

Hand



**IMAGES OF GREEKS IN BRITISH AND FRENCH ART, C.1833-1880:
PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, ART AND SOCIETY**

ATHENA S. LEOUSSI

**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

UMI Number: U062210

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U062210

Published by ProQuest LLC 2014. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to measure the extent of the 'Greek revivals' in official British and French artistic practice during the second half of the nineteenth century and to explore their links with different parts of their social context. To this end I concentrate on the works of art illustrating aspects of Greek culture and life, both ancient and modern, which were exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Salon between 1833 and 1880. I study their numbers, themes and dates, and examine the role in these 'Greek revivals' of developments both inside and outside the sphere of art.

I consider the following circumstances : firstly, the importation into Western Europe of naturalist Pheidian art, secondly, the development of certain 'scientific' ideas about the ancient Greek body in its connexion with the cultural and political achievements of the ancient Greeks through the development of Physical Anthropology, and, thirdly, the expansion of positivism in other spheres of life. The adoption of 'scientific' solutions, including the idea of race, to certain social problems introduced ancient Greek values and practices regarding the body into the aesthetic, religious, national and political conceptions and institutions of British and French societies.

The fact that certain new elements of ancient Greek culture and institutions became, in the course of the nineteenth-century, an important component of British and French conceptions and institutions of national identity, nation-building, religious salvation or self-realisation and political life, justifies us in understanding British and French works of art on ancient Greek subjects as so many screens on which actual social ideals and institutions were projected. This cultural significance of the ancient Greeks also explains British and French artists' orientation towards the representation of both Greek subjects in general and of particular elements of ancient Greek culture and institutions in particular, as well as the expansion of the use of the Pheidian figural type to illustrate these themes. Finally, it justifies a distinction among works on Greek subjects into three main and overlapping categories: mythology; Greeks in general and ancient Greek athletes; and ancient Greek male political mythological and historical personages or 'heroes'.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|-------------|
| LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS | 4 |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS | 7 |
| PREFACE | 18 |
| INTRODUCTION | 21 |
| | |
| <u>PART I</u> : Statistical account of images of Greeks in British and French art | 31 |
| Chapter 1 : Foreign subjects in the Salon and the Royal Academy | 32 |
| Chapter 2 : Greek subjects in the Salon and the Royal Academy | 56 |
| <u>PART II</u> : Physical Anthropology and Ethnographic Art | 75 |
| Chapter 3 : Physical Anthropology and the anthropology of the Greeks | 76 |
| Chapter 4 : Positivism and the new art theory: truthfulness as beauty | 105 |
| Chapter 5 : The making of the artist-anthropologist | 118 |
| Chapter 6 : The aesthetics of Hellenism and ethnographic art | 146 |
| <u>PART III</u> : Physical Anthropology, religion and nationalism | 164 |
| Chapter 7 : The Greek body in Christian theory and practice | 165 |
| Chapter 8 : The national significance of Physical Anthropology | 196 |
| <u>PART IV</u> : The social significance of the Greek body and images of Greeks in British and French art | 228 |
| Chapter 9 : Images of Greeks as images of God | 229 |
| Chapter 10 : Images of Greeks as images of the nation: Britain | 267 |
| Chapter 11 : Images of Greeks as images of the nation: France | 302 |
| | |
| CONCLUSION | 335 |
| NOTES | 339 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 399 |
| ILLUSTRATIONS | 417 |

LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS

(i) List of Tables

Table 1: Works of art exhibited in the Salon in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.

Table 2: Works on foreign subjects in the Salon in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880.

Table 3: National categories in the Salon and their scores in selected years: 1833-1880.

Table 4: Works on European and non-European subjects in the Salon in selected years, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880.

Table 5: Annual rates of the major national categories in the Salon in selected years: 1833-1880.

Table 6: Works of art exhibited in the R.A. in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

Table 7: Comparative table of works on foreign subjects in the Salon and the R.A. in selected years, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880.

Table 8: National categories in the R.A. and their scores in selected years: 1833-1880.

Table 9: Works on European and non-European subjects in the R.A. in selected years, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880.

Table 10: Comparative table of the major national categories and their rank in the Salon and the R.A. for the whole period, 1833-1880.

Table 11: Annual rates of the major national categories in the R.A. in selected years: 1833-1880.

Table 12: Distribution of works among different Greek subjects in the Salon in selected years, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.

Table 13: Rates of different Greek subjects in the Salon in selected years: 1833-1880.

Table 14: Distribution of works among different Greek subjects in the R.A. in selected years, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.

- Table 15: Rates of the different Greek subjects in the R.A. in selected years: 1833-1880.
- Table 16: Comparative table of the rank of each of the different Greek subjects found in the R.A. and the Salon with its overall rate as a proportion of all works on Greek subjects exhibited in each venue between 1833 and 1880.
- Table 17: Comparative table of the rank of each of the different Greek subjects found in the R.A. and the Salon with its overall score for the period 1833-1880.
- Table 18: Comparative table of the annual rates of Greek mythology in the R.A. and the Salon as proportions of all works on Greek subjects exhibited each year in each venue: 1833-1880.
- Table 19: Comparative table of works on the most frequently appearing male personages from Greek mythology in the R.A. and the Salon, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880.
- Table 20: Works on ancient Greek political personages in the R.A. divided into historical and mythical personages, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.
- Table 21: Works on ancient Greek political personages in the R.A. divided into male and female personages and presented in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.
- Table 22: Images of ancient Greek city-states in French art in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.
- Table 23: Comparative table of works on ancient Greek athletes by artist and medium in the R.A. and the Salon, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.
- Table 24: Works on ancient Greek political personages in the Salon divided into historical and mythical personages, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.
- Table 25: Works on ancient Greek historical political personages in French art in absolute numbers: 1833-1880.

(ii) List of Graphs

- Graph 1: Pattern of works on foreign subjects in the Royal Academy and the Salon as percentages of the total exhibits in each year: 1833-1880
- Graph 2: Pattern of works on Greek subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on foreign subjects: 1833-1880
- Graph 3: Pattern of works on Greek subjects in the Salon as percentages of all works on foreign subjects: 1833-1880
- Graph 4: Pattern of works on Greek mythology in the R.A. and the Salon: 1833-1880 (percentages are calculated in relation to all works on Greek subjects exhibited each year)
- Graph 5: Comparison of the patterns of distribution of works on Greek subjects among the different genres in the R.A. and the Salon: 1833-1880
- Graph 6: Pattern of works on foreign subjects in the R.A. and the Salon as percentages of the total exhibits in each year: 1833-1880
- Graph 7: Comparison of the patterns of the annual rates of the major five national categories in the Salon and the Royal Academy as percentages of all works on foreign subjects in each year: 1833-1880
- Graph 8: Comparison of the patterns of works on 'Venus-Bacchus' and 'Paganism' in the Salon as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880
- Graph 9: Comparison of the patterns of works on different types of mythological subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880
- Graph 10: Pattern of works on Greek subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on foreign subjects: 1833-1880
- Graph 11: Pattern of works on ancient Greek political subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880
- Graph 12: Pattern of works on ancient Greek political subjects in the Salon as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Ancient Greek Art

1. The Apollo of Belvedere, c. 350-320 B.C., Roman copy, Musei Vaticani, Rome, Marble, H. 2.24 m
2. Laocoon, Hagesandros, Polydoros and Athenodoros of Rhodes, c.160-130 B.C., Musei Vaticani, Rome, Marble, H. 2.42 m.
3. Borghese Gladiator, Agasias, first century B.C., Musee du Louvre, Paris, Marble, H. 1.99 m
4. Farnese Hercules, Glycon, third century A.D., Museo Nazionale, Marble, H.3.17m
5. Discobolus, Myron, c.460-450 B.C., Museo delle Terme, Rome, Marble, H.1.55m.
6. Diadumenus, Polycletus, c.440-430 B.C., Roman copy, National Museum, Athens
7. Maidens From the frieze of the Parthenon, Pheidias, c.442-438 B.C., British Museum, London.
8. Two of the Three Fates from the east pediment of the Parthenon drawn by B.R.Haydon in 1809 (illustrated in Cook, 1984, p.63, fig.78)
9. Horsemen From the frieze of the Parthenon, Pheidias, c.442-438 B.C., British Museum, London (ill. in Cook, 1984, p.29, fig.33)
10. Venus de Milo, "?...andros of Antioch on the Maeander", c.200 B.C or later, Musee du Louvre, Paris, Marble, H.(with base) 2.50m

The Physical Anthropology of the Greeks and Artistic Anatomy

11. Camper's classification of the races by measuring the 'facial angle' illustrated in Robert Knox's manual of artistic anatomy (1852)
12. The Greek oval and perpendicular skull compared with the elongated skull of a Peruvian illustrated in Prichard (1836, vol.I, Figs.1 and 2)

13. The physical type of the modern Greeks illustrated in Knox's The Races of men (second ed.1862)
14. The body of the ancient Greeks: the hero, the woman and the athlete illustrated in Knox's Manual of Artistic Anatomy (1852)
15. The perfect man: Polycletus' young Greek athlete decorating himself known as Diadumenos illustrated in Story (1866, frontispiece)
16. Anonymous nineteenth century photograph of the Palais des Etudes, Cour vitree of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Inventory number: 14, Collection: Paris, Ecole nationale superieure des Beaux-Arts.
17. HENRY SINGLETON (1766-1839):
The Royal Academy illustrated in Cook (1984, p.67, fig.81)

British and French images of Greeks:

(i) Greek female mythological personages and figural types in French art

18. ANTONIN MOINE (1796-1849):
L'Esperance Salon 1836, rejected model of the left-hand figure designed for one of the two stoups commissioned for the church of the Madeleine, Dépôt des oeuvres d'art de la ville de Paris, (placed before 1881 on the façade of the church of Saint-Pierre-du-Gros-Cailou in Paris), Plaster, H. 2.20, W. 0.90 m
19. ANTONIN MOINE (1796-1849):
La Foi pendant to the above (model of the right-hand figure of the same stoup), see no.18, H. 2.30, W. 1.00 m
20. LOUIS-ANTOINE BARYE (1795-1875)
Sainte Clothilde 1835-1842, church of the Madeleine in Paris, Marble
21. JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES (1780-1867)
La Grande Odalisque, 1814, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Oil on canvas, 91x 162 cm. The alternative, neo-classical, figural tradition

22. JEAN-BAPTISTE CARPEAUX (1827-1875)

La Danse Unveiled in 1869, Opéra, Paris, Stone, H.420 x W.298cm
(Conway Library, CIA)

22a. DOMINIQUE-LOUIS-FÉREÁL PAPETY (1815-1849)

The Temptation of S.Hilarion Salon 1844, The Wallace Collection, Oil on mahogany panel, 47 x 59.7 cm

22b. CARPEAUX, La Danse, see no.22

23. ALEXANDRE CABANEL (1823-1889)

La naissance de Venus Salon 1863, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Oil on canvas, 130 x 225cm

24. WILLIAM BOUGUEREAU (1825-1905)

Nymphes et satyre Salon 1873, Robert Sterling Clark collection, Oil on canvas, 2.20 x 1.80 m

25. EDGAR DEGAS (1834-1917)

Petites filles spartiates provoquant des garçons, c.1860-62, retouched before 1880, National Gallery, London, Oil on canvas, 109 x 155 cm

26. EDGAR DEGAS (1834-1917)

Three Dancers, 1880, Collection Durand-Ruel, Paris, Pastel, 81 x 51 cm

27. PIERRE-AUGUSTE RENOIR (1841-1919)

La Balançoire 1876, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Oil on canvas, 92 x 73 cm

28. EDGAR DEGAS (1834-1917)

La fête de la patronne 1876-77, part of the series of monotypes known as Scènes de maisons closes, Musée Picasso, Paris, Pastel on monotype

(ii) Greek female mythological personages and figural types in English art**29. JOHN GIBSON (1790-1866)**

Venus and Cupid Possibly exhibited at the 1833 R.A. exhibition, exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1862, signed in Greek "Gibson Epoiei en Roma", Marble group, H. 60 in. (Conway Library, CIA)

30. DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI (1828-1882)

Venus Verticordia 1864-8, Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth, Oil on canvas, 38 5/8 x 27 1/2 (98 x 69.9)

31. FREDERICK LEIGHTON (1830-1896)

Venus disrobing for the Bath R.A. 1867, Oil on canvas, 79 x 35 1/2 in

32. ALBERT MOORE (1841-1893)

A Venus R.A. 1869, York City Art Gallery, Oil on canvas, 63 x 30 in

33. EDWARD COLEY BURNE-JONES (1833-1898)

Laus Veneris 1873-8, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne, Oil, with gold paint, on canvas, 48 x 72 in (122 x 183 cm)

34. ELIZABETH ELEANOR SIDDAL (1829-1862)

The Lady of Shalott 1853, Jeremy Maas collection, Pen, black ink, sepia ink, and pencil, 6 1/2 x 8 3/4 in (16.5 x 22.3 cm)

35. JOHN RODDAM SPENCER STANHOPE (1829-1908)

Penelope R.A. 1864, The Trustees of the De Morgan Foundation, Oil on canvas, 106 x 80 cm (41 3/4 x 31 1/2 in)

36. GEORGE FREDERICK WATTS (1817-1904)

Clytie The original version in marble was exhibited at R.A. 1868 and measured 28 inches high. This bronze version is in The Watts Gallery, Compton, Surrey (Conway Library, CIA)

37. EDWARD JOHN POYNTER (1836-1919)

Diadumene R.A. 1885, oil on canvas, 223.5x132.5 cm (Witt Library, CIA)

38. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

Lot's Wife R.A. 1878, Leighton House, London, Marble, H. 76 in. (Conway Library, CIA)

(iii) Greek male mythological personages and figural types in English art

39. SIMEON SOLOMON (1840-1905)

Bacchus R.A. 1867, Private Collection, Surrey, Watercolour, 45.5 x 37cm

40. EDWARD JOHN POYNTER (1836-1919)

Perseus and Andromeda R.A. 1872, now disappeared, illustrated in The Art Journal Easter Annual, 1897, one of the four panels painted for Lord Wharncliffe to decorate the billiard-room at Wortley Hall, near Sheffield.

41. EDWARD JOHN POYNTER (1836-1919)

Fight between More of More Hall and the Dragon of Wantley
R.A. 1873, now disappeared, illustrated in The Art Journal Easter Annual, 1897, one of the four panels painted for Lord Wharncliffe to decorate the billiard-room at Wortley Hall, near Sheffield.

42. Borghese Gladiator see no.3

43. FREDERICK LEIGHTON (1830-1896)

Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis 1869-1871, R.A. 1871, The Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut, USA, Oil on canvas, 52 1/2 x 104in

44. MAITRE DE COETIVY (active 1458-73)

Frontispiece to Boethius, "De Consolatione Philosophiae", book II, c. 1460-70, The Wallace Collection, London, vellum, 24.1 x 16.5 cm, French miniature.

45. EDWARD COLEY BURNE-JONES (1833-1898)

The Wheel of Fortune 1875-83, First exh. 1883 Grosvenor Gallery, Musee d'Orsay, Paris, Oil on canvas, 200 x 100 cm

46. ELIZABETH ELEANOR SIDDAL (1829-1862) and DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI (1828-1882)

The Quest of the Holy Grail or Sir Galahad at the Shrine of the Holy Grail
c.1855-7, Private Collection, Watercolour, 11 x 9 3/8 in (28 x 23.8 cm)

47. EVELYN DE MORGAN, nee PICKERING (1855-1919)

The Angel with the Serpent date unknown; probably between 1881 and 1890, Christie's sale, 25 October 1991, Lot.55, Oil on canvas, 35 1/4x44in (89.5 x 112 cm)

48. WILLIAM HOLMAN HUNT (1827-1910)

The Shadow of Death 1870-3, retouched 1886, First exh. 1873, Agnew's, City of Manchester Art Galleries, Tempera and oil on canvas, 214.2x168.2 cm

49. Polycletus, Diadumenus, see no.6

50. WILLIAM HOLMAN HUNT (1827-1910)

The Light of the World 1851-3, retouched 1858, 1886, R.A. 1854, Warden and Fellows of Keble College, Oxford, Oil on canvas over panel, 125.5 x 59.8 cm

51. EDWARD JOHN POYNTER (1836-1919)

Paul and Apollos dated 1872, Tate Gallery, London, Tempera, 610 x 610 cm (24x24 in) (Witt Library, CIA)

52. Hunt, The Light of the World, see no.5053. Poynter, Paul and Apollos, see no.51**(iv) Greek male mythological personages and figural types in French art**

54. ALBERT-ERNEST CARRIER-BELLEUSE (1824-1887)

Prometheus Shown by Minton at the Great Exhibition 1851, Minton Parian porcelain (Conway Library, CIA)

55. GUSTAVE MOREAU (1826-1898)

Prométhée 1868, Salon 1869, Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris, 205x122 cm (Witt Library)

56. WILLIAM BOUGUEREAU (1825-1905)

Pietà Salon 1876, University of Virginia Art Museum, Charlottesville, USA, Oil on canvas, 2.30 x 1.48 m

57. Moreau, Prométhée, see no.55

(v) Nationalism, politics and images of Greeks in English art

58. FREDERICK LEIGHTON (1830-1896)

An Athlete Struggling with a Python R.A. 1877, London, Tate Gallery,
Bronze, H. 68 3/4 in. (Conway Library, CIA)

59. Laocoon see no.260. Leighton, An Athlete Struggling with a Python, see no.5861. E. de Morgan The Angel with the Serpent, see no.47

62. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

Courage From the monument to Gladstone unveiled in 1905,
Bronze (Conway Library, CIA)

63. CARL CAUER (1828-1885. Born in Bonn)

An Olympian Victor thanking the Gods on his return from the Olympian games Dated 1868. Probably the one exhibited at the R.A. 1869 and 1870.
A plaster model of a statue bearing the same title was also exhibited at the Salon 1861, white marble, life-size, H. 221cm (87 in) (Conway Library, CIA)

64. Myron, Discobolus, see no.5

65. BORIS ANREP (1885-1969)

Football, from the National Gallery mosaic floor which was completed in 1929

66. EDWARD JOHN POYNTER (1836-1919)

Nausicaa and her Maidens playing Ball 1878 Sketch for the painting exhibited at R.A. 1879, 28.5x79.4 cm (Witt Library)

67. Photograph of Leighton's model Dorothy Dene in classical dress, illustrated in Wood (1983, p.78, pl.26)

68. FREDERICK LEIGHTON (1830-1896)

Self-portrait as President of the Royal Academy R.A. 1881, Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 25 1/4 in

69. Elgin marbles, Horsemen, see no.9

70. BENEDETTO PISTRUCCI (1784-1855)

St George and Dragon design for the reverse of the new coinage for George III's reign. Pattern Crown, 1817 (ill. in Forrer, 1906, p.23)

71. Design for the Silver Florin, 1849 (ill. in Yeoman, 1984, p.207)

72. Pistrucci's design revived in 1871 here shown on the 1893 coinage with the old Queen Victoria on the obverse (ill. in Yeoman, 1984, p.209)

73. FREDERICK LEIGHTON (1830-1896)

Perseus and Andromeda R.A. 1891, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, Oil on canvas, 92 1/2 x 51 in

74. THOMAS WOOLNER (1825-1892)

Reliefs from The Iliad c.1865-8, R.A. 1868, Thetis Imploring Zeus; Achilles Shouting from the Trenches; Thetis Rousing Achilles Plaster reliefs for the memorial to W.E.Gladstone in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 44x23.5 cm, 45x28.5 cm, 44x23.5 cm respectively (Conway Library, CIA)

75. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

Monument to W. E. Gladstone in robes as Chancellor of the Exchequer, erected on the Strand, London, unveiled on 4th Nov.1905, Bronze (Conway Library, CIA)

76. W. H. Thornycroft, Courage see no. 62

77. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

Brotherhood From the monument to Gladstone unveiled in 1905, Bronze (Conway Library, CIA)

78. JOHN GIBSON (1790-1866)

Meleager or The Hunter c.1847, Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, Marble group, H. 58 1/2 in. (Conway Library, CIA)

79. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

A Warrior Bearing a Wounded Youth from the Battle R.A. 1876, Plaster. There is a bronze version at Leighton House measuring 45 in. high (Conway Library, CIA)

80. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

Teucer R.A. 1882, Tate Gallery, London, Bronze,
H. 240.5 cm (Conway Library, CIA)

81. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

The Mower Completed in life-size form in plaster in 1884 and exhibited at R.A. in same year and in bronze in 1894, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (Conway Library, CIA)

82. WILLIAM HAMO THORNYCROFT (1850-1925)

The Mower Reduced version from an illustration in The Magazine of Art, 1895, p.371 (Conway Library, CIA)

83. GEORGE FREDERICK WATTS (1817-1904)

Rhodes Memorial with Physical Energy, Matoppo Hills, Rondebosch. The first bronze casting exhibited R.A.1904 and subsequently sent to South Africa as part of the Cecil Rhodes monument. Bronze group, H. 12 feet (Conway Library, CIA)

84. GEORGE FREDERICK WATTS (1817-1904)

Physical Energy c.1870-1904. Later cast of the revised model in Kensington Gardens, London (Conway Library, CIA)

(vi) Nationalism, politics and images of Greeks in French art**85. LOUIS-ERNEST BARRIAS (1841-1905)**

La fondation de Marseille 1865, whereabouts unknown, Plaster

86. PIERRE-PAUL-LÉON GLAIZE (1842-1932)

Les fugitifs d'Athènes Salon 1877, engraving after the painting (Witt Library)

87. EUGÈNE DELACROIX (1798-1863)

Hercules and Antaeus 1854? replica of one of the eleven lunettes illustrating the life of Hercules in Delacroix's decorations for the Salon de la Paix in the Hotel de Ville of Paris which opened in February 1854 and which were destroyed by fire in 1871. Mahmoud Khalil Museum, Cairo, 12 3/8 x 17 13/16 (31.5 x 45.3 cm) (ill. in Johnson, 1986, vol.IV, pl.133, cat.no.316)

88. CHARLES GLEYRE (1806-1876)

Hercule aux pieds d'Omphale 1863, photograph of the painting published by Goupil, & Cie (Witt Library)

89. Horse-race Panathenaic prize-amphora, attributed to the Eucharides Painter, c.500-490 B.C., British Museum, London (ill. in Jenkins, 1986, p.46, fig.55)**90. EDGAR DEGAS (1834-1917)**

Steeplechase - The fallen jockey Salon 1866, Collection Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, Washington, DC, Oil on canvas, 180 x 152 cm

91. VICTOR SIMEON (active c.1858-?)

Prometheus vase also called Slave or Captive vase designed for Minton's between 1875 and 1878. From a pattern-book in the Minton archive (Stoke-on-Trent). A vase modelled on this design was exhibited at the Paris 1878 Exhibition and may be the one in the collection of Manchester City Art Galleries (See Manchester 1982, p.134, cat.no.142) (Conway Library, CIA)

92. Venus de Milo, see no.10

93. EMMANUEL FREMIET (1824-1910)

Gorille emportant une femme, 1887, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, Plaster (illustrated here to give an idea of what Fremiet's Gorille emportant la Vénus de Milo, c.1871, whose present whereabouts are currently unknown, would have looked like)

94. PIERRE-AUGUSTE RENOIR (1841-1919)

Jugement de Paris 1908, Private Collection, Japan, Oil on canvas, 81x101 cm

95. Prehistoric figure of a woman illustrated in Clark (1980, p.64, fig.51)96. Vénus de Milo, see no.10

97. PAUL CÉZANNE (1839-1906)

The Large Bathers 1898-1905, Wiltach Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, USA, Oil on canvas, 82 x 98 in

Conclusion

98. Graphic representation of the argument of this thesis

PREFACE

One of the most pleasant tasks involved in reporting the results of a piece of research such as this is to think of those people who, in one way or another, made it possible, and to thank them for that. It is also one of the most difficult tasks: firstly, because it is practically impossible to record the names of all the many individuals who so enthusiastically helped me to realise this work; and secondly, because it is similarly impossible to calculate their relative contributions and to list them in rank order. Nevertheless, I shall attempt it.

I should like to thank my parents for their immense love, support and patience during this exciting voyage of discovery - a voyage which many times turned into a despairing maze or a windless standstill. I owe special gratitude to my father who enabled me not only to embark upon this wondrous voyage which was so generously offered to me, but also for being an ever-present 'Cape of Good Hope' for my material, intellectual and psychological provisions. I am no less grateful to my mother for that special kind of encouragement which only she can provide for me.

I should like to thank my supervisor Professor Anthony D. Smith not only for agreeing to supervise this study and for enriching its scope, but also for making me love the subject for its own sake; for his constant and undiluted attention to and meticulous care for my work; for the discipline which he taught me; for the love of accuracy, clarity, specificity, detail and historical perspective which he cultivated in me; for his creativity and width of knowledge; and last but not least for his faith in my ability to perform the required tasks.

I should like to thank David Marsland, my close, loving and resourceful companion of this voyage 'unto this last'.

I should like to thank the Greek Government for supplying that other most vital of supports which one needs when one wishes to conduct a substantial piece of research - financial support. I should also like to thank the Hellenic Foundation for the further

financial support which they so generously offered to me.

I should like to thank most warmly Mr. Kyriakos Metaxas for helping me through yet another research project on Greece and the Greeks.

I should like to thank Dr John House who, with his colleagues at the Courtauld Institute of Art, initiated me during my period of study there as well as after it, into the values and skills of art history.

I should like to thank the staff of the Royal Academy Library and particularly Nick Savage for their generous, swift and intelligent help.

I should like to thank Professor Donald MacRae for many enlightening conversations and for showing to me in his own person the academic imperative, the untiring will to know. I should also like to thank the academic staff of the L.S.E. Department of Sociology as a whole for encouraging me and for wittingly or unwittingly providing answers to many questions.

I should like to thank my supervisor's secretary, Jean MacRae for all her help and friendship.

I should like to thank the staffs of the Witt and Conway libraries for their excellent and conscientious service as well as expert advice regarding the illustrations of this thesis. I should also like to thank John Sunderland for his kindness.

Among my peers, I should like to thank Dr Roland Axtmann for his friendship and for his well-trained, critical and analytical mind which opened up for me new intellectual horizons.

I should like to thank the Max Weber Study Group for their stimulating and inspiring erudition.

I should like to thank Martin Greenwood not only for sharing with me many of those

long and late hours in the British Library, but also for familiarising me with and sensitising me to nineteenth century sculpture. I am also grateful to him for introducing me to Dr Philip Ward-Jackson whose most extraordinary generosity, curiosity and amazing knowledge enabled me to dive into and surface from deep waters.

I should like to thank my fellow research students at L.S.E. for their encouragement and indeed for a number of useful insights into my field of study and research problem. I should particularly like to thank the Revd. Peter Jupp for introducing me so effectively to the world of nineteenth century 'muscular Christianity'.

I should like to thank Professor Ralph Segalman for communicating to me his real-life approach to academic research and for many pieces of essential practical advice. I should also like to thank both himself and his wife Anita for the support which they gave me.

I should like to thank Helen Gregory, that kind fairy of the British Library, who so often and so miraculously appeared to help me out with this or that obscure reference.

I should like to thank Joanna Page, Pepa Fernandes-Hrabal, Mary Louise Schiffer and all my other personal friends whose interest in my work added legitimacy and momentum to my efforts.

I should like to thank Alma Gibbons, Chavi Yogeswaran and Sam Thornton of the L.S.E. Word-processing Group for their most crucial help with the printing of this thesis.

I should finally like to dedicate this study to the memory of Doula Mouriki, Professor of Art History at the National Technical University of Athens, whose enthusiasm and achievement showed me the intense pleasures which one can derive from devoting one's energies to scholarly labour. Her sudden death only sealed in my mind the vision of this life as a full life.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to measure the extent of and explain the reasons for what has widely been recognised as a change in mid-nineteenth century English art in such terms as "High Victorian Renaissance" and "Victorian Olympus". This change consisted in the expansion of images of ancient Greeks and of ancient Greek historical and mythological subjects in English painting and sculpture. This movement which was in effect yet another 'Greek revival' in the history of West European art also included an increased use by artists of the Pheidias male and female figural style and type in other, non-Greek 'History' works of art.

Although I limited my study to metropolitan art and hence to English art, I often found that the reference to 'Britain' was more appropriate in particular contexts. On the other hand, I used the terms 'English artists' to refer to the artists who exhibited in the Royal Academy and not to nationality. The same applies to the category 'French artists'.

The procedures which I adopted in order to describe and explain the 'Greek revival' in question were quantitative, comparative and contextual and were applied to the period 1833 to 1880.

The choice of the period for study was determined by three main considerations. Firstly, I wanted to examine English artists' interest in Greek subjects in the context of the existence of a modern Greek state. Indeed, the date which marks the beginning of my period of study, 1833, is also the date of the foundation of the modern Greek state in 1833 under a Bavarian prince, King Otto. Secondly, I wanted to locate precisely the beginning and end of the mid-century artistic change under consideration. And thirdly, I wanted to see if a similar phenomenon occurred elsewhere around the same time, and in this case in France, and under what conditions.

I took as my source of information regarding mainstream English artistic life the annual exhibitions of the works of living artists which were organised by the Royal

Academy. In order to locate the emergence and measure the duration and extent of the new artistic interest in the representation of ancient Greeks during the period under consideration I examined the catalogues of these exhibitions. From these catalogues which recorded and described by means of short titles and sometimes by short accompanying texts the works of art which were each time exhibited at the Royal Academy, I selected and collected all the works of art which referred to Greek life and topography both ancient and modern as they were represented by their titles, counted their annual and overall rates and studied their distribution and clustering around particular aspects of Greek life.

In order to measure from a quantitative point of view the importance of works on Greek subjects as a proportion of English art and particularly as a proportion of English artists' interest in other non-British, foreign, peoples and locations, both modern and ancient, I also collected the works on other non-British, foreign subjects, counted them and compared their annual and overall rates with those on Greek subjects.

I took as my control case for testing any hypothesis or statement about the peculiarities of Greek subjects in English art, French art and society. France was an appropriate case for comparison and explanation because of its religious and political differences with Britain. To this end I collected a comparable set of data on France. This involved the examination of the exhibitions of the Paris Salon which was the French equivalent of the Royal Academy and looked for works on 'Greek subjects' and on other 'foreign', in this case, non-French subjects. These I collected, counted, plotted their pattern over time and compared the results with those obtained from the study of the Royal Academy. These showed a shared interest among French and British artists in Greek and particularly ancient Greek subjects but differences in the aspects of Greek life chosen for illustration at each moment and also different peak times of what one might call 'Greek revivals' in nineteenth-century English and French art.

Having achieved knowledge about the quantitative and broadly qualitative components

of English and French artists' interest in the production of images of ancient Greeks during the nineteenth century, and also about the differences and similarities between them, I proceeded to the explanation of these 'Greek revivals'. I looked for explanations not only in the structure of art theory and education but also in the scientific, religious, political and institutional conditions of English and French artists' focus on the Greeks as an object of representation. I thus proposed an explanation which took account of changes occurring both within the sphere of art theory and outside it.

Following this multi-factor hypothesis, I examined, firstly, the structure of nineteenth-century ideas about Greek art, nineteenth-century art theory on figural art and official art education; secondly, scientific ideas about man in general and the Greeks in particular; thirdly, Protestant and Catholic ideas and values about man and about Greek religious conceptions of man; fourthly, British and French intellectuals' and politicians' conceptions of the characteristics of their national identities as compared with the Greeks; and fifthly, the institutions whereby the English and the French acquired, realised or implemented these national characteristics and pursued religious goals.

The sources of information which I used in order to acquire knowledge about the structure of the spheres of nineteenth century English and French artistic and social life mentioned above included both primary and secondary literature on these topics. I shall not list here my secondary sources which form part of the bibliography and which one can assess by looking at the notes which correspond to each chapter. The primary sources which I used and which constitute one of the main contributions of this study to the iconology and sociology of Greek imagery in nineteenth century English and French art were of two kinds : firstly, the writings of the major late eighteenth and nineteenth century life-scientists and especially Physical Anthropologists on mankind in general and the Greeks in particular; and secondly, the descriptions of the Greeks and of Greek figural art contained in the manuals of artistic anatomy which were used in the Royal Academy schools and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts for the education of artists. These were written by anatomists, physical

anthropologists and medical doctors and also by scientifically inclined artists.

This study is divided into four parts. In Part I, entitled Statistical account of images of Greeks in British and French art, I present in the course of two chapters (chapters one, entitled Foreign subjects in the Salon and the Royal Academy and two, entitled Greek subjects in the Salon and the Royal Academy) a quantitative analysis and comparison of the English and French works of art firstly on foreign subjects and secondly on Greek subjects.

In Part II, entitled Physical Anthropology and Ethnographic Art, I examine in four chapters the interaction between anthropological science, art theory and art education. In chapter three, entitled Physical Anthropology and the anthropology of the Greeks, I examine the development of scientific ideas about the Greeks in Britain and France as a part of a new scientific orientation and body of knowledge called Physical Anthropology. Physical Anthropology was the result of the application of positivism in the study of man and human culture. It gave rise to a number of classifications of individuals and groups and 'objective' explanations of human cultural variations which were centred on the idea of race. This was the realisation that human beings varied in their physical appearance and in relation to some standard, conception or rule of physical perfection. British and French Physical Anthropologists held similar views on the Greeks as a result of exchanges among European scientists. Most of these accounts shared the belief that the body of the ancient Greek young athletes was the body of physically perfect man by virtue of its identity with natural law.

In chapter four, entitled Positivism and the new art theory: truthfulness as beauty, I examine the expansion of positivism in English and French figural art theory and with it the rise of artists' interest in the new anthropological knowledge. This new interest gave rise to a new category of artistic subject-matter, ethnographic art. In chapter five, entitled The making of the artist-anthropologist, I examine the institutionalisation of positivism and of physical anthropological knowledge, including the anthropological view of the Greeks, in official art education through the revival of artistic anatomy as an important element of the education of English and French

artists. Chapter six, entitled The aesthetics of Hellenism and ethnographic art, deals with the emergence of a new classicism in English and French aesthetic theory as a consequence of the new positivist or naturalist aesthetics. The new aesthetics which equated nature with beauty led to the adoption of the Pheidias figural style and type as the embodiment of beauty following that peculiar scientific view of human nature which identified the models of Pheidias as well as of Polycletus with natural man. The new classicism which consisted in the admiration of both the stylistic and substantive naturalism and the physical health and strength of Pheidias figural art (the genuine art of the classical age of Greece) was opposed to eighteenth-century neo-classicism which exalted the idealism of later Greek and Graeco-Roman figural art. In the same chapter I study the relationship between on the one hand the new theory of ethnographic art to which Hellenist aesthetics at least partly belonged and on the other the practice of ethnographic art as gauged by the statistics of foreign art which I presented in Part I. Within the Greek national category, the statistical predominance of works on the ancient Greeks as images of the Greeks proper may be explained by the ambiguities which surrounded the identity of the modern inhabitants of ancient Greece.

However, all the above factors are inadequate for the understanding of the rise of works on ancient Greek subjects during the second half of the nineteenth century in English and French art, and of the thematic and iconographic patterns of these works and their chronological and thematic differences in the two countries. Consequently, Part III entitled Physical Anthropology, religion and nationalism, is devoted to the study of the religious, national, political and institutional contexts of the 'Greek revivals' in English and French art. It considers the extent to which the ancient Greeks were more than an object of empirical, i.e. scientific knowledge and artistic representation (be it for aesthetic pleasure and/or the anthropological education of the public) in English and French societies. In chapter seven, entitled The Greek body in Christian theory and practice, I show the impact of the new Physical Anthropological knowledge about man and about ancient Greek culture on English and French Christian theory and institutions. Different Christian traditions regarding science and man's relation to both nature and God in the two countries determined

the adoption by English Protestant leaders of certain themes from Physical Anthropology and the resistance to Physical Anthropology of French Catholic thinkers until around 1870. The association of religion with science introduced the body of the ancient Greek athlete as well as certain Greek religious conceptions into the Christian universe of sacred and hence desirable objects and practices.

In chapter eight, entitled The national significance of Physical Anthropology, I demonstrate, firstly, the expansion of the 'scientific' idea of race, through its adoption by leaders of English and French public opinion as the objective measure of national distinction, national pride and national life ; and, secondly, some of the practical and specifically educational and political consequences of the claim which both English and French Physical Anthropologists made for their own nations that they had a Greek physical identity.

In Part IV entitled The social significance of the Greek body and images of Greeks in British and French art, I show that society was an intervening variable between scientific ideas and artists' orientation to the ancient Greeks as a representational problem. Three chapters are devoted to examining the role of the adoption or rejection by English and French societies of the 'scientific' solutions to certain religious, national and political problems, in the emergence and thematic pattern of works of art on Greek subjects in English and French art. The analysis focuses on images of ancient Greeks which dominate the repertoire of Greek subjects. Chapter nine, entitled Images of Greeks as images of God, aims to interpret the statistical and thematic pattern of images of Greek mythological personages and philosophical personifications in English and French art; and explores the differences between the two countries by reference to English and French religious attitudes to the new anthropological ideas about the body and about ancient Greek religious conceptions. It also explains the emergence of the naturalist Pheidias figural type in Judaeo-Christian iconography as another symptom of the expansion of naturalism or positivism in Christian theology and ethics. Chapter ten, entitled Images of Greeks as images of the nation: Britain, explains the expansion of images of ancient Greeks in British art from the middle of the century onwards as the result of English

nationalism and of the public acceptance of the anthropological belief in the Greek identity of the English nation. It further interprets the expansion of images of ancient Greek political personages in English art during the second half of the nineteenth century by showing their connexion with contemporary political debates and policies and with a conception of English political institutions as an innate element of the identity of the English as members of a particular race. The divisions between Gladstone's Liberal defensive and non-interventionist policies and Disraeli's imperialism which for a time characterised Tory policies justify the division of images of various Greek political personages in English art at that time into 'Liberal' and 'Tory' iconographies. Finally, chapter eleven, entitled Images of Greeks as images of the nation: France, explains the later rise of images of ancient Greek male mythological and historical heroes in French art. It also reveals the different heroes whom French artists selected for representation by showing their links with the later Catholic approval of anthropological ideas, values and practical recommendations regarding French national identity and ways of life and with certain peculiarities of the political structure, circumstances and history of French society. These peculiarities included the relative authoritarianism and populism of the Second Empire, a revolutionary republican tradition, the Franco-Prussian war and the nationalist mass mobilisation which was aimed at the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine following the Prussian occupation.

This study differs from other studies of the mid-century 'Greek revival' in English art in the following respects. Firstly, in its scope and method. This study differs from the monographic, piecemeal or merely descriptive treatments which the 'Greek revival' in English art has received in such works as Lord Leighton by R. and L. Ormond (1975) or G.F. Watts: a nineteenth century phenomenon (1974) by J. Gage or Victorian Painters by J. Maas (1988). This study aims to set art in a broader context, and to be more systematic, comparative and ultimately explanatory.

It also differs from similar and indeed 'classic' studies of Victorian Hellenism as a more general cultural movement such as Richard Jenkyns' prize-winning The Victorians and Ancient Greece (1980) or his more recent book Dignity and Decadence

: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance (1991), and Frank M. Turner's monumental The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain (1981). These studies tend to take the form of general surveys of the presence of items of ancient Greek culture in various departments of Victorian culture and social life. Consequently, they are more descriptive than explanatory; and their enquiry into the presence of Greek elements in Victorian art extends to architecture, design, literature and the theatre and is not limited to the fine arts as is the case here. Furthermore, and in the case of Jenkyns in particular, the Greek revival in Victorian art is not considered seriously enough, i.e. as an integral part of the religious, moral, national, political and educational conceptions and institutions of English society.

This study differs from the above in that it gives an idea of the actual size of the 'Greek revival' in English painting and sculpture; considers it as a part of ethnographic art whose size it also measures; and provides a systematic explanation of at least some of its features.

This it does by comparing art with society and by comparing British with French artistic and social structures. This procedure enables us to establish the existence of systematic similarities between art and society and thereby to locate the origins of the mid-nineteenth century 'Greek revival' in English art, not in archaeological incident and artistic tradition alone, but also in certain peculiarities of the artists' broader context, and indeed most vitally in social life itself.

The aim here is to show the close links between artistic practice and certain 'scientific', religious, national and political ideas, values and institutions. It claims that British artists' ancient Greek subjects tended to be suggested by the social and wider cultural context of the nineteenth century as well as from the history of European art and that the resulting art was both self-referential and socially significant.

Secondly, in contrast to works like C. Wood's Olympian Dreamers (1983), this study is concerned with the establishment of the actual reality of these Victorian

representations of ancient Greek people and life. Indeed, I shall argue that the origin of artists' attachment to Greek subjects can be found less in Victorian imaginary escapism from their actual way of life and in passive nostalgia for a distant past, but rather in the Victorian practical effort that the forms of ancient Greek life should recur by following certain 'scientific' (and in this case Physical Anthropological) recommendations. In order to prove this statement I shall try to demonstrate the close similarities between representations of ancient Greek life in English art and the imitation of ancient Greek life in English society, and also the differences and similarities between the English and the French 'Greek revivals'.

And thirdly, my thesis offers an analysis of the main anthropological literature of the period and of the anatomical education of English and French artists regarding the Greeks and in the use of this material as an explanatory factor. Indeed, most analyses of nineteenth-century anthropological ideas like Mary Cowling's The Artist as Anthropologist (1989) have neglected the systematic study of the anthropology of the Greeks while at the same time taking it for granted and recognising its importance as the nineteenth-century measure of man. In addition, most studies of Physical Anthropology, including Cowling's or D. Pick's Faces of degeneration (1989) have concentrated on the head and overlooked the mid-century major shift of focus to the whole body.

On the other hand, this study follows the iconological tradition established by Aby Warburg and elaborated by Erwin Panofsky and Ernst H. Gombrich; and the sociology of art, drama, religion and religious art developed by Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Lucien Goldmann and David Martin. It is also guided by John Hall's (1979) study of the relationship between art, and in his case literature, and society; and by Anthony Smith's (1987) quantitative and comparative method of studying works of art which he applied to the study of the 'historical revival' in late eighteenth century English and French art and which itself included a revival of ancient Greek motifs and styles. In fact, this study offers the material for a further comparison between eighteenth century neo-classicism studied by Smith and the mid-nineteenth century new classical revival.

This thesis does not aim to be comprehensive. I have chosen to concentrate on certain recurring and dominant themes which seemed to characterise English and French visual images of Greeks and English and French Physical Anthropology, art education, religion, politics and school education. These themes were set off by a statistical analysis of the thematic pattern of works of art on Greek subjects and by the comparison of these dominant themes in art with the dominant objects of concern in society. Consequently, I did not try to capture all the nuances of social and cultural sanction or criticism which artists projected, crystallised or refracted in images of Greek views and ways of life; neither did I study in detail the careers of individual artists, nor reviews of the official art exhibitions.

Indeed, this study could have been extended to the consideration of other issues such as the market for the works of art in question and patronage in particular; the economic structure of English and French societies and its connexion not only with the numbers of works of art on Greece but also with images of Greek rural and city life; the relationship between images of Greek sexual life and structures of kinship with their nineteenth century English and French equivalents; and the relationship between ancient Greek and Roman subjects in nineteenth century English and French art. However, shortage of space and time have precluded me from doing any of the above, or from considering any other explanations of the 'Greek revivals' in English and French art.

In short, this study aims to contribute to two related academic disciplines, namely art history and the sociology of art. To the former it offers a statistical and iconological account of the 'Greek revivals' which emerged in English and French art during the second half of the nineteenth century. To the latter it offers some new instances of the relations which can develop between art and society. In so doing, this study supports and amplifies Warburg's view that works of art are "documents of expression". This is the observation that even the most liberal and the most applied works of art can be documents of the mind and life of a society and indeed of a wide range of that society's cultural conceptions and institutions.

**PART I: STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF IMAGES OF GREEKS IN BRITISH
AND FRENCH ART**

CHAPTER 1:

FOREIGN SUBJECTS IN THE SALON AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY

Introduction

This chapter deals with the examination and comparison of the foreign subjects found in the Salon and the Royal Academy annual exhibitions during the period 1833 to 1880. The goal of this part of my thesis is to measure the statistical importance of works on Greek subjects in French art as compared with works on other foreign subjects. To this end, and guided by the evidence of the works of art themselves, I developed a set of national categories according to which I organised the works of art on foreign subjects.

The term 'foreign' is a relative term. As applied to the works of art exhibited in the Royal Academy, it refers to works representing images of other than British everyday life, persons, historical incidents, ethnic costumes, mores, physical and social types, monuments and artefacts, flora and fauna which were exhibited in the Royal Academy. Similarly, in the case of France, the same term applies to works showing other than French life, artefacts, flora and fauna. The nationality of the artists exhibiting such works is not relevant to my enquiry.

For the purposes of this research project, a detailed examination of the data which constitute each foreign national category from a qualitative point of view, will be pursued in a thorough and systematic manner only for the Greek category. All other national categories will be studied more summarily and mainly in order to set off some of the peculiarities of works of art on Greece.

Works on foreign subjects in the Salon

The aim of this part of my research is to explore representations of societies and

geographical-natural localities other than French as they were expressed in and as they became the subjects of works of art and particularly of paintings and sculptures. This exploration consists in drawing primarily quantitative and secondarily qualitative conclusions on the presence, national type and frequency of appearance of these visual representations and on the relations between different types of such images.

The general significance of this material is expected to lie in the evidence which it can bring to bear on the awareness of and active interest in the rest of the world of nineteenth century French society. The procedure and criteria of identification and collection of works of art on non-French visual themes were as follows. My data were drawn from the official annual or bi-annual forum of art by living artists exhibiting their work, called the 'Salon' and held in Paris usually in the spring season. Within this delimited pool of contemporary works of art I identified and recorded the visual representations of non-French subjects. For this purpose I used the Salon livrets, i.e. the catalogues of these exhibitions in which the exhibited works were listed by their titles, although not illustrated until later in the century and even then, not comprehensively. These verbal descriptions were in no way always explicit about or exhaustive in their accounts of the ingredient motifs of the image. However, most of the titles which I identified and collected as 'foreign' were sufficiently informative for the primary purpose of ethnic classification and quantification. There were however problems with titles such as "sujet oriental" which is impossible to classify with precision. Another problem was the reference of titles to more than one country. This led to double and triple countings of the same work, and to occasional shifts regarding the unit of analysis from counting individual works of art on 'foreign' subjects to counting references to or images of 'foreign' peoples and countries within individual works of art. Thus, I tried to follow the principles of classification, i.e. that a classification must provide exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories at each step of the classification, this was not always possible. I did however try to keep double and triple counting to a minimum and to attribute one and only one nationality to each work or title by means of hints contained in the title itself as to the primary focus of the artists' attention. For example, in the 1861 Salon FOURAU's Combat de Palestro, charge du 3e zouaves, le 30 mai 1859, is classified under both Italy and

Austria as the work refers to the Franco-Sardinian war against Austria which began in 1859. Had I not done this, one or the other national category would have been incomplete and misrepresented. Indeed, this problem of multiple countings of single works occurs with most war subjects.

In this way, I managed to build up a weighty and varied corpus of qualitative and quantitative material on both general and particular patterns of orientation of artists working in France towards foreign peoples and lands during the period in question.

Description of the findings-Salon

A sample of twenty years from the period which interests me, i.e. 1833 to 1880, was considered. The sample was composed of every other year of the complete data on all the Salons which actually took place in the period under study. The sample years which I examined were the following:

1834 1836 1838 1840 1842 1844 1846 1848 1850 1853

1857 1861 1864 1866 1868 1870 1873 1875 1877 1879

The regularity and frequency of the Salon exhibitions varies and is disturbed by both external and internal political events as is the case of the 1850 and 1871 Salons which did not occur. Other occasions such as the 1848 Salon when "Tous les ouvrages envoyés cette année seront reçus sans exception", should also be born in mind. This is because exceptional circumstances give the impression of emerging trends in official art when this is not quite true.

In general terms, one observes an unmistakeable and substantial increase in the number of works of art as a whole, including foreign subjects, which were exhibited in the Salon during this period. Thus :

TABLE 1: Works of art exhibited in the Salon in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| 1834 | 1836 | 1838 | 1840 | 1842 | 1844 | 1846 | 1848 | 1850 | 1853 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 2145 | 1992 | 1928 | 1751 | 2245 | 2289 | 2241 | 4933 | 3616 | 1529 |
| 1857 | 1861 | 1864 | 1866 | 1868 | 1870 | 1873 | 1875 | 1877 | 1879 |
| 3143 | 3661 | 2789 | 2614 | 3912 | 4939 | 1910 | 3493 | 4227 | 5462 |

The most radical fluctuations seem to coincide with aspects of the external environment. The most obviously fitting single type of circumstance which has already been mentioned, but in a different context, is the political situation, namely revolution and war.

Thus, the universalism of the 1848 revolution affects the arts by increasing the numbers of works in the open for all Salon of 1848 as I have already indicated ; on the other hand, the devastation of the Franco-Prussian war affects the arts - again from a quantitative point of view - by reducing the numbers of works which artists produced for the 1873 Salon. However, there is an increase of works from 1875 onwards, and the last year of my period is marked by the highest score.

Among these works, the pattern of works on foreign subjects is as follows: there is a total of 12027 'foreign' works in all sample years with an average of 601.3 'foreign' works per year. The annual incidence of works on foreign subjects during this period is as follows in selected years of the sample :

**TABLE 2: Works on foreign subjects in the Salon in numbers and percentages:
1833-1880**

| | 1836 | '40 | '44 | '48 | '53 | '61 | '66 | '70 | '75 | '79 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Nos | 451 | 372 | 488 | 933 | 335 | 919 | 654 | 914 | 685 | 791 |
| %* | 22.6 | 21.2 | 21.3 | 18.9 | 21.9 | 25.1 | 25.0 | 18.5 | 19.6 | 14.5 |
| *= works on foreign subjects out of all exhibited works | | | | | | | | | | |

The proportion of works on foreign subjects out of all exhibited works in the sample period was 19.8 % (12027 out of 60819). The proportion of double or more counting of the same title is small, too small in fact to bias the overall sums in any significant way. Mixed titles amounted to 460 cases, i.e. 230 works. These amount to 1.89 % of the total of foreign works. The proportion of works on foreign subjects ranges from 14.5% in 1879 to 25.1% in 1861.

National Categories in the Salon

An analysis of the titles of foreign works of art yielded the following categories: EUROPE, includes in alphabetical order Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Britain, Germany, Greece, Holland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Scandinavia, Spain, Switzerland ; ORIENT, includes Near East and North Africa, Middle and Far East itself including Persia, India, China and Japan ; AMERICAS, includes North, Central and South America ; AUSTRALASIA and AFRICA.

The following table and the corresponding graphic representation of the statistical pattern of each national category over time show the extent of French artists' attachment to foreign subjects as measured by the amount of works on these subjects which were exhibited in the Salon.

**TABLE 3: National Categories in the Salon and their scores in selected years:
1833-1880**

| National Category | 1836 | '40 | '44 | '48 | '53 | '61 | '66 | '70 | '75 | '79 |
|--------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Italy | 138 | 127 | 156 | 299 | 100 | 271 | 188 | 248 | 162 | 204 |
| Greece | 35 | 32 | 40 | 124 | 61 | 164 | 136 | 200 | 137 | 142 |
| Britain | 55 | 42 | 31 | 46 | 23 | 43 | 31 | 47 | 41 | 51 |
| Germany | 26 | 25 | 30 | 53 | 11 | 40 | 29 | 45 | 81 | 72 |
| Austria-Hungary | 37 | 13 | 14 | 12 | 5 | 75 | 23 | 18 | 11 | 9 |
| Belgium | 25 | 13 | 26 | 22 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 30 | 24 | 33 |
| Holland | 10 | 10 | 19 | 28 | 10 | 19 | 26 | 31 | 23 | 30 |
| Poland | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| Portugal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Russia | 9 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 10 | 20 | 15 | 18 | 7 | 10 |
| Scandinavia | 4 | 5 | 7 | 13 | 4 | 13 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 14 |
| Spain | 28 | 18 | 19 | 62 | 21 | 35 | 37 | 34 | 22 | 41 |
| Switzerland | 27 | 23 | 23 | 36 | 2 | 14 | 19 | 30 | 15 | 19 |
| N.East & N. Africa | 26 | 42 | 80 | 135 | 46 | 133 | 85 | 116 | 93 | 99 |
| Middle East | 2 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| (India) | 5 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Far East | 2 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 1 | 10 | 2 | 9 | 17 | 11 |
| Oriental General | 3 | 1 | 5 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Africa | 2 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 8 |
| Americas | 11 | 10 | 18 | 21 | 6 | 29 | 13 | 36 | 15 | 16 |
| Austral-Asia | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Other | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 16 | 4 | 7 |
| Total | 451 | 372 | 488 | 933 | 335 | 919 | 654 | 914 | 685 | 791 |

As we can see, not all categories are present in every Salon. For example, Portugal drops to zero eleven times; Poland three times and so on. The following table shows

the balance of works on European and Non-European subjects in absolute numbers and as proportions of all foreign subjects. European subjects dominate foreign themes. This table also shows the distribution of works between Greek and other European themes.

TABLE 4: Works on European and non-European subjects in the Salon in selected years, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880

| National Category | 1836 | 1840 | 1844 | 1848 | 1853 | 1861 | 1866 | 1870 | 1875 | 1879 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Nos | | | | | | | | | | |
| All European | 395 | 314 | 375 | 725 | 266 | 724 | 534 | 723 | 535 | 636 |
| Non-European | 52 | 58 | 110 | 203 | 63 | 192 | 117 | 175 | 146 | 148 |
| % | | | | | | | | | | |
| All Europ. | 87.6 | 84.4 | 76.8 | 77.7 | 79.4 | 78.8 | 81.7 | 79.1 | 78.1 | 80.4 |
| Non-Europ. | 11.5 | 15.6 | 22.5 | 21.8 | 18.8 | 20.9 | 17.9 | 19.1 | 21.3 | 18.7 |
| Greek Nos | 35 | 32 | 40 | 124 | 61 | 164 | 136 | 200 | 137 | 142 |
| Eur-Grk %* | 79.8 | 75.8 | 68.6 | 64.4 | 61.2 | 60.9 | 60.9 | 57.2 | 58.1 | 62.5 |
| Greek out of all European works % | 8.9 | 10.2 | 10.7 | 17.1 | 22.9 | 22.6 | 25.5 | 27.7 | 25.6 | 22.3 |
| (Greek out of all foreign works %) | 7.8 | 8.6 | 8.2 | 13.3 | 18.2 | 17.8 | 20.8 | 21.9 | 20.0 | 18.0 |

* = '-' means European without Greek subjects as % of all foreign works

Note that the category 'Non-European subjects' excludes 'Other'.

Major national categories in the Salon

The statistically top five national categories which we find in the Salon are, Italy, Greece, Near East and North Africa, Britain and Germany. The following table shows the pattern of these categories over time calculated as a proportion of all foreign works exhibited in each year.

TABLE 5: Annual rates of the major national categories in the Salon in selected years (% out of all works on foreign subjects in each year): 1833-1880

| National Category | 1836 | 1840 | 1844 | 1848 | 1853 | 1861 | 1866 | 1870 | 1875 | '79 |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| ITALY | 30.6 | 34.1 | 32.0 | 32.0 | 29.9 | 29.5 | 28.7 | 27.1 | 23.6 | 25.8 |
| GREECE | 7.8 | 8.6 | 8.2 | 13.3 | 18.2 | 17.8 | 20.8 | 21.9 | 20.0 | 18.0 |
| NEAR EAST | 5.8 | 11.3 | 16.4 | 14.4 | 13.7 | 14.5 | 13.0 | 12.7 | 13.6 | 12.5 |
| BRITAIN | 12.2 | 11.3 | 6.4 | 4.9 | 7.5 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 5.1 | 6.0 | 6.4 |
| GERMANY | 5.7 | 6.7 | 6.1 | 5.7 | 3.3 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 11.8 | 9.1 |

I shall now give a brief description of the contents of each one of the top five national categories with examples selected following generally the traditional hierarchy of subject-matter in Western art, namely, history, religion, genre, landscape (with the exclusion of portrait and still-life).

Italy

Italian scenes dominate the repertoire of foreign subjects. This category reaches its peak in 1840. The explanation of this artistic practice lies beyond my research interests. However, one may advance a number of factors to explain French interest in Italy ; not only the classical tradition but also the religious bond which connects Catholic France with Catholic Italy. Furthermore, France looks to Italy as the seat of Catholic religious authority. In the Salon of 1848 for example, almost half of the works on Italian subjects represent the new Pope, Pius IX. Pius became Pope in 1846.

History subjects include works such as MASSE's Funerailles de Masaniello (Salon 1834), an illustration of Italian nationalist heroism with an accompanying text which reads as follows : "Ce pêcheur fut dans l'espace de trois jours honoré comme un monarque, tué comme un vil scélérat et révére comme un saint". The catalogue entry also indicates that the subject was drawn from 'Mémoire sur la révolution de Naples, par le duc de Modène'. Images of Italian religious life include works such as CIAPPORI-PUCHE's L'Immaculée Conception; Ste Anne, ravie en extase contemple la Sainte Trinité créant l'âme de Marie et la préservant de la tache originelle en vertu des mérites de Jésus Christ(Salon 1873). This subject corresponds to Pope Pius IX's new doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of 1854. Italian genre includes works such as BLANC's Départ pour la pêche ; environs de Naples (Salon 1873). Finally works on Italian landscape include ALIGNY's Vue de Ponte-Luppo a Tivoli, près de Rome (Salon 1834).

Near East & North Africa

This category includes history works such as SCHULER's Les soldats de la croix à la vue de Jerusalem (MICHAUD. Hist. des Croisades) (Salon 1846) ; religious images such as DARDOIZE's Un marabout aux environs d'Alger (Salon 1846) ; genre scenes such as TIMM's Charité mauresque (Salon 1846) and finally landscapes such as DECAMPS' Souvenir de la Turquie d'Asie (Salon 1846) and COIGNET's Bords du Nil, près du Caire from the same Salon.

Britain

The image of Britain is made up of works such as BALTHASAR's Jeanne d'Arc dans sa prison à Rouen, visitée par le sire de Luxembourg et les comtes de Warwick et de Strafford (1431) (Salon 1840), a history subject illustrating a particular moment in both British and French history. The subject was taken from De Barante's 'Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne'. British religious life is described in works such as DELAROCHE's Jane GRAY (Salon 1834), a title which is accompanied by a text from the 'Martyrologe des Protestants', publié en 1588'. British genre scenes include works like GARNERAY's Des contrebandiers surpris par un brick anglais, se débarrassent de leurs marchandises (Salon 1834). Finally British landscape includes

views such as FOUCAUCOURT's (le baron DE) Site du pays des Galles (Salon 1840).

Germany

This category includes works on German history such as BAZIN's Bataille de Friedland (14 juin 1807) (Salon 1838); works on German religious conceptions such as SCHLESINGER'S ironical Les séductions de la vie ; "Aimer le vin et les femmes et le chant, c'est la sagesse de la vie" (LUTHER) (Salon 1840) ; works on German daily life such as EIBEL's Un vigneron et sa femme regardant leurs champs et leurs vignes, près d'Ahrweiler (Salon 1838) ; and finally German views such as DENIS' Vue...environs de Carlsruhe (Baden) (Salon 1842).

Works on foreign subjects in the Royal Academy

In my examination of the pattern of works on foreign subjects in the Royal Academy I considered the same years which I considered for the Salon so as to enable compatible comparisons between the two countries. The comparison between French and British data was made regarding selected, not all aspects of this data. Again I concentrated on the study of the statistical distribution of works on foreign subjects among different national categories. I placed my analytical emphasis on the Greek data and on the broad sub-divisions and general descriptions of the other foreign categories in the Salon and the Royal Academy. Comparative comments on the non-Greek categories are thus not systematic except insofar as they set off particularities of the Greek category such as its relative importance in France and Britain.

My interest in this part of my research lay not so much in the discovery of new interpretative facts regarding the presence of foreign subjects in the R.A. or the Salon, rather in the quantification of British and French artists' tendency to represent foreign subjects. In addition to the establishment of the scale of this particular type of artistic imagery, interest lies in the comparison from this point of view of English and French official art.

Description of the findings - Royal Academy

The same sample of years was considered in the examination of the Royal Academy as in the Salon totalling twenty years. These were the following:

1834 1836 1838 1840 1842 1844 1846 1848 1850 1853

1857 1861 1864 1866 1868 1870 1873 1875 1877 1879

As in the Salon there is a general increase in the total works of art exhibited in the Royal Academy (hereafter referred to as R.A.) during this period starting in 1834 with 1121 works and ending in 1879 with 1586 works. Within this pattern one may observe three sub-periods : one from 1834 to 1853, another from 1857 to 1870, and a third from 1873 to 1879.

During the first sub-period, the number of total works being exhibited in the R.A. increases reaching a peak in 1846 with 1521 works but generally moving within the range of the 1400s by 1842. The second sub-period however is one of radical decline, numbers dropping at times, even below the scores of the early, relatively low period of the 1830s. This second period reaches its lowest point in 1866 with 1053 works. Thereafter numbers pick up gradually until the third sub-period whose beginning in 1873 is marked by the highest score for the entire period of 1601 works and closes with total works moving within the range of the 1500s. The following table presents the figures for works of art in all media exhibited in the sample period in the Royal Academy.

TABLE 6: Works of art exhibited in the R.A. in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| 1834 | 1836 | 1838 | 1840 | 1842 | 1844 | 1846 | 1848 | 1850 | 1853 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1121 | 1154 | 1382 | 1264 | 1409 | 1410 | 1521 | 1474 | 1456 | 1465 |
| 1857 | 1861 | 1864 | 1866 | 1868 | 1870 | 1873 | 1875 | 1877 | 1879 |
| 1372 | 1134 | 1062 | 1053 | 1206 | 1229 | 1601 | 1408 | 1539 | 1586 |

Foreign works of art at the Royal Academy

The average annual number of works of art of all categories and in all media which were exhibited at the Royal Academy during the sample period was 1,342.3. The total number of exhibits for the whole period was 26,846 works. Out of these works, an average of 192.3 works were foreign totalling 3,846 works. This figure contrasts markedly with the Salon results where a total of 12,027 foreign works was identified with an average incidence of 601.3 works per year, about three times as many works as in the R.A..

A longer and stronger visual tradition in France going back to the seventeenth century and the establishment of the Institut de France with its various academies including the Académie des beaux-arts may account at least partly for the overall difference in the size of the art produced in the two countries, as this may be gauged by the art contained in the Salon and the R.A.. Indeed, the foreign component of French and British art tends to increase as the overall number of works increases. In England, much more literary interests along with Protestant iconoclasm were unfavourable to the visual arts. The R.A. itself was a late companion to the Italian and French artistic institutions, becoming established in 1768.

However, this difference between the R.A. and the Salon regarding the absolute number of foreign works being exhibited therein, gives a misleading impression of

the level of interest in other countries prevalent in Britain as compared with France. From this point of view, the difference between Britain and France is reduced if foreign subjects are considered as proportions of the total works exhibited in the two art forums. This is because there are many more works of art in the Salon than there are in the R.A.. For instance, the minimum number of works exhibited during this period in the Salon is 1529 as opposed to the R.A. minimum of 1053 works; maximum levels reached in the Salon ... 5462 works, compared with 1586 works reached in the R.A., both figures incidentally occurring in 1879, the last year of the sample period.

The average annual proportion of foreign works in the English case is 14.35 % . This contrasts with the French case of 19.8 %, a bigger average undoubtedly but not one indicating the distance found in the absolute numbers in the two cases. This means that although France does manifest in her art a greater interest in the representation of others, England is not so far behind.

The minimum level of foreign subjects out of all works of art reached by the R.A. is 10.7 % as opposed to 14.4 % by the Salon ; the highest point which the R.A. reaches in the same period is 19 % in 1870 as opposed to an even higher proportion of 30 % reached by the Salon much earlier in 1861. Differences such as these in the distribution of foreign subjects during this period are important to the extent to which they pinpoint different moments of heightened awareness, help in the identification and location of trends and indicate differentially focused areas of cultural attention in France and England. The timing of such increases and decreases in the rates of foreign subjects is as follows: the rising tide of foreign subjects in the R.A. occurs during the 1840s and 1850s; its French counterpart occurs later, in the 1860s.

On the other hand, it is difficult to establish on the basis of these data alone 'who came first' i.e. whether it was the French or the British artists who first became interested in foreign subjects, and hence determine the direction of a possible influence across the Channel, if imitation were to be considered as one possible explanatory factor of the phenomenon in question. What one can say, however, is that

French artists' interest in foreign subjects is, without exception, higher than in Britain throughout this period - a point which is made tangible in the graph. On the other hand, British artists' interest in foreign subjects is markedly more stable than that of their French counterparts. The pattern displayed by foreign subjects in the Salon is rather irregular with relatively dramatic peaks and troughs.

The proportion of double counting of the same title recorded under more than one national category is here as in the Salon very small. Therefore, the general conclusions drawn on this basis are not distorted by an excessive inflation of numbers.

The following comparative table presents the total numbers and rates of occurrence of foreign works in the Salon and the R.A. in selected years.

TABLE 7: Comparative table of works on foreign subjects in the Salon and the R.A. in selected years, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880

| | 1836 | 1840 | 1844 | 1848 | 1853 | 1861 | 1866 | 1870 | 1875 | 1879 |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Nos | | | | | | | | | | |
| Salon | 451 | 372 | 488 | 933 | 335 | 919 | 654 | 914 | 685 | 791 |
| R.A. | 145 | 217 | 212 | 218 | 211 | 176 | 150 | 234 | 192 | 220 |
| % | | | | | | | | | | |
| Salon | 22.6 | 21.2 | 21.3 | 18.9 | 21.9 | 25.1 | 25. | 18.5 | 19.6 | 14.5 |
| R.A. | 12.6 | 17.2 | 15. | 14.8 | 14.4 | 15.5 | 14.2 | 19. | 13.6 | 13.9 |

The following graph shows the pattern of works of art on all foreign subjects in the Royal Academy and the Salon during the period 1833-1880 based on the sample of twenty years which I specified above and on the annual rates of foreign subjects as percentages of all exhibits in each year. We find that throughout the period under consideration there is greater interest in foreign subjects in France than there is in England.

GRAPH 1: Pattern of works on foreign subjects in the R.A. and the Salon as percentages of the total exhibits in each year



In the following section I shall examine the distribution of works on foreign subjects among particular national categories.

National categories in the Royal Academy

The same national categories which were found in the Salon were also found in the R.A. and were used in the organisation and classification of foreign titles in British

art. The following table shows the scores achieved by each national category in each year of the sample period.

TABLE 8: National Categories in the R.A. and their scores in selected years: 1833-1880

| National Category | 1836 | 40 | '44 | '48 | '53 | '61 | '66 | '70 | '75 | '79 |
|--------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Italy | 35 | 77 | 57 | 58 | 52 | 55 | 37 | 49 | 43 | 49 |
| France | 21 | 29 | 36 | 35 | 33 | 24 | 33 | 48 | 48 | 56 |
| Greece | 38 | 39 | 34 | 42 | 34 | 15 | 24 | 32 | 30 | 29 |
| Germany | 0 | 5 | 10 | 16 | 17 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| Austria-Hungary | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Belgium | 2 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Holland | 3 | 3 | 6 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 10 |
| Poland | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Portugal | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Russia | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Scandinavia | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Spain | 12 | 13 | 10 | 4 | 15 | 10 | 11 | 18 | 5 | 7 |
| Switzerland | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| Near East & North Africa | 7 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 15 | 9 | 33 | 21 | 19 |
| Middle East | 0 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | ? |
| Far East | 10 | 9 | 18 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 16 | 1 | 17 |
| Oriental General | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Africa | 0 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| Americas | 1 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Austral-Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Other | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Total | 145 | 217 | 212 | 218 | 211 | 176 | 150 | 234 | 192 | 217 |

As in the French case, not all categories are present in every R.A. exhibition. To take the same examples which were observed in the Salon and which also apply to the R.A. : Poland drops to 0 value 12 times although in the Salon it does so 3 times ; Portugal drops 12 times in the R.A., : the same number of times^{minus one} as in the Salon, where it drops 11 times. Of course these are 'minor' categories in both cases, a fact judged by their relative frequency of appearance. As such, their numbers are thinly spread over the years. However, it is not only the lesser categories which can drop below zero, as the case of Germany shows, a 'major' category, a point to which I shall turn in the following section.

The following table shows the balance of European and non-European subjects in the R.A. including ('+') and excluding ('-') Greek subjects and also the numbers of Greek subjects and their proportion in the European national category.

TABLE 9: Works on European and non-European subjects in the R.A. in selected years, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880

| National Category | 1836 | 1840 | 1844 | 1848 | 1853 | 1861 | 1866 | 1870 | 1875 | 1879 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Nos | | | | | | | | | | |
| All Europ. | 122 | 179 | 171 | 185 | 186 | 139 | 127 | 176 | 154 | 172 |
| Non-Europ. | 23 | 36 | 41 | 32 | 25 | 35 | 22 | 57 | 33 | 47 |
| % (out of all foreign works) | | | | | | | | | | |
| All Eur. | 84.1 | 82.5 | 80.7 | 84.9 | 88.2 | 79 | 84.6 | 75.2 | 80.2 | 78.00 |
| Non-Eur | 15.9 | 16.6 | 19.3 | 14.7 | 11.8 | 19.9 | 14.7 | 24.4 | 17.2 | 21.4 |
| Grk Nos | 38 | 39 | 34 | 42 | 34 | 15 | 24 | 32 | 30 | 29 |
| Grk %* | 31.1 | 21.8 | 19.9 | 22.7 | 18.3 | 10.8 | 18.9 | 18.2 | 19.5 | 16.9 |
| Europ.-Grk Nos | 84 | 140 | 137 | 143 | 152 | 124 | 103 | 144 | 124 | 143 |
| Europ.-Grk %** | 78.5 | 78.6 | 77. | 81.2 | 85.9 | 77 | 81.7 | 71.3 | 76.5 | 74.9 |

*= Proportion of works on Greek subjects out of all works on European subjects

**= Proportion of works on European subjects excluding works on Greek subjects out of all foreign works

Major national categories in the Royal Academy and the Salon

It is interesting to stress from the outset the striking similarity between France and Britain from the point of view of the national categories which occupy the top five positions, albeit with varying degrees of intensity and therefore somewhat different rankings. The only slight exception to the otherwise common structure of priorities between the two countries and which in fact is an addition, applies to the fifth position which in the R.A. is occupied by two equal contestants, Germany and the Far East. The equal scores achieved by the Far East and Germany in the R.A. exhibitions oblige us to consider in the British case six national categories among the top five. Finally, there is an absolute reciprocity in the interests of France and Britain which is evident in the fact that France replaces Britain in the British case. Greek subjects occupy the second overall rank position in both the Salon and the Royal Academy. I shall consider the Greek case in greater detail separately in the following chapter. The following table shows the overall rank order of each national category in France and Britain calculated on the basis of all works on foreign subjects.

TABLE 10: Comparative table of the major national categories and their rank in the Salon and the R.A. for the whole period, 1833-1880

| SALON | R.A. |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 1 ITALY | 1 ITALY |
| 2 GREECE | 2 GREECE |
| 3 NEAR EAST | 3 FRANCE |
| 4 BRITAIN | 4 NEAR EAST |
| 5 GERMANY | 5 FAR EAST & GERMANY |

The following table presents the rates achieved by the top six national categories in the Royal Academy over time, in selected years, each as a proportion of all foreign subjects exhibited in that year.

TABLE 11: Annual rates of the major national categories in the R.A. in selected years: 1833-1880 %

| National | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Category | 1836 | 1840 | 1844 | 1848 | 1853 | 1861 | 1866 | 1870 | 1875 | 1879 |
| ITALY | 24.1 | 35.5 | 26.9 | 26.6 | 24.6 | 31.2 | 24.6 | 20.9 | 22.40 | 22.3 |
| GREECE | 26.2 | 17.9 | 16.0 | 19.3 | 16.1 | 8.5 | 16.0 | 13.7 | 15.60 | 13.2 |
| FRANCE | 14.5 | 13.4 | 17.0 | 16.1 | 15.6 | 13.6 | 22.0 | 20.5 | 25.00 | 25.5 |
| NEAR EAST | 4.8 | 7.8 | 4.2 | 4.1 | 4.3 | 8.5 | 6.0 | 14.1 | 10.90 | 8.6 |
| FAR EAST | 6.9 | 4.1 | 8.5 | 5.5 | 3.3 | 3.9 | 3.3 | 6.8 | 0.50 | 7.7 |
| GERMANY | 0.0 | 2.3 | 4.7 | 7.3 | 8.0 | 7.4 | 8.0 | 4.3 | 4.20 | 4.1 |

I shall now give a brief description of the contents of each one of the top six national categories with examples selected following the traditional hierarchy of subject-matter in Western art.

Italy

In the Royal Academy as in the Salon, Italy is the master category. The tradition of the Grand Tour as an educational journey through Europe including France, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, culminating in Italy, as a specifically English and initially aristocratic institution and status hallmark is still observed. Indeed, as Jeremy Maas has observed, the 'Grand Tour' had, by the 1830s, become more democratised. Added to this practice of general educational cosmopolitanism, was, in the case of Italy, the taste for antique art and architecture which could be satisfied at first hand, through a visit to Italy and its many surviving classical monuments. This taste had been most fully cultivated and propagated by the German scholar Winckelmann, through both his example and his writings.

Italian subjects reach their peak in 1840. Examples of this category may be taken from the year 1840. Following the established hierarchy of subject-matter, works on Italian 'History' subjects range from literary subjects inspired by Shakespeare's plays like "Romeo and Juliet" and the "Merchant of Venice", Keats' "Isabella and the Pot

of Basil", and literary and scientific figures such as Tasso and Galileo, through art historical subjects from the lives of Italian artists like Titian and Salvator Rosa - both popular with the French too - to incidents from the life of brigandage favoured by some Italians and which seem to betray the lingering European romantic ethos of boundlessness and adventure. C R Bone's A portrait in the dress of an Italian Bandit chief is one example.

Italian religiosity is a frequent focus of attention, evident not only in recordings of Italian religious architecture (churches and convents as well as antique Roman and Greek temples) which also has a great aesthetic interest, but also through a great number of religious "festas". Sometimes an evaluation can be suggested by the title. For example a negative comment on the corruption of the Catholic ecclesiastical orders may underlie E. M. Ward's choice, Reminiscences of a scene in the prisoners' dock of the tribunal at Naples, in 1838, representing a monk, priest and accomplices in their trial for murder.

Italian genre scenes seem to dominate the category 'Italy'. They include love scenes, promenades in gondolas, peasants dressing up for one or other of the "festas" of the Madonna, Neapolitan fisher-girls, girls returning from the vintage, mothers teaching their children how to dance the Tarantella and depictions of ethnic physical features. S West's Head of a Roman -study from life is one example.

Landscapes include views of the great old Italian cities, and the countryside with Naples as the most frequent location followed by Venice, the ancient and recently excavated remains of Pompeii, Rome and Milan. Many works are "done on the spot", a detail marked in the exhibition catalogue. This kind of subject-matter recruited a great number of different artists, many of whom were specialists in the genre and indeed masters of it like J.M.W. Turner. The meaning of such views is often literary, historical, moral or emotional. Such interpretations can be owed to people like Byron : for example an image of the Bridge of Sighs in Venice is described in the catalogue with a quotation from Byron as, "a palace and a prison on each hand". S Palmer's Pompeii -the street of the tombs; "Where are the golden roofs

? Where those who dared to build?" is another example.

France

It is interesting to note that both France and Britain seem to be looking at each other but France looks at England less intently than vice versa, although one must take some account of the fact that artists from both countries are sending their works to be exhibited in each other's official forums. This means that the production of foreign subjects in British art as indeed in French art, is not entirely indigenous, although it could not have existed without indigenous interest. In the case of the R.A. major French painters like J Bastien-Lepage, Ed Frere, F Philippoteaux, Fantin-Latour, and sculptors like J Dalou and J B Carpeaux exhibit French subjects - among others - regularly, especially after 1870.

The pattern of French subjects being exhibited in the R.A. is significant for the numerical hierarchy of foreign subjects especially as they challenge Italian near-absolute rule over the minds of artists and public alike. In the R.A. French subjects overtake Italian subjects from 1875 onwards. Some of these works are by French artists although such origins are never the norm.

Among the factors which account for the increase of French subjects in the R.A. is, as we have already noted, the presence of French artists. This presence was encouraged, especially during the post-1871 period, not only by the honorary appointment in the R.A. of 'recognised' French artists, but also by the immigration into Britain of French artists after the Commune. The persecution in France of socialists, including socialist artists, caused many artists to seek refuge in Britain where they continued to work for British patrons. One such artist was the sculptor Dalou. In the 1873 R.A. for example, Dalou exhibited a terra-cotta statue of a "paysanne francaise" and in 1877 "Une Boulonnaise allaitant son enfant", both "realist" subjects - a quality which is doubly relevant here, i.e. to our regional and nationality concerns and to the political persuasion of the artist.

This category reaches its peak in 1879 with 56 works. History subjects include

subjects such as Marat :13th July ,1793 by Eyre Crowe. We do not find many subjects on French religious practices. We do find however architectural views of French churches like The Church of Sainte Barbe near Le Faouet,Morbihan by Lennard Lewis. Many genre subjects depict market scenes and scenes of work in the French provinces - Cutting forage on the French coast , Breton quarry workers. Others depict home and family life like Grand'maman et petite fille by the French artist Edouard Frere. There seems to be a fascination with Breton life, and many British artists seem to have visited Brittany. Landscape views include Breton views such as A Breton farmyard by Aug. Burke.

Near East and North Africa

This category occupies in British official art the fourth mean rank position while in French official art, the third position. In the British context Near Eastern subjects tend to fluctuate although there is a general increase in their rates which spans the whole period. Particularly high rates are thus achieved towards the end of the period and indeed from 1864-on, when this particular strand of the broader movement which came to be known as 'Orientalism' becomes most substantial. In France, the Near Eastern variety of 'Orientalism', as a definite and strong artistic preoccupation, manifests itself much earlier in the century reaching its higher points in the 1840s, '50s and '60s with its highest point in 1846. This is quite different from what happens in Britain where this category reaches its maximum exposure in 1870.

Near Eastern subjects peak in 1870 with 33 titles. History subjects include works like The proposal of the Jews to Ferdinand and Isabella (in order to secure their residence in Spain) to defray the expenses of the Moorish War, rejected through the intolerance of Torquemada by the Jewish Royal Academician Solomon A Hart. Islamic religious life is depicted in works like Ablution : scene in Morocco by J Stirling. Other, quasi-religious subjects, include views of ancient temples and Mosques in Egypt. Genre subjects depicting oriental everyday life include works like J F Lewis' (a specialist orientalist) Armenian family -Asia Minor. In landscape, Egyptian views are the most frequent like C Vacher's Karnak ; "Who thus could build dreamed not of perishable homes; now ruin reigns supreme !".

The Far East

Near eastern subjects are challenged for the fourth position, by another variety of 'Orientalism', Far Eastern subjects. The pattern of this category is spasmodic beginning at a high point in the early 1830s, higher than the Near Eastern category, then dropping even below Germany, picking up in the 1840s and overtaking again the Near East, and finally stabilising at a regular movement of contestation with Germany with only a sudden plunge in 1875 but picking up again until the end.

If we briefly consider the difference between French and British art regarding the presence of the Far Eastern category among the five most frequent types of foreign subjects in British art, we can in fact see it as a further similarity or a functional equivalent, for the following reason. This is the fact that the Far Eastern category in British art is made up, to a significant extent, by 'Indian' titles. This is important since it corresponds to the special relationship between India and Britain, the former being a major British colony. This relation is made explicit in the high number of subjects representing British military and administrative officials in India, but also portraits of Christian missionaries in India along with descriptions of Indian topography, flora, fauna and ethnic life which make up this category. The strong British presence in India may thus explain the presence of the category 'Far East' among the top five foreign categories in British art and its exclusion from French art. This theory may be confirmed by the high rank which the category 'Near East' occupies in French art. There, the Near Eastern category occupies the third position and tends to be inflated by Algerian subjects. As Algeria became at that time a French colony, the similarity between French and British art lies in the fact that Algeria and India were, politically, functional equivalents, and in both countries the colonies supplied artists with subject-matter.

This category peaks in 1834 with 16 works. Among History subjects we may include images of contemporary "history" such as Captain J D King's Ganges -with embarkation of the Governor-General late Marquis of Hastings, a subject which reveals the specific relationship between India and Britain. Religious subjects include representations of religious architecture such as the painting by the Royal

Academician and 'orientalist' W Daniell of a Mosque at Lucnow. A subject like Hindustan native lady Mohomedan might also be included under this rubric relating to the religious make-up of the Far East. Genre subjects include W Daniell's Zohara, a Nautch girl,...Allahabad. Finally, W Daniell is also one of the contributors to landscape views from this part of the world, with On the Island of Ceylon.

Germany

Finally, Germany constitutes the last major category of foreign subjects in the R.A., only marginally inferior to the Far East. The bonds uniting it with Britain are of many kinds, not least being the fact of the marriage of Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha to Queen Victoria and the 'Teutonism' which characterised British culture during the first half of the century. Works like W. Theed's sculpture Group of Her Majesty the Queen and HRH the Prince Consort in early Saxon costume -...erected at Windsor Castle, (R.A. 1868) affirm the special relationship between the British and the Germans.

This category peaks in 1873 with 17 works. History subjects include T J Barker's Riderless war-horses after the battle of Sedan. From a sketch made on the spot, Sept 3, 1870. Literary subjects illustrating Goethe's Faust are here, as in France, very popular, constituting an important trait of German cultural production. Images of German religious life include here Luther, as in France, but with a different evaluative meaning. Examples include Dawn -Luther at Erfurt, accompanied by an explanatory text on the metaphor of the dawn to mean the beginning of Luther's understanding of the true meaning of Paul's statement that "The just shall live by faith". Other Lutheran subjects further add to the virtues of Luther and of Melancthon. Genre themes include subjects like E C Champion's A market scene near Dusseldorf, Prussia. Finally, in the category of landscape painting we find many views of German castles such as C. R. Stanley's Salzburg Castle.

CHAPTER 2:

GREEK SUBJECTS IN THE SALON AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY

In this chapter I shall give an outline of the scale, statistical pattern over time and distribution among different aspects of Greek life of works of art at the annual art exhibitions of the Royal Academy and the Salon between 1833 and 1880. I shall thus focus on the classification and statistical measurement of the multiplicity of titles describing works of art depicting various aspects and historical periods of Greek life and topography which I collected from the Royal Academy and Salon exhibition catalogues for the period of study. This is a descriptive account of works of art on Greek subjects. The interpretation of this material will be pursued in Parts II, III and IV of this study.

I divided the category 'Greece' into sub-categories. This classification follows, in a somewhat abbreviated and modified form, the standard academic classification of artistic subject-matter which I used in my brief account of the content of each of the other foreign national categories in the previous chapter. I thus describe the contents of the category 'Greece' which I collected from the exhibition catalogues according to the following six categories :

(1) **History**, includes the following sub-categories: (a) ancient (from Homer to Constantine), (b) mediaeval (including Renaissance) and (c) modern Greek history (from the seventeenth century onwards). History groups together depictions of major public historical personages and incidents taken not only from different periods of Greek political history, but also from the visual arts, poetry, philosophy, and science.

(2) **Mythology** includes: (a) heroic, (b) erotic, (c) paganism and (d) other mythology. 'Heroic mythology' groups together images of Greek mythological heroes as well as subjects from Homer, the tragedians, Aesop and others. It sets apart and generally revolves around incidents from mythical stories of high-minded men administering justice with the sword or the muscle. 'Erotic mythology' groups together images of Venus, Bacchus and related deities, whose massive numbers justify

their separation from other pagan subjects. Note, however, that Venus did not always have an erotic or sensual significance, a point which I shall explore in my analysis of images of ancient Greek religious conceptions. For this reason, I shall also refer to this category of Greek mythological subjects more neutrally, as 'Venus-Bacchus'. 'Paganism' groups together representations of the main pagan gods, as real personal powers or as personifications of ancient Greek philosophical concepts regarding the origin and prime moving forces of the world, and of pagan Greek religious staff, like priests, and institutions, like pagan rituals and ceremonies. Finally, the category 'other mythology' is a residual category.

(3) **Religion**, includes works representing Greek defenders of the Christian religion against paganism as well as representations of Greek Orthodox saints, church personnel, objects and institutions.

Finally, works of art on Greek subjects are divided into (4) **Genre**, (5) **Landscape** and (6) **Other**. **Portraiture** has been merged with genre partly because the distinction cannot be upheld in many instances such as portraits of individual Greeks which can be considered as illustrations of Greek ethnic and social types and also portraits of individuals in Greek ethnic costume, such as Portrait of Mrs.....in Greek dress in which the ethnographic focus is also important.

The above classification of works of art on Greek subjects which were exhibited in the Royal Academy and the Salon between 1833 and 1880 may be summarised as follows:

Types of Greek subjects in the R.A. and the Salon

| | | |
|--------------|---|-------------------------|
| 1. History | -Ancient -Mediaeval -Modern | 4. Genre (and Portrait) |
| 2. Mythology | -Heroic -'Erotic' -Paganism -Other | 5. Landscape |
| 3. Religion | -Greek Orthodox Christianity | 6. Other |

The rest of this chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first section I describe the contents of the category 'Greece' in the Salon and in the second I do the same for the Royal Academy and also compare the Royal Academy with the Salon. In each section I consider the following : firstly, illustrative examples of the types of works included in each of the sub-categories of the national category 'Greece'; secondly, the statistical distribution of works among these different categories of Greek subject-matter. This I shall do in order to show the particular aspects of Greek life which British and French artists tended to represent more often.

Greek subjects in the Salon

In this section I shall give a few examples of subjects in each of the main categories of Greek subject-matter listed above and then consider the statistical pattern of each category. Greek History subjects include works on ancient Greek history such as PARANT's Alexandre sauvant son pere (Salon 1834); 'mediaeval' history such as S.-P. GRANGER's Le maréchal de Boucicault fait lever au sultan Bajazet le siège de Constantinople (1404) (Salon 1840); modern history such as A. COLIN's Sujet de la guerre grecque moderne (Salon 1842).

Mythological subjects in the Salon include images of heroes such as Marcel BRIGUIBOUL's Combat de Castor et Pollux contre Idas et Lynceé (OVIDE. Fastes,

liv.v.) (Salon 1866); images of Venus such as Narcisse DIAZ DE LA PENA's Venus et Adonis (Salon 1848) and of Bacchus such as Emile HEBERT's plaster model of Bacchus (Salon 1866) which was bought by the state to decorate the Palais des Tuileries; and, finally, images of other Greek pagan gods such as Hermes in Mme Celine PARMENTIER's painting on porcelain after Alaux, Pandore descendue sur la terre par Mercure (Salon 1847).

French illustrations of the history and structure of Christianity in Greece include subjects such as Merry-Joseph BLONDEL's Le triomphe de la religion sur l'athéisme. Un guerrier de Constantin meurt confiant dans la croyance religieuse. Aidé de l'espérance, il repousse... le sophiste qui ne lui montre, au-delà du tombeau que la destruction, le néant! (Salon 1834). Images of everyday Greek life include works such as Charles FOURNIER's Jeune Grecque (Salon 1842). Finally, Greek landscapes include not only works on natural and urban topography but also views of archaeological sites such as Claude-Felix-Theodore ALIGNY's Vue de l'Acropolis; Athènes (Salon 1853).

The following two tables show the annual scores of each of the above categories in selected years of the period 1833 to 1880, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of all the 'Greek' works exhibited in the Salon in each of these years.

TABLE 12: Distribution of works among different Greek subjects in the Salon in selected years, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| Subject | 1836 | '40 | '44 | '48 | '53 | '61 | '66 | '70 | '75 | '79 |
|--------------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| HISTORY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ancient | 4 | 1 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 17 | 12 | 18 | 13 | 6 |
| Mediaeval | 1 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Modern | 2 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| MYTHOLOGY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Heroic | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 14 | 18 | 6 | 14 |
| 'Erotic' | 8 | 4 | 4 | 51 | 22 | 69 | 40 | 90 | 63 | 65 |
| Paganism | 1 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 21 | 15 | 22 | 17 | 22 |
| Other | 1 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 15 | 17 | 10 | 13 |
| RELIGION | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gr-X* | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| GENRE | 4 | 4 | 5 | 13 | 4 | 10 | 11 | 14 | 15 | 8 |
| LANDSC. | 2 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 11 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| OTHER | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 35 | 32 | 40 | 124 | 61 | 164 | 136 | 200 | 137 | 142 |
| GREEK | | | | | | | | | | |
| * Gr-X = Greek Orthodox Christianity | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 13: Rates* of different Greek subjects in the Salon in selected years: 1833-1880

| Subject | 1836 | '40 | '44 | '48 | '53 | '61 | '66 | '70 | '75 | '79 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| HISTORY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ancient | 11.4 | 3.1 | 15.0 | 8.0 | 14.8 | 10.4 | 8.8 | 9.0 | 9.5 | 4.2 |
| Mediaeval | 2.9 | 9.4 | 0.0 | 4.0 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Modern | 5.7 | 12.5 | 5.0 | 4.0 | 1.6 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| MYTHOLOGY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Heroic | 5.7 | 9.4 | 0.0 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 3.0 | 10.3 | 9.0 | 4.4 | 9.9 |
| 'Erotic' | 22.9 | 12.5 | 10.0 | 41.1 | 36.0 | 42.0 | 29.4 | 45.0 | 46.0 | 45.8 |
| Paganism | 2.9 | 0.0 | 12.5 | 4.0 | 6.6 | 12.8 | 11.0 | 11.0 | 12.4 | 15.5 |
| Other | 2.9 | 3.1 | 5.0 | 7.2 | 9.8 | 5.5 | 11.0 | 8.5 | 7.3 | 9.2 |
| RELIGION | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gr-X** | 17.1 | 21.9 | 12.5 | 3.2 | 4.9 | 1.8 | 0.7 | 2.0 | 2.2 | 0.7 |
| GENRE | 11.4 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 10.5 | 6.6 | 6.1 | 8.0 | 7.0 | 10.9 | 5.6 |
| LANDSC. | 5.7 | 0.0 | 17.5 | 6.5 | 6.6 | 6.7 | 5.9 | 0.5 | 2.2 | 1.4 |
| OTHER | 2.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 1.4 |

* = proportion out of all 'Greek' works

**Gr-X = Greek Orthodox Christianity

As I shall examine these works in greater detail and from a comparative point of view both below and in subsequent chapters, I shall not analyse these statistics here.

Greek subjects in the Royal Academy

Now I want to consider in the same way Greek subjects in British art in the same period. History subjects in the Royal Academy include works on ancient Greek history like G ABBOTT's Alexander the Great crossing the Granicus (R.A. 1844), a subject drawn from Plutarch's "Life of Alexander", or A. MUNRO's model of a statue of Hippocrates (R.A. 1857). Mediaeval history includes works like E

ARMITAGE's (R.A.) Julian the Apostate presiding at a conference of Sectarians (R.A. 1875), an illustration of a passage from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire". (This subject could also be classified under religion in which I have included subjects illustrating the conflict between the Christian and the Greek Pagan religions). Modern history includes subjects such as R.S.THOMAS' The Battle of Navarino (R.A. 1842). It also includes Byronic subjects which, although literary and fictional, are inspired by real events, namely the Greek War of Independence.

Among Mythological subjects, 'Heroic mythology' includes images of such personages as Hercules, Prometheus, Perseus, Achilles, Hector, and Ulysses, but also of Medea, the Amazons, Antigone, Penelope, Nausicaa, Oenone, Briseis who were connected in one way or another with these men. Examples include works like J GAWEN's sculpture Achilles and Lycaon "Die, then, he said, as the word he spoke, The fainting stripling sunk before the stroke" (R.A. 1861) from Pope's Iliad or F. R. PICKERSGILL's Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles (R.A. 1842).

The category 'Erotic' (or Venus-Bacchus) includes illustrations of the stories of the loves of the gods such as Jupiter and Danae, Venus and Adonis, Pluto and Proserpine, Narcissus and the nymphs, of which W. E. FROST's, (A)Narcissus. For him the Naiads and the Dryads mourn (R.A. 1857) is one example. Love stories by classical and post-classical authors which include mythological personages or supernatural events, such as Theocritus' Hero and Leander are also included in this category. British authors such as Thomson, Milton, Spenser and Shakespeare are also sources of Greek mythological subjects of this variety for British artists.

Illustrations of Greek Paganism include such works as Hesiod's account of the Golden Age, the myth of Pandora, representations of and incidents in the life of the twelve Olympian and other minor gods, such as the Hours, the Seasons, the Graces, the Muses, Eos etcetera. This category also includes the worship practices of the antique gods such as J S WESTMACOTT's Chrysis, Priestess of Juno at Argos, who falling asleep during her watch in the Temple, caused it to be burnt down through her negligence in setting fire to the sacred ornaments (R.A. 1868).

Greek Christian religious subjects include works which show the Greek Orthodox religious life and monuments such as D. ROBERTS' (A) View of the Greek church of the Holy Nativity in Bethlehem (R.A. 1840).

Genre includes ethnographic subjects such as costume pieces, folk scenes and modern and antique pastoral themes and representations of Greek athletes. The subjects, therefore, can be drawn from modern, mediaeval or ancient Greek everyday life. The same category also includes portraits of both Greek individuals and non-Greek individuals but dressed as Greeks. Illustrations of literary and poetical accounts of Greek mores are also included in this category as for example illustrations of Byron's poetry depicting family relationships and love, such as the Giaour's mother and Haidee and Don Juan. For example, L.DUNCAN's Don Juan "'Twas bending close o'er his, and the small /mouth seemed almost prying into his for breath"(R.A. 1861). These themes are of course distinguished from the more embattled moments and deeds of political heroism - including those of piracy and adventure - of Byronic characters. Other titles are GOURLAY STEELL's A challenge "When Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war", (R.A. 1877) and GEO. RICHMOND's (R.A.), Eustratius Ralli, Esq (R.A. 1879).

Finally, landscape includes not only Greek topography and architecture but also images of explicitly Greek-inspired British buildings, like W. & H. W. INWOOD' An Athenian Ionian garden temple, now completing in the flower plantations of the Hon the Earl of Onslow, at Clandon, Surrey (R.A. 1838).

In the following two tables I present the works of art on Greece which were exhibited in the Royal Academy organised chronologically and by subject-matter. The distribution of works on Greece into thematic categories is shown in absolute numbers and as a proportion of all the works on Greece which were exhibited in each year.

TABLE 14: Distribution of works among different Greek subjects in the R.A. in selected years, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| Subject | 1836 | '40 | '44 | '48 | '53 | '61 | '66 | '70 | '75 | '79 |
|-------------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| HISTORY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ancient | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 8 |
| Mediaeval | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Modern | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| MYTHOLOGY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Heroic | 2 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 2 |
| 'Erotic' | 16 | 8 | 13 | 24 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 10 |
| Paganism | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| RELIGION | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gr-X* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| GENRE | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| LANDSC. | 6 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| OTHER | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 38 | 39 | 34 | 42 | 34 | 15 | 24 | 32 | 30 | 29 |
| *Gr-X = Greek Orthodox Christianity | | | | | | | | | | |

**TABLE 15: Rates of the different Greek subjects in the R.A. in selected years
(% calculated in relation to all works on Greek subjects exhibited each year):
1833-1880**

| Subject | 1836 | 1840 | 1844 | 1848 | 1853 | 1861 | 1866 | 1870 | 1875 | 1879 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| HISTORY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ancient | 0.0 | 2.6 | 8.8 | 7.1 | 14.7 | 0.0 | 8.3 | 15.6 | 3.3 | 27.6 |
| Mediaeval | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.7 | 0.0 |
| Modern | 2.6 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| MYTHOLOGY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Heroic | 5.3 | 25.6 | 20.6 | 9.5 | 11.8 | 40.0 | 33.3 | 21.9 | 20.0 | 6.9 |
| 'Erotic' | 42.1 | 20.5 | 38.2 | 57.1 | 26.5 | 40.0 | 33.3 | 31.3 | 30.0 | 34.5 |
| Paganism | 13.2 | 18.0 | 14.7 | 16.7 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 4.2 | 9.4 | 10.0 | 10.3 |
| RELIGION | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gr-X | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 6.7 | 0.0 |
| GENRE | 18.4 | 10.3 | 8.8 | 2.4 | 23.5 | 20.0 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 20.0 | 20.7 |
| LANDSC. | 15.8 | 23.1 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 8.8 | 0.0 | 4.2 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| OTHER | 2.6 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 0.0 | 4.2 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 0.0 |
| Gr-X=Greek Orthodox Christianity | | | | | | | | | | |

In the following table I show in rank order the overall distribution of works of art on Greek subjects in the different thematic categories for the whole period and as proportions of all works on Greek subjects in the R.A. and the Salon. All works on different aspects of Greek mythology have been grouped under the general category 'MYTHOLOGY'.

TABLE 16: Comparative table of the rank of each of the different Greek subjects found in the R.A. and the Salon with its overall rate as a proportion of all works on Greek subjects exhibited in each venue between 1833 and 1880 (all calculations are based on the sampled years)

| R.A. | | | SALON | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------|-------------|-----------------|-------|
| | | % | | | % |
| 1 | MYTHOLOGY | 63.7 | 1 | MYTHOLOGY | 70.50 |
| 2 | GENRE | 13.6 | 2 | ANCIENT HIST. | 8.90 |
| 3 | ANCIENT HISTORY | 8.9 | 3 | GENRE | 8.50 |
| 4 | LANDSCAPE | 8.4 | 4 | LANDSCAPE | 4.90 |
| 5 | MODERN HISTORY | 2.0 | 5 | RELIGION-X | 3.50 |
| 6 | RELIGION:GR-X* | 0.6 | 6 | MODERN HISTORY | 1.50 |
| 7 | MEDIAEVAL HISTORY | 0.3 | 7 | MEDIAEVAL HIST. | 0.90 |
| TOTAL WORKS | | | TOTAL WORKS | | |
| 653 | | | 2000 | | |
| *Gr-X = Greek Orthodox Christianity | | | | | |

The following table shows the total number of works constituting each sub-category of Greek subjects according to the above rank order of each sub-category.

TABLE 17: Comparative table of the rank of each of the different Greek subjects found in the R.A. and the Salon with its overall score for the period 1833-1880

| R.A. | | | SALON | | |
|---|-------------------|-----|-------------|-----------------|------|
| 1 | MYTHOLOGY | 416 | 1 | MYTHOLOGY | 1411 |
| 2 | GENRE | 89 | 2 | ANCIENT HISTORY | 177 |
| 3 | ANCIENT HISTORY | 58 | 3 | GENRE | 170 |
| 4 | LANDSCAPE | 55 | 4 | LANDSCAPE | 98 |
| 5 | MODERN HISTORY | 13 | 5 | RELIGION-X | 70 |
| 6 | RELIGION:GR-X | 4 | 6 | MODERN HISTORY | 31 |
| 7 | MEDIAEVAL HISTORY | 2 | 7 | MEDIAEVAL HIST | 18 |
| TOTAL WORKS* | | | TOTAL WORKS | | |
| | | 653 | | | 2000 |
| * includes "other",i.e. unclassifiable subjects | | | | | |

As we can see, **MYTHOLOGY** ranks first in both the R.A. and the Salon occupying in both cases more than half of all Greek subjects and reaching in France 70.5% as compared with 63.7% in Britain. In practice, this means that of all Greek subjects, works dealing with Venus, Bacchus and related personages and themes had, throughout the period, the highest probability of occurrence in both the Royal Academy and the Salon.

The pattern of distribution of works among the other categories is quite different except for **LANDSCAPE** and **MEDIAEVAL HISTORY** which occupy the same rank position in the two countries. **LANDSCAPE** comes fourth in both countries and **MEDIAEVAL HISTORY** comes seventh.

As far as the second most popular subject type is concerned, British artists and their public express a higher interest in the ethnographic and everyday life aspects of Greece, with **GENRE** occupying 13.6 % of all Greek subjects, than do the French. In France, interests are divided regarding the second most favourite aspect of Greek life for artistic representation and consumption. This is evident from the figures relating to the **ANCIENT HISTORY** of Greece and to **GENRE**, namely 8.9 % and 8.5 % respectively. Although in both countries **ANCIENT HISTORY** occupies 8.9 % of the total Greek works, the relative importance which this category is given by each country vis-a-vis the other categories of subjects is quite different.

It is important to retain such distinctions as similarity in proportion but difference in rank and vice versa for their informative value. It is significant for example to note, in another instance, namely, in the category of **LANDSCAPE** which in both countries occupies the same, **fourth** position, the size of this category is different in the two countries : in the R.A. this category is nearly double in size as compared with the Salon with 8.4 % and 4.9 % respectively. This difference indicates a greater social interest in this particular aspect of Greece in Britain than is the case in France.

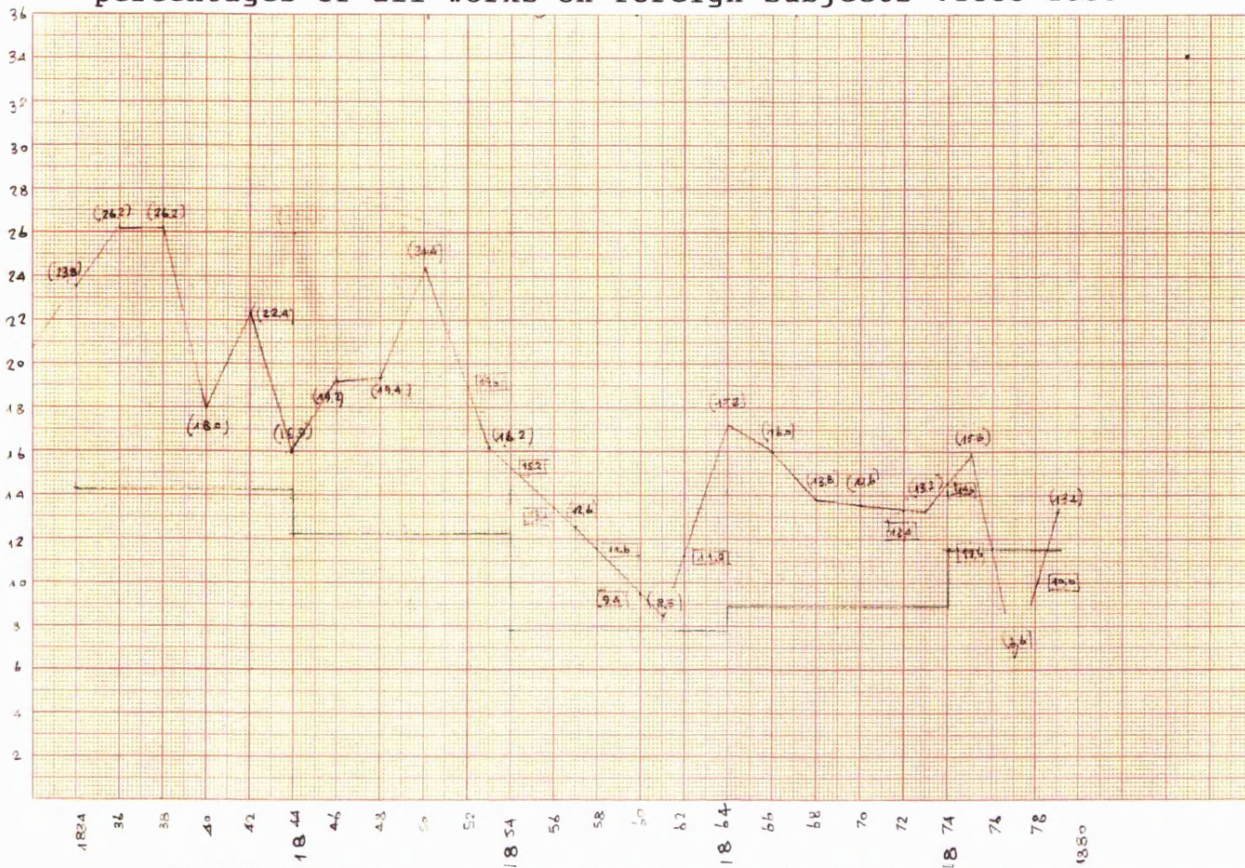
The patterns of **RELIGION** also divide the two countries. The British express very low interest - 0.6 % of Greek works - either in Orthodox Christianity or in the victory of Christianity over Paganism, a theme of greater interest to the French with works on this

theme occupying 3.5 % of all Greek works. This difference may be explained by the revival of Christianity (which in France meant a revival of Catholicism) which marked nineteenth-century France following the secularism of the French revolution; and also by the much more explicit and ritualised conception of Christianity which the French shared with the Greeks and which distinguished them from the British. In the essentially Protestant British society by contrast, the marks of the religious life tended to be much more moral, inner-worldly, less ritualistic, less visibly different from other types of behaviour and thereby much more distinct and indeed often opposed to the religious conceptions of both Catholic and Orthodox Christianity. I shall consider the differences between the British and French interpretations of Christianity as these affected artists' orientation to Greek subjects in subsequent chapters.

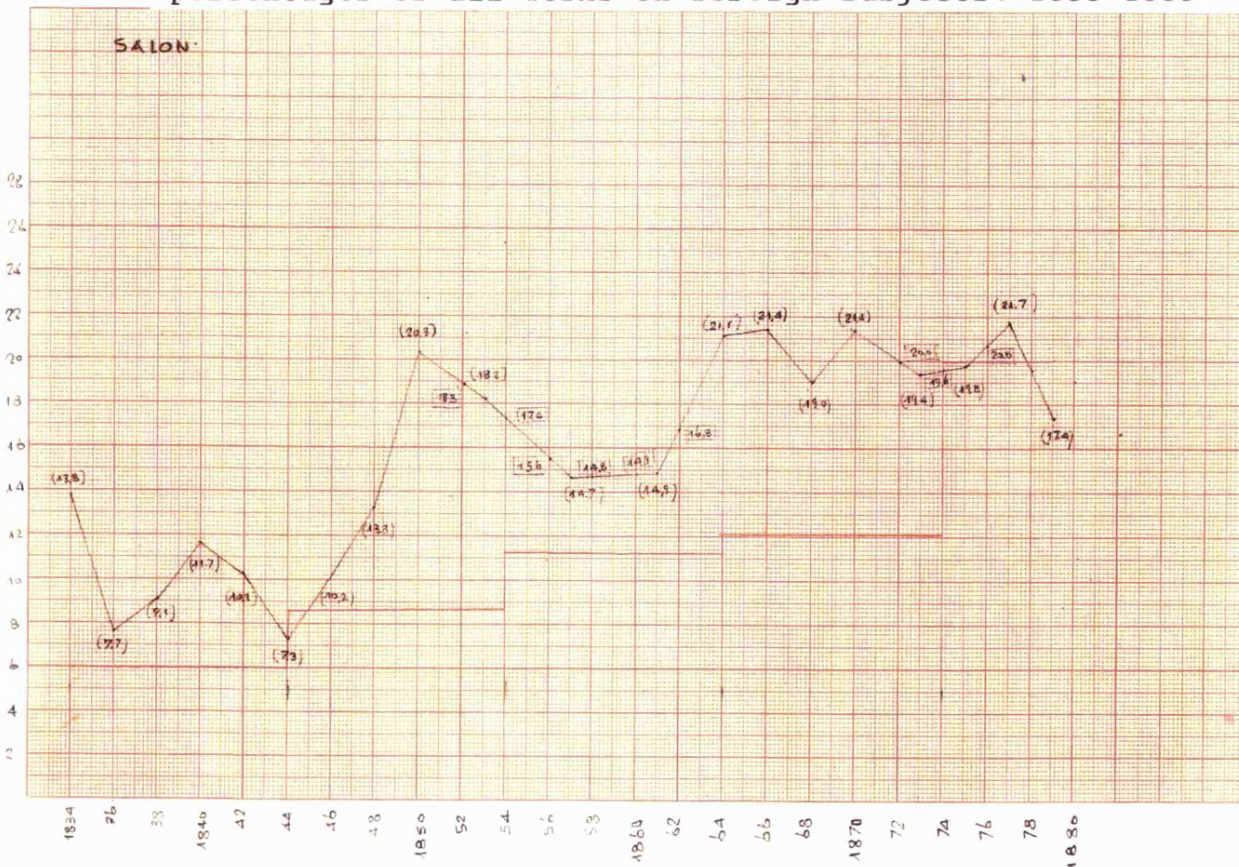
Finally, **MODERN HISTORY** ranks higher in Britain than in France, occupying the fifth and sixth positions respectively. However, the size of this category of works is similar in both countries, occupying 2% and 1.55% respectively, of all the works on Greek subjects.

The following two graphs show the pattern of works on Greek subjects in the R.A. and the Salon during the period under consideration. They are based on the annual rates of works on Greek subjects in each venue which have been calculated in relation to all works on foreign subjects.

GRAPH 2: Pattern of works on Greek subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on foreign subjects :1833-1880



GRAPH 3: Pattern of works on Greek subjects in the Salon as percentages of all works on foreign subjects: 1833-1880



I shall now briefly compare the British and French statistical patterns over time of works of art treating subjects from Greek **MYTHOLOGY** which was the most popular single item of Greek civilisation for both British and French artists and their public. The following table displays the annual rates of mythology as proportions of all the works on Greek subjects exhibited each year. The symbols +/- indicate the relationship of the French scores to the British scores for each year as 'more/less than' the British score.

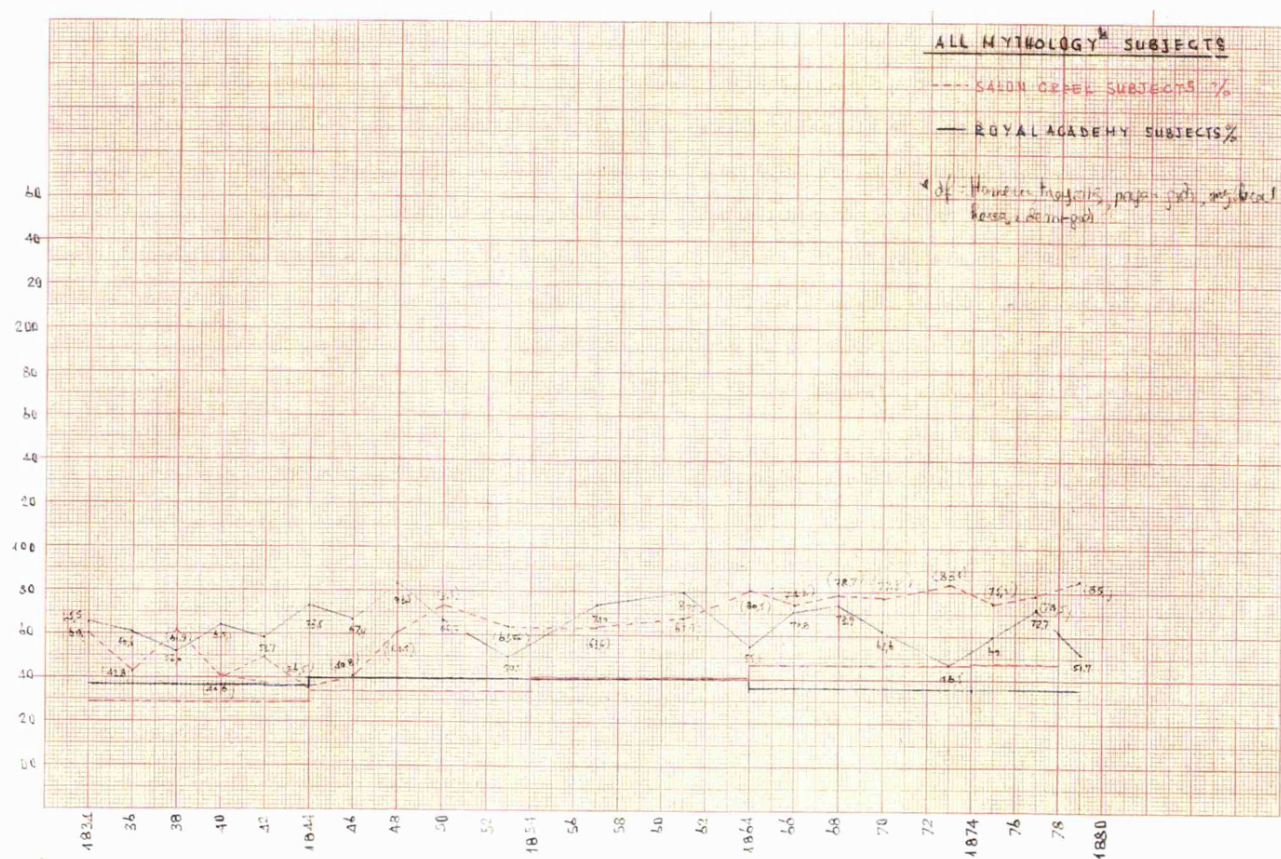
TABLE 18: Comparative table of the annual rates of Greek mythology in the R.A. and the Salon as proportions of all works on Greek subjects exhibited each year in each venue: 1833-1880

| YEAR | R.A. | SALON |
|------|------|--------|
| 1834 | 65.5 | -60.00 |
| 1836 | 60.6 | -42.80 |
| 1838 | 52.0 | +61.90 |
| 1840 | 64.1 | -40.62 |
| 1842 | 58.7 | -50.00 |
| 1844 | 73.5 | -36.50 |
| 1846 | 67.4 | -40.80 |
| 1848 | 83.3 | -61.10 |
| 1850 | 66.7 | +73.10 |
| 1853 | 50.1 | +63.86 |
| 1857 | 74.0 | -63.60 |
| 1861 | 80.0 | -67.90 |
| 1864 | 55.5 | +80.50 |
| 1866 | 70.8 | +74.20 |
| 1868 | 73.9 | +78.70 |
| 1870 | 62.6 | +77.30 |
| 1873 | 46.5 | +83.10 |
| 1875 | 60.0 | +75.20 |
| 1877 | 72.7 | +78.50 |
| 1879 | 51.7 | +85.00 |

NOTE = + and - in the Salon column mean more or less than the R.A.

The changes of these figures over time can be visualised in the following graphic form :

GRAPH 4: Pattern of works on Greek mythology in the R.A. and the Salon (% of annual Greek totals): 1833-1880

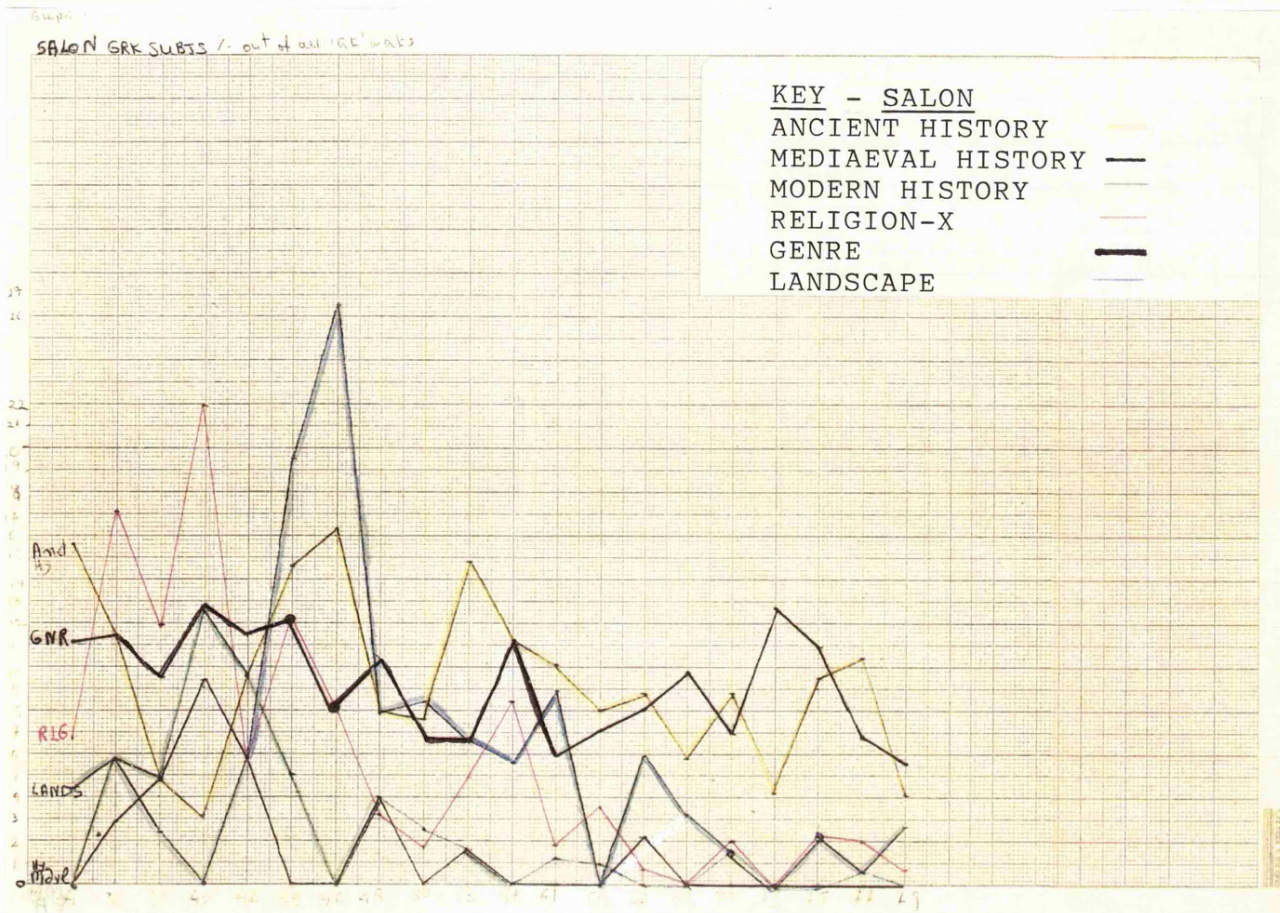
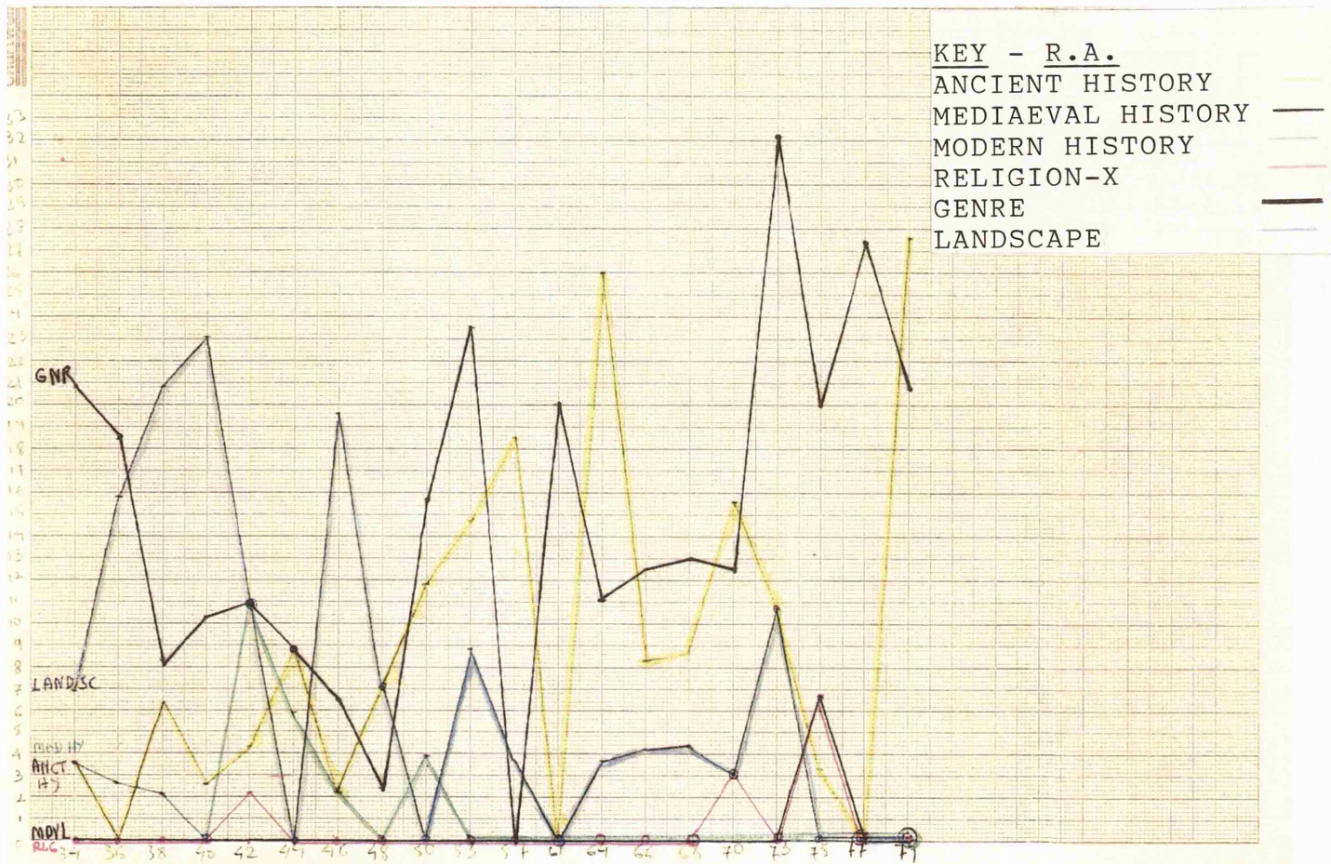


The patterns of mythological subjects in the two countries as compared with one another are as follows according to the rates of each sample year. There are two main periods: the first one is between 1834 - first year of the sample - and 1861 ; the second is between 1864 to 1879 -last year of the sample. In the first period there is a predominance of Britain over France from the point of view of their relative interest in Greek mythology. In the second period France overtakes Britain in that respect reaching the highest proportion of works on mythological subjects ever achieved in the two countries, namely 85 % as compared with a maximum of 83.3 % in Britain. This is not such a remarkable difference in itself. But what is significant here and requires explanation, is that such rates were achieved at radically different moments in time : in 1848 in Britain and in 1879 in France. The reasons for this difference will be explored in Parts III and IV of this study.

Another feature which distinguishes the two countries with respect to the pattern of works of art on Greek mythology is the general increase of such works in France from 1846 onwards as compared with the fluctuations in the rates of such works in Britain. These fluctuations divide the annual rates of mythological works in Britain into three periods : firstly, a period of increase which spans the first half of the century, secondly a period of decline from 1850 until the middle of the 1850s, and thirdly a period of increase culminating in 1861 with numbers beginning very gradually to decline from 1861 and showing dramatic fluctuations during the 1870s.

The following graph shows the pattern of distribution of works on Greek subjects among the different genres in the R.A. and the Salon during the period under consideration.

GRAPH 5: Comparison of the patterns of distribution of works on Greek subjects among the different genres in the R.A. and the Salon: 1833-1880



This and the preceding chapters have been almost exclusively descriptive of primary data. In Parts II, III, and IV, I shall try to account for some of the peculiarities of the works of art on Greek subjects which I described above.

PART II: PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC ART

CHAPTER 3:**PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE GREEKS****Introduction**

In this chapter I shall examine ideas about the Greeks as they were established by the main British and French life-scientists and especially the physical anthropologists of the nineteenth century. The object of the anthropological theories which were developed ¹ during this period in Europe was to determine man's relationship to other elements of the natural world and to examine the phenomenon of human physical and cultural variation. The latter enquiry came to mean a) the establishment of a typology of the range of physical variation among human groups, b) the classification of human groups according to this typology, c) the explanation of the origin of physical differences and d) the determination of their socio-cultural consequences. From this point of view, I shall consider English and French ideas about the Greeks, namely the classification, explanation and evaluation of the distinctive physical and cultural traits of the Greeks.

Having established the anthropology of the Greeks, I shall go on in the following chapters to examine the communication, presence and impact of anthropological concepts, explanations and precepts or ideals on the wider English and French societies. To this end, I shall examine the ideas and institutions which dominated the spheres of art, education, politics and religion in the two societies.

The final goal of my account is to show the social significance of images of Greek life in English and French art. I shall show that the choice and particularities of Greek subject-matter by artists working in England and France was to a large extent guided by certain vital beliefs and practices which marked the two societies in this period. I shall show that the representation of Greek life in English and French art, although traditional, if looked at from the outside, was not a habitual or conventional

practice, but that it had its roots in an entirely new set of ideas and in the new practices which implemented them.

The rise of Physical Anthropology

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed important scientific changes with the emergence of modern biological and human sciences, such as comparative anatomy, zoology, palaeontology, geology and finally ethnology also called physical anthropology ². At the root of these disciplines lay an intellectual curiosity to study man scientifically, i.e. in his empirically observable nature. The Swedish naturalist's Carl von Linne's (1707-1778) Systema Naturae of 1735 which contained a universal biological classification was the first major³ scientific study of man as part of nature.

During the eighteenth century Enlightenment, European thinkers in the early throes of positivism, became aware of and affirmed the existence of physical humanity. They became interested in a scientific as opposed to the traditional religious, i.e. Biblical explanation of man. This interest gave a new direction to the religiously inspired, i.e. Protestant, scientism with its belief in natural theology which went back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These cultural re-orientations coincided with and were further stimulated by a new period of European geo-political, commercial and missionary world expansion in the course of which the full range of the physical and socio-cultural varieties of mankind was unfolded. It was thus that mankind became the object of a more sustained, organised and scientific investigation. Janine Buenzod explained the birth of anthropology in the following terms :

"L'esprit critique humaniste d'une part, l'exégèse protestante de l'autre, mais surtout, la découverte d'un Nouveau Monde, multiplient les problèmes insolubles, qui entraînent le discrédit, aux temps modernes, des généalogies de la Bible. Celles qu'on propose à leur place sont le fruit de la révolution générale des idées, et se réclament de la science : leurs contours se précisent avec la naissance, au XVIII^e siècle, des sciences dites de l'homme...la base des grandes divisions entre races..."⁴

The scientific study of physical man in his formal⁵ variations crystallized in the study

of what anthropologists called the races of man. The word race as applied to mankind was not new in the European vocabulary. But its meaning now changed. Michael Banton has established the "three-phase view of racial thought"⁶. According to Banton, in the sixteenth century, race referred to genealogical differences and in particular to the question of which human groups descended from Adam and Eve and which, if any, did not. This enquiry relied mostly on scriptural, literary, mythological or traditional evidence. The second phase in the use of the word race belongs essentially to the first half of the nineteenth century when its new meaning became established in both scientific and lay opinion. During this period the word race referred to the physical differences which scientists observed in mankind. These differences led scientists to divide mankind into a number of physical types or races, each defined by a number of hereditarily transmitted and permanent physical characteristics. The third and last phase in the use of the word race came with Darwin's evolutionary explanation of the physical variations of living organisms, including man. Following this theory, race meant sub-species. In his book The Origin of Species which was published in 1859, the great British naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-1882) explained the phenomenon of physical variation in nature as the result of accidental variations or mutations and of the natural and sexual selection for survival of those individuals who possessed the traits which happened to meet the requirements of survival. In this paradigm, life was perceived as the struggle for survival among organisms competing for scarce resources, an idea borrowed from Malthus and Spencer. In this and his other major publication The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex (1871), Darwin also showed the unity of mankind. However, Darwin's theory of the modifiability of physique did not discredit the idea of race as a permanent biological type altogether. Indeed, Darwin himself believed that physique was modifiable within, not across racial types⁷.

Until Darwin's explanation of human physical variation was finally universally accepted as true the so-called life-scientists were divided between two main theories: monogenism and polygenism. Monogenism claimed the unity of the human races as descendants of the same ancestors (usually Adam and Eve) and explained human physical differences which it saw as varieties as the result of the following possible

factors : either of divine act which matched race with environment (since different races could be found in different climates), or of biological adaptation to environmental factors, or of 'degeneration', or finally of evolution, i.e. "progress of forms"⁸. Polygenism saw the human races as distinct beings or separate creations of God and distinguished between the Adamite and the Pre-Adamite races⁹. Darwin established a version of monogenism which accepted both degeneration and evolution as possible directions in the biological history of living organisms.

The new area of scientific enquiry into the physical differences of mankind became known as ethnology¹⁰ or physical anthropology¹¹, or just anthropology¹² and is now referred to as 'scientific racism'¹³ or pseudo-scientific racism¹⁴. It attracted a wide range of scientists with overlapping interests such as anatomists, biologists, naturalists, moral philosophers and medical doctors¹⁵. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1830), the German anatomist, is generally considered the "father" of physical anthropology¹⁶ with his De Generis Humani Varietate of 1775. However, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that these scientists associated to proclaim anthropology as a separate branch of science. It was in France that the first Anthropological Society was founded in 1859 by Paul Broca as the Societe d'Anthropologie de Paris¹⁷. In 1863, James Hunt formed the Anthropological Society of London in imitation of the French one¹⁸.

The discovery of the range of human physical variation was intended to enable scientists to describe individuals and groups in terms of their characteristic features in the sense of exclusively and typically held and hence 'racial' traits. In fact, the search for the determination of the racial or physical types of mankind produced a number of classifications. This was because, as scientists eventually realised to their dismay, individuals and groups differed anatomically in many different respects. Thus, in an article in the Larousse du XIXe siecle on "race" we read :

"Pour classer scientifiquement ces races il faut exactement connaître leurs caractères distinctifs;... Ces caractères distinctifs, on les a tirés de la forme et de la capacité de la tête osseuse, de la configuration des autres parties du squelette, de la force musculaire, de la stature, de la couleur de la peau et de l'iris, des traits de la face et de la disposition

du systeme pileux."19

Consequently, anthropological classifications varied, depending on the anatomical part(s) which different scientists chose to observe in its formal variations and co-variations with other parts. As we shall see, social circumstances also determined in certain respects the divisions and groupings of mankind into different racial categories.

The importance of the idea of race came to lie not only in its descriptive value but also, and more importantly, in its explanatory value. For eighteenth century physical classifications developed into socio-cultural explanations. Cultural traits came to be seen as innate and in fact as racially determined traits. Although we do find the idea of racial determinism in the eighteenth century in the work of the Dutchman Pieter Camper (1722-1789), and, more famously, in Pierre Cabanis' book Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme of 1795-1798, this peculiar explanation of the history and destiny of nations²⁰ became a dominant European doctrine around the middle of the nineteenth century. As Janine Buenzod put it,

"En ce milieu du XIXe siècle, c'est l'idée de race comme telle et non celle d'aristocratie qui occupe en histoire une place privilégiée"²¹

Racial determinism or racism was a specifically nineteenth century cultural phenomenon and was dispelled in the twentieth century. Banton and Harwood have identified in Dr Robert Knox's popular lectures to audiences in different parts of Britain, "the first book-length racist statement"²². These lectures were published in 1850 as a book entitled The Races of Men. The idea that "Race is everything : literature, science, art - in a word, civilization depends on it" became a *deus ex machina* in European societies at large ²³. It expressed the desire of nineteenth century European scholars for "single, simple explanations, unitary laws subsuming innumerable relationships"²⁴

Finally, the idea of race and its socio-cultural implications became the criterion of a hierarchical classification of human groups into racial types of unequal worth. This project became a typical feature of nineteenth century educated opinion whose attitudes in this respect were radically different from the cosmopolitanism and

environmentalism of the eighteenth century²⁵. The criteria which anthropologists used for this ranking were the current European cultural standards. These were the cultural elements of classical Greece. As we shall see, the nineteenth century remained attached to the classical tradition as an embodiment and measure of perfection. This European attachment to the Greeks had remained virtually unbroken albeit for different reasons from one generation to the next since the European Renaissance. In the nineteenth century it produced many of the paradoxes of that century.

The Physical Anthropology of the Greeks

Having established the general theoretical framework by reference to which human groups were classified, I shall now consider the main anthropological classification(s) of the Greeks. These classifications will not be pursued separately for England and France as the anthropological communities in these countries were quite European in character; ideas spread fast. I shall follow a broadly chronological order although the main, in the sense of the most consequential, theories belong to the middle and later parts of the century.

The Caucasian Greek

For the early classifiers of mankind skin colour was "the natural place to begin"²⁶. We find it for example in Linnaeus' ~~four~~ five-fold classification of the peoples of the world: the white or homo europaeus, the red or homo americanus, the yellow or homo asiaticus and the black or homo afer ²⁷, each living in a different part of the world. But soon, anthropologists shifted from skin colour to head shape as a criterion of race ²⁸. Blumenbach's classification was the most influential and continued to be so throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries²⁹. Blumenbach devised a five-fold classification of man, based on skin colour, which remained his most influential contribution to anthropology : Caucasian, Ethiopian and Mongolian were the three primary races to which he added two more secondary races which were the

result of the mixture or combination of the primary ones. This classification also claimed that skin colour and head shape co-varied, i.e. that a particular skin colour went with a particular head shape. This meant that a race was not adequately described unless one specified both its peculiar skin colour and head shape.

In the hierarchical classification of the human races which Blumenbach identified, the Caucasian race ranked at the top. This was due to its aesthetic value. The Caucasian race was aesthetically pleasing for a number of reasons, including its symmetry. He thus held that, "according to our opinion of symmetry", the Caucasian had the kind of appearance which was "most handsome and becoming"³⁰.

Blumenbach's views crossed the Channel via the most prominent English anthropologist of the first half of the nineteenth century, James Cowles Prichard³¹. I shall now consider the place of the Greeks in Blumenbach's hierarchical classification through the writings of Prichard³².

In the third volume of the third edition of his popular book Physical History of Mankind of 1841 (first published in 1813), we find Prichard devoting a special section to the description of the "Hellenic race" which included both the language and the physical characteristics "Of the Greeks"³³. We also find in the same edition an illustration of the "Greek skull" in the frontispiece of the first volume where the "Oval skull" of "A Greek" is juxtaposed and thereby contrasted with the "Elongated skull from Titicaca". This juxtaposition corresponds to the high value which Prichard and other physical anthropologists placed on the Greeks and which can be found in this book. pl. 12

For both Blumenbach and Prichard and for all subsequent writers on this subject, the Greeks belonged to the Caucasian race. They were Europeans, to use Linnaeus' terminology. Prichard described the Greek skull which was illustrated in the frontispiece of his book as we said above, as

"a specimen of the oval or ooidal form of the cranium, characteristic of the Indo-Atlantic, by Blumenbach termed Caucasian nations. The

skull from which this engraving was taken was that of a Greek named Constantine Demetriades, a native of Corfu, who was long known at Oxford, where he was a teacher of the modern Greek language. The cranium is now in the museum of Mr. Richard Smith, at the Bristol infirmary"³⁴

In his description of the skulls of the European nations in particular who were thought to be a sub-group of the Indo-Atlantic race, Prichard set up the Greek skull as the type of the whole race in its most complete form:

"Among European nations the Greeks have perhaps displayed the greatest perfection in the form of the head; in other words, it has been supposed that the Grecian race in the configuration of the cranium which belonged to that people, have exhibited the characteristic traits of the Indo-Atlantic nations in the highest degree. This has been inferred from the remains of Grecian sculpture..."³⁵

Furthermore, Prichard saw the Greek skull as the most beautiful human skull in the whole of Blumenbach's collection of human skulls :

"This Greek skull and one belonging to the ever barbarous and unintellectual race of Georgians, are said to be the most beautiful in his [Blumenbach's] whole collection, consisting of 170 crania of different nations"³⁶

In this passage Prichard also raised the issue of the correspondence between external, physical and inner, spiritual nature, to which the idea of racial determinism was related, a point to which we shall return.

The search for the determination of the racial type of both modern and historical nations and states, raised two important questions : firstly the question of continuity i.e. of the fixity or changeability of the physique of the members of a race over time and under different social conditions, and secondly the question of sources for the determination of the racial identity or difference of nations in time and space.

In the case of the Greeks, anthropologists used literary³⁷ descriptions by ancient writers and travellers and also Greek figural art from the so-called classical period as their sources for the determination of the physical type of the ancient Greeks. These accounts they compared with the condition of the modern Greeks. The results of this comparison varied and divided the anthropological community into two

opposed camps. The negative results led to the distinction between the ancient and the modern Greeks. This distinction had important consequences for the determination of the identity not only of the modern inhabitants of ancient Greece but of that of other European nations, as we shall see. But as far as Prichard and Blumenbach are concerned, they both upheld the genealogical and physical identity of the ancient and modern Greeks³⁸. For example, Prichard noted a number of physical similarities between the ancient and the modern Greeks, such as the fact that one could still observe among modern Greeks a variety of colours in the hair and the eyes which had been noted by the ancient writers : "xanthoi, pyrroi, kyanohaitai, glaukopides, and many others" [the Greek words are in Greek letters in the original]³⁹.

The practice of using works of art in physical anthropology as sources of information, and aesthetic criteria as means of evaluation was not universally accepted. In the case of the Greeks this was because of doubts regarding the naturalism of ancient Greek art. Indeed, the neo-classical school of art criticism which was founded by the German art critic Winckelmann in the eighteenth century had taken its idealism from the example of ancient Greek art. The neo-classicists believed that the ancient Greek conception of physical beauty which the Greeks had embodied in their sculpted images of their gods and heroes was an invention of their imagination. Eighteenth-century anatomists like Pieter Camper confirmed this view albeit with some qualifications. He claimed that although "every nation forms its ideas of beauty from that conformation which is peculiar to itself", artists may introduce certain modifications of the national type for symbolic purposes. Thus,

"Hence the ancient model of beauty does not exist in nature but is a thing of imaginary creation; it is what Winkelman [sic] calls "beau idéal"⁴⁰

Nevertheless, it was not in the nineteenth century that the issue was settled regarding the realism or idealism of ancient Greek art and of ancient Greek taste at its most clear sighted. As late as 1850 Robert Knox, the famous anatomist whose views I shall examine below, would proclaim the head of Apollo, meaning the Apollo Belvedere, "the noblest of all **human** heads", [my emphasis] while others would deny it.

Both Prichard and Blumenbach defended the truthfulness of ancient Greek art.

Prichard, trusting Blumenbach's opinion which the latter had formed from evidence from his own collection of skulls, defended the anthropological realism of "Grecian sculpture" and also the immutability of physical characteristics over time. Prichard grounded his belief in the naturalism of Greek art in the similarities which he observed between that art and the real Greek skull. These included an expanded form, the Greek skull displaying "the finest and most expanded form of the human skull" and a perpendicular profile. In relation to this already famous feature of the profile of Greek statues, Prichard remarked :

"It has been supposed indeed that the "Grecian profile" has been exaggerated or drawn from the imagination, but Blumenbach, in a memoir in the Goettingen Transactions,...has refuted this opinion. He thus describes a Greek skull in his collection : -"Forma calvariae subglobosa maxillae superioris ossibus sub narium aperturis fere ad **perpendicularum** coadunatis, jugalibus ossibus modice et concinne declivibus, **artificum laudatis proxima signis**" ⁴¹ [my emphases].

We find the same classification of the Greeks as belonging to the Caucasian racial type in France, in the work of the great nineteenth century naturalist baron Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) whom I mentioned above in a different context. Cuvier was the guiding light for subsequent generations of naturalists and anthropologists both French and British. Unlike Blumenbach, Cuvier preferred a tripartite division of the human species. This classification excluded Blumenbach's mixed races and with them the very idea of blood mixture. It also posited the fixity of species. Cuvier's classification of man was a part of his monumental classification of the animal kingdom which was published in book form in 1817 as Règne Animal.

Cuvier's classification of man was based on the usual variations in skin colour and skull shape to which he added a new, linguistic criterion. The study of variations in human physical appearance in connexion with variations in language was a new scientific practice which was increasingly gaining ground in the classification of human societies. It resulted in the conclusion that race and culture were intimately connected⁴². Thus, Cuvier claimed that,

"...there are...certain hereditary peculiarities of conformation observable which constitute what are termed races. Three of these in particular appear eminently distinct :
the Caucasian, or white, the Mongolian, or yellow, and the Ethiopian

or negro"⁴³

The Greeks belonged to the Indian, German and Pelasgic branch of the Caucasian race. Cuvier noted that the most numerous affinities had been recognised between the four principal languages of this branch - the Sanskrit, the ancient language of the Pelasgi, common parent of the Greek, Latin and of all those languages of the south of Europe, the Gothic or Teutonic and finally the Sclavonian.

From the point of view of their physical characteristics the Greeks, as a nation belonging to the Caucasian racial type, had the features of that type. Cuvier, like the other scientists whose views we examined above, saw "the beauty of the oval" as a characteristic trait of that race ; he too ranked the Caucasian, "the race from which we descend", at the top of the hierarchy of the races from the point of view of its aesthetic value :

"The nations of the Caucasus or the Circassians and Georgians, are even now considered as the Handsomest on Earth"⁴⁴

Camper's classification of the Greeks

The eighteenth century Dutch anatomist Pieter Camper devised a quantitative measure of physical difference and classification. He looked at the profile of individual members of different groups, perceived the existence of variations from one group representative to another and established the "facial Angle" as a racial variable. The "facial angle" was in fact a measurement of prognathism, derived by looking at a human head in profile. It could be measured in the following way : one line was drawn from the meeting of the lips to the most prominent part of the forehead, and another from the opening of the ear to the base of the nose. The crucial angle was formed where the two lines met⁴⁵.

Arising out of the heat of the intellectualism of the Enlightenment, the study of the human head, as the location of the brain, the recognised organ of intelligence, became increasingly intense among anthropologists during the nineteenth century. As Mosse

has observed, the "introduction of cranium measurement as a tool of anthropology was of major importance for the development of racial theory"⁴⁶. The human head was studied not only for purposes of descriptive classification but also for its possible connexion with psychological dispositions and intellectual capacity⁴⁷. As we saw above, in their search for empirical explanations of culture, scientists became attached to the idea of such a connexion which became established as the law of racial determinism.

Camper posited the correlation of physical and intellectual characteristics in his law of the "facial angle". He claimed to have discovered that the facial angle co-varied with the intellectual capacity of groups⁴⁸. The rule was, the wider the facial angle, the higher the intellect. Thus, the facial angle could be used as a physical and visible indicator of intellect.

Camper claimed that his measurements matched the established racial classifications based on colour⁴⁹ and that he could thus provide a quantitative criterion of human racial ranking down to the "lower animals"⁵⁰. He thus ranked the races according to each race's facial angle score : colour matched facial angle, matched intelligence.

Camper estimated that the Greek head displayed the widest angle, the "ne plus ultra"⁵¹ of real possibility for a human head. However, the intellectual power of the Greeks on which the meaning of a wide facial angle depended was a cultural, not a mathematical or geometrical judgment. In fact, it was the traditional though now exclusive European cultural preference for the products of the Greek mind as well as European ethnocentrism⁵² which was the decisive factor in the determination of all racial rankings. This is evident from a) the rank which European scientists gave to the race to which they belonged, b) from the ranking criteria which were the cultural achievements of a race, and c) from the European cultural standards which were applied to these achievements.

Prichard's words sum up the European enthusiasm for the Greeks and the ancient Greeks in particular who brought

"into existence and to scarcely imitable perfection, sculpture and painting, rhetoric and oratory, dramatic literature, dialectics, the science of ethics, the Stoic and Epicurean, the Platonic and Peripatetic systems of philosophy...the discovery of mathematical sciences..."⁵³.

Camper produced a five-fold classification in which he included what were thought as the boundaries of humanity, divinity and animality, according to the results of his measurements of the facial angle of his subjects. Thus, Greek statuary of gods and heroes measured 100 ; Greek men 90 ; Europeans 80 ; negroes 70 and the apes 30. *pl. 11*

Although it had many opponents, Camper's "facial angle" as a criterion of racial-cum-intellectual distinction, fascinated European scientists and the general public alike throughout the nineteenth century⁵⁴. We find it for example in Edward Griffith and others' supplement to their translation of Cuvier's The Animal Kingdom of 1827. There they pointed to Camper's belief that,

"the ancient Greeks understood this theory of the facial line and angle as appears by the valuable remains of the sculpture of this extraordinary people"⁵⁵

Camper had justified this belief by the fact that in their representations of "superior natures" Greek artists had exaggerated the extent of the individual or typical national facial angle in order to symbolise this superiority. Critics of the facial angle disputed the validity of the use of art as anthropological evidence and also the thesis of the correlation of the facial angle with intellect. The latter was refuted by measurements of children's heads which were found to reach 90 degrees. Nevertheless, it was generally accepted that an ample facial angle characterised "the Grecian countenance"⁵⁶, as Camper put it, and that this trait was connected with the power of the Greeks to produce civilisation.

The Saxon or Scandinavian Greek

In this section we shall consider the account of the Greeks as a Saxon nation by Robert Knox (1791-1862). As Curtin has remarked, Knox was "the real founder of British racism and one of the key figures in the general Western movement toward a dogmatic pseudo-scientific racism"⁵⁷. He was also a major populariser of these

ideas which came to dominate European opinion from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. Knox was born in Edinburgh and graduated in medicine in 1814. He studied briefly in Paris with Cuvier and was further impressed by the racial theory of the French writer Geoffroy de Saint-Hilaire whom he mentions in his writings. When he returned to Edinburgh he opened a school of anatomy, and was soon recognised as an authority on this subject in Britain⁵⁸.

Knox published his views on race in his major work, a book entitled The Races of Men which was first published in 1850 and was followed by a second edition in 1862. His accounts are generally very imprecise. He never gave a complete list of the human races. However, as Banton has observed, Knox was specifically interested in the idea of the existence of racial divisions within Europe and in the innate political attitudes of these races⁵⁹. He identified four historically significant races, or what one might call sub-races within a general racial type, living in Europe : the Scandinavians, the Celts, the Slavonians and the Sarmatians or Russ⁶⁰.

Knox classified the Greeks as one of the nations of Europe. He distinguished between the "classic" and the modern inhabitants of Greece. He traced the genealogy of the classic Greeks to what he called the Scandinavian or Saxon race which was "early in Greece, say 3500 years ago" and which originated in northern Europe, namely "Holland, Western Prussia, Holstein, the northern states of the ancient Rhenish Confederation, Saxony Proper, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark."⁶¹ These Saxon peoples who were north European aborigines⁶² mixed with the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece and with an Oriental race "of which we know nothing"⁶³ who had conquered Greece before them and who had also intermarried with them. All these races mingled to create a new, mixed race :

"Three, or more likely four thousand years ago, the Celtic and Scandinavian, and Gothic or Germanic blood, perhaps even the Slavonian, was mingled deeply with the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece and Macedonia ; the peninsula and its isles, with their colonies everywhere ; with the original race, which I shall venture to call Pelasgic, they mingled, not by thousands, but by hundreds of thousands. Hence arose a new race of men...a mixed race"⁶⁴

Thus Knox identified the Greeks of the classical age as a distinct physical variety, a

new race. However, this new race of men was "destined to cease at a given period"⁶⁵. This was because "a mixed race [is] an anomaly on earth ; a thing repudiated by the organic laws of man and animals"⁶⁶. Knox stressed the dependence of the new mixed race on Scandinavian and Celtic elements implying their primary role in the creation of the classic Greek race. This idea had important consequences for the identity of the modern English and Scots as well as that of the modern Greeks, as we shall see. The only possible condition for the survival of the classic Greek race was "an annual influx into Greece of Scandinavian and Celtic hordes". But this was "an order of things which never yet happened to mankind..."⁶⁷

Knox admitted that the classic Greek physical type could not be called a race proper. Rather, a particular combination of different bloods through the sexual contacts of the many different invading races produced "numerous persons, of whom some equalled, still more approached the glorious figures" whom we see in the Greek statues. And these individuals were destined to disappear.

To each of the races who participated in the mixture of bloods which produced the classic Greek type, this type owed its varied physical and cultural advantages:

"To the Scandinavian blood the aboriginal Pelasgic hordes, whether European or Asiatic, Greek or Italian, owed the occasional beauty of their complexion ; that matchless hue which Homer compares to the colour of "the elephantine bone, fresh from the hands of the turner..."⁶⁸

To the Scandinavian blood Greece also "owed her grandeur of forms, especially in woman;...her large limbed men, athletal..."⁶⁹. To the mixture of the blood of Scandinavian and Celtic races, Greece also owed its moral and psychological qualities : to the Scandinavian blood "obstinacy of character, matchless perseverance" and to the Celtic blood "her warlike disposition, energy, vivacity". It is thus that were produced the great warrior heroes of Greece:

" the men who fought at Marathon and conquered on the banks of the Granicus. Pyrrhus belonged to them and Pericles ; Iskander, equal to Napoleon...Where shall we commence, or where end ? If many brave and good men lived before Agamemnon and Achilles, when did classic Greece commence ?...before Homer there were others"⁷⁰.

These and other such men "waged war" while at the same time philosophy and

science were flourishing. For these, the conquests of the Greek mind, Knox credited the Oriental race or races who were "not Coptic least of all Jewish"⁷¹. Their blood produced

"Aristotle and Plato; Socrates, Demosthenes;...Archimedes, Euclid, Thucydides, Herodotus, Homer, Pindar, Anacreon, Phidias..."⁷²

As for the classic Greek women, the women of that "Scandinavian race with a dash of oriental blood", Knox would describe them as follows:

"fair and flowing locks, full bosomed, fleshy, and large limbed, seem to have been the characters of Grecian women ; look at the Niobe, the Venus of Gnidos [sic] and a hundred others"⁷³.

Knox was much impressed by Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's theory of "transcendental anatomy" under whom he had studied during his student days in Paris. Geoffroy (1772-1844) was a French naturalist who was much influenced by Newton's theory of "elective affinities" - "la loi d'attraction de soi pour soi"⁷⁴ which he adopted as his own methodological principle and which brought him Goethe's support⁷⁵. The search for anatomical affinities among living organisms led him to support the theory of monogenism, i.e. the belief in the unity of nature, -"la nature est une"⁷⁶. This meant that there was only one plan upon which all living organisms were essentially formed. As he put it, "There is but one animal, not many"⁷⁷. Related to this theory was the observation that variety within a species was deformity, i.e. deviation from the natural plan. Applied to the human species, this plan was fully embodied in the physical type of the Greeks of the classical age which could be seen in classical Greek sculpture. The classic Greek type was thus, as Knox called it, the "transcendental" anatomical type of man, variation from which was deformity⁷⁸.

Knox was also a great student as well as an admirer of the Elgin Marbles and of classical art in general on which he based his anthropological theories and with which p. 14 he illustrated his books on human anatomy and the human races. His conclusion was that

"The perfect type of man was discovered by the ancient sculptors of Greece : it cannot be surpassed ; all attempts to improve on it have failed. Towards this, nature constantly tends"⁷⁹.

Knox stressed approvingly that the principle which guided Greek artists was that of

realism. He declared that the Greek artists, in their "correct mind", judged that truth to nature and especially the "modelling and drawing the human figure" should form the "only basis of all art"⁸⁰. For the "correct mind rejects everything which is ideal, what never had an existence". This was in fact a living principle and also a point of fissure in European nineteenth century art, as we shall see.

The classic Greek type of man could be seen in European museums in such famous statues such as "the Apollo, the Venus, the Dian, the Hercules, the Niobe, the Bacchus"⁸¹. And he would refer to them as "the immortal and transcendental Venus and Niobe" which displayed "a real, not an ideal form"⁸².

Thus, the classic Greek physical type was the result of the union of different races in which the Scandinavian or Saxon was the dominant ingredient. It was also the "transcendental" type of human anatomy, i.e. the physical manifestation of the "one grand type" of nature.

The Aryan Greek

One of the most important and significant, for both artistic practice and social life, nineteenth century racial classifications of mankind was the distinction between Aryan and Semite, two branches of the Caucasian race, according to Cuvier's influential classification. This distinction was a conflation of Biblical and philological studies. On the Biblical side, it drew on the genealogies founded by Noah's three sons Shem, Ham and Japhet⁸³. On the philological side it was the result of many converging contributions from the international community of scholars, starting in the early nineteenth century with the discoveries of the British scholar Sir William Jones and continuing in the 1840s with the studies of the German scholars, the brothers Grimm⁸⁴, and finalised by Friedrich Max Muller⁸⁵ around 1860 in his lectures given to English audiences in 1859-61⁸⁶. Muller finally established the use of the word Aryan in the sense of Indo-European⁸⁷.

These scholars discovered a linguistic similarity between the Indian and the European languages which led them to the idea of the Indo-European language group which they also called Aryan. This similarity was explained historically, by a common origin in Asia from which some Aryan nations had migrated to Europe. Within the intellectual climate of racial determinism, the transition from an Aryan language to an Aryan culture and finally an Aryan race was a logical conclusion. This transition occurred despite the warnings of the philologists and of Max Muller himself that : "Il existe des langues aryennes et sémitiques, mais il est anti-scientifique, de parler,...de race aryenne, de sang aryen, ou de crânes aryens"⁸⁸.

The distinction among the descendants of Sem, Cham and Japhet became a distinction between the Aryans, connected with Japhet and the Semites. To this polarisation Joseph-Ernest Renan, the great French religious historian and philologist, particularly of the Semitic languages, also lent the weight of his authority. As Martin Bernal has observed, "Renan's belief - shared by most advanced thinkers of the time - [was] that the fundamental divide in world history was between Hellene and Hebrew, between Aryan and Semite"⁸⁹

The idea of the Aryan race developed into a value judgment, a quasi-religious belief which consisted in a pro-European, and in this sense nationalist, pride and became known as Aryanism. Aryanism was a belief in the superiority in all respects of a particular race, the Aryan race, as long as it was kept pure from mixture with the blood of other races.

In this classification system, the Greeks were different things at different times of their history. Note however, that from very early on, there emerged two different Aryanist classifications of the European nations : the first was the Indo-Germanic classification, favoured, albeit not exclusively, by the Germans and the English. This classification separated the north Europeans as pure Aryans, from the south Europeans who were not pure but Semitised Aryans⁹⁰ ; the second classification was what one might call the pan-European classification which included all European nations inside the Aryan category, a classification favoured by many French. In both

classifications, the Greeks were included as Aryans. Both these facts were of great social significance for both the French and the English, as we shall see.

The Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle which was published during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, in an article on 'race' described the Greeks or Pelasgi as an Aryan nation : "Race des Aryas. Cette race comprend toutes les nations que, dans la doctrine reçue des migrations des peuples, on nomme indo-européennes...elle aurait envoyé en Europe les colonies que nous connaissons sous les noms des Celtes, Germains, Pelasges, Slaves, etc." ⁹¹

It was pointed out in the same article in the French nineteenth century encyclopaedia that the Aryan race corresponded to Cuvier's Indian branch of the Caucasian race. In Cuvier's classification the Aryan was thus a particular variety of the white race. This branch included with the Celts, "les Indous, les Perses, les Grecs, les Romains, les Germains, les Slaves". A. de Quatrefages, another great anthropologist also included in the aryan branch of the Caucasian or white race, the "slave, germain et celte". The Aryans came to be seen as the pure, i.e. unmixed with others, white race ⁹².

In England, during the 1820s, 30s and 40s, the idea of the superiority of the Germanic nations gave rise to the popular movement known as Teutomania ⁹³ and was supported by many influential intellectuals like Dr Thomas Arnold, the great public-school reformer. The Indo-Germanic idea matched and praised the known fact of the Germanic origins of the English as Anglo-Saxons. It also matched particular social circumstances, and notably political and religious antagonisms : anti-French and anti-Irish English attitudes, as both the French and the Irish were identified as primarily Celtic nations, as well as anti-Catholic feelings. Regarding the latter circumstance, the Indo-German category seemed to separate out and to join together as of natural necessity Catholic-cum-Celtic group identities and Protestant-cum-Germanic. Thomas Arnold was proud to be known as "that Teuton of Teutons, the Celt-hating Dr Arnold" ⁹⁴.

I shall now examine in greater detail Aryanism's view of the Greeks as described in

the works of one of the greatest exponents of this theory in mid-century France, the Alsatian Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882). Gobineau was anti-nationalist and pro-European, and both these attitudes may explain a slight bias towards the Indo-Germanic variety of Aryanism. His admiration of the Germans is evident in the dedication of the first edition of his major book on race, the Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines to a German sovereign, "sa Majesté Georges V, Roi de Hanovre". Gobineau was born into an impoverished gentry family who supported the ancien regime. From this background he derived his elitism and his anti-republicanism preferring "Cette forme de royauté équilibrée avec une grande liberté individuelle par l'accord des pouvoirs publiques"⁹⁵. He expounded his racial view of human history in the Essai published in four volumes, the first two in 1853 and the last two in 1855. There was a second edition of the Essai in 1884. Gobineau became particularly involved in the study of the Greeks in two ways : intellectually, in his book and in journalism on modern Greek political affairs from 1833, the year of the foundation of the Greek state, until about 1878, and in his office as a French diplomat in Athens (between October 1864 and September 1868). His experience of the situation of the modern Greeks as compared with his knowledge of the ancient Greeks, led him to distinguish between the ancient and the modern Greeks. The ancient Greeks were Aryans ; the modern Greeks were not.

Gobineau followed Cuvier in his belief in the permanent physical, moral and intellectual inequality of the three primary races, the white, the yellow and the black. Among the three primary races, the white race was superior to the rest - "cette noblesse humaine" - and among the varieties of the white race, there was one particular family whose "différentes branches ont régné dans toutes les contrées polices de l'Univers"⁹⁶. This was the Aryan branch of the white race. To this branch belonged the Hellenes, as did the Scandinavian warriors and also the Brahmins of Primitive India⁹⁷.

The physical characteristics of the Aryan Hellenes were the same as those of the other Aryans who conquered Europe. They were white, blond, with a "vigueur du développement musculaire", a "justesse dans les proportions des membres, régularité

dans les traits du visage". Compared with "les hommes de couleur" they had much greater physical energy, strength and a physical structure which was "remarquablement plus vigoureuse" and a higher "intensité du fluide nerveux"⁹⁸. Gobineau believed firmly in the principle of racial determinism "la corrélation rigoureuse du physique et du moral"⁹⁹, and considered the practical implications of the Aryan constitution. These were political, and specifically a tendency towards an active life of continuous conquest whereby all Aryans and with them the primitive Iliadic hero could be recognised. Thus, "les Hellenes...faisaient preuve de la même turbulence, du même amour de la liberté, des mêmes sentiments, d'une ambition égale de commander un jour aux autres peuples et, retenus par leur fractionnement, ils restaient incapables d'entreprendre rien de plus vaste que les colonisations...aux embouchures des fleuves de l'Euxine, en Italie et sur la côte asiatique"¹⁰⁰.

As for the Aryan Greek woman, the companion of the Iliadic conqueror, "sa compagne ariane...Pareille de Clytemnestre, l'épouse Grecque était assez hautaine. Froissée dans ses sentiments, elle savait punir comme la fille de Tyndare. Cette héroïne des temps primitifs n'est pas autre que la femme altière aux cheveux blonds, aux yeux bleus, aux bras blancs, que nous retrouverons chez les celtes et dans les forêts germaniques". Her moral countenance matched her physique: not "obéissance passive" but "liberté" while being at the same time "noble et généreuse".

Gobineau's view of the Aryan Greeks and of the Aryans in general, was based not only on contemporary French, German and English anthropological accounts¹⁰¹, but also on classical literary sources such as Homer and on Greek sculpture: "ces peuples ont eu la gloire de fournir les modèles admirables de la Vénus, de l'Apollon et de l'Hercule Farnèse"¹⁰².

Finally, Gobineau, like Knox, became interested in explaining the rise and fall of Greek civilisation between 718 B.C. and the end of the fourth century B.C. at the end of the Macedonian period, usually marked by the death of Alexander's tutor, Aristotle. This he attributed to a mixture of races. Art and literature flourished in Greece during this period as the result of a delicate mixture of all the different racial

elements with a predominance of pure white blood. The decline of Greek civilisation was the result of the influx of Asiatic populations into the Ionian colonies and mainland Greece. This influx of semitic, yellow and black races disturbed the previous balance of racial elements : "La décadence commença après l'époque macédonienne quand l'élément asiatique l'emporta décidément... vers la fin du IV^e siècle"¹⁰³

Other classifications of the Greeks

In this section I shall deal briefly with certain classifications which I shall treat in greater detail in my study of the influence of the life-scientists' view of man in art education and social life.

a) The "fit" Greek :

Although Charles Darwin did not consider the Greeks in any major way, Darwinists did. The ideas of the survival of the fittest, of the struggle for survival and of natural and sexual selection, although misunderstood during the nineteenth century, captured the public mind and had important practical consequences in both England and France.

As C. Badcock has pointed out, Darwin thought of fitness as "reproductive success" and not as "individual health and welfare"¹⁰⁴. It was a quantitative, not a qualitative measure¹⁰⁵. Darwin counted and compared numbers of offspring. The latter definition of fitness was owed to Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) who had also used the term fitness about six years earlier than Darwin, to point to the condition of individual and group health and well-being as the conditions of individual and group survival.

The theory of 'the survival of the fittest' in 'the struggle for survival', which both Spencer and Darwin espoused in their own ways, was combined by other scientists with the theory of race and led to the division between 'fit' and 'unfit' races in the

sense of 'strong' and 'weak' races. Following the law of survival, the weak races were destined to become extinct in the competition of the human races for control over world resources which were necessary for life and scarce. In this schema, the body of the ancient Greek male and female athletes was seen by comparative anatomists as the 'fittest'.

The evolutionary explanation of 'fitness' by, on the one hand physical change and on the other natural and sexual selection, gave rise to the eugenics movement. The intellectual father of modern eugenics which acquired an international following was Darwin's half-cousin, the scientist Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911) who coined the term in 1883. Galton sought to control selection by human will and thereby improve both the physical and intellectual condition or 'fitness' of a society. To this end he and his followers advocated that 'fit' men/women should select 'fit' women/men for reproduction and that the 'unfit' should not reproduce. This principle of human and specifically European reproductive behaviour established the Greek athletic type, the hitherto most highly evolved animal organism, as the ideal sexual partner.

b) The "Brun" Greek :

In 1885, the French anthropologist, painter and sculptor Charles Rochet (1815-1900) published a Traité d'Anatomie d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie Appliquées aux Beaux-Arts. In this book he communicated to a non-scientific public his view of the ancient Greeks as the human prototype. Rochet had been developing this view during the late 1870s. In fact, in 1875 he read to the 'Société d'anthropologie' some preliminary considerations which culminated in the publication in 1877 of his book Le Prototype humain¹⁰⁶.

Rochet held that the first man of creation, contrary to Darwin's view, was perfect and looked Greek. He described the Greeks as "Bruns" i.e. dark haired. Indeed, he declared that "le premier homme jeté sur terre et ceux qui lui ont succédé avaient comme lui la peau rouge [meaning tanned from the sun] et les cheveux d'un beau noir"¹⁰⁷. More generally, the "Bruns meridionaux", i.e. the southerners, were "les hommes du beau soleil" and the "vrais enfants de Dieu"¹⁰⁸. The "Bruns" excelled

in beauty, intellectual and moral qualities, although they were not practical, active or disciplined. Rochet claimed that his studies had shown him that the greatest men were "Bruns meridionaux". For example all the Christian martyrs were "Bruns"¹⁰⁹ and all civilisation had come from the east, "pays des Bruns!"¹¹⁰.

I shall show in Part III of this study the tremendous significance which this view of the Greeks, as a dark haired southern nation and as God's children who had lived in nature, i.e. in the open air, and under the southern sun, acquired for the religious, national and political aspirations of the French at that time.

The modern Greeks: Slavs or descendants of the ancient Greeks ?

In this section I shall examine judgments of racial theorists and especially of anthropologists on the racial type of the modern Greeks.

"The most important event of the century", wrote in 1848 in his Die Abstammung der Griechen the Bavarian historian of international reputation Jacob-Philip Fallmerayer (1790-1861) was, for Europeans at least, "the restoration of Greece"¹¹¹. Greece had been a province of the Ottoman empire for four centuries since the capture of Constantinople in 1453. Following the successful Greek war of Independence which officially begun in 1821 and in which the Greeks were considerably supported by the British, French and Russian governments and independent European philhellenes, Greece surfaced on the European political landscape in 1833 as a separate and independent state with a Bavarian king. This king had been selected with the contribution of the three European powers who had supported the Greeks in their struggle for national independence from the Turks.

However, and despite the ardour of early European philhellenism, it soon became evident that the modern Greeks presented certain anomalies which contradicted European expectations. Their physical and cultural identity became a matter of radical disputes which have divided international opinion ever since.

For many, there was an unbridgeable gap between an illustrious past and, to use Knox's words, a "deplorable present", and they refused to identify the modern inhabitants of Greece either as the descendants of the ancient classical Greeks or even as Europeans. Gobineau for example voiced complete denial of the modern Greeks' claims to an ancient Greek ancestry in whose name educated Greeks had mobilised European and native Greek support for the revolutionary cause. In an article entitled Royaume des Hellènes published in 1878, Gobineau wrote that there was not "dans la Turquie d'Europe pas plus que sur les côtes d'Asie mineure, un seul homme qui puisse légitimement se croire descendu des populations de la Grèce ancienne."¹¹²

Gobineau held that the early belief that the Greeks of the nineteenth century were the modern descendants of the antique Greeks had only been sustained by ignorance, by political interests, by modern crusading Christians and by liberals. As for those well-meaning people who had not visited the place, they had been misled by false accounts of travellers and other visitors. Such accounts were for example those of the famous French traveller, travel-writer and Consul at Janina Francois-Charles-Hugues-Laurent Pouqueville (1770-1838) during 1805¹¹³, on whose descriptions Prichard had so much depended for his own view of the modern Greeks¹¹⁴, the abbé Barthélemy's enormously popular Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce (1787), as well as by Chateaubriand and of course Byron. These authors had been responsible for shaping "l'idéologie du philhellénisme" and were still being read¹¹⁵.

In all cases, Gobineau complained, it had been declared unanimously, "d'un jugement unanime", that elegance, beauty, magnanimity, generosity, elevation, enthusiasm, could only be found in Greece. And so "on voulait des Grecs". People wanted to see the descendants of Peisistratus, Plato, Miltiades and all the other heroes¹¹⁶. So they fought and campaigned for them. But when all was said and done, Gobineau pointed out, the philhellenes realised that they had to look for them among the strange inhabitants of the ancient soil. And so began the confusing search for the genuinely classic-looking Greek.

Gobineau's view of the modern inhabitants of Greece was that they were not a

European nation, but rather an asiatic, and now predominantly Slav nation. This meant that they were a mixture of the yellow with the white race, who were "mal venus a prétendre quelque chose sur l'héritage de la Grèce classique"¹¹⁷. They were inferior to the Aryan whites for many reasons, not least because they had invented nothing - "n'ont jamais rien produit"¹¹⁸. There were also Turks and Illyrians (Albanians) among them, the latter another Slav nation.

The idea that the modern Greeks were in fact Slavs and that the ancient Greeks had been destroyed by invaders, was spreading in Europe. In fact it matched Cuvier's so-called 'catastrophic' view of natural history. Cuvier had stated, on the basis of historical accounts, that the Greeks like the Romans, had in the main been physically destroyed by other and less civilised branches of the white race, Scythians, Tartars and Parthians. Finally, the Turks "subjected in Europe the unfortunate remnant of the Grecian people"¹¹⁹. The catastrophic and the Slav theory of the Greeks were combined in Germany in the writings of Jacob Ph. Fallmerayer whom I mentioned above and particularly in his Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea published in two volumes between 1830 and 1836. I shall here summarise Fallmerayer's view of the modern Greeks because he influenced both French and British opinion on the modern Greeks, while also being influenced by them.

In general terms, Fallmerayer based his views on extensive research on ancient, byzantine and modern records of Greek history as well as on his own experience during his visits to Greece, not least because he was a Bavarian. He also studied and accepted the observations of the famous British geographer, classical topographer and numismatist Colonel W M Leake (1777-1860) to whom he refers in his own writings and whose views regarding the modern Greeks seemed to confirm his own.

Fallmerayer's conclusion was that the ancient Greek nation had been physically exterminated during the successive violent invasions into their country from the north, of barbaric Slav hordes, including Albanians, between the sixth century A.D. and the eleventh century A.D. until they were defeated by and subjugated to the Byzantine Emperors¹²⁰. Fallmerayer referred his readers to Leake to confirm the view that not

even Attica had been left untouched. Indeed, and as Leake himself noted, the peasants of Attica preserved more than any other the characteristics of their Albanian origins and largely used the Albanian language. But not only were the customs and the mother tongue of both peasants and professionals Albanian, so was the physiognomy.

Nevertheless, the search for the surviving and pure Greeks was not abandoned, although it became increasingly confusing. Some European travellers saw them here and some saw them there. For example, among the inhabitants of the Peloponnese, Prichard, on Pouqueville's evidence, recognised the genuine Greeks everywhere except in the "curious race of Mainotes": "The same writer has described in another part of his work the curious race of Mainotes as differing considerably from the other inhabitants of the Morea" and who were "a mixed people and are not to be considered as of the genuine posterity of the Hellenes"¹²¹. On the other hand, Fallmerayer with Leake suspected them, if there were any remnants at all, among the Zacones, the inhabitants of fourteen villages between Nauplia and Monemvasia. But this was because of their language, rather than their physique and because they differed in this from the rest of the Greeks, their language being rich in ancient Greek elements. For the rest, Fallmerayer criticised the "sages" of Europe for identifying in the faces of those "savage people" who had settled in such legendary places as Mount Taygetos, the real descendants of the ancient Lacaedemonians or whatever.

Even those who did see a continuity between the ancient and the modern Greeks were disappointed. Prichard for example defended the physical identity. He thus spoke of the "women of Taygetes [sic][who] have the carriage of Pallas when she wielded her formidable aegis in the midst of a battle"¹²² ; and of the Arcadian men who, according to Pouqueville, like the ancient Arcadians, "carry the scrip and crook and lead a perfectly pastoral life" while the modern Spartans, like the ancient Spartans, are "fond of combats, are of a lively and restless character and are easily irritated"¹²³. In addition, the Spartan men "among whom some are 'blonds', or fair, have noble features, are of tall stature, masculine and regular features"¹²⁴. These features showed that the modern Spartans had "preserved something of the Dorians

of Sparta even in their defects"¹²⁵.

However, Prichard pointed to the intellectual and moral differences between the ancient and modern Greeks. Prichard believed in the relative autonomy of the physical and cultural qualities of a race. He thus stated that the "Greeks of the present time retain only the astuteness of their forefathers: they display neither their genius and mental activity, nor their magnanimity and devotion of selfish interests to high moral principles"¹²⁶. Prichard explained the differences by the hypothesis that "races, as well as individuals, have their period of growth, their acme, and their decay"¹²⁷.

Knox' view of the modern Greeks was that "the population of Italy, Greece and Asia Minor" had now returned to their aboriginal condition. No trace was left of the people on whom the blood of the Scandinavian, Celtic and Gothic races was once engrafted and who thereby "originated all that was great and glorious; but now, left to itself, [the population of the above places] exhibits to the world a spectacle most lamentable and deplorable"¹²⁸. Now, the "grand classic face has all but disappeared, and in its place comes out a people with a rounded profile ;the nose large and running into the cheeks, like the Jew; the chin receding; the eyebrows arched. Anti-classic in all things, how Greece has fallen !"¹²⁹ And the inner qualities of the modern Greeks often "corresponded to this physical degradation". They were "timid, cowardly, unwarlike; serfs by nature" (probably a reference to their Slav racial type, i.e. serf, slave from Slav); and with an "idiot, vulgar Goth"¹³⁰ reigning. p. 13

However, there were Europeans who not only believed with Prichard that the Greek race was not extinct in Greece but who were also optimistic about the cultural future of modern Greece. The influential French writer and journalist Edmond About was one of them. His views regarding the modern Greeks were quoted in what is also a major source of information regarding nineteenth century French opinion, the Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle. In the eighth volume published in 1872 in an article on modern Greece we find About's opinion that "la race grecque compose la grande majorité de la nation". This, according to About,

"C'est...une vérité qu'on a essayé de mettre en doute. Suivant une certaine école paradoxale, il n'y aurait plus de Grecs en Grèce. Tout le peuple serait albanais, c'est-à-dire slave. Il suffit d'avoir de yeux pour distinguer les Grecs, peuple fin et délicat des grossiers albanais"¹³¹

Conclusion

It is true and relevant to observe that there was an overlap among most if not all anthropological classifications of the Greeks and the general explanatory theories of race to which these classifications belonged. Many classifications elaborated on or complemented others. However, it would be misleading to suggest that there was a complete consensus within the scientific community regarding the Greeks. Indeed, there were differences and contradictions among different classifications, as, for example, between Rochet's view of the Greeks as a dark haired race and the Aryan view of the Greeks as a blond race.

In the following chapters I shall examine the significance of the life-scientists' view of the ancient Greek athlete as perfect humanity, for British and French religious, national and political aspirations. I shall show that the expansion and institutionalisation of scientific views was a contributing factor to the rise of Hellenism in English and French artistic theory and practice. Finally, I shall show that the relationship between science, society and art was not unilateral, but rather one of interaction, i.e. exchange.

CHAPTER 4:

POSITIVISM AND THE NEW ART THEORY: TRUTHFULNESS AS BEAUTY

Introduction

This and the following two chapters belong to the demonstration of a single proposition. The proposition is that nineteenth century artists working in England and France took their orientation towards ethnographic subjects in general and Greek subjects in particular, as well as their knowledge about the physical variations of man, from a much wider, social, interest in man and from Physical Anthropology whose development I documented in the previous chapter. I shall show that certain archaeological discoveries and certain changes in the cultural environment of art led to certain radical changes in art theory, i.e. in conceptions of the artistic enterprise, and specifically to the attachment of art to anthropological science.

In this chapter I shall show the contribution of certain changes in the social circumstances of art to the new orientation of art theory and practice towards a new aesthetics, namely figural realism, and a new subject-matter, namely ethnographic art. These new conditions of art theory and practice were 'external' and 'internal' to art. The 'external' circumstance was the development in nineteenth-century British and French culture of positivism, i.e. the belief in scientific method as a source of truth, and the application of this method to the knowledge of man and society. The new object of scientific enquiry gave rise to Physical Anthropology as a new scientific discipline. The 'internal', i.e. artistic-archaeological circumstance was the discovery of Pheidon art whose principal characteristic was its anatomical realism. These events led to the subordination of art to science, i.e. to the adoption by at least a section of the artistic community of scientific methods, objects and knowledge, and hence to the rise of the naturalist or realist and ethnographic conception of art.

Positivism, the Elgin Marbles and the rise of naturalism in art theory

In his 1886 Traité d'anatomie, d'anthropologie et d'ethnographie appliquées aux beaux-arts the French artist and scientist Charles Rochet (1815-1900) remarked on scientism as the fundamental trait of his time :

"Nous vivons à une époque toute...à l'envahissement du globe par le monde civilisé, aux grandes inventions, aux grandes découvertes, comme aussi aux grands enseignements de l'histoire, à l'étude des peuples, comme à leurs guerres de rivalité ou d'influence, à l'emploi de la science à toutes ces choses..." [my emphasis]¹

Positivism was conceived in the eighteenth century. It gave rise to the intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment whose battle-cry was the famous "Aude sapere !". The nineteenth century West European belief in the power of science to guide human life was the consolidation and amplification of this idea. Its vitality and principles can best be ascertained in Auguste Comte's (1798-1857) writings. Indeed, Comte's Cours de philosophie positive which he published between 1830 and 1842 can be considered as emblematic of a major element of nineteenth century West European culture.

Comte presented an evolutionary account of the history of the human mind. Human social history as the embodiment of changes in human thought consisted in three stages : theological, metaphysical and positive. The nineteenth-century, "le siècle actuel"², was the third and last stage of human history. It was characterised by a new epistemology which pursued knowledge by means of observation, experimentation and comparison, by the search for general laws or universal theories relating phenomena to one another³, and by a new ultimate focus of human attention, man himself⁴.

In Britain positivism, as a particular and specifically modern culture, was advocated by major intellectual figures such as John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), who was himself influenced by Comte, and the great educationalist Matthew Arnold (1822-1888). In their writings we find the expression of that century's desire for, in Arnold's words, "...light", for "seeing things as they really are"⁵.

It was under these circumstances, that the question was raised of the generalisability or applicability of positivism and humanist intellectual principles in the sphere of "high" figural art, i.e. History painting and sculpture. Indeed, the demand for, to paraphrase Arnold, showing things as they really are, was made in the two countries by both art theorists and scientists.

The discovery of the so-called Elgin Marbles, i.e the contact with hitherto unseen specimens of Greek art from fifth century B.C. Greece, both enabled, i.e. showed the 'how', and sanctioned the orientation towards positivism of European figural artists. This fact, and the direct and most obvious marks of the attachment of British and French artists to these works are well-known⁶ : British and French artists adopted the new figural type which the Elgin marbles displayed in their own representations of ancient Greeks and of their gods as well as in other History (e.g. Biblical subjects) and allegorical subjects. However, the change in aesthetic taste and the emergence of the Pheidian figural type in nineteenth-century British and French works of art has not been studied systematically in its connexions with the rise of European positivism, the development of Physical Anthropology and the rise of the ethnographic art movement. This is what I shall try to do here.

The massive importation into Britain and first public display in 1807 of sculptures from the Parthenon by Lord Elgin in a shed on the grounds of his house in Park Lane, London, caused a revolution in West European taste⁷. These massive specimens from a major monument of fifth century B.C. Greek "high" art revealed an unexpected aspect of Greek taste. The contact with these sculptures had a triple effect on British and French art : it supplied nineteenth-century European artists with a new type of figural beauty ; it gave a new impetus to the representation of the human figure in art ; and it introduced positivism into figural art.

The feature which was most revolutionary in these sculptures was their anatomical naturalism. In this they differed radically from the anatomical idealism of the hitherto dominant European taste known as neo-classicism. Although neo-classicism had derived its authority from the belief that it followed ancient Greek taste, the evidence

which it had available regarding this taste had not been original Greek art. In fact the sources of the neo-classicists' view of Greek taste had been firstly inferior Roman copies of Greek works⁸ which themselves dated mostly from the later and quite distinct, Hellenistic style of Greek art and secondly Greek and Etruscan vases of a distinctly linear and flat figural style⁹.

Neo-classicism was conceived by the German classical scholar, archaeologist and art critic Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) in the second half of the eighteenth century¹⁰, and marked European art with a kind of new renaissance of its antique age¹¹. The principles of neo-classicism were further elaborated by the great French art critic of the Restoration, Quatremère de Quincy¹². The goal of the neo-classical artist was to represent nature in its general and perfect traits not in its particular manifestations. Art should show the "beau idéal". This form was conceived by the mind and not just perceived by the eyes.

Winckelmann had distinguished four main periods of Greek art : the archaic, down to Pheidias, the grand or lofty period, when Pheidias, Polycletus, Scopas and Myron were at work, the beautiful period, from Praxiteles to Lysippus and Apelles, and the later period of imitation¹³. He emphasised the ideal elements in Greek art, at the expense of its realism. The masterpiece of the neo-classical school was the Apollo Belvedere . It was characterised by such distortions of natural form as the enlargement and elongation of the legs and thighs¹⁴. These traits were understood as being appropriate to gods who were perfect and distinct from humans and thereby as the traits of beauty.

The Elgin Marbles dated from the second half of the fifth century B.C. and were part of the decoration of the temple of Athena Parthenos (begun in 447/6 and structurally complete by 438) in the citadel of the Acropolis in Athens. They were designed by and executed in the manner of Pheidias¹⁵. As G M A Richter has stated in A Handbook of Greek Art, what the nineteenth century called the "Pheidian age", forms the "climax of the long struggles by the Greek artists to attain naturalistic form" ¹⁶. This achievement in mimesis is what Sir Ernst Gombrich has referred to

as the "Greek Revolution"¹⁷ in art. Consequently, nineteenth-century European reaction was justified in being surprised by fifth century B.C. Greek sculpture.

However, the purchase in 1816 by the British government of Elgin's marbles marked in fact the incorporation, if still only tentative, of the principles of fifth century B.C. Greek art into the European canons of art¹⁸. By 1878, when Frederick Leighton, one of the greatest practical and theoretical champions of Pheidian art of the second half of the nineteenth-century, became President of the Royal Academy, fifth century B.C. Greek art, of "the time of Pericles,...the Pheidian age" was widely accepted as the "best work"¹⁹ of Greek artists. And this fact was symbolised in the very choice of this particular artist as the representative of British taste.

The contribution of the Elgin Marbles to the change in artistic principles which took place in nineteenth century British and French art towards greater anatomical naturalism, is not difficult to assess. Indeed, they attracted the attention and converted or caused confusion among most major neo-classical and "High art"²⁰ artists like Benjamin West, then President of the Royal Academy, John Flaxman, Sir Richard Westmacott and others²¹. Benjamin Robert Haydon's²² response, at the sight of the Elgin Marbles exemplifies what his age saw as being revolutionary about the Elgin Marbles :

"The first thing I fixed my eyes on was the wrist of a figure in one of the female groups, in which were visible, though in a feminine form, the radius and the ulna. I was astonished, for I had never seen them hinted at in any female wrist in the antique...and saw the outer condyle visibly affecting the shape as in nature...That combination of nature and idea, which I had felt was so much wanting for high art, was here displayed to midday conviction..."²³

This experience converted and committed him to naturalism :

"I had seen sufficient to keep me to nature for the rest of my life...I knew that they would at last rouse the art of Europe from its slumber in the darkness"²⁴

French and Italian artists and art critics like Quatremere de Quincy, Visconti and Canova visited London to study the sculptures from what came to be seen as the most conclusive monument of Greek taste. These sculptures and the French owned

Aphrodite of Melos²⁵, which the French authorities considered to be an emphatically Greek acquisition, comparable to the Elgin Marbles,²⁶ contributed to upsetting European artists' previous notions of the Antique²⁷ and of their own work²⁸.

The change in French taste towards greater naturalism took place in the 1820s. Quatremere de Quincy himself was profoundly impressed by the anatomical naturalism of these works and was immediately converted to the new style. In his "Lettres a Canova" of 1818 he referred with admiration to the "naturalisme inconcevable" of Greek classical sculpture :

"le Thésée, l'Illyssus sont effrayants de vérité ; à l'exactitude de la musculature se joint la sensation de la chair et de l'épiderme...ces figures vivent et respirent..."²⁹

The Elgin Marbles did not however succeed in converting everyone to the new principle of positivism or naturalism in figural art which they embodied. From the first, Richard Payne Knight, a connoisseur, collector and member of the very neo-classical Society of Dilettanti ruined his reputation by attacking the Parthenon marbles. John Flaxman, whose work and views on figural art were similarly pre-eminently neo-classical, although impressed by these works, held the Apollo Belvedere, "to be a 'higher' work of art than the...'Theseus' of the Parthenon because of its 'ideal beauty'"³⁰

Nevertheless, in its anatomical naturalism, Pheidian art converged with the positivism of the time and its example acted as a catalyst and a model for the association of nineteenth century British and French art with science. This association gave a new orientation to artistic practice : art now looked to science for guidance regarding both subject-matter and the measure of aesthetic value. Naturalist aesthetics and the ethnographic art movement resulted from the adoption of science by art.

The rise of the naturalist and ethnographic movements in British and French art theory.

The rise of naturalism and of the ethnographic movement as a sub-type of naturalism in English and French art theory introduced both a new aesthetics and a new object of artistic representation. Firstly, as a new aesthetics, naturalism was the claim that beauty and truth - as discovered by science - were co-extensive. This meant that nature, the object of knowledge was also the object of aesthetic pleasure, that the existence of a form in nature was the measure of the beauty of that form³¹. As far as my object of study is concerned, the new aesthetics claimed anatomical naturalism as a new and suitable style for the representation of History subjects, i.e. as a "high" figural artistic style. The new conception of art also emphasised the educational capacity and indeed duty of art, i.e. its role to supply objective knowledge to society.

Secondly, naturalism supplied artists with a new subject-matter, the representation of nature. As applied to human nature, this principle, in conjunction with the physical anthropological idea of race, introduced actual human nature in all its physical varieties into figural art, giving rise to the ethnographic art movement. Ethnographic art also enlarged the traditional range of History subjects by claiming ethnographic subjects as History subjects in their own right.

Anatomical naturalism was claimed for modern art by artists, art critics and scientists alike. Indeed, many scientists favoured the generalisation of their formal principles and discoveries into other spheres of culture, like art. They stressed the beneficial effects on art of an association with anatomical science and pointed to evidence from the past : not only in Greek and Roman art but also in Renaissance art. In France it was thus stated that : "La renaissance des arts plastiques et celle de l'anatomie furent donc simultanées et étroitement liées l'une à l'autre"³². And in Britain, "...some of the greatest artists of all countries, especially, however, those of the Italian schools, have devoted themselves,...to the subject of human anatomy..." And the author of the latter manual gave examples of artists actually cooperating with anatomists in order to further their mutual interest in knowing man : "Della Torre and Leonardo da

Vinci, Colombo and Michael Angelo Buonarroti, Da Carpi and Benvenuto Cellini, Vesalius and Titian...." ³³ Robert Knox too published in 1852 a book whose title itself is revealing of mid-nineteenth century artistic concerns, Great Artists and Great Anatomists: a Biographical and Philosophical Study ³⁴.

Scientists also noted with approval the efforts of artists not only to use but also to contribute to anthropological knowledge. Sir Charles Bell (1774-1842), the celebrated scientist who discovered around 1807 the structure of the brain as a nervous system and who also wrote and lectured to artists on the so-called artistic anatomy, is a case in point. In the third and enlarged edition of his widely read The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as Connected with the Fine Arts, which was first published in 1806, Bell praised the painter David Wilkie, "one of my earliest pupils having attended a course of my lectures on anatomy, as connected with design" who, in the 1840s travelled "to the Holy Land, to study there an Eastern people"³⁵. Bell judged Wilkie's decision to be exemplary for artists. He thought that artists should know and specify in their works 'national' (meaning racial) peculiarities in physical conformation such as the head. Knowledge of physical anthropology would guide artists towards an accurate representation of different human societies in their distinctive, i.e. racial traits. In this way, they would not represent an inhabitant of the East by a tuft of hair on his crown, or an African by a swarthy face, i.e. by incidental and cultural traits while the particular anatomical traits like the shape of the skull, which distinguished these peoples in a fundamental, inherent, natural and permanent way, passed unobserved. Thus,

"Here we have a lesson from one entitled to sway our opinion on his art, of the importance of a knowledge of national forms to the historical painter. It is for this reason that I introduce a slight account of the varieties of the human head, depending on national peculiarities. It may assist the artist in the study of such natives as he may chance to meet with." ³⁶

Many British art theorists too came to demand works of art which would be

scientifically accurate. As F. W. Moody noted, though with disapproval, in his book of lectures to Royal Academy students which was published in 1873 :

"Now-a-days the critics compel him [meaning the artist] to be an historian, an antiquarian, a topographer, and a geologist, and woe betide him if he neglect the minutest detail"³⁷

In France too, the most influential scientific writer on artistic anatomy of the century Dr A.-L.-J. Fau, writing in 1845, told artists that the beauty of a work of art did not depend solely on the harmonious arrangement of its elements : "La perfection d'une oeuvre d'art ne dépend pas uniquement de l'harmonie...". What was also needed was accuracy or truthfulness in the images of the personages: "la vérité des personnages"³⁸

Other major scientists too contributed to the re-orientation of British and French art towards anatomical naturalism and anthropological accuracy. The great mathematician and statistician and one of the early fathers of sociology Lambert Adolphe Quételet (1796-1874) is a case in point. Although a Belgian, Quételet had an international reputation³⁹. In his seminal book Physique Sociale, first published in 1835, Quételet pointed out that physical anthropology and statistical studies had revealed the phenomenon of race, i.e. the variability of physique in mankind : "la variabilité du type humain ou de l'homme moyen chez les différents peuples et dans les différents siècles"⁴⁰. This discovery had important practical implications for art :

"la détermination de l'homme moyen n'est pas inutile, même pour les beaux-arts et les lettres..."⁴¹

Quetelet criticised the use of Graeco-Roman figural art which had dominated art education and all History painting and sculpture since the Renaissance :

"tel artiste ou tel poète...nous représente constamment le type grecque ou italien, selon qu'il aura particulièrement étudié l'antique ou l'école italienne"⁴²

Now, new knowledge about the variability of physique in mankind, did not warrant the use of such types as representative of mankind as a whole. These types were particular, racial varieties of man. Artists should thus avoid what anthropologists called "anamorphismes" in art, i.e. "fautes dans le type"⁴³ and,

"en retraçant nos faits nationaux, de ne point présenter des figures grecques ou italiennes : au milieu d'une bataille...notre oeil cherche

a reconnaître, par les traits et l'expression des physionomies, le Français ou l'Anglais, le Germain ou le Russe."⁴⁴

Furthermore, the goal of artists should be to emphasise the distinctive traits of a physical type : "doivent...rechercher les traits saillants, les exagérer plutôt que les affaiblir".

French art critics, and even critics of the Romantic school⁴⁵ like the influential Charles Baudelaire (1821-67), championed a truthful and specifically ethnographic art and stressed its aesthetic value. In his 1855 review, The Universal Exhibition of 1855 : the Fine Arts, he criticised the idealism of neo-classical aesthetics with their "utopian rules". He also criticised their formal monotony "as limitless as boredom and nothingness". Instead he set up the variety of human cultural objects and of nature, "that indispensable condition of life", as the condition of beauty in accordance with naturalist aesthetics. Thus, he remarked regarding a Chinese exhibit:

"...what, I say, would a modern Winckelmann (we are full of them, the nation is bursting with them and lazy people adore them)...do, what would he say, at the sight of a Chinese product, a strange product, weird, contorted in shape... Yet this object is a sample of universal beauty;..."⁴⁶

And he concluded :

"Beauty always has an element of strangeness...try to imagine a commonplace beauty. And how could this necessary, incompressible, infinitely varied strangeness, dependent upon environment, climate, habits, upon race, religion and the temperament of the artist, ever be controlled, amended, corrected by utopian rules, excogitated in some little temple or other of learning somewhere on the planet, without mortal danger to art itself ?..."⁴⁷

Consequently, Physical Anthropology and the new ethnographic art movement which took its cue from it found in the Romantic school an unexpected populariser and ally and vice versa.

The view that art should be scientific and even ethnographic remained alive well into the last quarter of the century. In Britain as late in my period as 1881 Royal Academy students were told to show in their works knowledge of physical as well as

cultural peculiarities :

"See man himself as he appears in every clime, white, yellow, black, or copper coloured. We may learn to know the name and bearing of each single chief who ever figured on this worldly stage, to discern at sight the crest of Hector from Augustine's cowl,...we may hear the battle din of Greek and Roman, Vandal, Goth, and Hun, the songs, the shouts of nations, all the loud reverberating roar...Art is not only a technical attainment, it is also an intellectual pursuit..."⁴⁸

John Marshall (1818-91), Professor of Anatomy in the Royal Academy schools between 1873 and 1890, in his Anatomy for Artists of 1878 summed up his beliefs about the goal of modern and future artists whom he was training : "The artist of the future must be scientific"⁴⁹. He stressed "accuracy and certainty" as the required qualities of an artist.

In France too, we find the same scientific principles still being advocated for art in 1886 : "L'avenir est aux choses vraies en toutes choses"⁵⁰. Charles Rochet was a major participant in this artistic movement which favoured anthropological-ethnographic art and which gained momentum around the middle of the century. Both as an artist and as an anthropologist, a writer and a teacher, Rochet's Traité of 1886 is one of the most revealing original sources on this movement. Rochet's importance can be gauged by both his major public commissions which he carried out with his brother Louis, and by the fact that he gave a series of public lectures at the Sorbonne between 1869 and 1879 on the application of anthropology in art. He also taught two courses at the Ecole nationale des Beaux-Arts on the same subject, one in 1869 and the other in 1872, both of which were very popular⁵¹.

In his Traité, which he wrote in his retirement, Rochet urged young artists to take up the new ethnographic art, "le nouvel art ethnique" following the example of some

older artists like the Swiss artist Léopold Robert (1794-1835)⁵². In this way, art could be a source of knowledge regarding the varieties of man : "nous fait connaître les hommes dans leurs types, leurs races, leurs variétés, leurs individualités les plus étranges"⁵³. Also, artists could find in these very human varieties which anthropological science had discovered, an answer to the eternal question of 'what to paint':

"J'ai dit, et je dois le répéter ici, chaque peuple, chaque contrée, chaque climat ; je pourrai dire chaque saison, chaque situation possède son caractère propre, et fournit à l'art un sujet d'étude..."⁵⁴

To this end, Rochet urged improvements in the anatomical education of artists at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts so that

"on ferait des Romains (si on doit toujours en faire) qui seraient de vrais Romains ; des Grecs qui seraient de vrais Grecs ; des Hébreux qui seraient de vrais Hébreux [underlined words are in italics in the original].

Finally Rochet contrasted, probably referring to the still current neo-classical aesthetics, "cette esthétique mensongère et rêveuse des poètes qui croient que les belles formes humaines sont choses qui s'inventent", with the anthropological naturalism which he favoured, "une esthétique naturelle basée sur la science et la réalité des faits"⁵⁵.

It must be noted however, that, although anatomical naturalism became established in art theory as an approved orientation of contemporary artistic practice, idealism, in its neo-classical form, had its supporters on both sides of the channel throughout the century. For many art theorists who favoured the "Ideal" , i.e. the neo-classical style in figural art, like F. W. Moody, the goals of art were incompatible with those of science :

"The study of Science,...directs attention to the accuracy of the details rather than to the general beauty of nature..."⁵⁶

In France, the great neo-classical artist Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) rejected anatomical accuracy in art. This distaste for scientific truth was expressed in the

banning of the human skeleton from his studio or in the addition of two vertebrae to his Grande Odalisque of 1809 because of the peculiar neo-classical conception of the ideal human form⁵⁷.

Other views of art too, within the naturalist paradigm, would reject anatomical naturalism and indeed the representation of the human body as a whole. In Britain, the early career of the leading art critic and artist John Ruskin is a case in point. Ruskin championed and elaborated Pre-Raphaelitism, one of the major movements in mid-nineteenth century British art whose relevant art goal was the imitation of nature but of "nature except man"⁵⁸. Ruskin's own view of the human body in art was typically expressed in his response to Edward John Poynter's R.A. exhibit of 1868 The Catapult, which showed nude and half nude Romans toiling during their siege of Carthage :

"Mr.Poynter's object...is to show us, like Michael Angelo, the adaptability of limbs to awkward positions. But he can only, by this anatomical science, interest his surgical spectators ;..."⁵⁹

Having examined in this chapter the expansion of positivism in British and French art theory, I shall show in the following chapter the institutionalisation of the new conception of artistic practice in official art education in the two countries.

CHAPTER 5:

THE MAKING OF THE ARTIST-ANTHROPOLOGIST

The study of human anatomy in English and French art education.

In this chapter I shall show the official adoption of the new art theory, i.e. the demand that art should be scientific and ethnographic, and the systematic pursuit of its realisation through the anthropological education of artists in both the Royal Academy Schools and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The sources of my investigation were the manuals of artistic anatomy which were used in these official art schools for the teaching of artists and which are still kept in the libraries of these schools¹.

English and French artists who attended the official art schools took their anthropological knowledge from classes in anatomy which these art schools dispensed. Artistic anatomy, (or art-anatomy or "anatomie artistique" or "anatomie plastique" as it was usually referred to) had, in both countries, been part of the education of artists since the foundation of the official art schools². As part of the Renaissance heritage which reintroduced humanism and positivism into European culture, post-mediaeval art education was centred on the human body. As John Marshall put it in his manual of artistic anatomy:

"In regard to much that occupies his [the artist's] highest thoughts, and requires his most earnest devotion, the form he has to represent is the human form ; and thus he is committed to the most minute study, and the most intimate observation of the shape and actions of the Human Body."³

And on the continuity of modern times with the Renaissance interest in anatomy:

"...since the revival of art, the moderns have laboured to acquire more and more exact anatomical knowledge of the human, and animal frame"⁴

This humanism turned anatomical knowledge into a required and necessary skill for a figural and historical artist. Consequently, the nineteenth century association of anatomical science and art was a pre-established institution. However, nineteenth century anatomical education and figural art were very different from what had gone

before.

Artistic anatomy, as part of the educational programmes of the British and French academies of art, was the teaching to artists of the external forms of the human and animal body in action or repose. Nineteenth century anatomy was, as before, taught by scientists : anatomists and surgeons. To these were now added the new specialists, the physical anthropologists. Artistic anatomy became the main institutional channel through which the new anatomical and anthropological knowledge was transmitted to artists in accordance with the new positivist ambitions of the artistic community and which shaped works of art during the nineteenth century. The new anatomical education was different in both the quantity and quality of the anatomical information with which it supplied artists : it was more exact, analytical, and comprehensive. Furthermore, the new artistic goals moved anatomical education from the margins to the centre of art education. The new artistic anatomy equipped artists with the knowledge to avoid, if they wished to, the conventional and rigid linearity and flatness of the neo-classicists or the looseness, and painterly suggestiveness of the Romantics.

Note that anatomy teachers did not teach artists how to draw or model but what they should draw or model and why. As the French anatomist Mathias Duval put it,

"Ce précis d'anatomie est destiné aux artistes qui, ayant commencé leurs études spéciales, reproduisent les formes soit d'après l'antique, soit d'après le modèle vivant, qui, en un mot, ont déjà ce qu'on pourrait appeler la notion empirique des formes, des attitudes, des mouvements. Il est destiné à leur fournir la notion scientifique de ces mouvements, de ces formes, de ces attitudes..."⁵

Mathias Duval and Edouard Cuyer, in their study of the history of artistic anatomy in Europe, Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique of 1898, pointed to this change. They remarked that up to the nineteenth century (and after the Renaissance), manuals of artistic anatomy had been descriptive : "Jusqu'alors les traités d'anatomie plastique ont surtout renfermé des démonstrations d'anatomie descriptive..."⁶. These descriptions were also too general and when they were not general, they were incomplete. This was a serious defect, "lorsque l'on observe le nombre des modèles que l'artiste, qui veut les reproduire, doit comprendre et analyser"⁷. The new

anatomical education of artists fixed the eyes of artists, as a British manual put it, on "the numerous and often fleeting swellings and hollows, ridges and depressions, and of other markings which he can perceive"⁸. In this way, artists could produce in their works "a faithful and permanent transcription"⁹ of the human surface anatomy ; and could do so knowingly. As Duval put it, "resembler les formes en connaissance de cause"¹⁰. And as his British equivalent John Marshall put it : "to know with certainty, the causes and conditions concealed beneath the surface"¹¹.

According to Duval and Cuyer, the publication in Paris in 1829 of the manual entitled Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, appliquée à la peinture, à la sculpture et à la chirurgie by the surgeon Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy (1797-1856) marks the beginning of the new artistic anatomy¹². Dr Julien Fau, one of his pupils stated in his own manual of artistic anatomy of 1845 which he dedicated to Gerdy and also entitled after Gerdy's own manual Anatomie des Formes extérieures du corps humain, à l'usage des peintres et des sculpteurs stated the goal of the new artistic anatomy:

"Il ne suffit pas de savoir copier plus ou moins exactement une académie ; c'est là un travail de manoeuvre, il faut que l'élève puisse remonter aux causes, découvrir l'origine des formes qu'il veut reproduire"¹³

In England, the change was also radical. According to Stuart Macdonald's study of The History and Philosophy of Art Education¹⁴, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, lectures on anatomy as on all other types of subjects offered to the Royal Academy students had collapsed completely. It is however noticeable that there was always a Professor of Anatomy from 1768, the year of the Academy's foundation, onwards¹⁵. But instead of attending lectures students spent their five or more years in tedious imitation of plaster casts after the antique¹⁶. This educational principle which encouraged artists to copy from plaster casts without any or sufficient knowledge of anatomy came under attack as the nineteenth century progressed. Its critics included scientists like Charles Bell¹⁷.

The early limited interest in anatomical detail in British art can also be seen in its painterliness, i.e. in its somewhat Romantic interest in colour and suggestive effect,

a quality which was held in contempt by the best pupils of David¹⁸. This was not so in France where drawing had always been important. In fact the value and new methods of teaching artists how to draw were imported into English art around the middle of the century by such artists as the future Presidents of the Royal Academy Frederick Leighton and Edward John Poynter who were themselves trained on the continent¹⁹.

Pheidian art and the new art education

Early nineteenth-century manuals of anatomy for artists show the dominance of neo-classical artistic principles and models. They emphasise the distance which Greek artists in their best works kept from natural form and the transformations which they introduced into it. Furthermore, as Judy Marle has observed, people's view of ancient Greek and Graeco-Roman art did not only depend on what specimens were available at any time, but was also "conditioned by the predominant style of their own day"²⁰. Thus, what the Italian Renaissance artists like Vasari saw and liked in the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvedere and in antique sculpture in general, "all possessing the appeal and vigour of living flesh", was not what Winckelmann saw. He praised this same image of Apollo because "Neither blood vessels nor sinews heat and stir this body"²¹.

We find these contrasting opinions regarding the antique among nineteenth century anatomists. The manual of artistic anatomy by the Montpellier medical doctor Jean-Galbert Salvage (1772-1813) called Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant, applicable aux beaux-arts etc of 1812, which we find in both libraries, illustrates the neo-classical view of the antique as ideal. Salvage pointed out that, if after having studied anatomy the art student analysed the antique, he would soon realise,

"remarque avec étonnement qu'il y a eu rivalité complète de l'art et de la science pour former ces chefs d'oeuvre, dont ne peuvent approcher les modernes les plus habiles"²²

At the same time, the anatomical naturalism of works like the above mentioned French owned Fighting Gladiator known also as the Borghese Gladiator, the work of

the Greek sculptor Agasias, was recognised but was believed to distinguish these works from works of beauty²³. Indeed, we find in the 1818 English manual of anatomy by the surgeon and art student James Birch Sharpe, Elements of anatomy: designed for the use of students in the fine arts, a stress on the educational interest of antique naturalist sculpture for modern artists, - "for anatomic study":

"...the antique afford us a more beautiful and forcible illustration [of muscles strongly swelled or contracted] in the Farnesian Hercules entirely at rest, and the Discobolon, or Haemon in the state of action...The Gladiator repugnans, as by some called, or more properly expressed by Fuseli, the "Warrior of Agasias", is as a single figure, the best model of the antique which the young artists can select for anatomic study. In this celebrated figure the student will discover every muscle in motion, or eager to move. The energy of a most determined will animates the whole, and were it not for its colourless mass the spectator would be unable to separate the statue from real nature...every muscle is distinctly marked,...each in its proper place..."²⁴

However, the new and massive evidence of fifth century B.C. Greek art and the expansion of positivism into other spheres of British and French culture, changed the aesthetic values and models of artists from idealism to positivism or naturalism. Pheidian art became exemplary of the new figural naturalism.

With the help of anatomists, it was now possible to acknowledge with certainty the existence of two distinct and aesthetically equally valid orientations in ancient Greek "high" figural art : one naturalist, the other idealist. Thus, Charles Rochet urged in his Traité of 1886 the creation of "un mode nouveau de classement dans un musée d'antiques. D'un côté on aurait ceux qui donnent des images réelles, des représentations exactes de la race ou du pays qui les a produits ; et de l'autre, les figures dites de style, les images de convention ou le canon admis..."²⁵

The model embodiments of the new positivist figural canon in British and French art remained specimens of ancient Greek art. But these were now specimens of a different period in the history of Greek art. The new models included primarily Pheidian art and also the nude living model which was now to be studied much more closely and in action rather than in repose or posed in a supposedly active attitude. Mathias Duval, Professor of Anatomy at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, a member of the

faculty of medicine and director of the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, gave in his Précis d'Anatomie à l'usage des artistes of 1881 a list of the new models of figural art and pointed to the significance which Greek naturalist art had for nineteenth-century European art:

"Les sculpteurs grecs ont reproduit la forme humaine avec une merveilleuse exactitude anatomique ; en effet, les oeuvres de Phidias (le Thésée et l'Ilissus), celles de Myron (le Discobole), celles de Lysippe et de Praxitele (le Faune au repos), celles d'Agassiaz (le Gladiateur), pour ne citer que les chefs d'oeuvre donnés comme modèles dans toutes les écoles de dessin..."²⁶

Duval also recommended to artists in his manuals the study of the living figure in action as another way of learning the human anatomy. In the 1898 Histoire Duval with his co-author Cuyer legitimised and showed the benefits of this practice by pointing to Greek artistic practices. Greek artists had used "la contemplation incessante du nu en action" in the gymnasia as the source of their precise knowledge of the form of the human body.²⁷

Duval and Cuyer added weight to their views by pointing to Hippolyte Taine's own accounts of Greek artistic principles as being scientific and man-centred. Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893) was one of the leading French intellectuals of the second half of the nineteenth-century. He was a member of the positivist school and a major champion of a scientific approach to aesthetics. He believed that art could be studied scientifically and historically.

By means of his own 'scientific' study of art Taine believed he had discovered the law which explained artistic creation. He claimed the existence of a necessary relationship between an artist's works and that artist's "race", "milieu" (social context), and "moment" (the particular, historical circumstance). Taine explained Greek art by reference to this theory. As an Aryanist he also championed Greek art and the practices of Greek artists because they were not only appropriate to the European race but also appropriate to the "moment", i.e. the modern age, "l'esprit moderne"²⁸ which was humanist and scientific.

Taine himself communicated these beliefs to artists not only through his writings but

also through his lectures as Professor of the history of art and aesthetics at the Ecole des Beaux-arts, a post to which he was appointed in October 1864²⁹. He thus contributed to the expansion of positivist values and of anthropological knowledge among artists.

Greek naturalist art, either in the original or in casts which the academic schools had acquired was thus introduced into art education. In fact it was used for a number of educational purposes. Firstly, anatomy teachers used these works to demonstrate to artists, with their scientific expertise the cause of the acknowledged beauty of Pheidian art. This lay partly in the anatomical naturalism of this art. They thus demonstrated to artists that beauty and truth to nature could go together.

The famous British anatomist of the middle of the century Robert Knox in his Manual of Artistic Anatomy of 1852, a copy of which we find in the Royal Academy library, is a case in point. In his chapter on the human articulations he pointed to "a scene of a combat, from the marbles of the Parthenon, proving the knowledge of the Greek artists in respect of the articulations"³⁰. And John Marshall told his students that

"...it is certainly marvellous how much of correct anatomical detail may be traced in their [the ancient Greek artists'] surface work..."³¹.

In France, Mathias Duval, in his Precis of 1881 would also stress to his students the naturalism of Pheidian art:

"en effet, non seulement les muscles, par exemple, se dessinent par des saillies qui sont toujours très exactement à leur place (anatomie), mais de plus ces saillies sont différemment accentuées pour un même muscle du côté droit et du côté gauche, selon que, d'après la nature du mouvement, tel côté présente des muscles en contraction, c'est-à-dire relâchés et relativement effacés (physiologie)"³².

Secondly, anatomy teachers used Pheidian art to describe the formal i.e. external or surface elements of the human anatomy. They used them to teach artists human anatomy. Furthermore, the explanation of the causes of the human formal anatomy also involved the use of Greek statues. This part of the anatomical education of artists included dissections or attendance at dissections of corpses and also the study of the 'écorchés'. In this way, art students could obtain knowledge of the human skeleton and of the soft parts of the body.

The 'écorchés' were casts of cadavres flayed in order to display the surface muscles of the body³³. They were often posed in the same moment of action or attitude of repose of Greek statues whose formal features had to be explained. One of the most famous 'écorchés' was the one which Dr. Salvage made of the famous Fighting Gladiator. This was part of a collection of anatomical models which the École des Beaux-Arts possessed.³⁴ Among British anatomical models one can cite the écorché of the another famous antique statue, the Dying Gladiator, a cast of which was in the School's collection. It was made in 1775 and was the cast of the corpse of a hanged criminal which Dr William Hunter, the Academy's first Professor of Anatomy had set in the pose of the famous statue³⁵.

Thirdly and finally, anatomy teachers used Greek naturalist art to indicate to artists the ethnic or racial peculiarities of the body of the ancient Greeks as a particular type of mankind. The anthropological in the sense of racial meaning of Pheidian art was the result of the new anthropological knowledge. This new knowledge about the existence of human races limited the ethnographic usefulness of Pheidian art to a description of a particular human physical type³⁶.

The anthropological education of artists

In this section I shall examine the specific anthropological ideas about mankind and about the Greeks which manuals of artistic anatomy communicated to artists. Since I have already examined these ideas I shall confine myself to indicating their existence in the education of artists. However, I shall consider more fully the contribution of artists themselves to the positive knowledge of the Greek body.

Before I examine the British and French manuals of artistic anatomy separately, I shall make some general remarks. Manuals of artistic anatomy communicated to artists all the main anthropological views of the time. As Duval remarked in his Précis of 1881, anthropological knowledge had by that time become common knowledge. Indeed, ideas like the 'facial angle' "tendent à devenir aujourd'hui

presque familières même aux gens du monde"³⁷.

In all manuals we find the idea of race, i.e. the observation of the existence of physical differences in mankind and the division and classification of men into groups called "races", whose members share a particular combination of hereditary bodily traits sufficient to mark them off from the members of other groups³⁸. We also find the idea of racial determinism, i.e. the belief in the determination of a group's cultural, economic and political achievements by the racial type, i.e. the physical traits of this group, almost everywhere. Darwin's own theories of man, man's origins and physical varieties, which marked a radical change in nineteenth century anthropological thought from 1859 onwards, were also included in the education of artists in Britain and France.

Hardly any manual of artistic anatomy throughout my period fails to mention Camper's theory of the human races. Also, copies of Camper's book on The Connexion between the Science of Anatomy and The Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, etc. were owned by both academic libraries. From these sources artists would learn that men did not only differ in their skin colour, but that differences in skin colour went with differences in 'facial angle' too. They also learned that differences in the facial angle went with differences in intelligence (racial determinism) and beauty, characteristics which led to the hierarchical classification of mankind. In this classification the Greeks were ranked at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the other Europeans, the negro race, down to the animals. Artists had to know and show these observations in their works.

In Britain, Charles Bell³⁹ and Robert Knox brought Camper's descriptions to the artists' attention. Knox's manual of 1852 referred for example to "The celebrated Camper"⁴⁰. And in France Duval and Cuyer, in their Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique of 1898, stressed the continuing validity of this theory since its first publication in 1791 in Utrecht and its immediate translation into French as Dissertation sur les différences réelles que présentent les traits du visage chez les hommes de différents pays, etc. They themselves accepted the theory, "devenue si

celebre de l' angle facial" ⁴¹ and saw its utility to artists as "un moyen de caractériser les différentes races humaines d'une part et la beauté plastique d'autre part"⁴². They thought that Camper's measurements "présentent un réel intérêt au point de vue du caractère des formes de la tête, c'est pourquoi elles doivent prendre place dans l'enseignement de l'anatomie plastique"⁴³. Rochet too remarked in his 1886 Traité on the ubiquity of Camper's drawing of the different heads of the different coloured races : "on le trouve partout"⁴⁴.

Finally, French and English official art schools shared many books on artistic anatomy either in the original or in translation like the manuals by J.Fau, M.Duval, M.Duval and Ed.Cuyer, C.Rochet, P. Camper, G. Schadow, and theories were exchanged between as well as imported into both countries from other countries like Prussia and Italy⁴⁵. In fact the physical mobility and communication of scientists among themselves with its consequent cross-fertilisation of national scientific communities characterised nineteenth century scientific communities in Europe and the United States of America. Differences do exist however regarding the definition of certain racial and sub-racial groups including the Greeks. This is an important fact whose significance will unfold in subsequent chapters.

French manuals of artistic anatomy and the anthropological education of French artists

The most popular manual of artistic anatomy in France was Antoine-Louis-Julien Fau's (1811-1880). It was also translated into English by Robert Knox and published in London in 1849. Fau published his Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, à l'usage des peintres et des sculpteurs, avec un atlas de vingt-quatre planches dessinées d'après nature etc. in 1845. There was a second edition in 1850 under the title Anatomie artistique élémentaire in a smaller and cheaper format. As Duval and Cuyer noted in their Histoire, Fau's second edition achieved for its author, "une des plus grandes vagues qu'il soit possible d'espérer". Chaque étudiant possédait ce livre et il nous souvient que, il y a encore quelques années, il se trouvait, sous

cette forme, entre les mains de tous les artistes qui, identifiant, comme cela arrive parfois, le nom de l'auteur et celui du volume, le désignaient familièrement sous le nom "le Fau", ou, à cause de son format, sous celui de "le petit Fau"⁴⁶ From "le Fau" artists could learn the following anthropological notions : the idea of race ; the different physical traits which different physical anthropologists perceived to characterise each human race, like Linnaeus', Blumenbach's, Cuvier's and Camper's and related classifications like Dr P N Gerdy's who was Fau's teacher ; the racial type of each national and geographical group, like the skin colour of the Europeans, or the proportion of the brain-case to the face of the Africans which Cuvier and Camper had discovered ; and the belief in racial determinism⁴⁷. Fau stressed the significance of such anthropological observations for art. These observations "peuvent fournir des caractères assez intéressants à l'artiste"⁴⁸

Another manual describing the human body which we find in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts is Dr Gottfried Schadow's Polycletus. Schadow was an important figure in the arts. He was a Prussian sculptor and Director of the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin and a Corresponding member of the Academies of Paris and Brussels. His book was first published in German in 1834. The Ecole owned the second German edition of 1866. We also find a copy of this book in an English translation in the Royal Academy library which appeared later, in 1883. I used the English translation to discover Schadow's view of the Greeks which he handed down not only to Prussian but also to French and later to British artists.

Schadow's manual dealt primarily with measurement rather than anatomical form. Polycletus is about the proportions of the human body in its racial varieties. It is also about the anthropological-ethnographic or racial information about the Greeks which he had derived from studying the sculptures of Greek artists as the title of the book indicates. Polycletus was a Greek sculptor of the naturalist period of Greek art, i.e. of the time of Pheidias. He was known to have represented in his statue of a doryphoros known by that name, the typical proportions of the young Greek athlete.

Since Polycletus' own time the statue of the Doryphoros was usually referred to as

the "canon". This was because it was a model embodiment of an analysis of the body of the athlete into a set of geometrical and mathematical elements. The combination of these elements became established as the formula or canon following which artists could represent an accurate image of the young athlete⁴⁹.

However, the appearance of the Doryphoros and the "canon" itself which it embodied were not known to European scholars until 1863 when it was finally recognised among copies excavated in Pompeii and Herculaneum in the eighteenth century⁵⁰. So Schadow's title was still the dream of learned Europeans to recover Polycletus' "canon" which had been celebrated in ancient Greek and Roman literature⁵¹. In the absence of the above discovery Schadow read the anthropological literature of his time, examined for himself other Greek statues and reached his own conclusions about the proportions of the ancient Greeks and especially those of the ancient Greek men.

Schadow told artists that the ancient Greeks were of medium size and very strong. This view was rather unusual for his time because opinion, led by Homer's descriptions of the Iliadic heroes believed them to have "figures of stupendous proportions". In fact, Homer only liked such figures, "he had a love" for figures with limbs and heads of an unusual size. But this, Schadow stressed, was not typical among the ancient Greeks even of Homer's time ⁵². He stressed that the typical Greek figure was symmetrical⁵³ and estimated the height of the ancient Greek heroes to be 5ft 10ins pointing out that "strength is not proportional to size"⁵⁴. These proportions were evident in such works as the Borghese Gladiator, the Elgin Marbles, the Colossi of Monte Cavallo and, according to Vitruvius and other ancient literary sources, in the canon of Polycletus⁵⁵. Finally, Schadow pointed out that it was only ancient Greek painters such as Zeuxis, who, although a contemporary of Parrhasius and also of Polycletus and Myron, followed in their illustrations of the Trojan wars Homer's descriptions of these heroes. Pls. 3, 9

Later manuals of artistic anatomy include the latest discoveries of anthropological science. To this essentially post-Darwinian period belongs Charles Rochet's Traite

d'anatomie, d'anthropologie et d'ethnographie appliquées aux beaux-arts of 1886. It contained the new anthropological and artistic theories to which he himself also contributed, "il prit une part active aux recherches scientifiques qui étaient déployées à l'époque"⁵⁶. Rochet's contribution to anthropological science and art dates from the mid-1860s onwards. He published a number of books and papers on these subjects from 1868 onwards. In his Traité, he called the new ethnographic art which undertook to show the new anthropological knowledge, as applied to painting, "peinture des peuples", and generally "Ethnographie des Beaux-Arts"⁵⁷.

I shall consider here in detail Rochet's anthropological view of the human races and his own classification of the Greeks which he communicated to artists. Rochet's classification of the physical types of man is not very clear. In fact he concentrated his attention on two main human physical types. These were presumably two varieties within the white race. He saw that the white race was itself divided by the colour of the hair of its members. This divided the white race into "Blonds" and "Bruns" races. The "Blonds" and the "Bruns" differed in other respects too. The "Bruns" were a southern and oriental race. The "Bruns" were also a culture-producing race while the "Blonds" were a practical race who took all their ideas from the "Bruns", but actually applied them.

Rochet classified the Greeks under the race of the "Bruns". This was quite unprecedented. Most anthropologists of this period saw the ancient Greeks as either blond or a mixture of blond and dark haired individuals ; not as a primarily dark haired people.

Rochet also saw muscular development and its opposite fat as another trait dividing mankind, i.e. one which was distributed "plus dans certaines races que dans d'autres"⁵⁸. In this respect, the Greeks, in addition to being "Bruns", were also muscular. The Greeks owed their muscular development not only to natural endowment, but also to their social institutions : the practice of athletics and outdoor life, "la vie naturelle" in the nude or without wearing too tight clothing⁵⁹.

Thus, Rochet told artists that the "belle race des Hellènes" had "toujours des muscles, et pas ou peu de graisse sous la peau". This could be seen in their statues of "la belle époque", which meant the naturalist period of Greek art. Rochet gave a similar list to Duval of the main naturalist statues where one could also observe the muscular physique of the Greeks, "le peuple où elles ont été produites"⁶⁰. This list included statues such as the Venus de Milo, the Crouching Venus, the Discobolos, the "beau *Pls. 10, 5* torse de Ilissus de Phidias, fragments du Parthenon", the Achilles, and the Gladiator *Pl. 9* of Agasias in the Louvre.⁶¹ Rochet also included in his list the Farnese Hercules in the Naples Museum as a real Greek type:

"ce type si merveilleux de force musculaire, qui semble ne jamais avoir existé tant la race en paraît détruite, ne présente à l'oeil que des muscles et pas l'ombre de graisse"⁶²

Another trait of the Greeks was their copper coloured skin "la teinte du cuir neuf, de la terre cuite ou de la belle feuille sèche". This colour was the result of outdoor life and of the effect of the southern sun on the white skin of the Greeks. It was not that of the "mulâtre, qui est faite du croisement de l'Européen avec la négresse..."⁶³ In this respect, Rochet praised the French artist Charles Lebrun who accurately rendered in his paintings the copper colour of the Greeks : "Chez les Français, Charles Lebrun a très bien rendu notre Homme rouge dans ses grandes batailles d'Alexandre"⁶⁴. On the other hand, Rochet criticised David and his pupils who did not take account of this feature of the Greeks : "Ils ont fait des Grecs et des Romains qui vivent en chambre. Le soleil ne compte pas pour eux"⁶⁵

Finally, Rochet agreed with other anatomists and anthropologists on the distinctiveness of the Greek head form, as observed in Greek naturalist art, the perpendicular direction of its profile:

"un front légèrement fuyant, un métope saillant, un nez droit qui continue le front..."⁶⁶

In his *Traité*, Rochet also considered the most controversial issue of the 1870s regarding the origins of man, namely the Darwinian theory that man descended from the anthropoid apes. On this issue the Greek body was crucially relevant. Rochet rejected this view for two general reasons mainly. Being a devout Catholic he accepted on the one hand the Biblical paradigm, and as a European he accepted this

culture's traditional bias in favour of the Greeks⁶⁷. On this dual basis his conclusion regarding the physical history of mankind was that the first man had the physique of the ancient Greeks. Greek naturalist statues represented "le Prototype humain". In fact, Rochet was so interested in the Greek body and Greek art that he made a special study of Greek art in the 1870s and on 27 November 1875 he read to the Académie des Beaux-arts de l'Institut, a paper entitled Mémoire sur la loi des proportions du corps humain et l'emploi qu'en ont fait les artistes grecs which was published in 1876.⁶⁸ Rochet had also been developing his theory of the first man or what he called "le Prototype humain" some years before the publication of his Traité. In fact in 1877 he published a separate study on this subject entitled : Le Prototype humain, tableau des 12 lois fondamentales de la géométrie des formes dans l'espèce humaine et sur les deux sexes ⁶⁹.

In his Traité Rochet summarized his views on the human Prototype. The human Prototype was God's design of man. The ancient Greeks had preserved in their body the physical traits of God's design while other nations had degenerated. These traits were : copper coloured skin, dark hair, and muscular development. Thus,

"Le Brun, pour moi, est l'Homme vrai de la création. L'Homme de mon prototype, comme l'Homme peau rouge est le vrai type de la coloration de la peau. C'est ainsi qu'était le premier homme jeté sur terre, ..."

Rochet was most anxious to oppose the "Bruns" to the "Blonds" :

"...l'Homme brun est pour nous l'Homme réel de la science anthropologique, l'homme type et unique de l'espèce, quand le blond ne serait simplement qu'une des variétés que présente la science ethnologique..."⁷⁰

Rochet's human Prototype as God's design was also in harmony, i.e. identical, with the rest of nature which was also the creation of the same single will. Thus, from a formal point of view, the first man was geometrical and also regular in the measurements of all its parts, i.e. all parts were symmetrical:

"La loi naturelle est géométrique...ce qui veut dire que dans cet exposé tout est régulier, toutes les mesures s'accordent entre elles, toutes sont symétriques"⁷¹

Rochet distinguished among three human Prototypes by sex and age. These he discovered in his study of Greek art:

- "1 Le Prototype masculin (Homme)
- 2 Le Prototype féminin (Femme)
- 3 Le Prototype enfantin (Enfant)"⁷².

The male type had three sub-types :

"1 Le type Jeune homme, adolescent-pubère".

This type had the features of the young athlete, "l'athlète jeune des statues antiques...nature fine, élégante, qui n'a pas atteint sa complète maturité et est, en fait, plus agile que réellement fort",

"2 L'Adulte complet, moyen , ordinaire".

This type could be seen in the statues of Achilles or Apollo, "nature très faite, très achevée quoi que jeune encore, élégant, et à la fois fort et agile".

"3 Et enfin, le type réellement très fort ; type herculeen".

This type could be seen in the antique statue of the Farnese Hercules : "Ce type est très développé en force physique et matérielle et est devenu plus résistant qu'agile"⁷³. Pl. 4

Finally, the female Prototype could be seen in the Venus de Milo. She too was muscular and also a virgin : "La Femme n'est parfaitement belle qu'à l'état de vierge...La Vénus de Milo est vierge : c'est la Vierge physique des anciens"⁷⁴. The Greek body thus acquired a distinctly religious, sacred meaning. Pl 10

In the above description of the first man, Rochet was in fact arguing against Darwinian evolutionism and the Darwinian view of the descent of man. These views were known in France and supported wholly or partly by major French anthropologists. Rochet criticised Darwin's "school",

"qui veut donner à l'Homme des origines simiennes...Cette école négative de toutes choses, qui semble étudier l'Homme et ne voit que la bête...Cette école barbare et cruelle dont les plus fervents adeptes ...inventent UN MONSTRE !!!...moitié homme, moitié singe, qu'ils appellent effrontément notre ancêtre ; UN ANTHROPOPITHÈQUE ! qu'ils donnent comme ayant été le Précurseur de l'Homme : Le père de tous les hommes, l'affreux Adam de l'ignoble Genèse !.....
Voilà ce qu'on enseigne en pleine École d'Anthropologie, à Paris,...Voilà ce que les disciples de Broca et les continuateurs de Darwin proclament, à travers le monde et dans tous les congrès, comme étant la grande vérité du dix-neuvième siècle, la bonne

nouvelle des g  n  rations futures !"75

The truth was quite the opposite for Rochet : "Notre a  eul a   t   tout de suite un grand et beau type, dont,...nous sommes tous la reproduction exacte et fid  le..."76

The artistic significance of this anthropological debate was great. For now, if an artist educated in the school of Darwin painted the first man, one of the favourite subjects of 'High art', this artist would have to represent Adam in the form of a monkey. Indeed, artists were interested in the discoveries of historical anthropology and palaeontology as they sought, in Rochet's words, "   faire revivre" the prehistory of man77, with the power which only art possessed.

Rochet's view of original man was connected with his Catholicism and with his acceptance of the theory of degeneration which was taken from the Biblical account of the "Fall". Rochet thus rejected evolutionism as the explanation of the emergence of man and as the explanation of the human races, which Darwin had explained as adaptations to circumstances and as improvements. However, he accepted the possibility of change in forms in the direction of either evolution from degeneration or further degeneration. He thus believed that man, or at least the white races could evolve in the sense of recovering their original form.

The idea of the degeneration of mankind is already implied in Rochet's description of the human Prototype. Also implied in his descriptions is his belief that the modern Greeks were different from the ancient Greeks, as in the statement:

"les belles formes, **aujourd'hui perdues** de l'art grec pur...formes sublimes, proportions parfaites" [my emphasis]

I shall end my study of the anthropological education of the students of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts with two manuals : one from 1881 and the other from 1898. The first, entitled Pr  cis d'Anatomie, was written by Mathias Duval, and the second, entitled Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique by Mathias Duval and Edouard Cuyer. These manuals, together with Rochet's writings mentioned above, belong to a distinct period in the history of nineteenth-century anthropological education of French artists which begins around 1870.

What marks these later manuals off from earlier ones is an emphasis on the Greek body as compared with the head and on its social causes rather than on heredity. The manuals of the last quarter of the nineteenth-century also have an emotional, obsessive intensity and one soon forms the impression that their apparently purely descriptive accounts really refer to something terribly urgent. Finally the views expressed about the Greek body are essentially taken from Hippolyte Taine's theories of the 1860s and 1870s⁷⁸ and especially from his Philosophie de l'art en Grèce (1869). This is evident from the numerous quotations from this book.

Taine himself did not write a manual of artistic anatomy. In fact, at the École des Beaux-Arts where he was appointed in October 1864, he taught art history and aesthetics⁷⁹. Nevertheless, as a positivist who accepted the new scientific approach to man and culture, including the idea of race, he made the study of racial physique an integral part of his teaching and writings. Thus, Taine's teachings at the École des Beaux-Arts with their anthropological bias would complement the specialist course of art students in artistic anatomy. The manuals of Duval and Cuyet are thus important sources regarding both the anthropological information which artists took from Taine, and the anthropological education of French artists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Duval and Cuyet described the Greek body in the usual way, as having a symmetrical development of muscles⁸⁰, and as being healthy, strong and athletic with broad shoulders, full chest, long legs ("jambes grandes") and white skin⁸¹. This physique they explained as being the result of two main factors ; one racial, i.e. innate (a factor which was by now taken for granted) and the other social. Regarding the latter, we find some new ideas. Following Taine's methodology, Duval and Cuyet considered "ces conditions de milieu"⁸² which formed the Greek body. These were the following.

Firstly the Greek, and specifically Spartan practice of inspection by a council of elders, "conseil d'anciens"⁸³, of all newly born babies and the selection of the physically fit from the unfit, the latter of whom were destroyed without pity,

"impitoyablement sacrifié"⁸⁴. This is an important idea which should be connected with the new eugenic theories of the time.

The association of the ancient Greeks with the new ideas about eugenics is important. As I showed in an earlier chapter, eugenics further developed Darwin's⁸⁵ theory of natural selection into the doctrine of social selection⁸⁶. This established the possibility of human control over its physical condition. Duval and Cuyet thus suggested to artists that the Greeks had a kind of proto-eugenics policy and hence sanctioned eugenics.

Secondly, the educational institutions of all Greeks. These consisted essentially in open air athletic practices. Duval and Cuyet presented Greek education as a specially designed system of physical exercises calculated to achieve a particular bodily type:

"Chez les athlètes, les muscles avaient été tous fortifiés et assouplis; on n'en avait point négligé ; les diverses parties du corps se faisaient équilibre ; l'arrière-bras, si maigre aujourd'hui, les omoplates mal garnies et raides, s'étaient remplis et faisaient un pendant proportionné aux hanches et aux cuisses ; les maîtres, en véritables artistes, exerçaient le corps pour lui donner non seulement la vigueur, la résistance et la vitesse, mais aussi la symétrie et l'élégance"⁸⁷

In fact, Duval and Cuyet presented Greek culture as valuing the moulding of the body into that particular form more highly than the forming of the mind. Actually, the balanced development of body and mind was a specifically classical, Athenian notion.

Thirdly, Duval and Cuyet presented the daily life of all young Greeks as one spent in the gymnasia which were an architectural feature of all Greek cities : "un des signes auxquels on reconnaît une ville grecque"⁸⁸ ; to this athletic life belonged the great public athletic contests, such as the Olympic games, "jeux olympiques".

Fourthly and finally, Duval and Cuyet considered the goals which the Greeks pursued through athletics : these were political, philosophical and religious. They thus explained the glory of the Iliadic heroes and of the Greek cities and especially that of the Greek republics with their practice of athletics. They also stressed that in such militarist societies as Sparta, physical fitness was essential : "dans une armée, on

n'admet que des hommes valides, et ici tous sont conscrits dès le berceau, selon l'heureuse expression de Taine"⁸⁹. Philosophically, athletics realised the Greek conception of man according to Plato and Aristophanes. However, Duval and Cuyer failed to mention Plato's disapproval of the one-sided physical education of youth, when they cited from Taine Plato's comparison of the Greek "jeunes gens à de beaux coursiers consacrés aux dieux" ⁹⁰. Finally, athletics had a religious meaning, it was a religious prescription consisting in pleasing the gods by devoting one's life to perfecting one's body through athletics, as the above quotation also suggests.

One final general observation should be made regarding the anthropological education of French artists during the nineteenth century. In the manuals of artistic anatomy which I have been examining certain changes are noticeable which correspond to changes in anthropological science. These consist firstly in the shift from an attention to head variations to that of bodily variations and secondly in a shift in values.

Anatomists, following the Greek philosophy of man as mind and body, divided man into two main parts, the head and the rest of the body. During the nineteenth century we observe a change from the higher valuation of the head over all other parts of the body because it was the part on which man's humanity, i.e. intelligence and civilisation most decisively depended distinguishing man from animals, to an equal evaluation of both the head and the rest of the body. This change signified an acceptance of man's animal nature as suggested by Darwin (e.g. in the theory of the descent of man from the apes).

These changes in the view of man become evident if we compare on the one hand the earliest major manual on physical anthropology as applicable to art by Camper with say Fau's manual of the middle of the century. This shows the change in focus. Camper's manual on the 'facial angle' of different peoples and animals is wholly given to the study of the head with which early anthropologists were mostly concerned. Fau's manual however has proceeded to include the study of the form of other parts of the human body as racial traits.

A comparison of Fau with Duval and Cuyer shows the change in values. In his Anatomie of 1845 Fau drew artists' attention to the human head, "Située au sommet de l'édifice humain, la tête, siège de l'intelligence...ce splendide assemblage d'organes aux formes variées" as "le chef-d'oeuvre de la création"⁹¹. He also referred to the "nobles travaux de l'intelligence"⁹². Later however, we find in Duval and Cuyer's manual a different view of the head as compared with the rest of the body : an equal value given to the head as to the rest of the body. The new scientific view of man's animal aspect underlies Taine's reference to Plato's view of the Greek youth as battle-horses which I quoted above. The equal value given to man's intellectual and animal natures is evident in Duval and Cuyer's support for a new rule of modern life which was itself taken from fifth century Greek culture, "réaliser l'antique et classique formule qui demande une intelligence saine dans un corps robuste (mens sana in corpore sano)"⁹³.

British manuals of artistic anatomy and the anthropological education of British artists

As in France, R.A. students were taught or referred to all the most important anthropological discoveries of their age. From very early on, and in fact from James Birch Sharpe's Elements of anatomy: designed for the use of students in the fine arts of 1818, art students learnt about the existence of races in mankind. As the idea of race was still derived from the perception of differences in skin colour and head forms, Sharpe indicated to art students the differences in the shape of the head which gave to the European and African peoples their "NATIONAL INDIVIDUALITY"⁹⁴. Charles Bell was another major contributor to both anthropological knowledge and to the anthropological literature, education and orientation of Royal Academy artists during the first half of the nineteenth century. His book Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting, which was published in London in 1806, had, by 1877, gone through at least seven editions. In the Royal Academy library we find the 1844 posthumous edition which bore the other title under which it is also known, The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as

Connected with the Fine Arts⁹⁵. In this book Bell included many anthropological observations regarding what he called "national peculiarities". I shall now briefly document the main themes which Bell discussed with art students:

"Every one must have observed among those with whom he lives, that there is as much variety in feature, stature, colour, hair, beard, &c as there is in expression of countenance...But in regard to national peculiarities...there are certain forms of head, or casts of feature, or peculiarities of hair, and complexion, which characterise different nations"⁹⁶

Bell gave artists Blumenbach's standard anthropological list of the human races and of their distinctive colours which artists should use to represent them correctly:

"The great families of mankind are distinguished by colour as well as form and features. The Caucasian by white ; the African by black ; the Mongolian by olive, tending to yellow ; the Malay by tawney ; the American by brown, or nearly copper hue..."⁹⁷

Bell did not wish to enter into the details of the anthropological debates regarding the explanation of the origin of the "national peculiarities of form"⁹⁸. His own belief however was in the truth of the Biblical paradigm of degeneration as the explanation of race. Bell explained degeneration, (a process whereby human physiology could be transformed from an initially perfect state and a distinct being in God's creation into various and inferior physical types and eventually display startling similarities with animals) as the result of the "spread of the nations and the settlement of mankind in the different regions of the globe"⁹⁹ from a common geographical centre where "mankind was first planted". This common geographical origin of mankind was in Western Asia.¹⁰⁰ Thus, "man...has degenerated from the original design of nature..."

He concentrated artists' attention on the head as the key variable part of human physique and explained its cultural consequences. There existed differences in the form of the head which distinguished man from animal, and also the Europeans from the Africans. Its width depended on the volume of the brain on which intelligence itself depended. The European head showed the widest skull and hence the highest intelligence. The Europeans were also the closest physical type to the original pattern of human perfection, "nearest to perfection", while the African race was a "degraded race". The African skull differed from the European in its "depression of the forehead

and compression of the temples". This he interpreted as the trait of reduced intelligence and hence of degeneration:

"these varieties depended on the form of the brain, and proceeded (I think we may conclude) from the more or less complete development of the organ of the mind"¹⁰¹

Bell also pointed out generally, that the bigger the organs allied to intelligence, the closer to the human countenance a nation was. Thus, a trait such as big eyes, "as the eye especially is"¹⁰², was a trait of humans as distinct from animals. Conversely, big jaws and teeth were "at variance with human physiognomy"¹⁰³.

Regarding the Greeks, Bell told artists that the "original inhabitants of Thessaly and Greece" were a branch of the Caucasian race, the so-called "Pelasgic branch"¹⁰⁴. They were an "enterprising and migratory people, who at an early period extended to Italy, and from whom descended the Etruscans..."¹⁰⁵ Bell pointed to the intellectual distinction of the ancient Greeks, "the genius of the Greeks"¹⁰⁶, and especially of Athens,¹⁰⁷ as compared with all the other nations of antiquity. He explained the decline of Greek civilisation not by any change in their skulls, "The skulls of a people do not change", but by another factor, nearly as important as race. This factor was their social institutions:

"During all the period of the Byzantine Empire, between the reigns of Constantine and Palaeologus, luxury, sloth, and effeminacy prevailed, whilst the people of the West of Europe were rising in moral and intellectual energy, and in the cultivation of the mind"¹⁰⁸

Finally, Bell refuted Winckelmann's explanation of the Greek physique, "the perfection of form of the inhabitants of Greece", as well as their civilisation, by the effect of climate:

"It is strange that Winckelman (sic) should give so much to the influence of climate, seeing that where the olive ripens, in the long summer of Greece, there exists not a vestige of those virtues which were the admiration of the world; and centuries have passed without a poet or philosopher appearing in the country of Homer and Plato"¹⁰⁹

Bell however admitted that the modern Greeks still maintained the athletic physique of their ancestors:

"The modern Greeks are still distinguished by athletic proportions and fine features"¹¹⁰

If we now go on to enquire into the mid-nineteenth-century anatomical education of artists, we find Robert Knox's Manual of Artistic Anatomy of 1852¹¹¹. In his manual Knox took up most of the basic ideas which he had expounded in the earlier book in his own specialist field of study, The Races of Men: a fragment of 1850. I shall summarise here the contents of the 1852 manual. From this manual mid-nineteenth-century art students could learn about human physique in all its varieties, i.e. about the races of men. However, this subject had by now been further developed and also become "a matter of national importance" because of the now established conviction about the law of racial determinism.

Knox discussed the "distinctive characteristics of the races of men", which had been "neglected or despised"¹¹² by most artists of the past and explained to his readers why modern artists should not do the same. From Knox's manual art students would also learn the theory of transcendental anatomy which Knox espoused. They would further discover the anthropological importance of the Elgin Marbles, as records of a specific human physical type which was that of the Greeks who had been real life embodiments of perfect or, as he called it, "transcendental" human nature. Finally, artists would be referred to his earlier book The Races of Men for more information.

Another important source for the scientific education of R.A. students with respect to the human figure from the second half of the nineteenth century is William Wetmore Story's The Proportions of the Human Figure, According to a New Canon, for Practical Use. This book was published in 1866 and a copy can also be found in the R.A. library. Story (1819-1895) was an American sculptor, essayist and poet¹¹³ who left America to work, live in and tour Europe and especially Italy, England, France, and Germany. In his manual we find another 'scientifically' based view of the Greek figure as perfect human nature and indeed as Christ himself.

Story's account of the human figure is wholly based on an analysis of the figure of a Diadumenos, a young man decorated with a fillet across his brow, another famous work by Polycletus. A statue in the British Museum had recently been recognised as a replica of that statue¹¹⁴. This figure, like the Doryphoros, embodied the

proportions of the Greek athlete. Its anthropological and artistic importance was immense.

Story stressed the truthfulness of this image of the Greek athlete which showed "men as they were"¹¹⁵ and also its scientific, i.e. empirically derived and calculated rather than accidental basis in a "canon" according to which it was made; it was not measured "with the eye" but "with measures"¹¹⁶:

"[Polycletus] invented a canon which was a scientific and geometric rule of proportion, according to which the Doryphoros was made"¹¹⁷.

Story also stressed that this formula was shared by the major Greek artists of the fifth century B.C., like Pheidias himself¹¹⁸. Furthermore, the Doryphoros was not just a particular athlete who happened to be well-proportioned, but rather the typical figure of all Greek athletes which all young Greeks pursued in their own body.

Story took his cue from the writings and drawings of the Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius Pollio which he compared and combined with his own classical readings (especially from Plato's *Timaeus* and from Pythagoras) and with his study of other ancient religions and of Christianity. He also combined these with studies of Greek statues by anthropologists and artists like Quetelet, Carus, Salvage, Hay, Camper, Gerdy, Audran, Durer, Flaxman, Gibson and others¹¹⁹. He concluded that the principal elements of that peculiar image of man, Polycletus' "canon", were : the numbers 3, 4 and 12 and the regular geometrical shapes, the circle, the square and the triangle¹²⁰. This rule produced a medium figure, "figura quadrata", i.e. a combination of regular, symmetrical geometrical shapes which was different from the later idealised, imaginary, Hellenistic representations by Lysippus (fl. c.390 B.C) and his school who represented men "as they seemed to be" to the imagination¹²¹. Discussing Lysippus' *Athlete with the Strigil*, also called the *Apoxyomenos*, a statue in the Vatican collection, Story, like Pliny, disapproved of its proportions. It was "small in the head, slight in the body, long in the limbs" and it was thus "wanting the massive quadrate grandeur and harmonious dignity of Phidias as well as the manly and compact proportions of Polycletus"¹²².

Story stressed the cosmological and religious significance of these features of the classical Greek athlete. Polycletus' statue and its canon was an expression of a view of man as he should be and of the universe : "The theories of philosophers were accepted by artists, and Polycletus...sought to formalize them into canons"¹²³. This philosophy was that of Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Aristoxenes, Cicero, and Plotinus and went back to the ancient Chaldeans, Egyptians and Hebrews. They recorded and communicated it in a shorthand but also mystical form (only the initiates knew what this peculiar combination of numbers and shapes referred to) which expressed these societies' view of the constitutive elements of the world¹²⁴. This view of the world was known to these societies through either divine revelation or was discovered by them by means of observation and measurement, i.e. scientifically, a fact which indicated the identity between material and spiritual realities. This world-view consisted in the following set of ideas : that the universe was perfect; that it was governed by a single and indeed universal law instead of being in a state of flux; that this law was the will of a divine nature or soul and, finally, that man was a microcosm. The latter meant that man formed a part of that single and homogeneous system of spirit and embodiment which the universe was believed to be and as such displayed, in his perfect state, the same features as the rest of the whole to which he belonged¹²⁵.

Story stressed that Christianity also shared that ancient and scientifically derivable world-view¹²⁶. He demonstrated this belief by showing the correspondences which could be found in Christian writings between the Christian conceptions and the earlier conceptions : the idea of the divine nature enclosed in the world corresponded to the Christian belief in the Trinity and in the incarnate Christ, "the God in nature" (not an entity distinct from nature and man); the view of the world as perfect was also held in common; the belief in the existence of a single order regulating the universe, corresponded to Christian monotheism, i.e. the belief in the existence of a single law-giver, of a single and all-encompassing will¹²⁷; finally, the idea of a perfect man, i.e. man as a microcosm both externally and internally, was also shared. As Story pointed out, "The measures of Christ are the measures of the perfect man"¹²⁸.

Consequently, Polycletus' canon was a measure of individual or collective physical perfection which itself reflected 'inner' perfection. For the Greeks the perfect man was the young athlete. For the Christians it was Christ and the imitator of Christ¹²⁹. I shall show in subsequent chapters the social significance of this view of the fifth century B.C. Greek athletic figure as the figure of Christ.

Finally, in the last quarter of the century, John Marshall's Anatomy for Artists of 1878 was added to the bibliography of artistic anatomy for R.A. students. He used the by now widely accepted Aryanist classification of mankind which divided men into aryan, hamitic and semitic races¹³⁰. Marshall also introduced artists to the new Darwinian discoveries regarding man's descent and the consequent new relationship between man and animals which had been preoccupying scientists since Darwin's publication of his theory of evolution in 1859¹³¹:

"the Natural Philosopher, whether a Physicist or a Biologist, a Botanist or a Zoologist,...grants an instant and full recognition of the position of **man, not beyond the limits, but at the head, of the animal kingdom**. With this latter view, the Anthropologist entirely coincides; and, furthermore, aided by the Anatomist, Physiologist and Psychologist, he compares man with animals, and endeavours to estimate justly the distance which intervenes between him and the highest of them...to determine...their points of resemblance and of difference..." [my emphases]¹³²

Marshall indicated to artists that the relevance of these scientists' discoveries to their own work were the facts firstly of the formal similarities between man and animals and secondly of the formal differences among men themselves:

"The sculptor and the painter may yield or refuse their adhesion to any particular Biological speculations ; but, within the bounds of their respective arts, so far as these are imitative or representative, they must of necessity regard man as a being, having a **distinctive animal form**, subject to numberless individual variations, according to differences of sex, age, character, and race." [my emphasis]¹³³

Marshall added that the forms of man as a distinct animal group were the cause of man's superiority over other animals in many respects such as intelligence¹³⁴ but also beauty. This superior beauty of man was one of the reasons why man was the highest object of artists' concerns:

"In all these respects, man presents wide departures from, and a marked pre-eminence over the mammalia generally, -even over the group most closely resembling or approximating to him, the **anthropoid apes**. In these peculiarities, are to be found the explanation of the superior beauty of the human form..."¹³⁵ [my emphasis]

On the Greeks, John Marshall too told artists of the "daily life of the Greeks" spent in athletic exercises and that these exercises, together with heredity (racial features) contributed to the distinctiveness of their bodies¹³⁶.

In this chapter I showed the way in which the new Physical Anthropological knowledge became available to British and French artists. This was through the introduction of the new 'scientific' knowledge about man into the anatomical education of artists. This education would enable young artists to realise the new artistic goal, namely to be true to human nature.

CHAPTER 6 :**THE AESTHETICS OF HELLENISM AND ETHNOGRAPHIC ART****The scientist's art and the dilemmas of naturalist aesthetics**

Naturalist aesthetics which resulted from the attachment of art to science was not an unambiguous principle. There was no agreement on either of the terms of the new aesthetic principle, either "nature" or "aesthetics". The scientific community which was expected by positivists to pronounce on these matters was divided regarding both the definition of its own proper object of study, i.e. nature, and the explanation of a new scientific theme, i.e. aesthetic judgment.

Indeed, anthropological scientists could not agree on what nature and particularly human nature was. Did all the different forms of mankind which they had discovered constitute human nature ? One's position on this issue depended on one's theory of race. There were two main positions which one might call the essentialist and the pluralist views of human nature. The essentialist view claimed that there was a single formal norm in nature and that variation from it was deformity and degeneration¹, a pathological and accidental event. The pluralist view was that man displayed a variety of equally 'natural' formal types.

As applied to the aesthetics of human nature in all its physical varieties, this dispute raised similar problems. Aesthetics is about form and pleasure. It is also about discrimination and exclusion, i.e. the identification of the forms which cause aesthetic pleasure and displeasure. The aesthetic theory of the beauty of nature distinguished between real and imaginary objects and placed a high value on the former. However, the dispute between the essentialist and the pluralist views of 'nature' introduced a further distinction among objectively existing forms which divided and ranked from an aesthetic point of view the human races. This distinction was that the beauty of figural art was the result not only of its correspondence with actual natural form, but also of the formal quality of its living model, i.e. of the particular anthropological

type represented.

There was also the further dispute over the origin of aesthetic judgment. Some held that the sense of beauty lay in the mind of the beholder, i.e. was subjective and hence varied². While others held that it was the result of the formal qualities of the object itself, i.e. was objective and hence universal³. The two views divided scientists also among pluralists and essentialists. They similarly divided artists and art critics. In fact, these scientific disputes regarding the relative aesthetic value of the human races, re-inforced pre-existing lines of fissure among artists and particularly the dispute between the Romantics and the Classicists. In this dispute among positivists the Classicists were not the idealist neo-classicists against whom the Romantics had originally reacted but the lovers of that peculiar physical type displayed in fifth century B.C. naturalist Greek art.

Many essentialist scientists saw in the Greek body the answer to the questions which the idea of naturalist aesthetics raised in its actual and systematic application. The classical Greek body was the fullest embodiment of human nature, i.e. was the physiological norm. The Greek body was also objectively beautiful. This scientific view of human nature contributed to a change in British and French taste and to the incorporation of the classical, i.e. athletic, Greek body as an element of nineteenth-century aesthetic culture. I shall now document the involvement of scientists in aesthetic questions, the scientific terms in which the dispute between Romanticism and Classicism or more specifically Hellenism was sustained. The purpose of this analysis will be to show the contribution of scientific ideas and values to the emergence of the Greek body and specifically of the Greek athletic body in English and French aesthetic theory and artistic practice.

Positivism and Romanticism

Throughout the century we find scientists pronouncing on aesthetic matters and artists looking for a scientific legitimation and guidance for their work. The idea that the

Greek body was objectively beautiful and the expectation that it would be universally accepted as such if only one were shown it, was not shared by all scientists. Indeed, the study of human cultures suggested to some quite the opposite fact. This fact was that, to paraphrase Pater, what gave pleasure to man, varied from one society to another. The social relativity or variability of aesthetic judgment suggested to some European art critics that the range of European aesthetic objects which included the human races, should be widened.

As I have already shown, the great demographer Adolphe Quetelet participated in these aesthetic debates. He typifies the subjectivist view of the aesthetics of the human races. He pointed out that scientific observations had shown that aesthetic opinions and hence objects varied. This wing of positivist aesthetics contradicted the exclusivist aesthetics of the Greek and Roman physical types favoured by the neo-classical and Hellenist schools. Instead this view gave a scientific confirmation to the Romantics' anomic or pluralist view of nature and to their aesthetic pantheism, universalist cosmopolitanism and especially orientalism and exoticism⁴. This scientific view of aesthetics also and paradoxically enough, -as will become evident below - enabled the realisation of another Romantic principle. This was the desire for novelty and "strangeness" or "distortion" - "what is new" - and its rejection of regularity and familiarity - "what is old and accustomed"⁵ -, as aesthetic principles. These principles were among the reasons which attached the Romantics to the orient and led them away from both the European and the Greek figural types.

In fact, Quetelet took up the cause of the Romantics most explicitly when he cited with sympathy their complaint : "Qui nous délivrera des Grecs et des Romains ?" ⁶ In support of this protest, Quetelet predicted the response of a non-Caucasian race to images of the Greek body:

"la race mongole, par exemple...ne verraient dans toutes ces belles figures grecques, que nous sommes habitués à admirer, que des figures de convention,...je doute qu' [ils pourraient admirer ces antiques] pour la forme, et qu'ils la choisissent de préférence à la leur, s'ils avaient à représenter leur divinité sous une forme humaine. Ce que nous disons sera repoussé sans doute par ceux qui ont des idées préétablies sur le beau absolu"⁷

Quetelet explained that regarding figural taste every society chose, as its favourite physical type, its own average racial and sub-racial type, i.e. that type which was most common and hence familiar in that society. Variations from that type were seen by this same society as pathological and presumably ugly:

"Si l'homme moyen était parfaitement déterminé, on pourrait...le considérer comme le type du beau ; et tout ce qui s'éloignerait avec excès de ressembler à ses proportions ou à sa manière d'être constituerait les difformités et les maladies..."⁸

Thus, Quetelet proposed that science could rescue artists from the tyranny and monotony of constantly having to represent the Greek and Roman figural types in their works if they wished to please. For if both objectivity (objectively existing forms) and subjectivity (the psychological preference for the familiar) were in operation in the making of an aesthetic judgment, and if every race preferred its own type from which the figural art of every people was ultimately derived, beauty dwelt in the whole of reality. There was, to paraphrase the Ruskinian rule (but applied to human nature), nothing to select and nothing to reject : all (human) nature was beautiful and not some (human) nature only.

Positivism and Hellenism

The supporters of the essentialist view of human nature and of aesthetic judgment saw the Greek body and the European traditional appeal of Greek figural art as the embodiment of their views. The expectation that science could pronounce on aesthetic matters and with it the scientific guarantee of the objective beauty of the Greek physique went back to the eighteenth century cultural movement of the Enlightenment. Camper's use of anatomy to solve the problem of aesthetic judgment in his famous "treatise on the natural difference of features in persons of different countries and periods of life"⁹, is probably the first on this subject and certainly a major or 'ideal-typical' case of the new interest.

A combination of circumstances, notably positivism, the new anatomical knowledge and the new revival of the taste for the antique in Europe, known as neo-classicism,

led Camper to the 'scientific' study of ancient Greek figural art. Through this study he aimed to discover the causes of what seemed to Europeans at least to be the 'universal' aesthetic validity of Greek art, i.e. the law of taste.

Camper disputed Winckelmann's "notions of ideal beauty" ¹⁰ and believed that beauty depended "on other circumstances"¹¹. Through a series of anatomical and comparative measurements he discovered the condition of human beauty to lie not in "mere opinion" as some philosophers had it, but to be an inherent quality of the object itself, "beautiful in itself"¹². He located it in the distinctive perpendicular facial angle of the head of the Greeks which they reproduced in their art ¹³. This belief was accepted well until the end of the nineteenth century and was not contradicted either by subsequent scientists or by new evidence regarding the Greek head which Pheidian art supplied.

However, in the course of the nineteenth-century, many scientists themselves advocated the beauty not only of the Greek head, but also of the Greek body and especially of the figure of the Greek athlete. This view was compatible with naturalist aesthetics. This was because, for many scientists, including the followers of Spencer and Darwin, the body of the Greek athlete was, by virtue - at least partly - of his very way of life, biologically perfect, i.e. represented the fullest embodiment of human nature: healthy and strong. The equation of beauty with the new biological ideal of health and strength was also sanctioned by classical Greek art itself - the statues of athletes.

Indeed, many scientists who taught at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and at the Royal Academy Schools championed a) the imitation by modern artists of Pheidian art, i.e. the work of the pupils of Ageladas, Pheidias, Polycletus and Myron the greatest of whom was Pheidias, and/or b) the representation of athletes as the means to the revival of modern art.

The acceptance by the artistic establishment in England and France of the new aesthetics of the Greek athlete which the life-scientists favoured is evident in the

literary material which we find in the libraries of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and of the Royal Academy Schools at that time. They both included new books on Polycletus, the sculptor of young athletes. In France we find Schadow's Polycletus (first publ. 1834 ; 1866 second ed.) and in England Story's The Proportions of the Human Figure etc. (1866) whose contents I discussed above. Story classified the Diadumenos as "perfect man" and Schadow declared that "the beauty of the human body is shown in the symmetry of the various parts, as clearly explained in the Canon of Polycletus"¹⁴.

Not only the male but also the female classical Greek figural type, i.e. Greek women who were also represented in Greek art and whose forms like those of their male counterparts swelled with muscle, were also admired. Indeed, the Venus de Milo¹⁵ was seen as the typical embodiment of young female athletic beauty. The Medici Venus is the most frequently stated statue in anatomical manuals in discussions of classical images of Greek women and represents a more mature and motherly figural formal type. Finally, Knox's manual included a description of the Niobe from the famous Niobe group in the Uffizi in Florence.

In France, the belief that the young Greek athlete was the most beautiful human body was upheld by anthropological scientists and positivist art theorists throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, from Taine as well as Gobineau to Duval and Cuyet. This belief was opposed to what Duval and Cuyet saw as the tendency of modern European culture to favour "La culture de l'intelligence"¹⁶ at the expense of "la beauté athlétique"¹⁷ [my emphasis]. Indeed, in their 1898 Histoire they stressed that the consequences of this one-sided culture were disastrous for many aspects of the life of the "peuples civilisés", and not least for their art.

In order to illustrate the latter claim, Duval and Cuyet pointed to the example and history of Greek art. As Greek art was figural and naturalist, it depended entirely on the human nature which it had in front of it. They thus associated Greek athletic life with the beauty of Greek art. Duval himself had already indicated this connexion in his earlier Precis of 1883 : "la vie du gymnase dût-elle exercer une influence décisive

sur l'art grec" ¹⁸. Indeed, he explained the beauty of Greek naturalist art by the beauty of its models, who were real men, the winners at the athletic contests. These victorious athletes were considered by the Greeks as the model embodiments of strength and beauty : "comme les modèles de la force et de la beauté"¹⁹ [my emphases]. The Greeks considered their athletes as beautiful because they were the realisation through a system of exercises of a particular conception of the beautiful body. As Duval and Cuyet observed,

"les maîtres, en véritables artistes, exerçaient le corps pour lui donner non seulement la vigueur, la résistance et la vitesse, mais aussi la symétrie et l'élégance"²⁰[my emphasis]

Duval emphasised the fact that Greek sculpture of the best period of Greek art consisted essentially in "statues athlétiques"²¹, in representations of athletes. In both books the Greek aesthetic appreciation of the athletic body is proven by the practice of Pheidias. It was stressed that as great a Greek sculptor as he would represent the form of the athlete in his work, "le beau Pantarcès, vainqueur célèbre des jeux olympiques"²² [my emphasis]. Finally Duval pointed out that art declined in Greece at the same time as physical exercises were abandoned, and with them the desire for and admiration of the athletic body : "voyons-nous la décadence de l'art marcher parallèlement avec l'abandon des exercices du gymnase"²³.

In Britain too we find the same taste among scientists for the young male athletic body and the appeal to the practices of Greek artists to legitimate this claim. Marshall for example pointed out to R.A. art students that the ancient Greek artists chose to observe and represent "the living figure....at all periods of life, and especially in its noblest forms of youth and early manhood, draped, partly draped, and even nude, in public processions...in the civil contests of boxers, quoit throwers and charioteers..."²⁴ Knox too in his Manual stressed, against the neo-classicists

that, "There is,...no such thing as "ideal beauty"²⁵ and advocated the natural beauty of Pheidias art. Thus,

"First comes truth, and next taste. Visit the Elgin Gallery in the Museum [meaning the British Museum]...All is elegance and ease ; all beauty and truth"²⁶

One is reminded of Arnold's later maxim of "sweetness and light" which Knox, the anatomist, was already advocating for art. This view he shared at that time with such influential artists as the Westmacotts, both great champions of the Elgin Marbles : Sir Richard Westmacott (1775-1856) and his son Richard (1799-1872). They both became Professors of Sculpture at the Royal Academy, the father between 1827 and 1856 and the son immediately after him, between 1857 and 1868²⁷. Richard the son, was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1837 and was a writer on art²⁸.

Finally, the aesthetic preference of scientists and scientifically minded artists for the young male athletic body can also be seen in the publication of methods or "canons", like Story's and Schadow's which were intended to show to artists how to achieve images of this particular figural type. As Story put it,

"What is needed by the artist is...some simple method which shall not only be geometrical and scientific in itself, but perfectly intelligible and easy of practical application"²⁹

Hellenism in art and the dilemma between the hero and the athlete

Muscular development as displayed in the Greek athlete who typified Greek youth of the classical age was a new aesthetic object in nineteenth century British and French art theory. The new figural type which this new art theory advocated for modern artistic practice was at variance with the reposing, smooth and practically ineffectual figures of the neo-classical artists "calm, beautiful and serene", undisturbed by the active pursuit of beauty or of duties and passions. The change was radical.

However, the new figural aesthetic ideal, the "beauté virile", manly beauty³⁰, was very specifically defined. The beauty of muscular development was not unqualified.

In fact, nineteenth century French and British anthropological scientists made clear in their manuals their distinction between two social and at the same time physical types, the 'hero' and the pure or professional 'athlete'. Indeed, it has generally been recognised, as Kenneth Clark has observed, that the Greeks distinguished between two main male social roles and physical types, the hero and the athlete ³¹. In nineteenth-century anthropological science, these could be distinguished 'externally', i.e. anatomically, by the degree of their muscular development and/or 'internally' in their character and hence to some extent in their actions.

The perfect Greek body was that of the 'hero' or warrior. As I showed above, scientists stressed that the perfect Greek body was the result of rational, purposeful athletic practices aimed at a particular muscular development which should be achieved but not surpassed. Scientists thus agreed with the Greeks that athletics per se and the associated excessive muscularity were contrary to perfection. With the pursuit and achievement of this particular standard of muscular development, came health, strength and beauty. Muscular development was also seen by both Greeks and modern scientists as not only bound by this physical model but also as tempered and balanced by the development of 'internal' qualities, moral, intellectual and aesthetic. This balance was considered to be, then as now, the measure of the perfect man who had 'mens sana in corpore sano'. Otherwise, athletics and with them muscular development were irrational or of no cultural value.

In art criticism the distinction between the hero and the athlete went back to the eighteenth century. We find it in the dispute over the subject of Agasias' famous figure variously known as the Borghese Gladiator and the Warrior of Agasias. This dispute is most revealing of the importance of the distinction between the hero and the athlete. Many art critics and artists like Winckelmann had refused to see a professional athlete and public entertainer in what they judged to be an "extremely noble and incomparable sculpture"³² Fuseli too preferred the characterisation of the statue to be the Warrior of Agasias. By 1830 the name of the room in which it was placed in the Louvre combined both identifications but gave priority to the heroic interpretation of the action by means of the following formulation : "Salle du Héros

Combattant, dit le Gladiateur"³³.

The distinction between the heroic and the athletic figure was taken up by mid-nineteenth century anthropological-anatomical thought. Hercules, as a sub-type of the Greek male type became identified on both sides of the Channel as embodying the disadvantages of an exclusively athletic life. Antoine-Louis-Julien Fau, in his study of human psychology as expressed by modifications of external and internal organs and features, included in his list of "temperaments" an "athletic temperament". It was physically characterised by an excessive muscular development which Fau associated with a particular intellectual development. This temperament could be seen in its fullest manifestation in the figure of Hercules:

"Prédominance du système musculaire, intelligence faible et parfois complètement nulle".

In fact the intellectual faculties were replaced "presque entièrement...par des instincts animaux"³⁴ This low intelligence could be seen in the following traits : the development of the low maxillary bone, a trait which anatomists and physiognomists saw as characteristic of animals³⁵, a small head , "la tête petite ; à quoi bon une vaste enveloppe pour une intelligence étroite ?" For the rest,

"Un cou épais et court...mais on remarque surtout les vastes proportions des épaules et de la poitrine, la solidité des reins et la formidable musculature des membres"³⁶

In Britain Robert Knox, in his 1852 Manual pointed to the same weaknesses of the Herculean variety of the Greek male types. This is not surprising since Knox was not only partly French trained but also because he also translated in 1848 Fau's manual into English³⁷. He also used Fau's observation of the existence of a particular kind of temperament which distinguished the professional athletes, the so-called athletic temperament. Finally, Knox relied on the authority of ancient writers regarding the external and internal features of the Herculean character. Thus Knox defined the athlete by his "mental character and the forms indicating that character"³⁸ in the following terms:

"Homer, and after him Virgil, described the athlete perfectly ; the bull-necked prize-fighter ; the Ajax, of matchless courage, intrepidity, daring ; fearless of man, but unintellectual, gross, and brutal"³⁹.

He also included a drawing "from a bust of the Young Hercules ; the finest specimen

of the true athlete or prize-fighter"⁴⁰.

In the later manuals of artistic anatomy there is however a change. The earlier distinction between the hero and the professional athlete becomes blurred. This fusion and near-complete identity of the two social and physical types may be seen as culminating in Rochet's remark that the beautiful Greeks produced athletes : "des athlètes que produisait le beau peuple grec !" ⁴¹ Furthermore, we find the leading French Professors of anatomy at the École des Beaux-Arts like Duval and Cuyer trying to ennoble the athlete by drawing attention to the social virtues which the athletes in Greece required. Duval in his 1883 manual told artists that being a professional athlete in Greece was the most glorious occupation for a man ; this was because only the most beautiful and moral were admitted to this profession:

"la profession d'athlète était considérée comme la plus glorieuse : une profession qu'on exerçait en effet qu'à la condition d'être beau et irréprochable constituant par cela même une véritable noblesse"⁴²

Finally, Duval and Cuyer stressed that the great Greek heroes, strategists and generals were recruited from among the athletes which indicated not only the physical strength and beauty of the Greek military leaders but also the intellectual and moral virtues of the best athletes, "ces hommes qui pouvaient ultérieurement être appelés à devenir les généraux en chef de leurs concitoyens"⁴³. Finally, and as we saw above, scientists pointed out that athletics had been practised by all Greek citizens and that it had been a social institution even among the high ranks of the heroes of the Iliadic age : "déjà dans Homère, les héros luttent, lancent le disque, se disputent le prix de la course, soit à pied, soit en char..."⁴⁴

In Britain, the same opinion was expressed in 1860, though not by a scientist but by the archaeologist and architect Edward Falkener (1814-1896) in his book Daedalus ; or the causes and principles of the excellence of Greek sculpture, a copy of which we find in the R.A. library⁴⁵. In this book, Falkener considered the status of the athlete in ancient Greece⁴⁶. He pointed out that the Greek athlete was a moral man with "noble and generous sentiments" and was recruited from the upper strata of the citizens. Furthermore, slaves were prohibited from exercising themselves in the palaestra and so were all those who were employed "in mean and servile acts"

because "the pursuits we are engaged in wholly engross our thoughts"⁴⁷

In Part III of my study I shall try to show the social significance of firstly this centrality of the athlete in anatomical manuals and especially in French manuals, and secondly of the attempt by anthropological scientists to aestheticise and ennoble the athlete by making reference to the Greek maxim of "mens sana in corpore sano" .

Physical Anthropology and Ethnographic art : science into art

(i) The specificity of nineteenth-century ethnographic works of art

We can now understand the emergence and pattern of images of foreign peoples, including images of Greeks in British and French nineteenth century art by reference to certain changes in the structure of science and art theory at that time. These images were the realisation or implementation of the new ethnographic principle of artistic practice whose existence in nineteenth-century art theory I documented above.

Indeed, if we compare the content of nineteenth-century art theories with that of nineteenth century art practice, we discover that they match in their common focus on human physical variation. This match suggests that artists were guided by or conformed with the new ethnographic art principles which were an important element of nineteenth century artistic culture.

This culture⁴⁸ justifies the label of "ethnographic art" for images of foreign peoples in British and French art and unites these works of art, as a distinct feature of nineteenth century art, into a single artistic movement. Furthermore, unless one considers the connexion between anthropological science and ethnographic art, one misses a) the peculiarity of nineteenth century ethnographic art as "racial" art, i.e. as the representation of the human races and b) the systematic, i.e. theoretical and deliberate rather than piecemeal and incidental nature of the existence of images of foreign peoples in British and French nineteenth-century art.

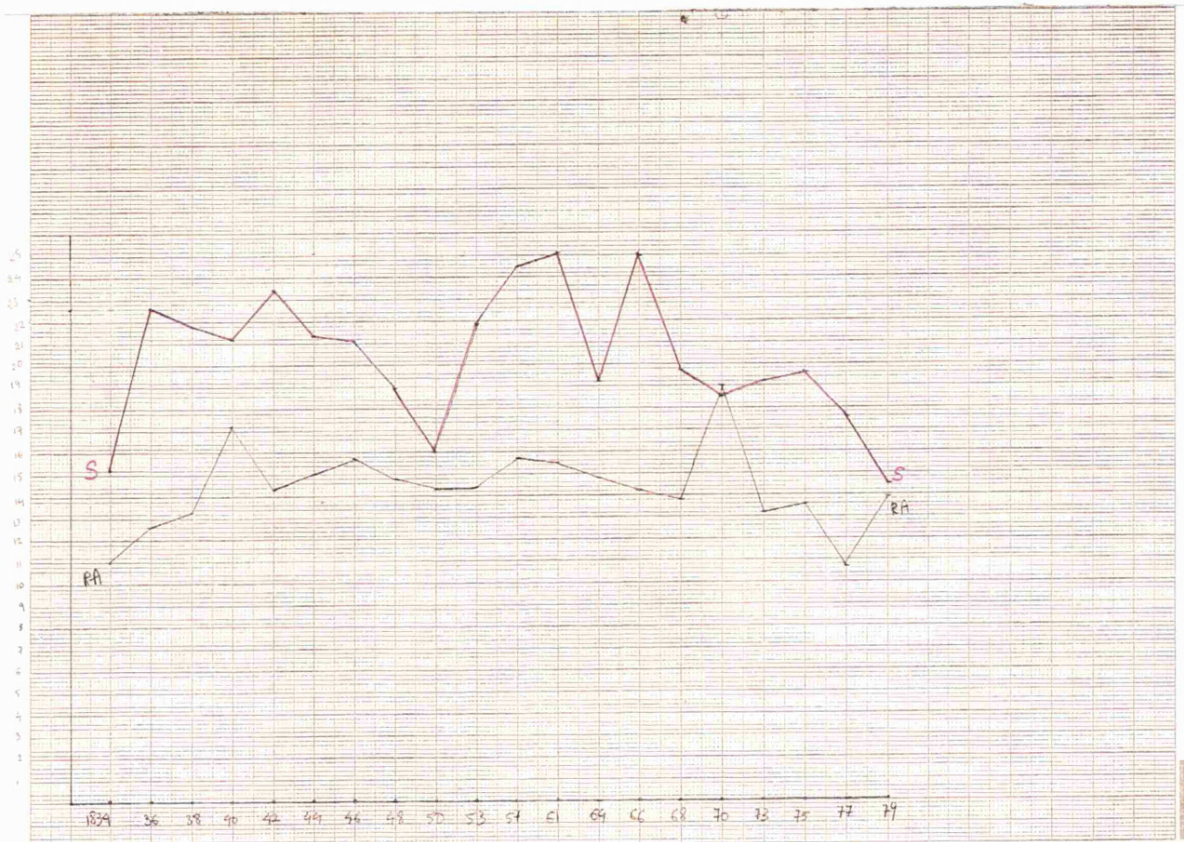
Nineteenth century academic education guided artists through the study of human anatomy towards the new anthropological ideas, i.e. the new scientific view of man, and towards the new maxim of artistic practice, that modern art should be truthful and ethnographic. This knowledge and this principle supplied artists with a new representational problem. It was thus that nineteenth-century ethnographic art emerged⁴⁹.

Racial art, as the nineteenth century version of ethnographic art, was the achievement of the goal of nineteenth century British and French artists not only to please the eyes but also to inform their public by describing with paint, colour, stone or marble the human races. This meant the description of more than the different ways of life of different human societies. It meant firstly the description of the anatomical differences dividing mankind into 'races', and secondly the juxtaposition of different bodies with different ways of life to indicate their causal connexion according to the principle of racial determinism. Nineteenth century ethnographic art is thus for us a document of an important element of nineteenth-century British and French cultural attention, the human body.

(ii) Physical Anthropology and artistic practice in Britain and France

We can now compare briefly the statistical pattern of ethnographic works in the official art of the two countries with the historical pattern of anthropological ideas during this period and show the correspondence between ethnographic art and the anthropological ideas which marked most spheres of nineteenth-century English and French culture. For a more detailed description of the statistical pattern of ethnographic art in the two countries, see Part I of this study.

GRAPH 6: Pattern of works on foreign subjects in the Royal Academy and the Salon as percentages of the total exhibits in each year: 1833-1880



The proportion of foreign or rather ethnographic subjects out of the total number of exhibits per year in the Royal Academy annual exhibitions increases over time. The proportion of ethnographic works of art out of all exhibits becomes stable from the mid-1840s to the mid-1860s with an average of 15% and then declines in the 1870s. The proportion of 'ethnographic art' out of all exhibits reaches its peak in 1870 when these works occupy 19% of all exhibits as compared with 11% at the beginning of my period in 1834. The average proportion of ethnographic art for the whole period at the R.A. is 14.35 %. In the Salon too there is an increase of ethnographic works of art over time. However, there is also a higher proportion of 'ethnographic art' in the annual exhibitions as compared with the Royal Academy. In the Salon 'ethnographic art' occupies on the average 19.8 % of all exhibits in the whole period with a maximum of 25.1 % in 1861. These are quite significant proportions.

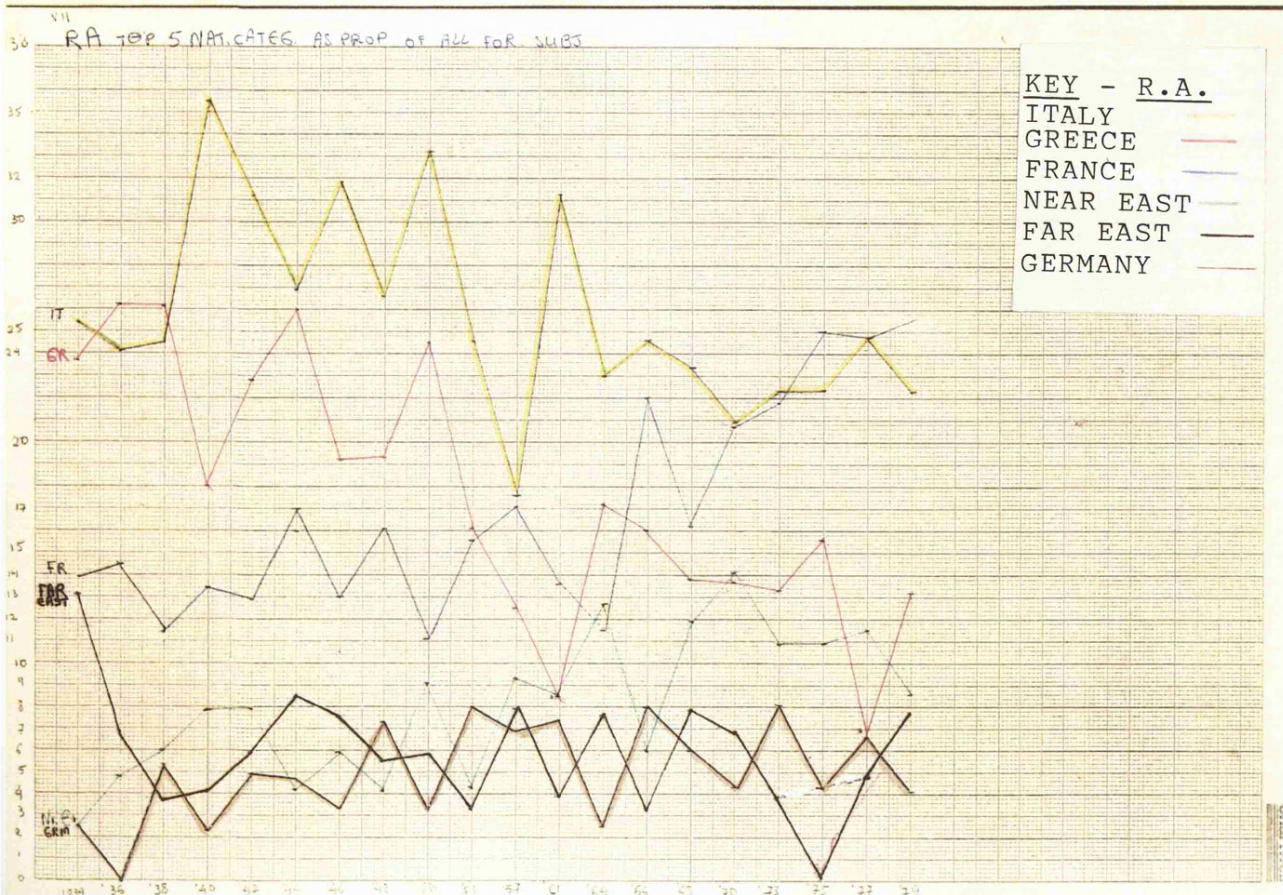
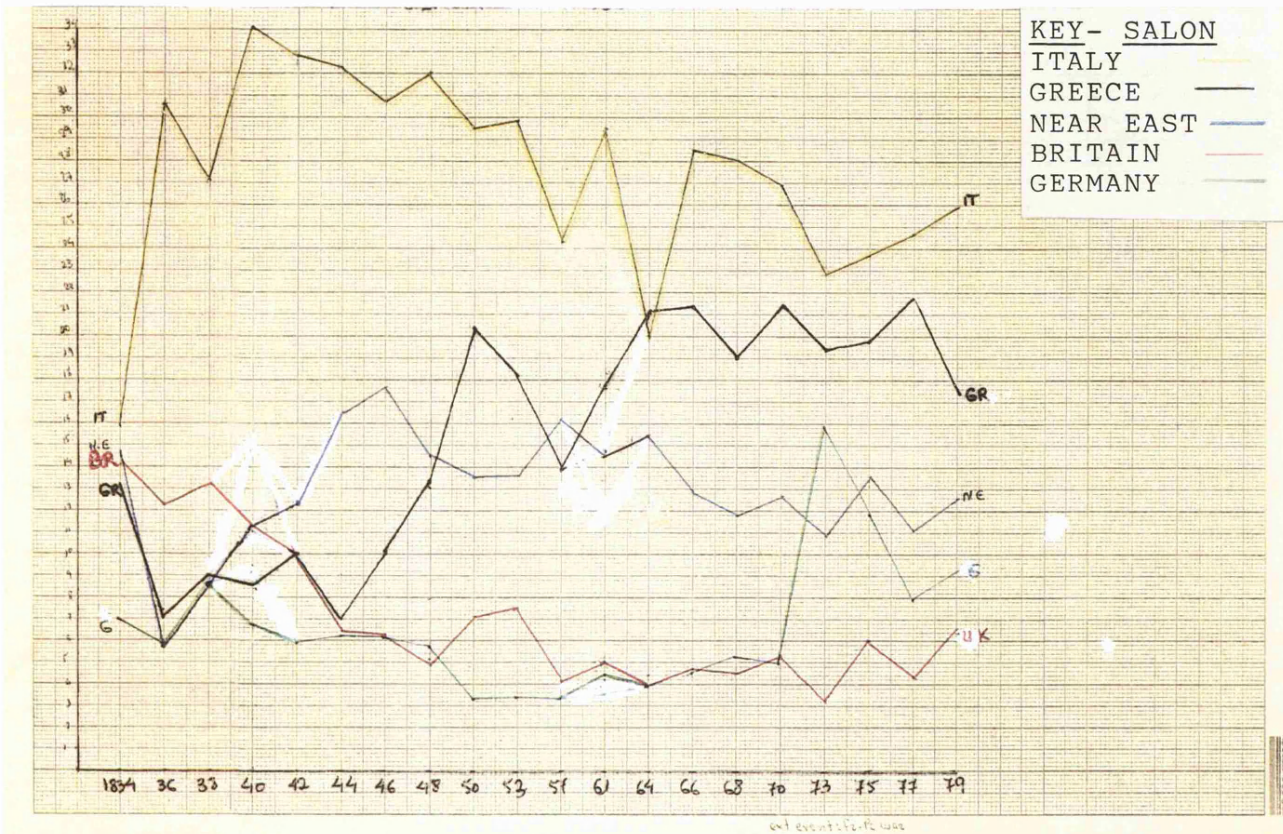
We cannot understand nineteenth-century artists' interest in ethnographic art unless we know the scientific and social interest in man and the discovery of man's physical varieties which characterised that century. Indeed, the statistics of ethnographic art correspond to and indeed may be explained by the history of the life-sciences during the nineteenth century and by the expansion of their ideas in other spheres of social life including art theory and education. The increase of these works during the 1850s and 1860s corresponds to the mid-century rise of Physical Anthropology⁵⁰. Furthermore, the distribution of works of art among different 'ethnic' or 'racial' types, can be understood, at least partly, by reference to the anthropological hierarchies of mankind which all academically trained artists knew and acted upon.

Thus, the high biological, cultural and aesthetic value which physical anthropologists placed on the ancient Greek ethnic type together with the new classical aesthetics correspond to the statistical importance of works on Greek subjects in both British and French art. Indeed, Greek subjects occupy overall, if not the first, at least the second rank position in both British and French ethnographic art after Italian subjects. The predominance of Italian subjects in ethnographic art may be explained, at least partly, by the traditional artistic and educational attachment of West Europeans to Italy, by their use of Italy as a source of Greek culture and by the difficulty of

applying the distinction between 'Greek' and 'Italian' in images of ancient sites such as Agrigento in Sicily which was settled and built by Greeks in 580 B.C.. Finally, among Greek subjects, there is a smaller proportion of modern Greek subjects as compared with ancient Greek subjects in both countries. Artists' preference for ancient Greek subjects matches the anthropological disputes over the racial identity of the modern Greeks which I examined in an earlier chapter⁵¹.

If we now enquire into the distribution of ethnographic works among the different human 'races' in the R.A. and the Salon, the following two graphs indicate the main tendencies of English and French artists :

GRAPH 7: Comparison of the patterns of the annual rates of the major five national categories in the Salon and the Royal Academy as percentages of all works on foreign subjects in each year: 1833-1880



According to the above graphs and the tables which I presented in chapter 1, the anthropological distinction between the European race and the Non-European races corresponds to a statistical predominance of European subjects in the art of both countries. Indeed, artists' preference for European subjects corresponds to the anthropological belief in the cultural and aesthetic superiority of the Europeans as compared with other 'races'. In fact, within 'ethnographic' art, I found nearly the same average proportion of European subjects per year in the annual exhibitions of both countries : 80.53 % per annum in the R.A. and 79.8 % per annum in the Salon.

The interest of Romanticism in the exotic in the sense of non-European is also evident in artistic practice. This took the form of oriental subjects which were taken up by many artists and members of the public. Indeed, works on 'Near-Eastern' subjects occupy statistically an important position in the official art of both countries. They rank among the five most frequent ethnic categories, coming fourth in the Royal Academy and fifth in the Salon. As Maryanne Stevens has remarked, the "impressive increase in the number of pictures depicting strange lands and peoples....[which] outnumbered the traditionally dominant subjects of classical nudes and history paintings" was noticed and welcomed by the art critic Theophile Gautier in his 1857 Salon review⁵².

Nevertheless, we cannot fully understand the existence and thematic and statistical patterns of works of art on Greek subjects in the two countries unless we examine the scientific ideas about the 'ethnic' or 'racial' identity of the British and the French themselves. Indeed, images of Greeks and of ancient Greeks in particular were more than artists' attempts simply to inform about what the ancient Greeks looked like or to please the eyes by showing what was believed to be physical human beauty. Rather, such works had a specifically national and practical significance for both English and French societies. In Part III which follows I shall show the social significance of scientific ideas and classifications of the Greeks in Britain and France, and thereby the social significance of artists' images of Greeks.

PART III: PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

CHAPTER 7:

THE GREEK BODY IN CHRISTIAN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

In this chapter I shall consider the religious significance of the new scientific ideas about the human body in general and the Greek body in particular. In religious debates too and in both Britain and France we find a new focus on the human body and particularly on the Greek body as an important element of the nineteenth-century British and French Christian world image, ethics and institutions. I shall show that this religious change was the result of the interaction, i.e. of exchanges, between on the one hand Judaeo-Christian themes and on the other the development of materialist and positivist philosophies of man and of the scientific study of the human body by Physical Anthropologists.

1. The British case: Physical Anthropology and its philosophical and Christian meanings

1.(i). Physical Anthropology, materialism and positivism

The scientific interest in man which resulted in the development of Physical Anthropological knowledge from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards was, initially, largely an autonomous, i.e. non-religious phenomenon. It was not a development within Christian thought. However, it had certain important consequences for Christian thought. This was because Physical Anthropology was connected with the (re-)emergence in western European culture of two philosophies of the world : materialism and humanism. Materialism was developed during the second half of the eighteenth century by Lamettrie, Holbach, Helvetius and others¹. It had two main tenets : firstly it challenged the belief in the existence of God and degraded man to a mere animal and a machine, and secondly it drew attention to the

scientific study of man as a body rather than a mind or spirit².

Humanism, as this was developed by nineteenth-century positivists, advocated "la religion de l'humanité elle-même"³. In this context, Physical Anthropology was developed as the new theology. It set out to discover the nature of man, "l'humanité essentielle"⁴, with the aim of setting up humanity in its most perfect external and internal form, i.e. in that "excellence....dont les grands hommes sont l'expression", as the "Grand Être", i.e. the god of what Comte called the positive age. Perfect humanity was thus advocated as a source of culture, i.e. as the goal of nineteenth-century European men's intellectual, moral and aesthetic energies, "vers laquelle [meaning excellence] tous les hommes doivent s'élever"⁵. Positivism contradicted the hitherto Judaeo-Christian derived cultural devaluation of man and neglect of the human body.

Another early nineteenth century event, this time archaeological, namely the discovery of the peculiarities of fifth century B.C. Greek art also played a considerable part in the development of these new ideas. The example of Pheidias art re-inforced the development of Physical Anthropology, i.e. the development of a scientific knowledge of man. It also re-inforced the humanism of positivists who took man as the measure of all things. Indeed, the realisation that fifth century B.C. Greek religious art, i.e. the sculptures of the temple of Athena Parthenos, or those of the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius in Aegina, showed real men, not superhuman or supernatural beings, was stunning. The fact that the temples of the period of Greece's highest civilisational achievement - which was in fact largely the work of Athens - were monuments to men not Gods, that the Gods who guided fifth century B.C. Greece were men, and vigorous men at that, was received by many with enthusiasm. This fact also contradicted the neo-classical account of Greek religious conceptions as idealist, i.e. as the result of imagination rather than observation, and of their Gods as pretty⁶ as well as supernatural beings. These views had been based on later Greek religious sculpture. Walter Pater expressed the new view of Greek religion most fully in his essay The Marbles of Aegina. In them he recognised "the full expression of...humanism...the freshest sense of that new-found inward value...the presence of

man..."⁷

1.(ii). Physical Anthropology and its Christian meanings

The new ideas and values about man which positivist humanism and materialism proposed, and the acceptance of scientific knowledge as a source of truth and a basis of all action in educated circles had two important religious consequences. Firstly, they contradicted Judaeo-Christian religion, with respect to its ultimate explanation of the world and its current ideas, values and ethics regarding man and the human body. Secondly, they changed religious thought. The new philosophical affirmation of the materiality of man and the introduction of man into the cultural universe of scientific study, morality (orientation to his wishes) and aesthetic value caused the following changes in nineteenth-century Christianity : a review of Biblical accounts of man and of the human body; a revival and extension of certain hitherto neglected themes about the human body from the Judaeo-Christian repertoire through their convergence with these themes ; and the emergence of certain new theological and ethical questions.

Thus, we find in religious writings of this period a focus on the following themes from the Judaeo-Christian repertoire : a) man's relationship to nature. This was the belief in the "Wisdom, the Logos, by whom God made the world"⁸, i.e. the belief in the existence of a single unified order rather than flux pervading all things in the universe including man as God's creation ; b) the remembrance of man's original divinity or perfection as created in God's own image, "In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him" (Gen.5.1.) ; c) the degeneration of man, i.e. man's physical and moral differentiation or separation from nature and God through the 'fall', "Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground..." (Gen 3.23) ; d) the further division and hierarchy of mankind into three races and the physical and moral downgrading of the African race. This theme was taken from the story of Noah and his three sons Shem, Ham and Japhet and the curse of Ham and his son Canaan, "...Cursed be Canaan ; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren" (Gen 9.25); e) the idea of Christ's humanity,

i.e. Christ's re-embodiment of God's design of the human body, a theme taken from the doctrine of the Incarnation, "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us" (St John's Gospel 1.14)⁹ Christ was the "assumption of a finely adapted and perfect human nature by the Divine Word"¹⁰; and f) the idea of salvation, i.e. reconciliation and re-unification of man with God through man's re-recovery of and obedience to God's will through the study and administration of the natural and social world. This knowledge which had been lost to man since the 'fall' was now extended to the recovery of not only man's 'internal' but also 'external' perfection, i.e. divine body.

The focus on these themes amounted to a revival of Natural Theology to which I shall return. Put briefly, Natural Theology was the belief in the manifestation of the divine will in nature. The materialist challenge to Christianity and the revival of Natural Theology which it produced, caused the association of Physical Anthropological research with religious interests. Christian Physical Anthropologists saw their work as serving two religious goals : firstly it was a means to a scientific confirmation of Biblical truth against their materialist colleagues regarding the existence of God through the study of the human body ; secondly it was a vocation : they set out to discover a) the features of perfect original human nature as God had designed it in his own image and Christ had re-embodied it and as distinct from pathological, i.e. degenerate forms of humanity ; and b) the means whereby man could administer his body in order to recover its original perfection and hence its physical similarity or community with God.

The development of Natural Theology from the later part of the eighteenth century onwards and the impetus which it gave to Physical Anthropological research, is largely due to the Anglican priest William Paley (1743-1805). His books A View of the Evidences of Christianity of 1794 and Natural Theology of 1802, expounded his view of the religious function of science and also the teleological argument of the existence of God "from design in nature", which now included human nature, the body. These views were widely accepted until the end of the nineteenth century¹¹ although Darwin's theory of evolution finally discredited them¹².

Nevertheless, many scientists were moved in their scientific work by this belief. These included Sir Charles Bell. Bell is a famous ideal-typical case of the nineteenth-century connexion between physical anthropological science and religion. He was the son of a clergyman of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. In 1833 he published a treatise entitled The Hand its Mechanism and Vital Endowments as evincing Design. In the preface he stated the religious goal of his anatomical studies. He declared that he was an "anatomical teacher, who is himself aware of the higher bearings of his science". He also declared that his researches had demonstrated that "design and benevolence were every where visible in the natural world".

Bell ranked himself with "the English school of Physiology" who undertook to expose the

"futility of the opinions of those French philosophers and physiologists, who represented life as the mere physical result of certain combinations and actions of parts, by them termed Organization"¹³

Finally, Bell's treatise was one, and in fact the fourth, of the Bridgewater Treatises which had been instituted by the Right Honourable and Reverend Francis Henry, Earl of Bridgewater. In his will, the Earl stipulated that after his death (which occurred in 1829) a series of treatises should be written, "On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation..."¹⁴

1.(ii).1. The new Natural Theology: Physical Anthropology and changes in Protestant ideas about the human body

The belief in natural theology and the association which it established between religion and science was a feature of Protestant Christianity which went back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, the Enlightenment's maxim of life, "*Aude sapere !*" which contributed to the development of Physical Anthropology matched and revived the Reformation's maxim of "*Homo minister et interpres naturae*"¹⁵. This principle had, since its formulation by Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and its establishment in Britain, encouraged scientific research. It was a particular

interpretation of the Bible.

Nineteenth-century Christian natural theology was different from the natural theology of the Reformation as it was actually established. Indeed, the belief in the divinity and hence positive value of man and the scientific study of man as a vocation were quite contrary to original Protestant theology which was, in a sense, like mediaeval natural theology ; in Pater's words, "a thing of birds and flowers"¹⁶.

Luther's reforms included the cleansing of the Christian Church from the arrogance of a pagan humanism which the revived study of ancient Greek culture was suspected to nurture¹⁷. Calvin reminded his contemporaries of the "fall and defection of Adam the cause of the curse inflicted on all mankind, and of the degeneracy from their primitive condition"¹⁸. Protestantism thus restored, with the Counter-Reformation, the cult of the "fall". This excluded the body of post-lapsarian man from the universe of sacred things as unholy, "that he is flesh",¹⁹ i.e. weakness.

This view which became firmly established in northern Europe, together with the success of the Counter-Reformation in southern Europe marginalised the study of man as a partaker of divine nature ²⁰ and a source of divine knowledge. With this devaluation of man in the universe, the study of human anatomy which the Renaissance had encouraged declined and was only moderately pursued in northern Europe. John Ray (1627-1705) was one of the first to study human nature scientifically but also one of the few to do so in conformity with Natural Theology. His search for the divine will in and regarding the human body was taken up much later by Paley whose Natural Theology was based on Ray's "The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation" (1691)²¹.

The new Christian revaluation and interest in man was expressed and given additional authority by Walter Pater. In his 1871 essay on the fifteenth century monk and humanist philosopher Pico della Mirandola, Pater supported the worship of man and of the human body by pointing to Pico's conviction "that man is a little world...and a likeness to God" ²². Pater also gave a new meaning to Bacon's

maxim by emphasising man in the "Homo interpres"²³. The same ideas were expressed by Thomas and Matthew Arnold, both representatives of the new liberal and scientific Broad Church movement²⁴. Matthew Arnold told his contemporaries that man's life should be oriented "towards knowing himself and the world, seeing things as they are". He also advocated the identity of man and God : the humanity of God. Arnold criticised the popular conception of Jesus as a "magnified non-natural man" and emphasised like his father Thomas the "natural truth of Christianity"²⁵. Around the same time, in 1863, in France, this tendency reached its ultimate conclusion in a complete secularisation of Christ. Ernest Renan in his Vie de Jésus portrayed Christ as one of Comte's great but mortal heroes of humanity.

The naturalisation of Christ meant a conception of Christ not as merely **human**, but rather as having a perfect human nature, including a perfect body. However, the knowledge of the form of the perfect human body was needed for a complete Christian theology and for human salvation. The existence in the nineteenth-century of the idea of human ignorance of and search for God's will "in its entirety" is evident in Matthew Arnold's quotation in Culture and Anarchy (1869) from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord ?"²⁶. This search was now applied to the re-discovery of God's image as this was replicated in the body of Christ, the "perfect man".

To this end, divine revelation and apostolic accounts were inadequate. There were no Biblical descriptions of the precise appearance of the human body either before or after the "fall" nor of Christ's re-embodiment of God's design, as, according to St Paul, the 'second Adam'. It was thus through comparative anatomy as well as palaeontology and embryology that Christian Physical Anthropologists tried to find traces and thereby reconstruct the original human form.

The Physical Anthropologists' researches into human physical nature followed up scriptural cues, and the various conclusions which they drew from them had thus important and direct religious consequences: they offered solutions to new religious problems.

As I showed in my chapter on anthropological ideas about the Greeks, scientists identified the body of the fifth century B.C. Greek athlete with the biologically perfect human body. I also indicated the explicit connexion in the nineteenth century West between the Greek body and the body of the first man and of Christ. William Wetmore Story for example claimed a "scientific" identification of the body of the young Greek athlete with Christ's body and of both with the perfect human body, the "perfect man". Bell too associated the Greeks with the first man.

By the 1840s we find evidence of the Anglican adoption of the human body as a religious theme and of the Greek body as the body of the divine. Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury, is a case in point. In his 1841 Chapters on the Poets of Ancient Greece, he referred to "the unclothed symmetry of the wonderful frame with which the Creator has endowed us"²⁷. And he pointed out that,

"The Greeks were such a people as the world has seen by [sic] once...they grew up under the constant tuition and presence of natural beauty...the statuary and the painter could illustrate by living examples his rules of proportion"²⁸

Richard Jenkyns in his important study of Victorian Hellenism quotes another statement of the new Victorian religious awareness of bodily form and admiration of the Greek body as closest to God's design, and thereby to the image of God. He quotes Frederick Temple's reference to the "beauty which Greece taught us to admire, to show us an other aspect of the Divine Attributes"²⁹.

1.(ii).2. Physical Anthropology, Natural Theology and the new ethic of athletics

The new theology, i.e. the view of Christ as a young Greek athlete, had important practical implications for nineteenth-century Christians. This was because of the ethical principle of the "Imitatio Christi". According to this, man, in order to be reunited with God and hence to be saved, had to imitate Christ. This was because Christ's role, through his life and teachings, was to reveal to man more of God's will.

The vitality of the principle of "Imitatio Christi" in nineteenth century British Christian thought can be gauged by its presence in the writings of leading intellectuals and educationalists like Walter Pater and Matthew Arnold. Pater referred in 1864 to "the long struggle of the Imitatio Christi", established by Thomas a' Kempis³⁰. Matthew Arnold, around the same time in 1869, in his book Culture and Anarchy also mentioned "the Imitation"³¹ and focused on the Pauline idea "of being risen with Christ" [in italics in the original text]³² and of doing so "before the physical death of the body, and not after it"³³.

This was an important specification which distinguished nineteenth century British from French religious life. Although Catholicism condemned self-satisfaction, it commanded the French to pursue moral self-perfection and physical self-annulment as the price of a resurrection hereafter³⁴.

The new Protestant emphasis on Christ as not only "Word" but also "flesh" added a new ethical activity to the requirements of salvation. In addition to the imitation of Christ's moral character and behaviour, man should imitate Christ's body. This meant the imitation of the Greek body. Physical Anthropology also provided the means to the achievement of the new religious goal: the practice of athletics. Thus the Greek body became an element in the relation between man and God and athletics the means to the devotion of one's body to God. The mid-nineteenth century religious movement known as "muscular Christianity" marked the adoption of the new Christian view of manliness as "physical manliness"³⁵, to which I shall return.

The Protestant acceptance of the Greek body as the image of God was not only the result of the scientific establishment of the natural history of mankind but also the result of the convergence of ancient Greek with Protestant morality. Both cultures shared the principle of active asceticism³⁶, i.e. the belief that every man should actively administer nature in order to harmonise reality with the divine will. This "oneness" with the universe or the Father was seen as the goal of both ancient Greeks and Christians³⁷. According to Physical Anthropology, the body of the classical

Greek athlete was the successful achievement of this goal by means of the Greek devotion to the calculated discipline of the palaestra.

Walter Pater pointed to these affinities between Protestant asceticism and that of the Greek cult of disciplining and regulating the body and hence to the Christian conformity of the pursuit of the Greek body in Britain. In his 1894 essay The Age of Athletic Prizemen, Pater stressed that the Greeks had been "faithful" to God's will as formulated by Bacon in the principle of "Homo minister". The Greeks too obeyed the principle of the "administration" of the visible world to perfection. This they applied to the administration of the human body. They pursued and achieved "pure humanity" as typified in the Discobolus³⁸. These introduced the Greek body into Christian theory.

1.(ii).3. Aryanism and the religion of the European race

The further development of Physical Anthropology beyond anatomical descriptions, classifications and natural history to complete explanations of human social history to which the theory of racial determinism belongs, had important consequences for religious thought in Britain and for my purposes for the introduction of the Greek body into nineteenth century Christian theory and practice. The theory of the Aryan race is a case in point.

The religious significance of Aryanism consisted firstly in the racial division of mankind which it offered and secondly in its specification of the religio-cultural orientation which was appropriate to the 'nature' of the Aryan nations. The Aryan solution to the search by west European societies for both a religiously (Christian) and scientifically legitimate cultural identity had far reaching consequences.

Aryanism originated in Germany in the 1820s³⁹ among classicists and students of comparative philology. In fact, as I showed in another chapter, it was a philological classification, which eventually became incorporated into physical anthropological,

i.e. racial classifications. Aryanism introduced a new distinction into humankind. It added to the old polarisation between white and black peoples, the new polarisation between Aryan and Semitic languages and peoples within the white race. The term "Aryan" marked the association of the European and Indian nations, as the Biblical descendants of Japhet, into a single group. Aryanism also had a strong West European and specifically Greek and Germanic bias. It saw the north European, 'Germanic' nations including the English, as the purest descendants and hence modern carriers of the Aryan racial type. In the past, the ancient Greeks had most fully exemplified this type. Finally, Aryanism oriented attention to the Aryans as well as the Semites as the sole agents of civilisation in human history.

1.(ii).4. Aryanism and the opposition of Aryan and Semite

The relationship between the Aryans and the Semites and its implication for European religio-cultural identity was problematic. One view was that the two races were in "a perpetual struggle" ⁴⁰. This contradicted the European espousal of the established form of Christianity as contrary to their 'nature'. This was because Christianity contained both 'Semitic' (Old Testament) and 'Aryan' elements (Greek linguistic and philosophical elements which characterised the New Testament and patristic writings). The solution was to separate the Old from the New Testament in order to match the racial distinction between Semite and Aryan. Aryanism claimed Christianity as an Aryan religion, and Christ himself as an Aryan or Indian⁴¹.

Aryanism was a celebration of the so-called Aryan nations, i.e. the Europeans, as equal and even superior to the Semitic nations and especially the Hebrews. By claiming Christ as an Aryan, Aryanism did for the Europeans what the Old Testament had done for the Semites : it brought them near to God not only as the people whom God had chosen to know, carry as well as spread his will in the world⁴² but also as the genuine sons of God⁴³. Thus, Aryanism constructed a special, blood bond, between the Europeans and God which the Jewish nation had hitherto held exclusively as the only chosen nation.

Aryanism is important to my *argument* because it introduced Hellenic culture and with it the Greek body into British culture. This version of Aryanism assimilated Christianity and a selective view of Hellenic culture. This is evident in George Eliot's comment regarding her contemporaries' belief that Christ spoke Greek⁴⁴. Thomas Arnold, a priest and one of the greatest educational reformers, was a major agent of Aryanism in Britain during the second quarter of the century. Under the widespread interest in German thought which introduced into Britain the Aryan theory of history, as well as the Gothic-ism or Germanism and Hellen-ism which went with it known as Teutomania, Arnold sought "to get rid of all that was purely Semitic in Christianity and to make it Indo-Germanic"⁴⁵. This was because according to Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), the German Protestant theologian, "in the Christianity of us Western nations there was really much more Plato and Sokrates than of Joshua and David"⁴⁶.

However, as Leon Poliakov has discovered, for the British, unlike the Germans, the issue of the racial belonging of Christ did not become an important social concern: "aucun mouvement anglo-saxon n'a songé à soulever la question de l'"appartenance raciale" de l'homme-Dieu, tandis qu'en Allemagne, ce problème se trouvait déjà posé...dans la philosophie de Fichte."⁴⁷

Through Thomas Arnold, the Aryanist, 'scientific', assimilation of Socratic and Platonic philosophy with Christian morality re-inforced but also transformed English Christian ethics. The Greek view of the hero as a militant altruist was seen to match and thereby reinforce the chivalrous ethic which the mediaevalists of the first half of the nineteenth century sought to revive. Furthermore, mediaeval philosophy itself sanctioned this association which it had intuitively rather than 'scientifically' practised. This association had strengthened the conviction of the northern mediaeval knights who were admired for implementing its content most actively⁴⁸. This revived ethic of Gothic Europe added to the Protestant scientific and economic injunction to man to intervene in the administration of the natural world, the obligation to intervene in the administration of the social world as well, realising God's commandments. This meant the stopping or punishment of evil-doers and the protection of the weak by

means of physical force if necessary.

The discovery of the identity in many important respects between Christianity and Greek classical philosophy, also led to the adoption, around the second quarter of the century, of a hitherto alien theme in Christian ethics, namely, the Greek ethic of "corpore sano". The Greek institution of open air athletics was also adopted as the means to the achievement of physical strength and health which were now seen not only as the means to victory over evil, but also as the realisation of God's conception of man. Athletics thus became a religio-ethical activity.

Indeed, the institutionalisation of athletics in nineteenth century English education to serve these ends was Thomas Arnold's work. Furthermore, the theory of "muscular Christianity" was also largely derived from him. As Norman Vance has shown, the main theorists and propagators of this movement, namely the Reverend Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes had both been Arnold's pupils at Rugby public school⁴⁹.

1.(ii).5. Aryanism, monogenism, and the association between Hebrew and Hellene

From about the middle of the nineteenth century, British religious and cultural thinkers developed a new interpretation of Aryanism. The new tendency was to associate the Aryan and the Semite as either twin brothers, i.e. to assimilate them⁵⁰, or as complementary divisions of what was essentially common human nature and hence common culture. It was rather rare to separate and contrast them as incompatible enemies in a Manichean view of the world⁵¹. The adoption of the belief that Aryan culture, which meant Hellenic as its fullest embodiment, and Semitic which similarly meant Hebrew, were complementary and also divinely revealed cultures to their original carriers, introduced another aspect of ancient Greek culture into British religion.

This was a radical religious change. This version of Aryanism gave a scientific

justification to the explicit introduction into British society of the pursuit of physical beauty in one's own person as a religious obligation. This was an aspect of human life which the humanists had advocated. However, the revival of Gothic, mediaeval Christianity by the 1830s Oxford movement had excluded it from the religious life.

The adoption and propagation of this interpretation of Aryanism is evident in the case of William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898). Gladstone was a Liberal politician and four times Prime Minister between 1868 and 1894, a prolific classicist and a deeply religious High Church Anglican. He was also actively involved in shaping British education. By virtue of these capacities his views were most influential.

Gladstone accepted the distinction between Aryan and Semite. But he advocated their equal religious worth and complementary role in human history. The former consisted in the fact that both Aryans and Semites were chosen by God to know and practically exemplify for the rest of humanity God's plan of human salvation.

As Frank Turner has pointed out, Gladstone became convinced from 1858 onwards of the "communion of God with various peoples before the covenant with Abraham".⁵² He claimed that his study of the Homeric epics and their myths showed,

"that the Aryan family had for a time preserved to itself, in broad outline, no small share of those treasures of which the Semitic family of Abraham were to be the appointed guardians, on behalf of mankind, until the fulness of time should come"⁵³

The complementarity of the two races consisted in a division of labour which God established between the Aryan Greeks and the Hebrews regarding the plan of salvation. In his rector's address of 1865 at Edinburgh, Gladstone explained that while the Jews had been fulfilling their particular God-ordained mission to guard the law specifying man's relationship to God, "there was other work to do, and it was done elsewhere". Much of that work had been accomplished by the Greeks⁵⁴. This work included the capacity for art, science, philosophy, commerce, government. These and other so-called secular activities which provided for the quality of life on earth were natural to mankind as creatures of God and so their fulfilment was also God-ordained⁵⁵.

Finally, Gladstone stressed the significance of Greek culture as a condition of salvation. He pointed to the conformity of the apparently secular activities of the Greeks with the explicit Old Testament commandment to man to achieve self-realisation, i.e. to realise man's God-given, 'natural' potentialities⁵⁶. The view of Greek culture as the means to human self-realisation became commonplace. Walter Pater characterised Hellenism in his 1864 essay entitled Diaphaneité, as "the spirit that...realises the given conditions of its life"⁵⁷.

Matthew Arnold too, stressed the complementarity of the Aryan Greek and Semitic Hebrew cultures. He saw Hebraism and Hellenism as the means to human self-knowledge⁵⁸ and self-perfection which was the God-willed aim of man, "the Divine Injunction "Be ye Perfect""⁵⁹. They were "the most signal and splendid manifestations" of mankind's "forces".

Matthew Arnold, following Aryanist distinctions, saw man as having two sides, "both the sides in man"⁶⁰. The one side was man's requirement and power for aesthetic pleasure and understanding. The other side was man's love of or sense of obligation to other men and to God. The Greeks discovered the one side of man, the need for what he called "sweetness and light" which they satisfied in the body of the young athletes and in positive knowledge. The Hebrews discovered and satisfied the other side by means of the Mosaic moral law. Hellenism and Hebraism were the means to the knowledge and perfection of "the whole man"⁶¹.

Arnold explained the separation of the two sides in human history as the result of human ignorance of itself. He criticised the maintenance of their separation now that science had discovered their unity and argued for the "balance"⁶² of "Hebraism and Hellenism" in British culture. As he put it, "between these two points of influence moves our world...and it ought to be, though it never is, evenly and happily balanced between them"⁶³. This meant the introduction of Hellenism and for my purposes of the "sweetness" of the Greek body into British culture as well as the maintenance of Hebraism which characterised Protestant Christianity.

Indeed, Arnold justified scientifically his claim to a combination of Hellenism and Hebraism in British society by reference to two anthropological theories⁶⁴ : Darwin's recent establishment of the unity of mankind, known as monogenism⁶⁵ and Aryanism. Regarding the latter, he claimed that although the British people were a pre-eminently Indo-European race, they had some Semitic 'fibres', a view with which non-British intellectuals like the French Aryanist theologian Ernest Renan also concurred⁶⁶. Thus, *Matthew Arnold claimed that,*

"Science has now made visible to everybody the great and pregnant elements of difference which lie in race, and in how signal a manner they make the genius and history of an Indo-European people vary from those of a Semitic people. Hellenism is of Indo-European growth, Hebraism is of Semitic growth ; and we English, a nation of Indo-European stock, seem to belong naturally to the movement of Hellenism. But nothing more strongly marks the essential unity of man than the affinities we can perceive, in this point or that, between members of one family of peoples and members of another, and no affinity of this kind is more strongly marked than that likeness in the strength and prominence of the moral fibre, which, notwithstanding immense elements of difference, knits in some special sort the genius and history of us English,...to the genius and history of the Hebrew people. Puritanism, which has been so great a power in the English nation,...was originally the reaction in the seventeenth century of the conscience and moral sense of our race, against the moral indifference and lax rule of conduct which in the sixteenth century came in with the Renaissance. It was a reaction of Hebraism against Hellenism."⁶⁷

Walter Pater is another case of the convergence of a particular conception of culture, namely humanism, with the new scientific ideas about man and hence of the use of science to justify these cultural preferences. Pater pointed to the scientific establishment, the "positive knowledge", of the unity of human nature, i.e that the human 'races' had descended from a common ancestor, which Darwin had already suggested in the fourth edition (1866) of his book On the Origin of Species (1859)⁶⁸. From this discovery Pater deduced the "unity of culture"⁶⁹ which "men's ignorance had divided"⁷⁰. By this he meant that Judaeo-Christianity should be unified with Hellenism. Thus, in 1871 he referred to the "scientific reconciliation of Christian sentiment with....pagan poetry and philosophy" ⁷¹, i.e. the unification of what he saw as the Christian ideal of "reason and the imagination" with what he saw as the Greek ideal of "affection and the senses". Thus, the new conception of Aryanism

together with monogenism introduced the aesthetic life, as the Greeks had conceived and experienced it, i.e. in the form of the human body, into British religious culture.

1.(ii).6. Aryanism, Protestant naturalism and the work ethic

Another theme in Aryanism with radical consequences for Protestant attitudes to the body is the belief that the Aryan nations generated natural religions⁷². A leading theorist of the religio-cultural inclinations of the Aryan nations was the philologist Friedrich Max Muller. Muller was brought to Britain by his protege the Prussian ambassador to Britain, Baron Christian von Bunsen. He became a Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. In 1856 he published a paper in Oxford Essays entitled "Comparative Mythology" in which he outlined his theory⁷³.

Muller's linguistic studies led him to two interrelated conclusions which contributed to the acceptance of the theory of the Aryan race. Firstly the realisation of the religio-cultural similarity of Greek Paganism, the Christian Protestant tradition of north European, 'Germanic' nations and modern west European positivist culture. This was the naturalism which characterised what were seen as the racially purest members of the Indo-European race⁷⁴.

This realisation also solved a modern problem of the relationship between science and religion. Indeed, as Leon Poliakov has observed, the theorists of Aryanism set out "a concilier religion et science"⁷⁵. They also attempted to arrest the growing differentiation of cultural spheres. They tried to achieve that cultural totality which Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) had set up as a cultural ideal. Both the religion and science of these peoples shared the same object : nature. Nature was sacred and an object of knowledge.

Secondly, Muller found an explanation of the mythological personages of ancient Greek, Indian and early Germanic religions which became known as the solar theory of the Aryan myths. This theory presented the myths of these nations as distortions

of much earlier observations and appellations of natural phenomena, and especially of the life of the sun, by the Aryan race before they migrated and dispersed from Asia into Europe. Muller claimed that this migration and dispersal from the motherland caused linguistic changes in subsequent generations of the scattered Aryan communities. These included changes in the meaning of words as their members forgot their original meanings. This led them to interpret the words which initially indicated natural phenomena as names of divine personalities. Muller called this later anthropomorphic and mythopoeic view of nature of the later Aryans "a disease of the language"⁷⁶.

The new 'scientific' view of European religiosity on the one hand re-inforced the naturalism of British Protestant Christianity and on the other contributed to an important and spectacular change within Protestant Christianity. This was a reconciliation with Hellenic religion, because it became accepted as effectively a metaphor of nature. The Greek gods and the accounts of their lives were really an expression of the Greek love of nature and study of natural phenomena. They were neither irrational fantasies nor the sensual and hedonistic gods⁷⁷ whom all Christians had so bitterly opposed. This view also caused a Protestant partial conversion to Hellenic religion which consisted in the acceptance of the human body in its Greek, i.e. "perfect" form, as a religious object.

John Ruskin, a high-priest of the earlier revival of mediaeval Christian ideas and sentiments, is a case in point. Ruskin's conversion occurred towards the end of the 1850s⁷⁸. His essay "The Queen of the Air" of 1869, fully expresses this change. This essay is a celebration of the goddess of Greek mythology, Athena, as the personification of a natural element, of fresh air⁷⁹. With this subject, Ruskin was formally converted to Greek religion.

Ruskin was also partially converted in substance to Greek religion, namely the Greek cult of the healthy and muscular body. We may understand Ruskin's introduction of "perfect human form"⁸⁰ into his universe of cultural objects as the result of the convergence of Muller's naturalist interpretation of the Greek gods with Ruskin's

Protestant-based naturalism and work ethic as well as with his quasi-communist sympathies⁸¹.

Indeed, Ruskin synthesised these views in the belief that the Greek personifications of nature were normative statements of the relationship between man and nature. He saw the very appearance of the Greek gods as a part of this relationship. The Greek gods typified a view of perfect man as the man who was in communion with, shaped his life in imitation of and cared for nature. As nature's characteristic was constant activity, the human imitation of nature meant constant labour in tending nature through such activities as agriculture. This explained why the Greeks imagined their gods as having strong bodies : they deified the muscular working man. The possession of a strong body was a sign of one's righteous life.

Thus, Ruskin described Apollo as "a strong man" who "rejoiced....to run his course, whose voice, calling to life and to labour, rang through the earth, and whose going forth was to the ends of heaven"⁸². He also pointed to Apollo's, i.e. the sun's, healing powers. This relationship which medical scientists themselves were increasingly recognising, added another bond between man and nature. Consequently, as Frank Turner has suggested, Ruskin claimed that for the Greeks nature was a source and an unfailing example of morals as well as of physical well-being and not only "a theatre of economic exploitation"⁸³, and that the modern English should imitate Greek attitudes to nature and work.

1.(ii).7. Medical science and Religion

Other important connexions were developed around the middle of the century between science and British religio-cultural thought. The progress of medical science became associated with claims for change regarding the religious and moral value of the healthy body. A medical explanation of culture and cultural change justified and contributed to the introduction of the Greek body into British religious culture. This was because the Greek body was established by scientists as the type and hence the

model or measure of human physical health. Both Matthew Arnold and Walter Pater formulated this belief most fully. Their writings document the adoption of scientific categories and developments by other cultural spheres in the nineteenth century.

The medical theory of culture was part of the positivist outlook as applied to religion. It was also an outcome of the investigation into the cultural implications of the physical condition of the human body, of which the theory of racial determinism was one conclusion.

Pater considered mediaeval Christianity which his own century had sought to revive, in medical terms. He reversed Muller's explanation of Greek mythology as "a disease of the language" to explain that "That whole religion of the middle age was but a beautiful disease or disorder of the senses"⁸⁴. While Greek life as determined by Greek religion was, in Arnold's words (which Pater's writings often echo), "a feast for their senses"⁸⁵.

Matthew Arnold too considered very seriously this medical explanation of religion which he took from the Jewish German Romantic-Realist and Hellenist poet Heinrich Heine (1797-1856). Heine was a central theme in Arnold's important essay Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment of 1864 in which he expounded this theory. In this essay, Arnold remarked that the spirit of mediaeval Christianity, which he defined as the worship of sorrow - "a religion of sorrow"⁸⁶ - and as the cultivation of the heart and the imagination, was appropriate to the physical condition of the people of that age. He exemplified this condition in that "poor leprosy-stricken clerk of the 'Limburg Chronicle'" of whom Heine sometimes thought in his own disease-stricken later life⁸⁷. Leprosy favoured a religion of sorrow. In fact Christianity supplied a religious explanation of that massive mediaeval physical suffering which turned men into "living corpses". It claimed that sickness and sorrow were man's punishment for the fall. It also claimed that the negation of bodily pleasure and of life itself were a required means to salvation. Christ had indicated this to man by his own life. Christianity also contained a spiritual refuge, in the "inward" world of the heart and the imagination, from this sight and this misery. It gratified the demands of the heart,

through the "law of supersensual love"⁸⁸, i.e. the sacred love of God and of fellow men in brotherliness and charity ; and of the imagination through the belief in the supersensual world of heaven:

"it is natural,...that he [man] should take refuge in his heart and imagination from his misery...when one thinks what human life was in the Middle Ages, one understands the charm of such a refuge"⁸⁹.

By contrast, Paganism which Greek religion exemplified, and which Arnold defined as the "religion of pleasure" gratified the senses admitting the "outward, sensible side" of the world, and was developed by people "who seem never made to be serious, never made to be sick or sorry"⁹⁰.

The medical analysis of religions and especially of Christian and Greek religions, had profound implications for modern culture. The culture in which, in Heine's words, "the body and soul shall have made their peace together"⁹¹ was now objectively possible and 'scientifically' justified as humanity was closer to getting "quite well again". Furthermore, Arnold stressed the religious legitimacy and even necessity of both medical progress and the new aesthetic culture. Both he and Heine saw these as part of the divine design. Indeed, Heine expressed his "assurance" that,

"our descendants will be fairer and happier than we are ; for I am a believer in progress, and I hold God to be a kind being who has intended man to be happy"⁹².

In the above analysis I showed that a number of scientific theories converged on the same theme, the Greek body. This convergence both caused and re-inforced a radical religio-cultural change in Britain which crystallised around the middle of the century: the emergence of the Greek body as an element of British religious culture, i.e. as an object of social desire. Science gave answers to certain Christian scriptural uncertainties: it discovered the shape of the image of God and the means to its achievement. It also contributed to a change in Christian morals, namely the introduction of the pursuit of bodily health, strength and beauty as God-willed.

The novelty of the theme of natural man and especially of the human body, the "unveiled human form"⁹³, which had hitherto passed "unregarded by us"⁹⁴, and the excitement which the new object of cultural attention provoked is evident in and also

most clearly expressed by Walter Pater. In his study of the change in William Morris' poetry from The Defence of Guenevere of 1858 to the Life and Death of Jason in 1867, he is in fact pointing to the change of a whole society:

"Everywhere there is an impression of surprise, as of people first waking from the golden age, at fire, snow, wine, the touch of water as one swims, the salt taste of the sea...Desire here is towards the **body** of nature..."⁹⁵ [my emphasis]

The adoption of the Greek body as the natural, healthy, moral, divine and beautiful body, and also, as I shall show below, as the politically effective and national body, brought a "rationalisation"⁹⁶ or harmonisation of British cultural life : the same object appearing everywhere.

1.(ii).8. The Greek body and the institutionalisation of the ethic of athletics

All the above religious ideas and ethics had important institutional implications. They became moving forces in English nineteenth century society. They mobilised British society to pursue the ideal of the Greek body by means of athletics as a religious obligation. I shall here document briefly the actual practice of athletics in Britain and its underlying religious goals or motivation.

Disciplined physical exertion in the form of games was introduced into British formal public school education by Thomas Arnold in the second quarter of the century. It was taken from the Greek educational principle of 'mens sana in corpore sano'⁹⁷. Through games Arnold pursued two goals : the health of English boys and also their Christian moral education, i.e. the transformation of vicious young boys into "Christian gentlemen"⁹⁸.

Following the Greeks, Arnold's conception of education was anti-Rousseauan⁹⁹ : he criticised self-satisfaction and upheld self-transformation through conscious effort¹⁰⁰. He believed that it was the role of the schools to instil the desire for transformation and initiate it in individuals. Scholars of English physical education of that time have recognised that its goal was indeed "to be an earnest Christian...to shape the character

in the image of Christ"¹⁰¹.

As the English image of Christ was one of altruism and activism in the form of physical struggle against evil-doers, the English public school taught young boys the "imitatio Christi" by making them learn and obey the rules of cricket and football : to live by Christ meant to play by the rules of cricket and football. The games had also physical effects, i.e. the development of their muscles for the fight against the wicked. As D. W. Brown has pointed out,

"certain sports, and notably games such as cricket and football, were viewed as 'manly', and considered worthy for the training of a man's body "for the protection of the weak, and the advancement of all righteous causes"¹⁰² II

Around the middle of the century, Matthew Arnold, whose own role in shaping British education cannot be overestimated as one of Her Majesty's School Inspectors and as an educational writer, added another goal to athletics¹⁰³. This was the pursuit of beauty in one's own person. He too took his own cultural principle and form of "sweetness" from the Greeks and established it as a religious obligation, "the will of God" for British society¹⁰⁴.

Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy of 1869 is a valuable source regarding both the extent to which athletics were practised in the middle of the nineteenth century by middle and upper class English boys and young men, and its religious motivation. Arnold shows an English nation obsessed with body and sinews:

"bodily health and vigour, are things which are nowhere treated in such an unintelligent, misleading, exaggerated way as in England"¹⁰⁵

And he also pointed to its religio-cultural motivation in the common belief,

"that the having....large muscles, has in itself some edifying and perfecting effect upon human nature"¹⁰⁶.

In fact, Arnold criticised the current excesses of the practice of games and sport. Firstly the loss of the purpose or measure of athletics and their blind practice "for their own sake and as ends in themselves"¹⁰⁷. He insisted that games, sports and

athletic exercises in general, were "machinery", i.e. means to particular purposes and that "the cultivation of bodily strength and activity" should be criticised if "it should take too firm a hold and last after it has served its purpose"¹⁰⁸.

Secondly, Arnold criticised the distortion and misuse of athletics by an emphasis on muscularity and violence at the expense of Christianity. This tendency which Matthew Arnold called barbarism had also been criticised as banausic by his father, Thomas Arnold¹⁰⁹. Matthew Arnold criticised this tendency which he saw as being the characteristic feature of the whole of modern English life. He explained this tendency as being partly the result of race, "by nature", "since we are for the most part sprung from the Barbarians"¹¹⁰, by which he meant the Germanic origin of the English¹¹¹, and partly the result of public school education¹¹².

Thirdly, Arnold criticised the one-sided pursuit of beauty without "light" which was common among the aristocratic class. As Matthew Arnold remarked, "the aristocratic class has actually,....a kind of image or shadow of sweetness"¹¹³. And he explained the "good looks" of the aristocratic class by their care "for the body" by means of field-sports and physical exercises:

"The care of the Barbarians for the body, and for all manly exercises; the vigour, good looks, and fine complexion which they acquired and perpetuated in their families by these means, - all this may be observed still in our aristocratic class"¹¹⁴

As far as the "populace" was concerned, Matthew Arnold urged a national education¹¹⁵. He criticised the Liberals for tolerating the lack of culture of the mass of the nation on the principle of "doing as one likes" and for being content with their good physical condition, (which at that time meant that they had a 'Greek' body), seeing them as "fine healthy strong men, bent on mischief"¹¹⁶.

2. The French case: Physical Anthropology and its Christian meanings

2.(i). Physical Anthropology and Catholic attitudes to the body: The conflict between Physical Anthropology and Catholicism

In France there was a strong religious resistance as well as indifference to most ideas which came out of scientific rationalism in general and of Physical Anthropology in particular. This resistance lasted well into the third quarter of the century. Indeed, the cultural situation in France was characterised for a long time by "la religion et la science en désaccord", as Taine put it¹¹⁷.

The revival of Roman Catholicism in nineteenth century France following the radical challenge which the anti-clericalism of the French Revolution had raised against it, was an important factor in the social resistance to science in France¹¹⁸. Chateaubriand's Génie du Christianisme of 1802 and Napoleon's official restoration of Catholicism in 1801 are hall-marks of the expansion of Christianity in its Roman Catholic variety, in post-Revolutionary French society¹¹⁹.

The religious revival of nineteenth century France meant a revival of pre-Renaissance, mediaeval Christianity which was here too believed to represent Christianity in its purest form. I have already considered, through the writings of British intellectuals, the typical attitudes to the body of mediaeval Christianity. These attitudes were responsible for both the indifference to and conflict between Catholicism and Physical Anthropological theories and values. Catholicism may also help us to understand the different social reception of the Physical Anthropologists' view of man and particularly of the Greek body in France as compared with essentially Protestant Britain¹²⁰.

The differences between Catholic and Protestant or Anglican Christianity attracted the attention of many English intellectuals during this period. These writings are a good source of information on the specificity of Catholicism as compared with either Protestantism or Anglicanism, particularly as far as the body is concerned.

One of the causes of the consideration of Roman Catholicism in nineteenth century England was the Oxford Movement¹²¹. This began on 25 July 1833. Its members sought to push the Church of England closer to Catholicism as represented by Rome and away from its increasing secularism, fragmentary Protestantism and the narrow rationalism, naturalism and empiricism of Enlightenment philosophy¹²². The movement soon splintered into an Anglo-Catholic movement led by Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82). Some of its followers even took the ultimate step of defection to Roman Catholicism. John Henry Newman's (1801-90) notorious conversion to Catholicism in 1845 and rise to the rank of Cardinal, marked a high point in this radical reconsideration of Christianity in Britain. Although these remained elite religious movements within the Church of England¹²³, this was not certain at the time. Indeed, Dean Alford's publication of An Earnest Dissuasive from joining the Communion of the Church of Rome. Addressed to the younger members of the Church of England..etc. of 1846, shows the efforts of the Church of England to stop the trend¹²⁴.

I shall here list some of the descriptions of Roman Catholic attitudes to the body by the Reverend Charles Kingsley who was the apostle of "muscular Christianity" , a vehement anti-Catholic and, from 1859, chaplain to Queen Victoria, and by the Catholic convert Cardinal John Henry Newman. Kingsley referred to Roman Catholicism as "effeminate"¹²⁵ and "the unmanly Church of Rome"¹²⁶, because it was centred on the veneration of the Virgin¹²⁷. He also described it as priestly, "monkish"¹²⁸ and other-worldly in its asceticism rather than individualist and inner-worldly ascetic; an "unhealthy religion"¹²⁹ rather than "muscular Christianity"; as inward, bookish and devoted to the spiritualities of the "visions of the saints"¹³⁰, and the disciplines of prayer and fasting¹³¹ instead of being outwardly directed towards the active management of the visible world, - the "good and manly work in the world"¹³². It was the "negation of one's physical nature"¹³³. Indeed, Newman described Roman Catholicism as the search for "the means for transcending the limits of the natural man" ¹³⁴. While Kingsley saw man's goal in this world as the search for the means to harmonise the body and the mind, the spiritual and the physical : "the spiritual cannot be intended to be perfected by ignoring or crushing the

physical"¹³⁵.

Like Protestantism and Anglicanism, Catholicism too set up Christ as the model of man. However, its image of Christ and hence its "imitatio Christi" consisted in the emphasis on the last days of Christ's life, the pathos of his physical self-sacrifice¹³⁶ : his self-denial through his resignation to physical suffering and death. The mortification of the flesh of the Ecce Homo became the model religio-ethical behaviour of man to his body, i.e. the exchange rate of salvation. This contrasted with the British view of an energetic, physically healthy and law-enforcing Christ of the days before the passion.

The different thematic selections from the Biblical repertoire and hence the different ethical or practical conclusions which were drawn by Protestants and Catholics, attached Protestantism to Physical Anthropological ideals and opposed Catholicism to them. The similarities and differences between scientific views and each of the two distinct conceptions of the life of the Christian, determined, at least partly, the institutionalisation or rejection of Physical Anthropological ideas and values in the two societies.

The differences between Protestantism and Catholicism overlapped with the conflicts between Physical Anthropology and Catholicism. Catholicism was opposed to Physical Anthropology in the following important respects. Firstly, in principle. The requirements of faith and the mystical ethic of Catholicism as the means to the unification of man with God, were indifferent to and so, unlike Protestantism, did not encourage scientific research¹³⁷.

Secondly, Physical Anthropology gave a cultural, i.e. intellectual value to the body as an object of study. Thirdly, its implied ideal was a biological ideal of physical well-being whose conditions it also set out to discover. These ideas and values contrasted with Catholicism which assigned the material world and with it the human body, to the devil¹³⁸. In fact Catholicism set up the destruction of the body, "pain and weakness"¹³⁹ and ideally the pursuit of the 'stigmata' by man, an activity which

St Francis exemplified for many Catholics¹⁴⁰, as the goal of human life and the price of salvation. It forbade the pursuit of any sense of physical well-being : "my Saviour banished joy !" ¹⁴¹.

Finally, Catholicism was also opposed to the anthropological theory of Aryanism with its match of the Indo-European race with a Hellenic type of religion. Greek religion essentially consisted for a Frenchman like Taine, not only in "science", but also in the "culte de la force et du plaisir, culte de l'homme"¹⁴². Catholicism was against sensual pleasure.

In fact, in France, science usually went hand in hand with irreligion. The leading French theologian Ernest Renan is a case in point. His adoption of Aryanism was connected with his abandonment of the seminary of Saint-Sulpice in October 1845¹⁴³ and with it of all plans of taking up Holy Orders. As Bernal has pointed out, "Renan saw it as his mission to bring science which was Aryan, to religion, which was Semitic"¹⁴⁴. His rationalist interpretation of Christ in Vie de Jésus which followed his religious "disillusionment" produced a bitter reaction from French Catholic orthodoxy¹⁴⁵.

The irreconcilability in France of Catholic faith with most scientific theories is further evident in the fact that in that country, the adoption of Aryanism also went with religious conversion. Hippolyte Taine is a case in point. Taine's racism and Aryanism ultimately led to his conversion to Protestantism¹⁴⁶.

Taine adopted the 'Aryan' attitudes to the body. He set up the ancient Greeks and the contemporary English as exemplary for his countrymen of the new religious attitudes and practices regarding the body which science recommended as a natural orientation for Europeans. Indeed, he advocated the pursuit by the young French of a beautiful and healthy body by means of athletics. Second Empire French opinion did not accept these views.

2.(ii). Catholicism and the institutionalisation of athletics after 1871

French Catholic attitudes to anthropological views and with them French attitudes and practices to the body changed during the 1870s. Athletics became institutionalised in French society with the Greek body, i.e. health and beauty as their goal.

Athletics and the Greek body were also introduced into the Catholic universe of religious rules and sacred objects. This was a radical religious change. It was at least partly the result of the military defeat of the French by the Prussians in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 in which the French lost Alsace-Lorraine.

Indeed, athletics was institutionalised to meet the national and political interests of France at that time¹⁴⁷. Furthermore, religious approval was needed and also used as a means of giving religious legitimacy to and hence reinforcing the necessity of a nation-wide practice of athletics which was now believed to be necessary for national survival and the political integrity of France.

This practice had long been recommended by physical anthropologists for their 'political' benefits, i.e. the physical fitness of soldiers. But they were not accepted until now¹⁴⁸. These political circumstances may explain the religious change which occurred in France in the post-war period, while Catholic resistance may explain, at least partly, the much later acceptance of anthropological ideas and with them of the Greek body in French society. Indeed, religion and politics were combined in exhortations to athletics. Charles Rochet's writings are a case in point.

Rochet was a devout Catholic, a nationalist and an anthropological scientist of the second half of the nineteenth century. He urged the practice of athletics for the benefit of both the religious and political interests of the French. He justified the pursuit of the Greek body, i.e. the care for the body, in the following ways. Firstly biblically by the physical perfection of original man which meant that God wanted man to be so. This interpretation changed the emphasis of Catholic ethics towards man's obligation for both moral and physical regeneration instead of physical neglect

and degradation. As Rochet put it,

"Tout Être humain doit avoir un beau corps, comme il doit avoir une bonne santé ; le Créateur ne reconnaît comme étant son oeuvre que l'Être beau et en bonne santé"¹⁴⁹

The new religious ethic associated Catholicism with Physical Anthropology. Anthropology supplied religion with the form of the "Prototype humain" and the means to its acquisition : the Greek body and athletics. Other French anthropologists too, like Duval and Cuyer whose views I have also examined in detail, suggested the Christian legitimacy of the pursuit of a healthy and beautiful body as the Greeks had exemplified it. This they did by pointing to the fact that for the Greeks, this perfect physique was the result of an ascetic and disciplined life and an offering to the gods. The Greek youth were thus like "de beaux coursiers consacrés aux dieux". This fact matched the Christian rule of self-devotion to God's will instead of self-satisfaction and justified athletics.

Athletics had a second religious meaning. Its practice had chastening effects on the young. This matched the Christian ethic of chastity of which Christ and especially the Virgin Mary, the "vierge morale des chrétiens", were the prototypes. For this reason too Rochet advocated athletics. In this he followed Taine who had also observed it in the English public schools and at Oxford University¹⁵⁰. Rochet pointed to anthropological evidence establishing 'scientifically' the moral effect of athletics on women on whom he thought the morality of men depended¹⁵¹. He claimed that narrow hips were evidence of chastity. The young Greek girls whose body the Venus de Milo typified had narrow hips. She and they were thus chaste, "la Vierge physique des anciens". And he explained their virginity as a 'de facto' result of their life-style, i.e. the practice of open air athletics which consumed and channelled youthful energies away from other, harmful activities. This moralising effect of athletics converged with the moral needs and medical problems of the time as sexual promiscuity and prostitution were becoming dominant life-styles in the growing urban communities¹⁵². Athletics thus became a means to the moralisation of contemporary French young women.

Rochet explicitly set up the Greeks as a model for French boys and girls across all

classes¹⁵³ and a proof of the effectiveness of athletics : "les anciens Grecs qui sont devenus par là [gymnastics] le plus beau peuple de la terre". He also guaranteed as a scientist the effectiveness of athletics among the French:

"en agissant ainsi, [by pursuing physical exercises], je ne demande pas quatre générations pour reconstituer le Français, et en faire le plus beau peuple qu'on aura jamais vu sur la terre !!!"¹⁵⁴

Finally he recommended that aestheticians like Taine from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts should supervise these practices : "soient invités à pourvoir à la reorganisation de ces jeux"¹⁵⁵

CHAPTER 8:**THE NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

In this chapter I shall consider the relationship between Physical Anthropological theories and nationalist movements in Britain and France. I shall try to show firstly, the adoption in England and France of physical anthropological, i.e. racial, descriptions of the English and French peoples, namely the indication of their physical similarities with the Greeks; secondly, the way in which the English and the French tried to achieve and maintain a complete physical identity with the Greeks through the practice of athletics; and thirdly the political implications of the English and French belief in their Greek identity.

During the nineteenth century European societies searched for a scientific principle, i.e. an objective and empirically observable measure, of individual and group identity and self-esteem. From this principle individuals and groups could further derive a sense of community or belonging, a reason for their co-operation with one another and a claim for political unity, autonomy or statehood¹. Finally, this principle would solve the problem of not only demonstrating with absolute certainty but also of explaining what was in fact a very elusive idea, namely the existence of distinct cultural communities or nations. The answer to this problem was crucial as the idea that nation (in the sense of a cultural community) and state should be co-extensive was spreading like fire across Europe and was causing vast political changes both within established states and on the political map of Europe, contracting or expanding established frontiers, as 'nations' began to assert themselves².

Physical Anthropologists claimed that this principle of individual and group identity could be found in bodily structure i.e. in the physical differences which they had discovered in mankind and which divided it into races. They defined individuals as members of racial groups which were sub-divided into smaller physical and cultural (national) variations of the original and basic racial type. Race, i.e. the possession and transmission through inheritance of a distinctive bodily structure by a given set of people, was thus proposed as an instrument for determining association,

distinction, state formation and political integration.

Physical distinctiveness could become a measure of cultural distinctiveness because, according to the theory of the racial determinism of culture, race and culture were co-extensive. This meant that an ethnic community was also a racial community, i.e. a group of people who shared not only the same culture, but also the same physical appearance or racial type. This theory had been formulated by the new "physiologists" in the eighteenth century and most famously by Pierre Cabanis in his book Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme of 1795-1798.³ The main tenets of this theory which I documented in an earlier chapter, were the following : a society's way of life and abilities both to produce civilisation and to survive from aggressors depended on the physical type of its members ; the origin of this physical type lay primarily in biological inheritance ; the socio-cultural distinctiveness and abilities of a race could be assessed by studying the history of this race in which these distinct abilities unfolded.

The idea of race introduced a new genealogical principle of nation-formation⁴. This was "blood relationship"⁵ as evinced from physical similarities or differences. Indeed, during the nineteenth century states were formed out of alleged communities and genealogies of blood which were held to bind their members (e.g. Germany), and social solidarities were claimed from their members, if not wholly, at least partly, on the basis of physical similarities among them. As Mosse has remarked, during this period "racism was likely to fuse with nationalism"⁶ in the struggle for national unity.

Similarly, national self-esteem came to be derived in many nineteenth century European countries, including England and France, from the approximation or identity of the bodily type of the nation with some 'perfect' bodily type. Pride in one's distinctive way of life was transferred to its supposed root, i.e. to pride in one's distinctive physical characteristics. Physical Anthropology supplied a status structure of historical societies based on physique and descent from a limited range of forefathers or prototypes. For explicitly Christian scientists the ideal situation for a

nation was direct descent without degeneration and mixture of blood with other, lower, races, from original man, i.e. Adam and Eve. While naturalists and Darwinists measured the superiority of a group by comparison with the 'natural' or the hitherto most highly evolved man, respectively.

Most European anthropological scientists shared the view that the ancient Greeks had possessed the perfect human physical type which had also produced the most perfect civilisation. Consequently, most European anthropologists in their definitions of the societies to which they belonged claimed a physical identity through direct descent from or blood relationship with the ancient Greeks. The claim to an association with the ancient Greeks however, was not a new phenomenon in the history of nationalist movements. As A. D. Smith has found, European societies had claimed an association with the Greeks as well as other societies which they admired for one reason or another, well before the explosion of racial theories. Indeed, in the eighteenth century the British had claimed that "No nation under heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks and Romans as we"⁷. What was new however, was the kind of relationship which was claimed. This was not one of emulation or historically conjectured genealogy but of physical and observable identity. Indeed, modern and historical nations were seen like branches from different trees whose bloom and strength depended on the quality of the roots of these trees.

The importance and significance of knowing oneself as a nation as well as an individual was expressed in England by such leading cultural figures like the Arnolds and John Ruskin⁸. The latter for example at his inaugural lecture at Oxford University as Slade Professor of Fine Art in 1870 claimed that,

"Self-knowledge is not less difficult, nor less necessary
for the direction of its genius, to a people than to an
individual..."⁹

And in France, Charles Rochet expressed the desire of nineteenth century European societies not only to know themselves and other peoples but also to outdo other peoples:

"Nous vivons à une époque toute...à l'étude des peuples, comme à
leurs guerres de rivalité ou d'influence..."¹⁰

The desire for self-esteem and national superiority among European nations was clearly expressed in the English and French national press on the occasion of the international exhibitions which began in 1851. In the 1849 October issue of the Journal of Design, readers were urged to

"remember, that in 1851 England must show...against the French, and...though it may be comparatively easy to rival them in technical matters, we have yet much to do to stand against their original productions"¹¹

And regarding the 1862 London International Exhibition J Beavington Atkinson observed :

"In these International Exhibitions the contest has been, and will be, mainly between those noble foes, now happily firm friends and allies - England and France. The two nations which are foremost in prowess and strongest in arms first in knowledge and civilisation, take likewise the front rank in the world's arena of arts and manufactures"¹²

The French too expressed the same feeling in the Revue des Deux Mondes in 1863:

"French Industrial Art found at the Universal Exhibition of London a rival, an unexpected competitor, nearly a conqueror, in British Industrial Art"¹³

Germany would become another great political rival of the French during the later part of the century thereby arousing a new fever of self-definition and self-esteem in opposition to the new rival, as I shall show below.

I shall now look in detail at the answers which physical anthropologists gave to the English and French desire to know themselves and to love themselves. Most nineteenth century anthropological classifications connected the modern Europeans with the revered Greeks. Indeed, both the theory of the Caucasian or white race and the theory of the Indo-European or Aryan race which were by about 1860 firmly set in the European educated mind, had established the physical as well as linguistic similarities among all the contemporary and historical inhabitants of Europe¹⁴. These similarities were explained by the belief that they all had a common biological ancestor and geographical origin in the Caucasus or in India from which they had migrated to and settled in Europe.

Jacob Grimm for example, an Aryanist, in his classic History of the German Language of 1848, claimed that the Greeks were the first Aryan settlers in Europe (1800 B.C.), followed by the Romans, then the Celts and then the Germans. These were in turn followed by the Lithuanians, the Slavs, the Thracians and the Scythians and by other more contested "Aryan" nations.

However, these theories did not solve the problem of inter-European rivalries. Physical Anthropologists as well as historians set out to discover or forge much closer connexions between their own nation and the ancient Greeks mostly within the established theories. They solved this problem in the following way : as the study of the physical characteristics of societies and groups had yielded numerous physical differences and had evolved into competing lists and hierarchies of these differences, nationalist anthropologists adopted as the most culturally decisive and typical characteristic(s) of their own society this or that physical feature which their own society shared with the Greeks and which at the same time distinguished their society from its rivals.

In England, the claim to the Greek identity of the English nation was most clearly formulated during the 1850s ¹⁵. It followed the wave of "Teutomania" which had been championed by Thomas Arnold, a leading light of public opinion, during the 1840s. This cultural movement to which Carlyle as well as Bulwer-Lytton made important contributions, had already established a biological and spiritual link between the English and the Greeks but through and with an emphasis on the Germans¹⁶. The result was a revival of Gothic forms. The elder Arnold's proclamation in his Introductory Lectures on Modern History published in 1842, of Germany as "the land of our Saxon and Teutonic forefathers"¹⁷ separated the English and indeed opposed them to the Celts (a category which included the Irish and the French). To this belief is due the description by his contemporaries of Arnold as "Celt-hating Dr. Arnold"¹⁸.

Arnold also regretted the Roman occupation of England and thereby the mixture of Roman blood with the English. In his Introductory Lectures Arnold also rejected the

Romans and directed public attention to and admiration for the Greeks and the Germans¹⁹. In so doing he broke up the traditional English admiration for Graeco-Roman civilisation²⁰. Arnold liked Germany for both its religious and political culture. He saw Germany as

"the land uncorrupted by any Roman or other mixture ; the birthplace of the most moral races of men that the world has yet seen - of the soundest laws - the least violent passions and the fairest domestic and other virtues"²¹

The rise of Hellenism in English culture and society during the second half of the nineteenth century, i.e. the new adoption of the Greek body and the revived adoption of Greek culture as major elements of the distinctiveness and identity of the English and as sources of national pride, was partly the result of the public acceptance of the racial theories of the 1850s formulated by Robert Knox and by Aryanists like Arthur de Gobineau. These theories were not new and not too different from one another, but rather variants of those which had preceded them. They were the theory of the Anglo-Saxon race and reworkings of the by now established theory of the Aryan race. The latter included the idea of an Indo-Germanic race first formulated in 1823 ²².

These views had a great "national importance" [my emphasis] as Knox in particular pointed out regarding his own theory²³. They claimed that the north-western European nations who constituted the Germanic race or in Knox's terminology the Scandinavian race, looked almost exactly like the ancient Greeks. From the point of view of the Aryanist classification of man, this meant that the Germanic nations were the purest representatives in Europe of the original Aryans²⁴, or, as a German Aryanist put it in 1886, that they were "the sons of the gods"²⁵. While from Knox's more deistic point of view, it meant that the Scandinavian nations were "transcendental". In both cases these nations were superior to all other Europeans.

Knox made very specific comparisons between the ancient Greek body and the modern English body :

"the streets of London abound with persons having this identical facial angle ; and it is in England and in other countries inhabited by the Saxon or Scandinavian race that women resembling the Niobe, and men the Hercules and Mars, are chiefly to be found."²⁶

The same belief in the physical similarity between the English and the Greeks was held and propagated by the artist Frederick Leighton who accepted and propagated the theory of the Aryan race. In his Royal Academy Addresses which he began in 1879 as a President of the Royal Academy, Leighton pointed out to art students that models for Greek figural subjects could be "sometimes found in the women of another Aryan race - your own"²⁷

The politician, prime minister and novelist Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), was also an ardent supporter of the theory of race and of the Aryan race as the "chosen race" in particular, in which he included the Jewish people²⁸. He is also supposed to have exchanged views with Gobineau²⁹. Disraeli was a great populariser of the idea of the Greek racial identity of the English through his novels. In his enormously popular novel Lothair published in 1870 Disraeli declared through one of his heroes, Gaston Phoebus, who was actually modelled on the artist Frederick Leighton, that the English aristocracy "most resemble the old Hellenic race". This was, he said, because they excelled in athletic sport, spoke no language but their own and never read³⁰!

Note that the claim to a Greek physical identity of the English was not always a claim to class distinction and superiority. This is evident for example in Knox's views. Indeed, there were a variety of views regarding not only which modern nation but also which social class within a nation actually possessed the Greek type of body. The scientist Francis Galton and also Disraeli saw the middle classes as "robust" Saxons and the physically deteriorating "tall and thin, bony, elongated..." aristocracy as Franco-Norman i.e. a mixture of Celtic and Nordic peoples³¹.

The appropriation of the Greeks by the genealogists or historians of the Anglo-Saxon nations was supported by German anthropologists and philologists. This was because the Anglo-Saxons were a Germanic nation and because the Germans also cultivated the idea of the Greek physical identity of all the north Europeans nations whose cradle was in Germany. The belief in the Germanic identity and thereby superiority of the Anglo-Saxon nations was widespread. Taine for example in a letter to Baudelaire expressed his admiration for Edgar Allan Poe whom he saw as "le type germanique

anglais"³².

In his Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines published between 1853-1855, Gobineau, a great champion of the Germans, claimed that both the Germanic and the Celtic nations were physically identical with the ancient Greeks. He thus incorporated the French, as a mostly Celtic nation, into the pure Aryan brotherhood and specifically into the brotherhood of Greeks and Germans. For example, in his description of the Homeric heroes, Gobineau compared the physical type of their female companion with her Celtic and Germanic equivalents:

"Sa compagne ariane...Pareille de Clytemnestre, l'épouse Grecque était assez hautaine. Froissée dans ses sentiments, elle savait punir comme la fille de Tyndare. Cette héroïne des temps primitifs n'est pas autre que la femme altière aux cheveux blonds, aux yeux bleus, aux bras blancs, que nous retrouvons chez les celtes et dans les forêts germaniques"³³.

And in 1863, the chemist and politician Marcelin Berthelot (1827-1907) referred to "the symbolic language of our ancestors, the Aryes and the Hellenes"³⁴.

In fact, the question of the Greek physical identity of the French is most intriguing. The main physical and cultural ingredients of the modern French were commonly held to be Celtic through the Gauls and Germanic through the Franks. The genealogists of the French people were however divided on a number of issues : firstly regarding the relative merits of each of the two races, i.e. their contribution to French achievements, and secondly regarding whether modern French society was now a mixture of these races or whether the two races were socially segregated occupying different social positions, the one a ruling and the other a subordinate position³⁵. They were also divided on which of the two races was closer to the ancient Greeks. These ideas about the racial constitution of the French people had important political consequences. They determined different courses of political action : obedience to the laws of the established regime, the capturing of an alien dominated state, i.e. revolution and finally war.

The champions of the essentially Gallic identity of the mass of the people claimed that the superiority of the Gauls lay in the fact that they were directly connected with the

Greeks through direct blood mixture, i.e. through marriage, of Celtic and Greek blood. In fact, they claimed that the French were Gauls who were mixed with both Greeks and Romans.

During Louis-Philippe's reign, i.e. between 1830 and 1848, Victor Hugo (1802-1885) and the Romantics defended the Graeco-Latin identity of the mass of the French as opposed to the Frankish identity of the aristocracy and kindled social unrest³⁶. Official opinion during the Second Empire promoted and glorified in a number of ways, including public art, the idea of the Gallic (which included Graeco-Roman) identity of the nation, a view which commanded popular support³⁷. At the same time Hippolyte Taine cherished his own Ardennais i.e. Germanic origins and supported the idea of the superiority of the Germanic nations as the purest of all Aryan nations. But he also encouraged the imitation of the Greeks by all the French and especially the practice of athletics. This was in accordance with the Aryanist belief that all European nations belonged, albeit with varying degrees of purity of blood, to the Aryan race and that the strong body was a major component of the Aryan racial and cultural identity as evidence from other "Aryan" nations like the Greeks and the English had suggested.

The defeat of the French by the Prussians in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and the campaign for the "revanche" kindled strong nationalist and anti-Germanist sentiments. These sentiments tilted the balance of French opinion towards upholding a Mediterranean identity. In fact, a campaign for the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine began almost immediately after the defeat. This goal was not fulfilled until 1918 and 1919 respectively.

Physical Anthropologists contributed to this campaign with "scientific" arguments about the differences between and indeed the superiority of the French over the Prussians. Charles Rochet's views are a case in point. In his racial classification of nations into "Bruns" and "Blonds" he claimed that the Brown haired type represented by the ancient Greeks was more complete, "plus un Être complet" ³⁸ than the "Blond". The latter was incomplete because he had lost his hair colour and was thus

degenerate. The "Brun" was the type of original man who was perfect : "L'Être humain de la Création était un TYPE PARFAIT"³⁹. Thus,

"c'est le Brun qui a été l'Homme de la Création, c'est le Brun qui est l'homme supérieur"⁴⁰

Rochet stressed his disagreement on the question of the appearance of original man with his German colleagues:

"Les savants allemands avec lesquels je ne concorde pas pour la question des cheveux comme pour beaucoup d'autres choses, veulent regarder l'Homme blond comme le premier des hommes de la terre par la raison d'abord qu'ils sont blonds eux-mêmes : primo mihi ! ensuite parce que tous les autres peuples de notre globe, qui ne sont pas encore entrés dans le courant de la civilisation, sont noirs de cheveux ; ce qui n'est pas un motif suffisant pour conclure,..."⁴¹

He saw the French as an essentially Brown haired nation in opposition to Gobineau's earlier claims, and the Germans as Blondes. By virtue of their brown hair he claimed that the French were perfect:

"...la France n'est pas le beau pays des blonds. Le blond est avant tout Allemand, Scandinave, Anglo-Saxon".⁴²

Rochet also described the typical skin colour of the French, "notre teinte" as "rouge" or "cuivre" by its exposure to the sun, a feature which, as I showed in an earlier chapter was also a feature of the Greek body. In fact in the aftermath of the war French Aryanist anthropologists claimed that the Gauls and not the Germans were pure Aryans, i.e. similar to the Greeks. They also claimed that the Prussians were not even Germans and that they belonged either to the Finnish race, which was considered to be a semi-barbarous race who had inhabited Europe before the Aryan colonisation of the continent, or to a mixed race of Finno-Slavs, and were thereby a mixture of lower Aryans with non-Aryans⁴³. This idea was put forward by the doyen of French Physical Anthropology Armand de Quatrefages in an article entitled "La race prussienne" in the Revue des Deux Mondes of 15th February 1871 ⁴⁴. Rochet too supported this idea although he did not use the Aryanist terminology when he studied the "Type du prussien pure race, et ses origines finno-slaves"⁴⁵.

The political conflict between the French and the Prussians may thus explain the different anthropological descriptions of the ancient Greeks which we find in England and France. Indeed, the post-1871 claim by French Physical Anthropologists that the

ancient Greeks had brown hair was, until that time, rather unusual even among French anthropologists. The prevailing tendency was to think of them as blonds. Political circumstances were largely responsible for this change. The French defeat caused a nation-wide loss of self-confidence. In order to restore morale and to mobilise the nation for the "revanche" Physical Anthropologists had to produce "scientific" definitions of the nation which would on the one hand distinguish them from the Germans, thereby justifying the claim to independence from German rule of the occupied regions, and on the other present the French as superior to the Germans by reference to some commonly accepted ideal. To this end, Physical Anthropologists firstly defined the French nation by that feature which distinguished them from the Germans and secondly, if they did not invent, at least they stressed that feature of the Greek body which their own nation shared with the Greeks and which at the same time distinguished them from the Germans. This was the colour of the hair, the brown hair.

Rochet's view of the French as a brown haired and thereby southern and oriental people was widespread. To this belief we must associate the late nineteenth century revival of Provençal culture⁴⁶ and the cultivation of the idea of the Mediterranean origin and identity of the modern French. Thus, around the 1890s, the writer Emile Zola, would see the town of Aix-en-Provence where he grew up as Greece:

"It was Greece, with its pure sun and the majesty of its horizons"⁴⁷

National identity and the scientific critique of modern life.

For a nation to have a Greek physical identity meant that it could be perfect in all spheres of life. A Greek physical identity did not only confer on its possessor(s) the prestige which went with high birth. It also guaranteed the following: that one conformed with God's will and was thereby closer to salvation ; that one was beautiful ; that one had superior intellectual capacities ; and finally that one had superior strength or physical energy and so victory in battle was certain.

However, for a nation to come into possession of a Greek body was not only a matter of biological inheritance, but also the result of a particular way of life. Indeed, according to Physical Anthropologists and medical scientists, if inheritance supplied features like the facial angle or the colour of the skin, eyes or hair, open air athletics supplied that particular muscular development and physical health for which the Greeks were distinguished. The desire to turn young Englishmen and Frenchmen into Greeks in a physical sense, i.e. to acquire a Greek physical identity and all which followed from it, was one of the moving forces which led to the institutionalisation of athletics in nineteenth century England and France.

The practice of athletics was also seen by English and French Physical Anthropologists and medical scientists as necessary not only because it was a means of improving the inherent physical identity of the nation, but also because it was a means of avoiding degeneration as well as a means of regeneration. Degeneration was defined as the loss or weakening of all the physical and mental capacities of an individual or group. Within the Spencerian and Darwinian theory of evolution, i.e. the possibility of "corporeal and mental....progress towards perfection" ⁴⁸ this physical deterioration was seen as a "reversal" to a prior lower condition. Degeneration was a dangerous and possibly lethal situation for a society because regression weakened that society's ability to compete with other, 'fitter', societies for control over vital resources. As Darwin put it in the Origin, "the vigorous, the healthy and the happy survive and multiply." ⁴⁹

Daniel Pick has shown that the word 'degeneration' was first emphasized in the medical journal The Lancet during the 1850s ⁵⁰. This was done in response to a French medical and anthropological debate about the physical condition of the French and other European nations under the conditions of the new and massive urban, sedentary, cerebral and industrial way of life which they themselves had invented. The medical doctor Benedict Augustin Morel (1809-1873) was largely responsible for the idea of the physical degeneration of the Europeans caused by the new civilisation.

Already in the 1840s, another French doctor, Dr. J. Fau had considered the body of the city-dweller and especially that of the professional man and the intellectual and compared it with that of certain manual professions. But although he liked the body of the latter, he preferred the mind of the former. He thus observed that:

"L'habitant des villes est généralement maigre, son corps est déformé par les vêtements étroits dans lesquels la mode l'emprisonne ; il ne faut lui demander ni souplesse, ni force, ce n'est point son affaire...Je passerai sous silence ces êtres difformes dont la vaste corpulence est bien souvent le triste résultat d'excès gastronomiques"⁵¹

We still find the same complaint towards the end of the century made by anatomists, anthropologists and medical doctors. For example in 1898 Duval and Cuyer criticised modern shoe fashions because they had a deforming effect on the feet:

"Par l'effet de ces chaussures habituellement fort étroites, conformément à la mode, le pied prend de bonne heure un peu cet aspect difforme..."⁵²

Charles Rochet, writing in 1885, compared "une oeuvre de l'art antique", meaning ancient Greek art, with modern figural art based on the living model. He saw the former as superior to the latter and explained this superiority by the superior physical condition of the body of ancient Greek society which had supplied the living models of ancient Greek art. He thus criticised the physical condition of the body of the models which modern urban society supplied to artists whose skin was whiter, flabbier and more wrinkly than that of the ancients, meaning the ancient Greeks. Thus,

"la peau en [of the modern body] est plus blanche, plus molle, plus sujette à se plisser, à se friper" ⁵³

But the English too were concerned about the fate of the English body in the new and

massive city life⁵⁴ which they also saw as sedentary and anxious, with people breathing "all day long pestilential exhalations" from the factories⁵⁵. As a means of "arresting the degeneration of mankind", as The Lancet put it in 1866, many life-scientists recommended physical exercises in the countryside in imitation of the Greeks as well as sexual selection for robustness. Even the Phrenologist George Combe, (1788-1858) quite early on in the century, included in his scheme for a national and secular education gymnastics for children in order "to raise the race"⁵⁶. Writing in 1836 he cited "Ancient Greece" as a "confirmation" of his own advocacy of gymnastics :

"Ancient Greece might be cited in confirmation of this....the people of that country were, as a nation, physically and intellectually the most perfect of the human race ; and there is reason to believe that their unrivalled attention to Physical education was highly influential in producing the result"⁵⁷

Charles Kingsley considered separately the average modern urban woman. On the basis of anthropological and medical theories and methods which he espoused, he compared, in "Nausicaa in London, or the Lower Education of Women" of 1873, the physique of Greek woman which he observed in ancient Greek sculpture with the modern London young woman and deplored the differences. The latter was extremely small in size, had a weak upper torso which hindered the full oxygenation of the blood and which caused her poor health. He exhorted young poor girls to "copy in your own person" the Greek classical perfection. To this end he recommended that they should "learn to play at ball ; and sing in the open air and sunshine"⁵⁸.

On the other hand, certain occupations were seen as functional equivalents to the practice of physical exercise. Indeed, certain manual labourers were admired for their beautiful bodies, i.e. for their realisation of the nation's capacity for strength and health. These qualities made certain sectors of the so-called working-class, at least physically, equal to the ancient Greeks. This observation encouraged the integration of what M. Arnold called the "Populace" into the new political communities based on race⁵⁹.

Thus in England, Pater would declare that the Greek Discobolus embodied "all one

had ever fancied or seen in old Greece or on Thames's side, of the unspoiled body of youth"⁶⁰. While art students were taught in the 1870s that artists should

"never fail to avail ourselves of any chances of seeing the figure in action. Among half-stripped navvies, and the titanic forms of men employed in gas and other plutonic works, in wrestling, running, athletic sports, and more especially in bathing, we should ever watch for and note the change of form in the muscle..."⁶¹

In France too, Dr. Fau claimed that among modern manual workers, one could find that figural kind of beauty which the Greeks loved and for which they were loved, namely strength and robustness. At the theatre and the fairs one could also find muscular men who looked like modern "Hercules plus ou moins authentiques" as they displayed their "superbe organisation animale dont la nature les avait doués". However, all these social categories who possessed this superior physical, and so, "animal" nature, were thought to be lacking in intellect. Thus, according to Fau,

"Les hommes qui se livrent à de rudes travaux, le forgeron, le charpentier, le matelot, le portefaix, le laboureur, etc., ont des membres vigoureux, un torse robuste, surtout lorsqu'ils ne s'abandonnent pas à des excès débilissants. Leurs formes sont généralement lourdes, elles indiquent bien la force, mais la force massive...leurs membres manquent de souplesse et de légèreté...il est assez rare de rencontrer un ensemble parfait...si le laboureur ne contractait pas l'habitude de rester penché vers le sol,...ce serait peut-être chez lui que l'on trouverait le plus d'ensemble. Le matelot pourrait encore offrir de belles formes réunies à la souplesse, s'il ne les appauvissait par la débauche effrénée à la quelle il se livre presque toujours."⁶²

Nevertheless, French scientific opinion placed a higher value on and concern about the head, i.e. the brain and therefore the intellect, than on the body. Indeed, in 1856 Renan remarked that the French public was in fact little interested in anthropological ideas:

"L'esprit français se prête peu aux considérations ethnographiques : la France croit très peu à la race..."⁶³

Dr. Fau himself, a man professionally concerned with the condition of the body, was an intellectualist. So, although he admitted that the increasingly cerebral way of life destroyed the body, "au sein de nos villes,...l'esprit tue le corps"⁶⁴, he pointed to the beauty of the heads of this breed of intellectuals with their vast foreheads and eyes "aux profonds regards". These modifications in physiognomy were the result of either

the noble labour of the intellect or of the cultivated surrender to passion, "par les nobles travaux de l'intelligence ou par les passions irrésistibles"⁶⁵. Hippolyte Taine was among the few champions of physical education before 1871.

However, after 1871 French scientific opinion changed and scientists criticised more strongly than before the almost exclusive middle and upper-class desire for intellectual capacity. They advocated the equal importance if not priority of the development of physical capacities like reproductive success, health and strength for human happiness. The new scientific concern with physical perfection was the result of the acceptance in France of the new view of human biology as akin to animal biology formulated by Spencer and Darwin, "the animal man"⁶⁶. It was also the result of the French national humiliation in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. However, traces of intellectualism can still be found even in Hippolyte Taine's Notes sur l'Angleterre of 1872. In this book he presented an admiring account of ancient Greek as well as English middle and upper class physical values and institutions which he contrasted with the French. Indeed, as Citron has pointed out, Taine,

"Traumatisé, comme beaucoup de ses contemporains, par la défaite de 1870-71, il explique le désastre par la faiblesse de l'éducation française"⁶⁷

Another champion of the care for the body and the effectiveness of ancient Greek institutions regarding the body was Matthias Duval, a leading member of the Academie de Medecine and a supporter of Taine's views. Writing in 1883, he directed attention to the ancient Greeks' care for the body by supplying it with plenty of exercise:

"Il suffit en effet de rappeler d'abord quels soins extrêmes les anciens donnaient au développement des forces et de la beauté physique par les exercices gymnastiques"⁶⁸

Later, in 1898, Duval criticised with Cuyet the tendency of modern "civilised", meaning European and specifically French, societies to neglect the body:

"Aujourd'hui, la force corporelle et la beauté athlétique sont, chez tous les peuples civilisés, choses singulièrement dédaignées et dont on ne pense guère, dans tout milieu un peu relevé, à tirer gloire ou même vanité. La culture de l'intelligence a, d'une manière exclusive, remplacé la culture des aptitudes physiques..."⁶⁹

They too criticised French education as compared with ancient Greek and specifically classical Athenian education : "le contraste entre l'éducation, chez les anciens et l'éducation moderne". The result of the latter education was that,

"...au lieu de réaliser l'antique et classique formule qui demande une intelligence saine dans un corps robuste (mens sana in corpore sano), nous voyons trop souvent l'humanité dite civilisée tendre comme type vers un corps débile..."⁷⁰

Finally, we may understand Duval and Cuyet's emphatic description of the athletic practices of the citizens of the ancient Greek republics, of the Homeric heroes and also of the selection of healthy and strong children in militarist Sparta which I documented above, as a means of persuading their fellow countrymen that athletics and the preference for health and strength were appropriate for modern France, and indeed necessary for victory at war. For at that time France was both a Republic and in a state of military mobilisation.

Institutions of physical education in England and their aims

The new scientific concern and views about the racial identity of the English, their physical health and survival which marked the second half of the nineteenth century and which converged on the importance of physical exertion in the open air, reinforced the already established practice of athletics in the public schools. Indeed, a systematic programme of physical exercises was introduced into English life during the 1840s as a part of the education of the sons of the middle and upper classes in the public schools by the great nineteenth century reformer of English public school education, Thomas Arnold. Considering Thomas Arnold's own adoption of racial ideas, including his Teutonism, we may assume that his reforms already belonged to the new anthropological age, and that they were motivated not only by the English desire to be Greek, but also by the belief that the Germanic nations were racially identical with Greeks.

Arnold's programme of physical education took the form primarily of team ball games, such as cricket and football, and especially rugby. This took its name from

Rugby school where this particular kind of football was devised around 1840 by Thomas Arnold who became headmaster of this school in 1828. As Eric Dunning has observed, from about 1840 and following Arnold's example, football games

"began to be subjected to more formal organisation, when the rules were written down for the first time and where the players were required to exercise a higher degree of self-control in their play than had previously been demanded of them".⁷¹

Arnold was a Hellenist and a Christian, indeed an Anglican, albeit liberal, priest. Consequently, he set up as the model of the English middle and upper class youth the physique and learning of the fifth century B.C. Athenian youth and the morality of the mediaeval Christian knight⁷². This conception of the ideal man was embodied in Arnold's notion of the "Christian Gentleman" and in the mid-nineteenth century Arnoldian movement of "muscular Christianity" which I examined above. In fact, Arnold took his view of the perfect man as an "all-rounder"⁷³, i.e. one who is perfect in both the mind and the body, and also his view of the role of education for the individual and collective achievement of this goal, from Greek Platonic philosophy and Greek classical education as this was shaped by Platonic philosophy⁷⁴.

Following Arnold's example, the achievement of a perfect mind in a perfect body became the goal of nineteenth century public school education. It became the measure of a civilised nation as opposed to a nation of "savages and half barbaric men and women"⁷⁵. As a nineteenth century commentator remarked, leaning upon the authority of Plato,

"Is not that the best education which gives to the mind and the body all the force, all the beauty ; and all the perfection of which they are capable ? (Plato)"⁷⁶

After Arnold's death in 1842 and during the second half of the nineteenth century, athletics came to occupy an increasingly dominant position in the English public schools, at the expense of intellectual development. As J.A. Mangan has observed, athleticism became "a powerful educational ideology...to which school authorities consistently subscribed"⁷⁷. This orientation was encouraged by the developing life-sciences. According to Holt, the English practice of games, was, already by 1860, re-inforced, i.e. acquired a new impetus, firstly by Spencer's famous dictum "to be a nation of good animals is the first condition of national prosperity"⁷⁸ ; and

secondly by a mis-understanding of Darwin's view of 'natural selection' and the 'survival of the fittest' as meaning 'the survival of the strongest'⁷⁹. Indeed, most scholars of Victorian public school sport agree that,

"the public schools were indebted as much to the tenets of Social Darwinism as to the principles of muscular Christianity"⁸⁰

These developments caused the balance between mind and body which Arnold had advocated to break down. More often than not, the body would take precedence over the mind as English youth would prefer Spartan to Athenian ideals. This possibility was illustrated in Thomas Hughes' description of public school life in his novel Tom Brown's Schooldays of 1857. Arnold's true disciples however, regretted that

"the type of school-boy and of manhood most in favour with the British public is Spartan rather than Athenian"⁸¹

Hughes' account of Rugby school life under Arnold's headmastership was itself also criticised for being unbalanced and for giving English people the wrong view about both Rugby school and Arnold, and thereby exercising a disastrous influence on English youth. Thus, Sir Joshua Fitch, writing in 1897 alerted the "English people" to the fact that "Mr Thomas Hughes' romance,....gives only one side, and that not the best side of Rugby school life, or of Arnold's character..."⁸² The same author remarked that Arnold, following Aristotle, had specifically denounced the extreme and violent gymnastic exercises of the Spartan youth and was against the Spartan anti-academic principle of education because, as he said, it produced individuals "brutal of soul". According to Fitch, T. Arnold had also warned against the "danger of the modern "cultus" of sports and athletics"⁸³.

However, Arnold's system of physical education itself, regardless of its relationship to intellectual development was not exactly Greek. Indeed, some later Hellenists, like the Anglo-Irish Oscar Wilde, criticised cricket because the players' attitudes were "indecent" and "not Greek"⁸⁴. Yet Walter Pater would readily recognise in the English cricketer a Greek discobolus⁸⁵. Nevertheless, certain Greek games like rowing, swimming and boxing also became part of the English way of forming the body to Greek standards⁸⁶. But still Wilde would criticise in 1874 at the age of 20 when he was studying at Oxford, the rule of rowing with a straight back : "I am sure the Greeks never did so at Salamis"⁸⁷

The English middle and upper-class youth's desire to look Greek was immediately perceived by foreign observers. The Frenchman Hippolyte Taine for example, who visited England on several occasions from 1858 onwards, saw it as one of the characteristic features of English middle and upper class youth:

"There are gentlemen in this country whose ambition and regimen are those of a Greek athlete ; they adopt a special diet...and follow a careful system of training"⁸⁸

In the Larousse du XIXe siècle in the article on "race" in which racial differences among human nations in physical strength, "différences dans la force musculaire", were also considered, we find the international recognition that the English had actually achieved their goal. Measurements with the "dynamomètre", an allegedly scientific instrument for the study of differences in physical strength among European and "plusieurs nations sauvages", showed that the English scored 71.4 as compared with 69.2 of the French, 50.6 of the inhabitants of Van-Diemen and so on⁸⁹.

In his Notes sur l'Angleterre, Taine described English public school and University education as follows:

"l'éducation...n'est pas sans ressemblance avec celle des Lacédémoniens ; elle endure le corps et trempe le caractère..."⁹⁰

He also remarked that at Oxford success in the games was considered as important as it had been in ancient Greece. This was evident in such features of Oxford life as the scale of the celebrations in honour of the winners of the rowing competition. Rowing was the university sport par excellence⁹¹. Taine described these celebrations as follows:

"Le soir, les vainqueurs festinent dans la grande salle du collège ; il y a des discours, des applaudissements, des toasts, des refrains chantés en chœur, un joyeux et glorieux tumulte ; il est clair qu'un tel triomphe doit être presque aussi désiré que la palme des anciens jeux Olympiques."⁹²

Although Taine had some reservations about the English somewhat excessive emphasis on athletics, he admired the body of the young Oxford students which was the result of "la culture musculaire". These young men were

"pleins de sève et de force, d'une belle et franche prestance, bien musclés et découplés"⁹³

These were precisely the physical features of 'manliness' which the English desired

and pursued in their schools and Universities while they condemned

"Round shoulders, narrow chests, stiff limbs"⁹⁴

These were also the features of the young Greeks as described by Taine in his Philosophie de l'art en Grèce of 1870, drawing on classical literary and visual sources:

"la poitrine pleine, la peau blanche, les épaules larges, les jambes grandes"⁹⁵

As far as the rest of British society was concerned, the movement in favour of national education of which Matthew Arnold was a great supporter, did not fully materialise until the 1880s. It was also in the 1880s that gymnasia and games were introduced into the few girls' public schools⁹⁶.

The Greek identity of the English and British foreign policy

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the belief in the Greek physical-genealogical and thereby cultural identity of the English became a source of national pride and a factor which favoured the solidarity and political integration of different economic strata, within English society, according to the principle of the community of blood⁹⁷. However, there was a problem about the further practical and specifically political implications of looking like Greeks. What kind of political behaviour or identity went with this physical identity ? What was the use of the inherited and further cultivated, through physical exertion (manual labour and/or athletics), physical strength of the nations of the white race in inter-national or rather ^{inter-}racial relations ? One possible use was in self-defence against foreign aggressors ; another was in territorial expansion, i.e. in war with other races.

The precise answer which Physical Anthropology gave to the problem of inter-racial relations, was ambiguous. Not only because of lack of clarity but also because of conflicting theories. In fact, what politicians and political theorists took from Physical Anthropology was not what to do (self-defence or self-expansion) but how to do it, namely the development of physical strength by athletics. This was because most

wishes regarding British foreign policy found a 'scientific' re-inforcement. Physical Anthropology was thus used by political writers and politicians, in Bentley's famous metaphor, in the same way as a drunken man uses a lamp-post : for support rather than illumination.

Gobineau's interpretation of Aryanism in his 1850-3 Essai put forward the idea of the destiny of Europeans to be the police of the world and the distinction between servile and conquering races. He offered the Greeks and particularly Alexander the Great as an example of Aryan imperialism. While Knox, in his 1850 The Races of Men warned against imperialism, supporting the principle of one race, one continent. Indeed, as an advertisement of The Races put it, this book

"refutes the pretensions of any one Race to spread itself over the whole earth as a dominant race, possessors and cultivators of the soil"⁹⁸

Knox was against imperialism not because he doubted the physical superiority of the "Anglo-Saxon race" ; but rather because, as he claimed, each race was suited to a different climate, migration from which caused its degeneration and death. Finally, no specific political action outside a warning against gutlessness could be read off Charles Darwin's biological theory⁹⁹ regarding the survival of the fittest in the struggle for survival. Furthermore, Darwin's anthropology established the unity of mankind.

The Liberals whose principles characterise mid-nineteenth century British political life were generally humanists and adopted the cultivation of physical strength in defence of British freedom and autonomy against aggressors. As Banton has pointed out specifically about the relationship between racial theories and British Imperialist policies, "there is no clear evidence that British imperialism and Victorian ideas of race are linked in any causal way"¹⁰⁰. Indeed, ideas of race and racial determinism were developed at a time when anti-expansionism was the dominant British political doctrine and policy. For if the most strident racialism dates from the 1850s, imperialism dates from the 1870s onwards.

The 1850s and 1860s were not an expansionist age. Lord Palmerston's period of

premiership (1855-65) which included the Crimean war (1854-56), has gone down to history as 'Pax Britannica'. Furthermore, his successor in 1868, W.E. Gladstone, was an ardent pacifist. Indeed, Gladstone's policies can be summed up in the Liberal slogan : "Peace, Retrenchment, Reform". In his four ministries (1868-74, 1880-1885, 1886 and 1892-94) Gladstone sought to apply Christian moral principles to political life. In foreign policy these principles were embodied in his intensely and, only towards the end of the century unpopular, pacifist and anti-imperialist doctrine of 'Home Rule' i.e. self-government. As Banton has observed,

"Gladstone's cabinet of 1868 is sometimes considered as marking the high point of anti-imperialist sentiment. Imperialism was in no sense a popular political idea before Disraeli's second premiership of 1874-80..."¹⁰¹

The concern for national autonomy and defence was further activated during Palmerston's premiership by British fears about a French invasion during Napoleon III's Imperialist government¹⁰².

The British pursuit of physical strength and perfection through gymnastics and the adoption of freedom as a distinctly national goal were largely modelled on the Greeks and especially the Athenians. This was so not only because of the alleged consistency of this relationship in ancient Greek history but also because of what was seen as the crucial importance of ancient Greek political history, and especially of the battle of Marathon, for the development of European civilisation¹⁰³. This fact had been recognised by the ancient Athenians themselves. Indeed, as John Boardman has indicated, the late fifth century B.C. Athenian poet Critias had listed as the most distinguished product of the Athenian city-state, "the victor of Marathon" against the Persian invaders¹⁰⁴. The British desire to emulate both Greek gymnastics and Greek freedom is evident not only in Gladstone's writings and policies but also in the younger Arnold's analyses of his society. In fact Arnold criticised what he saw as the British excessive commitment to both gymnastics and "doing-as-one-likes", because of their detrimental effect on cultural development and on the development of a uniform national identity:

"...Greek freedom and Greek gymnastics have attracted the love and praise of mankind, who give so little love and praise to ours..."¹⁰⁵

Nineteenth century British imperialism, in the sense of the maintenance, defence against other European imperial powers, and further expansion of British territories overseas by force or purchase, was initiated by Disraeli's Conservative government and culminated in the 1890s. Disraeli's first venture in "imperialism" was in 1872, in his famous Crystal Palace speech in which he criticised the Liberals' anti-imperialist sentiments and policies led by Gladstone. Disraeli began the implementation of British imperialist ambition during his second and major term of office as Tory Prime Minister between 1874 and 1880. His imperialist intentions were symbolised in 1877 by the crowning of Queen Victoria as Empress of India. Disraeli used both physical force and money to expand British control over and participation in world affairs and resources. For example he purchased the Suez Canal (1875) and supported Cecil Rhodes' Zulu War (1879) which resulted in the expansion of Natal.

Ideas of race and ideas of the expansion of the empire of the British overseas were combined in the minds of both men of letters and men of action like Disraeli himself, Sir Charles Dilke (1843-1911), James Anthony Froude (1818-1894) and Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902)¹⁰⁶. Racial classifications and especially those of the white or Caucasian and of the Indo-European or Aryan race, which distinguished between European and non-European nations, encouraged British ambition for expansion over territories as yet unknown to or unoccupied by Europeans. According to Poliakov, "...en Angleterre le futur lord Beaconsfield fut le premier à transposer le débat [on racial interpretations of history] sur le plan politique"¹⁰⁷ While later in the century, Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), a Liberal-Unionist, a member of Gladstone's cabinet of the 1880s, and later Conservative colonial secretary, justified British expansionist policies in terms of the doctrine of the "governing races"¹⁰⁸.

Racial theories re-inforced Cecil Rhodes' own imperialist plans during the last quarter of the century for British expansion in Africa. These plans included not only the Cape-to-Cairo plan but also his policy of "equal rights for every white man south of the Zambesi", although under liberal pressure he changed "white" to "civilized"¹⁰⁹. By the end of the century by which time he had established himself in British politics as the victor of the Zulu War (1879) and the Boer War (1899-1902), the founder of

Rhodesia (1888-91) and the prime minister of Cape Colony (1890-96), Rhodes would claim that,

"all thoughts of a little England are over. They are tumbling over each other, Liberals and Conservatives, to show which side are the greatest and most enthusiastic Imperialists. The people have changed, and so do all the parties..."¹¹⁰

Indeed, imperialism was not a specifically Conservative foreign policy during their "twenty years of resolute government" as they put it, from 1886 to 1905 with only a three-year Liberal interval (1892-95)¹¹¹. Liberalism too developed later in the century its own version of Imperialism, Liberal Imperialism, championed by Lord Rosebery¹¹². Furthermore, Lord Salisbury (1830-1903), who succeeded Disraeli as leader of the Conservative party and was four times prime minister (first premiership, 1885-6), was a reluctant imperialist and stressed the defensive aspects of Conservatism. His own view of British foreign policy was that of 'splendid isolation'. On the other hand, even in the 1890s, when the word imperialism would most adequately characterise British political culture and foreign policy, there was a vast peace agitation within the swelling electorate.

The expansion of British frontiers overseas and over non-white peoples in particular by means of physical force satisfied a number of goals. Not only power politics and economic interests, but also the desire to explore the world and to be of service to humanity¹¹³. In fact, the belief in the British mission to expand and defend the area over which God's true will was obeyed and by means of muscles and guns if necessary, was probably the most decisive factor. As A.P. Thornton has stressed, "[British] Imperialism must...preserve its moral content".¹¹⁴

The belief in the special relationship between divine Providence and the English as a chosen nation had been a core ingredient of the national identity of the English since the seventeenth century. It had its roots in the Puritan doctrine of "election" which was taken from the Bible and which was applied to both groups and individuals¹¹⁵. In the nineteenth century this belief was given a 'scientific' confirmation. Thus, in the 1840s Thomas Arnold based this claim on evidence from history (which included the revived - by Tennyson and others - legends of the mediaeval knights and kings

like King Arthur) and physical anthropology. According to these 'sciences', the Christian civilisation of the Middle Ages was the product of the Germanic race to which the English belonged¹¹⁶.

Finally, the particular relationship which the British tried to establish during the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the rest of the world, as not only world suppliers of material goods but also as law-givers and law-enforcers, was entirely consistent with the most fundamental doctrines and values of British religious culture. These included, firstly, Bacon's ethic of the 'homo minister naturae' which extended the Christian's ambit of action and responsibility over the whole world, and secondly, the Arnoldian assimilation of the military ethic of the mediaeval knight errant with that of the ancient Greek hero in the idea of the 'muscular Christian'. These principles obliged the Christian to fight against evil, wherever it was, in a physical battle against wrong-doers where the stakes are life and death¹¹⁷. This kind of 'imperialism', as well as the economic and scientific kinds, were already being carried out by British and other European missionaries, merchants and explorers before it became a political programme of expanding frontiers.

The missionary goal of British political expansion was championed by such diverse giants of the Victorian age as the historian and thinker Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), the Liberal politician John Bright (1811-89), and the explorer David Livingstone (1813-1873). The latter for example sought to introduce the pattern of commerce and Christianity into 'Darkest Africa'¹¹⁸. Finally, Ruskin himself encouraged the English to found colonies because he believed that the English nation was the agent who could, i.e. had been given the power to, and therefore should make the whole world flourish, according to the maxim, which I paraphrase here, of 'the **Englishman** minister naturae'. Thus, in a series of lectures on art which he gave at the University of Oxford in 1870, Ruskin proclaimed that,

"There is a destiny now possible to us - the highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused. And this is what she [England] must either do or perish: she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men: - seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to

their country, and that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea..."¹¹⁹

Institutions of physical education in France and their aims

In both Britain and France the practice of athletics was either guided or reinforced and maintained by physical anthropological and medical theories about health, the human body and historical knowledge. But if in Britain the institutionalisation of physical exercise was, in the first instance, religio-ethically motivated and only later harnessed to power politics and political economy, in France the concern for the welfare of the body owed little to religion and much to politics. Indeed, as I have already indicated, Catholicism was opposed to both science and the concern for the welfare of the body.

The religious structure of French society and the defeat of the French by the Prussians at the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 may explain both the adoption by the French of open air athletics during the last quarter of the century and the French delay in adopting such activities before then. This means that French religious and political circumstances may explain on the one hand the initial French resistance to scientific theories, and on the other, the adoption of scientific prescriptions after 1871, when it was recognised that the old ways were disastrous not only for the political interests of the French nation, including its very survival, but also for its religious salvation.

Until 1871, French social values and thereby French education, neglected the body and placed great emphasis on the cultivation of the mind¹²⁰. This was, despite warnings, from around 1850, by a few medical scientists regarding the poor health or physical degeneration of the growing French urban population and the necessity for proper exercise¹²¹. Even official attempts by Napoleon III's minister of education, Victor Duruy, to introduce gymnastics into French state schools as a compulsory activity in 1869, met with limited success.¹²² As Holt has found,

gymnastics were generally considered as "unseemly or degrading activities"¹²³.

However, after the war ended in 1871 with the defeat of the French, French attitudes to the body and with them social institutions changed dramatically across all urban strata. Physical education, i.e. the development of the strength and health of the body through athletic exercises was pursued individually as well as in clubs and schools.

The institutionalisation of athletics marked the public adoption of scientific ideas. As Holt has remarked, the defeat of the French, marked by their capitulation at Sedan on 1 September 1870, was interpreted by racial theorists like Taine and Gobineau as a vindication of their views, namely as the expected result of racial weakness¹²⁴. They warned that France could eventually succumb to conquest unless firm action was taken to halt racial decline. Such action was the practice of sport. The Spencerian and Darwinist law of the survival of the strongest also recommended outdoor sport as well as increased fertility.

The critique of the French specifically urban body went with the assurance that the basic material of the French race was superior to the German which I examined above. Thus, Rochet pointed out that the French superiority in virility understood as physical strength, "beauté virile", was "une vérité scientifique ou naturelle devant un fait purement accidentel", meaning the French defeat. And, writing during the high tide of "revanchisme", he significantly indicated that the situation of French subjugation was a situation which could be very easily reversed, "qui...d'un instant à l'autre, peut se trouver changée"¹²⁵

Rochet went on to explain the French defeat, firstly by the German numerical superiority,

"le Blond...possède sur lui [the "Brun"] les avantages du nombre".

This is now a generally recognised fact. According to Eric A. Arnold, Jr. the "Prussian generals...commanded a much larger force, with ample reserves". While the French "were not prepared for modern war in which the totality of a nation's resources are focused"¹²⁶

Indeed, we may understand the French

obsession with the size of their population by reference to the French defeat in 1871 and its scientific explanation¹²⁷.

The second reason was the superiority in military equipment of the "Blond" as compared with the natural, physical superiority of the "Brun":

"le Blond possède...la puissance matérielle étrangère à sa constitution personnelle".

Indeed, in terms of arms "Prussian artillery...proved infinitely superior to the French"¹²⁸.

As I documented above, Rochet told his fellow countrymen that the remedies to the above French weaknesses were certain changes in life-style. These changes included the practice of physical exercises from an early age by both French men and women and the re-moralisation of French women. The latter consisted in chastity before marriage and motherhood. These practices, which were partly modelled on and partly reinforced by the way of life of the ancient Greeks, would serve not only religious but also political ends : they would regenerate the nation both physically and numerically.

Empirical reality now matched and was in fact guided by these scientific views. Indeed, organised athletics became one of the institutions of nation-building (i.e. a way of binding French youth to common action and purpose), race-building (i.e. a way of achieving the physical regeneration and homogenisation of the French nation) and national liberation (i.e. a preparation for war). The goal to liberate Alsace-Lorraine known as "revanche" was adopted by the Third Republic which was proclaimed in 1875, and was revived by the Boulangistes in 1886-9. Athletics were also practised for the realisation of the new French imperialist ambition of the 1880s and 1890s, initiated by the prime minister Jules Ferry (1832-93)¹²⁹. The new French Republican imperialism differed from Napoleon III's imperialism in that it used some racial arguments to justify itself¹³⁰.

The idea that physical education should be a responsibility of the schools was

championed by important political figures like Gambetta and Jules Simon almost immediately after the war. They accepted the view that the French defeat was due to the lack of proper physical and military training in French schools as compared with the Prussian schools and advocated the introduction into French schools of obligatory periods of exercise and firearms training¹³¹. The French historian and sociologist Edmond Demolins (1852-1907) described the importance which the schools acquired in France when the Prussian educational model was adopted following the Franco-Prussian war:

"The School ! What respect, what worship of the School was taught us ! If the Germans conquered us, it was because their Schools were superior to our own ; forthwith we enlarged our programmes of examinations and multiplied our educational establishments...there was an era of palace -schools....

The enthusiasm was general : a free School was not enough, it must be compulsory as well. Every one to the School ! The sons of peasants, as well as the scions of the middle class, were dragged to School." ¹³²

The social importance of the expansion of schools in France rested on the belief that they were not only effective agents for spreading literacy and knowledge across the nation but also agents of national unity, health, political power and autonomy. These goals had been assigned to the Prussian schools by the Prussian government and they had achieved them. Demolins stressed that the German emperor's power "was constituted by strength of arms...not by means of "mind gymnastics"" which French schools had hitherto favoured. Demolins proved his claim by quoting from a recent statement made by the German Emperor to the German nation:

"...in the years '64, '66, and '70...the Prussian Schools were depots for the idea of Unity, which was taught everywhere.

Every one in Prussia was animated with one idea : the restoration of the German Empire and recapture of Alsace and Lorraine." ¹³³

From 1880-onwards, some middle-class French schools also adopted the English educational system which Taine had praised in his Notes and in which games played an important role. All these practices marked a radical cultural and institutional change in France. As far as middle and upper class culture was concerned, athletics marked a break with the earlier Salon society which Norbert Elias has so well described. As Holt has noted, after "generations of regarding street football or jeu-de-ballon as distasteful and plebeian, the sons of the Parisian bourgeoisie of the 1880s

and 1890s suddenly became ardent footballeurs and rugbymen"¹³⁴ thereby becoming engaged in "the struggle for life"¹³⁵.

Many gymnastic clubs were also founded after the defeat whose following cut across all classes including the working-classes¹³⁶. In fact, by the end of the century the numbers of both clubs and members had increased so dramatically that it can be said that athletics had become a national activity. The first properly organised gymnastic institution, the Union des Societes Francaises de Gymnastique (USFG) was formed by a handful of clubs in 1873 ¹³⁷. A number of these voluntary athletic associations received state subsidies such as the gymnastic union, the Union des Sociétés d'Éducation Physique et de Préparation Militaire de France. These were modelled on the Prussian methods of physical education, i.e. gymnastics. Their names indicated their scientific and political character such as, "La Régénératrice", "L'Alsace-Lorraine", "La Revanche"¹³⁸. Flaubert's heroes in his famous novel of the mid-seventies, Bouvard et Pecuchet, typified the new petit-bourgeois spirit and practices. The heroes, two clerks from Paris leave the city and retire to the country where they practise gymnastics following the standard manual on the subject. This they do with the aim of acquiring the physical properties which were deemed necessary for the physical struggle for life and specifically for the struggle for the "revanche".

Reproductive practices were also seen by scientists as being relevant to political ends together with athletics. Darwinists had recommended higher birth-rates or 'reproductive success' as a means to national survival. The public acceptance and implementation of the connexion between on the one hand increased fertility and athletics, and on the other war and survival, is evident in the motto of the USFG : "Faites-moi des hommes nous en ferons des soldats !" ¹³⁹.

Finally, reproduction and physical strength became connected by the principle of sexual selection for robustness. Indeed, the great Paul Broca, one of the founders of the Ecole d'anthropologie, in an article in the Revue d'Anthropologie of 1872 entitled "Les Selections", advocated sexual selection for robustness as well as beauty, morality and intelligence, as a means to the re-generation of the race:

"...ce qui est géneral, ce qui est naturel, c'est la préférence accordée à la beauté sur la laideur, à la constitution robuste sur la constitution chétive ou malade, à l'intelligence sur la sottise ; enfin, dans les sociétés vraiment civilisées, la considération de la valeur morale joue un rôle important dans la sélection conjugale. Cette sélection pourrait donc devenir l'agent le plus puissant du perfectionnement de la race, car des êtres bien doués naissent des êtres bien doués eux-mêmes"¹⁴⁰

Thus, the scientific answers to French nationalist interests may explain not only the adoption of systematic and frequent physical education by French society but also the popularity of the French countryside and of the French Mediterranean coastal regions among the urban populations, which characterised French life during the last three decades of the century¹⁴¹. Indeed, anthropologists believed that France could achieve its political objectives, including its very survival, through the regeneration and multiplication of the body of the nation. The improvement of the physical condition of the nation, (i.e. the achievement of physical health and strength), and of its reproductive capacity could be achieved if the French supplied their body with sun, fresh air and exercise¹⁴².

**PART IV: THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREEK BODY AND
IMAGES OF GREEKS IN BRITISH AND FRENCH ART**

CHAPTER 9:

IMAGES OF GREEKS AS IMAGES OF GOD

Introduction

In this chapter I shall describe and compare the statistical, thematic and iconographic patterns of English and French works of art illustrating female and male personages from ancient Greek mythology. The category 'Greek Mythology' includes images of Homeric personages, of characters from ancient Greek tragedies, of the Greek gods and demi-gods, their priests, rituals and festivals and of ancient Greek mythical heroes. I have taken works of art on these subjects to be accounts of ancient Greek religious conceptions, i.e. of Greek Paganism, and hence, for the purposes of this chapter, as 'religious' subjects.

In order to show the cultural significance of these images I shall go on to consider in each country the extent to which the statistical patterns of these works corresponded, firstly, to the adoption or rejection among religious circles of the new anthropological ideas about the Greek body and ancient Greek religion ; and secondly to changes in the social attachment to the Judaeo-Christian world-view. By means of this matching I shall show the extent to which the religious structure of nineteenth century Britain and France enabled the development and indeed supplied artists with a particular type of subject-matter.

Finally, I shall show that the religious differences between the two countries may explain some of the differences in the statistical and thematic patterns of works of art on ancient Greek mythology in their art and also differences in the extent to which British and French artists used in their works the Pheidian physical type.

In this chapter the material is divided into two main sections and two sub-sections, according to the sex of the mythological personages represented in British and French art. Thus, in the first section I examine which female mythological personages tended

to be represented in each country and in the second section I examine which male mythological personages attracted artists in the two countries. Since there is always a limit to what one can do, I shall focus my analysis on the most frequently represented female and male mythological personages. Finally, I do not consider in this chapter images of the Homeric heroes and heroines in any systematic way, although I have counted them in the category 'Greek Mythology'. This is partly due to the relative historical reality of the Homeric narratives, a fact which excludes such works from an analysis of images of ancient Greek 'religious' personages. I consider the Homeric heroes in subsequent chapters when I analyse images of ancient Greek 'political' mythological and historical personages.

On the other hand, there is an overlap between this section and the one on English and French images of ancient Greek 'political' mythological and historical personages. This was unavoidable because of the religious and indeed Christian significance which these ancient Greek legendary and historical warriors, whose images in English and French art I examine, had for their audiences.

1. Christian and Pagan images of the female body

1.(i). The French case

In this section I shall concentrate on French images of Venus and the Bacchante. This is because these two mythological personages were statistically the most important subjects in the art of both countries throughout the period. I have considered the two personages as one in my statistical study of mythological works of art. They thus constitute a single category of subject-matter which I have called 'Venus-Bacchus'. This I did for two reasons :

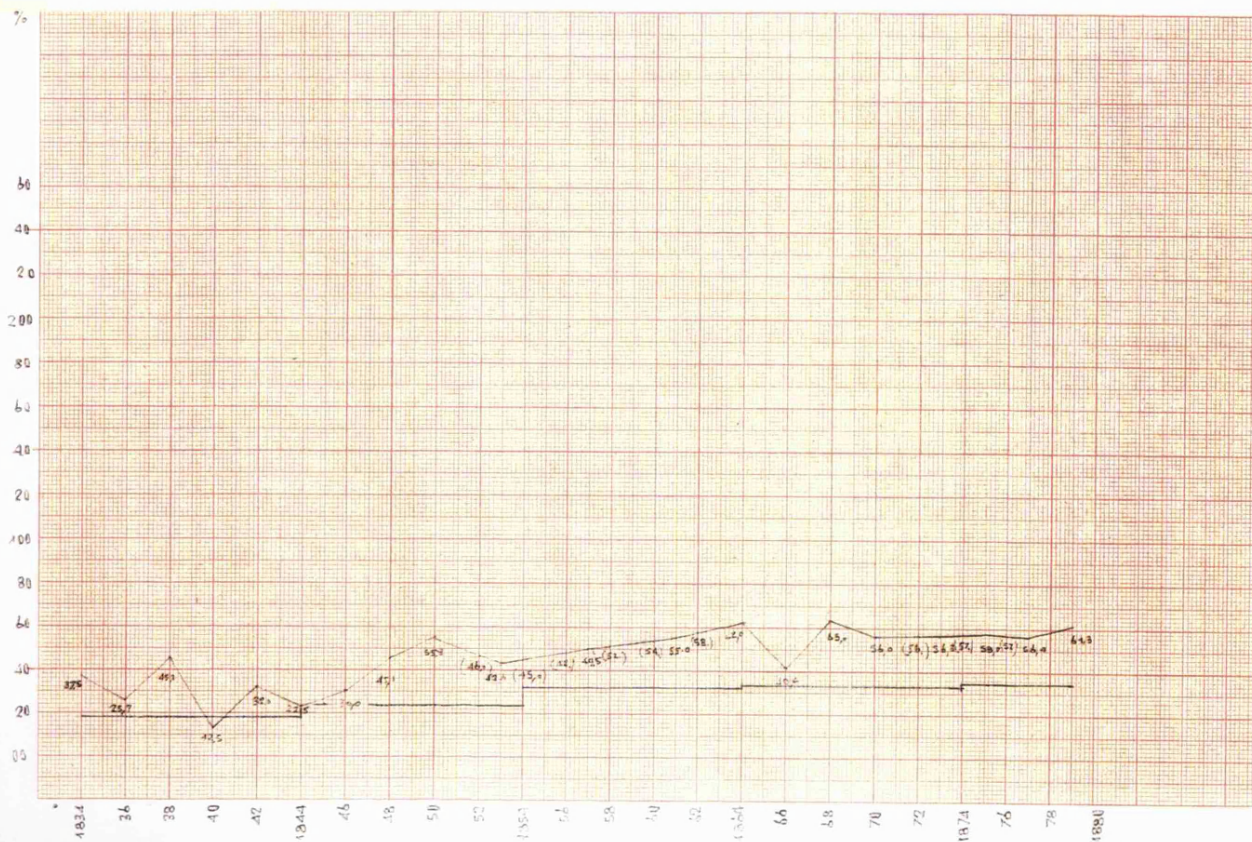
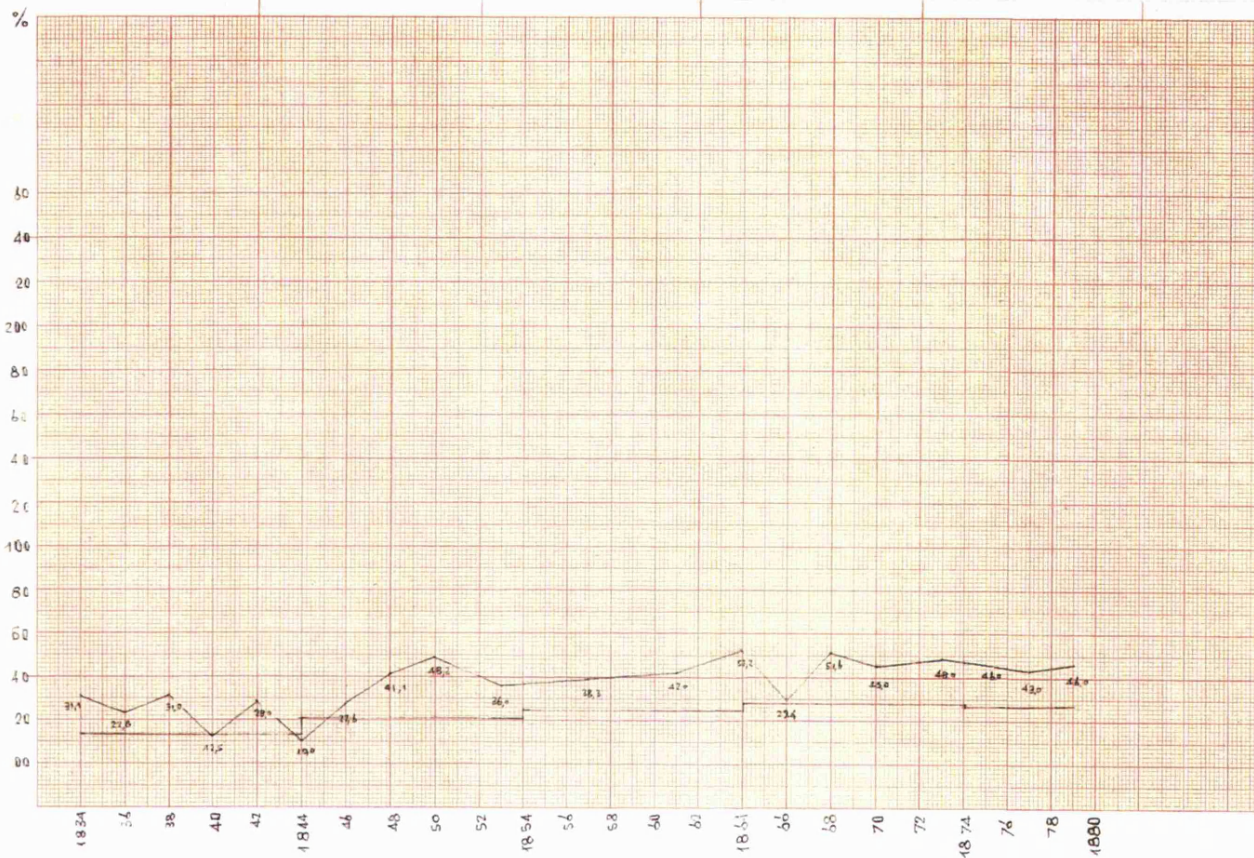
firstly because these characters overlap in a large number of works of art in both countries. Works like Bacchante by S Drummond, (A) of the 1842 R.A. exhibition in which the accompanying text in the catalogue refers to "...Wing'd Cupids frolic as in lovers' dreams./And revelling Bacchants skim across the streams"; or Bacchus et l'Amour ivres by J-L Gérôme of the 1850-51 are typical cases¹;

secondly because of the traditional cultural association in the West of sensuality (an attribute of Venus) with irrationality (an attribute of Bacchic characters) both being ecstatic 'inner' conditions and so the opposite of reason². These distinctions still hold in the nineteenth century.

The 'Venus-Bacchus' category includes works of art showing Venus, Cupid and nymphs as well as Bacchus or Dionysus and that population of satyrs, maenads, sylphs and nereids whom Walter Pater, in his Study of Dionysus, called the "little Olympus outside the greater"³. As I am mainly interested in this section in the range of conceptions of the female body and thereby female character which images of Greek female mythological personages typified, I shall also consider indicatively works on other female mythological personages which were of lesser statistical importance than the Venus, the Bacchante and their female retinue.

Finally, I shall examine the statistical pattern of works of art on the other Olympian, pagan gods, male and female, and aspects of pagan worship like priests, priestesses and religious rituals, (like Louis Rochet's statue of Minerve of the 1864 Salon or La sibylle de Delphes, a painting on porcelain by Mlle Marie Lafont of the 1877 Salon), in order to set off certain other peculiarities of the 'Venus-Bacchus' category beyond its overall high numbers.

GRAPH 8: Comparison of the patterns of works on 'Venus-Bacchus' and 'Paganism' in the Salon as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880



The statistical pattern of works on other Pagan gods can be described as follows. During the early part of my period, and specifically between 1834 and 1844, the proportion of such works out of all Greek works declines from 37.5 % to 22.5 %. This corresponds to the Catholic revival of the 1830s⁴. From about 1844 onwards, there is a change in this pattern: there is a steady increase of pagan subjects which continues uninterrupted through to the end of my period. This rise corresponds to the explosion of 'Paganism' which co-exists with the fervent Catholicism of the Second Empire and beyond.

As compared with the pattern of distribution of works on 'Venus-Bacchus' themes in my sample years there is an exact correspondence of the two patterns. This suggests that the two kinds of subject-matter were the result of similar cultural conditions. I shall now examine in detail the relationship between 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects in French art and the religious situation in French society.

Discussing the presence of the motif of the naked female body in west European art in his book The Nude, Kenneth Clark remarked that "the predominance of the female nude over the male, of which Raphael's Judgment of Paris is the first example, was to increase during the next 200 years, till by the 19th century it was absolute...No doubt this is connected with a declining interest in anatomy (for the ecorche figure is always male)"⁵. This statement should be qualified and corrected. Firstly because it does not entirely apply in England and secondly because of the incorrect assertion of the decline of anatomy in nineteenth century art education. I shall return to the first point a little later. Regarding the second point I have already shown the revival of anatomy in the official art schools in both England and France during the nineteenth century⁶.

Nevertheless, the French love of and indeed dependency on the will of women is true. This is evident in French Mariolatry which is in turn expressed in the nineteenth century in the colossal and numerous images of the Virgin Mary which marked the sculpture of the Second Empire⁷. It is also evident in the Bacchantes who figure in the "innombrables compositions de ce genre enfantees par l'art moderne"⁸ as

contemporaries observed. This is different from the British attachment to male Christian and Greek mythological personages which characterised British art of the middle of the century, as I shall show below.

Nineteenth century French works of art such as the above indicate the sources of French social ideas about women and also the French moral dilemma in choosing between two largely contradictory views of female conduct. These were the Catholic and the Greek. The former advocated charity, i.e. the gentle life of the heart, motherhood and chastity i.e. sensual restraint; the other advocated the pursuit of physical beauty and sexual pleasure. The social resolution of this cultural conflict determined the pattern of works on the 'Venus-Bacchus' and on the other pagan gods. Indeed, it is by reference to the social vitality of this dilemma that one may understand the numerous copies after Titian's famous painting Sacred and Profane Love which were exhibited at the Salon during the nineteenth century⁹.

As the statistical evidence above showed, during the early part of my period, from 1834 until about 1844, there is a decline of works on 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects. This corresponds to the social consensus that the Virgin Mary should be the model of French women.

The involvement of current religious disputes about man's relationship to his body in shaping the character of French figural art during this period can be illustrated by the case of Antonin Moine's designs for the decoration of the church of the Madeleine in Paris. The debates around his designs and their final rejection, also indicate the French social attachment at that time to the traditional Catholic rejection of the human body and of ancient Greek religion as a body-affirming, sensual religion. Catholic attitudes to the body were not modified until 1871, despite the new mid-century anthropological 'discovery' that the Greek body, as shaped by race as well as the institutionalisation of classical philosophy, was "transcendental", "natural" and "chaste".

On the 3rd of June 1834 the Ministry of the Interior commissioned from the sculptor

Antonin Moine (1796-1849) to design two stoups. In the Salon of 1836 Moine exhibited two plaster models of female allegorical figures personifying Religion and Foi conceived to flank one of the two basins. The figures were large and round in their forms and displayed voluptuous thighs and breasts through the thin though elaborate folds of clinging drapery. They were modelled on 'classical' sculpture, namely on the figures of the east pediment of the Parthenon¹⁰. However, Moine's designs were never executed. This was so despite some favourable press reviews of his Salon exhibits in L'Artiste and La Revue de Paris¹¹ who found his figures "d'une expression religieuse calme et élevée inspirant le recueillement et la prière"¹². In fact, the criticisms of liberal Catholic reviewers and especially of the aristocrat comte Charles de Montalembert and of Ph. Buchez prevailed. They criticised these "femmes aux formes grossièrement matérielles et à la robe transparente..." and the "volupté charnelle" of their "beauté matérialiste, celle de l'art païen, du siècle de Louis XIV et de l'Empire".¹³ p. 18
p. 19

In the place of Moine's figures was erected an androgynous, sexless, slim angel standing on a pedestal in the middle of the basin draped with long thick folds which make no concessions to any sensual contemplation of bodily form. In the same church, Louis-Antoine Barye's (1795-1875) Sainte Clotilde of 1835-42, indicates the acceptable Christian female type. She holds with one hand her cloak with which she covers and thereby denies her body and folds her arms before her breasts, supporting her head with the other hand in cultivated introspection and meditation. In her rational self-control too she contrasts with Moine's figure of La Foi who faithfully abandons her heavy body in mystical reception of the divine revelation, the source of Christian knowledge. p. 20

A second period of 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects is characterised by the rise of works on this theme. This rise marks the year 1846, reaches its maximum value in 1864 which is also the peak moment of the category for the whole period, and maintains itself through to 1868. It corresponds to a radical social change from the earlier situation. This social change was not the result of French Catholic acceptance of the new anthropological naturalist interpretation Greek mythology. Neither was it the result

of a social conversion to Paganism. Rather, it was the result of the adoption of what might be called the Mary Magdalene model of life. This consisted in the French and specifically Parisian excitement over Mary Magdalene's earlier life, combined with the security of her repentance and absolution in later life. Among other contributing factors to this cultural change we may list firstly the economic prosperity of the period which made material and hence physical well-being objectively and overwhelmingly possible¹⁴; and secondly, the religious doubt about the ultimate, religious benefits of physical restraint raised by positivists like Renan.

One of the icons of this period is Cabanel's Naissance de Venus. In her horizontal position, pink nakedness and sly gaze below her raised arm, this Venus is one of the sexiest works of French art. It was exhibited at the Salon of 1863 and was bought by Napoleon III who, as one of his contemporaries remarked "ne prisait guère que les nudités aphrodisiaques"¹⁵. Indeed, not only did he buy Cabanel's Venus but other similar works like La Nymphe enlevée par un Faune of the Salon of 1861 by the same artist. In fact the Emperor's taste **typifies** the mores of the French Parisian population at that time.

It must be noted here that the Greek goddess Venus presents certain problems regarding her cultural significance. This is because of her many attributes and interpretations. In fact the Greeks through Plato distinguished between two Venuses who personified two distinct types of female character : the Venus Naturalis and the Venus Coelestis¹⁶. The female worshippers of the former and older Venus derived from her their desire for sexual pleasure and their generative power to reproduce humanity. The worshippers of Venus Coelestis by contrast, derived from her their capacity to give aesthetic pleasure through their physical beauty, and their purity in the sense of physical restraint, i.e. chastity. Plato associated the Venus Coelestis with two further ideas : firstly the principle of the Good defined as love which he saw as a fundamental element of the universe ; and secondly the human capacity for supersensual love. This was the human attraction to fellow spirits which for Plato was the ideal human relationship especially among men. This relationship he distinguished in accordance with his intellectualism from its earthly shadow, the bond of physical

desire.

However, as Kenneth Clark has observed, iconographically, "the distinction between the two Venuses grows very slight" ¹⁷. Nevertheless, these categorical distinctions and permutations were of great importance for the fortunes of Venus and of other Greek gods following the triumph of Christianity in Europe. Indeed, Christian thinkers and especially the Renaissance Neo-Platonist circle of Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) in Florence **assimilated** the Venuses with Christian ideas and personages. This assimilation became commonplace and the image of the naked body of Venus was introduced into the art of Christian societies.

The assimilation of Platonic philosophy and Christian theology and ethics consisted in the identification of Venus Coelestis with the following Christian themes : the Christian belief in a universe ruled by a benevolent God, the third of the three Christian 'theological virtues', faith, hope and charity, and the Virgin Mary's chastity. To these Christian ideas, the Venus Coelestis **added** the "Idea" of beauty. Finally, the fertility of the other Venus, the Venus Naturalis, matched the Judaeo-Christian moral principle of female conduct also exemplified by Mary. This was the divine commandment to man to multiply albeit within the wedlock. This match led to the qualified identification of the other Venus too, with Mary. Thus Venus, the mother of Cupid or Eros, i.e. love, became identified with the Virgin with the child Christ, also the mother of love. This assimilation allowed the **interchangeability** of the two personages as embodiments of the same ideas in European art.

The multiplicity of meanings attached to Venus was well known in nineteenth century France. Evidence for this is provided by the article on Venus in the Larousse du XIXe siècle¹⁸. However, it is significant that her relationship to the Virgin Mary which the Neo-Platonists had established should not be mentioned. This fact and the mores "de maison close Second Empire"¹⁹ leave little doubt that it was the spirit of self-indulgence of the Venus Naturalis which stimulated the massive production of images of Venus in this period. Indeed, the moment at which works on the 'Venus-Bacchus' category reach their peak , i.e. 1864, coincides with Napoleon III's

government.

The conscious association of the Venus Naturalis with the mores of modern Parisian women and thereby the social significance of 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects is evident in and may explain certain peculiarities of such "realist" works as Renoir's Baigneuse au griffon of the Salon of 1870. The pose and figural type of the just undressed modern French woman standing insinuatingly on the banks of the river Seine corresponds to the Cnidian Venus²⁰. This iconographic choice reveals the moral meaning of the scene since this statue by Praxiteles had been modelled on the body of Phryne, the courtesan, the worshipper of the Venus Naturalis.

On the other hand, the recognition of either Venus in the features of the modern French bourgeoisie was not shared by all French artists who attempted to characterise modern life. Indeed, artists like Courbet pointed to the contradiction between the Greek female body and the modern bourgeoisie. He mocked the actual physical type of modern French bourgeois in The Bathers of 1853. In this picture Courbet, a realist painter and a friend of Proudhon, criticised the inappropriateness of images of nymphs and other such mythological subjects in the art of a positive and revolutionary age. Also, by showing a real nude, i.e. the unidealised body of a "fat bourgeoisie, seen from behind stark naked except for a strip of cloth"²¹ (which was how Delacroix described that nude), Courbet indicated and criticised, from an aesthetic point of view, the ugliness of the modern bourgeoisie.

Contemporary Parisian life was also the source of the subject of the Bacchante. Indeed, these images were not nostalgic or escapist fantasies, neither were they mere conventional subjects for pictures and statues. Rather, Bacchic subjects represented the actual Parisian self-indulgent surrender to and pursuit of pleasure. The social significance of these subjects should thus explain the vitality of these subjects in French art of this period.

The reference to contemporary mores of Bacchic subjects in French art of this period is nowhere affirmed more explicitly than in public art and particularly in the

decorations of the facade of the new Opera house. These included Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux's (1827-1875) famous high-relief panel called La Danse. In this Carpeaux showed a dance consisting in the irregular and frenzied convulsions of highly characterised naked and drunken men and women. Other features like ivy leaves and a goat-like male face further specified the figures' character as Bacchic, orgiastic revellers. pl. 22

Carpeaux's choice of Bacchic revellers as an emblem of modern Opera-going Parisians, was seen by many as a fitting and revealing visual account of the actual character of this institution and of modern life in general. This is how the critic Jules Claretie described La Danse when it was unveiled in 1869:

"C'est l'allégorie la plus vraie de nos mœurs actuelles et de nos goûts. C'est la personnification même de l'art, de la littérature et du plaisir sous le Second Empire...Voilà bien l'art de ce quart de siècle, cet art nerveux et fou, saccadé, secoué, malade et incomparable. C'est l'épilepsie régnante...le déchaînement des appétits...la soif du plaisir et le besoin ardent de voluptés brutales qui emportent ce temps et produisent la névrose universelle...Les filles de Carpeaux disent : Au plaisir !..."²²

Others too like Charles Blanc recognised though only to condemn it, the relationship of La Danse to certain other modern institutions, the brothel and the "cancan" : "l'Opéra n'est pas une closerie"²³. Renoir also criticised the profanation of the Opera by Carpeaux's choice of subject-matter : "La danse que l'on enseigne à l'Opéra a une tradition, c'est quelque chose de noble, ce n'est pas un cancan"²⁴. Furthermore, if we compare Carpeaux's La Danse with Dominique Papety's (1815-1849) The Temptation of S.Hilarion of the 1844 Salon, we can see more clearly the specifically anti-Catholic significance of Carpeaux's choice especially for male mores. In Papety's work, S.Hilarion resists precisely those things in which Carpeaux's men turned into fauns indulge. Indeed, as a critic commented most revealingly on S.Hilarion, "...les vignes et les femmes sont les joies de la terre..."²⁵ pl. 22a

Works on 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects decline but slightly after 1870. This pattern suggests that the same spirit prevailed after the Franco-Prussian war. To these works belongs Bouguereau's 1873 Salon exhibit Nymphes et satyre. His picture shows a pl. 24

satyr being playfully pulled into a stream by young naked women. Critics saw in this work "un sujet un peu scabreux", though one hastened to dilute such immediate reactions by adding that the subject was treated with "grâce et chasteté"²⁶. Such claims to chastity are frequently encountered in critical responses to such obvious affirmations of the erotic life. They should not be taken seriously. Indeed, Bouguereau's oeuvre of which this is a prime example came to be grouped with a new class of art, known as "art de cabaret"²⁷. And even his Nymphes et satyre was hung for twenty years in a bar²⁸.

Nevertheless, as I showed in another chapter, the war did cause a cultural change in France regarding female sexual mores. The new culture spanned the rest of the century and beyond and was in fact most fully articulated from the 1880s onwards, the period of national mobilisation and preparation for the "revanche". The new view of female mores was a return to the Virgin Mary and especially to two particular qualities of her character : chastity and motherhood - "la Vierge et la Mère"²⁹. To these traits was now added the acceptance within Catholic opinion of the healthy body as an element in the relationship between man and God. The statue of the Venus de Milo with her firm outline and narrow hips was the model of this physical ideal. This change was the result of a convergence of the political and religious aspirations of French society at that time.

Thus, the post-war Venuses can be understood as at least including no longer an alternative vision of female sexual mores to the Christian vision, but rather as offering a Greek re-inforcement of the Christian vision. They can also be seen as presenting an alternative vision to the hitherto actually prevailing sexual mores of French women to whose sterile, deforming and promiscuous urban life the defeat and physical weakness or "dégenération" of the nation was attributed³⁰.

The new ethos had two other effects on French art :

firstly, the conversion of such hitherto realist painters i.e. painters of the "vie moderne" like Renoir to Greek mythological subjects, and

secondly, the changes in the meaning and iconography of the Venus after the

Franco-Prussian war but the continuity in the statistical importance of the subject.

In fact, the sudden Hellenism of Renoir's later work offers an ideal-typical case of the dramatic impact on French art of changes in French female mores. From 1881 onwards, the year of his trip to Italy, Renoir adopted a new subject-matter and female figural type which came to bear all the features of what was in effect a new national and religiously sanctioned female ideal. He produced a long series of naked young girls who are innocent³¹, healthy, fertile, sporting (usually bathing), sun-tanned, strong and live like the Greek girls of antiquity in the Mediterranean countryside. This vision of womanhood which he expressed in his art he also pursued in one way or another in his own life³².

The Baigneuse blonde I of 1881³³ marks the beginning of Renoir's radical break with the earlier work of the 1870s. He had opted for the "daughters of the sun" rather than the "fairies of the north" as his friend de Wyzewa remarked³⁴. The fashionably dressed and promiscuous girls of Montmartre with the pale bodies squeezed by their tight dresses which had attracted him in the 1870s in works like La Parisienne (1874) or La Balançoire (1876) have now been replaced by a different type of woman. pl. 27 Renoir would sometimes call his pink nudes "nymphs"³⁵, which further indicates their Greekness. In 1903 Camille Mauclair described these nudes as follows:

"She is a luxuriant, firm, healthy...woman with a powerful body, a small head, her eyes wide open, thoughtless, brilliant and ignorant."³⁶

Also, a Bather like the one in the Musée Marmottan in Paris who sits in contra-posto and cross-legged on a rock supporting her chin with one hand may strike us as a fusion of Michelangelo's seated male athletes and muscular ignudi in the Sistine Chapel with Raphael's nereids.

A work by Degas, though not a mythological but a subject from ancient Greek history, may also show the impact of the new social value, i.e. the female athletic body as modelled on the Greek and specifically Spartan girls, on French art and especially on the more unlikely group of the 'Impressionists'. This work is Petites filles spartiates provoquant des garçons. Degas began this picture around 1860-62 and pl. 25

never finished it. Nevertheless, he was always "très attaché"³⁷ to it. There are a number of things about this picture which are relevant to my interests : the choice of subject-matter in the 1860s, and the time when Degas decided to retouch and exhibit it around 1880. Indeed, Degas had intended to include this work at the 1880 Impressionist exhibition. It does not matter here that although it was listed in the catalogue he did not finally show it, much to the disappointment of some critics³⁸.

The subject-matter of the Petites filles in the 1860s was unconventional - "un sujet rarement traité par les peintres"³⁹. It also seems unrelated to Degas' personal biography. Instead, it can be understood as an application of the peculiar classicism which certain physical anthropologists and positivist philosophers like Taine had advocated from the late 1850s onwards for French life and art and which French society had rejected. However, Degas' decision to exhibit this work in 1880 matches the final acceptance at that time by secular and religious opinion of the athletic body as a goal for all French boys and girls. In this context, Degas' work is a document of French life at that time, i.e. of the imitation of the ancient young Spartans by ordinary modern French youth. This connexion is indicated by what has often been recognised as the "'museau populacier" des gamins de Paris"⁴⁰ which Degas gave to his exercising Spartan adolescents.

It is important to see Degas' Petites filles spartiates as one of the **exceptions** to the general French rejection in the 1860s of the strong body as an object of desire. However, we must also consider it as an **instance** of this artist's own attachment from quite early on in his career and indeed from the 1860s onwards, to the subject of ballerinas and jockeys. Although these were not "Greek" motifs, nevertheless, they may be understood as the outcome of a combination of Degas' classicism, realism and physical anthropological naturalism⁴¹. All three interests were satisfied by the observation of strong bodies engaged in intense physical activity which Degas set out to capture in works like Mlle La La au Cirque Fernando of 1879.

Also, we may explain Degas' interest in ballerinas and female acrobats as the result of his academic education and of his classical taste. Indeed, we may see these images

as 'Greek' subjects if we understand these activities as modern functional equivalents of ancient Spartan female athletics. Furthermore, Degas' attachment to the representation of professional athletes, seems to conform with the aesthetic principles of ancient Greek artists. As I showed in another chapter, these principles were known to French artists through their teachers of artistic anatomy as well as through Taine's own teachings at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in the 1860s. According to these teachings, Greek artists were guided in their work by the belief that the body of the athlete and especially of the professional athlete was the most beautiful subject. Indeed, Degas' images of ballerinas, despite their often awkward poses, have an aesthetic significance as images of a new conception of physical beauty, that of the strong female body. The new aesthetics was shared by the famous dancer Nina de Villard who held that beauty was one of the goals of the "discipline "cruelle" involved in the making of dancers⁴². However, this belief was still held by the few.

With this kind of physique Degas contrasted what was seen by physical anthropologists as its near-opposite, that of the professional prostitute with her self-indulgent, uncircumscribed, wide-hipped body with its flabby and drooping belly. Indeed, works like Classe de danse of 1871⁴³ may be contrasted with his series of monotypes known as Scenes de maisons closes of the late 1870s.

pl. 28

The other post-war principle of French female life, namely motherhood, also affected the "Impressionists", and especially Renoir. This theme belongs to and may explain Renoir's turn to Greek mythological subjects and especially to Venus. Indeed, Venus is the subject of works like The Judgment of Paris of 1908 or the bronze statue of Venus victorious of 1914. In The Judgment of Paris the idea of motherhood is suggested by Renoir's choice of female bodily types to represent the three Greek goddesses. This type is copper-red by the sun, inflated, strong and healthy and, as Marcia Pointon has remarked, "possesses the plenitude of the maternal form"⁴⁴. It affirms that the perfect, i.e. divine, body, is the strong and fertile body. In fact, the cultural recognition that an expanded female bodily form is an anatomical condition resulting from or in pregnancy or fertility went back through Raphael's Mediterranean Virgin Marys to those prehistoric figures of fertility with their exaggerated breasts

pl. 94

and belly⁴⁵.

The subject-matter is also significant. The idea of choice which it indicates, may be understood as an expression and propagation in French minds of the type of woman whom Frenchmen liked, or should like. This was the Venus Naturalis, as the generating woman, rather than the intellectual or political woman. Renoir painted the subject of motherhood itself in Maternité of 1886⁴⁶. In real life too he contributed to the new national culture by having his own children. In Maternité he painted his mistress nursing their first son Pierre. Finally, he participated in the great migration of the French urban population to the moralising and regenerating countryside and especially the South of France. In 1908 he settled with his family at Cagnes on the Mediterranean coast which he had been visiting since 1882⁴⁷.

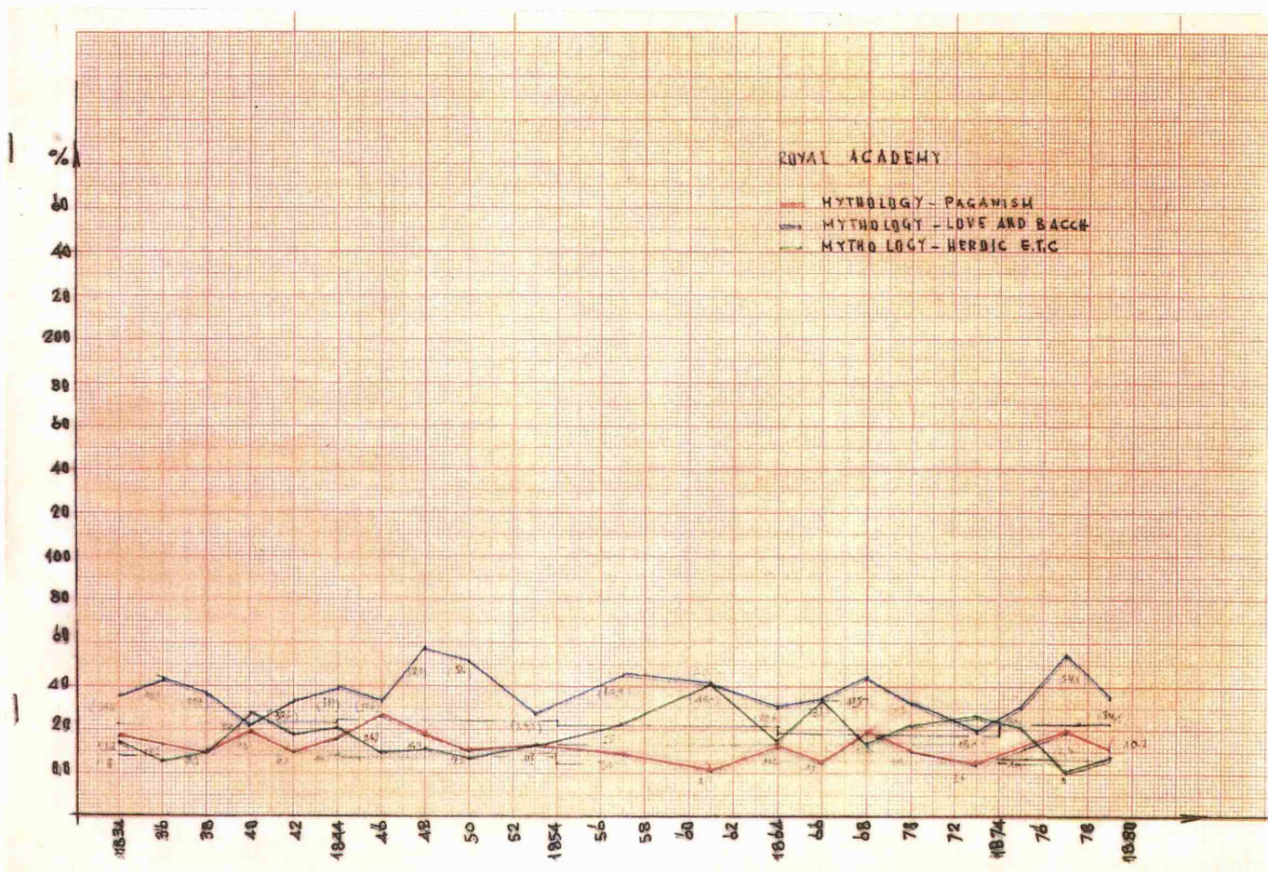
1.(ii). The British case

1.(ii).1. Description of the statistical pattern of images of female mythological personages in British art.

In Britain too, religious debates affected art. Indeed, the presence, statistical and thematic pattern of Greek female mythological personages at the Royal Academy exhibitions was largely connected with wider religio-cultural movements.

As in France, so in Britain, works of art on Greek pagan religion means primarily Venus and Bacchic subjects. The statistical pattern of works on the Greek pantheon as compared with works on the 'Venus-Bacchus' category is as follows :

GRAPH 9: Comparison of the patterns of works on different types of mythological subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880



The British pattern of works on 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects as compared with that of works on 'Other Pagan gods' does not run parallel. This is different from the French situation. One of the most important differences between the two countries concerns mid-century developments. In France the 'Venus-Bacchus' category peaks in 1864 occupying 52.2 % of all works on Greek subjects while in the same year in Britain these works are on the decline having peaked in 1848 with 57.1 %. Generally, the two countries display quite opposite patterns which are partly connected with their different attitudes to the body and to ancient Greek religion.

I shall now describe the statistics of works on 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects in the R.A. as they evolve around the middle of the century and try to explain them by comparing them with developments in British religious thought at that time.

Works on 'Venus-Bacchus' subjects rise from the beginning of the period until 1848. Then they decline, slightly increase during the middle of the 1850s only to decrease again until the middle of the 1870s when they start to pick up. The average values of these subjects by decade are as follows : for the decade 1834 to 1844 the average is 20.3 % ; for the decade 1844 to 1854 it goes up to 24.4 %; for the decade 1854 to 1864 it goes down to 22.4 %; for the decade 1864 to 1874 it goes down even further to 18.3 % and finally from 1874 to 1879 it goes up to 22.7 %.

1.(ii).2. Explanation of the statistical pattern of images of female mythological personages in British art.

a) Christian revivalism and images of female mythological personages in British art.

The period of decline after 1848 may be explained by the generalisation into art of the revived spirit of mediaeval north European, i.e. Gothic Christianity⁴⁸. This spirit gave rise to the Pre-Raphaelite movement whose most vital moments were precisely from 1848 to 1859. This spirit was hostile to the spirit of ancient Greece. However,

the rise of the figure of Venus during the first half of the century was not always an affirmation of the alternative view of life, that of Greek paganism, but the result of the revival of Platonism.

The revival of Platonism in Protestant Britain was, at least partly, a splinter of the revival of the values of mediaeval Christianity and particularly of chaste love which followed the sensuality of the Georgian era. Associations between on the one hand Plato's view of Venus and Cupid and on the other the Christian ethic of love, can be found in the poetry of the great Italian mediaeval poet Dante as in the line : "Love and the gentle heart are but one thing". Indeed, Dante became one of the heroes and sources of the mediaevalists, and also Chaucer⁴⁹.

Furthermore, the early Puritans introduced into the Protestant tradition, through their sermons, the Neo-Platonic assimilation of Venus with Christian love which the Renaissance had also upheld⁵⁰. Finally, "the gentle heart" was traditionally accepted even among Protestants as the supreme Christian virtue, "the greatest of these [Christian virtues]"⁵¹. These assimilations and evaluations may partly explain the presence of Venus in nineteenth century British art. These connexions were now further supported and explained by the new anthropological science and particularly the theory of the Aryan race.

The sculptor John Gibson, R.A. (1790-1866) is a case in point. He was both a Protestant and a Platonist ⁵². It is by reference to his religious beliefs that we may understand the peculiar iconography of his Venus and Cupid of 1839⁵³. This group of Venus clad in heavy drapery and holding young Cupid in her arms can be read as a Virgin and Child. Other works illustrating subjects from Greek mythology like Cupid and Psyche of 1844, a subject taken from Apuleius' Metamorphoses can also be and indeed was read as a Christian allegory of the human soul possessed of virtuous, i.e. not sensual, love⁵⁴. pl. 29

Works by other artists like J Ward's (R.A.) Love flying from Sensuality and Dissipation (R.A.1840) and G Patten's (A.) Hymen burning the arrows of Cupid

(R.A. 1842), show on the one hand artists' participation in cultivating in the public mind the idea of chastity and on the other the acceptance of Venus and Cupid as relevant to its iconography and propagation. William Etty's (1787-1849) nudes are a notable exception. In works like Venus and her doves (R.A. 1836) he pointed to the experience of the other side of Venus, not her warm heart, but her warm flesh.

The second period of increase in the number of works on Venus and Bacchus from around the middle of the 1860s onwards may be explained as the result of a number of cultural changes whose main tenets I documented in the previous chapter and can be summarised as follows :

firstly, the recognition of the distinction between pagan and mediaeval religious sentiments which both M. Arnold and W. Pater established during this period. This distinction went with a re-affirmation of the pagan, sensual sentiment as opposed to the Christian, super-sensual sentiment;

secondly, the assimilation by the second wave of Aryanism of all European religious conceptions as accounts of nature. This belief was added to the earlier assimilation of Christian and Platonic ethics; and,

thirdly, the introduction of the human body in its Greek and particularly classic form as the object of contemporary aesthetic culture to be pursued in both art and life. This principle was novel and was different from the blind, anti-aesthetic moral idealism which had been an element of the culture of the 1830s, '40s and '50s. This earlier culture was the result of the sober, ascetic, anti-sensual traditions of Protestantism and of the German-inspired revival of Platonism⁵⁵. The defence of the aesthetic life which should be realised, following the Greeks, in the contemplation of the form of the Greek type of body was made by Matthew Arnold in his claim for "sweetness". The Aesthetic Movement too which also emerged during this period⁵⁶ claimed the pursuit of beauty as a goal of modern life. But being a specifically Romantic idea, its scope was universal, encompassing all forms. Furthermore, aestheticism differentiated beauty from all moral and spiritual concerns as an end in itself. This was different from Arnold's claim for the addition of Greek aesthetics to Judaeo-Christian ethics and their combination in the same person as God-willed. Pater too encouraged this synthesis from a humanist-positivist point of view and

favoured the revival of Renaissance culture as offering in its combination of Paganism and Christianity the best solution to the problem of satisfying all the needs of human nature.

All these distinct and overlapping views of what the categories and objects of British culture should be, invoked Greek cultural conceptions. They also revolved around the gods Venus and Bacchus and related deities. The increase of works of art on these subjects suggests that the new claims were gaining legitimacy in British society⁵⁷. However, the lack of clear-cut iconographic distinctions among these apparently similar works from the point of view of subject-matter makes it difficult to identify to which cultural school concrete works belong without knowledge of the cultural position of individual artists. Nevertheless, I shall try to indicate some of the peculiarities which associate this strand of Hellenism in English official art of the second half of the nineteenth century with the culture of that time.

The cultural and artistic changes of British society which concern me are most clearly typified in the work of the Pre-Raphaelites. Indeed, during the 1860s Pre-Raphaelitism changed in both its choice of figural types and in subject-matter. It is for this reason that I shall consider their work although much of it was not exhibited at the R.A..

b) Paganism and images of female mythological personages in British art

The emergence in the work of Dante Gabriel Rossetti of naked bodies of the Greek variety and of pagan subjects, marks the first type of cultural change, the rise of paganism in British society. Indeed, his Venus Verticordia of 1864-8 surprised observers not only by its subject but also by showing "a very large young woman almost a giantess"⁵⁸. This figure contrasted sharply with the earlier covered, mediaevalising "wafer thin" (Pater) figural types, "squeezed out flat"⁵⁹, of which the Ecce Ancilla Domini of 1849-50 is a typical example. 19.30

The poetry of Swinburne, who was a member of Rossetti's circle, expresses most

clearly this cultural reaction of the second half of the century against the assimilation of the Greek and Christian world-views. It also expresses the preference for the sensuality of Greek pre-classical religion:

"Wilt thou yet take all, Galilean ? but these thou shalt not take,
The laurel, the palms and the paeon, the breasts of the nymphs in the
brake"⁶⁰

Swinburne's friend, the homosexual Jewish artist Simeon Solomon, participated in the propagation of the pagan pursuit of physical joy with works like Bacchus pl. 39 (R.A.1867)⁶¹. While Edward Burne-Jones documented, in works such as Laus Veneris of 1873-8⁶², both options of the revived dilemma with which British society pl. 33 was confronted. This was the choice between the new advocates of the pagan and those of the mediaeval religious sentiments, between sacred and profane love. Indeed, side by side with Burne-Jones' usual mediaeval Christian maidens we now discover the emergence of Venus. Sexual love, in the motif of the Venus and Cupid on a chariot collecting the hearts of the men who follow them and who thereby give themselves up to the satisfaction of sensual desire, is juxtaposed with chivalrous love, i.e. the ideal, chaste and distant love of the knight who never comes but also never succumbs. This love is indicated by the motif of the five knights who figure symbolically in the background of the picture and who are physically separated from the five maidens by means of a window through which they are seen as they go off to battle.

c) Aryanism and images of female mythological personages in British art

The change in focus from human communion with supernatural, heavenly bodies to one with earthly powers which we find in Rossetti's work of the 1860s can also be found in William Morris's work. As a study of his poetry indicates, he too turned to Greek mythology. In addition to this, Morris also turned to national history. However, Morris' change of mind did not consist in a rejection of Christianity. Rather, Morris' new art bears the marks of another view of man, namely the Aryanist classification of mankind and particularly the idea of a 'European' race and a 'European' culture.

The belief in the similarity and indeed identity of the national and historical cultures of European societies who were seen as a community of blood made the objects and personages of the cultures of these societies interchangeable and indeed combinable. As applied to art, this belief had two main consequences : it enriched the repertoire of motifs and instances whereby a limited range of ideas could be represented, and produced an amalgamation of motifs from different 'European' cultures within individual works of art and in the oeuvre of artists. Indeed, this belief may explain the amalgamation of mediaeval northern and ancient Greek motifs in the work of Morris, Burne-Jones and their circle, many of whom exhibited at the R.A..

Morris' new artistic orientation which is marked by the publication in 1868 of the first volume of the Earthly Paradise bears the stamp of the belief in the European community. It is an amalgam of specifically European⁶³ cultural motifs⁶⁴. The Earthly Paradise became in turn the source of many paintings and sculptures like F. Hamilton Jackson's water-colour Psyche asleep by the fountain (R.A.1879) and Burne-Jones' non-R.A. Pan and Psyche c.1872-4⁶⁵. Ruskin himself encouraged this quasi- conversion of the second generation of Pre-Raphaelites by his own acceptance of these theories⁶⁶ which I documented in the previous chapter.

One 'European' moral motif was that of faithful love. The 'European' legitimacy and nature of this moral value is indicated by John Roddam Spencer Stanhope in his Penelope (R.A. 1864)⁶⁷. Penelope is a devotee of the faithful Venus of marriage, *pl. 35* whom Titian had most memorably re-introduced into European art with his Urbino Venus. Penelope's conduct parallels the ethics of the mediaeval maidens who waited faithfully for their knights to return from battle and whom the Pre-Raphaelites had celebrated in the 1850s. She also shares her weaving with her younger, mediaeval sisters as a common pastime⁶⁸. Finally the mediaeval parallel is explicitly stated within the picture by the juxtaposition of Penelope with her mediaevalising tapestry.

Another 'European' cultural motif was the positivism or naturalism of all 'European' religious conceptions and the belief that perfect man as a creation of God was in harmony with and indeed a part of nature. These beliefs may explain pictures of

nudes of Greek female mythological personages apart from Venus. The picture of Daphne⁶⁹ (R.A. 1870) by the deeply religious artist G.F.Watts is a case in point. This juxtaposition of the nubile nude figure and the bay leaves should be understood as an affirmation of the belief that the Greeks personified plants and not as an account of an erotic encounter. This naturalist interpretation of Greek mythology together with the belief in the divinity of the Greek body may also explain the taste of British clergymen for Greek mythological subjects and nudes⁷⁰. Finally, these beliefs may explain Ruskin's turn from birds' nests and flowers to a new demand from artists like Burne-Jones for "a Ceres...and a Proserpine, and a Plutus, and a Pluto, and a Circe...and ever so many people more"⁷¹. Burne-Jones' The Wine of Circe of 1863-9 was a realisation of one of these commissions⁷².

The belief in the naturalism of the Europeans and Max Muller's specifically solar theory of Aryan religion (i.e. the view that the original Aryans appreciated the fundamental role of the sun in human life), enables us to understand British artists' attachment to the subject of Clytie and the motif of the sunflower. Indeed, these motifs may be seen as national emblems. Clytie was a sea nymph whose unrequited love for Apollo, the sun-god, turned her into a sunflower. Watts sculpted a powerful broad-shouldered marble bust of her which he exhibited at the 1868 R.A. as Clytie. Other works on Clytie are G Patten, (A.)'s Apollo and Clytie (R.A.1857) and Augustus Bouvier's water-colour Clytie (R.A.1879). The importance of this subject in the repertoire of artists working in England may also be indicated by the fact that it was also painted by Leighton during his Presidency of the R.A. and was exhibited at the 1892 R.A..

Pl. 36

d) Aestheticism and images of female mythological personages in British art

The rise of aestheticism as a cultural movement, namely the recognition and cultivation of man's aesthetic need and the search for the satisfaction of this need, also directed artists towards Greek subjects and particularly to the figure of Venus. To this subject also pointed the example of the art of the Italian Renaissance to which Pater, one of the apostles of aestheticism, turned for advice. In his thousand images

of Venus the Renaissance artist had attempted to combine with constantly renewed energy the outward "Hellenic spirit" and its sense of the perfectly curving breasts, with the inward 'sacre coeur de Jesus' and the milky bosom of the Virgin Mary. It was in this qualified manner that beauty was brought back to the life of the West.

Albert Moore's choice to paint A Venus (R.A.1869), i.e. the Greek celebration and conception of beauty is a realisation of the ideals of the Aesthetic movement to which he belonged. Her form is genuinely Greek. Indeed, Moore took it from Greek art, from the Venus de Milo, although he uncovered the lower parts of her body. The expansion of Aestheticism and of Arnold's peculiar conception of "sweetness" as the beauty of the body of Greek youth, may explain the multiplicity of images of both Greek girls and boys in later British art. On the other hand, the preference from the 1870s-onwards (despite Pater's contrary opinion), for the young female rather than the male Greek body as the form of "supreme beauty"⁷³, may explain the eventually greater number of images of Greek girls over those of Greek boys. This preference may explain Poynter's conversion of Polycletus' Diadumenus into a girl, a Diadumene (R.A.1885). pl. 32.

The additional moral responsibilities with which Arnold, Pater and the Platonists burdened beautiful men and women and especially prospective wives may explain certain innovations in the iconography of the Venus. The solid, full and undulating figural type of the classical female body became covered by elaborate draperie mouillee. Artists took the device of the clothed nude from classical sculpture and especially the procession of chaste Athenian maidens on the Parthenon frieze⁷⁴.

Examples of such works are Burne-Jones' drawing of a draped Venus of the 1860s⁷⁵ or The Mirror of Venus of 1898-99. Venus may still appear naked in this artist's work as in Venus Epithalamia but it is in connexion with marriage⁷⁶. Another work of this type is G.F. Watts' muscular bust, The Wife of Pygmalion; a translation from the Greek of the 1868 R.A.. The story of Pygmalion's search for a good wife is associated with Venus. As a sculptural work, it features the motif of the clinging drapery over one breast. pl. 37

Finally, the scientifically established belief that the large and muscular classic female type was God's design of woman contributed to the use of the classical Greek female body in Christian subjects. This belief determined representations of Eve and of other Biblical personages, i.e. images of early relatively 'undegenerate' humanity. We also find this figural type in allegorical works, namely in personifications of "timeless" (for ever valid) Christian ideals. Hamo Thornycroft's Lot's wife (R.A. 1878) and Watts's series of Eves like Birth of Eve and Time, Death and Judgment or Hope⁷⁷ are examples of such practices. p. 38

The consensus on the Venus as a cultural object, albeit for different reasons, may thus explain the explosion of Venus subjects during the second half of the century⁷⁸.

2. Images of Greek male mythological personages as Christian icons

Works representing male personages from Greek mythology in both countries tend to fall into two categories : either images of Bacchus and his male retinue, or images of heroes and demi-gods. As I examined the statistical pattern and cultural significance of the former category in the previous section, I shall concentrate here on the second category.

In the previous section I indicated that the orientation towards the representation of Greek female mythological personages in British and French art followed a different pattern in the two countries. I explained these artistic differences by the different relations to the body and to science which the two societies developed under the guidance of their different religions, i.e. Protestantism and Catholicism. In this section I shall show that current religious ideas also determined artists' orientation towards male personages from Greek mythology. The consideration of the British case before the French will set off the differences between the two countries in this respect.

2.(i). The British case

Greek male mythological subjects in the R.A. include images of gods, demi-gods and heroes. However, most works on this category tend to be images of mythological military heroes, i.e. legendary and semi-human or deified individuals who achieved social justice through the use of their physical strength. I shall show that these works were illustrations of the most vital principles of English culture at that time. This means that some of the most frequently illustrated Greek mythological personages had both a religious-Christian and a national-political significance, because religion, national identity and principles of political action became largely coextensive in English society. Indeed, most British political policies implemented particular conceptions of the identity of the Anglo-Saxon nations and of these alone as God's chosen people.

Consequently, I shall return to images of Greek mythical heroes in both British and French art and provide a more detailed statistical and thematic analysis of these works in the tenth and eleventh chapters entitled Images of Greeks as images of the nation: Britain/France. In this chapter therefore, I shall compare the general statistical pattern of British and French artists' attachment to particular male Greek mythological personages. I shall then set some typical or exemplary British works illustrating male personages from Greek mythology in the context of the three major religious movements of the time, namely 'muscular Christianity', the idea of the European family and religion and 'Hebraism and Hellenism'⁷⁹.

In general terms, both countries share an interest in the same male mythological personages. However, they vary in their degree of interest in each. The favourite male mythological heroes are: Perseus, Hercules and Prometheus. The following table shows the overall distribution of works on these subjects in the R.A. and the Salon:

TABLE 19: Comparative table of works on the most frequently appearing male personages from Greek mythology in the R.A. and the Salon, in numbers and percentages: 1833-1880

| | R.A. | SALON |
|------------|------|-------|
| | Nos | Nos |
| Perseus | 12 | 32 |
| Hercules | 9 | 37 |
| Prometheus | 2 | 18 |
| | % | % |
| Perseus | 1.8 | 1.60 |
| Hercules | 1.4 | 1.85 |
| Prometheus | 0.3 | 0.90 |

* = Percentages are calculated in relation to all the works on Greek subjects which were exhibited at each venue in all the sample years put together.

As the above table shows, an artist working in Britain is more likely to choose Perseus as a subject while his French equivalent will choose Hercules. Thus, in British art Perseus appears 12 times in my sample. In this estimate are included images of Andromeda in which Perseus is implied but not shown. These works occupy 1.8% of the Greek output in my sample of British official art. By contrast, Hercules comes first in French official art occupying in my sample almost 2 % (1.85 %) of works on Greek subjects, i.e. 37 works. Works on Perseus occupy 1.6 % or 32 works in my French sample.

These artistic differences may be explained by the religio-cultural differences which divide the two societies at that time. In Britain the role of the male sex in society became an object of great concern under circumstances of democratisation, urbanisation, long periods of peace, intellectualisation of life, industrialisation and

socio-economic mobility. This problem and the popularity of the solution which the Arnoldian principle of 'muscular Christianity' offered to it, may explain two characteristic features of British art especially during the second half of the century. Firstly, the rivalry which we observe between male and female subjects. This is evident from the fact that from about 1854 and through to the middle of the 1870s, there is a tendency for female mythological subjects to decrease while works on male mythological personages rise dramatically and remain high until the middle of the 1870s when images of what are essentially Greek girls start to increase. The pattern of male mythological personages by decade is as follows : from 1834 to 1844 these works occupy an average of 9.1 % of the total Greek works; from 1844 to 1854 they decline to 7 % ; from 1854 to 1864 there is a dramatic rise to 13 % which is maintained through to the following decade, 1864 to 1874, when this category peaks in 1866 with 33.3 % of Greek works until it starts declining from 1874 to the last year of my sample, 1879 when it falls to 6%.

I shall now consider the cultural significance of these works, i.e. their connexion with the kinds of beliefs and behaviour advocated by contemporary British religious thought. The Christian significance of Perseus, i.e. his association with the principle of 'muscular Christianity' can be seen in Edward John Poynter's peculiar treatment of this rather traditional subject in European art.

Around 1870 Poynter was commissioned by Lord Wharncliffe to decorate his billiard-room at Wortley Hall. Poynter designed four large pictures, all of which were exhibited at the Royal Academy. The first was Perseus and Andromeda and was exhibited in 1872. Significantly, its companion piece which was exhibited in the following year was entitled Fight between More of More Hall and the Dragon of Wantley. According to the contemporary art critic Cosmo Monkhouse, the name Wantley was a variation of the Earl's own name and seat, Wharncliffe, as this was pronounced in Yorkshire⁸⁰. The other two pictures were also illustrations of ancient Greek subjects : Atalanta's Race, exhibited in 1876 and Nausicaa and her Maidens playing at ball of 1879. To this scheme was added a portrait of Earl Wharncliffe, which was also hung in the billiard-room at Wortley. The portrait shows the Earl full-

pl. 40

pl. 41

pl. 66

length, in sporting costume.

All these details are relevant to an understanding of Poynter's decorative scheme. The subjects of More and Perseus are enactments and exemplifications of the ethic of 'muscular Christianity'. Indeed, the juxtaposition of the two heroes indicates the identity of Greek and Christian ethical principles and hence the Christian meaning of Perseus' conduct and muscular body. It tells us that More and Perseus share the same culture as both young men are engaged in physical combat against a "monster", i.e. an evil will, in order to protect and rescue the weak who in both cases is a woman who is threatened to be devoured by the evil monster.

Finally, the addition of the Earl's portrait to this programme had a dual personal and national significance:

firstly it declared the Earl's personal ascent to what became claimed as a national, i.e. permanent and exclusively held cultural characteristic. This was the special commitment of the British and particularly the Anglo-Saxons among them to Christian ethics. This claim was based on evidence from British history as the image of the mediaeval knight indicates;

and secondly it suggested the Earl's membership in the cultural, genealogical and racial community which the British and the ancient Greeks, here represented by Perseus, were claimed to form by the new anthropological classifications. I shall return to the national significance of nineteenth century British attachment to Christianity and Greece.

Despite their specifically fictional character, subjects like the above had already been encouraged by art critics as "befitting romance" in the 1840s. This is evident in an article of 1848 entitled Subjects for Pictures. A Letter to Eusebius published in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. The author of this article encouraged the representation by artists of mythical and heroic subjects because they matched the "fabulous" in boys' minds and because they satisfied and encouraged the "incessant love and heroism of best manhood", their desire to be "a redresser of wrongs"⁸¹. They were thus especially suitable for the formation of young boys and one might

add, of young British boys.

The reference of images of male Greek mythological heroes to the physical identity of English society and to the principle of 'muscular Christianity' which spurred them to action, may also be gauged from the design of the national coinage. Indeed, in 1871, at the same time as Poynter was designing his Perseus, the design for the gold sovereign changed⁸². On the reverse of the new coin appeared an amalgam of Christian and Greek cultural objects: a Greek heroic body and a form of conduct which was sanctioned by both Greeks and Christians. It was an image of a virtually naked St George subduing the Dragon. Indeed, this muscular and naked figure which also has many affinities with the horsemen on the Parthenon frieze should strike us as a rather un-Christian iconography of the national patron saint of England. In fact, if one did not know the intended identity of the personage in advance, it would be impossible to recognise him as a St George. With his billowing cloak, helmet and sword, the horse and the dragon dying at its feet, St George could well be Perseus mounted on a wingless Pegasus and charging to rescue Andromeda. The compact figure of St George on horseback is also very similar to Leighton's own iconography of Perseus in Perseus and Andromeda of 1891.

pl. 70

In fact, this strange iconography of St George went back to the reign of George III. It first appeared in 1817 on the new sovereign and pattern crowns of that year. It was designed by an Italian immigrant who became famous as a medallist and gem-engraver, Benedetto Pistrucci (1784-1855)⁸³. The re-introduction of Pistrucci's so-called "Dragon" design into Victorian coinage cannot be understood outside the peculiar culture of the time. Indeed, 'muscular Christianity', 'Hebraism and Hellenism', nationalism and racism converged to revive this image of St George⁸⁴.

Edward Burne-Jones' oeuvre is also relevant to this cultural context. His oeuvre typifies the history of British art around the middle of the century. This history was characterised by changes in the choice of male physical types. Let us take for example The Merciful Knight of 1863. When he showed it at the Old Water-Colour Society in 1864, "The Times" reviewer complained that,

"Mr Jones dwells and works in the 14th and 15th centuries...His figures are queerly drawn, stand in contorted attitudes, [and] show neither **bone, muscle nor curvature of flesh** under their robes..."⁸⁵ [my emphasis]

A similar example of his early view of man is Le Chant d'Amour of 1868-77. When it was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1878, this "group of three figures, seated in rather an unexpected manner, upon the top of a garden wall" as Henry James described it⁸⁶, was found by commentators to be "morbid", and, "unmanly"⁸⁷. In fact, all the figures and not only the "lovesick" and "mysterious young warrior" who languidly listens to the music made by two other figures, one female and the other a-sexual, were criticised for their flatness and their vague modelling. This is an important criticism which may be associated with the new view of the Christian as distinctly muscular which Burne-Jones seemed to be resisting. His mediaeval outline denied the volume and substance of the body.

However, about ten years later, in say, The Wheel of Fortune of 1875-83, we find p. 45 in Burne-Jones' art a quite different male figural type. Burne-Jones had adopted the Greek physical type for the consideration of this otherwise typically mediaeval philosophy of life⁸⁸. The visual model which technically enabled this change was the art of the Italian Renaissance; not Raphael's sweet and adoring Madonnas, but Michelangelo's active and energetic and at the same time suffering men. Michelangelo had in his turn taken his figures from Greek sculpture and particularly from that haunting image of physical struggle, strain and pain, the Laocoon. The new p. 2 spirit of revived Protestant activism which marked the second half of the nineteenth century led Burne-Jones to endow the slave and the king in The Wheel of Fortune with the naked and massive torsos of Michelangelo's Dying Slave in the Louvre and Captives in the Accademia in Florence⁸⁹.

Such changes belong to a more general change in Burne-Jones' art which is observable around the 1860s. This consisted, as in Morris' case, in two principles:

firstly in a 'Europeanisation' of his repertoire of motifs, i.e. in an amalgamation of themes from 'European' history to include pre-mediaeval i.e. classical, and post-mediaeval i.e. Renaissance and Counter-Reformation or Baroque visual motifs in his earlier exclusively mediaeval repertoire;

and secondly in the synthesis of the Christian soul with the beauty as well as the strength of the Greek body. So we may say, as Pater said of Greek art, that probably the most adequate source for discovering what the specifically nineteenth century objects of British culture were, is the art of this period.

Finally, the use in the abundant iconography of Christian love which characterises Victorian art, of the motif of Cupid, is further evidence of the Christian significance of Cupid. These peculiar images may be explained as the result of the convergence in this particular personage of a number of different ideas. These included the cultural focus on men, the belief that the Greeks and the Christians shared the ethic of love, and the Christian acceptance of the classical Greek athlete as the physical type of Adam or Christ.

G.F. Watts (1817-1904) is a case in point⁹⁰. His art combines all the above elements. Watts' commitment to painting ideas⁹¹ and Christian ideas at that, is evident in works like The Good Samaritan of 1850 or The Spirit of Christianity of 1875. In other works like Love and Life (R.A. 1885) or Love and Death which he began about 1870, Watts personified Christian love in the form of Cupid. This is indicated in the former by the motif of a square chested, muscular and winged male naked youth and in the latter by the also winged naked little boy and the roses, the symbols of his attributes. Furthermore, these winged male nudes combine the iconography of Cupid with that of the Christian angels and hence point to the identity of the two religious conceptions. The belief in this identity can also be observed in Evelyn de Morgan's painting The Angel with the Serpent from the 1880s in which the Angel is un-dressed like Cupid⁹². In 1865, Burne-Jones, in his Chaucer's Dream of Good Women, showed "The God of Love" as a young Cupid with wings and holding a long arrow but dressed with the vestments of a Christian Catholic priest and with a halo around his head. Through such works, artists cultivated the idea of the affinities between Christian and ancient Greek moral cultures⁹³. p. 47

The Aryanist principle of 'muscular Christianity' propagated by the elder Arnold as well as the later, more humanist and universalist principle of 'Hebraism and

Hellenism' of the younger Arnold may explain representations of Christ himself as a muscular young adult in religious (Christian) art proper during the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, the new view of Christ and its distinctiveness from the old may be seen in Pre-Raphaelite depictions of Christ. The earlier account of Christ as "a hideous, wry-necked"⁹⁴ and thin boy by Millais in Christ in the Carpenter's Shop (Christ in the House of His Parents) of the 1850 R.A.⁹⁵ changes into Ford Madox Brown's robust account of Christ as a young adult in Jesus Washing Peter's Feet of the 1852 R.A..

William Holman Hunt's The Shadow of Death, first exhibited at Agnew's in 1873, pl. 48 is another case in point⁹⁶. The Greekness of Hunt's Christ as a young adult is evident in the modelling of the legs, arms, and chest, bronzed by the oriental sun, in the pose and in the near-nakedness of the body. Indeed, the representation of Christ as a young adult carpenter stretching his arms with gratitude to God at the end of a day of hard-earned livelihood, is a novel iconography of the crucifixion. Furthermore, it bears a striking thematic and formal resemblance to Greek statues of the Greek equivalent of the workingman, the athlete, who is thanking his gods for his hard-won victory, like the Berlin 'adorante', or is decorating himself with the prize of his victory like Polycletus' Diadumenus⁹⁷. Hunt's image of Christ in The Shadow of Death contrasts sharply with his earlier image of Christ in The Light of the World pl. 50 of the 1854 R.A. in which Christ's body was covered⁹⁸. Made at a time when the revival of mediaeval Christianity was still in the air, the earlier image had been taken for a Romanist statement⁹⁹. Hunt disclaimed this accusation in The Shadow of Death by the following means : firstly by showing Mary with her back turned to the spectator, thereby denying Catholic Mariolatry ; secondly by avoiding the pathos and defeatism of the Crucifixion favoured by the Catholics ; and thirdly by the similarly specifically Protestant as well as Christian Socialist motifs of the "natural" Christ, i.e. the human¹⁰⁰, physically strong and working Christ. These motifs indicated the "dignity of labour", i.e. the religious and specifically Protestant basis of an active and ascetic life¹⁰¹.

The doctrine of the necessary combination as well as assimilation of Hebraism (of

which Christianity and specifically Protestantism was recognised as an extension) and Hellenism may also explain such strange images as E. J. Poynter's Paul and Apollos pg. 51 of 1872¹⁰². In this work we find a juxtaposition of the motifs of two healthy, muscular and almost naked male figures, who are working together inside a walled garden which they are planting with trees. The peculiar religious conceptions of this time may explain both the title and the image. Poynter's Paul, named after St Paul, symbolises and indeed enacts the Protestant version of the essence of Judaeo-Christian morality - the divine commandment to man to care for and till the earth ¹⁰³. In this way man was promised that he **could** re-create, by his own efforts, the garden of Eden. Apollos (sic), with the sun-hat, named after the Greek god Apollo, is an embodiment of Victorian Hellenism. Not only does he conform with the Greek pursuit of physical perfection through physical exertion in the open air (which both young men have achieved through agricultural labour); but also with Ruskin's attachment to and interpretation of the god Apollo as the man who has reached perfection by modelling his life on the sun's incessant labour¹⁰⁴.

2.(ii). The French case

The opposition of the medieval Catholicism which dominated French society during the greatest part of the nineteenth century to any form of natural theology, physical anthropology and paganism gives no grounds for associating the images of male Greek mythological personages which we find in French art with Catholic ideas and values. Indeed, the preoccupation of Catholics with pathos in imitation of the suffering Jesus led Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), the virtually Catholic Anglo-Irish writer, to declare that the image of the suffering Christ had dominated European art in a way that no Greek god had ever succeeded in doing¹⁰⁵. While the French Catholic art critic Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848-1907) praised Grünewald's Crucifixion for having "shown the filth of the body" and "concentrated the infinite distress of the soul"¹⁰⁶. pg. 56

Even lapsed or doubting Catholics maintained Jesus, the man of sorrows, as the type

of modern man, who sorrowed over the idea of a disenchanted world of death claimed by modern positivist philosophers. This view of the human condition made the realist painter Edouard Manet paint works like Le Christ mort et les anges of 1864 as a motif of modern life like the black boots and top hats. As he told his friend Proust in connexion with the motif of Christ on the Cross,

"La Minerve, c'est bien, la Vénus, c'est bien. Mais l'image héroïque, l'image amoureuse ne vaudront jamais l'image de la douleur. Elle est le fond de l'humanité..."¹⁰⁷

Images of Greek mythological heroes in French art thus tend to have either a political or erotic meaning. Responses to images of Perseus for example show an appreciation of his physical ability to gain without much effort, "d'un seul doigt", the body of Andromeda. His intervention between Andromeda and the monster was seen as geared primarily to its sexual benefits. Thus, Jules Michelet, commenting on P. Puget's famous marble group of Perseée délivrant Andromède in the Louvre, found it an intensely erotic subject:

"Persée enlève d'un seul doigt la lourde chaîne de fer qui suspendait la jeune fille...elle ne sent pas où elle est. Elle ne sait qui la délivre...Les yeux fermés, de tout son poids elle se laisse aller sur lui ...sa jolie bouche veut dire : "Prends-moi, reçois-moi, porte-moi...je suis tienne, charge-toi de moi...je me donne ;...fais de moi ce que tu veux..."¹⁰⁸

Max Muller's linguistic and naturalist interpretations of Greek mythology according to which Perseus was "un symbole de la force végétative" do not seem to have had as great an impact on French culture as they had on nature-loving Protestant Britain.

Thus, the vigorous and robust male divinities and demi-gods of Greek mythology are marginal to nineteenth century Catholic thought. However, there seems to be one exception to this rule. This is Prometheus. He was the Titan who created man ; who stole the fire from the Olympian gods and gave it to man in order to make him immortal and to help him make tools ; and who was punished for this by the gods who had him bound on a rock and had a vulture for ever devour his liver which grew again causing him unspeakable pain. Prometheus' legend attracted French Catholic thinkers. It is not difficult to understand why. Indeed, the story of Prometheus as told by Aeschylus was a tragic story of anti-paganism, self-sacrifice and physical and moral struggle and pain. It was also a story of a religious crisis in mankind. These

features matched the essential themes of the Catholic religion and also the modern religious crisis and so Prometheus was seen as a prefigurement of Christ and was adopted as a Greek confirmation of Christian values. The new anthropological science too sanctioned the introduction of the myth of Prometheus into the French collective conscience. This was because it was a myth which was "à la fois aryane et hellénique (bien que peut-être empreint de quelque sémitisme...)"¹⁰⁹ and also specifically "Européen et moderne"¹¹⁰.

The philosophical appreciation of Aeschylus' tragedy as distinct from its philological interest was novel. As contemporaries observed, "ce n'est que dans notre siècle que le génie du grand tragique a été apprécié à sa juste valeur" ¹¹¹. The new interest in Prometheus was marked by the publication in 1838 of Edgar Quinet's famous poetic trilogy "Prométhée". This was a paradigm of the religious tendencies and history of mankind in which Quinet explicitly connected Prometheus with Christ. In Quinet's trilogy Prometheus created man. Man instead of being content with himself desired to be given gods to serve : "donnez-nous des dieux !" To Prometheus' distress, man turns to the worship of the Olympians from whose power Prometheus himself had just managed to escape. Zeus has Prometheus bound and tortured by the vulture and thus mankind is no longer protected by its creator and suffers from hardship. From his rock on mount Caucasus Prometheus sees Jesus, "Cet autre Prométhée à la face divine" being crucified by mankind who continue to worship the pagan gods. However, the victory of Jesus is soon to come and with it Prometheus' deliverance. Another poem by Louis Menard of 1843 also made Prometheus the precursor of Christ. So the connexion was well established¹¹².

We may thus understand the image of Prometheus in nineteenth century French art as having a Christian meaning or sanction. This meaning also explains French artists' attachment to Prometheus as opposed to their British colleagues : French works on Prometheus are proportionately three times more numerous than British works. Indeed, in Salon art of this period works on Prometheus occupy among Greek male mythological heroes the third position after Hercules and Perseus. This means that there are in my sample overall 18 works on this subject, occupying 0.9 % of all

Greek works. While at the R.A. there are only 2 works on this subject in my sample, occupying 0.3 % of all Greek works. This is an important and revealing difference. The British resisted the idea of an ailing and resigned god.

Among the painters who chose to treat this subject were T.-C. Aligny (1837 Salon), Gustave Moreau and Émile Bin (1869 Salon), Ribot, in an "esquisse très-vigoureuse" ¹¹³ and A Cot (1870 Salon). While the sculptor A Etex exhibited at the 1865 Salon two engravings on subjects drawn from Aeschylus' tragedy.

Critics recognised in Moreau's Prometheus "le type consacré de Jésus"¹¹⁴. *pl. 55*
 However, after 1871, i.e. the Franco-Prussian war, the story of Prometheus' sacred passion and eventual deliverance by Hercules acquired a more specifically national and topical religious significance. The story of Prometheus and its Christian interpretation matched what was seen as the martyrdom of the Catholic Alsace-Lorraine by the anti-Christian, Protestant Prussians, and the campaign for the "revanche". These circumstances of nationalist fervour explain the choice of Prometheus as a subject during this period. Joseph-Victor Ranvier's water-colour Promethee delivre of the 1877 Salon is a case in point. It was hailed by critics like Marius Chaumelin for its patriotic intentions, "ses intentions patriotiques"¹¹⁵. The nationalist meaning of this picture is indicated by the following motifs : the "aigle roux" which was identified by contemporary observers as symbolising the rusty haired Germans - "le vautour...germanique"¹¹⁶. By implication, Prometheus is the suffering Christ of the true Catholic faith of the French. There are two female figures one of which wears black ribbons in her hair to signify mourning. They are personifications of Alsace and Lorraine who are watching the true faith being tortured by the vulture, the instrument of the anti-Christ. In the distance Hercules is shown preparing his arrows to destroy the vulture. This hero symbolises the French nation "l'Hercule gaulois" ¹¹⁷. In fact, it was this particular religio-political context that gave Hercules, an otherwise civic and secular hero, and the strong body in general, a religious meaning. The cultivation of the strength and health of the body became accepted by a largely Catholic nation as essentially a means to both religious and political-nationalist ends¹¹⁸.

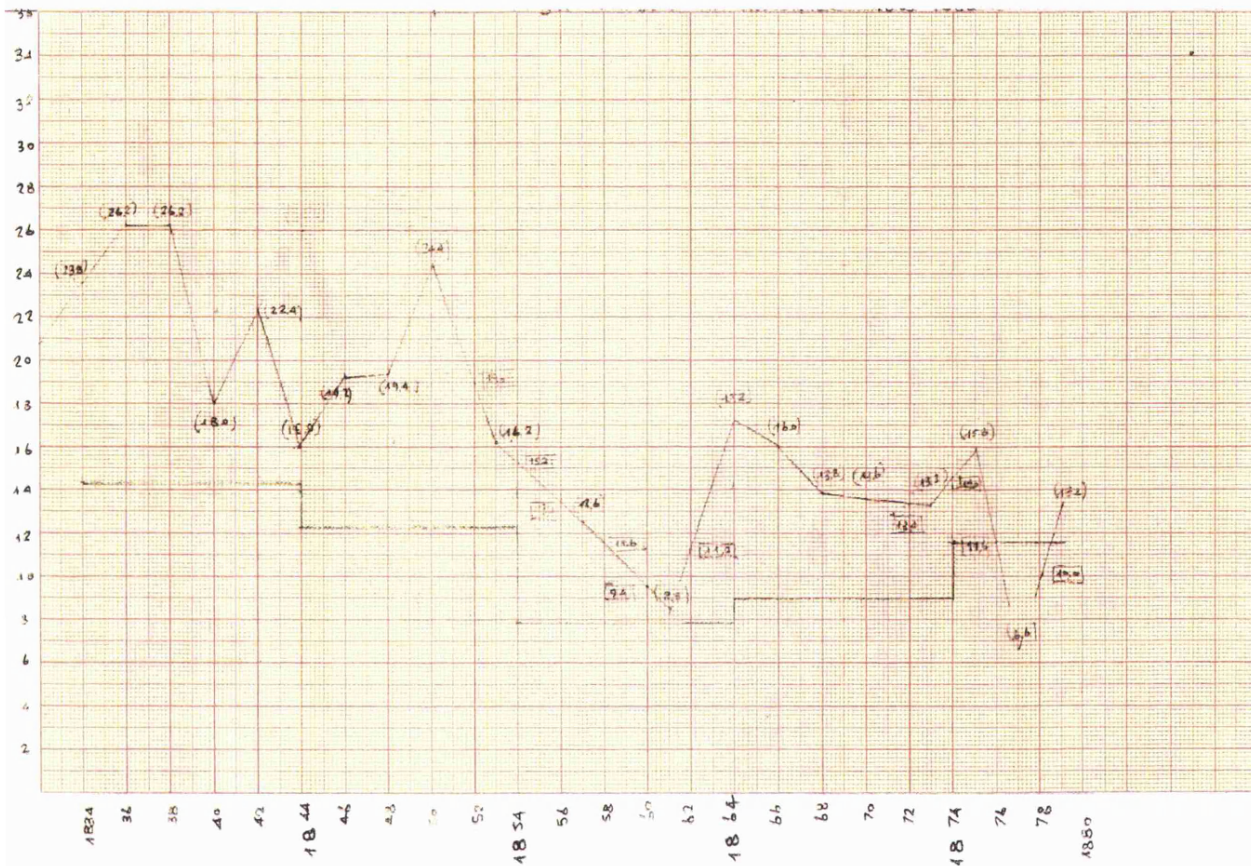
CHAPTER 10:**IMAGES OF GREEKS AS IMAGES OF THE NATION : BRITAIN****Introduction**

In this and the following chapter, I want to examine the statistical patterns of two sub-types of works of art representing ancient Greeks. Firstly works of art showing ancient Greeks in general; and secondly works of art showing ancient Greek political personages, both historical and mythological. I shall try to explain the statistical and thematic patterns of these works by relating them to ideas about the national identity of the English and the French and to British and French political principles, policies and institutions of nation-building and of realising the national identity. More specifically, I shall try to show the extent to which the social adoption, i.e. institutionalisation of physical anthropological theories about the national identity and about the political behaviour which went with this identity stamped the art of both countries. The discovery of similarities and of other connexions between the structure of English and French social institutions and that of their art will thus indicate the role of the social context, i.e. of social values and institutions, as an intervening variable between science and art. I shall thus argue that the institutionalisation of the Greek body as a national ideal in the two countries was an important factor in guiding many artists working during this period in the selection of their subject-matter, namely the representation of the body and behaviour of Greeks and Greek heroes.

Description of the statistical pattern of Greek subjects in English official art

I have already observed in Part I of this study that Greek subjects occupy overall the second position among foreign subjects in English art. I reproduce below the pattern of works on Greek subjects in the Royal Academy which I also described in Part I, for reasons of convenience.

GRAPH 10: Pattern of works on Greek subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on foreign subjects: 1833-1880



By studying the above graphic representation of the rates of 'Greek' works in the R.A. during the period 1833-1880, I identified three main sub-periods - a period being defined as a pattern of events over time, or two "movements", in the annual occurrence of works on Greek subjects. The first period is from 1834 to 1850. This is the period during which Greek subjects reach their peak - 26.2 % out of all foreign subjects exhibited at the R.A.. The second period is one of decline between 1852 to 1861, for which the average figure is 13.2 % . The third period is between 1862 to 1875, for which the average figure is 18.4 % . This time sees the rise of what has been identified by art historians as a movement variously called "Victorian High Renaissance" ¹ or "Victorian Olympus" ². There is a final residual sub-period of decline from 1876 to the end of my period, 1880.

These "movements" are defined and exist relative to the statistical patterns which occur before and after them. The second "Greek revival" is such only in relation to the immediately preceding period, 1852 to 1861. In relation to the period 1834 to 1850, i.e. the first "Greek movement" in English art, the later "Greek movement" is at a lower level, at least in quantitative terms.

Explanation of the statistical pattern of Greek subjects in English art

We can understand the pattern of Greek subjects in English art, at least partly, by relating it to ideas about the identity of the English nation which were developed during this period and the institutions which put them into practice.

As we saw, ideas about the specifically Greek physical identity of the English nation, develop from the 1850s onwards with Knox's Anglo-Saxonism and with Aryanism.

This physical similarity between the ancient Greeks and the modern English was claimed on alleged evidence from the history of migrations and comparative anatomy. Of course, the idea of the Aryan race had already been developed as a category. It united into a single anthropological type the Indo-European nations on the basis of initially linguistic and eventually physical similarities. However, it was towards the middle of the century and particularly from 1848, the famous year of nationalist revolutions, onwards, that nationalist uprisings in Europe shattered the category 'European'. Anthropological explanations of such political divisions and conflicts proposed racial sub-divisions and mixtures among European nations to account for these political events, and were accepted. These included Gobineau's sub-division of the Aryans into pure and mixed types and their hierarchical ordering respectively into superior - pure - and inferior -mixed - races. For Aryanists, the English, as a Germanic nation, were set apart from other European nations as pure Aryans and hence as identical with the ancient Greeks, their direct ancestors.

How widespread was the social acceptance of the view of the Germanic or pure Aryan identity and thereby superiority of the English can be found by surveying the American press. This is not unexpected, as North and especially east coast America was largely Anglo-Saxon. In a mid-century issue of the magazine Harper's Weekly we find a rather tongue-in-cheek application of racial theories to ethnic conflicts. A picture of the "Anglo-Teutonic" head type seen in profile is juxtaposed with the "Irish-Iberian" and the "Negro" types. The arrangement of these heads places the "Anglo-Teutonic" head in the middle of the set, a device to draw attention to the central and superior object of our attention. The two other profiles flanking the

"Anglo-Teutonic" appear inferior. Formally, the "Anglo-Teutonic" profile is different from the other two which are made to look similar. The former, with its vertical shape and high forehead contrasts with the latter two which are inclined, prognathous and with a low forehead. These formal differences would have been easily understood and evaluated by the public in physical anthropological terms. The accompanying text itself supplied one such account of these differences in the form of the head as racial, i.e. genetic differences, between "superior races", and "savages of the Stone Age" who had survived the "healthy struggle of life"³.

The rise of Greek subjects in English fine art, and especially the rise of the male nude as the ancient Greeks had conceived it, after the rise and establishment of racial theories from the 1850s onwards, should be considered as a part and indeed a result of these theories. With this rise we may also associate the death of the Prince Consort in 1861 and with it the removal of one of the major pace-setters in British artistic taste. Albert influenced British art in many ways, not least through his princely position, his association with Ruskin and his chairmanship of a royal commission concerning the promotion of the fine arts in Britain, a post to which he was appointed in 1841 ⁴. With Albert's death was lost one of the vital supporters of the spiritually inclined Pre-Raphaelite movement whose interests had dominated art in England for about ten years.

In fact, the death of Pre-Raphaelitism as was originally conceived almost exactly coincides with Prince Albert's death. In 1859 Rossetti painted Bocca Baciata which is generally recognised as marking the beginning of a new phase of Pre-

Raphaelitism⁵. In addition to this, mid-century racial ideas themselves effected a change in social beliefs. As Patrick Conner has pointed out, it was towards the end of the 1850s, that Ruskin himself lost his faith in the Protestant Christianity of his youth⁶. He became convinced by the new and more this-worldly and positivist considerations of nature and of man and turned away from his earlier theological consideration of nature without man.

However, Ruskin never lost his naturalism , i.e his love of and guidance by nature. In fact, this feeling which had its roots in his earlier commitment to Christian belief was entirely compatible with his new positivist naturalism⁷. Ruskin also became involved in the debates about the English national identity as a peculiar set of genetically determined properties. In his lectures of 1870, as Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford University, Ruskin declared to his audience of "English gentlemen"⁸ his racial convictions and his diagnosis about the racial type of the English nation:

"We are still undegenerate in race ; a race mingled of the best northern blood "⁹

Such sentiments encouraged the decline of Pre-Raphaelitism and the rise of Hellenism among English artists and their public from the 1860s-onwards. The wide acceptance of Hellenism by the English artistic community culminated in its official acceptance and enthronement in the English Royal Academy in the person of Frederick Leighton. With his election as President in 1878, Hellenism achieved established status and was taught to young artists as the officially recognised and primary creed of English art¹⁰.

The mid-century change in English art was noted by the nineteenth century art critic Cosmo Monkhouse. In 1897, in an article on the classical artist Edward John Poynter, (President of the Royal Academy since 1896), Monkhouse observed that it was not until 1864, that "the classical note" was "touched". Monkhouse referred here to

Poynter's 1864 entry to the R.A. called On Guard in the time of the Pharaohs. By classical, Monkhouse meant "figure-painting" rather than anything specifically 'Greek'. Thus Monkhouse stressed Poynter's ability to display "his knowledge of the human form and his power of drawing it in action"¹¹.

But Greek subjects were an important component of the new subject-matter, i.e. the representation of the human body. In fact, Greek art as humanist art, was "classical" art par excellence, a term which derived, as a general artistic principle, from Greek art itself of the so-called classical period. Greek art focused on the human body as its typical object of representation. This it represented in a particularised or a generalised naturalist i.e. life-like manner.

The new artistic focus on "figure-painting" was congruent with, and was indeed part of the new focus on the body as an element of English culture which became established during the 1850s under the impact of anthropological theories which generally claimed that the Greek body was the most beautiful human physical type. Cosmo Monkhouse gave an account of the change in mid-century English art as seen from the point of view of Poynter's career. In 1855, when Poynter left for Paris to study under Gleyre and until 1864,

"the main interest of the yearly exhibitions in Trafalgar Square had centred in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites. Millais had produced 'Autumn Leaves', 'The Vale of Rest',...Holman Hunt his 'Scapegoat', and 'Finding of our Saviour in the Temple'; Wallis his 'Chatterton'; John Brett his 'Stonebreaker' and 'Val d'Aosta': these and other works of romance and realism had engaged the attention of the public, under the guidance of Mr. Ruskin; but the classical note had not been touched..."¹²

Regarding the "classical note" which was touched in 1864, Monkhouse noted that its leading creators, Leighton, Watts and Alma Tadema were, until then, preoccupied with entirely different subjects. The only exception was Leighton who exhibited in 1858 "his charming 'Siren'"¹³. Indeed, Maas has described Leighton's work from the mid-1860s to his death in 1896 in a way which is most relevant to my research interests, i.e. as a turn from Teutonism to Hellenism¹⁴.

The new figural orientation of English art with its emphasis on accurate drawing from the living model was imported from the continent, mainly by English artists trained there, such as Leighton and Poynter. However, I would argue that the associated rise of Greek subjects, especially the Greek body, was related to a new conception of the national identity. The idea of the Greek identity of the English was preached to artists by Leighton himself when he later became President of the Royal Academy between 1878 and 1896. Its artistic significance was great for nationalistic fervour ensured that the representation of ancient Greeks in English art turned Greek subjects into national ones, i.e. into visual affirmations of the English national identity.

Furthermore, since one of the cultural implications of this national identity was the worship of beauty which was at that time seen as a racial property, and since figural beauty was embodied in the Greeks, the cultivation of art through the representation of Greeks was seen as a national characteristic and indeed a natural impulse of the English. The cultivation of art in England was thus a means of being true to oneself. Leighton is a case in point regarding the relationship between anthropological theories, art theory and art practice since he was also the acknowledged leader of this new movement in English art. As Christopher Wood has pointed out, Leighton's artistic principles, as he himself proclaimed them, were " "aryan", worshipping beauty, especially physical beauty, in opposition to Semitism, which "taught man to despise his own body" "¹⁵. In his Presidential address of 1888, Leighton referred to "the stirring aesthetic instinct, the impulse towards an absolute need of beauty" which the Greeks had realised in their art and from which they derived a sense of pride, distinction and "supremacy among the nations"¹⁶.

Consequently, at a time when realism and the representation of modern life, together with romanticism and the representation of national life past and present and of the life of the emotions, were competing for the souls of artists and their public, the

unexpected rise of works on ancient Greek subjects in English art may be explained by the new scientifically guaranteed view of the identity of the English people as Greeks.

This belief had also some other important consequences for art practice and teaching. Leighton and Poynter who both became Presidents of the Royal Academy the latter succeeding the former, introduced from the continent and especially France, certain teachings about drawing from the living model as opposed to drawing from casts, which was the established English academic method. With the new naturalist aesthetics, the goal of art education became, as Poynter put it, the "comprehension of beauty in nature, and of avoiding its ugliness and deformity ; which I take to be the whole aim and end of study"¹⁷. Indeed, Poynter believed that "the French ideal school was a failure".

The goal of art education was the cultivation in young artists of the sense of beauty through their training on beautiful models. As the Greek physical type was accepted as the embodiment of naturally existing beauty, the problem of finding living models displaying these traits for their use in art, was difficult to solve. In fact, early in the century the anatomist Charles Bell himself had referred to the problem of finding beautiful models in Britain.

The belief in the Greek identity of the English solved this problem. It provided artists with an immediately accessible pool of models among ordinary Londoners (since the seat of art , the R.A. was in London). Leighton himself applied this belief in pictures

such as Daedalus and Icarus. As Christopher Wood has remarked,

"His Icarus is a Victorian Apollo Belvedere - a slim, smooth-limbed boy, standing in a self-consciously elegant pose..."¹⁸

Leighton also used English female models. In his later Greek maiden subjects the cockney girl called Dorothy Dene became his main female model.

fig. 67

Prominent English artists of the Hellenic school of art, who did not believe in the theories of degeneration through racial mixture or extinction of the ancient Greeks and who rather believed that the modern inhabitants of Greece were the descendants of the ancients, also used members of the Greek trading community in London as their models. Watts for example used in 1864 a young blond Greek child as his model of Ganymede and also of Jupiter in his Infancy of Zeus of 1896. This was Demetrios Zambaco, the son of Maria Zambaco who was herself used as a model for 'Greek' or classicising subjects by Edward Burne-Jones. Burne-Jones also had a stormy affair with her. Her cousin Luke Ionides described her as having "glorious red hair and almost phosphorescent white skin"¹⁹. We can see her in Phyllis and Demophoon which was exhibited in 1870 at the Old Watercolour Society²⁰. Nevertheless, the use of recognisable English models is overwhelming in works showing figures dressed in classical draperies and set against classical architectural settings. Poynter's explicit reference to one such scene as A Greek Girl, a later work from 1889, is a natural conclusion from the theory of the Greek identity of the English.

In fact, Poynter's awareness of racial classifications can be inferred, if not by his brief attendance of the Royal Academy Schools (for part of 1854 or 1855 ²¹), then certainly by his close friendship with an Aryanist like Leighton. The friendship with Leighton went back to their first meeting around 1854 in Rome "when we were both young and in Rome together"²². Their relationship was described by his contemporary Cosmo Monkhouse as one of leader, Leighton, and follower,

Poynter²³. Indeed, their actual work is strikingly similar in subject-matter and treatment. This similarity must account for the fact that Poynter's art has, as Christopher Wood has remarked, "always been overshadowed by that of Leighton"²⁴.

So we may understand Poynter's Greek works as affirmations of the same principles which animated Leighton's art and that of the followers of the Hellenic movement in English art. We may understand them as visual affirmations, through their choice of models and subjects of English nationalist sentiment and of the physical identity of the English nation²⁵. Poynter's contribution, through his art, to national issues and even to colonial issues currently prominent is also evident in his 1869 design of the portion of the frieze of the Albert Hall representing the Four Quarters of the Globe bringing offerings to Britain²⁶. In such a theme, the idea of British superiority over the rest of the world is affirmed as the world pays tribute to Britain.

In G.F. Watts' art we also find the idea of the Greek identity of the English nation expressed by visual means. His image of an English girl entitled An Anglo-Saxon treats an obviously national theme and bears witness to this artist's awareness of the idea of the Anglo-Saxon race. His belief in the Greekness of the English is also evident in the fact that he used the same female model, a maid nick-named "Long Mary"²⁷ for a Greek subject, Rhodopis (sic)²⁸.

Watts' preoccupation with issues regarding the nation as the motivation for these and other Greek subjects, cannot be doubted. He was deeply concerned about the welfare

of the British nation in all spheres, and this concern was often referred to as "his public spirit"²⁹. His works are stamped by this concern. His numerous Biblical subjects and Christian moral allegories many of which he intended for public display show his commitment as an artist to the moral education of the nation. As an Italian contemporary of his, Romualdo Pantini noted in an article in "Nuova Antologia", Watts' motto

"of his whole life can be truly expressed in those two sacred words adopted as their motto by many who cannot honestly and conscientiously claim them, "For Art and Country" ³⁰

Watts' participation in the competitions for the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament which started in 1842, gave him a particularly strong awareness of national issues. At the third competition of 1846 for example, he submitted a subject from English and specifically Anglo-Saxon history, King Alfred inciting the Saxons to prevent the Landing of the Danes. It was awarded the first prize of 500 pounds and was purchased by the government though not executed. Instead, Watts was commissioned to paint another English national subject in the Upper Waiting Hall of the Houses of Parliament, a fresco of St George overcoming the Dragon. He begun this work in 1848 but he did not complete it until 1853 ³¹. Among his national subjects we may also include Una and the Red Cross Knight. Una was the type of queen Victoria, as we can see on national coins of the period, and the Christian knight is the English Christian nation who loves and protects her. Finally, we may also associate Watts' choice to paint the Greek myth of Europa (c.1865-98) with ideas about the European family of nations³².

We must also note two portraits of G. F. Watts and of Frederick Leighton which illustrate this relationship between ideas about the English identity with the Greeks and British artists' attachment to Greek subject-matter. In both images, the first dating from about 1848 by Charles Cousins, the other, the self-portrait of 1880, which Leighton was invited to send to the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, we find a juxtaposition of the artist's likeness with a fragment from the Parthenon marbles. The meaning of this juxtaposition is, from an artistic point of view, an affirmation of the artistic

identity of the sitters, namely their common orientation and commitment to the principles of 5th century B.C. Athenian based Greek art. A further, anthropological significance may be attached to Leighton's self-portrait which distinguishes it from the portrait of Watts. Leighton's juxtaposition of his likeness with the Pheidian horsemen can be seen as an affirmation of his belief in his own Greek physical, i.e. racial identity, and by implication of the nation to which he belonged. Indeed, this same belief that an Englishman was a descendant of the Greeks may also explain Leighton's involvement in 1860 in the Volunteer Movement prevalent at the time, eventually becoming a Colonel³³. The cultivation of both art and warfare was consistent with the classical Athenian ideal of 'the whole man' - with both 'arete mousike' and 'arete gymnastike'. By contrast, the juxtaposition of Pheidian art with Watts' likeness is only a declaration of taste. Indeed, Watts ranked himself, albeit with regret, and was ranked, as a Celt. Mrs Russell Barrington, Watts' friend and biographer, also explained Watts' art in anthropological terms. She saw Watts' appreciation and imitation of the naturalism of the "Pheidian school" as the result of a slight blood mixture, as the effect of one vein which sometimes tempered the mystical, melancholy and lethargic imagination which was connected with the pure Celtic blood:

"Watts...studied the Greeks...because through his Celtic blood also ran a vein in sympathy with the beauty in nature we find accentuated in the work of the Pheidian school" ³⁴

Finally, it might be relevant to consider in this catalogue of works of art expressing in one way or another the belief in the Greek identity of the English, a work of literature by one of the most visual and aesthetic novelists of fin de siecle Britain, concerned, as he was, through his writings, with the pleasure of the eyes as well as the pleasure of the ears, Oscar Wilde. His novel The Picture of Dorian Gray of 1891, shows the continuity to the end of the century of the belief in the Greek, and in this case Doric, identity of the English.

Dorian is "made of ivory and gold"³⁵ : the colours of the Aryan or Anglo-Saxon race - white skin and blond hair. Furthermore, his face was "the counterpart of Antinous"³⁶ ; he was Greek in name and physique. He was modelled on one John Gray, a youth in the Temple. Dorian and Gray combined in one person, projected the

idea of the unity between the English and the Greeks.

We may also connect the pursuit by the English of a complete physical identity with the ancient Greeks through games and athletic exercises with a number of works of art depicting Greek or Greek-inspired athletic life on which English athletic life was itself modelled. Apart from J Gott's marble statue of A Greek boxer waiting his turn (R.A. 1840), which belongs to the earlier neo-classical and perhaps more aristocratic ethos³⁷, F.Danby's Landscape : Ulysses at the Court of Alcinous going to the Athletic Games (R.A.1858), and Leighton's Athlete wrestling with a python (R.A.1877) which was purchased by the Chantrey Bequest for the nation and therefore for public display are cases in point³⁸. p. 58

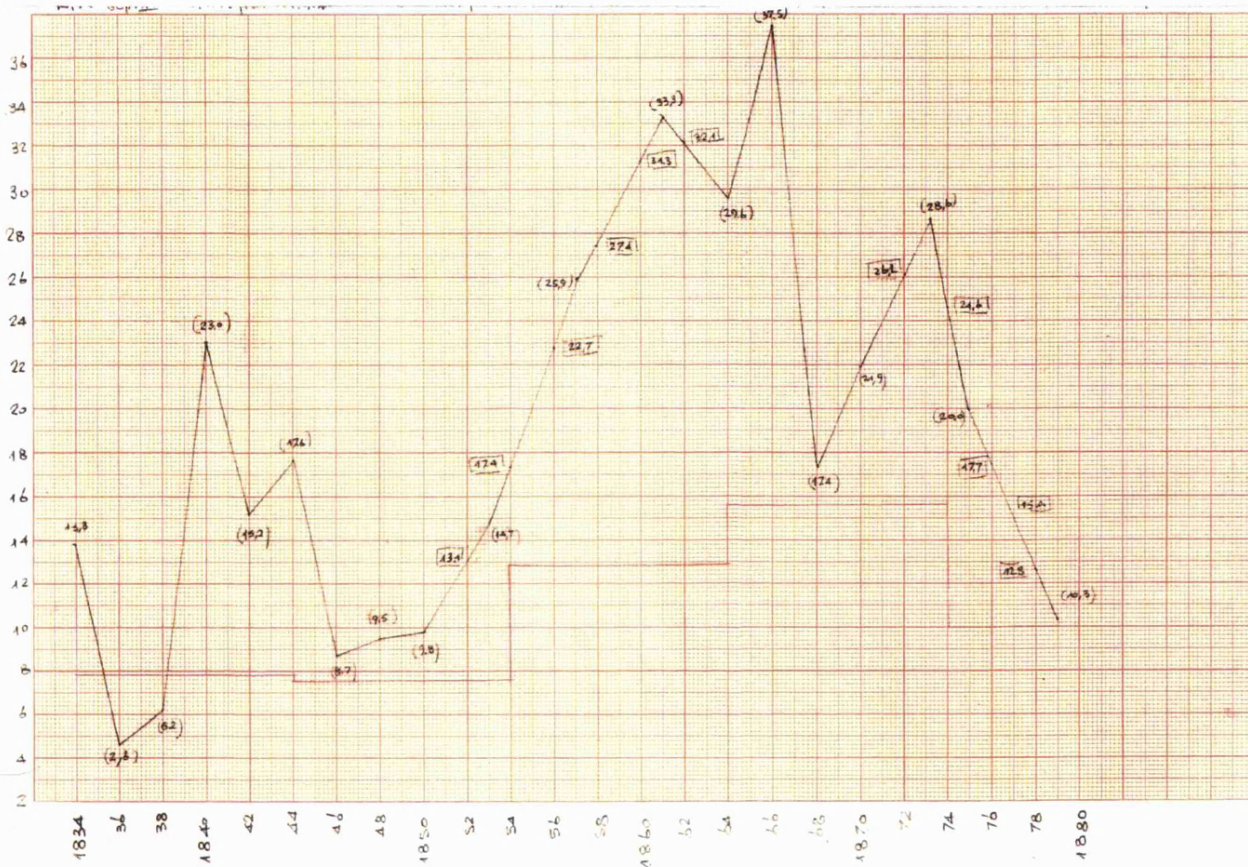
Charles Kingsley's urge in Nausicaa in London, or the Lower Education of Women of 1873, that modern English women should also exercise, play at ball and sing in the open air and sunshine for their health and beauty in imitation of the ancient Greek women corresponds to such works as Poynter's Atalanta's Race (R.A.1876) and Nausicaa and her Maidens playing at ball (R.A.1879). Both works were part of Lord p. 66
Wharncliffe's commission showing the English conception of the ideal male and female ways of life. With this same context of ideas we may also associate Leighton's Greek Girls picking up Pebbles by the sea (c.1871), Nausicaa and Winding the Skein both dating from 1878 and Greek Girls playing at Ball (c.1889)³⁹.

Greek political life and personages in English art

I shall now turn to the examination of works representing ancient Greek political subjects. By ancient Greek 'political' subjects I mean images of ancient Greek soldiers, law-givers and rulers. Within this category I shall focus specifically on war heroes. According to the following graph, these works display a very distinct pattern. Two periods are observable. There is a main wave of constantly rising interest in the subject located in the middle of my period of study. This covers a long period and spans two decades, the 1850s and 1860s, and in particular the years 1848 to 1873.

It reaches its highest peak in 1866 with 37.5 % of works on Greek political life, out of all Greek works in that year. We may also observe an earlier period but with a lower peak, 23 %, from 1838 to 1844. It is from 1857 to 1866 and again briefly during the early 1870s (1872, 1873 and 1874) that the main mid-century Greek heroic movement surpasses all preceding years.

GRAPH 11: Pattern of works on ancient Greek political subjects in the R.A. as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880



The particular interest among artists working in England and their public in the representation of Greek political life in general and of Greek warriors in particular may be explained, at least partly, by certain anthropological ideas. These were, firstly the belief that physical strength, as a condition of victory at war and of the government of peoples was a racial characteristic, i.e. innate and exclusively held by

some human groups and not by others; and secondly, the biological view of human life as a physical struggle for survival in which the strongest survived. Both theories set up the Greek type of physique as the model embodiment of the ruling man and of the surviving man. The rise of works on Greek political subjects in British art during the second half of the nineteenth century coincides with the establishment of these ideas in British society in the 1850s.

Consequently, images of Greek military heroes in English art correspond to the life-scientists' accounts of an important physical characteristic of the Greeks, their strength. But since the English were relatives of the ancient Greeks, such images may also be seen as descriptions of the English physical identity as strong men. Indeed, we may see these images of ancient Greek warriors as belonging to that view of the history of the English nation which traced their ancestry back through the Germanic tribes of the forests of Germany to Alexander and the Homeric heroes of Greece.

The representation in English art of military subjects was also justified for another reason. This was the tendency of Greek artists of the fifth century B.C. to represent warfare and military heroes. The great sculptor, writer and Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy schools between 1857 and 1868 Richard Westmacott (the son of Sir Richard Westmacott, also a sculptor and Professor of Sculpture) noted in 1864 that the subjects of both the pediments of the newly discovered "Aeginitan collection of sculptures" which stunned Pater, were "combats"⁴⁰. They depicted Greeks in the "occupation of slaying and being slain"⁴¹. These Aeginitan statues -about sixteen in number- decorated the two pediments of a temple dedicated to Jupiter Panhellenicus. They were discovered in 1812 on the Greek island of Aegina by Germans ; but there were casts in England of these sculptures.

I shall now consider the Greek political personages whom British artists represented in their works and their statistical patterns. My account will be based on the data which I collected from the R.A. catalogues and which I display below in two tables. The first table shows which personages from ancient Greek political history and mythology attracted British artists' attention during the period 1833-1880 and their

scores in absolute numbers in each year of the sample of twenty years. The second table separates male from female so-called political personages, and shows their relative scores also in absolute numbers.

TABLE 20: Works on ancient Greek political personages in the R.A. divided into historical and mythical personages, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| | 34 | 36 | 1838 | 1840 | 1842 | 1844 | 1846 | 1848 | 1850 | 1853 | 1857 | 1861 | 1864 | 1866 | 1868 | 1870 | 1873 | 1875 | 1879 |
|---------------------------|----|----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| HISTORY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leonidas | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Themistocles | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| Alexander | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | |
| Demosthenes | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pyrrhus I | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Constantine | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Cleopatra | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| Greek Cities: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Syracuse | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Ephesus | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| HOMERIC PERSONAGES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Achilles | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 4 | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Hector | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Paris | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | |
| Ajax | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sarpedon | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeneas | | | | | 2 | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cassandra | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Helen | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Oenone | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Ulysses | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| Penelope | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | |
| Sirens | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | |
| HOMER | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Iliad | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 2 | | 2 | | 4 |
| Odysseia | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 3 | | | 2 | 2 | | |
| MYTHOLOGY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Argonauts | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Hercules | 2 | | | 2 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Perseus | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | |
| Prometheus | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Centaur v Lapithae | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eteocles v Polynices | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Amazons | | | | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | |

TABLE 21: Works on ancient Greek political personages in the R.A. divided into male and female personages and presented in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| | 34 | 36 | 1838 | 1840 | 1842 | 1844 | 1846 | 1848 | 1850 | 1853 | 1857 | 1861 | 1864 | 1866 | 1868 | 1870 | 1873 | 1875 | 1879 |
|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Leonidas | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Themistocles | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| Alexander | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Demosthenes | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pyrrhus I | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Constantine | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Achilles | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 4 | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Hector | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Paris | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | |
| Ajax | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sarpedon | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeneas | | | | | 2 | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ulysses | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| Argonauts | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Hercules | 2 | | | 2 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 3 | | | |
| Perseus | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 4 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| Prometheus | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Centaur v Lapithae | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eteocles v Polynices | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL Male | 5 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Cleopatra | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| Cassandra | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Helen | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Oenone | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | |
| Penelope | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | |
| Sirens | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | |
| Amazons | | | | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | |
| TOTAL Female | | | | 2 | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 |

If we first look at the Greek male political personages we find a concentration on fewer and very particular heroes during the post-1850s period. Out of 19 personages who include historical, mythological and Homeric heroes, we find mention of 15 personages in the early period and of 12 in the later. Although in absolute numbers these differences are not substantial, they are so as percentages of all Greek subjects as is evident in the graph. Overall, Achilles and Perseus are the two most popular Greek heroes in English art with 12 works on each of them.

In the category of historical personages, we find, during the post-1850 period, an increase in absolute numbers and an interest in 'new' personages such as Pyrrhus I, Themistocles and Constantine as compared with the pre-1850 period. If we consider such changes from the point of view of anthropological theories, these changes become significant. In the later 'racialist' period, we find the typical Aryan or Anglo-Saxon heroes such as Alexander and Pyrrhus I still in the repertoire of Greek political subjects. Alexander is the single most frequently appearing historical personage throughout the period.

Among Homeric subjects which I have considered separately because they lie half-way between history and mythology, we find a concentration on Achilles, Hector and Paris in the later, 'racialist' period out of the 7 Homeric heroes who appear in the R.A. during the whole period⁴². As far as Achilles is concerned, in 1861 there are 4 works on him alone. Ulysses is not a popular subject with one work at the beginning and another towards the end of the whole period.

Among mythological heroes, we find in the later period a striking concentration on two heroes out of 6 : Perseus and Hercules. In fact, Perseus is the only mythological personage who maintains a relatively constant presence throughout the period. Also, in 1866 there are 4 works on him. In the later period, Hercules appears in only one R.A. in our sample, in 1870, even though his appearance is striking with 3 works on him.

The pattern of works on female political personages also changes during the period

which we are studying. Indeed, there is a definite pre- and post- 1850 pattern (with the exception of the Amazons who appear as much before as after 1850). The change is in the very existence of feminine personages from Greek history, the Homeric epics and mythology. During the early period there is a marked rarity of such subjects and a near-absence until 1848. Cleopatra is the single most popular Greek female political personage with 9 works devoted to her⁴³. Next comes Oenone with 6 works on her. The sirens with 5 works and Penelope with 3 works, contrast with the relative neglect of the main, male hero of the Odyssey.

The emphasis on Oenone is a specifically English one and cannot be connected with any racial theory in any particular way. The subject is taken from Tennyson, the poet laureate since 1850, who treated this subject in his poems 'Oenone' (included in Poems dated 1833) and 'The Death of Oenone' (1892). F. M Miller's sculpture "Mournful Oenone, wandering for love/Of Paris, once her playmate on the hills; etc" (R.A.1861) is a case in point. It was Tennyson who oriented British cultural attention to her story although she also appears in Spenser's 'Faerie Queene', a common literary source of Greek subjects for English artists, as well as Chaucer and Swinburne. Cleopatra is also a favourite literary subject in England. As an element of English culture, Cleopatra entered English thought not only as a particular **type** of historical figure but also as an embodiment of a particular type of human character which was introduced into English culture through literature, namely Shakespeare in his play 'Antony and Cleopatra'. But nineteenth century cultural figures, like Tennyson and Swinburne also turned their poetic attention to her as an object of cultural and literary attention : Tennyson with 'Antony and Cleopatra' and in 'A Dream of Fair Women' and Swinburne with 'Cleopatra'. Apart from her political attributes, Cleopatra is an instance of Greek beauty which she uses to various ends, political and erotic. She was considered a Greek and indeed her image was included in the Greek pavilion at the Great Exhibition. In the case of Penelope and Oenone, Greek sexual mores which were thought to be determined by race are at issue. The similarity between northern mediaeval Christian mores and Homeric mores was perceived by the Pre-Raphaelites and their followers and Penelope was turned into a mediaeval maiden waiting for her knight at her loom⁴⁴.

The political significance of these subjects lies in the opposition of women to warfare on which men are keen. The only exception is Helen who is the cause of war. The sirens too are the opposite of war but also of domestic life as typified in the figure of Penelope. The sirens distract men's attention from their heroic duties and from their families and country ; they represent the opposition expressed in the popular motto "make love not war". However, I am primarily concerned here with the description and explanation of the presence of Greek war subjects in English art.

Images of ancient Greek heroes in English art did not only describe the physical identity of the English. They also exemplified particular types of political behaviour, i.e. different uses of the physical strength which distinguished the English from most other nations. I shall now consider the relationship between British political policies and images of ancient Greek warriors in British art and show that the latter were expressions of a range of different British political decisions.

Liberal and Tory views of war and images of Greek heroes

When Pater saw the Aeginitan statues which I mentioned above, he was struck by what he saw as the humanism of Greek art : humans represented in religious monuments suggested the Greek belief in the divinity of man. In the words of another aesthete and hellenist, Oscar Wilde, "Behold the man ! Behold the God!"⁴⁵. But as such, Greek art was eventually expected to answer another question : what were these men doing and why were they doing it ? This question was crystallised in the dilemma regarding the uses of physical strength and battle skill for either ensuring self-government or for the government of others. This dilemma divided British political opinion throughout the century and became an element of party politics between the Liberals and the Tories. In this context, British educated opinion looked to the Greeks for guidance. They enquired into whether it was the impulse to gratuitous warfare and what became identified after Nietzsche as "the will to power", or the capacity to win in battle which characterised Greek political life : under what circumstances or for what reasons did the Greeks take up arms, i.e. resort to

violence? Did they hit back, i.e. fight in defence and for the survival of the homeland, or did they hit first, i.e. fight for conquest too, and what were the ends of political expansion and intervention abroad ? As Greek political history supported both views, this fact, together with the actual and heated debate over this issue in Victorian politics, may explain the existence of images of both types of activity, i.e. imperialism and the defence of national autonomy as exemplified by the Greeks, in British art.

Party political distinctions gave images of Greek warriors and athletes in British art an ambiguous meaning. At the same time, this distinction between wars of national defence and wars of conquest obliges us to distinguish among images of Greek warriors, between images of defenders of national integrity and images of conquerors or emperors. As applied to the data in question, this distinction leads us to separate for example images of Leonidas and Themistocles from images of Alexander and Pyrrhus I. Let us now look at some concrete examples of works of art representing Greek heroes as they relate to the nexus of art, science and political policy in England.

From the statistical point of view, images of Greek emperors are fewer than images of Greek national defenders and liberators. Under the Liberals, and Gladstone in particular, battle was related to peace ; to defence, not to conquest. Liberals also supported a measured British involvement in just wars. This principle was consistent with the doctrine of 'muscular Christianity' which exploded under the Liberals and which that famous line from a Victorian hymn "fight the good fight with all thy might" propagated and crystallised so memorably.

For Gladstone battle and debate made a man. These were also the virtues which English boys took from the public schools and the old Universities. They were the virtues to which Gladstone subscribed as did Matthew Arnold, though not aesthetes like Walter Pater ⁴⁶. Gladstone's opposition to colonialism was realised in policies criticised by the Tories and in particular by Disraeli in his Crystal Palace speech in 1872.

The Liberal conception of the use of force for peace and for the honour and integrity of one's country which was taken from both Christianity and from the Greeks, gave images of the Homeric heroes both a liberal and a Christian moral meaning. This was the meaning of Thomas Woolner's Reliefs from the "Iliad" (R.A. 1868) centred on Achilles. Three marble bas-reliefs were to decorate three sides of the pedestal of the bust of "the Right Hon W. E. Gladstone" intended for the Bodleian Library at Oxford⁴⁷. The reliefs represented "Thetis imploring Zeus; Achilles shouting from the Trenches; Thetis rousing Achilles"⁴⁸. As the daughter of the artist Amy Woolner explained in her biography of her father, these "subjects from Homer's Iliad, [were] designed as a compliment to Mr Gladstone's study and knowledge of Greek art"⁴⁹. The meaning of peace of Gladstone's bust was expressed by Gladstone's wife Catherine Gladstone in a letter to Thomas Woolner of 14 September 1863. She was writing to the artist to thank him for the photograph of her husband's bust which he had finished modelling in clay on August 31st of that year. Mrs Gladstone informed Woolner that "I will take care it is placed in "The Temple of Peace," it is excellent,...you deserve it should have succeeded for you have searched deeply and stamped upon it what makes it so valuable, God's gifts written upon that countenance ! I shall long to see it in marble."⁵⁰ Gladstone's devotion to peace turned his image into a symbol of peace. With this meaning we must also associate the Achilles reliefs. Indeed, Achilles and the other princes and kings of Greece did not start the Trojan war. Rather they took up arms in order to rescue Helen who had unlawfully been abducted by the Trojans. The Trojan war could and indeed was seen as an instance of the mediaeval code of Christian chivalry 'avant la lettre'.

In the Iliadic reliefs there are also allusions to the recent British involvement in the Crimean war against Russian expansionism which was carried out by a coalition government which Gladstone served as chancellor of the exchequer. Religious and political leaders had urged British involvement in the Crimean War as a Christian moral imperative, as an act of chivalry⁵¹. Dean Alford, in his Sunday sermon on November 19th, 1854, referred to the British as "a Christian people, among the foremost in the advancement of all that is good and beneficial to mankind". He explained the meaning of British participation in that war as being "in aid of this great

struggle of the weak against the strong"⁵², an enforcement of God's will that all nations should live within the "bounds" which God had determined for them and finally for "love of honour" not "gain"⁵³. He exemplified the behaviour which he advocated by "that memorable struggle which the ablest of Grecian historians has recorded", namely the Peloponnesian war between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Peloponnesus which marked the end of Athenian democracy as perfected by Pericles.

The contemporary context to which the reliefs refer and their exemplary meaning of resistance to illiberal powers, is suggested by the image of "Achilles shouting from the Trenches". Trench warfare was a new technique which was first used in the Crimean war, at the siege of Sebastopol in 1854⁵⁴. In addition to being a reminder of the Crimean expedition, the normative character of these images also lies in Gladstone's belief in "Homer's moral value" ⁵⁵. As R Jenkyns has pointed out, Gladstone's desire was "that the poet [Homer] should become the Bible of the English too [i.e. as it had been for the Greeks] ; he urged his countrymen not to underestimate Homer's moral value"⁵⁶.

In fact, the middle of the century witnessed a general social enthusiasm for the Iliadic heroes. According to Richard Jenkyns "in the middle of the century, twelve complete verse renderings of the Iliad, a poem of more than 15,000 lines were published over a period of about twenty years. Gladstone, Tennyson and Arnold all tried their hand at turning passages into English verse"⁵⁷. In 1857 William Morris too began his unfinished cycle of poems, "Scenes from the Fall of Troy" and suggested the similarity between Troy and northern mediaeval cities like Bruges or Chartres⁵⁸.

The mid-century social enthusiasm for Homer may thus explain the continuing attachment of British artists to Homeric subjects during the second half of the nineteenth century. Achilles is the most frequently appearing Homeric hero both before and after 1850. Again from a statistical point of view, works on Iliadic subjects in particular dominate Greek political subjects throughout the period. It is also in the post-1850 period that Iliadic subjects reach their peak. Furthermore, Iliadic

subjects are more numerous than subjects taken from the Odyssey⁵⁹. Interest in the latter is a specifically post-1850 phenomenon. A comparison over our whole period between works on the Iliad and works on the Odyssey shows 38 works on the Iliad as opposed to 10 works on the Odyssey.

Other works on Achilles include N. R. Roskell's sculpture Lycaon imploring Achilles to spare his life, a subject taken from the Iliad, book xxi, or E. Bennet's Lycaon and Achilles, both shown at the 1861 R.A.. Accompanying texts explain the scenes. In Bennet's work for example, the accompanying text reads as follows:

"Thus while he spake, the Trojan, pale with fears,
Approach'd, and sought his knees with suppliant tears"⁶⁰

Liberalism and anti-colonialism may also explain other 'Greek' subjects in English art such as the bronze Gladstone Memorial by Sir Hamo Thornycroft (knighted 1917) (1850-1925) which was unveiled in the Strand in 1905. One of the symbolic groups which surround the colossal figure of Gladstone represents "Brotherhood". As Hamo himself explained, the group "consists of a seated female figure on whose lap there sits a boy of Anglo-Saxon type, to whom she draws with her all-embracing arm an unclad boy of another type and nationality. These two she is endeavouring to unite in friendship and recognition of brotherhood"⁶¹. Although without any specifically Greek references, the Anglo-Saxon type should bring to mind the nationalities which this anthropological category encompassed in Gladstone's time, among whom were the Greeks. Another allegorical group of the same monument called "Courage" indicates Gladstone's commitment to fighting evil. It shows a muscular female figure, who bears a striking similarity in her physical type with the muscular women of fifth century B.C. Athens. She is holding with one hand a sword which she is directing against a fierce snake, a Biblical symbol of evil, which she has seized with the other hand. pg. 75

John Gibson's famous group sculpture Meleager of 1847 also known as Hunter and his Dog may also be connected with nineteenth century liberal conceptions of the use of force in national defence against invaders and other public dangers. Meleager was a celebrated princely hero of antiquity. He was distinguished for his exceptional pg. 78

physical strength, his involvement in the Argonautic expedition, the deliverance of his country from the incursions of the neighbouring inhabitants and the hunting of the huge Calydonian boar which laid waste all the country⁶².

Although a traditional subject in antique art, this subject was also one of great importance to public values at that time⁶³. Furthermore, Gibson's interpretation of the subject was much more vigorous than the antique. It was not a slavish copy of a subject with a merely antiquarian interest. Gibson's Meleager shows a well muscled nude of a young man with a square chest and regular features. He is not resting at the end of the deed as in the famous antique statue but is ready to act. This impression is conveyed by the forward inclination of the torso, the arm which is restraining the open-mouthed dog and the alert gaze. Liberalism may also explain the decision in 1874 of the Art Union of London to produce a medal in Gibson's honour for which a version of Meleager, called The Hunter, was chosen as representative of his skill.

The liberal and Christian sanctions of war may also explain the choice of subject at the 1875 Royal Academy competition for the Gold Medal for "'Best Composition in Sculpture'" on a set subject⁶⁴. This subject was Warrior Bearing a Wounded Youth from Battle. It did not specify the cause of war. The prize was won by Hamo 12.79 Thornycroft who produced a classical warrior. It was exhibited at the 1876 R.A. making a great impression⁶⁵. Hamo's choice of a Greek warrior was compatible with the widely held and scientifically confirmed belief that the Greeks, as the most complete representatives of the pure Aryan or white race, which was the superior race, were the strongest nation and hence possessed in its fullness not only the moral but also the physical precondition of the perfect warrior. They were both strong and moral.

In fact, Thornycroft was a sculptor who produced a number of Greek subjects and figure-sculptures in the classical, i.e naturalist and muscular, Pheidian style such as Artemis and her Hound, (R.A.1880) and Lot's Wife (R.A.1878). The writings of Hamo's friend the Arnoldian poet and literary critic Edmund Gosse, further confirms for us Hamo's Hellenism but also Gosse's own anti-Christian feelings. During the

time when the artist was working on his Artemis, Gosse referred to him as "a great sculptor, born with a Greek heart into bigoted Christian times", "worshipping Diana by moonlight"⁶⁶.

Hamo Thornycroft was also a great 'national' artist and a liberal. He enjoyed extensive official patronage for public monuments. His best patrons were mostly of the Liberal party, such as Lord Rosebery who commissioned the statue of Oliver Cromwell (1899, Westminster)⁶⁷. Other commissions included not only two monuments to Gladstone but also monuments to Boadicea (on which he worked with his father Thomas in 1870), and to the last Anglo-Saxon king, King Alfred at Winchester (1901). The erection of so many public monuments to English historical personages at a time when representative democracy was becoming firmly established and when the Wagnerian rhapsodies to the Aryan race and especially to the Germanic nations had, since the 1870s, filled English hearts with pride, leads us to understand these statues as images of representative specimens and glorifications of the English nation⁶⁸. Indeed, the character of Hamo's art, which included a great number of Greek personages, led the poet J.A. Symonds to call him in 1884, "Sculptorum apud Anglos"⁶⁹.

From the point of view of his Greek political repertoire, Hamo Thornycroft is important not only for his Warrior, but also for his bronze statue of Teucer (R.A.1882), the Iliadic hero, which he began in November 1880 and of which he exhibited the full-size plaster model at the R.A. in 1881. Its 1881 catalogue entry was accompanied by the following quotation from Pope's translation of the Iliad, viii, lines 359-64:

"Since, rallying from our wall we forced the foe,
Still aimed at Hector have I bent my bow;
Eight forked arrows from this hand have fled,
And eight bold heroes by their points lie dead:
But sure some God denies me to destroy
This fury of the field, this dog of Troy."⁷⁰

Teucer was the son of Telamon, king of Salamis and one of Helen's suitors. As one of Helen's suitors, he accompanied the Greeks to the Trojan war, where he distinguished himself by his valour and intrepidity⁷¹. Teucer was immensely admired

and was bought for the Chantrey Collection in 1882. It was eventually put up as a public or as we should say, national monument, outside the Tate Gallery⁷². It shows the nude strong male body of an archer. The model was an Italian, called Orazio Cervi⁷³.

Teucer may also be seen as a liberal imperialist statement and as the English physical ideal at that time⁷⁴. The following circumstances justify our understanding of this statue as an image of the model imperialist race. Towards the end of the century, Lord Rosebery, the Liberal imperialist politician and Hamo's most influential patron, told the artist how much he had liked his Teucer. This was a significant statement at a time when the Boer War had proved British troops not fit enough for war. Indeed, Lord Rosebery had probably Hamo's Teucer in mind when he complained that it was "no use having an Empire without an Imperial race". The racial and national significance of the Greek archer as both the actual and the ideal physical and moral type of the English nation may also be inferred by Hamo's intention to produce a series of bronze statues illustrating English games to which his Teucer would belong⁷⁵.

Thornycroft also produced the first ever life-size statue of a labourer, The Mower (R.A. 1884, plaster)⁷⁶. It was a Greek body dressed in working clothes⁷⁷. The motifs of muscle and work may be understood in two ways : firstly as a demonstration of the physical and moral identity of the working-classes with the middle-classes and thereby as a further legitimization of the political integration of rural labour which was realised in 1884: both classes shared the same physical type, i.e. belonged to the same, heroic race, and should therefore share and participate in the same state. The association of muscle with work may also be understood as a pacifist statement. This is justifiable by reference firstly to the pacifist movements which began with the opposition to British participation in the Crimean War led by the Liberal politicians Richard Cobden and John Bright (who was also a Quaker); and secondly by reference to Herbert Spencer's (1820-95) optimistic distinction between the old militant society and the new industrial society, based upon cooperation and industrial wealth rather than upon military aggression and group conflict. Such an

understanding of the Mower was expressed by J. A. Symonds, following W. Morris' philosophy of work in a letter to Hamo of October 24th 1884⁷⁸. Consequently, Hamo Thornycroft's oeuvre encompasses the different phases of British Liberalism of the second half of the century.

Images of Greek emperors and conquerors are rather few. They include Alexander, Pyrrhus I and Constantine, the most frequently appearing of whom is Alexander. Alexander indicates the other political application of the strength and energy of the Aryan, namely to conquest. Works on Alexander include "Alexander" (R.A.1864), a sculpture by D. Davis, a subject taken from Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast'. This poem was a meditation on violence. The accompanying text read:

"The princes applaud with furious joy,/And the king seized a flambeau
with zeal to destroy"⁷⁹.

The racial significance of Alexander's conquests and violent acts may be found in Gobineau's writings. In his Essai for example where he discussed the superiority of the white or Aryan race in "beauty, intelligence and strength"⁸⁰ Gobineau mentioned Alexander's life as an ideal-typical and individual manifestation of these traits including the extreme form which they could take in acts of almost gratuitous violence. He thus referred to Alexander's conquests, when

"Men believed for a moment, when they saw Hellas conquering the kingdom of Darius, that Asia was about to become Greek, or, still better, that the acts of violence wrought in the madness of a single night by the conqueror against the monuments of the country were, in their very excess, a proof of contempt as well as hatred." ⁸¹

Although Gobineau condemned Alexander's change of mind after the destruction of Persepolis, i.e. his adoption rather than eradication of Persian ways and the denial of his country, he was ultimately credited by British scholars as well as Gobineau himself for the spread of Greek civilisation in the east⁸².

Constantine, the founder of Constantinople, is another Greek emperor, and a Christian emperor at that, although many British scholars believed that he was born in Britain⁸³. This subject belongs to the post-1850 period and was also treated by Alma-Tadema, - In the time of Constantine (R.A.1879) - an artist who seems to have favoured imperial subjects, both Greek and Roman and who therefore may be

connected with the imperialist zeitgeist.

Indeed, we may associate and thereby explain the existence of images of Alexander and Constantine in the Royal Academy with the great debates over imperialism. Indeed, imperialists of that time justified the British political expansion overseas as the imposition, by force if needs be, of civilisation. This meant the European i.e. Graeco-Roman and Christian civilisations. The spread of 'white' civilisation among 'non-white' peoples was seen, to use Kipling's words, as the "white man's burden", i.e. an obligation and a religio-ethical obligation at that.

The belief that military intervention in the affairs of foreign peoples was a means to the achievement of ethical and cultural goals, i.e. the elimination of the evils of ignorance, superstition and tyranny in the world, may explain the emergence in British art during the second half of the nineteenth century not only of images of the Christian knight-errant and of St George, but also images of Perseus and his noble expedition from his adopted home, the island of Seriphus. These works I examined in the previous chapter. Leighton's Athlete wrestling with a python, may also be understood as a metaphor of these values and practices. As the python is a non-European snake, and as the snake is a symbol of evil, the motif of the python in this work may be taken as symbolising the existence of evil abroad and the obligation of the English to eliminate it. The monumental iconographic precedent of the motif of the man struggling with a snake in the Laocoon reinforces the moral significance of this image as the fight of good against evil. Such images declared the moral significance of the presence of British soldiers abroad. In fact, the extension by nineteenth century British Christianity of the sacred canopy of religion over political activity turned warfare into an ethical activity of good versus evil. The fusion of these analytically distinct spheres of life may explain the overlap between religious and political art in nineteenth century British art.

Other portrayals of Greeks as conquerors can be found in subjects relating to Pyrrhus I, another embodiment of this side of the Aryan (or Indo-Germanic) or Anglo-Saxon spirit. As we have already seen, Pyrrhus was mentioned in 1850 by Robert Knox in

his catalogue of great leaders of the Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian race : "Pyrrhus belonged to them..."⁸⁴ We find a statue of Pyrrhus the First by Mrs H Mc Carthy in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1857.

Another 'Pyrrhic' subject was exhibited later by the great Victorian artist whose contribution to English art was rewarded with a knighthood, the Dutch artist Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema. It may be significant from our point of view, namely the consideration of the national significance of Greek war subjects in English art, that one of the two pictures which this foreign artist first exhibited at the English Royal Academy in 1869 should have been a war subject and a Doric Greek subject at that⁸⁵. This fact suggests the importance of the theme in English culture and the artist's calculated decision to exploit what was in effect a 'national' theme for his own commercial success in the English art market. Alma-Tadema settled in England the following year, 1870. As the subject was described in the catalogue of the posthumous retrospective exhibition of his works at the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition of 1913, "The Pyrrhic dance, which was of Doric origin, was the most celebrated of the war dances of the ancients, and was intended to represent the rapid movements of the body both in attack and defence."⁸⁶ At the time of the 1913 Winter Exhibition the picture belonged to the Corporation of London, a fact which suggests the public interest of the subject.

Finally, I should mention G. F. Watts' Physical Energy as a Greek subject and as part of the nationalist and imperialist culture of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The classification of this work as 'Greek' is justifiable both thematically and iconographically. As I showed in an earlier chapter, the idea of the impulse to act and of the physical strength which went with it, (which is what physical energy implies), can be found in anthropological studies of different nations. These presented physical energy as a genetically determined and unequally distributed characteristic of human groups and also as a property which went with beauty and intelligence, a combination

which made its possessors superior to all others. The possessors of this combination were generally admitted to be the white nations and within them, the branch of the Aryans to which the ancient Greeks belonged and whose modern purest descendants were the Germanic nations who included the Anglo-Saxons. Gobineau for example had spoken of the "intensite du fluide nerveu" as the biological cause of the vigour of the pure Aryans which they combined with superior beauty and intelligence⁸⁷.

Physical Energy was undertaken purely for the artist's pleasure around 1883 though the original formal idea dated back to the equestrian statue of the hunter Hugh Lupus which he began in 1870 ⁸⁸. Physical Energy was described as the figure of an "intrepid youth on his fiery charger...an excellent representation of an explorer who has reached a mountain summit, and shades his eyes with his hand that his gaze may reach to the furthest limit of the unknown lands which he will conquer"⁸⁹. Watts tried to communicate the idea of physical energy, i.e. the impulse and power to act, by such features of the group as the nude muscular body of a male youth on horseback, the horse itself, the arrested motion of the horse's legs and the diagonal line formed by the horseman's torso. The latter feature was an established formal device for indicating energy and indeed a device which went back to Greek classical art - what Clark has called "the heroic diagonal" ⁹⁰. The motif of the man on the horse itself is also Greek. It can be associated, both formally and thematically, with the procession of the victorious horsemen on the Parthenon frieze, much loved by Watts. Furthermore, the horse was believed to be the favourite animal of all Aryan nations⁹¹. In more general terms, we may explain certain changes in British art during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and specifically the rise of so-called

"Romantic" sculpture as a more dynamic figural style, by reference to the desire to express in art that specifically national characteristic of the English, physical energy⁹².

The match between on the one hand the anthropological concept of physical energy as a national attribute and on the other Watts' choice of both the idea of physical energy as an object of visual representation and of the formal solution to this representational problem by borrowings from Greek art, justifies the interpretation of Physical Energy as an image of the Greek identity of the English.

Indeed, the importance for us of this equestrian statue lies not only in the artistic projection of a scientific idea, but also in the specifically national and political importance of this idea, and thereby in the national and political reference of the statue. Physical Energy advertised the physical identity of the English nation as a Greek i.e. pure Aryan nation. It also documented British political policies during the last quarter of the century as an implementation of this identity, i.e. their physical energy. Indeed, one version of Physical Energy was sent to the Matoppos to be p. 83 erected on the tomb of the Conservative Imperialist Cecil Rhodes, to whom a contemporary foreign commentator referred as "the most idealistic of English conquerors"⁹³. The location of Physical Energy bore witness to the application of English energies during the last quarter of the century in the conquest of foreign lands⁹⁴.

CHAPTER 11:**IMAGES OF GREEKS AS IMAGES OF THE NATION : FRANCE****Introduction**

In this chapter I shall examine the existence and statistical pattern of works of art representing ancient Greeks and ancient Greek political life in French art and explain their origin in the interaction between anthropological ideas and the political circumstances which pertained in France. I shall show that the institutionalisation of anthropological ideas stamped French art. More specifically, I shall demonstrate that, as in England, the institutionalisation of Greek athletic practices in France as a national activity which was aimed at forging a particular national physical identity and also at securing victory at war (in this case the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine), oriented artists towards the representation of the body and deeds of Greek heroes.

Consequently, I shall explain French artists' orientation towards the representation of the Greek heroic body as the result of a more general, i.e. social, positive evaluation of the strong and healthy body and pursuit of its practical achievement. Through this relation of art with society, society gave an answer to the artist's perennial problem, 'what to paint', while at the same time, artists reinforced and thereby participated in the propagation of the Greek body as an object of social and indeed national desire. The establishment of the Greek body as a new cultural object in French society may thus explain the rise of images of Greeks in French art.

French Nationalism and tales of Greek cities in French art

Overall, works on Greek subjects in French art occupy the second position after Italian subjects. The pattern of Greek subjects during the period under investigation is one of constant increase from around the middle of the century onwards. Greek subjects include a variety of aspects of Greek life. In this section I shall try to show that scenes taken from the history of the ancient Greek city-states projected the

collective idea of the nation and may also be associated with ideas about the racial-genealogical identity of the French nation as Greeks. Works on the life of the citizens of Greek cities as such as well as on the deeds of exemplary individual members of Greek cities appear frequently enough in French art so as to constitute a distinct category of themes in themselves. Furthermore, the French nationalist mobilisation which followed the Franco-Prussian war corresponds with the emergence within a single decade, the 1870s, of almost twice as many works on Greek city-states as had been exhibited in any previous decade.

The association of the French with the ancient Greeks as an element of the French identity and its expression in ancient Greek history subjects in French art was an association which went back to the French Revolution, itself a nationalist movement¹. During the second half of the nineteenth century, French cultural attachment to Greece was further strengthened by the new racial classifications of nations : the French were Greeks not only by emulation, but also by genealogical identity.

The artistic focus on tales of ancient Greek city-states matches the new nationalism based on the conception of the nation as not only a culturally, but also physically recognisable and distinct set of individuals who formed a race or a sub-race. Images of Greek city-states also match the belief in the Greek genealogical-racial identity of the French nation which I documented in an earlier chapter. Thus, we can understand these images as affirmations of one part of the logical equation that the French were Greeks².

TABLE 22: Images of ancient Greek city-states in French art in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| | | ATHENS | TROY | SPARTA | CORINTH | OTHER |
|-------|---|--------|------|--------|---------|-------|
| 1834 | - | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 1836 | - | | | 1 | | |
| 1838 | - | | | | | 1T |
| 1840 | - | | | | | |
| 1842 | - | | 1 | | | 1A |
| 1844 | - | | | | 2 | |
| 1846 | - | | | 1 | | |
| 1848 | - | 1 | | | | |
| 1850 | - | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 1853 | - | 1 | | | | 1M? |
| 1857 | - | | 1 | 1 | | |
| 1861 | - | 1 | (1) | | | |
| 1864 | - | 1 | | | | |
| 1866 | - | 1 | | | | |
| 1868 | - | | | | | 1A |
| 1870 | - | | 1 | | 1 | 1T |
| 1873 | - | | 1 | | | |
| 1875 | - | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 1877 | - | 2 | | 2 | | |
| 1879 | - | | | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | | 10 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 5 |

()=indirect reference

A=Argos, T=Thebes, M=Marseille (?=note that Marseille figures were not systematically collected)

Let us now examine these works. As we see in the table, Athens is the single most popular city in French art. Other cities are, in order of decreasing frequency of appearance, Troy, Sparta, Corinth, Argos and Thebes. I have included Marseille, a city in the ancient province of Provence in the south of modern France, in this inventory of 'Greek' city-states. This I did because I found that Marseille played an important role in the construction of the French national identity as Greeks. The

foundation of Marseille by Greeks was used by the French as a justification of their claim that they had an anthropological-genealogical connection with the ancient Greeks. This link justified French pride in themselves and also described the ingredients of the French identity, namely the well-known superior powers of the Greeks which the French also possessed through biological inheritance.

For the above reason I shall begin the examination of visual images of Greek cities in French art from images of the city of Marseille. During the 1850s and 1860s, Napoleon III's regime tried to gain popular support by endorsing, propagating and glorifying the idea of the Gallic i.e. Celtic ancestry and identity of the French nation as opposed to the Frankish i.e. Germanic identity of the French aristocracy. This idea was propagated by such agents of culture as art. It is significant in this respect that Napoleon III purchased "sur sa cassette personnelle" a Vercingetorix in 1865 by Millet³. To this view of French society as a nation made up mostly of the descendants of the heroic ancient Gauls was added the view of the blood links of the Gauls with the Greeks. This view was propagated during Napoleon III's rule from quite early on through works of art like La fondation de Marseille of the 1853 Salon by the sculptor J Mathieu. In fact, Napoleon III took a personal interest in the archaeological and ethnographic reconstruction of the "passé national" and especially the Gallic, i.e. Celtic past. He decided to found a musée des Antiquités nationales in the château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye which opened on 12 May 1867, and in 1862 he launched the excavations of Alesia, the Gallic fortress which Caesar besieged and where he captured Vercingetorix in 52 B.C.⁴.

The belief in the Celto-Greek identity of the modern French was also taken up officially as a suitable subject for major works of art, namely at the concours de Rome for the section of sculpture of 1865. Indeed, it cannot be a mere coincidence that in 1865, the French State announced that works accepted for the concours de Rome together with the works sent from the pensionnaires in Rome should be exhibited at the Universal Exhibition of 1867 and that the subject of the 1865 concours should be La fondation de Marseille. The account of this event was taken from Laureau, the author of a book entitled "Histoire de France avant Clovis" which was published in 1789 ⁵. We may understand the reason for the above rulings as more than the concern of the state "d'encourager les jeunes artistes". Indeed, we may understand them as French attempts to rival other European nations by displaying the superiority of the French nation. Works of art on the story of the foundation of Marseille, declared the Greek ancestry of the French and thereby their possession of the superior qualities which this ancestry guaranteed.

The winning entry for the 1865 competition for the Rome prize was Louis-Ernest Barrias' conception. The moment in the story of the foundation of Marseille which all the contestants had to illustrate, was the choice by a Gallic princess called Giptis, of one of the leaders of a Greek embassy to her father as her husband. This choice decided the foundation of Marseille in the 6th century B.C. by a settlement of Greeks in the south of modern France. Giptis' father, king Nannus, ruled over the territory which lay between the mouth of the Rhône and the area of Frejus. The Greek embassy which consisted of Phoceans led by Simos and Protis, offered her father a branch of olive tree as a symbol of peace and requested from him his friendship and

the freedom to found a city in that part of his territory where they had landed. On the day of the arrival of the Greeks, Nannus was marrying off his daughter and invited the Greeks to the feast. The marriage customs of that country allowed the girl to choose her own husband by offering him a bowl of water to wash himself. This was the manner which Giptis used to express her preference for the younger of the two leaders of the Phoceans, Protis. These were the origins of Marseille and of the blood and thereby racial, in the sense of physical, association of the Gauls with the Greeks.

Giptis' preference was for their comely face, politeness, spirit and the good taste displayed in the clothing of the Greeks over her fellow countrymen:

"la bonne mine des Grecs, leur politesse, leur esprit et le bon goût de leurs habillements les mettaient au-dessus des Gaulois couverts d'étoffes grossières ou des dépouilles hérissées des bêtes fauves."⁶

But the elements of central interest in this subject were, the mixture of two races and particularly the association of the French with the superior Greeks, and the physical distinctiveness of the two races, as Antoinette Le Normand-Romain has observed : "le point essentiel était le contraste des races"⁷.

The belief that the French were a southern Mediterranean race, i.e. belonged to the same family of nations as the Greeks as well as the Romans was revived and indeed acquired a new political significance after the French defeat by the Prussians. This nationalism known as "revanchisme" became an organised movement in 1882 with the formation of the League of Patriots under Paul Deroulede. It found official political patronage in Georges Boulanger, the founder of the Boulangiste movement in 1886 whose aim was the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. These developments gave rise to a new Hellenism in French culture, institutions and art. The new scientific Hellenism was the result of the French full adoption of the anthropological explanation of national identity as the result not only of birth, i.e. inherited physical properties, but also of life-style.

The painting of Greeks as images of the nation during the 1880s was encouraged by Charles Rochet⁸. He urged French artists to paint "un grand art civil, historique ou philosophique...art vrai, mais grand...sans allégorie ou métaphysique". According to Rochet, French artists could achieve this grand art, above all, by means of choosing a patriotic subject : "par dessus tout,...un beau motif patriotique et national"⁹. He also encouraged French artists to avoid painting modern urban, pale and fashionably dressed men and women but rather "l'Homme primitif,...l'Homme vrai de la Nature, l'Homme tel que Dieu l'a créé". All these recommendations meant, in fact, that French artists should paint either ancient Greeks or modern French working people whose body had been exposed to the sun and thereby possessed the "tons chauds, couleurs vives des beaux climats, aux belles carnations dorées par le soleil" which the ancient Greeks had reproduced in their now lost paintings¹⁰.

With this view of French art we may associate certain radical changes in the art of the Impressionists during the 1880s. The changes are observable not only in Renoir's art, which I documented above, but also in that of Cézanne. Although the 1880s and 1890s fall outside my period, it is important to mention, if only briefly, these later developments in French art, not least because they belong to what one might call the 'post-war culture' and because of the later adoption of anthropological theories in France as compared with England. The 'post-war' culture lasted from 1871 through to the end of the century and beyond. It consisted in the eventual social acceptance and implementation in France of anthropological theories about the importance of the care for the body for the physical identity, well-being and very survival of the nation.

The nationalist principles of post-war culture match exactly Cézanne's turn to bathing nudes set in the Provençal countryside where he was born, an interest which he came to share with Renoir. His The Large Bathers of 1898-1905 typify this change in Cézanne's art which corresponds to the post-war cultural and institutional change in French society. Indeed, we find here the French attachment to the south, the return to nature and the care for the body through physical exercises and exposure to the sun and the open air, in imitation of the Greek ancestors. Specifically Greek references abound in this painting of nudes where we find reproductions of classical Greek

statues of Venus, namely the tilting torso and draped lower parts of the Venus de Milo and the folded figure of the Crouching Venus¹¹. Finally, according to his friend of the late 1890s Joachim Gasquet, who was significantly a Provençal poet who tried to revive Provençal culture, Cézanne's art expressed the spirit of Provence. And in his book Cézanne, (1921) Gasquet recorded Cézanne as saying that he was like Taine, in that he liked muscle, swelling flesh : "I like muscle, beautiful tones, blood. I'm like Taine...." ¹²

Let us now look at subjects drawn from the history of other Greek city-states, and especially Athens. Indeed, we find a great number of works dealing with "Les Athéniens" doing this or that and especially fulfilling their political duties including the maintenance of their city¹³. The incidents selected by artists from the history of the city of Athens correspond to important elements in the contemporary social situation in France.

From 1848 onwards, the idea of the ethnic community with its attendant connotations of ethnic consciousness and ethnic solidarity, of political participation, and of history narrated from the point of view of the deeds of collective as opposed to individual agents, supplied French artists with a new representational problem. Works of art illustrating incidents from the history of Athens should be seen as solutions to the problem of illustrating and celebrating the ideal of the democratic nation-state. To this set of works belongs OEnéïs (1853 Salon), a sculpture by E-M Melingue, whose title refers to one of the twelve tribes of Athens. The subject points to the idea that blood bonds make a society and parallels the new racial-genealogical principle which physical anthropologists saw as the principle of classification of societies and of social solidarity and community formation or of repulsion and conflict.

The subject of love for one's homeland, and of devotion of one's self to the maintenance of one's own country, appears in a number of subjects drawn from the history of Greek city-states. Sparta offers the fullest embodiment of devotion to one's country, a duty which the Spartan family itself cultivated in the youth without dividing their loyalties, illustrated in G-J Thomas' sculpture, Soldat spartiate rapporte

a sa mere (Salon 1857). The Trojans too are used as examples of attachment to one's country, especially in the sorrows of Aeneas. Another work of the 1868 Salon by Victor Prost, entitled Et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos, also expresses the same idea of the Greeks' love for their country of origin.

Later works on Athenian subjects also match the experience of the Franco-Prussian war. In the 1877 Salon we find works on subjects such as Mlle Berthe Dozance's Le Tribut d'Athènes, d'après M Gendron, on porcelain, and Pierre-Paul-Léon Glaize's Fugitifs, with the following accompanying text from L. Petit de Julleville's 'Histoire de la Grèce sous la domination romaine, Sylla en Grèce, et le siège d'Athènes', CVIII: pl. 86

"... Un grand nombre d'Athéniens se sentant menacés, prenaient la fuite. Aristion fit aussitôt fermer les portes de la ville... Les fugitifs achetaient les gardes... se faisaient descendre avec des cordes, la nuit, du haut des remparts"¹⁴

The subject corresponds to the siege and capitulation of Paris (September 1870-January 1871). The implied comparison of Paris with Athens would suggest to contemporary audiences that even great cities like Athens and Paris could be militarily defeated. It is worth noting in Glaize's picture the physical or, as we should call it, racial characterisation of the fleeing Athenians, whom he represented with massive and muscular arms and bodies. With the siege of Paris we may also associate works illustrating similar experiences suffered by other Greek cities such as Corinth in works such as the prophetic Le dernier jour de Corinthe (Salon 1870) by Tony Robert-Fleury.

Greek athletes in French art and athletic institutions in French society

In absolute numbers, Salon images of the means or practices whereby, according to anthropological opinion, the Greeks had acquired their peculiar bodily structure, outnumber those in the Royal Academy. This artistic fact contrasts with the social fact of French public resistance to the care for the body during the greatest part of the period under consideration as compared with English athleticism which spanned

almost three quarters of the century. Indeed, one would have expected a greater number of Greek athletic subjects in the Royal Academy than in the Salon, but this is not the case. The following table shows the statistical pattern of works on Greek athletic subjects by medium, (sculpture or painting/drawing) and the artists who produced these works in the Royal Academy and the Salon in my sample years:

TABLE 23: Comparative table of works on ancient Greek athletes by artist and medium (Sculpture/Painting) in the R.A. and the Salon, in absolute numbers*: 1833-1880

| R.A. | | Salon | |
|--------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| Sc | P | Sc | P |
| 1834 - | | Kirstein, fils | |
| 1836 - | | | |
| 1838 - | | Cavelier, J | |
| 1840 - | Gott, J | Cavelier, J | |
| 1842 - | | | |
| 1844 - | | | |
| 1846 - | | | |
| 1848 - | | | |
| 1850 - | | | |
| 1853 - | | | |
| 1857 - | | | |
| 1861 - | | Cauer, C | |
| 1864 - | | | |
| 1866 - | | | |
| 1868 - | | Deschamps, J-B | |
| 1870 - | | | |
| 1873 - | Lacretelle, E | Sobre, H | |
| 1875 - | | Lavigne, H | Lefort** |
| 1877 - | Leighton, F | Gerard, C-M | |
| 1879 - | | | Liphart, E |
| TOTAL | 2 | 8 | 2 |

* The name of the artist stands for this artist's exhibited work [in this case one work by artist.]

**Lefort des Ylouses, A.-H.

As I indicated in a previous chapter, the low priority given to physical fitness in France was a view with which, to some extent, many scientists themselves colluded. French scientists shared the belief in the priority of mind over body as the trait of a civilised society. Physical education was seen as an unintellectual activity and its practice was curtailed by an emphasis on intellectual and other urban activities.

However, during the second half of the nineteenth century, scientists and supporters of scientific theories like Hippolyte Taine tried to persuade both the French reading public and the specialist community of artists, through writing and teaching at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, of the importance of physical fitness for most social and cultural interests, including the quality of a society's art. The public did not adopt these views until after the 1870 war.

During the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, images of Greek athletes are rare in the Salon. The sculptor Pierre-Jules Cavelier is the exception in the Salons of 1838 and 1840 with his Jeune Grec remportant aux jeux olympiques le prix de la course à pied. He exhibited his figure in plaster in 1838 and in bronze in 1840. During the 1860s, i.e. the period following the establishment of racial theories and the re-formulation by Darwin of the principle of the survival of the fittest, we perceive no changes in the repertoire of subject-matter in French art towards the adoption of athletic subjects. Physical fitness and its origins is not an object of serious social and hence artistic consideration.

To the extent to which athletic or physical prowess was a part of French life during the pre-war period, its meaning was that of an urban entertainment, a pastime and a popular pastime at that. It was not until after the war that these practices acquired a normative status, i.e. that they became a compulsory activity with mass participation instead of being a passive spectacle of the few by the many, and also an activity which aimed at the national interest, i.e. at national liberation, national strength, autonomy and physical health and improvement.

Consequently, during the pre-war period French images of Greek athletic practices refer to what was in fact a form of French popular entertainment. This meaning of athletics is made clear in the location of public art on this subject. It is in the popular "quartiers de l'est" of Paris, and at the entrance to the Cirque d'Hiver, that we find in two bronze equestrian statues, the one of an amazon by James Pradier (1790-1852) and the other of a Cavalier grec by Francois-Joseph Bosio (1768-1845), evidence of the meaning of athletics as a form of popular entertainment during the first half of the

century. Around the building, a polychrome sculptural frieze in the manner of the Parthenon frieze by Guillaume also advertises the athletic theme and function of the building as offering entertainment by means of the passive spectacle of physical skill.

Furthermore, it is significant that in the 1860s, the subject of Greek games should appear in the French Salon as the work of a Prussian, the famous sculptor Carl Cauer in his plaster figure of Un vainqueur aux Jeux Olympiques remerciant les dieux de sa première victoire of the Salon of 1861. On the other hand, one might include in this category of subject-matter Degas' jockeys. Although not strictly a 'Greek' subject, the motif of the horseman in European art of that time cannot be detached from classical art and especially from the horsemen on the Parthenon frieze, but set in a modern context¹⁵. Degas' jockeys, and English jockeys in particular, can also be connected with the life-scientists' critique of modern life which set up ancient Greek sporting life as a model. They may be understood as a demonstration of how the exercise of sport in the countryside could be combined with modern urban and industrial civilisation and with a high social status. This idea is suggested in his images of English horse-races such as Course de gentlemen. Avant le départ of 1862. This is done by the juxtaposition of a group of riders sporting in the countryside and placed in the foreground of the picture and the smoking factory chimneys of a nearby town placed in the background¹⁶. Pl. 63
Pl. 90

To return to explicitly 'Greek' athletic subjects, another rare French example during the pre-war period, is a sculpture in bronze by Jean-Baptiste Deschamps, Discobole. This work was bought by the state, a fact which may suggest an official concern and sanction in favour of athletic activities in general rather than a simply aesthetic reference to Myron's famous statue¹⁷.

However, it is during the 1870s, with the change from the established cerebral, enclosed and sedentary life-style of the urban population towards an athletic life-style in the open air and sunshine of the countryside that subjects drawn from Greek athletic life now become more frequent in the Salon. In each sample year we find at least one image of Greek athletic life. The subject of the discobolus is the most

popular form of Greek athletic life from 1868 to 1880 with at least 3 works devoted to it. The subject was treated by Hubert Lavigne as Discobole au repos, and by Calixte-Marius Gérard in 1877 in Discobole, both sculptures. In the social context of the 1870s, the image of the discobolus can be seen as a refraction and an artistic reinforcement of the goal of French education, namely the production of Greek-like athletic bodies.

Other examples of athletic subjects which we can mention, are Hyacinthe Sobre's Alcéïs, of 1873, a subject drawn from Pindar's "Pythiques, IX", his hymns of praise for the athlete. Athletic subjects, are usually, although not exclusively, treated by sculptors. This is understandable since muscle, the characteristic element of athletic subjects, is an extremely plastic or sculptural surface theme as compared with colour.

Nevertheless, painted images of athletes can still be found, as in the case of A-H Lefort des Ylouses' painting of another great Greek athlete, Milo. It was exhibited in 1875, as Milon de Crotone à l'assaut de Sybaris. The title was accompanied in the Salon livret by a short explanatory text from Diodorus of Sicily, LXII,c9:

"Il marche au combat vêtu comme Hercule, d'une peau de lion et armé d'une massue, principal instrument de sa victoire" ¹⁸

Milo was a native of the Achaian colony of Crotona in Italy. But generally, the Crotoniates were great wrestlers and warriors and gained lasting fame in their victorious battles against the Sybarites. In this picture, Milo, the greatest of them all, marches to battle showing the instruments of his eventual victory; not only his club but his muscle too. The story of Milo, the athlete-warrior, a story of strength gained from athletics and thereby of victory at war, matches exactly the dominant themes in French society at that time, namely the new practice of athletics and the projected war of the "revanche".

Note that no other major international political conflict of that time, such as the French wars in Italy, and the Crimean war, had such a dramatic effect on French cultural and practical life as the Franco-Prussian war. This was probably because these events took place abroad and the results were not as traumatic for the French

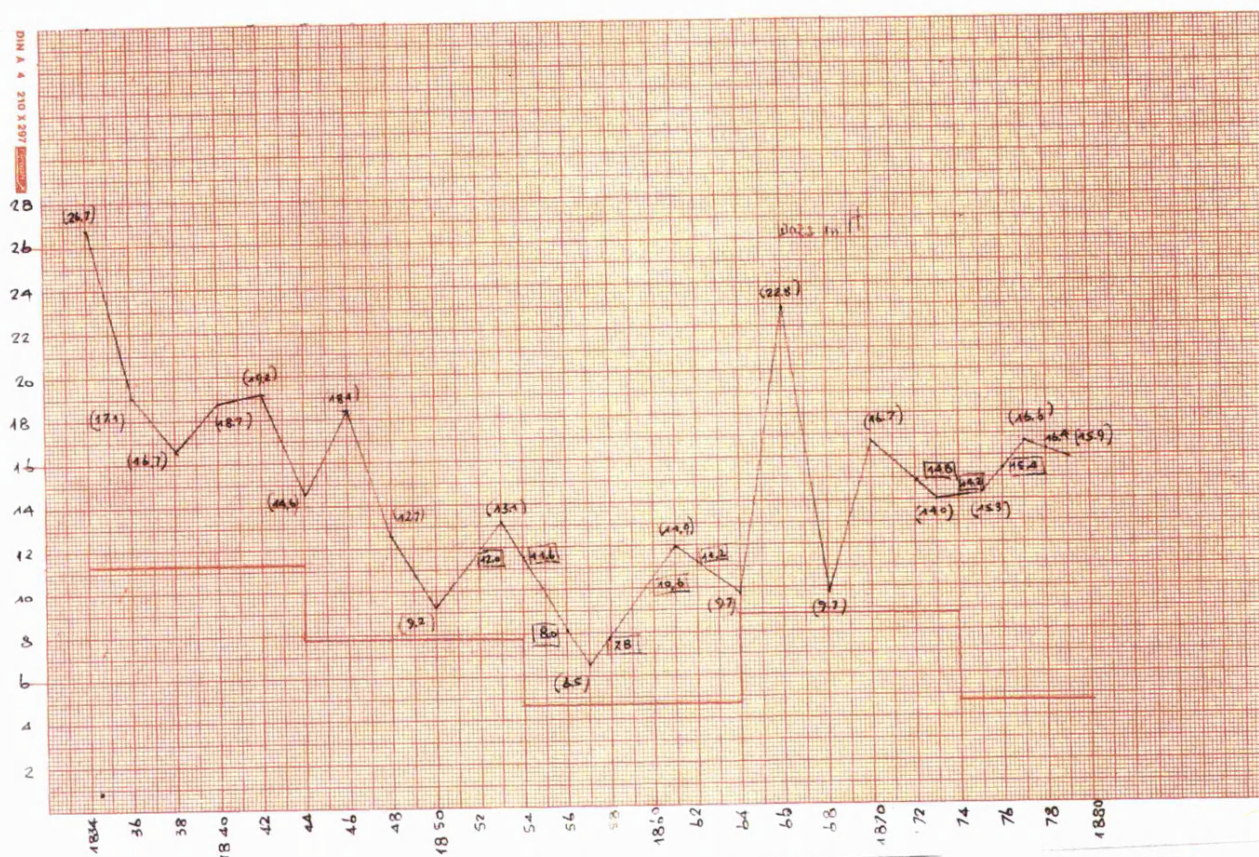
as the Prussian invasion. The latter however, threatened the very existence and integrity of the French as a nation-state and this may explain the dramatic social changes which followed the French capitulation.

Greek political personages in French art

1. The statistical pattern of works on Greek political subjects in French art

Here I shall examine the statistical pattern of works on 'Greek political subjects'. This is a general category in which I have included in my statistical calculations some of the works mentioned in the previous section. Works in this category of subject-matter decline from the beginning of our period (1834 first sample year) and continue in the same direction through the 1850s to 1864. After that date, i.e. from 1866-onwards, such works increase sharply and, until the end of my period in 1880, they remain at this higher level as compared with the immediately preceding decades.

GRAPH 12: Pattern of works on ancient Greek political subjects in the Salon as percentages of all works on Greek subjects in each year: 1833-1880



How can we explain this pattern of works illustrating various moments and heroes of ancient Greek political life ? If we pursue our hypothesis regarding the influence on art of the social acceptance or rejection of scientific ideas, we realise that this hypothesis is borne out by the facts.

The existence but declining number of images of the body and deeds of Greek military heroes in French art during the pre-war period matches the particularities of French social structure which I studied in the previous chapter. These consisted, briefly, in the conflict between the concerns of French anthropologists and the values of French lay opinion. Although anthropologists focused their scientific attention on the human body and connected victory at war with race and athletics (a relationship which Greek physique and political history seemed to exemplify), French public opinion neglected the body and resisted the practice of athletics.

As we saw, the lack of interest in and indeed public resistance, despite official attempts, to the care for the body in France was due to the following reasons : a) to the Catholic cult of the dead Christ and the ethic of mortification of the flesh following his example b) to the traditional Salon lifestyle of the aristocracy to which lycee education owed its cerebral bias, and c) to the adoption under the Second Empire, i.e. simultaneously with the rise of anthropological theories in Europe, of the new economic structures of industrial capitalism. The new city and factory life, which was precisely what the life-scientists criticised, concentrated public attention on economic life, i.e. on earning money, rather than warfare¹⁹.

These circumstances hindered the adoption of the athletic lifestyle of the ancient Greeks favoured by the life-scientists, as a social goal and a visual motif. The motif of the body of the Greek hero and the athlete exercising for physical strength and health does however occur occasionally in French art during the earlier period. From my point of view, this may be connected with two factors : firstly with the racial-ethnographic interest of French art according to which images of the Greek body supplied information on the physical structure of a particular human physical variety; secondly with artists' acceptance of the scientific critique of the degenerating modern

urban body as compared with the perfect Greek body, which emerged through Morel in the 1850s. In this case, images of Greeks were critiques of the French body.

Thus, we find no changes in the declining movement of Greek political themes before and after the rise of racial, including Darwinian theories in the 1850s and 1860s. Although the existence of races and of racial determinism was widely accepted during this period outside the scientific community and not least among French historians, such as Jules Michelet, the importance of a particular life-style for the maintenance and further development of the inherited physical condition of the nation was neglected.

Artistic change occurs more or less simultaneously with social change around 1870. Indeed, we do find a correlation between changes in the social acceptance of 'fitness' theories, which occurred after the Franco-Prussian war, and changes in the statistical pattern of subjects illustrating Greek muscular military heroes. It is by reference to this social change, triggered by political defeat, territorial loss and the goal of the "revanche", that we may explain the rise from 1870 to the end of our period in 1880, of works representing Greek political life and personages. Indeed, for the whole decade of the 1870s, the frequency of such works per annum is maintained at a higher level than that of preceding decades.

The French defeat by the Prussians resulted in a change of mind and thereby in a change of institutions. The Greek muscular body defeating its enemies was now established as the national goal and was systematically pursued through the institutionalisation of physical education in schools and clubs. This change in beliefs also caused a change in the pattern and social significance of Greek political subjects in French art.

From 1870 onwards, in the increased number of images of the Greek muscular body, artists no longer contrasted the ancient Greek with modern French attitudes and practices towards the body, but rather projected, celebrated and propagated the new social order. The latter was based on scientific models and conceptions which were

themselves derived from the observation of the Greek body and the study of Greek attitudes and practices towards the body. We can illustrate this by a closer examination of the moments and individual heroes of Greek political life which artists in France selected for representation throughout this period.

2. Greek political personages and incidents in French art

The pivot of our enquiry is the Franco-Prussian war which was the cause of considerable social change in France. The French defeat and the desire for revenge caused French political and educational authorities to accept the anthropological claim that established ways were inefficient for the maintenance of the political integrity of France and even for the very survival of the French nation. This recognition led to the institutionalisation of the scientific recommendation of physical education in French education and athletic clubs as the means to the physical improvement of the nation with which scientists had associated victory at war.

Thus, it is after the Franco-Prussian war that differences in the statistical pattern and character of Greek political subjects should appear in French art if any social influence in art could realistically be posited. The following table catalogues the contents of the sample of Greek political subjects which I examined.

TABLE 24: Works on ancient Greek political personages in the Salon divided into historical and mythical personages, in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| | 1834 | 36 | 38 | 40 | 42 | 44 | 46 | 48 | 50 | 53 | 1857 | 61 | 64 | 66 | 68 | 70 | 73 | 75 | 77 | 79 |
|--------------------------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| HISTORY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leonidas | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Pericles | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Themistocles | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alexander-Philip | 2 | | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Demosthenes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Pyrrhus I | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Constantine | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Nyssia & Candaule* | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Ptolemy II & Arsinoe* | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stratonice* | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Cleopatra | | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | 2 | | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Greek Cities | | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | |
| Greek Patriotism | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Other Gr pol. leaders | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| MYTHOLOGY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| HOMER | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Iliad | 2 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 2 |
| Odysseia | 4 | | | | 2 | | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 |
| Argonauts: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jason | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Philoctetes | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hylas | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 2 | | |
| Hercules | | 2 | 2 | | 4 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 | | | 4 | 6 |
| Perseus | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | 4 | | 9 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 |
| Prometheus | | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 4 | | | 3 | 1 |
| Theseus* | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| 'Heros tueur de monstre' | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| Centaur v Lapithae | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Eteocles v Polynices | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Castor and Pollux* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Amazons | | | | 1 | | | | | 2 | | | 2 | | 1 | | 3 | | | | |

* = subjects found almost exclusively in French art

The above table shows certain shifts towards new heroes after the Franco-Prussian war. There is thus a qualitative change. Change also manifests itself quantitatively in the increase of works illustrating the physique and acts of traditional Greek heroes, which I indicated above¹⁹. The most popular among the heroes of Greek culture, i.e.

those whose image constantly appears in the Salon are drawn from Homer. The most popular mythological heroes are Hercules, Perseus and Prometheus. The most popular historical political personages are Alexander, Pericles and Leonidas.

The practice of the representation of such subjects in French art goes back at least to the late 18th century and belongs to the similarly long-established category of High art or History painting. However, the traditional trait of these subjects in French art should not obscure the fact that if the personages remain the same, their meaning is radically different. The difference lies firstly in their applicability to the specific political situation which gave rise to what artists - following the revolutionary political culture of the time - set up as exempla virtutis²¹ ; and secondly in the explanation of the origin of the martial virtues exhibited in the events depicted in these images. The new explanation lay in the idea of racial destiny or racial determinism which replaced pronouncements on the morality of historical actors.

As in England, albeit from much earlier, the presence of Greek heroes in French art belonged to this new, racial explanation of human history. The practical achievements of the Greek heroes to whom Greece owed its political integrity, autonomy and military honour were instances of the natural law of the race and of the superior race at that. The new scientific view of human history and its public acceptance reinforced the traditional European admiration of Greek mythological and historical heroes and gave a new impetus to artists' orientation to subjects drawn from ancient Greek mythology and history. In this revived repertoire the focus of interest in the visual account of the heroic act changed from a manifestation of the will to the determinism of matter. The form of the Greek body was now seen as a peculiar physique which was held exclusively by a particular group of nations and which was the cause of both the correct judgment and the actual deeds of Greek men. This connection gave a new meaning to this type of subject-matter. Furthermore, the institutionalisation of the pursuit of the Greek body through athletics gave these subjects a national and indeed imperative significance as affirmations of the new national ideal instead of being mere ethnographic descriptions. I can illustrate this by examining in some detail particular moments in the lives of Greek 'political' men which French artists chose to illustrate

and their relationship to actual political contexts in nineteenth-century France.

2.(i). Hercules

Hercules is the single most popular mythological hero in French art. The frequency of occurrence of works on Hercules considered in absolute numbers increases from 1868-onwards. It thus contributes to the general increase of ancient Greek 'political' and especially battle scenes from 1868, the eve of the German invasion, to the end of our period in 1880.

Since the French Revolution Hercules was associated with the French nation, the people²². He was the type of the mass of the French people. Like them he laboured with his hands for the benefit of society cleaning stables or using his physical strength to eliminate the enemies of society. Despite his unintellectual physicality and life of action, this active life was a moral life. Hercules' life was a life devoted to good works, the highest of which being his unselfish devotion to the benefit of society.

We can find this conception in the works of a number of artists, such as Gleyre and Delacroix. In his biography of Charles Gleyre, an artist who treated the life of this "héros grec" on a number of occasions, such as Hercule et Iphitus and Hercule et Omphale, Charles Clément expressed the nineteenth-century belief in the essentially benevolent and noble meaning underlying the figure of Hercules: pl. 88

"le fils de Jupiter est...l'une des créations les plus nobles et les plus poétiques de l'antiquité. C'est un génie bienfaisant, à la fois guerrier et civilisateur, qui fait tourner la haine que lui porte Junon au bien de l'humanité"²³

It was as the type of the French nation i.e. the mass of the French people, that Hercules entered the Paris Hotel de Ville. Indeed, the interior decorations of the Salon de la Paix in the metropolitan Hotel de Ville included eleven semi-circular paintings by Delacroix illustrating heroic moments in the life of Hercules. Delacroix received the commission to decorate the Salon de la Paix after Napoleon III's coup d'état of 2 December 1851 when the artist was appointed a conseiller municipal. The decorations were completed and the Salon de la Paix opened in February 1854. They pl. 87

were destroyed by fire in 1871²⁴. Through their association with a Greek hero as their model, the French people became associated with the Greeks, for Hercules was known to be "le héros national de la Grèce"²⁵. This association was anthropologically reinforced around that time by the theory of the European, or white or Aryan race.

During this politically turbulent period, images of Hercules and of different incidents in his life became metaphors of a number of different political situations. Indeed, Hercules was not only a revolutionary, but also a conservative hero. For even the Second Empire itself born of and living under the threat of revolution, assimilated Hercules to its own ends. This régime faced the problem of unifying the French into a nation, of establishing a single order over divided and competing wills. One of the vehicles of the ideas of unity and obedience became the image of Hercules which continued to appear in public art. Thus, in the aftermath of Napoleon III's coup d'État, the sculptor Léonard Morel-Ladeuil exhibited in the Salon of 1853 the undoubtedly allegorical and topical subject Le Courage terrassant l'hydre de l'anarchie which was bought by the state²⁶. This image declared that Hercules, as the personification and embodiment of courage was against anarchy. Hercules was opposed to attempts to overthrow the state. It also claimed that the fight against the enemies of the established order was an honourable act, an act of courage. These ideas paralleled the goals of Napoleon III's regime and its precarious situation. Indeed, such images can only be understood by reference to their political context. Such images would persuade the popular mind where its duty lay as exemplified in and sanctioned by the acts of this popular hero. The hydra was not the established regime but the enemies of this regime against whom the state was claiming the vigorous support of the people.

The social groups which were represented in the type (i.e. in the physical and moral traits) of Hercules, were the middle and the working classes. Since the French Revolution, the image of Hercules as a French social type was applied to both the middle and the working-classes who had formed the Tiers Etat under the Ancien Régime. This classification and solidarity remained the same well into the middle of

the century. This is evident in Baudelaire's comments at the time of the 1848 February Revolution when in three days the monarchy was replaced by a republic, the Second Republic. In an article in Le Salut public, of 27 February 1848, he celebrated the "physical beauty" of the "people and the bourgeoisie". He contrasted them with the aristocratic body "all stomach and paunch"²⁷. This apparently casual comment may in fact be connected with the 'scientific' belief in the deeper, racial differences among Frenchmen, between the Frankish aristocracy and the Celto-Graeco-Roman bourgeoisie and peasantry.

If such images celebrated the beauty and strength of the body of the mass of the people who claimed sovereignty through an appeal to the principles of nationalism, other incidents in Hercules' life matched the French neglect of the body which anthropologists criticised during the second half of the century. French artists took up such incidents as metaphors and warnings of the consequences of current ways of life. Indeed, in the subject of Hercules and Omphale we find parallels with Taine's critique of the life of French young men, who devoted their life to the love of women to whom they became enslaved and who distracted them to lead a voluptuous life. This subject also corresponds to Rochet's attribution of the French defeat to the immorality of French women on whom the moral condition of French men depended.

The occurrence of this subject increases during the 1870s, i.e after the Franco-Prussian war. While in previous years the subject would tend to appear only once annually, in 1877 there are 3 works on the subject in painting and sculpture by Francois Roger, Le sommeil d'Omphale, Ch Doerr Omphale and Jules Blanchard Hercule et Omphale ; in 1879 there are 2 works by V-F Pollet Omphale victorieuse and Mme Louise Rondeau an Omphale in faience after Gleyre's famous Hercule aux pieds d'Omphale of 1863.

The story of Hercules and Omphale was one of dishonour and punishment for Hercules. According to legend, Hercules, in a fit of madness, killed his own children by his wife Megara. To expiate his crime he was told by the oracle of Delphi that he must be sold as a slave for three years. He was sold to Omphale, queen of Lydia. She

fell in love with him and married him. With her beauty she subjugated the hero who also fell in love with her, gave up for her his heroic acts and duties and lay at her feet. As Clément noted, this story typified the defeat of strength by beauty in the persons of Hercules, the perfect embodiment of strength and Omphale, a beautiful woman : "Hercule est là pour représenter la force vaincue" ²⁸. This was the story of man "oubliant, auprès d'une coquette, de poursuivre ses travaux"²⁹. This is the significance of the figure of Love in Gleyre's picture to whom Hercules conceded his club, the symbol of his strength.

However, the massive musculature with which the Greeks had traditionally represented Hercules (vide the Farnese Hercules in Naples inscribed with Glycon's name), as the embodiment of physical strength in its fullest realisation, was something of an embarrassment to nineteenth century European audiences. This was because anatomists had associated such enormous, bull-like and purely athletic physique with low 'inner' development. Hercules' body thus seemed to contradict the accounts of his moral resolve. Indeed, Gleyre's Hercule et Omphale was criticised for his choice of the figure of Hercules which was found to be too thick and animal-like:

"l'artiste n'aurait-il pas dû choisir un type moins épais, moins bestial et qui rappela davantage son caractère héroïque..."³⁰.

Charles Clément, in his biography of Gleyre of 1886 pointed out that Hercules' involvement with Omphale was an exception to his essentially heroic life, his patriotic deeds, his twelve labours and other similar achievements which earned him a place among the gods. Indeed, Hercules remained the civil hero par excellence of the French after the Franco-Prussian war when images of his labours emerge in post-war French art. His enemy, the hydra, is now a different one : the Prussians.

In subjects such as E Bin's painting of Héraklès Teráphonios (Hercule tueur de bêtes féroces), (Salon 1872), the "bêtes féroces"³¹ cannot be other than the Prussian soldiers. This denigration of the Germans as wild beasts was not uncommon. This characterisation was further encouraged by Darwin's final re-integration of man in nature and account of mankind's descent from the apes. Emmanuel Frémiet's work is a case in point. Frémiet (1824-1910) was a champion of the scientific and

specifically anthropological civilisation of the nineteenth century. He was a sculptor who sought "l'alliance entre science et art"³². He studied the scientific ideas of his time, those of Cuvier and of Darwin and derived many of his themes from science³³. He also knew Louis Rochet (1813-1878), the brother of Charles Rochet³⁴. He was also an ardent Catholic, a racial nationalist who propagated through his works the glorification of the Celtic component of the French nation and finally a friend of the 'revanchiste' Paul Deroulede whose views he also propagated through his works³⁵.

Fremiet's work which is most directly relevant to us here is his group sculpture Gorille emportant la Vénus de Milo of c.1871, now lost, which belongs to a series of sculptures on the theme of a gorilla abducting a woman³⁶. Fremiet's strange juxtaposition of a gorilla with the Venus de Milo can be understood if we consider the following peculiarities of French society at that time : firstly the French possession of the Venus de Milo in the Louvre as one of their most precious treasures, secondly the French loss of Alsace-Lorraine to the Prussians, thirdly French religious attachment to the Virgin Mary, fourthly the belief that the Venus de Milo was the Greek equivalent of the Christian Virgin Mary, fifthly the belief in the Greek identity of the French as pure Aryans or as mixed with Greeks and the corresponding belief that the Prussians were not a European nation, and sixthly the new anthropological ideas about man's place in the animal kingdom and his descent through evolution from the ape. ℳ. 92,93

Fremiet's sculptural group bears the marks of these circumstances. It is an account of the Prussian conquest of Alsace-Lorraine : the Prussians are represented in the shape of the gorilla indicating their animal-like barbarism and even their biological primitivism³⁷ ; Alsace-Lorraine is represented by the Venus de Milo. Note that the representation of cities and countries in the shape of women was a traditional convention in western art. Furthermore, the metaphor of the physical violation of a virgin to describe the events of 1870-71 became commonplace. The Boulangiste Maurice Barrès for example used it in the title of his 1904 book which can be translated as The Murdered Virgin. These structures of belief and political circumstance may also justify and indeed supply an understanding of Bin's hydra as

an image of the Prussians³⁸.

2.(ii). Other Greek mythological and historical personages and incidents

The numerous Greek political subjects which emerge in French art from 1870 onwards as opposed to the earlier rise of such subjects in English art during the 1850s and 1860s, can be divided into the following types : subjects of patriotic revenge, i.e. of military action undertaken to avenge evil inflicted by an external enemy on one's country or army, of defended but lost cities and homelands and of liberation. The topicality of such themes which examples drawn from both Greek history and mythology illustrated, lent Greek military scenes that kind of vitality which derives from the direct contact of things with actual social interests. These themes match exactly the Prussian invasion of France 1870-71, the French defeat and the desire for revenge and for the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine.

2.(ii).1. Images of revenge

Greek men revenging, Greek cities heroically defended but lost, and the deliverance of women from monsters by muscular Greek men, match the social themes of the occupation and liberation of Alsace-Lorraine and the siege of Paris. In the Salon of 1873, one Greek subject calls for revenge : Félix-Joseph Barrias' Hélène se réfugie sous la protection de Vesta, with the following accompanying text " '...Et je brûlais, dit Énée, de venger sur cette femme ma patrie en ruine' (Virgile, Énéide, liv II)" [my emphasis]. In the Salon of 1875 two works call for revenge: Maillart's Thétis arme Achille pour venger Patrocle [my emphasis] and Oscar-Pierre Mathieu's Le vaincu, accompanied by a revealing text:

"Écrasé par l'armée d'Antigone, Cleomène arriva à la ville et se retira dans sa maison. Sa jeune femme vient et veut lui rendre les services accoutumés au retour d'un combat. Cependant il refuse de boire, mourant de soif, de s'asseoir, quoique harassé, et s'appuyant contre une colonne, il repasse dans sa pensée divers projets de vengeance"³⁹
[my emphasis]

2.(ii).2. Images of lost patriotic wars

The theme of selflessly fought but lost wars in defence of one's country appears in the form of Leonidas, for example in Georges Geefs' sculpture entitled Leonidas, aux

Thermopyles, exhorte ses soldats of 1877. The idea of victory in defeat, is given a Greek sanction in the case of the Spartan hero Othryades in the sculpture Othryades (Salon 1877) by Jules Desbois. After the defeat of the Spartans by the Argives, Othryades killed himself unwilling to survive the death of his countrymen; this he did after having managed to carry back to the camp of his countrymen some of the spoils from his enemy with which he raised a trophy , and after he had written with his blood on his shield the word "Vici" ⁴⁰.

2.(ii).3. Images of liberation

The theme of liberation or deliverance appears in both mythological and historical subjects. I shall first look at the mythological heroes. Perseus and Hercules are the typical personages who are chosen by French artists to perform and demonstrate the act of deliverance to the French public. Perseus is a typical post-war subject. We find 10 pre-war Perseus works in the period between 1834 to 1868 as compared with 22 post-war works in the single decade of the 1870s.

The political context in which such subjects occur most frequently, makes their appearance at that particular moment in France's political history more than a mere coincidence. Indeed, this immediate, political context of national emergency lends these images of acts of deliverance performed by Greek men a normative significance for the behaviour of the whole nation.

Images of Perseus delivering Andromeda parallel the patriotic call for the deliverance of Alsace-Lorraine. As a relationship of men to women, the myth of Perseus and Andromeda was opposed to Hercules and Omphale. It was normative. Perseus' act was a charitable act of a man even if adulterated by the more than altruistic motivation of erotic love. This latter meaning, the erotic meaning, was an inevitable part of the story as is evident in François Lepere's sculpture, L'Amour brisant les chaînes d'Andromède. From this point of view I contrasted in a previous chapter the ultimately religious and chaste motivation of the English interpretation of the Perseus subject with the more secular and erotic impulse for battle of the French interpretation⁴¹.

Hercules is also taken up as a hero of deliverance. This is because his life includes acts of deliverance of the righteous, such as delivering Prometheus. In the previous chapter I examined the Christian and specifically Catholic meaning of Prometheus in French culture and art as the type of Christ or of the captive true faith ; and also pointed to the religious meaning of the campaign for the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine from the Protestant Prussians.

Works of art show different moments in the myth of the passion of Prometheus to which Hercules, the type of the French nation, with his physical strength and courage, put an end by defeating the vulture. Within a single post-war Salon, that of 1877, we find three works on Prometheus : Prométhée, a sculpture by Eugène Johmann, Ranvier's Prométhée which we mentioned above, and Henri-Eugène Delacroix's painting Prométhée accompanied by an extract from Aeschylus' tragedy "Prometheus Bound". The moment selected for illustration is the declaration of sympathy by the Oceanides for Prometheus' sufferings: "Coeur de fer, nature de granit, Prométhée, à tes maux qui ne compatirait!"⁴² This can be understood as a declaration of sympathy of the free French for their captured brethren.

A rarer Greek mythological hero of liberation in French art is Theseus with overall 7 works in his name. Although his erotic adventure with Ariadne is the moment on which most French artists choose to focus, it may be significant that it is in the post-war 1877 Salon that he is uniquely and explicitly shown in the central act of his life, that which established him as a civic hero, namely the killing of the Minotaur, rather than the incidental love story with Ariadne. The former deed he performed selflessly, in order to liberate Athens from its bloody tribute. This work was the painting by J-B-A Nemoz, Thésée va combattre le minotaure, yet another bestial account of the Prussians.

The pattern of historical political personages and especially of liberators, i.e. of ancient Greek men who fought for the autonomy of their homeland, is illustrated in the following table:

TABLE 25: Works on ancient Greek historical political personages in French art in absolute numbers: 1833-1880

| | Legislators-Rulers-Emperors | Liberators |
|-------|---|--------------------------|
| 1834 | 4 Cléombrotos, Charondas, Alexandre | 1 Soldat/Marathon |
| 1836 | | |
| 1838 | 1 Ménécée | |
| 1840 | | |
| 1842 | | |
| 1844 | 2 Alexandre | |
| 1846 | 3 Xerxes, Alexandre, Solon | |
| 1848 | 2 Pericles/Anaxagoras, Alexandre (lion) | |
| 1850 | 1 Pericles (art) | |
| 1853 | 1 Solon | |
| 1857 | | |
| 1861 | 1 Aristides | |
| 1864 | 1 Alexandre | |
| 1866 | 1 Alexandre/Darius' family | |
| 1868 | | |
| 1870 | | 2 Aristomenes, Pelopidas |
| 1873 | 1 Solon | |
| 1875 | 2 Demosthenes, Alexandre/Campaspe | 1 Cleomenes |
| 1877 | | 2 Othryades, Leonidas |
| 1879 | 1 Alexandre | |
| TOTAL | 21 | 6 |

Note that we also find female warrior figures, the Amazons.

According to the above table, legislators and self-less democratic rulers give place to liberators in the post-war period. Alexander and related subjects is the single most frequent subject throughout the period, with 10 works devoted to him. He is always called "Grand" and represents military conquest and political expansion. However, artists choose to show his most heroic moments during the pre-war period and, even during the pre-Second-Empire period, contrary to expectations. So his presence in French art does not seem to be connected with the issues and movements which concern us here, even if he was one of the heroes of the Aryanists.

In contrast, and especially after 1870, Sparta supplied historical embodiments of avengers, liberators and devoted national defenders, in the persons of Cleomenes and Othryades and also of Leonidas which we mentioned above. Other such heroes are Aristomene, a Messenian general who encouraged his countrymen to shake off the Lacadaemonian yoke, a subject treated by Jean-Eugene Doneaud; and Pelopidas, a general of Thebes, celebrated for his valour and to whom Thebes owed its glory and its independence, a subject treated in sculpture by Ponsin-Andarahy. Both works, significantly enough, were exhibited in the 1870 Salon. In these subjects were displayed the physical and moral qualifications of the type of man whom France needed for its own glory and independence. These qualities became institutionalised and were systematically pursued in French schools and athletic associations after the defeat.

Achilles is the single most regularly appearing heroic personage of the Iliad throughout the period⁴³. Through him, artists described the physical, i.e. racial, type of the Greeks and the preparations and assumption of the war duties which, according to the Greeks, befell a man and also, according to physical anthropology, the race to which Achilles belonged.

The pattern of works on Achilles shows a change around the time of the Franco-Prussian war. From 1870-on, his image appears more regularly than before : at least once in each sample year, namely 1870, 1873, 1875, 1877 - two works - and 1879. Apart from Maillart's painting mentioned above, examples include Jules Richomme's

prize winning painting L'éducation d'Achille of 1873, which we may associate with the educational changes occurring in French society at that time, and especially its militarism and new orientation to the body. Finally, we may associate the emergence in the post-war period of images of Helen in which she is held responsible for the devastation of Troy and for the sufferings of the Greek army with the charge which we found in the writings of Taine and Rochet that French women were responsible for the French defeat.

CONCLUSION

The problem which I tried to solve in this study was to estimate the size and to discover the cultural and social origin and significance of the 'Greek revivals' which occurred in British and French art during the second half of the nineteenth century. These 'Greek revivals' were characterised by the expansion in British and French art of images of personages from ancient Greek history and mythology and of the Pheidian and Polycletan square, broad and muscular male and female figural types.

More specifically, the goal of my research was to explore the extent to which the 'Greek revivals' in British and French artistic practice were connected with their cultural and institutional contexts and particularly with nineteenth century scientific, religious, political and educational concerns and institutions.

The following conclusions can be drawn from this research:

Firstly, British and French artists' interest in the ancient Greek world during the second half of the nineteenth century was neither a random artistic practice, nor a habit passively inherited from the past, nor an autonomous aesthetic phenomenon, i.e. a mere change in taste; nor was it a phenomenon which only affected the visual arts. Rather it belonged to a new and much wider cultural, institutional and social focus on the ancient Greeks. British and French artists shared with life-scientists, religious thinkers, nationalists, politicians and educationalists their interest in the ancient Greeks.

Secondly, the general social interest in the ancient Greeks revolved around the body of the ancient Greeks, as recorded in fifth century B.C. Greek naturalist sculpture, and its connexion with their thoughts and deeds. The generality of the concern with the body of the ancient Greeks was the result of the social adoption of the new view of man produced by Physical Anthropology. In fact, Physical Anthropology should be seen not so much as a new science but rather as a new 'religion' in nineteenth century Britain and France.

It was a fundamental repertoire of related themes about the world upon which, groups in different situations and under varying pressures seized, or were attracted by, this or that thematic element. This repertoire consisted essentially in the idea of race, the law of racial determinism and the claim that the ancient Greeks embodied the perfect human physique, intellect and character.

Physical Anthropology drew its authority from the scientism which marked nineteenth-century European culture. This was the belief in the power of scientific reason to provide solutions to all life-problems. The wide scope of nineteenth century European science and the monocausal explanation of history which Physical Anthropology provided may explain the ubiquity of the Greek body and of the Greek care for the body through open air athletics in different spheres of British and French social life. Indeed, it was among the life-scientists and the Physical Anthropologists in particular that the new idealisation of the ancient Greeks partly originated. This peculiar and quasi-scientific, i.e. supposedly objective view of man, provided either reinforcement or solutions to the claims or uncertainties of a number of contending groups, namely Christians, pagans, nationalists, educationalists, politicians and aesthetes. The result was that the body and specifically the body of the athletic young Greeks became the measure not only of beauty but also of one's achievement of unity with God or salvation, of temporal self-realisation, of national distinction and pride, of efficiency in battle and of good education.

Thirdly, Hellenism in artistic practice and Hellenism in society were systematically connected. The relationship between art and society was in fact one of mutual exchange. It consisted in the expansion of the pursuit of beauty beyond the production and consumption of paintings and sculptures to one's own body and in the projection on works of art of new conceptions of the religious life and of national identity. Indeed, as far as the last point is concerned, changes in the cultural and institutional environments of British and French artists not only encouraged them to adopt the recently discovered fifth century B.C. Greek figural style and type as a new aesthetic ideal, but also supplied them with subjects taken from particular aspects of ancient Greek life. By showing the

correspondence between artistic and social themes, I proposed an interpretation of ancient Greek imagery in British and French art as expressions of certain important elements of the living religious and political culture of Britain and France at that time. This interpretation led to the division of British and French works of art on Greek subjects into three overlapping categories: firstly, Greek subjects in general and images of ancient Greek athletes in particular; secondly, Greek mythology (consisting mostly of images of the ancient Greek gods); and thirdly, ancient Greek political history (including heroic mythology).

The fourth conclusion which can be drawn from this study is the role in the 'Greek revival' in British art of developments both inside and outside art, and of the association between scientific research and social aspirations. This role was confirmed by the comparison of Britain with France. Thus, although both countries shared the same anthropological views of man, nevertheless, different and pre-established religious ideas and values regarding both the body and anthropological science itself led to a differential reception and indeed selective acceptance of anthropological ideas. This affected the degree or likelihood to which the ancient Greek figural type and particular aspects of ancient Greek life were illustrated in British and French art. On the other hand, antagonisms among European nations for power and prestige, together with the fact that most anthropologists in both countries shared the view that the Greeks were the fullest realisation of all the potentialities of human nature, led nationalist anthropologists to claim for their own nation the Greeks as their ancestors and the political achievements of the Greeks as their own destiny or duty. This fact contributed to the rise of ancient Greek subjects in general and of military subjects in particular in both British and French art during periods of nationalist fervour.

The fifth and final conclusion which can be drawn from this study is both the structural similarity between the British and French revivals of Greek aesthetic conceptions and their specificity as compared with earlier revivals of Greek aesthetics. The specificity of the new Hellenist aesthetics lay in the following features:

(i) the reaction against neo-classical aesthetics;

(ii) the love for the recently 'discovered' Pheidias and Polyclitus physical type which was broad-shouldered, muscular and healthy and was modelled on the athletic young men and women of ancient Greece;

(iii) the wider scope, namely the pursuit of the Greek body not only in art but also in life, in one's own body, as a national goal and on a hitherto unprecedented, national scale, through the institutionalisation of athletics in both French and British education and daily life; and,

(iv) the 'scientific', i.e. quasi-objective, origin. The new Hellenist aesthetics was largely derived from the positivism of nineteenth century European culture and from the anthropological recognition of human nature in the ancient Greek body. But it was also derived from the 'scientific reconciliation' of the ancient Greek man-centred aesthetic and positivist culture with the Judaeo-Christian moral, and specifically ascetic, culture. It was this 'scientific' bias which, above all, distinguished, and was in fact seen by nineteenth century eyes to distinguish, the Greek revivals of the second half of the nineteenth century from all previous 'Greek revivals' which lacked this 'objective' justification.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3: Physical Anthropology and the Anthropology of the Greeks

1. See Harris (1968).
2. See Curtin (1973)
3. Curtin (1973, p.37)
4. Buenzod (1967, p.338)
5. Note that the concern was with variations in appearance or formal configuration and colour of the human body.
6. Banton (1990, p.xi)
7. For a summary of Darwin's position in the dispute over the permanence or modifiability of physique see for example Wintle (1982, pp.148-152)
8. Pick (1989, p.11)
9. Harris (1968, p.87)
10. According to Curtin, the term ethnology was already in use in the 1820s to designate such studies. The same author also states that a number of so-called ethnological societies were recognised by the British Association in 1847; see Curtin (1973, p.217 and p.364)
11. Curtin (1973, p.363)
12. See Harris (1968)
13. Banton (1990, p.ix)
14. Curtin (1973, p.372)
15. Curtin (1973, p.37 and p.217)
16. See Banton (1990, p.5) and also MacRae (1960, p.79).
17. Poliakov (1974, p.263).
18. Banton and Harwood (1975, p.29).
19. Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle, article on 'Race', (p.596).
20. See MacRae (1960)

21. Buenzod (1967, p.338)
22. Banton and Harwood (1975, p.29)
23. Curtin (1973, p.378) and MacRae (1960, p.80)
24. MacRae (1960, p.82). The error was, as MacRae notes in another passage, on page 81, to assume that there is a single phenomenon of civilization or decay to be explained by a single cause, race. Michael Biddiss too observed this nineteenth century fallacious search for grand synthetic philosophies which was shared by people like Comte, Marx and Spencer (Biddiss in Banton and Harwood, 1975, p.32)
25. Mosse (1963, p.70)
26. Curtin (1973, p.364)
27. Curtin (1973, p.37)
28. Curtin (1973, p.366)
29. Curtin (1973, p.47)
30. Curtin (1973, p.39)
31. Harris (1968, p.94)
32. Prichard differed from Blumenbach in that he added to the latter's physical criteria for the comparison and classification of peoples, linguistic criteria. He thus contributed, along with Jacob Grimm, also of the University of Gottingen as was Blumenbach himself, to the formation of philological ethnography. In this respect Prichard made use of the theory of the Aryan or Indo-European or Indo-Atlantic linguistic group which we shall examine below.
33. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.505)
34. Prichard (1836, vol.I, p.xvii).
35. Prichard (1836, vol.I, p.303)
36. Prichard (1841, third edition, vol.III, p.507). My understanding of the use of the word "nation" during this period, i.e. considered from the point of view of the racial theories, is that nations were the socio-cultural and physical varieties of a race defined as a physical and cultural type. During this period and because of the theory of racial determinism, a cultural and physical group were coextensive entities. As Buenzod put it in the case of Gobineau, there emerged a "confusion de la race et de la nation, glissement de l'idée de différence a celle d'inégalité" (Buenzod, 1967, p.339)
37. Prichard for example was based on "The ancient writers" .See Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.505)

38. They both used the skulls of dead modern Greeks as instances of the typical Greek head. Prichard (1836, vol.I, p.xvii).
39. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.505)
40. Camper, quoted in Cuvier (1827, pp.108-9)
41. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.507)
42. Curtin (1973, p.231)
43. Cuvier (1840, p.49). These divisions were in fact based on the Biblical genealogy which divided mankind into the descendants of Ham, Shem and Japeth.
44. Cuvier (1840, p.50)
45. Curtin (1973, p.40)
46. Mosse (1963, p.74)
47. There were a number of cranium-based racial classifications and explanations whose origins were in the physiognomic studies of the seventeenth century French artist Charles Le Brun (or Lebrun). Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) of Vienna invented one of the most popular and much applied as well as misused theories on the subject during the greatest part of the nineteenth century. His theory known as Phrenology was developed as an instrument for the identification and explanation of individual character through cranium formations. One of his British disciples, George Combe, applied this theory despite Gall's contrary warnings for generalisations for whole groups and in particular for the study of the races. I am not going to study the Phrenological classification of the Greeks in any detail in this research as it did not add, from my point of view, any radically new or consequential arguments to nineteenth century anthropological ideas about the Greeks. There is a rich literature on Phrenology. For a summary see for example Curtin (1973).
48. Note that the statistical measure of typicality or of the average type had not yet been invented and Europe had to wait until the 1830s for Quetelet to formulate the rule.
49. That is to say, each coloured type had its own facial angle.
50. Quoted in Curtin (1973, p.40)
51. Account of Camper's ideas in Cuvier (1827, p.108)
52. This was different from most eighteenth century cross-cultural European comparisons. As MacRae has observed, the attitudes of the European eighteenth century can be exemplified in Defoe who reproved racial pride or in the learned world's extolling of the virtues of China. See MacRae, (1960, p.78)
53. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.483)

54. Curtin (1973, p.40). We find use of the "facial angle" in the works of G. Cuvier and his pupils including his British pupil R. Knox, and also in the work of the great doctor and anatomist Sir Charles Bell as in many French and British anatomical manuals.

55. Account of Camper's ideas in Cuvier (1827, p.108)

56. Quoted in Cuvier (1827, p.109)

57. Curtin (1973, p.377)

58. Curtin (1973, p.378)

59. Banton (1990 p.57). Banton states Michael Biddiss' account of Knox's interests as a "concern..to awaken his contemporaries to the fundamentally racial nature of the chief political conflicts within Europe at mid century". See also Knox (1862, p.44).

60. See also Knox's discussion of the terms 'Teutonic' and 'Saxon' race as used by Thomas Arnold and himself in Knox (1862, ch. VIII). Knox used the terms 'Saxon' and 'Scandinavian' interchangeably to designate "the northern nations as they are called" instead of 'German' or 'Teuton'. See Knox (1862, pp.46-7)

61. Knox (1862, pp.46-7)

62. Knox (1862, p.398)

63. Knox (1862, p.401)

64. Knox (1862, pp.399-400)

65. Knox (1862, p.400)

66. Knox (1862, p.400)

67. Knox (1862, p.400)

68. Knox (1862, p.403)

69. Knox (1862, p.404)

70. Knox (1862, pp.404-5)

71. Knox (1862, p.404)

72. Knox (1862, p.405)

73. Knox (1862, p.403)

74.Biographie Universelle, article on Geoffroy St-Hilaire (1856, p.222).

75.Biographie Universelle ; article on Geoffroy St-Hilaire, (1856, p.230)

76. Biographie Universelle, article on Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1856, p.220).

77. Quoted in Banton (1990, p.56)

78. Note that Knox like Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire was not a Christian but a deist admitting the existence of some creative power or idea in nature. Knox called this power "Nature". See Knox (1862, p.444) where he summarises Geoffroy's view of the unity of nature and of mankind as a part of it. Thus, both Knox and Geoffroy disputed evolutionism, or as Knox put it, the "idea of new creations" (p.444). Formal change in relation to the fixed natural plan was deformity.

79. Knox (1862, p.446)

80. Knox (1862, p.407)

81. Knox (1862, p.400)

82. Knox (1862, p.419). By "transcendental" figural form he meant that the form in question was "transcending all other material objects" (p.414).

83. Poliakov (1971, p.53)

84. According to Poliakov, the Grimm brothers published their important work Histoire de la langue allemande in 1848 but used neither of the two terms, "Aryan" or "Indo-European"; see Poliakov (1971, p.199).

85. See Poliakov (1971) and MacRae (1960, p.79)

86. Mosse (1963, p.78)

87. Poliakov (1971, p.199)

88. Poliakov (1971, p.216)

89. Bernal (1987, p.347).

90. This was A. de Gobineau's view; see Bernal (1987, p. 362). According to Max Muller, the Aryan nations had been driven from Asia into northwest Europe, and especially into England and Germany. On this, see Mosse (1963, p.78).

91. Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle, article on 'Race' (p.597). The 'Avant-Propos' of the Grand Dictionnaire universel, premier supplement states that the first volume of the dictionary was begun in 1865 and the last was on sale by 1876. We may thus assume that the ideas expressed therein were current at least during the second half of the 1860s and the first half of the 1870s.

92. See Bernal's account of A de Gobineau's ideas (1987, p.362).

93. Poliakov (1971, p.64) : "En Angleterre cette tendance [meaning the admiration for Germany] culmina dans la vague de "teutomanie" des années 1840, illustrée par les

noms du Celt-hating Dr Arnold, le maitre de Rugby, de Carlyle, lequel glorifiait les old Teutsch fathers de Cromwell, de Bulwer Lytton, et de bien d'autres penseurs et romanciers"[in italics in the original]. See also F Turner, on the English identification with and admiration of Germany during this period (1981, p.172).

94. Bernal (1987, p.347).

95. Gobineau, Essai (1967, p.487).

96. Gobineau, Essai (1967, p.30).

97. Gobineau traced the genealogy of the Aryan Greeks, the Hellenes as follows: The Hellenes, who were relatively pure arians, descended from the Titans, through Deucalion, the mythical father of Hellene, and himself son of the Titan Prometheus. The Titans, violent and irresistible conquered the northern parts of Greece, where they remained for a period mixing with the aboriginal tribes. These were possibly "des Celtes ou des Slaves et, peut-être l'un et l'autre". Note here that the Slavs were, in Gobineau's typology a mixed race, of white and yellow blood. Then Deucalion led his now mixed tribes from northern Greece, south to Thessaly. From there, and through the descendants of his son Hellene, the various branches of the Hellenic family were created: the Dorians, Aeolians, Achaeans and Ionians. These conquered the southern territories of Greece, including Attica and the Peloponnese. These territories had been occupied by pre-arian aboriginals and asiatic chamo-semitic populations who had founded colonies there before the influx of the Aryan Hellenes. The time when the Aryan Hellenes reigned in Greece was that of "les heros de l'Iliade".

98. Gobineau, Essai (1967, p.207n).

99. Buentzod (1967, pp.338-9).

100. Gobineau, Essai (1967, p.458).

101. See Banton (1990, pp.46-52).

102. Gobineau, Essai (1967, p.124).

103. Gobineau, Essai (1967, p.501).

104. Badcock (1991, pp.22-23).

105. Badcock (1991, p.22).

106. Rochet (1978, p.292).

107. Rochet (1886, p.223).

108. Rochet (1886, p.232).

109. Rochet (1886, p.232).

110. Rochet (1886, p.235).

111. Fallmerayer was known to George Grote and to Arthur de Gobineau. Grote owned a copy of Die Abstammung der Griechen which he bequeathed to the library of the University of London of which he was Vice-Chancellor from 1862 to 1871. While Gobineau, although he did not know Fallmerayer when he wrote the Essai, he referred to him in his preface to the second edition of the Essai. See Gobineau (1967, p.33).

112. Quoted in Boissel (1973, p.117).

113. See Boissel (1973, p.116). On Pouqueville see Nouvelle Biographie Générale (vol.40, pp.931-2).

114. William Smith in his Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography also referred to Pouqueville's reports as being "full of great inaccuracies". See Smith, article 'Graecia' (1856, vol.I, p.1017).

115. Gobineau quoted in Boissel (1973, p.116).

116. Gobineau in Boissel (1973, p.116).

117. Gobineau quoted in Boissel (1973, p.118).

118. Gobineau, quoted in Boissel (1973, p.118, note 30).

119. Cuvier (1840, p.50).

120. Fallmerayer (1965, see for example p.278).

121. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.507).

122. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.506).

123. Prichard (1841, vol. III, p.506).

124. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.507).

125. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.507).

126. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.484).

127. Prichard (1841, vol.III, p.484).

128. Knox (1862, p.402).

129. Knox (1862, p.404).

130. Knox (1862, p.402).

131. Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle, article on 'Grèce' (1872, vol.8.2, p.1491).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4: Positivism and the new art theory: truthfulness as beauty

1. Rochet (1886, p.256).
2. Aron (1976, p.122).
3. The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology (1988, p.190).
4. For Comte's views see Aron (1967). On the "Grand Etre" see p.124, and on "la religion de l'humanité elle-même" see p.122.
5. Arnold (1990, p.134).
6. For nineteenth century European classicism see for example, Haskell & Penny (1982), Tsigakou (c.1981), Wood (1983), Gaunt (1952).
7. Cook (1984).
8. Cook (1984, p.62).
9. For the visual sources of the neo-classical style see for example London: Arts Council (1972) and also Honour (1968).
10. Winckelmann's most influential work was his History of the Art of Antiquity, published in 1763-4.
11. Ravaisson (1904, p.22).
12. *ibid.*
13. LLoyd-Jones (1982, p.42).
14. Haskell & Penny (1982, p.148).
15. Cook (1984, pp.14-6).
16. Richter (1959, p.110).
17. Gombrich (1989, pp.99-125).
18. I say "European" advisedly, because foreign artists and art critics, like Visconti and Canova were involved in this decision. See on this Cook (1984).
19. Marshall (1878, p.6).
20. Artists specialising in History painting.

21. Cook (1984, pp.62-65).
22. Haydon (1990).
23. Quoted in Stoneman (1987, p.176).
24. Quoted in Stoneman (1987, p.176).
25. The Venus de Milo was acquired by the French in 1820 and was displayed in the Louvre in 1821 ; see Haskell and Penny (1982, pp.328-330).
26. Haskell & Penny (1982, p.329).
27. Johnson (1981, vol.I., p.148).
28. Eugene Delacroix for example saw in the Aphrodite of Melos the formal type suitable for a modern, realist allegorical figure. In 1860, in his Journal, he quoted the critic Vitet's view of this statue : "Ce type de beauté contrariait toutes nos traditions...un insupportable mélange d'idéal et de réalité, d'élégance et de force, de noblesse et de naturel confondaient notre jugement". According to Johnson, Delacroix used a free adaptation of the Aphrodite for the figure of the Liberty in his Liberty Leading the People which he exhibited in the Salon of 1831. See Johnson (1981, vol.I, cat.no.144, p.148).
29. Grand Palais, La Sculpture Française au XIXe siècle (1986, p.298).
30. Flaxman's Report on Lord Elgin Marbles quoted in Haskell & Penny (1982, p.150).
31. Hilton (1979, p.16).
32. Duval (1881, p.17).
33. Marshall (1878, p.9).
34. For the connexion between art and anatomy see also Knox (1852, p.140).
35. Bell (1844). On Bell see DNB (1975, pp.154-7).
36. Bell (1844, p.71).
37. Moody (1873, p.23).
38. Fau (1845, p.7).
39. As we read on the titlepage of Physique Sociale of the 1836 edition, Quetelet was "Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie royale de Bruxelles, Correspondant de l'Institut de France, de la Société royale astronomique de Londres, des Académies royales de Berlin, de Turin, etc."

40. Quételet (1836, vol.II, p.270).
41. Quételet (1836, vol.II, p.272).
42. Quételet (1836, vol.II, p.269).
43. Rochet (1886, p.249).
44. Quételet (1836, vol.II, p.268).
45. For the defining elements of the Romantic movement see Vaughan (1985).
46. Warner & Hough eds. (1983, Vol.I, p.182).
47. Warner & Hough eds. (1983, Vol.I, p.183).
48. Hodgson (1884, p.8).
49. Marshall (1878, p.12).
50. Rochet (1886, p.248).
51. Rochet (1978, p.291).
52. "L'artiste en ce siècle qui me semble avoir le mieux compris ce que devait être le nouvel art ethnique, malgré sa petite manière, est encore le peintre Léopold Robert. Ses trois chefs d'oeuvre, Printemps de Naples, de l'Eté a Rome, de l'Hiver à Venise, qui représentent d'une façon si noble et si vraie au fond, la population de l'Italie moderne, peut servir de modèle à suivre pour toutes les autres contrées de la terre. Depuis cinquante ans que ces tableaux existent, je n'ai jamais cessé de les admirer"; Rochet (1886, p.241).
53. Rochet (1886, p.240).
54. Rochet (1886, p.240).
55. Rochet (1886, p.xi).
56. Moody (1873, p.23).
57. Clark (1980, p.145).
58. Moody (1873, p.36).
59. Ruskin quoted in Great Victorian Pictures, Arts Council (1978, p.70).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5: The making of the artist-anthropologist

1. The manuals of artistic anatomy which I shall be examining are those which are still kept in the libraries of the Royal Academy and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts or are listed in contemporaneous catalogues of the books held in the two libraries and intended for the education of art-students. I consulted the following published lists : A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Royal Academy of Arts of 1877, edited and introduced by the Librarian of the R.A. Solomon Alexander Hart, R.A. ; and Catalogue Méthodique de la Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts (1873), by Ernest Vinet.

2. For a list of the Professors of Anatomy in the Royal Academy schools see Hutchison (1986, p.270). This list goes back to 1768, the year of the foundation of the Royal Academy. It includes from the foundation until the end of my period the following people: William Hunter who taught from 1768 to 1783; John Sheldon, from 1783 to 1808; Sir Anthony Carlisle from 1808 to 1824; Joseph H. Green from 1825 to 1851; Richard Partridge from 1852 to 1873; John Marshall from 1873 to 1890. For French art education in general see Boime (1971). As Mathias Duval observed in his Précis d'Anatomie of 1883, "...dès la fondation à Paris, en 1648, par Louis XIV, d'une Académie de peinture et de sculpture, laquelle prit plus tard le titre d'École des beaux-arts, deux enseignements furent institués, à côté des ateliers proprement dits,....ce furent l'enseignement de la perspective et celui de l'anatomie." (p.17). For a history of the anatomical education of artists in Europe from its beginning until the end of the nineteenth century see Duval and Cuyer Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique: les Maîtres, les Livres et les Écorchés of 1898.

3. Marshall (1878, p.2).

4. Marshall (1878, p.10).

5. Duval (1881, p.5).

6. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.295).

7. *ibid.*

8. Marshall (1878, p.4).

9. Marshall (1878, p.10).

10. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.xii).

11. Marshall (1878, p.4).

12. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.296).

13. Fau (1845, p.viii).

14. Macdonald (1970). See also on early anatomical education in England, The Artist's Model, exhibition catalogue, University Art Gallery, Nottingham and The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood (1991).
15. See endnote no.2 above. The list of Professors of Anatomy as compiled by Hutchison shows no interruption in the existence of the office (1986, p.270).
16. Macdonald (1970, p.30).
17. Bell (1844, pp.202-204).
18. See Gage "The British School and the British School", a paper delivered at the symposium : "Towards a Modern Art World : Art in Britain c.1715-c.1880". Symposium organised by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art in association with the Tate Gallery and the Courtauld Institute of Art (14-16 Dec.1989).
19. As Macdonald notes, these artists introduced the French drawing methods into British official art education in the 1880s. See Macdonald (1970, p.30).
20. See Marle (1972, p.1a).
21. *ibid.*
22. Salvage (1812) quoted in Duval and Cuyet (1898, p.267).
23. Haskell and Penny (1982, p.222).
24. Sharpe (1818, p.6). Reynolds, an idealist artist as far as History painting was concerned, is a case in point. In his influential Discourses recommended to artists never to neglect the living model. However, the living model was not a sufficient guide to artists. Rather it should be studied in conjunction with antique sculpture and this comparison would show artists how to go beyond, as they should, the specific individual in order to achieve the ideal. See Reynolds, exh.cat. Royal Academy of Arts, London (1986, p.337).
25. Rochet (1886, p.247).
26. Duval (1881, p.11).
27. Duval and Cuyet (1898, p.8).
28. Taine (1905, p.358).
29. See article on Taine in La Grande Encyclopédie (1887-1902?, vol.XXX, pp.881-3).
30. Knox (1852, pp.x-xi).
31. Marshall (1878, Introduction).

32. Duval (1881, p.11).
33. Macdonald (1970, p.51). Sharpe too in his 1818 manual pointed out that the art student could not obtain a competent knowledge of anatomy by reading alone, but by "dissecting, or examining dissections performed by others..." See Sharpe (1818, p.1). He also referred to a Mr. Brookes who allowed R.A. students "to visit and make use of his dissecting rooms"(ibid., p.3). See also The Artist's Model exhibition (1991).
34. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.274 and figure 100 on p.273).
35. See Reynolds, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts (1986, p.337).
36. I showed in the previous chapter that the anthropological knowledge of the Greeks was largely derived from Pheidian art.
37. Duval (1881, p.8).
38. Ginsberg (1956, vol.I, p.244).
39. Bell (1844, p.25) : "I must speak with respect of this suggestion of measuring the face against the head, since it has been entertained by John Hunter, Camper, Blumenbach, and Cuvier. I shall, however, direct what I have to say on the subject principally to the works of Camper". Bell went on to criticise certain insufficiencies in Camper's theory of the 'facial angle' as a distinctive mark of a racial type, and which Bell called "a mere line" (p.29).
40. Knox (1852, p.139).
41. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.182).
42. Duval and Cuyer (1898, pp.183-4).
43. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.184).
44. Rochet (1886, p.28).
45. See Duval and Cuyer's Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique of 1898, which is an account of the history of artistic anatomy in Europe.
46. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.336).
47. Fau (1845, p.18). There were other head based classifications of mankind, like the observations of Gall, Spurzheim who founded Phrenology and of their follower George Combe. These are not directly relevant to my research interests as they referred mostly to individual character rather than to racial character.
48. Fau (1845, p.18).
49. For a general history of Greek art see Richter (1959).

50. Haskell and Penny (1982, p.118).
51. W. W. Story in his treatise on The Proportions of the Human Figure according to a New Canon of 1866 which I shall examine below mentions Galen and Lucian (p.18) and also Pliny (p.19).
52. See Gottfried Schadow's Polycletus (1883, p.11).
53. Schadow (1883, p.11).
54. Schadow (1883, p.21 and Plate XVI).
55. Schadow (1883, p.11). See also S. Macdonald on Vitruvius' account of the principles of Greek art (1970, p.42): "In his Ten Books on Architecture Vitruvius gave the 'fundamental principles', which he derived from Greek authors mentioned in his books, as Order, Arrangement, Eurythmy, Symmetry, Propriety and Economy."
56. Rochet (1978, p.291).
57. Rochet (1978, p.291) The book was called : Essai d'une monographie du type du Romain ancien d'après les études faites pendant un séjour à Rome, en 1866, sur les sculptures antiques et sur la population (Paris, 1868).
58. Rochet (1886, p.196).
59. Rochet (1886, p.200).
60. Rochet (1886, p.246).
61. Note that this list includes images of gods ;however, these were not treated in the ideal style.
62. Rochet (1886, p.197).
63. Rochet (1886, p.218).
64. Rochet (1886, p.219).
65. *ibid.*
66. Rochet (1886, p.246).
67. For the long European love-affair with Greece see Weber (1949).
68. Rochet (1978, p.292).
69. Mentioned in Rochet (1978, p.292).
70. Rochet (1886, p.223).

71. Rochet (1886, p.97).
72. Rochet (1886, p.259).
73. Rochet (1886, p.258).
74. Rochet (1886, p.265).
75. Rochet (1886, p.106).
76. Rochet (1886, p.108).
77. Rochet (1886, p.85).
78. Duval and Cuyer Histoire (1898). On p.10 for example, the authors refer readers to Taine's Philosophie de l'art en Grèce of 1869.
79. See the article on Taine in La Grande Encyclopédie (vol.XXX, p.881).
80. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.15).
81. Duval and Cuyer (1898, pp.8-10).
82. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.8).
83. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.10).
84. *ibid.*
85. Duval referred to Darwin in the following terms : "Est-il nécessaire de rappeler la portée et le retentissement immense des travaux de Darwin sur l'origine des espèces, sur l'évolution des animaux et des plantes, sur la descendance de l'homme?" (1881, p.300).
86. Francis Galton was a major theorist of eugenics a word which he coined in 1883.
87. This passage is a quotation from Taine. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.15).
88. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.10).
89. *ibid.*
90. *ibid.*
91. Fau (1845, p.4). Note also Fau's remark regarding the inhabitants of the modern cities with their big foreheads, "fronts vastes", which seemed to smash the body with their weight "qui semblent écraser le corps sous leur poids" (p.5).
92. Fau (1845, p.5).

93. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.9). Note however, that in the later accounts almost gets the impression that the development of the intelligence becomes secondary and that of the muscles primary.

94. Sharpe (1818, p.12).

95. Bell first published the results of his studies of the relationship between anatomy and art in London, in 1806 as Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting. The Royal Academy library had a copy of the third edition of the above published by John Murray (London, 1844) and entitled The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression, as Connected with the Fine Arts. The fifth edition was published by H. G. Bohn, (London, 1865) and the seventh edition by G.Bell and Sons (London, 1877).

96. Bell (1844, p.73).

97. Bell (1844, p.79n) Bell also informed artists of specialist and detailed studies of American skulls. He referred to "Crania Americana", by Dr Morton, Professor of Anatomy in Pennsylvania College" (p.71n), a copy of which was kept in the R.A. library. Finally, Bell devoted a whole section of his book to the examination of the "National Peculiarities in the Form of the Head" (Bell 1844, pp.71-81).

98. Bell did not enter into the details of the dispute regarding the origin of the physical differences which divided mankind into races. He did not examine whether these differences were owed "to an original provision, by which the structure changes, and acquires distinctive characters under the influence of such circumstances as the various climates to which the first families were exposed, following their dispersion from one centre ; or whether there are truly distinct races which had a conformation and constitution from the beginning, suited to the regions for which they were destined, and to which they were blindly driven". Bell (1844, p.73).

99. Bell (1844, p.79).

100. Bell (1844, p.74).

101. Bell (1844, p.39).

102. Bell (1844, p.43).

103. *ibid.*

104. Bell (1844, p.75).

105. *ibid.*

106. Bell (1844, p.4).

107. Bell (1844, p.4). Bell expressed the European love for Athens as follows : "Athens has been the mistress of the world, leaving the examples of the greatest virtues and excellence in philosophy, eloquence, poetry, and art..." (*ibid.*).

108. *ibid.*

109. Bell (1844, p.5).

110. Bell (1844, p.75).

111. Knox (1852). Knox had his accounts illustrated by woodcuts designed by "Dr WESTMACOTT", whose name as he said, "is a sufficient guarantee for their correctness". This was John Guise Westmacott who also illustrated Knox's The Races of Men and other medical and scientific books like T. Holmes' A Treatise on Surgery of 1875.

112. Knox (1852, pp.59-72 and *passim*).

113. For a brief account of W.W.Story and bibliography see Dictionary of American Biography (1936, Vol. XVIII, pp.109-111).

114. Haskell and Penny (1982, p.118). See also on the Diadumenus, Richard Westmacott's (R.A.) The Diadumenus of the British Museum, considered with reference to the Diadumenus of Polycletus, described by Pliny and Lucian, a paper read before the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, December 2, 1864 (1864?).

115. Story (1866, p.21).

116. Story (1866, p.19).

117. Story (1866, p.17).

118. Story (1866, p.41).

119. See for example Story's tables Nos.3 and 4 and pp.29-39 in Story (1866).

120. Story (1866, p.41).

121. Story (1866, p.21).

122. Story (1866, p.21).

123. Story (1866, p.40).

124. "The creation and operation of the universe, the laws of astronomy, the character of the elements were founded upon them" [i.e.on these mystical numbers and symbols]. Story (1866, p.40).

125. More specifically, the view of the world which a number of ancient civilisations had shared and symbolised in numbers and shapes as described by Story can be summarised as follows : the number twelve and the circle told that the universe was round and perfect -12 being the number of sides of the dodecahedron from which the circle, the most perfect shape was derived. The square and its arithmetical definition

of 4 (a shape with four equal sides) told that there was stability in the world, i.e. a single law "underlying all nature and art" (all sides being the same) rather than flux, and the triangle and its arithmetical definition of the number 3 told that there was a divine nature in the universe or a soul.

Regarding man, through this same peculiar combination of shapes and numbers, which were in fact the arithmetic description of these shapes, "the perfect condition of man is symbolized" because man was believed to be a microcosm.

126. Story was not alone in his concern with finding correspondences among the world religions and specifically between on the one hand ancient Greek pagan philosophy, and particularly Platonic (Timoeus) and Pythagorean, and on the other Judaeo-Christianity. As I shall show in a subsequent chapter, the reconciliation of "Hellenism" with "Hebraism" is one of the marks of nineteenth century English culture. In the art world it was shared by English artists such as John Gibson and by the philosopher of aesthetics Walter Pater. In The Renaissance, first published in 1873, Pater praised the fifteenth century Italian philosopher and monk Pico della Mirandola, for "his share" in the humanists', albeit practical rather than scientific, "truce and reconciliation of the gods of Greece with the Christian religion, which is seen in the art of the time". See Pater (1986, p.23). Pater stressed that in his writings, Pico tried to explain the "harmony between Plato and Moses....Everywhere there is an unbroken system of correspondences. Every object in the terrestrial world is an analogue, a symbol or counterpart, of some higher reality in the starry heavens, and this again of some law of the angelic life in the world beyond the stars". For example the element of fire corresponds to the sun, which corresponds to the divine love. Pater (1986, pp.29-30).

127. A Christian idea which had again become central in nineteenth century European culture. It was brought forth by the Romantic- Gothic movement with its new and intense interest in nature. One is reminded of Wordsworth's lines in Tintern Abbey : "a motion and a spirit, that impels/ all thinking things, all objects of all thought,/ and rolls through all things".

128. Story (1866, p.42).

129. Story also showed that the **numbers** defining and symbolising perfection in Christianity matched the cabalistic and classical numbers. He gave an account of St.John's description of the measurements of the New Jerusalem, "in which the perfect condition of man is symbolized" in his Revelations. See Story (1866, p.42).

130. Marshall (1878, pp.5-6).

131. This preoccupation with man's place in nature is evident in Thomas Henry Huxley's book Man's Place in Nature of 1863. In it Huxley defended Darwin's discovery by means of comparative anatomy that there was no sharp line of demarcation between man and animals. This distinction had been until then the accepted view and was based on Biblical accounts of the creation of man by God as a separate being and by a separate act of creation. See article on Huxley in Wintle (1982, pp.310-11).

132. See Marshall (1878, p.1). Also on p.3, Marshall specifies the scientific classification of man in the "mammalian group to which man himself belongs".

133. Marshall (1878, p.1).

134. Marshall referred to "man's highly developed brain" (1878, p.4).

135. Marshall (1878, p.4).

136. Marshall (1878, p.7).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6: The aesthetics of Hellenism and ethnographic art

1. According to Banton, "Essentialists started from the Biblical story and believed that the task of classification was to grasp the essential character of the original form which explained the diversity of outward appearances" .Banton (1990, p.3). See also Banton on human essence and on the idea that variety was deformity on p.56 (1990).
2. Story (1866, p.32).
3. Story, *ibid.* Note a third view of beauty as the result of the artist's own selection and synthesis of beautiful parts. This was a view of beauty which was taken from certain Greek artists and which we find for example in Bell (1844).
4. On Orientalism and its connexion with Romanticism see W. Vaughan (1985) Romantic Art, Ed. Said (1985) Orientalism, Warner and Hough eds. (1983) Strangeness and Beauty and The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse, exhib.cat., London, Royal Academy of Arts (1984).
5. From Walter Pater's essay "Romanticism" which originally appeared in the November 1876 issue of Macmillan's Magazine, quoted in Strangeness and Beauty (1983, p.39).
6. Quetelet (1836, vol.II, p.270).
7. Quetelet (1836, vol.II, p.272).
8. Quetelet (1836, vol.II, pp.279-280).
9. Camper (1794, London edition, titlepage).
10. Camper (1794, p.4).
11. *ibid.*
12. Camper (1794, p.82).
13. Camper (1794): "the breadth of the face" (p.8) and "the position of the upper and lower jaws was the manifest cause of the most striking differences" (p.7).
14. Schadow (1883, p.11).
15. See for example in Duval and Cuyer's Histoire of 1898, the description of Bertinatti's manual and the latter's use of the Medici Venus (p.326); see also Knox and Rochet.
16. Duval and Cuyer (1898, p.9).
17. Duval and Cuyer (1898, pp.8-9).

18. Duval (1881, p.13).
19. *ibid.*
20. Duval and Cuyet quoting Taine (1898, p.15).
21. Duval (1881, p.13).
22. Duval and Cuyet (1898, p.12) and also Duval (1881, p.13).
23. Duval (1881, p.13).
24. Marshall (1878, pp.6-7).
25. Knox (1852, p.141).
26. Knox (1852, p.36).
27. See Hutchison's (1986) The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986.
28. Richard Westmacott junior wrote The Handbook of Ancient and Modern Sculpture (1864). See also DNB (1973) and Read (1982).
29. Story (1866, p.33).
30. Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-1861) in his poem Amours de Voyage (publ. 1858) admired the "Greek" Colossi of Monte Cavallo for their being "instinct with life in the midst of immutable manhood...mighty and strange..." Clough quoted in Haskell and Penny (1982, p.140). Rochet referred to the "Brun" race as being superior "en beaute virile". Rochet (1886, p.235). On Victorian conceptions of manhood see Mangan and Walvin's (1987) Manliness and Morality and Vance's (1985) The sinews of the spirit.
31. Clark (1960, p.163).
32. Haskell and Penny (1982, p.222).
33. *ibid.*
34. Fau (1845, pp.9-10).
35. Bell for example had made the same observation on his comparative studies of men and animals. See Bell (1844).
36. Fau (1845, p.9).
37. See Duval and Cuyet's Histoire (1898, p.336).
38. Knox (1852, pp.103-4).
39. Knox (1852, p.175).

40. Knox (1852, p.xxii).
41. Rochet (1886, p.245).
42. Duval (1881, pp.12-13).
43. Duval and Cuyet (1898, pp.11-12).
44. Duval and Cuyet (1898, p.10); Duval made the same observation in his 1881 Precis (1881, p.12).
45. Falkener dedicated Daedalus "To the Prussian and Bavarian people, Who have done so much to promote the study, to further the appreciation, and restore the character, of ancient art, this essay is inscribed, with sentiments of admiration and respect, by the author".
46. In fact, Falkener later published a book on games, entitled Games ancient and oriental and how to play them (1892). On Falkener, see Modern English Biography (1965, vol.V, supplement to Vol.II, pp.265-6).
47. Falkener (1860, p.41).
48. Note that historico-political reasons like the British and the French Empires also contributed subjects to ethnographic art. Nevertheless, anthropological interest and display of power interest interpenetrated one another and mutually re-inforced the ethnographic orientation of artists working in Britain and France.
49. The characterisation of nineteenth century ethnographic art as "racial art" is justified, as a formal term, by Rochet. He gave a name to this new kind of ethnographic art concerned with the description of the bodily differences of mankind, when he pledged for the formation of a "MUSEE DES RACES HUMAINES ET DES GRANDS TYPES DE L'HISTOIRE EUROPÉENNE" (op.cit. ; p.249). So, the term "MUSÉE DES RACES HUMAINES" justifies the characterisation of nineteenth-century ethnographic art as racial art or art of the human races.
50. Quetelet's Physique Sociale (two volumes, first published in Paris in 1835) shows the existence of a connexion between artistic practice and anthropological ideas, at least regarding individuals, already by the 1830s : "Les artistes, du reste, ont accepté les recherches de Gall et de Lavater avec plus d'empressement peut-être que les savans [sic]" Quetelet (1836, vol.II, p.273).
51. See chapter 3 of this study which examines anthropological accounts of the Greeks.
52. See London, Royal Academy of Arts, The Orientalists exh.cat. (1984, p.20).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7: The Greek body in Christian theory and practice

1. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (1908-12, p.143).
2. Not all naturalists accepted this view. Linnaeus for example accepted that man was like the ape a vertebrate, but pronounced him to have been "created with an immortal soul, after a divine image". See The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia etc. (p.143).
3. See Aron's account of Auguste Comte's ideas (1976, p.122).
4. Aron on Comte (1976, p.123).
5. *ibid.*
6. As Pater remarked, "the prettiness of that later Greek sculpture, which passed so long for true Hellenic work..." Pater quoted in Warner and Hough (1983, vol.2, p.40).
7. Pater quoted in Stoneman (1987, p.179).
8. Quoted in DeLaura (1969, p.302).
9. New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967, vol.VII, p.413).
10. New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967, vol.VII, p.417).
11. According to Frank M. Turner, Paley's "moral philosophy dominated Oxford and Cambridge in 1800". See Turner (1981, p.328). See also The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia (1980, vol.VII, p.694) on Paley.
12. Charles Darwin read A View avidly in his youth and was for a time persuaded by it. However, Spencer's theory of the survival of the fittest which showed, in Tennyson's words, nature "red in tooth and claw", and his own theory of evolution led Darwin to discard natural theology's belief in the connexion between nature and God. For there did not seem to be either design or benevolence in nature. On this see Christensen (1989).
13. Bell (1833, p.x).
14. Bell (1833, Notice).
15. Note that this principle which Bacon formulated in Part II of his Instauratio Magna (1620) was revived as an element of nineteenth century culture. Pater quotes it in The Renaissance in the essay on Leonardo. Pater (1986, p.164n).

16. Pater (1986, p.32), essay on Pico della Mirandola. Seventeenth century natural theology placed less emphasis on the study of the **human** structure as a **religious obligation** and more on the cultivation of the **natural sciences**, physics, mathematics and optics by the so-called natural philosophers. However, the seventeenth-century did produce some important scientific studies of man. According to M Banton, John Ray (1627-1705), a founder of the Royal Society in his The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation (1690) was "One of the first to offer a systematic natural history" of man. See Banton (1990, p.2).
17. This interpretation of Puritanism was accepted by the nineteenth century. See on this Matthew Arnold (1990, p.143).
18. Jean Calvin Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559) translated by John Allen (1935, Book II, Chapter I).
19. Calvin (1935, p.3).
20. Richard Jenkyns has shown the change in the nineteenth century regarding man. He referred to M. Arnold's declaration that Plato had talked about the possibility of man, albeit 'the lover of pure knowledge, of seeing things as they really are' in 'partaking of the divine life'. Jenkyns (1984, p.271). On the same idea shared by the Hebrew prophets see below.
21. On Paley see The New Encyclopaedia Britannica mentioned above and Banton (1990, p.2).
22. Pater (1986, p.26).
23. *ibid.*
24. See Young (1964, p.118) and Briggs (1971, ch.6) on Thomas Arnold's teaching to Rugby boys "to value life and his own self, and his work and mission in this world".
25. Wintle (1982, p.14).
26. Arnold (1990, p.151).
27. Alford (1841, pp.5-6).
28. Alford (1841, p.88).
29. Jenkyns (1984, p.71).
30. Probable author of The Imitation of Christ first circulated in 1418. Pater here refers specifically to the unity "in purpose and action" but it can be understood as the unity between form and content. See Pater's essay entitled "Diaphaneité" in the appendix to The Renaissance dated July 1864. Pater (1986, pp.154-5).
31. Arnold (1990, p.133).

32. Arnold (1990, p.153).
33. *ibid.*
34. Arnold (1990, p.154).
35. Vance (1985, pp.107-113).
36. On the principle of active asceticism see Weber (1985, ch.11).
37. Martin (1980, esp. pp.11-13).
38. Pater quoted in De Laura from The Age of Athletic Prizemen (1894), (1969, p.302).
39. Turner (1981, p.105). See also on Aryanism Poliakov (1971).
40. Bernal (1987, p.348).
41. According to Leon Poliakov, Richard Wagner was, already "dès 1850, identifiait le Christ au Dieu suprême Wotan". Poliakov (1971, p.329).
42. On the phenomenon of "chosen peoples" see Smith (1992).
43. On the belief that the Europeans were the sons of God see Poliakov (1971, part 2, ch. V).
44. Jenkyns (1984, p.72).
45. Quotation from a letter of Matthew Arnold to his mother describing his father's beliefs taken from Bernal (1987, p.348).
46. *ibid.*
47. Poliakov (1971, p.322).
48. See Vance (1985) on the mediaeval assimilation of Greek philosophy with Christianity.
49. Vance (1985) traced the emergence of the new Christian ideal to the middle of the nineteenth century. He traced it in the ideas of Thomas Arnold, Coleridge, Maurice and Carlyle. Vance also showed the role of Charles Kingsley and his friend Thomas Hughes in articulating and propagating the specific theory of "muscular Christianity". However he credited "indolent reviewers" (p.2) with the choice of the words. This role was recognised by their contemporaries in 'The Times' and the 'Edinburgh Review' (p.134). According to Mathisen, "Probably, the first overt expression of muscular Christianity appeared in Kingsley's 1855 novel Westward Ho!, and Hughes popularized it in two novels - Tom Brown's Schooldays (1857) and Tom Brown at Oxford (1861)". In the sequel, a section of the book bears the phrase as a sub-title. See Mathisen (1991, p.3). I am most grateful to the Revd Peter Jupp

for turning my attention to 'muscular Christianity' and for supplying me with literature on this major nineteenth century British cultural and social phenomenon.

50. The belief in the identity between Greek and Judaeo-Christian culture can, for example, be found in Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy : "But there is a saying which I have heard attributed to Mr. Carlyle about Socrates,....."Socrates", this saying goes, "is terribly at ease in Zion"[underlined in the original]. See Arnold (1990, p.135). Jenkyns also points to the Victorian belief that "the Greeks, like the Jews, had advanced step by step towards an ever greater understanding of the nature of God" and he quotes Westcott, the Bishop of Durham on the similarity between Aeschylus and the Bible. See Jenkyns (1984, p.71).

51. See Vance (1985).

52. Turner (1981, p.164).

53. Quoted in Turner (1981, p.164).

54. Turner (1981, p.169).

55. Turner (1981, p.169).

56. Turner (1981, p.169).

57. Pater (1986, p.155).

58. Arnold (1990, p.40).

59. Arnold (1990, p.80).

60. Arnold (1990, p.149).

61. Arnold (1990, p.154).

62. For Arnold, "our world...ought to be, though it never is, evenly and happily balanced between them". Arnold (1990, p.130).

63. Arnold (1990, p.130).

64. See Matthew Arnold Culture and Anarchy (1990, ch.IV, entitled "Hebraism and Hellenism").

65. Darwin's theory that the anthropoid ape was the common ancestor of mankind established the monogenist hypothesis regarding the origin of the human races, i.e. the claim that the Negroid and Caucasoid physical types had a common origin. See Harris (1968, p.93).

66. See Bernal on Renan's belief that the British had a moral fibre (1987).

67. Arnold (1990, pp.141-2).

68. Banton (1987, p.65).
69. Pater (1986, p.17).
70. Pater (1986, p.32).
71. Pater (1986, p.29).
72. Poliakov refers to the description of the Aryan religion by the "érudit indianiste Leopold von Schroder, professeur à l'université de Vienne" as "les cultes de la nature des "Aryens primitifs". Poliakov (1971, p.332).
73. Turner (1981, pp.104-11).
74. Note that, according to Léon Poliakov Jesus came to be seen, at least by the Germans, as Indian or Aryan : "Le Christ, un Christ indien ou aryen". Poliakov (1971, p.331).
75. Poliakov (1971, p.328).
76. Turner (1981, p.107).
77. See Turner's discussion of Symonds' and other Victorians' view of Greek mythology as sexual and orgiastic religion (1981, pp.112-15).
78. Spear dates Ruskin's " 'unconversion' " to some kind of Greek paganism in 1858. However according to Burd he never fully disclaimed Christianity. See Hewison ed. (1981, p.179 and p.15).
79. See Birch (1980, ch. 6) and Jenkyns (1984, p.183).
80. Turner (1981, p.97).
81. See Hewison (1981, p.184) and Turner (1981, p.107).
82. Quoted in Turner (1981, p.112).
83. Turner (1981, p.112).
84. Pater (1868, p.302).
85. Arnold in his article "Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment" of 1864. See Arnold (1960-, vol.III, p.225).
86. This sorrow was derived from physical illness and death and of asceticism, i.e. in Heine's terms whom Arnold quoted, of "melancholy abstinence from the joys of this beautiful earth".
87. Arnold (1864, p.434).
88. Arnold (1960-, vol.III, p.225).

89. Arnold (1960-, vol.III, p.225). For Arnold, "the real difference" of the above two religious sentiments which were borne by the mass of the two societies was most clearly represented in its extreme in the lines from two hymns one Pagan and the other Christian. The former from Theocritus' poetry :

"Praised be my Lord God with all his creatures ; and specially our
brother the sun....fair is he...O Lord,
he signifies to us thee" (p.224)

The latter from St Francis' hymns :

"Praised be my Lord for our sister, the death of the body...Blessed are
they who are found walking by thy most holy will..." (p.225).

90. Arnold (1960-, vol.III, p.222).

91. Arnold quoting Heine (1960-, vol.III, p.227).

92. *ibid.*

93. Pater (1986, p.31) or "that which is without", Pater (1868, p.309).

94. Pater (1868, p.312).

95. Pater (1868, p.305).

96. The concept of "rationalisation" is taken from Max Weber's sociology.

97. The Latin formulation comes from Juvenal's Satires.

98. Briggs (1971, p.151).

99. Briggs (1971, p.151).

100. Arnold (1990, p.99).

101. David Brown in Mangan ed. (1988, p.216). On sport as an element of nineteenth century British culture and education see also Mangan (c.1981), (c.1985), Holt (1990) and Dunning (1971) all of which supply further and fuller bibliographies on this theme.

102. In Mangan ed. (1988, p.217).

103. Matthew Arnold became a School Inspector in 1851, a post which he held for thirty-five years until 1886. For a biography of M.Arnold see Honan (1981).

104. Arnold saw culture as "an endeavour to come at reason and the will of God" (1990, p.89).

105. Arnold (1990, p.52).

106. Arnold (1990, p.64).

107. Arnold (1990, p.53).
108. Arnold (1990, p.60).
109. See Chapter 8 of this study on politics and anthropology.
110. Arnold (1990, p.102).
111. Arnold (1990, p.84) : "of Teutonic origin".
112. See also on public school education, Arnold (1990, p.107 and ch. 3 called "Barbarians, Philistines, Populace").
113. Arnold (1990, p.102).
114. Arnold (1990, p.103).
115. On M. Arnold and national education see Honan (1981).
116. Arnold (1990, p.92).
117. See Lacombe (1909, book II, ch.3).
118. See Dictionary of the History of Ideas (1973, p.388). And also Dupeux. According to Dupeux, although this religious revival reached its peak in 1835-40, it remained strong even after the peak. Dupeux (1976, p.102-3).
119. On the cultural significance of the "concordat" which was valid until 9 December 1905, see Vaughan (1985, p.104).
120. Black (1973, p.310).
121. Black (1973, p.319).
122. See Wintle, article on Newman (1982, pp.456-7).
123. According to Black, "the impact [of the Anglo-Catholic movement] was felt principally among the privileged classes". Black (1973, p.320).
124. Alford (1846).
125. Account of Kingsley's ideas by Vance. Vance (1985, p.112).
126. Vance (1985, p.111).
127. Young (1964, p.118).
128. Vance (1985, p.112).
129. Vance (1985, p.111).

130. Vance's account of Kingsley's view of Roman Catholicism in the late 1840s (1985, p.110).
131. Vance's account of Kingsley's view of Roman Catholicism in Hereward the Wake of 1866 (1985, p.111).
132. Vance (1985, p.74).
133. Vance's account of Kingsley's view of Roman Catholicism in 1842 as recorded in the novel which he begun at that time, Elizabeth of Hungary. Vance (1985, p.111).
134. DeLaura (1969, p.76).
135. Vance quoting Kingsley from Elizabeth of Hungary begun in 1842 (1985, p.111).
136. See Arnold's analysis of Catholicism in his analysis of Puseyism in Culture and Anarchy. See Arnold (1990, p.135-7).
137. On the differences between Catholic and Protestant attitudes to nature see for example Pater (1868, pp.303-4).
138. Heinrich Heine's view of mediaeval Christianity as described by Matthew Arnold in his article Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment. See Arnold (1960-, vol.III, p.230).
139. Heine's description of mediaeval Christianity quoted in Arnold's article Pagan etc. (1960-, vol.III, p.227).
140. Arnold in Pagan etc. (1960-, vol.III, p.225).
141. Arnold quoting George Herbert in Culture and Anarchy (1990, p.137).
142. Taine (1905, p.358).
143. See Wintle, article on Renan (1982, p.506).
144. Bernal (1987, p.346).
145. See Wintle, article on Renan (1982, p.506).
146. See in La Grande Encyclopédie the article on Taine : "Il [Taine] reçut, selon sa volonté, des funérailles protestantes" (1887-1902?, vol. XXX, p.881).
147. See the following chapter.
148. See the following chapter.
149. Rochet (1886, p.262).
150. See the following chapter.

151. Rochet (1886, p.273).

152. According to Dupeux, the period of rapid urban growth resulting from industrialisation and the 'exode rurale' was 1851-1866 during the Second Empire. Dupeux (1976, p.14).

153. Rochet (1886, p.272).

154. Rochet (1886, p.273).

155. Rochet (1886, p.270).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8: The national significance of Physical Anthropology

1. Mosse (1963, p.74).
2. On the origins of nationalism see A.D.S. Smith (1983) and (1991).
3. Poliakov (1971, p.222).
4. See Smith's classification of nationalisms (1991, pp.82-3).
5. Buchner, quoted in Poliakov, regarding the "uncivilized and brutal "lower classes"" who were equal members of the nation by virtue of "blood relationship". See Poliakov (1974, p.273).
6. Mosse (1963, p.74).
7. Smith (1987, p.324).
8. Matthew Arnold in his introduction to Culture and Anarchy advocated to his fellow countrymen Socrates' "speech" , "Know thyself!"[emphasised in the original]. See Arnold (1990, p.40).
9. Ruskin (1900, p.9).
10. Rochet (1886, p.256).
11. Wildman (1989, p.661).
12. Wildman (1989, p.660).
13. Wildman (1989, p.663).
14. Poliakov (1974, p.255).
15. As Poliakov indicates, associations with the Greeks and especially the Trojans were already part of the English myth of origin : "Pour bâtir leur mythe d'origine, les Anglais disposaient des quatres mythologies gréco-romaine, celtique, germanique et biblique". Poliakov (1971, p.50; see also 52 on the Trojans).
16. See chapter 7 of this study on the religious significance of Physical Anthropology.
17. Quoted in Poliakov (1974, p.231).
18. Poliakov (1971, p.64).
19. Poliakov (1971, p.237).

20. The rejection of the Romans was largely due to the different political culture of the Romans as compared with that of the fifth century B.C. Greeks and of the primitive German forest communities. This is evident in one of Arnold's statements quoted in the text below.

21. Poliakov (1974, p.231).

22. By the German orientalist Julius von Klaproth.

23. Knox (1852, p.v, Preface).

24. This belief was not universally accepted. As Poliakov notes, "le pur savant Franz Bopp" rejected it in 1833 in his preface to Vergleichende Grammatik. Poliakov (1971).

25. Quoted in Poliakov (1971, p.330). This is my translation of "fils des dieux". This account referred to both the Germans and the French.

26. Knox (1862, p.403).

27. Hersey (1976, p.110).

28. Poliakov (1971, p.241).

29. Poliakov (1971, p.239).

30. Quoted in Jenkyns (1984, p.218).

31. Quoted in Cowling (1989, p.137).

32. Taine (1905, letter dated "30 mars 1865").

33. Gobineau Essai (1967, p.485).

34. Poliakov (1974, p.255-6).

35. For nineteenth century beliefs about the racial composition of France see Citron (1987).

36. Poliakov (1974, p.203).

37. See following chapter.

38. Rochet (1886, p.235).

39. Rochet (1886, p.263).

40. Rochet (1886, p.235).

41. Rochet (1886, p.222).

42. Rochet (1886, p.222).
43. Poliakov (1971, p.270).
44. Poliakov (1971, p.270).
45. Rochet (1978, p.292).
46. Frederic Mistral (1830-1914) for example was the leading figure in the revival of Provençal literature.
47. Quoted in The Independent, Saturday 6th October 1990 in an article by Gillian Tindall.
48. Quoted by Pick from Darwin's Origin of Species. Pick (1989, p.193).
49. Quoted in Harris (1968, p.117).
50. Pick (1989, pp.189-90).
51. Fau (1845, p.5).
52. Duval and Cuyet (1898, p.333).
53. Rochet (1886, p.197).
54. Pick (1989, pp.189-90).
55. Quoted in Pick (1989, p.190).
56. Account of Combe's ideas in William Jolly's Introduction to Education :Its Principles and Practice as developed by George Combe (1879, p.xvi).
57. Combe quoted by Jolly (1879, p.346).
58. Quoted in Pick (1989, p.195).
59. See footnote 5 above and also M Arnold on the admiration of the middle-classes for "The crowd" as being "mostly composed of fine healthy strong men, bent on mischief" which I also quoted in an earlier chapter from Dover Wilson's edition of Culture and Anarchy (1990, p.92).
60. Quoted in Haskell & Penny (1982, p.200).
61. Moody (1873, Lecture I, p.18). F. W. Moody was an Instructor in decorative art at the South Kensington Museum. According to the 1877 catalogue of books in the library of the Royal Academy, a copy of Moody's lectures was available for study by R.A. students.
62. Fau (1845, p.7).

63. Renan's letter to Gobineau dated "26 juin 1856", quoted in Poliakov (1971, p.209).
64. Rochet (1886, p.197).
65. Fau (1845, p.5).
66. A term used as early as 1860 in the Dublin Review. Quoted by Holt (1990, p.94).
67. Citron (1987, p.29).
68. Duval (1881, p.12).
69. Duval and Cuyet (1898, pp.8-9).
70. Duval and Cuyet (1898, p.9).
71. Dunning, E., in Dunning, E. ed. (1971, ch.8: "The Development of Modern Football", p.133).
72. As Bernal has remarked, "Study of Latin as a language and reading of the Ancients had been central to the basic curricula of mediaeval universities". However, "the first use of the Classics -the study of all aspects of Antiquity as moral and intellectual training for the elite - emerged only in the first half of the nineteenth century, directly or indirectly following the German pattern. The most prominent figure in its promotion was Thomas Arnold". See Bernal (1987, p.320). See also Jenkyns on the nineteenth century changes in Classical studies in the public schools as well as the old Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, from "the narrowly linguistic and literary method" to the "free inquiry into ethics, metaphysics, and political thought" of the ancient world, and away from Latin towards Greek. Of these changes, Thomas Arnold was one of the major architects. See Jenkyns (1984, p.61).
73. Jenkyns (1984, p.216). Also, p.217. Arnold's ideal, according to Stanley, was "The Greek union of the areté gymnastiké [athletic excellence] with the areté mousike [literary excellence].." [emphasised in the original].
74. See Jenkyns (1984, p.219), on Pater's view of Greek games and their relationship to Plato's ideas.
75. Davey (1876, p.194).
76. Davey (1876, p.194).
77. See the essay by Brown in Mangan, ed. (1988, ch.12, p.216).
78. Holt (1990, p.94).
79. *ibid.*
80. See Brown's essay in Mangan ed. (1988, ch.12, p.216).

81. Fitch (1897, p.104).
82. Fitch (1897, pp.104-5).
83. Fitch (1897, p.103).
84. Quoted in Ellmann (1987, p.4).
85. Jenkins (1984, pp.219-20).
86. Jenkins notes the use of the Greek word "thranitai" by one of Hughes' heroes in Tom Brown at Oxford to refer to his rowing team (1984, p.217).
87. Ellmann (1987, p.38).
88. Quoted in Jenkins (1984, p.215).
89. Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle, article on 'race' (1875, vol.13.1, p.597).
90. Taine, Notes (second edition, 1872, p.148). As Taine remarked in the preface, the book was based on the notes which he made during his visits to England in 1861, 1862 and 1871.
91. Jenkins (1984, p.217).
92. Taine (1872, p.163).
93. Taine (1872, p.163).
94. Briggs quoting from Hughes' Tom Brown's School days on which Taine also drew (1971, p.171).
95. Quoted in Duval and Cuyler (1898, p.10).
96. See Holt (1990, p.121). Also Gillian Avery The Best Type of Girl : A History of Girls' Independent Schools (1991).
97. Mosse (1963, p.74).
98. Advertisement of The Races in Knox's Manual of Artistic Anatomy (1852).
99. Thornton (1959, p.48).
100. Banton (1990, p.62).
101. Banton (1990, p.62).
102. As Thornton has remarked, Napoleon III's imperialism caused "Lord Palmerston in 1860 to draw up a 12-million [pounds] estimate for a system of fortification for the southern English coast that would have needed 100,000 troops to man it". See

Thornton (1959, p.1). Napoleon III's imperialism also caused in 1860 the Volunteer movement. The early 1860s were described by Taine in the following terms : "j'étais en Angleterre en 1860, au plus fort de l'enrôlement des volontaires et des menaces de guerre par la France. Les Anglais me disaient tous : "L'Empereur nous pousse à bout". Taine visited England in 1861 and 1862 but not in 1860, as he wrongly remembered in the above quotation from a later letter to his wife. See Taine (1905, p.355).

103. See Max Weber on the belief in the importance of ancient Greek history and culture for modern European culture in The Methodology of the Social Sciences (1949, esp.pp.172-77).

104. Boardman (1989, p.8).

105. Arnold (1990, p.162).

106. Thornton (1959, p.21) and Poliakov (1971, pp.237-8).

107. Poliakov (1971, p.238).

108. Collier's Encyclopedia (1980, p.547). And in 1903 U.S. Senator Albert Beveridge would proclaim that "God has not been preparing the English speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but a vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has made us adequate in government that we may administer government among savage and servile peoples." Quoted in Alavi and Shanin (1982, p.74) from Albert Beveridge's The Russian Advance, New York, 1903.

109. Micropaedia (1988, p.27), article on 'Rhodes'.

110. Quoted in Alavi and Shanin eds. (1982, p.72).

111. Thornton (1959, p.62).

112. Thornton (1959, pp.2-4). Rosebery's views clashed with Gladstone's views. Lord Rosebery was foreign secretary in Gladstone's last two governments and prime minister from March 1894 to June 1895.

113. See Banton (1990) and also Douglas Lorimer's study Colour, Class and Victorians etc. (1978).

114. Thornton (1959, p.213). On the other hand, as Thornton remarked on p.73, "Service to civilisation and to mankind was not, it seemed, so readily provided where no question of self-interest was also involved".

115. On the interaction between the religious concept of election and nationalist movements, see Smith (1992).

116. Poliakov (1971, p.236). Note that Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold who both held that morality was an English national characteristic, nevertheless, attributed this "moral fibre" of the English to Semitic elements in their blood. According to Bernal, Renan maintained that "The Semites had good qualities which,...they shared with the English...According to him [Renan], both peoples possessed "a great uprightness of mind and an enviable simplicity of heart, an exquisite sentiment of morality..." See Bernal (1987, p.346). On Matthew Arnold's belief in the similarities between the English and the Hebrews see Arnold (1990, pp.141-2).

117. Briggs (1971, p.158).

118. Thornton (1959, p.39). On Carlyle see Poliakov (1971, p.64): Carlyle "glorifiait les old Teutsch fathers de Cromwell".

119. Ruskin (1900, p.37).

120. French secular intellectualism is another important factor in the non-development of athletics in France. Norbert Elias has established this element of French culture. See Elias (1982) and (1983).

121. Holt (1981, pp.41-2).

122. Holt (1981, p.42).

123. *ibid.*

124. Holt (1981, p.193).

125. All quotations from Rochet come from p.235 (1886).

126. Echard (1985, p.252).

127. We find a concern with "The Birth-rate in France" in Demolins' book, a subject to which he devoted a whole chapter. See Demolins (Engl. trans. 1899).

128. Echard (1985, p.252).

129. Holt (1981, p.193).

130. See Demolins (1899) and Holt (1981) on the racial elements in French Republican imperialism.

131. Holt (1981, p.191).

132. Demolins (1899 English trans., p.15). Demolins stated this in his tremendously successful book, A quoi tient la Supériorité des Anglo-Saxons. First published in 1897, it had, by 1899, gone through ten editions.

133. Demolins (1899, p.26).

134. Holt (1981, p.62).

135. Holt (1981, p.62).

136. Holt refers to "a veritable influx of working-class youths into gymnastics in the 1880s" (1981, p.50).

137. Holt (1981, p.40).

138. Holt (1981, p.47).

139. Holt (1981, p.191).

140. Broca (1872, p.28).

141. See for example London, Hayward (1985, p.276) regarding the popularity of the French southern regions during the last quarter of the century. The later work of the Impressionists and especially of Renoir and Cézanne belongs to and is marked by the new French culture which valued the southern countryside.

142. The pursuit of these practices was encouraged by the changes in religious thought which I examined in a previous chapter. Furthermore, religious and political interests converged over the very cause of the "revanche", i.e. the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine. This was because of the religious differences between the Protestant Prussians and the Catholic French which turned the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine into a crusade against infidels and contributed to the fervent religious revival of the 1880s. The religious significance of the "revanche" was promoted for example in the 1880s and 1890s by the Boulangiste MP for Nancy Auguste-Maurice Barrès (1862-1923) who was himself born in Lorraine. See Wintle (1982, article on Barrès, pp.31-2). Holt (1981) has also pointed out that many Catholic sports clubs emerged in the post-war period and by 1914 they had reached the number of 1600. While the Dominican College at Arcueil was one of the first schools to introduce the English games for its students.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9: Images of Greeks as images of God

1. See also Smith's similar distinction, i.e. the grouping under the label "Mythological, Fanciful-Erotic" of "Cupids and Venuses,...fauns, satyrs, bacchantes, nymphs, naiads..." as well as some other mythological personages. Smith (1979, p.160).
2. See Clark (1980, ch.7) on "Ecstasy" as a single condition whether it is the result of either the climax of physical love or high dosages of wine or of a mixture of both.
3. Quoted in Clark (1980, p.264).
4. See chapter 7 of this study on the religious significance of science and also Paris, Grand Palais (1986, pp.209-10).
5. Clark (1980, p.343).
6. See supra and also London, Kenwood (1991) The Artist's model, and also Paris, Musée d'Orsay, Le corps en morceaux (1990). This exhibition shows in the display of nineteenth-century wax models of the female body that the female anatomy was studied in art schools.
7. See Paris, Grand Palais (1986, pp.208-213).
8. Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle (1867, vol.2.(1), p.21) article on the "Bacchante".
9. Of these, J Tourny's water-colour of the 1857 Salon, L'amour sacré et profane, d'après Titien is one example.
10. Paris, Grand Palais (1986, p.205).
11. Paris, Grand Palais (1986, p.204 and p.415, 51n).
12. Paris, Grand Palais (1986, p.205).
13. Paris, Grand Palais (1986, pp.205-6).
14. According to The Penguin Atlas of World History (1986, vol.2, p.71), "The expansion of major industries brought about the increase of commerce by 300 % within 12 yrs. The 1855 and 1867 Paris World Exhibitions became symbols of prosperity".
15. Grand Dictionnaire (vol.11.2, p.1175) article on "Nymphes".
16. Clark (1980, p.64).
17. Clark (1980, p.65).

18. The Grand Dictionnaire in the article on "Venus" points to the existence in Greek religion of "Vénus Céleste" as "déesse chaste et pure" (vol.15, p.878). However, it reserves the attribute of beauty for the Venus of physical desire (p.876).
19. Paris, Grand Palais (1983, p.179).
20. London, Hayward (1985-6, pp.193-4).
21. London, Royal Academy (1978, p.104).
22. Paris, Grand Palais (1986, pp.341-2).
23. Charles Blanc quoted in the catalogue of the catalogue of the exhibition La Sculpture Française au XIXe siècle (1986, p.341).
24. Paris, Grand Palais (1986, p.62).
25. Ingamells (1986, No P611, p.189, 1n).
26. Paris, Petit-Palais (1984, No.51, p.185).
27. Paris, Petit-Palais (1984, p.185).
28. *ibid.*
29. See Paris, Grand Palais (1986, p.213).
30. See previous chapter.
31. Their "innocence" was recognised by critics like Geffroy. See London, Hayward (1985-6, p.252).
32. This change was technically facilitated by what he learned from his trip to Italy in 1881 -2, namely from Raphael, especially the Villa Farnesina decorations, and the antique mural paintings from Pompeii. See London, Hayward (1985-6, p.220).
33. London, Hayward (1985-6, No.63, p.232).
34. London, Hayward (1985, p.268).
35. In a letter he called his nudes " 'nymphs' " which indicates that he was painting 'Greek' girls. London, Hayward (1985-6, p.250).
36. London, Hayward (1985-6, p.273). The description of the head of Renoir's young girls also matches descriptions of the head of the Venus de Medici as small. Although this consideration falls outside my concerns, it is worth noting the match of this feature with Renoir's preference for unintellectual women and hence the appropriateness of the small head. On this see p.15 of the above.
37. Paris, Grand Palais (1988-89, p.98).

38. Paris, Grand Palais (1988-89, No.40, p.98).
39. Paris, Grand Palais (1988-89, p.98).
40. Paris, Grand Palais (1988-9, p.100).
41. On Degas' ambition which was "avant tout ethnographique" , i.e. oriented towards understanding and showing what he called the "habitudes d'une race" see Paris, Grand Palais (1988-9, essay on "Le réalisme scientifique", pp.197-211 and esp.pp.205-11).
42. Paris, Grand Palais (1988-9, p.210).
43. Paris, Grand Palais (1988-9, No.106, p.174-5).
44. Pointon (1990, p.92).
45. Illustrated in Clark (1980, p.64., fig.51).
46. London, Hayward (1985-6, No.79, p.248).
47. London, Hayward (1985-6, p.233, No.64).
48. As Hilton remarks, "By 1850, art was generally held to be more important than in 1840. Ruskin led the way, asserting that the practice of art...contained the possibility of both good and evil...". Hilton (1979, pp.53-4).
49. In art and poetry, the fact that one of the Pre-Raphaelites himself, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, had Italian origins and Dante's name, re-inforced these artists' association with Dante as their subject-matter, or a source of, as in Rossetti's : Dantis Amor of 1859, ill. in Hilton (1979, p.96). See also Vaughan (1985) on Dante as an element of early nineteenth-century British culture.
50. Weber (1989, first publ.1904-5).
51. Weber (1989, p.168).
52. For Gibson's Platonism see the Gibson papers in the R.A. library. References to Plato abound so see for example GI/3/26 and GI/3/33.
53. In the Gibson papers at the R.A. library we find Gibson's description of Venus as "Venus, the symbol of divine love and moral beauty, became in its materialised expression, the goddess who presides over love and marriage". In GI/3/36. Elsewhere he quotes from Socrates the same idea regarding the connexion between aesthetics and ethics : "Socrates said 'outward beauty was a sign of inward Beauty....In the Life of Man, as in an Image, every Part ought to be beautiful'". In GI/3/26.
54. Gibson's concern with the soul (symbolised by the Greek philosopher Thales by the triangle) and with love, i.e. with ideas which were shared by both Greeks and Christians is evident in his writings. See the Gibson papers (e.g.GI/3/51). It is also

evident in his works. The bas-relief of Eros and Anteros contending for the Soul for example illustrates three major themes in both Greek and Christian philosophy. In GI/3/36 Gibson wrote the following commentary on the above work : "The antagonism of the love of good and the love of evil, receives a new form in the mysteries of Eros and Anteros. Eros is the divinity of love; anteros is his opponent or the contrary..." See also a letter to Gibson by Elizabeth Colling dated 'Sep 7th 1853' in which she refers to the myth of Psyche as furnishing "a charming morale". In GI/1/83. Finally, another letter to Gibson by the Rev. Dr John Woolley, of 11 October 1865 shows the use of Greek mythological or philosophical notions to interpret nineteenth century cultural phenomena. In this case, "the story of Cupid and Psyche" was seen to crystallise and warn about "the present state of religious and metaphysical opinion. The age of Appuleius [sic] as one of failing faith in the old creed, threatening Athens or Universal Doubt, which again drove the mind, in the absolute necessity for a spiritual object of belief, to magic and witchcraft...". The same author proposed to Gibson the joint venture of publishing "an illustrated edition of Appuleius' tale" with illustrations "taken from your exquisite groupes" which "might be popular as a Xmas book". In GI/1/361. In fact, there is an undated but certainly earlier than this letter publication of The story of Psyche with illustrations by Gibson. All the above details justify a philosophical, moral and indeed Christian interpretation of Gibson's mythological subjects.

55. Ruskin described German art as the "headless serpent of Teutonic art (ending in German Philosophy constrictor powers - with no eyes)" quoted in Vaughan (1979, p.64).

56. On the aesthetic movement see for example Aslin (1969), Hough (1978) and Spencer (1972).

57. I shall not refer to homosexuality which was another aspect of pagan Greek culture and which was consequently also expressed in mythological subjects and especially in the figure of Cupid. This was a convenient motif since it was already used to convey other ideas including the idea of Christian love. Simeon Solomon's Love in Autumn of 1866 is a case in point.

58. London, Tate (1984, p.208). This cultural change may also be gauged by the decline in the number of works on the fallen woman. Works on this Christian female character who was typified in the person of Mary Magdalene had risen during the 1840s, 1850s and early 1860s. However, from about 1862 onwards the number of works on this subject decline sharply. See on this Heenk (1988).

59. Hilton quoting from The Illustrated London News of 1850 (1979, p.52).

60. London, Tate (1984, p.209).

61. See London, Geffrye Museum (1985) on Simeon Solomon.

62. London, Tate (1984, No.150, pp.229-231).

63. Hilton (1979, p.196).

64. Hilary Morgan has pointed out Morris' treatment of classical subjects in mediaeval guise in poems like the unfinished cycle Scenes from the Fall of Troy (1857-61) in which he presented Troy as a town like Bruges or Chartres with spires, gables and red roofs. London, Peter Nahum (1989, cat.No.47, p.69).

65. Hilton (1979, p.196).

66. In 1863 Ruskin asked Burne-Jones to paint for him "A Ceres,...and a Proserpine, and a Plutus, and a Pluto, and a Circe...and ever so many people more". London, Tate (1984, cat.No.244, p.304).

67. London, Barbican (1989, cat.No.1, p.79).

68. Compare with The Lady of Shalott story a popular subject among the Pre-Raphaelites who took it from Tennyson's mediaeval poem. Holman Hunt treated it in a drawing in 1850 and later in the large oil of 1886-1905. London, Tate (1984, cat.No.168, p.249).

69. Evelyn De Morgan's Clytie turning into a sunflower is another example. See Christie's (25 Oct.1991, cat. No.57, pp.104-5).

70. Evelyn de Morgan's Clytie of 1886-7 is one such example. It was bought from the artist by the Rev. George Tugwell in 1907. See Christie's (25 Oct. 1991, No.57, p.104).

71. London, Tate (1984, No.244, pp.303-5).

72. *ibid.*

73. Pater, essay on Winckelmann in Pater (1986, p.123).

74. Of course, one must not forget the aesthetic value of the motif of the clinging drapery and also the association of Greek clothing with health as compared with modern tight clothes.

75. London, Peter Nahum (1989, cat.No.47, p.69).

76. Furthermore, his early religious vocation and religious art are congruent with a moralistic treatment of his subsequent 'pagan' subjects. These same conditions may also explain Morris's work and also Rossetti's divergence and attachment to paganism.

77. On Watts' oeuvre see Barrington (1905) and Watts (1912).

78. Other factors were the domestic concerns of British society, i.e. the concern for a good wife, which resulted from the peace, prosperity and the urban, middle-class character of British society.

79. The last two religious conceptions gave rise not only to male but also to female Greek subjects as I showed in the previous section.

80. Monkhouse (1897, p.15).

81. The article was written by John Eagles and was published in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 63 (February 1848), pp.176-92, reproduced in Olmsted (1983). The quoted text is from p.646.

82. See Yeoman (1984) on changes in the English coinage during this period.

83. On Pistrucci see Forrer (1906).

84. Note the change from Gothicism to Hellenism in Victorian culture as this expressed itself in the design of coins. Compare the Gothic design of the 1849 silver florin with the revived Greek design of Pistrucci's St. George and Dragon of the 1871 gold sovereign (Yeoman, 1984, p.207).

85. London, Tate (1984, pp.294-5).

86. London, Tate (1984, p.229).

87. *ibid.*

88. Compare for example with the fifteenth-century miniature at the Wallace Collection of the frontispiece to Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae, book II by the Maitre de Coetivy, active 1458-73 (cat.No.M320).

89. London, Tate (1984, p.237).

90. An inscription on his tomb is a quotation from Plotinus, the Neoplatonist philosopher. His tomb is near the Watts Gallery in Compton, Guildford. It reads : "As one "That doeth Truth cometh to the Light/ So he, living sought light diligently,/ and dying; could say "Now I see that great light"/ So may man's soul be sure of vision/ when suddenly he is sure of light. For this light is from him and is he" Plotinus A.D.200".

91. London, Royal Academy (1978b, Cat.No.63, p.88).

92. London, Christie's (25 Oct.1991, cat.No.55, p.101).

93. London, Christie's (25 Oct. 1991, cat.No.26).

94. Charles Dickens quoted in London, Tate (1984, p.78).

95. London, Tate (1984, cat.Nos.42 and 26).

96. On Hunt's artistic change, i.e. new concern, from 1867-onwards, with Titian rather than "the Beato", see Portrait of the Artist of 1867-75 in The Orientalists exh. cat. London, Royal Academy (1984, No.79, p.193). On Hunt's belief in the similarities and other connexions among the Greek, Hebrew and Christian religions, see The Light of the World in The Pre-Raphaelites, London, Tate (1984, No.57, pp.117-9). Briefly, in The Light of the World Jesus is holding a seven-sided lantern

which was understood as referring to the seven churches mentioned in Revelations which all shared some piece of divine knowledge. Also the three different designs which decorate the clasps which hold Jesus' cape in place are each taken from the clasps worn by the priesthoods of the heathen (including the pagan Greeks) - the round clasp -, the Christians - the cross - and the Hebrews - the square clasp. The linking of the three designs into a tripartite clasp with the Christian cross in the middle suggests the then current belief, that the three religions had certain similarities, namely that they prefigured the coming Christ. Finally, the association of the circle, the square and the cross may refer to the cumulative knowledge about the world which can be gained from combining Greek, Hebrew and Christian views of the world.

97. Regarding the 'adorante', this statue was well known in the nineteenth century. Pater for example refers to it in his 1867 essay on Winckelmann which he included in The Renaissance as "the adorante of the museum of Berlin, a youth who has gained the wrestler's prize, with hands lifted and open, in praise for the victory". Pater, 1986; p.140. Hunt may also have taken his figure of Jesus from Karl Cauer's marble figure of "an Olympian Victor thanking the Gods on his return from the Olympian games" which he could have seen at the 1869 R.A. exhibition before his departure for Jerusalem. Cauer's figure closely resembles the 'adorante', a 'German' possession. Cauer (1828-1885) was born in Bonn and worked in Rome, London and Kreutznach, Prussia. See London, Christie's (29 Sept. 1988, No. 289).

98. Jesus wore in fact priestly (Jewish, Christian and heathen) vestments. On the other hand, The Light was similar to The Shadow in its symbolic affirmation that God's will had been revealed not only to one but to seven peoples, a belief taken from or confirmed by the reference to the seven churches in the Revelations. (See London, Tate (1984, p.119)). This belief led Matthew Arnold to the theory of "Hebraism and Hellenism" and Thomas Carlyle to see Islam as "a bastard kind of Christianity but a living kind, with a heart-life in it". (Carlyle quoted in London, R.A. (1984, p.37)).

99. As Vance points out, for Thomas Carlyle, "the secular prophet....of heroic moral activism...this was 'a mere papistical fantasy'...". Vance (1985, p.4).

100. As Malcolm Warner has stated, "Protestantism could accept scientific enquiry as a means of approaching God". This is evident in Hunt's response to materialist philosophers like Renan that "we must show that we are not afraid of the truth" as well as in his "natural" images of Christ. See London, R.A. (1984, p.35).

101. See the analysis of this painting in London, Tate (1984, cat.No.143). Note however that the body of carpenters could also be admired by French Catholics such as Joris-Karl Huysmans, the Catholic art critic. This admiration was shared by French anatomists and medical scientists on medical grounds. However, Huysmans' admiration for the physique of carpenters cannot have been dissociated from religion, namely Christ's own experience as a carpenter during his boyhood and young adulthood. This connexion sanctified this kind of manual labour. Nevertheless, in practical terms, this part of Christ's life tended to attract British rather than French

artists' attention. On Huysmans see Ward-Jackson (n.d. typescript) and also Huysmans (1989) and Trudgian (1934).

102. Tate Gallery, No.03320, dated July 1872. M Arnold saw Protestantism as a revival of the Hebraism of the English nation. See chapter 7 of this study on religion and physical anthropology.

103. Compare Poynter's Paul and Apollos of 1872 with Hunt's The Light of the World dated 1853 and exhibited at the 1854 R.A. Notice the different settings of the figures: the tended orchard in the former and the neglected orchard in the latter. This comparison sets off the religious significance of the activity of Paul and Apollo. In an explanatory pamphlet of The Light which Hunt published in 1865 we find further confirmation of the meaning of the motif of agricultural labour in Protestant ethics. Hunt referred to the "neglected orchard" as symbolising "the uncared for riches of God's garden". Indeed, as Judith Bronkhurst has noted, by 1905-7 The Light had become a Protestant icon. (London: Tate Gallery, 1984, p.119).

Finally, we may see Poynter as engaging, through these same motifs, in certain other social issues which also appealed to both Greece and Christianity for their resolution. The olive tree which seems to be the kind of tree which Paul and Apollos are planting may further refer to debates about warfare versus peaceful labour. While the agricultural labour itself in which Paul and Apollos are engaged may be a critique of industrial and urban labour. Regarding the latter issue, other artists like Ford Madox Brown in Work of 1852-65 and William Bell Scott in Iron and Coal of c.1855-60 would hold the opposite view to Poynter's apparently exclusive exaltation of agricultural labour.

104. See Turner (1981, p.125) on the prevalence and prescriptive significance of this naturalist and humanistic criticism of Greek anthropomorphic religion and sculpture.

105. See Paris, Grand Palais (1976, p.13).

106. Quoted by Ward-Jackson in his unpublished study of Huysmans (typescript p.66).

107. Paris, Grand Palais (1983, p.276).

108. Grand Dictionnaire, article on "Perseus" (1874, vol.12, p.672).

109. Grand Dictionnaire, article on "Prometheus" (1875, vol.13.1, p.237).

110. *ibid.*

111. Grand Dictionnaire, article on "Prometheus" (p.238).

112. Note also the association between Orpheus, whose iconography I have not considered here, and Christ. This association was for example made by Gustave Moreau in La Vie de l'Humanité of 1886. As Genevieve Lacambre has observed, the search for unity or synthesis among world-views, including Christianity and Greek mythology, which great men and women had produced, became the hallmark of

nineteenth century thought. In her discussion of the above work which contained images of both Christ and Orpheus she made the following remarks: "...le Christ étant un nouvel Orphée. Ce syncrétisme bien caractéristique du XIX^e siècle s'exprime aussi chez des écrivains comme Ballanche, Eliphas Lévi, Peladan ou Schure, futur auteur des Grands initiés". (See Paris, Louvre (1990, no.37).

113. Grand Dictionnaire, article on "Prometheus" (p.240).

114. *ibid.*

115. *ibid.*

116. The Prussians were described as having "reddish" as well as "blond" hair in a "commonplace article in Figaro," written in 1883 by Rene Lagrange describing the triumphal entry of Prussian troops into Paris : "Their [Prussian troops'] hair was blond and reddish...". Quoted in Poliakov (1974, p.275).

117. Grand Dictionnaire, article on "Prometheus" (p.240).

118. The meaning of Prometheus as a type of French nineteenth century society's male ideals can also be seen in characterisations and glorifications of Napoleon as Prometheus. A medal commemorating the death of Napoleon in May 1821 indicates this in an inscription : "Il mourut sur un rocher" (illustrated in Hauteceur, L). Similarly, H. Vernet's L'Apothéose de Napoléon of 1821 in the Wallace Collection shows Napoleon dying in exile on the rock like Prometheus. He is beatified by both his sufferings and the military victories of his government. See Ingamells (1986, vol.II, No P575, p.267).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10: Images of Greeks as images of the nation: Britain

1. See Manchester (1978).
2. See Gaunt (1952).
3. See Curtin (1984, p.55).
4. Wintle (1982, p.652).
5. London, Tate (1984, cat.No.114).
6. See Connor's article on Ruskin in Wintle (1982, p.531).
7. Ruskin's positivism may also be deduced from his reference to "the Motherhood of the dust, the mystery of the Demeter from whose bosom we came". This positivism brought him closer to Greek paganism, i.e. the acceptance of earthly life. See Ruskin (1900, p.29).
8. Ruskin (1900, p.14).
9. Ruskin (1900, p.35).
10. Leighton as President of the Academy communicated his views to young artists through his lectures.
11. Monkhouse (1897, p.14).
12. Monkhouse (1897, p.10).
13. Monkhouse (1897, p.10).
14. Maas (1978, p.181).
15. Wood (1983, p.44).
16. Leighton quoted in Maas (1978, p.181) : "...the Greeks were conscious of this impulse [towards an absolute need of beauty] as a just source of pride and a sign of their supremacy among the nations".
17. Monkhouse (1897, p.28).
18. Wood (1983, p.50).
19. London, Hayward Gallery (1975, cat.No.114, p.46).
20. Wood (1981, p.116).

21. Wood (1983, pp.132-3) and also Monkhouse (1897, p.10).
22. Poynter (1879, p.viii).
23. In discussing the succession of Leighton by Poynter as President of the Royal Academy, Monkhouse pointed out that Poynter "has followed him [Leighton] all his life in the sense that "the King himself has followed her, when she has walked before"". This relationship of leader and follower was also acknowledged explicitly by Poynter himself. Poynter dedicated to Leighton his book Ten Lectures on Art of 1879, where we read: "Dedicated to Sir Frederick Leighton, P.R.A." and as he himself explained in his preface : "to him, ["our new President" i.e. Leighton] as the friend and master who first directed my ambition, and whose precepts I never fail to recall when at work (as many another will recall them), I venture to dedicate this book with affection and respect." Poynter (1879, p.ix).
24. Wood (1983, p.131).
25. Note, however, that the Hellenic features of the English nation were not the only features of the English. As Leighton wrote in his notebooks "Hellenism never can be a **complete** expression of a northern or modern mind" [my emphasis]. Quoted in Wood (1983, p.45).
26. Monkhouse (1897, p.18).
27. There are two studies of "Long Mary" in the Watts Gallery at Compton, near Guildford. See Blunt (1980, cat.No.119, p.8).
28. Probably Rhodope, the Greek prostitute who became famous for having made so much money from her trade that she had a pyramid built in Egypt. This subject may have been taken from Tennyson's "The Princess", ii, 68. This painting is now in the Watts Gallery, Compton. See Blunt (1980, cat.No.109).
29. See West and Pantini (n.d., p.xv).
30. See West and Pantini (n.d., pp.xix-xxx).
31. West (n.d., p.xiv).
32. Blunt (1980, cat.No.14, p.5).
33. Wood (1983, p.41). Leighton joined the Artists'Rifles which was formed in 1860 by Henry Wyndham Phillips.
34. Barrington (1905, p.23).
35. Ellmann (1987, p.291).
36. Ellmann (1987, p.301).
37. See Leeds and Liverpool (1972, cat.No.9, pp.21-2).

38. At the same R.A. exhibition at which Leighton exhibited his Athlete (R.A. 1877, cat.No.1466), George Tinworth exhibited a specifically modern athletic subject, The football scrimmage (R.A. 1877, cat.No.1491).

39. Illustrated in Wood (1983) and Ormond (1975).

40. Westmacott (1864, p.107).

41. Westmacott (1864, p.110).

42. These are Achilles, Hector, Paris, Ajax, Sarpedon, Aeneas and Ulysses.

43. For the history of Cleopatra as a subject-matter in English art, see Smith (1987) and compare with this study. This comparison will show a striking statistical similarity between late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century artistic practice, although the reasons for this shared artistic interest in Cleopatra may well be different.

44. See chapter 9 of this study entitled Images of Greeks as images of God.

45. Ellmann (1987, p.306).

46. Jenkyns (1984, p.216).

47. See R.A. 1868, Cat.No.1027.

48. Woolner (1917, p.237).

49. Woolner (1917, p.237).

50. Woolner (1917, p.238).

51. Briggs (1971, p.232).

52. From Henry Alford's, B.D., sermon The Claims of Our Country and of God : A Sermon Preached in Quebec Chapel, London delivered on Sunday, November 19, 1854 and published at the request of the congregation by himself as the Minister of the Chapel in 1854. As a note on p.9 in the pamphlet stated, "Any profits arising from the sale of this Sermon will be given to The Patriotic Fund". See Alford (1854). Alford, who became Dean of Canterbury, gave a number of patriotic sermons which included Four Lectures on the Influence of the Fifth Commandment, as the great moral principle of love of country and obedience to constituted authorities, etc.. See Alford (1849).

53. Alford (1854, pp.13-4).

54. See Kinder and Hilgemann (1986, p.69).

55. Jenkyns (1984, p.204).

56. *ibid.*

57. Jenkyns (1984, p.206).

58. See London: Peter Nahum (1989, vol.I, cat.No.47, p.69).

59. Note that, as a political institution, Greek kinghood as displayed in the Iliadic kings who devoted themselves to their community matched French-inspired anti-republicanism in England. According to Jenkyns, Ruskin too, "claimed that Homer had influenced his own public activities ; the Saint George's Guild was founded to realize his ideal of 'kinghood', and this ideal was derived from Homer". See Jenkyns (1984, p.202).

60. R.A. 1861, cat.No.1078.

61. Manning (1982, p.138).

62. Lempriere (1984, p.400).

63. For example the antique statue of Meleager in the Vatican Museum in Rome. See Haskell and Penny (1982, pp.263-4, cat.No.60).

64. Manning (1982, p.8).

65. Manning (1982, p.8).

66. Manning (1982, p.75). Note however, that although Gosse, a lapsed Calvinist, did influence Hamo's lapse from High Church practice, the latter never lost his "reverence for the underlying Christian idea", "this creed of the Law of Love". Quoted in Manning (1982, p.71 and p.135).

67. Manning (1982, p.129).

68. See Hobsbawm and Ranger (eds) (1983, ch.7). The foundation of the National Portrait Gallery in 1856 belongs to this spirit of classification which classified individuals into nations and races and which sought to define and celebrate the identity of the English nation by the achievements of individual English-born men and women of the past and the present. These individuals were seen, not as the exceptional individuals, a category much favoured by the Romantics, but as representatives of the potentialities of the whole nation and as exemplars or models by which the nation should live. Indeed, as the Director of the NPG John Hayes noted in the 1985 guide-book, "In the nineteenth century the portraits were displayed like specimens in showcases". See Hayes (1985, p.4).

69. Manning (1982, p.96).

70. See R.A. 1881 catalogue No.1495.

71. Lempriere (1984, facsimile of 1865 edition, pp.666-67).

72. Manning (1982, p.8).

73. Tate Gallery Cat.No.1751, bronze.

74. Elfrida Manning in her biography of Hamo stressed the latter's own positive evaluation of physical fitness. According to Manning, Hamo, in a letter to Derwent Wood's mother stated that "talent", "Good health and physical strength" were "almost a sine qua non". See Manning (1982, p.137).

75. Manning (1982, p.79). In such a plan to produce a set of images of warriors and sportsmen, Thornycroft would affirm the connection between warfare or fitness for battle and the playing of sports and games. This same connexion is also suggested in Thornycroft's similarly unrealised idea of "A shield with all the games and sports of boys around it" (*ibid.*, p.58). This idea parallels the **actual** structure of British schools at that time. The idea of the decorated shield may also have been derived from Achilles' shield described by Homer and the motif of games for its decoration may have similarly been derived from Homer's account of the sporting pastimes of the Iliadic heroes.

76. Manning (1982, pp.94-6).

77. Manning relates the Mower to "the great Greek tradition [which] was uppermost in his mind". See Manning (1982, p.95).

78. Manning (1982, pp.95-6).

79. See R.A. catalogue for 1864, cat.No.893.

80. Gobineau (1915, p.209).

81. Gobineau (1915, p.176).

82. See Gobineau (1915, p.176) and Frederick Temple in Jenkyns (1984, p.74).

83. Lempriere (1984, p.183).

84. Knox (1862, p.405).

85. See London: Royal Academy Winter Exhibition (1913, cat.No.6, p.10). As the catalogue indicates, "This picture and No.34 were the first pictures exhibited by the artist at the Royal Academy."

86. *ibid.*

87. Gobineau (1915, pp.205-212).

88. Dibdin (1923, p.48). See also Barrington's biography of Watts (1905).

89. West and Pantini (n.d., p.xxix).

90. Clark (1980, p.173).
91. On the horse as the animal most favoured by the Aryans, see Childe (1926).
92. On the "New" or "Romantic Sculpture" of the last quarter of the nineteenth century see Read (1982) and also Manning (1982).
93. Pantini in West and Pantini (n.d., p.xxx).
94. The extent to which Watts himself intended Physical Energy to illustrate specifically the English capacity to rule the world, can be deduced from Mrs Barrington's belief stated in her biography of Watts whom she personally knew, that "Neither Slav nor Celt is a born ruler of men, both being too much affected by the opinion of others to possess the power of leading". See Barrington (1905, p.42).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11: Images of Greeks as images of the nation: France

1. Smith (1987) has demonstrated this fact.
2. See Gombrich's analysis of meaning in the visual arts especially in Gombrich (1982) and (1985).
3. Paris: Grand Palais (1986, p.50).
4. See Paris: Grand Palais (1986, p.374) and Fremiet (1988-89, p.38) where it is also pointed out as evidence of the French interest in the Celtic period of French history. This interest emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and was supported by Napoleon III. It is thus pointed out that "les 'Commentaires de la guerre des Gaules' sont traduits a plusieurs reprises entre 1855 et 1865".
5. Paris: Grand Palais (1986, p.50).
6. Paris: Grand Palais (1986, pp.50-51).
7. Paris: Grand Palais (1986, p.52).
8. Greek subjects in French art propagated the Greek component of the French identity. Other subjects propagated other components of the French identity. Charlemagne, of 1878, by the Rochet brothers themselves is a case in point. This was done "dans un esprit nationaliste". Although in his writings Charles Rochet emphasised the southern element as the dominant trait of the French, in this famous sculptural group on which the two brothers worked together, they affirmed the double racial identity of the French nation, as both a southern and a northern nation, i.e. their descent from the Gauls and from the Franks. Charlemagne was first exhibited as a plaster model during the Second Empire at the Universal Exhibition of 1867 and in bronze under the IIIe Republique at the Universal Exhibition of 1878, becoming a public monument situated next to the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris. At a time when national unity was vital the two brothers tried to unify through art the French people by affirming the idea of their mixed identity. In the group of Charlemagne, the two figures who represent the Emperor's vassals, Roland and Olivier stand as the types of the two races which were believed to compose the French people.
9. Rochet (1886, p.255).
10. Rochet (1886, p.217).
11. Religious associations can also be found in Cezanne's The Large Bathers, notably in the Gothic arch formed by the arching trees which encompass the figures. This motif conveys the idea that mankind is part of nature and should therefore live in nature which is God's creation. The religious association of the arching trees can also be found in Romantic art, and particularly in Constable's Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds (R.A. 1823). In this painting, Constable has illustrated the

precepts of natural theology. He thus associated nature with God by creating a rhythm of pointed arches made up of the Cathedral's rising pointed spire in the background and the pointed arch of the trees in the foreground.

On the religious meaning of Cezanne's later major bather compositions in the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Pennsylvania, in London and in Philadelphia, see Krumrine (1986).

Note that in the post-Franco-Prussian-war period Catholic motifs in French art also acquired a national significance. This was the result of two main circumstances : firstly of the outcome of the Franco-Prussian war and of the "revanchisme" which followed it. This nationalist movement emphasised the religious differences between the two nations and the religious interests involved in the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine ; and secondly of the strong action against the Catholic Church which the German Emperor William I and Bismarck took during the 1870s. On this see Young (1964, p.184).

12. Kendall (1989, p.306).

13. Examples include Auguste Leloir's Les Athéniens captifs à Syracuse (Salon 1848), a subject taken from Plutarch's 'The Life of Nicias' and Les Athéniens, hommes, femmes et enfants, reconstruisant leurs murs détruits par les Perses, (Salon 1866) a subject taken from Thucydides, by Paul de Mere.

14. See Salon 1877 catalogue, cat.No.948.

15. A work such as Scène de steeple-chase of the 1866 Salon, may be classified as 'Greek' in the sense that it showed modern English sporting life, which was at that time at least partly justified by reference to ancient Greek sporting life. Regarding horse breeding and racing as well as painting and drawing, the English were much more advanced than the French. In fact, the development of horse racing in both French life and art during the 1860s was a part of the general fashion for things English, "Cette référence constante à l'Angleterre", which was encouraged by Napoleon III himself. See Paris: Grand Palais (1988-89, cat.No.42, p.101) and Dunlop (1979, pp.83-4).

16. Paris: Grand Palais (1988-89, No.42, pp.101-2).

17. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Second Empire did try to implement the scientific principle of physical education but without success.

18. See Salon of 1875 catalogue, cat.No.1301.

19. This was so, despite the imperialist policies of Napoleon III's government in Mexico, Europe, North Africa, Syria, New Caledonia, Indo-China and China which should have drawn public attention to the requirements of war.

20. For differences and similarities with 18th century French images of Greek heroes, compare this research with Smith (1987).

21. See Smith (1987).

22. As Jean-Charles Benzaken has pointed out, "des le mois de juillet 1789, on voit apparaître Hercule en tant que force de la Nation unie terrassant...la Bastille, symbole du despotisme et de la tyrannie. C'est une adaptation populaire, en quelque sorte, du travail d'Hercule terrassant l'Hydre de Lerne". See Vovelle ed. (1988, p.204).

23. Clément (1886, p.292).

24. See Deslandres (1963, p.131) and Johnson (1986, Vol.III, 1832-1863, cat.No.312, p.132 and cat.No.316, p.135).

25. See Grand Dictionnaire universel etc, article on 'Hercule' (1873, vol.9).

26. See Salon livret of 1853, cat.No.1457, marked: "(M.de l'Empereur)". This meant, as a note in the livret explained, that the work was "acquis ou commande(s) par le Ministère de la Maison de l' Empereur".

27. Clark (1980, p.9).

28. Clément (1886, p.292).

29. Clément (1886, p.290).

30. Clément (1886, pp.292-93). These same considerations may also have led Frederick Leighton in England to choose the figure of Agasias' warrior (Paris, Louvre) to represent Hercules in Hercules wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis (1869-71).

31. See Grand Dictionnaire universel etc, article on 'Hercule' (1873, vol.9).

32. Dijon and Grenoble (1988-89, p.39).

33. Dijon and Grenoble (1988-89, p.38).

34. Louis Rochet was, like his brother Charles, an artist who became interested from quite early on, i.e. during the 1860s, in ethnographic in the sense of racial, and historical public sculpture (e.g. Monument a Dom Pedro Ier, Brasil, 1861). See Dijon and Grenoble (1988-89, p.42).

35. See Dijon and Grenoble (1988-89, p.44). Fremiet undertook to propagate in his works, many of which were public commissions, the racial, Celtic nationalism of the Second Empire (e.g. Chef Gaulois, Salon 1864), to which were added the religious, Catholic nationalism of the 1870s and the militarist nationalism of the 1880s and 1890s (e.g. Jeanne d'Arc équestre, place des Pyramides, Paris, inaug.1874. The meaning of this representation of "la Pucelle" was seen initially as being that of the protection of the nation (presumably with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine) by God "le salut contre l'envahisseur" ; after 1886, i.e. the rise of boulangisme, which led Frémiet to take up the subject of Jeanne d'Arc again, in 1889, the meaning was political : "la revanche et l'appel au soldat" (ibid., p.46.)).

36. See Dijon and Grenoble (1988-89, p.180 and p.99, cat.No.S133).

37. Philippe Durey has associated Fremiet with the Darwinian era which began in 1859 with The Origin of Species. According to Durey, although Frémiet later disclaimed Darwinism, (he probably rejected like Charles Rochet its view of original pre-lapsarian man, preferring the theory of the 'fall' and of the degeneration of mankind even to the condition of the animal and followed by evolution), nevertheless, he accepted the new place of man inside nature, i.e. that "la bête ressemble à l'homme" and that "l'homme est déchu de son piédestal pour venir s'intégrer à la place qui est la sienne dans la Nature". See Paris: Grand Palais (1986, p.372-3).

38. Fremiet's anthropologically derived Hellenism i.e. his admiration of physical energy and muscle and pre-industrial life may be seen in works like Âge de pierre of 1872. This was commissioned in 1871 and was recognised by Barbey d'Aurevilly as a criticism of what he called, "l'âge de coton", to which the French defeat was generally attributed. Writing in 1886, Barbey d'Aurevilly, remarked that, "cette statue est un reproche et une éducation...on tend les muscles qu'on n'a pas en la regardant, et on voudrait danser sur le coeur de la Prusse l'espèce de pyrrique enragée qu'elle dansa !" But he stressed that if the statue did not match the body of the modern French, and if the figure of the statue itself was inferior to the Greek statues of the athletes of the Olympic games, "la grande, la forte, la calme, l'olympienne sculpture", nevertheless, the artist was working for the future when the French would have acquired strength, "l'homme qui a sculpté ce dos trop maigre et ces mollets trop brusquement durs...travaille pour le devenir" (Barbey d'Aurevilly quoted in Dijon and Grenoble (1988-89, p.46) and presumably referring to the athletic practices which the French had recently adopted).

39. See Salon 1875 catalogue, cat.No.1436.

40. Lemprière (1984, p.470).

41. Another theme of the story of Perseus and Andromeda which attached the French to it was the punishment of vanity, in this case that of Andromeda's mother who had boasted that she was more beautiful than the Nereids. This theme was chosen by Theodore Chasseriau, although much earlier, in 1840, when he painted Andromède attachée au rocher par les Néréides. See cuttings in Witt Library box on Chasseriau.

42. See Salon livret of 1877.

43. Regarding Homeric subjects as a whole, the life of Ulysses is the most popular. From our point of view, Ulysses is not exactly a political hero. Artists are more interested in his loves and family affairs than in his combats. He belongs to what might be called heroic genre scenes, or the loves of the heroes. Fénelon's "Télémaque" is the literary source and the guide for such a domestic emphasis in the interpretation of the Odyssey. Ulysses's return to Penelope does however bear on the theme of the love, loyalty and attachment to one's own country, over and above the theme of loyalty to the family. There are no marked differences in the kind of subject-matter drawn from the Odyssey before and after the Franco-Prussian war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MANUALS OF ARTISTIC ANATOMY

List of books on artistic anatomy consulted in the libraries of the schools of the Royal Academy of Arts and of the Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts. For the complete lists of books on this topic in the two libraries in the 1870s, see HART, S. (ed.) (1877) and VINET, E. (ed.) (1873) below in the general bibliography.

BELL, Charles (1844, third edition) The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as Connected with the Fine Arts, London: John Murray

CAMPER, Pieter (1794) The Works of the Late Professor Camper, on The Connexion between the Science of Anatomy and The Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, etc., transl. from the Dutch by T. Cogan, M.D., London: C. Dilly

DAVIS, J. B., M.D., F.S.A. and THURNAM, J., M.D., F.S.A. (1865), Crania Britannica: Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Aboriginal and Early Inhabitants of the British Islands with notices of their other remains, 2 vols., London: Printed for the subscribers

DUVAL, Mathias (1881) Précis d'Anatomie à l'usage des Artistes, Paris: A. Quantin (Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts)

DUVAL, Mathias and CUYER, Edouard (1898) Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique: les Maîtres, les Livres et les Écorchés, Paris: Société Française d'Éditions d'Art (Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts publiée sous la direction de M. Jules Comte)

FAU, Julien (1845) Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain à l'usage des peintres et des sculpteurs, Paris: Mequignon-Marvis fils

GERDY, P.-N. (1829) Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, appliquée à la peinture, à la sculpture et à la chirurgie, Paris and Bruxelles

KNOX, Robert (1852) A Manual of Artistic Anatomy for the Use of Sculptors, Painters, and Amateurs, London: Henry Renshaw

MARSHALL, John (1878) Anatomy for Artists, London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

ROCHET, Charles (1886) Traité d'Anatomie d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie appliquées aux Beaux-Arts, Paris: Librairie Renouard

SALVAGE, Jean-Galbert (1812) Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant applicable aux beaux-arts, Paris

SCHADOW, Gottfried (1883, first publ. 1834) Polycletus, transl. from the German by James J. Wright, London: Chapman and Hall Ltd.

SHARPE, James Birch (1818) Elements of Anatomy: Designed for the use of students in the Fine Arts, London: Printed for R. Hunter

STORY, William W. (1866) The proportions of the Human Figure according to a new canon, for practical use, with a notice of the canon of Polycletus, London: Chapman and Hall

II. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

(i) BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- ALAVI, Hamza and SHANIN, Teodor (eds.) (1982) Introduction to the sociology of 'developing societies', London: Macmillan
- ALFORD, Henry, Dean of Canterbury (1841) Chapters on the Poets of Ancient Greece, London: Whittaker & Co.
- ALFORD, Henry, Dean of Canterbury (1846) An Earnest Dissuasive from joining the Communion of the Church of Rome. Addressed to the younger members of the Church of England, etc., London: James Burns
- ALFORD, Henry, Dean of Canterbury (1849) Four Lectures on the Influence of the Fifth Commandment, as the great moral principle of love of country and obedience to constituted authorities, etc., London: F.R. Rivington
- ALFORD, Henry, Dean of Canterbury (1854) The claims of our Country and of God, etc., London: Rivingtons
- ANTAL, Frederick (1966) Classicism and romanticism, with other studies in art history, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- ARNOLD, Matthew (1864) 'Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment', Cornhill Magazine vol.9, and SUPER (ed.) (1960-77), vol.III, pp.212-231
- ARNOLD, Matthew (1990) Culture and Anarchy, ed. J.Dover Wilson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- ARON, Raymond (1976) Les étapes de la pensée sociologique, Paris: Gallimard
- ASLIN, Elizabeth (1969) The aesthetic movement: prelude to Art Nouveau, London: Elek
- AVERY, Gillian (1991) The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools, London: Deutsch
- BADCOCK, Christopher R. (1991) Evolution and individual behaviour: an introduction to human sociobiology, Oxford: Blackwell
- BANTON, Michael (ed.) (1961) Darwinism and the Study of Society, London: Tavistock
- BANTON, Michael and HARWOOD, Jonathan (1975) The race concept, Newton Abbott: David and Charles

- BANTON, Michael (1990) Racial Theories, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- BARRINGTON, E. I. (Mrs) (1905) G. F. Watts: reminiscences, London: George Allen
- BELL, Charles (1833) The Hand: its mechanism and vital endowments as evincing design (Bridgewater Treatises, no.4), London: William Pickering
- BELL, Charles (1844, third edition) The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as Connected with the Fine Arts, London: John Murray
- BERNAL, Martin (1987) Black Athena: The Afroasiatic roots of classical civilization, vol.I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985, London: Free Association Books
- BIDDISS, Michael D. (1970) Father of Racist Ideology: The Social and Political Thought of Count Gobineau, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- BIRCH, Dinah (1980) Ruskin and the Greeks, Ph.D. Dissertation, Oxford University, Merton College
- BLACK, Eugene C. (ed.) (1973) Victorian Culture and Society, London: Macmillan
- BLUNT, Wilfrid (1980) A Guide to the Watts Gallery and Mortuary Chapel, Compton: The Watts Gallery
- BOARDMAN, John (1989) Athenian red figure vases: The classical period, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- BOIME, Albert (c.1986) The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century, New Haven, London: Yale University Press. Originally published: London: Phaidon, 1970
- BOISSEL, Jean (1973) Gobineau, l'Orient et l'Iran, vol.1, ?Paris: Klincksieck
- BRIGGS, Asa (1971) Victorian People, Harmondsworth: Pelican
- BROCA, Paul (1872) 'Les Sélections', Revue d'Anthropologie
- BUENZOD, Janine (1967) La formation de la pensée de Gobineau et l'"Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines", Paris: Librairie A.-G. Nizet
- CALVIN, Jean (1935) Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559), transl. by John Allen, two vols., Philadelphia: Westminster Press; London: J. Clarke & Co.

- CAMPER, Pieter (1794) The Works of the Late Professor Camper, on The Connexion between the Science of Anatomy and The Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, etc., transl. from the Dutch by T. Cogan, M.D., London: C. Dilly
- CHRISTENSEN, Bryce J. (1989) 'Updating Paley', Chronicles May 1989, pp.40-1
- CITRON, Suzanne (1987) Le mythe national: L'histoire de France en question, Paris: Les Editions ouvrières & Etudes et Documentation internationales
- CLARK, Kenneth (1980) The Nude, Harmondsworth: Penguin
- CLEMENT, Charles (1886) Gleyre: étude biographique et critique avec le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre du maître par C.C., Paris: Perrin
- COMBE, George (1879) Education: its Principles and Practice as developed by George Combe, Jolly, William (ed.), London: Macmillan and Co.
- COWLING, Mary C. (1989) The artist as anthropologist: the representation of type and character in Victorian art, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- CURTIN, Philip D. (1973) The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850, London: The University of Wisconsin Press, Ltd.
- COOK, B. F. (1984) The Elgin Marbles, London: The Trustees of the British Museum
- CURTIS, Liz (1984) Nothing but the Same Old Story: The Roots of Anti-Irish Racism, London: Information on Ireland
- CUVIER, Georges (1840, first published 1816) Animal Kingdom: Mammalia, Birds and Reptiles, Blyth, Edward (ed.), London
- CUVIER, Georges (1827) The Animal Kingdom, Ed. Griffith, F.L.S., Major Charles Hamilton Smith and Edward Pidgeon (eds.), London
- CUVIER, Georges (1980) The Letters of Georges Cuvier: a summary calendar of manuscript and printed materials preserved in Europe, the United States of America, and Australasia, Dorinda Outram (ed.), Chalfont St Giles: British Society for the History of Science
- DALE, Peter Allan (c.1989) In pursuit of a scientific culture: science, art, and society in the Victorian Age, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- DAVEY, Samuel John (1876) Darwin, Carlyle and Dickens, with other essays, London: James Clarke & Co.

- DAVIS, J. B., M.D., F.S.A. and THURNAM, J., M.D., F.S.A. (1865), Crania Britannica: Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Aboriginal and Early Inhabitants of the British Islands with notices of their other remains, 2 vols., London: Printed for the subscribers
- DELAURA, David J. (1969) Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England: Newman, Arnold, and Pater, Austin: University of Texas Press
- DEMOLINS, Edmond (1899, first published 1897) Anglo-Saxon Superiority: to what it is due, transl. from the tenth French edition, London: The Leadenhall Press, Ltd.
- DESLANDRES, Yvonne (1963) Delacroix: a pictorial biography, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- DIBDIN, E. Rimbault (1923) George Frederick Watts 1817-1904, London: Cassell & Co. Ltd.
- DUNLOP, Ian (1979) Degas, London: John Calmann and Cooper Ltd.
- DUNNING, Eric (ed.) (1971) The sociology of sport: a selection of readings, London: Cass
- DUPEUX, Georges (1976) French Society 1789-1970, transl. by Peter Wait, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. and New York: Barnes and Noble
- DUVAL, Mathias (1881) Précis d'Anatomie à l'usage des Artistes, Paris: A. Quantin (Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts)
- DUVAL, Mathias and CUYER, Edouard (1898) Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique: les Maîtres, les Livres et les Écorchés, Paris: Société Française d'Éditions d'Art (Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts publiée sous la direction de M. Jules Comte)
- EAGLES, John (1848) 'Subjects for Pictures. A Letter to Eusebius', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 63, pp.176-92 (reproduced in OLMSTED, pp.631-647)
- ECHARD, W. E. (ed.) (c.1985) Historical dictionary of the French Second Empire, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press
- ELIAS, Norbert (1982) The civilising process, vols.2, Oxford: Blackwell
- ELIAS, Norbert (1983) The court society, transl. by Edmund Jephcott, Oxford: Blackwell
- ELLMANN, Richard (1987) Oscar Wilde, London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd.

- FALKENER, Edward (1860) Daedalus: or, The causes and Principles of the Excellence of Greek sculpture, London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts
- FALKENER, Edward (1961, first publ. 1892) Games ancient and modern and how to play them
- FALLMERAYER, J. Ph. (1848) Die Abstammung der Griechen und die Irrthumer und Tauschungen des Dr Ph. Fallmerayer, Munchen
- FALLMERAYER, J. Ph. (1965, first publ. 1830-36), Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea, 2 vols. in one, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung
- FAU, Julien (1845) Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain à l'usage des peintres et des sculpteurs, Paris: Mequignon-Marvis fils
- FITCH, Joshua (1897) Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their influence on English Education, London: Heinemann, vol.7 of the eleven volume series The Great Educators (1892-1902)
- FORRER, L. (1906) Benedetto Pistrucci: Italian Medallist and Gem Engraver 1784-1855, London: Spink and Son Ltd.
- GAGE, John (1989) 'The "British School" and the British School', paper delivered at the symposium Towards a Modern Art World: Art in Britain c.1715-c.1880, organised by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art in association with the Tate Gallery and the Courtauld Institute of Art, 14-16 December 1989, to be published shortly by the Paul Mellon Centre.
- GAUNT, William (1952) Victorian Olympus, London: Cape
- GERDY, P.-N. (1829) Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, appliquée à la peinture, à la sculpture et à la chirurgie, Paris and Bruxelles
- GIBSON Papers, Royal Academy Library
- GIBSON, John (n.d.) The Story of Psyche, with a classical enquiry into the fable by Elizabeth Strutt: with designs in outline by J. Gibson, London
- GINSBERG, Morris (1956) Essays in Sociology and Social Philosophy, vol.I : On the Diversity of Morals, London: Heinemann
- GIRAUD, Victor (1912) Essai sur Taine, son oeuvre et son influence d'après des documents inédits, avec des extraits de quarante articles de Taine non recueillis dans ses oeuvres, Paris: Hachette

- GOBINEAU, Arthur (1915) The Inequality of Human Races, transl. Adrian Collins, London: Heinemann
- GOBINEAU, Joseph Arthur de (1967) Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines, Paris: Pierre Belfond
- GOBINEAU, Joseph Arthur de, Count (1970) Gobineau: selected political writings, Michael D. Biddiss (ed.), London: Cape
- GOLDMANN, Lucien (1977) The Hidden God: A study of tragic vision in the 'Pensees' of Pascal and the tragedies of Racine, transl. Philip Thody, London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- GOMBRICH, Ernst H. (1982) The Image and the Eye: Further studies in the psychology of pictorial representation, Oxford: Phaidon
- GOMBRICH, Ernst H. (1985) Symbolic Images, Oxford: Phaidon
- GOMBRICH, Ernst H. (1989) Art and Illusion, London: Phaidon
- GORDON CHILDE, V. (1926) The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins, London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner
- HALL, John (1979) The Sociology of Literature, London and New York: Longman
- HARRIS, Marvin (1968) The rise of anthropological theory: a history of theories of culture, London: Routledge and K. Paul
- HART, Solomon Alexander (ed.) (1877) A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Royal Academy of Arts, London: Royal Academy of Arts
- HASKELL, Francis (1980) Rediscoveries in Art, Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd.
- HASKELL, Francis and PENNY, Nicholas (1982) Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900, New Haven and London: Yale University Press
- HAYDON, Benjamin Robert (1990) Neglected Genius: The Diaries of Benjamin Robert Haydon, London: Hutchinson
- HAYES, John (1985) National Portrait Gallery: a souvenir guide, London: National Portrait Gallery
- HEENK, Liesbeth (1988) The Iconographic Development of the Type of the Fallen Woman in nineteenth century English Art, M.A. thesis, University of Leiden
- HERSEY, G. L. (1976) 'Aryanism in Victorian England' The Yale Review vol. LXVI, no.1, October, pp.104-113

- HEWISON, Robert (ed.) (1981) New Approaches to Ruskin, London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- HILTON, Timothy (1979) The Pre-Raphaelites, London: Thames and Hudson
- HOBBSAWM, Eric and RANGER, Terence (eds.) (1983) The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- HODGSON, J. E. (1884) Academy Lectures, London: Trubner and Co.
- HOLT, Richard (1981) Sport and Society in Modern France, London: Macmillan
- HOLT, Richard (1990) Sport and the British: A Modern history, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press
- HONAN, Park (1981) Matthew Arnold: A Life, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- HONOUR, Hugh (1968) Neo-Classicism, Harmondsworth: Penguin
- HOUGH, Graham (1978) The last romantics, New York: AMS Press
- HUTCHISON, Sidney C. (1986) The History of the Royal Academy, 1768-1986, London
- HUYSMANS, Joris-Karl (1989) The road from decadence: from brothel to cloister, Barbara Beaumont (ed. and transl.), London: Athlone
- INGAMELLS, John (1986) The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Pictures, vol.II: French Nineteenth Century, London: The Trustees of the Wallace Collection
- JENKINS, Ian (1986) Greek and Roman Life, London: British Museum Publications Ltd.
- JENKYNS, Richard (1984) The Victorians and Ancient Greece, Oxford: Blackwell
- JENKYNS, Richard (1991) Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance, London: Harper Collins
- JOHNSON, Lee (1981-1989) The Paintings of Eugene Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue, Oxford: Clarendon
- KENDALL, R. (ed.) (1989) Cézanne by himself, London: The Folio Society
- KINDER, H. and HILGEMANN, W. (1986) The Penguin Atlas of World History, vol.II, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.
- KNOX, Robert (1862, first publ. 1850) The races of men: a fragment, London: Henry Renshaw

- KNOX, Robert (1852) Great Artists and Great Anatomists: a biographical and philosophical study, London: Van Voorst
- KNOX, Robert (1852) A Manual of Artistic Anatomy for the Use of Sculptors, Painters, and Amateurs, London: Henry Renshaw
- KRUMRINE, Mary Louise Elliott (1986) Cezanne's Bathers: Autobiographical Origins of Form and Content, The Pennsylvania State University, PhD dissert., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- LACOMBE, Paul (1909) Taine, historien et sociologue, Paris: Giard et Brière (Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale. 38)
- LEMPRIERE, John (1984, a facsimile of the 1865 edition of the book first published 1788) Lemprière's Classical Dictionary, London: Bracken Books
- LEMPRIERE, John (1804) Classical Dictionary, edition kept in the Royal Academy Library
- LLOYD-JONES, Hugh (1982) Blood for the Ghosts: Classical Influences in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, London: Duckworth
- MAAS, Jeremy (1978) Victorian Painters, London: Barrie and Jenkins
- MACDONALD, Stuart (1970) The History and Philosophy of Art Education, London: University of London Press Ltd.
- MACRAE, Donald G. (1960) 'Race and Sociology in History and Theory', in Man, Race and Darwin introduced by Philip Mason, London, New York and Melbourne: Oxford University Press
- MANGAN, J. A. (ed.) (1973) Physical education and sport, sociological and cultural perspectives: an introductory reader, Oxford: Blackwell
- MANGAN, J. A. (1986, first publ. c.1981) Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology, London: Falmer
- MANGAN, J. A. (c.1985) The games ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal, Harmondsworth: Viking
- MANGAN, J. A. and SMALL, R.B. (eds.) (1986) Sport, Culture, Society: international, historical and sociological perspectives, London: Spon

- MANGAN, J. A. and WALVIN, J. (1987) Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, Manchester: Manchester University Press
- MANGAN, J. A. (ed.) (1988) Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at home and abroad, 1700-1914, London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.
- MANNING, Elfrida (1982) Marble and bronze: the art and life of Hamo Thornycroft, with an introduction by Benedict Read, London: Trefoil Books
- MARLE, Judy (1972) Neo-Classical England, London: The Arts Council of Great Britain
- MARSHALL, John (1878) Anatomy for Artists, London: Smith, Elder, and Co.
- MARTIN, David (1969) 'Notes for a general theory of secularisation', Archives europeennes de sociologie, vol.X, pp.192-201
- MARTIN, David (1980) The breaking of the image: a sociology of Christian theory and practice, Oxford: Blackwell
- MASON, Tony (1988) Sport in Britain, London: Faber and Faber
- MATHISEN, James A. (1990) 'Reviving "Muscular Christianity": Gil Dodds and the Institutionalization of Sport Evangelism', Sociological Focus, vol.23, no.3, pp.233-249
- MATHISEN, James A. (1991) 'Muscular Christianity': The Development and Institutionalization of Modern Evangelical Sport Ministries. Paper presented at a June 1991 Conference on 'Evangelicals, Voluntary Associations and American Public Life', Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois
- MONKHOUSE, Cosmo (1897) 'The Life and Work of Sir Edward J. Poynter', The Art Journal Easter Annual, pp.1-32
- MOODY, F. W. (1873) Lectures and Lessons on Art: Being an Introduction to a practical and comprehensive scheme, London: Bell and Daldy
- MOSSE, George L. (1963) The culture of Western Europe: the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, London: Murray
- OLMSTED, John Charles (ed.) (1983) Victorian painting: Essays and reviews, vol.2: 1849-1860, New York, London: Garland
- ORMOND, Léonée and Richard (1975) Lord Leighton, New Haven and London: Yale University Press

- PATER, Walter (1986, first publ.1873) The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry, A. Phillips (ed.), Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press
- PATER, Walter (1868) 'Poems by William Morris', The Westminster Review vol.XXXIV, pp.300-312
- PICK, Daniel (1989) Faces of Degeneration: A European disorder, c.1848-c.1918, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- POINTON, Marcia (1990) Naked authority: the body in Western painting, 1830-1908, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- POISSON, Georges (1990) Guide des statues de Paris: Monuments, Décors, Fontaines, Paris: Hazan (Les guides visuels)
- POLIAKOV, Léon (1971) Le Mythe Aryen: Essai sur les sources du racisme et des nationalismes, Paris: Calmann-Lévy. English translation and edition (1974) The Aryan Myth, London: Sussex University Press and Heinemann Educational Books
- POYNTER, Edward John (1879) Ten Lectures on Art, London: Chapman and Hall
- PRICHARD, J. C. (1836-1847, third edition) Researches into the physical history of mankind, 5 vols., London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper
- PRICHARD, J. C. (1857) The Eastern origins of the Celtic nations, London
- QUÉTELET, Lambert Adolphe (1836) Sur l'Homme et le développement de ses Facultés ou Essai de Physique Sociale, 2 vols. in one, Bruxelles: Louis Hauman et Compe
- RAVAISSON, Felix (1904) La Philosophie en France au XIXe siècle, Paris: Hachette
- READ, Benedict (1982) Victorian Sculpture, New Haven and London: Yale University Press
- REYNOLDS, Graham (1960) Catalogue of the Constable Collection: Victoria and Albert Museum, London: HMSO
- REYNOLDS, Simon (1984) The vision of Simeon Solomon, Stroud, Glos.: Catalpa Press Ltd.
- RICHTER, G. M. A. (1959) A Handbook of Greek Art, London: Phaidon
- ROCHET, Andre (1978) Louis Rochet, sculpteur et sinologue, 1813-1878, Paris: Andre Bonne

- ROCHET, Charles (1886) Traité d'Anatomie d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie appliquées aux Beaux-Arts, Paris: Librairie Renouard
- ROWLAND, Benjamin, Jr (1963) The Classical Tradition in Western Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- RUSKIN, John (1900) Lectures on Art, Sunnyside, Orpington and London: George Allen
- SAID, Edward W. (1985) Orientalism, Harmondsworth: Penguin
- SALVAGE, Jean-Galbert (1812) Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant applicable aux beaux-arts, Paris
- SCHADOW, Gottfried (1883, first publ. 1834) Polycletus, transl. from the German by James J. Wright, London: Chapman and Hall Ltd.
- SCRUTON, Roger (1979) The Aesthetics of Architecture, London: Methuen and Co.Ltd.
- SHARPE, James Birch (1818) Elements of Anatomy: Designed for the use of students in the Fine Arts, London: Printed for R. Hunter
- SMITH, Anthony D. (1979) 'The "historical revival" in late Eighteenth-century England and France', Art History vol.2, no.2, pp.156-78
- SMITH, Anthony D. (1983) Theories of Nationalism, London: Duckworth/New York: Harper and Row
- SMITH, Anthony D. (1987) Patriotism and Neo-Classicism: The 'Historical Revival' in French and English Painting and Sculpture, 1746-1800, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London
- SMITH, Anthony D. (1991) National Identity, Harmondsworth: Penguin
- SMITH, Anthony D. (1992) 'Chosen Peoples: Why Ethnic Communities Survive', Ethnic and Racial Studies vol.15, no.3, forthcoming
- SMITH, Charles W. (1979) A Critique of Sociological Reasoning: An Essay in Philosophical Sociology, Oxford: Blackwell
- SMITH, William (ed.) (1856) Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, 2 vols., London: Walton and Maberly and John Murray
- SPENCER, Robin (1972) The Aesthetic Movement: theory and practice, London: Studio Vista

- STOCKING, George W., Jr (1971) 'What's in a Name? The Origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1837-1871)', Man 6
- STONEMAN, Richard (1987) Land of Lost Gods: The Search for Classical Greece, London: Hutchinson
- STORY, William W. (1866) The proportions of the Human Figure according to a new canon, for practical use, with a notice of the canon of Polycletus, London: Chapman and Hall
- SUPER, R. H. (ed.) (1960-77) The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold, 11 vols., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- TAINE, Henri Hippolyte Adolphe (1869) Philosophie de l'Art en Grèce, Paris
- TAINE, Hippolyte (1872) Notes sur l'Angleterre, Paris: Hachette
- TAINE, Hippolyte (1905) Sa Vie et sa Correspondance, Paris: Hachette
- THORNTON, A. P. (1959) The imperial idea and its enemies: a study in British power, London: Macmillan
- TRUDGIAN, Helen (1934) L'esthétique de J. K. Huysmans, Paris: Louis Conard
- TSIGAKOU, Fani-Maria (c.1981) The rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and painters of the romantic era, London: Thames and Hudson
- TURNER, Frank M. (1981) The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain, New Haven and London: Yale University Press
- VANCE, Norman (1985) The sinews of the spirit: The ideal of Christian manliness in Victorian literature and religious thought, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- VAUGHAN, William (1985 first publ.1978) Romantic Art, London: Thames and Hudson
- VAUGHAN, William (1979) German Romanticism and English art, New Haven: Yale University Press
- VINET, Ernest (1873) Catalogue Méthodique de la Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris: École des Beaux-Arts
- VOVELLE, Michel (ed.) (1988) Les Images de la Révolution Française, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne
- WARD-JACKSON, Philip (n.d.) Joris-Karl Huysmans and art, unpublished typescript

- WARNER, Eric and HOUGH, Graham (eds.) (1983) Strangeness and Beauty: An Anthology of Aesthetic Criticism 1840-1910, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- WATTS, Mary S. (1912) George Frederick Watts: The Annals of an Artist's Life, 2 vols
- WEBER, Max (1949) The Methodology of the Social Sciences, transl. and edited by Ed. A. Shils and H. A. Finch, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe
- WEBER, Max (1985) From Max Weber: Essays in sociology, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- WEBER, Max (1989) The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, London: Unwin Hyman
- WEST, W. K. and PANTINI, R. (n.d.) G. F. Watts, London: George Newnes Ltd. and New York: Fredk. Warne and Co.
- WESTMACOTT, Richard (1864) The Schools of Sculpture ancient and modern. Adapted from the essay contributed to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edinburgh
- WESTMACOTT, Richard (1864?) The Diadumenus of the British Museum, considered with reference to the Diadumenus of Polycletus, described by Pliny and Lucian. Read before the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, December 2, 1864, London
- WILDMAN, Stephen (1989) 'Great, Greater ? Greatest ??: Anglo-French Rivalry at The Great Exhibitions of 1851, 1855 and 1862', Journal of the Royal Society of Arts vol.CXXXVII, no.5398, pp.660-664
- WINTLE, Justin (ed.) (1982) Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture 1800-1914, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- WOOD, Christopher (1981) The Pre-Raphaelites, London: Book Club Associates and Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- WOOD, Christopher (1983) Olympian Dreamers: Victorian Classical Painters 1860-1914, London: Constable
- WOOLNER, Amy (1917) Thomas Woolner, R.A.: sculptor and poet, his life and letters, London: Chapman and Hall

- YEOMAN, R. S. (1984) A Catalog of Modern World Coins 1850-1964, Fort Lee, New Jersey: The Coin and Currency Institute, Inc.
- YOUNG, G. M. (1964) Victorian England: Portrait of an Age, London: Oxford University Press

(ii) DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

Unless otherwise indicated, the date stated is the date of publication of the volume referred to in the text

- Biographie Universelle (1856) Paris: Madame C Desplaces et M. Michaud
- Collier's Encyclopedia (1980) London and New York
- Dictionary of American Biography (1936), London: Oxford University Press
- DNB (1975), London: Oxford University Press
- Dictionary of the History of Ideas (1973), New York: Charles Scribner's Sons
- The Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia (1988)
- The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (1967), New York and London: Macmillan
- Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle (1865-c.1876)
Paris: Larousse
- La Grande Encyclopédie (1887-1902?), Paris: Société Anonyme de la Grande Encyclopédie
- Modern English Biography (1965), London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.
- New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967) MacGraw Hill Book Company
- The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge (1908-12), New York
- Nouvelle Biographie Générale (1858), Paris: Firmin Didot frères, fils et Compagnie
- The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology (1988), Harmondsworth: Penguin

(iii) EXHIBITION AND ART SALES CATALOGUES

DIJON AND GRENOBLE: MUSEE DES BEAUX-ARTS DE DIJON & MUSEE DE GRENOBLE (1988-89) Emmanuel Frémiet: 1824-1910, 'La main et le multiple'

LONDON: BARBICAN ART GALLERY (1989) The Last Romantics: The Romantic Tradition in British Art: Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer

LONDON: CHRISTIE'S (29 September 1988) The Nineteenth Century

LONDON: CHRISTIE'S (25 October 1991) Fine Victorian Pictures

LONDON: GEFFRYE MUSEUM (1985) Solomon: A family of painters

LONDON: HAYWARD GALLERY (1975) Burne-Jones

LONDON: HAYWARD GALLERY (1985) Renoir

LONDON AND NOTTINGHAM: NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY & THE IVEAGH BEQUEST, KENWOOD (1991) The Artist's Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty.

LONDON: THE MATTHIESEN GALLERY & BIRMINGHAM CITY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY (1991-92) Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture, 1848-1914

LONDON: PETER NAHUM (1989) Burne-Jones, the Pre-Raphaelites and their century, 2 vols.

LONDON: ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (1833-1880) Catalogue of the exhibition of the Royal Academy

LONDON: ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (1913) Royal Academy Winter Exhibition: Works by the late Sir L. Alma-Tadema

LONDON: ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS & VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM (1972) : The Age of Neo-Classicism

LONDON: ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (1978) Courbet

LONDON: ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (1978) Great Victorian Pictures

LONDON: ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (1984) The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse: European Painters in North Africa and the Near East

LONDON: ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (1986) Reynolds

LONDON: THE TATE GALLERY (1984) The Pre-Raphaelites

MANCHESTER: CITY ART GALLERY (1978) Victorian High Renaissance

MANCHESTER: CITY ART GALLERY (1983) A century of collecting 1882-1982:

A guide to Manchester City Art Galleries

PARIS: GRAND PALAIS (1976) Le Symbolisme en Europe

PARIS: GRAND PALAIS (1983) Manet

PARIS: GRAND PALAIS (1986) La Sculpture Française au XIXe siècle

PARIS: GRAND PALAIS (1988-89) Degas

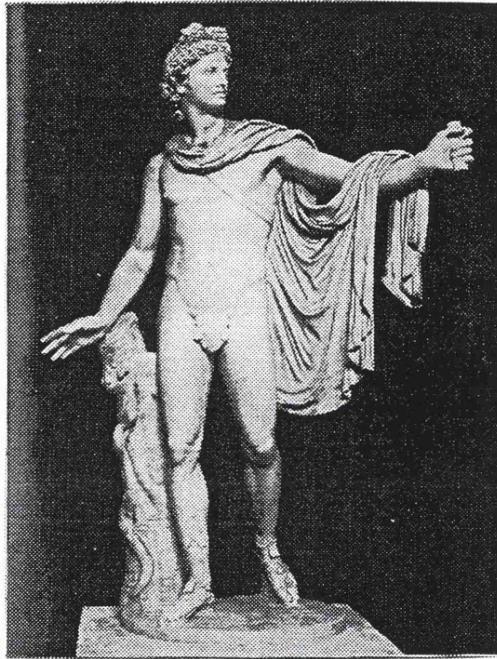
PARIS: MUSÉE DU LOUVRE (1990) Polyptyques: Le tableau multiple du Moyen-Age au vingtième siècle

PARIS: MUSÉE D'ORSAY (1990) Le corps en morceaux

PARIS: MUSÉE DU PETIT-PALAIS (1984) William Bouguereau

PARIS: Salon de... (1833-1880), catalogues of the annual official exhibitions of the work of living artists

ILLUSTRATIONS



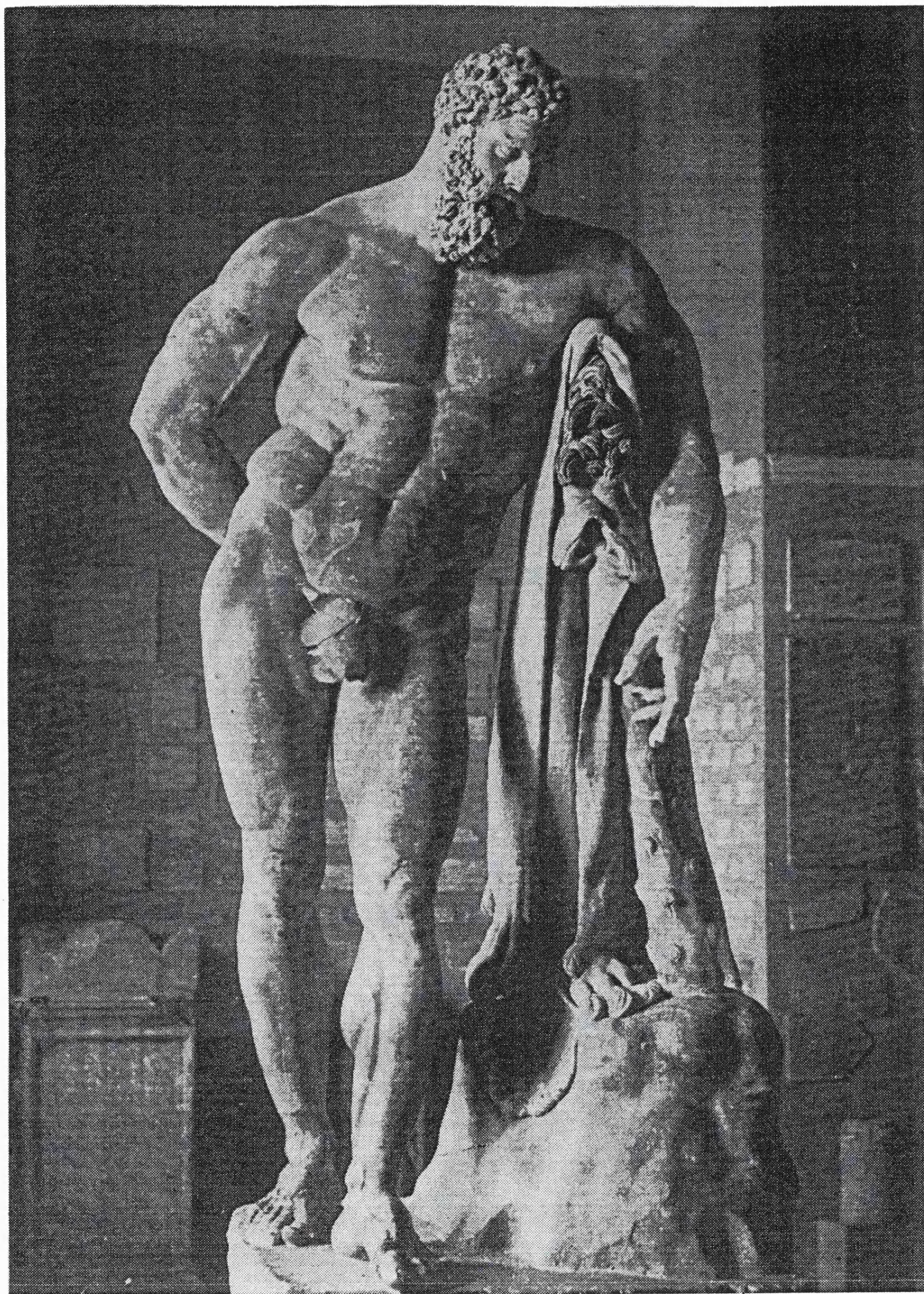
1. Apollo Belvedere



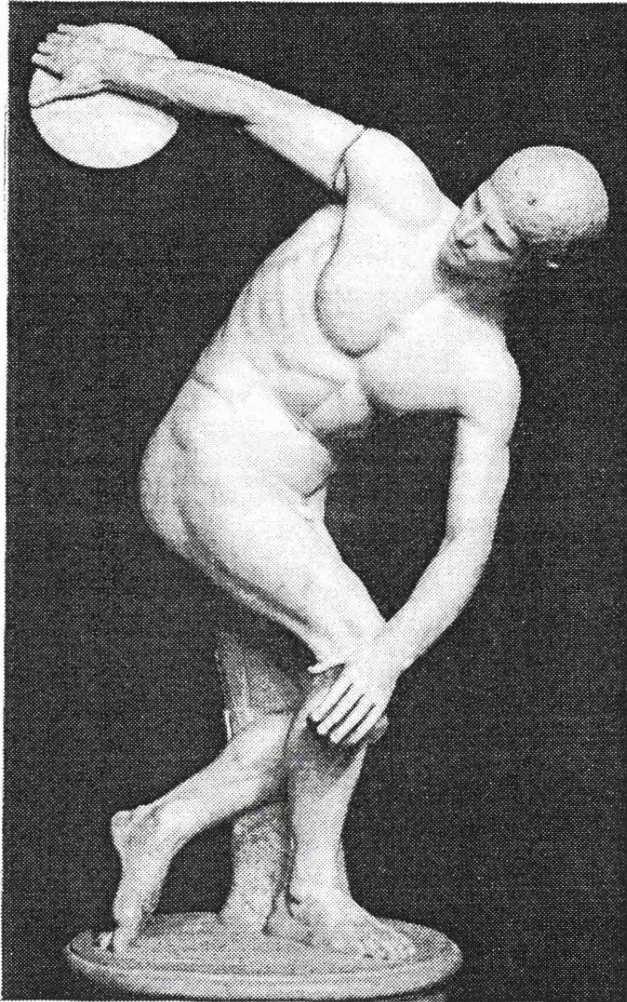
2. Laocöon



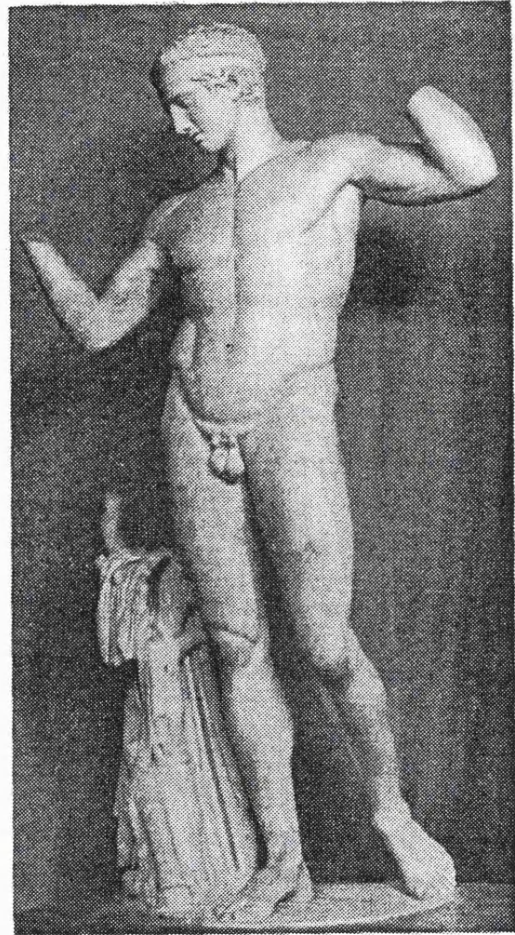
3. Borghese Gladiator



4. Farnese Hercules

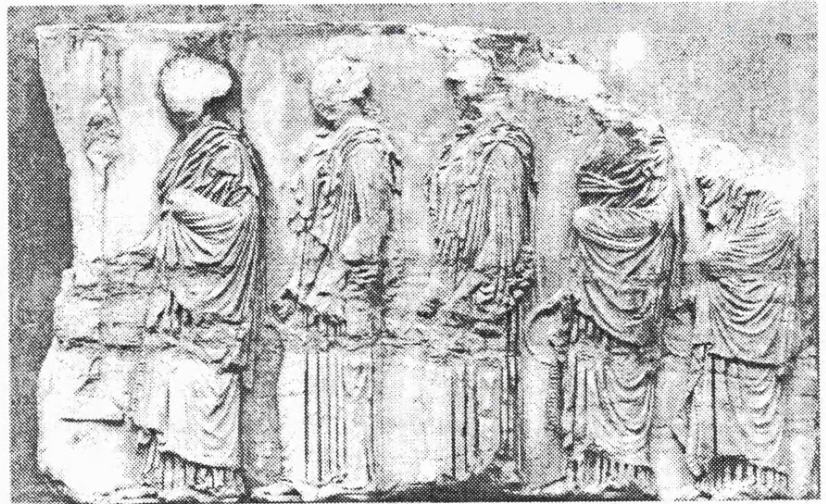


5. Discobolus

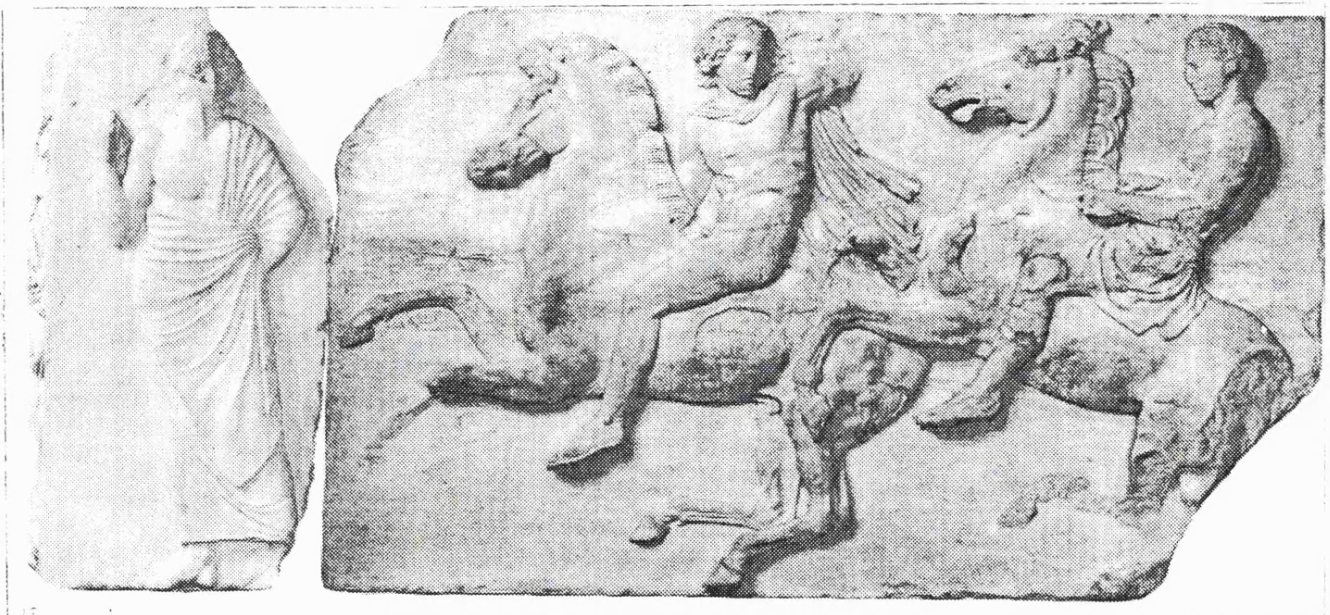
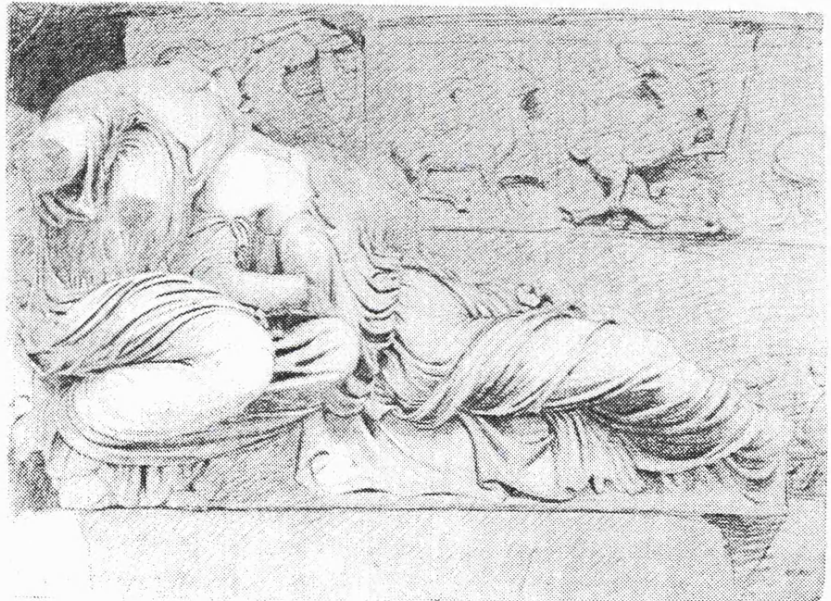


6. Diadumenus

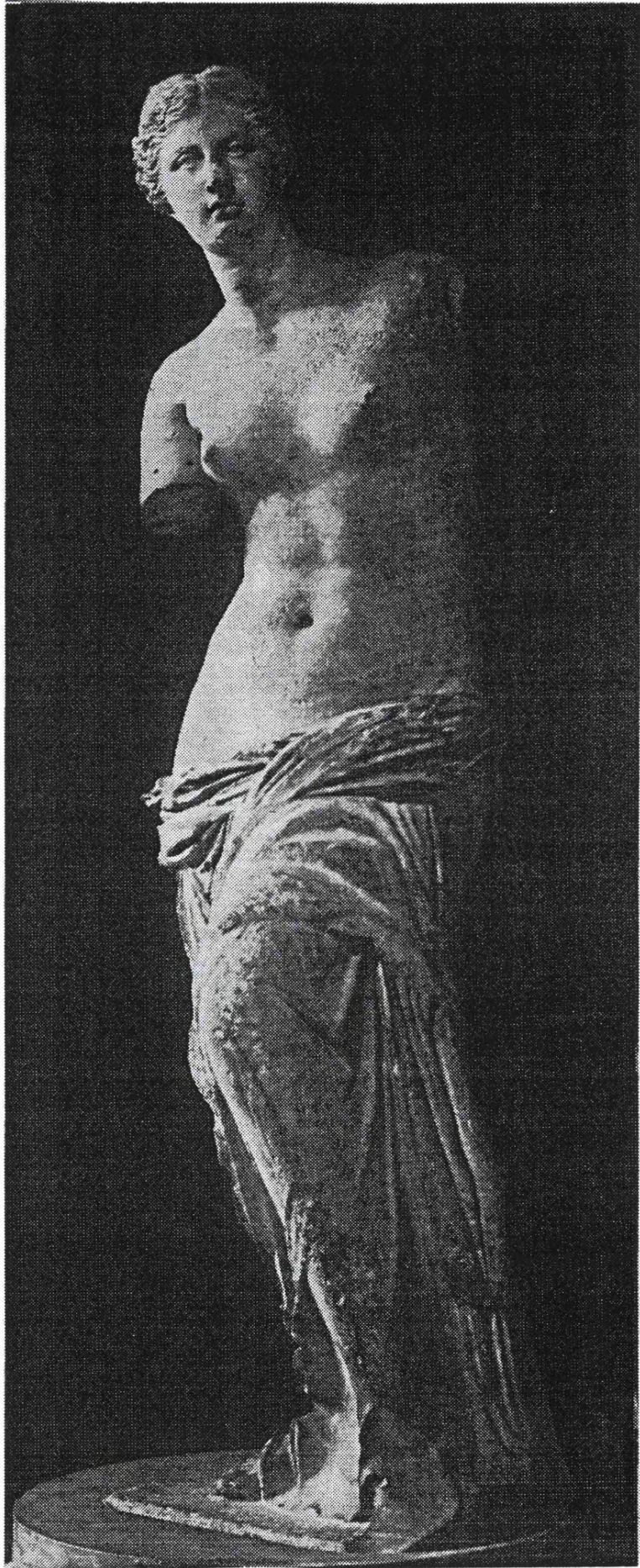
7. Parthenon Maidens



8. Parthenon Fates



9. Parthenon Horsemen



10. Venus de Milo

never in woman. This Canova forgot when he sculptured his Paris, forgetting to mark upon the brow that groove seen even in the Apollo, in the young Bacchus, in the young Hercules, characteristic of puberty and of manhood. The Paris, then, of Canova leaves the observer doubtful of its sex: no antique sculptor ever committed this error. He wished to make Paris beautiful, forgetting that, although beautiful, he was also a man; and he carved a figure which has been taken for a Minerva.

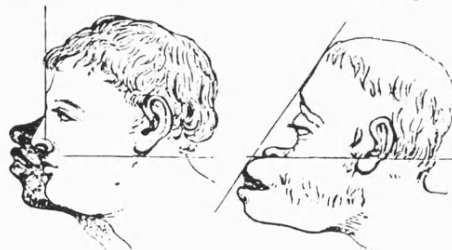
Of the skeleton of the face* I need say little or nothing; it bears no resemblance to the living face: it is its antithesis. Draw it to learn to avoid it; the malar or cheek-bones, so prominent in the dark races of men; the upper maxillary bones, so large also in them; the lower jaw-bone, with its symphysis, angles, and condyles, and coracoid processes, for the attachment of the temporal muscles.

Before considering more in detail the remainder of the skeleton, it may be as well to offer you a few remarks on the skeleton of the head, with a reference to its characteristic differences in individuals and in races.

Camper, an ingenious and observing man, a good artist, though no great anatomist, was the first to remark, that if to the outline of the noble antique face, as transmitted to us by the Greeks, two lines be applied—one running through the external meatus of the temporal bone forwards until it passes and projects beyond the incisive teeth of the upper jaw; the second line descending from the forehead, and so intersecting the first immediately in front of the maxillary bone,—these lines at these points of intersection would form an angle, which, in the antique figures of Greece, would

* See Figure, p. 27.

prove generally to be a right-angle; in the modern European, an angle varying from 80° or even 75° to 85° ; in the negro and dark races of men generally the angle descends to 70° , and even lower. Having once

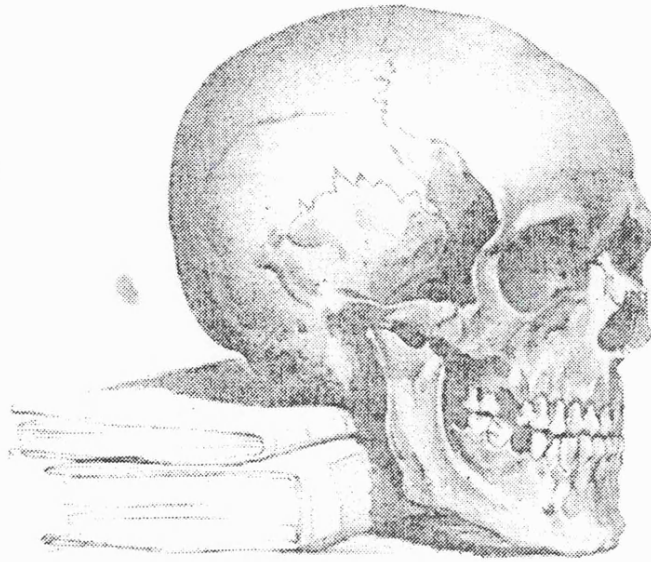


Facial angle, copied from Camper's works.

caught the idea that, somehow or other, this retiring and diminishing angle in the lower races of men marked their decreasing intellectual powers, Camper, as a man of genius, naturally did not stop here. He extended his idea throughout the organic world: from the Apollo to the negro; the ourang and chimpanzee followed; then the quadruped, the bird, reptile; last of all come fishes, whose jaws are in the inverse ratio of their intellectual organ, the brain. This was Camper's idea seemingly: when the brain is large, the face and organs of sense are small, and *vice versa*; therefore, the ratio of intellect and of brain to the face and organs of sense is directly the inverse. I give you here a copy of Camper's figures, as found in his works. M. Gerdy has pointed out that they have been much misrepresented, and, I think, much misunderstood, especially by those who fancy that Camper really meant his idea to be taken up in a philosophic sense, and made the subject of a strict mathematical demonstration. In a

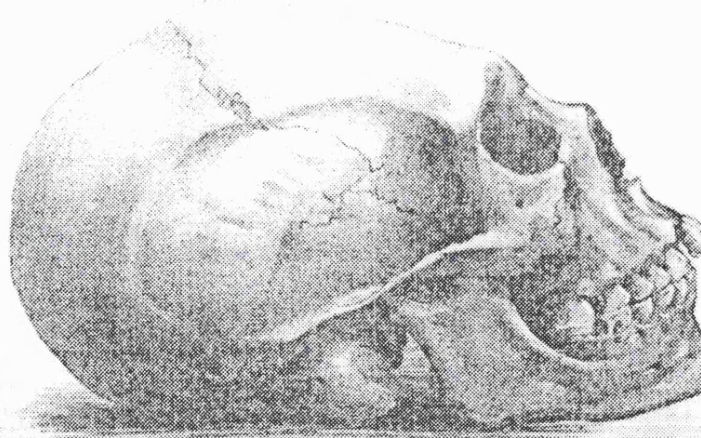
11. Camper's classification of the human races

Fig. 1.



A Greek.

Fig. 2.



Elongated Skull from Titicaca.

12. The Greek skull

honest and straightforward man, he will point to the fire-arms suspended over the mantelpiece—"There is my right!" The statesmen of modern Europe manage such matters differently; they arrive, it is true, at the same result—robbery, plunder, seizure of the lands of others—but they do it by treaties, protocols, alliances, and first principles.



[*The modern Greek and the Muscovite, or Sarmatian; both of the Caucasian race! Mark their resemblance.*]

When the word race, as applied to man, is spoken of, the English mind wanders immediately to distant countries; to Negroes and Hottentots, Red Indians and savages. He admits that there are people who differ a good deal from us, but not in Europe; there, mankind are clearly of one family. It is the Caucasian race, says one; it is the primitive race, says another. But the object of this work is to show that the European races, so called, differ from each other as widely as the Negro does from the Bushman; the Caffre from

13. The modern Greek profile

strut and swagger, that is to say, a theatrical manner. Most actors fall into this artistic manner, for an obvious reason. The very figure of such actors, though used by most artists, is highly objectionable. The student ought never to draw such figures, nor study the attitudes of second-rate actors. To assist in forming his taste, I venture to recommend to him to improve his knowledge of what his own joints can do and what they cannot do. First comes truth, and next taste. Visit the Elgin Gallery in the Museum, look over the hundreds of figures which, of all sizes, decorated the frieze of the Parthenon, and you will not find amongst them a single theatrical or vulgar attitude. All is elegance and ease, all beauty and truth.



Drawing of a section of the Frieze of the Parthenon.
Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths.

The artist or artists, it is true, who carved these immortal figures knew nothing of the dead anatomy, but

it so; but they had deeply studied and knew well the living anatomy, which you have but few opportunities of studying, and even if you had, it were well to know the *reasons* (and they are anatomical and physical, of course) why such and such a joint cannot be made to assume an impossible attitude. The ancients knew as well as we do *the fact* that water can only rise to a certain height in a pump-well; but they knew not the *cause*. Herein then the modern world has the advantage; it has added *science to matters of fact*, changing empiricism into rational theory. It is by theory alone that the human mind can hope to make progress; by science alone that we, the young world, as we call ourselves, though in reality the old, can hope to surpass the comparatively young world of Homer and Phidias, of Amenoph and Brama, of Euclid and Euripides. Their powers of observation were at the least equal to ours; their love of truth, of the beautiful and the perfect, was equalled only by their capacity for perceiving these *grand qualities* in nature; their genius, their instinctive minds were no doubt greater than ours; their reasoning powers not inferior. But science was then in its infancy—science which tends to and hopes to explain all things, from the origin of life in this world to the formation of man. To explain what the ancients understood empirically, in other words, to apply science or theory to these, the divine remains of antiquity, to reconcile facts with theory, or theory with facts, is the main object of this work.

The forearm, besides its motions on the arm of inflexion and extension, rotates upon its axis, and in doing so, carries the hand with it. This is effected by means of the radius bone; its articulation, then, with the hu-

longs more properly to Part II. of this work, it may be as well to advert to it here. In drawing the skeleton articulated, the artistic student may unhappily imagine that he is acquiring a just idea of the exterior and of the contour of the living frame; and he will be told this by persons unhappily still connected with and influencing his education. He will be told that he must generally, in his great pictures, draw the skeleton figure first, clothing it afterwards with its drapery of flesh and skin. But no idea can be more incorrect than this. Neither will he ever obtain a *fin* contour from a bony figure; the drapery spread over the bony figure or skeleton bears no resemblance to that which clothes the living form.

After completing the studies I have pointed out in this Part, the student should next proceed to draw the great contour of the body. The signification of these contours I reserve for the following sections; a word or two will suffice here.

Study and analyse the masses; no geometrical method will answer.* Draw the outlines frequently from the antique, attend not at present to what they mean; all this will be explained immediately. View and draw the outline in front, in profile, and at the back; all are beautiful in the fine figure.

Next let the student observe the varying colour of the



The Venus de Medici.

* Mr. Hay's attempt, although a failure, is the most ingenious.

capit to the back, the hollow of the neck thus disappearing, as it were, in consequence of the vast strength of the deep muscles. The head is set into the top of the column, as if it were merely the cap-



Head and Neck of the Young Athlete.

stone or rounded termination of it, and not a part distinct. This gives to the head that bold look of defiance which characterises the athlete, whether he be a strong man or not. It is the mental character and the forms indicating that character, not the absolute strength or size of muscles, which distinguish

the athlete amongst all other men. In the young athlete the neck, therefore, is handsome; with age the markings of the muscles and other internal structures show themselves as in other persons, and the neck becomes unsightly. The changes effected in the forms of the neck by its varied movements must be studied in the living body. In strong action the elevations due to the muscular masses swell more and more; the tendinous structures and bones remain unaltered.

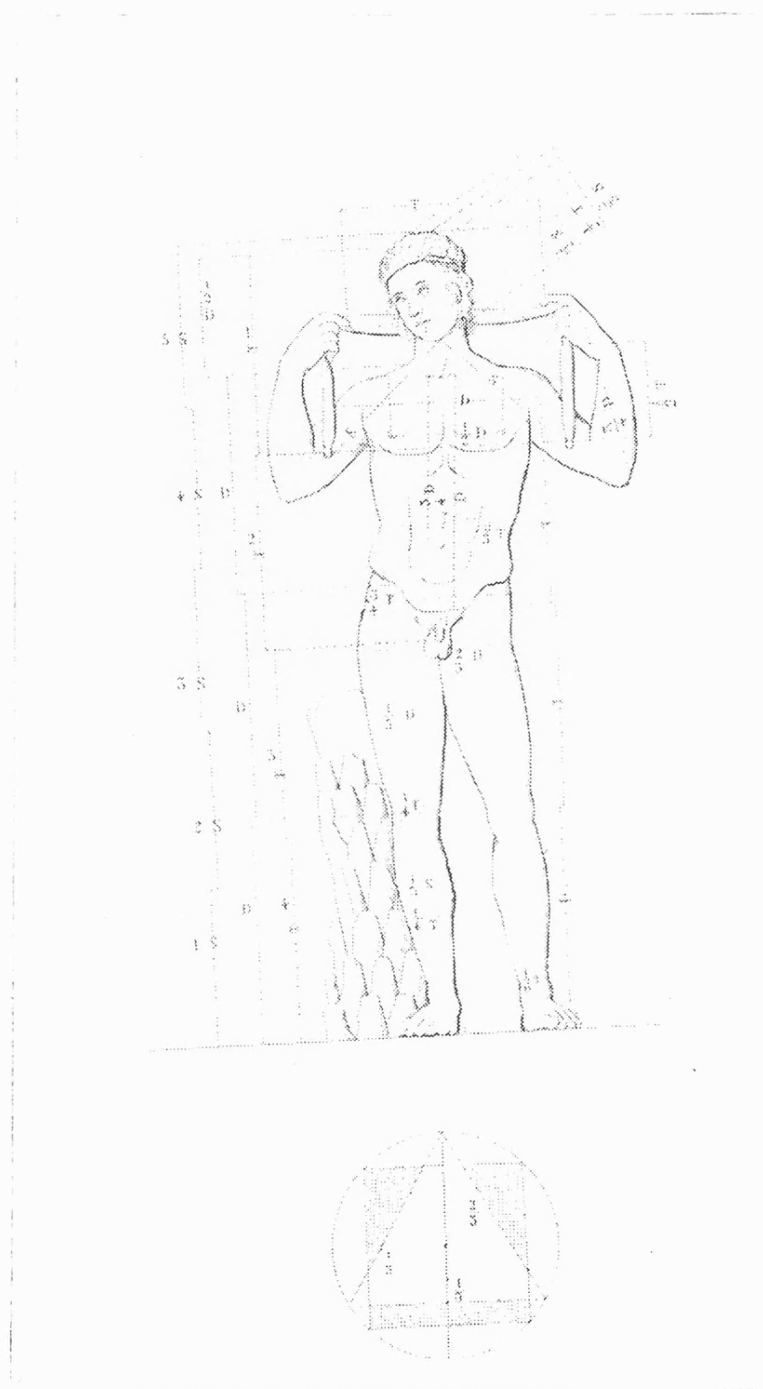
EXTERNAL FORMS OF THE TORSO OR TRUNK.

The trunk is composed of the chest, the abdomen, and the pelvis. The artist views these great divisions as one, calling it the torso. Recollecting what I have said with reference to the division of the external forms in the head and neck, with reference to the individual, I shall at once proceed with those forms we meet with in the finely-formed woman, next in those of the well-made man, then in youth and age, lastly, in the athlete. I take it for granted that the student, whilst reading this chapter, has before him either the living model or a cast of the *Venus of Melos* or of some other antique *Venus*.

In the mental line, and just below the sternal fœctæ, commences the sternal furrow, *s. s.** this furrow extends to the pit or hollow of the stomach. The furrow is caused by elevations on each side, which depend on the strength of the pectoral muscles and fullness of the bosom; the bone forming the base of the hollow is the breast-bone. The hollow of the stomach is in woman a soft cavity caused by the prominence of the cartilage of the seventh rib and adjoining hard structures. Here the sternal or mesial furrow resumes its course down-

* See Woodcut, p. 106.

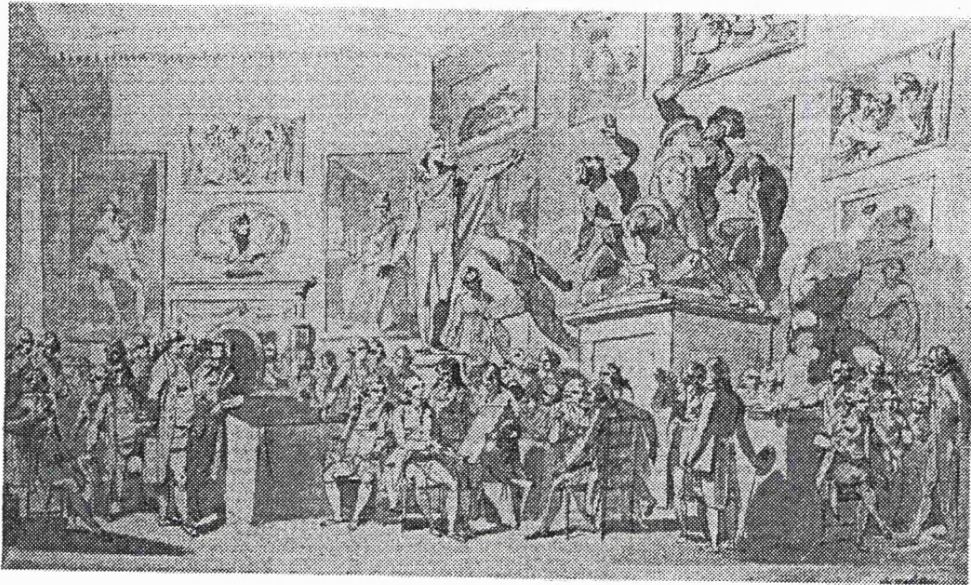
14. The body of the ancient Greeks: the hero, the woman and the athlete



15. The perfect man: Polycletus' young athlete



16. Palais des Etudes, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris

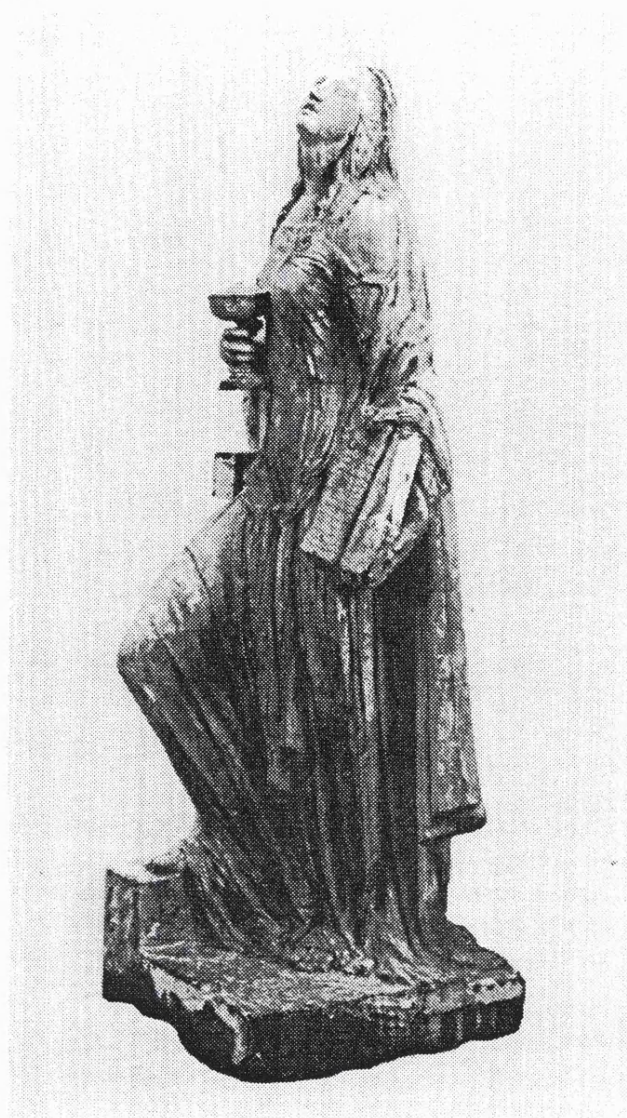


17. The Royal Academy, London



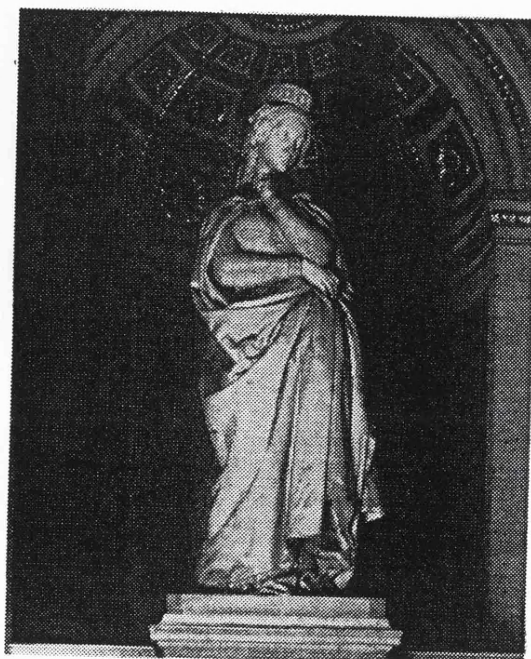
Cat 135

18. MOINE, L'Esperance, 1836

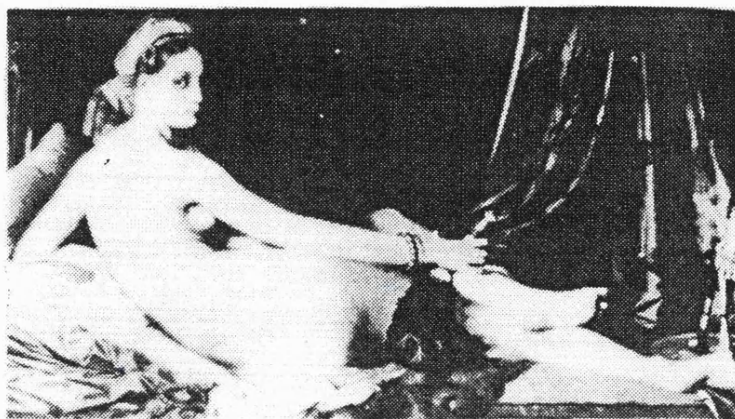


Cat 136

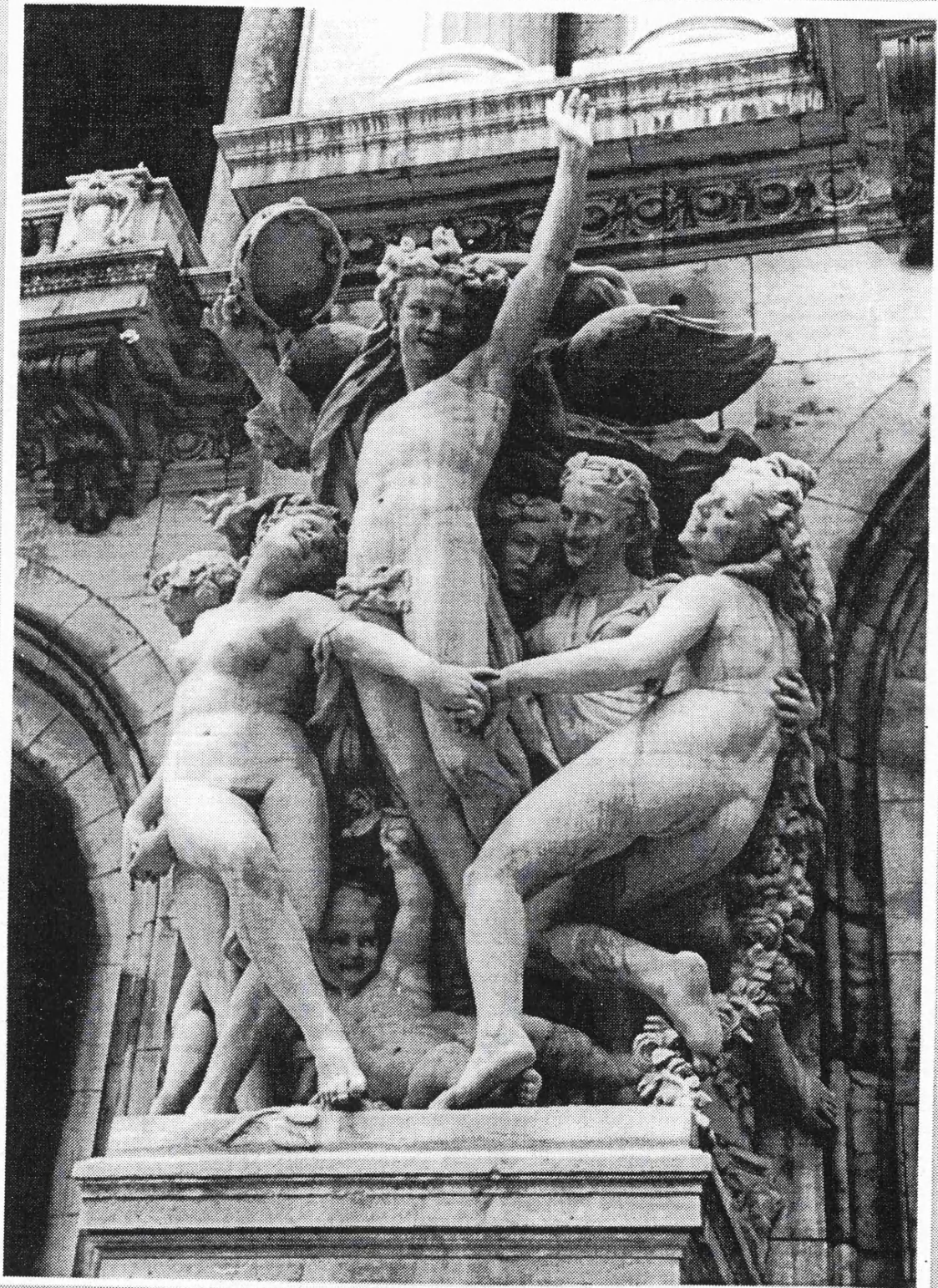
19. MOINE, La Foi, 1836



20. BARYE, Ste Clothilde,
1835-1842



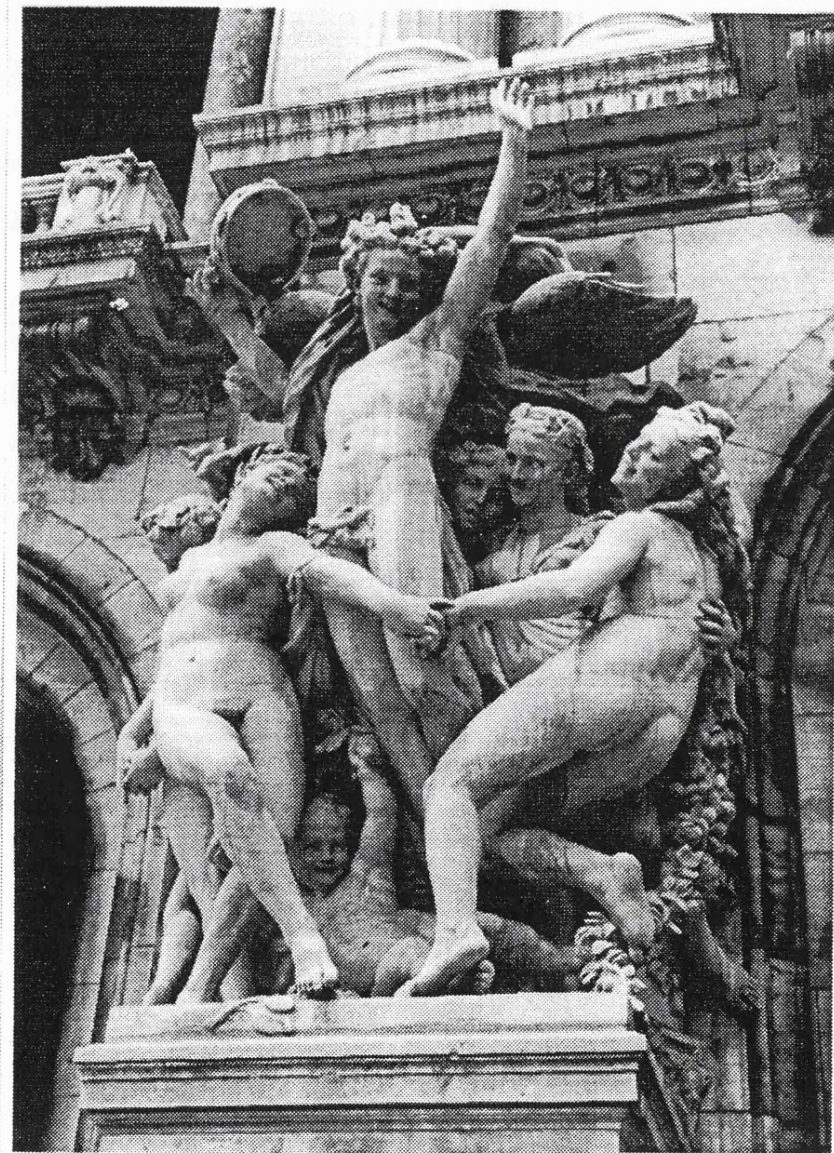
21. INGRES, *La Grande Odalisque*, 1814



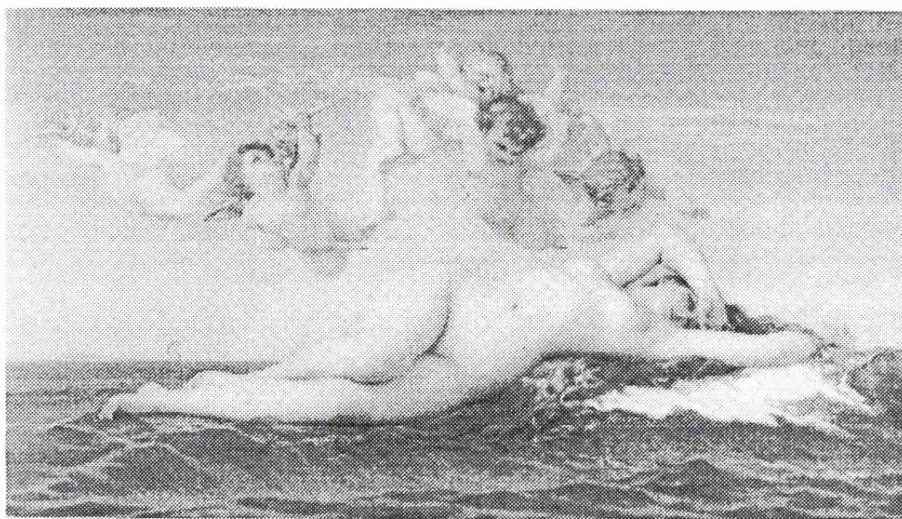
22. CARPEAUX, La Danse,
1869



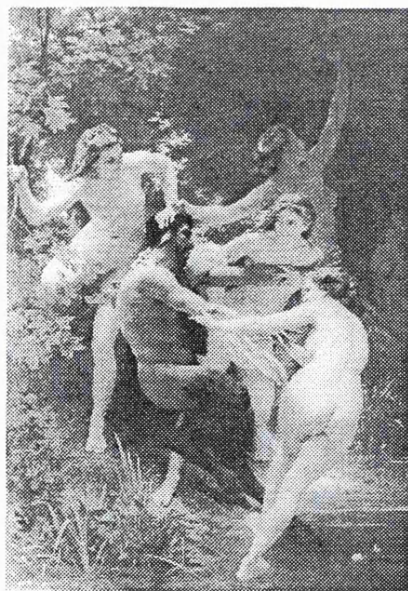
22a. PAPETY, *The Temptation of S. Hilarion*, 1844



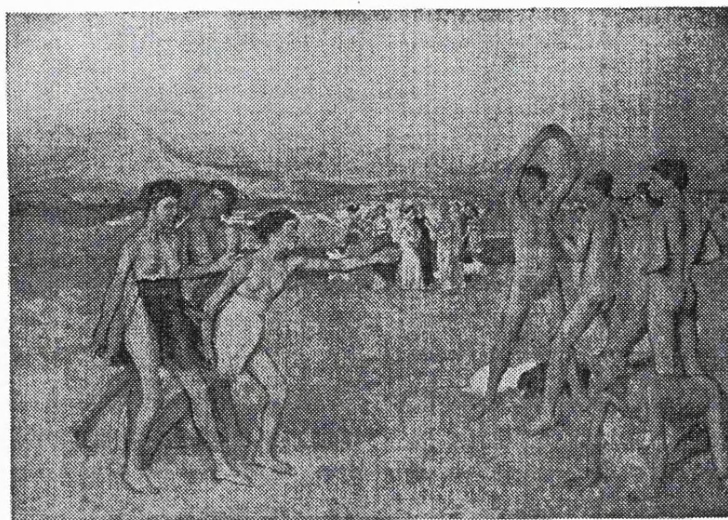
22b. CARPEAUX, *La Danse*, 1869



23. CABANEL, La naissance de Venus, 1863



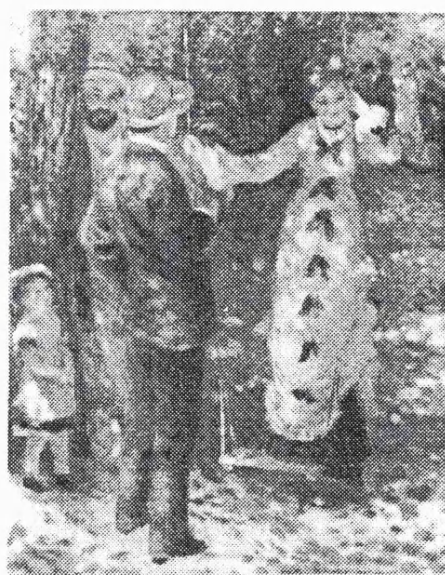
24. BOUGUEREAU, Nymphes et satyre, 1873



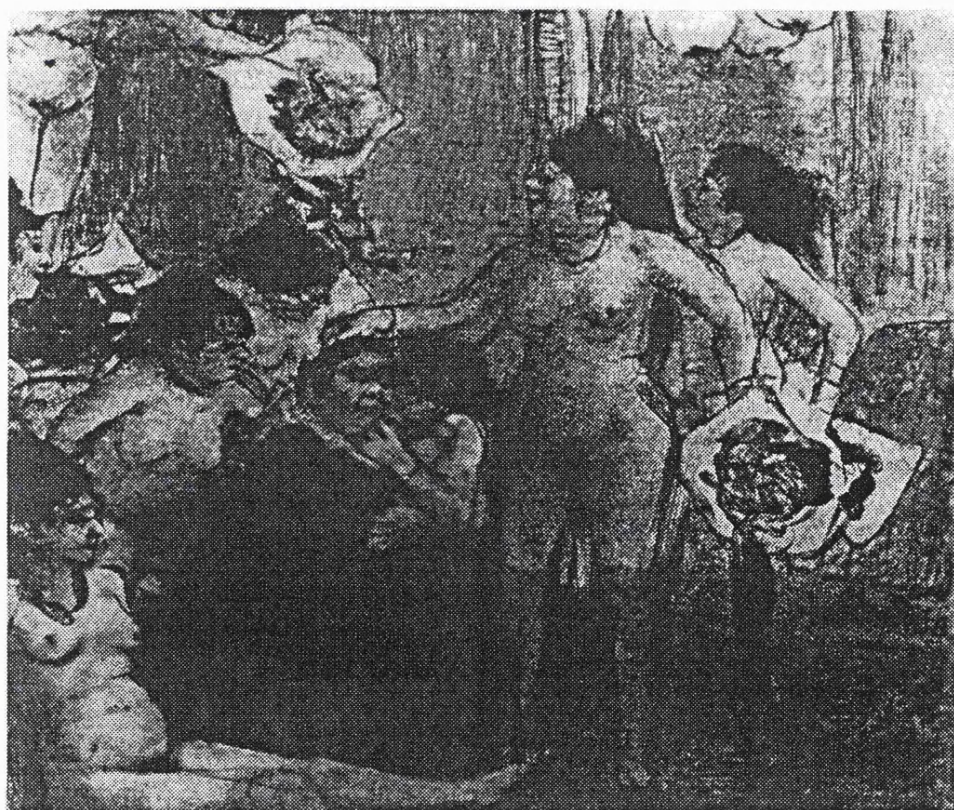
25. DEGAS, *Petites filles spartiates provoquant des garçons*, c.1860-62



26. DEGAS, *Three Dancers*, 1880



27. RENOIR, *La Balancoire*, 1876



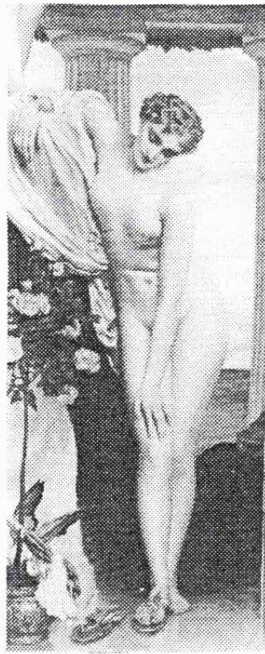
28. DEGAS, *La fete de la patronne*, 1876-77



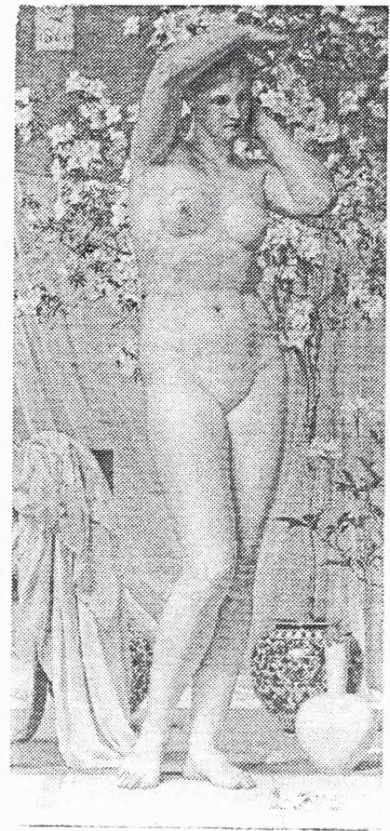
29. GIBSON, Venus and Cupid
1833?



30. Rossetti, Venus Verticordia, 1864-68



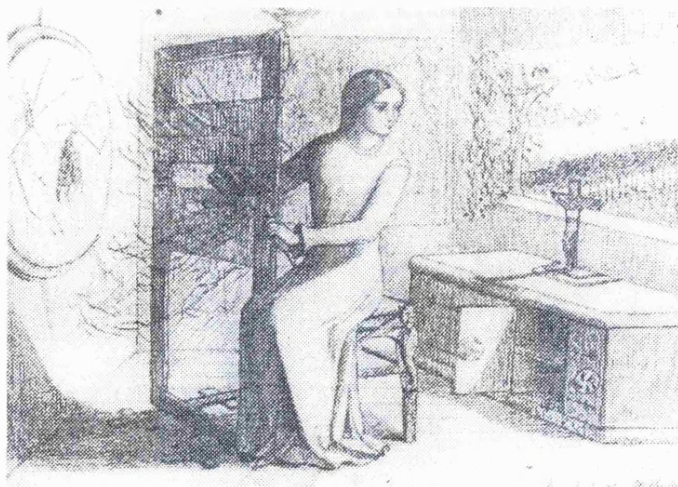
31. LEIGHTON, Venus disrobing..., 1867



32. MOORE, A Venus, 1869



33. BURNE-JONES, Laus Veneris, 1873-78



34. SIDDAL, *The Lady of Shalott*, 1853



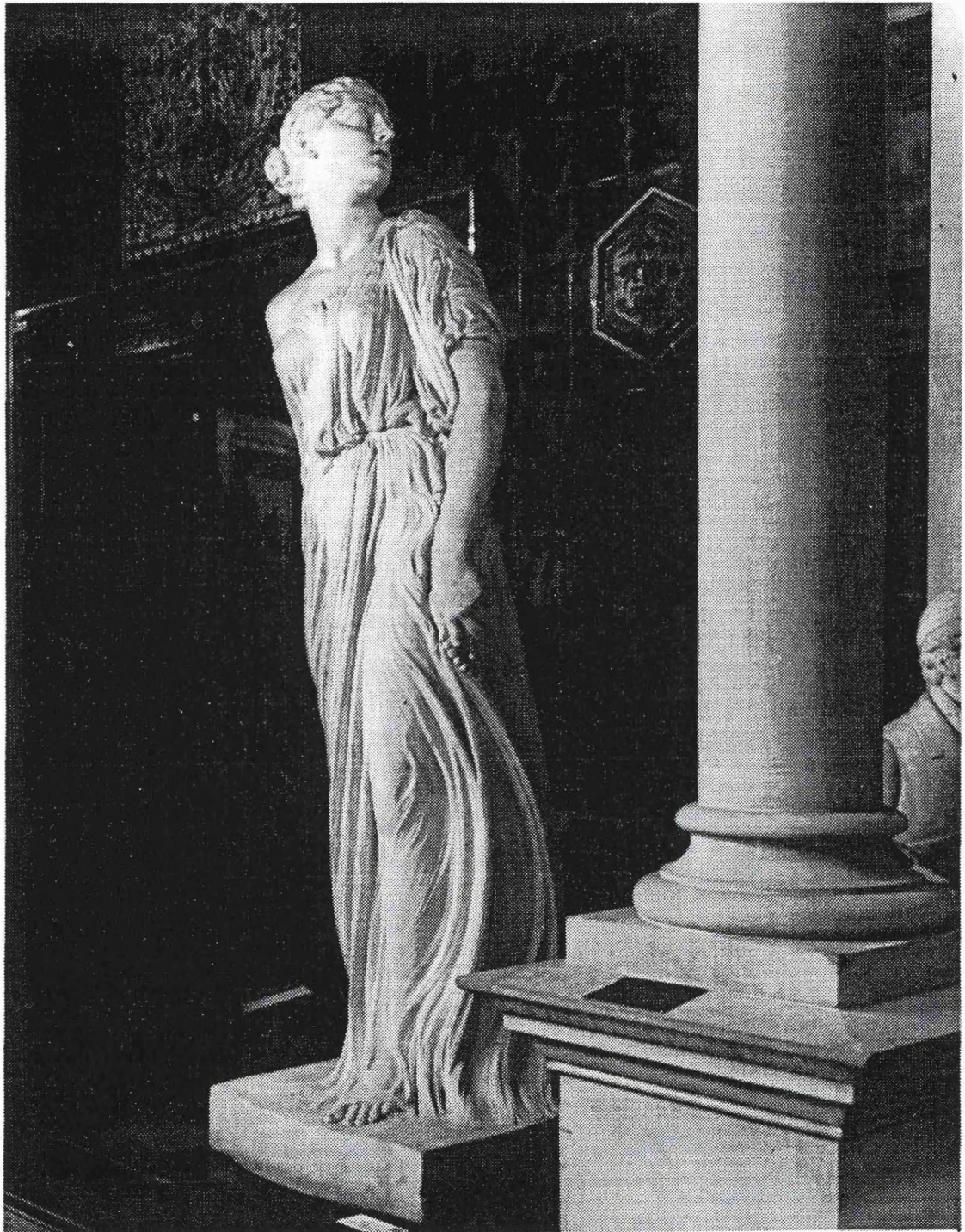
35. STANHOPE, *Penelope*, 1864



36. WATTS, Clytie, 1868



37. POYNTER, Diadumene, 1885



38. THORNYCROFT, Lot's
Wife, 1878



39. SOLOMON, *Bacchus*, 1867



*Perseus and Andromeda (p. 136). By Sir E. F. Poynter, P.R.A.
In the Collection of Lord Wharfedale.*

40. POYNTER, Perseus and Andromeda,
1872

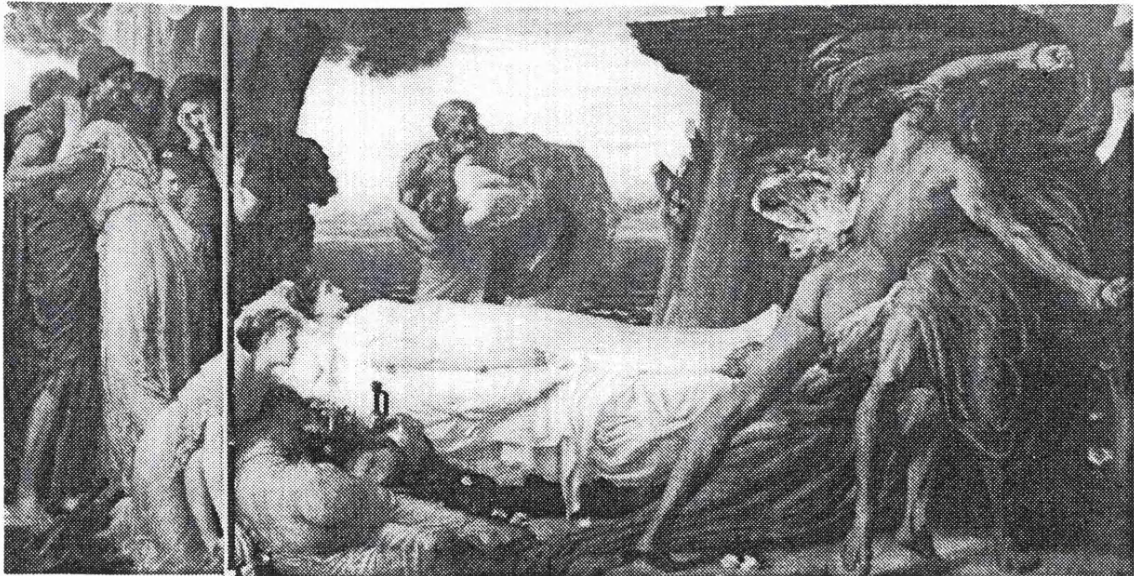


*The Fight between More of More Hall and the Dragon of Wantley (p. 13). By Sir E. F. Poynter, P.R.A.
In the Collection of Lord Wharfedale.*

41. POYNTER, Fight between More
of More Hall and the Dragon
of Wantley, 1873



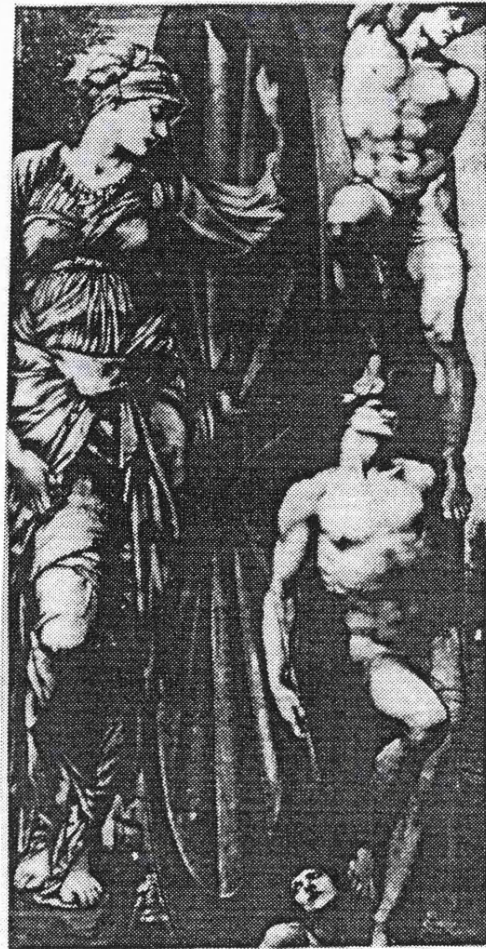
42. Borghese Gladiator (reverse)



43. LEIGHTON, Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis, 1869-71



44. MAITRE DE COETIVY, "De Consolatione Philosophiae", c.1460-70



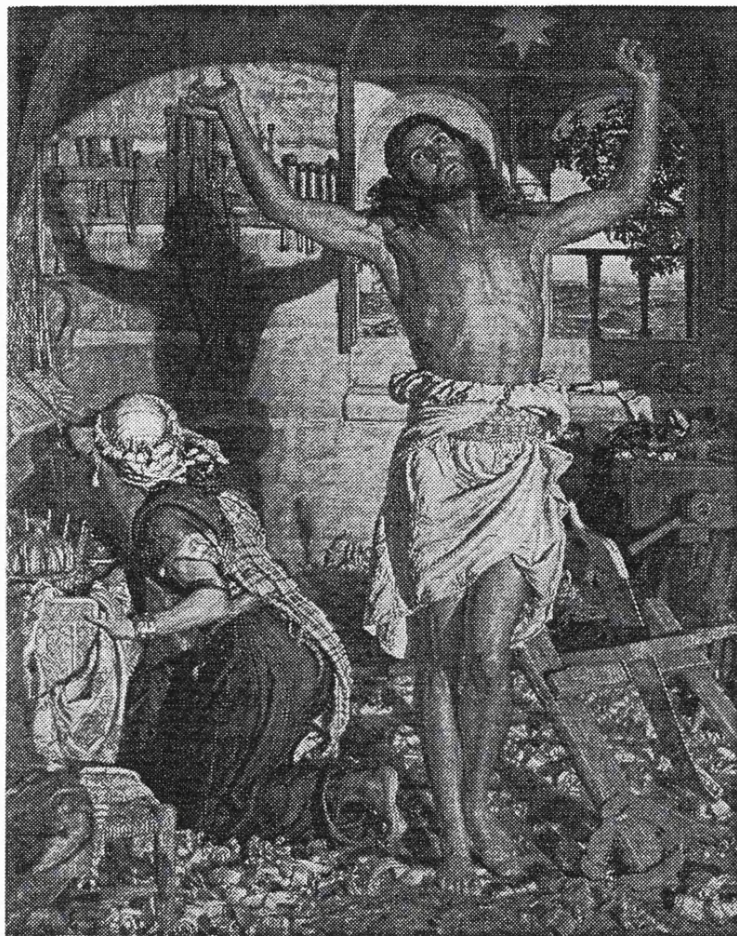
45. BURNE-JONES, The Wheel of Fortune, 1875-83



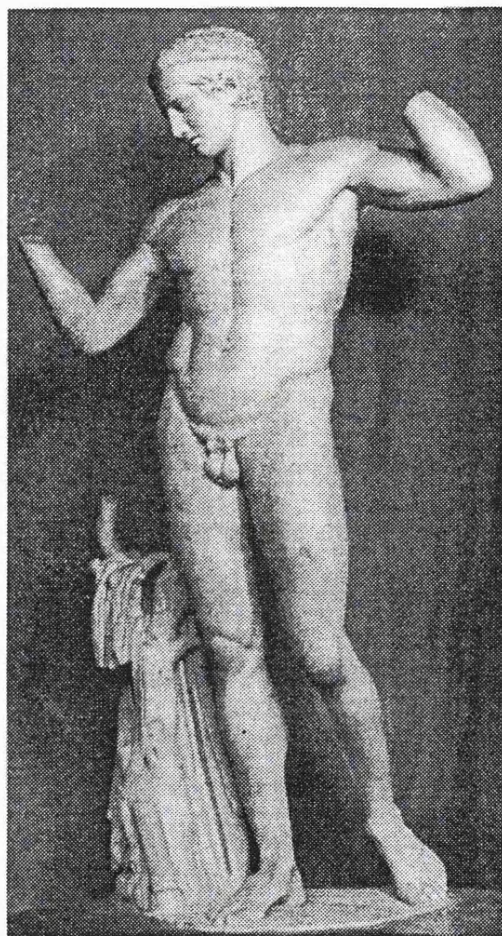
46. ROSSETTI & SIDDAL, *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, c.1855-57



47. E. DE MORGAN, *The Angel with the Serpent*, c.1881-1890



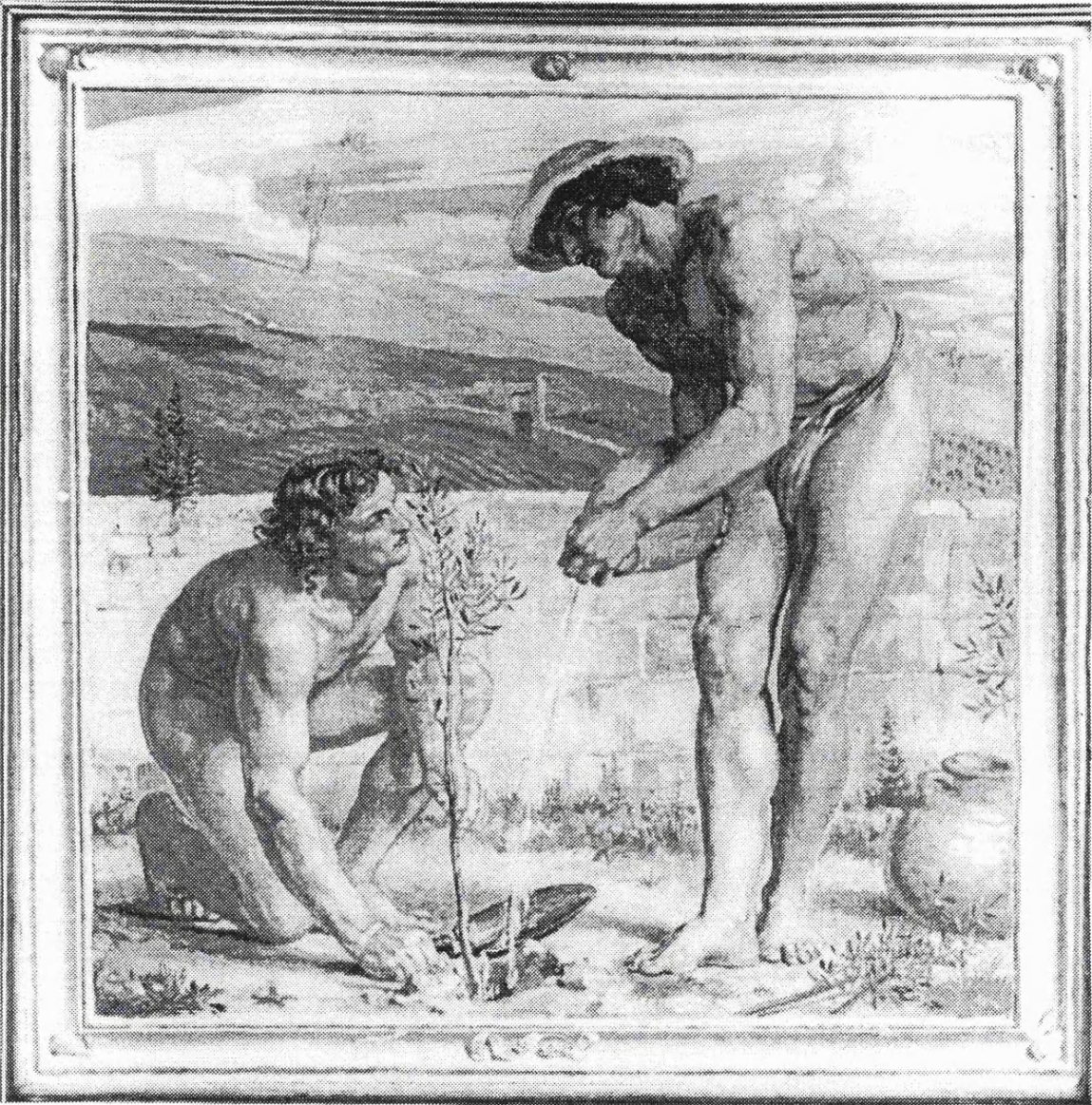
48. HUNT, *The Shadow of Death*, 1870-73



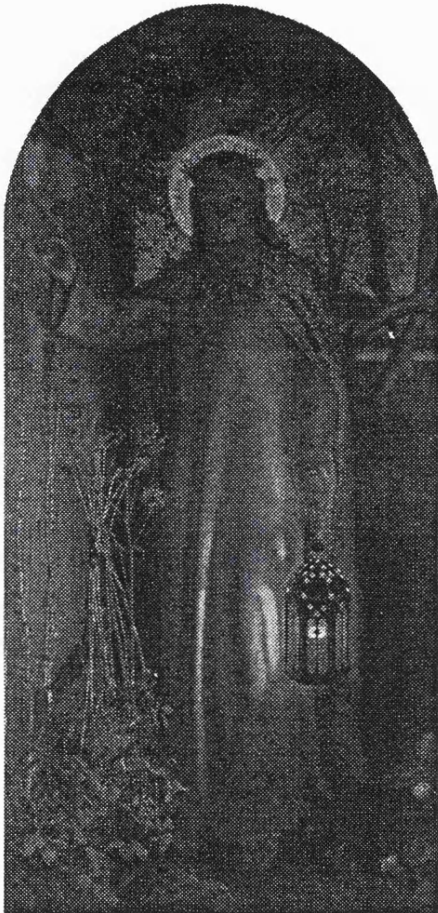
49. *Diadumenus*



50. HUNT, *The Light of the World*, 1854



51. POYNTER,
Paul and Apollos,
1872



52. HUNT, *The Light of the World*, 1854



53. POYNTER, *Paul and Apollos*, 187



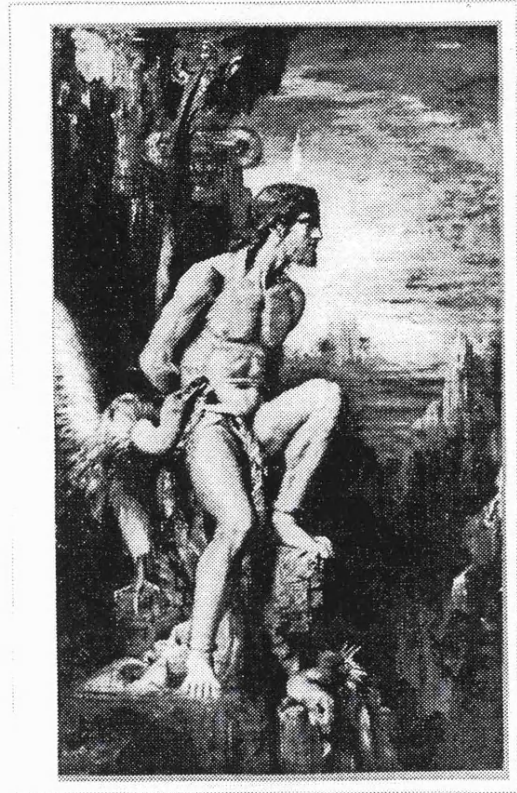
54. CARRIER-BELLEUSE,
Prometheus, 1851



55. MOREAU, Promethee,
1869



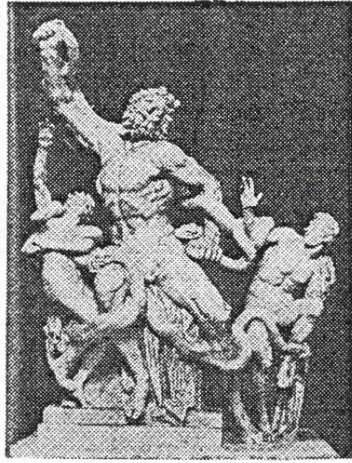
56. BOUGUEREAU, *Pieta*, 1876



57. MOREAU, *Promethee*, 1868



58. LEIGHTON,
An Athlete Struggling
with a Python,
1877



59. Laocöon



60. LEIGHTON, An Athlete Struggling with a Python, 1877



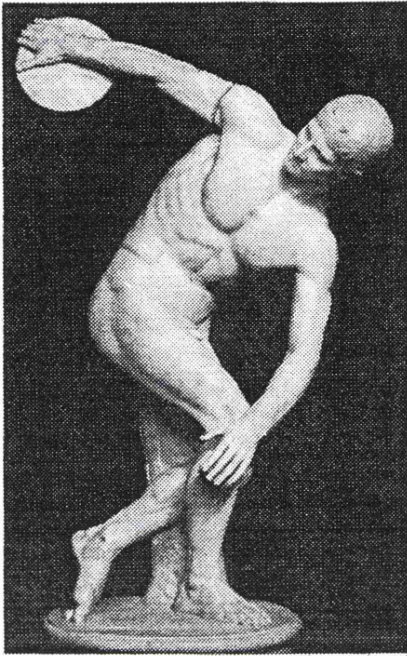
61. E DE MORGAN, The Angel with the Serpent, c.1881-1890



62. THORNYCROFT, Courage, 1905



63. CAUER, An Olympian
Victor thanking the
Gods, 1869



64. Discobolus



65. ANREP, Football, 1929



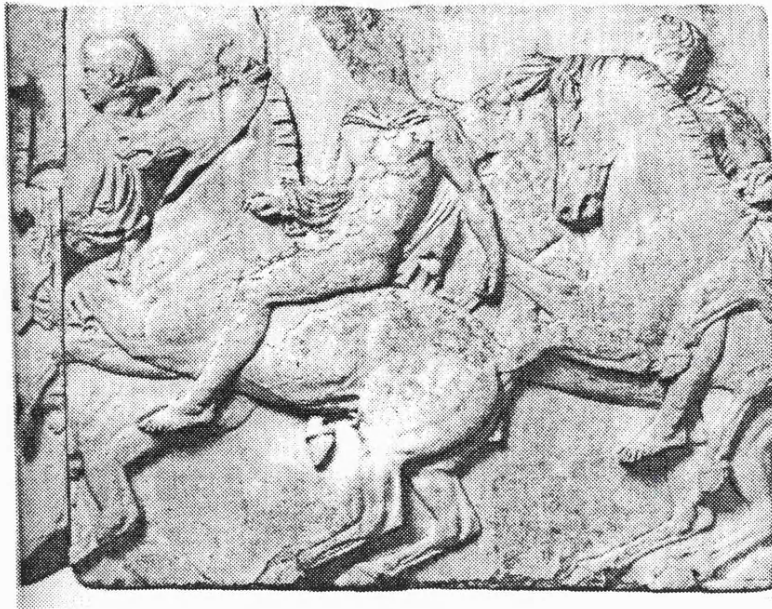
66. POYNTER, Nausicaa and her
Maidens playing Ball,
1878



67. Photograph of Leighton's model Dorothy Dene in classical dress



68. LEIGHTON, Self-portrait as President of the Royal Academy,
1881



69. Parthenon Horsemen

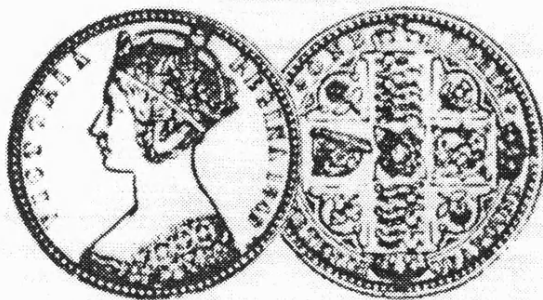


Pattern Crown, 1817.

70. PISTRUCCI, St George, & Dragon, 1817

B. Gothic Types

Silver



1 Florin 1849

20.00 75.00 150.00

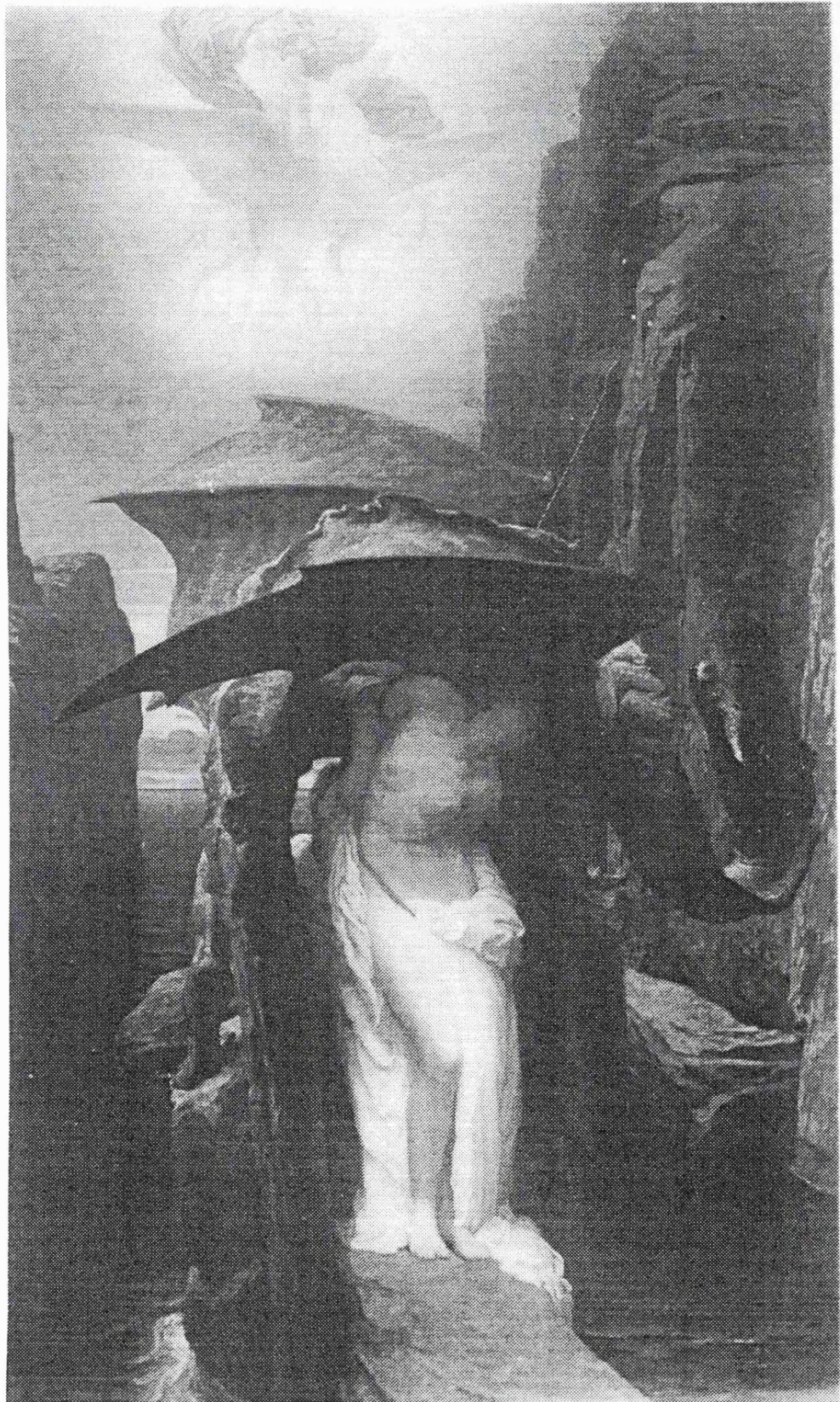
71. Design for the Silver Florin, 1849

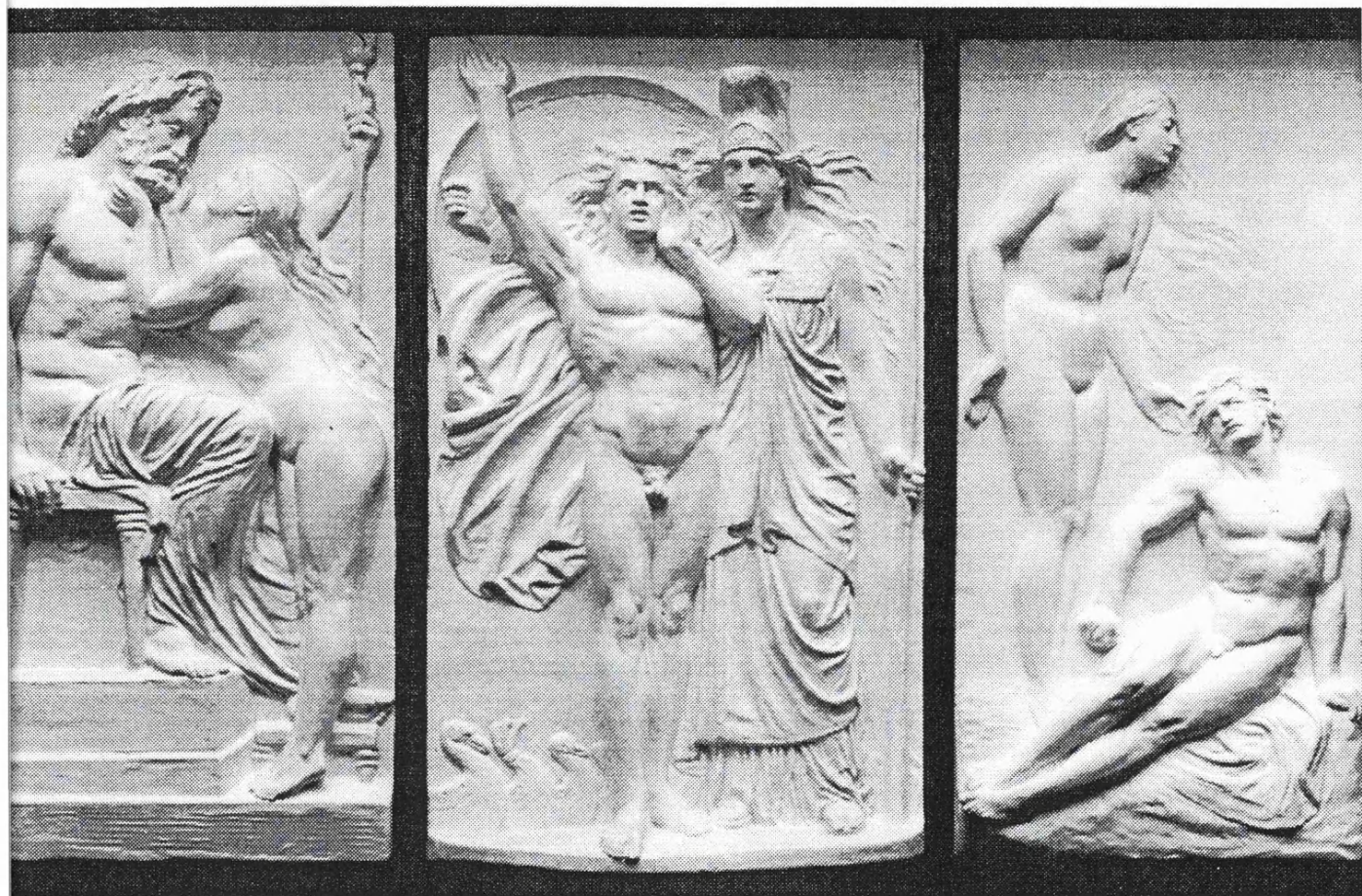


72. Pistrucci's revived design of St George and Dragon

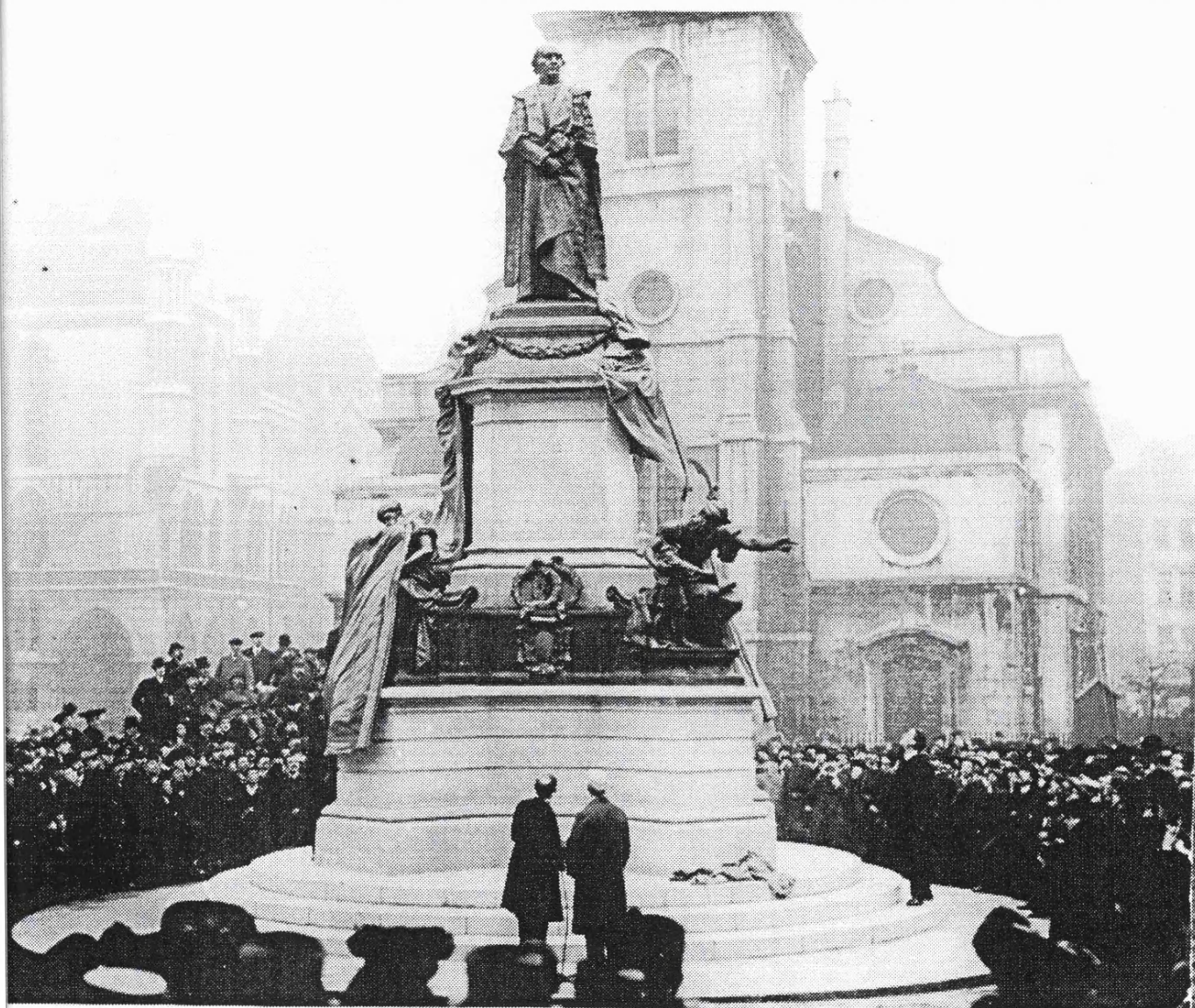
Proofs were struck only in 1893.

73. LEIGHTON,
Perseus and
Andromeda,
1891





74. WOOLNER, Reliefs from
the Iliad, 1868



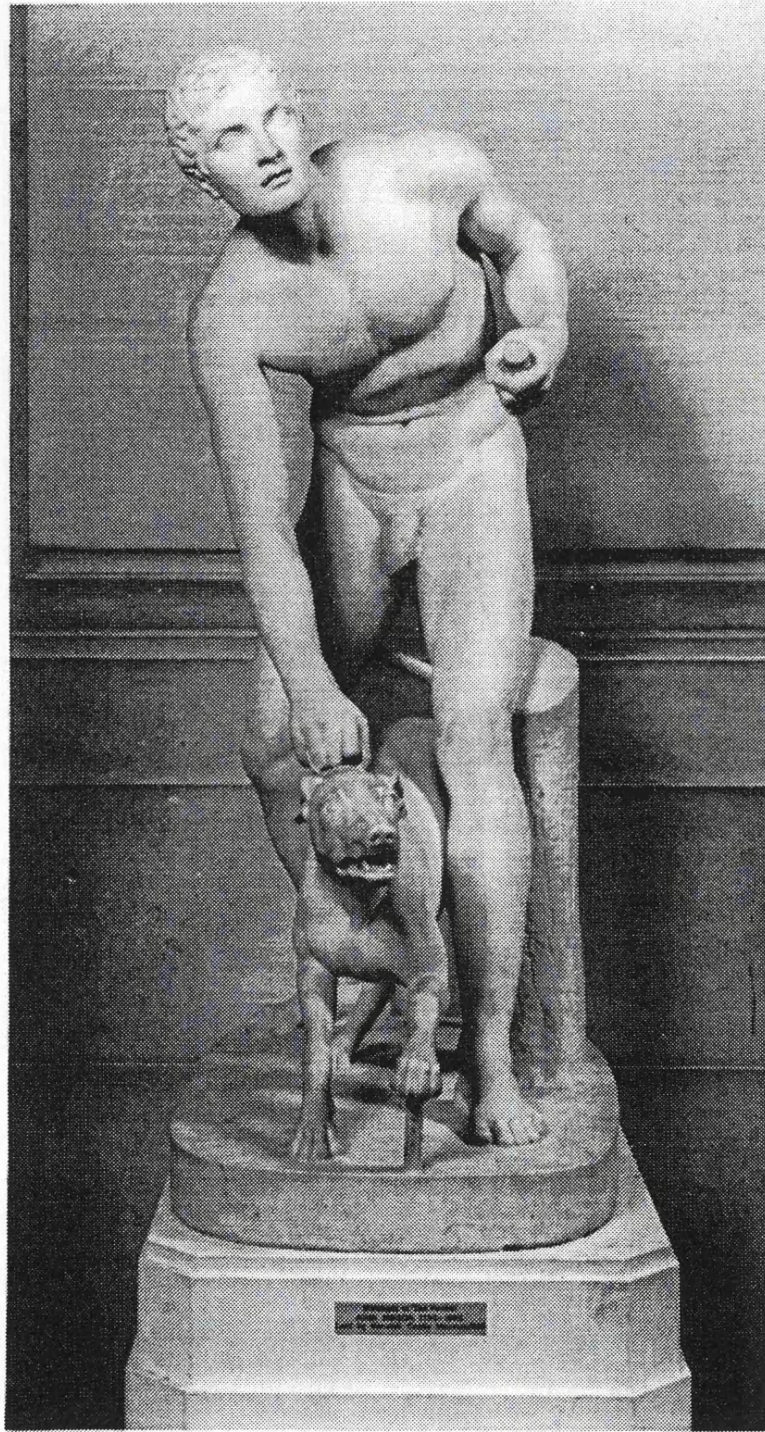
75. THORNYCROFT, Monument
to W. E. Gladstone,
1905



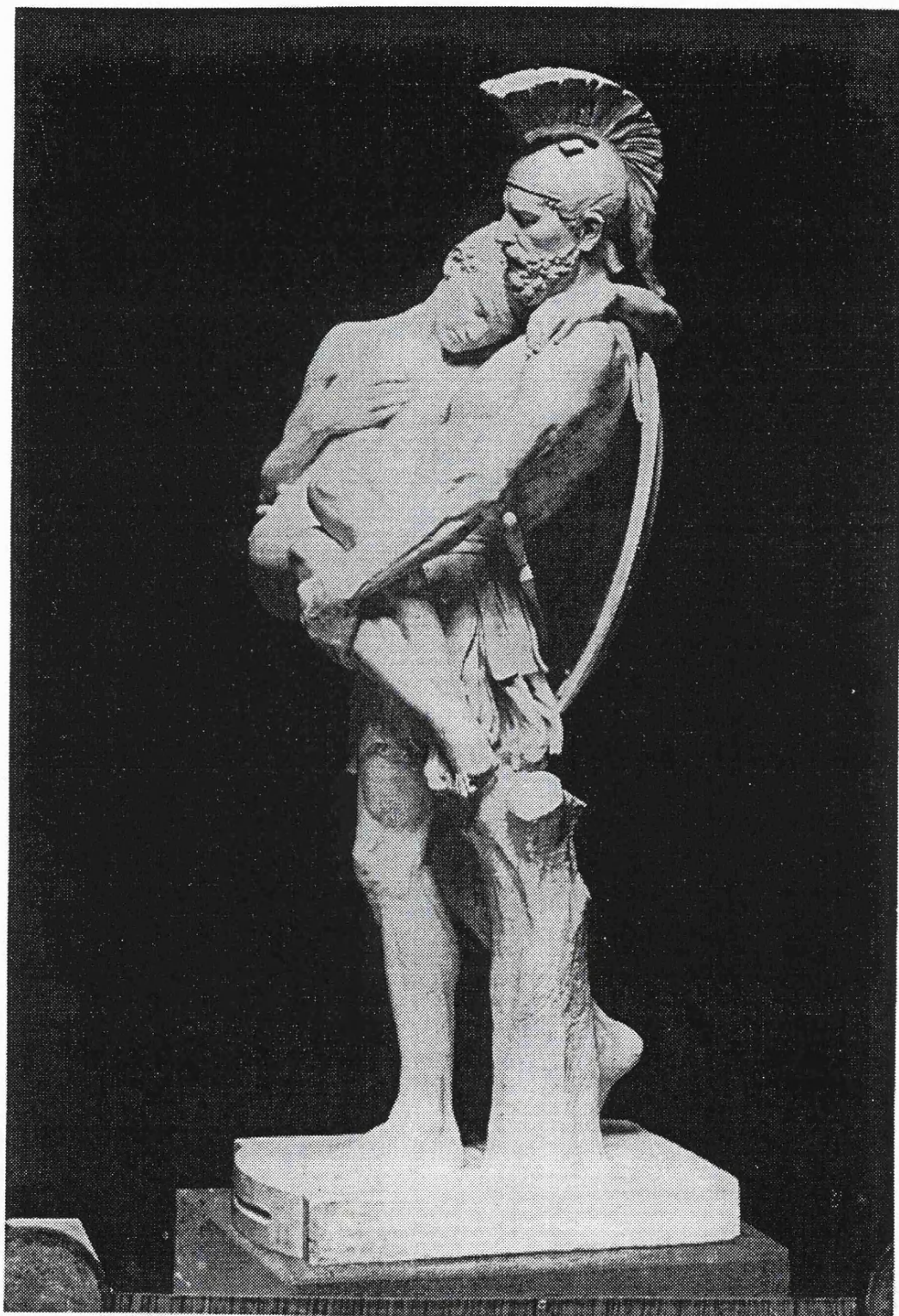
76. THORNYCROFT, *Courage*,
1905



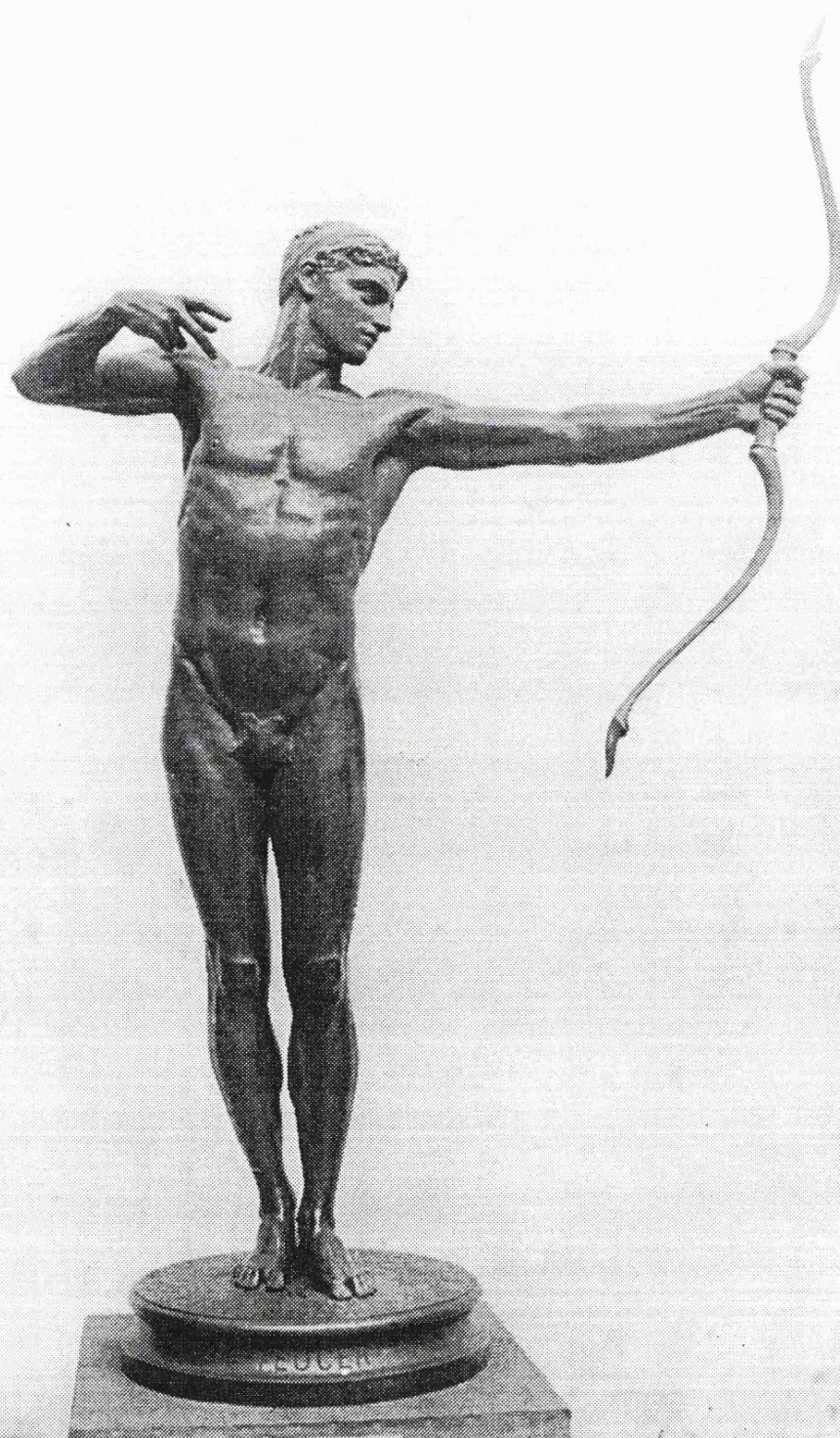
77. THORNYCROFT,
Brotherhood, 1905



78. GIBSON, Meleager,
c.1847



79. THORNYCROFT,
A Warrior Bearing a
Wounded Youth from the
Battle, 1876



80. THORNYCROFT, Teucer,
1882



81. THORNYCROFT,
The Mower, 1884



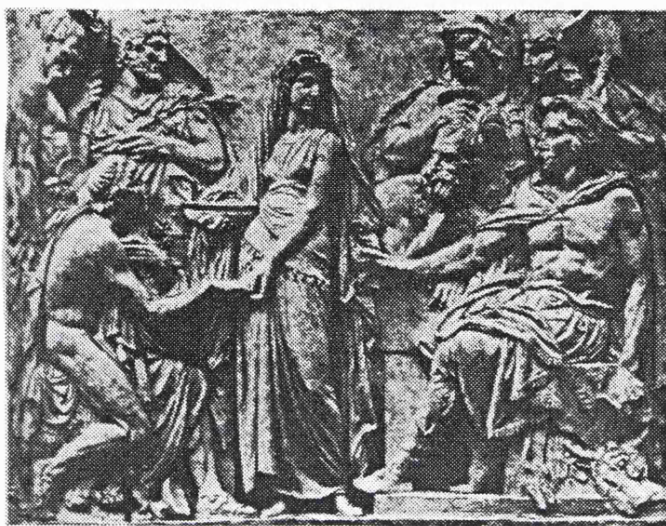
82. THORNYCROFT,
The Mower



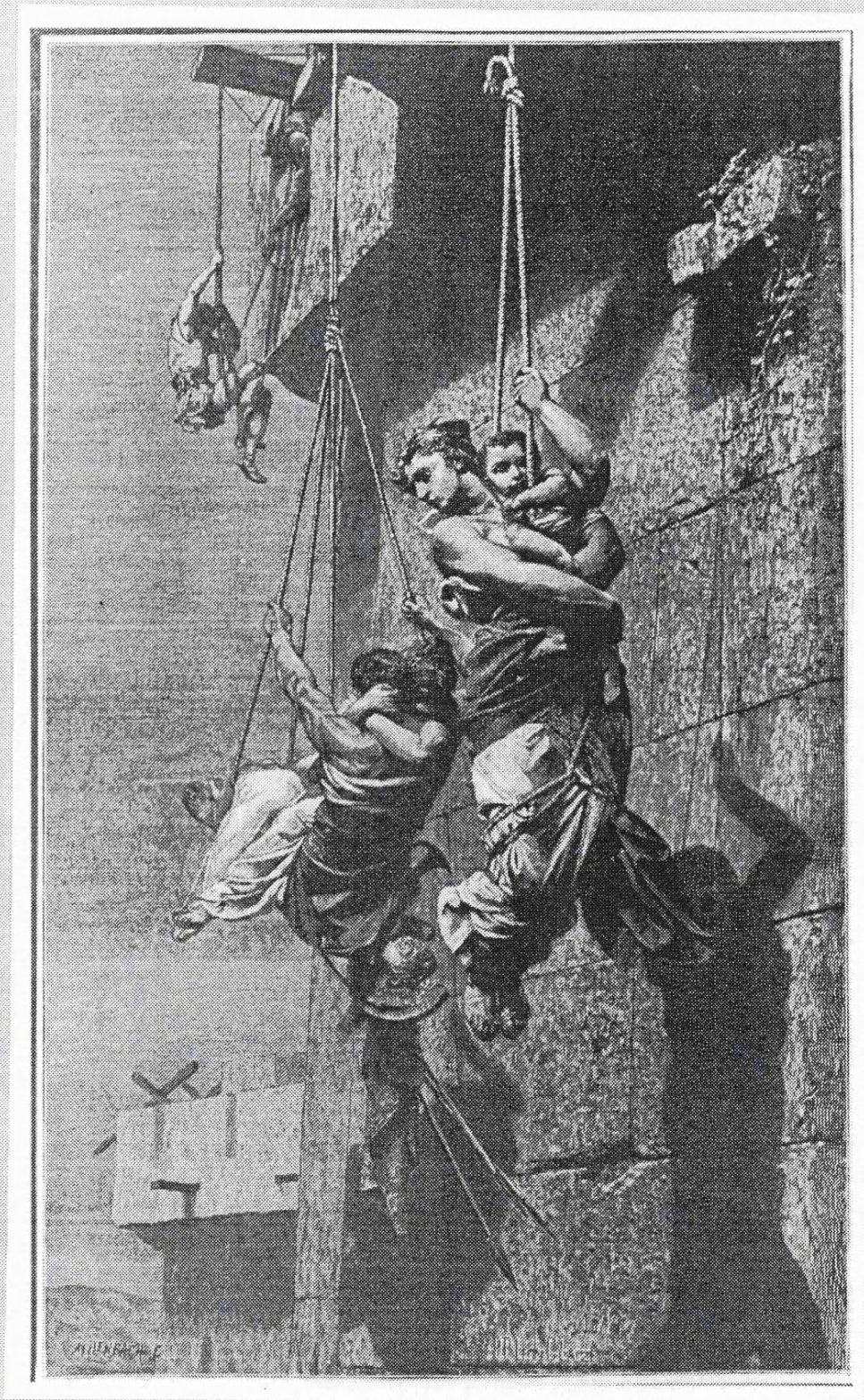
83. WATTS, Physical Energy,
Rhodes Memorial,
1904



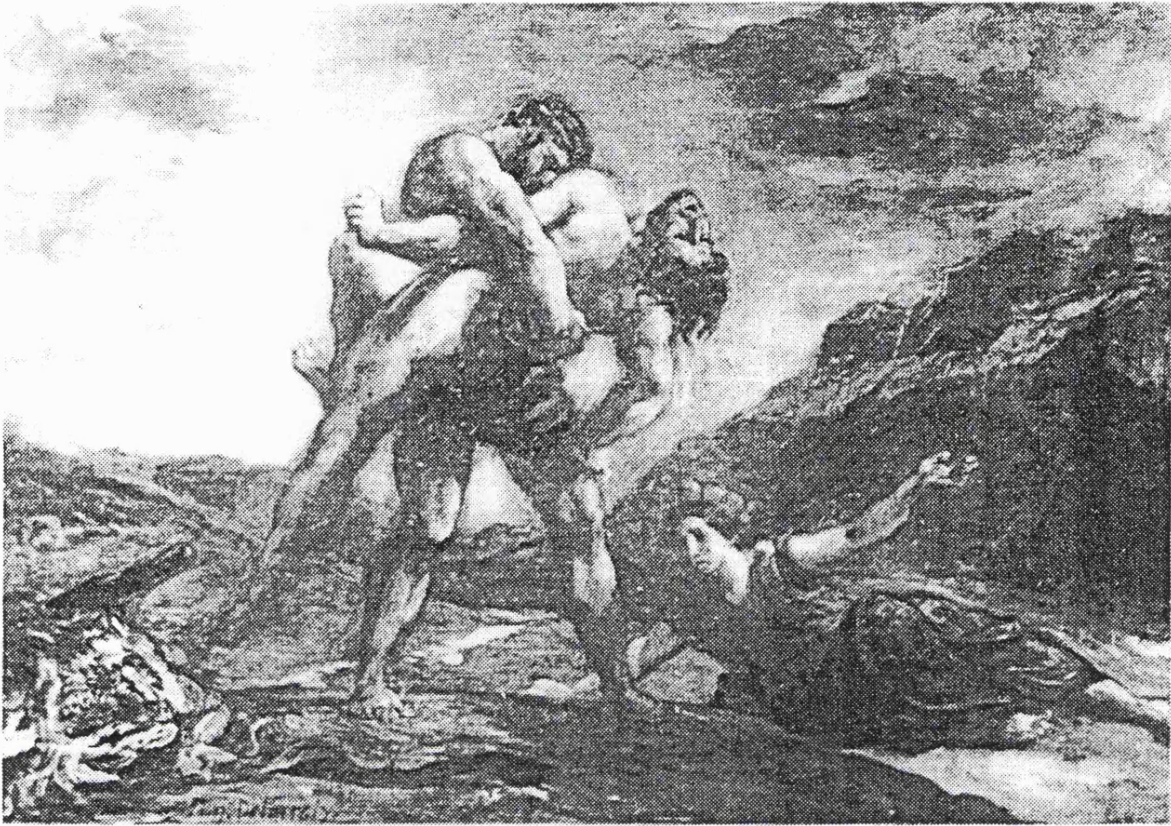
84. WATTS, Physical Energy,
c.1870-1904



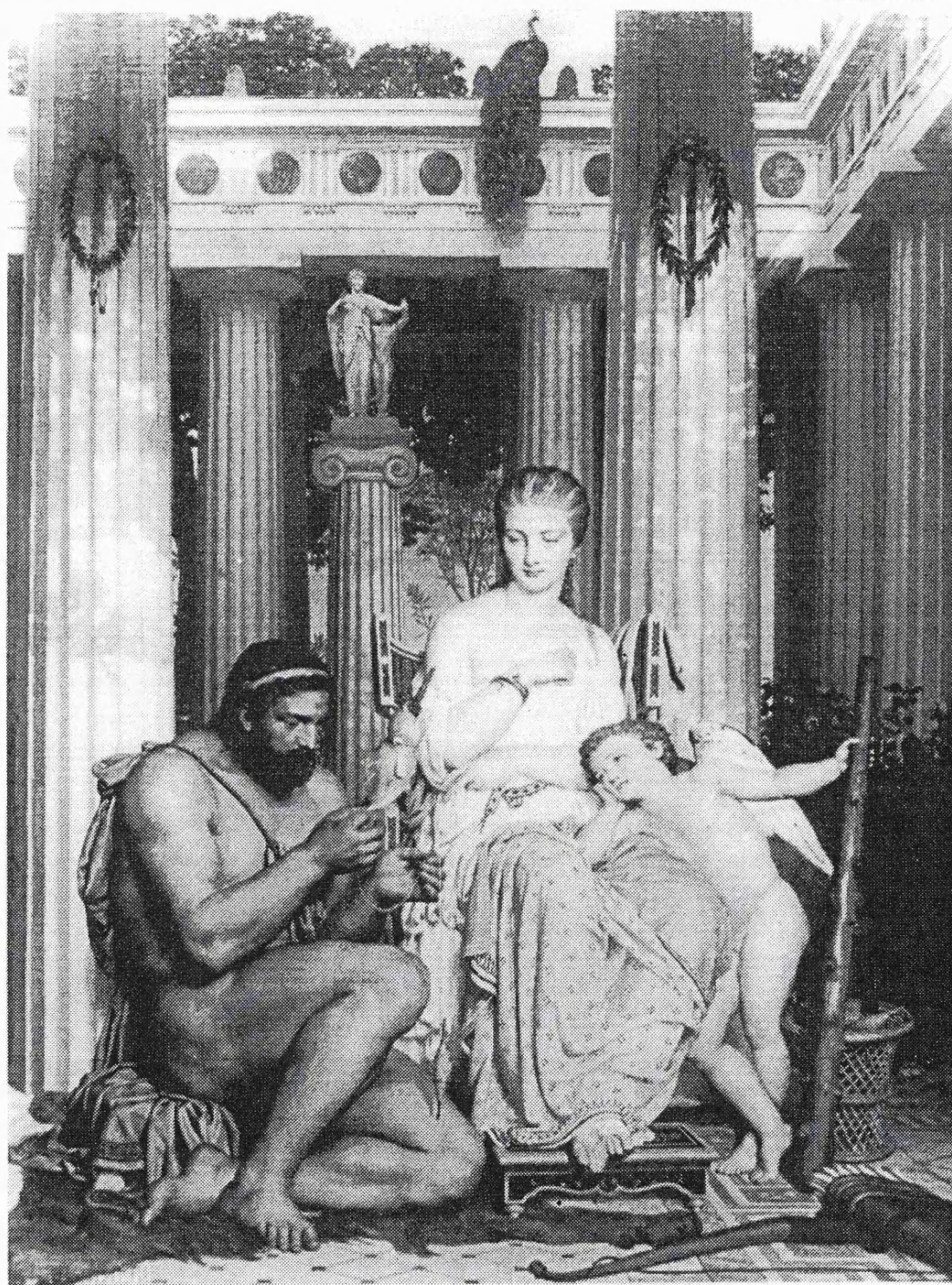
85. BARRIAS, La fondation de Marseille, 1865



86. GLAIZE, Les fugitifs
d'Athènes, 1877



87. DELACROIX, Hercules and Antaeus, 1854?



Peint sur toile

Photographie par Goupil & Co

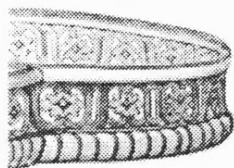
88. GLEYRE,
Hercule aux pieds de
Omphale, 1863

89. Horse-race, Panathenaic
prize-amphora



90. DEGAS,
Steeplechase-
The fallen jockey
1866

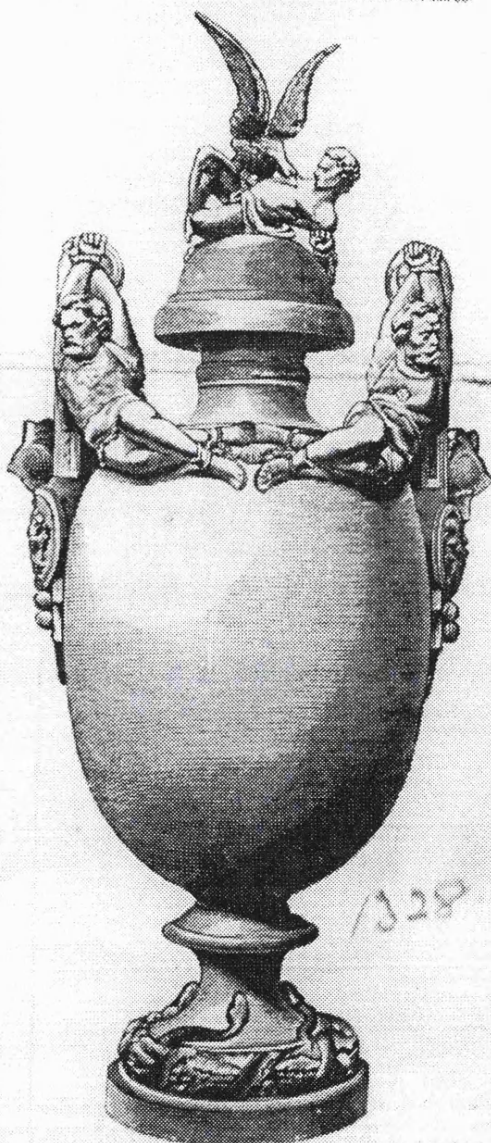
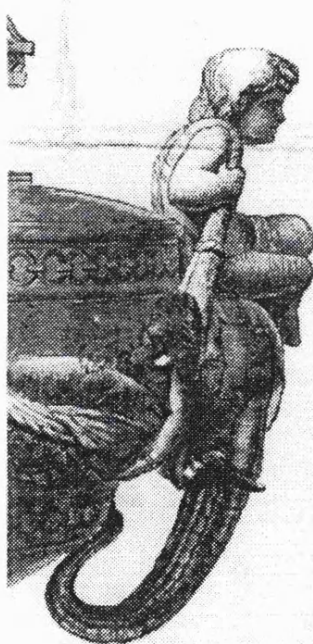




in merit—it has been
s," and are surpassed

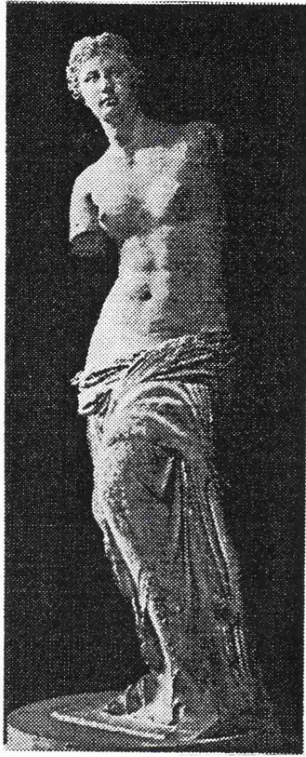


best of their productions are the work of British artists

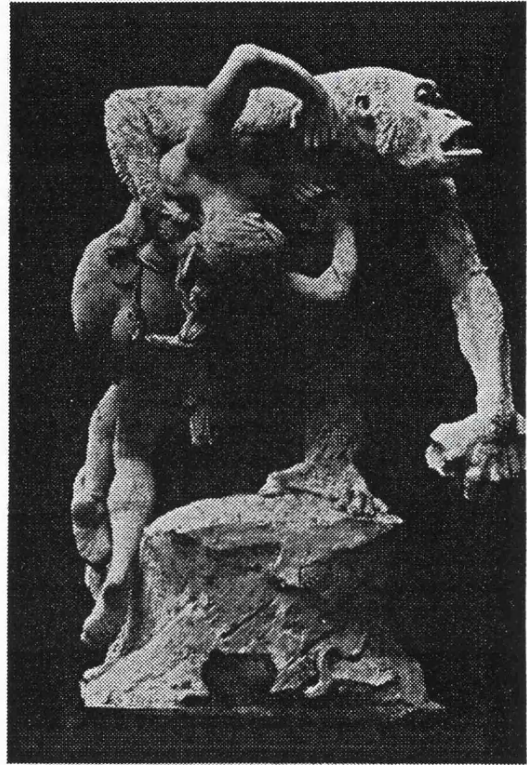


A glass basket of elegant design and construction

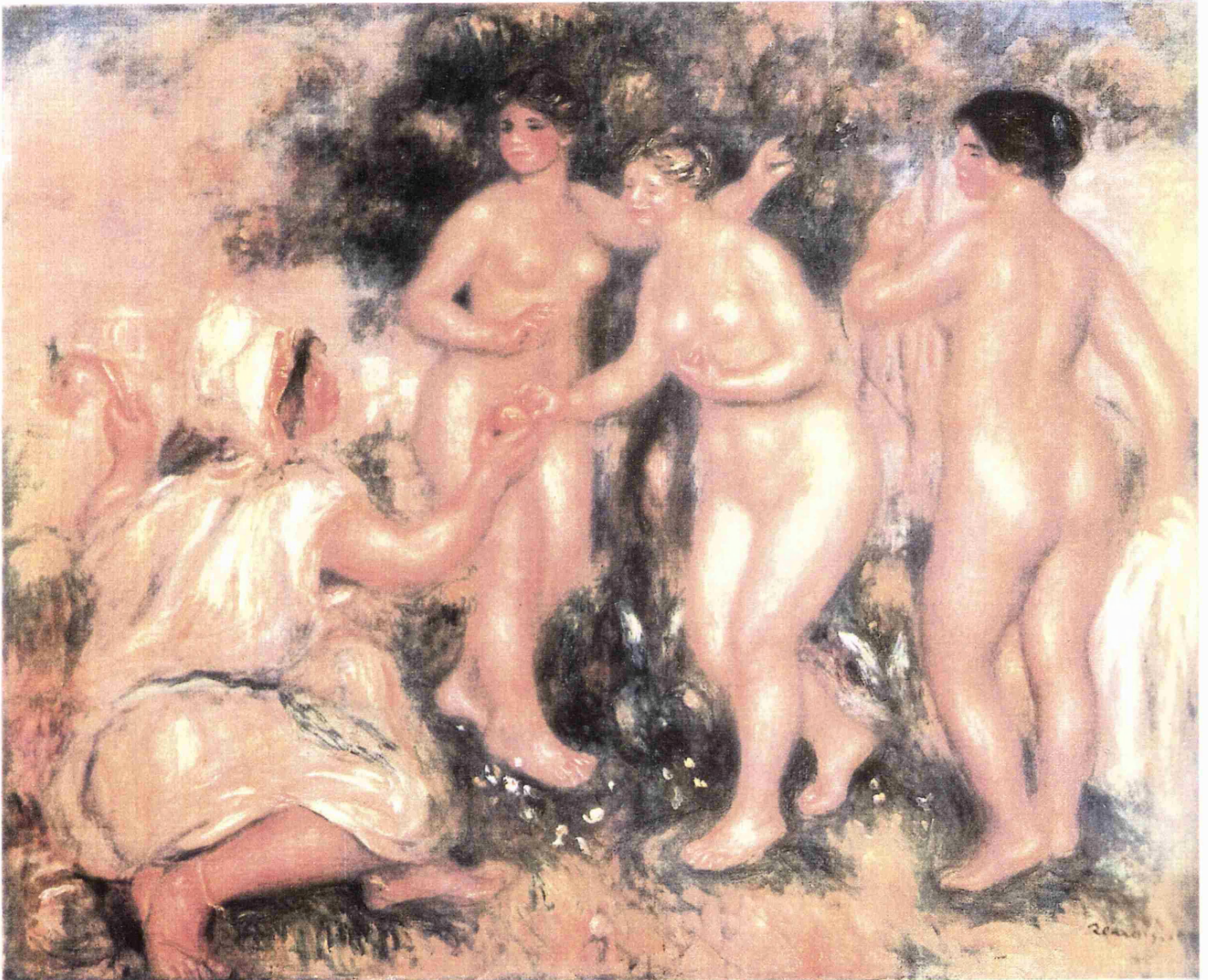
91. SIMEON,
Prometheus vase, 1878



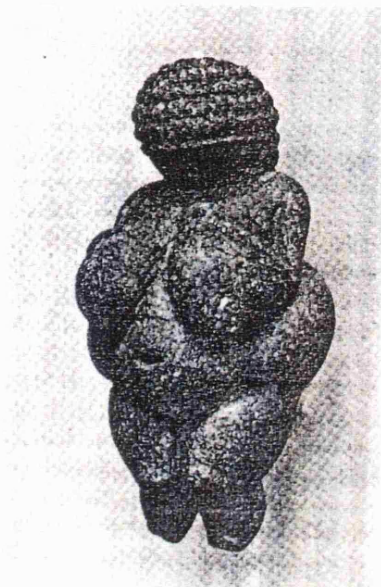
92. Venus de Milo



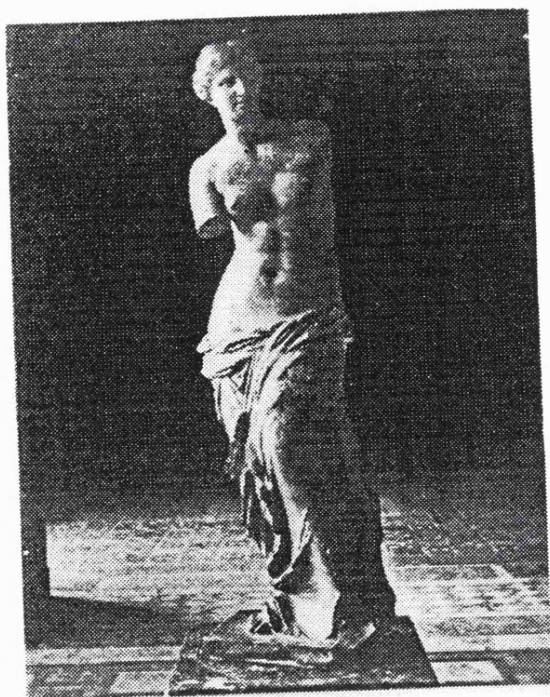
93. FREMIET, Gorille empor-
tant une femme, 1887



94. **RENOIR,**
The Judgment of Paris, 1908. 81 × 101 cm.
 Private Collection, Japan



95. Prehistoric figure of
 a woman



96. Venus de Milo



97. CEZANNE, The Large Bathers, 1898-1905

98. Graphic representation of the argument of this thesis

