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SUBJECTS FROM HOMER'S ILIAD IN NEOCLASSICAL ART*

DORA WIEBENSON

SCENES from Homer's Iliad are occasionally found in Italian art of the late fifteenth century. They became extremely popular in the second half of the eighteenth century and as suddenly died away again in the nineteenth. Indeed, of over three hundred illustrations of Iliad subjects compiled for this article, less than forty belong to the entire period 1470-1750, while there are well over two hundred in the years between 1750-1825; the small remainder belong to the later years of the nineteenth century. These illustrations can be generally placed in three categories: allegorical, in which the subject has a didactic purpose; narrative-pictorial, in which the subject is chosen primarily for its scenic qualities; and literal, in which accuracy of representation of specific Iliad episodes is most important. In general, illustrations prior to 1700 represent the first category, those from 1700 to 1750 the second, and those done after 1750 the third, while, with the exception of a few belated Neoclassical artists such as Thorwaldsen and Bonaventura Genelli, the movement appears to draw to a close in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. After this date the Homeric epics become one of a number of texts on which to draw for local historical color, and are no longer the concern of this paper.

The allegorical and pictorial character of Iliad subjects before 1750 reflects the literary criticism of the period in which they were created: a criticism that was the intermediary between Homeric literature and the use of Homeric subjects in art, and that was influential in establishing an interpretation of Homer for both the earlier period and for the late eighteenth century.¹ Sixteenth and seventeenth century literary critics were not well pleased with what Homer had to say, or with how he said it. Homer's common language, his long digressions, which left his poems with little formal structure, his realistic and vulgar descriptions, ordinary, unideal actions and unheroic heroes, and the lack of allegorical structure of the poems—which had only a narrative value—were all strongly criticized. The criticism focused mainly on the Iliad, while the Odyssey was sometimes felt to have allegorical possibilities. Some of the Iliad scenes most popular in Neoclassical art were particularly unacceptable to earlier literary critics.² For instance, not only was Achilles' lack of resignation at parting with Briseis considered unstoic and lacking in the virtue of sacrificing selfish concerns for the state, but the fact that he runs weeping and complaining to his mother was not felt to be the action of a hero. When Hector says farewell to Andromache, she is more concerned with pointing out to him how he can escape from the enemy than with

* This article originated in a study of Flaxman's influence on the Continent, written for Dr. H. W. Janson at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and was read, in abbreviated form, in Minneapolis at the 1961 meeting of the College Art Association. The interest and enthusiasm of Dr. Walter Friedlaender for this project in its various stages have been a constant encouragement to me. I should like to thank Dr. Janson for his assistance in the preparation of this article for publication. The cooperation of scholars and institutions abroad and the useful information volunteered by my fellow students at the Institute of Fine Arts have greatly enriched its contents. Especially helpful were Dr. David Irwin, who lent me the photographs reproduced in Figs. 25, 28, and 34; and Dr. L. H. Heydenreich, of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, Dr. Linda Nochlin, and Dr. Norman Neuerberg, who aided me in acquiring Figs. 18, 19, 33; 14; and 8, respectively.

1. The bibliography of Homeric criticism is extensive. The following works are introductory to the subject, and can be consulted for further references. Georg Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe: Italien, Frankreich, England, Deutschland*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912; Hubert Gillot, *La querelle des anciens et des modernes en France*, Paris, 1914; Ange Hippolyte Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, 1856; Alfred Lombard, *L'Abbé du Bos, un initiateur de la pensée moderne (1670-1742)*, Paris, 1913; and Marshall Montgomery, "Homer: from Barth to Hölderlin," *Friedrich Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement*, London, 1923, I, ch. IV, pp. 107-190.

2. See especially Gillot's and Lombard's studies (from note 1, above). P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Amsterdam, 1697, includes much of the following criticism in scattered references.

noble grief, while her mention of Astyanax eating mutton fat when mourning for Hector was considered to be an unworthy thought on such an occasion. Achilles' abuse of Hector's corpse demonstrated a cruelty unworthy of a hero; his treatment of Priam as a guest, though it was not condemned, was thought to be a common and unnoteworthy virtue. The few apologists for Homer in this period were no more able to accept a purely narrative value for the poem than its critics, and therefore attempted to prove that the vulgar descriptions of Homer could be justified by an intrinsic allegorical content. Thus they often compared the Iliad with the Scriptures, and in at least one case an analogy was drawn between the poem and a type of government.³

In this negative fashion the interpretation of Homer's Iliad as composed of nonallegorical scenes with human rather than ideal characters was established, and remained constant throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such a viewpoint explains the artistic interpretation and the limited use of Iliad subjects in the period prior to 1750, as well as the widespread connection of Iliad scenes of this period with scenes from the legendary life of Achilles and the story of Troy rather than with Homer's epic.⁴ To the seventeenth century, a period in which the ideals of state and religion were emphasized, the Homeric epics were too natural, while in the first half of the eighteenth century, with its emphasis on imagination and genius, the epics were too literal. On the other hand, the second half of the eighteenth century admired the very qualities in Homer which previously had been criticized.⁵ Although the connection of the Iliad with the stories of Troy and Achilles and with a traditional allegorical point of view was never completely abandoned, literal illustrations of Iliad themes became dominant. Indeed, after 1750, Iliad themes were often executed in series without reference to events beyond the framework of the Homeric epic,⁶ the number of subjects illustrated was enlarged, and the variety of media was expanded from tapestries and incidental paintings to include frescoes, reliefs, bozzetti, engravings, and finished drawings.

Thus Iliad illustrations may be said to occupy a representative position in Neoclassical art in the years 1750-1825. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate and define their meaning through a consideration of subject, composition, and style.

3. Anne Dacier, for instance, makes many analogies between Homer and the Scriptures in the introduction to her translation of the Iliad (*L'Iliad d'Homère*, Paris, 1699) and in her *Des causes de la corruption du Gouste*, Paris, 1714. Zachary Bogan's *Comparati Homeri cum Scriptibus Sacris*, Oxford, 1658, and the even earlier anonymous *Discours en forme de comparaison sur les vies de Moïse et d'Homère*, Paris, 1604, preceded Dacier. See also Gillot, *op.cit.*, p. 238; Rigault, *op.cit.*, p. 63; and E. Egger, *L'Hellenisme en France*, Paris, 1869, II, p. 129. On analogies with government, see Le Bossu, *Traité du poëme épique*, Paris, 1675, quoted by Egger, II, pp. 107-108, in which the Iliad is considered as an allegory of Greece united and the Odyssey as an allegory of the separate Greek states.

4. Examples of series of the history of Achilles are: Claude François d'Amiens, tapestry series, seventeenth century; Peter Paul Rubens, tapestry series, 1625-1627; Donato Creti, series of four paintings, Bologna, eighteenth century; and the Van der Borgh tapestries, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, the 1740's. Andor Pigler, *Barockthemen; eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Budapest and Berlin, 1956, II, p. 261, mentions other series by Janssens, Roore, Furon, Prunati and Leopardi. In the nineteenth century there was again a return to scenes from the legend of Troy and to improvised scenes not found in the Iliad.

5. This trend began before 1750 in the work, for instance, of Charles Rollin, *Traité des études*, Paris, 1726-1731, 4 vols. (English translation, *Of the Nature and Original of Poetry*,

1734), which abandons an allegorical framework and recognizes the pagan element in Homer. This work was very influential for such later critics as Batteux.

6. For instance, series of purely Iliad subjects were executed by Vien, Doyen, Deshayes and Gavin Hamilton. Besides the 1793 Flaxman publication, J. H. W. Tischbein published two related books: *Figures d'Homère dessinées d'après l'antique*, Metz, 1801-1802, and the better-known *Homer nach Antiken Gezeichnet*, Göttingen, 1801-1804. A final statement was made by Bonaventura Genelli, *Umriss zum Homer, mit erläuterungen von Ernst Förster*, Stuttgart, 1866, which, as a belated reiteration of much of the material covered in this paper, will not be discussed. The separation of allegorical symbols (poetic) from literal renderings of the ideal (painterly), is founded on adherence to the technical differences between the two mediums of poetry and painting; thus painting must illustrate appearances, while poetry can describe abstract concepts. The Abbé Du Bos in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, 3 vols., Paris, 1719, is generally considered to initiate this point of view and to anticipate its final statement in Lessing's *Laokoon* of 1766. In spite of Lessing's denunciation of the Comte de Caylus (*Laokoon*, ch. XI), Caylus' *Tableaux tirés de l'Iliad, de l'Odyssee d'Homere et de l'Eneide de Virgile, avec des observations générales sur le costume*, Paris, 1757, is considered to be a forerunner of the *Laokoon* (see Samuel Rocheblave, *Essai sur le Comte de Caylus*, Paris, 1889, p. 144, and William Guild Howard, *Laokoon: Lessing, Herder, Goethe*, New York, 1910, p. lxiii; also Caylus, *Tableaux*, p. v.).

I

One of the significant changes in Iliad illustrations after 1750 is their widened range. Prior to this date only twelve different subjects had been represented, while now there were over forty-five. The most popular were Achilles' Wrath at Agamemnon, The Departure of Briseis from the Tent of Achilles, Venus Wounded by Diomedes, Hector Reproaching Paris, Hector Departing from Andromache, Achilles Dragging Hector's Body around the Walls of Troy, Priam in Achilles' Tent, and Andromache Mourning.⁷ From this list, six subjects have been chosen, based on their popularity and on the present availability of illustrative material, for discussion in this paper as representative of the group of Iliad illustrations as a whole. This discussion, intended as an exposition of the material, will be followed by a section dealing with the chronological development of the illustrations between 1750 and 1825.

ACHILLES' WRATH AT AGAMEMNON and THE DEPARTURE OF BRISEIS FROM ACHILLES' TENT

Among the most complex and important Iliad subjects are Achilles' Wrath and the related scene, the Departure of Briseis. They set the action for the poem and define the character of its hero, Achilles. According to Homer, in the scene of the *Wrath* the seer, Calchas, prophesies that only the return of Agamemnon's captive, Chryseis, the daughter of a priest of Apollo, will end the pestilence that afflicts the Greek camp. Agamemnon agrees to her return, but only on condition that Briseis, Achilles' captive, be given to him. Achilles, angered at the insult, draws his sword, but is restrained by Minerva, who holds him by the hair. In the related scene, Achilles, seated before his tent and transfixed with grief, watches Briseis, who looks regretfully back over her shoulder, being given by Patroclus to the two heralds of Agamemnon.

The first known illustration of Achilles' Wrath is Rubens' tapestry cartoon of 1625, part of a series on the life of Achilles.⁸ The first illustration of this subject as part of an Iliad series is by Antoine Coypel, done in 1708 (Fig. 1).⁹ Coypel's main concern is to portray events as literally and pictorially as possible. The setting—an army camp by a harbor—is fully described, and the artist even attempts to rationalize the presence of a goddess in the midst of mortals by placing her in a cloud, of which only Achilles is aware, while her influence over him is purely spiritual—she does not touch him. The Comte de Caylus' *Tableaux tirés de l'Iliad et de l'Odyssee*, suggesting a number of Homeric subjects suitable for painting to be done as a series, appeared in 1757. In a manner similar to Coypel's, Caylus also departs from Homer in his interpretation of Achilles' Wrath,¹⁰ since he, too, is concerned with the visual expression of an unnatural phenomenon—the appearance of a goddess to a mortal. Minerva is to be represented in a cloud, visible

7. The number of illustrations prior to 1750 are: Wrath—4, Departure—2, Venus Wounded—0, Hector and Paris—2, Hector's Farewell—12, Achilles Dragging Hector—8, Priam and Achilles—0 (?) (see note 37 below), and Andromache Mourning—0. After 1750 the number of illustrations are: Wrath—10, Departure—13, Venus Wounded—12, Hector and Paris—16, Hector's Farewell—27, Achilles Dragging Hector—7, Priam and Achilles—14, and Andromache Mourning—10.

8. See Max Rooses, *Rubens*, London, 1904, trans. H. Child, II, pp. 530-532.

9. The Coypel scene is similar iconographically (relation of Minerva to Achilles) though not pictorially to the Rubens scene. The Coypel series, consists of *Achilles' Wrath*, *Hector's Farewell*, and *Achilles' Revenge*. A *Priam and Achilles* is mentioned by Pigler, *Barockthemen*, p. 267, which he locates in the Palais Royal, but it is not mentioned in the *Inventaire des Tableaux commandés et achetés par la Direction des Bâtiments du Roi 1709-1792*, Paris, 1900 (ed. Engrand), nor in Dubois de

St. Gelais, *Description des Tableaux du Palais Royal*, Paris, 1738, nor can its engraving by Louis Desplaces be located in Leblanc (60), as Pigler suggests.

10. Caylus, *Tableaux*, p. 9. ". . . C'est donc ici le Conseil des Grecs, au milieu duquel on pourroit placer un Autel allumé: Calchas fait un contraste heureux par son habillement, & fournit une variété dans le nombre de plusieurs personnages habillés assez uniformément, puisqu'ils sont tous armés; ces points essentiels au sujet, forment des masses heureuses & variées, mais soumises par elles-mêmes à l'action principale. Achille représenté debout, l'épée à moitié tirée: le feu & le génie du Peintre doivent tout employer pour exprimer l'empressement avec Minerve arrive; elle ne doit, par exemple, toucher Achille qu'à peine; sa voix l'a déjà retenu; il la regarde & suspend son action. Je croirois même, pour faire sentir, comme le dit Homere, que la Déesse n'est vue que du seul Achille, que la Peinture pourroit employer une vapeur, ou plutôt un nuage dont Minerve seroit environnée par rapport à ceux qui composent le Conseil; je ne vois point d'autre moyen pour conduire le Spectateur à l'idée du Poète . . ."

only to Achilles, and barely touching him. In the *Departure* Caylus is mainly concerned with the emotions and characters of the participants.¹¹

After publication of the *Tableaux*, Achilles' Wrath was often associated with the Departure.¹² Indeed, except for an early elegiac landscape of the Departure by Schiavone,¹³ this subject does not seem to have been illustrated until after the publication of Caylus' *Tableaux*. These two scenes, illustrating the contrasting poles of Achilles' nature and the contrast of a public official setting with a domestic personal one, are ideally suited as pendants to one another. The studies by Sergel for both the *Wrath* and the *Departure* (Figs. 2, 3) are related directly to the Caylus publication.¹⁴ Sergel's *Wrath* is the only illustration of this subject to emphasize the altar, as Caylus suggests. Minerva's appearance in a cloud, and especially her hand barely touching Achilles' head, are taken directly from Caylus. In Sergel's *Departure* the respect of the heralds, the regret of Patroclus and Briseis and the evident despair of Achilles are Caylus-inspired. It is possible that the idea for the Tiepolo Valmarana series,¹⁵ painted contemporaneously with the publication of the *Tableaux*, was inspired by it, even though one scene not found in the Iliad is included, and though the content of the *Wrath* (Fig. 4) is different than Caylus' description and more literally true to Homer. Calchas is not included, and Minerva stands with both feet firmly on the ground and violently pulls Achilles back by the hair. In the 1770's J. H. Tischbein also painted a version of each of these scenes (Figs. 5, 6), which are connected to the pictorial tradition of Antoine Coypel, with a spacious outdoor setting and colorful costumes. Tischbein's *Wrath* is also related to Caylus' emphasis on the differentiation of the goddess Minerva from the mortals—here Minerva touches Achilles lightly on the shoulder—while Tischbein's *Departure* contains Caylus' emphasis on attitude and characterization. Vien, Caylus' protégé, painted versions of these two scenes in the 1780's.¹⁶ Flaxman also included both scenes in his 1793 illustrations of Homer's Iliad (Figs. 12, 13). His *Wrath* is a literal interpretation of Homer, similar to Tiepolo's version. As with Tiepolo, Calchas is omitted and Minerva is represented standing firmly on the ground and pulling Achilles' hair. However, Flaxman suppresses all indication of setting. His *Departure* changes the earlier manner of representation of Sergel and Tischbein. The number of figures is here limited only to the necessary participants, who are now arranged in a friezelike manner across a flat background, while there is no indication of setting or even of space, and the tent of Achilles has completely disappeared.

The association of the *Wrath* and the *Departure* resulted not only in the pairing of these sub-

11. Caylus, *Tableaux*, p. 12. "Le Tableau qu'Homere nous fournit ici, me paroît un de ceux auquel le Peintre trouvera le plus d'avantage. Achille devant sa tente, plongé dans une douleur d'autant plus morne & plus abbatue, qu'elle succede à la colere la plus violente, & que cette même douleur est causée par le désespoir de l'orgueil & de l'amour également offensés. Achille voit partir Briseis; cette belle Esclave lui témoigne la douleur la plus tendre. Patrocle, qui partage le chagrin de son ami, la remet entre les mains de deux Herauts envoyés par Agamemnon pour l'enlever de la tente d'Achille. Leur attitude mêlée de crainte & de respect, présente non-seulement un contraste avantageux en lui-même, mais une confirmation des caracteres & des traits représentés dans les Tableaux précédens. Celui-ci pourroit se dispenser de faire partie d'une suite pour être senti & démêlé, je le crois intéressant par lui-même."

12. An exception is the single lost painting by Maurice Quai of Patroclus leading Briseis to Agamemnon. However, as described by M. E. J. Décluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps*, Paris, 1855, pp. 423-424, this painting may not have shown Achilles at all, but may represent instead the moment when Briseis is handed to Agamemnon, similar in subject to one of the Tiepolo illustrations from the Valmarana

series, and more in keeping with Quai's emphasis on the importance of Agamemnon, for whom he was nicknamed.

13. Now at Hampton Court Palace, illustrated in Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance; the Venetian School*, London [1957], II, pl. 1159. A cassone at the Cluny Museum, Paris, ca. 1470, includes scenes of Achilles and Briseis saying farewell, and of Briseis being given to Agamemnon. The scene of the Departure should not be confused with that of the Ambassadors of Agamemnon Visiting Achilles in his Tent, which has been illustrated by Carstens and Ingres, and represents a later moment in the Iliad, when Agamemnon attempts a reconciliation with Achilles.

14. Harald Brising, "Sergels teckningar till Homeros och Virgilius," *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap*, 1917, p. 139, has made this association. Brising suggests the date 1766-1767 for these two drawings.

15. See Michael Levey, "Tiepolo's Treatment of the Classical Story at the Villa Valmarana; A Study in Eighteenth-century Iconography and Aesthetics," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1957, pp. 298-317. Levey suggests that Tiepolo may have consulted a copy of Caylus' *Tableaux* owned by Consul Joseph Smith (p. 302).

16. See note 62 below.

jects, but also in the combination of the two scenes into one.¹⁷ Gavin Hamilton can be credited with first telescoping these two subjects in his *Anger of Achilles for the Loss of Briseis* (Fig. 7). Here Achilles retains his wrathful aspect, which is his most characteristic nature throughout the Iliad, while Patroclus and Briseis represent the sorrowful aspect of the scene. Vien's *Departure* (Fig. 9) borrows its composition mainly from Hamilton, though retaining the traditional division of the subject. Canova, in 1790 (Fig. 8), adopts Hamilton's combination of scenes for his own work, though initiating a new composition. The specific relation of Flaxman's version of the *Departure* to Canova's relief is not known,¹⁸ but despite the difference in interpretation their compositional similarity is striking. Thorwaldsen's relief of 1803 (Fig. 10)¹⁹ also belongs to this group, noted for its stark simplicity and friezelike setting, as does a bas-relief by Rude, one of a series of scenes from the life of Achilles, executed in 1823 for the Château Tervueren, Brussels (Fig. 11).²⁰ It has been suggested that the classical subject and Rude's Neoclassical manner of illustrating it were influenced by David, who was exiled in Brussels at this time.²¹ Whatever the reason, Rude surely knew at least the Flaxman illustration, from which he adopted the interpretation of the subject and the complete suit of armor. A later and different design was created by Cornelius in his 1827 frescoes for the Munich Glyptothek (Fig. 18). Here both Iliad scenes, as well as other scenes from the life of Achilles, are included in the same panel, and Cornelius is as eclectic in his choice of compositional motifs as in his subject matter, for the pictorial setting is in the Coypel tradition, while the gesture of Briseis was first used by Thorwaldsen in his relief of the *Departure*.

HECTOR DEPARTING FROM ANDROMACHE

The subject of Hector Departing is a traditional theme. The story figured in the legend of Troy and was illustrated as early as the fifteenth century.²² In Homer's Iliad the scene includes the meeting of Hector and Andromache as Hector departs for battle; the anecdote of their son, Astyanax, who is frightened by the plumed helmet, which Hector removes before embracing him; and Hector's prayer to the gods for the future well-being of his son.

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the scene is often illustrated. Restout's *Hector Departing* (Fig. 14)²³ illustrates the moment when the helmetless Hector turns to pray to the gods, thus emphasizing the service of the state and Hector's heroism and glory. Antoine Coypel's contemporaneous version of the same scene (Fig. 16) includes the local setting of the Trojan gates and is pictorial and anecdotal rather than didactic. The scene is not literally true to Homer, as the chariot which Hector mounts is not mentioned by the poet, and the moment when Astyanax shrinks from the helmet occurs in Homer before Hector actually takes his leave.²⁴

17. Caylus, *Tableaux*, pp. 133-134, suggests in one instance that a painting can telescope several scenes into one moment. However, Lessing, in his *Laokoon* holds that painting must maintain unity of time as well as of place and action. See Howard, work quoted in note 6 above, and Francis H. Dowley, "D'Angiviller's *Grands Hommes* and the Significant Moment," *ART BULLETIN*, xxxix, 1957, pp. 259-277, for further information on the problem of time in painting.

18. The question of the priority of the Canova or Flaxman illustration cannot be definitely ascertained since it is not known if Flaxman received the commission for his illustrations before or after the Canova relief was designed, or even if he was acquainted with Canova at this early date. However, at a later date Flaxman did sketch at least one of Canova's works, according to Margaret Whinney, "Flaxman and the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1956, p. 281.

19. See Melchior Missirini, *Intera collezione di tutti le opere dal Cav. A. Thorwaldsen*, Rome, 1831, for engravings of

Thorwaldsen's Homeric subjects, their dates of completion, and the source of the commissions.

20. See Joseph Calmette, *François Rude*, Paris, 1920, pp. 46-57, for plates of the executed series, and Paul Vitry, "Les dessins de Rude du Musée de Dijon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, August, 1930, pp. 113-127, for illustrations and discussion of the drawings of this series.

21. Vitry, *loc.cit.*, p. 117.

22. A Burgundian tapestry, 1475, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

23. Until recently attributed to François LeMoyné.

24. There are also several half-length figure drawings of this subject prior to 1750, by Joachim von Sandraert, illustrated in Elfried Bock, *Die Zeichnungen in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1929, p. 167, no. 654; and by Guiseppè Bazzani, illustrated in Nicola Ivanoff, *Bazzani, saggio critico e catalogo delle opere . . . in occasione della mostra du Bazzani in Mantova*, Bergamo, 1950.

These several interpretations continued after the publication of Caylus' *Tableaux*.²⁵ Caylus divides the scene into two parts—the meeting and the anecdote of Astyanax and the helmet—while he suppresses Hector's prayer to the gods. He has few specific suggestions, beyond directions to represent the scene as Homer has described it, and a caution to the painter to depict the emotion according to sex and character. Gavin Hamilton paints an architectural theater setting (Fig. 15), possibly inspired by Poussin,²⁶ in which the anecdote of Astyanax shrinking from the helmet is similar to the Coypel-Caylus interpretation, and the foreground figures echo Coypel. Vien, according to the 1787 Salon description,²⁷ shows Hector about to mount his chariot, wearing his helmet, while Astyanax shrinks from him, similar to both Coypel's and Hamilton's versions. On the other hand, Angelica Kauffmann paints a scene (Fig. 17)²⁸ reminiscent of Restout, in which Hector, with his helmet placed on the ground, holds Astyanax in his arms and prays to the gods. Only Flaxman escapes from the dilemma of anecdotal or didactic interpretation in the most moving scene of this subject (Fig. 22), which illustrates the meeting of Hector and Andromache and is the one version that follows Caylus' suggestion of differentiating emotion according to sex and character. The anecdote of the child and the helmet is suppressed in favor of emphasis on the relationship of husband and wife. Andromache hangs on Hector's hand, and leans against his shoulder with her face averted, while Hector stands stiff and stoical in this last farewell.

The traditional methods of interpreting this subject continue into the nineteenth century. In 1812 J. H. W. Tischbein paints the child shrinking from Hector's helmet (Fig. 20), and in 1813 Eckersberg follows Kauffmann's interpretation of this subject by painting a helmetless Hector holding his child above his head and gazing at it (Fig. 21).²⁹ Finally, Cornelius in his 1827 Glyptothek frescoes (Fig. 19) demonstrates his wide knowledge of possible interpretations of this scene by using motifs from Flaxman (Andromache hanging on Hector's shoulder), Tischbein (Astyanax shrinking from Hector's helmet), Eckersberg (Hector holding the child), and a simplification of Hamilton's chariot in the background, here represented by a horse, in an inclusive statement of this theme.

ACHILLES DRAGGING HECTOR'S BODY AROUND THE WALLS OF TROY

The subject of Achilles Dragging Hector has a relationship to traditional sources that is more specific than that of Hector's Farewell. Homer describes Achilles dragging Hector's corpse, tied by the heels to the rear of his chariot, around the walls of Troy, and then speaks of Hector's

25. Caylus, *Tableaux*, pp. 50-51. "Le Tableau d'Hector, d'Andromaque, de la Nourisse qui porte Astianax, est simple & rempli d'intérêt; le lieu de la scene au bas du mur d'une Place de guerre, le rend encore plus touchant. L'Artiste doit lire les propres paroles d'Homere pour s'affecter davantage d'un sujet qu'il a décrit fort légèrement, mais suffisamment; car Homere a senti plus qu'un autre les différences que l'on doit apporter dans la touche, & les nuances sont aussi nécessaires au Peintre qu'au Poëte; leur principe est également fondé sur la Nature, source commune où les Poëtes & les Peintres doivent puiser." Caylus then describes a second painting of this subject (p. 51): "L'adieu d'Hector, la douleur tendre du mari & de la femme variée selon le sexe & le caractere; l'effroi de l'enfant à la vue du Pennache, produisent une composition traitée déjà plus d'une fois (Caylus here mentions a painting of the subject by La Fosse at Versailles, which I cannot locate, and which is not recorded elsewhere); elle méritera toujours l'attention des Peintres: un sujet dont les sentimens sont justes & bien placés, ne peut être trop souvent entrepris; mais il est absolument nécessaire dans cette suite."

26. Poussin's *Plague of Ashdod*, engraved twice in the seventeenth century (Georges Wildenstein, *Les graveurs de Poussin au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1957, nos. 23, 24) and his *Death*

of *Sapphira* (engr. Wildenstein, no. 75) are likely candidates. However, the possibility of Hamilton going directly to the source of these backgrounds—sixteenth century theater design, such as Serlio—cannot be discarded (see Jane Costello, review of Erwin Panofsky, *A Mythological Painting by Poussin in the Nationalmuseum Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1960, ART BULLETIN, XLIV, p. 138, for a suggested connection of Poussin's paintings with theatrical settings). Louis Hautecoeur, *Rome et la Renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1912, p. 147, suggests that Hamilton was influenced by Batoni, who also illustrated this subject in a painting which is now lost.

27. *Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions*, Paris, 1870. The painting is now at Epinal.

28. The date of this painting is 1769, according to *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1769, p. 8. However, Jean Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785*, Paris, 1912, p. 157 n. 9, dates it 1772.

29. Erik Moltesen, *Bertel Thorvaldsen*, Copenhagen, 1929, pp. 254-255, points out that Thorvaldsen continues the Eckersberg motif of Hector and his son in his 1837 relief of this subject.

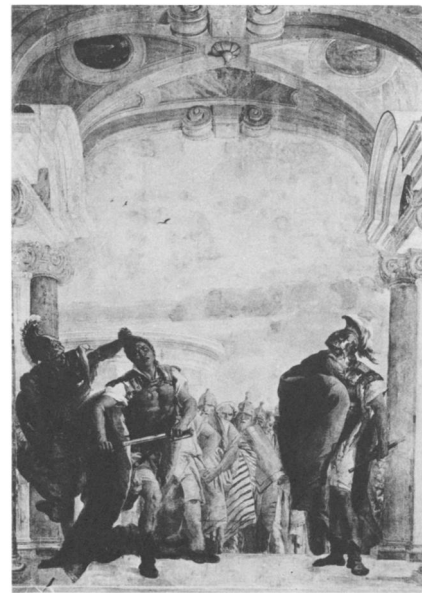


1. Antoine Coypel, *Wrath of Achilles*. Gobelins tapestry. Paris, Garde-Meuble National, 1721-1725 (cartoon, 1708) (photo: Archives photographiques)

2. Tobias Sergel, *Wrath of Achilles*, 1766-1767(?) (from *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap*, 1917, p. 140, fig. 2). Present whereabouts unknown



3. Tobias Sergel, *Departure of Briseis*, 1766-1767(?)
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



4. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Wrath of Achilles*, 1767. Vicenza, Villa Valmarana (photo: Marzari, Schio)



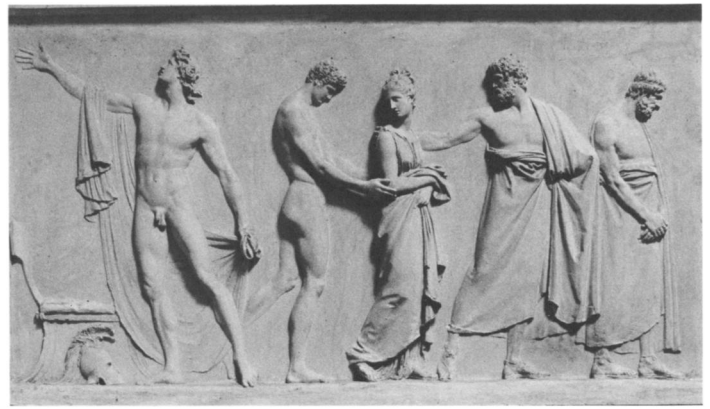
5. J. H. Tischbein, *Wrath of Achilles*, 1776. Hamburg, Kunsthalle (photo: Kleinhempel, Hamburg)



6. J. H. Tischbein, *Departure of Briseis*, 1776
Hamburg, Kunsthalle (photo: Kleinhempel, Hamburg)



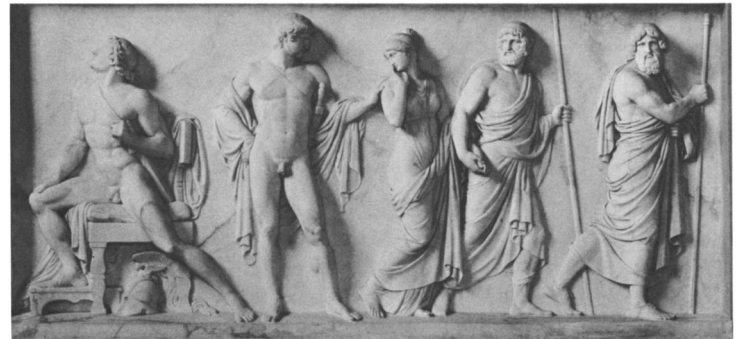
7. Gavin Hamilton, *The Anger of Achilles for the Loss of Briseis* Engraving by Domenico Cunego, 1769 (photo: Freeman, London)



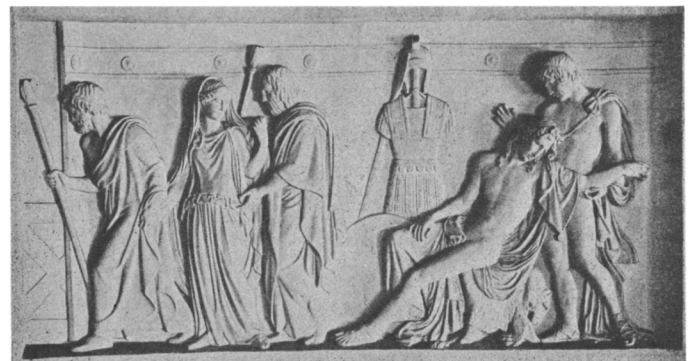
8. Antonio Canova, *Wrath of Achilles at the Departure of Briseis*, 1790. Possagno, Gipsoteca (photo: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Ist. di Stor. dell'Arte)



9. Joseph-Marie Vien, *Departure of Briseis*, Gobelins tapestry, Chantilly (original shown in Salon 1781, now at Angers) (photo: Archives photographiques)



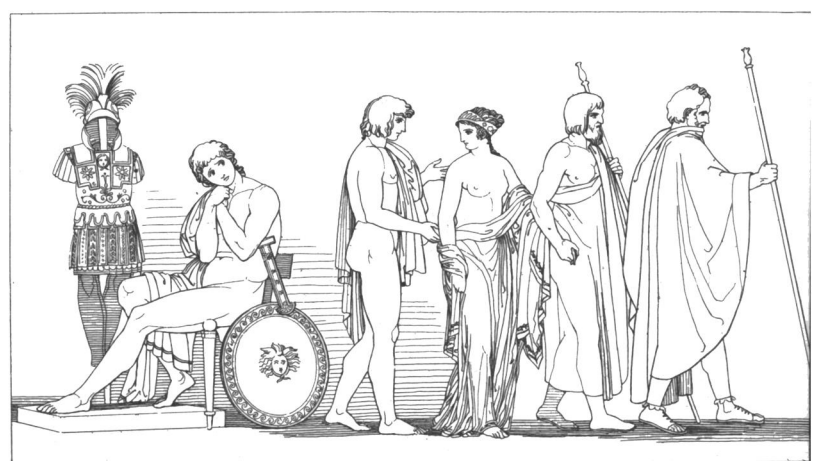
10. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Wrath of Achilles at the Departure of Briseis*, 1805. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum (photo: Jonals, Copenhagen)



11. François Rude, *Departure of Briseis*, 1823-1824 (destroyed) (from Calmette, *Rude*, p. 49)



12. John Flaxman, *Minerva Repressing the Fury of Achilles*. Engraved by William Blake, 1805 (from the 1805 *Iliad* of Homer, pl. 2)



13. John Flaxman, *The Departure of Briseis from the Tent of Achilles* Engraved by Thomas Piroli, 1793 (from the 1805 *Iliad* of Homer, pl. 3)



14. Jean Restout, ygr., *Hector's Farewell*. Musée d'Orléans (photo: Archives photographiques)



15. Gavin Hamilton, *Hector Taking Leave of Andromache*. Duke of Hamilton, Holyrood House (photo: Scott, Edinburgh)



16. Antoine Coypel, *Hector's Farewell*, 1708. Musée de Troyes (photo: Bulloz)



17. Angelica Kauffmann, *The Last Interview of Hector and Andromache*. Engraving by Schiavonetti (Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dick Fund, 1947)



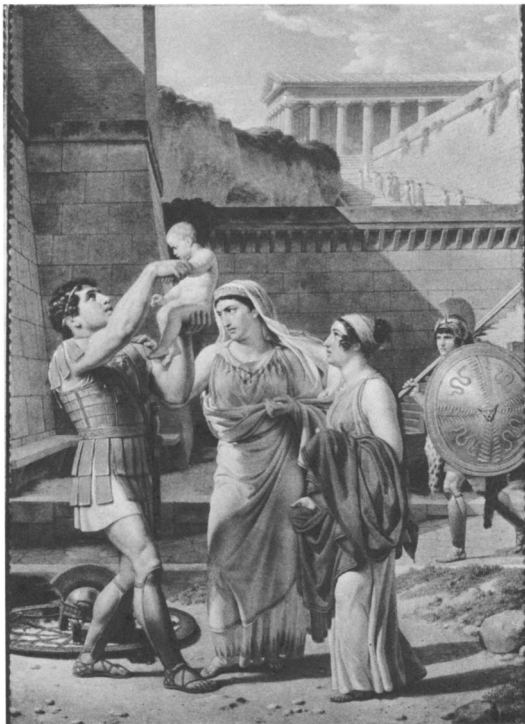
18. Peter von Cornelius, *Wrath of Achilles*, 1827. Munich, Glyptothek (photo: Oscar Poss, Munich)



19. Peter von Cornelius, *Hector's Farewell*, 1827. Munich, Glyptothek (photo: Oscar Poss, Munich)



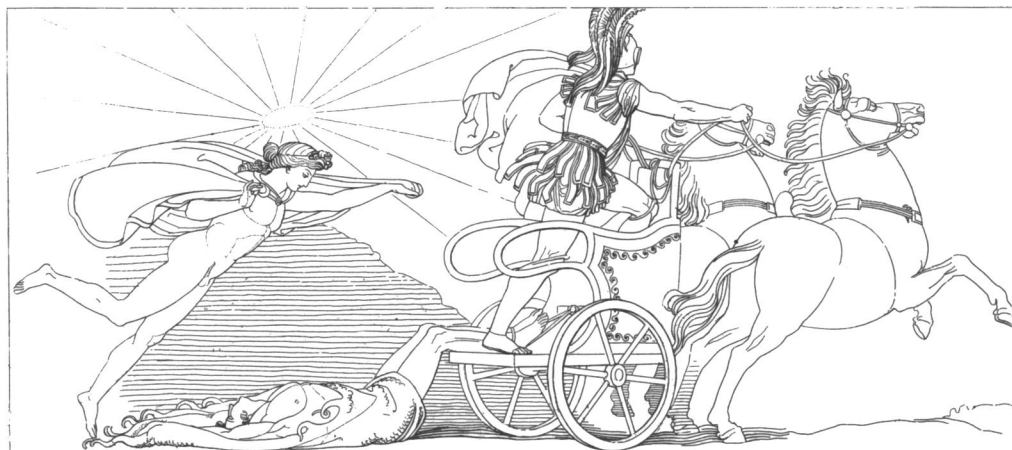
20. J. H. W. Tischbein, *Hector's Farewell*, 1812 Oldenburg, Landesmuseum



21. Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg, *Hector's Farewell*, 1813. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum (photo: Jonals, Copenhagen)



22. John Flaxman, *The Meeting of Hector and Andromache*. Engraving by Parker, 1805 (from the 1805 *Iliad of Homer*, pl. 14)



23. John Flaxman, *Hector's Body Dragged at the Car of Achilles* Engraving by Piroli, 1793 (from the 1805 *Iliad of Homer*, pl. 36)



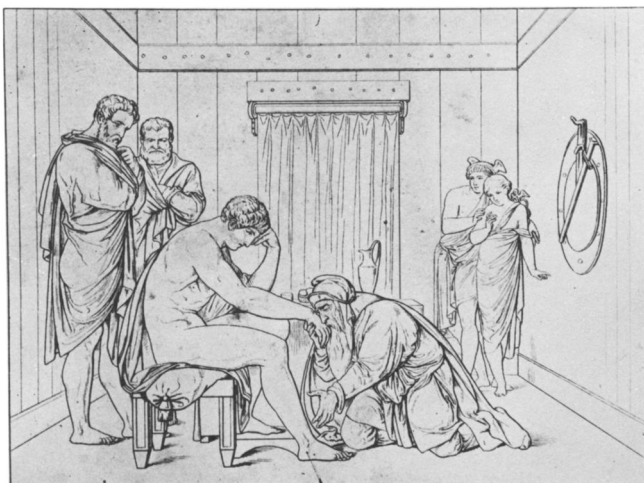
24. Pietro Testa, *Achilles Dragging Hector* (Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dick Fund, 1926)



25. Gavin Hamilton, *Achilles Vents his Rage on Hector*
Engraving by Domenico Cunego, 1766



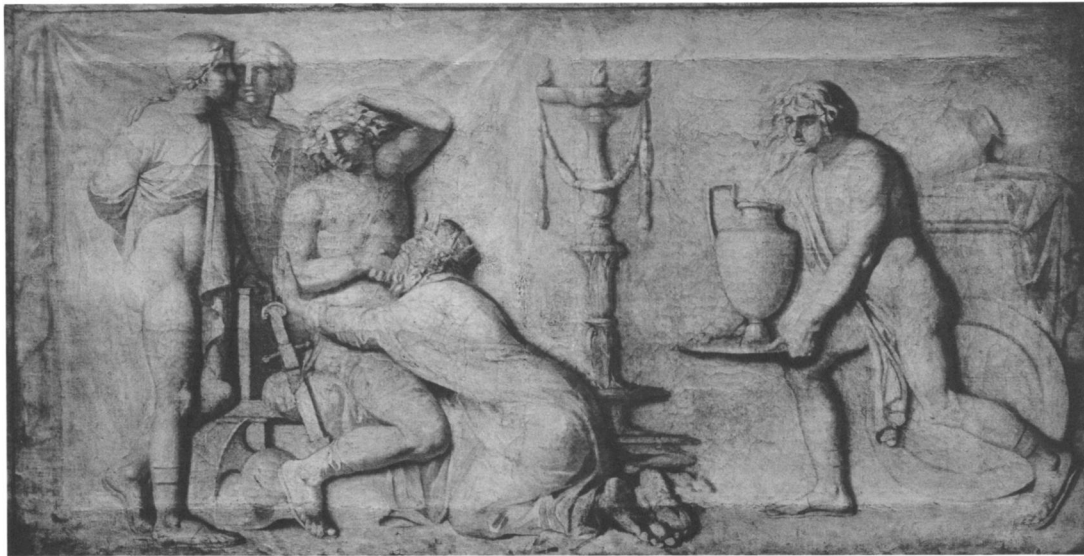
26. François Rude, *Achilles Dragging Hector*, 1823-1824
(destroyed) (from Calmette, *Rude*, p. 53)



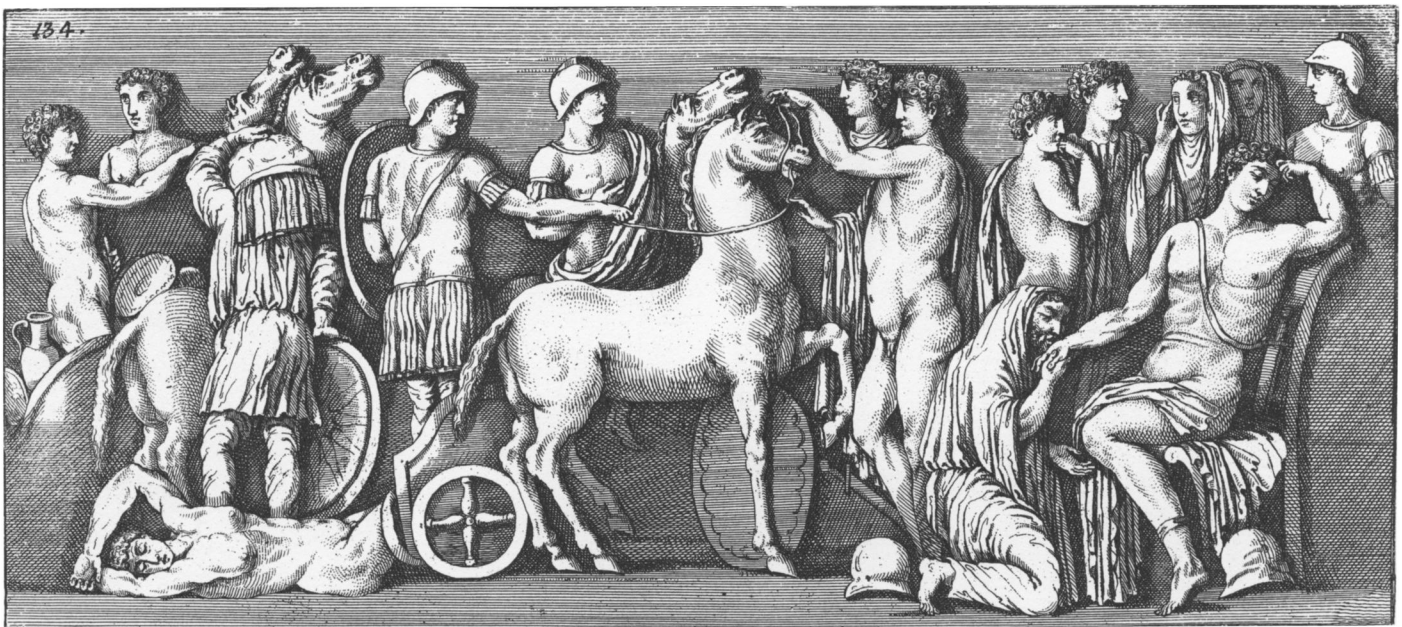
27. Asmus Jakob Carstens, *Priam and Achilles*, 1795. Berlin, Preussische Akademie der Künste, Nationalgalerie (Courtesy German Information Center, N.Y., photo: Inter Nations)



28. Gavin Hamilton, *Priam Redeems the Dead Body of Hector*
Engraving by Domenico Cunego, 1766



29. Nicholas Abildgaard, *Priam and Achilles*, 1780. Copenhagen, Statens Museum för Kunst



30. *The Redeeming of Hector's Body*, Illustration from the antique
(from Winckelmann, *Mon. ant. ined.*, II, ii, pl. 134)



31. Bertel Thorwaldsen, *Priam and Achilles*, 1815. Copenhagen, Thorwaldsens Museum (photo: Jonals, Copenhagen)



32. Silver cup. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseum
(photo: Larsen, Copenhagen)



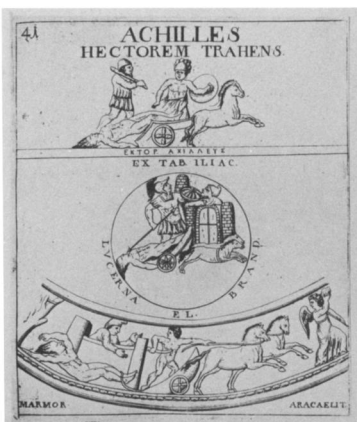
33. Peter von Cornelius, *Priam and Achilles*, 1827. Munich, Glyptothek (photo: Oscar Poss, Munich)



34. Gavin Hamilton, *Andromache Bewailing the Death of Hector* Engraving by Domenico Cunego, 1764 (painted in 1761)



35. Johann Heinrich Von Dannecker, *Andromache Mourning*, 1798 Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (Courtesy German Information Center, N.Y., photo: Inter Nationes)



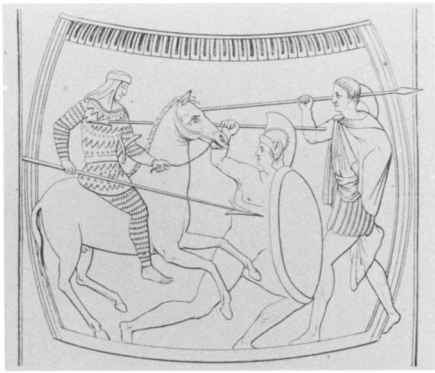
36. Illustrations from the antique of *Achilles Dragging Hector* (from Beger, *Bellum*, pl. 41)



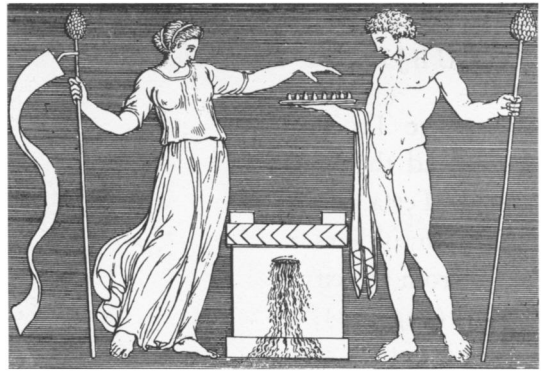
37. Illustration of antique gem (detail from Gori, *Mus. Flor.*, lxxxixiii)



38. Illustration of antique vase (detail from Caylus, *Recueil*, II, pl. xxix)



39. Illustration of antique vase (from Montfaucon *Ant. expl.*, IV Suppl. 3-4, pl. 11.)



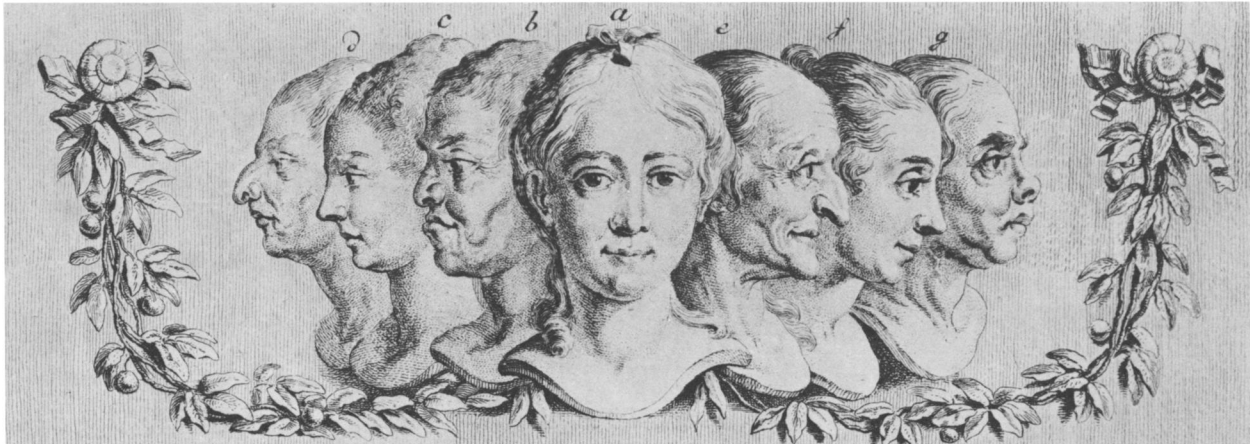
41. Illustration of antique vase (from Winckelmann, *Mon. ant. ined.*, VII, IV, pl. 181)



40. Illustration of antique vase (from Hamilton-D'Hancarville, *Collection*, I, pl. 1)



42. Illustration of antique vase (from Hamilton-Tischbein, *Collection*, I, pl. 31)



43. Group of busts (from Lavater, *Essai sur Phys.*, 1781, I, 187)



44. J. H. W. Tischbein, *The Seven Homeric Heroes* (from Tischbein, *Homer nach Ant. Gez.*)

family on the Trojan wall viewing the scene. The subject is first represented in the fifteenth century,³⁰ and then disappears until Pietro Testa engraves the scene in the seventeenth century (Fig. 24). Testa concentrates on Achilles, Hector and the chariot in the immediate foreground, while Trojan soldiers in the middle ground mount a rise in the land, and Hector's family witnesses the scene from the city wall in the background. This composition influenced the painting by Gavin Hamilton (Fig. 25),³¹ who uses an arrangement of foreground and middle ground figures and background details closely related to the Testa engraving.

Through Hamilton the Testa composition passes on to later Neoclassical artists. Probably Callet's version, now known only through the 1785 Salon description,³² followed Hamilton closely, as it included not only the main figure group but also Priam and Hecuba pleading from the Trojan wall. David's *Hector* also depends on the Hamilton composition.³³ The Testa-Hamilton composition prevailed even though there were many antique models for this subject which were certainly known to Neoclassical artists through publications³⁴—for instance, Beger's prints (Fig. 36)—if not in the original. Thus Flaxman borrows the scene of *Achilles Dragging Hector* from an antique gem in Gori for a design for a Wedgwood plaque,³⁵ but for his 1793 Iliad illustration (Fig. 23) he turns, not to antiquity but to the Hamilton-Testa composition. The three-quarter position of the chariot, its rear platform, and the elevated position of Hector's legs all occur in the illustrations of these three artists, but not simultaneously in antique models. Flaxman, however, alters his source by eliminating all but the essentials. The walls of Troy and Hector's family have disappeared. Eventually, in Rude's Château Tervueren relief (Fig. 26), the composition is given a flat, two-dimensional character—the chariot, for instance, is seen directly from the side, and all the figures are in profile.

The influence of Caylus' *Tableaux*³⁶ on these illustrations is almost negligible. Hamilton includes the wall of Troy and the mourners, which Caylus does not mention, and Flaxman, though eliminating the wall, seems to derive more from Hamilton than from Caylus. However, both Hamilton and Flaxman indicate Hector's hair flowing behind him on the ground, as suggested by Caylus, and Rude is the only artist to include Caylus' suggestion of arranging the arms of Hector like a trophy on Achilles' chariot.

PRIAM IN ACHILLES' TENT

The scene of Priam and Achilles, as described by Homer, consists of Priam kneeling before Achilles in his tent, pleading for the body of his son Hector. Achilles is alone with two servants, and the three Greeks are amazed at the sudden appearance of the Trojan king in their midst. No version of this scene is extant prior to Caylus' *Tableaux*.³⁷ Caylus' description and all illus-

30. School of Ghirlandaio, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, illustrated in the 1929 Fitzwilliam Museum catalogue, p. 12. The pictorial quality of this subject is continued by a few artists, such as Donato Creti, *Achilles Dragging Hector*, Bologna, illustrated in the 1938 Bologna catalogue, p. 67.

31. Dr. Walter Friedlaender has independently concluded that Hamilton's painting derives from Testa's engraving.

32. *Collection des livres*. This painting, now lost (?), was formerly at the museum of Saint-Omer. Locquin, *op.cit.*, p. 157 and n. 12, describes this painting as being dependent on Hamilton's composition.

33. Pointed out by Rudolph Walter Zeitler, *Klassizismus und Utopia*, Stockholm, 1954, p. 60.

34. The best known reproductions of antique illustrations of this subject are in Pietro Bartoli, *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum*, Rome, 1693, pl. 4; and Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, 1767, II, pt. II, pl. 134. Francesco Inghirami, *Galleria Omerica, o raccolta di monumenti antichi, per servire allo studio dell'Iliade e*

dell'Odissea, Fiesole, 1829-1831, II, pls. cciv-ccxii, contains further information on antique works available in publications to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century artist.

35. For the Flaxman Wedgwood plaque, see Roderick Cameron, "Flaxman et Wedgwood," *L'Oeil*, May, 1959, p. 54; for the antique prototype see Antonio Francesco Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, II, *Gemmae antiquae*, Florence, 1731-1732, p. 60, pl. xxv, no. 1.

36. Caylus *Tableaux*, p. 118. "Achille, ayant passé une courroie dans les talons d'Hector, l'ayant attaché à la queue de son Char, sur lequel il a placé les armes du vaincu, que l'on peut croire arrangées comme une espee de trophée fait à la hâte, part avec rapidité. Il ne faut point oublier de représenter les beaux cheveux d'Hector qui traînent sur la terre; il me semble qu'ils augmentent en cette occasion, l'intérêt que l'on prend à ce Prince malheureux."

37. However, Pigler, *Barockthemen*, II, p. 267, mentions works by Honthorst, Lebrun, Coypel (see note 9 above), and Tiepolo. I am indebted to Kunstverlag Wolfrum, Vienna, for

trations of the scene stress the attitude of Achilles.³⁸ Hamilton may have used Caylus' suggestions for his illustration of the scene (Fig. 28), or he may have borrowed motifs from Poussin.³⁹ However, Hamilton's illustration was not influential.

Another interpretation in the 1780's, by Abildgaard (Fig. 29), shows Achilles averting his face from Priam and raising his hand to his head. The pose of Achilles, the helmet under his chair, and the warrior behind him are undoubtedly derived from the famous antique relief in the Villa Borghese, illustrated in Winckelmann's *Monumenti antichi* (Fig. 30), which also accounts for the simple, friezelike composition.⁴⁰ Abildgaard modifies his prototype to exclude all extraneous elements, and concentrates on the essentials of the story. A painting by Doyen, known from the 1787 Salon description,⁴¹ in which Achilles is turning from Priam to wipe away a tear of pity, may be close to Abildgaard's interpretation.

Versions of this subject done after 1790 by Carstens (Fig. 27) and Thorwaldsen (Fig. 31) show Achilles meditating as Priam kneels before him. The source of this composition is antique, and is related to the antique silver cup from Hoby (Fig. 32).⁴² Flaxman, strangely, does not include this scene, and Rude invents a new type of composition,⁴³ while Cornelius (Fig. 33) follows the Hoby cup composition but includes the body of Hector, as do Hamilton and some antique illustrations such as the Villa Borghese relief. A woman in the background wipes a tear from her eye, reminiscent of Doyen's interpretation. Achilles, however, is no longer taken by surprise, nor does he meditate on what course of action to follow, but gestures magnanimously to his enemy.

ANDROMACHE MOURNING

Andromache Mourning is not mentioned by Caylus, though all known illustrations of this scene occur after publication of the *Tableaux*. The subject is divided into two types. The first is described by Homer, who speaks of Andromache throwing herself on Hector's corpse while all her women join in her grief. The subject and the design for this type seem to have been the invention of Gavin Hamilton (Fig. 34), who derived his composition from Poussin.⁴⁴ Hamilton may have been following a pre-existing French tradition, for there is at least one French painting of a mourning scene in the manner of Poussin contemporaneous with Hamilton's illustration.⁴⁵ Hamilton's model was closely followed by Dannecker (Fig. 35), Kauffmann,⁴⁶ and David.⁴⁷

The second type, Andromache Mourning over the Ashes of Hector, has antique prototypes,

a comprehensive but fruitless effort to trace the Tiepolo. According to Alfred Kamphausen, *Asmus Jakob Carstens*, Neumünster, 1941, p. 166, this subject was very popular in the Neoclassical period.

38. Caylus, *Tableaux*, pp. 134-135. "Priam entré dans cette espece de tente, trouve Achille dont les amis sont éloignés; il est à table, servi par deux guerriers. Le vieillard tombe à ses genoux: l'étonnement & la surprise regnent sur tous les visages. Il est nécessaire d'apprendre à l'Artiste qu'un hommentré dans la maison d'un autre, étoit dès-lors sous sa protection: cette action exigeroit plusieurs détails; on en verra des exemples dans l'Odyssée; il est bon d'en rappeler l'idée pour mettre au fait du mérite de cette démarche du Roi Priam."

39. Priam is similar in pose to the foreground figure in Poussin's *Adoration of the Magi* (engr. Wildenstein, work cited in note 26 above, no. 40). Ellis K. Waterhouse, "The British Contribution to the Neo-Classical Style in Painting," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1954, p. 73, suggests that Hamilton returns to Poussin's principles of composition in this painting.

40. Other versions of the subject are mentioned by Winckelmann, *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch*, Florence, 1760. See also Inghirami, *Galleria*, pls. ccxxii (very similar to the Borghese relief) and ccxxxvii.

41. *Collection des livres*. This painting is now languishing in damaged condition at the Musée National des Beaux-Arts in Algiers, according to Mme. E. Baroux, secretary of the Museum.

42. See K. F. Johansen, "Om Thorvaldsens Priamos og Achilleus," *Kunst og Kultur*, 1923, pp. 240-252.

43. Illustrated in Calmette, work cited in note 20, p. 53.

44. Waterhouse, work cited in note 39, p. 70. More precisely, figures from the Hamilton painting are taken directly from both Poussin's *Death of Germanicus* and his second version of the *Extreme Unction* (engr. Wildenstein, work cited in note 26 above, nos. 101 and 115). See David Irwin, "Gavin Hamilton: Archaeologist, Painter and Dealer," *ART BULLETIN*, XLIV, pp. 93-94, for recent comments.

45. By J. F. Sané, *Death of Socrates*, 1762, illustrated in Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire*, pl. vi. Sané was a pupil of Vien, and thus connected with the Caylus tradition.

46. Locquin, *ibid.*, p. 157 n. 9, mentions that Kauffmann's painting is derived from Hamilton's version of this subject. This painting is now lost, but Kauffmann showed another *Andromache Mourning* at the 1772 Academy exhibition, this time connected with the ashes of Hector rather than with his corpse.

47. Locquin, *ibid.*

such as that published by Winckelmann.⁴⁸ This type is first taken up by Kauffmann, and then by other artists less closely associated with the Neoclassical movement.⁴⁹

II

The following section is concerned with a chronological organization of the above material, a clarification of the development of these illustrations, and an interpretation of the meaning that they had for the Neoclassical artist.⁵⁰

From the foregoing illustrations it can be seen that a variety of sources form the background of the compositions of Iliad subjects.⁵¹ One of the most important sources, initiating the sudden outburst of Iliad illustrations of the second half of the eighteenth century, is Caylus' *Tableaux*. It was not until after publication of this book in 1757 that large-scale illustration of Iliad subjects began, or that illustrations of this epic alone were done in series. Beside the influence of the *Tableaux*,⁵² Caylus' theories were also spread through his immediate associates, especially Vien, whose pupils David and Vincent transmitted his ideas to a multitude of students, and, in at least one case, through his protégé Bouchardon, who is connected, though indirectly, with Sergel.⁵³ However, the *Tableaux* was by no means literally followed. In spite of the wide variety of subjects enumerated by Caylus, many were never illustrated by artists, while of the more than forty-five Iliad subjects illustrated in this period, only about twenty are included by Caylus in his book. Also, of the nine most popular themes previously mentioned in this paper, only three were introduced after the publication of Caylus' book, and can thus claim to have originated with him; one of these—Andromache Mourning—is not mentioned by Caylus. Much of the illustrative material for the Iliad seems to be connected with a tradition that goes far back beyond Caylus. It has been suggested that Caylus sums up certain aspects of traditional art rather than originating a new movement.⁵⁴ It is indeed possible that Caylus arrived at the idea of a series of Iliad illustrations through his association with Charles Coypel, son of Antoine Coypel,⁵⁵ who designed his partial Iliad series almost fifty years before publication of the *Tableaux*.⁵⁶ In his series the illustrations are dissociated from allegorical connotations, and treated in a literal, though pictorial, manner. In several instances Caylus' descriptions follow the Coypel tapestries—notably in the relationship of Minerva to Achilles in the *Wrath* (a relationship that is not a literal transcription of Homer) and in Caylus' and Coypel's inclusion of a wall in *Hector's Farewell*. It is interesting

48. *Mon. ant. ined.*, II, ii, pl. 138. See also Inghirami, *Galleria*, II, pls. CCXLIV-CCXLV.

49. The Kauffmann version was engraved by Thomas Burke, 1772, and by J. B. Lucien, n.d. (see note 46 above). Jacques Gamelin's version, 1798, is now in the Orléans Museum, and Taillason's was exhibited in the Salon of 1800. Both were pupils of Vien.

50. Discussions of the development of Neoclassical art can be found in P. F. Schmidt, "Der Pseudo-Klassizismus des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Monatshfte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1915, pp. 372-383, 409-422, and in Robert Rosenblum, *The International Style of 1800; A Study in Linear Abstraction*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1956. Rosenblum suggests broadening Schmidt's discussion of the Germanic countries to include European art as a whole.

51. One possible source of these compositions—book illustrations—must be discarded, since these illustrations represent a belated rather than a progressive medium. Even the idea of illustrating Iliad translations occurred much later than illustrations in painting and related media. Iliad translations of the seventeenth century seldom contain illustrations and, with the exception of the Ogilby *Iliad* of 1660, these do not follow the true Homeric story. Eighteenth century illustrated Iliad translations are rare; only four occur before 1770 (1711-1716, Dacier, Paris; 1712-1717, Dacier, Amsterdam; 1714,

La Motte, Paris; 1731, Dacier, Amsterdam). Of these, the subjects are in general different from those of the paintings and, except for a frontispiece after Coypel's *Wrath of Achilles* in the Dacier 1712 *Iliad*, the compositions are not similar to those in other media. Indeed, the lack of association of Iliad illustrations with the translations is brought out by the fact that none of the illustrations of the Iliad in art discussed in this paper were intended to illustrate a translation of the Iliad. Even Flaxman's series was published in its own right, and Pope's verses are taken out of context to describe the compositions to which they are affixed. Dr. Janson has pointed out the Ogilby translation to me and kindly lent me his copy.

52. Beside artists mentioned elsewhere in this paper, David's *Battle of Minerva and Mars* was influenced by Caylus' *Tableaux*, as pointed out by Zeitler, *Klassizismus*, p. 56.

53. Sergel was a pupil of Larchevêque, who was a pupil of Bouchardon.

54. See, for instance, André Fontaine, *Les doctrines d'art en France de Poussin à Diderot*, Paris, 1909, chs. VII and VIII, pp. 186-251.

55. See Rocheblave, work cited in note 6 above, and Fontaine, *loc.cit.*, especially p. 215, for Caylus' connection with Coypel.

56. See note 9 above.

to note that Caylus' protégé Vien shows Hector mounting a chariot in *Hector's Farewell*, a motif not specified by Caylus but seen previously only in Coypel's version of this scene. Caylus' emphasis on variation and elaboration of the setting are also similar to Coypel's pictorial treatment of the Iliad themes. Coypel's *Épître à son fils sur la peinture*, written in 1721, emphasizes the factual, literal character of painting, and the preservation of the character of the subjects by the artist,⁵⁷ features which are likewise stressed in Caylus' *Tableaux*.

Gavin Hamilton's interest in scenes from the Iliad was undoubtedly related to Caylus' book, though his compositions seldom show a direct influence. Hamilton does, however, demonstrate a close association with French reform ideals. Caylus was one of the leaders of this movement, which stressed a return to the classical ideals of seventeenth century French art, notably to the art of Poussin.⁵⁸ Hamilton, who did not have the background of a strong national artistic tradition and who was representative of the next generation after Caylus, was able to return directly to the art of Poussin and his circle through the medium of engravings. Three of Hamilton's paintings that have been discussed—*Hector's Farewell*, *Priam and Achilles*, and *Andromache Mourning*—are derived at least in part from compositions by Poussin. *Achilles Dragging Hector* is based on the composition of Pietro Testa, a member of Poussin's circle in Rome. A fifth Hamilton painting, *Achilles Mourning over the Corpse of Patroclus* is related to his *Andromache Mourning*. The most original work, *Achilles' Wrath*, is the least interesting composition of the group. Interestingly enough, Hamilton also borrows from Antoine Coypel in at least one painting—his *Hector's Farewell*. Hamilton's thematic inventions influenced Neoclassical artists through the engravings of Cunego. He invented not only the subject of *Andromache Mourning over the Body of Hector* but that of *Achilles Mourning over Patroclus' Corpse*, a subject which was illustrated by four later painters.⁵⁹ He is also responsible for the telescoping of the *Wrath* and the *Departure*. Indeed, Hamilton's position appears to have been crucial to many aspects of Neoclassical art beside the Iliad illustrations.⁶⁰ But Hamilton's work was only one of a number of sources for scenes from the Iliad, and his compositions were seldom taken over without being modified. Only the *Andromache Mourning* seems to have been adopted with little change by later artists, and this may be the case only because this composition is so closely related to compositions by Poussin and connected with a contemporaneous French-inspired Poussin revival.⁶¹

Iliad illustrations of the years 1757-1790 reflect a reform movement that began with Caylus and Hamilton. The series of illustrations by Vien,⁶² mainly executed in the 1780's, marks a culmination of this trend. However, at the same time a new current was beginning, first seen in Abildgaard's drawing of *Priam and Achilles*, which points the way toward the 1790's. Here occurs a sudden advance, a positive formulation of ideas which had been adumbrated in the more traditionally oriented art of the previous decades, a formulation which casts off all extraneous elements and stresses simplification of composition and form and a closer association with antique art.

57. Rensselaer Lee, "Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, pp. 268-269, discusses these two aspects of Coypel's *Épître*. See also the preface to Coypel's *Discours prononcés aux conférences de l'Académie*, mentioned in Fontaine, work cited in note 54 above, p. 170.

58. See Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire*, pp. 143-144, for discussion of the renewed veneration of Poussin and LeSueur. According to Locquin, the "neo-Poussinist" movement reached its peak in 1782.

59. Sergel, Kauffmann, Flaxman, and Giacomelli. A scene by Fragonard (Duveen Gallery, New York) is pure invention, and one by Devillers (Salon 1808) is combined with *Thetis Bearing Arms*. Mr. William Lieber acquainted me with the Duveen Fragonard.

60. See Ellis K. Waterhouse, article cited in note 39 above, pp. 57-74, esp. pp. 67ff., for Hamilton's position in Neoclassical art, and, more recently, Robert Rosenblum, "Gavin Hamilton's 'Brutus' and its Aftermath," *Burlington Magazine*, January, 1961, pp. 8-16, and David Irwin, article cited in note 44 above.

61. See notes 45 and 58 above.

62. The Vien series consists of *Venus Wounded* (Salon 1775), *Hector Reproaching Paris* (Salon 1779), *Achilles' Wrath* (ca. 1780, Rouen), *Briseis Departing* (Salon 1781, Angers; Gobelins tapestry, Chantilly), *Priam Departing for the Greek Camp* (Salon 1783, Algiers), *Priam Returning from the Greek Camp* (Salon 1785, Angers), *Hector Departing* (1786, Salon 1791, Epinal).

After 1790 there is a marked change in the manner of illustrating Iliad scenes. Of the subjects discussed in this paper, two—the Departure of Briseis and Priam and Achilles—now receive a wholly new compositional framework. Achilles Dragging Hector is pared down to its essentials, so that it bears little relation to the Testa-Hamilton composition. Similarly, Hector's Farewell is concerned only with the major figures. Andromache Mourning, though created by one of the initiators of the Neoclassical movement, is based on traditional prototypes, and the subject disappears. Achilles' Wrath, a traditional display piece involving many figures, is almost completely abandoned; when it does appear, it is modified to include fewer figures and no indication of setting.

The outstanding example of scenes from the Iliad in this decade is the publication of Flaxman's Iliad illustrations in 1793. These are mainly influenced not by the foregoing sources but by a new source—archaeological publications.⁶³ Homer's epics were often associated with such publications, since the Iliad and Odyssey were used as descriptive sources of ancient Greek life.⁶⁴ Possibly the first series of illustrations of the Iliad were published in 1699 by Lorenz Beger.⁶⁵ After Winckelmann's publications⁶⁶ it was customary for archaeological publications to include in their division of topics a section devoted to the story of Troy, with antique illustrations of the Iliad. However, it was less the Homeric content than the style of these publications that caused Flaxman to turn to them; the Hamilton-Tischbein publication of Greek vases (1791) attracted his particular attention. Sir William Hamilton's work antedates Flaxman's by two years, and is the first known publication entirely in outline,⁶⁷ as well as one of the first publications entirely devoted to Greek vases. It is known that Flaxman studied Greek vases prior to making independent compositions for his Iliad illustrations.⁶⁸ He must have known this important work on antique vases, as well as other archaeological publications. His style, simple and linear, is a close parallel to that of this first totally linear publication, and in some ways less advanced. Flaxman retains, if only as a suggestion, some of the striated lines that are a hallmark of earlier archaeological publications.

Flaxman's link with these publications is not coincidental. Archaeological publications served as a major source of reference for the Neoclassical artist in the accurate depiction of such objects as antique furniture and costume.⁶⁹ Moreover, they were often brought out in the second half of the eighteenth century with the double purpose of serving the interest of antiquarians and of providing models for artists. This function was first specifically noted in Caylus' *Recueil*, which was

63. Walter Friedlaender, "Notes on the Art of William Blake: A Romantic Mystic Completely Exhibited," *Art News*, February 18, 1939, p. 9, is, to my knowledge, the first to suggest a relation of late eighteenth century outline style to the archaeological publications of Greek vases.

64. For instance, by John Potter, *Archaeologica Graeca*, 1702 (from Finsler, work cited in note 1 above, p. 310). Also, T. J. B. Spencer, "Robert Wood and the Problem of Troy in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1957, pp. 75-105, comments on eighteenth century uses of Homer for archaeological purposes, such as locating the city of Troy.

65. Lorenz Beger, *Bellum et excidium Troianum ex antiquitatum reliquis*, 1699. Raffaele Fabretti, *Explicatio veteris tabellae anaglyphae Homeri Iliadem*, published with *De Columna Traiani*, Rome, 1683, pp. 315-384, precedes Beger in publishing the Iliad tablet, but differs in that his publication is almost entirely devoted to commentary, while the first half of Beger's publication is devoted to the illustrations alone.

66. Winckelmann, *Monumenti*, II, pt. II, "Della guerra Troia," pp. 145-218. Winckelmann's publication of the Stosch collection (see note 40 above) also has a section on the Trojan war, comprising Trojan legends and Homer's Iliad, pp. 354-398. Winckelmann differs in his divisions

from preceding archaeological publications: Bartoli and Montfaucon divide their sections according to the customs of the ancients, and Caylus divides his sections by the country of origin and the medium employed.

67. Rosenblum, *op.cit.* in note 50 above, p. 83, draws attention to a publication of line drawings prior to Flaxman (Bénigne and Baptiste Gagnereaux, *Dix-huit estampes composées et gravées à Rome par Gagnereaux*, Rome, 1792). The drawings appear to have been made after paintings—for instance, the *Venus Wounded* illustrated in the Rosenblum dissertation is probably an outline engraving of a painting Gagnereaux made of the same subject in 1787 for the Princess of Sweden. There may have been a tradition of publications of engravings of paintings by the artist, for instance, Jacques Gamelin's *Huit scènes de bataille composés et gravés par Gamelin*, published in 1791.

68. Allan Cunningham, *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, London, 1830, III, p. 296.

69. See Mario Praz, "Herculaneum and European Taste," *American Magazine of Art*, December, 1939, pp. 684-693. Etienne Coche de la Ferté and Julien Guey, "Analyse archéologique et psychologique d'un tableau de David 'Les amours de Pâris et d'Hélène,'" *Revue archéologique*, XL, 1952, gives further bibliography.

published "to shed light on the past, that is, for the antiquarian, as well as for men of letters and arts"; the artist was "to perfect his talent while approaching a little closer to the noble and simple manner of the *bel antique*,"⁷⁰ that is, to arrive at the spirit of the antique rather than to copy antique details. This point of view is true also of William Hamilton's publications of Greek vases,⁷¹ which were one of the most important sources of archaeological material for the eighteenth century artist; Hamilton sums up admirably the relationship of archaeology to art in the preface to his 1766 edition:

. . . the ideas which are dispersed throughout this book will always serve to shew young Artists that [it] is not by keeping themselves servilely attached to the method of their Masters; nor even by imitating those who surpass them that they can rise above mediocrity, but that it is by elevating themselves to the constitutive [*sic*] principles of Art itself, by penetrating to the very source from whence these principles flow, that is the philosophical contemplation of the nature of things, by putting themselves in the place of the inventors, to see from thence as from a height [*sic*] all the steps Art has made down to our time, that they can arrive at such a degree of knowledge as to be able to enlarge the narrow bounds which without genius cannot be passed, and which stopping all others, ceases to be an obstacle to great Men only.⁷²

This 1766 edition was so popular that it was republished in smaller, cheaper volumes in 1785,⁷³ while the 1791 publication was confined

. . . to the simple outline of the figures of the Vases, which is the essential, and no unnecessary Ornaments, or coloring . . . [are] . . . introduced; by these means the purchase becoming easy, it will be in the power of Lovers of Antiquity, and Artists to reap the desired profit from such excellent models, as are now offered to them.⁷⁴

The artist was to benefit from the essence of the antique, offered here in outline.

It was the essential principles of antique art which the artist sought in these volumes. Hence archaeological publications were not often the source of compositional motifs used in illustrating Homeric scenes. Among the subjects considered in this paper, only some Priam and Achilles scenes and the non-Homeric Andromache Mourning over Hector's Ashes have been borrowed directly from antique illustrations.⁷⁵ Even when prototypes were available in abundance, as with the theme of Achilles Dragging Hector, artists turned to the traditional type by preference. The later type of Briseis Departing, by Canova, Flaxman, Thorwaldsen, and Rude, a composition suddenly developing in the 1790's after the publication of the well-known Hamilton illustrations of Greek vases, very similar to the two known Greek vase paintings of this subject and very "Greek" in appearance, must nevertheless be considered the invention of Canova or Flaxman, as it was designed prior to the discovery of these vases in the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ The connection between archaeological publications and the Homeric illustrations in the 1790's was based, then, less on direct imitation than on capturing the spirit of the antique through these publications, which for many artists were the chief source of knowledge of antiquity.

Perhaps the most obvious way for an artist to link his own work with archaeological publications, a method already suggested by the introductions quoted above, was to imitate their technique.

70. Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, et romaines*, Paris, 1752-1767, 1, pp. xiiff.

71. Sir William Hamilton, *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Naples, 1766-1767, 5 vols., engr. D'Hancarville; and *Collection of Engravings from Antique Vases*, Naples, 1791-1795, 4 vols., engr. J. H. W. Tischbein.

72. Hamilton, *Collection of . . . Antiquities*, 1, p. xvi.

73. *Antiquités étrusque, grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1785-1788, 5 vols., ed. D'Hancarville.

74. Hamilton, *Collection of Engravings*, unpaginated preface.

75. Agnes Mongan, "Ingres and the Antique," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1947, p. 10, has noticed

the relation between the horses in Ingres' *Venus Wounded* and those in a plate in the Hamilton-Tischbein edition.

76. See note 18 above. Mr. P. E. Corbett, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Antiquities of the British Museum, has informed me that the British Museum vase was discovered only after 1828 at Vulci. The Louvre vase was found as late as 1863 in Nola, according to Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, III, pl. 118. M. Pierre Devambez of the Department of Conservation of the Louvre has directed my attention to this reference. For illustrations of these vases, see K. F. Johansen, *Iliaden i tidlig graesk kunst*, Copenhagen, 1934, figs. 25, 26.

The technique of illustrating these publications varied with their quality and with the objects that were represented. The cheapest books, those intended for utility rather than for beauty, such as Beger's *Bellum et excidium*, are illustrated (Fig. 36) with harsh, incised lines and little or no attempt at shading. Many of the Winckelmann engravings are of a similar utilitarian character. Outline alone was also used in publications for the rendering of small objects, such as coins, gems, and bas-reliefs. The gem section of Gori's *Museum Florentium* is illustrated in outline plates (Fig. 37) so advanced that if it were not for the striated background they would appear to belong to the following century. Outline was used almost without exception for rendering vase paintings, which were reproduced in three different manners—black figure on white ground (Fig. 38), white figure on black ground (Fig. 41), and pure outline (Fig. 39), which eventually was used exclusively.

The use of outline gave a scientific exactitude to archaeological illustrations that could not have been achieved by a rendering in light and shade. Also, the full engraving of such works would have made publication prohibitive because of the cost and time that would have been involved. Thus, for clarity of depiction and for practical publication purposes, line became widely used in archaeological publications during the eighteenth century, and became specifically associated with them. By the last decades of the eighteenth century line had developed an importance apart from its earlier utilitarian function in these publications. This trend from utility and accuracy to style can be observed in the illustrations of the Hamilton publications. The first publication has archaeologically exact renderings (Fig. 40), even to the color and correlation of the drawings with the vases, while the second publication, twenty-five years later, has illustrations in outline alone (Fig. 42), and represents drawings without showing the vases themselves.

It is probable that through its connection with archaeological publications line became important as a hallmark of antiquity. Certainly by the 1790's the linear method of representation was referred to by at least one critic as the "antique style."⁷⁷ His association of an "antique style" with pure outline was carried to an extreme in the statement that outline is "as strong a reflection of the good works of the ancients as modern zeal and abilities are capable of conveying." His criteria for the use of line were so strict that he criticized the recently published Flaxman and Hamilton editions for their variation in outline, which, according to him, kept their work from being a faithful interpretation of the original style of the ancients.

Flaxman's Iliad illustrations cannot be considered copies of archaeological publications, nor of Greek vases; they stand as a creative interpretation of the essentials of antique art, which the publications and the vases represent. Elimination of all but the essential, simplicity of style, and emphasis on outline are not confined to Flaxman's work alone, but are seen in the work of other Neoclassical artists such as Canova and Carstens, and, to an extent, Thorwaldsen. These artists used archaeological sources as means to achieve a new, creative conception of the antique. The compositions, and often the subjects, were the original invention of the artists, who strove not for uniformity, but for an ideal.

But already in Thorwaldsen's 1804 *Departure* there is a new emphasis on the literal expression of the subject and the specific and three-dimensional quality of the figures which is unrelated to the search for an abstract ideal of the 1790's. In Tischbein's and in Eckersberg's *Hector's Farewell* the scene, though pared to its essential participants, placed close to the picture plane, emphasizes their specific three-dimensional quality at the expense of the total composition. On the other hand, the decorative aspects of line are exploited by Ingres in, for instance, his *Venus Wounded* of 1804. Though Rude is possibly the last artist to have creatively invented

77. George Cumberland, *Thoughts on Outline, Sculpture, and the System that Guided the Ancient Artists in Composing their Figures and Groups*, London, 1796, p. 9.

illustrations of the Iliad, he is not generally associated with the Neoclassical movement, and his work seems to be more of an artificial revival, inspired by the aging David, than part of an organic development. Maurice Quai, though generally as the leader of the Barbus considered to represent an extreme of the néo-Grec movement in the 1800's, felt that Homer was only one of a number of sources, and rated both the Bible and Ossian above the poet.⁷⁸ Cornelius, also, working with a multitude of Iliad compositional formulae, is derivative rather than creative in his borrowings, and his work is essentially eclectic.

Despite their differences in character, the Iliad illustrations of the period 1757-1827 can be viewed as a whole with a consistent intention in the interpretation of the Homeric epic. As we have seen, although the lack of idealism and the use of ordinary human types in the Iliad made this epic objectionable to earlier critics of Homer, it was the universal quality of Homer's characters—reflecting types of mankind and not idealized heroes, types that seem to be constant in any period—that appealed to the Neoclassical artist. The emphasis on the general characteristics of human types in Homer is strongly brought out by Caylus in his *Tableaux*,⁷⁹ and is emphasized in the works of those artists who were influenced by him. It is not coincidence that Lavater's popular physiognomical studies (Fig. 43), categorizing man into universal types,⁸⁰ are related to the study of the seven Homeric hero types published by Tischbein (Fig. 44).⁸¹ The many portraits of Iliad characters⁸² made throughout this period also testify to the interest in the characters rather than the action in Homer's epic. And, finally, in spite of the great number of subjects illustrated in this period, the type of subject was limited. We find few processional or battle scenes (five out of thirty-four subjects), and increasingly few toward the end of the century. There were, on the contrary, many scenes involving only a few participants, who are engaged in action which brings out strong and characteristic emotions. Moreover, the major portion of scenes of this period are concerned with mortal men and not with gods. It is quite possible that Gavin Hamilton's desire to avoid the problem of the representation of Minerva led him to invent his interpretation of Achilles' wrath, and led later Neoclassical artists to abandon the subject.

Parallel with the Neoclassical search for universal character types is the search for a universal style.⁸³ This search began with a revival of emphasis on the classical sculptural tradition in painting—a tradition closely associated with Poussin. Within this tradition line was a measurable and constant quality, a technique which could be taught and which could be judged in terms of a consistent standard. Meanwhile, apart from artistic circles, line was being developed in archaeological publications as a means of representing antique art. Whatever the theoretical associations of line with art,⁸⁴ it is to these publications, in which line occasionally departed from its traditional tech-

78. Décluze, *Louis David*, p. 428.

79. See especially notes 11 and 25 above. In this sense, Lessing's emphasis on tranquility and the containment of strong emotion in representations of man in art—stressed also by both Caylus (Fontaine, *La peinture d'histoire*, p. 223) and Hamilton (Zeitler, *Klassizismus*, p. 76)—springs from the desire to represent the essential nature of human character and not an abstract ideal. See also Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 354ff.

80. For the influence of Lavater's work on artists of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see George Levitine, "The Influence of Lavater and Girodet's *Expression des sentiments de l'âme*," ART BULLETIN, XXXVI, 1954, pp. 33-44, especially pp. 33-34.

81. Work cited in note 6 above.

82. David's *Helen and Paris*, for instance, is not directly from Homer, as Etienne Coche de la Ferté, article cited in note 69 above, p. 132, mentions, and appears to have been

a study of contrasting character types. Six versions of the Helen and Paris subject were painted between 1770 and 1802. Heads of Achilles were studied by six Neoclassical artists. Agamemnon, Priam, Hector and Patroclus all received the attention of at least one artist, and a study of Trojan heroes prior to Tischbein's famous study was made by Carstens in 1795.

83. Two studies on the problem of outline in the Neoclassical period have been made by Rosenblum: his dissertation cited in note 50 above; and "The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism," ART BULLETIN, XXXIX, 1957, pp. 279-290.

84. See Luigi Grassi, *Storia del disegno svolgimento del pensiero critico e un catalogo*, Rome, 1947, especially pp. 30-62, for a recent comprehensive study of the relationship of drawing to theory, which, however, does not investigate the crucial period of the 1780's-1800's.

nical purpose of bounding form to become a substitute for form, that the most extreme Neoclassical illustrators turned for a tangible medium of expression in the 1790's.

In general, Neoclassical artists adhered to the older classical tradition. Gavin Hamilton's style reflects this tradition with its emphasis on tangibility of form rather than on impression through light or other painterly visual qualities. This style, relying on outline for the expression of three-dimensional concepts in a two-dimensional medium, is carried on in the work of painters and sculptors of the next generation. Here outline is dominant, so that the two techniques of sculpture and painting seem to merge. Indeed, the role of artists of this generation is often ambivalent; Canova painted as well as sculpted, Flaxman began his career with illustrations rather than with three-dimensional works, and the painter David was so closely associated with sculpture that it was said of him: "There is only one painter, he is David; but there is also only one sculptor, he too is David."⁸⁵ Within the archaeological publications, line, as a medium for illustrating antique objects, also embraced both painting and sculpture. In this sense line was indeed a universal style. It served as a medium through which both painting and sculpture could be equated—it was the method by which the original ideas of painter and sculptor were sketched; it was, in its role as contour, similar to both two- and three-dimensional objects; and its use resulted in the anonymity not only of the style of painters and sculptors, but also of the styles of various periods from antiquity to contemporary times.

It was the intention of the Neoclassical artist, then, to arrive at an unchanging essence of antique life—an essence related as much to the eighteenth century as to antiquity. In this context, the Iliad illustrations of the second half of the eighteenth century represent the spirit of Neoclassical art. They demonstrate the development of subject and style toward a universal ideal—transcending time, place, medium, and the individuality of the artist—an ideal which was, nevertheless, rooted in observation of the real world, and focused on man. Growing out of a liberal tradition, modified by an artistic reform movement, the illustrations came closest to this ideal in the 1790's and then, in the nineteenth century, as art turned toward empirical fact and historical reality, lost their special meaning.

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85. Henri Jouin, *David d'Angers*, Paris, 1878, I, p. 21.