luca*, the Roman equivalent of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. The *Accademia* was charged with preserving the city's monuments and approving designs for their eventual restoration.<sup>80</sup> In terms of state commissions, budgets reveal that Roman artists were to be awarded the chief commissions for the paintings needed for the Quirinale Palace redecoration; a sum was set aside especially to pay “*peintres italiens*” for their work before it was even commissioned.<sup>81</sup> In order to promote and visibly proclaim his interest in reviving the local art scene, Napoleon had the *Consulta* working on the preparation of what amounted to a government sponsored Salon by late summer of 1809.<sup>82</sup> The Salon was meant to celebrate Rome's art scene as vibrant and more international than that of Paris; it also provided unique opportunities for the young artists at the French *Académie de Rome* to showcase their talents in a way that would only have previously been available to them in Paris.<sup>83</sup> For an artist like Ingres, who had not fared so well at the hands

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<sup>76</sup> Lentz, *Napoléon et la Conquête de l'Europe*, 485. See also Thierry Lentz, *Nouvelle Histoire du Premier Empire*, vol. 2, *L'Effondrement du Système Napoléonien, 1810-1814* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 110-114. See also Thierry Lentz, *Nouvelle Histoire du Premier Empire*, vol. 3, *La France et l'Europe de Napoléon* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), 728-740.

<sup>77</sup> Ridley 1992, 65. For a general description of the Parisian government's plans for Rome, see Vandiver Nicassio, 32-35.

<sup>78</sup> For a complete history of the renovations of the Quirinale Palace for Napoleon, see Natoli and Scarpati 1989.

<sup>79</sup> Ridley 1992, 65.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-86.

<sup>81</sup> For more on Ingres's involvement with the Quirinale Palace commissions, see Chapter 5. The Quirinale budget for 1813 shows money deliberately earmarked for Italian artists as well as a statement assessing their merits. See “Budget de 1813,” Carton 121, f. 77-79, Fonds Masson, Bibliothèque Thiers, Paris, France.

<sup>82</sup> Maria-Teresa Caracciolo, “L'Exposition du Capitole de 1809: Un nouveau document et quelques précisions,” Part I, *Les Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Art* 3 (2005): 138-139. Caracciolo wonderfully distills the political aims of the Campidoglio exhibition.

<sup>83</sup> Elena di Majo, “Un Parnaso Capitolino: la Mostra del Campidoglio del 1809,” in *Maestà di Roma, da Napoleone all'unità d'Italia*, vol. 1, *Universale ed Eterna. Capitale delle Arti*, ed. Stefano Susinno, (Milano: Electa, 2003), 121. Hereafter *Maestà di Roma* I. See also Caracciolo I, 138, 139.

of the Parisian critics in the 1806 Salon, this *Mostra* must have been a welcome opportunity.<sup>84</sup> He could display his work, and, given that the press in Rome at this time was composed of a single, pro-French journal (the others had been censored), he was likely to receive good reviews.<sup>85</sup> Ingres was one of the few Beaux-Arts-trained history painters in Rome and as such, his work was valued by the moneyed class of Napoleon's new city: the French governors and bureaucrats of Rome.

These bureaucrats, mostly self-made men, had been trained in Paris in engineering, economics, and law.<sup>86</sup> Taught to practice the Enlightenment principles of order and reason, these men also believed in the power of statistics and the importance of a balanced budget. To use the example of Camille de Tournon, prefect of Rome from 1809-1814: instead of penning a Stendhal-style dazzlingly Romantic memoir of Rome, the prefect published *Etudes Statistiques sur Rome* shortly before his death in 1833.<sup>87</sup> Fleeing the city in haste in 1814, he took with him little else but the heaping piles of paper that comprised all the statistics—on population growth, on topography, on former administrative patterns—that he had recorded over his four years as prefect. He then published these statistics in one of the dullest but perhaps most well researched books on Rome in the nineteenth century. Men like Tournon were Ingres's clients, not only in terms of the work they bought from him at the Salon, but also in the government commissions they helped him receive and the portraits they asked him to paint.

Tournon and other French bureaucrats could be said to have deeply influenced Ingres's artistic path by inducing him to stay in Rome long after the tenure of his Rome Prize had expired. After leaving the Académie de Rome in December of 1810, Ingres worked for Napoleonic officials, then British nobility on the Grand Tour, painting their portraits and creating genre paintings for them until 1820 when he moved to Florence.<sup>88</sup> Because the social world of these bureaucrats was so small, a successful commission for one client could mean new orders from his friends. And indeed, this seems to be the way that Ingres obtained most of his commissions in the period from 1810-1815; a closer inspection of the biographies of the men and women whose portraits he painted during this period reveals how tightly all of them were socially linked. Not just bureaucrats, but the rulers of Rome and Naples, including General Sextius Miollis, Governor General of Rome, Camille de Tournon, Prefect of Rome, and Joachim and Caroline Murat, king and queen of Naples, all counted among his clients. Because of the

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<sup>84</sup> The official name for the 1809 exhibition in Rome was the "*Mostra del Campidoglio*." "Mostra" means "show" or "exhibition" in Italian. The event was located in the Capitoline Museums on the Campidoglio hill. For more on Ingres and 1806 Salon criticism, see *Ingres* 2006, 147-148.

<sup>85</sup> This is the short-lived *Giornale del Campidoglio*, founded in 1809. It was preceded by the *Gazzetta Romana*, founded in 1808 and edited in two languages, and was followed by the *Giornale Politico del Dipartimento di Roma* in 1812.

<sup>86</sup> Hans Naef's biographies of the Napoleonic officials that Ingres painted in his Roman years, which will be explored later in this chapter, lend credence to this oft-repeated stereotype. Naef researched every person who ever sat for a drawn portrait of Ingres and the circumstances of that commission in his exhaustive five-volume compendia, Hans Naef, *Die Bildniszeichnungen von J.-A.-D. Ingres*, 5 vols., (Bern: Benteli, 1977-1980). Hereafter Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*. For information generally on Ingres's bureaucrat sitters of this period, see the second volume of Naef's *Bildniszeichnungen*.

<sup>87</sup> Though it was originally published in 1831, the most commonly found edition in libraries now is the 1855 reprint. Camille de Tournon, *Etudes Statistiques sur Rome*, 3 vols., (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1855).

<sup>88</sup> Ingres's time in Italy can be broken down as follows. 1806-1810: *pensionnaire* at the Villa Medici, Rome. 1810-1820: remains in Rome, working independently. 1820-1824: lives and works in Florence, Italy. He returned to Rome in 1834 as Director of the Académie de France à Rome. He left Rome for Paris definitively in 1841.

French political domination of Rome, young painters like Ingres were presented with unique opportunities to create an iconography of power for the new regime. This iconography, like its practitioners, was steeped in French training but distinctly bore Rome's influence.

### 1809 Campidoglio Exhibition

The Campidoglio Salon of 1809 not only reveals the ways in which the Académie de France à Rome was mobilized as part of pro-government propaganda, but also exposes Director Guillaume Guillion Lethière's skillful positioning of his students as stars within the "renewed" French-backed Roman art scene. As a foreign art school, the Académie de Rome was one of the established bastions of Frenchness; its new fortified seat at the top of the Pincio Hill gave it new physical prominence in the city. The yearly art exhibitions of the *pensionnaires'* works at the Académie de Rome became a more formalized, better-attended affair than before.<sup>89</sup> In 1809, the *pensionnaires* could have had their works exhibited twice: at the Académie de Rome and at the Campidoglio. The irony that the great museum on the Capitoline, stripped of its greatest works by the French as early as 1797, was now to house the first French-sponsored public Salon of Rome, seems to have been lost on those selecting the venue (including Lethière).<sup>90</sup> Paintings by government-sponsored French students, as opposed to famous Antique sculptures, would now grace its walls.

The Salon, or *Mostra*, was put in motion by a decree from the *Consulta* and announced to the public on October 28, 1809, in the *Giornale del Campidoglio*.<sup>91</sup> Lethière was informed of it on September 16 of 1809.<sup>92</sup> The French government frequently looked to Lethière for help in all things art-related that affected the city, and the *Mostra* was no exception; he was nominated vice-president of the committee that was charged with selecting the works to be admitted.<sup>93</sup> Joseph Marie, Baron de Gerando, who effectively held the post of Minister of the Interior of the *Consulta*, was likely also a high-ranking member of the committee.<sup>94</sup> The multiple other members were all well-established artists, living in Rome but of diverse nationalities: Luigi Agricola, Gaspare Landi, Agostino Tofanelli, Francesco Labourer, Nicolas Dider-Boguet, François-Marius Granet, Gustav Goethe, Bertel Thorvaldsen, Leopold Kislung, Johann Martin Rhoden, and Gottlieb Schick.<sup>95</sup> Instead of giving the governance of the 1809 *Mostra* over to the reigning Roman academy, the Academia di San Luca, the French linked the Salon directly to their government and the branch of their own Académie de Rome. This calculated move ensured that the French received all the credit for re-creating, as opposed to just promoting, an

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<sup>89</sup> *Maestà di Roma* II, 54, 58, n.24.

<sup>90</sup> "...les salles des Conservateurs au Capitole étaient parmi ceux désignés par la Consulte comme celui qui réunissait le plus les avantages et les convenances nécessaires...." See Lethière's Report, Rome, 24 September 1809, Carton 14, f. 347, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>91</sup> Caracciolo I, 138, 139, fn.6.

<sup>92</sup> Balbi, Rome to Lethière, Rome, 1 October 1809, Carton 14, f. 348, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>93</sup> One has but to glance at Lethière's correspondence with Paris, preserved in Cartons 13 and 14 at the Archives of the French Académie de Rome at the Villa Medici, to see how many cultural affairs he was involved in as director: in charge of inspecting newly discovered antiquities to ascertain their value, in charge of assessing the condition and value of the Borghese sculpture Collection purchased by Napoleon, judge of the 1809 Salon, a key member of the commission that decided artists for the Quirinale commissions... the list goes on. See also Balbi, Rome, to Lethière, Rome, 16 September 1809, Carton 14, f. 345, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* The letter states that the first meeting of the Committee would take place in de Gerando's home, so one can at least assume he was on the Jury.

<sup>95</sup> Italian, French, Swiss, and Germanic artists composed the Committee. Carracciolo I, 139.

international art scene in Rome.<sup>96</sup> It also mirrored the Napoleonic government's frequent meddling in Parisian Salons.<sup>97</sup> The collusion of Academy and government had become commonplace in France, for the ex-Royal Academy of Paris had been subsumed into the Government appendage of the Institut de France and became one of many "sections" dependent on the government as opposed to reigning unbridled over its own.<sup>98</sup> The government, in the form of Joachim Murat, Prince of Naples, also ended up purchasing ten or so of the works exposed; this was probably meant as an incentive towards increased artistic innovation and productivity for Roman artists.<sup>99</sup>

Lethière's Villa Medici became the practical center for the organization of this exhibition, further appropriating power over art for the reigning French government and its own painters. The procedure of applying to the Salon was relatively straightforward; artists were to be notified of the exhibition by posted notices in the *Giornale del Campidoglio* and around the city and had to register themselves and their works at the French Academy.<sup>100</sup> Every artist, regardless of experience or nationality, seems to have been given the same, relatively generous treatment. The artists had eighteen days to submit their work, and the committee-in-charge would send for it to be picked up at the expense of the French government.<sup>101</sup> No mention of the selection process is made in Lethière's report to the *Consulta* or in any of the letters relating to the *Mostra*.<sup>102</sup> The only concerns Lethière expressed were that there would not be enough time or enough funds to pack and transport the artworks submitted.<sup>103</sup> Given the wide range of nationalities and levels of experience of the artists whose work was ultimately shown, one can imagine that the Roman Salon was more inclusive than exclusive: the opposite of the Parisian Salon, in which a thoroughly Academic and pro-Napoleonic jury reviewed every work.<sup>104</sup>

The printed catalogue itself did not distinguish between the nature of the work represented: history, genre, and landscape painting, for example. Instead, works were broadly grouped together by medium: painting, sculpture, architecture.<sup>105</sup> This foregoing of the hierarchy of genres implies that the committee was hungry for any kind of submission—only 157 works ended up being displayed, as opposed to more than 1200 in the Parisian Salon of 1810.<sup>106</sup> Lethière proposed to the *Consulta* that they sponsor a printed catalogue of the displayed works and that they award "*médailles d'encouragement*" of some sort.<sup>107</sup> This phrasing alone points to a certain boosterism: local painters needed to be encouraged in their work, not unlike the young academicians Lethière was housing at the Villa Medici. The awarding of prizes also points to an

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<sup>96</sup> See Caracciolo I, 137-139.

<sup>97</sup> Denon, in fact, did much of the decision-making. Alain Pougetoux, "De la République des Arts au Peuple Artiste" in *Dominique Vivant-Denon: L'Oeil de Napoléon* (Paris: RMN, 1999), 346.

<sup>98</sup> For more on Napoleon's reorganization of the Institute, see Grigsby 1995, 52-60.

<sup>99</sup> *Maesta di Roma* I, 126.

<sup>100</sup> Rapport de Lethière, Rome, 24 September 1809, Carton 14, f. 347, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. The dimensions and addresses of the works were to be noted so that pick up would be possible.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> The printed catalogue has come down to us today as *Spiegazione delle Opere di Pittura, Scultura, Architettura ed Incisione Esposte nelle Stanze del Campidoglio, il di 19 novembre 1809* (Rome: Luigi Salvioni, 1809). An example of it is located at the British School in Rome, call number 601.7.10.1. It is also referenced in Caracciolo's articles.

<sup>105</sup> See *Spiegazione* 1809.

<sup>106</sup> Caracciolo's count. Caracciolo I, 138.

<sup>107</sup> See *Spiegazione* 1809.

interest in institutionalizing the exhibition to make it an annual event, for it places the *Mostra* squarely within the Parisian Salon tradition. If it became an annual affair, the *Mostra* could help to promote private commissions and works made on speculation for government purchase, ultimately replacing the now obsolete sources of previous patronage: the clergy and the local aristocrats.

The published bulletin of the Salon, entitled *Spiegazione delle Opere di Pittura, Scultura, Architettura ed Incisione Esposte nelle Stanze del Campidoglio, il di 19 novembre 1809* and printed in Rome by Luigi Salvioni, confirms the works included and the date of the event.<sup>108</sup> The November 19, 1809 date confirms that the Salon was set in motion very early in the *Consulta's* rule. The event was considered important enough to require immediate attention, that of a provisional government as opposed to the more permanent *prefecture* structure that would follow in 1810. Maria Teresa Caracciolo, who recently worked on the printed *Spiegazione*, also noted the boldness of this action on the part of the *Consulta*, whose authority was still essentially upheld only by Miollis's soldiers.<sup>109</sup> The proclamation of Rome as a "free city" and the removal of Pope Pius VII—along with his threat of excommunication to anyone who worked for or with the new French government—had occurred just a few months earlier in the summer.<sup>110</sup> The *Consulta* had more pressing matters to attend to: infrastructure projects, creating and passing new laws, and surveying the new land for lumber. The comparable priority given to the *Mostra* reveals how keen the French were to pacify the cultural elite of Rome by appearing to be benevolent champions of artistic development.

Presumably to honor the traditions of the Academia di San Luca—and to reveal art's new dependance on the State, and not the Church—the *Mostra* had been planned for an even earlier date, October 18: the feast of Saint Luca.<sup>111</sup> Lethière and the other members of the committee protested, not because they disagreed with symbolic value of the chosen date, but because the government was being too hasty. The planners would not have time to meet all the needs of the exhibition, as deadline for submission would have been only six days before the show's opening. Additionally, the *Consulta* had not given the Committee enough funds for the packaging, delivering, hanging, and guarding of the works.<sup>112</sup> It is stunning, given the amount of work that would have been necessary, that the *Mostra* opened only a month later. The medal-winners have not come down to us in history, but the reports of the *Giornale del Campidoglio* and the drawings of Palagio Palaggi representing the scene would have us believe that the Salon was well-attended, certainly by the French.<sup>113</sup> The French Governor of Rome, General Miollis, the King of Naples, Joachim Murat, and *Consulta* member Baron de Gerando all visited the

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<sup>108</sup> In her fine articles which reprint and comment on it, Caracciolo seems to argue that the *Spiegazione* is a rare document, but I have found it in various Roman libraries; the booklet must have had a decent print run.

<sup>109</sup> Caracciolo I, 137.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> This information is in Lethière's letters. Lethière to the Consulta, Rome, 20 October 1809, Carton 14, f. 351, Villa Medici Archives. See also Lethière to the Consulta, Rome, 15 October 1809, Carton 14, f. 352, Villa Medici Archives. Also note that the Annual Exhibition of the Academia was held on the day of their patron state in part to showcase the Church's important role as principal patron of the arts in Rome. Thanks to Todd Olson for sharing his knowledge of the Academia with me.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. There is no more mention of the exhibition in Lethière's correspondence.

<sup>113</sup> *Giornale del Campidoglio*, 11 December 1809, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Italy.

exhibition together on November 14, 1809 (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).<sup>114</sup> All of them figure in a drawing of the exhibition, probably destined for publication in a newsletter.<sup>115</sup>

Miollis and Murat's much-touted presence at the *Mostra* signaled the political importance of the arts to a revitalized, French Rome. Benjamin Zix's drawings of Napoleon at the Louvre reveal the importance of a sovereign's visible endorsement of art; his appreciation and collection of it became an indicator of the worldliness of his empire. (Figure 1.3).<sup>116</sup> Murat was the closest Napoleonic monarch available, and his special pilgrimage to Rome lent the exhibition greater clout. Murat's decision to purchase thirteen of the exhibited works—including the *Dormeuse de Naples* by Ingres—was deliberately calculated to encourage artists to keep producing good work, according to one journal (Figure 1.4).<sup>117</sup> Murat's artistic support may have been otherwise motivated; he had long wanted Rome to be the main city of the Kingdom of Naples and had made a case for it as early as 1808.<sup>118</sup> In 1813, he would sign a secret allegiance with Austria and then take Rome from Napoleon in January of 1814.<sup>119</sup> Murat was known to court the Roman people at every opportunity—he did not miss that afforded to him by the *Mostra* of 1809.<sup>120</sup>

Lethière cannily understood that he could marshal this display of French power through the promotion of art to the benefit of his *pensionnaires*. While his aptitude for self-promotion is often mentioned in biographical accounts, his active role in furthering the careers of his students at the Villa Medici, such as Ingres, is often glossed over.<sup>121</sup> Admittedly, if the Salon brought notoriety to the artists under his care, their fame, in turn, would be considered a success of his Académie. He was probably most focused on their careers instead of his own, but evidence from his own letters shows how much he genuinely liked the group of *pensionnaires* he governed.<sup>122</sup> In the *Mostra*, Lethière allowed the *pensionnaires* to not only display, but also sell the works they produced to meet their Academic obligations *before* they were sent back to the Parisian Academy to be judged.<sup>123</sup> Some works never even made it to Paris; Ingres's *Sleeping Nude*, now known as the *Dormeuse de Naples* (1809) could not be sent back for judging as it had already been bought by Murat and taken to Naples.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid. See also annotations on Palagio Palagi's drawing, Inv. 15535 in Museo di San Martino, Naples, Italy. See also *Maesta di Roma* I, 126 and Caracciolo I, 139, n. 19.

<sup>115</sup> These drawings are discussed extensively in *Maesta di Roma* I, 126.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> We do not know which works constitute the 13 that Murat bought—the number comes from the *Giornale Romano* 1809, 136. It is also noted in *Maesta di Roma* I, 126. Murat's purchase of Ingres's work is interesting in that Naples at this time was certainly not bereft of art, even French art. Jean-Baptiste Wicar, one of David's students, had been named the head of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Naples and painted several works for the Royal Family.

<sup>118</sup> Caracciolo I, 139, n. 19. See also Lentz, *Napoléon et la Conquête de l'Europe*, 486 and Lentz, *L'Effondrement du Système Napoléonien, 1810-1814*, 490-491.

<sup>119</sup> See also Miollis's letters on the subject, reprinted in: "Documents sur la défection du roi de Naples (1814) [Lettres du général de Miollis]" *Nouvelle Revue Rétrospective* 1-6, (1904): tome XX.

<sup>120</sup> Murat's "triumphal" entry into Rome in 1814, the easy political transition between the Napoleonic Regime and that of Murat's short-lived one, and the people's reaction to Murat-as-King (indifference) are all documented in one of *pensionnaire* Drolling's letters to his father. Michel-Martin Drolling, Rome to Martin Drolling, Paris, 26 January 1814, A 923, recto, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre.

<sup>121</sup> See for example the biography provided in *Image of an Epoch*, 182-184.

<sup>122</sup> For just two examples, see Lethière, Rome to Lebreton, Paris, 5 May 1809, Carton 13, f. 66, and Lethière, Rome, to Lebreton, Paris, 25 March 1811, Carton 13, f.79, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>123</sup> The works were frequently exhibited at the Parisian Salon and then sold after the Parisian Academy had judged them, not before.

Although we cannot know whether Ingres would have submitted the *Dormeuse* as an *académie*, there is a very strong chance it otherwise would have accompanied his *Baigneuse Valpinçon* to Paris. We know from Lethière's correspondence that Ingres was one *académie* short of the graduation requirements.<sup>124</sup> Instead of criticizing the student in his official report to the Parisian Academy, Lethière officially excused Ingres from his obligations on account of the latter's alleged sickness. Furthermore, Lethière declined to promise the Academy the "full figure" work that Ingres was missing, as he had done when other students had missed deadlines in the past.<sup>125</sup> Lethière subtly subverted the Academy's rules in order to promote his student's work, all the while consolidating his own role in the affairs of state art. In making this decision, Lethière pinned great hopes on Rome as an up-and-coming center of diverse art-making. Rome offered an alternative to the thriving industry of Napoleonic imagery that the Parisian art scene had become. Lethière's Beaux-Arts-trained students who could not find favor with Denon or were incapable of producing contemporary battle scenes—such as Ingres—would have a greater chance of success in this Second City, where mythological subjects and portraits, mostly private commissions, were the parlance of the day.

Indeed, of all of the works exhibited at the show, only three featured images of Napoleon. Two were plaster models for bas-reliefs by the *pensionnaire* sculptor François Dominique Aimé Milhomme. They depicted *Napoleon Crossing the Danube*, symbolically subduing Hungary, and *Napoleon and the Leaders of the Confederation of the Rhine*, swearing to abolish England.<sup>126</sup> Both are lost to us today.<sup>127</sup> The third work was a portrait of the emperor by a little-known Italian sculptor (and a woman) "Signora Saveria de Simoni," probably rendered in medallion form in wax.<sup>128</sup> Other works that suggested the French political domination of Italy were of a more local character, depicting French consuls, generals, and bureaucrats working in Rome and Naples. These included portraits of Miollis, Murat, and de Tournon.<sup>129</sup>

The timing of the exhibition, close as it was to Rome's conquest by the French, could help explain the not insignificant number of portraits of specific clerics and other images of groups of nameless monks.<sup>130</sup> None of these works depicted the recently deposed pope and only one depicted his predecessor, Pius VI. The majority of these religious images seem to have been of the generalized, sentimentalized type of a monk or group of monks at prayer, similar to (and including) those of Granet (Figure 1.5).<sup>131</sup> Such images were often made for tourists coming to

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<sup>124</sup> Lethière, Rome, to the Members of the Academy, Paris, 25 August 1811, Carton 13, f. 83, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. See also Lethière, Rome, to the Members of the Academy, Paris, 25 January 1809, Carton 14, f. 173.

<sup>126</sup> They are listed as "*ébauché en plâtre*." Maria Teresa Caracciolo, "L'Exposition du Capitole de 1809. Un Nouveau Document et Quelques Précisions (deuxième et dernière partie)" *Les Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Art* 5 (2007): 148. Hereafter Caracciolo II.

<sup>127</sup> Caracciolo II, 148.

<sup>128</sup> The *Speigazione* is misleading on this score. Caracciolo II, 145.

<sup>129</sup> Miollis was rendered by Milhomme in marble, Murat by Signora Saveria de Simoni as well as Antonio Campanella, the latter a student of Wicar's. Caracciolo II, 148, 155, 145. Hortense Lescot painted General Pignatelli and the bureaucrats Mr. Garabeau and Mr. Stamaty, Consul of France for Civitavecchia. Caracciolo I, 147-148.

<sup>130</sup> Portraits of specific clerics included, for example, *Monsignor Nicolai* by the Italian artist de Boni; or *Portrait of a Greek Bishop* by Fiorentino Domenico. Caracciolo I, 143-144. Generalized, romanticized pictures include, for example, a painting of a monk by Emmanuel Sallots of the French school or Granet's two paintings of monks at prayer. Caracciolo I, 144, 147.

<sup>131</sup> *Pope Paul VI*, by Antonio Campanella. Caracciolo II, 155.

Rome, who associated it with the pageantry of the Catholic Church or the humility of its pastoral monks.<sup>132</sup> The generic quality of these images permitted them to be acceptable in a political situation in which the Roman church had no territory to its name and in which cardinals and popes were stripped of the ability to serve as patrons.

Though most are listed anonymously in the catalogue, several of the specific portraits on display were of lay-Frenchmen and women. Portraiture was the most popular genre represented at the *Mostra* with over thirty painted portraits and fourteen sculptural and engraved portraits exhibited.<sup>133</sup> Along with the *Dormeuse de Naples*, Ingres contributed two portraits to the Salon: probably those of his artist-friend Granet (whose works were also exhibited in the show) and of Madame Duvaucy (the mistress of Jean-Marie Alquier, the French Ambassador to the Holy See until 1809) (Figures 1.6 and 1.7).<sup>134</sup> In all likelihood, Ingres's choice of these two works was strategic, for they present the range of his skills with portraiture to potential clients. The portrait of Granet spoke to Ingres's ability to portray a sitter with a commanding presence in a uniquely Roman atmosphere. *Madame Duvaucy*, on the other hand, showcased Ingres's ability to beautify women while subtly displaying the wealth and stature of their husbands through their delicately rendered attire.<sup>135</sup> This strategy evidently paid off, as Ingres was soon asked to paint the portraits of some of the most prominent bureaucrats in town and their families, including the Marcottes and the Bochets.<sup>136</sup> The majority of the other portraits besides Frenchmen on view in the Salon, such as Thorvaldsen's *Portrait of Ida Brun* or Landi's *Portrait of Sisco, Surgery Professor*, depicted upper-class people living in Rome (Figure 1.8).<sup>137</sup> Portraiture was the most popular genre in the Salon because it met the demands of all of Rome's upper classes, regardless of any political commitment.

The best-represented genres at the Salon outside of portraiture were those designed for the pleasure of the ruling class as opposed to their moral instruction. The exhibition featured two reclining female nudes: Ingres's *Dormeuse de Naples*, called "*donna nude che dorme*" and Landi's "*donna nuda giacente*."<sup>138</sup> Generally, pithy mythological subjects by artists from all backgrounds dominated the works on offer: Ganymedes, sleeping Venuses and Dianas, a Zephyr and Flora, Jupiter's various amorous dalliances, and Apollos. These fifteen or so sentimental mythologies outpaced the ten history paintings featuring a morally elevated subject matter drawn from the Antique. The history paintings were further outnumbered by fourteen religious subjects, twenty *vedute* of Rome or other local areas, and thirty-two painted portraits.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Ingres, in fact, would paint a mass in the Sistine Chapel for his patron Marcotte in 1814.

<sup>133</sup> Of the 121 paintings exhibited, there were 32 portraits, or 26 % of the total. Of the sculptures and engravings, portraits make up 14 out of 33 works, or 42% of the total. The percentages were calculated by the author.

<sup>134</sup> Ingres's portraits are listed in the Salon booklet under the same number—"due ritratti sotto lo stesso numero." See Caracciolo I, 146. For the most recent information about the identifications, see *Maesta di Roma* I, 123.

<sup>135</sup> Very few studies have looked at Ingres's early Roman portraits as a collective whole. Sarah Betzer has done a careful analysis of Ingres's later portraits of women, however. See Sarah E. Betzer, *Ingres and the Studio: Women, Painting, History* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

<sup>136</sup> For more information on both commissions, see *Image of an Epoch*: 122-125 for Marcotte, 133-135 and 178-179 for the Bochets, and 138-140 for Camille de Tournon's mother, the Comtesse de Tournon.

<sup>137</sup> Caracciolo I, 146; Caracciolo II, 152-53.

<sup>138</sup> Caracciolo believes Landi's work was a mythological subject: either a *Danae* whose location is unknown today or else a *Venus* currently in Budapest. Caracciolo I, 146-147.

<sup>139</sup> Data compiled myself from *Speigazione* (1809) using criteria for history painting cited in the text.

Surprisingly, given their Academic requirements, none of these ten were painted by *pensionnaires* at the Académie de Rome but rather by local Italian and German artists.<sup>140</sup> Neither did French artists in Rome take up the mantle of contemporary history painting adopted by the Davidians in the Salon of 1810 in Paris.<sup>141</sup> Heroic history painting had been replaced by softer Antique themes, featuring young, languid, protagonists rooted in non-belligose myth.<sup>142</sup> The general currency of these themes among the works exhibited revealed the predilection of the Roman upper classes for the decorative aspects of the Antique over morally elevating subjects.

Some of the *pensionnaires* submitted the painted copies executed after famous works in Rome which were part of their *envois*: Masquelier exhibited a copy of Raphael's *Deposition of Christ*, then in the Borghese Collection.<sup>143</sup> Dedeban, an architect, showed a cross-section of the arch of Septimus Severus and Caracalla as well as two drawings representing his ideas for restorations of monuments in the Giardino Colonna, then linked to the Quirinale Palace.<sup>144</sup> Marin exposed a Ganymede that was a copy of the Antique in the Vatican.<sup>145</sup> In this way, *pensionnaires* could gain exposure in Rome and fulfill their requirements at the same time.

The lack of large, finished history paintings submitted by *pensionnaires* to this exhibition was, I will later argue, typical of their production during the Napoleonic period in part because they found these subjects to be unmarketable to the French and Roman upper classes in Rome. As demonstrated by their submissions, *pensionnaires* such as Ingres, Tiolier, Milhomme, and Marin took on private commissions for portraits and tomb monuments while they were students at the Académie de Rome in order to earn extra money, a practice that had been heretoforth discouraged.<sup>146</sup> By painting these works that these powerful men would (and did) buy, these French artists aimed at securing a place for themselves in the Second Capital of the Empire. By 1809, that market seemed at least as favorable to the arts as that of Paris.

The catalogue entries from the 1809 Campidoglio Salon reveal a Roman market that favored pithy mythological scenes, portraiture, and *vedute* above history painting. No contemporary history painting of Napoleon's military triumphs over Italy were represented, nor were there any paintings showcasing the contemporary transformation of Rome under the *Consulta* (such as the French clearing of monuments). Rather than use the opportunity provided by the Salon to advertise French art alone, the French-led selection committee promoted everyone in the artistic world generated by the city. Lethière's role on this government committee and the role of the Villa as the organizational center of the operation showcased the interdependence of French political and cultural authorities in occupied provinces.

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<sup>140</sup> For example, the *Death of Camilla* (Gaspare Landi, Italian) or *Agamemnon Obliging Proteus to Reveal his Destiny* (Conrad Martin Metz, German). Caracciolo I, 146, 150.

<sup>141</sup> In the Paris Salon, David displayed *The Distribution of the Eagles*; Girodet, *The Revolt of Cairo*; Gérard, *The Battle of Austerlitz*; and Gros, *The Taking of Madrid*. These all depicted events relating to Napoleon and his campaigns. Milhomme was one of the few artists in Rome working on Napoleonic themes and the only one to exhibit this work publicly at the Salon.

<sup>142</sup> Both the painter Guillemot and the sculptor Marin exposed *Ganymeades*. Caracciolo I, 145 and II, 147.

<sup>143</sup> Caracciolo I, 149.

<sup>144</sup> Caracciolo II, 154.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>146</sup> For the relative poverty of Academicians at the Villa Medici, see *Maesta di Roma* II, 55-56, 198-199. See for works exhibited Caracciolo I, 146 and II, 147-149, 152.

### Ingres *Pensionnaire*, 1806-1808

In 1806, a Parisian-based Ingres was still ignorant of all that French-dominated Rome would have to offer him. Rome seemed a waste of time to an ambitious young Davidian desirous of Salon fame and state commissions in what was then a Parisian-centered art world. A Rome prize winner in 1801, he had by 1804 already convinced the Académie des Beaux-Arts, operating as a branch of the *Institut* under Napoleonic reorganizations of cultural institutions, to advance to him a certain part of his Roman pension for living expenses in Paris. Like other artists in his predicament, he used the excuse that the Académie de Rome was not ready yet.<sup>147</sup> As we know, Ingres's claim was true to a certain extent; though the Académie de Rome had been officially re-established in 1795, Rome Prize winners did not resume trips to Rome until 1801 due to a lack of funds and space.<sup>148</sup> However, Napoleon acquired the Villa Medici for the Academy in May of 1803, and the *pensionnaires* moved in with Suvée soon after.<sup>149</sup>

Several sources reveal Ingres's unwillingness to leave Paris and repeated prolongation of his time in that city. The architect Jean-François Ménager, Ingres's friend and eventually his fellow *pensionnaire*, sent the artist letters throughout 1805 in which the author repeatedly urges Ingres to come to Rome.<sup>150</sup> Ménager's wording makes clear, however, that he despairs of Ingres ever arriving.<sup>151</sup> Ingres also had two commissions to complete in Paris—portraits of Napoleon and other notables—and the family of a fiancé to re-assure.<sup>152</sup> By 1805, Ingres was betrothed to Julie Forestier, herself an amateur painter; Ingres's letters to Julie's father have allowed art historians to reconstruct Ingres's early days in Rome.

Ingres eventually left Paris for Rome in the fall of 1806 under threat of his *pensionnat*—and the funding and status that went with it—being revoked if he did not. Suvée had asked that a governmental reprimand be issued to all Rome Prize winners still in Paris stating that, despite an initial delay due to the problems of reestablishing the Académie de France à Rome, the Villa Medici was now ready to receive them and that they must arrive in Rome no later than November of 1806.<sup>153</sup> Unbeknownst to Ingres's own father and to the Parisian Academy, the artist had agreed with Julie's father that he would only remain in Rome for a year of his *pensionnat*.<sup>154</sup> The plan that Forestier and Ingres seem to have concocted—Ingres's letters tell us of it only in his failure to realize it—required Ingres to use his position at the Académie de Rome not to complete the required tasks for each of the five years, but rather to paint such precious pictures as might sell to a rarified group of patrons in Rome.<sup>155</sup> In this way, Ingres would have money for a return trip to Paris to marry Julie.<sup>156</sup> Forestier and Ingres also specifically decided that the artist would paint his final *envoi* in Paris, near Julie.

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<sup>147</sup> Ingres was accordingly allotted an *atelier* at the ex-convent of the Capuchins in Paris. *Ingres* 2006, 107.

<sup>148</sup> The previous Academic seat of the French in Rome, the Palazzo Mancini on the Corso, has been ransacked by counter-revolutionaries and was not fit to live in.

<sup>149</sup> For a quick history of the Academy's re-establishment in Rome, see *Maesta di Roma* II, 51.

<sup>150</sup> For a detailed description of the various standard primary sources, see *Ingres* 2006, 148. Letters from Ingres's friend and fellow *pensionnaire*, Jean-François Ménager, detailing Ingres's constant delaying of his arrival in Rome are excerpted in Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, Vol.1, 162-164.

<sup>151</sup> Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, Vol.1, 162-164.

<sup>152</sup> For further speculation on why Ingres waited so long to leave Paris, see *Ingres* 2006, 147-8.

<sup>153</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 148 and Suvée *Correspondance*, 379, 386.

<sup>154</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 145-146, 176-177.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>156</sup> The plan to develop a version of Ingres's *Stratonice* for Lucien Bonaparte is developed in Letters 7-10, written from to December 1806 to January 1807. *Lettres* 2011, 121-139.

From Ingres's early letters to M. Forester, it seems as if the pair of them believed that Ingres's creation of successful history painting under the prestigious aegis of Prix de Rome *pensionnaire* was the chief means by which the artist could make up for his failed *Napoleon Enthroned*.<sup>157</sup> It would salvage Ingres's (and Forestier's) wounded pride as well as assure future commissions from a confident government or a wealthy bureaucratic bourgeoisie (and the income of M. Forestier's daughter).

In his first years at the Académie de Rome, however, Ingres chose to paint non-heroic subjects. For his first required *académie*—a painting featuring a nude body, usually male, drawn from life and sometimes accessorized to resemble a mythic character or hero—he originally intended to represent Hercules, asleep and surrounded by pygmies as opposed to engaging in his labors.<sup>158</sup> The only evidence that Ingres ever developed the composition besides the information in his letters is a quick pen and ink outline of Hercules in Montauban (Figure 1.9). But in early May of 1807, Ingres decided to eschew that composition for a *Venus Anadyomene*: "... *au lieu du terrible Hercule, j'ai peint Vénus au moment où elle vient de naître, sortant des flots blanchissants de la mer*" (Figure 1.10).<sup>159</sup> The shift from a virile, though sleeping, Hercules to a coy goddess of love represents a major shift in the aim of the project—away from the *beau-idéal* to the simply *belle*.<sup>160</sup>

Ingres's motivation for the change—the easy marketability and relative quickness of composing a Venus as opposed to an heroic history painting—becomes clear later in the letter: "*Sitôt que j'aurai fini [the Vénus],*" Ingres writes, "*j'irai inviter le sénateur Lucien de venir le voir. Je sais par quelqu'un qu'il s'intéresse à moi... J'espère achever de l'intéresser quand il sera chez moi.*"<sup>161</sup> The "Sénateur Lucien" refers to Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's estranged youngest brother living in self-imposed exile in Rome since 1804.<sup>162</sup> This is the first time that Lucien Bonaparte appears in Ingres's correspondence with Forestier; one can imagine that Ingres was trying to forge a patronage link with Lucien, similar to that connecting Lucien to Granger.<sup>163</sup> Granger had been commissioned to make drawn copies of Lucien's growing collection of antiquities and to paint the portraits of Lucien's entourage, including his eldest daughter,

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<sup>157</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 162, 183. For an excellent analysis of the criticism of *Napoleon Enthroned*, see Susan Siegfried, "Ingres's Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne: The Critics" in Siegfried and Porterfield 2006: 91-113.

<sup>158</sup> Discussion of "Hercules" in *Lettres* 2011, 154. Ingres also wrote about possibly choosing Ulysses or Jupiter and Thetis as a subject in an earlier letter to Forestier; both of these suggestions were for larger compositions and would not have fulfilled the obligation for a single-figure painting. See *Lettres* 2011, 122-123.

<sup>159</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 161.

<sup>160</sup> This shift will be further discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation

<sup>161</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 162.

<sup>162</sup> Lucien Bonaparte was Napoleon's youngest brother who had helped him secure the support of the nation during the Coup of 18 Brumaire (Nov. 9, 1799). Since then, Lucien had been Minister of the Interior and Ambassador to Madrid but feuded increasingly with Napoleon and went into self-imposed exile in Rome in May of 1804 with his new wife, their biological children, and their collective children from previous marriages. For more on Lucien's life and collecting practices, see Maria Teresa Caracciolo and Isabelle Mayer-Michalon, *Lucien Bonaparte: Un Homme Libre, 1775-1840* (Milan: Silvana, 2010).

<sup>163</sup> For more on Lucien Bonaparte and Ingres, see *Image of an Epoch*, 158 and *Lettres* 2011, 162. Ingres's relationship with Lucien is difficult to piece together as most of the information we have of it is in Ingres's letters where the terms are kept quite vague. It seems that, even though Ingres barely knew Lucien (Ingres had been invited to see a play at his house along with another *pensionnaire* sculptor), M. Forestier was convinced that Lucien—a wealthy man and a great patron of the arts—would be in need of Ingres's artistic talent and would pay handsomely for it.

Charlotte Bonaparte.<sup>164</sup> In addition, Lucien was an old friend of Lethière's and may have helped the artist secure the directorship of the Académie de Rome.<sup>165</sup> Lucien seemed to resist formal involvement with the Roman art scene or the Académie, perhaps due to Napoleon's increasing domination over Rome; his attendance at the *Mostra*, for example, was not noted in any of the papers in the manner of Murat and Miollis. He might have become more involved with the Académie de Rome's individual painters over time, but for his attempted flight to the United States in 1810 and subsequent capture by the British.

Ingres's exact relationship with Lucien Bonaparte has never been clearly defined by scholars of the period.<sup>166</sup> Ingres did, however, complete a portrait drawing of Lucien, which eminent Ingres scholar Hans Naef believes was made on speculation; a sort of proof of Ingres's great capacities as a portraitist (Figure 1.11).<sup>167</sup> This argument seems plausible, for Ingres made a great deal more portrait paintings, as opposed to drawings, of important figures in Napoleonic Roman society during this period. In this sumptuous drawing, Lucien is seated on a marble Ancient Roman throne, decorated with spiral columns, sphinxes, and Ancient Roman trophies.<sup>168</sup> Ingres places this fictive throne in the middle of the Roman countryside, against a tree; the Torre delle Milizie, the medieval buildings below it, and the newly excavated Trajan's Forum below that can be seen in the distance.<sup>169</sup> This drawing shows Ingres conflating two locations that were in separate places—the Torre delle Milizie is (and was, in 1809) centrally located in Rome, far away from the Campagna. As we shall soon see, Ingres would use this strategy, first developed in his portrait of Granet, repeatedly. In this portrait, Lucien plays the part of a well-educated gentleman of leisure, reading in the countryside amid ruins.

The terms Ingres uses to describe the subjects that such a gentleman as Lucien would be interested in purchasing fall far from those used to describe history painting. In the following passage, Ingres muses upon the idea of making an already successful youthful composition of Antiochus and Stratonice—now believed to be the 1806 “Antiochus and Stratonice” drawing in the Louvre (Figure 1.12)—into a small-scale genre painting:

*Je crois qu' exécuter le tableau de Stratonice, que j'aime d'inclination, en tableau demi-nature, c'est à dire tableau de chevalet, serait encore assez grand pour en faire une belle chose pour le précieux et la délicatesse et la beauté, que ce tableau serait très agréable et gracieux, et aisé à placer par sa proportion. Raphaël a fait ainsi de petits tableaux qui ne sont pas moins estimés que ses grands. Je serai sûr en outre de bien le vendre à Rome ou à Paris.*<sup>170</sup>

In his Raphael justification, one can see Ingres attempting to convince himself that this is the right path. Yet his choice of words used to describe the new painting—“*belle chose*” “*délicatesse*” “*gracieux*” “*agréable*” – belies his knowledge that he was producing sellable, as opposed to *beau-idéal*, work. He probably chose the *Stratonice* as a subject for embellishment

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<sup>164</sup> *Maesta di Roma II*, 474.

<sup>165</sup> For more on this friendship, see Marcello Simonetta and Noga Arikha, *Napoleon and the Rebel: A Story of Brotherhood, Passion, and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 189-191.

<sup>166</sup> Ingres's letters mention him only summarily. See *Image of an Epoch*, 158-159.

<sup>167</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 159.

<sup>168</sup> To my knowledge, no Antique Roman throne such as this exists today; it is quite likely that Ingres invented the throne using the vocabulary of Roman trophies.

<sup>169</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 158.

<sup>170</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 136.

because he assumed it would be successful, having already sold a drawing of that composition to a famous Danish collector passing through Rome.<sup>171</sup>

In the summer of 1807, however, Ingres changed course. He decided to abandon *Stratonice*—and the idea of “*petits tableaux*”—for the time being. We do not know if he was motivated by his failure to secure Lucien as a patron, but, for whatever reason, he felt it necessary to remain in Rome to continue to make a *beau-idéal* work. In a series of overly dramatic and humiliating letters to M. Forestier, Ingres apologized his way out of the marriage with Julie. He wrote that he was desirous that Julie should have the best possible chance at a happy marriage with him, and that meant his staying in Rome to learn to create the best version of the great history painting *envoi*—what Ingres referred to as his “*tableau de réputation*”—upon which he and M. Forestier had pinned so many hopes.<sup>172</sup> It is not clear how sincere Ingres was being with Forestier in his reasons for breaking up the marriage; certainly, it seems as if he was keen on finishing his Academic training, but his output during his years in Rome—even as a student—did not contain an aggressive number of history paintings featuring heroic male nudes. Instead, he chose to paint softer subjects, such as 1809’s *Dormeuse de Naples*, that he believed would sell better to Napoleonic officials in Rome. He also painted many of their portraits.

### **Private Patronage: Ingres as Court Painter to the French Bureaucrats of Rome and the Murats of Naples**

I have argued that Ingres used the Campidoglio Salon of 1809 as an opportunity to advertise his multi-faceted painting skills to his potential Franco-Roman clients. The portraits he created for the Salon were representative of both genders: the delicate, wealthy lady, represented by *Madame Devaucey* and the cultured, Rome-admiring man, represented by *Granet*.<sup>173</sup> With these two paintings and Lethière’s introductions, Ingres was able to cultivate a small French clientele for himself, the particulars of which I will lay out below. The steady commissions from his circle of clients throughout the early 1810s allowed Ingres to believe that he could enjoy a good enough living in Rome as opposed to moving back to Paris. Accordingly, he worked in the Eternal City until 1820, then moving only to Florence. Ingres fared well enough in these years that his wife Madeleine Chapelle even boasted of the sum to her friend before their marriage.<sup>174</sup> He seems not to have wanted for commissions until the Napoleonic Regime came crashing down, taking with it all the bureaucrats who were Ingres’s main source of income. To these men, he was like a court painter, recording their successes in this foreign town with his inimitable paintbrush.

Ingres’s first Roman commission, *Madame Devaucey*, offers us a lavish interior portrait that shares many of the characteristics of portraits by Ingres’s teacher, Jacques-Louis David.<sup>175</sup> David’s portraits are beloved today for their particularly frank, yet delicate, presentation of their

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>173</sup> See Caracciolo I, 146. For the more recent opinions on these fairly secure identifications, see *Maesta di Roma* I, 123.

<sup>174</sup> Madeleine allegedly said the following about Ingres in a letter to her friend, 30 August 1813:

“...c’est un grand peintre d’histoire, un grand talent, il se fait dix à douze mille livres de rente: tu vois qu’avec cela on ne meurt pas de faim.” *Lettres* 2011, 199.

<sup>175</sup> Carol Ockman and Sarah Betzer have written extensively about the way that female portraiture functions in Ingres’s oeuvre. For their thoughts on Ingres’s portraits of women painted during the Roman years, see Carol Ockman, *Ingres’s Eroticized Bodies: Retracing the Serpentine Line* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 33-65 and Betzer 2012, 1-15, 26-27.

subjects. Those that depicted women, such as the *Portrait de la Marquise de Sorcy de Thelusson* (1790), frequently showed them seated demurely in a chair, wrapped in a shawl, and looking out at the viewer—all features of *Madame Duvaucey* (Figure 1.13). The facial features and the decorations on the fabrics are softly but insistently described. To Davidian-style portraits, Ingres added luxury: the decorated furniture, carefully crafted silk shawls, and bejeweled fans, hands and necks. As the Napoleonic period wore on, Ingres's women became increasingly engulfed by the luxury surrounding them; the blank space behind the figure in *Madame Panckoucke* (1811) gives way to the mirrored luxury of *Madame de Senonnes* (1814) (Figures 1.14 and 1.15). In his painted portraits of women in the Napoleonic period, Ingres generally chose to crop his subjects closely and to place them so that they fill up most of the picture. Ingres routinely fell back on these tropes in his female portraits from 1810-1820 and occasionally extended them to men as well.

The *Granet* portrait represented something completely new in Ingres's pictorial vocabulary. It was neither a paean to David's male portraits nor a reductive version of the Grand Tour souvenir portraits by the eighteenth-century master of the genre, Pompeo Batoni.<sup>176</sup> Though it shared elements of each—the frankness of David's characterization and the Roman setting of Batoni's tourists—the similarities end there. David rarely depicted his subjects in an outdoor setting. When he did, such as in *Monsieur de Sériziat* (1795), he did not place them in a specific location (Figure 1.16). David painted Sériziat so that most of his body was visible and at a good distance from the picture plane. In contrast, Ingres's *Granet* lumbers massively before the background scene of the rooftops of Rome, culminating in the Quirinale Palace. His great coat, painted in an undifferentiated brown masking any shadows or creases of the body, dominates the delicate multicolored background. The storm brewing behind the tousled locks of the subject captures the ever-changing aspect of Rome's famous lighting as the flat light of the sun illuminates the Quirinale through the clouds.

Ingres certainly was not the first to paint a foreigner visiting Rome in front of a uniquely Roman landmark. Batoni famously used this tactic with British Grand Tour patrons who wanted a souvenir of their stay in Rome. Yet few of Batoni's English noblemen, who are most often depicted in full so that the observer could take in all of their elaborate courtly dress, were actually depicted outside. Batoni placed most of them inside a palazzo or even in a British country house: wistfully looking at a well-known Roman bust of Athena or standing proudly near some other sculpture famously located in Rome (Figure 1.17). The artist also depicted some of them grandly gesturing through a window at a snippet of Roman countryside or a token monument. Batoni's figure of *Sir Wyndham Knatchbul-Wyndham*, for example, indicates to the viewer a rather loosely interpreted Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli (Figure 1.18).

On the rare occasion when Batoni placed his subject outside, as with the stupendous portrait of *Colonel the Honorable William Gordon*, the created space was not depicted believably: the background seems more like follies in an English garden than a memento of Rome (Figure 1.19). The Colonel appears, as perhaps he was, a man transplanted unsuccessfully to a foreign land; his brightly colored Scottish tartan, unlike the dark coats of Ingres's men, loudly proclaims his national difference from the famous monuments in the background.<sup>177</sup> For the background, Batoni creates a fantastical ruined landscape with the Colosseum surrounded by token architectural ruins and a statue of the goddess Roma. The Colonel is placed on a hill

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<sup>176</sup> For more on Pompeo Batoni and his Grand Tour portraits, see Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

beyond the Colosseum, yet the building is depicted so close to him that one gets downright dizzy looking at it. Ingres's Rome looks and feels more authentic. His backgrounds resemble contemporary landscape paintings in the vein of Granet. Ingres's subjects do not clash so virulently with the backgrounds behind them; they are foreigners to be sure, but they seem to have a more purposeful, less alienated air to them than Batoni's Grand Tour tourists.

During the period of Napoleonic domination of the Italian peninsula, Ingres's only portrait commissions came from Frenchmen living in Italy.<sup>178</sup> Ingres's most loyal patrons who commissioned more than one work and recommended him to their friends were high-level bureaucrats. As we shall see, their patronage had a sort of family character about it. Scholars are divided about which bureaucrat Ingres met first. Many believe his first patron was Charles Marie Jean Baptiste François Marcotte d'Argenteuil (1789-1864) known from here on as Marcotte (Figure 1.20). Marcotte formed a life-long bond with Ingres, remaining his friend and patron for life and commissioning many works of art from him. But Ingres's first client might very well have been a member of the well-connected Bochet family, père or fils (Figures 1.21 and 1.22).<sup>179</sup> Both the Marcottes and the Bochets would have known Ingres's work through one of his fellow *pensionnaires*: the engraver Edmond Gatteaux, who was friends with the younger Edme Bochet.<sup>180</sup> Marcotte and both Bochets were colleagues, as were many of the men Ingres depicted; they would have known each other in a working context, but they would have seen each other's portraits during their social calls—the French in Rome tended to keep to their own socially.

All signs point to Edme Bochet (the Elder) as the personal link between Ingres's subjects, for his son and daughter were painted by Ingres.<sup>181</sup> Cordier, another one of Ingres's sitters, owed his post at the *Enregistrement des Domaines* to Bochet.<sup>182</sup> Marcotte, a frequent visitor to the

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<sup>178</sup> I am discussing here not the subjects of the portraits—*Madame de Sennones* is clearly the portrait of a French woman, not a Frenchman—but the people who paid for the portraits. I am also discounting Ingres's drawn portraits of many of his fellow *pensionnaires* at the Villa Medici—both his contemporaries and those who were there after his *pensionnat* had ended—because they were not painted portraits and Ingres was probably not paid for them. There was a certain network of drawn portrait exchange that occurred at the Villa Medici between artists, documented in *Maesta di Roma II*, 199-201. Ingres's drawn portraits increased significantly after the French left Rome; his subjects after 1814 are mostly Grand Tour tourists, many of whom were British. For a selection of these later drawn portraits, see *Image of an Epoch*, 156-233.

<sup>179</sup> An undated sketch of Edme Bochet the elder as identified by Naef and the painting of the pendant portraits of Edme Bochet the younger and Cecile Françoise Panckoucke née Bochet in 1811, presumably at the request of their father, lend weight to the argument that the Bochets were the first to discover Ingres through Gatteaux. For more on Edmé Bochet, see *Image of an Epoch*, 178. Marcotte is usually credited with the “discovery” of Ingres, however, also through Gatteaux (*Lettres* 2011, 188). Allegedly, Gatteaux sent Marcotte to Ingres instead of to Ingres's compatriot Blondel to have his portrait realized. Marcotte's portrait is dated 1810; the precise date of the elder Edmé Bochet's drawn portrait is not known.

<sup>180</sup> Rosenblum claims that Marcotte's painting came first and infers that their friendship must have come first (Robert Rosenblum, *Ingres* [Paris: Éd. Cercle d'Art, 1986], 70). I am more inclined to agree with Helene Toussaint in her catalogue of Ingres's portraits in the Louvre where she suggests that the Bochets were Ingres's first clients. The father, already high up in the Parisian administration of *Les Domaines Impériaux*, had been sent to Rome to carry out “*missions extraordinaires dans l'organisation des bureaux de l'Italie Napoléonienne*” (Hélène Toussaint, *Les Portraits d'Ingres: Peintures des Musées Nationaux* [Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1985], 42). The elder Bochet succeeded in acquiring a position for his son in the *Bureaux des Domaines* in Rome as an Inspector. Naef, in *Image of an Epoch*, explains that it was actually at the home of Bochet that Marcotte met Ingres (*Image of an Epoch*, 122).

<sup>181</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 122.

<sup>182</sup> Toussaint 1985, 49; Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, 84.

Bochet's home in Rome, soon became the elder Bochet's in-law; Devillers, *Directeur des Enregistrements des Domaines* in Rome, was known to both the Bochets and was a close friend of Marcotte's.<sup>183</sup> Most of the men in this group had their portraits painted by Ingres in a relatively small time frame: from 1810 to 1812.<sup>184</sup> This supports the idea of the social nature of these commissions. While all of them undoubtedly socialized at the Bochets, it was Marcotte who documented the friendships made within this group by collecting Ingres's portrait drawings—often preparatory studies for paintings—of its members.<sup>185</sup>

Regardless of who brought Ingres into this circle, Ingres's role as a *de facto* court painter to the French high-level bureaucrats stationed in Rome paralleled the position that David had effectively assumed in Napoleonic Paris. This opportunity must have been encouraging to Ingres. If David was both a painter of portraits and history paintings, perhaps Ingres could fill the same role to an appreciative clientele in Rome. General Miollis's history painting commission (1810) and the public commissions Ingres was awarded in the redecorations of the Quirinale Palace (1811-1813) would only further have confirmed this possibility to Ingres. He could be the David of Rome, serving a choice clientele away from the machinations of the Parisian critics.

As I have shown, both Marcotte and the Bochets were linked to the French administration of the physical land in and around Rome, most of which had been confiscated from the Papal administration at the time of Rome's annexation.<sup>186</sup> The Bochets held important posts in the *Enregistrement des Domaines* and Marcotte was the prestigious *Directeur des Eaux et Forêts*.<sup>187</sup> Devillers and Cordier belonged to the same group: land administrators.<sup>188</sup> These administrators were some of the most useful to Napoleon in that their job was to fill the French treasury's coffers, always empty from the cost of continual warfare, through efficient use of land. The Departments of *Eaux et Forêts* and *Enregistrement des Domaines* were key subsections of the Finance Ministry; a post in either was prestigious. Surveying the land was considered the first step in maximizing it for profit; for example, forests in the *Département* of Rome were surveyed in order to ascertain the availability of lumber.<sup>189</sup> The bureaucrats that Ingres depicted, therefore, were less interested in making an orderly city out of Rome than in exploiting its resources. They abetted Napoleonic imperial ambitions by gaining knowledge of the land in

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<sup>183</sup> The Marcotte-Devillers friendship is documented in *Image of an Epoch*, 136 and in Ingres's correspondence, *Lettres* 2011, 187.

<sup>184</sup> Since we have very few autograph sources on the subject other than Marcotte and since Ingres's datings cannot always be trusted, dates for portraits have been mostly inferred by scholars based on the placement of the paintings in retroactive lists Ingres made of his painted work in his famous *cahiers*, or notebooks, now in the Musée Ingres at Montauban.

<sup>185</sup> Whether Marcotte commissioned Ingres to draw portraits of both Cordier and Devillers is unknown, but he certainly acquired these two drawn portraits, perhaps preparatory sketches, from the artist at some point, for they were both found in the possession of Marcotte's heirs following his death. Hans Naef, "Ingres et M. Cordier," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 20, no. 2 (1970): 86.

<sup>186</sup> See *Camille de Tournon* 2001, 105-108 for a description of the land under Franco-Roman control.

<sup>187</sup> Toussaint 1985, 42-43.

<sup>188</sup> *Enregistrement des Domaines* is a public service of the Finance Ministry that watches over government land, surveys it, protects it, and sees how it can be made most useful. The *Directeur des Eaux et Forêts* also reports to the Finance Ministry but is specifically in charge of lumber and water resources for the whole of the designated territory.

<sup>189</sup> For more on the role of land management in the Napoleonic era, see Paula Jean Warrick, "Portraits of a Caste: Ingres, the Circle of Charles Marcotte d'Argenteuil, and the Bureaucratic Image, 1810-1864" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Delaware, 1996), 15-20.

order to maximize its potential usefulness to the French nation—timber for its ships, for example. Ingres’s way of depicting his subjects outside in distinctly Roman locations which they inevitably dominate is hardly coincidental; the painted subjects rule over the landscape as effectively as did their flesh-and-blood counterparts.

The portrait that most closely resembles the format of *Granet* is Ingres’s painting of the Napoleonic administrator, *Pierre-Louis-Antoine Cordier* (1811) (Figure 1.23).<sup>190</sup> The ominous clouds swirling over his head and the casual lean of the sitter against the wall harken back to the *Granet* prototype. Not much has been uncovered about Cordier’s personal life, but we know he was an “*Inspecteur d’Enregistrement*,” a job which did not endear him to the locals as it involved looking at the use—and punishing the misuse—of government land.<sup>191</sup> Certain reports would have us believe that he traveled widely for his job, out to areas in Lazio far beyond the city.<sup>192</sup> He certainly would have gone to Tivoli, either in his official capacity as inspector or to take in the sights.

Ingres depicted Cordier leaning against a rocky outcrop of a ravine. Behind the outcrop, we see the famous wooden bridge crossing the ravine depicted in many views of Tivoli’s waterfalls, and the ruined Temple of the Sibyl beyond that. Though this viewpoint at first glance seems natural, containing as it does various signifiers of Tivoli, it is missing other important sites in the town: there is no cascading waterfall below Cordier and no Temple to Hercules sharing the outcrop of the Temple of the Sibyl. The viewpoint, in other words, is as invented as Batoni’s roman *vedute*. Ingres’s use of the ravine helps his odd spatial recession seem believable; peppering it with recognizable sites helps the viewer to feel that one must be looking at Tivoli, even if that place depicted is nonexistent.

The Temple of the Sibyl is not only depicted as a picturesque nod to the local beauties of Rome, but also to forge a link between the Ancient past of Rome and its ordered, stable future under Napoleonic Rule.<sup>193</sup> The calmness of Cordier, leaning his hand on the illuminated crag and facing the viewer with the collected look of a functionary who has everything under control, is the lasting impression of this painting. Despite the changing sky behind him and the dark clouds loosing sheets of rain, he is unperturbed and unmovable. Unlike several of his colleagues who were depicted indoors, Cordier is simply dressed: in an outdoor blue coat with prominently brassy buttons. Nevertheless, the marks of his gentility—a top hat and intricate fob watch—display his wealth and social status. The red swath pinned to his left lapel, a Legion of Honor ribbon, indicates his decorated status amongst those loyal to Napoleon.<sup>194</sup> This accent stands out as brightly as his fob watch. In many of Ingres’s male portraits from this period, various allusions are made to the subject’s Napoleonic affiliation. In Cordier’s portrait, these allusions

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<sup>190</sup> There is some speculation as to whether Cordier’s portrait was painted before or after Moltedo’s. The Metropolitan Museum of Art dates Moltedo’s portrait to c. 1810 (*Image of an Epoch*, 125). There is no readable signature, however, on *Moltedo*—it was probably cut off when the painting was cut down. Therefore, its dating is relative. The *Cordier* portrait is signed and dated 1811.

<sup>191</sup> Naef, in “Ingres et M. Cordier,” 84, quotes from Louis Madelin’s iconic history of Rome under Napoleon, *La Rome de Napoléon* (Paris, 1906), 463, n. 3, which states that Cordier was attacked by locals and nearly killed in the area around the Lazio town of Rieti. It should be added that this hilltop town towered over a fertile plain, all of which had been Papal land before the Napoleonic invasion.

<sup>192</sup> Toussaint 1985, 42-43.

<sup>193</sup> These temples were built in the Roman Republican period—they were not Imperial in origin. It is unclear if this would have been known to either the painter or the subject in 1811. Thanks to Meg Andrews for pointing this out to me in our conversation at Tivoli, June 28, 2012.

<sup>194</sup> Rosenblum 1986, 88-89.

can be found in both the setting, pertinent to Cordier's job as *Inspecteur des Enregistrements des Domaines*, and in Cordier's sartorial choices.

Joseph-Antoine Moltedo, another Napoleonic subject whom Ingres depicted outside in Rome, sports his symbol of allegiance to Napoleon in the black Napoleonic *bicorné* hat he holds, which is pushed up against the right side of the picture plane (Figure 1.24).<sup>195</sup> This hat is made of beaver fur. It is decorated with a gold tassel on the side closest to the viewer as well as a crumpled cockade on the side furthest from us.<sup>196</sup> The cockade remained a symbol of French patriotism during the Empire and would probably have been a rather provocative symbol to wear in French-occupied Rome.

Moltedo's backdrop is composed of the Colosseum to the right, and, to the left, a stretch of road leading to a palazzo bordered by two umbrella pines. Ingres's placement of the Colosseum behind Moltedo differs dramatically from Batoni's use and depiction of the building in *Colonel the Honorable William Gordon*. Both Moltedo and the Colonel stand before the object in question, but the Colonel seems to be prancing before a large-scale model of it, the building as much on display as he is. In contrast, Moltedo's body covers most of the building, cutting it off mid-circle. Moltedo's Colosseum is most visible in the light coming through the apertures. Like the Temple of the Sibyl in Cordier's portrait, the Colosseum seems dainty and precious: an accessory to Moltedo not much different than his hat. The hat eclipses the building's lower floors with its black mass. French dress, or more appropriately, French accessorizing in the form of the Napoleonic hat, takes on the monumental importance of culture by upstaging that which was an eternal symbol of the city.

The very inclusion of the Colosseum in Moltedo's background would have had distinct political connotations to his contemporaries as the French were currently undertaking large-scale excavations at the Colosseum. This massive project, which included removing layers of dirt from the interior and concocting temporary preservation methods for the ruins uncovered, employed a fair number of local Romans, all of whom were paid by the French. Napoleon himself had ordered that this excavation be a top priority of the *Consulta*; minor works began in 1809 and a larger, more systematic program of restoration was begun in 1811.<sup>197</sup> For Napoleonic viewers, the classically Roman landscape behind Moltedo would have had distinctly French allusions.

Even the man who Ingres places walking on the road to the left of Moltedo is a comment on the administrator's Napoleonic allegiance. This small figure can be identified as brigand due to his traditional hat and walking stick. He has been placed there to remind the viewer of Napoleon's aggressive anti-brigandage policies. These laws were increasingly violated as brigandage increased throughout the Napoleonic period; travelers were coerced or attacked by local peasants or city-dwellers who could no longer rely on the clergy's charity to support them.<sup>198</sup> The brigands preyed most on the travellers using the roads leading to and from Rome, the roads Moltedo needed to be secure for his post as director of the mail service to be a success.

In addition to directing the mail service, Moltedo tried his hand at various business ventures uniquely possible because of his Roman residence. He ran a fur-trading business near Rome, another import-export business, and a bank located in Piazza Sant'Eustaccio. He owned a

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<sup>195</sup> Count Gouriev, a Russian diplomat, is the last man Ingres depicts outdoors in the Roman campagna (1821). Rosenblum 1986, 120-121.

<sup>196</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 126.

<sup>197</sup> For more on the French excavation of the Colosseum, see Ridley 1992, 109-126.

<sup>198</sup> For more on the rise of brigandage and Tournon's efforts to control it, see *Camille de Tournon* 2001, 31.

lead mine in Tivoli, and is believed to have invented both the fire engine and a machine for spinning hemp.<sup>199</sup> He profited from France's annexation of Rome by creating businesses that depended upon Rome's new status as a province of France and upon the postal system that he ran. In order to become the modern colony France had hoped for, Rome needed industry; products that Moltedo invented would have fostered that. His purchase of a lead mine in Tivoli was no doubt facilitated by the activities of his friends over in the *Domaines et Enregistrements*. It is probable that Moltedo also profited from the seizure of papal land and the deconsecrating of convent spaces as did Hippolyte-François Devillers, another of Ingres's sitters.<sup>200</sup> Working for the Napoleonic government in Rome provided ways to make money outside of one's position due merely to the business and land opportunities provided by the particular circumstances of that region's annexation.

This wealth and its origins in the service of Napoleon are alluded to in most of Ingres's portraits of men in interiors as well. This second type of male portrait was chosen by Marcotte, Edme Bochet the younger, Devillers, and Jacques Marquet, Baron de Montbreton de Norvins. Devillers was the *Directeur d'Enregistrements et des Domaines* and Norvins was the chief of the French Police in Rome. Whereas Ingres's portraits of men outdoors are marked by the plainly dressed subject's dominance over the land, the indoor portraits are marked by allusions to Napoleonic rank as well as the symbols of luxury, in dress or décor, that characterize the feminine portraits. Of the four men Ingres painted in interiors, Marcotte's and Bochet's portraits are the simplest.

*Granet* in many ways is the jumping off point for Ingres's *Marcotte*. Both men wear a dark coat, but instead of Granet's more basic black overcoat, Marcotte sports a luxurious blue velour one. Marcotte's pose mirrors Granet's, but instead of grasping a sketchbook as Granet's hand does, Marcotte's hand takes the position of the subject in Bronzino's *Portrait of a Young Man* (Figure 1.25). This unknown subject famously clasps a book, his very long fingers lost between the pages; Marcotte's hand holds no such book, but might have at one time held a piece of paper—there are creases in the paint in a rectangular shape around his fingers, as if a rectangular object has been painted over and has since half-disappeared in the darkest folds of Marcotte's cloak.<sup>201</sup> In Ingres's earliest drawing of him, he is also holding a piece of paper; it is unclear why it might have been painted over in the final painting.

Evidence of Marcotte's position within the Empire can be found on the table beside him in the folded bicorne hat. The hat is of a similar style and is accented with the same gold tassel as the hat that Moltedo was clutching in his portrait. There was perhaps once a cockade on this hat as well, but, as Marcotte served under many of the following governments, such a political statement might have been painted out. Instead of a red swatch, the *Directeur* sports a little red medallion of the Legion of Honor. Like Edme Bochet the younger and Cordier, the subject also wears an intricate fob watch. Along with the gold ring and gold tassel, the watch bestows a sense of delicate luxury that brightens the bottom half of Marcotte's otherwise massive form. These little details are akin to the ring on Madame Panckoucke née Bochet's finger in her portrait by Ingres or the detail of the gold fan in *Madame Devaucey*. In *Marcotte*, Ingres used traditional markers of femininity—here delicate rings and luxurious clothing—to signify the wealth accumulated by one man.

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<sup>199</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 125.

<sup>200</sup> For more on Devillers, see Hans Naef and Charle Lerch, "Ingres et M. Devillers" *Bulletin du Musée Ingres* 15 (Sept. 1964): 5-16.

<sup>201</sup> This is true even in drawings. See *Image of an Epoch*, 124.

Clothing, then, becomes a marker for men of their profession and the status of that profession in a meritocratic Napoleonic society. Besides being a mark of power and allegiance, clothing is also, as with Ingres's female portraits of the same period, a sign of wealth. As Ingres's painted women reclining in couches seem to be swallowed whole by their billowing silks, so too does Marcotte's body seem to be swathed in the comparable richness of his layers of velour. Marcotte's face only emerges from the dark clothing and dark background thanks to the strong lighting contrast and to a trick of coloring not found in the Granet picture, or indeed any other of these male portraits: the yellow vest contrasting with his white necktie. His clothes and accessories reveal more security of rank than his slightly nervous-looking expression might lead one to believe.

If Marcotte is slightly overdressed, then Devilliers, who served as the *Directeur de l'Enregistrement et des Domaines* in Rome from 1811 to 1813, is far more so in Ingres's 1811 portrait of him (Figure 1.26).<sup>202</sup> He wears his official court uniform in this painting, which, in comparison to the other men Ingres depicts, makes him seem fussily overdressed. He looks as if he should be waiting on a king, not working to better the nation.<sup>203</sup> His elaborate, silver-braided coat, the ceremonial jeweled sword dangling from his waist, and the silver-trimmed, folded bicorne hat under his arm mark him as Napoleon's man. Ingres drew at least two portraits of him and painted one; he is thought to have struck up a friendship with his sitter, for he remembered Devillers fondly in his correspondence with Marcotte a few years later.<sup>204</sup> In the drawings, Devilliers wears the simple overcoat of Granet and Marcotte; in the painted portrait, however, he wears the dark dress coat (*frac*) embroidered with wheat and grape vine designs in silver. Devilliers also sports a ruffled lace *jabot*, not a tied cravat like the others, which cascades down the front of his richly embroidered jacket.<sup>205</sup> He holds a snuffbox, as some of David's sitters do: an element which could be seen as connoting a gentlemanly status.<sup>206</sup>

Devilliers, like Marcotte, indulges in luxury; the delicate ring on his left hand is even more elaborate than Marcotte's, as it is jeweled. The lace ruffle around his hand and the delicate rendering of the embroidery on the coat recall the carefully embroidered shawl of Ingres's portrait of Camille de Tournon's mother, the *Comtesse de Tournon* (Figure 1.27) (1812). The ceremonial sword Devilliers carries is rendered in such a way that it is emasculated of its point. Rather than making the figure more imposing, the sword and the snuffbox serve as additional baubles of adornment. Devilliers's body is more slender and less massively imposing than his compatriots, taking up less of the picture plane. He looks the part of Ancien Regime courtier, yet has the determined face and set jawline of one who has worked his way up to the top.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>203</sup> Naef and Lerch "Ingres et M. Devillers," 6.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 5, 10-12. The portrait Ingres painted of him may have predated both drawings, dated as they are to 1811 (Private Collection) and 1812 (Morgan Library).

<sup>205</sup> *Images of an Epoch*, 136.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Naef in his article "Ingres et M. Devillers," says that this was the uniform was officially revealed on December 7, 1803 for *Directeurs des Contributions Directes* (6). His information on the uniform derives from Madeleine Delpierre, "Les Costumes de Cour et les Uniformes Civils du Premier Empire," *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet* (November 1958): 6 and 22, n.50. The description of the uniform is: "'Habit froit et culotte de drap vert, veste blanche brodée en argent d'épis et de feuilles de vigne, chapeau français avec ganse d'argent et petit bouton, une épée. Boutons en métal blanc ayant au pourtour des pampres et au milieu Contributions Directes.'"

The symbolism of the motifs on Devillers's coat, the sheaves of wheat and the vine, point to Devillers's job as a director of *Domaines and Enregistrements*. They could be thought of as representing the riches of the land that Devillers was responsible for surveying. One can infer from the contracts Devillers entered into after leaving Rome in 1816 to become *Directeur des Enregistrements et des Domaines de la Haute-Saône* that he had bought land in Rome, land over which he was now having trouble exerting his property rights. This would lead one to believe that this land was part of the parcel that had been seized by Napoleon from the Pope and bought by men like Devillers. In 1816, however, the Pope would reclaim these lands.<sup>208</sup> Devillers's portrait looks the part of one who would directly have profited from the kind of work that he undertook; he does not dress in an understated fashion like Marcotte, Moltedo and Cordier, but rather wears his rank on his sleeve, quite literally. His position at court, though lower than either Marcotte's or Bochet's positions, mattered to him enough to have himself represented ostentatiously. Unlike Cordier or Moltedo, Devillers did not choose to be represented with the great cultural monuments of Rome behind him; he does not seem invested in Rome, only in the wealth and status his work there might bring him.

Of all the portraits Ingres painted in Rome, that of Jacques Marquet, Baron de Norvins would, in its original state, have made the most direct reference to its subject's relationship to Napoleon (1811) (Figure 1.28). Today, the painting depicts a man leaning slightly on an Empire-style chair, itself oddly swaddled in a red curtain; his pose is the reverse of Marcotte's. In contrast with Marcotte's figure, however, Norvin's figure is silhouetted against a floral-patterned deep red damask. Norvin's pose reverses that of Marcotte's. As in other portraits of male Napoleonic officials, Ingres has been sure to aggrandize his subject. Norvins appears unmovable, his triangular frame fanning out to the bottom of the canvas. His velvety coat dissolves into one dark mass; the red moiré cloth which indicates his membership in the Legion of Honor is the only thing that stands out from it.

Among the French officials depicted by Ingres, Norvins was Napoleon's loudest champion. Born into a wealthy provincial family, Norvins was a lawyer at the Chatelet law court in Paris before the Revolution broke out, whereupon he immigrated to Switzerland. He returned to France in 1797, only to be arrested as an émigré and imprisoned for two years.<sup>209</sup> Freed by Napoleon's rise to power, he became the secretary-general of General Leclerc in Saint-Domingue. When Leclerc died there from yellow fever, Norvins returned to France and became a member of the elite cavalry unit, the *Gendarmes d'Ordonnance*, which served with Napoleon's army in Mainz.<sup>210</sup> He was awarded the Legion of Honor in April of 1807. Six months later he resigned his army post for civil service work in the newly held province of Westphalia; he held various high-ranking secretarial posts there, even accompanying Marie-Louise, the new Empress of the French, to France when she wed Napoleon in 1810. Norvins was named Chief of Police of the Roman States shortly thereafter and took office in January 1811.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Naef and Lerch "Ingres et M. Devillers," 8. These issues were no closer to being resolved at the death of Devillers in 1837 than they were in 1816; his wife had to petition the executors of his will to replace Devillers's agent in Rome with a new one who would look over the goods and properties in question and see that they were rightfully transferred to his heirs under Roman law.

<sup>209</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 140.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

He moved in the highest circles in Rome as in Paris—both Stendhal and Madame Recamier knew him well enough to comment on his personality.<sup>212</sup> Little is known about his work as chief of police or whether he was actually good at it; having worked in Westphalia and Saint Domingue, however, he must have been familiar with the problems of bringing French ways to new colonies. Recalled to France in February 1814 after Murat took over Rome, Norvins remained a staunch supporter of Napoleon, to the point of being exiled at the definitive return of Louis XVIII in 1815 for a pamphlet he had produced during the Hundred Days that was critical of the latter's reign. Retaining his admiration and support for Napoleon throughout the Restoration and the July Monarchy, Norvins wrote a highly successful biography of Napoleon and published it in 1827.<sup>213</sup>

Norvins's personal history is essential to an understanding of the Napoleonic *pentimenti* in the painting. Norvins does not carry a *bicorne* hat, but the *ameublement* of the room bears witness to his allegiance. To the right of Norvins on a table rests a bronze bust of a female deity whose pedestal proclaims her to be "Rom."<sup>214</sup> The rest of the word and most of her face is cut off by the limits of the canvas. Judging from how lightly painted she is (we can see the damask wallpaper's print bleeding through the surface of her cheek and her neck) and her cursory position at the edge of the painting—just an inch away from Norvins's arm—"Rom" seems to have been an afterthought added in haste to an already completed painting.<sup>215</sup>

Meant to be an image of the Goddess Roma, no doubt placed there as a reminder to the viewer of Norvins's position, she is in fact a copy of a marble Minerva bust at the Vatican.<sup>216</sup> The bust is signed with Ingres's name. Had this statue been added to the picture later, as I surmise, Ingres's original signature would have been found elsewhere: perhaps on the element that the thinly painted red drape at the left of the painting was meant to hide. Today, the *pentimenti* are readily visible to the naked eye but even easier to discern with infrared photos.<sup>217</sup> Above the back of the chair upon which Norvins rests his arm, one sees a tall column emerge from underneath the drapery. Atop the column sits a sculpted portrait bust (Figure 1.29).

The portrait bust is the only thing above Norvins's head in this picture. It most likely represented the portrait of the Roi de Rome, Napoleon's son, as sculpted by Ingres's fellow *pensionnaire* Ruxthiel (Figure 1.30).<sup>218</sup> The Roi de Rome was born in March of 1811, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the painting. More so than a picture of Napoleon, this vision of the young Prince for whom all of Rome was being remade in the French style would have to be painted out with France's definitive return to the monarchy in 1815. The Roi de Rome represented Napoleon's dynastic ambitions, which were parallel to and thus incompatible with those of the Bourbon family. After the Hundred Days, Napoleon's supporters were brutally repressed; any sign of support not only for Napoleon, but also for his dynastic ambitions would have to disappear. When Ingres was working on the painting, however, the addition of the Roi de Rome's portrait would have been the most appropriate marker of Napoleonic fealty; it

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 142 and 143, n.4.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 142-143.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 140-142.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>217</sup> The National Gallery in London displays copies of these infrared images on the wall next to the painting.

<sup>218</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 142, and Christopher Baker and Tom Henry, eds., *The National Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1995), 323.

revealed one's support of the Napoleonic dynasty's expansion into Italy and domination over the cultural production of Rome.

The replacement of the King of Rome's bust with that of Roma is a move typical of Napoleonic apologists, then and now: to replace the image of kingship and domination with one of service to the state. One has only to think of Napoleon's tomb at the Ecole Militaire in Paris, constructed from 1842-1861, which emphasizes his work reforming the Civil Code and improving Parisian infrastructure. Camille de Tournon, prefect of Rome from 1811-1814, wrote in his *Etudes Statistiques* of 1831 that Napoleon's greatest contribution to Rome had been in leaving the city better ordered than it was under Papal rule.<sup>219</sup> In other words, Rome needed the enlightened rationalism of the French to number their streets, to excavate their monuments, to install a non-corrupt legal system and a codified, clear, law. Much of these systems were adopted by the Roman Papal Administration during the Restoration. The French had been there, the revisionist history tells us, not to serve Napoleon and France, but to serve Rome: to make Rome a better, more ordered city and to improve the lives of its citizens by implementing a secular government.<sup>220</sup> Ingres did not have to add anything Norvin's portrait once he had painted out the Roi de Rome, but he chose to insert the goddess Roma—a representation of a generalized woman as opposed to a specific man—at the expense of a balanced composition in order to mark Norvin's service to the French state. Note that Roma is placed below Norvin in the picture plane, whereas the Roi de Rome was placed above him. The French in could still be portrayed as dominating Roma after 1814—just not in the service of Napoleon.

The portraits of men in interior settings that Ingres painted in Rome include increasing amounts of detail; this is true for Ingres's female portraits as well. In 1814, Ingres depicted Madame de Sennones (Marie Marcoz), the mistress of the Vicomte Alexandre de Sennones, almost enthroned in the silk luxury of her golden couch. Her shawl swirling around her, she is enveloped by the dense fabric of the pillows. A lace collar sits atop her shoulders, and her red velvet and silver satin dress cascades down her arms to her lace-accented wrists. Upon her nimble fingers there are many rings. Her delicate, bejeweled head is replicated in a mirror behind her: Ingres's first use of this device in a painting. *Madame de Sennones's* cocoon of luxury presents a marked contrast to the setting of the first woman painted by Ingres in the Marcotte years: Madame Panckoucke, née Bochet. The tone of the subjects is very different, for Ingres's *Madame Panckoucke* more closely resembles Davidian female portraiture in the choice of a sober background color and simple if fashionable jewelry. The coral Madame Panckoucke wears was imported from Naples, thus signaling the Roman origins of this painting. The attitude of the sitter, however, is similar to *Caroline Rivière*, one of Ingres's pre-Rome painted portraits (Figure 1.31).

*Madame Panckoucke* and the portrait of her brother, Edme Bochet (1811) seem to have been intended as pendants.<sup>221</sup> The sitters are both set into oval frames and face each other. Made on the model of Marcotte's and Madame Devaucey's portraits, each Bochet sibling cleverly takes on characteristics Ingres often ascribes to the opposite gender in order to match one another. Edme Bochet the younger does not fill up the picture plane as Marcotte does; his form is not triangular, but slender at the bottom of the canvas like his sister's. Neither of the subjects leans against anything, as Ingres's gentlemen and seated ladies are wont to do. Both stand upright—atypical for Ingres's female sitters—fidgeting with their hands and looking at the

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<sup>219</sup> Tournon 1855 I, VI-VII.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 135.

viewer. Bochet-the-younger is stripped of all Napoleonic references in order to be paired with his sister, whose only indicator of *Romanitas* is her coral jewelry. Edme's widow's peak matches the curl in the center of Cecile's forehead; their expressions are very similar and the placement of his top hat and walking stick mirror her shawl, which was originally draped around her back but which Ingres painted out at the last moment leaving it only her arm.<sup>222</sup> Both Edme and Cecile are relatively simply dressed: she in a white dress, he in a brown overcoat and white shirt and tie. Both have one gloved hand. She wears relatively little jewelry, characteristic more of Ingres's early male portraits than his female ones. In order for these portraits to look like pendants, the man must become more precious and less imposing while the woman must remain upright and avoid sinking into luxury.

The two most powerful people whose portraits Ingres painted while in Rome were women: the mother of the Prefect of Rome and the Queen of Naples. The *Comtesse de Tournon* (1812) is by far more typical of Ingres's work. She is seated in a green Empire chair, which matches the sumptuous green velvet of her dress. Her body is lost in the curve of the white flower-embroidered shawl and in the folds of green velvet around her. Her cascading veil obscures the other side of her body but also marks her as distinctly feminine despite her advanced age—as does the lace frill about her neck. She is surrounded by luxury, but unlike her youthful counterparts, she does not sink into it. Her firm set mouth, large nose, and sharp eyes tell a story of a woman who is always in control. Neither she nor Caroline Murat has an easy way about them.

Caroline Murat's portrait, rediscovered in 1987 in a private collection, belongs more to the realm of Ingres's male portraits than female portraits (Figure 1.32).<sup>223</sup> Like Baron de Norvins in his portrait, she is surrounded by accoutrements that display her wealth and power. The Empire-style furnishings that garnish the room display Caroline's exquisite taste and ability to command great resources to cater to it. Records from the Palazzo Reale show that the Murats spent a great amount of time and money redecorating the Bourbon-styled palazzo with fine Empire style furnishings, paintings, and *boiseries*.<sup>224</sup> Even today, nearly every room bears the mark of their remodeling or features an item from their collection. The museum still houses the same type of chair and chandelier as the ones featured in Ingres's painting. The famous tiled terrace outside the window that looks onto the bay is also still in place.<sup>225</sup>

Ingres managed to squeeze all of these details describing the palace environment into a canvas much smaller than any of his contemporary portraits: the *Baron de Norvins* (1811) is 37% bigger and *Madame de Senonnes* is 61% bigger than *Caroline Murat* (1814).<sup>226</sup> This difference in size is more dramatic given that *Caroline Murat* was, to date, his only full-length standing

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<sup>222</sup> Toussaint 1985, 46.

<sup>223</sup> Identified only as of 1987. For more, see Hans Naef, "Un chef d'oeuvre retrouvée: le portrait de la Reine Caroline Murat par Ingres," *Revue de l'Art* 88 (1990): 11-20. Carol Ockman treats this painting extensively in her second chapter of *Ingres's Eroticized Bodies* (Ockman, 33-65).

<sup>224</sup> This suggests the large number of furnishings that were bought for them, since many more are in storage or were destroyed by the bombs that fell on the palace in World War II. Conversation with Dr. Annalisa Porzio, Director of Art History, Palazzo Reale, Naples. October 5, 2012. See also Annalisa Porzio, *L'Inventario della Regina Margherita di Savoia: dipinti tra Ottocento e Novecento a Palazzo Reale di Napoli* (Napoli: Arte Tipografica Editrice, 2004).

<sup>225</sup> The chandelier has since been moved to another room.

<sup>226</sup> This math, which has been verified by doctoral candidates in the field, stems from the measurements for these paintings given in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Images of an Epoch* catalogue. The dimensions of *Caroline Murat*: 92 x 60 cm. For *Madame de Senonnes*: 106 x 84 cm. For *Baron de Norvins*: 97 x 79 cm.

painted portrait. The small canvas and the “*portrait en pied*” aspect could combine to make her look more precious, but Ingres’s compositional tactics combat that preciousness by having her body assume the triangular mass of Ingres’s male sitters. Though she does not take up the entire space of the picture plane as Moltedo might, the somber color of her outfit creates a similar sense of amassed strength and power as the dark coats imbued to Ingres’s men. Furthermore, Ingres depicted her with her fingers between the pages of a book, a gesture borrowed from Bronzino that Ingres had already used in Marcotte’s portrait.<sup>227</sup> Caroline dominates the landscape behind her with the confidence of Cordier, Granet, and Moltedo: the smoke from Vesuvius does not bother her, nor even reach to the top of her plumed hat.

Like Ingres’s portrait of her brother, *Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul* (1804), to which this work is often compared, Caroline is positioned indoors, with the window opening onto the land for which she is responsible—here not the city of Liege but the thriving port of Naples with Vesuvius—and the Ancient Roman civilization it represented—placed behind and literally beneath her.<sup>228</sup> Ingres also takes care to paint in the iconic tiled terrace of Piano Nobile of the Palazzo Reale in Naples, the Bourbon-built palace that was now Murat’s home (Figure 1.33). Caroline is depicted in full control not only of the affairs of state represented by her book, but also of the vast expanse of the bay (trade) and land (fertile farmland) behind her. This would have been a particularly important trait to emphasize in the Spring of 1814 when this painting was being realized, as Caroline was the acting regent of Naples, her husband Joachim having left to secure his Austrian-endorsed claim to Naples and the Papal States in the face of Napoleon’s downfall.<sup>229</sup>

Caroline Murat, née Bonaparte, is said to have been one of the strongest women Napoleon ever knew. She was married in 1807 to Joachim Murat, one of Napoleon’s brightest and flashiest generals, and together, the two of them were given the Kingdom of Naples to rule in 1808 (Figure 1.34). They ruled it until the May of 1815. Having at first sided with the Austrians in the hope of preserving their kingdom throughout 1814, Joachim Murat then rallied to Napoleon during the Hundred Days, for which he was punished by death from a firing squad in October 1815 when once again the Third Coalition took the upper hand.<sup>230</sup> Caroline, finding herself the subject of a popular uprising in May of 1815, fled the city with the help of a British ship.<sup>231</sup>

Because the Murats had separated themselves from Napoleon’s regime in January of 1814, Ingres clung to the hope that this family would remain one of his few consistent patrons in Italy. His hope was not unfounded, as they had bought or commissioned numerous works from him. After Joachim Murat’s purchase of the now-lost *Dormeuse de Naples* at the Salon of 1809 in Rome, Ingres was commissioned by the Murats to paint a pendant piece to the subject, which became *La Grande Odalisque* (1814) (Figure 1.35). He was also commissioned to paint the portrait of Caroline Murat and her family, and sold them two genre subjects: *Paolo and Francesca* and the *Betrothal of Raphael* (Figures 1.36 and 1.37).<sup>232</sup> He was never to be paid for

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<sup>227</sup> See *Image of an Epoch*, 146.

<sup>228</sup> Ockman 1995, 45, and *Image of an Epoch*, 146.

<sup>229</sup> Ockman was the first to make the point that the timing of this portrait is quite bizarre given the tenuous nature of the Murat’s claim to the Neapolitan throne in Spring of 1814 (Ockman 1995, 47).

<sup>230</sup> For a rather dramatic yet historical interpretation of these events, see Hubert Cole, *The Betrayers—Joachim and Caroline Murat* (London, Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1972).

<sup>231</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 147.

<sup>232</sup> Naef “Caroline Murat,” 12. See also *Image of an Epoch*, 144.

the portrait of Caroline or the *Grande Odalisque* due to the political upheaval in the Italian peninsula. In the early months of 1814, this was still unknown to him. He knew only that they were rich French patrons who seemed to appreciate his style and his most likely source of income now that Rome was emptying itself of French bureaucrats.

According to Carol Ockman, who has written extensively about Caroline Murat's portrait, the work is inscribed within a competitive circle of commissions ordered by prominent female patrons.<sup>233</sup> These include Madame Recamier and Paolina Borghese, Caroline's sister. Madame Recamier and Paolina are represented in reclining poses in their respective portraits by David (1800) and Canova (1804-1808) (Figures 1.38 and 1.39).<sup>234</sup> Caroline, on the other hand, commissioned a full length "*portrait en pied*," from Ingres, which is not only odd given that this is the only full length-portrait Ingres made in Rome, but also in the ways in which it differs markedly from those of her fellow patronesses. This difference, Ockman believes, is probably due to Caroline's character; whereas the first two were renowned for their wit, beauty and charm, Caroline was known for her intelligence and her lust for power.<sup>235</sup> Ockman argues that the sexual charm and actual political power of these women were considered unnatural, which made them threatening to men; they all wanted to be represented in ways that would show them wielding the kind of power they possessed.<sup>236</sup>

Caroline's case is further complicated because of her simultaneous commissioning of her own portrait and of the *Grande Odalisque* for her husband.<sup>237</sup> Though there was apparently some confusion over the fact in 1814, the *Grande Odalisque* was not supposed to represent the Queen herself.<sup>238</sup> Caroline's power, however, did not lie in her sexuality but in her intellect: she was the Athena to Paolina's Venus. In many ways, Ingres's portrait accentuates this; her head, the only flesh-colored spot in an otherwise dark mass of cloth threatening to engulf her, is her essential attribute. While there is little of the outright sexual in Caroline's portrait, there is much of the sensual, displayed in Ingres's loving treatment of the fabric of the dress, the table cloth, and the curtains. The little curls of her hair peeking out from her enormous hat caress her face softly. Her bright, hard eyes, however, challenge us to interpret that beauty as docile domesticity.<sup>239</sup> Caroline's portrait is outside of the realm of easy sexuality; her commission of the *Grande Odalisque* signals her participation in that world but she herself does not enter into it. Ingres's representation of Caroline is not at risk of reducing her to a mere sexual object, a risk incurred by Paolina's representation as *Venus Victrix*.<sup>240</sup> Caroline can therefore consume sexualized images of women, like Recamier and Paolina, without being an image consumed.<sup>241</sup>

In *Caroline Murat*, Ingres successfully combines the ruler portrait, exemplified by Wicar's portraits of Joachim Murat, for example, and the Roman French bureaucrat portrait. Ingres locates Caroline firmly within the land that she controls, ultimately bringing Vesuvius closer to the picture plane than it could have been seen from a window of the Piano Nobile. The manipulation is only clear, however, if one has actually seen the view from the palace—otherwise, much like Moltedo's Colosseum backdrop, the view seems believable. Controversy

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<sup>233</sup> Ockman 1995, 39-41.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 45-48.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 39. The *Grande Odalisque* will be discussed later in this dissertation.

<sup>238</sup> See Ockman 1995 for this debate, 35-38.

<sup>239</sup> The "...ideology of domesticity is not dominant" in Caroline's portrait (Ockman 1995, 45).

<sup>240</sup> Ockman 1995, 48.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

rages in Ingres scholarship today about Ingres's landscapes in the back of his painted and drawn portraits: was he capable of painting landscapes?<sup>242</sup> Did he have Granet paint them, as Cordier's heirs suggested when they left his portrait to the Louvre?<sup>243</sup> Even the curators at Montauban, Ingres's hometown and home to the biggest collection of Ingres's work on paper, have acknowledged that many of the drawn landscapes in Ingres's *cahiers inédits* are not his own.<sup>244</sup> The drawing of Vesuvius, however, has been authenticated as an Ingres original by most scholars because it bears his characteristic notations of color next to outlined forms (Figure 1.40).<sup>245</sup> Its "accuracy"—Ingres certainly could have been there, seen it, and drawn it—is not particularly relevant to the final product, however. What matters is the impression it lends the painting. The volcano's unnatural largeness and whimsicality, with the smoke rising to paraphrase Caroline's shoulder and the shape of her hat, serve to emphasize her connection to the region and her dominion over it.

Ingres's trick of making fantasy landscapes, that is, making the landscape behind the person "untrue"—too big to be in perfect perspective and only selectively truthful in terms of the details of the scene around the monument in question—was not performed out of ignorance or inability. His "Vesuvius" reveals that he could certainly draw landscapes well and that he understood the rules of perspective. Like any young *pensionnaire*, Ingres would have gone out into the Campagna Romana to paint with his *pensionnaire* friends and collect images of ruins and bits of landscape to bring back with him, possibly for use in the backgrounds of future history paintings and portraits.<sup>246</sup> Ingres was not interested, as Batoni deliberately was, in revealing a man's good taste by placing him outside near a statue of great cultural import normally found in the Capitoline. Instead, Ingres used landscape as a place-marker: not a having-been-there memento, but a notation of being and remaining there.

The features Ingres represented in his portraits—the Temple of the Sibyl, the Colosseum, and Vesuvius—were places laced with Roman history, part of the Latin-based cultural diet on which these bureaucrats were fed. The land Ingres painted behind them was infused with a universalized Roman past, one that the French were co-opting as their own in these paintings as in contemporary policy. Evidence confirming this is that Saint Peter's Cathedral is not represented in any painted backgrounds until British sitters request it after 1815. Ingres used landscape symbolically to underline the work of the French men and women he painted who believed they were caring for the symbols that stood behind them: the ruins and resources they were in charge of managing. Ingres, through his *beaux-arts* training, and these bureaucrats and rulers, though their work, were both inheritors of Rome's past as well as guarantors of its future.

Opportunities in Napoleonic Rome were available to French artists who wished to partake of them. Some, like the Salon of 1809, were created in part to promote the works of young *pensionnaires* who would not be able to get such attention as newcomers in Paris. The closed social world of the French bureaucrats in Rome created opportunities for employment within it; one successful portrait could lead easily to the next. Ingres's service as court painter to the Bochet-Marcotte circle is evidence not only of the closeness of these relationships, but also

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<sup>242</sup> For the frequently debated points in this controversy, see: Hélène Toussaint, "Les Fonds de Portraits d'Ingres: Peintures à Fond de Paysages" *Bulléin du Musée Ingres* 63-64 (1990): 58-65; Gary Tinterow and Asher E. Miller in *Ingres* 2006, 80-86; *Image of an Epoch*, 116-121, 125-127, 525-529.

<sup>243</sup> Naef "Ingres et M. Cordier," 83, n. 1.

<sup>244</sup> A certain "Maître des Petit Points" is allegedly responsible for many of them. *Image of an Epoch*, 527-529.

<sup>245</sup> Naef "Caroline Murat," 15-16.

<sup>246</sup> *Maesta di Roma* II, 280-283.

of the desire of the French, acknowledged in the manner in which Ingres depicted them, to be represented as working for Rome and for the Empire.

This bounty would only last as long as the Empire itself. A letter from *pensionnaire* Michel-Martin Drolling to his father in 1816 discusses staying in Rome after his fellowship had expired. He would like to stay, Drolling writes, for Rome suits him more than Paris, but he is afraid he will not find enough work to sustain himself.<sup>247</sup> “Even Ingres is having trouble...” he noted, as if Ingres’s position was the best one could hope for—the epitome of connectedness in the Roman world.<sup>248</sup> Yet we know that Ingres, throughout his career in Napoleonic Rome, never painted a work of art for an Italian and consequently did not build up an Italian clientele. After 1815, Ingres would continue to serve foreigners visiting Rome. With the resumption of the Grand Tour, he would set up an atelier in the Via Margutta where his portraits and Roman genre scenes would be on display. After the French government left Rome, there was little market for history painting and far fewer painted portrait commissions to pay Ingres’s bills. Even Lethière, who had helped him to get government commissions, was gone, having left Rome for Paris in 1817. The Rome-as-Paris on which Ingres had staked his hopes was dependent upon a French governing presence, which, when there, had looked to its own artists to paint the Rome—and themselves in the Rome—that they had wanted to see.

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<sup>247</sup> Michel-Martin Drolling, Rome, to Martin Drolling, Paris, 4 April 1816, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris, France.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 2.

### ARCHITECTS, THE FOUND ANTIQUE, AND THE AESTHETIC OF FLATNESS

Ingres's two earliest *envois* for 1808—the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* and *Oedipus*—seem almost as if Ingres had created them as pendants in the manner of his Bochet family portraits (Figures 2.1 and 2.2). One is a nude man, the other a nude woman; one is historiated, the other is without a storyline; one bears the face of a specific male model, the other is faceless.<sup>249</sup> Their origins seems intricately wound up together—at least as Ingres's describes his thoughts on *envois* in letters to his would-be-father-in-law in 1807. Initially, as we have discussed, Ingres had planned on painting a *Hercules*, but then decided on a *Venus*. He explained the reasons for this switch to Monsieur Forestier as follows: “...il m'a semblé que pour faire dignement et avec intention le sujet d'Hercule, il fallait avoir fait plus encore que je n'ai fait jusques ici [sic] et que, si j'ai le bonheur de faire un beau tableau du plus beau style, mon Hercule aura encore plus raison, en ayant donné la preuve.”<sup>250</sup> “Hercules,” if given more time to develop, could be his next great canvas, but was too difficult a subject for him to do quickly, he apologized. If subjects like the *Venus* were well received, however, Ingres would produce a subject closer to the *beau-idéal* with confidence.

*Venus* and one of Ingres's ultimate submissions for 1808, the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, were “easier” for Ingres because they involved a “*beau*” that would be judged by different standards—what Ingres refers to in his letters as the “*beau style*” as supposed to the “*beau-idéal*.”<sup>251</sup> For his 1807 and 1808 *envois*, sent together to Paris in 1808 due to various delays, Ingres created what he probably imagined was an example of each: *Oedipus* and the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*. But his *Oedipus*, however, fell short of the Academy's standards for the *beau-idéal*. I will argue that this was because of Ingres's display of interest in the aesthetics of flatness promulgated by engravings of Antique subjects and by the architect *pensionnaires*' interpretations of the decorative Antique available in Rome.

#### ***Oedipus* and the Aesthetics of Engravings after the Antique**

It is very difficult to imagine what Ingres's *Oedipus* originally looked like when Ingres submitted it as an *envoi* to the Academy in 1808.<sup>252</sup> The canvas as we know it today was heavily repainted by Ingres for its exhibition in the Salon of 1827.<sup>253</sup> Preparatory drawings are not much help, as the ones that exist are generally attributed to two later painted versions of the composition: an undated oil sketch at the National Gallery, London, and a full-size painting at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (1864) (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Amaury Duval would transcribe Granger's comment on the model's specificity to Ingres years later. This interaction is described later in this chapter. Amaury Duval 1878, 60-61.

<sup>250</sup> *Letters* 2011, 162.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.* For a further discussion of the *beau-idéal* as relates to the art of this period, see Régis Michel, *Le Beau Idéal, ou l'Art du Concept* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1989).

<sup>252</sup> The “*and the Sphinx*” was added to the title later, after Ingres further developed the Sphinx.

<sup>253</sup> He probably added extra canvas to the top and the sides of the 1808 canvas. Paul Jamot, “Comment Ingres a Composé ‘Oedipe et le Sphinx’” *La Revue de l'Art: Ancien et Moderne* 38 (Jun-Dec 1920): 57-59.

<sup>254</sup> It is possible that the later sketches were made for the engravings made by Réveil after Ingres's compositions. For more on Réveil's work, see Andrew Carrington Shelton, *Ingres and His Critics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 193-230.

Initially created to satisfy one of the Academic *envoi* requirements, a “*figure nue, peinte d’après le modèle vivant et de grandeur naturelle*,” *Oedipus* would have ostensibly originated in a life drawing session held at the amphitheater of the Villa Medici itself.<sup>255</sup> In such sessions, the nude male model was traditionally posed in a manner so as to recall a famous statue—in this case, the “Cincinnatus” at the Louvre (Figure 2.5).<sup>256</sup> Further confirmation of “Oedipus’s” Italianate origin lies in a dialogue reported by Ingres’s student, Amaury-Duval; the painter Granger, who had been Ingres’s fellow *pensionnaire*, saw *Oedipus* at the Salon of 1827 and commented to Ingres that he recognized the model from their time at the Villa Medici.<sup>257</sup> Since the submission of Drouais’s *Wounded Warrior* in 1785, it had become customary for students to “historicize” their academic nudes; that is, to add a background and a few props or attributes to the composition in order to situate the figure within a narrative (Figure 2.6).<sup>258</sup> This “historicization” was not meant to involve extensive independent composition; the figure in question was already painted in a specific pose—merely accessorizing him was enough.

The presence of the Sphinx was doubtless minimized in the initial version of Ingres’s composition. The Parisian Academy’s critique of the work, for example, refers to the figure only as an “*Oedipe*” and makes no mention of the Sphinx.<sup>259</sup> Additionally, an early curatorial report shows that the original canvas would not have extended far enough beyond Oedipus’s head for the mythical creature to be properly developed; Ingres added canvas panels to three of the four sides for the work’s exhibition in 1827 (Figures 2.7 and 2.8).<sup>260</sup> David’s quick sketch of the painting at its exposition in Paris, though clearly more notational than accurate in intention, only gestures at the Sphinx in a squiggle (Figure 2.9).<sup>261</sup> The Sphinx’s prominence and position in the current tableau was noted by a Salon critic in 1827, who charged that Ingres had enlarged the canvas specifically to give more space to the development of the Sphinx.<sup>262</sup> If the original canvas was indeed significantly smaller, the Sphinx’s body would have been as David reported: a squiggle of breast and haunch in the light, a female face obscured by the darkness. This and the rocky enclave provided sufficient props for the narrative: a narrative for which Ingres essentially invented an iconography.

There were very few sources available to Ingres in Rome as examples of ways to represent this legendary match of wits. In Roman Antiquity, the subject was confined to scenes

<sup>255</sup> For the first time since the French Revolution, new rules for the Académie de France à Rome were drafted in 1799; these rules are in essence the same as the 1803 rules. Suvée *Correspondance*, Vol. 1, 161. Pierre Pinon and François-Xavier Amprimoz, *Les Envois de Rome (1778-1968): architecture et archéologie* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1988), 54-59. The amphitheater no longer exists in the Villa Medici building.

<sup>256</sup> Many Ingres scholars have pointed out the comparison with Louvre’s “Cincinnatus,” most recently Siegfried 2009, 29. The attribution of this statue has varied over time, but the Louvre’s current stance on the attribution is of Hermes attaching his sandal. The work is heavily restored. For the Louvre’s stance on the work’s identification, see their website [http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car\\_not&idNotice=875](http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not&idNotice=875).

<sup>257</sup> Amaury-Duval, ed. Ternois, 1993, 167-170.

<sup>258</sup> Thomas Crow, *Emulation: David, Drouais and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 52-55. Also Siegfried 2009, 28.

<sup>259</sup> Marcel Bonnaire, ed., *Procès Verbaux de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 3, 1806-1810 (Paris: A. Colin, 1943), 268. Hereafter, *Procès Verbaux* III 1943.

<sup>260</sup> Jamot 1920, 58. Alternatively, one could argue that the canvas was cut down to that size in 1827 and that there was originally more space around the figure in 1808; in other words, Ingres cut the figure of the man out of his first canvas and made it the center of the second one.

<sup>261</sup> Siegfried points out that David gets the leg positioning of Ingres’s Oedipus wrong; he might thus have been drawing it from memory. Siegfried 2009, 36.

<sup>262</sup> Jamot 1920, 57.

on vases, sarcophagi, or tomb paintings; it was associated with the passage to the afterlife.<sup>263</sup> Lacking a freestanding sculptural Antique representation, the story of Oedipus and the Sphinx had not yet entered the French canon of the *beau-idéal*.<sup>264</sup> It was certainly not a typical *envoi* subject—Ingres’s is the first recorded. Here, as he would do again in *Jupiter and Thetis*, we see Ingres forging his own path in depicting an Antique subject that was non-canonical and non-heroic.

Oedipus’s thoughtful character seems a complete perversion of the heroic sculptural type, the decisive “Cincinnatus,” upon which the form was allegedly based.<sup>265</sup> In addition, the Academy was highly critical of Ingres’s style. Oedipus was accused of being flat and indistinguishable from the rocky enclave: not “sculptural” enough.<sup>266</sup> It is my belief that this flatness was not a result of deliberate adherence to the cause of flatness for its own sake, but rather the result of turning to sources other than freestanding sculpture for inspiration—prints and architectural drawings, which were by nature two-dimensional. Indeed, Ingres’s work in this period increasingly eschewed *demi-teinte* and other traditional shading techniques that he had learned as a student copying la *ronde bosse*. The composition of the main figures in *Oedipus* and the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* both reveal Ingres’s increased interest in the volumetric possibilities of exterior contour lines.<sup>267</sup>

Ingres’s style in his early Parisian years appeared to have had two goals: to communicate in the language of the sculptural Antique for history painting and to render what was three-dimensional (plaster casts, sculptures, live models) convincingly in a two-dimensional plane. If one looks at Ingres’s earliest set of preserved drawings after the *ronde bosse*, created while he was a student of David’s in Paris from 1799-1806, the subjects are stunning in their matte-ness (Figures 2.10).<sup>268</sup> The faces of the famous busts Ingres copied seem so soft that they barely rise from the page. Their sculptural origin is revealed only in the darkest of shadows at the sides of their faces. The rest of the face is composed of many different shades of grey with no real white highlights, and, as a result, appears flat (Figure 2.11).<sup>269</sup> The *demi-teinte* technique Ingres was practicing demanded that the figure be shaded according to a very precise system of half tones—here recorded in endless grey hatch-marks—until a certain sense of depth was achieved. This technique, however, fails in these drawings to render volume convincingly. Such drawings reveal Ingres’s growing pains rendering sculptural figures in two-dimensions even as they affirm the importance of Classical sculpture to successful art in the Davidian tradition.

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<sup>263</sup> Jean Marc Moret, *Oedipe, la Sphinx et les Thébains: essai de mythologie iconographique*, vol.1 (Roma: Institut Suisse de Rome, 1984), 113. For more examples of depictions of the subject in the Roman world, see Moret 1984, vol. 1, 113-136.

<sup>264</sup> The dubious merits of its hero, who goes on to kill his father, marry his mother, then gouge out his eyes in an attempt to repent his sins, may also have something to do with this.

<sup>265</sup> The statue in question when Ingres was a student was thought to be a representation of Cincinnatus. See [http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car\\_not&idNotice=875](http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not&idNotice=875).

<sup>266</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

<sup>267</sup> Chapter 4 will treat this as it applies to the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* in more depth.

<sup>268</sup> For a detailed analysis of this set of drawings, now at the Fogg Art Museum, see Phyllis Hattis, *Ingres’ Sculptural Style: a group of unknown drawings* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Stinehour Press, 1973). Ingres entered David’s Atelier in 1797. *Ingres* 2006, 104.

<sup>269</sup> See Ingres’s *Apollo Belvedere* and *Gladiator Borghese* copies in Hattis, 63, 71.

For Betzer’s description and interpretation of this set of drawings at the Fogg Museum of Art, see Sarah Betzer, “Ingres’s Shadows,” *Art Bulletin* (March 2013), 89-90.

By the time he arrived in Rome, Ingres would have had even more practice representing well-known sculptures in two dimensions thanks to a commission for twelve drawings of various Greco-Roman statues newly arrived in Paris from Italy, on display at the Louvre.<sup>270</sup> Sarah Betzer has written extensively about this commission, mostly discussing the engravings after Ingres's drawings by Felix Massard and others and published in *Le Musée Français* (Figure 2.12).<sup>271</sup> She argues that Ingres uses several technical tricks to make the viewer believe not only in the three dimensionality of the sculpture, but also in the lived experience of circumambulating the sculpture.<sup>272</sup> One of these techniques is what Betzer calls the “elaborately projected shadow.”<sup>273</sup>

However, such a projected shadow appears very rarely in other contexts in Ingres's work in Rome and in the drawings he brought there. I would argue that what Betzer calls the “projected shadow” in fact extends from the *demi-teinte* practice so evident in his rendering of plaster casts earlier in his career. Shadow for Ingres could be made to connote the three-dimensional; with this, I agree. But if three-dimensionality is Ingres's goal, the shadows he creates are not helpful to this project; as Betzer points out, they are distorted and do not reflect any sort of consistent light source, so they cannot effectively conjure reality.<sup>274</sup> Reality seems less of a concern for Ingres than for Betzer, as Ingres's shadows do not reflect what Betzer refers to as the “*beau-réel*.”<sup>275</sup> The shadows are mainly created by extending the thick, blackened contour lines of the figures and therefore, are intended to be notational. Furthermore, Betzer does not take into account the internal shadows of the sculptural bodies, which are practically nonexistent; the bodies of the sculptures are too uniform in tone for the sudden appearance of a single larger shadow to lend credence to the sculpture's volumetric physicality.

Where Betzer and I differ, ultimately, is in her insistence that Ingres *desires* the sculptural—that he is “an artist constantly hounded by the impulse of corporeal feeling.”<sup>276</sup> Being a Davidian student demanded the performance of shadow, certainly, but increasingly in Ingres's work, shadow is only that: performance. None of Ingres's *envois* had any kind of convincing shadow—an absence for which both the *Baigneuse* and *Oedipus* were heavily criticized.<sup>277</sup> Shadows in the *Musée Français* Commission are merely citational of sculpture—a cheat sheet to gesture at three-dimensionality while asking that contour do most of the work to suggest whatever three-dimensionality is on offer.

Given the surfaces of Ingres's nudes, one can only imagine Ingres was more affected by the smoothness of contemporary sculpture than its three-dimensionality; the current popularity of Canova's work, which he saw much of in Rome, could only enhance such an interest. Never one fascinated by three-dimensional sculpture and marooned in a city bereft of its most famous statues, Ingres turned to other available Antique sources to inform the style of his *Oedipus*. Ingres's need to reproduce something of the Antique—drilled into him since his youth—led him to return to engravings after other types of Antique art for inspiration, a practice which he

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<sup>270</sup> It is not clear where these drawings are currently located.

<sup>271</sup> Betzer 2013, 171-108. Robillard-Péronville and Laurent, *Le Musée français, recueil complete des tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs, qui composent la collection nationale* (Paris: Impr. de L. E. Hernan, 1803-12).

<sup>272</sup> Betzer 2013, 78-79, 92-93.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 90, 92-93.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 96-97.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>277</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268-269.

probably began in David's studio.<sup>278</sup> According to Pascal Picard-Cajan, Ingres saw copying after engravings of Ancient bas-reliefs, paintings, and other artifacts as more than just a *Beaux-Arts* exercise relatively early in his career—certainly, such engravings were an established point of reference for him by the time he departed for Rome.<sup>279</sup> With engravings, Ingres could seize the outward contours and render the details of specific objects (like the baubles of Napoleon's ruling staff in Ingres's 1806 portrait of the Emperor) with perfect precision.<sup>280</sup> Ingres seemed to enjoy the preciousness of this sort of detail and felt very comfortable with the line-drawn aesthetic. Proof of this can be found, among other things, in Ingres's several preparatory drawings for history paintings completed before he left for Rome as well as his earliest drawing in Rome, "Echo and Narcissus" (Figure 2.13). The latter is a line-drawn scene of attempted coitus, drawn as if by a child, with no interior contour at all but a very delicate outlining of Echo's hair. The preparatory drawings for history paintings consist of minutely detailed line-drawn sketches with subjects such as "Philemon and Baucus," "Alexander and Hephaestion," and "Antiochus and Stratonice": all relying on contour to communicate narrative (Figures 2.14 and 2.15).<sup>281</sup>

The *Antichità di Ercolano*, a compendium of etchings based on wall paintings, bronzes, and decorative household items found at Herculaneum and Pompeii, would have offered Ingres sources with a confirmed Antique pedigree that were heavily reliant on contour. He repeatedly used compositional elements, such as the poses of figures, from these engravings as references during his student days at the Académie de Rome—and even as late as his seated portrait of *Madame Moitessier* (1856) (Figure 2.16).<sup>282</sup> The *Antichità di Ercolano* was commissioned from the Real Academia Ercolanese by Charles VII of Naples (later Charles II of Spain), Bourbon King of the Two Sicilies (1716-1788). The aim of this series was to publish the great archeological treasures unearthed in Pompeii and Herculaneum during his reign. In 1757, nearly twenty years after excavations had begun in earnest, the first volume of the nine-volume work was published.<sup>283</sup> The *Antichità* were not meant to be strictly scientific volumes but rather a luxury edition, not for sale, but for dissemination by the King. The collection was presented as if one were looking at it piece by piece in a museum.<sup>284</sup> The *Antichità* very much mirrored the Bourbons' approach to excavation on site and to display in their Herculaneum museum: to find, then show, only the greatest work – anything that was deemed sub-par was destroyed or melted down.<sup>285</sup>

The first four volumes of the *Antichità di Ercolano* (published between 1757 and 1765) featured engravings, along with short textual explanations, of wall paintings: mostly figurative

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<sup>278</sup> Ingres 2006, 106-107.

<sup>279</sup> Pascale Picard-Cajan, "La Conscience du Génie Grec. Ingres et la matière archéologique" in *Ingres, un Homme à Part: entre carrière et mythe, la fabrique du personnage*, ed. Claire Barbillion (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2009): 322-325.

<sup>280</sup> Siegfried 2009, 240-247, 268-271.

<sup>281</sup> For more on these, see Ingres 2006, 115-118.

<sup>282</sup> For more on this portrait, see *Image of an Epoch*, 426-446.

<sup>283</sup> For more on *Antichità di Ercolano*, see Alison E. Cooley, *Pompeii* (London: Duckworth, 2003), 68-79. Thanks to Brenda Longfellow and Steven Ellis for help with Pompeian sources.

<sup>284</sup> Hérica Valladares, "Four Women from Stabiae: Enlightenment Aesthetics and the History of Roman Painting" in *Antiquity Recovered: The Legacy of Pompeii and Herculaneum*, ed. Victoria C. Gardner Coates and Jon L. Seydl (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 77.

<sup>285</sup> Cooley 2003, 70-72.

pictures of mythological narratives.<sup>286</sup> Ingres must have had access to at least these first four volumes. There is strong evidence that they were a part of the Villa Medici Library at the time when Ingres was a *pensionnaire*.<sup>287</sup> The black-and-white engravings based on wall paintings in Pompeii presented an alternative to sculpture that better matched Ingres's personal line-drawn style. Volume Four of the *Antichita* in particular contains sources for Ingres's *Bathers*, for *Oedipus* and for Thetis in *Jupiter and Thetis*. Scholars do not commonly credit the *Antichita* for inspiring Ingres's work at this young age, but the iconography of its engravings, which we will consider a bit further on in this chapter, offers convincing evidence that he relied on it as an alternative source for Antique models.

Greek vase painting has received much exposure recently for its effect on Ingres's style, mostly in reference to his later works.<sup>288</sup> Siegfried, however, claims that Ingres would have consulted imagery from engravings after vase paintings in order to render this *Oedipus*'s subject matter, which was not infrequently depicted on Greek vases.<sup>289</sup> She does not, however, date the influence of the vases on Ingres's composition of *Oedipus*, which, one will recall, he repeated several times during his career.<sup>290</sup> While it is true that Ingres eventually became fascinated by Greek vase painting, I argue that this fascination began too late in his career to have affected his 1808 *Oedipus*.

Ingres's interest in vase painting was sparked by his visit to Naples in 1814. There, he was allowed to sketch the Murats's collection of vases recently dug up from Pompeii.<sup>291</sup> In the line-drawn, mostly profile figure paintings on these vases, Ingres seems to have found an Antique that combined both the two-dimensional and the three-dimensional. Picard-Cajan insists that as many as forty-five drawings were produced by Ingres's interaction with actual vases, as opposed to engravings after these vases.<sup>292</sup> In such engravings, the contoured shape of the vase was flattened out to depict the decoration of the vase in a frieze-like scene (Figure 2.17).<sup>293</sup> In his "life" drawings from vases, Ingres seeks to breathe life into the line-drawn form of a particular character or particular expression. He endows one of the women he copied from a vase with a floating movement where both of her feet and her shawl are fluttering in the wind (Figure 2.18 and 2.19). This harnesses something of the quality of turning the vase—or orbiting around it—so as to be able to see the whole woman's body.

Vase painting provided Ingres with a line-drawing process that naturally had an odd relationship with volume: corresponding not with the forms depicted on the vase as a relief might, but relying on the viewer's interaction with the physical form of the vase-as-object.<sup>294</sup> As

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<sup>286</sup> For an explanation of what was published, where, and how (the hierarchies within the bound volumes) see Valladares 2007, 77-78.

<sup>287</sup> Maria-Teresa de Bellis, the former chief librarian at the Villa Medici believes this to be the case; though we were unable to find the accession number, we know that they were an early purchase at the Villa Medici. Regardless, Ingres would have had the opportunity to see these engravings at any number of prominent Roman institutions such as the Academia di San Luca.

<sup>288</sup> Picard-Cajan essentially styled her exhibition in Montauban around it in 2006. Many of the works exposed were copies of Greek vase painting iconography that Ingres copied late in his career, however. See Pascale Picard-Cajan, *Ingres et l'Antique: l'Illusion Grecque* (Montauban: Musée Ingres, 2006).

<sup>289</sup> Moret 1984, vol. 1, 49-65 and Siegfried 2009, 39.

<sup>290</sup> Siegfried 2009, 39.

<sup>291</sup> Picard-Cajan's work is generally supportive of this point. See Picard-Cajan 2009, 312-315.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., 313.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 311, 313-314.

Betzer observes and as we know from several of Ingres's drawings after sculpture in the Louvre, Ingres is no stranger to rotating around an object, only to render it in contour.<sup>295</sup> In his first set of drawings after famous sculptures made in Paris from 1799 onwards and now preserved at Montauban, Ingres chose a point of view which de-naturalized the subject. His *Farnese Hercules* drawing, undoubtedly based on a *bosso* since the real *Farnese Hercules* remained in Naples throughout the Napoleonic period, represented the figure from the lower left of the traditional view (Figure 2.20 and 2.21). Such a non-canonical view of the Antique nonetheless speaks to the canon in its very use of the famous statue as a subject; this oblique, inventive approach to the Antique could be interpreted as a key element of the youthful Ingres's style. He used selective elements of Ancient art in his work in order to make the Antique seem new, and therefore, strange to an academically trained eye.

Ancient vases featured many scenes of Oedipus and the Sphinx, most of which have been catalogued admirably by Jean Marc Moret.<sup>296</sup> Before 1814, however, it is unlikely Ingres would have seen such vases other than those copied in the most famous compendia, such as d'Hancarville (where there is no "Oedipus" imagery).<sup>297</sup> I therefore believe that while vase paintings of the subject itself could have been helpful to the 1827 rendition of Ingres's *Oedipus*, they would not have been used as sources in the 1808 painting. If Ingres did borrow the iconography of the contest from somewhere, the most likely source would be an engraving by Bartoli of a wall painting from the Tomb of the Nasonii, discovered in the late seventeenth century on the Via Flaminia in Rome (Figure 2.22).<sup>298</sup> This image would have circulated in print form in various books produced in several editions in Latin, Italian, and French throughout the century.<sup>299</sup> Ingres might also have seen a detail on a panel doubtless taken from an Ancient Roman sarcophagus set into the wall at Palazzo Mattei (Figures 2.23 and 2.24).<sup>300</sup> There is a slight chance Ingres might also have seen a black-and-white mosaic representing the subject in Ostia—its excavation date is unclear—which features similar iconography to the first two (Figure 2.25 and 2.26).<sup>301</sup>

In both the Bartoli print and the sarcophagus, the iconography of the Oedipus character is markedly different from Ingres's subject. The heroes in these earlier representations stand on both legs and only extend one arm forward in a gesture of address.<sup>302</sup> The Sphinx is set far higher than the hero at each turn, and, as in the 1827 version of Ingres's painting, the hero is accompanied by another man.<sup>303</sup> Each Oedipus points one hand towards his mouth; it is unclear if he is answering the Sphinx's riddle correctly by pointing to himself—the answer is "man"—

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<sup>295</sup> Betzer 2013, 87-89.

<sup>296</sup> Moret 1984, vol.1, 1-118 and vol. 2, PL 1-69.

<sup>297</sup> Pierre d' Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines gravées par F. A. David* (Paris: Hancarville, 1785-88).

<sup>298</sup> Moret 1984, vol. 1, 113-129 and vol. 2, PL. 76-77, 81-82, 84.

<sup>299</sup> Moret 1984, vol. 1, 119-120 and vol. 2, PL. 77-78. For more on the Nasonii Tomb paintings, see Claire Pace "'Un monument si beau et si rare': Drawings of the Tomb of the Nasonii Formerly in the Collection of Colbert," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 67 (1999): 323-352.

<sup>300</sup> He would have had to go and see it in person at the Palazzo Mattei. Moret 1984, vol. 1, 125-126 and vol. 2, PL 81-82.

<sup>301</sup> We know Ingres visited Ostia at least once in 1806. *Lettres* 2011, 121. Also, Moret 1984, vol. 1, 129 and vol. 2, PL. 84.

<sup>302</sup> Moret 1984, vol. 1, 119-120; vol.2, 125-126.

<sup>303</sup> In the Bartoli print, the Sphinx is on top of a rocky outcrop, below which Oedipus and his companion stand. Moret 1984, vol. 2, PL. 77.

or if it is simply a rhetorical gesture. Regardless, the gesture differs greatly from that of Ingres's Oedipus, who seems to be almost in conversation with his interlocutor.

All three of these Ancient representations differ so greatly from Ingres's in their composition one doubts he was familiar with any of them. Furthermore, it was not within his training—or his practice—to take a composition from the Antique wholesale and use it as his own. Instead, his work involved placing fragments together, assembling disparate parts to form a whole. For example, his *Ambassadors of Agamemnon* (1801) is composed of figures inspired by at least three statues (*Ares Ludovisi*, *Phocion*, and the *Apollo Sauroctonos*) whose characters bear no relation, other than compositional affinity, to the actors Ingres has them represent (Achilles, Patroclus, and Ulysses, respectively) (Figures 2.27- 2.31).<sup>304</sup> This compositional tactic is deeply embedded within the *beaux-arts* psyche, so much so that Ingres won the Rome Prize with it. His innovation in Rome was to detach this process from canonical sculpture. To compose his *Oedipus*, Ingres used the same process but looked instead to various engraved or painted copies of Antique wall and vase painting as well as to copies of Ancient works produced by his comrades.

To turn the live model into an Oedipus, Ingres needed to imbue him with a gesture that simultaneously conveyed confrontation and reflection. For this he turned to several Antique sources: some representing conflict indirectly, some representing monumental warriors, some representing dialogue. The first such likely source is a plate representing a wall painting of Perseus having saved Andromeda in Volume Four of the *Antichità di Ercolano* (Figure 2.32).<sup>305</sup> Perseus stands with one foot raised up (no doubt on the head of the monster, as the latter is nowhere to be found, or perhaps simply a rocky outcropping) and one arm supporting Andromeda as he helps her down from the rock. His stance reverses that of Ingres's model but the outward turn of his knees seems quite similar. His facial features, including a prominent straight nose, a delicate chin, forceful eyebrows and eyes with pupils turned forward is very close to that of Ingres's Oedipus. His fingers, gripping both Andromeda's flesh and the hair of Medusa's head, are as delicate as those of Ingres's Oedipus. His skin is a relatively dark color in the engraving and he is also placed in relative shadow. Ingres's Oedipus was accused of being too far in the shadow as well, inadequately illuminated or differentiated from the cave's rocks.<sup>306</sup> The hand gestures of the two men are markedly different, but there is something similar in the way that the idealized muscles are treated: as smooth panels that move in time with one another, functioning together like a machine, but broken into seemingly distinct parts.

A different source for Oedipus's posture could be found in a gesture made by Poseidon, both in works drawn after Antique gems produced by a fellow *pensionnaire* and also in commonly found Bellori engravings. Felix Boisselier, a promising young history painter, had been commissioned to copy a series of gems in line drawings. One such drawing shows Poseidon, holding a trident in a very similar pose to that adopted by Oedipus (Figure 2.33). Poseidon's left foot, like Oedipus's, rests on a pile of rocks and his right foot, like Oedipus's, is turned towards the back of the picture plane.<sup>307</sup> Poseidon also takes this position in an engraving of the small central Ara Pacis bas relief shown in a series of engravings by Bartoli and produced

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<sup>304</sup> The *Ares Ludovisi*-Achilles is my interpretation. For the others, see Picard-Cajan 2006, 296 -297.

<sup>305</sup> Accademia Ercolanese di Archeologia, *Delle Antichità di Ercolano* (Naples: Nella Regia Stamperia, 1755-1831), Vol. 4, 37, PL VII.

<sup>306</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268

<sup>307</sup> For more on Boisselier's cameo copying practice, see Bénédicte Ottinger, *La Fable des Dieux: gravures, dessins & moulages de pierres fines antiques au XVIIIe* (Senlis: Musée de l'Hôtel de Vermandois, 1997).

by Bellori which were well known; Ingres might have seen the pose there as well (Figure 2.34).<sup>308</sup>

The peculiar position of Oedipus's hands was even remarked upon by the Academy in Paris as such: "*les mains sont finement dessinées et bien peintes. Il est dommage que par la manière dont elles sont disposées, elles forment deux lignes en équerre qui ne sont point heureuses.*"<sup>309</sup> The problem was that the hands were perpendicular to each other, in 1808 as they were in the final work in 1827. This gesture, found nowhere in any of the Oedipus imagery so carefully culled by Moret, cannot be said to be typical of either the Antique Oedipus or Poseidon iconography.<sup>310</sup> The pose of the hands and that of the foot on a raised surface occurs multiple times in d'Hancarville's illustrations of Sir Williams Hamilton's vase collection but always in figures that are facing another figure, entering into a dialogue (Figure 2.35).<sup>311</sup> The myth, however, does not place Oedipus in conversation; rather, he has been asked a question to which he must respond. Yet, Ingres painted the hero as if in dialogue with the Sphinx; though his nose points directly towards her breasts in the 1827 version, his eyes are very clearly raised towards her face.

As we are unclear of the position and prominence of the Sphinx in the earlier version—remember that David's drawing gives it very little consideration—we cannot know the extent to which Ingres originally emphasized the Sphinx's potentially dangerous sexuality.<sup>312</sup> In the 1827 version, the confronting parties seem evenly matched. The hand gesture of dialogue and the fact that the position of Oedipus's head was not, according to the curator, changed from the 1808 version would lead one to believe that the Sphinx originally was not placed far above Oedipus, but nearly even with him.<sup>313</sup> The power struggle between them is smoothed over by the confidence in his pose—both the sureness of the legs and the gesture of the hands. He is in a dialogue; there will be a moment after he answers (correctly) for a further reply.

Siegfried stresses the originality of Ingres's choice of an anti-hero for his first *académie*.<sup>314</sup> When Oedipus met the Sphinx, he had already killed his father and would, by virtue of answering the Sphinx's question correctly, in due time commit crimes of incest with his

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<sup>308</sup> Pietro Bellori, *Admiranda romanarvm antiqvitatvm ac veteris scvlptrae vestigia anaglyphico opere elaborata, ex marmoreis exemplaribvs quae Romae adhvc extant, in Capitolio, aedibvs, hortisque virorvm principvm ad antiquam elegantiam a Petro Sancti Bartolo delineata incisa, inqvibvs plvrime ac praeclarissima ad romanam historiam ac veteres mores dignoscendos ob ocvlos ponvntvr, notis Io. Petri Bellorii illvstrata ...* (Romae: sumptibus, ac typis edita à Ioanne Iacobo de Rubeis, 1693). Hereafter Bellori *Admiranda*.

<sup>309</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

<sup>310</sup> David's sketch of *Oedipus* shows the arms in a completely different position. As it does not fit the description by the Academicians in their critique of the work, we will have to assume that the drawing is just an *aide-memoire* and not a particularly credible source. Siegfried has assumed the opposite in her text. Siegfried 2009, 36-37.

<sup>311</sup> The character of these images is most particular: they are very small and difficult to see, let alone copy directly from the page. It would have been difficult for Ingres to copy them in detail. See plates in d'Hancarville, 1785-88. For more on the importance of this compendium and Hamilton's collection, see: Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection* (London: British Museum Press, 1996.)

<sup>312</sup> Siegfried asserts that the sexual charge of the encounter of Oedipus and the Sphinx increased with its repainting. Siegfried 2009, 39.

<sup>313</sup> Jamot 1920, 58-59.

<sup>314</sup> Siegfried 2009, 29-30.

mother.<sup>315</sup> Given the *envoi* subjects chosen by his fellow Davidians in 1808, Ingres's choice of subject was new and strange. The same year, Granger produced two different paintings of warriors—one Phrygian, and one Grecian (Figure 2.36).<sup>316</sup> These subjects, in the vein of Drouais's *Wounded Warrior envoi* as opposed to Girodet's *Endymion*, more closely resemble the combative male nude than the recumbent, oblivious one (Figure 2.37). Yet every other painter turned in works where the male subject conformed to the passive *Endymion* type. Heim produced a pastoral subject—a shepherd drinking at a fountain—and Boisselier followed suit with a shepherd mourning over a bee that he had unwittingly killed (Figures 2.38 and 2.39)<sup>317</sup>. The Belgian *pensionnaire* Odevaere produced a *David and Goliath*, but he accompanied it with the less heroic subjects of a woman emerging from her bath and of Achilles complaining to Thetis.<sup>318</sup> Overall, the 1808 *envois* did not overwhelmingly display heroic virility.

Comparing Boisselier's titular "Shepherd" to Ingres's "Oedipus" lends a whole new power to the anti-hero. Boisselier depicts a young man practically wilted over the stone monument he erected to the bee whose sting saved him from the bite of deadly serpent; Ingres, on the other hand, depicts a tautly muscular, in-control, spear-wielding son of a king engaged in a battle of wits. Though both works were criticized for their flatness by the Parisian Academy, it was pointed out that Boisselier's work at least contained some shadows, even if they were a bit too dull.<sup>319</sup> Ingres's shadows were indistinguishable from his bodies.<sup>320</sup> Whereas Boisselier's had a scenic, pastoral background, Ingres's work was criticized for lacking depth—for, in 1808, Oedipus was surrounded not by a cave, but by rocks fading out to the standard brown background of an *académie*.<sup>321</sup>

Ingres, a repeat prize-winner in Paris for best *académie*, had, in *Oedipus*, attempted both an *académie* and the representation of a titillating narrative involving a significantly detailed setting. However, he had done neither justice. For the Parisian Academy, the figure itself was

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<sup>315</sup> Oedipus was the son of King Laius of Thebes, abandoned for dead when he was a baby due to a prophecy that he would one day kill his father. Found by the Royal Corinthian shepherd, he was raised by the heretofore childless king and queen of Corinth. As an adult, Oedipus goes to the oracle to find out his fate, whereupon he is informed he will kill his father and mother. Believing them to be the king and queen of Corinth, he vows to leave Corinth forever to protect them and heads to Thebes. En route, he accidentally kills a stranger over a right-of-way issue on the narrow road; unbeknownst to Oedipus until far later in the story, the stranger turns out to be his father, the king of Thebes. The power vacuum in Thebes left it at the mercy of the Sphinx, who was preying on its inhabitants. Oedipus was confronted by the Sphinx outside Thebes and was told if he could answer her riddle correctly, he would live. The riddle was: what goes on four feet in the morning, two feet at noon, and three feet in the evening? Oedipus answered, "man." His correct answer caused the Sphinx to kill herself and liberated the city. The grateful Thebans offered Oedipus the kingship and the hand of the queen (his mother) in marriage. He would subsequently find out he had committed incest, gouge out his eyes, and wander the land in despair with his daughter Antigone. His entire progeny dies, but only after civil war has destroyed Thebes. This ancient Greek myth is best known to us today as the subject—beginning with Oedipus's kingship—of Sophocles's *Theban Plays*.

<sup>316</sup> These are lost to us today, except for David's sketch of them in 1808.

<sup>317</sup> This subject is drawn from Virgil. For more on this painting, see *Maesta di Roma II*, 395-396.

<sup>318</sup> Odevaere's *envois* are lost to us now; however, the subjects chosen present an interesting complement to Ingres's contemporary *Bathers* (to be discussed later in this dissertation).

<sup>319</sup> *Procès Verbaux III* 1943, 269- 270.

<sup>320</sup> The flesh itself "...ne pren[ds] pas un parti décidé sur les objets environnants." Ibid., 268.

<sup>321</sup> "C'est une faute de perspective de n'avoir pas indiqué le lointain dans le fond du [*Oedipe*]..." Ibid. See also Jamot 1920, 58.

too uniform in color: too flat.<sup>322</sup> I believe this was a result of Ingres's choice to rely on engravings as source material for his composition; Oedipus's pose was not sculptural enough, but too determined by contour. The Parisian Academy did not understand the origins of the pose in Antique painting and bas-relief, but rather saw it as a failed transcription of "Cincinnatus." As such, they found the pose poorly rendered, and the perspective of the body confused by the angle of the foot on the rock.<sup>323</sup> They criticized the head, the most active part of the hero's work in this scene of wit-matching, as too pale and lacking "nobility."<sup>324</sup> The paleness could reflect Ingres's bizarre lighting schemas, which seem often to be driven by a need for emphasis rather than the rules of light and shadow. Despite a rather weak display of heroism in most of the subjects proffered by the students, the Parisian Academy deliberately singled out Ingres's work as non-heroic because its stylistic or moral adherence to the *beau-idéal* was non-canonical. Ingres diverted the traditional Antique reference in the hopes of producing an exceptional, but recognizably *beau-idéal* work: the problem was that few could see past its flatness to unravel its assemblage technique.

One cannot help but see Ingres's personality revealed in the conflict of wanting to make powerful forms but reveling in a strict adherence to narrative and decorative detail. His *cahiers* show us that he struggled continually to master Antique myths, writing down long explanations and citations of particular details so he could be sure to include them in his painted work.<sup>325</sup> Ingres hoped to become an encyclopedia of Antique knowledge—poses and accessories as much as narratives—so that he could sample from the Antique effortlessly as needed. Once he had his own *atelier* in Paris, he transferred the encyclopedic task to his students. They copied hundreds of line drawings of Greek vases, which were then pasted into his *cahiers inédits* for future reference.<sup>326</sup> These books, held at the Musée Ingres in Montauban, are still not fully catalogued today. Conceived in Rome, Ingres's particular blending of Antique imagery, from engravings of paintings and bas-reliefs to copies of vases and actual bas-reliefs, shaped the style and rhetoric of his history painting indelibly. This rhetoric and concomitant stylistic flatness would be further complicated by his interests in archeology and the architectural drawings of his friends and fellow *pensionnaires* at the Académie de Rome.

### Architects and Painters: Camaraderie at the Villa Medici

In reading Ingres's letters to Monsieur Forestier from 1806-1808, one might think that Ingres had only a few friends at the Académie de Rome and that he was not particularly happy there. Ingres only singles out *pensionnaires* Jean-Pierre Granger and Joseph-Denis Odevaere as friends: both approximately his own age, both comrades from David's studio.<sup>327</sup> The rest of the *pensionnaires* he treats with derision, calling them uneducated "young guns" and

<sup>322</sup> "...on désirerait dans toute la figure plus de dégradation de lumière et de couleur." *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

<sup>323</sup> "C'est une faute de perspective de n'avoir pas indiqué le lointain dans le fond du [*Oedipe*], car le pied gauche et la partie du rocher sur lequel il pose étant vus en-dessus, les lignes doivent tendre au point de vue qui ne peut être que sur l'horizon." *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

<sup>324</sup> "La tête est d'un ton pâle qui n'a point de rapport avec tout le reste de la figure et elle manque de noblesse." *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

<sup>325</sup> Siegfried 2009, 11, 33-36.

<sup>326</sup> For more on this, see Picard-Cajan 2006, 94-97, 168-171, 189-197.

<sup>327</sup> Agnes Mongan, "Ingres et ses Jeunes Compatriotes à Rome" in *Ingres et Son Influence* (Montauban: Société des amis du Musée Ingres, 1980): 14. See also *Lettres* 2011, 129, 144.

“schoolboys.”<sup>328</sup> The modern reader, however, must take into account Ingres’s position vis-à-vis the correspondent, his supposed future father-in-law. Ingres does his best to appear in these letters every bit the serious student or the pining fiancé—thinking only of doing his work, of making money and connections in Rome and then returning quickly to his betrothed back home. He certainly would not have wanted to tell Monsieur Forestier about any associations he might have had with the potentially rebellious activities of the other *pensionnaires*. However, we know from multiple sources—letters from fellow artists and architect *pensionnaires* and a network of swapped drawings—that Ingres in fact forged many lasting friendships at the Villa Medici during this Roman period.<sup>329</sup>

The relative isolation of the Académie de Rome from France, especially after 1808, did much to encourage friendships among the students. It was difficult to send artworks and architectural drawings—and nearly impossible to send sculptural *envois*—back to the Parisian Academy during this period as land routes were often cluttered with soldiers and the seas made impassable by the British Navy. Consequently, the Parisian judging of Roman *envois* was irregular, frequently delayed by months, sometimes years. During Ingres’s *pensionnat*, for example, only two *envois* judging sessions were held.<sup>330</sup> The lack of yearly critiques meant that often, students would persist in a vein they considered successful only to receive disapproving feedback from the Parisian Academy years later. This relative isolation encouraged the students to turn towards one another’s work for inspiration. As such, creative cross-fertilization between disciplines at the Villa Medici, given relatively little attention in current scholarship, was particularly strong among *pensionnaires* during the Napoleonic period.

Whereas rival Parisian ateliers had previously competed aggressively against one another for the Rome Prize, by 1807, nearly all of the painters came from the school of David and would have known each other from his studio. They often went out together to sketch local Roman landscapes and monuments.<sup>331</sup> For their “copy” *envoi*, five of these painters—Odevaere, Boisselier, Guillemot, Granger, and Ingres—copied frescos from the vault in the Loggia of Psyche at the Villa Farnesina (Figure 2.40).<sup>332</sup> These five students must have known about one another’s studies, as they avoided sending back to Paris the same subjects from the fresco cycle in the same short period: the Loggia of Psyche *envois* are dated 1809-1810 (they were only reviewed collectively in 1811). Guillemot’s *envoi* was technically made for 1811, but the report noted that he had finished it ahead of time, “*par avance*,” no doubt because he was painting and sketching together with his *pensionnaire* friends.<sup>333</sup> It is notable as well that all of them chose to make copies from a Rome-specific site; the Villa itself could only have been removed, whole, to Paris with great difficulty.

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<sup>328</sup> “...enfants dignes d’aller à l’école, quelque fois sans éducation et quelques uns très bruyants et brailards, qui aboient bien quand par Malheur [sic] la sauce est un peu plus ou moins salée.” *Lettres* 2011, 144.

<sup>329</sup> For a general description of Ingres’s *pensionnaires* friends, see Mongan 1980. For particular biographical details of individual friends, see Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, Vol. 1, 159-226.

<sup>330</sup> During Ingres’s tenure as a *pensionnaire* at the Villa Medici, there were only two shipments of *envois*: one in 1808 and another in 1811. G. Lacambre and J. Lacambre, “Ingres à la Villa Medici: Quelques précisions sur ses envois de pensionnaire,” *Revue du Louvre* 4-5 (1967), 233.

<sup>331</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 121, 129.

<sup>332</sup> *Maesta di Roma* II, 488.

<sup>333</sup> Lethière in his correspondence with the Parisian Academy, faults Ingres in part for the lateness of the *envois*. Lethière, Rome to the Members of the Academy, Paris, 25 August 1811, Carton 13, f. 83, Villa Medici Archives. Also Lacambre 1967, 235-6.

Michel-Martin Drolling, *pensionnaire* from 1811-1815, wrote to his father frequently of group copying trips. One such event involved Cortot (a sculptor), Langlois (another painter and fellow student of David's) and Drolling traveling across the city to San Pietro in Montorio to copy a Caravaggio.<sup>334</sup> All three were drawing too close together and leaned on the scaffolding placed in front of the work so that when the creaky scaffolding gave way beneath them, they all fell on top of each other, ultimately breaking Cortot's arm.<sup>335</sup> In another letter, Drolling notes excitedly that he and the other *pensionnaires* would be taking a horse anatomy course.<sup>336</sup>

On paper, the Académie de Rome seems almost like a concentrated version of the Parisian academic experience, especially with the new set of rules concerning not just painting, but drawing were put into effect in 1803.<sup>337</sup> According to one scholar, the 1803 Académie de Rome was "...conceptually a school, part Napoleonic *lycée* and part *Institut*."<sup>338</sup> Daily life drawing sessions were offered for a period of two hours, along with the opportunity to make "*une étude d'après l'antique et du drapé sur mannequin*" at a separate time.<sup>339</sup> Painters, sculptors, architects, and engravers were likely to have attended these sessions together. The Louvre houses a lovely drapery study by the architect Gasse, who would have overlapped with Ingres in 1806 (Figure 2.41). This study looks stunningly similar to much of Ingres's early drapery work. Through these collective undertakings in artistic creation, the students at the Villa Medici came to know each other's personalities —as they did at group dinners or late night drinks at the infamous Café Greco. Most importantly, they grew to know each other's projects, styles, and methods of learning.

The *pensionnaires*'s bonds of friendship become evident in provenance research of the drawings they made for one another. Ingres made portrait drawings of Leclère and Blondel; Blondel was given a drawing of the Villa Medici made by Leclère; Blondel made a drawing of the Swiss guards, copied from a Raphael painting at the Vatican, for Leclère.<sup>340</sup> The personal family archives of Louis Petitot, a sculptor and Rome-prize winner in 1814, contain many sketches made by his artist and architect *pensionnaire* contemporaries who allegedly formed part of a secret society together.<sup>341</sup> The sole purpose of this society, named for an onion soup, seems

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<sup>334</sup> Michel-Martin Drolling, Rome, to Martin Drolling, Paris, 3 August 1811, A 906, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris, France. There is no painting currently attributed to Caravaggio at San Pietro in Montorio (for current attributions accepted by the Church itself, see <http://www.sanpietroinmontorio.it/interno-chiesa.html>). The most famous painting in the church is the Sebastiano dell' Piombo *Flagellation of Christ* which was believed for a long time to be designed or painted by Michelangelo. It is probable that this is the painting Drolling was referring to in this letter.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Michel-Martin Drolling, Rome, to Martin Drolling, Paris, 28 November 1811, A 907, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris, France.

<sup>337</sup> Four drawn nudes and two drawings after the Antique per year were required from painters for the first three years, as well one painted nude per year and a drawing or oil sketch of an independent composition. Suvée *Correspondance*, 161. The Parisian Academy rarely, if ever, commented on the drawings that were turned in, so it is unclear how many were made by *pensionnaires*.

<sup>338</sup> "*L'académie [de Rome] était conçue comme une école, tenant à la fois du lycée napoléonien et de l'Institut....*" *Maesta di Roma II*, 51.

<sup>339</sup> See Suvée *Correspondance*, 160 and more generally, 159-167. Pinon and Amprimoz 1988, 50.

<sup>340</sup> Naef *Bildniszeichnungen* vol. 1, 189-194, 317-322. See also Mongan 1980, 14.

<sup>341</sup> For more on this, see Gérard Hubert "*Autour de la soupe à l'oignon. Le sculpteur Louis Petitot et la société cipollésienne. Lettres et dessins*" in *À travers l'art français du Moyen Âge au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Archives de l'art français, nouvelle période, XXV, 1978): 263-289.

to have been to eat, drink, and be merry; and perhaps simply to exclude other *pensionnaires* who were not *bon vivants*.<sup>342</sup>

Of all of the gifts made in this *pensionnaire* exchange, Ingres's drawings of his colleagues are perhaps the most famous today. His drawn portraits, with their singular technique of portraying the sitter's head with a high level of finish and a more hastily defined body, are perhaps the best-represented works by Ingres in American collections. Perhaps because these portraits of his comrades were never destined for the market—and it is these early works that codified his practice in the genre—they seem more personal: rendered with a casual familiarity in an intimate sketchbook scale.<sup>343</sup> In art historical scholarship, these early portraits are seen as predecessors for the greater portraits yet to come. Fetishized for their delicacy, they are viewed as independent from Ingres's overall art-making practice.<sup>344</sup> They are rarely considered in their context of artistic exchange, nor are they examined within Ingres's overall oeuvre.

Ingres's portrait drawings from this period predominantly feature architects, such as fellow *pensionnaires* Jean-François Ménager (drawn in 1806) and Auguste Guenepin (drawn in 1809) (Figure 2.42 and 2.43). They also feature non-academic painters like François-Marius Granet (1807) and the landscape painter Thomas Naudet (1806) (Figures 2.44, 2.45, and 2.46).<sup>345</sup> Ingres often represents his friends with their *cahiers de dessins*, symbolic of the sketches they were executing in and around Rome. Granet, for example, in Ingres's painting of him, carries a sketchbook under his arm (in the seated drawing of him, there is a page in his lap); Naudet's sketchbook is balanced on his knee.<sup>346</sup> In a rare double-portrait of 1812, Ingres depicted architects and *pensionnaires* Achille Leclère and Jean-Louis Provost (Figure 2.47).<sup>347</sup> Ingres shows them standing behind a table upon which rests a large piece of paper. A closer inspection of the paper reveals vague sketches of parallel vertical lines, possibly columns—it is the right size for a sheet from an architectural *envoi*. Leclère, standing to the left, holds a small sketchbook: perhaps full of the ideas that were transcribed onto the large paper or of monuments he saw in the Campagna on a sketching trip.

Ingres realized his first Roman pencil portrait shortly after his arrival in 1806. Its subject, the architect Ménager, is depicted more like Naudet, a landscape painter not associated with the Academy, than like Leclère and Provost.<sup>348</sup> Ménager sits on a chair indoors, his body turned towards the left, his face looking forward. Whereas Naudet has a pencil out to accompany the small closed sketchbook on his lap, Ménager holds a rather larger bound set of sketches, perhaps even a portfolio, tucked under his left arm. He is not, as the architect Guenepin would be,

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<sup>342</sup> Ibid. The society was called the *Société Cipollésienne* and they wrote inscrutable poems to one another about acts of debauchery or drunkenness.

<sup>343</sup> After 1814, his drawn portrait sitters were of increasingly paying customers such as British Grand-Tour tourists; they are drawn a lot less casually than those of Ingres's friends.

<sup>344</sup> *Image of an Epoch* drew a lot of attention to Ingres's portraiture-making process.

<sup>345</sup> Hans Naef was the first to point this out; however, he generalizes the number of portraits made to span Ingres's entire productive career. Ingres made at least thirteen portrait drawings of architects during his time in Rome, all of them associated with the Villa Medici. For more, see Hans Naef, "Eighteen Portrait Drawings by Ingres," *Master Drawings* 3 Vol. 4 (Autumn 1966), 255- 256.

<sup>346</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 103, 170-171. See also Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, vol.1, 165-169 for Naudet.

<sup>347</sup> For more, see Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, vol. 1, 317-322. Also Ann H. Sievers, Linda D. Muehlig, and Nancy Rich, eds., *Master Drawings from Smith College Museum of Art* (New York: Hudson Hills, 2000) 127-130.

<sup>348</sup> Hans Naef definitively established Ménager's portrait as the first Ingres drew in Rome. See Naef 1966, 255- 258.

portrayed with the Villa Medici behind him, but rather in a non-descript interior environment. Both Guenepin and Ménager are dressed for outdoor weather, however, with coats and cloaks around them. Ingres's portraits of these men evoke a sense of their imminent departure from the frame, to go somewhere outside the Académie de Rome with their sketchbooks and capture the Roman ruins which surrounded them.

In Ingres's portraits of his friends, their work is suggested by nearby placement of relevant attributes. By 1812, other artists had developed a different type of portraiture that placed greater emphasis on the artists' work environment: the studio or the Campagna. For example, Jean Alaux represented the sculptor Pictot at work in his study in 1817 as well as the painter Pallière strumming a guitar in his studio (Figures 2.48 and 2.49).<sup>349</sup> Michel-Martin Drolling depicted his colleague the architect Nicolas Huyot, a Rome Prize winner of 1807, in this way (1812) (Figure 2.50). In Drolling's painting, Huyot works steadily on a large rectangular panel, ornamented with drawings of barely visible structures. This depiction—by a painter for an architect—differs from Ingres's double architect portrait in style but contains complimentary information of the attributes painters found integral to the practice of architecture. Like Ingres, Drolling shows us an architect who is also an artist. Looking at the doors of Huyot's cabinet, one can spot a series of sketches pinned onto it. The brightly colored drawings appear to depict local peasant women—sketching them was a favorite pastime amongst *pensionnaires*.<sup>350</sup> However, the sketch at the top of a young lady with flowing hair and floating drapery with her knee astride some kind of animal, is perhaps a copy after an Antique, sketched in pencil or charcoal as opposed to watercolor (Figure 2.51).<sup>351</sup>

Drolling portrays Huyot as both working seriously on the Antique and as drawing from local life around him. Like his colleagues, he is inspired by his daily encounters with the city of Rome. Reinforcing this act metaphorically, characteristically Roman light illuminates his current project, flooding through the open window. To add to his architecture credentials, Antique fragments and plaster casts of architectural details litter his studio. These include an antique bust and an architectural fragment of an acanthus leaf, usually found on Corinthian columns—perhaps a detail from one of the buildings he is working so diligently at rendering on the large pieces of paper on the table (Figure 2.52). Drolling thus depicts Huyot as a multi-media artist, both in terms of interests and production.

The three separate images on the large sheet of paper over which Huyot hovers suggest that he is in the process of drawing up the individual architectural features of the Temple of Fortune at Palestrina (Figures 2.53 and 2.54).<sup>352</sup> Tools for measuring architectural details and for rendering them to scale on paper—compasses and plumb lines—are spread about everywhere on the tables and hung up on the back wall. The Antiquity that architects encountered—the Antiquity of monumental ruins and scattered or ornamental remains—could be scientifically measured, annotated, apprehended, and controlled. In fact, an accurate measurement of the remains of the Antique building or monument in question was required by the Academy as proof of the *pensionnaires*'s direct experience of the monument. This part of their work was empirically driven.

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<sup>349</sup> On a similar theme, there are also images, presumably both by Jean Alaux, of Ingres in his studio in the Via Gregoriana and Ingres painting *Romulus, Victor over Acron* at the Trinita del Monte. For more, see *Maesta di Roma II*, 197-201, 218-220.

<sup>350</sup> For more on the *pensionnaires*'s depictions of local peasants, see *Maesta di Roma II*, 245-277.

<sup>351</sup> It was typical for drawings after the Antique to be made in pencil, not color, as is visible here.

<sup>352</sup> Huyot's work in 1810-1811 focused on the Temple of Palestrina. ENV 8, ENSBA.

An architect's ability to apprehend and control the Antique, however, only extended to the information provided by the ruins. For their final project at the Académie de Rome, the architects had to draw a reconstructed version, essentially inventing its missing parts based on the knowledge that they had accrued while measuring and studying the ruins of the edifice in person. Their inventiveness, even in their decorative schema for the building, was never challenged because of its basis in fact—in the extant physical remains of the building. The final projects of the architect *pensionnaires* were therefore markedly different from those of the painters. Painters were to look primarily at the Greco-Roman statues left in Rome and absorb the *beau-idéal* they presented—remember Lethière's comment, "...il y a loin d'un hussard à l'Apollon du Belvédère qu'on possède à Paris et qu'on étudie à Rome."<sup>353</sup> The painters had to create works that were different enough from these statues so that the source could still be recognized but the painting not be considered merely derivative. The painting should not have been based wholesale upon the specific details of a particular Antique statue, but based upon the generalized lessons that engaging with this kind of art had taught the painters. As we have seen, this posed a problem for Ingres when he was creating his Oedipus, for he chose to modify the "Cincinnatus" pose that the model adopted with other Antique citations that the Academy did not recognize. Ingres's Antique references—from bas-reliefs to Roman paintings—were lost on his Parisian evaluators. The architectural reconstruction, however, had a clear source in the physical ruins from which the *pensionnaire* reconstructed it.

### **The Architectural *Restauration Envoi***

We have established that architect and artist *pensionnaires* were frequently good friends, studying and drawing with one another at the Villa Medici in Rome and in the city outside of it. Ingres's particular friendship with Ménager, which will be discussed shortly, suggests that the two worked together frequently. The strange, yet codified aesthetic of architectural drawings would have been on display during many of these group-sketching sessions, and one finds it hard to imagine that Ingres, with his penchant for contour, would not have been drawn to the architectural method of rendering the Antique.

The aesthetics of architectural *envois* were more uniformly codified than those of painter's *envois*. This similarity of approach can be best understood when looking across all fourth-year "*restaurations*" or reconstructions made by architect *pensionnaires* during the period of Napoleonic domination in Italy (1800-1815). In these second-to-last *envois*, an architect was to produce clear, precisely measured drawings of a Roman monument of his choice, including one depicting its current state and one in which he imagined its original state: in other words, he was to imagine how he would "restore" it if he had the chance. The *envois* were meant to include detail studies and a written report further explaining the work.<sup>354</sup> In all of the *restaurations* Ingres would have seen during his time at the Villa Medici, the lighting of these buildings and their decorations is drawn rather schematically on every *envoi*. All use a light

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<sup>353</sup> Lethière, Rome to Vincent, Paris, Dec 1813, Carton 14, f. 262, Villa Medici Archives. "...there is a great distance from a Hussar to the Apollo Belvedere that we own in Paris but study in Rome."

<sup>354</sup> "Dans la quatrième année, ils feront les dessins géométraux d'un monument antique d'Italie à leur choix, levés et dessinés d'après nature, et dans l'état exact où se trouve le monument; ils y joindront les dessins arrêtés de la restauration de ce monument, telle qu'ils l'auront conçue, et un précis historique sur son Antiquité et sur la construction. De plus ils ajouteront à ces objets le détail des parties les plus intéressantes, et dans la proportion du quart de l'exécution." Academy rules from 1799, reprinted in Suvéé Correspondance, 162-163.

source coming from the upper left corner to illuminate the cornices and other details presented in the portfolio of drawings. The shadow used to gesture at volume was rendered generically in each drawing: evenly tapered wash lines deliberately crescendoing from a lighter grey to a darker black in even streaks of different greys, like a monochromatic version of a child's schematic rainbow drawing (Figure 2.55). Contour lines are the most prevalent form of figural definition in these *restaurations*. They outline the detail of the reliefs and the acanthus leaves of the column capitols, both existing and imagined, that populate the *envois*.

Gasse's drapery study from 1805 or 1806, doubtless completed in one of the many daily drapery sessions offered at the Académie de Rome, provides a good model of an aesthetic that could easily cross over from the painterly to the architectural and back.<sup>355</sup> The goal of the drapery study was to copy the way that cloth was folded over a particular mannequin in the hopes of achieving a naturalistic look when representing clothed bodies in two dimensions. This was especially relevant for the representation of Antique garb, from tunics to togas. In nineteenth-century representations of the Antique toga, it was treated more like drapery than as a historically precise piece of clothing. Architects needed to practice making drapery believable as much as painters, for their *restauration* drawings often called for the rendering of Antique sculpture. Every grand public building in Ancient Rome, such as the Temple of Anoninus and Faustina on the Roman Forum, was thought, as a matter of course, to have been decorated with great freestanding sculptures both outside and inside (Figures 2.56 and 2.57). Therefore an *envoi* representing the Temple as it might have been originally constructed would also need to show it decorated with these sculptures. And every sculpture had to be draped in a convincing manner. Gasse's idea seemed to be to show the lines necessary for the drapery as opposed to the three-dimensionality of the (theoretical) body beneath it. It is almost as if Gasse was drawing a bas-relief, marking a decisive line for every incision the sculptor made into the marble. The study emphasizes line, as opposed to volume, for Gasse's shading is rather rudimentary. Scratched notations of light and shadow are quickly rendered, of secondary importance to the contour lines of the folds both at the edge of the drapery and within it.

In their *restaurations* of Antique buildings, architect *pensionnaires* would have had to invent these decorative elements. Such inventions included details based on the examples that remained, such as the prolongation of a cornice or frieze extant only as a fragment, and items that simply had to be made up, such as freestanding statues or temple pediment decoration. Architects were allowed—and rewarded for—a certain creativity in their re-imagining of the Antique: a creativity that was denied to painters, as the example of Ingres will show. The “invented Antique” of the architects, especially as they used it to render statues or bas-reliefs decorating their restored buildings, was never questioned as inauthentic or antithetical to the *beau*. Much of the work of the *pensionnaire* painters, however, was harshly criticized by the Parisian Academy throughout the Napoleonic period for exactly that reason. One cannot help wondering, as the reports were read aloud, if painters such as Ingres began to think that the architects were on to something about the *beau* that the painters had somehow missed. Ingres was certainly good enough friends with many of these architects to have witnessed their work and appears to have been interested enough in their approach that he may have adapted several of their aesthetic tactics during his *pensionnat* in the hopes of also receiving a favorable review from the Academy for his use of the *beau*.

Ingres was great friends with both Guenepin and Ménager, whose *restauration envois* were highly praised by the Parisian Academy in 1811. Guenepin is mentioned in Ingres's letter

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<sup>355</sup> This study was mentioned earlier in the chapter.

to a fellow artist friend; Ménager appears nowhere in Ingres's extant correspondence but Ingres is mentioned frequently in the architect's letters home to his father.<sup>356</sup> These letters remain in the hands of Ménager's descendants today and are quoted only in part by Naef.<sup>357</sup> Dating from early October 1805 to a year later, Ménager's letters reveal his impatience at Ingres's slow arrival in Rome. On September 12, 1805, Ménager laments Ingres's silence—"je suis sensible à sa négligence"—as well as the general neglect the architect suffers at the hands of his Parisian friends: "*il n'est pas le seul à qui je doit faire ce reproche, cela me prouve bien que nos soi-disant amis ne pensent à nous que quand ils nous voient...*"<sup>358</sup> In his next three letters, Ménager expresses disbelief that Ingres will ever arrive in Italy, giving us yet another source confirming the reluctance of Ingres to depart Paris: "*mais comme depuis huit mois [Ingres] doit partir dans un mois, je crois pouvoir encore douter d'avoir le plaisir de le voir avant le printemps.*"<sup>359</sup>

In March of 1806, Ménager promises his impatient parents that they will get a portrait of him soon by Ingres's hand: "*Ingres m'a promis de... faire [le portrait], ainsi vous êtes certains que sitôt qu'il sera ici il tiendra sa parole et que je vous l'enverrai.*"<sup>360</sup> Ingres's arrival at the Villa Medici in October of 1806 is confirmed by Ménager.<sup>361</sup> On the November 12, he writes to his father: "*mon ami Ingres est arrivé comme je vous l'ai déjà dit. Je lui ai fait part de votre bon souvenir auquel il est très sensible.*"<sup>362</sup> This last turn of phrase is often used in artist's letters to indicate friendship and respect between artists as it connotes an approbatory relationship has been created between their friends and their parents.<sup>363</sup> Apparently, Ingres was so close to the Ménagers that he visited the architect's parents before leaving for Rome and promised them that if Ménager ever fell ill, he would care for him. Ménager hoped that it would not come to that, writing: "*la vie tranquille et régulière que nous menons nous fait espérer que nous ne prendrons jamais de médecine à Rome.*"<sup>364</sup> Such a close bond suggests that Ingres would have taken an active interest in his friend's work as well as his health, looking over his architectural drawings and visiting Roman monuments with him.

### **Ingres, Ménager, and Archeology**

Jean-François Ménager's work on the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Forum Romanum and Guenepin's work on the Arch of Titus, both completed in 1809 and judged by the Parisian Academy in 1811, lean on research gleaned during archeological excavations (Figures 2.58 and 2.59). These two architects and many of their compatriots from 1800-1816 had archeological excavations performed on the Ancient Roman sites that they were "reconstructing" for their fourth year *envoi* projects.<sup>365</sup> These excavations did not as a rule yield up major elements of the Antique decoration of the buildings in question—no new Laocoons were

<sup>356</sup> On Guenepin, see Ingres *Lettres* 2011, 166.

<sup>357</sup> Naef's exacting scholarship lends credence to him having seen these letters and reporting on them faithfully. For more on the publishing situation, see Naef 1966, 255-258. For Naef's full quotations, see *Bildniszeichnungen*, vol. 1, 162-164.

<sup>358</sup> Quoted in Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, vol. 1, 162

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>361</sup> For chronology of Ingres's journey, see Ingres 2006, 147-148.

<sup>362</sup> Quoted in Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, Vol.1, 163.

<sup>363</sup> See, for example, the sculptor-*pensionnaire* Cortot's letters home to his parents: Cortot, Jean-Pierre. *Letters*. Carton Autographes 37, dossier 31, Fonds Doucet, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, France.

<sup>364</sup> Quoted in Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, vol.1, 163.

<sup>365</sup> See ENV 2 through ENV 10 at ENSBA.

found.<sup>366</sup> But then, this was not the purpose of the excavation. The archeology was performed so that the *pensionnaire* architect could understand more completely how the building was constructed. In the process, architectural details were sometimes found strewn about the monument or were better revealed through excavation; these were carefully recorded, in an ideal form, by the architects.<sup>367</sup> Ingres, as we shall soon see, was extremely interested in archeology and in the possibility of finding new Antique sources; the decorations Ménager found would have been very interesting to him.

Both buildings that Ménager and Guenepin “restored” were in the Roman Forum, a space that the French government officially began to excavate, independently of the Académie de France à Rome, in late 1808 until they abandoned Rome in 1814. Ménager’s earlier work on the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina seems to have been a touchstone for the excavation of the area. He remains Lethière’s only architect *pensionnaire* to have excavated a Forum monument before the French government’s Forum excavation plan was fully in place.<sup>368</sup> When the French civil planner Berthault was called in from Paris to turn the Roman Forum, along with the Palatine Hill, into a public promenade, he ultimately adapted Ménager’s archeological strategy to fit all the other monuments of the Forum. This strategy consisted of digging down to the level of the Ancient Roman soil only in the area nearest the “front” of the monument where the sacred processional route, the Via Sacra, would have been.<sup>369</sup> A retaining wall was then put around the monument.<sup>370</sup> The results of this strategy were still in place by 1828, if we are to believe a *vedute* of the Palatine and Forum area created by Luigi Rossini (Figure 2.60). The Forum was not a giant pit like the Coliseum in its concurrent excavation, but rather a mostly flat surface with several deep pockets around Ancient monuments. The contemporary viewer would have to stare down at the monuments from the surface as if into an abyss.<sup>371</sup> This feint brought the past visually closer, even as it made the spaces more tantalizingly inaccessible to the public.

Ménager’s facile use of archeology to further his architectural interests was probably due to his working on his *restauration* while Pierre-Adrien Pâris, a great architect, lover of Rome, and former Rome Prize winner himself, was interim head of the French Académie de Rome (1805-1806).<sup>372</sup> Pâris encouraged his students to pursue archeology as a means to an end: to find out how Antique buildings were actually constructed. All subsequent architects after Ménager were encouraged to take advantage of the ongoing Napoleonic sponsored excavations and to

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<sup>366</sup> Ridley lists the top items that were found in various excavations all over the city, from the Colosseum to Trajan’s Forum and notes that almost all of them were fragments or items of relative insignificance. Ridley 1992, 91. It is significant that, in writing about his choices to decorate the monument, Ménager feels as if he must invent most of the decoration, deriving clues from other Roman imagery and minute sized-holes in the building originally made for sculptural attachments. See Jean-François Ménager, *Restauration du Temple d’Antonin et Faustine à Rome*, Ms.248.II, 17-19, 1809, ENSBA.

<sup>367</sup> See for example, Ménager’s discussion of archeology and the frieze of the temple pediment of Antoninus and Faustina in Ménager, Ms.248.II, 17-18, ENSBA. See also Ridley 1992, 89-92.

<sup>368</sup> Work was begun on Ménager’s excavation in February 1809. Pinon and Amprimoz 1988, 181.

<sup>369</sup> See Ridley 1992, 169-173, 137-152 for an in-depth analysis. Also Pierre Pinon, *Archéologie et Projet Urbain* (Paris: CNMHS, 1985), 31-33.

<sup>370</sup> Ridley 1992, 169-173.

<sup>371</sup> For more on this, see Pinon 1985, 31-33.

<sup>372</sup> When Suvée died suddenly on the job in 1805, Pierre-Adrien Pâris, already in Rome, was asked to assume the directorship on an interim basis. For more information on Pierre-Adrien Pâris and his directorship of the Académie de France à Rome, see Pierre Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819), architecte, et les monuments antiques de Rome et de la Campanie* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2007), 16-20. For Ingres’s comments on the situation, see Ingres *Lettres*, 143-144.

choose a building for their *restauration* from those that were actively being excavated so that they might profit from the new knowledge.<sup>373</sup>

Ménager's excavations were begun sometime after February of 1809 and continued until mid-June of 1809.<sup>374</sup> They were undertaken in large part not by the architect himself (thus his choice of words when describing the work, "*j'ai fait fouiller*") but by a mason named Giuseppe Orlandi, who was supervised by the "architect" of the French Académie de Rome, G.B. Ottavianti.<sup>375</sup> As Ménager's drawings show and his report states, the southwest corner of the Temple was unearthed all the way down to the "*sol antique*" so that he might find the "*soubassement*," or the foundations, of the Temple (Figure 2.61).<sup>376</sup> One corner was enough for Ménager's intellectual purposes, so the rest was left unexcavated until the then-French government asked two Italian architects to come up with a plan to either make safe the work that Ménager had undertaken or uncover the entire façade. In 1809, both proposals were submitted to the French Minister of Culture of Rome, Joseph-Marie de Gerando.<sup>377</sup> The more elaborate proposal, if realized, would have uncovered the entire Temple front and built a massive retaining wall around it. Stairs from the unexcavated Forum level leading down to the Via Sacra would have been added so visitors could walk on its sacred stones.<sup>378</sup>

Ironically, the building that touched off the excavation of the Roman Forum was outpaced by the excavation of other, grander sites. In 1810, nothing had yet been done to the partially excavated Temple, and blame was being traded back and forth between the Académie de Rome and the *Consulta* in terms of who should accept responsibility for this.<sup>379</sup> Ultimately, it was decided that the portico would be completely cleared and a retaining wall built, but there would be no pedestrian access to the Via Sacra.<sup>380</sup> Still visible to the naked eye, if inaccessible to most, the uncovering of the Via Sacra had left quite an impression on Camille de Tournon, Prefect of Rome: "I was... amidst the workers... [and two antiquarians] when the pavement of this road [The Via Sacra] was uncovered after so many centuries. How can I describe the transport of delight of these antiquarians, their quickness to hurry into the deep excavation trench to be the first to touch, the first to press their lips to these stone, where they seemed to see yet still the footsteps of Horace and Virgil?"<sup>381</sup> The Napoleonic excavation of the Temple was undertaken with entirely different goals than the Bourbon excavations of Pompeii. Both Ménager and de Tournon after him were most concerned with systematically revealing the edifice itself as opposed to haphazardly hunting for treasure. Ménager's goal was to learn how the structure was built; de Tournon's was to have Augustan Rome revealed through its monumental buildings as a gleaming example of Empire.

The first page of Ménager's Antoninus and Faustina *envoi* showcases to a novel degree the amount and kind of archeological research he undertook (Figure 2.62). The slippage between

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<sup>373</sup> *Procès Verbaux* I 2001, 89-95.

<sup>374</sup> Pinon and Amprimoz 1988, 181, fn. 302.

<sup>375</sup> "*J'ai fait fouiller*" translates to "I had [others] excavate..." Ottavianti served as a preservationist for the Académie de France à Rome, making sure the physical building did not crumble. For more on the excavations, see Pinon and Amprimoz 1988, 181. See also Ménager, *Envoi* of 1809, ENV 6-01, ENSBA.

<sup>376</sup> Ménager, *Envoi* of 1809, ENV 6-01, ENSBA.

<sup>377</sup> Ridley 1992, 182-187.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>379</sup> Pinon and Amprimoz 1988, 181. Ridley 1992, 185.

<sup>380</sup> Ridley 1992, 185-186.

<sup>381</sup> Camille de Tournon "Mémoire sur les travaux entrepris à Rome par l'Administration Française de 1810 à 1814" excerpted from *Académie de Bordeaux*, vol. 2 (1821): 48. See Ridley 1992, 186.

past and present that archeology performs further invades the normally staid *envoi* plan page, as the old and new version of the plan are collapsed and presented on top of one another. Ménager represents the excavations (“*fouilles*”) visually, showing us a part of the stairs and even several Via Sacra paving stones at the same time as he shows us the “real” (ideal) temple plan walled within its current church conversion (Figure 2.63). Ménager advertises his archeological efforts up front, as opposed to just embedding the work in the accompanying written report (*mémoire*), which was more common. In the choices he makes on the first page of his *envoi*, Ménager allows the building’s past to combine with its present. The reconstructed (ideal) plan of the Temple, shown by itself, would have been an abstract set of black circles and lines: a perfect, undisturbed composition.<sup>382</sup> Ménager sullies this ideal not only with the realities of the church currently imposed upon it, but also places the ideal as beholden to its ancient context along the Via Sacra.

Ménager’s adherence to this vision of the building through time is promoted through his prominent explanations of his color-coding on the first page of the *envoi*. The darkest, most visible colors designate his idea of the “real” Antique in the monument: the dark black on his plan is what is left of the Antique, the light grey is what has been restored of the Antique throughout the building’s history, and the pink represents modern additions. Below the color key, Ménager asserts the scientific authenticity of his work by stressing that he himself directed the excavations: “*pour trouver la place du mur du fond du temple, J’ai fait fouiller dans les caves au dessous de la sacristie...*” (Figure 2.64)<sup>383</sup> Ménager’s excavations helped to establish the exact dimensions of the Temple by securely placing the original location of its back wall, its foundations, and its lowest stair steps nearest the Via Sacra. Establishing by empirical measurement the real proportions of a temple known chiefly through Vitruvian theories would have been a major discovery for Ménager, one worth much more to his work than the unearthing of a bronze or other temple decoration.<sup>384</sup>

Ingres’s interest in archeology, which was not a part of his *envoi* process at all, has been only very recently the subject of significant scholarship, most of which addresses Ingres’s work after 1814.<sup>385</sup> From several drawings he made, we know that Ingres was increasingly involved with the archeological milieu developing in Rome after 1814. He became close with the archeologists who had excavated the temple of Aphaea at Aegina in 1811: Charles Robert Cockrell, Baron Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, and Jacob Linckh.<sup>386</sup> Ingres drew a portrait of

<sup>382</sup> See ENV 2 – ENV 10 at the ENSBA for other examples of contemporary *envois*. For reproduction of many of the plates of the *envois* from 1800-1816, see Paola Ciancio Rossetto, Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, and François-Charles Uginet, eds., *Roma Antiqua: envois degli architetti francesi (1788-1924): L’Area Archeologica Centrale: Curia (Foro romano)* (Rome: Académie de France, 1985). Hereafter *Roma Antiqua Foro* 1985. See also Paola Ciancio Rossetto, Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, and François-Charles Uginet, eds., *Roma Antiqua: envois degli architetti francesi (1786-1901): Grandi Edifici Pubblici* (Roma: Edizioni Carte Segrete, 1992). Hereafter *Roma Antiqua Edifici Pubblici* 1992.

<sup>383</sup> Ménager, *Envoi* of 1809, ENV 6-01, ENSBA. Though, as was mentioned earlier, the excavations were overseen by a mason named Giuseppe Orlandi, who was in turn supervised by G.B. Ottavianti, it is probably that Ménager had some hand in choosing where the excavations would take place.

<sup>384</sup> The Parisian Academicians were very impressed with the discoveries Ménager’s archeological work led him to. *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 279.

<sup>385</sup> See Picard-Cajan 2006. See also Pascale Picard-Cajan 2009.

<sup>386</sup> No British or foreign archeologists would have been permitted to excavate in any Napoleonic territories during the Empire. With the fall of the Empire, Rome’s community of ex-patriot archeologists grew. According to Picard-Cajan, Ingres would have met Stackelberg and Linckh sometime between 1815-1817. Picard-Cajan 2006, 40-45.

the latter two in attestation of this friendship and dedicated the portrait to Cockrell.<sup>387</sup> After having broken up with Julie Forestier in order to remain in Rome, Ingres next proposed to an archeologist's daughter, Laura Zoëga, in 1812; by 1813, he had broken off that second engagement as well.<sup>388</sup> Ingres's relationships with archeologists, however, have not left us with any concrete drawings by Ingres of ongoing archeology in the city of Rome, only remnants of archeological finds made elsewhere and brought back to the city.<sup>389</sup>

Picard-Cajan believes Ingres to have been interested in Greek vases (known as "Etruscan vases" in the nineteenth century when found on Italian soil) in the period before 1815, especially those that were uncovered through archeological digs at Pompeii.<sup>390</sup> He would have seen these in Caroline Murat's collection when he went to Naples in 1814. The extent of Ingres's copying from vase paintings shows that he valued these Antique representations at least as much as the Antique sculpture he had copied as a student at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris that had earned him his trip to Rome. His drawings after vases in Murat's collections further reveal that he was interested in being at the vanguard of Antique discoveries, in being able to capture an Antique that was uncovered only shortly before he drew it. This is doubtless what drew Ingres to archeology in Rome—the possibility of finding a new Antique, different from the one he had absorbed through his training.

It seems the instability of the Antique—the fact that it could be continually re-defined through excavation—interested and relieved Ingres.<sup>391</sup> If there was an unstable Antique, an alternate reference point, those that interpreted and criticized his paintings in favor of works that spoke to more traditional themes in Antique art would be wrong. Precisely because it was not after canonical freestanding sculpture, the archeology demanded by architecture presented Ingres with new aesthetics for the Antique. These aesthetics mostly came out of Antique bas-reliefs, for that was the type of decoration architects found (recall the fragment of a Corinthian column in Huyot's studio) in their excavations; it was also the kind of Antique they drew or had to invent for their *restaurations*.

### **The Fantasy of the Antique: Ingres and the Aesthetics of Architectural *Envois***

Ménager's *envoi* of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina would have interested Ingres for its aesthetic as well as for the New Antique it unveiled or created. The form of *envois* sent back to the Parisian Academy changed subtly over the course of the Napoleonic years to stress the drawing of architectural details and decorations—as opposed to showcasing the building itself and then featuring just one detail.<sup>392</sup> The renderings and interpretations of architectural details—such as griffins on a frieze or acanthus leaves of capitals—that Ménager either observed first-hand on the building or unearthed during his excavations dominate the *envoi* in all their elaborate, fragmentary glory (Figure 2.65). This new emphasis on architectural detail as an

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<sup>387</sup> For more, see *Image of an Epoch 1999*, 218-219.

<sup>388</sup> This will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4. Ingres is thought to have painted her portrait. For more see H. Rostrup, "Ingres et la fille de Zoëga," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (Feb. 1969): 121-122.

<sup>389</sup> The Musée Ingres at Montauban houses three drawings of the marbles in high relief from the Temple pediment of Angina that Ingres would have made in late 1815 or 1816; they were in Thorvaldsen's studio being restored at that time, fresh from their excavation. See *Bildnisszeichnungen*, Vol.2, See Picard-Cajan 2006, 41-42; 43-44.

<sup>390</sup> For a concise and clear summation of her general argument, see Picard-Cajan 2009, 311-317.

<sup>391</sup> For more on the instability of the Antique and its consequences, see Barkan 1999.

<sup>392</sup> Looking at the *Envois* from the years 1800-1816 makes this clear. For reprints of many of them, see *Roma Antiqua Edifici Pubblici* 1992 and *Roma Antiqua Foro* 1985.

integral part of the *envoi* culminates in fascinating sheets—appearing sporadically at first in the early 1800s, but increasingly key to *envois* as one progresses into the Napoleonic period—which place detail studies up next to one another instead of compartmentalizing each form in a separate space (Figure 2.66). The idealized details are more evocative of the physicality of the Temple than the accompanying plans, which seem abstract by comparison. These details, when incorporated into one another’s space, end up generating an idea of the whole building, recomposed: as if Ancient buildings were only so many found fragments from digs.

Ménager, as we know from his *mémoire*, had unearthed no statues; he was able to “extend” the motifs of the extant bas-relief from the frieze to cover his reconstructed version of the Temple but had to invent the larger sculptural ornamentation for the building. This ornamentation, including the very high relief sculptures demanded for the pediment as well as the freestanding sculptures in the sanctuary, was apparently ultimately based on other examples “of the same type” (Figure 2.67).<sup>393</sup> Ménager’s pediment reconstruction was especially praised by the Parisian Academic jury as being exquisitely detailed.<sup>394</sup> Ménager is here rewarded for his inventiveness in applying what is essentially an apotheosis typology to the Temple fronton. The Academy felt this choice was thematically correct and did not seem to bother much with the details of the relief sculpture Ménager chose.<sup>395</sup> Sculpture is the least important, least accurate part of Ménager’s *envoi*, far less important than his scientific study of the Temple and the architectural details he was able to uncover. The structures of Antiquity that Ménager found, then, are more important than his invented decorative reconstruction; for a painter, the invented reconstruction of the Antique in the form of the sculptural *beau-idéal* would instead be tantamount.

Nowhere else in the Napoleonic period is the recording of detail—both invented and extant—so prevalent as in Auguste Guenepin’s drawings for his 1810 *restauration* of the Arch of Titus (Figure 2.68). The Arch was not at this point the freestanding structure that we see today but was attached to a convent (Figure 2.69).<sup>396</sup> Though the French had “isolated” the monument from the convent by February of 1813, it was still surrounded by building materials necessary to prop it up (Figure 2.70).<sup>397</sup> Guenepin had to imagine it structurally independent and ornamented. His minimalist neoclassical reconstruction of it is stunningly similar to the ultimate restoration, visible today, which was undertaken by Valadier in 1818 (Figure 2.71).<sup>398</sup>

On the whole, Guenepin’s *envoi* shares with the Ménager a love of detail for its own sake—the sheet from the *envoi* in which many of the observed details are combined together in a fantastic manner is particularly powerful (Figure 2.72). The cornice detail meets the curves of the side pilaster in a way that makes it seem almost like part of a building itself, even if it is only so many perfectly interwoven citations. Guenepin’s work also shares with the Ménager its style of rendering: its aesthetic of flatness and its sharp, clean elaboration of relief details found in a ruined state, then imagined into perfection. The figures represented in these drawings are drawn into an empty plane—that is, they have no “background” so to speak, no setting other than their

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<sup>393</sup> Ménager Ms.248.II, 17-19, ENSBA. It is hard to tell what exactly Ménager means in terms of similar examples, as the front pediment of his temple which shows an Apotheosis scene does not resemble any other Ancient temple fronts with which I am familiar. It may reflect the apotheosis scene on the column base of Antoninus Pius, a bas-relief which both Ménager and Ingres would have been able to see in Rome

<sup>394</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 278-279.

<sup>395</sup> *Procès Verbaux* I 2001, 91-92.

<sup>396</sup> Ridley 1992, 95-99.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>398</sup> Ridley 1992, 95.

place within the confines of the architectural element they were embellishing (Figure 2.73 and 2.74). They were blank forms, floating in clean spaces; forms that, I argue, could easily be appropriated by painters seeking a different approach to the Antique.

Ingres is one such painter. His work, intensely criticized by the Parisian Academy as having taken up the worst of the Antique, was, I believe, deeply influenced by the two-dimensional renderings of the Antique made by his fellow architect-*pensionnaires*. In the Academy's report on his *envois* from 1805-1808, Ingres's work was criticized for a lack of depth and a lack of *demi-teinte*.<sup>399</sup> Parts of his figures were poorly drawn, though tiny details, such as Oedipus's hands, were considered well rendered.<sup>400</sup> In the same year, Ménager was praised for the overall execution of all his studies, which were well drawn and "pure" in detail.<sup>401</sup> His research on extant architectural embellishments—such as a Corinthian column from the Baths of Caracalla housed in the Capitoline Museum—and his absolute precision in rendering them, was lauded above all. Ingres was also praised for his details, but the Parisian Academy's report called such detailing purposeless, finding it excessive. Detail was not considered useful to the expression of the narrative in Ingres's painted work but vital to Ménager's drawn work. Both artist and architect had similar aesthetic foci but were treated in vastly different ways by the Parisian Academy.

The 1810 *envois* (judged in 1811) showed even more of a dichotomy in the response of the Parisian Academy. Ménager was universally praised for his now-completed *restauration* of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina while Ingres was almost universally condemned for his work. Ingres's *Jupiter and Thetis* "n'offre point ce qu'on avait lieu d'attendre de son talent..."; (Figure 2.75).<sup>402</sup> The principal figures were lacking in mass, the colors were too uniform, the head of Jupiter was not noble, and Thetis's anatomy was incorrect.<sup>403</sup> Ménager's proportions, however, were perfect. Though they used the same method in showing depth—the slow changing of color around the exterior contours to connote volume—Ménager's work alone was praised for it. Ménager composed invented sculptures, placing them within the empty space of his pediment to great acclaim; Ingres's floating figure of Hera placed in the opaque blue space of the sky above *Jupiter and Thetis* was condemned. The bringing together of multiple details of the building to form a coherent decorative whole, a strategy that Ménager used on one of his detail sheets, is akin to Ingres's strategy of combining parts of various Antique sources to compose a whole. Ingres's evaluation committee, composed of painters, did not understand this methodology; Ménager's committee, composed of architects, found Ménager's strategy perfectly normal. Though they used the same techniques, Ingres's invented Antique was not deemed to be acceptable or canonical, whereas Ménager's invented Antique was lauded.<sup>404</sup>

Ingres was performing in paint as Ménager was in ink. As we shall see, Ingres rendered his invented Antique characters in two dimensions the way that an architect would. Ingres's work focused mostly on exterior contour, making it stand for the delineation of an individual as opposed to defining figures with the more subtle, painterly approach of *demi-teinte*. He lovingly elaborated every detail in the composition. He created a unified blank background and placed his subjects within it. Finally, Ingres created a composition out of disjointed fragments. His

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<sup>399</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268-269.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>401</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 278-279.

<sup>402</sup> *Procès Verbaux* I 2001, 80, 90-91.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81, 90-91.

sources included a painted and bas-relief Antique preserved in engravings as well as a decorative Antique, newly dug up throughout the city and rendered by his architect friends.

### ***Jupiter and Thetis: An Invented Antique***

Though not evident at first glance, the very composition of *Jupiter and Thetis* is indebted to images seen and techniques acquired in Rome by Ingres during his *pensionnat*. The history painting composed for the final year *envoi*, *Jupiter and Thetis* was one of the few compositions in his life that Ingres never attempted to change or re-make in paint.<sup>405</sup> Since Ingres remained in Italy for such a long time after the painting's display in Paris, it was housed by his friend Granger. Ultimately bought at Granet's urging by the French state for a museum Granet was helping to curate in Aix-en-Provence, it remains there to this day.<sup>406</sup> It is a huge canvas, positively saturated with color.<sup>407</sup> The blue of the sky behind Jupiter's head, critiqued by the Parisian Academy as being too matte, is so clearly a Roman blue sky that Ingres betrays its origins.<sup>408</sup>

*Jupiter and Thetis* was condemned by the Parisian Academy as the ultimate proof of Ingres's abandonment of the *beau-idéal* despite his many years of study in Rome. It was also criticized for lacking weight in a literal sense.<sup>409</sup> Both these criticisms point to Ingres's rejection of Greco-Roman freestanding sculpture as vital source material for the painting. To my knowledge, there exists no freestanding Ancient sculpture of this particular scene from the *Iliad* to serve as precedent to Ingres. Many of the novel compositional choices Ingres made in this painting were based instead on the melding of the literary description with various Antique prototypes for each figure, mostly drawn from engravings. Empowered by his architect companions to invent a new Antique, Ingres deliberately chose a subject rarely represented and an iconography drawn on an Antique that had no obvious precedent.

For final *envoi*, an original history painting, Ingres chose a relatively non-heroic scene from the *Iliad*: the nymph Thetis begs the king of the gods, Jupiter, to help her and her son Achilles.<sup>410</sup> Achilles felt that he had been wronged by Agamemnon in the division of the spoils

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<sup>405</sup> I have not found any instance in the scholarly literature on Ingres where his unwillingness to take up the subject of Jupiter and Thetis again is remarked upon. Ingres only revisited the subject for the second time for the Réveil print at the end of his life. For more general information about *Jupiter and Thetis*, see Ingres 2006, 162-165. For a more sophisticated discussion, see Siegfried 2009, 149-177.

<sup>406</sup> Ingres 2006, 162.

<sup>407</sup> The impression when one views it in person is really striking. The only dimensions for it I have found in Ingres 2006, which suggest that the painting is 32.7 x 26 cm, but I think they may have gotten centimeters confused with meters (The official rules, as quoted in Suvée *Correspondance*, vol. 1, 161 state the painting must be 3m, 2 decimeters, and 5 cm high, and of the width desired by the artist.

<sup>408</sup> *Procès Verbaux I* 2001, 80.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

<sup>410</sup> The moment Ingres chose to depict occurs in Book 1 of the *Iliad*: "Now after twelve days the immortal gods came back in a body to Olympus, and Jove led the way. Thetis was not unmindful of the charge her son had laid upon her, so she rose from under the sea and went through great heaven with early morning to Olympus, where she found the mighty son of Saturn sitting all alone upon its topmost ridges. She sat herself down before him, and with her left hand seized his knees, while with her right she caught him under the chin, and besought him, saying:

'Father Jove, if I ever did you service in word or deed among the immortals, hear my prayer, and do honour to my son, whose life is to be cut short so early. King Agamemnon has dishonoured him by taking his prize and keeping her. Honour him then yourself, Olympian lord of counsel, and grant victory to the Trojans, till the Achaeans give my son his due and load him with riches in requital.'

of war and refused to make war against the Trojans until Agamemnon admitted his errors.<sup>411</sup> Full of vengeance, Achilles asked his mother Thetis to encourage Jupiter to change the course of the Trojan War so that the Greeks would lose every battle they fought without Achilles. This scene represents her pleading Achilles's cause to Jupiter.

Ingres's representation carefully adheres to the text of the *Iliad*, a fact which many writers on the subject have noted.<sup>412</sup> In Book I of the *Iliad*, Achilles reminds the reader that Thetis would be able to ask such a favor of Jupiter because she once helped him stave off a revolt by the other gods for control of Olympus. The viewer is reminded of the validity of her claim by Ingres's careful inclusion of a bas-relief on the bottom of Jupiter's throne depicting a warring Jupiter on a chariot, preparing to hurl his thunderbolts at his adversaries.<sup>413</sup> In Homer's text, Achilles's specification that *only* Thetis could convince Jupiter to help him hints at the sexual tension between his mother and the king of the gods. Jupiter had always been deeply attracted to Thetis, but had not originally given in to his desire to procreate with her as it was fated that her firstborn son (ultimately, Achilles) would be a greater man than his father.<sup>414</sup>

The gesture of Thetis bending down before him and holding Jupiter's knee and chin—an expression of pleading—is alive with that sexual tension. In the text alone, Homer repeats that Thetis had a “hold of his [Jupiter's] knees” at least three times, and Juno's taunt to Jupiter later in the poem on the same subject exposes its sexual nature.<sup>415</sup> Though her knee-holding and her chin-cupping are both clearly delineated in the Homeric text, Thetis is rarely depicted as performing both of these actions quite so literally in other visual representations of the event. In Flaxman's depiction of the scene in his illustrations to the *Iliad*—which may have inspired Ingres's choice of this moment—Thetis has one hand gently placed on Jupiter's knee and the

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Jove sat for a while silent, and without a word, but Thetis still kept firm hold of his knees, and besought him a second time. ‘Incline your head,’ said she, ‘and promise me surely, or else deny me—for you have nothing to fear—that I may learn how greatly you disdain me.’

At this Jove was much troubled and answered, ‘I shall have trouble if you set me quarrelling with Juno, for she will provoke me with her taunting speeches; even now she is always railing at me before the other gods and accusing me of giving aid to the Trojans. Go back now, lest she should find out. I will consider the matter, and will bring it about as wish. See, I incline my head that you believe me. This is the most solemn vow that I can give to any god. I never recall my word, or deceive, or fail to do what I say, when I have nodded my head.’

As he spoke the son of Saturn bowed his dark brows, and the ambrosial locks swayed on his immortal head, till vast Olympus reeled.

When the pair had thus laid their plans, they parted—Jove to his house, while the goddess quitted the splendour of Olympus, and plunged into the depths of the sea.” From Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Samuel Butler (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1898). Available at <http://classics.mit.edu/Homer/iliad.1.i.html>.

<sup>411</sup> Siegfried is the first to point out that this subject is a pre-quel to Ingres's 1801 prize-winning *Ambassadors of Agamemnon*. Siegfried 2009, 150.

<sup>412</sup> Both Schlenoff and Siegfried insist that Ingres was a careful reader of the classics and took notes in his Cahiers on this exact subject. Siegfried 2009, 150-153 and Norman Schlenoff, *Ingres: ses Sources Littéraires* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), 127-28.

<sup>413</sup> Siegfried 2009, 153.

<sup>414</sup> For more on Thetis's potentially subversive sexuality, see Laura M. Slatkin, *The Power of Thetis: Allusion and Interpretation in the Iliad* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 54-85.

<sup>415</sup> *Iliad*, trans. Butler, Book 1. Siegfried believes the knees of Jupiter have a special sexual significance. Siegfried 2009, 155.

other on the throne (Figure 2.76). Jupiter is turned sideways to the viewer, and the bodies of the two protagonists are much further apart.<sup>416</sup>

Ingres, however, played up the sexual implications of the text in his compositional choices to a degree that is almost uncomfortable. Thetis's body, nearly disrobed in the perilously low drape of her clothes, conforms seamlessly to the curves of Jupiter's right thigh, while her long right arm stretches across both massive knees to caress his upper left thigh and fondle the drapery there. Her right elbow dips dangerously low into the space between his knees. Ingres even accentuates this dip by placing a shiny jewel on her bare arm. Her left arm, reaching towards Jupiter's chin, stretches to meet his lips as her muscles tense under the strain, uncomfortably erect. Her neck, slung back at an intense angle normally reserved for postures of ecstasy, forces her lips almost to brush the shadow under his pectoral muscle as she pleads with him.

The strangeness of *Jupiter and Thetis* comes from its amalgamated creative process. The subject is borrowed from Homer, the aesthetic from contemporary architectural renderings of Ancient architecture and its imagined decorative elements, and the compositional choices from engravings of Pompeian frescos. All three represent a new way to create a history painting, for Ingres and for French painting in general. The Ingres of *Jupiter and Thetis* emphatically turns from the "assembled sculpture" aesthetic of his *Ambassadors of Agamemnon* to an aesthetic where fragments of styles and of sources come together to form a painting. Confidence in canonical freestanding sculpture as the best source is gone, replaced by an interest in less pedigreed forms of the Antique, newly available through his Roman experience at the Villa Medici.

The poses of both Jupiter and Thetis reveal Ingres's sources, which bypass the Academic *beau-idéal* of freestanding Greco-Roman sculpture in favor of a painted or bas-relief Antique precedent. Many Ingres scholars claim his Jupiter imitates the cult statue of Zeus at Olympia.<sup>417</sup> However, Jupiter was found wanting sculptural heft by the Parisian Academy: it lacked mass, the telltale sign of a feeble interpretation of sculpture.<sup>418</sup> Jupiter's head and body were also deemed problematic: "*la tête de Jupiter ne donne point l'idée de la noblesse et de la puissance du maître des dieux et le torse de cette figure qui est d'une largeur exagérée dans sa partie supérieure est étroit à l'attache des hanches....*"<sup>419</sup> I attribute the lack of "correct" proportions to several decisions made by Ingres: to portray Jupiter frontally as architects did in their invented pediments, to compose the figure from an aggregate of Antique and modern sources, and to use as his model an adolescent boy.

No scholars have yet made the connection between Ingres's choice of an adolescent model for Jupiter, a full-grown god at the height of his powers, and the awkwardness of Jupiter's body in its final rendering. Several of the sketches in Montauban show a nude young boy, posing seated with a scepter. In one drawing, squared up, as if for transfer to a canvas, the boy's external contours and his sex organ are boldly delineated (Figure 2.77). Thetis's form is penciled in ever so lightly, her head over the top of the boy's penis. The adolescent sits upright in a chair, leaning into our space as he opens his right arm out to hold the scepter. His chest is

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<sup>416</sup> For More on Flaxman's influence on Ingres, see Sarah Symmons, "J. A. D. Ingres: The Apotheosis of Flaxman," *The Burlington Magazine* 121, No. 920 (Nov., 1979): 721-725.

<sup>417</sup> Siegfried also puts forth a bust of Zeus at the Vatican as a source. Siegfried 2009, 155. There is also the *Jupiter Vespori* at the Vatican.

<sup>418</sup> *Procès Verbaux* I 2001, 80.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

broad and flat, and his muscles, while present, are not fully developed. This lumpy, but not particularly powerful musculature reappears in Ingres's Jupiter. The boy's chest is much broader than his waist, as is often the case with developing male bodies at this stage. This is exactly the critique that the Parisian Academy levels at Jupiter.<sup>420</sup> Jupiter's chest is in fact even broader and flatter than the boy model's chest. The god expands his chest outwards to lean back into the clouds behind him, away from Thetis's head and her demands. The boy's face is small and almond-shaped, truncated by the imposing amount of hair of his head. Ingres extends this dark mass of curly hair all over Jupiter's head in the painting and endows his beard with it as well: almost as if an excess of hair would redeem the lack of musculature in the body. The expression of the boy's eyes—looking downwards and out, pondering over what to do with Thetis—is also seen again in the painting.

Jupiter's frontal pose created compositional problems for Ingres. He had difficulty deciding where to place Thetis's head (in one study, her face is practically in his armpit) and what size Jupiter's body should be (Figure 2.78). Canvas size for the final *envois* was regulated by the Academy, but the rules stipulated that the figure(s) had to be life-size.<sup>421</sup> In many of the representations of Jupiter Enthroned that Ingres could have found in Rome, including those on bas-reliefs or in engravings, Jupiter is shown seated sideways (Figure 2.79 and 2.80).<sup>422</sup> This is how Flaxman approaches the composition of this particular subject. In Flaxman's illustrations for both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Jupiter is shown frontally several times, but never with Thetis (Figure 2.81).<sup>423</sup> Each time, the result is awkward, even without his being pressed up against by a pleading nymph.

Ingres's decision to turn Jupiter towards the viewer frontally has its origins in the designs created by Ingres's fellow architect *pensionnaires* for the pediments of the various Roman temples that they were reconstructing. In particular, Ménager's *restauration* of one of the pediments of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and Leclère's *restauration* of the Pantheon pediment both show Jupiter Enthroned—or perhaps just Antoninus in the guise of Jupiter—in the center of the pediment (Figure 2.82 and 2.83.). Both of these, of course, are pure invention. In each, Jupiter/Antoninus is seated facing forwards, one or both feet securely placed on an elevated footstool. The background of these pediments as they are reconstructed is always empty. I argue that this empty setting is vital to Ingres's ability to cull characters from the *restauration* and to borrow the heavy contour lines and drapery of these figures. In these reconstructions, each Jupiter looks downwards and out, adopting the same look with which Ingres's Jupiter greets us. Leclère's Jupiter's drapery is shaded in the same crescendo of greys leading to an outside contour line as that of Ingres's Jupiter. Not only is Ingres borrowing the iconography of invented Antique architecture; he is also borrowing the spirit of that inventiveness—that an authentic Antique can be made anew in concordance with fragments of the old.

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<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

<sup>421</sup> “...de grandeur naturelle.” See Suvée *Correspondance*, Vol. 1, 161.

<sup>422</sup> Bellori *Admiranda*, PL 27 or 31; also the small interior frieze of the Ara Pacis.

<sup>423</sup> Flaxman's depiction of Jupiter and Thetis appears on plate 5 of his illustrations for the *Iliad*. Jupiter, enthroned and forward-facing, appears on plate in miniature in plate 4, and on a much larger scale on plates 6 and 9 of Flaxman's *Iliad* and plate 1 of Flaxman's illustrations for the *Odyssey*. See John Flaxman, *The Iliad of Homer: engraved from the compositions of John Flaxman, R.A., sculptor* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, 1805), 4, 5, 6, 9. See also John Flaxman, *The Odyssey of Homer, engraved by Thomas Piroli from the compositions of John Flaxman sculptor* ([Roma?], 1793), 1.

The figure of Hera in Ingres's painting also owes much to the architect's methods of designing (Figure 2.84). Ingres paints her floating above the scene, pressed up on a cloud in the sea of blue, looking down with a slight sneer on Thetis's plea. Ingres was criticized by the Parisian Academy for placing her in the same picture plane as Jupiter and Thetis instead of as a distant observer.<sup>424</sup> Rather than using the color of the sky to distance her, however, Ingres treated the surface as an undifferentiated background and made Hera on a smaller scale than the main characters to show her difference from them. These are the same strategies one might use for creating distance in a temple pediment, which also has an undifferentiated background. The Victories on the Arch of Titus (drawn by Guenepin in an ideal state, but which could be seen by all the artists in the Forum) similarly float in from the sides towards the center of the action in a blank, background space (Figure 2.85). The other temple pediment by Ménager for Antoninus and Faustina also features winged genies of some sort flying in to attend to the deified Antoninus and Faustina (Figure 2.67).

The battle scene on the bottom of the Jupiter's throne, too, is an example of Ingres taking a cue from the architects in inventing a decorative Antique frieze (Figure 2.86). What is more, the chariot Zeus drives seems reminiscent of that in Guenepin's drawings of the triumphal procession reliefs on the interior of the refurbished Arch of Titus (Figure 2.87). It also recalls bas-reliefs at the Capitoline or prints made after them (Figure 2.88).<sup>425</sup>

Finally, we come to the most perplexing figure of the composition: Thetis. After this painting, she was to become a star at the Roman Academy. David d'Angers would sculpt her in bas-relief form bringing arms to Achilles, her long, narrow body stretched out as if she were one of Ingres's sleeping odalisques (Figure 2.89). The Parisian Academy chiefly criticized her anatomical construction but ignored the sexual charge of her pose: "*la tête de Thétis a un renversement forcé. On ne devine pas non plus quelle est la jambe qui s'attache avec la cuisse droite.*" The pose Thetis adopts in Ingres's painting, her seemingly distorted body, and even her drapery, have a long visual history, however, in the Ancient world.<sup>426</sup> Part supplicant, part revealer of sexuality or drama, Thetis plays both parts convincingly to win over Jupiter. The overwhelming majority of these sources for Thetis are bas-reliefs and Ancient paintings, as opposed to three-dimensional Greco-Roman sculpture.

The supplicant of a conquered territory is depicted repeatedly in the ancient world in bas-relief form, from the conquered Dacians on Trajan's column to those on the arch of Marcus Aurelius (now in the Capitoline) (Figure 2.90). Bearded men in tunics (this codes them as non-Roman) are depicted standing below the conqueror on horseback with arms stretched out, or kneeling below the monarch, begging for clemency. Another Antique version of *clementia* involves a woman as representation of a conquered city (Figure 2.91). Wearing a crenellated crown on her head symbolizing the city walls, she kneels before her conqueror on one knee and offers herself to him in the hopes she will be dealt with kindly. This woman is always draped more elegantly than the male captives. The bottom half of that drapery, which is all that Thetis

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<sup>424</sup> "*La tête de Junon appuyée sur le petit nuage blanc fait une tache qui nuit à la lumière des groupes. Elle paraît sur le même plan que la figure de Thétis et ne produit pas un effet heureux*" Procès Verbaux I 2001, 80. In the Homeric text, Hera is not in the scene but somehow knows it has taken place: "But Juno, when she saw him, knew that he and the old merman's daughter, silver-footed Thetis, had been hatching mischief, so she at once began to upbraid him." Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Samuel Butler. Available at <http://classics.mit.edu/Homer/iliad.1.i.html>.

<sup>425</sup> Bellori *Admiranda*, Plates 22, 23.

<sup>426</sup> Bryson believes that Ingres unveils the sensual in his "deformations" of the body. Bryson 1984, 134.

wears, is slung low about the city-woman's bending thigh to accentuate its form. In profile, she opens her hands out to her captor in two different directions, one up and one down. Ingres would have seen many of these representations either in the Capitoline, in engravings, or in the plaster casts of Trajan's column at the Villa Medici and would have been keenly aware of this Antique iconography.

The bizarre pose of Thetis's arms has been linked by authors including Norman Bryson to that of the kneeling woman in the main fresco of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii (Figure 2.92). This woman, who is probably participating in a Dionysian rite, would seem to be uncovering a phallus in the fresco's narrative.<sup>427</sup> Such a rapprochement between the two images, however, is historically anachronistic as this room of the Villa of the Mysteries was only discovered in 1909.<sup>428</sup> But this character, this woman bending down on one knee with her two arms spread out differently from each other, has been traced to an Antique cameo and a relief in Campania (Figures 2.93 and 2.94).<sup>429</sup> In one, she is uncovering a phallus; in the other, a tragic mask. Both of these Ancient representations link the pleading position with a kind of latent sexuality. Ingres is unlikely to have known of these particular Ancient versions of the pose, nor would he have understood its varying interpretations. However, he might have found the pose in other Pompeian wall paintings discovered earlier and reproduced in the *Antichita di Ercolano*. Ingres repeats part of his research relating to the creation of *Oedipus* for his final *envoi*.

A few engravings, located quite near each other in Volume Four of the *Antichita di Ercolano*—the same volume that offered Ingres some inspiration for *Oedipus*—seem to have led him to his interpretation of Thetis. The first is of the Nymph of the Ascanian river, who, in the scene depicted, is in the midst of abducting the young “Ila,” (Hylas) for whom Hercules is unsuccessfully searching (Figure 2.95).<sup>430</sup> Her nude, crouching body is typical of a Venus bathing-type, which reinforces the nymph's link to the water. Thetis, too, is a nymph and a water-dweller. Thetis's nudity references her power of seduction, as it does with Venus, but also reinforces her link with the water that is so important throughout the text of the *Iliad*.<sup>431</sup> The back foot propping up the nimble body and the golden hair curled up in a bun behind the nymph's head in the engraving are repeated in Ingres's painting. The crouched form assumed by Thetis is slightly different than that in the engravings, as is the placement of her arms, but the delicacy of her features and the elongation of her arms and back remain similar.

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<sup>427</sup> Bryson 1984, 124-125. For more on the gesture of uncovering the phallus, see Jessica M. Davis, “The Search for the Origins of the Villa of the Mysteries Frieze” in *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii: ancient ritual, modern muse*, ed. Elaine K. Gazda (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and the University of Michigan Museum of Art, 2000), 90-92. Thanks also to Seth Estrin for sharing his unpublished work on the Villa of the Mysteries with me.

<sup>428</sup> Elaine K. Gazda, “Ancient and Modern Contexts of the Bacchic Murals in the Villa of the Mysteries,” in Gazda 2000, 1-3.

<sup>429</sup> Davis in Gazda 2000, 90-92.

<sup>430</sup> This scene represents an episode from the *Argonautica* (a Hellenistic epic poem written by Apollonius of Rhodes) in which Hylas, the young companion of Hercules, is sent to fetch fresh water. He does not return, causing Hercules to go look for him and ultimately forcing the Argonauts to leave without Hylas and Hercules. Thanks to Jackie Murray, *Argonautica* expert, for referring me to this text.

<sup>431</sup> Thetis is referred to in the *Iliad* as “the old merman's daughter, silver-footed Thetis.” In her encounter with Jupiter, Homer stresses that Thetis both leaves the sea and returns to it in order to ask this favor of him: “she rose from under the sea and went through great heaven with the early morning to Olympus” and “when the pair had thus laid their plans, they parted-- Jove to his house, while the goddess quitted the splendor of Olympus, and plunged into the depths of the sea.” Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Samuel Butler. Available at <http://classics.mit.edu/Homer/iliad.1.1.html>.

In the same volume of *Antichita di Ercolano*, there is an engraving of a Pompeian wall painting known today as *The Actor as King* (Figure 2.96). It depicts a man dressed in a king's robes, holding a scepter and sitting on a simple throne. He looks over at the maiden crouched beside him, who appears to be writing with a quill on the vertical surface of a table upon which stands a tragic mask. Another man stands behind the pair, holding a staff and looking down at the kneeling woman. Some writers on the subject believe that this is a personification of Drama, writing the play to be performed by the male actors depicted near her.<sup>432</sup> The *Antichita* describes her simply as a slave girl serving the actors. Though she bends the opposite pair of knees, her bare shoulder and her bent arm dip dangerously downwards as she writes in a manner quite similar to Ingres's Thetis. The woman's neck, while not arched at the excessively obtuse angle of Thetis's, is also elongated. The presence of a king and a kneeling woman occupying the same picture plane inclines one to imagine moving the two around to the position they might occupy in Ingres's *Jupiter and Thetis*. The king's staff would be in the correct position and the kneeling woman would be at a height only slightly lower than Thetis. It is tempting to imagine Ingres using these two Antique characters to compose the encounter between Jupiter and Thetis.

Stylistically, however, the shading in the *Antichita di Ercolano* engravings is far too subtle to have inspired the overall appearance of Ingres's character. The flatness of both Jupiter and Thetis, so critiqued by the Parisian Academy, as well as their existence on a plane without depth are factors that point to the origin of Ingres's style in the architectural *envoi* aesthetic. One has only to compare the shading in the arms of the Victories on Guenepin's Arch of Titus to that of Ingres's Thetis to see that the shading follows the same strategy. The conscientious specification in Ingres's work—of the drapery, of the bas-relief underneath the throne, of the decorative scrolls of the throne—points to an emphasis on detail that became, over the course of the Napoleonic period, increasingly important in architectural *envois*. The ability and freedom to invent a new Antique based on remnants of the old Antique—inherent to the architect's project in Rome—became integral to Ingres's work in Rome as well. Far from the demands of the Parisian Salon, Ingres abandoned freestanding canonical sculpture as a main referent in 1810 for a new Antique, an available Roman Antique, in the hopes of reforming art—of being the revolutionary he had always dreamed he could be.

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<sup>432</sup> Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis: eine Einführung in ihr Verständnis* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1929), 276-278.

## CHAPTER 3.

### SCULPTURAL TRANSGRESSIONS AND CONTOUR

During the Napoleonic Period, *pensionnaires* at the Académie de France à Rome radically altered the vocabulary of history painting from a pedagogically safe, morally elevating, and male-dominated art to a non-canonical, feminized art relying on genre tropes. They accomplished this through their reliance on one another's work across media and on the "left-over" Antiques of Rome. Barred from submitting their works at regular intervals to the Académie de Rome in Paris due to the aforementioned difficulties with transportation in wartime, the Prix de Rome winners were *de facto* excluded from public Salon exposure. They could not, as their predecessors had, accrue fame in France while painting in Rome. Instead, the painter and sculptor *pensionnaires* sought to make a name for themselves in Napoleonic Rome by working for local French patrons. The themes of their *envois*, as we shall see, were often chosen less for their morally instructive qualities than their ability to attract private collectors. Even though the *pensionnaires* increasingly sought to please a parlor aesthetic, they were, at the same time, performing their special right to paint mythological and historical subjects.

The painter and sculptor *pensionnaires* bent the Académie de Rome's rules almost to the point of breaking them in their free interpretations of long-standard definitions, including that of the gender of an *académie* or a "figure." In doing so, they produced a rather homogenous body of work starring ephebic men and Venus-like women in the place of heroes. As we know, this work received little official sanction in Paris. Ingres himself pushed Venus imagery into uncharted territory with his *Baigneuse Valpinçon* by creating what was in effect, a female *académie*: a female nude, stripped of any mythological origins or historical pretense, turned in as a single-figure composition as part of the fulfillment of his *pensionnaire* obligations (1808). Ingres's innovation will be considered at length in the next chapter, for the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* effectively invented a genre that had not existed before in painting. However, the demythologized solitary female nude had already been adopted as an *envoi* subject by several of the sculptors at the Académie de Rome during the Napoleonic period. This chapter addresses the driving forces behind the transition from heroic-male history paintings to female *académies* by considering the often overlooked but innovative *envois* of the sculptor *pensionnaires* whose works influenced Ingres and his fellow painters.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the relative isolation of the Académie de France à Rome from its Parisian counterpart helped to cement the camaraderie and artistic exchange between *pensionnaires* across media. We know from letters, drawings, and paintings that Ingres and Drolling maintained close relationships not only with the architects, but also with the sculptors who frequented the Villa Medici during and after their *pensionnats*. Having left his close friend the sculptor Bartolini behind in Paris, Ingres may have found solace in the presence of similarly trained sculptors in Rome. According to Hans Naef, Ingres drew portraits of four sculptor *pensionnaires* at the Villa Medici during the Napoleonic period: Ruxthiel, Cortot, Dupaty, and David d'Angers.<sup>433</sup> Ingres completed most of these portraits in the years after his

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<sup>433</sup> Ingres also depicted Bartolini and his family when he went to Florence, as well as the sculptor Paul Lemoyne while in Rome. Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, Vol. 1: Bartolini: 144-158, Ruxthiel: 184-188, Dupaty: 206-213 and David d'Angers: 475-482. Vol. 2: Cortot: 307-317. Vol. 3: Lemoyne: 301-311. See also "Ingres et Cortot" 2009, 207-209.

*pensionnat* had ended, which suggests that he maintained close ties to the Academic community in Rome throughout his extended stay in the city.<sup>434</sup>

The camaraderie between artists of varying media so beautifully described in Drolling's letters to his father came as a result of throwing young people with similar goals together for a period of several years. For the first time, the artists were not in competition with each other for official government commissions or awards such as the Rome Prize—only at a distance were they still competing for the attention of their respective *atelier* masters (David, for many of them). Drolling recounts that this spirit of camaraderie felt alive to him from the moment he entered Rome. His friends from David's studio, the painter Langlois and the sculptor Cortot, waited for him at the gate of the Piazza del Popolo on the day of his appointed arrival in Rome to greet him. Not only that, they brought with them *pensionnaires* working in other media to meet the new arrivals: Gatteaux and both of the "*tailleurs de pierre-douces*."<sup>435</sup> The *anciens pensionnaires* began to explain the sites of the city to Drolling—the Piazza del Popolo, the Trintà dei Monti—from that first moment he walked through the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. They spent the next few days showing him all the great monuments of the city, from the Forum Romanum to the Vatican.<sup>436</sup>

When Drolling talks about his typical day, he always uses the word "*on*" colloquially, referring to the *pensionnaires* as a group. "*Après le dîner on se repose un peu et on travaille jusqu'à la fin du jour ou bien on va se promener et dessiner dehors. Après cela on soupe. Quelque fois on va se promener après souper....*"<sup>437</sup> He is quick to follow that description with one asserting that the *pensionnaires* all get along despite rumors to the contrary: "*il règne parmi les pensionnaires la plus parfait accord[.] Je ne sais pourquoi on s'est plu à Paris de dire le contraire.*"<sup>438</sup> Drolling's account informs us that art is always the subject of the day's activities at the Académie de Rome but is rarely undertaken alone.

One might suspect Drolling to be idealizing the situation at the Academy; however, this usually is not the case in these letters to his father, given the frank manner in which he discusses events and manifests his personal doubts. Regardless, the sheer number of artists he names in any given letter gives a concrete sense of just how close the *pensionnaires* were linked with one another and how tight their network could be. In the same letter as he describes meeting Langlois, Cortot, and Gatteaux at the Piazza del Popolo, he mentions Blondel in a way that implies a certain intimacy between his family and Blondel's and also sends his best wishes to François Rude, the up-and-coming sculptor who would win the Rome prize in 1812.<sup>439</sup> In this

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<sup>434</sup> Ingres drew a portrait of the Belgian sculptor Ruxthiel in 1809 and the French sculptor, Cortot twice: the first was painted in 1815, the second, drawn in 1818 ("Ingres et Cortot" 2009, 204, 216-217). Durey also mentions, in the name of Academic community, that both Cortot and Ingres served as witnesses to the civil marriage of fellow painter Pierre Anthanase Chauvin, and that the sculptor Paul Lemoyne (of whom Ingres would later draw a portrait) and Francois-Marius Granet attended as well ("Ingres et Cortot" 2009, 205).

<sup>435</sup> Michel Martin Drolling, Rome, to his father Martin Drolling, Paris, 3 May 1811, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid. Sites visited included: St. Peters, the Vatican Museums, Castel St. Angelo, the Capitoline, the Colosseum, the Arch of Constantine, the arch of Septimius Severus, the Temple of Peace, the Temple of Concord, "*et un grande quantité d'autres monuments qui rappellent la grandeur des anciens Romains.*"

<sup>437</sup> Michel Martin Drolling, Rome, to his father Martin Drolling, Paris, 11 June 1811, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris. Emphasis mine.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid.

letter, Drolling reveals himself as a central member of a complex friendship network of young artists working in every discipline, converging on the Académie de France à Rome.

### **Sculptors as Agents of Transgression**

Drolling's closest friend was Jean-Pierre Cortot, a sculptor who would eventually stay nine years in Rome and probably shared the same female models as Ingres.<sup>440</sup> Unlike the painters and architects, the sculptors did not have the benefit (or the threat of) Academic review. Because of their fragile nature, the sculptures and plaster casts demanded by the *envoi* system had to be sent over the sea, not by land.<sup>441</sup> However, the British navy made the seas impassable throughout the entire Napoleonic period; one can imagine that plaster casts of student work were not prioritized by the French Military for transport to Paris.<sup>442</sup> Therefore, sculptors were the only *pensionnaires* that passed through the Napoleonic period without an official review of their work from the Parisian Academy; this also meant that they could not hope to exhibit their works in Salons in Paris, strengthen their client base, or sell their works there. Having no institutional checks allowed the sculptors to create more transgressive works as they turned to the art of other *pensionnaires* across disciplines for inspiration and to patrons in Rome for fame and financial resources.

Rome Prize winners in sculpture who arrived in 1803 at the Villa Medici were faced with different requirements than their predecessors. The new rules (first drafted in 1799, re-approved in 1804) required sculptors to produce a set amount of work each year for the first three years of their *pensionnat*.<sup>443</sup> The students had to produce two works: one life-size bust with a male or female subject and then either a bas-relief or a *ronde bosse* at least half the intended height of the planned male-centric sculpture. Both subjects were to be inspired by sketches made during live drawing sessions of the male nude at the Académie de Rome and were to be completed in plaster.<sup>444</sup> Sculptors were the only *pensionnaires* that the Académie de Rome expressly sanctioned to create images of women. Even then, the students were only expressly allowed to produce images of women in bust format; their freestanding sculptural works, it was assumed,

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<sup>440</sup> In his Letter of April 17, 1817, now preserved at the INHA, Cortot wrote to Drolling about the problems he had trying to wed one of the daughters of the Cartellier Family due his dalliances with Roman women. From the context, it seems as if Cortot had acquired venereal diseases from these dalliances. He wraps up his letter saying, "*Voilà, mon cher ami, les suites dangereuses des fréquentations [sic] des angelina theresa mariuicia, etc....*" Interestingly enough, he cites the name of Mariuccia (spelled variously by both artists), whom Ingres drew as a model repeatedly. Jean-Pierre Cortot, Rome, to Michel Martin Drolling, Paris, 17 April 1817, Mf. XXII, number 18571 Collections Jacques Doucet, Bibliothèque Doucet, Paris.

<sup>441</sup> *Maestà di Roma* II, 157.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid. See also Guillaume Guillion-Lethière, Rome, to Joachim LeBreton, Paris, 27 August 1813, Carton 13, f. 95, Villa Medici Archives. "*Depuis le rétablissement de l'École à Rome, la classe a été privée de voir les ouvrages des sculpteurs par les difficultés des transports par terre. Il faudrait en faire la demande au ministre. Pourquoi n'hasarderions-nous pas de les expédier par mer, comme on le faisait autrefois ? Il y a un cabotage qui se fait toujours avec le plus grand succès et par le moyen du quel le Card[inal] Fesch a fait partir en France beaucoup d'objets précieux sans le moindre événement. Au reste, la perte de quelques plâtres ne serait pas d'un grand prix et nous renouvellerions, au pis[sic] aller.*"

<sup>443</sup> *Suvée Correspondance*, 160-162 for 1799 rules and 553-560 for the 1804 "Revision" of the 1799 rules, See pages 557-560 for 1804 rules for sculpture specifically.

<sup>444</sup> The wording in Suvée's 1804 restatement of the rules is ambiguous as to whether a sculptor must produce one item each year or all of the items each of the three years. This ambiguity reflects the reality that sculptors made roughly one item per year despite the rules and regulations. Many of the extant works of this period are sculptures in the round. *Suvée Correspondance*, 161 for 1799 version; 558 for 1804 version.

would have a masculine subject.<sup>445</sup> Many sculptors interpreted these rules rather freely. David d'Angers, for example, famously created a languorously sensuous (and nude) *Thetis* as an original composition in his 1815 bas-relief.

In the fourth year, each sculptor *pensionnaire* was to produce a marble copy after an Antique statue of his choice. He could out-source the “pointing,” or the copying process enacted with a three-dimensional compass, and subsequent rough-hewing, but he was to do all the main sculpting and the finishing himself. The sculptor was also charged with creating a group in the round; this was to be completed in plaster (the sculpting equivalent of the sketch) and realized at a smaller scale than the completed project was intended to be. The final year—for in 1804, the *pensionnat* still lasted five years—was dedicated to creating an original life-size nude figure in the round.<sup>446</sup> Though the gender of that subject is not specified in the rules, the assumption was that the final work would reveal the success of the artist's *emulation* of Rome, which could only be done by submitting a work consistent with the masculine terms of the *beau-idéal*.

On the whole, the sculptors consistently failed to produce all of the busts, bas-reliefs, and sculptural groups required. The majority of artists completed at least *ronde bosse*, the fourth year marble copies, and the fifth-year compositions.<sup>447</sup> The marble copies could have posed a problem for the *pensionnaires* given that, by 1803, the statues the *pensionnaires* were meant to copy had taken up residence at the Louvre in Paris: the city from which these sculptors had just arrived.<sup>448</sup> The departure of all these statues to Paris made the Rome Prize sculptor's fourth-year copying task redundant, for, like the *restauration envoi* of the architecture students discussed in the previous chapter, these marble copies of Ancient sculptures were to serve as a study collection at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts for the benefit of future students who could not yet go to Rome. The presence in Paris of the original Greco-Roman statues obviated this need.

Yet the practice of creating a full marble copy of an existing Greco-Roman Antique persisted. *Pensionnaires* in Rome, therefore, were left with increasingly non-canonical choices of works to copy: those sculptures considered not important enough to be taken to Paris or those still held in private Roman collections. Dominique Aimé François Milhomme—a forty-three-year-old sculptor who, having survived the Revolution by making decorative sculpture and models for goldsmiths, won the Rome Prize in 1801—decided to copy the Borghese *Hermaphrodite* in 1806 (Figure 3.1). Shortly thereafter, the Borghese Antiquities collection to which the original sculpture belonged was crated to be shipped out to Paris (Napoleon had bought the collection from his brother-in-law).<sup>449</sup> Other light-hearted subjects copied in marble

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<sup>445</sup> *Suvée Correspondance*, 162 for 1799 version; 558 for 1804 version.

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.* There is no precision as to whether this final figure should be in marble or in plaster.

<sup>447</sup> We can never be entirely sure of the work the sculptors produced, since none of it was sent to France for critique and much of the rest of it was made in plaster. The Villa Medici should allegedly still have the plaster casts of the works made by artists for their first, second, and third year *envois* from the Napoleonic period, but this is not the case. With the help of 2013-2014 *pensionnaire* and restorer Pascale Roumegoux, I personally looked through the entire plaster cast collection still extant at the Villa Medici in July 2013. The only original 19<sup>th</sup> c. plaster cast we have found is a broken Narcissus by Cortot (a cast of David d'Angers's *Jeune Berger* is currently located in the administrative offices, but it is not an original cast. It is a copy sent by the city of Angers after David d'Angers achieved his fame).

<sup>448</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981, 148, 182-184, 243, 318.

<sup>449</sup> The majority of Camillo Borghese's collection was purchased by Napoleon Bonaparte on 27 September 1807. The Antiquities were shipped from Rome between 1808 and 1811. By late 1811, the Borghese *Hermaphrodite* would have been on display at the Louvre. Haskell and Penny 1981, 235. For more on

by *pensionnaires* in this period included Joseph-Charles Marin's *Sleeping Cupid* in 1806 and Pierre-François Giraud's *Antique Paris* in 1810.<sup>450</sup> Charles Remi Laitie copied a "young man playing the flute" in 1809, and Henri-Joseph Ruxthiel the *Albani Faun* in 1812.<sup>451</sup> None of these copies boasted especially virile, or even canonical, subjects: no Brutus, no Mars, no Hercules, no gladiator, no discus-thrower, no Apollo, not even an Athena. Instead, the sculptors chose to copy works from the Antique that featured youths engaged in idyllic pursuits.

Playful or sensually melodramatic subjects dominated not just the copies made after the Antique by the sculptor-*pensionnaires*, but also the original compositions they produced. Subjects of original compositions for sculptures from 1803-1817 include: Narcissus (Cortot and David d'Angers), dying Hyacinth (Callamard), Thetis (David d'Angers), a bather (Marin), Innocence or a hunter holding a serpent to his breast (Caloigne, Callamard), Hymen (Eggensviller), Eros pinning a butterfly to a rose (Eggensviller), Psyche abandoned (Milhomme), Orpheus (Pradier), and Zephyr and Psyche (Ruxthiel). There are also a few mythological couplings: Theseus and the Amazon (Moutony), and Andromache and Hector (Laitié). All this in contrast to only two heroic subjects from Ancient history: Diomedes stealing the Palladium (Laitié), and Horatius Cocles at the bridge (Moutony).<sup>452</sup>

Nearly all of the subjects chosen by the *pensionnaire* sculptors in this period pay lip service to the Academic requirements in that their subjects have mythological or historical origins. However, most of these subjects do not perform the anticipated goal of moral elevation; one experiences pleasures or perhaps even titillation looking at these works, but many lack the content that would encourage heroism. In an era when giving one's life for the *patrie* was a lived reality for many, none of the artists in Rome—spared the draft by virtue of their talent—produced a Davidian *Wounded Warrior* or a *Bara* (Figure 3.2). And, for the first time, one of the full-figured nude statues turned into the Parisian Academy as a fifth year *envoi* was a nude woman without a mythological pretense—Marin's *Bather* (1808) (Figure 3.3). Reasons for the sculptors' choices of more frivolous subjects include: the absence of critique from the French Academy, the prominence of those subjects among the Rococo-era elder *pensionnaires*, the distance of these subjects from a militaristic present, the prevalence of similar subjects in the work of immensely profitable and well-regarded sculptors such as Thorvaldsen and Canova, and the importance of creating alluring subjects to sell to local patrons.

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Milhomme, see Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des Sculpteurs de l'Ecole Française au Dix-Neuvième Siècle* (Paris: E. Champion, 1914-21), Vol. 3, 448-451. Hereafter known as *Lami 19ème*.

<sup>450</sup> To my knowledge, none of these are extant today.

<sup>451</sup> If the *Flute Player* described was also a *Faun*, the article was part of the Borghese collection and could have been seen by the sculptor before its departure in 1808 to Civitavecchia for crating (Haskell and Penny, 213-215). The *Niobid* group was not affected by the Treaty of Tolentino: first moved in part to Palermo for safe-keeping, it was moved back to Florence in 1803 (Haskell and Penny, 274-278). The Villa Medici, however, to this day owns plaster casts of the entire group that date to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (my observation with conservator Pascale Roumegoux, July 2013). It is highly likely that Pradier could have copied his *Niobid* from these plaster casts. Either way, he did so without the original in front of him. For more on Laitie and Ruxthiel's work at the Villa Medici, see Annie et Gabriel Verger, *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome, 1666-1968* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, Villa Médicis, 2011), Laitie: 890-891, Ruxthiel: 1326-1327. Hereafter known as *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*.

<sup>452</sup> *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*, Cortot: 394-395, David d'Angers: 436-437, Callamard: 287, Marin: 1048-1049, Caloigne: 290-291, Eggensviller: 592-593, Milhomme: 1092-1093, Pradier 1252-1253, Ruxthiel: 1326-1327, Moutony: 1119-1120, Laitie: 890-891.

The inability of the Parisian Academy to view, and therefore criticize, the work of the sculptors at the Académie de Rome could have resulted in the younger sculptors following the lead of the older ones. The two eldest sculptors, Milhomme and Joseph-Charles Marin (both just under 50 at the time of their *pensionnat* in Rome), were receiving plenty of commissions from the French community in Rome. For their Antique copy *envois*, Milhomme and Marin produced a *Hermaphrodite* and a *Sleeping Cupid* (Figure 3.4). The *Cupid* is cheekily portrayed negating the symbolic virtue of his accompanying lion skin—representative of Hercules and of his bravery—by sleeping on top of it.<sup>453</sup> Both of these subjects would have been found in Ancient Roman pleasure gardens; both have a certain Rococo sentiment about them.<sup>454</sup> It comes as no surprise, then, that the masters who had chosen these subjects had grown up making art in the Rococo style.

The appeal of such light-hearted subjects could also lie in their complete separation from the bellicose subjects that dominated the state commissions being carried out in Paris. War and conscription of young men, omnipresent realities in Napoleonic France, could be put aside in Napoleonic Rome. The bread-and-butter of Parisian sculptors in this period consisted of memorials honoring recently dead Napoleonic generals. Most of the *pensionnaires* escaped having to create these contemporary military portraits while in Rome. The few *pensionnaires* who acquired and took such Parisian commissions with them to Rome still chose to send back as their *envois* works with pointedly classical and more whimsical subjects; the young sculptor Henri-Joseph Ruxthiel, working on the *Portrait of General Hoche* in Rome in 1812, produced a marble copy of the *Albani Faun* for his fourth-year *envoi* (Figures 3.5 and 3.6).<sup>455</sup> The artists' reaction to the state driven imperative to depict contemporary history was to create other works firmly grounded in a past that was neither militaristic nor heroic. For sculptors in this period, such non-bellicose subject matter went hand-in hand with sinuous, ever-elongated forms; both of these traits ultimately filtered into the work of the Villa Medici's painters.

An investigation of the production of two *pensionnaire*-sculptors working at the opposite ends of the Napoleonic period—Marin and Pierre-Jean David d'Angers— gives us an insight into the ways in which their working methods, choice of subject, and the market conditions they faced might have affected their painter comrades.

### **Rococo Revival: The Sculptor Joseph-Charles Marin (1759-1834) at the Villa Medici**

Born in 1759, Marin studied under Clodion, who was best known for his *Satyr and Bacchante* (1780) at the time of his apprenticeship (Figure 3.7).<sup>456</sup> During the Revolution, Marin survived largely by working for private patrons: producing bacchantes, female satyrs, naiads, images of fecundity and motherhood, and portraits.<sup>457</sup> He decided to head to Rome at his own expense in 1796 and was ultimately recruited as a “*dessinateur*” for the *Commission des Savants*

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<sup>453</sup> This is in Renaissance images we have; neither Marin's work nor the “original” cupid are still on view to my knowledge.

<sup>454</sup> For more on Marin, see Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des Sculpteurs de l'Ecole Française au Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1910-11), Vol.2, 108-112. Hereafter known as *Lami 18ème*. For Milhomme, see *Lami 19ème*, Vol.3, 448-451. See also their files in *Documentation du Département des Sculptures*, Louvre, Paris, France.

<sup>455</sup> One can view his copy at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Dijon.

<sup>456</sup> For more on Marin and his life and works, see Maurice Quinquenet, *Un élève de Clodion: Joseph-Charles Marin, 1759-1834* (Paris: R. Lacoste, 1948). See also *Lami 18ème*, 108-109.

<sup>457</sup> *Lami 18ème*, 108-109.

*et des Artists* in 1797.<sup>458</sup> The job of this group was to identify art in the Italian peninsula that the French government should confiscate for the Louvre's burgeoning collection.<sup>459</sup> At the end of this stint, Marin remained in Rome, only returning to Paris in 1799. By the time he won the Rome Prize in 1801, he was a veteran sculptor with an intimate knowledge of the Eternal City.<sup>460</sup> Nevertheless, he took up his *pensionnaire* post in Rome starting in 1802 and was one of the first to move into the Villa Medici.<sup>461</sup> He stayed in Rome through the end of his *pensionnat*, returning to France only in 1807.<sup>462</sup>

Upon his arrival in Rome, Marin, like his fellow elder sculptor Milhomme, would have been faced with the problem of being an experienced artist at an institution which was, at its heart, designed for molding young, untested artists. The Académie de France à Rome had been re-founded initially, not with the name "*académie*" but the name "*école*."<sup>463</sup> No doubt Marin found the atmosphere pedantic and overly pedagogical. As a man who had spent the greater part of his career making completed works, he was now to follow daily life drawing sessions and submit *études* to be judged by his Parisian peers, in age as well as status.

Marin seems to have responded to this situation by immersing himself in his atelier to work—or at the very least, that is what his friend, the ex-librarian for the Prince de Condé, L-A Digné, advised him to do in their correspondence.<sup>464</sup> Digné rather pointedly dismissed Marin's fellow *pensionnaires* as young guns and lamented the unlikelihood that Marin would find camaraderie among them: "*Vos [Marin's] sociétés de table doivent encore vous repousser davantage dans la solitude; non que vos camarades ne puissent avoir individuellement les qualités estimables que vous leur reconnaissez, mais il vient un âge où l'on ne goûte ni ne partage plus l'étourderie bruyante, le mauvais genre de plaisanterie et le tour d'esprit de nos jeunes artistes.*"<sup>465</sup>

Digné further gives voice to the peculiar problem of being an accomplished artist forced into the role of student. Marin, according to Digné, should not bother to attend all of the training sessions, but would accomplish great things with only the time, the space, and the funds the Académie de Rome provided: "*Votre talent, d'ailleurs, a passé l'âge des théories et des études générales; il est dans celui où l'artiste exécute et n'a plus qu'à se rapprocher, en pratiquant, de l'idée qu'il s'est faite du beau: ce qui ne vous laisse plus, quant à l'art, d'autre besoin que votre*

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<sup>458</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>459</sup> *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*, 1048.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid.

<sup>463</sup> For more on the re-founding of the Académie de France à Rome, see *Maesta di Roma II*, 41-49 and 51-59. For more on the problem of age limits for *pensionnaires*, brought up as early as 1805 by Suvée, see *Maesta di Roma II*, 53.

<sup>464</sup> Marin's letters from Rome have come down to us today through their publication by Pierre Bonnefon. These letters are all from the period around 1803 when Marin had first moved into the Villa Medici. They are all addressed to an old friend of Marin's, L-A Digné, who was a librarian for the Prince de Condé before the Revolution and took up a post at the Treasury after the Revolution. Bonnefon claims to have faithfully recorded the words of the letters, modernizing only the spelling. They are all reprinted in the *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, from 1901-1902. P. Bonnefon, "*Quelques Lettres Inédites du Sculpteur J.-C. Marin*" *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (1901), 35, pp. 283-5; 36, pp. 290-92; 39, pp. 315-17; 41, pp. 331-2; (1902), 1, pp. 2-5; 2, p. 13; 3, pp. 1-20; 4, pp. 28-9; (1906), 6, p. 45; 7, p. 53; 10, pp. 77-8.

<sup>465</sup> Joseph-Charles Marin, Rome, to L-A Digné, Paris, 18 Thermidor Year IX (6 August 1803). Reprinted in Bonnefon 1901, 291.

*atelier pour exécuter, et la solitude pour concevoir et réfléchir.*<sup>466</sup> Marin's experience effectively set him apart from Charles René Laitie and Pierre-François Grégoire Giraud, young sculptors who arrived in 1806 and 1807 and were just beginning their careers at the age of 23.

Yet Marin could not have been as alone as Digné projected in the earlier years of his *pensionnat*. His sculptor colleagues in 1805-6 were mostly older men, holdovers from the Rococo period—men who had done the work of making *académies* and were used to getting government commissions. These men included Moutoni (34 when he won the Rome Prize in 1799; 37 by the time he arrived in Rome in 1802), Milhomme (43 when he won the Rome Prize in 1801; 47 when he showed up in Rome in 1804), and the Swiss sculptor Eggenwiller (35 when he won the Prix de Rome in 1802; 38 when he arrived in Rome in 1805).<sup>467</sup> The path to Rome for Marin, Moutoni, and Milhomme, as well as the somewhat younger Callamard (28 when he won the Rome Prize in 1797) had been checked by the suppression of the Prix de Rome from 1792-1797.<sup>468</sup> This suppression created a lag in prizes which bizarrely only seemed to have been taken into account in the field of sculpture. Sculpture was the only field in which artists over 30 won the Rome prize with any sort of regularity in the years after the Directory's resumption of the award; the architects and painters headed to Rome during the same period were all much younger. The Académie de France à Rome, deviating from its past function of training only young, unmarried artists, uniquely harbored artists of varying ages, experience, and marital statuses during the Napoleonic period.<sup>469</sup> Marin and Milhomme, as the most productive elders of this period and as the first *pensionnaires* to live and work in the Villa Medici, were the ones best positioned to influence the crop of new, post-Revolutionary artists.

Marin's facility in obtaining private commissions locally might have helped influence younger artists to choose subjects similar in tone to his works. Chateaubriand himself commissioned Marin to sculpt a tomb monument for his friend the Comtesse de Beaumont in 1804-5.<sup>470</sup> For Senator Lucien Bonaparte, Marin completed a figure of *Melancholia* for the tomb of Lucien's first wife, a memorial to one of Lucien's children, and marble busts of Lucien and his family.<sup>471</sup>

For his *envois*, Marin created a nude *Baigneuse* in marble, executed in Rome from 1803-1805, which would probably still have been in his studio when Ingres arrived in 1806.<sup>472</sup> For 1806, he executed a marble bust of a *Jeune Fille Romaine* as well as an *Oedipus and Antigone* and a *Roman Charity*, both realized in terracotta (Figures 3.8 and 3.9).<sup>473</sup> He probably worked on his *Hagar and Ishmael* in Rome as well, for the group was sold to the Marquis de Torlonia, who served as the banker for the Académie de Rome starting in 1803 and for the French

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<sup>466</sup> Ibid.

<sup>467</sup> *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*, 592, 1048, 1092, 1119.

<sup>468</sup> *Maesta di Roma* II, 41.

<sup>469</sup> For more on the problem of age limits and married *pensionnaires*, see *Maesta di Roma* II, 53.

<sup>470</sup> *Lami 18ème*, Vol. 2, 111.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.* Lami does not give an initial date for the Bonaparte commissions but notes that they were completed in Rome.

<sup>472</sup> Marin was one of the lucky sculptors whose works would be shipped out from Rome. We know his *Telemachus* went with a Borghese Collection *envoi* in 1811 (Montalivet, Paris to Guillaume Guillion-Lethière, Rome, 5 October 1811, Carton 13, f. 275, Villa Medici Archives). However, it is unclear how Marin's *Baigneuse* and *Jeune Fille Romaine* got to Paris in time for the Salon of 1808. See also *Lami 18ème*, Vol. 2, 111.

<sup>473</sup> Please note that there are no images available of many of these sculptures. We know of their subjects only through correspondence.

provisional government beginning in 1809.<sup>474</sup> It is unclear whether this work and a small *Ganymede* Marin created were commissions or simply *envoi* fulfillments that ended up in Torlonia hands.

Marin's two works in marble—the *Baigneuse* and the *Jeune Fille Romaine*—both take a de-mythologized woman as their subject matter.<sup>475</sup> Instead of more bacchantes, Marin gives us nude bathers and nubile Romans. This may constitute the first time that a Roman peasant was submitted to the Parisian Academy as the sole subject of sculpted bust *envoi*. Marin's group compositions deal not with war, but with family drama: Oedipus and his faithful daughter, Hagar and her son Ishmael wandering in the desert. His only masculine figures were a *Ganymede*, whom even he called a “*galanterie*,” followed by a *Telemachus*, based on an earlier work of 1763 (Figure 3.10).<sup>476</sup> No war heroes, mythological or contemporary, were undertaken by Marin during his time at the Académie de Rome. Additionally, he was portraitist to the only male Bonaparte, Lucien, who was no longer extensively involved in the military and political campaigns of his brother.<sup>477</sup> The themes of Marin's works would become popular among younger *pensionnaire* painters and sculptors.

According to his letters, Marin's choice of subjects was influenced by what was available in Rome for him to see and copy as well as market pressures. In a letter of 28 July 1803 to Digné, Marin emphasized the artistic spoliation of Rome. Still, he argued, the city had much to offer the artist in need of inspiration.<sup>478</sup> For example, the composition of Marin's *Telemachus, Prisoner of King Sesostris* (1805) relies heavily on the *Ludovisi Ares*, one of the few compositions in which the hero is seated. The *Ares* was still on view with the rest of the Ludovisi Collection; the *Standing Venus* and *Venus Felix*, along with various bas-reliefs depicting bathing Dianas, could also be seen in Roman museums at the time (Figures 3.11 and 3.12).<sup>479</sup> Marin's standing *Baigneuse* borrowed characteristics from the aforementioned mythological female nudes, as did Milhomme's nearly contemporary *Psyche Abandonnée* (1805) (Figure 3.13).

In his letters, Marin unabashedly confessed that he created his *envois* in the time he had left after finishing his commissions from Lucien Bonaparte, Chateaubriand, and others. For example, when he wrote to Digné of his current projects in late November 1803, he admitted to having made his *Ganymede* for potential clients and not the Academy: “*dans l'espoir de plaire*

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<sup>474</sup> *Lami 18ème*, Vol. 2, 111. Torlonia's name and his relationship to the French Académie de Rome as money-purveyor is constant throughout Lethière's correspondence. See Villa Medici Archives, Carton 13.

<sup>475</sup> The *Jeune Fille Romaine* could not be located by the author.

<sup>476</sup> For descriptions of *Ganymede* and *Telemachus*, see Joseph-Charles Marin, Rome, to L-A Dingé, Paris, 25 November 1803. Reprinted in P. Bonnefon, “*Quelques Lettres Inédites du Sculpteur J.-C. Marin*,” *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (23 November 1901): 292. See also *Lami 18ème*, Vol. 2, 111.

<sup>477</sup> By 1803, that is. Lucien was key in Napoleon's rise to power and secured his rise to First Consul at Fontainebleau.

<sup>478</sup> Joseph-Charles Marin, Rome, to L-A Dingé, Paris, 28 July 1803. Reprinted in P. Bonnefon, “*Quelques Lettres Inédites du Sculpteur J.-C. Marin*,” *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (16 November 1901): 284. “*J'ai encore assez de sensibilité pour voir le pays que j'habite avec l'intérêt qu'il mérite; on a beau le dépouiller d'une partie de sa parure, il en restera toujours assez pour provoquer le voyageur observateur et penseur à la plus grande admiration.*” Later in the letter, he also complains that that visitors to Rome are too simple in their approach to the city, merely repeating hyperboles of what they have read about the city instead of making their own observations.

<sup>479</sup> Haskell and Penny, 324, 330-31. For Ingres's drawings after sarcophagi, see Pascale Picard-Cajan, 2006, 260, 392, no. 95.

*aussi à ceux qui sont plus riches que nous et qui peut-être ne nous valent pas...*<sup>480</sup> He called the subject “*une des galanteries de Jupiter*,” imbuing the word with its full Rococo force.<sup>481</sup> According to the sculptor, the young Ganymede should be represented as one who gives into luxury—as the embodiment of “*la molle indolence*” inherent to his character.<sup>482</sup> Ganymede, sexualized and emasculated, is imagined as sexual prey—not unlike Marin’s *Baigneuse*.

Despite being a hero, the other male figure sculpted by Marin, *Telemachus*, is also portrayed as weak and sexualized. He shares only the pose of the *Ludovisi Ares* without adopting the strength of the god. Marin portrays the young hero leaning backwards, chained to the chair on which he is seated—the pastoral shepherd is now a prisoner in Egypt. A palm tree’s fronds gently caress his nubile body and he looks skyward, helpless but hoping for some *deus ex machina*—not unlike Andromeda waiting for Perseus. Marin was pleased with what could be considered his token incorporation of Egypt—the location of Telemachus’s imprisonment—into the composition, noting, “*je le fais appuyé sur un monument égyptien pour indiquer le lieu.*”<sup>483</sup> Not only did Marin remove agency from a potential hero through his inactive pose, but he also eroticized his impotence.

Marin’s other *envois* were sculptures of women: the de-mythologized *Baigneuse* and the *Jeune Fille Romaine*.<sup>484</sup> Like the Venus statues to whom she is related, the *Baigneuse*’s pose highlights her sexuality. Her downcast eyes signal her bashfulness, while at the same time she seems unaware of a viewer—she is absorbed in the trivial business of pinning up her hair. This action even further exposes her upper body. She leans against a water jug, which accentuates the curve of her hips, drawing attention to her sexuality. Unlike Venus or Diana, this bather has no power to punish intruders gazing upon her bath—she is only human, a quality she shares with Ingres’s *Half-Bather* and *Baigneuse Valpinçon*.

Naming a Venus-like woman a simple *Baigneuse* was a transgressive act because it brought the level of the *envoi* subject down from the timeless and immortal to the quotidian; Marin’s, Ingres’s and Odevaere’s subjects have shed the allegorical clothing of a Psyche or a nymph to become merely human. Add to that Marin’s depiction of a Roman girl turned into an *envoi*, and one sees the ordinary taking the place of the mythological: the everyday exotic replaces the divine and unreachable fantasy. In order to produce a “new” Antique that would be appealing to Frenchmen in Rome and still pay lip service to the Parisian Academy’s rules, older sculptors like Marin chose to emulate the non-heroic Antique. In some cases, sculptors located that Antique in the real descendants of the ancient Romans, like the “*Jeune Romaine*” woman of the *popolo*. In choosing subjects derived from an Antique of Roman pleasure gardens and steeping them in playful Rococo sentiment, these French sculptors provided an alternative to the delicate Canovan and bellicose Thorvaldsenian modes of neo-classicism.

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<sup>480</sup> Joseph-Charles Marin, Rome, to L-A Dingé, Paris, 25 November 1803. Reprinted in P. Bonnefon, “*Quelques Lettres Inédites du Sculpteur J.-C. Marin*,” *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (23 November 1901): 292.

<sup>481</sup> Ibid.

<sup>482</sup> Ibid.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid.

<sup>484</sup> Marin describes his other *envois* thus: “... *l'on exposera, je crois, cette année, deux de mes ouvrages: la Baigneuse, en question, que j'ai exécutée à Rome, sur mes idées de Paris, et un buste-portrait d'une jeune fille romaine, ouvrage de la seconde année de mon séjour à Rome.*” Joseph-Charles Marin, Rome, to L-A Dingé, Paris, 28 July, 1803. Reprinted in P. Bonnefon, “*Quelques Lettres Inédites du Sculpteur J.-C. Marin*,” *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (16 November 1901): 285.

Marin's *Baigneuse* shares not only her humanity, but also her neo-Attic face and elongated limbs with the subjects of later paintings and sculpture made in the Napoleonic period by *pensionnaires* at the Villa Medici. Ingres's *Half-Bather* (1807), the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* (1807-8), *Thetis* (1810-11), and *Grande Odalisque* (1814) share Marin's *Baigneuse*'s preciously pointed nose, almond eyes, dainty fingers, and exaggeratedly willow-like arms. The awkwardly extenuated flesh of the hip of Marin's *Baigneuse* is also a feature of Ingres's *Baigneuse Valpinçon* and, to a certain extent, in Odevaere's 1808 *Femme au Bain* (Figure 3.14). Even Langlois's *Cassandra* (1811) shares the same excessive hip elongation, as well the *Baigneuse*'s shortened torso (Figure 3.15). Marin, Milhomme, and other sculptors at the Académie de Rome influenced the aesthetic choices of painters' works as well as their subjects.

### **Contour and Shadow: The Sculptor David d'Angers (1788- 1856)**

The sculptor Pierre-Jean David d'Angers seems a perfect foil to Marin. He arrived at the Académie de Rome towards the end of the Napoleonic period; in contrast, Marin had moved into the new building with Suvée in 1803. David d'Angers was young when Marin was old; he was devoutly Republican whereas Marin seems to have been apolitical; he embraced military subjects early in his career whereas Marin started with bacchantes.<sup>485</sup> In 1811, when David d'Angers finally won the Rome Prize, he was considered a bright young star by his masters Phillipe Laurent Roland and Jacques Louis David. Marin, far too old to have trained under David, would have been considered an artist past his prime in 1811.<sup>486</sup> Posterity lauds David d'Angers's work as resolutely neoclassical and naturalistic; Marin's works are disdained as whimsical Rococo holdovers.<sup>487</sup>

Despite these differences, the art that David d'Angers and Marin created at the Villa Medici during their *pensionnats* had a fair amount in common. Both sculptors produced *envois* starring emasculated, sexualized young men (*Jeune Berger/Narcisse* and *Telemachus*) or sensuous nude women, alone in a watery setting (*Thetis* and the *Baigneuse*). This similarity in subject matter—and the fact that David d'Angers so abruptly abandoned his bellicose Academic subjects—points to the strength of the pervading artistic impulses at the Villa Medici during the Napoleonic period. Heroic death was no longer a subject of interest; it was replaced by coy sexuality and domestic drama.

David d'Angers arrived at the Académie de Rome in 1812, only three or so years after Marin had left. Having “served” with his father at age five in the Republican army that put down the uprising of its fellow citizens in the Vendée, David d'Angers remained a patriotic man whose allegiance to the Republic, and later Empire, nearly cost him his life.<sup>488</sup> Marin, by contrast,

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<sup>485</sup> For a short résumé of David d'Angers's life, see *Maesta di Roma II*, 428. See also *Lami 19ème*, vol. 2, 53-58. For a comprehensive list of his works, including all his medallions, see *Lami 19ème*, vol.2, 58-117

<sup>486</sup> Jacques-Louis David was only 10 years Marin's senior, whereas Marin was 30 years older than David d'Angers at the time of his Rome Prize win in 1811.

<sup>487</sup> *Maesta di Roma II*, 428.

<sup>488</sup> Pierre-Jean David d'Angers's Republican fervor induced him to join in 1814 a particular circle of the *Carbonari*, a republican and anti-Austrian group of rebels who took part in the armed defense of Murat's Naples against the international armies brought there to return the province to the Bourbons. In 1815, he was about to be executed by a Hungarian firing squad, the legend goes, and was only saved by a Hungarian officer after he revealed that he was a mason. Eventually, he returned to Rome and to the Villa Medici for a few months, then went back to Paris the same year. He never wavered in his Republicanism; in 1848, he was elected to the post of Deputy after the revolution; he was exiled after Napoleon III's coup d'état in 1851. *Maesta di Roma II*, 158, 428. See also *Lami 19ème*, Vol.2, 53, 57-58.

survived the Revolution unscathed, producing gentle-themed works to all paying customers.<sup>489</sup> David d'Angers began his sculpting career in Paris in 1808 rather unglamorously as an ornamentalist-sculptor helping to decorate Napoleon's Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel and the facades of the Palais du Louvre.<sup>490</sup> In his spare time, he pursued his Beaux-Arts education, enrolling first in the sculptor Roland's studio. Jacques-Louis David championed his work and accepted him into his studio after David d'Angers's *Othryades blessé à mort écrivant sur son bouclier* won second place in the Rome Prize competition of 1810 (Figure 3.16).<sup>491</sup> A year later, he won the competition with *The Death of Epaminondas after the Battle of Mantee*.

Frederic Chappey, who has written a great deal on the sculpture of the Revolution and the Empire, links the bellicose nature of these two Rome prize subjects to Napoleon's constant warfare and the great number of war dead it incurred.<sup>492</sup> Those heroic dead would continue to require public monuments to their glory to inspire more and more conscripted young men to fight bravely at all costs.<sup>493</sup> If Chappey is indeed correct that such a deliberate choice of bellicose subjects was made by the Academy, it was less a matter of challenging the sculptors in representing the *beau-idéal* and more a matter of preparing their pupils for the creation of such state-commissioned monuments. Regardless, between these exercises, his work on the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, and his experiences in the Vendée, David d'Angers would have seen enough of death—heroic or no—to excel at the subject. In addition, he had been careful to follow anatomy classes taught by Bécлар in Paris; the tension in a body whose spirit is still alive but whose muscles are failing him is wrought in David d'Angers's work not merely in the pose of the body, but mostly through his description of muscles and tendons.<sup>494</sup>

David d'Angers was one of the rare *pensionnaires* to produce both a bust and a bas-relief during his tenure at the Villa Medici.<sup>495</sup> The sculptor chose Ulysses for his initial *envoi* subject (1812) (Figure 3.17). David d'Angers has castrated his hero, however, by making him into a bust; Ulysses has no body to enact his heroics but depends upon his facial features to communicate his intelligence. These include a prominent brow surmounted by forcefully clumped locks of hair and a neck strung with tensed tendons. David d'Angers's *Ulysses* does not sport the classical Phrygian cap nor the style of hair with which he is often represented on Antique vases.<sup>496</sup> The bizarrely clumped, spaghetti-like strands of hair at his forehead contrast with the neat, tight curls of his beard. The man in question does not look like a wizened warrior so much as an old sailor: Ulysses after his travels and travails as opposed to before them. The

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<sup>489</sup> David d'Angers would eventually do the same—he served the successive monarchies of France until he was eventually exiled after Napoleon III's coup in 1851. *Maesta di Roma II*, 428.

<sup>490</sup> *Lami 19ème*, vol.2, 53-55.

<sup>491</sup> Jacques de Caso, *David d'Angers: l'Avenir de la Mémoire, étude sur l'art signalétique à l'époque romantique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 42.

<sup>492</sup> *Maesta di Roma II*, 429-430.

<sup>493</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*, 428-429.

<sup>495</sup> The students had to produce two works: one life-size bust with a male or female subject and then either a bas-relief or a *ronde bosse* at least half the intended final height. Both subjects were to be inspired by sketches made during live drawing sessions at the Académie de Rome and were to be completed in plaster. *Suvéé Correspondance*, 161 for 1799 version; 558 for 1804 version.

<sup>496</sup> David d'Angers would have been familiar with Classical Odysseus iconography through sarcophagus reliefs and vase paintings. The former could easily still be seen in Rome and the latter was available in d'Harcenville's compendium of vase painting images from Hamilton's collection. The statues of Odysseus from Tiberius's villa in Sperlonga had not yet been excavated when David d'Angers was creating his Ulysses.

artist rather infamously stated that *Ulysses* closely resembled his Roman model, a man of the *popolo*.<sup>497</sup> David d'Angers's later insistence on the truth-to-nature of the model is very similar to Ingres's insistence, recorded by Amaury-Duval, that he copied his *popolo* model for his *Oedipus* faithfully, without idealizing him.<sup>498</sup> Like Ingres, David d'Angers chose the “degenerate” modern Roman as the location of the mythical.

David d'Angers decided to develop *Ulysses* further in marble—the Academy only required a plaster cast of the subject—for the 1815 Salon in Paris in the hopes that it might find a private patron.<sup>499</sup> Since even official sculptural *envois* were denied transport to Paris, the only way to get *Ulysses* there was for David d'Angers to pay for its transportation himself with money borrowed from his master Roland.<sup>500</sup> David d'Angers must have felt that *Ulysses* would sell at a price that would have compensated for the expense of sending it to Paris or increased his fame in both public and private circles. However, with Napoleon's fall and the ensuing political upheaval, the Salon was cancelled; no potential Parisians patrons saw his work.<sup>501</sup> Like Marin, David d'Angers privileged the imagined client as opposed to the Parisian Academy, using the time and resources he was meant to be devoting to furthering his studies to moneymaking endeavors instead.

David d'Angers's next work after his truncated *Ulysse* was a young, self-conscious, and sensual ephebe: the *Jeune Berger* in 1813, sometimes mythologized as a *Narcissus* (Figure 3.18).<sup>502</sup> The sculpture's dual appellations come from his pose: a young boy, standing in contrapposto with his weight on his engaged right leg looks thoughtfully down at the ground below him as he twirls his long hair. He is supported by a long cloth draped over his left arm—it is unclear if this is meant to represent his cloak or simply serves as a classicizing element. He points his left index finger downwards, as if to emphasize the ground below him, upon which in some versions of the statue, a pool of water is represented (thus the *Narcissus* appellation). The sculpted boy shares many of the characteristics of Marin's female bather—the somewhat awkward stance, the downward gaze, the gesture of fiddling with the hair, and the elongated right hip. The *Berger* also shares a similar neo-attic look. The softness of his face contrasts with the harsh lines of *Ulysses*'s furrowed brow.

David d'Angers may have been inspired to produce this ephebe by fellow pensionnaire Granger, whose *Ganymede* he might still have seen in Rome (Figure 3.19). Granger created the work during his *pensionnat* (probably around 1810) but never sent it as an *envoi*—one suspects it was made for his favorite patron, Lucien Bonaparte and somehow never transferred hands. Granger's *Ganymede* adopts a stance allegedly copied from an antique *Ganymede* in the Vatican that is a more exaggerated version of the pose of David d'Angers's *Berger* (Figure 3.20).<sup>503</sup> This Vatican *Ganymede* was not taken to Paris by the French because the work was not considered worthy. It would have been left in Rome, where both Granger and David d'Angers would have

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<sup>497</sup> *Maesta di Roma* II, 432.

<sup>498</sup> Amaury-Duval, ed. Daniel Ternois 1993, 33, 167-170. For Ternois's interpretation of the incident, see p. 33. For Amaury-Duval's eyewitness report of the incident see p. 167-170.

<sup>499</sup> *Maesta di Roma* II, 432.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>501</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>502</sup> These two names are used interchangeably for this model—when he is “*Narcissus*,” there is a little pool of water carved into the edge of the statue base.

<sup>503</sup> For more on Granger's *Ganymede*, see *Maesta di Roma* II, 474-475. It may also be interesting to note that Cortot copied the Vatican's *Ganymede* for his official *envoi* before he left Rome in 1819. *Lami 19ème*, vol.1, 425, 427.

seen it—finding inspiration, as their colleagues did, in Antique leftovers. Granger’s production of a work this frivolous in the face of his (literally and figuratively) Spartiate and strictly Davidian *envois*, points to the ubiquity of the ephebe as subject among the Roman *pensionnaires*.

In 1815, David d’Angers sculpted his strangest creation to date in terms of style and subject choice: the bas-relief of *Thetis*—the addendum “bringing arms to Achilles,” was added later—floating through the water on a dolphin, arm raised, brandishing the helmet of Achilles (Figure 2.89). Scholars often compare her to Ingres’s *Thetis* from the 1811 composition *Jupiter and Thetis*, but she is in fact one of three Thetises to be undertaken at the Académie de Rome during the Napoleonic period.<sup>504</sup> No scholar has yet connected David d’Angers’s final composition with a drawing by Ingres, pasted into his *cahiers inédits* in Montauban (Figure 3.21). It depicts a nude woman, rolling forward through the waves or on top of some sort of sea monster, seen only as coils. The nude woman strikes a similar pose to David d’Angers’s *Thetis*, with her hands reaching out in front of her while her nude body is angled upwards. The body of David d’Angers’s *Thetis*, however, is more twisted, more like that of the *Grande Odalisque* than the woman in the Ingres’s drawing.

Ingres may have copied this nymph from David d’Angers’s work—Ingres was still in Rome during David d’Angers’s *pensionnat*—or perhaps from an Antique or Renaissance bas-relief.<sup>505</sup> It is also possible the sculptor and the painter copied this figure from a common source together. The linear style of drapery that surrounds the nymph is typical of engraved renderings of bas-reliefs but also one of the salient features of the few contemporary bas-reliefs of the period. Cortot, a fellow Rome Prize sculptor, for example, displayed much of this interest in drapery-as-line in sketches, owned by Ingres (Figure 3.22). Ingres’s sketch after the *pensionnaire* Auguste’s bas-relief reveals not only the ubiquity of the style in the drapery work of contemporary *pensionnaires* but also Ingres’s attraction to it. Thus, David d’Angers’s particular rendition of *Thetis* seems less odd in subject and style when contextualized within the current artistic trends of the *pensionnaires* in Rome.

This is the only composition David d’Angers would ever make of a nude woman alone. Unlike Pradier, Rude, and his other contemporaries, he left the genre behind after returning to Paris. Unique in David d’Angers’s oeuvre, *Thetis* was inspired by Ingres’s nudes like the *Grande Odalisque*, which the painter would have been composing in 1814 when the two artists came to be friends. Ingres drew a portrait of David d’Angers in 1815 and dedicated it to “*mon ami David*.”<sup>506</sup> Their friendship soon fell by the wayside, however, as Naef cites a letter written in April of 1816 where David d’Angers lambasts Ingres as a “*...marionnette... il change d’amis selon les intérêts*.”<sup>507</sup> It is possible that Ingres’s female nudes and the commissions he was winning influenced David d’Angers. Likewise, the latter’s drawing practice, which we shall address shortly, may have influenced Ingres.

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<sup>504</sup> Odevaere’s now lost painting of *Thetis in Conversation with Achilles*, his *envoi* for 1808, is the final one. *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*, 1158.

<sup>505</sup> Cambon’s (an Ingres cataloguer) footnote, as marked in the “Notice.” See the tombstone information on the work, available through Joconde. Also in Georges Vigne, ed., *Dessins d’Ingres: catalogue raisonné des dessins du Musée de Montauban* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 739, no. 4081.

<sup>506</sup> Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, vol. 1, 475-476.

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1., 477. See also “Ingres et Cortot” 2009, 208.

### Contour and Color: Ingres and the Sculptor Jules Auguste (1789-1850)

Ingres was undoubtedly friendly with the sculptor Jules Auguste, winner of the Rome Prize in 1810 and *pensionnaire* from 1811-1814 at the Villa Medici. In a comment in his journal, Delacroix himself acknowledges this friendship and confirms that Ingres is the author of the only extant documentation of Auguste's sculpture made in Rome: “*vue chez [Auguste] le dessin d’Ingres d’après son bas-relief*” (Figure 3.23).<sup>508</sup> The bas-relief in question is Auguste's *Warrior and Amazon*: one of the two works Auguste created in Rome, both lost to us today (the other was a “*pugilateur*” in *ronde bosse*).<sup>509</sup> The drawing is also the only copy of contemporary sculpture that current scholarship attributes to Ingres.

Ingres probably copied Auguste's bas-relief around the same time that he began work on *Romulus, Victor at Acron* (1811) (Figure 3.24).<sup>510</sup> The support for this dating rests in Romulus's resemblance to the male warrior from Auguste's bas-relief.<sup>511</sup> The seemingly impossible torsion of the nude warrior's body—his torso is rotated nearly 180 degrees from his striding knee—is recalled in Ingres's *Romulus*, as is his forward step. Even Auguste's rearing horse appears in the background of Ingres's painting, replicated up to his terrified backward glance. The drapery in Auguste's work is styled similarly to Romulus's toga in Ingres's painting: both show volume through an excess of lines indicating folds in the drapery. The iconographic linkage of the two works is corroborated by the dating of Auguste's drawing to 1811-1812, the period when Ingres would have been painting his *Romulus, Victor at Acron*. The dating is suggested by a text written on the back of the drawing, saying that Ingres himself upon seeing the drawing, mentioned its origin to its owner: “*Ce dessin a été exécuté par M. Ingres à Rome et dans sa jeunesse d’après un bas-relief de M. Auguste, alors pensionnaire à l’Académie de France.*”<sup>512</sup>

Ingres ultimately assigned colors to various elements of Auguste's work, in the spirit, perhaps, of recent archeological studies which suggested that Antique bas-reliefs decorating

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<sup>508</sup> Entry for October 4, 1824, recounting a visit of Auguste's studio in Paris. Eugène Delacroix, *Journal*, eds. Paul Flat et René Piot (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1893-1895), vol. 1, 139. The drawing is fully discussed in Donald A. Rosenthal, “Ingres, Géricault, and ‘Monsieur Auguste’” *Burlington Magazine*, Vol CXXIV, no. 946 (Jan. 1982): 9. This drawing had long been contested in the Ingres scholarship, either as having been a creation of Ingres's own, or a copy of a work drawn from the Antique—in fact, it was neither.

<sup>509</sup> There is no extant bas-relief by Auguste to accompany Ingres's drawing. The *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires* even goes so far as to list the *Pugilateur* (1813) as Auguste's only official *envoi* during this period. It is unclear whether the *Pugilateur* would have been an original composition or a copy after an Antique work. All of Auguste's extant works, mostly located in the Musée d'Orléans, are paintings, drawings or sketches; he converted to painting after his stint at the Villa Medici and is best known today for his proto-orientalist works and encouragement of Delacroix in this vein. *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*, 74-75.

<sup>510</sup> We know almost nothing about Auguste's Roman days from first-hand sources. He does not figure in any significant way in the correspondence of Lethière, nor in that of Drolling, for example, who often cites other sculptors. Rosenthal remains the foremost authority on Auguste in Rome in the English scholarship (Rosenthal 1982).

<sup>511</sup> Both Rosenblum and Rosenthal cite this work in relation to *Romulus, Victor at Acron*. Rosenblum uses it to show the influence of Greco-Roman relief sculpture on Ingres's development; Rosenthal uses it to suggest that Ingres and Auguste were influencing one another, in that the sculpture's “uncompromising planarity” reflects Ingres's love of line (Rosenthal 1982, 9). As I will argue later in this text, it is more likely that Ingres's love of contour related to the very practice of copying sculptures or of looking at a sculptor's preparatory drawings. Robert Rosenblum, *Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1967), 94.

<sup>512</sup> For more information, see Rosenthal 1982, 9.

temples would have been colored.<sup>513</sup> Yet upon close examination of the drawing, it is clear that Ingres limited his coloring to filling in each space already created by the contour lines; a sort of color-by-number tactic that yields a very matte impression and flattens the composition even further. For Ingres during this period, color appears in the space that line delineates. Space is demarcated by vigorous exterior contour lines and only essentialized descriptive lines within an enclosed whole. Ingres's interaction with sculpture as a set of volumes enclosed by lines helps to explain why the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* is an almost uniformly colored shape, as opposed to an assemblage of so many carefully shaded and anatomically correct body parts. Ingres was looking to achieve in paint the all-over smoothness and shine of a unified sculptural body; one ideal way to showcase this achievement was to create female nudes as if seen from behind.

Along with the way in which it is rendered, the subject matter of Auguste's *Warrior and Amazon*, with its veneer of bellicosity but undercurrent of sexuality, must have appealed to Ingres. The work paid homage to the Academy's principles in that the ideal heroic male nude—potentially Achilles—was the lead character in the relief. The warrior led by example, vanquishing the enemy without pity or mercy. But in choosing to represent a battle between a man and a woman (as opposed to two men fighting) Auguste altered the dynamics of this heroism. Amazons, to be sure, are not portrayed in any of the Greek literature as helpless female victims. They fight as men and are treated as men by warriors confronting them. But Auguste's image profoundly sexualizes the bellicose encounter. The male warrior is nude and the forward thrust of his body up towards the Amazon is given the full energy of his taut back leg. He has already penetrated her flesh with his sword, yet he grabs the flesh of her bare right arm to drag her down and plunge his sword into her again. His face is eye level with her exposed breast and his gaze seems intensely fixed at it—or perhaps just above it, upon the Amazon's over-articulated neck signaling the initiation of her swoon. Her eyes are lifted heavenwards—doubtless in pain, yet her expression is undifferentiated from abandon to an overpowering emotion.

Auguste's bas-relief re-tells the bellicose encounter as an erotic one; the dying Amazon morphs from fearless warrior into swooning subjugate. This offers the viewer an opportunity for voyeurism similar to that presented in Langlois's *Cassandra* (1811), in which the voluptuous female victim of a violent act is exposed to the roving eye of the viewer. Ultimately, Auguste's Academic transgression in choosing this subject is on the level of Ingres's selecting *Jupiter and Thetis* for his final *envoi* or Alexandre Guillmot's desire to compose a *Ulysses Attacking the Suitors of Penelope* (1811). All turn a history painting ostensibly about war and virtue into more sexually dramatic and less morally elevating fare.

### Contour and Line

Contour, a property fundamental to sculpture, serves to demarcate the art from the space surrounding it: outer contours give sculpture a form and a place. In painting, this work of demarcation is done initially by the frame, but once inside the canvas, the differentiation of the subject can be achieved through any number of means. In the early nineteenth century, the privileged method was chiefly through working with *demi-teintes* and shading until the figure's coloring created the volume desired in space. In Ingres's work, however, color has a starker

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<sup>513</sup> The inscription on the back of the drawing states: “*Le bas-relief [d’Auguste] était en plâtre et M. Ingres s’était plu, dans sa copie, à la colorier comme une terre cuite antique.*” Rosenthal, 1982, 9. This note was penned by the man who bought the drawing from the sale after his death of Monsieur Auguste's collection on 28 May-June 1, 1850: Frederic Reiset. See also “Ingres et Cortot” 2009, 203.

edge to it. He borrows sculpture's performance of contour—achieved merely by the object having an edge—for painting, exploiting its volume-creating properties as an alternative to simply gently modulating the colors surrounding a form. In Ingres's myriad sketches of nudes, including that resembling David d'Angers's *Thetis*, the exterior contour of the body, not internal differentiations like folded skin or muscles, dictate the *effet*. The appeal of contour for Ingres could only have been heightened by his intense interactions with sculptors' and architects' works at the Villa Medici.

As the sculptor Auguste's *Amazonne Blessée* (1811-1812) and David d'Angers's *Thetis* (1815) reveal, the few sculptors producing bas-reliefs in this period were interested in portraying whole, uninterrupted volumes when it came to bodies and repetitive line when it came to drapery. The internal folds of the drapery swirling about the striding man in Auguste's work add momentum to the forward movement of his rear leg, making his action of stepping forward more believable. The same is true for David d'Angers's *Thetis*: the drapery swirling around her body accentuates her movement on the dolphin towards her son Achilles, the intended recipient of the armor she carries aloft. Her body itself has only two internal contour lines: one dictating the curve of her spine and legs, and the other a scalloped line defining her buttocks which lies perpendicular to the first line. Her extended arm, as rubbery as that of Ingres's earlier *Thetis*, has no internal markings to denote the elbow and her waist has no flesh marks near the upper hip to denote her contracting muscles as she props herself up. Like the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* before her, this woman of the water has no presence except as a whole volume.

Ingres's insistence on external contours in his Napoleonic works has been too facily explained in the scholarly literature as entirely the result of his exposure to Flaxman's line-drawn mythological illustrations. No scholar, however, has yet made the connection between Flaxman's career as a sculptor and his method of outlining figures in these illustrations.<sup>514</sup> Ingres could just as easily have been influenced by the drawings of his sculptor colleagues. Cortot, for instance, employs a drawing style similar to Flaxman's. In drawings by Cortot still in Ingres's possession at his death, "Pyramis and Thisbee" and "Orpheus and Eurydice," contour lines do much of the work of volume creation (Figures 3.25 and 3.26).<sup>515</sup> Ingres probably acquired these drawings by Cortot during his first Roman sojourn.<sup>516</sup> The bodies depicted in these images have few interior contour lines; only drapery folds are described. Cortot treats the subjects as if they were all bas-reliefs: all are very carefully line-drawn. These might have been studies completed as research for Cortot's *envoi* subjects, as he eventually produced bas-reliefs of the family dramas of Ulysses and Phaeton.<sup>517</sup> Even if one could argue that these three sketches are copies of Greek vases, other drawings by Cortot depicting bas-reliefs reveal a similar interest in contour and a similar treatment of figures. Depth in his sketch for 1824's *Meeting of the King of Spain and the Duke of Angouleme at Port Sainte-Marie, October 1, 1823* is chiefly conveyed through darkened contour lines as opposed to delicate internal shading of each figure (Figure 3.27).<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>514</sup> For more on Ingres and Flaxman see Sarah Symmons 1984. See also *Ingres* 2006, 121, 114, 162.

<sup>515</sup> These drawings are preserved in an album previously owned by Ingres and now in the Louvre. It is not clear if Cortot gave Ingres these drawings or if Ingres bought them off of him. Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre.

<sup>516</sup> "Diana and Endymion," RF 3521, recto, Folio 12; "Pyramis and Thisbee," RF 3529, recto, Folio 19; and "Orpheus and Eurydice," RF 3537, Folio 24. Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre.

<sup>517</sup> *Lami 19ème*, vol. 1, 427. The two subjects of Cortot's works were "Ulysses Speaking to Penelope in the Guise of a Beggar" and "Phaeton Complaining to his Mother of Epaphus's Insult."

<sup>518</sup> *Lami 19ème*, vol. 1, 428.

## The Roman Idyll and Parisian Anxiety over its Influence

Taking a cue from earlier works by David, such as the family drama of the *Sabines* (1799) and the elegantly erotic subjects *Paris and Helen* (1788), painters and sculptors at the Académie de Rome increasingly produced mythological or historical genre scenes as opposed to bellicose scenes of bravery and heroism (Figures 3.28 and 3.29). Even David d'Angers, who had done nothing but work on military subjects in Paris, created an ephebe (*Jeune Berger*) and a female *académie* (*Thetis*) while in Rome. At the Villa Medici, he was surrounded by artists who for the most part were not fulfilling modern military commissions but producing works that were rarely even reviewed by the Parisian Academy.

As we have seen with Ingres's initial interest in painting a Venus, the Villa Medici's artists were often influenced by local market pressures and chose to work on softer themes that would appeal to the French diplomatic corps of Rome.<sup>519</sup> They were able to use the four years of the Rome Prize to create works they believed to be in their best interests, instead of producing the precise subjects designated by the Academy or by the commissioning State.<sup>520</sup> This must have been enormously liberating for students used to delivering standardized assignments and preparing for a life, as Lethière noted, of painting “*les sujets de batailles modernes.*”<sup>521</sup> Lethière hit upon the usefulness of the Académie de Rome to its students when he noted that “...*des habits bleus, des bottes, des guêtres, des gants, des fusils, des chapeaux, des queues et des moustaches allemandes ne forment guère au sublime...*”<sup>522</sup>

In Rome, these young French artists were sheltered from the realities of war. They were in no danger of being conscripted and there were no food shortages or battles being fought directly in front of them.<sup>523</sup> These artists accordingly found their subject matter not in visions of morally elevating war, but in the idyllic past of mythology and history—the past expressed in the decorative Ancient Roman remains around them. They copied paintings from Renaissance Roman pleasure palaces, like the Villa Farnesina, and sculptures inherent to Ancient Roman pleasure gardens, such as sleeping cupids and dancing fauns.<sup>524</sup> As the sculptor Marin noted in 1803, the artists allowed themselves to be inspired by the leftovers of Rome that they found around them: the nymphs and fauns, the Apollos and Hyacinths.<sup>525</sup> Like Canova, artists at the French school created sculptures of beautiful nude women and made portraits of notables not

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<sup>519</sup> *Maesta di Roma II*, 177.

<sup>520</sup> There are some major exceptions here, such as Cortot, who was asked to sculpt first a large statue of Napoleon (1812), then one of Louis 18 (1818). He ended up staying at the Académie de Rome several years past his *pensionnat*. Callamard worked on a *Statue du Premier Consul* from 1803-1805; Milhomme worked on the statue of *General Hoche* (1806). See *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*, 286-287, 395, 1092.

<sup>521</sup> Lethière, Rome to Vincent, Paris, Dec 1813 Carton 14, f. 262, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>523</sup> Rome itself was never officially a battleground during the Napoleonic period. Napoleon never formally marched on the city itself, and Miollis did not have to fight Romans or the Pope's troops to hold it. Rome was overtaken in 1809 by a bloodless coup d'état and remained a comparably peaceful region during the Napoleonic reign, except where conscription was concered. For a concise resource on Napoleonic conscriptions of Italians, see MG Broers, “Noble Romans and Regenerated Citizens: The Morality of Conscription in Napoleonic Italy, 1800-1814” in *War in History* Vol.8 (July 2001): 249-270.

<sup>524</sup> Odevaere, Boisselier, Guillemot, and Ingres made copies from the vaults of the Villa Farnesina in the year 1809. *Maesta di Roma II*, 488.

<sup>525</sup> Joseph-Charles Marin, Rome, to L-A Dingé, Paris, 28 July, 1803. Reprinted in P. Bonnefon, “*Quelques Lettres Inédites du Sculpteur J.-C. Marin,*” *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (16 November 1901): 283-284.

only because these were safe subjects, money-makers in an era of uncertainty, but also because these objects were purveyors of a language that countered images of contemporary war and imperialist designs. In order to sell the art that they were trained to make—art centered on an intensive knowledge of the Antique—the artists adopted a more sensual, more Rococo tone in their subject choices.

As we have seen, the subjects of envois from both painters and sculptors in the years 1803-1816 were often similar. This was doubtless due to the explosive combination of the *pensionnaires*' isolation from Paris, their camaraderie, their daily group drawing sessions, and market pressures.<sup>526</sup> Apollo and Hyacinth was the subject of the sculptor Callamard's envoi for 1802 and the painter Blondel's for 1810.<sup>527</sup> Narcissus was claimed by sculptors Cortot and David d'Angers in 1810 and 1813, respectively.<sup>528</sup> While not technically Narcissus subjects, several David students turned their male *académies* into water scenes: Blondel's 1809 *A Young Traveler Washing his Feet*, Drolling's 1813 *Adolescent Near a Fountain*—all now lost to us.<sup>529</sup>

Placing young men in a pastoral setting with a vaguely mythological or historical background seems to have been a particularly useful vehicle for “disguising” Academic nudes into subjects that could be easily sold.<sup>530</sup> Shepherds and other lone men placed outside became *de rigueur*: consider Boisselier's *Shepherd Mourning the Death of a Fly* (1808), Guillemot's 1809 *Little Flautist*, Charles Laitie's copy of the Antique sculpture of the *Young Man playing the Flute* (1809,) and Marin's sculpted *Telemachus as a Shepherd* (1805-1806).<sup>531</sup> Pradier's 1814 *Orpheus* and Palliere's 1814 *Mercury* could also be added to this group, as could certain sculptures of Paris-as-shepherd by Laitie (1806, original *envoi*) and Giraud's 1810 copy of the shepherd Paris after the Antique.<sup>532</sup> Bacchic subjects were also well represented: the painter Guillemot produced a *Bacchus and Faun* in 1811 and a *Sleeping Bacchus* in 1813.<sup>533</sup>

Scholars such as Solomon-Godeau, Levitine, and Crow have pointed out that these depictions of epeheic young men (mortal or immortal) were common to the Revolutionary period as well; yet in Napoleonic Rome, we find no Baras or Wounded Warriors.<sup>534</sup> The few wounded male bodies depicted by Ingres's colleagues are overwhelmingly wounded by love, not

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<sup>526</sup> For example, the painters and sculptors would go to the Villa Farnesina or to San Pietro in Montorio. The evidence for this is based on the paintings and drawings they produced and on that recorded in their letters, such as Michel Martin Drolling, Rome, to his father Martin Drolling, Paris, 3 August 1811, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.

<sup>527</sup> *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*. Callamard: 287, Blondel: 179.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.* For Cortot: 394-395, David d'Angers: 436-437.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.* For Blondel: 179, Drolling: 529-530, Heim: 780- 781.

<sup>530</sup> For more on “disguising” or “historicizing” *académies*, see *Maesta di Roma II*, 177-180.

<sup>531</sup> *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*. For Boisselier: 186, Marin: 1048-1049, Laitie: 890-891, Guillemot: 753-754.

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid.* For Pradier: 1252-1253, Palliere: 1173-1174, Laitie: 890-891, Giraud: 705- 706.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.* For Guillemot: 753-754.

<sup>534</sup> For the political investiture by Girodet in *Endymion* and for more on Drouais's *Wounded Warrior*, see Crow 1995, specifically Chapter 3 for Drouais's *Wounded Warrior*, Chapter 7 for *Bara*, and Chapters 5 and 6 for *Endymion*. Crow describes 1810 Paris as being seduced by an Anacreonic mode in painting Crow 1995, 265-270). Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997). See also George Levitine, *The Dawn of Bohemianism: the Barbu Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978). See also Whitney Davis, “Winckelmann Divided: Mourning the Death of Art History,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, no.1-2 (1994): 141-160.

in noble military service.<sup>535</sup> The French artists stationed in Napoleonic Rome mobilized the ephebe not in the service of purity and devotion to a cause, as Girodet had done in *Endymion*, but in order to revolt against the active contemporary military subjects dominating the Salons of Paris. Their artful nudes and frivolous mythologies constituted a rebellion against flamboyant military ornament. The young men painted by the *pensionnaires* were, in a way, reflections of themselves: men who were enveloped in an idyllic setting far from war.<sup>536</sup>

Part of the aesthetic rebellion of these artists was to choose female *académies* as subjects. When these men painted women—and they painted a great many more “*figures*” of women than Revolution-era *pensionnaires*—they were also frustrating the lofty ideals of history painting, but in a way that never undermined their masculine supremacy.<sup>537</sup> Their strategy was to disempower the subject: by locating women in groupings in which they were seemingly vulnerable to the men portrayed at their sides (Ingres’s *Jupiter and Thetis*, Odevaere’s *Thetis Helping Achilles*, Honnet’s *Queen of Lydia*) or by placing the women comfortably in far-away, idyllic pasts (Drolling and Pallière’s nymphs, the female equivalent to shepherds), or by stripping women of mythological titles and simply portraying them as unaware bathers in exotic locations (Ingres’s and Odevaere’s *Baigneuses*). The Parisian Academy responded poorly to this surge of female “protagonists.” Reviews of the sculptors’ *envois* cannot be assessed, since their works were never sent back to Paris, during the Napoleonic period, but almost no painter received a positive review of his work. The collective artistic investment of the *pensionnaires* in choosing non-militaristic myths or histories featuring the ephebe or the doubly other, the colonized woman, was noticed and decried by the Academy in Paris. After the disappointing *envoi* of 1812 in which only two painters managed to send works to Paris, the painters were criticized for their lack of “*zele et emulation*”: “*en général, la classe invite MM. les pensionnaires peintres de l’École de Rome à envoyer des études plus classiques et plus nombreuses.*”<sup>538</sup>

Ultimately, Ingres and certain members of his cohort were blamed for dragging all the painters at the Académie de Rome down with their insistence on representing an idyllic past in an archaizing fashion: “*Nous avons annoncé dès 1809, que les pensionnaires peintres, cédant à une influence dangereuse [Ingres], recherchaient une simplicité exagérée qui rétrogradait vers l’enfance de l’art.*”<sup>539</sup> By 1813, when the Academy decided to review the works from 1810 and

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<sup>535</sup> Solomon-Godeau 1997, 151.

<sup>536</sup> Solomon-Godeau suggests that the painting of attractive young men and of the friendships (or loves) between them by male artists living in an all-male community is a way of affirming the community’s purpose and the elevated role of the male (creator) in this society “Rome, therefore, and the neoclassical style it fostered and disseminated was of central importance in promoting an erotics of manhood, while affirming a political-ethical ideal of fraternal bonds and affiliations within which women had no place” (Solomon-Godeau 1997, 94). While I agree with her on the self-reflexivity of painting ephebic subjects and the resulting reinforcement of the male artist’s status, I argue that Napoleonic artists in Rome in fact forged their “fraternal bonds” in a not necessarily coordinated rejection of the bellicose subjects that the Napoleonic Regime would have forced upon them had they not been selected for the Rome Prize.

<sup>537</sup> I shall be commenting further on female *académies* in the next chapter.

<sup>538</sup> *Procès Verbaux* I 2001, 391.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, 419-420. In this “Notice des Travaux de la classe des Beaux-Arts de L’Institut Impérial de France pour l’Année 1812,” it was decided to comment on the 1810 and 1811 works as opposed to those that had been sent in 1812, because there had not been enough time in between when the work arrived and when the *Classe* had to give its report. We know that the “*influence dangereuse*” references Ingres because an earlier Academic critique of Ingres’s work uses very similar phrasing. See the remarks read in the Session of 28 December 1811: “... *on voit avec peine que cet artiste semble plutôt s’efforcer de se rapprocher de l’époque*

1811 more thoroughly, Ingres, Granger, Odevaere, and Boisselier did not even receive critiques of their work for fear of the negative exposure it would bring to the Academy when the report was read aloud at the public sessions: “*nous passerons sous silence les ouvrages de trois pensionnaires parce que les éloges ne compenseraient pas les critiques. ... La sévérité paternelle renferme dans le sanctuaire de la famille les conseils austères et les réprimandes.*”<sup>540</sup> The use of the language of paternity, only politically applicable again because of the renewal of Empire, established a firm hierarchy between the Parisian elders and the young guns in Rome. This doubtless had the effect of distancing the students even more from the “*noble*” and bellicose Antique subjects that had been staples of their diet while students at the Parisian Academy.<sup>541</sup>

Lethière’s correspondence reflects the worldview represented by his *pensionnaires*’s works. Before Murat’s appropriation of Rome in early 1814, even Lethière’s unofficial letters contain virtually no mention of the war Napoleon was waging throughout Europe or of the issue of conscripting young men like his artists and his son.<sup>542</sup> Drolling alone mentions the war in his letters before 1814, and in doing so, reinforces the position of privilege that the *pensionnaires* enjoyed.<sup>543</sup> Drolling wrote home to his father that he was humbled by meeting Dominique Vivant-Denon, director of the Louvre and alleged champion of young artists, in early November of 1811, when he came to visit the French Académie de Rome.<sup>544</sup> The older artist commented positively on Drolling’s work and compared it favorably to that of his father’s, which greatly pleased the young artist. Drolling wrote poignantly of his gratitude to and respect for Vivant-Denon: “*C’est à lui [Vivant-Denon] que je dois le bonheur dont je jouis maintenant. Sans lui je ne verrais pas ces chefs d’œuvres de l’Antiquité. Je serais peut-être à présent soldat ou mort.*”<sup>545</sup> It seems that only the presence of a Parisian outsider like Vivant-Denon, the man who awarded protection from the draft to France’s most talented artists, could introduce the reality of war and interrupt the pastoral ephobic world of these young men in Rome.

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*de la naissance de la peinture qu’à se pénétrer dans des beaux principes qu’offre les plus belles productions de tout les grand maîtres de l’art” (Procès Verbaux I 2001, 80-81).*

<sup>540</sup> Heim, Guillemot, Blondel, and Langlois get their work critiqued while the School of David students do not even get mentioned. *Procès-Verbaux* 2001, 421.

<sup>541</sup> It also pitted more than one painter—from the school of David, nonetheless—together against the authorities.

<sup>542</sup> I would write that there is *no* mention of war in any of the letters written before 1814 that I have read from the Villa Medici Archives, but the correspondence is so large it would be difficult to assert this with absolute certainty until it is fully published by the French Academy. In my personal perusal of his letters, however, I have only found derogatory comments referencing the painting of contemporary war subjects or explanations concerning the impossibility of transporting the work of the sculptors back to Paris—not anything relating to the actualities of war in any meaningful way.

<sup>543</sup> Drolling mentions the Neapolitan takeover of Rome in 1814 and makes further political commentary after that political moment, but before then he speaks only of the wonders of Rome and of his work. Michel-Martin Drolling, Rome to Martin Drolling, Paris, 26 January 1814, Rome, A 923, recto, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre. Cortot’s letters, unlike, Drolling’s, never speak of war.

<sup>544</sup> Michel-Martin Drolling to Martin Drolling, 28 November 1811, A 907, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER 4.

### INGRES AND INVENTION OF THE FEMALE *ACADÉMIE*

When discussing the nature of the beautiful in his *History of Ancient Art*, Winckelmann admits, unsurprisingly to anyone familiar with his biography, that he “find[s] less to notice in the beauty of the female sex.”<sup>546</sup> He then justifies himself by commenting that frequently in Ancient Art, female figures are presented clothed and not nude, so it is more difficult to judge their beauty; in the cases where they must be represented nude, such as in the portrayal of a Venus, Winckelmann finds the bodies represented ultimately too similar.<sup>547</sup> They do not have the variety present in the sculpture of male bodies; to Winckelmann, they seem all too alike.

Winckelmann’s critique, that the nude female body provides “less to notice” than the male, could have been uttered by any of the members of the Parisian Academy upon viewing Ingres’s *Baigneuse Valpinçon* in 1808 (Figure 2.1). The commentary on the *Baigneuse* is half as long as that devoted to Ingres’s male *académie*, *Oedipus*, turned in the same year.<sup>548</sup> Most of the commentary, as I shall discuss later this chapter, concerned the background and other pictorial details of the *Baigneuse*, not the *académie* figure itself. According to the Parisian Academicians, Ingres’s *Baigneuse* lacked “*effet*,” or a certain presence.<sup>549</sup> There was, in other words, less to notice about her—least of all, it seems, her extraordinary femininity.

And yet there is so much to notice about this canvas. Ingres presents the viewer with the back of a female nude, sitting upright upon a sumptuous bed covered in white cloth. The cloth offers more access points in its folds than the female nude does in her entire body. Ingres presents us with a wall of pale flesh, nearly devoid of interior contours save a dimple at the hip, another at the neck, and a third marking her shoulder blades. Her long arms hang by her sides, one bent and wrapped around a delicate, transparent white cloth, the other supporting her position on the bed. Her awkwardly proportioned legs dangle off of the mattress, revealing to us one soft underside of a foot.

Like David’s male *académie* known as *Patroclus* (1780), Ingres’s Bather is technically a study in bodily torsion: her legs and face are twisted in different directions, as are his (Figure 4.1). Her face remains hidden, as does his. Unlike *Patroclus*, however, the Bather’s long, impossibly uniform back masks the torsion of her extremities. David’s *Patroclus* showcases the artist’s knowledge of anatomy; the figure’s muscles are bulging in all the right places to accentuate his twisting mass. Ingres displays no such need to depict the female anatomy accurately, as signaled by the monumental stillness and planarity of the Bather’s back. Every detail is delicately rendered in this picture, from the laces of the red slippers to the waterspout of the pool to the careful braid of the woman’s hairdo peeking out from the intricately wrapped headpiece. The attention lavished on the details surrounding the figure is intended to make the uniform beauty of the flesh stand out all the more.

Ingres deliberately crafted her so that her bodily presence would be the main attraction, as opposed to the accessories that the Academy ultimately seized on to criticize. In fact, Ingres abandoned his plans for a Venus who would have been accessorized by multiple cupids, jewels,

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<sup>546</sup> Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of Ancient Art* (New York: F. Ungar Pub. Co., 1968), Vol. 1, 231.

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>548</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

<sup>549</sup> *Ibid.*

and a resplendent watery background.<sup>550</sup> *Académies* were not meant to be portraits, but the building blocks for future history paintings. To make them, the artist had to draw from life, but look beyond the particularity of the model to create an image that would be timeless and heroic.

In his early female nudes, Ingres sought to achieve the same timelessness and placelessness that had historically belonged to the male heroic nude. If female nudes could somehow stand for the universality of experience in the same way that male nudes had, they would form a new type of *académie*. For this reason, the details Ingres paints around his earliest nudes deliberately equivocate their settings and origins. The *Half-Bather*, the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, and the *Dormeuse de Naples* are unmoored from an obvious storyline or specific location (Figure 4.2).

Only through the power of retrospective analysis—Ingres reused the Bather’s body as a trope continually throughout his career—can we choose to locate the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* in a harem. That so many scholars have chosen to do so is a testament not only to the power of historical suggestion given certain consistent visual cues, but also to the fluid nature of the female nude as opposed to her male counterpart.<sup>551</sup> The harem not only easily explains nudity, but also strips nudity of any power it might wield, for women inhabiting this space are kept in various states of undress at the will of a man. Women, as the Cisalpine Letterhead discussed earlier made clear, can be made to stand for opposite abstractions. As Lynn Hunt has pointed out in her study of the iconography of the French Revolution, women are conveniently malleable symbols for the men who wield them; their personification is contingent upon their emptiness as vessels.<sup>552</sup>

I think it important that the Parisian Academicians viewing the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* for the first time did not choose to locate the work in a harem. They did, however, describe the painting by one of the few details that they could distinguish: the turban of the central bather.<sup>553</sup> For the Parisian Academics, she was “*la figure de femme coiffée d’une espèce de turban.*”<sup>554</sup> Ingres’s delicate details, then as now, are often the focus of those viewing his paintings. Art historian Wendy Leeks, for example, uses the turban to link Ingres’s nudes with Raphael’s *Madonna* figures.<sup>555</sup> I will argue later that the same details that allow the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* to be viewed as taking place in a hamam could also be interpreted as locating the bather in Ingres’s version of an Ancient Roman bath (where Ingres’s student Théodore Chasseriau would later represent his semi-nude bathers) (Figure 4.3).<sup>556</sup> For though these mortal women became more firmly ensconced in the harem over time in Ingres’s production, I do not believe he intended such a reading in his first productions of female nudes. The bathers began their careers as female *académies*, aiming at timelessness and universality; as Roman goddesses, aiming at

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<sup>550</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 162.

<sup>551</sup> Leeks herself quotes Majorie Cohn, Norman Bryson, and Hans Naef, all great Ingres scholars, as holding this view. Wendy Leeks, “Ingres Other-Wise” *The Oxford Art Journal* 9, no.1 (1986), 29.

<sup>552</sup> For more on the malleability of the woman as Revolutionary symbol as opposed to her male counterpart, see “The Image of Radicalism” in Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Class and Culture in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 87-122.

<sup>553</sup> Marcel Bonnaire, ed., *Procès-Verbaux de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 3, 1806-1810 (Paris: A. Colin, 1943) 268. Henceforth known as *Procès-Verbaux* III 1943.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>555</sup> Leeks, 32.

<sup>556</sup> The surroundings of the nudes in Chasseriau’s 1853 *Tepidarium* are based on the ruins of the baths of Pompeii. For a recent take on this painting, see Sarah Betzer “Afterimage of the Eruption: An Archaeology of Chasseriau’s *Tepidarium* (1853),” *Art History* 33 (2010): 466–489.

history painting; and most profoundly, as Roman peasant models and dominated women, forcing Ingres to confront colonial power over his nude female subjects.

### First Steps: Venus Anadyomene trumps Hercules

Ingres's first attempts at making a painting of a single woman would bear fruit decades later as *Venus Anadyomene*, a standing female nude coming out of the ocean and surrounded by *putti* (Figure 4.4). The wall label at the Chateau de Chantilly where it hangs informs us that the work was started in 1807 in Italy and finished in 1848; the documentation, both written and drawn, confirms these dates.<sup>557</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, Ingres had several different ideas for the subject of his first composition in Rome, including "Antiochus and Stratonice" and "Alexander, Apelles and Campaspe." (Figure 4.5) However, conscious that he had to turn in an *académie* before he submitted a multi-person composition, Ingres had first settled on making *Hercules Asleep, Surrounded by Pygmies* his first *envoi*.<sup>558</sup>

But Ingres also had concerns about tackling this virile subject. When describing his choice to Monsieur Forestier, Ingres seemed almost intimidated: "*Hercule, c'est tout dire! Il y a longtemps que je n'ai fait des choses d'un caractère fort et qui me rappellent l'étude du corps humain dont il est nécessaire que je me rappelle.*"<sup>559</sup> He felt that at the point where he was in his study of the subject, he was not prepared enough to execute a successful *Hercules*: "*il m'a semblé que pour faire dignement et avec intention le sujet d'Hercule, il fallait avoir fait plus encore que je n'ai fait jusques [sic] ici.*"<sup>560</sup> Though he was fully capable of executing a Davidian ideal male nude, Ingres had not painted nude warriors since his Rome Prize win of the *Ambassadors of Agamemnon* in 1801. It is possible that he had become intimidated by the subject, for lately in Paris, he had failed where other Davidians had succeeded in getting commissions from the State. In addition, his *Napoleon Enthroned* had been roundly ridiculed when it was shown at the Salon.<sup>561</sup> Yet *Napoleon Enthroned* would have been a very different work than a *beau-idéal* Hercules.

Though he had not been called upon to create a heroic history painting since 1801, Ingres was doubtless still highly capable of producing a work based, in Davidian neoclassicism, as was *The Ambassadors of Agamemnon*.<sup>562</sup> Some aspects of that language included the modified use of classical sculptural poses (Patroclus as the *Apollo Sauroctonos* is just one example), clear ancient textual references (the exact action described in the *Illiad*), heroic nudity, and display of Academic painting mastery. This mastery is gestured at in features such as the nude male bodies seen from various angles and the enacting of the famous Davidian "dichotomy" between the

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<sup>557</sup> See, for example, *Ingres* 2006, 42.

<sup>558</sup> "...une figure nue, peinte d'après le model vivant et de grandeur naturelle" 1799 Regulations, reprinted in *Suvéé Correspondance*, 161. See also *Lettres* 2011, 154 for intentions to make a *Hercules*.

<sup>559</sup> *Letters* 2011, 154.

<sup>560</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 162.

<sup>561</sup> For the criticism of *Napoleon Enthroned*, see Susan Siegfried, "Ingres's Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne: The Critics" in *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David*, Todd Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006): 91-113.

<sup>562</sup> Carol Ockman was the first scholar to recognize the importance of the homoerotic environment of the Davidian studio as structuring Ingres's male nudes in *Agamemnon*. Many of the arguments Ockman puts forth about the homoerotic productions of David's studio in her chapter on Ingres's male nudes from his Academy reception work, *The Ambassadors of Agamemnon*, have been pushed further since *Ingres's Eroticized Bodies* was published in Thomas Crow's scholarship. See Ockman 1995, 1-32 and Crow 1995.

male and female realms.<sup>563</sup> Ingres's virtuosity at performing these hallmarks of Davidian neoclassical painting is what won him the Rome Prize in the first place. It seems, however, that Ingres sought a subject utterly outside the space of judgment reserved for Academic male nudes, for, by late May of 1807, he would decide to eschew *Hercules* for the *Venus Anadyomene*.<sup>564</sup> In this way, Ingres would gain experience in crafting the female mythological nude, relatively foreign territory for him. He also hoped this subject would earn him some easy praise from Paris. If the *Venus* was well received, Ingres seems to have believed, the male nude he next undertook would be heaped with praise.<sup>565</sup>

As he had planned to do with his *Hercules*, Ingres wanted to portray Venus at a particular point in her mythological development: her birth. There are several early sketches of the subject, one of which shows Venus reclining in an odalisque-like pose (Figure 4.6). In several others, however, she stands facing the viewer with her head turned to one side (Figures 4.7 and 4.8).<sup>566</sup> In these early drawings, she makes the same gestures as the *Medici Venus*, a copy of which could be found on the grounds of the Académie de France à Rome at the time (Figures 4.9 and 4.10).<sup>567</sup>

Ingres had done exhaustive research on Venus's attributes and her position, as revealed in one drawing of her with notes scrawled on all sides of the body, preserved at Montauban (Figure 4.8). Venus was to be rising out of the foam and her body was to be bright ivory. The Hours were to float down from the heavens and shower her with precious gifts, including bracelets, divine clothing, a crown, and necklaces. The sea itself would be full of cherubic-like nereids, admiring her beauty.<sup>568</sup> All of these attributes would have weighed down the rising goddess, similar to the way in which Ingres had weighed down Napoleon's imperial portrait with too many accessories. Ultimately, the requirements of the *académie*—to complete an anatomically correct and beautiful study of the nude (male) body—would have been somewhat compromised had turned in this highly decorative version of his *Venus Anadyomène*.

No letters document Ingres's ultimate decision to shelve the *Venus* for *Oedipus*—an anti-hero of sorts—nor are there documents which explain why Ingres returned to what could be called derivatives of the Venus subject so soon afterwards: producing the *Half-Bather* (1808), the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* (1808) and the now-lost *Dormeuse de Naples* (1809) in his first two years at the Académie de Rome. These nudes are often discussed collectively as preparatory dabbling for Ingres's later harem compositions, from the *Grande Odalisque* (1814) to the *Little Bather*

<sup>563</sup> Carol Ockman rightly argues that Ingres's variation on the "Davidian" dichotomy is problematic for the subject matter, as the temporarily non-bellifere Achilles and Patroclus as well as the slave girl Bresius all belong to the "female" realm. Ockman 1995, 12-18.

<sup>564</sup> But in early May of 1807, Ingres decided to eschew that composition for a *Venus Anadyomene*: "Il y a huit jours que ma figure est terminée d'ébaucher, mais au lieu du terrible Hercule, j'ai peint Vénus au moment où elle vient de naître, sortant des flots blanchissants de la mer." *Lettres* 2011, 161.

<sup>565</sup> "Il m'a semblé que pour faire dignement et avec intention le sujet d'Hercule, il fallait avoir fait plus encore que je n'ai fait jusques [sic] ici et que, **si j'ai le bonheur de faire un beau tableau [Venus Anadyomene] du plus beau style, mon Hercule aura encore plus raison, en ayant donné la preuve.**" Emphasis mine. *Lettres* 2011, 162.

<sup>566</sup> She would eventually adopt this standing frontal position; by 1848, however, her face would be looking out towards the audience.

<sup>567</sup> In a landscape allegedly painted by Ingres from his studio at the Villa Medici, one can see a replica of the Medici Venus in the Villa Gardens with the Casino di Raffaello behind it. The sketches referred to are in Montauban: 867.2302, 867. 2303 and 867. 23034; for the Venus lying down, 867. 2322. All are reproduced with the writing on them transcribed in Vigne 1995, 157.

<sup>568</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 161. See also Vigne 1995, 157, no. 849.

(1828) to the *Odalisque à l'Esclave* (1839-1840), and ultimately, to the great *Bain Turc* (1852-1859) (Figures 1.35, 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13).<sup>569</sup> I propose to examine these early works separately in their own uniquely Roman context, analyzing their origins in Ingres's response to and interaction with locally available Antique sculpture, Renaissance painting, and Roman women.

### **Bathing Roman Women: Ingres's *Half-Bather* and *Baigneuse Valpinçon***

Ingres's *Baigneuse Valpinçon* derived from ideas relating to his 1807 *Venus Anadyomene* project. These two projects are seldom linked in art historical scholarship; if so, the link is often made via Ingres's "Venuses," not the copies he made of Antique Venuses in Rome. His "idea notebooks," or "*cahiers inédits*" contain several sketches of bathing Dianas and Venuses copied from sarcophagi and freestanding statues, which can be dated to his early years in Rome. Onto the large folios in these *cahier inédits*, Ingres pasted his drawings or drawings by others of objects that interested or inspired him.<sup>570</sup> These drawings have mostly been considered irrelevant because imprecisely dateable by the Ingres scholarship until Georges Vigne published images of some of them in 1995 and Pascale Picard-Cajan put whole folios on display in 2006 to showcase Ingres's intense examination of the Antique.<sup>571</sup> To one who has had the opportunity to examine them, the sheets of the *cahiers inédits*—not to be confused with the *cahiers* full of Ingres's writing, also at Montauban—are fascinating in their fragmentary nature: sometimes the drawings pasted onto a sheet are related, sometimes not. Many are just vague sketches—an outline of a foot—and are cut off at awkward angles. They reveal Ingres's ability to compose whole tableaux from fragments; as we will see later on, stealing a line here or a pose there from a character in a past composition is one of his favorite methods of creating new work.

As such, the *Half-Bather's* origin is intimately bound up with several different copies Ingres made of Antique goddesses bathing.<sup>572</sup> The *Half-Bather's* surprise, evident in the unnatural turn of her head and the way her arms fly to her sides so as to cover up her chest, is also present in the pose of the *Crouching Venus* (Figure 4.14). The *Crouching Venus* bathing iconography is also shared by Diana as surprised by Acteon during her bath. Ingres copied the representation of this myth from the ancient Roman *Sarcophage à Guirlandes*, which would still have been in the nearby Borghese Collection when Ingres began his *pensionnat* in Rome (Figure 4.15).<sup>573</sup> The final drawing relating to the *Half-Bather* and depicting a crouching woman upon whom water is being poured is a copy of Tishbein's drawings of motifs from William

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<sup>569</sup> Even the most recent Ingres Exhibition Catalogue lumps his early nudes together under the same section: "Eros Ingresque." *Ingres* 2006, 174-180.

<sup>570</sup> The argument most often advanced for Ingres's so-called Roman landscapes is that he did only some of them himself, bought the rest while a student in Rome, and pasted them into his *cahiers* at a later date. Though the curators at Montauban believe that the assembling of the *Cahiers Inédits* as entities dates to Ingres's later years in Paris, the drawings pasted into them date from throughout Ingres's career. Conversation with Florence Viguier, Director of the Ingres Museum at Montauban, August 2011.

<sup>571</sup> See Vigne 1995, 8-9 for his commentary on his publication strategy.

<sup>572</sup> Picard-Cajan dates a drawing of the *Crouching Venus* and the drawing after the "*Sarcophage à Guirlandes*" to Ingres's years in Paris: 1803-1806. She does not date the drawing made after the Tishbein-copied vase. She gives no reason for her dating. I speculate that Ingres made at least one copy of the *Crouching Venus* (perhaps after a plaster cast), as well as the other two drawings, during his time in Rome. Picard-Cajan 2006, 260, 392, no. 94, 95 and 306, 400, no.189.

<sup>573</sup> It is now at the Louvre. The "*Sarcophage à Guirlandes*" was bought, along with many of the Borghese antiquities, by Napoleon, in 1807 from Prince Camillo Borghese. These were not shipped out until 1811 at the earliest. Picard-Cajan 2006, 260, 392, no.95. See also the Louvre's tombstone information on the sarcophagus. [http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car\\_not&idNotice=17180](http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not&idNotice=17180)

Hamilton's collection (1800-1803) (Figure 4.16).<sup>574</sup> The accompanying text in the compendium where Tishbein's drawings are reproduced does not identify the woman in the vase painting as a specific goddess but claims instead that the iconography is common to both Aristoclea as well as Diana.<sup>575</sup>

The iconography that inspired Ingres's posing of the *Half Bather* is sourced from three different media: sculpture in the round, bas-relief, and vase painting. The drawings take volume into account in varying degrees; the drawing of the *Crouching Venus* sculpture is carefully modeled, the bas-relief of Diana is more lightly modeled, and the vase-painted Diana/Aristoclea is merely outlined. Yet, despite these varying degrees of shading, all of the drawings focus on the exterior contour of the female body—there is little interest in internal shading. The painted *Half-Bather* displays very little internal shading, except for the curving line of her spine down the back (one of the only internal lines in the Tishbein drawing).

Rather than copy the Antique form in a servile manner, Ingres borrowed the half of it that inspired him and then twisted the torso to the right rather than the left for his 1808 *académie*, the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*. Making the *Half-Bather* helped liberate Ingres from the form he knew too well and allowed him to alter the statue's position into that of the figure we know today. The origin of the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* in the *Crouching Venus* is reflected in the impossible torsion of the bather's head and neck area; they are shown to the viewer as if they were revealed by the viewer's walking around the statue—each twist of the body compelling the viewer to continue his circumambulation. The gangliness of the too-far extended legs might also be a result of this truncation of the model; inventing a leg length which compensates, as Ingres's does beautifully, for the oddly long and curved back might require a certain amount of exaggeration of proportions.

Though their iconographic origins lie in mythology, Ingres's *Half-Bather* and the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* are both profoundly mortal. Unlike Langlois's *Cassandra* and Odevaere's *Bathsheba*, Ingres's bathers have no historical or mythological story to hide behind. His women are bereft of a secure reference point. Ingres was the first to present a female nude with as little pomp as one might present a non-historiated male *académie*. Though Ingres's bathers may find the origin of their pose in mythology, the link ends there. Unlike the *Apollo Sauroctonos*, who is called upon to model for Patroclus in Ingres's *Ambassadors of Agamemnon*, the *Crouching Venus* models for non-heroic subjects.

The *Half-Bather* is set in a fantasy woodland landscape, like a close crop of the one surrounding Caroline Rivière in Ingres's 1806 portrait (Figure 4.17). To this river and wooded landscape, Ingres has added some distant mountains and an Umbrian-style castle complex, set into the hills on the Bather's left. This places the scene in an embellished corner of the Apennines outside of Rome. By contrast, the *Valpinçonne* bathes in an indoor bath. The drapery on the column to the left of her is decorated in the manner of the Roman shawls worn by elegant women like Madame Duvaucy in Ingres's contemporary painted portraits. Behind the bather is

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<sup>574</sup> Picard-Cajan 2006, 306, 400, no. 189. Tischbein, *Pitture de Vasi Antichi Posseduti da Sua Eccellenza il Sig. Cav. Hamilton*, 2nd ed (Florence: La Società Calcografica, 1800-1803) Vol. 3, Plate 50.

<sup>575</sup> Plutarch, *Oeuvres Morales [Moralia]*, trans. Dominique Ricard, Vol.10 (Paris: Chez la Veuve Desaint, 1788), 139-141. In his *Moralia*, Plutarch describes Aristoclea as a young lady whom two men were in love with; one, a certain Straton, fell in love with her because he observed her bathing. The day of her wedding to the other pretender to her hand, Callisthene, Straton staged a surprise attack on her while she was at a fountain, making a sacrifice to the nymphs to bless her marriage. Her would-be husband Callisthene heard the commotion and tried to grab her from Straton; the two literally tore her apart. It is one of the two bathing moments in the story that Hamilton's text probably references. See also Hamilton 1795, Vol. 3, 80-85.

a wall draped with a grayish cloth. Deployed in a fashion similar to David's wall draperies in *Brutus*, the drapery showcases the figure(s) in front of it—in this case, it focuses the viewer's attention on the soft fleshiness of the bather's skin (Figure 4.18). The *Baigneuse Valpinçon*'s setting recalls Rome in its green porphyry column and the delicately wrought spout on the wall, resembling a miniature *Bocca della Verità* (itself probably an Ancient Roman sewer drain) (Figure 4.19).

If a Venus/Diana pose was at the origin of Ingres's bathers, the Roman women who served as Ingres's models for these *académies* informed many of their physical features. Ingres's models and the anatomical particularities of his nudes have not yet been associated in the scholarly literature. However, both of his early bathers share the same broad shoulders and back. They each feature the same dark hair, made up in the same style with a very similarly patterned cloth covering the back half of the hair. The women share the same dainty ear and long neck, impossibly twisted onto itself. The body parts of the two bathers are both elongated—note the fingers on the *Half-Bather* and the long calves of the *Valpinçonne*. The major differences between the two works are not the bodies themselves (though one does see the lower half of the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*), but rather the setting of the two women and the access the viewer has to the woman's face.

The hair of each woman is done up in an identical fashion. It is parted down the middle in the front section and then swept to either side of the face; the length of it is braided, then curled up and piled onto the back of the head. This curled-up braid is covered by what the Parisian critics called “*un espèce de turban.*”<sup>576</sup> They were unwilling to call the hairpiece a full-fledged turban, for it left much of the hair uncovered, yet the way the cloth was knotted onto and through the hair recalled one. Neither this hairstyle nor this accessory has previously been compared to contemporary Roman hairstyles. But during their time in Rome, both Ingres and Blondel made identical sketches of several different kinds of hairstyles from different regions of Italy, many from the hills surrounding Rome (Figure 4.20). These bust-length views are taken from the back and side so that one can see both the intricacy of the woven braided hair and fabrics and their overall effect.<sup>577</sup> One such bust, labeled “*à Teracine*” in Blondel's copy (meaning “in Terracina,” a city in Lazio just outside Rome), shows a woman in profile with a coral necklace whose hair is similarly pulled back in the way of Ingres's *Baigneuse* (excepting a braid in the front as opposed to in the middle of the hairstyle) (Figure 4.21). This woman sports an intensely colored mix of green and yellow ribbon, woven into a chevron pattern, tying up the large round mass of hair at the back of her head.

While none of these Roman examples is a perfect one-to-one match with the *Baigneuse*'s “*espèce de turban,*” they are much closer to the hairstyle of the subject than an oriental turban. It seems that Ingres simply asked the model to tie a shawl around her hair, braided and pinned up in the traditional Roman style. Ingres's motive for adding the shawl atop the hair may have been to give the models a closer resemblance to Raphael's painting of his mistress *La Fornarina*, or perhaps simply to help him distance his final product from the physical model before him (Figure 4.22).

Although Ingres's bathers' hairdos and bodily features can be seen to derive both from Ancient Roman art and contemporary Roman women, the Roman-ness of the *Baigneuse*

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<sup>576</sup> *Procès-Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

<sup>577</sup> Florence Viguier, director of the Musée Ingres in Montauban, believes Ingres and Blondel may have copied these hairdos from a general sourcebook of hairstyles during this period. Conversation with Dr. Viguier, August 5, 2011.

*Valpinçon* has always been overlooked by critics, beginning with the Parisian Academy's review of the work. This is chiefly due to her setting, the delicate way each of the details around her is described, and her hairpiece. In fact, scholar Wendy Leeks's entire discussion of the *Baigneuse* is based on the assertion that the headpiece is an oriental turban and that the figure is located in a harem.<sup>578</sup> Leeks conflates bather and odalisque together in Ingres's work as if they were interchangeable terms from in her first sentence.<sup>579</sup> This ahistorical misreading, based on Ingres repeatedly and very clearly placing a version of his *Baigneuse Valpinçon* in a harem in works later in his career, takes the *Baigneuse* out of her specific historical and cultural context: as having been painted in Rome and inspired by the city's Antiquities. The general and non-specific manner in which Ingres describes the bathing space—its marble pool and richly draped walls—imbues the body at the center of the painting with a certain timelessness that is the traditional purview of the male *académie*. Ingres took the terms of the male *académie*—an exploration of the anonymous nude male body—and applied it to a female nude for the first time in the history of French academic painting.

### Female Nudes and Male Academicians: The Critique

The Parisian Academy's commentary on the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, with its hysterical blindness to the rather obvious problem that Ingres turned in a woman, not a man, as his *académie*, is worth quoting in full:

*Dans la figure de femme coiffée d'une espèce de turban, on a remarqué des parties finement dessinées, bien peintes et rendues avec vérité, mais on aurait désiré dans ce tableau un parti d'effet plus décidé. On ne devine pas bien d'où vient la lumière; le reflet du corps perce avec le fond du linge dans la demi-teinte et la figure ne porte point d'ombre sur le plan où elle est assise. Le rideau qui forme une ligne droite et sombre sur le devant du tableau n'est pas heureusement placé. En considérant le talent que M. Ingres montre dans ses ouvrages, on désirerait qu'il se pénétrât davantage du beau caractère de l'Antiquité et du style grand et noble que doivent inspirer les belles productions des grands maîtres des bons temps de l'école romaine.*<sup>580</sup>

The positive comments are few and are limited to Ingres's drawing skills—the use of the word “*finement*” implies that she is delicately drawn, as a woman should be. “*Rendue avec vérité*,” however, is almost a criticism that she is too naturalistic. Writing that the painting lacked “*un effet plus décidé*” criticized both Ingres's overall “undecided,” and therefore overly feminine, style as well as the feminine itself subject. A bathing woman, the most banal of subjects, has no intrinsic *effet*, and Ingres did not bother to create one. *Effet* was the preserve of male subjects accomplishing heroic deeds. Lacking such a subject, Ingres also lacked the sculptural emphasis that should accompany it; according to the Academicians, the Bather was flattened by the color of her flesh, which colluded too easily with the sheets. Furthermore, the critics complained that Ingres's Bather had no shadow, and therefore no weight (metaphorical or actual) as a subject. Lastly, Ingres is derided for having, without compositional reason, placed a green drapery in the foreground. The unwillingness of the critics to talk at all about the anatomy or the compositional details of this anonymous Bather reveals their inability to address the

<sup>578</sup> Leeks, 29.

<sup>579</sup> Ibid.

<sup>580</sup> *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 268.

female-ness of the subject at hand, coming down hard instead on Ingres's poor drapery-painting skills as a place-holder for the artist's decision to paint a female nude.

The other female nudes produced by Odevaere in 1808 and Langlois in 1811 fared slightly better—possibly because of their more traditional stances and subjects. Even in these cases, there was still very little commentary on the accurate representation of feminine anatomy—though the proportions of these women were far from accurate or believable. Odevaere's *Bather*, in the only later incarnation I have been able to find—a drawing preserved in a notebook of his contemporary, architect Achille Leclère—had been re-named *Bathsheba* at some point after she was turned into the Parisian Academy (Figure 3.14).<sup>581</sup> Whether Odevaere intended her to be a “Bathsheba” or not, the nude's face, pose, and elaborate outdoor setting create much more of a narrative context—which conforms to the story of King David's lust object—than that of Ingres's *Baigneuse*.

The nude woman in Odevaere's work covers up her breasts as she steps into a spring to bathe, her eyes glancing furtively back at a trellised alleyway with a fountain in the distance. Like the *Half-Bather*, she seems worried about being observed. The turn of her head follows her look and we glimpse the exposed neck, angled as awkwardly as that of Ingres's faceless *Valpinçonne*. Her hair too is done up in an elaborate hairstyle; it is parted at the front and includes an elaborate braid fashioned into a sort of bow at the back of her head—not unlike some of the Italian peasant hairstyles copied by Blondel that inspired Ingres. Though she covers up her breasts, the lower half of her body is completely exposed. Rather oddly for the period, there seems also to be a colored demarcation of her pubic hair. Neither this nor her bizarre body proportions were commented on by the Parisian Academy.

Odevaere's *Bather* is brimming with Classical Greek accessories. An elaborate brocade garment lies on the bank of the pool, next to a sheer white clothing item she is removing. The end of the sheer fabric lies next to a Greek amphora with an indiscernible figural motif represented on it. The branches all around the trellis and the dramatic lighting effects seem to highlight the Bather's furtive actions. Removed from any sort of housing structure, she appears to bathe in a secluded wooded area with only one entrance. Only a decorative garden herm observes her, so we wonder what noise has made her wary.

The Parisian Academy's criticism of Odevaere's figure was quite brief, saying that she was decently drawn; her head, hands and drapery were “*rendues avec finesse*.”<sup>582</sup> The use of the word “*finesse*” here again has a patronizing sentiment about it—a woman needs to be finely drawn, not drawn with strength and character as a male subject might be. The Parisian Academy complimented the trellis leading back into the picture plane but saw it as distracting; the implication being that, had the subject been more substantial, the painting would have not needed such a trellis to show off the painter's prowess.

Langlois submitted his female *académie*, *Cassandra*, a few years later in 1810 and seemed to have learned from the mistakes of Ingres and Odevaere (Figure 3.15). The story of Cassandra, unlike that of an anonymous bather, is embroiled in a narrative showcasing male

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<sup>581</sup> The Academic criticism lists her simply as a “*femme sortant du bain*.” *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 270. critical commentary on this work, see Agnes Mongan, *David to Corot: French Drawings in the Fogg Art Museum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 261.

<sup>582</sup> “*La figure de femme sortant du bain est un peu mieux dessinée. La tête et les mains sont rendues avec finesse, ainsi que la draperie du linge transparent, mais l'ombre de toute la figure est d'une teinte égale et terreuse que ne donne pas la nature. La treille en feuillage est faite avec soin, mais tous ces petits détails nuisent à l'effet du tableau.*” *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 270.

violence; a daughter of Priam, Cassandra is a Trojan priestess who was raped at the fall of Troy by Ajax-the-lesser as she clung to the statue of Athena in her temple for protection. Langlois depicts Cassandra in the moments after the rape, when she prayed to Athena for vengeance upon her attacker—as I emphasized earlier, the viewer is thus the privileged viewer of a nude and voluptuous victim. Sitting with her hands tied behind her back, her tunic in tangles around exposed body, Cassandra, shown almost in profile, leans against the altar and cranes her neck to look at the statue of the goddess. The beginning of Athena’s name in Greek—Αθηνά—and the lower edge of the goddess’s tunic can just be seen by the light of the sacred fire. All of these signs locate Cassandra in the inner sanctuary of the temple, where only priestesses like herself were allowed to enter—and indicated to the Academic committee Langlois’s mastery of the particular aesthetic and religious conventions associated with Greek temples.

The red cloth that obscures the rest of Athena’s name on the pedestal and the possible sword-belt atop it may be Ajax-the-lesser’s outer garments, left behind in haste. Highlighting the aggression done to the women within Troy’s walls as they burn in the background, another man—possibly Aeneas—is preparing to kill a younger woman whom he has grabbed by the hair—possibly Helen—but is stopped by an older woman—possibly Venus, protector of Aeneas, Helen, and Troy.<sup>583</sup> The action is dramatically lit from behind by the burning fires of sacked Troy behind them. Placing this story next to Cassandra’s reveals that the cycle of revenge springing from Helen’s abduction does not end with Troy’s downfall; the red cloth draped above Cassandra foretells her murder upon arriving, enslaved, in Greece at the hands of Agamemnon’s wife Clytemnestra.<sup>584</sup> Langlois would doubtless have known all of these narrative analogies to Classical texts; the *pensionnaire* had been a student of David’s and his own father had been a painter before him.

Langlois’s erudite knowledge of Classical texts was ignored by the Academy. Instead they commented on the dramatic presentation of Langlois’s subject. Langlois’s painting has more action than either Ingres’s or Odevaere’s painting, *per se*, and the Parisian Academics ultimately rewarded him for this. Simply put, Langlois created a greater “*effet*.” Whereas Ingres’s and Odevaere’s figures are painted in flat light and barely display any effort at shading through *demi-teinte*, Langlois’s figures are made more three-dimensional by the glowing light and deep shadows coming from the altar’s fire. Perhaps because Langlois took the female *académie* out of her ambiguous context and left her suffering at the hands of a violent man, Cassandra is worthy of the Parisian’s Academy’s appellation of “*noble*”: “...*la tête a de la grace, elle est noble et expressive*.”<sup>585</sup> The words “*finesse*” and “*jolie*” are never applied here.

Ultimately, however, the critics deem this vengeful stoicism too forceful, too noble, to be carried out by a mere woman: “*On a trouvé qu’au premier aspect, cette figure présentant plutôt l’idée d’un jeune homme que celle d’une femme et que l’ombre est trop grande et trop forte*.”<sup>586</sup> The “idea” of the subject is too manly for a woman, and its realization by the dramatic use of

<sup>583</sup> Thanks to Dr. Tom Hendrickson for sharing his knowledge of Aeschylus’s *Agamemnon* with me and his thoughts about revenge metaphors in the Ancient Greek world. Conversation, Wednesday, February 26, 2014.

<sup>584</sup> In Aeschylus’s *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra calls for a red cloth to be placed upon the ground that her hero-husband walks on when he and his loot—which includes the captured Cassandra—arrive from Troy. “My feet crush crimson as I pass within the hall,” notes Agamemnon on l. 957. That he accepts to walk on this red cloth his showcases not only his hubris but fortells his (and Cassandra’s) bloody death at the hands of his wife. David Greene and Richard Lattimore, eds., *Aeschylus: the Complete Greek Tragedies*, trans. Richard Lattimore, Vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 50-52.

<sup>585</sup> *Procès Verbaux* 2001, 83.

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid*.

light and shadow too overpowering for her. The message is simple: no matter how strong of will and how noble of action, women are incapable of representing the beau-idéal. The critique then seems to proceed as if the subject were, in fact, a dying male warrior, commenting on the inadequate realization of part of the woman's arm.<sup>587</sup> This departs significantly from the Parisian Academy's criticism of Ingres and Odevaere's work, in which anatomy was never mentioned. Finally, the whole painting is summed up much more positively than either Ingres's or Odevaere's *Bathers*: "ce tableau a généralement fait plaisir et ce premier envoi de M. Langlois doit bien faire augurer de ce qu'on peut attendre de lui pendant son séjour à Rome."<sup>588</sup> Evidently, the "male-ness" of her revenge story had a great effect on the way in which this female nude was perceived by the Academy. Still, she can only make the Academicians feel "plaisir" as a woman; she is denied the praise of the beau-idéal simply due to her gender.

We will never know which of the first two lone female nudes ever turned in as *envois* inspired the other—Odevaere's or Ingres's. The artists must have been close—in his letters to Pierre Forestier, Ingres lists Odevaere as being one of the two friends that brought him solace in his early days as a disgruntled *pensionnaire*.<sup>589</sup> Both artists turned in their female nudes to the Parisian Academy in the same year and both received the damning statement from the Academy that their works were some of the weakest the Parisian Academy had ever seen.<sup>590</sup> Ingres's works were the most harshly criticized of any of the *envois*. As discussed above, this is in part because Ingres's nudes lacked any action or plot; it is also linked to the fact that Ingres's early nudes are less accessible to the viewer. They parry with the viewer, blocking any intention of interacting with them fully. We cannot see the face of the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* or the bottom half of the *Half-Bather*. We see neither body from the front and are thus disallowed a view of their breasts. The *Dormeuse de Naples* buries her head deep within her pillows, almost losing herself in them (this is at least true in the earliest remaining painted version at the Victoria and Albert).<sup>591</sup> As Wendy Leeks has pointed out, this refusal on the part of Ingres's early nudes lends them a measure of power over the viewer—and over the painter—that Odevaere's *Bathsheba*, despite all of the precautions that she is depicted as taking, does not wield.

Of Ingres's own sexuality, two totally opposite myths exist: one maintains that his "chaste," unavailable nudes like the *Baigneuse* were a result of his weak libido, and the other claims that he was keenly aware of the erotic power of women's bodies.<sup>592</sup> The Goncourt brothers famously (and rather crudely) described him in their journal as an extremely sexual person in his later years: "*Au fait, le vieil Ingres était resté baiseur dans l'âge le plus avancé; et lorsqu'il commençait à être excité à l'Opéra par quelque danseuse, il s'écriait: 'Madame Ingres, en voiture!' et il opérait dans le retour chez lui.*"<sup>593</sup> Another anecdote, this one made famous by

<sup>587</sup> "... l'ombre est trop grande et trop forte entre l'omoplate et la naissance du bras." *Procès Verbaux* 2001, 83.

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>589</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 144.

<sup>590</sup> "En général, on remarque avec peine que l'envoi des études en peinture de cette année est un des plus faibles que l'on ait vu depuis longtemps." *Procès Verbaux* III 1943, 270.

<sup>591</sup> For more on the *Dormeuse*'s loss and recovery, see information later in this chapter and also Véronique Burnod's controversial study. Véronique Burnod, *Le Tableau Disparu: à la recherche de la Dormeuse de Naples de Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres* (Lyon, France: La Fosse aux Ours, 2006).

<sup>592</sup> These contrasting views were originally set forth by the Goncourts and Ingres's biographer Lapauze, respectively.

<sup>593</sup> Jeudi 11 Aout. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal, Memoires de la Vie Litteraire*, vol. IV, (Paris: 1956), 293.

Amaury Duval in his account of life in Ingres's atelier, recounts that Ingres's praise of a female model and cries of delight at her beautiful nude body were so intense that she was embarrassed.<sup>594</sup> Yet even authors in 2006's *Ingres, 1780-1867* exhibition catalogue, which mostly attempted to dispel the myth of Ingres's coldness and a-sexuality created by statements of his first biographer Lapauze, contradict themselves.<sup>595</sup> On the same page, Vincent Pomarède first proclaims Ingres's unequivocal carnality and then, a few paragraphs later, calls the artist's nudes "literally abstract."<sup>596</sup>

Even according to recent scholarship, then, Ingres can be simultaneously a man whose female nudes defy eroticism yet a man for whom sexual desire is real. In Ingres's case alone, it seems, the academic nature of the exercise of painting the nude negates the sexuality of the subject being represented. Ignored is the unequal power dynamic inherent to the practice of clothed men drawing from a naked model of any gender. This deliberate evasion would be unthinkable to current interpretations of the art of David or Delacroix, but continues to be made as recently as 2006 in the Ingres scholarship.<sup>597</sup> More egregious still, such scholarship equates the presence of the male model in the studio with that of the female model, the male *académie* with the female *académie*. Yet the female *académie* did not exist as a possibility for Prix de Rome winners until Ingres and his colleague Odevaere invented it. The radicalism of this invention cannot be overstated.

### **Female Models in the All-Male Académie**

The Académie de Rome offered mandatory daily live drawing sessions with nude male models. Any female models that the men wished to hire, they had to pay for on their own. The ready availability of male models, it was thought, could only reinforce the young painters' adherence to the doctrine of the *beau-idéal* and inspire them to create works with heroic subject matter. The women allowed into this all-male community were only there for their bodies, in the most literal sense: used as models, or sometimes as prostitutes, they were thrown out of the enclave as soon as they had outlived their usefulness. The sculptor Cortot cavorted with one too many Roman models and was unable to marry a "proper" French bride upon his return to Paris because he had contracted venereal disease from his escapades.<sup>598</sup> Ingres was successful in getting an injunction against one former model, Angela Costalbucci, who caused a late-night ruckus at the Académie de Rome's doors.<sup>599</sup> It appears that she felt Ingres was not giving her what she felt she was due and so she caused a commotion. She was summarily barred from coming near the Villa Medici again.<sup>600</sup>

Yet the all-male world of the Académie de Rome in the Napoleonic period gravitated towards the difference these local women represented; the *mépris* of artists for these models is inconsistent with how many images of women they produced as their "*figures*." More women were produced as *envois* during this period than ever before. Sometimes, these women were cast

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<sup>594</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 176.

<sup>595</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 176. "*La sensualité d'Ingres est donc évidente, dans sa vie personnelle sans doute autant que dans ses oeuvres, mais elle n'est pas seulement la manifestation servile de sa libido, bien au contraire; avant tout, les nus dessinés ou peints par Ingres sont littéralement 'abstraits'....*"

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>597</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 176. For Delacroix and his relationship with models, see Grigsby 2002, 252-266.

<sup>598</sup> For a discussion of this, see Durey, "Ingres et Cortot," 206, fn 18.

<sup>599</sup> Basilio Cicalotti to Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, Rome, 14 Oct. 1807. Carton 14, f. 157, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>600</sup> *Ibid.*

as characters drawn from mythology; as we have seen, Thetis was an especially popular choice, represented by Ingres, Odevaere, and David d'Angers.<sup>601</sup> Other pastoral nymphs included Drolling's 1814 *Nymph of Diana's Suite* and Pallière's *Nymph-Huntress* (c.1814).<sup>602</sup> Psyche was also a popular subject, and was represented in works by Ruxthiel (sculptor) and Picot (painter) in 1813-1814.<sup>603</sup> All in all, I have calculated that 30% of the *envois* produced during this period either prominently or exclusively featured female subjects.<sup>604</sup> This astonishing fact has never been discussed by scholars of the period, who seem to consider the rendering of female subjects as a sporadic, artist-dependent phenomenon.

This significant number of female subjects might represent another rejection of war and contemporary military subjects. Women, as we have seen in Auguste's and Ingres's sexualized depiction of an Amazon, have no place in war except to be conquered by men. Yet the women drawn by the French artists were doubly dominated. Not only were they the dominated sex, ordered into roles and poses by this peculiar all-male artist society, but these female models were also the colonized subjects of the French in Rome. As such, some of the artists found their beauty problematic: it was too simple, too located in their otherness.<sup>605</sup> Drolling complained to his father that his Roman female models lacked beauty, going as far as to say that the Academy's criticism of his *Nymph*, whom he had based on one such model, was unfair because he was obliged to work with such inferior sources.<sup>606</sup>

Ingres alone seems to have found something beautiful enough in at least one of his models that he decided to feature her over and over again in his Roman productions. Both the *Half-Bather* and the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, as well as the head of the *Odalisque*, seem to have shared a common model. Several of Ingres's extant sketches of nudes, many preserved for his reference in his *cahiers inédits*, are labeled with her name—one even includes her address for future reference (Figure 4.23).<sup>607</sup> Probably the earliest of Ingres's recorded models in Rome, "Mariuccia" as she is named in drawings of her preserved in Montauban, seems to share many of the stereotypes that popular prints like Achille Pinelli's attribute to Roman women.<sup>608</sup> One of the drawings Ingres makes of her—the portrait that bears her name and allows us to identify her likeness—is done in the style of his bourgeois pencil portraits (Figure 4.24). She is not depicted with the same haughty distance as his usual sitters but with a warm, inviting smile.

Mariuccia is not a lightweight corseted lady, but a twenty-something woman whose curves and sexual maturity Ingres always manages to emphasize. In her portrait, she does not sit erect in a proper fashion with her back pressed against the chair, but slouches, her back curving broadly towards us. She is dressed in a peasant shift, whose sleeves and bodice have been pulled down to expose her plump breasts and erect nipples. Half-dressed and confident, she looks out at the viewer—or in this case the artist—her lips posed in a casually seductive smile. The *Grande*

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<sup>601</sup> *Dictionnaire Biographique des Pensionnaires*. Ingres: 826-828, Odevaere: 1158-1159 and David d'Angers: 436-437.

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid.* Drolling: 529-530, Pallière: 1173-1174, Ruxthiel 1326-1327, Pictot: 1220-1221.

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>604</sup> My calculations are based on sculptural and painted *envois* produced from 1803-1816.

<sup>605</sup> *Maesta di Roma II*, 179-180.

<sup>606</sup> *Ibid.*, 178, 180 and Michel Martin Drolling, Rome, to his father Martin Drolling, Paris, 21 April 1815, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre Museum, Paris.

<sup>607</sup> Via Margutta, 106 or 116. Vigne, 1995, 407, no. 2291. Coll. No. 867-2030, Montauban, France.

<sup>608</sup> Her name is spelled Mariuccia, Mariouccia, variously—some scholars have postulated that this name difference represents two different models, but I do not believe this is the case, as the physical likenesses of the women are too close.

*Odalisque* shares her smile and her large brown eyes, while the shape of her nose and chin very much resembles those of the *Half-Bather*. Her hairstyle is similar to the *Valpinçonne*'s coiffe: parted in the middle in the front and swept to each side, then with a braid raised and looped around the rear of the head. Similar hairstyles can also be seen in photographs (albeit from the 1850s) of peasants and other female models in Rome taken by Giacomo Canvea (Figure 4.25).

To draw a model both in the nude and as a bourgeois portrait is to confound the two purposes of the woman in the studio: as paying customer, or paid inspiration. Ingres not only does this within his drawn portrait of Mariuccia—sketching her face with the specificity of a bourgeois patron but depicting her exposed breasts—but also throughout his body of work. Writing names on specific drawings of nudes is not just an exercise in information gathering for further use, but also a method of demarcating the uniqueness of a particular woman. It also paradoxically suggests that women's nude bodies—unlike portraits, where the sitter's name is not necessarily inscribed—are interchangeable. The *Valpinçonne* refuses an absolute identification with any real female model *because* her face is hidden from the viewer. In Ingres's portrait of Mariuccia, however, it is precisely her face that stands out from the rest of her body. Her unique facial features allow her to be a distinct, recognizable person, traceable throughout Ingres's oeuvre. In order to create the *Valpinçonne*, Ingres had to transform a specific, working-class Roman woman into an ideal. As even David understood and demonstrated in his faceless male *académie Patroclus*, an ideal body is easier to achieve when the specificities of the face are not registered.

The importance of Ingres's continuous use of the same model for his early works in Rome has not been seriously considered in Ingres scholarship.<sup>609</sup> We know that Ingres must have had some trouble finding models that suited him for one reason or another because of the restraining order he had enacted for Angela Costalbucci.<sup>610</sup> Mariuccia's beauty must have been striking to him especially in her foreignness. In fact, he consistently depicts her with some of her "foreign" attributes: in one drawing, she is naked except for an elaborate Roman headpiece (Figure 4.26).

We know from his *cahiers inédits* that Ingres was interested in native Roman women and their dress. His cahiers include images of different peasant women and their elaborate costumes in outdoor settings (Figure 4.27). In the Leclère Album at Harvard where Odevaere's *Bathsheba* is located, sketches made by Ingres's colleague Blondel depict peasant women, fully dressed and seemingly observed from the street (Figure 4.28). One can imagine that Ingres and Blondel went out sketching in Rome together and would have seen similar subjects. In a picture Drolling painted of the architect Huyot in his studio already discussed in a previous chapter, the walls of a cupboard are covered with brightly colored drawings of peasant women in their various costumes. The idea of the foreignness of the model was linked to elements of dress, certainly, but in the absence of clothing, Ingres's drawings also emphasize the particular fashioning of the model's hair, the look of her eyes, the curve of her hips, and the breadth of her back. Naked or clothed, Ingres's nudes are signaled as foreign women.

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<sup>609</sup> Georges Vigne is the only scholar to even suggest that "Marioncia/Mariuccia" posed more than once for Ingres. Vigne 1995, 491.

<sup>610</sup> Basilio Ciccalotti to Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, Rome, 14 Oct. 1807, Carton 14, f. 157, Villa Medici Archives.

## Love and Raphael: Ingres and the *Fornarina*

Ingres created his early nudes—from the *Half-Bather* to the *Valpinçonne* to the *Dormeuse*—when he was between betrothals. He was betrothed no less than four times: to Julie Forestier, with whom he broke in 1807; to Laure Zoëga, whom he left in 1812-1813; Madeleine Chapelle, whom he married in December of 1813, and his last wife Delphine Ramel whom he married in 1852 after Madeleine had died in 1849.<sup>611</sup> From late 1807 to 1809, he might have been rather lovelorn; the continually over-drawn pencil lines on the breasts and hips on some of his models could lend itself to psychological readings of sexual frustration. If so, this would match his frustration with his work at the Académie de Rome and with those critics who misunderstood his Salon work; he writes about both in gory and impassioned detail to Monsieur Forestier just before he informs him that he must stay in Rome to improve his painting, ultimately causing his rupture with Julie.<sup>612</sup>

It is unclear when or how Ingres met Julie Forestier, who was, in her own right, an artist; sources date their engagement to the summer of 1806, just before Ingres went off to Rome (Figure 4.29).<sup>613</sup> Ingres's rupture of that engagement is also difficult to date, though scholars usually suggest August of 1807, the date of Ingres's last recorded letter to the Forestiers as reprinted by his biographer Lapauze in 1910.<sup>614</sup> There, he expresses his doubts that he will be able to make Julie happy. He feared that he would become a failed artist if he gave up the Rome Prize in late 1807 to return to Paris to marry Julie, concluding that he had better stay in Rome and work on his art.<sup>615</sup> Ingres understood that such action would break his word to the Forestier family—he could not both stay in Rome and remain betrothed to Julie. Though he did not say so directly, Ingres clearly wanted and claimed the liberty to choose Rome over Julie.<sup>616</sup> In June of 1808, Napoleon's troops would occupy Rome. The Pope was deposed in early 1809, and Rome became integrated into the French state on June 10, 1809.<sup>617</sup> Once set up by the *Consulta*, the newest French *Département* called in Frenchmen to govern it; one of these bureaucrats was married to a woman who would eventually introduce Ingres to his first wife, Madeleine, in 1813.

To say that the likenesses of the future Madame Ingres—Madeleine Chapelle— or the cast-aside Julie Forestier are represented in the *Dormeuse* and the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* would be to misrepresent Ingres's personal history.<sup>618</sup> Between 1807 and 1813, Ingres had two failed

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<sup>611</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 547, 553.

<sup>612</sup> See Ingres's last letters of 1807 to Monsieur Forestier, *Letters* 2011, 143-159, 167-175.

<sup>613</sup> Julie Forestier was an amateur artist and the daughter of a (bourgeois) jurist in Paris. For more on their relationship, see *Image of an Epoch*, 93.

<sup>614</sup> For transcripts of all of Ingres's known personal correspondence with the Forestiers see Ingres, *Lettres* 2011, 116-180. The last letter to Pierre Forestier with a traceable archival source (the Doucet Archives at the INHA) is dated to May 29 1807 (*Lettres* 2011, 161-165). Lapauze cites later letters in his biography of Ingres, which date to early August, 1807 and show an increasingly insecure Ingres repeating that he may not be right the right fit for Julie and that he is under a lot of pressure in all aspects of his life (*Lettres* 2011, 165-180). These letters, for which we do not have original sources, are the ones that scholars draw on to suggest Ingres's break-up with Julie Forestier had occurred by the end of the year in 1807 and that it seems to have been brought on by Ingres himself. See *Lettres* 2011, 161-180 for Ingres's last letters to the Forestier Family. See *Image of an Epoch*, 93 for the most recent iteration of narrative of Julie Forestier and Ingres's broken engagement.

<sup>615</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 163. See also *Image of an Epoch*, 74.

<sup>616</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 163.

<sup>617</sup> Vandiver Nicassio, 16-17.

<sup>618</sup> Ingres would not have known Madeleine in 1808; it is also doubtful that he would want to commemorate Julie Forestier in this way. Scholars like E.N. Van Liere have argued that Madeleine inspired Ingres's *Raphael*

engagements (1807 and 1812) and produced three “*academies*” (1808): the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, *Oedipus*, and the *Dormeuse de Naples*. Ingres’s second failed engagement was to the blonde daughter of a Danish archeologist, but he may not have known her by 1809 when he was painting his only Roman nude with golden hair. If he had met her earlier, it might explain the long blonde locks of the *Dormeuse de Naples*.<sup>619</sup>

Giving further credence to the idea that some “sharing” of women for purposes of modeling, flirting, and sex occurred at the Villa Medici, it is probable that Ingres had at least met Laura Zoëga by January of 1810 when Charles-Remi Laitie, a Rome Prize sculptor and Ingres’s fellow *pensionnaire*, called off his engagement to her (Figure 4.30).<sup>620</sup> It is not known precisely when Ingres and Laura began their courtship, but Ingres’s desire to marry Laura was confirmed by the sculptor Thorvaldsen, who was a friend of the Zoëgas, and by a letter dated to December 1812 in Ingres’s hand asking his parents’ permission to marry Laura.<sup>621</sup> Evidently that permission was not granted, as another letter penned by Ingres and preserved in the archive of Laura’s guardian retracted the painter’s offer of marriage, citing as reasons his parents’ disagreement and his current inability to provide for her.

Ingres would have been married to Madeleine Chapelle and expecting a child by the time he received the commission for his next female nude in the spring of 1814—the *Grande Odalisque*—from Caroline (Bonaparte) Murat, sister of the emperor and Queen of the Two Sicilies (Figure 4.31). Madeleine Ingres was a mail-order bride; Ingres could have only known about Madeleine’s existence through his Napoleonic French social connections in Rome.<sup>622</sup> In choosing first Laura, then Madeleine, over Julie, Ingres reaffirmed his decision to remain connected to the Roman artistic and social world for whom he had become a sort of court painter.<sup>623</sup> Madeleine was the sixth child of a cabinet-maker. The apocryphal story goes that she was introduced by mail to Ingres by her cousin, Adele, who had married a French bureaucrat posted in Rome.<sup>624</sup> Ingres had become a friend of Adele’s husband and was smitten by her beauty; she suggested he write to her cousin Madeleine, who was available and very much resembled her.<sup>625</sup> Madeleine arrived in Rome in mid-September of 1813 and she and Ingres were married in early December of the same year.

After their marriage, Ingres made Madeleine the subject of several drawn and painted portraits. It is clear from the number of these depictions and their affectionate tone, as well as from information in Ingres’s letters, that he was very fond of Madeleine. Some scholars allege that Madeleine inspired one of Ingres’s most well-known paintings, *Raphael and the Fornarina*

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*and the Fornarina*. This is further explored later in this section. For more, see Eldon N. Van Liere, “Ingres’s *Raphael and the Fornarina*: Reverence and Testimony” *Arts* 56, no. 4, December 1982, 109.

<sup>619</sup> Rostrup 1969, 122.

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*, 120-121.

<sup>622</sup> *Image of an Epoch*, 152. Naef, in both *Image of an Epoch* and in *Bildniszeichnungen*, does not cite the sources of any of his original biographical data on Madeline Ingres. See Naef *Bildniszeichnungen*, vol. 1, 358-78.

<sup>623</sup> Refer to Chapter One.

<sup>624</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 152.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid.* Most of this information, as well as Ingres’s letters to Madeline to convince her of his interest in being a good husband to her in August of 1813, are reprinted in Lapauze 1910, pp. 251-252. Naef repeats them. Amaury-Duval, Ingres student, confirmed that the wedding was arranged by correspondence in his memoirs, and even gallantly states that Ingres fell in love with Madeleine as soon as he saw her

(Figure 4.32).<sup>626</sup> This is a problematic assertion because we know he made an early version of the painting sometime in 1813, perhaps before he had known Madeleine; this version was in Riga but has been lost (Figure 4.33).<sup>627</sup> The subject was meant to be part of a series of paintings that would depict key moments from the life of the artist; Ingres only completed this subject and that of the *Betrothal of Raphael* (Figure 1.37).<sup>628</sup> The Fornarina changes form throughout the series, as do several other details of the paintings; it is certainly possible, therefore, that Madeleine belatedly inspired the picture. Art historian Eldon Van Liere links the story to Ingres's marriage, making a direct parallel between Madeline and the Fornarina.<sup>629</sup> Conveniently, such an association would have allowed Ingres to envision himself as a version of his idol, Raphael.

The story of Raphael and the Baker's Daughter, or Fornarina, is apocryphal, first related by Vasari in his *Lives*. Ingres, however, probably took his inspiration from another source, the *Vita Inedita di Raffaello da Urbino* by Angelo Comolli; the entirety of one of Ingres's *cahiers* is taken up with notes on Raphael, including on his relationship with the Fornarina.<sup>630</sup> The story depicts the young Raphael in his studio working on a rendering of his beautiful mistress, the baker's daughter, when she happens to drop in for a visit and distracts him from his work by sitting on his lap. He looks wistfully at the sketched representation of her before him, trying to decide whether he should let himself be distracted by the real Fornarina or pursue the higher ideals of art. Over time, Ingres played with how much Raphael invests in his mistress as opposed to his painting—and the art seems to win out in the end. Both of Raphael's hands are off the easel and enveloping her body in the 1813 Riga version of the painting, the 1814 Fogg version, and a highly finished drawing at the Louvre from 1825 (Figure 4.34). In contrast, another three painted versions that Ingres would take up later in his life—a work from the Kettaneh Collection (c.1830), the 1846 Columbus version, and the 1850-1865 Norfolk version—show the artist at with at least an elbow, if not a whole arm on the easel (Figures 4.35 and 4.36).<sup>631</sup> For her part, the Fornarina inches closer and closer to Raphael over time, bending her head and her body increasingly towards his until they seem to meld together. Ingres-as-Raphael becomes more and more invested in his painting process over his various iterations, while his lover and inspiration is literally incorporated into him.

Not only do the positions of the main characters change significantly over time, but the presence and position of their attributes and setting also change. In the earliest Riga version,

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<sup>626</sup> Van Liere 1982, 109; *Images of an Epoch*, 154.

<sup>627</sup> Van Liere 1982, 108.

<sup>628</sup> Ockman 1995, 51-52 and Rosalind Krauss, "You Irreplaceable You," in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, ed. H.A. Millon (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 155. Caroline Murat also bought *The Betrothal of Raphael*. It is unclear whether this work was a commission.

<sup>629</sup> Van Liere 1982, 109.

<sup>630</sup> The Fornarina, one Margarita Luti, was allegedly the daughter of a baker who worked near the Vatican; it is alleged that Raphael so loved this woman that he delayed his marriage to the more respectable daughter of his patron for years and that his repeated sexual trysts with La Fornarina caused him to die at a young age. She is supposed to have modelled for several of Raphael's paintings, including the *Madonna della Sedia*. For Ingres's knowledge of the story, see Angelo Comolli, *Vita Inedita di Raffaello da Urbino* (Il Salvioni, 1791). See also Van Liere 1982, 110, 115, n. 13, n. 14. See also Norman Schlenoff, *Ingres: Cahiers Littéraires Inédits*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires De France, 1956), 13.

<sup>631</sup> For more on the dating of the Kettaneh Collection work, see Hélène Toussaint, "Ingres et La Fornarina" in *Actes du Colloque: Ingres et Rome; Bulletin Spécial des Amis du Musée Ingres* (September 1986), 67-70. For Leeks on this slippage of the main subject towards her object over time, see Leeks, 33.

there is hardly any depth of field or any significant compositional elements other than the main characters and the easel on which the canvas bearing La Fornarina's representation rests. People and things are progressively added to the background: in the 1814 version, a draped opening revealing a palazzo, a second chair, floor tiles, and Raphael's own *Madonna della Sedia* (c.1512) appear (Figure 4.37). In this 1814 version, Raphael's hands encircle his mistress, mimicking the gesture of the Madonna pictured behind the embracing couple, the *Madonna Della Sedia*. As the Virgin tries to hold the chubby, slippery Christ child on the oddly distorted plane of her lap, so too does Raphael try to hold the seated Fornarina. She, in turn, shares the physical attributes of the *Madonna*. Leeks believes that the *Madonna della Sedia* "exerted a powerful influence on Ingres and was to recur in his own works as a sort of talisman...."<sup>632</sup> It appears as an accessory in five of his early works and in each repetition the St. John figure is minimized or eliminated altogether, bringing the woman-man(child) relationship to the fore.<sup>633</sup> The woman-man/mother-son relationship of the *Madonna della Sedia* is revisited in Ingres's *Raphael and the Fornarina* of 1814 as the central image of mistress-lover. This is especially true as Ingres repaints the figure of the Fornarina to take on the compositional likeness of the Madonna, enveloping her arms around Raphael and curving her head towards his body.<sup>634</sup>

Leeks sees this duality of mistress and mother in one figure, played out in *Raphael and the Fornarina* through its quotations of the *Madonna della Sedia*, as key to understanding Ingres's turbaned nudes such as the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*. "The figure [the *Baigneuse*] is the mistress, the object of sexual desire and equivalent of the odalisque, and at the same time virgin, the chaste being without sexuality who is also mother."<sup>635</sup> Thus, Ingres can simultaneously be a voyeur and at one with the Baigneuse. Repeated throughout his oeuvre, she is a symbol for him even as her very presence excludes him from the scene.<sup>636</sup> Problematically, this elision only works with Ingres's biography if Madeline is the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* as well as the Fornarina; yet Ingres would not have known his future wife when he was painting his *académie*. The other Leeksian option, that Mariuccia is the Fornarina figure of the Fogg painting, would be appealing except we know that by 1814, Ingres had taken on a much younger model for his female nudes. Yet even the *Grande Odalisque*, which Ingres specifically tells us was modeled after a ten-year-old girl, still conserved traces of Mariuccia.

Whether the Fornarina looks like Madeline or whether Ingres created representations of Madeleine that look like the Fornarina can never really be determined. One image, however, is cited by several scholars as both a Fornarina sketch and a study of Madeleine (Figure 4.38). It represents a half-nude woman, depicted with softly drooping breasts and a delicate neck. Her frock slips down her shoulders and she looks out at the viewer tenderly. To read this drawing as one of Madeline playing the Fornarina however, is a mistake, for to do so would require Ingres to use his respectable bourgeois wife as a model—something not even Raphael's original can claim. Ingres could only take his performance of Raphael so far, even in his own work. The women who modeled at the Villa Medici were drawn from the Roman people, as was the Fornarina, not from the ranks of respectable French ladies.

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<sup>632</sup> Leeks, 32

<sup>633</sup> The 5 works are: the 1805 portrait of Monsieur Rivière, *Napoleon Enthroned* (1806), *Raphael and the Fornarina* (1814), *Henri IV* (1817) and the portrait of the Stamaty family (1818). Leeks, 32.

<sup>634</sup> Leeks, 33.

<sup>635</sup> Ibid.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid.

### ***La Dormeuse de Naples (1809) and Murat Patronage***

Though Ingres made many drawings and paintings of the *Dormeuse de Naples* throughout his career, they vary enormously in the female body type depicted. The original painting was lost in 1815, so it is impossible to know which version best replicates it. In what seems to be the earliest images of the subject, Ingres's *Dormeuse* reflects the features of his Roman model Mariuccia: a curvy woman with full breasts (Figure 4.39). In the Victoria and Albert Museum's painting (the only color rendering we have of the *Dormeuse*), probably made in the 1830s when Ingres was actively trying to recover the picture, she looks decidedly petite, with a dainty nose and slender arms (Figure 1.4). In several drawings of the lost painting which include the split background and a fabric curtain, the nude seems as if she were styled after Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, which Ingres himself would copy several years later (Figures 4.40 and 4.41). She props herself up in a similar fashion and lies atop similarly winding sheets. In fact, the *Dormeuse* constitutes one of Ingres's earliest paintings with Renaissance roots; though he would later come to be identified closely with Raphael's painting style, in 1809 that link had not yet been made.

The images are consistent at least on elements of the *Dormeuse*'s pose; we know her to have been a reclining nude, lying atop a sumptuous bed of pillows with white and red damask accents. She sleeps on her left side so that her entire body is exposed to the viewer.<sup>637</sup> One of the early line-drawn sketches and another sketch made in the 1830s by Ingres when he was trying to locate the painting show her arms positioned above her head instead of by her side, as they are in the Victoria and Albert Museum's painting (Figures 4.39, 4.40 and 1.4).<sup>638</sup> A drawing from Montauban that bears Mariuccia's name and address, however, shows both right arm variations—one atop her upturned hip and one above her sleeping face (Figure 4.23). Her relaxed face is turned away from the viewer, her neck tilted back in abandonment to sleep. Once again, we cannot see Mariuccia's face; as in the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, the element that most personalizes her is deliberately not made visible. Her heavy arms seem to weigh down the nonexistent pillows below her in this drawing—the bottom contour line in the repeated arm at the lower right casts a heavy shadow. Ingres had probably originally created this work as an *envoi* to go along with her upright cousin, the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*.<sup>639</sup> Had he followed through with this, it would have been the first time in Academic history that a male painter turned in two faceless female nude figures for his requisite *académies*.

As discussed in Chapter One, Ingres was spared this distinction by Joachim Murat's purchase of the *Dormeuse* after it was shown at the 1809 Campidoglio exhibition. Because Murat took the painting with him to Naples immediately, Ingres could not have sent it as an *envoi* to the Parisian Academy.<sup>640</sup> Later, Ingres would complain to his friend that this beautiful work was just as imprisoned as his *Virgil Reading the Aeneid* (1812) at the home of General Miollis: "*J'ai comme cela enterré cette belle figure de femme, je l'ai revue à la vérité bien placée dans les petits appartements, mais qui la voit, qui en parle, et comme elle est belle, vous en seriez ravi, je suis sûr qu'au Salon, ce tableau me ferait bien de l'honneur.*"<sup>641</sup> Ingres's

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<sup>637</sup> The closest replica of the *Dormeuse* in color is today located in the Victoria and Albert Museum. *Ingres* 2006, 178-179.

<sup>638</sup> For more about this letter, see Hans Naef, "La Dormeuse de Naples: Un Dessin Inédit d'Ingres," in *Revue de l'Art*, No 1-2, (1968): 102-103.

<sup>639</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 178-179.

<sup>640</sup> Burnod, 2006), , 34-36.

<sup>641</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 208-209.

statement reveals that he was painting for a similar audience in either case: the bourgeois art-purchasing public, as opposed to the Parisian Academicians whom he was supposed to be addressing.

Murat's purchase of the *Dormeuse* was the beginning of Ingres's relationship with the Murats. Late in 1813, when Napoleon's hold on Rome was already shaky, Caroline Murat would commission Ingres to make a pendant of this work for her husband. She would eventually request a family portrait and, as we have seen earlier, a portrait of herself.<sup>642</sup> Ingres would go down to Naples in early 1814 to sketch the royal family and begin work on the *Dormeuse*'s pendant, which would become the *Grande Odalisque*.

In writing about Ingres, Wendy Leeks deems the *Odalisque* a bather; if one looks at the history of the image, this is not technically incorrect, for, with the help of infrared photography, one can see a corner of a bath in the 1814 canvas.<sup>643</sup> Yet the *Dormeuse*, one of Ingres's early works featuring a nude woman, is left out of Leek's analysis—possibly because she cannot participate in Leeks's assemblage of Ingres's brown-haired turbaned nudes. Neither bathing nor turbaned nor seen from the back, the blonde *Dormeuse* stands out in Ingres's oeuvre as an original creation. Yet in all likelihood, the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* and the *Dormeuse* share the same model: Mariuccia. The *Valpinçonne* and the *Dormeuse* are true pendants in terms of Ingres's oeuvre: one is vertical, one horizontal, one blonde, one brown-haired, one with gathered hair, one with flowing hair, one stylistically based in Antiquity, the other in the Renaissance. The *Dormeuse*, along with the *Fornarina* paintings discussed above, signals Ingres's Rome-inspired interest in trying out the styles of Renaissance masters like Titian and Raphael (both of whom are the subject of later paintings). Leeks argues that the *Fornarina/Madonna della Sedia* figure becomes Ingres's personal stamp, and that the women who resemble it—the turbaned bathers—stand in for the artist himself, as they signal his absence as lover/son from the frame.<sup>644</sup> Rather than desiring to find himself in the painting through his nudes, I posit that Ingres imagined himself a new Raphael, taking his version of the peasant model, Mariuccia, and painting her over and over again. Ingres, in his iterative painting of similar nudes, seeks to revive the legend of the Roman-based great master in himself.

### **The Foreign Female Nude: Ingres's *Grande Odalisque* and the Roman-ness of Women**

The *Grande Odalisque* was originally commissioned as a modified repetition of sorts—a pendant to Ingres's *Dormeuse*. Ingres does not even name the nude in his letters, merely commenting to his good friend Marcotte in the summer of 1814 that “*Je... suis à terminer... pour [Caroline Murat] le pendant à cette figure de femme endormie que le roi m’acheta il y a 5 ans.*”<sup>645</sup> Perhaps because of the inability to place it in relation to its lost pendant, the *Grande Odalisque* has achieved a mythic status in the art world as Ingres's first great orientalist nude.<sup>646</sup> In many ways, her orientalism is just as citational as the *Dormeuse*'s Renaissance status: both of them have period accessories, yet neither woman seems to fully inhabit the world into which she is placed.

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<sup>642</sup> Dimitri Salmon, *Ingres: "La Grande Odalisque"* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2006), 14. The exact order of the commissioning of the works in 1813 is unknown.

<sup>643</sup> Leeks, 31.

<sup>644</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-34.

<sup>645</sup> 7 July 1814. *Lettres* 2011, 216.

<sup>646</sup> Ockman 1995, 33-35.

We do not know what hand Caroline Murat had in determining the orientalist nature of this nude.<sup>647</sup> Art historian Carol Ockman's scholarship does not clarify this exact point either but locates the work's commission within a carefully calculated world of female patronage and spectatorship.<sup>648</sup> Caroline Bonaparte-Murat is positioned as vying with her sister Pauline Bonaparte Borghese in Rome and her friend Madame Recamier in Paris for the status of great patroness of the arts.<sup>649</sup> Through their competitive commissioning, each work vying to outdo the next, these wealthy women created a new pictorial language of the female nude, from which they ultimately also derived viewing pleasure.<sup>650</sup> Therefore, according to Ockman, these nudes subvert the common trope of the female nude as inevitably destined for the male spectator. Though the destined viewer is male (Joachim Murat), the destined viewer is also female because of Caroline Murat's role in commissioning this work but not serving as its subject matter.<sup>651</sup>

What is most certain is that the *Odalisque* was quite unlike any of the bevy of portraits, including one of herself, that Caroline Murat had commissioned Ingres to make. Ingres had probably been re-introduced to the Murats by his friend François Mazois, himself committed to excavating Pompeii under their jurisdiction.<sup>652</sup> Despite tense political circumstances (Napoleon abdicated the throne on April 11, 1814; Murat had deserted him in January of that year, signing a treaty with the Austrians in the hopes of holding onto his Neapolitan throne), Ingres visited Naples in the spring of 1814 and sketched the Murats.<sup>653</sup> According to his letters, Caroline had commissioned Ingres to make a not only the *Dormeuse*'s pendant, but also two portraits: of her "en pied" as well as one of her with her children.<sup>654</sup> It is unclear, however, if Ingres's commissions were awarded before his visit to Naples or as a result of it—that is, if the commissions were the cause of the visit. Caroline's portrait seems to have been difficult to Ingres to complete, for Ingres, writing to Mazois sometime in the summer of 1814, noted that he had made a mistake and "...j'en [suis] à refaire une tette [sic] et un chapeau pour la troisième fois."<sup>655</sup> The *Odalisque* was completed by the winter of 1814. In May of 1815, the Murat Regime fell.<sup>656</sup> Ingres, who was never paid for any of his work, eventually retrieved the *Grande Odalisque* from associates of the French Ambassador to the Holy See.<sup>657</sup> Ingres tried to sell it in Naples and later in Rome but only managed to sell it in 1819 in France after it had hung in that year's Salon.

The figure who occupies Ingres's canvas is a reclining nude woman, somewhat awkwardly positioned and lounging on a large bed of peacock blue silk. For years, critics have noted the strangeness of her body's proportions, including her too-long legs and the extra

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<sup>647</sup> The only words Ingres says about the commission in his letters are cited above.

<sup>648</sup> Ockman 1995, 35, 38.

<sup>649</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>650</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>651</sup> Ibid., 35, 39.

<sup>652</sup> Salmon 2006, 14. Also Ingres, *Lettres* 2011, 216-217. For more about Ingres and Marzouis's friendship, see *Lettres* 2011, 203-204, 209-210, 215-217, 219-221.

<sup>653</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 220, n.2.

<sup>654</sup> Salmon 2006, 20-21. *Lettres* 2011, 216. Ingres did not ultimately render the Murat family in paint and alludes to it being less of a priority than the *Odalisque* and the portrait of Caroline.

<sup>655</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 220.

<sup>656</sup> Salmon 2006, 20-21. *Lettres* 2011, 202-203, 225.

<sup>657</sup> Ingres probably retrieved the work in 1816. See *Ingres* 2006, 117 for more.

vertebrae in her torso.<sup>658</sup> She looks outwards, just past the viewer, but is much closer to making eye contact than any of Ingres's other early nudes. The *Grande Odalisque* was not an *envoi*, but a commission—the rules of the *académie* did not apply to her as they might have applied to her pendant, the *Dormeuse*. Accordingly, her face, a key individualizing feature of her body, is revealed and her anatomy further exaggerated. Richly decorated with jewels, she lies atop furs and holds an expensive peacock fan loosely in her right hand. Beside her feet is a pipe and hookah for smoking, and behind that, a lavishly painted silk blue curtain cuts off the dark blue background. The nude is completely enclosed in an interior space more claustrophobic than the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*'s grayish-white walls—one can perceive no depth in it. Infrared photography of the *Odalisque* shows that Ingres originally imagined her lounging above a pool with a waterspout similar to that which can be found in the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*.<sup>659</sup> This might have considerably flattened the area on which the *Grande Odalisque* lies; Ingres doubtless took it out in order to enhance the shallow depth. However, the doubling of the waterspout reveals that Ingres had begun by linking his nudes iconographically in terms of their settings, not just their physiognomies. For me, this is the moment when the *Valpinçonne* figure enters the harem for Ingres—not at her conception.

The exoticism that inspired Ingres's *Grande Odalisque* is that of his *Half-Bather*: the Roman female body. The foreignness of the southern Italian woman lay not only in the voluptuousness of her body, her deep brown eyes, her silky brown hair, and her evenly tanned skin, but also in her demeanor. She ornamented herself freely (and lavishly when possible), dressed in bright colors, and was not afraid to show her sensuality or express her passions—so the French thought.<sup>660</sup> In order for Ingres to be able to handle such women, to control them, he located their painted counterparts in a world far away, whitened their skin, and tightened his canvases around them. Their sexuality could only attain the coldness that many viewers observe in them if the real models, the physical women who sat for Ingres, were made less real. Ingres therefore located them in a distant past (Ancient Rome/Renaissance Rome) or a far-away present (the Orient). Until the *Grande Odalisque*, he had also painted his models as faceless bodies in the hopes of universalizing their specificity of origin.<sup>661</sup>

Like the model for hire, the woman of the harem is available, nude, to the man who provides for her. By 1814, the power and purse strings of the Church having been curtailed by Napoleon, avenues of support for the Roman women and men of the Trastevere were getting scarcer. The people of Rome became as dependent on the French for income as they had been on the clerical charity structures that had been in place before their arrival. The Romans took what jobs were offered, from excavating the Colosseum to modeling for French artists. To create the painting that would become the *Grande Odalisque*, Ingres must have taken on another model besides Mariuccia. Writing to the new Ambassador to Pope, Monsignor Cortois de Pressigny, whom he hoped might acquire the painting after the fall of the Murats in 1815, Ingres noted with horror that people were saying his *Grande Odalisque* looked like Caroline Murat and was quick to defend himself: “...il parait que j'ai eu l'intention de retracer les traits de Madame Murat dans cette peinture. Cela est absolument faux, mon modèle est à Rome, c'est une petite fille de dix ans qui m'a servi, et d'ailleurs, ceux qui ont connu Madame Murat peuvent me

<sup>658</sup> Jean-Yves Maigne, Gilles Chatellier, and Hélène Norlöf, “Extra Vertebrae in Ingres' *La Grande Odalisque*” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 97 (July 2004): 342-344.

<sup>659</sup> Salmon 2006, 19.

<sup>660</sup> *Études Statistiques* Vol.1, 284.

<sup>661</sup> It is not known when the *Grande Odalisque* acquired her name.

*juger*.<sup>662</sup> This statement was only possible as a defense because Ingres turned the model to face us—her specific facial features as Ingres revealed them confirm her difference from Caroline.

In the series of sketches in Montauban, currently undated by Ingres scholars, that I have identified as depicting this young girl—a very different model than Mariuccia—she seems to be in pain (Figures 4.42-4.45). Looking closely at the drawings, one can almost feel her discomfort: her tense expression, her covering up of her small breasts, her toes curled up at the end of her taut and stressed legs. This is not the confident Mariuccia, hands blithely slung over her head in other sketches, body lounging casually about the studio. This is a girl that Ingres has drawn from such different angles that one feels he is almost trying to capture her completely—appropriate her whole. In all cases, the girl is drawn in contour with very little interior shading. She is confined by her own scant outline. In one sketch, her lean body is drawn from such an angle that it seems as if Ingres placed himself literally on top of her in a position of sexual power (Figure 4.42). He hacks away at her body with his dark pencil lines, drawing the contours of her body and breasts over and over again, making a dark black hole where her vagina lies. Her face is angled past one of her shoulders—and oddly for Ingres, he draws it carefully, registering her discomfort with a keenness that is itself disquieting. Her eyes are scrunched tight, her lips are pursed—she does not want to be there, in this position, in this room with this foreign man.

In another sketch of the same model, Ingres draws her from the back and includes the bed upon which she is posed in an attempt to register where the sheets pleat around her back muscles (Figure 4.43). In what is probably a third drawing of the same girl, she is rotated the other way in profile—the way that the *Odalisque* will eventually be (Figure 4.44). Here, Ingres seems most interested in her buttocks and legs. Her face, barely differentiated with a few lines for the eyes, is nearly invisible, turned the opposite way from her legs. Ingres's interest in portraying the shape of the buttocks through careful dark shading may have found final form in his *Grande Odalisque*, for he chooses to place her on a white sheet where he can best demarcate her buttocks through shading. Given Ingres's emphasis in his later drawn work on using the same trunk of a body and experimenting with different positions for the appendages, it is interesting that in these early picture, he orbits around the changing body, capturing it from every angle as if it were a sculpture in the round.

Other than the awkward pose of her legs in many of these images, it seems hard to imagine this self-conscious girl, this colonized body, as a model for the *Grande Odalisque*. Ingres probably took his inspiration from more than one model; the *Grande Odalisque's* face looks more like Mariuccia's than that of the girl in the drawings, yet, the *Grande Odalisque* has a wide-eyed look about her that speaks to the youth of his ten-year-old model. Ingres would dress up his model's body in several ways. First, he adapted her pose from that of Madame Recamier in David's portrait, on which Ingres allegedly worked. Madame Recamier was also a friend of Caroline Murat's and in competition with her, Ockman notes, in the realm of artistic patronage.<sup>663</sup> When Ingres had decided upon the model's ultimate positioning, he smoothed out her hunched-over body. Two sketches at the Louvre, pasted together by Ingres, show an initial drawing of her body in the ultimate pose: awkwardly propped up, back slouching and head turned towards the artist, with her right hand held up rather naturally and the legs crossed from an angle that allowed Ingres a "*di sotto in su*" view of her buttocks (Figure 4.45). In the second sketch, pasted below the first, Ingres "corrects" both the gesture of her arm and the way her body supports itself: the awkward placement of the curve of each buttock is rounded out and shaded

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<sup>662</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 227.

<sup>663</sup> Ockman 1995, 39-44.

and the lean into the cushions is more assured. The second pose was modeled on the first sketch of the live model.

Ingres would lend the *Grande Odalisque* Mariuccia's coy glance from his portrait drawing of her and dress up her brown hair with the same cloth he had used twice before, this time adding jewels. He would whiten her skin and give her extravagant draperies and accessories, such as the belt and the pipe which he carefully copied from a book of engravings. He would plant this colonized body firmly in the space of the harem this time—distancing her further from her Roman origins, he would turn her into a white captive Christian, living in her gilded cage. The model-turned-odalisque had become dependent on her captors for support; apprehended by Ingres, a Frenchman paying for her services, the young girl is imprisoned in a world of otherness where she is viewed by her captors as another version of the exotic—for the ultimate pleasure of another Frenchman, the King of the Two Sicilies, enacting his colonial rule.

### **The Native Body: The Frenchman's View of Contemporary Romans**

In as much as Rome was treated as a colonial outpost of France during the Napoleonic period—as opposed to the fully incorporated province it was meant to be—the native Romans were treated not as savages whose ways might be studied and observed for anthropological reasons, but instead simply as degenerates who had failed to live up to their glorious past.<sup>664</sup> The Roman *popolo* were decried as a bunch of lazy scoundrels by every wealthy visitor to the city, both before and after the French domination.<sup>665</sup> When visiting Rome in 1786, Goethe called them primitive and marveled at their cultural bankruptcy despite living in the land of Raphael and being so well supported by the church.<sup>666</sup> Chateaubriand in his *Voyage en Italie* remarked that the population was used to living off of others as opposed to working. “*Une jeune femme me demande l'aumône.... Le Romain demande parce qu'il meurt de faim; il n'importe pas si on le refuse; ...il ne fait rien pour vivre, il faut que son sénat ou son prince le nourrisse.*”<sup>667</sup>

One of the few men who ventured further than the general observations made by previous travel writers was Camille de Tournon, Prefect of Rome, for whom Ingres painted a portrait of his mother. In his *Etudes Statistiques*, which we have already discussed, Tournon gives a very careful account of the types of men and women making up the local population during the Napoleonic period. He categorizes those men living within the *Département* of Rome but outside the city into four separate races.<sup>668</sup> The men living in Rome itself—the *Trasteverini*—are, to Tournon, not even distinguishable as a distinct race, as their Ancient Roman line has

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<sup>664</sup> “*Le voyageur des Lumières semble s'attacher davantage aux mœurs primitives des sauvages qu'au peuple qui est à ses portes.*” Gilles Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour Revisité: pour une archéologie du tourisme: le voyage des Français en Italie, milieu XVIIIe siècle – début XIXe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008), 238.

<sup>665</sup> For a fantastic overview of foreign elite bias against the *popolo Romano*, see “*La perception du peuple par les élites*” in Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour Revisité* 2008, 235-247. “*Il est vrai que les membres de la noblesse ou des milieux aisés ne prêtaient dans leur propre société qu'une attention condescendante, inquiète, voire franchement hostile aux personnes situées en bas de l'échelle sociale*” Bertrand *Le Grand Tour Revisité*, 2008, 235.

<sup>666</sup> Entry for Rome, 24 November 1786. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Oeuvres de Goethe*, vol. IX *Voyage en Suisse et en Italie*, trans. Jacques Porchat (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1862), 194. “*Je ne saurais dire autre chose du peuple de Rome, sinon que, malgré la pompe et la majesté de la religion et des arts qui l'environnent, il n'est pas, de l'épaisseur d'un cheveu, autrement que s'il vivait dans les bois et les cavernes.*”

<sup>667</sup> François-René de Chateaubriand *Oeuvres de Chateaubriand. Voyages en Italie, à Clermont, au Mont-Blanc et en Amérique* (Paris: Dufour, Mulat et Boulanger, 1857-1858), 292.

<sup>668</sup> Tournon 1855 I, 281.

become too diluted over time by all the barbarian invaders breeding with the native population: “*A Rome aussi, toute distinction de race est impossible à faire, et c’est en vain que j’ai cherché dans les Transtévérins ces types antiques...*”<sup>669</sup> Tournon ends his commentary on the *popolo* by noting dismissively: “*le fond de la population masculine n’est remarquable que par sa laideur.*”<sup>670</sup>

The distinctive four races of the *Département* were to be found in the hills surrounding Rome and, on the whole, were much more healthy, fit, and beautiful than Trastevere men. For example, the inhabitants of the *Monts Albans* were described as having “*une taille élevée, des membres souples et vigoureux, des traits réguliers, le nez tantôt droit, tantôt légèrement aquilin, les yeux grands et noirs, et un air de tête singulièrement fier et doux: on dirait le type des Apollons et des Bacchus.*”<sup>671</sup> In this way, de Tournon classifies these natives almost as the scientists accompanying Napoleon to Egypt would have classified the new birds, shells, or even races of people that they had “discovered.” Knowledge consolidates power, and power, in Tournon’s case, demanded first-hand knowledge. Tournon is careful to note that these close observations he was able to make of the men are valid because he had to evaluate all natives for military service. He stated that he reviewed over 20,000 men personally in order to meet the demands of what he assures the reader was an almost negligible number of conscripts.<sup>672</sup> In categorizing the Romans and those from surrounding regions, de Tournon ensured French dominance over them.

The Roman women, however, do not seem to have been subjected to the same level of close scrutiny as the men, doubtless because they could not be conscripted. De Tournon is rather impressed with them, though he oddly in contrast lumps all native women together and does not distinguish them by race or habitat or class. “*Ces femmes à quelque classes qu’elles appartiennent, ont toutes un caractère de beauté imposant et grave, lorsque les passions n’excitent pas d’agitation dans leur physionomie.*”<sup>673</sup> He then states that Virgil was probably thinking about Roman beauties when he wrote the famous phrase about Venus, “*Et vera incessu patuit dea,*” which describes a moment in the *Aeneid* when Aeneas realizes that he is in fact talking to his mother, Venus, but only when she turns away from the conversation. In writing this, de Tournon implies somewhat backhandedly that the women reveal their beauty only over time—and from the back—but that beauty is not initially obvious to the outside observer.<sup>674</sup>

Perhaps in a move to pacify his French readers, he adds that he was stunned to find that the women of Rome carry themselves so proudly, with such an air of nobility about them: “*en revanche, on s’étonne souvent en voyant sous d’humbles vêtements, paraître des femmes qui semblent à la grandeur de leur air, à la noblesse de leurs traits, à la majesté de leur démarche, des déesses descendues de leur piédestal.*”<sup>675</sup> Their physical beauty, for de Tournon, is marked by their expansiveness—they are stout, broad women with fine, if not exactly delicate features: “*leur taille peu élevée est généralement un peu forte... leurs traits son réguliers, nobles, souvent d’une perfection idéale; leur tête tourne gracieusement sur un beau col attachée à d’admirables épaules; et leurs yeux grands et noirs ont une dignité d’expression qui n’exclut pas une douceur*

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<sup>669</sup> Ibid., 283.

<sup>670</sup> Ibid., 284.

<sup>671</sup> Ibid., 282.

<sup>672</sup> Ibid., 281

<sup>673</sup> Ibid., 284.

<sup>674</sup> Ibid.

<sup>675</sup> Ibid., 284-285.

*de regard ravissante.*”<sup>676</sup> The brown skin of the peasants, however, is deemed a function of class: “*enfin la peau est très blanche chez les femmes des classes riches, et, dans le peuple, elle ne perd cette teinte que dans les parties exposées aux soleil.*” Ingres’s lower-class models would mostly have had tanned faces and arms, which he would have needed to lighten to fit them inside the harem world he ultimately created for them. However, the pink-whiteness of their flesh tones may reflect the whiteness of the parts of the peasant body ordinarily covered by clothing—a color to which only a painter or a lover would have access.

Ingres had begun working on the *Grande Odalisque* only a few months after his happy marriage to his wife Madeline and would have been finishing it in the summer during the last few months of his wife’s pregnancy; late in the summer, she would give birth to a still-born child and it would be some time before he painted a nude again.<sup>677</sup> He painted all of his Roman female nudes excepting the *Grande Odalisque*—all the nudes for which Mariuccia was presumably the model—while unattached romantically. His change of model to a very young girl while his wife was pregnant suggests that Mariuccia embodied Ingres’s joyous embrace of Rome in the summer of 1807 after he decided against returning home to Paris and marrying Julie Forestier. Mariuccia, in many ways, must have been a freeing model for a young painter: she was a woman, and accordingly a subject not burdened with beaux-arts imperatives, and she was a foreigner, exuding sexuality that Ingres’s bourgeois fiancé Julie could not have possessed. Though we will never know the exact nature of the relationship between Mariuccia and Ingres, it is probable that he would have met her right around the time that he was attempting to paint his Venus and instead composed the *Half-Bather*, for which she is the most likely model. While Mariuccia probably did not break up Ingres’s engagement plans, she is likely to have contributed to his newfound interest in all things Roman.

Ingres would have trouble forgetting these Roman women, tantalizing in their exotic beauty even for a stiff bureaucrat such as de Tournon. Though he would make four other versions of the *Grande Odalisque* for artist friends, he would never place her in his multi-figure harem constructions.<sup>678</sup> The *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, however, appears in *Interior of a Harem* in 1828 and would later sit cross-legged in the foreground of the *Bain Turc* in 1859 (Figure 4.46). In the repeated *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, Ingres seems to be recreating his Roman discoveries with Mariuccia at every turn. If one looks at the profile of the now sitar-playing *Baigneuse Valpinçon* in the *Bain Turc*, one can see that it abuts the loins of a young woman. This young woman is Ingres’s ten-year-old model from the *Grande Odalisque* modeling sessions as seen from the front—at her most uncomfortable. Though Ingres tries to pass her tortured facial expression off as one of ecstatic pleasure, her uneasiness is all that remains. The young Roman model stands in here for the *Grande Odalisque*, the latter perhaps unpaintable in this fantasy world of women now that Ingres associated her not with the happiness of his new marriage, but with the outcome of his wife’s failed pregnancy. Similarly, the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* stands in for Mariuccia and Ingres’s decision to deviate from social expectations to develop his craft and stay in Rome, a city he had grown to love. Both the *Baigneuse* and the figure modeled on the young woman are there to recall his Roman experience and the origins of Ingres’s female nudes in different, yet undeniably real Roman women. Their presence, next to some of the now-canonical “new” nudes in the painting, helped Ingres to perform his acclaimed virtuosity in the subject as it had

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<sup>676</sup> Ibid., 285.

<sup>677</sup> Angelica of *Roger and Angelica* was the next nude woman Ingres would complete for the Salon of 1819. For more on the chronology of his wife’s pregnancy, see *Letters* 2011, 216, n. 7.

<sup>678</sup> For more on the smaller “*répliques*” of the *Grande Odalisque*, see Salmon 2006, 26-29.

developed over the course of his career. In the *Bain Turc*, as he would in the printed Réveil catalogue showcasing specific works throughout his career, Ingres traced a controlled history of his obsession with female nudes.

## CHAPTER 5.

### REVIVING ROME: PAINTING HISTORY OUTSIDE THE ACADEMY

Sometime in 1810 while Ingres was still a *pensionnaire* at the Villa Medici, he received a commission from General Sextius Miollis, commander of the French army in Rome, to paint the subject of Virgil reading the *Aeneid* to Augustus, his wife Livia, and his sister Octavia (Figure 5.1).<sup>679</sup> This history painting, more of a family drama than anything else, was only completed two years later in 1812, just after Ingres had finished *Romulus, Victor at Acron* for the Quirinale Palace (Figure 3.24).<sup>680</sup> Ingres therefore, would have been at work on both history paintings at the same time.<sup>681</sup> Both were commissions for very important public figures: Miollis, the military commander supporting Tournon's *Département*, and Marie-Louise Bonaparte, Empress of the French. Both had different destinations: one was meant to decorate the private rooms of the Villa Aldobrandini, and the other, one of the Empress's three public salons in the Quirinale Palace, a building that was to be renovated for the Emperor and his new wife in time for their alleged visit in 1812. Most importantly for Ingres, both were his first history painting commissions with Antique subjects. All of Ingres's previous work on heroic male nudes had been in the service of the Academy. These two pieces constituted Ingres's first chance to create iconic male heroes in a non-Academic, non-Salon setting.

*Romulus, Victor over Acron*, was Ingres's first State commission in Rome. Assuming a stable Napoleonic State, excelling at this commission could encourage more state patronage, which Ingres was keen to cultivate. Instead of sticking to his resolve in the face of criticism, as he had in the case of *Napoleon Enthroned*, Ingres seemed now to be considering ways in which to avoid the problems that the Parisian Academy had more recently criticized in his *envois*. In the same letter where he describes the commission to a friend, he humbly notes: "*J'ai cherché à mettre dans cet ouvrage [Romulus] ce qu'on m'a jusqu'ici demandé et qui me manquait et me suis convaincu qu'on pouvait avoir eu quelque raison.*"<sup>682</sup> *Romulus, Victor over Acron* was the first work Ingres had painted since the *Ambassadors of Agamemnon* in 1801 which featured a hero and took place in an all-male environment. Nevertheless, the Roman women he drew into his oeuvre at the Villa Medici and the compositional strategies he perfected in creating them shaped his new enterprise.

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<sup>679</sup> The dating of Miollis's *Virgil Reading the Aeneid* commission has only recently been established with certainty. It is based on a letter written on August 5, 1812 by Ingres himself to a fellow painter, saying that he is two and half years behind on his commission for General Miollis. This may however be a slight exaggeration because the painter friend in question wrote Ingres with a request to make copies of a couple of Roman sites for him which Ingres declined to perform based on the amount of work he had to do: he explicitly mentioned the Miollis and Quirinale commissions as potentially limiting factors. "... *Je ne pourrais pas m'en occuper [de faire des copies] d'ici à deux mois, attendu que je suis après le tableau de Virgile que je ne peux pas quitter, le général Miollis s'est fâché de mes retards et il eu raison car il y a deux ans et demi que cet ouvrage est commencé.*" *Letters* 2011, 183.

<sup>680</sup> The letter also states that even though Ingres had not yet finished Miollis's commission, he had already finished *Romulus, Victor over Acron*. "*Je viens de terminer un tableau à détrempe de vingt pieds pour les appartements de l'impératrice au palais de Montecavallo. Le sujet est Romulus qui triomphe des dépouilles opimes [sic].*" *Letters* 2011, 183.

<sup>681</sup> *Letters* 2011, 183.

<sup>682</sup> *Ibid.*

Drolling, Cortot, and David d'Angers's letters all show that when Ingres left the Villa Medici in 1810, he still remained very much a part of the community of French painters in Napoleonic Rome; they would have seen his work and he would have seen theirs.<sup>683</sup> No longer beholden to the Académie de France à Rome yet still linked to it, a newly liberated Ingres set about procuring commissions from freshly transplanted French Romans who would welcome his Academic pedigree. Far from altering his visual rhetoric, which included elongated figures and an emphasis on exterior contour, these new commissions only strengthened it.

### **Romulus in Context: French Artists and the Quirinale Commissions**

The scholarly literature on Ingres never questions Ingres's selection for participation in the decorative program of the Quirinale Palace; there seems to be some sort of collective, unspoken, if teleological, assumption that Ingres's greatness as a painter was self-evident in 1811 and that he was chosen precisely because he would become one of several iconic painters of nineteenth-century France. It was the first of several decorative projects that Ingres would undertake throughout his life. He created an *Apotheosis of Homer* for Charles X's Louvre (1827) and the *Golden Age* series for the Chateau of Dampierre (1862). When Ingres's *Romulus, Victor over Acron* was given to France by Pope Pius IX in 1867, it was hung in the auditorium at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, right above Delaroche's great *Hemicycle* (1841-1842) as an example of one of the finest decorative commissions ever produced.<sup>684</sup>

Despite all this *post facto* reverence for the work, Ingres almost did not get the chance to paint it. Ingres was only included in the second round of Quirinale commissions, not the first. In fact, Ingres was very lucky to have been given a Quirinale commission at all; perhaps as part of his program to revive the Roman art scene, Napoleon had encouraged the hiring of Roman artists for this work.<sup>685</sup> The French diplomatic corps on the ground in Rome, however, must have managed to subvert the demands from Paris and awarded a few Frenchmen these prized State commissions. The subjects chosen for the paintings by members of the Quirinale renovation commission in Rome seem bizarre for a regime obsessed with self-representation: out of the entire schema, only two works were supposed to feature Napoleon at all.<sup>686</sup> Many of the commissions, however, revive the Ancient historical battle scene, which had been out of favor in state commissions since the beginning of the Emperor's reign. Antique heroism had been Ingres's niche as a student at the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris; he was finally to have the chance to create a multi-figure history painting for the state.

The establishment of what was intended to be a permanent French government in Rome coincided with the end of Ingres' *pensionnat* at the Villa Medici. *The Consulta Strordinaria*, the team of French bureaucrats sent in to set up Rome as a French *Département*, was replaced by the government they had created in December of 1810—the same time that Ingres left the Villa. De Tournon, always with Miollis's military backing, took over as Prefect of Rome. One of his main

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<sup>683</sup> Drolling says that he sees Ingres about every six months. Michel Martin Drolling, Rome, to his father Martin Drolling, Paris, 21 April 1815, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris. David d'Angers's relationship with Ingres is discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>684</sup> Provenance information in *Ingres* 2006, 166. The work was taken down from the Quirinale's walls in 1815 and moved to the Lateran. In 1867, Pope Pius IX gave it to Napoleon III, who in turn gave it to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. In 1969, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts hung it in the Louvre, where it has been displayed in the Grande Gallerie ever since.

<sup>685</sup> French state support for young Italian artists was readily available in this period. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f.13. See also Siegfried 2009, 248-249.

<sup>686</sup> Natoli I, 148

duties was to serve on the committee which oversaw construction and restoration projects in Rome, the *Comissione per gli Abbellimenti di Roma*.<sup>687</sup> Martial Daru, a key member of the *Comissione*, served as the *Intendant des Biens de la Couronne*. Accordingly, the lion's share of the planning of the renovations of the Quirinale Palace, the old Papal summer home, fell to him.

Roman architect Raffaele Stern was nominated in February of 1811 to lead the Quirinale Palace renovation effort. After Daru and the Emperor himself had approved Stern's plans, work began in late November 1811 (Figure 5.2).<sup>688</sup> Stern and Giuseppe Valadier, both Italian architects, were awarded the bulk of the architectural commissions and charged with supervising most of the archeological digs in this period. Any of many lists of expenses so minutely kept by the French government reveals the probable reason for this: all the bricklayers, masons, cabinet-makers, overseers, and generally anyone involved in the decorative arts or the building trade who could be marshaled to help build the Emperor's Roman works would have been working-class Romans.<sup>689</sup> Only a man who understood the language of the Trastevere could command their respect; only a man who had construction experience in Rome knew where the best materials could be acquired. The best way to impress the Emperor was to work with local artisans.

The Quirinale Palace, situated on what the locals called the Monte Cavallo, had previously been decorated and, though in need of minor repairs, was in relatively good condition by the time the French took it over.<sup>690</sup> The architectural interventions in the space mostly consisted of the adding of walls (turning a long gallery into three different rooms for the Empress's salons, for example) and other smaller renovations to increase the intimacy and comfort of the domestic apartments. The ground floor was meant to house the apartments of the Roi de Rome, the theoretical owner of the Palace, and his governess; renovations had only been partially completed by late 1813.<sup>691</sup> The entire first floor was dedicated to the Emperor and Empress: with receiving rooms, various salons, cabinets de travaux, as well as private living quarters for the family.<sup>692</sup> The transformation of this first floor, or Piano Nobile, seemed to be Daru's chief interest, as many of the decorations and architectural renovations for this space had

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<sup>687</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>688</sup> Stern was nominated by Daru as head architect of imperial palaces in Rome in February of 1811. He worked quickly, sending his first designs to Paris in March of 1811. Work began in late November, 1811. Due to the downfall of the Empire, this was the only imperial palace work undertaken by Stern. The task of renovating the Quirinale was no small feat, however: transforming what had essentially been a summer home for the now-deposed Pope into a functioning palace with both large semi-public salons and intimate private spaces. Both the functional nature of the rooms and the ecclesiastical nature of the decoration had to be changed. Natoli I, 27-28.

<sup>689</sup> For example, Stern's budget book for 1813, Paris, Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f. 97.

<sup>690</sup> For Stern's commentary on the refurbishment plans, including the one ultimately adopted (the first one requiring the least interventions), see AN O(2)1072, Archives Nationales, Paris, France reprinted in Natoli II, 140-145.

<sup>691</sup> There is much confusion about how much of the King of Rome's rooms were finished or not. Dott. Francesco Colalucci, Curator at the Palazzo Quirinale, told me that nothing had been done on this floor in terms of decoration, though much had been planned (Conversation, June 7, 2012). Natoli says that the rooms were nearly finished at the time when work ceased in January 1814 (Natoli I, 39). The archival documents I read at the Bibliothèque Thiers showed that much was done to make the rooms livable in terms of clearing out a space, but little was done to decorate them. The 1813 budget projects their decoration for 1814 (see f. 84 in Carton 136, Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson.).

<sup>692</sup> Natoli I, 28-30, 38. The rest of the court would be housed in nearby buildings that would be remade to suit their purpose.

been completed by 1813.<sup>693</sup> It will be our chief interest too, as this massive redecoration project created unique opportunities for artists in Rome such as Ingres to secure important state commissions without having to represent contemporary military history.

In his seminal article on the Monte Cavallo renovations, Daniel Ternois interprets the subjects chosen for representation in the stuccos, friezes, sculptural decoration, and painted decorations of the Quirinale as taking part in a distinctly imperialist program with the purpose of imposing upon its viewers “...*l'idée Imperiale, en la reliant à l'histoire antique.*”<sup>694</sup> Though the newly commissioned paintings do send a strong, pro-imperial message and work chiefly through allegory, Ternois's presentation of the program as a coherent whole, centrally planned down to each detail by Denon in Paris, is somewhat exaggerated. Archival documents reveal that many of the ideas for the subjects of the decorative paintings were the collaborative effort of Daru and Stern; Denon was primarily called in when Napoleon vetoed a particular subject.<sup>695</sup> Ultimately, everyone who was part of the art sphere in Rome was consulted by Daru or Stern on various elements of the Palazzo's redecoration. For example, Lethière and the Italian painters Camuccini and Landi were consulted for their opinions on local artists and on the subjects that should be represented. Ternois ignores these interventions and insists on the Napoleonic centralization of the program, from conception to choice of artist.<sup>696</sup> To do so misrepresents how much power local officials, both French and Italian, wielded on site.

It also misrepresents the iconographic program itself. Ternois is right insofar as the iconography visible in the public areas of the Palace promotes the narrative that imperial power is native to Rome and, because it is organic, it is positive. Imperial France, in this scenario, would simply be returning Rome to its glorious and legitimate pre-Papal condition. The specific visual language of Imperial Rome is marshaled in the service of Napoleonic Imperialism: subjugated barbarians with Phrygian caps serve as supports for a mantle while *spolia opima* dominate Thorvalsen's famous frieze of *Alexander's Triumph at Babylon* in the Salon of War, itself a cross between the Parthenon frieze and that on the Column of Trajan (Figures 5.3 and 5.4).

The program's coherency is intended primarily for the most public rooms of the palace; and even there, its message is softened by the golden *boiseries* around the ceiling paintings and the delicately crafted gold leaf decorations that hang between the war paintings in the Empress's salons. There is a certain delicacy to the ensemble that is foreign to the idea of blunt imposition. The family's living quarters also do not fit into this bellicose or Greco-Roman historical program. Tofanelli's playful *Apollo and the Muses* was to arch over the music room, and Ingres's *Song of Ossian*, based on the (fake) poetry of an old Scottish bard, was commissioned for the Emperor's bedroom (Figure 5.5 and 5.6). Overall, the program at the Quirinale sought to

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<sup>693</sup> By late 1813, the interior walls in the previously unified gallery spaces had been created. The furniture was ordered from France and Italy had been unpacked and placed in the appropriate rooms. Many of the paintings and friezes that had been ordered by Daru and Stern as decorations had been put into place. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f.84.

<sup>694</sup> Daniel Ternois, “Napoleon et le Decoration du Palais Imperial de Monte Cavallo en 1811-1813.” *Revue de l'Art* 7(1970), 71.

<sup>695</sup> See, for example the case of the Salon de Musique and the list of potential subjects and their ultimate narrowing down in Natoli I, 573-578; see also Paris, Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 118, f. 129. “Registre Journal des Etats des Propositions et des Ordonnances depuis le 28 Mars 1811 juste ce qu'au 10 janvier 1814.”

<sup>696</sup> Letter of 12 May 1812 to Cammuccini, Landi, and Stern. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 118, f. 58-59.

persuade decisively and organically by deploying local symbols and by placing those alongside earlier art that deemed too historically important to remove. The power of the Quirinale's iconographic program lay in its desire to appeal, even if the force behind the desire is evident.

Part of this promotion of local Roman symbols entailed the avoidance of contemporary Napoleonic subjects. Only two paintings featuring Napoleon were planned for the palace: *Napoleon ordering the Embellishments for Rome* for his third Salon, and *The Emperor Giving the Code of Laws to Rome* for the Salon of the Ministers.<sup>697</sup> They were to be exhibited in the most private of the public rooms in the palace and surrounded by historical allegories to soften their specificity.<sup>698</sup> As we noted earlier, only a sketch of the second subject is extant today, and it is unclear whether it would ultimately have been placed in the Salon of the Ministers as Stern had planned. A budget for 1813 indicated that Napoleon did not like this subject and wished the image to portray instead the emperor Justinian, compiling all known Roman laws in his Pandects, then returning them to the culture from which they came along with the political stability necessary to enforce them.<sup>699</sup>

No such allusions were made to the Empress's civic role in her public Salons. The paintings commissioned for them more closely resembled Napoleon's aims than hers, as they dealt mostly with bellicose subjects. The retention of pre-existing decorations—a cycle of fresco panels from the Cortese school depicting battles of the Old and New Testaments and judged too historically important to whitewash—was the driving influence behind taking up some of the more strident themes from a previously all-male environment.<sup>700</sup> Thus, the new decorations in the Empress's Salons were to be battle scenes; subjects were chosen in keeping with the bellicose, imperial, and antique theme of Napoleon's public rooms.

Ternois's statement that the artists were chosen "*dans un esprit large et vraiment 'européen,' sans nationalism mesquin...*" is true to the extent that there was an anti-French bias in the selection of artists.<sup>701</sup> By 1812, a Parisian government fund had been established to

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<sup>697</sup> Natoli I, 148. Only the second of these decorative paintings—erroneously assumed to David's work but most probably that of Luigi or Filippo Agricola—was even worked up to a painted sketch. This sketch is discussed in the first chapter.

<sup>698</sup> Natoli I, 148.

<sup>699</sup> In the row of the table dealing with the Salon des Ministres, "*L'Empereur donnant son code à la Ville de Rome*" appears underneath the two successive columns "*Sujets des Tableaux Proposés*" and "*Sujets adoptés par l'Intendant et la Commission*." The next column, further on in the same row, however, is entitled "*Changemens [sic] faits en conséquent des Ordres de l'Empereur*," and here the subject abruptly changes to "*L'Empereur Justinian Décretant ses Pandectes*." The same is true for the second Napoleonic subject planned, "*Napoleon Ordonnant les Embellissemens [sic] de Rome*" became "*Trajan Distribuant les Sceptres de l'Asie*" upon the Emperor's command. It would seem, therefore, that Napoleon was not interested in having himself represented in the Quirinale at all. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 119, f.7.

<sup>700</sup> We know that it was important to Stern that the new artworks should be in absolute harmony with existing decorations. Stern, Canova, Camuccini, and Lethière were charged with figuring out which paintings had art historical import and therefore should be kept. Only four out of the twenty were judged to be of bad quality. The decision was reached in 1812 and only communicated to Daru in 1813, but new works had already been commissioned for the space because of the new walls which had been created by breaking up the Gallery. Reprint of original document AN, Paris, O(2) 528, January 21 1813, stating that Canova, Lethière, Cammucini, and Landi help Stern with decisions of which paintings to keep and which to replace. In Natoli II, pp. 196-197. Also Natoli I, 152 and see Christian Omodeo, "Rome 1806-1820: Ingres et le Monde des Art" in *Ingres, un Homme à Part: Entre Carrière et Mythe, La Fabrique du Personnage* (Paris: Ecole du Louvre 2009), 262.

<sup>701</sup> Ternois 1970, 70.

encourage the work of budding Italian artists.<sup>702</sup> State commissions and the money that went with them were to privilege young Italians, not local Frenchmen.<sup>703</sup> This is doubtless because Napoleon wanted to see himself as responsible for rejuvenating the arts in Italy, which were considered to be weakly imitative of French trends at this point: a shadow of their former glory. This is yet another theme that is consistently evoked in the Quirinale decorations, even in the allusions to the Column of Trajan made by Thorvaldsen's frieze: that Napoleon, by ruling Rome, was only restoring her to what she once was.

Napoleon's patronage of Italian painters as opposed to French ones is clearly delineated in the budgets for expensive "*abbellimenti*," or embellishments throughout Italy.<sup>704</sup> A certain sum of money was set aside to encourage the talent of Italian artists. Part of that sum in support of the "*artistes italiens*" went to the Quirinale—40,000 francs nearly every year.<sup>705</sup> No such fund existed for French artists. In an original list of artists in Rome who could work on the paintings and sculpture needed for the Quirinale drawn up by Stern in late January of 1812, several Frenchmen and *pensionnaires* or *ex-pensionnaires* are listed in each section: Marin and Calloigne for sculpture, and Ingres and Odevaere for painting. Only Ingres, however, was ultimately employed at the site.<sup>706</sup>

The established Italian painters Camuccini and Landi, both of whom worked in a neoclassical mode imitative of David's style, were commissioned to create the most important paintings: those to be placed in the *Salon des Ministres*, the *Grand Cabinet de Travail* of the Emperor, and Napoleon's *Salon d'Appartement d'Honneur*.<sup>707</sup> This was considered such a great amount of work that the two artists were allowed to choose students from their workshops to help them. The other paintings in the Emperor's private apartments and in the Empress's salons were confined to lesser-known Italians and the occasional Belgian painter.<sup>708</sup> In the most important decorative commission in Rome, second-rate Davidians and their often anonymous studio hands were given priority over young artists from the Villa Medici.

The first commissions for the Palace in late December of 1811 were exclusively for works made by Italians. By March of 1812, however, Ingres had secured a commission for a painting to decorate one of the Empress's salons which had been previously allotted to an Italian.<sup>709</sup> Someone at the local level on the paintings committee intended to keep Academic French artists in the spotlight despite the mandate from Paris. One might assume it was Lethière, for no French non-Academics were invited to decorate the Quirinale until Granet and Bouguet appeared on the lists in late 1813.<sup>710</sup> That Ingres's inclusion happened at the local level seems to be confirmed by the "value" of his contribution in the charts designating pay. Ingres was better

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<sup>702</sup> Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f. 13.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid., Carton 136, f. 21.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid., Carton 121. See "*Achats de Tableaux; Première Etat, 1810*" (f.70-72); and the same for 1812 and 1813 (f. 73-75; f. 81-83).

<sup>705</sup> Ternois 1970, 70, note 11.

<sup>706</sup> Palazzo Imperiali di Roma. "Nota per Pittori e Scultore che devone lavorare per la decorazione del Palazzo Quirinale." Roma 28 January 1812. Letter from Stern addressed to Daru, Cammucini, Landi, Lethière, and Pierre-Adrien Paris. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 119, f. 10.

<sup>707</sup> Ternois 1970, 70, n. 11.

<sup>708</sup> "*Notes des tableaux à exécuter à Rome par des Peintres Italiens.*" Archives du Louvre, P(4) 1812, Letter, 23 march 1812, signed by Daru, Denon, Stern, Canova, Cammucini, and Landi.

<sup>709</sup> Ternois 1970, 70, 89 and 70, n. 13.

<sup>710</sup> Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f. 83-85.

remunerated for the painting of a similarly sized canvas than his lesser-known Italian counterparts; his work was paradoxically worth more but initially less sought after.<sup>711</sup>

Despite Napoleon's desire to patronize and support primarily local Italian artists, French artists undoubtedly had allies at the local level, encouraging them in their enterprise and positioning them favorably to receive government commissions. At different points, the *pensionnaires* Guillemot, Odevaere, and Ingres, and their director Lethière were all to be involved in the decorative scheme of the Quirinale.<sup>712</sup> Guillemot, a painter *pensionnaire* from 1809 to 1812, was perhaps originally a candidate for painting the subject of the combat between the Greeks and the Trojans. It was eventually realized by an Italian, J. Madrazo.<sup>713</sup>

Odevaere, a Belgian student of Suvée's and David's who had won the Rome Prize in 1804, was listed in Stern's 1812 document as a potential painter for the Empress's Salons.<sup>714</sup> He seems to have gotten farther along than Guillemot, according to an annotation on the back of his sketch of *Tanaquil Predicting the Future Greatness of Servius Tullius* in Dijon's Musée Magnin: "*Calque de l'esquisse que je devais exécuter dans le salon du Roi de Rome à Monte Cavallo. Ce calque a été soumis à mon maître David, a été retouché par lui. Les notes sont également de sa main. Rome, 1813*" (Figure 5.7).<sup>715</sup> The problem with this annotation is the designation of the painting for the "Salon du Roi de Rome," a room which never existed as such.<sup>716</sup> Its subject, the baby Servius Tullius blessed by fortune to become a great leader and emperor, could be appropriate for either a public or more private setting. The drawing prepares the viewer for a neoclassical painting, Davidian in its simplification of the story down to the key players with a few select witnesses reacting rather obviously to Tanaquil's news and the flame over the child's head.

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<sup>711</sup> Ibid. His piece is two times more valuable than the corresponding work of other Italians for the same room.

<sup>712</sup> For Guillemot, see Natoli II, 44. For Lethière, see Letter from Daru to Lethière, Rome 5 May 1811, Carton 12, f. 77, Villa Medici Archives. For Odevaere, see below and "*Nota per Pittori e Scultore che devono lavorare per la decorazione del Palazzo Quirinale.*" Roma 28 Gen., 1812. Letter from Stern addressed to Daru, Cammucini, Landi, Lethière, and Pierre-Adrien Paris. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 119, f. 10.

<sup>713</sup> Natoli believes that he was hired to paint *Ulysses Slaying the Suitors of Penelope*. Natoli I, 154; Natoli II, 44.

<sup>714</sup> Due to the constant expansion of France during the Napoleonic period, a fair number of Belgian artists either won the Prix de Rome or were granted room and board at the Villa Medici as de facto Rome Prize Winners. Odevaere and the sculptors Ruxthiel and Calloigne were among those men. Having successfully applied for an extra year of Academic support due to an alleged government commission, Odevaere stayed at the Academy until 1811; he was in Gand by 1812. For more on Odevaere in this period, see Denis Coekelberghs and Pierre Loze, *1770-1830, Autour du Neo-Classique en Belgique*, (Gand: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1985), 169-170. The Stern document in question is *Nota per Pittori e Scultore che devono lavorare per la decorazione del Palazzo Quirinale.*" Roma 28 January, 1812. Letter from Stern addressed to Daru, Cammucini, Landi, Lethière, and Pierre-Adrien Paris. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 119, f. 10. "

<sup>715</sup> It seems plausible that the annotations and corrections to the drawing were done by David. The notes and corrections are rendered in black ink while the drawing is in brown ink. The notes read: "*La manche est bonne, il faut éviter que toutes les têtes soient de profil, je tournerais de trois quart celle de la femme assise, il faut dégager la tête de l'enfant en retirant la main de la vieille... le pavé en bande de pierre est dans le fond de mes Horaces.*" Transcribed in Coekelberghs and Loze 1985, 169-170. See also Natoli II, 56.

<sup>716</sup> The only comparable room ready for decoration in 1813 would have been the governess's Salon on the ground floor, close to the area where Ingres's third commission would have been. For current commissions at the end of 1813, see "*Repartition du fond de 40000 frs fait par le budget de 1813 pour les tableaux nécessaires dans les appartements de SS. MM l'Empereur, l'Imperatrice [sic], et le Roi de Rome au Palais Impérial de Monte Cavallo.*" Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f. 84.

Before discussing Ingres's particular case, it is worth considering that of Lethière. The director of the Villa Medici tried to have his *Brutus Condemning His Sons* (1811), composed independently of the Palace commissions, placed into the Empress's salons despite its profoundly Republican subject matter (Figure 5.8). Though Lethière's name does not appear on the earliest lists proposing painters and subjects for the Quirinale, he was involved in the process of assigning subjects and artists and tried to make sure he was included by proposing his *Brutus* to Daru early in the process.<sup>717</sup> Lethière, who was not shy about self-promotion, downplayed the political aspects of his subject matter, framing it as just another example of the city's great past. He further added that the work's monumental scale would make it ideal for decorating a palazzo.<sup>718</sup> That such a subject was even considered—Lethière shows up on the Registers of 1813 as providing a panel to the first Salon of the Empress—reveals the strength of the influence of local politicians over Paris-driven commissions.<sup>719</sup> Much like Ingres's mythical third commission which also features in the 1813 budget, Lethière's painting most likely never found its way onto the Quirinale's walls due to Murat's takeover of Rome in early January of 1814.

Ingres, then, was the only Academic French artist to whom commissions for the decoration of the Quirinal palace were ultimately awarded. He was first chosen to paint a subject for the Second Salon of the Empress (Figure 5.9). This room, one of the three converted from one large great gallery, proved to be difficult to decorate in the right tone because, as previously mentioned, the painted panels added by French artists had to work with the themes of the pre-existing Cortese school paintings. Four panels were needed; in 1812, a list of subjects from Ancient history—mostly battle scenes, to complement the extant *Battle of Jericho*—was drawn up (Figure 5.10).<sup>720</sup> It is to this bellicose group that Ingres's *Romulus, Victor over Acron*, which we will consider shortly, belongs.

Ingres painted not one, but two works for the Quirinale: *Romulus* and the enigmatic *Dream of Ossian* destined for Napoleon's bedroom. Christian Omodeo's research into the origin of Ingres's participation in this second commission reveals the tortured process of inventing imperial iconography for Napoleon and the clear preference of the regime for Italian painters over their own Rome-Prize-winning artists. Ingres was only chosen after a string of Italians failed to produce a convincing product.<sup>721</sup> The search for a painter floundered as Napoleon vetoed many of the subjects presented to him for the ceiling painting above his bed, including "Alexander Trying to Keep Sleep Away" and the "Ancient Olympic Games," suggested by Daru,

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<sup>717</sup> There are several copies in various archives of this list. See Daru's letter to Lethière, Rome, May 1811, Carton 14, f. 76, Villa Medici Archives.

<sup>718</sup> Letter, Lethière, Rome to Daru, Paris, Dec. 4, 1811, Carton 14, f. 43, Villa Medici Archives. "S'il est une chose qui flatte mes désirs, c'est que vous jugiez mon ouvrage digne d'être acquis pour être mis sous les yeux de S. M. et orner le lieu de son habitation. À Rome, un sujet de l'histoire romaine se trouve à sa place naturelle et un tableau de cette dimension figurerait mal ailleurs que dans le palais du souverain." Lethière also stresses his many services to Napoleon in this letter and intends the reader to feel as if such service deserves the reward that the state would purchase his oeuvre.

<sup>719</sup> Bibliothèque Theirs, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f. 84. "Répartition du fond de 40000 frs fait par le budget de 1813 pour les tableaux nécessaires dans les appartements de SS. MM l'Empereur, l'Imperatrice, [sic] et le Roi de Rome au Palais Impérial de Monte Cavallo." Though we have no information on the title of the work Lethière was to contribute, one can assume that it would have been his *Brutus*, as the dimensions for the work are bigger than even Agricola's ceiling paintings.

<sup>720</sup> Natoli I, 152.

<sup>721</sup> First, Luigi Agricola was charged with painting the subject, then, the lesser known Pietro Nocci. For a full explanation of the back-and-forth of artists, commissions, and subjects, see Omodeo 2009, 258-259.

and an “Imperial Eagle Returning to the Capitol,” suggested by Denon.<sup>722</sup> Ultimately and somewhat inexplicably, the commission was awarded to Ingres in January of 1813.<sup>723</sup> Stern’s review of Ingres’s preparatory design for *Ossian* showed he was generally quite pleased with the composition, making only a few suggestions about scale and crowding that reflected its place-to-be as a ceiling painting.<sup>724</sup> The awarding of the commission to Ingres and Stern’s approval of his work indicate that the people in charge on the ground in Rome did not adhere to their administration’s policy. *Ossian* and its loss after the fall of Napoleon did not seem to haunt Ingres as much as the loss of his *Dormeuse* or the “imprisonment” of his *Virgil*. He never remade the work in paint, only as a watercolor for Marcotte and again for the Réveil engravings of his oeuvre. Of all of his Napoleonic output, Ingres seemed least interested in *Ossian*. Since few people saw it until late in his career, it does not particularly hold our interest here.

Another archival document reveals that Ingres was awarded a third commission: to paint an as-yet-undetermined subject for the “Cabinet de Travail des Ministres,” which was only just underway in late 1813.<sup>725</sup> By that date, Ingres had proven his worth to local authorities to the point that he would be considered in the first round of public commissions. Whatever strategy had failed him so profoundly with the Parisian Academicians was succeeding with the local French authorities in Rome. Ingres was becoming, at least on paper, a “*peintre italien*.”

### **Ingres’s *Romulus, Victor over Acron (1812)***

Had Ingres’s *Romulus, Victor over Acron, Bringing the Spolia Opima to the Temple of Jupiter* been hung in its intended location in the Empress’s Second Salon, it would have been highly visible, more so than his *Dream of Ossian* would have been in Napoleon’s bedroom or his *Virgil Reading the Aeneid* in General Miollis’s. The subject of Ingres’s work, as dictated by the Quirinale renovation commission of Daru, Stern, Lethière and Camuccini, would be one of the four battle scenes from Ancient history chosen to accompany the extant Cortese School paintings.<sup>726</sup> Having never painted a battle scene before, Ingres drew on many tactics learned from sculptors at the Académie de France à Rome, such as the bas-relief function of contour. He also parlayed current painting trends, such as the new emphasis on ephebes and drama over action, to help him in his realization of this event.

The story of *Romulus, Victor over Acron, Bringing the Spolia Opima to the Temple of Jupiter*, drawn from either the account in Plutarch’s *Life of Romulus* (which was widely read in this period) or Livy’s *History of Rome*, describes the creation of the *Spolia Opima* tradition and its iconography in the Ancient world.<sup>727</sup> Since their abduction of the Sabine women, Romulus and his Romans had engendered fear over the sharing of resources among various local tribes. One such tribe, the Ceninians, took up arms against the Romans, with the hopes of driving them

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<sup>722</sup> Omodeo 2009, 257 and Natoli, I, 466-468, n. 30. Also Letter of 12 May 1812 to Camuccini, Landi and Stern. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 118, f. 58-59.

<sup>723</sup> The letter of the commission gives no information as to why Ingres was chosen. Letter, Daru to Ingres 28 January 1813. Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 118.

<sup>724</sup> Omodeo 2009, 261.

<sup>725</sup> “Répartition du fond de 40000 frs fait par le budget de 1813 pour les tableaux nécessaires dans les appartements de SS. MM l’Empereur, l’Imperatrice, [sic] et le Roi de Rome au Palais Impérial de Monte Cavallo.” Bibliothèque Thiers, Fonds Masson, Carton 136, f. 84. See also Omodeo 2009, 258-262.

<sup>726</sup> Natoli, I, 152.

<sup>727</sup> Ternois, one of the foremost Ingres scholars, believe that the story comes from Plutarch. Ternois 1970, 84. For more on *spolia opima*, see Harriet Flower, “The Tradition of the *Spolia Opima*: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus” in *Classical Antiquity* 19, No. 1, 34-64. Livy is suggested in Ingres 2006, 167.

away or at least teaching them a lesson. Before the battle, Romulus, leader of the Romans, prayed to Jupiter and promised to offer the god the armor and arms of the leader of the Ceninian people, Acron, if Romulus could only beat him. In the ensuing one-on-one battle, Romulus killed Acron instantly. Nevertheless, in Plutarch's version, a bloody battle followed this exchange before the Romans eventually won.<sup>728</sup> Upon winning the battle, Romulus did not punish the rest of the citizenry, but asked only that the remaining families return to Rome with him to become Roman citizens and increase the size of the city. In celebration of his victory, Romulus cut down an oak tree in the middle of his camp and dressed it with the stripped arms of Acron. He placed a victor's crown of laurels on his own head and carried the first spolia back to Rome, his entire army following him and the people coming out to welcome him as he proceeded to dedicate Acron's armor at the temple of Jupiter Feretrian.<sup>729</sup>

Historically, this tale had been used to justify Rome's gods-sanctioned right to rule—and the right of its men to the Sabine women. Might makes not only right, but also confirms the innate superiority of the winners over the losers, due to Jupiter's blessing the outcome.<sup>730</sup> Some scholars have seen the choice of this subject as a blatant allegory for Napoleon's "natural" right to rule over the native people of Rome.<sup>731</sup> After all, nearly every travel narrative from Goethe to Stendhal to the report written by Napoleon's Roman prefect described the current Romans (e.g., the Roman *Trasteverini*) as mere shadows of their heroic predecessors.<sup>732</sup> Such people deserved to be dominated, so the colonial rhetoric goes, by a stronger, more organized force.<sup>733</sup> And yet, Romulus, who in this metaphorical equation, would represent Napoleon, is rather a problematic hero, especially in the way that Ingres depicts him.

After all, the viewer is not encouraged to applaud Romulus's supreme valiance in slaying Acron. Ingres presents us not with a hero, but with an overly proud dandy: strutting about in his laurel wreath, seemingly overdressed in civilian attire. Unlike in David's *Sabines*, where both sparring partners are portrayed nude to show their valor and moral purity, nudity in *Romulus* signifies death and humiliation; while clothing signals victory and life, though perhaps not necessarily the moral high ground (Figure 3.28). Used here, nudity is unable to sustain life, let alone heroism. But the war as Ingres depicts it lacks activity and thus opportunities for heroism; we enter here at its endpoint. We see the consequences of Acron's death—the burning city, the fleeing people, the nude warrior climbing inexplicably over a fence "below" the rearing horse—but all of these are only in the background. Such details of the conquest, not entirely consistent with Plutarch's description of it, would have been nearly invisible to the viewer below. Ingres managed to avoid creating a battle painting by using the one-on-one battle of the tribal leaders to stand in for the actual battle. No river of slain bodies, like that of Gros's 1810 *Battle of Elyau* informs us of the decimation of Acron's army (Figure 5.11). Excepting the single victim lying naked on the ground, this war appears bloodless—much like Napoleon's *coup d'état* in Rome in 1809. Battle here seems to be about the acquisition of things: Romulus's side wears and carries

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<sup>728</sup> Plutarch, *Romulus* 16. From Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 137.

<sup>729</sup> Ternois 1970, 84.

<sup>730</sup> Siegfried 2009, 255

<sup>731</sup> Ibid.

<sup>732</sup> For myths perpetrated about the *popolo* by foreigners in Rome as opposed to actual statistics, see Chapter 3 in Vandiver Nicassio.

<sup>733</sup> Grigsby 2002, 226-229.

a pile of shiny armour and trumpets and banners while his opponents do not. This carrying-off of prizes also inadvertently recalls Napoleon's contemporary looting of Rome's artistic treasures.

Every scholar who has discussed this work compares it to David's *Sabines*, mostly to comment on the difference between David's heavily modeled, three-dimensional forms and Ingres's outlined, stiff, and frieze-like figures crowding out one another. They also point to Ingres's liberal visual borrowings from David's composition: Romulus's attendant with the Phrygian cap, or the shield with the she-wolf on it.<sup>734</sup> But art historians fail to comment on the problematic compositional symmetry in these two paintings. Most palpable in the *Sabines*, as Grigsby notes, is the tension swirling around the center point in the composition: Hersilia, with her outstretched arms, who literally places herself between the two warring men that she loves.<sup>735</sup> In *Romulus*, the central space holds no such charge. There is no central conflict, no action: all swords are sheathed, all spears held upright. Hersilia's gesture is a forceful one, addressing both sides of the conflict, while Ingres's Romulus can only gesture impotently with one arm at the air. Romulus's shadow alone addresses the fallen leader, covering Acron's bearded face as the rest of his limp, naked body glints grey-white in the sun. Acron's body is also borrowed from David's composition: a nameless, unimportant, clothed cadaver, deep in the back of the *Sabines*. Great battle scenes cannot be sustained on the backs of borrowed ancillary figures. Were it not for his nudity and his central positioning, Acron would be entirely forgettable.

Acron's reclining and exposed nude body, with its over-accentuated hips, is haunted by Ingres's *Dormeuse de Naples* (1809). Her abandonment to sleep may be reinterpreted in *Romulus* as an ebbing out of life. Acron's body is constructed with the androgynous "serpentine line" that Carol Ockman frequently ascribes to Ingres's female nudes.<sup>736</sup> Ockman has tracked the term through its various definitions, from its Renaissance origins to William Hogarth's refinement of the idea in 1753; the "serpentine line" is a sensual line that undulates throughout the nude (female) body, bringing pleasure to the male viewer even as it creates anatomical distortion in its subject.<sup>737</sup> The goal of Ockman's argument is to destabilize the (female) gender to which this serpentine line has been assigned, in part by finding it in male and female, nude and clothed subjects.<sup>738</sup>

Indeed, for a male artist trained by David in the painting of beaux-arts male *académies*, the gender dynamics in Ingres's work are more complicated than one might originally assume.<sup>739</sup> The naked Acron, who draws his power over the viewer from his kinship with the *Dormeuse*, is a prime example of this reverse agency. The borrowed pose from David's anonymous cadaver in the *Sabines* drains power from Acron by assigning him a negligible role, but his (feminine) lovingly painted, side-facing hips and his nudity—for Ingres, increasingly also a feminine trait—confer power upon him, albeit the power to seduce rather than defeat enemies.

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<sup>734</sup> Rosenblum, Ternois, and Siegfried provide some of the more interesting discussions. Rosenblum 1985, 94; Ternois 1970, 85; Siegfried 2009, 249-252.

<sup>735</sup> Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Nudity à la grecque in 1799," *Art Bulletin* LXXX, no. 2 (June 1998): 311-313.

<sup>736</sup> Ockman 1995, 65, 1.

<sup>737</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>738</sup> Ockman admits that the application of the term "Serpentine" to Ingres's work is mostly teleological: it happens only rarely, and late in his career. In fact, the only contemporary critic she cites as an example of the application of the term to his work is Theophile Gauthier in 1855, referring to the *Grande Odalisque*. She later associates the same term with Matisse and Picasso. Ockman 1995, 1, 2.

<sup>739</sup> Ockman 1995, 3. Ockman also looks at the binaries that govern much of the criticism about Ingres and attempts to destabilize them through the lens of gender, 7.

Ingres made several preparatory sketches from 1811 to 1812 for the body of Acron, most of them emphasizing the outlines of the supine corpse—the stark peaks of the rib cage jutting out or the limp calves heavily shaded against the floor to denote their unnatural weight. These drawings of the nude Acron are almost frightening in the coldness of their sensuality. A drawing from Bayonne shows only the torso of Acron, whose strong neck arches upward, lips parted, eyes delicately closed, in what looks like an expression of ecstasy (Figure 5.12). The tension visible in the pose of the body renders the subject palpably alive—and Ingres’s final painted cadaver betrays this feeling. The sensuous jut of the left hip up from the final, painted Acron’s stomach seems almost posed to respond to his nude bearer’s gentle touch.

In the Metropolitan Museum’s famous drawing of Acron where the body is repeated nearly three times in full on the same page, the model is probably the same young boy as that in the Bayonne drawing (Figure 5.13). The young model has very fine and delicate features that Ingres takes pains to depict accurately: from the tousled locks to the full cheeks to the nipples through the hip and thigh contours to the genitalia. The sense of abandon in the limbs and the prominent chest and hip are the chief elements Ingres seems to have retained from this drawing for the painting. As he had in *Jupiter and Thetis*, Ingres employed a young boy to stand in for a warrior of significantly greater strength and age. This is the third time in Rome that Ingres used a much younger model to stand in for a much older, more physically developed character—recall the 10-year old girl modeling for the *Grande Odalisque* as well. This repeated choice of younger models may help to explain the bizarre erotic dynamics of Ingres’s oeuvre. In Acron’s final painted iteration, this choice of model results in a sensual, taut, and not overly developed body, unfortunately capped by a dull, beard-intensive head and expression that ill fits its languorousness. Not unlike Ingres’s depictions of female bathers, the central nude figure turns its head from the viewer but displays its sensual body.

On the lower part of the Metropolitan’s Acron drawing, Ingres made a study for Acron’s legs without finishing the torso. He was experimenting with the leg position for Acron and tried a pose in which the model’s legs were bent, propped up as if still able to bear the weight of his knees and lower legs. Ingres may have realized that this was an untenable pose for a dead body, but not before he tried out a similar pose on with a female model (Figure 5.14). This may constitute the first instance of Ingres’s using a female model to stand in for a male model, a practice he pursued extensively later in his career.<sup>740</sup>

The “Female Acron,” as I will call INV. 867.2979 (Mommeja 3263) from Ingres’s collected sketches at Montauban, exhibits all the traits of a very early Ingres female. She is fiercely contoured; like Echo, one of Ingres’s first female nudes, she is composed into an awkward sprawl (Figure 2.13). Like Acron, her head is thrown back in a most unnatural position; her right arm also impotent at her side. In this drawing as well, Ingres experimented with a series of positions for her legs and arms. Her legs are represented propped up on some sort of box; its space has been shaded in. As in the Metropolitan’s drawing of Acron, the underside of her knees is carefully shaded so that the weight of her body may be fully represented. Her back is arched similarly to the third Acron from the top in the Metropolitan’s drawing—a bit too high for one supposedly dead. She also shares the tension—of the drawn model and the final painted Acron—of a body whose tendons and muscles have not yet gone slack.

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<sup>740</sup> Ingres’s contemporaries were not very interested in this aspect of his practice, but Ingres scholarship has become very interested in it. Wendy Leeks and Rosalind Krauss have extensively commented on his use of male and female models in *Raphael and the Fornarina* (1814). Krauss 1989 and Leeks, 29-37.

The “Female Acron’s” face, nose, and eyes are drawn with intention in bold strokes and show no trace of pliant femininity. The subject angrily grabs her own hair in distress, ready to rip it out. Unlike Acron, she has not fallen this way lifeless. She looks almost cartoonish in the exaggeration of her minimal facial features, her mouth gaping open as if with anger or pain. Unlike Echo, she does not wrap her body around anything or anyone, but like Acron, exposes her most vulnerable parts nakedly to the air. Ingres is careful to note the shape and angle of her breast in the multiple repetitions of her torso but is most interested in the top-most breast—the one that will mark the outline. This is the same strategy as is adopted in the Metropolitan’s drawing of Acron.

Contour lines in this drawing hem in the forms as a preparatory drawing for a bas-relief might; Cortot’s drawings owned by Ingres were mentioned earlier as an example of this practice. This is not wholly surprising, given that scholars frequently refer to the final painting of *Romulus, Victor over Acron* as “frieze-like.”<sup>741</sup> This may be because most of the action occurs in a central strip parallel to the picture plane. According to the terms of the commission, *Romulus* was painted on canvas in tempera paint, which has the effect of flattening the image and making any black contour lines describing details stand out. Some scholars believe that Ingres deliberately made his piece look this way in order to mimic Thorvaldsen’s great frieze the *Triumph of Alexander*, commissioned to decorate a different room of the Quirinale Palace.<sup>742</sup> Ultimately, however, the painted figures do not share the volumetric traits of a bas-relief, but rather give the color-by-number appearance of the modeling that Ingres used in the drawing after Jules Auguste’s *Amazon Blesée*. Acron’s painted body, however, or at least the part outside Romulus’s shadow, stands out as the most three-dimensional and alluring subject in the picture.

The sculptural legacy from which this work derives also allows Ingres, in his preparatory drawings of Acron and “Female Acron,” to repeat or recast the body, then fragment it. The dissected pieces are laid out across the picture plane, sometimes running into each other, sometimes remaining distinct, sometimes sharing a limb. This drawing process of repetition, fragmentation, and re-assembly which came to characterize Ingres’s later work would have been impossible without his experience of Rome as a city of alternative antiquities as well as his daily interaction with sculptors at the Académie de France à Rome.

Another practice Ingres began to implement around this time is that of borrowing figures and compositions from himself—gutting subjects that never came to fruition and re-using the poses of their protagonists. For example, Ingres would take a figure from one planned composition and have another character in a different composition adopt the pose of the first.<sup>743</sup> Ultimately, Ingres re-used many of the poses he developed in his early years in his endless, iterative sketching practice, where subjects were invented and abandoned with alacrity.

In a way, Ingres’s whole oeuvre from his early Paris days in David’s studio through the Napoleonic period exhibits what Norman Bryson would call a sense of “belatedness.”<sup>744</sup> The strangeness of Ingres’s art is that often, as in the case for these drawings and their later re-use,

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<sup>741</sup> Siegfried 2009, 254.

<sup>742</sup> Siegfried 2009 is the most recent. Siegfried 2009, 254.

<sup>743</sup> This practice should not be confused with Ingres’s other practice of repeating certain of his painted female nudes in their specific poses, such as the *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, throughout his oeuvre. This second type of repetition will be treated later in the chapter.

<sup>744</sup> Belatedness, as I understand Bryson’s interpretation of the term, concerns an artist feeling that he has been born after his time, and consequently invoking another artist, an artist he wishes he had come before, as a source, but denying them the priority of sourcehood because that artist’s work is embedded in a different source. Thus, in the mind of the “belated” artist, his originality is protected. Bryson 1987, 125.

his own work is the ultimate referent. In other words, Ingres uses his preparatory drawings for never-realized paintings as sources for his current creations. Yet Ingres seems to have treated such self-citation as if he had just invented the motif he was citing on the spot, denying his original drawing priority.<sup>745</sup> Ingres's *Romulus* displays this belatedness not only in its quotations of Ingres's own trove of drawn compositions, but also in its incredibly varied borrowings of sources: from David's *Sabines*, to Ingres's own faceless *Baigneuse Valpinçon* and reclining *Dormeuse*, to the warrior in Auguste's *Amazone Blessée*, to drawn studies of sculptors, and even to the Quirinal horses.

Though it has not been identified as such by Ingres scholars, the drawing of the "Female Acron" could very well have been intended as a sketch for a Medea composition.<sup>746</sup> Ingres had thought of this subject while in Rome; several sketches in the *cahiers inédits* in Montauban reveal an enraged woman brandishing a knife (Figure 5.15). Like "Medea," "Female Acron," too, grasps what looks to be a knife in her outstretched hand.<sup>747</sup> "Medea" leans on what appears to be a prop box, close in size to the one in "Female Acron." Regardless of "Female Acron's" intended identity, Ingres re-used her supine female pose for inspiration in creating Acron's cadaver.<sup>748</sup>

This re-use of pose, as we have noted, is not unusual in Ingres's early works: a "Polynice" from another drafted composition is re-used as Virgil in *Virgil Reading the Aeneid* while the pensive "Eriphyle" of the same sketched composition bears resemblance to both Livia, in her seated elegance, and Octavia (both from *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*), in her expression (Figure 5.16). Many of the characters switch not only subjects, but also genders, which reinforces Ockman's point about the ways in which Ingres's compositional practices cause destabilizations of traditional gender norms in his art.<sup>749</sup> The comfort of having already worked out a position for an arm or a leg seems to have been more important to Ingres than the gender of the figure to whom that arm belonged. His ever-present anxiety about composition, revealed early on in his letters to Monsieur Forestier, seems to have plagued his oeuvre, causing him more problems than the gender of his model. His excessive, fussy concern over subject choice for his first *académie* speaks volumes about his insecurity concerning its reception: he had planned a reclining Hercules first, then substituted a standing Venus, and finally settled on an *Oedipus* whose pose was borrowed from *Cincinnatus*. Even in his *Ambassadors of Agamemnon* of 1801, most of the poses were directly borrowed from Ancient Sculpture.<sup>750</sup> Ingres relied greatly on compositional short-cuts in his early years, including ones he had invented himself.

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<sup>745</sup> Bryson's work on belatedness is developed around Ingres's portraiture (113-123), Napoleon Enthroned (103-113) and the *Baigneuse Valpinçon* (130-133). He does not discuss Ingres's drawing practice. Bryson, 103-123, 130-133.

<sup>746</sup> This has never been suggested by the scholarship; many scholars, including Vigne in his 1995 *Catalogue Raisonné* of the drawings in Montauban, do not know in reference to what this "Medea" figure should be placed.

<sup>747</sup> The knife might be a reference to Acron's weapons, but it seems unlikely given that spears are included in the *spolia* Romulus carries.

<sup>748</sup> The character of the woman gnashing her teeth and brandishing a knife ("Medea") also ended up in a sketch for *Jupiter and Thetis*, where she is explained away as a "fury," pulling at Thetis's clothing.

<sup>749</sup> See previous discussion in this chapter and Ockman, 1-2. Also, note that Ockman does not discuss Ingres's drawing practice and its work to destabilize genders.

<sup>750</sup> See Picard-Cajan 2006, 296-297.

The profusion of these early sketches of subjects accords with Ingres's endless lists of potential painting ideas in his written *cahiers*.<sup>751</sup> Both reveal Ingres's interest in the obscure subjects of Antiquity—the minutiae of the canon. Many of Ingres's early ideas for mythological subjects—the more familiar topics being Alexander and Campaspe, Bacchus and Philemon, and Minerva and Eros—are genre subjects masquerading as history paintings (Figures 2.15 and 4.5). They consist of the little anecdotes that fill Ancient mythology but rarely have a strong masculine hero who must be represented in Academic nudity. The male figure in “Polinice and Erihyle” who later became Virgil is nude, but he is no hero; he bribes the queen in the story to send her husband to his death. Ingres's Roman repertory—sketched or painted—relied strongly on the Classics, but on those myths that could be infused with Rococo frivolity or family drama. This repertoire was doubtless reinforced by the lack of heroic Greco-Roman sculpture left in the city and the commercial and Academic successes of various sculptor and painter *pensionnaires* such as Marin or Boisselier who also chose such subjects.

### **Nudes, Colonialism, and Death: Gros's French Soldiers and Ingres's Acron**

*Romulus, Victor over Acron* was a State commission over whose subject Ingres had no control. Yet Ingres still chose to highlight the *spolia* instead of the battle. Winning and losing turned into a matter of objects acquired or given up as opposed to life or death. The painting emphasizes the materiality of victory: the things earned through heroic action, the clothing worn when one has won, the armor forfeited when one has lost. The shiny trophy suit of Acron's armor, the parts of Romulus's own armor borne by his ephebes, the gold of his laurel wreaths and the whiteness of his tunic stand out from the massed crowd of men on his side of the tableau. By contrast, Acron's bearded face blends into Romulus's shadow and into the earth. His very nakedness—his lack of material goods—implies a deserved failure.

In roughly contemporary images of slavery, the colonized, the vanquished, the soon-to-be-slaves, are often shown half-naked and kneeling before their captor (Figure 5.17).<sup>752</sup> Ingres must have been familiar with this vocabulary of the vanquished, as he denies Acron the possibility of remaining upright and humiliates the only other nude figure in the painting, a Ceninese soldier, by showing him essentially prostrate before Romulus, bowing his head as he bends to pick up the body of his dead leader. The nude Ceninese soldier is more dark-skinned than Acron, and his grip on Acron could be compared to Romulus's intense grip upon Acron's armor. The two identifiable native Ceninines have been stripped of their armor and their dignity; they are grouped together below the grandly gesturing Romulus, united in their abjection, their darker skin, their proximity to the earth, and their nudity.

The representation of Acron's body in the shadows at the forefront of the picture plane recalls those of the dying French soldiers in Gros's *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa* (1804) (Figure 5.18). This painting, commissioned by the French state to showcase Bonaparte's courage during a specific episode of the “conquest” of Egypt, is typical of

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<sup>751</sup> Siegfried is one of the few Ingres scholars intimately familiar with his written *cahiers*. She was the first to comment on Ingres's bizarre and obsessive cataloguing of subjects. She explains it as relating to Ingres's interest in portraying multiple parts of a narrative at once: “His multiplication of candidate subjects for painting indicates an anxiety about the ability of painting to capture the temporal complexities of narrative, while at the same time implying the inadequacy of any scene to represent the whole story.” Siegfried 2009, 9. See also pp. 240-247.

<sup>752</sup> For an illuminating discussion of some of this imagery, see Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby 2002, 225-229, 298-301.

Napoleonic state commissions in that it eschewed allegory for embellished reality.<sup>753</sup> Like Romulus in Ingres's painting, Napoleon is often shown excessively clothed, wearing layers upon layers of fabric including bows, sashes, ermine, and lace. During the early nineteenth century, Napoleon's propaganda machine effectively required changes in history painting; the pictures commissioned by the state ceased to be of Classical history and Ancient heroics and instead featured idealized moments of Napoleon's greatest achievements.<sup>754</sup> These paintings were then showcased at the Salon in Paris so that the public would be made even more keenly aware of his great deeds. Instead of Menander, Achilles, Jupiter, or even Hercules, the Emperor himself starred in most of these tableaux, which were usually set in the specific locations of his military campaigns.

Though Gros's *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa* can be made to fit snugly into the dictates of Napoleonic iconography by revealing Napoleon's heroism during the Egyptian campaign, it subverts the role of the *beau-idéal* nude, as Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby has argued.<sup>755</sup> The painting commemorates the historic event of Napoleon's visit among the plague-stricken troops, touching the bubo of a wilting soldier with his bare hand in order to dispel the myth that the plague could be contacted by touch.<sup>756</sup> The overly dressed Napoleon presents a significant contrast with his nude, dying soldiers, whose ghostly grey-brown bodies lurk in the shadows of the foreground.<sup>757</sup> Lying prostrate, crouching, kneeling, unable to support themselves, the soldiers paradoxically assume the position of the slave or the colonized man.<sup>758</sup> Gros's corruption of the timeless, heroic male figure into a time and place specific, weakly human, and non-heroic body reveals the degeneration of the formerly colonial body and the loss of power that comes with one's descent into the shadowy Orient.

Through their exposure to the Orient alone, Gros's French soldiers become reduced to the darker-skinned body they were sent to exterminate or dominate. In *Romulus, Victor at Acron*, however, the story is the opposite: the local body (Acron) suffers defeat and a stripping of resources at the hands of the invader (Romulus). The "happy ending" of Livy's story—that the remaining Ceninines would be mercifully (and forcefully) incorporated into Romulus's new empire as equal citizens—finds no expression here. Rather than appearing to emphasize his promise, Romulus offers only an imperious gesture, as if instructing the Ceninines to follow him but only on his terms. The Ceninines can only begin that journey of submission once the stumbling block to annexation—the body of Acron—is removed from the path of the procession to Rome's temple, where the Ceninines, as new Romans, will have to celebrate their own defeat. In order to become Romans, the Ceninines will have to become like Acron—stripped of what identifies them as warriors, stripped of their ethnic identity, and subjugated to a foreign king. Ingres, like Gros, reverses the terms of his learned Academic language and forces male nudity to signal servitude and abjection, as opposed to heroics and truth. In order to make that reversal

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<sup>753</sup> For the discussion of Gros's *Napoleon visiting the Plague-stricken at Jaffa*, to which my work refers, see Grigsby 2002, Chapter 2. The major exception to Napoleonic commissions eschewing allegory for idealized reality is, of course, Canova's *Napoleon as Mars Peacemaker* (1806).

<sup>754</sup> For more on this sea change in history painting, see Grigsby 1995.

<sup>755</sup> For a complete discussion of this painting, see Grigsby 2002, Chapter 2.

<sup>756</sup> The painting was specifically engendered to counter British accusations leaking into the French press that Napoleon had tried to poison, rather than return to France, his own soldiers who had contracted the Bubonic Plague in Syria in 1799. For more about Napoleon's poisoning of his troops and Gros's cover-up tactics, see Grigsby 2002, 90-101.

<sup>757</sup> Grigsby 2002, 72-74.

<sup>758</sup> Grigsby 2002, 70, 86-88.

believable, however, Ingres had to convert Acron into a woman in his sketches before he could re-disguise his cadaver as Davidian borrowing.

### **Absent Heroes and Female Reaction: *Virgil Reading the Aeneid to Augustus, Livia, and Octavia or Tu Marcellus Eris***

As early as 1810, Ingres had received a commission from General Miollis, Commander of the Roman Armies, that he had not yet completed by the time he had finished *Romulus, Victor over Acron*.<sup>759</sup> In what is believed to be its initial incarnation—Ingres retrieved the original canvas and reworked it from 1835 until his death—this painting had similar features to *Romulus, Victor over Acron*. Like *Romulus*, this painting is centered around a supine figure with a barely visible face.<sup>760</sup> The narrative in *Virgil* is as confused in time as that in *Romulus*: actions that happen before, after, and during the central event are portrayed simultaneously. Ingres did equally intense research into the authenticity of the Roman candelabra as he did into the armored trophy that Romulus carried. Both works feature heroes who do not act the part, and both describe an event that is a tragedy for one side of the canvas and a victory for those positioned on the other. Their shared similarities hint at their simultaneous composition in the same *atelier* in the Trinta dei Monti convent.

The secondary title of the painting, *Tu Marcellus Eris*, gives the viewer the needed hint to understand the scene. “*Tu Marcellus eris...*” is the beginning, in Latin, of a famous line in Book Six of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas, having landed in Italia and wondering why he must endure endless wars in order to establish himself in this new place, goes to the Underworld and visits his father, Anchises. Instead of being allowed to see all of his ancestors, the normal trope for visits to the Underworld, Aeneas “sees” the premonitory shades of his descendants: the founders and emperors of Rome.<sup>761</sup> This sight is meant to cheer him and encourage him to continue fighting. Anchises narrates the grand role of each one of these shades, particularly extolling Augustus’s virtues (for the Augustan line claimed descent from Aeneas), until a young man with sad eyes appears to the pair. Aeneas asks the identity of this young man and Anchises replies that this member of the progeny will be called Marcellus, who will be snatched from this earth too soon.

Ingres’s painting depicts the moment when the great poet Virgil, at the left of the composition, has been ordered to stop reading to the assembled guests by Augustus, who holds out his hand for silence—Virgil has just pronounced Marcellus’s name.<sup>762</sup> Octavia has reacted to Virgil’s words by fainting into her brother’s lap, for the “Marcellus” in question was a real historical figure: Octavia’s son who had unexpectedly died young, murdered, legend has it, by Livia.<sup>763</sup> Augustus and Livia’s marriage was childless and the emperor had chosen his sister’s

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<sup>759</sup> See footnotes 1 and 2 in this chapter and *Letters* 2011, 183.

<sup>760</sup> Some authors, such as Daniel Ternois and Georges Vigne, believe that this subject was originally commissioned for a Quirinal Palace decoration, but that Miollis, who was a lover of the classics, re-routed this commission for his personal use. I have seen nothing in my archival research that denotes this to be the case, however; in fact, Ingres’s letters openly contradict this, as they state that the commission for *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*. *Ingres* 2006, 169.

<sup>761</sup> My thanks to Dr. Thomas Hendrikson for help in comparing various Underworld scenarios from the Classical past in several conversations on June 12, 2013.

<sup>762</sup> In some versions of the painting, two other men—one is sometimes identified as Agrippa—are also in attendance.

<sup>763</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 169-172. For more about this line of poetry, the descent into the underworld, and the anecdote of Virgil’s reading, see D. R. Shackleton Bailey “‘Tu Marcellus eris’” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 90, (1986): 199-205.

son as his heir over Livia's son from an earlier marriage, Tiberius. Marcellus, therefore, was the great hope of the empire and his death, according to Augustus's biographers, weighed heavily upon the emperor.<sup>764</sup> Augustus's expression registers both his sadness at the memory of his loss and his concern for his sister as she lies unconscious in his lap. Livia, Augustus's wife, reacts to the reading almost too calmly, with only a sly leftward glance at Virgil. The story Ingres depicted here contains all the characters for a history painting, and yet contains neither heroic or noteworthy action, nor the promise of any in the future. In fact, it is rather the opposite. The scene literally enacts stilling: the ceasing of reading, paralleled with the ending of the Augustan bloodline.

The episode Ingres depicted is rooted in historical legend, cited by Suetonius and possibly derived from a later commentary on the *Aeneid*.<sup>765</sup> However, Ingres was not the first to depict this anecdote in paint; it seems to have been relatively popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, judging from the extant representations by artists as varied as Wicar and Angela Kauffmann.<sup>766</sup> Its status as legend, therefore, might not have been known, which explains why Miollis, an erudite scholar of Latin, could have commissioned it.<sup>767</sup> The exact date of the work's completion is unknown, but archival sources tell us it was hanging in Miollis's bedroom in Palazzo Aldobrandini by early 1813 at the latest.<sup>768</sup>

Because Ingres made at least two versions of the work before he left Rome, the chronology of the four main drawn and painted versions has been long debated and was only recently sorted out by two prominent Ingres scholars, Georges Vigne and Daniel Ternois.<sup>769</sup> The painting that is at the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse is now considered the "original" canvas Ingres painted in 1812. He then retouched the canvas after he was able to repurchase it from a member of the Borghese family in 1834 when Ingres returned to Rome as director of the Villa Medici.<sup>770</sup> Ingres made additions to the tableau from the moment he purchased it until he died, yet was never able to finish it to his satisfaction. It was in such bad shape that parts of it needed

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<sup>764</sup> My thanks to Dr. Thomas Hendrikson for explaining this passage of the *Aeneid* and its place in Augustan history and contemporary scholarship to me over many dinners in June, 2013. See also Frederick E. Brenk, "'Aurum Spes Et Purpurei Flores': The Eulogy for Marcellus in Aeneid VI," *The American Journal of Philology* 107, No. 2 (Summer, 1986): 218-228.

<sup>765</sup> The anecdote possibly derives from commentaries on the *Aeneid* by a certain Tiberius Claudius Donatus or from Macrobius's *Saturnalia*. The negative image of Livia that Ingres deliberately incorporates into the story comes no doubt from the readings of Tacitus, who disliked Livia and implicated her in the murder of Marcellus (conversation with Dr. Tom Hendrickson, June 24, 2013). Because Tacitus was a staunch anti-monarchist, he was very widely read in the eighteenth century, and this is probably how this part of the story originated. See Brenk 1986, 218-219 for Suetonius's claim. For Donatus's claim, see *Ingres* 2006, 170.

<sup>766</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 170

<sup>767</sup> Like most Frenchmen in Rome, Miollis was steeped in the Classics and seems to have wanted representations of themes ancient history to decorate his bedroom. Siegfried believes that Miollis's time spent at the head of the Republican army in 1797 in Mantua, the birthplace of Virgil, solidified his particular interest in the poet. Susan Siegfried, "Ingres and His Critics, 1806 to 1824," (Ph.D Diss., Harvard University, 1980), 234.

<sup>768</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 169. There is a letter from the painter Boguet to fellow painter Fabre dated March 11, 1813 saying that he had seen the paintings in the General's Villa. The work placed opposite Ingres's was meant to represent Homer crowned with Laurels and was painted by another student of David's, Jose Aparicio y Inglada.

<sup>769</sup> See Siegfried 2009, 56-63, *Ingres* 2006, 170-172, and Vigne 1995, 42.

<sup>770</sup> *Ingres* 2006, 172 and Vigne 1995, 42.

to be completed by his student Pichon before it would be given, at the artist's request, to the Museum of Toulouse at his death.<sup>771</sup>

The Brussels version—a close crop of the scene, cutting out Virgil and leaving only a tightened group of Livia, the fainting Octavia, and a now nude Augustus—was thought by most scholars to be the original until recently, but current evidence shows it was most likely made by Ingres as a replica (“*une réplique*”) for the Salon of 1814 or even 1819 (Figure 5.19).<sup>772</sup> Ingres was very proud of the subject, it seems, and did not wish it to remain “*en prison...*” at Miollis's palazzo, as he put it.<sup>773</sup> By placing a version in the Salon, he probably hoped to get commissions of a similar nature—works that used the vocabulary of history painting but not its heroics. The Brussels painting was never sent to the Salon, perhaps because it was unfinished: Augustus is nude in this background-less version and Octavia's faint consequently lands her head in the middle of his open legs. The chair on which Augustus sits is not very well developed, and Virgil is absent from this painting, which measures a third of the size of the “original” in Toulouse. It is probable, therefore, that Ingres tried to remake it and cut down the original scene when the work was not progressing to his satisfaction. This crop also reveals that Ingres intended to focus the work on the relationships among the siblings and Augustus's wife—a boudoir subject if ever there was one.

Analyzing the Toulouse “original” presents an analytical problem for the modern scholar, as it is not clear what parts of the painting conform to Ingres's designs of 1812 or Ingres's later revisions or Pichon's finishing touches. For example, in contemporary letters to his friends, Ingres makes much of the “*effet de nuit*” he created in the 1812 tableau; this is not as obvious in the Toulouse painting as it is in later versions (the flat lighting of the Brussels picture notwithstanding) (Figure 5.20).<sup>774</sup> Neither of the first two versions contains the statue of Marcellus in the background; every subsequent version, including that which Ingres had engraved by Réveil, positions a statue of the slain prince just behind Livia's head (Figure 5.21). As scholars have noted, though, Ingres or Miollis may have decided to remove the statue so as to avoid a possible reference to the newly born Roi de Rome (in 1811), lest the little emperor suffer the same fate as poor Marcellus.<sup>775</sup> The continuity of the various versions lies in the grouping of Octavian and Octavia. Her swoon was the focus of many of Ingres's preparatory drawings for the canvas.

Like his “Acrons,” Ingres's “Octavias” are always nude in his preparatory sketches. The limp arms and over extension of the neck, as well as the degree to which Octavia slumps back between Augustus's legs, are Ingres's primary focus where she is concerned; Octavia's torso, neck and head are at different angles in each representation. She begins her fainting motion in early drawings by resembling one of David's Horatii sisters, sitting back on her chair, her face turned towards the viewer, eyes closed and neck extended backward in sorrow (Figure 5.22).<sup>776</sup>

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<sup>771</sup> Ibid.

<sup>772</sup> When talking about his *Virgil*, Ingres writes that he plans to send a replica of it to the Salon of 1814. Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres to Charles Marcotte, Rome 18 July 1813. Reprinted in *Lettres* 2011, 193. See Siegfried 2009, 57-62 for 1819 dating.

<sup>773</sup> *Lettres* 2011, 212.

<sup>774</sup> “*L'autre est Virgil qui lit son Enéide devant Auguste, Octavie et Livie. J'ai fait de celui-ci un effet de nuit; la scène est éclairée par un candélabre.*” Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres to Baron François Gerard, Rome 2 February 1813. *Lettres* 2011, 191.

<sup>775</sup> Siegfried 2009, 62.

<sup>776</sup> It is interesting to note that Ingres copied David's *Oath of the Horatii* while a student in David's atelier. *Ingres* 2006, 105-107.

Over time, this figure slides further down into a horizontal position, her weight leaving her chair as she becomes completely dependent on her brother for support (Figure 5.21).

Octavia and Acron are not that different in their look of abandon. Both are limp, nearly faceless entities; both occupy a central space in the composition; and both have been stripped of a legacy, an empire. In *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*, though, there is no hero: only victims (Augustus, Octavia, and the Roman people) and a deceitful winner (Livia). *Romulus, Victor over Acron* concerns itself with the empire a death makes possible; *Virgil* poses the question of a death ending an empire and makes vivid the need for the continuity of the family line, the reason for which Napoleon ultimately divorced Josephine. *Romulus* is about moving forward, *Virgil* is about the silence of a full stop. There is no trophy of armor for Livia to carry here—her victory must be hidden, unspoken, in order for her goal to be realized. Accordingly, Ingres places her in the darkness in each of these representations—almost as if the brightness of the statue in later representations is directly related to the darkness below it in which Livia dwells.

Ingres's painting is ultimately about reaction, not action—it is an isolation of David's Horatii sisters, with Ingres increasing their importance from being merely a foreboding footnote to the action at hand to that of the main event. Here, Octavia's reaction brings down the two impressive men around her—both Virgil and the Emperor cease to perform their own greatness (writer and golden age patron of the arts, respectively) to accommodate her reaction. The art world, about which it is frequently said this subject comments, centers around a woman.<sup>777</sup> This compositional trick may even be Ingres's way of inflating the importance of his bathers as female *académies*—of women as a driving force in art.

There is nothing heroic about this history painting turned genre scene. From the beginning, and unlike *Romulus*, the painting was always destined for the private part of the house. Its large size (it is taller than *Romulus* and over half its length) positions it as a genre scene with historical ambitions—it was, after all intended for a palatial bedroom. Despite Ingres's borrowing David's rhetorical flourishes for such paintings—including the stark lighting, the shadowy columns, the draped walls and the fainting women—he does not deliver David's powerful tension driving the latter's greatest early canvases. The importance of *Virgil* to Ingres and his description of it as a history painting reveal the artist's key role in initiating the progressive slippage between Davidian heroics and *coquetterie à la Gerôme* that occurred in nineteenth-century Antique history painting.<sup>778</sup>

To Ingres, heroics and battles were not needed to make a good history painting; instead, an archeologically accurate, meaningful representation of mythology or Ancient history did the job. No Frenchmen in Napoleon's employ in Rome—not even Murat—commissioned Ancient or contemporary battle paintings from any French painter for their personal consumption. Instead, painter and private consumer alike enjoyed images of a distant time and place: images infused by the imagery and history of Rome, but not its bellicose past. Ingres painted these softer subjects, sprinkled with archeologically correct details, because that is what his Roman public wanted—and that was his forte. His bathers and odalisques—some commissioned, some made as *envois*—were similarly escapist and peppered by details real enough to lend the fiction credibility.

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<sup>777</sup> “By 1800, after centuries of commentary, the subject [of Virgil reading the Aeneid] was seen to be essentially about the power of art—the capacity of this poem to cause.... feelings of loss....” Siegfried 2009, 56.

<sup>778</sup> Ingres calls them “*grands tableaux*” in his letter to Gérard. *Letters* 2011, 191.

Ultimately, the last work Ingres produced in Rome as a history painting was much more of a genre scene. In it, women faint and men hold them gently and the family corps retains the semblance of togetherness even though one among them has ruptured it. In his next multi-figure compositions, Ingres would produce two scenes from the *Life of Raphael*—*The Betrothal of Raphael* and *Raphael and the Fornarina*— and one from Dante’s version of *Paolo and Francesca*. These anecdotes from art history, literature, and eventually, history (with *Don Pedro of Toledo Kissing the Sword of Henri IV*), all painted at a small scale, remained his preoccupation during Napoleon’s first downfall and Murat’s takeover of the Roman government in January of 1814 (Figure 5.23).

Ingres buried himself in the Renaissance during the politically turbulent period from 1814 through 1816, trying to make two series out of the stories of Paolo and Francesca and Raphael and his creative work. As opposed to Antique subjects, the preciousness of these Renaissance tales was universally appealing and apolitical during a period when Ingres was never sure of the identity of his next clients. At first, he saw his client base move to the Neapolitan court, then change to British tourists visiting Rome, but all these patrons enjoyed Ingres’s “troubadour” works and bought them. They served the function of political neutrality and preserved Ingres’s livelihood. The style and subject of this work was markedly different than anything he had painted for French clients in Napoleonic Rome: less monumental, less “noble,” less driven by the visual lessons of Antiquity and the priority of their revival in Napoleonic Rome. For Ingres, the Antique was associated with a Rome full of sophisticated French diplomats, a Rome where the power of the Villa Medici to influence cultural affairs and excavations was very real, a Rome where the Antique—the object of his lifelong study—was uncovered in all its *bizzarie* and lauded daily. It would require two decades before Ingres would again marshal the language of the Antique as he had come to practice it in Napoleonic Rome.<sup>779</sup> For the occasion, he would select the subject of the first work he ever sold in Rome: *Antiochus and Stratonice*.

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<sup>779</sup> Ingres’s later paintings that most directly refer to the Antique are his *Antiochus and Stratonice*, made and remade multiple times over the course of his career (1838, 1840, 1858-60), and the *Golden Age Series* (1842-47). In their final versions, these were some of the last pieces Ingres worked on in his career. *Homer Deified* (1827) and the *Apotheosis of Napoleon* (1859) rely heavily on Antique imagery as well, but not with the same intention of defining their content.

## CODA

### GÉRICAULT: VIOLENCE AND VOLUME IN RESTORATION ROME

Much of the information known about Théodore Géricault's (1791-1824) trip to Italy from late September 1816 to early November 1817) is apocryphal, including how much time he spent in Rome. His first biographer recounted that he met (and offended) Ingres in his eight or so months in the city—he was not a Prix de Rome winner, but he lived near the Académie de France à Rome on the Pincio Hill.<sup>780</sup> Géricault nevertheless visited the Villa Medici on multiple occasions and befriended Victor Schnetz, a Rome-prize winner and student of David.<sup>781</sup> Schnetz was friends with Ingres and agreed to take Géricault to see his atelier nearby on the Via Margutta.<sup>782</sup> By this time, Ingres had left the Académie and the Trintà dei Monti studio and was hoping to continue making a living off of his work in Rome, which he would do until 1820. When Schnetz and Géricault went together to Ingres's studio, they found many of Ingres's drawings hanging in the anti-chamber (no doubt the works were positioned there in the place most likely to interest their buyers: Grand Tour visitors). Géricault was so taken by the drawings that he complimented Ingres more on his sketches than his paintings, which Ingres found condescending. The two parted ways huffily.

This anecdote, published in the wake of Ingres's death, serves to expose the Academic character of Ingres, for whom drawings were allegedly only a means to an end—mere preparations for paintings. In turn, the story highlights the anti-Academic character of Géricault, for whom drawings were very often the endpoint of an idea or precious fuel for a new one.<sup>783</sup> The contrast that this anecdote conveniently ascribes to each artist represents their place in the art historical canon: Géricault as a rebellious loose cannon, and Ingres as the consummate professional and Academic flag-bearer. Already I have shown that I do not believe this characterization to be true of Ingres during his Roman years; neither can I believe it to be true of Géricault.

Géricault's reasons for going to Rome were far different than Ingres's. In 1816, he was still only good at painting a Napoleonic officer at war on horseback, a subject that has lost much of its appeal since the embarrassment of Waterloo (June 18, 1815) and the Hundred Days (March 20, 1815 - July 8, 1815). What is worse, Géricault, who had spent too much time studying the Old Masters to deceive himself, felt this failure keenly. His inability to attain even the final rounds of the prestigious Rome Prize competition of 1816 had painfully revealed his

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<sup>780</sup> As Bruno Chénique pointed out as early as 1991, when scholars once again took note of Géricault and his oeuvre was reassessed in a colloquium and an exhibition in Paris, most of the sources we have on Géricault are letters that were reprinted in contemporary journals or quoted by Géricault's first biographer, Clément, from the alleged free access he had to letters sent to Dédreux-Dorcy, Géricault's good friend. Very few are in public collections today. Géricault's letters say little of what his exact painterly activities are at the time that he is writing them; most describe his state of mood. For documentation relevant to Rome, see reprints in Germain Bazin, *Theodore Géricault: étude critique, documents et catalogue raisonné* (Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1987) Volume 1, 37-40 and Bruno Chénique in Italo Rota and Jean-Thierry Bloch, eds., *Géricault* (Paris: Renunion des Musées Nationaux, 1991), 317-318.

<sup>781</sup> Charles Blanc, "Ingres, sa vie et ses Ouvrages" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (September 1867): 207.

<sup>782</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>783</sup> Géricault valued his albums greatly; when he could not paint, he would develop his ideas sketched "sur le vif" in his albums. Bazin 1987, Vol.1, Doc. 93, 38.

shortcomings; incapable of multi-figure compositions in the Academic tradition required of history painters, his only career successes remained bold but essentially amateur renderings of horse-and-rider duos.<sup>784</sup>

His two early salon successes, the *Charging Chasseur* of 1812 and the *Wounded Cuirassier* of 1814, have long invited comparison (and indeed, they were presented together at the Salon of 1814).<sup>785</sup> The *Charging Chasseur* is a gloriously colored portrait of a Napoleonic warrior (Figure 6.1). His body utterly torsioned so as to display every golden braid, the lavishly ornamented Chasseur and his mount charge into a murky fray, the excited horse's disproportionate buttocks and legs splayed out beneath its body. Equally impressively ornamented—his red-lined cloak and plumed helmet vie for attention with his gleaming amour—but faltering in his step, the dismounted *Wounded Cuirassier* leaves the fray, dragging his horse down with him (Figure 6.2).

Each rider depends on his horse for survival and vice-versa. Géricault materializes this co-dependence in paint. Animal and master are depicted as sharing similar emotions: the Chasseur's horse neighing passionately and charging forward, the Cuirassier's horse almost stumbling with his master, frightened.<sup>786</sup> The composition renders them volumetrically dependent as well, for the bodies of the horses would make even less spatial sense without the riders placed in front of them. In the *Charging Chasseur*, the rider nearly blots out the horse's neck and powerful back even as his leopard-skin mount obscures the animal's hide. In the *Wounded Cuirassier*, the officer's caped body covers the entire middle of the oddly compressed animal.

Modern critics have left this superimposition of the figures on the horses largely unexamined, except to deem it yet another strategy employed by the young Géricault to hide the anatomical and volumetric inaccuracies in his work.<sup>787</sup> I would argue that the intensity of the superimposition matters; Géricault must have been compelled by the subject to render the closeness of the relationship between these two figures, and he did so the only way he knew how. Unable to create a multi-figure history painting composition where men depend not just on their horses but on one another, he took the opposite route, distilling the subject of epic battle down to a horse and rider so compositionally close they practically collide at the surface of the picture plane.

Most of the Géricault scholarship presumes that the artist went to Rome in 1816 a newly disciplined student, intent on learning methods for creating the volume his paintings lacked and for applying the Antique to the modern world—principles which, if he had listened, he could

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<sup>784</sup> His competition results were not surprising given his training. An undisciplined student, Géricault had begun his studies informally in Carle Vernet's studio, followed by a sporadic, but more official attendance at Pierre-Narcisse Guérin's. He spent more time riding horses, drawing outdoors, and copying paintings in the Louvre than applying himself to studio practice. A thorough study of Géricault's life in and around Paris through 1814, particularly his time in Vernet's and Guérin's studios as well as his copying practice in the Louvre, can be found in Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1983), 14-25.

<sup>785</sup> For more on the contrast between these two paintings, seemingly described in every book on Géricault, see the more recent and interesting comparison made by Thomas Crow in his *Emulation*. Thomas Crow, *Emulation: David, Drouais and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 282-287.

<sup>786</sup> Eitner, among others, has rightly noted that horse and rider stylistically parallel one another in their body movements, even if he describes, wrongly in my view, the Cuirassier's horse as resisting the retreat. Eitner, 64-65.

<sup>787</sup> Crow 2006, 282-283.

have learned in the Parisian Academy.<sup>788</sup> I argue for a less docile Géricault. I believe Géricault sought from Rome—and found there—not only strategies for creating volumetric bodies from Antique models, but also, and more importantly, for rendering relationships between bodies through volume and space, relationships necessary for successful multi-figure history painting. These strategies, however, were embedded in violence, aggression, decay, and abjection, as opposed to a lofty moral ideal.

The profoundly non-Academic copying process he enacted in Florence, Rome, and Naples led Géricault to develop compositional tactics of rotating, altering, mirroring, doubling and coupling.<sup>789</sup> Perhaps he intended to use such tactics to render the violence of battle successfully; yet, they ultimately ended up structuring the language of man-to-man violence of his first great history painting, the *Raft of the Medusa* (1819) (Figure 6.3). His Italian practice was inspired by many sources; for example, Géricault's interest in serpentine—as Leo Steinberg calls the rotational practice of drawing one figure from several different angles so as to possess or capture the whole of it—sprang from his interaction with sculptural fragments in Rome.<sup>790</sup> The mirroring or doubling strategy he invented in Rome fed into his choices of works to copy: freestanding sculptures in Naples and Rome which, through their medium, lent themselves to a multiplicity of views and so artistically engaged doubling. His Roman experience with sculpture helped him radically rethink copying from the dull Academic exercise he had so easily abandoned in Paris. His early Parisian copies from engravings, the first step in the Academic practice of copying, demonstrated only a grudgingly perfunctory adherence to form (Figure 6.4). After his encounter with Rome, an internally referencing drawing practice took its place: a practice which ultimately placed a violent, non-heroic, fragmented and “modernized” Antique on the stage of history painting.

Géricault's interest in representing the abject, pathetic, and gruesome outside the context of war seems to have originated in Rome. The people and objects he chose to copy in this period—inside and out of the Zurich sketchbook, in which many of his drawings from Naples and Rome are preserved—differ immensely from those in his earliest sketchbooks filled with drawings of horses.<sup>791</sup> In Rome, he made copies of fauns from sarcophagi bas-reliefs and of the *Hercules Farnese*, but he also portrayed violent, often sexual, relationships between men and beasts, men and other men, and men and women: both sculpted and real. He sketched scenes of

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<sup>788</sup> Crow has posited that Italy taught Géricault the Academic skills he had neglected to hone in Paris. In Rome, he learned how to draw properly, to appreciate the male nude, and to render volume (Crow 2006, 287-288). Wheelock Whitney suggests, in a similar vein, that Géricault's work in Italy marks the beginning of his attempt to address seriously in paint the monumentality of the Antique. Much of what the artist produced in Rome is interpreted by Whitney as representing Géricault's increasing ability to fuse the Antique with the observed. This argument runs throughout Whitney, but is most concentrated in Chapters 2 and 3. For further reading, see Wheelock Whitney, *Géricault in Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): 29-88.

<sup>789</sup> Géricault visited Italy in October of 1816 ostensibly as a copyist. His goal while there (he stayed until the fall of 1817), he wrote idealistically to his friend Dedreux-Dorcy, was to copy as many paintings and sculptures as possible. Whitney, 4.

<sup>790</sup> Leo Steinberg, *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 183.

<sup>791</sup> The Zurich Kunsthau's sketchbook can be firmly dated to his Roman years because of the copies in it. For more on this sketchbook, see Marc Fehlmann, “Géricault's Zurich Sketchbook. Its Contents and some Observations” in *Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Zürich* (1995): 86-107. For more on all of Géricault's extant sketchbooks, including their order and contents, see Michael Patri de Marsche “The Zoubaloff Sketchbook of Théodore Géricault” (Ph.D. Diss., Stanford University, 1996), 40-64.

mass drunkenness, both mythological and as observed on the streets of Rome. Mars and Hercules race through his sketchbooks on their chariot and Hercules fights all sorts of beasts (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). The rotten core of humanity haunts his Roman oeuvre: Ugolino trying not to consume his sons, executions by axe blade or hanging, rapes, crimes of passion, the slaughter of cattle, and the dying victims of pestilence (Figures 6.7 and 6.8). In no way do Géricault's Roman works celebrate the heroic or even the collaboration of man and beast towards a common goal, as in the *Charging Chasseur*. Géricault imagined relationships as either contested and three dimensional, or cohesive and two-dimensional. The space between two figures in Géricault's oeuvre is created out of antagonism—out of circling a statue or a motif as a predator might encircle his prey—and can be closed by force. The abject led Géricault to multi-figure history painting through the rotten core of the male nude in his relationship to those around him.

Unlike Ingres, Géricault drew many freestanding sculptures while in Rome and Naples; he was able to innovate not through appropriating an aesthetic of flatness, as Ingres did, but by wringing volume from sculpture. Géricault's Roman study of statues at the Vatican begins with severing and fragmenting the sculpture he copied. He used altered repetitions of similar subjects in order to bring them into relation with one another.<sup>792</sup> These lessons in fragmentation and in relationship-making Géricault forced onto freestanding sculpture would later characterize his original compositions, including his *Severed Limbs* and the relationships between “couples” on the *Raft of the Medusa*.

The Vatican study shows a thrice-repeated *Torso Belvedere* on the top row and three separate sculptures “positioned” below it (Figures 6.9 and 6.10). Marc Fehlman, who has done extensive research on the Zurich Sketchbook, from which this page of studies comes, has identified the statues below the *Torso* as three different works, from left to right: “A Roman marble torso of a Hero... the marble torso of a reduced replica of Praxiteles's *Apollo Sauroctonos*, and one of the many replicas of the *Lysippian Eros*, [all] in the Vatican Collections” (Figures 6.11, 6.12, and 6.13).<sup>793</sup> I believe, by contrast, the first of the three statues in the second row to be the *Belvedere Antinous*, which Géricault has rendered only in part (Figure 6.14).

Géricault might have seen *Torso Belvedere* and the *Belvedere Antinous* in the Louvre, as they were seized by the French under the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino and taken to Paris in 1797.<sup>794</sup> But, along with many of the Antique sculptures taken from Italy, the *Antinous* and the *Torso* were returned to Rome in early 1816; no longer a “empty” city, Rome was once again the home of canonical and powerful sculptures. The two works were re-installed together in the Vatican's Belvedere Courtyard, where the *Antinous* remains today.<sup>795</sup> The *Antinous* and the *Torso* differed markedly in subject matter and state of conservation: one was a glamorously reconstructed, elongated, homoerotic, deified youth, the other an eternal fragment of a hulking, almost overly muscular, massive core. They showcased opposite aspects of the ideal male nude: the young ephebe and the mature hero. I imagine that this duality may have been part of what drew Géricault to copy them.

Géricault rendered the *Torso* from three different angles and placed each *Torso* copy relatively in line with the sculpture rendered below it, both vertically and horizontally. Though the bottom row represents three different sculptures— the *Belvedere Antinous* on the left, a copy

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<sup>792</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981, 141, 312.

<sup>793</sup> Fehlmann 1995, 103.

<sup>794</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981, 141, 312. The *Torso* has since been moved inside to a room that bears its name.

<sup>795</sup> Ibid.

of the *Apollo Sauroctonos* in the middle, and a copy of the *Lysippian Eros* on the right, whose wing stubs you can hardly see—they functionally serve as one by their respective vertical alignment with the three copies of the *Torso* and their parroting of the rotational depiction strategy used above them.<sup>796</sup> The way that Géricault copied the *Belvedere Antinous*, *Apollo Sauroctonos*, and *Lysippian Eros* robbed the sculptures of their individuality. They all fuse together as one piece, rotated.

The three views of the *Torso* are not necessarily rendered from the same angles as their counterparts below, however: the first copy of each statue on the left of the page is what might be considered a frontal view, the second of each reflects no common viewing angle, and the third iteration of each seems to be a three-quarter view—the *Torso* taken from the left, the *Eros* from the right. In fact, if one placed the bottom right (copied) “Eros” in dialogue with the (copied) “Torso” above it, the two torsos would be facing each other, engaged in a confrontational, or at least conversational, relationship. The arm of the “Eros” would be reaching out towards the third “Torso” as if to pat it on the shoulder. The legs of the two figures might even intertwine, as the “Eros” is the only copy on the bottom row depicting legs and deliberately renders them in an exaggeratedly bent position. The torso of the “Eros” also seems to have taken on some of the *Torso*’s slouch—it seems more hunched and exaggeratedly twisted. As if in response, the third “Torso” has straightened up from its bent-backward position on the plinth.

These “Torsos” and “Antinous/Apollo/Eros” copies chart Géricault’s process of bringing disparate objects into a charged, but believable, spatial relationship with one another. He almost parodies Academic copying practices, allowing as he does each copy to perfect another’s deficiencies.<sup>797</sup> Even the three works on the bottom are placed in relation to one another: in each copy, the chosen angle of depiction allows for greater prominence of the hip, which in each seems more aggressively sensual than the original. This repeating and rotating of bodies ultimately forms a composition in which Géricault usurps the creative role of the sculptor: his new versions of these statues respond to one another as if members of a sculptural group.

Not only does Géricault claim the creative power to sculpt, but he also claims the destructive power of time to fragment. His “Antinous/Apollo/Eros” figures appear to us as fragments, but this begs the question—to what extent were the versions that he saw restored and to what extent did he “fragment” them to match the *Torso*? We know Géricault could only have seen the *Antinous* in Rome fully restored.<sup>798</sup> His fragmenting of the *Antinous* back into a torso allows him to place himself in dialogue with the *Torso*’s creators, finders, and mythologizers; the *Torso*, after all, was the ultimate fragment.<sup>799</sup> Each copied statue in the second row is

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<sup>796</sup> Fehlmann 1995, 103.

<sup>797</sup> According to Boime, the Académie “...taught the pupil to seek a combination of the best qualities of different schools with the intention that his work should be superior to the product of any individual one.” Alfred Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 125.

<sup>798</sup> Haskell and Penny, 142. As previously mentioned, Géricault might have seen it in a more fragmentary form in Paris, but this sketch has been securely dated to his Roman sojourn by Whitney (Whitney, 32-33). It is possible that the fragmentary nature of the work haunted his interpretation of it, but he would have been drawing in front of the completed statue. In fact, the most likely reason that the left figure in the bottom row of this drawing has not been deemed an *Antinous* copies in the Géricault scholarship is because the artist rendered the statue as a fragment—lacking elements of the arms and legs, but most importantly, the head bearing Antinous’s characteristically curly locks and sweet expression. Not enough is known about the other two statues to determine what their restoration status would have been.

<sup>799</sup> The *Torso* achieved its mythic status among artists in part because it was one of the few fragments of Antiquity left un-restored. Haskell and Penny, 312.

fragmented differently—the first has no shoulders, the second only arm stumps, and the third half an arm and significantly more leg than the first two. If it was Géricault who enacted that fragmentation, as we believe to be true for at least the *Antinous*, it is an early example of Géricault’s somewhat morbid experimentation with the visual effects of fragmentation, revealing his consistent search for the most successful place to disrupt the obdurate materiality of a (sculpted) body. His interaction with Classical sculpture was one of violent corruption: to bend the greatness of the *Torso* into a relationship with an unknown statue and to create stumps in the place of limbs.

Those lost limbs reappear savagely as lone relics of the bodies to which they relate in Géricault’s *Severed Heads* and *Body Fragments*, painted sketches made upon his return to Paris and believed to be preparatory studies for the *Raft of the Medusa*. Here again, the fragments are carefully composed and, like the sculptural copies in the *Torso* drawing, are made to respond to one another though they are from separate, lifeless bodies. In *Severed Heads*, Géricault chose to depict a man and a woman’s severed heads together, interpreting them as a couple (Figure 6.15). They are placed side by side amid swirling sheets, the woman facing the man as if curled up next to him.<sup>800</sup>

Géricault also famously painted a collection of severed limbs positioned near one another like still-life subjects: a leg from the knee down, an arm from the shoulder down, and a seemingly rogue foot (Figure 6.16). Heads and limbs are the parts Géricault edits out of his *Antinous/Apollo/Eros* copies; they are the parts that the *Torso Belvedere* can never regain. Yet the fragmented limbs in the painting seem to animate in order to respond to one another, as the *Torso* and *Antinous/Apollo/Eros* copies did.<sup>801</sup> The arm tucks a foot to it, embracing it, while the heel of the same foot nuzzles up against what is left of the musculature in the arm.<sup>802</sup> Two other paintings exist of the same set of limbs (Figures 6.17 and 6.18). Like the *Torso* around which the artist moved to sketch his three views, these “fragments” were deliberately captured from more than one angle.<sup>803</sup> In creating or seeking out such multi-view representations in his limb paintings, Géricault imitates the conditions of viewing multiple sculptures in the same space in Rome and forces these human limbs to perform the role of sculptural fragments. In a way, such copying could be construed as a perverted version of the standard Academic practice of copying after casts of Antique sculpture with a more macabre subject.

Géricault used the rotational strategy learned through copying the *Torso* and the *Antinous/Apollo/Eros* in his renderings of everyday life in Rome; his particular mode of interaction with Antique sculpture structured his interpretations of what he saw in the streets. In his depictions of Roman street life, he often rotated the person or scene he initially drew about an arbitrarily centered, invisible pole—sometimes on the same page—to arrive at the most

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<sup>800</sup> Grigsby 2002, 202-207.

<sup>801</sup> Ibid.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid.

<sup>803</sup> The status of these two “limb” paintings as Géricault originals is now contested, but it remains clear that all three were painted at roughly the same time, either by the artist alone or with his friends. No matter which supposition is correct, Géricault’s interest in being able to view three sides at once on three separate canvases—to capture the fullest description of the whole in one sketching session—remains (we are assuming here that if there were multiple painters, they looked at each others’ work). Brugerolles et al. are partial to the theory that the two other “limb” paintings were rendered by friends invited over by the artist. Emmanuelle Brugerolles, ed., *Géricault: Dessins et Estampes des Collections de l’Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1997), 60-61.

successful composition. He came to use the technique of centered flipping as a mode of preparatory drawing.<sup>804</sup>

In his “Study of an Injured Man,” allegedly a notation of or after a witnessed event in which a crowd draws around a shirtless man, lying on his back and writhing in agony as his head lolls unnaturally about his shoulders, Géricault seems to be working out the Injured Man’s position relative to the masses flocking around him (Figure 6.19). After all, this scene provides the essence of a history subject: a wounded soldier, being assisted by members of his unit, as the rank and file battle in the background. And yet, we do not know the origins of the man’s wound in Géricault’s sketch nor the intentions of the (gawking? menacing?) crowd around him. Two copies of the central figure, the injured man, occupy the center of this sketch. Their bodies extend backwards into the picture plane in two opposite directions, heads unnaturally lolling about their shoulders. Each man is attended to by a lightly penciled-in Supporter, also rotated about the same central pole. If the Injured Man at the right is initially a copy of the man at left—and both are copies of an event Géricault witnessed—the copy (the man on the right) is then recopied in the definitive penned composition (Figure 6.20). The “Study of an Injured Man” helps to document Géricault’s increasingly marked preference for choosing compositional elements that he has, through rotational devices, already altered from his initial recording of them: elements that were already his own. In assembling elements he has already invented to form a new composition, Géricault repeats a practice Ingres also honed in Rome that helped him to create his *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*.

Géricault’s work sketching on the streets of Rome and Naples as opposed to in their museums frequently concerned the capturing of anecdote involving multiple groups of pairs or threesomes: three herdsman driving their cattle to market, for example (Figure 6.21). He would then sometimes try to “mythologize” that anecdote, such as making drawings of cattleman slaughtering their beasts and then modifying that subject into something Antique-themed, such as an ancient sacrifice: take for example Géricault’s sketch, known today through a nineteenth-century tracing, of two men killing a bull (Figure 6.22).

The bodies in the drawing of “Two Men Killing a Bull” mirror and compensate for one another; they depend on such reciprocity in order to defeat the antagonist—placed between them in the form of a bull—at the center of the drawing. The man on the right’s legs are widely planted; his weight is on his back leg just before the process of swinging his club downward will necessitate a weight transfer. He is expansive where his companion is contractive—his cape flies above his shoulders as he looks down at the object of the sacrifice and brandishes his cudgel high in the air to deliver the blow. The man on the left looks up instead of down while his arms, equally tensed and active, are thrust downwards, gripping the rope pulling the bull into submission. Posed in a similar, wide-legged stance, all his weight, too, is on his back foot—his right, as opposed to the left, weight-bearing foot of the cudgel-wielding man. The chest of the rope-holding man is rotated towards us to nearly the same degree as the cudgel-bearing man’s is turned away from us.

These men are composed as dependent opposites of one another, rotated about a central event that involves their mutual activity. This is strikingly different from Géricault’s earlier horse-and-rider paintings, where similarity of purpose was depicted through superimposing two very different figure types. Géricault would later translate his newly spatial language of dependence learned in “Two Men Killing a Bull” into his lithograph of a boxing match (Figure

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<sup>804</sup> Enacting this centered flipping may have been as easy as folding over the page and transposing the subject to the other side of the center line.

6.23). Here, the bull has been removed and the men dance around each other, compositionally compensating for each other's differences—each one is in the exact same pose as the other, except flipped to be opposite one another. Even their pants and skin tones are opposites: the black boxer wears white pants and the white boxer wears black ones. Pictures of violence seem to command circling and mirroring from Géricault beginning in his Roman period and carrying forward to his subsequent work in Paris. Rotational tactics of composition, helpful in bestowing the appearance of three-dimensionality upon one's characters as in the case of his drawn *Torso Belvedere* and the Antique "copies" below it, come to embody conflict for Géricault.

I maintain that Géricault's mirroring technique—including his sense of compatibility of poses, of complimentary distribution, of push and pull, and of doubling figures around a central one—and the violence it comes to represent has its origins in his exposure to Hellenistic sculpture groups like the *Farnese Bull* (Figure 6.24). The *Farnese Bull* was famous for its dynamic spiral composition, requiring viewers to engage with it in the round and revealing the front and aft of its characters. Géricault would have seen it on his trip to Naples.<sup>805</sup> Although no copies drawn by Géricault of the *Farnese Bull* have survived, citations from it permeate his work. The mirrored positions of the two young men in the sculpture are mimicked in Géricault's sketch of the two bull-killers. Additionally, Géricault copied and reversed the entire composition of "Two Men Killing A Bull" several times, rotating it as if circling a seemingly ever-changing statue (Figure 6.25).

Another of Géricault's Parisian drawings based on Roman sketches, "Ancient Sacrifice," takes this man-animal coupling and rotating to the extreme (Figure 6.26). This drawing also has its sources in Ancient art—Géricault's sketches of the *Farnese Bull* sculptural group and of a portion of a Bacchic bas-relief from Naples both found their way into this composition.<sup>806</sup> In "Ancient Sacrifice," every one of the five animals is placed in a close and confrontational relationship with one or two men: they are tied up, dragged about, or in the process of being killed. Several of the animals, such as the goat on the left, are even symmetrically bracketed by men, like the bull from "Two Men Killing A Bull." The tone of this scene is vastly different from that expressed in the symbiosis of the Chasseur with his horse in Géricault's 1812 work. *Ancient Sacrifice* could be considered a successful step towards history painting: towards a multi-figure composition that makes spatial sense and whose figures were still compositionally distinct from one another.

Unlike Ingres, who sought to represent the ideal using his female Roman models, Géricault deliberately sought victims. Géricault's sadistic treatment of women has been the subject of many essays by feminist scholars over the last few years and needs no repetition here.<sup>807</sup> Unlike Ingres, Géricault cannot seem to portray nude women alone; they can never be

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<sup>805</sup> Géricault would have seen the *Farnese Bull* sculpture group at the Museo Borbonico, now the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples. Though it is hard to tell because of the extent of its restoration, the *Farnese Bull* is thought to represent Dirce, Queen of Thebes, who, as punishment for her ill treatment of Antiope, was tied to a wild bull by Antiope's sons. Haskell and Penny, 165.

<sup>806</sup> The rearing central bull with a rope around his horns and his "tamer" behind the altar in Géricault's *Ancient Sacrifice* are copied from the Farnese sculpture group. Whitney has an excellent discussion of the relationship between the two works. Whitney, 82-83. Whitney also notes that the man holding the bull over his head was taken from a bacchic relief that Géricault copied while in Naples. This reveals his aptitude for combining similar motifs, even if completely different sized.

<sup>807</sup> Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Genre, Gender and Géricault," in Serge Guillbaut, Maureen Ryan, and Scott Wilson, eds. *Théodore Géricault: The Alien Body: Tradition in Chaos* (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1977), 94-114. See also Linda Nochlin, "Géricault or the Absence of Women," pages 403-418,

*académies* for Géricault. The female character in Géricault's Roman works is nearly always antagonistically coupled—another doubling strategy—with a man or beast. Take the figure of *Dawn*, copied, along with her male counterpart *Dusk*, by Géricault from Michelangelo's *Medici Tombs* in San Lorenzo (Figure 6.27). Géricault's sketch alters the order in which the sculptures flank the central portrait of Lorenzo di' Medici, inaccurately placing *Dawn* to Lorenzo's left and *Dusk* to his right (Figure 6.28). Inverting the mirror symmetry of the actual sculpture group, Géricault turns the copied allegories in towards one another. In his sketch, the man (*Dusk*) is placed closer to and just above the woman (*Dawn*) instead of beside her. His right leg is thrust forcefully into the folds of the cloth around her pelvic region. Géricault thus changes the "meaning" of the sculptures by coupling them in an aggressively sexual way. Their backs no longer to each other, they collide together to form one.

Géricault transposes this imagined sexual aggressivity onto his original Roman works, such as "Leda and the Swan" (Figure 6.29). Leda's pose is an inversion of his copy of *Dawn*—thus resembling the sculpture's real position—and reveals Géricault again copying from an already inverted copy, confusing the source of the work in order to corrupt the lone female sculptural body. Instead of being approached seductively from the back or the front, Leda is being assaulted—and, if we look at her strong, straight arm and firm grip on the base of the swan's neck, assault seems like the proper term—from the side. The swan's neck hovers menacingly between her resisting but open legs. Their imminent sexual interaction will occur near the same place that the "Michelangelo" bodies met in Géricault's copy of the Medici Tomb sculptures. Vital to comprehending the tone of this drawing is the tension-filled, soon-to-be-closed space between the two bodies, bodies that would have been merely flatly superimposed before his experience of Italy such as his "Couple Embracing" (1815-1816) (Figure 6.30).

The ever-compressing space of sexual assault about to be actualized is created three-dimensionally in Géricault's post-Rome statue *Satyr and Nymph* (c. 1818) (Figure 6.31). Géricault's few extant sculptures mostly date to this period and many of them depict impending violence or the effects of violence on a body.<sup>808</sup> In *Satyr and Nymph*, the nymph turns out towards the viewer, her body halfway between sitting and supine. Her face is contorted, her eyes are closed, and her pried-open legs are braced for the assault. The satyr rises up from a kneeling position between the nymph's thighs as he arches over her resistant body in a mirror inversion of her position. His face is turned inward, invisible to a viewer looking at hers, and his encircling arm pushes her down.

These bodily contortions bear little resemblance to those in Géricault's pre-Rome *Couple Embracing*. In that sketch, the contours of the protagonists do not separate from one another for an instant—even their feet are intertwined. Her arm snakes over his back as she throws her head up in ecstasy, while he holds her from underneath. They support each other literally; their pose is impossible without mutual effort, and accordingly, Géricault renders them as inseparable. With his Roman-learned ability to rotate characters volumetrically around each other instead of superimposing them atop one another, Géricault makes room for violence.

The signage of gender in Géricault's assailed, yet angrily muscular, mythological women is uncomfortably ambiguous. Régis Michel goes as far as to equate assailant with assailed, noting: "*le coït selon Géricault ne se borne pas à déstructurer les anatomies: il déstabilise les*

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and Stefan Germer, "'Je commence une femme et ça devient un lion': On the Origin of Géricault's Fantasy of Origins," pages 423-444, both in Régis Michel, ed., *Géricault*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Documentation Française, 1996).

<sup>808</sup> Géricault's sculptural work is most thoroughly documented in Bazin, Vol. 5, 1992, 131-138.

*identités.*”<sup>809</sup> This ambiguity doubtless simplified Géricault’s process of transposing the compositional language of violence developed in his Roman treatment of heterosexual couples and ancient sacrifices onto the “couples” of the *Raft*.<sup>810</sup> As Grigsby has so vividly argued, cannibalism—the factual result of too many people placed too close together on a raft that could not support them—and the violence that accompanied it suffuses the painting’s subtext and renders any remaining physical contact “...suspect and disquieting. The accidental proximity of spatial relationships raises questions.”<sup>811</sup>

Closeness on the *Raft* does not signal the blissful uniting of two different bodies as in “Couple Embracing” but rather the triumph of one stronger body over the weakness of another: the threatened compression of the space of violence in “Leda and the Swan” actualized. The so-called “Cannibalism Sketch” (1818-1819) for the *Raft* painfully reveals this tension: in the “cannibal,” the man who has already succumbed to biting the flesh of his companion, and in the frontal man standing near the mast, whose arms reach down tensely as if both grasping for the long-haired boy below him and restraining himself from that potentially cannibalistic touch (Figure 6.32). The space between the man’s hands and the boy’s head is electrifying, reminiscent of the space Géricault created between the cudgel-wielding man and the sacrificial bull in his earlier drawing or the space between the swan and Leda’s reproductive organs. One does not know how long that space can remain vacant before the violent coupling that Géricault has induced through his rotational strategies learned in Rome comes to fruition. The violence that went into completing a mutual action in his sketches, such as killing a bull, changes, through the removal of the object of mutual violence, into violence performed on the rotated subject—in this case, violence performed on the weaker version of the self.

The desperation Géricault saw in Rome—not the ideals that the sculptures he copied embodied for those who subscribed to the Academic canon of the *beau-idéal*—ended up informing his greatest history painting, one which, despite its array of flesh in various stages of hopelessness and decay, paradoxically revived the genre. Géricault effectively blended the bodies of Antique sculptures he learned to copy in Rome and Naples with the bodies of the robbers, the poor, and the victims who peppered Rome’s streets. There were many of them during the Restoration, for, though some churches were re-opened, the institutionalized begging and dependency on the church which had served the poor before the reforms of the Napoleonic period was more prevalent than ever with even less means of resolving it. Géricault’s pictures of peasant families in Rome, crouching together on the open steps of public buildings or even ruins, find their way onto the *Raft* metaphorically in the crouching and ragged group of bodies at the lowest level of the painting, sitting near to the mast (Figure 6.33). Some of these same men grasp each other with the intensity of the men who have tamed the goat in “Animal Sacrifice” into submission so that they may slaughter it. The men wave their colored rags in the air with the directness and intensity displayed in the executioner who wields a severed head in Géricault’s “Execution in Rome” (Figure 6.34). The dying male body at the foremost left of the *Raft* takes on the gaunt chest, lolling head and gaping mouth of the sick man hoping some of the

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<sup>809</sup> “The sexual act in Géricault’s work does not limit itself to deconstructing or delineating body types: it destabilizes identities” (Michel 2000, 134). For more on the difficulty of deciphering gender in Géricault, see Michel 2000, 136.

<sup>810</sup> Grigsby was the first to point out that “...heterosexual violence serves as Géricault’s template for a scene of male-to-male assault” on the *Raft* (Grigsby 2002, 196). Her work, however, does not fully address the Roman development of compositional tactics for how that violence gets coded: through repetitions and rotations.

<sup>811</sup> Grigsby 2002, 200.

pilgrims crowded around the altar will take care of him in Géricault's "Prayer to the Virgin" sketch (Figure 6.35).

Géricault was able, then, to produce not just empty, but corrupted versions of the *beau-idéal* nude after having enacted fragmentation on Classical sculptures, witnessed the abjection of the Roman body, and understood relationships through the conflict they could entail. Ingres's only male nude in a Roman history painting, Acron, was also a naked, non-heroic victim. His aggressor stripped him not of his flesh, as Géricault's men on the *Raft* would have had to, but of his armor and dignity. Instead of bolstering a love affair with the ideal male nude as the Parisian Academy had hoped, the experience of Rome during the Napoleonic years and the first years of the Restoration at best emptied out the ideal male nude of his idealism, and at worst defiled him or turned him, as Ingres would, into a woman.

During the Napoleonic Period in Rome, young history painters evacuated the moral imperative from history painting while retaining the vocabulary of the Antique in their interpretations of everyday Rome. This defied the key principle of history painting, intended by the French Académie's founders to represent stories from the past which would serve as templates for correct moral action in the present. Such storytelling demanded the universalization of history's temporal specificity. The Antique, made into the tool of universality by the Académie, remained the means of this temporal elision but emerged from the Napoleonic Era an empty shell—the ideal became separated from the beautiful and the beautiful changed gender. By 1819, David's noble, purposeful male heroes had become mangled, sordidly entwined bodies in Géricault's hands and soft female bathers in Ingres's. In divorcing the Antique from its moral imperative, French artists in Rome during the early nineteenth century changed the nature of the Antique in history painting. Profoundly mortal disasters and genre writ large became its new language.

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## APPENDIX OF IMAGES

Please note that the medium for all images depicted is “oil on canvas,” unless otherwise specified. All dimensions, when available, are given in centimeters. All works marked “n.d.” signify that no formal date has been attributed to the work in existing scholarship.

Introduction.  
Napoleonic Rome, French Artists, and the Roman Remnants of Antiquity



Figure i.1. Hagesandros, Athenedoros, and Polydoros, *Laocoon and His Sons*, Roman copy after a Hellenistic original from c. 200 BC. Marble, 242 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.



Figure i.2. *Apollo Belvedere*, Roman copy after a Greek original of c. 320 BC. Marble, 224 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.



Figure i.3. Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Napoleon as First Consul*, 1804. 227 x 147 cm. Musée d'Art Moderne et d'Art Contemporain, Liège; on deposit at the Musée d'Armes, Liège, Belgium.



Figure i.4. Ingres, *Napoleon Enthroned*, 1806. 259 x 162 cm. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, France.



Figure i.5. Ingres, "Villa Medici," c. 1807. Graphite and sepia wash on paper, 29 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban, France.



Figure i.6. Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte at the Bridge at Arcole*, 1796. 130 x 94 cm. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles, France.



Figure i.7. Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon Crossing the Alps at the Saint-Bernard Pass*, 1800. 259 x 221 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.



Figure i.8. Andrea Appiani, *Napoleon, King of Italy*, 1805. 99 x 73 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

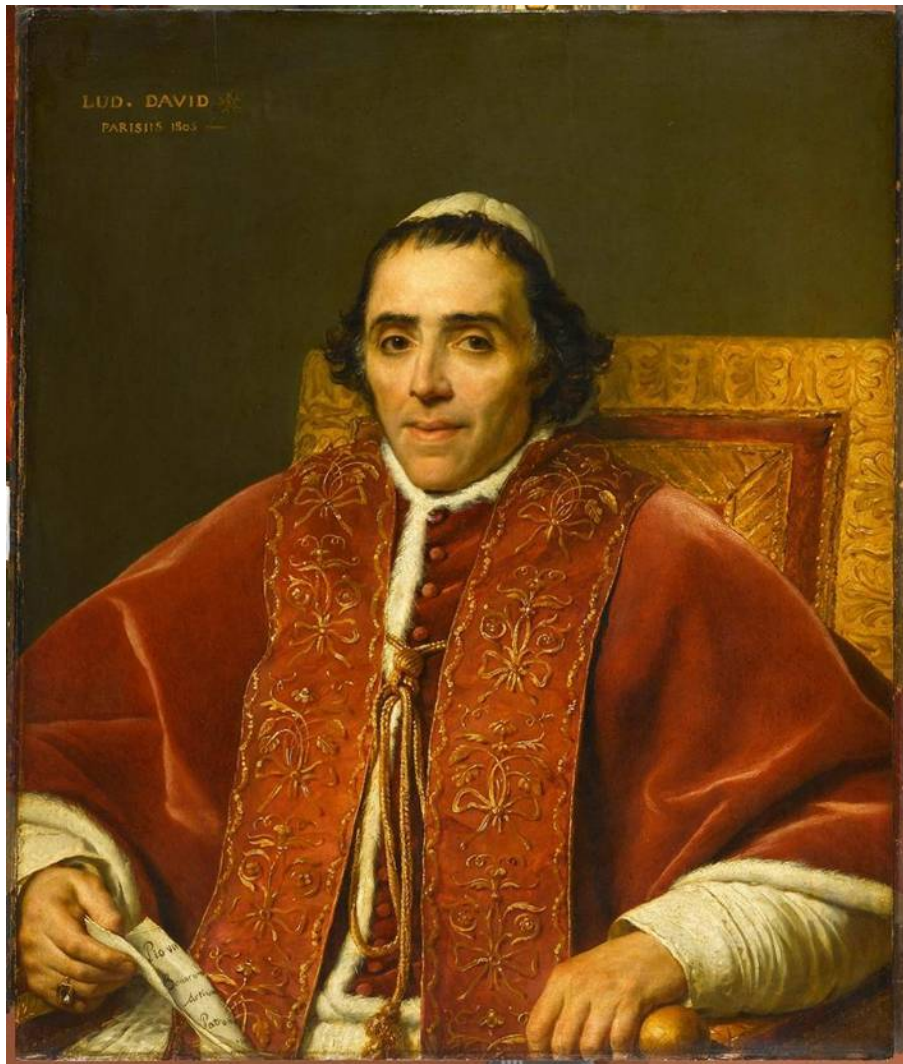


Figure i.9. David, *Pope Pius VII*, 1805. 87 x 72 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure i.10. *Cisalpine Republic Letterhead*, Ms. 318.69. Engraving on paper. Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA), Paris. France.



Figure i.11. Luigi or Filippo Agricola? *The Emperor Giving her Code of Laws to Rome*, c. 1812. Museo Napoleonico, Rome, Italy.

Chapter 1.  
Building a Clientele: French Painters in Rome and Their Markets



Figure 1.1 Pelagio Palagi, “Joachim Murat at the Campidoglio Salon, November 14, 1809,” 1809. Brown ink with brown wash, white gouache, and graphite on brown paper, 49 x 68 cm. Museo di San Martino, Naples, Italy.



Figure 1.2. Palagi, Sketch for “Joachim Murat at the Campidoglio Salon, November 14, 1809,” 1809. Pen and ink on paper. Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio Bologna, Italy.

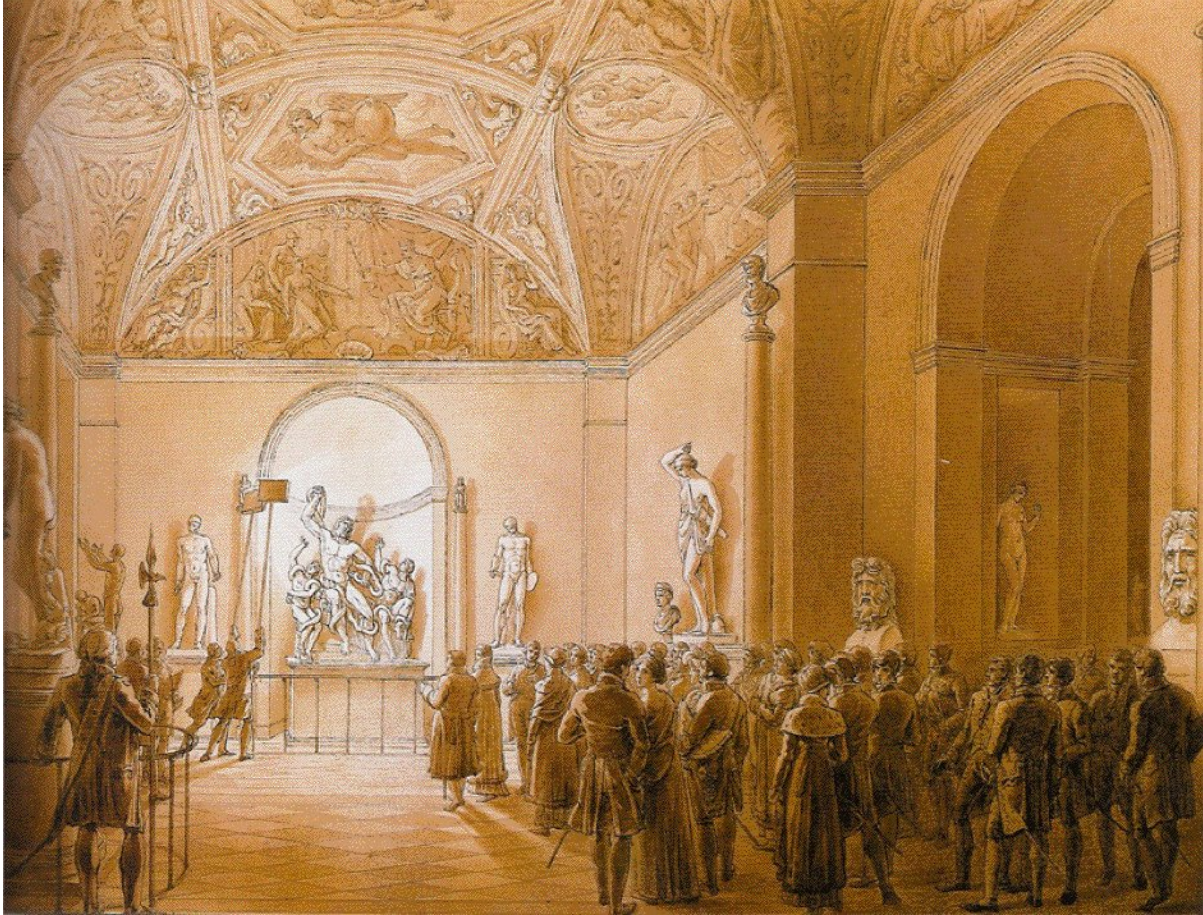


Figure 1.3. Benjamin Zix, “Visite aux Flambeaux Faite par l'Empereur et l'Impératrice, Salle de Laocöon,” c.1800. Brown and black ink and graphite on paper, 26 x 29 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.4. Ingres, *Dormeuse de Naples*, c. 1830s. 10 x 48 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 1.5. Francois-Marius Granet, *Crypt of the Basilica of San Martino ai Monti*, 1806. 126 x 159 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier.



Figure 1.6. Ingres, *François-Marius Granet*, 1807. 75 x 62 cm. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 1.7. Ingres, *Madame Duvaucy*, 1807. 76 x 59 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly.



Figure 1.8. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Ida Bruni*, 1809. Marble, 57 cm high. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.

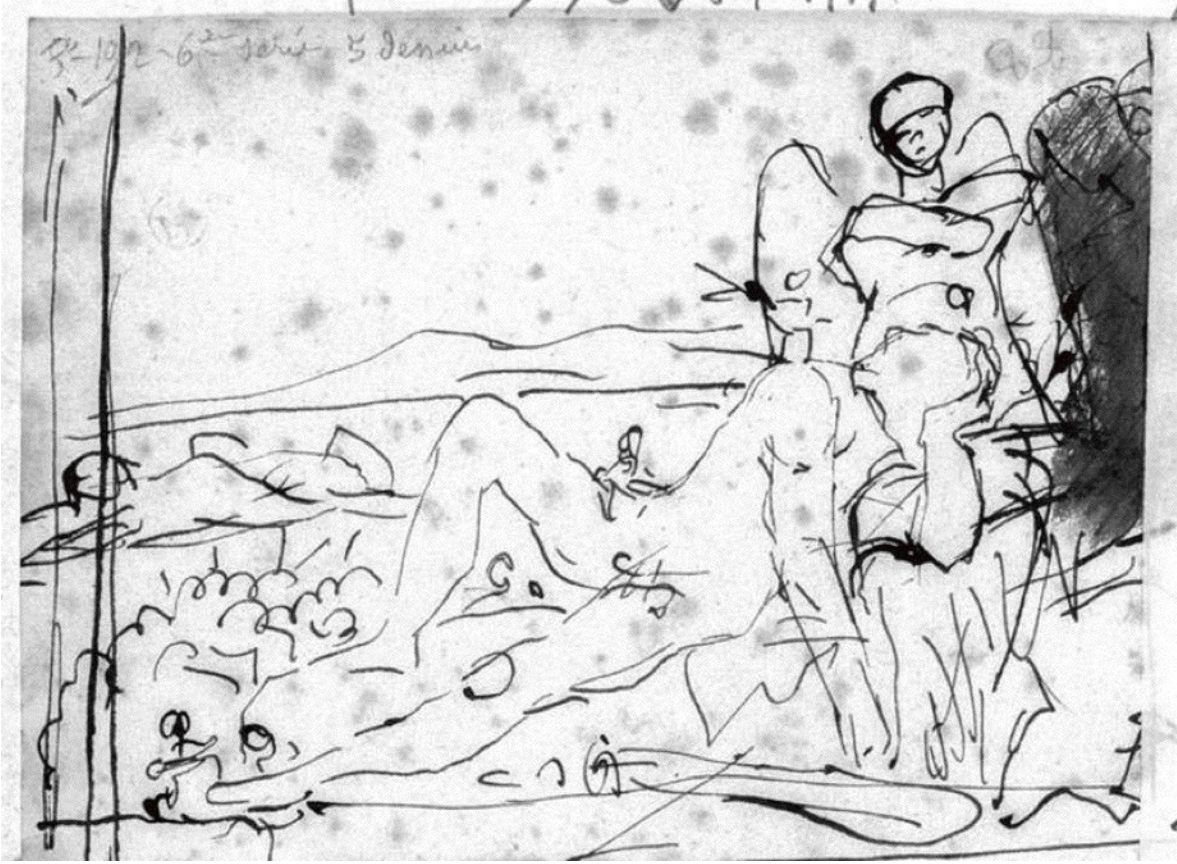


Figure 1.9. Ingres, "Hercules and the Pygmies," 1807. Pen and ink on paper, 18 x 18 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban, France.

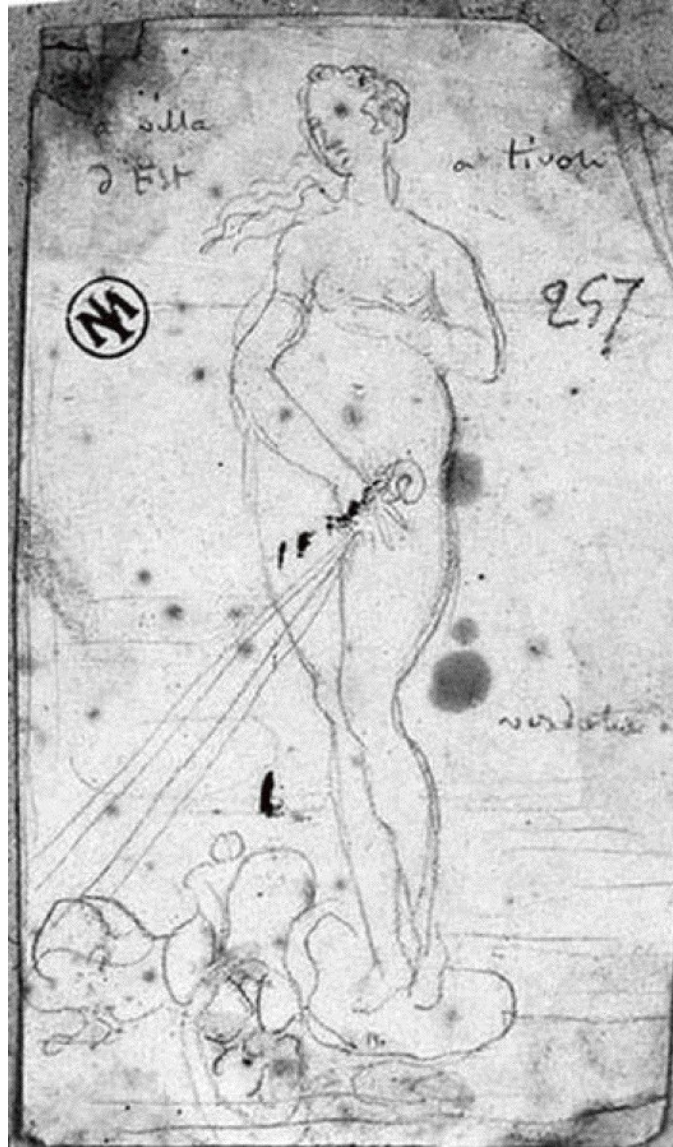


Figure 1.10. Ingres, "Venus Standing on a Shell Pulled by Dolphins," c. 1806. Graphite on paper, 10 x 6 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 1.11. Ingres, "Portrait of Lucien Bonparte," c. 1807. Graphite on paper, 26 x 18 cm. Private Collection.

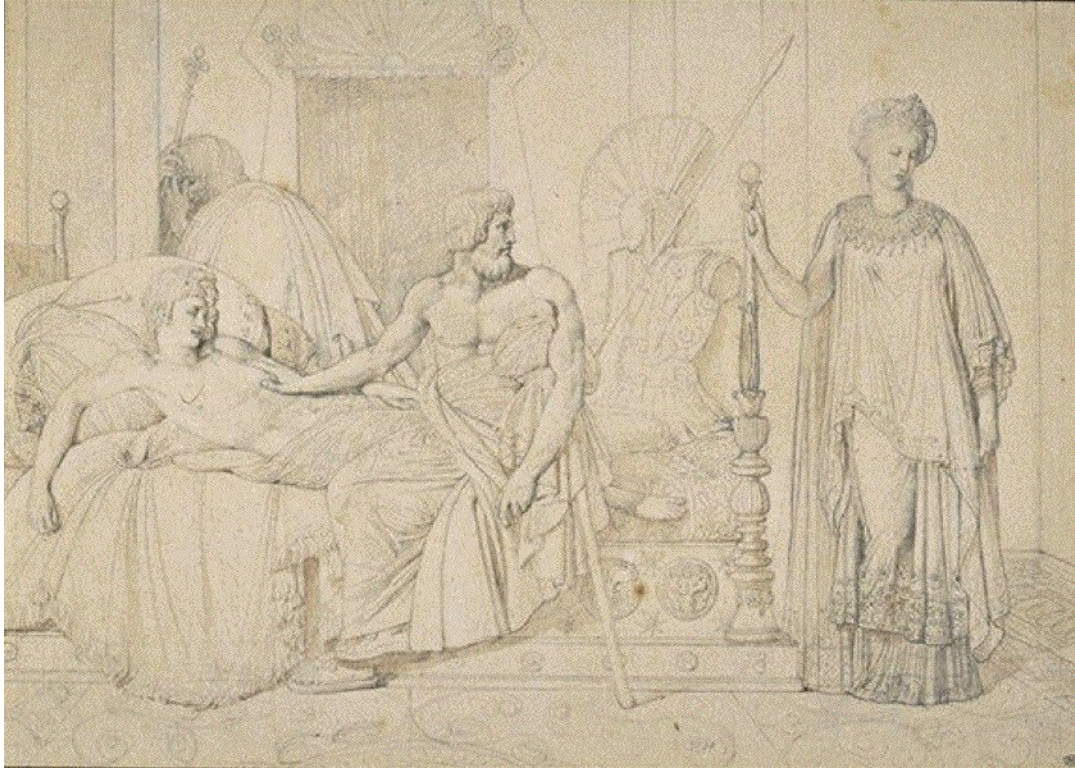


Figure 1.12. Ingres, "Antiochus and Stratonice," 1806. Graphite and black ink, brown and black ink wash on paper, 25 x 40 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.13. David, *Anne-Marie-Louise Thélusson, Comtesse de Sorcy*, 1790. 129 x 97 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.



Figure 1.14. Ingres, *Madame Cécile Panckoucke née Bochet*, 1811. 93 x 68 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.15. Ingres, *Madame de Sennones*, 1814. 106 x 84 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, France.



Figure 1.16. David, *Portrait de Monsieur Pierre Seriziat*, 1795. 129 x 96 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.17. Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Sampson Gideon and an Unidentified Companion*, 1766-67. 276 x 189 cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.



Figure 1.18. Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham*, 1767. 233 x 161 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles.



Figure 1.19. Pompeo Batoni. *Colonel the Honorable William Gordon*, 1765-66. 259 x 188 cm.  
The National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle, Fyvie, Scotland.



Figure 1.20. Ingres, *Charles-Marie-Jean-Baptiste Marcotte, dit Marcotte d'Argenteuil*, 1810. 93 x 69 cm. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

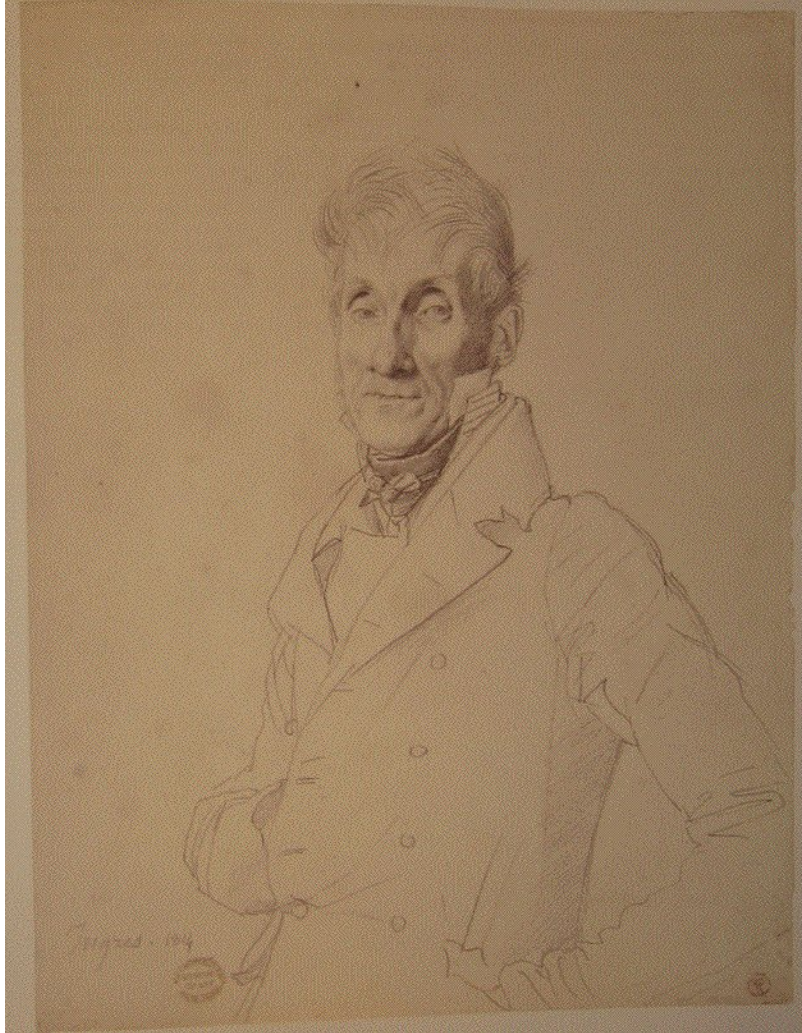


Figure 1.21. Ingres, “Edme Bochet (the Elder),” c. 1811-1813. Graphite on paper, 22 x 16 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 1.22. Ingres, *Edme Bochet (the Younger)*, 1811. 94 x 69 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.23. Ingres, *Charles Joseph-Laurent Cordier*, 1811. 90 x 60 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.24. Ingres, *Joseph-Antoine Moltedo*, c. 1810. 75 x 58 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 1.25. Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c. 1530. Oil on wood, 97 x 75 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 1.26. Ingres, *Hippolyte-François Devillers*, 1811. 96 x 79 cm. Fondation EG Bührle Collection, Zurich.



Figure 1.27. Ingres, *Comtesse de Tournon, née Geneviève de Seytres Caumont*, 1812. 92 x 76 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.



Figure 1.28. Ingres, *Jacques Marquet, baron de Montbreton de Norvins*, 1811. 97 x 79 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 1.29. Detail, Ingres, *Norvins*, 1811.



Figure 1.30. Alexandre Brachard and Jean-Jacques Oger after a marble original by Henri Joseph Ruxthiel, *Roi de Rome*, 1811. Biscuit de Sèvres and blue porcelain, 39 cm. high. Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Malmaison.



Figure 1.31. Ingres, *Mademoiselle Caroline Rivière*, 1806. 100 x 67 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.32. Ingres, *Caroline Murat, née Caroline Bonaparte, Queen of Naples*, 1814. 92 x 60 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 1.33. Contemporary photograph of the Terrace of the Palazzo Reale, Naples.



Figure 1.34. Jean-Baptiste Wicar, *Joachim Murat*, 1809. 56 x 40 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.

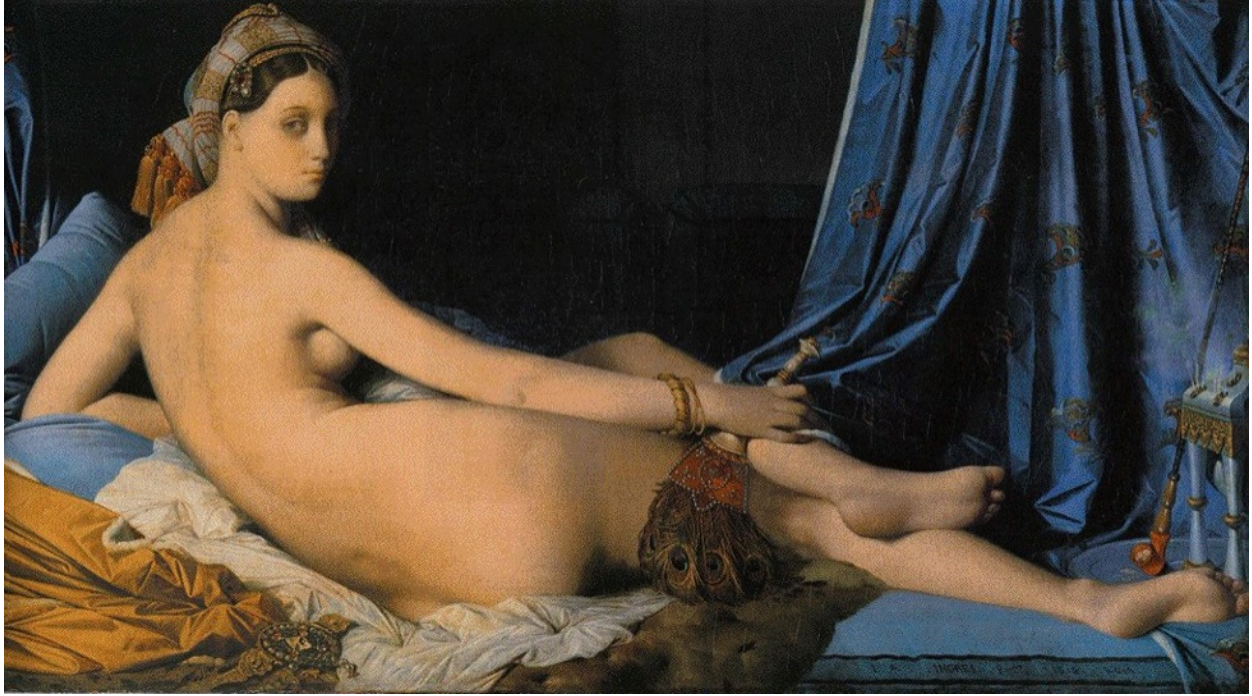


Figure 1.35. Ingres, *La Grande Odalisque*, 1814. 91 x 162 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.36. Ingres, *Paola and Francesca*, 1814. Oil on wood, 35 x 28 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly.



Figure 1.37. Ingres, *The Betrothal of Raphael and the Niece of Cardinal Bibbiena*, 1814. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 93 x 80 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MD.



Figure 1.38. David, *Madame Recamier*, 1800. 174 x 244 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.39. Antonio Canova, (*Paolina Borghese as*) *Venus Victrix*, 1805-1808. Marble, 200 cm. high. Villa Borghese, Rome.

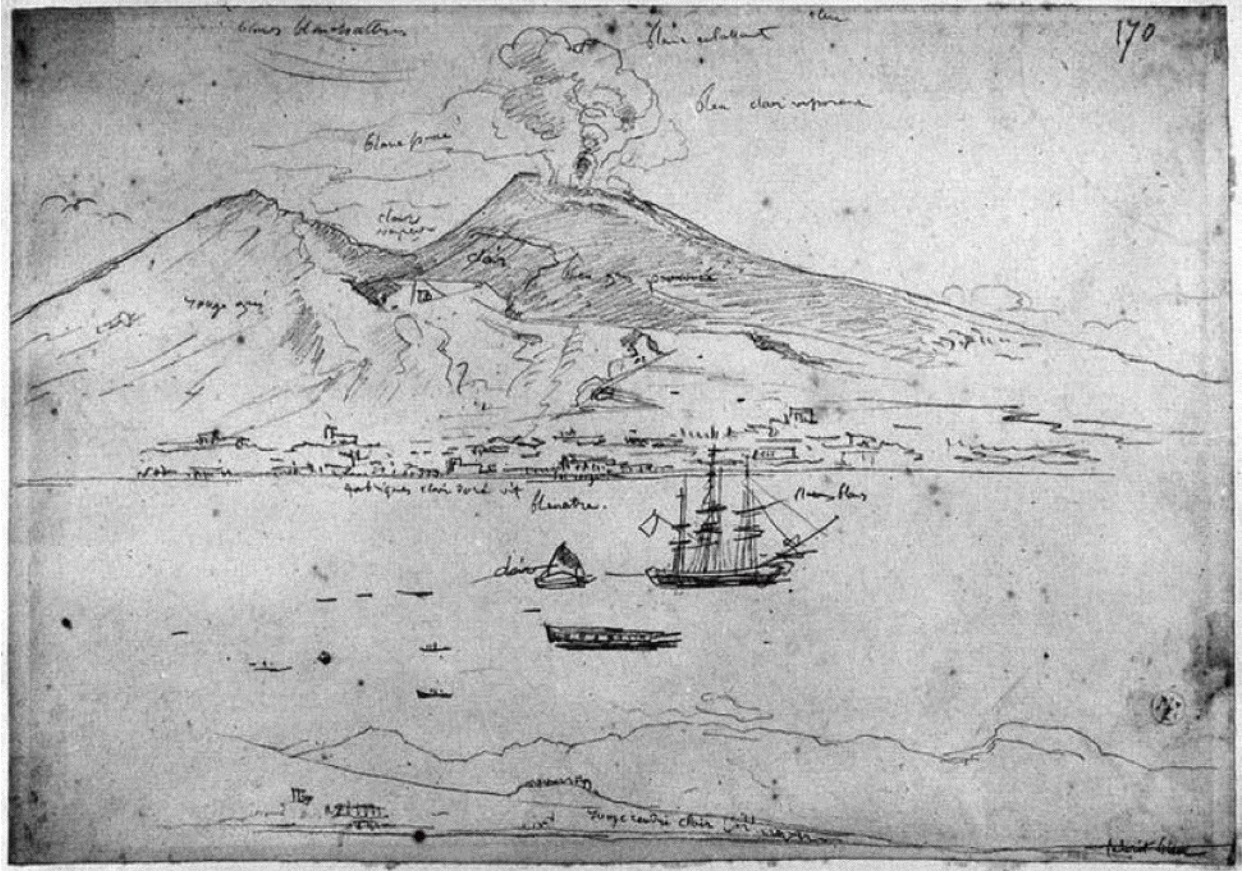


Figure 1.40. Ingres, “Le Vésuve et la Mer à Naples,” c. 1814. Graphite on paper, 18 x 23 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Chapter 2.  
Architects, the Found Antique, and the Aesthetic of Flatness



Figure 2.1. Ingres, *Baigneuse Valpinçon*, 1808. 146 x 97 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 2.2. Ingres, *Oedipus [and the Sphinx]*, 1827. 189 x 144 cm. Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.3. Ingres, *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, c. 1826. 17.5 x 13.7 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 2.4. Ingres, *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, 1864. 105 x 87 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Figure 2.5. *Hermes Adjusting his Sandal*, formerly known as *Cincinnatus*, Roman copy of a Greek original of c. 4 BC. Marble, 161 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 2.6. Jean-Germain Drouais, *Wounded Warrior*, 1785. 125 × 182 cm. Louvre, Paris.

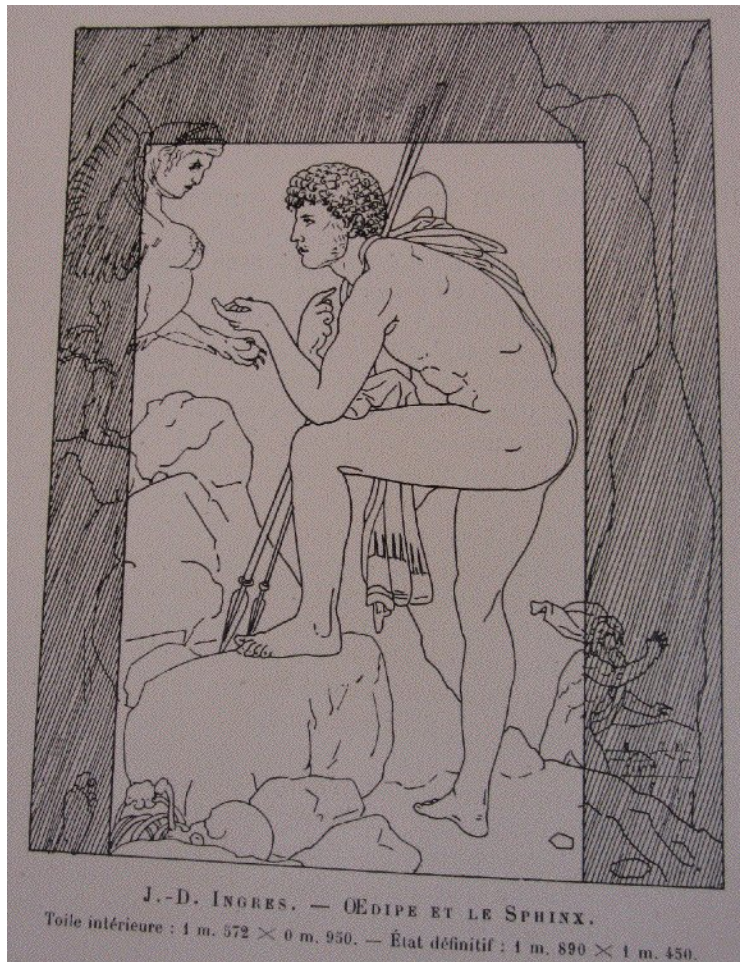


Figure 2.7. Probable 1808 proportions of Ingres's *Oedipus [and the Sphinx]*, in the opinion of curator Paul Jamot. Image taken from Jamot 1920, 58.



Figure 2.8. Ingres, Detail from *Oedipus [and the Sphinx]*, 1827. Cropped in accordance with the 1808 proportions as represented by Paul Jamot in Jamot 1920, 58.



Figure 2.9. David, Detail showing Ingres's 1808 works from "Sketch of the *Envois* from Rome by David's Students in 1808," 1808. Black chalk on paper, 29 x 19 cm. ENSBA, Paris.

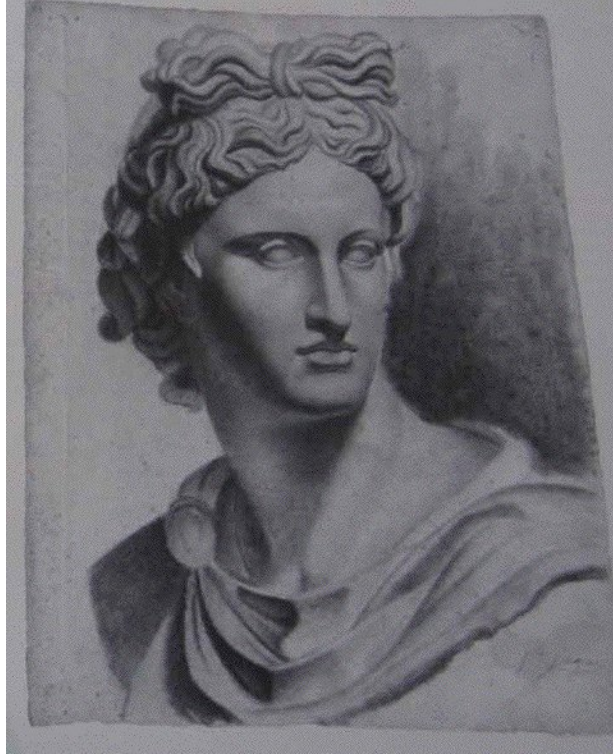


Figure 2.10. Ingres, "Copy of the *Apollo Belvedere*," 1798-1806. Charcoal with stumping, black chalk and graphite on tan paper, 58 x 46 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge.

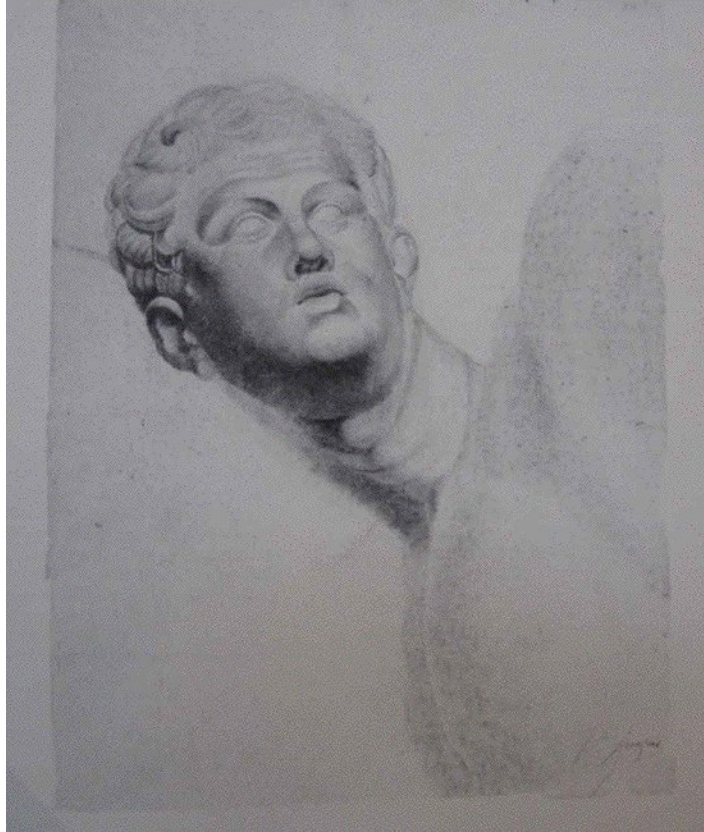


Figure 2.11. Ingres, "Copy of the *Gladiator Borghese*," 1798-1806. Charcoal with stumping on beige paper, 56 x 41 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge.



Figure 2.12. Felix Massard, Engraving after Ingres's drawing of *Apollo Lykeios*, c. 1803. 35 x 28 cm. Published in *Le Musée Français* 1803-1812, Vol. 4, Plate 10.



Figure 2.13. Ingres, "Echo and Narcissus," c. 1804-1806. Graphite and watercolor on paper, 11 x 17 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 2.14. Ingres, "Alexander and Hephaestion," c. 1809-1815. Graphite on tracing paper, 23 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 2.15. Ingres, "Jupiter and Hermes at the House of Philemon and Baucis," c. 1800. Graphite, pen and black ink with grey and brown wash, 30 x 39 cm. Musée Crozatier, Le Puy, France.



Figure 2.16. Ingres, *Madame Paul Sigisbert Moitessier, Seated*, 1856. 120 x 92 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 2.17. Ingres and Studio, "The Wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne," 1835-1840. Ink on tracing paper, 19 x 41 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 2.18. Primato Painter, *Italiote Skyphos with Red Figures*, c. 360-320 BC. Ceramic. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy.



Figure 2.19. Ingres, "Copy of Female Figure from a Vase by the Primato Painter," c. 1814. Graphite on tracing paper, stuck to a page with dimensions 50 x 65 cm, along with 24 other drawings. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 2.20. Ingres, "Copy of the *Farnese Hercules*," c. 1804-1806. Graphite on paper, 29 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 2.21. *Farnese Hercules*, Roman copy of a 4th c. BC Greek original by Lysippos. Marble, 317 cm. high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.



2. Jadis tombe des Nasonii: gravure de Bartoli (Cat. 156)

Figure 2.22. Bartoli, "Oedipus and the Sphinx," printed in 1680. Engraved copy of a now-lost Ancient Roman Wall painting from the Tomb of the Nasonii, Via Flaminia, Rome, painted in second half of the 2nd c. AD. Originally published in *Le Pittore Antiche del Sepolcri de' Nasonii*, 1680. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 77.2.



Rôme, Pal. Mattei (Cat. 160)

Figure 2.23. Cut out panel with decorative details from *Petit Sarcophage avec Guirlandes*, Roman, late 2nd c. AD. Marble. Inserted into the wall of Palazzo Mattei, Rome. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 81.



Figure 2.24. “Oedipus and Sphinx” detail from the *Petit Sarcophage avec Guirlandes* at Palazzo Mattei, Rome. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 82.



Figure 2.25. General View of a Floor Mosaic from a Tomb in the Necropolis of Pinabella, Ostia, Italy, c. 2-3 AD. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 84.1.



Figure 2.26. Detail of “Oedipus and the Sphinx” in Floor Mosaic from a Tomb in the Necropolis of Pinabella. Image reproduced in Moret 1984 II, Plate 84.2.



Figure 2.27. Ingres, *The Ambassadors of Agamemnon*, 1801. 110 x 155 cm. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 2.28. *Ludovisi Ares*. Roman copy after a late 4th c. BC Greek original. Marble, 160 cm. high. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome.

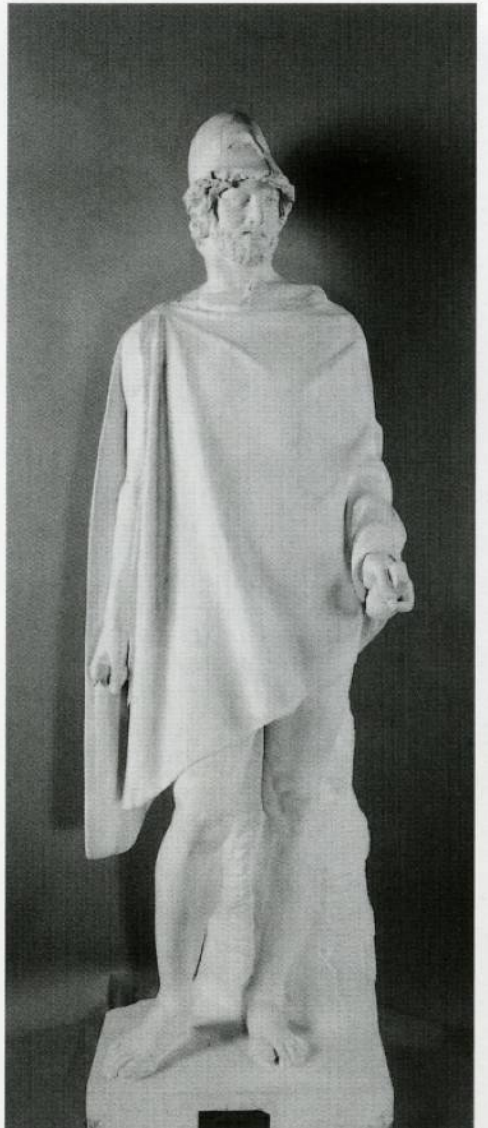


Figure 2.29. Plaster Cast after the Vatican *Phocion*, c. 1838 (?). Plaster and wood, 221 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 2.30. Ingres, "Copy of *Phocion*," c. 1800. Graphite on paper, 27 x 12 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 2.31. Plaster Cast after the *Apollo Sauroctonos*, 18th c. Plaster. Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, UK.



Figure 2.32. Engraving after an Ancient Roman wall painting of “Perseus and Andromeda,” found at Pompeii or Herculaneum. Plate 37 from Volume 4 of the *Antichita di Ercolano*, 1757-1779.



Figure 2.33. Felix Boisselier, “Copie d’après l’Antique: Neptune,” c. 1806. Graphite on paper. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Senlis, France



Figure 2.34. Bartoli, "Figures from the Ara Pacis," Plate 28. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.

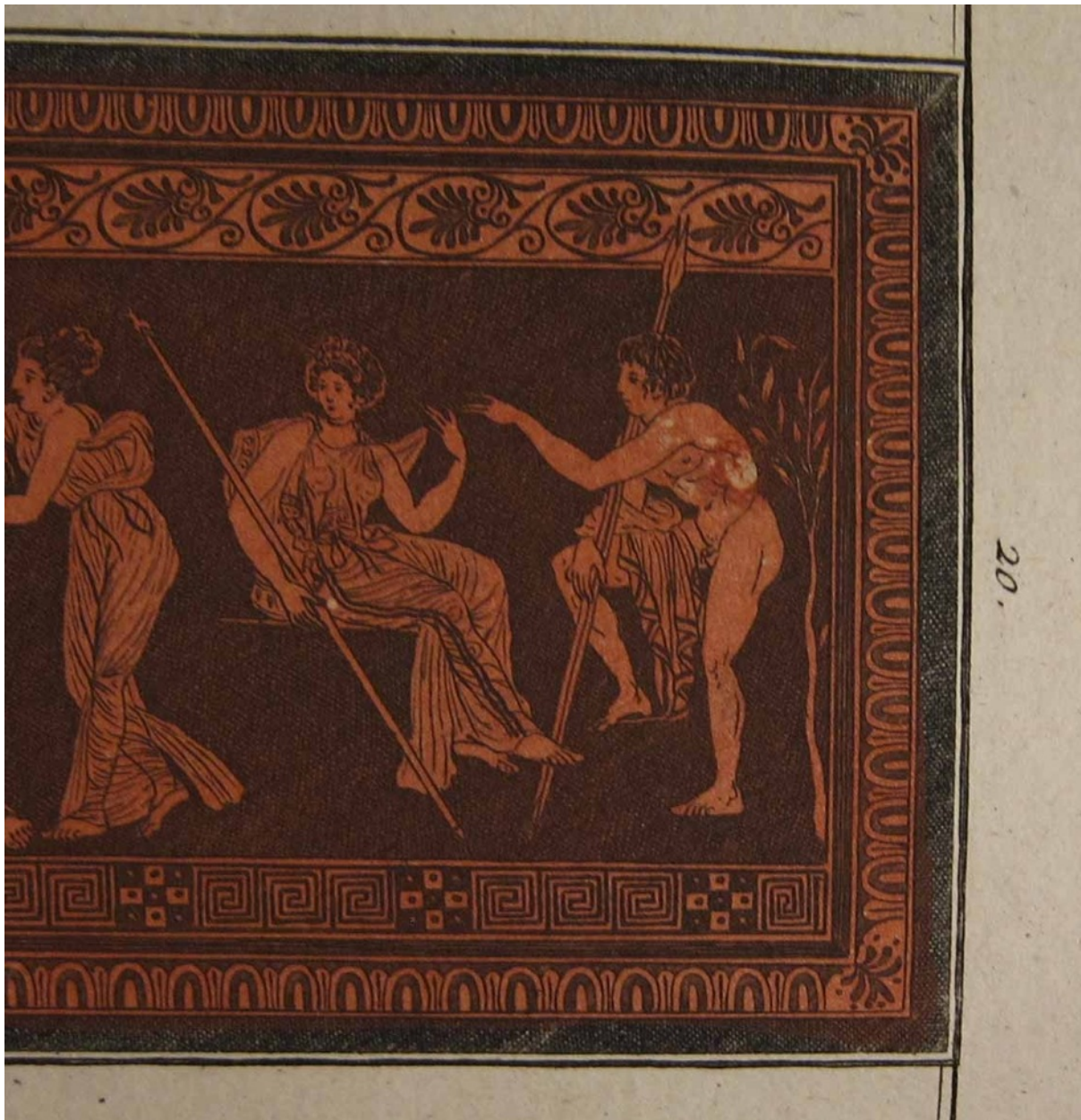


Figure 2.35. F. A. David, Detail of Plate 20 in d' Hancarville, *Antiquité Erusques, grecques et romaines...* 1785-88.

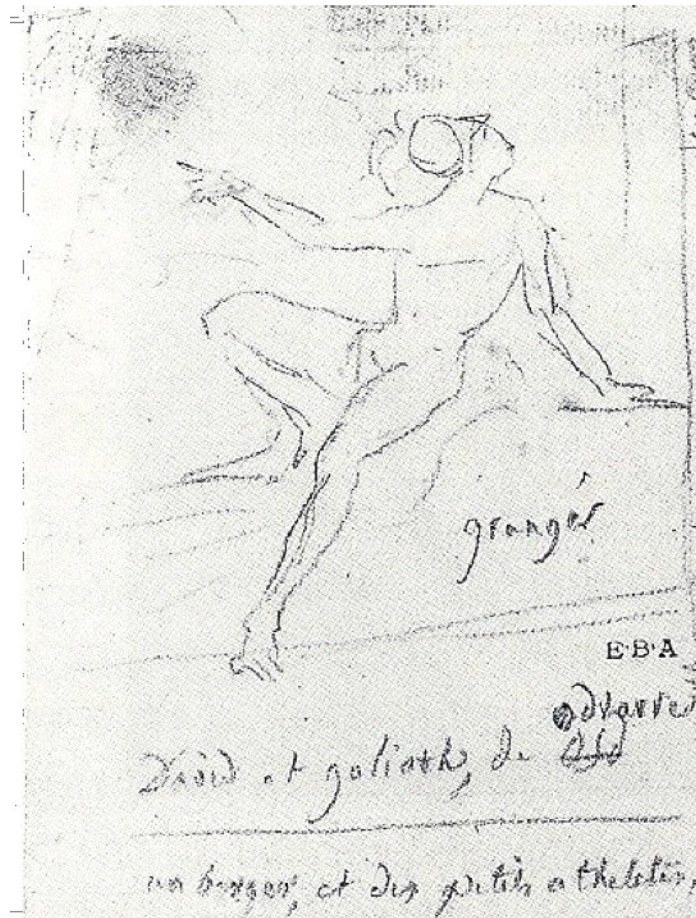


Figure 2.36. David, Detail showing Granger's 1808 *Grecian Warrior* from "Sketch of the *Envois* from Rome by David's Students in 1808," 1808. Black chalk on paper, 29 x 19 cm. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 2.37. Anne-Louis Girodet, *Endymion*, 1791. 198 x 261 cm. Louvre, Paris.

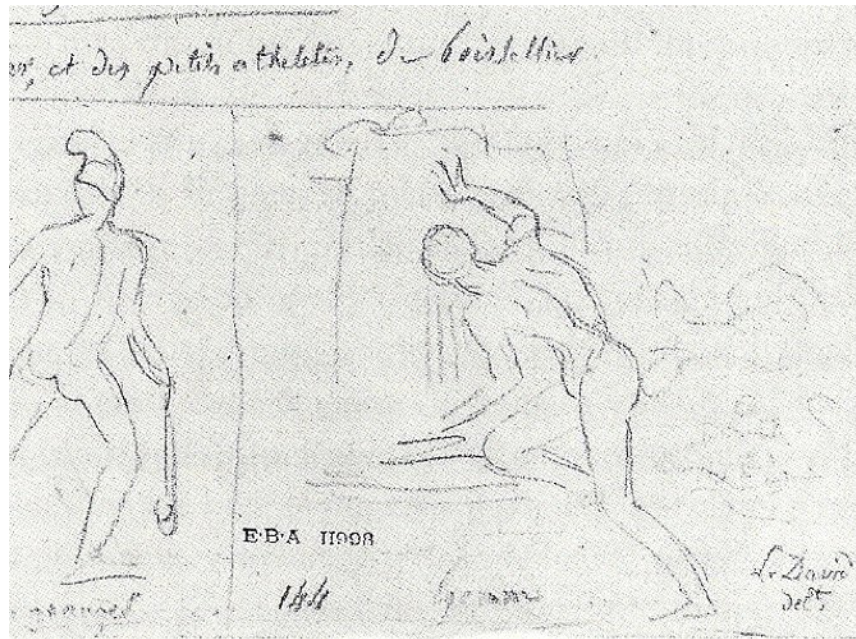


Figure 2.38. David, Detail showing Heim's 1808 *Warrior Drinking from a Fountain* from "Sketch of the Envois from Rome by David's Students in 1808," 1808. Black chalk on paper, 29 x 19 cm. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 2.39. Antoine-Felix Boisselier, *A Shepherd Crying over the Tomb He Erected to His Bee*, 1808. 195 x 146 cm. Private Collection, USA.



Figure 2.40. Ingres, *Mercure*, 1809. Copy after Raphael's work in the loggia of the Villa Farnesina, Rome. 245 x 212 cm. ENSBA, Paris.

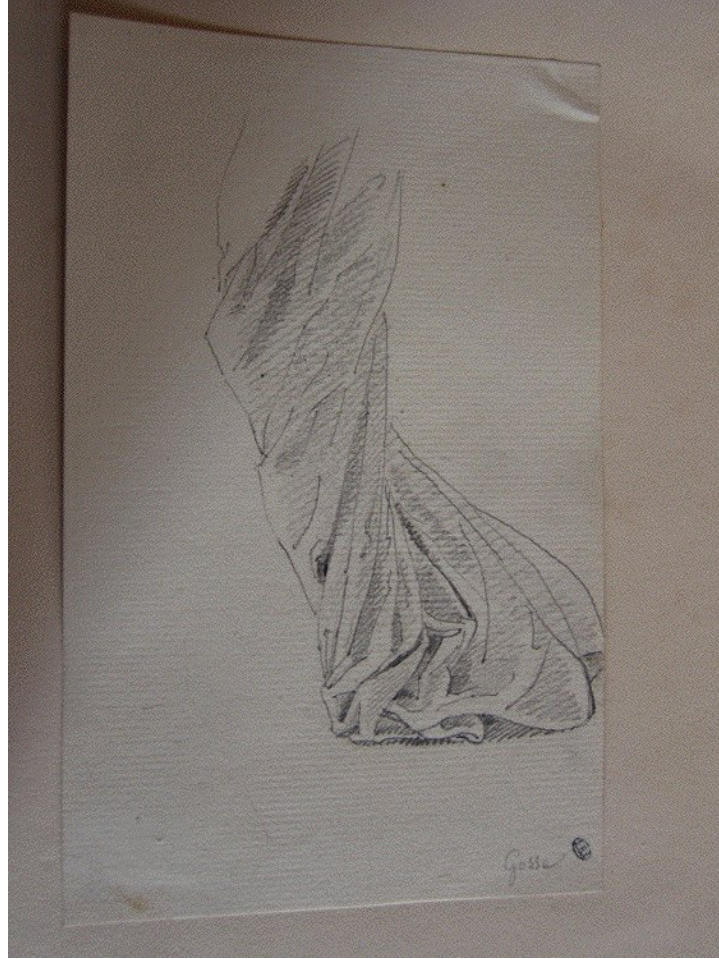


Figure 2.41. Louis-Sylvestre Gasse. "Drapery Study," n.d. Graphite on paper, 17 x 10 cm. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 2.42. Ingres, "Jean-François Ménager," 1806. Graphite on paper, 24 x 18 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 2.43. Ingres, “Auguste Guenepin,” 1809. Graphite on paper, 21 x 16 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



Figure 2.44. Ingres, “Thomas-Charles Naudet,” 1806. Graphite on paper, 24 x 18 cm. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI.



Figure 2.45. Ingres, “François-Marius Granet,” 1809. Graphite on tracing paper, 43 x 32 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 2.46. Figure 2.46. Ingres, "François-Marius Granet, Seated," 1812. Graphite on paper, 28 x 21 cm. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France.



Figure 2.47. Ingres, “Achille Leclère and Jean-Louis Provost,” 1812. Graphite on paper, 31 x 24 cm. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, MA.

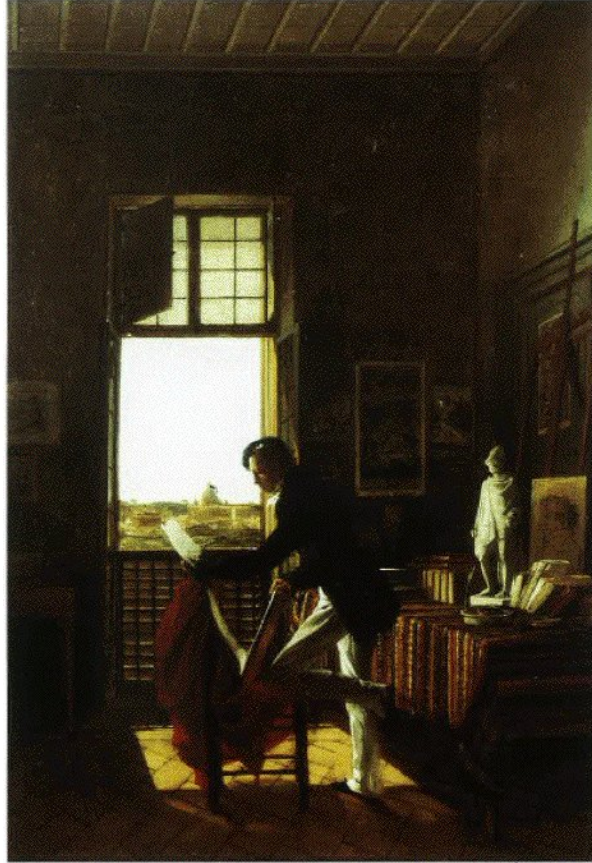


Figure 2.48. Jean Alaux, *Pictot in his Room at the Villa Medici*, 1817. 51 x 36 cm. Private Collection.

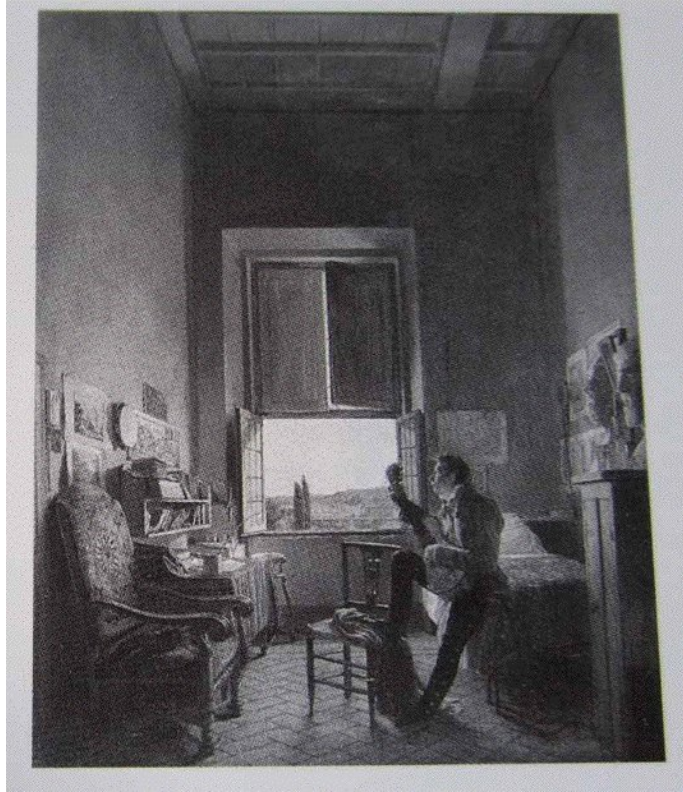


Figure 2.49. Alaux, *Pallière in his Room at the Villa Medici*, c. 1816. Private Collection.



Figure 2.50. Michel-Martin Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot in his Room at the Villa Medici*, c. 1812. 30 x 40 cm. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 2.51. Detail from Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot*.



Figure 2.52. Detail from Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot*.



Figure 2.53. Detail from Drolling, *Portrait of J.N. Huyot*.



Figure 2.54. Jean-Nicolas Huyot, Detail from *The Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, Envoi de Rome*, 1811. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 2.55. Auguste Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.

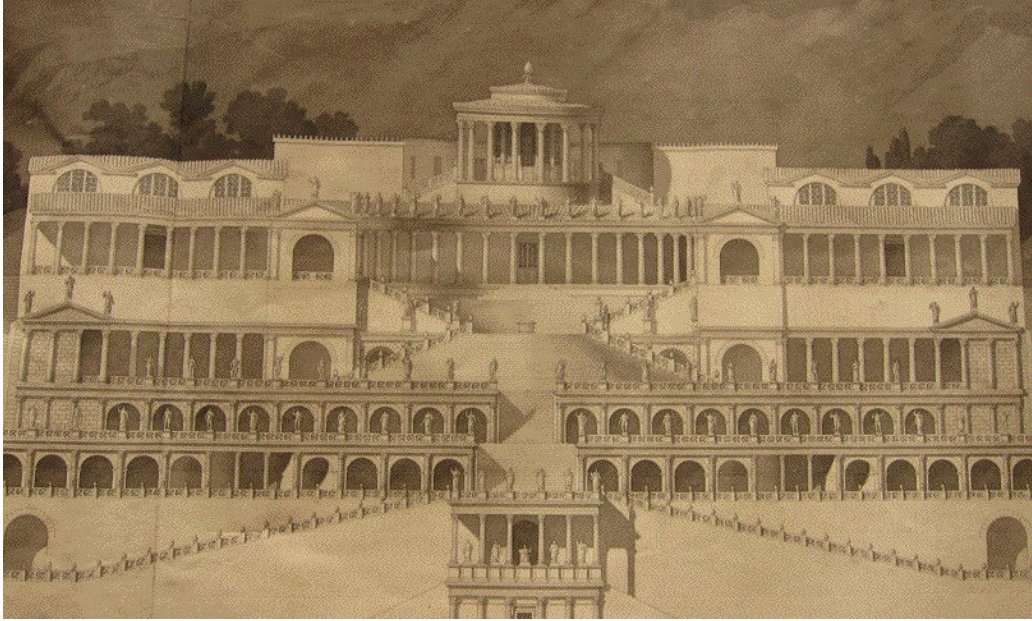


Figure 2.56. Huyot, Detail from *The Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, Envoi de Rome*, 1811. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.

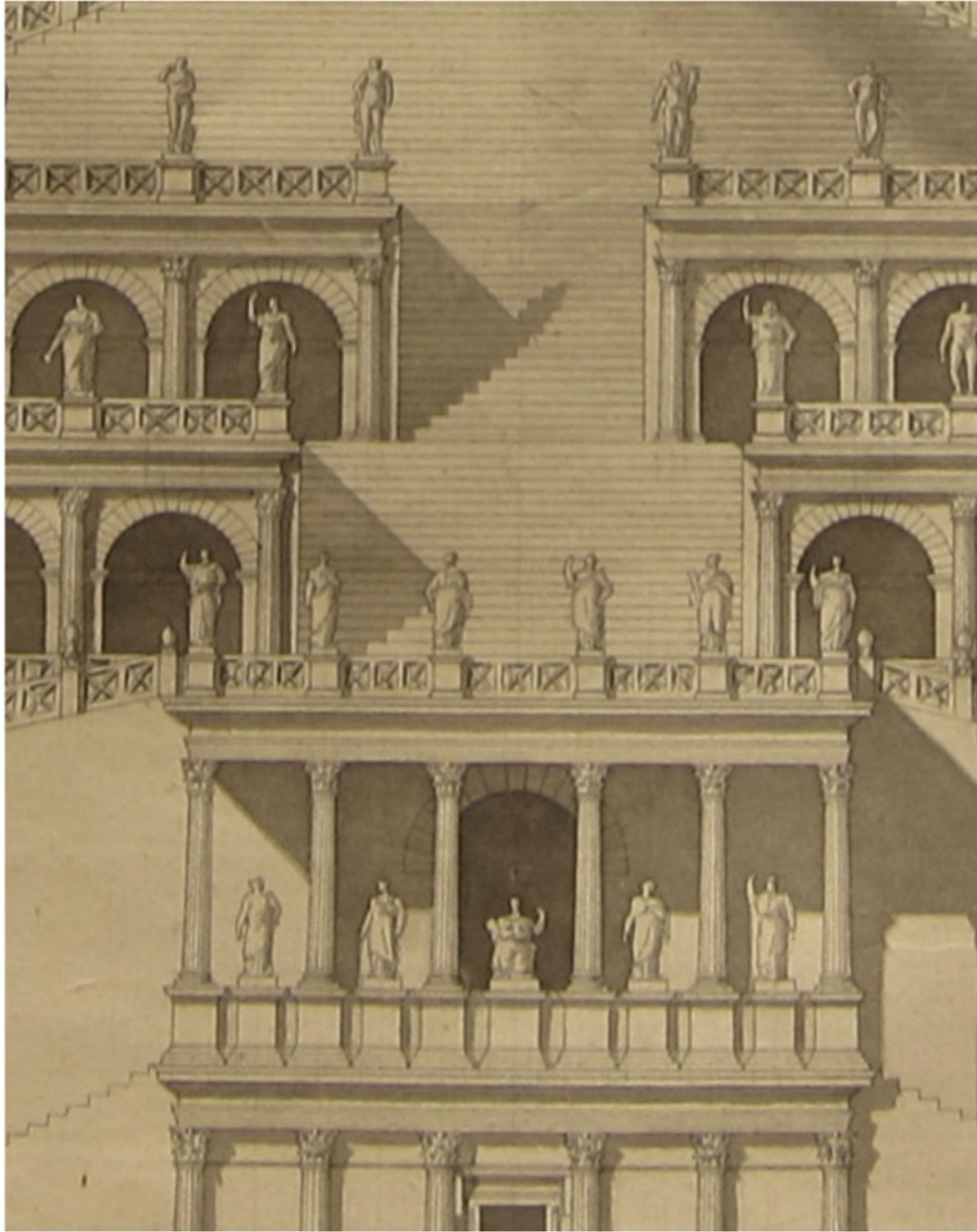


Figure 2.57. Huyot, Detail from *The Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, Envoi de Rome*, 1811.



Figure 2.58. Contemporary photograph of the Roman Forum, c. 2011.



Figure 2.59. Contemporary photograph of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina on the Roman Forum, c. 2013.



Figure 2.60. Luigi Rossini, "Altra Veduta del Monte Palatino e parte del Foro Romano," 1828. Ink and wash on paper, 53 x 71 cm. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome.



Figure 2.61. Jean-François Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.

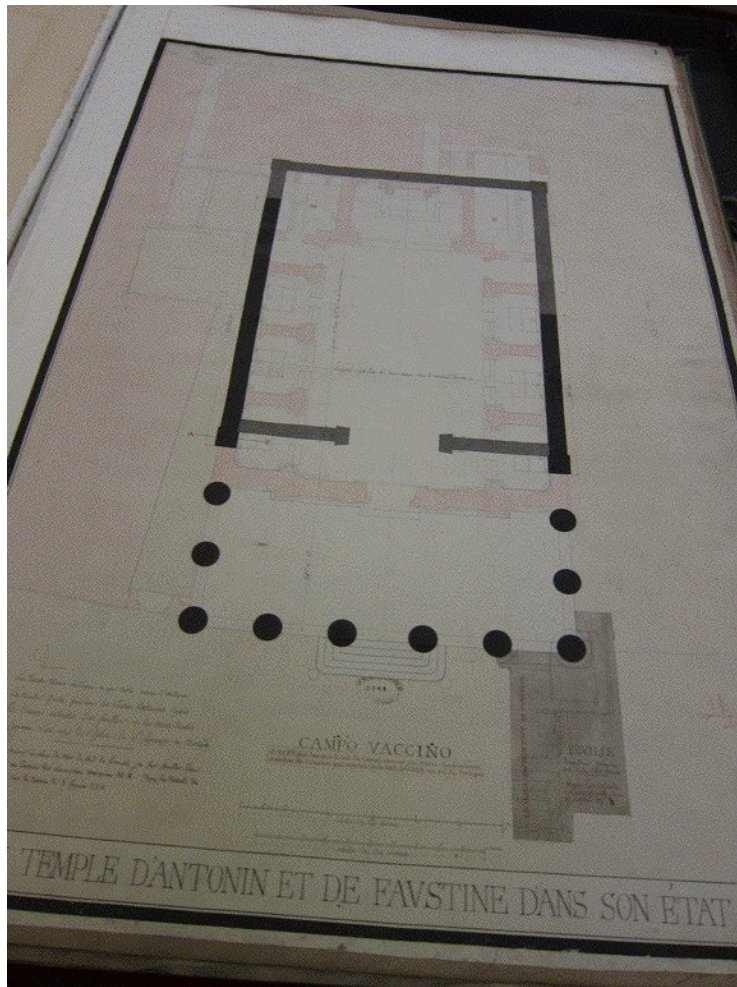


Figure 2.62. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.

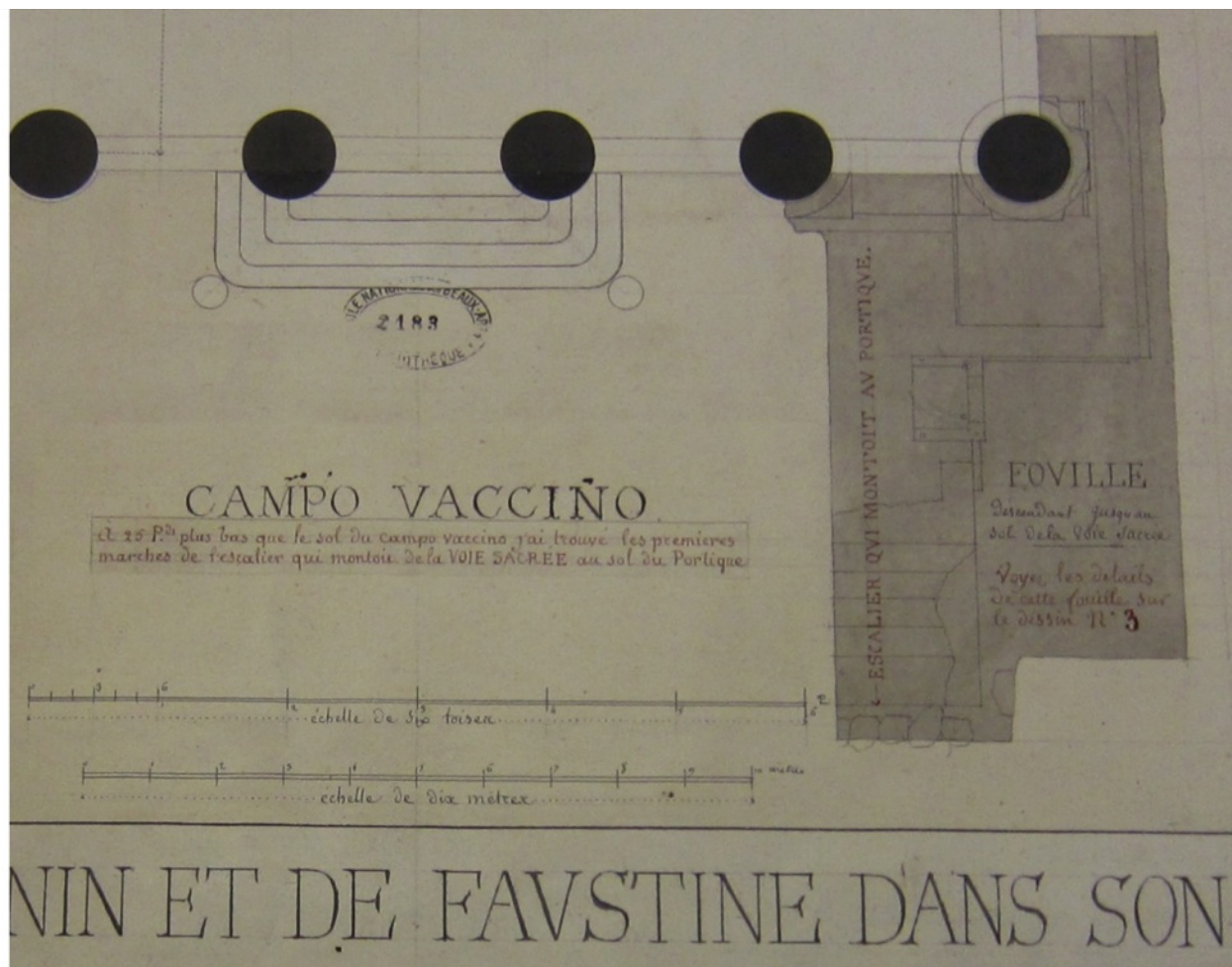


Figure 2.63. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.

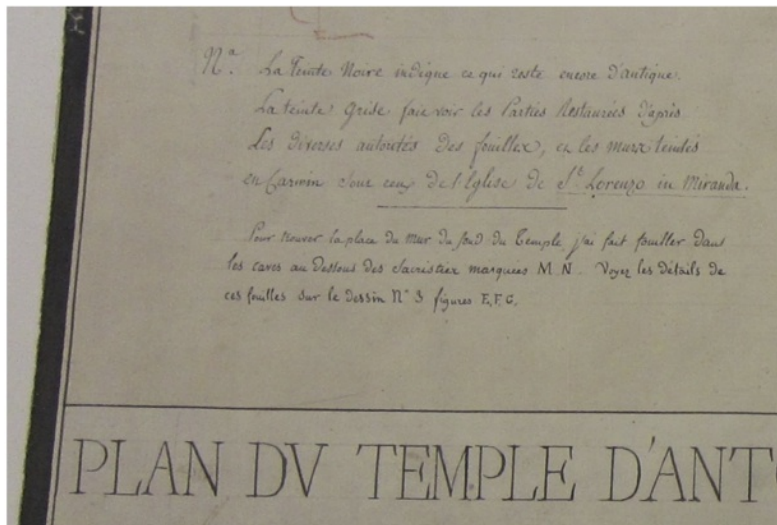


Figure 2.64. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.



Figure 2.65. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.



Figure 2.66. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.

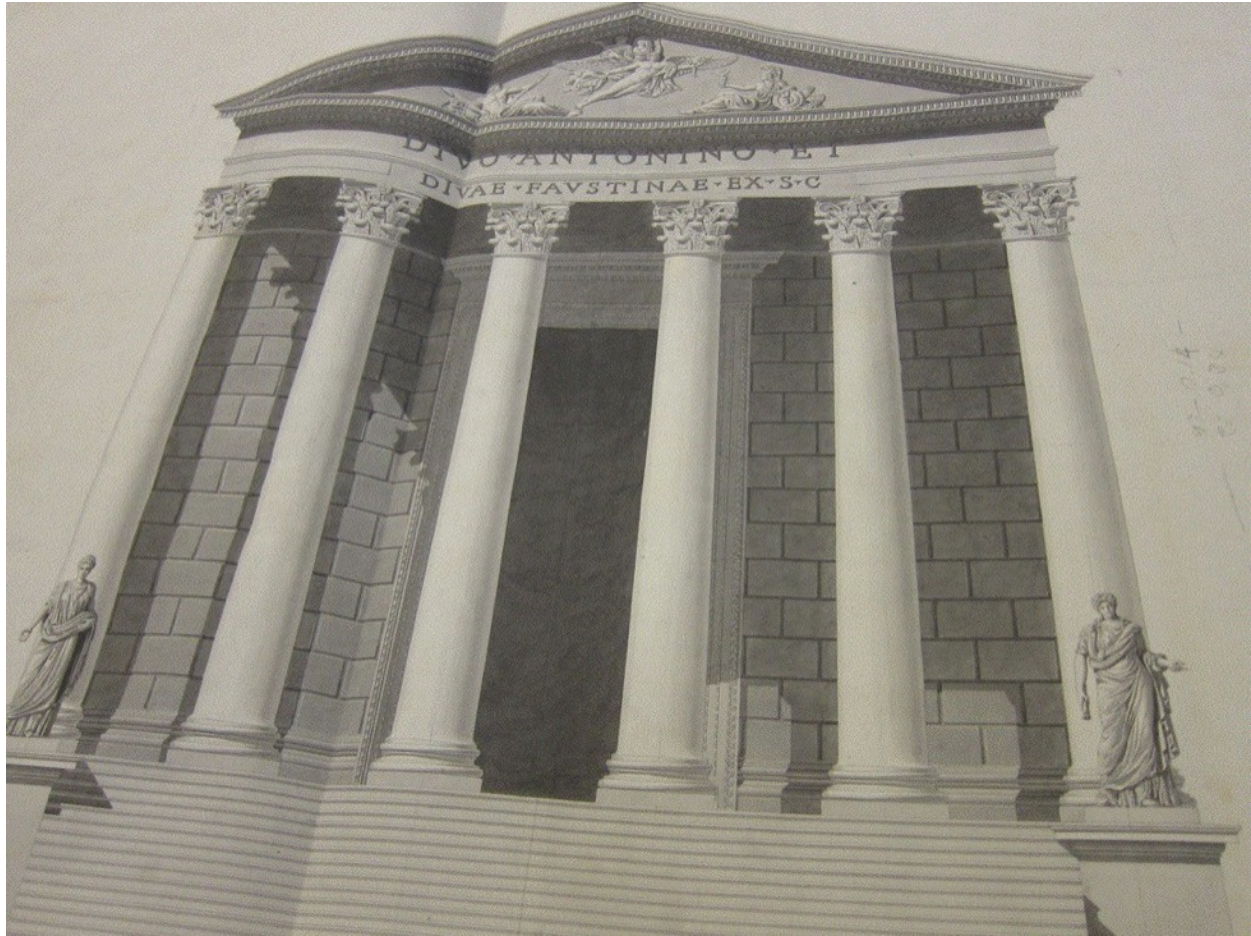


Figure 2.67. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.



Figure 2.68. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.



Figure 2.69. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.



Figure 2.70. Luigi Rossini, "Arch of Titus," c. 1813. Engraving, Plate 13 from *Cinquanta Principali Vedute di Roma*, 1818.



Figure 2.71. Contemporary photograph of the Arch of Titus, c. 2011. Roman Forum, Rome.

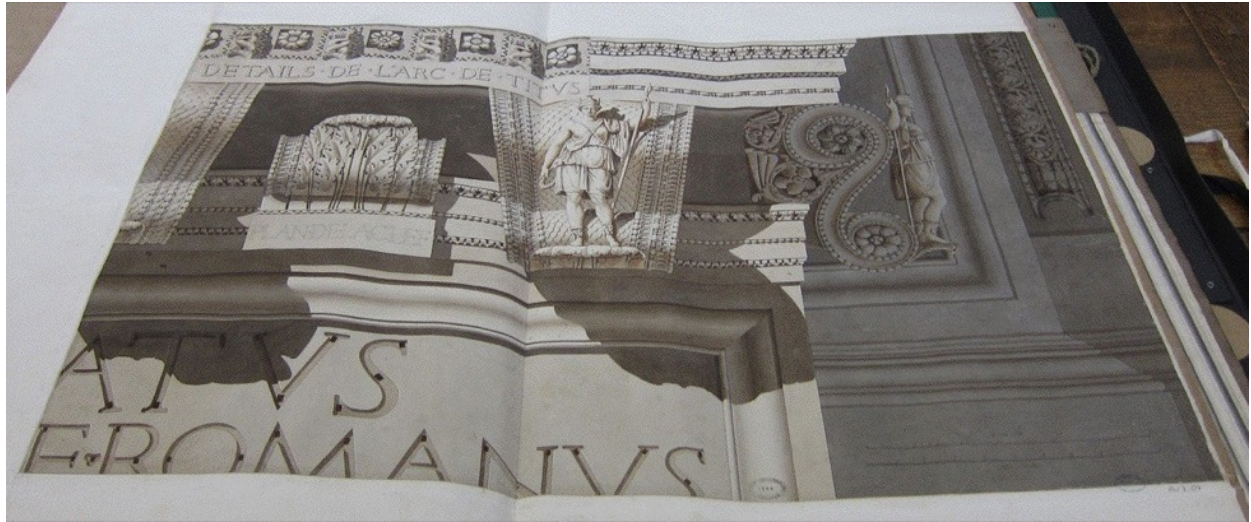


Figure 2.72. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.



Figure 2.73. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.

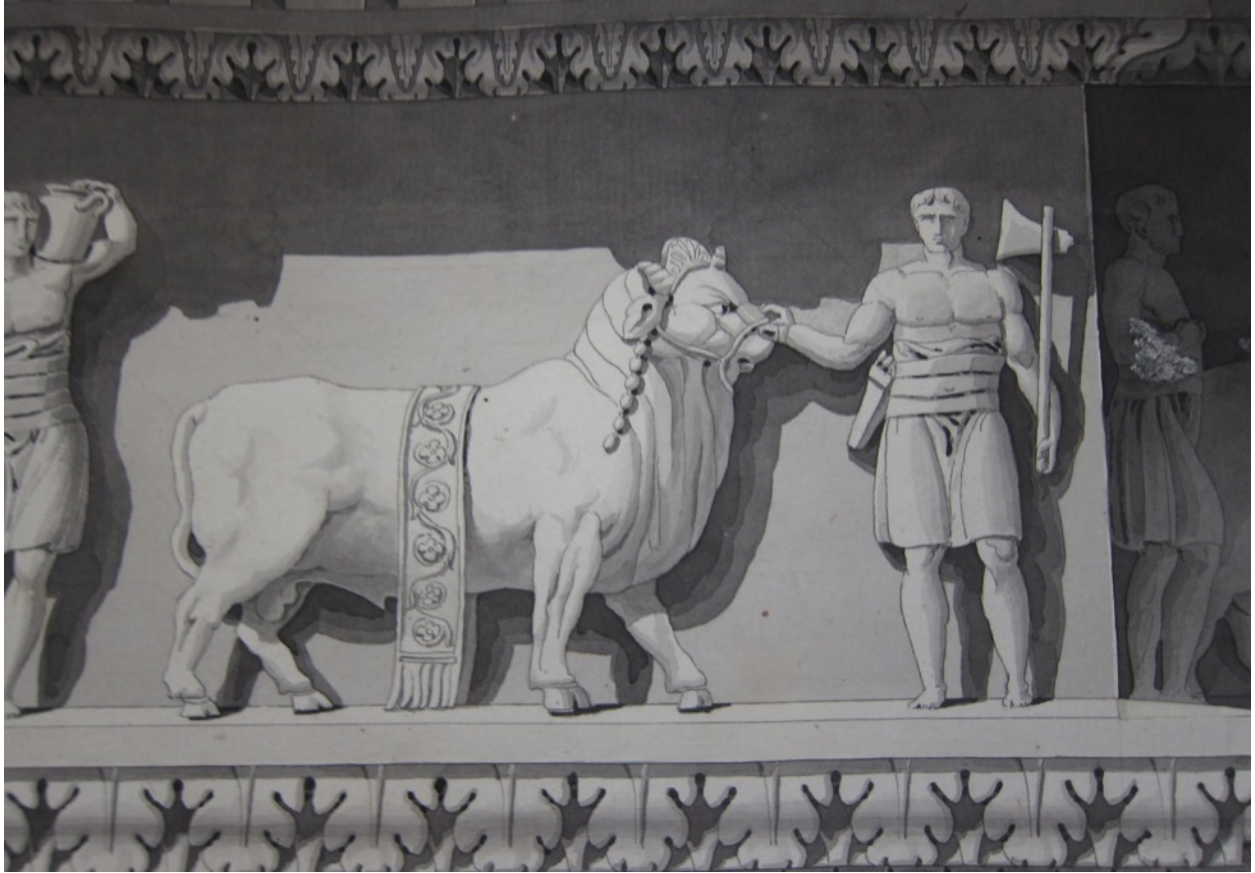


Figure 2.74. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.

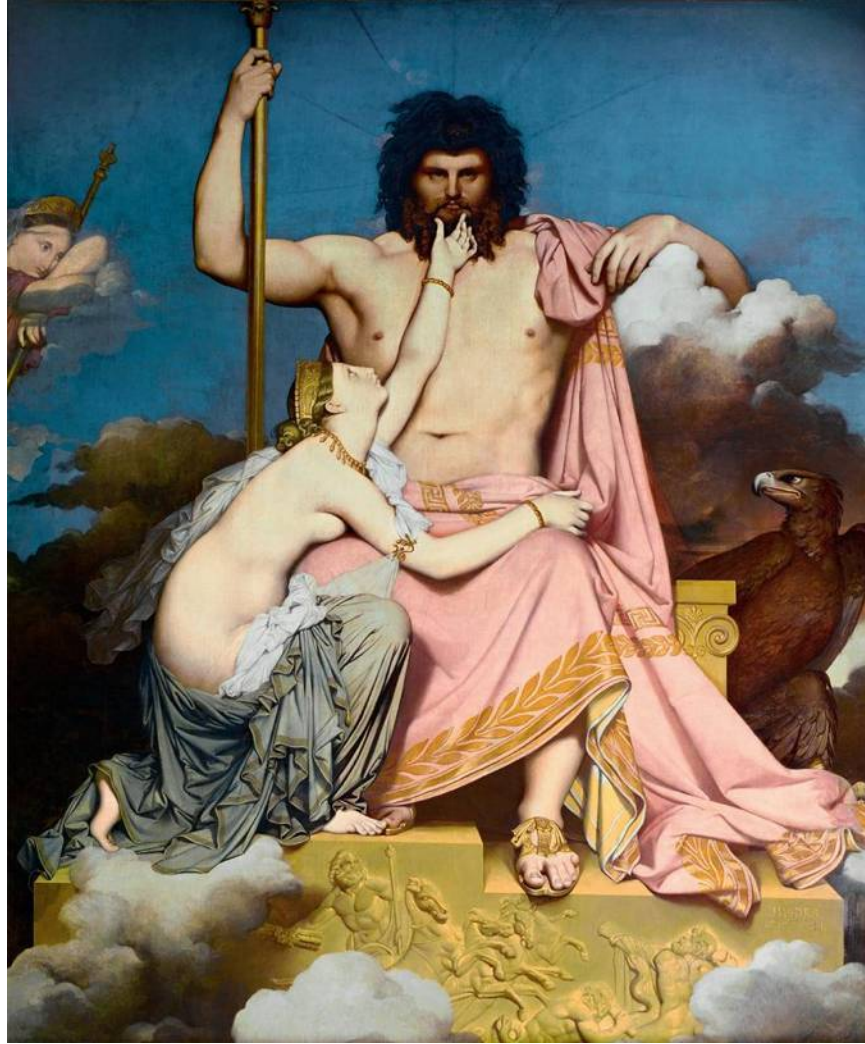


Figure 2.75. Ingres, *Jupiter and Thetis*, 1811. 327 x 260 cm. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.

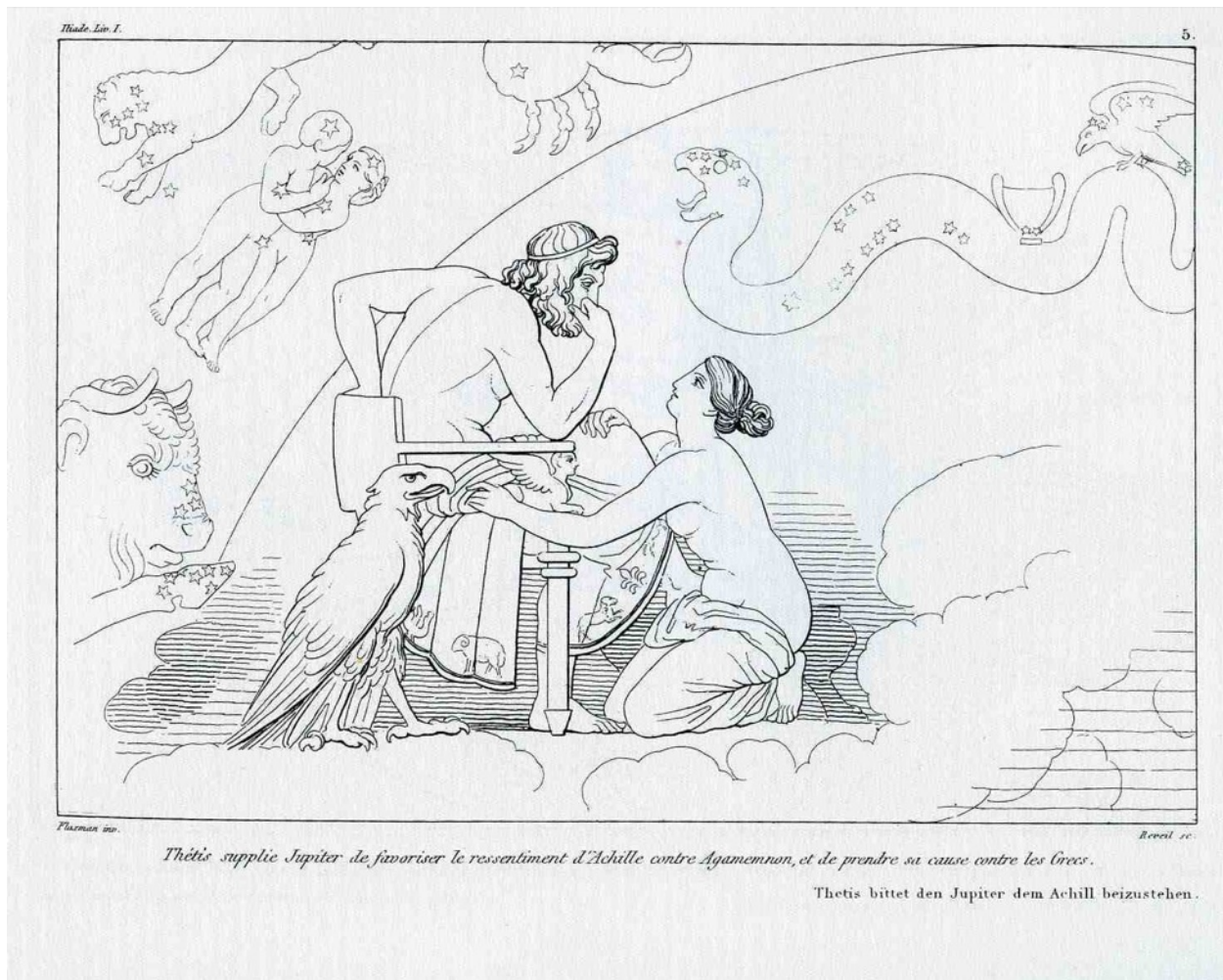


Figure 2.76. Thomas Piroli after a drawing by John Flaxman, “*Thétis supplie Jupiter....*” Engraving, 17 x 24 cm. Printed in *L’Iliade d’Homere*, 1845. Arthur and Janet C. Ross Library, American Academy in Rome, Rome.

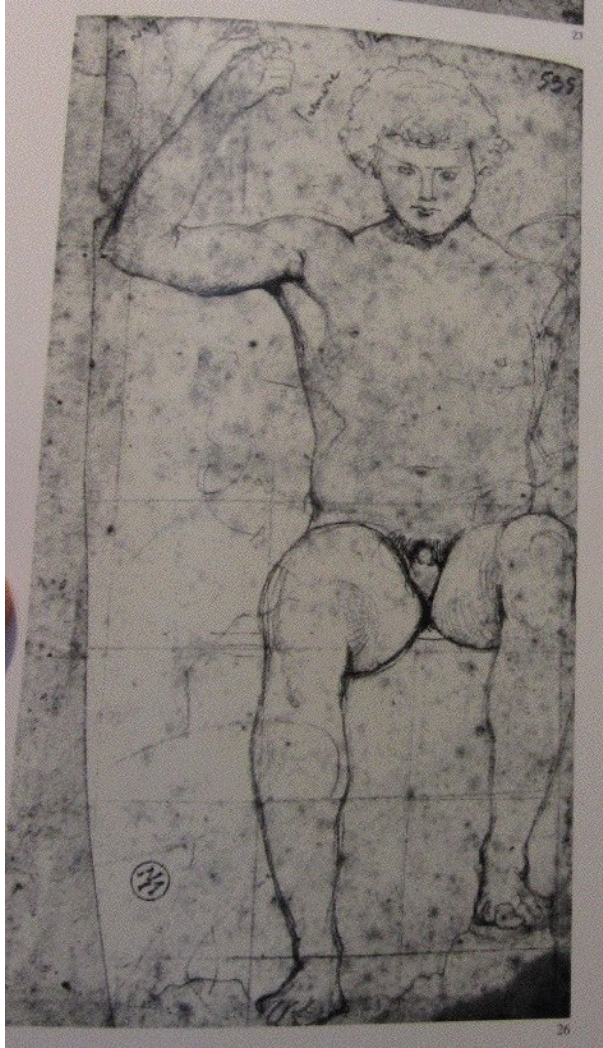


Figure 2.77. Ingres, "Jupiter," c. 1809-1811. Graphite on paper, 21 x 12 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.





Figure 2.79. Bartoli, Detail of “Jupiter Enthroned,” Plate 27. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.

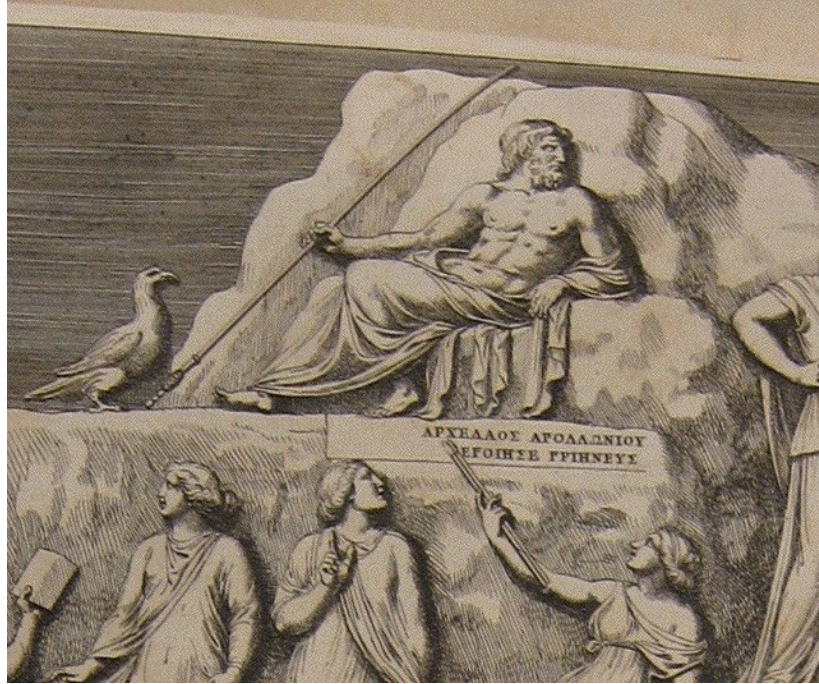


Figure 2.80. Bartoli, Detail of “Jupiter Enthroned,” Plate 81. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.



Figure 2.81. Thomas Piroli after a drawing by John Flaxman, “Council of Jupiter, Minerva, and Mercury,” 1805. Etching, 17 x 24 cm. Printed in *The Odyssey of Homer*, 1805. The Tate Britain, London.



Figure 2.82. Ménager, Detail from *The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Roman Forum, Envoi de Rome*, 1809-1810.



Figure 2.83. Achille Leclère, Detail from *The Pantheon, Envoi de Rome*, 1813. Ink and wash on paper. ENSBA, Paris.

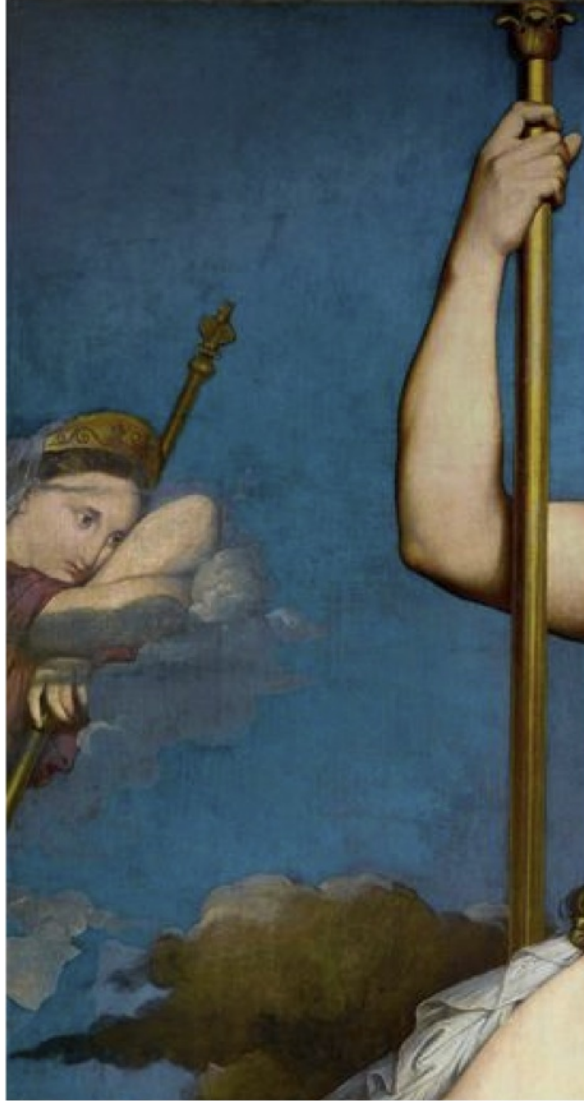


Figure 2.84. Detail from Ingres, *Jupiter and Thetis*, 1811.



Figure 2.85. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.



Figure 2.86. Detail from Ingres, *Jupiter and Thetis*, 1811.



Figure 2.87. Guenepin, Detail from *The Arch of Titus, Envoi de Rome*, 1809.

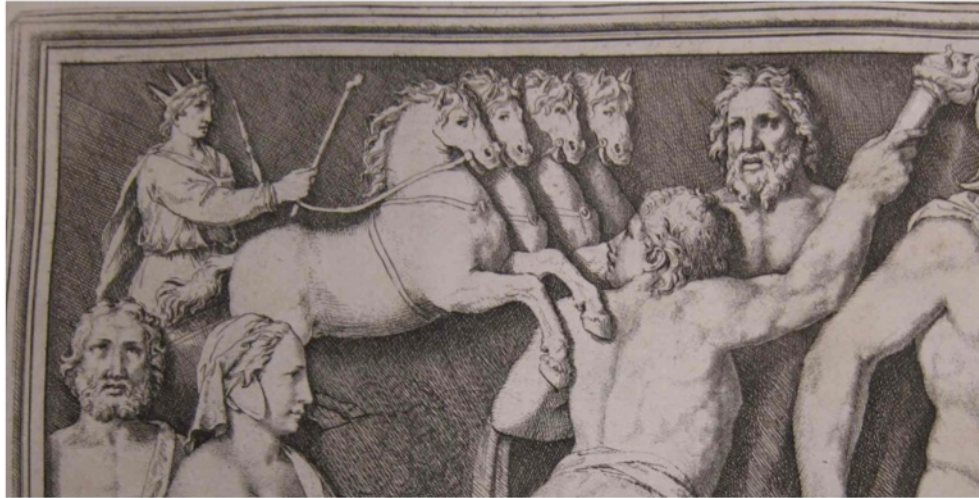


Figure 2.88. Bartoli, Detail of “Gods at War,” Plate 22. Engraving. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.



Figure 2.89. David d'Angers, *Thetis [Bringing Arms to Achilles]*, 1815. Plaster, 105 cm. high. Musée Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, Angers, France.



Figure 2.90. Bartoli, “Marcus Aurelius Arriving in Syria,” Plate 7. Engraving copied from a bas-relief in the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.



Figure 2.91. Bartoli, Image of “Clementia,” Plate 12. Engraving copied from a bas-relief in the Medici Gardens, Rome. Printed in Bellori, *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum...* 1693.



Figure 2.92. “Woman Uncovering the Phallus,” from fresco covering the East Wall of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries, c. 60-40 BC. Pompeii, Bay of Naples, Italy.



Figure 2.93. Drawing of an Antique “Cameo with uncovering of mask.” Original cameo located at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Reproduced in Gazda 2000, 91 as “After Bieber, 1928, fig. 8.”



Figure 2.94. “Campania Relief with Uncovering of the Phallus.” Bas-relief in the collection of the Louvre, Paris. Reproduced in Gazda 2000, 86 as “After Sauron 1998, fig. 20.”



Figure 2.95. Engraving after an Ancient Roman wall painting of “The Ascanian River Nymphs Abducting Hylas,” found at Pompeii or Herculaneum. Page 31 from Volume 4 of the *Antichita di Ercolano*, 1757-1779.



Figure 2.96. Engraving after an Ancient Roman wall painting of “The Actor as King,” found at Pompeii or Herculaneum. Plate 41 from Volume 4 of the *Antichita di Ercolano*, 1757-1779.

Chapter 3.  
Sculptural Transgressions and Contour



Figure 3.1. François-Dominique Aimée Milhomme, *Copy of the Borghese Hermaphrodite*, 1808. Marble. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille.



Figure 3.2. David, *The Death of Joseph Bara*, 1794. 119 x 156 cm. Musée Calvet, Avignon, France.



Figure 3.3. Joseph-Charles Marin, *La Baigneuse*, 1808. Marble, 147 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.4. *Sleeping Cupid*, 1635-1640. Based on a Hellenistic Original. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 3.5. Milhomme, *General Hoche*, 1808. Marble, 192 cm. high. Musée du Château de Versailles, France.

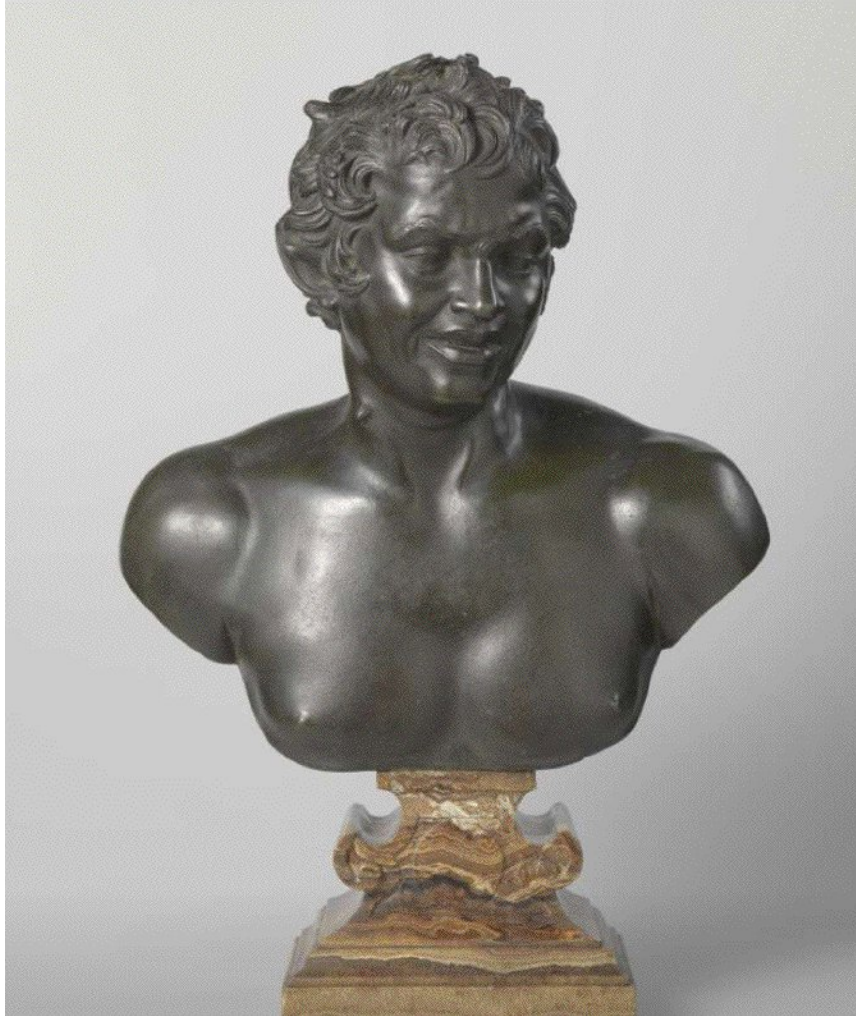


Figure 3.6. Luigi Valadier and Studio, Copy of the so-called *Albani Faun*, c. 1775-1780. Ancient Roman “Albani Faun” was probably copied from a bronze Greek original of the late 4th c. BC. Bronze, 58 cm. high. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 3.7. Clodion, *Satyr and Bacchante*, 1780. Terracotta, 48 cm. high. Detroit Institute of the Arts, Michigan.



Figure 3.8. Marin, *Oedipe et Antigone*, 1805-6. Terracotta, 15 cm. high. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon.



Figure 3.9. Marin, *La Charité Romaine*, 1807. Terracotta, 16 cm. high. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon.



Figure 3.10. Marin, *Telemachus as a Shepherd, Prisoner of King Sesostris*, 1811. Marble. Château de Fontainebleau, France.

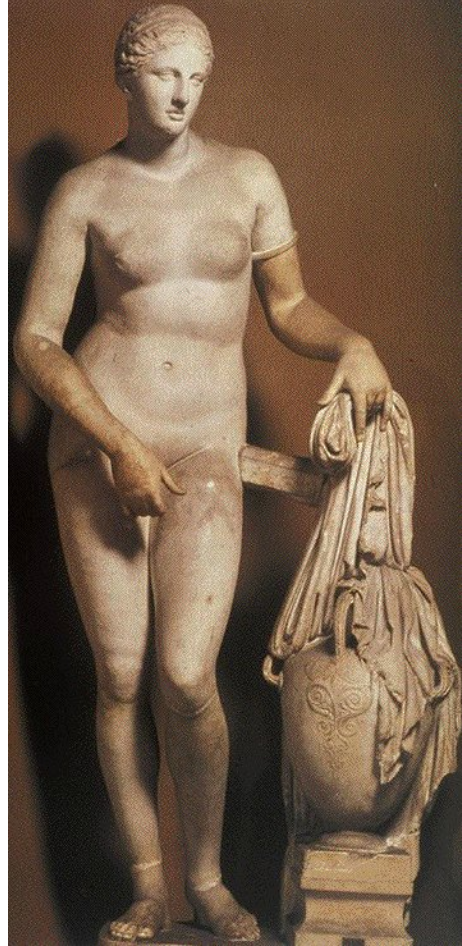


Figure 3.11. *Standing Venus*, Possible Roman copy of the Cnidian Aphrodite, c. 2 AD. Marble, 250 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican..

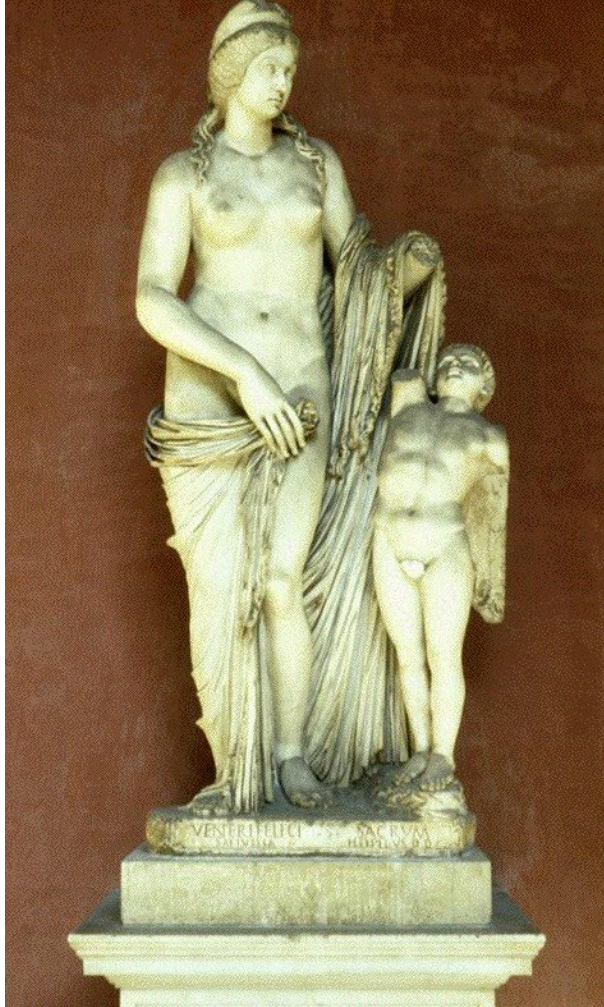


Figure 3.12. *Venus Felix*, Possible Imperial portrait of the younger Faustina-as-Venus, c. 2 AD. Marble, 214 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican.

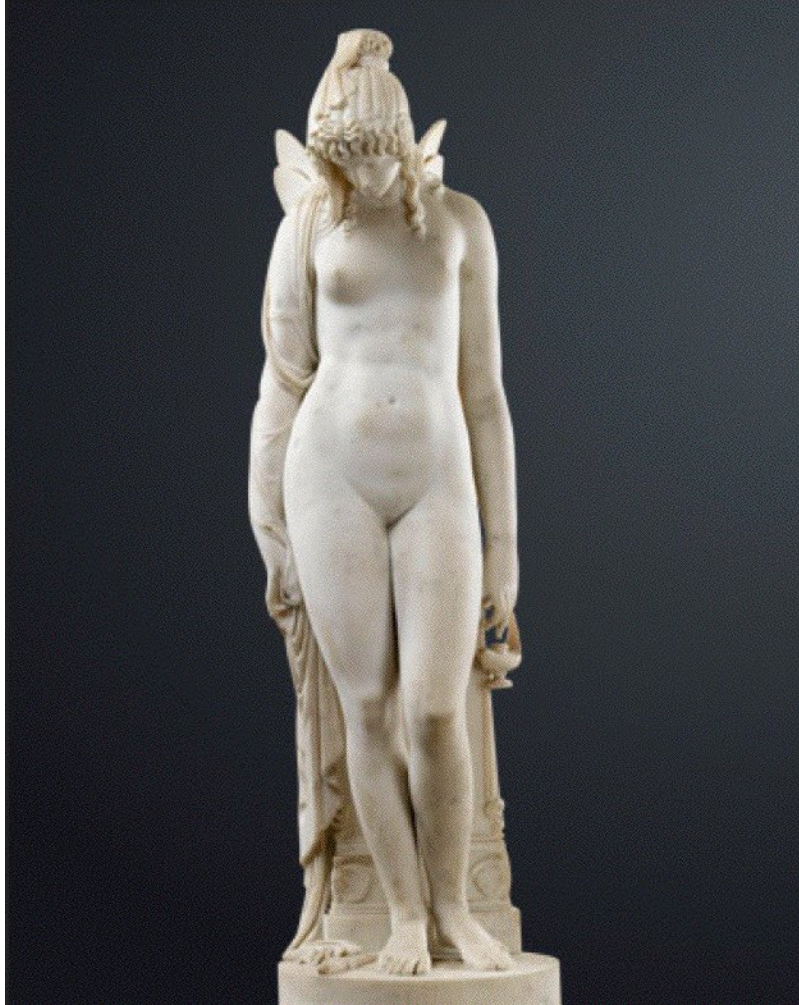


Figure 3.13. Milhomme, *Psyche Abandoned*, 1805. Marble, 215 cm. high. Château de Compiègne, France.

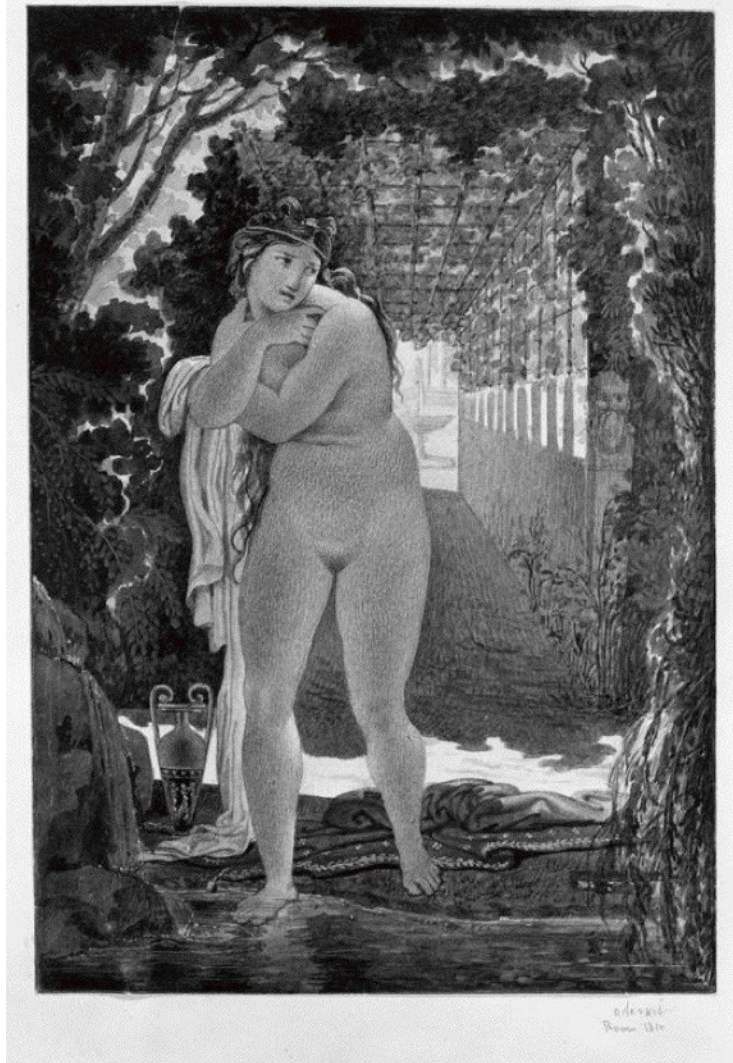


Figure 3.14. Joseph Odevaere, "A Woman Bathing (or Bathsheba)," 1810. Watercolor over graphite with metallic gold detail on paper, 18 x 12 cm. Leclère Album, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.



Figure 3.15. Jérôme-Martin Langlois, *Cassandra*, 1810. 180 x 193 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chambéry, France.



Figure 3.16. David d'Angers, *Othryades Blessée à Mort Ecrivant sur Son Bouclier*, 1810. Plaster, 94 cm. high. Musée David d'Angers, Angers, France.

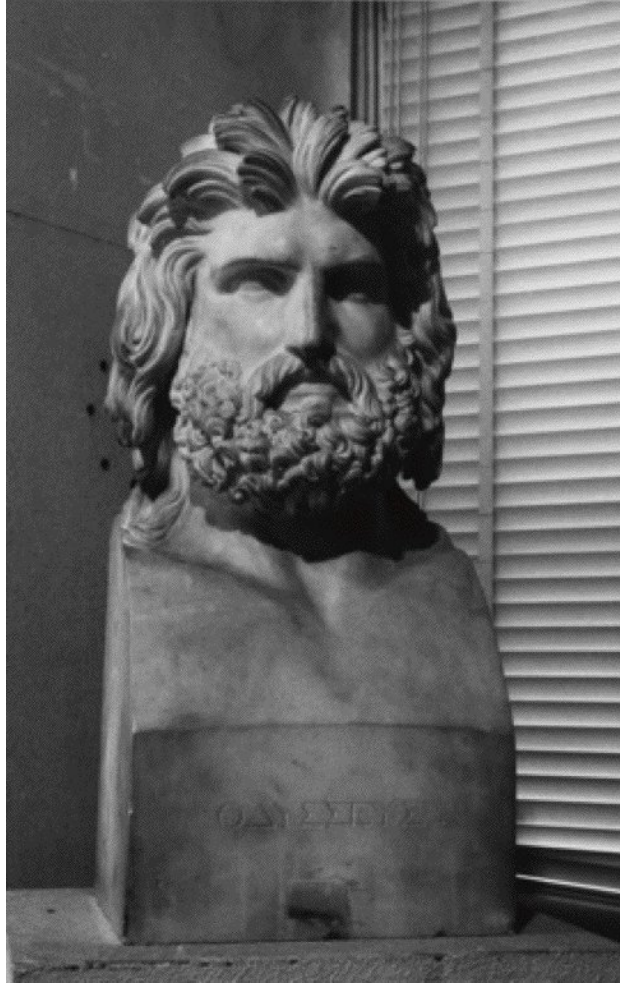


Figure 3.17. David d'Angers, *Ulysses*, 1812. Marble, 64 cm. high. Musée David d'Angers, Angers.



Figure 3.18. David d'Angers, *Jeune Berger/Narcisse*, 1816. Marble, 150 cm. high. Musée David d'Angers, Angers.



Figure 3.19. Jean-Pierre Granger, *Ganymède*, c. 1810. 176 x 112 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux.



Figure 3.20. *Ganymede*, Roman copy, 2nd c. AD, after a Greek original of the late 4th c. BC. Marble. Vatican Museums, Vatican.



Figure 3.21. Ingres, "Nereid," n.d. Graphite on paper. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 3.22. Jean Pierre Cortot, "Diane et Endymion," n.d. Graphite on paper, 17 x 21 cm. Folio 12, Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.23. Ingres, "Warrior and Amazon," c. 1811. After a bas-relief by Jules Auguste. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 25 x 25 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.



Figure 3.24. Ingres, *Romulus, Victor over Acron*, 1812. Tempera on canvas, 276 x 530 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.25. Cortot, "Pyrame et Thisbé," n.d. Graphite on tracing paper, 18 x 21 cm. Folio 19, Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.26. Cortot, “Orphée Emmenant Eurydice,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 12 x 14 cm. Folio 24, Album Ingres, Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.27. Cortot, “Entrevue de S. M. Ferdinand VII et de S. A. R. Mgr. le duc d'Angoulême,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 18 x 30 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.28. Jacques-Louis David, *The Intervention of the Sabines*, 1799. 385 x 522 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 3.29. David, *The Love of Paris and Helen*, 1788. 146 x 181 cm. Louvre, Paris.

Chapter 4.  
Ingres and Invention of the Female *Académie*



Figure 4.1. David, *Académie, the so-called "Patroclus,"* 1780. 122 x 170 cm. Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg, France.

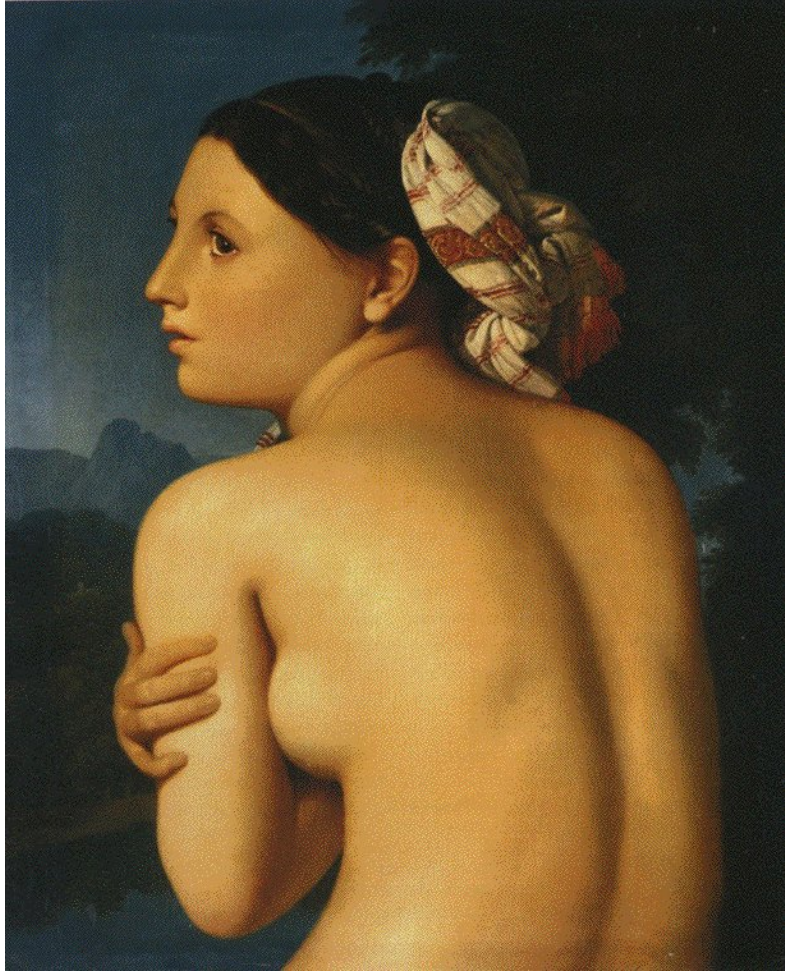


Figure 4.2. Ingres, *Half-Bather*, 1807-1808. 51 x 43 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

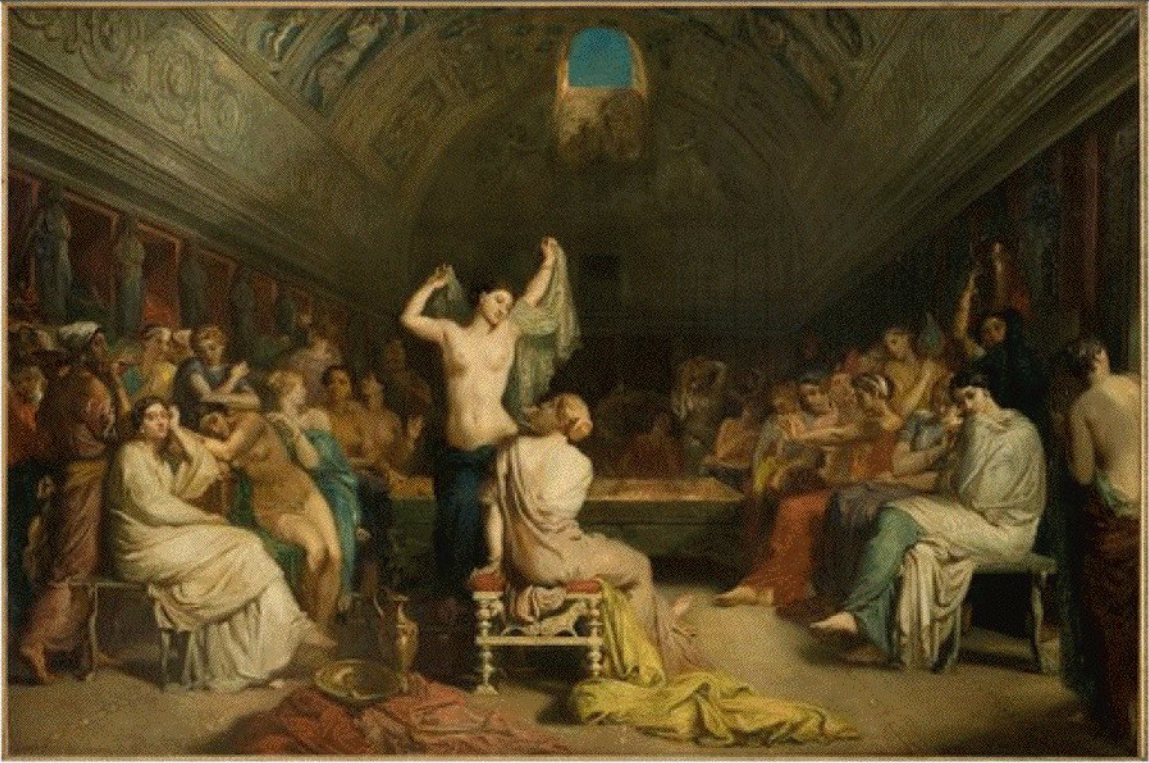


Figure 4.3. Théodore Chassériau, *Le Tepidarium*, 1853. 171 x 258 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

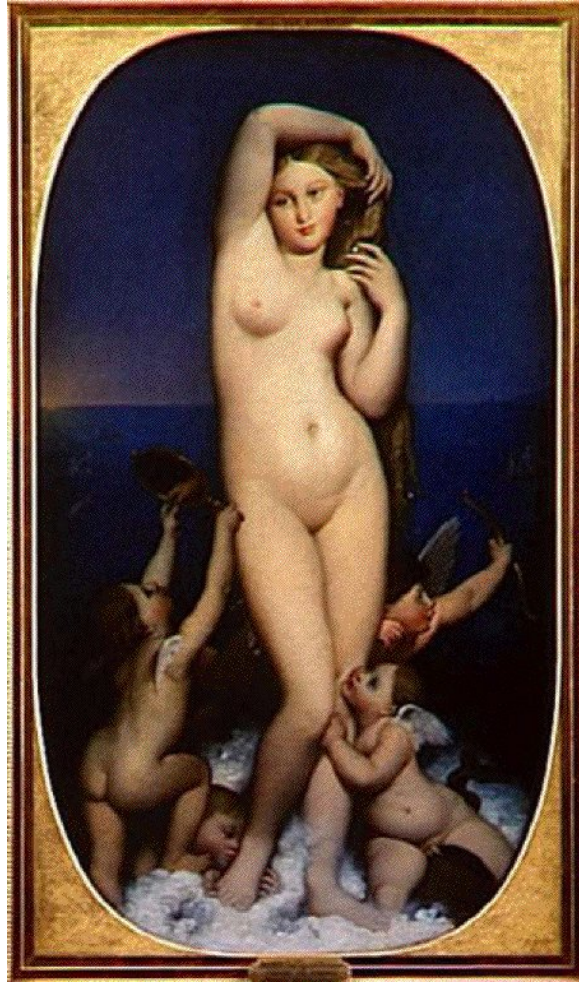


Figure 4.4. Ingres, *Venus Anadyomene*, 1807-1848. 163 x 92 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly.

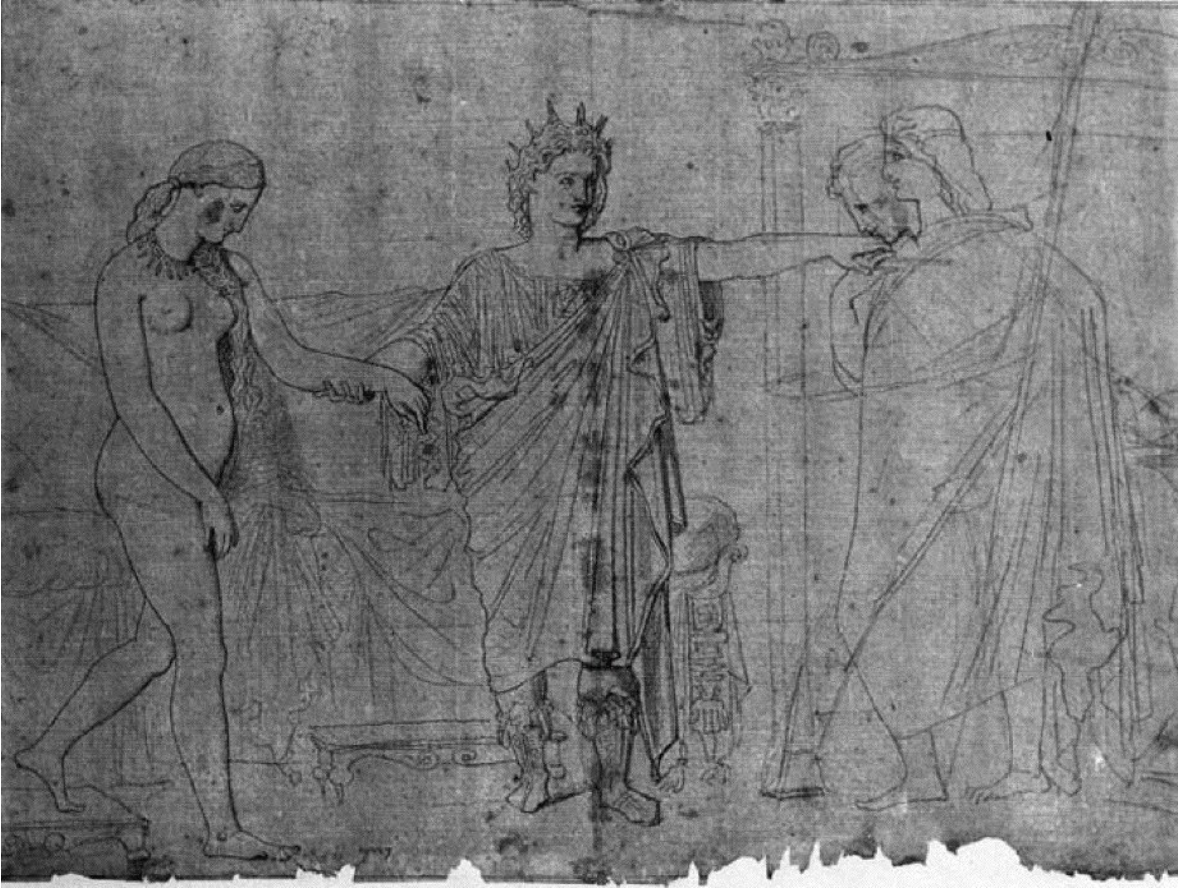


Figure 4.5. Ingres, “Alexandre Cédant Campaspe à Apelle,” c. 1804-1806. Graphite on paper, 25 x 35 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

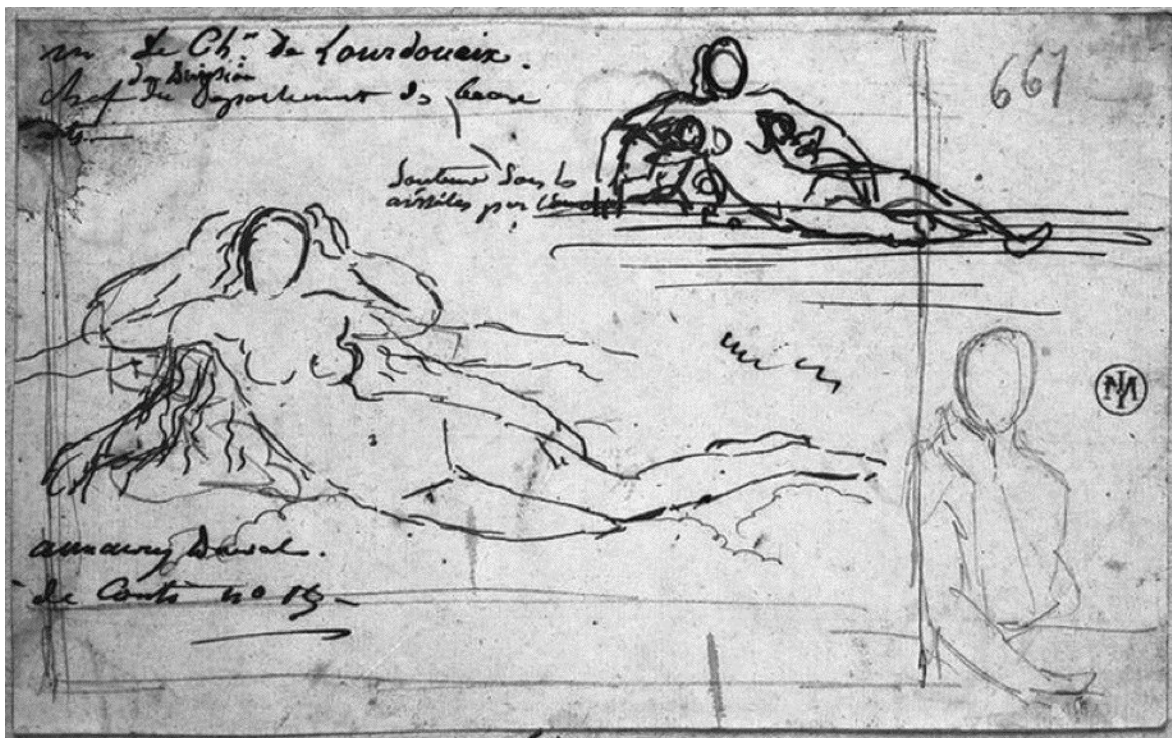


Figure 4.6. Ingres, "Venus," c. 1807. Black pen and graphite on paper, 10 x 16 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

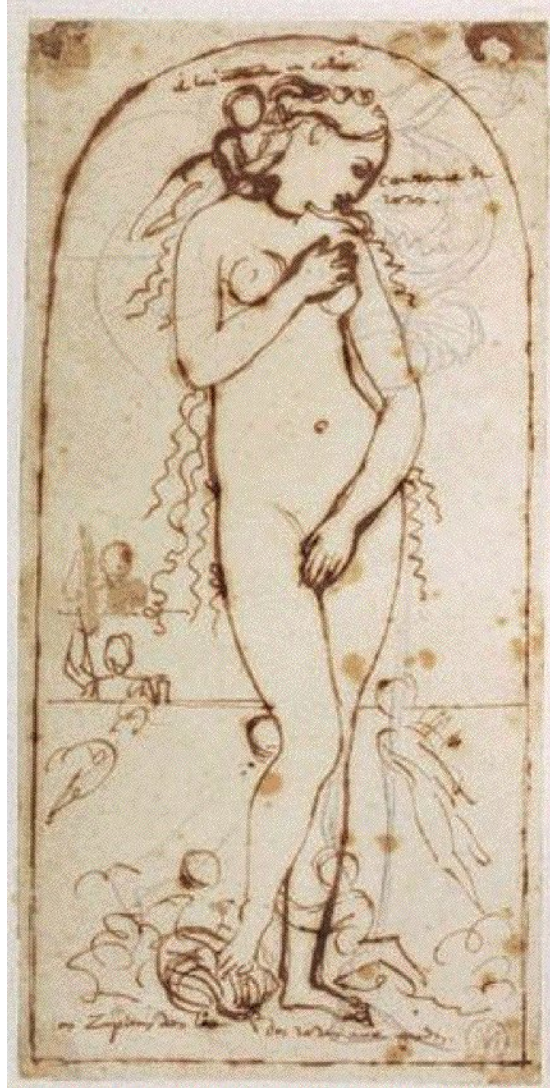


Figure 4.7. Ingres, "Venus," c. 1807. Pen, ink, and graphite on paper, 19 x 10 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

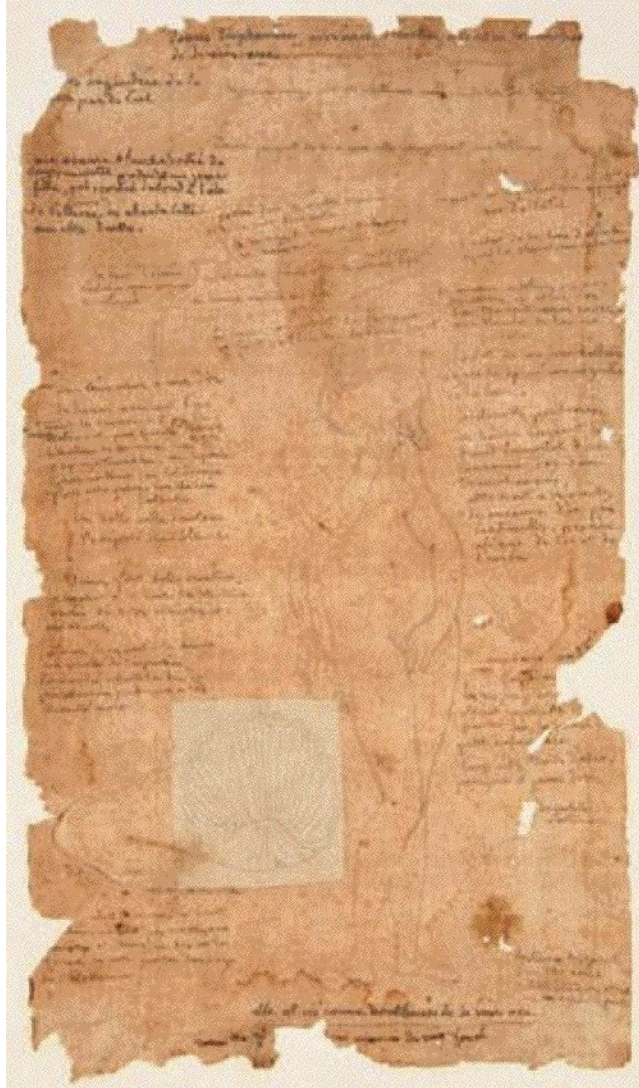


Figure 4.8. Ingres, "Venus," c. 1807. Graphite on paper, with a collaged square of paper added, 27 x 15 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

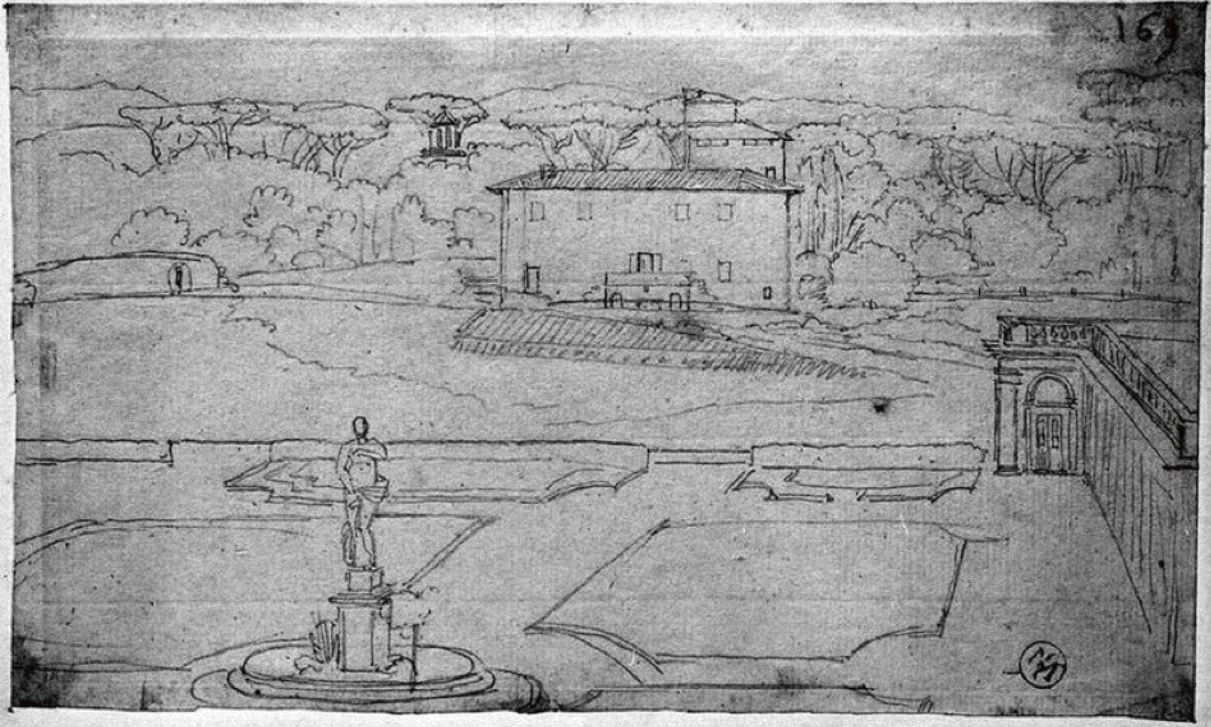


Figure 4.9. Ingres, “View from the Villa Gardens - The ‘Casino di Raffaello’ at the Villa Borghese,” c. 1806-1811. Graphite on paper, 11 x 19 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.10. Ingres (?), *The Casino di Raffaello Seen from the Villa Medici Gardens*, c. 1806-1811. Oil on wood panel. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

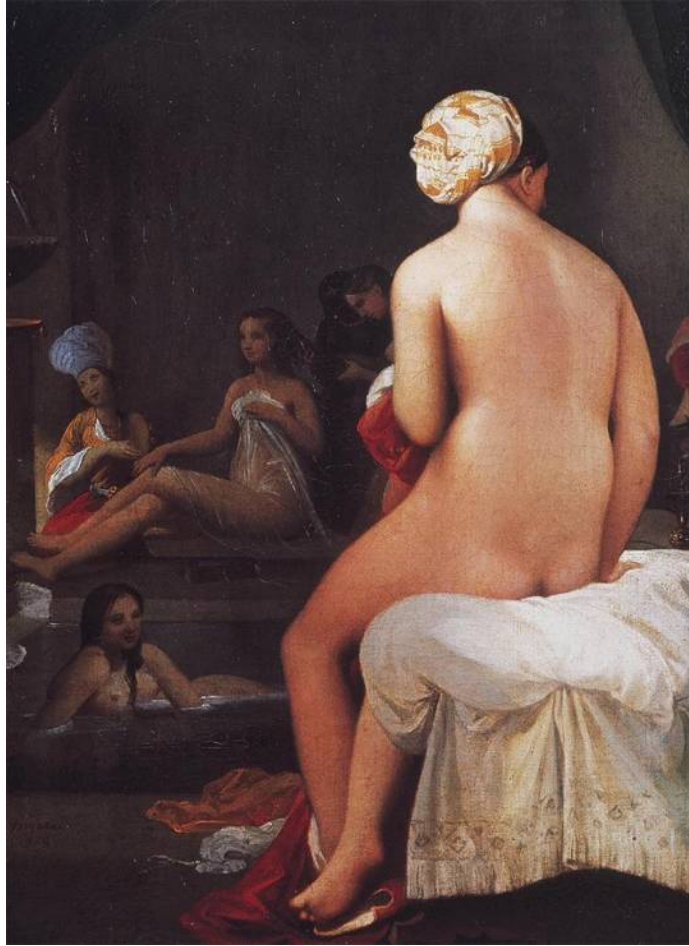


Figure 4.11. Ingres, *Little Bather*, 1828. 35 x 27 cm. Louvre, Paris.

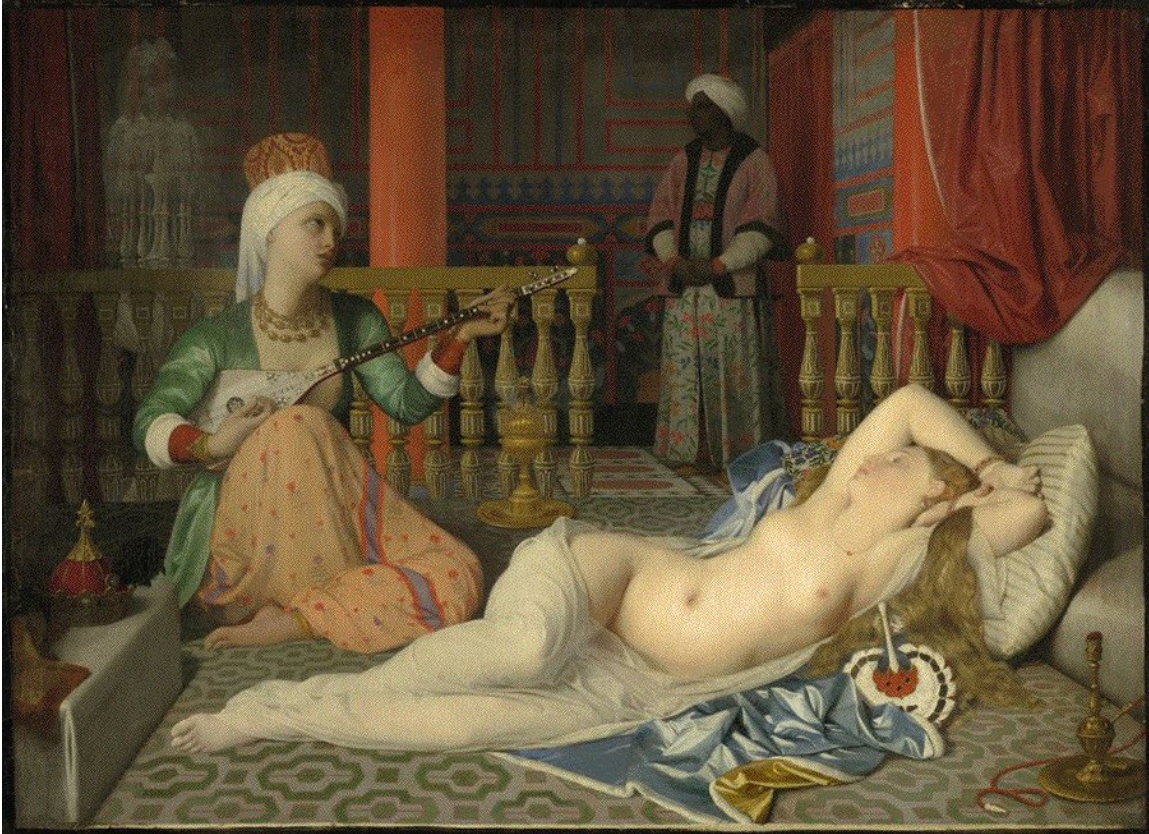


Figure 4.12. Ingres, *Odalisque à l'Esclave*, 1839-1840. 72 x 100 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

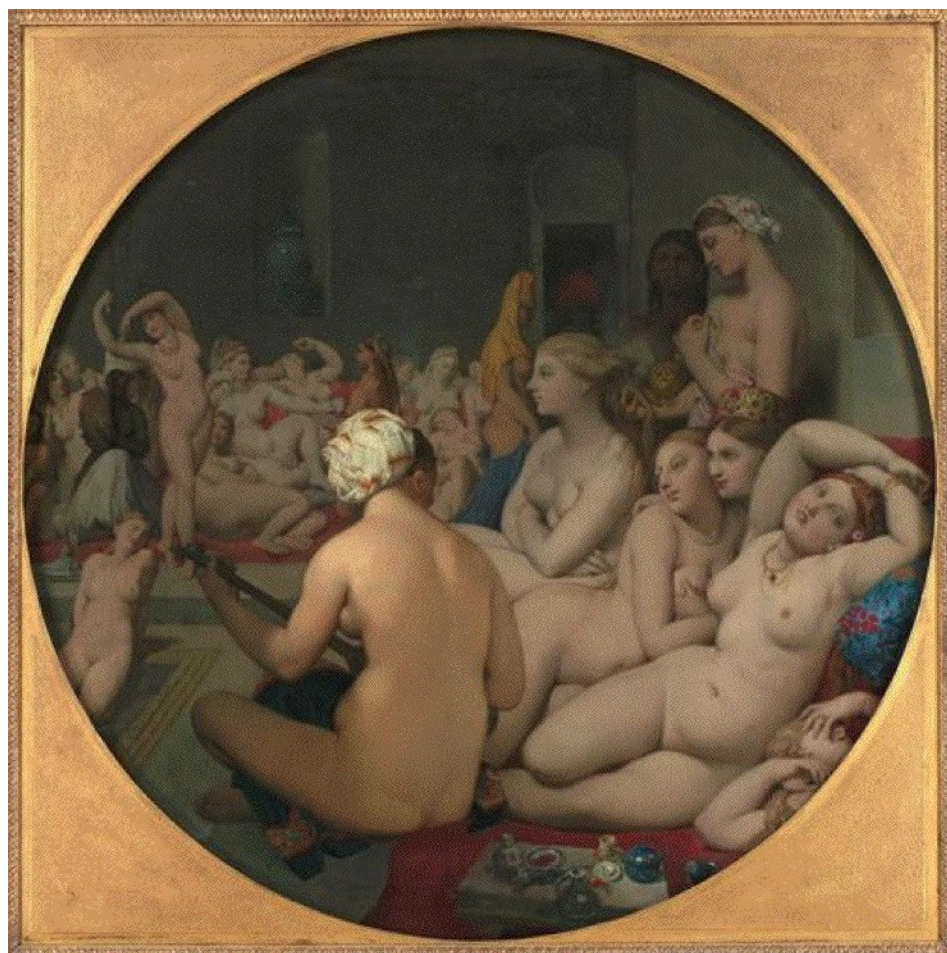


Figure 4.13. Ingres. *Le Bain Turc*, 1852-1859. Oil on wood, 108 x 110 cm. Louvre, Paris.

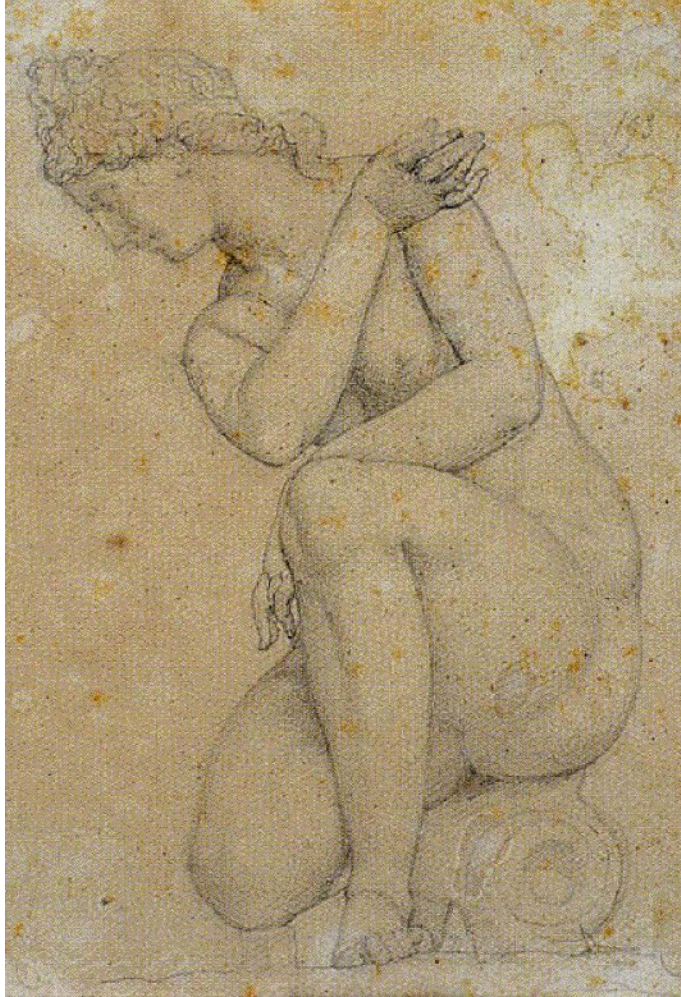


Figure 4.14. Ingres, "Copy of The Crouching Venus," c. 1807. Graphite on paper, 19 x 13 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.15. Ingres, "Copy of Diana Bathing from the *Sarcophage à Guirlandes*," c. 1807. Graphite on paper, 15 x 21 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.16. Ingres, "A Woman, Bathing," c. 1807. Copied from Tischbein 1800-1803, vol. 3, pl. 50. Graphite on tracing paper, 15 x 13 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.17. Ingres. Detail from *Mademoiselle Caroline Rivière*, 1806.



Figure 4.18. David, *The Lictors Bringing to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons*, 1789. 323 x 422 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 4.19. *La Bocca della Verità*, Roman, c. 1 AD. Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome.



Figure 4.20. Merry-Joseph Blondel, "Traditional Italian Hairstyles," n.d. Graphite and watercolor on paper, 15 x 24 cm. Drouais Album, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, France.



Figure 4.21. Blondel, Detail from "Sketch of traditional Italian Hairstyles," n.d.

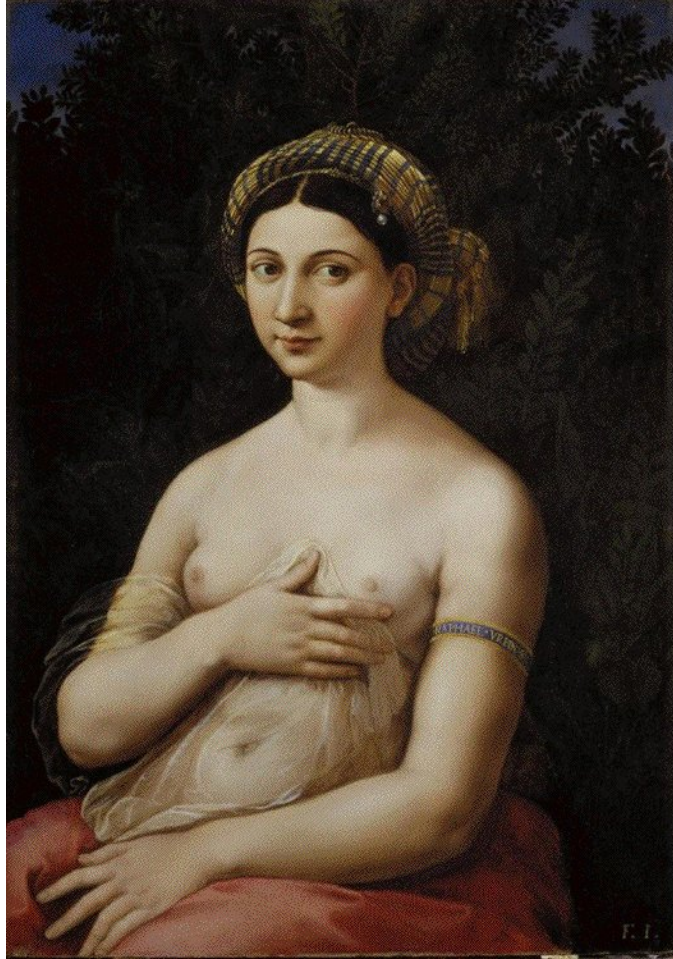


Figure 4.22. Raphael, *La Fornarina*, 1518-1520. Oil on wood panel, 85 x 60 cm. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.



Figure 4.23. Ingres, “‘Mariuccia’ drawing with address,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 14 x 26. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.24. Ingres, “Bourgeois’ portrait of Mariuccia,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 12 x 8 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.25. Giacomo Caneva, *Nu Allongé*, c. 1851. Calotype, 19 x 25 cm. Collection of Thomas Walther, Vaduz.



Figure 4.26. Ingres, "Peasant Women," n.d. Graphite on paper, 22 x 9 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.27. Ingres, Detail, "Peasant Woman," n.d. Graphite on paper, 19 x 16 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 4.28. Blondel, "Standing Woman," c. 1809-1810. Graphite on paper, 14 x 9 cm. Leclère Album, Harvard Art Museums.



Figure 4.29. Ingres, Detail of Julie Forestier from “La Famille Forestier,” 1806. Graphite on paper, 23 x 32 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 4.30. Ingres, *Laura Zoëga(?)*, c. 1813. Oil on paper, 28 x 20 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 4.31. Ingres, “Madeleine Ingres, née Chapelle,” 1814. Graphite on paper, 19 x 14 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 4.32. Ingres, *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1814. 65 x 53 cm. Harvard Art Museums.



Figure 4.33. Ingres, *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1813. 58 x 46 cm. Formerly the Museum of Foreign Art, Riga, Latvia; lost in 1944.



Figure 4.34. Ingres, “Raphael and the Fornarina,” 1825. Graphite and white pencil on paper, 18 x 15 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 4.35. Ingres, *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1840. 35 x 27 cm. Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio.



Figure 4.36. Ingres, Detail from *Raphael and the Fornarina*, 1850-1865. Formerly in the Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, VA; present whereabouts unknown.



Figure 4.37. Raphael, *Madonna della Sedia*, 1513-1514. Oil on panel, 71 cm. diameter. Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



Figure 4.38. Ingres, “Study for ‘Raphael and the Fornarina,’” c. 1814. Graphite on paper, 25 x 20 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

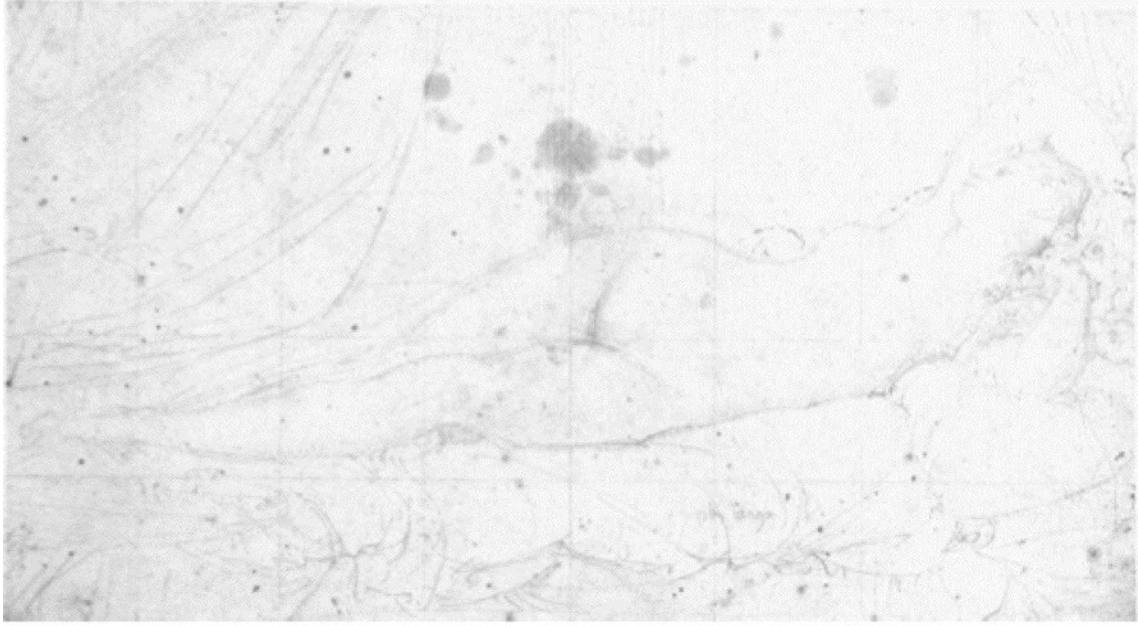


Figure 4.39. Ingres, “La Dormeuse de Naples,” c. 1808. Graphite on paper, 12 x 23 cm. Private Collection, Paris.



Figure 4.40. Ingres, “La Dormeuse de Naples,” 1831. Pen and ink on paper. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 4.41. Ingres, *Copy of Titian's Venus of Urbino*, 1822. 116 x 168 cm. Walters Art Museum.



Figure 4.42. Ingres, "Nude," n.d. Graphite on paper, 15 x 17 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

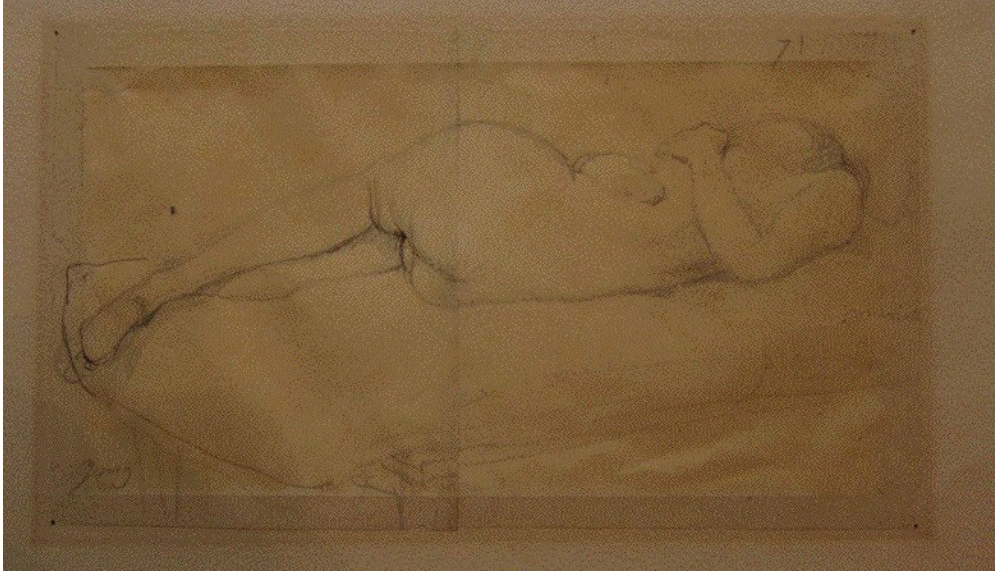


Figure 4.43. Ingres, "Nude," n.d. Graphite on two pages of paper, 9 x 16 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

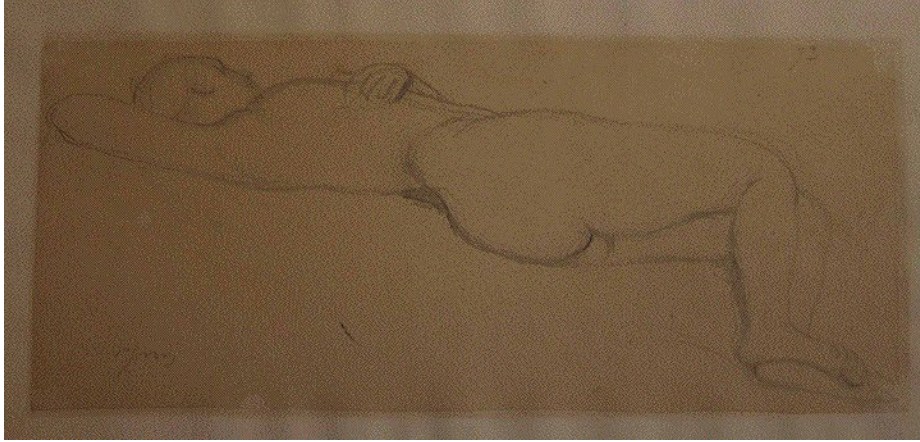


Figure 4.44. Ingres, "Nude," n.d. Graphite on paper, 10 x 23 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

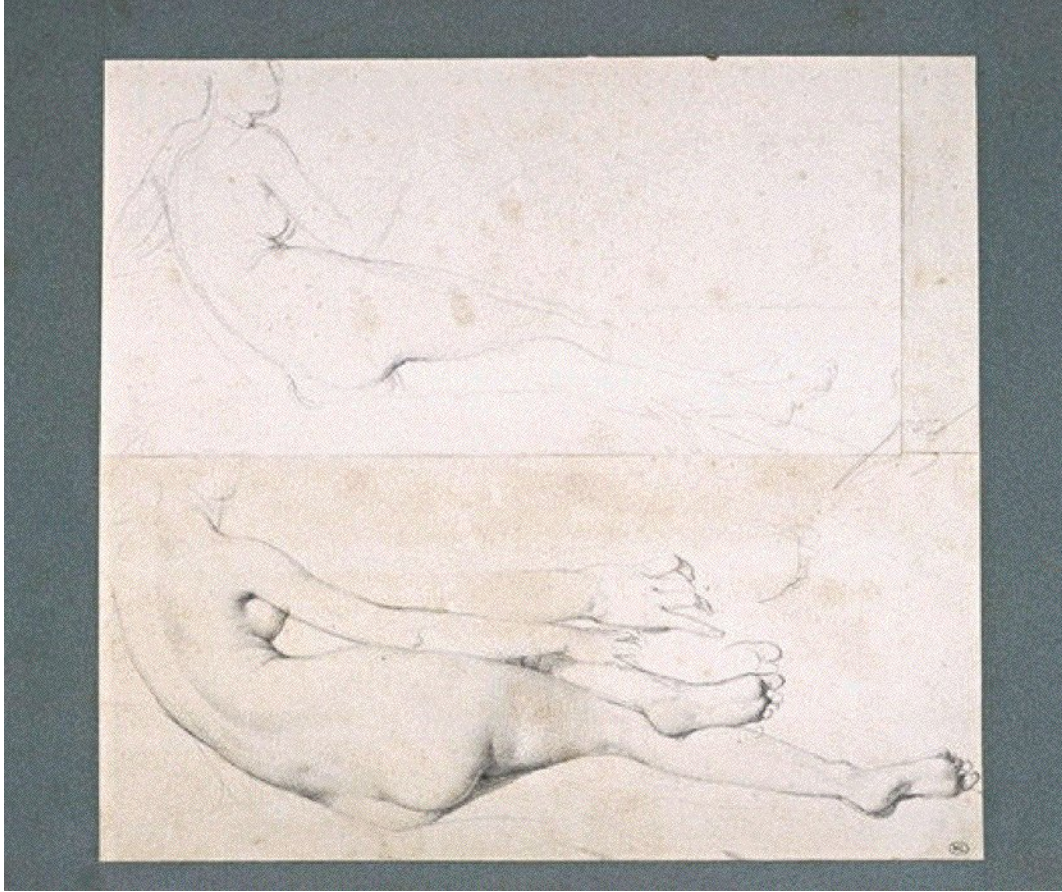


Figure 4.45. Ingres, “Two Studies of a Nude Woman, turned to the right,” c. 1814. Graphite on three fragments of paper, cut out and glued in the middle, 25 x 27 cm. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, Paris.

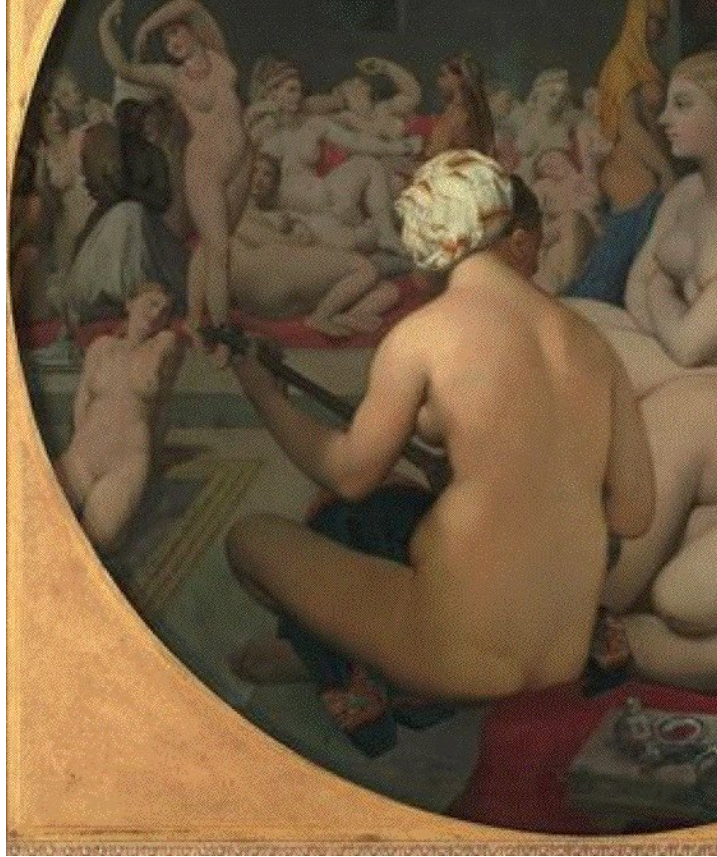


Figure 4.46. Ingres, Detail from *Le Bain Turc*, 1852-1859.

Chapter 5.  
Reviving Rome: Painting History outside the Academy



Figure 5.1. Ingres, *Virgil Reading the Aeneid to Augustus, Octavia, and Livia or Tu Marcellus Eris*, 1812. 326 x 311 cm. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, France.

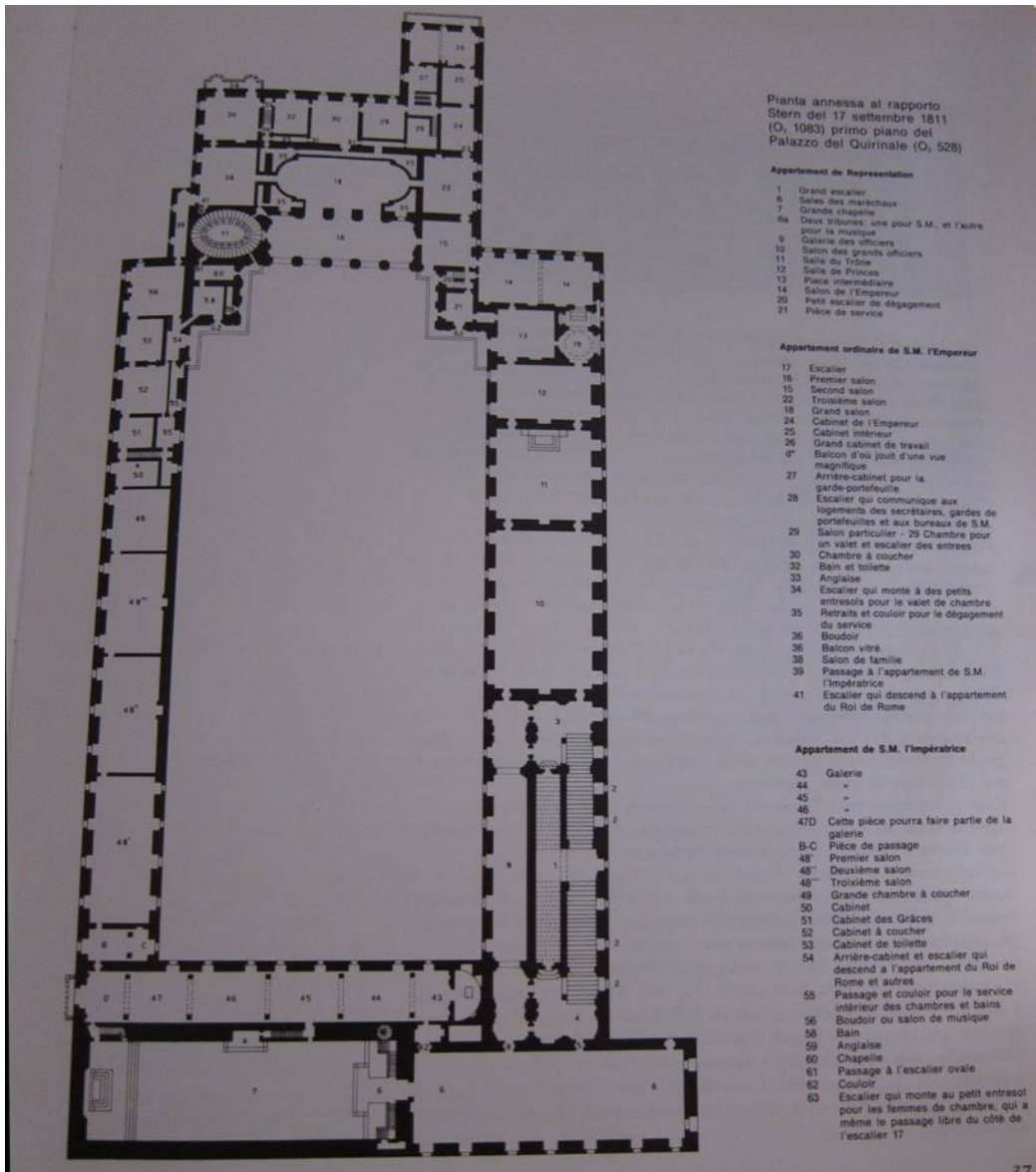


Figure 5.2. Raffaele Stern's Plan for renovating the Quirinale Palace as depicted in his report of 17 September, 1811. As reprinted in Natoli and Scarpati I, 37. Original plan in the Archives Nationales de France, O2528.



Figure 5.3. Carlo Albacini, *Barbarian Fireplace Sculptures*, 1812. Marble, 155 cm. high. Reception Salon, Quirinal Palace, Rome.



Figure 5.4. Thorvaldsen, Details from *The Triumph of Alexander*, 1812. Plaster, 125 x 3545 cm. Reception Salon, Quirinale Palace, Rome.



Figure 5.5. Agostino Tofanelli, *Apollo and the Muses*, c. 1812. 357 cm. in diameter. Quirinale Palace, Rome.



Figure 5.6. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian*, 1813. 348 x 275 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 5.7. Joseph D. Odevaere, "Tanaquil Predicting the Greatness of Severus Tullius," 1813. Musée Magnin, Dijon.



Figure 5.8. Guillaume Guillon Lethière, *Brutus Condemning his Sons to Death*, 1811. 440 x 783 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 5.9. "Second Salon of the Empress" as it stands today. Quirinale Palace, Rome.



Figure 5.10. Guglielmo Cortese/Guillaume Courtois, *The Battle of Joshua at Jericho*, 1656-7. Fresco. "Second Salon of the Empress," Quirinale Palace, Rome.



Figure 5.11. Gros, *Napoleon on the Battle Field of Eylau, 9 February 1807, 1808*. 521 x 784 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 5.12. Ingres, "Study for Acron," c. 1811. Graphite on paper, 15 x 31 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.



Figure 5.13. Ingres, "Study for Acron," c. 1811. Graphite on paper, 20 x 37 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 5.14. Ingres, "Female Acron," n.d. Graphite on paper, 11 x 29 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 5.15. Ingres, "Medea," n.d. Graphite on paper, 19 x 14 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.



Figure 5.16. Ingres, “Polynice and Eriphyle,” n.d. Graphite on paper, 13 x 8 cm. Musée Ingres, Montauban.

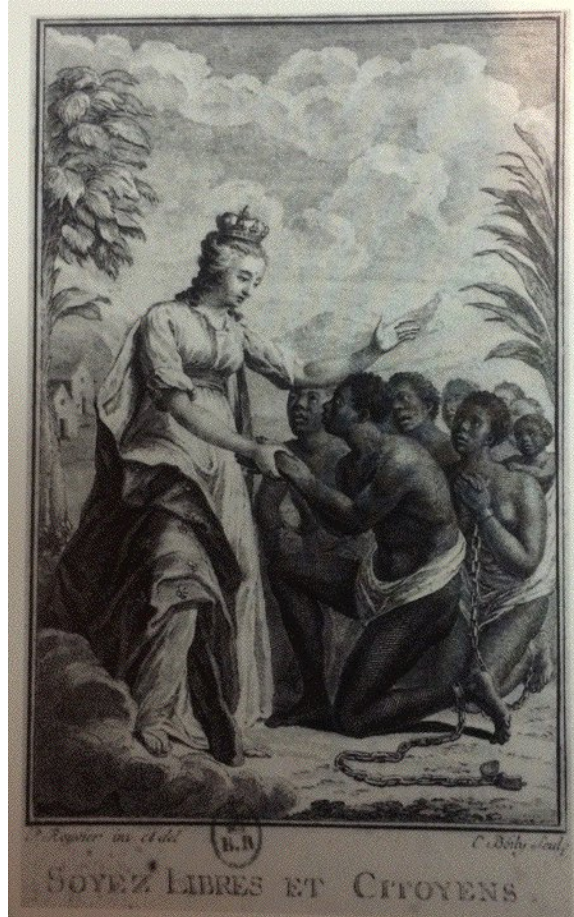


Figure 5.17. Charles Boily after Pierre Rouvier, “Soyez Libres et Citoyens” (“Be Free and Citizens”), 1789. Engraving, frontispiece to Benjamin-Sigismond Frossard, *La Cause des Escalves Nègres...*, 1789. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 5.18. Gros, *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa, 11 March 1799*, 1804. 523 x 715 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 5.19. Ingres, *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*, “Second Version,” 1812-1814. 138 x 142 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles.

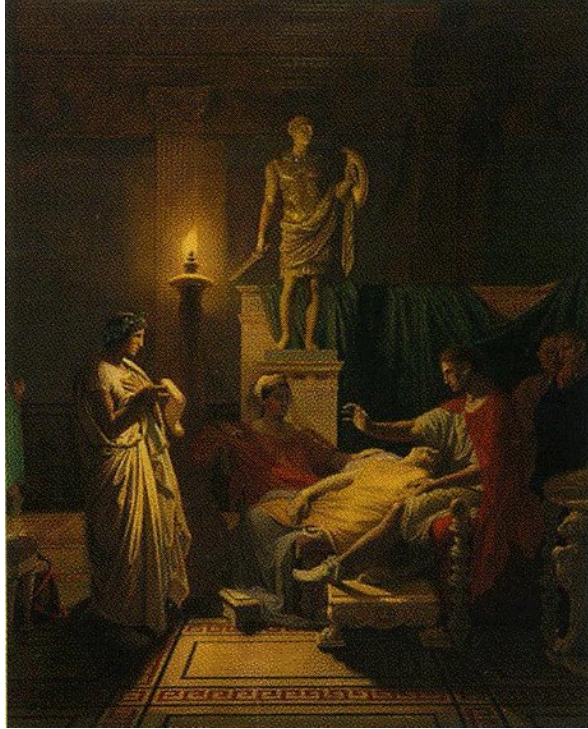


Figure 5.20. Ingres, *Virgil Reading the Aeneid*, after 1832. Oil on paper painted over engraving by Charles-Simon Pradier of 1832, 59 x 49 cm. La Salle University Art Museum, Philadelphia.



Figure 5.21. Achille Reveil, after Ingres, “Virgil Reading the Aeneid,” 1851. Engraving produced for and printed in *Oeuvres de J.-A. Ingres... gravées au trait sur acier par Ale. Reveil, 1800-1851*.



Figure 5.22. David, *The Oath of the Horatii*, 1784. 330 x 425 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 5.23. Ingres, *Don Pedro of Toledo Kissing the Sword of Henri IV*, 1819. 45 x 36 cm. Musée du Château de Pau, Pau, France.

Coda.

Géricault: Violence and Volume in Restoration Rome



Figure 6.1. Théodore Géricault, *Charging Chasseur*, 1812. 349 x 266 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6.2. Géricault, *Wounded Cuirassier*, 1814. 358 x 294 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6.3. Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 1819. 491 x 716 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6.4. Géricault, Detail from “Sketches after Fragments from the Bas-Reliefs of the Temple of Apollo Epicourios at Bassae,” c. 1814-1816. Probably copied from prints in Wagner and Ruschweyh, *Bassorilievi Antichi della Grecia*, 1814. ENSBA, Paris.

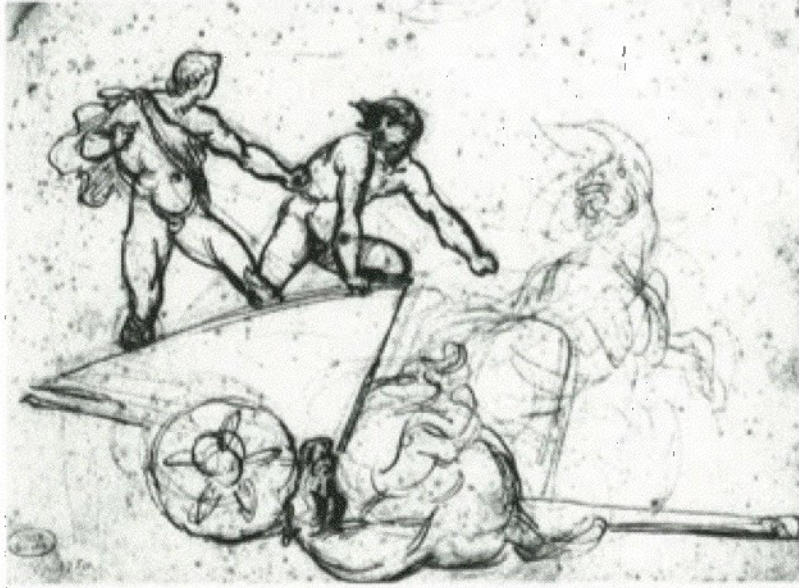


Figure 6.5. Géricault, “Mars and Hercules Chariot Racing,” n.d. Graphite and ink on paper, 20 x 10 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.



Figure 6.6. Géricault, "Hercules and the Nemean Lion," n.d. Graphite on paper, 8 x 6 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

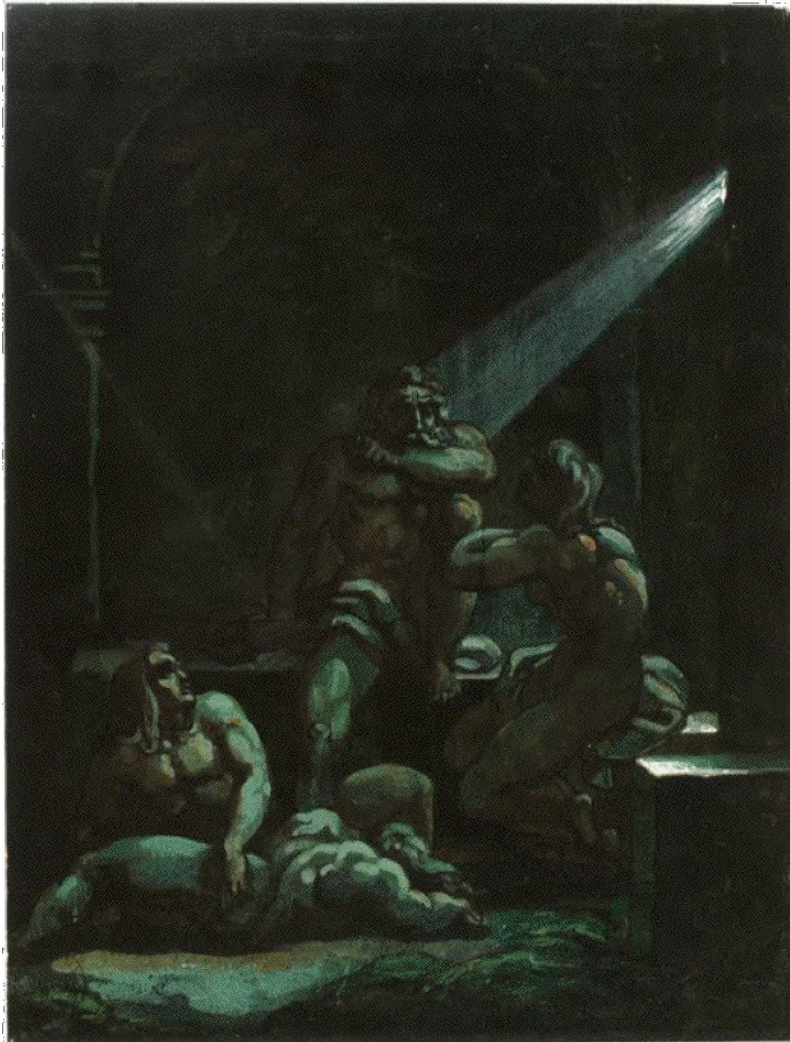


Figure 6.7. Géricault, "Ugolino and His Sons in Prison," 1817-1818. Brown and black ink, brown wash, and oil on paper, 22 x 17 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

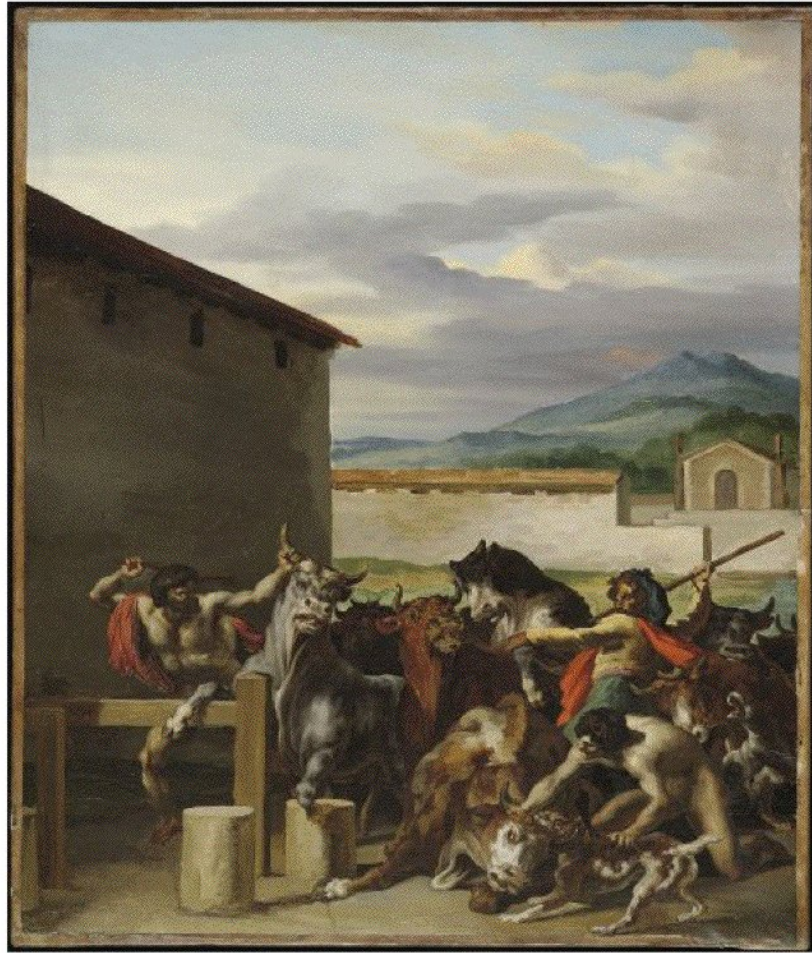


Figure 6.8. Géricault, *Cattle Market*, 1817. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 60 x 50 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.

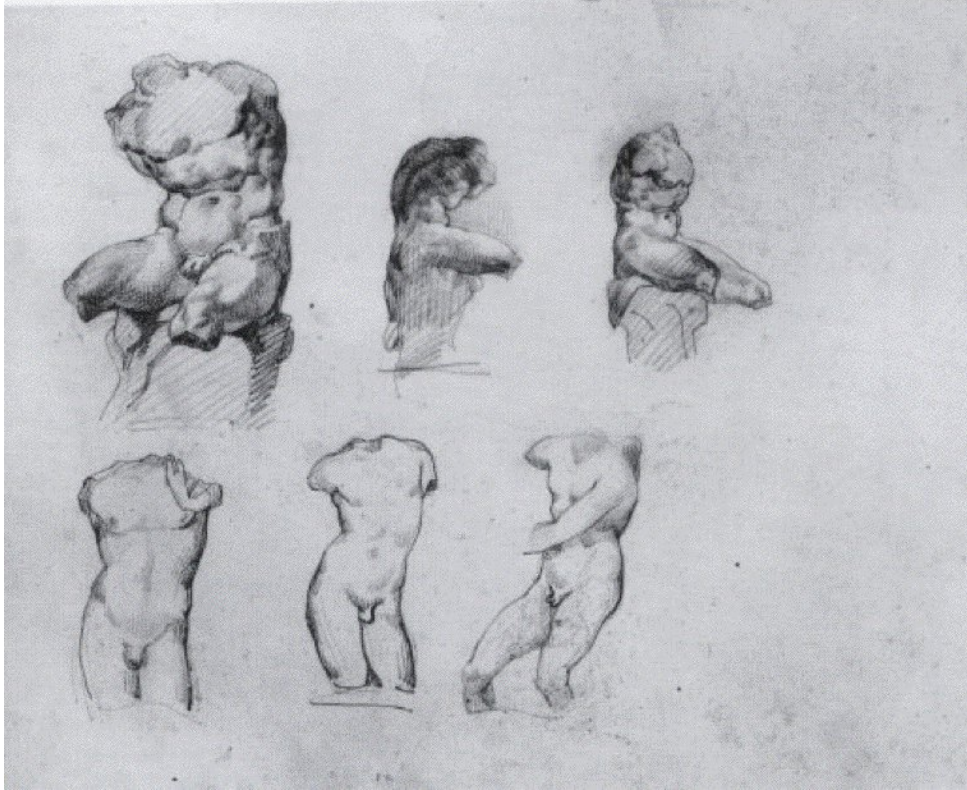


Figure 6.9. Géricault, "Six Studies after the Antique," 1816. Graphite on paper, 27 x 21 cm. Kunsthhaus, Zurich.



Figure 6.10. *Belvedere Torso*, probably 1st C. BC. Marble, 159 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.



Figure 6.11. *Torso of an Athlete, Hero (Meleager) or a Young God (Hermes?)*, Roman copy after a 4th c. BC. Greek original in the Polykleitan style. Marble, 59 cm. high. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.



Figure 6.12. *Apollo Sauroctonus*, Roman copy of a Greek original, probably by Praxiteles, of 350-340 BC. Marble, 149 cm. high. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6.13. *Lysippian Eros*, Roman copy of a Greek original from 400-330 BC. Marble, 123 cm. high. Capitoline Museum, Rome.

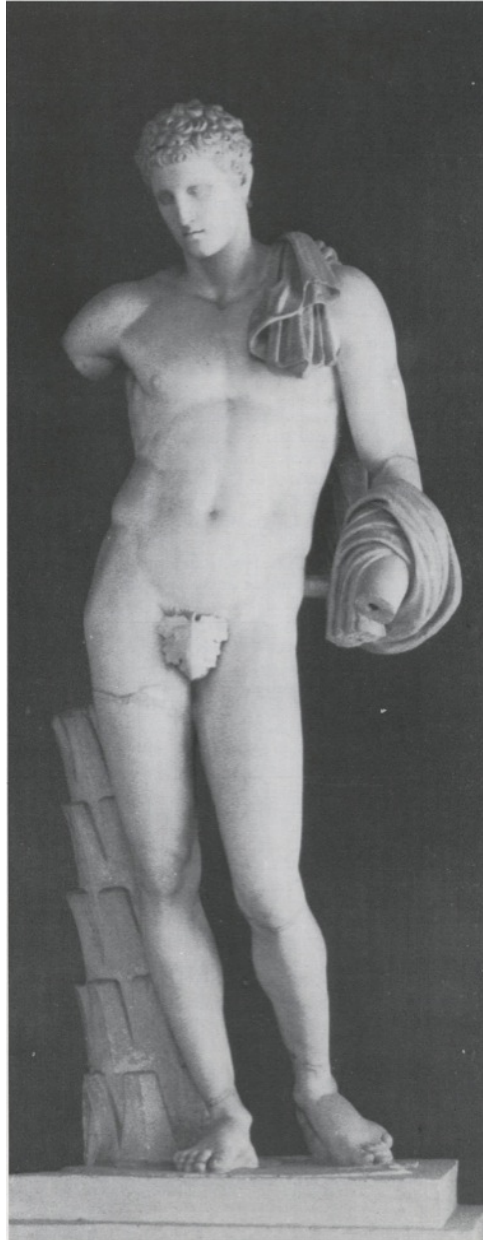


Figure 6.14. *Belvedere Antinous*, Dating, iconography, and origins strongly debated among specialists; perhaps a Roman copy or variant of a Greek original by Praxiteles. Marble, 195 cm. high. Vatican Museums, Vatican.



Figure 6.15. Géricault, *Severed Heads*, 1818-1820. 50 x 61 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Figure 6.16. Géricault, *Anatomical Fragments*, 1818-1820. 52 x 64 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier.



Figure 6.17. Leon Cogniet (?), *Anatomical Fragments*, 1818-1819. 37 x 46 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.



Figure 6.18. Géricault (?), *Anatomical Fragments*, 1818-1819. 54 x 64 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 6.19. Géricault, "Figures Surrounding an Injured Man," 1816-1817. Graphite and black ink on paper, 19 x 31 cm. Present whereabouts unknown.



Figure 6.20. Géricault, “Figures Surrounding an Injured Man,” 1816-1817. Black chalk. Present whereabouts unknown.



Figure 6.21. Géricault, "Roman Herdsmen," 1817. Black chalk, brown wash, and white gouache on brown paper, 21 x 28 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.

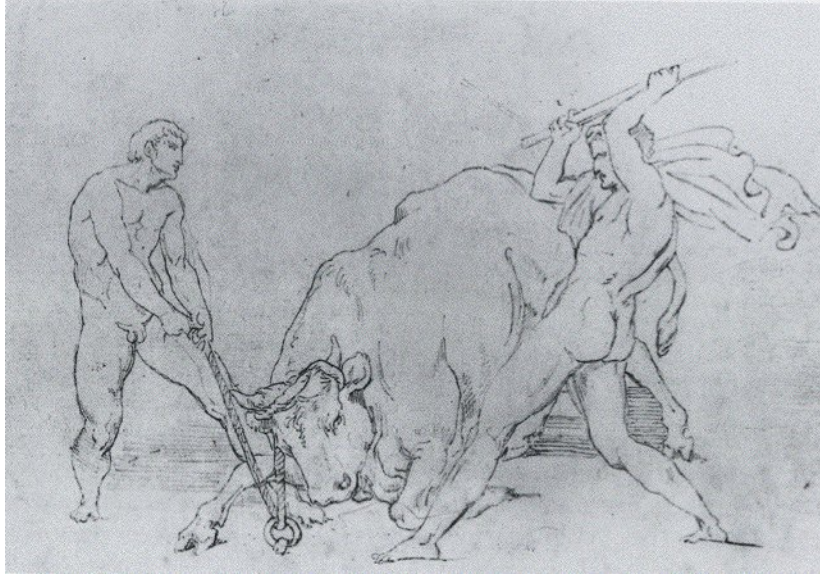


Figure 6.22. Alexandre Colin, tracing after a now-lost Géricault drawing, “Two Men Killing a Bull,” 1816-1817. Graphite on paper, 16 x 23 cm. Private Collection, Switzerland.



Figure 6.23. Géricault, "The Boxers," 1819. Lithography with black ink and chalk, 35 x 41 cm. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 6.24. *Farnese Bull*, Roman copy after a Greek original from the 3rd c. AD. Marble, 370 cm. high. Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples.

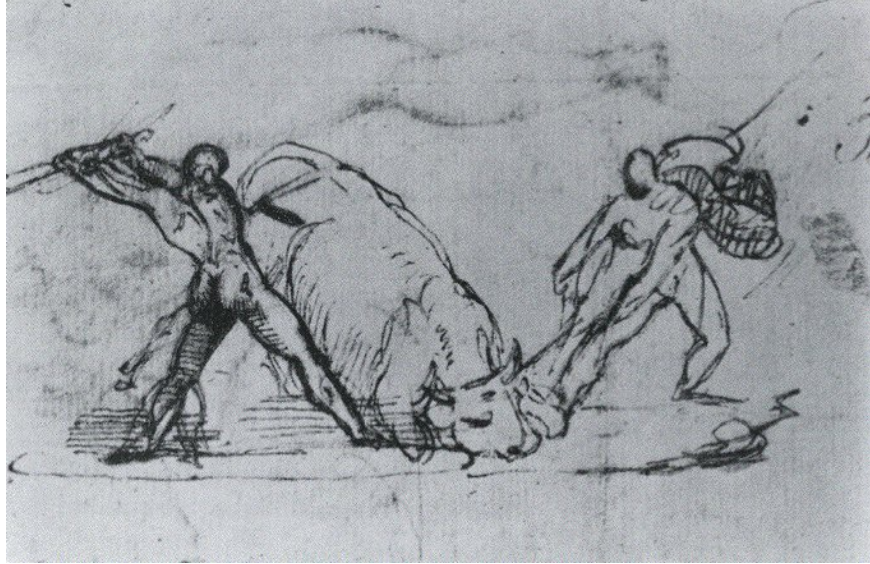


Figure 6.25. Géricault, "Two Men Killing a Bull," 1816-1817. Pen and brown ink on paper, 8 x 12 cm. Denise Aimée-Azam Collection, Paris.



Figure 6.26. Géricault, "Ancient Sacrifice," 1816-1817. Pen and brown ink and white gouache on brown paper, 29 x 42 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6.27. Géricault, "Studies after Michelangelo," 1816. Pen and brown ink and graphite on paper, 23 x 28 cm. ENSBA, Paris.



Figure 6.28. Michelangelo, *Tomb of Lorenzo di' Medici*, 1520-1533. Marble. Church of San Lorenzo, Florence.



Figure 6.29. Géricault. "Leda and the Swan," 1816-1817. Black chalk, brown wash, and blue watercolor on brown paper, 22 x 28 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6.30. Géricault, "Couple Embracing," c. 1815-1816. Black and brown ink with brown wash, white gouache, and graphite on paper, 21 x 11 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 6.31. Géricault, *Satyr and Nymph*, c. 1818. Stone, painted with brown glaze, 29 cm. high. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.



Figure 6.32. Géricault, "Scene of Cannibalism on the Raft of the Medusa," 1818-1819. Black chalk, brown wash, and white gouache on brown paper, 28 x 38 cm. Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6.33. Géricault, *Italian Family*, 1816-1817. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 23 x 30 cm. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.

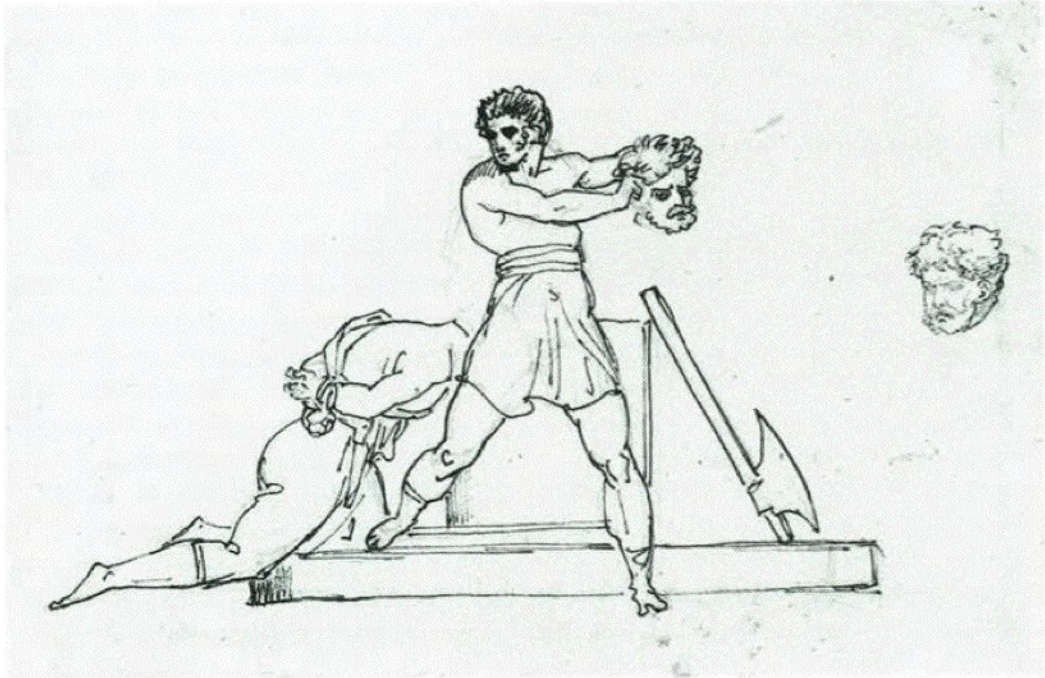


Figure 6.34. Géricault, "Execution in Rome," 1816-17. Graphite on paper, 19 x 32 cm. Present whereabouts unknown.



Figure 6.35. Géricault, "Prayer to the Virgin," 1816-1817. Pen and brown ink on tracing paper, 27 x 40 cm. ENSBA, Paris.