

ABSTRACT

Title of thesis: “EXALTED IDEAS OF THE ARTS”: JOHN FRANCIS RIGAUD’S VISION OF THE ROLE OF THE ARTIST IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND AS SEEN IN HIS PORTRAITS OF FELLOW ARTISTS AND IN HIS SELF-PORTRAITS

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This thesis analyzes John Francis Rigaud’s (1742-1810) vision of the role of the artist in eighteenth-century England by examining his portraits of fellow artists and by examining his self-portraits with his family, particularly in light of *Facts and Recollections of the XVIIIth Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, his memoir as compiled by his son, Stephen Francis Dutilh Rigaud. Rigaud’s *Memoir* is one of the few surviving documents that illustrates the working life and aspirations of an artist in late-eighteenth-century England. Throughout the *Memoir* and in his paintings of himself and other artists, Rigaud supported the academic construction, as voiced by Sir Joshua Reynolds and as promoted by the Royal Academy of Arts, of the artist as a learned, hard-working, academic genius, rather than as notions of the artist as an original, creative genius popularized by the Romantic Movement.

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SEEN IN HIS PORTRAITS OF FELLOW ARTISTS AND IN HIS SELF-
PORTRAITS

by

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Introduction

The Memoir

In his paintings of himself and other artists, John Francis Rigaud (1742-1810) supported the academic construction, as voiced by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of the artist as a learned, hard-working, academic genius, rather than the Romantic conception of the artist as an original, creative genius. This thesis will analyze Rigaud's vision of the role of the artist in eighteenth-century England by examining his portraits of fellow artists and his self-portraits with his family, particularly in light of his memoir. *Facts and Recollections of the XVIIIth Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.* gives a valuable insight into an artist's life in late eighteenth-century England, as his career is representative of the majority of painters active in England, and develops Rigaud's view of the artist's role in society and his everyday challenges.¹ Stephen Francis Dutilh Rigaud (1777-1861) compiled the memoirs of his father, consisting of Rigaud's writings, letters that often included instruction for the artistic training of his children, memoranda on his own paintings, as well as commentary and narrative supplied by Stephen. Stephen never published the *Memoir*, and it often acts as a catalogue, organized chronologically.² There are few surviving documents such as the *Memoir* that provide an in-depth, day-to-day account of an artist's life in eighteenth-century England, providing a candid look at his feelings as presented to his family and written from his own memoranda. While writers of this time period left memoirs and letters detailing their lives, artists were quite different.³ When James Northcote, the biographer and former pupil of Reynolds, was asked in the early nineteenth century about the correspondence of Reynolds, he "tartly

remarked that painters were too busy for such trivialities as pen-pushing.”⁴

Overview of John Francis Rigaud's Life and Work

John Francis Rigaud was born on 18 May 1742 in Turin, then part of the Kingdom of Savoy, to a family of French Protestant descent. Although Rigaud's father intended him to continue his trade as a merchant, Stephen Rigaud wrote that his father “could not be satisfied with his present attainments: he passionately loved his Art, and longed to behold the famous works of Michael Angelo, Raphael, and the other celebrated Masters of the various Italian schools, and to improve himself by diligently studying them.”⁵ Rigaud studied painting in Turin with Claudio Francesco Beaumont, Historical Painter to the King of Sardinia. In 1764 he studied for five months in the Academy in Florence, and then for a year in 1765 at the Accademia Clementina in Bologna, where he was made a member in 1766.⁶ In a letter to his brother in the *Memoir*, Rigaud expressed the difficulty of obtaining work in Florence:

I work as I have never worked before, and never go to bed before midnight, and rise at the break of day; but my work produces nothing. I wait with impatience for some one to employ me; [...] but <the> economy, or almost avarice, which generally reigns in the hearts of the Florentines, is beyond conception; they dare not ask my price for a work, for fear I should ask too much, and I dare not say I will do it, for fear they should give me nothing; and there the matter rests.⁷

He then traveled to Rome in 1766 for a short period but was forced to return to Turin to take care of some family matters. Stephen wrote that, although “Painters and Poets seldom excel in worldly business, it is not congenial with the natural bent of their minds, but rather tends to abate their ardour and arrest their genius,” his father, while in Turin, “unwillingly restrained, for a while, his love for the higher branch of the art, and merely to have filled up his time <in a more lucrative way> by the painting of

portraits.”⁸ Rigaud returned to Rome in 1768 and lived there for over two years.⁹

While in Rome he painted multiple portraits of other artists who were also studying in that city. For example, he painted John Tobias Sergell, a sculptor from Sweden, and in the portrait he “introduced a hand holding a medallion of my self, from the one he made and gave me in exchange. I think this portrait is <very like and> one of the best I have done.”¹⁰ These portraits served as gifts of friendship and a way to exchange ideas of artistic creativity.¹¹ One of Rigaud’s works from his time in Rome, painted in 1769, two years before he traveled to London, is helpful in understanding his academic education.¹² The artist explained the emblematic content of *Hope Nursing the Love of Glory* as follows:

I have personified Hope by a <female figure> [...] seated, her left elbow resting on an altar and her hand on an anchor; with the other arm she seems to receive and press to her bosom the love of Glory, <in the form of a cupid> who throws himself into her arms, sucks her breast <whilst> looks<ing> at her and offering her a crown of oak leaves: She turns her head towards a Statue of Minerva, placed [...] a little farther back. She is dressed in white, with a green drapery thrown over it, and her feet are naked. The child has flaxen hair, is crowned with Laurel, and has wings; She has black hair and is crowned with peach blossoms. The altar on which she rests is in the form of a pedestal, on the principal front of which there is a bass-relief representing Alcides burning the Lernean Hydra.¹³

The hard work necessary to gain wisdom and succeed to fame is symbolized by the second labor of Hercules, depicted on the bas-relief. Rigaud drew on Cesare Ripa’s ideas set forth in his *Iconologia* for his depictions of Hope, the Love of Glory, and Hercules. The anchor symbolizes stability and security.¹⁴ Hope looks to Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom. The crown of oak leaves is a sign of honor.¹⁵ Ripa’s personification of Virtuous Action depicts a man holding a lance and impaling a serpent. Behind him is a pedestal with a statue of Hercules, the “sum of all virtues.”

The serpent represents “evil or vices, which the virtuous combat,” bringing to mind the second labor of Hercules.¹⁶

Rigaud then traveled with James Barry, an Irish artist and later a member of the Royal Academy and its professor of painting, to several northern Italian cities. In his commentary, Stephen wrote that, although his father’s “love for Art was warm and enthusiastic, yet it could not in the least degree diminish his admiration of the sublime and beautiful works of Nature – nay he enjoyed them all the more on that account.”¹⁷ On returning to Turin, he found few opportunities for patronage because of his Protestant beliefs, and so traveled to Paris in 1771.¹⁸ Finding it difficult to succeed in Paris as well, owing to the fact that he had not studied at the French Academy either in Rome or in Paris, and having “heard a very favorable report of the recent establishment of a Royal Academy in London” in 1768, to “which foreign Artists of ability, as well as British, were equally admissible as Members,”¹⁹ he moved to London.²⁰ Rigaud settled permanently in London, marrying Mary Williams in 1774, and having a total of four children, three of whom survived childhood.

On his arrival in London, the difficulty of succeeding as an artist disappointed Rigaud, and he undertook low paid portrait commissions. However, the members of the Royal Academy in London elected him to associate membership in 1772 on the basis of the three paintings he sent to the 1772 Royal Academy exhibition: two classical history paintings, *Hercules Resting from his Labors* and *Jupiter Under the Form of Diana Visiting the Nymph Calisto*, and a portrait of Joseph Nollekens, the sculptor.²¹ Rigaud wrote regarding a commission of 1776 that, “I was obliged to undertake this work at a fixed, and too low a price.”²² Stephen’s commentary to this

part of Rigaud's manuscript states that this was the case because

there was then so little, if any, encouragement for any kind of pictures except portraits, that historical painters were glad to be employed by that means, rather than not at all [...]. Besides, the prejudice was so great against the works of living Artists that the soi-disant connoisseurs universally proscribed them from their collections [...]. It is only by the persevering and successful efforts of the modern artist that these mists of prejudice have been gradually rolled away and dispelled by the brightness of the genius.²³

Throughout his career in London, Rigaud found the artistic system challenging for an artist. He struggled to depict himself as a learned artist of history paintings, but had to rely on portraiture and decorative painting to make his living. Rigaud wrote that the patrons who commissioned decorative ceiling and wall paintings from him were "too narrow in their notions of the Art to afford opportunity to an Artist to exert himself."²⁴ He worked in a variety of media, including oil painting, fresco, and drawing, and in a variety of genres as well, including history painting, decorative interior architectural painting, popular subjects aimed at the print trade, and portraiture. Because of his training in Italy, he excelled in large-scale decorative painting.²⁵ Rigaud's studies in Italy aided him in his success as an artist in England, as a grand tour of Italy was generally regarded as a requirement for an artist.²⁶ Rigaud's experience with patrons varied and he did record favorable patronage in his letters; he wrote that one of his patrons, Monsieur D'Agincourt, "is truly a Connoisseur [...] <and> is also very fond of the society of Artists; -- he appeared sorry to see that my talents were not more appreciated in this country."²⁷ Of another patron, George Bowles, also a patron of Angelica Kauffmann, he wrote regarding payment, "As for the money, [...] it is as safe as if I had it in my pocket. Nobody has a more liberal mind than Mr. Bowles. He is one of those we call in Italian of the cinque

cento.²⁸

The members of the Royal Academy elected Rigaud a full academician in 1784. In 1788, the same year that he participated in Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and Macklin's Poets' Gallery (he participated in Bowyer's Historic Gallery in 1792), Rigaud submitted to the Royal Academy a plan for commissioning engravings of the work exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibitions, with the goals of ensuring that the artists were fairly compensated, building a British school of painting, and making certain that the quality of engravings that were so widely disseminated to the Continent were produced in good quality. Rigaud wrote in his plan that "the Arts find an Asylum in this Country from the cold reception they experience in some nations; want of resources in others; the corruption of taste in most of them: London is reputed to be the only place where an Artist may hope to find employment."²⁹ He went on to explain the nature of patronage in England with its particular benefits and challenges:

Commerce effects in Great Britain what the patronizing genius of the Medicis, added to the enthusiasm of Religion, and the unremitting attention of the Sovereigns of Rome to the encouragement of the Arts operated in Italy: and what Louis the XIVth. did in France. It therefore becomes a matter of the greatest importance to seize the present opportunity, and timely to prevent a revolution of taste, by forming a solid basis for men of Ability and Genius to build upon.³⁰

Although Rigaud was enthusiastic about art as a new and extensive branch of commerce, he wanted to ensure that it did not "degenerate into a mere matter of trade and manufactory" and to keep it from "any idea of imputation of craft or traffick," in keeping with his view of the artist as a learned genius.³¹ The establishment of the Academy disassociated British artists from the craft-guild system by certifying painting as a profession,³² setting basic standards and training based on the Old

Masters, opening the door to royal patronage, and establishing painting as a liberal art as embodied in the intellectual *Discourses* of Sir Joshua Reynolds.³³ Reynolds wrote, “It is this intellectual dignity [...] which ennobles the painter’s art; that lays the line between him and the mere mechanic.”³⁴ The endeavors of Reynolds, Rigaud, and other artists in Great Britain continued the struggle to claim distinction for contemporary artists of genius as stated by Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Painters* of 1550.³⁵

Throughout the *Memoir*, Rigaud presents himself as a learned genius and a hard-working artist devoted to his profession. His son relates that his father only stopped painting “when he came into the parlor for a few minutes to partake of a slight luncheon,”³⁶ evoking parallels with George Romney who only stopped for “a little broth” or a hot drink.³⁷ Rigaud displayed his classical learning through the subjects of his decorative painting, and at one point in the manuscript, he requested his son to send him the three volumes of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* to aid him in a composition.³⁸ In another letter, regarding a decorative painting, he wrote that he had consulted “all the Antiquarian Gentlemen” regarding the costume of the figures, who wanted to make sure that he had considered “Gothic Style” along with “Grecian elegance.”³⁹ Rigaud also successfully displayed his learning by his translation of Leonardo Da Vinci’s *Treatise on Painting*, and started translating *On the True Precepts of Painting* by Giovanni Batista Armenini of Faenza (1587), but did not live to complete it.⁴⁰ In his *Memoir*, Rigaud continually looks back to his training in Italy and emphasizes the importance of learning from past artists. He wrote of one of his commissions, “it will serve to shew my children, the public, or those that may

hereafter be interested in my reputation, that I have not entirely forgot what I have seen; much less what I have studied in Italy.”⁴¹ He wrote to his daughter,

happy those who have an opportunity of seeing the best, and not only look at them, but study them with an intention to apply the knowledge of the predecessors to their own purpose, and work with that idea of taking the Art where others have left it, making it their business, not to imitate others, but to form [...] a style <of their own> and complete the grand desideratum of perfection.⁴²

Rigaud wrote, imitating the academic discourse of Reynolds, that the works of an artist are “only the result of great application and labor,”⁴³ and his son Stephen continued his father’s teaching by stating, “real superiority in Art can only be the result of a happy union of Labor and Genius.”⁴⁴ Rigaud encouraged his son to “keep in mind what you have learnt, and let what you have seen, or may see of the Antique, or the great Masters in composition, character, and form, be always present to your memory, the rest is easy, and you will produce great things, whenever the opportunity offers to bring them forth.”⁴⁵

Rigaud considered the greatest work he ever did to be the decoration of the four pendentives of the Common Council Chamber in Guildhall in 1794, which depicted four female figures with didactic emblems that illustrate the course of life. In 1795 he was made a member of the Royal Academy at Stockholm and appointed Historical Painter to King Gustavus IV of Sweden.⁴⁶ Rigaud acted as Deputy Librarian to Edward Burch at the Royal Academy, for which he received an annual salary of sixty pounds. One of the requirements for many of these positions at the Royal Academy was financial need, and indeed, Rigaud’s last letters exhibit a worried, exhausted tone.⁴⁷ He died 6 December 1810 at Packington Hall, Warwickshire, at the home of the fourth earl of Aylesford, his most supportive

patron.⁴⁸

Introduction to Rigaud's Portrait Practice in London

In his writings, Rigaud presents himself principally as a history painter, aspiring to the highest category of art.⁴⁹ The *Memoir* projects his disdain for portrait painting by giving a relatively complete catalogue of his art with the exception of portraits. Often Stephen gives the number of portraits painted in a particular year without identifying the sitters. However, portraits served as a major part of the income for an eighteenth-century artist in England, and Rigaud completed many portraits.⁵⁰

Rigaud often used emblems in his portraits of professional men to elevate the medium of portraiture. He wrote of his *Portrait of a Gentleman Delivering a Lecture on Milton*, that he depicted the gentleman

in a large Saloon ornamented with the statues of the great British authors, in the center of which is a pillar, supporting a medallion of Milton, and on its Pedestal is represented in bass-relief, the fall of the Angels, as described by Milton: the Lecturer is seated, but in the act of speaking, whilst he points to the fallen angels, which is that part of the Paradise lost, he delivers with the greatest effect. I think the resemblance is striking, and the subject represented in the bass-relief although only accessory, and as it were lost, may indicate that he who did it, knew how to draw, and was not merely a portrait painter.⁵¹

He also wrote regarding his *Portrait of Mr. Bentley*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 with the title *Portrait of a Gentleman Contemplating the Analogy between Moral and Natural Beauty*,

I have represented him contemplating the analogy between moral and natural beauty. He has in his hand the life of Socrates, who was the greatest Philosopher and admirer of the beauties of Nature, and at the same time, an able Sculptor. The medallion of Socrates is resting upon some books, which are the works and characteristics of Xenophon.

This picture has great strength, relief, and likeness; nevertheless, it has more an appearance of the simple representation of a Philosopher, than of a Portrait.⁵²

These images demonstrate Rigaud's goal of illustrating the character of an individual or a universal moral or philosophical principal, rather than reproducing a person's likeness. His portraits of naval officers utilized new strategies put forth by artists such as Reynolds that use the sublime to depict character visually.

Rigaud also aligned the visual arts with the great literary history of England.

In a letter to his eldest daughter, Betsy, while she was on a trip to Wales, he enthused:

You tread now upon the ancient seat of Bards in this Island. Mountainous countries have always been productive of poetical ideas, from the most simple and pleasing to the most extravagant and fantastical that the imagination of Man is capable of conceiving. For this reason, I suppose, Apollo and the Muses inhabited the top of a mountain, and it is said, a very rocky one. Poetry is like Painting; it has its materials, of which the votary must be perfect master, to be able to execute with ease and energy what his fancy has conceived.⁵³

Rigaud specifically associates the sublime national landscape of Wales with the long national history of literary productions of heroic epic poems, the height of literary production, mirroring his stance that sublime history painting deserved precedence above other forms. He associates his favored form of painting, and one that he believes will aid the continued rise of and respect towards the English artist, with the epic poems of historic English authors. He praises how the poet and the artist, for as he says in this letter, "Poetry is like Painting," (echoing Horace's "ut pictura poesis," in his *Ars Poetica*) look to the "imagination of Man" in depicting "what his fancy has conceived" and what his "lively imagination [...] will create."⁵⁴ By associating painting with poetry, he supports painting's status as a liberal art and the painter's status as an intellectual by association with the poet. He agrees with the standard

academic discourse as voiced by Reynolds that the chief object of painting and poetry is to address the mind. He specifically identifies Apollo and the Muses, of whom Clio, the muse of history, was a member, as “[inhabiting] the top of a mountain” and thereby conquering the difficult path of learning and skill. In addition, sublime mountainous landscapes, such as Rigaud’s native city of Turin, have long been associated with political liberty, and by extension, artistic freedom. As an artist, he strives to be worthy of his artistic profession, and identifies himself as a “votary,” devoted to his art.

Rigaud’s reluctance to be categorized as a portrait painter is mirrored in contemporary commentary on portrait painting in the eighteenth century, notably including successful portrait painters, as well as patrons and connoisseurs. Writing to his literary advisors, George Romney (1734-1802) described himself as “shackled” to “cursed portrait-painting” and stated that he wanted to “strip [himself] of drudgery in the shabby part of [his] art” and “give [his] mind up to those delightful regions of imagination.”⁵⁵ James Barry (1741-1806) compared portrait painters to Esau, selling his birthright for a “mess of pottage,” sacrificing an artist’s glory for “a factitious thirst for lucre and vanity.”⁵⁶ William Blake (1757-1827) asked the question, “Of what consequence is it to the Arts what a Portrait Painter does?”⁵⁷ John Hoppner (1758-1810) described his portraits as “potboiler[s].”⁵⁸ In a letter of 1801, Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) said that he began to be “really uneasy at finding [himself] so harnessed and shackled into this dry mill-horse business.”⁵⁹

British artists resented having to make a living from portraiture because it ranked lower in artistic theory than history painting, which allowed for imagination,

the opportunity to deal with general moral principals, and the opportunity to improve upon nature. Portrait painting, since it was regarded as more manual than intellectual, was doubtful as qualifying as a liberal art, and encouraged repetition and a lack of originality.⁶⁰ Henry Fuseli (1741-1825) was especially critical of British portrait painters, owing to their lack of invention. However, he spoke highly of the portraits of Raphael, Titian, and Van Dyck as not acting as mere likenesses, but capturing the essential character of the sitter and earning “an exalted place between history and drama.”⁶¹

However, portraiture and engraving had helped Britain by the 1730s to compensate for its lack of a visual artistic heritage.⁶² By the 1780s, there was a minimum of 111 portrait painters active in London.⁶³ The high demand for portraits and the competitive atmosphere in London required multiple skills, manual, personal, organizational, and intellectual, and offered an opportunity for social mobility. Portraits made up forty-five percent of the 1783 Royal Academy exhibition⁶⁴ and were the largest percentage of works submitted to the Royal Academy exhibitions between 1781 and 1785, even though Reynolds, as President of the Royal Academy, promoted the superiority of history painting.⁶⁵ Even though portrait painting remained below history painting in artistic theory, it was the main art form in Great Britain.⁶⁶ In contrast to the system of patronage of European courts described above by Rigaud, where patrons, exhibiting generosity, usually paid beyond what the labor strictly required, English patrons generally had both modest artistic requirements, wanting to be painted as “Mr. and Mrs. Such-a-one, not as studies of light and shade,” as described by William Hazlitt in 1816, and modest payment expectations. English

portraitists had fixed prices, depending upon the labor, and fixed sizes for canvases, degrading their desired status from that of a liberal artist.⁶⁷ Treatment of portrait painters varied; for example, James Northcote (1746-1831) recorded his outrage inside the back cover of his sitters' book: "The neglect of the Art of painting is such in this country that the poor Artists may by long labor and application in giving up their health and lives in Learning a language the which when accomplished they will not find an Auditor."⁶⁸

Portraits of Artists by Rigaud

Portraits of Individual Artists

Rigaud's view of the artist as a learned, hard-working genius can be seen in his portraits of his fellow artists, many of whom were his friends, that depict not only a general informality due to friendship, but also attributes of the learned arts, both in concrete symbols of their professional work, such as a palette and brush, but also physical expression of attributes such as determination and liveliness, attributes he believed necessary for success. Rigaud wrote, "I succeed better in those works I do for Artists, as I am without restraint."⁶⁹ His portraits present the sitters as thoughtful, professional men, all paused in the middle of their work, often addressing the viewer with a forthright gaze. Rigaud's two group portraits, each of three Royal Academicians, exhibit experimental posing and grouping, attributes that will later be explored in detail.

Significantly, Rigaud exhibited a portrait of a fellow artist, Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823), as one of his three paintings his first year at the Royal Academy in 1772, the other two depicting classical scenes, *Jupiter Under the Form of Diana Visiting the Nymph Calisto* and *Hercules Resting from his Labors*. Rigaud wrote about the portrait, *Joseph Nollekens leaning on his Bust of Laurence Sterne*, "the portrait of Nollekens half figure, the size of life, leaning on the bust of Dr. Sterne; The likeness of this portrait was very much praised; but the situation in which I found myself at the time I did it, does not permit me to judge if it be good or bad," and he also noted that he "Painted it gratis, or rather, as a testimony of thankfulness for the kind manner in which he received me on my arrival in London."⁷⁰ Rigaud exhibited

the portrait at the Royal Academy as *Portrait of an Artist*, preserving the anonymity of his sitter.

During his early studies and career in Rome, Nollekens produced the classical, dignified portrait bust of Sterne seen in Rigaud's portrait. He also fulfilled commissions by other aristocratic British patrons at this time, establishing a future clientele. Nollekens returned to London in 1770, just about two years before Rigaud's arrival in the city, and established his profession as the most fashionable portrait sculptor in London. He was elected an associate member of the Royal Academy in 1771, his first year exhibiting at the Royal Academy.

Rigaud's professional circumstances at the time he painted this portrait provide interesting insights into his depiction of his colleague. In 1772, Rigaud had just arrived in London and was eager to establish himself in artistic practice in England and used the 1772 Royal Academy exhibition to display his artistic ability, both in history painting and in portraiture, central to artistic practice in London. In his *Memoir*, Rigaud stressed the necessity for this portrait to communicate successfully his talent in order to enable him to earn a living in artistic practice in London, as well as his anxiety that went into the painting of this portrait, precluding him from taking enjoyment in its making and from taking time to judge calmly its worth.

Rigaud portrayed his colleague and friend in the middle of working, paused, with a porte-crayon in hand, leaning on his portrait bust of a successful, if controversial, English author.⁷¹ The porte-crayon suggests Nollekens's talents as a draughtsman as well as a sculptor.⁷² The light coming from the right side of the painting highlights the artist's face, emphasizing his intellect and genius, and also his

hands, evidence of hard work, practice, and artistic talent. His left hand lies on the head of the portrait bust of Sterne, in effect connecting him, and, by association, Rigaud, to the great history of English literary figures. Nollekens is dressed simply, emphasizing his dedication, hard work, and focus as an artistic professional. The portrait bust of Sterne is depicted as a classical bust, linking Sterne to the great classical writers, linking Nollekens to the great classical sculptors, and evidencing Rigaud's ability to capture and appreciate classical beauty.

By portraying his fellow artist and friend with the evidence of Nollekens's artistic talent that had helped establish him in English artistic practice, and drawing forth the parallels between their two educations, careers, and talents, Rigaud strongly sets forth his own professional ambitions. This portrait would have served as a surrogate for Rigaud himself at the Royal Academy, as it represents an artist, and thus becomes even more important, serving as the introduction and foundation stone of his career in London. Nollekens seems oblivious to any viewer, caught up in his work and the inspiration of the moment. Rigaud presents the sitter against a plain background, with all focus dwelling on Nollekens, and by association, his own hard work, industry, talent, and learning. By choosing to depict an artist and friend well-known in London artistic circles, Rigaud presents himself as able to capture a physical likeness, essential in portraiture, and also to associate himself with another artist already well-known and trusted as a successful artist in London practice. By painting the portrait the size of life, he enabled the likeness to have even more impact on the viewer, serving as evidence of his technical ability. As Rigaud mentions in the *Memoir*, he painted this portrait without a commission, as with many of his other

portraits of fellow artists, enabling him to present the artistic profession according to his own standards and desires. Rigaud honored Nollekens for his caring friendship by selecting him for his first portrait to be displayed at the Royal Academy exhibition. He upholds the profession of the artist as a profession of camaraderie and community, working together towards common intellectual and professional goals.⁷³

Rigaud's other single portraits of his artist colleagues permitted him to accomplish several goals at once: he associated himself with colleagues who could advance his career by portraying them sympathetically as artists of sensibility; he completed portraits that he often presented as gifts of friendship to his fellow artists; he undertook works that gave him a measure of creativity and a sympathetic artistic audience; and he worked to dignify further the profession of artist and thus his own career.⁷⁴ He presents them hard at work with the tools of their profession, each with a distinctive likeness. He used light to highlight the heads of the artists, evidence of their intellectual genius, and their hands holding tools of their profession, emphasizing their practice and the hard work necessary to succeed. Another example is his portrait *George Robertson (1749-1788)* that he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1776. He wrote the following concerning the portrait in his *Memoir*: "Portrait of my friend George Robertson, represented drawing on a portfolio; the background is a landscape painted by himself; it is very like; I did it for him as a mark of friendship."⁷⁵ Significantly, as a symbol of their friendship, Rigaud combines both his friend Robertson's talent in landscape painting with his own talent of capturing an individual likeness on the same canvas, making the gift even more a mark of their friendship. Again, Rigaud portrays the light, this time coming from the left side of the

composition, highlighting Robertson's face, with its detailed likeness, serving as a mark of his intelligence and sensitivity to idealized nature, and highlighting his hands, paused in the middle of capturing the beauties of nature before him. Robertson is dressed unostentatiously as a gentleman, wearing a powdered wig.⁷⁶

Rigaud's emphasis on a careful sensitivity to the beauties of nature, significantly balanced with an emphasis on intellect and gentlemanly behavior, all necessary in the role of the artist, is repeated in a letter he wrote to his daughter Betsy in 1790 while she visited her grandmother in Wales with her mother and brother:

You was certainly right to enjoy the open air out of doors as much as possible, and to make sketches of all the objects about you, rather than copy the drawings you had taken with you; as Nature, when we can have her, must be the ultimate Mistress. What we copy from second hand is merely to learn how to represent it on a flat surface to the best advantage; and to accustom our eyes to see it with the mind of a Painter; to the end that, properly represented it may please others, and produce to the spectator the same sensation which animated the Artist: whereas those who pretend to be indebted to nothing but Nature for their abilities, are certainly quacks, or else inventors, as it were, of a new art.⁷⁷

The portrait of Robertson combines many of his propositions put forth to his daughter in this letter. Robertson copies nature in the "open air out of doors" instead of copying other artists' depictions of nature. However, in his idealized depictions of nature, as in his images of country estates, Robertson improves upon nature and presents it to "best advantage" as seen with the "mind of a Painter" with the end goal to please his patron, communicating the same idealized observations which stimulated him as an artist. Robertson's careful practice of drawing and the light illuminating his face and hands show that it is his learning as well as his appreciation of nature that have brought forth his artistic genius.

Rigaud also painted portraits of several of the architects who commissioned decorative interior painting from him, including the portrait of *John Yenn* (1750-1821) exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1782 and the portrait of *Joseph Bonomi* (1739-1808) exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1794. Yenn, a former student of Sir William Chambers, who also commissioned decorative painting from Rigaud, is paused in the middle of his work and looks out directly at the viewer. He holds dividers in his right hand and both of his arms are lying on an architectural plan for a classical building. Chambers's book *A Treatise on Architecture* is seen to Yenn's right. Again, Rigaud silhouettes his sitter against a plain background and highlights his face and hands and the architectural plan, artistic conceits also used in the portrait of Bonomi. Both portraits show the architects as hard-working professional men. Bonomi also holds a pair of dividers, as well as a porte-crayon, and directly addresses the viewer.⁷⁸

Rigaud completed two portraits of his friend, the merchant Anthony F. Haldimand, which can be contrasted helpfully with Rigaud's portraits of fellow artists. The fathers of Rigaud and Haldimand were friends, both of them Protestants and merchants, and Rigaud and Haldimand grew up together in Turin. While both their fathers intended them to be merchants, and while they both showed artistic promise, Haldimand followed his father's wishes and became a merchant, eventually settling in London, while Rigaud began his artistic training. Haldimand eventually founded the banking house of Morris Prevost & Co and also received a large inheritance from his uncle, the Governor of Quebec, Sir Frederick Haldimand.⁷⁹ Haldimand was the first person Rigaud contacted when he arrived in London in

1771.⁸⁰ Rigaud exhibited his first portrait of his friend, *A. F. Haldimand*, as *A Portrait of a Gentleman; Small Whole Length* at the Royal Academy in 1774. He presents his friend sitting at his desk with his left arm resting on what is possibly an accounts book, while the cubbyholes of the desk are filled with papers, emphasizing Haldimand's industry and success, as seen previously in Rigaud's portraits of fellow artists. Haldimand stares off into space, pondering a question regarding his business. On the back wall can be seen Jean-Baptiste Greuze's *La Lecture de la Bible*, relating his Protestant beliefs.⁸¹ The second portrait of Haldimand by Rigaud, *Portrait of a Gentleman, Half-Length, in a Crimson Coat with a Gold Waistcoat, Seated at a Desk, Holding a Letter (Portrait of Anthony Francis Haldimand)*, presents a more intimate moment, with Haldimand paused in the middle of his work, checking through business letters, his rich red coat and powdered hair presenting him as a successful, industrious businessman and a member of Georgian society. Both paintings emphasize the importance Rigaud placed upon industry and hard work, whether it is in artistic practice or financial business. Indeed, as mentioned above, Rigaud identifies the arts as "that new, and extensive branch of Commerce."⁸²

First Artist Group Portrait

Rigaud's most significant portraits concerning his fellow Royal Academicians include two group portraits, each of three founding members of the Royal Academy. The first artist group portrait depicts three Italian-born artists who made their careers in England and who were all founding members of the Royal Academy in 1768. *Agostino Carlini, Francesco Bartolozzi, and Giovanni Battista Cipriani*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1777, depicts the sculptor, engraver, and painter, respectively,

posed before Cipriani's canvas on which he is painting a picture of Clio, the muse of history. Stephen wrote the following concerning the group portrait in the *Memoir*:

An interesting group of three Italian Artists Royal Academicians, -- Cipriani the painter, Carlini the Sculptor, <who held the Office of Keeper of the Royal Academy,> and Bartolozzi the engraver; -- all extremely like; <The two last I well remember, and they were strikingly so.> <There is a very good mezzotinto engraving of this picture by J.R. Smith. The Portrait of Cipriani is, I believe, the only one that was ever taken of that celebrated Artist.>⁸³

A reviewer for the *St. James's Chronicle*, for 26-29 April 1777 commented that it

shews that Mr. Rigaud has not lost his historical Powers by painting Portraits, but, on the contrary, has made it subservient to that Purpose, as the Portraits are not only speaking Likenesses of the three celebrated Artists Cipriani, Bartolozzi, and Carlini, but the whole form a well composed, well colored, and complete Picture.⁸⁴

Carlini (c.1718-1790) is shown with a sculptor's mallet and wears a powdered wig, a rich red coat and breeches, a green gold-trimmed waistcoat, and a white shirt. He rests his hammer on the head of a stone sculpture. Bartolozzi (1727-1815) holds an engraver's burin in his right hand and a portfolio of drawings or engravings with his left, and wears his own powdered gray hair, a pale green coat, and a green waistcoat and breeches. Finally, Cipriani (1727-1785) sits in front of his easel and canvas and holds a brush in his right hand and a palette and six brushes in his left. He wears powdered white wig, a gray suit with gold buttons, and sits in a red-upholstered chair.⁸⁵ Interestingly, it is very likely that J.M.W. Turner purchased this painting from Rigaud's estate sale in 1811,⁸⁶ the year after Rigaud died, and Turner later loaned the painting in 1837 to the Royal Academy to be hung in the Council Room. Stephen recounts in the *Memoir* that "my Father [...] greatly encouraged [Turner], introduced him to the Royal Academy as a Student, and was the first friend he had amongst the

Royal Academicians...”⁸⁷ This account in the *Memoir* of his having mentored Turner serves as further evidence of Rigaud’s close friendships with the artists of the Royal Academy and how he worked towards further ennobling the arts in England by supporting the academic training of young artists.

Cipriani pauses in the middle of painting a picture of Clio, who wears a wreath of laurel on her head to symbolize honor, glory, and eternal life, and carries a trumpet, symbolizing fame, and a book, symbolizing history. Rigaud used allegorical images sparingly, and thus the figure of Clio acquires more significance. He most likely referenced Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* in determining the emblems appropriate for Clio.⁸⁸ Two earlier artists’ depictions of Clio include Giovanni Balione’s *Clio, Muse of History* of 1624 and Jan Vermeer’s *The Painter in his Studio* of 1665. Significantly, Rigaud has Cipriani, the painter, creating the image of Clio on the canvas, signifying his own ambitions as a painter and artist to be recorded in history; however, Rigaud signed this canvas on one of the pages in Bartolozzi’s portfolio rather than on the canvas with the figure of Clio, thereby avoiding accusations of vanity.

By painting three Italian artists, two of whom he worked with closely, only six years after his arrival in London, Rigaud communicates his sense of solidarity with his fellow countrymen, possibly motivated by a sense of homesickness for Italy. Bartolozzi and Cipriani were both born in Florence, and met in the studio of Ignatius Hugford, a Florentine artist born of English parents. Bartolozzi then continued his studies in Venice, and Cipriani traveled to Rome, where he met Chambers, the architect, and Wilton, the sculptor, both included in Rigaud’s second group portrait,

who brought him to London in 1756 to work with them. Bartolozzi came to London in 1764 and lived with Cipriani, forwarding Cipriani's career as a decorative artist by his engravings. Bartolozzi also engraved many of Rigaud's works. Rigaud worked with and for Cipriani on several decorative painting commissions.⁸⁹ Carlini was born in Genoa and had settled in England by 1760. He also worked as a sculptor for Chambers at Somerset House.⁹⁰

By painting three Italian artists, Rigaud indicates how English society, to an extent, welcomed foreign artists, especially during the early years of the Royal Academy, while at the same time doing his best to assimilate into English culture.⁹¹ The majority of Rigaud's writing is in English and he identifies himself with English culture and holds great respect for the current English monarch, George III.⁹² Identifying himself with Italian artists also indicated his own continental training, and thereby not only his artistic skills, but also his social grace and accomplishments, attributes much desired by English artists. By depicting three Italian artists, Rigaud also created a painting that acted as a gift of thanks for the welcome he, as a foreign artist, received in English artistic practice. As observed in English artistic history, foreign artists such as Van Dyck, Lely, and Kneller often excelled in British society.⁹³

Rigaud mirrors his own talents with the talents of the depicted artists, all founding members of the Royal Academy, suggesting that he, like these other Italian artists, was worthy of full membership in the Royal Academy based on his artistic talent and growing professional career in England. He displays his artistic skill by capturing the likenesses of three individuals on one canvas.⁹⁴ All of the sitters are portrayed as serious but good humored, well-dressed, professional men, dedicated to

their artistic professions. Carlini and Cipriani directly address the viewer, Carlini with a slight smile, while Bartolozzi gazes with a look of melancholy off to the right. The various tools of their professions are prominently displayed as evidence of their professional talent. They are all paused in the middle of or while contemplating their work, again supporting Rigaud's academic position of the artist as a hard-working, learned genius. Significantly, Cipriani, the painter, is the only artist actually actively in the middle of his work, only pausing to look at the audience, in this case, Rigaud, himself a painter, emphasizing the necessity of continual practice to master their art. Cipriani bends towards his work with a frown of concentration on his forehead. His canvas takes center stage, with Rigaud devoting nearly half of the painting to the art of painting, his chosen profession. The painter and engraver sit next to one another, suggesting their mutual interdependence for fame and financial success. Rigaud emphasizes the hands of the depicted artists and not only their technical skill but also their learned genius.

Second Artist Group Portrait

The second group portrait Rigaud completed of his fellow Royal Academicians is *Sir William Chambers, Joseph Wilton, and Sir Joshua Reynolds*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1782. This painting is slightly larger than his earlier group portrait of the Italian artists. He signed and dated this painting at the bottom left, rather than on Reynolds's drawings (as compared to his signature on one of the pages in Bartolozzi's portfolio in his first artist group portrait), avoiding accusations of vanity. This painting was sold at Rigaud's estate auction in 1811 to Montagu Chambers, QC, grandson of Sir William Chambers.⁹⁵ Montagu Chambers

later lent this group portrait to the Royal Academy in 1879, where it was exhibited mistakenly attributed to Johann Zoffany.

In the painting, the three artists engage in conversation in an elegant architectural setting with a garden in the background. Sir William Chambers (1723-1796), an architect, sits to the left of the painting and wears a gray powdered wig. He wears a green coat with silver buttons, a gold brocade waistcoat, and gray-green breeches. He wears the badge of the Polar Star, evidence of his knighthood of the order of the Polar Star of Sweden conferred upon him in 1770. His right elbow rests on an architectural capital, and he sits in front of a large architectural column. Chambers holds a T-square in his right hand and looks down at an architectural plan of an unidentifiable classical style building towards which he points with his left hand and upon which a pair of dividers lie.⁹⁶ Joseph Wilton (1722-1803), a sculptor, stands in the center of the painting, and looks down at Chambers. Wilton wears a gray powdered wig, a brown coat with brown buttons, and a yellow-striped waistcoat. He holds a mallet in his right hand and with his left hand gestures towards the statue of the Apollo Belvedere in the garden of the imaginary setting of this portrait. Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), a painter, also wears a gray powdered wig and wears a red coat with gold buttons and a red waistcoat, both trimmed with dark fur. Reynolds gestures animatedly with his right hand. He leans forward on a portfolio of drawings on the table and sits in a blue upholstered chair.⁹⁷ Significantly, all the artists are shown with the tools of their artistic professions with the notable exception of Reynolds, whose gesture portrays him in his role as President of the Royal Academy, addressing the students in his *Discourses*.

In his commentary in the *Memoir*, Stephen points out that this portrait contains the three most important members of the Royal Academy in 1782: Reynolds, its President, Wilton, its Keeper, and Chambers, its Treasurer, each leaders in their respective arts:

Portraits of three English Artists; This is a very interesting group of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first and [...]—distinguished President of the Royal Academy; J. Wilton R.A. Sculptor <afterwards Keeper of the Royal Academy;> and Sir William Chambers R.A. Architect, and Surveyor to the Board of Works: They are represented as in conversation, Sir Joshua in the act of addressing his brother artists, with all the gentleness and suavity for which he was so remarkable, thus giving a perfect idea of his countenance, his expression and character. <I have a very good recollection of Sir Joshua Reynolds, having frequently seen him at the lectures at the Royal Academy, where he often presided, and where, being introduced to him by my father, I had the opportunity of listening to his conversation; and it appears to me that, however fine as a picture is the portrait of himself, which he presented to the Royal Academy; the above named portrait of him by my father, gives a more true representation of his personal appearance, and his peculiar expression.>⁹⁸

In depicting the three foremost members of the Royal Academy, Rigaud emphasizes prominent English artists who were working to build an English school of art by looking to past great masters and encouraging the Royal Academy students to emulate the great masters and to develop constantly their technical skill to realize their own artistic talent. However, a contemporary reviewer in the *St. James's Chronicle* of 2-4 May 1782 criticized, “They are strong and expressive Resemblances; but the Integrity which led the Artist to copy so exactly the Vulgarity of the President’s Countenance will not recommend him to his Favor; and he will probably remain some Time longer among the Associates.”⁹⁹ Recognizing Rigaud’s unmistakable goal in painting this artist group portrait, this reviewer took an opportunity to disparage his not so subtle methods of gaining artistic prestige.

In Rigaud's second group portrait of artists, Chambers points calmly to his small architectural plan of a small structure that includes a flight of stairs leading to four columns and an apse.¹⁰⁰ Chambers designed the new Somerset House, completed in 1780, which served as the new home for the Royal Academy of Arts, the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries, all housed in the western side of the Strand block, with the various branches of the civil administration of the Navy and various government departments, including the Stamp office, occupying much of the rest of the building.¹⁰¹ Somerset House carried great meaning for the artists in Rigaud's artist group portrait, as it provided a grander setting for the center of the arts in England. This painting may partly serve as a celebration of that move.¹⁰² Chambers had studied at the *École des Arts* in Paris and his design for Somerset House included classical attributes, a style he promoted throughout his career.¹⁰³ He was appointed to the Office of Works in 1761. In 1768 he was appointed Treasurer of the Royal Academy. Chambers was appointed first surveyor-general and comptroller of the Office of Works in 1782.¹⁰⁴

Wilton, the first academically trained English sculptor, observes the plan from his standing position and gestures towards the Apollo Belvedere, mirroring the statue's gesture with his own gesture, as a reference to the emphasis all three artists placed on the antique,¹⁰⁵ and also reminding the viewer, along with Chambers and Reynolds, of his own work as a sculptor, including work he completed for Chambers for Somerset House. Wilton had studied in Paris at the French *Académie de Peinture et Sculpture*. During his early career in Rome, he created many copies after antique sculptures. He returned to London in 1755 in the company of Chambers, Cipriani, and

Giovanni Battista Capezzoli. He and Cipriani served as directors of the Duke of Richmond's collection of plaster casts and copies after the antique, and completed a marble copy of the Apollo Belvedere. Wilton was appointed sculptor in ordinary to the King in 1761.¹⁰⁶ Chambers and Wilton remained friends throughout their careers, and through Chambers, Wilton procured multiple commissions, including those for the chimneypieces, marble tables, carved heads, and statues of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America for Somerset House.¹⁰⁷

Reynolds was also close friends with Wilton, and had encouraged him to come back to London from Rome in the early 1750s. Reynolds was elected the first President of the Royal Academy and was knighted in 1769. He had previously painted Wilton in Florence in 1752 and Chambers in 1756 and 1777-1780. Chambers had produced an architectural design for Reynolds for Wick House at Richmond in 1771. However, there existed a certain tension between Reynolds and Chambers, with Reynolds remarking, "though he was President, Sir Wm was Viceroy over him."¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Richard Wendorf has suggested that the gesturing hands of Chambers and Reynolds, central in Rigaud's composition, suggest the two artists "engaged in an administrative stand off."¹⁰⁹ However, it certainly would not have been Rigaud's intention to create or document any friction between two of the Academicians who stood most to forward his own artistic and professional goals. In the group portrait, Reynolds does not look down at the architectural plan or the drawings that are hidden in the portfolio on the desk, his arm resting upon them. Instead of an administrative argument, Reynolds's animated gesture and facial expression of thinking and pondering emphasize the importance he placed on the idea, balancing this with the

material artistic results as emphasized by the other two artists. Indeed, the painting can be read as a narrative of creative practice, beginning with the idea, as embodied in Reynolds's teaching gesture and thinking expression. It then moves to Wilton in looking and emulating the antique and the great masters. Finally, the narrative concludes with Chambers's architectural plan, the idea put into physical expression. Although the painting captures a single moment of the narrative, Rigaud extends the narrative length by the inclusion of the Apollo Belvedere, which incorporates the three English artists into the grander scheme of the Western history of art.

The fact that this painting was not commissioned and remained in Rigaud's possession until his death, along with the first artist group portrait, emphasizes the importance of his fellow artists and of the Royal Academy to him. The Royal Academy enabled his profession as an artist in England, and this painting, as a form of self-promotion as well as a promotion of his fellow artists and, in this case, superior artists, served as a way of ingratiating himself with those artists who could promote his career. Rigaud arranged the three most important members of the Royal Academy in a pyramidal composition, emphasizing the stability of the foundation of the arts in England. He draws attention to Reynolds, his fellow painter, by his bright red coat, instead of depicting him as standing, which could have been seen as too self-promoting of the status of the painter. The three artists are depicted as professionals, serving to further elevate the status of the arts in England as well as Rigaud's own status as an artist. Obvious though they may have been, his compliments to his superior Royal Academicians helped earn him full membership two years later.¹¹⁰ Rigaud shows his respect for his artistic superiors, and in his own writings, as will

next be explored, patterned his language after that of Reynolds in his *Discourses*.

Rigaud's Academic Discourse

Rigaud supported the academic artistic traditions taught by the English Royal Academy and the academies on the Continent from which he received his early training, and often patterned his own discourse regarding artistic practice after that of Reynolds, the president of the Royal Academy from 1768-1792, whom he would have heard delivering his *Discourses*. Reynolds's *Discourses* were written to teach the pupils of the Royal Academy to communicate the goals of the Royal Academy, to create a study of the history of art, and to build up the profession of the artist as a learned profession and the visual arts as a liberal art.¹¹¹ Rigaud's *Memoir* partly consists of letters aimed at instruction for the artistic training of his children. For instance, in the following quote from a letter to his daughter, Betsy, of 1790, he supports the qualities Reynolds believed constituted an artist:

Nature, when we can have her, must be the ultimate Mistress. What we copy from second hand is merely to learn how to represent it on a flat surface to the best advantage; and to accustom our eyes to see it with the mind of a Painter; to the end that, properly represented it may please others, and produce to the spectator the same sensation which animated the Artist: whereas those who pretend to be indebted to nothing but Nature for their abilities, are certainly quacks, or else inventors, as it were, of a new art. Whoever arises now, is from his infancy surrounded with productions of Art, and forms his eye upon them even without thinking of it; happy those who have an opportunity of seeing the best, and not only look at them, but study them with an intention to apply the knowledge of the predecessors to their own purpose, and work with that idea of taking the Art where others have left it, making it their business, not to imitate others, but to form [...] a style <of their own> and complete the grand desideratum of perfection.¹¹³

From this letter, it is evident that Rigaud, like Reynolds, believed that the same three

qualities completed a learned artist. The first quality is the accomplishment of the rules of art: “properly represented it may please others, and produce to the spectator the same sensation which animated the Artist.” Another section from his letter to Betsy expresses Rigaud’s insistence on this point:

the hand becomes too loose which is satisfied with slight sketches, in themselves very pleasing, and becomes soon tired of the cool and laborious attention required to make a finished work. But the more we accustom ourselves to finish, the easier it becomes, and finished work attracts a lasting admiration proportioned to the pains we have taken; while the sketch gives <merely> [...] a transitory pleasure, and is only meant to assist the memory.¹¹⁴

Reynolds stated regarding the rules of art that “It must of necessity be that even the works of genius, like every other effect, as they must have their case, must likewise have their rules.”¹¹⁵ The second quality is looking to past great masters: “happy those who have an opportunity of seeing the best.” Rigaud also expressed this quality in a letter to Stephen, giving him the advice that “Whenever you draw anything in nature which puzzles you; try to remember something similar which you have observed in the works of the great <Masters> for instance for rocks Salvator Rosa is the most famous.”¹¹⁶ Stephen also records in the *Memoir* that his father “faithfully delineated all the fine parts of the model, but instead of copying its defects he improved those parts and brought <them> up to the standard of those which were most perfect.”¹¹⁷ Like Reynolds, Rigaud adopts the most perfect attributes from the works of the past masters and unites them in his artistic production.¹¹⁸ He scorns the “new art” in favor of building on the accomplishments of past masters, and curtly identifies those who ignore artistic training and rely solely on their own genius and the observations of nature as “quacks.” Rigaud also warns his son that he must not abandon his

“knowledge and study of the human figure” because although “what we have learnt at first remains indelible in our mind, it is soon left off in practice.”¹¹⁹ Rigaud continues by stating that artists must “never lose sight of the grand principles of the Art, and the study of Nature, through the eyes of the ancients, and of the great Masters; such as Raffaele, Carracci, and Poussin.”¹²⁰

However, in looking to past great masters, Rigaud differs from Reynolds with regards to his opinion concerning Michelangelo:

As for Michael Angelo, he goes beyond Nature, and those who have followed him have lost themselves, and given to bombast. It is enough to look at him to enlarge our ideas, but not to imitate him. He is a proper theme for Lectures and Critics on the Art, and as such he has had his use, but I do not know an imitator who has succeeded: Nature is forced and exaggerated, we find it no more in him; while the Ancients are never beyond Nature, and yet are more beautiful in their productions than any individual object in nature.¹²¹

Rigaud reveals his preference for, and indeed ability to succeed in, more decorative, beautiful artwork, instead of the heroic sublime. Rigaud states that Michelangelo is profitable for “Lectures and Critics on the Art,” like Reynolds’s *Discourses* to the students at the Royal Academy, but that those artists who follow Michelangelo too closely are doomed to failure, and their works are “forced and exaggerated.” Rigaud contrasts this result with the beauty of the art of the Ancients, which is “never beyond Nature” but is “more beautiful [...] than any individual object in Nature.”¹²² In comparison, Reynolds appreciated the “Boldness and Grandeur in Thoughts” in Michelangelo’s work. While both Rigaud and Reynolds appreciated the beauty of the work of Raphael, Reynolds also appreciated and understood the sublimity of the work of Michelangelo,¹²³ as he stated in his *Discourses*, “the sublime, being the highest excellence that human composition can attain to, abundantly compensates the absence

of every other beauty and atones for all other deficiencies.”¹²⁴

The final quality that Rigaud believed completed a learned artist is to work continually to perfect artistic talent, both manually and intellectually. Rigaud develops Reynolds’s teaching of imitating past masters and also writes that though patrons thought that artists “can do in a happy moment all that is required of us,” that “in fact our productions are only the result of great application and labor.”¹²⁵ Rigaud counsels his son that “Pleasure may and ought always to be judiciously mingled with [great application and labor],” and, specifically, to take every opportunity to study peoples’ likenesses, in order to “[furnish] the mind with a variety of characters of heads,” but more specifically because it makes the artist “useful and entertaining, and happens to be in this country almost the surest road to fame and employment.”¹²⁶ Stephen, due no doubt to his father’s teaching, states that “there can be no Royal road to excellence, and that real superiority in Art can only be the result of a happy union of Labor and Genius.”¹²⁷

Rigaud's Self-Portraits with his Family

Initial Self-Portraits

Rigaud's view of the role of the artist can be further understood by examining his four self-portraits discussed in the *Memoir*. Although the current whereabouts of the four self-portraits are unknown, black and white photographs of his last two self-portraits are available. Upon arriving in London, he painted in 1772 a self-portrait and sent it to his sister in Vevey, Switzerland. He did not have time to finish it and painted it all at one sitting.¹²⁸ Rigaud's affection for the family of his sister, brother-in-law, and nephew is evident throughout the *Memoir*, and can be observed as well in their family portrait, discussed shortly. Rigaud painted his second self-portrait in 1773, also painted in one sitting, this time on copper. He represented himself holding an artist's palette, a symbol of his talent and profession. The size of this painting, described as "small as miniature," was appropriate for its purpose. Rigaud presented it to Mary Williams, as part of the beginning of their courtship, as a symbol of affection and a method of ensuring she would think of him. Rigaud and Mary Williams married the next year.¹²⁹ By depicting himself holding his artist's palette, Rigaud specifically identified himself with his profession. This composition can be contrasted to Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's *Self-Portrait* (1670-1673) that he painted at the request of his family, and which later served as inspiration for William Hogarth's *The Painter and his Pug* (1745). Murillo specifically depicts himself as separated from the tools of his profession, to emphasize his status as a gentleman.

First Self-Portrait with Family

Significantly, both of Rigaud's self-portraits that he painted after he married Mary Williams include his family. He took the first of these portraits to his sister and her family in Switzerland in 1782 and exhibited the second at the Royal Academy in 1790.¹³⁰ Portraits of English artists with their families are rare, and only three known self-portraits of artists with their families were exhibited at the Royal Academy in the eighteenth century, including the painting by Rigaud of 1790.¹³¹ Overall, he desired to convey himself as a learned, intellectual artist, and an affectionate husband and father of sensibility. Both of these paintings are lost, but black and white photographs of both of them are available.

The self-portrait Rigaud painted in 1782 depicts the artist sitting in a chair before a blank canvas, his wife to his left holding baby Stephen, with Betsy standing to her left and baby Mary in a rocking cradle slightly behind her to her right. On the wall behind the sitters are two of Rigaud's paintings that he exhibited his first year at the Royal Academy, and which helped him achieve associate membership in the Academy: *Hercules Resting from his Labors*, painted during his studies in Rome, and *Jupiter Under the Form of Diana Visiting the Nymph Calisto*, painted during his time in Paris, representing his history paintings of classical subjects.

Rigaud's rendering of Jupiter and Calisto is done in a similar style to that of the Rococo style of François Boucher (1703-1770). The subject of *Jupiter under the Form of Diana visiting the Nymph Calisto* was highly a popular one in Paris in the eighteenth century, as the following artists exhibited paintings of the subject at the Salon: Jean Restout (1725); Noël Hallé (1755); François Boucher (1765); Nicolas-

René Jollain (1771); Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée (1771); and Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1791).¹³² Boucher painted the story four times between 1759 and 1769.¹³³ Rigaud completed his painting in much the same erotic, light-hearted, and playful fashion.

The large Grand Manner history painting of *Hercules Resting from his Labors*, through its classical subject matter and emphasis on the almost life size human figure, helped prove Rigaud's talent and intellectual ability to other artists during his studies in Rome. Stephen describes the subject as follows:

it is one of his finest works [...]. [Hercules] is represented in a bending posture with one knee on the ground, and reposing with both hands the whole weight of his body on his massive club; the head looking downwards. It is a finely composed figure, larger than life, the drawing admirably correct, displaying a thorough knowledge of the human figure, and in the grandest style- completely of the Roman school.¹³⁴

Through the subject matter of this painting, Rigaud compared his own hard work and continual striving to that of Hercules. The artist sits closest to the *Hercules* painting, and exhibits his self-identification through this physical proximity. The left foot of Hercules is positioned directly above the artist's right hand that holds his paintbrush, just above his palette. The importance of the opinion of his fellow artists is made evident in the following excerpt from a letter to his son in 1807, in which Rigaud looks back on his career:

If I had never painted my Hercules, at Rome, I should never have been considered by my fellow students but as a good natured jovial fellow, but not as a good painter. To that picture I owe the opinion they formed of me; for I had no patron, no protector, and I was spending the little money I had. That opinion has followed me, and supported me ever since, under Providence; though not without many vicissitudes.¹³⁵

By pointing out that he executed the painting in Rome, he displays his continental

academic training, important to his success as an artist in London. He possessed both the interpersonal skills to succeed with London patrons, being a “good natured jovial fellow,” and possessing the “reputation which Hercules began,” namely that of technical excellence, intellectual sophistication, and ability to emulate past masters of the classical style. Rigaud describes his artistic strivings as full of “many vicissitudes,” that culminated in his success of being elected a full Royal Academician. The artist owes his financial success, evident in his well-dressed family and comfortable home, to his talent first displayed in his *Hercules* painting. He concludes this portion of the letter by saying, “That reputation which Hercules began, was, sixteen years after confirmed, strengthened, or renewed by the Samson.”¹³⁶ Rigaud completed *Samson Breaking his Bands* as a result of his election as a Royal Academician in 1784, two years after this *Self-Portrait*, and subsequently presented *Samson* to the Royal Academy.¹³⁷

Nearly one half of the entire *Self-Portrait with Family* is devoted to the back walls of the room which are covered with images from classical history, representing the classical learning which formed the foundation upon which Rigaud built his career, reputation, fame, and success. Ironically, it is a portrait, the form of art Rigaud least championed, that emphasizes his classical learning. The wall of classical paintings includes, besides the two paintings identified above, a portrait of an old man (possibly *Archimedes in the Moment of Discovering a Geometrical Truth*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773); a portrait of a figure dressed in robes, possibly a biblical figure; and a painting of two classical figures in a chariot. The paintings form both the physical backdrop to Rigaud’s *Self-Portrait* and the philosophical and

intellectual background to his artistic career. The portrait of an old man (possibly *Archimedes in the Moment of Discovering a Geometrical Truth*) is displayed at an angle, in a similar fashion to those paintings at the Royal Academy secured to the cove around the top of the wall at the annual exhibition, which allowed the Academy to exhibit more paintings and to improve the visibility of the paintings by reducing reflections and shadows.¹³⁸ The two plaster casts placed next to an unidentifiable book on the mantelpiece include both *The Dying Alexander* and an *écorché*, a flayed figure, most likely a small replica of the *écorché* copy at the Royal Academy by Jean-Antoine Houdon, as observed in Zoffany's *The Life-Class at the Royal Academy* (1771-1772).¹³⁹ Directly below Rigaud on the floor lies a pile of two books, both unidentifiable, and a portfolio of drawings, further supporting Rigaud's identification as an artist of learning.

By surrounding himself with history paintings in his studio, Rigaud emphasizes the importance of history painting in contemporary artistic theory and makes certain that he does not forget his academic training. Even though he made much of his living from decorative and portrait painting, his ambition continued to be history painting, which he felt would be the best use of his abilities and his training in Italy.¹⁴⁰ Rigaud desired to pass those same values and talents down to his children. For instance, he wrote of his commission to paint the altarpiece for the Roman Catholic Chapel of the Sardinian Embassy in London,

This is the first historical composition I ever had to do, as a studied piece, for any public place; for I cannot reckon the ceilings I have done in this country as studied pictures, the employers for those kind of works are too narrow in their notions of the Art to afford opportunity to an Artist to exert himself; and though it has not proved to me what I could wish, yet it will serve to shew my children, the public, or those

that may hereafter be interested in my reputation, that I have not entirely forgot what I have seen; much less what I have studied in Italy.¹⁴¹

The history paintings acted as reminders of his highest goals and of the great masters he studied. Indeed, Rigaud, thirteen years later in 1805, wrote to his son, who also became an artist, encouraging him to “keep in mind what you have learnt, and let what you have seen, or may see of the Antique, or the great Masters in composition, character, and form, be always present to your memory, the rest is easy, and you will produce great things, whenever the opportunity offers to bring them forth.”¹⁴²

In his *Memoir*, Rigaud identifies his “family picture” as being of three quarters size, the smallest size canvas available without customized alteration, being of thirty by twenty-five inches, also called a “head,” and Rigaud thus selected the most intimate format for his family picture. This size is appropriate for its purpose: Rigaud took the painting with him to give as a present to his sister and brother-in-law, his closest relatives, in Vevey, Switzerland, on his visit to them. The small canvas size would have made it easier for him to take with him during his travels to Switzerland. He did exhibit the painting in Basle, Vevey, Geneva, and Lausanne during his travels and received multiple commissions as a result. However, the painting was not meant for general display for the public as its end goal, and entered the collection of his sister.

Rigaud wrote the following description of the painting:

The back ground represents my room with all the pictures round it, -- myself at work before the easel, my wife playing with Stephen, naked in her lap, and Betsy standing before her, with cherries in her hand; Mary is a little farther back in her cradle, just waking. [...] The grouping, the effect, and the repose and harmony, were taken great notice of [...] and it procured me all the pictures I painted at Vevey; --

in short I believe it is the best picture of that size, and of portraits, I ever painted.

Rigaud is seated, and in the act of beginning a painting on the blank canvas before him, tilting his painter's palette towards the viewer and dipping his brush into the paint. His gentlemanly posture of repose and calm expression revoke any idea of the artist in a creative frenzy, as popularized by British artists such as Fuseli, instead supporting his position of the artist as a learned genius. Rigaud wears an elegant jacket, with highlighted edging, the tail of which hangs nearly to the floor. His canvas is empty, except for his cast shadow, which will be addressed shortly. The canvas focuses on the learned artist's idea, instead of his capability to replicate a correct likeness. The blank canvas is at the center of the painting and takes up a significant portion of the space, emphasizing the artistic profession. The canvas goes down nearly to the floor. Rigaud proudly holds his palette so that the viewer is aware of his profession, and the painting focuses on the two concepts most highly valued by him: his family and his artistic profession. He identifies himself closely with his work and defines himself in terms of his profession and his family. By depicting himself in the act of painting on a blank canvas, Rigaud emphasizes his creative capacity, both in regards to his art and in regards to his family. Rigaud completed this painting the same year as his *Portrait of Sir William Chambers, Joseph Wilton, and Sir Joshua Reynolds*. He identifies himself with Reynolds, and echoes Reynolds's statements regarding the academic artistic profession as voiced in his *Discourses*.

Before thoroughly examining Rigaud's depiction of himself in his *Self-Portrait with Family*, it is helpful to compare the painting to other contemporary self-portraits by English artists to understand his definition of the role of the artist. In

comparison with Francis Hayman's *Self-Portrait* of 1750, while Rigaud presents himself as a careful, learned artist, Hayman presents the image of a carefree, creative genius. Rigaud shows the front of the canvas and his learned skill; Hayman depicts the back of the easel, hiding the genius of his creation. The viewer looks at Rigaud at eye-level, while one is forced to look up at the genius of Hayman. The seemingly chance arrangement of Hayman's composition is evident in his informal dress and casual stance, as compared to Rigaud's gentlemanly posture and dress. Rigaud's calm expression suggests study and consideration, while Hayman's expression implies sudden inspiration.¹⁴³ The idea of the learned painter in contemporary portraiture can also be observed in Reynolds's *Royal Academy Self-Portrait* (1779-1780), painted to hang in the Assembly Room of the Royal Academy's new location in Somerset House. Reynolds based his *Self-Portrait* on Rembrandt's *Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer*, and thus associates portraiture with history painting. Reynolds depicts himself as an intellectual, and the profession of painting as a liberal art, as in his *Discourses*.¹⁴⁴ Reynolds's *Self-Portrait* and *Discourses* emphasized the role of the artist as a learned genius to the Royal Academy students.¹⁴⁵ Angelica Kauffmann's (1741-1807) *Portrait of Joshua Reynolds* (1767) also includes a version of Daniele da Volterra's bust of Michelangelo, as well as a print of an antique statue, indicating Reynolds's emphasis on looking to past masters and the ancients. Kauffmann creates an image of Reynolds seemingly listening to the words of Michelangelo and looking to the books and papers on the table, all indicating aspects of Reynolds's artistic theory.¹⁴⁶ Kauffmann balances these intimations of learning on the left side of Reynolds's portrait with the blank canvas on the easel on the right, suggesting

Reynolds's emphasis on the intellectual, rather than manual, work of the artist, as evident in his *Discourses*.¹⁴⁷ Reynolds's gesture towards his ear also recalls that of the personification of *Memory*, as found in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.¹⁴⁸ While self-portraits of artists of the Romantic period, such those by Barry and Fuseli, often emphasized imagination, personal expression,¹⁴⁹ and artistic melancholy,¹⁵⁰ the self-portraits of Reynolds and Rigaud present the artist as a calm, gentlemanly, learned genius.

Comparison of Rigaud's first *Self-Portrait with Family* to portraits of artists and their families by artists on the Continent also reveals interesting attributes. The Swiss-born artist, Anton Graff (1736-1813) painted *The Artist's Family in Front of a Portrait of Johann Georg Sulzer* in 1785. It depicts Graff as both a talented artist and as a devoted husband and father. He shows himself painting the portrait of his friend and father-in-law, Johann Georg Sulzer, a philosopher and aesthete who had helped Graff attain his position as a successful court artist in Berlin, while his wife supervises their children's education.¹⁵¹ In François Gérard's (1770-1837) portrait of his friend and fellow artist Jean-Baptiste Isabey (1767-1855), *Jean-Baptiste Isabey and His Daughter Alexandrine* (1795), Gérard emphasizes Isabey's sensibility by showing him affectionately clasping his daughter's hand. This portrait is an example of the uncommon pairing of father and daughter in portraiture, and in the portrait Gérard identifies Isabey as a gentleman and a father, without the emblems of his artistic practice.¹⁵² An earlier example of an artist family portrait is that of Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (c.1612-1667), a Spanish artist who married Velázquez's eldest daughter, Francisca Silva Velázquez, in 1633. In the background of *The Family*

of the Painter (1664-1665) is a picture of Velázquez painting *Infanta Margarita Teresa in a Blue Dress* (1659), a painting Velázquez completed one year before his death.¹⁵³ As in Velázquez's *Kitchen Scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, the composition of *The Family of the Painter* enables the picture-within-a-picture of *Velázquez Painting the Infanta Margarita* to act as a compliment to the primary scene and as a tool for the viewer's (and Mazo's) memory.¹⁵⁴ Here, the memory that is evoked is that of the greatness of Velázquez, and Mazo thereby puts himself on a level with his father-in-law, as well as by the style of his painting. Mazo's labor in producing the likenesses of his large family and in emulating the composition of *Las Meninas* served as a way for him to approach the greatness of his father-in-law.

In Rigaud's first *Self-Portrait with Family*, the five family members are located in his study, the most important room in the house for him, as the place where he worked at his profession to provide for his family, and the setting allows the viewer to obtain an insight into his artistic practice. Although the viewer cannot assume the paintings would have been hung exactly as shown in the self-portrait, this room would also have acted as a display room where he could show potential patrons evidence of his capability and previous successes. The furnishings of this room and his well-dressed family suggest his financial success as a capable artist. Since Rigaud exhibited this painting in Switzerland and by doing so received further commissions, he needed his role to be clear in this painting: he shows himself as both a talented artist, and as an affectionate father and husband. Potential patrons would have been aware of his upright family morals and would have expected that those morals would

come through in his work, and also would have judged Rigaud by the technical quality of this image. The somewhat modest dress of Rigaud and his family would have made the painting acceptable to the Protestant viewers in Switzerland. Unlike self-portraits of other English artists, such as Joseph Wright of Derby and Richard Cosway, Rigaud does not present himself in fancy dress that harkened back to the seventeenth-century attire of Rubens.¹⁵⁵ Rigaud pauses in the act of painting and looks directly out at the viewer, addressing his potential patrons. The somewhat mercenary quality of an artist using his family to gain commissions and fame will be explored regarding the second *Self-Portrait with Family*. The artist's confident gaze unites the exterior world of the viewer and the interior world of his family. It forces the viewer to acknowledge the painting as the result of his creative power, confirms his pride in his accomplishments, and asks for the viewer's recognition of his talent.

Rigaud's studio is well lit, and light floods in from the right, throwing his shadow onto the immense blank canvas in front of him, suggesting another self-portrait inside this self-portrait, brilliantly highlighting the canvas, and illuminating his wife and children with radiant light. The light illuminates Rigaud's face and hand holding the paintbrush, evoking Reynolds's argument that true inspiration comes from both intellectual thought and hard work and practice, and evoking divine light in biblical paintings. The inclusion of the shadow in Rigaud's *Self-Portrait* recalls the legends regarding the discoveries of painting, especially that related by Pliny of the Corinthian maid who traced the shadow that her lover's face cast upon the wall by lamplight, as depicted by Joseph Wright of Derby in *The Corinthian Maid* (1782-1784).¹⁵⁶ The shadow of the artist on the canvas constitutes a significant artistic

conceit, as has been previously developed by Anthony Colantuono in *Interpreter Poussin: Metaphore, Similarite Et "Maniera Magnifica,"* where he shows that the shadow on the canvas of Nicolas Poussin's *Self-Portrait* of 1650 acts as a visual metaphor. Poussin stands before a blank canvas on which is projected his shadow. On the canvas is written in Latin, "Effigies Nicolai Poussini..." The sole effigy, or representational image, on the canvas behind Poussin is that of his shadow. Poussin communicates the metaphor that his self-portrait is only a shadow of his true personality and genius¹⁵⁷ and conveys the transience of his being, of fame, and of art, represented by the canvases stacked behind Poussin and their subjects. However, Poussin inscribes the painting with his name, suggesting that Clio will record him and his accomplishments in history.¹⁵⁸ In Ripa's *Iconologia*, History conquers the god of death, Saturn, by writing in a book what time leaves behind, making it immortal. This notion is also found in Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* (1630-1640), where one of the shepherds on the left reads the inscription, "Et in Arcadia ego" and casts his shadow on the sarcophagus, while the shepherd on the right points to the inscription and shadow, indicating the gained knowledge of the transience of time to the serene woman standing beside him, who is deep in reflection.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, Rigaud surrounds himself with his family and his paintings that won him associate membership in the Royal Academy, but yet suggests that his character is something more that cannot be completely communicated through the elements of the painting. He leaves his canvas blank, suggesting that his history, symbolized in his surroundings, will be recorded in the history of Western art. Likewise, Rigaud depicted the shadow of the painter Cipriani on the canvas before him, in his artist group portrait, *Agostino Carlini*,

Francesco Bartolozzi, and Giovanni Battista Cipriani. However, Cipriani's shadow only falls on the bottom half of the figure of Clio, just touching the book she carries, perhaps suggesting the ongoing quest for fame. The artistic conceit of the artist's shadow cast onto a blank canvas can also be observed in two of Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun self-portraits. Likewise, in Zoffany's *Self-Portrait with His Daughter* (Maria Theresa?) and *Giacobbe and James Cervetto*(?), Zoffany's palette and brushes cast a shadow, emphasizing his artistic talent.

As in pendant marital portraits, Rigaud is depicted in his public and professional role, while Mrs. Rigaud fulfills her virtuous domestic role as mother and wife. While Rigaud identifies himself partly by the tools of his profession, Mrs. Rigaud is identified by her skill in managing her household and by her maternal care, qualities that would be generally applauded. He emphasizes his wife's domestic talent by placing her embroidery and balls of wool to the front of the picture. Mrs. Rigaud's floral embroidery spills out of her workbasket. She wears a delicate, finely detailed lace apron, which also displays the artist's technical skill. This distinction between female and male attributes in portraiture continues the propositions put forth by Gerard de Lairese in *The Art of Painting*: "Some things are also proper to women, to betoken their virtues and qualities; as by an imminent woman for reputation a statue of Honor, and by it some emblems of Fidelity, especially economy, or family government, and some medals relating thereto."¹⁶⁰ The professional and domestic roles of Mr. and Mrs. Rigaud meet in this domestic interior and create a narrative and a sense of mutuality.¹⁶¹

The triangular composition of the painting, with Mrs. Rigaud to the left, the

easel and canvas in the center, and Rigaud to the right, emphasizes his artistic career, framed by his family. Husband and wife are balanced, as in British pendant marital portraits. However, they do not look at each other with an affectionate glance, as in so many marital portraits, and indeed, Rigaud isolates himself on the darker right side of the painting, while highlighting his wife with vivid white clothing. He is also distanced from them by the expanse of white canvas. However, his legs lead the viewer's eyes down towards his daughter, Betsy. Mrs. Rigaud seems oblivious of her husband's presence and the gaze of the viewer, instead playing affectionately with her infant son. Although Mrs. Rigaud, Stephen, Betsy, and Mary are evidently having their picture painted, they are gathered in a naturalistic group, instead of a more formal pose. The artist himself is the only sitter who notices the viewer, and looks at the viewer instead of at his family. Rigaud, as the artist in the picture and the artist of the picture, presents his family to the viewer, placing his wife, son, and eldest daughter closest to the picture plane.

The figure most central in the painting, just below the expanse of white canvas, is that of Stephen, the male heir of the family who will carry on the family name. The pyramidal composition of Mrs. Rigaud, Stephen, and Betsy makes visual the family hierarchy. Although Mary was born just the previous year, in her depiction as a baby just waking up, she is pushed to the side of the painting in favor of Stephen. Rigaud does not mention any children of his brother, who died at age twenty-five, so Stephen may be the last person in the family to carry on the name of Rigaud. Another child of Mr. and Mrs. Rigaud, Isabella Frances, had died in infancy in 1779, and since this painting was completed the year after Mary was born, it acts as a celebration of

the health of their last child. Historically at this period in England, the birth of a male child generally caused relief and joy.¹⁶² High infant mortality rates and the perception of the fragility of young children encouraged depictions of the mother's role in continuing the family line.¹⁶³ Rigaud depicts his wife as both absorbed in and devoted to her son, confirming Stephen's continuation of the family line as well as Mrs. Rigaud's sentimental virtues.¹⁶⁴ Through the emphasis on his own artistic profession, Rigaud suggests his desire for his son to follow in his footsteps as an artist, this concept described in the *Public Advertiser* in 1774: "the common wish of a Parent is to educate his Son in his own Profession."¹⁶⁵

The composition and content of the painting associate Rigaud's family portrait with Christian imagery, as frequently done by Reynolds and other artists. Betsy holds two cherries in her right hand (as does the oldest girl in William Hogarth's *The Graham Children* of 1742), and holds them right below baby Stephen's head. Cherries often occur in Renaissance religious paintings, symbolizing eternal life.¹⁶⁶ Rigaud uses the cherries, which he is careful to point out in his description, possibly to symbolize eternal life, but also to more generally associate his family portrait with Christian imagery. In doing so, the generic group of mother, infant son, and other children evokes images of the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child and adoring saints, such as St. John the Baptist. Mrs. Rigaud takes on the role of the Virgin Mary, baby Stephen the role of the Christ Child, and Betsy pays homage to the Holy Family in the role of a saint. Rigaud points out in his description that Stephen is depicted "naked in [his mother's] lap." This allows Stephen to represent the Christ Child, and thus elevate the genre of the painting, and also for Rigaud to display his talent at

depicting the human figure. The brilliant white light highlights the mother and baby, Stephen lying on his mother's broad supporting lap, and melds the figures together, and collectively they assume a monumental quality. Religious subject matter had a strong personal meaning to the artist, and characterizing his wife and son as the Holy Family would have made the intimate family portrait even more meaningful to him. (Despite the fact that few religious pictures were commissioned in England, Rigaud exhibited a total of eighteen religious works at the Royal Academy.¹⁶⁷) Although the artist's gaze acknowledges that an exhibition is involved, which contradicts the intimacy of a family portrait, by elevating his wife and son into the roles of the Virgin and Child, this exhibition quality is more understandable and forgivable. Portraitists often referred to Old Master images of the Holy Family, following Reynolds's advice that artists should take "a particular thought, an action, attitude, or figure" from the work of a great painter and use it in their own painting. Rigaud also may have drawn on the legend of the Apostle Luke painting the Virgin and Child.¹⁶⁸ This artistic conceit of the composition evoking images of the Holy Family allowed Rigaud to identify himself with past artistic masters of religious subjects and to elevate the genre of portraiture.¹⁶⁹

An interesting comparison to the religious connotation of Rigaud's *Self-Portrait and Family* is that of Reynolds's *Lady Cockburn and her Three Sons* of 1773. Like Mrs. Rigaud, Lady Cockburn is completely preoccupied with her children, often the case in Georgian portraiture. Neither woman looks out at the viewer, instead being deep in meditation of their respective children, making the scene an internal gaze onto a natural scene, emphasizing their attention to their domestic duties and

their concern with the welfare of their children, and preserving their modesty from an external gaze.¹⁷⁰ A religious connotation is suggested through visual allusion in Reynolds's painting, as in Rigaud's: Lady Cockburn assumes the role of the Virgin, while her two children closest to the picture plane suggest John the Baptist, pointing to heaven, and the Christ Child. This painting creates a direct connection to a domestic virtue, the composition taken from Van Dyck's composition of *Charity*, the greatest virtue.¹⁷¹

The generic quality of the grouping of Mrs. Rigaud, Stephen, and Betsy allows the artist to emphasize his ability to depict family affection, an important aspect of portrait commissions of the eighteenth century of children and families, and also to establish his own virtue. Rigaud also emphasizes the "repose and harmony" of his painting. The harmony of the arrangement of the mother and children, and, one must assume, of the colors used, mirrors the tranquil subject. Family affection is evident in the interaction and touch between the mother, son, and daughter. The intimate domestic scene proves Rigaud comfortable in depicting his family and enables him to show his success in affectionate family portraits. In the eighteenth-century, marital portraits often depicted the softening influence of women on men, as depicted in the contrast in this painting between the light colors of Mrs. Rigaud's dress and the dark colors of Mr. Rigaud's clothing, and the soft flowing lines of Mrs. Rigaud to the clearly defined forms of Mr. Rigaud. Stephen responded to his father's description of his first *Self-Portrait with Family* with the following commentary:

as it was affection that gave rise to its production, so is it a lively <delineation> [...] of the actings of the same affection in the daily concerns of domestic life, and may very appropriately be entitled The Painter's happy home. Thus, true to life, it conveys a high moral

lesson, and touches a chord that vibrates in every heart.¹⁷²

Like his father, Stephen emphasizes the importance of the affection that went into the very act of painting and the purpose behind the work's commission. This would have assured contemporary patrons of Rigaud's high moral standards, and thus his talents and ability as an artist in executing any commission. A quote from the journal *The Lounger*, from 1785, emphasizes the importance of domestic virtue in the artist: "The Hero, the Statesman, the Poet, or the Painter, demand, and frequently, as such, deserve our admiration; but it is only to the man of domestic worth and social excellence, that the homage of the virtuous heart will ever be offered."¹⁷³ At a time when interest in the lives of artists was abundant, Stephen assures the viewer of Rigaud's morality and his success in acting as the head of a loving, domestic, virtuous family. Stephen emphasizes the truthfulness of the painting, carried out in Rigaud's straightforward gaze at the viewer. Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665-1745), in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), had previously expressed the concept in artistic theory that linked personal morality with artistic excellence: "The way to be an Excellent Painter is to be an Excellent Man. A Painter ought to have a Sweet, Happy turn of Mind, that Great and Lovely Ideas may have a reception there."¹⁷⁴ James Barry also upheld this concept, "which has for its true object to advance the interests of mankind, by placing the cause of virtue and real heroism in the most forcible, efficacious, and amiable light—such an art does indeed require all the elevation and dignity of soul and disposition the student can possibly bring to it."¹⁷⁵ Rigaud's virtue thus justifies his fame and makes him worthy of representation.

Rigaud's affection not only for his wife and children, but also for his sister,

brother-in-law, and nephew is evident throughout the *Memoir*, as can be visually observed in their family portrait painted by Rigaud in 1782, when he visited them in Switzerland (*Isabelle Marie and Adrien Collomb with their Son*) and gave them his *Self-Portrait with Family* just discussed, enabling the two family portraits to in effect act as pendant paintings. The affectionate nature of the family depicted in *Isabelle Marie and Adrien Collomb with their Son* demonstrates Rigaud's special concern with portraits of his family and friends. The painting is not mentioned in the *Memoir*, and was done solely as a private remembrance that Rigaud could take back with him to London.¹⁷⁶ It can be assumed that Rigaud displayed the painting in his home, as a reminder of his affection for his sister, brother-in-law, and nephew, as a reminder of the love that existed in that family, and as a more general metaphor of family affection, as described in Stephen's commentary on the painting:

In this group Madame Collomb is looking up to her husband with a sweet expression of exquisite tenderness, seemingly speaking to him of their son, whose hand she holds within her own, and who fixes an eye sparkling with joy and affection on his Mother, whilst the Father seems to look on with complacency and delight. The general sentiment thus expressed by this beautiful picture is – Family Affection.

Rigaud adopted a pyramidal composition for this scene, with the father at the head. The exchange of gazes and the tender hand gestures and interlinking arms emphasize the intimacy of the family scene. None of the sitters look out at the viewer, lending a sense of privacy and naturalness. As in traditional pendant portraits and marital portraits, Mrs. Collomb conveys a sense of harmony and sensitivity, while her husband lends authority and leadership to their marriage and instruction for their son. Since such a great distance separated the families, the paintings by Rigaud acted as a surrogate for the actual presences of the two families. The affection between Rigaud

and his sister is emphasized later in the *Memoir* when, in 1797, anxious at Napoleon's threats towards England, Mrs. Collomb traveled to England to try to persuade the Rigaud family to take refuge in Switzerland.¹⁷⁷

Second Self-Portrait with Family

In Rigaud's second *Self-Portrait with Family*, composed c.1784-1786 based on the ages of the sitters, and exhibited at the Royal Academy as *The Painter's Family* in 1790, the artist also positioned his family based on the historic poses adopted by artists in depictions of the Holy Family. In the *Memoir*, Stephen comments, "In this well composed group, Mrs. Rigaud with her youngest child in her arms, accompanied by her other children [...] <is> bringing them to their father, who <with pleasure beaming in his countenance> is in the act of sketching the <[...] Painter's> family [...] on canvas."¹⁷⁸

This painting measures 72.4 by 87.7 centimeters, almost exactly the size of a kit-cat, the second to smallest size canvas available for portraits, appropriate for the intimate nature of the subject. The fact that Rigaud exhibited his second *Self-Portrait with Family* at the Royal Academy would have structured his representation from the beginning, encouraging him to show an idealized picture of family life to obtain a positive response from the exhibition audiences.¹⁷⁹ This time, baby Mary takes the role of the infant Christ Child, instead of her brother, who is now old enough to adopt the role of an adoring saint.¹⁸⁰ Along with his sister, Betsy, he looks directly out at the audience, perhaps exhibiting his devotion, and points to the figure of the baby while holding one of the baby's feet in his other hand. Betsy likewise tenderly holds one of the infant's feet with a serene expression, calmly gazing at the viewer. Mary

Magdalene also enacts this gesture of holding the feet of the central infant, the Christ Child, in Correggio's *Madonna di San Gerolamo* that Rigaud spent several months copying during his studies in Parma in 1770, and he may be referencing this historic work, in order to associate the subject matter of his *Self-Portrait* with that of a history painting.¹⁸¹ Rigaud follows later eighteenth-century practice of blending contemporary representations of mothers absorbed with their babies with Renaissance images of the Madonna and Child, and in so doing creates a subject painting, testifying to the virtue of the artist and the sitter, providing an example of domestic life, and prompting emotion in the viewer.¹⁸² The emphasis on likeness is taken to a new level in this painting, Rigaud showing a more intense engagement with these sitters than with his more generalized portraits. Mrs. Rigaud, in her loose dress and head covering, adopts the pose of the Virgin Mary, totally absorbed in her own reflections. As in many historic paintings, the baby is shown reaching with a look of affection towards one of the adoring onlookers, in this case, Rigaud himself, who is in the midst of capturing the tender scene. The viewer's attention is drawn to the figure of the baby at the center of the canvas, highlighted by the expanse of blank white canvas behind her head.

Rigaud's posture in this painting further develops his definition of the learned artist. He is in the middle of a creative act, poised with a porte-crayon in his hand to capture a preliminary drawing of the moment. The figure of the naked baby in the *Self-Portrait* again acknowledges his ability to paint the human figure. The light in the portrait highlights his head, the source of intellect, and his hand holding the porte-crayon closely to his head forms a direct diagonal towards the canvas on which he is

working. This reemphasizes Rigaud's stance that a painter can only hope to become a learned artist, the pinnacle of artistic goals, through knowledge of past masters, mastery of the rules of painting, and much practice. His commitment to hard work to both reach his goal of succeeding as a learned artist and to use his profession to provide for his family is emphasized throughout the *Memoir* in his references to the importance of artistic and family duty, as is exemplified in a letter written to his son Stephen, now also an artist: "I dare say the Wyatt's [the artists overseeing his decorative ceiling commission] will think I do too much and have thought so a long while; but I don't care; I will do my duty."¹⁸³ Rigaud's focus on hard work instead of inspiration can be contrasted to Romney's *Self-Portrait*, where Romney depicts himself with a cross-armed pose to indicate melancholy, creative genius,¹⁸⁴ an idea developed in William Duff's *Essay on Original Genius* of 1767: "indulging a sublime, pensive, and sweetly-soothing melancholy."¹⁸⁵

The composition of the painting provides a visual explanation of the familial relationships. Unlike the previous *Self-Portrait with Family*, no emphasis is made on Stephen as the heir of the family name, although he is balanced with his father in the lower-left and upper-right corners respectively, the diagonal between them and his pointing gesture (although directed at the baby, also in his father's direction) perhaps suggesting his future rise to the artistic profession. The connection of Rigaud with his son in this painting, along with Rigaud's specific artistic instructions to his children, as embodied in his letters to them, points out the father's responsibility for the education of his children, as encouraged in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Similarly, Betsy is balanced with her mother, in the lower-right and upper-left corners

respectively, the diagonal between them indicating her future role as wife and mother. The pyramidal structure of Mrs. Rigaud with her children also suggests Rousseau's idea that the loving, "natural" mother creates affection between her children.¹⁸⁶ By placing himself on a level with his wife, Rigaud shrugs off in a fashion his patriarchal authority, allowing himself to join in the tender scene, and also to place emphasis on the grouping of his wife and children as the Holy Family, while he carries out his role as learned artist. Like a marital portrait, the second *Self-Portrait with Family* shows the harmony in the marriage of a knowledgeable man and a tender wife. Mrs. Rigaud is identified as a mother first and foremost, notably not as a poet, which is one of her key roles in the *Memoir*, able to evoke familial sentiment, and continues the eighteenth-century practice of being surrounded by her family.¹⁸⁷ Rigaud emphasizes the chubbiness of his baby daughter and the innocence and shyness of his two older children, depicting them with childlike naturalness, following the mid-eighteenth-century shift of English family portraiture towards compositions of family members, including childlike children, interacting naturally with each other.¹⁸⁸ The artist is indeed part of the family scene, drawn into the family embrace through the gesture of his youngest daughter, as also evident in Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Self-Portrait with Daughter* of 1789. Rigaud's back is to the audience, but his face turns towards the viewer, and he gazes down at his children, the result of his creation of his family. He is in the act of painting an embedded image of his wife and children, of which he himself would supposedly have been the primary viewer, emphasizing his wife's nurturing role, and his own role as patriarchal authority, patron, and viewer.

The generic quality of the setting of the painting and of the pose of the figures

allows the sentimental and affectionate qualities of the family grouping to make them a more general statement of family affection, and thus for Rigaud to display his talent in depicting family scenes to potential patrons. Unlike his previous *Self-Portrait with Family*, this scene takes place in an unknown setting. The artist has eliminated the back walls that previously displayed his artistic accomplishments. Rigaud creates an intimate setting, known only to the people in the portrait, who are caught up in a private moment. However, the studio background of the first portrait and the unidentifiable background of second portrait, with at least one sitter addressing the viewer, and Rigaud in the act of painting all acknowledge an event out of the ordinary taking place. By depicting his family close to the picture plane, the viewer can enter fully into the emotion and identify one's own appreciation of sensibility. The artist's affection for his family comes across vividly, not only through this portrait, but also in his letters to his son and daughters the same year he exhibited this painting. In a letter to his daughter Betsy on 3 October 1790, while she was away on a trip to Wales, Rigaud wrote, "I desire you will not be low spirited when you think of me, for I like joke and merriment, and you must laugh and be merry when you think of me. [...] if I do not go to meet you, it is the greatest sacrifice I ever made."¹⁸⁹ In another letter, written in 1805 to Stephen while working on a decorative ceiling painting at Windsor Castle, Rigaud wrote, "I know you are very busy, and consequently have little time to spare for writing, yet I am so lonely here that I seem to want to hear often from home."¹⁹⁰ His painting can be viewed as a more general portrait of "sentiment" of a mother with her children, following the emphasis in the second half of the eighteenth century of prompting emotion in the heart of the viewer instead of

capturing a likeness. The importance of natural expression in pictures of families, as seen in Rigaud's painting, is evident in the following passage of Maria Edgeworth's novel, *Belinda*, of 1801:

Belinda...was intently copying Westall's sketch of Lady Anne Percival and her family,... "What a charming woman, and what a charming family!" said Mr. Vincent, as he looked at the drawing; "and how much more interesting is this picture of domestic happiness than all the pictures of shepherds and shepherdesses, and gods and goddesses, that ever were drawn!"

"Yes," said Belinda, "and how much more interesting this picture is to us, from our knowing that it is not a fancy-piece; that the happiness is real, not imaginary: that this is the natural expression of affection in the countenance of the mother; and that these children, who crowd round her, are what they seem to be – the pride and pleasure of her life!"...

Belinda's eye was caught by an engraving of Lady Delacour in the character of the comic muse...

"What a contrast!" said Mr. Vincent, placing the print of Lady Delacour beside the picture of Lady Percival, "What a contrast! Compare their pictures – compare their characters – compare –"¹⁹¹

Like Edgeworth's description, Rigaud's depiction of domestic happiness is meaningful because it is meant to be naturalistic and real.¹⁹² Natural domestic affection and an emphasis on the pleasure of the artist in both his profession and his family can also be observed in the earlier *Self-Portrait with Family* of Giuseppe Maria Crespi of Bologna (1665-1747) of 1708. The artist depicts himself and his wife playing with their two children. This rare presentation of subject matter represents an example of the least academic portrait painting at that time in Italy. Crespi transforms his usual genre scenes of bamboches into a lighthearted look at unidealized family life.¹⁹³ Although the compositions of the two paintings differ radically, both present an identification of the artist based on his family affection, focusing on the joyful characters of the sitters. Since Rigaud exhibited his 1790

family portrait at the Royal Academy with the title *The Painter's Family*, the painting became a more generalized, subject picture,¹⁹⁴ concentrating on the character of the sitters. The *General Evening Post* in 1784 defined character as “a merit which dignifies portrait painting and makes it interesting to the stranger as well as the relation.”¹⁹⁵ In 1791 in the *Morning Chronicle*, a critic compared the importance of portraying character in portraits to the theater: “we do not crowd the Theatre to see the *Actors* who perform, but to mark the passions and emotions that are there displayed.”¹⁹⁶

By displaying natural emotions of affection, Rigaud's self-portraits with family participated in the English culture of sentiment written about in contemporary literature.¹⁹⁷ Rigaud not only showed himself capable of depicting sentiment and internal virtue, but of his ability to enjoy these sentimental virtues. By promoting history painting, the great masters of art, and the benefits of hard work, Rigaud continued the ideas put forth in 1752 by David Hume in his essay *Of Refinement in the Arts*:

The more these refined arts advance the more sociable men become [...]. So that, besides the improvements which they receive from knowledge and the liberal arts, it is impossible but they must feel an encrease (sic) of humanity, from the very habit of conversing together, and contributing to each other's pleasure and entertainment. Thus *industry*, *knowledge*, and *humanity*, are linked together by an indissoluble chain.¹⁹⁸

Rigaud's hard work, proved through the success of his history paintings and portraits at the Royal Academy exhibitions, along with his leadership of and affection towards his family, served as evidence of his morality and as didactic imagery, teaching the Royal Academy exhibition audiences sensibility. Rigaud's second *Self-Portrait with*

Family teaches some of the same ideas as put forth by Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713), third Earl of Shaftesbury, earlier in the eighteenth century in his *Characteristic of Men, Manners, Opinions, Time* of 1711. Shaftesbury stated that “the admiration and love of order, harmony, and proportion [...] is naturally improving to the temper, advantageous to social affection, and highly assistant to virtue, which is itself no other than the love of order and beauty in society.”¹⁹⁹ This same order and beauty can be found in the formal qualities of Rigaud’s second *Self-Portrait with Family*, and would have been seen to extend to the private lives of Rigaud and his family in their natural affection and delight in one another and harmonious behavior and thus to the benefit of the public in their interaction with society. The beauty of Rigaud’s family points to their goodness, recognized by the sensibility and moral sense of the audience.

Although it may seem at first that this subject matter would be ideal for an artist to use in paintings submitted to the Royal Academy exhibitions in order to portray both their public and private virtues, few artists exhibited self-portraits with their families. This may be due to several factors: the pressure of professional artistic practice; the desire to show portraits of popular individuals in public society; and the danger of appearing mercenary, sacrificing family intimacy and exploiting private virtue for monetary gain. Only two other artists exhibited self-portraits with their families in the eighteenth century, both at the 1777 exhibition. John Singleton Copley exhibited *A Family; Whole Length*²⁰⁰ and Benjamin West exhibited *A Small Picture of a Family*.²⁰¹ In both of these paintings, as in Rigaud’s self-portraits with family, the artists serve as strong but affectionate leaders of their families, providing for their

families through their success in their artistic professions. However, Rigaud places himself on a level with his wife, while both Copley and West utilize a triangular composition to display their authority as the head of the family.²⁰²

Reviews published in contemporary journals reported various responses to the paintings by Copley and West. The reviewer for the *Morning Chronicle*, who did not seem to be aware that the image presented the artist's own family, reported that Copley's painting had "in some of its parts, great merit," but that "The figure of the gentleman leaning behind with some plans in his hands seems also to be oddly placed, and not properly one of the family." The *Morning Chronicle* identified West's self-portrait as "a neat little scene of domestic happiness," doing "the artist credit on the score of his feelings," identifying the artist as a sensitive father and artist.

However, a review of West's painting in the *General Advertiser* stated that

This picture represents the painter's *own family*, which, if Mr. West exercised an equal knowledge of the world, as he does in his profession, he should not *place here*. *Ignorant and bad men*, are generally the foremost to sound their own praises, conscious of the necessity of being their *own trumpeters*: Hence *wise and good men* should leave it to other people. We do not, however, pretend to say, that the painter was not stimulated by one of the noblest motives in the world, *the love of his family*, to exhibit so pleasing and rational a view of them; but he should no more *publish this to the world*, than a *poet* should a *commendatory poem on his own family*; for however the shallow loungers of the Royal Academy may apostatize to the *dear, good-natured man!* the thinkers will call it a pitiful *scene-trap* for applause.²⁰³

This reviewer attacks West for exhibiting his family virtue in order to gain artistic commissions and fame. The reviewer warns against deliberately cultivating the public impression of being a good husband and father, for fear that the audience will think it a shallow ploy. Although artists aspired to convey their sensibility and domestic

virtue, to advertise publicly these qualities could be seen as a mercenary sham done for fame. Artists found it difficult to communicate successfully the fiction of capturing a fleeting private moment of one's own likeness and family, unlike in portraits of other professional men. Although both Copley and West gave their respective paintings anonymous titles, hence avoiding self-promotion, and even though Copley had recently arrived in England (West, in contrast, was well-known), some viewers found it difficult to avoid challenging the motives of the artists in displaying private virtues of familial affection in a public venue.²⁰⁴

No such negative reviews have been found concerning the *Self-Portrait and Family* of Rigaud of 1790. Indeed, the only reference found in the newspaper reviews of the 1790 Royal Academy exhibition that pertains to Rigaud is in the 13-15 May 1790 edition of the *St. James's Chronicle, or, British Evening Post*, that briefly dismisses Rigaud's contribution: "Mr. Rigaud has some portraits, but not remarkable," otherwise noting that "The Exhibition, on the whole is very respectable, and the progress of the Arts evidently towards perfection." Notably, this newspaper devoted considerable description to the work of individual artists. The writer stated his selection criteria regarding the included descriptions in the 27-29 April 1790 edition: "In the arrangement of our articles on this subject, we shall generally be directed by taste and the power of attraction in the performances that are exhibited." The self-portraits with family by Copley and West possibly garnered more attention by the press because, not only were they more prominent artists than Rigaud (Rigaud generally attracted little attention in the critical press), but because they displayed their self-portraits with family at the same exhibition. Anne Puetz has suggested as

the reason that Rigaud's reputation as a portraitist declined from 1784 onwards (the year the Royal Academy elected him a full Academician) may have been due to the new generation of English-born artists, including John Hoppner, William Beechey, and Sir Thomas Lawrence.²⁰⁵ Reviewers of the 1790 Royal Academy exhibition were generally negative about the exhibited portraits. The writer for the *London Chronicle* and the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* referred to the works of Reynolds as "mere portraits," while taking a more positive note in writing,

the Exhibition of the present year is infinitely superior to that of last season... We rejoice to see this creditable effort of the Academy; for it proves that the artists of this country only want patronage, to accomplish the most arduous achievements (sic). Our school is no longer doomed to the humble drudgery of portraits, but aspires with becoming ardour to the highest regions of the arts.²⁰⁶

The writer then devotes descriptions and critique to the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, Joseph Wright of Derby, William Hamilton, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, John Opie, William Beechey, Francis Wheatley, Gainsborough Dupont, and Richard Westall, as well as to the landscape paintings of Joseph Farington, William Hodges, William Marlow, William Gardiner, John Webber, Hendrik Frans de Cort, and Ludwig Guttenbrunn. The same writer for the 4 May 1790 publication wrote, "The landscapes are the boast of the present exhibition," and gave descriptions of the landscape paintings. The writer for the *General Evening Post* complained that "The coup d'oeil of the room exhibits nothing but a collection of portraits [...] with a few exceptions [...]; the only historical pieces worth any notice being" those of William Hamilton, Henry Fuseli, and Benjamin West.²⁰⁷

Conclusion

When reviewing his career, Rigaud described the melancholy yet ultimately joyful nature of the work of the artist in his desire to continue building a solid intellectual base for the arts in England.²⁰⁸ In a letter of 1807 to Stephen, he wrote,

We must have patience. We must plough very deep, and yet we are not sure to reap. The Art is our estate, and subject to fluctuations, like all other kind of property. If we could farm what we know to others, it is ten to one but it <might> produce more than by being Gentlemen farmers of our own. And as they have now established markets for pictures, there should be also brokers, that the business might go on swimmingly, as in other concerns.²⁰⁹

Rigaud encourages his son to keep working towards excellence in his art, even though others may not recognize his excellence. He distances himself from the business side of art, preferring to be a gentleman artist practicing a liberal art. In another letter of 1807 to his son, the artist wrote,

It is an evil which has attended modern Art, ever since the judgment of the public began to be perverted by caprice and fashion; solid minded Artists will continue to study and do their best and will in the end triumph; to follow the fashion requires to be in continual agitation and fever, for the moment it is missed, the whole air Castle dissolves and is no more.²¹⁰

Rigaud contrasts the artists whose judgments have been “perverted by caprice and fashion” and who work “in continual agitation and fever” with those more academically trained artists who master artistic techniques, study the past masters, and steadily work to achieve excellence. He takes the opportunity in earlier letter of 1790 to combine “instruction with pleasure,” and writes that he and Stephen as artists should not

rest ourselves contented and idle under the pressure of low and disagreeable situations. I mean that after having done our best, and

exerted our abilities to the utmost [...] we should consider whatever small portion comes to our share as a blessing, and enjoy it with <thankfulness, and > the inward satisfaction that we have acted right.²¹¹

Rigaud compliments his son in an additional letter of 1807 that the “sacrifice you have made of the highest style of Art is worthy of every praise, on account of the motive which, no doubt, has influenced it.”²¹² However, he cautions that as artists they “ought never to relinquish what we have learned. The talents we have acquired, as we have them from God, who does not bestow them on every body alike, we ought to cherish and improve.”²¹³ He counsels his son to “banish all idea of fashion, and all thoughts of profit. The Art alone should be the guide, and morality the sentiment.”²¹⁴

Throughout the *Memoir*, Rigaud presents a somewhat inconsistent identity of the artist as an alert businessman, a selfless visionary, an individual of “enthusiasm, inseparable from the Artist” for which others must “be ready to make some sacrifices,” and a person of determination, devoted to perfection and study of his art.²¹⁵ He balances and combines his certainty of artistic success and the joy in the resulting beauty and virtue with the difficulty of the artist’s path in achieving such success. In a letter towards the end of the *Memoir*, written to Stephen in 1807, Rigaud laments the fact that

Though I have been industrious, and have worked very hard all my life time, I have been too thoughtless of money matters. With exalted ideas of the Arts, I have despised what was profitable, and have made other people sick of my notions and now <my> ~~I am obliged to drudge and grope.~~ My time is past, and I have not much strength to struggle against the prejudices of fashion, or to overcome fatigue.²¹⁶

This quote serves as a fitting conclusion to an examination of Rigaud’s view of the artist as a learned genius, in a constant “struggle” to succeed in his virtuous art. He

identifies himself as an artist who has been “industrious” and has “worked very hard” all his life. He creates a fictionalized account of his identity as an artist, preferring to idealize his career as one in which he devoted himself to history painting and the liberal arts with “exalted ideas,” being “thoughtless of money matters,” and refusing to bow to lower forms of the visual arts, “[despising] what was profitable,” and indeed proving such a disciple of the higher arts that he “made other people sick of [his] notions,” despite the fact that he devoted the majority of his career to portraiture and decorative painting. Indeed, of the sixty paintings he exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1772 (the year he became an Associate Royal Academician) and 1784 (the year he became a full Royal Academician), only fourteen were history paintings while forty-six were portraits.²¹⁷ Notably, Stephen, when editing the *Memoir* and this letter from his father, struck out the phrase, “I am obliged to drudge and grope.” These words evoke those used by other English artists when describing their portrait practice, as mentioned earlier, and Stephen evidently thought that his father’s word choice was too disparaging for the character of his father as an artist that Stephen developed when compiling the *Memoir*. Contrary to Stephen’s edits, although Rigaud followed the lead of academics such as Reynolds in building an identity for the English artist, he devoted much attention to his financial situation through his portrait and decorative commissions, nevertheless aspiring to the position of a learned genius.

Appendix: List of Works

For a complete list of Rigaud's works, see

Rigaud, Stephen Francis Dutilh. *Facts and Recollections of the XVIIIth Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.* Edited by William L. Pressly (abridged and edited with an introduction and notes). Vol. 50, *Journal of the Walpole Society* (1984), 162-164.

For a list of works exhibited at the Royal Academy, see

Graves, Algernon. *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*. Vol. 5. New York: Burt Franklin, 1972.

For a list of images of works by Rigaud of which the current locations are known, as of 1984, see

Rigaud, Stephen Francis Dutilh. *Facts and Recollections of the XVIIIth Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.* Edited by William L. Pressly (abridged and edited with an introduction and notes). Vol. 50, *Journal of the Walpole Society* (1984), Images 1-70.

Following is a list of Rigaud's works that have come to light since the above publication in the *Journal of the Walpole Society* in 1984:

1. *The Awakening*. Oil on canvas, 31 x 39 cm. Sale of Sotheby's Colonnade: Wednesday, December 14, 1994 [Lot 79], British Paintings and Watercolors.

2. *Captain Charles Morice Pole*. Private Collection. Bridgeman Art Library, Ackermann and Johnson Ltd., London.
3. *Captain Robert Man, circa 1748-1813, 1779*. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm. National Maritime Museum, London.
4. *Captain Vincenzo Lunardi, the Balloonist, Giving a Display*. Oil on canvas, 116.8 x 93.5 cm. Sale of Sotheby's New York: Thursday, June 1, 1989 [Lot 88], The Estate of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., Old Master and Nineteenth Century.
5. Attributed to John Francis Rigaud, *A Court Scene with Artists Presenting a Painting to a Queen*. Oil on canvas, 28.5 x 38.5 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Thursday, April 15, 1999 [Lot 468], Old Master Paintings.
6. Attributed to John Francis Rigaud, *A Court Scene with Subjects Prostrate Before a Queen*. Oil on canvas, 28.5 x 38.5 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Thursday, April 15, 1999 [Lot 468], Old Master Paintings.
7. *The Death of Prince William, Son of Henry I, 1792*. Oil on canvas, 213.3 x 161.9 cm. Sale of Christie's South Kensington: Wednesday, September 7, 2005 [Lot 127], British and Victorian Pictures.
8. *Design for a Monument (Two Female Figures, Standing on Either Side of a Monument Wreathed with Laurels Above a Funeral Urn)*. Pen and black ink with brown wash, 34.1 x 25.4 cm. British Museum.
9. Circle of John Francis Rigaud. *Double Portrait of Sisters in White Dresses*

- with Pink and Blue Sashes*. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 71.2 cm. Christie's South Kensington: Wednesday, April 23, 2008 [Lot 145], Old Master and British Pictures.
10. *The Duchess of C Relieved from Her Subterraneous Prison*. Oil on copper, 31 x 39 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Thursday, February 12, 1998 [Lot 323], Old Master Paintings, British Paintings, European Works of Art.
11. After John Francis Rigaud, *Elizabeth Queen of Edward IV Parting with her Son the Duke of York*, 1830. Stipple engraving by John Rogers, 15.6 x 21.4 cm. *The History of England* by David Hume and William Cooke Stafford. Published by The London printing and publishing company.
12. *An Episode from "Adele et Theodore"*. Oil on copper, 28.8 x 37.4 cm. Sale of Christie's New York: Thursday, October 7, 1993 [Lot 2], Old Master Paintings.
13. *L'Esperance Nourrissant L'Amour de la Gloire*, 1769. Oil on canvas, 192 x 144 cm. Sale of Sotheby's Monaco: Saturday, December 2, 1989 [Lot 351], Importants Tableaux Anciens.
14. *Fame*. Oil on canvas, 52 x 42 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, October 18, 1989 [Lot 287], Old Master Paintings and British Paintings.
15. *Felice de Giardini (1716-1796)*. Oil on canvas, 108 x 137.8 cm. Gerald Coke Handell Collection, Foundling Museum, London.

16. *Hope Nursing the Love of Glory*. Oil on canvas, 64.3 x 50.6. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, July 3, 1996 [Lot 162], Old Master Paintings.
17. *Johann Reinhold Forster and Georg Forster in Tahiti*, 1780. Oil on canvas, 126 x 101 cm. Owner: Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, Berlin.
18. *John Moultrie III and Family*, c.1782. Oil on canvas, 196 x 152.5 cm. Gibbes Museum of Art.
19. *Knowledge*. Oil on canvas, 52 x 42 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, October 18, 1989 [Lot 287], Old Master Paintings and British Paintings.
20. *The Lover's Plea- The Duchess of C and the Count de Melmire at the Masquerade (from "Adele et Theodore")*, c.1787. Oil on copper, 30.5 x 38 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, April 8, 1992 [Lot 105] British Paintings 1500-1850.
21. *A Male Nude, Half Length*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 75.8 x 63.2 cm. Sale of Christie's London: Friday, July 9, 1993 [Lot 211] Important Old Master Pictures.
22. *The Mother of Moses Setting Him into the River*, 1795. Oil on canvas, 102.2 x 128.3 cm. Sale of Sotheby's New York: Thursday, January 28, 1999 [Lot 362], Important Old Master Paintings.
23. Attributed to John Francis Rigaud, *Oberon and Titania*. Oil on canvas, 124.5

x 99 cm. Sale of Sotheby's Colonnade: Friday, January 26, 1996 [Lot 75],
British Paintings and Watercolors.

24. *Portrait of Captain Peacock*, c.1780. Oil on canvas, 126.5 x 100.5 cm.
National Maritime Museum, London.
25. *Portrait of Captain Sir George Montagu*, 1782. Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.6
cm. Mallett Antiques, London.
26. *Portrait of the Children of the Governor of Honduras, Two Girls and a Boy
at a Spinnet*. Private Collection. Bridgeman Art Library.
27. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Oil on canvas, 123 x 98 cm. Sale of Sotheby's
London: Wednesday, November 9, 1994 [Lot 60], British Paintings 1500-
1850.
28. *Portrait of a Gentleman, Half-Length, in a Crimson Coat with a Gold
Waistcoat, Seated at a Desk, Holding a Letter (Portrait of Anthony Francis
Haldimand)*. Oil on canvas, 76.6 x 64 cm. Sale of Bonhams London:
Wednesday, April 25, 2007 [Lot 142], Old Master Paintings.
29. *Portrait of a Gentleman (William Tennant?) Wearing an Olive Coat*. Oil on
canvas, 74 x 62.5 cm. Sale of Phillips London: Tuesday, December 12, 1995
[Lot 37], Early British and Victorian Paintings.
30. After John Francis Rigaud, *Portrait of Giovanni Battista Cipriani RA*, 1789.
Stipple-engraving by Richard Earlom, 12.3 x 10.3 cm. Royal Academy of

Arts, London.

31. Attributed to John Francis Rigaud, *Portrait of a Lady Holding a Pearl Necklace*. Oil on canvas, 73 x 60.3 cm. Sale of Doyle New York: Wednesday, May 17, 1995 [Lot 63], Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century English and Continental Furniture and Decoration, Old Master Paintings.
32. *Portrait of Lady Jane Mildmay, Seated Three-Quarter-Length, in a White Silk Dress Playing the Harp*, 1785. Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.6 cm. Sale of Christie's New York: Wednesday, January 26, 2005 [Lot 271], Important Old Master Paintings (Part II).
33. *Portrait of a Lady Wearing a White Dress and Holding a Book*. Oil on canvas, 92.5 x 77.5 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, March 31, 1999 [Lot 77], British Paintings 1500-1850.
34. *Portrait of a Man*. Oil on canvas, 127 x 102 cm. Sale of Bruun Rasmussen Bredgade Copenhagen: Thursday, September 7, 2000 [Lot 1503], International Auction.
35. *Portrait of Matthew Prior Holding a Book, Wearing a Velvet Coat and Hat*. Private Collection. Bridgeman Art Library.
36. Attributed to John Francis Rigaud, *Portrait of Thomas Paul Sandby*. Oil on canvas, 90 x 70 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, July 9, 1997 [Lot 49], British Paintings 1500-1850.

37. *Portrait of William Shakespeare*. Oil on canvas, 76 x 62.5 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, June 6, 2007 [Lot 58], Important British Paintings.
38. *Portrait of a Young Boy*. Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 61 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, July 13, 1994 [Lot 47], British Paintings 1500-1850.
39. *The Queen Dowager of England, Widow of Edward IV, Delivering her Son, the Duke of York, to the Cardinal*. Oil on metal, 30.5 x 38.5 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, March 19, 2003 [Lot 93], The British Sale.
40. *Rustics Outside a Cottage Near a Coach*. Pen and ink and watercolor, 21 x 28 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Thursday, November 9, 1995 [Lot 26], Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century British Drawings and Watercolors.
41. *The Sacrifice of Manoah*. Oil on canvas, 127 x 101 cm. Sale of Sotheby's London: Wednesday, April 13, 1994 [Lot 118], British Paintings 1500-1850.
42. *The Seasons; Design for a ceiling*. Pen and brown ink with grey wash over graphite, 24.7 x 35.8 cm. On reverse: *The Seasons; A Different Design*. Pen and grey ink. British Museum.
43. *Spring and Summer; Design for a ceiling at Mrs. Montague's Portman Square*. Pen and grey ink with grey wash and watercolor, 10.1 x 14.1 cm. British Museum.
44. *The Three Favorite Aerial Travellers*. Watercolor, 38.5 x 30.5 cm. Sale of

Pescheteau-Badin and Ferrien: Wednesday, March 22, 1995 [Lot 63], Dessins
Anciens, Tableaux Anciens, etc.

Endnotes

¹ Stephen Francis Dutilh Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, ed. William L. Pressly (abridged and edited with an introduction and notes), vol. 50, *Journal of the Walpole Society* (1984), 3.

² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

³ Other memoirs available for this time period include the vast volumes of Joseph Farington, who recorded all the artistic news from 1793 to 1821, and the completed but unpublished autobiography of James Northcote. (John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997), 318-319.) Henry-Pierre Danloux, who fled from Paris in 1792, kept a diary that recorded the competition for portrait commissions in London. (Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 2.) Ozias Humphry (1742-1810, the same life span as Rigaud), a portraitist and miniaturist from Devon, recorded the pressures on artists of this time in the largest surviving archive of any British eighteenth-century painter. Humphry, like Rigaud, was well read, and studied Ripa's *Iconology*, the classics, and Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 309.) Humphry composed his own autobiography, owing to the curiosity of the public towards the lives of artists. The *European Magazine*, established in the 1790s, published biographies of modern artists. The Royal Academy, and especially Joshua Reynolds, incited curiosity about artists' lives. Authors chronicled the lives of contemporary geniuses, and joined criticism and biography, as did Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*. Humphry, Farington, and Rigaud's memoirs are all valuable as they recorded what they witnessed in eighteenth and nineteenth-century artistic life. As narratives, the memoirs endeavor to tell a heroic story. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 318-319.)

Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665-1745) first articulated the ideal life of the modern artist (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 321.), and, to earn respect for British artists, emphasized the Renaissance ideal of the learned history painter, and described him as a scholar, gentleman, and virtuous man. Reynolds embodied Richardson's notion of the ideal modern artist, and in his *Discourses*, emphasized intellectual grounding necessary for painting to be considered a liberal art and for painters to be considered learned geniuses. (RuthAnn McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1983), 183-184.) Reynolds advocated an academic philosophy of painting looking back to the Old Masters (Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 192.), following the example of the bee, as opposed to the spider, by emulating the past classical masters and creating new masterpieces. (William L. Pressly, *The Artist as Original Genius: Shakespeare's "Fine Frenzy" In Late-Eighteenth-Century British Art* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 30.)

George Vertue (1684-1756), an engraver and antiquary, compiled information for a work on the *History of the Art of Painting and Sculpture in England from 1500 to 1700* with the goal of building a British school of art. He died before completing the work, but Horace Walpole (1717-1797) continued his work and published *Anecdotes of Painting in England* that served, in contrast to Richardson's writings, as an answer to curiosity about the personalities and lives of artists, rather than as a historical critical work. The *Anecdotes* are arranged according to reigns of British kings, and are a series of biographies and descriptive catalogues of painters' works. Walpole continued Vertue's biographical method of examining human character and art, inviting comparison with Vasari's *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. However, while Vasari wrote his book to artists, discussing style and technique, in order to preserve what he believed to be a perfect age and to elevate the reader's ideas of painting, Walpole wrote to collectors, so that British painters could learn from the past. (Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, 127-129, 134-135, 155-159.) Through his writing, Vasari, like the first-century historian Pliny the Elder who praised antique artists,

praised artists and added to their fame, as had Italian poets to contemporary and earlier artists. Writers such as Walpole built their own reputations through association with contemporary British artists. (Suzanne May, *"Sublime and Infernal Reveries": George Romney and the Creation of an Eighteenth-Century History Painter* (Liverpool: Liverpool John Moores University, 2007), 19.) Edward Edwards intended his *Anecdotes of Painters who have Resided or been Born in England, with Critical Remarks on their Productions* to continue the *Anecdotes*. (May, *"Sublime and Infernal Reveries": George Romney and the Creation of an Eighteenth-Century History Painter*, ii.) Significantly, self-portraiture in Europe started to grow with the beginning of autobiography as a genre in the fifteenth century. Artists such as Lorenzo Ghiberti and Benvenuto Cellini wrote on their own lives. During these centuries, Catholic and Protestant theology emphasized knowledge of the self. However, the term "autobiography" was not generally used until the end of the eighteenth century. Rigaud's *Memoir* acts as his autobiography, and was compiled just after the time when the public became interested in the lives of artists (Shearer West, *Portraiture*, Oxford History of Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 178-179).

⁴ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 295.

⁵ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 40. At the Accademia Clementina Rigaud studied the antique, the living model, and mathematics. Stephen records that his father formed his style in accordance with the principles of the Carracci School of Art. While in Bologna, he completed works for the Count de Bianchi, Senator of Bologna, and Gentleman of the Chamber to the King of Sardinia, but who "gave me nothing for all these works but his table and apartments in his Palace, not even reimbursing me for the expense of the materials. I left his residence very much dissatisfied with him; but I was young. Patienza! [...]. In 1768 I revisited him, he shewed me great politeness, -- I forgave him all." (Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 44.)

⁷ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 42-43. In another letter, Rigaud rejected his brother's doubts that he was not working hard enough, and stated that once he had finished his studies, he would leave Italy to find employment elsewhere: "I know very well that every man must labor for his subsistence; that is not what I find hard, since I labor equally with others, but I cannot have myself cried through the streets. I only want opportunities, to exert myself."

⁸ *Ibid.*, 45. Stephen presents an already Romantic view of the genius of the artist.

⁹ In Rome, he studied the living model, the antique, and the works of Raphael. *Ibid.*, 47-48.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² It is unclear whether it was a speculative effort or a commissioned work.

¹³ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 47-48.

¹⁴ Ripa, like Rigaud, describes Hope as "a beautiful woman, robed in transparent stuff, with a cloak of green, and wearing a wreath of flowers on her head" accompanied by a putto and a huge anchor. (Cesare Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's "Iconologia."* ed. Edward A. Maser, trans. Maser. Edward A. (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 175.)

¹⁵ Ripa's personification of the Love of Virtue depicts a "winged young boy [...] wearing a laurel wreath in his blond hair" holding laurel wreaths, "a sign of great honor." The wreath on his head implies prudence, a necessary quality for the virtuous. (Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's "Iconologia."* 80)

¹⁶ Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's "Iconologia."* 80. A statue of Hercules and the Hydra acquired by Clement XII and given to the Capitoline Museum in 1738 can be observed in Giovanni Paolo Panini's *Roman Capriccio*, which probably dates from the 1740s (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). (Francis Haskell, and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 103.)

¹⁷ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 50.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 51.

²⁰ Ibid., 6.

²¹ Ibid., 53.

²² Ibid., 60.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 66.

²⁵ Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837*, vol. 2, The Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries (Feltham, Middlesex, Great Britain: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1970), 69-70.

²⁶ Romney traveled to Italy in 1764 so that he would no longer be "mortified by the answers he was obliged to give to Gentlemen inquiring if he had been abroad, and that circumstance compelled him to paint at a low price." (May, *"Sublime and Infernal Reveries": George Romney and the Creation of an Eighteenth-Century History Painter*, 42.)

²⁷ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 62.

²⁸ Ibid., 133.

²⁹ Ibid., 76-77.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² The establishment of an Academy with its associated goals regarding the ennobling of the arts connects both Rigaud and Reynolds to the broader context of the developing formulation of artistic modernity, as evident in the activities of the Italian art academies since the fifteenth century. Boydell, Macklin, and Bowyer's galleries took advantage of the recently established Royal Academy to connect morally edifying history painting to commercial publishing, and established a market for paintings

other than Old Masters by commissioning new works of English art. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 247-248.) Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery represented the grandest endeavor involving English artists in the eighteenth century. (Pressly, *The Artist as Original Genius: Shakespeare's "Fine Frenzy" In Late-Eighteenth-Century British Art*, 34.) The number of London print sellers grew exponentially during the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, London was the center of the European print trade. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 452-453.) Engravings after Old Master paintings were widely distributed throughout England. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 456.) Although aristocratic patrons rarely commissioned history paintings, the print trade allowed history painting to become profitable through the sale of print reproductions (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 457-458.) and greatly expanded the potential market of buyers. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 459.) Engravings attempted to imitate the uniqueness of the original, and Rigaud's plan emphasizes the technique of mezzotint rather than stipple engraving. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 460.) By suggesting that the Royal Academy initiate the engravings of exhibited paintings, Rigaud suggested that the power of distributing what was regarded as the best British art had to offer and the monetary reward be given to the officers and members of the Royal Academy. However, print sellers such as Boydell were highly regarded for their support of British artists, and at a Royal Academy dinner in 1789, the year the Shakespeare Gallery opened, the Prince of Wales gave the toast to Boydell. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 461.) These engraving projects helped build a British national heritage and helped shape British identity. (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 463.)

³³ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 15.

³⁴ Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert Wark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 43.

³⁵ Alexander Sturgis, Rupert Christiansen, Lois Oliver, and Michael Wilson, *Rebels and Martyrs: The Image of the Artist in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 9.

³⁶ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 74.

³⁷ May, "Sublime and Infernal Reveries": *George Romney and the Creation of an Eighteenth-Century History Painter*, 96.

³⁸ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 130-131.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁸ William L. Pressly, *A Catalogue of Paintings in the Folger Shakespeare Library: "As Imagination Bodies Forth"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 106.

⁴⁹ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 11.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁵¹ Ibid., 53-54.

⁵² Ibid., 54.

⁵³ This quote is from an untranscribed section of the *Memoir* (page 198), in a letter from Rigaud to his daughter, Betsy, on 3 October 1790. The letter is referred to in the transcribed *Memoir*. (Ibid., 83.)

⁵⁴ Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, vol. 22, *The Art Bulletin* (College Art Association, Dec., 1940).

⁵⁵ May, *"Sublime and Infernal Reveries": George Romney and the Creation of an Eighteenth-Century History Painter*, 1.

⁵⁶ Desmond Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteen-Century Portraiture and Society* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990), 7-8.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 171-174.

⁶² Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, 55.

⁶³ Ibid., 40-41.

⁶⁴ Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 7-11.

⁶⁵ Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, 36, 38.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 52.

⁶⁷ Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteen-Century Portraiture and Society*, 10.

⁶⁸ Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, 48-49.

⁶⁹ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq.*, R.A., 70.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 52-53. The earnest gaze of Nollekens provides a hint of the growing Romantic vision of the artist. Although Rigaud continued the 200-year academic tradition, the beginnings as manifested in the fifteenth-century life and work of Alberti, Rigaud's career intersected with the breakdown of the academic method and the full flowering of the Romantic Movement.

⁷¹ The writer and curate Sterne (1713-1768) in 1759 published his novel *Tristram Shandy* and in 1768 published *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* resulting from his travels in 1765-1766.

⁷² William L. Pressly, *A Portrait of Joseph Nollekens Reattributed to John Francis Rigaud*, *The Connoisseur* (February 1978), 111, 113.

⁷³ Joseph Farington later noted in his *Diary* of 1799 a slight disruption in Rigaud's friendship with Nollekens as well as his friendship with Joseph Bonomi due to Rigaud's "domineering and sour" manner. (Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. Kenneth Garlick, and Angus Macintyre, vol. IV, January 1799-July 1801 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 1331.)

⁷⁴ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq.*, R.A., 24.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁷⁶ Robertson only exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1772, also Rigaud's first year exhibiting at the Royal Academy, when he displayed two landscape paintings and two drawings. Robertson focused on commissions of landscape paintings of English estates, and visited Jamaica in the early 1770s where he painted landscapes of plantation villas resembling English country estates and idealized, imaginary portrayals of slavery and the sugar trade.

⁷⁷ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq.*, R.A., 83.

⁷⁸ Rigaud painted the portrait of Bonomi four years after a dispute at the Royal Academy that centered on Bonomi. The Royal Academy had been without a Professor of Perspective for four years when in 1790 Reynolds proposed Bonomi be elected an Academician and Professor of Perspective. Many of the Academicians opposed this proposition, and notably, it was Chambers who created the argument against Bonomi's election, based on the considerations that Bonomi was a foreigner and that Reynolds had proposed him as a favor to one of his own patrons, the Earl of Aylesford. When the Academicians instead elected Henry Fuseli, noticeably also not an English-born artist, to the posts, Reynolds resigned from the presidency and from the Academy. Reynolds gave two letters he wrote to the Academicians to Chambers and he wrote, in a sentence deleted from his *Apologia*, "Sir Wm. little thinks that he is guilty of high treason against the Institution." (Richard Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 184-185.) Reynolds responded to Chambers's objection to Bonomi's position as a foreigner that the Royal Academy had never distinguished between "Natives & Foreigners" and that several of the members of the Royal Academy were not originally from England. Reynolds also pointed out that Bonomi was "not a temporary sojourner amongst us," and had lived in England for twenty-five years. Indeed, Reynolds claimed that Chambers had "himself perhaps begun to reflect that the objection to Foreigners was peculiarly improper from him," since he was born in Stockholm. Most importantly, Reynolds insisted that Chambers's protests against an artist's nationality were "illiberal" and that they would prohibit the development of the Royal Academy. (Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, 187.)

However, the Academicians and the King were able to persuade Reynolds to return to the Royal Academy. (Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, 176-177.)

⁷⁹ K. David Milobar, *Haldimand, Sir Frederick (1718–1791)*, online edn, Jan 2008 ed., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004).

⁸⁰ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq.*, R.A., 52.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 76.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁸⁴ Another reviewer, in this case for the *Gazetteer*, for Wednesday, 30 April 30 1777, page 2, was not as kind. He stated that “Signor Rigaud seems to have a knack at hitting resemblances; but in the portrait of the three artists, he has inhumanly wrung the neck to Bartolozzi, and broke an arm to Cipriani. The young lady playing on the harpsichord, of the same author, has also a glaring imperfection in the hand. It is remarkable, that none of our painters, except Sir Joshua, is able to draw a hand properly.” (I am grateful to Emma Floyd at the Paul Mellon Centre for the Study of British Art for her help in finding this citation.)

⁸⁵ John Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790* (National Portrait Gallery), 513. Rigaud may have created another single portrait painting of Cipriani based on this group portrait. The text of the engraved *Portrait of Giovanni Battista Cipriani* (After J.F. Rigaud, *Portrait of Giovanni Battista Cipriani*, RA. 1789. Stipple-engraving, 123 x 103 cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London) reads, “Rigaud Pinxit. R. Earlom Sculppit. Published September – 1789 by John & Josiah Boydell. Cheapside & at the Shakspeare Gallery Pall Mall London.” Although this portrait is not mentioned in the *Memoir*, the engraving may have been taken directly from the group portrait, with Richard Earlom altering Cipriani’s jacket slightly and adding a putto to the scene depicted on the canvas, or Rigaud may have created this painting based on his group painting. Earlom engraved this portrait the same year that Rigaud painted one of the largest sized paintings for Boydell’s Shakespeare Gallery.

⁸⁶ Interestingly, the 1811 sale catalogue lists the group portrait of Carlini, Bartolozzi, and Cipriani as three separate lots (82[a-c]) that sold together for £16.16. (Getty Provenance Index Database.) Most of the pictures at the auction were sketches, studies, copies, and unfinished compositions that sold for low prices. However, *Samson Breaking his Bands* sold for £51.9.

⁸⁷ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq.*, R.A., 104-105.

⁸⁸ An English translation of Ripa first appeared in London in 1709 with the title *Moral Emblems*. George Richardson’s edition of 1777-1779 and 1785 was the fourth and last to appear in England in the eighteenth century. Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa’s “Iconologia.”* xi.

⁸⁹ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq.*, R.A., 58, 60-62.

⁹⁰ Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, 513.

⁹¹ *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, ed. David H. Solkin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 230.

⁹² Rigaud also exhibited all of his work at the Royal Academy with the anglicized form of his name.

⁹³ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 11.

⁹⁴ A reviewer in *The London Packet, or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, for April 25-April 28, 1777, page 1, stated that the "portraits of three artists, do [Rigaud] great credit." He compliments the likenesses and says that the figures are "well grouped." (My thanks to Emma Floyd at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art for her help in finding this citation.)

⁹⁵ Similarly to the first group portrait, the 1811 sale catalogue lists the group portrait of Chambers, Wilton, and Reynolds as three separate lots (81[a-c]) that sold together for £15.15. (Getty Provenance Index Database.)

⁹⁶ My thanks to Professor Elizabeth Marlowe and Professor Marjorie Venit in the classification of this building.

⁹⁷ Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, 503.

⁹⁸ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 68.

⁹⁹ Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, 503.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 504.

¹⁰¹ In the nineteenth century, the building also housed the General Register Office and the Principal Probate Registry.

¹⁰² Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, 503.

¹⁰³ John Harris, *Chambers, Sir William (1722–1796)*, online edn, Jan 2008 ed., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004).

¹⁰⁴ Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, 503.

¹⁰⁵ National Portrait Gallery London, *Npg 987 "Sir William Chambers; Joseph Wilton; Sir Joshua Reynolds" By John Francis Rigaud*.

¹⁰⁶ Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, 503.

¹⁰⁷ Joan Coutu, *Wilton, Joseph (1722–1803)*, online edn, Jan 2008 ed., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004).

¹⁰⁸ Harris, *Chambers, Sir William (1722–1796)*.

¹⁰⁹ Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, 185.

¹¹⁰ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 19.

¹¹¹ Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, 181.

¹¹³ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 83.

¹¹⁴ This quote is from an untranscribed section of the *Memoir* (pages 198-199), in a letter from Rigaud to his daughter, Betsy, on 3 October 1790. The letter is referred to in the transcribed *Memoir*. (Ibid.)

¹¹⁵ Sturgis, *Rebels and Martyrs: The Image of the Artist in the Nineteenth Century*, 45.

¹¹⁶ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 83.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 90. The academic language used by Rigaud and his son echoes that of Bellori.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 132.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 94-101.

¹²⁴ Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, Discourse V, 84.

¹²⁵ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 88. Imitation is fundamental to academic theory, based in antique rhetorical theory. See Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*.

¹²⁶ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 86, 89.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 103.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 53.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 55.

¹³⁰ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, vol. 5-6, Burt Franklin Bibliography and Reference Series, Art History and Art Reference (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972).

¹³¹ Another example of a self-portrait of a British artist with his family is that by Johann Zoffany of 1801. His *Self-Portrait with Family* depicts him seated before his easel, looking up at his wife who holds their first grandson, and surrounded by his daughters. Two of their daughters play the spinet and the harp, using musical harmony as an analogy of family harmony. (Penelope Treadwell, *Johan Zoffany R.A. (1733-1810): His Life and Times* (London: Unpublished, 2006), 516.)

Also, an example of a self-portrait with family by an artist from across the Channel is that of Jean-Baptiste Isabey, *Isabey and his Family*, which depicts him sketching in a boat with his family, and may also be the unseen work on the easel in *A Reunion of Artists in Isabey's Studio* of 1789 by Louis-Léopold Boilly. (Susan L. Siegfried, *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly: Modern Life in Napoleonic France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 97-98.) In contrast, Netherlandish artists frequently depicted themselves with their families. (Anthony Bond, and Joanna Woodall, *Self*

Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2005), 127.) For example, in Jacob Jordaens's (1593-1678) self-portrait, *The Family of the Artist* (c.1621), Jordaens depicts himself with his wife, their first child, and a maidservant. The artist creates an analogy between family likeness and artistic imitation and between the creation of a family and artistic creation. Jordaens depicts himself as the head of his family and as a gentleman, and, significantly unlike Rigaud, without reference to his artistic profession. (Bond, *Self-Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary*, 99.) This emphasis on family likeness is evident in Rigaud's second *Self-Portrait with Family* of 1790.

¹³² Colin B. Bailey, *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 416.

¹³⁴ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 48.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹³⁸ *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, 23.

¹³⁹ George Vertue, like Rigaud, in a self-portrait, depicted himself and his wife against his engravings of portrait heads of famous men from British history, creating a link between his profession, also noted by the palette on the window-sill, and great minds from British history. (Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, 16-17.)

¹⁴⁰ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 18.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 66. When Rigaud exhibited a sketch for the Deposition altarpiece for the Sardinian ambassador's chapel, a reviewer for the *St. James's Chronicle, or, British Evening Post*, 3-5 May 1781, wrote that it was unfortunate that the finished painting was not also exhibited in the Royal Academy exhibition "as it [the exhibition] greatly wants the Help of large and good Pictures to enable us to swallow with less Disgust the Quantity of small Trash with which it abounds." (*Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, 230.)

¹⁴² Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 119.

¹⁴³ Shawe-Taylor, *Genial Company: The Theme of Genius in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture* (London: Christie's, 1987), 35-36.

¹⁴⁴ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 20-21. In Reynolds's *Self-Portrait* is a bust of Michelangelo by Daniele da Volterra, owned by Reynolds, which helps develop his admiration of Michelangelo, as stated in the *Discourses*, as the most sublime of all artists and the highest example of the learned artist. (McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 75-77.) Reynolds is dressed in the robes of a Doctor of Civil Law, an honorary degree bestowed on him by Oxford University in 1773, and establishes himself in the lineage of learned artists, beginning with Michelangelo. The relationships between Reynolds and Michelangelo, as between Aristotle and Homer, depict a contemporary figure gazing at an image of his greatest predecessor. (McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 83.) Reynolds identified Michelangelo as the "Founder

and Father of modern Art, of which he was not only the inventor, but of which, by the divine energy of his own mind, he carried at once to its highest point of possible perfection.” (Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, Discourse XV, 272.) He revered Homer and Michelangelo because, “Homer is supposed to be possessed of all the learning of his time: and we are certain that Michelangelo...[was] equally possessed of all the knowledge in the art which had been discovered.” (Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, Discourse VI, 99.) Reynolds also revered Homer and Michelangelo because “[Michelangelo] hated tameness and insipidity and in order to give character enough he almost lost sight of human nature, they are beings superior to ours. They are like Ideas that Homer raises in you when he describes his demigods.” (McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 91-93.)

¹⁴⁵ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 94-101.

¹⁴⁶ These books include *The Traveller* (1764), a poem by Goldsmith, indicating Reynolds’s emphasis on poetry; *The Rambler* (1750-1752), Johnson’s periodical, indicating Reynolds’s focus on philosophy and human nature; *The Idler*, another of Johnson’s periodicals, indicating Reynolds’s stress on ethics; and *A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of our Ideas of The Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), a treatise on aesthetics by Edmund Burke, indicating Reynolds’s teachings on taste. Reynolds looks to the teaching of other learned men. (Shawe-Taylor, *Genial Company: The Theme of Genius in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture*, 28-29.)

¹⁴⁷ Memory pulls on her earlobe with one hand and holds a quill pen and an open book in the other hand, as Reynolds gestures towards his ear with one hand and sits before a desk with the aforementioned books. As in the Kauffmann painting, the personification of Memory also includes a bust, in this case with two faces. Above the bust on the wall can be found the inscription, “The earlobe is the seat of memory, and we touch it when calling someone to witness (Pliny, Book 2),” perhaps indicating Reynolds’s desire for others to recognize his artistic genius and his artistic genealogy dating back to Michelangelo. Like the figure of Memory, Kauffmann depicts Reynolds as middle-aged, the age at which one has the best memory. All aspects of the Kauffmann painting emphasize the powers of the mind and Reynolds’s emphasis on the idea. (Ibid.)

¹⁴⁸ Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's "Iconologia."* 143. Zoffany’s *Self-Portrait with His Daughter* (Maria Theresa?) and *Giacobbe and James Cervetto*(?) also includes this gesture towards the ear, with the elderly Giacobbe Cervetto listening attentively to his son playing the cello.

¹⁴⁹ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 145.

¹⁵⁰ Sturgis, *Rebels and Martyrs: The Image of the Artist in the Nineteenth Century*, 56.

¹⁵¹ *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution, 1760-1830*, (London: Harry Abrams, 2007), 19-20. Claude-Marie Dubufe in *The Artist’s Family* (1820) communicates the intimacy of his extended family and their mutual affection. (*Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution, 1760-1830*, 182.)

¹⁵² *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution, 1760-1830*, 185, 322.

¹⁵³ The artist presents a composition inspired by his father-in-law’s painting *Las Meninas*, depicting recognizable individuals in a painter’s studio in the Alcázar. However, Mazo depicts the figures as static and posed. The Mazo coat of arms can be found in the top left of the painting. The figures in the foreground include Gaspar, Melchior, Baltasar, and Maria Teresa, from Mazo’s first wife, Francisca, as well as Mazo’s four children from his second wife, who is depicted, Francisca de la Vega: José Antonio, Luis, Francisco, and Fernando Felipe. (Nina Ayala Mallory, *El Greco to Murillo: Spanish Painting in the Golden Age, 1556-1700* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1990), 189.)

¹⁵⁴ Tanya J. Tiffany, *Visualizing Devotion in Early Modern Seville: Velázquez's Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, vol. 32, *Sixteenth Century Journal* (2005).

¹⁵⁵ Bond, *Self Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary*, 15.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Rosenblum, *The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism*, vol. 39, *The Art Bulletin* (College Art Association, 1957), 281.

¹⁵⁷ Anthony Colantuono, *Interpreter Poussin: Metaphore, Similarite Et "Maniera Magnifica"*, ed. Alain Merot, vol. 2, *Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665): Actes Du Colloque Organise Au Musee Du Louvre Par Le Service Culturel, Du 19 Au 21 Octobre 1994* (Paris: Documentation française, 1996).

¹⁵⁸ Oskar Bätschmann, *Nicolas Poussin: Dialectics of Painting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 53.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 53, 56, 58-59, 61.

¹⁶⁰ Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 24.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 147-148.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 134, 136.

¹⁶⁶ Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteen-Century Portraiture and Society*, 209.

¹⁶⁷ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 12-13.

¹⁶⁸ An historical example is Sofonisba Anguissola's *Self-Portrait* of 1556, in which she puts herself in the position of St. Luke, and shows herself as divinely inspired to paint. (Bond, *Self Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary*, 19-20.)

¹⁶⁹ Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 92.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 95-97.

¹⁷¹ Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteen-Century Portraiture and Society*, 186, 188-189.

¹⁷² Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 68.

¹⁷³ Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, 85.

¹⁷⁴ McNamara, *The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture*, 5-6.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁷⁶ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 24, 70.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 104-105.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 82.

¹⁷⁹ Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 37-38.

¹⁸⁰ William Pressly has also suggested that Rigaud wittily used the figure of Laocoön in the statue *Laocoön and his Sons* as a model for the infant Mary, displaying his artistic knowledge.

¹⁸¹ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 49.

¹⁸² Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 99.

¹⁸³ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 124. In a pair of paintings Rigaud completed (date unknown) titled *Fame and Knowledge*, the young boy depicted in *Knowledge* bears a remarkable resemblance to Stephen in the second *Self-Portrait with Family*. The young boy, posed against a background of two blank walls, points to the book he is reading. This painting, the second of the pendant paintings of the figures of fame and knowledge, concludes the pair of works, and emphasizes that true desirable fame comes from knowledge. Just as Stephen points to his father in the second self-portrait, emphasizing his hard work and creative enterprise, the young boy's pointing gesture reemphasizes Rigaud's insistence that only knowledge of the classical past and the great masters, as well as a keen attention to nature and a strong work ethic, will lead to the deserved fame of a true genius. Rigaud equates virtue with glory, showing how in his own life, and specifically depicted in his two self-portraits with family, that his virtue made him a great artist and a man of domestic morality. While Rigaud strives for fame and professional acknowledgement, he is worthy of these honors because of his inner virtue. This fame is of a lasting kind. Earlier, in 1768, Rigaud did a sketch for a pediment of "Fame [...] & Genius holding" the emblem of eternity." (Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 47.)

¹⁸⁴ May, "Sublime and Infernal Reveries": *George Romney and the Creation of an Eighteenth-Century History Painter*, 100-101.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 105.

¹⁸⁶ Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteen-Century Portraiture and Society*, 193-194.

¹⁸⁷ Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 83, 85-86.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 1, 4-5.

¹⁸⁹ This quote is from an untranscribed section of the *Memoir* (page 199), in a letter from Rigaud to his daughter, Betsy, on 3 October 1790. The letter is referred to in the transcribed *Memoir*. (Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 83.)

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 115.

¹⁹¹ Quoted in Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteen-Century Portraiture and Society*, 183.

¹⁹² Ibid., 184.

¹⁹³ The painting was presented in 1708 to Prince Ferdinando de' Medici. (Giovanna Giusti, and Maria Sframeli, Ed., *Artists' Self-Portraits from the Uffizi* (Milan: Skira Editore S.p.A, 2007), 17, 104.)

¹⁹⁴ Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 14-15.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7-11.

¹⁹⁸ David H. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 157-158.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

²⁰⁰ Copley stands above and behind the family, holding some drawings. His father-in-law is seated next to his wife, Susanna, who bends towards their son who gives her an affectionate embrace. Their daughter, Mary, leans on her mother. The youngest child, Susanna, climbs onto her grandfather's knee. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, looks soberly directly at the viewer. Not only did this painting act as a private image, but it was also on view to the public, first at the Royal Academy, and then in Copley's exhibition room. It was then hung above the fireplace in the dining room, on view for visitors. Copley intended to engrave the image, but did not finish the plate. The painting thus was not only of personal significance to the Copleys, but served as self-advertisement, demonstrating Copley's ability in portraiture to his new patrons in England, and emphasizing his status as a gentleman of affection and family virtue. (Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 121-122, 124-126.)

²⁰¹ Benjamin West painted his self-portrait with his family in 1772. The artist stands on the right behind his Quaker father, John West, and his half-brother, Thomas, and looks down at his newborn son, Benjamin, asleep in Mrs. West's lap. The West's elder son, Raphael, stands to his mother's right. West holds a palette and brushes in his left hand and an artist's maulstick in his right. (Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 117.) West painted this portrait in 1772 to celebrate not only the birth of his second son, but also his appointment as painter of historical pictures to the king. (Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*, 120-122.) The scene is much quieter than Copley's buoyant scene, and only the mother and baby are in physical contact with one another. Light highlights the mother and son and chairs separate West and Raphael from the group. (Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*, 124.) The mother and child evoke the image of the Madonna and Child, with Raphael in the role of St. John the Baptist, while West's father and half-brother evoke images of the Magi, with West as Joseph, thus associating the portrait with history painting and past Old Masters, enabling the painting to act as a particular illustration of a general theme. West identifies himself as both a creator of art and of his family. He presents an intimate family gathering, but also the theme of the Ages of Man and of the Holy Family and the Nativity. (Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*, 125.)

²⁰² Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 127. Noticeably, West, Copley, and Rigaud were all born outside of England.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 125.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 121-122, 124-126.

²⁰⁵ *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, 230.

²⁰⁶ *The London Chronicle*, 27-29 April 1790, page 407. The 1790 Royal Academy exhibition opened on April 22.

²⁰⁷ *The General Evening Post*, 27-29 April 1790.

²⁰⁸ Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, 472.

²⁰⁹ Rigaud, *Facts and Recollections of the Xviiiith Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A.*, 130.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

²¹¹ This quote is from an untranscribed section of the *Memoir* (page 202), in a letter from Rigaud to his son, Stephen, on 15 October 1790. The letter is referred to in the transcribed *Memoir*. (*Ibid.*, 83.)

²¹² *Ibid.*, 132.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 131.

²¹⁷ *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, 230.

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