

LIBERTÉ, LÉGALITÉ, SOUVERAINETÉ:
CHANGING MEANINGS OF AN ALLEGORY
IN LE BARBIER'S REPRESENTATIONS
OF THE *DÉCLARATION DES DROITS
DE L'HOMME ET DU CITOYEN*

LIBERTÉ, LÉGALITÉ, SOUVERAINETÉ:
CAMBIO DE SIGNIFICADO DE LA ALEGORÍA
EN LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE LA *DÉCLARATION
DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET DU CITOYEN*
DE LE BARBIER

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POTESTAS, N.º 24, enero 2024 | pp. 51-88
ISSN: 1888-9867 | e-ISSN 2340-499X | <https://doi.org/10.6035/potestas.7824>
Recibido: 12/12/2024 Evaluado: 07/01/2024 Aprobado: 09/01/2024

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes three visual works representing the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man attributed to Le Barbier: two paintings and one engraving. The article makes the hypothesis that one painting was executed shortly after the Declaration in August 1789, while the other was made after the engraving, dated November 5, 1790. Treating visual works as texts and combining methods in art history and intellectual history, the article's main argument is that the two paintings express different narratives and thereby different views on sovereignty. Identifying the right allegory as a genius figure of liberty,

the first painting presents her annunciating the Supreme Being's natural rights to monarchical France. The engraving erroneously claims the allegory to be the Law, while the setting is changed and the scepter points to the Supreme Being, thereby giving legitimate sovereignty to the National Assembly. This change marks an early representation of Republican France.

Keywords: French revolution, declaration of the rights of man and the citizen, Le Barbier, Liberty, Allegory

Resumen: Este artículo analiza tres obras que representan la *Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre y Ciudadano* de 1789 de Le Barbier: dos pinturas y un grabado. El artículo parte de la hipótesis de que uno de los cuadros fue realizado poco después de la primera publicación de la *Declaración*, en agosto de 1789, mientras que el otro es posterior al grabado, fechado el 5 de noviembre de 1790. Estudiando las obras a través de los métodos de Historia del Arte e Historia Intelectual, el artículo evidencia que las dos pinturas expresan diferentes discursos y, por tanto, diferentes puntos de vista sobre la autoridad. La alegoría identificada como el Genio de la Libertad, el primer cuadro presenta los derechos naturales del Ser Supremo en la Francia monárquica. El grabado afirma erróneamente que la alegoría debería ser entendida como la Ley. Sin embargo, los cambios de los atributos, en particular el cetro, sugieren que la lectura correcta debería ser al Ser Supremo, otorgando así la soberanía legítima a la Asamblea Nacional. Este cambio marca una temprana representación en la Francia republicana.

Palabras clave: Revolución francesa, Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre y Ciudadano, Le Barbier, Libertad, Alegoría

INTRODUCTION

The painting of the *Déclaration des droits de l'Homme et du citoyen* attributed to Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier (1738-1826) (Fig. 1) is one of the most iconic images of the French Revolution. The picture represents a monument enshrining the 1789 *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* engraved in what resembles the tablets of the Ten Commandments. Two allegorical figures sit on top of it on each side, while the Eye of Providence,

from which light is dissipating the clouds, overlooks the whole.¹ Yet, we know very little about this painting apart from the existence of another less-known and slightly different version (Fig. 2).²



Fig. 1 («Painting 1»): Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration Des Droits de l'homme et Du Citoyen* [1], ca. 1789 (or 1790-91?), oil on wood, 71 x 56 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, P809

1. Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* [1], ca. 1789 (or 1790-91?), oil on wood, 71 x 56 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, P809.

2. The other version used to be presented next to it in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris before its closing in October 2016. Since the reopening in 2021, version in Fig. 1 is now presented on its own without version in Fig. 2 next to it. Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration Des Droits de l'homme et Du Citoyen* [2], ca. 1789, oil on canvas, 115 x 86,5 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, P708.



Fig. 2 («Painting 2»): Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration Des Droits de l'homme et Du Citoyen* [2], ca. 1789, oil on canvas, 115 x 86,5 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, P708

There is also an engraving (Fig. 3) with the same composition as Fig. 1.³ This engraving is signed by Le Barbier, unlike the paintings, thus authenticating it and possibly the similar painting (Fig. 1). For the sake of clarity, the article will henceforth refer to Fig. 1 as «painting 1», Fig. 2 as «painting 2», and Fig. 3 as «the engraving».

3. Louis Laurent and Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration Des Droits de l'Homme et Du Citoyen*, 1790, engraving, 64,7 x 47,4 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, G.29754.

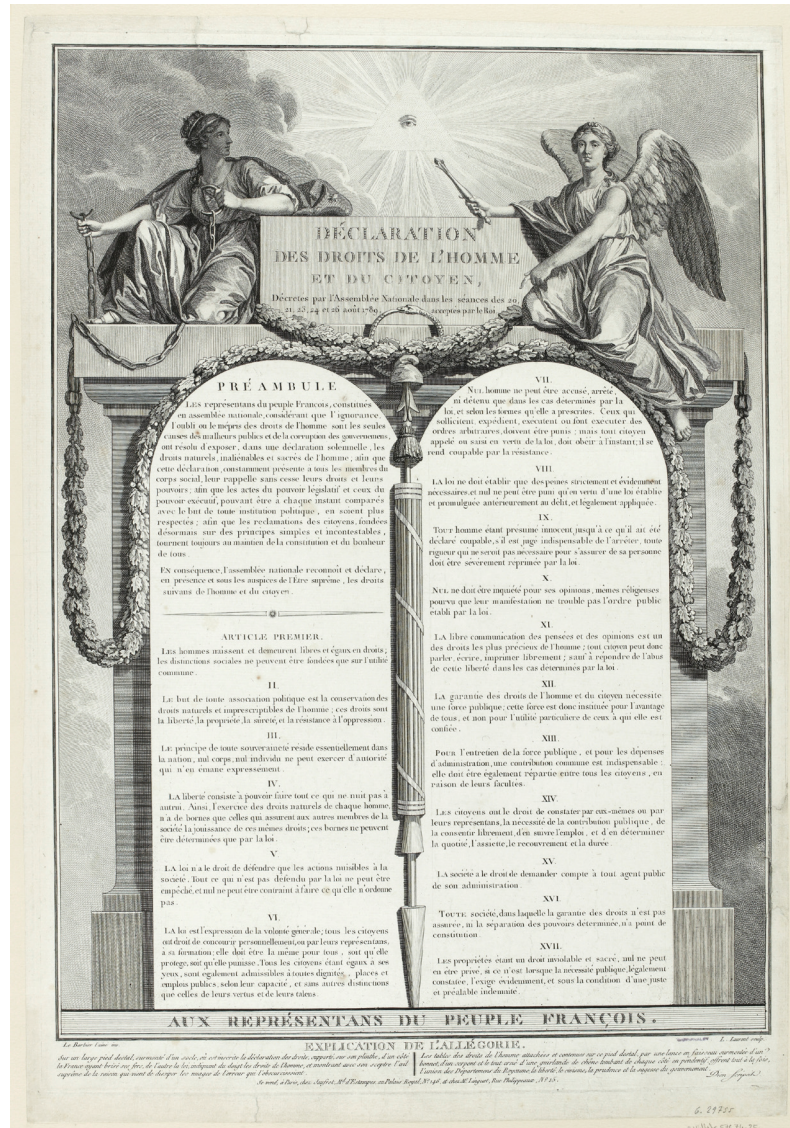


Fig. 3 («Engraving»): Louis Laurent and Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration Des Droits de l'Homme et Du Citoyen*, 1790, engraving, 64,7 x 47,4 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, G.29754

Why are there two different paintings? What do the allegorical figures on each side represent? How can the whole work be interpreted? These questions have only been partially asked and answered by the only two studies on Le Barbier's paintings and engraving. One focuses on authenticating the paintings and the other on the masonic symbols, but they do not analyze

the allegories or the meaning of the works.⁴ Another study of natural rights analyses painting 1 and compares it with the scene of the Annunciation, but does not engage with the allegories.⁵ The only interpretation of the allegories is offered by the Musée Carnavalet, on its website, which claims that both paintings 1 and 2 contain the allegories of «monarchy» (left) and of the «genius of the nation» (right).⁶

The reason for having so few studies on Le Barbier's *Déclaration* might be that the engraving provides an explanatory text for the allegorical work. However, this explanation is not satisfying for the historian because the right allegory is identified as «Law» but does not resemble the definitions provided in contemporary dictionaries of emblems and allegories. It is difficult to identify this allegory, which is the issue addressed in this article. The left allegory is identified in the engraving as «France», but it is both Monarchy (as claimed on the website of the Musée Carnavalet) and France (as claimed on the engraving); it is the traditional representation of monarchical France.

Furthermore, it is important to note that, even if the two paintings look similar, they are not. The same Declaration is enshrined in a monument; the same visual reference to the tablets of the Ten Commandments; the allegorical figures on top of the monument; and the Eye of providence overlooking the scene. However, there are variations between them, which open different lines of interpretation. This article treats the images as visual evidence of competing political languages during the Revolution. Here, the authentication and the dating of the two paintings is important as it serves to base a hypothesis about their changing meanings.

This article argues, first, that the winged allegory does not symbolize the «nation» and not the «Law» either, second, that this allegory differs in the two versions as well as the overall composition, and third, that the differences between the two paintings lead to two meanings regarding the visual representation. The article argues that the two allegories are, on the left, monarchical France and, on the right, the genius of liberty announcing the Declaration like an angel. The design and interpretation of the genius of liberty changed in the engraving, and with other copies (Fig. 4 and 5). It remains unclear what happened between the first and second versions, but this article postulates that it might be due to changes in political power and the evolution of political vocabulary.

4. JULIE VIROULAUD: «Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier l'Aîné et les francs-maçons: autour d'une œuvre d'inspiration maçonnique, la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen», *La revue des musées de France - La revue du Louvre*, 61-4, 2011, pp. 80-86; MICHEL JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: «Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'aîné», *Revue de l'art*, 176/-2, 2012, pp. 51-62.

5. CHRISTINE FAURÉ: *Ce que déclarer des droits veut dire : histoires*, Paris: PUF, 1997.

6. <http://parismuseescollections.paris.fr/fr/musee-carnavalet/oeuvres/declaration-des-droits-de-l-homme-et-du-citoyen-5>; <https://www.parismuseescollections.paris.fr/fr/musee-carnavalet/oeuvres/declaration-des-droits-de-l-homme-et-du-citoyen-4>. Last checked October 12, 2023.



Fig. 4: Jean-Baptiste Letourmi, *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, 1790, engraving (estampe), 37,8 x 29,2 cm, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, 1991.53

The French Revolution marked a sea change in political vocabulary and concepts that translated in their visual representations. In the early days of the Revolution, there were no icons, emblems, allegories, or visual codes for these new legal and political concepts. Le Barbier, like all artists at the time, had to invent something different by using what existed. Here, both art and philosophy share the same modern interpretation of antiquity, where Rome and Athens served as models, but both were restated within Christian and

Enlightenment ideals. Historians should analyze revolutionary political and legal concepts in both textual and visual works. The result is a glimpse into the evolution of concepts and their representations following political events, until monarchical France is replaced by republican France, Marianne embodying a new set of republican values and principles. Le Barbier's *Declaration* is an early example of this transition between 1789 and 1791.



Fig. 5: Desray (inventeur), Blanchard (graveur), and Basset (éditeur), *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, around 1793, engraving, 38,8 x 26,4 cm, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, 1986.314

WHO WAS LE BARBIER?

Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier was born in Rouen in 1738 and died in Paris in 1826. He lived long and produced many works of art, but art historians have neglected him. He was a pupil of Jean-Baptiste Descamps (1714-1791) at his academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture. Descamps recommended him to Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1707-1783), an engraver in Paris, who, in 1757, took him in. He then studied with Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre (1714-1789), a painter at the Academy and the future first painter to the king (1770-1789). He got married in 1764 and had two daughters. His well-to-do wife helped him with his travels to Italy, but he ran into financial troubles in 1769. He tried several times without success to win the Grand Prix and enter the Academy. To help financially, he produced many engravings.⁷ In 1780, he was finally certified by the Academy and could exhibit his work at the salon in the Louvre. That year, he presented his most critically acclaimed painting, *Jeanne Hachette au siège de Bauvais*, which Diderot praised and the bishop of Bauvais purchased. The work has since disappeared, but it is thought to have inspired Delacroix in his *Liberté guidant le peuple*. Neither Le Barbier's other paintings that year nor all the other paintings he exhibited in the following years at the salon received much enthusiasm from the critics. In 1785, he painted *Jupiter endormi sur le mont Ida*, a topic inspired by antiquity, after which he was admitted to the Academy.

There are no documents or witnesses regarding Le Barbier's views on the Revolution.⁸ However, at the 1789 salon he presented *Henri dit Dubois, soldat aux gardes françaises qui est entré le premier à la Bastille*. It is not clear whether this is a testimony of his sympathy with the Revolution or only of his opportunism.⁹ He supported the Academy of Arts for its role in society. After its closure, he joined the Société Républicaine des Arts and helped the Société des Amis des Arts, which financially supported artists.

The Assemblée Constituante commissioned a painting from him in January 1791 on the young officer Désilles in Nancy, who calmed insurgents. Le Barbier finished the painting in 1794 and exhibited it at the salon in 1795, but critics did not receive it well. In the engraving published before the painting in 1791, there is a mention that Le Barbier is «official painter of the king.» After the Restoration, Le Barbier joined the Bourbon monarchy, which appointed him in 1816 at the Academy to replace Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825). This may be a sign of his political leaning, considering that David was

7. MICHEL JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: «Le Barbier et l'estampe», *Les Cahiers d'histoire de l'art*, 10, 2012, pp. 75-86.

8. JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: «Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'aîné», p. 58.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

much more active in the Revolution, as a member of the Mountain political group, while Le Barbier did not join any.

A catalog of his possessions at his death shows that he had 340 books, many on the Antiquity. Like many artists of the period, Le Barbier was well-versed in classical studies (David famously only took pupils that were fluent in Latin). Therefore, Le Barbier had extensive knowledge of iconology and classical representations. His images drew on classical tropes, figures, allusions, and references.

ALLEGORIES AND ENGRAVINGS IN THE LATE 18TH-CENTURY FRENCH VISUAL CULTURE

To interpret these paintings, an essential element to consider is the tradition of signification attached to images at the time. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the role of fables and allegories went out of fashion, and authors such as abbé Pluche (1688-1761) criticized their obsolete language.¹⁰ However, Prussian art historian and archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) reinvigorated the role of allegories and recommended that they be studied to understand their role in art.¹¹ Although Winckelmann was only translated into French in 1799, Swiss professor Johann Georg Sulzer (1720-1779), who played a role in the French conception of esthetics, had introduced him earlier in France.¹² Furthermore, Rousseau, Condillac, La Mettrie, Helvétius, and Diderot considered that signs played an essential role in the formation of ideas and, therefore, were crucial to educating and transforming human beings.¹³ As a result, the salon of 1783 presented several allegorical works.¹⁴

The Revolution, which was a *tabula rasa* in its reinvention of the political, used allegories and images not only to impersonate abstract principles and to educate («regenerate») the people but also to reinforce its political premises.¹⁵ Both learned and ordinary people could read allegories during the

10. NOËL-ANTOINE PLUCHE: *Histoire du ciel considéré selon les idées des poètes, des philosophes, et de Moïse*, 2 vols, Paris: chez la veuve Estienne, 1739.

11. JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN: *De l'allégorie, Ou traités sur cette matière*, 2 vols, Paris: chez H. J. Jansen, 1799.

12. ÉLISABETH DÉCULTOT: «Éléments d'une histoire interculturelle de l'esthétique. L'exemple de la «Théorie générale des beaux-arts» de Johann Georg Sulzer», *Revue germanique internationale*, 10, 1998, pp. 141-60.

13. ANNIE JOURDAN: *Les monuments de la Révolution 1770-1804: Une histoire de représentation*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000, p. 11.

14. ANTOINE DE BAECQUE: «The Allegorical Image of France, 1750-1800: A Political Crisis of Representation», *Representations*, 47, 1994, pp. 111-43, p. 114.

15. JOURDAN: *Les monuments de la Révolution*, pp. 21-3.

revolution because engravings and caricatures used the same ones, sometimes perverting their meaning or using a satirical spin.¹⁶

Since the nineteenth century, historians of the French Revolution have considered the methodological questions involved in using images as a source.¹⁷ The French Revolution offers fertile grounds for studying representations. Michel Vovelle has initiated the contemporary study of Revolutionary images and pushed forward the argument that intellectual history —*histoire des mentalités*— and art history worked together.¹⁸ Lucien Braun has attempted to incorporate images in the study of philosophy on the premise that as Christian art is easily legible to Christians, so are the representations of philosophy to educated viewers.¹⁹ The method used in this article is to interpret the sequence of paintings by Le Barbier according to the available vocabulary and in the context of the political and intellectual events of the time.²⁰

The Revolution marks the transition to a new political system and the need to legitimate a new power through a new political vocabulary that uses visuals to persuade. Art and political philosophy both had Antiquity and Christianity as models.²¹ Competing discourses and visions of sovereignty clashed between a discourse of justice, of will, and of reason.²² For art, Antiquity was equally a source of republican and classical values, while Christianity offered Biblical themes and powerful visual narratives for natural law.

Herding studied engravings not as propaganda but as a medium following «visual codes».²³ This is particularly the case with these three works by Le

16. ANTOINE DE BAECQUE: *La caricature révolutionnaire*. Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988, p. 179.

17. ANNIE DUPRAT: «Iconographie historique: Une approche nouvelle?», in JEAN-CLÉMENT MARTIN (ed.): *La Révolution à l'œuvre: Perspectives actuelles dans l'histoire de La Révolution française*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015, pp. 293–304.

18. MICHEL VOVELLE (ed.): *Iconographie et histoire des mentalités*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1979; MICHEL VOVELLE: «La Demande de l'histoire dans le champ de l'iconographie», in JEAN-MARIE MAYEUR (ed.): *Les historiens et les sources iconographiques*, Paris: CNRS/IHMC, 1981, pp. 11–20; MICHEL VOVELLE (ed.): *Les images de la Révolution française*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1988; MICHEL VOVELLE: «L'iconographie: une approche de la mentalité révolutionnaire», in ANTOINE DE BAECQUE and MICHEL VOVELLE (eds.): *Recherches sur la Révolution*, Paris: IHRF/La Découverte, 1991, pp. 148–63.

19. LUCIEN BRAUN: *L'image de la philosophie: Méconnaissance et reconnaissance*, Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2005; Lucien Braun: *Philosophes et philosophie en représentation: L'iconographie philosophique en question(s)*, Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2011.

20. ANNIE DUPRAT: «Le roi, la chasse et le parapluie ou comment l'historien fait parler les images», *Genèses. Sciences sociales et histoire*, 27 -1, 1997, pp. 109–23; ANNIE DUPRAT: *Images et Histoire: Outils et méthodes d'analyse des documents iconographiques*, Paris: Belin, 2007.

21. HAROLD TALBOT PARKER: *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: A Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937; CLAUDE MOSSÉ: *L'antiquité dans la Révolution française*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1989.

22. KEITH MICHAEL BAKER: «Political Languages of the French Revolution», in Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 626–59.

23. KLAUS HERDING: «Visual Codes in the Graphic Art of the French Revolution», in CYNTHIA BURLINGHAM and JAMES CUNO (eds.): *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789–1799*, Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, 1988, pp. 83–100.

Barbier, which Herding did not analyze. We can see in the two allegories the beginning of what will later become the duality of representations between old monarchical France and new republican France, which is symbolized by the duality between executive power (king) and legislative power (parliament), both claiming the same source of sovereign authority (the Supreme Being). The analysis of these three works by Le Barbier can contribute to understanding how new semantic and semiotic representations of a new political and legal order were created in these key early years of the revolution.

AUTHENTICATING AND DATING THE THREE REPRESENTATIONS

Viroulaud authenticates painting 1 from Le Barbier.²⁴ However, she wrongly dates the work as painted shortly after August 1789 since, she writes, Louis Laurent offered his engraving based on this version of the painting to the National Assembly on «November 5, 1789». Jacq-Hergoualc'h, the only expert on Le Barbier, notes rightly that Laurent offered it in 1790 and not 1789.²⁵ This is documented in *Le Point du Jour* 483 of November 6, 1790, which notes this event «during yesterday's session».²⁶

However, it is very likely that the design for the engraving was created earlier because it was common practice to have a drawing first. The engraving mentions the following authors: «Le Barbier inv.», «L. Laurent sculpt.», «Dien scripsit», which is Latin for «Dien writes». Dien was Louis-François Dien (1754-1841), an engraver who worked in Paris. Jacq-Hergoualc'h attributes the text to his son, Claude Marie François Dien (1787-1865), also an engraver, and therefore concludes that the text was added much later to the engraving, since in 1790 he would have been otherwise very precocious.²⁷ This, however, is not persuasive: Louis-François Dien produced several engravings during the revolutionary years, and there is little reason to assume that it would be his son's text. It is therefore safe to assume that the text is contemporary to the image, which is also common to many engravings at the time because they invented new visual codes.²⁸

«L. Laurent sculpt.» is the abbreviation of the Latin «sculptor» (engraver) and «Le Barbier inv.» for «inventor» (author). This gives a clue that Le

24. JULIE VIROULAUD: «Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier l'Aîné et les francs-maçons: autour d'une œuvre d'inspiration maçonnique, la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen», *La revue des musées de France*, 4, 2011, pp. 80-6, at pp. 82-3.

25. MICHEL JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: *Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'aîné*, 2 vols., Tokyo: Texnai, 2014, vol. 1, p. 242.

26. *Le Point du jour, ou Résultat de ce qui s'est passé la veille à l'Assemblée nationale*, Paris: chez Cussac, 1790, vol. 16, p. 42.

27. JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: *Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'aîné*, vol. 1, p. 242.

28. HERDING: «Visual Codes in the Graphic Art of the French Revolution».

Barbier did a visual work on which the engraving was based. Usually, engravings are based on a drawing that is used as model for a painting. There are several examples of engravings by Le Barbier made from his previous drawings. In 1797, Le Barbier made a drawing «La mort de Marceau»,²⁹ which was engraved by François-Robert Ingouf (dit le Jeune) (1747-1812) two to three years later.³⁰ Another example is the National Assembly's order to Le Barbier for a work on the so-called «Affaire de Nancy», in which a mutiny on August 5-31, 1790 in Nancy cost the life of an officer named André Désilles, subsequently made a hero for attempting to contain it. The National Constituent Assembly charged Le Barbier with immortalizing Désilles with a painting. He first made a drawing, which was then engraved by Pierre Laurent in 1791.³¹ Below the engraving, it is mentioned that the engraving is based on a drawing by Le Barbier, who is «peintre du roi». Le Barbier only finished the painting in 1794, with a few minor details differing from the engraving, such as additional people placed on the top of the wall.³²

Le Barbier did not sign the paintings of the *Déclaration*. Jacq-Hergoualc'h hesitated and contradicted himself in his publications regarding their authorship and date. In his first article, Jacq-Hergoualc'h writes that the two paintings are, without a doubt, Le Barbier's works, despite the absence of a signature.³³ He argues that painting 1 certainly is from Le Barbier, because he signed the subsequent engraving (Fig. 3) that is an almost true copy of the painting. He therefore thinks, like Viroulaud, that the engraving was made prior to painting 1. Jacq-Hergoualc'h, has no doubt that painting 2 is by Le Barbier's hand because of the style of the allegories. However, he postulates that someone else may have painted the allegories on painting 1 because they are slightly different. In his later monograph on Le Barbier, Jacq-Hergoualc'h revises his position and not only denies that painting 1 is by Le Barbier, but also postulates that it is a copy made by someone else based on the engraving. He therefore dates it to about 1790-1791, thus after Laurent's gift of the engraving to the National Assembly.³⁴

On September 31, 1797, Gaucher, who wrote a book on allegories and emblems, delivered a speech on engravings in which he considered two roles

29. Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *La mort de Marceau*, 1797, dessin lavis, gouache, encre, 50 x 63,2 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, D.5483.

30. François-Robert Ingouf, *Mort d'un général*, 1799-1800, engraving, 54 x 67,2 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, G.20376.

31. Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier (drawing) and Pierre Laurent (engraving), *Le Jeune Désilles à l'affaire de Nancy: le 31 août 1790*, 1791, engraving, 52 x 65,5 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, Paris, RESERVE QB-370 (20)-FT 4.

32. Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Le Courage héroïque du jeune Désilles, le 30 août 1790, à l'affaire de Nancy*, 1794, oil on canvas, 317 x 453 cm, given from the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nancy to the Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, Inv. 512.

33. JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: «Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'aîné», pp. 59–60.

34. JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: *Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'aîné*, vol. 1, pp. 242-3.

for it. The first is to «invent a topic and execute it on brass to reproduce it through prints», and the second one is «to translate and conserve the productions of the paintbrush». ³⁵ It is difficult to assess where Le Barbier's engraving and the two paintings fall within this dichotomy because, if we can be certain that painting 1 was made after the engraving, it is uncertain when painting 2 was made. It could be that it was made before the engraving; therefore, the engraving is «translating» —very liberally translating, that is— and «conserving» this painting. However, it could also be that it was made after, and thus the engraving was made to «invent a topic» and reproduce it massively. However, this second possibility is less likely if the two paintings are not from the same hand: why make two different paintings? Why make one painting that is visually close to the engraving, and another that is very different even if the same composition? The answer to this might be the political changes that occurred during the time both compositions were made.

The best hypothesis is that Le Barbier created painting 2 shortly after the Declaration in August 1789. The reason for making a second version, this article argues, is that the first one was not emphasizing enough the sovereignty and legitimacy of the National Assembly. This hypothesis stems from the analysis of the different representations that convey two interpretations and political messages.

ANALYSIS OF THE WORK

For the sake of clarity, similar elements will first be analyzed before turning to the specificity of each work and providing an interpretation regarding their meaning.

SIMILAR ELEMENTS IN ALL

All works present the Eye of Providence (aka all-seeing, or Eye of God), at the top of the composition, which is represented by an eye inside a triangle, usually shining rays of light. By grasping the viewer's gaze, the artist shows the importance of the symbol, which was used in many Christian paintings

35. CHARLES-ÉTIENNE GAUCHER: *Essai sur l'origine et les avantages de la gravure, Lu à la séance publique de la Société libre des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Paris, le 9 Vendémiaire de l'an VI*, Collection Deloynes, 1797, Tome 46, pièces 1158 à 1191, Supplément au Tome I, pp. 1-12 (391-402), at p. 5 (395).

and graphic works before 1789. The freemasons also used the symbol, but this does not necessarily mean that the painting is freemasonic.³⁶

The eye symbolizes divine providence, which is the fact that God oversees His creation and maintains order in the universe. The etymology of «providence» stems from Latin *providentia* (foresight, foreknowledge, precaution) formed by the prefix *pro* (ahead, beforehand) and *videre* (to see) from proto-Indo-European *weid* (to see), which formed other words such as advice, idea, wise, wisdom, or wit. The triangle in Christian iconology symbolizes the Holy Trinity. It is the source of power as proclaimed in the Preamble: «... the National Assembly recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Man and of the Citizen». This source of power is represented in the visual composition by placing the Eye of Providence in the center line of the painting. In painting 2 (unlike painting 1 and the engraving), it is the only eye looking at the observer of the painting, thereby reinforcing the locus of sovereign power in the composition.

Whereas God was used in the theory of divine right to justify the sovereign power of kings and monarchism, the Enlightenment criticized past absolutism with natural law and contract theory.³⁷ The argument was that any society's purpose was to enforce natural rights. Even if a king/queen received sovereign power from God natural law put a limit to it through natural rights. However, natural law is (only) a divine law; its sanctions are not of this world. As a by-product of the doctrine of the two swords, natural rights should nonetheless be sanctioned in the earthly realm, not in the spiritual realm. The transition from natural rights to civil rights occurs through the social contract, and it is the society's role to maintain natural rights for citizens. Here, the main ornamentation of the monument comes into play: the fasces with a spear in the middle. It serves as a representation of Article 12: «To guarantee the Rights of Man and of the Citizen a public force is necessary...»

A Phrygian hat sits on top of the spear in the middle of the Ouroboros. The Ouroboros is a snake eating its own tail; it is one of the elements of the allegory of eternity.³⁸ That the *Déclaration* is eternal is further reinforced by the garland of oak leaves symbolizing strength and longevity. The garland also refers to ancient republican Rome. The civic crown (*corona civica*), made of oak leaves, was the highest military decoration reserved for a Roman citizen

36. VIROULAUD: «Le Barbier l'Ainé et les francs-maçons».

37. Most famously, John Locke's first of his *Two Treatises of Government*, London: A. Millar et al., 1689 [1690], which was written against Robert Filmer: *Patriarcha; or The Natural Power of Kings*, London: Ric. Chiswell, 1680.

38. GRAVELOT, COCHIN, and GAUCHER: *Iconologie par figures*, vol. II, pp. 24-25.

who had saved the lives of other citizens by killing an enemy. In this sense, it symbolizes the «amour pour la patrie» (love for the homeland).³⁹

The eternity of natural rights is guaranteed on earth by the action of fasces. Together with the Phrygian hat, it is another allusion to ancient republican Rome. The fasces were symbols of authority and power for the lictors. They also represent union and strength, as in Aesop's famous fable «Father and his Sons», in which a father stops his quarrelling sons by showing the strength of a bundle of sticks. Latin was part of the eighteenth-century curriculum, and pupils read classical texts.⁴⁰ They knew Rome's history, such as Book II of Livy's *The Early History of Rome* on restored freedom following the eviction of the tyrant Tarquin by Brutus.⁴¹ The fasces represented sovereign power and were tightly linked to the protection of freedom because a tyrant could misuse their power and take away freedom.

However, fasces were rods of elmwood (or birch wood) that were bundled together and embraced a hatchet, not a spear. The spear is, with the helmet, one of the characteristic elements of the Greek goddess Athena or Pallas Athena. In Greek mythology, Athena protected Athens and counseled the heroes. She was the goddess of wisdom, war, strategy, and handicraft. The Romans considered Minerva to be the equivalent of Athena. Minerva was represented in art, and sometimes represented France, such as in the Italian painter Sebastiano Ricci's (1659-1734) *La France sous les traits de Minerve*.⁴² The Revolution later also used Minerva to represent France. In Ricci's painting, «la vertu guerrière» (warrior virtue) is a winged female figure dressed in white, with a bare bosom, and holding a spear in her left hand. Virtue, in general, is represented with a spear in hand, particularly when virtue embodies valor.⁴³ This understanding of valor, with Liberty, is confirmed in the *Iconologie par figures*: «Liberté acquise par la valeur. Une femme tenant une pique surmontée d'un bonnet, & foulant aux pieds un joug...» (Liberty acquired through value. A woman holding a pike surmounted by a cap and trampling on a yoke).⁴⁴ As Agulhon notes, the Gravelot-Cochin dictionary considered both the past humanist tradition, inherited from Ripa, but also the new visual political vocabulary since 1789.⁴⁵

39. PRÉZEL: *Dictionnaire iconologique*, p. 17.

40. MARIE-MADELEINE COMPÈRE: *Les collèges français: 16ème-18ème siècles*, Paris: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique, 2002.

41. LIVY: *The Early History of Rome*, Aubrey De Sélincourt (trans.), London: Penguin, 1960, pp. 105-89.

42. Sebastiano Ricci, *La France sous les traits de Minerve, La sagesse qui foule au pieds l'ignorance et qui couronne la vertu guerrière*, 1718, oil on canvas, 113 x 85 cm, Musée du Louvres, Paris, INV 562.

43. PRÉZEL: *Dictionnaire iconologique*, p. 292.

44. GRAVELOT, COCHIN, and GAUCHER: *Iconologie par figures*, vol. III, pp. 32-3.

45. MAURICE AGULHON: *Marianne au combat. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, p. 22.

The representations of valor as a virtue and Liberty with Minerva as France are not new. Benjamin Franklin designed the *Libertas Americana* medal when he was in France to commemorate the siege of Yorktown by British soldiers (September 28-October 19, 1781). Augustin Dupré and Esprit Antoine Gibelin improved the design. On one side of the coin, France as Minerva with a lance and a shield protects the infant America as a baby Hercules against the lioness Britain.⁴⁶ The other presents a side portrait of Liberty as a woman with free-floating hair and a spear topped with a hat in the background.⁴⁷

Initially, the liberty cap on a spear emerged as a symbol in America before spreading to France.⁴⁸ There, the spear with a hat on top became a new addition to Liberty's allegory and subsequently of the Republic. De Baecque has, for instance, analyzed the letterheads of official institutions and noted the rise of the imagery of Liberty, which gradually merged with the Republic.⁴⁹ Liberty, during the Revolution, remains a young woman dressed in a (white) toga, but she starts wearing a (Phrygian) hat, or holds a spear topped with a Phrygian cap, or may also hold the fasces with the hatchet. Liberty represented as such became the norm, especially since it was the symbol of the sans-culottes from March 1792.⁵⁰

Freedom was one of the most requested rights in the *Cahiers de doléances*.⁵¹ In later representations of Liberty, instead of the scepter and hat, she is represented with the spear topped with a hat and a miniature replica of the Bastille castle. We see this, for instance, in Quatremère de Quincy's project for the Panthéon, where the allegories of the geniuses of Liberty and Equality flank the Republic.⁵² Later, all will fuse into Marianne as a personification of the Republic, and the liberty cap will end on her head.⁵³

This later fusion that created Marianne as the symbol of republican France is relevant for understanding the differences that set apart painting 2, on the one hand, from painting 1 and the engraving, on the other. The main difference, besides a more focused composition on the Declaration in painting 1

46. Augustin Dupré, *Modèle original de la médaille Libertas Americana d'après le dessin de Gibelin*, 1781-2, sculpture, 36 x 3 mm, Musée franco-américain du château de Blérancourt, 49 C 2.

47. Augustin Dupré, *Médaille «Libertas Americana»*, 1782, coin, 4,8 x 0,4 cm, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, Saint-Étienne, 2009.0.895.

48. YVONNE KORSHAK: «The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France», *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, 1-2, 1987, pp. 53-69.

49. DE BAECQUE: «The Allegorical Image of France».

50. ANNIE JOURDAN: «L'allégorie révolutionnaire, de la Liberté à la République», *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 27-1, 1995, pp. 503-532, at pp. 506-8.

51. PHILIPPE GRATEAU: *Les cahiers de doléances: Une relecture culturelle*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015, pp. 99-145.

52. Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, *Projet de groupe à exécuter au fond du Panthéon français*, 1792, engraving, 39,5 x 28 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, Paris, RESERVE QB-370 (44)-FT 4.

53. AGULHON: *Marianne au combat*.

and the engraving as well as variations in colors, is the right allegory opposite monarchial France.

SPECIFICITY OF PAINTING 2

The scene is an erect monument in the middle of a natural setting. On closer inspection, one can see that the 1789 Declaration has been cut and glued onto the canvas. The *Préambule* is above the other articles. On each side of the monument, surrounding the *Préambule*, two allegorical figures sit each on a cloud with one knee resting on the monument. Above them, in the sky and in the background, the Eye of Providence appears, out of which rays of light dissipate the clouds, while a counter light illuminates the winged allegory on the right.

In line with eighteenth-century artistic trends, this first version is clearly narrative: it visualizes how the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was created. The text of the rights is represented as a solid monument in the middle of nature. However, it is not the main element—the allegories are. The monument is represented as the product of some actions by the allegorical figures. The text is less important: a copy glued to the painting, which is an artistic innovation to use a collage in this painting.⁵⁴ One hypothesis for the collage is that, given how soon the painting appeared after the rights were declared, it may not yet have been clear that the text was definitive. The debates on the Declaration show that it was the product of compromises and not set in stone.⁵⁵ Le Barbier left the possibility of using the canvas for another text.

In any case, the narrative of the painting mostly focuses on the two allegorical figures, which are not clearly identified by any text or inscription in the painting. Because the work is a painting, the audience is considered knowledgeable and well-versed in decoding visual emblems and allegories. Considering the context will help identify them.

Dictionaries of emblems, which became popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, help identify allegories. The first one was introduced in Italy by Cesare Ripa (c.1560-c.1622) with a first edition of *Iconologia* in 1593, and a second one with illustrations in 1603 became famous. Jean Baudoin, one of the first members of the French Academy, translated Ripa in 1637. It was a success that influenced many other compilations of emblems and allegories throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵⁶

54. JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: «Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'ainé», p. 59.

55. STÉPHANE RIALS: *La déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, Paris: Hachette, 1988.

56. MARIE CHAUFOUR: «Les dictionnaires iconologiques: le modèle français xviiie-xviiiè siècles», in MARTINE GROULT (ed.): *Les Encyclopédies. Construction et circulation du savoir de l'Antiquité à*

On the left is the traditional allegory of monarchical France dressed in white and wearing a blue cape adorned with several fleur-de-lis and a golden crown symbolizing the monarchy, which fits the contemporary definition.⁵⁷ In Le Barbier's painting, France does not hold a scepter, but this was not a definite symbol. This choice is due to the presence of the opposite allegory holding a scepter, which adds visual repetition.

On the right, the allegory is not easily identifiable. It is a young woman dressed in white with a blue cloth partially covering it, thus mirroring France's outfit. On her head, she wears a diadem, and her gaze looks away, down to the ground. She holds a scepter on her right hand, and her index finger points at monarchical France. The other hand points down with her index. Two wings appear behind her back. These elements can provide clues for identifying the figure. However, whenever an element points to a particular figure, contextual standards for this figure show that another element is missing to ascertain it.

What are the wings? If it were a male figure, the wings would indicate that this is a «genius» figure—the genius of the allegory he represents. In *Iconologie par figures*, the authors describe *génie* as follows: «On le représente avec des ailes & une flamme sur la tête, parce que le propre du Génie est de s'élever & de briller...» (We represent him with wings and a flame on the head, because what is particular to the genius is to rise and shine...)⁵⁸ Le Barbier did not represent a flame above the head, but the allegory is shining—or, more rightly, is brighter than the opposite allegory—and has wings. Another famous depiction of a genius figure is of Regnault's *La liberté ou la mort*, with its central winged figure with a flame above the head.⁵⁹ However, in both cases, it is a male figure and not a female one.

Genius in Féraud's *Dictionnaire critique* is described as follows: «C'était chez les anciens ce qu'ange est parmi nous» (For the ancients it was what angel is for us).⁶⁰ However, an angel is depicted as a male figure.⁶¹ To understand better the Latin meaning of the word, according to Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary, a genius is «the superior or divine nature which is innate in everything, the spiritual part, spirit; hence, the tutelar deity or genius of a person, place, etc.»⁶² A genius also inhabits a place,

Wikipédia, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011, pp. 262-94.

57. HONORÉ LACOMBE DE PRÉZEL: *Dictionnaire iconologique ou introduction à la connoissance des peintures, sculptures, médailles, estampes, etc.* Paris: chez T. de Hansy, 1756, p. 124.

58. GRAVELOT, COCHIN, and GAUCHER: *Iconologie par figures*, vol. II, p. 61.

59. JEAN-BAPTISTE REGNAULT, *La liberté ou la mort*, 1794, oil on canvas, 60 x 49,3 cm, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, HK-510.

60. JEAN-FRANÇOIS FÉRAUD: *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française*, Marseille: Chez Jean Mossy, 1787.

61. PRÉZEL: *Dictionnaire iconologique*, 20.

62. CHARLTON LEWIS and CHARLES SHORT: *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958.

and it is striking to note here that both France and the genius figure wear a white robe covered by a blue cape. It therefore shows that this is the genius figure revealed to France that inhabited the place; an idea also supported by the vague look on the face of the allegory, looking away from any object in the painting. France is also looking straight at this allegorical genius figure or angel, appearing on a cloud.

Both angel and genius figures are usually represented as a man, even though angels do not have a gender. However, it could not be another allegory such as Glory or Victory. Therefore, it is most likely that the allegory is a genius figure and/or an angel despite having female traits. Since the scene is Biblical—reminiscent of the Old Testament’s episode when Moises brought the tables of the Ten Commandments down Mount Sinai to his people—one could also see in this scene an imitation of various previous art works on the Annunciation. The figure would then be an angel announcing natural rights to France.

The word angel comes from the Greek *aggelos* meaning «messenger». According to the Old Testament, angels are celestial beings that reveal God’s message to humanity, of which there are several examples in both the Old and New Testament.⁶³ In Early Modern art, angels were abundantly represented, even in the age of «scientific revolution», and across a range of cultures and media as variations of Victory in classical art.⁶⁴ In the painted scenes of The Annunciation, the angel Gabriel is often portrayed with a scepter (or a lily) in one hand and a diadem, crown, or holy hallow on the head. For instance, one of the 1434-1436 triptych panels by Van Eyck at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Sometimes a scroll is enrolled around the scepter that the angel is holding, such as in Paulus Mair’s *Annunciation* 1570-1571 in the basilica of St. Ulrich and Afra, Augsburg.

It shows the metaphysical origins of natural rights, which stem from natural law, the fundamental universal laws existing in nature that rule humankind, itself discovered through reason—given to humanity by God. However, this natural law giving natural rights to humankind must be recognized (or declared) by humankind and then incorporated into fundamental legal texts to be enforced by human law. Because they have metaphysical origins, natural rights are only «declared», as opposed to other non-metaphysical rights, which are stated by human beings. Therefore, this painting shows the angel revealing natural rights and the declaration in a historical and Biblical scene of God’s laws that France must now respect.

63. PETER MARSHALL and ALEXANDRA WALSHAM: «Migrations of Angels in the Early Modern World», in PETER MARSHALL and ALEXANDRA WALSHAM (eds.): *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 1-42, at p. 3.

64. *Ibid.*, at p. 2 and p. 5.

In many painted scenes of The Annunciation the angel is shown pointing up at the sky or at a message rolled around the scepter, or is showing a blessing gesture, while holding a scepter or lily with the other. Here, the angel's left index finger points to the direction of the Declaration and rests the finger on the word «constitution». The other hand holding the scepter is pointing the index toward France, looking directly at her. Therefore, the scepter of power is given to France (monarchical France) *if* the Declaration is respected and *if* the constitution is maintained. The Preamble states that all members of the social body must remember their rights and their duties and that the acts of the executive and legislative powers must respect the goals of political institutions so that the claims of citizens are orientated toward the happiness of all and the maintenance of the Constitution. Article 16 defines that a constitution only exists when there is a separation of powers and rights are guaranteed.

It is worth noting as well, that the two figures descending from the clouds sit next to the Preamble, while the actual content of the Declaration is closer to the ground. This further reinforces the transition between the metaphysical origins of these rights, and their manifestation in concrete human laws to be applied in the physical world. A granite monument, almost crowned by the Orobouros symbolizing eternity, with tables of the new commandment for humankind to be perpetually enforced in the earthly world.

This is a scene similar to the Annunciation, showing how Le Barbier re-interpreted old visual codes into a new one. Despite the Revolution being triggered against the Church, it was not necessarily against religion. The Enlightenment was a source of discussion regarding the revealed religions, and many philosophers criticized the veracity of many «miracles» and stories, as well as intolerance related to adopting one religion. Instead, they argued for commonality among all of them with one God, which could be called the Supreme Being, hence arguing in favor of deism and a natural religion. In this scene by Le Barbier about the Declaration, one could argue with Furet that it represents a laicization of the annunciation or a metaphysical person: «un monstre métaphysique qui déroule des anneaux successifs dans lesquels il étrangle la réalité historique pour en faire, *sub specie aeternitatis*, le terrain d'une fondation et d'une annonce». ⁶⁵ Other authors have also argued that we should not forget the sacral character of the revolution and the Declaration, which was understood in the popular psyche as a divine revelation, an annunciation of a new Time. ⁶⁶ Fauré has analysed painting 1 and the engraving, without contesting the winged allegory of the Law, but

65. FRANÇOIS FURET: «Le catéchisme révolutionnaire», *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 26-2, 1971, pp. 255-89, at p. 282.

66. CHRISTOPH EBERHARD: *Droits de l'homme et dialogue interculturel*, Paris: Edition Connaissances et savoirs, 2014, p. 82; SOPHIE WAHNICH: *La révolution française*, Paris: Hachette, 2012, p. 257.

also compared the scene to the Annunciation by Gabriel to Mary reading the Old Testament, preparing her to what comes in the New Testament.⁶⁷ For Fauré, this parallels with the annunciation of the *Déclaration* that accomplishes what was predicted. However, the allegory cannot be of the Law unless it creates a completely new and unique visual code in art history, as argued below.

There is, however, one last interpretation that is still metaphysical and considers the existence of a Supreme Being, but without the Christian connotations of Annunciation and divine right theory legitimizing monarchical power. Another contender for identifying this allegory is Liberty. Liberty in Baudoin's translation of Ripa is represented as a woman dressed in white, with a scepter in her right hand, a hat in her left hand, and a cat near her.⁶⁸ For Ripa, the scepter signifies the «Empire of Liberty» because it is an «absolute possession of spirit, body, and temporal commodities».⁶⁹ The hat is a reference to the Romans freeing slaves by ceremoniously putting a hat on their heads. The cat is notorious for being a creature that does whatever pleases its fancy. In another famous treatise on iconology, Liberty is described a few years after the Revolution in the same way, with the addition that it symbolizes knowledge and hence the liberal arts.⁷⁰

There is a precedent for representing France with Liberty, which further reinforces this hypothesis. One could compare it with a painting by Jean Suau (1758-1856) where France offers Liberty, represented as a woman dressed in white with a scepter in her right hand, a Phrygian hat in her left, and a cat at her feet.⁷¹ The Phrygian hat was a symbol of Liberty, and it was added to the republican vocabulary in reference to the hat worn by former slaves who were granted freedom in Ancient Rome.

The right allegory conforms with the descriptions of Liberty offered in dictionaries of iconology: she is dressed in white, holds a scepter in her right hand, and is youthful, as youth carries greater liberty. However, she does not hold a hat in her left hand, but one could consider that this hand points directly at the Phrygian hat on top of the spear. One may read this optically by following the continuation of the garland of oak leaves from the knee, under the finger, to the cap. As in many other representations, the cat has disappeared, but it is not an essential part of the allegory. By pointing this way, she is linked to «Liberty conquered by valor», which is usually represented with a spear topped by a Phrygian hat.

67. FAURÉ: *Ce que déclarer des droits veut dire*, pp. 99-110.

68. CESARE RIPA: *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images...*, J. Baudoin (trans.), Paris: chez l'auteur, 1636, p. 126.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

70. GRAVELOT, COCHIN, GAUCHER: *Iconologie par figures*, vol. III, pp. 30-1.

71. Jean Suau, *La France Offrant La Liberté à l'Amérique*, 1784, oil on canvas, 135 x 186 cm, Musée franco-américain du château de Blérancourt, MNB 93-8.

There are several other art works related to the Declaration, the Storming of the Bastille, and the constitution that represent Liberty and France together. These other artworks that show the same narrative of Liberty inspiring France to break the chains of slavery on July 14, 1789, and guiding her toward a constitution based on the Declaration add to the argument that the allegorical figure in Le Barbier's painting is indeed Liberty. Liberty was the main trope of the Declaration and the 1791 constitution. For instance, *Composition allégorique relative au 14 juillet 1789*, shows France in chains reaching towards Liberty conquered by valor.⁷² In another example, «Liberty conquered by valor» leads a ship representing the French state reaching the harbor of the constitution.⁷³

A further argument for the allegory being a genius figure of liberty is that the whole scene and the Declaration are the embodiment of the social contract theory. The frontispiece of the first octavo edition of Rousseau's *Contrat Social* shows a young woman dressed in white, wearing a helmet, holding with her left hand a spear with a hat on top, a balance in her right hand, and a cat at her feet.⁷⁴ This allegory is several allegories in one, which shows that it was possible to unite several allegories in one to create a new visual code. It is at the same time: Minerva, goddess of science and arts, representing wisdom; Liberty acquired by valor; Liberty; and Justice. The idea of the social contract is that man leaves the state of nature in which he enjoys natural rights, to enter the social state through a contract. The social contract aims to maintain and enforce natural rights, which can be deduced through reason (also called «right reason»). Rousseau's aim with the *social contract* was to solve the problem he identified in the famous first line: «Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains». The painting represents France breaking the chains at the apparition of liberty, and the declaration as the social contract to be respected in the state of society that has just transitioned from the state of nature. In the same superposition of visual codes, Le Barbier presents the genius of Liberty, Liberty acquired by valor, and an Angel in the scene of Annunciation, which is an actual miracle that people can believe in.

Moreover, a further argument for identifying the allegory as Liberty is that she is not pointing with the scepter toward the all-seeing Eye. This shows that the scepter is hers as part of an identifiable element, and this is therefore the scepter of power representing the «empire of liberty» over oneself. However, she is a «genius» figure, and her right index finger, instead

72. Antoine Borel, *Composition allégorique relative au 14 juillet 1789*, 1794 (1789?), drawing, 26,7 x 40 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, D.5675.

73. Nicolas-André Monsiau (drawing) and Perdriau (engraving), *La Liberté triomphante fesant [sic] amarrer le vaisseau de l'Etat au port de la Constitution*, 1791, engraving (estampe), 62 x 18,4 cm, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, 2009.9.

74. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU: *Du contrat social, Ou Principes du droit politique*, Amsterdam: chez Marc-Michel Rey, 1762.

of resting on the handle of the scepter, is pointing towards the allegory of monarchical France. This gives a further impression that the allegory is not separate of France (together with the fact that they wear the same white and blue clothes) and that the scepter, which represents power over self in liberty, is also pointing at monarchical France normally holding this scepter. There is a narrative here that the genius inhabiting France revealed itself and liberty was restored by declaring the rights of man and the citizen, symbolized by the act of breaking chains. It also shows that the government of monarchical France is a sovereign power if it respects the natural right of liberty.



Fig. 6: Anonymous, *Déclarations des droits de l'Homme*, around 1795, engraving, 58,3 x 42,2 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, G.29792

Another anonymous engraving of the Declaration of 1795 (issued on 25 vendémiaire year IV) represents a naked woman with wings and a flame above her head, holding a spear topped by a Phrygian hat in her right hand, a book under her left arm, and a rooster at her feet (Fig. 6).⁷⁵ She stands on top of a column representing the storming of the Bastille, and the explanation below describes it as the French genius of liberty. It is a female representation despite being a genius (as symbolized by the wings and the flame instead of a diadem) and it is Liberty conquered by valor, while the rooster symbolizes France. On the other side, Hercules stands on top of the column symbolizing August 10, 1792, the attack on the Tuileries palace where the king resided, which sealed the fate of monarchy for a republic.

The Eye of Providence and the two allegories are disposed in such a way that they form a triangle above the quadratic monument in the painting's composition. An imposing triangle on top of a smaller monument. One could easily interpret this as a trinity, another recycling of Christian visual codes: France, the genius of Liberty/angel announcing rights, and the Eye of Providence as the source of power. They are all the same, or part of the same harmonious sphere. Monarchical France looks at the genius of Liberty illuminated and revealed by the Eye of Providence, which dissipates the clouds of ignorance and breaks her chains. In the middle of nature, a monument stands, with two tables that look like Moses' Ten Commandments. The natural law designed by God is revealed through Liberty/angel. These natural rights are now a foundational stone symbolizing human-made legislation according to nature and the moral law that God intended.

Thus, the painting has the following narrative merging the Christian and neo-classical visual codes. The light of reason emanates from the Supreme Being represented by the Eye of Providence and dissipates the clouds of ignorance. The genius of Liberty, akin to an angel, illuminated by divine light, announces herself to monarchical France. Holding the scepter of power symbolizing the power over the self, she points to France, thereby inspiring her to break the chains of slavery. Together, they embrace the *Préambule* of the *Déclaration*, under which the various rights that ensue from natural liberty are written in stone as the new fundamental commandments for France in a new constitutional monarchy. The whole scene being set in a natural setting reinforces the idea of natural rights (natural law is represented as a woman in a garden).⁷⁶ These rights, however natural, must be enforced by magistrates, which is why the fasces seem almost to hold the two tables together. In ancient Rome, the lictors carried the fasces before a magistrate. The kingdom

75. Anonymous, *Déclarations des droits de l'Homme*, around 1795, engraving, 58,3 x 42,2 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, G.29792.

76. CESARE RIPA: *Della novissima iconologia... Ampliata*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1618, pp. 607-8.

of France recognizes from now on the natural rights of man and the citizen: everyone is free and equal by birth, and a political association must maintain these rights. The Supreme Being is the source of sovereignty, which legitimizes both legislative and executive power by divine right.

At the time, Louis XVI was celebrated as «père de la nation» (father of the nation) and «restaurateur de la liberté» (restorer of liberty). One may notice the absence of any representation of the king. Another allegorical representation of the Declaration by Regnault includes France's allegory in white and blue holding a bust of Louis XVI.⁷⁷ Under the bust is written «Louis XVI Roi d'un peuple libre» (Louis XVI King of a free people). Le Barbier chose not to represent the king, which both highlights both the philosophical nature of the representation and an artistic tendency of the time. Indeed, the reign of Louis XVI saw a steady decline in the traditional representation of the king.⁷⁸

SPECIFICITY IN THE ENGRAVING

Considering that the engraving was likely made before painting 1, it makes sense to consider it first. Louis Laurent realized the engraving, which is similar in every way to painting 1, except for the lack of colors and slightly different facial details.

The significant feature of this version is the reduced spatial setting, leaving only visible the sky and some clouds. The monument fits tightly within the frame. The text of the Declaration forms the central part, and two small allegories sit on its top, this time without emerging from the clouds. This equality proposes a different reading, more in line with the subsequent artistic policy of the Revolution and its search for visual representations of the new concepts.⁷⁹ The engraving (and painting 1) is a symbolic explanation of the Declaration, and no longer an allegorical story of its creation. Bordes distinguished between narrative allegory (a story transposed in a spatial and temporal frame) and emblematic allegory (personification of abstract ideas).⁸⁰

The explanatory notice added at the bottom further confirms the emblematic function of the visual work and transforms its meaning. It states

77. Jean-Baptiste Regnault, *Allégorie Relative à La Déclaration Des Droits de l'homme*, 1790, oil on canvas, 55,4 x 92 cm, Musée Lambinet, Versailles, 743.

78. JOURDAN: *Les monuments de la Révolution*.

79. EDOUARD POMMIER: *L'Art de la liberté. Doctrines et débats de la Révolution française*, Paris: Gallimard, 1991.

80. PHILIPPE BORDES: «Le Recours à l'allégorie dans l'art de la Révolution française», in MICHEL VOVELLE (ed.): *Les images de la Révolution française*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1988, pp. 243-9.

that the left figure is France, but it claims that the right one is Law, pointing with its finger at the Declaration and showing with the scepter the «supreme eye of reason». By pointing the scepter toward the Eye of Providence, the allegory designates the origin of sovereign and legitimate power. Because the allegory is now a more separate figure and because the scepter points toward the Eye of Providence while the finger points at the *Declaration*, we have a very different reading. Within the tradition of natural law, this can be read as the Declaration being the product of «right reason» in discovering the laws of nature, and particularly the natural rights attached to humankind. In natural law theory, man, possessing reason, should be able to understand and discover the moral and political laws of nature. Because these laws are not of human making, they are only «declared».⁸¹

The scepter represents sovereign power, which is considered as single and indivisible.⁸² Sovereignty is the «soul» of a «republic» for Bodin, there is no longer a temporal individual power of a sovereign prince but a perpetual collective sovereign power as a cohesive force of a republic of citizens. Rousseau later used the same indivisible and eternal understanding of sovereignty in *Du contrat social*.⁸³ Article 3 of the *Déclaration* states that «The source of all sovereignty lies essentially in the Nation». The question then is who represents the sovereign nation: the king, or the national assembly? For the time being, both, but the identity of the holder of the scepter of power now matters more since the engraving states it is an allegory of Law.

The *Dictionnaire iconologique* describes Law as «... une femme majestueuse, le front ceint d'un diadème, tenant d'une main un joug enlissé de fleurs, & de l'autre une corne d'abondance» (... a majestic woman, her forehead encircled with a diadem, holding a yoke of flowers in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other).⁸⁴ This does not fit the image, but, for Prével, Law is: «... une femme majestueuse assise sur un Tribunal avec un diadème sur la tête, un sceptre en main & un livre ouvert à ses pieds, sur lequel on voit écrite cette Sentence, *in legibus salus*» (a majestic woman seated on a Tribunal with a diadem on her head, a scepter in hand & an open book at her feet, on which we see written this Sentence, *in legibus salus* or welfare in the laws).⁸⁵ The scepter is present, but the other elements are missing.

81. For more on natural rights and natural law theory see: RICHARD TUCK: *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; T. J. HOCHSTRASSER: *Natural Law Theories in the Early Enlightenment*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000; KNUD HAAKONSSON and MICHAEL SEIDLER: «Natural Law: Law, Rights and Duties», in Richard Whatmore and Brian Young (eds.): *A Companion to Intellectual History*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016, pp. 377-401.

82. JEAN BODIN: *Les six livres de la république*, Paris: chez Jacques du Puys, 1576.

83. ROUSSEAU: *Du contrat social*, book 2.

84. GRAVELOT, COCHIN, and GAUCHER: *Iconologie par figures*, vol. III, p. 39.

85. PRÉVEL: *Dictionnaire iconologique*, p. 170.

If this allegory is «law», as suggested, it has enormous philosophical and political consequences. Who embodied the abstract concept of «law» at the time? The representatives of the national assembly are elected by the nation. In this reading, then, the national assembly holds the scepter of power, legitimated by the Eye of Providence. Because men are born free and equal (art. 1), none can have power over another, and they must decide the laws that apply to them. The Law looks at the representatives and at any citizen of this *res publica* (commonwealth) admiring the engraving or painting 1: «I am you», she seems to say with her gaze, «and I hold my earthly power from the Supreme Being and natural law».

This gaze makes it the second-most central figure in the composition. It is an extra-diegetic gaze that involves the viewer much more in the picture than the all-seeing eye because of the anthropomorphic representation of the allegory. Her scepter is directly pointing at the all-seeing eye, while her left index finger points not at the Phrygian cap, but at the *Déclaration*. The original triangle (Supreme Being-France-Liberty) is made smaller and flatter into a bigger triangle, which is created between the Supreme Being, this allegorical figure of Law, and the *Déclaration*. These changes modified the geometry of the composition, which is reinforced by France being slightly darker than Law, a little more behind the title stone than Law, who is in front of it and looking up at the Supreme Being. It is much clearer here that the important figure is the right allegory.

The national assembly is thus given more importance, especially when the whole work is dedicated to the representatives of the French people. This reading is further strengthened by reference to Locke's conception of separation of powers between the executive and the legislative powers, embodied, respectively, by the king and parliament. Legislative power was superior, for Locke, whose *Two Treatises on Government* was translated into French as *Du gouvernement civil*.⁸⁶ Law gets its legitimacy from God through natural law. As a result, legislative power is superior and opposed to the king's executive power on the other side.

It is difficult to know if this explanatory text is indeed what Le Barbier intended or if it is an added explanation later to please the National Assembly, to whom the text was offered. The explanatory notice further describes other symbols and ends with «Dien scripsit». Dien was Louis-François Dien, an engraver. Jacq-Hergoualc'h attributes the text to his son, Claude Marie François Dien (1787-1865), also an engraver, and therefore concludes that the text was added much later to the engraving.⁸⁷ This, however, is not persuasive: Louis-

86. S.-J. SAVONIUS: «Locke in French: The *Du Gouvernement Civil* of 1691 and Its Readers», *The Historical Journal*, 47-1, 2004, pp. 47-79.

87. JACQ-HERGOUALC'H: *Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'aîné*, vol. 1, p. 242.

François Dien produced several engravings during the revolutionary years, and there is little reason to assume that they would be his son's.

Dien's interpretation puts all the symbols in the same bag. Spear, fasces, hat, snake, and oak garland, together mean the union of the departments and the kingdom, Liberty, civic virtue, prudence, and wisdom of the government. The fasces are a symbol of union, and the spear with the hat is the symbol of Liberty. Civic virtue can be inferred from these Roman republican references. However, it remains unclear why and how the oak garland and the Orobouros refer to prudence and wisdom in the government. The *Dictionnaire iconologique* mentions the snake around a mirror as a symbol of prudence because it is the most prudent animal.⁸⁸ The mirror, which is missing, serves to reflect on one's defects. The dictionary represents Wisdom as Minerva, who is missing from the painting, although the spear is reminiscent of it.⁸⁹ However, such references do appear in other engravings representing the Declaration, such as Blanchard's (Fig. 5).⁹⁰

Dien engraved texts in several other revolutionary documents and some maps. In one document, a 1790 certificate for those who fought during the storming of the Bastille, two columns on each side of the text hold each an allegory.⁹¹ On the left is Hercules, and on the right is a male genius figure of Liberty with wings and a flame above the head, holding a spear with a hat. Hercules symbolizes in this picture «union». On top of the picture, one can read «le roi et la loi» (the king and the law). Before the second Revolution of 1792, this Lockean duality between executive and legislative power still prevailed.

It is both puzzling and very telling that the text identifies the left allegory as «France» without mention of monarchy (despite the crown on her head and the fleur-de-lis cape), and the right one as «Law». The reason for assigning the allegory as Law might be that the events accelerated between painting 2, immediately after August 1789, and the engraving of November 5, 1790. On September 22, 1789, the National Assembly decreed that while France was still a monarchy, no one was above the law, not even the king, who could only demand obedience from his subjects in terms of the law. On July 14, 1790, for the first celebration of the federation, the king had to swear an oath of fealty to the nation and the law. In this context, Dien made the certificates with «the king and the law». In an engraving representing the oath,

88. PRÉZEL: *Dictionnaire iconologique*, p. 129.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-4.

90. Desray (inventeur), Blanchard (graveur), and Basset (éditeur), *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, around 1793, engraving, 38,8 x 26,4 cm, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, 1986.314.

91. Nicolas (drawing), Delettre (engraving), Dien (text and text engraving). *Décret en faveur des citoyens qui se sont distingués à la prise de la Bastille*, ca. 1790, engraving, eau-forte, burin, 29 x 32,5 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, Paris, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (122).

the king does not even appear, but is simply represented as a fleur-de-lys surrounded by the text of his oath, while allegories of Minerva (for sciences), Mercury (for trade), and Apollo (for the arts) are also shown swearing an oath.⁹² Above, fame holds a banner with «vive la nation, vive la loi», while another angel holds one with «vive le roi», thus making a separation of two groups in a paradoxical vision of federation.

SPECIFICITY IN PAINTING 1

The colors add more narrative to an otherwise emblematic allegory. A temporal and spatial element is recognizable in the fact that the allegory of France is now dressed in red with the blue cape, which represents Paris's colors. One reads here the story of Parisian events in the past months in acquiring Liberty by storming the Bastille, the Fête de la Fédération, and the women who brought the king from Versailles to the Tuileries in Paris. One may interject that France had been represented in red in the past (Suau's painting, for instance), but the portrayal of France in red and blue is still a sharp contrast from the version in painting 2, where France is represented in white and blue. These colors are more representative of absolutist France, as seen in the *Galerie des glaces* in Versailles (*Renouvellement d'alliance avec les Suisses*, 1663; *La Prééminence de la France reconnue par l'Espagne*, 1662). In painting 2, there might be an allusion to the events of Paris because she wears a red headband in her hair, together with the monarchical crown, but painting 1 makes it visually clear by dressing her in red. France is still monarchical, but the empowered people have broken the chains.

Another change in color concerns the allegory facing France, which is identified in the engraving as Law and not Liberty. She is no longer dressed in white with a blue drape around her right arm but wears a pink drape that now covers her entirely. It sets her apart from traditional representations of liberty in white. The description of the musées de Paris identifies the allegory as «Le génie de la nation» opposed to «La monarchie».⁹³ The interpretation of the right allegory as the «genius of the nation» is a post-revolutionary reading. However, it is already a contemporary association to put the nation and the law together.

In this version, the right allegory identified as Law by the engraving is distinct from France by wearing different colors. She also has slightly more

92. Anonymous, *Serment fédératif et national prononcé au Champ de Mars, le 14 juillet 1790*, 1790, engraving, 39,5 x 39,5 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, Paris, RESERVE QB-370 (22)- FT 4.

93. <https://www.parismuseescollections.paris.fr/fr/musee-carnavalet/oeuvres/declaration-des-droits-de-l-homme-et-du-citoyen-4>. Last checked 9 January 2024.

mature facial traits, thus making her closer to representations of Law according to iconography and further away from youthful Liberty. France looks up to the Eye of Providence, while Law looks directly at the spectator, holding the scepter of power pointed at the Eye of Providence, and pointing her left index finger toward the Declaration. The law is the sovereign power in France, provided that the fundamental rights of the Declaration are maintained and fulfilled. The whole message is dedicated «to the representatives of the French people», clearly the elected members of the National Assembly and any other elected position of authority, but perhaps also the king now only representing the French rather than ruling his subjects, who «accepts» the Declaration and is expected to accept the general will of the people through its representatives in the National Assembly.

LEGACY IN SUBSEQUENT ENGRAVINGS

Jean-Baptiste Letourmi (about 1755-1800) published another contemporary engraving in Orleans (Fig. 4) based on Le Barbier's painting 1 or the engraving. Letourmi was a publisher of popular prints and books of religious nature during 1774-1789 and political subjects after 1789.⁹⁴ Garnier notes that printers in large centers such as Orleans often copied originals from Paris and that religious images were often found in homes. Such revolutionary engravings were also meant to decorate the homes of the citizens, and the use of religious visual codes was a way to spread the message.

The allegories are switched from right to left, but the general design is the same.⁹⁵ However, above the allegories are mentioned «La France», and «Force et vertu» (strength and virtue). Two soldiers have also been added on each side of the Declaration. Why is the second allegory designated as «strength and virtue»? This shows that the iconological vocabulary of the Revolution was as confused and evolving as the political vocabulary it represented. The *Dictionnaire iconologique* describes «force» as «... une femme armée en Amazone, qui d'une main embrasse une colonne, & de l'autre tient un rameau de chêne» (... a woman armed as an Amazon, who with one hand embraces a column, and with the other holds an oak branch); the oak is «le symbole de la force» (the symbol of strength).⁹⁶ Virtue is a dignified woman holding a laurel crown and sometimes with wings.⁹⁷

94. NICOLE GARNIER: *L'imagerie populaire française*, 2 vols., Paris: Edition des musées de France, 1990, vol. 1, p. 66.

95. JEAN-BAPTISTE LETOURMI: *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, 1790, engraving (estampe), 37,8 x 29,2 cm, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, 1991.53.

96. PRÉZEL: *Dictionnaire iconologique*, p. 122, p. 56.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.

What is interesting in this version is that it is far more republican since France is not mentioned as monarchical (despite the crown), and there is no mention of the *Declaration* being accepted by the king (as it was in Le Barbier's versions). Virtue is also a classical republican value that must be supplied by strength. As Montesquieu stated about the nature of a republican government: «Lorsque cette vertu cesse, l'ambition entre dans les cœurs qui peuvent la recevoir, et l'avarice entre dans tous. La république est une dépouille; et sa force n'est plus que le pouvoir de quelques citoyens et la licence de tous» (*Esprit des Lois*, III, 3).

Another engraving of the *Declaration* combined all possible allegories and symbols into a dense and overcrowded design (Fig. 5).⁹⁸ It looks like a summary of all possible interpretations and political concepts of the Revolution packed into one drawing: France as Minerva, a topless woman holding a mirror intensifying the rays of lights coming from the Eye of Providence, allegory of time burned by the light, compass, hat on spear, fasces, spears in fasces, Hercules' club, an ax, a shovel, pillars, Marat, Le Peletier, etc. The woman holding the compass may be «Natural Law», alone or together with the woman holding the mirror. Ripa excluded the law as an allegory in his first edition of *Iconologia*.⁹⁹ He included natural law in the 1618 Italian edition (not in the French translation): a half-naked woman in a garden holding a compass over the Latin motto '*æqua lance*' (wield in fairness).¹⁰⁰

The Revolution was also a program of re-education of the people or «regeneration».¹⁰¹ Classical humanist iconology, which the elite knew very well, was unknown to the uneducated majority of the «tiers-état». In the early days after the storming of the Bastille, the rhetoric of the Revolution was still in formation, both textually and visually. Liberty and the Republic became almost undistinguishable, even merging into a new image of France after the second Revolution of 1792.¹⁰² Both were used as images and as living images acted by women during celebrations.¹⁰³ Marianne became the symbol of the Republic afterward.

The subsequent engravings of the *Declaration* consist of multiple allegories representing changing concepts at a time when the image of the Revolution is also constantly changing. Liberty soon personified the Republic after the Second Revolution of 1792. The Republic is based on law, made by the representatives of the citizens forming a new sovereign entity called a nation. The two allegories in Le Barbier's paintings were not yet two representations

98. DESRAY, BLANCHARD, BASSET: *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*.

99. CESARE RIPA: *Iconologia ovvero descrizione dell'imagini universali cavate dall'antichità et da altri luoghi*, Roma: Per gli Heredi di Gio. Gigliotti, 1593.

100. RIPA: *Della novissima iconologia*, pp. 607-8.

101. MONA OZOUF: *L'Homme régénéré. Essais sur la Révolution française*, Paris: Gallimard, 1989.

102. AGULHON: *Marianne au combat*, pp. 25-42.

103. MONA OZOUF: *La fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, Paris: NRF Gallimard, 1976.

of France, but they became so afterward. The Revolutionaries replaced the traditional allegory of monarchical France after 1792, and the allegories of Liberty, Minerva, a manly Hercules, and Law were alternatively used as allegories of the Republic until it settled on Marianne wearing a Phrygian hat as a symbol of the liberty cap.

CONCLUSION

This article follows previous studies that dated the engraving as published on November 5, 1790, and painting 1 by Le Barbier after that in 1790 or early 1791. Furthermore, the article hypothesizes that painting 2 was made before the engraving, probably in the months that followed the Declaration of August 1789, and contends that the differences between painting 2 and painting 1/engraving lead to conflicting interpretations that reflect the power struggle between absolutists and parliamentarians, as well as a different situation in late 1790-early 1791 compared to 1789. These three works reflect their contemporary social and political conflicts; in this case, the conflict between the king and a monarchical regime, and the National Assembly and a parliamentary regime. The new concept of national sovereignty is the source that legitimates all political power, but who is more legitimate? Executive power represented by the king (a more monarchist model) or the legislative power of the parliament (a more republican model)? Discussions were influenced by England's example of the 1688-89 glorious revolution, although the argument to use it as a model or cautionary tale depended on whether it came from monarchists or republicans.¹⁰⁴

The allegories in the two paintings are not entirely similar, and the differences between them invite different interpretations of the paintings, and hence of the interpretation of the Declaration. Painting 2 is a narrative of natural rights enshrined in the Declaration given by God, which was announced to monarchical France, inspired by an angel-like genius of liberty to break her chains. Painting 1 explains that the Declaration is the supreme law, natural law given by God, through the sovereign power of the genius figure of Law offering them to the people, while monarchical France breaks the chains of unfreedom as a result. This is an important story because the different interpretations lead to different understandings of the legitimacy and origins of sovereign power in France. These two representations of the allegories in the Declaration and their explanatory notice in the engraving show the fluctuation of the political and philosophical vocabulary of the time. They

104. ANN THOMSON: «La référence à l'Angleterre dans le débat autour de la république», in MICHEL VOVELLE (ed.): *Révolution et république : L'exception française*, Paris: Kimé, 1994, pp. 133-44.

demonstrate the uncertainty related to a new regime—at this stage, a constitutional monarchy. Ultimately, it is an early representation of the visual and conceptual transition from monarchical France to republican France via the fighting of sovereign powers between «la Nation, la Loi, le Roi».

It is not known why Le Barbier changed his original composition, nor if it was meant to reflect political positions. This analysis contributes to uncovering the semantic and semiotic representations of a new political and legal order in the early years of the revolution. The representation of France became less associated with monarchism, as the engraving demonstrates, and more with republicanism through liberty and law. Secondary representations such as Liberty, Law, Minerva, Justice, Truth, and other attributes of republicanism eventually merged to create Marianne, the allegory of republican France.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article was made possible thanks to several fundings. It first originated as a paper presented as part of the panel «The contribution of images to the Enlightenment» organized and funded by the Interdisciplinary Centre for Research on the Enlightenment (IZEA), Martin Luther University

of Halle-Wittenberg, at the 15th Congress of the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ISECS) in Edinburgh, 14-19 July 2019. I wish here to thank Daniel Fulda and Elisabeth Décultot for organizing the panel. At the time, I held a funded research fellowship at the Danish Academy in Rome, which allowed me to explore the resources of the Biblioteca Hertziana in art history. I further worked on the article during my postdoctoral stay at the Centre for Privacy Studies (PRIVACY), University of Copenhagen, funded by the Danish National Research Foundation grant DNRF138. I finished the article thanks to the EU-funded María Zambrano postdoctoral grant for the attraction of international talents in Spain, at the King Juan Carlos University's research cluster CINTER (Courts, Images, Nobility, TERRITORY).

I wish to thank two anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback and immensely helpful suggestions after a previous submission to the journal *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. I also wish to thank Oskar Rojewski, for his astute suggestions and editorial help in finalizing the article. My thanks extend to the three anonymous peer-reviewers who commented on the draft submitted to this journal. Finally, I wish to thank Mette Birkedal Bruun, Lee Palmer Wandel, and Christine Jeanneret for their discussions and comments on previous manuscript versions of the article.