ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN ART HISTORY

REPRESENTING THE PAST IN THE ART OF THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

HISTORICISM, POSTMODERNISM, AND INTERNATIONALISM

Edited by
MATTHEW C. POTTER

ROUTLEDGE

Representing the Past in the Art of the Long Nineteenth Century

This edited collection explores the intersection of historical studies and the artistic representation of the past in the long nineteenth century.

The case studies provide not just an account of the pursuit of history in art within Western Europe but also examples from beyond that sphere. These cover canonical and conventional examples of history painting as well as more inclusive, 'popular', and vernacular visual cultural phenomena. General themes explored include the problematics internal to the theory and practice of academic history painting and historical genre painting, including compositional devices and the authenticity of artefacts depicted; relationships of power and purpose in historical art; the use of historical art for alternative Liberal and authoritarian ideals; the international cross-fertilization of ideas about historical art; and exploration of the diverse influences of socioeconomic and geopolitical factors.

This book will be of particular interest to scholars of the histories of nineteenth-century art and culture.

Matthew C. Potter is Professor in Art and Design History at Northumbria University.

Cover image: Pio Joris, *The Flight of Pope Eugene IV* (1883), unknown artist/photographer, c.1900, postcard, published by Ernesto Richter, Rome. Private collection.

Routledge Research in Art History

Routledge Research in Art History is our home for the latest scholarship in the field of art history. The series publishes research monographs and edited collections, covering areas including art history, theory, and visual culture. These high-level books focus on art and artists from around the world and from a multitude of time periods. By making these studies available to the worldwide academic community, the series aims to promote quality art history research.

Public Statues Across Time and Cultures
Edited by Christopher P. Dickenson

Mapping Impressionist Painting in Transnational Contexts
Edited by Emily C. Burns and Alice M. Rudy Price

Modern Art in Cold War Beirut
Drawing Alliances
Sarah Rogers

Italian Painting in the Age of Unification
Laura L. Watts

East-West Artistic Transfer through Rome, Armenia and the Silk Road
Sharing St. Peter's
Christiane Esche-Ramshorn

Interpreting Modernism in Korean Art
Fluidity and Fragmentation
Edited by Kyunghee Pyun and Jung-Ah Woo

Representing the Past in the Art of the Long Nineteenth Century
Historicism, Postmodernism, and Internationalism
Edited by Matthew C. Potter

Greek and Roman Painting and the Digital Humanities
Edited by Marie-Claire Beaulieu and Valérie Toillon

Loss in French Romantic Art, Literature, and Politics
Jonathan P. Ribner

For more information about this series, please visit: https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Research-in-Art-History/book-series/RRAH

Representing the Past in the Art of the Long Nineteenth Century

Historicism, Postmodernism, and Internationalism

Edited by Matthew C. Potter

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2022
by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Potter, Matthew C. (Matthew Charles), editor.
Title: Representing the past in the art of the long nineteenth century : historicism, postmodernism, and internationalism / edited by Matthew C. Potter.
Description: New York : Routledge, 2022. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2021016734 (print) | LCCN 2021016735 (ebook) | ISBN 9781138544352 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032105888 (paperback) | ISBN 9781351004183 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: History in art. | Art, Modern--19th century--Themes, motives. | Art and society--History--19th century.
Classification: LCC N8210.R47 2022 (print) | LCC N8210 (ebook) | DDC 709.03/4--dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021016734
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021016735

ISBN: 978-1-138-54435-2 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-10588-8 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-351-00418-3 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781351004183

Typeset in Sabon
by MPS Limited, Dehradun

Contents

Illustrations

Contributors

Charlotte Ashby lectures on art and design history at Birkbeck, University of London. She received her PhD in 2007 from the University of St Andrews for a thesis looking at architecture and national identity in Finland. Her research focuses on the intersections between modernity, nationalism, and internationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She is a co-editor of the collection *Imagined Cosmopolis: Internationalism and Cultural Exchange, 1870s–1920s* (2019) and author of *Modernism in Scandinavia: Art, Architecture and Design* (2017) and *The New Art of Art Nouveau: Art, Architecture and Design 1880–1914* (2021).

Piers Baker-Bates is a visiting research associate in art history with the Open University. His research concerns processes of cultural exchange between Italy and Spain in the sixteenth century. He received his PhD on the Roman career of Sebastiano del Piombo from the University of Cambridge in 2006 and has published several articles on Sebastiano in journals such as *Renaissance Studies*. He was awarded a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at the Open University and has been a scholar of both the British School at Rome and the Dutch Institute in Florence. He is a co-editor of *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia* (2014), with Miles Pattenden, and *Almost Eternal paintings on stone and material innovation* (2018), with Elena Calvillo. He is also the author of a monographic study on *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome* (2016).

Stephen Bann is Emeritus Professor of History of Art at the University of Bristol. His work ranges broadly from the representation of history, the dissemination of print images, to the criticism and history of modern art. The prestigious awards he has received include a Fellowship of the British Academy (1998), a Senior Mellon Fellowship (2003), Commander of the Order of the British Empire (2004), a Senior Fellowship at the Yale Center for British Art (2012–14) and a Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries of London (2009). His key works relevant to this publication include *The Clothing of Clio* (1984), *The Inventions of History* (1990), *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (1995), *Paul Delaroche: History Painted* (1997), and exhibitions of and catalogues to *Painting History: Delaroche and Lady Jane Grey* (2010), with Linda Whiteley, and *L'Invention du passé: Histoires de coeur et d'épée en Europe 1802–50* (2014), with Stéphane Paccoud.

Julie Codell is Professor of Art History, at Arizona State University, and an affiliate in English, Gender Studies, Center for Asian Research, and Film and Media Studies. She has published articles on Victorian art and literature, the Pre-Raphaelites, the

Victorian press, and India under the Raj. She wrote *The Victorian Artist* (2003) and *Images of an Idyllic Past: Edward Curtis's Photographs* (1988); edited *Transculturation in British Art* (2012), *Power and Resistance: The Delhi Coronation Durbars* (2012), *The Political Economy of Art* (2008), *Genre, Gender, Race, World Cinema* (2007) and *Imperial Co-Histories* (2003); and co-edited *Encounters in the Victorian Press* (2004) and *Orientalism Transposed* (1998).

Eveline Deneer is Lecturer of Modern and Contemporary Art at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. She received her PhD in 2019 at Université Paris 1-Panthéon-Sorbonne for a thesis on the transnational dimensions of historical genre painting in France, Germany, and Italy in the early nineteenth century. She participated in the preparation of the exhibition *L'Invention du passé. Histoires de coeur et d'épé en Europe 1802–50*, curated by Stephen Bann and Stéphane Paccoud at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon in 2014, and held fellowships at the Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte in Paris and the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds. Previously she worked as assistant at the Fondation Custodia in Paris and at the Galerie Nicolaas Teeuwisse in Berlin. Recent publications include 'La vogue des gravures de reproduction dans les almanachs du début du XIX^e^ siècle' in *Histo.Art*, 10 (2018), 185–200 and contributions to Joep Leerssen, ed., *Encylopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (romanticnationalism.net).

Ahmet A. Ersoy is Associate Professor at the Department of History, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. His work deals with the history of the Late Ottoman Empire, with a special focus on the changing role and status of visual culture during a period of westernizing change. He is the author of *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (2015). Ersoy's recent research involves a study of photography and other means of mechanical image-reproduction in the late Ottoman world. He aims to understand the broader impact of this new media regime in the context of Ottoman culture, with a particular focus on the entwined histories of photography and print culture. His publications include 'Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals', *History of Photography*, 40:3 (September 2016), 330–357.

Nick Pearce holds the Richmond Chair of Fine Art at the University of Glasgow, where he specializes in the arts of China. His career has spanned both museums and universities, having held positions at the Victoria & Albert Museum, The Burrell Collection in Glasgow, and Durham and Edinburgh universities. He is currently a Smithsonian Institution Research Associate. His research interests include photography in late nineteenth-century China and the history of collecting Chinese art, including provenance research. His recent publications include (with Jason Steuber), *Original Intentions: Essays on Production, Reproduction and Interpretation in the Arts of China* (2012), 'From relic to relic: A brief history of the skull of Confucius', *Journal of the History of Collections* 26:2 (2014), 'From the Summer Palace 1860: Provenance and Politics', in Louise Tythacott, ed., *Collecting and Displaying China's 'Summer Palace' in the West (2018)* and *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, with Jane Milosch (2019).

Matthew C. Potter is Professor in Art and Design History at Northumbria University, Newcastle. His publications on national identity, international exchange, and

imperialism in visual culture between c.1850 and c.1950 include monographs on *The Inspirational Genius of Germany: British Art and Germanism, 1850–1939* (2012) and *British Art for Australia: The Acquisition of Artworks from the United Kingdom by Australian National Galleries, 1860–1953* (2019), the edited collection of *The concept of the 'Master' in art education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the present* (2013), and articles on 'British Art and Empire: Holman Hunt's *The Light of the World* Reflected in the Mirror of the Colonial Press', in *Media History* 13:1 (2007), and '"Bold Liberals Who Fought for the Cause of Freedom": The German Reception of the Graphic Satires of James Gillray and Thomas Rowlandson at the Fin De Siècle (1895–1908)', in *Visual Culture in Britain* 20:2 (2019).

Monika Alicja Rutecka-Baynes originally studied economics at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Poland and Paul Valéry University in France. In 2005, she enrolled at the University of Kent to study for her PhD in Art History. Having obtained the Colyer Ferguson Award in 2008, she conducted research in the development of Socialist Realism in pre- and post-Second World War Polish and Russian art. In 2010, Monika participated in the 'Art Histories, Cultural Studies and the Cold War' conference held at the University of London, where she presented a paper on the Polish nineteenth-century painter Jan Matejko. In 2012, she received her doctorate for a dissertation on Polish Socialist Realism. Her main interests lie in the field of political propaganda and its repercussions within a cultural context.

Tom Stammers is Associate Professor of Modern European History at the University of Durham. His first book, *The Purchase of the Past: The Culture of Collecting in Post-Revolutionary Paris c.1790–1890* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2020. He continues to publish widely on topics related to collecting, museums and cultural heritage, as well as the legacies and historiography of the French Revolution. Tom is a co-investigator on the major AHRC-funded project *'Jewish' Country Houses: Objects, Networks, People* (2019–23), examining the importance of Jewish art dealers and collectors in modern Europe. Beyond Jewish cultural history, Tom is also researching the politics and material culture of the Orléans family in exile. In addition to his work as a historian, Tom has worked as a guest curator on exhibitions and is also a regular reviewer and feature writer for arts magazines like *Apollo*.

Jochen Wierich is the Lena E.S. Meijer Professor in Art History at Aquinas College and the Curator of Sculpture and Sculpture Exhibitions at Frederik Meijer Gardens & Sculpture Park. After receiving his MA in American Studies at the Universität of Frankfurt am Main and his PhD in American Studies at the College of William & Mary, Virginia, he pursued a dual career in academia and museums. He was a Smithsonian Institution Postdoctoral Fellow and a Terra Foundation Senior Visiting Professor at Freie Universität Berlin. Among his publications on American art in a transatlantic context are *Internationalizing the History of American Art: Views* (2009, co-edited with Barbara Groseclose), and *Grand Themes: Emanuel Leutze,* Washington Crossing the Delaware, *and American History Painting* (2012). As a curator, he has organized exhibitions in historic and contemporary art, including *Picturing Mississippi, 1817–2017: Land of Plenty, Promise, and Pain* (2017) for the Mississippi Museum of Art.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This edited collection grew out of the *Representing the Past in the Nineteenth Century* panel at the Association of Art Historians conference hosted by the University of Warwick in 2011, which I co-convened with Professor Phillip Lindley. Dr Charlotte Ashby, Dr Piers Baker-Bates, Dr Eveline Deneer, Dr Lloyd Grossman, Dr Elena Kashina, Dr Laura MacCulloch, Professor Lindley, and I contributed papers on that occasion. Additionally, Professor Stephen Bann kindly agreed to act as the respondent.

Contributions to the conference and planned essays that could not be ultimately included in this volume provided insights into antiquarian sketching, historically informed textile designs, as well as episodes of Italian and Russian historical art. The evolution of publications makes such changes inevitable, but I am grateful that the project has nevertheless been able to expand to include valuable contributions that extend its international scope to include America, China, and Turkey.

I would like to thank all contributors for their efforts over the years, and for the fruitful discussions we have had on our topics. I also thank Professor Lindley, for while he was not able to contribute his interesting paper to this volume, the discussions we had around organizing the session and initially framing the book project were important. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Bann for his generous support and agreement to write the foreword and contribute a essay to the edited collection. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the staff and readers at Ashgate and Routledge who provided invaluable editorial support and suggestions.

Matthew C. Potter
Northumbria University, Newcastle

Foreword

Present-day historians tend to look askance at the visual representation of historical subjects in earlier periods. In the catalogue for an exhibition around Paul Delaroche's *Jane Grey*, which opened in London in 2010, the Tudor historian John Guy demonstrated that a nineteenth-century antiquary had been so overcome by his admiration for the work that he incorporated suspect material deriving from Delaroche's composition into his purportedly historical account. Guy acknowledged this was 'a testimony to the power of art'. But another Tudor historian, appearing later in a television series on the life of Jane Grey, condemned Delaroche's work unreservedly as 'a rubbish painting', where only the 'straw' before the executioner's block could be regarded as authentic.

How should we understand that for the informed onlooker of the present, the glass appears to be more than half empty, while for the nineteenth-century audience it seemed at least half full? It should be stressed that the apparent anomaly involves an important historical issue. The 'power of art' is not timeless. It has been radically dependent on the historical development of modes of viewing, and on the availability of different forms of visual reproduction. In his study, *The Print before Photography*, Antony Griffiths signalled a change in the perception of visual information which occurred over the nineteenth century. Recalling an incident when 'an observant scholar' had pointed to inconsistencies in the picturing of the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall in seventeenth-century prints of the Execution of Charles I, Griffiths suggested that such inconsistencies only came to be perceived as a problem when photographic reproductions became ubiquitous. The photograph offered a measure of 'likeness' that the traditional arts could never achieve. Judgements about the validity of nineteenth-century historical representations still seem to be governed implicitly by the photographic paradigm. Not qualified to compete with the analogical accuracy of the photograph, such representations are broken down into specific details, each of which needs to be confirmed, or relegated as inauthentic.

The contributors to this collection take a strictly historical point of view in tracking the development of historical representation in the nineteenth century. They are aware that it is not a matter of 'art' conflicting with 'history' but of 'the intersection of historical studies and artistic representations of the past'. There were many historical factors that combined to re-orientate the mission of the visual arts in the first half of the nineteenth century, initially in Europe but also in other regions of the world. What appears basically as a change of subject matter was driven by constraints and opportunities opening up in the decades following the French Revolution. New nations searched their history for visual symbols to confirm their identity, while older nations were intent on reassessing their existing vision of the past. For the latter, it was a question of interrogating a tradition of 'history painting' that had originated in

France in the seventeenth century. The repertoire of classical literature had offered essentially timeless subjects to the academic painter. But their 'malleability' in the period after the Napoleonic wars posed a problem when history painter Delécluze's *Augustus and Cinna* could slide from being a tribute to Napoleon to celebrating one of his conqueror, the Russian Tsar.

In Napoleonic France, the smaller 'genre' painting associated with the Dutch and Flemish schools had already provided a niche for sentimental subjects selected from Medieval and Renaissance history. The process began with the Lyon school and gathered pace in France throughout the Restoration so that by the 1830s a newly enlarged and expanded variety of 'historical genre' was usurping the precedence reserved for Greece, Rome, and the Bible. Painters in the newly emerging Belgian state were importing this new genre, supplying appropriate themes from their own history. Even in Spain, which had a great pictorial tradition of its own, the continuing political conflict engendered a need for art 'as a means to create heroic national myths'. Throughout the century new circumstances created new points of reference. Not content with a classical or a romantic hero, the Polish painter Matejko elected in 1862 to enshrine an ironic vision of his nation's destiny in the image of a prescient Renaissance court jester, Stanczyk. By the end of the century, historical painting had entered an experimental mode in its treatment of the past, while still satisfying a need for collective symbolism. Ford Madox Brown's cycle of murals in Manchester Town Hall, completed in 1893, approached treated the history of a great industrial city by visualizing 'multiple temporalities ironically juxtaposed'. But also in the 1890s, while Finland was tied to the Russian Empire, Gallen-Kallela began to forge a new visual identity that drew upon the traditional epic poetry of his region.

This collection of essays is not confined to Europe. It connects the development of the new 'historical genre' with the growth of a world-wide system of visual communication. What took place in individual countries depended not just on the creation of novel works of art but on the accelerating processes of visual communication. Lithography narrowed the temporal gap between a historical event and its representation. Wood engravings circulating in illustrated magazines, though eventually superseded by photography, achieved over the century an unprecedented mass circulation of images, without which the mission to create collective symbols would have remained hollow. This makes it opportune to look beyond Europe to the United States and Australia. It was the marketing in America of prints after Delaroche and other exponents of 'historical genre' that supported the German expatriate Leutze in finding an audience for his iconic picture of *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. With regard to Australia, attempts by local experts to eliminate 'bombastic history paintings' from the record patently ignore the significance of a nineteenth-century visual culture based on prints. The penetration of new print media into the cultural domain of Ottoman Turkey accounts for the emergence of a mode of representing history, 'superimposed' on 'contemporary reality'. Even in China, while Western painting remained virtually unknown, Western prints were a vehicle for achieving a new historical vision.

Stephen Bann
University of Bristol

1 From the Abstract World of Ideas to the Truest Possible Representation of the Historical Event

An Introduction to Historical Art in the Long Nineteenth Century

Matthew C. Potter

This edited collection aims to broaden the scope of inquiry for the exploration of nineteenth-century artistic representations of the past. The question of what precisely lies within this field is contestable, as is indeed the term 'historical art' itself (see pp. 15–16). Nineteenth-century artworks and debates challenged the traditional parameters of academic history painting not only in terms of style and content but also media, taking in reproductive practices (photographic and print-based) as well as the applied and decorative arts. The chapters in this book do not, therefore, narrowly focus on the perceived crisis in history painting, nor do they attempt to encyclopaedically cover a full range of media and responses. Instead, they open lines of inquiry that demonstrate similarities and differences, as well as continuities and changes, over space and time during the long nineteenth century, and as such it is part of a growing movement dedicated to better understanding the topic.[1]

The preeminent status of painting in the nineteenth century is undeniable and is reflected in the chapters of this volume. Not only was history painting at the apex of the academic hierarchy of the genres, but many artists seeking to innovate continued to do so via large-scale easel painting. The broader category of 'historical painting' dominated contemporary discourses on historical art both due to its popular appeal but also due to its spectacular nature. By contrast, photographic journals and art prints of historical subjects were consumed by individuals or small groups often in domestic or institutional spaces (e.g., clubs or libraries). Such 'private' experiences are important for understanding the full scope of historical art practices and receptions; however, the 'public' impact of gallery paintings of historical subjects is key for establishing the socio-economic and cultural scale of the phenomenon.

In providing a framework for the volume, this introduction re-examines the European bedrock of historical painting, but also makes the case for moving beyond it. It exposes the fragility of overly simplistic notions of 'universality' within the historical imagination which were central to European thought in the Renaissance, during the Enlightenment and beyond (e.g., in nineteenth-century Positivism). Meanwhile, the assumption that there was one correct interpretation of history led Europeans to misrepresent the histories of other nations, especially those over which they exerted imperial influence. In the artistic realm, the effect of European academies, modelled on Neoclassical and Renaissance principles, was to blinker the geographical focus of their historical painting further, and those working in other parts of the world, beyond the direct influence of such institutions, were nevertheless touched by such ideals through imported examples.

DOI: 10.4324/9781351004183-1

The act of thinking about the past, or 'historical mindedness', was central to much nineteenth-century cultural production. Subtle distinctions may be drawn between activities involving historical imagining (producing mental images or concepts about the past, ranging from flights of fancy to more formal cognitive structures for understanding the past) and historical image and text-making (creating texts – artworks or written documents – which materially record or reconstruct past events). The two are related but are also discrete. In art historical terms, historicism is usually defined as a stylistic recreation of a past event or imitation of work produced by past artists or artisans. The naturalistic depiction of a historic figure (e.g., Ford Madox Brown's *William Shakespeare* (1849–65)), the depiction of a figure in a historic period style or artistic zeitgeist (e.g., Albert Joseph Moore's *A Venus* (1869) with its emulation of Roman sculpture), and a work that made explicit art historical reference (e.g., John Everett Millais' *Hearts are Trumps* (1872) quoting Joshua Reynolds' *The Ladies Waldegrave* (1780–81)) involve subtly different forms of mental work around historical consciousness, verisimilitude, and masquerade. To appreciate what visual historicism represents, it is necessary to establish the contextual elements that informed practices. These include the rise and fall of history painting in European art academies, its succession by historical genre painting (the depiction of dramatic or pathetic incidents from history not usually explicitly referenced in the pages of history books), political contexts, the role played by socio-economic change, and the interactions that took place between professional artists and historians, all of which affected the way artists and audiences perceived both the past and artworks with historical subjects. Examining how nineteenth-century practitioners looked at the past via historical art also reveals their self-consciousness about how their present was changing and what function historical reflection served for them in negotiating these developments.

Historical art has been variously neglected, dismissed, or underused by scholars, due to resistance from historians (questioning both the validity of imagery as a source, and the elitism and 'flabby conceptual terminology' of art history) and art historians (some of whom have judged it an inferior artistic genre).[2] Nevertheless, the making of images of historical events was an important analogue to other types of historical imagination and as such should not be ignored.[3] The nineteenth century saw the ever-increasing professionalization of the worlds of both historians and artists. The chapters in this collection demonstrate how competing ideas about history and historical agency (e.g., Neoclassicism and Romanticism), and the various techniques for investigating the past (e.g., archaeology, antiquarianism, and historicism), were employed to make effective arguments about the past during the long nineteenth century. Diversity and 'hybridity' are also explored, not only in examples surveyed in Europe and the British World but also beyond in China and Turkey, contributing to a more sophisticated understanding of a globalized and heterogeneous version of visual historicism. There are many ways in which the contents could have been organized, for example, around the themes of antiquarianism, nationalism, imperialism, different media, or regions, for example. Rather than structuring the chapters within such confining parameters, a chronological order has been adopted, allowing readers to weave their own thematic narratives, as this introduction goes on to do, in order to form various insights over space and time.

Beyond academia, the importance of representations of the past has come to the fore recently during campaigns such as 'Rhodes Must Fall', resulting in the removal of Marion Walgate's 1934 sculpture of Cecil Rhodes in Cape Town (2015) , 'Gandhi

Must Fall' in Accra (2018) where a sculpture of the former Indian leader was removed from the campus of the University of Ghana, and calls for the same treatment of Henry Alfred Pegram's 1911 sculpture of the imperialist on the façade of Balliol College, Oxford (2020), together with protests for and against the removal of statues of Christopher Columbus, Confederate generals, and politicians in the United States, especially during the opening months of the Black Lives Matter movement.[4] The 2020 toppling of John Cassidy's sculpture of *Edward Colston* (1895) in Bristol highlights the continued potency of historical art and changing values in relation to evolving public receptions. The commentary of prominent historians on these issues emphasizes the importance of these professionals in steering debates over the representation of the past.[5]

Approaching a Definition of Historical Art in the Long Nineteenth Century

Defining what historical art means is 'one of the great unanswered questions in the history of art'.[6] The situation was no different in the nineteenth century. While practitioners of history painting continued to argue for its primacy, most nineteenth-century historical artists often possessed agendas that sharply contrasted with those of the inner academic sanctum. Additionally, visual culture scholars from the late twentieth century onwards have drawn upon a wider range of sources, including antiquarian sketches, coins, medals, and sculptural busts. 'Historical art' is used here, therefore, as a useful catch-all term including high and low genres, fine and decorative as well as academic and popular art. Crucially this term is not anachronistic – it was used during the nineteenth century (see p. 14), although 'historical painting' was more common (see pp. 15, 16, and 21).

Furthermore, a problematic conception of historical art also existed in the nineteenth century. Artists could select contemporary events which they perceived as having a historic bearing for future audiences. Some awareness existed amongst artists and critics about the contentious nature of such confections, for these artworks were liable to be seen as records of nineteenth-century historical imagination rather than presentations of objective historical facts (see p. 16-17 and 21). The mechanics of the process were important: how an artwork was constructed, what sources were used, and what these actions and decisions mean all need explanation. Bernard Smith helpfully analysed the production of historical meaning in artworks, and in doing so identified a key challenging division between the primary act of making artworks (aesthetic value) and their subsequent and secondary employment in heritage contexts (historic value).[7] The chapters here take such categorization further. Adding historical mindedness into the equation potentially allows for a bridge to be built between the two values mapped by Smith, because these artworks were created with the specific intention to have both aesthetic and historical effects.

An appreciation of how nineteenth-century artists approached their historical source material is also needed, for example, in their use of antiquarianism, archaeology, and axioms of authenticity in their preparatory research. The contribution of antiquarianism to historical mindedness was marginalized via the professionalization of historical studies.[8] However, its methodological techniques – collecting scraps with a direct connection to the past – continued to appeal to non-expert and non-Western audiences.[9] Walter Scott, for example, had a deep-felt

interest in archaeology and antiquarianism, as evidenced by his practice of collecting old ballads and other objects at Abbotsford.[10] The suggestion of what new artistic forms might be made from fractured remains involved the same imagination function as palaeontological reconstructions, for example.[11] Reference to historic studies of costume and ancient literary sources abound in the chapters that follow, for example, in the practice of the French 'troubadour' painters (Deneer) and the academic research undertaken at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków which inspired Matejko (Rutecka-Baynes). The use of architectural sources, applied arts, costumes and textiles in Finland (Ashby), and mobile photography in Turkey (Ersoya) demonstrates that the makers of historical art did not confine themselves to academic sources or conventional media but rather embraced popular and modern materials as well. The repurposing of historic materials often involved subtle transformations. Expert categorisations and datings of objects were frequently inexactly applied by artists for whom historical accuracy was less important than aesthetic authenticity, ironically undermining the values which had originally drawn them to their sources and inspired their historical mindedness. The authenticating nature of historic objects is evoked in Martin Heidegger's concept of 'thingliness' (Wierich). This speaks to the special power of artworks compared with other historical texts. Issues of veracity and historical realism arise again as debatable terms when considering the demotion of Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851: fig. 6.1) from 'epic masterpiece to inauthentic artifact' (Wierich). Yet the artifice of bringing together disparate historical objects into a homogenized whole is highlighted by the deployment of 'bricolage' as a metaphor for the contentious technique employed by Ford Madox Brown in his murals (Codell). Similarly, the morphology of the journalistic vision of history involved a complex melange of photographic images and directional texts, which manipulated the experience of readers who were exposed to distinct layers of geological, palaeontological, and archaeological history via the framing devices of seriality, multiplicity, and equivalence (Ersoya).

The inauthenticity of Matejko's *The Sermon of Piotr Skarga* (1864: fig. 9.1), (Rutecka-Baynes) was arguably less important than its power to speak to its Polish audience, and invention was tacitly accepted in Finland where there was a 'challenging paucity of available historical material' (Ashby). Even in Australia where William Strutt actively advertised his use of eye-witness material, he, like so many artists, felt obliged to tweak the facts in order to tell an improved and more impactful version of history (Potter). Artists of this period were in the peculiar position of enjoying a new embarrassment of riches when it came to public museums and the source material they offered. The nineteenth century might be fairly described as the 'age of museums' with the Louvre opening the way to a great swathe of public art galleries across the world.[12] These created important breeding grounds for historical art in Europe (Stammers, Codell, and Ashby) and the 'new worlds' of America and Australia (Wierich and Potter). These chapters also underline the importance of the print trade in allowing the transmission of historical art to audiences beyond the walls of such institutions, via official and pirated prints in France (Bann), America (Wierich), and China (Pearce). Illusory historic paintings that presented what seem to be eyewitness accounts were rarely 'literal' reconstructions based on reliable written documents. Paul Delaroche's *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833), for

example, was a self-conscious imagining based on apocryphal Protestant propaganda circulated after the monarch's execution.[13] Stylistic revivalists like the Nazarenes and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood actively indulged in play-acting and fabrication, as evident in Friedrich Overbeck's *Portrait of the Painter Franz Pforr* (1810/1865), which showed his friend in old German costume, and David Wilkie Wynfield's photographic portraits of British artists in historic fancy dress.[14]

The danger of exclusivity is perpetual. In addition to the inevitable Eurocentric bias of studies of historical art mentioned earlier (see p. 1), it is important to note how the middle-class and masculine register of the long nineteenth century affected its forms. The majority of the artists making historical artworks, and the subjects they chose, were men. There were important exceptions, such as Angelica Kaufmann and Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, whose allegorical artworks, such as *Calypso Mournful after the Departure of Ulysses* (1777) and *Peace bringing back Abundance* (1780) respectively, were of the highest academic quality.[15] As the professionalization of the artistic field progressed during the nineteenth century academies increasingly sought to bar women, although many middle-class female artists sought out educations via alternate routes, including David's students Angélique Mongez and Sophie Frémiet in France, and Anna Mary Howitt, Louise Jopling, Henrietta Ward, and Lucy Madox Brown in Britain, and similarly established positions for themselves in the world of art criticism such as Elizabeth Eastlake, Marc de Montifaud, and Judith Gautier.[16] The historical agency of women was promoted in such works as Howitt's *Boadicea Brooding over Her Wrongs* (1856), but their intended sermons, celebrating female self-sacrifice and defiance, often went unheeded by male audiences, including John Ruskin, who dismissively exclaimed to the artist 'What do you know about Boadicea? Leave such subjects alone and paint me a pheasant's wing'.[17]

Racial difference is also highlighted in historical art practices. Not only did ideas about history differ between cultures, but the interaction of cultures often produced hybrid outputs that reflect the complexities of dynamic cross-fertilization. The principles of historical painting were often exported with colonial rule, for example, in India under under the British empire, where Ravi Varma adopted European historical painting traditions to promote Nationalistic ends.[18] Under such circumstances the Western rhetoric for historical art could thus be adopted, adapted, or subverted. That imperialism features as a common thread in the following chapters is unsurprising given that the long nineteenth century, especially the latter part, was also an 'age of empire'.[19] Numerous scholars have traced the cultural repercussions of that phenomenon, and in particular the impact of empire on the European psyche.[20] Colonial power structures generated oppositional centrifugal and centripetal cultural forces promoting centralized coherence and self-determined diversity, respectively, with an intermediary hybridity where encounters caused potentially more confusing mixtures.[21] The challenge of using history to assert dominance, often to paper over the cracks of a faltering colonial hold, is evident in Europe but also in China and Turkey. Subversion informed the adoption of hybridized forms of Western historical painting to commemorate the suppression of internal forces by the Qing empire during the Nian Rebellion (Pearce). Meanwhile, the Abdülhamid regime of the Ottoman empire sponsored the creation of histories that narrativized and memorialized historical spaces to support the Sunni Muslim concept of imperial identity

(Ersoya). History was likewise a powerful tool for artists supporting Australian nationalism as well as those insistent on the common bond with Britain (Potter).

History for the People: The Popularization and Professionalization of Historical Writing

Historical writing often inspired the historical mindedness of artists and their audiences, but so too did recent events. The French Revolution is frequently viewed as having given birth to the modern age: not only did it bring distinct political ruptures in European culture, as Friedrich Schiller recognised, but it also transformed attitudes to the past with the overthrow of many traditions.[22] Subsequently, history became a powerful tool for politicians and state-sponsored historians to articulate centrist identities for new nations, but it also empowered resistance to such policies, enabling popular alternative histories to be composed by representatives of groups disenfranchised due to their ethnicities, politics, regional status, and/or religions.[23] New 'imagined communities' and 'invented traditions' were manufactured to reimagine the past to compensate for the alienating effects of modernity, processes complicated further by the disruptive effects of memory and nostalgia.[24] Art historians have long been aware of how art has been deployed to support nationalist ideologies; however, transnational connections often undermine the illusory nature of these hermetic and integral visions. The international exchange of ideas and objects, and their reinterpretation or repurposing by their recipients, is a prominent thread in the essays that follow. The French troubadour artists are compared to their German equivalents (especially the Düsseldorf school) in their attempts to look back to seventeenth-century Dutch art for inspiration (Deneer). Not only were Spanish historical painters influenced by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres and Delaroche, alongside Diego Velázquez, but they often worked in Paris and Rome (Baker-Bates). Perhaps surprisingly, given the dominance of French history painting traditions and the status of Paris as a primary art centre, German international influences in the nineteenth century were great. Not only did Carl Friedrich Lessing and Emanuel Leutze take German ideas to the United States via their artworks, but the latter used Napoleonic imagery in his work (Wierich), but time in Munich also impacted on the practices of Matejko (Rutecka-Baynes) and G.F. Folingsby (Potter). More globally, there was reciprocity via the international print trade: French prints influenced hybridized historical art in China (Pearce), and Akseli Gallen-Kallela took inspiration from Japanese graphic art (Ashby). Furthermore, Western technologies such as the camera transformed the potential of non-Western regions to autonomously represent their own historical imaginations (Ersoya). National boundaries were effectively dissolved completely in relation to notions of shared pasts, evident, for example, in the classical allusions apparent in the work of Delécluze and others (Stammers), and the use of Pan-Finnic archaeology in Finland (Ashby), while nationalistic critics perversely argued for the consanguinity of Dutch and German art in order to stave off the attempts of the French troubadours to claim that artistic birth right (Deneer).

New appetites for history were created as urban populations grew at unprecedented rates in response to nineteenth-century industrialization.[25] Between 1800 and 1910 the number of city dwellers in England increased from 23% to 75%, in Germany from 9% to 49%, with an overall European trend of growth from 12% to 41%.[26] This led to increased rates of education and literacy (reaching 95% in

Western Europe by 1900) as well as book production (doubling from approximately 2500 to 5000 books per annum between the 1840s and 1850s in the United Kingdom alone).[27] The rise of the educated classes triggered a new demand for historical novels. The first examples of these had arrived in the eighteenth century, but their conceptual frameworks and appeal were reinforced by Johann Wolfgang Goethe's ideal of the *Bildungsroman* or *Entwicklungsroman*, forms broadcast through the English-speaking world by Thomas Carlyle via his criticism and translation of German literature, between 1827 and 1832, and his *Sartor Resartus* (1833–34), which was the first English adaptation of the Goethean concept.[28] Huge audiences were attracted to the historical works of authors such as James Fenimore Cooper in America, George Eliot and Charles Kingsley in Britain, Alexandre Dumas and Victor Hugo in France, and Wilhelm Meinhold and Georg Wilhelm Heinrich Häring (pseud. Willibald Alexis) in German-speaking states.[29] The phenomenon was not restricted to the West either, as demonstrated in China by Cao Xueqin's *Dream of the Red Chamber* (first printing of *The Story of the Stone*: 1791) and Turkey where novels with historical components had widespread popularity and influence during the nineteenth century.[30] Scott was of prime importance in igniting international interest in British history at the dawn of the nineteenth century.[31]

For those preferring fact to fiction, there was an equally rich provision of accessible history texts, and the publishers, Longman, made comparably large profits from the sales of history books by such a figure as Thomas Babington Macaulay as they did from the novels of Scott.[32] The position of historical studies was further cemented by its professionalization at European universities.[33] The length of Leopold von Ranke's career at the University of Berlin is almost as important in terms of its impact on defining the age of the state-sponsored scientific historian as his 1824 declaration, that history should be written 'how it really was', supported by documentary sources.[34] However, Ranke's epigram has been largely misunderstood, for, 'It is not factuality, but the emphasis on the essential that makes an account historical'.[35] For Ranke, the term 'really' (*eigentlich*) stressed the need to reveal the true character of historical actors, rather than reconstructing the minute mechanics of events. As Macaulay noted, the collection, selection, and interpretation of facts play distinct roles in the processes of historians.[36] Histories therefore have only a partial connection with facts and much more to do with the articulation of perspective, style, and political purpose. The issue of public service connects to such developments. History was used in antiquity and the Renaissance as a tool of statesmanship to promote the virtues of exemplary citizens, and civic humanism thus receives frequent mention in the following chapters. A conditional form of idolization of heroic figures, most obviously articulated by Carlyle in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* (1841), thus frames the mindset of artists who chose historical figures such as El Gran Capitán and Charles V in Spain (Baker-Bates); Columbus in America (Wierich); and James Cook, Robert O'Hara Burke, and William John Wills in Australia (Potter). In many cases this linked to a sense of historic purpose, or 'collective will' as a historic force (Wierich), which could verge on the Whiggish liberal ideals of manifest national destiny (Potter). Yet such debates also illustrate a dissonance between private and public realms, when in contrast to these last examples of civic rhetoric. The French troubadours focussed upon domestic spaces as crucibles of historic potential (Deneer), while the Pre-Raphaelites promoted personal visions as providing the 'true' version of historic events (Codell).

A further contrast exists between abstract and practical reflections on history. An important alternative to civic humanist ideals is apparent in those who sought to employ the past to serve immediate ends in what Otto von Bismarck would have termed 'Realpolitik'. Examples discussed include Delécluze's commentary on the capriciousness of the Napoleonic personality cult (Stammers), Delaroche's engagement with Liberal opposition to Charles X (Bann), Spanish artists' use of the past to highlight the weaknesses of Isabella and Alfonso XII (Baker-Bates), the deployment of depictions of George Washington to promote the anti-slavery cause in America (Wierich), and *The Battle of Grunwald* (1878: fig. 9.3) as a response to German Unification in 1871 (Rutecka-Baynes). Less utilitarian but equally important purposes were served by the soul-searching crises of confidence associated with Romantic thought of the period. Contemplation of frustrated ambitions, as well as the decline and eventual ruin of individuals and civilizations, occurs in numerous case studies discussed here: for example, the engagements with imperial pageantry during and after Napoleon's reign (Stammers and Bann), the recognition of national decay and blaming of those responsible in Poland (Rutecka-Baynes), and the self-sacrifice of explorer heroes in Australia (Potter).

Regardless of the political proclivities of individual historians, the dominance of the field in Western academia by privileged, albeit Liberal, wealthy, white men means that issues of hegemony cannot be ignored. The selection criteria for the 'facts of history' inevitably conformed to the interests of this demographic, and by the middle of the nineteenth century in Britain a generation of Whig historians, including Macaulay, William Stubbs, James Anthony Froude, and Edward Augustus Freeman, formed a chorus singing the praises of the teleological advance of middle-class Western culture generally, and the conception of British identity, constitutionalism, and liberty in the UK specifically, as exemplars for other nations to follow.[37] Moreover, the Whig historical vision was precisely that, visual, for 'The past had to be *imagined*', and Whig historians gave 'their public pictures and patterns'.[38] In his 1828 essay *On History*, for example, Macaulay prescribed that 'a perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque' in the 'debatable land' of history where reason and the imagination ruled.[39] Emotional and aesthetic judgements were key. Macaulay attacked art institutions for the intellectualizing cant with which they misguided artists, especially Simonides' aphorism of *ut pictura poesis* ('as is painting so is poetry'), concluding that 'English historical pictures are poems on canvass' and condemnable as such.[40] Macaulay compared painting (albeit portrait painting not historical painting) to the writing of history in relation to the need for a balance between narration (i.e., the mechanical representation of facts) and invention (i.e., the fantasy that gives purpose to an artwork). The best painters created 'portraits which condense into one point of time, and exhibit at a single glance the whole history of turbid and eventful lives'.[41] In a Rankean fashion, Macaulay believed that great paintings offered insights into the essential character of their sitters, rather than providing microscopic transcriptions of 'the pores of the skin, [and] the blood-vessels of the eye', for 'No picture, then, and no history, can present us with the whole truth: but those are the best pictures and the best histories which exhibit such parts of the truth as most nearly produce the effect of the whole' with 'the art of selection' being key in both professions.[42] Such statements also resemble the views of Gottfried Ephraim Lessing as expressed in *Laokoön oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (*Laokoön: On the Limits of Art and Poetry* (1767)) bearing witness to the continuing influence of Enlightened and Romantic thought upon

nineteenth-century Positivism. Lessing also damned historical painting for transgressing genre boundaries due to its adherence to *ut pictura poesis* principles.[43] The practical impact of such debates was great when historians were consulted on public art projects. Macaulay, for example, was a Commissioner for the 1844 Westminster Cartoon competition, which was inspired by the historical frescoes of Peter von Cornelius and his pupils in Munich (1826–29) and promoted Whiggish ideals and downplayed alternative historical visions such as those of the Celtic Britons.[44] Similar phenomena could be traced across the modernizing world, for example, with the *Bildungsbürgertum* in Germany and the Westernising middle-classes of Turkey, even if the political aspirations of these groups were undermined by state interventions. Whiggish ideals were common amongst other nineteenth-century historical thinkers in Europe, for example, Hippolyte Taine during the 1860s. His Positivist scientific approach to the study of cultural history highlighted Hegelian 'historical series' where the spirit of an era was manifest in appropriate cultural forms.[45] He believed artworks could serve as documents for historians, but he had grave concerns over aesthetic criteria contaminating historical judgement when it came to historical images.[46] Taine also believed that Germany had produced the majority of the great historical studies of his time.[47] Ultimately he saw art, like literature, as serving a supplementary function to conventional historical research, better able to capture the 'spirit laid bare', the 'imagination', and 'philosophical divinations' of past cultures.[48] While the Chinese historical imagination was fundamentally different to the European version, imperial encounters with the West caused considerable changes in Chinese thought about the past from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards: humanist and Rankean Western parameters were increasingly identified as modern and worthy of emulation, substituting the bureaucratic function history had served in imperial China or the moral imperatives of Confucianism.[49]

History Painting and the Academy

The popularity of historical art in the long nineteenth century was further reinforced by the reputation of earlier practices in this field. Art academies were innovative, not only in breaking with the medieval guild traditions but also promoting history painting within the intellectual contexts of higher learning. The first art academies emerged during the High Renaissance, when patricians, politicians, popes, and princes patronized historical art in order to bathe in the reflected glory of classical allusions. The paintings, murals, and sculptures they commissioned depicted great men and deeds from the past in order to frame and celebrate their own actions within a civic humanist tradition. It was Leon Battista Alberti's treatise *On Painting* (1436), which first set out a sophisticated definition for history painting. Primarily an architect Alberti referred to the concept of *istoria* where dramatic subjects from ancient literature were to be used by artists to elevate the minds of the viewers of their artworks. Rather than simple illustrations, these works should communicate ideas via their compositional structures as well: formal unity and the human form (strictly limited to a maximum of ten figures) were to be employed to articulate the moral imperatives of the subject via gesture and emotional display, for 'The *istoria* will move the soul of the beholder when each man painted there clearly shows the movement of his own soul … by the movements of the body' and that 'all the bodies ought to move according to what is ordered in the *istoria*'.[50] Given Giorgio Vasari's earlier neglect of Alberti's intellectual

contributions it is perhaps unsurprising that discussion of *On Painting* was limited in the long nineteenth century.[51] William Roscoe mentioned him in 1795 solely as Lorenzo de' Medici's tutor.[52] Fifty-five years later Eliza Forster noted his 'two treatises on painting' but did not explain the significance of their content.[53] Likewise, James Ferguson limited his discussion of Alberti's learning to the note that he was an 'enthusiastic scholar' of Classical texts in Latin.[54] When the 'Kensington Valhalla' (1862–71) mosaics of historical artists were produced at the South Kensington Museum, Alberti was not included. He did appear, however, amongst the assembled architects in John Birnie Philip's relief on the North side of the *Frieze of Parnassus* (1864–72) for the Albert Memorial. When in 1875 John Addington Symonds referred to Alberti as second only to Leonardo da Vinci in terms of his influence over the Renaissance spirit it was his civic humanist texts rather than his artistic treatises that were under consideration: *On Painting* was mentioned only in relation to its dedication to Filippo Brunelleschi.[55] Ruskin and E.M. Barry were similarly narrow in their inquiries, referencing only Alberti's architectural works.[56] Access to *On Painting* was also limited by its publishing history. The Latin and Italian manuscripts (*De Pictura* (1435) and *Della Pittura* (1436)) were printed from the sixteenth century onwards: first in Latin in Basle (1540) and Amsterdam (1649), then translated into Italian (1547, 1565, 1568, 1733, 1782 and 1786), French (1651), English (1726, 1739, 1751, and 1755), and Spanish (1784). Nineteenth-century republications of these earlier texts occurred in Italy (1803 and 1804) and Spain (1827), before a raft of new translations appeared in Italian (1843–49), French (1868), and German (1877).[57] Brief discussions of Alberti's *istoria* theories featured in the introductions to the new translations. Claudius Popelin was not only a history painter (exhibiting French and Italian Renaissance subjects at the Parisian Salon from 1852 to 1862) but also a scholar and translator of Renaissance artistic treatises.[58] Until 1846 he had studied under the history painter François-Édouard Picot, a student of Jacques-Louis David at the Ecolé des Beaux-arts de Paris, and then with Ary Scheffer between 1848 and 1858.[59] His 1868 introduction was more of a biographical notice of Alberti, but indirectly he channelled the spirit of *On Painting* when declaring that 'Art … is the search for, the recognition and the glorification of physical virtue, in relation to form'.[60] Subsequently Hubert Janitschek's 1877 work traced how Alberti had established significant figurative action in compositions as crucial to the successful effect of *istoria* in art:

> 'History' is meant to grasp us, to touch our hearts, to make us compassionate: but if it is the Law of Nature that we weep with the weeping and rejoice with the merry, then the bearers of history should be full of a strong inner life and inner purpose, so that they can also move and stir the spectator. … Alberti … would like the viewer to be torn out of his objective position and to see him directly drawn into the course of history. The protagonists in the picture are to be brought into direct contact with the viewer, in that some threaten him, or beckon him, or, as it were, explain the course of events to him. The emotions, however, can only be expressed through the medium of body movements, and indeed they should be given a perfectly adequate expression through these, so that neither too much nor too little is done. This requires the greatest attention and the most accurate knowledge of body movements.[61]

Further insights could be gleaned elsewhere, such as in art dictionaries. The Czech-German art historian Anton Springer fleetingly explored Alberti's essays in 1867 emphasizing the importance of the 'spirit' in historical compositions, while the Director of the Berliner Gemäldegalerie, Julius Meyer, provided a similar entry in 1872, skimming over Alberti's treatise on painting in order to stress his architectural contributions.[62] The lack of a new English translation no doubt stalled the British reception of Alberti in that century.

The achievements of history painters of the High Renaissance as well as Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) inspired the curriculum of the *Academié Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* in Paris (est. 1648).[63] Poussin's nineteenth-century reputation was equally as problematic as that of Alberti. A wealth of biographical works on Poussin appeared in France during this period, including four lives (Gault de Saint-Germain, 1806; Castellan, 1811; Mouton, 1851; Saillot, 1851), three eulogies (Ruault, 1809; Lecarpentier, 1865; Guibal, 1873), and a catalogue raisonné (Firmin-Didot, 1863), however, the major critical intervention came in 1858 from Louis-Firmin-Hervé Bouchitté.[64] He laid the foundations for later scholars by highlighting Poussin's emulation of Greek artistic exemplars, his belief in the importance of fidelity in costume, and the iconic 1668 debate between Phillipe de Champagne and Charles Le Brun over Poussin's *Rebecca and Elizier* (1648).[65] In the English language there were more humble offerings: Maria Graham produced a study of the artist in 1820 in which she argued for his primacy as a historical painter, but it would be nearly another eight decades before the American art historian, Elisabeth Harriet Denio, completed a doctoral thesis at Heidelberg University on Poussin, which was published in German in 1898 and English the subsequent year.[66] Artistically he was still inspirational to artists. No doubt the tranche of French artists who recreated Poussin's life on canvas during the nineteenth century were inspired by the literature from that country.[67] Meanwhile West no doubt learned from Poussin's *Death of Germanicus* (1627) when composing *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770), while J.M.W. Turner engaged with Poussin's *Winter, or the Deluge* (1660–64) in his notebook of 'Studies in the Louvre' (1802), his Royal Academy lecture on 'Backgrounds: Introduction of Architecture and Landscape' (12 February 1811), and his painting of *The Deluge* (c.1805) which he deliberately produced on a larger scale and with an improved composition to increase its emotional impact compared to Poussin's canvas.[68] Where Turner sought to best an esteemed precedent, Ruskin savaged the same work as 'a monstrous abortion' for its 'subject is pure, acute, mental fear' and thus 'most foul and detestable'.[69]

The establishment of the Royal Academy of the Arts in London (1768) marks another important milestone in the annals of Western historical painting. As the first President of the Royal Academy, Reynolds used his public *Discourses* as a platform for advocating the 'Grand Manner' of history painting, despite his own portrait practice. He permitted that an artist 'must sometimes deviate from vulgar and strict historical truth, in pursuing the grandeur of his design', citing Raphael's cartoons (c.1515–16) where the apostles were depicted as noble despite their humble Biblical descriptions.[70] For Reynolds

> this is not falsifying any fact; it is taking an allowed poetical licence. A painter of portraits retains the individual likeness; a painter of history shews the man by