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Artist/Model/Patron in Antiquity: Interpreting Ansiaux's *Alexander, Apelles, and Campaspe*

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Antoine-Jean-Joseph-Eléonore-Antoine Ansiaux (1764-1840) was a Franco-Flemish painter who trained in Paris during the years in which neoclassicism developed and became the dominant style under the leadership of Jacques-Louis David. Ansiaux joined the school of the Royal Academy in 1783 and studied painting under François-André Vincent, a member of David's circle. He became proficient at portraiture, religious subjects, and history painting.

At the Paris Salon of 1831 Ansiaux exhibited seven paintings: a



1. *Alexander, Apelles, and Campaspe*. Oil painting by Antoine-Jean-Joseph-Eléonore-Antoine Ansiaux. Museum of Art and Archaeology, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund purchase (86.25).

pair depicting the *Elevation and Descent from the Cross*; two mythological subjects featuring Venus and Cupid; an allegorical *Oath of Louis-Philippe I, King of the French*; and a pair of antique histories, *Socrates and Alcibiades in the Home of Aspasia* (fig. 2) and *Alexander, Apelles, and Campaspe* (fig. 1).¹ The subject of this last painting, which is now in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology,² is a scene from the life of Apelles, who was celebrated as one of the greatest painters of classical antiquity. According to the Greek author Pliny, while painting a portrait of the king's beautiful concubine, the court artist Apelles had fallen in love with her:

. . . Alexander conferred honour on him in a most conspicuous instance; he had such an admiration for the beauty of his favorite mistress, named Campaspe, that he gave orders that she should be painted in the nude by Apelles, and then discovering that the artist while executing the commission had fallen in love with the woman, he presented her to him, great-minded as he was and still greater owing to his control of himself, and of the greatness proved by this action as much as by any other victory: because he conquered himself, and presented not only his bedmate but his affection also to the artist, and was not even influenced by regard for the feelings of his favorite in having been recently the mistress of a monarch and now belonged to a painter³

This is the moment depicted by Ansiaux. The three figures are grouped in a triangular composition in the foreground, and a view into the room beyond allows us to see part of an Ionic pilaster and arches. Just behind Apelles an easel holds an unfinished sketch, and his palette and brushes rest on a decorated console.

The companion to this painting is another subject taken from classical Greek history, the life of Alcibiades by Plutarch, although the exact scene seems to have been invented by the artist (fig. 2).⁴ Aspasia was the concubine of Pericles, another heroic king, and here she is depicted reclining on a lavish bed in relaxed conversation with the philosopher Socrates and his protégé Alcibiades. The seated philosopher in the center of the composition links the three figures through the gestures of his hands. Ansiaux seems to have taken pains to render an accurate antique palace with elaborately carved furniture, a smoking altar, a statue of Venus on a half-column, and two majestic carved caryatids on either side of the entrance at the rear.

At the 1831 Salon this pair of paintings was among the very few



2. *Socrates and Alcibiades in the Home of Aspasia.* Oil painting by Antoine-Jean-Joseph-Eleonore-Antoine Ansiaux. Current location unknown.

3. *Sketch for Apelles in His Studio with Alexander.* Oil painting by Jean Restout. © 1987 Sotheby's, Inc.



works with subjects from classical history exhibited. The vast majority of paintings were portraits, landscapes, religious themes, scenes from literature (especially Sir Walter Scott's popular novels), or subjects from French and English history. There were a few mythological or classical compositions, but the most significant paintings were the twenty-three which portrayed the recent battles of the Revolution of 1830. The most well-known of these was Delacroix's imposing allegory *Liberty at the Barricades* (Louvre), which has since become an icon of that important moment in French history as well as of the history of painting.⁵ In contrast to Delacroix's dynamic, painterly, emotional masterpiece, Ansiaux's *Alexander, Apelles, and Campaspe* and *Socrates, Alcibiades, and Aspasia* appear conservative in both subject and treatment; they have more in common with the themes and style associated with his formative years and early training in the academic style. In fact, Ansiaux's 1831 Salon paintings as a group were not well received by the critics; one writer described his style and execution as commendable, but lacking in inspiration and passion.⁶

Nevertheless, Ansiaux's curiously old-fashioned style and his treatment of the Alexander-Apelles-Campaspe story can be interpreted within the broad cultural context to provide a basis for appreciating it as a work of art and illuminating its significance as a pictorial document of political as well as art history. This antique subject—the heroic king in the company of his court painter and beautiful concubine—can be understood as a commentary on the role of painting and the relationship between painters and official patrons in the early moments of the July Monarchy.

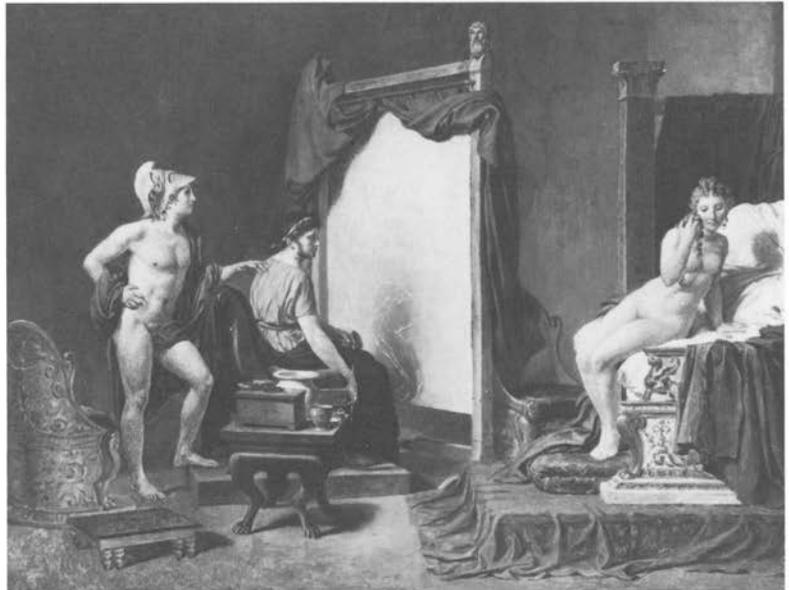
Since the Renaissance the anecdote of Apelles and Alexander had been represented by artists, poets, and art theorists to illustrate the ideal relationship between a royal patron and court painter.⁷ Alexander exemplified the virtuous, wise ruler by exhibiting control over his own passions and at the same time demonstrating his magnanimity. This was also flattering to the artist, for it showed how much he was valued by the powerful monarch, who recognized Apelles' superior appreciation of Beauty. Campaspe's desires seem not to have played much part in this relationship, although at least one English play of 1584 presented the story as a love triangle in which Campaspe, characterized as more than a passive love object, reciprocates Apelles' love.⁸

Beginning in the sixteenth century, many paintings of this subject were commissioned by princes or presented to them by grateful artists who wished to flatter them. For example, in the 1739 Salon, Jean Restout exhibited a painting of Apelles in his studio with Alexander and Campaspe in which the monarch graciously offers her to the painter by joining their hands (fig. 3).⁹ The scene takes

place in an elegant, spacious setting with many bystanders, soldiers, and artists, who react with approval to this gesture. In this luxurious rococo representation, a lovely, undraped Campaspe lounges confidently among the men, the object of admiration, as the lovers gaze longingly into each other's eyes.

In contrast, Ansiaux's version of this story suggests the serious philosophical nature of the antique legend rather than the erotic, light-hearted qualities. The king stands in the center on a raised, carpeted platform where Campaspe has just been posing on an elaborate throne. Wearing a bright red tunic, white cloak, and military helmet, Alexander turns towards Apelles, graciously extending his right arm, while holding Campaspe's limp right hand. Campaspe sits modestly with downcast eyes, as she clutches the sheer, bright-green drapery to her breast. At the left, just below the platform, Apelles leans forward and looks up at Alexander from an inferior position with an expression of joyful gratitude. He assumes the posture of a supplicant and seems more awed by Alexander's action than by Campaspe's compliant, passive beauty.

A comparison with a painting of the same story painted by Jacques-Louis David in 1814 underscores these points (fig. 4).¹⁰ In David's version, Apelles sits before an unfinished picture on a large easel which compositionally divides the picture in half. This is not the moment in which the enlightened monarch makes his gift. The painter is still at work on the nude portrait of Campaspe, as described by Pliny, while a heroic nude Alexander stands behind



4. *Apelles Painting Campaspe in the Presence of Alexander*. Oil painting by Jacques-Louis David. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.

the artist, pointing, and presumably commenting, on his progress. Directly opposite, at the far right of the painting, Campaspe poses on a raised platform, the object of Alexander's and Apelles' gaze. She is not seated on a throne, but on an unmade bed, face averted, turning away the upper half of her nude body.

David's placement of the figures and their poses create a strong erotic tension. The nudity of both male and female, the bed, Campaspe's turning away, and the intense staring of the men emphasize the sexual nature of this anecdote. The assertive masculine power of king and painter challenge the shy, female beauty. In contrast, Ansiaux's treatment is almost completely unerotic, and the compositional organization as well as gestures, expressions, and other details suggest a rather different interpretation. The two men, Alexander and Apelles, focus on each other, while the modest but comfortable Campaspe silently acquiesces. Ansiaux's primary message is the generosity and noble self-restraint of the patron/ruler and the humble gratitude of the painter.

In *Socrates and Alcibiades in the Home of Aspasia*, the companion to Ansiaux's painting, he similarly minimized any erotic connotations by depicting the subject in a properly decorous manner. Although this is the bedroom of a notorious courtesan, Aspasia is fully clothed and appears to be engaged in a philosophical discussion with Socrates, while the young Alcibiades listens raptly to his mentor. Even Alcibiades' dog pays attention to the philosophical discourse. As a pair, these paintings represent the triumph of art and philosophy under the wise patronage of rulers whose actions serve to promote harmony and to encourage art.

Ansiaux's two pictures are fairly small, about half the size of David's *Apelles Painting Campaspe in the Presence of Alexander*, which lends them an intimacy suitable for private rather than public display. This is consistent with the general shift in the 1830s from the old monarchical and religious patronage to the wealthy merchant class, who lived in more modest dwellings that could only accommodate easel-sized paintings. In fact, artists in this period were concerned about the future of patronage under a bourgeoisie who no longer had a taste or desire for large-scale history paintings of grand, classical, heroic subjects.¹¹ This explains the scarcity of such pictures in the 1831 Salon, as cited above, and makes Ansiaux's pictures seem like rare throwbacks to the Davidian tradition.

Ansiaux's pictures may be compared to a similar pair of small paintings that portrayed a different ancient Greek artist and model, *Praxiteles and Phryne* (fig. 5),¹² and the same woman as a courtesan with a philosopher, *Xenocrates and Phryne* (fig. 6).¹³ These were painted in Rome in 1794 by Angelica Kauffman, a Swiss artist, for a

5. *Praxiteles and Phryne*. Oil painting by Angelica Kauffman. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I.



6. *Xenocrates and Phryne*. Oil painting by Angelica Kauffman. Current location unknown.





private patron in England, and although Kauffman's figures are depicted half-length and take up the whole composition, their decorous treatment and neoclassical style are similar in spirit to Ansiaux's moralized interpretation.¹⁴ Praxiteles was one of the greatest sculptors of antiquity, and Phryne had supposedly served as the model for his famous statue of Aphrodite. He had fallen in love with her, and to demonstrate and symbolize this love he presented her with another of his renowned statues, an eros.¹⁵ Kauffman's composition, in which artist and model pose sweetly and decorously, is the only known painting of the subject. In the companion picture she illustrated another episode in Phryne's life when this notoriously sensual and beautiful woman attempted but failed to seduce the abstinent philosopher Xenocrates. As the embodiment of physical beauty she was an appropriate subject for representing the triumph of art and philosophy. In the work of both Kauffman and Ansiaux, desirable women are represented as the inspiration for art, philosophy, and noble actions.

Apelles and Praxiteles were not the only ancient artists cited in the Renaissance as examples of artistic genius. Zeuxis, another Greek painter, also appeared in the texts of Renaissance theorists of art and rhetoric as an example of the ideal artistic creator.¹⁶

7. *Zeuxis and the Maidens of Crotona*. Brush and oil sketch on paper by Otto Van Veen. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

According to legend, when Zeuxis was commissioned by the city of Crotona to paint a picture of Helen of Troy, the artist could find no single perfect model to imitate for the representation of Helen, the most beautiful woman who ever lived. Instead he created an ideal image by selecting the best features from the five most beautiful maidens of the city. The story of Zeuxis and the maidens of Crotona became an important metaphor for the academic method of creating ideal images through judicious, intellectual choices rather than direct imitation of any single person or object as it might appear in nature. The Renaissance art theorist Alberti and the seventeenth-century writer Bellori utilized the story in order to illustrate the intellectual nature of artistic creation, which depended upon the mind as much as, if not more than, skillful hands and a judicious eye.¹⁷

Many artists since the Renaissance have portrayed the story of Zeuxis and the maidens of Crotona in paintings, drawings, and prints. An example of this subject can be seen in a sixteenth-century drawing by the Flemish artist Otto Van Veen, which is also in the Museum of Art and Archaeology (fig. 7).¹⁸ In the center the artist sits before his easel with his back turned to the picture plane. He appears to concentrate deeply as he draws a standing female figure on his panel. Four unself-consciously nude women stand by the artist, discussing the picture or intently watching, and the fifth, seated at the left, looks out of the picture. Ironically, while the women take an active interest in his work, Zeuxis appears so absorbed that he is unaware of their presence. The women's serious attention to Zeuxis's painting and their dream-like classical nudity suggest the inspiration of muses as much as real flesh-and-blood models.

Angelica Kauffman also painted this subject in a composition which has several provocative differences from Van Veen's drawing (fig. 8).¹⁹ In Kauffman's composition the emphasis is on Zeuxis's study of the models, rather than his absorption in his work. She portrays Zeuxis engaged in looking at the women as he makes his selection, while the panel on the easel remains blank. The maidens pose to exhibit their best features—shoulder, face, or torso—and they seem to be aware of each other as they admire one another's beauty. The only maiden who stands behind Zeuxis watches, herself unseen, as he makes his choices, and she lifts the paintbrush from the table to assist him. Perhaps she herself intends to paint. This figure resembles self-portraits of Kauffman, and it is possible to suggest that this woman represents the female artist in the ambiguous position of being both a beautiful woman and a painter.²⁰

Ansiaux's paintings *Alexander*, *Apelles*, and *Campaspe* and *Socrates*, *Alcibiades*, and *Aspasia* can be related thematically to David's late

paintings of mythological lovers, such as the *Apelles Painting Campaspe in the Presence of Alexander* of 1814 (fig. 4), discussed above, or *Cupid and Psyche* (1818) and *Mars and Venus* (1824).²¹ Although Ansiaux's paintings are nearer to these chronologically, they are much closer in conception and style to David's earlier, pre-Revolutionary painting of *Paris and Helen* (1789, fig. 9).²² In fact, the large number of nearly identical elements in architectural details, costumes, and furniture suggests a deliberate reference to David's painting.

For example, Aspasía's bedroom in Ansiaux's work resembles David's representation of Helen's bedchamber in a number of ways. Both have draped half walls which separate the antique beds from the room behind, a smoking altar, a statue of Venus on a column, and decorative swans and harpies on the furniture. These could be considered standard neoclassical furnishings in a generalized antique setting; however, the unusual use of caryatids supporting the entrance wall is suggestive. In a recent article on David's *Paris and Helen*, Yvonne Korshak pointed out that the caryatids are a direct and deliberate quotation from the actual Tribune des Caryatides in

8. *Zeuxis and the Maidens of Crotona*. Oil painting by Angelica Kauffman. Annmary Brown Memorial, Brown University, Providence, R.I.



the Louvre Palace which had been designed in the Renaissance.²³ Since David would have known that these were not true Greek caryatids, but later imitations, Korshak believes that David intended the bedroom to be identified with the French royal palace. Thus the caryatids not only serve as architectural decoration, but also imply a connection between the illicit love affair of Paris and Helen and the amoral behavior of the Comte d'Artois, Louis XVI's libertine brother, and the queen Marie-Antoinette. However, it should not be forgotten that in 1787-1789, when this work was painted, the Louvre was no longer a royal residence but housed the Academy, the membership of which included Jacques-Louis David and the young painter Ansiaux.²⁴

The furnishings in *Alexander, Apelles, and Campaspe* are also decorated with Graces, harpies, and other elements which can be related to those in *Paris and Helen*, but the most meaningful links between the two works are the visual references to Paris in Ansiaux's painting. David's Paris holds a lyre, the musical instrument for which he was mocked in the *Iliad*.²⁵ A lyre also appears carved on the console that holds Apelles' palette and brushes just above Ansiaux's signature. Even more significant is the unfinished image sketched on Apelles' easel. This is not the nude portrait of Campaspe as specified by Pliny's text and portrayed in David's version and other representations of the theme. Apelles' drawing clearly represents the embracing figures of Paris and Helen posed very much like David's couple in reverse. Paris can be identified by his distinctive Phrygian cap, and Helen is fully draped in a Greek garment resembling the one worn by her in David's picture.²⁶

The embracing figures of Paris and Helen as the subject of Apelles' painting are unusual, if not unique. The implication of this image is, it seems, that Alexander and Campaspe have been posing together as Paris and Helen for Apelles' painting. We may observe, too, that Ansiaux's Apelles paints Helen from a single ideal model in contrast to Zeuxis's method, as described above, of combining the best features of five beautiful maidens to create her image.

Ansiaux's treatment of the subject extends and enhances the artistic flattery of the patron/ruler. This imagery implies that Alexander is the model for the mythological Paris; however, unlike the self-indulgent Paris, who chose private pleasure over the public good, Alexander represents the virtuous leader who can restrain his passion for a more important benefit, namely the support and encouragement of art. It is interesting, too, that according to ancient history, Alexander the Great disdained the lyre of the adulterer Paris, preferring to admire the lyre of the true hero Achilles.²⁷

In her article Korshak argues that David's *Paris and Helen* was not just an amorous *sujet galant*, but must be understood as a veiled

political allegory. The painting embodies the same moralizing, anti-monarchical sentiments that have been identified in David's paintings such as *The Lictors Returning to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* (Louvre), also shown in 1789, or *The Death of Socrates* (1787, Metropolitan Museum of Art). Several scholars have interpreted these grand neoclassical history paintings in the context of the contemporary French political climate which led to the Revolution, as expressions, intended or implied by circumstances, of current issues of patriotism, civic duty, virtue, and the public and private roles of individuals seen through classical parallels.²⁸ According to Korshak, *Paris and Helen* provided a contrasting pendant to *Brutus*, the Roman citizen who was willing to make a personal sacrifice for the good of the state, by representing his amoral opposite.²⁹

Can Ansiaux's paintings be interpreted similarly as allegories based on the political and social climate around 1830? One can only speculate, since there is virtually no documentation regarding Ansiaux's career or ideas, beyond general studies of the period. Nevertheless, his works can be seen as an optimistic hope for an enlightened, virtuous government which would support the arts. Ansiaux's paintings may have been intended to recall, through their *retardataire* style, an earlier time when art and politics benefited one another under the old monarchy and in the early heroic years of the Revolution when neoclassic history painting flourished.

In support of this view it is important to consider one of the other paintings Ansiaux exhibited at the Salon of 1831. This painting was an allegory called *The Oath of Louis-Philippe I, King of the French*. As described in the Salon catalogue, this elaborate allegory utilized personifications to portray victorious France, lighted by Wisdom, who presents the charter and throne to the lieutenant-general of the realm. The prince, accompanied by his sons, is escorted by Liberty, who, leaning on Justice and supporting Truth, leads a retinue representing the Arts and Commerce. The National Guard stands near the throne, while Fame announces to the world the triumph of the Virtues who hover around the king.³⁰ Ansiaux had exhibited the same painting the previous year in the unofficial exposition held to honor those wounded in the July 1830 uprising with the title of *The Oath Taken, 7 August 1830 . . . by Louis-Philippe I*.³¹

This allegory was an emphatic visual statement in support of the new monarch, and it expressed through pictorial means his role in maintaining the liberty necessary for the arts to flourish. Other academic artists created similar allegories. For example, an oil sketch by Méry-Joseph Blondel represented the female personification of Truth holding the Charter over the vanquished figures of Discord, Hypocrisy, and Despotism, and Ingres had sketched a similar unexecuted allegory of *The People Victorious in July 1830*.³²

9. *Paris and Helen*. Oil painting by Jacques-Louis David. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Ansiaux's allegory is notable for specifically including the arts and commerce as the direct result of good government. His two antique history paintings suggest the same idea in narrative rather than allegorical form. Alexander, the virtuous ruler/patron, and Socrates, the philosopher of Periclean Athens, exemplify the triumph of art and philosophy in times of peace and wise government. Their essentially conservative, idealized neoclassic style and decorous treatment underscore the message of harmony and traditional values which should have appealed to the citizen-monarch of the French people, Louis-Philippe, or at least would have been appreciated by some less well-born citizen-art collectors.

Ansiaux's *Alexander*, *Apelles*, and *Campaspe* seen against this background of theoretical academic art history and practical patronage enlarges our understanding of art's role in politics and society. In addition, the painting, with its theme of ideal artistic creation and appreciation, adds yet another perspective to the long line of images of artist/model/patron in antiquity that illuminate the artist's position as the possessor of the power to invent and imitate reality who is yet dependent on the power of political and commercial interests for reward.

- ¹Paris Salon de 1831. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture des artistes vivans, exposés au musée royal le 1er mai, 1831*, 3; the two paintings discussed in this article are no. 31, *Socrate et Alcibiade chez Aspasié*, and no. 32, *Alexandre, Apelle et Campaspe*.
- ²Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund purchase, oil on canvas, 55 x 65.5 cm, signed: ansiaux f., provenance: Murat Collection (86.25).
- ³Pliny, *Natural History* XXXV, xxxvi, 86-87 (Loeb Classical Library).
- ⁴Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*; see G. Bernier, *Consulat, Empire, Restauration: Art in Early XIX Century France*, exh. cat. (Wildenstein, New York, 1982), 85.
- ⁵*Salon of 1831*, no. 511, "Le 28 juillet: La Liberté guidant le peuple," Musée du Louvre, Paris; see *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art and Detroit Institute of Arts (Wayne State University Press, 1975), 381-84, no. 41; and Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France 1830-1848* (New Haven, 1988), 27-77.
- ⁶A. Tardieu, *Annales du musée* (Paris, 1831), 190.
- ⁷For example, Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists* (1550), and Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogues on Painting* (1557), alluded to this legend in their writings about Renaissance artists, and several Renaissance engravings illustrated the story. See D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in the Humanist Tradition* (New Haven, 1981), 187ff.
- ⁸John Lyly, *Campaspe* (London, 1594), was about this love triangle. Charles Demoustier also published and produced a play on this theme, *Apelle et Campaspe* (Paris, 1798). See also W. W. Roworth, "Pictor Succensor": *A Study of Salvator Rosa as Satirist, Cynic, and Painter* (New York and London, 1978), 316-17.
- ⁹*Apelles in His Studio with Alexander and Campaspe*, Jean Restout (1692-1768), oil on canvas, 34.5 x 52 cm, Préfecture, Lyons. Fig. 3 shows an oil sketch for this work that was sold at Sotheby's, New York, in 1987.
- ¹⁰Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, panel, 96 x 136 cm; see *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art and Detroit Institute of Arts (Wayne State University Press, 1975), 374-75, no. 37.
- ¹¹M. Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848* (New Haven, 1988), 20-22.
- ¹²Located in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I., oil on canvas, 42 x 46.4 cm, signed and dated 1794.
- ¹³Location unknown, oil on canvas, 42 x 46 cm, 1794.
- ¹⁴W. W. Roworth, "The Gentle Art of Persuasion: Angelica Kauffman's *Praxiteles and Phryne*," *Art Bulletin* LXV, 3 (September, 1983) 488-92.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, 488.
- ¹⁶Another celebrated ancient sculptor was Pygmalion, who fell in love not with his model, but with the statue he had created of the nymph Galatea. See E. Kris and O. Kurz, *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist* (New Haven, 1979), 117.

- ¹⁷Ibid., 61-62; and E. Panofsky, *Idea, A Concept in Art Theory*, trans. by J. Peake (New York, 1968), for a full discussion of this concept in art theory.
- ¹⁸*Zeuxis and the Maidens of Crotona*, Otto Van Veen (1556-1629), brush and oil sketch on paper, 15.4 x 30 cm. See W. H. Schab Gallery, New York, *Master Drawings and Prints from European Private Collections* (1975), 15-16, no. 55. Peter Paul Rubens, who studied with Van Veen, used this drawing as a source for the subject. See E. McGrath, "Rubens's House," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XLI (1978) 268, pl. 36c.
- ¹⁹*Zeuxis and the Maidens of Crotona*, ca. 1780, Angelica Kauffman (1740-1807), oil on canvas, 82.5 x 106 cm., Annmary Brown Memorial, Brown University.
- ²⁰See for example Kauffman's self-portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, or *The Artist in the Character of Design Listening to the Inspiration of Poetry*, the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London. See D. Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art, Studies in Inspiration and Taste* (London, 1966), 152, pl. 149, and *Angelika Kauffman und ihre Zeitgenossen*, exh. cat. (Bregenz, Vorarlberger Landesmuseum, 1968), no. 4, pl. 1.
- ²¹*French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art and Detroit Institute of Arts (Wayne State University Press, 1975), 375; A. Brookner, *Jacques-Louis David* (New York, 1980).
- ²²*Paris and Helen*, 1789, Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- ²³Y. Korshak, "Paris and Helen by Jacques-Louis David: Choice and Judgement on the Eve of the French Revolution," *Art Bulletin* LXIX, 1 (March, 1987) 105-15; and F. H. Dowley and Y. Korshak, "An Exchange on Jacques-Louis David's Paris and Helen," *Art Bulletin* LXX, 3 (September, 1988) 504-20.
- ²⁴Dowley and Korshak, "An Exchange," 505.
- ²⁵*Iliad* III.54f. See Korshak, "Paris and Helen by Jacques-Louis David," 106.
- ²⁶Ibid., 105.
- ²⁷Ibid., 106, citing Dacier's commentary on the *Iliad*.
- ²⁸T. E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, 1985), chapter 7; and by the same author, "The Oath of the Horatii in 1785," *Art History* I (1975) 424-71.
- ²⁹Korshak, "Paris and Helen by Jacques-Louis David," 113-16.
- ³⁰*Salon de 1831*, 3, no. 33.
- ³¹*Exposition au profit des blessés des 27, 28, 29 juillet 1830* (Paris, 1830), no. 475.
- ³²Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France 1830-1848* (New Haven, 1988), 46-48, figs. 62, 63. The painting by Blondel is in the Musée Baron, Gray, and the Ingres sketch is in the Musée Ingres, Montauban.

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