Days of Glory? Imaging Military Recruitment and the French Revolution

Valerie Mainz

War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850

War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850

Series Editors

Rafe Blaufarb
Department of History
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida, USA

Alan Forrest
University of York, York, United Kingdom

Karen Hagemann
Netherlands Institute Advanced Study
Wassenaar, Zuid-Holland, The Netherlands

The century from 1750 to 1850 was a period of seminal change in world history, when the political landscape was transformed by a series of revolutions fought in the name of liberty. These ideas spread far beyond Europe and the United States: they were carried to the furthest outposts of empire, to Egypt, India and the Caribbean, and they would continue to inspire anti-colonial and liberation movements in Central and Latin America throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The Age of Revolutions was a world movement which cries out to be studied in its global dimension. But it was not only social and political institutions that were transformed by revolution in this period. So, too, was warfare. During the quarter-century of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in particular, Europe was faced with the prospect of 'total' warfare with mass mobilization on a scale that was unequalled until the Great Wars of the twentieth century. Those who lived through the period shared formative experiences that would do much to shape their ambitions and forge their identities. The volumes published in this series seek to address these issues by: - discussing war across Europe and throughout the Atlantic world, thereby contributing to a global history of war in this period; - integrating political, social, cultural and military history and art history, thus developing a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of war; - analysing the construction of identities and power relations with reference to various categories of difference, notably class, gender, religion, generational difference, race and ethnicity; - examining elements of comparison and transfer, so as to tease out the complexities of national, regional and global history; - crossing traditional borders between early modern and modern history since this is a period which integrates aspects of old and new, traditional and modern.

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14390

Valerie Mainz

Days of Glory?

Imaging Military Recruitment and the French Revolution

palgrave
macmillan

Valerie Mainz
University of Leeds
Leeds, United Kingdom

War, Culture and Society, 1750-1850
ISBN 978-1-137-54293-9 ISBN 978-1-137-54294-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016951443

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016
The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: Pierre-Charles Coqueret after Dutailly, *On doit à sa patrie le sacrifice de ses plus chères affections.* Detail, see Fig 5.8.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

To EVW/CM
En attendant…

Preface

I am an historian of art who has no personal combat experience. The traumas of warfare are, however, present for me in ways that would have been unimaginable in past centuries. In the visual cultures of our times, continuing armed conflicts to the death are played out on television, film, video, mobile phone and internet as well as in print and in the fine arts. Not surprisingly, the study of war and society has come to be an increasingly active field of scholarly endeavour in the last few decades. My own contribution to this terrain remains, however, rooted in history. In this study I question how notions of glory or of, perhaps, *gloire* featured in the visual imagery of military recruitment during the eighteenth century in France.

In his book, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture 1450–2000*, the military historian Yuval Noah Harari traces how warfare has become a privileged site for the gaining of personal insight, truth and knowledge because, in the period 1740–1865, bodily experiences of combat converged with an emergent culture of sensibility.[1] Concluding with the somewhat pessimistic equation of 'sensibility × experience = knowledge', the writer hopes for the addition of some missing variables.[2] From this argument to do with the witnessing of warfare—whether as an idealising epiphany or in terms of disillusionment—it is to be expected that the visual image would be key. So it is as an art historian that I supply some additional variables to such an equation.

Harari's work leads in the direction of the study of sensibility and emotions. My own engagement with the visual representation of military recruitment does not ignore the dimensions of the affective or the

sentimental. *Gloire* is, after all, about aspiration and desire for fame. My focus here is, nonetheless, on the specific processes of visual representation as they index 'mentalities' or sensibilities. Images are structured formulations. They require specialist readings of their constructions, materialities, technologies, conditions of production, diffusion and reception. An understanding of the chosen medium of representation supplies the means, therefore, whereby the experiences of early modern warfare can be located within appropriately insightful commentary.

In negotiating the making of evidence into knowledge, the historian must assess the questions being addressed critically and reflexively from within existing scholarship. Sources, documents, archives, sets of data, memoirs, records and accounts need also to be carefully investigated for how they have come about alongside the information that can be gleaned from content.[3] Sources are embedded within practices and procedures that are institutionally determined, mutable and, indeed, that constantly change. These variables need to be accounted for when making claims about the truths of history. As an art historian, I necessarily work as an historian and as an interpreter of images. Two complementary questions are intrinsic to these processes: what is the role of the image in the study of history? And what is the history of the image? This is not a territorial dispute between history and art history. Rather I want to make a case for respecting what art historical methodologies bring to the study of the visual image as a cultural form in history.

Pictures make up the archive I have sourced for this book and they range from the grand-manner history painting to the small-scale black-and-white printed etching. Using changing contexts of making, production, exhibition and reception, my method challenges the use of visual imagery as a source of evidence, whether reliable or otherwise, by the historian.[4] In raising questions about the intersections between disciplines like those of history, art history, cultural studies, French language and literature, my purpose is not to provide an exhaustive compendium of the imagery of French military recruitment at the time of the Revolution. What I provide here is, instead, a series of much closer, more developed and more detailed readings of certain culturally contingent views of military enlistment in words and in visual imagery. I take into account the changing variables of the chosen medium of representation at a particularly momentous time in history to do this.

When considering how the abstract and shifting concept of *gloire* could feature in views of military recruitment during the French Revolution, I

concur with what Harari has marked out as the rise of the common soldier. The attainment of *gloire* through the achievements of combat had been allied to attributes of heroism and of kingship; with the coming of the rhetoric of *liberté, fraternité et égalité* (liberty, fraternity and equality), such *gloire* was opened up to men of non-noble birth. Yet the attributes of the martial spirit, of courage and valour but also of a potential self-sacrifice in a feat of arms for the defence of the common good, remained firmly gendered as masculine in spite of the increasing awareness that sentiment and the affairs of the heart had roles to play in humanising the man of war. Also, contrary to the expectation that the coming of conscription might be shown in the picturing of revolutionary enlistment, such imagery only came to the fore during the nineteenth century. The showing of the mobilisation of the French nation and a willingness to fight on behalf of nation during the heady days of glory promised by the revolutionary endeavour still relied, instead, on the tropes, traditions and conventions of times past.

I am indebted to the Leverhulme Trust for the award of a Research Fellowship in 2008 in support of this research. I refer in the footnotes and bibliography to a range of stimulating scholarship gleaned over many years and I thank the academic communities, the museum professionals, my university colleagues and my network of friends who have helped me nurse this project to fruition. This book would not have been published without the long-term support, input and encouragement of Charles Ford, Russell Goulbourne, Brenda Hollweg, Griselda Pollock and my brother, Andrew Mainz.

Valerie Mainz
Leeds, UK

Notes

1. Y. N. Harari (2008) *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
2. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, pp. 305–6.
3. These observations about the making of history are sustained by the theoretical formulation given in A. Wilson (1993) 'Foundations of an integrated historiography', *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570–1920 and Its Interpretation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press), pp. 293–335.

4. That pictures are mediated views onto the past is acknowledged in P. Burke (2001) *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books), p. 14; 130. The standpoint of a 'reality effect' here indicates the investment of an historian into how the visual imagery of the past might be used to inform the reader about the past. The study includes a range of visual imagery but omits detailed considerations of key contexts of making, condition, size, medium and display.

Contents

1 Introduction 1

2 Signing Up Before the Revolution 31

3 Transforming *Gloire* and Military Sign-Up 95

4 Recruitment and Revolution Before Thermidor 143

5 Fighting Women 185

6 Fame's Two Trumpets 215

Conclusion 261

Works Cited 267

Index 287

List of Figures

Fig. 1.1 After Jean-Baptiste Huet, *Attaque de la Petite Bastille*, coloured etching and tool work, diameter 9 cm, 1789, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1789-07-14)-FOL. Photo: BnF 6

Fig. 1.2 Jacques-Louis David, *Le Serment des Horaces*, oil on canvas, 330 cm × 425 cm, s. and d. 1784, Paris, musée du Louvre, Inv. 3692. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre)/ Gérard Blot/Christian Jean 9

Fig. 1.3 Nicolas Guérard le fils, *Street Scene of Water Carriers, Baker's Boy, Recruiters*, etching and engraving, 8.9 cm × 17.2 cm, 1715, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. 2005CAR0109A, G14.052. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto 10

Fig. 2.1 Jacques Callot, *L'Enrolement des troupes* from *La vie de Ferdinand 1er de Médicis*, engraving from a painted version by Antonia Tempesta, 19.1 cm × 29.3 cm, 1619–20, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE ED-25 (5)-Boite Ecu Callot no 152. Photo: BnF 33

Fig. 2.2 Jacques Callot, *L'Enrolement des troupes* from *Les Grandes Misères de la guerre*, etching, 7.4 cm × 18.6 cm, 1633, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE ED-25 (18)-Boite Ecu Callot 1340. Photo: BnF 34

Fig. 2.3 Louise-Madeleine Cochin after Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Le Chanteur de Cantiques*, etching and engraving, 24 cm × 18.6 cm, 1742, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. Est Ee 15 (2)-FOL. Photo: BnF 45

Fig. 2.4 Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, *Un Corps de Garde ou l'Amour de la Gloire*, oil on copper, 42 cm ×33 cm, 1776, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 7330. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/Gérard Blot/Madeleine Coursaget 56
Fig. 2.5 David Teniers the Younger, *A Guard Room*, oil on canvas, 72.4 cm × 55.8 cm, 1640s, By Permission of the Trustees of Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, Inv. DPG054 58
Fig. 2.6 François Denis Née after Jean-Baptiste Leprince, *L'Amour de la Gloire*, engraving, 50 cm × 35 cm, 1788, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. AA-3 (NEE, François-Denis). Photo: BnF 61
Fig. 2.7 Pierre-Alexandre Wille, *La Double récompense du mérite ou le retour*, oil on canvas, 162 cm × 129 cm, s. and d. 1781, Blérancourt, Musée franco-americain du Château, Inv. CFAc226. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Blérancourt)/Gérard Blot 67
Fig. 2.8 Pierre-Alexandre Wille, *Le Patriotisme français ou le départ*, oil on canvas, 162 cm × 129 cm, s. and d. 1785, Blérancourt, Musée franco-americain du Château, Inv. CFAc225. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Blérancourt)/ Gérard Blot 68
Fig. 2.9 Jean-Jacques Avril after Pierre-Alexandre Wille, *Le Patriotisme français*, engraving, 58.5 cm × 44 cm, 1788, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (3)-FT4. Photo: BnF 69
Fig. 2.10 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Hector détermine Pâris à prendre les armes*, oil on canvas, 330 cm × 258 cm, 1779, Fontainebleau, château, 1779, Inv. MR2661. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Fontainebleau)/Daniel Arnaudet 71
Fig. 2.11 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Les Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque*, oil on canvas, 320 cm × 420 cm, s. and d. 1786, Paris, Louvre, Inv. 8427. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/ René-Gabriel Ojéda 75
Fig. 3.1 Jean Massard after Hubert-François Gravelot, *Gloire*, etching and stipple engraving, 9.5 cm × 5 cm, from Charles-Etienne Gaucher, *Iconologie, ou traité de la science des allegories*, Paris, Lattré, n.d., II, p. 69. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RES-Z-2547. Photo: BnF 95
Fig. 3.2 L.F. Labrousse, *Frontispice*, coloured etching and tool work, 20 cm × 14 cm, from Jacques Grasset Saint-Sauveur, *Les Fastes du peuple français*, Paris, Deroy, 1796, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv: RESERVE QB-370 (52)-FT4. Photo: BnF 129

Fig. 4.1 Jean-Louis Laneuville, *Projet de l'Étendart de la Liberté, à l'imitation de celui des Romains*, aquatint, 42.1 cm × 27.4 cm, 1789, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. G27056. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto 147
Fig. 4.2 Michel Picquenot after Maréchal, *La Philosophie et le Patriotisme Vainqueurs des Préjugés*, etching and line engraving, 43.9 cm × 26.83 cm, 1790, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. Est. Histoire PC 012B. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto 150
Fig. 4.3 Anon after Claude Louis Desrais, *Le jeune Patriote*, coloured etching, 26.5 cm × 19.5 cm, 1790–1, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (43)-FT4. Photo: BnF 153
Fig. 4.4 Pierre-Gabriel Berthault after Jean-Louis Prieur, *Proclamation de la Patrie en danger le 22 juillet 1792*, etching and engraving, 19 cm × 25 cm, 1796, From *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 65, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, inv. D.7727. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto 159
Fig. 4.5 Anon, *Cérémonie des premiers enrôlements de la jeunesse pour la défense de la Patrie*, etching, 9 cm × 15 cm, 1792, from *Révolutions de Paris dédiées à la Nation, du 21 au 28 juillet 1792*, no. 159, between pp. 138–9, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RES 8-LC2-171, 1792/07/21 (T13,N159)-n0159. Photo: BnF 163
Fig. 4.6 François Bonneville, *Hundert Livres Leibrente*, etching, 21 cm × 27.5 cm, 1792, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-201 (128)-FOL. Photo: BnF 165
Fig. 4.7 C. D. (Sculp) after Jean-Jacques Le Barbier, *Départ du Citoyen*, coloured etching and engraving, 36.1 cm × 41.4 cm, c.1792, Paris, musée Carnavalet, Inv. Histoire GCVIIA G.29489. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto 172
Fig. 4.8 Louis Darcis after Louis-Simon Boizot, *Va où la gloire t'appelle*, stipple engraving, 25 cm × 33 cm, 1794, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (27)-FT4. Photo: BnF 176
Fig. 5.1 L. F. Labrousse, *Leyrac et Barrau son épouse, tous deux Grenadiers*, etching and tool work, 15 cm × 19 cm, from Jacques Grasset Saint-Sauveur, *Les Fastes du peuple français*, Paris, Deroy, 1796, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1974-08-13)-FOL. Photo: BnF 187
Fig. 5.2 Jean Baptiste Marie Poisson, *Amazone Nationale, infanterie, dediée aux dames patriotes*, etching and tool work, 18.5 cm × 19 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1789-08-09)-FOL. Photo: BnF 189

Fig. 5.3 (chez) Villeneuve, *Françaises devenues libres*, coloured etching and tool work, 11 cm × 9 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1789-07-14)-FOL. Photo: BnF 190
Fig. 5.4 Jean-Baptiste Mallet after Claude-Louis Desrais, *Unité*, etching and stipple engraving, 17 cm × 13 cm, 1794, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (27)-FT4. Photo: BnF 192
Fig. 5.5 Pierre-Antoine de Machy after Antoine Talamona, *Dévouement à la Patrie*, aquatint, 36 cm × 54 cm, 1792–94, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. Hist GCXXIII. Photo: ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto 194
Fig. 5.6 Pierre-Antoine de Machy after Antoine Talamona, *La Patrie couronnant la valeur*, aquatint, 36 cm × 54 cm, 1792–94, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. Hist GCXXIII. Photo: ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto 195
Fig. 5.7 Pierre-Michel Alix after Jean-Guillaume Moitte, *Avec ou dessus*, etching and stipple engraving, 33 cm × 57 cm, 1795, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, RESERVE EF-106 (2)-FOL. Photo: BnF 196
Fig. 5.8 Pierre-Charles Coqueret after Dutailly, *On doit à sa patrie le sacrifice de ses plus chères affections*, coloured etching and tool work, 32.5 cm × 26 cm, 1795, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. EF-139-FOL. Photo: BnF 199
Fig. 5.9 Pierre-Charles Coqueret after Dutailly, *Il est glorieux de mourir pour sa Patrie*, coloured etching and tool work, 32.5 cm × 26 cm, 1795, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. EF-139-FOL. Photo: BnF 200
Fig. 5.10 Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, *L'Enrôlement des volontaires ou la Patrie en danger*, oil on canvas, 59 cm × 100 cm, 1799, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, Inv. MRF 1985-14. Photo: ©Coll. Musée de la Révolution française/ Domaine de Vizille 202
Fig. 5.11 Anon, *Académie d'élève de l'École de Mars avec glaive, toge et bonnet phrygien*, oil on canvas, 128 cm × 70.2 cm, c.1795, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, Inv. MRF 2003-7. Photo: ©Coll. Musée de la Révolution française/Domaine de Vizille 209
Fig. 6.1 Jacques de Bie after Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie/Diverses Renommees* from Jean Baudoin, *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes et autres figures hyéroglyphiques des vertus, des vices, des arts, des sciences…*

œuvre augmentée d'une seconde partie; necessaire à toute sorte d'esprits… Paris, M. Guillemot, 1644, In-80, Seconde partie, p. 80, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. Z-515. Photo: BnF 216
Fig. 6.2 Anon, *Le Français d'autrefois; le Français d'aujourd'hui: liberté*, coloured etching, 20 cm × 13.5 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (17)-FT 4. Photo: BnF 219
Fig. 6.3 Anon, *Les Moines apprenant à faire l'exercice*, coloured etching, 25 cm × 19 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-370(19)-FT4. Photo: BnF 221
Fig. 6.4 Anon, *Envoi dun supplément d'armée au ci devant Prince de Condé par MM les noirs ou du Cul-de-Sac*, coloured etching, 43 cm × 57.5 cm, 1792, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (26)-FT4. Photo: BnF 223
Fig. 6.5 Richard Newton, *A Party of the Sans Culotte Army Marching to the Frontiers*, etching, 21.8 cm × 68 cm, 1792, London, British Museum, Inv. 1925,0701.34. Photo: ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved 225
Fig. 6.6 Isaac Cruikshank, *Rights of Man, alias French Liberty alias Entering Volunteers for the Republic*, coloured etching, 26.2 cm × 36 cm, 1793, London, British Museum, Inv. 1868.0808.6046. Photo: ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved 226
Fig. 6.7 Anon, *La Faction Incroyable*, etching, 26 cm × 37 cm, c.1797, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (26)-FT 4. Photo: BnF 230
Fig. 6.8 Anon, *1re Réquisition des Deux Genres*, etching and stipple engraving, 27.5 cm × 33 cm, c.1798–9, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1793-08-10)-FOL. Photo: BnF 233
Fig. 6.9 Anon, *Le Sauveur de la Belgique*, etching and tool work, 22 cm × 18.5 cm, 1793, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (28)-FT4. Photo: BnF 237
Fig. 6.10 L.F. Labrousse, *Fête Nationale du 1er vendémiaire an 7 à l'hôtel des Invalides: La République française à ses déffenseurs*, etching and tool work, 12 cm × 15.5 cm, c.1798, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1798-09-22)-FOL. Photo: BnF 245
Fig. 6.11 Anon, *Prends mon poste…viens! Sauve la Patrie!!!*, etching, 17 cm × 26 cm, 1797, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-201 (140)-FOL. Photo: BnF 249

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Allons enfants de la Patrie

Le jour de gloire est arrivé![1]

The opening words of the *Marseillaise*, the French national anthem, ring out today with patriotic exhortation to the children of *la Patrie* (the Homeland or land of the father) to set off, the day of glory has arrived. In what did glory, or *gloire*, consist? In this book I shall be examining visual imagery of military recruitment in the light of changing notions of *gloire* that, at the time of the French Revolution, became tied to new concepts of nation.

Composed at great speed by an enlightened, moderate Captain of Engineers, Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, when he was garrisoned in the border town of Strasbourg soon after the Legislative Assembly's declaration of war of 20 April 1792 against the King of Bohemia and Austria, *La Marseillaise* was, in fact, originally a marching song with the title of *Chant de guerre pour l'armée du Rhin* (War Song for the Army of the Rhine).[2] It was initially taken up by an auxiliary battalion of National Guardsmen, or *fédérés*, from Marseilles on their march to Paris in July 1792 in a movement which, for a time, had strongly radical and republican connotations.[3] The song was first made into the French national anthem by the National

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6_1

Convention on 14 July 1795 (26 messidor an III) and it was again to be officially so nominated by the deputies of France's Third Republic, on 14 February 1879 before Bastille Day, or *le 14 juillet*, was proclaimed the French national holiday on 6 July 1880.[4]

It is worth considering the verses of this hymn in some detail for its words can be read as constituting a shift away from a peace-loving rhetoric of enlightened, philosophic debate and towards a much more overt warmongering in the making of, and campaigning for, a new French Republic. The anthem's words, which were sung to the strains of martial music, mix the slogans of a campaign song with the grandiloquent rhetoric of revolutionary fraternity: 'Lead on sacred patriotism/Support our avenging arms/Liberty, cherished Liberty/Join the struggle with your defenders!'[5] The hybrid nature of this secular hymn/war song/rallying cry to a nation in arms sets up a Manichean struggle between us, the forces of good, and them, the forces of evil who threaten us. The lines shift backwards and forwards between the vocative and the accusative, drawing the audience in as performer and participant, dramatising the running battle between life and death. On one side of this bloody, heroic struggle that is yet to be won are we, implying the French people, who are perpetually regenerative and united in principled resistance to the other side, the foreign enemy, the kings, tyrants and despots who threaten to kill us.

The opening verse, announcing to the children of the nation that the day of glory has arrived, is ostensibly, but deceptively, universalising and generalising in scope. Glory is no longer held to accrue to one individual hero; it is there for all French offspring to acquire. Against the positive forces of the nation, the destructive, murderous, bloodthirsty soldiers of the enemy's tyranny then come to be ranged, as imminent and to hand, threatening to destroy the country's families, in the forms of sons and their [female] companions.[6] The anthem's refrain urges citizens to take up arms, to form battalions and to march off so as to spill the enemy's impure blood over the ploughed fields. These are processes of purging and of purifying and they are evoked in quasi-mystical language. Subsequent verses set up a supposed community of the French as proud, magnanimous warriors who defend liberty in the face of invading, foreign, mercenary hordes and the potential enslavement of conspiring kings and despots. Mindful of posterity, the hymn first closed with the entreaty that the expiring enemies of liberty see the triumph of the French: 'Under our flags, let victory/Hurry to your manly tones/So that in death your enemies/See your triumph and our glory!'[7] The mix of pronouns here proclaims that the glory belongs to us as the nation but also, compellingly, attributes the triumph to the manly

who have come together to defeat enemies on our behalf. Military sign-up in defence of nation has begun to take on common cause while also engendering a Frenchness that was being marked out as specifically male.

Until the Thermidorian reaction after the coup d'état of 9–10 Thermidor an II/27–8 July 1794 had set in, this hymn was adopted by the army and sung at the frontline, in theatres, at festivals, during fraternal dinners, on the streets of Paris and in the countryside.[8] Besides being forms of cheap, easily accessible and patriotic entertainment, performances of its rousing lyrics, which were accompanied by the martial strains of the marching song, were experienced communally and could be said to serve in and for the causes of the Republic. The words, addressed to the citizens of France render active those citizens who are the male soldiers of France and who fight for the freedom of the Homeland.[9] The *Marseillaise* appears as the voluntary expression of a whole nation's self-conscious patriotism. In its severe, spare and unsparing militancy, it conflates, for the service of French glory, the duties of the soldier, defined in gendered terms as heroically masculine, with those of the citizen of the French nation.[10]

This book challenges assumptions about the enduring nature of French military virtues and the accrual of *gloire*. It seeks to show that notions about war, heroism and patriotism, about fighting for France and about what constituted a soldier's true glory underwent radical transformations during the Enlightenment. The linking of military virtues to concepts of *gloire* has served, in cultural remembrance, to promote myth and to mask facts for the purposes of making war. This association functioned in the visual imagery of the early modern period in ways quite different from those of the propaganda of the twentieth century. *Gloire* has never been a single, uncontested concept and the French soldier's patriotism and courage have not always been taken for granted.

At the heart of this enquiry are the multifarious and even contradictory connotations that have accrued to the concept of *gloire*, what might have pertained to it in the past and how it was used, in a moment of radical change, to inspire service in the military and a concomitant self-sacrifice in combat for the sake of *La Patrie*/the Homeland. Ways of imagining the soldier, or the citizen soldier, belong to the understanding of the modern French State. Yet it becomes clear from a close analysis of visual imagery dealing with the topic of military recruitment at the time of the Revolution that the words of the *Marseillaise* did not prompt all eagerly to take military action in defence of the French nation.

During the eighteenth century, the theme of joining up to serve in the army and the concomitant moments of passing from civilian to soldier,

from private subject to armed defender of the *Patrie*, were frequently treated in visual imagery. They also featured in French satirical fiction, plays, essays and other literary forms. Processes of recruitment were, furthermore, of serious concern to writers of military treatises wishing to reform the army.[11] Some of this textual material will be studied here for its intrinsic merit and significance. Some of it will provide relevant historical contexts for this study of visual imagery. Some of it will also be addressed for what it can reveal about the significance, or otherwise, of relationships between verbal and visual forms of communication in this period. Whether as an abstract concept or taking the form of concrete reward, notions of *gloire* complicate this imagery and, at times, undermine, from within, established institutions, authorities and conventions.

Mentalities, Visualities, Imagery and the Structures of Representation

There is no transparent relationship between a social reality and its given representation. What an image can, or might, tell us has to be addressed in conjunction with what it does, its formal elaboration, its conditions of production and the nature of historically changing systems of mediation. The Revolution may well have disturbed long-established habits of mind and expression to direct people to new cultural horizons. The reading of visual imagery dealing with the more or less ordinary details of daily life in the light of a tension point in society—the French Revolution in this study—is to be undertaken here according to the internal workings of single representations. In addition, any single image must also be located and understood with reference to extrinsic sets of circumstances that make up a given configuration's external logic.

In considering the history of mentalities, Michel Vovelle has fused social and political history with cultural history to explore values, symbolic systems, shared myths and perceptions of the everyday. He has noted, furthermore, that the move from social structures to collective attitudes and representations involves the problem of the complex mediations between lived human life and the ways in which that human life is represented and experienced.[12] It is my contention that *gloire* provides us with just such a mediating concept. The analysis of the semiological systems this concept has generated can unmask apparently similar forms of collective sensibility to reveal anticipations, inertias, latencies and culturally different ways of seeing, feeling and understanding.[13]

Addressing the problem of whether literature can be suitably used as evidence to inform us of collective attitudes, Vovelle maintains that literature offers the reader several levels of meaning.[14] It can be used as elementary evidence at a primary level of source material to offer up reflections of a lived social reality from within a whole system of written, archaeological and iconographical sources. As our own times are approached, this primary reading cannot, however, be easily isolated from latent meanings and more complex discourses that are charged with ulterior motives: 'Certainly, the more we proceed in time, the more difficult it becomes to isolate this primary reading, which sees the literary text as a simple reflection of contemporary social practice, and here our task is to decode the latent meanings.'[15] A second level of the direct reading of literary sources involves the acknowledgement of what, for Vovelle, is a stylistic exercise. The stylistic exercise for his own study of death in the West belongs to the domains of religious literature and ranges from collections of sermons, apologetic tracts, *artes moriendi*, funeral orations and wills, to the deviant discourses of heretics and freethinkers which, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were to encompass the different discourses of humanism and philosophy.[16] Beyond the two levels of interpretation of the reading of the historical context as of the understanding of the internal conditions of representation, there is also, for Vovelle, a whole series of ruses, maskings and evasions which are the products of the collective imagination, be it within the realms of clear thought or those of behaviour, of attitudes or of the collective unconscious. The understanding of the indeterminacies of *gloire* belongs to such mediations.

Close analyses of what is going on in prints, paintings and the narratives of literature are located here alongside considerations of pertinent sets of social conditions and historical circumstances. The ways in which figurative forms are combined, organised and work together within a given composition serve to support the understanding of the sources I have exploited. The amassing of this material points to trends and tendencies and does not purport to be exhaustive but the approaches allow for a journey towards an understanding of the ways in which the visual imagery of recruitment at the time of the French Revolution functions over time and within culture.[17] Equally, these processes reveal how concomitant aspects of military motivation belong, or do not belong, to this picturing.

A recent analysis of a small, circular coloured etching (Fig. 1.1) demonstrates the dangers of reading essentially fixed and static imagery too literally as simple social indices of what took place in the past. The print, that is likely to date from soon after the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789, has

Fig. 1.1 After Jean-Baptiste Huet, *Attaque de la Petite Bastille*, coloured etching and tool work, diameter 9 cm, 1789, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1789-07-14)-FOL. Photo: BnF

been construed by some historians of culture and of art as a more or less faithful recreation of the games that children were playing in the aftermath of the attack on the Bastille.[18] In these readings, the attack on the little Bastille refers to the mock-up little fortress with its white flag of surrender, that rests on a fashionably carved bow-legged table. There is, however, a wholly different reading to be gleaned by understanding the workings of this visual image. An alternative and, here, ultimately failed, attack on another 'little Bastille'—being that of the girl's virtue—is to be inferred from a careful scrutiny of the figurative details that go to make up this particular composition.

The boy in the little scene sports the uniform with epaulettes and facings of a French guardsman while the girl is dressed quite stylishly in a low-bodiced dress and apron and with a prominent sash tied round her waist. In spite of the piece of indoor furniture on which the model fortress rests, the couple stand within a leafy garden in a suggestively pastoral landscape setting. The boy soldier holds a taper in his hand which has, presumably, just been set alight from the brazier on the ground at his side. With this lit taper, he tries to set off the miniature cannon whose barrel points upwards to the model of the Bastille. The boy is being prevented from completing this action by the girl who places her arm and hand on her companion. She is thus resisting the advance of the boy soldier, just as with her other hand she appears to be admonishing a dog leaping up at her.

These poses and gestures belong to the devices and conventions of what has been termed the boudoir picture—that is the titillating, intimate, domestic small-scale narrative scene from before the Revolution. The boy and girl are not just simply playing a game of simulating '*à la Bastille*', an attack on the Bastille. The whole scene is, instead, loaded with a variety of none too subtle sexual symbolism ranging from the lit taper, to the pointing cannon, the fortress Bastille and the barking dog.[19] Through the careful juxtaposition of an acknowledged repertoire of figurative forms, the viewer of the visual image is thus offered up a picture of a boy soldier who has been recast as the figure of a failed suitor and who, in failing to ignite his phallic instrument, fails in his attack on the girl's fortress and her virtue which will, thus, not be surrendered—at least in this picture.

Words and picturing complement one another here to offer up something that is illicitly subversive, rather than politically seditious or even morally virtuous. These figures pertain to the mildly diverting delights of a previous and continuing genre tradition. They work for the viewer both within and beyond the immediate social, political and historical environments in which they have been located. A salacious reading of the print does not preclude allusion to the recent political event; specific references to the attack on the fortress are, indeed, contained in the print's title and in the architecture of the toy fortress prison. The processes of picture-making can demonstrate imagery working to shift attitudes and the ways in which people, in a changing world, understand. The imagery here might be understood as pointing to an increasing awareness that the power of signs could be used instrumentally for the moulding of public opinion. Yet, while many other images depict the attack on the Bastille without the inference of salacious content, the devices of this particular composition are deliberately and archly playful with, in consequence, little

strategic or polemical focus. By locating a composition within appropriate contexts of making and medium, and of genre, patronage, convention and tradition, the peculiarly suggestive nature of a particular design can, in time, be grasped.[20]

A comparison of two images which are different in terms of status (painting versus print), patronage, markets and place in art history serves to bring out what can be gained by these methods. One work is a renowned history painting which has played a central role in the art historical interpretation of history painting. The other work is a print produced almost a century earlier. What could such different works, therefore, share?

Both *Le Serment des Horaces* (*The Oath of the Horatii*, Fig. 1.2) by Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) and a scene of street traders (Fig. 1.3) by Nicolas Guérard le fils (c.1648–1719) represent call to arms. Evolving out of past traditions and sanctioned conventions pertinent to each genre or type of composition, these pictures, in their different ways, visually address the issue of what might motivate the fighter. Bringing them together across the many factors that otherwise divide them will demonstrate something of the method I pursue in my study of the image.

Le Serment des Horaces is a major history painting, measuring 330 cm by 425 cm, on a subject derived from the Roman histories of Antiquity. The episode depicted is of the Horatii triplets who, as representatives of Rome, swear together to their father to take up arms to conquer the enemy, or die in the process. Created in Rome in 1784, the work had been a royal commission from the French State for which the painter David received 6000 *livres*.[21] It was first exhibited in Paris at the Salon of 1785, the temporary exhibition lasting for about six weeks which was, for most of the second half of the eighteenth century, held on a biannual basis in the Salon Carré of the royal palace of the Louvre.

The picture has prompted a wealth of art historical commentary. In 1940, Edgar Wind focused, for example, on what may have been the range of verbal and visual sources for David's invention of the moment of oath-taking in a well-known narrative taken from the histories of Antiquity.[22] In the lead up to the bicentennial celebrations of the French Revolution, Thomas Crow linked the composition's stylistic innovations to radical dissenting opinion and the desire for a reform of existing hierarchical institutions, structures and authorities in anticipation of the Revolution.[23] Udolpho van de Sandt has even pertinently noted that, in making the painted canvas larger in size than the one commissioned, David's own desire for *gloire* came to the fore.[24]

Fig. 1.2 Jacques-Louis David, *Le Serment des Horaces*, oil on canvas, 330 cm × 425 cm, s. and d. 1784, Paris, musée du Louvre, Inv. 3692. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre)/Gérard Blot/Christian Jean

No such commentaries have, however, been generated by the print of a street scene showing a recruiter and drummer companion making an appeal to a range of street types. This is predominantly a view of recruitment rather than just one of call to arms. Designed by Nicolas Guérard le fils and measuring just 8.9 cm by 17.2 cm, the small black-and-white etching belongs to a series of *Cries*, produced in Paris in 1715 as a speculative commercial venture.[25] The series purports to show types of traders, in all their diversity, as they ply their wares on the streets of Paris. There is no written information about the initial reception of this series. The incorporation in print form of specialised sounds of hawking or cries made by the urban, ambulant street trader, such as the bootblack, the milkmaid, the flower seller or, as in this case, the recruiter for the army, had been popular since some early French woodcuts of the sixteenth century and it was a convention that continued on into the nineteenth century.[26]

Fig. 1.3 Nicolas Guérard le fils, *Street Scene of Water Carriers*, *Baker's Boy*, *Recruiters*, etching and engraving, 8.9 cm × 17.2 cm, 1715, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. 2005CAR0109A, G14.052. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto

Instead of the use of the print as mere evidence of a certain social situation, as a view through a window onto the past, art history enables the particular material characteristics of a given object to be addressed alongside considerations of a range of practical considerations of an object's coming into being, such as the specifics of patronage, costs of labour and of the ways in which the exploitation of the chosen medium has been done. All these factors help to account for how much truth is available from a visual image, with what degrees of transparency a visual image is to be understood and, in the case of the imagery of the recruitment of soldiers, the extent to which *gloire* figured as an element of military motivation.[27]

A black-and-white print inscribed with verses contains within itself a direct address to a literate viewer, presenting us with a construction that both dictates and limits meaning. Its words make it appear as a more directed semiotic event. The history painting exists as an effect of narrative. Its figurative imagery can offer greater degrees of abstraction, of interpretative possibilities and of open-endedness of meaning. Appropriate contexts of patronage, production, function, dissemination and reception need to be addressed when seeking to establish fields of meaning. The changing nature of the chosen format, of the medium and of the genre

or category of art, has to be understood, in part, in terms of culturally conditioned factors such as those of academic painting theory, approaches to Antiquity, the changing nature of military recruitment and/or conventions for the figuration of the urban poor on the streets of Paris.

The recognition that visual imagery neither merely illustrates history, nor falls within an autonomous realm of high art thus constitutes a double intervention. By bringing together two visual images ostensibly culled from different ends of the cultural spectrum and of artistic endeavour, my approach here is, furthermore, that of an art historian concerned with how concepts of *gloire* accorded with the imagery of military sign up, and also with what is distinctive about such imagery in the light of the political history of the Revolution. The history painting by David now belongs to the study of how fine art and the political might intermesh. The analysis of its depiction of a call to arms will throw light on shifting ideas about glory, masculinity, the soldier and the nation. The bringing together of this work of high art with a small-scale black-and-white etching additionally reveals how collective attitudes, mentalities and representations about issues to do with military recruitment are mediated through the carefully constructed and changing devices of a variety of visual guises.

Gloire: Word, Concept, Meaning

Gloire is not a fixed but a shifting concept. As signified, *gloire* is a state. *Gloire* also works as signifying process and mediator. It can bring its own self to light. There is the state of being glorious, of a person, a title, an exploit; then there are the processes of glorifying or of making someone or something glorious. In one of the most respected dictionaries of the French language, *Littré*, there are 13 separate definitions for the word *gloire*. The term was attached to formations of the *homme illustre* (illustrious man), notions of honour, the nobility and then on to the *grand homme* (great man) and an emergent nationalism.[28] It has been allied to the merit and fame of the military hero but it also has distinctive religious connotations. In Chap. 2, I examine this complexity to provide a more detailed genealogy of the term, considering it also in relation to changing concepts of nationhood. My purpose in this book is to explore these unstable notions through a range of visual images that were produced during the eighteenth century in France. Without ignoring the more canonical visual images that articulate the changing concepts and uses of *gloire*,

my book attends just as much to print culture in which word and image tend to be more obviously combined and integrated. Independently and in their interplay, words and visual imagery provide us with insight into the ways in which shifting meanings were attached to notions of the soldier, the nation and of *gloire* over time, and at a particular moment of upheaval, revolution, rupture and reassessment in the history of France.

The concept of *gloire* is a highly contingent and problematic one.[29] In France, the cultural historian Georges Minois has traced the evolution of the idea of the exceptional individual from Homer's heroes to today's star system.[30] In this process, he has explored how a desire for personal glory can often be at odds with the interests of the community. Beginning with the epic texts of Antiquity, Minois identifies a continuing, fundamental and irreconcilable dilemma. Should the hero submit himself to the law when the laws of society might hinder the actions, intentions and emergence of the hero?[31] For Minois, the heroes of Antiquity were often of elevated social origin and physically beautiful. Courageous and effective, they were also driven to excess and could be brutal and ferocious, even bestial. To what extent such *gloire* still pertained to the military at the time of the Enlightenment is one of the questions this book seeks to address.[32]

Minois uses the example of Joan of Arc to demonstrate how notions of greatness continue to be relative and contingent over time. Joan of Arc was a girl of humble birth who was burnt at the stake as a witch and heretic after having joined the French army and participated in the successful relief of Orléans during the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) between France and England. Although her trial was declared irregular in 1456, this was done to remove doubts about the legitimacy of Charles VII whose coronation Joan had helped to effect. The cult of Joan of Arc and the movement for her canonisation only gathered momentum during the nineteenth century for it was only then, at a time of resurgent French Catholic nationalism, that she could be celebrated precisely because of her humble origins, her female sex, her Catholicism and her Frenchness.[33]

While not the central focus of the present work, the role of military glory within Christian thought still needs to be acknowledged. Its legacies inform the symbolic ground upon which rest the historical changes tracked by my study through the visual image. According to the *Concordance de la Bible de Jérusalem* of 1982, the word *gloire* appears 296 times in its Old Testament and 164 times in its New Testament with injunctions in 1 Samuel 6:5 and Psalm 66:2 to offer up glory to God.[34] For Christianity, glory is the state of being in the blessedness of future life when the soul

is united to God and the faithful, guided by divine Providence, gain immortality thereby. A separate, but related, physical presence merges immanent substance with the external practice of glorification, allowing humans to give God the glory God has created. In an article written in 1942, Ernst Kantorowicz discussed the *Laudes* (Latin for glorify or to praise) as a form of liturgical acclamation that was sung on feast days at the coronation of emperors and kings in commemoration of the living and of the dead. Impregnated throughout with the hailing cry *Christus vincit*, the lauding interspersed groups of saints' names with the names of popes, kings, princes and members of the army.[35] The collective, consensual outburst of the acclamation, together with its accompanying gestures, conjoined the ceremonial with the political aspects of power and in so doing fused the sacred with the profane.

In a less exalted vein, Minois accounts for values of personal merit, *virtù* and the exceptional reputation of *fama* at the time of the Renaissance and notes how portraiture, statuary, medals, inscriptions and biographies were then used to celebrate artists alongside explorers, military men, sovereigns and popes. Besides the praising of the illustrious, there also arose, according to this writer, a critical tradition in which the desires and excesses of great men were ridiculed. Writings, like those of Petrarch on the moral and political ideals of the illustrious men of Antiquity, were frequently implicitly critical of the debased, corrupt present.[36] By questioning how *gloire* might have been appropriately, or inappropriately, apportioned, the concept could come to work subversively and undermine dominant systems of authority. Later chapters here will consider the meanings that were attached to *gloire* in France during the early modern period and, in so doing, assessments will be made about the potency of this critical tradition.

During the long eighteenth century, the hero and/or the *homme illustre* came gradually to be replaced in France by constructions of the *grand homme*. According to Jean-Claude Bonnet, the cult of the *grand homme*, having contributed to subversions of monarchy at the end of the *Ancien Régime*, now belongs to what constitutes the modern French nation's *imaginaire*, its ideas and its memories: 'the vogue that it [the cult of great men] sustained in our country in the period of the Enlightenment and the founding of the Pantheon which consecrated it, in April 1791, has placed it at the heart of our national imaginary.'[37] Bonnet's account calls attention to the writings of the *philosophes* and their finding of personal merit in works for the public good. Bonnet invoked Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699) as something of a starting point. The fictional continu-

ation of Homer's *Odyssey* contains lessons on good rulership for Fénelon's princely charge, the Duc de Bourgogne, grandson to Louis XIV. Its story describes how, searching for his father, the young Telemachus was guided by wise old Mentor towards a conduct noted for its modesty, justice and humanity. Throughout this fictional narrative there is, for Bonnet, a strong bias in favour of the civilising benefits of peace which soften the harsh effects of war.[38]

With the emergence of nationalism in France in the period 1680 to 1800, David Bell takes a different stance towards the coming of the Revolution. He places constructions of the *grand homme* within French—nationalist—claims to greatness. [39] French kings were to gain glory from the glory of France's great men, with the greatness of the reigning monarch taken as axiomatic, at least until the start of the Revolution. Jay Smith's work on the changing perceptions of merit pertaining to the eighteenth-century French nobility, deals more specifically with military service and its ideals but he, too, is concerned with the breakdown of *Ancien Régime* systems of representation.[40] His analyses of honour include references to writings on *gloire* which link true glory to a more egalitarian virtue and a patriotic selflessness. According to Smith, true merit and noble birth were gradually coming to be seen as opposing principles before the Revolution with, eventually, the personal modality of royal service being replaced by an impersonal, professionalised, specialised political culture.

These conflicting perceptions about the coming of the French Revolution attend to how the structures of a corporate society grounded in rights and privileges broke down. New ideas about French nationhood that had begun to be articulated had also involved changing notions of what might constitute true greatness. My own study locates approaches to *gloire* emerging at a particularly momentous time so as to analyse the visual imagery of military recruitment with which this study is centrally concerned. Constructions of glory mediate, distort and inflect the visual image which cannot be used as bald evidence. Yet it is still possible to come to some conclusions about the increasingly important role artists, writers and thinkers were investing in the showing of what can, or cannot, be considered the true greatness of a commitment to serve by lending one's body to go and kill and, in the ensuing processes, possibly be killed.

In many countries today, professional army units exist that are separated off from civilian society. Divisions between those who serve in the military and those who do not serve in this way are, on the whole, greater now than in earlier periods, before the breaking up of a corporate social struc-

ture founded on rights, honours and privileges.[41] While elements, culled from a Western, classical cultural tradition, endure if only to be imitated and adapted to changing circumstances and for changing purposes, the study of military history is itself also being re-evaluated.[42] Instead of strategy and statistics, more emphasis has come to be placed on the social and cultural transformations experienced by the soldier when being absorbed into a military unit and in belonging to a concomitant wider collective identity.[43]

What specifically concerns me here is how *gloire* has figured in the warmongering of the French classical tradition forward from the essays of Michel de Montaigne, that were first published in 1580, and from the designs of Jacques Callot, that first appeared in the early seventeenth century. Many of the observations about the justifications for going off to war and about the worth, or otherwise, of these justifications make a moral cause out of the concept of *gloire*, eliding it, for good or for ill, with principles of virtue.

Times

This study demonstrates that the imagery of military recruitment both before and during the Revolution still used modes of visual representation inherited from the past. The changing mentalities and changing notions of *gloire* that belong to the upheavals and ruptures of the Revolution did not immediately prompt new ways of viewing the departing volunteer soldier or conscript, in spite of the fact that the newly formed French republican nation engaged in combat in unprecedented ways.

The historian Tim Blanning has claimed that the French Revolutionary wars mark a break with the ways in which warfare had been previously conducted for a new, modern and apocalyptic form of total warfare, that is still a condition of our own post 9/11 world, first emerged during these conflicts.[44] The mobilisation of the entire French nation had certainly been attempted in August 1793, during one of the most intense phases of the first French Revolution.[45] I shall show, however, that there was a lag of nearly a decade between the emergence of a new ideology of patriotic militarism and the means to provide a new tradition of military paintings to articulate that ideology.

Following on from a seminal article by Susan Siegfried about the appearance of a documentary mode of battle painting at the Salon of 1801, I locate 1800 as the endpoint of my study: that is, just before painting in France was composed with a greater degree of realism in response to an

official campaign promoting such work.[46] My discussion of *L'Enrôlement des volontaires ou la patrie en danger* (Fig. 5.10) in Chap. 5 suggests that this particular sketch heralds this altered approach in which present circumstances are both revealed and concealed by the fictions of an imagined community. Only after the advent of Bonaparte's seizure of power as first consul in the coup of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799) did views of soldiering and the going off to war have the potential of being a glorious adventure and this in spite of the fact that conscription was introduced into France by the Jourdan-Delbrel law of 19 fructidor an VI (5 September 1798). Self-interest, honour and a sense of patriotism were certainly amongst the acknowledged motives for serving in the military before and during the Revolution but the sense that such service needed disinterested support for the favouring of a mass social cause arose only after the political upheavals had been set in motion. Reformulations of the exceptional hero in visual imagery as in, for instance, David's portrait of *Bonaparte franchissant les Alpes au Grand-Saint-Bernard* (Rueil-Malmaison, Château de Malmaison) of late 1800, arose only in the aftermath of the decade of Revolution.

The work on the metaphoric language of the French Revolution by the cultural historian Antoine de Baecque provides a useful starting point for what I have to say about how views of the Revolution were constructed during and after this momentous period. In examining the ways in which contemporary writers talked about a society that was evolving and changing at a dizzying rate, de Baecque uses bodily metaphors to interpret the historical moment of the birth of the new political order.[47] His account moves from a ritual of laughter, which he considers to have peaked between February and June 1791, to a ritual of tears, which is thought to have been at its most expressive between the summer of 1792 and the summer of 1794. The ritual of laughter may well have involved harmful attacks on the body but these were brought about by carnivalesque gestures and the discourses of the burlesque. The ritual of tears, on the other hand, certainly involved the display of actual, wounded bodies and real attacks on the body, on society and on the body politic. In attempting to create a space of absolute political transparency for its body of government as for its actions, the urgency of the Terror, according to this account, ended up by turning in upon itself and tearing itself apart. De Baecque's analysis of the Terror's psychopathology and of its turning in upon itself aimed to combine interpretation with the writing of history and deliberately used heterogeneous sources to attain this end.[48] Although the need to respect what is

specific to each genre is acknowledged in his introduction, my own approach is to pay attention to the specific properties of a given medium or vehicle of representation that also change over time.

A parade of live but damaged, wounded, bandaged, disabled, physically bleeding soldiers processing in an official festival in the open air in Paris would have entailed much mediated ritual, in spite of the fact that such a procession may have had an immediacy of effect in ways that would have differed from those of the reportage of the event, from prints after the event, from the spoken rhetoric of the event inside the premises of the National Convention, or from the written annals and records of these deliberations and interventions. Taking a different perspective, De Baecque discusses the transparency of the portrait bust in being a simulacrum of the martyr's body in its overcoming of obstacles to mediation.[49] Yet by focusing on what might specifically pertain to a given object's precise conditions of production, to methods of reception and of dissemination and to the debates about creativity and the arts that then held sway, the discipline of art history provides a nuanced and apposite assessment of how a particular object and/or artwork functioned in the public domain. A carved and polished white marble bust has, for instance, a different order of signification from that of, say, a terracotta or painted cardboard model. These different qualities have their own histories of representation, which exist alongside the histories of what is, or was, being represented. While the festivals of the Revolution had bandaged, limping, crippled and disabled soldiers on parade, in the subversive inversions of caricature, displays of the blood and gore of warfare, in all their awful out-flowing and as opposed to such live processing, were, at the time, extremely limited, at least in France.

The correlation between what happened during the Revolution and what we can now make of the Revolution is mediated by the mutating forms in which the actions, debates and concepts of the Revolution have come down to us. The fixed, mute, static properties of the print may well have incorporated some of the symbolic actions and practices of the period and may well have helped to disseminate and encourage new ideas. The extent to which the printed visual image can be used as evidence of extant social or political practice is, however, something that always needs to be negotiated and then renegotiated.[50] Relationships between figurative depiction and the written word are dynamic and constantly mutate, just as the meanings that we attach to specific words and phrases are also dependent on larger and changing social and cultural contexts.

The print and the political pamphlet both, to a degree, subvert existing authority. It is, however, possible to view the print and, to an even greater degree, the oil on canvas painting as potentially less seditious forms of political engagement than, for instance, the rhetoric of a rabble-rouser speaking to a live audience. Yet issues of reception in time and over time are still certainly crucial to our understanding of the workings of visual imagery. How were/are such scenes viewed and by whom?[51] While answers to these questions cannot be definitive, taking these factors into account can still be used to support my contention that art and the aesthetic lag behind the literature of political critique partly for practical reasons of cost, labour and patronage as well as on account of the nature of the chosen medium of representation. It is, furthermore, evident that considerations of gender adhere to issues of reception just as they are also deeply embedded within the imagery of military recruitment in this period.

Gender

Women certainly fought as soldiers both before and during the Revolution, but there was never any sort of official policy for the recruitment of women as soldiers. The visual iconography of military recruitment in this period is clearly predicated on the enrolment of men. Women are, however, crucial to the picturing of the moment of sign up. Whether in genre pictures of contemporary life or in the ennobling paintings of history, certain key scenes in the recruitment process have been made to stand out in significant ways. These pivotal moments arise out of the transition from the state and status of being a civilian to being armed, ready for combat and prepared to march away from the domestic sphere of a peaceful hearth, home and family. Women thus feature significantly in the iconography of male military sign up of this period.

The parts assigned to women generally belong not to the field of conflict, but to what the recruit is forced to leave behind in the pursuit of his military calling. These gender divisions serve to bring out underlying mentalities in which the arts of peace were allied to the caring and procreative abundance of the feminine and opposed to the negative and destructive acts of masculine warfare. While only men, at least in principle, perpetrated the punitive, destructive effects of warfare, the exercise of political virtue within the expanding spaces of critical reasoning had also come to be confined just to men. Thus the granting of political rights for the

good of all at the time of the Revolution set up a masculine-engendered Republicanism, opposed to an aristocratic, effeminised past and to later counter-revolutionary, privatised self-interests, conceived as effeminate and enervating.[52]

That there is a marked gender division in the visual imagery of military recruitment in this period has long been recognised. An initial impetus for my interest in this topic was given by the publication *Klassizismus und Krieg*: *Über den Historienmaler Jacques-Louis David* by Elmar Stolpe. This scholar sheds light on the pre-revolutionary works of David with reference to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treatises on the military and on correct modes of social behaviour.[53] He maintains that David's major history paintings of before the Revolution supported the status quo of stable monarchical government while also belonging to the complex and diverse movement of Enlightenment which, originating in the seventeenth century, questioned the place of the individual within society. Stolpe allies the writing of history to texts on military theory then current and to the reform movement for art that took off in the 1750s because, in these diverse sources, Roman models are held to serve as virtuous examples of military discipline in the present and for the future. The author goes on to make much of the showing of the discipline of military drill in the posing of the three Horatii brothers together in a row, manly, upright and uniform (Fig. 1.2). He considers that the three sons swearing together to their father to take up arms to conquer the enemy, or die in the process, presents the viewer with an act of imitation in respect of, in particular, the father who serves as a further model of military and of *vaterländische* (patriotic) virtue to be followed.[54]

I shall suggest an opposing reading of the father's exhortation in this painting to his sons to take up arms and conquer or die in the process. Given that the tragic outcome of this moment of irrevocable decision-making was well known to the Salon going public—that a sister, brothers, fathers and children will die as a result of this swearing to take up arms in defence of Rome—, the crucial contribution of the women depicted in this composition requires further elaboration.[55] According to Stolpe, the women certainly have their part to play in our understanding of this major painting, but he analyses their role in terms of displays of weakness. In this analysis, David's Horatii brothers and Brutus submit themselves to the strongest self-discipline in the controlling of their energies just when they are at their most free in their moments of self-

determination, of highest energy and of heroic behaviour.[56] The tying of the Horatii to Brutus enables what are considered to be exercises in heroic self-discipline and in the control of the passions to work within the framework of both a military and a civilian morality targeted towards the safety of the State and for the stability of existing power structures.[57] According to Stolpe, David's heroic élite stands for ideals of truth, bravery, directness: for manly sobriety and not for the sentiment of the *bürgerliche* (bourgeois) tradition. This writer certainly acknowledges the contemporary rejection of excessive and destructive bloodlust but he uses these views to transform David's heroes into models for the civilising self-control of the passions. In this underlying argument, the women in these paintings are then made to work as examples of the negative emotions that arise when self-control of the passions is lost:

> The emphasis on female weakness and female loss of self-control is an admonition sent out especially to the corresponding half of the Salon public: never to forget one's own dignity and to put oneself in jeopardy through being too passionate; and going beyond, this is an appeal to remain conscious of the possibility of perfection. The women in the *Oath of the Horatii* cannot, however, give any insight into how this high ideal is to be achieved; they certainly carry their understanding within themselves but they are, all the same, too weak, too passive to translate this into action.[58]

In her seminal article, 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art', Carol Duncan interpreted the gender divisions in David's composition from a feminist perspective, by noting how new ideas about marriage, promoted by a range of *philosophes* from Buffon to d'Holbach and Rousseau, transformed the institution of marriage from one of preserving a feudal chain of descendants with title to estates, properties and privileges in the family name, to one that celebrated a happy, civilised yet still natural, state in satisfying social and individual needs.[59] Satisfying these needs, the institution of marriage was being changed, according to this writer, from one that preserved a feudal chain of descendants with title to estates, properties and privileges in the family name, to one that celebrated a happy and civilised yet still natural state. The authority of the father/husband as head of the family came, furthermore, to be attacked when this role was perceived to be tyrannical in being opposed to an individual's rights to personal happiness. This analysis led Duncan to a consideration

of the father figures depicted in the art of Greuze in being a conservative response to contemporary criticisms of traditional paternalistic authority. The writer also situated *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2) within these altered formulations of the institution of marriage as within these new approaches to gender oppositions within the family.[60] She still, however, considered that this particular painting demonstrates a rational male virtue concerned with civic affairs. The emotions and family sentiments experienced by the women from within the sanctuary of the domestic are thus still being demoted to the level of a blurring of rational judgement.

This book shows, on the other hand, that the role of women in the picture-making of military sign up in France before and during the Revolution was far from that of being the lesser adjunct to the setting up of heroic, manly virtue. Instead, the finer sensibilities that they can be made to incorporate bring out an antipathy for going off to war and for an armed combat, deemed to be ill-considered and destructive of the fruitful and creative benefits of peace. I have discussed elsewhere David's major history painting of 1799, *Les Sabines* (Paris, Louvre). I argue that this work is precisely not a battle painting but a painting about the cessation of battle. It is the women with their children who, for the benefit of humanity, intervene to put an end to the fighting and the killing. The carefully negotiated mediations of medium, circumstances of display and of reception allow the viewer to make sense of the work in the present.[61]

The focus on military sign up gives access to the complex sets of social relationships involved in the making of fighters and the going off to war in defence of the realm or, in the case of late eighteenth-century France, in defence of notions of the *Patrie*, the Homeland, the French Revolution and what was to become the French nation. In the next chapter I deal with the picturing of military recruitment before 1789 and the outbreak of the Revolution, establishing the topic of signing up for the army as an important symbolic form of expression. The chapter deals with how this trope has been incorporated into a range of two-dimensional visual images from prints of street cries to the high art of history painting, as also its presence in literary and text based performances, plays, satire and reportage. In this period, the military calling is generally viewed with a degree of ambivalence and certain key themes and conventions become codified into ways of showing the moment of transition from a civilian to a military status where men take up arms and leave sorrowful family and grieving womenfolk behind.

After this close analysis of the visual representations, the book addresses the philosophical nature of the word *gloire* as it pertains to military motivation and as it is, more generally, an unstable, polysemic concept whose meanings have been probed over time and according to contingent sets of historical circumstances. Moral value accrued to the concept during the eighteenth century when it was allied to disinterested acts of self-sacrifice for the common good and away from the vainglory of the individual hero and conqueror so that, by the time of the French Revolution, a spirit of equality comes to the fore in recommendations for the awarding of honour and merit on account of exceptional feats of bravery that had been acted out for the good of the French nation. Artists and their creations are also assigned increasingly important roles in the making of the glorious known and by even becoming, in this process, the arbiters of true *gloire*.

The next two chapters on recruitment and revolution return to the close scrutiny of visual imagery. The complexities of revolutionary approaches to military call-up that predominantly rely on modes of visual representation inherited from the past diverge from later nineteenth-century views that present the declaration of *La Patrie en danger* as a new, unprecedented and dramatic moment of mass coming together in unity. Yet the marked gender divisions in the showing of those taking up of military service persist. With the coming of conscription, these allow men, and not women, to be clearly assigned concomitant rights of French citizenship.

The anti-thesis or undersides of *gloire* are also addressed. The subversive devices of caricature give insight into the degrees of disgrace, disorder and infamy that accrue to the showing of military engagement in the service of the French nation. The frequent pairing in visual pendants of a going off to war with an ignominious coming back from warfare suggests, furthermore, the negative effects of warmongering on civil society. The iconography of the war hero in two-dimensional visual representations, relying as it does in this period on a predominantly neoclassical aesthetic, is obviously a highly mediated one. Concepts of *gloire*, nation and soldiering are explored here by situating such concepts at the dawn of a new era and by providing pathways through the stratifications of visual culture so that the rich historiography of late eighteenth-century France can allow for the processes of military recruitment to be located in a conjoining of history with art history.

Notes

1. Old Marseillaise: 'Arise, children of the Homeland/The day of glory has arrived!', http://old.marseillaise.org/francais/francais.html, accessed 10 June 2015.
2. L. Mason (1996) *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), pp. 93–103; H. Luxardo (1989) *Histoire de la Marseillaise* (Paris: Plon).
3. M. Vovelle (1984–92) 'La Marseillaise: La Guerre ou la paix', in P. Nora (ed.) *Les Lieux de mémoire: La République*, I (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 85–136.
4. F. Robert (1989) *La Marseillaise* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), p. 92.
5. 'Amour sacré de la Patrie/Conduis, soutiens nos bras vengeurs/Liberté, Liberté chérie,/Combats avec tes défenseurs!', http://old.marseillaise.org/francais/francais.html, accessed on 10 June 2015.
6. 'Tout est soldat pour vous combattre/S'ils tombent, nos jeunes héros/La France en produit de nouveaux,/Contre vous tout prêts à se battre. All are soldiers to do battle against you;/If they fall, our young heroes,/The earth will produce new ones/Ready to fight against you.' http://old.marseillaise.org/francais/francais.html, accessed on 10 June 2015.
7. 'Sous nos drapeaux, que la victoire/Accoure à tes males accents/Que tes ennemis expirants/Voient ton triomphe et notre gloire!,' http://old.marseillaise.org/francais/francais.html, accessed on 10 June 2015. Several contemporary editions had verses added locally to those of Rouget de Lisle and one version about replacing those fallen in battle came to accrue to the national song; Robert, *La Marseillaise*, pp. 34–5.
8. Mason, *Singing the French Revolution*, p. 102.
9. The literature on notions of patriotism and on what constituted the *Patrie* at this date is extensive. See, for instance, E. Dziembowski (1998) *Un nouveau Patriotisme français 1750-1770: La France à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation); D. Bell (2001) *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press); P. R. Campbell (2010) 'The Politics of Patriotism in France (1770–1788)', *French History*, 24/4, 550–75.
10. The body of cultural history linking nationhood to war and issues of gender in this period, includes D. Godineau (2004) 'De la Guerrière à la citoyenne. Porter les armes pendant l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française', *Clio:, histoire, femmes et sociétés*, 20, 43–69; A. Forrest, K. Hagemann, J. Rendall (eds.,) (2009) *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1790–1820* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan); S. Dudink, K. Hagemann, J. Tosch (eds.,) (2004) *Masculinities in Politics and War:*

Gendering Modern History (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press); A. Rauch (2000) *Crise de l'identité masculine 1789–1914* (Paris: Hachette Littératures).

11. See, for instance, J. Servan (1780) *Le Soldat citoyen*, *ou Vues patriotiques sur la manière la plus avantageuse de pourvoir à la défense du royaume*, *dans le pays de la liberté* (Neufchâtel). For an overview of this literature, see A. Crépin (2005) *Défendre la France*: *Les Français*, *la guerre et le service militaire*, *de la guerre de Sept Ans à Verdun* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes).
12. M. Vovelle (1982) *Idéologies et mentalités* (Paris: François Maspero), pp. 15–17.
13. Vovelle, *Idéologies et mentalités*, p. 293.
14. Vovelle, *Idéologies et mentalités*, pp. 37–50.
15. Vovelle, *Idéologies et mentalités*, p. 44: 'Certes, à mesure que l'on s'avance dans le temps il devient de plus en plus difficile de distinguer cette lecture élémentaire, qui fait du texte littéraire le simple reflet de la pratique sociale du temps, à charge pour nous d'en décrypter les significations latentes, d'un discours beaucoup plus complexe, car chargé d'arrière-pensées multiples.'
16. M. Vovelle (1982) *La Mort et l'occident de 1300 à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard).
17. Certain collections, such as those of the Bibliothèque nationale, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille and the Musée Carnavalet, have served me well, while the Musée de l'Armée and the Archives de l'Armée might well yield up further resources.
18. R. Reichardt (2009) *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*: *Collections du Musée Carnavalet* (Paris: Nicolas Chaudun), p. 71. R. Taws (2013) *The Politics of the Provisional*: *Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press), p. 115. Following on from the catalogue entry, Richard Taws suggests miniature simulacra of the Bastille might be taken to be transitional objects fostering a viewing of the 'political childhood the Revolution represented.' The design, which must date to 1789 or the following year at the latest, is taken from a series of six scenes composed by Jean-Baptiste Huet (1772–1840?) and published by Louis-Marin Bonnet in which children or young people supposedly engage in early revolutionary activities. The titles of the prints in this series are: *Départ pour le siege de la Bastille*; *La Petite attaque ou la petite Bastille*; *La Bastille détruite ou la petite victoire*; *Le Drapeau national*; *Le Tambour national*; *Le Point d'honneur ou le petit duel*. The circular version of the design, published by Villeneuve, may have been intended to function as a decorative snuff box cover. *La Bastille détruite ou la petite Victoire* is an aftermath scene in which two dogs fight over what remains of the model of

the Bastille whilst the boy soldier beats a drum and the girl appears to celebrate losing her virtue by holding aloft a laurel wreath and her own white flag of surrender.

19. For more on the imagery that traded on a taste for the slightly naughty, the immoral and the illicit before the Revolution and especially in prints rather than paintings, see S. L. Siegfried (1995) *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly*: *Modern Life in Napoleonic France* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press), pp. 5–8; see also P. Stewart (1991) *Engraven Desire*: *Eros*, *Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), especially pp. 271–87. In discussing the intermingling of the decent with the indecent in book illustration, Stewart notes the frequent use of the lapdog as suggestive surrogate.
20. Robert Morrissey has discussed the evolution of the concept of *gloire*, but his analysis omits considerations of appropriate contexts; sections of material culled from the epic poem *La Chanson de Roland*, from the tragedy *Horace* by Pierre Corneille and from the moral maxims of *Honnête homme*, *ou l'art de plaire à la cour* by Nicolas Faret are, for instance, made to follow on in a straightforward way, without the critical perspectives that might be afforded by considerations of time, medium and genre, see R. Morrissey (2010) *Napoléon et l'héritage de la gloire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France) pp. 46–7.
21. A full catalogue entry for the work is given in Exhibition catalogue (1989) *Jacques-Louis David*, *1748–1825* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux), no. 67, pp. 162–71.
22. E. Wind (1940-1) 'The Sources of David's Horaces', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 4, 124–38. See also *Jacques-Louis David*, Exhibition catalogue, pp. 163–6.
23. T. Crow (1985) *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), especially pp. 210–41.
24. U. van de Sandt (1993) 'David pour David: "Jamais on me fera rien faire au détriment de ma gloire"', in R. Michel (ed.) *David contre David* (Paris: La Documentation Française), I, 115–40.
25. The print belongs to a two-part series of six prints in each part. The series has the title *Diverses petitte Figures des Cris de* Paris (Bibliothèque nationale) Estampes Ee3 a pet. fol. and Oa 79 pet. fol; see V. Milliot (1995) *Les* '*Cris de Paris*' *ou le peuple travesti*: *Les Représentations des petits métiers parisiens* (*XVIe–XVIIe siècles*) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne), p. 66; 409.
26. Milliot, *Les* '*Cris de Paris*', p. 65; p. 356.
27. This study deals with visual imagery that is essentially two-dimensional. The sculptural monument, object or artefact offers other processes of signification entailing different potentialities for meaning. The medal

promotes, for instance, belief in the authenticity of what it represents because of the way it is configured, and this configuration is dependent on its own specific processes and conventions. For a discussion of French seventeenth-century medals in this respect, see L. Marin (1980) 'The Inscription of the King's Memory: On the Metallic History of Louis XIV', *Yale French Studies*, 59, 17–36. The *gloire* which the medal projects is to be believed to be a true *gloire*, because the multiple stamping out of the metallic object with combinations of figures and inscribed devices, on the orders of the ruling authorities, ally the value of the medal to coinage and currency. The medal is thus a vehicle for the exercise of power in a fundamentally different way to how the coloured forms of a history painting or the black-and-white outlines of a print might function. For the medal during the French Revolution, see M. Jones (1977) *Medals of the French Revolution* (London: British Museum Publications).

28. Littré (2015), http://littre.reverson.net/dictionnaire-francais/definition/gloire, accessed 10 June 2015.
29. In a discussion about how languages frame memory, Jay Winter has recently argued that *gloire* has different meanings to glory. This is certainly the case. I am principally concerned with the French word *gloire*, and the French contexts in which this word exists. When the word 'glory' is used in this book, it is usually because there is sufficient overlap in meaning between the French and English designations. That the nomenclature of the English word serves my purporses better in some cases needs also to be admitted. Compare J. Winter (2013) 'Beyond Glory? Writing War', in M. Mondini, M. Rospocher (eds) *Narrating War*: *Early Modern and Contemporary Perspectives* (Bologna: Societa editrice il Mulino, Duncker & Humblot in Kommission), pp. 133–52.
30. G. Minois (2005) *Le Culte des grands hommes*: *Des Héros homériques au star system* (Paris : Audibert), p. 229.
31. Minois, *Le Culte des grands hommes*, p. 16.
32. In a study of the impact of the Seven Years' War on the history of the modern world, Hamish Scott notes that historians have tended to occlude the major influence of warfare on eighteenth-century Europe. H. Scott (2011) 'The Seven Years' War and Europe's Ancien Régime', *War in History*, 18, 419–55. Scott suggests further that interpretations of C. von Clausewitz (1832–8) *Hinterlassene Werke über Krieg und Kriegführung* (Berlin) have been responsible for the view that modern warfare began during the upheavals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.
33. Minois, *Le Culte des grands hommes*, p. 134.
34. Voltaire (1987) *Œuvres alphabétiques I*, XXXIII, ed. by Jeroom Vercruysse, *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation), pp. 124–5.

35. E. Kantorowicz (1943) 'Ivories and Litanies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5, 56–81. I am grateful to Adrian Rifkin for informing me of this material. Personal claims to a state of Christian glory in eternity are, also, liable to be deceptive as suggested by the words of the Bible, Luke 12:27: 'Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not, and, yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.'
36. Minois, *Le Culte des grands hommes*, p. 181.
37. J-C. Bonnet (1998) *Naissance du Panthéon*: *Essai sur le culte des grands hommes* (Bagneux : Fayard), p. 10: 'l'engouement qu'il a suscité dans notre pays à l'époque des Lumières et la fondation du Panthéon qui l'a consacré, en avril 1791, l'ont placé au cœur de notre imaginaire national'.
38. Bonnet, *Naissance du Panthéon*, pp. 41–4.
39. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in* France, pp. 122–5.
40. J. M. Smith (1996) *The Culture of Merit*: *Nobility*, *Royal Service and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press); J. M. Smith (2005) *Nobility Reimagined*: *The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press). I am grateful to Hamish Scott for drawing my attention to Smith's work.
41. For the corporate nature of *Ancien Régime* society, see K. M. Baker (1987) (ed.) *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, *I*: *The political culture of the old regime* (Oxford, Pergamon). Emile G Léonard noted that the modern distinction between the military and the civilian could not be applied to *Ancien Régime* society. Officers were, for instance, marked out as members of a noble caste and not on account of a professional military occupation, see E. G. Léonard (1958) *L'Armée et ses problems au 18 siècle* (Paris: Plon), pp. 2–13. Exploring the amounts of pathos and of the sublime induced in the spectator by the viewing of British images of war, Philip Shaw has dealt with the contradictions on which the contract between civilian and military life is founded in P. Shaw (2013) *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Farnham: Ashgate). I use the topic of military recruitment here to examine the viewing of warmongering in eighteenth-century France when civilian and military responses to warfare still obviously converged.
42. For instance, both M. Mitchell's anti-war novel *Gone with the Wind* (1936) and the subsequent anti-war film by D. Selznick *Gone with the Wind* (1939, Metro Goldwyn Mayer) begin with the great set pieces of the white young scion of the South being called to arms and away while the womenfolk stay at home and the black slaves continue to labour the land.
43. K. Linch and M. McCormack (2013) 'Defining Soldiers: Britain's Military, c. 1740–1815', *War in History*, 20, 144–59.

44. T. Blanning (2007) *The Pursuit of Glory*: *Europe 1648–1815* (London: Allen Lane), pp. 642–3.
45. J. Madival and E. Laurent (1867–) *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*: *Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres française*, LXII (Paris: Dupont), pp. 674–5.
46. S. Siegfried (1993) 'Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France', *The Art Bulletin*, 75/2, 235–58.
47. A. de Baecque (1993) *Le Corps de l'histoire*: *Métaphores et politique* (*1770–1800*) (Paris: Calmann-Lévy).
48. De Baecque, *Le Corps de l'histoire*, pp. 19–25. When considering whether the French Revolution was a time of change or crisis in values, Vovelle also shows that he is aware of the need to respect the different signifying systems of a range of apparently different sources, see Vovelle, *Idéologies et mentalities*, pp. 296–8.
49. De Baecque, *Le Corps de l'histoire*, p. 358.
50. For more on the production, distribution and dissemination of prints during the Revolution, see C. Hould (1989) *L'Image de la Révolution française* (Québec: Musée du Québec).
51. For the idea of an imagined public opinion and the Salon going public, see N. Veysman (2004) *Mise en scène de l'opinion publique dans la littèrature des Lumières* (Paris: Honoré Champion), pp. 330–54. See also Crow, *Painters and Public Life*.
52. See the discussion of the satire *1re Réquisition des deux genres* (Fig. 6.8) in Chap. 6.
53. E. Stolpe (1985) *Klassizismus und Krieg*: *Über den Historienmaler Jacques-Louis David* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag).
54. Stolpe, *Klassizismus und Krieg*, p. 78.
55. Major versions of this historical episode from the ancient history of Rome are given in Livy, Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Valerius Maximus; eighteenth-century French versions and commentary are given by the abbé Du Bos, Charles Rollin and the abbé de Mably while the celebrated play, *Horace*, by Pierre Corneille was often performed in Paris during the eighteenth century, including notably in 1788; see further Wind, 'The sources of David's *Horaces*', also V. Mainz (1992) 'History, History Painting and Concepts of *Gloire* in the Life and Work of Jacques-Louis David' (University College, University of London: Unpublished Ph.d).
56. Stolpe, *Klassizismus und Krieg*, p. 89.
57. Stolpe, *Klassizismus und Krieg*, pp. 140–2.
58. Stolpe, *Klassizismus und Krieg*, p. 184: 'Die Hervorkehrung weiblicher Schwäche und weiblichen Sich-Gehenlassens ist eine Mahnung, die (insbesondere) an die entsprechende Hälfte des Salonpublikums ergeht: niemals die eigene Würde zu vergessen und sich die Gefährdung durch Passionen

einzugestehen; und darüber hinaus ist dies ein Appell, sich auch der Fähigkeit zur Vervollkommnung bewusst zu sein. Wie jedoch dieses hohe Ideal zu erfüllen ist, darüber können die Frauen im *Schwur der Horatier* keine Auskunft geben; sie tragen seinen Begriff wohl in sich, doch sind sie zu schwach, zu passiv, um es zu verwirklichen.'

59. C. Duncan (1973) 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art', *The Art Bulletin*, 55/4, 570–83.
60. Duncan, 'Happy Mothers', 577, fn. 23.
61. Mainz, 'History, History Painting and Concepts of *Gloire*' pp. 209–35; V. Mainz (1996) 'David's *Les Sabines* and the Colouring of History Painting, post-Thermidor', *Interfaces* 10, 45–59. V. Mainz (forthcoming) 'Deflecting the fire of battle painting' in E. Kuijpers, C. van de Haven (eds) *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*: *Experiences*, *Practices*, *Imagination* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

CHAPTER 2

Signing Up Before the Revolution

The act of joining up for military service is a key event in making the transition from civilian to military life, even if the nature of that transition has changed over time and according to local and specific circumstances. Here, I constitute the moment of sign-up in the period leading up to the French Revolution as involving complex sets of social relationships and as an important, but far from unproblematic, site for the making of myth and for the promotion of *gloire*. While visual representations, the sights or appearances of military recruitment, can aptly mark out changes in identity and status, I will also use an array of extra-pictorial, literary, historical and cultural factors, to explore how the production, reception and interpretation of military sign-up has been shaped.

The visual images of military recruitment that were produced in eighteenth-century France tend to focus on certain pivotal moments in the enrolment procedure. These key moments can sometimes be combined within one view. In such picturing, the separate stages of a transformation from a non-fighter to that of a member of a military force may be contained within the decisive episodes of the recruiting officer and his lures, the act of inscribing and signing up, the taking leave of the comforts and affective pleasures of civilian life—of hearth, home, family and loved ones, the taking up of arms, and then the adoption of a more uniform and anonymous outward appearance in the formations of drill. Such scenes of transition and departure were brought to a close with depictions of the

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6_2

march off to join the regiment and—in times of war—combat. Arlette Farge has uncovered some evidence, in a Paris police report of 1777, of the medical inspection, the issuing of army kit and the initial training programme for new recruits.[1] These moments are not, however, found in the visual imagery of the period. Instead, the arrival in barracks, the first night in the dormitory, the subsequent reveille and rude awakening, the medical inspection and then the distribution of kit belong, in painting and in cinema, to the tropes of modern-day conscription and national service.[2]

I begin with a reading of two prints (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2) designed by Jacques Callot (c.1592–1635) for many of the figures, gestures and expressions contained within these compositions were to be incorporated into the later picturing of the processes of becoming a soldier. After this scene setting, views of military enrolment in the eighteenth century, but before the French Revolution, are situated within a brief historical overview of what is known about some of the circumstances of military recruitment in France in this period. I then trace the imagery of military sign-up from the street cries of print culture to the high art of history painting and the exhibits on display at the Paris Salon. Alongside the close visual analyses, the cultural constructions of literature, drama, performance and reportage are addressed, inflecting pictures of calls to arms, such as that of David's *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2) in a different, less than heroic, light. I conclude that scenes showing the sorrowful responses of the recruit's family, particularly those of the womenfolk, to the volunteer's impending departure present the perspectives of the non-military viewer and reader.

The Visual Precedents of Jacques Callot

In 1614, five years after the death of Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Jacques Callot was awarded a studio at the Tuscan court and charged with a series of engravings on the life of Ferdinand by his son, Cosimo II.[3] This particular series of fine art engravings was thus a court commission designed to celebrate some of the previous Grand Duke's major deeds, battles on land and sea and victories against the Turks. These views of warfare and combat have nothing necessarily pejorative about them. The recruitment scene occurs near the start of the set. It works as testimony for the need to recruit well so as to achieve success in battle.

The central figurative element in its composition consists of groups of soldiers, officers and courtly attendants placed around and across an

Fig. 2.1 Jacques Callot, *L'Enrolement des troupes* from *La vie de Ferdinand 1er de Médicis*, engraving from a painted version by Antonia Tempesta, 19.1 cm × 29.3 cm, 1619–20, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE ED-25 (5)-Boite Ecu Callot nº 152. Photo: BnF

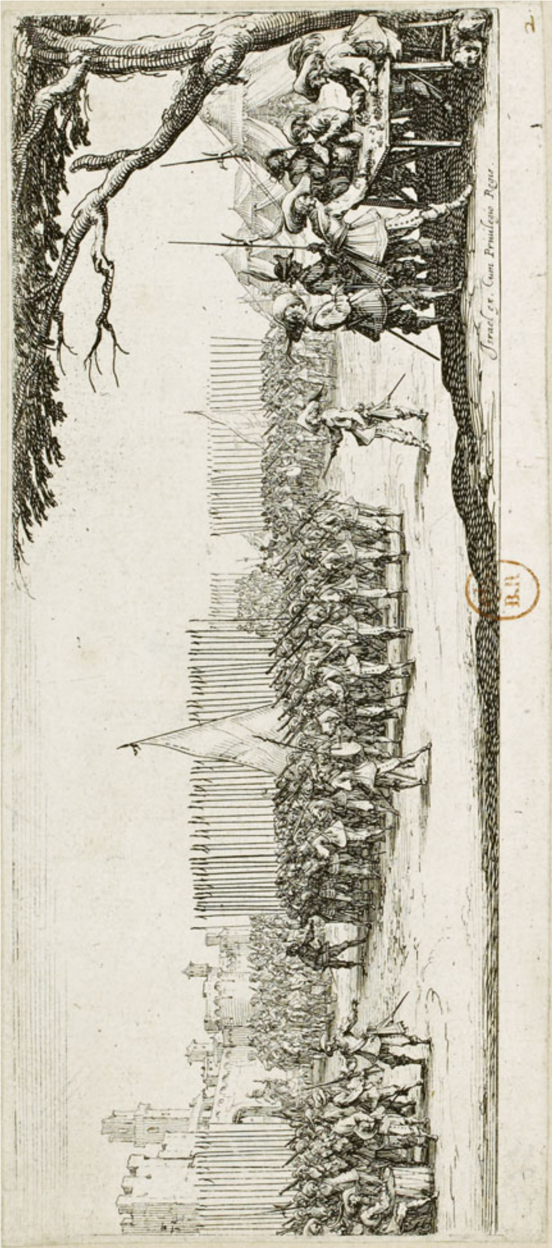

Fig. 2.2 Jacques Callot, *L'Enrolement des troupes* from *Les Grandes Misères de la guerre*, etching, 7.4 cm × 18.6 cm, 1633, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE ED-25 (18)-Boite Ecu Callot 1340. Photo: BnF

oblong, covered table on which a ledger, a pen in an inkpot, a prominent pile of coins and, presumably, moneybags, rest. Outlined against white ground, the bare-headed recruit stands freely and unencumbered. He faces, across the table, a seated officer who, with both his hands, points to the not inconsiderable pile of coins on the table before him while also holding out three coins to the recruit. The central transaction here is a mercenary one in which the soldier's body is being purchased in exchange for money. Feudal systems of service persisted in France up until the French Revolution and the docile dog included in the composition, which sits by the side of the table and below the pile of coins, may indicate that this volunteer was motivated to sign up out of a certain degree of loyalty. [4] A new, non-feudal financial exchange dominates, however, with the coins, small physical objects in themselves, taking pride of place in the arrangement. The primary inducement is, obviously, the engagement fee, with the implication that good soldiers and loyal troops will be obtained by a good ruler, who rewards his soldiers well, financially. At the far end of the table, in shadow but also silhouetted against white ground, sits the Duke, finely bedecked in furs with the money bags before him. One of his fists is firmly clenched but he raises his other hand in what can be taken to be a gesture of approval and of welcome. Glory accrues to the Duke here who, in ruling his troops in this relatively understated way is being shown to be a wise, reasoned and munificent leader. Such a depiction also removes the Duke from the displays of an all-conquering warrior hero as, for instance, embodied in the large bronze fifteenth-century equestrian monument of Bartolomeo Colleoni (Venice, Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo) which, in a public square to this day, imposes onto the spectator below, the imagery of the mercenary warlord.

Two handsome soldiers have been set to frame the central transaction. They both stand with courtly hand on hip poses and display something of the *braggadocio* of the boastful, military type, a stock figure of fun in the *commedia dell'arte*, but without any comedic reference being present here.[5] It is as if, in joining up, the recruit will, too, become one of, and one with, this handsome company. The soldier, who has been placed frontally on the left, sports fine moustaches.[6] His 'twin' on the right, in rear view, wears a flamboyant, high plumed hat with feathers. These feathers, together with a large cockade, continued to be distinguishing features of the specialist recruiting officer's garb in France right up until the military reforms of 1776.[7]

Some of the soldiers shown here wear armour and are kitted out, with pikes and swords, helmets and breastplates. They do not sport standard military uniforms for these only gradually became the rule for European armies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Responsibility for resourcing his regiment lay with the officer in chief and the costs of certain pieces of equipment might be deducted from the soldier's pay.[8] Some of the costumes of the foreground figures belong within the realm of court art as in, for instance, the page boy's heavily embroidered tabard shown in front, but at the side and in rear view. Such a page boy might go on to join the regiment and, in this composition, he provides a timeline to the recruit and then on again to the more elderly courtiers and also on to the troops who march off into the distance away from him in a long, but ordered column to the sound of the drummer and with banners unfurled.[9] The next scene in the series follows on by focussing on the troop march.

Later examples of the visual trope of military enrolment, such as the design by Le Prince (Figs. 2.4 and 2.6) discussed below take up several of the key elements of Callot's composition. The crucial moment of enrolment is, for instance, frequently set across a table or desk, in the open air and with money shown to be changing hands. Displays of armour and elements of weaponry locate the financial transaction as one that involves a reciprocal taking up of arms and subsequent active service as a fighter. A range of figure types, with each type having a specific role in the functioning of the scene's narrative is often included, indicating the status and conditions of those who accompany the recruit, before and after signing up.

In the second scene of military recruitment (Fig. 1.2) designed by Jacques Callot, the depiction of the financial transaction has again been displayed alongside other episodes in the recruitment process but without featuring an individual leader or that leader's implied wisdom and concomitant bid for glory. The later scene belongs to the etched set of prints entitled *Les Misères et les malheurs de la guerre* that was first published in Paris in 1633 by Israël Henriet. The series, as a whole, certainly presents, to the viewer, the miseries of war, the crimes and sufferings of soldiers and the hurt and suffering soldiers inflict on the civilian population. Most scholars now agree that the series is concerned with the discipline of troops as regards the civilian population and in relation to the punishments and the rewards that pertain to the life of the soldier.[10]

The sequential nature of the enrolment process is conveyed here by the inclusion of several separate incidents silhouetted within the one panoramic, wide-angled composition. Separate initiation processes of enrolment frame a central training ground that displays infantrymen with muskets in ordered, thick formation in the processes of being drilled and with companies of cavalry behind. On the left of the parade ground there are the ramparts of some town and, on the right, the tents of the soldiers' encampment suggest, perhaps, a location under siege or the defence of some citadel.

On one side of the composition, two recruits stand bare-headed before a seated officer who uses an upturned drum as desk so as to sign them up. In its recording of a commitment to serve, the act of inscribing belongs both to the making of history and to the showing of the processes of history and this dual function is a feature of many subsequent scenes of sign-up, continuing on into the nineteenth century.[11] Next to this group, another recruit is being armed up by being handed a musket. On the opposite side of the composition, the payment of the signing-on fee takes place beneath the still pastoral element of the boughs of an overhanging tree. The boughs of the tree provide shelter for the business exchange that, as in Callot's first version of this episode, takes place across a table although now it is the recruiting officer with a large feathered hat who handles the reward money. That the reward money may lead to grim ignominy and not to glory is to be construed from a later scene of this series that shows 21 corpses dangling from the branches of a tree. These soldiers have been hanged as punishment for the crimes committed on campaign.

Six lines of verse by the abbé de Marolles were subsequently added to impressions of the print. The words reiterate the mercenary nature of the military engagement:

> This metal that Pluto contains within his veins
> Which makes at the same time both peace and war
> Attracts the soldier without fear of the dangers,
> From the place of his birth to foreign lands
> Where having embarked so as to follow the militia
> His virtue must arm itself against vice.[12]

What is being spelled out here is that the soldier's virtue must be armed against the dangers and the potential for vice that soldiering entails. The verse establishes a potential for moralising that belongs to the scope of the

print's imagery, although such a potential does not necessarily belong to Callot's initial view of military enlistment.

Callot's carefully designed display is of telling detail but before analysing some eighteenth-century scenes of military recruitment, a brief survey, culled from historical account, gives further contexts for the nature and circumstances of army recruitment before the coming of the French Revolution.

The Army and Its Military Recruitment

The size of the standing army in France varied little between the end of the seventeenth century and 1789. Recent military histories have made use of the personnel records, or *contrôles*, of the French army of the eighteenth century, which list the details of a soldier's date of birth, birthplace, profession and date of enrolment.[13] From a peacetime level of about 150,000, the army's manpower increased to peaks of approximately 400,000 in times of war, at least on paper. By 1789 there were 172 regiments including 32 foreign ones—Swiss, German, Irish, Liègois from the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, and Hussar, theoretically Hungarian. Foreign troops were scattered throughout the army and made up about 15% of the total force while French soldiers populated the foreign regiments to an ever greater extent.[14] Infantry regiments absorbed the bulk of the troops with over 100,000 men. Besides the Royal household units of the French and Swiss Guards, there were also cavalry and artillery regiments.[15]

Under the *Ancien Régime*, the King alone had the right to raise troops in France. Men were, however, enlisted to specific military units and not to the army of France. Before recruitment became a government agency for a time from 1760, colonels and captains received commissions that authorised them to recruit troops for their own regiments.[16] These commissioned officers then delegated the job of recruiting to other officers, sergeants, corporals and simple soldiers who were often veterans. Sometimes other civilian intermediaries and agents were even employed on a business basis and paid a commercial rate to assist in the process. Recruitment became a royal prerogative in 1760 when it was transferred from the competence of captains and colonels to that of royal agents in a step towards the centralised control of the army by the State.[17] The experiment was not wholly successful and the older methods of recruitment continued to hold sway although the costs of recruitment were taken over by the State. For most of the eighteenth century, the idea of a conscripted army on the lines

of the Prussian model raised many unresolved and contradictory questions for some of the leading French writers of the day.[18] Fears came to be voiced as to the inherent dangers of a large standing army that might be used as an instrument of absolutism and militate against individual and national liberties. Equally, there were also those who wished to reform the military by turning it into a more expert, professional and technically proficient fighting force.[19]

About half the soldiers were aged between 18 and 25 with a significantly higher proportion of the men coming from urban centres of population; peasants, who constituted about 80% of the population, made up only 20–25% of those who enlisted in 1789.[20] Soldiers were recruited for eight years by voluntary enrolment and, on each engagement, they received a fee, or bonus, of up to 100 *livres* in an infantry regiment and between 111 and 132 *livres* if in the cavalry.[21] The rate varied according to considerations of height, strength, age, physical fitness and previous experience.[22]

A familiar trope of eighteenth-century French discourses on the military, whether they were those of military theory, literature, the theatre or via the media of prints and paintings, revolved around the ruses employed in army recruitment. The representation of these tricks usually focused on the dishonesty and dissoluteness of the recruiting officer whose duties, in the carrying out of his occupation, were perceived to be far from glorious. The recruit was often represented as the foolish and vulnerable dupe.

Some of the elements of the press gang were certainly current in Paris, particularly at the start of the eighteenth century when, according to the evidence of the archives and police reports, private holding cells or *fours*, sometimes attached to inns, were used to keep victims incarcerated before despatch to the regiment. Yet the violence that attended such practices was not a feature of the visual representation of military recruitment in France during the *Ancien Régime*.[23] In theory at least, recruitment into the French army until the coming of conscription with the Loi Jourdan-Delbrel of 19 fructidor an VI (5 September 1798), was on a voluntary basis. The recruit received a sign-on fee for the selling of his body. Indeed, according to the definition given in the *Encyclopédie*, the word soldier, or *soldat*, derived from the word *solde*, being the daily pay awarded to the warrior.[24]

Some views of the enrolment processes of the French navy may have been produced independently of the major centres of artistic creation but there is nothing to compare in France with English representations of the naval press gang, like that of an anonymous coloured etching of

1790, *Manning the Navy* (London, National Maritime Museum).[25] Incorporation into the French navy during the *Ancien Régime* differed essentially from the voluntary principles of French army recruitment. Naval service for *gens de mer* in maritime provinces was obligatory.[26] In exchange for certain privileges, such as financial assistance in times of need or in retirement, merchant sailors and fishermen had to serve on vessels of the King one year in every three or four years. These duties and reciprocal obligations conform to the corporate, caste nature of *Ancien Régime* society. In practice the arrangements ensured that a pool of experienced sailors could be rapidly mobilised. During the Revolution, the question of whether landlubbers could be turned into sailors was raised; few of the deputies to the National Assembly were from maritime constituencies and most were deeply ignorant of maritime affairs. I have found that the many representations of military recruitment that came to the fore in the art, literature and culture of the period before the Revolution deal with the requirements of the army, not those of the navy.

Prints of Contemporary Street Life

Military enlistment involved a financial inducement for the ordinary soldier. The processes of the transaction would, at least in part, have occurred outside, in the open air, in the street or the public square, so it is appropriate that such scenes belong to series of *Cries*, prints of street traders that first appeared in France in the sixteenth century.[27] *Cries* were so designated after the particular cry or shout proclaiming a specific service or a particular type of goods on sale. Not all print series of *Cries* are to be seen as overtly moralising and didactic in intention although in the early eighteenth-century example designed by Nicolas Guérard le Fils (Fig. 1.3, p. 10) various devices show up the job of the *racoleur*, the recruiter for the army, in a negative light. Both the print and the *poissard* comedy, a play in local Parisian dialect, used the *racoleur* as a common figure in the representation of the street life of Paris.[28]

Undoubtedly known for his wiliness, his ruses and his trickery, the *racoleur* carried out a business which depended on the model of a volunteer army. The financial remuneration offered to the recruit by the *racoleur* for the loss of life that becoming a soldier potentially entailed, was always considered to have been a short-term reward, no matter how large that material reward might have been, and displays of ignominy, rather than of gloriousness, came to surround the financial transaction,

the perpetrator of the financial transaction and the new recruit.[29] Today the word *racoleur* denotes the pimp who touts for business on behalf of prostitute 'clients'.[30] In the eighteenth century, the *racoleur* hawked for business wanting, for a fee, to purchase the body of the recruit. He solicited at the fairs, in the markets and on the streets of Paris, particularly in the quarter known as the Quai de la Ferraille, the quay between the Pont-Neuf and the Grand Châtelet and the area that extended to the rue Saint-Honoré and that included the taverns situated at the Croix de Trahoir.[31]

The street scene of Guérard's print has the recruiter and his drummer companion finely mounted on horseback in contrast to the potential recruit and the other people of the street. The arrival of the recruiting officer at a fair or market, on the street or in a public square was usually accompanied to the beating of a drum—the phrase *battre la caisse* having the dual connotation of beating the drum and of striking the cashbox.[32] The beating of the drum advertises the recruitment procedure which will dispense money to those who volunteer. The drummer here thus represents, in black and white and on an essentially, flat, two-dimensional surface, a sound of the street in the plying of a trade.

In appealing to a young civilian, the recruiter's cry claims here that his own garrison is in the land of Cockaigne and to reinforce this false promise, puns countryside (*campagne)* with campaign and promises, besides the initial sign-up fee of three *pistolles*, 20 *sous* per day and freedom until the march off to the regiment. The visual splendour afforded to the fine steeds of this street scene are to be associated with a land of Cockaigne while the other people of the street, the potential recruits, are noticeably less well endowed, although the young man to whom the *racoleur*'s cry is being addressed is better dressed than the others. The water carrier sits low down and not on a horse but on one of his buckets, perhaps because he is simply exhausted from the weight he has to carry and needs to rest. Both the water carrier and the porter with his hod were types of itinerant street traders that recurred in many other print series of *Cries.*

This view is in no sense a mimetic or realistic reproduction of what actually might have taken place. The encounter works across the horizontal space of the scene and it is abstracted away from the sense of a precise topography. The shaded side of a building just denotes town rather than country and though the shading across the composition might suggest some light source from the left and on high, the shading has mainly been

handled so as to bring out the meaningfulness of what has been inscribed. Thus the highlighted stream of urine against the darker building and emanating from one fellow in the bottom left hand corner of the composition suggests the smelly, physical underside of what happens in the city in contrast to the glamour, fine words and false promise of never-never land proffered by the recruiter on horseback.

The written verses of Guérard's print reinforce the sense that the job of recruiting for the military was being viewed as a far from honourable one, far removed from any gloriousness of purpose:

> When your *pistolles* have been dissipated through debauchery,
> Run right to the pont-neuf or in the crossroads
> You will find officers or drummers,
> Who will give you fine words.
>
> (Quand la débauche aura dissipé vos pistolles,
> Courez droit au pont-neuf ou dans les carrefours,
> Vous trouverez officiers ou tambours,
> Qui vous en donneront et de belles paroles.)

The verse is placed above a further trio of onlookers, the hod carrier, a baker's boy with loaves of bread in his basket and a foreigner in exotic costume. It reiterates that the fine words of the recruiter are to be understood as false promise for they point out that his words are empty, appealing as they do to the materially insolvent who have spent their money in debauchery. The verses direct their address not to the depicted people of the street, but to the viewer of the print and they make clear that the contents of the imagery do not function in the manner of a recruitment poster; the appeal is directly out to the spectator but the spectator is an observer of the scene and is not being addressed as a potential participant in the events, supposedly being enacted.[33] The verses provide the key to the deceptions and insincerity of the recruiting process on display and do not merely illustrate the street scene they embellish; rather they prompt the viewer to an active appraisal of how army recruitment, on the streets of Paris, could be untruthful in its appearance and false in its appeal.

It is tempting to locate the gestural rhetoric of the *Cry* within an emergent public sphere in which high and low art and high and low life increasingly commingled, but the social milieu of the ambulant street trader was far removed from those involved in the production and consumption of such imagery. Indeed a particular appreciation of the transgressions of low

society, in visual as in verbal representations, came even to be valued as a mark of refinement amongst a specific and highly cultivated élite.[34]

Vincent Milliot has noted that print images of *Cries* could vary in price between a few *sous* and several *livres* for the more highly finished editions.[35] Although the cheapest might be purchased by wage earners in Paris who, at the start of the eighteenth century, would earn about a *livre* a day, rising to 1 *livre* 10 *sols*, or *sous*, by the end of the century, it was only the lower middle classes and upwards who could really afford the more highly worked and expensive versions. Inventories show that the ownership of prints by wage-earners certainly increased during the course of the century from about 56% of wage-earners in 1700 to around 61% in 1780 but well over half the prints in these inventories were likely to have been of a pious and devotional nature.[36] According to Milliot, those who collected print series of *Cries* belonged to the more privileged strata of *Ancien Régime* society and were mostly noble or professionally involved in the arts.[37]

The *amateur* or art lover was, for instance, a type of virtuoso collector, patron, discriminating person of taste and non-professional practitioner of the arts. Some of these élite lovers of art enjoyed official rank and status within the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* with the comte de Caylus being one of this group's leading lights. Rather than contesting the values and aesthetic criteria of the leading art institution of the day, the *amateur* promoted an ennobling status for the artist while supporting the classical art theories of the academic tradition. These art lovers operated within networks of sociability that offered up opportunities for art lover, antiquarian and artist to meet together in convivial conversation. Such types of people still did not meet as equals but the contacts enabled artists to cultivate a distinguished clientele while improving themselves socially.[38]

A series of medallion portrait drawings by artist Charles-Nicolas Cochin le fils (1715–90) that were intended to be engraved for a collection of the comte de Caylus, records the habitués of dinners held on a Monday evening in the Salon of Madame Geoffrin and demonstrate the circle's social mix. The portraits include top aristocrats such as le prince de Rohan-Guéménée, *amateurs honoraries* Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully and Claude-Henri Watelet, men of letters Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert and Jean-François Marmontel and the Royal Academicians Jean-Baptiste Pierre (c.1713–89), Edmé Bouchardon (1698–1762), Joseph-Marie Vien (1716–1809) and Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779).[39]

Milliot has, furthermore, considered how during the 1730s, the paths of the *amateur* the comte de Caylus, crossed those of the playwright Pierre Marivaux and of Cochin in the free-thinking, slightly alternative but distinctively cultivated literary and culinary society of *l'Académie du Bout du Banc*.[40] In 1749 too, Cochin accompanied Abel Poisson, the brother of Madame de Pompadour and the future Marquis de Marigny and Director of King's Buildings, on a two-year trip to Italy. Considered to be the pre-eminent French designer of historical and allegorical subjects of his day, Cochin became a man of power and influence in the arts and in art theory.[41]

The street scene of *Le Chanteur de Cantiques* (*The Singer of Canticles*, Fig. 2.3) is another example of how the imagery of the urban street scene, and of the activities that were being presented as occurring on the streets, constituted a looking in from the outside. Such prints offered the potential of an amused, mocking response for people in-the-know towards those deemed to be beyond the pale. The codes and conventions of the *Cry* were, therefore, predicated on an acknowledgement that their nature was essentially fictive. In this case, besides the lettering beneath, the mute nature of the black and white two-dimensional visual image confronts the physicality of street life—its tastes and touching as well as its sights, sounds and smells. The print dates to 1742 and it was an early design by Cochin who belonged to a clan of academic artists consisting of the Cochin-Tardieu-Belle families. Cochin had recently been approved for admission into the *Académie royale*, the institution to which all the professional painters and sculptors who worked for the French court belonged. He was to go on to become the institution's secretary after the death of Bernard Lépicié (1698–1755), who supplied the lettering for this particular print.[42]

This lettering contributes, again, an outside-in interpretation for the literate viewer of the print. According to Katie Scott, the reproductive prints after Chardin's genre paintings by Lépicié are not merely illustrative records of the paintings for they are avowedly personal interpretations. Their attached verses endow the visual imagery with independent poetic form. Having been authorised by earlier sixteenth- and seventeenth-century traditions in which the things of daily life come to acquire additional symbolic significance, as in the lines of verse added to Fig. 2.3, these words can function as independent signs of idleness, vanity, luxury or pride.[43]

The lettering of this particular print indicates that its packed composition has more to it than the mere recording of an activity to be found on the streets of Paris. In providing a commentary on the effectiveness of the

Fig. 2.3 Louise-Madeleine Cochin after Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Le Chanteur de Cantiques*, etching and engraving, 24 cm × 18.6 cm, 1742, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. Est Ee 15 (2)-FOL. Photo: BnF

singer's sermon on the soul, the verses endow the visual performance of the singer with positive value while also associating the visual performance of the recruiter with the underhandedness of the swindler's tricks:

> Although one's soul is moved by the singer's sermon
> Each person is carried along at their own pace,
> The soldier gets his recruit there,
> And the rascal his helping hand.[44]

The phrase '*coup de main*' is a verbal pun for it can mean both helping hand and sleight of hand. It alerts the viewer to the fact that more is to be seen here than just an outward display of street types. The picture has, indeed, been composed and structured so as to make visible this verbal pun's conceit which, in the print as a whole, works both verbally and visually and with reference to several layers of meaning.

The exaggerated, almost grimacing facial expressions and physiognomies of many of the figures who people this street scene are close to caricature. The recruiters sport their distinctive attributes of large cockades on their hats but the one shown frontally at the side wears his hat so low on his forehead and in such a louche manner that his eyes are almost hidden beneath the large brim and there is only room for the display of an upturned nose and pouting, upturned mouth. The recruiter of the foreground is shown in profile, with large moustaches; one of his hands rests menacingly on the shoulder of a potential recruit, or catch. The volunteer is supposedly being given a helping hand in deciding to join up. But the helping hand is not a helping hand at all and it compromises the voluntary nature of the victim's enlistment.

The potential recruit is fully engrossed in listening to the hymn singer and in looking at, within the print's composition, further print images of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The singer marks his place in his own text with his thumb while holding, in his other hand, his pointing stick to direct attention to the focal point of the head of Christ. What we have here is a graphic depiction of how the words of the written Bible might have been communicated in a meaningful and moving way to someone who could not read the text for himself. The prints within the print thus work with the words of the singer's voice and with the singer's pointing action to suggest that a Bible for the illiterate is on show. That the potential recruit is illiterate is also suggested by the lettering of the print which informs the literate viewer that the rate of responding to and being

affected by the singer's words varies according to one's capacities. The potential recruit is being singled out but his singling out is not on account of any distinctively positive mental or physical attribute according to the selection criteria for the military and as recommended in the reforming military treatises of the period.[45]

The bald-headed listener is not shown as Christ-like, for his role here is that of a victim deliberately caught in the act of being duped. A seemingly pregnant street-seller of fruit carries, before her ample stomach, a large tray of pears. The accessory functions as cover for the picking of the victim's pocket by someone else in the crowd, shown centrally but in rear view and between the victim and fruit seller. A further *coup de main* has thus been incorporated into the street scene. In remaining hidden from view, the pick-pocket's hand becomes, in this duping process, the underhand. These verbal and visual puns are overtly and deliberately concerned with reading and illiteracy, with showing, revealing and understanding and with hiding, duping and being duped.

The devices play themselves out through the figures of stock social stereotypes. So the water carrier here is a woman of little refinement with broad shoulders and the muscled arm of someone whose trade is to cart water about in the street. In this vein too, the stance of the foreground recruiter is non-upright. His face is florid and his overall state is negligent and dishevelled for his leggings are loose, his torso is running to fat and his hair is straggly. Thus the potential army recruit has been marked out here for his stupidity, while the recruiter for the military functions here as one of the far from reputable, or even as one of the more disreputable, types within civil society.

The packed composition incorporates a whole range of different signifying systems. There is a depiction of the making of sacred texts legible through their simultaneous fingering (or thumbing). There is a pointing out of incidents in a narrative depicted visually. This also provides comment within a comment in the technique of *mise en abîme*. Then there is the implied hymn singing of the open-mouthed performer besides the prints of The Crucifixion which have been hung up on the inside door of a niche opening in the background, framing wall. This opening holds an effigy of Christ as *Ecce Homo* with crown of thorns, hands tied, covered in drops of blood. He is flanked on either side by two further fictive pedestal sculptures of angels with hands raised in prayer. Nearby there are other objects that function and signify through the use of other coded formats. A series of shop signs in the shape of playing cards with the abbre-

viated marks of different suits and values dangles from a wooden awning on the outside of the building. They denote the commercial premises of a card seller or maker but they also suggest the vice of gambling. Taken together with the words of the print and its other juxtaposed figurative elements, vice is thus shown to exist here in many different forms and formats alongside the contemplation of the virtue of Christ's past suffering. The piling up of all these differently signifying elements brings out the structured nature of the scene as a whole. In its deliberate use of illusionism to condemn and poke fun more than it edifies, the print offers itself up knowingly to the literate and flatters those so privileged to be able to read it and then take delight in its jokes at the expense of those on show.

The Tradition in Drama and Prose Fiction

Part of the attractions of the printed *Cry*, as of the *poissard* comedy that came to the fore in mid-century, resided in the fact that, though familiar, the low-life depicted was also distant in behaviour and in reputation.[46] Common people were being treated amusingly rather than being imbued with a potential to be really threatening and dangerous. When the promise of glory features in such representations, it proves to be a false reward for the common man, bringing out the underside of what is beyond his reach. This can be identified most clearly in the drama and literature of the period in which the trope of recruit-chasing by more or less wily recruiters was well established.

The *poissard* play looked back to the burlesque tradition of the previous century and used comic language, strange vocabularies, grammatical incongruities and base, coarse accents to poke fun at the market women, the fishwives, the fruit and flower sellers, the porters and other figures of the street, who also people the print series of *Cries*.[47] In these plays, language works alongside comic business, situations and appearances to mock. The situations are located in the public spaces of street, square and tavern and the plots often have some sort of sentimental love interest that can end happily with a general toasting to the King. Daniel Roche has considered that 'the genre takes the people as a political target, and thus gives a lesson in conformity.'[48] Apart from the comte de Caylus, many of the dramatists of the genre had origins that were close to the street folk they depicted but, as playwrights, they became intermediaries between the people of the streets and the people of high society. In pamphlet literature and in caricatures, these urban artisans and street folk are portrayed as rebellious only

at the time of the Revolution when the ending of censorship prompted an outpouring into the public sphere of printed material that, in nature as in content, had the potential to be much more politically seditious.

The most famous exponent of the *genre poissard* was Jean-Joseph Vadé, the son of an innkeeper who went on to become secretary to the duc d'Angenois.[49] One of his most celebrated plays, first performed at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, Foire Saint Germain on 11 March 1756, is entitled *Les Racoleurs*.[50] The Seven Years' War was gathering momentum at this time and the one act entertainment includes the loyal toasting of the King and expressions of support for '*l'bien aimeé du coeur*.'[51] While the recruiting sergeant, M. de la Breche, is the most honourable of the characters, the comedy cannot be placed within a drive towards increasing militarisation. The plot revolves around a Gascon, Toupet, who sets himself up as a rival to the sergeant for the hand of Javotte and is then duped into signing up by a team of, at times, drunken soldiers. The play's dénouement revolves around tricking Toupet into thinking he is signing up to invest in some lottery tickets but it is not lottery tickets that he signs up for, because the gambling slips and their gambler's promise of financial gain have been replaced, in a sleight of hand, by his enrolment papers.

Not necessarily always entirely disreputable, the recruiting officer had become, by this date, a stock type on stage who was usually noted for his wiliness and duplicity. While he might promise material remuneration and the rewards of *gloire*, the comic business was usually about the distinct absence of any glory in the actual enrolment process. One of the more rascally recruiters in Vadé's comedy is, for instance, the veteran soldier, Sansregret, who boasts of having trapped three young tailors and a corrupt abbé into signing up by forging their signatures.[52]

Another example of the continuing success of this genre on stage is *L'Enrôlement supposé* by Charles Jacob Guillemain, which was first performed at the Théâtre des Variétés Amusantes in Paris in 1781.[53] Here, however, it is the recruit who gets the better of the recruiting process. This type of turning of the tables does not feature in the visual imagery of the period, but the detailed analysis about army recruitment in Paris during the eighteenth century given by Jean Chagniot using information to be found in archival records, indicates that many of the recruits used dupery too.[54] The convergence between the historical recording of a recruit's wiliness and a stage performance reminds us that a stage performance with its live actors playing out comic roles and being witnessed by a live audience exists within different processes of representation to those of the mute, static,

fixed, framed two-dimensional image. On stage, there were scenes of, for instance, swift desertions with subsequent re-engagements for additional sign-up fees from competing recruiters, of the acceptance of alcohol and hospitality before the turning down of an engagement, and of sign-ups so as to escape from a prison sentence for debt or theft.

In *L'Enrôlement supposé*, Fanchon is an ambulatory apple seller, a character that conforms to the type of Cochin's print. She loves Guillaume but his mother, Madame Simonne, who owns an orange stall in the market, wants a better match for her son. Guillaume pretends to enlist into the military to make his mother change her mind and give her consent to the marriage, for fear of losing him: 'It is a necessary strategy because as soon as she sees me clothed in the uniform, she loves me, she will be in despair, she will soften, she will break my engagement, she will marry me off.'[55] The veteran sergeant Vieux Canon participates in much of the funny business by getting drunk on stage and tipsily accosting Madame Simonne who angrily rebuffs his advances by haughtily stating that she does not like dirt.[56] The entertainment ends happily with Madame Simonne accepting Fanchon as her son's bride and with Guillaume announcing: 'I am free and entirely yours. I quit the service; take my hat, take off its cockade.'[57]

Guillaume is certainly duplicitous in his easy donning, then discarding, of a military cockade so as to get what he wants in marriage. Entering the army is also not being presented here as a potentially honourable profession that might entail noble and glorious deeds of arms for the common man. Donning in jest a sign of belonging to a military unit and then lightly discarding it in jest downplays the seriousness of an act of engagement to serve the monarch by fighting and possibly killing and/or possibly being killed and dying. The whole plot of this particular comedy is, rather, joyous in outcome precisely because of a not joining up in the army. The comedy does not, however, constitute a sustained political attack on the institution of the army, even if it might discredit the authority of an official instrument of State power in a somewhat humorously subversive way. Whether State power was actually being undermined by the performance of such a play is highly questionable.

A much harsher critique of processes of military recruitment is to be found in Voltaire's philosophical tale, *Candide*. The satire first appeared in 1759 after France had suffered major military defeats during the Seven Years' War at, for instance, the battles of Rossbach on 5 November 1757 and Krefeld on 23 June 1758.[58] Given the subsequent horrendous encoun-

ters of Candide on his travels and in warfare, the scene of his sign-up in an inn in Westphalia is remarkable for its lack of violence, although the lesson that there is no such thing as a free lunch will be learnt the hard way:

> Two men dressed in blue noticed him: 'Comrade, one said, here is a very well made man and he has the required height.' They advanced towards Candide, and asked him to dine with much civility. 'Gentlemen', Candide said to them with a charming modesty, 'you do me much honour, but I have nothing with which to pay my share of the bill.' – 'Ah! Monsieur', one of the men in blue said to him, 'people with your figure and your merit never pay; aren't you 5′5″ high?' – 'Yes, gentlemen, that's my height', he said with a bow to them. – 'Ah! Monsieur, sit down to eat; we will not only settle your expenses, but we will never suffer that a man like yourself lacks money; men are only made to help each other.'[59]

The episode begins in quite a naturalistic vein. The criterion of height was, in fact, a major factor in the enrolment process with army personnel records detailing the extra pay awarded to those who were extra tall. The extremely polite initial encounter of the fictional account then moves on, however, advancing more and more swiftly towards its negative conclusion. Candide does not drink a toast to the health of the King of the Bulgares out of free will; rather he is trapped into so doing. The toast made, he is rapidly put in chains and marched off to the regiment where he will undergo the harsh and punitive 'Prussian' regime of discipline. Comic effect is produced by the speeding up of the action and the rapid descent from a polite enquiry to someone who has no intention of volunteering for the army, and from a notional promise of wealth and glory, to an enslavement, enforcement and violence perpetuated on the naïve recruit who has been duped:

> '…we are asking you whether you don't love the King of the Bulgares tenderly?' – 'Not at all', he says, 'for I have never seen him.' – 'What! He is the most charming of kings and we must drink to his health.' – 'Oh! With pleasure, gentlemen.' And he drinks. 'That's enough, he is told, here you are the aid, the support, the defender, the hero of the Bulgares; your fortune is made, and your glory is assured.' Immediately his feet are put in chains, and he is taken to the regiment. He is made to turn to the right, to the left, to raise the rifle, to take aim, to fire, to march in double quick time and he is given thirty strokes with the cane; the next day, he does the drill a little less badly and he only receives twenty strokes; the following day, he only gets ten strokes and he is viewed as a prodigy by his comrades.[60]

Candide is a philosophical tale. There is no necessary direct correlation between it and the events of the Seven Years' War. Its critique of the military and, in this episode, of processes of military recruitment belong, nevertheless, to the negative effects, the hollow illusions and heady follies of *gloire*, that Voltaire had raised in his verses on the siege of Philipsbourg during the War of the Polish Succession more than twenty-five years earlier.[61] The novella ends with the laconic: 'That is well said' replied Candide, 'but we must cultivate our garden.'[62] This application, and precisely not the pursuit of glory, is the message for the worlds to come that the celebrated philosophical tale offers up to its readers.

The *Tableau de Paris* by Louis-Sébastien Mercier deals with generic situations that are ostensibly to be found in the throbbing heart of Paris and are not about the overtly fictional plight of one unfortunate individual; but what Mercier has to say about the *racoleur* and his dubious business practices fits in well with how this occupation had figured on the stage, in literature and visually.[63] Like *Candide*, this text was a publishing best-seller although it is unlikely that these accounts were read by the populace of the countryside, nor even those who traded on the streets of Paris at a time when less than half the male population and about a quarter of the female population could read.[64] Mercier's observations are now, rather, to be situated within the emergence of a critical opinion that was being articulated in reading groups, in café society and at the Salons and that went beyond an élite Republic of letters. By 1782 the authorities in Paris were tolerating the open and widespread distribution of the second edition of the *Tableau de Paris* which, in 1788, had been enlarged to 12 volumes.

The writer recreates in over 1000 chapters the sights, sounds and smells of Paris city life that he had encountered on his wanderings through the city. His descriptions mix fictional account with perceived realities and acknowledged, sometimes satirical, musings. His word pictures are not concerned with topographic accuracy. Rather, they transform the city of Paris into a living, animated organism for the playing out of contemporary manners. Also, in analysing social tensions and in laying bare abuses committed on the common people, Mercier criticises luxury and excessively ostentatious display.

The description of the *racoleur* is in one of the longer *tableaux* on the subject of the Pont-Neuf and it first appeared in 1781. The account begins by using the device of faint praise to be critical of the business of the recruiter. Considered to be no longer quite as bestial a practice as it

had been in the past, the commercial trade in human flesh is still held to be ignoble and abusive pandering, as it supposedly did, to the base human instincts of lust, hunger and greed:

> At the foot of the Pont-Neuf are the recruiters, pimps, who are called sellers of human flesh. They make men for colonels who resell them to the King. Formerly they had private cells where they did violence to the young people whom they had surprised with force or by adroitness, so as to extract an engagement from them. This monstrous abuse was finally suppressed; but they are allowed to use ruses and tricks to enrol the riffraff.
>
> They use strange methods. They have girls of the guardroom by means of which they seduce the young men who have some leaning towards dissoluteness. Then they have taverns where they intoxicate those who like wine. Then on the evening of mardi gras and of the Saint-Martin, they walk up and down with long poles over-laden with turkeys, chickens, quails, hares, so as to excite the appetite of those who have eluded that of lust.[65]

These comments yoke the duplicity and trickery of the recruiters to blackmail and to the disreputable business of a bestial trade in flesh and blood. Just as there was an emphasis on the social injustices perpetrated on the low born, so was there also an articulation of the fear and menace posed by the populace for higher caste social groups. The writer's vivid description of the business of military recruitment continues:

> The poor dupes, who are to be considered the Samaritaine [a pump house that supplied Paris with its water] and its chimes, who have never had a good meal in the whole of their lives, are tempted to have one and swap their freedom for one happy day. A sack of *écus* is rung in their ears and one shouts out to them, who wants some? Who wants some? This is how an army of heroes, who will be the glory of the State and of the monarch, is made complete. At the bottom of the Pont-Neuf each of these heroes costs 30 *livres*. When they are fine fellows, one gives something more. In enrolling, the sons of artisans believe they afflict their fathers and mothers a great deal. Sometimes the parents obtain their disengagement and buy back for 100 *écus* the man who has only cost ten: this money is turned to the advantage and profits of the colonel and the recruiting officers.
>
> These recruiters promenade with head held high, sword on hip, calling out loud to the young people who pass by, tapping them on the shoulder, taking them by the arm, inviting them to go with them in an attempt at a simpering voice. The young man defends himself, eyes lowered, his face flushed,

and with a sort of fear and modesty: which, the first time one witnesses this strange game, commands attention.[66]

In this account, besides the detailing of some of the ruses adopted by the recruiter, the head held high and the loud cry of the recruiter can be opposed to both some near-starving victims and to the blushing, lowered eyes and fear mixed with modesty of a better sort of person. There is the implication, on the one hand, that the authorities may have welcomed the ridding from the streets of Paris of riff-raff while, on the other hand, that good, honest artisans are being exploited because of their undeserving sons. In both cases, the association of such dupes with an army of heroes and the glory of the State and that of the monarch is loaded with a heavy sense of irony.

Modern scholarship tends to back up the perception that soldiers were not chosen on account of any evident tendencies towards virtue or moral probity in spite of the recommendations of such military reformers as Joseph Servan and the comte de Guibert. Chagniot's demographic analysis of those who enrolled for the military in Paris demonstrates, however, that a different type of person was joining up in the army from the one that was being depicted in the visual and verbal representations of the period. According to the revelations of Chagniot, many recruits came to Paris to have a fresh start and were qualified as tailors, cobblers or surgeons; given these trades, some may even have made a vocational choice to pursue a military career.[67] Yet none of this belongs to Mercier's picturesque, but chastening scene setting.

These paragraphs on the processes of military recruitment in Paris before the Revolution end with an anecdote about a shop sign that has been misunderstood and misused for one of the recruiters has misappropriated, for his advertising slogan, a verse from Voltaire's tragedy, *Mérope*:

> These recruiters have their stalls in the vicinity with a crested flag, which flutters out and serves as shop sign. There, those who are willing come to give their signatures. One of these recruiters had put beneath his shop sign this verse of Voltaire, without realising its own strength, nor its implication:
>
> The first who was king, was a happy soldier.
>
> I have seen this verse, well inscribed, for six weeks; then the verse disappeared without one of the men enlisted beneath that device having, perhaps, understood it.[68]

The implication here is that the mere recruit is neither a king nor, in consequence, happy.[69] The ironic comments show up the culture of the author and pander to an élite, cultivated readership, in contrast to the ignorance of recruiter and recruit alike, who are too simple, literal and/or illiterate in their understanding of the meaning of signs and of words. Mercier's *tableau* deals with the people, sights and sounds of Paris but his pictures are consciously constructed for a literate, educated readership and they incorporate the perspectives of a knowing commentator. These pictures belong to the eighteenth-century French scene of urban, contemporary, everyday street life and manners and they demonstrate that in words and in visual imagery, concepts of *gloire* when allied to military recruitment were taken to be false guises that led to the humiliation of the stupid victims of military sign-up. When considering the use of other codes, conventions, devices and media—in this case an oil painting on copper—the issue of army enlistment emerges with a more celebratory nuance, even if negative and subversive connotations still accrue to that nuance.

Between the Everyday and the Painting of History

By 1777, *amateurs*, journalists and pamphleteers were producing increasing amounts of mostly anonymous art criticism in response to the biannual Salon exhibitions at the Louvre where contemporary art works by Royal academicians were on public display.[70] One of the reviews appearing that year interpreted a painting (Fig. 2.4), listed in the Salon catalogue as a *Corps-de-Garde* by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734–81), in terms of what the depiction of a guardroom should incorporate:

> An old soldier cried out at the sight of the Guardroom scene that the painter had never served the King. If he had had any idea of a Guardroom, he would have known that normally more than four soldiers would be found there, that whilst some slept, others played, another might make his dog jump: a veteran might speak of his campaigns and above all no-one is licentious. You are right, my friend, says the Gascon; but, enough, a painter is not obliged, like we are, to know our military code.[71]

This exchange of opinion is likely to have been entirely fictive. What could be targeted here is the expectation by someone not versed in academic theory that the subject matter of a painting should be handled in a realistic

Fig. 2.4 Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, *Un Corps de Garde ou l'Amour de la Gloire*, oil on copper, 42 cm ×33 cm, 1776, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 7330. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/Gérard Blot/Madeleine Coursaget

way rather than accord with well-established precepts for convincing and, therefore, only true-seeming visual representation.[72] The Gascon's reference to the military code might also indicate an awareness of some of the debates, from within military circles, about what the army ought to have been like; the reference is particularly timely in that the Minister of War, the comte de Saint-Germain, resigned on 27 September 1777, after having introduced some sweeping reforms of the military during his brief tenure of the post, that had lasted less than two years.[73] The comments about the painting are certainly predicated on an awareness of the difference between actual behaviour and the constructions of representation. Perhaps deliberately, the comments do not, however, engage with a generic notion of the conventions of the Dutch *kortegaard*, or in French *Corps-de-Garde*, which the work's title in the Salon catalogue acknowledges is the tradition and category of subject matter in art that is consciously being followed.

The *Kortegaard*, a corruption of *Corps-de-Garde*, was linked to, but also opposed to, scenes of merry companies and of peasants; it set anonymous soldiers informally, often at ease and at leisure, sometimes mustering out, or sometimes in much more aggressive, violent actions, plundering and threatening hostages. In his *Lof der Schilderkonst* of 1642, Philips Angel had urged painters of *cortegaerdjes* to include the optical effect of a soldier twirling a glowing fuse.[74] The interior could be that of a guard room but might also be an inn, a barn or some peasant quarters where soldiers might have been billeted. Sometimes the soldiers were shown caught in some amorous dalliance and/or smoking, music-making, gaming, eating and drinking. The genre was especially popular in the period 1636 to 1648 and it became a speciality of certain painters like Jacob Duck (1600–67), Pieter Codde (1599–1678), Willem Duyster (1599–1635) and Simon Kick (1603–52).[75]

Soldiers seated and playing cards are set within a dim interior in *A Guard Room* (Fig. 2.5) by David Teniers the Younger (1610–90).[76] An array of contrasting brightly lit and brightly coloured still life objects of military accoutrements—pieces of armour, weaponry, musket, powder horn, charging spanner, parade gear, fine red saddle, large drum, feathered helmet, artfully arranged banner—congregate the foreground of this composition while, to one side, a boy groom carrying in a heavy great-coat links the brightly lit panoply of items of military glory with the low-life human activity of the gambling game of fortune at the back. The Dutch War of Independence only ended in 1648 but this is certainly not a natu-

Fig. 2.5 David Teniers the Younger, *A Guard Room*, oil on canvas, 72.4 cm × 55.8 cm, 1640s, By Permission of the Trustees of Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, Inv. DPG054

ralistic or realistic depiction of a Dutch seventeenth-century guardroom or everyday social situation. Whether the viewer is being asked here to ponder matters of military glory when set against the fragility of human fortunes remains an open question, although the Dutch artist returned to this particular type of guardroom setting on several occasions and it is quite possible that a version of such a painting or a reproductive print of such a picture may have been seen by Le Prince.[77] His French guardroom scene is, however, predicated on later and more sentimental attitudes to the military vocation. The inclusion of the female figure supplies the narrative with an additional domestic dimension in which the impending departure of a new recruit is to be understood within the now altered familial contexts of a sorrowing loved one.

The work by Le Prince still obviously draws on the earlier Netherlandish visual precedents of the guardroom painting tradition. The similarities to that genre on display here include the depiction of soldiers at leisure, the

parade of armour and weaponry, the focused lighting, the use of chiaroscuro, the warmish brown/orange tonalities with here and there splashes of brighter red. The painting is also intimate in scale, with a variably smooth bravura finish and it is on an expensive Northern copper support. This artwork is far removed from the series of grand-manner history paintings that the State had begun to commission even though the patronage of this particular painting is, nonetheless, of quite a different nature from that which pertained to the openly commercial seventeenth-century Dutch art market. As a type of art work, it is still to be viewed in terms of the collecting of an aristocratic élite.

Le Prince never achieved the status and sphere of influence of Cochin, but he still held an official position within the *Académie royale*, rising to the rank of *Conseiller* in 1772, after having been admitted to the institution as a painter of genre in 1765.[78] He had spent time in Russia early in his career and on his return to Paris he achieved some success as a painter of *Russeries*, so-called because they were considered to be more or less exotic scenes of daily life in Russia peopled with more or less exotically costumed types.[79] The first purchaser of Le Prince's *Corps-de-Garde* is likely to have been the comte d'Artois, a younger brother of the reigning monarch Louis XVI who became King Charles X after the downfall of Napoleon. The reproductive engraving of the painting (Fig. 2.6) was first dedicated to d'Artois and the painting itself was appropriated by the French State in 1796 from the collection of d'Artois for the new public museum of the Louvre.[80]

In other respects, too, this painting is not a *Kortegaard*. On one level, the setting cannot be clearly located within any actual space. The foreground has some firmly placed groups of figures standing, seated round tables or on benches, but behind them what would be a truly gigantic and monumental Doric column cuts through the brickwork of an arched opening at the rear. A variety of exotically costumed figures appear to be located underneath this arch. Between these figures and the foreground groupings, a drummer and a trumpeter stand on a brick ledge and sound out their instruments with, by their side, further moustachioed soldiers, one sporting a turban, and another with a fur hat holding up what appears to be a small globe. Other bits of armour, swords, pikes and arrows rest by the base of the column and function partly as embellishing decoration. The object of the lantern belongs in a guardroom, but it remains unlit. Beneath these military accoutrements, a recruiting officer, wearing a furry headdress, somewhat reminiscent of Rousseau's distinctive Russian hat as

in the portrait by Allan Ramsay (1713–84) of 1776 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland), sits in a relaxed pose on a finely tasselled chair which, together with the carpet-covered table, belong more to an indoors scene. The grandiosity of the display and of the setting support the critical perceptions of the fictive veteran of the Salon review for they go against the sense that what is being shown is a realistic rendering of how a guardroom was kitted out. The indeterminate architectural setting with its fantastic architectural conceits, alongside the panoply of military attributes and the trumpeter sounding out also serve to distinguish this view from the more supposedly realistic interior spaces of the Dutch genre tradition.

And what is going on here also involves a scene of military sign-up. As in the earlier street scene designed by Nicolas Guérard (Fig. 1.3, p. 10), the drumming up of the recruitment process has been evoked by the beating of a drum. The man sitting at the desk with quill pen in hand and list before him is in the process of adding the name of the new recruit, somewhat in the manner of the ledger and quill pen of Callot's much earlier precedent (Fig. 2.2, p. 34). That this narrative makes up the principal action of the painting was noted in another Salon review of 1777 which is also quite critical in its overall appraisal of the work's qualities while trying hard to give as good a gloss as possible to the work and its maker:

> Le Prince is a charming painter; that his colouring is brilliant and strong, that his compositions have a grace, a charm, light which must prevent one from examining too severely whether his figures have been exactly drawn, whether the hand of the soldier who is being enrolled is 10 feet away from him. Some incorrectness does not destroy the acknowledged success of an artist.[81]

That the act of signing on provides the key to the work is further supported by the lettering of the reproductive engraving after the painting (Fig. 2.6), that was first published as a commercial venture in 1778 and which gives to the print the title of *L'Amour de la Gloire* (The Love of Glory).[82]

Love of *gloire* can account for the pomp on display in the picture, for the magnificence of some of the weapons and uniforms, for the triumphal arch and warrior-like attribute of the martial, Doric column of its architectural conceits, for the spectacle of the trumpeter and the drummer who, respectively, appear to trumpet out and to beat out the sounds of glory. That these sounds will fade belongs within the remit of discourses on *gloire*

Fig. 2.6 François Denis Née after Jean-Baptiste Leprince, *L'Amour de la Gloire,* engraving, 50 cm × 35 cm, 1788, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. AA-3 (NEE, François-Denis). Photo: BnF

and within early modern depictions of music and of musical instruments as in the tradition of *vanitàs* imagery.[83] The vanity of this imagery belongs to the vainglory of military endeavour in general, and as will be discussed in the next chapter. Although France officially entered into the War of American Independence in 1778, the critical responses to the painting in the Salon reviews of 1777 contain, however, no specific reference to any particular call to arms; rather it is the work's general, allegorising qualities and its lack of any perceived relationship to actual conditions that seemed to have been at issue. The representation of this love of *gloire* remains, nevertheless, a far from unmediated performance.

The issuing of a reproductive print after the painting (Fig. 2.6) obviously celebrates the royal patron, for the lettering of the print is inscribed with a dedication to the comte d'Artois and this dedication surrounds the Bourbon arms of fleurs de lys, crown, chivalric and royal order of the Saint Esprit, banners and flags. The names of the painter, Le Prince, and of the etcher, François Denis Née (1732–1817), can exist in close proximity to that of the royal patron but strict hierarchies are still preserved. Le Prince is designated as Painter to the King and Councillor in his Royal Academy, while Née is accorded, or accords himself, the status of his patron's very humble and obedient servant. The print serves as a somewhat ambiguous testimony to a love of glory but in so doing it can also glorify those involved with the production of this imagery and in this it conforms to the dual nature of *gloire*, being both a glorifying vehicle of representation and existing, as content, within representation.[84]

The ambivalent attitude towards the representation of military *gloire* in this scene of sign-up partly arises, however, out of the way in which the subject matter of the imagery has been composed. Aesthetic considerations and factors of artistic practice belong to an understanding of this imagery over and beyond the making of possible parallels between what has been depicted and what might be considered appropriate in terms of specific historical contexts. External social circumstances have their own parts to play in the unravelling of what can be made of visual imagery and these other factors can shed further light on our understanding of an artist's picturing.

Le Prince's composition has the new recruit wearing a helmet, bedecked with large, flowing plumes and clearly chosen to replace the plain hat lying discarded on the ground. The foolish young man could be said to be donning a different costume as if dressing up as an actor.[85] The adoption of a specialised military uniform has been noted by Daniel Roche who

attributes it to a culture of increasing conformity, discipline and control in line with the arguments of Michel Foucault about the power structures of early modernity.[86]

Foucault had observed that the techniques of military discipline, cultivated during the eighteenth century, produced subjected, docile, legible bodies to be seen on parade and that politics, as the exercise of power and knowledge within society, used similar strategies and techniques for the control of individual bodies within states.[87] Uniforms for the French army were, in fact, gradually introduced during the last three decades of the seventeenth century.[88] In the *Encyclopédie,* the military uniform was treated as a marker of identity that signalled out membership of a particular regiment and that served to distinguish the officers from the men so that appropriate degrees of dignity and respect could be afforded to military hierarchies.[89]

Military theorists like the Maréchal de Saxe, Joseph Servan and Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte Guibert dealt, however, with the more utilitarian considerations of how the uniform ought to be improved so that the soldier would be better equipped. In his *Essai général de la tactique*, first published anonymously in 1772, Guibert rails against the excessive luxury of the military uniform and its maintenance which required so much spit and polish that it rendered the soldier unfit for combat.[90] The soldier's kit is certainly being used in this visual imagery of military recruitment to mark out a separate identity, but this marking out is hardly about the controlling of bodies in the public sphere. The armour here serves primarily to express the superficial flamboyance of soldiering. There is an implication that the new recruit has been motivated to change his status from that of a simple commoner, not to that of a common soldier, but to that of a finely caparisoned warrior hero and also that he is doing this in a somewhat delusional way for he is being egged on in his chosen vocation by a soldier who, in mock conspiratorial fashion, fingers the raw recruit on the shoulder, whilst gesturing a welcome with his other outstretched hand and nudging, in comradely encouragement with his head, the rim of the plumed helmet. The newly enlisted raises his half full wine glass which has been outlined against the base of the Doric column as a focal point in the composition. Another soldier lifts the wine jug up above a pile of coins. The coins conform to the pattern of a signing-on fee but they may also indicate the settlement of payment for the wine.

That potential recruits were plied with alcohol and made drunk in taverns had, by the 1770s, become a standard of the literature criticising the

methods of recruitment then current in France. Servan is unequivocal in his condemnation of this fraudulent practice:

> What indeed is a recruiter? Too often he is only a drunkard, debauched, without morals and without probity; too often this same man employs violence, fraud and pranks and is sometimes even criminal when enrolling dupes or timid and intimidated people: from this, there are children who have been tricked and lost on account of their credulity; there are men who are sounder but just as credulous and who have been surprised into consenting after having been set apart from their reason through the imbibing of wine taken to excess… How to hope for bravery, for good will, for docility, from a collection of men who serve the Homeland only after having been forced to do so or out of debauchery.[91]

The disingenuous, in becoming intoxicated, entered into an altered state that involved a momentary loss of reason and sense of self. The practices of recruitment then current were being characterised by the abuses perpetrated on the unwary and the unfit to serve. The composition of the whole army is thus being indicated by this critique.

Given this sort of context, it is possible to interpret the import of the gesture of a raising of a wineglass in a toast of celebration to the love of glory as double-edged, for the gesture also functions as an indicator of folly and of the loss of reasoned conduct when signing up for service in the military in a moment of heady intoxication. The more negative aspects of a love of glory are further exposed by the sombre grouping to the side, beneath the trumpeter. This area of the painting is in a poor condition and emerges more clearly in the print after the painting. Here a woman is being held back by two soldiers. With kerchief held to her face, she is in evident distress. It is more likely that this figure is the mother rather than the wife of the young recruit, for stricter rules about celibacy in the line army being applied during the 1760s meant that some soldiers had even been sacked from the French guards for having been married.[92] In line with Mercier's later observations, it has also been noted that parents sometimes paid quite extortionate amounts to secure the release of sons from what they considered to have been a hasty, ill-judged enrolment into the military.[93] The prospect of the loss, on campaign or more permanently from being killed on the battlefield, or from, perhaps, dying as a result of injuries incurred through the horrors of war is, thus, made to be present even as the transitory moment of the love of glory is shown to be unfolding.

This imagery of military recruitment sits uneasily with nationalistic notions of military call-up and *gloire*. When the painting was first

exhibited, La Fayette had certainly recently signed up to serve with the American insurgents in their War of Independence against the British in advance of France's entry into the war the following year and this might help to account for the sheaves of arrows that are so prominently displayed in the work.[94] The new recruit depicted here is, however, not to be understood as in any way belonging to this milieu, nor does his figure register or illustrate any actual sign-up for the war that France was about to enter. The love of glory evoked by this imagery can, instead, be said to belong to the rhetoric and imaginings of military sign-up being espoused in extant military treatises that advocated army reform. There is nothing realistic about what is being imitated here. The divorce between actual circumstances and the visual representations of the genre scene had been, furthermore, picked up in the Salon reviews that year.

The visual display certainly mixes pompous, grandiose military trappings with the emotional despair of a mother who is about to lose her son to a military calling. Yet, within this display of affective, emotional sentiment on the part of the female figure, the physical trappings and manifestations of *gloire* still function here allegorically and are not necessarily in the service of any particular call to arms. The abstract concept of love of glory as a motivation for becoming a soldier removes the figures depicted within this composition from a close association with known individuals or actual circumstances. Given the display of a range of human reactions and emotions to the central action of this composition, it is also clear that love of glory is being presented to the viewer of this composition with a certain degree of ambivalence. The making of the common soldier in *Ancien Régime* France did not prompt displays of bellicosity. The making of the officer did, though, treat the martial vocation as a matter of honour.

The Officer

Before the Revolution, the lot of the common soldier was unlike that of the officer. It was of a different order or place in society with a matching up of social and military hierarchies in that the officer corps of *Ancien Régime* France was approximately 95% noble.[95] The commitment to fight in respect of such issues as *gloire*, honour and service to the Homeland had quite other connotations for a member of the nobility than for one not so privileged and much of the visual imagery of the period attests to the making and marking out of such distinctions.

The officer class was not, however, a homogenous group. The top ranks of the military were the preserve of the aristocracy. A regulation of

17 April 1760 had stipulated that only members of the nobility who had been presented at court could advance beyond the rank of colonel and a further decree of 1788 limited even the rank of colonel to this group.[96] At the end of the *Ancien Régime*, five dukes, five marquises, one prince and one count made up the Marshals of France.[97] Most of the captains, majors and lieutenant-colonels belonged to the provincial, often poorer, nobility, the more ancient *noblesse d'épée*. Both nobles and non-nobles made up the junior grades, of which about 10% were *officiers de fortune*, non-noble officers who had risen from the ranks but who could rise no further than the grade of captain of grenadiers.[98]

Many of those wanting a more professional army had served in the military or were, indeed, serving officers. The drive towards greater professionalisation entailed improvements in military training and education, but there was also a concomitant re-valuation of the profession of arms in terms of a warrior caste.[99] This type of professionalisation thus acquired a different set of values to those of the modern day. Dedication and a motivation prompted by long years of service were acclaimed rather than the aptitudes of a particular expertise or technical skill. There was even a concept of hereditary deservedness whereby ancestors who had spilled blood in service to the sovereign were to be repaid by the giving of opportunities for military advancement to their descendants.[100] The Loi Ségur of 1781, which required four generations of nobility of anyone wishing to enter the army directly as an officer has, for instance, been understood in terms of this perceived need for a specialist warrior caste.[101] Service as an army officer was, at least in principle, increasingly being allied to the legal and moral distinctions that pertained to the order of the nobility rather than to any notion of equality of opportunity. In 1776, venality of military offices, the purchasing of military rank, was in fact abolished.[102] Attitudes to military service for the nobility raised matters of honour, duty and privilege in the art and culture of the period and in respect to the envisioning of *gloire*.

Pendant paintings of the departure and return of the soldier are usually made according to the successive stages of the implied narrative sequence, but in the case of two works by Pierre-Alexandre Wille (1748–1821, Figs. 2.7 and 2.8) it is likely that the scene of a son making a commitment to serve in the military was prompted by the success of an earlier work, reproduced as an engraving in 1784. Tying a military corporation, association and vocation to a family clan, this scene incorporates a conjoining of *esprit de famille* with *esprit de corps*.[103] Entitled *La Double récompense de mérite* (The Double Award of Merit, Fig. 2.7) this painting was first exhibited at

the Paris Salon of 1781, the year of the Ségur Law.[104] It depicts an officer of the dragoons who, on his return from service in the military, is being rewarded by a general with the military award of the Cross of St Louis and also by being given the hand of the general's daughter.[105]

Wille's pendant painting, entitled *Le Patriotisme français* (Fig. 2.8), shows within some flourishing glade or garden, a noble family with the father enjoining his son to military service and the son accepting the charge. This is unlike the middling sort of domestic interior with its middling sort of *dramatis personae* incorporated by Jean-Baptiste Greuze in a work like *La Malédiction paternelle: Le Fils ingrat* (The Father's Curse: The ungrateful Son, Paris, Louvre) where a son is shown as disobedient towards his father for having joined up as a common soldier and recruited volunteer.[106] The

Fig. 2.7 Pierre-Alexandre Wille, *La Double récompense du mérite ou le retour*, oil on canvas, 162 cm × 129 cm, s. and d. 1781, Blérancourt, Musée franco-americain du Château, Inv. CFAc226. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Blérancourt)/ Gérard Blot

Fig. 2.8 Pierre-Alexandre Wille, *Le Patriotisme français ou le départ*, oil on canvas, 162 cm × 129 cm, s. and d. 1785, Blérancourt, Musée franco-americain du Château, Inv. CFAc225. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Blérancourt)/Gérard Blot

fine clothes, the classicising ornament, the officer uniform of Wille's scene belong to an élite culture that depended on privilege and in which notions of honour were prized.[107] The father holds out to his son a sword, a signifier of noble status for, at least in theory, only the nobility were entitled to wear a sword. Gesturing with an open hand towards the sword in acceptance of it, the son's other hand is placed on his heart to make clear that he is also committing himself to do his military, patriotic and familial duty.

Philippe Bordes has noted that the bust in the niche of a funerary monument at the rear, above the father's awarding of the sword and to which the father also gestures, is likely to have been that of an elder brother, killed during the American War of Independence.[108] Bordes also notes that in the engraving after the painting (Fig. 2.9), published in 1788, the bust's features were changed to Louis XVI. The change is likely to have reflected the artist's interests in moving away from a more private sphere of family towards a more public arena where many oaths of loyalty to the King as potential saviour of the nation were being made. The imagery of this print does not, therefore, bear out any obvious defection away from the authority of the sovereign. National and royal sovereignty were still being shown here

Fig. 2.9 Jean-Jacques Avril after Pierre-Alexandre Wille, *Le Patriotisme français*, engraving, 58.5 cm × 44 cm, 1788, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (3)-FT4. Photo: BnF

as one, even though many noble officers were, in fact, now supporting the causes of Revolution in opposition to those of the monarch.[109] Jay M. Smith has considered concepts, such as merit and patriotism, that cut across caste boundaries but that still emerged from within specific institutional settings. Wille's imagery does not, however, support Smith's valid observation that it was possible in this period to lobby for a nobility of virtue whilst also condemning the decadence and corruption of the nobility.[110] The art-making, as incorporated into the design of this particular engraving, as of the initial painting, still depends on past tradition and convention and it cannot be said to belong to the making of the modern political Revolution. French patriotism was, furthermore, still being displayed with reference to the King being the father of his people. The crucial change between painting and print aligns the father's raised hand of acknowledgment, praise, welcome, encouragement with the portrait bust of Louis XVI.

The son's going off to serve in the military is not, however, shown in an entirely unproblematic light, for the two women, in their poses and facial expressions, are evidently sad and in some distress; the youngest son also

looks towards his elder brother in some concern. The dog is, however, shown sitting, docilely and faithfully for the animal is, presumably, unaware of the consequences that the handover of the sword will entail. These consequences may not be tragic ones in terms of the horrors of war and death but, like in the imagery of Le Prince, and indeed of Greuze, going off to serve in the military is presented in terms of the disruption of the harmony of the family and the breaking of emotional, affective bonds. The making of the oath here involves a breaking with the family even as it involves a continuation of duty and honour. The dilemma is emotional in its appeal and it conforms to a culture of *sensibilité* and of sentimental feeling that adhered to the audience of the painting and of its reproductive engraving. By investing a personal sensibility in the art work, the artist was able, thereby, to prompt morally true, beautiful and higher states of mind in the viewer. That this sensibility, in this case, has arisen out of the juxtaposing of duty towards father and the State with, and in opposition to, duty to family is not without its troubling aspects but it is the dimension of the family tragedy rather than the overthrowing of the State that is at issue here.

These genre scenes display realms of feeling and sentiment that pertain to a cultured, pre-revolutionary élite. The spirit of patriotism is bound up with notions of *gloire*, honour and privilege, but it is not overtly ideological in the sense of a modern, nationalistic and didactic piece of propaganda, nor does this imagery of patriotic glory provide solid evidence of the disaffection of the nobility away from the causes of the King and of monarchical authority.

History Painting and Heroes?

Genre scenes, or the scenes that dealt with the subject matter of everyday life, constituted a lower category or genre of art than that of history painting which dealt with the lives and actions of extraordinary people—of kings and heroes. The extent to which history paintings actually ennobled and elevated on account of the models incorporated into their picturing must, though, remain open to question if the contents of contemporary press and pamphlet reviews are to be believed.[111]

The history painting *Hector détermine Pâris, son frère, à prendre les armes pour la défense de sa Patrie* (Hector persuades Paris, his brother, to take up arms for the defence of his Homeland, Fig. 2.10) is an example of a major work of art that was greeted with some ambivalence when it was first exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1779. The work had been completed in

Fig. 2.10 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Hector détermine Pâris à prendre les armes*, oil on canvas, 330 cm × 258 cm, 1779, Fontainebleau, château, 1779, Inv. MR2661. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Fontainebleau)/Daniel Arnaudet

Rome by David's studio master, Joseph-Marie Vien, when Director of the French Academy in Rome and it was then acquired for the French State by the comte d'Angiviller, the then Director of the King's Buildings, a former *maréchal de camp* or brigadier in the army and the holder of the Order of St Louis.[112] Some of d'Angiviller's personal patronage of art indicates that art works that dealt with the complexities of the military calling and with the negative aspects of military *gloire* might have had a particular attraction for this ex-soldier. He was to go on to commission for his own collection, a smaller version of David's *Bélisaire demandant l'aumône* (Belisarius begging for alms, Paris, Louvre), the original version of which was to be the artist's *morceau d'agrégation* (admission piece) to the *Académie royale* and a critically acclaimed Salon success in 1781.[113]

The grandeur and nobility of Vien's composition was noted in 1779, but many of the comments were less wholesomely positive about his work, emphasising a perceived coldness and lack of passion in the treatment of the subject matter. The account given in the *Mémoires secrets* made much of this particular aspect: 'lastly, it is a masterpiece in its execution; only one thing is missing, well, what? Not the gift of pleasing but that of touching, of moving the soul, of exciting the passions of the characters, of imparting the emotions and the interest of his subject.'[114] Once again, qualities of affect and emotion prompted in the viewers of the painting are of concern to the critic. It was understood that this type of reception happened when the internal passions implicated by the chosen narrative were depicted in a believable and convincing way. This was, therefore, something which the history painter Vien had apparently failed to deliver.[115] The review deals with the handling of subject matter in terms of the epic narrative of Homer's *Iliad*.[116] The critic considers that the painting, in presenting a significant moment of choice from that narrative, does not sufficiently move the spectator because the different personalities, characteristics and motives of the two brothers, one cowardly who was reluctant to fight and one more forceful and bellicose, have not been sufficiently well defined or differentiated:

> What would, for instance, M. Doyen have done, in place of M. Vien as, even though the former has for some time become detestable, you cannot take from him the purview of expression, of invention, of warmth, with which he would have animated his composition; in affirming the character of Hector resolutely, he would have contrasted the vigour, the darker brown of his muscles with the whiteness, the delicacy of the flesh of Paris, and he would have broken the uniformity of all those straight figures by showing him shattered and carrying his hand to his arms…[117]

Vien has adhered closely to the recommendations of the comte de Caylus. The *amateur* antiquarian's *Talbeaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée, d'Homere et de l'Eneide de Virgile* was first published in 1757 and was openly intended to be a crib book for history painters. This book supplied Vien with various telling details that were not in Homer: 'The anger of Hector armed presents an opposition all the more beautiful as the subject is contained therein. I believe that to express the action of Paris, his arms should be attached against the wall, and the Prince must consider them with his arms folded.'[118] There is nothing in Homer about either the arms hanging on the wall or about Paris having his arms folded. These features of Vien's composition even contradict to an extent what Homer has to say about Paris busying himself with his armour and handling his curved bow. Such a visual display of a hanging trophy of weapons can rather be found in the ornament of contemporary interior decoration just as it also belongs to conventions of picture-making and to the recommendations of Caylus.

Something of the ingloriousness of the princely warrior who prefers the softness and idleness of staying at home in amorous dalliance in contrast to the upright virtue of one eager to fight in defence of family, city and nation, might additionally be gleaned from the opposing attitudes of Paris and Hector shown here. Ionic columns embellish the home of Paris whereas, following on from the writings of Sebastiano Serlio (1475-c.1554), Doric ones were held to be the suitable architectural features for military leaders.[119] Another anonymous review of Vien's *tableau* even contains something of a put-down for those contemporary army officers who wiled their time away in amorous dalliance during peacetime but who flew off to fight once warfare had been declared:

> The Paris is one of the finest pieces of this painter; but it is not without its faults; there is some incorrect drawing: the attitude of Hector is equivocal; he appears to give a slap to Paris who holds out his cheek coldly to receive it. This is not how Homer recounts his subject.
>
> Tune: Tonton has given me a date this evening.
>
> In times of peace, one finds in Paris,
> Very few Hectors and many Pâris'
> But when they hear the cries of Mars,
> Goodbye games, the pleasure and the laughs,
> All are Hector, there are no more Pâris.[120]

The criticism of contemporary manners contained in this review is a response to a painting in an exhibition of art being held in the Louvre. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the artist, Vien, when working on his history painting in Rome, had in mind the presentation of a critique of contemporary attitudes towards a going off to war.

Vien's composition includes at the side and behind Hector, Hector's wife Andromache holding his son Astyanax. These figures appear neither in the account of the episode in Homer nor in the precepts for the subject given by Caylus. In terms of the constructions of the history painting, they could be said to further the contrast between Hector and his family and Paris and his family; while Andromache is shown obviously caring for her son, Helen languishes besides an amorous Cupid. On either side of the composition, the two women are not obviously the principal protagonists of the scene, but neither do they function as mere adjuncts to the manly virtue, or lack of manly virtue, on show. They provide elements of motive, of cause and effect, demonstrate a suitable affectivity and suggest something of the subsequent episode in Homer in which Hector took leave of his wife by the walls of the city. This later episode had been treated much more often in history painting; Vien was, indeed, to go on to produce a large version of it (*Les adieux d'Hector et d'Andromache/*The Farewells of Hector and Andromache, Fig. 2.11) that borrowed heavily from treatments by Antoine Coypel (1661–1722, Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts), Jean Restout (1692–1768, New York, Private Collection) and Gavin Hamilton (1723–98, Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery).[121]

This history painting, exhibited at the Salon of 1787, was one of the major State commissions awarded by d'Angiviller for the proposed new museum of the Louvre.[122] Vien's handling of subject matter here is highly conventional and this is in spite of the fact that he had, quite unusually, been given a free hand in his choice of narrative moment. In close accordance with the account given in Homer, Andromache is shown to be appealing to her husband not to leave for battle and what she believes will be his certain death while their son, Astyanax, displays fear at the sight of his father's helmet.[123] This significant moment was thus a more familiar one to the Salon audience of 1787 than the episode of the oath-taking in David's interpretation of the history of the Horatii had been in 1785, but in both cases knowledge of the tragic outcome of the chosen moments belonged to the understanding of the visual imagery. Vien's composition is, again, structured to make much of the opposition between those who stay at home and those who go off to war. In this case, the departing warriors are to be contrasted to the

Fig. 2.11 Joseph-Marie Vien, *Les Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque*, oil on canvas, 320 cm × 420 cm, s. and d. 1786, Paris, Louvre, Inv. 8427. Photo ©RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/René-Gabriel Ojéda

people, particularly the women on the other side of the composition, who stay behind. The gendered nature of this division is clear and will reoccur in scenes of military call-up produced during the Revolution.

In spite of the tragic nature of the subject matter and of its known outcome—the death of Hector in battle, the bringing back of his corpse to Troy and the eventual destruction of Troy—the vision of Antiquity here is an essentially conservative, golden one of a lost time and of a lost land that was simpler, nobler and grander than the pressing, passing concerns and trivia of everyday life. One critic in 1787 vilified the work precisely because it was not sufficiently removed and distanced from the ignominies of the present:

> I will admit it the picture struck me; but I needed my catalogue to recognise Hector. Homer always pictured him for us as a proud and generous hero, who burns to fight Achilles and save his Homeland.
> A hero like Hector is jealous of his glory;

> …That Vien has not given sufficient nobility to Hector; that he is far too young, that his face is not sufficiently martial nor sufficiently animated and has little expression; that it has no decided character and that one would take the defender of Troy for a young French officer who leaves the boudoir of his beauty, and gives to her his most tender farewells.[124]

In this review, the degree to which the depiction has incorporated a given text with sufficient literalness, accuracy and appropriateness is, once again, being evaluated with, in this case, special focus on the character of the hero. The implication here is that the purportedly touching scene of familial farewell depicts a Hector who displays insufficient pride, nobility, martial qualities and desire to fight Achilles for the saving of his nation. Yet it is the critical perceptions of the painting, rather than the ways in which the painting has come about and been structured that bear out recent scholarship in the discipline of history in which the promotion of virtuous nobility has been identified as occurring alongside increasing criticisms of how the nobility were actually behaving.[125]

Although ambivalences pertaining to the situation of the military and to debates about the problems of military *gloire* can be used to shed light on David's history paintings of the 1780s, these preoccupations do not exist in isolation. When analysing the works of David, the pre-eminent artist of the period, academic theory and the practices of the history painter that were then current need to be taken on board. The depiction of a complex range of emotions was, for instance, valued highly for it was considered that the art of the history painter could move the spectator more profoundly if the artist first carefully selected a key moment in a narrative and then incorporated within his composition the most appropriate external expressions and gestures to convey the selected narrative episode in ways that would visually convince. There was even an academic prize for a study in expression founded by the comte de Caylus, which David won in 1773 with his sketch of *La Douleur* (*Grief*, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts).[126] This had then enabled him to progress further and eventually win the major painting competition for aspiring history painters, allowing a period of study in Rome for the winner.

It has also been noted that *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9) marked a decisive bid in the artist's own claims to *gloire*.[127] David worked on the painting in Rome and in letters back to Paris he admitted that he had produced a larger, wider painting than had originally been commissioned so as to serve his own ends as well as those of the King and, in line

with this stated intention, he requested from d'Angiviller, a prominent place in the Salon hang. What has received little attention is the fact that, in order to confirm his own election as a full member and history painter of the *Académie royale*, David had recently made an oath between the hands of the first painter to the King, Jean-Baptiste Pierre.[128] This particular oath-taking would not have involved the raising of a sword in the manner that the painter envisioned in his history painting but the experience of the *rite de passage* in which he had performed as a participant was particularly meaningful for the artist, involving as it did an important, decisive and much grander change of status.

The artist's engagement in the spheres of politics only began in the years after 1789 and though he had certainly chafed against the *Académie royale* before the Revolution, his attacks on this institution were to do with a practice that was for him too close to the *métier* of the craftsman and not close enough to the *gloire* and concomitant status of the *grand homme*.[129] In his life of David, Jules David, the painter's grandson, noted the disdainful way in which the artist had apparently dismissed, in 1789, the official training body, of which he was then a full member: 'The Academy is like a wigmaker's shop, one cannot come away from it without having some white [powder] on one's clothes…They will, no doubt, teach you to do your torso, well the craft; as they make a craft out of painting; as for me, the craft, I despise it like mud.'[130] These reported criticisms were targeted at the practices of the *Académie royale* and they had nothing to do with what the institution, as a body representing the interests of its members, stood for.

David's invention of the oath in his treatment of the Horatii story incorporates the decisive transition from a status of non-combatant to that of a warrior and fighter, prepared to lay down his life in battle in the service of some greater authority, nation or cause. The subject of the narrative originated in Roman history but the oath scene within the narrative was quite new and has already been quite fully explored in terms of the preparatory drawings for the painting and in respect of the awarding of the initial commission by d'Angiviller on behalf of the State.[131] The consequences of this decisive intervention would, however, have been as familiar to an eighteenth-century French observer as Hamlet's fate is to an English-speaking audience today.

Modern commentators have brought out the marked division in the composition of *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9). The heroic, martial stance and postures of the men exist in marked contrast to the weeping, grief-stricken and more passive positions of the women. A review of the

work in the *Correspondence littéraire* of 1785 was positively nuanced in its appreciation of the women's contribution to the affective value of the composition as a whole:

> How simple and sublime is the contrast between this warrior group and that of the women in the despondency of the most profound grief! I recognise there, without difficulty, the mistress of the Curiatii, that unfortunate Camilla into whose breast her furious brother will soon plunge a sword still smoking with the blood of her lover. Her beauty is in its first flowering; her despair is more concentrated, it will become more sober and more terrible.[132]

The review interpreted the painting in terms of the story of Corneille's play, *Horace*, which includes a later episode in the tragic narrative. In the play the motives of Horace, who places his desire for a personal *gloire* above all other considerations, are problematic because of this hero's subsequent murder of his sister Camille, who had reproached her brother for the killing of her own betrothed Curiace.[133] In 1785, the art critic's expressions of sympathy for the plight of the women are concerned with the affective, emotional bonds of family and these can be contrasted to the vainglory of the warrior group. The review went on to note the participation in the scene of the older woman and two children, that were invented by David, and that bring out the rupturing of the family through the loss of a sister, brothers, fathers and children as a result of the swearing to take up arms in defence of Rome:

> There is more abandon, more softness in the grief of Sabine. While an old servant woman tries to hide this scene of grief from their small children, the strongest of the two children turns back the hand wanting to prevent him from seeing that about which he already appears more curious than terrified. This last group, in the recess of the painting, weakly illuminated, is set in just the right place and, without distracting from the principal subject, adds more to the domestic interest which makes this situation so lively and tender.[134]

Careful scrutiny of some of the significant figurative details of the large painting bears out the perceptions of the critic. The muscles and limbs of the three Horatii are strained and stretched out to an excessive degree, with their faces in shadow. The women are, on the other hand, spot-lit but have their eyes closed. The women hear, feel, touch and have tragic insight that the outcome of this moment of fervent swearing, to over-

come the Curatii brothers or die in the process, will end badly. The Elder Horace looks up to the light but he is without tragic insight. With one hand open to invoke his sons to swear their oath, his other hand grasps the shiny metal of their swords in a clenched grip of vice-like intensity that, for someone of more feeling sentiment and less fanatical severity, would hurt. His lust for glory on behalf of his nation is not tempered by any other moral or familial considerations.[135]

The élite patronage of David's history paintings consisted of a literate, highly sophisticated clientele. A reduced-size version of David's *Le Serment des Horaces* (Toledo, Museum of Art), dated 1786 and signed by David but probably mostly painted by his studio pupil Anne-Louis Girodet was, for instance, acquired by the comte de Vaudreuil.[136] This courtier had had an undistinguished military career, having been *aide de camp* to the prince de Soubise at the French defeat of Rossbach and wounded at the French defeat at Minden in 1759. In 1782, he accompanied the comte d'Artois on an abortive military expedition to assist the Spanish against the British at the siege of Gibraltar, at a cost to the French of at least 2000 lives.[137] On his return to Paris, Vaudreuil became the leading collector of fashionable French contemporary painting, a type of grandee patronage that conformed to the pattern of commissions David received for his major history paintings of the 1780s.[138] The aristocrats who patronised David were not generally free-thinking proponents of reform but they may well have been open to the subjects that the artist was incorporating in paint as not necessarily espousing the high-minded ideals of a military vocation. With the Revolution, this type of élite patronage was to come to an abrupt end. Vaudreuil, for instance, left Paris with the comte d'Artois on the night of 16 July 1789 in the first wave of emigration.[139]

The workings of particular pictorial compositions and/or their verbal representations have been considered in this chapter so as to reach an understanding of the visual imagery of military recruitment in eighteenth-century France. The topic of military recruitment was a current one in the art and literature of the period. It was, however, also one that was generally seen from the outside in: that is, not from the perspective of the recruiter and his recruit but with the insight of someone working creatively for a predominantly civilian, and frequently élite, classically educated and knowledgeable audience. In genre scenes of contemporary life, the depictions of the recruiter, as of his recruit, tend to suggest the less than honourable motivations of both parties involved in the key decision-making of the volunteer and its concomitant financial transaction. In the case of the higher art of

history painting, the key scenes of decision-making involve the participation of women who bring out in affective ways the potentially negative consequences of men taking up of arms and subsequently going off to destruction and possible death in warfare. Considering these images and texts from within appropriate critical perspectives, it would seem that the rhetoric of a glorious taking up of arms was a far from simple one. It evolved, furthermore, out of a persistent preoccupation with the damaging effects of warfare as much as with the positive benefits entailed in the arts of peace.

Notes

1. A. Farge (1996) *Les Fatigues de la Guerre* (Paris: Le Promeneur), pp. 104–5; see Bibliothèque Arsenal ms. 3244 Livre de police, discipline, tenue. Le 1 mars 1777.
2. The Imperial War Museum has a series of paintings of army medical inspections by J. Hodgson Lobley (work of 1918), Carel Weight (work of 1942), Roderigo Moynihan (work of 1943) in which male nudes are shown in a variety of poses—see the discussion of the academic male nude painting in the epilogue section in Chap. 5. The film *Private Benjamin* (1980, Warner Brothers) has a full sequence of the later episodes in the joining up process, albeit in terms of the volunteer rather than the conscript, and treated in a comic, subversive way with the star new recruit being a woman. See too Y. N. Harari (2008) *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 63–4. Harari notes that the trope of basic training belongs to the late modern period and that the idea of boot camp in the form of a *tabula rasa* that wiped out civilian identities only began to emerge in the military training of the late eighteenth century.
3. D. Ternois (1992) 'Vie de Ferdinand I[re] de Toscane, dite 'Batailles des Médicis" in *Jacques Callot*, Exhibition catalogue, (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux), nos. 66–76, pp. 173–9.
4. In a catalogue entry for the genre painting, *Young Woman Standing before a Mirror* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) by Frans van Mieris, Otto Naumann cites a translation from a handbook on allegorical personification of 1604, *Uytheeldinghe der Figuren,* by Karel van Mander: 'By the dog one indicates fidelity: for the dog is most faithful and never forgets a kindness shown to him.' O. Naumann (1984) in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, Exhibition catalogue (Wisbech: Philadelphia Museum of Art), no. 10, p. 260.
5. L. Lawner (1998) *Harlequin on the Moon: Commedia dell'Arte and the Visual Arts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams), p. 60. The Captain was garbed in military attire with a suggestively large, phallic sword; he was appealing to

women but was essentially foolish, unreliable and cowardly, in spite of outward flourishes and shows of bravery. The comedic tradition of the boastful soldier goes back to the second century BCE and Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*.

6. A. Corvisier (1964) *L'armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le soldat* II (Paris: Université de Paris, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines), p. 861. Generally the new recruits did not sport moustaches which were grown only after enrolment.
7. A. Depréaux (1911) *Les Affiches de recrutement du XVIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris: J. Leroy), p. 25. For these reforms, see the section '*Gloire* and military motivation' in Chap. 3.
8. A. Larcan (1992) 'Callot et la société militaire' in *Jacques Callot*, Exhibition catalogue, (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux), pp. 384–8.
9. That page boys might go on to join the regiment, has been noted by G. Dickinson (1954) *The Instructions sur le faict de la Guerre of Raymond de Beccarie de Pavie Sieur de Fourquevaux* (London: The Athlone Press), p. xxxvi.
10. P. Choné (1992) 'Les Misères de la guerre ou *'la vie du soldat*'', in *Jacques Callot,* Exhibition catalogue, (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux), pp. 396–410. An early overview of the scholarship on this topic is given by D. Wolfthal (1977) 'Jacques Callot's *Miseries of War*', *The Art Bulletin*, LIX, 221–33. Wolfthal notes that Callot may have owned a copy of the book *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre* which has a section on the levying and enrolment of soldiers, then deals with the punishment of soldiers for acts of vice, pillage and indiscipline and also stresses the need for rulers to reward soldiers well.
11. For views of sign-up in the nineteenth century, see the compilation provided in *L'Enrôlement des volontaires de 1792: Thomas Couture (1815–1879): Les artistes au service de la patrie en danger*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris and Beauvais: Musée Départemental de l'Oise, 1989).
12. J. Lieure (1988) *Jacques Callot: Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre gravé* I, no. 1340 (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts), pp. 71–3.

    Ce Metal que Pluton dans ses veines enserre
    Qui fait en mesme temps, et la paix et la guerre
    Attire le soldat, sans creinte des dangers,
    Du lieu de sa naissance, aux Paix estrangers
    Ou s'estant embarqué pour suivre la Milice
    Il faut que sa vertu s'arme contre le Vice.

13. J. A. Lynn (1984) *The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France 1791–94* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), p. 44. Detailed statistics about the composition of the army are given in: Corvisier, *L'Armée française*; J. Chagniot (1985) *Paris et l'Armée au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Economica). The focus of

this study is on the enrolment of soldiers in the standing army and not on the raising of the militia although the militia certainly provided needed manpower in times of war.

14. M. Rapport (2003) *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners 1789–1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 49–50.
15. For debates about the raising of the militia, see A. Crépin (2005) *Défendre la France: Les Français, la guerre et le service militaire, de la guerre de Sept Ans à Verdun* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes), pp. 22–7. For a discussion of the print *De la Milice delivrez nous Seigneur* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) which sets out the arbitrariness of the lottery used to select single men between the ages of 18 and 40 for service in the militia for critical scrutiny, see V. Mainz (2005) 'The Charging of Caricature and the Taking up of Arms before Varennes', in R. Reichardt, R. Schmidt, H-U. Thamer (eds) *Symbolische Politik und politische Zeichensysteme im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolutionen (1789–1848)* (Münster: Rhema), pp. 83–99.
16. Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, I, p. 147; Chagniot, *Paris et l'armée*, p. 302.
17. Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, I, pp. 252–8; S. F. Scott (1978) *The Response of the Royal Army to the French Revolution: The Role and Development of the Line Army 1787–93*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 27.
18. See further, Crépin, *Défendre la France*, pp. 27–47.
19. See further, the section '*Gloire* and military motivation' in Chap. 3.
20. Scott, *The Response of the Royal Army*, p. 18.
21. Scott, *The Response of the Royal Army*, p. 7.
22. J-P. Bertaud (1979) *La Révolution armée: Les soldats-citoyens et la Révolution française* (Paris: Robert Lafont), p. 36. The correspondence and records of a recruiting officer at the start of the Revolution, sub-lieutenant Poncet of the 18th Regiment, are to be found in the Archives de la Guerre, Xb 168.
23. For the use of violence and the abusive use of holding cells, see Chagniot, *Paris et l'armée*, p. 281.
24. D. Diderot, J. le Rond d'Alembert et al. (1751–72) *Encylopédie ou Dictionnnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, XV (Paris, Briasson, David l'aîné, Le Breton, Durand), p. 311.
25. See also D. J. Ennis (2002) *Enter the Press-gang: Naval Impressments in Eighteenth-Century British Literature* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses).
26. M. Acerra and J. Meyer (1988) *Marines et Révolution* (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France), pp. 29–31.
27. V. Milliot (1995) *Les 'Cris de Paris' ou le peuple travesti: Les Représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe – XVIIe siècles)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne), pp. 65–75.

28. Chagniot, *Paris et l'Armée*, p. 277.
29. For the etching *Recruë allant joindre le regiment* (Paris, Musée de l'Armée) begun by Antoine Watteau and finished by Henri-Simon Thomassin in 1729, see J. A. Plax (2000) *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 102–6; H. Opperman (1987) 'The Theme of Peace in Watteau', in F. Moureau and M. M. Graselli (eds) *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): Le Peintre, son temps et sa légend*e (Paris, Geneva: Clairefontaine), pp. 23–8; A. Farge (1998) 'Quand Watteau peint les soldats, ou l'envers des stéréotypes glorieux', in *L'Art de la guerre: la Vision des peintres aux 17 et 18 siècles* (Paris: Centre d'études d'histoire de la Défense), pp. 29–36.
30. A. Danzat, J. Dubois, H. Mitterand (1993) *Dictionnaire étymologique et historique du français* (Paris: Larousse), p. 642.
31. Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, I, p. 186.
32. Corvisier, *L'Armée française*, I, p. 148.
33. For the recruitment poster, see Depréaux, *Les Affiches de recrutement.* I return to a discussion of the recruitment poster, Chap. 4.
34. See further C. Guichard (2012) 'Connoisseurship: Art and Antiquities', in C. Jones, J. Carey and E. Richardson (eds) *The Saint-Aubin 'Livre de caricatures': Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, SVEC), pp. 283–300.
35. Milliot, *Les 'Cris de Paris'*, p. 104.
36. D. Roche (1981) *Le Peuple de Paris* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne), p. 226.
37. Milliot, *Les 'Cris de Paris',* pp. 110–11. For an alternative analysis of a later series of drawings depicting the *Cris de Paris* prints designed by Edmé Bouchardon (1698–1762) and made between 1737 and 1746, see K. Scott (2013) '*Cris de Paris*: Crying Food in Early Modern Paris', *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 29/1, 59–91. Scott notes that the eye of Caylus for *le peuple* contrasts to the ear of Bouchardon for the sound event of the street.
38. C. Guichard (2008) *Les Amateurs d'Art à Paris au 18*[e] *siècle* (Champ Vallon: Seissel), pp. 219–27.
39. C. Michel (1993) *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des Lumières* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome), pp. 122–4.
40. Milliot, *Les 'Cris de Paris'*, p. 307.
41. Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin*, p. 163.
42. A. de Montaiglon (1875–92) *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1648–1792*, V (Paris: Charavay frères), p. 297 ; and VI, p. 406.
43. K. Scott (c.1999) 'Chardin multiplié', in *Jean Baptiste Simeon Chardin 1699–1779*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux), pp. 61–7. Scott suggests that Lépicié may have been the preferred inter-

preter of Chardin because his prints after Chardin's genre paintings entered into the fiction of Chardin's imaginary world.

44. Au Sermon du Chanteur, quoi qu'on ait l'ame émuë
    Chacun y va toujours son train,
    Le Soldat y fait sa recruë,
    Et le filou son coup de main.
45. See the section *Gloire* and military motivation in Chap. 3 for further on this literature.
46. For the *poissard*, see A. P. Moore (1955) *The Genre Poissard and the French Stage of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University); R. M. Isherwood (1986) *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 117–20. Isherwood analyses a range of written sources but the visual images provide him only with unproblematic supporting evidence.
47. Roche, *Le Peuple de Paris*, pp. 44–6.
48. Roche, *Le Peuple de Paris,* p. 45: 'le genre prend le peuple comme cible politique, et ainsi donne une leçon de conformisme'.
49. J. Lemer (1875) *Oeuvres de Vadé* (Paris), p. 5.
50. J. J. Vadé (1760) 'Preface', *Les Racoleurs* (Paris: Duchesne).
51. Vadé, *Les Racoleurs*, Scene XVI, pp. 49–51.
52. Vadé, *Les Racoleurs*, Scene VIII, p. 24.
53. C. J. Guillemaine (1789) *L'Enrôlement supposé* (London and Paris: Cailleau).
54. Chagniot, *Paris et l'Armée*, p. 284; 351.
55. Guillemain, *L'Enrôlement supposé*, Scene X, p. 16: 'C'est un strategéme qui m'est nécessaire, parce que pourquoi: drès que ma mere me verra l'habit de d'sus le corps, al m'aime, al' se désolera, al' s'attendrira, al'me dégagera, al' me mariera.'
56. Guillemain, *L'Enrôlement supposé*, Scene XIV, p. 21: 'Come on now, phew!! I do not like dirt.' ('Allons, ouffe! Je n'aime pas l'ordure.')
57. Guillemain, *L'Enrôlement supposé*, Scene XV, p. 25: 'Je suis libre et tout enquier à toi. Je quitte le service; prends mon chapeau, ôtes-en la cocarde.'
58. Haydn Mason posits some sort of connection between these events and Voltaire's narrative although he also explores the limitations of such an approach. H. Mason (1992) *Candide, Optimism Demolished* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International), pp. 21–2.
59. Voltaire (1980) *Candide ou l'optimisme*, ed. René Pommeau, *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, XLVIII (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation), p. 122:

    'Deux hommes habillés de bleu le remarquèrent: "Camarade," dit l'un, "voilà un jeune homme très bien fait, et qui a la taille requise." Ils s'avancèrent vers Candide, et le prièrent à dîner très civilement.

> "Messieurs," leur dit Candide avec une modestie charmante, "vous me faites beaucoup d'honneur, mais je n'ai pas de quoi payer mon écot." – "Ah ! monsieur," lui dit un des bleus, "les personnages de votre figure et de votre mérite ne payent jamais rien: n'avez-vous pas cinq pieds cinq pouce de haut?" – "Oui, messieurs, c'est ma taille," dit-il en faisant la révérence. – "Ah ! monsieur, mettez-vous à table; non seulement nous vous défrayerons, mais nous ne souffrirons jamais qu'un homme comme vous manque d'argent; les hommes ne sont faits que pour se secourir les uns les autres."

60. Voltaire, *Candide*, p. 123:

> ' "nous vous demandons si vous n'aimez pas tendrement le roi des Bulgares?" – "Point du tout," dit-il, "car je ne l'ai jamais vue." – "Comment ! c'est le plus charmant des rois, et il faut boire à sa santé." – "Oh !, très volontiers, messieurs." Et il boit. "C'en est assez," lui dit-on, "vous voilà l'appui, le soutien, le défenseur, le héros des Bulgares; votre fortune est faite, et votre gloire est assurée." On lui met sur-le-champ les fers aux pieds, et on le mène au régiment. On le fait tourner à droite, à gauche, hausser la baguette, remettre la baguette, coucher en joue, tirer, doubler le pas, et on lui donne trente coups de bâton; le lendemain, il fait l'exercice un peu moins mal, et il ne reçoit que vingt coups; le surlendemain, on ne lui en donne que dix, et il est regardé par ses camarades comme un prodige.'

61. Voltaire (1989) *Au camp de Philisbourg le 3 juillet 1734* in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation), XIV, pp. 533–55. See further the discussion in Chap. 3 about these verses.
62. *Candide*, p. 260: 'Cela est bien dit, répondit Candide, mais il faut cultiver notre jardin.'
63. For the publishing history of the *Tableau de Paris,* see L-S. Mercier (1994) *Tableau de Paris*, ed. J-C. Bonnet, I, (Paris: Mercure de France), pp. XCV–CLXXXVIII.
64. R. Chartier (1991) *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), p. 69. This estimates that the literacy rate between 1786 and 1790 was for men 47% and for women 27%.
65. Mercier, I, Ch. L. p. 137: 'Au bas du Pont-Neuf sont les recruteurs, racoleurs, qu'on appelle vendeurs de chair humaine. Ils font des hommes pour les colonels, qui les revendent au roi. Autrefois ils avaient des fours, où ils battaient, violentaient les jeunes gens qu'ils avaient surpris de force ou par adresse, afin de leur arracher un engagement. On a supprimé enfin cet abus monstrueux ; mais on leur permet d'user de ruse et de superchérie pour enrôler la canaille. Ils se servent d'étranges moyens. Ils ont des filles de

corps de garde, au moyen desquelles ils séduisent les jeunes gens qui ont quelque penchant au libertinage. Ensuite ils ont des cabarets, où ils enivrent ceux qui aiment le vin. Puis ils promènent, les veilles du mardi gras et de la Saint-Martin, de longues perches surchargées de dindons, de poulets, de cailles, de levrauts, afin d'exciter l'appétit de ceux qui ont échappé à celui de la luxure.'

66. Mercier, I, Ch. L, pp.137–8: 'Les pauvres dupes, qui sont à considérer la Samaritaine et son carillon, qui n'ont jamais fait un bon repas dans toute leur vie, sont tentés d'en faire un, et troquent leur liberté pour un jour heureux. On fait résonner à leurs oreilles un sac d'écus, et l'on crie, qui en veut? Qui en veut? C'est de cette manière qu'on vient à bout de compléter une armée de héros, qui seront la gloire de l'Etat et du monarque. Ces héros coûtent au bas du Pont-Neuf trente livres pièce. Quand ils sont beaux hommes, on leur donne quelque chose de plus. Les fils d'artisans croient affliger beaucoup leurs pères et mères en s'engageant. Les parents les dégagent quelquefois, et rachètent cent écus l'homme qui n'en a coûté que dix; cet argent tourne au profit du colonel et des officiers recruteurs.
Ces recruteurs se promènent la tête haute, l'épée sur la hanche, appelant tout haut les jeunes gens qui passent, leur frappant sur l'épaule, les prenant sous le bras, les invitant à venir avec eux, d'une voix qu'ils tâchent de rendre mignarde. Le jeune homme se défend, les yeux baissés, la rougeur sur le front, et avec une espèce de crainte et de pudeur; ce qui commande l'attention, la première fois qu'on est témoin de ce jeu singulier.'
67. Chagniot, *Paris et l'Armée*, pp. 313–53.
68. Mercier, I, Ch. L, p. 138:
'Ces recruteurs ont leurs boutiques dans les environs, avec un drapeau armorié, qui flotte et qui sert d'enseigne. Là, ceux qui sont de bonne volonté viennent donner leur signature. Un de ces recruteurs avait mis sous son enseigne ce vers de Voltaire, sans en sentir la force ni la conséquence:
Le premier qui fut roi, fut un soldat heureux.
J'ai vu ce vers bien imprimé pendant six semaines; puis le vers a disparu sans qu'aucun des enrôlés sous cette devise l'eût peut-être compris.'
69. From Voltaire, *Mérope*, Act I, Scene 3. These are the words of the general Polyphonte aspiring to the hand of the Queen and who, in the context of this drama, is a scoundrel.
70. See R. Wrigley (1993) *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration* (Oxford: Clarendon), especially pp. 165–201.
71. *Les Tableaux du Louvre où il n'y a pas le sens commun. Histoire véritable* (1777) (Paris: Cailleau), p. 29: 'Un vieux soldat s'écrioit à la vue d'un Corps-de-Garde, 'que le Peintre n'avoit jamais servi le Roi. S'il avoit quelque idée d'un Corps-de-Garde, il sauroit qu'on y trouve ordinaire-

ment plus de quatre soldats, que pendant que ceux-ci dorment, ceux-là jouent, un autre fait sauter son chien: un vieux parle de ses campagnes et sur-tout personne n'y fait la débauche.' 'Vous avez raison, mon camarade', dit le Gascon; 'mais baste, un Peintre n'est pas obligé de savoir, comme nous, son code militaire.' The painting is listed in J. Guiffrey (1869–71) *Collection des Livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, III/29, no. 56 (Paris: Liepmanssohn et Dufour), p. 19: *Un Corps-de-Garde/De 15 pouces de haut sur 1 pied de large*.

72. For academic theories of true-seemingness or *vraisemblance* in painting theory, see M-F. Dandré-Bardon (1765) *Traité de peinture; suivi d'un essai sur la sculpture. Pour server d'introduction à une histoire universelle, relative à ces beaux-arts*, I, (Paris: Desaint), p. 130; R. W. Lee (1967) *'Ut pictura poesis': the Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton).
73. E. G. Léonard (1958) *L'Armée et ses problèmes au 18 siècle* (Paris: Plon), pp. 239–50.
74. P. Angel (1642) *Lofs der Schilderkonst* (Leiden: Willem Christinens), p. 42.
75. P. C. Sutton (1984) 'Masters of Dutch Genre Painting' in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, Exhibition catalogue (Wisbech: Philadelphia Museum of Art) pp. xiii–lxvi, see especially pp. xxxvi–xxxviii.
76. Other versions of this work by Teniers are to be found at Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, Museo del Prado, Madrid and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. I am grateful to Cristina Alfonsin at Dulwich Picture Gallery for this information.
77. See further A. McNeil Kettering (2000) 'Gerard ter Borch's Military Men: Masculinity Transformed', in A. K. Wheelock Jr and A. Seeff (eds) *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses), pp. 100–19. A *Corps de Garde* by Carle Vanloo (1705–65) was exhibited at the Salon of 1757 and reproduced as a coloured chalk manner etching by Jean-Charles François in a print of 1758 dedicated to the Marquis de Marigny; the copperplate of this print was purchased by Gilles Demarteau in 1773 and completely reworked; see further M. M. Grasselli (2003) *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Washington: National Gallery of Art), pp. 48–9.
78. Montaiglon, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale*, VII, p. 243 and VIII, p. 95.
79. For the life and career of Le Prince, see J. Hédou (1879) *Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre*, (Paris: Baur Rapilly).
80. M. Furcy-Raymond (1912) 'Les tableaux et objets d'art saisis chez les émigrés et condamnés et envoyés au Muséum Central', *Archives de l'art français,* VI, p. 20. The work was taken from the Temple on 5 thermidor an IV. For the purchase of art works by noble and aristocratic patrons and collections, see further C. B. Bailey (2002) *Patriotic Taste*: *Collecting*

Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

81. *Lettre sur la partialité à l'occasion de la lettre de M. le comte de*…(1777), in *Collection Deloynes*, X, (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale), p. 184: '… Le prince est un peintre charmant, que son coloris est brillant et soutenu, que ses compositions ont une grace, un charme, de lumière qui doit empêcher d'examiner trop sévèrement si ses figures sont exactement dessinées, si la main du soldat qu'on engage est à 10 pieds de lui. Quelques incorrections ne détruisent pas la réussite reconnue d'un artiste.'
82. Hédou, *Jean Le Prince*, p. 54. The biography noted the letter of 3 August 1776 in the Rouen archives from the engraver Le Veau in which Le Veau acknowledged as a high amount the 200 *livres* he had received for the making of a print after another Le Prince *Corps-de-garde* scene. Le Veau requested that Le Prince not disclose the amount of this payment for fear that others who were also working as engravers for Le Prince, such as Née, would demand the same high fee. Le Veau was fearful that his payment would be delayed as work on the pendant print to the *corps-de-garde* he had produced had only just begun. It is, perhaps, significant that the engraving was reissued without its initial dedication at the time of the Revolution when it was to be purchased at a given address – 'A Paris chez le Cn Jean de Beauvais no 32.'
83. For the *vanitàs* theme when applied to the depiction of musical subjects, see F. Gétreau (2009) *Voir la musique: Les Sujets musicaux dans les œuvres d'art du XVI*[e] *au XX*[e] (Cambrai: Musée départemental de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier), especially pp. 68–71.
84. This dual nature of *gloire* is discussed further in Chap. 3. That alterations in the format of the reproductive print alter the signifying potential of the re-reproduced imagery is mentioned in my conclusion.
85. I am grateful to Alexandra Parigoras for this suggestion.
86. D. Roche (1989) *La Culture des apparences* (Paris: Arthème Fayard), pp. 211–40.
87. M. Foucault (1975) *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard), p. 170.
88. J. A. Lynn (1997) *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 173–6.
89. Diderot and D'Alembert, *Encyclopédie,* XVII, p. 381.
90. (J-A-H. Guibert) (1772) *Essai général de tactique*, *précédé d'un discours sur l'état actuel de la politique et de la science militaire en Europe; avec le plan d'un ouvrage intitulé: la France politique et militaire* (London: Libraires Associés), pp. 35–9.
91. J. Servan (1780) *Le Soldat citoyen, ou Vues patriotiques sur la manière la plus avantageuse de pourvoir à la défense du royaume*, *dans le pays de la liberté* (Neufchâtel), pp. 57–8: 'Qu'est-ce en effet qu'un recruteur? Trop souvent

ce n'est qu'un homme ivrogne, débauché, sans mœurs et sans probité ; trop souvent ce même homme emploie la violence, la fraude et la friponnerie, et quelquefois même le crime, pour enrôler des dupes ou des gens timides et intimidés: de là des enfans trompés, et que leur crédulité perd ; des hommes plus raisonnables, mais aussi crédules, dont on surprend le consentement après avoir aliéné leur raison, au moyen du vin pris avec excès…Comment espérer de la bravoure, de la bonne volonté de la docilité, d'un ramas d'hommes qui ne servent la patrie que par force de libertinage.'

92. See further, Chagniot, *Paris et l'armée*, p. 497.
93. Chagniot, *Paris et l'armée*, p. 348. Such an episode was narrated by J-L. Ménétra (1982) *Journal de ma vie: Jacques-Louis Ménétra, Compagnon vitrier au 18e siècle* (Paris: Montalba), p. 45. In this case the young man had apparently signed up so as to escape from his father's beatings; after he had returned home to pack his bags and showed his father the cockade he had been given, the father agreed to stop the beating but had to pay 18 *francs* to obtain the son's release from the military engagement. As the recruiting officer was a relative, there is a suggestion here of some complicity in a ruse to extract money from the father and to secure a less harsh regime for the son. Eating and drinking are again implicated: 'So for a pitcher of wine, one *sol* of bread and a black pudding of three *sols*, to the quality of cousin my father was quit to the tune of 18 *francs*' ('Ainsi pour une chopine de vin, un sol de pain et un cervelas de trois sols, en qualité de cousin mon père en fut quitte pour dix-huit francs.') The account of Ménétra, that was only first published less than thirty years ago, is an essentially colourful and picaresque composite *bricolage* of a series of events related as happenings in a first-person autobiographical format.
94. J. Arlet (2010) *Le général La Fayette: Gentilhomme d'honneur* (Paris: Harmattan), pp. 13–28. I am grateful to Marie-Catherine Sahut for allowing me to scrutinise the painting closely in the reserves of the Louvre. She pertinently noted the late addition of extra sheaves of arrows to the paint surface on the right hand side of the copper support.
95. R. Blaufarb (2002) *The French Army 1750–1820* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press), p. 12.
96. Scott, *The Response of the Royal Army*, p. 22; Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic,* p. 64.
97. Bertaud, *La Révolution armée*, p. 40.
98. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic,* p. 68. For a social analysis of the officer corps, see G. Bodinier (1983) *Les Officiers de l'armée royale: Combatants de la guerre d'indépendance des Etats-Unis, de Yorktown à l'an II* (Vincennes: Service historique de l'Armée de terre).
99. For the Ecole militaire in Paris and its artworks, see Y. Brualt, F. Jiméno, D. Rabreau, (eds) (2002) *L'École militaire et l'axe Breteuil-Trocadéro* (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris).

100. Blaufarb, *The French Army*, p. 14
101. D. Bien (1974) 'La réaction aristocratique avant 1789: l'exemple de l'armée', *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilizations*, 29, 23–48; 505–34.
102. Léonard, *L'Armée et ses problèmes*, pp. 244–5.
103. *De David à Delacroix* (1974), Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Éditions des musées nationaux), p. 673. Both paintings were engraved by Jean-Jacques Avril. There is a good description of these works in E. Stolpe (1985) *Klassizismus und Krieg: Über den Historienmaler Jacques-Louis David* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag), pp. 63–8. The link to the Ségur Law is made here and there is an apt comparison of the figurative forms of Wille's *Le Patriotisme français* (Fig. 2.8) with David's *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2)
104. Guiffrey, *Collection des Livrets*, III/31, no. 169, p. 34.
105. The Order of St Louis was a royal military order, founded by Louis XIV in 1693. In principle it was awarded only after 10 years of military service as an officer or on account of some exceptional feat of arms. Admission to the order was only open to Catholic men and necessitated the swearing of an oath of fidelity and obedience to the French monarchy, Exhibition catalogue (2002) *La Légion d'honneur entre tradition et innovation* (Épinal: Musée départemental d'art ancient et contemporain), pp. 41–4.
106. Ignominious perceptions of military recruitment pertain to two pendant genre paintings by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), *La Malédiction paternelle: Le Fils ingrat* and *La Malédiction paternelle:Le Fils puni* (The Father's Curse: The ungrateful Son and The Father's Curse: The punished Son, Paris, Louvre) that also date to 1777 when they were newly exhibited in the artist's studio, rather than in the public arena of the official Salon. For these works by Greuze, see further E. Munhall (1977) *Jean-Baptiste Greuze 1725–1805* (Hartford: Wadsworth Athenaeum), nos. 84, 89, pp. 170–81.
107. For concepts of honour and the army, Smith, *Nobility Reimagined*; M. J. Hughes (2007) 'Making Frenchmen into Warriors: Martial Masculinity in Napoleonic France' in C. E. Forth and B. Taithe (eds) *French masculinities: history, culture and politics* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 51–66.
108. P. Bordes (1986) '*La Patrie en danger* par Lethière et l'esprit militaire', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 4–5, 301–6.
109. T. C. W. Blanning (2002) *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 417. This comparative history suggests the disaffection of noble officers prompted a sort of negative coup d'état in the months before the calling of the Estates General.
110. Smith, *Nobility Reimagined*, pp. 14–15.

111. For more on the issue of reception, see Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, especially pp. 23–42; see also Wrigley, *The Origins of French Art Criticism*.
112. T. W. Gaehtgens and J. Lugand (1988) *Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du Roi (1716–1808)*, (Paris: Arthena), no. 241, pp. 241–2. For the treatment of Homeric subjects in history painting, see H. Siefert (1988) *Themen aus Homers Ilias in der Französischen Kunst (1750–1831)*, (Munich: Scaneg).
113. *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825* (1989), Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Éditions de la réunion des musées nationaux), no. 51, pp. 136–8. David's painting of Belisarius is about the ignominious fate of a once powerful general; see the chapter dealing with the return of the soldier. Pendant prints after paintings by P-A Wille on the subjects of *Les Conseils Maternels/ Maternal Advice* and *La Mère-indulgente/The Indulgent Mother* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) are not of military subject matter but they are dedicated to d'Angiviller and have symbols that designate the dual glories of this official's career with, on one side of his coat of arms, military trophies, armour, banners and weapons and, on the other side, the attributes of the arts, including a painter's palette, a sculpted portrait bust, instruments of scientific experiment, a monumental vase and a woven carpet. For d'Angiviller, see J. S. de Sacy (1953) *Le Comte d'Angiviller, dernier directeur général des bâtiments du roi* (Paris: Ars et historia).
114. *Mémoires secrets pour server l'histoire de la république des lettres en France, depuis 1762 jusqu'à nos jours* (1779–89), XIII, pp. 232–3: 'enfin, c'est un chef d'œuvre par le faire; il n'a manqué qu'une chose, eh! quoi ? Ce n'est pas le don de plaire, mais c'est celui d'attendrir, de remuer l'âme, d'y exciter les passions des personnages, d'imprimer des mouvements et de l'intérêt à son sujet.'
115. For the expression of the passions in academic art theory and practice, see J. Montagu (1994) *The Expression of the Passions: the Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press); J. Montgomery Wilson (1981) *The Painting of the Passions in Theory, Practice and Criticism in Later Eighteenth Century France* (New York and London: Garland); T. Kirchner (1991) *L'Expression des passions: Ausdruck als Darstellungsproblem in der französischen Kunst und Kunsttheorie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz: von Zabern).
116. The episode occurs in Homer, *The Iliad*, Book VI, lines 312–68.
117. *Mémoires secrets,* p. 233: 'Qu'aurait fait M. Doyen, par exemple à la place de M. Vien, car quoique le premier soit détestable depuis quelques tems, on ne peut lui ôter la partie de l'expression, l'invention, la chaleur, il aurait animé sa composition; en prononçant fortement le caractère d'Hector, il eut fait contraster la vigueur, le rembruni des muscles, avec la blancheur, la délica-

tesse des chairs de Paris, et il aurait rompu l'uniformité de toutes ces figures droites, en représentant celui-ci ébranlé et portant la main à ses armes…'

118. Comte de Caylus (1757) *Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homere et de l'Eneide de Virgile: avec des observations générales sur le costume* (Paris: Tilliard), p. 50: 'Le courroux d'Hector armé, présente une opposition d'autant plus belle, que le sujet s'y trouve renfermé. Je crois que pour exprimer l'action de Paris, ses armes doivent être attachées contre le mur, et le Prince les doit considérer les bras croisés. For further on this publication, see I. Guillot (2004) 'L'ekphrasis chez le comte de Caylus: de la littérature artistique à la pratique artistique des lettres', in N. Cronk and K. Peeters (eds) *Le comte de Caylus: Les arts et les lettres* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi), pp. 95–109.
119. J. Summerson (1963, 1964) *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: Methuen), p. 14.
120. *Ah! Ah! Encore une critique au Sallon ! Voyons* in *Collection Deloynes* (1779) XI (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale), p. 6: 'Le Pâris est un des plus beaux morceaux de ce Peintre ; cependant il n'est pas sans défauts ; il s'y rencontre des incorrections de dessin: l'attitude d'Hector est équivoque ; il semble lancer un soufflet à Paris qui tend froidement la joue pour le recevoir. Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'Homère raconte ce sujet.

     Air: Tonton m'a donné rendez-vous ce soir.

     En temps de paix on trouve dans Pâris
     Très-peu d'Hectors et beaucoup de Pâris
     Mais quand de Mars ils entendent les cris,
     Adieu les jeux, les plaisirs et les ris,
     Tous sont Hector, il n'est plus Pâris.

     Given the use of the circumflex on the word Pâris, the multi-layered punning might suggest the painting as a whole, the name of the city, the person and the French word for a wager.
121. Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, no. 261, p. 204.
122. The extensive literature on these commissions includes Crow, *Painters and Public Life;* B. Jobert (1987) 'The *Travaux d'encouragement*: An Aspect of Official Art Policy in France under Louis XVI', *Oxford Art Journal* 10/1, 3–14; A. McClellan (1990) 'D'Angiviller's Great Men and the Politics of the Parlements', *Art History*, 13, 175–92; F. Dowley (1957) 'D'Angiviller's *Grands Hommes* and the Significant Moment', *Art Bulletin* XXXIX, 259–78; J. Locquin (1912) *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris: Association pour la Diffusion de l'Histoire de l'Art).
123. Homer, *The Iliad*, Book VI, lines 369–493.
124. *Promenades d'un observateur au salon* (1787), in *Collection Deloynes* XV (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale), XV, 1787, p. 13: 'Je l'avouerai, le tableau

me frappa; mais j'eus besoin de mon catalogue pour reconnaître Hector, Homère nous l'a toujours dépeint comme un héros fier et généreux, qui brûle de combattre Achille et de sauver sa patrie.

Un Héros tel qu'Hector est jaloux de sa gloire…
…Que M. Vien n'a pas donné à Hector assez de noblesse; qu'il est beaucoup trop jeune, que sa figure n'est point assez martiale, ni assez animée, et a peu d'expression; qu'elle n'a point de caractère décidé, et qu'on prendrait le défenseur de Troie pour un jeune officier français qui sort du boudoir de sa belle, et lui fait les plus tendres adieux.'

125. See further, Smith, *Nobility Reimagined*; Blaufarb, *The French Army*.
126. See *Jacques-Louis David,* Exhibition catalogue, no. 7, pp. 50–1.
127. *Jacques-Louis David*, Exhibition catalogue, pp. 569–70; see also U. van de Sandt (1993) 'David pour David': Jamais on ne me fera rien faire au détriment de ma gloire' in R. Michel (ed.) *David contre David* I (Paris: La Documentation française), pp. 117–40.
128. Montaiglon, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale* IX, p. 166.
129. See, for instance, the letter David wrote to Boissy d'Anglas from prison on 16 November 1794, when he defended his vocation as a painter. Bibliothèque Nationale MS N acq. fr. 6605 pièce 328.
130. J-L. J. David (1880–2) *Le peintre Louis David, 1748–1825: souvenirs et documents inédits* I (Paris: V. Harvard), p. 57: 'L'Académie est comme la boutique d'un perruquier, on ne peut en sortir sans avoir du blanc à son habit…Ils vous apprendront sans doute à faire votre torse, le métier enfin; car ils font métier de la peinture; quant à moi, le métier, je le méprise comme la boue.'
131. For the painting, see *Jacques-Louis David*, Exhibition catalogue, no. 67, pp. 162–71; for the invention of the oath, see Chap. 1, footnote 55.
132. *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister etc.*, (1877–82), ed. M. Tourneux, XIV (Paris: Garnier frères), p. 290: 'Que le contraste entre ce groupe guerrier et celui de ces femmes dans l'accablement de la plus profonde douleur est simple et sublime! J'y reconnais sans peine la maîtresse de Curiace, cette infortunée Camille au sein de laquelle son frère furieux va bientôt plonger une epée encore fumante du sang de son amant. Sa beauté est dans sa première fleur; son désespoir est plus concentré, il en sera plus sombre et plus terrible.'
133. P. Corneille (1980–7) *Horace* in *Œuvres complètes*, I, IV, ed. Georges Couthon (Paris: Gallimard).
134. *Correspondance littéraire,* XIV, p. 290: 'Il y a plus d'abandon, plus de mollesse dans la douleur de Sabine. Tandis qu'une bonne vieille s'efforce de cacher à ses petits enfants cette scène de douleur, le plus fort des deux détourne la main qui veut l'empêcher de voir une action dont il paraît déjà

plus curieux qu'effrayé. Ce dernier groupe dans l'enfoncement du tableau, faiblement éclairé, ne tient précisément que la place qu'il doit occuper, et, sans distraire du sujet principal, ajoute encore à l'intérêt domestique qui rend cette situation si vive et attendrissante.'

135. A preparatory drawing for the project *Le vieil Horace défendant son fils* (Paris, Louvre) of around 1782 is close to a speech in Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, I/1, p. xxvi, where the elder Horace defends his son by arguing that the glories of the conquest and the securing of the independence of Rome and of its empire should outweigh, for the murder of Camilla, the justification of the punishment of an ignominious execution.
136. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, p. 193.
137. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, p. 171.
138. See further, C. B. Bailey (1993) ' "Les Grands, les cordons bleus": les clients de David avant la Révolution', in R. Michel (ed.) *David contre David*, I (Paris: La Documentation française), pp. 141–61.
139. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, p. 202.

CHAPTER 3

Transforming *Gloire* and Military Sign-Up

The figure of *gloire* (Fig. 3.1) appears in an iconological compendium for artists and *amateurs* that became available only after 1789 having first been worked on by Hubert-Francois Gravelot (1699–1773) and then

Fig. 3.1 Jean Massard after Hubert-François Gravelot, *Gloire*, etching and stipple engraving, 9.5 cm × 5 cm, from Charles-Etienne Gaucher, *Iconologie, ou traité de la science des allegories*, Paris, Lattré, n.d., II, p. 69. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RES-Z-2547. Photo: BnF

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6_3

taken forward by Cochin, the secretary of the *Académie royale*.[1] Flanked by a palm tree and a temple of memory, the female personification of *gloire* is shown here half naked and crowned with a laurel wreath. Holding in one hand the small winged figure of victory, *Nike*, symbolising the fleeting brilliance of conquerors, she clasps in her other hand, a pyramid, which stands as a more enduring and valuable monument, erected to the memory of good kings by the love of peoples. At her feet the genius of history transmits to posterity the actions of great men and of the benefactors of humanity. In front of her, a marshal's baton, a crown, another laurel wreath and some oak leaves spill out of a cornucopia.

Directed to the service of young people, this compendium was planned to be educative and purposefully moralising, inspiring the appreciation and practise of virtue and the aversion and horror of vice.[2] The contents belong more to the premises of the *Ancien Régime* than to those of the Revolution, when major public monuments commemorating past Bourbon rulers of France were destroyed and when the King of France was beheaded. The iconological handbook codified the abstract notion of *gloire* in a general way for the practical use of the uninitiated, but the imagery betrays its own constraints, limitations and fixity. This chapter reveals that the attempt of an iconological handbook to fix *gloire* in terms of a fitting appearance belies the deep, enduring and constantly evolving engagement, during the eighteenth century, with glory as concept, substance and practice. It demonstrates, furthermore, that the term *gloire* is, itself, unstable, politically labile and yet still central to views of the soldier, masculinity, the waging of war, the State, the nation and ultimately the Revolution.

During the seventeenth century, theologians, moralists and dramatists speculated a great deal about what *gloire* might entail. The concept also came, in practice, to acquire a public, officially sanctioned, institutional role in support of royalty. Denoting honour, splendour and brilliance, it was used to justify the commemoration of honour, splendour and brilliance. A report of around 1608 to Henri IV, by the director of the Royal Cabinet of Medals, Pierre Antoine Rascas de Bagarris, explicitly acknowledges the dual nature of *gloire* being both within memory and commemoration and, at the same time, existing as a method of communication:

> Only two sorts of things give glory and memory to Princes. One of those things are actions, especially heroic ones which produce the subject of glory

> and of memory [...], but glory and memory are those things which establish them or give them their last perfect being in perpetuating them, after the century, to posterity: it is impossible to imagine that those last things, by their effects, could be other than the muses, that is the Sciences and the Arts.[3]

A stroll through the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles today is meant to impress the visitor with the achievements, including military triumphs, of Louis XIV in the seventeenth century. It is also still meant to imbue the visitor with the experience of French greatness from the past and in the present. *Gloire* is a form of reputation and it belongs, as external glamour, both to the representation of reputation and to the substance of reputation. The self-reflexive myth-making properties of *gloire* have been acknowledged and then exploited by those promoting French greatness. It was held, before the French Revolution, that the French State would achieve greatness because of the personal glories of a past monarch and also because the showing of these personal glories were to be in a grand manner. In proclaiming greatness, *gloire* provides an effective vehicle for the achievement of greatness, just as in its own right and at the same time, *gloire* has a qualitative value in being, for instance, great, or more or less great.

Shifting in meaning, certain key preoccupations about *gloire* recur during the eighteenth century. How the individual was to secure a good name through acts of valour, but without succumbing to bloodlust and vainglory, was of serious concern to many writers and thinkers in this period. Constant reference was made to precedents set in Antiquity, with the pasts of Sparta and of republican Rome being the exemplary models to be emulated in the present. A perception that triumphalist wars of conquest were not to be undertaken but were rather to be condemned came to the fore. Exceptional acts of bravery in battle were recognised and acknowledged with the proviso that public opinion should deem such acts to be beneficial to humanity. Men of letters and artists were also endowed with the special mission of being the arbiters of true *gloire* because they were able, through their works, to transmit glory to posterity and, thereby, assist in its forging.

The attainment of glory through the achievements of combat had belonged to the attributes of heroism and of kingship. Espousals of martial spirit came, however, to be quite finely nuanced when esteem was opened up and made available to men who were considered to deserve

such reward on account of their perceived merits which could be justified rationally as being of benefit to society. The positive attributes of the military vocation, of courage, bravery, heroism, self-sacrifice and/or of virtue, wisdom and public service were, nonetheless, still celebrated and gendered as distinctively and aggressively male, but the attributes of a noteworthy bellicosity came to exist alongside an increasing awareness that sentiment and the affairs of the heart had a role to play in humanising the man of war as well as in procuring the civilising, productive benefits of peace.

The material forms of *gloire* were also being realised within acknowledgements of the wider public sphere. Writing the lives of great men, or demanding the revival of history painting dealing with ennobling examples of courage and of magnanimity, or calling for the awarding of crowns of oak or laurel leaves testify to this enduring but shifting preoccupation with *gloire* and provide the abstract concept with its own solid substance.

The Concept of *Gloire*

Meditations on *Gloire* and on Military Glory

The importance of certain key texts of Antiquity to the thought, literature and art of the eighteenth century has been well acknowledged.[4] The works of Marcus Tullius Cicero who lived from 106 BCE to 43 BCE were amongst the most widely read, known and cited.[5] These works were also of crucial value to Michel de Montaigne (1533–92) in the sixteenth century who, in his chapter 'De la gloire', cites Cicero extensively.[6] Both men had close experience of the disastrous effects of warfare. The Roman statesman and man of letters Cicero was murdered as an enemy of the State during the Roman civil wars that followed the death of Julius Caesar, while the essayist Montaigne, dying in 1592, did not live to see the end of the murderous French civil Wars of Religion (1562–98). What both these thinkers have to say about glory situates the concept for subsequent writers in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France within discourses about war and morality, as well as within debates about what proper modes of conduct and of behaviour should be. Through these later debates, warmongering comes to acquire the negative characteristic of being a scourge against the welfare of humanity. By seeking only vainglory as opposed to true glory, what those who engage in warfare do is held to militate against prosperity

and the causes of disinterested public service for the longer term benefit of all.

Cicero composed a now-lost treatise on the subject of *gloria* and he returned to this subject in *On Duties/De Officiis*, a work of moral and political instruction that deals with service to the *res publica*, the community.[7] One of the defining characteristics of *gloria*, for Cicero, is public acknowledgement, and this factor makes reception intrinsic to the state of *gloria*, situating it within memory and remembrance and in the dimension of time.[8] Cicero considers that an enduring reputation is a marker of true glory whereas a mere false, dissembling pretence, a seeming to do good, would not endure because it is false and insincere.[9] For Cicero, the establishment of a reputation is a way of achieving immortality and it depends on the expectation of a collective remembrance in the future, rather than on some supernatural sanction from the beyond. In prompting virtuous actions, reputation is also deemed by Cicero to be very much grounded in the present: the enduring qualities of *gloria* are to be harnessed and they can thereby ensure the individual against oblivion, death, loss, impermanence and the attribution of vainglory in posterity.

In *On Duties*, *gloria* is the reward for notable service to the State and should be sought, not out of selfish desire, but out of goodwill, faith and honour. Questioning the preceding Roman assumption that virtue is only valuable for the honour it brings, Cicero considers the achievements of the statesman and of civic life to be greater than those of the military leader and of war. The enduring legislative innovations of Solon deserved just as much, if not more, renown than one famous military victory, such as that achieved by Themistocles at Salamis.[10] The use of reason in making decisions is valued here more highly than the exercise of courage in making battle; war is not to be avoided at all costs but it is only to be undertaken if reasoned to be beneficial and with the aim of achieving peace.[11] While the abstract qualities of honour and glory are ranked higher than other advantages as reasons for engaging in combat, Cicero considers it is wrong to embark on certain defeat merely for a sacrifice of honour.[12]

Debates about glory by Stoic and neo-Stoic commentators question further the legitimacy of linking *gloria* to virtue. Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius* that he wrote towards the end of his life, favour a withdrawal from public life instead of the working for the public good espoused by Cicero but, like Cicero, the Stoic philosopher distinguished between true virtue

and the unsubstantial mask of pretence.[13] True virtue would eventually come to the fore but such acknowledgement might only accrue slowly and posthumously for subsequent generations.[14] For Seneca, letters and written report are more effective in establishing renown than the wielding of power.[15]

Michel de Montaigne refers to both Cicero and Seneca in his essay 'De la gloire' which uses the texts of Antiquity provocatively to dwell on issues of contemporary concern and with a view to subsequent developments.[16] Written at a time of prolonged and vicious civil war, this essay challenges the linking of merit to glory with the pithy notion that a starving man would be foolish if he preferred fine clothing to the more urgent necessity of a good meal. For Montaigne, glory and honour belong to the substance of God alone: 'as being indigent and in need internally, our essence being imperfect and needing always improvement, it is on this that we must work. We are all hollow and empty: we must not fill ourselves up with wind and voice: we need more solid substance to repair ourselves.'[17] The observations separate off the glamour, fame and reputation that *gloire* can entail from true merit and real achievement that belong to inner improvement. Montaigne suggests further that the actions of virtue are to be self-sufficient reward on their own account with contentment coming from a well-regulated, inner conscience. Honour and glory are just favourable judgements made by others and it is foolish to rely on the vanity of the judgements of the common people and the erratic, fluctuating, wavering mob. Capricious fortune alone makes actions known; the great fame of Caesar and Alexander was down to mere chance.[18] Selected examples, taken from a seemingly intimate knowledge of contemporary military conflict, are remarkable for their hard-headed observations about the banal, day-to-day realities of waging war:

> A man is not always at the top of a breach or at the head of an army, in sight of his general, as on a stage. He is taken by surprise between the hedge and the ditch; he must tempt fortune against a hen roost; he must root out four paltry musketeers from a barn; he must go out alone from his company and do a job alone, as the need presents itself. And if you watch carefully, you will find by experience that the least brilliant occasions happen to be the most dangerous; and that in the wars that have taken place in our times, more good men have been lost on trivial and unimportant occasions and in fighting over some shack than in worthy and honourable places.[19]

Montaigne's observations trivialise the great actions and pompous effects of warfare so as to condemn the waging of war more generally because war leads only to the needless loss of human life. He notes that vast numbers of brave men had died, sword in hand, in France during the last 1500 years, but that less than one hundred were known; it was just down to fortune that some deeds in battle had come to be inscribed in the records that have remained.

These reflections appear to be much more personal than those of Cicero, but they are still rooted within deep philosophical speculation as to how the individual was to participate within a structured, hierarchical social order. Montaigne clearly still held the voice of the common people in passing judgement to be ignorant, unjust and inconsistent, and as something to be feared.[20] He belonged to the social order of the nobility which, under absolutism, had the defined role of defending, through the profession of arms, the State in the person of the monarch, so there may well also be some criticism of his own caste in this condemnation of *gloire* as a motivating principle for a military calling.

The seventeenth-century plays of Corneille and the debates that surrounded their performance and publication are obvious cultural manifestations of the problematic notions that the promotion of *gloire* still entails. Associated with pride, brilliance and dazzling feats of excess, aspects of this playwright's approach to *gloire* have been held to contravene Christian traditions of humility at a time when the military values of a feudal aristocracy were in decline.[21] *Gloire* supplied the characters in tragedies such as *Le Cid* (1637), *Horace* (1640) and *Cinna* (1641) with dramatic motive for the making of decisions and for concomitant, often violent, actions. In these plays, honour came to the fore alongside the passions and aspirations of extraordinary heroes. Heroic actions were in conflict with softer sentiments of love and, on the other hand, with obligations tied to duty, virtue and the dictates of reason. On the cusp of theology and politics, *gloire* came within the remit of a person's intentions and imagination rather than just pertaining to a single action. It pushed the individual beyond himself or herself and provided the means whereby the individual could reject any perceived affront, even at the price of death. The lust for glory involved conflict with others, pride, power and conquest; it was a motive for achieving distinction, for exceeding the common herd and for non-subordination, but it was fragile and could be tarnished, obscured and lost entailing, thereby, the tragedy of the fallen hero. In the play *Horace*, the eponymous hero's patriotism and willingness to fight as a champion

for Rome are, for instance, contrasted by the sorrows of his opponent, Curiace, who is fearful of the predicament in which he finds himself. For Horace, all other considerations, including the loss of Rome, are superseded by an implacable lust for *gloire*.[22] The hero gets carried away by this source of inspiration when, returning to Rome as a victor, he murders his sister. This slaughtering ultimately destroys the high ideal of the hero's initial lust for glory.

Gloire is a more passive provocation for the characters of Racine.[23] When *gloire* is evoked as a dramatic device in his plays, its incitements turn out to be false, disseminating and perverse ones. Racine cuts *gloire* adrift from heroic merit and makes it about reputation and outward show so that it functions in a negative way, failing to safeguard the threatened appearances of noble, hereditary privilege. *Gloire* retains its political dimension for it accrues to those in power and it is the fear of a loss of power that prompts dishonourable actions and the loss of face or personal honour. Thus in the tragedy *Britannicus*, a play about a palace revolution, Agrippina curses Nero by predicting that his name in history will be a cruel insult to the cruellest of tyrants.[24]

Aside from the treatment of *gloire* in major French seventeenth-century drama, much moralising commentary came to accrue to the concept in respect of the military vocation. A treatise on *gloire* of 1715 by Louis Silvestre de Sacy has, for instance, a great deal to say about the taking up of arms and of military combat.[25] The tract is concerned throughout to show that true, solid and lasting *gloire* depends on virtue. What such virtue might entail and, as concomitant vice, what such virtue might not entail is the true and solid subject of this particular text which turns away from the values of the heroes of Corneille and the irreconcilable demands that the espousal of *gloire* had placed on them. For De Sacy, g*loire* has a socially useful function because its material costs for the State are modest in relation to the rewards it brings.[26] The moralist even argues that, without a love of glory, men would be mad to expose themselves to military self-sacrifice for man's natural inclination is towards self-preservation and to flee from all threats of death; as soon as no shame accrues to flight in combat, the one who flees first would pass for the wisest of men whereas the one who is killed rather than running away from his station would pass for a madman. Earlier in the treatise, De Sacy cites the example of the Spartan leader Leonidas and his 300 soldiers facing death when defending the pass at Thermopylae to illustrate how the usefulness, and not the length, of life needs to be valued. The writer somewhat

contentiously compares the sweetness of dying in the arms of glory with the bitterness of living in the bosom of infamy.[27] In promoting the social utility of glory, the treatise contains a strong critique of luxury that is somewhat comparable to the critique of luxury given in Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque*. The extensive definitions of what constituted vice as opposed to virtue also belong to an implied critique of contemporary conditions and circumstances. There is, for instance, much on the state in which there is neither love of glory, nor fear of infamy, nor emulation, nor virtue but the tyrannical authority of indolence and weakness.

De Sacy gives a strongly gendered inflection to the acquisition of virtue through his association of glory with bravery.[28] Courage was masculine even in the women of Sparta, whose merit was not personally to go into battle, but to engender fighters willing to sacrifice themselves for their Homeland.[29] In extolling virtuous forms of conduct, he genders them as male and courageous. In this he also has a great deal to say about what constituted the hero. The hero was to fight in the interests of justice and humanity so as to protect the innocent and support the unfortunate. The horrors of war were only to be embarked upon so as to preserve the nation's peace and contentment and the hero was to be as good a citizen as he was to be a good general; he was to command troops with authority but to respect the laws; he was to remain modest and be able to keep his passions in check. For De Sacy, there were very few true heroes in history; amongst their number was Sesostris in Egypt, Phocion and Epaminondas in Greece, Cincinnatus, Curius, Fabricius, two Scipios in Rome, Skanderberg in Albania, Hunniade in Hungary and in France, Charlemagne, Louis XI, Charles VII, du Guesclin, Henri IV, Condé, Turenne and Luxembourg.[30] The list excluded those still alive purportedly so as to avoid charges of flattery and also deliberately excluded Alexander and Caesar for even though the two conquerors had been truly heroic in bravery, the brilliance of their bravery had been tarnished by shameful crimes.[31]

De Sacy's text acknowledges that the great and noble had greater means for the doing of good, for being virtuous and for acquiring glory than those of humble birth whose finest actions were more likely to be ignored.[32] A powerful position was not, though, a guarantor of virtue and it could show up imperfections as well as merit, making the acquisition of glory for the nobleman harder than for those of low birth. True glory depended on an interior cult of esteem and love rather than on the exterior respect given by the people to those of illustrious lineage, of high rank, of widespread power, of splendour and of wealth.[33] The tract ends with

the recommendation that letters rather than statues, monuments, titles or honours should be the means for communicating true, lasting glory. Monuments to false glory and vanity are perishable; titles and inscriptions are effaced, statues fall, triumphal arches, even temples are overturned but the virtue within endures eternally in the memory of men.[34]

The linking of acts of virtue to the duties of serving the State, the gendered nature of such public acts, the explicit turning away from what were deemed to be the vainglorious deeds of the conqueror hero, the desire to bestow glory on those of merit but of humble birth are all aspects of De Sacy's precepts about glory that were to be developed further by later eighteenth-century French writers and philosophers. In considering that extraordinary merit and virtue could, by their brilliance, pierce the obscurity that surrounded the low born, De Sacy still, however, upholds the status quo of a corporate society founded on and rooted in privilege and hierarchy.

The mythmaking potential of *gloire* as a motive, or otherwise, for the taking up of arms, particularly by the nobility, had thus been well acknowledged in France at the start of the eighteenth century. Some sense of public opinion and its importance in the moulding and the guiding of society towards principles of moral truth begin to emerge in De Sacy's treatise, although the readership/audience for such a disquisition would have been limited. Calls for the State to intervene actively in the handling and manipulation of *gloire* emerged to a greater degree in the aftermath of the monumental achievements of the French Baroque.

Gloire and the Philosophes

Montesquieu's concise, but subtle exploration of the notion of *gloire* in the *Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate* was written in 1722 and first published in the *Mercure de France* of February 1745.[35] The publication made available to a newspaper-reading public and to a wider, urbane polite society, an exchange of ideas about what true *gloire* might, or might not, constitute. This newspaper-reading public would also have encompassed some members of the audiences for artworks at the Paris Salon exhibitions of the second half of the eighteenth century. In this period, debates about the relative merits of art works as about the relative merits of *gloire* become more visible and, thereby, more apparently contentious.

Montesquieu's imagined dialogue between the recently abdicated Roman Emperor Sylla and his philosopher interlocutor Eucrates has the haughty Sylla attempting to justify the past bloodshed and excesses of his

dictatorship. By instilling the Roman populace with fear, Sylla maintains that he has been able to establish his own *gloire*, a greatness with which few are endowed. The little-known philosopher Eucrates counters these assertions with the observation that most men are born for mediocrity and that for a man to be above humanity involves too much cost to everyone else. Interpretations of the extreme passions of Sylla, of his justification for the use of violence and of his will to power, have been allied to later attempts to justify the use of extremist means for the achievement of political ends by, for instance, the violence and excesses of the revolutionary hero. Sylla's justifications are, however, tinged with a disdainful noble hue in that he considers the obscure and patient work of governmental bureaucracy beneath him.[36] According to Eleanor Russo, Montesquieu is keen to promote a high-minded noble moral attitude of selflessness, self-sacrifice, generosity and love of *patrie*. This arises out of the ethics of a republican civic virtue which is opposed to the marketplace of economic self-interestedness.[37]

In attending to the symbolic structure of society, Montesquieu is mindful of rank. The ancients provide him with suitable historical models for the regeneration of conduct in the present: in Rome, Athens and Sparta, rewards were themselves symbolic—an oak or laurel crown, a statue, a eulogy were the recompense for a battle won or a town taken.[38] Such rewards were not to be expected nor were they to belong to a system of gratifications dispensed by the arbitrary will of a king; rather true reward for those who served the State, whether in the willingness to lay down life in heroic self-sacrifice on the battlefield or whether in the bureaucratic toil of protecting the fundamental laws of the State, consisted solely in the merit of the action itself with good reputation residing merely in the expectation of the continuation of the action. In promoting a noble moral attitude of self-sacrifice, the dialogue between Sylla and Eucrates ultimately rejects the excesses, barbarity and brutishness of a hero like Sylla. Although the proud murderous Sylla is in the line of the heroes of Corneille, the *philosophe*'s short and pithy dialogue also demystifies the mythmaking of absolutism in which the properties of *gloire* were used to justify the achievements of the absolute ruler through the making of extraordinarily heroic acts of bravery and courage on the battlefield in the service of monarchy.

Montesquieu's work dealt with some of the ambiguities that can arise when *gloire* is allied to the promotion of an ennobled martial spirit. Some of this equivocation pertains also to Voltaire's approach to *gloire* as a motive for the taking up of arms. In this writer's voluminous historical, literary, dramatic and philosophical work, much of which was published

during the course of the eighteenth century, the horrors of warfare were often condemned as being inimical to the happiness, civilisation and well-being of human society.

In a letter to his friend Thieriot of around 15 July 1735, Voltaire defines the great man as someone who had excelled in something useful in contrast to the hero who wreaked havoc.[39] The writer had joined his friend the Duc de Richelieu the previous summer on campaign at the siege of Philipsbourg in north-eastern France. His description, addressed to the comtesse de La Neuville, of a preliminary skirmish there in which 12 guards officers had been wounded, ended tersely with the words: 'There you are, *madame*, human folly in all its glory and in all its horror.'[40] The hollow illusions and heady follies of military glory are satirised further in the verses Voltaire composed at this siege that took place more than twenty years before the fictional misfortunes of *Candide* were published:

And in these horrors of war,
The French sing, drink and laugh.
Bellona is going to reduce to ashes
The little courtiers of Philipsbourg…
I see shining in their midst
This phantom called Glory
With superb eye and dusty brow
With black tie on neck
Trumpet in hand
Sounding the charge and the victory
And singing some tunes for drinking
Whose refrain they repeat.[41]

References to the behaviour of the simple soldier are, here, mixed up with allusions to the myths, allegories and symbols of the classical tradition. In ending with the assertion that the price of such heroism will be for the soldiers to be cuckolded by their wives and mistresses back in Paris, Voltaire makes out that the pretentious soldier-heroes are failed libertines and, in so doing, brings the pomp and rhetoric of military glory down to earth with a bump.[42]

The works of Voltaire are not, however, consistently anti-war. He was appointed historiographer royal in 1745 and in that year too he composed *Le Poème de Fontenoy*, a tribute to the French victory of Fontenoy and a eulogy in praise of military heroism.[43] His *Éloge funèbre des officiers qui sont*

morts dans la guerre de 1741, also written during the War of the Austrian Succession, even calls for the revival of the form of the eulogy so as to commemorate those who had sacrificed their lives for their country. Army officers are characterised here as polished, graceful, brave, proud worshippers of their honour and of the honour of their sovereign. The eulogy ends with a celebration of Luc de Clapiers, marquis de Vauvenargues, a writer of maxims, who had recently died prematurely as a result of the wounds he had received serving as an officer on campaign in Prague.[44] Voltaire is less playful and teasing about past military exploits in these eulogies than in the verses written earlier, before his preferment at court. His tribute to those fallen in warfare praises patriotic, bodily self-sacrifice in combat while criticising the voluptuous, idle sybarites who, safe in the soft life of the city, are full of scorn for the brave efforts of heroic officers. The most savage critique is saved for the common soldier mercenary:

> From the borders of the Po to those of the Danube, one blesses on all sides, in the name of the same God, those flags under which thousands of mercenary murderers march; they have left their countries through the spirit of debauchery, of dissoluteness, of plunder; they go and they change masters; they expose themselves to an infamous sacrifice for a small amount of interest; the day of combat comes and often the soldier, who had formerly ranked himself beneath the colours of his Homeland, sheds without regret the blood of his own co-citizens; he waits with greed the moment when he will be able, on the field of carnage, to snatch from the dying some unfortunate spoils which had been taken from him by other hands.[45]

This extract is certainly harsh in its condemnation of the individual mercenary who participated in the pillage and plunder entailed in warfare. With no sense of patriotism, the common soldiers are considered to be the underside of the monuments to glory they had served to elevate.[46]

These strident observations about the lot and debased motives of the common soldier still belong to a eulogising discourse praising a personal, bodily, patriotic self-sacrifice when in battle. The behaviour of the young Brienne, for instance, is lauded as an appropriate example of military zeal; with one of his arms shattered he had returned to the throng saying he had a further arm for his King and his Homeland.[47] Such bodily self-sacrifice was to become a rhetorical trope at the time of the Revolution although it was the common, often anonymous, soldier rather than the privileged officer who was then made to take on this role.

The extended essay on *Gloire* in the major publishing initiative of the *Encyclopédie* appears in the same volume as the entry on *Guerre*.[48] The volume first appeared in 1757, just after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, a conflict which eventually resulted in the loss of many of France's overseas territories to Britain. Including a clear condemnation of the conflict then current, the definition of war here contrasts the destructions of warfare with the productive benefits of peace.[49] The long entry on *Gloire* by Jean-François Marmontel is prefaced by a shorter contribution from Voltaire who gives a standard dictionary definition of the word, linking it to esteem. The definition then goes on to note the glory of Caesar and Alexander in brilliantly overcoming great difficulties in contrast to Socrates who had attracted esteem, veneration, pity, indignation against his enemies, but whose memory was respectable rather than glorious.[50] The negative concept of vainglory is then addressed with reference to the rule of sovereigns who, according to this text, love the outward trappings and mere show, or appearances, of *gloire* too much.

The association of *gloire* with *éclat* or external glamour rather than with a more personal and tranquil feeling of esteem is pursued by Marmontel who contrasts slow, calm productive processes that do not surprise, such as the making of a province fertile in ten years, with rapid, noisy, prodigious conquests that can quickly ravage a province in a month and that are more generally, although falsely, considered to be glorious.[51] In supposing that the scourge of war is inevitable, this writer's contribution does not, however, exclude the possibility of *gloire* accruing to those who serve in the military. It is, indeed, considered to be due compensation for the soldier, who is at the mercy of others and whose conditions of existence are harsh.[52] The dangers, loss of liberty and loss of life incurred by those who do not command but have to obey, means that, on account of their courage, those who belong to the practise of arms even deserve to be the most honoured in respect of the meting out of glory. The article even notes that modern history, as distinct from ancient history, generally dealt with only one or two individuals—a king, a minister, a general—whereas there were many examples of a common soldier's self-sacrifice that had been relegated, through prejudice, to individual memoirs and that this prejudice now deserved to be broken by a philosopher historian.

Marmontel makes an extensive plea here to historians, orators and poets. They were to make known the evils of conquest and, thereby, end them.[53] They were not to be dazzled by the excesses and false glories of wars and conquest but, instead, they were to espouse the more constructive values

of honesty, justice and social utility and, thereby, make evident distinctions between the cult of love and the cult of fear.[54] The advice given for the dissemination of true *gloire* is forthright: men of letters, and even painters and musicians, are to go beyond the mere conveying of an individual's glory to posterity for they are to become the arbiters of *gloire* and as the arbiters of true *gloire*, the works that they produce are to espouse civilising virtue and condemn the barbarity and the vainglory of warmongering. In making the marvels of conquest obnoxious, this article conjectures the overcoming and ending of such evils. The dual nature of *gloire* in being of itself substance and as a mediating form is being pressed here into the service of those with a voice that had the potential to give critical exposure to the ways in which the affairs of state were being conducted.

In these accounts, *gloire* accrues to the individual whether he is already being celebrated or needed to be so celebrated. The issue of a mass sign-up in the interests of a French common cause was, however, not yet being articulated. It is Rousseau's plans for a social contract that point the way forward for later reassessments of *gloire* as having the potential to unify collectively in the defensive interests of all and to the good of all. Rousseau opposed the maintenance of a permanent, mercenary standing army but in his *Considérations sur le government de Pologne et sur sa réformation projettée* he proposes for that country a defensive citizen militia on the Swiss model.[55] In this particular State, men of peace were to contribute dutifully to the public good and every citizen was to be a soldier out of duty and not out of the need to ply a trade. In making an analogy as to how the Spartans had conducted themselves in the defence of their open borders, Rousseau even conceives of a form of guerrilla warfare in which the hearts of citizens were to be fortified.

The writer's influential *Du Contrat social ou principes du droit politique* has a section that condemns Christian spirituality for its belief in an afterlife, which allows Christians to be distracted from and to ignore worldly abuses of power.[56] When Christians had to fight in some foreign war, they did their duty, according to Rousseau, without any passion for victory, knowing rather how to die than to conquer because they believed that Providence had decided their fate. Here Rousseau sets up the people of Sparta and of Rome as the proud enemies of a Protestant inflected Christian combat:

> Oppose them to these generous peoples devoured by the ardent love of glory and of the Homeland, suppose your Christian republic to be opposite Sparta or Rome; the pious Christians will be beaten, overwhelmed,

> destroyed before having the time to find their way around or they will owe their safety only to the scorn that their enemy conceives for them. In my opinion the soldiers of Fabius made a fine oath; they did not swear to die or to conquer; they swore to return as conquerors and they kept their oath: Christians would never have done something like that; they would have believed they were tempting providence.[57]

Rousseau constantly sets up the past of Antiquity, particularly the pasts of Sparta and of Rome, as guides for a regeneration of manners, morality and behaviour in the present. His approach to the martial spirit of Antiquity exploits the concept of *gloire* for the incitement of peoples and of citizens to patriotic action in defence of nation. The making of an oath to fight and to return as victor can even be used to explain, in part, some of the implications of David's major history painting, *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9) that was painted in Rome in 1784 but that was also prominently displayed in the Paris Salon exhibition of 1785, once David had returned in artistic triumph to his native city. Yet the oath-making incorporated into this particular picturing acquires a sense of the general will only with the hindsight of the Revolution.[58]

From this brief survey about some of the connotations that accrued to the word *gloire* in early modern France, it is clear that a link to notions of what might constitute *La Patrie*, the Homeland, belongs to within a wider social remit that leads up to the Revolution. Like *gloire*, la *Patrie* was another shifting, politically unstable source of debate which, in the process, inspired much challenging commentary.

La Patrie and Patriotism

The word *patrie* derives from the Latin *patria* meaning the land of one's father and, by association, of one's birth.[59] Love of the *patrie*, patriotism, follows on but is not, however, attached to designations of locality or place. In a treatise linking theology and politics, Bishop Bossuet links the social welfare of a community of citizens to the positive moral qualities of patriotism by connecting it to goods, rest and security on the one hand, and to glory and things divine on the other.[60] In Louis de Jaucourt's article on *Patrie* in the *Encyclopédie* references to Christianity are omitted with, instead, allusions made to the civilisations of Rome, Athens and Sparta. These communities of Antiquity were held to owe their existence and their glory to the sacred fire of patriotism that was grounded in great principles and upheld by great *vertus* although, at its highest level of per-

fection, the *Patrie* served all the people of the world and all of humanity.[61] Following on from this article, Jaucourt then expanded the topic with definitions for *Patriote* and on *Patriotisme*. These give further support to recent scholarship which traces the rise of French patriotism in the years 1750 to 1770. According to Edmond Dziembowski this occurred in the context of the Seven Years' War against England partly as a result of a French public opinion that, increasingly, questioned the control of royal authority.[62] The relationship between the individual and the State being altered, a new concept of citizenship also emerged.

The abbé Gabriel François Coyer stirred up a polemic in 1756 with a work entitled *La noblesse commerçante*. This called for members of the French nobility to emulate the English. Members of the privileged caste were urged to engage in commerce as a way of being patriotic and serving the nation without the threat of *dérogeance*, the loss of caste status.[63] In his response to this appeal, the Chevalier d'Arcq reasserted that the true province of the Second Estate, that of the nobility, was the profession of arms in defence of and in support of the monarchy; honour and glory, and not wealth and commerce, were the principles to be worthy of note:

> Wealth, pleasures, friends, parents, you leave them all to run to glory; you are, indeed, men. Nation too proud of your maritime forces, of the spread of your commerce! Look at our nobility, impatient to go and punish your audacity, which is the effect of your jealousy. The fire that shines in its eyes is the signal that a people of heroes give to you. France! See your children gather on your coasts to fly to vengeance. They are your surest support. They will never fall short of your expectations.[64]

D'Arcq articulates in these rousing words the glory of the French nobility and he allies this nobility and its glory to the patriotic love of the French nation and a willingness to take up arms. Unfortunately, far from living up to such noble aspirations, the French were to lose out to the English in the war that was to have long-term negative consequences for France's prosperity and standing in the world.

Writing in the aftermath of the polemic stirred up by the abbé Coyer, the magistrate Philippe Basset de la Marelle noted differences between French and English patriotism by highlighting, once again, the commercial interests of the English as wholly opposed to the people of the French nation who willingly sacrificed themselves to defend the French State, upholding its honour for the public good and for the glory of its name.[65] The beginning of this pamphlet, written in response to Coyer like the tract by d'Arcq, finds that the roots of true patriotism are to be found in the

heroes of Antiquity, with the Horatii, the first Brutus, Horatius Cocles, Mutius Scoevola, the Fabius, Camilla, Regulus, Decius Curtius and Cato named as models.[66] By recalling these examples of ancient Roman heroes, Basset de la Marelle brings out the culture of *gloire* while also turning the potential of the abstract concept to practical effect.

The Culture of *Gloire*

The Great Life

Ideas about *gloire* as a motive for military sign-up were not confined to the speculations of philosophers or to the tragically flawed characters in plays and dramatic performances. Historians working in the biographical literary tradition frequently dwelt in considerable detail on the aspirations, ambitions and calling of the soldier, conqueror and hero. Histories of great and exceptional individuals, who achieved much but who had to overcome significant obstacles, figured prominently in understandings of the past with Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* being the most important source for this type of eighteenth-century French history writing.

The repertoire of great men in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* describes and, in some cases, compares the lives of a series of outstanding men, all of whom had actively contributed in some decisive way to a sequence of historical events. These histories provided the reader with animated biographical detail and offered insight into the moral predicaments that might underlie a person's conduct and behaviour. In the preface of 1721 to his popular translation of the *Vitae Parallelae*, the philologist, classical scholar and former librarian to Louis XIV, André Dacier praises the exemplary nature of Plutarch's work but also marks the Greek writer out for his ability to humanise: 'Likewise everything is alive in Plutarch; these are not histories that one reads, these are the same great men that one sees and who talk.'[67]

Many versions of Plutarch provided writers with opportunities for the writing of cheap, popular biographies which could contain pronouncements about what might, and what might not, constitute virtue. In such enquiries, present-day corruption, debasement and self-interestedness were also frequently criticised. The abbé Castel de Saint Pierre, a proponent of peace and a writer whose radical views were to influence Rousseau, makes much of the differences between a powerful and a great man. For Saint Pierre, power comes often from birth, or it was due to providential

external circumstances, whereas the only ways to become a great man is by the interior qualities of heart and mind and on account of the great benefits that one procured for society.[68] In comparing the Theban general Epaminondas with Alexander, this writer notes that the conquests of Alexander were better known than those of Epaminondas, but that for his virtue and good works praise is due to Epaminondas as a great man, whereas Alexander is to be condemned to a mere illustrious status for having acted purely out of selfish ambition: 'So Epaminondas is a great man and Alexander is only a conqueror, a warrior, a famous captain, a king with a great reputation amongst kings. In one word he is no more than an illustrious man and he is more illustrious because of his success than because of his benefits for his Homeland.'[69]

In Honoré Lacombe de Prezel's *Dictionnaire des portraits historiques, anecdotes et traits remarquables des hommes illustres* of 1773, the ambition of Alexander is castigated to an even greater extent; it led him to vice, not virtue, to him not even being a hero and never knowing either true happiness or true *gloire*.[70] In what might seem today an anachronism, the three volumes of this work include the lives of men and women who had died recently interspersed with the historic figures of Antiquity. The principle guiding the selection is now that of perceived talent and not one of high birth nor one of great wealth so that, in alphabetical order, Seneca rubs shoulders with the Marquise de Sévigné and with Socrates.[71] The approach stresses internal character, mental traits and flashes of wit for the compiler considers that it is more important to study Alexander in the tent of Darius than on the battlefield.[72] The showing of Alexander's magnanimity towards the mother of Darius, who mistakes the general Hephaestion as the conqueror, had been treated in a celebrated work of history painting by Charles Le Brun (1619–90, Paris, Louvre). A sketch by David of 1779 (Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts) also shows Alexander by the tent of Darius but the scene David has chosen to depict is a different one to that of the work of Le Brun. Instead of a display of the conqueror/hero's magnanimity David's scene is of the death in childbirth of the wife of Darius. The change of narrative episode allows then for the composition to incorporate a range of grief-laden emotions in keeping with the affective predilections of late eighteenth-century *sensibilité*.[73]

Earlier in the eighteenth century, the historian Charles Rollin had recommended the writers of Antiquity for the living portraits of great men they offered. Men of his day were to enter into a discussion with dead heroes so that more abstract qualities of disinterestedness, hate of injus-

tice and love of the commonweal could be absorbed.[74] This emphasis on public service did not prevent value being placed on the private aspects of the lives of Plutarch's great men for, according to Rollin, great men should be studied in intimate circumstances without the mask required by public office.[75] Plutarch had shown the hearts of men as fathers, husbands and friends in domestic interiors and thereby revealed their true natures and characters for the readers to converse with and to judge. Rollin does not reject the glory that accrues to the great man as a public figure but he considers that the external trappings of greatness are of lesser value for the reader to know than the more intimate and potentially truer understanding of how such men thought, felt and behaved at home. As in the works of Montaigne, there is a turning away from outward show and a turning towards more interior, personal qualities of conscience. The greatness of public figures is to be gleaned from insight about a person's inner morality and the intimate details of daily life.

In *Emile*, Rousseau praises Plutarch in much the same way by citing Montaigne's praise of Plutarch for writing about what happened from within as well as about what happened on the outside.[76] According to this passage, man's true nature is not revealed by great actions but in small, little things:

> Plutarch excels with these same details into which we no longer dare to enter. He has an inimitable grace in painting great men in the little things; and he is so fortunate in the choice of his features that often a word, a smile, a gesture is sufficient to characterise his hero…Alexander swallows medicine and does not say a word; it is the most beautiful moment of his life; Aristides writes his own name on a shell, and so justified his surname; Philopoemen, with humble coat, cuts wood in the kitchen of his host. Here is the true art of painting. Physiognomy is not shown in the great actions; it is in the small things that the natural reveals itself. Public things are either too shared or too affected and it is almost uniquely on those things that modern dignity allows our authors to dwell.[77]

Rousseau recommends the study of the great individual not in terms of a noted participation in the public realm but in terms of the small details that reveal the sentimental feelings of more private, confessional moments.

The emphasis on the domestic affairs of the home and on emotion expressed in private rather than in the performance of public office would also come to entail a more explicitly gendered notion of *gloire*. Women had certainly been celebrated as illustrious or famous on account of extraordi-

nary actions and/or achievements but these achievements had not arisen because of the duties involved in public office, from which women were excluded. There were, for instance, no formal procedures for the recruitment of women soldiers, even though some women served as soldiers in the army, as will be discussed in Chap. 5. The great man was, in theory, to be studied in the home and away from the carrying out of his public duties but for the famous woman, no such division in the carrying out of her duties could be activated. The problematic moral quandaries underlying the carrying out of public office and the attainment of *gloire* in the public realm, whether the individual was studied in the home or in public, all belonged to the great man. *La grande femme* designated a large woman, not a great one.

With the reform of the prize for eloquence within the French Academy in 1758, the revival of the secular eulogy provided another forum for discussions about the nature of glory.[78] The prize of 1775 was won by Jean de La Harpe on the set subject of the French military commander Marshal Nicolas Catinat who had fought in the major conflicts of the reign of Louis XIV. Entries to the competition had to be submitted for approval by the Sorbonne and this may be why the eulogy on Catinat by the serving officer Guibert was published anonymously, supposedly in Edinburgh.[79] His account of the life of Catinat resonates with the spirit of the Enlightenment and with the type of criticism that had accrued to the subject of military glory.

The opening of Guibert's eulogy pits Catinat against Alexander for it notes that whereas warriors still celebrate Alexander for his great crimes, the French Assembly, an assembly composed of citizens of all the Orders in society and representing the nation's men of letters, has chosen to praise a great captain who united the virtues of a man with the talents of a warrior.[80] The eulogy describes how lessons of conduct and moderation are to be found in the life of Catinat for he was wise and benevolent to all men in spite of corrupting influences, *gloire*, envy and disgrace. Guibert traces this life from its relatively unprivileged, although not impoverished origins, to an overcoming of hardship in fights against court intrigue. Trained as a lawyer and having a cool head, Catinat is considered to have attended to detail and meditated on history. Caring little for his own glory and treating his inferiors as his equals, he is also held up as being close to all his men and even agrees to play skittles with them.[81] Guibert contrasts the simplicity and naturalness of Catinat with the hero who never descends from his pedestal. Catinat retires to the country to cultivate his estates away from

the intrigues of the court in times of peace but, like his Roman predecessor Cincinnatus, when the country was at war and needed his services and talents, he returns to public life to command the troops in battle on behalf of the nation.[82] When he is injured, his soldiers enquire into his welfare as if he is their father and when he cultivates the gentle, peaceful domain of Saint-Gratien, an apparent model of good Physiocratic practice, he also tends to the happiness of those who live there.[83]

The form of the eulogy serves to praise celebrated individuals but this particular eulogy turns positive Enlightenment principles of teaching, learning, beneficence, fairness, concern for the welfare of the public good and happiness, love, feeling, justice and patriotism into a critique of present circumstances.[84] Given that the functions and conventions of the eulogy required that its rhetoric be laudable, the exhortation to those in authority to educate and serve in the light of the principles attributed to the military man Catinat is remarkable. In a final flourish Guibert makes his lament about the state of the nation explicit and pointed:

> It is above all his devotion to the public good, his indifference to fortune, his disinterestedness. With just one generation imbued with these principles, all our wrongs would be put right. The State is overwhelmed by debt, the people groan beneath the weight of taxes. Ah! As unhappy as we are, all our wrongs are our own work; we besiege the throne; we foment abuse; we are the accomplices of it. Be disinterested, have Catinat's noble thrift: O you first, brothers of our young monarch, you that duty makes his first subjects and nature his first friends, then you princes of his blood, the great of the kingdom, the principal men of all the Estates, who surround the throne and live off its favours; think that you are made up of at most four or five thousand individuals and that you devour the substance of several million men.[85]

This appraisal demonstrates something of the contestable nature that accrued, during the eighteenth century, to debates about what constitutes true glory. With the coming of the French Revolution, the manipulation of public opinion and an awareness of its power acquired some potency within the culture of the day. It is, however, hard to prove how politically effective this type of exposure was in prompting the actions that overthrew those in power. And, as will be discussed in the next chapters, even the extent to which the visual imagery of the period may have fostered similarly forthright attacks on the ruling authorities remains unclear.

The Fine Arts in the Service of French *Gloire:* Military and Otherwise

Illustrious men have been celebrated in literature, oratory, eulogy, biography and history since Antiquity. It was, however, only in the Renaissance that a visual tradition arose in which portraiture, narrative account and graphic description work alongside emblem and allegory and in medals, prints, paintings, frescoes, portraits and sculpture, to signify an individual's glory. During the reign of Henri IV, a patriotic cult of great men emerged in the visual arts in France.[86] Antoine de Laval, a friend of Montaigne, advised that a gallery in the Louvre be decorated with historical paintings, with the portraits of French kings and with, next to them, the portraits of the great princes or French captains who had served the sovereign by some great and glorious achievement and whose honour and virtue would be exemplary to others.[87] Later in that century, portrait galleries of *hommes illustres* were created at the chateau of Beauregard, Richelieu's Palais Cardinal, the chateau d'Eu and the chateau de Bourgogne.[88] Engravings after the paintings of Richelieu's gallery were published in 1650.[89] Unlike collections in Italy, these series were entirely of court, political and military figures and, apart from the portrait of Rabelais at Beauregard, writers, philosophers and artists were excluded.

Charles Perrault's *Les Hommes illustres* created a series of biographical sketches with accompanying engraved portraits and in the second volume, the author justifies his inclusion of artisans with princes.[90] The first volume had included the lives of three military leaders, the architect, François Mansart (1598–1666), the painters Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), Charles Le Brun and Eustache Le Sueur (1617–55), the engravers Jacques Callot and Robert Nanteuil (1623 or 1630–78) and the goldsmith, Claude Ballin (1615–78). The mix changed somewhat in the second volume which contains fewer writers but the lives of at least eleven military men, including six Marshals of France, as well as the painters Simon Vouet (1590–1649), Pierre Mignard (1612–95), Jacques Blanchard (1600–38), the sculptor Jacques Sarrazin (1592–1660) and the engravers Claude Mellan (1598–1688) and François Chauveau (1613–1676). Perrault's justification maintains that artisans are still being appropriately classified separately from princes and cardinals although those with the status of artisan contributed, in their manner, no less to the glory of the century in which they lived than the great men of state and great captains: 'It is certain that the names of Phidias and Apelles, placed after that of Alexander himself shame

neither Alexander nor his century; on the contrary one finds that they add a new brilliance to it by the combination of the different precious gifts that Heaven has shed on all sorts of men at the same time.'[91]

The sculptural grouping for a French Parnassus was another project that aimed to celebrate the greatest writers, poets and musicians of the reign of Louis XIV. This proposal preoccupied a former captain of dragoons and provincial commissioner of war, Évrard Titon du Tillet (1677–1762), for the last four decades of his life.[92] Titon had initially envisaged two groupings, a French Parnassus in celebration of the contemplative life, and a Temple of Victory, in celebration of the active life. The two groupings were intended for display at Versailles at either end of the Galerie des Glaces in, respectively, the Salon de la Paix and the Salon de la Guerre.[93] The choice of whom to include in the proposed Temple of Victory was to be assigned to a tribune of Marshals. These groups were never fully realised, but the notion that monuments to past French achievements were to inspire greatness in the present was very much a part of this initiative. The commemoration and celebration of military heroism, nuanced and heavily mediated as it was, certainly did not cease in the decades preceding the Revolution. We are, indeed, only now beginning to address more fruitfully the social and cultural conjoining of the civilian with the military at the time of the Enlightenment.

Even the mid-century call by La Font de Saint Yenne for a return to the ennobling art of history painting can be situated within the critical opinion of an expanding public sphere in which civilian and military matters were fused, rather than being subjected to separately sanctioned, professionalised authorities. This critic, who was neither a practising artist nor a soldier, had been a member of the Queen's retinue at Versailles before living in Paris as a single man of some independent means and notoriety. His reviews of the Salon exhibitions are those of an *amateur* or art lover.[94]

In his *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure, Ecrits à un particulier en province*, published anonymously in 1754, La Font de Saint Yenne celebrates history painting for its potential to affect and move the spectator profoundly. Keen to promote the nation's glory, the writer favours the showing of what is to be construed as military virtue by suggesting suitable subjects for history paintings. He is clearly concerned here with how the arts are to function in society and with what constitutes true glory. Considering that the painting of allegory obscures meaning and that the painting of fable has resulted only in ridiculous and indecent fantasies, the critic advocates the painting of new, accessible

subjects culled from both ancient and modern history. These subjects are to depict virtuous actions that would move the soul of the spectator via the sense of sight and inspire, thereby, emulation.[95] The approach is not just an aesthetic one for it is imbued with a morality to do with appropriate modes of conduct for the spectator as for the painter. The Salon review explicitly recommends the great actions of the Greek general Philopoemen as being appropriate for emulation by noble young Frenchmen, destined for the military:

> What examples would our young nobility destined to take up arms find in the great actions of Philopoemen who is regarded as the last of the illustrious Greeks. Amongst so many military expeditions, he was almost always followed by victory: his constant triumphs were due to the incredible labours he undertook to instruct himself deeply in his profession. He spared neither fatigue nor travels to the most far-away lands so as to confer with the most knowledgeable generals, the oldest warriors. Aside from military qualities, he possessed much more highly respected virtues, the most exacting equity, an enlightened and always beneficent generosity. His gains over the enemy were only ever used for the ransom of his citizen prisoners; the hardest life, a constant loathing for luxury and debauchery, the happy fruit of a male and vigorous education, without which there are no great men. His name will always be venerated by historians.[96]

According to La Font de Saint Yenne, Philopoemen is a model to emulate because of the ways in which he had achieved his military victories. In imbuing this hero with the ability to seek out and learn from wise counsel, of being fair, generous, austere and full of *vertus* and of loathing luxury and debauchery, the writer attributes to this historical figure, the moral values of his own century. He is also, to a certain extent, undermining from within the conventional qualities of bravery, heroism and courage that, in the past, had been attributed to the military vocation.

The critic gives many examples of Roman honour, nobility and virtue which he considers would be suitable for incorporation into a history painting. These examples include that of Brutus who, in the interests of the liberty of his Homeland, was prepared to sacrifice his sons for having supported the tyranny of kings, that of Veturia who dissuaded Coriolanus from laying siege to his city of Rome and that of the defeated general Regulus who preferred to sacrifice himself rather than break the oath he had made in promising to return to the Carthaginian enemy where he faced certain death.[97] Some brief French examples are also given, such as

that of Charlemagne, Saint Louis, Bayard and Joan of Arc, although she is not named explicitly:

> A Charlemagne, the honour of the French, the glory and the welfare of the Empire. A saint Louis dispensing justice beneath an oak tree to his subjects. The English, the terror of France, chased away under Charles VII by the incredible courage of a single girl. François I always brave, victor, vanquished or prisoner, armed as knight by the illustrious Bayard; what feats of bravery and of justice to expose in the latter, his glorious death and his last words to the Prince de Bourbon![98]

Many of these subjects, taken from both Ancient and more recent French history, were already well known and they came to feature in many of the history paintings of the ensuing period.[99] David's history painting of *Les Licteurs rapportent à Brutus les corps de ses fils* (Paris, Louvre) prompted much critical commentary when it was first exhibited at the Salon of 1789, but there were other examples such as *Régulus retournant à Carthage* (Carcassonne, Musée des Beaux-arts) by Bernard Lépicié, exhibited at the Salon of 1779 and *La Mort de Bayard* (Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-arts) by Jacques-Antoine Beaufort (1721–1784), exhibited at the Salon of 1781.[100] Lépicié also depicted Saint Louis dispensing justice beneath an oak tree as part of a cycle on the life of Saint Louis for the chapel of the Ecole militaire.[101] Such subjects involve the nuanced implications of glory and present to public view scenes that were not merely triumphalist in scope. In speaking to the soul as well as to the eye, the painted depictions are not set on the battlefield, nor do they display the blood, gore and heat of combat. They attend rather to what has given rise to combat and to what are the problematic moral as well as practical consequences of combat. Some of them may even be considered to mark out how armed combat is to be avoided.

Voltaire noted in one of his *Lettres Philosophiques* that posthumous honours had been accorded to such as Sophocles and Plato by the Athenians and to Newton by the English. For Voltaire, the statues, not royal tombs, in Westminster Abbey, are glorious monuments which excite the soul and have the potential to mould further great men.[102] A contributor to the *Mercure de France* of January 1765 followed up on this idea by calling for a Christian Elysium, a pantheon of recognition in the capital city which would honour the remains of thinkers, poets, orators and famous artists.[103] The architectural theorist, the abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier, then

recommended the erection of durable monuments to commemorate, immortalise and transmit to posterity the authors of the nation's happiness and glory. This commentator's *Observations sur l'architecture* calls for triumphal arches with sculpted bas reliefs, trophies and inscriptions, fountains, statues and portraits to serve as reward, encouragement and example for great souls of the past, present and future.[104]

Soon after the accession to the throne of Louis XVI in 1774, such calls for the celebration and commemoration of great French men in durable monuments bore fruit for the Director General of Buildings and former soldier, the comte d'Angiviller began to commission a series of statues of great French men. Not all the chosen figures selected to be commemorated in stone had achieved renown on account of what they had achieved in philosophy and in the arts for eight out of the 28 completed statues were of figures who had had military careers. The series of statues has been studied in the light of the revival of the academic eulogy, the politics of the *Parlements* and the ways in which a significant moment, deriving from the principles of composing a painting of history, has been incorporated into the sculptural monument.[105] The cult of the great man encompassed the worthy warrior type as is evident from the completed statues of the maréchal de Tourville (Versailles, Château), the maréchal de Catinat (Versailles, Château) and the Grand Condé (Versailles, Château) of this series. The envisaging of this warrior type brings to the fore the bravery, courage, wisdom and virtue of these military leaders in preference to how the all-conquering hero had, in the past, been celebrated as in, for instance, the equestrian statue of Louis XIV by Martin Desjardins (1637–94) in the Place des Victoires that was inaugurated in 1686. This monument was to be destroyed during the Revolution but it had incorporated beneath the rearing steed of the victorious monarch, four personifications of subjugated nations. It is only these stooped, subsidiary figures that are preserved in the Louvre today.

The preference for a philosopher warrior type in the fine arts of the later eighteenth century indicates that attitudes towards fighting and going off to war had come to be imbued with a non-aggressive, pacific spirit. The fact that France had suffered a series of humiliating defeats during the Seven Years' War can also help to account for changing attitudes towards warfare. The turning away from bloodlust in this period belongs to a more reasonable and utilitarian approach to how society should function and how power within society should operate. Far from being of marginal interest, concerns about the military and about aspects of military

recruitment remained, however, in the forefront of much philosophical thought and cultural debate. Given the abject military setbacks incurred by the French nation during the Seven Years' War, it is also not surprising that debates about the reform of the army should flourish in the aftermath of this global conflict.

Gloire and Military Motivation

Many ex-military men and serving officers initially put forward proposals as to how the state of the army was to be improved. These proposals tend to start out by giving a harsh critique of present military structures and by lamenting the poor moral fibre of the serving soldier. The analyses of what to do next still rely on past concepts of *gloire*, although some of the expressions of loyalty have much more potentially radical implications. In presenting idealised models, the proposals also contain large measures of wishful thinking rather than the concrete recommendations of what specific measures are to be taken so as to transform actual behaviour.[106]

In a work of 1770 entitled *Le bon Militaire*, Louis de Boussanelle, a brigadier and member of the Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts of Béziers, treats the serving soldier's love of duty towards the monarch and the Homeland as an aspect of citizenship.[107] He gives the example of an officer who, after his son had fallen beside him, fought on bravely until the battle was over. To the personal sympathies expressed by the King, the officer had apparently responded that one was a citizen before becoming a father. The treatise sets up ambition in opposition to emulation. Ambition is stated to be a detestable vice, entailing an immoderate passion for glory, greatness and wealth, the most inhuman and dangerous of passions, causing crimes and always the greatest of misfortunes; it does more evil and causes the shedding of more blood than ignorance. Emulation is, on the other hand, considered here to be honest, noble, and praiseworthy. Leading to honour by the path of virtue, it is held to be inaccessible to low jealousies, to function only for the public good, justice and true glory.[108] The essay suggests that to fight against free access by all to virtue and merit is unreasonable and that the only barrier to emulation is access to the throne; otherwise all are to aspire equally to everything.[109] To support this point, De Boussanelle contrasts the dashing exploits of a famous musketeer during the siege of Valenciennes with the true heroism of an obscure, anonymous soldier who sacrifices himself so as to save the main battery.[110]

A more celebrated treatise on the reform of the military by Joseph Servan, entitled *Le Soldat citoyen ou Vues patriotiques sur la manière la plus avantageuse de pourvoir à la défense du royaume*, embraces the concept of the citizen soldier somewhat in the spirit of Rousseau. Servan served as an officer in the engineering corps and had contributed articles on the military to the *Encyclopédie*. He was to become Minister of War for a brief period in 1792. Imprisoned by Robespierre and released after the downfall of Robespierre in the coup d'état of 9 thermidor an II (27 July 1794), he ended up at the head of the Légion d'Honneur.[111] In his contribution on the soldier citizen, which he admitted he had worked on since 1760 but which was only published in 1780, he proposes that the act of enrolment should be a form of social contract so that those who joined up did so, not out of mercenary reasons, but out of a spirit of patriotic citizenship.[112]

The opening salvoes of the preliminary observations sum up many of the principal themes of Servan's work as a whole. The soldier is to make a type of social contract, but it is not one that is to be grounded in the general will for it is to be with the sovereign, who is still being envisaged as the embodied representative of the nation as a whole. In cases of wrongdoing the contravention would, for instance, still be judged by the first officer in situ with the lieutenant colonel representing the King and a major speaking on behalf of the common soldier.[113] This writer's concept of the citizen soldier also does not embrace the all-encompassing notion of conscription: not all citizens were to be soldiers even though all soldiers were to be citizens.

Servan maintains that a soldier is formed by national character, by education and by government. He pits the national character of the French against that of the Romans and, to a lesser extent, that of the Greeks. According to his treatise, the Greeks fought out of a republican mindset and love of liberty and glory, while the Spartans were trained at an early age in duty, hardship and obedience. Even their games were exercises in courage and virtue. The Spartans made war only out of self-defence and they did not pursue the vanquished nor did they plunder for booty.[114] Servan considers the character of the Roman people to have been, on the other hand, ambitious and warlike; Rome had as many soldiers as she had citizens; without the arts and commerce, wealth resided only in pillage from which all citizens benefited.[115] The French, descendants of the Gauls, are held to be impetuous, vivacious, quick to go to war, but they are also considered to be civilised and, for their neighbours, models of politeness. Their feudal, chivalric heritage contains examples of truly

heroic actions but without the sound principles of warfare as developed by the Romans.[116]

The work contains instructive comparisons between Roman and French methods of recruitment with the emphasis here being more on pragmatic and practical considerations of how to improve on what was presently wrong with the state of the army, than on what might constitute *gloire* as a high-minded motivating principle for a call to arms according to the idealising, abstract and rather remote presumptions of the *philosophes*. Servan is keen to reduce the size of the army and in so doing to make it a much fitter, more professional outfit with better-trained soldiers enjoying improved conditions; these soldiers would also be of more use in securing the happiness and prosperity of the whole Kingdom.

To this end, Servan castigates the high costs of recruiting tall people in France which might partly be attributed to the particular type of glory that was attached to having tall servants in towns whereas, on the other hand, the Romans had sought out those with the appropriately proud physiognomies: 'A proud physiognomy, the eye lively, the head raised, the chest and shoulders broad, the hand strong, the arms long, the stomach small, the stature jaunty, the leg and the foot less fleshy than nervous; these indications were in Rome, and should be amongst us, the bodily signs that announce virtues in the soul and warrior qualities in the body.'[117] Romans were proud, had high self-esteem and the necessary virtues of bravery and courage, joined with love of family and love of Homeland. Town life in France is held to make its citizens soft and effeminate. Servan continues in this vein with the observation that when recruited, often to pay off debts or to escape from some indiscretion, the French libertine is mutinous, argumentative, difficult to discipline and a bad example to his comrades. It is the hard-working peasant labourers of the countryside who should be recruited instead but the inhabitants of the countryside, vexed by misery, taxes and the militia, have been attracted to the towns out of need and become, thereby, degenerate, vile and corrupt, occupied as they are in the corrupting practices of commerce, the arts and luxury.[118]

There is much more here on the iniquitous processes of recruitment which are considered to persist in being abusive and this in spite of reforms instituted in 1763. Servan reports that new soldiers generally go untrained and become unfit and discontented. Punitive discipline from the officers inspires fear, denunciation and servitude.[119] The recruiting officers come in for some special criticism and are even considered to be enemies of public security, cheating the State, troubling family tranquillity, corrupting

the morals of the young and putting a price on liberty by forcing loss of liberty through fraud and seduction. The section on recruitment ends with a vision of how the process should be done by evoking a kind of civic arrangement that, to a certain extent, heralds the municipal mass call-ups introduced during the Revolution.[120]

All in all, the profession of soldiering is, for Servan, to become a more honourable one. He recommends that the military mind-set should depend not on money but on a sense of duty, a desire for reputation and a love of glory as it is degrading for a brave and courageous citizen to put a price on his bravery, his actions and his merit.[121] Even when discussing what recompense the soldier of honour should be awarded, Servan's system of rewards makes practical reference to the precedents set in Antiquity. The old and infirm are to be entitled to money but those still in a position to bear arms are to be given the distinction of titles. These are to be distributed sparingly, only when necessary and so as to be publically useful and inspire emulation. It is the solid, material forms of glory that provide this writer with Greek and Roman examples of how to celebrate the achievements of distinguished actions and, thereby, inspire others on to emulation and similar triumphs. These material forms include statues, monuments, paintings, inscriptions, crowns of oak and laurel, but also the ritualistic performances of triumphs, public funerals and acclamations:

> See the statues, read the inscriptions, recall the high achievements of the first Greeks and Romans. Here a crown of olive leaves made a whole nation dedicate itself to hard and dangerous combat. There a crown of oak leaves, further on a civic crown, palm leaves, triumphs, acclamations, public funerals, occasioned immortal actions that we still have difficulty in conceiving; and buildings, paintings, the surroundings of towns, covered in monuments to the honour of citizens who have died weapons in hand, in fighting for the Homeland, would make eternal the memory of these great actions.[122]

Once again there is an implicit acknowledgement here that *gloire* exists as a concept and that, through manifesting itself in the arts, the mediating processes of *gloire* belong also to the formation of *gloire*.

According to Servan, the prince, when awarding such honours, is not to be guided in the selection of whom to honour by plot and intrigue but by public opinion, once already distinguished officers and soldiers have marked out from amongst themselves those who deserve such distinctions. This is not Montesquieu's noble economy of merit where virtue

is its own reward, for it is now being admitted that, in the awarding of military honours, *gloire* can arise out of a potentially reasoned judgement and be hitched to the service of a universalising, generalising public good. The sole guarantors of merit are no longer to reside just within the remit of those privileged by birth and by protection. For Servan, the military is to be distinguished in proportion to its utility, breadth of knowledge and merit; making one's fortune would no longer signify the amassing of material wealth but would, instead, consist of the acquisition of a reputation.[123] Alongside the implicit critique of *Ancien Régime* privilege, grounded as it was in birth and favour rather than in talent and true merit, something of the martial rhetoric of the Revolution is already being articulated here. For this serving soldier, the acknowledgement of *gloire* is to provide motive for those individuals who signed up to the profession of arms and a subsequent potential self-sacrifice on behalf of the Homeland. There is, however, nothing concealed about this motive. The rewards that the attaining of *gloire* promises are, rather, to be avowedly acknowledged through a variety of material manifestations and expressions. *Gloire* was not, as yet, being harnessed by those in authority to mask unpalatable facts in the controlling of the nation's supposed greatness.

Servan's book appears to anticipate some of the oratory dealing with French nationhood, citizenship and the glory entailed in the taking up of arms in the service of defence of Homeland, which comes to the fore during the Revolution. Yet there are also marked differences between what this writer has to say about the citizen soldier and the more strident calls to arms of the revolutionary period. A report on the honours to be awarded to the military, presented to the National Assembly in January 1792 before France's declaration of war on the King of Bohemia and Austria by the deputy for the department of Seine et Marne, Vincent-Marie Viénot, is forged from within the new policy-making institutions of the French government of the day.[124] It belongs to the country's fresh legislative processes so its remit, appeal and open address are to a constituency that diverges radically from a serving soldier's speculations aimed at a curious, but not necessarily politically committed, readership.

The report by Viénot begins with the assertions that a corrupted people have passed from a state of slavery to one of liberty and that legislators have now to make rapid concomitant changes to customs, habits, rewards and education in the forging of a new French people. Throughout, the principle of equality in the awarding of honours is stressed and self-interest

and prejudicial privilege condemned such as in, for instance, the awarding of ribbons by kings. Those honoured in this way are held to have been made into a separate caste, whether they were men of merit or the favourite, whether they were in the service of the prince, or in the service of the nation.[125] Now, statues of great men were to replace those of kings. In national festivals, a father was to point out to his son those wearing crowns of laurel wreaths for having performed acts of valour in having been the first to breach a siege or in having defended an important post. A general, with sword donated by the Homeland and with civic crown for having spared unnecessary bloodshed, was to be distinguished from another sword-bearing general whose victory caused much bloodshed and who was, thus, not awarded a sword or civic crown by the Homeland. Returning to the precedents set in Antiquity, the text notes that the practice of Roman triumphs ceased under the Emperors for the glory of a general and of an army would have damaged absolutist authority. Fighting for one's master replaced fighting for one's Homeland as value was placed again on favour and not, as it should have been, on glory. The classicising rhetoric proclaims that a free France should, therefore, adopt only those institutions that Rome lost with its liberty. Male and republican virtues secured true liberty as opposed to the licence and degeneracy of the enslaved.[126]

By linking *gloire* to patriotism, to military duty and to the laws of the land, the report foretells much of the official rhetoric of the coming months that would laud a patriotic self-sacrifice for the good of the French nation:

> Let one imagine, if it is possible, the effect that such a spectacle would produce on the soul of the young Frenchman. How love of Homeland, passion for glory would develop in them—two sentiments that in a free country contain all the virtues! For you cannot love the Homeland without cherishing the laws it has made, without being ready to perish for it, without being human, generous, magnanimous towards your co-citizens. You cannot love true glory without fearing to tarnish it by low and servile actions and as soon as you have the sublime sentiment of liberty, you are the worthy and virtuous citizen of a free country.[127]

The glory of an individual and of the individual feat of heroism is now being made to fit within principles of liberty and equality as well as within the greater glory of the French nation. Given the exigencies of a new beginning and a radical break with the past, the perpetuation of a military glory comes,

quite suddenly, to take on a new urgency. Models of military prowess were to be celebrated publically and serve as models of patriotism and of *gloire* so as to encourage the further emulation of such models. The comments were not, however, merely about stirring up a bloodlust for they conjoined the modern political enfranchisement of a free country to the willing laying down of life in order to preserve the new nation's principles of freedom and equality. The visionary perspective here accords well with the seminal analysis of nation-ness in modern times made by Benedict Anderson that identified, within the processes of modern nationhood, the making of a fraternity, of a deep, horizontal comradeship which 'makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings'.[128]

Article 15 of Viénot's projected decree proposes that a painting representing the triumph awarded to returning victorious warriors should be commissioned and publically funded and that a triumphal arch, inscribed with the names of all the regiments who had participated in the triumph, should be erected in a designated place.[129] No such durable monuments or art works were, however, made during the Revolution at least until the reins of government had been taken over by an army general. In the chapter that follows, I show that in their incitements to glory, the modern political rhetoric of the French nation and the artistic endeavours of the revolutionary period were not at all analogous.

The flamboyantly labelled frontispiece (Fig. 3.2) to a collection of heroic and civic actions makes use of the concept of *gloire* from the newly established *Patrie* of the first French Republic. The series purports to proclaim, in words and accompanying visual images, the glorious deeds that had been performed by the soldiers and French citizens of the new Republic.[130] In fusing figures from the classical past with those from the present, the allegorical design of the frontispiece, dating to 1796, conforms to some of the established conventions of the printed book. More unusual is the fact that the visual design is, itself, given a long verbal explanation so that the picturing here expresses something in excess of the conventional frontispiece, establishing in the process not just the scope but also the glory of the whole publishing enterprise. This design and its written explanation also belong to a different regime of representation than that of the iconological compendium put together by Gravelot and Cochin whose figure of *gloire* was discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

The written description of this frontispiece explains that the god of war (here in the guise of a Mars clad as a Roman soldier) is protecting

Fig. 3.2 L.F. Labrousse, *Frontispice*, coloured etching and tool work, 20 cm × 14 cm, from Jacques Grasset Saint-Sauveur, *Les Fastes du peuple français*, Paris, Deroy, 1796, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv: RESERVE QB-370 (52)-FT4. Photo: BnF

the genius of France who is crowning with laurel wreaths a succession of brave and modest modern French soldiers. The children of the foreground, one with a crown of myrtle, one with a garland of vine branches, one with the palm of immortality, symbolise the sweetest pleasures that follow victory and effort. Above, fame flies, blowing her trumpet from

which there hangs the new tricolour banner of the French nation. The title of the collection inscribed on the banner, *Les Fastes du peuple français*, is suitably classicising in that the Roman *Fasti* or annals recorded and celebrated events of distinction by some general or patrician while also, in this updated version, modernising the tradition to encompass French people without obvious rank. The explanation ends with words imputed to the hovering figure of fame as she announces to the universe at large and to posterity the success of the French Republic and the heroic actions of its ardent defenders:

> Choose! France offers its allies the example of its *vertus* and the benefits of its industry; it keeps for its enemies, shame and repentance: its children are not possessed of the mania of conquests; but misfortune to those who wish to meddle with its government so as to shackle it. They leave their neighbours to be the masters in their houses; they want to be left similarly peaceful in their foyers. Peace and friendship to the friends of France! War and death to those jealous of her laws, envious of her glory, and to the disrupters of her peace![131]

The revolutionary and republican collection of significant and primarily heroic military actions was aimed at a much wider public than Cochin and Gravelot's handbook for artists and *amateurs*. It also assigned *gloire* to the establishment and longer term survival of the first French Republic and to anonymous, but courageous, French soldiers fighting together to secure peace in the defence of the French nation in all its virtue and prosperity. The expression of these patriotic sentiments is forthright, yet it is still distant from the rhetorical strategies of Napoleonic warfare, as it is from the propaganda of more recent nation building.

Notes

1. C-E. Gaucher (n.d.) *Iconologie par figures ou traité complet des allegories, emblèmes, etc.*, II (Paris: Lattré), p. 69. See further R. Portalis and H. Draibel (1879) *Charles-Etienne Gaucher* (Paris: Damascène, Margand et C. Fatout), pp. 21–3.
2. Gaucher, *Iconologie*, I, p. xv.
3. P-A. Rascas de Bagarris (1611) *De la Necessité de l'usage des medailles dans les monoyes*, (Paris), p. 21, cited in T. Kirchner (2008) *Le héros épique* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'homme), p. 2: 'Ce qui donne la Gloire et la Memoire aux Princes, ne sont que deux Sortes de choses. Dont

l'une sont des Actions, sur tout heroiques, lesquelles produisent le Sujet de la Gloire et de la Mémoire [...], mais pour quelque temps seulement: L'autre Sorte de choses qui donne la Gloire et la Mémoire, sont celles qui les Etablissent, ou leur donnent leur Dernier Estre Parfaict, en les Perpetuant apres le Siecle, à la Posterite: lesquelles choses Dernieres il est impossible d'imaginer pouvoir estre autres que les Muses, c'est-à-dire les Sciences, et les Arts, par leurs effects.' For Rascas de Bagarris, see further F. Bardon (1974) *Le Portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris: Picard), pp. 192–5.

4. H. T. Parker (1937) *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: a Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); C. Grell (1995) *Le Dix-Huitième Siècle et l'antiquité en France 1680–1789* (Oxford: SVEC).
5. Grell, *Le Dix-Huitième Siècle et l'antiquité en France*, pp. 297–301.
6. M. de Montaigne (1962) '*De la gloire*' in *Œuvres complètes*, Book II, Ch. XVI, eds. A. Thibaudet and M. Rat (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 601–14.
7. M. T. Cicero (1991) *On Duties,* eds M. T. Griffin and E. M. Atkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 27. See also F. A. Sullivan (1941) 'Cicero and Gloria', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 72, 382–91.
8. The sections that deal with *gloria* in *On Duties* are mainly to be found in Book I, 66–81, pp. 27–32 and Book II, 30–50, pp. 74–82.
9. Cicero, *On Duties*, Book II, 43, p. 79.
10. Cicero, *On Duties*, Book I, 75, p. 30.
11. Cicero, *On Duties*, Book I, 80, p. 32.
12. Cicero, *On Duties*, Book I, 84, p. 33.
13. L. A. Seneca (1932) *Seneca's Letters to Lucilius,* trans. E. Phillips Barker (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
14. Seneca, *Seneca's Letters to Lucilius*, LXXIX, pp. 306–5.
15. Seneca, *Seneca's Letters to Lucilius*, XXI, p. 68.
16. Montaigne (1962) 'De la gloire', Ch. XVI, pp. 601–14. For further on Montaigne and *gloire*, see P. Eichel-Lojkine (1992) 'Montaigne, ou la gloire en mouvement', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne*, 7th series 27–8, 69–90. In his *Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron*, first published in 1782, in which Seneca was lauded, Diderot frequently referred to Montaigne. For more on the essay by Diderot and in respect of Montaigne, see J-C. Bonnet (1998) *Naissance du Panthéon*: *essai sur le culte des grands hommes* (Bagneux: Fayard), p. 187.
17. Montaigne, 'De la gloire', p. 606: 'car estans indigens et necessiteux au-dedans, nostre essence estant imparfaicte, et ayant continuellement besoing d'amélioration, c'est là, à quoy nous nous devons travailler. Nous sommes tous creux et vuides: ce n'est pas de vent et de voix que nous avons à nous remplir: il nous faut de la substance plus solide à nous réparer.'

18. Montaigne, 'De la gloire', p. 606.
19. M. de Montaigne (2003) *The Complete Works*, trans. D. M. Frame (London: Everyman's Library), p. 573. Montaigne, 'De la gloire', p. 606: 'On n'est pas tousjours sur le haut d'une bresche ou à la teste d'une armée, à la veuë de son general, comme sur un eschaffaut. On est surpris entre la haye et le fossé; il faut tenté fortune contre un poullaillier; il faut seul s'escarter de la trouppe et entreprendre seul, selon la necessité qui s'offre. Et si on prend garde, on trouvera qu'il advient par experience que les moins esclattantes occasions sont les plus dangereuses; et qu'aux guerres qui se sont passés de nostre temps, il s'est perdu plus de gens de bien aux occasions legeres et peu importantes et à la contestation de quelque bicoque, qu'ès lieux dignes et honnorables.'
20. Michel de Montaigne, 'De la gloire', p. 607.
21. For more on Corneille and concepts of *gloire*, see J-J. Gabas (1969) 'Remarques sur la notion de gloire dans le théâtre de Corneille' in *Gallica: Essays Presented to J. Heywood Thomas by Colleagues, Pupils and Friends* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), pp. 89–102.
22. P. Corneille (1980–7) *Horace* in *Œuvres complètes*, I, II.2, lines 398-402, ed. Georges Couthon (Paris: Gallimard), p. 857:

    Quoi! Vous me pleureriez mourant pour mon pays!
    Pour un cœur généreux ce trépas a des charmes,
    La gloire qui le suit ne souffre point de larmes,
    Et je le recevrais en bénissant mon sort,
    Si Rome et tout l'État perdaient moins en ma mort.

23. For the use of *gloire* in Racine and a comparison with Corneille, see H. T. Barnwell (1992) 'La Gloire dans le théâtre de Racine', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 14, 133–41.
24. J. Racine (1950–66) *Britannicus* in *Œuvres complètes,* ed. R. Picard, I, V.6, (Paris: Gallimard), p. 450.
25. L. S. de Sacy (1715) *Traité de la gloire* (La Haye: Henri du Sauzet). For more on this treatise, see N. Veysman (2004) *Mise en scène de l'opinion publique dans la littèrature des lumiéres* (Paris: Honoré Champion). Veysman sets up this treatise as being at the forefront of new ideas about public opinion being allied to natural virtue and rectitude of judgement.
26. The example of the attribute of bravery and its concomitant military self-sacrifice on behalf of country is given in support of this contention, De Sacy, *Traité de la gloire*, pp. 91–2.
27. De Sacy, *Traité de la gloire*, p. 25.
28. For Montaigne, a woman's honour was merely an external attribute, whereas her duty was to be chaste in intentions, Montaigne, 'De la gloire', p. 614.

29. De Sacy, *Traité de la gloire*, pp. 115–6: 'The finery which they considered to be their greatest ornament was in having virtuous children. They were persuaded that they had given birth not for themselves but for the Republic; they rejoiced when they learnt that they had been killed in fighting in its service and they only shed tears for those whose shameful wounds marked them out for having fled in combat. So there was no unrest, no dissension between citizens who, in all their actions, only desired the good of the Homeland and who only sought the reward of glory for having worked more effectively and usefully.'/'La parure, dont elles se croyoient le plus ornées, c'étoient des enfans vertueux: persuadées qu'elles ne les mettoient pas au monde pour elles, mais pour la République, elles se réjouissoient quand elles apprenoient qu'ils avoient été tuez en combattant pour son service, & elles ne répandoient des larmes, que sur ceux que de honteuses blessures marquoient avoir fui dans le combat. Ainsi nul trouble, nulle dissension entre des citoyens, qui ne se proposoient dans toutes leurs actions d'autre objet que le bien de la Patrie, d'autre récompense que la gloire d'y avoir concouru plus efficacément & plus utilement.'
30. De Sacy, *Traité de gloire*, pp. 152–3.
31. De Sacy, *Traité de la gloire*, p. 256.
32. De Sacy, *Traité de la gloire*, p. 180.
33. De Sacy, *Traité de la gloire*, p. 191.
34. De Sacy, *Traité de la gloire*, pp. 201–5.
35. C. de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (c.1945–51) *Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate* in *Œuvres complètes*, I, ed. R. Caillois (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 501–7.
36. Montesquieu, *Dialogue de Sylla et Eucrate,* p. 18: 'I like to bring back victories, to found or destroy states, to form leagues, to punish a usurper; but for those petty details of government where mediocre spirits have so many advantages, that slow execution of the laws, that discipline of a peaceful militia, my soul would not know how to occupy itself with them.'/'J'aime à remporter des victories, à fonder ou détruire des Ėtats, à faire des ligues, à punir un usurpateur; mais, pour ces minces details de gouvernement où les genies mediocre ont tant d'avantages, cette lente execution des lois, cette discipline d'une malice tranquille, mon âme ne sauroit s'en occupier.'
37. E. Russo (2001) 'Virtuous Economies: Modernity and Noble Expenditure from Montesquieu to Caillois', in D. Gordon (ed.) *Postmodernism and the Enlightenment: New Perspectives in Eighteenth-Century French Intellectual History,* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 67–92. It has recently been pertinently noted that the practice of giving a *présent pécunaire* on admission to the Académie royale was suppressed in 1745 as *contraire à la gloire de la Compagnie* (contrary to the glory of the Company). The abolition of reception fees could thus be said to mark a break with the craft

patterns of guild apprenticeships. See further T. Macsotay (2014) *The Profession of Sculpture in the Paris 'Académie'* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation), p. 103.

38. Montesquieu (c.1945–51) *Lettres persanes* in I *Œuvres complètes*, LXXXIX, p. 264.
39. Voltaire (1968–77) *Correspondence and Related Documents*, ed. T. Besterman in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, LXXXV/3 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation) July 1735, D893, p. 174.
40. Voltaire, LXXXV/3 *Correspondence*, July 1734, D766, p. 45: 'Voilà, madame, la folie humaine dans toute sa gloire et dans toute son horreur.'
41. Voltaire (1989) *Au Camp de Philisbourg le 3 juillet 1734* in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation), XIV, pp. 533–55:

Et dans ces horreurs de la guerre
Le Français chante, boit et rit.
Bellone va réduire en cendres
Les courtines de Philisbourg…
Je vois briller au milieu d'eux
Ce fantôme nommé la Gloire,
A l'œil superbe, au front poudreux,
Portant au cou cravate noire,
Ayant sa trompette en sa main,
Sonnant la charge et la victoire,
Et chantant quelques airs à boire
Dont ils répètent le refrain.

42. Voltaire, *Au camp de Philisbourg*, p. 536.
43. Voltaire (2008) *Le Poème de Fontenoy*, eds. O. R. Taylor and C. Todd in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, XXVIIIB (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation) pp. 327–83.
44. Voltaire (2004) *Eloge funèbre des officers qui sont morts dans la guerre de 1741* in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, XXXc, (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation), pp. 221–40. The piece first appeared with the date of 1 June 1748 in *La Tragédie de Sémiramis, et quelques autres pièces de littérature*, Paris, 1749.
45. Voltaire, *Eloge funèbre*, p. 223: 'Des bords du Pô jusqu'à ceux du Danube, on bénit de tous côtés, au nom du même Dieu, ces drapeaux sous lesquels marchent des milliers de meurtriers mercenaires, à qui l'esprit de débauche, de libertinage et de rapine, a fait quitter leurs campagnes; ils vont, et ils changent de maîtres; ils s'exposent à un supplice infâme pour un léger intérêt; le jour du combat vient, et souvent le soldat qui s'était rangé naguère sous les enseignes de sa patrie répand sans remords le sang de ses propres concitoyens; il attend avec avidité le moment où il pourra, dans le

champ de carnage, arracher aux mourants quelques malheureuses dépouilles qui lui sont enlevées par d'autres mains.'

46. Voltaire, *Eloge funèbre*, p. 223.
47. Voltaire, *Eloge funèbre*, p. 254.
48. D. Diderot, J. le Rond d'Alembert, et al. (1751–72) *Encylopédie ou Dictionnnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, VII (Paris, Geneva and Neufchastel, Briasson and others), pp.716–21; pp. 997–8.
49. Diderot, d'Alembert, et al., *Encyclopédie,* VII, p. 998.
50. Diderot, d'Alembert, et al. *Encyclopédie* VII, p. 716.
51. Diderot, d'Alembert, et al. *Encyclopédie* VII, p. 717.
52. Diderot, d'Alembert, et al. *Encyclopédie* VII, p. 720.
53. Diderot, d'Alembert, et al. *Encyclopédie* VII, p. 717.
54. Diderot, d'Alembert, et al. *Encyclopédie* VII, p. 718.
55. J-J. Rousseau (1959–95) *Considérations sur le government de Pologne et sur sa réformation projettée* in Œuvres complètes, III, eds. B. Gagnebin and M. Raymond (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 1012–20.
56. J-J. Rousseau (1964–95) *Du Contrat social ou principes du droit politique* in *Œuvres complètes*, III, eds. B. Gagnebin and M. Raymond (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 466–8. The importance of this passage to Rousseau's approach to *gloire* is mentioned by G. Lepan (2007) *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et le patriotisme* (Paris: Honoré Champion), p. 484, fn. 169.
57. Rousseau, *Du Contrat social*, pp. 466–7: 'Mettez vis-à-vis d'eux ces peuples généreux que dévoroit l'ardent armour de la gloire et de la patrie, supposez votre république chrétienne vis-à-vis de Sparte ou de Rome; les pieux chrétiens seront battus, écrasés, détruits avant d'avoir eu le tems de se reconnoitre, ou ne devront leur salut qu'au mépris que leur ennemi concevra pour eux. C'étoit un beau serment à mon gré que celui des soldats de Fabius; ils ne jurerent pas de mourir ou de vaincre, ils jurerent de revenir vainqueurs, et tinrent leur serment: Jamais des Chrétiens n'en eussent fait un pareil; ils auroient cru tenter Dieu.'
58. See further the discussion in Chap. 5 with reference to the different processes of *La Patrie en danger* (Fig. 5.10).
59. *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (2015) http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu, accessed 23 April 2015.
60. J-B Bossuet (1709) *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Ecriture sainte* I, vi, 1 (Paris: P. Cot), pp. 45–6.
61. Diderot, d'Alembert, et al. *Encyclopédie,* XII, pp. 178–80.
62. E. Dziembowski (1998) *Un Nouveau Patriotisme français 1750–1770: la France à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation).
63. (G. F. Coyer) (1756) *La Noblesse Commerçante* (Londres, Paris: Duchesne). For the debates stirred up by Coyer, see also J. M. Smith (2005) *Nobility*

reimagined: The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), pp. 108–31. Smith proposes that Coyer was arguing for new, more expansive definitions of nobility and ones that were grounded in the common quality of citizenship rather than in the exclusive and differentiating qualities of rank. Smith also notes the social confusion created by the conceptual merger of patriotism and nobility, p. 129.

64. Chevalier d'Arcq (1756) *La Noblesse militaire ou le patriote françois* (Paris), pp. 119–20: 'Biens, plaisirs, amis, parens, vous quittez tout pour courir à la gloire, enfin vous êtes hommes. Nation trop fière de tes forces maritimes, de l'étendue de ton Commerce! vois notre Noblesse impatiente d'aller punir ton audace, effet de ta jalousie. Le feu qui brille dans ses yeux est le signal que te donne un peuple de héros. France! vois tes enfans s'assembler sur tes côtes pour voler à la vengeance. Ils sont ton appui le plus sûr. Ils ne tromperont jamais ton attente.'
65. P. Basset de la Marelle (1762) *La Différence du patriotisme national chez les François et chez les Anglois* (Lyon: Aimé Delaroche), p. 65.
66. Basset de la Marelle, *La Différence du patriotisme national*, p. 7.
67. A. Dacier (1762 [1694]) *Les Vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque*, I (Paris) p. iii: 'Tout est vivant de meme dans Plutarque; ce ne sont pas des histoires qu'on lit, ce sont des grands hommes même qu'on voit et qui parlent.'
68. C-I. Castel de Saint Pierre (1739) 'Discours sur les différences du grand homme et de l'homme illustre', in Abbé de Seran de La Tour *Histoire d'Ėpaminondas pour servir de suite aux Hommes illustres de Plutarque* (Paris: Didot), p. xxvii.
69. Castel de Saint Pierre, 'Discours sur les différences', pp. xxix–xxx: 'Ainsi Epaminondas est grand Homme, & Alexandre n'est qu'un Conquérant, un Guerrier, un Capitaine célèbre, un Roy d'une grande reputation entre les Rois. En un mot ce n'est au plus qu'un *Homme illustre* & plus illustre par ses succès que par ses bienfaits envers sa patrie.'
70. H. de Lacombe de Prezel (1773) *Dictionnaire des portraits historiques, anecdotes et traits remarquables des Hommes illustres*, I (Paris) pp. 30–1.
71. Lacome de Prezel, *Dictionnaire*, III, pp. 371–441.
72. Lacome de Prezel, *Dictionnaire*, I, p. iii.
73. See *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825* (1989), Exhibition Catalogue (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux), no. 34, p. 98.
74. C. Rollin (1755 [1726–8]) *De la Maniere d'enseigner et d'etudier les belles-lettres*, I (Paris), p. xli.
75. Rollin, *De la Maniere,* III, pp. 186–7.
76. J-J. Rousseau (1959–95) *Emile ou de l'éducation*, in *Œuvres complètes*, IV, 4, eds. B. Gagnebin and M. Raymond (Paris: Gallimard), p. 530.
77. Rousseau, *Emile,* 4, p. 531: 'Plutarch excelle par ces mêmes détails dans lesquels nous n'osons plus entrer. Il a un grâce inimitable à peindre les grands hommes dans les petites choses; et il est si heureux dans le choix de

ses traits, que souvent un mot, un sourire, un geste lui suffit pour caractériser son héros…Alexandre avale une médecine et ne dit pas un seul mot: c'est le plus beau moment de sa vie; Aristide écrit son propre nom sur une coquille, et justifie ainsi son surnom; Philopoemen, le manteau bas, coupe du bois dans la cuisine de son hôte. Voilà le véritable art de peindre. La physionomie ne se montre pas dans les grandes actions; c'est dans les bagatelles que le naturel se découvre. Les choses publiques sont ou trop communes ou trop apprêtées, et c'est presque uniquement à celles-ci que la dignité moderne permet à nos auteurs de s'arrêter.'

78. See further, Bonnet, *Naissance du Panthéon*, pp. 64–104.
79. (J-A-H. Guibert) (1775) *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat* (Edimbourg).
80. (Guibert) *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat*, pp. 1–2.
81. (Guibert) *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat*, p. 38.
82. (Guibert) *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat*, p. 61.
83. (Guibert) *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat*, pp. 74–8.
84. (Guibert) *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat*, p. 78.
85. (Guibert) *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat*, pp. 83–4: 'C'est sur-tout son dévouement au bien public, son indifférence pour la fortune, son désintéressement. Avec une seule génération imbue de ses principes, tous nos maux seroient réparés. L'Etat est accablé de dettes, le peuple gémit sous le poids des impôts. Eh! malheureux que nous sommes, ces maux sont notre ouvrage; c'est nous qui assiégeons le trône; c'est nous qui fomentons les abus; c'est nous qui en sommes les complices. Ayez le désintéressement, la noble économie de Catinat: ô vous d'abord, frères de notre jeune Monarque, vous que le devoir fait ses premiers sujets, et la nature ses premiers amis, ô vous ensuite Princes de son Sang, Grands du Royaume, Hommes principaux de tous les Etats, qui entourez le Trône et qui vivez de ses faveurs; songez que vous composez au plus quatre ou cinq mille individus, et que vous dévorez la substance de plusieurs millions d'hommes.'
86. See further M. Fumaroli (2002) 'Richelieu, Patron of the Arts', in H. T. Goldfarb (ed.) *Richelieu: Art and Power* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon), pp. 15–47.
87. A. de Laval (1613 [1605]) *Desseins de Professions nobles et publiques contenus plusieurs traictez divers et rares* (Paris), p. 448. The advice is given in a chapter entitled 'Des peintures convenables aux basiliques et Palais du Roy memes a sa galerie du Louvre à Paris'. See further Bardon, *Le Portrait mythologique,* pp. 77–80; pp. 189–92; Kirchner, *Le Héros épique*, pp. 28–37.
88. P. Ariès (1986 [1954]) *Le Temps de l'histoire* (Monaco: Le Seuil), pp. 160–72.
89. See B. Dorival (1973) 'Art et Politique en France au dix-septième siècle: la Galerie des hommes illustres du Palais Cardinal', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français 1973*, 43-60; M. MacGowan (1985) 'Le Phénomène de la galerie des portraits des illustres', in R. Mousnier and

J. Mesnard (eds) *L'Age d'or du Mécénat* (Paris: Editions du CNRS), pp. 411–22.

90. C. Perrault (2003) *Les Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle*, ed. D. J. Culpin (Tübingen: Gunter Narr), p. iii. Culpin notes that the series contains the lives of one hundred famous Frenchmen who had died since 1600 and that it was to further the cause of the Moderns in the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns which had erupted in the Académie française in 1687.
91. Perrault, *Les Hommes illustres*, pp. 253–4: 'Il est certain que les noms de Phidias et d'Apelle, mis après celui d'Alexandre même, ne font point de honte ni à Alexandre ni à son siècle; on trouve au contraire qu'ils y ajoutent un nouvel éclat, par le concours des différents dons précieux que le Ciel a répandus sur toutes sortes d'hommes en même temps.'
92. For this project, see J. Colton (1979) *The 'Parnasse François': Titon du Tillet and the Origins of the Monument to Genius* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).
93. Colton, *The 'Parnasse François'*, pp. 203–4.
94. E. Jollet (2001) (ed.) *La Font de Saint Yenne: œuvre critique* (Paris: Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts), p. 10. For La Font, see also T. Crow (1985) *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 7–8.
95. E. Jollet, *La Font*, pp. 291–2.
96. E. Jollet, *La Font*, pp. 299–300: 'Quels exemples notre jeune noblesse destinée aux armes trouverait dans les grandes actions de Philopoemen, regardé comme le dernier des Grecs illustres! Parmi un si grand nombre d'expéditions militaires, il fut presque toujours suivi de la victoire: il ne dut ses triomphes constants qu'aux travaux incroyables entrepris pour s'instruire profondément de sa profession. Il n'épargna ni fatigues, ni voyages dans les pays les plus éloignés pour conférer avec les généraux les plus savants, et les vieux guerriers. Il possédait, outre les qualités militaires, des vertus bien plus estimables, l'équité la plus exacte, une générosité éclairée et toujours bienfaisante. Ses gains sur l'ennemi ne furent jamais employés qu'à la rançon de ses citoyens prisonniers; la vie la plus dure, une aversion toujours constante du luxe et de la volupté, heureux fruit d'une éducation mâle et vigoureuse, sans laquelle il n'est point de grands hommes. Son nom sera éternellement en vénération chez tous les historiens.'
97. E. Jollet, *La Font*, pp. 304–7.
98. E. Jollet, *La Font*, pp. 308–9: 'Un Charlemagne, l'honneur des Français, la gloire et le salut de l'Empire. Un saint Louis rendant lui-même sous un chêne la justice à ses sujets. Les Anglais, la terreur de la France, chassés sous Charles VII par la valeur incroyable d'une seule fille. François Ier toujours brave, vainqueur, vaincu ou prisonnier, armé chevalier par l'illustre Bayard;

quels faits de bravoure et de justice à exposer dans ce dernier, sa mort glorieuse et ses dernières paroles au Prince de Bourbon!'

99. For the ground-breaking overview of history painting in the lead up to the Revolution, see J. Locquin (1912) *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris: Henri Laurens).
100. J. Guiffrey (1869–71) *Collection des Livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800* (Paris: Liepmanssohn et Dufour), IV/25, no. 88, p. 23; III/30, no. 26, p. 16; XXX/31, no. 108, pp. 26–7.
101. Y. Brualt, F. Jiméno, D. Rabreau eds (2002) *L'école militaire et l'axe Breteuil-Trocadéro* (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris), pp. 169–70. The painting disappeared during the course of the Revolution.
102. Voltaire (1970) 'Sur la considération qu'on doit aux gens de lettres', in F. A. Taylor (ed.) *Lettres Philosophiques* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), letter XXIII, p. 87.
103. M. Reb… (January 1765) 'Essai sur les Tombeaux des Grands Hommes dans les Sciences, les Lettres et les Arts', *Mercure de France*, 17–20.
104. M-A. Laugier (1765) *Observations sur l'architecture* (The Hague), pp. 226–50.
105. Bonnet, *Naissance du* Panthéon, pp. 127–32.
106. J. M. Smith (1996) *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), p. 195.
107. L. de Boussanelle (1770) *Le bon Militaire* (Paris: La Combe), p. 11.
108. De Boussanelle, *Le bon Militaire*, pp. 42–3.
109. De Boussanelle, *Le bon Militaire*, p. 49.
110. De Boussanelle, *Le bon Militaire*, p. 49.
111. See further, A. Crépin (2005) *Défendre la France: Les Français, la guerre et le service militaire, de la guerre de Sept Ans à Verdun* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes), p. 33.
112. J. Servan (1780) *Le Soldat citoyen, ou Vues patriotiques sur la manière la plus avantageuse de pourvoir à la défense du royaume*, *Dans le Pays de la Liberté* (Neufchâtel) p. 20.
113. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, p. 86–7.
114. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, pp. 11–2.
115. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, pp. 13–6.
116. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, p. 18.
117. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, p. 45: 'Une physionomie fière, l'oeil vif, la tête élevée, la poitrine large, les épaules fournies, la main forte, les bras longs, le ventre petit, la taille dégagé, la jambe et le pied moins charnues que nerveux; ces indices étoient à Rome, et doivent être parmi nous, les signes corporels qui annoncent dans l'ame des vertus, et dans le corps des qualités guerrieres.'
118. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, pp. 52–3.

119. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, pp. 26–9.
120. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen,* pp. 66–7.
121. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, pp. 435–41.
122. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, p. 436: 'Voyez les statues, lisez les inscriptions, rappellez-vous les hauts faits des premiers Grecs, et des premiers Romains. Ici une couronne d'olivier faisoit dévouer toute une nation à des combats pénibles et périlleux. Là une couronne de chêne, plus loin une couronne civique, des palmes, des triomphes, des acclamations, des funérailles publiques, occasionnoient les actions immortelles que nous ne concevons encore qu'avec peine; et des édifices, des peintures, les environs des villes couverts de monumens à l'honneur des citoyens morts les armes à la main, en combattant pour la patrie, éternisoient la mémoire de ces grandes actions.'
123. Servan, *Le Soldat citoyen*, p. 446.
124. V-M. Viennot (1792) *Rapport sur les honneurs et récompenses militaires* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale). Ending up as the comte de Vaublanc, Viénot had received a military education at the Prytanée national military college, La Flèche and the Ecole militaire in Paris. Between 1776 and 1782, he served as a soldier in the Sarre regiment: A. Soboul (1989) (ed.) *Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française* (Vendôme: Presses Universitaires de France), p. 1089.
125. Viennot, *Rapport sur les honneurs*, p. 2.
126. Viennot, *Rapport sur les honneurs*, pp. 11–2.
127. Viennot, *Rapport sur les honneurs*, p. 5: 'Qu'on imagine, s'il est possible, l'effet qu'un tel spectacle produiroit sur l'âme des jeunes François. Comme il développeroit en eux l'amour de la patrie, la passion de la gloire, deux sentimens qui, dans un pays libre, renferment toutes les vertus! car vous ne pouvez aimer la patrie, sans chérir les loix qu'elle a faites, sans être prêt à périr pour elle, sans être humain, généreux, magnanime envers vos concitoyens. Vous ne pouvez aimer la vraie gloire, sans craindre de la ternir par des actions serviles & basses, & dès-lors vous avez le sentiment sublime de la liberté, vous êtes le digne & vertueux citoyen d'un pays libre.'
128. B. Anderson (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso), p. 16.
129. Viennot, *Rapport sur les honneurs*, p. 15.
130. J. Grasset Saint-Sauveur (1796) *Les Fastes du peuple français* (Paris: Deroy). The aquatints were after designs by Jean-Jacques Labrousse. For a discussion of this publication, see B. S. Wright (2005) '*L'Education par les yeux*': texte et image à la fin du XVIIIe siècle', *Cahiers de l'Association international des Etudes françaises*, 57, 153–71.
131. Grasset Saint-Sauveur, *Les Fastes du Peuple français*, pp 1–2: 'Choisissez! la France offre à ses alliés l'exemple de ses vertus, et les bienfaits de son

industrie; elle garde pour ses ennemis la honte et le repentir: ses enfants ne sont point possédés de la manie des conquêtes; mais malheur à qui voudroit se mêler de son gouvernement pour l'entraver. Ils laissent leurs voisins maîtres chez eux, ils veulent qu'on les laisse de même paisibles dans leurs foyers. Paix et amitié aux amis de la France! Guerre et mort aux jaloux de ses lois, aux envieux de sa gloire, et aux perturbateurs de son repos!'

CHAPTER 4

Recruitment and Revolution Before Thermidor

Alongside some explanation of how the raising of troops culminated in the mandatory imposition of male conscription and not in a greater freedom of choice, the focus in this chapter is on how the symbolic expressions and gestures of military sign-up were depicted, given the revolutionary moment and the changes in the make-up of the population. During the Revolution, people acted and behaved together socially in radically new ways, reconstituting society through the use of certain symbolic practices, gestures and languages.[1] As a result of the upsurge in numbers of men joining the army, there was an increase in demographic mobility. The rise in numbers of recruits to meet the nation's perceived need for ever more troops had, however, little in common with revolutionary principles of freedom and may even have contributed to the outmoded showing of military engagement as an act entered into voluntarily. As I argued in the Introduction, not all were prompted to take action in defence of nation by the words of the *Marseillaise* even though the song has subsequently been linked to the founding of the modern French nation state and celebrated as an expression of collective engagement at a time of general mobilisation. In this turbulent period, representations of a bellicose French *gloire*, the use of changing processes of military recruitment and the formation of a citizenship that privileged a masculine participation in the public sphere did not easily coalesce.

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6_4

The act of signing up was a complex process involving a change of status, identity and position in society. It also involved both the departure from the safety of home, family, known loved ones on the one hand and, on the other, a potential exposure to the enemy, to danger, conflict and to the physical threat of being wounded or killed in the service of the Homeland. Although going off to war was a common phenomenon, appearances of unity, fraternity and liberty in adversity were not always featured in its representation. The ways in which society could be envisaged in a coming together so as to service the needs of the new Republic militarily belie simple analysis.

From Conscript to Volunteer

Existing scholarship has certainly acknowledged the rich nineteenth-century iconographic tradition of the nation in arms, which has now become one of the most important symbolic moments in the founding of the modern French nation.[2] In an article questioning assumptions about the linking of war with the Terror, Mona Ozouf has observed that dreams of *La Patrie en danger* (The Homeland in danger) emerged in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography of the French Revolution.[3] While left-wing historians such as Louis Blanc (1811–82) and Albert Mathiez (1874–1932) had attempted to justify the Terror as a desperate response to the consequences of foreign invasion and civil war that necessitated the taking of Terrorist measures, other historians such as Edgar Quinet (1803–75) and Alphonse Esquiros (1874–1932) had taken the opposite position, approaching the Terror, not as an improvised, blind response to defeat but as a systematic, willed prelude to victory. Through a close analysis of texts from *Le Moniteur*, an official Jacobin-leaning newspaper, in the three different periods of September 1792, 20 August 1793 to 20 September 1793 and April 1794, Ozouf demonstrated how the Terror unfolded over time and according to its own logic. She concluded that the Terror came to be linked to the war effort but that it was not co-substantial with it. Some of the visual imagery I analyse needs to be similarly located within time-specific contexts before retrospective assessments viewed the Revolution with hindsight. Artists such as Léon Cogniet (1794–1880), Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Vinchon (1789–1855), Thomas Couture (1815–79), the printmaker Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet (1792–1845) and, at the start of the twentieth century, Edouard Detaille (1848–1912) have produced major post-revolutionary scenes of the Homeland

in danger, but the visual imagery dealing with these episodes that was produced during the decade of the Revolution is far less grandiose in its claims to glorious endeavour.

Considering the painting of history at the time of the French Revolution to be a radical rupture with the past, Philippe Bordes has argued that due to the accelerated unfolding of events and the emergence of a republican system of government, the genre of history painting was, quite suddenly, infused with a new sense of the contemporary.[4] This new approach is exemplified in works like *Attaque du palais des Tuileries*, *le 10 août 1792 ou La Journée du 10 Août 1792* by Jean Duplessi-Bertaux (towards 1745–1818, Versailles; depot du Musée du Louvre) and *Marat à son dernier soupir* by David (Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-arts). Instead of being detached as mere spectators from the social rites of the established order, the French people are shown to participate spontaneously and more directly in contemporary events and that participation comes to be evoked in more democratic ways in paintings of the contemporary.[5] My own enquiry examines the ways in which the imagery of military engagement has—or has not—been marked by the revolutionary event and I also consider the extent to which changed types of visual representation emerge in this period. Many of the images I have selected exist, however, only in print form.

The expansion of print culture at this time exceeded the domains of enlightened public opinion to drive forward new methods of public instruction. It was intended that higher standards of taste be fostered amongst a more widespread and diverse clientele. To this end, Athanase Détournelle, in the official journal, *Aux armes et aux arts*!, of the Jacobin arts organisation *La Société républicaine des arts* called, in 1794, for the State to give financial support to engravers. Quality prints of revolutionary scenes and of martyrs, such as those of the heads of Marat and Lepelletier by Jacques-Louis Copia (1764–99) after designs by David and costing 6 *livres*, were to replace the hideously coloured woodcuts costing a mere 20 *sols* to be found in the hovels of the ploughman and of those who laboured in the vineyards.[6] That such fine art prints may not have been seen on the walls of countryside dwellings can be put down to the unrealisable fantasies and utopian dreams of the revolutionary endeavour, but the attempt to forge both public opinion and public taste in this way was certainly new. Such an attempt reveals the drive towards greater conformity by the leading luminaries of the Revolution while also bringing out the lack of uniformity in the creation and reception of visual imagery.

Showing Entry into the National Guard

Many of the achievements of the early months of the Revolution are celebrated in the visual imagery of the period by projections of the National Guard as a force for public good within an élite civic milieu. Joining up in the National Guard at the start of the Revolution was a municipal affair. It also tied a military mode of engagement to citizenship. Initially envisaged as quite separate from the mere common soldiering of the royal line army, patriotic service in the civic force was, at its outset, for the upholding of internal public order in the face of possible sedition, rioting and street violence.[7] The design of a standard of liberty (Fig. 4.1) by Jean-Louis Laneuville (1756–1826), who had himself recently signed up to the National Guard and was a student of David, is a good example of how homage was paid to the new militia by the use of past models, that were to be recognised by the suitably cultured.[8] In this image, the standard of the Roman legion has been creatively rethought, refigured and adapted to the circumstances of new events and causes.

The announcement of the print of the design on 5 November 1789 in the radical journal of Antoine-Joseph Gorsas, *Le Courrier*, sets up some graphic contrasts: 'There are the cowardly and venal pens of those who call the people to sedition and civil war and also the cowardly brushes of those who trace on canvas scenes of blood, which are quickly exhibited in print form to a baying multitude eager to commit new outrages. On the other hand, there is the student of the arts, who devotes himself to depictions of the virtuous actions of his co-citizens or to the raising up of trophies to liberty.'[9] The design is thus attributed to a good student who works for the furtherance of the principles of Revolution and rejects the demands of the baying multitude.

The background of Laneuville's composition shows the demolition of the Bastille, a feudal fortress that had become a symbol of the despotism of the *Ancien Régime*.[10] This destructive act contrasts with the figure of the new commander of the National Guard, the marquis de La Fayette, in his new National Guardsman's uniform. Centre stage, alone and to the fore, he hoists aloft a proposed standard of liberty. The standard is crowned with a type of bonnet of liberty but the bonnet does not, as yet, wholly resemble the radical red cap of liberty for it is decorated with the fleur de lys insignia of the Bourbons.[11] Beneath the bonnet, there is a wreath of oak leaves denoting virtuous bravery rather than the wreath of laurel leaves that pertained to the Roman iconography of victory and of triumph. Beneath the wreath, the Gallic cock of France stands erect and beneath this cock there is a roundel with the facial profile of Louis XVI. The French words

Fig. 4.1 Jean-Louis Laneuville, *Projet de l'Étendart de la Liberté*, *à l'imitation de celui des Romains*, aquatint, 42.1 cm × 27.4 cm, 1789, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. G27056. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto

La Nation et le Roi (The Nation and the King) also adorn the standard in the form of a plaque; these words replace the conventional Roman inscription *Senatus populus que Romanus* (The Senate and the People of Rome).

The aquatint's accompanying inscription makes clear that the imagery above is in imitation of the Romans but that it is also not merely copying a classical precedent. As a sign of rallying together in unity by all the French, the lettering informs the viewer that such a standard was to be an object of terror to the enemies of the Homeland and of public happiness, that it was to be preferable to the finest of triumphal arches and that it was to replace the banner, or medieval *oriflamme*, that had formerly prompted so much ardour in the nation's soldiers. Outward displays of military service from the feudal past are here being rejected in favour of an imitation of military insignia not just of Rome but, more specifically, of republican Rome and this in spite of the fact that the King's head also figures here so prominently.

The proposed standard of liberty is shown beneath and surrounded by looming clouds which accentuate the major signifying elements of what was to be a focus for unity. These clouds might, possibly, symbolise the threatening and menacing elements which loomed over that longed-for unity but what is certainly evident is that the call being made here is to the literate, educated, patriotic citizen and citizen soldier. It is not a call to the mob or rabble or to those urban artisans who would go on to make up the ranks of the sans-culottes and who had just recently perpetrated the initial attack on the Bastille.[12]

In dedicating his design for a standard of liberty to the marquis de La Fayette, the new commander of the National Guard, the artist Laneuville was not just marking out his loyalty to his new commanding officer. The appearance of the military standard was a marker of the newly acquired rights, duties and corporate identity of the artist and citizen just as it still functions as a marker of the artist's own participation in the making of history at this particularly momentous time. The design is an obvious token of patriotism to the national cause but still affirms loyalty to the monarchy in the person of Louis XVI. Forms of *gloire* and the contents of *gloire*, from knowledge of Antiquity and of the material forms inherited from Antiquity have, furthermore, been used in the service of what the Revolution was being held to represent.

Since the beginning of August 1789 in districts throughout Paris, there had been ceremonies of the blessing of National Guard standards, each district having been assigned its own National Guard battalion with its

own flag.[13] These ceremonies culminated in the blessing of all the flags in the Cathedral of Notre Dame on Sunday 27 September. The radical journal, the *Révolutions de Paris*, criticised this event for its aristocratic or oligarchic, non-national organisation because entry into the Cathedral had been by ticket and these had been acquired only by the friends and acquaintances of leaders.[14] According to the report, there had been a tussle about who should carry the banner of each battalion. The military committee had wanted the standards to be carried by regularly employed sergeants of the line army, whereas what happened in many districts was that citizen ensigns were escorted through the streets of Paris by detachments of up to twenty men. New forms of social participation were being worked out here and in these processes, much debate and controversy were prompted along the way. The carrying of standards had, additionally, prompted critical commentary in the newly radicalised press. All these factors, taken together, help to account for the work of Laneuville in participating in the formulation of new types of public engagement.

The print entitled *La Philosophie et le Patriotisme Vainqueurs des Préjugés* (Philosophy and Patriotism Conquerors of Prejudice, Fig. 4.2), similarly celebrates the honourable, patriotic calling of the citizen soldier volunteer into the ranks of the National Guard, but this positive projection is being played out here in the face of opposing ignominy and dishonour. Two brothers with the family name of Agasse had been executed for having passed false banknotes and bills of exchange. The executions had prompted a new law of 21 January 1791 which stated that the crime of one individual should not incur the dishonour of either the family or the confiscation of the family's wealth.[15] The decree belongs to the breaking up of feudal codes of honour that had been sustained by notions of dynastic, family lineage and inheritance; henceforth possible virtue but also possible dishonour were to accrue to the individual alone and were to be based on merit or demerit and not on what an ancestor or a relative had done. The legislative making of decrees for posterity is marked out in the print by the personification of a female figure incising the decree into a stone pyramid. What has also been embedded here is the fact that the processes of this particular print function in opposition to the printing of ephemeral, counterfeit and rapidly inauthentic forms of currency.[16]

In response to the decree, a deputation from the National Guard battalion of St Honoré—then, as now, an exclusive district of Paris—was sent to the uncle of the two disgraced Agasse brothers, the uncle being the President of the St Honoré district. The deputation's mission was to give

Fig. 4.2 Michel Picquenot after Maréchal, *La Philosophie et le Patriotisme Vainqueurs des Préjugés*, etching and line engraving, 43.9 cm × 26.83 cm, 1790, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. Est. Histoire PC 012B. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto

reassurance that the shame of the crimes would not reflect on the whole family.[17] Afterwards, on the lawn in front of the Louvre and in front of the whole battalion, armed and in uniform, and in a spirit of esteem and of fraternity, a third Agasse brother, Isidore, was publicly honoured for his virtue by being made a provisional lieutenant of Grenadiers in the battalion with his cousin, the District President's son, being named a lieutenant in its first company. The battalion then processed to the Church of Saint-Honoré where a Mass was celebrated. It seems that, alongside the honouring of virtue, ties of family and notions of family honour still had value in ritual as in practice, even if not in the official decree.

The print uses allegory, emblem and portraiture to make something monumental and quite abstract out of a series of criminal deeds, ensuing legislative regulation and subsequent honorific actions. The imagery has the sun's rays emerging from the legislative building behind to disperse the clouds above and to shine over the foreground figures. The showing of the decree being inscribed bears witness to the glory of the new, legislative dawn and to the National Guard battalion of the St Honoré district, whose large flag is being brandished by the side of the fictive legislative monument of the pyramid, as a symbol of eternity for all to see in posterity.[18] Beneath and between the standard and the inscribing for posterity, the deputy Baron de Saint-Giron holds up his decree proposal in one hand while pointing downward with his other hand to the demon of prejudice on which he stands. Isidore Agasse, with hand on heart and eyes lowered, makes his patriotic vow of fidelity, not to fight in the manner of the Horatii brothers, but to serve the nation, the law and the King. Presented with his own officer's neckpiece and epaulette, his grenadier's bearskin is being removed so as to enable him to make his oath. The removal of the bearskin might also be understood as a putative crowning with a distinctive piece of military uniform. The grenadiers, with their special bearskins, were élite companies of soldiers with, generally, the fittest, strongest and tallest of men. Set against the print's top down 'crowning', the snake of prejudice curling round the foot of the new officer is set in its place by being stood on.

The martial aspects of this print are muted. Admission to the civic force is presented as a force for good in which enlightened principles of reason, rather than mere brute strength, win out. Reward, based supposedly on personal merit within new notions of national honour, holds sway. The fine art engraving with its elegant lettering belongs to a distinctive political culture but this political culture still pertains to an emerging Revolution for its participants were to be seen here as upholding principles of hierar-

chy, rank and privilege just as the communication of such principles relied on those who could read judiciously and who could afford to collect and to purchase wisely.

Another, cruder etching (Fig. 4.3) after a drawing by Claude-Louis Desrais (1746–1816) uses the uniform of the National Guard for a display of patriotic loyalty towards the Royal family.[19] Its accompanying lettering gives to the print the title of *Le jeune Patriote* (The Young Patriot) and it explains how a child, named Griffin, aged 11, in National Guard uniform and armed with a small gun, sword and cartridge pouch, followed the drill of his father in the gardens of the Tuileries Palace and presented arms to the Dauphin. The Dauphin lauded the child as a good recruit and a very young patriot to which the child responded that all were united.

The Royal family had been housed as virtual prisoners in the Tuileries Palace since October 1789, but the imagery can still be interpreted as a demonstration of loyalty towards the sovereign before the King's flight and subsequent arrest at Varennes in June 1791.[20] The print has the King standing before the Palace in the main avenue of the gardens with his son, wife and courtiers at his side. Overhanging, denuded, bare, lifeless trees (of winter) and onlookers frame the central encounter in which the young patriot stands to attention in emulation of the precedents set by his elders. The showing of a performance of drill implies that the youth is sound in mind as in body as he makes his patriotic act of obedience. The King still appears as the father of the nation but it is just a child, albeit clad in the uniform of the newly created National Guard, who marks out the loyalty and protection due to the sovereign's status. The overlarge size of the gun that the boy holds up against the hand of Louis XVI and that stands out against the background of the Tuileries Palace contributes a somewhat jarring note to what the imagery purports to convey. Whether intentionally oversize or not, this element of the composition does not accord with the description in the accompanying text. It endows with some menace the demonstration of what Lynn Hunt has aptly termed the family romance of the French Revolution.[21] The instrument of power being firmly held on to here belongs to the young, new French recruit and it has been set against, rather than in subservience to, the person of the sovereign as a figurehead of authority.

The formation of the National Guard prompted a greater sense of patriotism, of service to the community and to the nation, which manifested itself in a new mode of dignified portraiture.[22] Understanding the changing nature of military recruitment to the army in the lead up to war and when the country went to war will enable us better to understand

Fig. 4.3 Anon after Claude Louis Desrais, *Le jeune Patriote*, coloured etching, 26.5 cm × 19.5 cm, 1790–1, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (43)-FT4. Photo: BnF

how the topic is treated in the visual imagery of the period. When the French nation was at war, the myth-making of the revolutionaries came to contradict the practices and requirements of army recruitment. This contradiction can serve in part, and alongside the circumstances of artistic production, to account for the backward-looking nature of the picturing, during the Revolution, of processes of military call-up.

From Volunteer to Conscript

The topic of army recruitment was a matter of concern to the elected deputies of the National Assembly long before the emergence of a war lobby.[23] On 19 November 1789, Charles Léon de Bouthillier de Chavigny presented a report to this representative body of government from its military committee. The basic premise of this report was that, in times of peace, a standing army was necessary to defend France from its powerful neighbours. In times of war, however, auxiliaries would be called up to provide additional manpower in defence of the realm. [24] Responding to the report, Edmond Louis Alexis Dubois de Crancé urged conscription in peacetime for active citizens—in other words for those male citizens whose annual taxes equalled the local wages paid for three days' work. There was a patriotic strain to his emotive peroration for, in speaking of a vice that required purging, the many foreigners and foreign regiments that made up the French army were inevitably being implicated: 'Is there a father who does not tremble to abandon his son not to the hazards of war but amongst a throng of unknown brigands who are a thousand times more dangerous?'[25] Taking leave of one's family on joining up in the army was already a well-established trope of pre-Revolutionary iconography but the words of Dubois Crancé interject a nationalistic, even xenophobic dimension to the debate in their deliberate elision of the French family with the nation of France. In the French parliament of the day, threats to the French nation were being couched within the framework of the patriarchal family in which protecting the father/son relationship really mattered. Yet the eventual vote in the National Assembly for the retaining of the principle of voluntary recruitment into the French army turned out to be unanimous.[26] In May of the following year a debate on whether the King or the legislative body of the National Assembly had the right to declare war and peace culminated in a decree which renounced wars of conquest and promised that the French nation would never use its forces against the liberty of any people.[27]

Just over a year later, after the King's abortive flight and arrest at Varennes, a series of governmental decrees arranged for the emergency call-up of 100,000 men from the ranks of the National Guard.[28] There were, by now, real fears that the country would be invaded by an army of *émigrés* (emigrants) intent on restoring absolutism. Since the summer months of 1789, there had been a steady flow of army officers out of the country and many of these men had joined the counter-revolutionary forces that were congregating on France's eastern frontiers.[29] In the face of those who threatened the Revolution, members of the National Guard joined up to the line army in 1791 out of a willingness to serve the menaced nation. This particular call-up has been considered the high point of voluntarism.[30] Many of these volunteers left the service at the end of 1792 in the belief that their engagement had been provisional and was now over.

The move to a so-called preventive war to anticipate attack was spearheaded by Jean-Pierre Brissot during the autumn of 1791–2. It culminated in the declaration of war of 20 April 1792 against the King of Bohemia and Austria, which was followed on 11 July by the pronouncement of *La Patrie en danger* and the raising of troops in successive levies.[31] The so-called *volontaires de 1792* were to number 33,600 National Guardsmen in 42 battalions with no distinctions being made between active and passive citizens and this was accompanied by a call-up of 50,000 men for the line army.[32] In practice, responses to the levies were patchy.[33] From this time too, the principle of voluntarism became something of a fiction with some municipalities resorting to lotteries in order to meet the desired targets that had been set centrally.[34]

An officer class was still deemed necessary for the fighting force to be effective but it ceased to be a caste apart with the gulf between officers and men narrowing.[35] Some officers were even elected by the men with whom they served. Officers were expected to be skilful and politically loyal with fairer systems of promotion coming to favour experience, talent in the field and, increasingly, merit based on strategic intelligence and technical knowledge.

As the wars took their course, more and more men were needed. By the autumn of 1792 the size of the army had increased to around 400,000 with, on the way, many dying in combat or from their injuries and many deserting. The *amalgame* (amalgamation) of the professional line army units with those of the volunteers was approved by the National Convention on 21 February 1793.[36] It took some time for the measures involved in such

an amalgamation, which met with some resistance, to be put into effect. In the interim, and after the strategic victory of Valmy on 20 September 1792, the French armies had gone on the counter-offensive in the North East and on the left bank of the Rhine and, on 24 February 1793, a levy of 300,000 men was declared.[37] This levy was voluntary only in name. All single men or widowers between the ages of 18 and 40, and without children, had three days to sign on registers for the raising of troops. Each commune was now under an obligation to supply a specified number of men with quotas set centrally.[38] The systems were open to much abuse. Family networks and local communities helped to hide those who wished to dodge the draft and there is evidence of speedy legal marriages, rigged ballots and public nominations that rid communities of the unpopular, of rivals and of enemies, of the poor, of beggars and of vagrants.[39] This levy resulted in some localised unrest, violence and rioting.

The *levée en masse* (mass levy) of 23 August 1793 was passed by the Jacobin government of the National Convention. It was the most radical raising of troops during the decade of the Revolution. It put the entire nation on a permanent war footing: 'From this moment on, until the enemies have been chased from the territory of the Republic, all the French are on permanent requisition to serve the armies.'[40] Recruitment methods for the mass levy were streamlined and supervised by deputies and political agents. There were, for instance, to be no replacements and so-called volunteers would be chosen via compulsory ballots. Revolutionary fervour had, officially, come to be equated with military service in an emergency measure destined to save the Revolution. All were to serve the army, be it as young men going off to war, as married men making weapons and providing subsistence, as women making tents, uniforms and serving in hospitals, as children, shredding linen for bandages, or as old men, in public places, haranguing against kings, preaching the unity of the Republic and inciting the courage of those going off to war.[41]

Annie Crépin has argued that the aim of the mobilisation was not to militarise French society but to nationalise and unify the war effort at a time of national emergency.[42] The cult of soldiers who had died in combat certainly featured in the festivals of the Revolution, which unfolded to the sounds of martial music, but the military did not take pride of place in these events. Soldiers did not serve as examples of citizenship; rather the model was that of the citizen who dutifully served as a soldier, whether against internal or external enemies.[43] As in the words of the *La Marseillaise*, the rhetoric of glory was attached to the regenerated citizen

soldier, who was to participate collectively in actions of self-sacrifice for the public good and not, as under the *Ancien Régime*, out of a personal self-interest or out of a sense of the honour that had hitherto been coupled with privilege.

There were no further major mass call-ups to the army before the passing of the Jourdan-Delbrel law of 19 fructidor an VI (5 September 1798).[44] This law instituted a planned system of military recruitment. The issue of conscription was no longer occluded, although the principle that it was the citizen soldier who had a duty to serve the nation was also retained and the social model was still a civilian and not a military one. The law made all men between the ages of 20 and 25 register to be available for military service on the first day of *vendémiaire* each year even though, in practice, not all those so registered would be called up for military service. In times of peace those called up as conscripts would serve for an initial five-year period and be actually incorporated into the army alongside those soldier citizens who had volunteered to become professional soldiers. No limit was fixed for the duration of such service in times of war. The Jourdan-Delbrel law initially forbade the use of replacements in the interests of equality but by the time of the raising of the second levy of conscripted troops on 28 germinal an VII (17 April 1799), the use of replacements was again allowed.

Conscription was instituted in France out of a perceived need for more troops and not because the legislators who were responsible for bringing in the measures believed that the imposition of a universal military service for men necessarily accrued benefits and glory for the nation as a whole. Depictions of the processes of conscription in France belong to the visual imagery of the nineteenth century and not to that of the period of before the coup d'état of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799), a coup d'état in which General Bonaparte took over the reins of government as First Consul.

Reportage and the Call Up of Volunteers in July 1792

A close examination of two scenes that aim to record and commemorate some key events of the French Revolution in print form raises the issue of whether the visual ordering of soldierly sign-up and recruitment supports the contention that, through such visual ordering, the practices of power are being exercised.[45] Following on from the scholarship and observations of Michel Foucault, Gillian Russell has observed that war is made

meaningful through representational practices and that the mediations of representation are crucial to the perpetuation of warfare.[46] The viewer at home is not present in person on the battlefield but the viewer sees more than those active in the field. In the age of the worldwide web, this observation is clearly apt. Yet the late eighteenth-century picturing of a national call to arms and of a supposedly unifying mass patriotic response by all of France's citizens still belongs to the mediating strategies of earlier forms of reportage. The presentation to the viewer of a seemingly objective bird's eye view can give a sense of panoramic overview and mass uptake but such a print is not to be understood as functioning within the manner of a modern-day vehicle of mass propaganda.

An engraving by Pierre-Gabriel Berthault (1737–1831) after a design by Jean-Louis Prieur (1759–1795) of a scene on the Pont-Neuf in Paris (Fig. 4.4), that combined the proclamation of the Homeland in danger with showing the enrolments that took place there on 22 July 1792, belongs to a collection of engravings with accompanying explanatory texts, initially entitled *Tableaux de la Révolution française* but which is now known as the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*.[47] The publishing enterprise eventually went through five editions in France between 1791 and 1817, undergoing alterations and additions along the way. Major editions were also published in Holland, Germany and Belgium.[48]

The print in question was part of an extension of the publication's first edition, which appeared between January 1794 and June 1797, adding a further 54 images to the first 48 of the collection.[49] The text that accompanied the first appearance of this print in 1796 was by François-Xavier Pagès. The written description of the event is, in fact, critical of the Revolution and against Robespierre.[50] The scenic view is, however, close to one of the preliminary drawings for the collection by Prieur who, by the time the print first appeared, had already been executed. This artist and fine draughtsman had gone to the guillotine on 7 May 1795 for having been an active and committed Jacobin, a member of a local revolutionary committee and part of the revolutionary tribunal, which had condemned to death both Madame Elisabeth, the youngest sister of Louis XVI, and Danton.[51] My analysis accords with Prieur's drawing rather than with the accompanying text of its later reproduction in print form. The drawing is still to be understood as belonging to an ambitious commercial venture whose appeal, in the form of the reproductive engraving, was to collectors of substance wishing to retain for themselves visual accounts of the most memorable scenes and events of the Revolution's unfolding without nec-

Fig. 4.4 Pierre-Gabriel Berthault after Jean-Louis Prieur, *Proclamation de la Patrie en danger le 22 juillet 1792*, etching and engraving, 19 cm × 25 cm, 1796, From *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 65, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, inv. D.7727. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto

essarily being either entirely sympathetic or entirely antipathetic to all aspects of revolutionary activity.[52]

The drawing follows quite closely, but not exactly, a description of the ceremonies that were to be held in Paris on Sunday and Monday, 22 and 23 July 1792.[53] This description lays out precise details of how the formal proceedings were to occur only to the sound of majestic and severe music. At 6 a.m., and at hourly intervals thereafter until 7 p.m., a three-burst cannon salvo on the Pont-Neuf, as at the Arsenal, was to announce the proclamation. After drumbeats had drawn citizens to assembly points, two major processions were to start off at the same time from the Place de Grève but in different directions with one proceeding north of the Seine and the other south of the river. Each procession would consist of a detachment of cavalry with trumpeters, drummers, music, a detachment of the National Guard, six cannon and further trumpeters, followed by four municipal commissionaires on horseback, each carrying a standard with a chain of civic crowns and each standard inscribed with one of the words *Liberté*, *Egalité*, *Constitution*, *Patrie*, with beneath *Publicité*, *Responsabilité*. After twelve municipal officers, clad with their official sashes, and other persons of distinction and councillors, a national guardsman, also on horseback, was to carry a large tricolour banner with the words: *Citoyens, la patrie est en danger* (Citizens, the Homeland is in danger), with a further six cannon, another detachment of national guardsmen and one of cavalry bringing up the rear. The processions were to halt at designated places north and south of the Seine. After the processions had come to a halt with the people gathered in silence and the municipal drum-rolls ended, a municipal officer was to read out the legislative act of 11 July announcing the decree of the Homeland in danger.[54]

Prieur's composition has the cortège crossing the Pont-Neuf with the recognisable buildings of the Hôtel de la Monnaie and the Collège de l'Unité with its dome on the south side of the river, and the Palaces of the Louvre and the Tuileries receding into the distance on the north side. Part of the middle ground is given over to lingering smoke from the cannon salvoes. The effect of the smoke adds a touch of more dramatic and animated movement to the composition and it can be contrasted to the strictly regulated formations of human troops standing to attention below. Processing from left to right in the foreground, trumpeting cavalrymen sit astride horses with improbably but perfectly aligned raised forelegs. The alignment leads the viewer back again to the monument in the middle of the bridge, the soon to be demolished equestrian statue of Henri IV. It is

shown here flanked by temporary tents for the inscription and reception of the newly enlisted, next to a tree of liberty with banners and standards and topped by a cap of liberty and by, at the other end of the bridge, Soufflot's stone guardroom that had been erected in 1769.[55]

In this composition, the spectacle of the procession exists alongside the separate activity of enlisting citizen volunteers to serve in the military. The official description of how this particular procedure was to be done in Paris informs us that the act of sign-up was planned in detail to conform to the unfolding of a ritualistic ceremony. Tents decorated with tricolour streamers and wreathes of oak leaves were to be set up within temporary amphitheatres that had, in front, tables resting on two drums for the inscribing of the names of citizens who had come forward. Once inscribed, the citizens were to receive a certificate of enrolment from three municipal officers, assisted by six local worthies. The newly enrolled would then join his fellow volunteers in a large circle in front of the amphitheatre until the end of all the enrolments, and before being marched off to headquarters.[56]

The section of Prieur's composition given over to the enlistment procedure is handled in quite a different way to the stately formal pageantry of the procession. Volunteers with arms raised in enthusiastic celebration stand on the steps leading up to the table where other volunteers clamour round. One man descends the stairs with long strides, with cap raised aloft and in a supposed spirit of ecstatic enthusiasm, having performed his act of sign-up. Below the platform, men, women and children raise their arms in acclamation. There is no sense of any divisive dissent in all of this even though issuing the decree of the Homeland in danger with its attendant call to arms had prompted far from unanimous agreement when the measures were debated in the Legislative Assembly.[57] What is being shown in this section of the composition is a community of people who accept with joy the call to arms. This imagery is, however, not about the right of all citizens to become professional soldiers; it is about the right of citizens to give a helping hand for the duration of an exceptional campaign at a time of national need and when the nation's liberty was considered to be threatened. The viewer of the drawing, and of the print for which the drawing was designed, could be swept along as both an observer and a participant in something special, glorious and necessary for the sake of the French nation and its causes in posterity.

The non-naturalistic running together of the separate actions of the procession, the reactions to the procession, the processes of enlistment

and the reactions to the processes of enlistment within the one panoramic overview belong to the devices, conventions and traditions of picture-making on a static, flat, two-dimensional surface. The scene does not aim to represent one momentous occasion as it actually was and nor are the realities of what did, in fact, occur deliberately being hidden, covered over, masked or disguised; all this remains far removed from the strategic, 'embedded' scenography of modern-day spin.

Unattributed illustrations in the *Révolutions de Paris* provide somewhat alternative views of these events. The outlines of this imagery (Fig. 4.5) are less site-specific, cruder and more prosaic in scope than those of the ambitious panoramic vision of Prieur. Yet, until it ceased publication in February 1794, this weekly newspaper was one of the most widely read of the Revolution, having acquired over 200,000 subscribers.[58] Promoting radical opinion, the journalist Louis-Marie Prudhomme certainly still managed to control his publication closely and its reporting was nuanced and quite subtle. In discussing the ceremonies of the proclamation of the Homeland in danger the journal commented on the music and noted that members of the National Guard had appeared to be distracted and bored:

> A music adapted for the occasion was heard in front of the municipal body; but it was still too learned for the multitude. The numerous spectators did not perfectly grasp the reason for this ceremony and National Guardsmen of the procession were the first to give the example of distraction and even of boredom. It is perhaps excusable. For four years, it [the National Guard] has been up and about almost every day; it must be sated with ceremonies; one should perhaps have spared it this new duty of forced labour; let us use it sparingly for more pressing moments.[59]

The report certainly did not envisage the enlistment ceremony as one in which all French citizens fervently participated together in a mass call to arms in the manner of, say, the painting of 1850 by Auguste Vinchon, *Enrôlements volontaires, 22 juillet 1792* (Voluntary Enrolments, 22 July 1792, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française). Furthermore, by associating the spectacle of the enlistment procedure with the *corvée*, a tax of forced labour that the recent abolition of feudal systems of privilege had done away with, the report intimated that the present levy of troops was onerous and not entirely necessary.

In this journal's visual account, a clear distinction is made between those who actively participate in the ceremony—the municipal officers, the

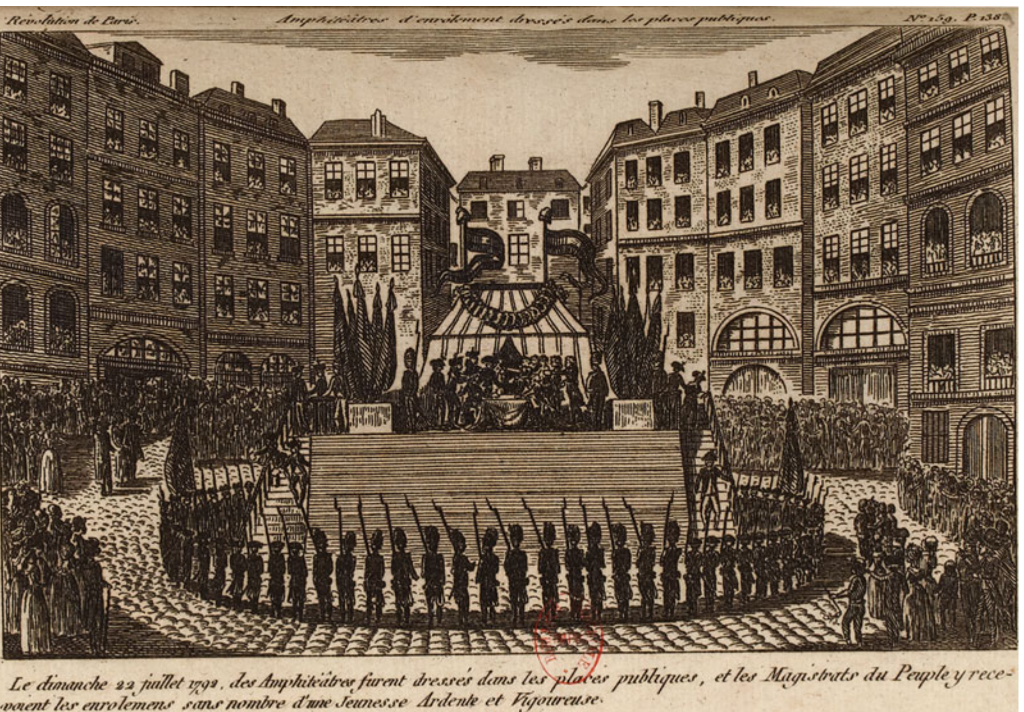

Fig. 4.5 Anon, *Cérémonie des premiers enrôlements de la jeunesse pour la défense de la Patrie*, etching, 9 cm × 15 cm, 1792, from *Révolutions de Paris dédiées à la Nation*, du 21 au 28 juillet 1792, no. 159, between pp. 138–9, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RES 8-LC2-171, 1792/07/21 (T13,N159)-n°159. Photo: BnF

enlisted, the circle of rifle-toting soldiers on the one hand—and those spectators who look at the ceremony from the outside of the circle, whether standing at a distance round the sides of the square or packed into overlooking balconies and windows from the surrounding buildings. Volunteers are shown to be ascending and descending the temporary platform to no apparently unanimous acclaim. This, too, was commented on in the accompanying written report, which suggested that the going to war may have played into the hands of the Royal family and counter-revolutionaries who wished to put an end to the Revolution by a going to war that would end in a defeat for the revolutionaries.[60] The report noted the patriotic enthusiasm of the young men who were signing up, but it did this so as to provide a contrast with previous *Ancien Régime* methods of military recruitment, such as those that were practised by the old *racoleurs* of the Quai de la Ferraille, by the militia in France under the reigns of Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI, and by the English when press-ganging sailors.

The article also outlines touching scenes of farewell. The description aligns the new mass call-ups with the traditional and conventional military farewell scenes of the *Ancien Régime*:

> It was difficult to hold back the tears at the moving past of these young men, the hope of the nation, tearing themselves away from the most dear ties of nature; several gave their arm to their girlfriends, several to their mothers; these forced their pace to follow the troop march and to see for as long as possible the child that they did not dare to hope to see again one day. But to give some diversion from the sadness of the last farewell, the enrolled cried out long live the nation and invited all the travellers they encountered to join them in this chorus.[61]

Even in the reportage of the period, the trope of the hero willing to go off to fight in defence of nation and, in the process, to risk life and limb, had for subject the negative sentimental feelings, prompted by the departure, in the loved ones—the girlfriends and mothers—left behind.

A print (Fig. 4.6), dealing with the French army at the frontline, merits some comment for, quite unusually, it displays a more overt incitement to join up and fight with the forces of the free French nation. The view does not purport to be reportage although it pertains to a law passed by the Legislative Assembly on 3 August 1792 that had officially offered a welcome to deserters from the enemy camp.[62] The lettering of the print announces that it is for sale in Paris at the printing house of the Cercle Social, an organisation that, in 1792, was supported by the Gironde.[63]

Fig. 4.6 François Bonneville, *Hundert Livres Leibrente*, etching, 21 cm × 27.5 cm, 1792, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-201 (128)-FOL. Photo: BnF

Members of this political faction had been at the forefront of those lobbying for war so this military imagery can also be understood in the light of that political campaign. The print, with its title in both French and German, makes an obvious appeal to enemy troops to desert from the harsh imperial regime in the interests of joining up with the French army in the land of the free where due, full and happy rewards are offered.

The composition is structured so as to offset against each other the two opposing camps on either side of the dividing line of the river Rhine. The topography is not, however, convincing, specific or local. There are marked distortions of scale with the Rhine river acting more as a metaphorical, rather than geographical, boundary dividing the opposing forces. On the enemy's side of the river, there are massed ranks of soldiers in strict formation, in front of which an example of the Prussian discipline of corporal punishment

via the sabre blow is being meted out. On the French side of the river, there is the proffering of financial reward and the pouring of wine in merry welcome to those enemy deserters who, freely and in a spirit of equality, choose to join up with their French army colleagues. The tricolour banner being hoisted up still has horizontal rather than the later official vertical stripes of the French national flag.[64] Topped here by a liberty bonnet, it flies unfurled next to a tree of liberty; it can be seen to be opposed to the Prussian eagle on the flag held up before the orderly massed ranks on the other side.[65] The proffering of wine and the paying out of money belong to the iconography of military sign-up under the *Ancien Régime* but what has been left out here is any suggestion that motive might have involved dynastic honour and hereditary deservedness; rather joining up into this French encampment is shown to be ostensibly for furthering principles of liberty and equality.

Events in real life were to unfurl differently. Although separate legions of foreign 'patriots' and deserters were formed, the recruitment of foreigners into the French army was mostly viewed with hostility and suspicion. Michael Rapport has noted that by February 1793 only 4% of the manpower in the line army was, in fact, foreign and that this was a substantial reduction from the 15% of foreign soldiers and regiments in the French army of 1789.[66] Eventually under Robespierre, and as part of the backlash against the Gironde, deserters were denied the right to enrol in the French army and some were even imprisoned when no useful work to defray the costs of their upkeep was found.[67]

Unsurprisingly, the imagery of desertion hardly figures at all in the visual production of this period even though desertion from the French army was certainly a widespread phenomenon.[68] Some caricatures used desertion as a trope to target the absence of martial qualities amongst the enemy's forces but depicting the absence of an absence generally held little appeal—even for the forces of counter-revolution.[69]

Artists Sign Up: *Aux armes et aux arts*?

The calling up of artists to serve in the army was not without its own problems. These arose partly out of the traditional and conventional pairing or balancing of the arts of war with those of peace. As a recognised genre or category of subject matter, the painting of battle scenes declined in status during the eighteenth century in France.[70] Whilst the officially appointed post of war artist did not yet exist, some painters followed the military campaigns so as to sketch relevant troop positions, fortifications and armed engagements. These painters were, however, attached to the army's corps of

Engineer Geographers and employed as skilled technicians by the Ministry of War, rather than as inventively creative fine artists by the royal household.[71]

In 1792 some young fine artists certainly responded to the national call to arms.[72] The information on those who signed up in Paris compiled by Chaussin and Hennet lists details of a *Compagnie des Arts* that was formed in the Louvre section on 6 September 1792. The company was incorporated into the battalion of the Arsenal at Châlons on 23 September.[73] When parading before the Legislative Assembly two days after its formation, the officer of the Company proudly announced the artists' commitment first to fight and then, through their subsequent artworks, to communicate to posterity the fine actions of the battlefield in defence of liberty:

> The young artists have heard the trumpet of war. Straightaway, abandoning their works, they gathered together, they armed themselves to speed to combat. We shall then return to our hearths; we will animate, on marble and on canvas, the fine actions whose glory we shall have shared, and we will endeavour to immortalise the souvenir of this war, this war of liberty! We swear to uphold and defend liberty and equality or to die in defending them.[74]

These words show artists wishing to be involved in the revolutionary process beyond merely being witness to it.[75]

Given the long training involved in becoming a major history painter, it is perhaps not surprising that major artists did not, in fact, sign up for military service in the *Compagnie des Arts*. Not all top artists were in sympathy with the Revolution, having worked for the court and for wealthy members of the nobility. Some, such as François-Xavier Fabre (1766–1837), fled the country and were branded as émigrés; others, such as François Andre Vincent (1746–1816), retired to live more quietly in the countryside for a period.[76] David, the most well known artist turned politician of the day, was over 40 when the Revolution broke out; his active participation in its unfolding involved artistic activities like the design and organisation of some of its festivals, the painting of martyr portraits and designs for new national costumes.[77] Other leading artists of the day became closely involved with public projects such as setting up the Louvre as a museum and the preservation and curating of confiscated art works.[78]

The captain of the *Compagnie des Arts*, Jacques Lemercier (active as an artist 1789–91), was a sculptor who had served as a dragoon in the de Noailles regiment from 1779 to 1787.[79] The sub-lieutenant of the company was the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Francesqui, or Franceschi-Delonne (1767–1810), whose name is now inscribed on the west side of the Arc de

Triomphe in Paris. He came from Lyon and had failed in his attempt to win the Rome prize for aspiring Royal Academicians, but he was to go on to have a distinguished military career during the Revolution and, under the Empire, he became a general, a baron, a commander of the Légion d'honneur and a knight of the *Couronne de Fer* before dying as a prisoner of war in Cartagena on 23 October 1810.[80] Another notable member of the company was the painter Louis-François Lejeune (1775–1848) who became a general and aide-de-camp to Louis Alexandre Berthier and whose activities as a soldier are colourfully recalled in his memoirs.[81] The activities of those artists who served as soldiers during the decade of Revolution did not, however, immediately result in a plethora of battlefield imagery. It is also significant that Lejeune's battle painting of Marengo of 1801 has received critical attention for being in a new tradition of military painting that emerged a decade after the new ideology of patriotic militarism.[82]

In spite of the words of the address to the Legislative Assembly, soldiers of the *Compagnie des Arts* did not quickly return home to recall in marble and on canvas their immediate experiences at the frontline. The retrospective comments of Etienne Delécluze (1781–1863) about one of David's students, a certain Robin, on his return to the master's studio after military service indicates the extent to which soldiering and the profession of fine arts continued to be thought of as incompatible. Robin, heading a sect termed the *crassons* (filthy ones) and that had few adherents, had apparently brought back from the army the habits of smoking at least three pipes a day, of not changing his linen until it no longer stuck to his body and of not washing except in despite of himself and when swimming.[83]

Some further evidence about the incompatibility of soldiering and the fine arts can be gleaned from the letters sent by Jacques-Augustin Pajou (1766–1828), another member of the *Compagnie des Arts*, to François Gérard (1770–1837).[84] Even though the conventions of letter writing home from the frontline must be borne in mind, extracts from these letters can still indicate something of the mindset of the volunteer citizen/soldier/artist near the frontline and the rapid disillusionment of those who had positively responded to the call to arms of 1792. The contents bring to light, furthermore, some of the more generally perceived mismatches between what the soldier did and the work of the artist.[85]

The first letter from Douzy, near Sedan, is dated 14 October 1792; in it Pajou announces that he is still anxious to serve his nation patriotically in what he considers to be a useful way and in spite of recent blisters and fevers. An ideological motivation, in being eager to rid his nation of what he claims are the barbarous pillaging and burnings of the émigrés, is still at

the forefront of the artist's mind.[86] Pajou ends his letter by asking Gérard for news of the maid Laville, 'that poor girl broke my heart when I said my farewells to her.' The remark is revealing about the social relationships and status of some fine artists; it also indicates that the moment of bidding farewell had enduring significance for those who had left home to go off to war. Less than ten days later, the volunteer soldier notes the formidable fortifications of Montmédy, in situation as in plan, and as very interesting for an artist. He also regrets that the company had not seized the nearby Orval abbey which reputedly had all sorts of munitions quite apart from the monks' muscatel.[87] By 9 November, the situation for Pajou has rapidly deteriorated. He no longer considers himself to be useful to the nation for he passes the time sketching small portraits; he is bored, idle and wanting to return to Paris. He asks Gérard's help in securing his release, contrasting his vocation as an artist with his present situation of soldiering: 'I hope to be a better artist that I could be a military man, and you know enough of my principles to know that I regard that art as diametrically opposite to the gentle philosophy that feels repelled by the shedding of human blood.'[88]

Fine artists were only rarely employed as artists in 'war-work', but the calls for the arts to be used in the causes and service of the Revolution derive from and belong to the new political culture. As early as 1791, Henri Jansen published an article that harnessed the arts to enthusiasm for glory and to love of the nation while also turning away from a monarchical regime's taste for luxury: 'Under a monarchical regime, the arts are sustained by the need to vary its pleasures and the desire to satisfy the taste for luxury; under the empire of liberty, they rise up, spread out and flourish by the enthusiasm of glory and by the love of the state.'[89] The writer promotes the making of the Louvre into a public gallery of liberty where images of the great men who had merited the honours of the Homeland and a series of paintings representing the memorable events of the Revolution would remain for posterity and to the astonishment and admiration of the universe.

The arts were certainly to serve in the promotion and regeneration of the nation at a time of war. The introduction to the catalogue published by the *Commune générale des arts* stated, for instance, that the adage, *In arma silent Artes*/At the sound of arms, the arts become silent, would not be adopted.[90] In the exchanges that took place in the National Convention on 28 nivôse an II (17 January 1794) between the architect Pierre Theodore Bienaimé (1765–1826), the spokesman for a deputation from the *Société populaire et républicaine des arts*, and David, the President of the sitting, Bienaimé called for those returning from military service to lay down their arms and take up their pencils so that:

> the virtuous and heroic actions be retraced everywhere, in the sections, popular assemblies, primary schools and departments; that virtues be in public places, that the people see themselves represented there overwhelming despotism with one hand, unmasking prejudice with the other; that they find everywhere lessons of morality which, in forming the heart to love the Homeland, nourishes in the people the sublime virtues that they engender.[91]

Before announcing a major art competition in response to the deputation, David summarised how the arts were to be used to convey to posterity the republican war effort: 'The arts will take up their dignity again; they will no longer prostitute themselves, as formerly, in retracing the actions of an ambitious tyrant. Canvas, marble, bronze will vie with each other so as to transmit to posterity the indefatigable courage of our republican phalanxes.'[92] This was fighting talk. In theory at least, the speech made clear that the arts were no longer to pander to the needs and desires of an ambitious tyrant. In depicting the enduring courage of the republican fighting troops in the present and for the future, the different materials and forms of the fine arts were to be used for the war effort as weapons of communication and as weapons for incitements to action.

On 5 floréal an II (24 April 1794), a series of publicly funded State art competitions began to be announced by the Committee of Public Safety.[93] In painting, as stated in a report, artists were to choose subjects 'from amongst the glorious events and heroic deeds of the Revolution'.[94] Although this rubric was quite vague, the subjects of about 140 listed entries to the painting competition fell into distinct categories that included those of individual acts of heroism, courage, generosity and self-sacrifice, acts of public worship and instruction, the days of insurrection in Paris and allegories of, for instance, wisdom and truth. Apart from some scenes of a fort burning and the retaking of Toulon from the English, there were virtually no battle paintings, but soldiering, the military and the war effort figured prominently, be it as allegory or as acts of self-sacrifice, courage, heroism and humanity. *Levée en masse de la République contre ses ennemis* (Mass levy of the Republic against its enemies) is likely to have dealt with the mass mobilisation of 1793 and three other titles dealt with the Mayor of Brive quitting his municipal sash of office so as to enrol in the military. A prize-winning entry by Jacques Sablet was for a painting entitled *Un forgeron quittant son enclume et volant au combat avec son marteau* (A blacksmith quitting his anvil and speeding to combat with his hammer). The print after the lost painting now shows the return of the blacksmith from combat because he holds in his hand the swords he has captured.[95]

Bidding Farewell

Although few battle paintings were produced when the Revolution was at its most intense, there was a market for small-scale genre scenes of a recruit taking leave of family and loved ones. Such scenes could be of some refinement and may well have functioned as relatively cheap keepsakes, long before the days of the photograph. Couched within recognisable visual traditions and conventions, the imagery can be repetitive and would have been quite easy to interpret. Paintings like *Le Sacrifice à la Patrie ou le Départ d'un volontaire* (The Sacrifice to the Homeland or the Departure of the volunteer, Grasse, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Provence), attributed to Jean-Baptiste Mallet (1759–1835) or *Le Départ d'un volontaire* (The Departure of the Volunteer, Paris, Musée Carnavalet) attributed to Dominic Doncre (1743–1820) incorporate a range of human reactions, gestures and emotions within an already established iconography of the soldier taking leave of his family. Soldiering gradually appears to acquire more obviously dutiful elements of self-sacrifice. The overall structure of the scenes remains, however, basically the same with the central action being that of a departure from home and from the family, before the march off with the army.

The lettering of a coloured etching after a design by Jean-Jacques Le Barbier (1738–1826, Fig. 4.7) can be used to trace the evolution of the scene of the recruit going forth to join the army to something that is more clearly patriotic. Le Barbier was a fully fledged history painter and Royal Academician at the start of the Revolution. After pressing deputies of the Constituent Assembly for the commission, he would go on to produce a large painting on a subject of contemporary history showing the army mutiny at Nancy, entitled *Courage héroïque du jeune Désilles, le 30 août 1790 à l'affaire de Nancy* (Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts; on display at Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française).[96]

The print examined here has been given the somewhat deceptive title of *Départ du Citoyen* (Departure of the Citizen). The scene takes place in the open air before a seemingly modest homestead. The rural setting is not too distant from the type of pastoral views of soldiers taking their leave from home that had been a speciality of Louis Watteau (1758–1823), a descendant of the celebrated Antoine Watteau (1684–1721). Contrasting with these types of pastoral views, soldiering is, however, not being viewed here as a pleasurable dalliance to be enjoyed with insouciance.[97] The figure types and their manner of interacting betray rather the training of the history painter so that the personal experience of a leaving for war comes to be transformed into something of more general worth.

Fig. 4.7 C. D. (Sculp) after Jean-Jacques Le Barbier, *Départ du Citoyen*, coloured etching and engraving, 36.1 cm × 41.4 cm, c.1792, Paris, musée Carnavalet, Inv. Histoire GCVIIA G.29489. Photo ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto

The placing of one uniformed soldier in rear view and another frontally had long been a standard artistic device, dating back to Renaissance prints, for it could show off a figure's anatomy and costume as if in the round.[98] The volunteer, in a *contrapposto* pose, looks back to an elderly man, presumably his father, while pointing forward in the other direction to the path he will take as if making the case for his departure. One of the volunteer's wrists is being clasped by an older woman, presumably his mother, who appears reluctant to let him go. What could be a younger sister has her head and downcast face lowered onto his shoulder. A child at his feet clasps on to a haversack, reluctant to let that go too. In the doorway, another young woman, possibly a wet nurse, enfolds a nestling child within her arms and apron. Standing on a balcony yet another woman looks down sadly with

hands clasped as if in lamentation and with, at her side, a boy attentively applying himself to what is before him. In the bottom right hand corner of the composition, another fairly young woman is seated next to a discarded flower-bedecked hat. Weeping into her handkerchief, she is being addressed by an older woman who gestures forward in the manner of the recruit, as if reiterating the case for the imminent departure. The pose of this weeping woman and her expression of despair display something of the grief incorporated into the figure of the daughter of Eudamidas seated at the foot of her father's deathbed in Poussin's celebrated history painting, *Le Testament d'Eudamidas* (Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts), a work well known in eighteenth-century France by dint of having been frequently reproduced in engravings and etchings.[99] The scene is hardly one of intoxication and merriment, although members of the troop are being served bread and wine, as if this is some sort of religious sacrament of departure. One of the soldiers has a prominent revolutionary tricolour cockade on his bearskin.

When the verses attached to the print are read alongside the title given to the scene, the picture becomes meaningful within the altered circumstances and contexts of the unfolding Revolution:

Departure of the Citizen
Well, then, this evil moment has arrived!
He is going to leave, this son, the hope of their old age.
All melt into tears, Servants, Father, Mother, Mistress;
And he too overwhelmed by a dismal sadness

Appears to want to hasten the instant of his departure.
Go, my son, says the Father, arm yourself with courage;
For a French subject, service is a right.
Like you I have served the state when young
May honour be your guide as it was mine;
A good Soldier was always a good Citizen.

The first stanza expresses what had become the conventional sentiments of earlier scenes of filial departure. The second stanza is, however, different in import for it transforms a domestic plight into an example of French patriotism in which the citizen is being encouraged by his father to serve the State in doing his duty as a soldier. According to these lines, the father's hand gesture of farewell can be understood as approving his son's decision to enrol and guiding his son to honour in the light of his own example. Honour had been a motive for military service and it remains so, but it is now no longer to be associated with hereditary privilege and the officer class for it

has come to belong to what a good citizen should strive for. Much of the visual imagery here conforms to pre-revolutionary precedents and is conservative rather than innovatory in nature, but the words of the print make something newly purposeful and patriotic of the soldier's cause. The picture making and the words beneath the picture making do not fit easily together with the words of the second stanza being much closer to the imperatives of military sign-up that had recently come to accrue to revolutionary states of perception. The trope of the departing soldier has now acquired the mission of the collective cause in support of the French nation.

More clearly partisan scenes of departure on account of military enrolments in defence of nation were to be seen in the theatre.[100] This is to be expected given the live nature of theatre performance and the site of representation in which sense of presence and close, immediate witnessing hold sway. The action of the one-act comedy *Le Départ des volontaires villageois pour les frontières* by Joseph Lavallée takes place on 23 September 1792 at the time of Valmy, during the siege of Lille and the day after the National Convention had declared France a Republic.[101] The play depicts a closely contemporary event since it was written in the autumn of 1792 for performances at Montansier's Théâtre du Palais-Royal in October that year. It was also performed eight times between December 1792 and March 1793 in Brussels where it was allied to the military campaigns of Dumouriez in Belgium.[102] Performances of the work were clearly rousing in intention and they ended with the *Te Deum de la liberté* by François Gossec that had been composed for the Festival of Federation of 14 July 1790 on the Champ de Mars in Paris.

The play begins with Alexis wanting to pay back the sum he has received from Mathurin, the father of Agathe, the girl with whom he is in love and whom he wants to marry once his debts have been paid off. The debt has arisen because Alexis needed the sum to pay for his release from service in the militia: 'I was chosen for the militia at the age of 16; one did not then go to war with such good heart as today.'[103] Alexis had returned home on leave after four years' service and had given the money he had saved up to his poor, infirm widowed mother and for the care of his baby sister, but when it was time for him to return to his regiment, he burst into tears, which was when Mathurin had stepped in and given him the 400 francs to buy his release. Service in the militia is being represented in this comedy as something that was considered onerous and caused distress, with release from such service prompting tears of joy and a family celebration.

Later in the play, a government representative appears on stage and gives a call to arms. Alexis is one of the first to respond to this, wanting

to march off immediately, calling for his haversack to be prepared and almost forgetting to embrace Agathe.[104] The repayment of his initial debt is then offered, via a rather circuitous route, to the National Convention as a contribution to the costs of the war.[105] The play is not great theatre, but it is indicative of how the military figured in the broader culture of the day. Scenes of battle and from the frontline were not shown on stage; soldiers appeared, instead, within more domestic contexts and with dramatic focus being provided by the relationships that arose between civilians and the military. These sorts of situations belong also to the visual imagery of the period even though the mediations of a live performance can bring the experiences of lived circumstance more immediately to life than can a scene that is essentially fixed, static and mute.

The subject of the departing warrior also figured within a particularly utopian vision of the antique. The stipple engraving entitled *Va où la gloire t'appelle* (Go where glory calls you, Fig. 4.8) works somewhat differently to a genre scene or a play in the theatre for it is obviously allegorical in nature and requires some knowledge of the codes and conventions of classical culture to become meaningful. The setting of the print is that of some sort of circular temple. Next to an altar, a naked cherubic winged genius presents a musket to a muscle-bound warrior, barefoot and clad *à l'antique* in a short tunic and with billowing shawl. The child genius holds up in his other hand a laurel wreath as a clear signifier of the glory that will accrue through military triumph, while the warrior clasps hold of the barrel of the gun with both hands, apparently eager to accept its charge. Ken Alder has noted how, in September 1793, Lazare Carnot suspended pike production favouring, instead, the making of muskets with bayonets.[106] The pike had become a symbol of popular insurrection so that this change also denoted a change from an army of pikemen insurgents to a more technologically sophisticated, centrally controlled and State-led violence. The print shows no pikes and displays nothing that could be construed negatively as insurrectionary; rather it is the antique armour of plumed helmet and sword that lie discarded by the altar and that can be seen to have been superseded by the modern weapon. These discarded instruments of past warfare, which had featured so often in the high art of history painting, could also be said to cover over any overt reference to the weapons of popular insurgency. The classicism of the carefully modelled and delicately shaded figurative forms of this print serves to elevate, ennoble and make more abstract the potential violence of the imagery's true import. The appeal to *gloire* locates this work within the mythmaking potentialities of both the

Fig. 4.8 Louis Darcis after Louis-Simon Boizot, *Va où la gloire t'appelle*, stipple engraving, 25 cm × 33 cm, 1794, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (27)-FT4. Photo: BnF

Revolution and the French classical tradition. Whilst people were behaving and acting together socially in radically new ways, the visual imagery of the period still made use of the sanctioned practices and processes of the past. The allegorical mode was also to be exploited with further effect in the picturing of the support given by women to the nation's fighting forces.

Notes

1. This argument is taken from L. Hunt (1984) *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
2. Major works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the sculpture by François Rude on the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile in Paris, the novel *Quatrevingt-treize* and the poem *Les Soldats de l'an II* by Victor Hugo and

the film *La Marseillaise* by Jean Renoir, deal with the phenomenon of military enrolment during the French Revolution. For the nation in arms in French history, see H. Strachan (1988) 'The Nation in Arms', in G. Best (ed.) *The Permanent Revolution: the French Revolution and its legacy 1789–1989* (London: Fontana Press) pp. 49–73; A. Forrest (2004) 'L'Armée de l'an II: la levée en masse et la creation d'un mythe républicain', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 335, 111–30; A. Forrest (2009) *The Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars: The Nation-in-Arms in French Republican Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). For the iconographic tradition, see *L'Enrôlement des volontaires de 1792: Thomas Couture (1815–1879): Les artistes au service de la patrie en danger* (1989), Exhibition catalogue (Paris and Beauvais: Musée Départemental de l'Oise); P. Bordes (1986) *La Patrie en danger* par Lethière et l'esprit militaire', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 1986, 4/5, 300–6. William Olander was one of the first to highlight the importance of the 1792 proclamation of *La Patrie en danger* and its attendant calls to arms in the picture-making of history under successive regimes, see W. Olander (1984) *Pour transmettre à la Postérité: French Painting and Revolution 1774–1795*, New York University: University Microfilms International), p. 294.

3. M. Ozouf (1985) 'Guerre et Terreur dans le Discours révolutionnaire', in P. Villaneix and J. Ehrard (eds) *La Bataille, L'Armée, La Gloire 1745–1871*, I (Clermont-Ferrand: Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand), pp. 283–95.
4. P. Bordes (2010) *Représenter la Révolution: Les 'Dix-Août' de Jacques Bertaux et de François Gérard* (Vizille: Fage).
5. Bordes, *Représenter la Révolution*, p. 73.
6. A. Détournelle (1794) (ed.) *Aux armes et aux arts! Peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure. Journal de la Société républicaine des arts* (Paris), p. 300.
7. For the National Guard, see G. Carrot (2001) *La Garde Nationale (1789–1871): Une force publique ambiguë* (Paris: Harmattan).
8. For Laneuville, see A. Freund (2014) *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press), pp. 138–40.
9. Anon (1789) *Le Courrier de Paris dans les provinces, et des provinces à Paris*, Paris, V/16, 274–6.
10. See further R. Reichardt (2009) *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille: collections du Musée Carnavalet* (Paris: Nicolas Chaudun), p. 90.
11. For the red cap of liberty, see R. Wrigley (1997) 'Transformations of a Revolutionary Emblem: The Liberty Cap in the French Revolution', *French History* 11/2, 132–61.

12. For the moral and virtuous Roman citizen-soldier as a precedent for the formation of the National Guard, see D. L. Clifford (2001) 'Can the Uniform Make the Citizen? Paris 1789–1791', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34/3, 363–82, p. 366.
13. For these flags, R-A.Vieilh de Varennes (1790) *Description curieuse et intéressante des soixante drapeaux, que l'amour patriotique a offert aux soixante Districts de la Ville* & *Fauxbourgs de* Paris (Paris: Sorin); M. Reinhard (1973) 'Les Drapeaux de la Garde Nationale Parisienne en 1789', in *Etudes Européennes: Mélanges offerts à Victor-Lucien Tapié* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne), pp. 525–32.
14. *Révolutions de Paris* (1789) XII, pp. 10–12.
15. J. Madival and E. Laurent (1867–) *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises*, XI (Paris: Dupont), p. 279.
16. For further on the imagery of paper money, see R. Taws (2007) 'Trompe l'Oeil and Trauma: Money and Memory after the Terror', *Oxford Art Journal* 30/3, 353–76.
17. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XI, pp. 315–16.
18. The pyramid featured as just such a sign in the figure of *Gloire* in the iconological compendium C-E. Gaucher (n.d.) *Iconologie par figures ou traité complet des allegories, emblèmes, etc.*, II (Paris: Lattré), p. 69. See Fig. 3.1.
19. The uniform of the National Guard, the *habit national* had been chosen carefully and it quickly became a potent signifier in its conjoining of personal military service with citizenship; see further Clifford, 'Can the Uniform make the Citizen?'.
20. L-E. de Touzel (1969) *Mémoires de la Duchesse de Tourzel*, ed. J. Chalon (Paris: Mercure de France), pp. 32–9; 101–3. These memoirs note the expressions of loyalty given, in the Tuileries Gardens, to the Dauphin from the National Guard in the aftermath of the Festival of Federation. Access to the Tuileries Gardens was, however, controlled and an officer of the National Guard accompanied each member of the family wherever they strayed. Before midday, deputies to the National Assembly and visitors with admission cards were allowed in but after 12.30 p.m. anyone well turned out could circulate in the building and in the gardens.
21. L. Hunt (1992) *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 196–8. Hunt has developed a Freudian model for a collective political unconscious structured by narratives of family relations in this period. According to this account, the romance of the father-king came to be replaced by the romance, in fraternity, of the band of brothers.
22. See Freund, *Portraiture and Politics*, pp. 81–108.

23. For an overview about these debates, see A. Crépin (2005) *Défendre la France: Les Français, la guerre et le service militaire, de la guerre de Sept Ans à Verdun* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes).
24. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, X, pp. 118–22; 517–620.
25. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, X, p. 521: 'est-il un père qui ne frémisse d'abandonner son fils, non aux hasards de la guerre, mais au milieu d'une foule de brigands inconnus, mille fois plus dangereux?'
26. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, X, p. 620.
27. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XV, p. 662.
28. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XXVII, séance 21 June 1791, pp. 393–4; XXVIII, séance 22 July 1791, pp. 509–13; XXIX, séance 4 August 1791, pp. 173–81.
29. J-P Bertaud (1979) *La Révolution armée: Les soldats-citoyens et la Révolution française* (Paris: Robert Lafont), p. 65.
30. A. Forrest (1989) *Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society during the Revolution and Empire* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press), p. 62.
31. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XLVI, p. 342.
32. Bertaud, *La Révolution armée*, p. 80.
33. See Crépin, *Défendre la France*, pp.105-6; Bertaud, *La Révolution armée*, pp. 80–2.
34. Crépin, *Défendre la France*, p. 104.
35. A. Forrest (1990) *Soldiers of the French Revolution* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), pp. 44–57.
36. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, LIX, pp. 6–66.
37. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, LIX, pp. 141–7.
38. Crépin, *Défendre la France*, p. 110.
39. Forrest, *Conscripts and Deserters*, pp. 43–73.
40. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, LXXII, pp. 674–5: 'Dès ce moment, jusqu'à celui où les ennemis auront été chassés du territoire de la république, tous les Français sont en réquisition permanente pour le service des armées.'
41. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, LXXII, p. 674.
42. Crépin, *Défendre la France*, pp. 115–17.
43. Thomas Hippler (1991) 'Service militaire et intégration nationale pendant la Révolution française', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 283, 1–16.
44. *Le Moniteur* (1798) *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur: seule histoire authentique et inaltérée e de la révolution française depuis la reunion des Etats-généraux jusqu'au Consulat* (*mai 1789–novembre 1799*), XXIX (Paris: Plon), pp. 380–6.

45. For the linking of visual imagery to the practices of power in the eighteenth century, see M. Foucault (1975) *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard).
46. G. Russell (1995) *The Theatres of War: Performances, Politics and Society, 1793–1815* (Oxford: Clarendon) p. 78.
47. *La Révolution par la gravure: les 'Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française', une enterprise éditoriale d'information et sa diffusion en Europe (1791–1817* (2002), Exhibition calogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux), p. 184.
48. C. Hould (2002) 'Les *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*: mémoire et revision de l'Histoire' in *La Révolution par la gravure*, Exhibition catalogue, pp. 12–49. For this publishing venture, see also *La Révolution par le dessin* (2008), Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux); P. de Carbonnièrres (2006) *Prieur: Les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution* (Paris: Nicolas Chaudun).
49. *La Révolution par la gravure*, Exhibition catalogue, p. 19.
50. F-X. de Pagès (1797) 'Soixante-cinquieme Tableau de la Révolution: proclamation de la patrie en danger: le 22 Juillet 1792', in *Collection complète des tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné), p. 1.
51. *La Révolution française Le Premier Empire: Dessins du Musée Carnavalet* (1983), Museum Catalogue (Paris: Les Amis du Musée Carnavalet), p. 127. For Prieur, see also W. Roberts (2000) *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur, revolutionary artists: the public, the populace and images of the French Revolution* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
52. *La Révolution française* (1983), Museum Catalogue, p. 127. The catalogue notes that the drawings by Prieur for the collection had lain forgotten within the leaves of an edition of the *Tableaux historiques* in the Louvre probably from the time of their purchase from the artist's widow in 1801 until they were rediscovered by Jules Guiffrey in 1900.
53. *Ordre, marche et ceremonial de la Déclaration du danger de la Patrie, Proclamation de la municipalité de Paris par le Maire et le Conseil general de la commune; Extrait du registre des délibérations du Conseil general de la commune* (1792) (Paris), pp. 1–3.
54. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XLVI, p. 342.
55. *La Révolution française* (1983) Museum catalogue, p. 145.
56. *Ordre, marche et ceremonial de la Déclaration du danger de la Patrie*, p. 4.
57. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XLVI, p. 342.
58. J. R. Censer (1976) *Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press 1789–1791* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press), p. 22.
59. *Révolutions de Paris* (1791), CLIX, p. 138: 'Une musique adaptée à la circonstance se faisoit entendre devant le corps municipal; mais elle étoit encore trop savante pour la multitude. Les spectateurs nombreux ne saisirent pas parfaitement le motif de cette cérémonie, et la garde nationale du cortège

donnoit la première l'exemple de la distraction et meme de l'ennui. Elle est peut-être excusable. Depuis quatre ans, presque tous les jours sur pied, elle doit être rassasiée de cérémonies; on auroit dû peut-être lui épargner cette nouvelle corvée; ménageons-la pour des momens plus pressans.'

60. *Révolutions de Paris* (1791) CLIX, p. 139.
61. *Révolutions de Paris* (1791) CLIX, p. 140: 'Il étoit difficile de retenir les larmes au passage de ces jeunes hommes, l'espoir de la nation, s'arrachant aux liens les plus chers de la nature; quelques-uns donnoient le bras à leurs amies de Coeur, quelques-uns à leurs mères; celles-ci forçoient leurs pas pour suivre la marche de la troupe, et voir le plus long-temps possible l'enfant qu'elles n'osent se flatter de revoir un jour. Mais pour faire diversion à la tristesse du dernier adieu, les enrôlés crioient vive la nation, et invitoient tous les voyageurs qu'ils rencontroient à faire 'chorus' avec eux.'
62. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XLVII, p. 499.
63. *La Révolution française et l'Europe 1789–1799* (1989), Exhibition catalogue, II (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux), p. 495.
64. For more on this flag, see the discussion of Lethière's *La Patrie en danger* (Fig. 5.10).
65. Another version of this print includes representations of the law in the form traditionally associated with the Ten Commandments, see J. Ribner (1993) *Broken Tablets: The Cult of the Law in French Art from David to Delacroix* (Berkeley and Oxford: University of California Press).
66. M. Rapport (2003) *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners 1789–1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 158.
67. Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship*, pp. 214–5.
68. See further Forrest, *Conscripts and Deserters.*
69. For a counter-revolutionary caricature showing a military procession going off to war, see the print *Contre les emigrants* (Against the emigrants) in C. Langlois (1988) *La Caricature contre-révolutionnaire* (Paris: Presses du CNRS), p. 94.
70. For more on the decline of battle painting in eighteenth-century France, see V. Mainz (forthcoming) 'Deflecting the fire of battle painting', in E. Kuijpers and C. van de Haven (eds) *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800: Experiences, Practices, Imagination* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
71. M. Jallut (1959) 'Les Peintres de Batailles des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', *Archives de l'art français, 1950–1957*, XXII (Paris), 115–28.
72. Details of the name, age and state of service of those in Paris who responded to the various calls to arms of 1791 and 1792 are given in C-L. Chassin and L. Hennet (1899–1906) *Les Volontaires nationaux pendant la Révolution* (Paris: Léopold Cerf). Gerrit Walczak has noted that volunteer service in the National Guard was undertaken by several artists including Jean-Jacques Hauer (1751–1829), Pierre-Alexandre Wille, Louis-Gabriel Moreau (1740–1806), Jean Duplessis-Bertaux (1747–1818) and Piat-

Joseph Sauvage (1744–1818), see further G Walczak (2007) 'Low Art, Popular Imagery and Civic Commitment in the French Revolution', *Art History* 30/2, 247–77. Hauer was to go on to exhibit a now lost painting depicting the departure of a dragoon from his farm at the Salon of 1795. For more on this type of genre scene, see the next section: Bidding Farewell.

73. Chaussin and Hennet, *Les Volontaires nationaux*, I, pp. 341–2.
74. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XLIX, p. 475: 'Les jeunes artistes ont entendu la trompette de la guerre. Aussitôt, abandonnant leurs travaux, ils se sont réunis, ils se sont armés pour voler au combat. Nous reviendrons ensuite dans nos foyers; nous animerons, sur le marbre et sur la toile, les belles actions dont nous aurons partagé la gloire, et nous nous efforcerons d'immortaliser le souvenir de cette guerre, la guerre de la Liberté. Nous jurons de maintenir et de défendre la Liberté et l'Egalité, ou de mourir en les défendant.'
75. See P. Bordes (1988) 'L'Art et le politique', in P. Bordes and R. Michel (eds) *Aux Armes* & *Aux Arts*!: *Les Arts de la Révolution 1789-1799* (Paris: Adam Biro), pp. 103–35; 105.
76. Bordes, 'L'Art et le politique', p. 108.
77. See *Jacques-Louis David 1748–1825* (1989), Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux), pp. 207–357.
78. See A. McClellan (1994) *Inventing the Louvre*: *Art*, *Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); E. Pommier (1991), *L'Art de la liberté*: *Doctrines et débats de la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard).
79. Chassin and Hennet, *Les Volontaires nationaux*, II, p. 74.
80. Chassin and Hennet, *Les Volontaires nationaux*, II, pp. 75–6.
81. L. F. Lejeune (1895–6) *Mémoires de générale Lejeune* (Paris: Firmin-Didot).
82. S. L. Siegfried (1993) 'Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXV/2, 235–57. See further the discussion of Lethière's *L'Enrôlement des volontaires ou la patrie en danger* (Fig. 5.10) below. For the lack of encouragement given to the battle painter Jacques Gamelin (1738–1803), see in particular O. Michel (2003) 'Gamelin, peintre de batailles', in M-N. Maynard (ed.) *Gamelin*, *peintre de batailles* (*1738–1803*) (Carcassonne: Musée des Beaux-Arts), pp. 20–7.
83. É-J. Delécluze (1983 [1855]) *Louis David*: *Son école et son temps* (Paris: Macula), p. 69.
84. P. Nusbaumer (1997) *Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou 1766–1828*: *Peintre d'histoire et de portrait* (Le Pecq-sur-Seine: Nusbaumer), pp. 121–9. Pajou fils was the son of the eminent sculptor and senior Royal Academician, Augustin Pajou (1730–1809). In 1793, Pajou fils became a secretary, along with the artist Jean-Baptiste Isabey (1767–1855), of the *Commune Générale des Arts*, a short-lived representational body for fine

artists that had replaced the *Académie royale*. In that year he also produced the fine history painting of *Le Départ de Régulus pour Carthage* (Paris, Louvre). The subject matter of this painting is not immediately about a going off to war for it rather deals with the self-sacrifice of the Roman consul and general in the interests of higher principles of morality and of keeping one's word.

85. Marco Mondini notes that eyewitness accounts in letters home from the frontline were heavily mediated narratives that functioned with a variety of ideological devices including, for instance, the celebration of personal suffering and, in anti-war polemic, the condemnation of the horrors of armed combat: M. Mondini (2013) 'Narrated Wars: Literacy and Iconographic Stereotypes in Historical Accounts of Armed Conflict', in M. Mondini and M. Rospocher (eds) *Narrating War: Early Modern and Contemporary Perspectives* (Bologna: Societa editrice il Mulino, Duncker & Humblot in Kommission), pp. 11–28; 21.
86. Nusbaumer, *Pajou*, pp. 122–3.
87. Nusbaumer, *Pajou*, pp. 123–4.
88. Nusbaumer, *Pajou*, p.127: 'j'espère être meilleur artiste que je ne pourrais être militaire, et tu connais assez mes principes pour savoir si je regarde cet art comme diamétralement opposé à la douce philosophie qui répugne à répandre le sang humain.'
89. H. J. Jansen (1791) *Project tendant à conserver les arts en France en immortalisant les événements patriotiques et les citoyens illustres* (Paris: Imprimerie de la Société Nationale des Neuf-Soeurs), p. 6: 'Le besoin de varier ses jouissances et le désir de satisfaire le gout de luxe soutiennent les arts sous un régime monarchique; sous l'empire de la liberté ils s'élèvent, s'étendent et fleurissent par l'enthousiasme de la gloire et par l'amour de la chose publique.'
90. *Description des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravures exposés au Sallon du Louvre* (1793) (Paris: Hérissant), p. 8.
91. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, LXXXIII, p. 423: 'que les actions vertueuses et héroïques seront retracées partout, dans les sections, assemblées populaires, écoles primaires et les départments: que les vertus le soient dans les places publiques; que le peuple s'y voie représenter d'une main terrassant le despotisme; de l'autre démasquant le préjugé, qu'il trouve partout des leçons de morale qui en formant son cœur à l'amour de la patrie, nourissent en lui les vertus sublimes qu'il enfante.'
92. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, LXXXIII, p. 424: 'Les arts vont reprendre toute leur dignité; ils ne se prostitueront plus, comme autrefois, à retracer les actions d'un tyran ambitieux. La toile, le marbre, le bronze, councourront à l'envie pour transmettre à la postérité le courage infatigable de nos phalanges républicaines.'
93. For these competitions, see W. Olander (1989) 'French Painting and Politics in 1794: The Great *Concours de l'an II*', in A. Wintermute (ed.)

1789: *French Art during the Revolution* (New York: Colnaghi), pp. 29–45; B. Gallini (1989) 'Concours et Prix d'Encouragement', in *La Révolution française et l'Europe*, III, pp. 830–51; U. van de Sandt (1988) 'Institutions et concours', in *Aux armes* & *aux arts*!, pp. 138–65.

94. Portiez (de l'Oise), *Convention nationale*, *rapport fait au nom du comité d'instruction publique sur les concours de sculpture*, *peinture et architecture*, *ouverts par les décrets de la convention nationale*. A complete list of the proposals for the competitions is to be found in Archives nationales, AF II 80, dos. 591, 'Arrêtés du Comité de salut public relatives aux monuments publics, aux arts, et aux lettres'.
95. See further, Valérie Mainz (1999) *L'Image du travail et la Révolution française*, R. Williams (ed.) (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française), pp. 318–21.
96. R. Michel (1988) 'L'Art des Salons', in P. Bordes and R. Michel (eds) *Aux Armes* & *Aux Arts*!: *Les Arts de la Révolution 1789–1799* (Paris: Adam Biro), pp. 10–101. See also F. Pupil (1976) 'Le Dévouement du Chevalier Desilles et l'affaire de Nancy en 1790: Essai de catalogue iconographique', *Le Pays Lorrain* 2, 73–110.
97. See further G. Maës (1998) *Les Watteau de Lille* (Paris: Arthena), pp. 61–5.
98. Le Barbier's composition does not, in the main, depend on the design of Michelangelo's Battle of Cascina fresco, but soldiers, caught in a variety of poses as they prepare for combat, have some resonance thematically for the devices of this late eighteenth-century French picturing. I thank Michael Douglas Scott for this suggestion.
99. See further R. Verdi (1971) 'Poussin's *Eudamidas*: Eighteenth-Century Criticism and Copies', *Burlington Magazine* CXIII, 513–24.
100. For the representation of the soldier on stage during the Revolution, see E. J. Mannucci (2004) 'Le Militaire dans le théâtre de la Révolution française', in P. Bourdin and G. Loubinoux (eds) *Les Arts de la scène et la Révolution française* (Vizille: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal), pp. 381–94. Mannucci notes the emergence of the stereotype of the virile, heroic, austere, principled soldier alongside other soldier types of the past who imbibed in wine, women and song.
101. Citoyen (J.) Lavallée (1792) *Le Départ des volontaires villageois pour les frontiers* (Lille: Deperne).
102. J. Letzter (2001) '*Le Montansier à la Monnaie*: Musical Theater as French Revolutionary Propaganda', *Revue belge de Musicologie*, 55, 193–208.
103. Lavallée, *Le Départ des volontaires*, Scene III, p. 6: 'A 16 ans, je tombai à la milice; alors on n'alloit pas à la guerre de si bon cœur qu'aujourd'hui.'
104. Lavallée, *Le Départ des volontaires*, Scene IX, p. 14.
105. Lavallée, *Le Départ des volontaires*, Scene X, p. 16.
106. K. Alder (1997) *Engineering the Revolution*: *Arms and Enlightenment in France*, *1763–1815* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 120.

CHAPTER 5

Fighting Women

Recent studies in cultural history have allied political discourses on national sovereignty, citizenship and natural rights to the emergence of a professionalised and masculine military service during the Revolution.[1] From an analysis of a range of visual imagery, it is apparent that the imagery of military sign-up contributed to the symbolic formation of the male citizen of the new French Republic. With the coming of conscription, marked gender divisions in the showing of the taking up of arms persist alongside the hitherto unprecedented assigning of the rights of French citizenship—only to men.

By addressing the Constitution of Year III (1795), Dominique Godineau has traced the formal legal bond between citizenship and military service in the line army.[2] This constitution reintroduced a property qualification for the right to vote, but excused those from having served in the army from having to meet this qualification. At the same time, those without the rights of a French citizen—the non-French and, by implication, women and children—were officially excluded from service in the French army. It then followed that women were necessarily debarred from participation in the annual *rite de passage* entailed in the listing activity of conscription when men's names were legally inscribed on a register from which those to be called up would be selected. The exercise of the citizen's duties within the circumstances of conscription and its listing practices had mandatorily become a non-female exercise and was to be, in other words, carried out only by men.

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6_5

Women had certainly fought as soldiers in the French army both before and during the Revolution. There is documentary evidence for about 80 such women in an army that fluctuated between 300,000 and 700,000 at the time of the Revolution.[3] That some women campaigned for the right to take up arms in the defence of nation is well known; equally well known is the fact that the various recruitment campaigns of the French state never entailed any sort of official policy for the recruitment of women as soldiers and that, indeed, after a decree of 30 April 1793, women were deliberately sent away from the army.[4] The issue of the right of women to bear arms at this date is not really a feminist issue *avant la lettre* and about the rights due within equalities of gender; it involves rather the issue of citizenship and a misogyny born out of Rousseau and the cultural spheres of the Enlightenment.

The Guises of the Female Soldier

The cultural 'baggage' that pertains to the subject of women soldiers is out of all proportion to their actual numbers.[5] Of particular interest here is not the fact of the woman soldier and the extent, or otherwise, of her participation in France's fighting forces at this time, but the fact that the visual iconography of female sign-up is very limited. While a cross-dressing soldier may well have been a stock character on stage, as David Hopkin has discussed, in showing processes of military enrolment she does not appear as an equal partner, alongside her fellow men and comrades in arms.[6] Women certainly figured in this imagery, but they are shown in their roles as wives and mothers who are being left behind, and as more abstract personifications and embodiments. No companies of women were actually formed in the army during the Revolution and when women fought, as opposed to fulfilling the non-military supporting roles of camp followers, provision suppliers and laundresses, they fought in the guise, or disguise, of men and in the uniform of men.

When women were shown more positively in the thick of combat, the nature of their participation focused on their defence of hearth, home and loved ones, as in the many depictions of the nameless heroine of Saint-Milhier.[7] Similarly in the siege imagery of the period, such as that of *Le Quartier Saint-Sauveur à Lille pendant le bombardement de 1792* (The Quarter of Saint-Sauveur in Lille during the bombardment of 1792, Versailles, Musée National du Château), of 1794 by Louis Watteau and *Le Siège de Granville* by Pierre-Etienne Lesueur (active 1791–1810, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française), women appeared in caring, rather than in fighting or defensive roles, alongside their children and their frequently wounded menfolk.[8]

The image of Barrau, the wife of Leyrac, in one of the pictures of *Les Fastes du Peuple français* (Fig. 5.1) reveals something of the problematic nature of showing the female soldier in the guise of a male soldier.[9] The accompanying pedagogic text praises Barrau for joining up as a grenadier alongside her husband and brother. When her brother is killed and her husband injured, she continues to attack the Spanish redoubt of Alloqui. After its successful conquest she returns to treat her husband's injuries, fulfilling her duties towards him, dictated by love and by nature having fulfilled her

Fig. 5.1 L. F. Labrousse, *Leyrac et Barrau son épouse, tous deux Grenadiers*, etching and tool work, 15 cm × 19 cm, from Jacques Grasset Saint-Sauveur, *Les Fastes du peuple français*, Paris, Deroy, 1796, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1974-08-13)-FOL. Photo: BnF

own duties towards her Homeland. In her uniform, there is, visually, little to distinguish Barrau from her husband Leyrac apart from a slightly larger thigh and spreading hip and the lack of a moustache. What, of course, does distinguish her in this visual image is not the sword that she bears, but the caring role assigned to her. In this assigned role she can be contrasted to the marching soldiers behind, to the dead brother at her side and to the incapacitated, wounded husband she holds in her arms. The moment chosen for the depiction of this act of heroism is one that belongs to the separate sphere of the wife as tender carer and nurturer. The accompanying text specifies that, in doing her duty to the Homeland, Barrau is motivated by love and nature.

The prints that show armed women ready to fight in defence of nation belong also to the chapter on caricature below, for they are about satirising the phenomenon of the female fighter from within the well-established tradition of 'the world turned upside down'.[10] These representations do not promote a positive image of the woman citizen or *citoyenne* (citizen-ness) soldier, nor do they illustrate the circumstances of any female military sign-up, but they are to be studied here in terms of the reaction prompted by female lobbying to bear arms from early on in the Revolution.

Women petitioned actively for the right to form themselves into National Guard units so as thereby to participate fully as patriotic citizens in the defence of hearth and home.[11] The design for an infantry uniform (Fig. 5.2) dedicated to patriotic women has, though, surely to be understood as a satire about such demands. Labelled *Amazone Nationale*, the reference here suggests the amazon as man-killer in a battle of the sexes that, since the seventeenth century, had been used by men to mock women who aspired to power.[12] The uniform on show frontally and in the adjacent rear view of this design suggests similarly the impracticability of the woman going off to fight as a warrior. The costume shows off a female figure with a comparatively small waist and huge hips and thighs. Her breeches are bedecked with ribbons and with a large decorative sash at the waist. The cuffs of her jacket are similarly adorned with a patterned fabric and improbable feathers have been attached to a stylish hat worn over neatly coiffure and beribboned ringlets. The figure also sports the *hausse-col* (neckguard) of the officer class at her neck. All this marks her out as a member of a fashionable élite and not as in any way an active protagonist in a fight either as a soldier combatant or for the equal right to wage war.

A scurrilous pamphlet entitled *L'Uniforme des dames ou les Amazones modernes* and ironically attributed to the falsely fictitious name of Le Sincere, is close to the fanciful conceits of this costume design.[13] The text presents the contrivance of a call to arms directed at women so as to poke fun at women.

Fig. 5.2 Jean Baptiste Marie Poisson, *Amazone Nationale, infanterie, dediée aux dames patriotes*, etching and tool work, 18.5 cm × 19 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1789-08-09)-FOL. Photo: BnF

In its proposals for a suitable uniform for those called up, the pamphlet urges women to leave off their toilette and, through love of nation, share the glory of French soldiers by responding to the call to arms of drums, bugles, fifes, cymbals and hautbois. Famous female heroines, including Judith, Bradamante and Joan of Arc are played up in this pamphlet as are the supposedly fighting cross-dressing women of the eighteenth century, Maria Theresa the Empress of Russia and the chevalière d'Eon. The uniform of the proposed regiment of women was to include a helmet in skeletal form only so as not to be too heavy, with blue and silver gauze over fashionably coloured ribbons and visor which could be lowered at the approach of a creditor, an importunate lover or an incommodious husband. With the left breast remaining uncovered, the multi-coloured outfit would be padded at the hip. It would also include flesh-coloured stockings in the guise of breeches, reaching up to a Grecian type belt from which a small sabre would be suspended.

The print entitled *Françaises devenues libres* (French Women become free, Fig. 5.3) has been associated with the more radical demands to bear arms called for by members of the club of Citoyennes Républicaines

Révolutionnaires founded in May 1793, and by women like Pauline Léon and Claire Lacombe.[14] These initiatives for more equal rights were, however, met with hostility and there followed the deliberate suppression of women's clubs by the Jacobins in the autumn of 1793.[15] There are several versions of this print, whose initial design probably dates to the period before the war-mongering and the declaration of war for it is far closer to the imagery of the *Amazone Nationale* (Fig. 5.2) than it is to the imagery of the armed sans-culotte.[16] A key to the initial reception of this picture must surely reside in the Latin words *Libertas Hastata Vitrix* (Liberty Women [Spear]Leaders Victors) above the date *14 juil*/14 July on the figure's waistband. What we have here

Fig. 5.3 (chez) Villeneuve, *Françaises devenues libres*, coloured etching and tool work, 11 cm × 9 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1789-07-14)-FOL. Photo: BnF

is a display of patriotism in the aftermath of the attack on the Bastille couched in the classical language of the literate and knowledgeable, and belonging far more to élite culture than to a going off to fight either the perceived enemies within the country or the external enemies of the nation's frontiers.

The later version of the print, the one shown here, is likely to have been more misogynistic in import. It has additional lettering of a supposed prayer to Bellona, goddess of war, asking the rhetorical question of whether women, following her example, should not march head on and at an equal pace with men. This question is succeeded by the ambiguous statement that the goddess of strength and courage will not, at least, have to blush at the French women. The depicted single figure, with swelling breasts as well as hips, is certainly in a more assertive pose than that of the earlier costume design for the *Amazone Nationale*. Instead of a sword held with point down, this woman holds on to a pike. She stands erect with the broken chains at her feet, from which she has been liberated, or has freed herself. A tiny cannon with gaping barrel and neighbouring cannonball are set behind her but they are, however, hardly menacing in appearance and might almost be deemed to have some underlying sexual or obscene connotation, following on from the conventional use of such figurative devices in the imagery of the early part of the Revolution as in, for instance, Fig. 1.1, p. 6.

Gender and the Antique

At a time of an increasingly aggressive masculine French nationalism, the female body was used to legitimate Republicanism, even as women were being made mute and passive in the public processes of the Revolution.[17] The contradiction was sustained by drawing on allegory and the abstractions of female personifications. These idealised figures masked differences between the actual conditions of women and what were deemed to be the real achievements of great men. A stipple engraving entitled *Unité* (Unity, Fig. 5.4) designed by Claude Desrais shows how the imagery of taking up arms could appear as an allegory of unity predicated on both gender and racial difference.

The print has the large presence of the female figure of France dressed *à l'antique*, with a crown of oak leaves in her hair and holding an axe against a bundle of pikes held together with another wreath of oak leaves, alluding to the Roman fasces and symbolising the authority of strength in unity. The female figure acts here as the common mother of the Homeland as she sends off, with her other hand and with a facial expression of gentle concern, two infants armed with pikes to fight in her defence.

There is nothing particularly martial or aggressive about the stance of this female figure, although she stands on and, by implication, tramples on the three headed hydra of discord which she has presumably overcome. One of the infants is shown in rear view, is completely naked and is black; the other child is seen more full face frontally, sports a liberty bonnet type helmet topped by a Gallic cock and is white. This child is set higher up and thus appears to be taller than his fellow, black-skinned companion. This child also has the handle of a sword hanging from an officer's lanyard both covering up and showing off a putatively erect male member. The pike had become a common symbol of popular insurrection but the right to bear

Fig. 5.4 Jean-Baptiste Mallet after Claude-Louis Desrais, *Unité*, etching and stipple engraving, 17 cm × 13 cm, 1794, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (27)-FT4. Photo: BnF

arms had been a marker of noble status since Antiquity, so this weapon jars somewhat with the shaping of the helmet in the form of a type of liberty bonnet or *pileus* that had marked out the status of the enchained, disarmed slave in Antiquity.[18] Black and white men had fought alongside each other as French volunteers since the autumn of 1792. Slavery in the French colonies was, however, only officially abolished by the National Convention on 16 pluviôse an II (4 February 1794).[19] The imagery here does not purport to represent the actions of men or of women but in its symbolic projection of a desired state of unity, liberty, fraternity and equality, it fails in its potential to be meaningful. The unity on display here is patently false, the juxtaposition of visual symbols lacks logic and the remoteness of the classicising references makes what the picturing is attempting to promote implausible, both at the level of lived experience and at the level of abstract idea.

Clearly neoclassical in outline drawing style and in the use of motifs culled from Antiquity, the pendant prints by Antoine Talamona (active 1767–94) after designs by Pierre-Antoine de Machy (1723–1807) entitled *Dévouement à la Patrie* and *La Patrie couronnant la valeur* (Devotion to the Homeland and The Homeland Crowning Valour, Figs. 5.5 and 5.6) still display a compilation of the features that had accrued to the contemporary iconography of the departing, and then returning, hero. Set within the horizontal format of a fictive sculpted bas relief frieze, a range of figures and objects are highlighted in contours against a black background as in the decoration of Greek vases, and in the prints of Greek vases that were published and became popular during the second half of the eighteenth century.[20]

The men and women of these prints have been assigned their usual, conventional roles that accord with the established formulae of contemporary genre scenes, although here the figures could be said to have been more clearly trapped in space having been deprived of the potential to move freely as fully three-dimensional beings. Fictive statues and sculptural objects of neoclassical decoration and ornament are interspersed and appear to interact with types of women, clad in the draperies of Antiquity as mothers and wives, and with types of men as semi-nude heroes. That these scenes were, nevertheless, about the contemporary situation is evident from the lettering of the composition on the subject of devotion to the Homeland. The central statue of victory has a banner with the words *Citoyens, la Patrie est en danger*, and on the plinth that supports the seated statue of the Homeland, the words *Pour server la Patrie il faut nous réunir. Elle attend tout de nous et doit tout obtenir* (To serve the Homeland, we must unite. The Homeland expects everything from us and has a right to obtain everything).

Fig. 5.5 Pierre-Antoine de Machy after Antoine Talamona, *Dévouement à la Patrie*, aquatint, 36 cm × 54 cm, 1792–94, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. Hist GCXXIII. Photo: ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto

Topped off by a liberty bonnet, this female personification rests one hand on a bundle of fasces and holds, in her other hand, a pike erect. To this fictive statue, a mother holds up her child in an obvious act of devotion and, with raised sword, one of the soldiers makes his oath of martial service. Another woman, by his side, offers up her jewels on an altar of the Homeland in support of the war effort as she looks, in devotion, towards the seated statue. The giving of jewellery as a form of patriotic donation to the nation in imitation of an episode in the history of Rome had been celebrated in several earlier commemorative prints showing the delegation of artists' wives to the National Convention on 7 September 1789 when these women, acting similarly to their Roman predecessors, had made patriotic donations of their own jewellery.[21]

The design of the imitation frieze also has one female figure whose back is turned away from the sculpture of the Homeland as she expresses consternation at the departure of the volunteer hero at her side. Alongside her, there is a crippled veteran with bent, bandaged leg who, in looking back to the figure of the Homeland, raises his one free hand towards the

Fig. 5.6 Pierre-Antoine de Machy after Antoine Talamona, *La Patrie couronnant la valeur*, aquatint, 36 cm × 54 cm, 1792–94, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Inv. Hist GCXXIII. Photo: ©Roger-Viollet/TopFoto

departing hero. The role of this wounded older man, with full beard and still with well-muscled torso and arms, is that of someone who has fought on behalf of the Homeland but who cannot do so now because of the damage done to his body. His wounds are, however, present here only in the form of a crippled, bent bandaged leg for they have been incorporated into the contours of a neoclassical design within outlines that are clinically clean, bloodless, idealising and, to an extent, purifying.[22]

At least ten exhibits on subjects taken from Spartan history were displayed during the Salons of 1793 and 1795 with, in 1795, at least four of the works showing Spartan mothers.[23] The print by Pierre-Michel Alix (1762–1817) after a design by Jean-Guillaume Moitte (1746–1810) entitled *Avec ou dessus* (With or on top of, Fig. 5.7) was exhibited at the Salon of 1795 and imitates the format of the Talamona/de Machy venture just discussed.[24] This particular subject had been treated in paint before the Revolution by, for instance, Louis Jean François Lagrenée (1724–1805, Stourhead) in a pastel-coloured picturing of elegantly rococo manner in which the departing son gestures to his own heart as he bids his mother farewell.

In fusing civic with a military ethos, the story behind the topic of 'With or on top of' may have been considered apt for a revolutionary endeavour concerned with countering perceived threats from the nation's enemies on its frontlines as within its borders. The Spartan mother supposedly and laconically told her son to return from fighting either victorious with his shield at his side, or on his shield as dead. These words imply that should her son not be successful in combat, then he should accept the self-sacrifice of being killed rather than the plight of the coward who, running away from battle, leaves behind his shield for which he no longer has need. Placing the Spartan mother within the family and the home, the episode demonstrates how Sparta could be admired for its military values by relegating the virtuous wife and mother to her domestic setting as a non-combatant. Yet her contribution to the military ethos of Spartan society is still to incite the self-sacrifice of a son deemed to be unworthy of Sparta. With the benefit of hindsight, we can now also understand the handling of such subject matter as being radically opposed to the nuanced emotional import of David's pre-revolutionary *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9).

A review of 1795 criticised Moitte's composition for its plethora of luxurious ornament that contributed to the overall effect but hardly fitted the sim-

Fig. 5.7 Pierre-Michel Alix after Jean-Guillaume Moitte, *Avec ou dessus*, etching and stipple engraving, 33 cm × 57 cm, 1795, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, RESERVE EF-106 (2)-FOL. Photo: BnF

plicity with which Sparta was associated.[25] The same review considered that the genius of war waving his torch over the young Spartan was, as an allegorical figure, harmful to the truth of this historical action. The criticism suggests that the writer wanted to see a more rigorous marking out of how behaviour should be shaped in a moralising tale from history designed to be convincing and, therefore, in some senses exemplary. Just as the anonymous critic of the painting *Corps-de-Gard* by Le Prince (Fig. 2.4, p. 56). had wanted, in 1777, a more literal depiction of what was being shown in a guardroom picture, the criticism of 1795 is concerned with the recording of subject matter in a factually realistic way. A more austere approach to the fashioning of subject matter had, nonetheless, now also come to the fore. Conditions of production and the markets for such print imagery are, furthermore, fortunately not always subject to the severe stipulations of theorists, critics and moralists.

From the analysis of a range of visual imagery, it is clear that the imagery of military sign-up contributed to the symbolic formation of the male citizens of a new French Republic. Such visual representations did not, however, merely illustrate or work as a visual accompaniment to a verbal rhetoric of patriotic heroism and concomitant self-sacrifice in the causes of the nation's armed defence and in the interests of national *gloire*. Many of the visual motifs and figurative forms that emerged at this time remained deeply rooted in preceding visual traditions and conventions. Long before the Revolution, there had clearly been a close and detailed engagement with the appearances, status and identity of the male soldier when leaving the safety and familiarity of loved ones, home and hearth to fight elsewhere and potentially at the risk of life and limb. Even when incorporated within scenes of antique guise, the female figure continued also to function as a foil to the departing loved one, remaining firmly in the home to experience emotional grief and/or the virtuous restraint of her impending loss.

History in the Present

In the immediate aftermath of the downfall of Robespierre, scenes of a going off to war still presented the actions of military engagement in predominantly negative ways. The etching entitled *On doit à sa Patrie le sacrifice de ses plus chères affections* (One owes to one's Homeland the sacrifice of one's dearest affections, Fig. 5.8), along with its pendant, *Il est glorieux de mourir pour sa Patrie* (It is glorious to die for one's Homeland, Fig. 5.9), produced post-Thermidor in 1795, are far from being literal translations of the verse by Horace: *Dulce et Decorum est pro patria mori* (It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country). They display, instead, a more

ambivalent approach to the gloriousness, or otherwise, of self-sacrifice in fighting and then dying in defence of nation.

The scene of return, which is principally from a man's perspective, shows the wounded soldier come home only to expire in the arms of his swooning loved one beneath the gaze of an elderly man pointing towards a crown emblazoned on a banner. [26] In the scene of departure, the father or father-in-law of the departing hussar, the soldier's female companion and even his faithful little dog are in evident distress as the soldier leaves to join the ranks of the mounted cavalry lined up on the other side of the open doorway where a groom attends to the new recruit's steed. The focus on the family's evident grief here is reinforced by the lettering of the print which stresses the affective nature of the sacrifice and, thereby, brings out the emphasis placed on the female response to concomitant loss. The composition is still structured to show the departure as involving a transition away from the personal ties of family and of the home towards the new comrades in arms who serve militarily, but now the transition involves joining up with a more obviously drilled military unit. The handsome hussar has a slight smile playing over his neatly moustachioed countenance. This is, however, still far from being a scene of general merriment. A rather glum-looking statue of reason presides over the smart interior decoration with, on the over-door, the further fictive allegorical feature of a putto hoisting up a liberty bonnet. The causes of liberty are, though, hardly being implicated. Rather, it is possible to assume that personal identity will be absorbed within the waiting élite band of brothers. A rifle rests against an elegant chair, poised and ready to be taken up as a weapon of authority by the departing soldier. The carefully realised details of the soldier's distinctive hussar uniform also suggest that the art of soldiering was evolving into something that was more modern, professional, separate and specialised.[27]

The French State continued to pursue an official programme of arts sponsorship after the downfall of the Jacobin government. Part of the introduction to the Salon catalogue of 1796 contained a letter from the then Minister of the Interior, Pierre Bénézech, to artists of the French School urging them to depict heroic and glorious French subjects so that such actions could be passed on to generations in posterity. History was to be commemorated by representations of remarkable contemporary events and not by the representation of subjects that had been taken from past, antique sources:

> Which French artist does not feel the need to celebrate the energy and greatness that the nation has deployed, the power with which it has been in command of events and created its destinies. The subjects that you take in

Fig. 5.8 Pierre-Charles Coqueret after Dutailly, *On doit à sa patrie le sacrifice de ses plus chères affections*, coloured etching and tool work, 32.5 cm × 26 cm, 1795, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. EF-139-FOL. Photo: BnF

> the history of the ancient peoples have multiplied around us. Have pride, a national character; paint our heroism and do not let the generations that succeed you reproach you for not appearing to be French during the most remarkable epoch of our history.[28]

These words are bellicose and nationalistic in tone and they make claims as to the power, grandeur and energy of the French nation that would not and could not have been countenanced in 1789. In his letter to the jury of the competition of an VII (1799), Bénézech's successor, François de Neufchâteau, was even more explicit in defining the subjects which artists, with the encouragement of the state, should choose:

Fig. 5.9 Pierre-Charles Coqueret after Dutailly, *Il est glorieux de mourir pour sa Patrie*, coloured etching and tool work, 32.5 cm × 26 cm, 1795, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. EF-139-FOL. Photo: BnF

> Battles are today the most beautiful pages of the history of French glory. Strictly defined, this genre fits in again with what is called history; the innumerable monuments of national valour will instruct and astonish posterity. The government must and wants to fix their memory. Here encouragement is even more necessary as there are few artists in this genre.[29]

Guillaume Guillon-Lethière's ambitious sketch entitled *La Patrie en danger* (Fig. 5.10), exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1799, was for a larger painting that was never completed.[30] It is not a battle painting, but nor is it in the keepsake format of genre scenes showing the soldier as he bids farewell from family and loved ones. The sketch was sent to the Salon of 1799 late and was

not listed in its catalogue but a long description and review by the critic Jean-Baptiste-Publicola Chaussard gave to the work the title of *La Patrie en danger*.[31] In the *Journal de Paris*, the painting is, however, given the title of *Le Départ des conscrits* (The Departure of the Conscripts).[32] The confusion over the title of the work and, by implication, its subject matter is indicative of an altered approach to the painting of history which must now be addressed.

In Lethière's composition, soldiers raise their swords somewhat in the manner of David's Horatii brothers in *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9) of 1785, but in this case the swords are raised to a sculptural personification of the Homeland, rather than in response to the figure of the father.[33] Patriotism, as well as the painting of history, has moved on from the presentation of the moral quandaries in the home posed by a going off to war. In making their patriotic vows, these soldiers are preparing to embark in the open air and in a public space. Their commitment to fight manifestly belongs to, and is on behalf of, the community which they serve. Patriotism exists here not within the frameworks of a disinterested self-sacrifice for the common good, but rather as an emotional outpouring from within a concerted joining together of the people so as to validate the laws of the newly conceived nation. Just this type of patriotic *élan* had been evoked some years earlier in the town of Avallon. Addressing the citizens congregated at an altar of the Homeland there on the fourth anniversary of the attack on the Bastille and just before the proclamation of the first *levée en masse*, the magistrate Jacques Boileau is stirring in his declaration of unity and fraternity in defence of nation: 'Let us all unite together in sentiments of fraternity and equality; let us keep close to each other to fight the enemies of the people; let us have only the Homeland for our common mother, let us have a same spirit, a same heart, the same dispositions for an invincible force to result from our union.'[34] By 1799 it was possible to show, in a similarly patriotic mode, a mass call to arms at the Salon exhibition in Paris.

In Lethière's composition, ships are ready to depart. More young men are being brought forward to enrol by an older woman in the right corner of the painting and, to the left, by a more elderly man with head crowned by a wreath of oak leaves. A myriad of details has been colourfully, precisely and minutely realised. The centre of the composition is taken up by the familiar grouping of a soldier embracing his wife just as he is being urged on to embark by two of his fellow volunteers who point to the waiting vessels. At the soldier's other side, another woman raises a child for what might be another last embrace. Many of the elements of this grouping could be said to look back to the sentimentality of Vien's pre-revolutionary history painting of *Les Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque* (The Farewells of

Fig. 5.10 Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, *L'Enrôlement des volontaires ou la Patrie en danger*, oil on canvas, 59 cm × 100 cm, 1799, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, Inv. MRF 1985-14. Photo: ©Coll. Musée de la Révolution française/ Domaine de Vizille

Hector and Andromache, Fig. 2.11, p. 75). Yet the massing of figures in the later composition belongs to a more explicitly articulated culture of warmongering in which notions of the Homeland, of *La Patrie* and of patriotism have been inflected with the rhetorical fervour of the Revolution.

What is also at odds with David's earlier neoclassical work is the eclectic mix of antique, medieval, Renaissance and contemporary costumes, architecture and attributes that obviously contravene academically sanctioned precepts for *coutume* (custom) and *vraisemblance* (verisimilitude). Most of the figures in Lethière's scene of sign up embrace with enthusiasm the call to arms with women bringing forward men and arms in support of the mobilisation. The local topography and the costumes on display are, however, far from uniform and conform to no single time or place.

Painting theory was developing apace, alongside the new awareness that the arts could play their part in promoting the benefits of nation and of the public good. An army artillery officer of long standing, François René Jean Pommereul, had published a treatise on the arts in 1796 that was republished in a longer version as an appendix to a 1798 translation of Francesco Milizia's *Dell'arte di vedere nelle belle arti del disegno*.[35] This treatise made the now conventional link between the making of art works and the promotion of morality for the public good. Artists were to serve the public good by creating works that preached positive moral values and, in so doing, were to give both pleasure and useful lessons—a well-known Horatian precept. In addition, artists were to make the fine arts French, national and patriotic. Instead of subjects derived from myth or the Bible, the Revolution was to provide the topics for genius to flourish for the unheard of prodigies of its armies had not, as yet, found their painters and engravers.[36] Rejecting some of the training elements that had held sway from within the *Académie royale*, such as the dominance of following previously approved models from Italy and Greece, Pommereul suggested that artists were to look to France for their examples—to the Seine, to the Loire, to the Saône, to the Garonne, to the departments of Puy-de-Dôme, of the Pyrenees, of the Alps, of the Jura and of Mont-Blanc. In exchange, Italy would offer painters a more beautiful sky, colour and landscapes embellished with better buildings.[37] Whether Lethière knew of Pommereul's text or not, the eclectic mix of architecture and landscape elements incorporated into his sketch accords well with the army officer's views.

In the composition, the woman embracing her husband is clad in white draperies *à l'antique* and her husband sports a costume after a design by David for one of the new national costumes.[38] The colourful, indeter-

minate but somewhat Italianate port is partly reminiscent of the fantasy buildings and views of Claude Lorrain (1600–82). It ostensibly removes the setting from any direct link to a specific topography or local circumstance but, at the same time, it leaves the scene open to being interpreted with reference to contemporary event. The feudal fortress looming above and in direct alignment with the centrally embracing couple is obviously not a representation of the recently demolished Bastille, but its architecture resembles that of the feudal keep as can be seen in the design by Laneuville (Fig. 4.1, p. 147). Above the fortress here, there flies a tricolour French flag that now displays the vertical stripes of the national flag, which had been authorised in 1794.[39] This figuration can evoke the stormy events of the recent past whilst, simultaneously, constructing and envisioning something about and for the future. The placement of the flag brings to mind a similar positioning of the French flag in the major State-commissioned 'battle machine' painting, *Bonaparte visitant les pestiférés de Jaffa* (Bonaparte visiting the Plague Victims of Jaffa, Paris, Louvre) of 1804 by Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835).

Although the visual configuration of oath-swearing in the form of a trio raising outstretched arms and hands and as if in a fraternal embrace can still certainly evoke the pre-revolutionary *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9), this fraternal gesture acquired a more compelling significance during the course of the Revolution. Just as the taking of oaths is infused with the new political culture of the period, so the use of the visual motif of oath-taking with raised, out-stretched arms and hands comes to be incorporated by David in his drawing of 'Le Serment du Jeu de Paume' (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins), a design for a painting that was never fully realised and which had been intended to commemorate a founding moment of the modern French nation.[40]

In discussing the ways in which the French Revolution marked a decisive break with the past, Lynn Hunt has pointed out that a new relationship to time was forged which, in modernity, created a kind of mythic present.[41] Event rapidly succeeded event, just as the revolutionaries anxiously and self-consciously attempted to reshape the future for the betterment of human nature. With the effects of time being accelerated, this resulted in an intensified sense of the present. David had invented a decisive and meaningfully significant moment of fraternal oath-taking in the painting of *Le Serment des Horaces*, but his subject here still relies upon an interpreting of the narrative histories of Antiquity. In the newly collapsed 'presentism' of Lethière's crowded scene of military sign-up, on the other

hand, the fusion of visual elements from different pasts belongs to the making of an imagined community in the present and for the future.

The inscribing of names that is shown to be taking place in the bottom left hand corner of Lethière's composition points to the contexts of conscription rather than those of the voluntary enrolments that had taken place in response to the call to arms of 1792. The civilian secretary listing the names of the 'volunteers' sits at a desk that is set beside a magistrate responding with a grave tap on the arm to the youth who grasps his sword of office. Behind a standard bearer holds up another tricolour, still with horizontal stripes but inscribed with *R F* for *République française* and topped by a placard proclaiming *La Patrie en danger*. The anachronism is deliberate for the view is neither to the situations of the summer and autumn of 1792 and the enrolment of volunteers, nor to the processes of conscription in 1799 from which married men, such as the one in the central grouping obviously taking leave of his family, were exempt. The patriotism being displayed constitutes a positive response to the new institution of conscription and to the calls for paintings of heroic and glorious French subject matter but it also renders vacuous the necessity of meaningful personal participation in the public sphere. By 1799, the ethical implications of oath-taking incorporated by David into a major pre-revolutionary history painting of subject matter derived from the histories of Antiquity has also come to be transformed into something spectacular, showy and at heart untrue.

In Lethière's sketch a colossal fictive sculpture of *La Patrie* looms over the crowds below, a powerful, but impassive, sanction for the orchestration of the recruitment procedure and for what has been set before the viewer. With one hand resting on a bundle of fasces, symbol of strength, power and control in unity, the female personification supports in her other hand the much smaller figures of liberty and of justice. Beneath her feet women hold up their babies to the swearing soldiers before them as if to ensure that their commitment to serve the Homeland is also a commitment for the sake of future generations. The bringing of arms in the foreground of the composition—swords and a pike borne by a youth and muskets by a young woman—conforms to the general mobilisation decree of 23 August 1793 which had assigned, according to conditions of age and sex, specific roles and contributions to the war effort. The functioning of all these female figures within a scene of going to war is, furthermore, wholly alternative to the ways in which the Sabine women intervene to

bring about the end of the fighting between their menfolk in the major history painting by David of *Les Sabines* (Paris, Louvre), which was also first publicly exhibited in Paris in 1799.

Chaussard's fulsome review of Lethière's work brings out the warmongering of the sketch with explicit reference to the gendered passions of the French. Both Frenchmen and Frenchwomen were held to have a thirst for love and glory, but it is up to women to equip men to enable the men to go on to be heroic, courageous and to conquer:

> Inflamed and ripe with virtus and passion for liberty, women stir up these heroes. They receive kisses and weapons from them: they will be victorious.
>
> How well suspended around that young warrior are the arms and the soul of that woman, how full of courage and of love he is! How energetic and true is the action of those who bring arms! How grateful I am to the artist for having represented the women thus! It is to recall to them their finest entitlement to love and to glory at the same time, those two passions that are truly French.[42]

A desire for *gloire* and its associations with military endeavour had often been allied in problematic ways to the ties of love experienced between women and men, particularly from within the imagery of the departing recruit. Proclaiming a newly conceived patriotic love for the French nation at large, the bonds keeping families together were now, however, to be transcended.[43]

Before the Revolution, a major history painting on an invented subject, but one that derived from the histories of Antiquity, such as *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9) offered the viewer a potential for meaning in which the demands of public duties placed on men were in conflict with the emotional ties of the domestic and the familial to which women contributed. In the aftermath of the most intense period of the Revolution, the sketch by Lethière no longer evokes the open-ended complexities of choice that can accrue to an individual or groups of individuals, when at home. The composition incorporates, instead, crowds of anonymous citizens in a deceptively realistic way and these citizens are shown to be acting out assigned and public roles that accord with and conform to the interests of the nation at large. The eclectic mix of antique, Renaissance and contemporary elements contained within this picture-making uses tropes taken from the past for the making of a mythic present. The handling of subject matter in this way is unprecedented and it anticipates, to some extent, the major early nineteenth-century battle 'machines' spon-

sored by the First Consul Bonaparte who went on to become the Emperor Napoleon in 1804.

Epilogue

Studies in art history have focused on the ephebe, the adolescent male nude figure that was at the heart of reinterpretations of the antique in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France.[44] Such figures have been held to demonstrate that new notions of citizenship were complicated in visual imagery by an aesthetic of ideal beauty in which notions of gender had their part to play. The writings of the historian of ancient art, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, have provided a compelling model of both freedom and desire. This played itself out in a work like David's *La Mort de Bara* (The Death of Bara, Avignon, Musée Calvet) where the figure of the damaged, pre-virile boy, unmarked as yet by distinguishing qualities of manhood, conjoins violated forms of desire and of voluptuousness with Jacobin utopian projections of freedom.[45]

The processes of military enlistment that have come to be perceived as a *rite de passage* to fully fledged male citizenship and to a virile, muscular and potentially heroic martial duty work against such types of questionably gendered figurative imagery. The showing of military sign-up at the time of the Revolution certainly made a much more questionable performance out of the Jacobin imaginary, so one painting of an equivocally gendered adolescent male nude serves here to indicate the uneasy fit that existed between masculine heroism and military *gloire* in the going off to war and the passive, effeminate male nude warriors that emerged in the latest, most modern forms of high art at this time.

The *académie* is a drawing or sketching exercise after the live, male nude model that formed a part of the training of history painters in the *Académie royale*. An as yet unattributed but nevertheless major *académie* of this period (Fig. 5.11) depicts a life-size standing youth, wearing only a type of elongated Phrygian bonnet or cap of liberty.[46] With one arm and hand elegantly placed against the folds of a stunningly lit piece of classicising drapery, the figure's other hand rests on, rather than holds onto, a sword of classical design that had been created by David for pupils of the Ecole de Mars, the temporary military training school for 16- and 17-year-old boys set up in Paris in the summer of 1794.[47] This attribute serves to locate the body in time and space and thus, in part, also serves to remove it from the complete abstraction and infinities of the completely unbounded and unfettered. The slumping *déhanchement*, static pose, pro-

nounced lassitude and sense of interiority on display in this fine painting show, nevertheless, quite an alternative view of soldiering than the one being espoused for the nation during that summer of 1794.

The other attribute of the cap might also signify in a rather unexpected way, for the red cap of liberty had come to acquire contentious connotations during the course of the Revolution. It belonged to the costume of the sans-culotte, but it was discredited post-Thermidor on account of its past associations with sans-culottisme and the radical principles and behaviour of this particular type of urban, artisan revolutionary. With the reported words: 'Get rid of all that for me; I do not want such filth', First Consul Bonaparte was to have the liberty bonnets scrawled on the walls of the Tuileries palace effaced.[48] The male nude of this *académie* is clearly not shown to be in the attitude or in the behaviour of a sans-culotte. His bonnet, with its curiously long ear-flaps, could be said to revert to the Phrygian bonnet that normally featured as a signifying attribute of Paris, as in David's history painting of 1788, *Les Amours de Pâris et Hélène* (The Loves of Paris and Helen, Paris, Louvre). Paris was, of course, a Greek hero known for his reluctance to take up arms, as is shown in the episode treated by Vien in his history painting of 1779 (Fig. 2.10, p. 71). The appearance of a striking lack of bellicosity that this academic nude can be said to constitute might, in part, be put down to the altered conditions of representation that emerged post-Thermidor. The single standing figure in repose is also one that is quite alien to that of, say, David's later history painting of *Léonidas aux Thermopyles* (Paris, Louvre), in which naked but garlanded Spartan soldiers enthusiastically prepare for combat and self-sacrifice, even in the knowledge that this combat will lead to their certain deaths.

Martin Myrone has discussed, with reference to artworks produced in Britain, a pervading culture that set up impossible and unsustainable standards for a heroic masculinity.[49] It could similarly be said that the violence of the Revolution was placing the performance of virility at risk in France, which might account for the emergence of the effeminised, adolescent, even violated, male nudes in what were then the latest, most modern paintings. The appearance of such an obviously mute and passive standing figure certainly works against the grain of the martial spirit espoused by the words and music of the *Marseillaise*. Whether this can all be further attributed to the expression of a sublimated, homosocial fear of emasculation with particular reference to the works of David and his school is a further twist to the argument.[50] The next chapter focuses on the contrary effects of fame to challenge Antoine de Baecque's observations on the

Fig. 5.11 Anon, *Académie d'élève de l'École de Mars avec glaive, toge et bonnet phrygien*, oil on canvas, 128 cm × 70.2 cm, c.1795, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, Inv. MRF 2003-7. Photo: ©Coll. Musée de la Révolution française/Domaine de Vizille

'didactic of the wounded body'. Raising questions about just how central the graphic display of the wounded male body was to the rhetoric of the Revolution and to its potential continuation, the female personification of fame also had its downsides.

Notes

1. See Chap. 1, footnote 10.
2. D. Godineau (2004) 'De la Guerrière à la citoyenne. Porter les armes pendant l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française', *Clio: Histoire, femmes et sociétés*, 20, 43–69.
3. Godineau, 'De la guerrière à la citoyenne'; see also S. Steinberg (2001) *La Confusion des Sexes: le Travestissement de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Fayard); R. M. Dekker and L. C. van de Pol (1989) 'Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies', *History of European Ideas*, 10/3, 353–63.
4. *Décret de la Convention Nationale du 30 Avril 1793, l'an second de la République Française pour congédier des armées les femmes inutiles* (Paris). Article 11 of this decree states: 'The women who are currently serving in the armies will be excluded from military service, they will be given a passport and five sous by league to return to their domicile.'/'Les femmes qui servent actuellement dans les armées, seront exclues du service militaire, il leur sera donné un passeport, et cinq sous par lieu pour rejoindre leur domicile.'
5. D. Hopkin (2009) 'The World Turned Upside Down: Female Soldiers in the French Armies of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars' in A. Forrest, K. Hagemann and J. Rendall (eds), *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1790–1820* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 77–95.
6. Hopkin, 'The World Turned Upside Down'. The two sisters Fernig were, for instance, celebrated in the play by O. de Gouges (1793) *L'Entrée de Dumouriez à Bruxelles ou les vivandiers* (Paris: Regnaud and Le Jay). For further on this play, see I. Germani (2006) 'Staging Battles: Representations of War in the Theatre and Festivals of the French Revolution, *European Review of History*, 13/2, 203–27; 205–8.
7. See P. Bordes (2000) 'Un Dessin attribué à Charles Thévenin: l'héroïsme féminin au temps de la Révolution', *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 50/4, 56–61.
8. Two paintings of history subjects, produced in 1799, do not conform to this pattern. *Le Siège de Beauvais en 1472*/The Siege of Beauvais in 1472 by François Watteau (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) and *Le Siège de Lacédémone par Pyrrhus*/The Siege of Lacedemonia by Pyrrhus by François-Jean-Baptiste Topino-Lebrun (Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française). These compositions are packed with fighting women in sieges that were distant in time but that might have had special resonance when France was, again, being threatened with invasion.
9. J. Grasset Saint-Sauveur (1796) 'Action héroïque de Leyrac et Barrau, son épouse, tous deux grenadiers au 2e bataillon du Tarn, 26 thermidor, an 2' in *Les Fastes du Peuple français* (Paris: Deroy).

10. For further on the notion of 'Women on Top' in the early modern period, see N. Zemon Davis (1975) *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight essays* (Stanford CA: Stanford University), pp. 124–51.
11. See, for instance, the address of some women from Auray to the National Assembly on 8 May 1790, J. Madival and E. Laurent (1867–) *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises* (Paris: Dupont), XV, p. 434.
12. See further, A. Stroev (2010) 'The Myth of the Amazons in the Eighteenth Century and the Legend of the Chevalier d'Eon', in S. Burrows, J. Conlin, R. Goulbourne and V. Mainz (eds) *The Chevalier d'Eon and his Worlds: Gender, Espionage and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Continuum), pp. 334–65.
13. Le Sincere (n.d.), *L'Uniforme des dames ou les Amazones modernes.* I thank Véronique Despine for supplying me with this text from the holdings of the Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille.
14. J. Landes (2001) *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), p. 96.
15. Madival and Laurent, *Archives parlementaires*, LXXVIII, pp. 48–9.
16. *Sklavin oder Bürgerin? Französische Revolution und neue Weiblichkeit 1760–1830* (1989), Exhibition Catalogue, V. Schmidt-Linsenhoff (ed.) (Frankfurt: Jonas Verlag), pp. 467–8.
17. See further Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, pp. 82–90.
18. *Aux Armes Citoyens!: Les Sabres à emblèmes de la Révolution* (1987), Exhibition catalogue (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française), p. 15.
19. Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, LXXXIV, p. 283.
20. L. Burn (2003) 'Words and Pictures: Greek Vases and their Classification', in K. Sloan (ed.) *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London: The British Museum Press), pp. 140–9.
21. See, for instance, the anonymous print of 1789, *Don Patriotique des Illustres Françaises* (Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, inv. 84.114).
22. See the next chapter for further discussion of these pendants.
23. E. Rawson (1969) *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 265.
24. G. Gramaccini (1989) 'Jean-Guillaume Moitte et la Révolution française', *Revue de l'Art*, 83, 61–70.
25. *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, an IV (1795), 5, 564.
26. The dating of the pendant showing the soldier's return is open to some doubt. The display of weapons in the bottom right hand corner of this composition includes a cocked pistol. This might suggest a suicide and imply anti-republican, royalist sympathies.

27. The hussar uniform mixed the flamboyant with the utilitarian and consisted of a short sky-blue jacket or *dolman* which had white laces, toggles and buttons, some of which were purely decorative, a *pélisse* or cloak lined with sheep's wool and slung over the shoulder, a barrel sash, tight red breeches and a *sabretache* or flat leather pouch that hung down to the knee and was suspended from the sword belt. The *mirliton* or *shako* was worn on the head with the hair braided into *cadenettes* falling to the shoulders and supposedly protecting the cheeks against sabre cuts. See T. S. Abler (1999) *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress: European Empires and Exotic Uniforms* (Oxford and New York: Berg), pp. 26–8.
28. J. Guiffrey (1869–71) 'Exposition de 1796', *Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800* (Paris: Liepmanssohn et Dufour), p. 13: 'Quel Artiste français ne sent pas le besoin de célébrer la grandeur et l'énergie que la nation a déployées, la puissance avec laquelle elle a commandé aux événements, et créé ses déstines? Les sujets que vous prenez dans l'histoire des peuples anciens se sont multipliés autour de vous. Ayez un orgueil, un caractère national; peignez notre héroïsme, et que les générations qui vous succéderont ne puissent point vous reprocher de n'avoir pas paru Français dans l'époque la plus remarquable de notre histoire.'
29. *Receuil de différentes pièces, extradites des procès-verbaux du jury qui a été nommé pour le jugement des ouvrages exposés aux Salons qui ont lieu depuis l'an II jusques et compris l'an VI* (1800) (Paris: Gayant fils), p. 17: 'Les batailles sont aujourd'hui les plus belles pages de l'histoire de la gloire française. En définition rigoureuse, ce genre rentre dans ce qu'on appelle l'histoire; les innombrables monuments de la valeur nationale seront la leçon et l'étonnement de la postérité. Le gouvernement doit et veut en fixer la mémoire. Ici l'encouragement est d'autant plus nécessaire qu'il y a peu d'artistes en ce genre.'
30. My arguments about this work owe much to the scholarship of Philippe Bordes, in particular P. Bordes (1986) *La Patrie en danger* par Lethière et l'esprit militaire', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 1986, 4/5, 300–6*;* and P. Bordes and A. Chevalier (1996) *Catalogue des peintures, sculptures et dessins* (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française) pp. 90–3.
31. J-B-P. Chaussard (1799, 10 vendémiaire an VII) *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, 41–2.
32. *Journal de Paris*, 18 (1799, 18 vendémiaire an VII), 83.
33. The filiation back to *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9) has been noted by D. Grimaldo Grigsby (2001) 'Revolutionary Sons, White Fathers and Creole Difference: Guillaume-Guillon-Lethière's *Oath of the Ancestors* (1822)' *Yale French Studies*, 101, 201–26; 204.
34. J. Boileau (1793) *Discours prononcé sur l'autel de la Patrie* (Avallon: Imprimerie d'Aubry), p. 2: 'Réunissons nous tous dans les sentimens de la

fraternité et de l'égalité; serrons nous de près pour combattre les enemis du peuple; n'ayons pour notre mère commune, la Patrie, qu'un même esprit, qu'un même cœur, que les mêmes dispositions, afin qu'il résulte de notre union une force invincible.'

35. F. R. J. Pommereul (1798/an VI) 'Des Institutions propres à encourager et perfectionner les beaux-arts en France', in F. Milizia, *De L'Art de voir dans les beaux-arts*, (Paris: Bernard) pp. 235–56.
36. Pommereul, 'Des Institutions', pp. 247–9.
37. Pommereul, 'Des Institutions', pp. 247–8.
38. *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825* (1989), Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux), pp. 296–302.
39. The format of the French national flag was confirmed for French vessels on *27 pluviôse an II*/15 February 1794, see Madival and Laurent, *Archives parlementaires*, LXXXV, p. 78.
40. For the pervasive currency of such oath imagery in the Revolution, see P. Bordes (1983) *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume de Jacques-Louis David: Le Peintre, son milieu et son temps de 1789 à 1792* (Paris: Editions de la réunion des musées nationaux), p. 100, footnote 86.
41. L. Hunt (2008) *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest: Central European Press), pp. 65–86.
42. Chaussard, *La Décade philosophique*', pp. 41–2: 'Enflammées, et belles de vertus et de la passion de la liberté, des femmes animent ces héros. Ils reçoivent d'elles des baisers et des armes: ils vaincront.
    Comme les bras et l'âme de cette femme sont bien suspendus autour de ce jeune guerrier, comme il est plein d'amour et de courage! Que l'action de celles qui apportent des armes est énergique et vraie! Que je sais gré à l'auteur d'avoir ainsi représenté les femmes! C'est à la fois leur rappeler leurs plus beaux titres à l'amour et à la gloire, ces deux passions vraiment françaises.'
43. This perception brings to mind the text by Benedict Anderson (2007) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso).
44. P. Bordes (2007) 'Le Genre de l'art en France autour de 1800', *Perspective*, 4, 679–93; A. Solomon-Godeau (1997) *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson); M. Fend (2003) *Grenzen der Männlichkeit: Der Androgyn in der französischen Kunst und Kunsttheorie 1750–1830* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag); S. Padiyar (2007) *Chains: David, Canova, and the Fall of the Public Hero in Postrevolutionary France* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press).
45. A. Potts (1994) *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), see especially pp. 222–38.

46. The painting is close to *La Mort d'Hyacinthe*/The Death of Hyacinthe (Poitiers, Musée) by Jean Broc.
47. N. Hall (1989) 'J-L David's Sword for the Ecole de Mars', *Apollo*, 130/329, 33–6. Annie Crépin has noted how the short-lived Ecole de Mars, as a military training initiative for 16-year-old to 18-year-old boys, grew out of revolutionary courses attempting to regenerate and create the new man, A. Crépin (2005) *Défendre la France: Les Français, la guerre et le service militaire, de la guerre de Sept Ans à Verdun* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes), p. 123.
48. [L-A. Fauvelet de] Bourrienne (1831) *Mémoires de Bourrienne sur Napoléon, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration,* (Paris and London), III, p. 166: 'Faites-moi disparaître tout cela; je ne veux pas de pareilles saloperies.'
49. M. Myrone (2005) *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750–1810* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press), pp. 1–4. In maintaining that the figure of the virile club-wielding Hercules came to stand in for the body of the French people when the Revolution was at its most radical, Lynn Hunt noted that this figure had a long iconographic history, L. Hunt (1983) 'Hercules and the Radical Image in the French Revolution', *Representations*, 2, 95–117. I suggest that the figure of Hercules during the French Revolution be treated with some caution. The mythic hero had, for instance, often featured in the imagery of the French monarchy in a variety of guises; see E. Stafford (2012) *Herakles*, (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), pp. 221–5. Stafford has noted the appearance of Louis XIV as Hercules on the Porte Saint-Martin in Paris and that the idea of Hercules lay behind the statue of Louis XIV by Martin Desjardins which was erected in the Place des Victoires in 1674. This statue was destroyed by the Revolutionaries in August 1792. While the attribute of the club of Hercules certainly came to stand in for a forceful, armed militancy during the course of the Revolution, more symbolic purchase accrued to the attributes of Hercules than to the antique hero's character in all its complexities.
50. See, for instance, E. Lajer-Burcharth (1999) *Necklines: the Art of Jacques-Louis David After the Terror* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

CHAPTER 6

Fame's Two Trumpets

A reputation can be celebrated as famous but it can also be damaged by the aspersions cast by fame, or by infamy. During the eighteenth century in France, the negative consequences of esteem had come to accrue, in an increasing variety of satirical forms, to many individuals, to the military and to aspects of military recruitment. The undermining of *gloire* in pejorative expressions of, for instance, shame, ignominy, dishonour, disrepute, disrespect and disgrace provides the focus for what follows. In this chapter, I shall deal first with the subversions of caricature and then with the imagery of the discharged soldier. Even though they are couched within the mediating mechanisms of an idealising neoclassical aesthetic, satirical views and scenes dealing with the soldier's return suggest, as is surely to be expected, that the effects of soldiering on civil society would be predominantly negative.

Virgil's description of fame in the *Aeneid* makes much of fame's negative aspects as a force for ill in widely disseminating the mingling of truth with lies.[1] Following on from Virgil's text, the figure of *Renommée* (Renown, Fig. 6.1) in the French version of Cesare Ripa's emblem book, *Iconologia*, is treated separately from *Glorieuse Renommée* (Glorious Renown) and from *Bonne Renommée* (Good Renown) and is given two trumpets. The illustration has the female personification sitting alone on a cloud with clothes sewn with feathers, eyes, mouths and ears. She holds up one trumpet, blowing into it at the mouth, while the second trumpet is held firmly

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6_6

80 ICONOLOGIE.

RENOMMEE. GLORIEVSE RENOMMEE.

BONNE RENOMMEE.

DIVERSES RENOMMEES.

LA Renommée, à la prendre en general, a pour Embleme, vne Femme veſtuë d'vn voile delié, qu'elle porte retrouſſé iuſques à my-jambes, qu'on diroit à la voir qu'elle court d'vne viſteſſe incroyable. Auſſi a-t'elle des aiſles aux pieds & au dos, & ſon habillement tout ſemé de plumes, d'yeux, de bouches, & d'oreilles. Car c'eſt ainſi que Virgile la deſcrit, quand il dit, qu'ordinairement

De ſa legereté ſa vigueur prend naiſſance.

RENOMMEE,

Fig. 6.1 Jacques de Bie after Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie/Diverses Renommees* from Jean Baudoin, *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes et autres figures hyéroglyphiques des vertus, des vices, des arts, des sciences…œuvre augmentée d'une seconde partie; necessaire à toute sorte d'esprits…* Paris, M. Guillemot, 1644, In-8⁰, Seconde partie, p. 80, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. Z-515. Photo: BnF

downward. The accompanying text explains further that renown, when painted with two trumpets, shows indiscrimination in proclaiming, wherever she passes, the lie and the truth.[2]

Possibly influenced by the figure of fame farting out infamy from her backside evoked by Samuel Butler in his satirical poem *Hudibras*,

Voltaire's mock epic, *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, made much of the contrary effects of fame and used the imagery of fame's second trumpet farting out from her backside to attack the writer's enemies in the publishing trade for their low-life, ignominious activities.[3] During the French Revolution, the devices of caricature exploited for graphic effect the scurrility of this aspect of fame's acknowledged proclivities.

Just after the attempt of Louis XVI to flee the country with his wife and children and the arrest of the Royal family at Varennes on the night of 21 June 1791, an etching entitled *Le Faux-pas*, *l'homme immortel* (The Slip-up, The Immortal Man, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française) incorporated the visual representation of the personification of fame with two trumpets so as to bring out the King's disgrace.[4] This caricature has the female figure flying on her own cloud with flowing garments hitched up to expose large buttocks and a trumpet poking out from her ample backside. In putatively farting out the disrepute of the King, the figure of fame can now be seen to shatter the myth of what had hitherto been the semi-sacred monarch.[5] That the Revolution was a time when reputations could be made quickly but then just as quickly broken and unmade was highlighted by the speedy ejections from the Pantheon of some of those who had recently been admitted, but who had fallen out of favour due to the rapidly mutating political fortunes of successive governments.[6]

That the inversions and subversions of caricature can accommodate fame's negative trumpet alongside its positive one appears obvious; less obvious is how the two trumpets of fame had their parts to play in the appearance of those who returned from warfare. The veteran of early modern European warfare was generally viewed with ignominy and feared as an outcast, beggar and thief. Discharged as an invalid, as somehow incapacitated and/or wounded and damaged in some way, he lacked the potential to be well re-integrated into civil society and this in spite of the fact that major monuments to past military heroes still exist in many of our public spaces.

The Constructions and Subversions of Satire

In his *Histoire des Caricatures* of 1792, Jacques-Marie Boyer-Brun characterised the caricature as something that was charged and exaggerated.[7] The journalist noted that the man of letters used fable to hide the truth that he wished to communicate to tyrants while the painter hid the truth

beneath the mask of caricature.[8] In other words, the meaningfulness of caricature relied not on the factually real but on an element of fiction that had to be acknowledged so that its essential truths could be unmasked and, thereby, communicated. To be meaningfully effective within its dissimilarity, the difference of caricature still has, however, to be rooted in some sense of similarity. The transgressions can often, but not always, only be grasped when they are offset against recognisable referents, which can then go on to be inverted or subverted further. Juxtapositions, contrasts, comparisons and repetitions are at the heart of the devices of the caricature of this period.

In the etching *Le Français d'autrefois./Le Français d'aujourd'hui* (The Frenchman of the past/The Frenchman of today, Fig. 6.2), the soldier is a smart, correctly uniformed, upright National Guardsman, who proudly sports a prominent cockade on his hat and has the bayonet of his gun topped by a bonnet of liberty. The print must date to the early days of the Revolution soon after the formation of the National Guard, when the civil and military force for the internal welfare of all was being celebrated. The uniformed person stands erect, assertively correct and backed up by a large cannon. He is to be contrasted with the figure of a puny, mincing, elegant little civilian, who is set further back. The smaller, shorter body constitutes the figure of the Frenchman of the past who has been made to appear absurd, inappropriate and incongruous in relation to the present model.

The distortions in scale and proportion evident in this pairing of two different types of Frenchmen are not meant to convince in terms of verisimilitude. These are not portraits. The negative subversions of caricature are, rather, being used here to criticise or poke fun at the civilian who exists as a negative alternative to the uniformed soldier—and this in spite of the fact that the pre-revolutionary imagery of military sign-up had, at best, presented a somewhat equivocal view of the art of soldiering and of the transition from the status of the civilian to that of the armed serviceman. So the inversions of this print serve to present a positive image of the citizen soldier in quite contrary a manner to previous views of soldiering and to the ways in which the soldier had been regarded in relation to civil society.

The National Guardsman exists here as an example of both physical and moral regeneration. There is the suggestion that this model, which combines citizenship with public service in the interests of liberty rather than out of self-interest, is for all Frenchmen to emulate. This is a more radical alternative homage to the National Guard than that made by Laneuville

Fig. 6.2 Anon, *Le Français d'autrefois*; *le Français d'aujourd'hui*: *liberté*, coloured etching, 20 cm × 13.5 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (17)-FT 4. Photo: BnF

in his design for a rallying standard of liberty (Fig. 4.1, p. 147) and, as a caricature, it disseminates through its combination of lettering with visual image a cruder, more obviously moralising message to the viewer about the way forward for French society. The phallic implications of the backing cannon of this caricature no longer have the potential to titillate but could rather be considered as a little threatening, somewhat in the manner of the young, patriot Griffin who stands to attention by the side of the King and who presents his overlarge musket to his smaller counterpart, the young Dauphin (Fig. 4.3, p. 153).

Other caricatures of the period show the figure of the French Guardsman as a positive marker of upright, virtuous conduct and exploit similar devices of contrast, comparison and juxtaposition to lampoon different social types. They bring out the historical rupture in the metaphorical forms of a turning of tables, a world turned upside down and an overturning of the previous social order.[9] In the caricature entitled *Halte Là/plus d'Aristocratie* (Stop There/no more Aristocracy, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale), a grenadier guardsman blocks the path forward of an aristocratic lady who rides a peacock, symbol of pride and vanity. In halting the advance of the aristocracy, the soldier fulfils, metaphorically, the arrest of feudal privilege as voted for in the National Assembly during the night of 4/5 August 1789.[10] In the print entitled *On me raze ce matin*, *Je me marie ce soir* (I have a shave this morning, I get married this evening, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), another fully uniformed grenadier guardsman gives a soon to be defrocked monk a shave in preparation for the monk's wedding to a nun. The loss of facial hair is a satirical marker of a putative virility which could occur as a consequence of the abolition of monastic vows that had taken place on 8 February 1790.[11]

Several other caricatures show ungainly monks in the various stages of attempting to become upright and virtuous soldiers, as in the scene of *L'Enrôlement de trois religieux* (The Enrolment of Three Monks, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale). In the view of *Les Moines apprenant a faire l'exercice* (The Monks Learning Drill, Fig. 6.3), a trio of newly recruited volunteer National Guardsmen are suitably uniformed even though there is nothing uniform in their attempts to perform military drill. With expressions ranging from the aggressive to the dozy, they march stiffly, awkwardly and out of step to the orders of their upright, leading officer. The showing of these stereotypes here constitutes an inverse performance to that of the trio of brothers unanimously responding to their father's call to arms which David had invented for his history painting, *Le Serment des Horaces* (Fig. 1.2, p. 9) before the Revolution. These recruits have nothing of the heroic about them and their non-aligned limbs contravene what is expected of them. The caricature's import has some effect because it is predicated on the exigencies of military drill as an exercise in uniformity on the one hand and because, on the other, concomitant notions of order and discipline are being undermined. Uniforms were failing to transform these men into virtuous upright citizen soldiers. In following their lines of duty, the past decadent lifestyle of the clergy is being discredited for

Fig. 6.3 Anon, *Les Moines apprenant à faire l'exercice*, coloured etching, 25 cm × 19 cm, 1790, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-370(19)-FT4. Photo: BnF

members of the new civic force were precisely not expected to behave in this way. While a pot belly, a bulbous nose, a vacant facial expression evoke degeneracy, the leaner, fitter, more upright body of the commanding officer serves as something of a contrasting role model in this mockery of those who fail to conform militarily.[12]

It is difficult to assess the amounts of humour that were, and are still, to be derived from such imagery. Neither can we assume that these lampoons provide evidence of a transfer of authority to the military. Many prints like these were produced quickly, quite cheaply and with stock variations on certain key themes with easily recognisable stereotypes that target in relatively playful and innocuous ways. Such satires—'satire' being the English eighteenth-century word denoting what we deem to be a cari-

cature today—also first appeared at a time when debates in the National Assembly were still raising fears about a military despotism along the lines of the Prussian model.

The production of French counter-revolutionary caricature, which was critical of the upheavals of the Revolution and of what the Revolution stood for, peaked between November 1791 and April 1792 after a delayed start.[13] Initially verbal in nature, pro-Royalist satire can be exemplified here by a compilation entitled *Petit Dictionnaire des grands hommes de la revolution*, which singled out for particular opprobrium the French guards.[14] Overturning the praise and honour heaped on the French guards in the aftermath of the attack on the Bastille, the satire used the language, rhetoric and vocabulary of glory to denigrate:

> What an admirable spectacle for the French army to see four thousand warriors, born defenders springing of the majesty of the throne, abjuring such a base craft, giving the signal of a noble desertion and preferring the charity of the populace to the pay of a great King! It seems as if fame has attached a particular glory to these illustrious fugitives. What was formerly a cause of shame to them today immortalises them; and if war becalms their courage, anarchy makes them heroes.[15]

This passage is predicated on the offsetting of the negative against the positive—dependence against generosity, the pay of the King against the charity of the populace, but also desertion as opposed to the noble, the fugitive versus the illustrious, shame as opposed to immortality, anarchy as against the courageous, the heroic and the waging of war which, it is satirically implied, should be the true vocation of the French guardsman. In adapting the rhetoric of glory for its own ends, the satire goes beyond mere subversion for it makes a nonsense out of the rationale that had celebrated those who had attacked the Bastille.[16]

Some later and much more creatively inventive caricatures work to target the composition of the *émigré* armies and the faces of the counter-revolution.[17] The format of a higgledy-piggledy, poorly organised procession of motley troops served to mock by emphasizing and exaggerating the participants' deformities, debilitations, delusions and debauchery and—in other words—what was non-uniform and non-martial about them. The format served, thereby, to bring out the anti-heroic and inglorious nature of their counter-revolutionary endeavour. In the print entitled *Envoi d'un supplément d'armée au ci devant Prince de Condé par MM les noirs ou du Cul-de-Sac* (Consignment of an army

Fig. 6.4 Anon, *Envoi dun supplément d'armée au ci devant Prince de Condé par MM les noirs ou du Cul-de-Sac*, coloured etching, 43 cm × 57.5 cm, 1792, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (26)-FT4. Photo: BnF

supplement to the former Prince de Condé by Messrs the blacks or of the dead end, Fig. 6.4), the words of the keys load up the named individuals with additional layers of derision.

The procession is led by the Viscount Mirabeau who had acquired the nickname Mirabeau-Tonnerre to defame him for an over-indulgence in food and drink and to differentiate him from his elder brother, the political orator. The tired old nag, who has to bear the weight of his rider's loaded-up barrel figure and whose tongue hangs out thirstily in consequence, is given the name of Rosinante. Don Quixote's steed had been called Rosinante, so the key supplies an additional allusion to another mock heroic, delusional cavalier. The figure of fame flying above Mirabeau even occupies a similar position to the female personification of folly flying above Don Quixote in an earlier design (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale) by Charles-Antoine Coypel in which a fully armoured Don Quixote is shown seated astride his Rosinante as he sets out on his adventures.[18] In the cari-

cature, fame trumpets out from her bare backside something that can be construed as having ignominious as well as foolish connotations, for in her other hand this particular figure holds out only a crown of thistles and precisely not the laurel wreath of a Roman triumph. The adaptation of figurative motifs to undermine demonstrates how previous traditions and conventions could come to be imbued with new and additional layers of subversive meaning. In functioning like this, the revolutionary caricature here openly combines the mock heroic with the mockery of those who are against the Revolution.[19]

Although this study has eighteenth-century French imagery of military recruitment as its focus, two English caricatures of the 1790s bring out a more inventive invective against the enemy's purported espousal of military glory for all its citizens. Some of the comic absurdity of *A Party of the Sans Culotte Army Marching to the Frontiers* (Fig. 6.5) by Richard Newton (1777–98) of October 1792 lies in the literal mistranslation of the designation 'sans-culotte'.[20] The word was used for a type of urban activist who wore trousers rather than the breeches of the nobility. The recently enrolled volunteers raised during the summer and autumn of 1792 are, in the English print, shown bare-bottomed, with no trousers at all and wearing nothing below the waist apart from some with clogs and one who sports the boots of a postilion, stuffed here with pistols and daggers.

The members of this rag-tag party are adorned with liberty caps and have an assortment of weapons including pitchforks, muskets and pikes. They are joined together in a merry, tipsy dance and are led on by a little French poodle. One of the volunteers lets loose his musket shot only because he is attempting to down a bird which has stolen his liberty cap. All of this stereotyping serves to make the French volunteers appear absurd, aberrant, dysfunctional and ineffective as fighting troops and the very opposite of a threatening fighting force. The enemy is also shown to be a feeble one on account of its alien, other and aberrant, foreign habits.

The *Rights of Man, alias French Liberty alias Entering Volunteers for the Republic* (Fig. 6.6) by Isaak Cruikshank (1756–1811) is charged with an even more acerbic view of the French revolutionary army and its recruitment methods. The scene is of a macabre forced procession of supposed volunteers and it was probably published in the aftermath of France's declaration of war on England on 1 February 1793 and after the subsequent mass levy in France that was decreed on 24 February 1793. The putatively mixed composition of the French army is, once again, being

Fig. 6.5 Richard Newton, *A Party of the Sans Culotte Army Marching to the Frontiers*, etching, 21.8 cm × 68 cm, 1792, London, British Museum, Inv. 1925,0701.34. Photo: ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved

Fig. 6.6 Isaac Cruikshank, *Rights of Man*, *alias French Liberty alias Entering Volunteers for the Republic*, coloured etching, 26.2 cm × 36 cm, 1793, London, British Museum, Inv. 1868.0808.6046. Photo: ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved

satirised, but what is also being excoriated here is the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen for this nightmarish vision purports to indicate that, in the mass call-ups, the so-called French volunteers had not been at all free in signing up to serve in the French army. What is being shown here is a perverse vision of freedom peopled by the unfree, the bound, the tortured and those being whipped. Instead of a fond and sentimental farewell as has been incorporated into so many French scenes of the new recruit leaving family, hearth and home, a woman with one child clinging to her waist and another child falling back on the ground by her side, appears to be desperately attempting to hold on to her bewigged, bound husband as he is being hauled away by a rope tied around his chest. The rope is attached to a horse led by a jack-booted recruiting sergeant with drawn sword who, in a speech bubble, cynically articulates: 'Come along my brave Volunteers, one *Sous* per Day in *Assignats* & Plenty of Water.' The promised recompense is worse than derisory but then the volunteers are not shown as volunteers and no bravery whatsoever is on display. On the horse's neck and on top of the hapless bodies that have been heaped up onto the back of the horse, there sits a harridan-like perversion of the figure of liberty whose features are distinctly unclassical in guise. To make it evidently clear that what is being indicated here is liberty's obverse, a striped barber's pole topped by a liberty bonnet has been stuck into the bare arsehole of one of the heaped up bodies. Other bubble captions load up this nightmare fantasy with yet more elements of vilification. To a recruiter with raised sword urging, with menace, a share in the glory of France, a tormented civilian responds by saying, in anguish and with his hands over his ears, that he is not yet ready to go to glory.

The inscription running along the top of the print refers to a publication date of 7 May 1791 and the print publisher W S Fores at No. 3 Piccadilly as having the largest collection of caricatures in the Kingdom where the complete model of the guillotine and the head and hand of Count Streuenzee may also be seen. This puff is likely to have been largely fictional. S W Fores, not W S Fores, had premises at the address of No. 3 Piccadilly.[21] The Republic was not proclaimed until 22 September 1792 and the first guillotine machine was inaugurated in France only on 25 April 1792, so the purported date of the caricature's publication must be understood to be deliberately anachronistic.[22] Struensee, a reforming politician in Denmark and the lover of George III's sister, Caroline Matilda, the Danish Queen, had been executed in 1772, so it is highly

unlikely that his head and part of his body would have been on view in the premises of a print publisher twenty years later. That Louis XVI had gone to the guillotine on 21 January 1793 should also be borne in mind when considering the make-up of this print. It was the execution of the French king that had brought the entry of Britain into the First Coalition of the war against revolutionary France. So perhaps the reference to Count Streuenzee embeds another, more topical reference to the much more recently deceased French king. In not constituting evidence of actual viewing practices, the inscription demonstrates, instead, a self-referencing which adds to the layers of visual and verbal illusionism on offer and exaggerates the levels of violence that were accruing in the British imagination to the absent referent of the French Revolution. The grotesque elements of this print are grim indeed but they remain firmly within the realms of fiction and offer up only interpretations of the essentially fictional. [23]

Revealing and Covering Up

In the aftermath of Thermidor, the liberty of the press in France was a hotly debated political phenomenon. The cause of the defence of freedom was, initially, used to attack those on the left who continued to support the policies of Robespierre.[24] Then, after an initial surge in new publications post-Thermidor, controls on the press and on press freedom were reintroduced by the government of the Directoire and selected newspapers were banned. Some of these publications resurfaced under different titles. Both right-wing and left-wing journalists and editors were arrested, although the repression was not as effective as it had been during the period of the Terror.[25]

In a satirical survey of Paris during the period that followed on after the downfall of Robespierre on 9/10 Thermidor an II (27/28 July 1794), the critic Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chaussard, writing under the pseudonym Doctor Dicaculus de Louvain, gave an account of the differences between English and French caricature:

> With the exception of Hogarth's compositions, English caricatures are gross little genre pictures. I see the absence of arts in these caricatures, the need for shameful distraction, the experience of the taverns and the impunity of national manners. The vices of the English are crude, those of the French are polished.[26]

Aside from the nationalistic flavour of these opinions, caricature is also being judged positively here in having the potential to mobilise opinion and, in this, it is compared to the making of a public speech:

> The other peoples do not have enough freedom to have caricatures. This type of composition prompts a movement in minds and soon in the State. Shall I explain myself fully? To hold forth in the public square or display a caricature seems to me to be the same thing. There is even an advantage for the caricature. Its effect is both prolonged and multiplied. It strikes in several places and for longer.

Chaussard's observations about the effectiveness of caricature can be contrasted with the pessimistic perceptions of Louis-Sébastien Mercier who holds up caricature not as a force for good, but as setting bad examples which the vain and the frivolous then imitate. Mercier suggests that both the caricatures and the social types being satirised in the caricatures lacked moral direction:

> The naïve pictures of our absurdities, of our follies, of our failings, of our vices only excite the fleeting smile of a flighty people who study themselves in their attire which they change at every moment of the day, even taking on the charge of ridicule of what has been offered up to them as the faithful mirror. Who would believe it? The print of the *incroyables* has caused the general adoption of sidelocks: that's how many Republicans have been made by the inept newspapers, the rebels of republicanism.[27]

Many of these caricatures do, indeed, mock the fashions, mores and different factional elements of the period but these prints are far from being apolitical, even though some of the political implications of their subject matter may well have been veiled. Satires produced after the downfall of the Jacobin government may well have been about differences in appearance, costume and manner, but some of these prints go beyond a mere stereotyping of class and faction to critique particular circumstances and to set up a radical republicanism in opposition to the private, the self-interested and the effeminized.

The caricature entitled *La Faction incroyable* (The Incredible Faction, Fig. 6.7) deals with the shouldering of responsibility for civic duty and incorporates an instance of a rejection of such shouldering under the guise of a being on sentry duty. The composition consists of three figures standing on a cobbled street in front of a building and by a sentry

Fig. 6.7 Anon, *La Faction Incroyable*, etching, 26 cm × 37 cm, c.1797, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (26)-FT 4. Photo: BnF

box. The portly officer with pointing index finger on the left appears to be giving an order to do sentry duty. He could constitute a throw-back figure of authority from the *Ancien Régime* because he sports a ruffled shirt, breeches, buckled shoes and a tricorne hat on top of a neatly coiffured wig with plaited queue, and he stands to attention with an old-fashioned sabre raised up in one hand to rest on his shoulder. On the right, stepping out of the sentry box is the present incumbent of the post in the form of a much more emaciated and more raggedly clothed and tattered guard in twisted, frayed stockings, heavy shoes or clogs. The helmet he wears was that of an infantry man in the army and it is shown here as sparsely tufted and threadbare.[28] Holding his musket in the crook of his arm, this sentry places his hand within his jacket, presumably to keep it warm. He also appears to be offering to share the protection of his greatcoat with the central figure stereotyped with long side-locks, as the *incroyable*.

The designation *incroyable* followed on from that of *muscadin*. It was used for someone who, in sporting a particular type of high, at times extreme, fashion reacted against what the Jacobin government had stood for and opposed those who continued to espouse the causes of Jacobinism. In this case the *incroyable* has riding boots *à l'anglaise* and is clothed in a long jacket with wide lapels, striped waistcoat, large cravat and a large top hat, all of which were distinctive features of *incroyable* fashion.[29] The extravagant costume suggests an obsession with self. Plaited side-locks held up with a comb could even have specifically implied that the wearer wanted to be seen as being consciously opposed to the public weal or *la chose publique*.[30]

The print shows rainwater gushing out from the overflow guttering of the sentry box, just missing, on one side, the gnarled, emaciated guardsman, and suggesting, on the other side, that the *incroyable* is urinating contemptuously. In a supposed verbal exchange between the old and new guard, the lettering of the print spells out the reluctant newcomer's disbelief, even disdain, for taking up the watch. The well wrapped up *incroyable*, in being reluctant to do his sentry duty on account of the bad weather, is concerned only with his self-interest to which the common soldier responds: '*eh*! *Ben Camarade endosse la Capote*!' ('eh! Well Friend take on the Greatcoat'). The jeering gesture of generosity is, at the very least, double-edged. Besides meaning to put on clothing the word *endosser* can refer to the sense of joining up to share in shouldering a burden.[31]

The words of the print's title pun too and help, thereby, to account for the creative visual inventions of the composition as a whole. The French word *faction* can be translated into English as faction, sect or dissenting party so, on one level of representation, the print plainly purports to illustrate aspects of the *incroyable* sect. The French word *faction* has the further, separate meaning of guard duty, so a further layer of representation proposes that the central figure, in his dress that is inappropriate for the duties involved in doing guard duty, is a hardly creditable guardsman.[32]

After the failed Royalist revolt of Quiberon in July 1795, when émigré and counter-revolutionary troops had landed on the Quiberon peninsula so as to support the right-wing revolt in the Vendée, the newspaper *La Sentinelle* reported the affair in terms of a false, fictional call to arms and in words that mocked the language, accents and affectations of the *incroyable*. The report's jibing also specifically mocked, as a turncoat Jacobin, Jean-Lambert Tallien, the man who had been responsible for the slaughter of many of the royalist prisoners taken captive in the revolt and who

had also been instrumental in bringing about the downfall of Robespierre from within the National Convention:

> Impossible, the news! Impossible, invented! The Thermidoreans! For their fête! Incredible that little M. Tallien! Incredible! A man of nothing! Terrorist as well! Of the faction! We must though stop this! We have to! The youth! To arms! Without which the terror! Motley word, the terror! Those who were brave in disembarking would never have arrived without the terror. This is just the terror! The terror![33]

The newspaper's comment uses exaggeration, exclamation and fictitious threats to satirise those who had been influential in the government of the Terror, as in the government post Thermidor. It also conveys something of how the divisions in French society at this time were being perceived as a struggle between opposing factions. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the caricature, *La Faction incroyable* (Fig. 6.7), as opposed to the targeting of the newspaper, is singling out the person of Tallien for particular condemnation. It is also safe to assume that neither the print nor the newspaper extract have anything to do with any particular call to arms or actual appeal to the nation's young men to join up and fight. In ostensibly lampooning the extravagances of the *incroyables*—in clothing and in behaviour—another caricature is, however, more pointed and specific in its targeting of particular individuals, events and circumstances.

The print entitled *I^re^ Réquisition des Deux Genres* (First Requisition of Two Genres, Fig. 6.8) is predicated on the specific system of military call-up brought about by the passing of the Jourdan-Delbrel law of 19 fructidor an VI (5 September 1798), that had formally instituted a system of conscription for the first time in France. Its composition features, again, three figures; they are arranged here across an interior Salon or boudoir space. As in Fig. 6.7, the three figures offer up a narrative scenario or playlet with an implied present, a before and an after that can be grasped by the viewer both through an understanding of how words and visual imagery can interconnect to convey meaning, as through a perception of how the different gestures, expressions and attributes given to each of the depicted figures allow them all to interact with each other across the stage set.

An upright, forthright and authoritative ex-army officer, clad in a great coat with epaulettes, boots with spurs and the plumed cockaded headwear of an official enters the room stage right. He holds out in his hand an

Fig. 6.8 Anon, *1re Réquisition des Deux Genres*, etching and stipple engraving, 27.5 cm × 33 cm, c.1798–9, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1793-08-10)-FOL. Photo: BnF

unfolding scrolled sheet which is likely to be the requisition order of the print's title. Under his other arm he carries a sheathed sword which is, presumably, the weapon destined to arm the fellow who cowers behind a folding screen on the other side of the composition. This kneeling figure is clad in the highly fashionable and easy to distinguish stereotypical clothes of the *incroyable*. His long tailcoat with its deep pockets, wide lapels, multi-layered cravat together with his long side-locks tied up with a comb can here certainly be interpreted as a sign of opposition to *la chose publique* for his cowering attitude, pose and gestures show him to be reluctant to obey the requisition order. A lady, clad very fashionably

in a light, clinging, low décolleté, transparent Greco-Roman robe that allows the nipples of her fully rounded breasts to show through, is seated centrally on a chaise longue between the two men. She holds onto, with one hand, a long shawl that has been elegantly and artfully draped round her body and over one arm. Leaning back with a sorrowful expression she appears, with her other hand, to be touching or gesturing towards her heart. She, too, is clearly reluctant and upset about the appearance of the first requisition.

The lettering beneath the print's title gives to the three figures their own words and exclamations. The phrase '*ma parole d'honneur*' ('my word of honour') had become a somewhat meaningless but nevertheless identifying slogan of the *incroyable*.[34] The *incroyable* figure accuses those doing the requisitioning of being the *enragés* (the enraged), a term that had come to designate the most activist and extreme of left-wing revolutionaries. The law bringer uses a call to glory to justify the requisition to the lady. Her expression is one of supposed disbelief and fear. The phrase '*pas possible*', affectedly pronouncing disbelief, is, naturally enough, another slogan that can be associated with the *incroyables*, but it is not at all clear to which of the two men the lady is making her address and, indeed, the composition of the satire suggests that her words are meaningful to both men, but with different inferences in each case. She could be expressing her rejection of the requisition order to the official because she is fearful that the military call-up might engender the loss of a loved one, if only temporarily. Or the words could be understood as a rejection of the advances of an illicit lover just when her husband, or another jealous lover, enters the room.

Under the guise of a domestic satire of manners, it is safe to assume that this particular caricature is targeting Madame Tallien, also known by her maiden name, Thérésia Cabarrus. The Directoire was a period known for the extravagances of wealth, behaviour and sexual licence of a few nouveaux riches *parvenus*. Madame Tallien in particular acquired notoriety on account of her beauty, her sexual allure, her revealing costumes and her extravagant spending.[35] By detailing the superficialities of her appearance, a newspaper report of 19 nivôse an III (8 January 1795) implies the absence of a suitably virtuous Republican morality in her entourage:

> The beautiful Cabarrus has her admirers, her adulators, her detractors and her emulators. Is she about to arrive? Then one applauds with rapture, as if saving the French Republic was only a matter of having a figure in the man-

> ner of a Roman or Spanish woman, a superb skin, beautiful eyes, a noble bearing, a smile where amiability moderates protection, a costume in the Greek manner and naked arms.[36]

In 1798, the year of the new laws on conscription, Madame Tallien transferred her affections from Paul Barras, an ex-Jacobin general and one of the five directors of the government of the Directoire, to the rich, young speculator and munitions supplier Gabriel Ouvrard.[37] Ouvrard was born in 1770 so he would not have been caught up in the first round of conscription in which only single men between the ages of 20 and 25 were required to be potentially available to do military service. The caricature does not purport to present the viewer with literal portrait depictions and, indeed, in her day-to-day behaviour Madame Tallien does not seem to have fully justified her reputation. The puns of the print's verbal as well as of its visual constructions point, nevertheless, to a particular *ménage à trois* and are not just about undermining, in a general way, the costumes and behaviour of the newly rich and newly arrived.

The title of the print is predicated on the meanings that can be attributed to the word *genre*. The first requisition of the two *genres* can refer to the first requisition of people, as in the human genus. *Genre* as in type, sort or category implies here two different types as is indicated by the official clad in the clothes of a veteran military officer and the draft dodger, who is attempting to evade the requisition. *Genre* can also be understood as the French word for gender, so the two genders of the title also refer to the differing effects of the first requisition on men and on women. These effects include here not just the impact of the institution of conscription for the French people, but also the transfer of Madame Tallien's affections, away from one of the leaders of the government of the Directoire, who had served as an officer in the army, towards a non-combative munitions supplier, who had achieved immense wealth through the intrigues of financial speculation and who is shown here as an obviously unwilling, fearful conscript. Glory might ostensibly be calling Ouvrard to the frontline but it is a compromised glory, predicated on self-interest and from within the private, feminine space of the boudoir. The fulfilment of this requisition order would have got rid of a rival in love.[38]

The final caricature to be discussed in this section links the two halves of this chapter for it deals not with a going off to war, but with a far from glorious return from a military triumph. Through the undermining effects of disrepute, it attributes an ignominious desire for fame to a

supposedly heroic general. The print's title is ironic in that it designates General Dumouriez as the supposed saviour of Belgium *Le Sauveur de la Belgique* (Fig. 6.9). In the visual composition, the central figure of General Dumouriez is, however, shown to be leaving a battlefield, strewn with the slain while also being splendidly kitted out and sporting a powdered, plaited wig, which can be associated with the dress, status and manners of a nobleman of the *Ancien Régime*.[39]

The dashing posture of the soldier matches that of the winged figure of fame flying on clouds above his head. With skirts hitched up to her waist to reveal fat, bare buttocks from out of which there pokes fame's second trumpet, this personification closely matches the one of the caricature, *Le Faux Pas, l'Homme immortel* (Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française) of 1791, that had earlier dealt a blow to the reputation of the King. The combination of the allegorical personification of fame with the depiction of a military hero returning in triumph belongs to previously sanctioned visual conventions in the grand manner, such as those on display in the painting and decoration of the Hall of Mirrors at the palace of Versailles where a framed octagonal picture in the painted ceiling of the Galerie picks out, in blue grisaille on a gold background, the figure of fame blowing her trumpet over the outlined person of Louis XIV. In this small print, by contrast, instead of the trumpet of glory being blown from out of her mouth, fame is shown to be puffing vainly at an empty cornucopia. What is being puffed up in the caricature is the vainglory of the general in that the spoils of war will serve only to discredit the victor and will bring nothing of the fruitful abundance of peace. The words of the pennant attached to the trumpet farting out of the backside reiterate the negative import of the general's recent victory.

The victory in question was that of the battle of Jemappes that had been fought against the Austrians on 6 November 1792. It was one of the first victories of the French in the revolutionary wars and it allowed the French to enter Brussels in triumph.[40] Instead of lauding Dumouriez for this victory, the inscription accompanying the imagery of the general's departure from the battlefield accuses Dumouriez of treason in rushing back to Paris in the aftermath of the battle so as to protect and curry favour with those members of the National Convention who had hitherto promoted him. The inflammatory language of the inscription explicitly attacks the warmongering section of the Montagnards, whose radical politicians sat on benches high up in the Legislative Assembly and then in the National Convention. The lettering ends with the menacing inference that

Fig. 6.9 Anon, *Le Sauveur de la Belgique*, etching and tool work, 22 cm × 18.5 cm, 1793, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-370 (28)-FT4. Photo: BnF

the impending fate of Dumouriez will be as treacherous as the fanfares of La Fayette. On 17 August 1792, just two days before La Fayette crossed over to the allied forces of the enemy, the Legislative Assembly had voted command of l'Armée du Nord, previously commanded by La Fayette, to Dumouriez.[41] We now know with hindsight that Dumouriez did indeed defect to the Austrian camp after the defeat of the Battle of Neerwinden on 18 March 1793, but the particular circumstances of Dumouriez' defection are not being predicted in the caricature, even though this imagery certainly condemns an officer who had also served as an aristocratic army officer under the *Ancien Régime*, and who was now coming under suspicion of treason.[42]

Dumouriez had previously returned victoriously to Paris in October 1792, after the battle of Valmy, and on this occasion Julie Talma gave a glamorous reception in his honour.[43] Marat gained entry to the reception to accuse Dumouriez of a cover-up after the execution of what the writer believed to have been not four Prussian deserters, but four French émigré spies. The general had then turned his back on Marat. There followed a press campaign, headed up by Marat, that vilified Dumouriez and to which the emergence and production of this particular caricature may well have contributed. A report in the *Révolutions de Paris* of 17–24 November 1792 noted the demasking of the traitor La Fayette and then went on to denounce Demouriez: 'Until now we have only criticized Demouriez for a vain amour-propre that smacks too much of the *Ancien Régime* and the minister of the court, an excessive thirst for praise, honours and theatrical crowns. But would he be satisfied today with glory and incense? Would he not aspire to more material wealth, less volatile advantages?'[44] The extract may be making further reference to the complaints, made by Dumouriez, against the government's new purchasing commission for supplies to the army. The three ministers of war, of the navy and of the interior, Pache, Monge and Roland, had intended, for reasons of cost and presumably also of control, to replace the private suppliers, previously favoured by the general.[45]

According to his own memoirs, first published in 1794 and justifying the circumstances of his defection, Demouriez had returned to Paris on 1 January 1793 not in triumph but with the hidden motive of trying to save the life of Louis XVI, by obtaining a suspension of the king's trial due to the dangers posed by the external threat.[46] That Dumouriez was a royalist sympathiser is alluded to in the caricature by the lettering of the sword he brandishes: *Je veux un Roi* (I want a King). The attribute displays loyalty

not to the nation, but to the King. Ceremonial sabre blades had begun to be inscribed with patriotic slogans, such as *Vivre libre ou mourir* (Live free or die), so the drawn sword blade of the former Royal army officer could well also imply here the treasonous intentions of the recently triumphant military hero.[47] Viennot's report to the National Assembly of just a year earlier on the honours to be awarded to the military, discussed in Chap. 3, had recommended that victorious generals should be awarded a sword inscribed with the words: *Donnée par la patrie au général* (Given by the Homeland to the general).[48] In the case of this caricature, the sword had clearly not been handed down as an honouring of the general by the Homeland and its inscription serves to inculpate its owner as wanting a king and in being, thereby, unpatriotic. Far from being shown as the saviour of Belgium, it is the questionable fame or, indeed, infamy of Dumouriez that is being heralded here.

The analysis of visual satire dealing with the downsides of glory and the business of signing up for the military demonstrates the need to locate such imagery with precision. Hindsight intervenes in the present to colour these perspectives from the past. As these prints were highly topical, it will also never be possible to reinvigorate their full scope.

The Discharged Soldier

The plight of the fallen hero and the mixed fates of those who survived combat were themes of common currency to the élite and cultivated in Paris during the second half of the eighteenth century. These themes raised issues about how someone might be altered by warfare and about the nature of a sometimes difficult, or failed, reintegration into civil society. Two major history paintings by David of the early 1780s, *Bélisaire demandant l'aumône* (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts) of 1781 and *La Douleur d'Andromaque* (Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts) of 1783 have, for instance, subjects that deal with the return of the soldier and in neither case is a simple triumph envisaged.

Both these works belong to the artist's graduation programme in becoming a fully-fledged royal academician and history painter from within the *Académie royale*.[49] The earlier painting, David's *morceau d'agrément* or approval piece, depicts an unjustly disgraced, blind general who has been reduced to begging outside the imposing gateway or triumphal arch of the Emperor Justinian's city. Forced to use the assistance of a young boy to beg, the old soldier is shown pathetically accepting charity from some

unnamed lady. In the case of the work of slightly later date, the artist's *morceau de réception* or reception piece, the grief of Andromache has been prompted by the death of her husband, Hector, slain in battle at the hands of Achilles. His lifeless corpse is stretched out on a stone funeral bier or sarcophagus beside her as their son, Astyanax, reaches up to his mother. In a moment of tear-jerking, emotional intensity, the work conveys the effects of the death of the defeated warrior on those who, in life, have been closest to him. The painting was exhibited at the Salon of 1783 and then it was hung on the walls of the *Académie royale* until that institution was abolished in 1793.[50] These two works of high art dealt with the fallen hero, not the common soldier. The war veteran, as distinct from the King, hero or conqueror—whether returning home in triumph or in dishonour—was, on the other hand, viewed only with disapproval in early modern Europe.

In Callot's print series of *Les Misères et les malheurs de la guerre*, the debilitating and emasculating effects of war on the soldier and the evils of soldiering for the rest of civil society are obvious. On campaign, the soldier pillaged and plundered so that the former soldier then became an outcast. Five out of the eighteen prints of the large series by Callot show the crimes committed by soldiers including the pillage of an inn, house, cloister, village and an attack on travellers, five other prints show the severe punishments meted out to soldiers—the strappado, hanging, firing squad, pyre and wheel—and three prints depict sick and wounded soldiers seeking refuge, dying on the road and a vengeful attack on soldiers by peasants.[51] The final print in the series shows the distribution of awards to soldiers and, in line with the scene of enrolment at the beginning of the sequence and discussed in the second chapter of this study, it suggests that a 'just' war may be necessary but that, to curb the abuses of pillaging then prevalent, soldiers needed to be suitably rewarded.

Under the French monarchy, men discharged from the army were considered to be potential brigands or, if infirm and destitute, beggars. The numbers of ex-soldiers that the larger armies of the early modern era had to send away were not easily absorbed into civil society. Many former soldiers lived in generally straitened circumstances and they ended up roaming the countryside as vagabonds and outcasts, without settled employment. In the seventeenth century the word *invalide* replaced the term *stropiat* for someone who was no longer fit or valid, for the *ancien soldat* was only recognised as a formal category during the nineteenth century.[52] Pensions for long service were certainly first implemented post 1764 and the reforms of Choiseul. In 1776, an estimated 25,000 men were in receipt of a retired

serviceman's State pension, amounting to the lowly annual sum of 80 *livres*. It has also been suggested that the former soldier was beginning to be invested with a certain amount of respectability towards the end of the *Ancien Régime*, culminating with the introduction, for a time, of a more egalitarian system of pensions during the Revolution.[53]

An early indication that the returning soldier, whether already dead or still alive but wounded, would figure prominently in revolutionary discourse is contained in a funerary oration for the National Guardsmen fallen when suppressing, under the orders of the marquis de Bouillé, the mutiny at Nancy in August 1790:

> What tender farewells, what huggings and kissings, what tears, what sighs intercut with sobbing, in short what sad embraces made this moment of separation horrible. Alas, mothers weeping, women left as widows, children rendered into orphans, so this was the last time that you would hold tight in your arms this soldier citizen and this citizen soldier. His courage, his love for the new constitution carries him far away from you and a rifle shot will thus be the recompense of his public-spiritedness. This is a Frenchman who will perish by the hand of his brother. But the trumpet sounds, the drum can be heard, he flies off, tearing himself away from the arms of his wife; in taking flight, he hides himself away from his children who run after him and call after him until he can no longer hear them; he is soon positioned in the ranks.[54]

The emotive language projects back into the past to dramatise the moment of separation from loved ones. The projection conforms to prevailing visual conventions for the showing of the soldier's farewell, yet the description now serves to highlight the subsequent death of the combatant and the effects on the different members of his family of what will be their permanent loss. The pamphlet demands a better treatment for soldiers in life as in death, noting that the nation has undertaken to care for the widows and orphans of those killed in the repression of the mutiny but that there have been many more wounded and crippled whom the nation has forgotten.[55] The text then contrasts the lot of those who merely write for liberty with the treatment of those who defend liberty at the peril of their lives. The actual targets of this report are likely to have been those deputies of the National Assembly in Paris who had backed the repression in Nancy ordered by the marquis de Bouillé. The rhetoric has for target the contemporary political situation in spite of its use of tropes from the literary and pictorial representations of the past.

A report of 5 March 1793 on behalf of the Committees of Public Instruction and of War by the playwright and politician Marie-Joseph Chénier on the honours decreed for Lieutenant Bretèche reveals further how the showing of wounds in the National Convention and the rhetoric of *gloire* inherited from the past belong to the war effort being waged at home and on France's frontiers.[56] The report was produced four months after the victory of Jemappes but just two weeks before the defeat of Neerwinden and a month before the defection of Demouriez. It opens with a summary of how it has been possible to single out Bretèche from the crowd of intrepid men who had sealed with their blood the liberty of France and the conquest of Belgium. With his life in danger, Bretèche had saved a man, a French citizen, a general, before being surrounded by enemy soldiers, twelve of whom he killed, receiving in the process 41 sword cuts. According to the report, the patriotic enthusiasm aroused by the presence of Bretèche back in Paris poured a salutary balm on his wounds. As far as the returning hero was concerned, this was his sufficient reward for what he had done for the Homeland for, as soon as he recovered his strength, he wanted to return to his comrades in arms and shed his remaining blood in defending the Republic.[57]

This fighting talk belongs to the rhetoric of warmongering in the aftermath of the declaration of the levy of 300,000 men of 23 February 1793, but the underlying incitements for others to offer themselves up in similar acts of self-sacrifice are couched in the language of classicism. The specific recommendations about how Bretèche's individual feat of bravery was to receive its just reward hark back to what Joseph Servan back in 1780 had favoured. According to Chénier, the ancient Republics, at the apogée of their splendour, rewarded great actions with just an oak leaf. Liberty was at risk only once such tokens were distributed too liberally, and it ceased to exist once such rewards no longer sufficed: 'National gratitude is the true prize of fine actions; leave treasures for tyrants; glory is the currency of Republics. Generals, the soldiers of kings know what honour is; republicans alone know glory and are worthy of appreciating it.'[58] The writer makes a distinction between honour and glory. Honour was bestowed on individuals and could be allied to the granting of privilege by the sovereign. Glory was, on the other hand, considered to be national in its remit, with a more purely abstract value and the potential to be open to all.

Although the material effects of *gloire* could be substantial, the making abstract of these effects also fitted the purposes of the war effort well. The valuing of a single great action by just an oak leaf cost the war effort little when the finances of France were already fully exposed in supporting the

more tangible requirements and necessities of warfare. After the devaluation of the *assignat*, the paper currency that had been introduced as a government bond on church property in 1790, it was hoped that fiscal contributions from the conquered territories would help meet the costs of waging war but these rewards did not materialise until the policy of annexation got into full swing.[59]

Besides the awarding of a crown of oak leaves and the giving of a fraternal embrace by the President of the National Convention, Bretèche was, though, also to be rewarded with a sabre inscribed with the words: *la République française à Bretèche*.[60] The marking of this sabre is quite an opposite marking to the words shown on the sword of Dumouriez in the caricature that depicts this general's flight from the battlefield (Fig. 6.9) and in neither case were the inscriptions unmediated or without inferences pertaining to the circumstances of the war effort and the factional nature of the political arena that was then current. Chénier's report demonstrates a Jacobin take on the events of the day and on what the public interest might constitute, but it is still couched in the edifying language of classicism and its precepts belong to previously sanctioned recommendations for the awarding of glory to the serving soldier.

In the visual imagery of the period, there are hardly any pictures that display the returning soldier's bloodied wounds in all their gore.[61] The iconography of the hero, fallen in dutiful self-sacrifice, was certainly not negligible, but the expression of such fallen heroism tends to manifest itself in the purifying and idealising forms of an over-riding neoclassical aesthetic.[62] The jury's deliberations for what turned out to be the last Grand Prix painting competition for aspiring history painters of the *Académie*, the former *Académie royale*, reveal much about the value being placed on the arts as products of the imagination whose appeal lay beyond the confines of the too specific, literal and real.

The set subject for the competition dealt with an episode when the corpse of Brutus, carried by Roman soldiers, was welcomed at the gates of Rome by the Senate, after the republican hero had been killed in battle at the hands of Tarquin's son, Aruns, who had also perished in the clash of arms. In the jury's deliberations, there was much discussion about how the corpse of Brutus should be shown and it seems as if the life-like heroic qualities of the now lost version by Fulcran-Jean Harriet (1776–1805) won out over that of the painting by Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774–1833, Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française) which was criticised for its painting of a corpse that lacked beauty and was too thin, livid

and melodramatic.[63] A short extract from the assessment of the entries to the competition that was made by a former student of David's, François Jean-Baptiste Topino-Lebrun (1764–1801), indicates something of the high-flown aspirations being attributed to artistic endeavour at this time:

> Already my mind considers the monuments of the arts; it stops not at individual imitations: I prefer to admire good and simple nature; and if I suspend the tenderness which contemplation always fills me with and look, instead, on the works of men, then I require that my imagination be spoken to, that the phenomena that I cannot see be retraced for me, the sublime actions of the sages, of the heroes and of their characteristic resemblances; may all the fugitive beauties, isolated, but homogeneous, that my initial idleness prevents me from seeking out, be reunited in one whole.[64]

Such perceptions about the generalising, purifying effects of beauty to be striven for, when depicting sublime acts of wisdom and of heroism, are in line with the ennobling traits and mission of the painting of history. Yet even in the French visual satires of the period, the showing of deformity, blemish, disease and imperfection is much more muted than in their British counterparts. It is, furthermore, hardly surprising that the genre scenes of contemporary customs, manners and the events of daily life tended also to occlude the showing of the blood and gore of bodily wounds incurred as a result of armed conflict.

The *Fastes du Peuple Français* include a picture (Fig. 6.10) showing the ceremony that honoured three maimed common soldiers.[65] One of these veterans had lost both eyes, another both legs and the third both arms. In the composition, the five Directors, in their lavish formal costumes and feathered hats, stand on a raised dais in the rotunda space of the Church of the Invalides, with one of their number, La Reveillière-Lépaux, to the fore as he honours each of the wounded in turn with laurel wreaths. The permanent disabilities of these war veterans are clearly marked out here by a bandage over both the eyes of one, by the empty sleeve of his companion and by the stumps and crutch of the third. These disabled soldiers still stand cleanly and deferentially erect before their superiors. The imagery as a whole tends to belie the immediacy of effect that a parade of wounded bodies in all their gore and suffering might well have prompted. A critical report about the festival noted that on the drive to the subsequent festivities held on the Champ de Mars, the three veterans had been hidden away in an enclosed carriage whereas they should have been conveyed in uncovered triumphal chariots.[66]

Pendant scenes inform us of other ways of treating the return of the soldier. The negative effects of soldiering on civil society come into greater focus in paired works and sequences of pictures. Pendant paintings might have been fitted into designed interior spaces, but it is the rhetorical devices of the *tableau*, the academic context of the framed stand-alone picture, that bring out the additional narrative meaning that can be gleaned through the spaces between matching works. Pendant works by Greuze on the theme of the departure and then the return of an ungrateful son that have been mentioned in Chap. 2 above might be associated with the biblical theme of the prodigal son in line with the discussion by David Hopkin of

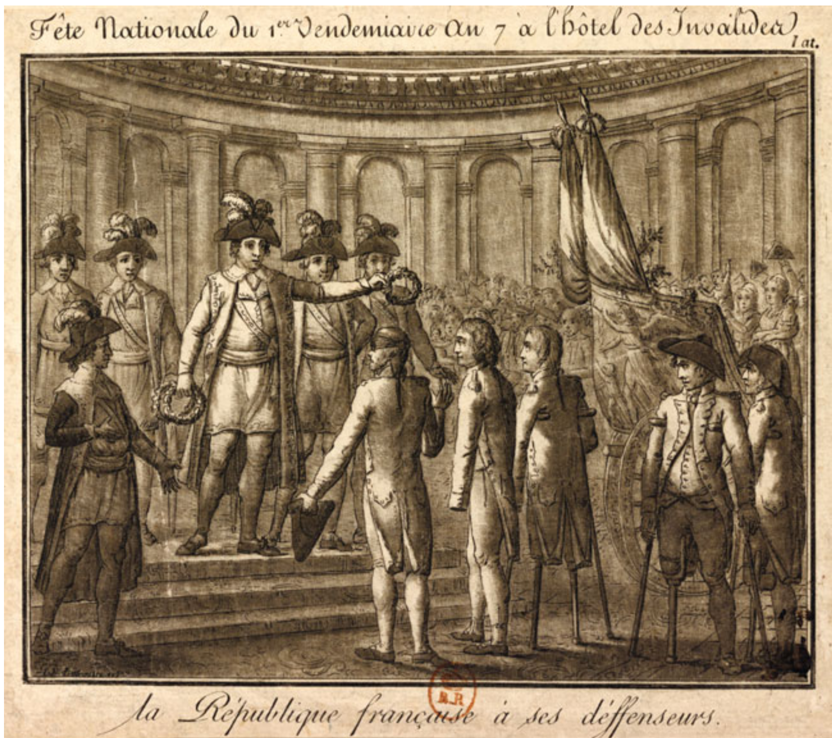

Fig. 6.10 L.F. Labrousse, *Fête Nationale du* 1er *vendémiaire an 7 à l'hôtel des Invalides: La République française à ses déffenseurs*, etching and tool work, 12 cm × 15.5 cm, c.1798, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. QB-1 (1798-09-22)-FOL. Photo: BnF

nineteenth-century print depictions of the departing and returning conscript.[67] Neither of the pendants by Greuze depicts the blood and slaughter of the battlefield but both scenes, working together and in the light of the inter-textual spaces that exist between them, bring out military service and concomitant conflict, battle and warfare, as having the potential to be disruptive of the bonds that hold the family and, it is implied, society together.

The war zones were, indeed, quite far from Paris and its environs, whether in terms of the civil war that had begun to be waged in the Vendée or in terms of the battles against foreign enemies on France's borders and these factors can help to account for the numbers of pendants that deal with the going off to war and then the return of the soldier. The chosen moments are substantially about the effects of war on civilian society rather than about the circumstances of battle. Such an explanation must, though, remain a partial one for the ongoing structures and mechanisms of representation need also to be accounted for.

The pendant prints by Talamona after designs by de Machy (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6 p. 194, p. 195) on the theme of the going off to and then the coming back from warfare, which I have discussed in Chap. 5, are to be found in all the major French public collections of revolutionary material. Their pairing constitutes a more orthodox Jacobin inspired vision of a going to war. The neoclassical style and content of these designs bring out the divorce between a public showing of wounds sustained by the living and an encoding of such a moment into the static, mute, white on black shades that belong to these aquatint print forms. From within an already well-established market for fine art prints, these works are obviously far removed from the grim realities of day-to-day life on the frontline.

The left side of *La Patrie couronnant la valeur* (Fig. 5.6, p. 195) is taken up by a procession moving towards the temple that is being led by a foot soldier who holds armour aloft in the forms of the military trophies, which were to be seen in the fashionable ornamentation of major reception rooms, such as that of the Grand Salon of the Hôtel Baudard de Saint James in the Place Vendôme.[68] Within the fictional make-up of the print's design, the trophy signifies the armour of the recently deceased warrior whose ashes are contained in the urn marked with the words *mort pour la liberté* (died for freedom). The urn is supported on poles by, presumably, the mother and father of the recently deceased. The centre of the composition is taken up with the body of a returning hero, alive and victorious and topped off by a magnificently glamorous, plumed helmet. Above him there hangs the symbol of a triangle of equality, as a possibly inspirational symbol

from on high and this in spite of the fact that the returning hero is being offered a victor's crown of wreathed laurel leaves. *Gloire* exists here for the living and for the dead but its manifestations are symbolic and its rewards are abstract tokens for the living as for the dead. The problematic effects of a showing of corpses or of a celebration of actual wounds and disfigurements have been occluded in the idealising allegorical personifications, symbolic tokens and classical forms, figures and outlines of these prints.

In this scene of homecoming and situated between the returning hero, the winged female personification of victory and the figure of the Homeland stepping down from out of a temple, a kneeling mother, possibly the wife of the slain warrior, envelops her still naked baby son, indicating to him the returning hero as a model for future emulation. Speeches exhorting mothers to educate their children after the models offered by those who had returned wounded were certainly made in this period as in, for instance, a civic eulogy given by Theodore Giot to an assembly of the Paris section of the Arsenal on 26 March 1793. The event was attended by, amongst others, a deputation from the National Convention and the invited citizens Labreteche and La Vigne. Giot's peroration uses the example of Roman women to incite the mothers, wives and young citizens who were present to similar acts of encouragement:

> …show yourselves worthy of the virtuous Roman women, in the name of the honour of the liberty of your country and of your own safety encourage, support the zeal of our young citizens; tell them that the measure of your tenderness will double for them, when you see them return in triumph and free; when, by their courage and the strength of their arms, they will have pushed the horrors of war far away from you and your families.[69]

This particular speech goes on to address those beyond the grave, the generous martyrs of fanaticism who had been killed by counter-revolutionaries in the civil war in the Vendée and on France's borders. Such oratory did not, however, function as the direct equivalent of the generalising, idealising forms of the aquatint, tempting as it is to make analogies between the different media for the purposes of understanding history. Just as history is itself a highly mediated object of study, changing over time, so too are the categories and vehicles of representation that go to make up history. The neoclassical aesthetic incorporated within abstract, idealising and classicising forms intervenes here to mediate between expressions of *gloire* and the objects of warmongering.

Counterpoint

A print satirizing the recent death of General Hoche (Fig. 6.11) demonstrates how *gloire* could subversively inflect the picturing of a call to arms as well as figure negatively to connote the fate of a soldier who never returned from the battlefield. The composition has a classicising winged, flying personification of fame who, blowing out her one trumpet towards the coffin of General Hoche, looks backward to what is presumed to be the pointing hand and finger of the recently deceased. An account of the particular historical circumstances of this soldier's obsequies helps to bring out some of the caricature's import, but not the full impact of its satire which requires an understanding of how words and figurative imagery can be made to work together within one composition and over time. For what is being promulgated here is an appeal not to follow the rather macabre exhortation to *gloire* that is ostensibly made by a dead General from within his coffin, and not even from beyond his grave.[70]

Buried with full military honours in the fortress of Petersburg near Koblenz, General Hoche died of consumption on 3ᵉ jour complémentaire an V (19 September 1797) when on campaign in Wetzlar.[71] The Directoire government then ordered that a major funerary service should take place for him on 10 vendémiaire an VI (1 October 1797) in Paris on the heavily resonant Champ de Mars site which had often been used to stage festivals, such as that of the Festival of Federation on 14 July 1790 early on in the Revolution. The minutes recording this particular state ceremony were ordered to be distributed throughout the land and read at the subsequent regional ceremonies held in the general's honour.[72] The official record of the event contains a detailed account of the make-up of the funerary cortège, the rituals of the 'festival' and the emotional involvement of the major participants. Hoche had acquired a reputation in Paris for the severity with which he had put down the rebellion in the Vendée before his death and in some of the funeral eulogies Hoche was referred to, perhaps with some irony, as '*l'immortel Pacificateur de la Vendée*'/'the immortal Peacemaker of the Vendée.'[73]

The military obviously took pride of place in the funeral procession but present too were the five Directors in full costume, ministers of government, foreign ambassadors, teachers from the Écoles centrales and the Institut national des sciences et arts, representatives from the nation's civil tribunals of law, finances, commerce, the treasury, criminality, correction and members of the municipal administration of Paris.[74] In the middle of

Fig. 6.11 Anon, *Prends mon poste…viens! Sauve la Patrie*!!!, etching, 17 cm × 26 cm, 1797, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. RESERVE QB-201 (140)-FOL. Photo: BnF

the cortège and just in front of the Directors, four veteran soldiers in a state of pious veneration carried on poles decorated with tricolour drapery, the bust of Hoche crowned with a laurel wreath of immortality, a trophy and the general's military insignia.[75] There followed the parents of the general, weeping copiously. Surrounding the altar of the Homeland were poplars, candelabra, incense burners *à l'antique* and funerary columns with a first inscription of: '*Il vécut assez pour la gloire et trop peu pour la patrie*'/'He lived long enough for glory and too short for the Homeland'. Some of this language and image-making could be said to belong to the vision of Antiquity conjured up by the earlier fictive frieze designs of de Machy (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6 p. 194, p. 195). Neoclassical motifs were certainly to the fore in the stage setting of the occasion.

The report of the event describes how, after the funeral elegy given by Daunou, a member of the Institut national, the singing of the *Marseillaise* had prompted a sudden change of mood. Everyone supposedly waved their hats in the air and with their eyes fixed on the statue of liberty participated in the refrain '*Aux armes citoyens*!'[76] Five days later General Jourdan made a speech to the liberal-leaning Cercle Constitutionel in Paris which was also effusive in its praise of the recently deceased. The oration charged the military with its own civic responsibilities by setting up a contrast between the terrible and dangerous man of war, a slave dominating other slaves under despotic government, and the citizen of the Republic as a protector of public liberty.[77]

In London, James Gillray (1756 or 1757–1815) produced a large, crowded, busy etching, *The Apotheosis of Hoche* (London, British Museum) that mocked, in an elaborate way, the elaborate funerary ceremonies held for Hoche in France.[78] The print shows Hoche playing a guillotine-type lyre, surrounded by myriads of murderous, satanic sans-culotte cherubim, above a landscape strewn with corpses and being devastated by fire. The anonymous French etching (Fig. 6.11) is, however, wholly different in its irony. In situating Hoche in his coffin but with a resurrected arm and hand pointing out from it, this satire is almost a parody of an apotheosis. It is certainly a more cerebral finale to the obsequies of a French general who had died on campaign, but not in the thick of battle. Under the boughs of a weeping willow, the print displays the coffin of General Hoche topped off with a laurel wreath, standards, flags, an urn and the weapons of a sword and pikes, all elements that are recognisable as attributes purporting to represent military glory. The disembodied arm and hand of Hoche's body pointing towards a military encampment out of a hole in the side

of the coffin is a decidedly incongruous feature in the memorialising of a deceased general.

Between the coffin and a tent topped with a liberty bonnet, the flying figure of fame carries another wreath in one hand while she trumpets back towards the coffin. The sound of the trumpet cannot literally be heard but the print's lettering suggests that the trumpet is sounding out the last post for the recently deceased general. The trumpet's pennant is inscribed with the words '*Essuyez vos pleurs/ Augureau lui succède*'/'Wipe away your tears/Augureau succeeds him'. General Augureau, who had taken over command of the Army in Germany after the death of Hoche is being trumpeted here, rather than, as might be expected, General Bonaparte.[79]

The print's elegant lettering is addressed to the viewer as if its exhortation were the very words of the dead general, calling out to posterity from within his coffin for others to take up his post and thereby save the Homeland: '*Prends mon Poste. Viens*! *Sauve la Patrie*!!!'/'Take my Post. Come! Save the Homeland!!!' The iteration of the three exclamation marks additionally suggests that the print's message, both in its verbal and in its visual import, is heavily ironic. The young general had, after all, died from consumption and not in a moment of glorious self-sacrificial action on behalf of the Homeland and he was, in any case, already known for his ruthlessness in crushing the recent royalist uprisings in the West. His coffin is pictured here in the form of a post box so the call to take up his post can also be interpreted satirically as a call, not heroically to arms, but much more mundanely to deliver his mail/messages.[80] The mixing of motifs used to celebrate a deceased military hero with an over-emphatic verbal rhetoric of warmongering results in a macabre image, which can be understood as an exhortation to take up Hoche's post on the battlefield, as in the coffin.

This picturing is not about a showing of what happened on the battlefield or even of what might have happened there, nor does the scene function as a manifestation of celebrity either in the present or for the future. The undersides of *gloire* have come to the fore here. In the ironic appeal to take up the dead general's post, this caricature can now be understood as an address to public opinion, but it is one that condemns the recent military and political occasion. Although the effectiveness of this inventive fantasy is not known, *gloire* functions here to imply disapproval of the general and of his obsequies. A call to arms and an appeal for more men to join up and follow in the footsteps of the army officer have been traduced. The power and the glory are not to be sustained here and are being shown as, ultimately, hollow.

Notes

1. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book IV, lines 173–97. Whilst this volume was in press, I have become familiar with Maureen Warren (2016) 'Fame's Two Trumpets: Portrait Prints and Politics in Early Modern Europe', in *Van Dyck, Rembrandt and the Portrait Print*, Exhibition Catalogue (Chicago: The Art Institute), pp. 72–85.
2. J. Baudoin (1644) *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes et autres figures hyéroglyphiques des vertus, des vices, des arts, des sciences…œuvre augmentée d'une seconde partie; necessaire à toute sorte d'esprits…* (Paris: M. Guillemot), 2, p. 80. The fourth roundel of Fig. 5.1 has been annotated with a drawn sketch.
3. S. Butler (1967) *Hudibras*, J. Wilders (ed.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press), second part, canto I. 69–76, p. 102; Voltaire (1970) *La Pucelle*, in J. Vercruysse (ed.) *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation), VII, pp. 369–71.
4. Evidently with less scurrility and without the trumpet poking out of a naked backside, the forms of this figure flying on a cloud may be close to that of the Baroque theatre and its use of stage machinery. For the use of clouds in painting, see H. Damisch (1972) *Théorie du nuage pour une histoire de la peinture* (Paris: Seuil).
5. For more on this print, see K. Herding (1988) 'Visual Codes in the Graphic Art of the French Revolution', in *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789–1799*, Exhibition Catalogue (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Wight Art Gallery), pp. 83–100; 86–7.
6. See further J-C. Bonnet (1998) *Naissance du Panthéon: Essai sur le culte des grands hommes* (Bagneux: Fayard).
7. J-M. Boyer-Brun (1792) *Histoire des caricatures* (Paris: Journal du people), I, p. 7.
8. Boyer-Brun, *Histoire des caricatures*, I, p. 8.
9. See further A. de Baecque (1993) 'The Citizen in Caricature: Past and Present', in R. Waldinger, P. Dawson and I. Woloch (eds) *The French Revolution and the Meaning of Citizenship* (Westport and London: Greenwood Press), pp. 23–45. For further on the caricatures of the French Revolution, see A. de Baecque (1988) *La Caricature révolutionnaire* (Paris: Presses du CNRS); C. Langlois (1988) *La Caricature contre-révolutionnaire* (Paris: Presses du CNRS); R. Reichardt and H. Kohle (2008) *Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (London: Reaktion Books).
10. J. Madival and E. Laurent (1867–) *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises* (Paris: Dupont),VIII, p. 350.

11. The abolition of monastic vows was decreed in the National Assembly on 13 February 1790, see Madival and Laurent, *Archives Parlementaires*, XI, pp. 585–92.
12. During the 1780s in England, both Henry Bunbury and Thomas Rowlandson made much of the business of army recruitment in scenes which sketch out the physical and vestmental differences between a motley assortment of new recruits and their upright, prim and polished recruiting sergeants, see P. de Voogd (1996) '*De Raphaël der carricatuurteekenaars*', *Henry William Bunbury 1750-1811* (Enschede Rijksmuseum Twenthe); J. Hayes (1972) *Rowlandson*: *Watercolours and Drawings* (London: Phaidon Press).
13. Langlois, *La Caricature contre-révolutionnaire*, p. 8.
14. [L. E. de Champcenetz and A. de Rivarol] (1790) *Petit Dictionnaire des grands hommes de la revolution* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale).
15. [de Champcenetz and de Rivarol] *Petit Dictionnaire*, pp. viii-xi:

    'Quel spectacle admirable pour l'armée Française, que de voir quatre mille guerriers, défenseurs nés de la majesté du trône, abjurer un si vil métier, donner le signal d'une noble desertion & préférer les aumônes de la populace à la solde d'un grand roi! Il semble que la renommée ait attaché une gloire particulière à ces illustres fugitives. Ce qui fit jadis leur honte, les immortalise aujourd'hui; et si la guerre calme leur courage, l'anarchie en fait des héros.'

16. For the celebrations of some guardsmen as heroes for their attack on the Bastille, see R. Reichardt (2009) *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille*: *collections du Musée Carnavalet* (Paris: Nicolas Chaudun), pp. 25–9; 82–6.
17. De Baecque, *La Caricature révolutionnaire*, pp. 199–209.
18. For the tapestries from which the print series derived, see K. Scott (1995) *The Rococo Interior*: *Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 182–4.
19. For another pertinent analysis of this print and a related caricature, *La Contre Révolution* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale) showing the émigré army led by Condé going off to attack the rock of the French Constitution, lemming-like and destined to drown in the Rhine, see *French Caricature and the French Revolution*, *1789–1799*, Exhibition catalogue, pp. 208–10.
20. For Richard Newton, see D. Alexander (1998) *Richard Newton and English Caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), cat. No. 70. Other British artists and printmakers, such as Thomas Rowlandson, James Gillray and George Morland, frequently responded to the topical issue of military sign-up and going off to war as in, for instance, James Gillray *John Bull's Progress* (*3 June 1793*) (London, British Museum).

21. S. Turner, 'Samuel William Fores', H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), XX, pp. 363–4.
22. For the history of the guillotine, see D. Arasse (1987) *La Guillotine dans la Révolution* (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française), p. 38.
23. Caricatures by James Gillray can be even crueller, but much of their ostensibly French subject matter feeds off the political situation in England. See, for instance the caricature entitled *ALECTO and her Train, at the Gate of Pandaemonium;—or—The Recruiting Sarjeant Enlisting John Bull into the Revolution Service* (London, British Museum) that was published on 9 July 1791 and which targets the Whig grandee, Charles James Fox. *John Bull's Progress* (London, British Museum), of 3 June 1793, has a volunteer recruit leaving the comforts of hearth and home only to return to destitution, disablement and desolation. This is something in the manner of Greuze's earlier and sentimental genre scenes of *Le Fils ingrat* and *Le Fils puni*, although Gillray is also making an obvious tribute to Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* of 1732 and *A Rake's Progress* of 1735. The biting satire here is of the British yeomanry within the context of the parlous state of the British nation.
24. See further, B. Baczko (1989) *Comment sortir de la Terreur: Thermidor et la Révolution* (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 116–35.
25. For further on censorship of the press during the Terror, see H. Gough (1988) *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (London: Routledge), pp. 86–117; for decrees against the production of subversive print material and the curtailing of the production of caricatures, see de Baeque, *La Caricature révolutionnaire*, pp. 30–1; 37; for the sudden termination of right-wing counter-revolutionary caricature in the summer of 1792, see Langlois, *La Caricature contre-révolutionnaire*, p. 13. Amongst those executed was the journalist de Champcenetz, co-author of the *Petit Dictionnaire des grands hommes* cited above and the print publishers Boyer-Brun and Michel Wébert. For the trial of Wébert, see A. Duprat (2001) 'Le Commerce de la librairie Wébert à Paris sous la Révolution', *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 33, 357–66. After coming under suspicion for publishing seditious counter-revolutionary material in Paris, Wébert enrolled as a gunner in a regiment stationed in Lille where he was arrested, brought back to Paris, interrogated, put on trial and then executed on 30 May 1794. That someone who actively promoted the royalist cause could use military service as a cover, at least for a short time and until concerted efforts to find him were enforced, suggests that the revolutionary fervour of the troops was not that ubiquitous nor all that to the fore.
26. Doctor Dicaculus de Louvain [P-J-B. Chaussard] (1797–98, an VII) *Le nouveau Diable boiteux: Tableau philosophique et moral de Paris* (Paris: Buisson), pp. 208–9: 'Les caricatures anglaises, à l'exception des composi-

tions d'Hogarth, sont des bambochades crapuleuses. Je vois dans ces caricatures l'absence des arts, le besoin de distraction honteuse, l'habitude des tavernes, et la licence des mœurs nationales. Les vices des Anglais sont grossiers, ceux des Français sont polis. Les autres peuples n'ont pas assez de liberté pour avoir des caricatures. Ce genre de composition pronostique un mouvement dans les esprits et bientôt dans l'état. M'expliquerai-je entièrement? Pérorer sur la place publique ou exposer une caricature me paroît une meme chose. Encore y a-t-il un avantage du côté de la caricature. Son effet est à la fois prolongé et multiplié. Il frappe, et dans plusieurs endroits et plus long-temps.'

27. L. S. Mercier (1797–98, an VII) *Le Nouveau Paris* (Paris: Fuchs, Ch. Pougens et Ch.Fr Cramer Libraires), III, ch. XCIV, p. 165: 'Ces peintures naïves de nos ridicules, de nos folies, de nos travers, de nos vices, n'excitent que le sourire passager d'un peuple volage qui s'étudie dans sa mise, qu'il varie à chaque instant du jour, à faire la charge même du ridicule dont on lui offre le fidèle miroir. Qui le croiroit? L'estampe des incroyables a généralisé les oreilles de chien: c'est ainsi que les journaux ineptes, frondeurs du républicanisme, ont fait beaucoup de républicains.'
28. The details of this uniform are given in G. Le Diberder (1989) *Les Armées françaises à l'époque révolutionnaire* (*1789–1804*) (Arcueil Collections du Musée de l'Armée), p. 65.
29. See further *Au Temps des merveilleuses*: *La Société parisienne sous le Directoire et le Consulat* ((2005) Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Paris-Musées), p. 70.
30. See also A. Aulard (1898–1902) *Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne et sous le Directoire* (Paris: Léopold Cerf), I, p. 589.
31. Dictionnaires d'autrefois (2011) from *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1798 [edn 1798]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=endosser, accessed 22 June 2015. Today, *capote* is used in French for condom.
32. Dictionnaires d'autrefois (2011b), from *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1694), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=faction, accessed 22 June 2015.
33. *La Sentinelle*, 13 thermidor an III (31 July 1795), cited in Aulard, *Paris pendant la reaction thermidorienne*, II, p. 125: 'Impossible, la nouvelle! impossible, inventée! les thé-mido-iens! pour leu-fête! inc-oyable, ce petit M. Tallien! inc-oyable! in homme de –ien! té-o-iste aussi! de la faction! Faut pou-tant a –êter ça! Faud-a-ben! La jeunesse! aux a-mes! sans quoi la té-eur! pa-ole panachée; la té-eur! Ces b-aves déba-qués se seraient jamais rendus sans la té-eur. C'est la té-eur que ça! La té-eur!' Jean-Lambert Tallien had been instrumental in bringing about the downfall of Robespierre. See further *Au Temps des merveilleuses*, Exhibition catalogue, p. 15.

34. *Au Temps des merveilleuses*, p. 70.
35. For the biography of Madame Tallien, or Thérésia Cabarrus, see *Au Temps des merveilleuses*, Exhibition Catalogue, pp. 76–83; also M-H. Bourquin (1987) *Monsieur et Madame Tallien* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin). Born in Madrid, the daughter of a rich banker of French origin, François Cabarrus, she married at the age of 14 the libertine marquis de Fontenay in Paris in 1788. Soon separated from her first husband, she mixed with members of the court and liberal élite, actively intervening to save many lives during the Terror. She met Tallien in Bordeaux in 1793 and followed him back to Paris on his recall. Arrested at Versailles, she was put into the prison of La Force in Paris. Her impending execution may well have prompted Tallien to take his own decisive part in the downfall of Robespierre. Gillray's print of 1796, *La Belle Espagnole, ou la Doublure de Madame Tallien* (London, British Museum) shows her with a full head of black curls, standing alluringly in a printed muslin dress, slit to the thigh and with a very low décolletage. Another Gillray print of 1805 *Ci-devant occupations—or—Madame Talian and the Empress Josephine dancing naked before Barrass in the winter of 1797* (London, British Museum) has Bonaparte peeping at the dancing women from behind a screen.
36. *Abréviateur universel* cited in Aulard, *Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne*, I, pp. 369–70: 'La belle Cabarrus a ses admirateurs, ses adorateurs, ses détracteurs et ses émules. Arrive-t-elle? On applaudit avec transport, comme si c'était sauver la République française que d'avoir une figure à la romaine ou à l'espagnole, une superbe peau, de beaux yeux, une démarche noble, un sourire où l'amabilité tempère la protection, un costume à la grecque et les bras nus.'
37. *Au Temps des merveilleuses*, p. 58; 77. In 1798, Ouvrard was a millionaire thirty times over, owning the domains of Raincy, Marly, Louveciennes, Saint-Gratien, Vilandry, Châteauneuf, de Preuilly, d'Azay, 84 farms near Cologne and a dozen town houses in Paris in the choice locations of the Chaussée d'Antin and the place Vendôme. Thérésia Cabarrus married comte François-Joseph de Caraman, the future prince de Chimay, in 1805 after being divorced from her second husband Tallien in 1802.
38. In lampooning the social types of Directoire society in terms of the superficial appearances of dress, attributes, gesture and expression, the print entitled *Invalide et soldat contre Muscadin* (Paris, Musée Carnavalet) is another satire which also points to a specific incident with more precise political implications. It depicts a central figure, dressed in the stereotypical clothes of the Muscadin, being set upon by a crippled veteran grenadier and another soldier. It can be associated with an incident that had occurred by the main gate of the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris on 12 fructidor an IV (29 August 1797) when a 17-year-old student, wearing the provocative

black collar of the Muscadins, was set upon by a number of *invalides*. For the incident, see I. Woloch (1979) *The French Veteran from the Revolution to the Restoration* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), p. 173.

39. For further on the political implications of such clothing, such as the signification of wigs, see A. Ribeiro (1995) *The Art of Dress*: *Fashion in England and France 1750–1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 83–131.
40. J. A. Lynn (1984) *The Bayonets of the Republic*: *Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France*, *1791–1794* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), pp. 7–11.
41. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic*, p. 7.
42. On Dumouriez and the circumstances of his defection, see R. M. Brace (1951) 'General Dumouriez and the Girondins 1792–3', *American Historical Review*, 56/3, 493–509.
43. J-P. Marat (1995) *Oeuvres politiques 1789–93*, J. de Cock and C. Goëtz (eds) (Brussels: Pole Nord), VIII, p. 4936.
44. Anon (1792) *Révolutions de Paris*, 176, 14 Trimestre, 17–24 November, 399–400: 'Jusqu'à présent nous n'avions reproché à Demourier qu'un amour-propre vaniteux, sentant trop l'ancien régime & le ministre de cour, qu'une ambition démesurée de louanges; d'honneurs & de couronnes théâtrales. Mais seroit-il aujourd'hui rassasié de gloire et d'encens? Ambitonneroit-il des biens plus matériels, des avantages moins volatils?'
45. The ministers were frustrated in these efforts, Brace, 'General Dumouriez', pp. 498–500.
46. C. F. Duperrier Dumouriez (1794) *Mémoires du Général D.*, *écrits par lui-même* (London: P. Elmsley), I, p. 22.
47. For the inscriptions on sabre blades, see *Aux Armes Citoyens*!: *Les Sabres à emblèmes de la Révolution* (1987), Exhibition catalogue (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française), p. 37.
48. M. Viennot (1792) *Rapport sur les honneurs et recompenses militaries* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale), p. 13.
49. A. de Montaiglon (1875–92) (ed.) *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture* (*1648–1793*) (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français), IX, pp. 76–7; 164.
50. *Jacques-Louis David*, *1748–1825* (1989), Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux), p. 146.
51. D. Wolfthal (1977) 'Jacques Callot's *Miseries of War*', *The Art Bulletin*, LIX, 221–33; 222.
52. I. Woloch, *The French Veteran*, p. 3.
53. Jean-Pierre Blois (1990) *Les anciens Soldats dans la société au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Economica), p. 11. See also Woloch, *The French Veteran*.

54. [A. M. Lemâitre] (1790) *Oraison Funèbres des Gardes Nationaux tués à l'Affaire de Nancy*, 1790: 'Que de tendres adieux; que d'embrassemens, que de larmes, que de soupirs entre-coupés par des sanglots, enfin que de tristes étreintes ont rendu horrible ce moment de séparation. Hélas! mères éplorées, femmes restées veuves, enfans devenus orphelins, c'étoit donc la dernière fois que vous serriez dans vos bras ce soldat citoyen et ce citoyen soldat. Son courage, son amour pour la nouvelle constitution l'emporte loin de vous, et un coup de fusil sera donc la récompense de son civisme. C'est un Français qui va périr par la main de son frère. Cependant la trompette sonne, le tambour se fait entendre, il vole et s'arrache des bras de sa femme; il se dérobe en fuyant à ses enfants qui courent après lui, et l'appelant encore au moment où il ne peut plus les entendre; il est bientôt placé dans les rangs.' For the mutiny at Nancy, see E. Hartmann (1990) *La Révolution française en Alsace et Lorraine* (Paris: Perrin), pp. 187–207.
55. [Lemâitre], *Oraison Funèbres*, p. 17.
56. M-J. Chénier (1793) *Rapport fait a la Convention nationale, au nom des Comités d'instruction publique et de la guerre* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale).
57. Chénier, *Rapport*, pp. 1–2.
58. Chénier, *Rapport*, p. 3: 'La reconnaissance nationale est le véritable prix des belles actions: laissons les trésors aux tyrans: la gloire est la monnoie des Républiques. Les généraux, les soldats des rois connoissent le point d'honneur; les républicains seuls connoissent la gloire, et sont dignes de l'apprécier.'
59. F. Aftalion (1987) *L'Économie de la Révolution française* (Paris: Hachette), pp. 171–2.
60. Chénier, *Rapport*, p. 4.
61. For a play on the theme of the wounded soldier that exhorts others to similar acts of self-sacrifice, see J-B. Radet (1793–4, an II) *Le Canonier Convalescent* (Paris, Théâtre du Vaudeville: Imprimerie rue des Droits de l'Homme). A genre painting of a contemporary, domestic interior, *Dévouement à la patrie d'un homme qu'on vient d'amputer d'un bras* (Devotion to the Homeland of a man who has just had his arm amputated, Paris, Musée Carnavalet) is quite exceptionally grisly. The trope of the amputee soldier who vows to fight on one-armed was already a well-established one with, for instance, Voltaire citing, in 1748, the example of the young Brienne who, in remounting an escalade with a shattered arm, had apparently shouted out that he had another arm for his King and Homeland; see above Chap. 3 section on *Gloire* and the *philosophes*. The revolutionary painting certainly does not depict some young noble officer in a dashing action of loyal and dutiful service to his monarch and to his Homeland for its scene is set in that of a modest but respectable home. The larger than life domestic hero looks up to and salutes with his one good

arm the tricolour flag of the French nation, as if dedicating his good arm to the furtherance of the Homeland and to what the Homeland stands for. With his womenfolk in support, looking on in a concerned way, and alongside the soldiers that have just operated on him, this rather improbable figure stands in a macabre and awkward way just by the table on which there rests his recently amputated arm and hand.

62. The death of Joseph Bara demonstrates how a contemporary, fallen in the defence of the French nation, could be marked out and, indeed, celebrated in the visual imagery of the period. See *La Mort de Bara* (1989), Exhibition catalogue (Avignon: Musée Calvet).
63. P. Bordes (1996) *La Mort de Brutus de Pierre-Narcisse Guérin* (Vizille: musée de la Révolution française), p. 66.
64. Bordes, *La Mort de Brutus*, p. 121 cited from Procès-Verbal de la seconde séance du jury des arts, le 18 pluviôse [6 February 1794]: 'Déjà mon esprit parcourt les monuments des arts; il ne s'arrête point sur ces imitations individuelles: j'aime mieux admirer la bonne et simple nature; et si je suspens l'attendrissement dont toujours la contemplation me pénètre, pour porter mes regards sur les ouvrages des hommes, j'exige alors qu'on parle à mon imagination, qu'on me retrace les phénomènes que je ne puis voir, les actes sublimes des sages, des héros et leurs ressemblances caractéristiques; qu'on réunisse en un tout les beautés fugitives, isolées, mais homogènes, que ma paresse originelle m'empêche de rechercher.'
65. The aquatint image is dated wrongly—the ceremony took place on 1 vendémiaire an VI.
66. *Le Républican*, *Journal des hommes libres de tous les pays*, *3 vendémiaire an VI* [1797].
67. D. Hopkin (2001) 'Sons and lovers: Popular images of the conscript, 1798–1870', *Modern and Contemporary France*, 9/1, 19–36; 27.
68. See J. Whitehead (1992) *The French Interior*: *In the Eighteenth Century* (London: L. King), pp. 67–70.
69. T. Giot (1793) *Eloge civique des patriots morts pour la liberté et l'égalité*; *depuis le commencement de la Révolution* (Paris), p. 27: '…montrez-vous dignes des vertueuses Romaines, au nom de l'honneur de la liberté de votre Pays et de votre propre sûreté encouragez, secondez le zèle de nos jeunes Citoyens; dites-leurs que la mesure de votre tendresse doublera, pour eux, lorsque vous les verrez revenir triomphans et libres; lorsque par leur courage et la force de leurs bras ils auront écarté loin de vous et de vos familles les horreurs de la guerre.'
70. The print has been misinterpreted as illustrating how the Directoire honoured its dead servicemen: Q. Reynier (2012) 'Le Héros militaire, la mort et l'honneur sous le Directoire: Quelle Menace pour la République?', in S. Bianchi (ed.) *Héros et héroïnes de la Révolution française* (Paris: Éditions

du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques) pp. 195–220; 198. For more on soldiers dying in the cause of the *patrie* and the memorialisations involved in their funerary cults, see A. Jourdan (1977) *Les Monuments de la Révolution 1770–1804*: *Une Histoire de répresentation* (Paris: Honoré Champion) p. 20; 125; 191–220.

71. A. R. C. Saint-Albin [Alexandre Rousselin de Corbeau] (1800, an VIII) *Vie de Lazare Hoche* (Paris), pp. 279–86.
72. *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie funèbre qui a eu lieu au Champ-de-Mars à Paris*, *le 10 vendémiaire an VI*, *en mémoire du general Hoche* (1797–98, an VI) (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de la République).
73. See Aulard, *Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne*, III, p. 375, report from *Journal des patriotes de 89*, 20 Thermidor an IV (7 August 1796).
74. *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie funèbre qui a eu lieu au Champ-de-Mars à Paris*, *le 10 vendémiaire an VI*, p. 3.
75. *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie funèbre qui a eu lieu au Champ-de-Mars à Paris*, *le 10 vendémiaire an VI*, p. 4.
76. *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie funèbre qui a eu lieu au Champ-de-Mars à Paris*, *le 10 vendémiaire an VI*, p. 22.
77. Général J-B. Jourdan (an V), *Discours sur la mort de Général Hoche*, (Paris: Lemaire), p. 3.
78. *James Gillray*: *The Art of Caricature* (2001), Exhibition catalogue (London: Tate Gallery), no. 85, pp. 116–17.
79. Ian Germani has pertinently suggested to me that the reference to Augureau as the replacement for Hoche may also be a reference to the fact that Augureau supplanted Hoche in carrying out the coup of 18 Fructidor Year V (4 September 1797). This would suggest that royalist sympathies belonged to the print's satirical import.
80. I am grateful to Charles Ford for spotting the inference of the post-box.

Conclusion

The taking up of arms by the freedom fighter or by those who serve the State is still shot through with incitements to glory. I have, however, argued that a willingness to lay down one's life in mortal combat in the hope of glory to come needs to be situated within appropriate social contexts and tracked according to the changing ways in which such calls to arms have been mediated. As we have seen, the imaginative constructs of glory are culturally contingent, not being the same in all times and in all places. During the period of the French Revolution there were official calls for a martial, patriotic self-sacrifice in the name of freedom and for the common good and these were accompanied by the promise of a concomitant *gloire* to come in posterity. The reasons why such calls were made, how such calls came about and the manner in which such calls were received, all still differ significantly from what prevails today. The forms and processes of representation are historically embedded and contingent so we need to bear in mind the mediated nature of these interventions for their effectiveness to be assessed critically and historically.

Moving from the vagaries of military *gloire* before the Revolution to the vicissitudes of *gloire* within the shifting grounds of revolutionary political culture, my historically attuned readings of images across forms counter the use of visual imagery as mere evidence of social practice. Historical circumstances can help to account for the production, dissemination and reception of visual imagery of the past and about the past. This is of

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6

importance for, say, visual satires whose impact and effect have depended on high levels of topicality. Historical circumstances cannot, however, provide a full explanation of the visual image. By analysing how visual imagery has been put together and how these configurations developed particular visual and verbal tropes, I have also been able to address the changing forms of the mediated vehicles of representation, while demonstrating the extent to which the picturing of military recruitment served—or did not serve—the making and recruitment processes of the modern French army.

The particular properties of the chosen medium of representation intervene to colour past event. The satirical caricature, as it evolved at least for a short time in France, undermined and was obviously defamatory in ways that differed from the processes of the history painting. The latter presented much more open-ended and difficult to resolve moral quandaries about the individual hero, or otherwise, in relation to the demands of his family and of society at large. More work could now be done on changing notions of *gloire* in respect of, for instance, eighteenth-century French sculpture and in, for instance, the controversies that surrounded the production and reception of the monument to the Maréchal de Saxe. Alternatively, what we know about the largely destroyed statue of Louis XIV by Martin Desjardins (1637–94) demonstrates how a major monument, erected to official acclaim and at much expense so as to endure in posterity, can come to be endowed with the negative associations of ignominy.[1] In its impermanence having been destroyed at the time of the French Revolution, its remains, the four Captives or slave figures now in the Louvre, still represent nations in defeat. In their current truncated, dismembered material form, they continue to register, with hindsight, the inadequacies of royal *gloire*.

Soon after the founding of the new Republic, David called for pyramids or obelisks to be made out of French granite. These monuments were to be embellished with marble and bronze from the destroyed statues of Paris and inscribed with the names of soldiers who had died for the *Patrie*. Incorporating within themselves the superseded remnants of bygone statuary, the new monuments were to carry to posterity the memory of the new-found glory with which the defenders of Lille and Thionville had covered themselves. The structures never materialised, but the rhetoric of the proposal articulated in the National Convention made clear reference to precedents set in Antiquity on the one hand and to the hopes and aspirations of such new public initiatives, on the other. The artist also

recommended that each of the inhabitants of the two cities be given commemorative bronze medals:

> I desire that my proposition to strike these medals should occur for all the glorious or auspicious events that have already happened or that will happen to the Republic and this, in imitation of the Greeks and Romans who, by their series of medals, have given us not only the knowledge of remarkable events, those of the great men, but also that of the progress of their arts.[2]

According to David, sculpted artefacts were to be created to inform and celebrate the remarkable events and great men deemed, in posterity, to be of significance to the annals of the Revolution. Such durable material objects, rather than paintings or works on paper, were to serve both in commemorating and in embodying the progress of the arts.[3]

The essentially reproductive nature of the print needs also to be accounted for. What are, for instance, the implications of reproducing in black and white something that was first printed in black and white and then, perhaps, hand coloured as in, for instance, the imagery of some of the caricatures discussed in Chap. 6? Similarly there are obvious differences in signification between this book's front cover and the Fig. 5.8 of the same print reproduced in Chap. 5. In terms of print culture, this issue takes on a greater urgency during the nineteenth century when the techniques of print-making leap forward, first with lithography and then, of course, with photography.[4]

The fact that my book has placed increasing emphasis on visual satire and political caricature can be put down, in part, to a breakdown in systems of censorship, at least temporarily. That there might have been physically dangerous consequences for those involved with the production of such imagery should not be forgotten. Actively contributing to and disseminating caricatures, the royalist writer and print publisher Jacques-Marie Boyer-Brun went, for instance, to the guillotine on 20 May 1794.[5] Although this medium functioned then in fundamentally different ways and for different purposes from our own digitised networks and technologies of communication, it is regrettably still possible to trace the foundations of such provocative appeals and concomitant responses.

Given the transient nature of the war cry, it is ironic that it is the myth-making of the *Marseillaise* which is still being used to mark out a deceptively unifying moment of collective engagement in the making of the modern French nation state. The new processes of visual presentation that

evolved during the course of the Revolution tended to cover over and occlude the transition from a volunteer military recruitment in what had been the Royal army to a forced enlistment in the service of the new nation state. It is also clear that, at the time, the whole of the French nation did not enthusiastically respond in the same way and together to the calls for unity, to arms and to *gloire* that the martial verses of the *Marseillaise* continue to espouse.

With hindsight, it is possible to view such calls as forging new types of patriotic engagement in the masculine gendering of the modern French citizen. When the first proclamation of the Homeland in danger was proclaimed, women were assigned the caring and supportive roles of looking after the wounded in hospitals and of making tents and uniforms for the men on active service. The sharply divided roles given to men and to women in the visual imagery of the period are, however, generally predicated on other factors than those of the war effort. In the showing of the departing recruit bidding farewell to the familiar and the domestic, women are made to bear the affective, emotional weight. These scenes of everyday life at the time of the Revolution still stressed the sentimental, affectionate bonds of family over and beyond an individual's martial responsibilities towards the State. Displays of the parting recruit on the point of leaving home are less obviously about the motivation of the newly turned soldier citizen and warrior hero for they continue to communicate, through the gestures and expressions of the female body in the home and away from the battlefield setting, emotional reactions to the impending departures of loved ones who might never return.

The fact that conscription was introduced into France in September 1798 can be put down to the modern French nation's perceived need for more troops. The ceremonies of conscription conjoined the glory of future life to come, whether in this world or the next, to the myth of State. It is, however, only later on that the subject of conscription is treated by artists in, for instance, the less than heroic *Le Départ des conscrits*, of 1808 by Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761–1845, The Departure of the Conscripts, Paris, Musée Carnavalet) or *Le Signalement* of 1835 by François Grenier (1793–1867, The Reporting, Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Library) or in several scenes of 1839 designed by Auguste-Denis Raffet (1804–60).[6] The time lag can be accounted for by conditions of production, the contexts of the periods in question, the persistence of previously accepted visual codes and conventions and the compromising of the revolutionary principle of liberty, which was necessarily entailed in a manda-

tory conscription. These genre scenes also exist quite separately from the ways in which *La Patrie en danger* came to be memorialised, commemorated and celebrated in France during the nineteenth century.[7]

To what extent any mute, static visual image can be a powerfully effective vehicle for an incitement to action, whether in the taking up of arms in the hope of future glory or in support of some particular cause, faction or lobby group, remains questionable. What is less in dispute is the important role that was given in this earlier period to artists, men of letters, writers and poets in transmitting the glorious deeds of a true hero, soldier, fighter and active combatant to posterity, and this in spite of the fact that there was then, as now, no consensus about how such glorious deeds were to be shown, nor about precisely what such glorious deeds might entail. In the postmodern world of neo-liberalism, a further twist gives to the phrase *travailler pour la gloire* the negatively inflected meaning of to work for no financial gain or, in other words, for nothing.

Notes

1. See further J. Merrick (1991) 'Politics on Pedestals: Royal monuments in Eighteenth-Century France', *French History*, 5/2, 234–64; A. McClellan (2000) 'The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon's *Louis XV*', *Oxford Art Journal*, 23/2, 1–28; R. Clay (2007) 'Bouchardon's Statue of Louis XV: Iconoclasm and the Transformation of Signs' in S. Boldrick and R. Clay (eds) *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms* (Aldershot and Vermont: Ashgate), pp. 93–122. For the tradition of the great man in French nineteenth-century statues, see J. Lanfranchi (2004) *Les Statues des grands hommes à Paris: Coeurs de bronze. Têtes de pierre* (Paris: Harmattan); J. Hargrove (1989) *The Statues of Paris: An Open-Air Pantheon* (New York and Paris: The Vendome Press). Paintings of ruins in this period, such as those by Hubert Robert (1733–1808) also obviously engaged with notions of glory, vainglory, *vanitás.*
2. J. Madival and E. Laurent (1867–) Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: *Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambers françaises* (Paris: Dupont), LII, p. 687: 'Je désire que ma proposition de frapper ces médailles ait aussi lieu pour tous les événements glorieux ou heureux déjà arrivés et qui arriveront à la République et cela, à l'imitation des Grecs et des Romains, qui, par leurs suites métalliques, nous ont non seulement donné la connaissance des événements remarquables, celle des grands hommes, mais aussi celle du progrés de leurs arts.'

3. For further on the approach to sculpture during the French Revolution, see A. Jourdan (1977) *Les Monuments de la Révolution 1770–1804*: *Une Histoire de répresentation* (Paris: Honoré Champion).
4. On the issue of photography and representation, see J. Tagg (1988) *The Burden of Representation*: *Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education).
5. For an account of his arrest, see A. Duprat (2004) 'Le Regard d'un royaliste sur la Révolution: Jacques-Marie Boyer de Nîmes' *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 337, 21–39.
6. Versions of the departure and the return of the conscript were amongst the most popular secular images sold by pedlars during the course of the nineteenth century, see D. Hopkin (2001) 'Sons and Lovers: Popular Images of the Conscript 1798–1870', *Modern and Contemporary* France, 9/1, p. 23.
7. For the imagery of *La Patrie en danger* during the nineteenth century in France, see above Chap. 4.

Works Cited

Abler, Thomas, S., *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress: European Empires and Exotic Uniforms* (Oxford and New York, Berg, 1999).
Acerra, Martine and Jean Meyer, *Marines et Révolution* (Rennes, Éditions Ouest-France, 1988).
Aftalion, Florence, *L'Économie de la Révolution française* (Paris, Hachette, 1987).
Ah! Ah! Encore une critique au Sallon! Voyons, in: *Collection Deloynes*, XI (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1779).
Alder, Ken, *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763–1815* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997).
Alexander, David, *Richard Newton and English Caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).
Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso, 1983).
Angel, Philips, *Lofs der Schilderkonst* (Leiden, Willem Christinens, 1642).
Arasse, Daniel, *La Guillotine dans la Révolution* (Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, 1987).
Arcq, Chevalier d' (Sainte-Foy, Philippe-Auguste de), *La Noblesse militaire ou le patriote françois* (Paris, 1756).
Ariès, Philippe, *Le Temps de l'histoire* (Monaco, Le Seuil, 1986 [1954]).
Arlet, Jacques, *Le Général La Fayette: Gentilhomme d'honneur* (Paris, Harmattan, 2010).
Aulard, Alphonse, *Paris pendant la reaction thermidorienne et sous le Directoire*, 5 vols (Paris, Léopold Cerf, 1898–1902).

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6

Au temps des merveilleuses: la société parisienne sous le Directoire et le Consulat, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Paris-Musées, 2005).

Aux Armes Citoyens!: Les Sabres à emblèmes de la Révolution, Exhibition catalogue (Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, 1987).

Baczko, Branislaw, *Comment sortir de la Terreur: Thermidor et la Révolution* (Paris, Gallimard, 1989).

Baecque, Antoine de, *La Caricature révolutionnaire* (Paris, Presses du CNRS, 1988).

Baecque, Antoine de, 'The Citizen in Caricature: Past and Present', in: Renée Waldinger, Philip Dawson and Isser Woloch (eds) *The French Revolution and the Meaning of Citizenship* (Westport and London, Greenwood Press, 1993), pp. 23–45.

Baecque, Antoine de, *Le Corps de l'histoire: Métaphores et politique (1770–1800)* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1993).

Bailey, Colin, B., '"Les Grands, les cordons bleus": Les Clients de David avant la Révolution' in: Régis Michel (ed.) *David contre David*, 2 vols (Paris, La Documentation française, 1993).

Bailey, Colin, B., *Patriotic Taste*: *Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2002).

Baker, Keith Michael (ed.) *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, I, The Political Culture of the Old Regime* (Oxford, Pergamon, 1987).

Bardon, Françoise, *Le Portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris, Picard, 1974).

Barnwell, Henry Thomas, 'La Gloire dans le théâtre de Racine', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 14, (1992), 133–41.

Basset de la Marelle, Philippe, *La Différence du patriotisme national chez les François et chez les Anglois* (Lyon, Aimé Delaroche, 1762).

Baudoin, Jean, *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes et autres figures hyéroglyphiques des vertus, des vices, des arts, des sciences…œuvre augmentée d'une seconde partie; necessaire à toute sorte d'esprits…*, 2 vols (Paris, M. Guillemot, 1644).

Bell, David, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge MA and London, Harvard University Press, 2001).

Bertaud, Jean-Paul, *La Révolution armée: Les Soldats-Citoyens et la Révolution française* (Paris, Robert Lafont, 1979).

Bien, David, 'La Réaction aristocratique avant 1789: l'Exemple de l'armée', *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilizations* 29, (1974), 23–48; 505–34.

Blanning, Timothy C. W. *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002).

Blanning, Timothy C. W. *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648–1815* (London, Allen Lane, 2007).

Blaufarb, Rafe, *The French Army 1750–1820* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2002).
Blois, Jean-Pierre, *Les Anciens soldats dans la société au XVIII*e *siècle* (Paris: Economica, 1990).
Bodinier, Gilbert, *Les Officiers de l'armée royale: Combatants de la Guerre d'Indépendance des Etats-Unis, de Yorktown à l'an II* (Vincennes, Service historique de l'Armée de terre, 1983).
Boileau, Jacques, *Discours prononcé sur l'autel de la Patrie* (Avallon, Imprimerie d'Aubry, 1793).
Bonnet, Jean-Claude, *Naissance du Panthéon: Essai sur le culte des grands hommes* (Bagneux, Fayard, 1998).
Bordes, Philippe, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume de Jacques-Louis David: Le Peintre, son milieu et son temps de 1789 à 1792* (Paris, Editions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1983).
Bordes, Philippe, '*La Patrie en danger* par Lethière et l'esprit militaire', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 4–5 (1986), 301–6.
Bordes, Philippe, 'L'Art et le politique' in: Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel (eds) *Aux Armes & Aux Arts!: Les Arts de la Révolution 1789–1799* (Paris, Adam Biro, 1988), pp. 103–35.
Bordes, Philippe and Alain Chevalier, *Catalogue des peintures, sculptures et dessins* (Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, 1996).
Bordes, Philippe, *La Mort de Brutus de Pierre-Narcisse Guérin* (Vizille, musée de la Révolution française, 1996).
Bordes, Philippe, 'Un Dessin attribué à Charles Thévenin: L'Héroïsme féminin au temps de la Révolution', *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 50/4 (2000), 56–61.
Bordes, Philippe, 'Le Genre de l'art en France autour de 1800', *Perspective* 4 (2007), 679–93.
Bordes, Philippe, *Représenter la Révolution: Les 'Dix-Août' de Jacques Bertaux et de François Gérard* (Vizille, Fage, 2010).
Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne, *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Ecriture sainte* (Paris, P. Cot, 1709).
Bourquin, Marie-Hélène, *Monsieur et Madame Tallien* (Paris, Librairie Académique Perrin, 1987).
Bourrienne, [Louis-Antoine Fauvelet] de, *Mémoires de Bourrienne sur Napoléon, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration,* 10 vols (Paris and London, Colburn and Bentley., 1831).
Boussanelle, Louis de, *Le bon Militaire* (Paris, La Combe, 1770).
Boyer-Brun, Jacques-Marie, *Histoire des caricatures*, 2 vols (Paris, Journal du peouple, 1792).
Brace, Richard, Munthe, 'General Dumouriez and the Girondins 1792–93', *American Historical Review* 56/3 (1951), 493–509.

Brualt, Yoann, Frédéric Jiméno and Daniel Rabreau (eds) *L'École militaire et l'axe Breteuil-Trocadéro* (Paris, Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2002).
Burke, Peter, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London, Reaktion Books, 2001).
Burn, Lucilla, 'Words and Pictures: Greek Vases and their Classification' in: Kim Sloan (ed.) *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London, The British Museum Press, 2003), pp. 140–9.
Butler, Samuel, *Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967).
Campbell, Peter R., 'The Politics of Patriotism in France (1770–1788)', *French History* 24:/4 (2010), 550–75.
Carbonnièrres, Philippe de, *Prieur: Les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution* (Paris, Nicolas Chaudun, 2006).
Carrot, Georges, *La Garde Nationale (1789–1871): Une force publique ambiguë* (Paris, Harmattan, 2001).
Castel de Saint Pierre, Charles-Irénée, 'Discours sur les différences du grand homme et de l'homme illustre' in: Abbé de Seran de La Tour, *Histoire d'Ėpaminondas pour servir de suite aux hommes illustres de Plutarque* (Paris, Didot, 1739).
Censer, Jack, R., *Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press 1789–1791* (Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1976).
[Champcenetz, Louis Edmond de, and Rivarol, Antoine de], *Petit Dictionnaire des grands hommes de la Revolution* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1790).
Chagniot, Jean, *Paris et l'Armée au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, Economica, 1985).
Chartier, Roger, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1991).
Chaussard, Jean-Baptiste-Publicola, *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique* (1799, 10 vendémiaire an VII), 41–2.
Chassin, Charles-Louis and Léon Hennet, *Les Volontaires nationaux pendant la Révolution* (Paris, Léopold Cerf, 1899–1906).
Chénier, Marie-Joseph, *Rapport fait a la Convention nationale, au nom des Comités d'instruction publique et de la guerre* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1973).
Choné, Pauline, 'Les Misères de la guerre ou *'la Vie du soldat*" in: *Jacques Callot*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), pp. 396–410.
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *On Duties*, eds Miriam T. Griffin and E. Margaret Atkins (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991).
Clay, Richard, 'Bouchardon's Statue of Louis XV: Iconoclasm and the Transformation of Signs' in: Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay (eds) *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms* (Aldershot and Vermont, Ashgate, 2007), pp. 93–122.
Clifford, Dale L., 'Can the Uniform make the Citizen? Paris 1789–1791', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34/3 (2001), 363–82.

Colton, Judith, *The 'Parnasse François': Titon du Tillet and the Origins of the Monument to Genius* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979).

Corneille, Pierre, *Œuvres complètes,* ed. Georges Couton (Paris, Gallimard, 1980–1987).

Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister etc., ed. Maurice Tourneux, 16 vols (Paris, Garnier frères, 1877–1892).

Corvisier, André, *L'Armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le soldat*, 2 vols (Paris, Université de Paris, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines, 1964).

Le Courrier de Paris dans les provinces, et des provinces à Paris (Paris, 1989).

(Coyer, Gabriel, François), *La Noblesse Commerçante* (Londres, London and Paris, Duchesne, 1756).

Crépin, Annie, *Défendre la France: Les Français, la guerre et le service militaire, de la guerre de Sept Ans à Verdun* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005).

Crow, Thomas, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985).

Dacier, André, *Les Vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque,* 2 vols (Paris, 1762 [1694]).

Damisch, Hubert, *Théorie du nuage pour une histoire de la peinture* (Paris, Seuil, 1972).

Dandré-Bardon, Michel-François, *Traité de peinture; suivi d'un essai sur la sculpture. Pour server d'Introduction à une histoire universelle, relative à ces beaux-arts*, 2 vols (Paris, Desaint, 1765).

Danzat, Albert, Jean Dubois and Henri Mitterand *Dictionnaire étymologique et historique du français* (Paris, Larousse, 1993).

David, J-L., Jules, *Le Peintre Louis David, 1748–1825: Souvenirs et documents inédits,* 2 vols (Paris, V. Harvard, 1880–1882).

Décret de la Convention Nationale du 30 Avril 1793, l'an second de la République Française pour congédier des armées les femmes inutiles (Paris).

De David à Delacroix, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Éditions des musées nationaux, 1974).

Dekker, Rudolf, M., and Lotte C. van de Pol, 'Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies', *History of European Ideas* 10/3 (1989), 353–63.

Delécluze, Étienne-Jean, *Louis David: Son École et son temps* (Paris, Macula, 1855, edn 1983).

Depréaux, Albert, *Les Affiches de recrutement du XVIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, J. Leroy, 1911).

Description des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravures exposés au Sallon du Louvre (Paris, Hérissant, 1793).

Détournelle, Athanase (ed.) *Aux Armes et aux arts! Peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure. Journal de la Société républicaine des arts* (Paris, 1794).

Dickinson, Gladys, *The Instructions sur le Faict de la Guerre of Raymond de Beccarie de Pavie Sieur de Fourquevaux* (London, The Athlone Press, 1954).

Dictionnaires d'autrefois (2015) http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu

Diderot, Denis, Jean Le Rond d'Alembert et. al., *Encylopédie ou Dictionnnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers, par une société de gens de lettres,* 28 vols (Paris, Geneva and Neufchastel, Briasson [and others], 1751–1772).

Doctor Dicaculus de Louvain, [Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chaussard], *Le nouveau Diable boiteux: Tableau philosophique et moral de Paris* (Paris, Buisson, 1797–1798, an VII).

Dorival, Bernard, 'Art et Politique en France au dix-septième siècle: La Galerie des hommes illustres du Palais Cardinal', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français 1973* 1974, 43–60.

Dowley, Francis, 'D'Angiviller's *Grands Hommes* and the Significant Moment*',* *Art Bulletin* XXXIX (1957), 259–78.

Dudink, Stefan, Karen Hagemann and John Tosch (eds) *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2004).

Duncan, Carole, 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art', *The Art Bulletin* 55/4 (1973), 570–83.

Dumouriez, Charles François Du Périer, *Mémoires du Général D., écrits par lui-même,* 2 vols (London, P. Elmsley, 1794).

Duprat, Annie, 'Le Commerce de la librairie Wébert à Paris sous la Révolution', *Dix-huitième siècle* 33, (2001), 357–66.

Duprat, Annie, 'Le Regard d'un royaliste sur la Révolution: Jacques-Marie Boyer de Nîmes' *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 337 (2004), 21–39.

Dziembowski, Edmond, *Un nouveau Patriotisme français 1750–1770: La France à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 1998).

Eichel-Lojkine, Patricia, 'Montaigne, ou la gloire en mouvement', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne*, 7th series 27–8 (1992), 69–90.

Ennis, Daniel James, *Enter the Press-Gang: Naval Impressments in Eighteenth-Century British Literature* (Newark and London, University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 2002).

L'Enrôlement des volontaires de 1792: Thomas Couture (1815–1879): Les artistes au service de la patrie en danger, Exhibition catalogue (Paris and Beauvais, Musée Départemental de l'Oise, 1989).

Farge, Arlette, *Les Fatigues de la guerre* (Paris, Le Promeneur, 1996).

Farge, Arlette, 'Quand Watteau peint les soldats, ou l'envers des stéréotypes glorieux' in: *L'Art de la guerre: La Vision des peintres aux 17 et 18 siècles* (Paris, Centre d'études d'histoire de la Défense, 1998), pp. 29–36.

Fend, Mechthild, *Grenzen der Männlichkeit: Der Androgyn in der Französischen Kunst und Kunsttheorie 1750–1830* (Berlin, Dietrich Reimer, 2003).
Forrest, Alan, *Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society During the Revolution and Empire* (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1989).
Forrest, Alan, *Soldiers of the French Revolution* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1990).
Forrest, Alan, 'L'Armée de l'an II: La Levée en masse et la création d'un mythe républicain', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 335 (2004), 111–30.
Forrest, Alan, *The Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars: The Nation-in-Arms in French Republican Memory* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009).
Forrest, Alan, Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall (eds) *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1790–1820* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan 2009).
Foucault, Michel, *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris, Gallimard, 1975).
French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789–1799, Exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles, Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Wight Art Gallery, 1988).
Freund, Amy, *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).
Fumaroli, Marc, 'Richelieu, Patron of the Arts' in: Hilliard T. Goldfarb (ed.) *Richelieu: Art and Power* (Ghent, Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 2002), pp. 15–47.
Furcy-Raymond, Marc, 'Les Tableaux et objets d'art saisis chez les émigrés et condamnés et envoyés au Muséum Central', *Archives de l'art français* VI (1912).
Gabas, Jean-Jacques, 'Remarques sur la notion de gloire dans le théâtre de Corneille' in: *Gallica: Essays Presented to J. Heywood Thomas by Colleagues, Pupils and Friends* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1969), pp. 89–102.
Gaehtgens, Thomas and Jacques Lugand *Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du Roi (1716–1808)* (Paris, Arthena, 1988).
Gallini, Brigitte, 'Concours et Prix d'Encouragement', in: *La Révolution française et l'Europe 1789–1799,* III, Exhibition catalogue, 3 vols (Paris, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989), pp. 830–51.
Gaucher, Charles-Etienne, *Iconologie par figures ou traité complet des allegories, emblèmes, etc.*, 4 vols (Paris, Lattré, n.d.).
Germani, Ian, 'Staging Battles: Representations of War in the Theatre and Festivals of the French Revolution', *European Review of History* 13/2 (2006), 203–27; 205–8.
Gétreau, Florence, *Voir la Musique: Les Sujets musicaux dans les œuvres d'art du XVIe au XXe* (Cambrai, Musée départemental de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier, 2009).

Giot, Theodore, *Eloge civique des patriots morts pour la liberté et l'égalité; depuis le commencement de la Révolution* (Paris, 1793).
Godineau, Dominique 'De la Guerrière à la citoyenne. Porter les Armes pendant l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française', *Clio: Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 20 (2004), 43–69.
Gouges, Olympe de, *L'Entrée de Dumouriez à Bruxelles ou les vivandiers* (Paris, Regnaud and Le Jay, 1793).
Gough, Hugh, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (London, Routledge, 1988).
Gramaccini, Gisela, 'Jean-Guillaume Moitte et la Révolution française', *Revue de l'Art* 83 (1989), 61–70.
Grasselli, Margaret Morgan, *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, 2003).
Grasset Saint-Sauveur, Jacques, *Les Fastes du peuple français* (Paris, Deroy, 1796).
Grell, Chantal, *Le Dix-Huitième Siècle et l'antiquité en France 1680–1789* (Oxford, SVEC, 1995).
Grimaldo Grigsby, Darcy, 'Revolutionary Sons, White Fathers and Creole Difference: Guillaume-Guillon-Lethière's *Oath of the Ancestors* (1822)', *Yale French Studies* 101 (2001), 201–26.
(Guibert, Jacques-Antoine-Hipplyte), *Eloge du Maréchal de Catinat* (Edimbourg, 1775).
(Guibert, Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte), *Essai général de tactique, précédé d'un discours sur l'état actuel de la politique et de la science militaire en Europe; avec le plan d'un ouvrage intitulé: La France politique et militaire* (London, Libraires Associés, 1772).
Guichard, Charlotte, *Les Amateurs d'Art à Paris au 18e siècle* (Champ Vallon, Seissel, 2008).
Guichard, Charlotte, 'Connoisseurship: Art and Antiquities' in: Colin Jones, Juliet Carey and Emily Richardson (eds) *The Saint-Aubin 'Livre de caricatures': Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, SVEC, 2012), pp. 283–300.
Guiffrey, Jules, *Collection des Livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, 4 vols (Paris, Liepmanssohn et Dufour, 1869–1871).
Guillemaine, Charles Jacob, *L'Enrôlement supposé* (London and Paris, Cailleau, 1789).
Guillot, Isabelle, 'L'Ekphrasis chez le comte de Caylus: De la Littérature artistique à la pratique artistique des lettres' in: Nicholas Cronk and Kris Peeters (eds) *Le Comte de Caylus: Les arts et les lettres* (Amsterdam and New York, Rodopi, 2004), pp. 95–109.
Hall, Nicholas, 'J-L David's Sword for the Ecole de Mars' *Apollo*, 130/329 (1989), 33–6.

Harari, Yuval Noah, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Hargrove, June, *The Statues of Paris: An Open-Air Pantheon* (New York and Paris, The Vendome Press, 1989).

Hartmann, Eric, *La Révolution française en Alsace et Lorraine* (Paris, Perrin, 1990).

Hayes, John, *Rowlandson: Watercolours and Drawings* (London, Phaidon Press, 1972).

Hédou, Jules, *Jean Le Prince et son œuvre* (Paris, Baur Rapilly, 1879).

Herding, Klaus, 'Visual Codes in the Graphic Art of the French Revolution' in: *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789–1799*, Exhibition Catalogue (Los Angeles, Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, Wight Art Gallery, 1988), pp. 83–100.

Hippler, Thomas, 'Service militaire et intégration nationale pendant la Révolution française', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 283 (1991), 1–16.

Hopkin, David, 'The World Turned Upside Down: Female Soldiers in the French Armies of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars' in: Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall (eds) *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1790–1820* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 77–95.

Hopkin, David, 'Sons and Lovers: Popular Images of the Conscript, 1798–1870', *Modern and Contemporary France* 9/1 (2001), 19–36.

Hould, Claudette, *L'Image de la Révolution française* (Québec, Musée du Québec, 1989).

Hould, Claudette, 'Les *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*: Mémoire et révision de l'Histoire' in: *La Révolution par la gravure: les 'Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française', une enterprise éditoriale d'information et sa diffusion en Europe 1791–1817*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002).

Hughes, Michael J., 'Making Frenchmen into Warriors: Martial Masculinity in Napoleonic France' in: Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe (eds) *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics* (New York and Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 51–66.

Hunt, Lynn, 'Hercules and the Radical Image in the French Revolution', *Representations* 2 (1983), 95–117.

Hunt, Lynn, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984).

Hunt, Lynn, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992).

Hunt, Lynn, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest, Central European Press, 2008).

Isherwood, Robert M., *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986).
Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989).
Jallut, Marguerite, 'Les Peintres de Batailles des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', *Archives de l'art français, 1950–1957* (Paris) XXII (1959), 115–28.
James Gillray: The Art of Caricature, Exhibition catalogue (London, Tate Gallery Publishing Ltd, 2001).
Jansen, Henri, J., *Project tendant à conserver les arts en France en immortalisant les événements patriotiques et les citoyens illustres* (Paris, Imprimerie de la Société Nationale des Neuf-Soeurs, 1791).
Jobert, Barthélémy, 'The *Travaux d'encouragement*: An Aspect of Official Art Policy in France under Louis XVI', *Oxford Art Journal* 10/1 (1987), 3–14.
Jollet, Etienne (ed.) *La Font de Saint Yenne: Œuvre critique* (Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-arts, 2001).
Jones, Mark, *Medals of the French Revolution* (London, British Museum Publications, 1977).
Jourdan, Anne, *Les Monuments de la Révolution 1770–1804: Une Histoire de répresentation* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1997).
Jourdan, Général Jean-Baptiste, *Discours sur la mort de Général Hoche* (Paris, Lemaire, an V).
Kantorowicz, Ernst 'Ivories and Litanies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5, (1943), 56–81.
Kirchner, Thomas, *L'Expression des Passions: Ausdruck als Darstellungsproblem in der französischen Kunst und Kunsttheorie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, von Zabern, c.1991).
Kirchner, Thomas, *Le Héros épique* (Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'homme, 2008), trans. Aude Virey-Wallon and Jean-Lé on Muller from Thomas Kirchner, *Der epische Held: Historienmalerei und Kunstpolitik im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, W. Fink, 2001).
Lacombe de Prezel, honoré de, *Dictionnaire des Portraits historiques, anecdotes et traits remarquables des hommes illustres*, 3 vols (Paris, 1773).
Lajer-Burcharth, Eva, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999).
La Légion d'Honneur entre tradition et innovation, Exhibition catalogue (Épinal, Musée départemental d'art ancient et contemporain, 2002).
La Mort de Bara, Exhibition catalogue (Avignon, Musée Calvet, 1989).
Landes, Joan, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 2001).
Lanfranchi, Jacques, *Les Statues des grands hommes à Paris: Coeurs de bronze. Têtes de pierre* (Paris, Harmattan, 2004).

Langlois, Claude, *La Caricature contre-révolutionnaire* (Paris, Presses du CNRS, 1988).

Lapauze, Henri, *Procès-Verbaux de la Commune Générale des arts de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure et de la Société Populaire et Républicaine des Arts* (Paris, 1903).

Larcan, Alain, 'Callot et la société militaire' in: *Jacques Callot*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), pp. 384–8.

La Révolution française et l'Europe 1789–1799, Exhibition catalogue, 3 vols (Paris, Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989).

La Révolution par le dessin: les dessins préparatoires aux gravures des 'Tableaux historiques de la révolution française', 1789–1802, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2008).

La Révolution par la gravure: les 'Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française', une enterprise éditoriale d'information et sa diffusion en Europe 1791–1817, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002).

Laugier, Marc-Antoine, *Observations sur l'architecture* (The Hague, 1765).

Laval, Antoine de, *Desseins de professions nobles et publiques contenus plusieurs traictez divers et rares* (Paris, 1613 [1605]).

Lavallée, Citoyen (J.), *Le Départ des volontaires villageois pour les frontiers* (Lille, Deperne, 1792).

Lawner, Lynne, *Harlequin on the Moon: Commedia dell'Arte and the Visual Arts* (New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1998).

Lee, Rensselaer, W. *'Ut pictura poesis': The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York, Norton, 1967).

Le Diberder, Georges, *Les Armées françaises à l'époque révolutionnaire (1789–1804)* (Arcueil, Collections du Musée de l'Armée, 1989).

Lejeune, Louis François, *Mémoires de générale Lejeune* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1895–1896).

[Lemâitre, Adrien Maurie], *Oraison funèbres des gardes nationaux tués à l'affaire de Nancy* (1790).

Lemer, Julien, *Oeuvres de Vadé* (Paris, 1875).

Léonard, Emile G. *L'Armée et ses problems au 18 siècle* (Paris, Plon, 1958).

Lepan, Géraldine, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et le patriotisme* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2007).

Lettre sur la partialité à l'occasion de la lettre de M. le comte de…, in *Collection Deloynes*, X/184 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1777).

Letzter, Jacqueline, '*Le Montansier à la Monnaie.*'': Musical Theater as French Revolutionary Propaganda', *Revue belge de Musicologie* 55 (2001), 193–208.

Lieure, Jules, *Jacques Callot: Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre grave*, 2 vols (San Francisco, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1977).

Linch, Kevin and Matthew McCormack, 'Defining Soldiers: Britain's Military, c. 1740–1815', *War in History* 20 (2013), 144–59.

Littré (2015) http://littre.reverson.net/dictionnaire-francais/definition/gloire
Locquin, Jean, *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris, Association pour la diffusion de l'histoire de l'art, 1912).
Luxardo, Hervé, *Histoire de la Marseillaise* (Paris, Plon, 1989).
Lynn, John, A., *The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France 1791–94* (Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1984).
Lynn, John, A., *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610–1715* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997).
MacGowan, Margaret, 'Le Phénomène de la Galerie des Portraits des Illustres' in: Roland Mousnier and Jean Mesnard (eds) *L'Age d'or du Mécénat* (Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1985), pp. 411–22.
Macsotay, Thomas, *The Profession of Sculpture in the Paris 'Académie'* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2014).
Madival, Jerôme and Emile Laurent (eds) *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises* (Paris, Dupont, 1867–).
Maës, Gaëtane, *Les Watteau de Lille* (Paris, Arthena, 1998).
Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts, an IV (1795), 5.
Mainz, Valerie, 'History, History Painting and Concepts of *Gloire* in the Life and Work of Jacques-Louis David' (University College, University of London, Unpublished Ph.D, 1992).
Mainz, Valerie, 'David's *Les Sabines* and the Colouring of History Painting, post-Thermidor', *Interfaces* 10 (1996), 45–59.
Mainz, Valérie, *L'Image du travail et la Révolution française*, ed. Richard Williams (Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française, 1999).
Mainz, Valerie, 'The Charging of Caricature and the Taking up of Arms before Varennes', in: Reichardt, Rolf, Rüdiger Schmidt and Hans-Ulrich Thamer (eds), *Symbolische Politik und politische Zeichensysteme im Zeitalter der französischen Revolutionen (1789–1848)* (Münster, Rhema, 2005), pp. 83–99.
Mannucci, Erica Joy, 'Le Militaire dans le théâtre de la Révolution française', in: Philippe Bourdin and Gérard Loubinoux (eds.) *Les Arts de la scène et la Révolution française* (Vizille, Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2004), pp. 381–94.
Marat, Jean-Paul, *Oeuvres politiques 1789–93*, eds Jacques de Cock and Charlotte Goëtz (Brussels, Pole Nord, 1995).
Marin, Louis, 'The Inscription of the King's Memory: On the Metallic History of Louis XIV', *Yale French Studies*, 59 (1980), 17–36.
Mason, Haydn, *Candide, Optimism Demolished* (New York, Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992).
Mason, Laura, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1996).

Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting, Exhibition catalogue (Wisbech, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984).
McClellan, Andrew, 'D'Angiviller's Great Men and the Politics of the Parlements', *Art History* 13 (1990), 175–92.
McClellan, Andrew, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994).
McClellan, Andrew, 'The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon's *Louis XV*', *Oxford Art Journal* 23/2 (2000), 1–28.
McNeil Kettering, Alison, 'Gerard ter Borch's Military Men: Masculinity Transformed' in: Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Adele Seeff (eds) *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age* (Newark and London, University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 2000), pp. 100–19.
Mémoires secrets pour server l'histoire de la république des lettres en France, depuis 1762 jusqu'à nos jours, 36 vols (London, 1779–1789).
Ménétra, Jacques-Louis, *Journal de ma vie: Jacques-Louis Ménétra, compagnon vitrier au 18e siècle* (Paris, Montalba, 1982).
Mercier, Louis Sébastien, *Le nouveau Paris*, 6 vols (Paris, Fuchs, Ch. Pougens et Ch.Fr. Cramer Libraires, 1797–1798, an VII).
Mercier, Louis Sébastien, *Tableau de Paris*, 2 vols (Paris, Mercure de France, 1994).
Merrick, Jeffrey, 'Politics on Pedestals: Royal Monuments in Eighteenth-Century France', *French History* 5/2 (1991), 234–64.
Michel, Christian, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des Lumières* (Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 1993).
Michel, Olivier, 'Gamelin, peintre de batailles' in: Marie-Noëlle Maynard (ed.) *Gamelin, peintre de batailles (1738–1803)* (Carcassonne, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2003), pp. 20–27.
Michel, Régis, 'L'Art des Salons' in: Bordes, Philippe and Michel, Régis (eds.) *Aux Armes & aux arts!: Les arts de la Révolution 1789–1799* (Paris, Adam Biro, 1988), pp. 10–101.
Milliot, Vincent, *Les 'Cris de Paris' ou le peuple travesti: Les Représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe – XVIIe siècles)* (Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995).
Minois, Georges, *Le Culte des grands hommes: Des Héros homériques au star system* (Paris, Audibert, 2005).
Mondini, Marco, 'Narrated Wars: Literacy and Iconographic Stereotypes in Historical Accounts of Armed Conflict' in: Marco Mondini and Massimo (eds) *Narrating War: Early Modern and Contemporary Perspectives* (Bologna, Societa editrice il Mulino, Duncker & Humblot in Kommission, 2013), pp. 11–28.

Le Moniteur, Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur: seule histoire authentique et inaltérée de la révolution française depuis la réunion des Etats-généraux jusqu'au Consulat (mai 1789 – novembre 1799), 32 vols (Paris, Plon, 1858–1870).

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

Montaiglon, Anatole de (ed.) *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1648–1792*, 11 vols (Paris, Charavay frères, 1875–1892).

Montaigne, Michel de, *Oeuvres de Montaigne* (Paris, Gallimard, 1962).

Montaigne, Michel de, *The Complete Works*, trans. Donald M. Frame (London, Everyman's Library, 2003).

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron de, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Caillois, Roger (Paris, Gallimard, c. 1945–1951).

Montgomery Wilson, John, *The Painting of the Passions in Theory, Practice and Criticism in Later Eighteenth Century France* (New York and London, Garland, 1981).

Moore, Alexander Parks, *The Genre Poissard and the French Stage of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, Columbia University, 1955).

Morrissey, Robert, *Napoléon et l'héritage de la gloire* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2010).

Munhall, Edgar, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze 1725–1805* (Hartford, Wadsworth Athenaeum, 1977).

Myrone, Martin, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750–1810* (London and New Haven, Yale University Press, 2005).

Nusbaumer, Philippe, *Jacques-Augustin-Catherine Pajou 1766–1828: Peintre d'histoire et de portrait* (Le Pecq-sur-Seine, Nusbaumer, 1997).

Olander, William, 'Pour transmettre à la Postérité': *French Painting and Revolution 1774–1795* (New York University, University Microfilms International, 1984).

Olander, William, 'French Painting and Politics in 1794: The Great *Concours de l'an II*' in: Alan Wintermute (ed.) *1789: French Art During the Revolution* (New York, Colnaghi, 1989), pp. 29–45.

Old Marseillaise (2015) http://old.marseillaise.org/francais/francais.html

Opperman, Hal, 'The Theme of Peace in Watteau' in: François Moureau and Margaret Morgan Graselli (eds) *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): Le Peintre, son temps et sa légend*e (Paris and Geneva, Clairefontaine, 1987), pp. 23–28.

Ordre, marche et ceremonial de la Déclaration du danger de la Patrie, Proclamation de la Municipalité de Paris par le Maire et le Conseil general de la commune; extrait du Registre des délibérations du Conseil general de la commune (Paris, *Le jeudi 19 juillet 1792, l'an 4 de la Liberté*).

Ozouf, Mona, 'Guerre et terreur dans le discours révolutionnaire' in: Paul and Jean Ehrard (eds) *La Bataille, l'armée, la gloire 1745–1871*, 2 vols (Clermont-

Ferrand, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand, 1985) I, pp. 283–95.

Padiyar, Satish, *Chains: David, Canova, and the Fall of the Public Hero in Postrevolutionary France* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania University Press, 2007).

Pagès, François-Xavier, 'Soixante-cinquiéme Tableau de la Révolution: Proclamation de la Patrie en danger: le 22 Juillet 1792' in: *Collection complète des tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* (Paris, P. Didot l'aîné, 1797).

Parker, Harold T. *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: A Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937).

Perrault, Charles, *Les Hommes Illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle*, ed. David John Culpin (Tübingen, Gunter Narr, 2003).

Plax, Julie Anne, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Pommereul, François René Jean, 'Des Institutions propres à encourager et perfectionner les beaux-arts en France' in: Francesco Milizia, *De L'Art de voir dans les beaux-arts* (Paris, Bernard, 1798, an VI), pp. 235–56.

Pommier, Edouard, *L'Art de la liberté: Doctrines et débats de la Révolution française* (Paris, Gallimard, 1991).

Portalis, Roger and Henri Draibel, *Charles-Etienne Gaucher* (Paris, Damascène, Margand et C. Fatout, 1879).

Portiez (de l'Oise), *Convention Nationale*, *rapport fait au nom du Comité d'Instruction publique sur les concours de sculpture, peinture et architecture, ouverts par les décrets de la Convention nationale* in: Archives nationales, F^{17} 1057, dos. 3.

Potts, Alex, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1994).

Procès-verbal de la cérémonie funèbre qui a eu lieu au Champ-de-Mars à Paris, le 10 vendémiaire an VI, en mémoire du general Hoche (Paris, De l'Imprimerie de la République, 1797–98, an VI).

Promenades d'un observateur au salon in: *Collection Deloynes*, XV (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1787).

Pupil, François, 'Le Dévouement du Chevalier Desilles et l'affaire de Nancy en 1790: Essai de catalogue iconographique', *Le Pays Lorrain*, 2 (1976), 73–110.

Racine, Jean, Œ*uvres complètes*, ed. Raymond Picard, 2 vols (Paris, Gallimard, 1950–1966).

Radet, Jean-Baptiste, *Le Canonier convalescent* (Paris, Théâtre du Vaudeville, Imprimerie rue des Droits de l'Homme, 1793–1794, an II).

Rapport, Michael, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners 1789–1799* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2003).

Rawson, Elizabeth, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969).

Rauch, André, *Crise de l'identité masculine 1789–1914* (Paris, Hachette Littératures, 2000).
Receuil de différentes pièces, extradites des procès-verbaux du jury qui a été nommé pour le jugement des ouvrages exposés aux Salons qui ont lieu depuis l'an II jusques et compris l'an VI (Paris, Gayant fils, 1800).
Reb..., M., 'Essai sur les tombeaux des grands hommes dans les Sciences, les Lettres et les Arts', *Mercure de France*, Jan. (1765) 17–20.
Reichardt, Rolf and Hubertus Kohle, *Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (London, Reaktion Books, 2008).
Reichardt, Rolf, *L'Imagerie révolutionnaire de la Bastille: Collections du Musée Carnavalet* (Paris, Nicolas Chaudun, 2009).
Reinhard, Marcel, 'Les Drapeaux de la Garde Nationale Parisienne en 1789' in: *Études Européennes: Mélanges offerts à Victor-Lucien Tapié* (Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1973), pp. 525–32.
Le Républicain, journal des hommes libres de tous les pays, 3 vendémiaire an VI (1797).
Révolutions de Paris (Paris, 1789–1792).
La Révolution française: Le Premier Empire: Dessins du Musée Carnavalet (Paris, Les Amis du Musée Carnavalet, 1983).
Reynier, Quentin, 'Le Héros militaire, la mort et l'honneur sous le Directoire: Quelle Menace pour la République?' in: Serge Bianchi (ed.) *Héros et héroïnes de la Révolution française* (Paris, Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2012) pp. 195–220.
Ribeiro, Aileen, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995).
Ribner, Jonathan, *Broken Tablets: The Cult of the Law in French Art from David to Delacroix* (Berkeley and Oxford, University of California Press, 1993).
Robert, Frédéric, *La Marseillaise* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1989).
Roberts, Warren, *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur, Revolutionary Artists: The Public, the Populace and Images of the French Revolution* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 2000).
Roche, Daniel, *Le Peuple de Paris* (Paris, Aubier Montaigne, 1981).
Roche, Daniel, *La Culture des apparences* (Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1989).
Rollin, Charles, *De la Maniere d'enseigner et d'etudier les belles-lettres*, 4 vols (Paris, 1755 [1726–8].
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Œuvres complètes,* eds Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, 5 vols (Paris, Gallimard, 1959–1995).
Russell, Gillian, *The Theatres of War: Performances, Politics and Society, 1793–1815* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1995).
Russo, Elena, 'Virtuous Economies: Modernity and Noble Expenditure from Montesquieu to Caillois' in: Daniel Gordon (ed.) *Postmodernism and the*

Enlightenment: New Perspectives in Eighteenth-Century French Intellectual History (London and New York, Routledge, 2001), pp. 67–92.

Sacy, Jacques Silvestre de, *Le Comte d'Angiviller, dernier directeur général des bâtiments du roi* (Paris, Ars et historia, 1953).

Sacy, Louis Silvestre de, *Traité de la gloire* (La Haye, Henri du Sauzet, 1715).

Saint-Albin [Alexandre Rousselin de Corbeau], *Vie de Lazare Hoche*, 4th edn (Paris, 1800, an VIII).

Sandt, Udolpho van de, 'Institutions et concours' in: Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel (eds) *Aux Armes & aux arts!: Les Arts de la Révolution 1789–1799* (Paris, Adam Biro, 1988), pp. 138–65.

Sandt, Udolfo van de, 'David pour David: "Jamais on me me fera rien faire au détriment de ma gloire"' in: Régis Michel (ed.) *David contre David,* 2 vols (Paris, La Documentation Française, 1993), I, pp. 115–40.

Scott, Hamish, 'The Seven Years' War and Europe's Ancien Régime', *War in History*, 18 (2011), 419–55.

Scott, Katie, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995).

Scott, Katie, 'Chardin multiplié' in: *Jean Baptiste Simeon Chardin 1699–1779*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), pp. 61–7.

Scott, Katie, '*Cris de Paris*: Crying Food in Early Modern Paris', *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 29/1 (2013), 59–91.

Scott, Samuel F., *The Response of the Royal Army to the French Revolution: The Role and Development of the Line Army 1787–93* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978).

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, *Seneca's Letters to Lucilius*, trans. Edward Phillips Barker (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932).

Servan, Joseph, *Le Soldat citoyen, ou Vues patriotiques sur la manière la plus avantageuse de pourvoir à la défense du royaume*, *Dans le Pays de la Liberté* (Neufchâtel, 1780).

Shaw, Philip, *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013).

Siegfried, Susan L., 'Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France', *The Art Bulletin* 75/2 (1990–1991), 235–58.

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

Siefert, Helge, *Themen aus Homers Ilias in der Französischen Kunst (1750–1831)* (Munich, Scaneg, 1988).

Le Sincere, *L'Uniforme des dames ou les Amazones modernes* (n.d.).

Sklavin oder Bürgerin? Französische Revolution und neue Weiblichkeit 1760–1830, Exhibition catalogue, ed. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff (Frankfurt, Jonas Verlag, 1989).

Smith, Jay M., *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1996).

Smith, Jay M., *Nobility Reimagined: The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 2005).

Soboul, Albert (ed.) *Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française* (Vendôme, Presses Universitaires de France, 1989).

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London and New York, Thames and Hudson, 1997).

Stafford, Emma, *Herakles* (Abingdon and New York, Routledge, 2012).

Steinberg, Sylvie, *La Confusion des Sexes: le Travestissement de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris, Fayard, 2001).

Stewart, Philip, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1991).

Stolpe, Elmar, *Klassizismus und Krieg: Über den Historienmaler Jacques-Louis David* (Frankfurt and New York, Campus Verlag, 1985).

Strachan, Hew, 'The Nation in Arms' in: Geoffrey Best (ed.) *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy 1789–1989* (London, Fontana Press, 1988) pp. 49–73.

Stroev, Alexandre, 'The Myth of the Amazons in the Eighteenth Century and the Legend of the Chevalier d'Eon' in: Simon Burrows, Jonathan Conlin, Russell Goulbourne, and Valerie Mainz (eds.) *The Chevalier d'Eon and His Worlds: Gender, Espionage and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York, Continuum, 2010), pp. 334–65.

Sullivan, Francis A., 'Cicero and Gloria', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 72 (1941), 382–91.

Summerson, John, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London, Methuen, 1964 [1963]).

Les Tableaux du Louvre où il n'y a pas le sens commun. Histoire véritable (Paris, Cailleau, 1777).

Tagg, John, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Education, 1988).

Taws, Richard, 'Trompe l'Oeil and Trauma: Money and Memory after the Terror', *Oxford Art Journal* 30/3 (2007), 353–76.

Taws, Richard, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

Ternois, Daniel, 'Vie de Ferdinand I[re] de Toscane, dite 'Batailles des Médicis' in: *Jacques Callot*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), pp. 173–9.

Touzel, Louise Élisabeth de Croÿ d'Havré, duchesse de, *Mémoires de la Duchesse de Tourzel*, ed. Jean Chalon (Paris, Mercure de France, 1969).

Turner, S, 'Samuel William Fores' in: H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), XX, pp. 363–4.

Vadé, Jean-Joseph, *Les Racoleurs* (Paris, Duchesne, 1760).

Verdi, Richard, 'Poussin's *Eudamidas*: Eighteenth-Century Criticism and Copies', *Burlington Magazine* CXIII (1971), 513–24.

Veysman, Nicolas, *Mise en Scène de l'opinion publique dans la littèrature des lumières* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2004).

Vieilh de Varennes, Raymond-Augustin, *Description curieuse et intéressante des soixante drapeaux, que l'amour patriotique a offert aux soixante Districts de la Ville & Fauxbourgs de* Paris (Paris, Sorin, 1790).

Viennot, Vincent-Marie, [Viénot, Vincent-Marie, comte de Vaublanc], *Rapport sur les honneurs et récompenses militaires* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1792).

Voltaire, *Correspondence and Related Documents*, ed. Theodore Besterman in: *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1968–77), vol. LXXXVIII/3.

Voltaire, *La Pucelle d'Orléans* ed. Jeroom Vercruysse in: *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1970), vol. VII.

Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques*, ed. Frank Alwyn Taylor (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1970).

Voltaire, *Candide ou l'optimisme*, ed. René Pommeau in: *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1980), vol. XLVIII.

Voltaire, *Œuvres alphabétiques I*, ed. Jeroom Vercruysse in: *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1987), vol. XXXIII.

Voltaire, *Au Camp de Philisbourg le 3 juillet 1734* in: *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1989), vol. XIV.

Voltaire, *Eloge funèbre des officers qui sont morts dans la guerre de 1741* in: *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 2004), vol. XXXc.

Voltaire, *Le Poème de Fontenoy,* eds Owen R. Taylor and Christopher Todd in: *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 2008), vol. XXVIIIB.

Voogd, Peter de, *'De Raphaël der carricatuurteekenaars'*, *Henry William Bunbury 1750–1811* (Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 1996).

Vovelle, Michel, *Idéologies et mentalités* (Paris, François Maspero, 1982).

Vovelle, Michel, *La Mort et l'occident de 1300 à nos jours* (Paris, Gallimard, 1982).

Vovelle, Michel, 'La Marseillaise: La Guerre ou la paix' in: Pierre Nora (ed.) *Les Lieux de mémoire: La République*, 3 vols (Paris, Gallimard, 1984–1992), I, pp. 85–136.

Walczak, Gerrit, 'Low Art, Popular Imagery and Civic Commitment in the French Revolution', *Art History* 30/2 (2007), 247–77.

Whitehead, John, *The French Interior: In the Eighteenth Century* (London, L. King, 1992).

Wilson, Adrian, 'Foundations of an integrated historiography' in: Adrian Wilson (ed.) *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570–1920 and Its Interpretation* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 293–335.

Wind, Edgar, 'The Sources of David's Horaces', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4 (1940–1), 124–138.

Winter, Jay, 'Beyond Glory? Writing War' in: Marco Mondini and Massimo Rospocher (eds.) *Narrating War: Early Modern and Contemporary Perspectives* (Bologna, Societa editrice il Mulino, Duncker & Humblot in Kommission, 2013), pp. 133–52.

Wolfthal, Diane, 'Jacques Callot's *Miseries of War*', *The Art Bulletin* LIX (1994), 221–33.

Woloch, Isser, *The French Veteran from the Revolution to the Restoration* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

Wright, Beth S., '*L'Education par les yeux*': Texte et image à la fin du XVIIIe siècle', *Cahiers de l'association international des Études françaises* 57 (2005), 153–71.

Wrigley, Richard, *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1993).

Wrigley, Richard, 'Transformations of a Revolutionary Emblem: The Liberty Cap in the French Revolution', *French History* 11/2, (1997), 132–61.

Zemon Davis, Natalie, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford CA, Stanford University, 1975).

Index

Compiled by Brenda Hollweg

A
Académie du Bout du Banc, 44
  royale de peinture et de sculpture, 43, 59, 72, 77, 96, 133 n.37, 183 n.84, 203, 207, 239, 240, 243
Agasse Brothers, Isidore, 149, 151
Alexander the Great, 100, 103, 108, 113–15, 117–8
Alix, Pierre Michel, 195
amateur, 43–4, 55, 73, 95, 118, 130
Ancien Régime, 14, 27 n.37, 27 n.41, 38–40, 43, 65–6, 96, 126, 146, 157, 164, 166, 230, 236, 238, 241, 257 n.44
Anderson, Benedict, 128, 213 n.43
Angenois, duc d', 49
Angiviller, comte d', 72, 74, 77, 91 n.113, 121
Antiquity, references to, 8, 11–13, 26, 75, 97, 98, 100, 110–13, 125, 127, 148, 193, 204–6, 250, 262
Arcq, Chevalier d', 111
army reform, 4, 35–6, 65, 79 n.7
  debate, 122–5, 154
  standing, 38–9, 81–2 n.13, 109
  See also conscription; recruitment; soldier
Arsenal, 160, 167, 247
Artois, comte d', 59, 62, 79
arts of peace, 18, 80
  promoting the nation, 203
Athens, 105, 110
Augureau, Charles-Pierre-François, General, 251, 260 n.79
Avril, Jean-Jacques, 90 n.103

B
Bagarris, Pierre Antoine Rascas de, 96
Ballin, Claude, 117
Barras, Paul, 235
Bastille, attack on, 6–7, 24 n.18, 146, 148, 191, 201, 204, 222, 253 n.16

Note: Page numbers followed by "n" refer to end notes.

© The Author(s) 2016

V. Mainz, *Days of Glory?*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-54294-6

battlefield, 64, 105, 113, 120, 158, 167–8, 236, 243, 246
Bayard, Pierre Terrail, seigneur de, 120, 138 n.98
Beaufort, Jacques-Antoine, 120
Belgium, 158, 174, 236, 239, 242
Bénézech, Pierre, 198, 199
Berthault, Pierre-Gabriel, 158
Berthier, Louis Alexandre, 168
Bienaimé, Pierre Theodore, 169
Blanchard, Jacques, 117
Blanc, Louis, 144
Boileau, Jacques, 201
Bonaparte, Napoleon General, 16, 157, 207, 208, 251, 256 n.35
Bonnet, Louis-Marin, 24
Bouchardon, Edmé, 43, 83 n.37
Bouillé, François Claude Amour, marquis de, 241
Boussanelle, Louis de, 122
Boyer-Brun, Jacques-Marie, 217, 254 n.25, 263
Bretèche, Lieutenant, 242
Brissot, Jean-Pierre, 155
Brutus, 19–20, 112, 119, 243
Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de, 20
Bunbury, Henry, 253 n.12
Butler, Samuel, 216

C

Cabarrus, Thérésia, 234–5, 256 n.35, 256 n.37
Caesar, Julius, 98, 100, 103, 108
Callot, Jacques, 15, 32–8, 60, 81 n.10, 117, 240
Camilla, 78, 94 n.135, 112
Caraman, François-Joseph de, 256 n.37
caricature, 17, 22, 46, 48, 166, 181 n.69, 188, 215–43, 248–51, 252 n.9, 253 n.19, 254 n.23, n.25, 254–5 n.26, 262, 263
Carnot, Lazare, 175
Catinat, Nicolas de, Marshal, 115–16, 121, 137 n.85
Cato, 112
Caylus, Anne Claude, comte de, 43–4, 48, 73–4, 76, 83 n.37, 92 n.118
Cercle Social, 164
Champcenetz, Louis René Quentin de Richebourg de, 254 n.25
Chardin, Baptiste-Siméon, 43, 83–4 n.43
Charlemagne, 103, 120, 138 n.98
Charles VII, 12, 103, 120, 135 n.98
Charlet, Nicolas-Toussaint, 144
Chaussard, Pierre-Jean-Baptiste, known as Publicola, 201, 206, 228–9
Chaussin and Hennet, 167, 181 n.72
Chauveau, François, 117
Chavigny, Charles Léon de Bouthillier de, 154
Chénier, Marie-Joseph, 242–3
Choiseul, reforms of, 240
Christian, 12, 27 n.35, 101, 109–10
  Crucifixion of Christ, 46–7
  Elysium, 120
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 98–101
Cincinnatus, 103, 116
citizenship, 22, 111, 122–3, 126, 136 n.63, 143, 146, 156, 178 n.19, 185–6, 207, 218–19
  citoyenne, 188, 189
  new concept, 111
  town life, 124
citizen soldier, 2–3, 23 n.6, 123, 126, 149–9, 157, 168, 178 n.12, 188, 218, 241
  militia, 81–2 n.13, 82 n.15, 109

non-female exercise, 185
See also army reform; conscription; *Marseillaise, la;* National Guard
Clapiers, Luc de, marquis de Vauvenargues, 107
Cochin le fils, Charles-Nicolas, 43–4, 50, 59, 96, 128, 130
Cockaigne, land of, 41
Cocles, Horatius, 112
Codde, Pieter, 57
Cogniet, Léon, 144
Colleoni, Bartolomeo, 35
commedia dell'arte, 35
Committees, of Public Safety, 170
of Public Instruction, 242
Condé, Louis, prince de, 103
conflict, 15, 18, 100–1, 108, 115, 122, 144, 244
conscription, 16, 22, 32, 39, 123, 143, 154, 157, 205, 232
in the arts, 205, 264–5
compare recruitment, 39
gender divisions, 185, 235
Jourdan–Delbrel, law, 16, 39, 157, 232
vs. liberty, 39, 144, 205, 264
vs. volunteer, 205
Constitution, the, 185, 241, 253 n.19, 258 n.54
Copia, Jacques-Louis, 145
Coriolanus, 119
Corneille, Pierre, 25 n.20, 28 n.55, 78, 101–2, 105, 132 n.21
Corps-de-Garde, 55, 57, 59, 85–6 n.65, 86 n.71, 88 n.82
See also Kortegaard
corvée, 162, 180–1 n.59
Cosimo II de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 32
Couture, Thomas, 144
Coyer, Gabriel François, abbé, 111, 135 n.63
Coypel, Charles-Antoine, 74, 223
Crancé, Edmond Louis Alexis Dubois de, 154
cries, 9, 21, 32, 40–8
Croix de Trahoir, Fontaine de la, 41
Cruikshank, Isaak, 224
Curius, Manius Dentatus, 103
Curtius, Decius, 112

D
Dacier, André, 112
Danton, Georges Jacques, 158
Darius III, 113
David, Jacques-Louis, 8–9, 11, 16, 19–21, 32, 71–2, 74, 76–9, 91 n.113, 93 n.129, 110, 113, 120, 145, 146, 167–70, 196, 201, 203–8, 220, 239, 244, 262
David, Jules, 77
Delécluze, Etienne, 168
Demarteau, Gilles, 87 n.77
Desjardins, Martin, van den Bogaert, 121, 214 n.49, 262
Desrais, Claude-Louis, 152, 191
Detaille, Edouard, 144
Détournelle, Athanase, 145
D'Holbach, Paul-Henri, Baron, 20
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 28 n.55
discipline, 36, 51, 124, 133 n.36, 165–6
Foucault, Michel, 63
indiscipline, 81 n.10, 220–1
performance of drill, 19, 152
self-discipline, 19–20
Doncre, Dominic, 171
Du Bos, abbé, 28 n.55
Duck, Jacob, 57
Dumouriez, Charles-François du Périer General, 174, 236, 238–9, 243, 257 n.42

Duplessi-Bertaux, Jean, 145, 181 n.72
Duyster, Willem, 57

E

effeminized. *See* masculinity, public duty
emotions, and affect, 31, 65, 70, 77–8, 113, 171
  grief-laden, 19, 113, 240, 248
  passions, 19–20, 28–9 n.58, 72, 91 n.115, 105, 122, 206, 213 n.42
  patriotism, 127, 201, 203
  women, 20–1, 28–9 n.33, 65, 77–8, 114–15, 191, 206, 264
Engineer Geographers, 167
engraving, 32, 43, 59–60, 66, 68–70, 88 n.82, 117, 151, 158, 175, 191
  See also prints
Epaminondas, Theban General, 103, 113, 136 n.69
ephebe. *See* gender, adolescent male nude
Esquiros, Henri-François-Alphonse, 144
etching, viii, 5, 9–11, 83 n.29, 87 n.77, 152, 171, 173, 197, 217–18, 250
  See also prints

F

Fabius, Quintus Maximus, 110, 112, 135 n.57
Fabre, François-Xavier, 167
Fabricius, Caius Lucinus, 103
fame, 100, 129–30, 208–9, 215–51
  See also compare *gloire;* glory; infamy
family, 18, 20–1, 31–2, 66–70, 73–4, 78, 124–5, 144, 149, 151–4, 156, 164, 196, 246, 262, 264
  brothers, 19, 70–3, 78, 149, 151, 178 n.21, 187–8, 220, 241
  children, 5–6, 19, 21, 24 n.18, 64, 78, 129–30, 133 n.29, 156, 161, 186, 241, 247
  daughter, 173
  experience of loss, 21, 33, 78, 197, 200, 241
  at home, 18, 27 n.42, 73–4, 114–15, 206–7, 242
  mothers, 50, 53, 65, 113, 164, 172–4, 186, 191–6, 201, 240, 241, 246–7
  name, 20, 149
  vs. public duty, 206
  Royal, 152, 164, 178 n.20, 217
  sons, 2, 19, 50, 53–4, 65–70, 74, 78, 89 n.93, 94 n.135, 122, 127, 151–2. 154, 173, 195–6, 240, 245, 247
  taking leave, 171–4, 196, 198, 201, 205, 227, 242. *See also* warfare, departure
  wives, 48, 106, 186, 193, 247
Faret, Nicolas, 25, 25 n.20
Fénelon, François, 13–14
Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 32
Fontenay, Jean Jacques Devin, marquis de, 256 n.35
Fontenoy, victory of, 106
Fox, Charles James, 254 n.23
Francesqui, Jean-Baptiste, 167
François I, 120, 138 n.98
François, Jean-Charles, 87 n.77
fraternity, 2–3, 128, 144, 151, 178 n.21, 193, 201
  fraternal embrace, 204, 243
French Parnassus, 118

G

Galerie des Glaces (Hall of Mirrors), 97, 118, 236

gender, 18–22, 23 n.10, 75, 98, 103–4, 114, 185–6, 191–7, 206, 207, 264
  adolescent male nude, 80 n.2, 207–8
  courage, ix, 3, 98–9, 103, 120, 191, 206, 222, 241, 247, 253 n.15, 258 n.54, 259 n.69
  See also gloire, attributes, gender-specific; masculinity; nation, nationhood, gender-issues; women
genre, 7–9, 17, 18, 25, 48–9, 57–60, 65, 145, 166, 175, 181–2 n.72, 212 n.29, 228, 255
  and gender, 235
  painting. *See* painting
  scenes, 70, 79, 171, 175, 193, 200, 244, 254 n.23, 264
Geoffrin, Marie Thérèse Rodet, 43
Gérard, François, 168–9
Gillray, James, 250, 253 n.20, 254 n.23, 256 n.35
Giot, Theodore, 247
Girodet, Anne-Louis, 79
Gironde, 164, 166
gloire, attributes, class-specific, 22, 70
  changing notions, vii, ix, xi, 1–4, 11–15, 25 n.20, 95–110, 122–30, 262
  compare fame, 29, 118, 130
  concept, viii–ix, 1–4, 11–15, 22, 25 n.20, 55, 65, 97–110, 112, 125, 128
  in the fine arts, 117–22
  gender-specific, 18–22, 114
  in history writings, 112–16
  national rhetoric, 112–30
  subversive devices, 13, 15–18, 22, 215–50
  See also caricature; glory
glory, vii, ix, 1–3, 11, 14
  in Christian thought, 12–13
  vs. community interests, 12–14, 16
  vs. gloire, 26 n.29
  militancy, 3
  See also fame
Godineau, Dominique, 23 n.10, 185
Gorsas, Antoine-Joseph, 146
Gossec, François, 174
Grand Châtelet, 41
grand homme (great man), 11, 13–14, 77, 106, 112–15, 136 n.69, 265 n.1
Gravelot, Hubert-Francois, 95, 128, 130
Greuze, Jean-Baptiste, 21, 67, 70, 90 n.106, 245–6, 254 n.23
Guérard le fils, Nicolas, 8, 9, 40–2, 60
Guérin, Pierre-Narcisse, 243
Guesclin, Bertrand du, 103
Guibert, Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte, comte de, 54, 63, 115–16
Guiffrey, Jules, 180 n.52
Guillemain, Charles Jacob, 49
Guillon-Lethière, Guillaume, 200

H

Halicarnassus, Dionysius of, 28 n.55
Hamilton, Gavin, 74
Harari, Yuval Noah, vii, ix, 80 n.2
Harriet, Fulcran-Jean, 243
Hauer, Jean-Jacques, 181 n.72
Henriet, Israël, 36
Henri IV, 96, 103, 117, 160
Hephaestion, Macedonian General, 113
hero, 1–22, 23 n.6, 70–80, 112–30, 164, 206–8, 213 n.42, 222, 236, 239–47, 253 n.15, n.16, 258 n.61, 259 n.64, 264–5
  of antiquity, 112, 214 n.49
  dead, 114
  fallen, 101, 239, 243
  forms, anti-heroic, 222
  mock, heroic, 217, 223–4
  nudity, 80 n.2

hero (*cont.*)
returning, 24, 193, 236, 239–40
revolutionary, 105
types, conqueror, 104, 113, 121, 240
heroine, 186
Bradamante and Judith, 189
cross-dressing, 189
nameless, 186
See also Joan of Arc
heroism, ix, 3, 97–8, 106, 118–19, 122, 127, 170, 188, 197, 199, 243–4
Hoche, Louis Lazare General, 248–51
Homeland, 1, 3, 21, 64, 65, 70, 75, 103, 107, 109–10, 113, 119, 122, 124–7, 133 n.29, 144–5, 148, 158, 160–2, 169–70, 188, 193–5, 201, 203, 205, 239, 242, 247, 250–1, 258 n.61, 264
common mother, 191–3, 201, 246–7
See also citizenship; nation; *Patrie, la*; patriotism
Homer, 12–14, 72–5, 91 n.116, 92 n.120, 92–3 n.124
Homeric subjects, 91 n.112
homme illustre, 11, 13, 136 n.67
honour, 11, 14, 16, 22, 65–6, 68, 70, 90 n.107, 96, 99–108, 111, 117, 119–20, 122, 125–7, 132 n.28, 151, 157, 166, 169, 173, 234, 239–40, 242, 247–8
vs. dishonor, 149, 215, 240
Horace, 78–9, 94 n.135, 102, 197
Horatii, 8, 19–20, 74, 77–8, 112, 151, 201
Huet, Jean-Baptiste, 24 n.18
Hugo, Victor, 176 n.2
Hundred Years' War, 12
hussar, 38, 198, 212 n.27

I
imagery, vii, viii, 1, 4–11
of battlefield, 168, 236, 243, 246, 248, 251, 264
fixed *vs.* fluid, 5–7, 10–11
vs. sculptural objects, 25 n.27
of *vanitàs*, 62, 88 n.83, 265 n.1
See also representation
images, as structured formulations, viii, 46, 48, 74, 165, 178 n.21, 197
specialist readings, viii
See also visual archive
incroyables, the, 229–34, 255 n.27
infamy, 11, 103, 134 n.45, 215–6, 239
Isabey, Jean-Baptiste, 182 n.84

J
Jansen, Henri, 169
Jaucourt, Louis de, 110–11
Jemappes, battle of, 236
Joan of Arc, 12, 120, 189
Jourdan-Delbrel, law of 1798. *See* conscription
Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste General, 250
Jully, Ange-Laurent de La Live de, 43

K
Kick, Simon, 57
Kortegaard, 57–60
See also Corps-de-Garde

L
Lacombe, Claire, 190
La Fayette, Gilbert du Motier, marquis de, 65, 146, 148, 238
Lagrenée, Louis Jean François, 195
La Harpe, Jean de, 115

La Neuville, comtesse de, 106
Laneuville, Jean-Louis, 146–9, 204, 218–19
La Réveillière–Lépaux, Louis Marie de, 244
Laugier, Marc-Antoine, 120–1
Laval, Antoine de, 117
Lavallée, Joseph, 174
Le Barbier, Jean-Jacques, 171, 184 n.98
Le Brun, Charles, 113, 117
Légion d'Honneur, 123, 168
Legislative Assembly, 1, 161, 164, 167, 168, 236
Lejeune, Louis-François, 168
Lemercier, Jacques, 167
Léon, Pauline, 190
Lépicié, Nicolas-Bernard, 44, 83 n.43, 120
Le Prince, Jean-Baptiste, 36, 55, 58–62, 70, 87 n.79, 88 n.82, 197
Le Sueur, Eustache, 117
Lesueur, Pierre-Etienne, 186
Le Veau, 88 n.82
liberty, 2, 108, 119, 123, 125–7, 146–8, 154, 161, 166–7, 169, 193–4, 205–9, 218–19, 224, 242, 250
  of press, 228, 241
Lille, siege of, 174, 254 n.25, 262
Livy, 28 n.55
Lobley, J. Hodgson, 80 n.2
Lorrain, Claude, 204
Louis IX, Saint Louis, 120, 138 n.98
Louis XI, 103
Louis, XIV, 97, 112, 115, 118, 121, 164, 214 n.49, 236, 262
Louis XV, 164
Louis XVI, 59, 68, 91, 121, 146–8, 152, 158, 164, 217, 228, 238
Louvre, 8, 55, 59, 74, 89 n.94, 117, 121, 151, 160, 167, 169, 180 n.52, 262

M

Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de, 28 n.55
Machy, Pierre-Antoine de, 193, 195
Mallet, Jean-Baptiste, 171
Mansart, François, 117
Marat, Jean-Paul, 145, 238
Marelle, Philippe Basset de la, 111–12
Marigny, marquis de. *See* Poisson, Abel
Marivaux, Pierre, 44
Marmontel, Jean-Francois, 43, 108–9
Marolles, Michel de, 37
Marseillaise, la, 1, 3, 23 n.1–7, 143, 156, 176–7 n.2, 208, 250, 263
Marshals of France, the, 66, 115, 117, 118, 262
masculinity, public duty, 70, 125, 206, 214 n.49
  braggadocio, 35
  effeminized, 208, 229
  Gallic cock, 146, 192
  heroic, 184 n.100, 198, 205–8, 214 n.49
  violated, 195, 208
  See also adolescent male nude; hero; public duty, as male; soldier; veteran
Mathiez, Albert, 144
Mellan, Claude, 117
mentalities, viii, 4–11, 15, 18, 28 n.48
Mieris, Frans van, 80 n.4
Mignard, Pierre, 117
Milizia, Francesco, 203
Ministry of War, 167
Mirabeau, Viscount, 223
Moitte, Jean-Guillaume, 195
Montaigne, Michel de, 15, 98, 100–1, 114, 131 n.16, 131–2 n.17, 132 n.19, 132 n.28
Montesquieu, Baron de, 104–5, 125–6, 133 n.36
monuments, 96, 104, 107, 118, 120, 121, 125, 128, 184 n.94, 200, 212 n.29, 217, 244, 259 n.64, 262

Moreau, Louis-Gabriel, 181 n.72
Morland, George, 253 n.20
Moynihan, Roderigo, 80 n.2

N

Nancy, mutiny at, 171, 241, 258 n.54
Nanteuil, Robert, 117
National Assembly, 40, 126, 154, 178 n.20, 211 n.11, 220, 222, 239, 241, 253 n.11
  Convention, 1–2, 17, 155–6, 169, 174, 175, 193, 194, 232, 236, 243, 247, 262
  Guard, 146–54, 160, 162, 178 n.12, 178 n.19, 178 n.20, 181 n.72, 188, 218, 241
  See also citizen soldier, militia; recruitment; volunteer
nation, the, ix, 3, 68, 76, 77, 79, 103, 110–11, 116, 118
  children of, 2, 24 n.18
  concepts of, 1, 11–12, 22
  Frenchness, 3, 12
  French State, 3, 8, 59, 72, 97, 111, 122, 186, 198, 263
  mobilisation, 15, 122–30, 143, 156, 170, 186, 203
  nationalism, 11–2, 14, 174, 191, 198–206, 228–9, 258–9 n.61, 259 n.62
  nationhood, 11, 14
  nationhood, gender-issues, 23 n.10, 176
Neé, François Denis, 62, 88 n.82
Neerwinden, battle of, 238
Neufchâteau, François de, 199
nobility, 11, 14, 65–72, 76, 101, 104, 111, 119–20, 135–6 n.63, 167, 224

O

officers, 27 n.34, 38, 63, 65–70, 90 n.105, 107, 124, 155, 162
Order, in society, 115
  of the Saint Esprit, 62
  of St Louis, 72, 90 n.105
Orval abbey, 169
Ouvrard, Gabriel, 235, 256 n.37

P

Pagès, François-Xavier, 158
painting, forms, battle, 15, 21, 29, 166–76, 181 n.70, 182 n.82, 200, 204–7, 243, 246
  genre, 19, 44, 80 n.4, 84 n.43, 90 n.106, 258 n.61
  history, 8–11, 19–21, 25–6 n.27, 32, 70–80, 98, 118–20, 139 n.99, 145, 203–8
  vs. print. *See* prints, *vs.* painting
Pajou, Jacques-Augustin, 168–9, 182 n.84
Paris, 11, 17, 28 n.55, 32–9, 41, 49, 52–5, 72–4, 79, 91–2 n.117, 92 n.118, 92 n.120, 148–9, 158, 160–1, 170, 207–8, 228, 236, 238, 239, 242, 246–50, 254 n.25, 256 n.35, 262
  Champ de Mars, 174, 244, 248
  Hôtel des Invalides, 256 n.38
  Place Vendôme, 246, 256 n.37
Patrie, la, notions of, 3, 21, 23 n.9, 110–12, 140 n.127, 203
  See also citizenship; Homeland; nation; patriotism
patriotism, 2–3, 16, 23 n.9, 69–70, 101, 107, 110–12, 116, 127–8, 136 n.63, 148, 152, 173, 191, 201, 203, 205
  French *vs.* English, 111
patronage, 8, 10, 18, 59, 72, 79

performances, 3, 21, 32, 46, 49–50, 62, 101, 112, 125, 174, 175
Perrault, Charles, 117
Petrarch, 13
Philipsbourg, siege of, 52, 106
Philopoemen, Greek General, 114, 119, 137 n.77, 138 n.96
Phocion, 103
Phrygian bonnet, 207–8
Pierre, Jean-Baptiste, 43, 77
Place de Grève, 160
Place des Victoires, 121, 214 n.49
Plato, 120
Plautus, 80–1 n.5
Plutarch, 28 n.55, 112–14, 136 n.77
Poissard, 40, 48–9, 84 n.46
Poisson, Abel, marquis de Marigny, 44, 87 n.77
Poisson, Jeanne Antoinette, marquise de Pompadour, 44
Pommereul, René Jean, 203
Pont-Neuf, 41–2, 52–3, 85 n.65, 86 n.66, 158, 160
Poussin, Nicolas, 117, 173
Prezel, Honoré Lacombe de, 113
Prieur, Jean-Louis, 158–62, 180 n.52
prints, viii, 5–7, 40–8, 263
  subversive qualities, 7
  vs. painting, 8–11, 25 n.19, 32, 262
  See also engraving; etching
Prudhomme, Louis-Marie, 162
public duty, as male, 95–130, 148–9
  vs. domestic, familial, 206

Q

quai de la Férraille, 41, 164
Quiberon, revolt of, 231
Quinet, Edgar, 144

R

Rabelais, François, 117
Ramsay, Allan, 60
reality effect, x
recruitment, 1, 4, 10–11, 14, 31–80, 83 n.33, 90 n.106, 122, 124, 143–76, 224, 253 n.12
  beating the drum, 9, 24–5 n.18, 36, 41, 60, 160–1
  call to arms, 8–9, 11, 62, 65, 124, 157–68, 174, 189–9, 201, 203, 205, 220, 231–2, 248, 251
  changing nature, 143–66
  compare conscription, 22, 143, 157, 205
  enlistment, 38–55, 81 n.11, 82 n.15, 161–2, 207, 264
  levée en masse, 156, 201
  methods, 38, 64, 124
  purchase of male body, 41
  racoleur, 40–1, 52, 85 n.65, 164
  signing up, 31–80, 89 n.93, 95–130, 197, 203, 218, 253 n.20
  women, 18, 115, 186, 188, 203
Regulus, Marcus Atilius, 112, 119
Renoir, Jean, 177 n.2
representation, viii, 1–22, 158
Restout, Jean, 74
Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal de, 106, 117
Rights of Man, Declaration of the, 227
Ripa, Cesare, 215
Robert, Hubert, 265 n.1
Robespierre, Maximilien-François-Marie-Isodore de, 123, 158, 166, 197, 228, 232, 255 n.33, 256 n.35
Rollin, Charles, 28 n.55, 113–14
Rome, 8, 19, 28 n.55, 76, 78, 94 n.135, 102, 105, 110, 119, 123–4, 127, 132 n.22, 135 n.57, 139 n.117, 148, 194, 243

Rond d'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le, 43
Rouget de Lisle, Claude-Joseph, 1, 23 n.7
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 20, 59, 109–10, 112, 114, 123, 135 n.56, 135 n.57, 136 n.77, 186
Rowlandson, Thomas, 253 n.12, 253 n.20
Rude, François, 176 n.2

S

Sablet, Jacques, 170
Sacy, Louis Silvestre de, 102–4
Saint-Giron, Baron de, 151
Saint Honoré, Rue, 41
Saint Pierre, Castel de, 112
Saint Yenne, La Font de, 118–19
Salon, 19–20, 28 n.51, 28 n.58, 52, 232, 246
  exhibitions, 8, 32, 43, 55, 60, 65, 67, 70, 74, 77, 87 n.77, 90 n.106, 110, 118–20, 182 n.72, 195, 198, 200–1, 240
sans-culotte, 148, 190, 208, 224, 250
Sarrazin, Jacques, 117
Sauvage, Piat-Joseph, 181–2 n.72
Scoevola, Mutius, 112
Second Estate. *See* nobility
Ségur, law of, 66–7, 90 n.103
Seneca, 99–100, 113, 131 n.16
sensibilities. *See* mentalities
sensibility, culture of, vii, viii
  See also emotions, women
sentiments. *See* emotions
Servan, Joseph, 54, 63–4, 123–6, 139 n.117, 140 n.122, 242
Sesostris III, 103
Seven Years' War, 26 n.32, 49, 50, 52, 108, 111, 121–2
Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquis de, 113
sign-up, 31–2, 37, 41, 50–1, 55, 60, 62, 65, 81 n.11, 95–143, 157, 161, 166, 174, 185–6, 188, 197, 204, 207, 218, 253 n.20
  compare conscription, 143, 157, 185, 205
  See also recruitment, signing-up
Skanderberg, George Castriot, 103
slavery, 126, 193
Socrates, 108, 113
soldier, 2, 81 n.10, 148–9
  artists, 91 n.113, 166–72, 184 n.98, 184 n.100, 203
  vs. civilian, 3, 14, 18, 20–1, 27 n.31, 36, 38, 41, 80 n.2, 118, 157, 175, 218–19, 227
  common, 63–5, 107–8, 123, 146, 231, 240, 244
  duties, 3, 65–70, 101, 109, 116, 122–30, 156–7, 162, 173–4, 229–31
  female, 186–91. *See also* women, as soldiers
  former, 121, 240
  wounded, 198, 240, 258 n.61
  See also veteran, wounded male body
Sophocles, 120
Sparta, 97, 102–3, 105, 109–10, 123, 208
  Spartan mother, 195–6
street scenes. *See cries*
Struensee, Johann Friedrich, 227

T

Talamona, Antoine, 193–5
Tallien, Jean-Lambert, 231–2, 255 n.33
  Madame. *See* Cabarrus, Thérésia
Talma, Julie, 238
Teniers the Younger, David, 57, 87 n.76

Terror, the, 16, 120, 144, 148, 228, 232, 254 n.25, 256 n.35
Thieriot, Nicolas-Claude, 106
Thomassin, Henri-Simon, 83 n.29
Tillet, Évrard Titon du, 118
Topino-Lebrun, François-Jean-Baptiste, 210 n.8, 244
Tourville, Anne Hilarion, comte de, 121
Tuileries Palace, Gardens, 152, 160, 178 n.20, 208
Turenne, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de, 103

U

uniform, 7, 19, 36, 50, 60–3, 152, 156, 178 n.19, 198, 203, 212 n.27, 218, 220, 255 n.28
  women, disguised, 186–91

V

Vadé, Jean-Joseph, 49
Valerius Maximus, 28 n.55
Valmy, battle of, 156, 238
Vaudreuil, Joseph Hyacinthe François, comte de, 79
Vauvenargues, marquis de. *See* Clapiers, Luc de
Versailles, 97, 118, 236, 256 n.35
veteran, 38, 55, 60, 240
  wounded male body, 194–5, 217, 244, 256 n.38
  See also masculinity
Veturia, 119
Vien, Joseph-Marie, 43, 72–4, 91 n.112, 201, 208
Viénot, Vincent-Marie, 126, 128, 140 n.124, 239 (Viennot)
Vincent, François-André, 167
Vinchon, Auguste-Jean-Baptiste, 144, 162
Virgil, 215
visual archive, viii
Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet, 50–4, 84 n.58, 84 n.59, 85 n.60, 86 n.68, 86 n.69, 105–8, 120–1, 134 n.41, 134 n.45, 217, 258 n.61
volunteer, 15, 32, 35, 40–1, 44, 67, 79, 80 n.2, 144–5, 154–70, 172, 181 n.72, 193, 194, 205, 264
  and liberty, 224, 227
  See also recruitment
Vouet, Simon, 117
Vovelle, Michel, 4–5, 28 n.48
vraisemblance, 87 n.72, 203

W

warfare, vii–viii, 15, 17, 18, 20, 26 n.32, 27 n. 41, 32, 51, 73, 80, 98, 101, 106–9, 121, 124, 130, 158, 177, 217, 239
  anti-war, 27 n.42, 106, 183 n.85
  Christian, 109–10
  combat, ix, 3, 15, 18, 21, 32, 63, 97, 99, 102, 109, 120, 125, 133 n.29, 134 n.45, 140 n.122, 170, 183 n.85
  death in, 80, 98, 101, 107, 155–6, 167, 208, 239, 241
  departure for, 31–2, 58, 66, 144, 164, 171–4, 182 n.74, 184 n.98, 194–5, 236, 245, 264
  gender-specific, 18–22, 80, 186
  non-combatant, 77, 196
  self-sacrifice, 107, 196, 208, 261
  warmongering, 2, 15, 22, 27 n.41, 98, 109, 203, 206, 236, 242, 247, 251
  See also family, taking leave; nation, nationhood; women, as soldiers
War of Independence, Dutch, 57
  American, 62, 65, 68

War of Succession, Austrian, 107
Polish, 52
War Song for the Army of the Rhine. *See Marseillaise, la*
Watelet, Claude-Henri, 43
Watteau, François, 210 n.8
Watteau, Jean-Antoine, 83 n.29, 171
Watteau, Louis-Joseph, 171, 186
Wébert, Michel, 254 n.25
Weight, Carel, 80 n.2
Wille, Pierre-Alexandre, 66–9, 90 n.103, 91 n.113, 181 n.72
women, as soldiers, 18, 115, 185–207
marriage, 20–1, 50, 156
misogyny, 185–6
public duty, 187
See also emotions; family; gender; recruitment, women