

Classically Inspired: The Poetics of Greek Mythology in French Neoclassical Painting, 1790-1825

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Abstract

Girodet's 1791 Endymion, the only iconic Neoclassicizing mythology in modernist art history, has been reassigned to Romanticism thanks to recognition of its theme of poetic inspiration. Indeed, in the years since James Rubin's 1978 iconographic interpretation of the work, much has been made of its stylistic and thematic divergence from Davidian Neoclassicism. As such, thematic kinship between his work and that of his contemporaries has been ignored. Through consideration of mythological compositions by Girodet's peer, Pierre Guérin, as well as a later work by Girodet himself, this paper demonstrates that the theme of creative inspiration was not Romantic idiosyncrasy in Girodet's early work. Rather, exploration of a variety of Neoclassical-style compositions of mythological subjects open to similar iconographic interpretation suggests a thematic trend. To this end, I employ contemporaneous art criticism and philosophical treatises to situate these paintings within the reinterpretation of mythology itself.

Themes of high emotion and imagination in the late XVIII^e and early XIX^e century are typically considered emanations of Romanticism. The Romantic cult of the individual and celebration of genius are demonstrated in the proliferation of personalized styles and subjects as well as the vogue for portraits of creative individuals. Thus, it has been easy to overlook that Neoclassical painters addressed the more Romantic theme of creative inspiration using Greco-Roman mythology.

In James Rubin's 1978 article « *Endymion's Dream as a Myth of Romantic Inspiration* », he convincingly attributed the theme of poetic inspiration to Girodet's 1791 *Endymion* (Paris, Louvre). Girodet's youthful desire to distinguish himself from his teacher, his self-identification as a poet, and his frustration in consistent attainment of academic honors have allowed him to be viewed as a « Romantic rebel » working outside the norms of Neoclassicism and the French Academy¹. As such, similarities between Girodet's work and that of his peers have been read as homage

to the frustrated genius and not as indicative of a trend within Neoclassicism². Indeed, even his own 1819 *Pygmalion* (Paris, Louvre), thanks to its diffuse light and lateral imaging of artistic creation, has been interpreted as a relapse into an exhausted classicism and its thematic kinship with his earlier *Endymion* dismissed³.

Through new iconographic interpretation of two compositions by Girodet's peer, Pierre Guérin, I aim to demonstrate that this theme of creative inspiration was not unique to Girodet. Rather than viewing Girodet's image of poetic inspiration as Romantic idiosyncrasy, exploration of a variety of mythological subjects open to similar interpretation suggests a thematic trend. To this end, I will demonstrate that these Neoclassical-style mythological paintings fit within a contemporaneous philosophical reinterpretation of mythology.

The similarity of the male figures in Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus* (Paris, Louvre) and *Iris and Morpheus* (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage) to Girodet's *Endymion* have allowed modernist art history to overlook Guérin's paintings as merely formal emulation of Girodet's work⁴. Yet, Girodet's figure was not an eccentric invention; the artist acknowledged that he derived its pose, proportion, and details from famed classical sculptures, as well as the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann⁵. Furthermore, the upturned face and chest bathed in light are acknowledged to derive from allegorical representations of *Inspiration*, widely known from popular emblem books⁶. Standardized poses and expressions were fundamental to academic training and emulation of antique art essential to Neoclassicism; thus, likeness should suggest thematic congruence, not empty imitation, in the work of the comparably trained Guérin⁷. Similar emblematic poses and light also appear in Gros's 1800 *Sappho* and in the 1788-93 frontispiece for Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Philosophie*, further underscoring their evident commonality and legibility in the visual arts before and after Girodet's painting.

Guérin's reclining males also share with Girodet's *Endymion* the theme of sleep. Rubin equated this theme in *Endymion* with Rousseau's theorization of restful repose as a state open to expanded consciousness and communion with the divine⁸. Interestingly, many Neoclassical-style mythological works painted during this period depict slumbering characters suggesting the broad contemporaneous importance of Rousseau, whose work is typically linked thematically with nascent Romanticism. This zoned out passivity certainly also distinguishes them from the alert, active figures in portrayals of Roman history or Napoleonic conquest⁹.

Girodet depicted the shepherd boy beloved by the moon goddess and charmed into perpetual slumber, while Guérin presented the goddess of the dawn with a huntsman she coveted and stole from his wife¹⁰. The *Endymion* narrative calls for sleep; however, the *Aurora and Cephalus* story relates that *Aurora* abducted a resistant hunter, not a languorous sleeper. There is no classical precedent for the

version of the story Guérin pictured here¹¹; however, it effectively downplays the theme of abduction and highlights the erotic, amorous potential of this divine love story. Equation of divine love with poetic inspiration dates back to Plato and had enjoyed a resurgence in the late XVIII^e century in France thanks to translations of ancient texts and renewed inquiry into artistic process. While most Enlightenment philosophers explained that artists were simply especially keen observers of the natural world, Denis Diderot, at least for a time, championed enthusiasm, defined by heightened emotion and divine intervention, as the root of creativity¹².

Indeed, the physical presence of the lusty goddess is a distinct difference between Girodet's composition and Guérin's. This type of adulterous story and erotic imagery had been decried by critic La Font de Saint Yenne in his review of the 1753 Salon; however, over the course of the second half of the XVIII^e century the status and analysis of Greek mythology changed markedly¹³. The immorality was no longer taken literally; instead, the bawdy stories were interpreted as poetic celebrations of nature's creative abilities as discussed in Charles Dupuis's influential 1795 *Origin of All Cults*¹⁴. A proliferation of amorous mythological subjects in large-scale French painting coincided with this new appraisal of myth; prominent wings and placement of figures and structures aloft on clouds heighten the supernatural aspect of these paintings leaving no doubt that these titillating scenes portray the love of a god.

Furthermore, instead of viewing mythology as the perversion of ancient historical events, as had been common at mid-century, late XVIII^e century thinkers praised myth as evidence of the longevity of the human creative impulse¹⁵. Moreover, the *Poetic History*, released in five editions in Paris during the later XVIII^e century, asserted that « the language of fable is that of poetry [...] mythology is nothing more than a knowledge of poetic history¹⁶. » The XVIII^e-century *Encyclopédie* clarifies this distinction: « The orator and the historian have nothing to create, they do not need genius except to find the real aspects that are in their objective [...] they barely dare to transpose, whereas the poet creates models for himself without burdening himself with reality. The orator must speak the truth [...] with persuasive force and simplicity. The poet must speak of the plausible [...] with grace and energy that can charm and surprise¹⁷. » Thus, as poetry, mythology was associated with creativity and genius; in embracing mythology artists could abandon reality and « reportage » as it was understood to relate to explanation and portrayal of historical events. I contend that mythology released Neoclassical painters from literal, historical reality and allowed them to explore unreality, and thus inventiveness and creativity, so intimately linked with the supernatural forces celebrated in ancient religion.

Guérin deviated from the traditional narrative of the Aurora and Cephalus story, but in so doing created something poetic. Indeed, references to poets and poetry resound in critical responses to its 1810 Salon appearance. M. Boutard wrote:

« Aurora smitten with Cephalus was a subject suitable to the poetic brush of M. Guérin¹⁸. » While François Guizot asserted: « It is this good sense, vivified by a poetic sentiment and ennobled by a pure and elegant taste, that I find and that charms me in compositions by M. Guérin¹⁹. » Guizot was so certain that he sensed something poetic in Guérin's painting, that he quoted Petrarch's *Laura* and asserted that whether or not Guérin read poetry, his compositions made the viewer think of it. For Guérin's contemporaries, the painting appeared poetic in its finish, sentiment, and similarity to familiar verses. Additionally, Aurora herself had been associated with poetry and poetic inspiration since at least the time of Homer and continued to be so linked in early XIX^e century mythographies. One by François Noël notes that Homer « depicts her with a great veil on her head that recoils to the back to indicate that the obscurity of night is beginning to dissipate while she opens the doors of the day with her rose-colored fingers ». Noël describes this as a well-known allegory and calls Aurora a friend of poets²⁰.

Guérin's adaptation of narrative and imagery fit with a contemporaneous renewal of allegorization. In his 1766 study of allegory, Johann Joachim Winckelmann explained antique emblems and promoted usage of deities for new allegories²¹, Winckelmann's well-known publication and Hubert François Gravelot and Charles Nicolas Cochin's 1791 *Iconologie par figures* encouraged artists not just to repeat cliché historical examples but to use them as starting points to create modern allegories. Appreciation of myth as poetry encouraged interpretive adaptation rather than strict illustration and artistic handbooks equated poetic and painterly language as both calling on the imagination through allusion²².

Selection of the *Aurora and Cephalus* narrative allowed for associations of creative inspiration through visualization of divine love and presentation of a goddess closely associated with inspiration and poetry. The female figure, while obviously Aurora, as named in the painting's title and imaged pushing back the veil of night while depositing flowers, conspicuously lacks the chariot and orange robes described in many emblem books and mythographies²³. Instead, hovering and just barely clad in white gauze, she seems to take on the characteristics emblematic for *Idea*. Cesare Ripa's emblem book, cited as a major source by both Winckelmann and by Gravelot and Cochin, includes the following description of *Idea*: « A beautiful Lady, rapt into the Air; covering her Nakedness only with a fine white Veil; a Flame on her Head; her Forehead surrounded with a circle of Gold [...] points at a very fine Country lying underneath. In the Air, because immaterial, and immutable; naked, exempt from corporeal Passion: the white Veil, the Purity of Ideas, differing from corporeal Things²⁴. » While Ripa calls for a golden headband, Guérin has encircled the goddess's torso with a golden belt; otherwise, Aurora matches the emblematic description closely, heightening my contention that the painting portrays mental process in mythological guise rather than illustrating myth.

The *Aurora and Cephalus* was so widely esteemed that Guérin immediately received a commission from Prince Nikolay Yusupov of Russia for a second version (Moscow, Pushkin)²⁵. Yusupov had held prominent political and cultural positions, including managing the Hermitage and the Russian imperial theaters²⁶. Upon retirement in 1802, he maintained his engagement with the visual and performing arts in his new estate, which housed his own theater, as well as four hundred works of art and twenty thousand books²⁷. Patron and artist were both avid bibliophiles, so discrepancy between text and image would not have gone unnoticed and, hence, must have been intentional and appreciated²⁸. Indeed, in Yusupov's *Aurora and Cephalus*, Guérin maintained the compositional elements and the narrative divergence demonstrated to be emblematic of poetic inspiration.

This second poetic *Aurora and Cephalus* was to be paired with a complementary pendant, the *Iris and Morpheus*, for which Guérin also deviated from classical precedent. Ovid is the only classical author to relate a story including both Iris and Morpheus; however, in the *Metamorphoses*, Juno's faithful messenger Iris visits Hypnos, the god of sleep, to implore him to send Alcyone a dream²⁹. Hypnos then selects his son Morpheus to impersonate Alcyone's husband in her dream; Iris and Morpheus have no immediate contact in Ovid's tale³⁰. Guérin's painting presents a clever elision wherein Iris appears directly to Morpheus without the intervention of Hypnos and any source for this deviation remains unclear.

While the typically aged Hypnos could have been rendered in youthful form to pair with Cephalus, Guérin's choice of Morpheus instead suggests the importance of that particular figure³¹. According to contemporaneous mythographies and emblem books, as well as the *Encyclopédie* and Ovid, Morpheus, of all his brothers, was « the most able to take on the gait, appearance, air, and voice of those he wanted to represent³². » His very name further highlights this ability to morph into those he wished to insinuate into one's dreams. The details of Yusupov's commission for this painting are no longer extant, making it impossible to know if the artist or the patron selected the specific subject. It is known, however, that Yusupov's intimate involvement with the visual arts and the theater colored his first interaction with Guérin in 1802, when he attempted to purchase one of Guérin's many canvases displaying subjects taken from dramas written by Jean Racine³³. Indeed, Guérin shared with his patron an avowed love of theater³⁴. Thus, it seems apposite that for Yusupov he would produce a picture of a mythological character notable for his acting skills. The composition itself also displays a theatrical quality in the choreographic way Iris's arm seems to cause Morpheus's to rise³⁵. Certainly, the performers and statesmen Yusupov hosted would have been amused by this and by the ingenious adjustment of the Ovidian tale. *Aurora and Cephalus* preserves its connotation of poetic inspiration; by pairing it for Yusupov with *Iris and Morpheus*, which maintains the same basic composition, the pendants suggest the interpretive creativity of

actors and the theater as well. Neither Ripa, Gravelot, nor Winckelmann provided an emblem for theatrical inspiration; here, Guérin devised a specialized, modern allegorical image.

While the selection of Morpheus rather than Hypnos allows for connotations of acting, the details of the picture suggest that the two characters may have been conflated. The *Encyclopédie* relates the Ovidian tale of Iris waking Hypnos, god of sleep, and states that he holds the head of a lion while resting in an ebony bed surrounded by a black curtain, a description strikingly similar to that of the environs of Guérin's Morpheus³⁶. Perhaps the combination of elements of Sleep with those of Morpheus, one of the Dreams, results from the negative connotations many philosophers gave to dreams as manifestations of the irrational mind. Sleep itself was understood as the body's recuperative mechanism and Guérin has given both Cephalus and Morpheus the bent arm overhead typical of allegorical figures of *Sleep*³⁷. Rousseau's notions of the potential of such restful repose to expand consciousness align nicely with the subjects presented by Guérin³⁸. Furthermore, Yusupov esteemed Rousseau, and his library prominently featured a bust of the philosopher³⁹. Yusupov, then, likely subscribed to the notion of sleep as a period of Rousseauian reverie allowing for expanded consciousness and divine communion.

My reconsideration of Guérin's mythological works expands our understanding of the specific works; however, it also elucidates the cultural context within which myth resurged in large-scale French painting, thereby suggesting the merit of analyzing these works as part of a unified subset of Neoclassicism. Indeed, Guérin and Girodet both selected to close their painterly careers using amorous mythological subjects. Girodet's 1819 *Pygmalion* has been interpreted recently as a last-gasp effort to regenerate classicism and to secure Girodet's institutional reputation⁴⁰. Alternatively, Guérin had been one of the most sought after painters and teachers in Paris during the first two decades of the XIX^e century and he went on the prestigious role of the director of the French Academy in Rome, yet Guérin's request in his will that each of his pupils receive a print after his *Aurora and Cephalus* has heretofore gone without notice or comment⁴¹. Girodet's *Pygmalion* and the c.1820 engraving by Forster after Guérin's *Aurora and Cephalus* share a focus on amorous mythological themes, a stilted quality in their depicted gestures, and a cloaking of the male genitalia; as such, I contend that they all downplay the literal sexual potential of amorous interaction, while highlighting the celestial, and thus, the metaphoric celebration of creativity. Their antique subjects demonstrate the longevity of the creative spirit and its supernatural aspect – artistic genius was not slavishly trained, but bestowed lovingly from above. That two such distinct contemporaries each marked his career's end with the same theme urges situation of these works culturally, and indeed, other Neoclassical painters, such as Jacques-Louis David and Antoine-Jean Gros, also closed their careers in this way, further underscoring the merit of reexamining

these paintings as a unified group. In presenting ideal bodies and classical narratives characteristic of Neoclassicism with a theme more Romantic in tenor, these paintings deepen revisionist explorations of the continuities in French narrative painting from the XVIII^e into the XIX^e century.

Notes

- 1 For an excellent summary of scholarship on Girodet see: Sylvain Bellenger (dir.), *Girodet, 1767-1824*, Paris, Editions Gallimard, 2006, on *Endymion*, see especially p. 206-217. When the exhibition appeared at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, it was entitled « Girodet: Romantic Rebel ».
- 2 James Rubin, « Gros and Girodet », *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 121, no 920 (1979), p. 708, 713-721; Sylvain Bellenger, « *Aurora and Cephalus: A Story of Acquisition* », *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 8 (2003), p. 188-99; Monique Moulin, « *Daphnis et Chloé* dans l'œuvre de François Gérard (1770-1837) », *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, vol. 33, no 2 (1983), p. 100-109.
- 3 Stephanie Nevinson Brown, *Girodet: A Contradictory Career*, Ph.D. (Art History), London, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1980; James Rubin, « *Pygmalion and Galatea: Girodet and Rousseau* », *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 127, no 989 (August 1985), p. 517-520; Alexandra K. Wettlaufer, *Pen vs. Paintbrush: Girodet, Balzac, and the Myth of Pygmalion in Postrevolutionary France*, New York, Palgrave, 2001; Chiara Savettieri, « "Il avait retrouvé le secret de Pygmalion": Girodet, Canova e l'illusione della vita », *Studiolo* vol. 2 (2003), p. 14-42. Only Bellenger (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 462-468 acknowledges thematic congruence, but in so doing stresses the singularity of Girodet's achievements by interpreting these works exclusively in terms of his personality and individual artistic goals.
- 4 Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 262; Stephen Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1994 and 2002, p. 61; Sylvain Bellenger, « *Aurora and Cephalus: A Story of Acquisition* », *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 8 (2003), p. 188-199. I am indebted to the essential archival work, which provides basis for further study of Guérin's mythological paintings for in Josette Bottineau, « Pierre Guérin et le merveilleux mythologique: *L'Aurore et Céphale, Iris et Morphée* », *Gazette des beaux-arts*, vol. 134 (1999), p. 271-288.
- 5 Bellenger, (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 206-217.
- 6 *Ibid.*; Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs: ouvrage utile aux gens de lettres, poètes, aux artistes, et généralement à tous les amateurs des beaux arts*, 3 vols., Parme, Chez Boudard, 1759.
- 7 J. J. Winckelmann, *Recueil de différentes pièces sur les arts*, Paris, Barrois, 1786; Pierre-Marie Gault de Saint-Germain, *Des Passions et leur expression générale et particulière sous le rapport des beaux-arts*, Paris, Delancey et Lesueur, 1804; Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500 - 1900*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981, p. 99-107.
- 8 Rubin, *loc. cit.*, p. 74; Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1988, p. 113 and 168.
- 9 Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1997; Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994 and 2000, especially chap. 7.
- 10 Ovid, *Nouvelle traduction des Métamorphoses d'Ovide par M. Fontanelle*, Paris, Panckoucke, 1767, vol. 1, book 7; Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites en vers, avec des remarques et des notes, par M. Desaintange*, Paris, Desray, 1808, vol. 2: book 7.

- 11 Apollodorus, *The Library of Greek Mythology*, trans. Robin Hard, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 44, 131, 189, 239 reveals that there were two Cephaluses: one married to Procris, the other ravished by Aurora; Antoine Banier, *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients, Explained from History. Translated from the Original French*, London, Millar, 1739-1740, p. 379 sheds light on the conflation of these two stories; François Noël, *Dictionnaire de la fable; ou, Mythologie grecque, latine, égyptienne, celtique, persane, syriaque, indienne, chinoise, mahométane, rabbinique, slavonne, scandinave, africaine, américaine, iconologique, etc.*, Paris, Le Normant, 1803, vol. 1, p. 166 combines the two Cephalus stories, stating that after the death of Procris, Aurora took Cephalus away to Syria in an effort to ease his pain, echoing the assessment by Le chevalier du Jaucourt, « Aurore », in Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (dir.), *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, Paris, Le Breton, 1751-1765, vol. 1, p. 889. None of these specifies that Cephalus was sleeping.
- 12 Kineret S. Jaffe, « The Concept of Genius: Its Changing Role in Eighteenth-Century French Aesthetics », *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 41, no 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1980), p. 579-99. See also Michel François Dandré-Bardon, *Traité de peinture*, Paris, 1765; reprinted: Genève, Minkoff, 1972, vol. 1, p. 145-146; Rubin, *loc. cit.*, p. 75-76 also mentions Diderot, Jean-François Marmontel's supplement to Voltaire, Lebrun-Pindar's odes, republications of Plato's *Ion* on the subject of enthusiasm (in its antique definition of possession by a god).
- 13 La Font de Saint-Yenne, « Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure », Paris, 1754 reprinted in Etienne Jollet (dir.), *Oeuvres critiques*, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 2001; Frank Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959; Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860*, Bloomington and London, Indiana University Press, 1972; C. Jammé, « Portraying Myth More Convincingly: Critical Approaches to Myth in the Classical and Romantic Periods », *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, vol. 12 (March 2004), p. 29-45.
- 14 Charles Dupuis, *Origine de tous les cultes, ou, Religion universelle*, Paris, Chez Agasse, 1794-1795; Manuel, *op. cit.*, p. 259-270.
- 15 Manuel, *op. cit.*, chaps. 1, 3, 4. Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Monde primitif, analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne*, 9 vols, Paris, Chez l'auteur, 1773-1782, especially vol. 1.
- 16 Jean Armand de Bessuejols de Roquelaure, Guillaume Bertoux, Jean François de Lacroix, *Histoire poétique*, Paris, Savoye, 1786, advertisement and p. 9: « La langage de la Fable est celui de la Poésie; on ne doit point les séparer...la mythologie n'est point autre chose que la connoissance de la Fable ou de l'Histoire poétique ».
- 17 Louis de Jaucourt, « Poésie », in Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (dir.), *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, Paris, Le Breton, 1751-1765, vol. 12, p. 837: « L'orateur ni l'historien n'ont rien à créer, il ne leur faut de génie que pour trouver les faces réelles qui sont dans leur objet: ils n'ont rien à y ajouter, rien à en retrancher; à peine osent-ils quelquefois transposer, tandis que le poète se forge à lui-même ses modèles, sans s'embarrasser de la réalité. L'orateur doit dire le vrai d'une manière qui le fasse croire, avec la force, & la simplicité qui persuadent. Le poète doit dire le vraisemblable d'une manière qui le rende agréable, avec toute la grâce et toute l'énergie qui charment, et qui étonnent ».
- 18 Bottineau, *loc. cit.*, p. 275-276 and 285 fn. 19. The original source could not be obtained for this paper, so I use Bottineau quote's transcription. « L'Aurore éprise de Céphale était aussi un sujet convenable au pinceau poétique de M. Guérin... [Bottineau provides the intervening text as well] [L'artiste a] à entretenir des idées riantes que son sujet devoit faire naître. » Boutard signed his articles either M. Boutard or M. B. Boutard and his first name, according to Bottineau is either Marquis or Marie, has been a source for confusion.

- 19 Pascal Griener, « Guizot, François », Grove Art Online [November 18, 2005]; François Guizot, « De l'État des Beaux-Arts en France, et du Salon de 1810 », in *Études sur les beaux-arts en général*, Paris, Didier, 1852, p. 48. « C'est ce bon sens, vivifié par un sentiment poétique et ennobli par un goût élégant et pur, que je trouve et qui me charme dans les compositions de M. Guérin: il y a de la raison, de la poésie et de la beauté dans son tableau de *L'Aurore enlevant Céphale*. »
- 20 Noël, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 166. « Homère...la peint avec un grand voile sur la tête recule en arrière pour marquer que l'obscurité de la nuit commence à se dissiper, et ouvrant avec des doigts de rose les barrière du jour; allégorie ingénieuse, et devenue usée. »
- 21 Winckelmann, *Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst*, Dresden, 1766, p. 26-27 and in the 1799 French translation entitled *De l'Allégorie*, p. 74-80 outlines three different ways that modern artists might use antique figures and allegories. I have made my translation from the French « Il en seroit de cela comme de l'emploi d'un vers tire d'un poète ancien et présenté dans un sens nouveau. Une pareille application devient souvent plus belle que la pensée originale meme du poète. »
- 22 *Ibid.*, 1 (German) or 21 (French); H. F. Gravelot and C.-N. Cochin, *Iconologie par figures, ou, Traité complet des allegories, emblèmes, etc. à l'usage des artistes*, Paris, 1791; reprinted, Geneva, Minkoff Reprint, 1972, p. 5 of the introduction.
- 23 Jean Baudoin (dir.), *Iconologie, ou, La science des emblèmes devises, etc. Qui apprend à les expliquer dessiner et inventer ouvrage très utile aux orateurs, poètes, peintres... Enrichie et augmentée d'un grand nombre de figures avec des moralités, tirées la plupart de Cesar Ripa*, Amsterdam, Adrian Braakman, 1698, p. 30.
- 24 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, trans. P. Tempest and engravings by J. Fuller, London, Motte, 1709, p. 48, fig. 192; this description appears in an elaborated version in the 1764-1776 Italian edition printed in Perugia on page 237 of volume 3. A similar description accompanies the concept «Vraye Sagesse» in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, et autres figures...* Paris, Mathieu Guillemot, 1664, p. 144 and in Jean Baudoin (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 470.
- 25 Marina Krasnobaïeva and Ludmila Kiruchina, « Le 'palais-parc' d'Arkhangelskoïe », in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Petersbourg: les commandes de la famille impériale et des princes russes entre 1773 et 1802*, Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999, p. 68.
- 26 Krasnobaïeva and Kiruchina, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 67 and Savinskaïa, « La collection », in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Petersbourg*, p. 77. Yusupov's art collection displays a preference for piquant mythological subjects similar to Sommari-va's. Yusupov's collection of XIX^e century art includes works by P. Guérin, J.-A. Gros, P.-P. Prud'hon, H. Vernet, F. Gérard, J.-L. David, and A. Canova among myriad other more minor names. He also had avidly collected in the XVIII^e century focusing on contemporaneous and Renaissance works from France and Italy. Much of his former collection is now divided between the Hermitage and the Pushkin.
- 28 Josette Bottineau and Élisabeth Foucart-Walker, *L'Inventaire après décès de Pierre-Narcisse Guérin*, Troyes, Trait de Union, 2004, p. 21-22. Unfortunately, only his most lavish illustrated books are listed in the posthumous inventory leaving the rest of his library's content unknown; see also John Lambertson, *The Genesis of French Romanticism: P.-N. Guérin's Studio and the Public Sphere*, Ph.D. (Art History), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994, p. 33; Bottineau, *loc. cit.*, p. 280; Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 238 letter dated September 18, 1815; Krasnobaïeva and Kiruchina, *loc. cit.*, p. 69 lists Yusupov's library at over twenty thousand volumes.
- 29 Jane Davidson Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 608 lists eleven classical sources for Iris, of which only Ovid includes Morpheus. Reid's book does not include an entry for Morpheus.

- 30 Ovid, *Metamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites en François, avec des remarques et des explications historiques par l'Abbé Banier*, Paris, 1757, vol. 3, p. 51ff; Ovid, *Nouvelle traduction des Metamorphoses d'Ovide par M. Fontanelle*, Paris, Pancoucke, 1767, vol. 2, p. 156ff; Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites en vers, avec des remarques et des notes, par M. Desaintange*, Paris, Desray, 1808, vol. 3, p. 381ff.
- 31 Gravelot and Cochin, *op. cit.*, p. 97 assert that Hypnos could be portrayed either as youthful or elderly.
- 32 Noel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 164; Ovid, see note 36; *Encyclopédie*, vol. 10, p. 715. « Le plus habile à prendre le démarche, le visage, l'air, le son de voix de ce qu'il veut représenter: son nom même le prouve. »
- 33 Bottineau, *loc. cit.*, p. 286-287 fn. 30 and 31.
- 34 Françoise Debaisieux, « Musées des Beaux-Arts de Caen: Nouvelles Acquisitions du XIX^e Siecle », *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, no 6 (1968), p. 354.
- 35 Bottineau, *loc. cit.*, p. 281-282.
- 36 Jaucourt, « Sommeil, (Mythol.) », *Encyclopédie*, vol. 15, p. 333-334.
- 37 Jaucourt, « Songe, (Métaph. & Physiol.) », *Encyclopédie*, vol. 15, p. 355; Idem, « Sommeil, (Physiolog.) », *Encyclopédie*, vol. 15, p. 331.
- 38 Serge Prigent, « Achille-Émile ou les idées Rousseauistes dans un tableau de Jean-Baptiste Regnault », in Daniel Rabreau (dir.), *Imaginaire et création artistique à Paris sous l'ancien régime: art, politique, trompe-l'oeil, voyages, spectacles, et jardins*, Bordeaux, William Blake and Co., 1998, p. 209-228 passim; Rubin, *loc. cit.*, p. 74.
- 39 Kransobaïeva and Kiruchina, « Le 'palais-parc' » in *Hubert Robert (1733-1808) et Saint-Petersbourg*, p. 70.
- 40 For a resume of scholarship on Girodet's *Pygmalion*, see Bellenger (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 462-468.
- 41 Bottineau and Foucart-Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 97-98 is a transcription of Guérin's will. For analysis of his status in the art community see Lambertson, *op. cit.*; Medhi Korchane, « Overlapping Destinies: David and Guérin in the Public Eye from the Directory to the Empire », in Mark Ledbury (dir.), *David After David: Essays on the Later Work*, Williamstown, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007.