Drawing:

The Invention of a Modern Medium

This catalogue accompanies the exhibition *Drawing: The Invention of a Modern Medium*, on view at the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, from January 21 through May 7, 2017.

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Idea

Harmon Siegel

Fig. 1
Jacques-Louis David, *Study for "The Oath of the Tennis Court."*
See p. 282 for full information.

The usual story of artistic expression goes like this: an artist begins with an idea in his mind, and then realizes it, giving it concrete, material existence. This story purports to be descriptive, to tell us how ideas function in drawing. It is in fact normative, told to glorify intellect and denigrate material forms of labor. At several critical junctures in the institutional history of European art, artists argued for their place among the liberal arts by emphasizing their duty to express ideas, contrasting their craft with manual labor. The resulting elevation of "ideas" to "ideals" thus served the interests of artists seeking to guarantee their social standing.[1]

In such intellectualizing discourse, drawing held a special place. Less messy than painting or sculpture, it allowed the artist to maintain a genteel appearance while working. Moreover, the medium's conventional linearity and limited palette fit neatly within accepted hierarchies, which esteemed intellectual, masculine lines over emotional, effeminate colors. This social history of drawing helps explain the conflation of ideas and ideals so pervasive in 18th- and 19th-century writing on the medium.[2]

Parallel to this history, however, ran the history of ideas themselves, for when philosophers tried to explain the being of ideas, they looked to metaphors of drawing. Thus empiricists likened having an idea to having a mental drawing, and idealists compared the cognition of objects to mental delineation.[3] Such associations between ideas and drawings were therefore bidirectional and contained an implicit syllogism: if artists were drawing their ideas, and ideas were understood as mental drawings, then artists

were turning mental drawings into material drawings—moving drawings from the mind to the world.

Such syllogisms presupposed a neat distinction between mental and material realms. From that discursive chasm separating ideas and things rose the repressed materiality of mental life. In a sustained attack on this division, drawing became a herald of the inexorable enmeshment of thought with the world, a specter of the modern subject.

By the close of the 18th century, important tensions splintered the discourse of drawing. Idealizing artists—those observing the classicizing protocols of academic training—were at pains to communicate their models' ideality, for how does one distinguish a picture of the *idea* of a man from a picture of a real man? Can things in the mind be drawn without negating their ideality? That is, are ideas the kinds of things that can be expressed at all, or do they disappear in the act of drawing, burned in the fire of artistic creation like lost wax in a bronze statue? Artists sought some way to convey that their drawn signs represented something immaterial, despite their existence on the page.[4]

This tension between drawing's ideal content and its material actualization underlies David's *Study for "The Oath of the Tennis Court"* (Fig. 1), which struggles to convey adequately the immaterial transcendence of its material contents. In this drawing, David seeks to body forth the nation, to give concrete, pictorial expression to the abstract ideas of French identity and polity. His brief: to make graphite and ink stand for an intangible idea, turning a picture of human bodies into a picture of the revolutionary spirit.[5]

This drawing is preparatory for a painting that David never finished, though he did publicly exhibit a related drawing in 1791. The works depict the events of June 20, 1789, the day when the spark of liberal discontent in France became a revolutionary fire. King Louis XVI had called the Estates General, a deliberative body of deputies drawn from the three orders—nobles, clergy, and mostly bourgeois "commoners"—to address the kingdom's mounting grievances. The intellectual leader of the latter group, Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (pictured in the drawing), famously summarized their position: "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been until now? Nothing. What does it want to be? Something."[6] Yet when the bourgeois deputies arrived, they found themselves locked out of the proceedings. This faction, thereafter called the National Assembly, regrouped in the nearest space large enough to hold its members: a tennis court. There, they solemnly swore "never to separate, and reassemble whenever necessary," until a new constitution was established.[7]

When they swore their oath, the deputies may have thought that they were giving historical reality to the fantasy of a social contract, an agreement famously described by Rousseau as the moment when each man surrenders his individual sovereignty and becomes subordinate to the general will. David analogously subordinates each deputy's personal features to the general form of the male nude. He thus negotiates between individual, historical concreteness and the collective instantiation of a trans-historical idea. To do so, he needed to transcend traditional artistic genres, such as group portraiture and history painting, to participate in the contemporary reinvention of history painting as a medium of current events, and thus find the appropriate level of perceptible particularity for the French deputies. He had to decide whether it was better to show revolutionary heroes like Robespierre and Mirabeau in all their individuality, emphasizing the uniqueness of the moment in history, or to show each one as merely an instance of his class, as a citizen all the way down, and thus to connect the revolution to other such moments of world historical importance. In art as in politics, David had to decide among the welter of individual wills that make up real people and polities and the clarity attained by simplification and assimilation to the political fiction of a sovereign, general will.[8]

This dialectic informs David's peculiar mode of figuration. The group of figures to the right are shown nude, their contours firmly delineated, emphasis placed on their classicizing poses. This cluster reflects the heroic nudity

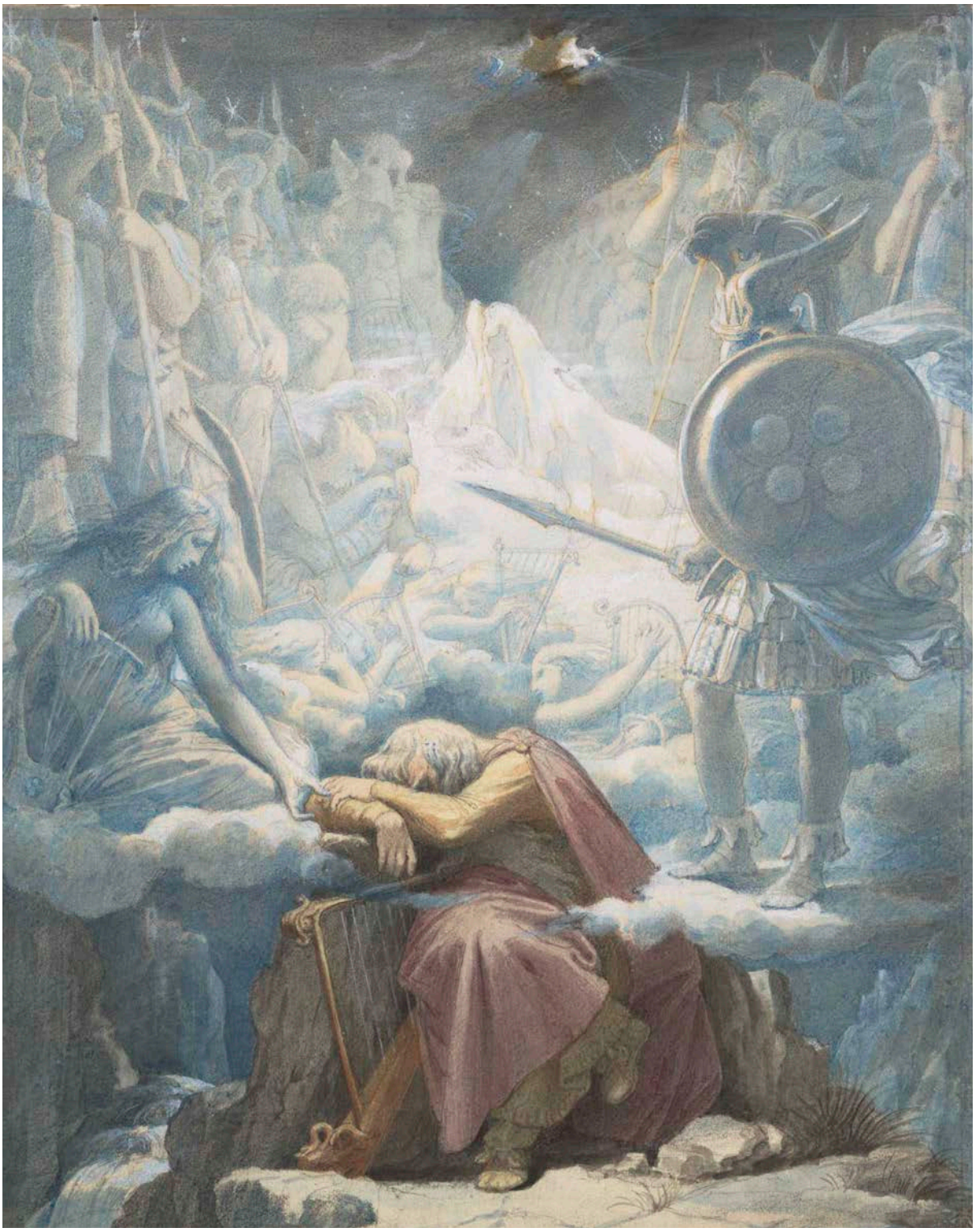

Fig. 2
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian*, c. 1832–34. Watercolor, white gouache, and brown ink over graphite and partial stylus outlining on white wove paper, 24.7 × 18.7 cm (9¾ × 7⅜ in.). Harvard Art Museums/ Fogg Museum, Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.376.

that David experimented with in a number of extant sketches. The other groups are drawn dressed, though graphite articulations of their underlying musculature show through their clothes. Each body is perfectly toned and canonically proportioned, disregarding the concrete idiosyncrasies of the real deputies' actual bodies. The clothed figures are dressed to minimize difference, indicating the homogenizing use of fashion in the revolutionary flattening of eccentricity and its cultivation of an ideal, homosocial fraternity, an ideal further conveyed by the figures' embraces. Each figure represents a man, and each man politically represents the whole French nation. From the sum total of their bodies, arranged in this generically conceptual, gridded space, emerges the body politic.[9]

David does not wholly forsake distinction, however. He shows several discrete faces, sketchy premonitions of future portrait heads, as well as social types. Especially noteworthy are the only two figures not standing: at the far right, a seated deputy, Martin d'Auch, refuses to stand to join the vote while his colleagues admonish him, representing the insidious royalist sentiment plaguing the body politic. To balance both the composition and the political ideologies it depicts, David has placed an old man in the far left, too feeble to walk, carried in by two youthful sans-culottes.

These commoners are imagined, conjured to exemplify David's erotic focalization of revolutionary ideas in athletic, virile male bodies. Yet their invention also indicates the tension within David's project: the social body must be shown as one organic whole, but with individual parts, for if the polity is totally homogenous, then there is no political significance to the legitimacy of its general will. If each individual will is identical to the general will, then there is no lasting guarantee of political unity, which will collapse as soon as disagreement divides one against another. David thus had to show heterogeneous characters while controlling their difference. He therefore diminishes actual differences in the social world, showing a cast of all-male deputies in nearly identical dress and classical poses, while introducing imaginary differences, inventing emblems of social types to stand for variations on the theme of revolution.[10]

The drawing is nonetheless haunted by the historical disappearance of the revolutionary idea. Between the event itself in 1789 and when David showed a finished sketch at the Salon of 1791, the revolutionary project was already beginning to fracture. As he began the slow work of enlarging the drawing for his painting, "the theme of the picture [became] outdated, even politically suspect," scholars Rolf Reichardt and Hubertus Kohle write. "[M]any of the people portrayed in it had been thrown out of the revolutionary movement by then, and were personae non gratae, or had even been guillotined during the Terror—including Bailly himself, the central figure of the picture."[11] The idea of revolution, the concept David sought to express in his drawing, had been revealed as a fantasy, something that disappeared in the act of creation. Like the notionally ideal drawing, revolution was too ephemeral for material instantiation.

If *The Oath of the Tennis Court* study shows how easily ideas become fantasies, Ingres's *The Dream of Ossian* (Fig. 2) brings the fantastic to center stage. The Ossianic saga was published in 1765 by James Macpherson, who falsely claimed to have discovered and translated the text from ancient Gaelic sources. By the early 19th century, the character of the blind poet Ossian was well known in France, where the stories he narrated in epic poems were popular subjects of plays and literature. Napoleon in particular was an admirer of the work. In Ingres's adaptation of the subject, the artist shows us Ossian dreaming of his heroic ancestors, who are depicted in grayish-blue monochrome.[12]

The intrigue of this drawing rests with the schematic opposition between material and mental substance, between Ossian's real body and the dream figures' imagined ones. Ossian is shown dressed in muted beige, resting on a rock. The rock is purportedly a feature of nature, ignorant of its use for Ossian's dream. Yet it is so throne-like, so perfectly suited to its use that it seems already impressed by the artist's mind, evincing the ancient Stoic belief in the world's sympathetic predisposition to human habitation. This improbably useful rock suggests Ingres's primary responsibility for his figure and his world; it shows us that even the most material feature of that world is already informed by the artist's mind.

Conversely, the dream figures are rendered in luminous whites. Though monochrome, they seem more palpable than Ossian himself. Their lustrous tones appear to float on the paper, just as the figures float within the depicted space, as though likening the material qualities of friable gouache to the dreamy world of ephemeral fantasy. Ingres thereby hints that strict opposition between mental idea and material expression cannot hold, for the mental figures are deeply material, and the material world is ideally suited to Ossian's use.

The Dream of Ossian has a markedly different politics than David's study. By the time Ingres made his drawing, around 1832, the rule of France had changed many times over. He had received his first commission for a painting of the Ossian theme around 1813, from Napoleon. Despite the label at the bottom of the drawing, which gives its creation date as 1809 in Ingres's own hand, it was in fact made long after that first painting, in the 1830s, when Ingres was reproducing his earlier works to capitalize on his newfound success—and the attending high prices his works now fetched. While the painting was thus originally made for Napoleon's imperial bedroom in Rome, this drawing was executed in Paris, after both the ruler's exile and the July Revolution of 1830. This background determines how we think about the way this drawing relates to David's. If it were possible around 1789 to express the French polity through the bodies of its citizens, it was no longer possible when Ingres conceived his composition for Napoleon.[13]

The political legitimacy of the French Revolution rested on its claim to subordinate many particular wills to the one general will. By Napoleon's time, that objective had proved untenable, as factional conflict tore the nation apart. Each party claimed its will was the true general will, and no criteria could be mustered to decide the matter. When Napoleon crowned himself emperor, he claimed to represent the French nation, to act in its interest and to decide its affairs. Looking up from his bed in Rome, Napoleon would have seen the figures of Ossian's dream as the many interests to which he was responsible, the whole nation subsumed into one mind. Representation in politics was thus once again aligned with representation in drawing, but by altogether different means, dislocated from interpersonal harmony to intrapersonal fantasy.

Odilon Redon's *Chimera* (Fig. 3) pushes this dislocation to its furthest extreme. Executed sometime between 1880 and 1895, this drawing exemplifies Redon's symbolist *noir* style. Working in this technique, the artist begins from an opaque layer of black charcoal, indiscriminately dusted over the paper to provide a mid-ground. From there, he both adds and subtracts. For deeper blacks, he adds charcoal soaked in linseed to produce a velvety finish, seen here in the figure's shadowy chin. To lighten the background, he rubs the charcoal sediment with an eraser. For the lightest highlights, he cuts into the ground with a knife, as in the figure's teardrop.[14]

This process allows Redon to abandon the supposed priority of ideas over drawing, wherein an artist begins from an idea that he then expresses materially. Virtuosity in drawing, from the academic point of view, entails planning the drawing so carefully in advance that paper reserves are left intact in the finished drawing. Redon's procedure requires no such schematic division between planning and executing, between ideas and their expression. On the contrary, starting from an opaque middle tone, he allows his process and his materials to drive his ideas.

Those ideas are enigmatic. We see a floating head with a serpentine tail, crying a single tear. Smudged charcoal toward the drawing's lower edge coalesces into bluffs over a horizon, the head's forward movement expressed by bristly force lines around its crown. The drawing is thus illustrative of chimeric symbolism, of a kind of drawing that does not want to be deciphered, for which there is no master codebook, but which fosters personal associations from each beholder, replacing a well-defined symbolic structure with more esoteric libidinal engagement. It therefore pushes the idea of a private mental space intrinsic to the divide between idea and expression to its furthest reaches, advancing an arcane symbol as a challenge to genuinely interpersonal agreement. Redon dares us to understand him.[15]

How do we get from David to Redon? Neoclassicism conveyed its idealism through willful contours and

Fig. 3
Odilon Redon, *Chimera*. See p. 283 for full information.

conceptual clarity, a precision that has often been interpreted as the disavowal of its facture. Redon's symbolism, on the other hand, is made palpably material. His champion in the press, Albert Aurier, even coined the word *idéisme* to distinguish his favored artists' desire to "materialize the idea" from the old idealists' pretension to "arrange objectivity according to conventional notions of quality."[16] Whereas artists such as David and Ingres merely culled flawless specimens of their intended types, the new *idéistes* imitated the ancient Hermetic cultist, making bodies on earth for the daemons to inhabit.

1
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Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 273–74. On the use of artistic metaphors in philosophical epistemology, see David Summers, "Conditions and Conventions: On the Disanalogy of Art and Language," in *The Language of Art History*, ed. Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 191–92; and W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 5–6.

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On the paradoxes of idealization, see Charles A. Cramer, *Abstraction and the Classical Ideal, 1760–1920* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006).

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For background on the Harvard Art Museums drawing, see Louis-Antoine Prat, "*Study for 'The Oath of the Tennis Court'* (1790–91)," in *A Private Passion: 19th-Century Paintings and Drawings from the Grenville L. Winthrop Collection, Harvard University*, ed. Stephan Wolohojian (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 78–80; and Richard Wrigley, "'Le Serment du Jeu de Paume' de Jacques-Louis David et la représentation de l'homme du peuple en 1791," *Revue de l'Art* 141 (2003): 9–24. For the most comprehensive overview of David's tennis court project, see Philippe Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de paume de Jacques-Louis David: Le peintre, son milieu et son temps, de 1789 à 1792*, Notes et documents des musées de France, vol. 8 (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983).

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Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, "What Is the Third Estate?" trans. M. Blondel, reproduced in *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, Volume 7: The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, ed. Keith M. Baker, John W. Boyer, and Julius Kirshner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 154.

7
See "Deliberations at the Estates General," in ibid. For a general history, see Thomas Carlyle and John D. Rosenberg, *The French Revolution: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), 128–42.

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On the politics of David's drawing, see Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 186–205; and Rolf Reichardt and Hubertus Kohle, *Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 91–101. On *The Oath of the Tennis Court* as a negotiation of portrait conventions, see Amy Freund, *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 71–74.

9
See Richard Wrigley, "Revolutionary Relics: Survival and Consecration," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 6 (2) (2002): 145–89.

10
On revolutionary politics, eros, and gender difference in David's work, see Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 105–8.

11
Reichardt and Kohle, *Visualizing the Revolution*, 100. On how political changes led David to abandon the work, see Wolfgang Kemp, "The Theater of Revolution: A New Interpretation of Jacques-Louis David's *Tennis Court Oath*," in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, ed. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England for Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 204.

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For Ossian's reception in France, see Andrew Hook, "The French Taste for Scottish Literary Romanticism," in *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment*, ed. Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère (Lewisburg, Penn.: Bucknell University Press, 2004); and Thomas S. Grey, "Fingal's Cave and Ossian's Dream," in *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marsha Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000). For background on Ingres's drawing, see Marjorie B. Cohn and Susan Siegfried, *Works by J. A. D. Ingres in the Collection of the Fogg Art Museum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1980), 104–6; and Agnes Mongan, *David to Corot: French Drawings in the Fogg Art Museum*, ed. Miriam Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 222–24.

13
On the dating of this drawing, see Cohn and Siegfried, *Works by J. A. D. Ingres in the Collection of the Fogg Art Museum*, 104.

14
For a detailed description of Redon's process, see Harriet K. Stratis, "Beneath the Surface: Redon's Methods and Materials," in *Odilon Redon: Prince of Dreams, 1840–1916*, 1st ed., ed. Douglas W. Druick et al. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1994), 354–64.

15
On Redon's use of the floating head, see Barbara Jean Larson, *The Dark Side of Nature: Science, Society, and the Fantastic in the Work of Odilon Redon* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 71–74.

16
Gabriel Albert Aurier, *Œuvres posthumes de G. Albert Aurier* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1893), 211–12. See also Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism: A Study of the Theory, Technique, and Critical Evaluation of Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 41–49.

Memory

Harmon Siegel

Fig. 1
Célestin Nanteuil, *Memories of a Drinker.*
See p. 284 for full information.

"Memory," Saint Augustine tells us, "is the stomach of the mind."[1] Experiences are stored there, but we can no longer taste them; we can only reminisce. To this corporeal metaphor, later thinkers have added comparisons between the act of remembering and drawing, endowing this mental process with its own materiality. According to Locke, for instance, "The pictures drawn in our minds are laid in fading colors; and if not sometimes refreshed, vanish and disappear."[2]

Drawing is bound to memory in a poetics of absence, lack, and desire. In Pliny's mythic story of the medium's origins, a young woman invents the art form by tracing her lover's shadow on the wall, so that she might remember him when he is away.[3] Drawing thus replaces the absent object. The resultant image serves as the mere semblance of a lost presence.

Must memory be thought of as lack? Treating memory as a prophylactic to forgetting implies the scarcity of experience. However, experience is equally a matter of excess. By the end of the 19th century, the scientific attention that was being paid to memory fostered renewed interest in the empiricist idea that the objects of our memory maintain their identities over time as we relate new encounters to old ones. In this condition of overstimulation, each object slips into and blends with countless others from the past, creating an associational network of overlain moments that make up conscious life. In the old mnemonic arts, memory aped the fullness and clarity of present experience; in the modern mnemonic science, that experience is itself already caught in overlapping prisms of memory.[4]

If memory cedes its pretense of simply re-creating lost experience, then it can become a means of consolidating and

Fig. 2
Attributed to Honoré Sébastien Royllet, *Design in Memory of Benjamin Franklin.*
See p. 285 for full information.

synthesizing. Memory becomes history: a codified, disciplined procedure for recalling past experience. Thus, the history of drawing is measured by "traditions," which are held together by enhanced mnemonic operations: the latest drawing in a tradition evokes, quotes, recasts, and shapes works from the past as a means of securing its own identity in the present. Looking to the past, drawing forges its identity through antecedents extracted from the surfeit of historical memory.[5]

Célestin Nanteuil's *Memories of a Drinker* shows the eponymous character surrounded by scenes from his past (Fig. 1). He looks out at us, cup in hand, leaning forward from a plush chair as though about to speak. He is embedded in a series of horizontal hatchings that become the foliage of a tree that takes up much of the page. Around him are more or less trite images of yesteryear that invite the viewer to supply a narrative context: why does the solemn drinker see *these* pictures *now*? He recalls babies (have they grown up?), a young woman (now wrinkled with age?), and a dog (perhaps dead?). In the background, worshippers are depicted strolling to church—a reminder of weddings, baptisms, and funerals gone by—while a figure, who may be a younger version of the drinker himself, happily climbs the central tree.

These images are saccharine clichés. Yet it is precisely as clichés that they indicate the potential sociality of memory. That is, against the commonly held view of memories as highly personal, esoteric experiences, Nanteuil shows us memories as secondhand, manufactured goods. Drawing, then, serves not only as an aid to memory, but as a means of disciplining it, of repeatedly reproducing and perpetuating its normative content. In fact, Nanteuil's drawing is a design for a lithographic print. In this sense, too, memory is shown as both social and reproducible. The print slows Nanteuil's line, improving the image's clarity at the cost of its spontaneity, as though the memories depicted were foggy at first, but became clearer after repeated retelling.[6]

What Nanteuil casts as figures, Sébastien Royllet puts in text. In his *Design in Memory of Benjamin Franklin* (Fig. 2), Royllet surrounds a central pyramid with cartouches memorializing events from Franklin's life.[7] These cartouches encircle Franklin's monogram just as memories envelop Nanteuil's drinker. Unlike Nanteuil, however, Royllet works in aniconic symbolism; he was a trained calligrapher, not an artist. This drawing shows his design for a mausoleum plaque, a project that exhibits his virtuosic capacity for linear dynamics. As an image intended to convey the gravity of inscribed stone, its architectural precision presents a stark contrast to the studied nonchalance of Nanteuil's sketch.

This stylistic difference expresses the divergence between the two artists' conceptions of memory. The words below the pyramid implore, "Raise your eyes to heaven; he is no longer on earth." Whereas Nanteuil portrays memories as preexisting, like goods in a warehouse, Royllet wills us to remember. Nanteuil's line is nervous and excessive, corresponding to the involuntary nostalgia that rushes out with drink. Royllet's, on the other hand, is studied and precise, exemplifying a view of memory as something achieved and maintained by disciplined attention.

For Royllet, memory is not something that just happens to us; it is something we cultivate, something that the virtuous person attends to himself and instructs others in as his civic duty. Memories are still thoroughly social, but not by necessity. Rather, the nation's collective remembrance of its debt to Franklin is an active choice, and its pursuit solidifies sociopolitical bonds. This normative conception of social memory is expressed by the divine words above Franklin's monogram—"I strike him down to call him up"—words that are allegorically represented by the two beams of light that strike the sunflowers on either side of the pyramid. As Franklin pays his debt to God, so must we pay our debt to Franklin, meted in mnemonic currency.

Memory, morals, and drawing are similarly fused together in Ingres's *Virgil Reading the Aeneid to Augustus* (Fig. 3). This watercolor depicts Emperor Augustus, with his wife Livia and sister Octavia, listening to the great Latin poet deliver his *Aeneid*. Livia was suspected of poisoning Octavia's son Marcellus to facilitate her own son's rise to power. The drawing shows the moment when Virgil, at left, arrives at the name "Marcellus" in his recitation, causing Octavia to faint at the reminder of her son. Augustus holds up his hand to stop the poet from continuing, while Livia looks on impassively, evincing her culpability. Behind this group stands a statue of the late Marcellus, identified by an inscription on the pedestal.[8]

This statue is a dramatic example of Ingres's classicizing style. In addition to the sculpture, the room's décor and the figures' clothing place the scene in first-century Rome. The figures themselves are classically formed as

Fig. 3
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres,
Virgil Reading the Aeneid to Augustus.
See p. 285 for full information.

well; recalling Augustan friezes, Ingres severely contours their supposedly natural flesh and gives it the pallor of marble. By thus blurring the lines between the appearance of statues and human bodies, Ingres denaturalizes perception, as though allowing the viewer to see the ancient moment through ancient eyes. He gives us a drawing *about* memory, depicted *as* memory.

Like *The Dream of Ossian*, another Ingres drawing (see p. 120), *Virgil Reading the Aeneid to Augustus* was adapted from a painting made earlier in the artist's career.[9] The watercolor was made around 1850, at a time when the aging Ingres was revisiting earlier compositions. The painting had been finished in 1812, during his time in Rome, where it remained until Ingres bought it back in 1835. Unsatisfied with his first attempt at the Virgil subject, he obsessively used drawings to work through its problems, experimenting with tiny modifications to the figures and décor. The Harvard Art Museums watercolor is one of a number of such drawings made between the painting's return to France and the artist's death in 1867. It was made on tracing paper, over a contour drawing dated to the time when Ingres bought his old painting back, 20 years prior to the execution of the watercolor. Another piece of tracing paper has been pasted over Virgil's back. Evidently, Ingres was unsatisfied with the position he gave the poet's left foot, but was unwilling to abandon the drawing, so he pasted in this rectangular patch. As something made and remade, delineated in graphite and black crayon and then filled in with watercolor, the drawing is itself a palimpsest of memories, reflecting Ingres's repeated return to a work from his early career.[10]

Ingres's drawing demonstrates the entanglement of classicizing art within its own memories. To register as an instance of the classical tradition, a work must take a position with respect to that tradition's past. Ingres must self-consciously adopt its memories as his own. His drawing thus exemplifies the mnemonic conception of tradition that art critic and historian Michael Fried attributes to Baudelaire, wherein the latest artworks laying claim to a tradition "are made from previous [works], which in turn are made from still previous ones, and so on ad infinitum in an ever ramifying network of associations. . . . [Art] in this tradition is nothing more nor less than the latest term in a chain of memories of works of art that for all practical purposes must be thought of as endlessly regressive, as leading back to no ultimate or primal source or prototype."[11]

At first, the references to antique art and achievement scattered throughout *Virgil Reading the Aeneid to Augustus*—including the poet himself, the Augustan sculpture, and the Tivoli-style Roman architecture—seem to establish a definite set of prototypes for classical remembrance. However, each of these achievements in fact looks back to an earlier memory in the classical chain: Virgil emulates Homer, Augustan sculpture follows the Polykleitan canon, and the Tivoli capitals refer to the Corinthian order. Ingres depicts only one form of memory that is truly primary—namely, pain. He thus anticipates Nietzsche's question, "How do you give a memory to this animal, man?" And he foretells Nietzsche's answer: "A thing must be burnt in so that it stays in the memory: only something that continues to hurt stays in the memory."[12] Ingres links art's ability to memorialize with this sense of memory as pain, for both poetry and sculpture here remind Octavia of her dead son. She is possessed by Virgil's words, which open wounds from the past and reveal art as a kind of brand, a searing force that objectifies pain by externalizing it.

The question of how to separate memory from pain lies at the heart of Delacroix's *Africans Dancing in the Street* (Fig. 4). His solution entails reorienting memory: here, he turns its attention away from the classical and toward the exotic. This twist rhetorically engenders a second turn, one from collective to personal memory, from the selective repertoire of forms and scenarios that filled the Louvre to the diverse manifold of experience.[13]

Yet the artist could not fully dissociate the present from the past. Despite feeling that "the traditions are exhausted," Delacroix also acknowledged that his worship of art meant that "the mere memory of certain works floods my whole being with the same intensity of feeling that informs memories of events in my life."[14] In other words, for Delacroix tradition had to be felt as though it were personal, had to be fully integrated into

Fig. 4
Ferdinand-Victor-Eugène Delacroix, *Africans Dancing in the Street*, 1832. Watercolor and graphite on white wove paper, 23.7 × 18.5 cm (9 5/16 × 7 5/16 in.). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.349.

the *mnémotechnique*. To defeat the notion that memory is pain requires a reversal of the priorities of presence and lack, such that the memory is stronger than the experience itself.

Nowhere is this reversal more deeply felt than in Delacroix's drawings of Morocco, which the artist visited on a diplomatic assignment at the end of 1831. He was overwhelmed by what he saw there, remarking, "One would have to have twenty-four arms and forty-eight hours a day to adequately describe it."[15] He saw the Moroccan people as living antiques; in comparing the Berber dignitaries to Cato and Brutus, he indulged the Orientalist fantasy of the East as a place out of time, allowing his personal perception of the present to be constructed with overlapping cultural memories. On his way home, he spent two weeks quarantined in Toulon, France, where he completed watercolors such as *Africans Dancing in the Street* from memories of the voyage.

It may seem surprising that Delacroix executed the majority of his Moroccan studies in Toulon, not Marrakesh. Scholars frequently explain this decision as a matter of necessity, as Islamic prohibitions on figurative drawing made finding willing models difficult. Yet Delacroix's delayed documentation is just as much a feature of his reversal of the idea that memory emulates the full presence of experience. In Morocco, Delacroix reported being blinded by the dazzling sun reflected off the white urban architecture, complaining that his eyes ached and his focus was disrupted. Once out of the country and away from the light he found so visually disorienting, Delacroix could detail his trip in graphite drawings and watercolors for French consumers of exotica. "As soon as he returned to his studio in Paris," Ralph Ubl explains, "he began to respond to what he had encountered in Morocco as the unsettling intensification of the visual field."[16] In these works, he did not seek to convey the blinding intensity of Moroccan light so much as the living presence of what that light obscured. In other words, he treated his memories as the original experience, existentially more important than the blinding disorientation of the visit itself. The Moroccan street appeared to him in his memory as if for the first time.

In *Africans Dancing in the Street*, the fullness of Delacroix's memory is expressed by the interaction of runny pigment and wove paper, especially in the areas of unadorned architecture that caused the artist's initial blinding. What appeared to him then as pure white planes appears to us now as subtly modulated, textured cream. He renders with delicate detail the diffuse light that rakes the rough brick walls, allowing his color to pool in their shadowed recesses, blotting it out from their shimmering summits.

However, maintaining this focus on his ever-fading memories required work, and Delacroix had moments of intense doubt: "My memory fails me so badly day by day that I am no longer in command of anything, neither the past, which I forget, nor scarcely of the present, when I am almost always so busy with one thing that I lose sight of, or fear losing sight of, what I should be doing. . . . A man without memory doesn't know what he can count on, everything betrays him."[17] To him, memory, not reason, provided the scaffolding on which to construct his selfhood. It follows that by expressing his memories in drawing, he was giving them greater permanence—one might even say making them objective. For Delacroix, drawing thus served as mnemonic architecture, a place where his artistic self could dwell.

1
Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 181.

2
John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Boston: Cummings & Hilliard; J. T. Buckingham, 1813), 141.

3
Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, vol. 9, trans. Harris Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 373. See also p. 32 of this catalogue for an illustration of this myth.

4
On memory in 19th-century psychology, see Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 198–209; and Michael S. Roth, *Memory, Trauma, and History: Essays on Living with the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 3–76.

5
On scarcity versus excess as a conceptual problem, see Andrew Abbott, "The Problem of Excess," *Sociological Theory* 32 (1) (2014): 1–26.

6
On the sociality of memory, see Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser, 1st ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); and Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," trans. John Czaplicka, *New German Critique* 65 (April 1995): 125–33.

7
While the work has previously been attributed to Jean Baptiste Pillement, I base my attribution to Royllet on an address given by the mayor of Paris in honor of Franklin, in which he describes the Harvard Art Museums drawing; see "From the Mayor of Paris: Address in Memory of Benjamin Franklin," in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 37, ed. Ellen R. Cohn (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004). This attribution is further supported by the inscription that runs along the drawing's bottom edge, which is cut off but reads: "exécutée à la plume par Roy—."

8
For background on this drawing, see Christopher Riopelle, "Virgil Reading the 'Aeneid' to Augustus, 1850," in *A Private Passion: 19th-Century Paintings and Drawings from the Grenville L. Winthrop Collection, Harvard University*, ed. Stephan Wolohojian (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 194; and Marjorie B. Cohn and Susan Siegfried, "Virgil Reading the 'Aeneid' to Augustus, 1850," in *Works by J. A. D. Ingres in the Collection of the Fogg Art Museum*, ed. Marjorie B. Cohn and Susan L. Siegfried (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1980).

9
For an analysis of the painting, see Susan L. Siegfried, *Ingres: Painting Reimagined*, 1st ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009), 56–62.

10
See Cohn and Siegfried, *Works by J. A. D. Ingres in the Collection of the Fogg Art Museum*, 138.

11
Michael Fried, "Painting Memories: On the Containment of the Past in Baudelaire and Manet," *Critical Inquiry* 10 (3) (1984): 518.

12
Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality and Other Writings*, ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson, trans. Carol Diethe, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 38.

13
On Delacroix and the Louvre, see Hans Belting, *The Invisible Masterpiece*, trans. Helen Atkins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 96–115.

14
Quoted in ibid., 114.

15
Quoted in Jean Alazard, *Jean Alazard: Souvenirs et mélanges* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1963), 188, 190.

16
Ralph Ubl, "Delacroix's Jewish Wedding and the Medium of Painting," in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 364.

17
Quoted in Hubert Damisch, "Reading Delacroix's *Journal*," trans. Richard Miller, *October* 15 (December 1980): 22.