

DAVID  
DAVID  
*after*

**Essays on the Later Work**

Edited by Mark Ledbury

Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute  
Williamstown, Massachusetts

Distributed by Yale University Press  
New Haven and London

This publication is based on the proceedings of “Jacques-Louis David: Empire and Exile,” a symposium co-sponsored by the Getty Research Institute and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, held 24–25 June 2005 at the Clark in Williamstown, Massachusetts.

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Produced by the Publications Department of the

Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

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Color separations and printing by  
The Studley Press, Dalton, Massachusetts

Distributed by Yale University Press

New Haven and London

www.yalebooks.com

Printed and bound in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

David after David : essays on the later work / edited by Mark Ledbury.

p. cm.

“This publication is based on the proceedings of ‘Jacques-Louis David: empire and exile,’ a symposium co-sponsored by the Getty Research Institute and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, held 24–25 June 2005 at the Clark in Williamstown, Massachusetts.”

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-931102-69-1 ((Clark) : alk. paper) —

ISBN 978-0-300-12151-3 ((Yale) : alk. paper)

1. David, Jacques Louis, 1748–1824—Congresses.

I. Ledbury, Mark (Andrew Mark)

ND553.D25D33 2007

759.4—dc22

2006038946

The Self in Exile:  
David's *Portrait of Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès*

Ewa Lajer-Burcharth

Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome *the crippling sorrow of estrangement*.

—Edward Said, *Reflection on Exile*

As this twentieth-century commentary suggests, the condition of exile is not only materially but also psychologically devastating. Because it uproots and separates one from one's own past, exile, according to Edward Said, produces a fundamentally discontinuous state of being, "one that generates a need to reassemble an identity out of the refractions and discontinuities."<sup>1</sup>

Yet for Jacques-Louis David, as indicated repeatedly in his statements from Brussels, where he lived in exile (1816–25) after the final defeat of Napoleon and where he eventually died, exile may have been experienced at times as salutary and even rewarding.<sup>2</sup> On 2 November 1819, David wrote to his former pupil Antoine-Jean Gros from Brussels:

We will never understand each other, my friend, as long as you are persuaded that one cannot be happy but in France; as for me, I have good reasons to think the opposite. Ever since my return from Rome in 1781, I never ceased to be persecuted, tormented for my works by the most odious means possible, and had it not been for a certain mental strength [*une certaine force de tête*] that heaven granted me, I may have well succumbed to these persecutions. . . . You love me, my good friend, you want nothing but my happiness and my tranquility; well then, be content, your wishes have been fulfilled; let me enjoy the peace of repose that I am experiencing in this country and that has been unknown to me until now.<sup>3</sup>

Contrary to Gros's assumptions, which may well be our own, the painter's expatriate existence appeared to him as a kind of respite from what he perceived, in hindsight, as a life under the threat of perpetual harassment in his native France. David's letters to others confirm this perception that Brussels provided for him a longed-for opportunity for peaceful and productive existence and a fertile ground for the cultivation of his art.<sup>4</sup> The artist seems to have felt reinvigorated rather than uprooted or deprived: "Me, I work as though I was only thirty; I love my art the way I did when I was sixteen, and I will die, my friend, brush in hand," he declared in another letter to Gros written from Belgium in the spring of 1817.<sup>5</sup>

I am invoking these statements to raise the question of exile as a historically, politically, but also psychologically specific condition of art making. To be sure, I am not suggesting that we take any of David's pronouncements at their face value. They are not simply a source of information or a document of truth about the artist's Belgian experience, but rather a form of self-presentation through which David sought to work out the



FIGURE 95 Jacques-Louis David, *Portrait of Dominique-Vincent Ramel de Nogaret*, 1820.  
Oil on canvas, 23  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 18  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (60.5 x 47.5 cm). James Fairfax Collection

meaning of this experience for the benefit of others and for himself. The specific issue I wish to pursue is the *aesthetic* import of the painter's new situation.<sup>6</sup> How does one paint in exile? And, more specifically, how does one represent an exiled self? Whether it severs or, on the contrary, liberates one from one's own past, banishment inevitably raises the question of the relation between subjectivity and history, including one's own history. Could such an experience generate a new understanding and a new image of interiority?

Painted in Brussels in 1817, David's portrait of Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (pl. 10) provides a good opportunity to consider these questions.<sup>7</sup> Among several portrait commissions David received in Brussels, the portrait of Sieyès (1748–1836) was special in that it was a likeness of a fellow exile, one of only three of this kind painted by David. We do not know the portrait of another former regicide, Charles-Jean-Marie Alquier, now lost, but the likeness of Dominique-Vincent Ramel de Nogaret (fig. 95), smaller in scale, was clearly not as significant an assignment as was the Sieyès portrait.<sup>8</sup>

David and Sieyès had known each other since the early stages of the Revolution, if not earlier.<sup>9</sup> It is tempting to imagine that the two men were in contact in 1790, on the occasion of David's work on his painting *The Oath of the Tennis Court* (1790–91), wherein Sieyès, having been one of the event's instigators and principal actors, was featured as a thoughtful if somewhat impassive presence at the center of the composition. In 1792–93 David and Sieyès were both members of the Committee of Public Instruction.<sup>10</sup> David's letter written in the spring of 1799 to congratulate Sieyès on having been nominated as one of the three governing directors and another letter, dated 21 June of the same year, attest that the two men had by then known each other reasonably well.<sup>11</sup> But it was only in Belgium that these two former revolutionaries became close friends. They arrived in Brussels at about the same time, in January 1816.<sup>12</sup> The community of French exiles was large and, as may be expected, far from harmonious: it was divided by political squabbles about the past but also by the inequalities of social and economic status. Sieyès and David belonged among the wealthy émigrés living in relative comfort.<sup>13</sup> They initiated a *casse de secours* (mutual aid society) for their impoverished compatriots, an initiative that proved controversial due to political divisions.<sup>14</sup>

In Brussels, the two men were often seen taking walks together in a park, on a path that they had called the *Allée des veuves* (Alley of Widows); they also met at the gathering place of the French exiles, the *Café des mille colonnes*, and at David's home on rue Fossé-aux-Loups. When, not long after his arrival, David received an offer from the

Prussian king to become First Painter at his court, it was Sieyès who advised him not to take it.<sup>15</sup> The fact that Sieyès's nephew may have served as a model for Agamemnon in David's *Anger of Achilles* (pl. 5), painted in 1819, may be construed as another manifestation of the link between the two men.<sup>16</sup>

How, then, did David portray his fellow expatriate? First, there is an intriguing question of appearance. It has often been noted that David shows a younger Sieyès in the portrait than one would gather from his age, stated as sixty-nine in the inscription (about which more in a moment). His face is youthful and he is wearing a wig. As Charles Paul Jérôme Bréa's frontispiece to the *Notice sur la vie de Sieyès* (fig. 96), published in 1794, demonstrates, Sieyès was bald at a relatively early stage of his life, an affliction that, in his own description, left



FIGURE 96 Johann Heinrich Lips (Swiss, 1758–1817), after Charles Paul Jérôme Bréa (French, 1739–1820), *Sieyès*, 1789. Engraving, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (15.5 x 9.5 cm). Frontispiece to the *Notice sur la vie de Sieyès*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Maradan, 1794)



FIGURE 97 Infrared reflectogram of *Portrait of Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès* (pl. 10)

his scalp covered by “chalky scales.”<sup>17</sup> His contemporaries described Sieyès as frail, plagued by illness, and unattractive. As one commentator put it, he lacked any physical attributes of greatness.<sup>18</sup>

David’s portrait does not easily square with this evidence. But is his treatment an idealization? One suspects that rendering Sieyès in merely flattering terms was not the major concern of the painter here. As a portraitist, David was not given to flattery, as the double chin and near-bursting belly of Monsieur de Joubert (Musée Fabre, Montpellier), painted by him in the early 1790s, will remind us. One scholar has observed that David’s Sieyès looks neither as he did when he was younger nor as he did in 1817.<sup>19</sup> I would say that his appearance manifests a subtle tendency toward abstraction that endows the physically specific body with a sense of agelessness. It is, then, a kind of rejuvenation that does not return Sieyès to his younger self as much as it offers him a new one, lifting him up, as it were, to the realm of these memories that are vivid yet always somewhat inexact.

This is not to suggest that David painted the portrait from memory. We know of the lengthy posing sessions that David required to produce a likeness and of the painstaking nature of his process. Alexandre Lenoir, whom David portrayed in the same year (pl. 9), testified that the artist “three times effaced my eyes before arriving at the expression he perceived.”<sup>20</sup> The comtesse de Vilain XIII vividly described the tediousness of sitting for her portrait (National Gallery, London), painted by David in his first year in exile. She reported that it took a four-hour-long session for David to do just the forehead and the eyes and another sitting of that length to paint her nose and cheeks.<sup>21</sup> (David’s unfinished *Portrait of General Bonaparte* [1797–98; Musée du Louvre, Paris] illustrates what happened when the sitter lacked the time or patience to pose for him.)<sup>22</sup>

If David worked hard at Sieyès’s traits, the effort did not leave any visible or, for that matter, invisible traces. The portrait seems to have been painted with a considerable ease and confidence, a fact confirmed by the most recent infrared examination of the canvas (fig. 97), which reveals no substantial revisions in the process of painting. Among the very few apparent changes are the left collar, which, as the pentimento indicates, was first painted raised, and the slight adjustment in the position of the left arm (Sieyès’s right), which David tucked in a bit in the final version.<sup>23</sup> The point of the matter is that the end result, while fluidly rendered and compelling, has little to do with the actual body of Sieyès, frail as it was and disabled by age.

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This (bodily) abstraction coexists here, though, with an unusually strong, almost uncanny sense of psychological presence conveyed by the way the body is rendered. These are the tricks of the trade at which David was particularly good. Note the many subtle ways in which David secured the effect of depth—not only physical (as in volume), but also psychological, multiplying the folds and creases of the *redingote* and slightly lifting the lapels as if to create a breathing space and a kind of inner reserve at once physical and psychic. On the reverse side of the collar there is an additional internal crease of the lining that seems to form a satin folder of the innermost self.

But what is perhaps the most striking is the way in which these contingencies of appearance interact with the eloquent void of the background. David mastered the use of this fairly standard device of eighteenth-century portraiture, often using scumbling to give the blank background a vague sense of spatiality, of inner animation enhanced by light. This is the effect he developed in the portrait formula *en trois quatre*, which he adopted and transformed in his portraits of the early revolutionary period—that is, 1790–92—and to which the Brussels portrait harks back. The likeness of Mme de Thélusson of 1790 (Collection of Bayerische Hypo- and Vereinsbank AG in Alte Pinakothek, Munich) exemplifies the highly finished version of the formula, which David continued to use throughout the Consulate and the Empire, as the portrait of Cooper Penrose (The Putnam



Foundation, Timken Museum of Art, San Diego), painted in 1801–2, attests. But in the portrait of Sieyès, the painter subtly adjusts this model by adopting a more centered, tight, and up-close mode of presenting the sitter. Rather than being shown at a slight bias, as was Penrose, Sieyès is rendered more frontally, almost hieratically. The Latin inscription above his head enhances the sense of solemnity inherent in such hieratic presentation.

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Painted in the uppermost area of the canvas in light orange majuscules, the inscription is split in two parts, with *Emm. Jos. Sieyes.* and *Aetatis suae 69* (“Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès in his 69th year”) flanking the sitter’s head. Such inscriptions are not too frequent in David’s portraits. We are not dealing here with the declarations of authorship for which David used Latin during and after the Revolution—as in the earlier portrait of Henriette de Verninac (1799; Musée du Louvre, Paris), signed and dated on the bottom right *David fbat anno septimo R[eipublica] G[allicae]*, and similarly in his portrait of Penrose.<sup>24</sup> We may note that, in the Sieyès portrait, David’s signature and date, placed on the lower left, are rendered in plain French, as if to distinguish them from the language of authority in which the upper inscription identifies the sitter and his age. A similar type of annotation appeared in the portraits of Pope Pius VII (pl. 15) and Pius VII and Cardinal Caprara (fig. 129), both painted by David in 1805. In regard to private individuals, I can think of only one precedent in David’s practice, namely the portrait of the Mongez couple, Antoine Mongez and his wife, Angélique Mongez (1812; Musée du Louvre, Paris), in which the inscription functions as a personal note from the artist to his friends: *Amicos Antonium Mongez et Anglicam uxorem amicus Ludovicus David anno MDCCCXII [1812].*<sup>25</sup>

But the inscription on the Sieyès portrait is not a dedication to the sitter, but rather a form of address directed elsewhere—to the viewer, or to posterity. Echoing the well-established custom of late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Northern portraiture (see fig. 98),<sup>26</sup> which David must have known earlier, but with which he became reacquainted during his visits to the museums in Brussels and Ghent, it identified Sieyès as a sitter of special status—as in the papal portraits, not a private person but rather a historical persona.

The inscription indicates, then, David’s desire to situate his sitter not simply in relation to the present—Brussels—but also in relation to the revolutionary past that defined Sieyès’s historical importance. Its laconic form may be seen as a distant echo of those inscriptions that David had introduced in his icons of the revolutionary martyrs, *Le Peletier on His Deathbed* (1793; location unknown) and *Marat at His Last Breath (The Death of Marat)* (see fig. 80), thus defining them as an altogether new type of image, at once public and private, political and personal.<sup>27</sup> The writing on the wall in the Sieyès portrait, then, may also point to the sitter’s and painter’s shared history.



FIGURE 98 Pieter Pourbus (Flemish, 1523/24–84), *Portrait of Jacob van der Gheenste*, 1583. Oil on panel. Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (inv. 572)

But how much of the revolutionary past did Sieyès and David actually share? Born in the same year, 1748, they had a similar social background. Sieyès came from a Provençal family of modest means: his father was an agent of royal administration in the small town of Fréjus. David, a Parisian, was the son of a *commerçant* and a mother whose relatives “practiced art.”<sup>28</sup> Sieyès was forced by his father to enter an ecclesiastical career without having any inclinations to do so and, after theological studies at the Sorbonne, in 1772 was ordained as a priest. From the start, though, Sieyès had strong philosophical and political interests, and at the outset of the Revolution he was already a well-known author of political tracts.

We do not know what David would have been forced to do in his life had his father not died in a duel accident when David was nine. His mother, through her family connections, enabled her son’s career—not without some initial resistance—in the area of his chosen interest: art.<sup>29</sup> But launching it proved difficult for David: we may remember that he tried four times for the Prix de Rome, his misgivings not only causing a personal crisis (he attempted suicide) but also producing a lasting resentment against the Academy,



Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès.

FIGURE 99 Anonymous, *Sieyès [as a conspirator]*, n.d.  
Engraving, 8 x 4¼ in. (21 x 12 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris  
(Collection de Vinck 2693, t. 16, fol. 50)

which proved decisive for David's professional vicissitudes. Thus, at the outset of the Revolution, what the painter had in common with the *abbé* Sieyès was a deep frustration with the institutions of privilege on which the functioning of the Ancien Régime was based as well as a profoundly personal commitment to social change.

Sieyès's frustrations had to do with the precarious nature of private patronage on which he was forced to rely as an aspiring cleric. It was not enough to be brilliant, as he was; to arrive anywhere, you needed a protector. Reporting on one of his early disappointments with one such protector, who failed in helping him to obtain a benefice at the bishopric of Chartres, the young Sieyès wrote to his father in June 1773: "[My protector's] lack of success certainly does not hurt him as much as it hurts me. If the thing succeeded as he had hoped it would, I would have become *something* instead of which I am *nothing*."<sup>30</sup> It was Sieyès's perspicacity to recognize his personal frustration as a symptom of a larger social problem and to transform it into a discourse of revolutionary discontent with the status quo, a discourse that led to a watershed political and social change. It is precisely the language of this letter that echoes in the three famous questions opening

Sieyès's seminal pamphlet, *What Is the Third Estate?* (1789): "1. What is the Third Estate? Everything. 2. What has been till now its role in the political order? Nothing. 3. What does it demand? To become something."<sup>31</sup>

These very questions provided the impetus for the transformation of the Third Estate into a National Assembly at the momentous meeting of the deputies of that order at the Tennis Court at Versailles in June 1789. Sieyès's pamphlet thus succeeded in transforming the "nothing" of the Third Estate, with Sieyès as its mouthpiece, into the "something" of the new political order, one based on the principle of *representation*, a key concept in Sieyès's political theory from then on. Sieyès argued that the political practice of representation must serve as the foundation of the new society. As he put it in his speech of 2 Thermidor Year II (20 July 1794): "Everything is representation in the social realm. It is to be found everywhere in the private as well as in the public order. I will say more, it is inseparable from the very essence of social life."<sup>32</sup>

This new principle came to intervene in Sieyès's own life, contributing to a major change in his career: from a priest to a member of the national representation. He was part of the National Assembly from its inception and, in 1792, shedding the frock of a churchman, he became a deputy to the National Convention, as did David. Holding different public offices and executive posts under the Directory (1795–99) and the Consulate (1799–1804), Sieyès was considered to be the key political actor throughout the entire revolutionary decade, often behind the scenes. A revolutionary caricature depicting him as a conspirator swathed in a black cape (fig. 99) testifies to the perception of him as a political schemer. He was the one who engineered Bonaparte's coup d'état, becoming briefly one of the three rulers of France.<sup>33</sup> He ended up, though, yielding power to Bonaparte, who rewarded him for his services with an estate, a title of count, and a small fortune; though Sieyès remained a senator under the Empire, he effectively retired from political life.

The second key concern in Sieyès's political theory was the status of the individual in relation to the new ideal of collectivity and to the new representative political system that guaranteed its existence. This was one of the major problems posed by the fledgling French democracy. Sieyès was involved in the theoretical and legal definition of that problem from the start, mobilized as he was to draft the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1792) and later also to help formulate the new constitution. Sieyès's view was that political representation was by no means an end in itself. He insisted, "The only real happiness is that of individuals. Ask Lycurgus what his aim was in founding the Spartan constitution. He wished to construct a state. Men were for him the stones for his building. For me it is the stone that is all, the end of all, and the building is at its service."<sup>34</sup>

David followed a revolutionary path that was similar to Sieyès's—up to a point. His early project of *The Oath of the Tennis Court* served, in a sense, as a testing ground for the problem of representation, both political and visual. What proved most difficult, as his unfinished *ébauche* (see fig. 125) for the composition attests (as does the fact that the whole project, despite David's repeated attempts, proved unrealizable), was to figure out the

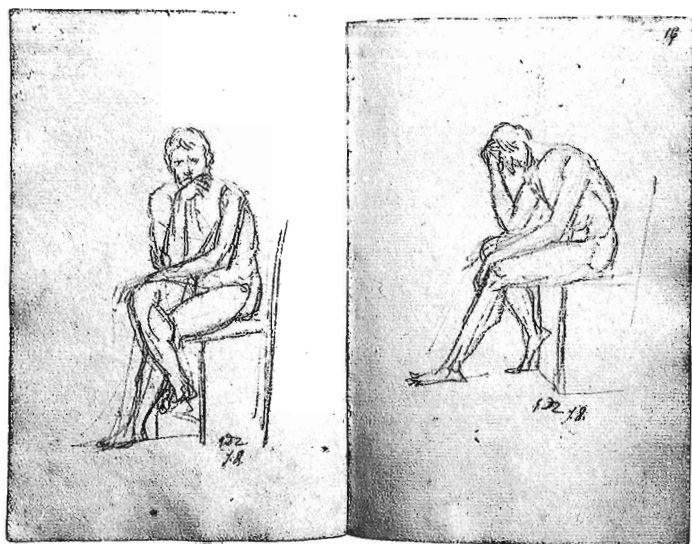


FIGURE 100 Jacques-Louis David, *Studies for "The Oath of the Tennis Court,"* c. 1791.

Black chalk on paper,  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$  in. (19.2 x 12.5 cm).

Musée national du Château de Versailles (inv. MV7800 fols. 15v and 16r)



FIGURE 101 Jacques-Louis David, *Portrait of André-Antoine Bernard, called Bernard de Saintes,* 1795.

Pen and India ink and gray wash, heightened with white gouache over graphite on paper, diam.  $7\frac{7}{8}$  in. (18.1 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

relation between individual and collective forms of representation. In this regard, it is curious how often in his preparatory studies for *The Oath of the Tennis Court*, such as those contained in a sketchbook now at Versailles (fig. 100), David returned to the figure of an individual—quite possibly an image of Sieyès—who neither joins in the act of oath taking nor opposes it, but rather stands for the aspect of intense reflection behind it.

It would be tempting to say that David ended up choosing the collective over the individual, both in his political career, which followed the Jacobin trajectory leading to the espousal of direct democracy (a system that Sieyès repeatedly warned against), and in his artistic career as well. This choice may be seen as epitomized by his *Marat*: the image of an individual as the sacrifice of the people. But this would be an oversimplification. The interests of the individual were in fact at the core of Jacobin ideology.<sup>35</sup> David's own *Marat* may thus be seen as a Jacobin icon precisely insofar as it conveyed a tension between the quest of the individual and the collective purposes of the Revolution.

This tension resurfaced as an acute personal and artistic problem for David after Thermidor. His work from prison, where he found himself after Robespierre's fall, manifests, as I have argued elsewhere, an aesthetic crisis that amounted to a crisis in representation.<sup>36</sup> David's likeness of Bernard de Saintes (fig. 101), which belongs to a series of medallion portraits of the former Jacobin deputies imprisoned with the artist at the Collège des Quatre Nations, illustrates the point. To portray this former Terrorist known

as the "Iron Pickax" (*Pioche-Fer*)—for he traveled in the provinces with his own portable guillotine—David adopted the format of the bust medallion used during the Revolution to represent the new legislative bodies. An example of this form of representation was a series of portrait prints of the members of the National Assembly published by Franz Gabriel Fiesinger, among which can be found a medallion likeness of Sieyès by Jean Urbain Guérin (fig. 102).<sup>37</sup> But David's attempt to reinsert the compromised deputy's body into the field of official representation yielded ambivalent effects. The decorum of the profile presentation was breached by the psychological definition of the sitter, exemplified by the disaffected glance de Saintes was shown casting from under his hat, and by the introduction of a gesture (absent from the traditional format of the bust medallion)—and with it, a sense of subjective presence that resonated ambivalently in the



FIGURE 102 Jean Urbain Guérin  
 (French, 1760–1836), *Sieyès*, c. 1790.  
 Engraving, 6½ x 4⅞ in. (16.5 x 11 cm).  
 From Franz Gabriel Fiesinger,  
*Portraits de députés à l'Assemblée  
 nationale en 1789* (Paris, 1790s)

context of the popular imagery circulating at the time. This imagery repeatedly described the former Terrorists as either monstrous and violent or guilty and repentant. Such was the case, for example, with an anonymous post-Thermidorian print showing a deputy wandering in anguish with his arms crossed on his chest, haunted by memories of his past.<sup>38</sup> In echoing this gesture, de Saintes's likeness engages, if involuntarily, with the ethos of Jacobin guilt. (Note also the way in which de Saintes's arm cuts like a guillotine blade through his hand, leaving his slightly uncouth fingers, with their long and visibly dirty nails, to dangle prominently underneath.) David's medallions thus offered the former Jacobin deputies a position in representation while also subtly undermining it.<sup>39</sup>

In the portraits of his fellow exiles from Brussels—Sieyès, Alquier, and Ramel—David confronted a problem that was not too different from the one he had dealt with in the prison medallions. These were after all the regicides—that is, according to Article 7 of the law of amnesty promulgated on 12 January 1816, the “irreconcilable enemies of France.” This law sentenced all of them to “exile in perpetuity” and stripped them of their titles and possessions.<sup>40</sup>

Most of the exiles assumed this political and material dispossession with dignity. Thus, when David asked the interior minister, Élie Decazes, for a passport to leave the country, and was given the impression that he could avoid proscription, he replied that he intended to fully submit himself to the law<sup>41</sup>—as did Sieyès.<sup>42</sup> David's correspondence from Brussels confirms that the artist did not shrink from assuming full responsibility for his past. “I knew what I was doing. I was old enough to know what I was doing. I did not do it out of passion; time will reveal the truth. . . . My conscience is clear,” he declared with almost audible pride in a letter written from Brussels to his younger son, Jules, who was in Paris, in 1819.<sup>43</sup>

How does one paint, then, under the weight of a distant and yet freshly present past? It is precisely the question of individuality—dear to Sieyès—that David's portrait visibly tries to negotiate. In the absence of any specific accessories, it is not the social standing nor the political identity but rather the self itself that seems to be at issue here, a self whose age is ostensibly its only defining attribute. And it is, I would say, through this relative dispossession that the self announces its belonging to history—that of the Revolution—a history that could not, and need not, be shown to make itself felt.

There are, then, no obvious signs of the Revolution in the portrait. The only accessories, a snuffbox and a checkered *mouchoir*, are most likely David's own studio props, used before in the 1795 portrait of Jacobus Blauw (National Gallery, London). No defining attributes speak of the sitter's position in relation to history. There are no specific references to the intellectual or any other personal experience of the portrayed (e.g., a pamphlet, a book, or a sheet of paper and writing implements, as in the portraits of Blauw or Lenoir), objects that one would expect to accompany this revolutionary intellectual par excellence, “the doctor of politics,” as another exiled deputy, Bertrand Barère, called him.<sup>44</sup> Nor are there any obvious signs of the comte de Sieyès's social standing or his

wealth, which was considerable, though he reportedly lived in Brussels without any ostentation, even frugally.<sup>45</sup> There is none of the excessive sartorial pomp of the portrait of Comte Antoine Français (Musée Jacquemart-André, Institut de France, Paris), the former chief customs officer from Nantes ennobled by Napoleon, whom David portrayed in 1811 in a costume of the *Conseiller d'État* that recalls the elaborate Directorial gown Sieyès himself once wore.<sup>46</sup> Nor, for that matter, are there any visible insignia of official recognition (Sieyès was a grand officer of the Legion of Honor), such as those in David's portrait of Lenoir, painted in the same year, in which he wears not one but two crosses.<sup>47</sup> Sieyès's somber costume—the black *redingote*, black trousers, a starched, crisp white vest, and a tie wrapped tightly around the neck with a neat knot—are reminiscent not of the priest's clothes, as is often said, but rather of the attire of the Third Estate.

We are looking at a body that seems to be comfortably settled into the space of representation, its head nestled in the collar's crisp whiteness as if in a half-broken porcelain cup. Commentaries on the painting have emphasized the sense of majestic serenity Sieyès exudes.<sup>48</sup> His expression seems indeed discreetly self-content *and* self-contained, his direct gaze conveying a sense of openness, a sign of an inner life for which this body is a silent harbor, mute, drawn in upon itself, addressing us but remaining unknowable. His lips pursed, his coat buttoned, his gesture somewhat retentive, Sieyès looks amiable but impenetrable. He has little to do with the almost garrulous openness of the sartorially overproduced portrait of the comte de Turenne (fig. 103), painted a year earlier, with his face appearing somewhat vacuous—a subjective emptiness that David brilliantly summed up through the motif of the reversed top hat yawning with its inner void. Sieyès's body, on the contrary, will not betray its secrets, like the plotter swathed in the black cape from his caricature mentioned earlier. In David's portrait this is not a matter of secrecy, connoting political intrigue, but rather a matter of silence. The contemporary description of Sieyès in Brussels as “immobile, enclosed, and indulging more than ever his stubborn passion of keeping silent” comes to mind.<sup>49</sup>

Silence was, of course, the privilege of the exiles. Writing to his student Joseph Odevaere, David formulated an exile's credo: “Silence, contempt, that's all that's needed.”<sup>50</sup> Sieyès, too, thought of silence as an exile's strategy, though in a slightly different sense. In response to his friends' repeated encouragements to write memoirs, he replied: “*Cui bono?* Our work is great enough to dispense with our commentary. Our acts will teach those who care to understand our thoughts, and all our warnings would not save from our errors successors who will only earn our wisdom at the price of misfortunes like ours.”<sup>51</sup>

Sieyès's dictum returns us to David's Latin inscription. For its abbreviated forms conveys a similar reluctance *to speak* for posterity. Who, then, is thus speaking? The text's majuscules, evoking the carvings on antique tombstones, speak in an impersonal, anonymous voice—not that of the artist, but of history itself. As such, it recalls the disembodied hand writing a revolutionary message on the wall in Villeneuve's 1793 etching *Louis the Traitor Read Your Sentence* (fig. 104). In Villeneuve's passionate metonymy, the arm



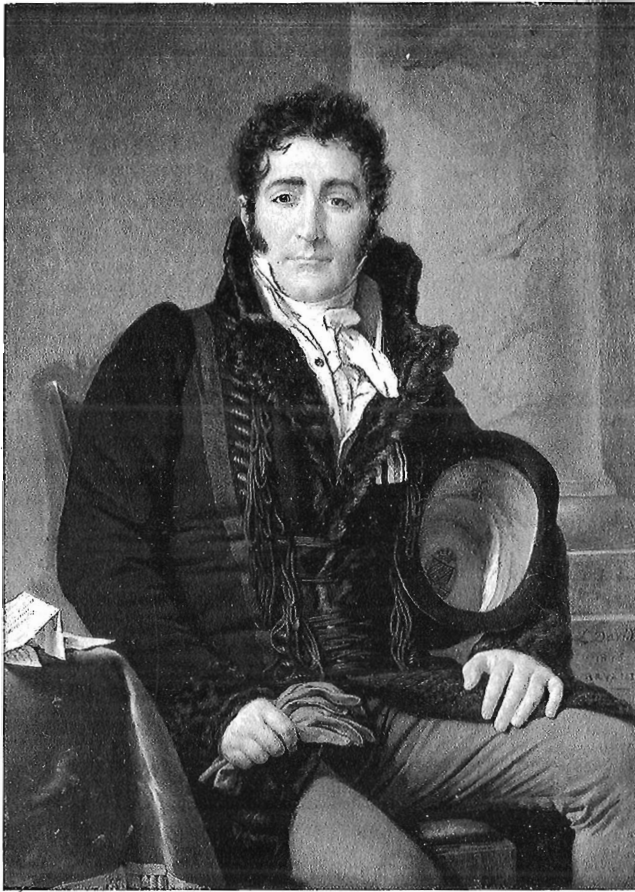


FIGURE 103 Jacques-Louis David, *Portrait of Comte Henri-Arné de Turenne*, 1816. Oil on panel, 44 x 31<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (112 x 81 cm). Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

of the people breaking through the brick wall takes on the role of the divine hand meting out the king's sentence.<sup>52</sup>

David's pithy phrase is, too, a kind of a sentence—for and against Sieyès. For it is as if the inscription both gave sense to this body and took away from it. The void behind Sieyès, the blank sheet on which hang the words above him, seems to pull his body up toward the sphere where it can *mean* but cannot *be*. The abstracting rejuvenation of the sitter seems to be precisely one of its ambivalent effects, at once flattery and subjective evacuation.

Ultimately, then, David both makes his fellow exile present and points toward his imminent exit. The harbor of representation that shelters his contingent body is also a space of a kind of exile of the self that is being transported under our eyes into the tomb of history. Representation itself can be, then, a space of exile, a space of silence, muting the self while it speaks for it.<sup>53</sup>



FIGURE 104 Villeneuve (French, active late 18th, early 19th centuries),  
*Louis the Traitor Read Your Sentence*, 1793, Etching, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris  
 (Collection De Vinck 5 209 [31])

There is no doubt that Sieyès's existence in exile was not as serene and majestic as David's portrait implies. Nor was David's. Notwithstanding the comfort of shared culture (and language), of relative wealth—one will recall the quip of the envious Pierre Claude François Daunou, Sieyès's onetime political rival, that Sieyès lived in exile like La Fontaine's “rat in his cheese from Holland”<sup>54</sup>—one suspects that these exiles lived under some duress, for some more psychological than material.<sup>55</sup> One suspects that the shared pleasures of their pastimes—Sieyès and David taking their daily walk on the *Allée des veuves*, a route of grief *par excellence*—were laced with the terrors of recollection.<sup>56</sup> David hinted at it when he spoke of how, in Brussels, he could only forget about the world when he painted. Once he laid down his palette, he would start thinking—about his children, his friends, “the good people,” as he put it, referring, if indirectly, to his past.<sup>57</sup> A more dramatic reminder of the persistence of the revolutionary memories could be heard in the weak voice of Sieyès who, in 1832, back in Paris and seriously ill with the flu, whispered to his butler in high fever: “If Monsieur de Robespierre comes, you will tell him that I am not in.”<sup>58</sup>

It took Dalí to provide us, in the next century, with a vivid image of what such persistence of memory can do to the appearance of things.<sup>59</sup> David's portrait of Sieyès can

only hint at this problem, subtly, indirectly: it offers us an image of an individual as a subject of the past that has at once defined and exhausted him, his position on the border between comfort and collapse.

Exile, as David never tired of repeating, was a kind of happiness, a belated *bonheur* of the regicide. The *bonheur* of Sieyès, as his portrait suggests eloquently, disturbingly, was the pleasure of having become a subject of history—the pleasure of a kind of death.

I would like to thank my student and research assistant Andrei Pop for his help in the preparation of this text for publication. The epigraph is taken from Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile* (1984; repr., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 173. Italics mine.

1. Ibid.

2. David's status was defined by a paragraph in the law on amnesty (the notorious *loi d'exil*, debated and finally adopted by the Chamber of Deputies in the winter of 1815–16, according to *Le Moniteur universel*, 9–28 Dec. 1815 and Jan. 1816) that deprived all regicides and supporters of Napoleon of citizenship. In this sense, David was forced to leave, though he took the initiative himself by applying for a passport. Daniel Wildenstein and Guy Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l'oeuvre de Louis David* (Paris: Fondation Wildenstein, 1973), no. 1756.

3. Jacques-Louis David to Antoine-Jean Gros, 2 Nov. 1819, Brussels, cited in Wildenstein and Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1855: "Nous ne nous entendrons jamais, mon bon ami, tant que vous vous persuaderez qu'on ne peut être heureux qu'en France; moi je suis bien fondé à penser le contraire. Depuis mon retour de Rome en 1781, je n'ai jamais cessé d'y être persécuté, tourmenté dans mes travaux par tous les moyens les plus odieux, et si le ciel ne m'avait pas favorisé d'une certaine force de tête, j'aurais pu y succomber. . . . Vous m'aimez, mon bon ami, vous ne voulez que mon bonheur et ma tranquillité; eh bien! soyez content, vos vœux sont remplis, laissez-moi jouir en paix du repos que j'éprouve en ce pays et qui m'a été inconnu jusqu'à présent."

4. See, for example, Jacques-Louis David to Antoine Mongez and his wife, Angélique Le Vol, 7 Nov. 1817, Brussels, cited in *ibid.*, 208, no. 1809: "On m'aime, on m'estime; je dis plus, ils me considèrent actuellement comme un des leurs et on ne m'en chasserait pas impunément. Que ne puissiez-vous compléter mon bonheur? Je suis la destinée humaine qui ne veut pas qu'on soit entièrement content" (I am loved and respected; I'll go further, they actually consider me one of theirs and I shall not be expelled with impunity. If only you could complete my happiness. I follow the human destiny which does not permit one to be entirely happy). His wife wrote to Mme Huin in 1822 that they were happy and wished to stay for good. *Ibid.*, 223, no. 1907.

5. Jacques-Louis David to Antoine-Jean Gros, 13 May 1817, Brussels, cited in *ibid.*, 206, no. 1799: "Moi je travaille comme si je n'avais que trente ans; j'aime mon art comme je l'aimais à seize ans, et je mourrai, mon ami, en tenant le pinceau. Il n'y a pas de puissance, telle malveillante qu'elle soit, qui peut m'en priver; j'oublie toute la terre; mais la palette à bas, je pense à mes enfants, à mes amis, aux braves gens."

6. For an exploration of the aesthetic and literary effects of the condition of exile, see S. Suleiman, ed., *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998). See also Hélène Cixous, *The Exile of James Joyce*, trans. Sally Purcell (New York: D. Lewis, 1972), pt. 4, which explores the ambivalence of the voluntary exile. Though David's exile wasn't exactly voluntary, he assumed it without protest, refusing the special treatment insinuated by the interior minister. Wildenstein and Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1756.

7. Sieyès's birthday was in May: the portrait may have been a birthday gift or made to coincide with the occasion, declaring as it did that the sitter was depicted at the age of sixty-nine.

8. For the portrait of Alquier, destroyed in the 1871 fire at the Hôtel-de-Ville, see most recently Philippe Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2005), 293, 311 n. 1. For the portrait of Ramel Nogaret, with its pendant portrait of Ramel's wife, see Alan Wintermute, *The French Portrait, 1550–1850*, exh. cat. (New York: Colnaghi, 1996), 78, and 104–5, and Bordes, *Empire to Exile*, 314–18, cats. 52–53.

9. They may have met in the late 1780s, when both associated with Madame de Genlis and the circle of the duc d'Orléans,

- known later as Philippe-Egalité. On David's connection with Philippe-Egalité, see Philippe Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de Panne de Jacques-Louis David* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), 19–20, and Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 276. Sieyès was a member of the Club de Valois formed around Philippe-Egalité, according to Paul Bastid, *Sieyès et sa pensée* (Paris: Hachette, 1970), 51
10. Sieyès had been charged with the project of the reform of education. He lasted in this post until July 1793. Sieyès was nominated to the Committee of Public Instruction on 13 October 1792 (Bastid, *Sieyès*, 134), as was David, who served until the end of the Convention in October 1795. See Elisabeth Agius-d'Yvoire, "Chronologie," in *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825*, exh. cat., ed. Antoine Schnapper, Arlette Sérullaz, and Elisabeth Agius-d'Yvoire (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989), 580.
11. See Robert Marquant, ed., *Les archives Sieyès: Inventaire* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1970), 85.
12. Having left Paris on 21 January, Sieyès arrived in Brussels on 22 January 1816, a fact noted by the Belgian press. Jean-Denis Bredin, *Sieyès: la clé de la Révolution française* (Paris: Fallois, 1988), 321. David and his wife arrived on 27 January. Wildenstein and Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1762.
13. Soon after his arrival, Sieyès bought a house on rue de l'Orangerie and a property in the country. Bastid, *Sieyès*, 282, and Bredin, *Sieyès*, 522. David rented an apartment in the center of Brussels, on the corner of rues Willems and Fossé-aux-Loups, and a studio in the former bishopric on the rue de l'Évêque. Wildenstein and Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1764.
14. Thus Marc-Antoine Baudot sarcastically notes: "Sieyès, sur la fin de sa vie, en exil, et ne pouvant plus proscrire, prit le parti d'être quelque peu bienfaisant, même pour ceux qui avaient été les objets de sa haine" (At the end of his life, Sieyès, being an exile and no longer able to persecute people, took to behaving somewhat charitably even with respect to the former objects of his hatred). Marc-Antoine Baudot, *Notes historiques sur la convention nationale, le directoire, l'empire et l'exil des votants* (Paris: Jouaust, 1893), 291
15. According to the *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. J.-L. David* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré père et fils, 1824), 65: "S . . . , républicain par opinion et par goût, lui conseilla le contraire: 'Libre, indépendant, honoré, et dans l'aisance, pourquoi, disait-il, rononceriez-vous [sic] à ces avantages?'" (S . . . , being republican in his opinions and his tastes, advised him on the contrary [not to go]: "Being free, independent, honored, and well-to do—he said—why would you renounce these benefits?"). Sieyès had served as French ambassador in Berlin and thus spoke from experience, though David had his own reasons for not wanting to serve another king, let alone transplant himself once again into another culture, country, and language.
16. Sophie Monneret, *David and Neo-Classicism* (Paris: Terrail, 1999), 198. Sieyès's nephew, Ange Sieyès, a decorated officer in Napoleon's army, joined his uncle in exile in 1819. See Marquant, *Archives Sieyès*, 38.
17. On "la tête couverte de dardres," or "d'écaillés farineuses," see Bastid, *Sieyès*, 17–18. The *Notice* (Paris: Maradan, 1794) first appeared anonymously, but it was most likely dictated by Sieyès himself. The frontispiece appeared in the second French version, published in Switzerland in 1795. For the publication history of the *Notice*, see Murray Forsyth, *Reason and Revolution: The Political Thought of the Abbé Sieyès* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1987), 13.
18. Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand judged his looks "common." Sieyès, as one of his biographers put it, "n'était point de ceux qui portent le succès politique inscrit sur leur visage" (was not among those who wear their political success on their faces). Bastid, *Sieyès*, 18.
19. Donna Hunter, "Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, 1817," in *A Private Passion: 19th-Century Paintings and Drawings from the Greenville L. Winthrop Collection, Harvard University*, exh. cat., ed. Stephan Wolohojian (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 90.
20. Schnapper, Sérullaz, and Agius-d'Yvoire, *Jacques-Louis David*, 524–25: "Trois fois a effacé mes yeux avant de s'arrêter à l'expression qu'il apercevait."
21. Comtesse Vilain to her husband, 16 May 1816, Brussels, preserved in the Rijksarchief, Ghent "Je commence à croire que mon portrait sera fort bien, mais il faut avouer que c'est cruellement ennuyeux, j'ai eu avant-hier une séance de onze heures à 3/4, pour le front et les yeux, hier de onze à 2 1/4, pour le nez et les joues, aujourd'hui il fera le menton et [la] bouche, il voulait avoir un jour de repos, mais je lui ai dit que n'étant ici que pour lui, je le priais de ne point perdre de temps" (I am beginning to think that my portrait will be quite good, but I must admit that the whole thing is cruelly boring. The day before yesterday, I sat from 11:00 to 3:30 for the forehead and eyes; yesterday's sitting lasted from 11:00 to 2:45 for the nose and cheeks; today he [David] will do the chin and the mouth. He wanted a day off, but as I am here only for him, I begged him not to waste any time). This and other excerpts from Vilain's letters are published in Sue Jones and Kathryn Calley Galitz, "Jacques-Louis David's Portrait of Comtesse Vilain XIII and Her Daughter," *Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1166 (May 2000): 303.
22. Schnapper, Sérullaz, and Agius-d'Yvoire, *Jacques-Louis David*, 378–79.
23. One may also note the trowel work in the area around the head. I would like to thank Teri Hensick, paintings conservator at the Fogg Art Museum's Straus Center for Conservation, for sharing the photographs and discussing her findings

with me. Many thanks also to Stephan Wolohojian, associate curator of paintings, sculpture, and decorative arts at the Fogg Art Museum.

24. The Penrose portrait is signed and dated in the lower right *Leus David / faciebat / parisiis anno / Xmo / republica gallicae*.

25. Though dated 1812, it has been suggested that the painting was finished in Brussels. See Schnapper, Sérullaz, and Agius-d'Yvoire, *Jacques-Louis David*, 478, no. 268.

26. The inscription on the *Portrait of Jacob van der Gheente* (fig. 98) is split into two parts above the head of the sitter. This and other works thus inscribed were acquired by the *Musées royaux* after David's death, but earlier examples (the work of the Master of Flémalle) may have been familiar to David, in and out of the state collection.

27. The inscription on the first icon read *David à Lepelletier; 20 Janvier 1793*; on the second, it read *À Marat, David: L'An Deux*.

28. For biographical information on Sieyès, see Bastid, *Sieyès*, and Bredin, *Sieyès*. The most extensive documentation of the archival material pertaining to David's life is Agius-d'Yvoire's "Chronologie," in Schnapper, Sérullaz, and Agius-d'Yvoire, *Jacques-Louis David*, 559–637.

29. See *Notice sur la vie de David*, 7–9.

30. Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès to Honoré Sieyès, 25 June 1773, Paris, cited in Bastid, *Sieyès*, 35–36: "Mon protecteur se console du grand coup qu'il a manqué. Son peu de succès ne lui fait pas autant de peine certainement qu'à moi. Si la chose eût réussi comme il l'espérait, je devenais tout au lieu que je ne suis rien." See also William Hamilton Sewell, *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), 14–15, for a discussion of the importance of this letter.

31. Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?* preface by Jean Tulard (Paris: Quadrige/PUR, 1982), 27: "1. Qu'est-ce que le tiers état? Tout. 2. Qu'a-t-il été jusqu'à présent dans l'ordre politique? Rien. 3. Que demande-t-il? À y devenir quelque chose."

32. Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, "Opinion du 2 Thermidor," in *Les Discours de Sieyès dans les débats constitutionnels de l'an III, édition critique* (Paris: Hachette, 1939), 16: "Toute est représentation dans l'état social. Elle se trouve partout dans l'ordre privé comme dans l'ordre public. . . . Je dis plus, elle se confond avec l'essence même de la vie sociale." See also Pasquale Pasquino's analysis of Sieyès's notion of representation, *Sieyès et l'invention de la constitution en France* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1998), 35–49.

33. Thus, in Charles Augustin Saint-Beuve's oft-repeated phrase, Sieyès both opened the French Revolution and closed it ("[Sieyès] eut cette singulière destinée d'être le même à l'ouvrir et à la fermer, et de jouer un premier rôle le premier jour comme le dernier"). Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi* (Paris: Garnier, 1857), 5:203.

34. Sieyès, "The end of the social state," manuscript note cited in Forsyth, *Reason and Revolution*, 126: "La seule félicité réelle, celle des individus. Demandez à Lycurgue ce qu'il s'est proposé. En fondant la [constitution] spartiate il a voulu faire un État. Les hommes lui ont servi des pierres pour son édifice; pour moi c'est la pierre qui est le tout, la fin de tout, et l'édifice est à son service." See also Christine Fauré, ed., *Des manuscrits de Sieyès, 1773–1799* (Paris: Champion, 1999), 471. Much of Sieyès's unpublished political theory can be found in this valuable edition.

35. Patrice Higonnet has insisted on this point in *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 76–100.

36. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 8–129.

37. Fiesinger's publication was one of numerous series of print portraits of the deputies of the National Assembly and, later, of the National Convention that circulated during the revolutionary decade. A partial listing of these publications was offered in Soliman Lieutaud, *Liste de portraits dessinés, gravés, ou lithographiés des députés à l'Assemblée Nationale de 1789* (Paris: L'auteur, 1854).

38. The image, by an anonymous artist, is *Deputy to the National Convention* (c. 1794; Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). As the inscription below the image makes clear, this deputy is haunted by the memory of his deeds. I reproduce and discuss the print in *Necklines*, 101.

39. These prison portraits may be taken as an unwitting illustration of what Sieyès's political writings warn against: the fate of the individual under the pressure of the collective abstract ideal.

40. "Ceux des régicides qui, au mépris d'une clémence presque sans borne, ont voté l'acte additionnel ou accepté des fonctions ou emplois de l'usurpateur, et qui par là se sont déclarés ennemis irréconciliables de la France et du gouvernement légitime, sont exilés à perpétuité du royaume et sont tenus d'en sortir dans le délai d'un mois. . . . Ils ne pourront jouir d'aucun droit civil, y posséder aucuns biens, titres ni pensions à eux concédés à titre gratuit" (These regicides who, in contempt of the almost boundless clemency, voted for the Additional Act or accepted functions or employment from the usurper, and who are thereby defined as irreconcilable enemies of France and of the legitimate government, are exiled in perpetuity from the kingdom and are obliged to leave it within one month. . . . They will not be entitled to any civil right and will not be able to retain any possessions, titles, or pensions granted them by the state). Thus reads Article 7 of the amnesty law, reproduced in Agius-d'Yvoire, "Chronologie," in Schnapper, Sérullaz, and Agius-d'Yvoire, *Jacques-Louis David*, 621 (12 Jan. 1816).

41. Schnapper, Sérullaz, and Agius-d'Yvoire, *Jacques-Louis David*, 378.
42. One may speculate that the date Sieyès left Paris, 22 January, the anniversary of the king's execution, was a deliberate choice.
43. Jacques-Louis David to his son Jules, 1 Jan. 1819, Brussels, cited in Wildenstein and Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1841: "J'ai su ce que je faisais, j'avais l'âge pour savoir ce que je faisais, je ne l'ai pas fait par passion; le temps dévoilera la vérité . . . je suis tranquille avec ma conscience." In the same letter to Jules, on the occasion of his engagement, David wrote: "Toutes mes collègues rentrent en France. Je serai certainement du nombre si j'avais la faiblesse de redemander mon rappel par écrit. Vous connaissez votre père et la fierté de son caractère peut-il faire un pareille démarche?" (All my colleagues are returning to France. I would certainly be among them had I had the weakness to ask again for my return in writing. You know your father and his sense of pride, can he make such a move?). Yet the letter speaks of the time when he would return. David's ambivalence about ending his exile may never yield a conclusive reading of his motives—though it is plausible to think that, like Sieyès, he hoped to return to a Republic. "J'ai été exilé par une loi; je ne rentrerai que par une loi" (I was exiled by a law; I will return only by a law). And David could thunder at his friend Jean-Baptiste Lechevallier's entreaty: "Vous allez jusqu'à me dire: 'Faut-il que le Roi descende de son trône pour m'inviter à rentrer en France?'" (You go so far as to say to me: "Must the King descend from his throne to invite me to return to France?"). For the regicide, the answer may well have been "yes." Louis Hautecoeur, *Louis David* (Paris: La table ronde, 1954), 260, 262.
44. Bertrand Barère, *Memoirs* (London: Nichols, 1896), 4.359.
45. Bastid probably exaggerates, in line with prevailing opinion, in estimating Sieyès's fortune to be three or four million francs at the time. Bastid, *Sieyès*, 282.
46. For Sieyès in this gown, see the portrait of him by Jean Duplessi-Bertaux (n.d., Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).
47. He wears a Maltese cross and, on his lapel, the Legion of Honor.
48. Bredin points to the ecclesiastical look of his coat. Bredin, *Sieyès*, 524.
49. Saint-Beuve, *Causeries*, 214: "Des personnes qui l'ont approché dans ses dernières années me le peignent immobile, renfermé, pratiquant plus que jamais cette opiniâtre passion de se taire."
50. Jacques-Louis David to Joseph Odevaere, 21 June 1816, Brussels, cited in Wildenstein and Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1785. "Silence, mépris, c'est tout ce qu'il faut."
51. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries*, 214: "Cui bono? à quoi bon? Notre oeuvre est assez grande pour se passer de nos commentaires; nos actes instruiront ceux qui auront la curiosité de connaître nos pensées, et tous nos avertissements seraient inutiles pour mettre en garde contre nos fautes les hommes qui, venus après nous, n'acquerront notre sagesse qu'au prix des mêmes malheurs." Translation modified from John Harold Clapham, *The Abbé Sieyès: An Essay in the Politics of the French Revolution* (London: King & Son, 1912), 260.
52. The caption reads "Dieu a calculé ton royaume [sic] et la-mis afin, tu as-été mis dans la Balance et tu as-été trouvé trop léger" (God has numbered thy kingdom and finished it; though art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting) (Daniel 5:26–28). For a discussion of this print, see Klaus Herding, "Visual Codes and the Graphic Art of the French Revolution," in *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789–1799*, exh. cat. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 83–100.
53. This is what Titian makes explicit in his likeness of Cardinal Filippo Archinto when he draws a half-transparent curtain over his sitter, who died before the completion of his portrait (*Portrait of Cardinal Filippo Archinto*, 1558; Philadelphia Museum of Art).
54. Bastid, *Sieyès*, 283: "Comme le rat de la fable dans son fromage de Hollande." The reference is to Jean de La Fontaine's fable "Le rat qui s'est retiré du monde" ("The rat who withdrew from the world").
55. For an evocative description of the daily lives of the exiles, see Sergio Luzzatto, *Il Terrore ricordato: memoria e tradizione dell'esperienza rivoluzionaria* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000). The French interior minister Élie Decazes maintained secret agents to spy on the exiles in Brussels. Eugène Welvert, *Lendemain révolutionnaires: Les régicides* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1907), XLIII n. 1.
56. On the memories of the exiles, see Luzzatto, *Il Terrore*. Sieyès, like David, was vulnerable to political recrimination from the right (as regicide) and the left (for his role in Napoleon's coup). There is the story of the wine merchant who, walking in the park with the *abbé*, unctuously repeated the phrase "Monsieur Sieyès." Sieyès protested that the man might as well say "Monsieur le comte." This was the merchant's cue, for he replied: "J'en ai bien trop dit pour un traître!" (I said well enough for a traitor!), and left the stupefied *abbé* alone in the park. Baudot, *Notes historiques*, 240.
57. Wildenstein and Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1799.
58. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries*, 215 "Si M. de Robespierre vient, vous lui direz que je n'y suis pas."
59. See Salvador Dalí, *The Persistence of Memory* (1931, The Museum of Modern Art, New York).