

A REVOLUTIONARY EMPRESS IN THE AGE OF NAPOLEON:
MARIE-LOUISE, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA, EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH, AND
DUCHESS OF PARMA, PIACENZA, AND GUASTALLA (1791-1847)

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ABSTRACT

Lindsay Meehan Dunn: A Revolutionary Empress in the Age of Napoleon:
Marie-Louise, Archduchess of Austria, Empress of the French, and Duchess of Parma,
Piacenza, and Guastalla (1791-1847)
(Under the direction of Mary D. Sheriff)

This dissertation analyzes representations of Marie-Louise, second wife to Napoleon Bonaparte and Empress of the French. I argue that visual images of Marie-Louise not only reflected and shaped women's changing positions in politics and society under Napoleon's regime but also underlined her unique position in European politics. Against the backdrop of the volatile political climate and rise of nationalism, I pose Marie-Louise as a transnational figure who navigated multiple aristocratic positions in nineteenth-century Europe, serving as Archduchess of Austria (1791-1810), Empress of the French (1810-15), and Duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (1815-47).

My project considers images by well-known artists, François Gérard and Antoine-Jean Gros, as well as those less familiar, such as Pauline Auzou, who all carefully fashioned the empress within a centuries-old visual genealogy of queenship while emphasizing her national and dynastic ties. My investigation analyzes art objects as participating in changing definitions of national identity, contemporaneous political discourses, and roles of aristocratic women. This project reclaims Marie-Louise for nineteenth-century art history, while simultaneously offering a re-evaluation of Napoleonic commissions.

To James and our William

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Work on this dissertation began in the fall semester of 2008 when I enrolled in a seminar with Professor Mary Sheriff. I remember presenting my research interests in the early days of the seminar, very certain that I would write my dissertation on a women artist. Stumbling across little-known artist Pauline Auzou, who painted two genre paintings featuring Empress Marie-Louise, led me to this topic; it was a match made in art historical heaven. From the beginning, Mary Sheriff has been my mentor, and has supported my research interests while pushing me to dig deeper and think more critically. She has made my doctoral experience a positive one, and provided me with a wonderful role model for my future career path. Daniel Sherman's interest in my project helped deepen my approaches to the material by asking insightful questions along the way. The research of Melissa Hyde has provided a model for my own, and I am pleased to have her serve on my dissertation committee. Tatiana String and Elizabeth Mansfield generously agreed to serve on my committee, and I am thankful for their insightful comments. I am also grateful for the assistance of Carol Magee, who offered great advice on grant applications and supported my various endeavors in her role as Director of Graduate Studies.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation argues that imagery associated with Marie-Louise, House of Habsburg-Lorraine (1791-1847), second wife to Napoleon Bonaparte and Empress of the French, not only reflects and shapes women's changing positions in politics and society under Napoleon's regime but also underlines the unique position Marie-Louise occupied in European politics throughout her life. A member of both the Habsburg and Bonaparte families, Empress Marie-Louise represents a direct link between the old ruling structures of aristocratic Europe and the formation of Napoleon Bonaparte's (1769-1821) new imperial dynasty. Imaged as queen, diplomat, daughter, mother, and artist, Marie-Louise was at once subject to the same iconographic conventions for female aristocratic portraiture that had been used for centuries and a catalyst for artistic innovation and experimentation. Against the backdrop of the volatile political climate and the rise of nationalism, Marie-Louise navigated multiple roles in nineteenth-century Europe, serving as Archduchess of Austria (1791-1810), Empress of the French (1810-1815), and Duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (1815-1847), betraying her political savvy and powerful dynastic position.

To explore her unique situation in European politics, I investigate the varied imagery associated with Marie-Louise, including official portraits (those commissioned by Napoleon's regime), non-official portraits (those created by artists without a direct imperial commission), allegorical and genre paintings, prints, and decorative commissions. Throughout this manuscript, I discuss several images created by artists, such as Alexandre

Menjaud (1773-1832), Antoine-François Callet (1741-1823), François Gérard (1770-1837), and Pauline Auzou (1775-1835), who all carefully fashioned a public persona for Marie-Louise. An amateur artist deeply involved in the early nineteenth-century art world, Marie-Louise's own compositions provide excellent examples of aristocratic women's artistic production, while simultaneously showcasing the ways in which she dealt with her shifting public identities in the privacy of the domestic realm. My investigation analyzes these various art objects as participating in changing definitions of queen/empress-ship, conceptions of national identity, and the changeable nineteenth-century political environment. I explore how Marie-Louise's imagery allowed her persona to fluctuate and change throughout her lifetime.

Although born a Habsburg Archduchess with an illustrious heritage and established ties with several foreign ruling families, Marie-Louise catapulted onto the European political scene in early 1810, when rumors erupted about a possible marriage match between herself and the recently divorced Napoleon Bonaparte.¹ Usually forged for political reasons, aristocratic marriages often mark an amicable era of peace between two nations. In the case of Napoleon and Marie-Louise's union, however, the goal was, for all practical purposes, a ceasefire. Marie-Louise and her family were no friends of Napoleon; her father, Francis I of Austria, formerly Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor, was a member of military coalitions

¹ Archduchess Marie-Louise was not Napoleon's only choice for his new bride. Also on the list were Tsar Alexander's younger sisters, Ekaterina (1788-1819) and Anna Pavlovna (1795-1865), but these negotiations stalled. Not wanting to waste anymore time, Napoleon and his council met on January 21, 1810 to discuss other options. Anna Pavlovna was still on the list, but two other potential brides were added: Maria Augusta, Princess of Saxony, and Marie-Louise. Born in 1782, Maria Augusta was already twenty-seven years old and no longer young; so her ability to produce an heir was questionable. In an attempt to stay true to past monarchical tradition, Napoleon and his council chose Marie-Louise, an Austrian Archduchess. See: Alan Palmer, *Napoleon and Marie-Louise: The Emperor's Second Wife* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 83-86, 89-90, and "The Marriage of Napoleon I and Marie-Louise of Austria," accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.napoleon.org/en/Template/chronologie.asp?idpage=476521&onglet=1>.

against Napoleon, and his stance against the French emperor resulted in his bitter defeat at the hands of the imperial army at the Battle of Austerlitz (1805), which forced Francis to dissolve the Holy Roman Empire and to found the Austrian Empire, a nation he ruled under the title, Emperor Francis I.² Four years later, Emperor Francis I endured defeat at the hands of Napoleon again at the Battle of Wagram (1809).³ Napoleon's invading armies forced Emperor Francis and his family to flee Vienna twice while the French emperor occupied the capital and lived in their home, Schönbrunn Palace. When Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, the Austrian Foreign Minister, presented the marriage arrangement to the future empress in February 1810, Marie-Louise acquiesced to the will of her father and Austria, agreeing to wed Napoleon despite her reservations.⁴ They married by proxy on March 11, 1810, and their religious ceremony took place on April 2, 1810 at the Louvre Palace in Paris. Although the imperial marriage initially worked to end war between Austria and France, tensions were still high between the two nations. Fighting began again in 1813 after Francis I sought to capitalize on Napoleon's perceived weakness following France's 1812 defeat in Russia.

² The Third Coalition (1804-1805) began after Napoleon declared himself Emperor of the French in 1804. Francis I's main allies during the time of the Third Coalition were the British, Swedish, and Russian governments. The Third Coalition ended with the French capture of Vienna in 1805 and the defeat of Russian and Austrian forces at the Battle of Austerlitz. The Fourth Coalition (1806-1807) involved the Russians and Prussians, who were threatened by France's presence so near their territory. During the Fourth Coalition, France invaded Poland and fought Russian forces at the Battle of Eylau (1807), which ended in a draw. The French later enjoyed a decisive victory over the Russians at the Battle of Friedland, which resulted in the Treaty of Tilsit.

³ Headed by Francis I, the Fifth Coalition (1808-1809) included the Austrians and Russians as the main super powers.

⁴ In early 1810, Marie-Louise wrote a series of letters to her father, Francis I, and her good friend Victoria de Poutet. In these letters, Marie-Louise revealed her distress as discovering that she was considered a likely candidate for Napoleon's new wife. See: Palmer, 90-91.

Napoleon married Marie-Louise to establish a dynasty for himself. As the so-called “Corsican upstart” without any aristocratic ties of his own, Napoleon needed an heir to cement his dynasty and to ensure his legitimacy. Napoleon officially divorced his first wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais, in January 1810 because she could not produce an heir, making Marie-Louise’s ability to give Napoleon a son even more crucial to her position as empress.⁵ After she fulfilled expectations, her visibility increased even more. Napoleon’s heir, Napoleon François Charles Bonaparte, called both Napoleon II and the King of Rome (1811-1832), was born on March 20, 1811. After Napoleon II’s birth, Napoleon appointed Marie-Louise regent twice; once during the disastrous Russian campaign in 1813, and again, in early 1814, during the War of the Sixth Coalition.⁶

Following the Sixth Coalition’s capture of Paris in April 1814, Napoleon abdicated in favor of his son, an event that immediately increased the political potency of Marie-Louise, who remained near Paris in hopes that her son would be crowned emperor and she could remain regent until he attained majority.⁷ Although several queen consorts served as French regents during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Marie de’ Medici (1575-1642) and Anne of Austria (1601-1666), Marie-Louise’s regency was unexpected. In a reaction to the supposed power wielded by Queen Marie-Antoinette, the constitutional

⁵ Married on March 9, 1796, Joséphine de Beauharnais and Napoleon Bonaparte divorced in January 1810, but he let her know of his decision to marry a younger bride on November 30, 1809. Empress Joséphine was six years older than Napoleon, and when she had not become pregnant after a few years of marriage, the emperor began to have relationships with mistresses to make sure he was not impotent. Napoleon had illegitimate children during this period, including Charles Léon (1806-1881) with Eléonore Denuelle de la Plaigne and, although not acknowledged by Napoleon, Count Alexandre Joseph Colonna-Walewski (1810-1868) with Countess Marie Walewska, who was accepted as the son of Marie’s husband.

⁶ Napoleon conferred on Marie-Louise the powers of the regency on March 30, 1813. At this ceremony, Marie-Louise also swore an oath to Napoleon and the Constitution.

⁷ The Sixth Coalition (c. 1812-1814) consisted of Austria, Britain, Russia, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and several German kingdoms. The Sixth Coalition eventually succeeded at defeating Napoleon, resulting in his exile to the Island of Elba in 1814.

monarchy denied the queen mother's right to serve as regent in March 1791, making Napoleon's decision to appoint Marie-Louise as regent a disavowal of the former French government decision.⁸ Napoleon's appointment of Marie-Louise to the regency is even more remarkable given the strict limitations of women's rights found in the Napoleonic Code (1804), which made it impossible for women to enter into legal agreements without their husband's consent, to plead in court under their own name, to act as civil witnesses, to own property without the consent of a male family member, or to divorce unless a husband's adultery had taken place in her home.⁹

At the request of her father, Marie-Louise eventually left France to travel to Vienna with Napoleon II after Napoleon's abdication, but she had not yet given up on her son's claim to the French throne, and perhaps, the regency for herself. On February 19, 1815, Marie-Louise appealed to the Congress of Vienna, requesting the end of Bourbon occupation in France, while extolling the virtues of Napoleon's rule and insisting that they uphold the principles of hereditary monarchy and place Napoleon II on the French throne.¹⁰ Little did Marie-Louise know that at this time Napoleon was already preparing a return to France; he entered Paris on March 20, 1815, putting an end to all her hopes for Napoleon II. After Napoleon showed Europe that he was capable of and willing to incite rebellion, no politician

⁸ During the first few years of the French Revolution, the constitutional committee decided that regents should be the nearest male relation to the king. Despite anxiety about the power of Queen Marie-Antoinette, the constitution decided that guardianship should be awarded to the queen mother and ended the tradition of queen mothers serving as regents by dividing the functions of regency between administration, which was the domain of the male regent, and guardianship, which was the domain of the queen mother. See: Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France*. (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2.

⁹ For more on the effect of the Napoleonic Code on the roles of women in the public sphere see: Jennifer Ngaire Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France (1789-1830)*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005).

¹⁰ *Protestation de l'Impératrice Marie-Louise adressée au Congrès de Vienne contre l'occupation de trône de France par les Bourbons*, February 19, 1815. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

would entertain the prospect of putting Napoleon II on France's throne, or any other throne for that matter, for fear that Napoleon would seize power once again. During Napoleon's Hundred Days (March 20 - July 18, 1815), Marie-Louise retreated from public life, and remained in Vienna until the Congress of Vienna finalized her title Duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. Initially, the Congress of Vienna decreed that the duchy of Parma would pass to Napoleon II at Marie-Louise's death, but they later changed the document so that the title would remain that of Marie-Louise for her life only, excluding Napoleon II from the succession and leaving him without a title of his own.¹¹

Marie-Louise entered her new duchy on April 19, 1816. She seemed to relish her newfound independence in Parma, where she was free from the constraints of formal court life.¹² She eventually married Adam Albert, Count von Neipperg (1775-1829), whom she met in August 1814 when Neipperg accompanied her to Aix-les-Bains to take the waters following Napoleon's initial abdication. Their relationship likely began on this trip. They had three children together, and married four months after Napoleon's death in 1821.¹³ Later, after Neipperg's death in February 1829, Marie-Louise married Charles-René de Bombelles on February 17, 1834; Metternich had installed him as her majorduomo in 1833, and they remained married until Marie-Louise's death.

¹¹ Emperor Francis I bestowed the title Duke of Reichstadt on his grandson, who was now called Francis Charles, on July 22, 1818. With his new status came the title "Serene Highness," which designated the former King of Rome's position as just behind that of the Habsburg archdukes. Reichstadt consisted of a castle and estate, and was a part of the Habsburg domains in Bohemia. See: Palmer, 211.

¹² Although Marie-Louise ruled the duchy of Parma in her own right, Francis I's foreign minister Metternich visited the duchy a few times, suggesting that Marie-Louise did receive some guidance from her father's administration. See: Palmer, 210.

¹³ Neipperg and Marie-Louise's first child, Albertina Maria, was born on May 1, 1817, and was listed as being of "unknown parentage" in the baptismal record in Parma. However, the young girl was quickly given the title, Countess of Montenuovo; Montenuovo is the Italian translation of Neipperg. Two additional children followed the birth of Albertina (1817-1867), William Albert, Count of Montenuovo (1819-1895), and Mathilde, Countess of Montenuovo, who died within a year of her birth in 1822. See: Palmer, 209, 211, 215.

Marie-Louise's life as lived demonstrates her uniqueness within European politics by revealing the importance of her dynastic and national ties to her political and personal identity. The daughter of Francis I of Austria (former Holy Roman Emperor) and his second wife, Maria Theresa of Naples and Sicily, Marie-Louise was a great-granddaughter of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, on both her maternal and paternal sides through her grandfather Leopold II Holy Roman Emperor and her grandmother Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples and Sicily. Given her family's desire to create strong dynastic ties through marriage, she had family connections to both Spanish and French ruling houses. After Napoleon invaded Europe, he placed his brothers on several European thrones as puppet rulers and his sisters he married to some of the most prestigious and oldest European families, a strategy that mirrored the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty's own attempts at creating dynastic longevity and acquiring land through inter-marriage.

As an elite aristocratic woman, Marie-Louise possessed a certain level of cultural and political influence. This authority can be difficult to trace or document, since many political activities performed by women are overlooked in history. But, to strictly view them as "powerless," because they did not possess traditional political power, offers an incomplete picture of their endeavors. For Marie-Louise, her bloodlines charged her with a certain level of authority at Napoleon's court, given his desire for political legitimacy, and also aided Napoleon's claim over his far-reaching empire. As the daughter of Napoleon's defeated enemy, Marie-Louise functioned as both an emblem of her father's defeat and Napoleon's victory, making her an embodiment of the emperor's war mongering and peace-making sides. Her bloodlines also pointed towards her hoped-for fertility, thanks to the fecundity of her Habsburg relatives. Like all queen consorts, her position increased in potency after giving

birth to an heir, and Marie-Louise possessed a more traditionally “powerful” role when serving as regent for Napoleon II.

Marie-Louise’s interest in art making placed her at the forefront of culture, and she befriended two of France’s most important artists, Pierre-Paul Prud’hon and Jean-Baptiste Isabey. While ruling the duchy of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, Marie-Louise continued her engagement in cultural pursuits by virtually controlling the Art Academy. We must not also forget that she ruled the duchy of Parma in her own right, and therefore, exercised considerable political power as both an active agent and as a figurehead.

Throughout her life, images provided Marie-Louise and her artists with a way to negotiate her unprecedented position in European politics and culture. The vast majority of images I consider in this dissertation are portraits. Traditional discussions of portraiture envision a portrait as a likeness that “refers to the identity of the person depicted.”¹⁴ At various times during history, identity was thought to encompass personality, virtue, and nobility, tying portraiture to the real and ideal world simultaneously, enabling one particular individual to personify abstract ideas or events, such as the glory of a particular kingdom.¹⁵ In this project, I incorporate this understanding of portraiture, but go beyond it, seeing portraits as not solely the work of an individual artist or patron, but as a collective enterprise. I also draw from J.L. Austin’s theory of the performativity of speech, as applied by art historian Todd Porterfield, to explore the significance of imperial rituals in Napoleonic painting.¹⁶ Due to the pageantry of Napoleon’s court and its formalized court performances,

¹⁴ Joanna Woodall, “Introduction: Facing the Subject,” in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* Joanna Woodhall, ed. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 9.

¹⁵ Ibid. 3

¹⁶ Todd Porterfield, “David’s *Sacre*,” in Todd Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres and David* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press), 115-

such as coronations and marriages, the performances recorded on an artist's canvas worked to assert the identity of Marie-Louise within the imperial government; Napoleonic paintings exhibit the performance of rituals that interact with the past and present, constructing identity through the quotation of significant events from the *ancien régime* past while dazzling the spectator with the splendid performance depicted.

Napoleon's government, cultural discourse, and trends in aristocratic portraiture all contributed to the ways in which Marie-Louise was represented, opening the possibility for inquiry into questions of artistic agency, cultural norms of femininity, the role of the empress during Napoleon's regime, and the role of the patron in the construction of these images. I see these representations as public negotiations of Marie-Louise's dynastic capital, as declarations of governmental expectations for her role as empress, as participating in a network of images of aristocratic women, and more widely, as indications of larger societal expectations for women. Drawing from previous art historical work concerning the interdependence of public persona and the representation of ideal femininity, such as Mary Sheriff's essay, "The Cradle is Empty: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Antoinette, and the Problem of Intention" and Melissa Hyde's "Under the Sign of Minerva: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde*," I explore the ways in which societal expectations for queen/empress-ship changed during Napoleon's reign and how Marie-Louise and her artists negotiated this change.¹⁷

116. For more on J.L. Austin's theory of performativity see: J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, eds. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1975).

¹⁷ Mary D. Sheriff, "The Cradle is Empty: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Antoinette, and the Problem of Intention," in *Women, Art, and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth Century Europe*, Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, eds. (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2003). Melissa Hyde, "Under the Sign of Minerva: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde*," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, eds. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2003).

Napoleon and Marie-Louise worked in a European social network of the upper echelons of the aristocracy, so, for both emperor and empress, expressing and representing their legitimacy and strong dynastic ties was of the utmost importance. According to Marcia Pointon, “portraiture was – and is – to be understood as one of the ways in which social groups represent themselves to themselves.”¹⁸ I understand queens and empresses as constituting a social group, one in which individuals communicate with each other through representations independent of conceptions of cultural and imperial allegiances. The often direct copying of imagery from earlier portraits places representations of queens and empresses in dialogue with past, present, and future queens regardless of their geographic locale. In addition, it communicates with the past through visual references to earlier precedents, creating a “visual genealogy” legitimized by both the renown of the painter and the cultural and political position of the sitter.¹⁹ These royal connections and visual genealogy, I argue, created a network of queenship imagery that is simultaneously outside of time and outside of geographic borders, but still connected to dynastic and iconographic traditions. My concept of this phenomenon draws from Clarissa Catherine Orr’s introduction to *Queenship in Europe, 1660- 1815*, which argues for an understanding of queenship that acknowledges European queens’ transnationality and dynastic ties, instead of focusing on her loyalty to her husband’s country.²⁰ I adopt this approach to images of Marie-Louise, looking

¹⁸ Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 1. Mary Sheriff also takes up this argument when she notes that French royal portraits depict the social position of “king” and “queen” as well as the actual historical persons. See: Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), chapter 5.

¹⁹ Woodall, 3.

²⁰ Clarissa Campbell Orr, “Introduction,” in *Queenship in Europe, 1660- 1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

at the ways in which her imagery highlighted her connection to her Habsburg ancestry and her position within the network of aristocratic women.

To discover what Marie-Louise's image meant for the government and the public that viewed it, I draw from Abby Zanger's argument that images of the queen are "fashioned by the state, and fashion the state."²¹ I understand this quote as directly referring to the authority the queen's image had in reinforcing norms for female behavior and consolidating the power of the king. Whereas Zanger positions the queen's body as necessary only to embellish and consolidate the power of the king, I see the queen's ability as adding to and consolidating the king's power, as restoring a level of agency, especially in Marie-Louise's case, since her rule was integral to Napoleon's governmental fiction thanks to her promise of fertility and strong dynastic ties.

Although her political and dynastic capital were integral to consolidating the power of the king, a notion that seemingly charges her with more authority, Marie-Louise was still subject to the same cultural and societal norms governing proper female deportment. I relate her imagery to the larger cultural images of femininity and queenship by examining Napoleon's Civil Code and genre paintings of happy mothers by artists Margu rite G rard and Constance Meyer. I use the Napoleonic Code and contemporaneous images of idyllic maternity to examine further perceived roles for women and the ways in which Marie-Louise negotiated her public, political roles through portraiture.

To theorize Marie-Louise's connections with France, her duchy of Parma, and her connections to Habsburg Austria, I explore issues of nationalism and national identity. The traditional understanding of nationalism views the Napoleonic Wars as forging bonds

²¹ Abby E Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 15.

between peoples in nearby territories based on shared cultural identifications. These bonds eventually resulted in the formation of nation-states.²² Understood as more than simply where one lives, national identity refers to an imagined community of individuals typically occupying a particular region founded on the basis of collective memories, shared ideologies, and histories. Given that national borders shifted throughout the nineteenth century, national identity and concepts of national temperaments offered not only a sense of belonging but also a show of political allegiance or dynastic power. Although there were not any “nations” according to the modern definition of the term during the early to mid nineteenth century, there were groups of people geographically near one another that constituted distinct groups founded on their similar location, cultural ties, and shared language. Anne-Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein, popularly called Madame de Staël, notes these differences between peoples in her works, *De l'influence des passions sur les bonheurs des individus et des nations* (1796), *Corinne or Italy* (1807), and *De l'Allemagne* (1810).²³ In these works, Staël explores and explains nationalistic stereotypes, which, in many ways, function as precursors to national identities. These stereotypes demonstrate that culture was shared with people living in the same region, providing a burgeoning sense of “nation” or, at the very least, communities based on commonalities of religion, language, and culture. I refer to “nation”

²² The traditional notion of Nationaism in Europe, sees the Napoleonic Wars as instumental in constructing and establishing the concept of “nation” and nationalism. For more information see: John Breuilly, “The response to Napoleon and German nationalism in *The Bee and the Eagle: Napoleonic France and the End of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806*, Alan Forrest and Peter H. Wilson, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 256-284. Other essays in this collection also deal with the concept of nation and nationalism during Napoleon’s empire, including Michael Rapport, “‘The Germans are Hydrophobes:’ Germany and the Germans in the Shaping of French Identity,” 234-255 and Karen Haggemann, “‘Desperation to the Utmost’: The Deafeat of 1806 and the French Occupation in Prussian Experience and Percetion,” 191-213.

²³ See: Madame Anne-Louise Germaine de Staël, *De L'Allemagne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1844) and *Corinne, or, Italy*, ed. and trans. Sylvia Raphael with an introduction by John Isbell. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Madame de Staël writes candidly about parituclar personality characteristics of people from France, Italy, Germany, and England in these writings.

and “national identity” in this dissertation, but rather than referring to the formation of nation-states, I refer to a sense of nationalism and national identity that existed in dominant cultures, specifically France, Italy, and Habsburg Austria, before the formation of nations in the modern sense.

To further explore nationalism and identity, I look at historians’ discussions of the intersections of gender and nation, utilizing the arguments found in the works of influential historians such as, Jennifer Heuer, Joan Landes, and Lynn Hunt, and their theories that reveal the transnational cultural consciousness during the period.²⁴ As these historians discuss, the public perceived ideal women as the “guardians” of family, as preservers of national culture, as conservators of language and mores, and as reproducers of the nation.²⁵ The relevancy of these ideas to nation building reveals a trans-European consciousness during a time in which women were simultaneously excluded from citizenship, but needed to construct concepts of nation.

Ultimately, I reveal that Marie-Louise’s dynastic ties as a Habsburg Archduchess, and marriage into Napoleon’s constructed dynasty situated her as *transnational*, a term I define as

²⁴ See: Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); Jean H. Quataert, “Introduction: Dynastic Legitimacy and Women’s Philanthropy in German State and Nation Building,” in *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813-1916* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

²⁵ For a study of how women were viewed as preservers of national language and culture during this period see: Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2009) and Dena. Goodman, *The French Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994). For examples of this phenomenon in a British context see: Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003). For a German Central European context see: Karen Hagemann, “A Valorous Volk Family: The Nation, the Military, and the Gender Order in Prussia in the Time of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806-15,” in *Gendered nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

simultaneously beyond and outside traditional national borders and identities.²⁶ Her installation as the Duchess of Parma further underscores Marie-Louise's transnationality; she was a former Habsburg Archduchess and Empress of the French of German/Austrian origins ruling a duchy in the Italian peninsula. Despite her transnationality, her images engage concepts of national identities and boundaries, suggesting their importance to aristocratic performances. I argue that Marie-Louise negotiated her position in European political culture by displaying her dynastic capital, or the authority she possessed thanks to her heritage as a Habsburg, and the other national identities she later adopted.

Through its engagement with various historical periods and geographic locations, this project establishes Marie-Louise as an exceptional female figure within early nineteenth-century history and art history. I selected the title "A Revolutionary Empress," because I want to stress the unusual, and indeed "revolutionary" position, Marie-Louise occupied during her lifetime. Her tenure as Napoleon's wife and Empress of the French precipitated a re-conceptualization of what it meant to be a queen consort; instead of eschewing the young empress's previous Habsburg ties, as had been done in the past, Napoleon and his art administration exploited them, intertwining her influence as consort with her dynastic power as a Habsburg Archduchess. Marie-Louise enjoyed an unprecedented position once again when she ruled the duchy of Parma. Thanks to the various positions she occupied during her time on the European political stage, the multiplicity of Marie-Louise's political roles required a new way of conceptualizing and representing female power. The artists who

²⁶ For an introduction to *transnationality* and how it is applied in the field of history see: Mae M. Ngai, "Promises and Perils of Transnational History," *Perspectives on History* 50, no. 9 (December 2012), <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2012/1212/Promises-and-Perils-of-Transnational-History.cfm>, and Lisa A. Lindsay, "The Appeal of Transnational History," *Perspectives on History* 50, no. 9 (December 2012), <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2012/1212/Appeal-of-Transnational-History.cfm>. Both articles were a part of 50th anniversary forum documenting the proceedings of the American Historical Association, and the issue was guest edited by Lynn Hunt.

imaged Marie-Louise throughout her lifetime negotiated the many tensions in her various positions, depicting her as an ideal female while illustrating her political potency and prestige.

Through researching this material, I have discovered a woman who has been marginalized in history, most often in favor of her predecessor, Empress Joséphine, who is remembered by biographers and historians as charming, beautiful and alluring.²⁷ Because Marie-Louise's marriage took place so soon after Napoleon's divorce, her marriage to Napoleon positioned her as the beloved Joséphine's replacement, and is, consequently, a concept found in much of the literature associated with the empress. Until the 2010 exhibition *1810 La politique de l'amour*, published in celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of their marriage, scholars of Napoleonic paintings and sculpture rarely mentioned Marie-Louise in exhibition catalogues and monographs. In monographs concerning Napoleonic imagery, authors refer to Marie-Louise primarily to offer historical context to the military exploits, art commissions, and political activities of Napoleon, not noting the varied roles Marie-Louise herself played in the cultural and political world as mother, ruler, art patron, and above all, as a member of one of the most powerful dynastic families, the Habsburgs. The notion that Marie-Louise was Joséphine's replacement has received the greatest attention, but this scholarship detaches Marie-Louise from the larger political and dynastic context of her life, choosing to describe her as less beautiful, less

²⁷ See: Eleanor P. DeLorme, *Joséphine: Napoléon's Incomparable Empress* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2002), Bernard Chevallier, *Douce et incomparable Joséphine* (Paris: Payot, 1990), Carolly Erickson, *Josephine: A Life of the Empress* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), and Andrea Stuart, *The Rose of Martinique: A Life of Napoleon's Josephine* (New York: Grove Press, 2003). Several historical fiction novels are also on the market stressing beauty of Josephine Bonaparte, including a recent trilogy written by Sandra Guillard and published by Scribner Paperback fiction. Empress Josephine has certainly captured the public's imagination and continues to do so today.

cultured, less interesting, and less loved by Napoleon.²⁸ This is even true of biographies dedicated to Marie-Louise's life that often refer to her as "*impératrice malgré elle*" or as "*l'impératrice oubliée*," highlighting her subordinate status."²⁹ This dissertation adds to the scholarship on Napoleonic Europe by rescuing Marie-Louise from her historical and art historical obscurity.

The organization of this dissertation follows the chronology of Marie-Louise's life, and groups the imagery accordingly. In chapter one, I begin with a study of portraits representing Marie-Louise dating to the first few years of her reign as empress, demonstrating that images of Marie-Louise harness her dynastic potency in a way that is different from that of previous French consorts. Central to this chapter is a discussion of dynastic identity as a key to Marie-Louise's political authority at Napoleon's court, a thread that runs throughout this dissertation. I focus on two unusual portraits of the empress, Alexandre Menjaud's genre painting, *Marie-Louise painting the portrait of Napoleon* (1810; Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau), which depicts Marie-Louise, who was a skilled amateur artist, painting the portrait of Emperor Napoleon, and Robert Lefèvre's *Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress of the French* (Salon of 1812; Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma), which shows the new empress with a drawing of the emperor. I explore the importance of Marie-Louise's Austrian/German national identity through the analysis of these two paintings, discussing how her illustrious Habsburg heritage may have figuratively equipped

²⁸ In *Napoleon and Marie-Louise, The Emperor's Second Wife*, historian Alan Palmer discusses Marie-Louise's illustrious ancestry, but presents her both impressionable and incapable. See: Alan Paller, *Napoleon and Marie-Louise: The Emperor's Second Wife* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), especially pp. 131-146.

²⁹ See: Genviève Chastenot, *Marie-Louise, L'impératrice oubliée* (Paris: Jean-Claude Latté, 1983) and André Castellet, *Marie-Louise: Impératrice malgré elle* (Paris : Librairie Académique Perrin, 1998). *L'impératrice oubliée* translates as "The Forgotten Empress", and *Marie-Louise: Impératrice malgré elle* translates as "Marie-Louise : Empress in spite of herself."

her with the ability to create a dynasty for Napoleon, which is represented through the young empress's facility at art making, a skill she actually possessed. Central to this chapter are several comparisons between portraits representing Marie-Louise and those of previous French consorts, including Queen Marie Leszcinska (1703-1768), Queen Marie-Antoinette (1755-1793), and Empress Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763-1814), who was born on the French island of Martinique, and therefore, was not a foreigner to the realm. Before Joséphine ascended the throne, French consorts were primarily elite aristocratic women from foreign ruling houses who married French monarchs to create important alliances. Married for love before Napoleon declared himself emperor, Joséphine was held to a different standard than previous French consorts, but was still expected to produce an heir, a task she was unable to fulfill. I continue my discussion of Marie-Louise's Habsburg identity through an analysis of Joséphine's portraits, arguing that the differences in the ways artists depicted Marie-Louise and Joséphine correlate to the differences in political expectations for each of his wives as imaged through their different geographic associations.

Chapter two discusses history painting from the year 1810, specifically images associated with Marie-Louise and Napoleon's marriage. The year 1810 not only marks his marriage to Marie-Louise, but also, he hoped, would witness the establishment of his dynasty through the birth of an heir. Artists did not have a precedent to follow when it came to representing a royal marriage between a commoner, who rose to power due to his military successes, and a Habsburg Archduchess, or, for that matter, the marriage between a forty-year-old divorced monarch and his eighteen-year-old bride. The remarkable circumstances surrounding their marriage forced artists to draw from a variety of sources to inform the compositions they created depicting the imperial union. In this chapter, I analyze both the

return to allegorical painting and a specific style of contemporaneous historical painting developed by Napoleonic-era artists. Napoleonic history paintings depict moments from the recent historical past to validate and establish the importance of the imperial regime by producing overwhelmingly detailed paintings of extravagant events. Marie-Louise's presence in these images, such as Georges Rouget's *Marriage of Emperor Napoleon and Archduchess Marie-Louise* (Salon of 1810) that quotes Jacques-Louis David's *The Coronation of Napoleon* (1807), has never before been evaluated closely as a means through which to establish and evaluate Marie-Louise's position within Napoleon's aristocratic performances. I analyze Napoleonic history painting to establish how artists adapted this style for images of Marie-Louise by discussing the utilization of popular forms of entertainment that also sought to transport the viewer, particularly panoramas and phantasmagoria. The year 1810 re-established the importance of allegorical painting and portraiture to the construction of monarchical identity. I view allegorical paintings from 1810, such as Antoine-François Callet's *The August Alliance* (Salon of 1810), and Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's decorations for the June 1810 Hôtel de Ville celebrations, along side the tradition of allegorical female portraits to reveal the ways in which previous allegorical images completed during the *ancien régime* informed representations of the new empress. Central to this chapter is the reuse and recycling of iconography used during the *ancien régime* and the more recent Revolutionary past; I argue that the reconfiguration of this recognizable iconography for imagery featuring Marie-Louise created continuity not only between the Old Monarchy and the imperial regime but also between Napoleon's two wives and France's tumultuous past.

Chapter three continues my discussion of Marie-Louise's dynastic capital, focusing on her as a symbol of ideal motherhood by concentrating on images of her with her son. Motherhood was the goal of all women, but especially those in aristocratic marriage alliances, making it a necessary and obligatory way to picture female aristocratic figures and, in the case of a queen, to justify the importation of a foreigner into the bosom of France. I locate Marie-Louise inside this tradition, but also outside of it, since images of Marie-Louise with Napoleon II deviate from most images of aristocratic mothers and sons. In this section I examine official portraits of the empress, such as François Gérard's *Empress Marie-Louise presenting the King of Rome* (1812; Versailles, Musée Nationale du châteaux) as well as other, rather unusual, images, such as Josephe Franque's *Empress Marie-Louise unveiling the sleeping King of Rome* and Alexandre Menjaud's genre painting *Marie-Louise and Napoleon and the King of Rome*, which presents the imperial couple as an everyday bourgeois couple. To understand these seemingly disparate iconographical approaches to representing the new empress as a mother, I turn to the Napoleonic Code, genre paintings by women artists, and the return of Catholicism in France.

Parma takes center stage in chapter four as the place where Marie-Louise needed to re-establish and negotiate her dynastic identity once again. In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which Marie-Louise explored her new identity as an autonomous duchess both privately and publically through her own watercolor paintings and ducal commissions. Like other wealthy women who enjoyed travelling, Marie-Louise kept a series of watercolor sketchbooks, recording scenes she encountered during her travels, namely in Italy and Austria. I study her watercolors in terms of identity construction, viewing them as re-negotiation, or even, a re-establishment, of her identity as a women ruler of Habsburg

descent ruling a duchy in the Italian peninsula. Marie-Louise's own artistic production allows me to place her within a history of aristocratic female artists and the ways in which they used art making as a way to assert and explore their identities. I also discuss Marie-Louise's desire to travel and soak up the culture of Italy, and her fascination with the delicate style of Parma-native Antonio Allegri da Correggio (1489-1534). While duchess, Marie-Louise sought to establish a legitimate place for herself within the lineage of Parma's aristocracy; this time she did so by restoring a group of Malosso wall paintings in her ducal palace, the aptly named Palazzo dal Giardino, that were commissioned by the Farnese family, the original rulers of the duchy. Marie-Louise, however, never stopped referring to her Habsburg identity as evidenced by her own commissions, which extol her virtues as ruler while simultaneously referring to her Habsburg dynastic ties.

CHAPTER ONE

Crafting a Dynasty: Marie-Louise's Dynastic Power at Work

Exhibited at the Salon of 1810, Alexandre Menjaud's *Marie-Louise painting the portrait of Napoleon* (Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau) depicts Napoleon's new bride at work, actively painting the likeness of the emperor while he poses for his portrait. Empress Marie-Louise smiles at her husband, who is dressed in his Colonel of the Cavalry uniform, while she holds a paintbrush to canvas. Neither Napoleon nor the imperial art administration commissioned this image, yet they responded favorably to it and immediately contacted the artist to purchase the work after the Salon. In a letter written on November 22, 1810, Dominique Vivant Denon, Director of Museums, informs Menjaud that he would like to acquire the work for 1800 francs, if Menjaud re-does the likeness of Marie-Louise in the manner of Robert Lefèvre (1756-1830), a favorite portraitist of the imperial court known for the truthfulness of his representations.³⁰ Denon insists that this change "will make the painting more pleasing."³¹ Thus, Denon's request was, in short, to make Marie-Louise more recognizable. Although no record exists confirming that Menjaud honored Denon's request, the fact that the work entered the imperial collection points to the artist's acquiescence.

³⁰ Marie-Anne Dupuy, Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont and Elaine Williamson, eds., *Vivant Denon, directeur des musées sous le Consulate et l'Empire. Correspondance (1802-1815)*, 2 vols. (Paris, RMN, 1999), 675. For information on Robert Lefèvre's reputation as a portraitist see: Paul C. Landon, *Annales du musées et de l'Ecole moderne des Beaux-Arts. Salon of 1810* (Paris, 1829), 97-98.

³¹ "...je puis vous assurer qu'avec ce changement ce tableau sera très agréable." Marie-Anne Dupuy, Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont and Elaine Williamson, eds., *Vivant Denon, directeur des musées sous le Consulate et l'Empire. Correspondance (1802-1815)*, 2 vols. (Paris, RMN, 1999), 675.

Following his divorce from Empress Joséphine de Beauharnais, a wealthy commoner from the French colony of Martinique who rose to prominence as a one of the so-called *Merveilleuse* during the Revolution, Napoleon needed to present a different identity for Marie-Louise to the French public; she needed a persona distinct from that of the beloved, yet infamous, Joséphine.³² The daughter of a sugar plantation owner from the Carribean, Joséphine had a lineage quite different from that of Marie-Louise, and prompted artists to try to differentiate between the two women in a way consistent with consort imagery. Marie-Louise's dynastically-rich Habsburg blood and its legitimizing effect on Napoleon's regime warranted a new mode of representation for the emperor's young bride.

Representations of Marie-Louise harness her political and dynastic potency in a way that is distinct from other portraits of consorts. Eager to display the Austrian/Habsburg ties of Marie-Louise to gain favor with the imperial art administration, artist's representations of the young empress emphasize her foreign ties through highlighting her recognizable facial features and other iconography associated with her Habsburg family. Although innovative in their depictions, these images are consistent with traditional representations of French consorts, placing Marie-Louise within a genealogy of queenship through the recycling and reuse of *ancien régime* and imperial iconography. I compare images of Marie-Louise with those of other French aristocratic women, including Empress Joséphine de Beauharnais, Queen Marie-Antoinette, and Queen Marie Leszczyńska, demonstrating Marie-Louise's exceptionality. I ultimately argue that Marie-Louise's unprecedented level of visibility and

³² In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in the *Merveilleuses*, particularly Juliette Récamier and Joséphine as seen in recent exhibitions *Juliette Récamier: Muse et Mécène* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon; 2009); *Josephine and the Arts of Empire* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2005); *The Empress Joséphine: Art and Royal Identity* (Mead Art Museum, Amherst, Massachusetts; 2005) and *Symbols of Power" Napoleon and the Art of the Empire Style* (Musée des l'arts decorative, Paris and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 2009). These exhibitions stress Joséphine's role in constructing the imperial style.

influence was directly tied to her perceived German/Austrian identity and her Habsburg dynastic ties.

Creating a new dynasty for Napoleon

Menjaud's 1810 *Marie-Louise painting the portrait of Napoleon* can be understood as a testament to the centrality of the empress to Napoleon's regime as well as to her ability to craft a dynastic identity for the emperor. Displayed at the salon the year of the imperial marriage, this image suggests the necessity of this union for establishing a dynasty and legacy for Napoleon. In March 1810, Napoleon married Marie-Louise; this marriage took place only four months after the emperor's marriage with Empress Joséphine was dissolved. Menjaud's image of an adoring bride dressed in informal attire painting her husband's portrait in an intimate domestic space underlines the solidity of the new alliance, while assuaging the fears of the French public. Although a proven formidable general, Napoleon did not have a dynasty, nor was he from a powerful royal family; at the time of his marriage to Marie-Louise, he had no legitimate heirs to the French empire, causing the French people to fear that the possibility of another bloody revolution was imminent.

Menjaud's image reveals the importance of Marie-Louise's own heritage and dynastic capital to Napoleon's ruling fiction during the first year of their marriage. Unlike previous French consorts whose previous dynastic identities were usually occluded when they became queen, Marie-Louise's Habsburg ties and German associations were highlighted. Simultaneously subject and sovereign, French queens typically did not wield governmental or public power. They acted as accessories to the French kingdom by solidifying their

husband's rule through the production of heirs.³³ French queens produced heirs to the French kingdom, but were not French themselves; they were almost always foreigners married to create ties with other governments. Although usually from the most politically powerful countries, French consorts wielded very little political power of their own in their new, adopted realms unless serving as regents.

Initiated by the first king of the Franks, Clovis I, Salic Law (507-511) sought to regulate the succession between nobles by providing a codification of civil and legislative laws, including inheritance rights and punishable crimes in the Frankish kingdom. Salic law followed the principle of agnatic primogeniture, ensuring all kinship ties and inheritance rights would follow the paternal line. In the fourteenth century, Salic Law was used to bar the English from inheriting the French throne, and, as a rather fortuitous side effect, prohibited women from the succession.³⁴ The French government's adoption of Salic Law ensured that no woman would sit on the throne of France. Since a French queen could not wield power of her own, notions of French queenship were weak and gave the queen very little dynastic or political power once she married into the French royal family. Thus, accounts of French consorts, such as those of Louis XIV's wife Maria Theresa, often stress ways in which a queen becomes French or embellishes her husband's reputation. The queen's

³³ See: Fanny Cosandey, *La Reine de France: Symbole et pouvoir. XVe- XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000) and Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Boston: Harvard Historical Studies, 2004).

³⁴ The principle of agnatic primogeniture made it so inheritance passed through first born sons and their sons first before passing to their brothers and their issue. Jennifer Germann explains that Salic law specifically states that the eldest male child will retain the land properties of his father, while the female children all inherit the household goods, or *bien mobiliers*, which translates as "moveable property." Jennifer Grant Germann, "Figuring Marie Leszczinska (1703-1768): Representing Queenship in Eighteenth-Century France," Ph.D. dissertation. (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002), 24, note 6. See also: Fanny Cosandey, "La loi salique," in *La Reine de France: Symbole et pouvoir. XVe- XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 19-54; Sarah Hanley, "Les visages de la loi salique dans la quête pour le droit des hommes et l'exclusion des femmes du gouvernement monarchique," in *Les droits des femmes et la loi salique* (Paris: Indigo & côté-femmes, 1994), 14.

health was of the utmost significance to the French state, and was the easiest way to figure the stability of a dynasty; if the queen was in poor health and unable to produce an heir, the whole state would be compromised.³⁵ During the *ancien régime*, the physical body of the king and queen and their ability to produce heirs was communicated through portraits, which were disseminated throughout Europe in prints.³⁶

The situation of Napoleon and Marie-Louise, however, was different. While Marie-Louise served as an accessory to Napoleon's rule by legitimizing his seat on the French throne and having the potential to produce an heir, her identity was both a demonstration and manifestation of an authority she herself possessed. He needed her to ensure the continuation of his dynasty, not only as a mother, but also as an Austrian archduchess. She helped him to consolidate his rule over the Confederation of the Rhine (1806-1813), the confederation of vassal states ruled by Napoleon who was designated its protector. The Confederation was formed by German states after Napoleon's defeat of Marie-Louise's father at the Battle of Austerlitz.³⁷ On July 12, 1806, sixteen German states left the Holy Roman Empire, which was governed by Marie-Louise's father Francis II, and joined the Confederation of the Rhine. Over the next eight years, twenty-three more German states joined the Confederation, dissolving the Holy Roman Empire and stripping Marie-Louise's father of the title "Holy

³⁵ Abby Zanger discusses this phenomenon in relation to Louis XIV's bride Maria Theresa: "Fashioning the Body Politic," in *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 37-67.

³⁶ Germann, "Figuring Marie Leszczinska," 71-72. Abby Zanger also discusses the importance of print culture in circulating images of the king and queen in *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power*.

³⁷ Members of the Confederation of the Rhine had virtually all been answering to the Habsburgs prior to the Napoleonic invasion. The founding members of the Confederation of the Rhine were The Grand Duchy of Baden, Kingdom of Bavaria, Grand Duchy of Berg, Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, Principality of Regensburg, Kingdom of Württemberg, Duchy of Arenenberg, Principality of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Principality of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Principality of Isenbourg Birstein, Principality of Leyen, Principality of Liechtenstein, and the Principality of Salm.

Roman Emperor.” This event left the Habsburg dynasty with only their eastern provinces, now called the Austrian Empire. The Confederation of the Rhine was the most powerful of Napoleon’s vassal states, composed of former vassal states of the Austrian Habsburg Empire.³⁸ Napoleon’s alliance with the Confederation of the Rhine was, most importantly, a military alliance. Napoleon required that all members maintain armies to defend the borders of the empire and to aid France should they be called upon to do so. As a former Habsburg archduchess, Marie-Louise’s visibility in Napoleon’s regime demonstrated the power of the emperor, and his dominion over the powerful Habsburg dynasty. Napoleon’s marriage to Marie-Louise occurred after the Battle of Wagram (July 5-6, 1809), a crushing military defeat for the Austrian empire, which brought about a peace treaty between the French and Austrian empires. Napoleon’s marriage to an Austrian archduchess, who was the daughter of Francis II, cemented his power of these German states while proclaiming his domination throughout Europe; he can even acquire a Habsburg Archduchess as his bride. Most fundamental to understanding Marie-Louise’s central role in Napoleon’s regime, however, was the fact that Marie-Louise married him at all. Marie-Louise’s hand in marriage was, arguably, Napoleon’s most prized possession.

Marie-Louise’s position as consort, derived from her status as a Habsburg and Austrian Archduchess, is clear in Menjaud’s genre portrait of the imperial couple, which highlights the empress’s ability to create. An amateur artist who began art lessons with Pierre-Paul Prud’hon shortly after her arrival in France, Marie-Louise sits at her easel, which is at the center of the composition. Her voluminous skirts and orange cashmere shawl cover the chair in which she sits, creating a stable triangle, and imaging the stability of the imperial

³⁸ The Confederation of the Rhine was initially formed from sixteen German states as a result of the Treaty of Pressburg, which was signed in 1806 after Austrian defeat at Ulm and Austerlitz.

marriage. Napoleon stands to the right of the composition, and the emperor and empress make eye contact, creating a feeling of mutual affection and partnership between them. Marie-Louise performs the only action in the painting; she raises her brush to the canvas, while Napoleon stands passively before her. He even casts his signature hat aside in the red upholstered chair in the right foreground. Marie-Louise appears in three-quarter view, displaying her long, Habsburg jaw, blond hair and heavily-lidded blue eyes, while Napoleon appears in profile in the left foreground, displaying his shapely calves and legs. In the eighteenth century, representations of the king's legs, such as Hyacinthe Rigaud's *Louis XIV of France* (1701; Musée du Louvre, Paris), referred to his sexual and military prowess; Napoleon appears as an able-bodied military commander who is up to the challenge of producing an heir to his dynasty.³⁹ The canvas in front of Marie-Louise is blank, indicating that she has only just begun to craft the emperor's portrait, an appropriate allusion to the beginning of their marriage. The blank canvas and Marie-Louise's creative ability refer to the goal of all aristocratic marriages, especially this one, by highlighting her ability to procreate. Her potential to produce Napoleon's much-hoped-for heir was considered quite likely given the fecundity of her female Habsburg relatives.⁴⁰

Menjaud places the imperial couple inside a luxurious interior without including specific features that would make the precise location recognizable to the Salon-going

³⁹ Abby Zanger, "Lim(b)idinal Images: 'Betwixt and Between': Louis XIV's Martial and Marital Bodies," in *From the Royal to the Republican Body*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1988), pp. 32-63.

⁴⁰ Empress Maria Theresa, Marie-Louise's great grandmother, gave birth to sixteen children between 1738 and 1765 with her husband Francis I of Austria. Empress Maria Theresa's daughter, Maria Carolina of Austria, Queen of Naples and Sicily, gave birth to eighteen children.

public.⁴¹ The couple enjoys leisure time inside a fashionable gold and red neoclassical interior, decorated with symbols associated with Napoleon's rule, including "N's" and laurel leaves. A large, abstracted winged figure representing Victory or Fame appears as wall decoration directly behind the couple. The figure of Victory/Fame balances on an orb while holding a trumpet to her lips. Framed in palm leaves, the figure heralds the long-lasting good fortune of the new imperial dynasty that will hopefully be founded by Napoleon and Marie-Louise. The Victory/Fame figure appears at the apex of a triangle formed with Marie-Louise and Napoleon as the base, pointing towards both the stability and ascent of the new dynasty.

Directly behind the empress, a door is ajar, revealing a fecund forest teeming with dense foliage. In Renaissance images depicting the Annunciation, a closed door symbolizes virginity as in Domenico Veneziano's *Annunciation* from the Saint Lucy Altarpiece (c. 1445; Uffizi Gallery, Florence), Piero della Francesca's *Annunciation* (1464; Basilica of San Francesco, Arezzo), and Fra Carnevale's *The Annunciation* (1445; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).⁴² Open doors and windows, however, appear with some frequency starting in the quattrocento and continue into the Baroque period. Faranese's *Annunciation* (c. 1475-1500; Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ferrara) illustrates an open door at the back of the scene, producing a contrast between the Virgin's purity and the breached door beyond.⁴³ Protestant images of the Virgin do not have bolted or closed doors and windows, but open

⁴¹ "Alexandre Menjaud" in *1810, Politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010), 193.

⁴² Joseph Manca, "Mary versus the Open Door: Moral Antithesis in Images of the Annunciation." *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1991), pp. 1-8.

⁴³ Theologians believe that Mary is described as a closed door in Ezekial 44:1-2, when the prophet Ezekial describes a vision of a temple with an east gate door that God had passed through and that was never open or closed. This passage has been interpreted as a prefiguration of the Virgin, whose body was a closed door that Christ passed through. See: Manca, 1.

ones to show that Mary's virginity had been taken, as seen in Protestant artist Albrecht Dürer's *Madonna and Child* (1496/99; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), which includes an open window behind the mother and child that reveals a castle overgrown with lush, green foliage. In Menjaud's image, there is a fertile garden beyond the open door, indicating that Marie-Louise's virginity has been taken. The flourishing garden beyond the door prophesizes her ability to produce an heir to the kingdom.

Salon critics responded to the unusual iconography of Menjaud's image. A critic writing for *Journal de Paris* (1810) reported that while painting this image the artist exclaimed like the eighteenth-century poet Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757), "*mon coeur s'occupe du sujet/Et l'esprit laisse la l'ouvrage*."⁴⁴ This quotation was used often in eighteenth-century popular culture. A phrase from Fontenelle's *La Macreuse*, this quotation is discussed in Jean-Jacques Bel's *Dictionnaire neologique à l'usage des beaux esprits du siècle* and in Antoine-Denis Bailly's *Dictionnaire Poétique D'Education: Ou, sans donner de precepts* to help illustrate the concept of *galanterie*.⁴⁵ Although this quote could refer to Menjaud's loyalty to his emperor, the sentimentality of the quote, the private, intimate setting, and the fact that Marie-Louise paints her husband, reveals that the critic was likely referring to Marie-Louise's feelings not Menjaud's; the empress's heart was completely taken over by her work, because of her fondness for Napoleon.

⁴⁴ "My heart occupies itself with this subject and the spirit relishes the task." See: "Alexandre Menjaud" in *1810, Politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 193.

⁴⁵ These handbooks of popular sayings indicate just how common this saying was during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. No doubt the readers of Salon criticism would have immediately understood the reference. See Antoine-Denis Bailly, *Dictionnaire Poétique D'Education, on sans donner de precepts, on se propose d'exercer & d'enrichir toutes les facultés de l'ame & de l'esprit, en substituent les exemples aux leçons, les faits aux raisonnements, la pratique à la théorie*, vol. 1 (Paris, chez Vincent, rue des Mathurins, hotel de Clugny, 1775), 653 and Jean-Jacques Bel, *Dictionnaire neologique l'usage des beaux esprits du siècle, avec l'éloge historique de Pantalon – Phoebus* (Amsterdam: Chez Michel Charles le Cene, 1726), 26.

In *L'Observateur au Museum* (1810), the critic focuses on the unusual relationship Marie-Louise appears to have with the emperor, stating that the Empress is “*non contente de posséder son bien-aimé, elle veut encore le tracer sur la toile par son brillant pinceau.*”⁴⁶ The author uses the verb “*posséder*,” which has two connotations; it means either to possess, or, when used in discussions of artists, “to master something.”⁴⁷ This art critic suggests that the empress possesses the emperor; she masters his image with her brilliant brush. The critic goes on to say that Marie-Louise will not succeed in her endeavor to paint the emperor, since his traits are already etched upon her heart.⁴⁸ The sentimental language and reference to Marie-Louise’s love for her husband diffuses the highly charged position of the empress, who cannot really be in full control of the situation since it is her love for Napoleon that drives her creation, not her artistic imagination. The critic indirectly alludes to the fact that Marie-Louise was an artist herself, and a capable one at that as seen in her 1810 oil painting, *Allegory of Innocence* (Gray, Musée Baron-Martin); this event could very well have taken

⁴⁶ “Not satisfied to possess her beloved, she wants to trace him on the canvas with her brilliant brush.” *L’observateur au Museum ou Revue critique des ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, et Gravure exposés au Musées Napoléon en l’an 1810* (Paris: Chez Aubry, 1810), 23. The idea of “tracing” the likeness of a beloved also refers to female allegories of drawing which have their root in classical accounts of a female artist who traced the likeness of her beloved on the wall.

⁴⁷ Larousse Dictionary. The reference to Marie-Louise’s “brilliant brush” or *brilliant pinceau* coincides with her mastery of the subject matter, the emperor.

⁴⁸ *L’observateur au Museum ou Revue critique des ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure exposés au Musées Napoléon en l’an 1810*, 23, n. 564. This type of language was quite conventional during the early modern period in both France and England. For example, Thomas Stanley places himself as Chariessa’s true reflection: “But if thou dost desire thy form to view, / Look in my heart, where love thy picture drew.” See: “To Chariessa, beholding herself in Glasse,” in *The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley*, Galbraith Miller Crump, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 238-239. This quotation was found in: Dosia Reichardt, “Only your picture in my mind”: the image, the heart, and the mirror in some seventeenth-century poems.” Electronic resource. <http://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/renref/article/viewFile/9575/6524>. Accessed January 21, 2014. Mary Sheriff mentioned that this same type of language exists in the enormously popular mythological tale of *Rinaldo and Armida*, when Rinaldo tells Armida that her best traits are better written on his heart.

place in the imperial apartments.⁴⁹ While founded on the consort's primary duty, the birth of children, Menjaud's image presents an empress who is self-assured, artistically capable, and locked in a glance of partnership with her husband, Napoleon.

Marie-Louise physically paints the image of the emperor, an action that refers to the long tradition of kings and their favorite portraitists. Marie-Louise's position as portraitist to her husband the emperor mirrors the famous relationships between Alexander the Great and Apelles, seen in Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain and Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich's *Alexandre et Apelles* (1773-1774; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), and the connection between Louis XIV and his image makers as seen in Hyacinthe Rigaud's *Portrait of Louis XIV*. The job of the artist in these cases is not simply to create a likeness of the king, but to create an image that stands in for the king himself. As Louis Marin describes, the power of the king exists in and through his representation; therefore the artists who produce portraits of the king work as the king's agents, creating symbols of the king's power to be circulated throughout his realm.⁵⁰ The presence of the artist bolsters and enhances the position of the king. With her Habsburg bloodlines, Marie-Louise is a worthy agent of Napoleon. Her position as daughter of Francis II of Austria, who waged a bitter war against her husband prior to the imperial marriage, further underscores Napoleon's sovereignty over his empire; the figure of Victory/Fame pictured on the back wall of Menjaud's image points to Napoleon's victory over Francis II, and perhaps, his ultimate victory, Marie-Louise as his wife, which will ensure his fame throughout the centuries. In Menjaud's image, Marie-

⁴⁹ There are not any known portraits of Napoleon by Marie-Louise.

⁵⁰ Louis Marin, *Portrait of a King*, trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), pp. 3-25.

Louise, daughter of Napoleon's former enemy, acts as a legitimizing and consolidating force to his rule; sanctioning his reign with her illustrious heritage.

Based on accounts of Marie-Louise's appearance and other portraits of the Empress, Menjaud appears to have modified his portrait of the empress to be a true likeness as Denon requested. Her blond hair, blue eyes, beautiful complexion, unmistakably Habsburg jaw, and heavily-lidded eyes are clearly visible. French historian Frédéric Masson describes Marie-Louise as an attractive young woman, whose genes preserved the "*caractère de sa race*."⁵¹ Contemporaneous definitions state that *race* means lineage, birth, and bloodlines, thus Masson refers both to Marie-Louise's Habsburg bloodlines and German heritage.⁵² Masson explains that the Habsburg hallmarks were unchanged in her, especially the spacing of the eyes, mouth and lower lip, which he says is the lip of Philip the Fair and Charles V, two of the most famous Holy Roman Emperors and members of the Habsburg dynasty.⁵³ In Menjaud's image, the empress turns her face towards the viewer, offering a three-quarter view of her face, which draws attention to her Habsburg jaw and lip. Her large, heavily-lidded blue eyes rise to meet the gaze of her husband, who appears in profile.⁵⁴

Representations of Phillip the Fair and Charles V, such as Juan de Flandes, *Portrait of Philip the Handsome* (1500; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and *Portrait of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500-1558)*, done after Bernard van Orley (after 1515; Musée du Louvre,

⁵¹ Frédéric Masson, *L'Impératrice Marie-Louise* (Paris: Société d'Éditions Littéraires et Artistique, 1912), 12.

⁵² Jaucort, "Race," *Encyclopédie*, original page number, 13: 740. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2013 edition), Robert Morrissey, ed. [Accessed May 4, 2013]

⁵³ Masson, 12.

⁵⁴ Profile portraits were associated with Rome emperors, due to so many Roman coins featuring profile portraits of their emperors. No doubt Napoleon, who fancied himself as the heir to the Holy Roman Empire, wanted to stress this connection.

Paris), present Marie-Louise's ancestors with the same heavily-lidded eyes, full lip, and long jaw, indicating that these physical features were conventionalized through representation. Menjaud likely drew from this established schema for Habsburg portraiture when imaging the new empress.

The key to further understanding this unprecedented portrayal of consort and emperor lies in Marie-Louise's dynastic identity. Conceptions of German and Austrian identity can be found in the writings of Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (1766-1817), called Madame de Staël. In *De L'Allemagne*, Staël describes blonde hair and beautiful complexions as characteristic of German women, a classification that certainly coincides with Menjaud's image of the empress and Masson's description of her.⁵⁵ This emphasis on the consort's physical features in Menjaud's painting and in Masson's biography of the empress demonstrates just how important they were as hallmarks of her identity; she derives some of her authority from her physiognomic features for they mark her as a Habsburg and Austrian Archduchess.

After spending his first night with Marie-Louise, Napoleon Bonaparte lauded her dynastic heritage, encouraging his friends to: "...marry a German. They are the best women in the world, good, naïve, and fresh as roses."⁵⁶ This sentiment not only indicates the propaganda Napoleon was circulating about his marriage, but also reveals the emperor's favorable impression of his new bride and reflects contemporaneous stereotypes about German women as described by Madame de Staël. In *De L'Allemagne*, she characterizes

⁵⁵ Mme de Staël, *De L'Allemagne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1844), 34.

⁵⁶ "Mon cher, épousez une Allemande. Ce sont les meilleures femmes du monde, bonnes, naïves et fraîches comme des roses." This quote was found in Emmanuel Starcky, "Une nouvelle Iphigénie à Compiègne," in *1810, Politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 31.

German women as loyal of heart with simple, yet pure feelings. German women, she states, are fierce supporters of their nation and always strive to give back to their country.⁵⁷ Included in Madame de Staël's discussion of Germany is a chapter on Austria, which confirms Napoleon's description of Marie-Louise as German, and suggests that Austria was considered a subset of German national identity. She describes Austrians as having a particular "*genie national*" and a patriotic sentiment, a characteristic that, perhaps, enhances their desire to contribute something to their nation.⁵⁸ These qualities correspond perfectly with the sentiments expressed by Napoleon to his close friends after their wedding night; Marie-Louise's personality is that of a German woman. She is sweet, loyal, and pure of heart.

Marie-Louise's acquiescence to her father's request to marry Napoleon Bonaparte confirms Madame de Staël's description of German women, who put their nation's interests above their own. Marie-Louise put her Austrian associations first when she married Napoleon, a man her people despised. When Prince Klemens Wensel van Metternich (1773-1859), the Foreign Minister of Austria, told Marie-Louise that she was expected to marry Emperor Napoleon, she reportedly responded: "I want only what my duty commands me to want. When it is in the interest of the Empire, it is only duty that must be consulted, not my desire."⁵⁹ She put her own feelings aside to ensure that her country would prosper, sacrificing her happiness for the good of Austria. For Marie-Louise and her family, the

⁵⁷ Mme de Staël, *De L'Allemagne*, 35.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 47-48.

⁵⁹ "*Je ne veux que ce que mon devoir me commande de vouloir. Quand il s'agit de l'intérêt de l'Empire, c'est lui qu'il faut consulter et non pas ma volonté. Priez mon père de n'obéir qu'à ses devoirs de souverain et de ne pas les subordonner à mon intérêt personnel.*" This quote was found in Jean Tulard, "Jeux diplomatiques et problème dynastique: le mariage de Napoléon et Marie-Louise," in *1810, Politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 17.

French Revolution and Napoleon were enemies, and she and the people around her viewed her marriage to the “Corsican upstart” as a sacrifice.

However, in contrast to traditional constructions of love, a strong aversion to Napoleon was instilled in her from childhood, and she and her family viewed him as a kind of monster who had upset European order. Marie-Louise’s anti-French sentiments were fueled by her maternal grandmother, Queen Maria Carolina of Naples (Marie-Antoinette’s favorite sister), and her father’s third wife, Maria Ludovica of Modena-Este.⁶⁰ When Marie-Louise first heard rumors of her marriage to Napoleon, she was deeply distressed. In a letter to her close friend Victoria de Poutet, Marie-Louise states: “I pity the woman on whom his choice falls, that will certainly put an end to her fine days.”⁶¹ She later suggested to Poutet that the marriage would not happen and that her father was too kind to force her to accept Napoleon’s proposal.⁶²

A prolific amateur artist in several media, Marie-Louise’s artistic talent had nationalistic and dynastic implications while she was empress. Marie-Louise received drawing lessons from Pierre-Paul Prud’hon and watercolor lessons from Jean-Baptiste Isabey, two of the most famous artists living in Paris. All Habsburg archduchesses, including Marie-Louise, were proficient in embroidery, drawing, and painting. Marie-Louise’s great-grandparents, Emperor Francis I and Empress Maria Theresa, encouraged their children’s

⁶⁰ Queen Maria Carolina of Austria, Queen of Naples, despised the French Revolution, especially given the regime’s execution of her favorite sister Marie-Antoinette. Her feelings towards Napoleon were not any warmer. Napoleon and his armies occupied Naples in 1799, forcing Maria Carolina to leave Naples. Maria Carolina eventually returned to Vienna, spending approximately two years at the court of Francis II of Austria, where she spent time with her granddaughter, Marie-Louise. Maria Ludovica di Modena-Este was a great enemy of Napoleon since she and her family were forced to flee Italy to Austria when Napoleon conquered Northern Italy in 1796.

⁶¹ Alan Palmer, *Napoleon and Marie-Louise*, 91.

⁶² Ibid.

artistic talents, even displaying their blue-ink *chinoiserie* drawings in the Porcelain Room at Schönbrunn Palace, where Marie-Louise grew up and Napoleon visited several times while occupying Vienna.⁶³ An influential woman who constructs and creates, her art production is a symbol of her ability to pro-create, establishing a new dynasty for France through her own national and dynastic ties.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a professional female artist was considered transgressive within the social order. Aristocratic women, however, were encouraged in art making, and drawing and painting were taught as “ladies accomplishments.”⁶⁴ Throughout the early modern period, however, professional women artists were considered incapable of creation and were believed to only capable of imitating the work of male artists. An artist’s ability to create is directly tied to contemporaneous views of reproduction, which believed that the sperm contained all the ingredients necessary to produce a child, positioning the woman’s role in reproduction as inconsequential and passive.⁶⁵ In Menjaud’s image, Marie-Louise does not create a child, but an image of her husband, one that she produces by the power of her Habsburg heritage. Her great work of art is her potential to create an imperial dynasty with Napoleon through her own dynastic capital. Although important to solidifying

⁶³ Maria Gordon-Smith, “Jean Pillement at the Imperial Court of Maria Theresa and Francis I in Vienna (1763-1765)” *Atribus et Historiae*, 25, no. 40, (2004): 187-213, 187. See also: Michael Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 88-95.

⁶⁴ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 188.

⁶⁵ Fredericka Jacobs, “(Pro)creativity,” in *Defining the Renaissance ‘Virtuosa’: Women Artists and the Language of Art History and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 27-63. Jacob’s study focuses on images by women from 1500-1800. Mary Sheriff discusses the effect of contemporaneous science on notions of female creativity when discussing the career of Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun in “The Sense and Sex Organs,” in *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art*, 13-38. Pierre-Jean George Cabanis also discusses the passive role of women in reproduction. Women, Cabanis suggests, are destined to be passive, and inactive due to their perceived role in reproduction. See: Pierre-Jean Georges Cabanis, *De l’influence des sexes sur la caractère des idées et des affections morales* (Paris: Fortin et Masson, 1843), 45.

Napoleon's regime, an heir is not alluded to in this image. It is Marie-Louise's own heritage that sanctions her ability to pro-create. Napoleon had political motivation for proclaiming the creative abilities and virtues of his German wife, the consolidation of his dominance over the vassal states of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The situation surrounding Marie-Louise necessitated a new conception of her role as empress, one beyond that of typical French consort. She occupied a central role in politics as the daughter of the former Holy Roman Emperor, and Napoleon's leap to power from successful army officer to emperor further cemented her unusual position. It was in Napoleon's best interest to highlight Marie-Louise's Habsburg ties, for they legitimized his reign, the reign of his heirs, and his domination over Europe. When Napoleon married Joséphine he was a successful general, but was not yet emperor. Therefore, he did not need to be concerned with the longevity of his imperial dynasty. It comes as no surprise, then, that Denon would want to highlight Marie-Louise's physical features, which marked her as German and as Habsburg, and would be read as such, given her appearance's conformity to German physical stereotypes and conventions of Habsburg portraiture. Marie-Louise's physical appearance was to Napoleon and to his government a visual representation of their power.

Marie-Louise's influential position as consort is clear in Menjaud's genre portrait of the imperial couple, which highlights the Empress's ability to create an imperial dynasty with Napoleon. As a dynastically powerful French consort, she embodied a public role based on her lineage and justified Napoleon's regime by her presence at his court. Her own artistic skills and ability to control Napoleon's depiction and persona through art, emphasize her position as a woman artist as well as her potential for pro-creation. Menjaud's *Marie-Louise*

painting the portrait of Napoleon also emphasizes the new empress's political agency, insinuating that she stands in for Germany and the newly assembled Confederation of the Rhine. Menjaud situates Napoleon's power as coming from his consort in this image further emphasizing the empress's dynastic and national ties through a careful reproduction of her physical characteristics, an aspect Vivant Denon deemed essential.

A Foreigner in the French Court

As seen in Alexandre Menjaud's *Marie-Louise Painting a Portrait of Napoleon*, Marie-Louise's role was unlike that of her predecessors; as a Habsburg Archduchess, Marie-Louise's dynastic capital and power came from her heritage, making visual representations of nation and identity paramount in her depictions. This way of representing the queen consort is unusual in the history of French aristocratic portraiture. In this section, I discuss ways artists represent national identity in portraits from the *ancien régime* and continue my discussion of the importance of Marie-Louise's Habsburg identity to her persona while empress.

Until Napoleon married his first wife, Empress Joséphine, virtually every French queen was a foreigner to the realm.⁶⁶ French queen consorts were members of prestigious and dynastically powerful houses outside of France, and offered the opportunity for alliances with foreign realms and children to cement the alliance and ensure the French succession. When an aristocratic woman married a French dauphin, she was required to renounce all of her claims to her native kingdom and discard all of her previous (foreign) possessions. She

⁶⁶ In 1515, Claude de France, duchesse de Bretagne, wife of François I, was the last French woman to be queen.

had to become fully French by adopting French fashions, French products, and French mannerisms or risk the charge of not fully assimilating, which would cause the court to question her allegiance to France. For example, Catherine de' Medici, Marie de' Medici, and Marie-Antoinette were all distrusted because of their supposed allegiances to their natal families.⁶⁷ Official portraits of French consorts most often highlight the woman's commitment to her new, adopted country, by omitting any hint of the woman's previous national identity. To include any element associated with her heritage would be to expose her as a dangerous taint to the state of France, who championed the interests of her native state and not her newly adopted realm.⁶⁸

As mothers of heirs to the French throne, consorts did not possess political power, except in the rare circumstances of serving as regent until their young sons reached their majority. In 1791, during the beginning of the French Revolution, the National Assembly forbade queens from ruling as regents, which was a direct testament to the rampant hatred of Marie-Antoinette.⁶⁹ Previously, the tradition preferred that queen mothers serve as regents, but this possibility was suspended, when the National Assembly divided regency responsibilities between two people, a guardian, who could be the queen mother, and an overseer of administrative duties, who had to be male.⁷⁰ This suspension of a queen's right to serve as regent did not affect Marie-Louise, who served as regent twice after the birth of Napoleon II, once during Napoleon's disastrous Russian campaign in the years 1811-1812,

⁶⁷ French consorts were virtually always foreign, which occasionally called their allegiance to France into question. Anne of Austria and Marie-Thérèse, however, did not have these charges levied upon them.

⁶⁸ These exact charges were levied on Marie-Antoinette.

⁶⁹ For more information on regencies in early modern France see: Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, especially page 2.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 1.

and again during the War of the Sixth Coalition which began after Prussia left the Confederation of the Rhine to join the coalition forces of Austria, Sweden, Russia, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal.⁷¹ She presided over the Council of Regency along with Napoleon's brother, King Joseph of Spain, who at this point was king of Spain in name only as his regime was overthrown in 1813 following a bitter military defeat at the hands of Great Britain, and Jean Jacques Régis de Cambacérès, the author of the Napoleonic Code.⁷² After Napoleon's first abdication on April 11, 1814, following Paris's capture by the Sixth Coalition, Marie-Louise continued to serve as regent at the Château in Blois, but soon left France for Austria.

Commonalities can be seen in images of queens and queen consorts dating as early as the sixteenth century, such as an anonymous *Portrait of Catherine de Medici* (1556; Uffizi Gallery, Florence), Carle van Loo's *Portrait of Marie Leszczinska* (1747; Musée National du Château, Versailles), and Martin van Meytens's *State Portrait of Empress Maria Theresa*. Artists depict these women in this same way, standing in front of a throne with a dark colored curtain behind them with a table nearby. This formula for representing queen consorts in Europe creates a visual genealogy of queenship, where each queen or queen consort occupies a similar position and is expected to fulfill similar roles; she is a woman who produces heirs to her husband's kingdom and embellishes the power of the king. In addition to depicting opulent interiors and luxurious materials, traditional images of aristocratic women often include effigies of the king as reminders of where the consort derives her power.

⁷¹ Palmer, 138. Marie-Louise swore an oath to Napoleon and his empire on March 30, 1813 at an event in the Elysée Palace. It was at this point that she became regent for the second time. Interestingly, this ceremony appears to have taken place instead of a coronation and investiture of the King of Rome, Napoleon's heir.

⁷² Ibid., 162.

Louis Marin describes the connection between power and representation, focusing on image of the king. As briefly discussed in the previous section, the king's image is a visual representation of his power. As Marin explains in *The Power of the King*, power and representation work in partnership with each other, creating a 'visible rapport' between the sign, or the portrait in this case, and the actual person portrayed.⁷³ This process is continuously reproduced and multiplied, a process that intensifies the power of the portrait and the person represented.⁷⁴ The king's portrait, then, not only refers to the king and his command, but also stands in for the actual physical presence of the king and possesses the same power. As Mary Sheriff explains, "The portrait of the king, then, represents (constitutes and authorizes) the relations that different subjects imagine themselves to have with the king-state."⁷⁵ The king's physical presence figures all aspects of the king, who appears as a sacramental, historical, and political body.⁷⁶ A king's portrait works at constructing his persona because of the relations among these three aspects of the king, producing a single powerful portrait of the monarch.

In France, Salic Law excluded women from possessing official political power in France.⁷⁷ The power of the king over his people parallels the concept of the "family romance," discussed by Lynn Hunt, who notes, "Authority in the state was explicitly

⁷³ Marin, 11.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Sheriff, *The Exceptional Women*, 148.

⁷⁶ Marin, 13

⁷⁷ Jennifer Germann explains Salic law specifically states that the eldest male child will retain the land properties of his father, while the female children all inherit the household goods, or *bien mobiliers*, which translates as "moveable property." See: Fanny Cosandey, "La loi salique," 19-54; Sarah Hanley, "Les visages de la loi salique dans la quête pour le droit des hommes et l'exclusion des femmes du gouvernement monarchique," 14.

modeled on authority in the family.”⁷⁸ The familial structure supports the constructs of Salic Law by articulating the relationship of male monarch in terms of husband to his state; Sarah Hanley terms this the ‘marital regime.’⁷⁹ Hunt and Hanley’s characterization of the familial structure of monarchical power both consider how the constructs of Salic Law ensure that men retain the sole ability to rule. In other words, the king is the head of the state as a father is the head of his family. This understanding of kingship offers no real space for a powerful queen. As Mary Sheriff observes, the French king is married to the nation, so his children belong to France; this causes the queen to be displaced.⁸⁰

Artists envisioned a symbolic position for queens, drawing in images of their predecessors as a way of delineating and portraying their status and authority. Official portraits of queens and consorts rely on earlier representations of other aristocratic women, directly copying iconography, to give them a space in the construction of power. As Jennifer Germann notes, this recycling of iconography and composition “make these other royal women visible.”⁸¹ Because of the overwhelmingly consistent quotations from previous portraits, “images of royal women are embedded within the image of the queen.”⁸² This iconographical and compositional consistency produces a genealogy of royal women in a direct continuum with aristocratic women that transcends national borders and identities.

⁷⁸ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 3.

⁷⁹ Sarah Hanley uses the phrase “marital regime” to describe this relationship of the king as that of husband to his state. Like Hunt, Hanley sees Salic Law as a reification of the family’s position as head of the family and head of state. Sarah Hanley, “Les visages de la loi salique dans la quête pour le droit des hommes et l’exclusion des femmes du gouvernement monarchique,” 14.

⁸⁰ Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 155-157.

⁸¹ Germann, “Figuring Marie Leszczinska,” 38.

⁸² Ibid.

The same portrait conventions, as seen in Martin van Meytens's *State Portrait of Empress Maria Theresa*, Carle van Loo's *Portrait of Marie Leszczinska*, and Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette* (1778-1779, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), are reproduced throughout Europe, making all queens recognizable, enhancing an aristocratic woman's prestige and symbolically positioning her as the highest ranking woman in France.⁸³ Jennifer Germann argues that the many images of queens referring to previous consort imagery serves to "triangulate the queen, and to put her 'in her place' by aligning her with other women."⁸⁴

Consider Carle Van Loo's state portrait of Queen Maria Leszczinska, which was commissioned by the French monarchy and displayed in the Salon of 1747. In this large-scale painting, the full-length standing figure, formal pose, and regal attitude suggest the queen's stability, a point enhanced by the multitude of straight lines found in the portrait; the virtual line that runs the length of the queen's body and the other two strong vertical lines of the columns standing at her right and left. The downturned fan in her right hand emphasizes the verticality of Marie's form. Dressed in an elaborate court costume typical of queens in official portraits, Marie Leszczinska appears in an opulent and elegant interior enhanced by the richness of her jewels, dress, and interior environment.

Although van Loo's image presents the queen as regal, her portrait does not represent her as an influential figure based on her own merits or dynastic potency; she appears very conventionally. Queen Marie's crown rests on a fleur-de-lys pillow on an ornately-carved Rococo table. Her crown shares the space with a life-sized marble bust of her husband, King

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Louis XV, which gazes down at his queen. Mary Sheriff notes that the queen is represented through the gaze of her subjects, who actually view the painting, and through the gaze of Louis XV, who is the only true subject of this painting.⁸⁵ In other words, an image of a queen enhances and stabilizes the position of the king and is not a representation of the queen's power. Louis Marin argues that to be elegant and powerful, one must show oneself and be shown, acting as both subject and object.⁸⁶ The King authorizes the queen's image through his presence in effigy, thus, her image is a representation of his authority not her own. The queen's physical body in these official portraits also draws attention to her physical role in the marriage, the production of heirs. In Carle van Loo's *Portrait of Marie Leszczinska*, the queen's appearance creates a contrast with the symbolic presence of her husband as a sculpture bust. Her physical presence highlights her biological, real body and her ability to give birth to the sons and daughters of France. Louis XV appears symbolically as a portrait bust gazing at his wife; this representation refers to the king himself while showcasing his power over his queen. The king's presence in portraits of queen consorts aptly illustrates from where the queen's power comes; she receives power only through her relationship with the king. When she bears an heir to rule France, the power simply passes through her or operates around her, but she does not have any real power of her own.

The iconographical elements found in Carle van Loo's portrait of Queen Marie Leszczinska were, in fact, the norm. In Martin Kober's *Portrait of Anne of Austria* (c. 1600; Florence, Uffizi Gallery), Anne appears similarly to Queen Marie. Anne is dressed luxuriously in an orange brocaded under-dress with a pearl-encrusted overdress and a full

⁸⁵ Sheriff, *The Exceptional Women*, 154.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

lace collar. She stands in an interior in front of a swath of drapery. Her right hand clutches a handkerchief, while her left hand rests on a red velvet draped table next to a crown. Other portraits of Anne of Austria, such as Peter Paul Rubens's *Anne of Austria* (c. 1620-1625; Paris, Musée du Louvre) depict the queen seated in an interior space in front of a red velvet drapery that opens to reveal a classically inspired vestibule and a portrait bust of her husband. Anne is richly dressed in a pearl encrusted and gold embroidered gown clutching a nosegay of flowers, which refer to the queen's fertility since she had not yet produced an heir to the French throne.⁸⁷

These same conventions were also used by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun in *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette*, (1778-1779, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), which depicts a fashionably dressed Marie-Antoinette standing next to a table on which rests a pillow decorated with fleur-de-lys with a crown on top. The drapery behind her adds a sense of drama and theatricality to Vigée-Lebrun's image just as in the image of Queen Marie. The stability of the French monarchy is also emphasized through the vertical accents in the image, such as the large column behind the queen, the tassels on her gown, and her straight arm hanging down by her side.⁸⁸ The conventionality of this image comes as no surprise since it was created for her mother the Empress.

Despite these iconographic conventions used by French artists to image the queen consort, some artists included markers of national identity in their representations, revealing their importance to aristocratic performances. Like Menjaud's image of Marie-Louise that

⁸⁷ Anne of Austria gave birth to Louis XIV in 1638 at the age of thirty-seven, twenty three years after her marriage to Louis XIII.

⁸⁸ For more discussion on Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's 1778-1779 portrait of Marie-Antoinette see: Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 164-165.

showcase her German and Austrian identity, Marie Leszczinska's portraits sometimes alluded to national identity, in this case, her Polish ancestry. Jean-Marc Nattier's *Portrait of Marie Leszczinska* (Salon of 1748) depicts the queen seated at leisure reading the Bible. Commissioned by the queen herself, this portrait features Marie in a fashionable red court dress covered in a fur-lined robe.⁸⁹ She poses with the open book looking at the viewer with unfocused eyes; Marie Leszczinska focuses on a spiritual vision. She sits in an interior space with a column and green curtain behind her, a portrait convention discussed earlier in this chapter. Jennifer Germann describes the queen's robe as Polish, stating that Polish women's attire usually consisted of open robes tied with a sash and trimmed in fur, and she compares Queen Marie's costume with that of the woman in Watteau's *Polish Woman Standing* (1717; Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe).⁹⁰ Other elements in the portrait allude to Queen Marie's Polish national identity, including the small miniature portrait pinned to her gown, which depicts St. John Nepomuk, a late fourteenth-century Bohemian priest who was the confessor of Queen Johanna of Bohemia.⁹¹ Marie Leszczinska's identity as a French queen is not at all highlighted; it is her Polish ancestry that is brought to the foreground, a curious decision since her nobility was always in question due to her heritage.⁹² As a private commission, not intended for public display, the queen had more flexibility in her portrayal, and therefore, does not officially call attention to her prior national and dynastic ties in a public manner.

⁸⁹ Germann, "Figuring Marie Leszczinska," 58-59.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 60-61.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Although her father was King Stanislaus of Poland, Marie Leszczinska's marriage to Louis XV was viewed as a *mésalliance*, or a marriage between people of unequal social station. Her parents were not members of the "first four families of Poland", and kings of Poland were elected, which made her marriage into the sacred king of France difficult for the French to swallow.

Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette* also refers to the queen's Austrian/Habsburg identity. In her right hand, she clutches a rose, a flower that symbolized the Habsburg dynasty. Her long Habsburg face is also emphasized, but as Mary Sheriff mentions, Vigée-Lebrun used the length of the queen's Habsburg profile to draw further attention to the verticality of the columns and down-turned fan, which emphasize the stability of the monarchy.⁹³ The inclusion of these unmistakable Habsburg symbols (long face and pink rose) was a particularly problematic inclusion given the hostility towards the "autrichienne," who lived under suspicion in the French court due to her Habsburg heritage.⁹⁴ The most controversial of Marie-Antoinette's portraits is Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette en chemise* (1783), which shows the young queen wearing an informal muslin dress while wrapping a blue ribbon around a nosegay that includes a pink rose; the artist again highlights her long Habsburg jaw. The French public reacted negatively to this image of the queen due to Marie-Antoinette's informal attire, prompting Vigée-Lebrun to rework the portrait. The revised portrait depicts the queen performing the same activity but dressed in a more formal and elaborate court dress (1784; Musée National du château, Versailles). Like her Habsburg aunt, Marie-Louise adopted the rose as part of her iconographic program in official portraiture as seen in François Gérard's *Portrait of Empress Marie Louise with the King of Rome* (1812; Musée National du chateau, Versailles).

⁹³ See: Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 143-179.

⁹⁴ Marie-Antoinette's foreign, Austrian ties ensured that she lived under a cloud of suspicion. The French believed she was managing French policy on behalf of the Habsburgs and their empire. Furthermore, she was also accused of giving French money to her brother, Joseph II, and inciting civil disorder to further the cause of the Counter-Reformation. For more on Austrophobia in France during Marie-Antoinette's reign see: Thomas E. Kaiser, "From the Austrian Committee to the Foreign Plot: Marie-Antoinette, Austrophobia, and the Terror" *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 4 (Fall 2003); 579-617.

The construction of Marie-Louise's national and political identity drew from the iconographic and compositional devices used by artists when depicting her great-grandmother, Empress Maria Theresa, whose position was different from that of a mere consort. Empress Maria Theresa's image-makers had difficulties picturing her authority over a vast portion of Europe. Her father, Emperor Charles VI arranged for her succession with the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713.⁹⁵ There was no previous sole female ruler of the Habsburg realm, and therefore, no example for Maria Theresa to follow. Maria Theresa was sovereign of Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Bohemia, Mantua, Milan, Lodomeria and Galicia, the Austrian Netherlands, and Parma. After her marriage to Francis I, she became Duchess of Lorraine, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and Holy Roman Empress. According to the *Encyclopédie*, an empire is a number of kingdoms and provinces joined under the rule of one monarch that actualizes an Empire.⁹⁶ As Michael Yonan demonstrates, Maria Theresa's imperial identity was imagined in portraiture through references to her multiple titles, highlighting her command over several realms.⁹⁷ The empress appears in Bohemian coronation robes in a 1742 portrait from Martin van Meytens's studio, and in Martin van Meytens's *State Portrait of Empress Maria Theresa* (c. 1750; Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna). Her lace-covered dress and Belgian *garniture* draw attention to her sovereignty over the Austrian Netherlands.⁹⁸ In both images, Maria Theresa clutches a scepter in her right hand and stands next to a small

⁹⁵ For more information on Habsburg history and the Pragmatic Succession see: Michael Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

⁹⁶ D'Holbach, "Empire" *Encyclopédie*, original page number, 5: 582. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2013 edition), Robert Morrissey, ed. [Accessed May 4, 2013]

⁹⁷ Michael Yonan states that early portraits of Maria Theresa show her in Bohemian coronation robes, which marginalizes the other national and ethnic identities in her realm. See: Yonan, 33.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

table. On the table are several crowns; Yonan explains that in the van Meytens's image the crown of Hungary dominates the still life, as it is closest to the foreground and nearest the empress.⁹⁹ These portraits all seek to identify Maria Theresa with the lands she governed as an extension of her political power by referring to the multiple ethnicities and cultures Empress Maria Theresa ruled as empress.

As I have demonstrated, Menjaud stressed Marie-Louise's national ties as a way of consolidating Napoleon's power over his vast territories, specifically the Confederation of the Rhine. A print dating to her early years as empress depicts Marie-Louise, dressed in her wedding gown and coronation robes, gesturing towards two large crowns resting on top of framed coats of arms of Austria, represented by a black double-headed eagle, and France, seen as a brown eagle. At the bottom of the print, the inscription reads: "*Marie-Louise, Archiduchesse d'Autriche, Impératrice des Français et Reine d'Italie*"; a list of all the titles Marie-Louise could claim.¹⁰⁰ Although other French queens, including Marie-Antoinette, boasted Austrian heritage, prints inscribed with her titles simply state that she was from Austria, and then quickly follow with her newest title, *Reine de France*.¹⁰¹ Marie-Louise's national associations as described by the title Archduchess of Austria appears first, as it does on several other prints dating to this period, indicating its importance to Marie-Louise's

⁹⁹ Ibid., 36.

¹⁰⁰ *Marie-Louise, Archiduchess d'Autriche, Impératrice des Français et Reine d'Italie*. Publisher: rue J.J. Rousseau N° 10 and rue Porte-foin, N° 15. Engraving, 16.8 x 22.9 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Although this print is not dated, Marie-Louise's gesture to the two coat of arms indicates that it likely dates to the beginning of the imperial marriage.

¹⁰¹ See: Marie-Louise-Adélaïde Boizot and Louis-Simon Boizot, *Marie-Antoinette, en buste, de profil à gauche*, 1781. Engraving, 21 x 15.5 cm. Published in Paris by J.J. Plipart, "engraver to the king." Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Hubert and François-Marie-Isidore Queverdo, *Marie-Antoinette en buste de toris quarts à gauche*, n.d. Engraving, 18.5 x 12.4 cm. Published at Rue S. Jacques à la ville de Coutances. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Marie-Louise-Adélaïde Boizot and J.J. Boizot, *Marie-Antoinette, en buste, de profil à droite*, 1775. Publisher: J.J. Filpart, Engraver to the King, Rue d'Enfer près la place Saint Michael chez Limonadier. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

identity as Empress of the French.¹⁰² This near obsessive enumeration of all of Marie-Louise's titles, even that of Archduchess of Austria which she relinquished before her marriage to Napoleon, re-enacts this same desire to showcase imperial identity through the painstaking display of regal titles.

Queen Maria Leszczinska, Queen Marie-Antoinette, and Empress Marie-Louise were all married to save French dynasties and were all foreigners to the French realm. Their positions in the European political climate dictated their representations in portraiture. As the daughter of the deposed monarch of Poland, Marie Leszczinska's identity was not as threatening to the French nation, so her foreign ties were alluded to in some instances. In the case of Marie-Antoinette, whose mother Empress Maria Theresa was the sole ruler of the Austrian empire, the inclusion of Habsburg iconography in her portraiture was more problematic. In the *ancien régime*, Empress Marie-Louise's situation as the eldest daughter of the Emperor of Austria would have made the emphasis on her Habsburg features, her ability to create, and her Habsburg iconography extremely problematic. However, her situation was different; Napoleon needed her dynastic capital to legitimate his new dynasty in France, which forced the imperial artists to locate Marie-Louise's imperial capital in a way similar to that of her great grandmother, Empress Maria Theresa.

¹⁰² There are several prints that list Marie-Louise's titles leading with "Archduchess of Austria." See: Nicolas Colibert, *Marie Louise Archiduchess d'Autriche, Impératrice des Français*, n.d. Engraving, 25.1 x 20.4 cm. Unknown publisher. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Auguste B. Desnoyers, *Marie Louise Archiduchess d'Autriche Impératrice de France Reine d'Italie*, n.d. Engraving, 12.7 x 10.3. Published at Rue de Coeur Volant, N° 7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Joseph Mécou after Jean-Baptiste Isabey, *Marie-Louise Archiduchess d'Autriche, Impératrice, Reine et Regente*, n.d. Engraving, 17.4 x 13.7 cm. Published at Rue des trois Frères, N° 7 and chez tous les Marchands d'Estampes. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Jean-François Ribault, *Marie Louise, Archiduchess d'Autriche, Impératrice des Français, Reine d'Italie*, n.d. Engraving, 28.5 x 23.7 cm. Published at Rue Saint Jean de Beauvas, N° 10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Following Tradition and Keeping up Appearances: Lefèvre's Portrait of the Empress

Robert Lefèvre's *Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress of the French* (Salon of 1812; Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma) is an official portrait commissioned by the imperial government just before Marie-Louise's pregnancy, and completed shortly after the birth of her son, Napoleon François Charles Bonaparte (1811-1832), called both Napoleon II and the Roi de Rome, or King of Rome.¹⁰³ In this official portrait, Marie-Louise stands in front of a throne and to her right is a small table. At first glance, this portrait has much in common with typical images of queens, dating to as early as the sixteenth century, such as an anonymous *Portrait of Catherine de' Medici*, Carle van Loo's *Portrait of Marie Leszczinska*, and Martin van Meytens's *State Portrait of Empress Maria Theresa*. Lefèvre's portrait evokes the formal portraits of these queens and consorts, situating Marie-Louise as a member of the illustrious lineage of French queens and Habsburg women.

The empress stands in an interior, with columns and dark curtains in the background, drawing attention to her person and her white empire-waist dress with long train. Her particular physiognomic features are highlighted in this image; her recognizable blond hair, heavily-lidded blue eyes, and Habsburg jaw. This portrait depicts a luxuriously dressed consort standing in a lush interior near a table displaying iconography that points towards her position at court and her role in her husband's regime; all features reminiscent of many images of French consorts, including those examples of Anne of Austria, Marie Leszczinska, Marie-Antoinette and Empress Maria Theresa discussed in the previous section. Recycling and reproducing iconography in aristocratic female portraiture creates an identity for the

¹⁰³ Robert Lefèvre's *Portrait of Marie Louise, Empress of the French* was acquired by the Museo Glauco Lombardi in 1934 from Giovanni Sanvitale, the sole heir of Albertina, Marie-Louise's daughter with her second husband, Count Adam Albert von Neipperg.

sitters within their elite social spheres. Although official portraits were displayed at Salons, the majority of the audience for each portrait would be members of the royal family and ambassadors. These elite viewers would be aware of portrait conventions, as it was a part of their upbringing, and would symbolically link them to other portraits of female aristocrats they had seen previously.

While Lefèvre's portrait follows the "consort type" by placing a luxuriously-dressed Marie-Louise inside an opulent interior standing next to a small table, it also refers to the young empress's own creative ability, something not alluded to in the previous examples. Lying on a small table to the empress's right is a portrait of Napoleon crowned in laurels with charcoal crayons resting on top. In this section, I discuss Lefèvre's image in terms of its connection to previous portraits of French consorts and demonstrate that it has much more in common with Menjaud's *Marie-Louise painting the portrait of Napoleon* than one might expect. Lefèvre, like Menjaud, infuses his portrait with elements of Marie-Louise's dynastic identity by highlighting the empress's ability to create. Lefèvre's decision to include aspects of Marie-Louise's art-making draws from depictions of her predecessor, Joséphine de Beauharnais, who as a member of the so-called *Merveilleuse* already had an identity in imperial France.

Robert Lefèvre (1755-1830) painted the Empress three known times during his career, and all three were finished after the Salon of 1810 when Menjaud's image was displayed.¹⁰⁴ Lefèvre's *Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress of the French*, located at the Museo Glauco Lombardi, is the earliest known portrait of Marie-Louise and is signed and dated by

¹⁰⁴ In a letter dated November 14, 1810, Denon mentions that he asked Robert Lefèvre to create a portrait of Marie-Louise that would be copied in mosaic. Unfortunately no mosaic of the empress survives. See: Marie-Anne Dupuy, Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont and Elaine Williamson, editors, *Vivant Denon, director des musées sous le Consulate et l'Empire. Correspondance (1802-1815)*, Volume I, 673.

the artist.¹⁰⁵ The version at the Museo Glauco Lombardi is considered to be the original and is the only version that includes a charcoal drawing of the emperor. A full-length portrait of Marie-Louise dressed in a white satin empire-waist court dress with gold embroidery and wearing her infamous 263-carat diamond necklace Napoleon purchased from Marie-Etienne Nitot, his favorite jeweler, to present to his wife as a gift after the birth of their son.¹⁰⁶ A tiara completes the ensemble in all three versions of Lefèvre's portrait. In the Maison Chaumet version, originally intended as a gift to the people of Metz from the imperial government, Marie-Louise stands in an interior space complete with a colonnade in the background and a throne to her left. Beneath her feet is green carpeting decorated with golden bees and to her right is a table covered in gold cloth on which rests a red velvet pillow embroidered with bees and two books. Marie-Louise's right hand rests on her crown, which lies atop the red velvet pillow. To her left is an imperial throne, without swan-decorated arms, on which we see her ermine-lined coronation robes.¹⁰⁷ A swag of red drapery is visible in the background behind her. The Versailles version is identical to that at the Maison Chaumet. Both the Versailles and Maison Chaumet versions date to 1814, the year Marie-Louise served as

¹⁰⁵ There are two additional portraits of the Empress by Lefèvre that are almost identical to the Museo Glauco Lombardi version in composition. The second version of this portrait was commissioned by the city of Metz and is now located in the Collection Maison Chaumet, Paris. The third version is signed and dated 1814 and is in the Musée National de Château du Versailles; it is a close copy of the Metz version.

¹⁰⁶ Nitot drew from the Treasury of France to find enough diamonds to make the crown. It was originally composed of 236 diamonds and weighed 263 carats. Princess Sophie of Bavaria was the next owner of the necklace. She had two diamonds removed to shorten it. She used these diamonds to make earrings, which are now lost. Princess Sophie bequeathed the necklace to her son, Archduke Karl Ludwig of Austria. It remained in the Habsburg family until Prince Franz Joseph of Liechtenstein sold it to a French collector Paul-Louise Weiller who then sold it to Harry Winston. Marjorie Merriweather Post purchased the necklace from Winston in 1960, and donated to the Smithsonian in 1962. The diamond diadem was also given to Marie-Louise by Napoleon and it is 700 carats. Both the diadem and necklace are in the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.

¹⁰⁷ This throne appears to be almost identical to Napoleon's throne at Musée Nation du château, Fontainebleau and Musée du Louvre.

regent for their young son while Napoleon fought the Sixth Coalition in Central Europe. Her ermine-lined coronation robes draw attention to her position as regent and her political role in the imperial government and are missing from the Museo Glauco Lombardi version.

As Menjaud does in his 1810 genre scene, Lefèvre locates Marie-Louise's character, loyalty, and potential as Napoleon's consort within her appearance as a fair-skinned, blond hair and blue-eyed Habsburg. Marie-Louise stands in an interior space in front of an imperial throne, similar to Napoleon's throne housed at Fontainebleau, but embroidered with a golden imperial monogrammed "N" on the back.¹⁰⁸ The arm of the throne is a swan, a symbol of fidelity and grace associated with her predecessor, Empress Joséphine, who frequently used swans in her decorative schemas for their elegant long necks alluding to feminine beauty.¹⁰⁹

Beloved by all for her alluring personality and fashionable taste, Joséphine was a Créole from the island of Martinique and the daughter of a sugar plantation owner who did not bring any dynastic or aristocratic ties to the marriage. Unlike French queens, who are typically all foreign, Joséphine was born in French territory, and therefore, did not need to cast off her foreign associations as did previous French consorts from the *ancien régime*. Yet, her exotic status as a Créole positioned her as different from the conventional consort, a foreigner within the lineage of French queen consorts.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ There are several extant thrones that were used by Napoleon I. They are currently on view at Musée Nationale de Château de Fontainebleau, Musée du Louvre, Paris, and Musée Nationale du Château de Compiègne.

¹⁰⁹ This chair is very similar to the gondola chair from Joséphine Bonaparte's Boudoir at Saint-Cloud, attributed to Jacob Frères, made between 1796 and 1803 after a design from Charles Percier, about 1802-1803. Gilded and white painted wood and orange-red velvet, embroidered with gold. Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Rueil-Malmaison. Swans likely appealed to Joséphine because of their elegant, long necks, which allude to feminine beauty. They were also associated with Venus and Love, since swans mate for life. In mythology, swans were said to have flown overhead on the day Apollo was born.

¹¹⁰ Queen Claude of France (1499-1524), daughter of Louis XII and wife of François Ier, and Louise of Lorraine (1553-1601), wife of Henry III, were the last French consorts of French heritage.

Born on the island of Martinique, Joséphine had some claim to French national identity as evidenced by the definition of “Créole” during the late eighteenth century. According to *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (1798), a *créole* was “*un nom qu’on donne à un Européen d’origine, qui est né en Amérique.*”¹¹¹ Joséphine’s national identity was French, but her birthplace designated her as “foreigner” on the mainland of France.¹¹² During the turn of the nineteenth century, scholars wrote about white creoles as if they were a different race than their fellow citizens in France. In his 1797 *Descriptions topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique*, Moreau de Saint-Méry’s describes white creoles on the island of Saint-Domingue as having easy-going personalities and active imaginations.¹¹³ When creoles visit France, Moreau de Saint-Méry explains, their frivolity leads to pursuing their own pleasures, namely through excessive spending. He explains further stating that the creole, “*il semble n’exister que pour les jouissances voluptueuses.*”¹¹⁴

Joséphine reportedly captivated the French public with her Créole languer, a characteristic associated with all Europeans born in the Americas.¹¹⁵ Following the example of Moreau de Saint-Méry, some saw her Créole ancestry as problematic in its difference. Madame de Rémusat described Joséphine as “a Creole and frivolous” and also discussed the “defect” of the empress’s dark complexion,” derogatory comments directly referring to

¹¹¹ “A name given to a person of European origin born in America. See: *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 5th Edition. 1798.

¹¹² Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l’île Saint-Domingue*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1797), 14.

¹¹³ “...tout concourt à donner aux Créoles imagination vive & une conception facile...” Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l’île Saint-Domingue*, vol. 1, 12.

¹¹⁴ Translation: “...he lives only for sensual pleasures.” Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l’île Saint-Domingue*, vol. 1, 5.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

Joséphine's Caribbean heritage.¹¹⁶ Joséphine, Madame de Rémusat reports, wore red and white make-up to mask her dark Caribbean complexion.¹¹⁷

Despite her foreign-ness, Joséphine still encapsulated notions of French identity. In Madame de Staël's *Corrine or Italy*, the author establishes a correlation between national identity and behavior. In this novel, Staël's male protagonist Lord Neville describes the French-born Count d'Erfeuil as having courtly manners and good taste.¹¹⁸ The French, she continues, are consumed with the desire for a prominent social life.¹¹⁹ Joséphine's position as purveyor of good taste during her time in France has been well documented; her commissions range from interior decoration to sculpture to paintings and prints.¹²⁰ She employed some of the greatest artists, including the sculptor Antonio Canova, from whom she commissioned *The Three Graces* (1812-1816; State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg).¹²¹ This sculpture group appears graceful and elegant, and Carol Solomon Kieffer discusses, it serves as an extension of Joséphine's own fashionable and elegant persona.¹²²

During The Directory (1795-1799), Juliette Récamier, Thérèse Cabarrus Tallien, and

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Todd Porterfield, "David's *Sacre*," in *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David*, 160. See also: Claire-Elisabeth Jeanne Gravier de Vergennes, Comtesse de Rémusat, *Memoirs*, ed. Paul de Rémusat, 3 vols, 4th edition. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1880), I: 34.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Mme. de Staël, *Corrine or Italy*, 10.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 11-18.

¹²⁰ See: Bernard Chevallier and Christophe Picnemaille, *L'Impératrice Joséphine* (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 1996) and Eleanor de Lorme, *Josephine: Napoleon's Incomparable Empress* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 2002).

¹²¹ Christopher M. S. Johns discusses Canova's relationship with Joséphine throughout the chapter, "Canova, Napoleon, and the Bonapartes, in *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 88-122. See especially, 119-122

¹²² Carol Solomon Kieffer, "The Empress Joséphine: Art and Royal Identity," in *The Empress Joséphine: Art and Royal Identity*. Exhibition catalogue. (Amherst, Massachusetts: Mead Art Museum, 2005), 2.

Joséphine Bonparte were collectively known as “the three graces,” further underscoring the empress’s identification with Canova’s sculpture and her years of social prominence.¹²³

Along with Récamier and Tallien, Joséphine was considered the epitome of fashion and taste; E. Claire Cage explains that fashion and taste were considered innate aspects of femininity, and a way to formulate and construct identity.¹²⁴

Joséphine was at once both fashionably French and exotically foreign. These aspects of her identity fascinated the French public, while simultaneously drawing attention to her “otherness.”¹²⁵ Representations of Joséphine function to contain the otherness and exoticism of her cultural identity. Joséphine’s “créole languor” and complex national identity can be seen in François Gérard’s *Portrait of Empress Joséphine* (1801, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg) In Gérard’s portrait, Joséphine assumes a relaxed seated position on an imperial-style sectional sofa. Her legs are outstretched in front of her and crossed at the ankles, while her right arm rests on the back of a cushion and her left arm rests comfortably beside her. She is dressed in the latest style wearing a white empire waist-gown with a sheer white overdress. A Turkish shawl falls from her shoulders and bunches under her right arm. In this image, she appears both relaxed and regal; blending together her Créole roots and French ties.

Joséphine sits on a terrace overlooking her gardens at Malmaison, the beloved country retreat outside of Paris she purchased in 1799. A rich bouquet of tropical flowers

¹²³ E. Claire Cage, “The Sartorial Self: Neoclassical Fashion and Gender Identity in France, 1797-1804” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 2 (Winter 2009), 204

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ This conception of the “Other” and how it helps fashion understandings of foreigners and foreign places as different and threatening draws from Edward Said’s argument in his book, *Orientalism*. See: Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).

rests besides her, emphasizing her interest in gardening. Joséphine cultivated exotic tropical flowers at Malmaison, a passion Eleanor DeLorme suggests stemmed from her childhood on Martinique, where flowers bloomed year round.¹²⁶ At Malmaison, Joséphine creates an environment similar to that of her Caribbean childhood home. Her cultivation of beautiful, non-native flowers had nationalistic connotations; it both confirmed her French nationality and her alluring, exotic personality. The fertile grounds of Malmaison allude both to Joséphine's Caribbean birth and her most important endeavor, the production of Napoleon's heir. References to botany and exotic flowers become signifiers of Joséphine's otherness, offering overt symbols of her foreignness. However, in Gérard's portrait, Joséphine enjoys her exotic flowers and horticulture within the confines of a neoclassical interior, a style virtually synonymous with Napoleon's empire.

Luxurious neoclassical interiors also neutralize Joséphine's exoticism in Robert Lefèvre's official portrait, commissioned by the imperial art administration, *Empress Joséphine* (1805; Suermondt-Ludwig Museum, Aachen). Joséphine stands in a simple interior in a white satin court costume decorated with a floral motif comprised primarily of ferns. Emblazoned with bees and "Ns," Joséphine's ermine-lined coronation robes trail behind her. Joséphine stands next to a table on which rests a vase of flowers, and not a crown, which would have been a conventional choice. Joséphine's hand rests on an open herbarium, drawing attention to her interest in botany and horticulture. The view behind the empress includes the Palatine Chapel, which was built by Charlemagne and visited by Joséphine and Napoleon prior to their coronation in 1804.

Antoine-Jean Gros's 1809 *Portrait of Joséphine* (Nice, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Palais Masséna), also an imperial art administration commission, includes the familiar swag

¹²⁶ Eleanor P. DeLorme, 73.

of drapery and small table. Joséphine stands in front of a view of Malmaison's gardens next to the table on which rests a book and hydrangeas placed in a vase decorated with a "J" and a crown. Her left hand rests on the book entitled *Flore de la Malmaison*, a book produced due to Joséphine's patronage. She twists towards the bust of her son from her first marriage, Eugène de Beauharnais, who was adopted by Napoleon on January 12, 1806 but was excluded from the empire's succession. The vase of hydrangeas refers to Joséphine's daughter Hortense, as the French word for hydrangeas is *hortensia*. Gros's study for his 1809 portrait includes a cameo belt with profile portraits of Napoleon, Eugène, and Hortense.¹²⁷

Napoleonic artists drew from conventional iconography used for consort portraiture during the *ancien régime*, but changed the familiar components to create an image of Joséphine that was indicative of her new position as French empress. Since there was no precedent for portraying a French consort born on a Caribbean island, Gros, Gérard, and Lefèvre reify Joséphine's fashionable, French identity infusing it with references to her exotic heritage. In 1808, when Gros received the commission from Napoleon's art administration, it was quite clear that Joséphine could not pro-create, a biological fact seemingly at odds with the multiplicity of new species growing and thriving in the greenhouses and grounds at Malmaison.

As a Créole from Martinique, Joséphine was considered foreign, so her "otherness" needed to be contained within the confines of the polite, translatable concept of the fashionable, learned female intellectual. Joséphine was a foreigner among the vast genealogy of French queens, who were mostly all daughters of powerful foreign-ruling kings in Europe.

¹²⁷ Antoine-Jean Gros, *Empress Josephine*, study for painting of 1809 portrait in the Musée Masséna, Nice. Oil on canvas. Musée national du château de Malmaison, Rueil-Malmaison, M.M. 40.48.6874.

Joséphine is, then, doubly foreign, which was deeply troubling to Napoleon's regime, especially after it became abundantly clear that she would not produce Napoleon's heir.

Compared with representations of Joséphine, Lefèvre's portrait of Marie-Louise in the Museo Glauco Lombardi places Napoleon's new wife within the continuum of previous queen consorts, positioning her as an *ancien régime* foreign bride. She stands in front of the throne dressed in a beautiful empire-waist court dress. She wears a large diamond-encrusted diadem on her head. At her neck hangs her infamous 263-carat diamond necklace. Matching diamond earrings complete her jewelry ensemble. To the right of the Empress is a table covered in a red cloth trimmed with gold tassels. On top of the table rests a navy-blue cushion embroidered with golden bees, the symbol of Napoleon.¹²⁸ On the pillow rests a small crown, which appears to be the crown of the Queen of Italy, which was owned by the empress.¹²⁹ To the right of the pillow on the table are two books. A drawing of Napoleon crowned in laurels rests on the table on top of a sheet of music. A charcoal crayon is placed on top of Napoleon's portrait, bringing the empress's artistic talent to the foreground. As in the Menjaud image, Marie-Louise's ability to create takes center stage. In Marie-Louise's spare time, as seen in Lefèvre and Menjaud's paintings, she could affirm and create dynasties with her paintbrush and charcoal chalk, whereas Joséphine could tend a sumptuous garden full of exotic plants, but could not create an heir for Napoleon.

All three of Lefèvre's portraits of Empress Marie-Louise can be understood as fairly traditional, and he clearly drew from portrait conventions when imaging the empress through

¹²⁸ In 1653, the tomb of Childric, King of the Franks, was opened and a swarm of bees flew out. Napoleon adopted bees as his symbol due to their association with the first King of the Franks and their industriousness.

¹²⁹ This crown is very similar to one made for Marie-Louise and Empress Eugénie, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.

the inclusion of swaths of drapery, and curtains. Lefèvre included these same recognizable elements in the series of portraits he executed of the imperial family for the portrait gallery at the Château de Fontainebleau.¹³⁰ The inclusion of these familiar elements positions Napoleon's female family members as part of the tradition of aristocratic female portraiture, however in images of Napoleon's sisters and mother, Lefèvre incorporates a portrait bust of the emperor. These images are very different from Lefèvre's portrait of Josephine in which he omits Napoleon's bust, indicating that the emperor endeavored to lift his female relatives to the realm of dynastically powerful aristocratic women.

In Lefèvre's *Portrait of Princess Pauline* (1806; Versailles; Musée National du Château), which was likely commissioned shortly after Napoleon gave his sister the title, Princess and Duchess of Guastalla, Princess Pauline is shown as an elegantly dressed full-length figure.¹³¹ Lefèvre presents her in a fashionable interior punctuated by a velvet upholstered imperial-style chaise lounge and a swath of green drapery. Her hand rests on the mahogany table at her right. As in van Loo's portrait of Queen Maria Leszczinska, Pauline holds a down-turned fan in her left hand, creating a strong, stable vertical line from the top of her head down to her feet. Her elegantly slender figure, emphasized by her empire-waist gown, and the straight edge of the green drapery to her left, further illustrates the verticality of the image. Napoleon's bust stares directly at his sister, and Pauline looks down at her brother's classicized likeness. The inclusion of Napoleon's bust in this image functions in a

¹³⁰ Lefèvre began his series of imperial family portraits after completing his first portrait of Napoleon in 1803.

¹³¹ Pauline's role as Princess and Duchess of Guastalla was short-lived. She sold the duchy of Guastalla to Parma for six million francs, keeping only the title, Duchess of Gusatalla. Marie-Louise benefitted from her sister-in-law's decision, as she was installed as Duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla in 1815.

similar way to the bust of Louis XV in Carle van Loo's portrait of Marie Leszcinska. Her authority operates through Napoleon, and her image refers to his authority.

Lefèvre pictures Napoleon's mother, Laetizia Ramonlino (early nineteenth century; Musée National du Château, Versailles) in elegant court dress near an elegant throne. She appears as a full-length figure in front of the familiar colonnade and dramatic sweep of drapery. She is an important figure to be immortalized in painting only because she is the emperor's mother. François Gérard depicts Laetizia Ramonlino with an antiquated bust of her son, Napoleon (early nineteenth century; Musée National du Château, Versailles), an overt nod to where Laetizia derives her important position at court. In these images of Napoleon's mother and sister, Lefèvre and Gérard reproduce portrait conventions that were hallmarks of aristocratic female portraiture. The authority possessed by Pauline and Laetizia derives solely from Napoleon, in the same way that previous French consorts derived all their power from the French king, yet does not include a sense of reproduction or pro-creation.

In Lefèvre's portraits of Pauline and Gérard's portrait of Laetizia, an effigy stands in for the emperor. In Lefèvre's portrait of Marie-Louise in the Museo Glauco Lombardi, a representation of Napoleon also appears, but not a marble bust for her to gaze at in gratitude. The effigy Lefèvre includes of the emperor is a charcoal drawing. Although Napoleon's charcoal portrait faces towards the empress, Marie-Louise does not refer to it at all, but rather stares straight out at the viewer. Although actually created by Lefèvre, the drawing of Napoleon in this image suggests Marie-Louise's own interest in art making and her ability to create. Thus, Lefèvre's image refers to the empress's creativity for the same reason Menjaud refers to it in *Marie-Louise painting the portrait of Napoleon*.

Marie-Louise's position is very different from that of Empress Joséphine, whose efforts at creating an exotic and fertile landscape at Malmaison did not parallel her ability to produce an heir for Napoleon. It was Joséphine's exoticism and lack of aristocratic heritage that, in many ways, barred her from the conventions of consort portraiture, forcing artists to look to her hobbies for the creation of her iconographical schemas. To some extent, artists' decision to include Joséphine's interest in botany does continue in representations of Marie-Louise. By depicting her creativity, Lefèvre allows Marie-Louise to escape the traditional boundaries of a queen consort, positioning her art-making ability as less of a hobby and more of an exercise in statecraft.

Conclusion

The significance of national identity in representations of Empress Marie-Louise and her predecessor, Empress Joséphine, suggest an innovative conception of empress/queenship, one that carefully uses dynastic identity as a tool for portraying aristocratic identity. Portraits of both Marie-Louise and Joséphine blend the iconographic traditions of *ancien régime* portraiture with new innovations, creating images that explore and highlight each woman's particular situation. As potential mothers to Napoleon's heir both women are politically charged and represent the hopes of imperial France.

Lefèvre's three official portraits of Marie-Louise largely adhere to iconographical norms; she wears elaborate court dress in an interior space in front of a richly-colored drapery, columns, and a throne. Unlike traditional portraits of French consorts, Marie-Louise is never pictured with Napoleon's bust, an element included in representations of his female relatives. French queen consorts during the *ancien régime*, including Marie Leszcinska and

Marie-Antoinette, were often portrayed with an effigy of the king. All of these women, in a sense, were outsiders in the French court, whose authority came directly from the male ruler. Joséphine's cultural visibility comes from her femininity and fashionable persona as a promoter of good taste, but her position as a French créole, a foreigner on mainland France, marks her as different in the history of French queens. Artists highlight her complicated identity, while containing it within a carefully ordered neoclassical interior and by including iconography associated with botany and horticulture amid conventional iconography that draws explicitly from traditional images of queen consorts discussed earlier in this chapter.

Unlike images of Marie-Antoinette, Marie Leszcinska, and Joséphine, Marie-Louise's authority does not come directly from the emperor/king, but from her dynastic ties and German national identity. Her blond hair, blue eyes, and unmistakably Habsburg facial features marked her as dynastically rich and made her a symbol of German/Austrian nation in France. Her presence in France appealed to Napoleon's constituents in the Confederation of the Rhine while also promising a stable French ruling dynasty. Denon capitalized on this notion when he requested that Alexandre Menjaud make her image more recognizable in his genre portrait of the emperor and empress. The French would see her physical appearance and be reminded of her dynastic power and the positive attributes of her German and Austrian national temperament, namely her loyalty, sweetness, and patriotic sentiments. These attributes were all highlighted as assets to the French empire.

Representations of Marie-Louise are at once a part of the tradition of female aristocratic portraiture and outside of it. Instead of validating her new status as French, Menjaud and Lefèvre venerate her Habsburg and Germanic ties through the realistic portrayal of her physical characteristics. National and dynastic ties were important in the

formation of persona, but the different circumstances surrounding a queen consort and empress dictated to what degree and to what ends these associations were significant. The inclusion of art objects, presumably made by the empress's own hand, asserts the power of Marie-Louise to pro-create, resulting in an heir to the imperial throne. Marie-Louise can save Napoleon's dynasty because, for once, the consort has more dynastic capital than the king/emperor.

CHAPTER TWO

Spectacular Celebrations: Visually Imag(in)ing Empress Marie-Louise in Napoleon's Empire

Changes in history painting after the French Revolution largely influenced representations of Marie-Louise during the early years of her reign as empress of the French. Following the tumultuous years of Revolution, history painting focused on the reassertion of cultural and national identity by presenting heroic actions of actual French citizens, such as in Jacques-Louis David's famous image *The Death of Marat* (1793; Musée royal des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels), which depicts the politician Jean-Paul Marat immediately following his assassination at the hands of Royalist sympathizer Charlotte Corday on July 13, 1793. Images, such as David's *The Death of Marat*, were intended to incite a connection between the viewer and the heroic action or individual portrayed as a way to encourage the development of a moral, rational French society.¹³²

Napoleon and his art administration followed the lead of David's revolutionary imagery to inspire fealty in the French public; while embracing images with contemporaneous historical narratives about the achievements of their modern world, they attempted to truncate the public's interpretation by offering representations that were

¹³² For more information on how Revolutionary artists endeavored to create an emotional response in the viewer to create a stable French nation see: T.J. Clark, "Painting in the Year Two," *Representations* 47, Special Issue: National Cultures before Nationalism (Summer 1994): 13-63; Eva Lajer-Burchard, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1999); Thomas E. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995).

immune to thoughtful analysis. These history paintings, such as David's *The Coronation of Napoleon* (1804; Musée du Louvre, Paris), Georges Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon I and the Archduchess Marie-Louise in the Salon Carée of the Louvre on April 2, 1810* (1810; Musée National du Château, Versailles), and Louis-Philippe Crépin's *The Arrival of Napoleon I and Marie-Louise in Antwerp* (Salon of 1810; Dosne-Thiers Foundation, Paris), were meticulously and realistically detailed, especially in their use of portraiture, historical costuming, and event documentation, encouraging viewers to become overwhelmed by the immediacy of the event. This desire to confound and dazzle spectators was intended to paralyze one's ability to analyze the significance of the historical action or event portrayed.¹³³

The historical events represented by Napoleon's artists were, primarily, re-interpretations of traditional events associated with the *ancien régime*, such as coronations, embarkations, and other fêtes, and drew from centuries-old iconographic conventions that grounded significant imperial events in the monarchical past. By rendering historical scenes similar to those highlighted by *ancien régime* artists, such as Peter Paul Rubens's *The Disembarkation at Marseilles* (c.1622-1625; Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *The Coronation of Marie de' Medici* (1622-1625; Musée du Louvre, Paris), Napoleon's image makers both provide a context for the event and situate it as a significant moment in French history. Encouraging viewers to lose themselves in luxurious materials, recognizable portraits of imperial celebrities, and meticulously rendered historical scenes, Napoleon's artists suspended time to produce visions of contemporaneous historical narratives that appear timeless and unquestionable.

Like the contemporaneous historical paintings from this period, allegorical paintings also lifted recent events to the realm of the timeless. During the *ancien régime*, artists,

¹³³ Todd Porterfield, "David's *Sacre*," in *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres and David*, 133-135.

including Simon Vouet (1590-1649), Nicholas Largillière (1656-1746), and Jean Marc Nattier (1685-1766), drew from allegorical figures to represent fantasies and virtues that enhanced and consolidated the persona of the French government and its ruling class. Allegorical images function as extended metaphors in which individuals, events, and objects refer to meanings outside of the narrative, producing two meanings: one that is obvious and one that lies beneath the surface.¹³⁴ All allegories function as powerful modes of representation and are used to convey abstract concepts beyond the actual narrative presented, and allegorical images served an identical purpose during Napoleon's regime. Through its rendering of events with allegorical and mythological actors standing in for abstract ideas, nations, and historical persons, allegorical imagery reifies the power of the empire through its association with the *ancien régime* and the timelessness of the figures portrayed, such as classical gods and goddesses. Used sparingly in representations of Napoleon's first wife Joséphine, allegories became much more popular when representing events celebrating his marriage to Marie-Louise.¹³⁵ Given her roots in the old ruling structures of the *ancien régime* as a former Habsburg Archduchess, Marie-Louise offered Napoleon's image makers a vehicle through which to portray both a historical link with the past, as seen in both the obsessively detailed historical genre scenes depicting traditional monarchical events and the return to allegory in history painting. The co-existence of these

¹³⁴ Marina Warner, *Monuments and maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Vintage, 1996), xix.

¹³⁵ Only a handful of prints even allude to allegorical figures in representations of Empress Joséphine. These allegorical prints do not show Joséphine in the guise of an allegorical figure, but portray her with an allegorical figure such as Fame or Immortality holding portraits of her and Napoleon. See: Jean-Baptiste-André Gautier-Dagoty, *La Renommée et le Génie portent au Temple de l'Immortalité le Buste de sa Majesté Napoleon Ier Empereur des Français et de Joséphine Impératrice*, n.d. Engraving, 18.4 x 12.2 cm, Published at Rue des Noyers N° 16. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; Unknown artist, *Pièce allégorique: Une femme, "l'Immortalité de la France porte dans chaque main un medallion*, n.d. Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

two painting genres during the first year of Marie-Louise's tenure as Empress of the French allowed Napoleon's artists and art administration to envision a new mode of representation, one that bridged the gap between the *ancien régime* and the empire, the past and the present.

Napoleonic history and allegorical paintings produced during the first year of Marie-Louise's reign, such as Étienne-Barthélemy Garnier's *Entrance of Napoleon and Marie-Louise at the Tuileries on April 2, 1810* (1810; Musée National du Château, Versailles) and Antoine-François Callet's *The August Alliance* (Salon of 1810; Dosne-Thiers Foundation), overload the viewer with details, creating incredible sensory experiences, and filling canvases with a myriad of mythological figures and/or imperial celebrities. Both types of images create and, in some cases, recreate imperial spectacles.¹³⁶ As Guy Debord explains, spectacles create a sense of timelessness, lifting the ordinary to the extraordinary.¹³⁷ When describing the effect of witnessing actual events, Debord states that history and memory are abandoned during spectacles, because spectacles construct a false sense of time.¹³⁸ Napoleonic history painting records these spectacular events, preserving moments that would ordinarily be fleeting. In the case of Napoleonic imagery, spectacles do not abandon time or the past, but fixate on it as a way to reconnect with the power structures of the *ancien régime*,

¹³⁶ By the early nineteenth century, the word *spectacle* was already being used to describe public entertainments, and as Samuels explains, "had also acquired a figurative definition as that which attracts attention, as in '*servir de spectacle, faire spectacle*,' and that which presents itself for observation or study." See: Maurice Samuels, *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 13. For his early nineteenth-century definition of *spectacle*, Samuels cites *Trésor de la langue française. Dictionnaire de la langue de XIXe et XXe siècles (1789-1960)* (1971; reprint, Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 855.

¹³⁷ Guy Debord, *La Société du spectacle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992). Debord and his theories of spectacle are discussed in Maurice Samuels, 12-13.

¹³⁸ Jonathan Crary explains Debord's theory of spectacle: "...as the annihilation of historical knowledge – in particular the destruction of the recent past." See: Crary "Spectacle, Attention, Counter-Memory" *October* 50 (1989): 106. See also: Samuels, 12-13.

to bolster imperial power, and to display the glamour and wealth of the imperial court.¹³⁹

Detailed images of spectacles, thus, transform contemporary historical events to the realm of the eternal in a way similar to that of allegorical history painting; they record the marvelous, almost unbelievably luxurious scenes of important court events, so that viewers can both remark on the majesty of the imperial court and situate the importance of Napoleon's regime firmly within French history. For Napoleon, who was actively constructing a new legacy and iconographical program, allegorical and historical paintings complemented each other and worked to maintain and articulate his power.

In this chapter, I examine the emergence of the spectacle in Napoleonic imagery to reinterpret representations associated with Marie-Louise's marriage to Napoleon. I discuss new modes of historical and allegorical representation, focusing on the ways in which images such as Georges Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon I and the Archduchess Marie-Louise in the Salon Carée of the Louvre on April 2, 1810* and Alexandre-Benoît-Jean Dufay's *The Marriage Banquet in the Salle de spectacle at the Tuileries on April 2, 1810* (1810; Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau) recall significant past historical events while presenting authentic representations of important Napoleonic events. I view allegorical images, such as Antoine-François Callet's *The August Alliance* and Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's publically displayed design for the June 10, 1810 celebrations of the imperial marriage at the Hôtel de Ville, Paris as an attempt present an empress who was at once adaptable and timeless; her likeness could be used in allegorical images, which are reminiscent of the monarchical past, and in the new contemporary history paintings that came out of the not-so-distant revolutionary past. Ultimately, historical and allegorical images from the first years of the

¹³⁹ Samuels, 13.

imperial marriage serve to connect Napoleon's regime to the past and help to articulate a new present by highlighting the figure of Empress Marie-Louise.

Accessing the Past: Napoleon's marriage to Archduchess Marie-Louise

Marie Louise married Napoleon by proxy on March 11, 1810 in Vienna, yet their official religious marriage ceremony did not take place until April 2 in the Salon carré of the Louvre in Paris. Like the majority of French consorts, including Anne of Austria, Marie Leszczinska, and Marie-Antoinette, Marie-Louise was never crowned empress; it was her marriage to Napoleon that marked her new status. Georges Rouget memorializes the imperial marriage in his painting, *Marriage of Napoleon I and Archduchess Marie-Louise*, which directly quotes Jacques-Louis David's *The Coronation of Napoleon*.¹⁴⁰ David's famous painting depicts not the emperor as the title indicates, but the coronation of Joséphine, who was actually crowned Empress at Notre Dame in Paris on December 2, 1804. Rouget's citation from David's painting mirrors the practices of consort portraiture, as explained in chapter one, while actually replacing Joséphine with Marie-Louise in the public's imagination. In this section, I argue that Marie-Louise did not need a formal coronation; her appearance in Rouget's painting, which is identical in many ways to David's famous image, binds Marie-Louise's position to that of her predecessor, presenting the women as more or less interchangeable. Rouget inserts Marie-Louise into Joséphine's coronation, bestowing the power and prestige of a coronation on the young empress by virtue of her marriage to Napoleon.

¹⁴⁰ Georges Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon Ier and Archduchess Marie-Louise at the Salon carré of the Louvre on April 2, 1810* was acquired by King Louis-Philippe for les Galeries Historiques de Versailles on September 11, 1835. He paid 3000 francs for the painting.

As David's assistant working on *The Coronation of Napoleon*, Rouget was familiar with the original composition, and included similar costuming, decorations, and figure positions as his teacher.¹⁴¹ His *Marriage of Emperor Napoleon and Archduchess Marie-Louise* is transformed into the setting designed by Jean-Baptiste Isabey, Charles Percier, and Pierre-François Léonard Fontaine for Napoleon and Joséphine's coronation at Notre Dame six years earlier, complete with the same large-scale candelabras, crucifix marking the altar, and balconies filled with onlookers. The setting in the Louvre was strange, especially for a religious ceremony. A contemporary observer of the marriage describes the event: "*deux rangs de galleries drapées, brodées, bordées, criblés d'abeilles [...]. C'était vraiment la chose la plus frappante qu'il fût possible de voir, mais sans rien de religieux, rien qui ressemblât en rien à une chapelle.*" The decorative schema, however, did include an altar designed by Charles Percier, which is almost identical to the altar depicted in David's *The Coronation of Napoleon*, and vessels for celebrating the Eucharist designed by Martin-Guillaume Biennais, the principal goldsmith to the imperial court, appear on the altar.¹⁴² Cardinal Joseph Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, presided over the ceremony.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ *1810, Politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 178, catalogue entry 68. For more on Jacques-Louis David's teaching studio see: Arlette Sérullaz, *Gérard, Girodet, Gros: David's Studio* (Milan, Five Continents, 2005) and Thomas E. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists For Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). These sources, however, focus on David's most famous pupils, and not Georges Rouget.

¹⁴² "two rows of galleries draped with fringed curtains embroidered with bees [...]. It was really striking, but not religious, nothing like being in a chapel." Quoted in Hélène Meyer, "Fastes monarchiques à l'heure d'une idylle: de la rencontre à la lune de miel" in *1810, Politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 86. This quote was originally found in Prince Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen, *Souvenirs. Trois mois à Paris lors du mariage de l'Empereur Napoléon Ier et de l'archiduchesse Marie-Louise. Avec des croquis de l'auteur et deux portraits. Publié par le baron de Mitis et le comte de Pimodan* (Paris: Plon, 1914), 75-76. The designs for the main altar and Eucharist vessels can be found at the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris. See: Anne Dion-Tenenbaum, "Les fournitures de Biennais pour le mariage: un luxe sans précédent," in *1810, Politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, Figs. 123 and 124.

¹⁴³ Cardinal Joseph Fesch was the half brother of Laetitia Ramolino, Napoleon's mother.

In both of the images, the figures wear costumes linking them to the monarchical past. David portrays Napoleon wearing a white, toga-like garment, with gold detailing underneath his red velvet, ermine-lined coronation robes. He is crowned with a gold circlet decorated with acanthus leaves, a nod to the practice of crowning victors with laurel leaves in ancient Rome. High-ranking officials of the empire wear antiquated costumes from the sixteenth century, lending historical and national significance to the event. In Rouget's image, Napoleon wears attire similar to that of his high-ranking officials. He appears wearing white leggings, with short red-velvet breeches, tunic, and gold-embroidered coronation robes cut short at his knee. Several portraits of Napoleon from 1810 feature him in this same costume, such as Innocent-Louis Goubaud's *Portrait of Emperor Napoleon* (Salon of 1810; Versailles, Musée National du Château), and Jean-Baptiste Isabey's miniature portrait of the emperor (1810; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), reinforcing the idea that antiquated costumes were considered an integral part of Napoleon's iconography from this period. The women in both images wear fashionable empire-waist gowns, but in David's version, Joséphine wears a spiky lace collar designed by Jean-Baptiste Isabey, which links her to her predecessors, Catherine and Marie de' Medici.¹⁴⁴ Marie-Louise wears the same ermine-lined coronation robes emblazoned with bees as Empress Joséphine and a similar white court dress embroidered with a gold floral motif. This recycling of costuming between the former and current empresses of the French establishes a succession between the two women, creating a space for Marie-Louise within the empire.

¹⁴⁴ Both Medici women wear spiky lace collars in their portraits. See: Anonymous artist, *Catherine de' Medici, Wife of Henri II and Queen of France* (c1547-1559; Uffizi Gallery, Florence), Frans Pourbus the Younger, *Marie de' Medici, Queen of France* (1610; Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Frans Pourbus the Younger, *Maria de Medici* (1622; Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, Bilbao, Spain). This quotation of the lacy collar worn by the Medici queens creates a visual succession between the two women, and David's portrait of Joséphine in the same collar places her as their successor.

Previous artists that depicted French consorts also relied on costuming to reinforce connections between elite aristocratic women, as seen in representations of Queen Anne, mother of Louis XIV, and her niece and daughter-in-law Marie Thérèse, wife of Louis XIV.¹⁴⁵ Both members of the Spanish Habsburg family and, therefore, related, Anne and Marie Thérèse resemble each other in portraiture. Seventeenth-century artists accentuated the connection between the two women through the use of identical costuming and by exaggerating their resemblance. In the Beaubrun brothers' *Portrait of Anne of Austria, Queen of France* (seventeenth century; Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles), Anne wears a blue ermine-lined robe emblazoned with gold fleur-de-lys. Her right hand rests on her right knee, while her left hand clutches her robes. Red velvet drapery frames her and a small table with discarded gloves resting on top stands to her right. Henri Testelin's *Portrait of Marie-Thérèse, Queen of France* (c. 1660; Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles) portrays the queen wearing the same costume as that of Anne of Austria, her aunt and mother-in-law, in a similar seated pose. Wearing one of the gloves discarded on the table in the image of Queen Anne, her right hand clutches the other glove and rests on her right knee. Her left hand loosely holds the ermine-lined robes in her left hand. Marie-Thérèse appears in an interior with red drapery framing her, just like Queen Anne, but in this image we have a view of the outdoors. These women not only wear the same clothing, but they also have similar facial features in the two paintings. The two women are virtually identical in a double portrait by Simon Renard de Saint-André's *Anne of Austria with Queen Marie-Thérèse* (1664; Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles), where they appear together. Marie-Thérèse is slightly smaller than her mother-

¹⁴⁵ Jennifer Germann discusses these portraits by the Beaubrun brothers, Henri Testelin, and Simon Renard Saint-André in "Figuring Marie Leszczinska," 32.

in-law, but the resemblance they bear to each other is uncanny. Members of the same family, these women appear connected, because of their ties to the king and dauphin of France and their shared position as French consort. While not identical in appearance, Rouget created a relationship between Marie-Louise and Joséphine through their shared clothing, positioning Marie-Louise as Joséphine's successor as empress and creating a visual link between the two women. The imperial administration attempted this same technique in reality, when they placed Marie-Louise in the exact same coronation robes as the former empress on her wedding day.

In addition to clothing choices, other similarities link Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon I and Archduchess Marie-Louise* and David's *Coronation of Napoleon*, particularly the same painstaking identification of historical persons. In both paintings, Eugène de Beauharnais, Joséphine's son from her first marriage, appears in the right foreground. In David's painting, Eugène holds the hilt of his sword, while an altar boy looks on contemplating his future defending the French nation. Rouget also pictures Eugène with his hand on the hilt of his sword, but this time an altar boy stands directly in front of him staring at the emperor and empress, indicating his loyalty to his sovereigns. Napoleon's sisters Elisa, Pauline, and Caroline Murat, are present in David's painting along with Queen Hortense de Beauharnais, Joséphine's daughter, and her son with Napoleon's brother, Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland. Napoleon's brothers, who occupied the most important thrones in Europe, are also present; it is truly a family affair. Two young women, presumably ladies-in-waiting, hold Joséphine's coronation robes. In Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon and Archduchess Marie-Louise*, Napoleon's sisters Elisa and Pauline hold the new empress's robes, an honor they

attempted to avoid earlier that morning.¹⁴⁶ Already noted as present in David's *Coronation*, the same imperial celebrities attend Napoleon and Marie-Louise's marriage, including Queen Hortense and her husband King Louis, King Joseph of Spain, Joachim Murat, Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès, arch-chancellor of the empire, author of the Napoleonic Code and former second consul, Charles-François Lebrun, former third consul, and Louis-Alexandre Berthier, who at this point was Vice-Constable of France.

In addition to portraying recognizable celebrities of the empire to dazzle the viewers with the accuracy of the artist's portrayal, Rouget and David encourage viewer participation by creating a sense of space that offers immediate access to the event. In David's image, the viewer witnesses Joséphine's coronation at a short distance from the central action; the area to the left of the men in the right foreground opens to invite one to look closely, offering an unobstructed view. Furthermore, the scale of David's image makes the viewer feel that they can walk right into the canvas.¹⁴⁷ Rouget's image is substantially smaller than David's but the feeling of access is the same; the viewer is placed in the same vicinity of the central action as in David's image.¹⁴⁸ The smaller scale of Rouget's image offers a more intimate glimpse into the wedding ceremony.

The antiquated costuming, luxurious details, and meticulous illusion of reality situates both images as part of the Troubadour style.¹⁴⁹ Troubadour paintings most often depict genre

¹⁴⁶ Jérémie Benoit, *Napoléon et Versailles* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), 304.

¹⁴⁷ Jacque-Louis David's *Coronation of Napoleon* is nearly life-sized, measuring 20 ft. 4 1/2 inches x 32 feet 1 3/8 inches.

¹⁴⁸ Georges Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon Ier and Archduchess Marie-Louise in the Salon carré of the Louvre, on April 2, 1810* is approximately 6 ft. x 5 ft. 9 in.

¹⁴⁹ Étienne-Jean Delécluze credits the Troubadour movement to David and his students. See Todd Porterfield, "David's *Sacre*," in *Staging Empire*, 141 and Étienne-Jean Delécluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps. Souvenirs* (1855), 2nd ed. (Paris: Marcula, 1983), 242.

scenes with historical significance and freeze a moment of action suspended, characteristics that differentiate them from traditional historical paintings, that depict significant actions occurring during past events; in both paintings, Rouget and David depict a suspended action. David depicts the moment *before* Joséphine is crowned empress and Rouget illustrates the moment *after* the nuptial blessing of Cardinal Fesch, moments of action suspended and completed. Instead of focusing on more poignant moments, such as the moment at which Joséphine is actually crowned, or the procession of the imperial couple after their marriage ceremony is complete, Rouget and David chose to present these suspended moments of action to provide a sense of conclusion and to encourage audience participation. Although situated in close proximity to the central action, one is encouraged to remark on the splendor of Napoleon's court and the details of the artist's execution, an activity that is rather passive and does not encourage active reflection on the significance of the event portrayed. Rouget and David dazzle with details of portraiture and material, causing viewers to become lost in the glamour of the scene.

The material objects designed for Napoleon and Joséphine's coronation were well documented, attesting to the need of Napoleon's art administration to record all aspects of the event in fine detail. Charles Percier, Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, and Jean-Baptiste Isabey published their designs for the costumes and ceremonies of Napoleon and Joséphine's coronation in *Le Sacre de L'Emperor Napoléon, dans l'Eglise Metropolitaine de Paris*.¹⁵⁰ Court etiquette and protocol was also carefully chronicled in a one-thousand word article published in *Moniteur Universelle*, which details the elaborate rules of conduct that governed

¹⁵⁰ Charles Percier, Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, and Jean-Baptiste Isabey, *Le Sacre de S.M. l'Empereur Napoléon, dans l'Eglise Metropolitaine de Paris*, le XI Frimaire an XIII, Dimanche 2 Décembre 1804.

Napoleon and Joséphine's arrival at David's studio to view the painting for the first time.¹⁵¹ According to the article, Napoleon and Joséphine exclaimed over the realness and accuracy of the event; Napoleon reportedly said "*on marche dans ce tableau*", emphasizing the painting's accuracy and accessibility.¹⁵² Courtly manners, protocol, and material objects added to the glamour and prestige of the event, and would have overwhelmed viewers of the ceremony and the painting with the wealth of Napoleon's court.

The luxurious materials, historical costumes, and famous people present within the painting incited the public's imagination, and David encouraged limited spectator involvement through his delineation of space. David pushed the boundaries between spectator and participant with his staging of *The Coronation of Napoleon* in both his studio and Musée Napoléon. David placed a large mirror in front of *The Coronation of Napoleon*, so that people could then walk between the mirror and the painting to see themselves in the scene with all the famous celebrities who actually attended the event.¹⁵³ This level of viewer participation in David's image serves to suspend the viewer's ability to reflect on the event portrayed by beguiling them through entertainment.

David's *Coronation of Napoleon* presents a spectacle; one grounded in tradition but steeped in Napoleonic iconography. David's painting offers access to the event, which was no doubt just as magnificent as the image, but truncates active engagement with the historical event presented, encouraging viewers to identify historical persons and exclaim over luxurious materials. The splendid court scene tries to limit interpretation and critical thinking

¹⁵¹ "Intérieur," *Gazette nationale ou Le Moniteur universel* 16 (January 16, 1808): 63.

¹⁵² Translation: "One can walk in to the painting." This quote was found in Todd Porterfield, "David's *Sacre*," in *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres and David*, 123.

¹⁵³ Todd Porterfield, "David's *Sacre*," in *Staging Empire*, 123-124.

as a means to present an unchallenged vision of Napoleonic power. The scene delineates history for the viewer, asking that they submit to the splendor of Napoleon's court and accept their new government.

Although created on a smaller scale, Rouget's image also presents a spectacle. Meticulous detailing encourages the viewer to suspend their analysis in favor of marveling over the details of the portrayal. A transformed church interior does not provide the backdrop for the religious ceremony in Rouget's image however; instead, the ceremony takes place in the *Salon carré* of the Louvre, the box-shaped space that gave the room its name. A heavenly light bathes the altar, indicating God's favor. The balcony constructed behind the main cast of characters and heavy vertical drapery allude to a church interior, despite the event taking place in the Louvre palace. Interestingly, the *salon carré* was often the site of other significant occasions; it was the place where eighteenth-century members of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture exhibited their paintings, an event that drew spectators from a variety of economic and social backgrounds. The *salon carré* exhibition space was, as Thomas Crow describes, "a visual spectacle," full of paintings that completely covered the walls of the room, from eye-level to ceiling.¹⁵⁴ Benjamin Zix (1772-1811) records the imperial couple's walk to the *salon carré* for their marriage ceremony in his 1810 drawing, *The Nuptial Cortege in the Grand Gallery of the Louvre* (1810; Musée du Louvre, Paris), which presents Napoleon and Marie-Louise in *Grand galerie* of the Louvre amid walls covered in priceless paintings and surrounded by elite onlookers. In this image, Marie-Louise and Napoleon are the focus of everyone's attention, the presence of the paintings on the walls

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 1. For a visual account of the packed walls of the salon see Pietro Antonio Martini, *The Salon of 1787*. 1787. Engraving. Bibliothèque National de France, Paris and Gabriel-Jacques de Saint-Aubin, *The Salon of 1765*. Graphite, ink, and watercolor on paper, 24 x 46.7 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

of the gallery cluing the spectators in to the fact that they should be looking at Marie-Louise and Napoleon as closely as they would one of the masterpieces displayed in the *Grand galerie*. Zix's image underscores the fact that Marie-Louise and Napoleon are on display.

Rouget and David's paintings demonstrate the significance of the performative, or the ability of speech or gesture to signal the completion of a task. Todd Porterfield describes the obsessive historical detailing in David's *The Coronation of Napoleon* and its meaning by following J.L. Austin's concept of the performative stating that words can transform reality, creating and bestowing identity and status.¹⁵⁵ He uses the example of a promise to illustrate how performativity functions in speech, stating that "any person who says 'I promise' is not describing an external, verifiable aspect of reality but has instead done the thing -the promising- simply by saying the words."¹⁵⁶ In analysis of David's painting, we can understand the illustrated action as functioning as speech, but it displays a message without using verbal speech. The performative gesture appears in the position of Napoleon, who is paused mid-action, about to crown his wife empress. This suspended moment of action the viewer to recognize the power of the emperor and the status of the newly crowned empress without actually seeing the action completed; we know that Napoleon has the ability to create Joséphine empress, so therefore this event must have occurred and she truly is the empress.¹⁵⁷ The image, and the action portrayed within it, draws its power and poignancy through the

¹⁵⁵ Todd Porterfield, "David's *Sacre*," 115-116. For more on J.L. Austin's theory of performativity see: J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, eds. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1975). Austin's concept of performativity has been used by several theorists including Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler. See: Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc.* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1988) and Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1997) and *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

¹⁵⁶ Porterfield, 115.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 115-135.

quotation of other events and coronations and the viewer's ability to look closely at the central figures.

Because audiences are familiar with the power of Napoleon and the concept of a coronation, the meaning of David's image is easily understood. David draws from previous images of coronations, such as Peter Paul Rubens's *The Coronation of Marie de' Medici* (1622-1625; Musée du Louvre, Paris), that is based on the actual coronation of both her husband, King Henri IV, and Marie herself at the basilica of Saint-Denis. Commissioned after the death of her husband, King Henri IV, *The Coronation of Marie de' Medici* is one of twenty-two paintings commissioned by the queen to decorate the walls at her newly renovated residence, the Palais du Luxembourg. Teeming with a myriad of allegorical figures, the Marie de' Medici cycle proclaims the queen's destiny to rule France as regent, while alluding to her husband's approval of her actions. One of very few paintings in the cycle devoid of allegorical figures, *The Coronation of Marie de' Medici*, depicts the queen kneeling in front of her husband the king who extends the crown towards her head.

In activating the performative, as David has in *The Coronation of Napoleon*, he invokes all previous coronation events, strengthening the event's authority and legitimacy. David sets up, what Todd Porterfield terms a "citational chain," a concept that draws from Jacques Derrida's theory of "fabulous retroactivity."¹⁵⁸ The "citational chain" intensifies and transforms the event and extends its authority to the past and future. Rouget's image harnesses the power of Napoleon's performative gesture in David's image by activating the "citational chain," or, more specifically, by positioning the marriage of Marie-Louise and Napoleon within the "citational chain." Remarkably, Napoleon does not wear his coronation

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 139. See also: Jacques Derrida, "Declarations of Independence," *New Political Science* 15 (2001): 10.

robes to this event; he does not need to, he was already emperor. Yet, Marie-Louise does wear coronation robes at both the actual marriage ceremony and in Rouget's painting of the event. Rouget situates Marie-Louise as successor to Joséphine's title of empress by quoting the same color palette, historical participants, and obsessive accuracy. This action performed by David's Napoleon, is transposed onto Rouget's Napoleon. Marie-Louise did not have a coronation, but she did not need one. Her marriage to Napoleon, as evidenced in Rouget's painting, was enough to make her empress.

Arriving in Style

Luxurious details and meticulous renderings of reality mark Pauline Auzou's *The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne* (Salon of 1810; Musée National du Château, Versailles) and Louis-Philippe Crépin's *The Arrival of Napoleon I and Marie-Louise at Antwerp* (Salon of 1810; Fondation Dosne-Thiers, Paris). Focusing on the new empress's arrival in important locales within the French empire, these two paintings articulate Marie-Louise's position within the empire during the first few days of her reign as Empress of the French. At first glance, these paintings have much in common with Georges Rouget's *Marriage of Emperor Napoleon and Archduchess Marie-Louise*: rich colors, painstaking detail, and careful attention to the realities of the events portrayed. However the artists did not use antiquated costuming to add gravity and legitimacy to the events. By choosing to show arrival scenes, these artists automatically invoked the "citational chain," thanks to the proliferation of arrival imagery created during the *ancien régime*, most notably Peter Paul Rubens's *The Disembarkation at Marseilles* from the Marie de' Medici cycle (1621-1625; Musée du Louvre, Paris). Like Rubens's famous image of

Marie de Medici's first steps on French soil, Auzou and Crépin stress Marie-Louise's loyalty to her new nation, but do so in a way that dazzles the viewers with details.

Pauline Auzou, née Jeanne-Marie-Catherine-Pauline Desmarquest, decided to submit her painting, *The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne* to the Salon of 1810.¹⁵⁹ Like many other artists working during Napoleon's reign, Auzou created artwork to be sold and rarely worked on commission, so the success of this painting would help her make a name for herself among the elite group of artists who created paintings deemed worthy of acquisition by the imperial art administration. Therefore, we must understand Auzou's decision to submit this particular image of Marie-Louise to the Salon as a strategic one; she must have felt that her composition would find favor with the Imperial Arts Administration. She was not disappointed. After viewing her *Arrival of Her Majesty at Compiègne*, Vivant-Denon, head of the imperial Arts Administration, advised Napoleon to buy Auzou's painting for the imperial art collection stating: "*Ce charmant tableau sera sans doute très agréable à Sa Majesté l'Impératrice. Il réunit à une exécution très précieuse, une naïveté et une grace que semblent n'appartenir qu'à délicatesse d'une femme.*"¹⁶⁰ Vivant-Denon's quote coordinates handling with sex, while mentioning its appeal to the new empress as a woman.¹⁶¹ The adjective "*précieuse*" connotes

¹⁵⁹ Pauline Auzou created at least one other contemporary genre scene featuring Empress Marie-Louise, *The Farewell of Marie-Louise and her family in Vienna on March 13, 1810* (Salon of 1812; Musée national du Château, Versailles), which I discuss in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁰ Translation: "This charming painting will probably be very pleasing to Her Majesty the Empress. It exhibits a precise execution, a naivety and a grace that seems to belong only to the delicacy of a woman." Marie-Anne Dupuy, Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont and Elaine Williamson, editors, *Vivant Denon, director des musées sous le Consulate et l'Empire. Correspondance (1802-1815)*, 2 vols. (Paris, RMN, 1999), 1380.

¹⁶¹ Contemporaneous discussions connecting art making with sex have been discussed by a few art historians in recent years. See: Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 13-38, 180-222. For the connections between handling and sex during the Renaissance see: Fredericka Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance 'Virtuosa': Women Artists and the Language of Art history and Criticism*. I discuss the connections between art making and sex in Chapter One of this manuscript, 16.

a sense of delicacy and softness, and Auzou's "*execution*" refers to how she touched the canvas with her brush. Therefore, Auzou's "*execution très précieuse*" links her handling, to her femininity. Critics who believed in the connection between handling and sex believed it was "natural" for women artists' works to contain an innate softness and gentleness.¹⁶² As an artist and woman, Denon suggests that Marie-Louise would appreciate the painting's "*execution très précieuse*,"

The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne documents the first few moments of Marie-Louise's arrival at Compiègne Palace on March 28, 1810. Marie-Louise, dressed in a red velvet traveling gown trimmed with gold brocade and wearing a matching red hat decorated with a white feather, graciously extends her hand to accept a floral wreath from a young blond-haired girl directly in front of her. Dressed in a military uniform, Emperor Napoleon stands at her left side, gazing lovingly at his new bride with his hands clasped. Other young girls crowd around Marie-Louise, clamoring to shower the new empress with additional floral wreaths, nosegays, and a large basket of flowers. Another girl in the right foreground of the image wears a crown of red roses and clutches a vase of flowers under her left arm while strewing flowers on the green carpet in front of her.¹⁶³

Auzou's image records faithfully the appearances of both Napoleon and Marie-Louise. In fact, the portraits and poses of the imperial couple are very similar to those found in contemporaneous prints published in commemoration of the imperial marriage that were

¹⁶² Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 47.

¹⁶³ Marie-Louise is often shown with flowers, likely an allusion to her youth and the prosperity the union will hopefully bring to the French nation. I discuss this idea in "Return to Allegory: Marie-Louise and the French tradition of allegorical portraiture" and "Fabrication, Fireworks, and Phantasmagoria" which are located at the end of this chapter.

widely circulated throughout the empire.¹⁶⁴ Marie-Louise's portrait is recognizable thanks to her trademark long, Habsburg jaw, blond-hair and blue eyes. Auzou spent a great deal of time on the portraits of the young girls, in particular, devoting at least three known preparatory sketches to their portraits.¹⁶⁵ In these preparatory sketches, Auzou offers a variety of poses and facial features, studies consistent with the individualized images of the young girls in her finished painting.

Auzou's image adheres closely to contemporary reports of the event. Every aspect of Marie-Louise's arrival at Compiègne was carefully documented in prints and newspapers, to which Auzou would have had easy access in Paris. *Journal de l'Empire*, for example, refers to Marie-Louise's arrival at Compiègne in issues dated March 29-31, 1810.¹⁶⁶ A published passage recited by the young girls while presenting Marie-Louise flowers at the event was also printed. This passage emphasizes the virtue of the young empress and the young, French girls who welcome her:

*Quand partout sur votre passage?
Vous avez embelli le tableau de grandeurs,
Vous avez daigné peut-être, indulgent à notre age,
Accueilli ce tribut de fleurs;
Vous accepterez notre homage*

¹⁶⁴ See: *Marie-Louise Impératrice des Français et Reine d'Italie en Habit de Cérémonie le Jour de son Mariage, le 2 avril 1810*. Engraving. 26 x 19.4 cm. Bibliothèque National de France, Paris and *Napoléon Ier en Habit de Cérémonie le Jour de son Mariage avec Marie-Louise d'Autriche, le 2 avril 1810 N° 10*, Jean Rue Saint Jean de Beauvais, Paris. Engraving. 26.8 x 19.9 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

¹⁶⁵ The three known preparatory drawings made for Auzou's *Arrival of Her Majesty Empress Marie-Louise at Compiègne* are: *Study of Ladies-in-Waiting*, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 18 x 22 ½ in., *Etude pour les deux tableaux du Musée de Versailles, Study of a Lady in Waiting with a Basket in her hand*, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 13 ½ x 7 ½ in., and *Study of a Lady-in-Waiting Holding a Vase*, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 18 x 11 ¼ in. Drawings were referenced in Galerie Jean François Baroni, *Sélection de dessins et du XIXe siècle*. Salon du Dessin à Paris, Mars au 2 avril, 2000.

¹⁶⁶ "Empire Français," *Journal de l'Empire*, March 29, 1810. This article is divided into sections that correspond with various geographic locations in France. See sections: "Compiègne, 26 mars" and "Paris, 28 mars." The events surrounding Marie-Louise's arrival at Compiègne are also discussed in the March 30 and March 31 issues of *Journal de l'Empire*.

*Doux comme vous vertus et pour comme nos coeurs...*¹⁶⁷

In this verse, the virtue of the young empress is compared to the pure hearts of the girls who adore her in Auzou's image.

Auzou's scene takes place in an opulent interior consistent with Napoleonic palace interiors, but does not offer a precise scene of the gallery at Compiègne palace, suggesting that Auzou never actually visited the palace itself. Cast in shadow, the background consists of decorative gilded gold columns and other insignia, and serves as a stage for the main event, anchoring the scene of Marie-Louise's adoration by both her husband and the young girls dressed in white. In the open doorway to the left of the central figure grouping, a well-dressed gentleman wearing a blue-velvet coat pauses at the doorway, looking in at the ball that is underway in honor of the imperial marriage. A fashionably dressed couple gazes beyond the gentleman clad in blue velvet to catch a glimpse of Marie-Louise and Napoleon.

The couple staring at the imperial couple from the open doorway and the young girls that greet them, offer a signal to the audience of the painting. Like the couple staring transfixed at the imperial couple, so the viewer should gaze at the painting, immersed in Auzou's portrayal of Marie-Louise's first few hours at Compiègne. Similar to David's famous *Coronation of Napoleon* and Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louise*, Auzou portrays a significant, though suspended, action in this scene, the adoration of the empress. As viewers we are encouraged to become caught up in the significance of the event and the regal bearing of the new consort, erasing the troubling years of the Revolution and Napoleon's divorce from the beloved Joséphine. French citizens should mirror the behavior

¹⁶⁷ AN O2 31 Translation: "When everywhere on your journey, you have decorated the paintings of great ones, you have maybe deigned, indulging our age, to welcome our flower tribute; Please accept our homage sweet like your virtue and our hearts."

of Napoleon, the young girls, and the couple paused at the doorway, who admire Marie-Louise's loveliness, generosity, and purity.

After returning to Compiègne following the marriage ceremony, Marie-Louise and Napoleon left France for a honeymoon trip to Belgium on April 27, 1810.¹⁶⁸ Napoleon's decision to travel to Antwerp for his honeymoon was a strategic one, since it was a territory formerly a part of the Austrian Netherlands and now ruled by Napoleon. Members of the Habsburg dynasty controlled this region from 1482-1794, when the First French Republic forces defeated the Coalition army at the Battle of Fleurus.¹⁶⁹ This victory prompted the complete withdrawal of Coalition troops from Belgium, allowing French forces to push into the previous realm of the Habsburg Netherlands. Marie-Louise's familiar physiognomic features that mark her as an Austrian Habsburg showcase her illustrious heritage and her ability to rally disillusioned former citizens of the Austrian Habsburg Empire. The imperial couple arrived at the port of Antwerp on May 1, an event Crépin captures in his painting, *The Arrival of Napoleon I and Marie-Louise in Antwerp* (Salon of 1810; Fondation Dosne-Thiers, Paris). Like Auzou, Crépin encourages careful attention to the details of the scene and access to imperial celebrities, while offering an accurate glimpse of an important history event.

Crépin presents a bustling port scene filled with merriment and exuberant onlookers, indicating that the residents of Antwerp are overjoyed to greet the new empress.¹⁷⁰ According

¹⁶⁸ Marie-Louise wrote her friend Victoria de Poutet a letter that was signed and dated April 24, 1810 while she was at Compiègne. This letter immediately precedes her trip to Antwerp. This letter is currently in the Fondation Dosne-Thiers, Paris. See: Hélène Meyer, "Fastes monarchiques à l'heure d'une idylle: de la rencontre à la lune de miel," in *1810, La Politique et l'Amour: Napoléon et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 88-90.

¹⁶⁹ The Coalition army was comprised of soldiers from Great Britain, Hanover, the Dutch Republic, and the Austrian Habsburgs.

¹⁷⁰ *Journal d'Empire* does not offer much of a description of this event, but mentions that the occasion of the imperial marriage was elaborately celebrated in Antwerp. See: "Empire Français, Anvers, 25 avril," *Journal d'Empire*, April 29, 1810.

to Arthur Leon Imbert de Saint-Armand, when the imperial entourage arrived within sight of the arsenal at Antwerp, “all ships frigates, corvettes, and gunboats drew up in line, and Marie-Louise passed under the fire of a thousand canons thundering in her honor.”¹⁷¹ The smoky atmosphere of Crépin’s painting accurately depicts the thunderous canon fire that, no doubt, just preceded Marie-Louise’s disembarkation. Sailors wave their caps enthusiastically from the masts of a large French frigate in the right background. A smaller boat full of well-dressed men and women, who are likely high-ranking citizens of Antwerp, pulls alongside the imperial barge to greet the imperial cortège. On shore, people peer out of tall buildings to get a glimpse of the couple, and some wave. A large group of military officers await Napoleon and Marie-Louise on shore, lingering to escort them to the imperial carriage pulled by six white horses, and emblazoned with an “N.”

Crépin follows the same style of contemporaneous history painting, presenting meticulous, if not immediately recognizable, portraits of all the major figures in attendance. Dressed in his green Colonel of the Cavalry uniform, Napoleon stands on Netherlandish soil. He clasps the hand of his new bride, who is elegantly attired in a bejeweled cream empire-waist gown and wears a diamond tiara. She again appears as an Austrian Habsburg with her honey-blond hair, heavily-lidded blue eyes, and Habsburg jaw. Waiting to disembark behind Marie-Louise are other aristocratic women, likely Caroline Murat and Pauline Borghese, whose husband Camillo Borghese offers his hand to assist the ladies as they exit the barge. What is unusual about the portraits of these two Bonaparte women is that their appearance imitates that of Marie-Louise; they appear with nearly identical facial features, complexions,

¹⁷¹ Arthur Leon Imbert De Saint-Armand, *The Happy Days of Empress Marie-Louise*, trans. Thomas Sergeant Perry (New York: C. Schribder’s Sons, 1890), 101.

and hair color. This representation of Napoleon's sisters is quite unusual since all other portraits depict Caroline and Pauline with dark hair.¹⁷² Crépin shows solidarity among the women in Napoleon's court thanks to their similar appearance, while underscoring the fact that this important city was a former territory of the Habsburgs. In other words, Crépin draws attention to France's connection with the Habsburg empire by choosing to present all the women of the imperial cortège as Marie-Louise's look-a-likes. Sarah Cohen mentions that the presence of other court ladies surrounding the queen in historical paintings increases the potency of her image, showcasing and augmenting her character.¹⁷³ Pauline and Caroline multiply Marie-Louise's Habsburg identity while displaying their connection to each other as elite women of Napoleon's court.¹⁷⁴ Marie-Louise's power as an Austrian-Habsburg in Antwerp becomes even more highly charged as a unifying figure for Napoleon's government among this company of other court ladies with their recently acquired blond-hair and blue-eyes.

Crépin likely looked towards Peter Paul Rubens's *The Disembarkation at Marseilles* while constructing his *The Arrival of Napoleon I and Marie-Louise at Antwerp*. Rubens, an Antwerp native, depicts the actual historical event of Marie de' Medici's arrival in France, adding allegorical flourishes. Marie walks down the gangplank towards French soil amidst allegorical figures, such as Fame, France, Neptune, and three Nereids, that herald her arrival

¹⁷² For portraits of Caroline Murat and Pauline Borghese with dark hair see: Robert Lefèvre's *Princess Pauline Borghese* (1810; Musée National du Château, Versailles), which was discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation, and François Gérard's *Caroline Bonaparte, Queen of Naples, and her children* (early nineteenth century; Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles).

¹⁷³ Sarah R. Cohen, "Ruben's France: Gender and Personification in the Marie de' Medici cycle," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (September 2003), 490.

¹⁷⁴ I discussed the ways in which similarities of facial features and costuming created links between aristocratic women in the previous section.

in her new realm.¹⁷⁵ The allegorical figure representing France wears a fleur-de-lys cape and military helmet, and kneels to welcome the new queen with open arms. Commissioned by Marie de' Medici herself to rehabilitate her public image, Rubens's portrayal showcases her allegiance to France even after she transgressed traditional protocol for the behavior of a queen regent and former queen, a problem that forced her son, Louis XIII, to banish her temporarily from the realm.¹⁷⁶ In Crépin's image, Marie-Louise also walks down a gangplank before alighting on shore, where a full military retinue, but no allegorical figures, welcomes her. The artist's decision to depict Marie-Louise within a composition similar to Rubens's *The Disembarkation at Marseilles* is a curious one; Marie de' Medici notoriously attempted to hold on to the power of the regency even after her son came of age, a transgression the French empire would not want to encourage. Perhaps Crépin thought as a native of Antwerp, Rubens's authorship was enough to chase the specter of Marie de' Medici from his image of Marie-Louise, or more interestingly, felt that the new empress's illustrious Habsburg lineage and virtuous demeanor would never permit her to overstep her boundaries as consort.¹⁷⁷

Crépin's image transforms an *ancien régime* event into one relevant to the imperial government. Arrival imagery has been made relevant again, but the message is similar:

¹⁷⁵ For more information on Peter Paul Rubens' Marie de' Medici cycle see: Sarah Cohen, "Rubens's France: Gender and Personification in the Marie de' Medici Cycle," Geraldine A. Johnson, "Pictures Fit for a Queen" Peter Paul Rubens and the Marie de Medici cycle," in *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History after Postmodernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Ronald Millen, *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures: A New Reading of Rubens' Life of Marie de' Medici* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989).

¹⁷⁶ For further reading on the biography of Marie de' Medici see: Philippe Delorme, *Marie de Médici* (Paris: Pygmalion, 1998); Françoise Kermina, *Marie de Médicis: Reine, Régente et rebelle* (Paris: Perrin, 1979). For a detailed look at Marie de' Medici as regent see: Katherine Crawford, "Contesting the Politics of the State: Marie de Medici, Royal Familiarity, and Gender Performance, 1610-1643," in *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France*.

¹⁷⁷ It is also possible that Crépin knew Rubens' image, but did not know the problematic history of Marie de' Medici.

Marie-Louise is a dignified, regal queen, who is dedicated to the preservation of the French realm. Her presence in Antwerp, a territory formerly governed by the Habsburgs, underscores both her fealty to Napoleon and her importance as a unifying figure in Napoleon's empire. Her recognizable portrait and its multiplicity in the likenesses of her sister-in-laws work to consolidate Napoleon's dominion over this area of the former Habsburg Netherlands, promoting peaceful relations between Antwerp and its current ruler, Napoleon.

Both Auzou and Crépin draw from the techniques used by Troubadour painters, such as meticulous detailing, luxurious materials, and moments of suspended action, drawing the viewer in with accurately detailed compositions and inviting the viewer to look closely at luxurious materials. The figures are placed so as to invite us to witness history, to envision ourselves as observers at the events represented. In many ways, these paintings almost serve as illustrations to the newspaper articles that describe these important imperial events. Auzou and Crépin both offer a first glimpse of the virtuous empress and her desired effects on the French nation.

Panoramic Portrayals: Accuracy, Realism, and Spectatorship

During Napoleon's reign, panoramas were immensely popular with the French public.¹⁷⁸ In publically displayed panoramic paintings, artists represented scenes with an obsessive attention to detail, creating spectacles in which viewers could lose themselves.

¹⁷⁸ For more information on panoramas in France see: François Robichon, "Les panoramas en France au XIXe siècle," Ph.D. Dissertation. (University of Paris X, Nanterre, 1982). For a discussion of panorama that explains the phenomenon in different geographic locations see: Bernard Comment, *The Painted Panorama*, trans. Anne-Marie Glashen (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2000); Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992). Panoramas are related to phantasmagoria and magic lantern shows, which I discuss in the last section of this chapter.

Although producing paintings on a smaller scale, artists such Alexandre-Benoît-Jean Dufay (1770-1844), called Casanova, Etienne-Barthélemy Garnier (1759-1849), and Matthieu-Ignace van Brée (1773-1839), drew from the format of panorama paintings, linking their compositions with this popular form of nineteenth-century entertainment. In this section, I demonstrate that panoramic paintings inspired Casanova, Garnier, and van Brée, while facilitating compositions that parallel Napoleonic historical painting.

Nineteenth-century panoramas have their roots in images dating to the French Revolution, when involvement in important events was seen as part of a citizen's rights. Consider, for example, the popularity of watching guillotine executions, participating in public festivals, and attending theater productions.¹⁷⁹ Revolutionary *fêtes* allowed the French access to important historical persons, recreating historical events that took place in private on a very public stage.¹⁸⁰ Many of the most popular panoramas dating to the Empire depicted moments that allowed spectators to witness events that proclaimed the military prowess and benevolence of Napoleon, a propagandistic demonstration of French nationalism.

Panoramiste Pierre Prévost created several panoramic views that attracted many visitors in Paris, including an 1803 panorama depicting Napoleon bestowing honors on the soldiers at the *fête nationale* of 1802, and the *Panorama of Tilsit* (1808-1809), which decorated the new rotunda on the Boulevard des Capucines and depicted the meeting between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander of Russia in 1807.¹⁸¹ Prévost's *Panorama of Wagram*, which meticulously

¹⁷⁹ The idea that early nineteenth-century panoramas popularity stemmed from events and popular entertainments during the French revolution can be found in Samuels, 40. For additional information on the importance on the historical significance of spectatorship see: Marie-Hélène Huet, *Rehearsing the Revolution: The Staging of Marat's Death, 1793-1794*, trans. Robert Hurley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Mona Ozuf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789-1799* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976).

¹⁸⁰ Samuels, 40.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

reconstructed Napoleon's victory over Austrian forces in 1809, occupied the same rotunda on the Boulevard des Capucines from 1810 to 1811.¹⁸² The display of the *Panorama of Wagram* coordinated with Napoleon's marriage to the daughter of the defeated Austrian emperor, visually reproducing Francis II's defeat, which paved the way for the imperial marriage negotiations. Visitors could be immersed in these great moments of Napoleonic history and could be, essentially, eyewitnesses without ever leaving Paris. These spectacular historical displays were also affordable, with tickets to view them ranging from 1.30 to 2 francs, but unfortunately none of the panoramas survive; they were all destroyed following their run.¹⁸³

The nineteenth-century panorama displays did more than facilitate active involvement with history at a reasonable admission price; they reconstructed history, reshaping it so that it squeezes out, or, at the very least, displaces the turbulent years of the Revolution, General Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and Napoleonic wars.¹⁸⁴ As Maurice Samuels discusses, the French people wanted to see realistic portrayals of contemporaneous events, because the tumultuous events of the Revolution and Napoleon's rise to power were so unbelievable and unreal.¹⁸⁵ They wanted to make the intangibility of historical events that changed their future more tangible; to make them appear as real as possible. Early nineteenth-century audiences, then, wanted to be thrilled by the realness of the images they witnessed, resulting in the popularity

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 31. As Samuels explains on p. 31, note 50, François Robichon stated in his dissertation that prices for admission to panoramas ranged from 1.50 to 2 francs per ticket, but panoramas that had been on display longer could be seen for less. See: François Robichon, "Panoramas en France," 159. Samuels states that the *Panorama d'Anvers* charged 1.30 for admission in 1814, but charged more when it first opened in 1812.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 35-36.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 35.

of panoramas. Their desire to be transported by viewing panoramas is documented in accounts detailing spectators' reactions to the realism of the scene displayed.¹⁸⁶

The goal of these panoramas was to offer the spectators as much information about the event as possible, and provided horizontally-oriented expansive views populated with small figures. Essentially large circular canvases, panoramas were intended to be viewed from a centrally placed platform in a building specifically designed for their viewing. The viewer would be surrounded on all sides by the canvas, absorbed by history. As Samuels describes, "...the panorama achieved its effect by erasing all points of comparison between the horizon and the representation. Lit only from above by windows placed just below the circular roof, so that the light shone only on the canvas and not on the viewer, the picture took on the scale and depth of a "real" landscape."¹⁸⁷ The goal of the panorama, as of contemporaneous history painting, was to blur distinctions between the past and present, the real and unreal, offering dazzlingly intricate images that suspended time and included the viewer.

The viewers of these panoramas become transported to significant historical events, but at a safe distance from the central action. Panoramas could not offer a sense of the passage of time, and focused only on the most important moment or the one that determined the event's outcome. Panoramas provided an overview of events and not individualized

¹⁸⁶ Maurice Samuels quotes two interesting spectator reactions to viewing panoramas, including the anecdote that spectators linked the realism of the panoramas to the grapes painted by Zeuxis that fooled birds into pecking at them. See A.L. Castellan, "Sur les panorams," *Le Moniteur Universe*, May 20, 1812, 552. Found in Samuels, 34-35, note 60. Samuels recounts an additional anecdote about a woman who felt seasick and smelled tar while looking at a panorama depicting a naval scene. Samuel cites "Panorama de Navarin," *Cabinet de Lecture*, February 4, 1831. See ;Samuels, 35, note 61.

¹⁸⁷ Samuels, 30.

people, a major difference from the history paintings discussed in the previous sections.¹⁸⁸

The remote location of the viewer in relation to the event portrayed ensured that the viewer remain a polite onlooker who was a passive participant both mentally and physically.

Immersed in the event portrayed, spectators were encouraged to become overwhelmed by the realness of the event and awed by the power of the empire, forgetting all the bloodshed that led up to Napoleon's reign.

Some paintings from this period display the same compositional devices as panoramas, and follow on the heels of the immensely popular large-scale versions, producing smaller-scale panoramic paintings that offer spectators a comprehensive view of the event portrayed.¹⁸⁹ Étienne-Barthélemy Garnier's *Entrance of Napoleon and Marie-Louise at the Tuileries on April 2, 1810* features a distant view of the imperial procession arriving in Paris from Saint-Cloud, where Napoleon and Marie-Louise's civil marriage ceremony took place in the *Grande Galerie du palais* on April 1. This image satisfies curiosity, by allowing Salon-goers who, surely, were unable to attend the original event, an accurate visual account. A large-scale contemporary history painting measuring approximately 10 ft. 8 ½ inches x 16 ft. 2 7/8 inches, Garnier's composition positions the viewer above the event portrayed, and offers an expansive, detailed view of the imperial cortège.¹⁹⁰ Like the popular panoramas that

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 39.

¹⁸⁹ There are several paintings dating from the 1809-1810 that offer panoramic views of Napoleon's military exploits including Antoine-Pierre Mongin's *Bivouac of Napoleon at Ebersberg on May 4, 1809* (Musée National du Château, Versailles). Napoleon's military victory over Austria were depicted in drawings such as Benjamin Zix and Constant Bourgeois, *Wrapping tables on the terrace of the Belvedere Palace, June 1809* (Private Collection), Louis-Philippe Crépin, *The Bombardment of Vienna: Destruction of the ramparts on May 11, 1809* (Private collection), and Benjamin Zix, *Hussard Procession for the Emperor at Schönbrunn Palace* (Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Rueil-Malmaison).

¹⁹⁰ I converted the dimensions to inches from meters. This painting measures 3.27 x 4.95 meters.

invited one to become engrossed in history, Garnier creates a composition that encourages viewers to suspend their sense of time and become lost in the event portrayed.

Garnier offers an accurate description of the entry procession in his composition. Napoleon and Marie-Louise's procession entered Paris through the Arc de Triomphe, which was not quite finished at the time; it was temporarily finished for this procession with the aid of wood and canvas. After passing under the Arc de Triomphe, the cortège continued down the Champs d'Elysées to the Tuileries, where the couple walked to the *Salon Carré* of the Louvre for their religious ceremony. The effect of all of these figures in Garnier's scene, at first glance, mirrors the densely populated canvas of David's *The Coronation of Napoleon*. What is different, however, is the viewer's orientation. When seeing Garnier's version, the viewer appears far away and above the action; as passive observers; individuals are indiscernible from the distant vantage point. The artist offers a detailed vision of the event; carriage processions, military guards, and the Arc de Triomphe are all visible in the painting, but Garnier places viewers so far away from the actual event that individuals cannot be identified. Although the viewer can infer the position of the imperial cortège, members of the National Guard, and spectators, the artist does not offer exact portraits of historical persons. The goal, then, is to create an illusion of witnessing the event; Garnier reports the event through representation. Viewers are asked to envision all the particulars of the imperial couple's arrival, but are not asked to see themselves as present, recreating the same goal of publically-displayed panoramas.

Entry scenes from the *ancien régime* offer a precedent for Garnier's *Entrance of Napoleon and Marie-Louise at the Tuileries*. In *Entrance of Monseigneur le Dauphin and Madame la Dauphine in Paris on June 8, 1773*, an anonymous printmaker also depicts an

entry scene, but from a very different vantage point.¹⁹¹ The artist employs a combined perspective to offer an intimate view of the royal couple, Marie-Antoinette and the future Louis XVI, and their close friends in the carriage with a disorienting birds-eye view of the Seine and Louvre palace at the far left of the composition as a way to document the event as taking place in Paris. Another print by Léonard Gaultier depicts Anne of Austria entering Paris on a chariot drawn by two unicorns. In this scene, the royal cortège appears in the foreground amid allegorical figures as it approaches the gates to Paris, which appears as a walled medieval city to the right. In both prints, however, there are clear portraits of the key characters in the narrative of royal entry and the viewer is situated in a way that encourages the identification of figures and a certain level of intimacy.¹⁹² Although they display the same goal of documenting and recording history, these prints are not panoramas, indicating the innovativeness of panorama-inspired paintings while demonstrating the importance of arrival imagery during the *ancien régime*, creating yet another link between the empire and France's monarchical past.

Casanova's panorama-inspired painting, *The Marriage Banquet in the Salle de Spectacles at the Tuileries on April 2, 1810*, depicts the celebratory dinner following the religious ceremony at the Louvre on April 2. Although a smaller painting, Casanova uses many of the same compositional devices as those found in Garnier's *Entrance of Napoleon and Marie-Louise at the Tuileries*, such as a vantage point removed from the action of the

¹⁹¹ *Entrée de Monseigneur le Dauphin et de Madame la Dauphine à Paris le huit juin 1773*. n.d. Engraving, 68 x 48,5 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

¹⁹² Léonard Gaultier, *Anne d'Autriche, assise dans un char traîné par deux licornes, fait son entrée dans la ville de Paris*. 1612-1614. Published with permission of the king. Bibliothèque National de France, Paris.

central event, and an expansive view of the scene below.¹⁹³ Casanova depicts Napoleon and Marie-Louise at the center of a semi-circular table in the *Salle des Spectacles* at the Tuileries, where the formal dinner took place; the table is oriented horizontally, mirroring the orientation of the painting and over-emphasizing its width. Marie-Louise wears her familiar bejeweled white empire-waist gown seen in Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon I and Archduchess Marie-Louise*; she appears very animated with her arms out-stretched in amazement at the lavish banquet before her. Napoleon wears the same sixteenth-century costume seen in Rouget's painting as he looks adoringly, and even, indulgently at his bride. The consistency of costuming from the marriage ceremony to the celebratory banquet adds to the realness of the event. Situated on a stage-like platform covered in red carpeting decorated with Napoleonic bees, the imperial couple and their family are on display.

The theatrical feeling of Casanova's painting is enhanced by the history of the space in the Tuileries where the banquet took place. Marie-Louise and their retinue are seated in the *salle de spectacles*, also called the *salle des machines*, which was used as a theater during the *ancien régime*, and was later used for meetings of the National Convention (1792-1795) beginning on May 10, 1793. The National Convention continued to meet in the *salles des spectacles* in the Tuileries until The Directory succeeded it. A vast and richly appointed room, the *salle des spectacles* occupied an important place in *ancien régime* and Revolutionary history, an appropriate place to stage the first state event after the imperial marriage. In Casanova's image, the decorations, which likely included Ls for Louis, have been modified to reflect Napoleonic iconography, complete with laurel leaves and Ns.

¹⁹³ Casanova's *The Marriage Banquet in the Salle de Spectacles at the Tuileries on April 2, 1810* measures 4 ft. 10 21/32 inches x 7 ft. 8 29/32

Casanova's *The Marriage Banquet* invites viewers to identify imperial celebrities as in Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon I and Archduchess Marie-Louise*. Seated on either side of the newly weds are Napoleon's mother, Laetizia Ramolino, and his brothers, and sisters.¹⁹⁴ Spectators crowd the head table from all sides, watching the event. They pour into the space both directly behind the semi-circular table and behind partitions to the left and right of the table. The onlookers are fashionably dressed and converse with one another as they look on with interest. The viewer of this painting seems to look down on the event, indicating that her location is likely a box seat far above the imperial banquet, a location reinforcing the theatrical experience.

Public meals with members of the royal family are traditional components of marriage celebrations, dating to the *ancien régime*. During the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI, the royal family would dine publically after important events, such as coronations, births, and weddings.¹⁹⁵ Historian Steven Adams describes a dinner celebrating the marriage of the future Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette at the opera at Versailles in 1770.¹⁹⁶ At this event, the aristocratic elites surrounded the dauphin and Marie-Antoinette while onlookers sat in the auditorium so they too could catch a glimpse.¹⁹⁷ A print depicting an unknown

¹⁹⁴ Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine's *Déscriptions des ceremonies et des fêtes qui ont lieu pour le mariage de S.M. l'Empereur Napoléon avec S.A.I. Madame l'archiduchesse Marie-Louise d'Autriche de 1810* (Paris: Didot, 1810), unpaginated. See also: Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, *Plan de la Salle de Spectacle du Palais des Tuileries*, 1810, engraving 28 cm x 44 cm within in the above cited document for a chart of the seating arrangement. This document lists all the names and places of the guests at the imperial banquet.

¹⁹⁵ *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe: XVIIème – XIXème siècles*. Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, November 3, 1993- February 27, 1994. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), 62-63

¹⁹⁶ Steven Adams, "Sèvres Porcelain and the Articulation of Imperial Identity in Napoleonic France," *Journal of Design History*, 20, (no. 3): 2007, 199.

¹⁹⁷ *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe: XVIIème – XIXème siècles.*, 49. See also: Adams, 199 and 204, note 81.

festin royal illustrates the floor plan for these events; Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette appear in the background of the print dining on a stage, while courtiers look on, enjoying their meals at separate tables below the stage.¹⁹⁸ Strict etiquette governed both the dinner of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette and Napoleon and Marie Louise, as evidenced in the seating arrangements and formality of both events.¹⁹⁹ In both images, the royal couples were meant to be viewed, but from a distance.

Casanova configured space in a way similar to that of Garnier. We watch the banquet from a distance, marking our position as remote and removed from the inner circle of the imperial court. There are no illusions of participation. The sheer number of people assembled in Casanova's space and the opulent interior associated with the *ancien régime* and Revolutionary past bombard the viewer with history; the panoramic orientation of the canvas provides documentation of the marriage banquet, while asking the viewer to be awed by the magnificence of the court spectacle. Casanova's use of small figures allows him to underscore the inaccessibility of the event and the imperial family, over-emphasizing the distance between spectator and event.

Panoramas continued to serve the interests of the imperial state following the marriage ceremony. Native Antwerp artist Matthieu-Ignace van Brée captured a panoramic scene from the imperial couple's honeymoon trip to Antwerp on May 2. Van Brée's *Napoleon and Marie-Louise attending the launch of the ship Friedland at the port of Antwerp on May 2, 1810* (1810; Musée de la Légion d'honneur, Paris) is a much smaller

¹⁹⁸ Charles Emmanuel Patas, *Le Festin Royal*, 1775. Engraving, 15.4 x 21.3 cm. Published in Paris. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. A similar arrangement is seen in a print detailing the royal meal following the coronation of Charles X of France (1757-1838). See: L. Courtin and Victor Adam, *Le Festin Royal*. Lithograph. 28 x 36 cm. Paris, Lithographie de Langlumé. BNF, Paris.

¹⁹⁹ *Etiquette du palais impérial*, (Paris: Imprimeur Impériale, 1808). See also: Adams, 199 and 204, note 82; *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe: XVIIème – XIXème*, 202.

painting than those by Garnier and Casanova, but still demonstrates a debt to panoramic imagery in its desire to document and record rather than to showcase recognizable historical persons and luxurious materials.²⁰⁰

Van Brée depicts a packed scene full of people, including the imperial couple seated under a red imperial canopy, and records an actual historical event. According to accounts, after inspecting the fleet, Napoleon and Marie-Louise attended the launch of the *Friedland*, a ship with 80 cannons that was the largest vessel built at Antwerp during this era.²⁰¹ *Friedland* was named after the Battle of Friedland (June, 14 1807), the site of a French victory over Russian forces that provided a decisive end to the War of the Fourth Coalition. Van Brée offers the suggestion of a crowd amid a port where signs of boat making are quite evident in the wooden boat frames that litter the background. The scene depicts the actual launching of the boat, when *Friedland* hits the water for the first time, no doubt a momentous occasion that alludes to the many subsequent naval victories Napoleon desired.

Van Brée created another meticulously rendered painting entitled *Napoleon and Marie-Louise visiting the squadron anchored at Antwerp* (1810; Musée National du Château, Versailles). Emphasized in this image is the expansive naval landscape. Napoleon, Marie-Louise, and their retinue appear on the shore, covered in shadow, while admiring the fleet. The imperial couple appears incredibly small in comparison with the massive ships in the harbor and there is no hint of individualized portraiture. With these two images, van Brée depicts an important event in French military history, and the viewers of his canvas are asked

²⁰⁰ Matthieu-Ignace van Brée's *Napoleon and Marie-Louise attending the launch of the ship Friedland at the port of Antwerp on May 2, 1810* measures 2 feet 3 9/18 inches x 3 feet 11 1/4 inches.

²⁰¹ 1810, *La politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 196, catalogue entry 203.

to marvel on the realness of the artist's depiction while simultaneously being in awe of the military might of Napoleon. As with other panoramas, the focus is on the actual event portrayed, and not the identification of celebrities, although the presence of the imperial couple, especially in van Brée's *Napoleon and Marie-Louise attending the launch of the ship Friedland*, is duly noted thanks to the red canopy suspended over the couple's seating area.

Van Brée, Casanova, and Garnier all present views of important events illustrated in Napoleonic and *ancien régime* imagery. These obsessively detailed scenes from the first few weeks of Marie-Louise's reign as empress are conceived for contemporary audiences thanks to their panoramic views; positioned at a rather distant vantage point, the focus is on showcasing events and not people. Panoramas of these particular scenes exploit the renewed interest in history during this period, reifying the link between the *ancien régime*, Revolutionary past, and Napoleon's empire. Richard Terdiman's concept of a "memory crisis" offers some insight into these meticulously detailed history paintings. Samuels explains Terdiman's concept, stating: "the renewed interest in all forms of history during the Post-Revolutionary period became a substitute for memory's loss: whereas memory is organic, the product of centuries of tradition, history is constructed, imposed on events to explain changes that can no longer be assimilated by a culture in transition."²⁰² The construction of history in these paintings as a spectacular, awe-inspiring event full of thousands of people, both participants and spectators, amid all the pomp and circumstance of the *ancien régime* implants Napoleon's empire within the imperial construction of history. Marie-Louise's presence at these stands in for the women in the *ancien régime*, creating a succession between previous French consorts and the Habsburg Archduchess Marie-Louise.

²⁰² Samuels, 36. See also: Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

By harnessing the popularity and visibility of panoramic images, these paintings construct a new reality for the French nation and Napoleon's regime, one that is immediately recognizable as different, based on these paintings' shared traits with the popular panoramas, while demonstrating Napoleon's debt to past monarchical tradition.

Return to Allegory: Marie-Louise and the French tradition of allegorical portraiture

Napoleon and his art administration did not only commission and purchase history paintings commemorating recent events, but also they invested in allegorical imagery, indicating their recognition of this genre's ability to modify abstract ideas and concepts in glorifying the imperial regime and French nation. In this section, I focus on the return of allegorical imagery during Napoleon's regime, offering an in-depth analysis of Antoine-François Callet's *The August Alliance* to show how Napoleonic-era artists drew from *ancien régime* iconographical schemas and compositions. Like other Napoleonic-era paintings, Callet bombards the viewer with so many figures that one is tempted to spend more time identifying them than questioning the impact of Marie-Louise's new position as Napoleon's wife. Several allegorical figures escort Marie-Louise into French territory, accompanying her to Braunau, a village located on the French and Austrian border, where she arrived on March 16, 1810. By choosing to surround Marie-Louise with allegorical figures, Callet locates Marie-Louise within the centuries-old system of allegorical portraiture, a genre that became popular for depicting aristocratic women in the sixteenth century. Allegorical portraits equip artists with ways to describe a woman's aristocratic position and value to the French government through abstracted terms. Like the work of earlier artists producing work in this genre, such as Simon Vouet *Portrait of Anne of Austria as Minerva* (1640s; The Hermitage,

St. Petersburg), Callet highlights Marie-Louise's fitness as consort, displaying her as a unifying figure for Napoleon's empire and envisioning her ideal feminine virtue: her youth, submission to her father's will, and interest in the arts.

In Callet's image, a beautiful and youthful Marie-Louise, dressed all in white and draped in her coronation robes, rides on a golden victory chariot drawn by four white horses driven by cupids. Mars, who appears with the facial features of Napoleon, stands on her chariot in a protective and victorious stance. Marie-Louise wears a veiled crown bejeweled with rubies and sapphires while clutching a miniature portrait of Napoleon to her breast; this miniature directly alludes to one given to Marie-Louise when she signed the betrothal agreement in Vienna.²⁰³ Pictured among allegorical and mythological figures, Marie-Louise journeys from the Austrian territory ruled by her father towards France, where she will meet her future husband at the Imperial palace in Compiègne.²⁰⁴ A company of French infantrymen in the left foreground lead the procession. She appears with Austrian territory behind her as she enters Braunau, which was a part of the Confederation of the Rhine. The infantrymen and location of Marie-Louise's arrival are real, but Callet elevates Marie-Louise's entry into French territory to mythical proportions.

Following French monarchical tradition, Marie-Louise was invested as French immediately before entering Braunau. Her investiture took place in three pavilions with each opening from one to the other: the first pavilion was Austrian, followed by a neutral pavilion, and culminating in the third, French pavilion.²⁰⁵ It was in the neutral, middle pavilion that the

²⁰³ Jean Tulard, "Jeux diplomatiques et problème dynastique: le mariage de Napoléon et Marie-Louise, in 1810, *La politique de l'amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 18.

²⁰⁴ Marie-Louise departed from Austria on March 14, 1810 and arrived in French territory at the Bavarian frontier on March 16.

²⁰⁵ Imbert de Saint Armand, *The Happy Days of Empress Marie-Louise*, 68.

necessary papers and contracts were signed, the dowry of five hundred thousand francs counted, and Marie-Louise's jewelry inventoried.²⁰⁶ The young empress watched this process while sitting on a throne.²⁰⁷ The ceremony concluded, Marie-Louise bid farewell to her Austrian party, and entered the French pavilion where Queen Caroline of Naples, Napoleon's sister, welcomed her along with the new ladies of her household. Queen Caroline supervised the rest of the process, which included discarding Marie-Louise's Austrian clothing, dressing her in fashionable Parisian clothing, and giving her a new French hairstyle.²⁰⁸ The Empress emerged from the French pavilion, the one closest to Braunau, fully French. This "Frenchification" ceremony imitated previous episodes in French history in which foreign princesses, such as Anne of Austria, Marie Leszczinska, and Marie-Antoinette, were passed over to their new, adopted country, divested of her foreign belongings, and then, proclaimed French.²⁰⁹ This episode near Braunau placed Marie-Louise within the tradition of French queenship by closely imitating this centuries-old process.

Callet shows us a fully invested and "French" Marie-Louise who is escorted into French territory by Napoleon as Mars. Dressed in gold-plated armor decorated with crowned imperial eagles, a red cape fastened at one shoulder and imperial Roman helmet, Napoleon as Mars dominates Callet's image as he escorts the new Empress and signals the completion of the investiture ceremony. His marriage to Marie-Louise brings with it legitimacy and cultural capital to the empire, and Napoleon in the guise of Mars strengthens his claim to be the heir

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 68-69.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Palmer, 96.

²⁰⁹ Imbert de Saint Armand, 67. Anne of Austria, Maria Leszczinska and Marie-Antoinette all endured similar investitures on the borderlands between France and their native countries.

of the ancient Roman emperors. In fact, Callet emulates Roman history, an era Napoleon often called on as a comparison to his own. The presence of a chariot refers to Roman chariots used in victory processions in which spoils of war were paraded through cities as demonstrations of imperial power. The triumphal arch, pictured in the right background of this image, refers to the actual arch in Braunau created in celebration of Marie-Louise's entrance into French territory; it is inscribed: "A Napoléon –A Marie-Louise, la ville Braunau."²¹⁰ The emperor's prowess on the battlefield and the negotiation table is illustrated in the figure of Mars, suggesting that it is the emperor himself who brings Marie-Louise to France as a spoil of war. Marie-Louise's appearance as a spoil of war in this instance, however, does not lessen her political prestige, but in fact, strengthens it. It is her lineage that helps substantiate Napoleon's claim that the French Empire is the heir to the ancient Roman Empire.

This image is not the first to portray Napoleon in the guise of Mars. Consider Antonio Canova's ill-fated sculpture *Napoleon as Peacemaker* (1803-1809; Apsley House, London), which imagines the emperor as a classical, heroic nude sculpture and was not well received by the French public.²¹¹ Callet also pictured Napoleon as Mars in *Allegory of the Battle of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805* (c.1807; Musées national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon). In this image, Napoleon charges into battle on a chariot accompanied by Victory figures. *The August Alliance* portrays Napoleon as Mars holding a gold staff topped with a victory, illustrating the impetus for the imperial marriage, Napoleon's defeat of Marie-Louise's father, while proclaiming that he has secured the former Austrian archduchess as his

²¹⁰ Translation: "To Napoleon – To Marie-Louise, The City of Braunau."

²¹¹ See: Christopher M.S. Johns, "Canova, Napoleon, and the Bonapartes," in *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe*, pp. 88-122.

bride. Riding in the chariot with Marie-Louise is Hymen, god of marriage, who holds the marriage torch, and *amors*, whose infantile features serve as reminders of the heirs to the throne that will hopefully soon follow. The *amors* rain pink roses upon her and trees begin to blossom; it is spring, a time of rebirth and renewal in France. Flora, goddess of springtime and fertility, leads the procession, wearing a circlet made of flowers and a classically-inspired blue tunic that exposes one breast. Since Marie-Louise has only just now entered into French territory, it is the new empress herself that causes this eruption of spring's fertility.

According to Callet's image, Marie-Louise's marriage to Napoleon ushers in an era of prosperity for the arts. Personifications of Sculpture, holding a bust of the emperor crowned with a gold acanthus leaf circlet, Drawing, who holds a rolled up scroll, and Painting, who holds an artist's palette, represent the fervor of creativity she will inspire. Apollo, recognizable by his lyre, gold cape, crown, and muses, further illustrates the future prosperity of France in music and the arts.

Personifications of France and the Confederation of the Rhine stand and kneel before the empress's chariot in the right foreground, paying tribute. Wearing a golden dress and red shawl decorated with Napoleonic bees, France carries a blue shield emblazoned with a gold-crowned imperial eagle and offers a scepter to Marie-Louise. A tyche wearing a mural crown kneels at the side of the chariot to the left of France, offering flowers to the young empress. Identifiable thanks to the keys at her feet, this tyche represents the Confederation of the Rhine and is an indication of the good fortune Marie-Louise brings into the French realm. Marie-Louise brings health to the nation of France as evidenced by Hygeia, who holds a caduceus and kneels next to the allegorical figure of France. A grieving figure of Austria

mourns Marie-Louise's departure, fleeing the scene on a chariot towards the triumphal arch, away from Braunau towards Austria, while Juno reigns over the scene high on a cloud. She is shown with the Three Fates, who controlled the "thread of life" for everyone from their birth until their death.²¹²

Marie-Louise brings health, springtime, and prosperity in the arts with her into France; this type of allegorical portrait draws directly from the *ancien régime*. Specifically, it recalls both the tradition of aristocratic women appearing in the guise of goddesses and their role in the establishment and continuation of Peace, a state deemed necessary for Abundance, both culturally and economically. To understand the *ancien régime* associations of Callet's *The August Alliance*, I now explore allegorical portraits of aristocratic women and allegorical images featuring Peace and Abundance, demonstrating how these images influenced Callet.

During the *ancien régime*, artists drew from allegorical figures to represent fantasies and virtues that enhanced and consolidated the images of the French government and its ruling classes. Callet returns to allegorical portraiture with *The August Alliance*, using the presence of these allegorical figures to showcase the importance of the imperial marriage, while proclaiming the goodness of Marie-Louise's character. Allegorical portraits of women as goddesses or other allegorical figures were a tradition that was well established in France

²¹² The Three Fates sit to the right of Juno on the cloud above the scene below. The Spinner, called Clotho or nona, spins the "thread of life" from her distaff onto a spindle and is directly to the right of Juno and holds her distaff. The Alloter, called Lachesis or Decima, measures the "thread of life" given to each person, and in this image she looks towards Juno while holding the thread. The Cutter, called Atropos or Morta, determines the manner of death and in this image she holds the end of the thread. The message is clear: the queen of the gods sanctions the imperial marriage and the marriage between Marie-Louise and Napoleon was planned by the fates from the beginning.

and began as early as the sixteenth century.²¹³ Early examples of allegorical female portraiture, such as Jean de Court's (act. 1555-1585), *Margaret, Queen of Navarre, as Minerva* (1555; Wallace Collection, London), exemplifies how the addition of allegorical iconography extolled the virtues of women, including their intellect, and wisdom.²¹⁴ As Dowley notes, Minerva was not only the goddess of war, but she also functioned as goddess of peace, and the arts that eras of peace ushered into the realm.²¹⁵ De Court includes a globe, owl, and large books among her typically militaristic shield and plumed helmet, symbolizing Margaret's knowledge of heaven and earth, drawing attention to the many aspects of the goddess.²¹⁶ The inclusion of these iconographical elements elevates the meaning of this painting, presenting the Queen of Navarre as a protector of intellect and culture.²¹⁷

By the seventeenth century, Minerva was primarily presented as a goddess of peace and the arts. In Simon Vouet's *Portrait of Anne of Austria as Minerva* (1640s; The Hermitage, St. Petersburg), Queen Anne as Minerva casts off her plumed helmet in the foreground as she reclines in a yellow garment with a Gorgon-headed belt as a blue cloth swirls around her. She sits under a laurel leaf garland held by cupids, wears a laurel leaf

²¹³ Francis H. Dowley mentions that portraits of women in the guise of allegorical figures were likely introduced into France from Italy sometime in the sixteenth-century. See: Dowley, "French Portraits of Ladies as Minerva," *Gazette des beaux arts* 45 (May-June 1955): 262-86.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 263

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid, 263-264. Several portraits of Marie de Medici present the queen as Minerva, including Ruben's depiction of Marie de' Medici as Justice from the Marie de' Medici cycle and Rubens' *Marie de Medici as Minerva*, emphasizing her role as goddess of peace. Dowley discusses three portraits of Marie de' Medici, including the Rubens' depiction of Marie de' Medici as Justice from the Marie de' Medici cycle, which depicts the queen as more of a figure of Justice than Minerva. Rubens' portrait *Marie de' Medici as Minerva* depicts a more militaristic goddess dressed in a fleur-de-lis robe, prompting Dowley to conclude that Marie de' Medici appears as a *Minerve galoise* in this portrait, who casts off her militaristic side in order to resume her position as protector of peace. Dowley discusses another image of Marie de' Medici as goddess of peace, but explains that she appears with the attributes of Cybele and not Minerva.

crown, and loosely holds a staff in her right hand. An owl, an animal associated with Wisdom and Minerva, peaks out at the viewer from behind Queen Anne's right leg. Minerva is typically used to personify the nation of France from the seventeenth-century onward, and this painting of Anne of Austria as Minerva dates from the time when Queen Anne ruled as regent on behalf of the young Louis XIV and points to her ability to govern France effectively until her son reaches his majority. Vouet shows that under the guidance of Queen Anne, France will enjoy a time of peace and prosperity.²¹⁸

These earlier portraits that depict Queen Anne of Austria and Queen Margaret of Navarre as Minerva are important, because they exemplify this tradition of using allegorical figures to allude to abstracted ideas and concepts, namely the ability of a woman to act as a protector of the arts. Aristocratic women were seen as purveyors of peace, a concept aligned with the impetus behind many royal marriages. Recognizable images of classical goddesses, like Minerva, pointed towards abstracted virtues women possessed, highlighting those virtues deemed important for a successful consort. In Callet's *The August Alliance*, the artist uses allegorical figures that allude to Marie-Louise's potential as consort. Specifically, Callet positions Marie-Louise as a figure of Peace, whose presence in France will bring about prosperity in all realms of culture, as seen in the allegorical figures I identified earlier in this section, including Painting, Sculpture, and Music. Marie-Louise embodies the peace between Napoleon and her father, and brings abundance with her into France as she enters French territory at Braunau.

²¹⁸ Kathleen Nicholson, "The ideology of feminine 'virtue': The vestal virgin in French eighteenth-century allegorical portraiture," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1997), 52.

Callet's concept for this painting was likely inspired by earlier paintings featuring allegorical figures of Peace and Abundance, such as Simon Vouet's *Prudence Leading Peace and Abundance* (1630; Musée du Louvre, Paris), which features a brunette Abundance carrying an overflowing cornucopia filled with fruits and flowers. A blonde-haired figure representing Peace stands behind Abundance, and reaches out to Minerva, who appears as Prudence, and hands her an olive branch, while two cupids hover above the scene holding a laurel leaf crown.²¹⁹ Likely created for the Palace of Cardinal Richelieu, *Prudence Leading Peace and Abundance* celebrates the wisdom of the French government.²²⁰ The wise policies of the patron brought Peace and Abundance to the French realm, and the flag at Prudence's feet likely refers to French military victories that preceeded this era of prosperity.

Vouet was not the only artists that created allegorical representations of Peace and Abundance to indicate the ways in which peace brings about prosperity. Consider Pierre de Sèvre 1663's reception piece *Sur la Paix des Pyrénées traitée allégoriquement*, which depicts "the arts of painting and sculpture, in the presence of Apollo, accompany Peace who gives hope to Abundance."²²¹ François Marot's reception piece, *Les Fruits de la Paix de Riswyck sous l'Allégorie d'Apollon ramenant du ciel la Paix accompagnée de l'Abondance pour favoriser les sciences et les arts* (1702; Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts), once again

²¹⁹ Germain Seligman states that this figure of Medusa/Prudence stresses the goddess' role of patron of Wisdom and Law. See: Germain Seligman, 'La Prudence amène la Paix et l'Abondance' by Simon Vouet *The Burlington Magazine* 103, no. 700 (1961): 296-299; 298.

²²⁰ Ibid. Seligman suggests that Cardinal Richelieu commissioned this image to hang in his Palace in Paris. Richelieu served as one of Louis XIII's chief ministers, a sort-of Secretary of State. For more on the influence of Cardinal Richelieu on French government see: Jean-Vincent Blanchard, *Eminence: Cardinal Richelieu and the rise of France* (New York: Walker & Company, 2011) and Anthony Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu and the making of France* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2000).

²²¹ This information is cited in Mary Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 126. See also P. 298, note 74. This information is originally quoted in M. Duvivier, "Sujets des morceaux de reception des membres de l'acienne Académie de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure 1648-1793," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* 10 (1852-1853) Paris: J.B. Dumolin; repr. Paris: F. de Nobèle, 1967, 386.

shows an allegorical figure of Peace accompanying Abundance, who will bring prosperity to the arts. A gleaming and sun-bathed Apollo appears at the center; Apollo was a figure who often represented Louis XIV.²²² Marot depicts a highly-charged scene in which Louis/Apollo grabs the arm of Peace, who wraps her arm around the shoulders of Abundance. As Mary Sheriff explains, “allegorical figures representing the sciences and the arts, which flourish in times of peace, are located at the sides of the composition,” and aptly illustrate the golden age of culture that will follow.²²³ Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun’s controversial reception piece, *Peace Bringing Back Abundance* (1780; Musée du Louvre, Paris), also images Peace and Abundance.²²⁴ The brunette woman representing Peace cradles the blonde-haired figure representing Abundance; the figure representing Peace appears to physically bring Abundance with her as she wraps her right arm around Peace’s shoulder and gently grabs Peace’s left forearm, guiding her. Abundance holds an overflowing cornucopia in her right hand and stalks of blooming wheat in her left. Peace is crowned with a laurel leaf crown and holds an olive branch in her right hand. Created in 1780, when French involvement in the American Revolution was at its height, Vigée-Lebrun’s *Peace Bringing Back Abundance* could point towards the end of France’s financial contribution to the American Revolution, and may foreshadow the effect this peace will have on bringing back abundance to the arts.²²⁵

²²² Louis XIV chose Apollo to be his allegorical persona due to the classical god’s association with the arts and the sun. For more information on Louis XIV, the so-called Sun King, see: Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), Nancy Mitford, *The Sun King: Louis XIV and Versailles* (New York: New York Review Books, 2012). The figure of Peace in this image refers to one of Louis’ military victories at Riswyck; the Peace of the Pyrenees depicted by Sèvres alludes to another victory by Louis. See: Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 126-127.

²²³ Ibid., 127.

²²⁴ For more on Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun’s acceptance into the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture and her reception piece, *Peace Bringing Back Abundance* see: Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 75-78, 82-83, 89-90, 123-142.

²²⁵ Ibid., 127.

Callet's image of Marie-Louise entering French territory surrounded by allegorical figures alluding to the coming years of prosperity and abundance after years of war adds to this long lineage of "Peace bringing back Abundance" imagery. Napoleon as Mars presides over the ceremony that welcomes this fertile time in the literature, music, and the arts back in to the French realm thanks to the imperial marriage. As discussed in relation to the works of Simon Vouet, Pierre de Sève, François Marot, and Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, the French aristocratic elite used allegories of Peace and Abundance to promote their prowess on the battlefield and the resulting peace their victories ensured; Callet alludes to this idea in *The August Alliance*. Appearing as a figure of Peace, a blond-haired Marie-Louise breathes new vitality and life into the French government, ushering in an era of peace, which will result in a rebirth of culture and health in France. She appears beloved by all the figures that welcome her. In this painting, Callet expertly blends *ancien régime* tradition with Napoleon's penchant for intricately detailed history paintings by including a myriad of figures, luxurious details, and recognizable portraits of Napoleon and Marie-Louise. Callet's image creates a thematic bridge from the *ancien régime* to the Empire, situating Marie-Louise as a unifying figure full of potential.

Fabrication, Fireworks, and Phantasmagoria

Actual Napoleonic events staged for the imperial marriage celebrations had the same aim as the history paintings. Like Napoleonic history painting, these *fêtes* also attempted to construct a new historical reality for French citizens, promoting a vision of the empire that, again, required viewers to lose themselves in the splendor of Napoleon's court. In this

section, I will discuss elaborate festivities organized by Napoleon's government on June 10, 1810 at the Hôtel de Ville, Paris to honor the imperial couple after their marriage. Using a variety of media, the Hôtel de Ville combined allegorical painting, sculptural displays, interior design, architecture, and fireworks. Although conceived of as a "multimedia" event during the nineteenth century, the Hôtel de Ville festival served to eliminate the viewer's ability to comprehend and analyze the ramifications of the marriage, bombarding spectators with an over-the-top display of imperial innovation. As the potential savior of Napoleon's dynasty, Marie-Louise takes center stage at this theatrical production.

As part of the festivities celebrating the imperial marriage in Paris, Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1758-1823) created an allegorical image to be displayed at the venue. Commissioned for this work by the Prefect of the Seine, his close personal friend, Nicholas Frochot (1761-1828), Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's oil sketch, *Hercules and Hebe* (1810; Musée du Louvre, Paris), was transformed into a transparency by Nicholas-Raphaël Lafond (1774-1835). Lafond's copy of Prud'hon's design, *L'Assemblée des dieux assistant au mariage d'Hercule et Hébé*, was executed using tempera on transparent paper and was then backlit with lanterns. The effect produced a clearly visible scene of the mythological marriage high on the exterior of the Hôtel de Ville.

In Prud'hon's design, Marie-Louise and Napoleon appear in the guise of Hebe and Hercules.²²⁶ As in Callet's *The August Alliance*, Marie-Louise and the emperor are

²²⁶ There is a tradition of representing aristocratic women in the guise of Hebe. See: Jean-Marc Nattier's *Madame de Caumartin as Hebe* (1753) and François-Hubert Drouais' *Madame la Dauphine Marie-Antoinette as Hebe* (1773; Musée Condé, Chantilly). Kathleen Nicholson explains that having your portrait made in the guise of Hebe was very flattering to the sitter, and was a trope selected by many aristocratic women for their portraits. See: Kathleen Nicholson, "The ideology of feminine 'virtue': the vestal virgin in French eighteenth-century allegorical portraiture," 53. The decision to depict Napoleon in the guise of Hercules came from the not-so-distant Revolutionary past. Although female personifications of the French nation were briefly popular during the early years of the Revolution (i.e. female personifications of Liberty, later called Marianne),

surrounded by several figures from classical mythology and other allegorical figures that point to Napoleon's military prowess and the era of peace and prosperity that will surely follow this marriage. Prud'hon presents Marie-Louise as Hebe, daughter of Zeus and Hera and goddess of youth, while he shows Napoleon as Hercules, the famous warrior from classical mythology, who was the son of Zeus and Alcemene, a mortal woman. The portrayal of this mythological marriage between the daughter of the king and queen of the gods and a demi-god with mortal blood closely parallels the genealogy of the imperial couple.

Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's design for the Hôtel de Ville, which is known through the artist's oil sketch, a series of engravings by Charles Normand in Nicholas Goulet's 1810 publication *Fêtes à l'occasion du mariage de S.M. Napoléon...avec Marie-Louise*, and Prud'hon's preparatory drawings, has much in common with Callet's 1810 allegorical painting; approximately fifty allegorical figures, including classical gods and goddesses, such as Hymen, Mercury, Minerva, Janus, Apollo, and other allegorical figures such as Industry, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Drawing, History, Peace, and Abundance attend the mythological marriage ceremony. In Prud'hon's design, goddesses representing the Seine and the Tiber lounge in the far-left foreground on top of a vessel overflowing with water, and directly represent the extent of Napoleon's domination in Europe. The message of this image is the same as that found in Callet's *The August Alliance*: Napoleon conquered all Europe with his military prowess, even earning a Habsburg Archduchess for his wife, and his marriage to Marie-Louise will ensure a golden age in France.

French revolutionaries replaced the female symbol of nation with the male figure of Hercules, who was inherently masculine and appealed to the male revolutionaries conception of themselves as a "band of brothers." See: Gutwirth, 273-276 and Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 104.

Instead of focusing on the iconography of Prud'hon's image, which so closely echoes my discussion of Callet's *The August Alliance* in the previous section, I will consider the entire celebration organized on June 10, 1810, including the architectural setting for the celebration, Prud'hon's backlit design, *Hercules and Hebe* that was placed above the imperial viewing area, and the fireworks display. The entire celebration not only blended *ancien régime* tradition with imperial innovation, but also harnessed the power of technology to dazzle spectators with a vision that points to a long-lasting and productive era in France.

Organized for 4,000 invited guests, the Hôtel de Ville *fête* necessitated the transformation of both the interior and exterior of the building. As Elizabeth Guffey explains, the interior of the Hôtel de Ville was decorated to resemble Mount Olympus, a fitting area for the ball and masque that followed the fireworks display that evening.²²⁷ Prud'hon's design for the interior included a large throne "decorated with life-size sculpture" that "dominated the room."²²⁸ Hymen, god of marriage, presides over the sculptural program on the throne.²²⁹ Sculptures of the Three Graces appeared behind Marie-Louise's throne, whereas the Three Muses, representing History, Poetry, and Astronomy, stood behind that of Napoleon.²³⁰ Paul-Thomas Bartholomé, architect to the Minister of War and Invalides, created designs for the *salle de bal*. Interestingly, Bartholomé conceived of the *salle de bal* as

²²⁷ Elizabeth E. Guffey, "The 'Master Decorator': Transfiguring the Allegorical Tradition," in *Drawing an Elusive Line: The Art of Pierre-Paul Prud'hon* (Newark, Delaware: Delaware University Press, 2001), 147.

²²⁸ Ibid., 149.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ For a description of Prud'hon's interior design see: Guffey, 149-150. She includes an illustration of Prud'hon's preparatory sketch for the design behind the throne in this same volume. See: 152, Fig. 107.

a tent, which echoes Empress Joséphine's famous penchant for tented rooms, most notably Napoleon's counsel chamber at Joséphine's retreat, Malmaison.²³¹

The open plaza in front of the Hôtel de Ville was transformed into a "large, semi-circular gallery" designed by the architect Jacques Molinos (1743-1831), and is similar to the plaza in front of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome designed by Gianlorenzo Bernini.²³² The temporary colonnade created for the open area in front of the Hôtel de Ville was crowned with allegorical sculptures designed by Prud'hon. Unfortunately, none of these sculptures survive and their designs are known only through Prud'hon's preparatory drawings and Normand's engravings. The allegorical figures placed on the columns include Commerce, Victory, Science, Agriculture, Navigation, the Arts, Study, Music, Honors, and Industry; all of these figures point to the many accomplishments of the emperor.²³³ A large dais was placed at the center of this hemicycle on a platform from which Marie-Louise and Napoleon could view the mock sea battle and impressive fireworks display.²³⁴ Two over-life-sized sculpture groups were illuminated from behind and flanked Prud'hon's transparency, *Hercules and Hebe*, which occupied the frieze area over the dais.²³⁵ The two sculptural

²³¹ David Mandrella, "Prud'hon et Marie-Louise," in *1810, Le politique de l'amour: Napoléon et Marie-Louise à Compiègne*, 94-95. Paul-Thomas Bartolomé's designs are conserved at the Fondation Dosne-Theirs, Paris and are illustrated in Mandrella's essay, fig. 111 and fig. 112.

²³² Guffey, 147.

²³³ For a description of the allegorical figures and their appearance in the hemicycle designed by Jacques Molinos see: Elizabeth Guffey, 147-159. See also: Charles Normand after Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, allegorical figures placed on the columns decorating the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, in Nicholas Goulet, *Fêtes à l'occasion du mariage des S.M. Napoléon et Marie-Louise*, Paris, 1810, plates 39-40. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

²³⁴ Guffey, 148.

²³⁵ Charles Normand after Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, decorations for the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville in Nicholas Goulet, *Fêtes à l'occasion du mariage des S.M. Napoléon et Marie-Louise*, Paris, 1810, plate 38. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

groups represented on the left, Victory, who offers an olive branch to the conquered nations, and Fame, who blows a trumpet, on the right.²³⁶ Fame announces to the world that the imperial marriage will ensure tranquility in Europe. An inscription taken from a cantata performed inside the Hôtel de Ville after the fireworks display with lyrics by Arnault and music by Méhul was placed beneath the transparency.²³⁷ It states: “*En jurant leur Bonheur, deux illustres époux/ Ont juré celui de la terre.*”²³⁸ This phrase emphasizes the gravity of the imperial marriage, stating that Marie-Louise and Napoleon created a union that was witnessed in heaven and on earth, an idea also present in Callet’s *The August Alliance*.

The entire decorative program executed by Napoleon’s artists for the June 10 celebrations was a feat of artistry, mechanics, and engineering. Prud’hon’s allegorical design, which was illuminated, likely dazzled spectators by recalling popular phantasmagoria entertainments and magic lantern shows. First developed in the seventeenth century, magic lanterns consisted of a concave mirror placed in front of a light source, usually a candle that would gather the light and then project it through a slide with an image on it.²³⁹ Phantasmagoria shows used magic lanterns to project their images, but magic lanterns were often mobile, allowing the images to shift, change, and move, inciting the imagination of

²³⁶ See: Charles Normand after Pierre-Paul Prud’hon, transparency designs for the Place de l’Hôtel de Ville, Paris. Found in Nicholas Goulet, *Fêtes à l’occasion du mariage des S.M. Napoléon et Marie-Louise*, Paris, 1810, plate 41. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

²³⁷ *Fêtes à l’occasion du mariage de S.M. Napoléon...avec Marie-Louise*, 42.

²³⁸ “By swearing their happiness, two illustrious spouses/ also swear to the Earth.” Nicholas Goulet, *Fêtes à l’occasion du mariage des S.M. Napoléon et Marie-Louise*, 40.

²³⁹ For more on magic lanterns and their mechanics see: Terry Castle, “Phantasmagoria: Spectral Technology and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie,” *Critical Inquiry*, 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1988): 31-33.

spectators. To eighteenth and nineteenth-century eyes, the effects of these projections were considered a kind of magic.²⁴⁰

The projections produced at phantasmagoria shows resulted in dream-like images that were seemingly inexplicable.²⁴¹ Because of their imaginary quality, these images seemed to transcend the everyday, and as Castle describes, “fit nicely with post-Lockean notions of mental experience; indeed, nineteenth-century empiricists frequently figured the mind as a kind of magic lantern, capable of projecting the image-traces of past sensation onto the internal “screen” or backcloth of the memory.”²⁴² Although not projected, Prud’hon’s colorful backlit display, recalled phantasmagoria entertainments, and was, perhaps, intended to imprint the content of *Hercules and Hebe* on the mind of the spectators, encouraging viewers to commit the mythological proportions of the imperial marriage to memory to displace the terrifying picture of the Terror and Revolution.²⁴³

For the spectacle organized for the Hôtel de Ville, Napoleon’s art administration looked to the *ancien régime* and their tradition of fireworks displays celebrating royal marriages. These fireworks displays fit nicely within Napoleon’s goal for historical painting, displaying the might of the Empire while influencing the memory of the spectators. According to *Fêtes à l’occasion du mariage de S.M. Napoléon...avec Marie-Louise*, the fireworks display began with two strong blasts that imitated the effects of bombs, bullets, and

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 29-30.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 29.

²⁴² Ibid., 30.

²⁴³ Earlier phantasmagoria displays dwelled on terrifying images, which provides an interesting parallel to the displacement of the horrific events associated with the Revolution.

musketry.²⁴⁴ During this initial display, a ship, which symbolized the ancient city of Lutetia, the original Merovingian-era town on the site of present-day Paris, traveled down the Seine between two illuminated and colorful columns.²⁴⁵ The second fireworks show was launched from architectural façades designed by Molinos. These façades were placed on an artificial mountain, recalling Mount Olympus, on the opposite side of the Seine from the Hôtel de Ville.²⁴⁶ Two structures, a Temple of Peace and a Temple of Hymen, dominated the scene. First, the Temple of Peace was illuminated in a “sparkle of flashing lights.”²⁴⁷ The “grand finale” of the fireworks display was a sequence of *girande* or bouquet-like fireworks, which appeared over the Temple of Hymen. Goulet mentions the beautiful manner in which the fireworks faded away, and admired the way the *girande* fell so that it allowed spectators to see the Temple of Hymen illuminated in shards of color; this display, he states, lasted most of the night.²⁴⁸ According to Goulet, the entire scene was accompanied with lively, sometimes martial-sounding music.²⁴⁹

Like all technological displays, including the illuminated transparency designed by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, fireworks displays appear illogical, and as Abby Zanger explains, they “defy logic and gravity in order to reshape matter, whether it be pyrotechnic, dramatic,

²⁴⁴ *Fêtes à l'occasion du mariage de S.M. Napoléon...avec Marie-Louise*, 41. For more on the history of fireworks displays in France during the eighteenth century see: Barbara Widenor Maggs, “The poetry of Eighteenth-Century Fireworks Displays,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* (1975): 68-71.

²⁴⁵ *Fêtes à l'occasion du mariage de S.M. Napoléon...avec Marie-Louise*, 41.

²⁴⁶ For an artist's reconstruction of the fireworks display and its architectural setting see: Nicholas Goulet, *Fêtes à l'occasion du mariage des S.M. Napoléon et Marie-Louise*, Paris, 1810, plate 42. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

²⁴⁷ “*au milieu de l'éclat des feux qui en jaillissaient.*” *Fêtes à l'occasion du mariage de S.M. Napoléon...avec Marie-Louise*, 41.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

political, or mythical.”²⁵⁰ In Claude-François Menestrier’s treatise on fireworks, *Advis Necessaires pour la Conduite des Feux d’Artifices* (1660), Menestrier discussed how the four elements all work together to glorify the king, and that fire, in particular, has a “transformative power on all forms of matter, furthermore; that is, not just on the material it burns, but also on the spectators that witness the miracles of art in nature.”²⁵¹ Zanger argues that the ability of fire to destroy and change nature is “the [...] same power [that] allows it to penetrate the viewer in order to persuade and control him.”²⁵² Fireworks order chaos, and regulate nature as well as the spectators that view the display.²⁵³

Kings recognized this power long before Napoleon seized the French throne, choosing fireworks displays as a part of their celebrations, including victories at war, births of the dauphin, and most importantly for my purposes, marriages. Firework shows were a part of the marriage celebrations honoring the unions between Marie-Thérèse, a member of the House of Habsburg and wife of Louis XIV, the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna and Louis XV, and Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI.²⁵⁴ Louis XIV’s 1660 entry into Paris with Marie-Thérèse included a fireworks display along the Seine near the Louvre, and the arrival of the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna, fiancé of Louis XV, included a celebratory display at the Grand Basin. On May 30, 1770, a fireworks display honoring Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette took

²⁵⁰ Abby E. Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 99.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 100-101.

²⁵² Ibid., 102.

²⁵³ Ibid., 102-103. Unfortunately, the popularity of fireworks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seems to have subdued all theoretical discussions of the medium. For eighteenth-century guides on how to make fireworks see: Captain Robert James, *A new treatise on artificial fireworks...* (London: J. Millan, 1765) and Captain Robert James, *Artificial fireworks: improved to the modern practice...* (London: J. Millan, 1766).

²⁵⁴ In 1721, the then eleven-year-old Louis XV was engaged to the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna, who was three years old. This engagement never resulted in marriage.

place in Paris at the Place Louis XV. The Ruggieri brothers designed this display in Paris, which included a Temple to Hymen, from where the fireworks were deployed, an element also used at the Hôtel de Ville celebrations.²⁵⁵ In the eighteenth century, fireworks almost always accompanied marriage treaties, and proclaimed the power of the monarch; his ability to create and destroy.²⁵⁶

Often royal marriages occur after a war has ended between two powerful families, and, as Zanger explains, a fireworks display requires that fire be manipulated, and a manipulation of “dynamic forces” was also necessary during a marriage treaty.²⁵⁷ A kinship exchange requires that the violent tendencies between hostile, or at the very least, highly competitive nations be subdued and changed.²⁵⁸ Although launched in a controlled environment and deployed as a part of joyful celebrations, fireworks were a tool of war and destruction; remember that Goulet likened the sounds of the fireworks at the imperial celebration to that of cannons and gunfire.²⁵⁹ As Zanger notes, the transformative power of fire reminds spectators of the king’s ability “to transform the fire of war to those of peace.”²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Michael Lynn “Sparks for Sale: The Culture and Commerce of Fireworks in Early Modern France,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 30, no. 2 (Spring 2006); 74-97, 75.

²⁵⁶ Although fireworks had an association with the *ancien régime*, it is important to note that fireworks were also used during the Revolution and Directory. As Lynn mentions, there were fireworks displays honoring the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastille (1790) and at the Festival of the Supreme Being (1794). See: Lynn, 91.

²⁵⁷ Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 99.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Scientific explanations concerning fireworks and their deployment concentrate on the ways in which they resemble gunfire and cannons by explaining the process surrounding their creation. See: “Feu d’artifice,” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2013 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>.

²⁶⁰ Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 104.

Warfare often proceeded a marriage treaty, and that was certainly the case for Napoleon and Marie-Louise's union. The marriage of Louis XIV with the Spanish Infanta, Maria Theresa, ended a war between their families, which had been ongoing for approximately thirty years.²⁶¹ Furthermore, the marriage between Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette continued an alliance between France and Austria that had begun years earlier during the Seven Years War (1754-1763).

Since the element of fire was considered necessary for creating life, the fires of warfare that precede the marriage treaty were thought to lead to regeneration and the creation of life. In other words, the destructive power of war works to ensure the success of the royal union, namely the production of heirs, and pro-creation was definitely on the mind of Napoleon and his administration when organizing the Hôtel de Ville celebration.²⁶² Zanger states that technology can regulate all matter, and that the controlled deployment of these pyrotechnic displays orders the fundamental element of fire.²⁶³ Technology orders all matter, yes, but it is the king and his administration that ultimately ensures that the technology is used in such a way that gets the message across to the spectators. Thus, these fireworks displays that appear to order chaos and transform warfare and pyrotechnics into a peaceful, yet fearsome display of firepower, work to, ultimately, glorify the king.

By overwhelming spectators with this awe-inspiring display of violent nature controlled, Napoleon, like the other French rulers that preceded him, displayed his power and

²⁶¹ For more information on the Franco-Spanish War or Thirty Years war (1635-1659) see: Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2009), and Cicely Veronica Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (New York: New York Review Books, 1938, reprinted 2005).

²⁶² Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 104.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 105.

his ability to order Europe through warfare. It was through war that Napoleon was able to negotiate his much-needed Habsburg bride. The spectacular display at the Hôtel de Ville was intended to overwhelm spectators with Napoleon's ability to control nature and matter, discouraging any kind of question of his regime's legitimacy and constructing a new history for the French public. His artists and architects transformed an iconic building, the Hôtel de Ville, into a classically-inspired dwelling for the gods, reconstructed the plaza outside, and erected an impressive colonnade reminiscent of that at St. Peter's Basilica. His regime could even create nature, as evidenced in the artificial mountain erected as a backdrop for the impressive fireworks display.

Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's designs for the sculptural program, colonnade and his illuminated allegorical frieze placed over the imperial dais reveal his indebtedness to *ancien régime* iconography, while proclaiming an identical message to that found in Callet's *The August Alliance*: the destruction of war will usher in an era of peace and abundance in France. Napoleon's artists and architects created a memorable experience that would dazzle viewers, and imprint the glory of the emperor and empress on the memories of the spectators.

Conclusion

Through the production of spectacle, in the form of both paintings and pageants, Napoleon and his art administration sought to penetrate and change the memories of French citizens. By dazzling viewers with meticulously rendered details of location, place, materials, and color, Napoleon's art administration attempted to erase the painful memory of the French Revolution and his coup d'état. The images I discussed in this chapter all involve what Todd Porterfield calls a "citational chain," which uses recognizable events and

materials to connect the past with the present, and for Napoleon, these citations offer a royal lineage and precedent for his rule. Napoleon calls on the authority of the *ancien régime* kings to legitimize his regime, claiming himself as the heir to their dynasties.

The artists discussed in this chapter, such as Georges Rouget, Louis-Philippe Crépin and Pauline Auzou, ask viewers to witness history, placing these rather recent events, into the nineteenth-century spectator's memories through encouraging a close observation of persons and materials and by creating a realistic vantage point for the spectator. Artists Alexandre-Benoît-Jean Dufay, called Casanova, and Etienne-Barthélemy Garnier, call on the popular entertainment of panorama for their inspiration. While minutely detailed, these paintings offer spectators a vision of "the whole picture," asking viewers to imagine themselves at the important events that are depicted. As a witness, albeit one from a far distance, one is encouraged to become immersed in the event, committing it to memory. The significant imperial events recreated in these five paintings draw from the *ancien régime*, invoking a continuum of significant monarchical events.

The return to allegory that occurred during the early years of Napoleon's reign offered another way for Napoleon to call on the past. Marie-Louise appears amid allegorical figures, something seldom seen during her predecessor's reign. Artists again called on the *ancien régime* for inspiration, looking to images of aristocratic women in the guise of allegorical figures, particularly Minerva in her guise of protector of the arts, and personifications of Peace and Abundance. In Antoine-François Callet's *The August Alliance*, Marie-Louise appears amid an overwhelming retinue of gods and goddesses, and, when examined along with allegorical images from the *ancien régime*, a pattern emerges. Callet depicts Marie-Louise as the protector of the arts; her entrance into France will bring with it a

golden age of abundance in health, commerce, arts, literature, and music. For the multimedia display organized to celebrate the imperial marriage at the Hôtel de Ville, Pierre-Paul Prud'hon also looked to allegorical figures, choosing to depict approximately fifty allegorical figures in his oil sketch for the transparency placed above the imperial viewing area. Amid these allegorical figures, Marie-Louise appears as Hebe, and Napoleon as Hercules again highlighting the notion that the Peace that occurs after war will bring prosperity. The fireworks display at the Hôtel de Ville underscores the notion that the fires of war bring about peace.

The presence of Marie-Louise is essential to these images; she becomes a part of the “citational chain.” As a Habsburg Archduchess, Marie-Louise and her family were a part of a long-lasting dynasty, providing a connection to the *ancien régime*. Not only does Marie-Louise unify the recently annexed former-Habsburg territories, like the Confederation of the Rhine and Antwerp, but also links the old monarchy with the new empire. All the events surrounding the imperial marriage were recorded and re-imagined to carve out a place for Marie-Louise, whose presence on the French throne legitimized that of her husband. Her unique position necessitated a new artistic vocabulary, one that blended the new, popular forms of painting and entertainment with the time-tested conventions of the *ancien régime* painting.

CHAPTER THREE

An Heir for France: Portraying Maternal Authority After the Birth of Napoleon II

With the birth of Napoleon II in 1811, Marie-Louise's image-makers continued to cast her as a unifying figure for the Empire, but focused on her maternity as the key to imperial stability and familial accord. Artists again articulated Marie-Louise's role in Napoleon's government through portraiture, forging a new, yet largely disparate, body of images envisioning Marie-Louise as an ideal mother. Dating from the years 1811-1814, Marie-Louise's portraits no longer simply aided the performance of Napoleon's dynastic continuity by reminding viewers of her alleged fecundity, but embodied it, focusing on the conventionality of her maternity and her suitability as a feminine role model for other French women.²⁶⁴

Representations of Marie-Louise following Napoleon II's birth fit within two broad categories: portraits that are largely consistent with *ancien régime* prototypes and genre portraits that envision Marie-Louise as a doting mother within a domestic interior. François Gérard's official portrait, *Marie-Louise, Empress of the French and the King of Rome* (Salon of 1812; Musée National du Château, Versailles), has much in common with court commissioned portraits depicting queen consorts and dauphins, such as Charles and Henri

²⁶⁴ Ernst Kantorowicz theorizes that the mortal body of the queen threatens monarchical authority, because it draws attention to the physical body of the king, who is considered to be semi-divine. Abby Zanger states that the physical, mortal body of the queen is instrumental in constructing what she terms "the fictions of dynastic continuity." See: Abby E. Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 6-7.

Beaubrun's *Anne of Austria, Marie-Thérèse of Austria and the Dauphin* (1655; Niort, Musée Bernard D'Agasci), and Alexis Simon Belle's *Queen Marie Leszczinska and the Dauphin* (1730; Musée National du Château, Versailles). All three of these portrayals highlight the relationship between mother and son by showcasing the queen's maternity as the key to her authority at court. Joseph Franque's more innovative portrayal, *Empress Marie-Louise and the Sleeping King of Rome* (1812; Musée National du Château, Versailles), expands on the visual vocabulary of the *ancien régime* to create a rather unconventional image that relies heavily on Christian iconography.

Genre portraits of Marie-Louise and the imperial family draw from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's conceptualization of the sentimental family, and presage Troubadour images of kings at leisure with their families, such as Ingres's *Henri IV Playing with his Children*. Popular during the eighteenth century, Rousseau's theories of gendered family roles idealized the nuclear family, substantiating paternalistic power structures while reinforcing the "naturalness" of traditional gender roles.²⁶⁵ The work of eighteenth-century women artists Marguerite Gérard (1761-1837) and Constance Meyer (1775-1821) contribute to this increased idealization of family life, depicting loving familial scenes in comfortable, middle-class interiors while infusing them with moral meaning. These idyllic images of the sentimental family highlight the concept of community, a key building block in the creation

²⁶⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau's influence on the sentimentality of family life during the mid-eighteenth century – nineteenth century has been well researched. See: Penny Weiss and Anne Harper, "Chapter 2: 'Rousseau's Political Defense of the Sex-Roled Family,'" in *Feminist Interpretations of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Lynda Lange, ed. (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. 42-64, and Joel Schwartz, *The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). For Rousseau's own writings on sexual difference and the family see: *Emile, or On Education*, Christopher Kelly and Allan Bloom, eds. and trans. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2010).

of stable households and nations.²⁶⁶ Drawing from the work of Gérard and Meyer, Napoleonic-era genre artists Pauline Auzou, Georges Rouget, and Alexandre Menjaud recast Marie-Louise as a mother locating her within the gendered family order in a way consonant with Troubadour inspired historical genre scenes. In the genre scenes discussed in this chapter, artists articulated a concept of the French nation that reified traditional gendered roles to anticipate a stable Empire.

Throughout this chapter, I explore the paternalistic model of the family by revisiting Lynn Hunt's conceptualization of the *family romance* of politics. I augment Hunt's theory by discussing the Napoleonic Code, which stabilized and institutionalized the gendered family structure deemed functional in the imperial government. Against the backdrop of the waning years of Napoleon's empire, I explore how Marie-Louise's new, maternal image forged a different, yet equally significant, public position for her in France.²⁶⁷ The production of an heir resulted in multiple identities that all magnified her maternity in an effort to reify the paternalistic structure of the family's social order, which, in turn, further legitimized Napoleon's dynasty.

²⁶⁶ Rousseau's concept of the sentimental family forces the individual to think beyond one's own needs, creating a sense of community in order to "...combat egoism, selfishness, indolence and narcissism..." These characteristics create stable societies and families. See: Penny Weiss and Anne Harper, "Chapter 2: Rousseau's Political Defense of the Sex-Roled Family," 43-44.

²⁶⁷ As discussed in chapter one, Marie-Louise served as regent twice during this period of political upheaval: once when Napoleon was on his Russian Campaign, which began approximately three months after his son's birth, and again while he fought the Sixth Coalition. Napoleon's efforts at conquering parts of the Russian Empire were unsuccessful, and his army was never quite the same again. In 1813, Napoleon suffered another bitter defeat against the Sixth Coalition at Leipzig; the Sixth Coalition included Austria, Prussia, Russia, England, Portugal, Sweden, Spain, and several of the German States. The Sixth Coalition invaded the French Empire itself in 1814, which resulted in Napoleon's exile to the Island of Elba. For more on the years leading to Napoleon's fall from power see: Digby Smith, *The Decline and Fall of Napoleon's Empire: How the Emperor Self-Destructed* (London: Greenhil, 2005); William R. Nester, *Napoleon and the Art of Diplomacy: How War and Hunbris Determined the Rise and Fall of the French Empire* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2012); Michael Leggiere, *The Fall of Napoleon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Officially a Mother

Commissioned by the imperial art administration, François Gérard's *Marie-Louise, Empress of the French, and the King of Rome*, was intended to assert the power of the empire following the establishment of Napoleon's dynasty. Gérard achieves this aim by creating a rather conventional portrait full of iconographic details reminiscent of *ancien régime* portraits of consorts with their sons. Focusing on Marie-Louise's role as consort and queen mother by highlighting her biological function, Gérard somewhat denies the public persona Marie-Louise once possessed due to her Habsburg heritage. He renders her as a conventional consort, whose function at court enhances Napoleon's rule.

Gérard presents mother and son in a luxurious interior space similar to *ancien-régime* and imperial portraits such as *Portrait of Catherine de Medici* (1556; Uffizi Gallery, Florence), Carle van Loo's *Portrait of Marie Leszczinska* (1747; Musée National du Château, Versailles), Martin van Meytens's *State Portrait of Empress Maria Theresa* (c. 1750 Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna), and Robert Lefèvre's *Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress of the French* (Salon of 1812; Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma). In these portraits, we see the familiar opulent interior, vertical column, and swath of drapery, which attest to the wealth of the court while creating a regal atmosphere and sense of stability. Both mother and son meet the gaze of the viewer in a self-assured manner. This scene of filial love and maternal affection appears to take place in the Tuileries Palace, thanks to Gérard's inclusion of the gardens, statue, fountains, and soldier visible through the window in the background.²⁶⁸ On

²⁶⁸ *L'Empire à Fontainebleau* (Paris and Fontainebleau: Osenant, 2011), 168.

the other side of mother and child, there is a solid mahogany chair upholstered with red velvet and decorated with palmette armrests and lion muzzles.²⁶⁹

Marie-Louise appears relaxed, youthful and happy. Her recognizable physical features, lovely ivory silk empire-waist gown, and recognizable diamond necklace combine to create a portrait of the empress similar to Lefèvre's *Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress of the French*. To execute this portrait, Gérard studied the empress's likeness from life. His *Study of Empress Marie-Louise* (1812; Musée du Louvre, Paris) offers a more informal portrayal of the empress, who gazes over her right shoulder instead of straight ahead as she does in his official portrait.²⁷⁰ In both the study and finished work, Gérard emphasizes her long Habsburg jaw and pink-rose headdress, which refers to her Habsburg identity.

In Gérard's portrait of mother and son, Napoleon II has the physical features of both his mother and father. He has his father's round face and Roman nose, and his mother's blue eyes, blond hair, and pale skin. Another of Gérard's portraits, *The King of Rome* (Salon of 1812; Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau), contains this synthesis of Napoleon and Marie-Louise's features.²⁷¹ In both portraits, the child holds an orb, a symbol of world

²⁶⁹ This chair also appears in Gérard's *Portrait of Hortense, Queen of Holland with the Prince Royal of Holland* (1807; Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau). Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Gérard's study of Marie-Louise is the only one known to be completed by nature, which made it highly collectible. It was sold after the death of François Gérard in 1837 to Baron La Caze, who prized the work due to its demonstration of *tartouille*, which was rare for Gérard, who ordinarily created very smooth compositions. See: *La Collection La Caze: chefs d'oeuvre des peintures des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Paris, musée du Louvre, 26 avril – 9 juillet 2007. (Paris: Hazan, 2007), 557.

²⁷¹ Frédéric Lacaille notes the combination of Marie-Louise and Napoleon's physical features in the likeness of their son. See: Frédéric Lacaille, Unpublished Material, Musée National du Château de Versailles Archives, accessed October 2011. In this document, Lacaille explains that Empress Marie-Louise sent the original portrait painted by Gérard of the King of Rome to Napoleon after he left for the Russian Campaign. It arrived the night before the Battle of Borodino, September 6, 1812. Napoleon was so infatuated with the portrait that he reportedly placed it in front of his tent so that all of his troops could admire it. The original painting was destroyed or lost during the French troops' retreat from Russia. The copy we know today was made for Empress Marie-Louise and is the one that was displayed at the Salon of 1812.

domination, and wears the red sash of the Legion of Honor.²⁷² The resemblance between father and son positions the child as the heir to the empire, who will inherit his father's skills at government administration as well as his military success. The inherited features of his mother reinforce Napoleon II's legitimacy thanks to his Habsburg blood, an allusion meant to foreshadow a long-lasting Bonaparte dynasty.

Although Gérard's *Marie-Louise and the King of Rome* is quite formal, it does offer some naturalistic details to show the realities of family life. For example, Napoleon II practices his balance by flexing his legs, and Marie-Louise appears to support her son with her left hand, which is placed on his upper thighs, and her right hand, which firmly grasps his chest.²⁷³ She seems to have just discarded her fan and book on the mahogany chair to attend to her son, who likely interrupted her reading with his cries after a nap in his luxurious cradle, located to the left of the composition. Napoleon II's rumpled blankets, which hang over the side of his cradle, add to a feeling of domesticity. Although taking place in the Tuileries Palace, this scene could very well have happened in the Petit Trianon, Marie-Antoinette's informal pleasure palace that Marie-Louise later used as her country estate.²⁷⁴

Recalling a throne with a baldachin, Napoleon II's cradle was constructed by Henri-Victor Rouguier (1758- after 1830), Jean-Baptiste Claude Odier (1763-1850), and Pierre-

²⁷² *L'Empire à Fontainebleau*, 168.

²⁷³ *Le pourpe et l'exil – L'aiglon (1811-1832) et le Prince Imperial (1856-1879)* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2004), 69.

²⁷⁴ See: *Napoléon, Les Bonapartes et l'Italie*, Exhibition Catalogue. (Ajaccio, Corsica: Musée Fesch, 2001), 13 and Annick Heitzmann, "Restauration au Hameau et de Trianon: la tour de Marlborough et la laiterie de propreté" *Versalia*, no. 5, 39. Napoleon gave Marie-Louise the Petit Trianon and the Hameau following their marriage. Marie-Louise was reportedly quite interested in the property due to its association with her great-aunt, Marie-Antoinette.

Philippe Thomire (1751-1843) after Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's design.²⁷⁵ This cradle was originally placed in Napoleon II's bedroom, which was on the ground floor of the Tuileries; it could be this very bedroom where mother and son stand in this portrait.²⁷⁶ On either side of the cradle, bas-reliefs in bronze represent the Seine and Tiber Rivers, indicating the child's rule over Rome and Paris. At the head of the cradle, Napoleon's symbol, the eagle, was later replaced with an allegorical figure of Fame, which can be seen today. Although still luxurious, this cradle is less formal than the one sent with Marie-Louise and Napoleon II to Vienna after Napoleon's abdication.

Cradles seldom appear in images of French consorts and their children, however, one does appear in Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Marie-Antoinette and her Children* (1787; Musée National du Château, Versailles). Mary Sheriff understands this cradle in Vigée-Lebrun's painting as related to the queen's body in posture and shape.²⁷⁷ In her analysis, Sheriff explains that the word cradle or *berceau* "indicates the place where someone is born or the place where something begins."²⁷⁸ As Queen of France, Marie-Antoinette is figuratively the cradle of the nation, "the site from which issues forth French kings," and her body can,

²⁷⁵ Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odiot was a silversmith and created numerous objects for Napoleon and his court, including this cradle for the King of Rome and large silver services for Napoleon's mother Letizia Ramolino and sister Pauline Borghesi. Bronze sculptor Pierre-Philippe Thomire completed several decorative vessels for the Empire, including *Corbeille Nuptiale de Marie-Louise* (c. 1810; Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma). For an account of the iconography of the cradle itself see: Manfred Leithe-Jasper, *The Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna: The Imperial and Ecclesiastical Treasury*, trans. Dinah Livingstone (London: Scala Books, 1998), and L'Exposition Prud'hon, 3 June 1922, p. 544, n° 4135.

²⁷⁶ *Le pourpe et l'exil – L'aiglon (1811-1832) et le Prince Imperial (1856-1879)*, 71. The cradle was later brought to Vienna after Napoleon's abdication and was placed in the Treasury in 1832, the year of Napoleon II's death. The cradle pictured in Gérard's painting appears similar to the cradle currently located in the Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau.

²⁷⁷ Mary D. Sheriff, "The Cradle is Empty: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Antoinette, and the Problem of Intention," 171.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

therefore, be understood as the physical cradle of the dauphin.²⁷⁹ This correlation highlights the physical body of the female consort, while also indicating the key to her authority in France.

During the *ancien régime*, once a queen gave birth to a son, she generally attained a higher level of prestige. Since a woman could never inherit the throne, giving birth to a male heir impregnated the female consort with power, making it possible that she could rule through her son as regent.²⁸⁰ For Marie-Louise, however, this was not entirely the case. She occupied such an instrumental role in re-creating Napoleon's ruling fiction following their marriage, that her maternity serves to decrease or, at the very least, neutralize her authority by linking her to every other French consort who birthed heirs to the throne. Based on representations created during the first year of their marriage, we know that Marie-Louise occupied a different, more visible, role at Napoleon's court than previous French consorts. But, as Gérard has pictured her, she appears the same as all the rest. Her authority no longer solely operates through her dynastic ties as a Habsburg, but through her relationship to Napoleon's son. After fulfilling her duty, artists no longer needed to visibly represent her fertile potential and the importance of the imperial union to the establishment of the Bonaparte dynasty, so her influence waned. Imaged as queen mother and consort, she appears as a vessel through which the power of rule passed.²⁸¹

Thanks to its amelioration of Marie-Louise's influential and visible position at court, Gérard's image resonates with *ancien régime* portraits, representing a revival of a traditional

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 154.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 155.

portrait type that showcases aristocratic women's power potential as located exclusively in their ability to birth a child. For example, Empress Maria Theresa's artists needed to create what Michael Yonan terms a "specifically Habsburg female monarchical power."²⁸² To do this, they directly tapped into the Habsburgian conception of femininity, which included modesty, piety, and fecundity.²⁸³ Starting in the 1740s, portraits of Maria Theresa focus on her ability to produce male heirs to the empire. Martin van Mertyns's *Double Portrait of Empress Maria Theresa and Archduke Joseph as a child* (c. 1744, Wien Museum, Vienna) depicts the empress in a richly brocaded and bejeweled court dress with her hands pointing to the three crowns of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia.²⁸⁴ Located in a framed niche at the very top of the image of his mother, Archduke Joseph appears wearing the costume of a Hungarian hussar.²⁸⁵ A Habsburg heraldic crown crowns the entire composition. In this image, we see a dynastically and politically powerful empress, who strategically includes iconography associated with Hungary and her male heir to ensure that the Hungarians will accept her as their ruler.²⁸⁶

Despite her autonomous rule over the Habsburg Empire, Maria Theresa's ticket to continuous rule rested in the belief that she could produce and continue to produce male heirs to provide a stable empire for her people.²⁸⁷ This conceptualization of aristocratic womanhood is no different from expectations for Marie-Louise, Marie-Antoinette, or Marie-

²⁸² Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, 15-16.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 25-27.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ After her marriage, Maria Theresa quickly gave birth to three daughters. The birth of Archduke Joseph was welcome, as the Hungarians demanded a male monarch to rule over them.

²⁸⁷ Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, 27.

Thérèse. But, as sovereign ruler of the Habsburg realm, Maria Theresa's fertility refers back to her authority and political control, accessorizing her own claim to power. Marie-Louise is just like Maria Theresa; it is her physical, maternal body that ensures the solidity of the dynasty.

A queen's ability to produce an heir to France's throne ensured their prestige at court, and even, in some cases, provided them access to the regency. Queens and queen regents were depicted with their sons as early as the seventeenth century, as documented in Charles and Henri Beaubrun's *Anne of Austria, Marie-Thérèse of Austria and the Dauphin*. In the Beaubrun's image, Anne, the former regent and mother of Louis XIV, sits next to the dauphin and his mother, Marie-Thérèse, who was Louis XIV's wife and Anne's niece and daughter in law.²⁸⁸ Marie-Thérèse holds the dauphin on her lap, which was unusual for this period, since the heir to the throne was most often shown standing independently, as in Charles Beaubrun's *Marie-Thérèse of Austria and the Grand Dauphin* (c. 1665; Prado Museum, Madrid). In the image of Marie-Thérèse, Anne of Austria, and the dauphin, Marie-Thérèse's lap functions as a kind of throne, drawing attention to the biological role of Marie-Thérèse's body, which also functions as a *berceau*, or place of issue for kings.

All of the images of aristocratic mothers and their sons discussed in this section exclude the portrait of the father/king. Although not actually pictured, Napoleon is certainly present in Gérard's image: Napoleon II bears his features and Napoleon is also present metonymically through his relationship with both his wife and child. This immaterial inclusion of Napoleon's absent body serves to underline and strengthen his presence, since Marie-Louise and their son's power come directly from him.

²⁸⁸ See: Mary D. Sheriff, "The Cradle is Empty: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Antoinette, and the Problem of Intention," 177.

Gérard's *Marie-Louise and the King of Rome* follows the same established conventions seen in *ancien régime* portraits, but this recycling of old monarchical iconography is nothing new. This time, however, the goal of this reuse of iconography is not to conceive of an innovative role for the empress but to establish her similarity to previous French consorts. Marie-Louise, as this painting suggests, is not exceptional; her power lays in her physical body and its ability to produce children. Gérard's grounding of Marie-Louise within the confines of the *ancien régime* seems to deny the more visible and powerful position she held at Napoleon's court. This de-emphasis of Marie-Louise's intrinsic role in the establishment and maintenance of Napoleon's ruling fiction serves two purposes: it moves Napoleon II closer to the forefront of French politics by positioning him as second only to his father, and, more importantly for the legitimacy of Napoleon's regime, it reasserts the family model of politics.

Napoleon's institutionalization of the rigid structures of the paternal family, as outlined in his Civil Code (1801), continued efforts at re-establishing the family model of politics for his regime. Despite Marie-Louise's prominent position at court, especially following the imperial marriage, Napoleon's Civil Code ensured that the majority of French women remained under the care of their husbands or fathers without any legal identity of their own. Napoleon defined the family as a unit governed by a male head of household, and his Civil Code limited the ways in which individuals, namely children or wives, could challenge the authority of this gendered order. For example, the Civil Code eliminated a woman's right to enter into legal agreements without her husband's consent, to act as a civil witness in court, or to own property without a male relative's approval.²⁸⁹ Although they

²⁸⁹ Heuer, *The Family and the Nation*, 130.

were legal during the Revolution, divorces became few and far between during the Empire, and were seldom granted to women. When they were, a woman had to prove severe abuse, incarceration of her husband, or that the husband's adultery had taken place in the home.²⁹⁰ Men enjoyed complete control over bequeathing property and negotiating marriage contracts for children.²⁹¹

The limited power of French women under the Napoleonic Code reinforced patriarchal authority, an institution that continued to thrive in imperial France. The birth of Napoleon II further necessitated the restoration of the family model of authority to produce an unquestioned line of succession. Napoleon no longer needed to reinvent the rules to solidify his claim to the throne, as he had during the first year of his marriage to Marie-Louise; he had his heir and, therefore, needed to maintain the old rules of succession. Gérard's painting of mother and son captures this unique moment in Napoleon's regime, and highlights Marie-Louise's position as a young mother to reinforce the paternalistic structures of government necessary for the Bonaparte dynasty to continue. This image also points to her ability to nurture and care for her child, and hopefully, produce even more heirs to France's throne.

A Holy Family For France

Part of Napoleon's re-affirmation of the paternalistic model of the family required that he re-establish the Catholic Church in France. Marie-Louise was raised Catholic, and her upbringing in the rather strict Habsburg court ensured that she was sheltered in the ways of

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

the world.²⁹² Marie-Louise was both a Catholic woman from a long line of Holy Roman Emperors and a moral and virginal figure, who offered a different image of motherhood for France.

During the French Revolution, the Catholic Church was under attack, because revolutionaries believed that the institution was dependent on and controlled by the monarchy. Perceived as entirely based on superstition and in defiance of reason by the revolutionary government, the Church was largely dissolved during the revolutionary years.²⁹³ Revolutionaries destroyed church property, confiscated Church lands, and sought to replace Catholicism with republican cults such as the Cult of Reason and the Cult of the Supreme Being.²⁹⁴ This backlash against Catholicism and its perceived monarchical sentiments did not, however, end Catholicism in France. Instead, parishioners worshipped in secret, a testament to Catholicism's continued cultural relevance in France.

Napoleon recognized the power of the Catholic Church as an institution that could further his own aims at reinforcing the model of patriarchy. He reconciled with the Pope in 1801, signing a Concordat stating that Catholicism was once again the official religion of the

²⁹² Empress Maria Theresa's so-called "chastity commission" ensured that all statues have strategically placed fig leaves and that anatomical treatises omit illustrations of the male and female reproductive systems. Furthermore, Marie-Louise's close friend, Victoria de Poutet's father was devotedly religious, and the young girls likely had these beliefs in common. See: Palmer, 41-42.

²⁹³ The Catholic Church in France was dissolved for theoretical reasons, including its hierarchical organization which was similar to the monarchy, and financial reasons; in 1789, the French government was, essentially, bankrupt and the clergy made up more than one third of the French population and was exempt from paying taxes. The French church later broke from the Pope in Rome after the National Assembly passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which stated that the clergy was a civil body and that was paid by the state and was not under the control of the Pope. See: Sr. M. Barbara *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 12, no. 2 July 1926, pp.241 -243 and Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 135-136.

²⁹⁴ The Revolutionaries' effort at replacing Catholicism with other cults was largely unsuccessful. The Cult of Reason did not garner much support, forcing the government to replace it with the deist, yet non-Christian, Cult of the Supreme Being. See: Sr. M. Barbara *The Catholic Historical Review*, 241 -243 and Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 135-136. For more on religion during the Revolution see: Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Empire. This event is memorialized in Pierre Joseph Célestin Francois's *Allegory of the Concordat of 1801* (Musée National des châteaux de Malmaison et de Beau Préau, Rueil-Malmaison), which features Pope Clement VII and a heroic nude Napoleon standing on either side of an obelisk as the Virgin looks down from above. The artist alludes to Napoleon's military victories, as he is crowned in laurels by an allegorical figure of Peace and/or Abundance, who holds a sheaf of wheat in her left hand.²⁹⁵ A plumed helmet of Mars rests at Napoleon's feet. On the other side of the obelisk, below Clement VII, a figure of Charity suckles an infant while another child sleeps comfortably nearby. This allegorical image presents Napoleon as a champion of the Catholic faith, whose reinstatement of Catholicism will bring peace and prosperity to France and the Church.²⁹⁶

The reinstatement of Catholicism in 1801 encouraged parishioners to embrace the notion of Christian charity propagated by the Church, and provided the empire with a way to secure their grasp on France thanks to the institution's morality and stability.²⁹⁷ France's return to the Catholic faith also made it easier for Napoleon to assimilate his conquered Catholic lands, giving him yet another avenue through which to substantiate and legitimate his authority as head of state.²⁹⁸ Napoleon, however, did not want to relinquish too much control to the Church, so he stipulated that he would nominate all bishops in France and force

²⁹⁵ I offer a discussion of Peace and Abundance imagery on pp. 103-114 of this manuscript.

²⁹⁶ A widely circulated print *Signature du Concordat* (1801; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris) also features the Virgin Mary looking over the Pope and Napoleon, but this time she holds a wooden cross in her left hand and a plaque decorated with the papal tiara and keys to St. Peter's in her right.

²⁹⁷ See: Suzanne Desan, "The French Revolution and Religion, 1795-1815," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Enlightenment, Reawakening, and Revolution, 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 564.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 564-565.

all clergy to swear loyalty to his government as they had done during the Revolution.²⁹⁹

Thus, he exercised control over both Church and State.

After the birth of the King of Rome, Napoleon and his artists harnessed the power of Christian iconography, creating images that fabricated a connection between the Holy Family and the imperial family. Napoleon's artists infused Catholic imagery with imperial iconography; this decision no doubt stems at least partly from Marie-Louise's Habsburg heritage. Called Holy Roman Emperors, Marie-Louise's immediate ancestors, including her father, carried the title, which originally designated an emperor crowned by the Pope.³⁰⁰ Thus, the title of Holy Roman Emperor connected the ruler to the Catholic Church in Rome and positioned the Habsburg emperor as a protector of the Catholic Church and an advocate for the religion in his realm.³⁰¹ The Habsburgs believed that their family was inherently holy, a concept known as *Pietas Austriaca*.³⁰² According to this dynastic belief, "God had selected the Habsburgs for rule over their peers because of their exceptional piety; it encompassed as well the idea that their rule mandated them to reinforce Catholicism in all imperial territories."³⁰³ Yonan notes that the Virgin Mary was central to their shared pious

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ This procedure follows the tradition of Emperor Charlemagne's coronation. The Pope crowned Charlemagne Holy Roman Emperor in 800; the last Holy Roman Emperor crowned by a Pope was Charles V in 1520.

³⁰¹ The *Privilegium*, which was created by Emperor Rudolf and his administration, stated that the Habsburgs were lineal descendants of Julius Caesar and Nero, further substantiating the Habsburg's claim to the title Holy Roman Emperor. See: Andrew Wheatcroft, *Habsburgs: Embodying Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 46. The Habsburgs attempted to suppress the Protestant religion in their realm during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in Czech Territory, further demonstrating their interest in maintaining the Catholic faith.

³⁰² Yonan, 38. For more on the concept of *Pietas Austriaca* see: Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*. Translated by William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb. (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004), 55-56. This source was cited in Yonan, 193, note 42.

³⁰³ Yonan, 38.

identity.³⁰⁴ The Virgin Mary was considered an empress according to *pietas austriaca*, which made her a perfect identifying figure for the Habsburgs, but her imperial identification had lessened over time.³⁰⁵ By the time Maria Theresa ascended the throne, the Virgin was recognized as more of a guardian or protector of the dynasty.³⁰⁶ Although Napoleon reinstated the Catholic Church in France, he was more of a military man than a religious man, and was certainly not what one would term a devout Catholic.³⁰⁷ Marie-Louise's connections to the long line Holy Roman Emperors and her family's centuries-old belief in their connection to the Virgin, however, not only connected her but also, by extension, Napoleon II to the Habsburg's religiosity.

In *Marie-Louise, Empress of the French and the King of Rome*, Josephe Franque, like many other imperial artists, places Marie-Louise within a centuries-old genealogy of queenship with the use of portrait conventions from the *ancien régime*, but articulates a new role for the empress through the use of Christian iconography.³⁰⁸ *Ancien régime* artists often used Christian-inspired iconography to associate the royal family with the unquestioned doctrine of the divine right of kinship, and the queen mothers with the virtuous Virgin. Franque's goal is the same, but the Christian iconography is even more highly charged given Napoleon II's position as the actual savior of the Bonaparte dynasty, an association that

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 193, note 42.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ For more on Napoleon and religion see: Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *Napoléon et les cultes: les religions en Europe à l'aube du XIX^e siècle 1800-1815* (Paris: Fayard, 2002).

³⁰⁸ Franque's painting was not commissioned by the imperial arts administration, but the agency deemed it a great success and designated the painting as one to acquire for the empress' collection following the Salon of 1812. See: Catalogue entry for Josephe Franque's *Marie-Louise, Empress of the French and the King of Rome* for Napoleon at Versailles, published for an exhibition at Musée de Kobé (Japan), 2005-2006. I found this material in the archival file at Musée National du Château de Versailles, accessed in October 2011.

artists stressed in several contemporaneous portraits of the child, such as Jean-Baptiste Isabey's *The First Portrait of the King of Rome* (1811; Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's *Portrait of His Majesty the King of Rome* (Salon of 1812; Musée du Louvre, Paris.).

In representations of Napoleon II without his mother or father present, artists depict him as a divine infant, who would save the Bonaparte dynasty and, by extension, the nation of France from undergoing another bloody Revolution. Marie-Louise's close friend Jean-Baptiste Isabey created a portrait of her child in early April 1811. This watercolor image, *The First Portrait of the King of Rome*, is signed and dated by Isabey and inscribed in his own hand "Two weeks after the birth of the King of Rome, the Emperor ordered me to create the portrait."³⁰⁹ The child is dressed in white and wears a white lace bonnet with a yellow sash. The King of Rome rests on the ground clutching the iron crown of Lombardy, the ancient crown worn by all kings of Italy. His head is cradled by a Roman warrior's helmet and two flagpoles stick out from it.³¹⁰ The imperial eagle of Napoleon emblazons the white flag and the yellow flag bears the double-headed black eagle of the Austrian Empire.³¹¹ A spear rests near the child's right hand indicating that he, like his father, will be prepared to take up arms for France should the need arise. A memorial to the god Mars in the background further foreshadows the young child's military prowess while reminding the

³⁰⁹ I translated this quotation from the original French while viewing this drawing at the Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, October 2011.

³¹⁰ "Essai sur l'Iconographie du Roi de Rome, Duc de Reichstadt" *Revue de l'Art* (December 1932), 178.

³¹¹ Ibid. Austria-Hungary is often referred to as the black-yellow monarchy, since those colors are associated with the Austrian empire.

viewer of Napoleon's own military success.³¹² The inclusion of the arms of the Austrian Empire reminds viewers of the King of Rome's Habsburg ancestors, who historically held the title Holy Roman Emperor.

Commissioned by Marie-Louise, Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's *Portrait of His Majesty the King of Rome* (Salon of 1812; Musée du Louvre, Paris) shows the child sleeping on a white palette completely contained within verdant nature.³¹³ Prud'hon, the only other artist besides Isabey allowed to draw the likeness of Napoleon's heir from life during the first months after his birth, applies his skills as an allegorical portraitist to present the King of Rome as the miraculous child of the French empire. In this image, Napoleon II is bathed in an otherworldly light and is presented as a figure for veneration. He is surrounded by plants that proclaim his imperial ancestry, including *fritillaires*, called imperial crowns, laurel, which points towards the military successes of his father who is often shown crowned in laurel leaves in the manner of the Roman heroes, and the myrtle tree of Venus, which is an homage to his mother, Marie-Louise, who was thought to be the Venus to Napoleon's Mars.³¹⁴ In fact, Prud'hon furthers the association between Venus and Marie-Louise by quoting from Rococo images of sleeping cupids, such as François Lemoyne's *Sleeping Cupid* (eighteenth-century;

³¹² For more on iconography associated with the King of Rome see: "Essai sur l'Iconographie du Roi de Rome, Duc de Reichstadt," pp. 177-192

³¹³ Pierre-Paul Prud'hon also created a design for what appears to be a monument to commemorate the Birth of the King of Rome. This allegorical drawing shows the naked child resting in a boat, which is the symbol of Paris. The boat is supported on either side by imperial eagles. In the background of the drawing are triumphal arches, the copy of Trajan's Column in the Place de Vendôme, and the Hôtel de Ville. It is believed that this design for a monument was originally a part of the gift given to the King of Rome by the City of Paris after his birth; this gift also included the cradle designed by Prud'hon. See: Christies New York Catalogue, January 1, 1994 Lot 342.

³¹⁴ *Anciens et Nouveaux. Choix d'oeuvre acquises par l'Etat ou avec sa participation de 1981 à 1985* (Paris, Grand Palais), 182. Interestingly, *fritillaires* were first introduced in the imperial parks in Vienna, so they too have associations with the Austrian Habsburgs. See: "La Fritillaire impériale opulente et mystérieuse" in *Le Journal de Dimanche Femina* September 17, 2000.

The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow), which depicts a winged cupid fast asleep on his quiver of arrows on a verdant hillside overlooking a Greek temple. Like the King of Rome, the cupid rests peacefully, but is quite alone and vulnerable.

In *Portrait of His Majesty The King of Rome*, Prud'hon uses the French national colors to envelop the figure of the King of Rome, who would eventually rule Rome on behalf of his father. As both the King of Rome and heir to the French empire, Napoleon II embodies both national identities. Prud'hon shows the young child sleeps on top of a white cloth, a drapery covers him, and a blue drapery hanging in a vertical line in the right color seems to offer him protection.³¹⁵ Napoleon II is the King of Rome, and his placement in this scene, surrounded by nature, recalls the story of Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome who was abandoned on the shore of the Tiber River and suckled by a she-wolf. In this image, we get the sense that nature cares for France's heir; the trees swoop down to enclose him as he rests unprotected, yet undisturbed. Both Prud'hon and Isabey expertly blur clear distinctions between mythology and Christian tradition. In fact, if we did not know that these images represented Napoleon II, they could very well depict Cupid, Romulus, or most interestingly, the Christ child.

Josephe Franque presses the association between Napoleon II and the Christ child and Marie-Louise and the Virgin in *Marie-Louise, Empress of the French and the King of Rome*. According to *Explications des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure des Artistes vivans* (1812), Franque depicts Marie-Louise contemplating the sleeping King of

³¹⁵ *Anciens et Nouveaux. Choix d'oeuvre acquises par l'Etat ou avec sa participation de 1981 à 1985* (Paris, Grand Palais), 182.

Rome while she presses a miniature portrait of Napoleon to her heart.³¹⁶ Marie-Louise is elegantly dressed in a white silk gown with a lace collar and sits on her red velvet and ermine lined cloak, which is reminiscent of her coronation robes. She wears her familiar diamond necklace, also seen in Robert Lefèvre's *Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress of the French*, and a rather unusual diamond tiara over her forehead. The whole scene takes place in a dark interior with heavily draped windows. Seated on a red-velvet settee with gold embellishments, Marie-Louise gazes down at her sleeping son, who lies naked on a bed of bundled white cloth. He sleeps peacefully with his left arm extended to his head, which is covered in blond hair. His right arm rests on his chest and his knees are haphazardly bent. The child is bathed in light from an unknown source, causing his porcelain skin to shine.

Franque positions the miniature of Napoleon in Marie-Louise's right hand on the same horizontal axis as the King of Rome, illustrating not only how important both Napoleon and the King of Rome are to her, but also underscoring the emperor's presence within the painting.³¹⁷ In the foreground, directly in front of the sleeping child, Napoleon II's crown rests on a blue cushion on a table covered in green velvet emblazoned with Napoleonic bees. The crown is placed directly in front of Napoleon II's head; perhaps the young child dreams of his destiny as emperor while he sleeps.

This representation of a consort with her sleeping heir to the throne is unconventional in the history of aristocratic female portraiture, but is quite conventional in representations of the Virgin and Child. Consider *The Virgin of the Veil* (c. 1575; Musée National Magnin,

³¹⁶ *Explications des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des Artistes vivans*, Exposés au Musée Napoléon, le 1er Novembre 1812, Paris, 1812 Salon of 1812, p. 42, n. 383.

³¹⁷ Isabelle du Pasquier and Luc Georget, *L'Aiglon*. Exhibition Catalogue. (Paris: Levallois-Perret, 1993), 69.

Dijon) painted by Sebastiano Luciani, called Sebastiano del Piombo, which was inspired by Raphael's *Madonna of Loreto* (c.1508-1509; Musée Condé, Chantilly).³¹⁸ In Sebastiano's image, Joseph looks on as the plainly dressed and somber Virgin delicately grasps a translucent veil to cover the naked Christ child as he sleeps. Raphael's version of events is a little more naturalistic, although the same cast of characters is present. Mary grasps the translucent veil to cover her child, but this time, Christ playfully grabs at the veil, creating a more realistic relationship between mother and child. Veils were quite common in Renaissance-era paintings of the Madonna and Child, for they draw attention to how the Virgin wrapped her Child with the veil from her head after his birth at the Nativity.³¹⁹ In Franque's painting, Marie-Louise plays the role of the Virgin as she pinches the translucent cloth between her fingers and draws it over her sleeping child.

Queen consorts and dauphins as secularized Virgins and Childs were nothing new in *ancien régime* France; Franque's painting translates this trope for his early nineteenth-century audience, creating an image of Marie-Louise that is at once different from, but conforms to earlier depictions of French consorts and their first-born sons. Sheriff sees the Charles and Henri Beaubrun's *Anne of Austria, Marie-Thérèse of Austria and the Dauphin* as an explicit reference to the religious painting traditions of the Virgin and Child.³²⁰ She argues that the inclusion of Anne of Austria in this image of consort and dauphin extends this

³¹⁸ These Renaissance examples are discussed in the catalogue entry for Napoleon at Versailles, a publication for the exhibition at Musée de Kobé (Japan), 2005-2006. I found this material in the archival file at Musée National du Château, Versailles, accessed in October 2011. Sylvie Béguin noted the tradition of Virgins unveiling the sleeping Christ Child in 1979. See: Sylvie Béguin, *La Madone de Lorette* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1979).

³¹⁹ According to legend, the Virgin wrapped Christ in her veil once more after the Crucifixion.

³²⁰ Mary Sheriff, "The Cradle is Empty: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Antoinette, and the Problem of Intention," 178.

reference and changes the portrait into a reference to holy kinship, with the king's mother appearing as St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin and her patron saint.³²¹ The holy kinship traces the matrilineal heritage of Christ, and implies that if the queen/mother represents the Virgin, then the king who impregnated her stands for God the Father, an association that underscores the divine right of kingship.³²² A later example of a queen and dauphin as a secularized Virgin and Child is found in Alexis Simon Belle's *Queen Marie Leszczinska and the Dauphin* (1730, Versailles, Musée du Château, Versailles). Queen Marie, who is dressed in her coronation costume, and the dauphin, who is also sumptuously attired in white and wears the blue cordon of the order of Saint Esprit, appear seated in a luxurious interior and gaze straight out of the composition. As in the Beaubrun's portrait, the dauphin sits in his mother's lap and seems to use it his throne. Both images omit the king; he is already present within the scene as the father of the dauphin and his immateriality proclaims his sacred position within the monarchy. Like God the Father, Napoleon is omnipresent, but unseen.

Depicted as a secularized Virgin and Child, Marie-Louise and the King of Rome appear as champions of Catholicism, just like their Habsburg relatives. Consolidating Napoleon's grasp on the French throne by appearing as the unquestionably virtuous Virgin and Child, Marie-Louise and Napoleon II also draw attention to the growing importance of the nuclear family during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As Susanne Desan explains, the re-establishment of the Catholic Church creates "a central arena of sociability and social activism that fit well with the developing codes of domesticity," propagating normalized gender roles and inspiring good, moral behavior in its parishioners to

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

offer a sense of community.³²³ Marie-Louise as the Virgin lifts the empress as a pinnacle of morality and good behavior, positioning her as an exemplary female figure, while maintaining the importance of her Habsburg ties and their association with Catholicism.

An Imperial *Bonne Maman*

Napoleon-era domestic genre scenes have their roots in the work of mid-eighteenth century genre painters, who united drama with everyday events to create relatable images in which viewers could recognize the emotions portrayed thanks to their own life experiences.³²⁴ Genre scenes from this period almost universally depict scenes of the middle class or “bourgeoisie.” The term “bourgeoisie” has its roots in social organization, but beginning in the nineteenth century, connoted the domestic realm, specifically that of an affectionate family who demonstrated their devotion through mutual respect and dedication.³²⁵ Domestic genre scenes incorporated these values of conjugal love, family, and domesticity, infusing them with moralizing sentiments.³²⁶ Contemporaneous genre paintings, including Constance Meyer’s *Happy Mother* (Salon of 1810; Musée du Louvre, Paris), Marguerite Gérard’s *First Steps* (1788; State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg), and *Motherhood* (1795-1800;

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Martin Schieder, “Sorti de son genre: Genre Painting and Boundary Crossing at the End of the Ancien Régime,” in *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masters of French Genre Painting*. Colin Bailey, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). 63, 67.

³²⁵ Jo Burr Margadant, “The Perils of the Sentimental Family for Royalty in Post-Revolutionary France: The Case of Queen Marie Amélie,” in *Servants of the Dynasty: Palace Women in World History*, 305. See also: Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 131-160, and Schieder, 63-67. According to Margadant, François Guizot and Augustin Thierry wrote histories that linked the beginning of the Revolution to town charters given to the bourgeois elites by their overlords. These historians theorized that, five hundred years later, the bourgeois overthrew their oppressive overlords to end absolutism and create a liberal constitutional monarchy.

³²⁶ Ibid.

Baltimore Museum of Art), create, as eighteenth-century art critic Denis Diderot explained, “dramatic poetry that touches our feelings, instructs us, inspires us, and invites us to virtuous action.”³²⁷ Paintings that provided sentimental examples of idyllic family life abounded in the early nineteenth century, responding to Napoleon’s desire to rebuild and remake French society. The instructional capacity of these paintings attempted to stabilize the family unit and the nation by not only casting the happy nuclear family as the fabric of France but also by offering a clear and normalizing depiction of relationships that ultimately underscored the patriarchal hierarchy of the imperial government.

Pauline Auzou draws from this tradition when she turns to the domestic genre scene as a way to articulate Marie-Louise’s new position as mother by drawing from her position within the Habsburg family. Publicly displayed at the Salon of 1812, Auzou’s *Marie-Louise Bidding Farewell to her Family in Vienna, distributing her mother’s diamonds to her brothers and sisters on March 13, 1810* (Salon of 1812; Musée National du Château, Versailles), documents an event that happened before the imperial marriage and omits the presence of the emperor and Napoleon II, a rather odd choice since the birth of the King of Rome was such a momentous occasion. According to the *Salon Livret*, Auzou’s *Marie-Louise Bidding Farewell to her Family in Vienna* takes place in Marie-Louise’s bedroom in Vienna just before she left to marry Napoleon.³²⁸ The young empress appears surrounded by her Habsburg brothers and sisters as she bids them farewell, the only indication of her impending marriage. I explore Auzou’s choice of subject matter for this painting, and

³²⁷ Denis Diderot, *Salons*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Seznac and Jean Adhémar, (Oxford: Clarendon Books, 1957), 233. This quote was found in: Carol Duncan, “Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art,” *The Art Bulletin*, 55, no. 4, 570. See also: Martin Schieder, 72.

³²⁸ *1810, Politique de l’amour: Napoléon Ier et Marie-Louise à Compiègne* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010), 196 and catalogue entry 29, 173.

discuss what made it appropriate to this particular moment. I argue that Auzou's choice of subject matter for her 1812 Salon submission operates within a network of perceived womanliness founded on graciousness, selflessness, and nurturing prevalent during the period. This idealized depiction of femininity echoes the stabilizing effect of family on the nation.

Auzou organizes this painting along the bonds of familial relationships. Marie-Louise, the oldest surviving child of Francis I of Austria, appears in the center of the composition dressed in a lovely white gown with a sheer white overdress, lace collar, and blue velvet robes. White roses decorate the hem of her dress and another white rose is fastened in her honey-blond hair. She stands with her two eldest siblings that survived infancy, François Charles (1793-1875), the future Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, and Maria Leopoldina (1797-1826), the future Empress of Brazil and Queen of Portugal. Marie-Louise graciously and modestly bends her head while giving her brother François Charles a red jewelry box and clasping a small jewel in Leopoldina's palm. Leopoldina is dressed almost identically to Marie-Louise, except she does not wear blue velvet robes or have a white rose fastened in her hair. A child likely representing Archduke Franz Karl (1802-1878), who would have been approximately ten years old at the time this painting was created, stands in shadow to the right of François Charles admiring a new ring, likely a present from his sister.

To Leopoldina's left, there is another grouping of Habsburg archdukes and archduchesses. The girls in this group are likely Archduchess Maria Clementina (1798-1881) and Archduchess Maria Caroline (1801-1832), but the identity of the young male child is unclear, since both Archduke Joseph Franz Leopold (1799-1807) and Archduke Johann Nepomuck (1805-1809) died prior to Marie-Louise's engagement. One of the girls in this

grouping gazes wistfully into Marie-Louise's open jewelry box, while the girl in the yellow dress scolds the young boy who has climbed on a chair to get a better look at the jewelry box's contents. Behind the main figure grouping and to the left, another young girl poses with a necklace, admiring herself in a mirror. Marie-Louise's blue robes create a direct line leading back to an older woman, who is dressed in the same shade of blue. She peers into the room and watches the scene with a heavy heart. Auzou likely intended this woman to represent Marie-Louise's mother, Maria Theresa of Naples and Sicily (1772-1807), who was deceased at the time of the future empress's departure. It could also be Marie-Louise's stepmother, Maria Ludovika of Austria-Este (1787-1816), whom her father married in 1808. The visual connection between Marie-Louise and her mother or stepmother heightens the sentimentality of the image while offering a glimpse into the human emotions felt by both women before the imperial marriage. We get a sense that there is a natural cycle at work in this image: older woman witnessing younger woman leaving home to fulfill societal and political expectations.

Auzou fills her canvas with children, some of whom are unidentifiable, indicating that her goal was not to create documentary portraits of each Habsburg child but to create a typology of family relations that would be relatable to the audience. The relationships between siblings and between a mother and her children or stepchildren is intended to incite an emotional response, both humanizing the empress and providing a context for Marie-Louise's new relationship with her son. This quiet domestic scene asks viewers to imagine a French imperial family reminiscent of that depicted here; Marie-Louise, like her fertile Habsburg relatives, will produce a bevy of children for the Empire, securing Napoleon's dynasty and the future of France. Auzou's intimate moment of Habsburgian familial

affection portrays the newest matriarch of France surrounded by her affectionate, yet relatable family, creating a visual foundation for the Bonaparte family dynasty.

When viewed in conjunction with *The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne* (Salon of 1810), Auzou asks us to imagine that Marie-Louise will be just as devoted to her French subjects as she is to her Habsburg family. In *The Arrival of Her Majesty at Compiègne*, young girls surround the new empress and speak of emulating her virtue, just as her brothers and sisters encircle her in *Marie-Louise Bidding Farewell to her Family*.³²⁹ The virtuous depiction of Marie-Louise in both of Auzou's paintings foreshadows her selfless and nurturing behavior towards her own children, who will be influenced by her moral behavior, and therefore, will be just rulers and virtuous wives. Idealized family life centered on maternal fondness and devotion is not necessarily indicative of reality, but shows the predominant paternalistic family values that conceptualize a notion of family that adheres to *ancien régime* expectations for normative family structures. Predicated on the idea that a woman's place is in the domestic realm, the nuclear family underscores the male's position as head of the household, who is active in the public sphere.³³⁰ In Auzou's *Marie-Louise Bidding Farewell to her Family*, Marie-Louise occupies a position suitable to a woman; she is firmly located in the domestic space of her bedchamber among her brothers and sisters who seem to adore her.

Marie-Louise's performance of jewel distribution in *Marie-Louise Bidding Farewell to her Family* recalls other charitable activities performed by women, aristocratic and middle

³²⁹ For a more detailed discussion of Auzou's *The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne* see: pp.82-91.

³³⁰ See: Duncan, 572. For more on the conventional notions of family relationships in France during this period see: David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History, The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); Wesley D. Camp, *Marriage and Family in France Since the Revolution* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1961).

class alike. Involved in several charitable endeavors, Marie-Antoinette's good works are recorded in several prints, including *Marie-Antoinette and her daughter give alms to the blind* (n.d.; Samuel B. Hayes Research Library, Watertown, Massachusetts), and *Trait de bienfaisance de Marie-Antoinette* (n.d.; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris), in which Marie-Antoinette distributes money to be used for the dowries of lower income women. Several prints exist after a painting by Jean Baptiste André Gautier d'Agoty (1740-1789) entitled *Trait Bienfaisance de la Dauphine (October 16, 1773)*, depicting Marie-Antoinette's charitable acts associated with the so-called incident of Achères.³³¹ During the hunt at Fontainebleau, a male peasant was wounded severely by a male deer as he was gardening in the same enclosure in which the deer took refuge during the hunt. His wife was deeply distressed, approached the hunters, but then fainted. Marie-Antoinette, who was the dauphine at the time, descended from her carriage, revived the peasant woman with smelling salts, insisted she ride with her in her carriage back to her home, and showered her with money.³³² Marie-Antoinette's actions on October 16, 1773 became an example for other women at the French court, indicating the importance of service to notions of aristocratic womanhood.³³³

Not to be outdone by the good works of women, Napoleon also committed benevolent acts. Many of Napoleon's charitable acts were represented during his reign, such as Pierre-Narcisse Guérin's *Napoleon Pardoning the Rebels at Cairo* (1808; Versailles, Musée National du Château), and most notably, Marguérite Gérard's *The Clemency of*

³³¹ See: *Trait de bienfaisance de la Dauphine (October 16, 1773)* after a painting by Jean-Baptiste-Andrée Gautier-Dagory. 48 x 61 cm print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

³³² This episode is recorded in: Maxime de la Rocheterie, *The Life of Marie-Antoinette*, Cora Hamilton Bell, trans. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1906), 78-79.

³³³ Ibid., 79.

Napoleon at Berlin (Salon of 1808). In Gérard's image, Napoleon pardons Monsieur Hatzfeld thanks to Madame Hatzfeld's entreaties. This sentimental painting captures the moment in which Napoleon tells Madame Hatzfeld to burn the letters in her hands, as they are the only evidence of her husband's treason against the Empire.³³⁴ Occurring before his marriage to Marie-Louise, these episodes of the emperor's dedication to his people constitute expressions of dynastic legitimacy and forge a connection between Napoleon and the French public that would, hopefully, remain unbroken despite his inability to produce an heir.

These acts of philanthropy, or at the very least, acts of devotion, construct a sense of nation by presenting narratives of community. Napoleon and Marie-Louise's charitable actions point towards the importance of the "greater good" and obligation to fellow citizens. These events present Napoleon as a "good father" to his people, creating a persona for the emperor based on older conceptions of the king's relationship with his subjects.³³⁵ Jo Burr Margadant notes that the seventeenth-century construct of kinship saw the head of state as an authoritarian who ruled France as a father/husband over his wife and children.³³⁶ By Louis XVI's reign, however, the king's authoritarian persona had softened, and he was cast as a benevolent father, who inspired people's devotion through nurturing care.³³⁷ Consider Ingres's *Henri IV playing with his children in the presence of the Spanish Ambassador*

(1817; Le Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris), which draws attention to

³³⁴ Sally Wells-Robertson, "Marguerite Gérard, 1761-1837." Ph.D. Dissertation. (New York University, 1978), 855, cat. 75a. Maguérîte Gérard's painting was deemed a great success; the Imperial Art Administration purchased it following the Salon.

³³⁵ Jeffrey Merrick discusses this phenomenon in his article: "Sexual Politics and Public Order in Late Eighteenth-Century France: The *Mémoires secrets* and the *Correspondance secreete*." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 1 (July 1990): 68-84.

³³⁶ Jo Burr Margadant, "The Perils of the Sentimental Family for Royalty in Postrevolutionary France: The Case of Queen Marie-Amélie," 301-302.

³³⁷ Ibid.

the monarch's devotion to his family as a way to showcase his ability to look after the French nation. Although commissioned after the Restoration for the Royalist supporter Comte de Blacas, Ingres's image produces a notion of the father/king that recasts the role of the monarch into that of doting father.³³⁸ The dark interior along with the sentimentality of the historical scene positions this image as a Troubadour painting, one that asks viewers to idealize the French monarchical past as a way to substantiate the return to Bourbon rule under the leadership of Louis XVIII.

The persona of the benevolent father suited Napoleon well after Napoleon II's birth, for it positioned the emperor as a caring family man, while also suiting his desire for absolute, unquestioned rule. Napoleon's position as "good father" becomes, in fact, doubly charged; he looks after his people like a doting father, and his ability to father an heir and create a solid Bonaparte dynasty protects the French public from political upheaval after his death. In Auzou's painting, Marie-Louise reinforces Napoleon's position as "good father" by appearing as the "good mother," willingly giving her jewelry to her brothers and sisters.

The centrality of the "good mother" in eighteenth-century genre paintings mirrors the importance of contemporaneous notions of idyllic marital life, which was viewed as both stable and fulfilling for all family members.³³⁹ Images featuring "happy mothers" created by Margu rite G rard and Constance Meyer give visual expression to this new concept of family and maternal bliss. A collaboration between G rard and her brother-in-law Jean-Honor  Fragonard, *The Beloved Child* (eighteenth century; Hillwood Museum, Washington,

³³⁸ Francis Haskell, "The Manufacture of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Painting," *Past & Present* 53 (Nov. 1971), 116.

³³⁹ For more on "happy mothers" in genre paintings of the late eighteenth-century see: Duncan, 570-572.

D.C.) features a beautiful young mother looking back at her infant as she pulls him in a carriage. Equally devoted to his mother as she is to him, the infant reaches his right hand towards his lovely mother in a pastoral setting. Gérard's *First* records the pleasure of a young woman as she witnesses her child's first steps, and Constance Meyer's *Happy Mother* shows a young mother breastfeeding her infant in a tranquil outdoor setting.³⁴⁰ All of these images reinforce the joys of both maternal and family life, and point to an ideal of motherhood built around the importance of nurturing maternity.³⁴¹ The creation of good French citizens is the most important goal of motherhood, and Dorinda Outman sees the young mother and wife's sentimentality towards her child as linked directly to her devotion to her nation.³⁴² The "good mother," then, is not divorced from larger societal concerns, and Marie-Louise's position as "good mother" is not either. Her devotion to family and nation are intertwined.

I would like to push Marie-Louise's association with the "good mother" a little further. We have seen how other aristocratic women stress their ability to produce heirs to

³⁴⁰ For another version of *First Steps* see: Marguerite Gérard and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *First Steps*, 1780-85 (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts). Gérard also created several other paintings that showcase the pleasures of motherhood. See also: Marguerite Gérard, *The Kiss of Innocence* or *The Swing*, c. 1787-1788 (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library) and Marguerite Gérard, *Le Pommier* (Private Collection). Constance Meyer created a pendant painting to *Happy Mother*, entitled *Unfortunate Mother*, which was also exhibited at the Salon of 1810.

³⁴¹ Contemporaneous depictions of the "good mother" also occur in literature, including the work of popular playwright Rene-Charles Guilbert de Pixerecourt. Captured by the treacherous Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, outside of Nancy, Marcelin prays *Mon Dieu! Prends pitié du pauvre petit Marcelin! Rends-lui son cher papa et sa bonne maman Leontine*, a transparent references to Leontine's status as the good mother or *bonne maman*. Throughout the subsequent acts of the play, Leontine is forced to choose between her duties as mother and her duties to her city of Nancy, which is under attack. She ultimately proves her fealty by saving both, and even sports military armor in the process. Leontine's sentimentality towards her child and city indicates that for women, political action and family devotion are linked, and that emotionality governs their actions. The "good mother," then, is not divorced from larger societal concerns, and Marie-Louise's position as "good mother" is not either. Her devotion to family and nation are intertwined. See: Pixerecourt, Rene-Charles Guilbert de. *Charles le Temeraire, ou le Siege de Nancy*. (Paris: Barba, 1814), 7. See also: Barbara T. Cooper, "Up in arms: Defending the Patriarchy in Pixerecourt's 'Charles le Temeraire,'" *Symposium* 47, no. 3 (Fall 1993), pp-171- See also the play, I, I, 8.

³⁴² Dorinda Outram develops this idea in *The Body and The French Revolution* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989).

the throne and to perform the physical role of mother. Empress Catherine the Great of Russia (1729-1796) and her historians positioned her ability to give birth as an indicator of her ability to take care of her people; she adopted the title of “Little Mother,” a moniker that stresses her sentimental connection to her people.³⁴³ The graciousness exhibited towards her family and nation in both of Auzou’s paintings, I believe, positions Marie-Louise as a “mother of the people,” in the tradition of Catherine the Great. I specifically see Marie-Louise as a kind of *Landesmutter*, a notion almost exclusively associated with dynastic Germany during the time of the Napoleonic wars. The figure of the *Landesmutter* was created as a tool for consolidating the German aristocracy’s power by stressing community, the common good, and family.³⁴⁴ Jean Quataert argues that this volatile period of war resulted in a new conceptualization of aristocratic authority and civic duty, necessitating a new public symbol of “community, well-being, obligation, and care.”³⁴⁵ The presence of the *Landesmutter* in popular culture stressed the political legitimacy of the aristocracy by connecting the fitness of the ruling aristocracy with preserving and securing public welfare for the good of society.³⁴⁶ Several dynastic houses demonstrated their devotion to the public by supporting charitable organizations, including the Catholic Church, an institution that underscored the hierarchical structure of the monarchy.³⁴⁷ Women, who were known for their ability to nurture and raise children as well as their dedication to Catholicism, provided the

³⁴³ For more on Catherine the Great see: Robert K. Massie, *Catherine the Great: Portrait of a Woman* (New York: Random House, 2011), Simon Dixon, *Catherine the Great* (London: Profile, 2009), and Michael Streeter, *Catherine the Great* (London: Haus, 2007).

³⁴⁴ Jean Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813-1916* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 29.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*,

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7, 24

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

perfect vehicle through which the state could articulate its own persona by highlighting its ability to provide for its citizenry. Quataert states that the female aristocrats' role in these displays of charitable giving "forged the royal woman into a state symbol of charity and largesse, a patriotic linking of rule to the feminine and the rituals of care."³⁴⁸

In Dynastic Germany, Queen Luise of Prussia (1776-1810) served as a maternal symbol who helped to create a sense of national pride and security during this tumultuous time in Prussia. According to early biographers, she embodied the German nation: "all wanted to see the beloved king and the new *Landesmutter*"; and crowds shouted "welcome most beloved *Landesmutter*," offering flowers, an anecdote recalling the young girls who attend Marie-Louise in Auzou's *The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne*.³⁴⁹ Queen Luise reportedly responded to the crowd, saying, "I thank you dear children."³⁵⁰ Other acts of charity were performed to celebrate Luise's entry into various cities in Germany.³⁵¹ In Königsburg, merchants fed the poor in honor of her visit, and in Frankfurt am Main, Luise visited an orphanage, and was, again, referred to as a *Landesmutter* by her early biographers.³⁵² The identity of the Prussian monarchy now involved aristocratic women's charitable acts, which bolstered the political culture of Germany. This link between women and charitable activities produced a position for the

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 37-38.

³⁴⁹ This was recorded in Quataert, 38. See also *Luise Auguste Wilhelmine Amalie, Königin von Preussen. Ein Denkmal* (Berlin 1810), 54-56, 81-82; and *Die Königin Luise. Der Preussischen Nation gewidmet. Zum Besten der hinterlassenen Wittwen und Waisen der für König und Vaterland gefallen Landwehrmänner und Freiwilligen Jäger* (n.p., 1814), 88. These contemporary sources are cited in Quataert, p. 38, ft notes 38 and 39.

³⁵⁰ Quataert, 38.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 38-39.

³⁵² Ibid. See also *Luise Auguste Wilhelmine Amalie*, 78, 117-118. Quoted in Quataert, p. 39, note 40.

queen consort based on her “natural role” as a mother. Luise, and other women, were considered nurturing, an association her charitable acts exploited and reinforced. In addition, Luise embodied the ideal of the aristocratic mother, giving birth to ten children during her marriage.

Recognizing the importance of aristocratic women’s charitable acts, Napoleon and his administration placed Marie-Louise in charge of the Sociétés de Charités Maternelles, which began in 1788.³⁵³ The charity provided financial assistance and maternal advice to lower-income married mothers.³⁵⁴ Although it is unlikely that Marie-Louise ever visited the women that the charity served, her position as the head of this charity reinforced her commitment to the success of all French mothers, creating a sense of “maternal solidarity.”³⁵⁵ Like the figure of the *Landesmutter*, Marie-Louise’s occupied a symbolic position within the charity, bolstering the moral image of Napoleon’s regime and its devotion to the French public.³⁵⁶

Queen Luise of Prussia might seem an unlikely model for Marie-Louise, given the Prussian consort’s dislike for Napoleon, but Marie-Louise’s Austrian/German roots make the

³⁵³ Matthew Truesdall, *Spectacular Politics: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 125. Marie-Antoinette reportedly began the charity, and Marie-Louise’s position as head of the Sociétés de Charité Maternelle was one occupied by every other *souveraine* of France, ending with Empress Eugénie.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 126.

³⁵⁶ As Matthew Truesdall demonstrates in *Spectacular Politics: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849-1870*, this type of charitable behavior increased the moral capital of the French nation, and became much more widespread during the reign of Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie. See: Truesdall, *Spectacular Politics*, in “The Politics of Sincerity: The Charitable Works of the Empress Eugénie,” 121-135.

connection much more plausible.³⁵⁷ As we have seen throughout this dissertation, Napoleon and his image makers continuously struggled with ways to represent the empress's position at court, drawing from iconographic vocabulary associated with the *ancien régime* and other aristocratic women, including Marie-Louise's great, great-grandmother Empress Maria Theresa. The very public and beloved role Queen Luise occupied in Prussia immediately preceding the imperial marriage presented the perfect prototype for a new iconographic vocabulary after the birth of the King of Rome.

In Auzou's paintings, Marie-Louise activates perceptions of charitable acts, familial devotion, and political allegiance to her nation. By illustrating Marie-Louise with members of her family in Vienna, Auzou places her within the bonds of paternalistic authority, the foundation on which monarchical governmental structures are founded and maintained. Marie-Louise's distribution of jewelry recalls acts of charitable giving that were nation-building tools in dynastic Germany. Furthermore, Auzou's *The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne*, in which she is greeted by young girls and given flowers, mirrors accounts of Queen Luise's popularity as *Landesmutter*, further emphasizing her compassion towards her French subjects. We are called to imagine that Marie-Louise's virtuous distribution of wealth and gracious entry into her new country foreshadows her selfless and nurturing behavior towards her own children, who will be influenced by her virtue.

³⁵⁷ Queen Luise's hatred of Napoleon was primarily based on his continued battles within the German states. For more on Queen Luise and Napoleon see: Joël Schmidt, *Louise de Prusse, la Reine qui défina Napoléon* (Paris: Perrin, 1995).

A Family for Napoleon

So far in this chapter, I have focused on images that omit the physical presence of the emperor. In this last section, I examine how Napoleon's image functions in representations of the imperial family after the King of Rome's birth. What is particularly important about these images is that they are informal genre scenes that cast the imperial family as a stable middle-class unit. Drawing from the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century tradition of genre painting, these images serve as models for all French families, reinforcing the importance of the *family romance* of politics while positioning Napoleon as the head of his new dynasty.

Artists and their elite aristocratic patrons often depicted royal family members in their dynastic portraits. There are numerous extant examples of this phenomenon including Martin van Meytens's *Emperor Francis I and Empress Maria Theresa with Their Children* (1754; Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna), Joseph Kreutzinger's *Portrait of Francis II and his family* (1805; unknown collection), and the dynastic portraits of the French Bourbons, such as Nicolas de Largillière's *Portrait of Louis XVI and His Family* (c. 1710; Wallace Collection, London), and Jean Nocret's *Mythological Portrait of the Family of Louis XIV* (1670; Musée National du Château, Versailles). The aim of all these formal portraits of royal families is to forecast a long-lasting dynasty by displaying all the descendents of the king. Generally, these portraits are very stiff, presenting the family as immutable and timeless.³⁵⁸ In both Joseph Kreutzinger's *Emperor Francis II and his family* and Martin van Meytens's *Emperor*

³⁵⁸ Nocret's *Mythological Portrait of the Family of Louis XIV*, images the eternity of the Bourbons by showing them in the guises of allegorical figures associated with the arts. For more on Louis XIV and his iconography see: Andrew Zega, *Palaces of the Sun King: Versailles, Trianon, Marly: The Châteaux of Louis XIV* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), Guy Walton, *Louis XIV's Versailles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Martha Mel Stumberg Edmunds, *Identity and Politics: Imaging Divine Kingship in Louis XIV's Chapel at Versailles* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2002).

Francis I and Empress Maria Theresa with their Children, members of the imperial family stare solemnly straight ahead while they appear to enjoy the outdoors. Meytens places the imperial family on an elegant garden parterre, positioning Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Francis as stable bookends on either side of the composition. Colossal columns ground the composition thanks to their verticality, and the familiar swath of velvet drapery hangs across the top of the composition. The action appears to be completely frozen; even the young girls in the middle of the composition stop their play. Created approximately fifty years after Meytens's portrait, Kreutzinger's portrait of Emperor Francis I of Austria and his family is just as formal and includes only superficial acknowledgements of relaxed family life. Seated in a large chair with his body at an angle and his right leg outstretched, Francis dominates the composition. He wears a military costume and his two sons stand at his right side, similarly dressed. Francis's wife demurely folds her hands in her lap, while her four daughters surround her. Seated near the foreground wearing a white empire-waist gown with red shawl, Marie-Louise's hands rest in her lap in a gesture that imitates that of her mother, and a small dog sleeps at her feet. Every figure in the composition appears timeless, and this formality is reinforced by the artist's use of portrait conventions, including the velvet drapery and column.

Coinciding with the rise of genre painting in Europe, Angelica Kauffman's *Portrait of Ferdinand IV and his family* (1783; Museo di Capodimonte, Naples) marks a shift in the formal family portraits through its fusion of regality and leisure. Although still impeccably dressed and beautifully posed, these figures look as though they may have just been interrupted while they were at leisure. The eldest girl in the composition freezes mid strum on her harp to the left of the composition while the young boy plays with his dog next to her.

Ferdinand's wife Maria Carolina holds the hand of one of her children and her left hand directs our eyes towards the three children to the right of the composition, who interact with one another. This sentimental scene suggests a happy and stable domestic life. Straddling the line between formal court portrait and relaxed genre scene, Kauffman's portrait creates a relatable and personal image for the Sicilian royal family, one that Napoleon and his artists tried to emulate after his marriage to Marie-Louise.

Prior to the imperial marriage, artists almost exclusively depict Napoleon as a remote figure. He is primarily shown leading military campaigns and making official visits throughout the empire, as seen in as seen in Antoine-Jean Gros's *Napoleon Bonaparte at the Pont d'Arcole* (1796; Musée Nationale du Château, Versailles), and Jacques-Louis David's *Napoleon Crossing the Alps* (1800; Musée Nationale du Château de Malmaison, Rueil-Malmaison). Napoleon's well-known military successes were the key to his power before he established his dynasty, so it is really no surprise that artists focused on Napoleon's administrative and military prowess in portraiture. Napoleon's obsession with the creation and establishment of the Bonaparte dynasty fueled not only his divorce from Joséphine, but also the impulse to represent the emperor as a family man after his marriage to Marie-Louise.

Displayed at the Salon the year of their marriage, Jean-Louis Ducis's *Napoleon with his nephews and nieces on the terrace of Saint-Cloud Palace* (Salon of 1810; Musée National du Château, Versailles) depicts the emperor at leisure surrounded by the children of his brother, Louis Bonaparte, and sister, Caroline Murat. Ducis presents Napoleon as a loving patriarch, who, like his brothers and sisters, nurtures children in a loving way to create competent leaders.³⁵⁹ In Ducis's image, Letizia Murat (1802-1859), the future Marquise

³⁵⁹ This painting was commissioned by General Rapp, one of Napoleon's most trusted generals, who had risen through the ranks of the French military starting during the French Revolution. Rapp served as one of

Pepoli, shares a fond glance with her uncle, while her discarded doll rests in a wheelbarrow behind her; a basket of flowers is discarded to her right. Louise Murat (1805-1889), future Countess Rasponi, gazes directly at the viewer as she calmly clasps her hands and rests her right forearm on Napoleon's thigh. The eldest child in the composition, Napoleon Achille Murat (1801-1847), appears detached from the group as he rests his left arm on an empire-style chair with gold gilding at the right of the composition. Napoleon Achille wears the uniform of the *grenadier à cheval*, and resembles a miniature Napoleon in terms of facial features. He has bright blue eyes, light brown hair, and a rounded face. Lucien Napoleon Charles Murat (1803-1878) playfully smiles outwardly as he arranges tin soldiers in front of a toy cannon in the foreground. Napoleon Louis Bonaparte (1804-1831) clutches the armrest of Napoleon's chair while wearing a blue sash. The youngest child, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-1873), future Emperor Napoleon III, calmly sits in his uncle's lap.³⁶⁰ Soldiers and attendants wait at the doorway to the terrace and two ladies, presumably the children's mothers Caroline Murat and Hortense de Beauharnais, observe the group from a balcony in the distance. The outdoor setting Ducis chose recalls earlier portraits of royal families, but the informal atmosphere of Napoleon seated among his nieces and nephews who play around him recalls genre paintings popular during the eighteenth- nineteenth centuries.

Napoleon's *aide de camp* and, later, was named *Premier Consul*, a title he held until Napoleon abdicated in 1814. Ducis' *Napoleon with his nieces and nephews* was purchased at Livernois on August 1855 for 20000 francs as part of the museum's budget. It entered the Louvre's collection in 1863 and was then placed at Saint Cloud in the *cabinet de travail de l'empereur* during Napoleon III's reign. It was given to the Musée national du Château de Versailles in 1868. See: Catherine Granger, *L'Empereur et les Arts: la liste civile de Napoleon III*, (Paris: Ecole des Chartres, 2005), 511-512.

³⁶⁰ All of the children in this painting are identified in the exhibition catalogue: *Jouets de princes, 1770-1870*, Musée National des chateaux de Malmaison, 16 october 2001 – 28 january 2002. (Paris: Réunion des musée nationaux, 2001).

Like the portraits of Meytens, Kreutzinger, and Kauffman, Ducis's *Napoleon with his nieces and nephews* is first and foremost a dynastic portrait, but it creates a much more endearing scene. We have seen Napoleonic artists turn to the genre painting previously, as in Alexandre Menjaud's *Marie-Louise painting the portrait of Emperor Napoleon* (Salon of 1810), and Pauline Auzou's *Marie-Louise Bidding Farewell to her Family in Vienna* (Salon of 1812). When Napoleon enters the scene, however, it is his relationship with the other figures in the portrait that is highlighted. For example, when Napoleon, Marie-Louise, and the King of Rome are all pictured together, the relationship between father and son is more dominant, downgrading Marie-Louise's significance to the ruling fiction of Napoleon's dynasty. In the images that follow, we will see how artists used the genre portrait to signal Marie-Louise's maternity, a trope resonating with the goal of the imperial marriage.

Napoleon and Marie-Louise appear with their child in two scenes immediately following the King of Rome's birth: Jean-Baptiste Isabey's *The Bedroom of the Empress at Tuileries Palace* (c 1811; private collection) and Rouget's *The French Princes Come to Pay Homage to His Majesty the King of Rome, March 20, 1811* (Salon of 1812; Musée Nationale du Château, Versailles). In Rouget's image, Marie-Louise reclines in her luxurious bed outfitted with white linens and crowned with a red-velvet canopy. Eleven court ladies, ladies-in-waiting, and attendants look on as Marie-Louise hands the newborn King of Rome to Napoleon. Marie-Louise dutifully performs the role of the queen consort, giving her newborn baby to Napoleon and France. This act partially diminishes her importance to Napoleon's ruling fiction, since her fertility and fecundity has already been realized. Isabey accurately records the empress's bedroom, indicating that he was, in fact, an intimate of Marie-Louise, and offering the viewer the illusion that they are witnesses to the actual event.

He even includes the psyche designed by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, which was executed by Jean-Baptiste Odier, and given to the new empress as a gift from the city of Paris to celebrate her marriage.³⁶¹ Encouraging viewers to place themselves within the scene to heighten their emotional reaction is a hallmark of Troubadour painting, and no doubt was intended to have the same effect here. Also a rather sentimental genre scene in the Troubadour tradition, Rouget's *The French Princes Come to Pay Homage to His Majesty the King of Rome, March 20*, depicts Marie-Louise with the emperor and King of Rome while she rests in bed following labor. All of court appears overjoyed at the birth of Napoleon's heir. A princess holds the royal child as Napoleon presents the baby to the French princes, primarily his brothers and close friends, who congregate in the right corner of the composition to offer their allegiance to the little prince.³⁶²

This emphasis on Marie-Louise's physical body and its ability to produce an heir to the throne is nothing new. In fact, several French consorts and dauphines, including Marie-Antoinette, Marie Leszcinska, and Maria Josepha of Saxony, appear in childbed following the birth of their children.³⁶³ In all of these images, the king is present.³⁶⁴ The fact that

³⁶¹ Unfortunately, the psyche no longer exists as it was melted down for funds during a crisis in Parma. Drawings of the psyche as well as the other items in the suite of toilette items gifted to the empress to mark her marriage to Napoleon are housed in the École nationale supérieure des beaux arts, Paris and Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris.

³⁶² Roget depicts a very different bedroom than Isabey, indicating that he did not have the same level of access to the imperial family. Rouget's composition was a great success at the Salon of 1812, and was highly praised by Charles Landon in terms of its composition, brilliant color, detail, and precise brushwork. See: Charles Landon, *Salon de 1812, Recueil de pieces choisie parmi les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture exposées au Louvre le premier November 1812, et autres productions nouvelles avec l'explication des subject et un Examen général du Salon*, vol. 1 (Paris, Au Bureau annals du Musées, 1812), 30.

³⁶³ See: *L'Heureux accouchement de la Reine, de madame Première, née le 19 décembre 1778*, 1778. Engraving. Unknown publisher. Bibliothèque Nationale de France; *Accouchement de la Reine Marie Leczinska qui met au monde Louise Marie morte en 1773*; 1773. Engraving Published in Paris, chez Thevenard, rue St. Severaine. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; *L'Heureux Accouchement de Madame la Dauphine et de la Naissance de Comte de Provence née à Versailles le 17 Novembre 1755*, 1755. Engraving, 18.8 x 13.2 cm, Published in Paris at Rue S. Jacques au coin de la rue des Mathurins a S. Genevieve. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

childbirth was, especially in France, a spectator sport has received a great deal of scholarly attention. Seeing the queen actually give birth assured legitimacy, and the presence of the king in these representations that immediately follow the child's birth is a testament to his paternity.³⁶⁵ Napoleon's presence at Marie-Louise's side following his son's birth is intended to dispel any questions of the child's legitimacy, while stressing Marie-Louise's new, more traditional role at court, the producer of heirs. Her maternity is no longer an abstract concept, and her maternal body proclaims that her role at court is like that of any other consort.

Not all images of the imperial family after Napoleon II's birth focus on the few hours following Marie-Louise's labor. Alexandre Menjaud moves out of the empress's bedchamber and depicts the imperial family in a darkened palace interior in *Napoleon, Marie-Louise, and the King of Rome* (c. 1811; Musée national du château de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau). Dressed in his familiar military uniform, Napoleon holds his son in the middle of the composition, pressing his face to the baby's cheek with his right hand on top of the child's head and his left hand securing him. The King of Rome's head is rendered rather awkwardly and it appears out of proportion with the rest of his body, a curious error since Menjaud renders the rest of the portraits in the composition using naturalistic and recognizable proportions. Napoleon, the King of Rome, and Marie-Louise, whose portrait is in profile, sit around a round table, gesturing to the home life of the imperial family.

³⁶⁴ This tradition continued after Napoleon's abdication; the Duchess d'Orléans, Helene of Mecklenberg-Schwerin (1814-1858) appears in her bedchamber after giving birth to Prince Philippe d'Orléans, Count of Paris, (1838-1894) on August 24. See: *Naissance de son Altesse Royale le comte de Paris le 24 Août, à 3 heures de l'après-midi, S.A.R. Madame le Duchesse d'Orléans a donné à la France un nouveau gage de stabilité à ses institutions et à la dynastie de Juillet* Publisher: Paris, Chez Dubreuil, rue Zacharie, N° 8, 1838. Lithographie 18.9 x 27.5 cm.

³⁶⁵ Madame Campan's famous memoir describes Marie-Antoinette's very public birth experience. See: Jeanne-Louise-Henriette Campan, *Memoirs of Marie-Antoinette and her Court*, vol. 2, (Paris, 1823), 325-327.

Napoleon seems to have just turned from the table on which rests an empty carafe and administrative documents, leaving the viewer with the impression that he interrupted his work to interact with his son.

As stated in an inscription on the back of the painting, Michel-Louis-Etienne Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angle (1760-1819), Secretary of State to the imperial family appears at the left, behind a table with a white tablecloth. D'Angle's hand rests inside of his jacket, a familiar pose for gentlemen during this period, including Napoleon.³⁶⁶ In the middle is Madame de Montesquiou, the King of Rome's nanny, and to the right is Ms. Auchard, who held the title, *nourrice de roi de Rome*.³⁶⁷ Instead of highlighting the centrality of the mother to the sentimental family, Napoleon and the King of Rome are at the center and Marie-Louise is pushed out of the intimate scene. She wears a simple white gown with gold fern trim along the hemline, appearing as a delighted, but passive, onlooker. Her appearance in profile echoes Renaissance portraits of women, who appeared in profile to ensure their passivity in domestic partnerships and place in the home.³⁶⁸ Contained within the confines of the palace and distanced from the central figure grouping of Napoleon and the King of Rome, Marie-Louise's marginality in this genre portrait reinforces the gendered social order.

³⁶⁶ For more on this genteel pose see: Arline Meyer, "Re-Dressing Classical Statuary: The Eighteenth-Century 'Hand-in-Waistcoat' Portrait" *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 2 (March 1995): 45-64. Napoleon is frequently depicted in this same gesture, most notably in Jacques-Louis David's 1812 portrait, *The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

³⁶⁷ Jonconde database accessed 10/22/2013

³⁶⁸ For more on the ways that Renaissance paintings, such as Domenico Ghirlandaio, Filippo Lippi, Sandro Botticelli, and other important portraitists pictured women in profile as a way to contain them within the domestic realm see: Dale Kent, "Women in Renaissance Florence," and Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Portrait of the Lady" in *Virtue and Beauty: Leonardo's Ginevra de' Benci and Renaissance Portraits of Women*. Exhibition Catalogue. (Washington: National Gallery of Art and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 25-48 and pp. 63-88.

By far the most rustic in terms of subject matter and execution, Menjaud's painting recalls the peasant interiors created by the Le Nain brothers, whose seventeenth-century genre paintings provided a foundation for the realist painters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin (1699-1779), Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), Jean-François Millet (1814-1875).³⁶⁹ These great realist paintings followed the examples of the Le Nain brothers' inclusion of moral lessons in their works, offering a glimpse into the everyday realities of their peasant subjects. Carol Duncan explains that the Le Nain brothers' family images do not depict conjugal bliss, but "family pride and loyalty...prosperity and orderly succession," a fitting description of Menjaud's Napoleonic genre scene.³⁷⁰ The Le Nain brothers do not present accurate portrayals of peasant life, but idealize the rural, as seen in the clean clothing worn by the figures and the expensive decanter on the table in *Peasant Interior with an Old Flute Player* (c. 1642; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth).

The virtue of the peasant family depicted by the Le Nain brothers can easily be applied to Menjaud's portrait of the imperial family. The Le Nain almost always included seated figures in front of a fireplace with a table adorned with a white tablecloth and carafe, elements seen in Menjaud's rather upscale version of the same intimate scene. All the figures in Menjaud's family are seated by a table covered with a white table cloth in front of a fireplace, albeit a much more ornate one. A glass of red wine sits on the table in front of the emperor, as does his work. The aim of Menjaud's painting is two fold: it offers an idealized

³⁶⁹ For more on the LeNain brothers and their influence on French genre painting see: Jacques Thuillier, *Les frères Le Nain*. (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, 1978); Pierre Rosenberg, *Tout l'oeuvre peint des Le Nain*. (Paris: Flammarion, 1993); Anthony Blunt. *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*. (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1986), 173-179.

³⁷⁰ Duncan, 573.

vision of family life to reinforce the importance of bourgeois family values while also connecting to the idea of Christian charity; as Napoleon lovingly dotes on his new son, so he will provide for the people of France.

Motherhood and the morality of the nuclear family were powerful symbols used by Napoleon's artists and art administration to consolidate and bolster the emperor's power by accessing the *family romance*. The glamour of court life is subdued in order to present an alternative view of the imperial family, one founded on their ability to take care of the state through both the production of an heir to the throne and their willingness to adhere to middle-class moralizing sentiments. This strong dose of morality infuses portraits of the imperial family, such as Menjaud's *Napoleon, Marie-Louise and the King of Rome*, Rouget's *The French Princes come to pay Homage to His Majesty the King of Rome*, and Ducis's *Napoleon with his nieces and nephews* with a vision designed to appeal to the French public and incite their support of the "relatable" Bonaparte family. Marie-Louise's position as the present, yet passive, maternal presence reinforces the centrality of the nuclear family to maintaining Napoleon's ruling fiction.

Conclusion

Marie-Louise serves as a vehicle for Napoleon to conceptualize his power. In this case, the art administration harnesses the power of the family and familial relationships to articulate his persona, which marks a new vision for his ruling fiction after his marriage to Marie-Louise by reasserting the dominance of the paternalistic model of family. Embroiled in various military campaigns, most of which involved direct confrontations with his wife's father, Francis I of Austria, Napoleon offers a different, softer side of his persona, that of a

family man. Like various kings before him, including Louis XVI, Napoleon manipulates his position as father/king to showcase himself as a beloved father and to his people, a notion that fits well with the sentimental family as imagined by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the mid-late eighteenth century, continued by the imperial regime, and immortalized in popular genre paintings.

Marie-Louise serves as an accessory to this articulation of Napoleonic power by appearing as the good mother. After fulfilling her duty to produce an heir, her maternal, physical body is an asset to the government, but also makes her position more malleable; she is a highly charged political figure, thanks to her relationship to Francis I, and a doting, relatable mother to Napoleon's much-anticipated heir. This tension in her persona mirrors the situation of other French consorts, but the ways in which Napoleonic artists dealt with these issues is what makes the images discussed in this chapter remarkable. Depicted as a consort from the *ancien régime*, a solemn incarnation of the Virgin, and a relatable everyday mother, Marie-Louise's multiple identities testify to the importance of community and the maintenance of the "common good" as essential building blocks of nationhood.

CHAPTER FOUR

Reforming her Identity: Patronage and Travel as Duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (1815-1847)

Installed as Duchess of Parma in 1816, Marie-Louise was free from her duties as wife to Napoleon, who at this point was stowed away at Saint Helena. She was not, however, completely free from her father's watchful eye. After Napoleon's abdication and the subsequent rulings of the Congress of Vienna, Francis I enjoyed a more influential role on the Italian peninsula than had any other Habsburg emperor. By the time Marie-Louise began her tenure as duchess, several of her relatives ruled Italian kingdoms, including Lombardy-Venetia, Tuscany, and Modena. Despite her family ties, Marie-Louise was not exempt from official visits by her father and Metternich, who visited Parma shortly after Marie-Louise's installation to inspect the duchy and to report back to Francis on its condition. Marie-Louise acquired this duchy thanks to her status as former Habsburg archduchess and the ruling of the Congress of Vienna, which was largely controlled by her father. Although Marie-Louise proved a capable ruler in Parma, her status was much more akin to that of viceroy than autonomous ruler; she still consulted her father and his administration about the major issues affecting her duchy.³⁷¹ This ongoing communication ensured that Marie-Louise was never completely divorced from her dynasty during her tenure in Parma.

³⁷¹ Marie-Louise and her administration executed several important public works projects, including a bridge to connect Parma and Piacenza, expansions to the Palatine Library, the construction of an opera house, called the Teatro Ducale, and plans to construct a maternity hospital and orphanage. Count Neipperg accompanied Marie-Louise to the duchy, and assisted Marie-Louise with various administrative duties,

Marie-Louise's identity continued to be based on her Habsburg bloodlines, and she somewhat eschews her associations with the French Empire. For children in royal families, such as Marie-Louise, there was really no way to differentiate oneself from one's family, since dynastic members continuously operated within a framework of monarchical, familial and dynastic cultural realities that were engrained in European society.³⁷² As a woman, even an aristocratic one, Marie-Louise's self was defined by her relationship to her family, and, following Napoleon's abdication, she no longer had a marital alliance to draw on for identity construction. In addition, there were few precedents of autonomous female rulers of Italian duchies on which she could base her identity, forcing her to turn to her Habsburg associations for self-exploration and self-definition.³⁷³ While duchess, Marie-Louise claimed her kinship associations through her art making, commissions, and cultural travels. Although embedded in the familial structure of her Habsburg dynasty, Marie-Louise was not precluded from creating an identity for herself. In fact, I argue that her reliance on her Habsburg lineage precipitated a new avenue of self-discovery founded on her vast network of relatives.

Self- Presentation through Patronage

Marie-Louise's self-presentation in Parma relied considerably on her patronage activities. As we will see in the following section, Marie-Louise exercised considerable

including her public works program. He also corresponded with Metternich and Francis I on her behalf, and helped instigate a civil code reminiscent of the Napoleonic Code in 1820. See Alan Palmer, *Napoleon and Marie-Louise: The Emperor's Second Wife* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 211-212.

³⁷² See: Sharon Kettering, "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen," *Historical Journal* 32, no. 4 (December 1989), 819, 837-. 841.

³⁷³ The example of Empress Maria Theresa was one that was exploited to help construct her persona while she was Empress of the French, but was much less suitable for articulating her position as duchess of a landlocked and rather unimportant duchy on the Italian peninsula.

control over all cultural activities, restoring frescoes in her palace and commissioning paintings by native Parma artists. Marie-Louise's artistic authority in Parma is not just a testament to her life-long passion for art making and collecting, but provides insight into her conception of her position as ruler and her efforts at self-promotion during her tenure as duchess. In this section, I examine a variety of commissions, both public and private, to demonstrate that her material life was intertwined with her social and personal life.

Cynthia Lawrence suggests that patronage is a display of social, cultural, and political power for women, and I believe, Marie-Louise would agree. An informal exercise of power, patronage only requires access to money and an interest in articulating a sense of self, so it was an endeavor open to aristocratic women with a need to construct an identity for either personal or political reasons.³⁷⁴ Often, these reasons are interrelated.³⁷⁵ This conception of patronage activity follows the work of anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who believed that objects carry personal, historical, or family significance. Geertz's theory draws from Walter Benjamin's well-known essay "Unpacking My Library"(1931) in which Benjamin conceptualizes the process of collecting as impacting his sense of self.³⁷⁶ The books in his collection and his interaction with them become a window into his own identity, articulating

³⁷⁴ According to Cynthia Lawrence, there are three major goals for patronage: personal or dynastic ambition, religious or spiritual devotion, and self-definition and promotion. See: Cynthia Lawrence, ed. *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 15-18. See also: Elizabeth V. Chew, "Female Art Patronage and Collecting in Seventeenth-Century Britain." Ph.D. dissertation. (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000), 7 and Kettering, 841.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). Other conceptualizations of the art of patronage and collecting can be found in Walter Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library," in *Illuminations*. Translated by Harry Zohn. Edited by Hannah Arendt. (New York: Schocken, 1968). For a helpful interpretation of the ramification of Benjamin's theories in cultural history see: Joseph D. Lewandowski, "Unpacking" Walter Benjamin and his Library," *Libraries and Culture*, 34, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 151-157.

relationships between material objects and self-understanding.³⁷⁷ For Marie-Louise, the objects she commissioned combine the personal, historical, and familial, while demonstrating her own ambition and dynastic ties. They offer a glimpse into her own construction of self and, perhaps, her desire to display her position. Linked with her family/dynastic identity and charged with personal and historical meaning, Marie-Louise's commissions secure her place as Duchess of Parma while promoting herself as a protector of local artists.

When Marie-Louise took up residence in Parma's Ducal Palace in 1816, she placed herself within Parma's vast history of Bourbon and Farnese rulers. Purchased by Ottavio Farnese I (1524-1586), Marie-Louise's Ducal Palace began as a Quattrocento fortress, formerly known as Castello Sforza.³⁷⁸ Farnese remodeled the former fortress in 1561, creating a palace combining characteristics of country villa and aristocratic city residence.³⁷⁹ Complete with fountains and acres of gardens, the former Castello Sforza was renamed Palazzo del Giardino following its renovation. The aptly named Palazzo del Giardino's interior decorations were created by some of the most pre-eminent artists of the sixteenth century, including contemporaries Agostino Carracci and Mannerist artist Malosso, whose given name was Giovan Battista Trotti (1555-1612). Malosso's wall paintings were rediscovered in the Palazzo in the 1830s.³⁸⁰ Marie-Louise, recognizing their importance,

³⁷⁷ Lewandowski, 151-157.

³⁷⁸ Ottavio Farnese was the son of the first Duke of Parma, Piacenza, and Castro, Pier Luigi Farnese. Pier Luigi Farnese received these lands from the Papal states; he was the illegitimate son of Pope Paul III. The Farnese family ruled the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza until 1731, when the eighth Farnese duke, Antonio Farnese (1679-1731) died without an heir, and Charles of Spain, son of Elisabeth Farnese, inherited the throne. Elisabeth Farnese was Antonio's niece.

³⁷⁹ For more on the history of the Palazzo Giardino and the Carracci frescoes see: Jaynie Anderson, "The 'Sala di Agostino Carracci' in the Palazzo del Giardino," *The Art Bulletin* 52, no. 1 (March 1970), 41.

³⁸⁰ Diane De Grazia and Bert W. Meijer "Mirola and Bertoia in the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma," in *The Art Bulletin*, 69, no. 3 (September 1987), 396.

began restoration immediately.³⁸¹ She employed Giuseppe Martini, Gian Battista Borghesi, and Giacondo Vignola to restore Malosso's frescos, which adorned three walls of the *Salla della Leggende* in the Ducal Palace in Parma between 1604 and 1619, while the Farnese family ruled the duchy.³⁸²

Malosso's three frescoes in the *Sala delle leggende*, *Jupiter Crowning Bacchus Accompanied by Venus*, *The Sacrifice of Alcestis*, and *Circe restores the human form to the comrades of Ulysses*, depict mythological scenes from mythology saturated in meaning for the Farnese rulers. In *Circe Restores Human Form to Ulysses' comrades*, Circe, Goddess of Magic, extends her wand to change Ulysses's comrades back into men after a magic potion turned them into swine, part pig and part man.³⁸³ In the lower right foreground, a figure appears as part swine and man, retaining a pig's head. Ulysses eventually comes to the rescue of his men, and is only able to rescue them thanks to advice from the god Hermes who tells him how to protect himself against Circe's feminine wiles. As John Rupert Martin observed in his discussion of Annibale Carracci's *Ulysses and Circe* (1597; Camerino Farnese, Palazzo Farnese, Rome), this painting shows that with divine help, temptation can be overcome and catastrophe avoided.³⁸⁴ In its original context as a commission of the Farnese family in the Palazzo Ducale, this scene demonstrates that the Divine guides the Farnese family, so they will not be diverted from their ability to govern effectively.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ In this story, Circe invited Ulysses' men to dine with her, but laced the meal with a magical potion to turn them into pigs. Ulysses' wise friend Erylochus did not trust Circe, and escaped to find Ulysses to warn him that his men were in trouble. Ulysses heeds Erylochus' warning and leaves to rescue his men from Circe. On his journey, he meets Hermes, who was sent by Athena to tell Ulysses to protect himself from Circe's feminine wiles.

³⁸⁴ John Rupert Martin, "Immagini della Virtù: The Paintings of the Camerino Farnese," *The Art Bulletin*, 38, no. 2 (June 1956), 100-101.

Malosso's *The Sacrifice of Alcestis* and *Jupiter Crowning Bacchus Accompanied by Venus* draw further attention to the just rule of the Farnese family. In *The Sacrifice of Alcestis*, Alcestis prepares to sacrifice her life for that of her husband, Admetus, king of Pherae.³⁸⁵ After she is sacrificed, Alcestis is brought back to life, no doubt because of her feminine self-sacrificing behavior.³⁸⁶ The third scene depicts Jupiter crowning his son Bacchus, and can be read as a dynastical representation of the virtuous Farnese rule over Parma, and the fact that they rule with divine favor. Although Marie-Louise's rule was far removed in time from that of Parma's first rulers, her decision to restore these frescoes shows an appreciation for the previous Italian rulers and their art commissions. Through the restoration of these frescoes, Marie-Louise appropriates their virtuous Farnese lineage, as imaged by Malosso, as her own. As native Italians, the Farnese family was indigenous to the Italian peninsula and by restoring these frescoes, Marie-Louise positions herself as their successor. These restored frescoes were intended, largely, for private display in the ducal palace; their audience consisted primarily of Marie-Louise, her family, and other official visitors to the palace. The frescoes demonstrate Marie-Louise's efforts at self-definition even outside of the public realm. Her desire to promote herself, even within the ducal palace, indicates an intellectual curiosity regarding her duchy and its history as well as her desire to articulate her claim as duchess of Parma. Malosso's frescos demonstrate the interdependence of her public and private persona.

³⁸⁵ Admetus decides to sacrifice to Artemis before his marriage to Alcestis, which angers the goddess. Eventually, Artemis agrees that she will take another life in the place of Admetus. See: John Roberts, ed. *Oxford Dictionary of Classical World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2007), 24.

³⁸⁶ Women were encouraged to sacrifice themselves for the good of their husbands and their nations. See: Mary Sheriff, "Letters: Painted, Penned, and Purloined," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 26 (1997): 26-56 and Judith Still, "Rousseau's *Lévite d'Ephraïm*: The Imposition of Meaning (On Women)," *French Studies* 43 (1989): 12-30.

Marie-Louise continued to rely on patronage as a means of identity construction and promotion for her publically viewed commissions. In preparation for her father Emperor Francis I's visit to the duchy, Marie-Louise commissioned two pendant paintings from native Parma artist Biagio Martini (1761-1840) in March 1820. The two oil paintings refer to both Marie-Louise's Habsburg dynastic ties and the Farnese history of the duchy: *Paolo III meets Charles V at the Fortress of Busseto in 1543* (1827) and *The Solemn Entry of Marie-Louise into Parma Cathedral in 1816*, which was never completed.³⁸⁷ Pope Paul III, born Alessandro Farnese, fathered Pier Luigi Farnese, whom he made the first Duke of Parma. Duke Pier Luigi ruled from 1545 to 1547.³⁸⁸ In 1543, Paul III did meet with Charles V (1519-1556), Holy Roman Emperor, to discuss issues surrounding the Council of Trent in the city of Bussetto, which was located within the boundaries of the duchy of Parma.³⁸⁹ Charles V was arguably the most powerful Habsburg; he was the heir to the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs, Burgundy, and the Netherlands. In *Paolo III meets Charles V at the Fortress of Busseto in 1543*, Martini presents the aged Pope Paul III shaking hands with Charles V, an act demonstrating the status of the Habsburg ruler; he is influential enough to have audiences with the Pope to discuss matters of state. By commissioning this image, Marie-Louise establishes a lineage for herself in Parma based on her dynastic ties, while promoting the

³⁸⁷ Giuseppe Cirillo, "Introduzione: Maria Luigia e le Arti" in *Maria Luigia, Donna e Sovrana: Una Corte Europea a Parma, 1815-1847*. Exhibition Catalogue. (Parma: Ugo Guanda Editore, 1992), xxviii.

³⁸⁸ Members of the Farnese family ruled the Duchy of Parma until 1731, when the Bourbon Charles I became duke. The House of Habsburg ruled the duchy from 1735-1748 followed by the House of Bourbon-Parma, who ruled the duchy from 1748-1803, when Napoleon invade the region. Napoleon set created a honorary, hereditary dukedom for the duchy from 1808-1814, when Marie-Louise became Duchess.

³⁸⁹ Occurring between 1545 and 1563, The Council of Trent met to deal with issues stemming from the Reformation. For reading on the Council of Trent and its concerns see: Rev. H.J. Schroeder, trans. *Canons and decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978). For information on how the Council of Trent influenced art making see: Anton Willem Adriaan Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna: Visible Reality in Art After the Council of Trent* (New York. A. Schram, 1974).

long history of positive Habsburg influence in the duchy.³⁹⁰ She continued this endeavor by purchasing old portraits of Farnese nobles recovered from the Collegio di Santa Caterina and by commissioning Borghesi's students to create portraits of members of the Bourbon dynasty that had briefly ruled the duchy.³⁹¹ Marie-Louise's commissions include portraits of both Louis XVI and Charles X.³⁹²

In 1828, Marie-Louise commissioned Giovanni Battista Borghesi (1790-1846) to design the very publicly displayed curtain to close the proscenium at the Nuovo Teatro Ducale, now called Teatro Regio, a facility created at the express wishes of the duchess for the citizens of Parma. Local architect Nicola Bettoli (1780-1854) designed the building starting in 1821 on the site of the monastery of St. Alexander, an important saint to the people of Parma after Pope Gregory IV donated the saint's relics to the city in 837. The theater opened on May, 16 1829 with a performance of Vincenzo Bellini's tragic opera, *Zaira*.³⁹³

For the subject matter of the curtain, Marie-Louise turns to allegory to offer a flattering depiction of her ability to govern Parma effectively. The subject for Borghesi's

³⁹⁰ Empress Maria Theresa briefly controlled the duchy of Parma from 1740-1748.

³⁹¹ Francesca Sandrini, ed. with contributions by Lucia Fornari Schianchi and Patrizia Sivieri, *Maria Luigia E Napoleone Testimonianze: Museo Glauco Lombardi* (Milan: Touring Editore Srl, 2003), catalogue entry 72, p. 20. After Marie-Louise's death, the title Duke of Parma was restored to the House of Bourbon Parma who controlled the duchy until 1859.

³⁹² Ibid., 72, p. 20.

³⁹³ *Zaira* is a two act opera with a libretto by Felice Romani. The story is based on Voltaire's *Zaïre*, which takes place during the Crusades. Unfortunately, the premiere was a failure. One critic stated that the opera was ill-received because the Parma audience preferred more traditional music, like that of Gioachino Antonio Rossini (1792-1868). Other critics state that the failure of the opera was because Bellini was often seen about town, when he should have been working. The same critic notes that the librettist Romani noted in the printed libretto that the opera had only taken thirty days to complete. See: Amanda Holden, ed. *The New Penguin Opera Guide* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2001), 49; Charles Osbourne, *The Bel Canto Operas of Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994).

curtain is *The Triumph of Wisdom*, an image representing the good government of Marie-Louise, who appears as Minerva. In the composition, Minerva has the facial features of the duchess, sits on a throne, wears a plumed headdress, and holds a spear.³⁹⁴ Marie-Louise appearing in the guise of Minerva refers to her past as Empress of the French. As mentioned in the earlier discussion of Antoine-François Callet's *The August Alliance* in chapter two, artists often used the figure of Minerva to represent the realm France itself, a subtle nod to her time as Empress, and Minerva's position as patron of the arts.³⁹⁵

Wisdom/Minerva governs her realm on high, hovering on a cloud over a lake surrounded by the figures of Abundance, Justice, and Peace; all three of these figures suggest the time of peace and prosperity that Marie-Louise presides over in Parma.³⁹⁶ Pictured at Wisdom/Minerva's right, Hercules and Dejanira are unusual figures to include in an Olympic scene.³⁹⁷ Tempted by Dejanira's beauty, Hercules violates her, but promises to come back to

³⁹⁴ I include a section devoted to the importance of Minerva in imaging French aristocratic women in this manuscript. See: Chapter Two, pp. 103-114.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Marie-Louise as Minerva is accompanied by several other allegorical and mythological figures emphasizing the desirable aspects of her reign. In the sky above Wisdom and her attendants is a trail of girls representing the Hours, demonstrating the long-lasting rule of the duchess. On the mainland, Borghesi offers a view of Parnassus, the mythical home of the Muses. It was at Parnassus that Apollo received the lute from Orpheus and learned how to play it. A tamed lion rests by his side, showing the charming capability of his music. Parnassus was also the home of Pegasus, the winged divine horse that was first the horse of the Muses and then captured by Bellerophon in Greek mythology. An actual mountain located near Delphi, Parnassus generally refers to the home of poetry, literature, and learning; in fact Montparnasse in Paris was named after Mount Parnassus since students would recite poetry to each other in the streets of this area. As Borghesi envisions it, Parnassus has a rocky terrain and steep cliff. Apollo sits and plays his lyre surrounded by the Three Graces and three Muses (Tragedy, Music, and Comedy). The satyr Marsyas looks on, as if he waits to challenge Apollo to their infamous music contest, which was judged by the Muses. The other six Muses hold down Pegasus, who tries to fly away, in the lower foreground. The rocky terrain of Parnassus slopes downward to a classical cityscape in the distance. For more on Hercules and Dejanira see: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, Virginia Brown, ed. and trans. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2001), 96-97 and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9. 93-272.

³⁹⁷ Francesca Sandrini, ed. with contributions by Lucia Fornari Schianchi and Patrizia Sivieri, *Maria Luigia E Napoleone Testimonianze: Museo Glauco Lombardi* (Milan: Touring Editore Srl, 2003), 70.

marry her.³⁹⁸ While Hercules is away, the centaur Eurytion demands Dejanira's hand in marriage, and her father agrees to the union because of his fear of the centaur. Hercules arrives right before the wedding, kills the centaur, and marries Dejanira. This mythological story has clear parallels with the situation of Marie-Louise; a desperate and scared father-king, and a less-than-desirable betrothed. If understood in terms of Marie-Louise's life, then, Napoleon is humorously cast as the centaur Eurytion, a fitting role for the former French emperor, given the fact that Marie-Louise and her family despised him before the imperial marriage. Count Neipperg, her lover and later husband, plays the hero Hercules.

This publically displayed curtain returns to the iconographical vocabulary used by the imperial regime to espouse the virtues of the young empress in France. In Borghesi's image, however, Marie-Louise appears as Wisdom incarnate, a self-assured, and powerful women ruling from Olympus. Although aspects of her past appear, as figured in the presence of Dijiana and Hercules, Marie-Louise controls the arts, music, and literature of her realm. Given her extremely hands-on role in the Art Academy, this is not a surprise, and points to her continued dedication to the Parma art scene.³⁹⁹

Borghesi's curtain is not the only allegorical image of Marie-Louise dating from her tenure as Duchess of Parma, and her patronage articulates a position for herself that is very much attuned with monarchical and *ancien régime* iconographical traditions, as seen in the use of allegory, but also mindful of her duchy's history and her dynastic ties. Gian Battista

³⁹⁸ According to Greek mythology, Dejanira was the daughter of Deamenus, King of Olenus.

³⁹⁹ Marie-Louise banned the Academy from buying contemporary art objects that were not commissioned by her. At first, Marie-Louise wanted to appoint Isabey as the artistic director of the Parma Art Academy, but by 1816 it became clear that he would not be coming to the duchy. His fee was too large and Parma could not afford him. Marie-Louise's artistic taste for works in the style of Prud'hon and Isabey ensured that Neo-Corregesque artist, Landi was first choice, but he was Roman. Later, Biagio Martini was the frontrunner, but was replaced by his pupil Paolo Toschi. See: Cirillo, xxvi.

Borghesi's watercolor, *Allegory of Marie-Louise* (n.d., Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma), showcases the empress's dedication to the arts through the use of allegorical figures.

Borghesi depicts cupids circling a portrait bust of Marie-Louise that strongly resembles a portrait of the duchess by Antonio Canova (1812; Banca del Monte, Parma). Cupids dance to the music of Apollo as other classically-dressed figures watch; a classical temple with columns appears in the background. Paolo Toschi's *Marie-Louise enthroned in the Galleria Ducale* (Parma; Galleria Nazionale) places Marie-Louise in the interior of her palace in front of a colonnade of columns with antique Roman statues placed between them.⁴⁰⁰ A classicized charcoal and pencil drawing of a female allegorical figure, likely representing Abundance or Charity, appears at Marie-Louise's lower right. Given Marie-Louise's expertise at art making, viewers are asked to imagine that Marie-Louise created this sketch herself; she physically creates Abundance for the duchy with her pen and paper. Toschi's elusion to Marie-Louise's art making directly refers to Lefèvre's *Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress of the French*, which was in Marie-Louise's possession in Parma. Remember that Lefèvre includes a portrait of the emperor along with charcoal crayons, suggesting that Marie-Louise completed his portrait.

When it comes to portraying official portraits of Marie-Louise during her tenure as duchess, artists construct her persona by combining her various national, cultural, and political associations. Consider Borghesi's *Portrait of Duchess Marie-Louise* (1839; Galleria Nazionale, Parma).⁴⁰¹ Commissioned by the duchess, this portrait includes elements

⁴⁰⁰ These Roman statues are now in the Archaeological Museum, Parma.

⁴⁰¹ Borghesi received two payments of 300 lire for this painting. Francesca Sandrini, ed. with contributions by Lucia Fornari Schianchi and Patrizia Sivieri, *Maria Luigia E Napoleone Testimonianze: Museo Glauco Lombardi*, 20, catalogue 72.

associated with Marie-Louise's time in France, and Parma artists looked to French portraits for inspiration. Although Borghesi based his painting of the empress on an oil sketch taken from nature, Marie-Louise's ducal secretary suggested that he change elements in the portrait in a March 31, 1837 letter. Toschi, the head of the Art Academy, likely seconded this opinion.⁴⁰² Based on a comparison between the study and finished portrait, the complaint was that the portrait needed to be grander, or more reminiscent of her official portraits as Empress of the French.⁴⁰³ To accomplish the goal of depicting the duchess in luxury, Borgehsi included furniture that resembles the toilette designed by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon commemorating the imperial marriage in the final version.⁴⁰⁴ Marie-Louise's physical appearance also concerned the ducal secretary, who suggested in the same letter, that Borghesi study François Gérard's portraits of the duchess when rendering her head.⁴⁰⁵ A comparison between Borghesi's image and Gérard's oil sketch for *Empress Marie-Louise and the King of Rome* indicates that Marie-Louise's recognizable physical features that identify her as a member of the Habsburg dynasty were still important to her identity as duchess.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Marie-Louise's toilette is discussed in Chapter two of this manuscript. As Elizabeth Guffey mentions in her *Drawing an Elusive line: The Art of Pierre-Paul Prud'hon*, Count d'Herrisson stated that he saw Prud'hon's famous *toilette* in the attic of the Palazzo Ducale, Parma in the 1820s, so Borghesi very well could have seen these items while in Parma. See Elizabeth E. Guffey, "The 'Master Decorator': Transfiguring the Allegorical Tradition," in *Drawing an Elusive Line: The Art of Pierre-Paul Prud'hon*, 252, note 30.

⁴⁰⁵ Francesca Sandrini, ed. with contributions by Lucia Fornari Schianchi and Patrizia Sivieri, 20, catalogue entry 71.

⁴⁰⁶ For more on Gérard's oil sketch for 1812 portrait of Marie-Louise and King of Rome, see: Chapter Three, 131.

Borghesi captures Marie-Louise's long Habsburg jaw and hooded eyes within the portrait. He also alludes to her Habsburg identity by including a vase filled with pink roses, the symbol of the Habsburgs on a table to her right. A large crown, an element we have come to expect in these types of portraits, rests near the vase. This portrait fits well within the genealogy of consort portraiture; it includes swaths of drapery behind the duchess who is seated on a large throne. Marie-Louise wears a splendid white gown with gold embroidery, a costume reminiscent of the one she wore at the imperial wedding. The 263-carat diamond necklace Napoleon gave her at the birth of their son is fastened securely around her elegantly long neck. In this portrait, Borghesi presents us with all aspects of Marie-Louise's cultural and national ties. Created using an artistic vocabulary mindful of historical precedents, this portrait articulates a vision of Marie-Louise's rule that does not eschew her time in France from her identity, but uses it as part of her persona.

Marie-Louise's patronage activities demonstrate her control of cultural capital in the duchy while displaying her own genealogy and lineage as a member of the Habsburg dynasty and as heir to the Farnese and Bourbons who ruled before her. When considered together, this collection of commissioned objects offers insight into her attempts at self-presentation and self-promotion, while never losing the importance of the Habsburg dynasty to her personal history. Marie-Louise's patronage activities were three-fold; they demonstrate issues that had a particular significance to the duchess, showcase the importance of material objects to the articulation of rule, and reveal her level of involvement in the cultural life of her duchy. Although she clearly privileges her Habsburg associations with the Italian peninsula, Marie-Louise does not completely eliminate the iconographic vocabulary of French artists, who constructed her persona following her marriage to Napoleon. This

adherence to iconographical conventions used by French artists during her time as empress indicates that Marie-Louise recognized the utility and legibility of her portraits created in France.

Travelling through Culture

Marie-Louise's interests in the culture of her duchy did not stop at the restoration of frescoes and the construction of an opera theater. To offer an "Italian dimension" to her identity as duchess of Parma, Marie-Louise needed to demonstrate her cultural interest in other ways, namely through her enthusiasm for native Parma artists and famous cultural sites around the Italian peninsula.⁴⁰⁷ In Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist*, the author states that "all tourists desire [a] deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree; it is a basic component of their motivation to travel."⁴⁰⁸ Her travels, both domestically and within the peninsula, were, I believe, a way for her to forge a new identity for herself, one founded on her intellectual abilities and participation within the cultural phenomenon of tourism. An avid traveler, Marie-Louise journeyed throughout the Italian peninsula, visiting important historical sites around Italy, primarily Venice and Florence. In this section, I explore the duchess's travels through the lens of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour during which the economically and socially wealthy travelled throughout Italy to see vestiges of the peninsula's remarkable past.

⁴⁰⁷ Italy was not a unified country at this time. When I refer to an "Italian identity," I mean the cultural affiliations of the Italian peninsula as a whole, which was based on the ancient Roman past.

⁴⁰⁸ Jordanna Pomeroy, "Introduction: Women's Artistic Passages," in *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artist's Travel* (Albanshot, England and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2005), 1. See also: Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 10.

As a member of the elite aristocracy in Europe with more than a casual interest in art, Marie-Louise can be considered a purveyor of good taste, a skill she honed through years of study and travel to various art collections. In her palace, Marie-Louise promoted a style that was both simple and, as she would believe, in good taste. When describing her sense of style, Marie-Louise said: “*le bon gout est, pour ainsi dire, la pudeur de l’esprit.*”⁴⁰⁹ Count Neipperg echoed this sentiment: “*non de plus ridicule que le Luxe Napoleonienne dans un petit cour.*”⁴¹⁰ By seeing herself as a tastemaker, Marie-Louise positions herself as a part of educated society, capable of discerning fashion from faux pas, and refined elegance from the gaudy.

My understanding of “taste” draws from Immanuel Kant’s *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (1790). As Charlotte Guichard explains, Kant defines taste as “the power to judge in itself; it was universal not because of its real effectuation, but because of its potentiality, its ‘communicability’.”⁴¹¹ In short, it created a sense of hierarchy in which the elites were considered to be purveyors of taste based on their education and access to travel. The idea that taste is communicable and can be learned is a concept tied closely to the Italian Grand Tour, which was considered imperative for the education of gentlemen and the few ladies who undertook the journey. In addition to its aesthetic value, the notion of taste “framed a specific relationship between knowledge and society, mediated by objects, embedded in the social organization of the art worlds.”⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹ Translation: “*Elegant simplicity that is in good taste is infinitely more pleasurable than gross magnificence.*” Giuseppe Cirillo, xxvi.

⁴¹⁰ Translation: “*Nothing is more ridiculous than Napoleonic luxury in a small court.*” Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Charlotte Guichard, “Taste Communities: The Rise of the Amateur in Eighteenth-Century Paris,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45, no. 4 (Summer 2012), 531-532.

⁴¹² Ibid., 522.

As Guichard explains, taste “create[d] sociability and [a] sense of community,” and Marie-Louise’s eagerness to immerse herself in Italian culture was a way to further hone her skills at aesthetic discernment and, most importantly, to solidify her position as duchess of Parma.⁴¹³ In a letter to her good friend Montebello, Marie-Louise expresses her eagerness to explore her new duchy and to take in all the cultural offerings of the Italian peninsula: *Je vais voir [...] toutes ses curiosités; je ne veux pas faire comme à Paris où dans le quatre ans que j’y ai passé, je n’ai rien vu.*⁴¹⁴ With this statement, Marie-Louise decisively differentiates her time in Paris from her time in Parma. When a newly-arrived bride in Paris, Marie-Louise wanted to visit the Musée Napoléon, as I already mentioned, but likely was unable to fully enjoy the French capital’s cultural offerings due to her political and state obligations, setting up a different dynamic to her time in Italy. A newspaper article dating to the early days of her reign records the details of her first visits to the cultural sites offered in Parma, noting her good taste and commitment to Parma’s strong artistic traditions.⁴¹⁵

Parma housed an impressive art collection, which appealed to Marie-Louise’s discerning and educated eye. The secretary of the Parma Art Academy noted the new duchess’s artistic education during his public welcome speech in which he drew attention to the city’s impressive art collection, saying: “*vanteranno Raffaello, ed altri Tiziano, [...] noi ci compiacciamo nel vezzoso Parmigianino e nel tenero Correggio. Pittori delle grazie e del*

⁴¹³ Ibid., 532.

⁴¹⁴ Cirillo, xxiii. Translation: “I’ll see all of its sights...I do not want to do as I did in Paris, where in the four years I was there, I saw nothing.” See also: Gachot, *Marie-Louise intime, sa vie après l’abdication, 1814-1824* (Paris, 1911), 147-148.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., xxiii-xxiv.

cuore, e perciò I pui gegni di pascere lo sguardo e l'animo di Vostra Maestà."⁴¹⁶ Marie-Louise seconded the secretary's opinions in her official statement following her installation as duchess in which she reveals her enthusiasm for the art objects housed in Parma, and praises the Parma Librari's Correggio fresco specifically.⁴¹⁷ In a May 11, 1816 letter, Marie-Louise writes to her friend Montebello about the beautiful Correggio paintings in her gallery, "*j'ai une galerie magnifique donc je suis tout fière.*"⁴¹⁸ In this same letter, Marie-Louise tells Montebello that some English friends she met in Switzerland and Vienna had already been to Parma to see the Correggio paintings in the Ducal Art Gallery: "*...qui ont passé ici pour les beaux tableaux du Corrège...*"⁴¹⁹ Marie-Louise's fascination with Correggio stems from her love of the work of Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, who followed Correggio's example by blending classicism with a penchant for elegant figures and lush atmospheres.⁴²⁰ Marie-Louise and her English friends were not the only ones visiting Parma to view Correggio's paintings. In *Voyage en Italie*, Valery describes this impressive collection, an indication of its prestige among tourists to the peninsula.⁴²¹

The goal of travel for men and women embarking on the Grand Tour was largely tourism, but everyone sought to refine their judgment through an encounter with cultural

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., xxiii. Translation: "We boast paintings by Raphael, Titian, and others...we also proudly have works by Parmigianino and tender Correggio. Painters of grace and heart that are worthy to feed the eye and soul of Your Majesty."

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., xxiv. Translation: "I have a magnificent gallery of which I am so proud."

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. Translation: "...who came to see the beautiful paintings by Correggio..."

⁴²⁰ For more on the graceful figures of Prud'hon see: John Elderfield, *The Language of the Body: Drawings by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996).

⁴²¹ Antoine-Claude Valery, *Voyages historiques et littéraires en Italie pendant les années 1826, 1827, et 1828 ou L'Indicateur Italien*, vol. 2 (Paris: Chez le Normant, 1831), 201-207.

treasures. Travel throughout Italy was, for many, an intellectual journey of self-improvement and self-discovery, and perhaps, a way to bring treasures home as keepsakes.⁴²² Through the experience of traveling through and crossing into new territories, travelers destabilize their own sense of selfhood and identity, interrupting an often previously unquestioned sense of self. As Paula Findlan explains, Italy was seen as “both a utopia and a dystopia, a place of dreams and aspirations that offered endless opportunities to reinvent one’s identity...”⁴²³ Through participating in this cultural tourism, Marie-Louise, like other Grand Tourists, shared a common experience of self-discovery, one revealing commonalities between Europeans. I see her travels as her own journey of self-discovery following Napoleon’s abdication.

Marie-Louise began traveling throughout the Italian peninsula as early as August 1816, an endeavor that not only reflected her dedication to “Italian” interests and her profound taste, but also an effort to trace her Habsburg lineage. She began her tour in Florence, where, on August 19, she was a guest at the Pitti Palace.⁴²⁴ On September 2, 1816, she visited the Fabbrica delle Pietre Dure, the Florentine Academy, and other important sites in the city, including Marquis Ginori’s porcelain factory.⁴²⁵ Considered a cultural capital,

⁴²² Many eighteenth and early nineteenth century writers discuss the importance of the Grand Tour for self-discovery. See: Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. Thomas Seccombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907); Mary Wortley Montague, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-67), vols. 1 and 2. In Jessica Lanier’s “Martha Coffin Derby’s Grand Tour”, the author discusses Martha Derby’s belief that travel could improve one’s taste, 37-38. See Jessica Lanier’s “Martha Coffin Derby’s Grand Tour” “It’s Impossible to Travel without Improvement.” *Women’s Art Journal*, 28, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2007): 37-44.

⁴²³ Paula Findlan, “Introduction: Gender and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Italy,” in *Italy’s Eighteenth-Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour*, Paula Findlan, Wendy Wassing Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama, eds. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 6.

⁴²⁴ Cirillo, xxiv.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

Florence was a city that had special relevance to the Habsburgs. Following the death of Gian Gastore in 1737, Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, husband of Empress Maria Theresa, was appointed Grand Duke of Tuscany.⁴²⁶ Peter Leopold, Francis Stephen's third son, succeeded him in 1765.⁴²⁷ When Leopold inherited the title Holy Roman Emperor following his brother Joseph II's death, he installed his second son, Ferdinand III, as Grand Duke of Tuscany. Ferdinand ruled the duchy from 1790-1801, when his reign was interrupted during the Napoleonic Wars, and again between approximately 1814-1824. He ruled the duchy during Marie-Louise's visit in 1816.

Another Habsburg stronghold, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia provided much cultural enrichment for Marie-Louise. Established by the Congress of Vienna following Napoleon's abdication, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice was founded to unite the previous holdings of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty on the Italian peninsula, making it a fitting stop on Marie-Louise's decades-long Grand Tour. In the 1830s, Marie-Louise stopped in both Milan and Venice, the cultural capitals of Lombardy and Venetia. In a May 1834 letter to her daughter Albertina, Marie-Louise meticulously describes a tour of the Basilica Sant' Eustorgio in Milan, where she saw the Portinari Chapel with Giovanni Balduccio's *Tomb of Saint Peter the Martyr* (1339).⁴²⁸ Venice, a region that had been under intermittent Habsburg control since 1797, was a top destination on the Grand Tour.⁴²⁹ In 1838, Marie-Louise travelled to Venice, an area that had been under Habsburg control since 1797. In another

⁴²⁶ Findlan, "Introduction: Gender and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Italy," 9-10.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 10. See also: Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire*, 232-234.

⁴²⁸ Cirillo, xxiv-xxv.

⁴²⁹ See: Barbara Ann Naddeo, "Cultural Capitals and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Italy" *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2005), 183.

letter to Albertina, Marie-Louise describes her trip to Venice, stating that on October 8 she visited San Giorgio Maggiore and Ridentore, and on October 9, she visited Santa Maria della Salute, the Basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, and Santa Maria di Nazareth, called the Scalzi. Marie-Louise also describes an October 11 visit to the church of Saint Sebastian, noting that it contains the tomb of Venetian Renaissance painter Paolo Veronese.⁴³⁰

Marie-Louise embarked on travel adventures around the Italian peninsula to further articulate and consolidate her affinity with her subjects. These travels allowed her to maintain her illustrious Habsburg ties, which further underscored her connections on the Italian peninsula. In short, she was able to maintain her Austrian/Habsburg identity while envisioning her new position as Duchess of Parma. Marie-Louise's travels, as recorded in her letters, construct a narrative presenting her as a learned observer of Italian culture, which perpetuated her position as purveyor of taste and preserver of culture within Parma. Her position as duchess places her outside the boundaries of national identity, a point I argue elsewhere in this dissertation. But, in order to construct herself as separate from her persona as French Empress, Marie-Louise stressed her Italian connections.

Recent scholarship on the Grand Tour theorizes that it can be viewed as “a process of...transculturation,” offering foreign visitors to the Italian peninsula a “novel sense of a common culture, thereby aiding them to transcend national divisions in favor of the embrace of a pan-European identity.”⁴³¹ Marie-Louise's multi-national ties made her cultural affiliations malleable; how could she really be considered a foreigner when her cousins ruled Tuscany, Lombardy, and Venice? Her fashionable interest in art, and her appreciation for

⁴³⁰ Cirillo, xxv.

⁴³¹ Naddeo, 184.

Italian artists, especially those from her duchy, not only reinforced her “Italian-ness,” but allowed her to publically display her fashionable artistic tastes. Through travelling, Marie-Louise produced a network for herself that extolled her virtues as a learned, fashionable, member of the elite aristocracy based on her Habsburg lineage.

Imagining Identity through Art-Making

Throughout her time as duchess of Parma, Marie-Louise created drawings and watercolor paintings that both expose her desire to maintain her Habsburg dynastic ties and reveal her desire to articulate a new position for herself as Duchess of Parma. In this section, I discuss Marie-Louise’s watercolor album (1812-1820), which was primarily kept for private viewing among her close friends, family, and art instructors. Purchased by the Museo Glauco Lombardi in 1934 from the heirs of Marie-Louise’s daughter, Albertina, Marie-Louise’s watercolors reveal the private exploration of her new national and aristocratic identity during her early years as duchess.

The album itself dates back to Marie-Louise’s tenure as Empress (the first page states that it was made by Terzuolo, the official paper-maker of the Emperor), and contains approximately forty-six watercolor landscapes created between October 1812 and May 1820.⁴³² Created primarily from nature, Marie-Louise’s landscapes represent a direct link with the eighteenth-century penchant for *plein air* sketching, an activity that encouraged introspection and imagination due to the picture’s incompleteness and undetermined

⁴³² *Museo Glauco Lombardi* (Milan: Touring Editore Srl, 2003), 53.

quality.⁴³³ I argue that new-found freedom, as explored in her album of watercolor paintings, allowed Marie-Louise the flexibility to examine her identity as an aristocratic woman and ruler, while giving her the opportunity to fashion a persona for herself that was at once feminine, fashionable, and indicative of her Habsburg heritage.

Marie-Louise was in good company when it came to art making among aristocratic women. Empress Maria Theresa's favorite daughter, Archduchess Maria Christina, is perhaps the best-known and most prolific aristocratic female artist from the eighteenth century, and her art production offers insight into the importance of art making to women trying to understand their position at court. Elder sister of Marie-Antoinette, Maria Christina created several paintings, most notably *Self-Portrait* (c. 1765; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and two genre scenes portraying her Austrian Habsburg family: *The Feast of St. Nicholas* and *The Childbirth of Isabella of Parma* (c. 1762; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). In all three of these images, Maria Christina explores her identity as both an artist and a member of the Austrian-Habsburgs.⁴³⁴ As Michael Yonan demonstrates, Maria Christina places her image as a central figure in these idealistic family genre scenes, which was likely not an accurate depiction of the Habsburg family dynamic. Maria Christina's genre paintings of Habsburg family life depict all the imperial children enjoying each other's company, an occurrence that was at odds with the archduchess's reality. The favorite child of the empress, Maria Christina was not well liked by her siblings, who believed she was

⁴³³ Paula Rea Radisch, "Eighteenth-Century *Plein-Air* Painting and the Sketches of Pierre Henri de Valenciennes" *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 1 (March 1982), 98.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

arrogant and devious.⁴³⁵ These genre scenes, therefore, recreate events in such a way that Maria Christina is able to re-imagine her position in the family as a beloved sister.

Maria Christina was not the only artist among Maria Theresa's children. Maria Christina and most of her siblings contributed to the decorative scheme of Maria Theresa's private study, the Porzellan-Zimmer, at Schönbrunn Palace. The walls of the empress's study are covered in homemade blue-ink drawings on paper after *chinoiserie* prints by well known artists, including François Boucher and Jean Pillement.⁴³⁶ Made by the Habsburg children, these landscapes are both exercises intended to improve the imperial children's art skills and also clear illustrations of the Habsburgs' interest in art making.

Marie-Louise's friend Hortense de Beauharnais was also an amateur painter, and created portraits, self-portraits, Troubadour-inspired interiors, and watercolor landscapes. After Napoleon's fall, Hortense highlighted her relationships with relatives from her mother's side of the family, including her cousins, Sophie de Tascher de la Pagerie, Anna de Tascher de la Pagerie, Baroness of Guise, and Stéphanie de Tascher de la Pagerie, Duchess of Arenenberg. In her paintings and drawings, Hortense rarely chose to depict members of the Bonaparte family, even though she married the former emperor's brother.

Hortense's connections to her cousins proved even more important following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. Stéphanie de Tascher de la Pagerie and her husband offered Hortense safe haven at their home, Arenenberg Castle, after Napoleon's imprisonment. After

⁴³⁵ Michael Yonan, "Nobility and Domestic Conviviality in the Paintings of Archduchess Maria Christina," *Theatrum historiae* 4, Pardubice, 2009, 140. In this essay, Yonan includes an excerpt from a diary entry by Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1776 that details his disdain for his sister Maria Christina. Queen Marie-Antoinette reportedly also disliked her sister and refused to allow her to visit the Petit Trianon when Maria Christina visited Versailles.

⁴³⁶ The Porzellan-Zimmer was used by Napoleon as his private study when he occupied Schönbrunn in 1805 and 1809. See Maria Gordon-Smith, "Jean Pillement at the Imperial Court of Maria Theresa and Francis I in Vienna (1763 to 1765) *Artibus et Historiae* 25, no. 50 (2004): 187.

moving in to her cousin's palace, Hortense frequently painted scenes of Arenenberg Castle, such as *View of Arenenberg Castle* (n.d.; Musée national du château de Malmaison, Reuil-Malmaison) and *View of Arenenberg Castle and Bodensee* (1831; Musée national du château de Malmaison, Reuil-Malmaison). Her skills at art making allowed her to explore privately her newly acquired identity as the exiled former Queen of Holland.⁴³⁷

Art making offered these aristocratic female artists the opportunity to privately examine their identities in a safe environment considered suitable for well-mannered ladies. All of these women learned art making as young girls; so, the creation of art objects was something that they could easily turn to for reflection. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, drawing and painting were taught as “ladies accomplishments,” and, as Ann Bermingham has observed, were considered a part of socialization for young girls, one that encouraged self-examination and introspection within the domestic realm.⁴³⁸ Marie-Louise and Hortense's facility with watercolors reveal their awareness of popular styles, since watercolors were the preferred medium for many landscape artists from the late eighteenth-century onwards. Their soft, muted colors and portability made them appealing to female artists, professional and amateur alike. Professional artist Anne-Rosalie Filleul (1753-1794), who was a close friend of Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and a favorite portraitist of the French royal family, used this medium when creating a series of *views* around Château de Chantilly.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ For more on Hortense de Beauharnais' art making see: Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, “Hortense – Peinture et Dessinateur,” in *La Reine Hortense: Une Femme Artiste*. Exh.Cat. (Malmaison and Arenenberg: Napoleon-Museum Arenenberg, 1993), 53-58. See also pp. 166-167.

⁴³⁸ Bermingham, 188.

⁴³⁹ Anne-Rosalie Filleul portrays recognizable views around Chantilly, such as the Menagerie, while aristocratic people enjoy themselves. Her decision to use watercolors attests to their popularity with female artists, amateur and professional alike, but also reveals her business savvy. Her accurate depictions of the

Marie-Louise's facility with watercolors was, in many ways, slightly ahead of her time, and she acquired many new skills while duchess.⁴⁴⁰ Infused with the tradition of *plein air* sketching and the so-called hobby-paintings of other aristocratic women, Marie-Louise's art making took on a different, more reflective, dimension following Napoleon's initial abdication, which prompted her to look to this pastime for solace. In a June 2, 1814 letter, Marie-Louise speaks of her decision to resume her art making: "*Je voudrais pouvoir chasser la tristesse qui me dévore.*"⁴⁴¹ As I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation, artists were adept at constructing new identities for aristocratic women through the use of their paintings. What is unique about Marie-Louise, and other aristocratic female artists, was the ways they engage with and utilize contemporaneous artistic conventions to envision new roles and identities for themselves.

Marie-Louise's watercolor landscapes have much in common with the watercolor landscapes of Victorian-era women artists, who travelled throughout the British Empire. Often rapidly composed and saved for future contemplation, watercolor paintings permitted artists to recall their experiences long after their adventures were complete.⁴⁴² There is most

environs around Château de Chantilly show that she worked as a painter to the family of Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1736-1818), who held the position of *Grand Maître de France*.

⁴⁴⁰ See: Cirillo, "Introduzione: Maria Luigia e le Arti" in *Maria Luigia, Donna e Sovrana: Una Corte Europea a Parma, 1815-1847*. According to her letters from Switzerland during the Summer 1829, Marie-Louise studied drawing with M. Alméras, an artist who reminded her of her beloved Isabey. She wrote a letter to Albertina in 1830, explaining how she began creating colored lithographs in Baden under the direction of an un-named teacher. She switched to another watercolor technique, *acquerellare a spruzzo*, in 1830. Learned from an unknown master, this technique required spraying watercolor on paper and was primarily used for floral subjects. She resumed the study of this technique with a M. Victor in 1835. Several botanicals by Marie-Louise that use the *acquerellare a spruzzo* technique exist in the collection of the Museo Glauco Lombardi, such as Marie-Louise, *Due Farfalle (Two Butterflies)*, c. 1830-1835, inv. 682, pencil and watercolor on paper, 20.4 x 24.6 cm.

⁴⁴¹ Cirillo, xxii. Translation: "I would like to chase away the sadness that consumes me." See also: Edouard Gachot, *Marie-Louise intime*, vol. II, 40.

⁴⁴² Diane Sachko Macleod, "Introduction: Women's artistic passages," in *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel* Jordana Pomeroy, ed., 7-8.

definitely a documentary quality to a visual image, especially one depicting a recognizable scene sketched *en plein air* at a travel destination. These images, as Diane Sachko Macleod explains in the introduction of *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel*, do more than simply document a particularly impressive voyage, but preserve the identity of the artist through visual representation.⁴⁴³ Thus, we can understand Marie-Louise's landscapes as revealing part of her authorial identity and artistic concerns. The situation for Marie-Louise is a bit more complicated than simply recording her favorite scenes from various travel experiences. She expands her self-awareness through the documentation of travel sites.

In her watercolor album, Marie-Louise chooses landscapes offering views of historically significant buildings in the Habsburg realm, as seen in *Castle of Persenbeug* (c.1816-1820; Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma) and *Benedictine Monastery at Melk* (c.1816-1820; Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma). These watercolors demonstrate her self-reflection along with the Habsburg tradition of landscape painting as seen in the *chinoiserie* paintings in the Porzellan-Zimmer. *Castle of Persenbeug* depicts the yellow ochre castle of the same name on a promontory beside the Danube River, which is located about fifty miles from Vienna. Purchased by Marie-Louise's father Francis II in 1800, this castle was previously owned by the imperial family until 1593. Francis's decision to purchase the property represents his desire to retain aspects of his Austrian heritage through the reacquisition of former imperial properties. Marie-Louise spent the summer of 1818 at this castle with Napoleon II, Francis II and his new wife, Karoline Charlotte Auguste of Bavaria (1792-1873), a time coinciding with Emperor Francis's decision to give his grandson, Napoleon II,

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 8.

called Francis Charles, the high-ranking title Duke of Reichstadt.⁴⁴⁴ Marie-Louise returned to the Castle of Persenbeug in 1826, when she writes to her daughter Albertina about her time there.⁴⁴⁵

Like *Castle of Persenbeug, Benedictine Monastery at Melk* has a picturesque landscape configuration. Located on a bluff overlooking the Danube, Melk Abbey was founded in 1089 by Leopold II, Margrave of Austria, and is one of the most famous monasteries in the world. It served as a major scriptorium and contained several illuminated manuscripts, allowing it to escape dissolution under Emperor Joseph II. It also survived Napoleon's two major invasions of the area. Marie-Louise likely completed both watercolors during her stay at Persenbeug in 1818, as Melk was located just down river from the castle.

Marie-Louise's frequent travel between Parma and Vienna to visit Napoleon II offered the perfect opportunity to enjoy the sites, while providing the artist with a way to reflect on her trip long after it had been completed. Another watercolor by Marie-Louise likely completed during her travels between Parma and Vienna is *View of the German Tyrol on the road between Innsbruck and Salzburg* (n.d.; Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma).⁴⁴⁶ Done using pencil with an ink wash, this image includes a cityscape at the right, which has been identified as the city of Rattenberg, located along the Inn River approximately forty miles north of Innsbruck on the road to Salzburg.⁴⁴⁷ A picturesque village originally located

⁴⁴⁴ Palmer, 211.

⁴⁴⁵ *Museo Glauco Lombardi*, 167.

⁴⁴⁶ This image is signed in pencil "Marie Louise," but this identification likely took place after the duchess' death as a means of differentiating her work. It is likely the handwriting of Professor Lombardi who amassed the collection held at the Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma.

⁴⁴⁷ All information on this drawing with ink wash was obtained on the website of the Museo Glauco Lombardi. <http://www.museolombardi.it/sitolombardi/RicercaMuseo.asp> Accessed 12/18/2013.

in Bavaria, Rattenberg became a part of the Habsburg realm in the early sixteenth century under Maximilian I. Before being acquired by the Habsburgs, Rattenberg was a crucial customs post in between Tyrol and Bavaria. Thus, this image allowed Marie-Louise to explore her position as a mother on the way to visit her son and as a former Habsburg archduchess who reflects upon her ancestor's imperial pursuits.

Marie-Louise shows her associations with her Habsburg relatives through the depiction of property, which is a bit unusual among aristocratic women who more often demonstrate their dynastic ties through the inclusion of culturally or dynastically significant objects along with their image in portraiture. As a Habsburg, Marie-Louise was a member of a dynasty that had consolidated their rule through the collection of satellite states and duchies for hundreds of years. The construction of the Austrian empire through the accumulation of property was key to their identity as a powerful empire, and this type of geographic language would have been a part of Marie-Louise's vocabulary when privately exploring and articulating her position as duchess. The acquisition and maintenance of land, at least through her collection of picturesque scenes in her watercolor album, permitted Marie-Louise the freedom to bask in her dynasty's long-lasting success as a vast Empire.

It is not surprising that Marie-Louise would turn to art making as a way to construct and redefine her position in European politics after becoming Duchess of Parma. Art making offered Marie-Louise and other aristocratic women, including her great-aunt, Maria Christina, and friend, Queen Hortense, the opportunity to privately examine their identities in a safe environment considered suitable for aristocratic women. Marie-Louise's daughter, Albertina, also created watercolors, and Marie-Louise regularly corresponded with her daughter about art making. In her letters, Marie-Louise notes visits to artists' studios

throughout Europe and her interest in new techniques, including *acquarelle a spruzzo*, a technique that required spraying watercolor on paper.⁴⁴⁸ Marie-Louise's discussion of her artistic pursuits with her daughter indicates that Albertina's interests conformed to that of her mother.⁴⁴⁹

Another watercolor album (1831-1838) in the Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma contains watercolor landscapes created by Marie Louise, signed "Louise," and her daughter Albertina, signed "Albertine" and "A. Montenuovo."⁴⁵⁰ Although rather mundane in its content, this album includes several Italianate landscapes, perhaps a nod to the central role the Italian peninsula played in the lives of both mother and daughter. Through this collaboration, Marie-Louise passes on the Habsburg tradition of aristocratic female art making, while equipping her daughter with the necessary tools to imagine and explore a position for herself before and after her marriage to Luigi Sanvitale in 1833. Marie-Louise teaches the tools of art-making for imagining, constructing, and reflecting upon identities to her daughter, who because of her sex, was well-suited to the solitary introspective nature of watercolor and drawing.

Conclusion

Marie-Louise's commissions, travels, and art-making during her tenure as Duchess of Parma represent an elision of her Habsburg and Italian ties as she forges a different identity for herself separate from that of Empress of the French. She used her impressive artistic

⁴⁴⁸ For an example of this technique see: *Two Butterflies*, c. 1830, Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma.

⁴⁴⁹ Cirillo, xxxi, xxxiii-xxxiv.

⁴⁵⁰ This watercolor album contains approximately 43 pages, and contains drawings by mother and daughter. Primarily landscapes, this album also contains anonymous portraits. See: <http://www.museolombardi.it/sitolombardi/RicercaMuseo.asp> [Accessed 12/22/2013]

skills and education to explore what it meant for her to rule her duchy on the Italian peninsula as a former Habsburg archduchess. Although the only female to rule the duchy of Parma, Marie-Louise did have other Habsburg precedents to follow. These rulers, like Marie-Louise, occupied a position outside of and beyond traditional notions of nation. We can argue, as I have in this document, that elite aristocrats occupy a position independent of strict national boundaries, since they are able to move from kingdom to kingdom, regardless of cultural or national allegiance, rather easily.

Marie-Louise's transnationality is certainly visible in her artistic activities as duchess, and has many affinities with the concept of trans-culturalism, a notion that became increasingly relevant during the Grand Tour when travelers sought to experience pan-European culture. Identifying with the culture in which you were planted was especially important for Marie-Louise and other foreign rulers, for it helped present them as compassionate and educated preservers of their new location's cultural integrity.

I believe that Marie-Louise was uniquely suited to articulating her flexible cultural identity in Parma. Fueled by her appreciation and knowledge of art, Marie-Louise could easily manipulate and mould her cultural and national associations through both public and private commissions. Her watercolor albums further attest to the importance of her dynastic and cultural associations to the articulation of her identity during this period.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation demonstrates the various positions Marie-Louise, House of Habsburg-Lorraine occupied throughout her lifetime. Each area of inquiry I examine contributes to an understanding not only of Marie-Louise's life but the shifting political climate of early nineteenth-century Europe, revealing both its increased globalization and its indebtedness to the old monarchical regimes that still largely governed the region. While occupying the positions of Archduchess of Austria, Empress of the French and Duchess of Parma, Marie-Louise traversed a variety of geographic and cultural boundaries, sought solace and self-examination through her various patronage projects and numerous art productions, and served as a rather complicated subject for the many artists that executed her portrait. I chose to unravel and dissect the persona of Marie-Louise through the lens of art imagery to uncover a vision of aristocratic womanhood that was more representative of these women's multiple roles, both politically and domestically.

Accessing Marie-Louise's own voice throughout this project has been a bit challenging, since it was primarily Napoleon's art administration that commissioned art objects when she was empress. However, Marie-Louise's continued dedication to art production and patronage provided me with a glimpse into the way she viewed herself and her position both at Napoleon's court and following his abdication. Many aristocratic women learned drawing and painting as part of their feminine education, including Marie-Louise, Hortense de Beauharnais, and Archduchess Maria Christina, and I add to this relatively small field by exploring how aristocratic women used art making to navigate their positions in changing geographic locales and political climates. What made Marie-Louise different from

other aristocratic women who produced art objects, however, are the ways in which Napoleon's image-makers called on her artistic ability as a way to visually represent her ability to craft and create a dynasty for the Empire, making her creativity a part of her persona. Marie-Louise herself used this same type of vocabulary when re-creating and re-articulating her position as Duchess of Parma. The sketchy, reflective quality of watercolor painting invites contemplation among its practitioners, and Marie-Louise used the exploratory dimensions of this medium during her many travels throughout Italy, Switzerland, and Austria, providing much reflection on her dynastic heritage as a Habsburg and what her familial ties meant to her authority in Parma.

Although Napoleon's image-makers incorporated Marie-Louise's artistic sensibility and creativity into their compositions, they primarily manipulated and improved upon *ancien régime* prototypes to harness Marie-Louise's power potential, which placed her within a genealogy of queenship. Portraiture was essential to the articulation of Marie-Louise's public persona during the Empire, as it was for all of her predecessors, but they were unlike other portraits of aristocratic women that attempted to minimize, and to some extent, erase the previous dynastic ties of the female. Napoleon's artists embraced Marie-Louise's Habsburg heritage, choosing to display her recognizably Habsburg and stereotypically Austrian physical features. By stressing the empress's dynastic ties, Napoleon bolstered his power in Europe; he could even conquer the heart of an Austrian Archduchess! In Parma, artists continued to emphasize her Habsburg features in portraiture, but this time, her dynastic ties worked to consolidate and strengthen her position on the throne and not that of her husband. As the politically connected daughter of Francis I, Marie-Louise's claim to Parma was strictly based on her own political potency.

At work within the imperial historical and allegorical scenes was a desire to displace or, in some cases, erase the memory of the violent revolutionary past and the uncertain post-revolutionary years prior to Napoleons *coup d'état*. These history and allegorical paintings asked the viewer to become absorbed in the contemporary events surrounding that surrounded her, namely Napoleon's marriage to a Habsburg Archduchess. Troubadour-style painting allowed Napoleon's image-makers to craft a historically poignant and emotive vision of important contemporaneous events intended to cause the viewer to become overwhelmed and transfixed by the splendor of the court. Designed so that the viewers could feel that they were literally eye witnesses to the event, images such as Rouget's *Marriage of Napoleon I and the Archduchess Marie-Louise in the Salon Carée of the Louvre*, Alexandre-Benoît-Jean Dufay's *The Marriage Banquet in the Salle de spectacle at the Tuileries on April 2, 1810*, and Auzou's *The Arrival of Her Majesty the Empress in the Gallery of the Château de Compiègne*, construct an authentic, detailed vision of contemporaneous events; they make the French viewers to feel as if they are an eyewitness to history. Often based on similar scenes from the *ancien régime* or recent past, Napoleonic-era Troubadour images were designed to strengthen the public's allegiance to Napoleon and the Empire, while giving him a legitimate place in the continuum of French kingship.

The return to allegorical imagery during Napoleon's reign is an avenue that has received little academic attention, but offers another example of the ways in which Napoleon called on the past for his visual vocabulary. These rather complicated and busy images, such as Callet's *The August Alliance* and Prud'hon's decorations for the celebrations at the Hôtel de Ville, function similarly to imagery from the *ancien régime* and even feature the same cast of allegorical characters. Imperial allegorical imagery, like its *ancien régime* predecessors,

lifts contemporaneous events to the realm of the eternal, but attempted to dazzle the viewers to imprint the glory of the emperor and empress on the spectators. Marie-Louise serves as a unifying figure in these images; her Habsburg ties help make this allegorical articulation of imperial power legitimate. As a member of the oldest and longest ruling monarchical family in Europe, Marie-Louise's presence in these images makes them both more potent and more resonant for the viewers, who likely remembered or at the very least were aware of, the portrait conventions of the not-so-distant monarchical past.

Aristocratic portraiture during Napoleon's regime also included genre painting. Genre scenes depicting the imperial family asked viewers to suspend reality by portraying the imperial family as an everyday, middle class family complete with doting father, joyful mother, and happy baby. These idyllic scenes of familial affection and devotion reinforce the governmental structures of the Empire by stressing gender norms and, most interestingly, by portraying Marie-Louise as the "good mother," who takes care of her child as she does the French nation. Marie-Louise's Habsburg blood linked the new imperial government with the *ancien régime* and Napoleon to the dynastically-rich Habsburgs, while translating Marie-Louise's maternal virtues onto canvas. These publically displayed images present Marie-Louise as a model for other French women to follow, while establishing a sense of community among its constituents. Appearing as gracious and demure in Pauline Auzou's *Marie-Louise's Arrival at Compiègne* and *Marie-Louise Bidding Farewell to Her Family*, and downright saintly in Josephe Franque's *Marie-Louise Unveiling the King of Rome*, Marie-Louise prescribes a sense of proper female deportment and nurturing female behavior that reinforces the gendered order of the family. These same tropes were taken up during the

reign of Louis-Philippe, whose image-makers cast his family as the ideal middle-class family that is at once intimate and nurturing.⁴⁵¹

The variety of styles and genres represented in this dissertation open up different avenues of research, particularly in terms of Napoleonic artists. The vast majority of artists I discuss in this manuscript are not well known, with the exception of Jacques-Louis David, François Gérard, Paul Prud'hon, and Jean-Baptiste Isabey, but were important enough during the empire to execute images of the imperial family to hang in the Salon. These artists brought up new issues including the relationship between women artists and queens, women artists' representations of maternity and motherhood, and what it meant to be a popular artist during Napoleon's regime. All of these intersections could benefit from more research, and the variety of ways Marie-Louise was represented offers an exciting first step in this process.

All of the artists who represented Marie-Louise relied on a variety of prototypes. Although many of these prototypes come from France, a great many of them are simply European, pointing towards the *transnationality* of aristocratic women. Europe was an increasingly globalized society, especially in elite circles. People from different territories would routinely intermarry, travel to new locales, and need to demonstrate their loyalty to their new adopted countries. This interchange allowed artists to become familiar with iconographical schemas suitable for demonstrating women's authority in court society. I believe that all aristocratic women were transnational figures and had to adjust their personas accordingly. Portraits of Marie-Louise offer an exciting example of this phenomenon. Catherine Campbell Orr first articulated the importance of dynastic ties to understanding the role of the queen, and I returned to her theories throughout this manuscript to shape my own ideas. I believe that in order to fully investigate queenship and aristocratic womanhood, we

⁴⁵¹ Margadant, 313.

must stop thinking of these women as strictly bound to their native lands and/or their adopted nations. This avenue of inquiry provides numerous possibilities for the future of queenship research, allowing researchers to uncover women that are less strictly dependent on their identities as wives and mothers, and to produce notions of aristocratic women's roles that are more mindful of their political importance and dynastic ties. Throughout this dissertation, I argue that Marie-Louise's life as lived demonstrates her transnationality, exposes the importance of her dynastic ties to her political identity, and reveals the integral role her imagery played in lending Napoleon the dynastic capital he lacked.

Although a little-known historical figure, Marie-Louise offered an excellent case study for investigating the roles of queens/empresses and how they fit within the social, political, and cultural fabric of Europe. She fits nicely within a genealogy of queenship, demonstrating how her position was similar to, but different from, that of her European predecessors. Her changing aristocratic positions and the shifting political climate in Europe, does, in fact, complicate understandings of aristocratic womanhood and its articulation in portraiture. This study of Marie-Louise prompts questions about the longevity of the institution and how other queen consorts, including her Habsburg relatives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, negotiated and nurtured their own personas, both publically and privately.

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Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

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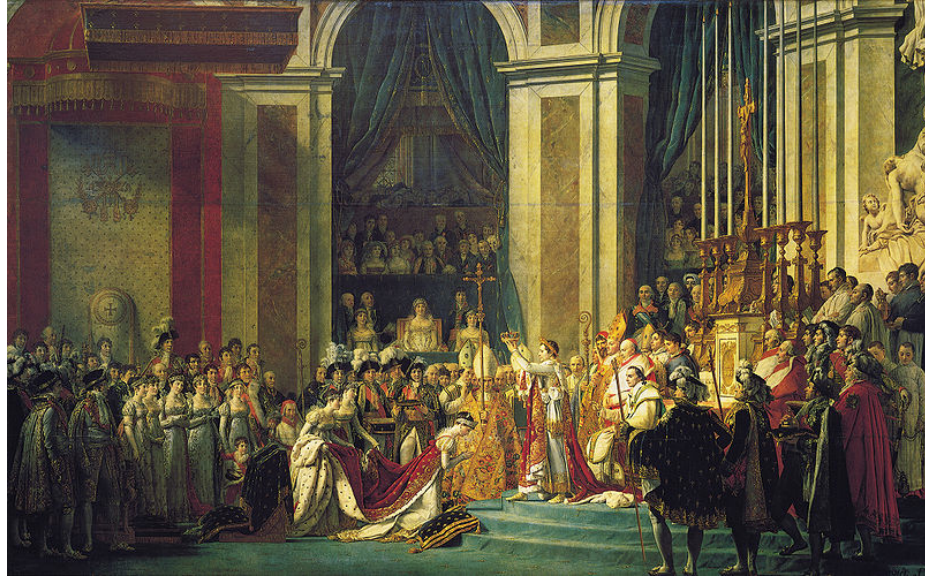


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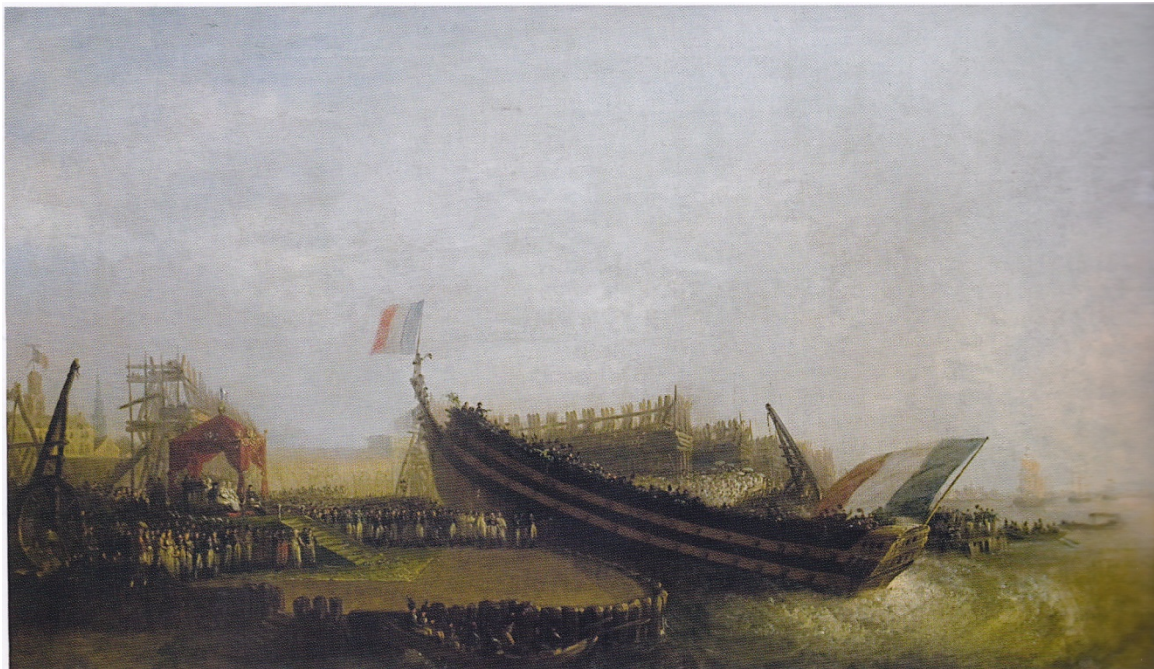


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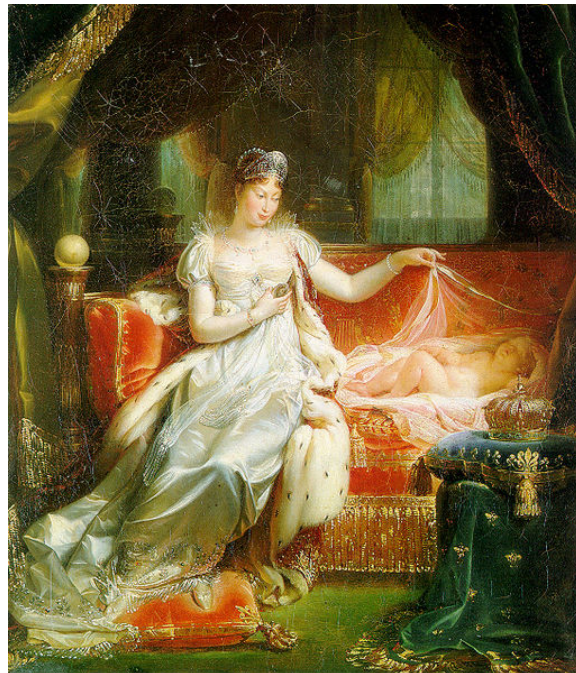


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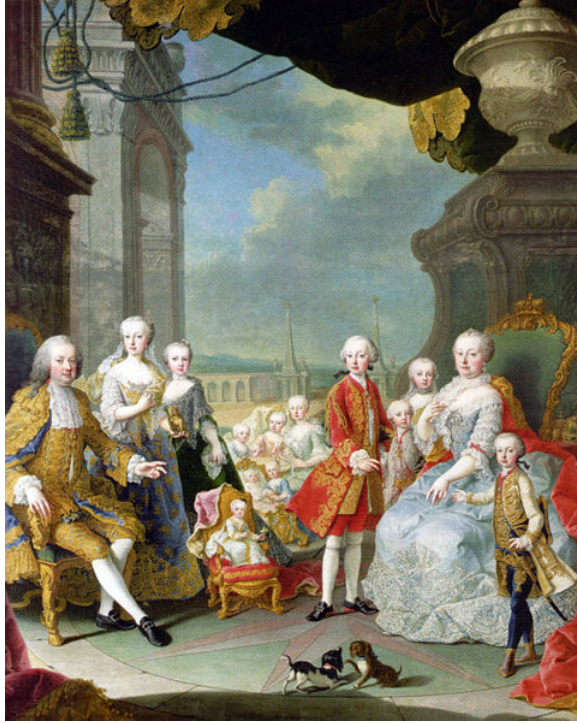


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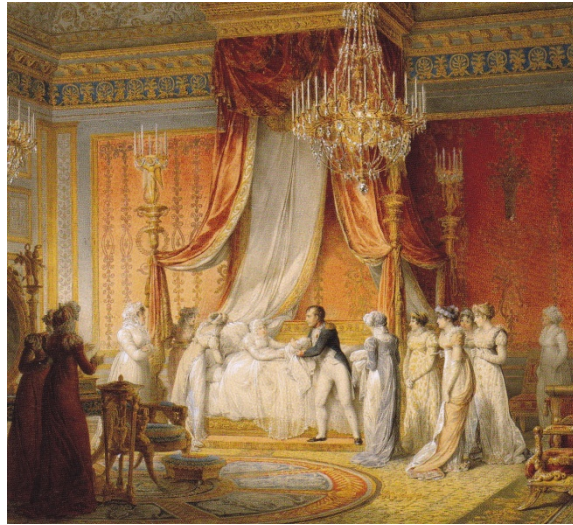


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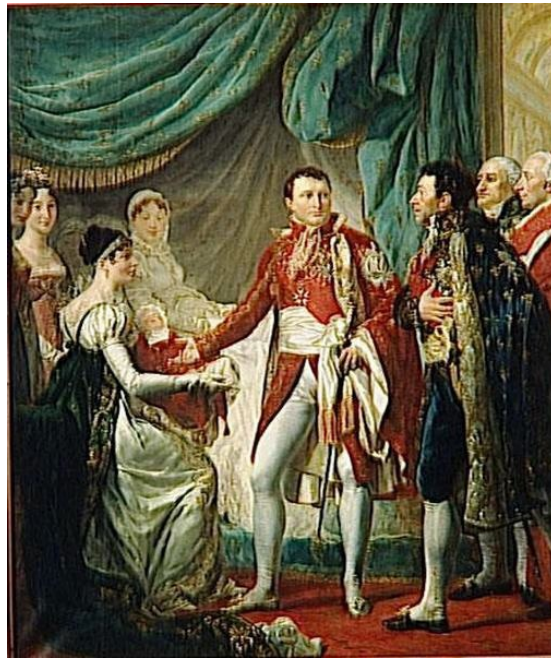


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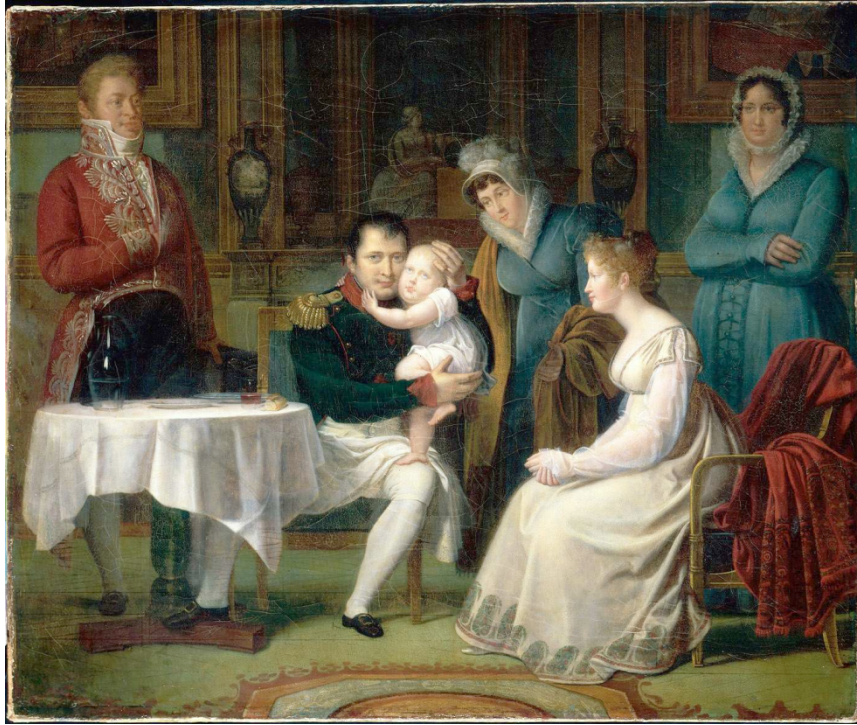


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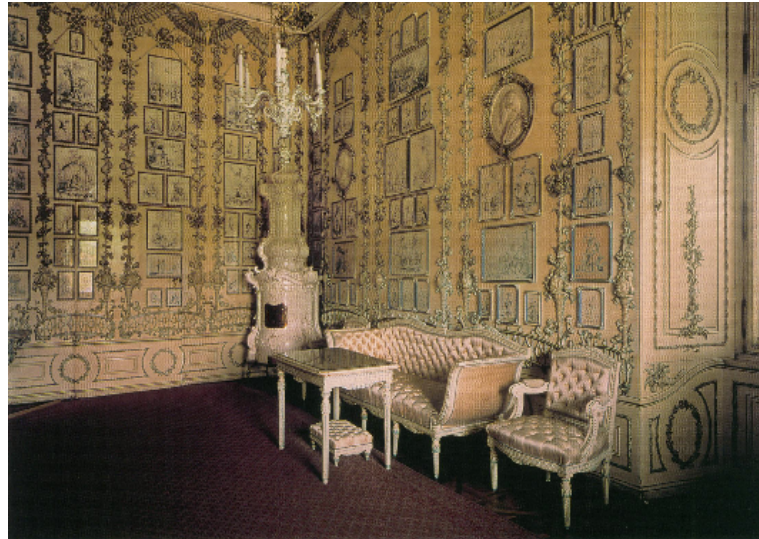


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