Intermediality and Modernity

Cruikshank’s Murder of the Duke d’Enghien (1814) and Goya’s Third of May 1808 (1814)

Christina Smylitopoulos

DOI : 10.4000/books.inha.8473
Éditeur : Publications de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art
Lieu d'édition : Paris
Année d'édition : 2019
Date de mise en ligne : 6 juin 2019
Collection : Actes de colloques
ISBN électronique : 9782917902707

http://books.openedition.org

Référence électronique

Ce document a été généré automatiquement le 18 décembre 2020.
Satire, perhaps, is as old as society; but graphic satire is a modern invention.¹
Henry Angelo (1756–1835)

Forcefully portraying the realities of war that art previously sanitized or even suppressed has become a marker of modernity in studies of nineteenth-century art and visual culture.² In the first decades of the century, violence was being examined, not solely in light of the brutal consequences of revolution and counter-revolution, but also the capacity violence afforded as a productive agent of regeneration.³ Although influenced by the Royal Academy, British graphic satire worked outside its realm of stylistic control and frequently portrayed scenes of violence, unmoderated by the “classicism of tradition” espoused by an institution eager to demonstrate its political reliability and resistance to aesthetic excesses.⁴ This trade in grotesque brutality was justified as a satirical device deployed to expose immorality, tyranny, or challenges to national defense. There is some discussion on this in the discourse, notably regarding the imaginative spaces graphic satire provided for critics to envision the consequences of, among other anxiety-producing phenomena, unchecked socio-political mobility, urban life, the bellicosity of colonial conquest, political radicalism, and (inadequate) imperial defense.⁵ On the interconnectivity of genres, there has even been the suggestion that the advancement of the “sublime” in history painting authorized a new form of hyperbole conducive to Georgian graphic satirists.⁶

The genre certainly provided a venue to portray the concerns of new goals and techniques in warfare, the crux of which military engineer Lazare Carnot (1753–1823) summed up neatly: “Use the bayonet at every opportunity. Fight great battles and pursue the enemy until he is utterly destroyed.”⁷ The anxiety of being defeated by enemies who were, as Philip K. Lawrence explains, actively engaged in “the pursuit of total victory through the tactic of annihilation”⁸ stimulated a period of unprecedented activity in British graphic satire. But the genre also offered stylistic counterpoints to
the conventions of history painting, which were in this and subsequent periods, explored by artists for their aesthetic potential.9

According to the poet and critic Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867), violence became a defining characteristic of British graphic satire, an attribute he first discerned in the work of William Hogarth (1697–1764) in whose engravings he identified “that mysterious essence, at once sinister, violent, and resolute, that informs almost all the works from the land of the spleen.”10 In theorizing “this strange genre,” Baudelaire advanced two categories of graphic satire. The first was akin to quotidian, ephemeral journalism, which can be used by historians as documents of the vicissitudes of modern life and are “blown away by the same gusts of wind that constantly bring us new ones.”11 But the second, he argued, “have in them a mysterious, a durable, an eternal element, which commends them to the attention of artists.”12

This essay is concerned with the second category, a class of generative graphic satire that challenges the perception of the genre being, in essence, a derivative form of art subject to a conventional source. In examining the intermedial reverberations of compositional strategies, along with the aesthetic possibilities graphic satire afforded to those who portrayed the violence of the Napoleonic Wars, this essay finds a potentially influential work from a surprising source. In 1814, George Cruikshank (1792–1878) was commissioned by the publisher, print and bookseller Thomas Tegg (1776–1845) to design and engrave a series of aquatints satirizing the milestones in Bonaparte’s meteoric rise to power.13 Of the thirty prints, Murder of the Duke d’Enghien bears a striking resemblance to a history painting of profound significance—Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes’s (1746–1828) Third of May 1808 (figs. 1–2). Although both pieces are dated to 1814, there is enough ambiguity surrounding the production of these works to allow a dialogue between them to emerge. This essay asks if the modern spirit, so often discussed in relation to Goya’s painting, could be traced in part to the compositional strategies employed in graphic satire, the results of which suggest that the genre was not merely what fencing master, celebrity and, in his youth, occasional caricaturist Henry Angelo identified as a “modern invention,” but was, more significantly, at the very “threshold of modernity.”14
The objects of analysis considered here were executed by artists in significant political or professional transition and reveal that formal discourses can be found between the commissions of court painters and commercially motivated agents who aimed unapologetically to expand the market. In the discussion that follows, I will trace these
two works of art through a number of contexts, beginning with Tegg’s publishing practice to suggest that the nature of the market for satirical prints may have enabled Goya to count Cruikshank’s *Murder of the Duke d’Enghien* among his many sources. My analysis is informed by the remarkable similarities shared by the compositions and Goya’s appreciation of British graphic satire, which I will examine in light of the unclear circumstances surrounding the production of *Third of May 1808*. The influence Goya’s painting has exerted over time demonstrates the aesthetic legacies of these violent confrontations. This essay seeks to learn what role graphic satire may have played in these artistic interventions.

**Tegg’s Intervention in the Market**

Primarily regarded as a “reprint publisher,” Thomas Tegg entered the market for graphic satire in 1806 when Piercy Roberts (fl. 1795–1824) of Middle Row, Holborn sold Tegg his stock of prints and plates. Tegg had established his diversified publishing practice by selling remainders of books, at first at auctions and then at his London shop in Cheapside. Over time, his gambles on inexpensive reprints of works of science, religion, history, literature, manuals on etiquette and comportment, as well as art and social commentary resulted in profits, and he became quite successful. Using a similar mode of testing the market before embarking on new works, Tegg’s initial strategies for selling graphic satire could be characterized as economical. For example, he repackaged printed satires in his *Caricature Magazine; or Hudibrastic Mirror*, a multi-volume series of hand-numbered issues comprised of two or three satires bound with string in blue paper wrappers and sold for 2 shillings, coloured. Presumably finding initial success, Tegg expanded this branch of his publishing firm and began to commission original works from established graphic satirists like George M. Woodward (1760–1809), Henry William Bunbury (1750–1811), Charles Williams (fl. 1796–1830) and Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827), and also sold posthumous engravings, including prints after the designs of Richard Newton (1777–1798), a virtuoso satirist who died young just as his work was becoming more recognised. But Tegg also provided opportunities for emerging talents, including J. Lewis Marks (c. 1796–1855), William Heath (1794–1840), and George Cruikshank.

Tegg’s intervention in this diverse and expansive market may have been more influential than previously appreciated, but a study on Tegg’s graphic satire faces its own difficulties, not least of which is his standing in the discourse as an opportunist with little to offer an industry increasingly tied to notions of national excellence. The concern that products of cultural industry could be addressed as “mere commodities” has influenced the study of British publishing, including graphic satire. Tegg’s repute, fuelled by confrontations between adversarial competitors played out in the advertising pages of the periodical press, has not helped his long-term position as a producer of important works. Making sense of Tegg’s involvement in the genre has nevertheless stimulated an interesting question. From an artist’s perspective, could the efficiencies Tegg developed in book publishing, which he seemed to apply to the production of graphic satire, generate swifter turnaround from design to publication, steady and frequent payment, a venue for experimental work, and most significant to the goals of this essay, a longer reach in the domestic and foreign markets Tegg aimed to encourage?
Unfortunately, most of Tegg’s business documents have not survived, and those that do paint a picture of a cunning trader whose interests were located squarely on the bottom line. A close look at the work that he published, however, suggests that the consequences of Tegg’s keen understanding of the market and the industrial methods he employed were important in disseminating the ideas advanced by graphic satirists. Vital to the analysis that follows is that graphic satire did not merely reflect contemporary concerns, despite being characterized by Tegg as a satirical “Mirror;” rather, graphic satire had the ability to project and to do so at great distances.

**Graphic satire’s realm of influence**

The art historian Ernst H. Gombrich understood graphic satire’s potential impact when he wrote of “the direct influence ... [of] works of indifferent quality ... on the creations of genius.” As his prime example, he cited the influence of the peripatetic Scottish painter, writer, and graphic satirist Sir Robert (Bob) Ker Porter (1777–1842) on Goya, called by Gombrich the “giant of the period.” Porter travelled to Spain in 1807 with Sir John Moore (1761–1809), who had the command of the British Army in Portugal, but who soon received orders to march into Spain to ally with forces against the French. Gombrich speculates that while there, Porter may have disseminated his own satire on the atrocities committed by Bonaparte against his enemies and toward his own troops at Jaffa, *Buonaparte massacring three thousand eight hundred men at Jaffa*, for example, was inspired by the defamatory accusations against Bonaparte written by the Lieutenant Colonel of the Cavalry Sir Robert Thomas Wilson (1777–1849) in *History of the British Expedition to Egypt*, which was first published in 1802 and was quickly reissued in many editions (fig. 3). The print, “From a design by M. R. K. Porter,” was published collaboratively on August 12, 1803 by three firms – the dealer and auctioneer John Hatchard (fl. 1803–1843), the owner and publisher of the *European Magazine* James Asperne (1757–1820), and John Ginger (fl. 1798–1803), “stationer to the Prince of Wales” before he went bankrupt – and refers to events from Bonaparte’s Syrian campaign, pursued in the spring of 1799. We see the central figure, a Turkish prisoner, from the back, so as to bear witness to his bound wrists and the gruesome emergence from his body of the blood-stained point of a French soldier’s bayonet. Porter heightens the horror of the scene by bringing the beholder dangerously close to the action and rendering the teetering Turk’s body in a precarious diagonal, suspended at the tipping point between standing and falling, life and death. The pile of fallen comrades, which the Turk will quickly join, reveals the only possible outcome of this violent encounter, but also demonstrates graphic satire’s early influence on the culture of witnessing.
Gombrich’s theory, that Porter distributed his work while in Spain, is one way of understanding how British graphic satire might have travelled in this period, but there are others. Earlier in the century, Thomas Jeffreys and Robert Sayer sold satires out of their suitcases in France. The Scottish-born engraver William Charles (1776–1820) quit the London scene and brought satirical prints to America, and later, Tegg’s own sons took a range of material to Australia and had plans to expand Tegg’s business in North America. Furthermore, we know from advertisements that Tegg enthusiastically pursued new markets for his books and prints and encouraged ship captains with wholesale prices to stimulate an export market. Goya likely had access to British graphic satire through his friends: the treasurer of Cadiz, Sebastián Martínez y Pérez (1747–1800), who had a significant print collection, and the dramatist Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760–1828), who travelled to London and wrote in letters home about “English caricatures,” which he may have brought back to Spain. Prints may have also travelled to Spain via British sailors and soldiers who were engaged in the blockading during what is now collectively known as the Anglo-Spanish War, a series of conflicts fought between 1796 and 1802, and then again from 1804 to 1807, followed by the Peninsular War, which was fought against the French between the newly allied Britain and Spain from 1807 to 1814, when British soldiers were stationed on the ground.

Reva Wolf has convincingly argued that British graphic satire held a seminal role in Goya’s work, his eighty-print series Los Caprichos (1799), in particular. Gombrich thought that Porter’s satirical works may have inspired the Third of May 1808, one of a series of four paintings (two of which were not painted, are lost, or have not survived) the subjects for which Goya described in a letter dated February 24, 1814 as “the most
notable and heroic actions and scenes of our most glorious insurrection against the tyrant of Europe.” Proposed by the artist and accepted by the Regency government in 1814 – to curry favour with Fernando VII’s regime, to evade allegations of earlier collaboration with the French, and for the financial incentives that sometimes went along with royal commissions – this painting has long occupied a position as a “proto-modern” work, located at a pivot point marked by the critical Romantic reflections on the costly political experiments of the Enlightenment. The painting depicts the execution of Spanish rebels on a hillside in the outskirts of Madrid following an uprising: a series of violent encounters between French and French-allied troops and mercenaries, and the common people of Spain, who were disappointed when promises of political reform were left unfulfilled.

**Goya’s Third of May 1808 and Cruikshank’s Murder of the Duke d’Enghien**

Christian iconography is commonly discussed in relation to Goya’s painting. In suggesting stigmata with a dimpled palm, Goya was not merely making a martyr of the Spanish rebel, but he was also referencing centuries of sanctioned violence in art. For constructing a fusillading scene, however, Goya looked to more contemporary sources. These include Miguel Gamborino’s (1760–1828) wood engraving, *The Assassination of Five Monks from Valencia* (1813), which may have been worked up from a previously published print that dates slightly earlier to c. 1812–13. A link between Goya’s painting and Paul Revere’s (1734–1818) *The Bloody Massacre in King-Street, March 5, 1770*, which Hugh Thomas noted are “closely related in composition and in intellectual intention,” has also been suggested (fig. 4). The painter was also indebted to Jacques Callot’s (1592–1635) eighteen-print series known as *Miseries and Misfortunes of War* (1633), which are small, intensely powerful scenes that collectively critique the violence captured at the mid-point of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). Linking Goya and British print culture more generally, Robert L. Patten drew a connection between Goya’s painting and a steel cut illustration by George Cruikshank in John Murray’s abridgement of Sir Walter Scott’s nine-volume *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, which had been published in 1829 (fig. 5). He wondered if “Cruikshank might have been indebted to Goya’s Third of May,” but Cruikshank’s earlier work with Tegg may provide the link between these pictures.
Early in 1815, Tegg published *The Life of Napoleon: A Hudibrastic Poem in Fifteen Cantos, by Doctor Syntax* (fig. 6). What is remembered about this episode of publishing history is Tegg’s mercenary appropriation of the title character of Thomas Rowlandson and
William Combe’s blockbuster collaboration in *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*. What is forgotten is that *The Life of Napoleon* was evidently quite successful; it went into four editions and was reissued in 1817. Tegg had originally released this extended satire serially, before collating it and selling it as a book with additional images a few months later. In November and December of 1814, then, Cruikshank’s engravings had begun circulating in the market as single-sheet satires in coloured and uncoloured formats, without the accompanying Hudibrastic poetry. That the images were distributed as stand-alone satires, before Tegg repackaged the series, suggests that visual satire was the chief attraction of the volume. But it also implies the potential for a wider scope of dissemination. Satirical prints of Bonaparte’s exploits could have circulated as humorous reflections on the folly of French ambition even after the British withdrew from the Peninsula in April 1814.


Cruikshank’s aquatint takes up the subject of the execution of Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien (1776–1804) on the night of 20 to 21 March 1804 (see fig. 1), when the Duke was put to death by a firing squad in the moat of the Château de Vincennes moments after a military commission found him guilty of intelligence with the enemy, high treason, and complicity in a plot. From a British perspective this episode in Bonaparte’s arc, from military hopeful to Emperor, is significant. It was reported that Bonaparte, who was then First Consul of France, learned that the Duke was involved in what became known as the Cadoudal Affair, a conspiracy involving the royalists Jean-Charles Pichegru (1761–1804), who had fought in the Revolutionary Wars at the rank of General, and Georges Cadoudal (1771–1804), a politician who wished to overthrow Bonaparte’s regime and reinstate the monarchy. In secret, Bonaparte’s forces crossed the Rhine and seized the Duke from his home in Ettenheim, in the
A comparison between Cruikshank’s *Murder of the Duke d’Enghien* and Goya’s *Third of May 1808*, reveals a number of intriguing formal elements. As both pictures are night scenes, the artists portrayed the victims lit by lanterns, dramatically emerging from a tenebrous background. The lantern that hangs from the Duke’s neck was, according to *The Memoirs of Queen Hortense*, one of the “loathsome details” disseminated by Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838) to avert blame from him to the Consul once news spread of the event, but may also reinforce the lawless and arbitrary nature of the Duke’s death. If a similar, legitimate event had taken place in (enlightened) Britain, the execution would have been carried out by hanging. Goya’s lantern, which the artist places on the ground in front of the soldiers, has also been interpreted as a symbol of the Enlightenment, deployed ironically. Instead of showing the path from the darkness of oppression toward freedom, French Enlightenment blinds the common people, to their peril.

The requirement for comedy in Cruikshank’s print, which would square with the light and relieved tone of most of the satires in this collection – released as a retrospective in the months following Bonaparte’s exile to Elba in April of 1814 but before his escape – is satisfied by the diminutive figure of “Little Boney,” who needs to stand on an elevation in what appears to be the ocular cavity of an enormous skull, simply to be visible to the firing squad. In *The Life of Napoleon*, Cruikshank perpetuated the trend invented by Gillray in 1803 of depicting Bonaparte as short-statured, despite the fact that he was relatively tall for the period. The representation of a *memento mori*, however, complicates the tone of the satire, reinforcing the anxiety the print inspires. The nobleman has been stripped of the sartorial trappings of his position, which lie in a clump at his feet, as we wait, suspended forever, for Boney to give the order to fire. In Goya’s painting, the victim appears to cast light himself and, despite what we anticipate once the French soldiers fire their weapons, we are compelled to anxiously fix our gaze on the impending victim. This nameless quarry will soon join his comrades in the pile of dead rebels. There are also similarities between the print and the painting in the angle at which the soldiers are positioned, the way the shadow is drawn at a diagonal across the foreground, and even the way the formal elements of the top registers of the pictures form analogously a double-curve. Given Goya’s awareness of and attentiveness to visual satire, the influence between these compositions may have flowed from the satirical to the serious.

**Context of an (eventual) masterpiece**

We know that Goya’s painting was accepted as a commission in March 1814 by the Regency government (1810–1814), which was in place before the accession of
Fernando VII (1784–1833; second reign 1813–1833), but we do not know when it was completed. It has been speculated that the painting and its counterparts, including the surviving *Second of May 1808*, were used to embellish the triumphal arch for Fernando’s return to Madrid, which was planned for spring 1814. Another possibility advanced is that the painting was displayed during the first commemoration in May 1814 of the Dos de Mayo uprising, the rebellion of common Spaniards who fought in the streets and surrounding areas of Madrid, that was swiftly and violently crushed by French troops. The immediate aftermath was that hundreds of prisoners were executed the following day, but over a longer term, the event played a part in initiating the Peninsular War. Nonetheless, Janis Tomlinson’s extensive archival research demonstrates that there is no evidence that these paintings were ever seen outside the palace.

At the time, Goya was “reduced to absolute penury,” according to a letter written by the politician Juan Álvarez Guerra (1770–1845), and in the months to come the artist began to petition the crown for unpaid accounts for pictures he had completed before the French occupation began in 1808. During the period Goya was meant to be working on *Third of May 1808*, he was involved in completing other works, including a half-length portrait of the king (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid) and a full-length equestrian portrait of José Rebolledo de Palafoux y Melzi, Duke of Saragossa (1780–1847), known by the title *General Palafoux* (Prado Museum, Madrid). For the duke’s portrait, Goya complained that he completed the work “with some difficulty on account of the scarcity of some materials.” For the Regency commission, Goya was supposed to receive supplies and also a monthly stipend, which may not have materialized. He may also have used any available materials to paint the *Third of May 1808*; however, despite the fact that it was technically a government commission, payment for this work was not yet guaranteed. In order to receive any outstanding money due to him, Goya would have to complete a process of political “purification.” When Fernando VII was restored to the throne, he struck a committee to investigate the wartime behaviour of royal personnel, including court painters. Goya’s purification took several months, finally concluding in April 1815.

Once the paintings had been completed, they may have in fact gone directly into storage at the Prado (Royal Museum) – so directly, the pictures might have been wet, as analysis has exposed residual paint from the *Third of May 1808* on the surface of the *Second of May 1808*. According to Manuela Mena, there are documents dated to November of 1814 that refer to the construction, hardware, and finishing of frames for paintings referring to the 2 of May 1808, which suggest that the paintings were at the least anticipated at the Prado. It is curious that no contemporary accounts mentioning the paintings have survived, which suggests either a lukewarm response from a monarch who much preferred the neoclassical style used by Goya’s competitors, or that the paintings had not yet been completed. Also striking is that a monument, which had been commissioned in 1814 by the provisional government and dedicated to those who were killed in the uprising, was cancelled by Fernando VII. As a king who intended to rule as an absolute monarch, Fernando would have been concerned about drawing attention to fallen men who died fighting for political reform. Furthermore, despite Goya’s interest in print and his activities as an engraver, evidence that a contemporary engraving after *Third of May 1808* existed to circulate in Spain or beyond remains elusive. The first printed version of *Third of May 1808*, it seems, appeared as a wood engraving in Charles Yriarte’s *Goya, sa vie, son œuvre* (1867). Furthermore, the
first written account we have of someone viewing the paintings was in 1845, twelve years
after the king had died, when the French writer, painter, and critic Théophile
Gautier (1811–1872) claimed to see “Massacre du 2 mai, scène d’invasion.”

It is also unlikely that Cruikshank had access to Goya’s sources or to Goya’s work
directly. Despite Goya’s claim in a letter offering all eighty Caprichos plates to the king
that “Foreigners most of all want them,” they were not popular in Britain. The series
could be ordered in 1814 from the London bookseller, Thomas Boosey, who seemed to
have a single copy in his catalogue of foreign works, but, as it kept appearing in
advertisements over the year, it is unlikely that it sold. Significantly, even if it had sold,
the series did not include a fusillading scene. According to Nigel Glendinning, there is
also little evidence that Goya “was much in the public eye in England at the time” and
his death seemed to have passed in 1828 without much regard.

With respect to Goya’s other firing squad scenes, like those in the Disasters of War, this
collection of works did not circulate in Britain when Cruikshank worked up the scene of
the Duke’s execution. Remarkably, though dated from 1810 to 1820, the first edition of
the series was not printed until 1868, forty years after Goya’s death. That Goya
appreciated British graphic satire has been generally accepted. He signed a letter sent
to his long-time friend and correspondent, Martín Zapater, which included a caricature
of himself “from London,” which has been interpreted as Goya’s understanding of
caricature being an English genre. But what precisely Goya found in this material is
still up for debate.

Linda Hutcheon’s attempts to account for the phenomenon of parody in modern and
post-modern art has been helpful. In her work, she has addressed the widely held
notion that parody was a deviant, even parasitic, critical response, the roots of which
she finds in the aesthetic values of Romanticism, which advances genius, originality,
and individuality over imitation and quotation. Goya’s genius has been discussed in
precisely these terms: in 1868, Gauthier described Goya as a “fiery Spanish painter” of
“inexhaustible invention.” Goya’s invention can also be supported by contemporary
documents. In the invoices Goya writes to his patrons, he frequently points out when a
work was “of [his] own invention.” But this was not Goya’s way to assert his unique
artistic vision. Tomlinson tells us that “invention” needs to be understood within the
context of salary payment strategies in Spain in this period. When Goya asserts that a
work was of his “own invention,” he was indicating that he had executed the
preparatory drawings for the finished work he was invoicing and should, therefore, be
paid more.

Conclusion

Due to the central role prints played in Goya’s artistic practice, Tomlinson wisely
counsels that attempting to find precisely which works of print informed Goya’s
painting is an exercise in futility; she writes, “their quantity suggests that the answer
may well be ‘all of the above.’” Still, unearthing a dialogue between compositions and
genres can lead to interesting questions. In a discussion of Werner Hoffman’s thoughts
on caricature, Michele Hannoosh wrote that the genre “follows the pattern of all
revolutionary forms and activity; it binds itself to the model it is dethroning, and is
sustained by the system it attacks.” This, of course, assumes that the object of analysis
would be a caricature in the traditional sense. But, if the generative nature of graphic
satire is taken for granted, can we think of Goya’s *Third of May 1808* in part as a caricature, sustained by, but also attacking, the system of British graphic satire? After all, irony was, Debarati Sanyal tells us, “one of modernity’s dominant modes of self-understanding.”

Was Goya critical of Cruikshank for presenting a French aristocratic victim? In appropriating aspects of Cruikshank’s composition, could Goya be seen as reorienting the political importance of the print, from a French insider to the common man, who was swept up in the horrors of war? Did he replace the Duke’s finery, which lay in a pile at his feet, with the bodies of the common people of Spain, the real victims of revolution and counterrevolution?

One of the reasons Goya’s work has become so compelling to artists and critics over time is that it forcefully portrays a reality of war that the prevailing aesthetic of neoclassicism under-expressed or even censored. This legacy of honesty and violence in the face of academism is still being explored today, exemplified by the acclaim of Goya by the English artists known as the Chapman Brothers, Jake (1966–) and Dinos (1962–), who called Goya “the first Modernist artist; the first who had psychological and political depth.” However, it has taken time for people to recognize Goya’s innovation, including his appreciation of graphic satire as an expression of modernity.

NOTES

4. William Vaughan, “‘David’s Brickdust’ and the Rise of the British School,” in Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest (eds.), *Reflections of Revolutions: Images of Romanticism*, London/New York, Routledge, 1993, p. 141–142. The issue of traditional versus extreme classicism and radical politics is also dealt with in Holger Hoock, *The King’s Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760–1840*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2003, p. 108–123. For classicism in Royal Academy training, see David H. Solkin, *Art in Britain, 1660–1815*, New Haven/New York, Yale University Press (“Pelican History of Art”), 2015, p. 160–163. Although there is much evidence to suggest that there was a heterogeneity to Academy classicism in this period, to a degree that, according to Günter Leyboldt, “the so-called neoclassical positions often differed from one another more than they diverged from later romanticist stances,” there is nevertheless an ideal of “noble simplicity and sedate grandeur” that Winkelmann’s *Reflections* espoused that made the excess of violence, or “parenthryrsos,” discordant with classicism. See Günter Leyboldt, “A

5. See Haywood 2006, cited n. 3, p. 92. In his more recent book, Haywood uses “imaginative space” to refer to the events on the Iberian Peninsula between 1808 and 1823, but the metaphor could extend to graphic satire itself, which also served as a plane upon which desires and anxieties could be inscribed. Ian Haywood, Romanticism and Caricature, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 128.


8. Ibid.


11. “On the Essence of Laughter,” Baudelaire 1972, cited n. 10, p. 140. For a discussion regarding how Baudelaire was challenging the notion of using graphic satire “that was not considered an art,” as a historical document, see Michele Hannoosh, Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity, University Park, Penn State University Press, 1992, p. 13.


14. This is taken from the title of Rose-Marie Hagen and Rainer Hagen’s Francisco Goya, 1746–1828: On the Threshold of Modernity, Cologne, Taschen, 2012, but the authors may also be referencing Foucault’s essay on the “Right of Death and Power over Life,” in which he wrote, “What might be called a society’s threshold of modernity has been reached when the life of the species is wagered on its own political strategies.” Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality, trans. Robert Hurley, New York, Vintage Books, 2009, p. 143.

15. Alexander identified Tegg’s entry into the market in 1803, but the dated prints in the British Museum collection suggest that it may have happened later. David Alexander, Richard Newton and English Caricature in the 1790s, Manchester, The Whitworth Art Gallery/Manchester University Press, 1998, p. 55.


L’Image railleuse
21. Ibid.
28. From an advertisement in Tegg’s *Chesterfield Travestie; or, School for modern manners*, London, Thomas Tegg, 1809, n. p.: “Merchants and Captains of Ships supplied Wholesale for Exportation.”
34. Gully was critical of scholars reading the impending victim as a “surrogate Christ” because of Goya’s well-documented mistrust of the Church. In light of Goya’s interest in graphic satire, perhaps Christ is being caricatured. Anthony Lacy Gully, “The Unexpected Source of Goya’s Painting ‘May 3, 1808’,” *Studies in Iconography*, 9, 1983, p. 100.
37. London, Rudolph Ackermann, 1812. For Ackermann’s complaint, see The *Times*, 9455, February 27, 1815, p. 4.

40. Charles Ansell (fl. 1784–1796), known primarily for his work in book illustration, also designed a satire on the same subject in June of 1804, engraved by Charles Williams (fl. 1797–1830), but the composition bears no resemblance to those being discussed here. See The Cold Blooded Murder, or the Assassination of the Duc d’Enghien (BM Satires 10251).


42. Josephine was quoted as saying, “This is the first mistake Napoleon has made.” Jean Hanoteau (ed.), The Memoirs of Queen Hortense: Published by Arrangement with Prince Napoleon, vol. 1, trans. Arthur K. Griggs, New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1927, p. 111.

43. Dwyer 2013, cited n. 41, p. 121.

44. Of the many examples, see William Cobbett (ed.), “Public Papers: Note from Francis Drake, Esq. English Minister at Munich to Baron de Montgelas, the Bavarian Minister of State,” Cobbett’s Political Register, vols. 5–6, London, Bagshaw et al. including Ginger, 1804, p. 27–30.


48. German-Nonchalance; – or – the Vexation of little-Boney. Vide. The Diplomatique’s late Journey through Paris. Published by James Gillray, January 1, 1803, etching and aquatint with engraving, hand-coloured.


52. Ibid., p. 281.

53. Ibid., p. 279.

54. Ibid., n. 1.


57. Janis A. Tomlinson, Goya in the Twilight of Enlightenment, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 1992, p. 132, 137, and 142. Hughes claimed the painting was not on public view until 1872, but Manet, who was in Spain in 1862, would have had some sort of access to the work in order to inform his series depicting the execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico (c. 1867–1869). Robert Hughes, Goya, New York, Knopf, 2003, p. 308–309.

58. There was a plan to raise the profile of Spanish painters in Europe by circulating etchings after pictures in the royal palace, but this scheme folded in 1797. Nigel Glendinning and Hilary Macartney (eds.), Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland 1750–1920: Studies in Reception in Memory of Enriqueta Harris Frankfort, New York, Tamesis, 2010, p. 104.


60. Tomlinson 1992, cited n. 57, p. 139.


63. The series has been dated from 1810–1820, but this start date is an estimate based solely on the general style of Goya’s renderings and has hitherto gone unchallenged. See Thomás Harris, Goya: Engravings and Lithographs, San Francisco, Alan Wosky Fine Arts, 1983, p. 139. See also Tomlinson 1994, cited n. 49, p. 191.


68. Janis A. Tomlinson, Francisco Goya: The Tapestry Cartoons and Early Career at the Court of Madrid, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 28–29. In 1870, the Scottish poet and painter, William Bell Scott wrote that “Goya was an inventor, a thinker in the modern manner, and gives us the most vivid and novel sensations, although he serves us with vinegar as well as wine.” As quoted in Nigel Glendinning 1964, cited n. 62, p. 13.


73. Thomas 1972, cited n. 30, p. 86.

74. As quoted in Christopher Turner, “I’d like to have stepped on Goya’s toes, shouted in his ears and punched him in the face: Jake and Dinos Chapman,” Tate Etc., 8, Autumn 2006, [online] URL: www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/id-have-stepped-on-goyas-toes-shouted-his-ears-and-punched-him-face.

INDEX

Index géographique : Europe, Amérique

Thèmes : caricature, satire, politique, représentation de l’histoire, événement historique

Mots-clés : caricature, satire, politique, représentation de l’histoire, événement historique

Index chronologique : XIXe siècle

AUTEUR

CHRISTINA SMYLITOPoulos

University of Guelph, School of Fine Art and Music