ALLAN DOYLE

The Medium Is the *Messagerie*

A LITHOGRAPHIC VIGNETTE BY Théodore Géricault depicting William the Conqueror lying in state was displayed at the Paris Salon of 1824, the first such exhibition to devote a section to lithography (fig. 1).[1] The impact of this morbid scene was undoubtedly heightened by the recent death of its maker who, like the Norman conqueror of England, had died following a riding accident. The print is an outlier within the oeuvre of the artist, who did not participate in the Romantic vogue for historical motifs. Baron Isidore Taylor commissioned the print for the second volume of his *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France: Ancienne Normandie* (1825).[2] The artist also contributed to the same volume a second full-page print that depicted an interior view of Saint Nicolas, a deconsecrated Rouen church repurposed as a storage facility for a *messagerie* or carriage service (fig. 2).

When viewed within the context of French cultural production during the Bourbon Restoration (1815–1830), Géricault's prints for Taylor's project reveal themselves to be commentaries on Restoration visual history as much as they are examples of it. Where his *Saint Nicolas* equates a carriage parked in a deconsecrated church with the manufacture and dissemination of picturesque lithographs of historical motifs, his *William the Conqueror* figures the national past as an uncannily preserved royal corpse, seemingly frozen in a state of nondecay. On the one hand, the artist provides an allegory of image production in which lithography is presented as an essentially mobile medium capable of transporting the viewer back in time and across geographic space; and, on the other hand, he gives an example of the Romantic and picturesque mode of visual history brought to a state of arrest, suspended between an unrecoverable past and a future placed in perpetual deferral.

ABSTRACT This paper analyzes the contributions of Théodore Géricault to the second volume of Baron Isidore Taylor, Charles Nodier, and Alphonse de Cailleux's *Voyages pittoresques: Normandie* (1820; 1825) within the context of French Restoration historiography. It argues that Géricault's prints are allegorical commentaries on the production of visual history during this period as much as they are examples of it. REPRESENTATIONS 145. Winter 2019 © The Regents of the University of California. ISSN 0734-6018, electronic ISSN 1533-855X, pages 107–28. All rights reserved. Direct requests for permission to photocopy or reproduce article content to the University of California Press at http://www.ucpress.edu/journals.php?p=reprints. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/REP.2019.145.1.107.
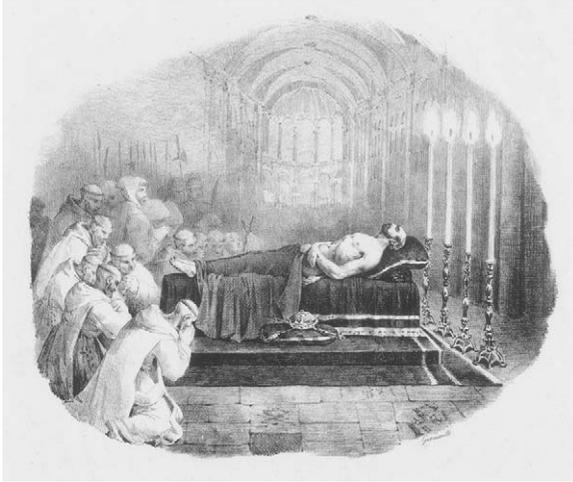
FIGURE 1. Théodore Géricault, *Le corps de Guillaume-le-Conquérant exposé dans l'église de l'abbaye de Saint-Georges de Boscherville*, 1823, lithograph, in Charles Nodier, Isidore-Justin-Séverin Taylor, and Alphonse de Cailleux, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France: Ancienne Normandie* (Paris, 1825), 2:45. Photo: Yale University Art Gallery.

FIGURE 2. Théodore Géricault, *Église de Saint-Nicolas*, 1824, lithograph, in *Voyages pittoresques et Romantiques dans l'ancienne France: Ancienne Normandie*, 2:plate 150. Photo: Yale University Art Gallery.

The Lithographic Picturesque

The *Voyages pittoresques* was a hugely ambitious travelogue dedicated to describing the historic monuments of France. It was initially issued in fascicles sold by subscription that were subsequently bound in deluxe, oversized editions. The installments consisted of several pages of prose retelling the history of a given location accompanied by a group of six to eight full-page lithographic prints of key monuments. The illustrations usually move from exterior to interior views, followed in some cases by sheets documenting architectural details or scenes illustrating piquant anecdotes. The latter were set in either the present day or the past, with figures shifting back and forth between contemporary and historical costume. Moving from region to region, the series represented national history in the form of ruins, tombs, churches, and other architectural monuments embedded within the French landscape. Attacked during the French Revolution (1789–1799) as material testimony to royal and ecclesiastical oppression, France's cultural patrimony was being demolished or dispersed at an alarming rate in the post-Napoleonic period. Over the nearly sixty-year life of the project, Taylor would assemble a large and shifting team to execute the thousands of pages of text and illustrations. The pioneering Romantic author Charles Nodier, co-edited and wrote the early volumes.[3] The series was intended to engender an appreciation for provincial antiquities and to promote their preservation and restoration.

The *Voyages pittoresques* was of a piece with the development of new, seductive and powerfully verisimilar means to represent national history during the Restoration. Many of the individuals involved, including Taylor and Nodier, were actively engaged in mounting productions for the opera, ballet, melodrama, and other forms of popular spectacle that drew upon historical subjects. In the *Voyages pittoresques*, Taylor and Nodier presented national history as one of feeling and immediacy rather than learned reflection. As Nodier's preface to the first volume announced, the editors eschewed the dry, detached recounting of rigorously vetted facts found in academic history; rather, they would draw upon "marvelous traditions" of "naïve and credulous times, ages of ignorance and imagination, where a lively and profound facility to feel the most beautiful myths accumulated from family to family and generation to generation."[4] This, Nodier proclaimed, was to be a "voyage of impressions," propelled by "the need . . . to enjoy the fleeting aspect of a painting that time will erase."[5]

Nodier's preface also introduces the new medium of lithography as ideally suited to this journey of impressions, presenting the *Voyages pittoresques* as a repository of "specimens of discoveries" of its development.[6] The first French lithographic presses had only been established a few years

earlier, and the medium was still experimental. Unlike metal-plate engraving, lithography required no specialized skills beyond the ability to draw. The technique lent itself to spontaneous expression and offered the artist a means of producing multiple images without the mediating role of a trained engraver. Historian and erstwhile critic, Adolphe Thiers lauded lithography as a "space of improvisation" through which artists could reproduce their hastily rendered "impressions" ad infinitum with no perceptible degradation of the image.[7] Larger editions meant lower costs and a potentially bigger customer base. Thiers argued that lithography not only valorized extemporaneous composition but enabled its monetization as well. He posited a positive feedback loop between the lithographer and audience, in which the latter's appetite would grow as they acquired a taste for the new medium.[8] Each print was considered an autographic work of the artist and retained the authority of an original. As Géricault's British printer and publisher Charles Hullmandel pointed out in his book *The Art of Drawing on Stone* (1824), lithography yielded originals, not copies: "A lithographic impression is not even a fac-simile . . . but the original drawing itself."[9]

Like Thiers and Hullmandel, Nodier stressed the purported immediacy and fecundity of the medium, positing an essential affinity between the infinite reproducibility of lithography and the innumerable ruins that littered the French landscape. Lithography had been crucial to the genesis of the *Voyages pittoresques*, which presented itself as a laboratory for the new medium's development.[10] Above all, Nodier underscored lithography's mobility, arguing that the new technique could keep pace with the picturesque tourist running "from ruin to ruin to describe the ancient edifices and meditate on the tombs."[11] The picturesque was an ideal subject for the spontaneous and infinitely reproducible lithograph: "More free, more original, more rapid than the [engraver's] burin, the bold crayon of the lithographer seems to have been invented to fix the free, original, and rapid inspiration of the voyager who realizes his sensations."[12] The volumes of the *Voyages pittoresques* regularly feature tourist draftsmen sketching ruins that function as proxies for readers, who are to imagine themselves visiting these scenic locations.

In his preface, Nodier also alluded to the editor's use of certain "ingenious, extraordinary, completely new procedures."[13] One example of such a new procedure was the use of tint-stone overlays, in which a second stone provided a flat layer of transparent colored ink that was selectively applied on top of, or beneath, the black lithographic drawing. This technique is demonstrated in the Normandy volumes, often by means of the inclusion of two versions of the same plate. The first would be a simple black line drawing on white paper. This would immediately be followed by a fully rendered version, sometimes using a tinted overlay. By presenting versions of the same print

both before and after a tint stone was applied, the editors demonstrate the groundbreaking means of rendering dramatically naturalistic lighting effects. As Ségolène Le Men has observed, the effect is not unlike the spectacular lighting effects of the diorama.[14] The impact of innovative techniques like the tint-stone lithograph was harnessed to the task at hand: visualizing the past. Stephen Bann has argued that the pursuit of a greater sense of physical presence in the diorama and other new forms of highly verisimilar media of the 1820s was "integrally linked to the desirability (and also impossibility) of historical recreation."[15] Bann here references the paradox that the heightened realism of these new forms of historical representation was predicated upon a simultaneous assertion of the present. This, he argues, was the case in the innovative use of tint stones in the *Voyages pittoresques.* Using Roman Jakobson's terminology, Bann suggests that the tinted overlay functioned as a "shifter" that facilitated the reader-viewer's imaginative projection into the space of historical narrative.[16] Likewise, the increasingly sophisticated command of lithographic technique that is demonstrated in these prints served to produce ever more convincing patterns of light and shade, which produced an effect of "technical surprise."[17] This subtle jolt of unprecedented realism functioned as a temporal *repoussoir,* registering the current embodied experience of the viewer and thereby establishing a referent against which a phantasmagoric past could be felt more viscerally.[18]

Taylor and Nodier hoped that highly evocative representations of France's ancient monuments would reestablish links between the present and the country's monarchic past, now sundered by the Revolution. As he revealed in a letter from the early 1820s to Auguste Hilarion, comte de Kératry, this issue had personal meaning for Nodier. His letter describes a quarrel with his father, a former Jacobin judge who purportedly forced Nodier to witness executions during the Terror.[19] After being pushed to admit that he disagreed with his father over the legacy of the Revolution, Nodier collapsed at his feet in tears and begged his forgiveness. Lifting up his prostrate son, the elder Nodier embraced his child and told him that he was right to reject his father's Jacobin past because "the revolution leads to hell."[20] One might question the veracity of this suspiciously trite anecdote. For Nodier, however, the goal of recollection was not accuracy but reconciliation of past and present. Musing on the memoirist's task, he argued that the past was an "extinct fairyland," or a

moving novel of which we have gone through the events and read the last pages, a castle in Spain demolished whose materials we had provided, and of which it is only ruins; happy fool who rebuilt it; not to live in it, God forbid! but to see it again! The personal past is a ruin rebuilt in a solipsistic fantasy, one whose reassembly should not be guided by the need for structural integrity but by its compensatory role in reconciling what has befallen the dreamer in order to make his present

livable. The recapitulation of past events serves our need for a moving *picture* of the past, not a factual record of what, in fact, took place.[21]

Nodier understands one's personal history as a ruin of recycled fragments fashioned into a compensatory, onanistic fantasy. His highly elastic epistemology suggests that the reconstruction of the national past in the *Voyages pittoresques* may be likewise guided by what one might call a picturesque theory of historical truth. In his letter, Nodier explains to Kératry that one can look at prior events "with the impartiality of the philosopher who sees in ruin only a ruin . . . without emotion," or do as he did:

I followed the instinct of my strengths and the direction of my ideas. The *picturesque* and the *romantic* are far from the positive. I have not promised *moral facts, absolute truths,* but impressions.[22]

Rather than factual accuracy, the editors of the *Voyages pittoresques* wished to provide their subscribers with an affectively charged visual history of France that would help to finally lay the ghosts of the past to rest.

In this effort, Taylor and Nodier marched in step with such Restoration historians as Adolphe Thiers, Prosper de Barante, Augustin Thierry, François Guizot, and Jules Michelet, who were developing a mode of historical recollection they hoped would unify a bitterly divided people. As Maurice Samuels has observed, this "picturesque school of Romantic history" emphasized "the surface, the outer forms—the *look* of the past."[23] They relied on detailed description of the costumes, objects, characters, mores, and social habits—or "local color"—as an index of a particular historical epoch. Many of these authors were profoundly influenced in this regard by the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, who sought to make history accessible to a popular audience, bringing it alive in the reader's imagination by describing it in unprecedentedly vivid terms. As Samuels writes:

Showing the way people in different historical periods lived and dressed reveals a new kind of historicity, a narrative of change through the ages manifested not in the abstraction of dynasties or laws but in the forms of everyday life. . . . Far more than mere decoration, the visual became a new way of depicting the process of history in accessible terms.[24]

Nodier was an early enthusiast of Scott and went on a fact-finding mission to Britain inspired by the writer while composing the text for the Normandy volumes.[25] Two years later, in a review of Scott's *Complete Works,* Nodier compared the author's "singular exactitude for the physiognomy of localities" to the shameful neglect of the French.[26] Scott typified the British appreciation for cultural heritage that Nodier and Taylor hoped to engender at home. Contrasting the reverence historic monuments enjoyed across

the Channel with the apparent disregard of his countrymen for their cultural heritage, Nodier complained that he had just seen the "mortuary vault of William the Conqueror transformed into a stable."[27] Although he was referring to another Rouen church in this remark, Nodier's comment brings to mind Géricault's contributions to the *Voyages pittoresques,* to which I will now turn.

Saint Nicolas the Lithographer

Géricault was an early adopter of lithography and enthusiastically embraced its commercial potential. Writing from London in March 1820, the artist—who was well known for his predilection for equine subjects—declared his intention to: "shut myself in my stable and not leave until I am showered with gold."[28] Noting the tremendous vogue for lithography in the British capital, he claimed that the series of lithographs he produced there would serve as an advertisement ("*affiche*") for himself, one that would attract collectors and patrons more worthy of his talents. The frontispiece for *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and on Stone* (1821; fig. 3) depicts
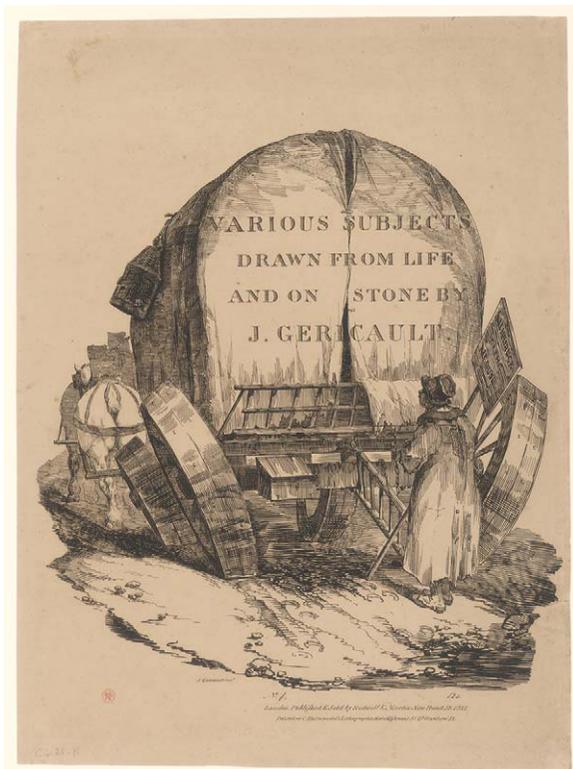

FIGURE 3. Théodore Géricault, *A Horse Drawn Cart,* 1821, lithograph, in *Various Subjects Drawn from Life and On Stone* (London, 1821). Photo: Yale University Art Gallery.

a man in a bedraggled coat, who stands, like the viewer, reading a title emblazoned on the back of a massive wagon being hauled through the muddy city streets.[29] He carries a placard reading "Shipwreck of the Medusa." The artist here cites his own famous comment on modern history, *The Raft of the Medusa*, which had caused a stir at the Salon of 1819 but failed to be purchased by the state. Following this disappointing outcome, Géricault had brought the painting to London where it could be viewed for a fee at Bollock's Egyptian Hall.[30] The reference to this exhibition on his frontispiece reverses the scenario described in his letter; here, his most famous painting serves to promote his lithographic practice, rather than vice versa. Géricault repeats the conceit of self-promotion found on the placard by inscribing the title of the album of prints across the surface of the rear of the covered wagon's canvas. The gap between the two back flaps is opened slightly at the top and bottom, articulating the separation between the two pieces of fabric. Half-conveyance, half-shop, the cart becomes a proxy for the album the reader-viewer holds, its partially opened cover evoking the well-thumbed pages of an enormous, illustrated publication. Géricault also rhymes the broad arching hoop of the back of the wagon's enclosure with the rear of the horse that pulls it. Reading his title while viewing this image, the artist thrusts the viewer's face into the backside of a draft horse.[31] The alignment of draftsman and work animal is reiterated by the title and image: both artist and animal drag themselves through the street and leave impressions of their journey. The cart's splayed wheels evoke its heavy load, as if it contained the thick limestone slabs used to execute Géricault's prints.[32] Coupled with the chiseled lettering of the title, it conveys a sense of weight and the muscularity of his lithographic practice. The artist would reuse the metaphor of a horse-drawn conveyance as a cypher for his lithographic practice in his *Saint Nicolas* for the *Voyages pittoresques*.

Géricault was born in Rouen, and he would have known the church of Saint Nicolas, which was then in use as a stable and storage space for a carriage service. He executed the print with another artist, Charles-Louis Lesaint, who was responsible for the more finely rendered architectural surroundings. Géricault drew the heavy-limbed horses as well as the figures and carriage. The stylistic and temporal disparity between the carriage and its setting produces an impression of unreality, as if one image has been inserted inside another. One is immediately struck by the juxtaposition of the ecclesiastical setting and modern enterprise, which echoes the division of artistic labor between the two printmakers. Deconsecrated in 1791, the church had been formerly known as *Saint Nicolas the Painter,* a reference to the glaziers who belonged to the parish. Nodier's text evocatively describes how stained glass once filled the church's perpendicular volumes with

a dappled atmosphere.[33] During the peace of Amiens in 1802–3, English merchants had the sixteenth-century windows removed and sent to England. Their loss is indicated in the print by the clear, diamond-patterned panes that fill the tracery windows. A pyramidal shaft of light that pierces the gloom from the left has replaced the flickering mystery of former times. Lesaint here alludes to the denuding of the church through omission; clarity has replaced the somber mystery of medieval belief. The history of this ancient building is registered through loss in a manner that reverses the revolutionary valorization of enlightenment.

An ecclesiastical building serving as a stable or depot for a carriage service was a well-established motif. Géricault and Lesaint's treatment, however, is distinguished by its emphasis on the mercantile aspect of its subject. Hay is scattered throughout the building as horses stand in a semicircle around the apse. Two men take the place of the horses that stand tethered in the foreground, pushing a glossy-black stagecoach into one wing of the transept. A third stands observing them with his back to the viewer. The coal-black form of the coach is the darkest value in the print, aligning it with the greasy material of its inscription. One is reminded of the artist's equating his lithographic studio with a stable from which he hoped to emerge "showered with gold." Géricault here proposes yet another repurposing of the former church, one that would turn Saint Nicolas the Painter into Saint Nicolas the Lithographer, in a manner of speaking.

The carriage becomes an apparatus worked by muscular men, by which picturesque tourists—and by extension, the images they produce and/or purchase—may be speedily dispatched along a network of newly cut byways. Just as the wagon featured in the frontispiece to Géricault's London series may contain the stones used to execute those images, the carriage in Saint Nicolas was designed for the delivery of people and goods. It might transport antiquity hunters, monument-sketching tourists, or even the fascicles of the *Voyages pittoresques* itself. Like the wagon in the frontispiece of his London album, the carriage is a device for Géricault's lithographic studio practice. He grants the reader-viewer a behind-the-scenes view of his lithographic studio-stable, in which art making is figured as a mobile commercial endeavor. Severed from its local affiliations and denuded of centuries of religious sentiment, Saint Nicolas has been transformed into a production facility for the dissemination of the represented past. Mechanized image production geared to private consumption has supplanted artisanal manufacture and collective experience.

In a passage of his preface to the Normandy volumes cited earlier, Nodier declared that lithography "seemed to have been invented in order to fix [*fixer*] the free, original, and rapid inspirations of the traveler."[34] At the heart of Nodier and Taylor's project lies a conflict between their

avowed aim of arresting the destruction of the monuments they represent and a desire to exploit them for both aesthetic pleasure and commercial gain. By "fixing" ruins, the artist-lithographers of the *Voyages pittoresques* also "fixed" them by bringing attention to their urgent need of protection, conservation, and restoration. Such efforts would, however, strip these works of the very melancholic, picturesque beauty that recommended them in the first place. Subtending their passionate attachment to ruins lie conflicting impulses to simultaneously sustain and reverse decay. Like the owners of the *messagerie* that occupies the ancient church, the producers of the *Voyages pittoresques* profit from the very vandalism and indifference they denounce. Géricault's *Saint Nicolas* exposes this tension through a role reversal of man and beast, implicitly challenging Nodier's technological triumphalism. What should be pulled is pushed, and opposing forces are brought to a state of mutual cancellation or arrest. Géricault's vignette of William the Conqueror lying in state evokes a similar sense of stasis but shifts focus from the means of picturesque inscription to the content of Restoration history itself.

Restoration History
and the *Voyages pittoresques*

From the outset, the editors of the *Voyages pittoresques* aligned their project with the condition of generalized morbidity that, as François René de Chateaubriand later observed, typified the Bourbon Restoration.[35] The inaugural image in the first volume is a vignette drawn by Louis Marie Jean Baptiste Athalin that concludes Nodier's preface. It depicts a knight in armor facing the viewer with his eyes upturned in mourning (fig. 4). He grasps the pommel of his two-handed longsword while standing beside a tomb bearing the recumbent effigy of a crowned king. Its weathered surface and the creeping vegetation embed the medieval object in the Norman landscape. The spires of a gothic church rise from beyond a distant hill. Looming up from behind the sculpture, a carved stone wayfarer cross repeats the shape of the knight's longsword. The nameless guardian stands in a shaft of light tying him to the altar-like royal tomb and massive cross. The effigy, cross, and church form a sequence of receding, stacked architectural forms that offer a rigid counterpoint to the uneven ground and broken sky behind the knight on the left side of the image.

Stephen Bann reads Athalin's print as epitomizing the aim of the *Voyages pittoresques* as a whole in its proposal that "the French nation can be re-sacralized by the revivification through word and image of its ancient architecture."[36] Bann draws our attention to the concluding sentences of the text

FIGURE 4. Louis Marie Jean Baptiste Athalin, *Un soldat du moyen age parmi les ruines*, lithograph, in Charles Nodier, Isidore-Justin-Séverin Taylor, and Alphonse de Cailleux, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France: Ancienne Normandie* (Paris, 1820), 1:15. Photo: Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal.

immediately above the knight's head, where Nodier reveals the specific motivation for his despondency: the recent assassination of the heir apparent to the Bourbon throne, the duc de Berry. This murder cast the future of the restored monarchy's future into doubt and caused an immediate backlash. After invoking the duke's name—"BERRY!"—Nodier concludes his preface with the expostulation, "and this history of tombs, it is with his tomb that it commences!"[37] After reading this sentence, one's eye immediately jumps to Athalin's vignette, where the tomb becomes Berry's, the first link in a chain of losses that will extend into the distant past and across the French countryside. In print after print on the pages that follow, the reader-viewer finds depictions of rural France rife with decaying bodies and buildings; a landscape littered with sepulchers and ghosts—material testimony to the violence of national history. This preoccupation with loss is typical of post-Napoleonic French visual culture, when the lifting of censorship laws allowed memories of the unmourned tragedies of the previous twenty-five

years to return to confront the living. A vast, fraught reckoning was under-way in which different factions of a fractured society would stake their future on competing versions of the past.

The cross depicted in the vignette is strongly reminiscent of crosses erected by the pilgrims of the missionary marches led by ultraroyalist priests at this time. These spectacular events often involved thousands of participants and were routed to take in sites of revolutionary violence.[38] Expiatory crosses were erected at locations where the guillotine had stood, or where Christian crosses had been attacked. When possible, the latter were replaced by the very individuals who had destroyed the origi-nals.[39] Ultimately, these events aimed to atone for the death of Louis XVI. It was hoped that such expiatory events would reconstitute "the spiritual body of the church as the political body which was the nation, joined in devotion to Christ and their king."[40] The cross' position below the capi-talized expostulation "BERRY!" and beside a royal tomb and disconsolate knight, strongly suggests the ultraroyalist goal of a return to the prerevo-lutionary sacred status of the French monarch, of an ideological fusion of "throne and altar." As much as the knight is positioned as an agent of royal memorialization, Athalin's composition also suggests the opposite: the knight as executioner. As Sheryl Kroen notes, there was deep concern amongst members of the Restoration government that the missionary pilgrimages would reignite the embers of civil war.[41] Royalist cultural production of the period served to preclude the possibility of such a role change between a protector of the Bourbon hereditary line and an agent of its destruction.

Nodier's naming of Berry in the first of a chain of sepulchral monu-ments that would comprise the *Voyages pittoresques* casts the series under the pallor of royal memorialization, a contentious issue during the Restoration. The Charter of 1814, which restored the Bourbons to the French throne, included a provision prohibiting research to determine individual political beliefs during the revolutionary period—a mandatory oblivion extended even to those who had voted for the execution of the king.[42] An official policy of unification through forgetting was thus established. Such a policy, however, left the administration in a paradoxical position: by seeking to assert continuity with the *ancien régime*—Louis XVIII declared the Charter of 1814 a product of the nineteenth year of his reign—the crown tacitly acknowledged the interregnum between his government in name (which he had claimed in 1795) and in fact.[43] Having witnessed the Revolution first hand, Louis XVIII feared that overt reference to the Revolution could set in motion a chain of events his government could not control.[44] In his printed prologue to the charter he acknowledged the vexed status of historical remembrance:

In attempt to renew our links with the past, which has suffered some grievous interruptions, we have erased from our memory, as we would like them to be erased from history, all the wrongs which have afflicted the *patrie* during our absence. . . . The wish dearest to our heart is that all Frenchmen should live as brothers and that no bitter memory should trouble the security which must follow the solemn legislation that we bestow upon them today.[45]

The difficulty with the policy of *oubli* as articulated here is that obeying the king's order necessitates violating it; every act of forgetting raises the specter of that which is to be forgotten—the regicide—which prompts, in turn, another admonition to forget, which produces another violation, and so on.[46] Once designated as taboo, the regicide must be disavowed *ad infinitum*; the possibility of its actual recurrence was thereby placed in perpetual deferral through an endless chain of symbolic surrogates that would, it was hoped, exorcise repressed memories of revolutionary violence: prints, books, statues, masses, processions, crosses, and the like. The need to reproduce the king's mortal body propelled royalist cultural production, which aimed to foreclose alternatives to the ruling regime.[47]

Nodier's immediate casting of the reader-viewer of the *Voyages pittoresques* in the role of a mourner for the duc de Berry was in keeping with the Restoration regime's use of his assassination, and it was immediately taken up by the administration as an opportunity to deploy the iconography of royal martyrdom through mandated public memorials.[48] The commemorative masses on the day of his death echoed those that had been instituted for Louis XVI. In January 1816, a law designated the anniversary of the king's execution as a day of national mourning, on which masses would be held in churches across France.[49] The crown kept tight control over these events: no sermon was to be given; rather, the king's final testament was read aloud, including the portion in which he begged forgiveness for his persecutors.[50] The condemned king's magnanimity would form a key element of the Restoration regime's policy of achieving unity through forgetting; his text was inscribed on the base of the statue in his likeness that would be installed in the *Chapelle expiatoire* in 1824. Expiation, as Bettina Frederking notes, involved not so much the erasure of the memory of the regicide as a continuous reminder of the king's absence through a generic demand for atonement for his loss.[51] The full text of his final testament was published as a facsimile in 1816.[52] Its cover states that it is the "only authorized edition" and informs the reader that the contents also include the signatures of Marie Antoinette and the adolescent Louis XVII, who had died in custody in 1795. The facsimile concludes with a declaration that it has been traced from "the original, written by the hand of the king."[53] The engraved testament invoked the physical presence of the king while simultaneously underscoring his absence. It invited the reader-

viewer to inhabit the king's body psychically, in a manner similar to a reader-viewer's mental donning of the armor worn by Nodier's mournful knight. Projecting oneself into the position of the king as he faced death, the reader-viewer mentally reenacts his final act of clemency, like the priest in his funerary masses who intones this same text. In word and image, Louis XVI's final testament became a catechism of remembrance and historical erasure.

Bann has discussed the "emergence of the conditions for the technical, yet also mythic procedure of the facsimile" within the emergence of spectacular realism in this period.[54] As Hullmandel noted in a passage cited earlier, a lithograph was considered even more authentic than a facsimile because it was an original, not a reproduction.[55] One can speculate that if it had been published a few years later, Louis XVI's final testament might have been lithographed rather than engraved, given that each lithograph was considered to be the unmediated bodily expression of its maker. It was this ability to evoke the authoritative presence of the draftsman that, Nodier's preface suggested, made lithography the ideal vehicle for recording the impressions of the tourist's sketches of picturesque historical monuments. Lithography, used in conjunction with an emotionally charged narrative, offered Nodier a means of enacting what Beth Wright has called the "Romantic fusion" between a present viewer and a geographically or temporally distant protagonist.[56] For Wright, such fusion confirms the claim made by Thierry that "for the imagination there is no past, and the future itself is in the present."[57]

Thierry made this oft-cited declaration in his *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans; Its Causes and Its Consequences in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on the Continent* (1825). Like Nodier, he was a devotee of Sir Walter Scott, believing that history should be "piquant and interesting."[58] Thierry's aim was to restore to each period "its own particular appearance, its original characteristics and . . . its full reality."[59] Conflict was the fundamental principle of historical change, of which, Thierry argued, the Norman Conquest was a paradigmatic event whose effects were still being felt.[60] For Thierry, William the Conqueror's fate was an archetype of European political unrest as a whole and the engine that propelled European history itself. As literary historian Lionel Gossman has argued, Thierry held that all social change ultimately derived from intergenerational discord:

History, in Thierry's narrative, begins . . . with the defeat and humiliation of the patriarch at the hands of the rebellious sons who covet his possessions. Thereafter, throughout all history—for every historical father is inevitably revealed as a parricide, just as every people turns out to have conquered another—authority has no foundation and law commands no respect, since they rest on an initial act of

violence, or breaking of the law. The history of England, as Thierry writes it . . . [is] a history of sons rising up against their fathers. William the Conqueror's authority is questioned from the very beginning, for on the death of his father, duke Robert, the Norman chiefs claim they owe no obedience to a bastard.[61]

William bequeathed England to one son and Normandy to another. Upon hearing the disposition of his estate, his offspring immediately dispersed in order to secure their holdings, leaving the task of observing the requisite obsequies to the abbey monks. Géricault's vignette of William lying in state alludes to this unhappy family dynamic and places William within a chain of royal proxies for that other victim of parricidal impulses, Louis XVI.

The King's New Clothes

Géricault depicts the former conqueror of England lying naked on a bier, having been abandoned by his male offspring. Six weeks after being injured in a hunting accident, the French subjugator of Britain expired in the priory of Rouen's church of Saint Gervais in 1087. Eight centuries later, Normandy would become the cradle of French cultural tourism and the movement to protect national patrimony. A foundational figure for this new historical consciousness, William the Conqueror was able to speak to both the importance of medieval Norman culture and French military prowess. Géricault's vignette positions him as a veritable personification of Restoration visual history.[62]

Following his death at Saint Gervais in Rouen, William was transported to Caen and interred at Saint-Étienne, Abbaye-aux-Hommes. It is here that Géricault depicts a group of monks holding vigil.[63] The king's regalia sits atop a pillow laid on the floor in the foreground, near a slab inscribed with a faint crown that indicates the location of William's interment. A preparatory drawing reveals that the regalia were originally positioned with him on the bier, at his feet.[64] This change broadens the gap between the king's mortal body and his function as the body politic, an impression underscored by William's disconcerting nudity.[65] The crown's placement directly before the viewer also suggests that the identity of its future wearer is yet to be determined. Nodier tells the story of William's demise in a portion of text devoted to the church of Saint Gervais. He highlights the powerful monarch's pathetic end while also noting that the same church was later used by Henri IV as an artillery depot—an anecdote that affiliates William and the Bourbon line of succession.[66]

The Norman king was notoriously obese and, by the time he was buried, his body was in an advanced state of putrefaction. Géricault's *William,*

conversely, resembles a sleeping athlete. In addition to its aesthetic appeal, the counterfactual state of preservation of the king's remains hints at the traditional attestation of saintliness: the incorruptibility of the body. The scene brings to mind the royal funerals and commemorative masses mounted by Louis XVIII's regime and, ultimately, functions in the album as a stand-in for the absent body of Louis's guillotined brother.[67] The king's resistance to decay may also be equated with the preservationist creed of the *Voyages pittoresques*. Indeed, one is struck by William's stiffness; it is as if, locked in a final paralysis, he has already become the recumbent effigy of a medieval French king. In their pictorial function, the monks who watch over the king's body resemble both Taylor and Nodier's sketching tourists, in thrall to the cult of ruins and Athalin's vigilant knight.

Stripping William of his clothing, Géricault also strips him of the historicizing details of *costume*. In 1792, Claude Henri Watelet defined *costume* as "the art of treating a subject in all its historical truth; it is . . . the precise observation of that which, according to the era, allows one to recognize the genius, moeurs, laws, taste, richness, character and habits of [a] country."[68] Historically accurate clothing was a principal means by which such an imaginative reenactment of past life could occur. As I have argued, armor could be considered emblematic of this process of psychic projection. The relation between surface and revivification of the past figured by Athalin's knight is reversed in Géricault's print of William the Conqueror. If the former stands for the carefully rendered surface as the vehicle of historical change, William embodies its unchanging material substratum. A naked eleventh-century body is visually indistinguishable from a nineteenth-century corpse. Absent any sign of decay, William functions as a foil to temporal change, lying like a mannequin waiting to be attired in whatever *costume* suits the present needs of the historian. Géricault's William the Conqueror calls out Restoration history's ideology of local color as a dazzling surface: beneath the spectacular draping of the past, the king lies naked, frozen in time. Locked in permanent rigor mortis, William embodies the paradoxical status of history under the policy of *oubli*, unable to fully acknowledge the traumatic events of the Revolution that severed the present regime from its legitimating *ancien régime* roots. William's insistently intact body is symptomatic of this need to disavow the work of the guillotine. This, Géricault suggests, condemns the present generation to a melancholic failure to satisfactorily grieve its losses and expiate or otherwise work through feelings of guilt and resentment. The present generation's longing for a scene of reconciliation with its Jacobin father figures sketched in Nodier's letter to Kératry will never arrive as long as the victims of the Revolution remain unacknowledged and unburied.

William's stubborn refusal of the entropic forces of decay in Géricault's print repeats the power of lithography to "fix" the sensations of the picturesque tourist lauded by Nodier. The tension between mobility and immediacy, between the spectacle of dissolution and dismemberment and the politics of restoration, is itself on display in Géricault's interior of Saint-Étienne, Abbaye-aux-Hommes, just as it was in the reversal of the carriage in the *messagerie* of Saint Nicolas. According to a legitimist treatise that, like the *Voyages pittoresques,* was published in 1825: "Royal tombs . . . are the symbols of the past, the hieroglyphs of the future; to violate and desecrate them is to attack the existence of the monarchy and nation; it is a crime as enormous as regicide, which a civilized century is outraged at witnessing."[69] The reader is here prompted to ask to which century the author refers—that of William, Louis XVI, or duc de Berry? Ultimately, Géricault's William the Conqueror suggests, the question is moot: the regicide casts every royal tomb—past, present, and future—as a signifier of the intact body of the king and unified corpus of the nation.

Conclusion

I have argued that Géricault's two contributions to the *Voyages pittoresques* offer both a demonstration of, and commentary upon, the use of lithography within Restoration visual history. Nodier and Taylor's project explicitly presented itself as a means for the development of the lithographic medium alongside a mode of picturesque representation of France's monumental past. By using the death of the duc de Berry as the point of departure for what he described as a "history of tombs," Nodier linked the present and the distant past through a chain of royal memorials. As demonstrated throughout his literary oeuvre, the author's understanding of history was more concerned with a vivid evocation of the past than with historical fact or what he describes as a coolly disinterested scholarly or academic approach. In this regard the Normandy volumes were of a piece with Restoration cultural production in general, which sought to reincorporate a divided nation through a policy of allusive remembrance. During the period in which they were produced, any representation of a royal memorial raised the specter of the regicide. The administration of Louis XVIII feared the potential of such memories to rekindle the conflagration that led to the destruction of royal bodies—both flesh and stone—twenty-five years earlier. The Revolution had shown that even the passionate attachment demonstrated by Athalin's despondent knight could be turned into patricidal desire if circumstances were right. The survival of the model of limited monarchy would depend on foreclosing the possibility of such

conditions recurring, and the administration was keenly aware of what might result from overt references to revolutionary violence such as the mass pilgrimages that involved the erection of missionary crosses. Along with the Restoration historians, Nodier believed that representing national history in vivid local color would help inoculate his readership against such collective madness through the amalgamating effect of national and religious sentiment. It would also exorcise traumatic memories and expiate guilt. Géricault's interior of *Saint Nicolas* repurposed as a carriage service allegorizes the production of lithographic illustrations of the national past that, it was hoped, would reestablish emotional bonds between the album's viewer-readers and France's royalist heritage. The artist thereby exposed the technical and ideological apparatus that generated the very publication of which it is a part. This is in keeping with Nodier and Taylor's project, which openly touted its use of imaging technology and picturesque aesthetics to cultivate affective links between the French people and its monarchic past. Viewed in light of period accounts of the national history, Géricault's poignant vignette of William lying in state presents an epitome of the picturesque school of Restoration history. The monarch's nudity bespeaks not only his humanity but also his role as a generic bearer of historically appropriate *costume.* The stripped monarch echoes the dilapidated and denuded church of Saint Nicolas, which likewise evidences the conflicting trajectories of an ideology of aesthetic and technological progress, on the one hand, and a royalist desire to return to France's prerevolutionary past, on the other.

Notes

1. W. McAllister Johnson and Bibliothèque nationale (France), *French Lithography: The Restoration Salons, 1817–1824* (Kingston, ON, 1977), 195. The author wishes to thank Daniela Bleichmar and Vanessa Schwartz as well as the participants in the Mellon-Sawyer seminar held at University of Southern California in 2017 for their insightful feedback on earlier versions of this paper.
2. Charles Nodier, Isidore-Justin-Séverin Taylor, and Alphonse de Cailleux, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France: Ancienne Normandie,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1820, 1825), 2:11; hereafter cited as *Voyages pittoresques.* (Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.) For an overview of this project see Anita L. Spadafore, "Baron Taylor's *Voyages Pittoresques*" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1973).
3. For Nodier, see A. Richard Oliver, *Charles Nodier, Pilot of Romanticism* (Syracuse, 1964).
4. Nodier, Taylor, and Cailleux, *Voyages pittoresques: Ancienne Normandie,* 1:2.
5. Ibid., 1:4, 5.
6. Ibid., 1:11.

7. Adolphe Thiers, "De la lithographie et de ses progrès," *Le Pandore* 259 (March 30, 1824); reprinted in Johnson, *French Lithography*, 46. For the early history of lithography in France, see Michael Twyman, *Lithography, 1800–1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and Their Application in Works of Topography* (London, 1970).

8. Thiers, "De la lithographie et de ses progrès," 47. See also Adolphe Thiers, "Direction des Arts et Particulièrement de La Peinture En France. Premier Article" [1824], *Mercure de France* (August 1835): 130.

9. Charles Joseph Hullmandel, *The Art of Drawing on Stone* (London, 1824), v.

10. Nodier, Taylor, and Cailleux, *Voyages Pittoresques: Ancienne Normandie*, 1:11. Taylor later claimed to have first conceived of the series in 1810 but soon realized that the number of engravings required would be cost prohibitive. It was only with the arrival of lithography that a publication on the scope he intended became financially viable. Charles Nodier and Isidore-Justin-Sèverin Taylor, *Voyages Pittoresques et Romantiques dans l'ancienne France: Dauphiné* (Paris, 1854), 1:11.

11. Nodier, Taylor, and Cailleux, *Voyages Pittoresques: Ancienne Normandie*, 1:7.

12. Ibid., 10.

13. Ibid. As Timothy Wilcox has noted, a plate from the first volume features a new form of a portable camera lucida, known as a graphic telescope, in use. Timothy Wilcox and Dulwich Picture Gallery, *Cotman in Normandy* (London, 2012), 10.

14. Ségolène Le Men, "Les *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* de Taylor et Nodier: un monument de papier," in Lucie Goujard et al., *Voyages pittoresques: Normandie, 1820–2009* (Milan, 2009), 55.

15. Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York, 1995), 42.

16. Ibid., 120.

17. Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio,* (Cambridge, 1984), 61.

18. For the use of *repoussoire* as a distancing device in history painting, see Martin Meisel, *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), 144–45.

19. Oliver, *Charles Nodier*, 7.

20. Charles Nodier, "Correspondance Inédite de Charles Nodier," *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire* (1849): 298.

21. Charles Nodier, "Souvenirs de la révolution et de l'empire. Jours de Proscription," *Revue de Paris* 2 (1834): 157–58.

22. Nodier, "Correspondance Inédite de Charles Nodier," 296.

23. Maurice Samuels, "Illustrated Historiography and the Image of the Past in Nineteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 2 (Spring 2003), 270.

24. Maurice Samuels, *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 2004), 173.

25. Charles Nodier and Georges Zaragoza, *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Ecosse* (Paris, 2003).

26. Charles Nodier, "Oeuvres complètes de Walter Scott, deuxième article," *La quotidienne*, October 17, 1823, reprinted in Nodier and Zaragoza, *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Ecosse*, 166.

27. Ibid.

28. Géricault as quoted in Philippe Bordes, "L'Écurie dont je ne sortirai que cousu d'or: Painters and Printmaking from David to Géricault," in *Théodore Géricault: The Alien Body, Tradition in Chaos*, ed. Serge Guilbaut, Maureen Ryan, and Scott Watson (Vancouver, 1997), 130.

29. For the type of wagon featured, see Alec Mishory, "Théodore Géricault's Grande Suite Anglaise: Sources, Iconography and Significance" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1997), 102.

30. Charles Clément, *Géricault; Étude Biographique et Critique, Avec Le Catalogue Raisonné de l'oeuvre Du Maître* (Paris, 1879), 191. The exhibition's highly profitable run may be in part attributable to the artist's exploiting compositional strategies from popular media, such as the panorama. See Christine Riding, "Staging *The Raft of the Medusa*," *Visual Culture in Britain* 5, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 1–26; and Jonathan Crary, "Géricault, the Panorama, and Sites of Reality in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Grey Room* 9 (Autumn 2002): 5–25.

31. Mishory, "Théodore Géricault's Grande Suite Anglaise," 100–6, reads this image as a self-portrait.

32. Susan Siegfried has suggested that the cart may contain the rolled canvas of the *Raft of the Medusa*; Susan Siegfried, "Alternative Narratives," *Art History* 36, no. 1 (February 2013): 110.

33. Nodier, Taylor, and Cailleux, *Voyages Pittoresques: Ancienne Normandie*, 2:68.

34. Ibid., 1:11.

35. In his *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, François-René de Chateaubriand retrospectively observed that the period was obsessed by death, describing it as "a necrophilic Restoration, unceasingly organizing exhumations and funeral services"; quoted in Emmanuel Fureix, "Le deuil de la Révolution dans le Paris de la Restauration, 1814–1816," in *Repenser la Restauration*, ed. Jean-Yves Mollier, Martine Reid, and Jean-Claude Yon (Paris, 2005), 17.

36. Stephen Bann, "Norman Abbey as Romantic Mise-en-Scène: St. Georges de Boscherville in Historical Representation," in Rumiko Handa and James Potter, eds., *Conjuring the Real: The Role of Architecture in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Lincoln, NB, 2011), 101.

37. Nodier, Taylor, and Cailleux, *Voyages Pittoresques: Ancienne Normandie*, 1:15.

38. Sheryl Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (Berkeley, 2000), 100.

39. Ibid., 102.

40. Ibid., 123.

41. Ibid., 101.

42. Prologue to the *Charte Constitutionnelle* 1814, as cited in Bettina Frederking, "'Il ne faut pas être le roi de deux peuples': Strategies of National Reconciliation in Restoration France," *French History* 22, no. 4 (2008): 449. It is noteworthy that Nodier's letter to Kératry cited earlier opens with the writer defending his use of the term "regicide" rather than "homicide" in his text for the second Normandy volume. The passage in question described a member of Henri II's guard wounding the king during a jousting match as having been "led to regicide" by fate, even though the expiring monarch absolved his killer. Nodier justified his word choice by arguing that the hapless courtier met the definition of that term: someone who has killed a king, whether voluntarily or not. This exchange reflects current debates concerning the status of individuals who condemned Louis XVI. Liberals insisted that the proclamation of amnesty for revolutionary crimes included in the Charter of 1814, which established the constitutional monarchy, included the regicides, to which the ultraroyalists were vehemently opposed. Louis XVIII was initially in agreement with the liberals in their strict interpretation of the charter but seems to have shifted his position after Napoleon's 100 days, at least in the case of regicides who also supported the "usurper." Nodier's phrasing in the *Voyages pittoresques*, implies

that regicide—or, by extension any revolutionary crime—could be attributed to "fate" or circumstance. Kératry to Nodier, in Nodier, "Correspondance Inédite de Charles Nodier," 296.

43. Natalie Scholz discusses the "anachronistic" logic of Bourbon rule; see "Past and Pathos: Symbolic Practices of Reconciliation during the French Restoration," *History & Memory* 22, no. 1 (March 21, 2010): 53.

44. Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830*, 101.

45. Louis XVIII as quoted in Frederking, "Il ne faut pas être le roi de deux peuples," *French History* 22, no. 4 (2008): 449.

46. Scholz describes this pattern: "Part of the paradox of [*oubli*] is that the ritual of forgetting was inevitably, at the same time, a ritual of remembrance, albeit accompanied by the hope (or should one say wishful thinking?) that this inevitable act of remembrance would be the very last one"; Scholz, "Past and Pathos," 56.

47. As Sheryl Kroen argues, the regime's policy of *mise-en-place*—the ritualistic destruction of Revolutionary and Napoleonic material culture—was aimed at "the effacement not only from the public landscape but from the very memory of the population of any alternatives to legitimate monarchy. Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830*, 57.

48. Frederking, "'Il ne faut pas être le roi de deux peuples,'" 465.

49. Fureix, "Le deuil de la Révolution dans le Paris de la Restauration, 1814–1816," 23.

50. Frederking, "'Il ne faut pas être le roi de deux peuples,'" 461.

51. Ibid.

52. Louis XVI, L.-E. Audot, and Pierre Picquet, *Fac simile du testament de Louis XVI, seule éd. autorisée…* (Paris, 1816).

53. Ibid., 5.

54. Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, 42.

55. Hullmandel, *The Art of Drawing on Stone*, v.

56. Beth Segal Wright, *Painting and History during the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past* (Cambridge, 1997), 13.

57. Augustin Thierry as cited in ibid., 24.

58. Augustin Thierry, *Censeur Européen*, February 21, 1820, 4, as quoted in Rulon Nephi Smithson, *Augustin Thierry: Social and Political Consciousness in the Evolution of a Historical Method* (Geneva, 1972), 81.

59. Augustin Thierry as cited in Lionel Gossman, *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 93.

60. Ibid., 129.

61. Ibid., 143.

62. Bann has discussed the ideological function of lithographic representations of Normandy, including Géricault's contributions to the *Voyages pittoresques*; Stephen Bann, *Distinguished Images: Prints in the Visual Economy of Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven, 2013), 47–86.

63. As Bann has discussed, the editors of the *Voyages pittoresques* mistakenly located William's death vigil at Boscherville; ibid., 53.

64. Germain Bazin, *Théodore Géricault: Étude Critique, Documents et Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris, 1997), 7:212, cat. no. 2519.

65. For the "king's two bodies" in Restoration France, see Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830*, 23–30.

66. *Voyages pittoresques: Ancienne Normandie*, 2:65–66.

67. See Françoise Waquet, *Les fêtes royales sous la restauration ou l'ancien régime retrouvé* (Paris, 1981). Undertaken under the policy of *oubli*, these events involved the same delicate negotiation of the legacy of the regicide discussed earlier. To take one example, as Fureix notes, the phrase "Le roi est mort! Vive le roi!" was not uttered at Louis XVI's funeral because this transfer of royal imperium had supposedly already taken place during the fictional ascension of Louis XVII upon his father's death. Fureix, "Le deuil de la Révolution dans le Paris de la Restauration, 1814–1816," 22.
68. Claude Henri Watelet and Pierre Charles Levesque, *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris, 1792), 1:506; see Wright's discussion of this passage; Wright, *Painting and History during the French Restoration*, 48–49.
69. Conrad Malte-Brun, 1825, as quoted in Suzanne G. Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult: Living with the Dead in France, 1750–1870* (Burlington, VT, 2012), 31.