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The emperor is dead, long live the emperor: Paul Delaroche's portraits of Napoleon and popular print culture

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University of Iowa

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THE EMPEROR IS DEAD, LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR: PAUL DELAROCHE'S
PORTRAITS OF NAPOLEON AND POPULAR PRINT CULTURE

by

Alissa Rachel Adams

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree
in Art History in the Graduate College of the University of Iowa

May 2013

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

MASTER'S THESIS

This is to certify that the Master's thesis of

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INTRODUCTION

Along with those of his father-in-law Horace Vernet (1789-1863), the works of Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) have long been singled out as the epitome of the July Monarchy's *juste milieu* politics and artistic style. In the 1830s, after the restored Bourbon dynasty had once again been ousted by Revolutionaries, the new King of the French, Louis-Philippe, attempted to reconcile the highly polarized world of French politics. His strategy of reconciliation involved adhering to a system of 'middle-of-the-road' politics that made concessions both to conservative groups such as the Loyalists and radical ones such as the Bonapartists. Petra ten Doessechate-Chu, in her survey of nineteenth century art, suggests that the art of the time followed this trend of averaging out extremes.¹ In the case of aesthetics, the *juste milieu* represented a mid-point between conservative academic forms and the increasingly practiced Romantic style. Chu, one of the few who examines Delaroche in the context of surveys of nineteenth century art, positions Delaroche as a prime example of the *juste milieu* because his intense attention to draftmanship and detail was balanced, in his compositions, with an equally intense interest in theatrical drama and emotional effects. For Chu and many other art historians, this artistic tendency is read as an implicit approval, in Delaroche's work, of Louis-Philippe's regime. The tendency of the regime to approve of Delaroche's early work no doubt contributed to this reading.²

This tendency to position Delaroche as a moderate—both in politics and in the art historical practice—overlooks the many complications and contradictions to such an hypothesis that exist in the artist's *oeuvre*. The most notable contradiction to the assertion of Delaroche's status as a moderate is the collection of Napoleonic portraits he completed

from 1838 to his death in 1856. The finished portraits are all variations on three original compositions: *Napoleon in his Study* (Figure A1, 1838), *Napoleon Crossing the Alps* (Figure A2, 1847), and *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* (Figure A3, 1840/1845). A final Napoleonic composition that portrays Napoleon alone on St. Helena was unfinished at the time of Delaroche's death and only exists in photography and printed adaptations. This final composition, in part because its history is largely obscured by a lack of extant scholarship and, more importantly, its destruction, will not be a part of this study. The form and execution of the other three compositions, however, reveal a deep-seated engagement with popular culture and the Napoleonic myth that contradict Chu's assessment of Delaroche as a moderate artist.

In these paintings, though they eschew the aggrandizing qualities that characterize Napoleonic art of the first imperial era, Delaroche portrays Napoleon as an alternately inspiring and tragic heroic who, when not inspiring admiration, inspires the bittersweet pangs of nostalgia. Though his Napoleon is sometimes idealized, as in *Napoleon in his Study*, he is at other times portrayed as accurately and unflinchingly as possible, as in *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*. This naturalistic treatment of a larger-than-life figure, despite the occasional chuckle it prompts from those who are more familiar with the Napoleon of children's cartoons than the Napoleon who conquered the majority of Europe, reveals the deep sympathy—even empathy—Delaroche felt for the Napoleonic and Bonapartist causes. Though Delaroche never explicitly states allegiance to a political regime, the tendency of his portraits of Napoleon to echo the popular prints and book illustrations of Bonapartist artists (who often counted themselves as adherents to the Cult of Napoleon as well) suggests that he was at least sympathetic to the Bonapartist cause.

In examining the completed portraits together, one is struck by the consistency with which Delaroche turned to printed images of the once-Emperor instead of officially commissioned portraits that were connected to the patronage of Louis-Philippe. From the very first Napoleonic painting he completed, *Napoleon in his Study*, a careful consideration of the available visual culture shows that Delaroche used printed—and thus inherently more democratic and populist—images as the basis for his works. This tendency to use prints and other ‘low-art’ pieces as references continued to characterize his Napoleonic output throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Among his sources were the works of Charles Raffet, Hippolyte Bellange, and Nicolas Charlet, the three most famous Napoleonic printmakers, and hundreds of lithographs made by Horace Vernet as illustrations for Laurent de l’Ardeche’s widely popular biography, *L’Histoire de Napoleon* (first prospectus produced in 1839). Delaroche’s deep involvement with the visual culture of the Napoleonic cult of personality and of the Bonapartist political movement reveals the extent to which Delaroche’s art is not a part of the political *juste milieu*. Instead, his art—in the case of the Napoleonic portraits—can be read as an expression of Romantic liberalism that manifests itself in the form of approval of Bonapartism and high regard for Napoleon.

Despite being, in his time, one of the best known and mostly widely-reproduced artists in the world, Delaroche’s work has only begun to receive sustained scholarly attention in recent years. Part of the reason behind Delaroche’s absence can be found in the teleological tendency to privilege the avant-garde that characterizes the art historical narrative of the western tradition. In the past fifty years, only two English language monographs have been written on Delaroche and his works. Norman Ziff’s *Paul*

Delaroche: A Study in Nineteenth-Century French History Painting is a 1977 dissertation that stands as the bedrock of scholarship on Delaroche.³ The dissertation presents a straight-forward recitation of Delaroche's life and accomplishments that, when it delves into the analytical mode, focuses primarily on the influence of biography on the work. Though a deep analytical mode is absent from the work, its status as the first modern discussion of Delaroche both explains and excuses its tendency only to scrape the surface of the narrative. Ziff's dissertation also represents a staggering amount of archival work and remains the most important collection of clear-cut facts about Delaroche's life and works available.

Stephen Bann's 1997 book *Paul Delaroche: History Painted*, is the most recent monograph on Delaroche.⁴ The influence of Ziff's biographical approach can be found in Bann's tendency to present a psychoanalytical reading of most of Delaroche's works. The Napoleonic paintings, in particular, are read almost—but not quite—exclusively in this mode. Indeed, Bann suggests that the primary importance of these paintings is their ability to be read as self-portraits given Delaroche's tendency to be described as Napoleonic in looks. Bann is of the opinion that Delaroche's Romanticism manifested itself primarily in a deep psychological self-awareness and his reading of the Napoleonic portraits reflects that opinion. Bann's methodology is not restricted to the psychoanalytical. He also addresses the cultural issues that surrounded the depiction of historical scenes in the nineteenth century, paying particular attention to the importance to the trend of making history accessible and interesting to the general public. Although this study does not share his tendency to interpret the Napoleonic paintings as

autobiographical, Bann's work is the most notable and sustained examination of those scenes and, thus, is of particular importance to this study.

Though only two extended studies of Delaroche's work exist in English, a wealth of scholarship on the culture and politics of mid-nineteenth century France exists. Of the works that are available, the one that is, perhaps, the most influential on the conceptual framework of this study is Beth S. Wright's *Painting and History During the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past*.⁵ Though the book focuses on a regime that predates the time period at issue here, Wright's suggestion that the past and present, for France of the nineteenth century, collapse together in the visual world is highly influential, especially in chapter three of this study. Of equal importance to this study are Michael Marrinan and Barbara Ann Day-Hickman's studies of the art and culture of the July Monarchy. Respectively entitled *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848* and *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France (1815-1848)*, these books examine the political and cultural undercurrents in official and popular art under the Orleanist regime.⁶ Articles by historians and art historians such as Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer and Devin Tyrol, among others, round out the literature pertaining to this topic.

Because this study focuses exclusively on Napoleonic imagery, the work of historians of the first Empire, second Empire, and the period in between have also been indispensable. Sudhir Hazareesingh's *The Legend of Napoleon* charts the development of the Napoleonic legend following Napoleon's first abdication through the beginning of the Second Empire under Louis-Napoleon.⁷ The book contains a wealth of information about the attitudes, laws, and lawbreakers responsible for the form the cult of Napoleon took

from 1815-1848. David Baguley's *Napoleon III and his Empire: An Extravaganza* as an examination of the extravagant personality of Napoleon III (*née* Louis-Napoleon) that, in its early chapters, affords special attention to the influence of the Bonaparte name on the success of the new Emperor.⁸ R.S. Alexander's article "The Hero as Houdini: Napoleon and 19th Century Bonapartism," succinctly outlines three different phases of Bonapartism, an overview that is crucial to the third chapter of this study.⁹

In addition to these secondary sources, a wealth of primary sources such as lists of prominent engravers, reviews of Delaroche's paintings, and exhibition catalogues are counted among the works consulted in this study. This study is an examination of these primary sources and secondary studies of the art and culture of the time in conjunction with the relatively scant literature on the Delaroche's Napoleonic paintings. Through combining these various research areas this study will contradict the prevailing notion that Delaroche was either of the *juste milieu* or Romantic primarily in terms of self-reflection. The main vehicle through which this task will be accomplished will be the argument that Delaroche, in portraying Napoleon sympathetically, was sympathetic to a radical and Revolutionary political cause.

CHAPTER ONE

NAPOLEON IN HIS STUDY: THE PAINTING AND THE PRINTS

The decades following the fall and exile of Napoleon in 1815 were wrought with political instability within France. France, over a quarter of a century after the Revolution that expelled them, was once again under the power of the Bourbon monarchy. This Bourbon Restoration, as the period is known, lasted for approximately fifteen years and led, on the whole, to a reversal of the 1789 Revolution and its effects. One effect of this reversal was the institution of a policy of benevolent forgetfulness that sought to erase the Revolution and Imperial periods from the cultural memory.¹⁰ The Bourbons sought in particular though not effectively, to erase the memory of Napoleon. Few aspects of French culture escaped this policy and the arts were no exception. In addition to placing a ban on the production of new Napoleonic artistic production, the Bourbon government also declared the sale, ownership, and display of Napoleonic paraphernalia illegal.¹¹ With the July Revolution in 1830 a new, less reactionary government replaced the Bourbons with the constitutional monarch Louis-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans. Though Louis-Philippe initially followed a 'middle-of-the-road' policy that included lifting sanctions against Napoleonic imagery and even adopting it for his own purposes, he quickly became distrustful of the power of Napoleon's memory and image. As a result of this distrust he increasingly sought, in the late 1830s and until 1848, to phase out and control Napoleon's image.¹²

It was in this cultural climate that the *academicien*, student of the Napoleonic painter and propagandist Antoine Baron Jean Gros (1771-1835), and popular history painter Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) began work on his first commissioned portrait of

Napoleon. The painting, known as *Napoleon in his Study* (figure A1, 1838), was inspired by and borrows heavily from an 1812 work by Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) of the same name and subject matter (figure A4). Indeed, the two compositions are very similar; Delaroche made only a few simple—though important—changes in his portrait of the hard-working Emperor such as using a two-thirds figure format and turning the Emperor away from the viewer and bringing him closer to the picture plane. Delaroche's decision to model his first known Napoleonic subject after the work of David can only be seen as appropriate, for David was the master of Gros, Delaroche's teacher.¹³ David's strong connection to the Napoleonic legend also, no doubt, influenced Delaroche's decision to take inspiration from him. Such was David's importance to the initial Napoleonic propaganda machine that Napoleon offered David the title of *peintre du gouvernement* and then first painter of the Empire. Napoleon favored David—and his student Gros—above all others, and consistently turned to David to produce some of the most iconic images of the ruler known to history.¹⁴ It is no surprise, then, that Delaroche should model his first Napoleonic subject on the work of the deceased master.

No matter how appropriate this decision may be, it is not immediately clear how Delaroche saw David's painting if not through printed reproductions. Once he finished the painting and gained the approval of the portrait's imperial subject, David sent the painting to Scotland where it was installed in the collection of the Scottish Marquis of Douglas (later the 10th Duke of Hamilton) who commissioned the work. The portrait remained in the collection of the marquis-turned-Duke's family until 1882, at which point it was purchased by a London collector whose estate sold it to a company based in New York and London. Three years after the sale it was purchased by the Samuel H. Kress

Foundation, which gave the portrait to the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. in 1961.¹⁵ This history demonstrates that the portrait did not travel back to France after entering the collection of the Duke of Hamilton. Delaroche, who died in 1856, when the portrait was still in the collection of the Duke's family, never travelled to Scotland and, thus, never had the opportunity to view David's original portrait.

The question of how Delaroche was able to paint a portrait of Napoleon I that so closely echoes David's work without ever having seen the original can be answered with an examination of the print culture of the mid nineteenth-century. However, it also raises more complicated questions about how Delaroche's Napoleonic images interact with their imperial-era precedents. Though David's image of Napoleon was created in a specific moment of a political regime and, thus, cannot be separated from that regime, later reinterpretations of the meaning of Napoleon and reproductions of the image altered the original significance of David's image. Delaroche's *Napoleon in his Cabinet*, his first foray into interacting with imperial-era precedents, then, is inescapably tied to the politically charged print culture of the July Monarchy.

An understanding of the extent to which Delaroche departed from the example of David's version of *Napoleon in his Study* can be gained through a comparison of the two paintings. In the work by David Napoleon is depicted in his entirety. He stands at the center of the composition with his right hand inside his vest and his left hand holding a snuff box. Just barely overlapping Napoleon's figure is an ornate chair decorated with the imperial bee and holding the Emperor's discarded sword. Behind Napoleon is a writing desk on which a plethora of papers sit. Behind the desk one can see a clock that marks the time at three o'clock. The nearly-burnt out candles in the lamp on the desk suggest that it

is three o'clock in the morning. Napoleon, his cheeks just beginning to sag but still rather full, is bleary-eyed despite his alert posture and confrontational gaze. It is as if the viewer has disturbed him at his work. Though Napoleon engages with the viewer, he is separated from the viewer by the desk and the vacant bottom of the picture plane. Delaroche's painting, in contrast, places Napoleon in close proximity to the viewer by moving him to the forefront of the picture plane. The decision results in a two-thirds view of the Emperor that focuses attention on his face rather than on the aging body shown in David's work. Delaroche's painting, while it retains the details of the desk, chair, sword, and papers, has a drastically different tone David's work. David's Napoleon presents himself as a carefully constructed persona and is deeply aware of the audience. Delaroche's Napoleon, however, stands with his back nearly turned to the audience and his gaze directed to somewhere over the viewer's shoulder. He is inwardly absorbed, but the absorption does not separate him from the viewer. Instead, it allows the viewer the pseudo-voyeuristic privilege of surveying the Emperor in a state of relaxed contemplation. In a final telling difference from the David portrait, the face of Delaroche's Napoleon appears smooth, firm, and untouched by the ravages of age, worry and sleepless nights. Though clearly inspired by David's work, it is just as clearly an intentional departure from the earlier painting.

The impetus for Delaroche's close examination of Napoleonic print culture came when the Dowager Countess of Sandwich, Mary Anne Julia Louisa Montagu née Lowry-Corry (known as Louisa Montagu, 1781-1862) commissioned him to paint a portrait of Napoleon I. Though of Irish nationality, the Countess of Sandwich, after the death of her husband, had been resident in Paris for many years¹⁶. It is likely, though not yet

confirmed, that the Dowager Countess became familiar with Delaroche's work while in Paris, for Delaroche had, by the time of the 1838 commission, become one of the most famous painters in France, if not the entirety of Europe.¹⁷ The countess had long been active in the art world; artists as exalted as Sir Thomas Lawrence and Antonio Canova had captured her likeness in paint and marble. Her decision to patronize the up-and-coming Delaroche, then, would have come as no surprise. The reason behind her decision to commission a portrait of Napoleon from Delaroche, however, requires a few words of explanation. Louisa Montagu's daughter, Lady Catherine Caroline Montagu (1808-1834), married Count Alexandre Joseph Colonna-Waleski (1810-1868), the illegitimate son of Napoleon I.¹⁸ As Stephen Bann suggests in his article on Delaroche and English patrons, in commissioning a portrait of Napoleon, the Dowager Countess created a unique "archaeological" document tying her family to Napoleon.¹⁹

The concern with creating an archaeological record that Bann detects in the history painting's nascence may explain the Countess's decision to commission Delaroche in particular. Throughout the early phase of his career (approximately 1824-1837), he achieved fame for his meticulously researched and precisely painted *genre historique* paintings.²⁰ One of the most popular of Delaroche's *genre historique* paintings was *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (Figure A5, 1833), a painting that, as Anne Robbins has noted, reminded contemporary reviewers of the highly detailed paintings of the Dutch school in its obsessive representation of surface detail.²¹ A preoccupation with detail characterized not only *Jane Grey* but the majority of Delaroche's *genre historique* paintings.²² This level of detail, combined with their historical themes, lent a sense of veracity to Delaroche's historical paintings that surpassed those of his contemporaries. In

the case of the portrait of Napoleon, the Countess of Sandwich's passion for historical accuracy matched Delaroche's own enthusiasm for it. On the reverse of the painting the Countess added the following inscription:

This portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France, was painted for me by Paul Delaroche, *in souvenir*, in the year 1837[sic].

The uniform of the old guard was lent by Baron Merchant, the Emperor's valet de chambre; the sword is the one that Napoleon carried at Waterloo...

The furniture is what existed in the Emperor's study in the Tuileries.

The snuff-box, ornamented with two medallions fixed on the cover, is the one which he gave to the Comte de Flahaut.²³

The Countess's inscription leaves a detailed catalogue of the exact items that acted as models for Delaroche's painting. Delaroche, then, painted directly from historical artifacts when he painted the Emperor's clothing, furnishings, and props, a method that would have resonated with his accustomed style.

In contrast to the various artifacts the Countess of Sandwich provided for Delaroche's study, Delaroche had no access to the face of Napoleon himself. Napoleon died long before the advent of photography and portraits painted during his lifetime, in that they were overwhelmingly works of propaganda, are unreliable. Numerous versions of Napoleon's death mask do survive from the period. Unfortunately, it is not clear, from scholarly work, how widespread these objects were and if artists like Delaroche would have had access to them. Another factor that contributed to the scarcity of un-idealized—and thus reliable—images of Napoleon was the man himself's reluctance to sit for portraits. Indeed, Jacques Louis David is the only artist known to have painted a study of Napoleon from life. Even then, David only had this opportunity once, early in Napoleon's career.²⁴ David's *Napoleon in his Study* (of which there are two versions), the very painting Delaroche adapted for his commission, may have been the most reliable record

of the ruler's face available. In a letter to the Duke of Hamilton David wrote of his work "I can thus assure your lordship...that no one until now has ever made a better likeness in a portrait...."²⁵ David, of course, may have had ulterior motives for lauding the exactitude of his own work. However, the painting's lack of idealization of Napoleon's face and body paired with its respectful tone toward its subject suggest that David was not exaggerating to any objectionable degree when writing to his patron. The painting lacks the pomp of David's famous image of *Bonaparte crossing the Alps*, but, despite its depiction of Napoleon as an aging ruler, also lacks any hint of censure or disapproval of the man. In her book *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis*, Dorothy Johnson suggests that this painting should be read as David's respect for the persona and achievements that were associated with Napoleon during the Consular period (1800-1804). She notes that "The First Consul seems approachable, human, a modern individual whom we can recognize and greet and with whom we can identify."²⁶ David, in his portrait of Napoleon in the iconographic garb of the First Consul, sought to portray a 'real' vision of Napoleon that both humanized him both through a studied naturalism and a removal of imperial pomp and the idealization that so often comes with it.

David's *Napoleon in his Study*, then, in its preoccupation with naturalism, would seem appropriate and even necessary for Delaroche's attempt to create an "archaeological" record for his patroness. Despite the existence of this ostensibly accurate record of the Emperor's face in David's painting, however, Delaroche does not seem to have used the 1812 *Napoleon in his Study* as a reference for his attempt at recreating the First Consul-turned-Emperor's face. Instead of transcribing the drawn, tired mien in David's work, Delaroche paints the Emperor with smooth, even features

that echo the style of Roman imperial portraiture. His cheeks (though round) boast broad, smooth planes, his lips from a cupid's bow, and his eyes lack any sign of sleep deprivation. David's Napoleon, in contrast, has bleary eyes, tousled hair, and deeply lined cheeks that verge on fat rather than full. A repetition (figure A6) of the work that David painted shortly after the first painting was completed and which seems to have been in France during the July Monarchy, contains a slightly different treatment of Napoleon's face than the first iteration.²⁷ It is more angular and shadows darken the Emperor's puffy eyes. The face of Napoleon in Delaroche's work does not, however, have any more in common with this version than the original painting. These discrepancies suggest that instead of working, as Stephen Bann has suggested, directly from the second iteration of David's *Napoleon in his Study*, Delaroche had a different source for his first portrait of Napoleon.²⁸

Delaroche's use of a different source should not be surprising, for the art world of nineteenth-century France, including Delaroche, likely did not become familiar with David's *Napoleon in his Study* solely—or even overwhelmingly—by viewing the painted version. Given the dearth of scholarly attention paid to the exhibition history of the second version painted by David, it is not clear when and where or if the French under the regime of Louis-Philippe may have seen the painting. The painting had, until 1825, remained in David's atelier in Brussels. Eventually it reached Napoleon III's collection, but its history between David's death and its acquisition by Louis-Napoleon has not been well studied.²⁹ A catalogue of the *Grand Palais's* 1969 exhibition of Napoleonic art gives only a perfunctory review of its provenance before it came to Louis-Napoleon, stating only that, after David's death, "figura ensuite dans plusieurs ventes."³⁰ The initial sale

was probably made to private collectors either openly outside of France or discretely within the painter's home country, for the sale and display of Napoleonic and Bonapartist works were prohibited by the censorship of the Bourbon restoration government. Though Louis-Philippe's *juste milieu* politics led to the relaxation of anti-Napoleonic censorship, the degeneration of his popularity in the late 1830s may have created a political atmosphere in which the exhibition of this painting, even after the removal of strict legal censorship, would have been a misstep.

Scholars on the art of the July Monarchy have identified a trend toward the control—if not by official censorship then by political pressure—of Napoleonic imagery during Louis-Philippe's reign. In his influential 1988 study of the art and ideology of the July Monarchy, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, Michael Marrinan convincingly argues that the Orléanist monarch sought to wrest control of Napoleon's image and memory from the public. Marrinan juxtaposes the government's use of imperial imagery with the popular "*petit corporal*" imagery favored by the public and argues that, rather than representing a discordance in the regime's rhetoric, these two facets of Louis-Philippe's propagandistic campaign aligned to attempt to fix Bonaparte, firmly, in the historical past.³¹ Barbara Ann Day Hickman's book *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France (1815-1848)*, however, suggests that Louis-Philippe's gradual loss of control over the political life of France led him to "[phase] out potentially provocative representations of the Little Corporal" and Napoleonic militaristic themes "in favor of the more conservative image of Bonaparte as Emperor" later in his reign.³² Both Day-Hickman and Marrinan present convincing arguments to support their respective interpretation of historical evidence. Despite nuanced differences between the approaches

of Day-Hickman and Marrinan, both interpretations point to the monarch's distrust of popular and mass-produced images of Napoleon—especially in military uniform. With the specter of Bonapartism looming once more, this time in the shape of Napoleon III (who had been attempting military coups), the image of Napoleon as the Revolutionary general of the people presented a threat to the already precarious political situation of the July Monarchy's regime. In such a climate, the display of a famous painting celebrating Napoleon's civic and militaristic devotion to the people—David's Napoleon rises from his work on the Civil Code to review his troops—would be dangerous. It is not likely, then, that the second version of David's *Napoleon in his Study* was available to the general public—or perhaps even to the public at all—before the fall of Louis-Philippe.

The question of how Delaroche may have seen David's composition, then, cannot be adequately answered by reminding oneself of the existence of a second version of the work. Instead, it is a question that requires sustained examination. Stephen Bann has suggested that Delaroche may have worked, if not from David's first or second canvas, then from an engraving of the painting produced by Jean-Nicolas Laugier (1785-1875), a well-regarded engraver who had direct access to David in the master's workshop in Brussels in 1824, a visit that may account for his relative prominence in nineteenth century discussions of engravers of David's work.³³ Laugier travelled to David's studio not to engrave the *Study*, but to reproduce another of David's works, *Leonidas at Thermopylae*. While in Brussels he may have had an opportunity to work from or see the *Study* firsthand.³⁴ A catalogue of prominent 19th century French engravers which lists the engraving of David's *Study* as one of Laugier's most famous works dates the engraving (figure A7) to 1835. Despite the temporal distance between his visit to David's atelier

and the appearance of the engraving, Laugier likely, though no direct archival evidence has yet surfaced, worked directly from the second *Study*, for Napoleon wears the green uniform of the *chassuers à cheval* in both the second painted *Study* and Laugier's print.³⁵ The engraving's treatment of Napoleon's face closely replicates the treatment in the second version of David's work, further supporting the hypothesis that Laugier did, indeed, work directly from the painting. It is, perhaps, this careful replication of the work of one of France's great masters that lent the Laugier version its fame.

The very details which may have made Laugier's engraving famous and which support the theory that Laugier worked directly from David suggest that Delaroche did not, as Bann tentatively suggests, work from Laugier's engraving of David's *Napoleon in his Study*. As previously described, Delaroche idealizes Napoleon's face in his painting and depicts him in the blue-and-white uniform of the Imperial Guard Foot Grenadiers. In addition to the contrast between the youthful qualities of Delaroche's Napoleon and the more exhausted, middle-aged figure in the Laugier, the two faces show basic structural variations. The most telling differences between the two faces can be seen in the treatment of the hair, forehead, lips, and jaw. Delaroche clearly and dramatically defined the line of the jaw, giving the illusion of taut, youthful skin absent of the suggestion of the bloating seen in the Laugier. His painting shows no sign of the thin lips with downturned corners from the Laugier and instead portrays the Emperor's pout as a plump cupid's bow that curves almost imperceptibly upward. The line of Napoleon's forehead in the Delaroche painting, though it extends as high as its predecessor in the Laugier engraving, is deemphasized by the inclusion of a diagonal slash of hair that both gives the illusion of a lower hairline and echoes the slash of the Emperor's high cheekbone.

Indeed, the line of the cheekbone and that of the forehead merge together to create a smooth, elegant frame for the Emperor's face. The hair itself, as painted in Delaroche's work, has been, if not tamed, then smoothed. Laugier, in a faithful reproduction of the detail in David's work, shows the Emperor's hair tousled and unevenly textured.

Delaroche's depiction of the Emperor's face differs from the Laugier engraving, then, not only in its relatively youthful appearance, but also in its configuration of structural details. The idea that Delaroche, whose patron was so invested in historical accuracy, would use the basic composition and details of a source but not take advantage of an 'accurate' record of the Emperor's face is suspect. It is, therefore, more likely that Delaroche did not work from the Laugier engraving.

An etching (figure A8) produced by Philippe Josephe Auguste Vallot (1796-1870) may be his actual source. The two major discrepancies between Delaroche's painting and the images painted and engraved by David and Laugier, respectively, are the treatment of the Emperor's face and the costume he wears. Delaroche's decision to use the uniform of the Grenadiers in the painting may have been due, in part, to the intercession of Delaroche's patroness, for she secured the uniform pictured in the painting to ensure the authenticity of the painting. Nonetheless, whether the decision to use the blue and white uniform was the artist's or the patron's, the question of why, with the precedents of the second David painting featuring the green uniform and the Laugier engraving depicting the same green uniform, Delaroche's painting does not feature the green uniform still remains. Delaroche's decision to use the blue and white uniform in his composition—whether it was his own idea initially or that of his patroness—may be explained by the existence of the Vallot etching, which features an idealized Napoleon wearing his blue-

and-white uniform. This image, in its deviation from the Davidian precedent of the middle-aged, bloated Napoleon in a green uniform, is likely the source for Delaroche's 1838 painting.

It is not surprising that Vallot's engraving, no matter how similar it is to Delaroche's painting, has yet to enter into scholarship on the 1838 *Napoleon in his Study*. Posterity has been kind to neither Laugier nor Vallot, but the latter, especially, has fallen deep into the cracks of the art historical narrative. Some archival evidence of the etcher and engraver and his work does, however, survive. A frequent engraver of the works of Delaroche's master Gros, Vallot made his first debut at the Salon of 1838.³⁶ Even before 1838, however, his engravings enjoyed a great deal of popularity and Vallot himself found favor among the most influential members of the academy—including Delaroche's father-in-law Horace Vernet.³⁷ Documentary evidence of the exact date of Vallot's version of the *Study* is scarce, but at least one source, Henri Beraldi's *Les Graveurs du XIX^e Siècle*, dates the etching to 1834, one year before the earliest available dating of Laugier's engraving.³⁸ Several sources link Laugier's work to a print by the etcher and engraver Philippe Joseph-Auguste Vallot, among them Henri Beraldi's text.³⁹ This archival link between the two prints may account for Bann's tentative identification of Laugier's print as the source for Delaroche's image and Delaroche scholars' tendency to overlook the lesser-known Vallot.

The details of each print call the established link between Vallot and Laugier (that Laugier's print was done after Vallot's etching) into question, for the Vallot print differs from the Laugier print in many of the ways the Delaroche differs from the Laugier.⁴⁰ The Vallot etching uses the device of a line of dark shading to create the illusion of a taut,

youthful, jaw line. The Emperor's lower lip, as in the Delaroche painting and in contrast to the Laugier engraving, is full, his cheeks are smooth and unlined, and his hairline shows a smooth transition from the lock of hair at the front and the hair that lines the curve of his temple. The etching also narrows the Emperor's face, removing the illusion that the Emperor has put on weight in his middle-age. In sum, this portrait shows a much more youthful Emperor than the one that appears in the David and Laugier works.

Vallot's etching also shows Napoleon in his blue and white uniform, as in the Delaroche painting. When considered in combination with the fact that Vallot's proximity to Delaroche's mentor, Vernet, and master, Gros, these visual similarities between the Vallot and Delaroche and the difference between the Laugier and Vallot present a compelling case for Delaroche looking not only to printed images of Napoleon, but to Vallot's now-neglected engraving in particular while deciding how to portray his first Napoleonic subject.

The implications of Delaroche deciding—and being able—to work from an etching that idealizes the features of the deceased Napoleon are inescapably political in nature. In his study of how the legend of Napoleon manifested itself and persisted throughout nineteenth century France, Sudhir Hazareesingh notes that Napoleonic prints, because of their portable nature, occupied a unique space in the political world. Because they could travel, they acquired a popular, democratic power that could be harnessed to pass ideas quickly and effectively.⁴¹ Hazareesingh applies this idea to crude woodblock prints aimed at the lower class, but the same basic concepts can be applied to higher art prints that could be included in illustrated histories or hung on the walls of private middle class homes. The idea of privacy is central to an understanding of how these images

worked, for it was infinitely more difficult to bring the weight of official disapproval down on domestic spaces than on public institutions. A sense of community also arises from this privatization of Napoleonic images. An example can be found in the case of Delaroche's father-in-law Horace Vernet, who used his atelier as an informal meeting ground for Bonapartists and produced Napoleonic lithographs there during the Bourbon Restoration.⁴² To have access to these images, even during the July Monarchy, implied a familiarity with the Cult of Napoleon or the Bonapartist circle. In basing his version of David's celebrated painting on a printed reproduction of the same work, whether he had access to David's painted works or not, Delaroche revealed both his familiarity with the Bonapartist culture and his willingness to engage with a visual *milieu* that was geared toward affecting political change.

When subjecting it to close scrutiny, one can find a number of holes and assumptions in the—admittedly scant—scholarship on the relationship between the five images of *Napoleon in his Study* discussed here (David's two paintings, Vallot's etching, Laugier's engraving, and Delaroche's painting). As early as 1891 Henri Beraldi linked Laugier and Vallot's two printed versions of the subject together, suggesting that Laugier worked directly from Vallot. An examination of the details in the two prints, however, both suggests that Laugier did not work from Vallot, but also that Laugier worked directly from the second David painting rather than from a printed reproduction of the work. Laugier faithfully recreates the earlier master's treatment of Napoleon's face and costume, but Vallot softens the erstwhile Emperors's face and portrays him in the blue and white costume portrayed in David's first version of the work. More recently, Stephen Bann has suggested (though in a transparently speculative mode) that Delaroche worked

either from Laugier's engraving or from the second Davidian work itself. Delaroche's softening of Napoleon's facial features and his use of the blue and white, however, have more in common with Vallot's etching than Laugier's engraving or David's painting. Vallot's proximity, on a social level, to Delaroche also suggests his etching as a more likely source for Delaroche's painting than Laugier's engraving.

Previous scholarship, when not suggesting that Delaroche worked directly from one of David's two painted representations of the Emperor in his study, has traced a straightforward heritage for Delaroche's *Study* that began with David's original paintings and continued with Vallot's 1834 etching after which Laugier's engraving (1835), the ostensible inspiration for Delaroche's painting (1838), was modeled. It is more likely, however, that the second Davidian *Study* served as the original source for both Laugier and Vallot. Rather than continuing in a direct line, the 'pedigree' of Delaroche's painting shows a split. Laugier and Vallot represent two separate directions of development and Delaroche's work seems to have sprung from the tradition of Vallot's etching.

Delaroche's reliance on printed reproductions of David's original image, whether as a last recourse when without access to the original or for aesthetic preferences, reveals an actively political component to Delaroche's acceptance of Napoleonic commissions. His decision to draw from the work of Vallot, a printer who actively idealized and flattered not only the Emperor but the image of the Emperor as he was portrayed by David, when combined with his slavish attention to detail in the 1838 portrait, suggests that Delaroche actively sought, in completing this work, to flatter Napoleon. In doing so, whether to appease his patron or to express his own political opinions, he created a work

that elegantly intersects with imperial precedents and contemporary politics. The implications of this intersection will be explored in the following chapters of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

A 'GRAND HOMME' OR 'L'HOMME': HEROIC AND HUMANIZING VISIONS OF
NAPOLEON

From 1838 to the 1850s Delaroche produced multiple versions of three of his original Napoleonic compositions: *Napoleon in his Cabinet* (original ca. 1838; Figure A1) *Bonaparte Crossing the St. Bernard Pass* (original c.1848; Figure A2) and *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* (original c. 1840 or 1845; Figure A3).⁴³ We have already seen that one of these paintings, *Napoleon in his Cabinet*, possesses a wealth of historically correct detail—with notable exceptions. Delaroche's *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, however, lacks the strict emphasis on evoking historical reality that can be found in the artist's first Napoleonic composition. Though the painting references a specific moment in history—the Emperor sits in an otherwise empty room and contemplates whether to yield and declare his first abdication—there is no evidence that the exact scene it presents to the viewer ever took place. Rather than an attempt to capture a moment in history or to present records of historical objects, the painting shows an imagined and psychologically rich moment in the life of an historical figure. In this sense, it is more in line with portraits of the time than with contemporary history paintings.

Delaroche's depiction of the Emperor in a moment of intense psychological abstraction reveals the artist's interest in Napoleon as a man, not just the subject of a commission or a distant, untouchable historical figure. In the painting Napoleon sits in a darkened room that is decorated by red and gold wallpaper. He slumps in his chair and has not bothered to remove his overcoat or mud-splattered boots. An array of items connected to his administrative and militaristic activities surround him, but the truly

arresting feature of the painting is Napoleon's face. It is a complex blend of resolve and resignation that manifests itself in his furrowed brow and distant gaze. This emphasis on the inner life of Napoleon is not limited to Delaroche's *Fontainebleau*. All three of Delaroche's known, finished, compositions depicting the Emperor share not only an acute attention to detail, but also a deep concern in outwardly depicting the inner workings of Napoleon's mind in a way that simultaneously humanizes and heroicizes the Emperor.⁴⁴ This tension between the tendency to humanize and to heroicize Napoleon mirrors a larger trend in French visual (and other) culture during the middle portion of the nineteenth century that can be tied to the "Great Man Theory." This practice contributed, in part, to a rising interest in Napoleon as an individual.

These discussions about how Napoleon, as an individual, fit into the pantheon of "Great Men" were contemporaneous with the rise of a multitude of biographies that delved into the deepest and most intimate corners of the former Emperor's life. After Louis-Philippe's relaxation of censorship laws designed to suppress Napoleonic imagery, authors, engravers, and publishers scrambled to produce the most attractive biographies of the Emperor possible. Among the biographies produced during this rush to historicize and anthologize the life of the Emperor was a richly bound and painstakingly illustrated tome written by Laurent de l'Ardeche (1793-1877) entitled *L'Histoire de Napoléon*. Ardeche's biography both narrates and illustrates scenes from Napoleon's private life alongside scenes from his public endeavors—both militaristic and political. Along with a wide sea of visual culture in the form of paintings and popular engravings that increasingly portrayed the Emperor as an accessible and familiar figure, this illustrated

biography and others like it created the visual *milieu* in which Delaroche created his Napoleonic paintings.

Perhaps because of the careful detail and historical research involved in Delaroche's depictions of Napoleon I, art historians have interpreted these portraits as history paintings first and portraits second. Their overwhelming emphasis on the psychology of the Emperor and his presence as an individual, however, suggest that they are better read as psychological studies or portraits. The prevalence of imagery connected to the Napoleonic cult of personality in combination with the deeply felt pathos of these paintings suggests that Delaroche's images can be read as emblematic of the artist's genuine interest in the psychology of the Emperor and as proof of the artist's interest in contemporary Napoleonic print culture. On the whole, Delaroche's portraits of Napoleon Bonaparte, especially *Napoleon Crossing the Alps* and *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, reflect July Monarchy France's fascination with the person of the Emperor in their emphasis on representing psychological reality and their references to contemporary prints that celebrated the Emperor as a 'Great Man' as well as an accessible individual.

To classify all of Delaroche's Napoleonic subjects as portraits may seem, at first, a misstep. An examination of discourses from the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries surrounding the "Great Man Theory" and how "Great Men" should be represented shows, however, that Delaroche's Napoleonic paintings, even the historically specific *Napoleon Crossing the St. Bernard Pass*, fall into the tradition of "Great Man" portraits rather than the tradition of history painting. In his still-vital 1957 article "D'Angiviller's Grands Hommes and the Significant Moment," Francis H. Dowley examines trends of representing "Great Men" in eighteenth-century France. He pays

particular attention to the series of statues commissioned by the Duke D'Angiviller. In his discussion of one of Houdon's contributions to the series, a 1781 statue of the Marshal of Tourville, he notes that Houdon elected to select a significant moment from the life of the Marshal of Tourville rather than presenting him in a moment of timeless classical stoicism. He notes that this decision was typical of treatments of "Great Men." Dowley later identifies an instance of the resurgence of this trend nearly a century later in the statuary work of David d'Angers, a contemporary of Delaroche.⁴⁵ There is, then, a continuity in the depiction of "Great Men" that may explain the tension between mores of portraiture and history painting in Delaroche's paintings of Napoleon.

Dowley's juxtaposes d'Angers's statues of great men against mid-nineteenth century modes of portraiture and in doing so provides an enlightening contrast for scholars of Delaroche's Napoleonic paintings. He reveals two warring impulses that each find their way into Delaroche's works, making the paintings uniquely appropriate for an audience that sought to bring itself ever closer to the person of Napoleon while simultaneously reveling in the memory of the glory he brought to France. David d'Angers's decision to portray heroes in the midst of a significant moment from their history reflects a desire to educate one's audience about the importance of the men depicted. However, in portraying only one aspect of these figures, he reduced them to one-dimensional characters, an impulse that was at-odds with contemporary practices of representation in portraiture, even if it did answer Voltaire's century-old call for action in portraits. Dowley suggests that in contemporary portraiture practices, "it is apparent that the emphasis is on completeness, repose, and habitual attitudes, rather than on the momentary impressions, even if the latter are more vivid and immediate."⁴⁶ Moments of

rest, as per Dowley's argument, are privileged above moments of action because they are more habitual and, thus, more indicative of the complete character of the sitter or subject. In Delaroche's paintings of Napoleon, one sees both the inward absorption and stillness that characterizes the dominant portraiture paradigm of the mid-nineteenth century and an interest in capturing significant moments in Napoleon's personal history. In the *Cabinet*, Napoleon is caught in the middle of working on his administrative code. The *St. Bernard Pass* shows Napoleon crossing the Alps at the beginning of the second Italian Campaign. The *Fontainebleau* shows the moments before Napoleon's abdication. Each painting portrays a distinct, significant moment in the life of the sitter, but, no matter how dramatic the moment, Napoleon—as the sole focus in each painting despite the inclusion of other figures—is shown in repose and deep reflection. For this reason, Delaroche's Napoleonic images can be understood as a collection of three portraits rather than two portraits and a related history painting.

While an attitude of reflection seems at home in *Cabinet* and *Fontainebleau*, its presence in the *St. Bernard Pass* is jarring and, thus, all the more enlightening. Delaroche's *St. Bernard Pass* reveals the extent to which the artist's Napoleonic paintings both glorify the imperial and consular past and seek to present a humanized image of Napoleon. While critics reacted favorably, overall, to Delaroche's earlier Napoleonic subjects, the critical response to his take on the famous Davidian theme of Napoleon crossing the Alps was not positive.⁴⁷ A critic writing for the London periodical the *Athenaeum* suggested that Delaroche was incapable of adequately portraying Bonaparte's glory, because the painting lacked the drama of the Davidian original. In the context of the tradition of portraying "Great Men" coming into conflict

with contemporary portraiture practices, however, Delaroche's 'failure' to adopt an air of Napoleonic excess can be understood as an effective mediation of glorification and humanization. As in Houdon and d'Angers's statues, Delaroche has shown a "Great Man" in a pivotal moment in his career that helps to explain that man's importance. Derin Tanyol has noted that Napoleon's expression is unsuited for the situation in which he finds himself.⁴⁸ Rather than portraying Napoleon with an expression and focus that would be fitting for a man mere inches from the edge of a precipice, Delaroche has shown Napoleon in a state of melancholic abstraction in line with the mood of the previous two portraits. Delaroche has sought to capture the "entire" Napoleon by focusing on the inner psychological reality of the General in much the way that contemporary portrait painters attempted to transcribe, visually, the entire personality of their sitters onto canvas.

The tension between capturing a glorious moment in Napoleon's history and bringing a fully realized portrait of the man himself to the fore reflects—and was likely inspired by—two trends in the popular conception of Napoleon: the tendency to hold Napoleon up as a symbol of the glory of France and to remember him as an accessible man of the people. These two tendencies manifested themselves in the print culture of the 1820s through 1840s. The first trend may have arisen from a general sense of malaise that permeated the young men of France during the Restoration and beyond and can be seen in Alfred de Musset's *Confessions of a Child of the Century*. After describing the Empire as a time of vivid, desperate life and boundless, shining glory, Musset describes the generation that grew up against the backdrop of imperial glory and 'glorious' war but who did not reach adulthood in time to serve the *grande armée*:

A feeling of extreme uneasiness began to ferment in all young hearts. Condemned to inaction by the powers which governed the world, delivered to vulgar pedants of every kind, to idleness and to ennui, the youth saw the foaming billows which they had prepared to meet, subside. All these gladiators, glistening with oil, felt in the bottom of their souls an insupportable wretchedness. The richest became libertines; those of moderate fortune followed some profession and resigned themselves to the sword or to the robe. The poorest gave themselves up with cold enthusiasm to great thoughts, plunged into the frightful sea of aimless effort. As human weakness seeks association and as men are herds by nature, politics became mingled with it. There were struggles with the *garde du corps* on the steps of the legislative assembly; at the theater, Talma wore a peruke which made him resemble Caesar; every one flocked to the burial of a liberal deputy.

But of the members of the two parties there was not one who, upon returning home, did not bitterly realize the emptiness of his life and the feebleness of his hands.⁴⁹

De Musset, writing in a semi-autobiographical mode, expresses a sense of restlessness and personal uselessness among the young men of France that caused them to long for the glory days of Napoleon's Empire. In his recent biography of Napoleon, Steven Englund discusses the importance of glory for the first imperial period in France. He notes that under Napoleon, "...Paris, for the first time really, was the center of the civilized world...the self-proclaimed rival of Rome, 'the envy of the nations...'"⁵⁰ and that the public was dazzled by the proliferation of bright, extravagant scenes and stately military uniforms. In both Englund's history and the historically-minded introduction to De Musset's novel, French imperial glory is synonymous with the success of the military and the success of Napoleon.

A mid-century explosion of Napoleonic imagery, literature, and paraphernalia stands as evidence of the second trend that has left its stamp on Delaroche's painting: France's growing interest in acquiring intimate, humanizing knowledge of the Emperor as a man—not as a General or Emperor. Even before the July Revolution, writers and

historians with Napoleonic and Bonapartist sympathies began publishing multi-volume works dedicated to sustaining and enriching the Napoleonic legend. These works often included information from the memoirs published by Napoleon's companions on St. Helena, but were drastically different works, for they delved not only into the Emperor's battles, but into his personal life and even his childhood. In his introduction to a collection of essays on Napoleon, David A. Bell notes that the "sense of Napoleon as a distinctly modern, unique, novelistic character is one of the crucial factors that enduringly shaped his image. . . ."⁵¹ Though Bell refers, in this introductory essay, to actual novels and the Emperor's memoirs, his observation applies to biographies of Napoleon, as well.

A notable example of these biographies, and one closely tied, I believe, to Delaroche's Napoleonic projects, is Laurent de l'Ardeche's *L'Histoire de Napoleon*. The biography was first published in Paris in 1839, less than a year before the return of Napoleon's ashes to France. In his biography of Napoleon, Ardeche, a proud Bonapartist, provides readers with an exhaustive, 832 page tome that delves into every detail—public and private, great and small—of the Emperor's life.⁵² The work enjoyed immediate success when it was published and, within a handful of years, was translated into German, English, Danish, and Spanish.⁵³ Much of the work's success can be attributed to the popularity of the Napoleonic legend, but the importance of the history's illustrations to its popularity should not be overlooked. Little scholarly attention has been paid, thus far, to the implications of these illustrations. In a dissertation published in 1997, Viola Duwert carefully traces many of the sources for the illustrations but seldom ventures into an interpretive mode.⁵⁴ A deeper examination of L'Ardeche's illustrated history can be found in Maurice Samuels's *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in*

Nineteenth-Century France. Samuels focuses, however, on the interaction between the text and select few images and suggests that the anecdotal nature of the images mirrors a new way of experiencing history that diverges from grand scenes and moments.⁵⁵ The biography's illustrations, however, deserve attention in and of themselves. The volume is richly illustrated with engravings of original works by Horace Vernet, one of the most famous painters of the age and, of great interest in the context of this study, Delaroche's father-in-law. These designs range from complex reproductions of some of Vernet's publically exhibited paintings to printed versions of intimate drawings based on the Emperor's life that were produced in secret during the Bourbon Restoration.⁵⁶ Supplemental portraits were provided by another Napoleon enthusiast, the artist and engraver Hipolyte Bellange.⁵⁷ Both the text and its illustrations delve deeply into the life of their subject and in doing so, position the work as an invaluable source of information about how Napoleon was discussed and portrayed among the adepts of the Napoleonic cult in mid-nineteenth century France.

The images Vernet provided for the illustration of Ardeche's work match the text in their variety and attention to the minute details of Napoleon's life, legend, and accomplishments. Two dominant trends that echo Delaroche's *Napoleon Crossing the Alps*, however, reveal themselves in Vernet's series of illustrations: the glorification of Napoleon's deeds and an insistence upon portraying 'Napoleon the man.' This first trend is, perhaps, best seen in the engraving of Vernet's vignette of *The Bridge of Arcole* (figure A9). In the engraving, Bonaparte, a svelte, heroic, and handsome young general, charges across the famed bridge. As in Gros's famous depiction, Bonaparte looks back behind his shoulder, but in Vernet's image the General's mouth is open—he actively

shouts to his troops to follow him. More differences can be found in the overall compositions of the images. In Gros's painting, the viewer is presented only with the General. No details distract from the portrait. Vernet's version of the scene, departing from the example of the earlier painting, shows not only the General's body, but his surroundings, as well. The viewer sees the bridge across which he races; the soldier who has already fallen to enemy fire; the as-yet unharmed soldiers who surge forward, following their commander. This more complete vision of the battle scene, though it lacks some of the psychological weight of Gros's painting, heightens the miraculous nature of the (inaccurate) story of General Bonaparte fearlessly leading his troops across the bridge and into enemy fire without suffering injury. The viewer, in noting the low handrails of the bridge and the open space left around the body of the General, is aware of the vulnerability of his position and, thus, all the more astounded by Bonaparte's survival. Here, in Vernet's image, one finds another example of adherence to the traditional forms of representing "Great Men" that influenced the work of David d'Angers.

The second trend that dominates Vernet's illustrations, the tendency toward humanizing Napoleon and making him more accessible, on a personal level, to the viewer, can be seen in the many and varied images Vernet produced of people—whether citizens, soldiers, or Napoleon's friends and family—touching the Emperor. These images present a drastic departure from imperial-era images of the Emperor that consistently isolate Napoleon in space, portraying him, as in the notable example of Ingres's *Napoleon I on his Imperial Throne* (1806) as an untouchable, super-human figure. In Vernet's images various figures from Napoleon's life and legend embrace him;

help him into carriages; attack him; clutch his hand while kneeling at his feet; kiss him. He even has his feet washed (figure A10). This insistence upon portraying the act of touching Napoleon—especially in the case of the vignette of army doctors washing his feet found on page 494 of an American edition of the text—brings to mind the story of the doubt of St. Thomas, who insisted upon touching Jesus’s wounds to convince himself of the martyr’s resurrection.⁵⁸ The necessity of touch for an indisputable knowledge of reality that runs through the biblical story may be at work in Vernet’s “touch” compositions. As Barbara Ann Day-Hickman notes in her 1999 book *Napoleonic Art*, it was not unusual for Napoleon to be discussed in the same terms or portrayed in the same forms as saints and holy figures.⁵⁹ The act of touching Napoleon, as it is portrayed by Vernet, functions as a way for the individuals shown touching him to demonstrate their knowledge of the ‘reality’ of Napoleon. The viewer, upon seeing their seemingly untouchable, miraculously invincible idol touched, likewise gains near-visceral knowledge of his reality and humanity.

Vernet’s interest in portraying Napoleon as a knowable, human being—no matter how charismatic or inspiring—mirrored a widespread trend among the people of France to speak, act, and think as if Napoleon still walked among them. More specifically, it fell in line with the tendency of French people simultaneously to conceptualize Napoleon as both a religious force and a man of and accessible to the people. The push and pull of French thinking about Napoleon as both a man and quasi-religious in the decades surrounding Vernet’s—and Delaroche’s—production of Napoleonic imagery can be seen in a quote from the German poet Heinrich Heine. Heine writes that:

in the same way as the Jews do not pronounce the name of their God unless necessary, Napoleon is here rarely designated by his name; he is always called

‘the man’; but his image is everywhere... On the boulevards and on the crossroads stand a large number of speakers who celebrate the memory of ‘the man’, and popular singers who recall his exploits. Last night, passing through an obscure little street to return home, I saw a child, barely three years of age, sitting on the ground in front of a small illuminated tallow candle; he was mumbling a song to the glory of the great Emperor.”⁶⁰

Heine’s quote reveals both the ubiquitous, god-like quality of Napoleon’s image and memory in the 1830s as well as the idea of him as “the man.” This particular choice of phrase, rather than “the general” or “the Emperor” mirrors the trend in biographies and art of the period of that presented the Emperor as an approachable individual—a citizen of France who embodied the spirit of the people.

Heine’s quote also has much in common with a group of images produced during the 1820s and 1830s that depicted the Emperor in the care and company of the common people and which seem to have had an impact on Delaroche’s Napoleonic imagery. Both Heine’s quote and these images reveal the importance the French people attributed to the memory of Napoleon—and how that importance was translated into the visual and popular culture of nineteenth-century France. An example of such works can be seen in 1830’s *The Postilion’s Silhouette Drawing* (figure A11) by Hippolyte Bellangé. Bellangé, an accomplished artist and print maker, engraved and etched high-quality prints of his own designs. His most famous designs frequently featured humanizing images of Napoleon.⁶¹ *The Postilion’s Silhouette Drawing* is no exception. In the engraving, the Emperor is shown drowsing in his chair after a meal. A candle, obscured from view by the hat of a soldier on the verge of slumber, casts Napoleon’s shadow on the wall. A young boy traces the general’s silhouette, creating a permanent record of the ephemeral shadow. The juxtaposition of the shadow with the person of Napoleon draws the viewer’s attention to the corporality of Napoleon’s body in comparison to the insubstantiality of

his image—the shadow on the wall. Bellangé’s print, then, serves as a metaphorical depiction of contemporary attempts to reconcile the human Napoleon with whom the French people sought to identify with the glorious, legendary figure that also captured their imagination. The use of the silhouette also references the popularity of that form in the nineteenth century. In *Silhouettes*, Emma Rutherford notes the importance of silhouettes in capturing an individual’s true appearance.⁶² In portraying the child drawing Napoleon’s silhouette, Bellangé alludes to a deep-seated desire, in French culture, to recapture Napoleon and to know him as an individual rather than as a legend. Bellangé’s print, then, struggles with the exact same issues that manifest in Delaroche’s *Napoleon Crossing the St. Bernard pass*.

It is not surprising that Delaroche’s work should resonate with themes in the work of Bellangé for, along with Vernet’s work, the engraver’s Napoleonic images seem to have acted as a major inspiration for another of Delaroche’s Napoleonic paintings, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* (ca.1840-1845). While Delaroche’s *Napoleon Crossing the St. Bernard Pass* can be connected to an interest, amongst the Napoleonic cult, in glorifying Napoleon’s deeds, his *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* falls more in line with the tendency, as in Bellangé’s engravings and Vernet’s designs, to bring the Emperor’s humanity to the fore. The connection between the ideological underpinnings of Delaroche’s work and that of Bellangé and Vernet becomes apparent, first, in the form of Delaroche’s portrait of *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*. As in the earlier *Napoleon in his Study*, Bonaparte, seated in a chair and lit by a window just outside the frame of the painting, easily dominates the scene. Delaroche has shown Napoleon on the verge of abdicating his throne and declaring defeat after the battle of Leipzig, the battle

responsible, ultimately, for Napoleon's first exile to the small island of Elba.

Surprisingly, his expression here is decidedly less vulnerable than in the portraits Delaroche set earlier in the Emperor's career. The artist has given Napoleon's stare an intensity that is quite different from the inward gaze of the *Bonaparte Crossing the St. Bernard Pass* and *Napoleon in his Study*. His brows are furrowed and his mouth is drawn into a grim line, but he retains his composure. His slouched posture, in combination with this intense gaze, seems less like an expression of exhausted defeat than a confident challenge to posterity. Delaroche has painted the Emperor in isolation—no attendants crowd around him or disturb his thoughts. The dramatic lighting casts half his face in shadow, a detail that alludes to the dark times in which the Emperor finds himself.

Delaroche's decision to depict the Emperor alone, in a state of intense concentration is unprecedented in images of the first abdication at Fontainebleau. Elements of its composition, however, can be found in the works of Vernet and Bellangé. The Emperor's slouched posture has been taken almost directly from *The Postilion's Silhouette Drawing*. In both images the Emperor, paunchy and dressed in his signature uniform, *rendigot gris*, and riding boots slouches into an armchair in a darkened room. While the light sources in each room differ—a candle throws Napoleon's shadow onto the wall in Bellangé's engraving while the Emperor's face is cast in shadow by natural light coming in from a window in Delaroche's painting, both place the Emperor's face in equal obscurity. A more immediate link can be found between Delaroche's painting and one of Vernet's illustrations of Ardeche's *Histoire de Napoléon*. The illustration in question (figure A12) is a striking vignette of the young general Bonaparte sitting alone in a throne-like chair. His legs are crossed, his hand rests on his chin, and, as is the case

in the Delaroche portrait, a curtain and end table frame his figure. An obvious connection can be drawn between the material trappings and pose of Napoleon in the two images, but the most striking similarity between the two images is the dramatic psychological intensity of the two portraits. While Delaroche's painting may have borrowed the costume and stance of Napoleon from Bellangé's engraving, its true forerunner is Vernet's vignette, for in both images Napoleon is every inch the Romantic hero. There is the man of which Byron wrote in Canto 3 of his *Childe Harold's*

Pilgrimage:

But Quiet to quick bosoms is a Hell,
And *there* hath been thy bane; there is a fire
And Motion of the Soul which will not dwell
In its own narrow being, but aspire
Beyond the fitting medium of desire;
Preys upon high adventure, nor can tire
Of aught but rest; a fever to the Core,
Fatal to him who bears, to all who ever bore.⁶³

Byron, whose poetry had acquired a strong following in France of the mid-nineteenth century, describes Napoleon as a being doomed by his own ambition and energy. In Vernet's engraving, though Byron deems Napoleon incapable of it in later cantos of his epic, Napoleon seems absorbed in a moment of reflection that though quiet, bursts with energy. Frantic, cross-hatched lines radiate from the young general's head and the strong contrast of the shadows that obscure his eyes stand in stark, jarring contrast with pale skin of his thin, skull-like face. Vernet's Napoleon is a Byronic, brooding figure who finds its match in Delaroche's Napoleon. As in Vernet's engraving, Delaroche's Napoleon broods inwardly. Though the figure of the Emperor is still, Delaroche has followed the example of Vernet in using the setting to communicate the agitation of Napoleon's mind. The deep, blood red of the wall paper yields to decorative gold laurel elements that, in

addition to symbolizing Napoleon's role as Emperor, add visual variety and a busy rhythm to the background of the painting. The dark red of the background and its busy ornamentation echo the expressive hatching of Vernet's engraving. Delaroche also replicates effects that contribute an aura of brooding intensity to Vernet's image in its shadowing of Napoleon's eyes and one half of his face.

Delaroche, in his portraits of Napoleon, draws heavily from themes and forms from the work of Horace Vernet and Hippolyte Bellangé, two artists known to have Napoleonic sympathies. The strong similarities between Delaroche's *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* and Vernet's image of the brooding General Bonaparte, in particular, suggest that one of his primary sources was Laurent de l'Ardeche's *Histoire de Napoleon*. The link between Delaroche's *Fontainebleau* and Ardeche's biography, a work that sought to humanize Napoleon for its readers while simultaneously glorifying his deeds, suggests that Delaroche's paintings can be understood as a manifestation of the people of France's intense devotion to the cult of the memory of the Emperor. *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, in its emphasis on the psychological intensity of the Emperor, is emblematic of a contemporary desire to connect with the Emperor on a visceral level. *Napoleon Crossing the St. Bernard Pass*, in its seemingly discordant combination of a troubled, reflective Napoleon with the much-celebrated crossing of the Alps during the second Italian Campaign, is a visual manifestation of the two dueling trends that characterize the Cult of Napoleon in mid-nineteenth century France.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RETURN OF THE EMPEROR: THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF
 DELAROCHE'S *NAPOLEON AT FONTAINEBLEAU* DURING THE LATTER YEARS
 OF THE JULY MONARCHY

“It is undeniable that this entire ceremony had the conspicuous quality of sleight-of-hand. The government seemed to be afraid of the phantom it was conjuring up. They seemed to display and hide Napoléon at the same time. Everything which would have been too grand or too moving was obscured. The real and the imposing were concealed under wraps....”⁶⁴

In 1841, under the reign of the July Monarch Louis-Philippe, Napoleon's remains returned to France after resting on the island of St. Helena for twenty years after the Emperor's death. The return of Napoleon's remains was the culmination of the work of over a decade of pressure from Bonapartists intellectuals such as Victor Hugo and the concentrated effort, over approximately a year, of Adolphe Thiers.⁶⁵ Though the *retour des cendres*, as it is known in Napoleonic scholarship and legend, had the official approval of Louis-Philippe, the king of the French's government feared that the event would open the floodgates of Revolution. This fear resulted, according to Victor Hugo comments in the quotation above, in a ceremony characterized by pomp and grandeur but lacking in any real emotional effect. As has already been discussed in this study, the memory of Napoleon the man was a potent force in the hearts and minds of the French public. It could bring forth, simultaneously, the memory of glory and—more troubling for Louis-Philippe—the Revolution. In Hugo's mind and, perhaps, the mind of Louis-Philippe and his government, the un-obscured view of Napoleon's coffin might, then, inspire the public to uphold the man's legacy of championing the Revolution.

The idea of Napoleon as a Revolutionary hero is a strange one given his reputation for despotism and his tendency, in governing, to emulate an absolute monarch rather than a champion of the people. This tendency to overlook the harsher realities of Napoleon's rule is in part due to the practice among pro-Bonapartist (or at least anti-monarchist) artists portraying Napoleon as a romanticized and heroic figure. These images usually showed Napoleon in his guise of *le petit corporal*. During this period the image of Napoleon in his famous bicorn, *rendigote grise* and simple soldier's uniform became the most influential template for portraying the Emperor, in part because it emphasized Napoleon's role as a soldier of the Revolution.

The image of Napoleon as *le petit corporal* was not, however, used exclusively in the Revolutionary works that threatened the July Monarchy. The July Monarchy government itself also appropriated the image of Napoleon the soldier (in addition to Napoleon in other guises) into its system of propaganda. This project involved incorporating Napoleonic imagery into the regime's propaganda. As Louis-Philippe became less popular, this Napoleonic propaganda in service of the Orléanists became less laudatory of Napoleon and more controlling. It also often restricted the resonance of Napoleon's image to more innocuous meanings.

Victor Hugo's scathing review of the handling of Napoleon's funeral is a fairly accurate gauge of how successful Louis-Philippe's attempts to control the memory of Napoleon in the minds of the French people turned out to be. The return of Napoleon's body to France was the physical counterpart of the return of Napoleon's image to the world of French politics that had occurred nearly a decade before. While Napoleonic imagery had persisted even during the Bourbon Restoration, the Orléanist removal of

sanctions against Napoleon's image led to a large-scale resurrection of Napoleon in the form of biographies, paintings, and prints that could finally be sold and displayed legally. These offerings molded Napoleon into a man of the people; *le petit corporal* who was accessible to his people and troops and to whom imperial regalia was practically foreign. This Napoleon became a convenient symbol of the Revolution of 1789 and was used to inspire the French to consider a new Revolution.

In the 1830s and 1840s, then, the image of Napoleon was a multivalent symbol that could be used both as a monarchist tool of control and as a Revolutionary symbol. Despite Louis-Phillipe's attempts to codify the iconography of Napoleon in a way that served the monarchy, the Emperor's image remained a shifting—and thus dangerous—symbol that could be used as a weapon against the Orléanist monarchy. The unsettled and unsettling nature of the image of Napoleon influenced both popular prints and high art. Delaroche, an artist known for his thoughtfulness, painstaking research, and interest in capturing historical moments, seems to have been consciously aware of this trend when he painted *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* (Figure A3, 1840/1845). His awareness of the trends of Napoleonic representation also seems to be more than academic, for the pathos of his Napoleon implies that Delaroche felt deeply affected by the subject matter. Because of Delaroche's proximity to avowed Bonapartist Horace Vernet, his clear awareness of Bonapartist-friendly works, and the overarching theme of Napoleon's imminent return in the painting, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* can be interpreted as a politically Bonapartist work.

It is not difficult to understand, at first glance, why art historian Stephen Bann has interpreted *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* as a pseudo self-portrait heavily influenced by the

emotional upheaval that Delaroche suffered upon the death of his wife Louise in 1845.⁶⁶ Dark shadows, gloomily subdued reds, and the figure of the seated, freshly-defeated Napoleon dominate the composition. Delaroche had been commissioned, either in 1840 by the Maison Goupil or 1845 by a German collector, to portray the Emperor on the verge of abdicating his throne following the battle of Leipzig.⁶⁷ The picture, then, ostensibly revolves around the theme of defeat. However, a closer inspection of the composition complicates this narrative. Napoleon, positioned in the center of the canvas, sits upon an elegant but simple chair. He has cast off his hat and sword and stares into the distance, completely absorbed in his own thoughts. Far from seeming weak, however, his presence fills, literally, the space. Though various emblems of his career such as the Code Napoleon, a sword, the famous bicorn hat, and laurel wreaths in the wallpaper surround him, the bright light that hits the Emperor's uniform and face make it clear that the man himself takes precedence over the trappings of his career. Even beyond that, the emphasis on Napoleon's face and body reveals a steely determination that belies the gloomy air of the composition. Though he has been defeated, but the Emperor is determined to return to power.

To appreciate fully the novelty and resonance of Delaroche's portrait of Napoleon, it is necessary to examine the visual culture of the July Monarchy. Some of the most prominent examples of Napoleonic imagery from the July Monarchy were commissioned by the Louis-Philippe himself and will be discussed later in this study. In his book *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848*, Michael Marrinan interprets Louis-Philippe's incorporation of Napoleonic imagery into a largely consistent exercise in simultaneously glorifying Napoleon's military deeds while

highlighting his despotism as a ruler. The *Galerie des Batailles*, which features battle paintings from the span of French history from 495 to 1809, is the most notable example of the glorification of Napoleon's military victories. A contrast to this pro-Napoleon cycle can be found in another of Louis-Philippe's commissions. The centerpiece in Marrinan's analysis of Louis-Philippe's treatment of the imperial image of Napoleon is the decoration of the Salle du Sacre.⁶⁸ The Salle du Sacre, Marrinan suggests, is a separate but complementary portion of Louis-Philippe's strategy in its presentation of Napoleon as a "strong-armed leader" whose career was marked by increasingly outrageous acquisitions of power.⁶⁹ Barbara Ann Day-Hickman, in *Napoleonic Art*, suggests that these two drastically different approaches to depicting Napoleon in Orleanist propaganda represents, instead, a change in the political position of both the Bonapartists and Louis-Philippe over time. The earlier soldierly Napoleon, she suggests, was far too dangerous to promote in an age on the verge of Revolution and the administrative Napoleon was much safer.⁷⁰ It is worth noting that, if Day-Hickman's interpretation is accurate, Delaroche did not begin painting until after the monarchy stopped commissioning paintings of Napoleon in soldierly garb. Despite their differing interpretations of the Louis-Philippe's relationship with Napoleonic imagery, Day-Hickman and Marrinan do share one common point. Both demonstrate that Louis-Philippe took great care to separate the image of Napoleon the soldier from the image of Napoleon the Statesman and Emperor.

Louis-Philippe's official image of Napoleon the soldier has much in common, in terms of the physical treatment of the Emperor, with *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*. Both wear the same clothing and sport the same relatively portly figure. It would not be

inaccurate to suggest that many July Monarchy portraits of Napoleon in the guise of *le petit corporal* are more flattering than Delaroche's portrait. Where Delaroche painted *le petit corporal* in a state of defeat, Louis-Philippe consistently had the artists in his employ portray Napoleon the soldier as indomitable. A notable example is Horace Vernet's *Battle of Wagram* (figure A13, 1836). Vernet's work is one of the many Napoleonic battle scenes that Louis-Philippe had installed in the *galerie des batailles*. The painting shows Napoleon sitting on a horse while surveying the battlefield of Wagram. He lifts a spyglass to his right eye while handing a map to one of his attendants. He is alert, active, and every inch the general. He also lacks the paunch of the Napoleon who prepares to abdicate in Delaroche's painting. For all this, however, the painting may not be able to be interpreted as more favorable to Napoleon than Delaroche's work, for Vernet's Napoleon also lacks, along with the paunch, the psychological intensity and overwhelming personality present in Delaroche's painting. This is *le petit corporal* reduced to one facet and one only: the soldier. Though attended by his men, he ignores them. Indeed, the manner in which he passes the map to the lunging soldier has more in common with a master's treatment of a slave than the caring officer who troops considered a father figure. Marrinan has suggested that the July Monarchy aimed to "annex the image of the *petit corporal*" and to "commemorate Napoléon in as politically inert a manner as possible without alienating the chauvinism surrounding his memory."⁷¹ Vernet's painting, then, is part of a wider strategy to glorify Napoleon's place in leading France to military victory while robbing the image of *le petit corporal* of its popular associations.

Where Louis-Philippe's administration presented Napoleon the soldier as cold and distant from his troops, they presented Napoleon the politician as coldly calculating and determined to acquire ever greater power. Marrinan aptly demonstrates the political expediency behind Louis-Philippe's decision to commission a painting that highlights the political machinations behind the 18th Brumaire coup that first afforded Napoleon political power. The painting in question, by Francois Bouchot, is called *Napoleon and the Council of Five Hundred at St. Cloud on the 18th of Brumaire, 9 Nov. 1799*. (Figure A14, 1840) The painting shows the moment in which Napoleon first burst into the chambers on the Cinq-Cents. Napoleon is shown, essentially, as a traitor of the Revolutionary government. He is also a divisive force, for his dark blue uniform and those of the troops protecting his calm, disdainful figure drive a visual wedge in between the two halves of the delegates. Marrinan aptly notes that:

while the Bouchot cut through the mythology of the 18 Brumaire, it also adjusted history to portray the event as a vivid and unequivocal confrontation between the constitutionally elected representatives of the nation and the enterprising soldier of fortune who knew that military might was on his side.⁷²

Though it is not clear whether Bouchot might have seen Vernet's brooding Napoleon print or understood the radical militaristic resonance of it, it is interesting to note that the forceful, militaristic Napoleon who abuses power in this image wears the same uniform as in the Vernet print. Whether Bouchot or Louis-Philippe knew the Vernet print or not, it is reasonably clear that the artist and patron worked together to portray Napoleon, here the Revolutionary upstart, as a tyrant. The political Napoleon, in the imagery of the July Monarchy, was illegitimate, power-hungry, and a threat to the stability of France.

Marrinan and Day-Hickman's analyses of Orléanist Napoleonic imagery reveal a key component of official use of Napoleonic imagery that differentiates it from the

popular images of Napoleon favored by Bonapartists and Revolutionary circles. The Napoleon of July Monarchy propaganda was made to represent specific aspects of the man's history in equally specific settings. Part of the danger of Napoleon as a symbol was that he could be adapted for use by various groups in various contexts. By attempting to reduce Napoleon to one or two facets of his career—administrative and militaristic—Louis-Philippe and his government sought to defuse the incendiary side of Napoleon—his Revolutionary connotations and legacy of glory. The image of *le petit corporal*, in particular, was a Revolutionary symbol that could not be overturned (for fear of angering the Bonapartists), but could be adjusted to better suit the monarchy's needs.

Louis-Philippe's insistence upon controlling the image of Napoleon—especially in his guise as a common soldier—arose in part as a response to popular uses of Napoleon's *petit corporal* persona as a Revolutionary rallying symbol. An 1824 print by Nicolas Charlet, *'Is it True, as they Say, that Things are Going so Badly?'* (Figure A15), is one of the earlier post-imperial images of Napoleon as a hero of the people. It is also a stark contrast to the cold, dismissive image of Napoleon that Louis-Philippe commissioned Vernet to paint for the *galerie des batailles*. Though he lacks the *rendigot gris*, Napoleon wears the bicorn hat and simple grenadier uniform that became inseparable from Napoleon's image. In the print Napoleon rides a horse through the streets of Paris. He has stopped, however, to lean down and listen to the concerns of the citizens of Paris. He occupies the center of the composition and is surrounded by French citizens who literally look up to him. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this image in comparison with July Monarchy images is the level of access the crowd has to Napoleon. Frequently, as in Charlet's print, Napoleon allows himself to be folded into crowds of

French citizens. He is among the people, even if he is slightly above them. This visual strategy, more than any other, best reflects the Bonapartist appropriation of the Napoleonic legend as an inherently populist myth. As political discontent with the July Monarchy grew, the working class grew more desperate, and the wealthy continued to prosper at the expense of laborers, Revolution became a matter of the economic classes battling.⁷³ The soon-to-be Revolutionaries' decision to rally behind Napoleon was a sign that Napoleon had been accepted as a hero of both the Revolution and the people.

In contrast to the reductive qualities of much of the state-sanctioned Napoleonic imagery of the period, popular images of the Emperor tended to combine the iconographic elements of multiple Napoleonic personas into one image. In these images he was at once the Romantic hero, a Revolutionary, a simple man of the people, an Emperor, and a saint. Napoleon might adopt one or even all of these personalities in the works of Revolutionary-minded artists working outside of Louis-Philippe's patronage. Horace Vernet himself, when not painting sterilized images of Napoleon for the July Monarchy, created images in which Napoleon was saint, hero, intellectual, statesman, and soldier all at once. He was not the only one to depict Napoleon in this way. Day-Hickman's study of Napoleonic art includes an analysis of Denis-Auguste-Marie Raffet's *The Idea* from 1834 (Figure A16). She suggests that, in this image as well as many others, the icon of *le petit corporal* acquired Revolutionary resonance because it represented Napoleon as a military commander who "embodied...the humble characteristics of the common soldier."⁷⁴ She uses Raffet's print to illustrate the idea of this Napoleonic guise and outlines three qualities it embodied: wit, character, and charisma.⁷⁵ Her discussion of the multivalent qualities of the *petit corporal* image

addresses an idea that is vital to understanding its appeal. In its mutability, the image of the *petit corporal* allowed one to see exactly what one wanted to see in the image Napoleon. As Day-Hickman suggests, Raffet's Napoleon is both commander and soldier. He is also, with his pensive posture, abstracted gaze, and isolation in a darkened room, an archetypal Romantic hero. His comfort in humble surroundings also marks him as one of the people—or, to borrow a term from Karl Marx, a man whose ideas spurred many of the Revolutions of 1848, the proletariat. Napoleon, in Revolutionary imagery, could represent anything that the viewer needed his considerable charisma to represent and defend. Napoleon—or, at least, his line—was therefore the answer to all troubles.

Although Delaroche's *Fontainebleau* lacks any idealization, it has much in common with popular imagery of the Emperor. In its treatment of Napoleon's fleshy rotundity, for example, it echoes the Revolutionary preoccupation with making the oft-exalted and deified Emperor into an accessible human being. The painting, though seemingly unflattering to the Emperor, shares other features with popular images of Napoleon, as well. Because of Delaroche's familial connection to Horace Vernet, it is worthwhile to compare their work. The similarity of *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* to Horace Vernet's design of the young Napoleon brooding in a sculptural chair (figure A12), for example, is particularly striking. This similarity suggests that Delaroche's composition was not meant to mock the Emperor, but rather to echo a trend of emphasizing his status as a Romantic hero. Though the earlier image portrays a much younger iteration of Napoleon, its overall tone is, like the Delaroche composition, darkly contemplative and moody. In addition to portraying the inward energy and brooding charisma of the young general, Vernet's image of the seated young Napoleon is a

particularly notable example of the “soldier” Napoleon so popular among Bonapartists of the time.

Vernet’s brooding Napoleon is not, however, the archetypal *petit corporal*. He lacks the bicorn, *rendigot gris*, and paunch that is so closely associated with that image. Rather, it is the young, energetic soldier who bursts with proto-Byronic energy and charisma, ready to serve at the altar of social and political change. Vernet’s interest in Napoleon as a young soldier may be explained by the studies of Nina Athanoglou-Kallmyer. In her article “Imago Belli: Horace Vernet’s L’Atelier as an Image of Radical Militarism under the Restoration,” she examines a painting completed shortly after Napoleon’s death in which Vernet and his circle engage in recreational swordplay. She explains that fencing and dueling, under the Restoration, were two of the few outlets for young men who dreamed of serving the Emperor to defend the honor of the Empire. For Vernet in particular, practicing swordplay was an opportunity to “vent his anti-royalist feelings.”⁷⁶ The idea of active, militaristic young men, for Vernet, represented resistance against the Bourbon monarchy and support of the monarchy. His portrayal of a younger Napoleon can be understood as a manifestation of this radical, active, militarism.

Though Delaroche’s Napoleon lack the youth of Vernet’s brooding figure, he shares its psychological intensity as well as its pose, general lighting scheme, and mood. The common elements it shares with Vernet’s radical militaristic young Napoleon, as well as other qualities it shares with popular imagery of Napoleon, offer abundant evidence that Delaroche’s painting can be read as a demonstration of the artist’s Bonapartist sympathies. As in contemporary images of Napoleon not connected to the patronage of Louis-Philippe, Delaroche’s painting presents a Napoleon of multiple

valances. It even suggests that Delaroche was actively aware of the tendency to present Napoleon as a multivalent symbol. Though Napoleon himself occupies the center of the composition, several items associated with various aspects of his legacy surround him. Michael Marrinan has suggested that these items form a succinct message about all that Napoleon stands to lose, but the sheer variety of the objects and the associations they hold suggests otherwise.⁷⁷ His sword lies on the table beside him, an obvious allusion to military prowess. His right hand overlaps a case that bears a striking resemblance to the portfolio that holds the Code Napoleon in Delaroche's 1838 *Napoleon in his Cabinet*. The iconic bicorn hat lies at his feet, perhaps a reference to Napoleon's own construction of self. A Map of Europe—Napoleon's Empire—lies beneath the case. The gold of a laurel wreath in the wallpaper hovers above his head, neatly reminding the viewer of his status as an Emperor. Finally, he wears the costume of the Revolutionary *petit corporal* underneath which the emblem of the *legion d'honneur* shines. In short, Delaroche has included as many allusions to the various guises of Napoleon as could fit in one canvas. He has taken his cues from the richly allusive Revolutionary *milieu* that shaped Vernet's early Napoleonic lithographs rather than the reductive visual culture of July Monarchy commissions.

Such is Delaroche's reputation for recording minute details that the omission of certain elements is just as enlightening as the inclusion of others. In the small-scale, oval bust repetitions of *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, Delaroche included the medal of the *legion d'honneur* and the iron cross of the kingdom of Italy on Napoleon's uniform. Neither of the large scale portraits, however, feature these medals. The absence of these two decorations highlights the ornamentation that does grace the figure of Napoleon and

leads the viewer to reflect on the overall theme of the painting in a slightly different way. Apart from his coat, uniform, and spurred boots, the only item Napoleon wears is the silver Grand Eagle of the *legion d'honneur*. The Grand Eagle is the highest award possible in that system and one that Napoleon especially treasured. Though the Bourbon Restoration saw the implementation of a policy of forgetfulness that sought to erase any signs of Napoleon from French culture, the *legion d'honneur*, Napoleon's invention, was not abolished for fear that it would anger too many of the recipients of the medals. The Grand Eagle of the *legion d'honneur*, then, can be read as a symbol of the resilience of Napoleon and his deeds in the memory of the French public.

This idea of memory is particularly crucial to the interpretation of the overall theme of the work. While the painting does depict Napoleon in a moment of defeat, his determined expression—highlighted by a dramatic slash of light—reminds the viewers that his first abdication was not the end of his political career in France. Less than a year after agreeing to remain in exile on the island of Elba, Napoleon returned to France for a period called the 100 Days. According to historian Sudhir Hazareesingh, the legend of the 100 days was one of the most persistent in the period after Napoleon's final exile. During the restoration peasants in the countryside would taunt royal soldiers with threats of Napoleon's return.⁷⁸ Even after Napoleon's death, rumors spread throughout the countryside that Napoleon may yet return.⁷⁹ In Delaroche's painting, Napoleon sits in a moment of indecision, looking off into the distance. The attentive viewer of the image knows with certainty, that despite the Emperor's decision to abdicate, he will return. This idea, not the various associations connected to the legend of Napoleon, is the main message of the painting. The depiction of this scene in a moment when the political

situation of the July Monarchy was uncertain and Bonapartists grew in influence is inescapably political.

The idea of Napoleon's imminent return in *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* was not entirely unique in the visual culture of the July monarchy. A lithograph by Daumier alludes to the reason behind the growing popularity of this theme. This lithograph, created in 1848 and captioned with the text "*M.M. Victor Hugo et Emile Girardin Cherchent à élever le prince Louis sur un pavais. Ça n'est pas très solide!*" (figure A17) consists of caricatures of Victor Hugo, Emile Girardin, and Louis-Napoleon. The former two hold a shield on which Louis-Napoleon precariously perches—arms nearly pinwheeling. The message of the text is clear: Louis-Napoleon has been propped up by the efforts of the literary and cultural elite. The visual treatment of Louis-Napoleon, however, adds another layer to the print's message. Although Daumier's caricature style allows the viewer to identify "Prince Louis" easily, the then-newly elected leader of the French wears a bicorn hat, *rendigot gris*, and an outdated soldier's uniform. He is dressed in the garb of Napoleon I. The tone and execution of the print, however, make it clear that Louis-Napoleon has little of the ability or charisma of his uncle. Where Napoleon pulled himself up through the ranks of the French army, Louis-Napoleon must be supported by others. Moreover, once in a position of power (for height is a well-established marker of the power of rule), he does not occupy it gracefully.

A familiarity with a certain set of historical events—and their political backdrop—is essential to fully appreciating both Daumier's print and the political implications of Delaroche's Napoleonic paintings. These events were the multiple attempted coups (and one ultimately successful presidential campaign) of Louis-Napoleon, Napoleon's

nephew. In October of 1836, Louis-Napoleon attempted to gain support for a coup in Strasbourg by emulating the rhetoric of the hundred days. He was not successful. He did not attempt his second coup until August 1840, at which time he was comfortably imprisoned. In 1848 he was elected the President of the newly-formed Second French Republic before ascending to the title of Emperor in 1851.⁸⁰ Louis-Napoleon's bids for power both capitalized upon and intensified a general nostalgia for the imperial age that was one of the longest-running threats to Louis-Philippe's monarchy. French intellectuals as, has been suggested by David Baguey, saw Louis-Philippe's familial relationship to Napoleon I as proof of the exiled Bonaparte's right to rule. Baguey notes that Victor Hugo in particular, despite later souring on the Bonaparte heir, was "fascinated...by Louis Napoléon, bedazzled by his name if not by his person, and temporarily convinced of the sincerity of his ideas...."⁸¹ This idea of the collapse between Napoleon I and Louis-Napoleon is extremely important to understanding Napoleonic imagery of the moment, for Daumier was not the only caricaturist to show Louis—Napoleon in the garments of his uncle. Indeed, even after Louis-Napoleon's policies and power enabled the second Emperor to differentiate himself from his uncle, caricaturists continued to compare him to the first Emperor—and not always favorably.⁸² The bicorn hat and *rendigot gris* of Napoleon I became a convenient shorthand for his nephew. To depict Napoleon was to conjure the specter of Revolution and bring to the mind the political activities of Napoleon's heir Louis-Philippe.

An understanding of the state of Bonapartism in the 1830s and 1840s is vital to understanding why Louis-Napoleon, despite the failure of his initial coup attempts, persistently and ultimately successfully sought power as well as why Delaroche found

himself one of many artists who satisfied a demand for Napoleonic paintings in the mid-century. In “The Hero as Houdini: Napoleon and 19th Century Bonapartism,” R.S. Alexander outlines three distinct phases of Bonapartism. The first phase, of course, began with the rise of Napoleon I to the imperial throne of France. The second phase was an expression of discontent with the monarchy. The third phase was a consolidation of the term Bonapartism into a clear and organized political system under Louis-Philippe—newly redubbed Napoleon III—during the second Empire.⁸³ The second phase, however, was responsible, in large part for this need to consolidate and organize Bonapartism. While support of Napoleon I, Bonapartism’s first phase, was an inherently political action during the first Empire, the fall and especially the death of Napoleon I fundamentally changed the nature of Bonapartism. Alexander describes the second phase of Bonapartism as a combination of dissatisfaction with the return of the Bourbons, nostalgia for the imperial age, support for Bonaparte heirs, and the association of Napoleon with patriotism and glory.⁸⁴ Louis-Napoleon, then, profited from general discontent with the current Restoration government that transformed his Bonaparte name into an eagerly sought-after political commodity.

Delaroche’s painting and others works of art like made in the same spirit can be connected to both the Cult of Napoleon and the Bonapartist political party and movement. Though Bonapartism and the Cult of Napoleon share common ground in their celebration and defense of the Emperor, it is important to note that they are two separate cultural phenomena. The Cult of Napoleon revered the memory of the person of Napoleon and considered his historical deeds a source of glory for France. It also elevated Napoleon nearly to a state of religious canonization. Although its followers

rallied around the memory of the Emperor and might, indeed, be worshippers of the cult of Napoleon, Bonapartism in general was characterized less in an interest in remembering the past than by a determination to affect significant political change based on the policies of the Empire and Revolution. These changes, in the second phase of Bonapartism, were believed to be possible only with the installment of a Bonaparte, namely Louis-Napoleon, as the leader of France.

The conflation of Napoleon I with Louis-Napoleon should come as no surprise given the parallel Revolutions through which they gained power. William Fortescue has suggested that it is appropriate to think of the 1848 Revolution as a re-enactment of the 1789 Revolution in that the earlier arose out of a desire for a more equal distribution of power while the later arose out of a desire for a more equal distribution of wealth.⁸⁵ In addition to the naturally occurring parallels between the two time periods with their two Bonapartes, the intellectual and visual culture of France primed the public for a collapse between the past and the present. Beth Wright has argued that mid-century's France's craze for detailed historical paintings reflected a widespread desire to understand major events of the time by drawing parallels between the recent and remote pasts. She writes that:

we long to be able to configure meaning out of chaotic experience. We are able to achieve this, in the stage of historical comprehension...termed 'historicality,' where recollection allows us to emplot [sic?] the consequences of past actions and so face the future with some security. The ostensible past performs for our benefit, the trauma of past experience is tamed; action is framed; past and present are linked.⁸⁶

For Wright, then, the French's use of historical precedents to understand current political realities betrays a desire to drain the future of some uncertainty by underscoring the familiarity of the present.

If French art and visual culture was used, as Wright suggests, as a site of performance of the past to frame the future, the visual conflation of Napoleon I and Louis-Napoleon can be understood as a kind of casting sheet for the years leading up to and following the 1848 Revolution. Daumier and other caricaturists dressed Louis-Napoleon in his uncle's clothes not only because he actively emulated Napoleon I, but also because doing so helped to frame current events in a past that was simpler if only because it was relatively distant. The performance was not, however, one-way. If Louis-Napoleon could act as his uncle in the political theater, Napoleon I could act as his nephew in the theater of the visual arts.

Louis-Napoleon's coup attempts in the 1830s and 1840s help to elucidate the political resonance of Delaroche's *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* in France. Two dates have been suggested for the image—the curator and staff of the *Musée de l'Armée* maintain that the first version of the painting was created in 1840 while Stephen Bann suggests that the original was not made until 1845.⁸⁷ The dating of the original, because of the mutual assurance of the two sides of the debate, remains unsettled. Such was the sustained discontent with Louis-Philippe's reign, however, that no matter which date is accurate the painting can be understood as one of many manifestations of understanding—if not clear support—of the second phase Bonapartist project of putting Louis-Napoleon in power. The 1840 date holds a special resonance, for it coincides with the beginning of the plans to restore Napoleon's remains to France. In such a context the idea of return would refer not only to the resurgence of the power of the Bonapartist political party, but also to the literal return of Napoleon to France. The later date of 1845, despite its relative distance from the last of Louis-Napoleon's failed coup attempts, still

holds a political resonance in the context of the increasing discontent with the Orléanist government and the growing support for Bonapartism.

A date of 1845 would also place Delaroche's painting in closer proximity to a famous sculpture by Francois Rude. The themes at work in *Napoleon at Fontainebleau* manifest in a more transparent form in Rude's *Napoleon Waking to Immortality* (Figure A18) from 1846. A funeral shroud flutters around him as he sits up from his coffin. His face and features show no sign of decay. He is, as the title suggests, immortal, and wears a laurel wreath that marks him as an immortal Emperor. The wreath echoes the strategically placed wallpaper decoration in Delaroche's painting to the extent that it is fair to say that the two art works share the same message: Napoleon has returned and he (or at least his heir) will rule.

Delaroche's *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, with its implicit theme of imminent return, can only be appreciated fully when considered in relation to the political and visual milieu of July Monarchy France. Other scholars have, thus far, examined the work either shallowly, as in Marrinan's suggestion that it is an unequivocal scene of defeat, or in an autobiographical mode, as in Stephen Bann's assertion that the portrait is more valuable as an expression of Delaroche's emotional upheaval than of Napoleon's continued influence on French culture and politics. The tendency of print makers, to whom Delaroche tended to pay careful attention, to visually collapse the identities of Napoleon I and Louis-Napoleon, however, marks Bann's suggestion that Napoleon's image lacked power in the 1830s and 1840s as inexact. The idea of return outlined in this study likewise challenges Marrinan's claims.

The treatment of Napoleon in Delaroche's portrait, though not overtly flattering, suggests that, in addition to having political resonance, the painting can be considered an expression of Bonapartist sentiment. Typical official paintings of Napoleonic themes during the July Monarchy tended to emphasize either Napoleon's legacy as a soldier—albeit in a cold, calculating vein—or his history of unscrupulously chasing power. Louis-Philippe's Napoleonic commissions rarely, if ever, combine multiple elements of the Napoleonic legend and, when they portray Napoleon in the guise *le petit corporal*, they change him from a Revolutionary figure to a vessel for the glory of France. In contrast, popular images of Napoleon allow and encourage viewers to detect multiple valences in the symbol of Napoleon but present him, overwhelmingly, as a Revolutionary rallying symbol. Delaroche's painting shares the popular tendency to encourage viewers to read multiple layers of significance into the image of Napoleon and presents the Emperor as a deeply human—and thus relatable—individual. In combination with the insistence upon Napoleon's return that is at work in this painting, these observations makes it clear that Delaroche harbored Bonapartist sympathies that he expressed in his art.

CONCLUSION

Delaroche, despite his reputation as middle-of-the-road politically and artistically conservative, created a series of paintings that not only portrayed Napoleon—an individual whose memory represented a serious threat to the regime of the time—sympathetically but rejected officially sanctioned methods of representing his subject only to turn to Revolutionary-minded print culture. Rather than draw from imperial-era precedents to paint *Napoleon in his Study*, Delaroche turned to more-flattering print images when creating his version of David's famous painting. In examining Delaroche's paintings on the whole, one finds that they are steeped in a visual tradition that portrays Napoleon as a 'great man' who is worthy of adulation. In *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, by examining the portrait against the backdrop of the politics of the July Monarchy, one can detect a sympathy for Revolutionary causes that manifests itself in the theme of Napoleon's certain return. In each of Delaroche's Napoleonic portraits, the visual language of the Cult of Napoleon and of Bonapartism abounds. For this reason, the trend in describing Delaroche and his works as politically neutral can be understood as completely inaccurate.

The thus-far dominant understanding of Delaroche as politically neutral and artistically conventional may be understood as the result of a tendency to privilege high art and the avant-garde in the art historical narrative. The assumption that Delaroche worked from David's *Napoleon in his Study*, for example, is the direct result of a failure to seek out printed reproductions of David's work that have much more in common with Delaroche's painting than the 1838 work has in common with David's original. The lack of attention paid to Delaroche's carefully drawn and formally traditional Napoleonic

paintings can be better understood in the context of the forward-looking interest in the rise of radical new forms that characterized the work of artists such as Delacroix (Delaroche's direct contemporary). In short, the fact that even Stephen Bann, for all his tendency, elsewhere in his book, to argue against a teleological approach to history, could say that the image of Napoleon had little true resonance after 1840, is a reflection of the inability of an art historical narrative geared toward looking forward to allow a full understanding of artists such as Paul Delaroche.

A thorough understanding of the interaction of the Napoleonic legend and Bonapartism with the art of the 1830s and 1840s—let alone Napoleonic art in general—would be woefully incomplete without an examination of Delaroche's Napoleonic compositions. Their complex interaction with the visual form and ideological currents of the age demonstrate Delaroche's carefully considered and—I argue—deeply felt stance on Napoleon and Bonapartism. Because of Delaroche's fame and savvy marketing of printed reproductions, they were and are among some of the most widely-seen paintings of Napoleon ever created. The importance of the decision of an artist as famous and widely reproduced, in his time, as Delaroche to portray a controversial figure cannot be underestimated. In creating the image—and later authorizing its reproduction and sale—Delaroche left his own mark on the Napoleonic legend and, through his fame, helped to fan the flames of Napoleon's memory. To overlook these paintings is to ignore a key instance of art contributing to the formation of history.

APPENDIX
FIGURES



Figure A1. Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon in his Study*, 1838.

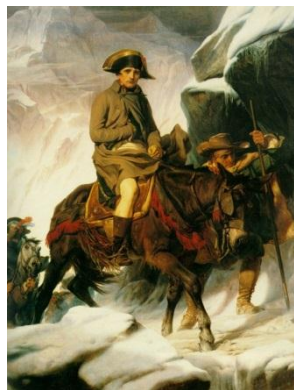


Figure A2. Paul Delaroche, *Bonaparte Crossing the St. Bernard Pass*, 1848, Musée du Louvre.



Figure A3. Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau*, 1840, Musée de l'Armée, Paris.



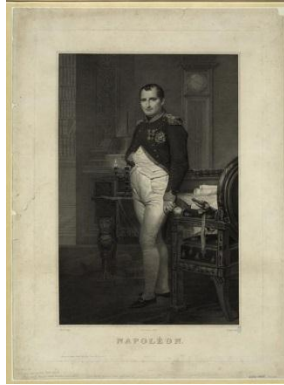
(Figure A4) Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon in his Study*, 1812, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



(Figure A5) Paul Delaroche, *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey*, 1833, Tate Gallery, London.



(Figure A6) Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon in his Study*, 1812, Private Collection.



(Figure A7) Jean-Nicolas Laugier, *Engraving after David's Napoleon in his Study*, ca.1835, New York Public Library.



(Figure A8) Philippe Josephe Auguste Vallot, *Etching After David's Napoleon in his Study*, ca. 1834, New York Public Library.



(Figure A9) Horace Vernet, *The Bridge of Arcole*, ca. 1820-1840, source: de l'Ardeche, Laurent. *History of Napoleon: from the French of M. Laurent de l'Ardeche. With Five Hundred Illustrations, After Designs by Horace Vernet; and Twenty Original Portraits*. New York: D. Appleton, 1848.



(Figure A10) Horace Vernet, *Napoleon being Treated on the Battlefield*, ca. 1820-1840, source: de l'Ardeche, Laurent. *History of Napoleon: from the French of M. Laurent de l'Ardeche. With Five Hundred Illustrations, After Designs by Horace Vernet; and Twenty Original Portraits*. New York: D. Appleton, 1848.



(Figure A11) Hippolyte Bellangé, *The Postilion's Silhouette Drawing*, 1830, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



(Figure A12) Horace Vernet, *Portrait of General Bonaparte*, ca.1820-1830, source: de l'Ardeche, Laurent. *History of Napoleon: from the French of M. Laurent de l'Ardeche. With Five Hundred Illustrations, After Designs by Horace Vernet; and Twenty Original Portraits*. New York: D. Appleton, 1848.



(Figure A13) Horace Vernet, *The Battle of Wagram*, 1836, *Galerie des Batailles*, Paris, France.



(Figure A14) Francois Bouchot, *Napoleon and the Council of Five Hundred at St. Cloud on the 18th of Brumaire, 9 Nov. 1799.*, 1840, Paris, France.



(Figure A15) Nicholas Touissant Charlet, *'Is it True, as they Say, That Things are Going so badly?'*, 1824



(Figure A16) Auguste Raffet, *The Idea*, 1834.



(Figure A17) Honoré Daumier, *M.M. Victor Hugo et Emile Girardin Cherchent à élever le prince Louis sur un Pavois. Ca n'est pas très solide!*, ca. 1848.



(Figure A18) François Rude, *Napoleon awakening to Immortality*, 1846.

NOTES

- ¹ Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Nineteenth Century European Art*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 2006), 227.
- ² Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted*, (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd. 1997), 35.
- ³ Norman Ziff, *Paul Delaroche: A Study in Nineteenth-Century French History Painting*(New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977).
- ⁴ Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche*.
- ⁵ Beth S. Wright, *Painting and History During the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- ⁶ Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).
Barbara Ann Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France (1815-1848)*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press and London: Associated University Press, 1999).
- ⁷ Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon*, (London: Granta Books, 2004).
- ⁸ David Baguley, *Napoleon III and his Regime: An Extravaganza*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Press: 2000.
- ⁹ R.S. Alexander, "The Hero as Houdini: Napoleon and 19th-Century Bonapartism," *Modern and Contemporary France*, 8:4, 457-467.
- ¹⁰ Steven Englund, *Napoleon: A Political Life*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 425.
- ¹¹ Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon*, (London: Granta Books, 2005), 73.
- ¹² Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 142.
- ¹³ Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted*, (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd., 1997), 15.
- ¹⁴ For a discussion of Napoleon's offer of the title to David and David's refusal of the honor, see Anita Brookner, *Jacques Louis David*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 146.

¹⁵ Provenance from the National Gallery of Art website: Unknown Author, The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries-Provenance, 2012, <http://www.nga.gov/collection/gallery/gg56/gg56-46114-prov.html> (November 19, 2012).

¹⁶ Stephen Bann, "Delaroche, Napoleon and English Collectors," *Apollo* (October 1985):1-15.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche*, 148.

²⁰ Norman Ziff, *Paul Delaroche: A Study in Nineteenth-Century French History Painting* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), 22.

²¹ Anne Robbins, "Catalogue Entry for The Execution of Lady Jane Grey," in *Painting History: Delaroche and Lady Jane Grey*, ed. Stephen Bann and Linda Whiteley (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 102.

²² Norman Ziff, *Paul Delaroche*, 160.

²³ Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche*, 247.

²⁴ Anita Brookner, *Jacques Louis David*, 141.

²⁵ Published in A.A. Tait, "The Duke of Hamilton's Palace," *The Burlington Magazine* (July 1983):400-402.

²⁶ Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 216.

²⁷ De David à Delacroix : la peinture française de 1774 à 1830. Paris: Grand Palais, 1974. Exhibition Catalogue, additional leaf.

²⁸ For Bann's theory on where Delaroche may have seen David's painting see Bann, *Paul Delaroche*, 248.

²⁹ De David à Delacroix, additional leaf.

³⁰ *Napoleon: Grand Palais Juin-Décembre 1969*, (Paris: Ministère d'État Affaires Culturelles, 1969), 51.

³¹ Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France*, 160.

³² Barbara Ann Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France (1815-1848)*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press and London: Associated University Press, 1999), 115-116.

³³ For Bann's brief discussion of this possibility Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche*, n. 52, 292.

For biographical information about Laugier and an account of Laugier's visit to David's studio in Brussels, see Gustave Lambert, "J.-N. Laugier, Graveur d'Histoire: Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres," *Bulletin de Societe Academique du Var: Nouvelle Serie* 7 (1874), 22.

Also, the earliest recorded date for Laugier's engraving is 1835. A lithograph of extraordinarily high quality by the Paris-trained, French-German engraver Louis Kramp may have been made as early as 1825. It is unlikely, though, that the work would have been well known even if it had been made in 1825, for the Bourbon Restoration severely limited the circulation of high-quality printed reproductions. Crude wood engravings, however, enjoyed a greater range of mobility. For more on this subject see chapters two and three of the present study and Chapter 3 of Sudir Hazareesingh's *The Legend of Napoleon*.

³⁴ Charles Gabet, *Dictionnaire des artistes de l'école française au XIXe siècle*, (Paris: Mme Vegrne, 1831), 406.

³⁵ Though the engraving, as is typical of the medium, lacks color, the only replica David made of this work features this uniform, which has darker accents that register as a dark gray in the engraving rather than the near-pristine white in the original work.

³⁶ Frédéric Villot, *Notice des peintures, sculptures, gravures et lithographies de l'École moderne de France exposées dans les galeries du Musée national du Luxembourg*, (Paris: Vinchon, 1855), 63.

³⁷ For a general biography of Vallot see: Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers: Biographical and Critical*, Volume 2, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1899), 608.

For Vallot's proximity to Horace Vernet et. al., see: Gabet, Charles, *Dictionnaire des artistes de l'école française au XIXe siècle*, 671.

³⁸ Henri Beraldi, *Les Graveurs du XIXe Siècle: Guide de l'Amateur d'Estampes Modernes*, (Paris: Libraire L. Conquet, 1891), 170.

³⁹ See, for example, Henri Beraldi, *Les Graveurs du XIXe Siècle*, 171.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

- ⁴¹ Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon*, 96.
- ⁴² Derin Tanyol, "Histoire Anecdotique—The People's History? Gros and Delaroche," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 16,7-30.
- ⁴³ Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 249.
- ⁴⁴ A note on my use of the term "heroicize," here. Or, more accurately, on the idea of the "hero" as it was understood in the Romantic age. It can be argued that, for example, Delaroche's vision of Napoleon crossing the Alps is not at all heroic when juxtaposed against its Davidian precedent. Such was the *mal du siecle* of Delaroche's time, however, that a different vision of the hero rose to prominence. This vision was of the Byronic sort. It envisioned the hero as world weary, energetic but polluted by that energy, and above all full of a deep spiritual unrest and melancholy. This vision of a hero does not accord with the windswept and sure General of David's image (a Romantic hero of a much different type), but perfectly matches Delaroche's depiction of the weary Bonaparte atop his mule(perhaps a biblical reference to Jesus, but more on that idea later). "To heroicize," as I use it here, then, mean to cast in the role of Romantic heroes of the ilk of Byron's Childe Harold and Goethe's Werther.
- ⁴⁵ See Francis H. Dowley, "D'Angiville's Grands Hommes and the Significant Moment," *The Art Bulletin* 39 December 1957, 260 for a discussion of the significant moment in Houdon's sculpture. For Dowley's discussion of d'Angers's work, see *Ibid*, 275.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 276.
- ⁴⁷ Norman Ziff, *Paul Delaroche: A Study in Nineteenth-Century French History Painting*, (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), 215.
- ⁴⁸ Derin Tanyol, "Histoire anecdotique-the people's history? Gros and Delaroche," *Word and Image: A Journal of Visual/Verbal Inquiry* 16:1, 16.
- ⁴⁹ Alfred de Musset, *Confessions of a Child of the Century*, 12.
- ⁵⁰ Steven Englund, *Napoleon: A Political Life*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 327.
- ⁵¹ David A. Bell, "Napoleon in the Flesh," *MLN*, 120:4, (2005):712.
- ⁵² For information on Ardeche's Bonapartist tendencies see: Jules Simon, *Notices et Portraits*, (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1892), 175.
- ⁵³ See: -Laurent de l'Ardeche, *Histoire de l'Empereur Napoleon*, (Madrid: Valladolid Maxtor, 1840).

-Laurent de l'Ardeche, *Geschichte des Kaisers Napoleon*, (Lepizig: Verlag der J.J. Weber'schen Buchhandlung, 1842).

-Laurent de l'Ardeche, *Keiser Napoleons Histoire*, (Kjøbenhavn : A.F. Høst, 1841).

-Laurent de l'Ardeche, *History of Napoleon: from the French of M. Laurent de l'Ardeche. With Five Hundred Illustrations, After Designs by Horace Vernet; and Twenty Original Portraits*, (New York: D. Appleton, 1848).

⁵⁴ Viola Duwert, *Geshichte als Bildergeschichte: Napoleon und Fiedrich der Grosse in der Buchillustration um 1840*, (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1997), 43-54.

⁵⁵ Maurice Samuels, *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004). 74.

⁵⁶ Tanyol, "Histoire anecdotique-the people's history? Gros and Delaroche," 23.

⁵⁷ Laurent de l'Ardeche, *History of Napoleon*, frontispiece.

⁵⁸ The edition in question is Laurent de l'Ardeche, *History of Napoleon with Five Hundred Illustrations after Designs by Horace Vernet*, (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1853).

⁵⁹ For as secondary source on the connection between Napoleon and Jesus see: Barbara Ann Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France (1815-1848)*, (Newark, DE and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Press, 1999), 93.

On the topic of Christ and Napoleon: While this elision of Napoleon with Christ may seem to disprove the suggestion that Vernet sought to humanize his imperial hero, that is not the case. Contemporary discussions of Jesus Christ tended to emphasize his humanity. A notable example can be found in Hegel's *Life of Jesus* from approximately 1795. A more contemporary example can be found in the work of Ernest Renan, who advocated for conceiving of Jesus as an historical figure in his 1863 work *The Life of Jesus*.

⁶⁰ Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon*, (London: Granta Books, 2004), 199.

⁶¹ Bellangé suffers the same fate as most 19th century French engravers not named "Daumier": namely that he has fallen into obscurity in this century and the one that came before it. My primary source for the information I have included about Bellangé is, therefore, the seriously outdated: Jules Adeline, *Hippolyte Bellangé et son Oeuvre*, (Paris: A. Quantin, 1880), 111.

⁶² Emma Rutherford, *Silhouettes*, (New York: Random House, 2009). 15.

⁶³ Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto 42, lines 370-378.

⁶⁴ Victor Hugo, quoted in Marrianan, 195.

⁶⁵ Marrinan, 184.

⁶⁶ Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted*, London: Reaktion Books, 1997. 253. Though some scholars date the painting to 1840, Stephen Bann, for reasons discussed later, dates it to 1845.

⁶⁷ The dating of the image currently in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris relies completely upon which scholar one finds most convincing. One school of thought suggests that the painting in Paris is the original because it seems to have been dated 1840. Stephen Bann, however, suggests that the painting in Leipzig is more likely the first for there seems to have been little time for Delaroche to paint such an extensive project in 1840. The Leipzig, 1845 painting, then, is suggested to be the original while the version in Paris is the repetition and, thus, dated to after 1845. For a more thorough explanation see Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche*.

⁶⁸ Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988. 150.

⁶⁹ Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 153.

⁷⁰ Barbara Ann Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France (1815-1848)*, Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1999. 114.

⁷¹ Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis Philippe*, 160.

⁷² Ibid, 155.

⁷³ William Fortescue, *France and 1848: The End of the Monarchy*, Florence, KY: Routledge, 2005. 3.

⁷⁴ Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art*, 111.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Nina M. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Imago Belli: Horace Vernet's L'Atelier as an Image of Radical Militarism under the Restoration," *The Art Bulletin*, 68:2, 1986, 268-280. 275.

⁷⁷ Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 180.

⁷⁸ Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon*, London: Granta Books, 2005. 40.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ For a thorough account of Louis-Napoleon's rise to power, see chapter one of David Baguley, *Napoleon III and his Regime: An Extravaganza*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.

⁸¹ David Baguley, *Napoleon III and his Regime: An Extravaganza*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Press: 2000. 38.

⁸² Richard Scully, "The Cartoon Emperor: The Impact of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte on European Comic Art, 1848-1870," *European Comic Art*, September 2011, Vol.4 Issue 2. P.147-180. 150.

⁸³ R.S. Alexander, "The Hero as Houdini: Napoleon and 19th-Century Bonapartism," *Modern and Contemporary France*, 8:4, 457-467. See 457 for the first phase and 462 for the third phase.

⁸⁴ Ibid 461-462.

⁸⁵ Fortescue, *France and 1848*, 3.

⁸⁶ Beth S. Wright, *Painting and History During the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 81.

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