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Building Her Own Brand: Angelica Kauffman and Angelic Entrepreneurship

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis focuses on Angelica Kauffman's efforts to create an artistic brand during her time in Great Britain. While a creative entrepreneur is a contemporary idea, Kauffman made conscious decisions regarding her art and its use on various mediums. Her feminine figures and stylization became a popular aesthetic in Georgian England on paintings, prints, and other decorative schemes. Her decisions to implement the latest technologies as well as develop relationships with British engravers allowed her to take advantage of a growing art market and culture in Britain and create her own brand.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. James Hutson, as well as the other members of my committee, Dr. Sarah Cantor and Dr. Alexis Culotta, for all their help in writing this thesis. Thank you for patiently listening to my questions and supporting me through this process. I would also like to thank Dr. Linda Hayner of the History Department at Bob Jones University who inspired me to go on in my education. My sincerest gratitude to my parents, my family, and my friends who have been a consistent support system. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Philip, who has always encouraged me through the good and bad. This thesis would not have been completed without him.

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Introduction

Until the eighteenth century, Britain had not been considered a cultural center. Paris, Rome, Amsterdam, and many other cities dominated as the social and cultural cities of Europe. It was in the late seventeenth-century that London emerged as a financial capital of the world.[1] The middle class began to grow with England's commercial power and a new consumer base desired to surround themselves in luxury. With the ascension of the middle-class, artists began to appeal to this new consumer base and consider other avenues of income. The print market flourished under this new market and art began to sell to a mass market. While there were many artists who took advantage of this growing British market, few achieved the success of Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807). Kauffman had already made a name for herself in Europe, but in Britain, she became a household name with her own brand.

The commercial background of England is important to understanding the foundation for Kauffman's success. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Britain flourished in terms of commerce and industry. By the mid eighteenth-century, it had become a leading commercial nation and its business developments generated the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. These new technologies and increased capital growth influenced every part of daily British life.[2] One of the biggest effects from Britain's commercial growth was the rise of the middle class. This social class shift gave the middle-class unprecedented wealth and privilege. The term 'middle-class' is a broad term for the eighteenth-century British and does not describe any specific group of people. It overlaps from various economic, professional, and educational

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[1] Nathan Sussman and Yishay Yafeh, "Institutional Reforms, Financial Development and Sovereign Debt: Britain 1690-1790," *The Journal of Economic History* 66, no. 4. (2006), 910.

[2] George Reisman, *Capitalism: A Complete Understanding of the Nature and Value of Human Economic life.* (Jameson Books, 1998), 127.

backgrounds. Kamilla Elliott describes the middle class to include "newly created gentry through educated professionals, entrepreneurs, and industrialists to shopkeepers and tradesmen and those teetering on the brink of the laboring classes."[3] What ties them together as the 'middle-class' is the desire to achieve comfort and a sense of status in an enlightened society.

The art market was also affected by Britain's financial growth. Before the eighteenth-century, continental European painters had dominated the court painting and portraiture in Britain. The native artistic community in Britain were stifled by lack of commissions and patronage, which were usually awarded to visiting artists such as Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543), Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Antony van Dyck (1599-1641). These artists led the British art scene and passed on their techniques to local pupils though few achieved the success of their masters.[4] Art historians consider eighteenth century British art to be the first step from a provincial, offshoot of European art to an innovative, distinctive school of art that had not been seen since the medieval Gothic period.[5] London became the portrait capital of the world and by the middle of the century, Horace Walpole estimated there were around two thousand portrait painters in London.[6] Artists were drawn to this urban market across Europe for the close proximity to exhibition spaces, engravers, and the patronage of the growing social classes.

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[3] Kamilla Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction: The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764-1835,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 4.

[4] Ernest Chesneau, *English Painting,* (New York: Parkstone Press International, 2013), 8.

[5] Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction: The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764-1835,* 79.

[6] It should be noted there were a great number of painters and artists who created works besides portraits. However, Walpole's estimate might be exaggerated. Caroline Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs,* London: Unicorn Publishing Group LLP, 2017), 76.

Another major factor in this growth was the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution influenced every part of daily British life including the art market.[7] Art became more accessible to a broader spectrum of social classes because of the new mass production technology. This accessibility stemmed from one major reason: the middle-class used art as a symbol of status. While the new bourgeois had mixed feelings about the English aristocracy, they took great leaps to achieve the aristocracy's style and status.[8] One way they did this was commissioning portraits, collecting art and other fashionable pieces in order to display their newfound wealth. Art therefore became more of a commodity and artists began to adapt with it. The rise of the middle-class encouraged European artists to consider other avenues of income and pursue a new market rather than relying wholly on traditional, commissioned work. They began to think like capitalist entrepreneurs and less like traditional artists.[9] A renewed interest in art, plus a desire for the appearance of wealth, resulted in a productive print market. In the 1760s, engraver-publishers were replaced by large publishing firms, which were able to reproduce more and meet more demands.[10] With these new approaches, engraving became a profitable business, no English town was without a print shop, and many could afford prints of their favorite artwork.[11] When Kauffman arrived in London on June 22, 1766, she had come to pursue her ambition as a history and portrait painter, but she also took advantage of this commercial opportunity and created a distinct brand.

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[7] George Reisman, *Capitalism: A Complete Understanding of the Nature and Value of Human Economic life.* (Jameson Books, 1998), 127.

[8] William Vaughn, *British Painting: The Golden Age (World of Art),* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 12.

[9] Vaughn, *British Painting: The Golden Age,* 12.

[10] Wendy Wassyng Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London: Reakiton Books, 1993), 142.

[11] Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs,* 124.

A Swiss-German artist, Kauffman had established herself as a leading artist before she came to British shores. Her father trained her, gave her a classical art education, and encouraged her to study the Old Masters in Italy.[12] She created Old Master copies and studied sculptures from antiquity in order to correctly portray human anatomy. After meeting other British artists and those on their Grand Tour in Italy, she was encouraged to try her hand in England. England welcomed her with open arms as another foreign artist continuing the tradition of British art.[13] During her fifteen years there, she asserted herself as a successful history and portrait painter. Unlike many of her fellow female artists, Kauffman's achievements were celebrated during her life. She was favorably written about in private letters and even in public newspapers. One *London Chronicle* dated 30 April – 2 May 1778 commented, "MISS KAUFFMAN still maintains her character as one of the first history-painters of the age; so strong is the turn of her genius to this sublime branch of the art [history painting], that while most of the male pencils in the kingdom are employed on portraits, landscapes, &c. she gives us, every succeeding year, fresh proofs of the vigor of her mind by producing something excellent in a historical way."[14] She painted for the royalty and upper-class and helped further the Neoclassical movement. Kauffman was also one of the thirty-six founding members of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1768.[15] In the eighteenth century, few women were artists, and even fewer were successful ones.

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[12] Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs,* 94.

[13] Angela Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 96-97.

[14] *London Chronicle 43,* (30 April -2 May 1778), 421.

[15] The Royal Academy of Arts began as a gathering of artists, called the Incorporated Society of Artists, hosting an annual exhibition in a lent room by the Society of Arts. They obtained a charter in 1765 and the King's support to fund the Royal Academy in December 1768. The Royal Academy was set up after the style of the French Academy with forty members and was set up to foster a national school of art. Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses on Art* (Waiheke Island: The Floating Press, 2008), Introduction.

Kauffman's ambition, productivity, and her role in the English school of painting allowed her to stand out. Also, her boldness to adapt to new mass-production techniques of the pre-Industrial Revolution helped her work reach more people. While her stay was not very long, Kauffman impacted British art, the print market, and Georgian interior decoration.

Though given appropriate attention as a female painter in the eighteenth-century, there has been a lack of scholarship on Kauffman's efforts beyond her history paintings or portraits. Many of her popular paintings were replicated as prints, or as motifs for furniture, ceramicware, fans, and many other decorative pieces. Any attention given to these works have been mere footnotes or ignored. Kauffman was not an entrepreneur in title, but her distinct work became its own brand. When Kauffman arrived in London, she came for the opportunities the capital held, both artistic and commercial.[16] London's engravers and print sellers presented Kauffman with a way to promote her artwork and extend her reputation through a recognizable brand. She cultivated working relationships and collaborated with many engravers of the day in order to extend her artistic reach. This brand, which would be used by later artists, but be of benefit for Kauffman was a cultivated series of subjects in feminine modes. Despite veiled promotion and extensive copying, this thesis seeks to prove how Kauffman took advantage of a growing art market and culture to create a distinct brand, which decorated Georgian England.

The term "brand" or "branding" is not strictly a modern concept. As London grew into a commercial center in the eighteenth century, artists and creatives began to take on the roles of entrepreneurs. Art was being treated as a commodity such that artists began to adapt with the changing taste and technology. For example, eighteenth-century potter and entrepreneur Josiah

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[16] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon*, 6609.

Wedgwood (1730-1795) was one who created many fine ceramic pieces through new mass-production technology that allowed his work to be more available. He was one of the first to develop a Georgian brand. According to *The Genius of Josiah Wedgwood* 2013 documentary, historians mention Wedgwood faced an immediate setback with branding because his signature was on the bottom of his pots. However, he was committed to his distinct glazing. He developed the idea of brand extension, which finds a core belief or material, and then figuring out new ways to present it.[17] Wedgwood reached a new height of achievement when he won a royal pottery competition in creating a tea set for Queen Charlotte. When he won the competition, he received permission to call the style "Queen's Ware," which was the ultimate celebrity endorsement of the eighteenth century.[18] With his ceramic works linked to royalty and the aura of the handmade touch, Wedgwood's pottery became a popular brand for the Georgian middle-class.[19] Though many things have changed, this foundational business approach has not. Wedgwood created an adaptable, yet, distinct brand that responded to cultivated taste. For a brand to succeed, it needed to be similar to Wedgwood – distinct, marketable, and profitable. Kauffman's brand, though sometimes used without her permission, became one of the most popular fashions in Georgian England.

Literature Review

Art historians have long considered Kauffman important, not only for her role in the British canon of art, but also her role as a female artist. Few women were recognized for their artistic achievements, especially during their own lifetime. However, Kauffman managed to

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[17] *The Genius of Josiah Wedgwood*, directed by Ian Denyer (2013, UK: BBC TWO), 17:15.

[18] *The Genius of Josiah Wedgwood*, 24:30.

[19] Angelica Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon* (Random House UK, 2005), 3218.

achieve international acclaim and create a brand that helped define an entire era of British art. In this section, a brief overview of the scholarship on Kauffman proves there has been overwhelming focus on her biography, her paintings, and her place as a female artist. There are few sources exploring Kauffman's role as an entrepreneur, the reach of her print works, or her creation of a brand.

Kauffman is most famous for her Neoclassical history paintings. Before she came to London, Kauffman had received training and inspiration from many influential figures in Europe. Her father, also an artist, recognized her abilities at a young age and encouraged her artistic pursuits. They traveled through Milan, Venice, Bologna, Parma, Florence, Rome, and Naples in order for her to develop her skills.[20] One of her influences was noted German literary scholar and art historian, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768). In Rome, she learned perspective from Italian artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) and she absorbed the Neoclassical trends by artists like Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787) and Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779).[21] When she left Rome and came to London, she found the history genre was not as supported by artists or collectors as it was in continental Europe.

Her contemporary, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), lectured on the significance of the history genre in his *Seven Discourses on Art* (1769-1776), but British artists were not interested in pursuing the tenents behind this new Grand Manner.[22] She was one of only six artists designated as "history" painters when the Royal Academy was founded. In her book *Eighteenth-*

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[20] Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "Ancient Matrons and Modern Patrons: Angelica Kauffman as a Classical History Painter," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* ed. Melissa Lee Hyde and Jennifer Dawn Milam (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 189.

[21] Peter Walch, "An Early Neoclassical Sketchbook by Angelica Kauffman," *The Burlington Magazine* 199, no. 887 (Burlington Magazine, February 1977), 105.

[22] Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses on Art* (Waiheke Island: The Floating Press, 2008).

Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations, & Triumphs (2017), Caroline Chapman notes that few men, let alone women, attempted the history genre in Britain, which made Kauffman's focus a rare accomplishment for a woman and a foreigner.[23] Her history paintings included ancient literature, history, and mythological themes with a particular emphasis on domestic themes. However, Kauffman's paintings have been met with mixed reviews. In the London Chronicle, the author reviewed the fifth exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1773 which included Kauffman's painting *Telemachus at the Court of Sparta*. The review says: "(she did) show a considerable talent for history painting; Mrs. Kauffman is happy in her taste of drawing the human figure; in this she seems to be no way inferior to the best of our painters; it would still do her greater if she could get rid of a certain greyness of colouring, which gives a general coldness in her pictures."[24] This was an unusual commentary, since most British critics agreed on the charm of her coloring and composition. However, there has always been resounding criticism of her faulty draughtsmanship and over-emotional characters.[25] Her immediate contemporaries, John Constable (1776-1837) and James Northcote (1746-1831), were harsh critics. Northcote said her work had some merit, but every painting was effeminate and feeble.[26] Constable even commented that the English school of painting could not make progress until her influence was forgotten.[27] Another close contemporary, John Hoppner (1758-1810), claimed Kauffman was the epitome of general bad taste in England and her works have "captivated the publick so as to

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[23] Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs*, 94.

[24] *London Chronicle* 33, no. 2565 (May 18-20, 1773), 407.

[25] Victoria Manners and George Charles Williamson, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., her life and her works* (New York: Bretano's, 1900), 47.

[26] William Hazlitt, *Conversations of James Northcote. R.A.,* ed. Edmund Goose, (London, 1894), 62.

[27] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon*, 6264.

corrupt the taste."[28] Her Georgian style fell out of favor by the Victorian era, according to Anne Thackeray's *Miss Angel,* and the Victorians considered her to be over-praised.[29] Charles Mitchell claimed the only effective history painters to come out of Britain in the eighteenth-century were William Hogarth (1697-1764) and Benjamin West (1738-1820).[30]

The biggest criticism of Kauffman's work was her 'feminine' figures. Because of her gender, she was not allowed to attend life drawing sessions. Instead, she learned from copying Old Master paintings or studying antiquarian sculptures.[31] The genre of portraiture was one of Kauffman's greatest income sources and most of the clients happened to be female. While she completed many famous male portraits, including noted English actor David Garrick (figure 1), Reynolds, and others, her work naturally lent itself to female sitters. Her paintings held a softness, mildness, and charm, all characteristics that became defining elements of her art; they also catered to the feminine ideal of the eighteenth century. Her portraits were popular among many patrons, including royalty such as Princess Augusta of Brunswick and even Queen Charlotte, wife to King George III.[32]

Throughout her career to present day, her figures have been critiqued for being too feminine. Victoria Manners and George Charles Williamson's early biography *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., Her Life and Works* (1900) relay stories of her lack of anatomical training and

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[28] Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diary,* ed. James Grieg, Vol. 1 (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1928), I.19.

[29] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon,* 6275.

[30] Charles Mitchell, "Benjamin West's "Death of General Wolfe" and the Popular History Piece," *Journal of the Warbury and Courtauld Institutes* 7 (1944): 23.

[31] Kauffman and her fellow Academician, Mary Moser, were absent from Johann Zoffany's *Members of the Royal Academy* except as portraits on the wall. This is because the scene in the painting displays the male members studying a nude model, which was considered inappropriate for women to attend. Vaughn, *British Painting: The Golden Age,* 99.

[32] Manners, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., her life and her works*, 24.

avoidance of nudity, which contributed to her somewhat effeminate figures. They also said there is a feminine quality throughout all of Kauffman's work, giving it a distinctive character.[33] The *Almach aus Rom* characterizes Kauffman's portraits as a blend of Guido Reni's ethereal spirit and Raphael's mild humanity.[34] Peter S. Walch raises the prospect in his article that perhaps Winckelmann inspired not only her career as a history painter, but also influenced her figure portrayal. Winckelmann's insistence on the perfection of Greek sculptural figures may have influenced Kauffman's male and female figures.[35] Peter Gorsen defended her effeminate figures as a feminine counterpart to the Neoclassical ideal of "privileged masculine heroism."[36] Despite the criticism of her work and her feminine figures, Kauffman played a significant role in the development of English history painting and the entire Neoclassical movement.

Scholars have also focused on her role as a female artist. Throughout her career, Kauffman always had gossip surrounding her and critics claimed her success came from her associations with men, particularly Reynolds.[37] Even though she was celebrated as a successful painter, Kauffman had numerous rumors regarding her love life. The most infamous story was her unwise marriage in 1767 to a so-called Swedish nobleman, Graf Friedrich (or Count Frederic) von Horn. Kauffman eventually had the marriage annulled and it seemed to have avoided blemishing her reputation.[38] In 1781, she would marry Italian painter and printmaker

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[33] Manners, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., her life and her works,* 5, 124.

[34] Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility,* 213.

[35] Walch mentions Winckelmann's love for Greek sculpture and its figures. Peter S. Walch, "An Early Neoclassical Sketchbook by Angelica Kauffman," *The Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 87 (February 1977), 105.

[36] Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility,* 191.

[37] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon,* 116.

[38] Amanda Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 43, no. 1 (2020), 15.

Antoni Zucchi, which resulted in a much happier marriage. Despite these scandals and rumors, Kauffman would overcome them and maintain a career as a talented and modest woman.[39]

Eighteenth-century critics were unable to separate an artist's sex from the merits of the painting.[40] Women who sought fame were criticized and condemned by polite society. During Kauffman's life, a woman's principle virtue was modesty and her proper place was in the home.[41] Any woman who challenged this unwritten role of society, especially to promote herself and her art was, in the words of eighteenth-century philanthropist Priscilla Wakefield "beyond the most exact limits of modesty and decorum."[42] The eighteenth-century literary giant Samuel Johnson also concluded portrait painting was "an improper employment for a woman" because it was indelicate for a woman to stare into a men's faces.[43] Angelica Gooden said in her biography *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman* (2005) that any woman of achievement would attract slander, particularly if she was attractive. Amanda Vickery also adds in her 2020 article ladies were welcome to consume high culture, but discouraged from producing it for a profit.[44] This was society's way of reminding women that their success and identity was based on their sex.[45] In order for a female artist to survive the patriarchal society of the eighteenth century,

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[39] Tobias G. Natter, *Angelica Kauffman: A Woman of Immense Talent* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2007), 42.

[40] Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs,* 90.

[41] Angela Rosenthal, "Angelica Kauffman ma(s)king claims*." Art History* 15 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, March 1992), 41.

[42] Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs,* 33.

[43] James Boswell, *The Life of Johnson,* ed. G. B. Hill, 2nd edition, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-64), vol. II, 362.

[44] Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 5.

[45] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon,* 116.

Kauffman needed to embrace her femininity, guard her reputation, and be as prolific as a male artist.

Kauffman's ambition paid off as she is considered one of the leading female artists in the canon of art history. In 1814, *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* ranked her higher than any other known or celebrated female artist at the time.[46] Jennifer Dawn Milam and Melissa Hyde's article "Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe" show Kauffman's ambition and productivity stood out from her contemporaries and from female history painter predecessors.[47] Even Kauffman's contemporaries recognized her work ethic and efficiency. Chapman provides an example of Kauffman's productivity through an anecdote of Anne Forbes (1745-1834). The eighteenth-century Scottish painter's mother commented her desire for Anne to have the same constitution as Kauffman. According to Forbes, Kauffman would work from five in the morning until sunset in the summer and any daylight during winter.[48] Later in her life, Kauffman's friends, Johann Wolfgang van Goethe (1749-1832) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), assumed her hard work was because of her husband, Antonio Zucchi's greed.[49] However, this was not the case. Kauffman's Italian biographer, Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi (1754-1827), claimed Zucchi and Kauffman had an amiable, supportive relationship. Zucchi took over any domestic duties so Kauffman could focus on her artwork.[50] Her friends never

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[46] In the article, the source ranks Kauffman above female artists like Lavinia Fontana, Artemisia Gentileschi, Chiara Varotari, Giovanna Carzoni, Maria Tintoretto, Sophonisba Anguisciola, and Elizabeth Sirani. "Memoir of Maria Angelica Kauffman, with a Notice of Her Works," *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* 12, no. 71 (1814), 461-68.

[47] Jennifer Dawn Milam and Melissa Hyde, "Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 219.

[48] Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs*, 71.

[49] Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility,* 226-7.

[50] Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility,* 226-7.

considered that her hard work and work ethic stemmed from ambition and a desire to create.[51] Sylvia Sleigh's article "Angelica Kauffman" (1978) says modern scholars are not accustomed to female artists being successful in their own time and Kauffman's career defied many expectations, both modern and of her own contemporaries.[52] While she was successful, this scholarship provides an understanding of Kauffman's struggle to still be recognized on the same level as her contemporaries because of her gender. It also provides a foundation for Kauffman to use her femininity as a defining character of her art in a male-dominated field.

The amount of scholarship discussing Kauffman as anything beyond a female Neoclassical, history painter is much more concise. Tobias Natter's book *Angelica Kauffman: A Woman of Immense Talent* says most critics before the late twentieth century recognized Kauffman's uniqueness, but labeled her as "kitsch" or a "chocolate box painter."[53] These derogatory labels may stem from her artistic designs on so much English decorative work. Since her time in Britain, Kauffman's name has been linked with Robert Adam and his Adam architectural style. However, only two decorative interior works by her hand have been documented with evidence – four roundels in Burlington House and two overdoors, which were originally painted for Derby House in London's Grosvenor Square.[54] Malise Forbes Adam, Mary Mauchline, and Peter S. Walch disprove her employment as a decorative artist by Robert Adam (1728-1792). However, Malise Forbes Adam adds her not being employed by Robert Adam does not detract from her influential role on eighteenth-century decorative arts in England.[55] Throughout her career and even after she left for Italy, her work was desired by both the upper

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[51] Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility,* 226-7.
[52] Sylvia Sleigh, "Angelica Kauffman." *Women's Studies* 6, no. 1 (December 1978), 37.
[53] Natter, *Angelica Kauffman: A Woman of Immense Talent,* 7.
[54] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 113.
[55] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 120.

and middle class. The middle class wanted a material culture that asserted their place in civilized society, so they collected works that had any hint of Kauffman.[56] Her work appeared on other elements of civilized Georgian life: painted furniture, teapots, snuff boxes, and commodes.[57]

Kauffman has not been connected directly with the idea of entrepreneurship, but there are a few scholars who hint at this connection. Chapman dedicates a section of her book to Kauffman's continuous foresight and work ethic throughout her career, which are some of the defining marks of an entrepreneur.[58] In the book's section, Chapman focuses on one of Kauffman's first portraits exhibited in London – a portrait of actor and influencer David Garrick (figure 1). He had sat for Kauffman in Naples and she had the painting sent a year ahead of her arrival in London. When the painting was exhibited at the Free Society of the Arts in 1765, it drew attention and heralded her arrival. Chapman related this story to Kauffman's foresight and good sense for marketing.[59] Rosenthal mentions Kauffman may have created delicate figures, but she was ambitious and strategic. When the Uffizi gallery in Florence acquired her small self-portrait, she replaced it with another larger portrait so it would reflect on her better among the other remarkable painters and their self-portraits. Rosenthal also notes Kauffman was greatly satisfied that her portrait hung next to Michelangelo's portrait.[60] Gooden and Roworth add her flexibility to adapt to the popular taste as well as creating a variety of artwork in different

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[56] Sarah Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilized Society* (Manchester University Press, 1999), 220.

[57] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon*, 72.

[58] Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs,* 90.

[59] Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs,* 122.

[60] Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility,* 269.

mediums contributed to her success.[61] Her work has always been labeled as "angelic," which stems from her nickname from Reynolds, "Miss Angel." Apparently, she would answer to that name and it ties with her work's characteristic style of light coloring and ethereal figures."[62] Her reputation as a delicate and angelic artist was the impression she wanted others to perceive, but she was more than just a pretty face. She maintained a good business sense throughout her life and her willingness to adapt to the popular taste.

The most recent scholarship on Kauffman is Amanda Vickery's article "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England." Published in early 2020, it is an acknowledgment finally uniting the ideas of Kauffman as a successful, female artist and as an entrepreneur. Vickery approaches Kauffman as an eighteenth-century celebrity and analyzes Kauffman's crafted reputation. Vickery looks at Kauffman's brand through modern economic concepts and brand developments such as critical reception, consumer response, and damage limitation.[63] While Vickery's article acknowledges Kauffman's angelic brand, Vickery focuses on Kauffman's feminine brand and does not give as much attention to the making of it through the London print market.

It is only within the past twenty years have art historians begun to address Kauffman as an entrepreneur, which was only possibly through her use of the print market. Anything discussing her work as an entrepreneur, or her brand, links it to the success of the British print market. By the end of the eighteenth-century, London had become the center of the European print market. Chapman mentions how a Dutch collector in 1821 commented, "the craze for

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[61] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 13.

[62] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon,* 101.

[63] Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 6.

English engravings during the last fifty years is extraordinary. Everyone has developed a taste for them."[64] Gooden states that English engraving made Kauffman's work more accessible, but the nature of the print market made her popular throughout the world.[65] Sandro Jung highlights the scholarly neglect of this part of Kauffman's oeuvre, specifically her literature illustrations.[66] Kauffman was not afraid to implement new technology and embraced mass production techniques, which allowed her work to spread across Europe. David Alexander covers not only the engravers who made her work more accessible, but also mentions how Kauffman engraved and sold her own engravings from her studio.[67] Her works were created in popular engraving mediums such as mezzotint, stippled engraving, and mechanical paintings. The mezzotint medium was especially popular with Kauffman's designs as they captured her flowing lines and drapery. Alexander mentions there were more single issued stipple engravings after Kauffman than any other painter in England.[68] Alexander also adds that her work was the most popular subject for mechanical paintings due to their popularity and aptness for decoration.[69] Adam and Mauchline's chapter in *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* shifts the discussion from her popular engravings to those who copied her work. Because her work was popular, Adam and Mauchline said copyists were kept busy in order to keep up with the

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[64] Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs,* 128.

[65] Gooden adds English copperplate engraving was held in such high esteem by other nations. It was even more highly regarded than French printmakers and engravings who had a longer history of creating prints of paintings. Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon,* 3451.

[66] Sandro Jung, "Print Culture, High-Cultural Consumption, and Thomson's "The Seasons', 1780-1797," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 44, no. 4 (Summer 2011), 506.

[67] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 143-44.

[68] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 141.

[69] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 161.

demand.[70] Kauffman's style personified good taste in the Georgian era and prints of her work, whether by her hand or not, reached a wider public than her traditional paintings.

Methodology

As previously stated, Kauffman has received attention since her active years. Art historians have chosen to focus on her biography, the formalist attributes of her paintings, and her role as a female artist. Within the past twenty years, focus has also extended to her work through a Marxist lens. Each of these methodologies has rounded out Kauffman as a woman who transformed British art, but has neglected one of the core reasons Kauffman made a name for herself. This chapter will outline the various methodologies used to research Kauffman. It will then use both the Neo-Marxist and feminist methodologies to explore and understand Kauffman's work as an entrepreneur. Few sources have researched Kauffman through a cultural studies lens. However, each methodology in this overview hints at Kauffman as an entrepreneur. The feminist methodology will be briefly implemented in this thesis to discuss her brand distinction and will lay the foundation of what made Kauffman different from her contemporaries. Then, it will explain why a Neo-Marxist or cultural studies methodology is the best approach when examining Kauffman, her work as a brand, and copies of her designs.

The most common methodology to discuss Kauffman and her work has been formalism since she was a self-proclaimed history painter. During her time in Britain, she had two enlightened patrons, John Parker and George Bowles, who collected her history paintings. Without their support, Kauffman would not have been able to focus on the history genre.[71]

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[70] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 120.

[71] George Bowles had the largest collection of Kauffman's work as he commissioned or bought more than fifty of her paintings. Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs,* 97.

During her fifteen years in London, she consistently exhibited classical history paintings with themes ranging from literature, history, and mythology. She was praised for promoting the genre and is one of the few artists remembered for the Neoclassical history genre.[72] She also completed many portraits while in England. Walch even stated her early reputation in London was solidified by her female portraits.[73] While she completed many male portraits, her work naturally lent itself to female sitters. Her portraits were in constant demand rivaling other contemporary portraitists including West and Reynolds.[74] As London was one of the portrait capitals of the world in the eighteenth century, Kauffman was encroaching on a competitive field. Marcia Pointon states a portrait painter needed more than skill at capturing a likeness. The portrait painter needed business sense, a good disposition, and a personal charm.[75] It was all of these qualities that allowed her to gain such loyal and prestigious clients. Kauffman's prices were set as high as her fellow male portrait painters, Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) and George Romney (1734-1802). In no way did her work or practice suggest her portraiture would be worth less because she was a woman.[76] The amount of work she created and the quantity that was replicated in other mediums prove her popularity, but Kauffman could still be considered more inferior to her contemporaries because of her figures.[77]

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[72] Roworth, "Ancient Matrons and Modern Patrons: Angelica Kauffman as a Classical History Painter," 194.

[73] Walch, "An Early Neoclassical Sketchbook by Angelica Kauffman," *The Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 87 (February 1977), 106.

[74] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon*, 1562.

[75] Marcia Pointon. *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 36.

[76] Vickery also mentions Reynolds advised her on pricing initially and she started with 20 guineas for a head. Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 10.

[77] Manners, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., her life and her works*, 5.

Her first biographies focused solely on her life and her paintings. Frances A. Gerard wrote the first English biography on Kauffman (1893), which composed the first list of paintings, etchings, and engraved copies of Kauffman's work primarily found in English collections. While they provided a thorough list of engravings after Kauffman, Gerard focuses heavily on Kauffman's paintings and sketches and calls her style peculiar.[78] However, Gerard mentions a French critic that describes Kauffman's work as both lacking energy and elegant. No matter if it was critic or supporter of her style, all seem to agree her strength was producing calm, graceful scenes rather than overdramatic works.[79] Manners and Williamson took their cue from Gerard and labeled Kauffman as lacking in anatomical preciseness, but still the only artist in England who was remembered for classical art.[80] Because of her work's feminine and domestic leanings, her style was defined by this feminine quality. Scholars have divided opinions on her effeminate figures that graced her designs. The first group claim it was a lack of anatomical training due to her sex. The second group appear in the latter half of the twentieth century. They acknowledge this anatomical deficiency, but add it could be a personal statement for her role as a female painter and a statement against masculinity of the eighteenth-century. The formal methodological discussion provides a foundation for her position as one of the few history painters as well as her feminine, figural representations.

In the late twentieth century, art historians began to look at Kauffman in a new way. They began to look at her and her work beyond the formalistic qualities and looked at her role as a female artist. Feminism became the next common methodology used to discuss Kauffman as she was both a female artist and her work had feminine qualities. Unlike many female artists

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78 Frances A. Gerard, *Angelica Kauffmann: A Biography* (Aufl, London, 1893), 51.
79 Gerard, *Angelica Kauffmann: A Biography*, 339.
80 Manners, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., her life and her works*, 3.

excluded from the canon, Kauffman was one of the few who were noticed by the patriarchal art canon. Twentieth century and contemporary historians assume past female artists have always been repressed and unacknowledged. However, Kauffman was successful in her own time.[81] Despite her success, the majority of her work was criticized by her contemporaries unobjectively because of her sex.[82] Even though she was elected to the Roman Accademia di San Luca in 1765, became a founding member of London's Royal Academy in 1768, and was received as a professor at the Accademia of Venice in 1782, her achievements were overlooked because of her sex or attributed to her connections with high placed men.[83]

Through the feminist lens, scholars have found Kauffman and her work to conform and embody eighteenth-century femininity. At that time, women were relegated to the domestic sphere. Any woman who did seek attention or prominence was condemned by all society.[84] By becoming an artist, Kauffman did challenge this unwritten rule of society. However, she did it without disruption. Gossip did follow her and there were some scandals that plagued Kauffman, but sources do not choose to focus on this. It seems Kauffman found a personal balance between feminine virtue and ambition since her reputation and her works are continually characterized by modesty and dedicated virginity.

As previously mentioned, people criticized her figures and techniques because of her sex. Northcote remarked that for a female artist "…there was a point of excellence which they never

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[81] Sleigh, "Angelica Kauffman," 37.

[82] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon,* 116.

[83] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon,* 882.

[84] Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs,* 18.

reached…"[85] They would criticize her graceful, decorative work as merely feminine even though many of her male contemporaries created in a similar style.[86] Manners said Kauffman's coloring was bland, her compositions were average, and her figures were too monotonous.[87] However, her subjects presented in a feminine mode became one of her most distinguishing features. Despite the criticism of her sex, Kauffman accomplished much where many other females could not succeed. Only one other woman, Mary Moser (1744-1819), was voted as an Academician in the Royal Academy in London at its founding. After Moser and Kauffman, there were no other female Academicians until the twentieth century.[88] She was one of the few painters, let alone female painters who even attempted and succeeded with the genre of history painting.

The final methodology used to study Kauffman has been through Marxism. Karl Marx believed art did not belong to the upper elite, but rather to a larger context of society.[89] Even though Neoclassicism was considered elitist, the print market persuaded the general public to appreciate and even crave Kauffman's brand of Neoclassicism. Gooden mentions some could criticize her for profiting off the market for only monetary gains. However, Kauffman and other Neoclassical artists were also interested in spreading Enlightenment culture to the populace.[90] As art became a commodity and symbol of status to the middle class, artists began to act more like capitalist entrepreneurs. Kauffman took advantage of this growing market and pursued her work

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[85] Hazlitt, *Conversations of James Northcote. R.A.*, 62.

[86] One of these male artists included her second husband, Antonio Zucchi. Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon*, 2786.

[87] Manners, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., her life and her works*, 124.

[88] Vaughn, *British Painting: The Golden Age*, 99.

[89] Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010), 58.

[90] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth Century Icon*, 3231.

at full speed. She came to London not only for artistic reasons, but also for business opportunities.

Her work expanded beyond the canvas into other revenues and creative methods. These methods included printmaking, ceramics, and other designs and decorative work. Whether it was functional for everyday use or meant to be admired throughout the day, Kauffman's designs were immensely popular. They became synonymous with high-fashion Georgian culture. Designs of her work appeared on various ceramics manufacturers including Worcester, Derby, and Swansea porcelain. Her designs also appeared on Josiah Wedgwood ceramics, which were extremely popular in the eighteenth-century. Wedgwood used one of Kauffman's more popular designs *Maria* (figure 2) in a cameo design, but only occasionally used her designs on his ceramics. In fact, most of Wedgwood's ceramics with a Kauffman style are only cast in her style and not complete reproductions of her work.[91]

Kauffman's designs also appeared on other commodities. There have been records of elegant, graceful furniture designs, but few examples survive to the present day due to their fragility. Another Kauffman creation was fan designs. Reynolds encouraged fellow artists to create 'toys' for daily use, similar to Italian Mannerist artist Cellini (1500-1571). Kauffman had multiple designs created for Anthony Poggi (1744-1836), including *The Three Fine Arts* (figure 3). The subject matter of the ink drawing reflected Kauffman's elegant style and Neoclassical tones, which would have complemented their use in Adamesque interior décor.[92] While there have been records of her fan designs, similar styles or those who copied her style make precise

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[91] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon*, 3188.

[92] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon*, 3282.

attribution difficult. Gooden remarks it is unclear if Kauffman intended these designs to be a main source of income, but it would have been a rewarding business at the peak of its fashion.[93] As evidenced by the fan sketches, Kauffman was not content with simply making art. She was searching for other markets where her designs could succeed and be used.

The print market was her most profitable and far-reaching mode of design. The Industrial Revolution had improved the engraving business and by the time of Kauffman's arrival, English engravers were some of the world's highest quality. While it is unclear how many of these reproductions were made with her permission, historians have stated she had a great business relationship with the English printmakers. She developed lasting relationships with engravers like William Ryland (1738-1783), Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815), and Thomas Burke (1747-1783) that lasted even after she left England.[94] Kauffman's works reached beyond the strata of society and was an active part in the economics of the art market. She had foresight to pursue various, and sometimes, odd design ideas. Her work spread because of its delicate, popular style and because the middle class equated these popular material items with a sense of belonging to a civilized society.[95] In the end, her brand succeeded in its many subgenres and flourished with the shift of art as a commodity.

Sandro Jung sums up the scholarship of Kauffman when he claims there has been little focus on her other endeavors beyond her paintings.[96] Only within the past twenty years have scholars begun to deeply explore Kauffman's designs and the commodities that feature her work.

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[93] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon*, 3289.

[94] Roworth, ed. *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, 143-44.

[95] Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilized Society*, 220.

[96] Jung, "Print Culture, High-Cultural Consumption, and Thomson's "The Seasons", 1780-1797," 506.

Yes, art historians have been crediting Kauffman with her print work since Gerard's biography, but they fail to provide a more in-depth look at how Kauffman's prints built her lasting reputation. Using the cultural studies methodology in conjunction with feminism, I will show how Kauffman used her feminism and the print market for her own benefit and created a distinct brand.

Because the meaning of an art piece changes based on the social and cultural confines, cultural studies acknowledges there is more than one true meaning to a work.[97] Both Kauffman's original works and copies of her works had more than one meaning and some of the meanings are not defined by a time period. By implementing a feminist emphasis, I will show how Kauffman included veiled promotion in her works. Gill Perry, Wendy Wassyng Roworth and Angela Rosenthal focus on the subtle commentary that Kauffman provides in her self-portraits and paintings.[98] This delicate commentary does not betray Kauffman's reputation or her the brand she created as a modest woman.

Cultural studies look beyond the masterpieces of a culture or "high" art and to the "low" works, which may have previously been ignored. Vernon Hyde Minor highlights how culture has taught artists or producers to make certain items. Likewise, the audience has been taught how to react to the art.[99] In the introduction, there is an overview on the growth of the middle class and its effect on the British art market. The rapidly evolving economy gave way to a society who wanted the same high fashioned taste and respect as the upper class. One of the ways the middle

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[97] Vernon Hyde Minor, *Art History's History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001), 155.

[98] Gill Perry, "'The British Sappho": Borrowed Identities and the Representation of Women Artists in Late Eighteenth-Century British Art," *Oxford Art Journal.* Vol. 18, no. 1 (1995), 52.

[99] Minor, *Art History's History*, 152.

class did this was in commissions and purchases of material culture that gave the appearance of wealth and intellectualism. Another way was in a new interior trend that turned away from long, opulent halls and sequences of rooms. Instead, the general taste turned to smaller, more intimate rooms. These intimate rooms no longer need large, expensive paintings that once filled large halls. Patrons and buyers desired small-scale decorative works or prints, which would fill a room dedicated to prints.[100] In turn, artists and other entrepreneurs met this contemporary taste by making work that appealed to this new market.[101] Kauffman was already creating in the Neoclassical, history genre when she arrived in London. Through this interaction of customer and creator, Kauffman was happy to create works and designs for this large consumer base. This interaction was predominantly found through purchasing Kauffman's prints or copies of her work on other materials. As an interdisciplinary study, cultural studies focuses on popular culture or other items in order to understand the society. The range of materials which feature Kauffman's designs have been mentioned multiple times. While many of the works collected by the middle class were never touched by Kauffman, she profited from this exchange. It did not matter whether it was a certified original work to the middle class and maybe even some of the upper class. They equated any work after Kauffman's style to be her own, infused with her aura of modesty and refinement. Both Gooden and Jung describe the material trend and desire for her work almost as a cult.[102] This cult obsession became a brand that defined Georgian England.

Analysis

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[100] Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs*, 99.

[101] Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilized Society,* 220.

[102] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon,* 3093; Jung, "Print Culture, High-Cultural Consumption, and Thomson's "The Seasons", 1780-1797," 506.

Since her active years, Kauffman has been a celebrated artist. Scholars noted her accomplishments and her productive output, highlighting her achievements as a successful female history painter. While this is a rare accomplishment, scholars have neglected to look at other art that aided her achievements and helped her reputation. Public opinion of her and her designs has shifted due to the culture's tastes, but she is one of the few female artists that has not been forgotten throughout history. Only in the last few decades have scholars addressed her "low" class works and her role as a female entrepreneur. She was not a traditional entrepreneur like her contemporary Josiah Wedgwood. She could not openly promote her work like other male artists as it would contradict the standard of feminine sensibility. Instead, she created a brand through veiled promotion. Her feminine figures had been criticized even into the twentieth century, but it was her figures that carried her veiled promotion and helped her Neoclassical style stand out. The British print market was one of the biggest contributors to her success. Even in its early stages of the Industrial Revolution, Kauffman embraced the technology, new printmaking techniques, and became one of the most engraved after artists in eighteenth-century England. Copies of her designs were made during her life and well after her death, but it did not detract from her reputation. In fact, it added to her popularity and spread the Kauffman name and brand. In this analysis, I will demonstrate how Kauffman created a distinct brand through her designs, feminine figures and her use of the emerging eighteenth-century British print market.

Kauffman's works have been described as sentimental Neoclassical designs, filled with graceful, charming themes and feminine figures. While she created delicate work, she painted history scenes, which were considered the highest genre in art. She was not alone in her pursuit of history paintings as many of her contemporaries created history scenes. Andrew D. Hottle compares Kauffman with her contemporary Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (1755-1842) as a history

painter and finds Kauffman to be the more successful female history painter with her effective artistic strategies, allegorical motifs, and mythological episodes.[103] While she created remarkable scenes, Kauffman's figures in her history paintings and even her portraits have been criticized for their appearance and feminine leanings. Critics like her contemporary James Northcote and even a recent survey book by William Vaughn (1999) call her work feeble and too 'feminine.'[104] Manners' biography (1900) remarks Kauffman's technique could be considered inferior compared to her contemporaries, but her work had a distinct feminine quality that was immediately recognizable and one of her defining attributes.[105] Kauffman's femininity and her figural representation became a promotional technique in a male dominated world and a fundamental component for her brand.

Through her history paintings and self-portraits, Kauffman crafted this aura grounded in conventional femininity and constancy.[106] Scholarship has understood her and her work as conforming and embodying eighteenth-century femininity.[107] Her own work, as noted in the previous section, was labeled angelic. Besides the nickname of "Miss Angel" bestowed on her by Reynolds, there have been other contemporary anecdotes that connect Kauffman with this "angelic" quality. One was Danish statesmen, Count Bernsdoff, who visited Kauffman and heard her sing. He equated her skill and grace to St. Cecilia, the Roman Catholic patron saint of

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[103] Andrew D. Hottle, "More Than 'a Preposterous Neo-Classic Rehash:' Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun's and its Virgilian Connotations," *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art,* 11 (November, 2010), 123.

[104] Vaughn, *British Painting: The Golden Age,* 121; Hazlitt, *Conversations of James Northcote. R.A., ed.,* 62.

[105] Manners, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A., her life and her works*, 5.

[106] Ursula Naumann, *Geträumtes Glück: Angelica Kauffmann und Goethe* (Frankfurt: Insel, 2007), 16.

[107] Angela Rosenthal, "Angelica Kauffman ma(s)king claims*." Art History* 15 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, March 1992), 38; Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon,* 290.

music.[108] Peter Sturz, a German diplomat, also remarked in 1768 that the dominant quality Kauffman's actions and speech demonstrates was virginal dignity.[109] These comparisons reveal exactly the reputation Kauffman wanted to be perceived – a saintly, virtuous, and intellectual woman with talent. As mentioned earlier, there were rumors of immodesty and scandal during her time in Britain. However, her reputation did not seem to suffer. Vickery adds Kauffman's survival is an example of her established, professional character of saintliness.[110] Kauffman took this reputation "angelic" qualities and integrated them into her work.

Every self-portrait she created, including ones in her history paintings, fit this feminine sensibility that was appropriate for the eighteenth century. Roworth mentioned how Kauffman took classical sources for *Zeuxis Selecting a Model for His Painting of Helen of Troy* (figure 5), but instead of the usual theme of exhibitionism and erotica, she turned the subject into a simple decorative scheme. It did not emphasize the possible voyeurism of the subject matter, such as Zeuxis staring at the model's perfection in her arm rather than her exposed buttocks, which would have fit the original story.[111] Alison Conway examined the famous self-portrait of 1770-75 (figure 6) and how Kauffman conveyed more than one meaning in her own representation. Self-portraits were more damaging to a female artist's reputation than a history painting due to its promiscuous connotations. Fellow artist Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun was also criticized for depicting herself in her classical history subjects because it drew attention to her body, and its

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[108] Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 7-8.

[109] Rosenthal, *Art and Sensibility,* 189 citation.

[110] Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 15.

[111] Kauffman is the figure second from the left, gazing out at the viewer. Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: Regarding the body in the Art of Angelica Kauffman," 57.

implied weakness, which could ruin her professionalism and reputation.[112] However, Conway states Kauffman restructured the idea of portraiture for the female artist. In her self-portraits, Kauffman simultaneously displayed her feminine beauty while also promoting herself as a painter.[113] This can be seen in her self-portrait of 1770-75, but also *Self-portrait of the Artist hesitating between the Arts of Music and Painting* (figure 7). This painting created in Rome in 1794 highlights the early struggle Kauffman had between the choice of pursuing music or painting. Both activities were considered appropriate domestic activities for accomplished women. By openly portraying this struggle between the two arts, Kauffman shows both her decision to embrace painting as a career choice as well as promoting the female artist in the public sphere.[114]

Many modern scholars have noted Kauffman's effeminate figures cannot be written off as simply a lack of anatomical training. She would have received fewer opportunities for life drawings due to her gender, but scholars have noted Kauffman was intentional with her figural representation. First, Kauffman had learned under Winckelmann before she moved to London. As a Greek antiquarian, he encouraged Kauffman to study the classical works of art and conform to the perfection of the human form – a youthful ideal.[115] Another way Kauffman was intentional with her figural representation was a veiled promotion through "masked scenes." Alison Conway, Angela Rosenthal, and Wendy Wassyng Roworth address Kauffman's self-portraits

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[112] Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: Regarding the body in the Art of Angelica Kauffman," 43.

[113] Alison Margaret Conway. *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 182.

[114] Conway. *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel,* 183.

[115] Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: Regarding the body in the Art of Angelica Kauffman," *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-century Art and Culture,* ed. Gillian Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester University Press, 1994), 44.

and history paintings where Kauffman subtly provided a commentary on the universal role of the female artist.[116] Gill Perry agrees with this masked commentary and explores it further in his analysis of *The Artist in the Character of Design Listening to the Inspiration of Poetry* (figure 4). Kauffman places herself in the role of Design, embraced by Poetry. This purposeful placement reveals two important veiled commentaries. First was an academic expectation that design, like poetry, was an intellectual activity and inspired by creativity. The second and more influential for this argument is because a woman is playing the symbolic role of Design, she too can claim inspiration, which had usually been considered a male privilege.[117] A final interpretation of her figures is in consistency with her own reputation. Part of Kauffman's brand revolved around her modest and angelic conformity to sensible eighteenth-century ideals. By portraying vague male anatomy, she was proving her own modesty and delicacy.[118] These feminine figures reveal Kauffman's lack of anatomical knowledge, but they also are a consistent style that she used to her advantage.

Her work has been labeled feminine not only because of her quality, but also her many series of subjects in feminine modes. It is true her work lent itself to female sitters and propriety of the eighteenth century would not have encouraged her to represent overwhelming masculine themes. The feminine mode or Kauffman style can be understood as a Rococo delicacy combined with a moral, Neoclassical style, which portrays subjects from antiquity and the

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116 For a more in-depth study, Wendy Wassyng Roworth's "Anatomy is destiny: Regarding the body in the Art of Angelica Kauffman," *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-century Art and Culture,* ed. Gillian Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester University Press, 1994); Angela Rosenthal, "Angelica Kauffman ma(s)king claims*," Art History* 15, (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, March 1992): 38-59.

117 Perry, "'The British Sappho": Borrowed Identities and the Representation of Women Artists in Late Eighteenth-Century British Art," 52.

118 Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 10.

contemporary.[119] Some of the most famous images that were reproduced after her style were sentimental and somewhat frivolous design schemes – classical nymphs, Graces, Venus and Cupid, and emotional maidens.[120] These scenes fit the expectation of feminine art of the time and also were also a distinct recognition for Kauffman's art.[121] Her figures were well recognized across England and in Europe. Vickery tells of a provincial admirer from Shrophsire, England who wrote to her nephew and compared his new bride to one of Angelica Kauffman's figures. The author wrote, like Kauffman's figures, the new bride possessed a handsome face, "an expression of modesty, cheerfulness, and good humour…moves with uncommon grace, and though very tall is so finely proportioned that she does not appear the height she really is."[122] It is telling that the nephew would be immediately familiar with the look and mood of a Kauffman figure, which proves the reach of Kauffman's feminine representation and her brand.[123]

The reproducing of this feminine representation can be seen in both the print market and in decorative schemes. Exempting the print market for the moment, there were many architectural designs created in the eighteenth century that were labeled as finished by the hand of Angelica Kauffman. As previously mentioned, Kauffman's name has consistently been linked with the Adam architectural style, but most have been reproductive. Her stylistic and thematic elements were quickly attributed to retain the Kauffman touch. Kauffman had a talent for self-

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[119] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, 113.

[120] For examples, see figures 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17.

[121] Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: Regarding the body in the Art of Angelica Kauffman," 41.

[122] Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 14.

[123] Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 14.

promotion and she took advantage of the Georgian culture of sensibility with distinct, classical figural representations in her brand that decorated many surfaces.[124]

Kauffman's brand thrived because of the eighteenth-century English print market. The beginnings of the Industrial Revolution combined with an emerging middle-class eager for "tasteful" art provided a perfect opportunity for Kauffman.[125] By the late eighteenth-century, English engravers were more highly regarded than any other nation including France. Even French artists like Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), François Boucher (1703-1770), and Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) were having prints replicated in England.[126] Despite the open market, some artists were not as quick as Kauffman to embrace its possibilities. While Reynolds had engravings made of his work, he was rather distant and suspicious about close relations with printers. He did not mind the association, but did not think artists should make work specifically for the hope of it being recreated as a print.[127] Even her fellow female artists were not as prolific as Kauffman's work in the print market. Vigée Le Brun had a reputation for her business sense and recognized the print market could add to one's fame. One of her self-portraits was engraved and displayed at the Salon, though she didn't care for how the engraving turned out.[128] On her visit to Italy, Vigée Le Brun met Carlo Porporati (1741-1816) who would engrave a number of her portraits since his engraving style matched her own painterly style. Porporati is said to have

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[124] Waltraud Maierhofer, "Angelica Kauffmann, the Elusive Painter," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 4 (2008), 581.

[125] Maxine Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 55, no. 1 (February 2002), 12.

[126] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eigtheenth-Century Icon*, 3204.

[127] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, 149-50.

[128] Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs*, 101.

added to her fame and accessibility, however, this seemed a more convenient accident rather than a deliberate choice that helped Vigée Le Brun and her fame.[129]

However, many artists and painters recognized the vital role the print market could play in promoting and supporting the artist. An example of artists achieving specific success through the print market was Benjamin West and his *Death of General Wolfe.* While the painting was popular, it became widespread through the print market. After West's success, many other artists including John Singleton Copley (1738-1815), Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), and George Stubbs (1724-1806) created works in the hopes they would achieve the same success as West and his *Death of General Wolfe.*[130] While some artists actively explored the print medium with specific works of art, Kauffman embraced the new mass-production technologies as a whole.

Kauffman's designs and figures translated well and were easily recognizable in print form. Alois Hirt commented the engravers failed to capture the coloring, which were a distinct characteristic of her paintings.[131] Gooden felt even a colored engraving could never match Kauffman's painted works, but Kauffman's contemporaries were grateful to have any version of her they could, including prints. A 1784 central European review remarked, "no-one is interested in anything except prints after Angelica Kauffman."[132] Kauffman relied on her good reputation of an angelic, feminine artist, which informed the public opinion of her and shaped her

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[129] Gita May. *Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun: The Odyssey of an Artist in an Age of Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 79.

[130] David Alexander, "'After-Images': A Review of Recent Studies of Reproductive Print-Making," *Oxford Art Journal.* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1983), 14-15.

[131] Alois Hirt, 'Briefe aus Rom hauptsächlich neue Werke jetzt daselbst lebender Künstler betreffend', *Der teutsche Merkur* (December 1785), 254.

[132] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eigtheenth-Century Icon*, 3297; 6422.

reputation.[133] By implementing this growing market, Kauffman was able to extend recognition of her brand.

Kauffman also used the print market to further her brand through collaboration. William Ryland, Thomas Burke, and Francesco Bartolozzi have been the names of engravers consistently linked with Kauffman and her prints. Out of those three, William Ryland was the one most responsible for producing prints of her work during her time in England.[134] When she moved to Italy in 1781, she maintained a relationship with these printmakers through her contacts Henry Peter Kuhff and Frederick Grellet in London. In a letter to a client, she advises a Henrietta Fordyce on who should engrave the commission she created for her. She says either Bartolozzi, Ryland, or Burgh (Burke) will do justice to the picture.[135] Bartolozzi and Burke became her main engravers when she was in Italy, but Burke was the name most linked with Kauffman as he created 26 stipple engravings between 1781-1795.[136] Most of these pictures were small oil sketches so the publishers could hang the original oil in the shop window and help sell the print copies. This decision to send them back to England to be engraved not only ensured her work was continually engraved by those she trusted and by those with exceptional talent, but it also kept her work in the forefront of the British public.[137] As far as records can tell, she favored these

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[133] Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs*, 116.

[134] Chapman actually mentions there were over 75 engravers who copied her paintings and drawings. It is unclear out of this exact number how many had permission or bought the original design from Kauffman. Chapman, *Eighteenth-century women artists: their trials, tribulations & triumphs,* 125.

[135] Waltraud Maierhofer, ed. *Angelica Kauffmann, "*Mir träumte vor ein paar Nächten, ich hätte Briefe von Ihnen empfangen*," Gesammelte Briefe in den Originalsprachen* (Lengwil am Bodensee: Libelle Berlag, 2001), 57.

[136] The shift from Ryland to Bartolozzi and Burke was due to Ryland's arrest, trial, and execution for currency forgery in 1783. Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 176.

[137] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, 174-76.

engravers because they could each replicate her style well. Kauffman also collaborated with other printing processes such as mechanical paintings. A form of engraving, this new reproductive technique was produced by Matthew Boulton (1728-1809) from the mid 1770s – 1782. Kauffman's name is particularly associated with this technique as Boulton pursued her particular aesthetic and the majority of surviving mechanical paintings seem to be her work.[138]

British authors were also enamored with her work and commissioned designs for their works. A few of her illustrated works include illustrated scenes for John Bell's *British Poets* (1777) (figure 8) and James Thomson's *The Seasons* (reprinted in 1766) (figure 9). David Alexander comments that her prints had a distinct feminine appeal, which distinguished her work from other allegorical designs by contemporaries like David Allan (1744-1796).[139] It is odd Kauffman did not create more book illustrations due to her popularity. Alexander mentions a reason could be she left for Italy before there was a strong demand for book illustrations.[140] Because of the print market, prints done in her style had reached beyond England into the European continent within a decade of her moving to London. The first mention of a Kauffman print in France was in September 1780, but Antony Griffiths believes her work had made it to the French market even earlier. Griffiths provides a print of *Penelope Weeping over the Bow of Ulysses* (figure 10), which includes both the English and French title.[141] Kauffman's collaboration and varied use of the print medium demonstrates she understood the monetary value as well as its ability to extend the reach of her designs.

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[138] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, 161.
[139] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, 153.
[140] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, 163.
[141] Antony Griffiths, "English Prints in Eighteenth-century Paris," *Print Quarterly* Vo. 22, Issue 4 (December 2005), 384.

While Kauffman was very prolific in her lifetime, a great portion of her works were not created by her hand.[142] Copying Old Master works was commonplace when learning in the artist studio. Even Kauffman created copies in order to learn and improve her skill. However, there were those who copied Kauffman's style in order to profit from her success. In William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty,* he said imitation is in human nature and our attraction to it has been there since the beginning.[143] Sir Joshua Reynolds felt the imagination had to rely on imitation because it could not come up with anything original on its own. Reynolds also encouraged his students ground their creative practice in extensive copying, particularly the conceptions of the great masters.[144]

There was also a commercial and professional encouragement to imitate works. Britain had a history of copying and it was culturally encouraged not only in art, but also in domestic production. Particularly in the eighteenth-century, British creators imitated products from other cultures, such as Chinese porcelain, with the intent to convey the same quality as the original.[145] The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers, and Commerce wanted to turn away from foreign imports, support an English style of manufacturing, and establish a national commercial identity.[146] Founded in 1754, they sought to combine design and fine arts with the commercial arts. The society extended premiums to various craftsmen including engravers and

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[142] Vickery estimated Kauffman created around 1,500 history paintings, portraits, and decorative designs. Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 14.

[143] William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (London: Printed by J. Reeves for the Author and sold by him at his house in Leicester-Fields, 1753), 18.

[144] Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 13.

[145] Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 12.

[146] Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 17.

other printers.[147] Art and other commodities were imitated enthusiastically by the British during the eighteenth-century and it shows in the amount of production achieved well into the nineteenth-century.

One of the biggest criteria of pictorial consumption in the eighteenth century was an aesthetic of pleasure and perception of good taste. The aesthetics of the commodity was valued more than durability, functionality, and even price. In Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), he argued the root of most goods was pleasure, not necessity.[148] Smith also said the most prized commodities were the ones that brought taste and distinction to the middle-class consumers.[149] The British valued pleasure and perception of good taste more than any other criteria of their commodities. Imitation and pleasure became key aesthetic principles to British taste and the growing middle class. Both of these provide a solid foundation for Kauffman's work to have been reproduced by copyists.

A demand for affordable art and the popularity of Angelica Kauffman brought about copyists. During the eighteenth-century, there was no modern sense of copyright. The first Parliamentary act to address any sense of artistic ownership was the Statue of Anne or the Copyright Act of 1710. However, it focused on reproducible literary works rather than engravings or works of art.[150] In 1734, the Engraving Copyright Act protected the rights of the

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147 Berg lists many forms of printing that the Society extended premiums to including: engravings, mezzotints, etching, gem engraving, cameo cutting and modeling, bronze casting, mechanical drawing, and architectural and furniture designs. Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 18.

148 Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 13.

149 Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 14.

150 Peter Baldwin, *The Copyright Wars: Three Centuries of Trans-Atlantic Battle* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 92.

engravers and their designs for a term of fourteen years.[151] Ronan Deazley raises the point that while engravers enjoyed protection, original drawings, paintings, and sculptures did not receive the same protection.[152]

The new provision in 1766, 7 Geo. 3, c. 38 expanded on the Engraving Copyright Act to: "the prints of any portrait, conversation, landscape, or architecture, map, chart, or plan, or any other prints whatsoever, whether they were taken from the artist's own original designs, or from any picture, drawing, model, or sculpture, either ancient or modern;"[153] Another provision was added in the Prints Copyright Act of 1777, 17 Geo. 3, c. 57. It was "an act for more effectually securing the property of prints to inventors and engravers, by enabling them to sue for and recover penalties in certain cases."[154] These provisions only protected engravers and their engravings as if they were the original designs. If the engraving was based off an original painting or drawing, the original work did not receive the same protection as the print.

Roberton Blaine's *On the Laws of Artistic Copyright and their Defects* wrote on artistic copyright in 1853 and reflected on the Engraving Acts of the 1700s. Blaine stressed a copyright did not take effect until a picture design had been coupled with an engraving.[155] It was only after the 1862 Fine Art Copyright Act that the artist was able to retain copyright of a drawing,

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[151] It was constituted by 8 Geo. 2, c. 13, the 7 Geo. 3, c. 38, the 17 Geo. 3, c. 57, and the 6 & 7 W.4, c. 59 (Irish act). It was also known as Hogarth's Act, after William Hogarth.

[152] Ronan Deazley, "Breaking the Mould? The Radical Nature of the Fine Art copyright Bill 1862," *Privilege and Property* (Cambridge, 2010), 297.

[153] Peter Burke, *The Law of International Copyright: Between England and France in Literature, the Drama, Music, and the Fine Arts, Analysed and Explained* (London: Sampson Low and Son, 1852), 12.

[154] Danby Pickering, *The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain. Anno 1761. Volume 31* (Cambridge: Printed by J. Bentham, 1762-1807), 439.

[155] D. Roberton Blaine, *On the Laws of Artistic Copyright and their Defects* (London: Murray, 1853): 26.

painting, or photograph after its sale. There have been numerous examples of artists who have been cheated by this system. Hogarth had been an early leader in the modern engraving in the mid-eighteenth century, but his work was often pirated and he suffered financially because of it.[156] Peter Baldwin provides a specific example of Benjamin West with his popular painting *The Death of General Wolfe.* As mentioned earlier in this section, the original painting had been well-received, but the print furthered its fame. The print became one of the most commercially successful prints published in eighteenth-century London. West created five replicas of the original painting and charged £250 and £400 each. However, engravings of the painting earned at least £7000 for the engraver, William Woollett, due to the number of prints sold. Engravings dwarfed sales of any original artwork, but it is unknown how much West profited from the engravings.[157] Even though Kauffman maintained a positive relationship with engravers, if she sold her works to engravers, she lost the rights to it. It is unknown how much of her income did result from selling to printmakers. However, her collaboration with engravers demonstrates her recognition of the importance of the print market as both a source of some income and as a tool to extend one's name.[158] Due to her popularity, Kauffman's pictures were bought by print sellers and engravers more than any other established painter in eighteenth-century England.[159]

From this overwhelming popularity, it is no wonder Kauffman's work was copied. By 1775, her name alone was popular enough to sell work.[160] As previously mentioned, Kauffman had maintained a good relationship with print sellers and engravers throughout her time in

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[156] Stana Nenadic, "Print Collecting and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *History* Vol. 82, no. 266 (April 1997), 204.

[157] Baldwin, *The Copyright Wars: Three Centuries of Trans-Atlantic Battle,* 93.

[158] Jung, "Print Culture, High-Cultural Consumption, and Thomson's "The Seasons', 1780-1797," 507.

[159] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 178.

[160] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 156.

London. Even when she moved to Italy, she sent at least twenty-two pictures back to the English engravers.[161] However, the majority of the prints and other wares with Kauffman's distinctive style were created by copyists. The first known prints after Kauffman was by Jonathan Spilsbury (1737-1812) in January 1774. In *The Daily Advertiser,* he advertised a pair of stipple engravings 'in Imitation of Red Chalk Drawings…from original Paintings of Signora Angelica.'[162] It is possible Kauffman may have been involved in this collaboration, but there is little evidence beyond their social connections.[163] The famous lines "finished by the hand of Angelica Kauffman" or "in the style of Angelica Kauffman" graced many engravings and designs on various materials. Some simply say "Angelica Kauffman PINXIT" in the bottom left corner, which is Latin for retouched or painted. Most of these are legitimate engravings that were created through Ryland, Burke, Bartozzoli or one of the other engravers Kauffman collaborated with. The most telling sign is a simple "Angelica Kauffman" at the bottom of a design. This trap of Kauffman's signature on decorative work and believing it to be an original appears on all mediums. More than likely, designs bearing the simple mark were done by copyists.

Kauffman's designs were also copied in decorative work. During her life and even into the twentieth century, there were many erroneous architectural and decorative attributions to Kauffman. Most were decorative compositions done in the popular Adam architectural style and executed after her designs by copyists.[164] In fact, the decorative paintings in her style were often

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[161] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 176.

[162] *The Daily Advertiser* (27 January 1774).

[163] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 152.

[164] The most authoritative research on Angelica Kauffman's decorative work and her attributions is Peter S. Walch's unpublished doctoral thesis "Angelica Kauffmann," Princeton University, 1968. In the thesis, he expresses doubt that Kauffman ever worked for Robert Adam.

after her prints or copyist's prints.[165] There have only been two decorative works confirmed to be original – two overdoors originally painted for the Derby House in London's Grosvenor Square and the four roundels in Burlington House.[166] But even into the 1990s, art historians are still trying to determine which are Kauffman's original and which are in her distinct style.

This misattribution came about through multiple sources. First, Gerard's 1893 biography included a list of houses that claimed to have existing Kauffman interior decorations.[167] Another scholar, Margaret Jourdain, wrote *The Decoration and Furniture of English Mansions in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1909), which helped promoted the Neoclassical revival and further emphasized Kauffman's connection with Adamesque domestic interiors.[168] The revival of the Adam style in the 1920s and 1930s published guidebooks with her name attached, furthering her connection to the Neoclassical domestic interior ideal but also furthering her misattribution. What should be the easiest factor to determine what is original – Kauffman's signature – does not aid scholars. An example would be a medallion *Painting* (figure 11) on the first floor of Chandos House in London. In 1922, curator A.T. Bolton claimed this work had Kauffman's signature and must be a Kauffman. After further examination and an extensive photography survey, there is no trace of Kauffman's signature, but the work also discredits itself as it does not stylistically match Kauffman. More than likely, it was the work of her second husband, Antonio

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[165] Maierhofer, "Angelica Kauffmann, the Elusive Painter," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 581.

[166] Malise Forbes Adam and Mary Mauchline lay out previous scholarship and review the previous attributions in each prominent scholarship. Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 113.

[167] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 115.

[168] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 115.

Zucchi.[169] Like her prints, the signature of Angelica Kauffman on anything but her paintings did not equate to originality.

One of the most frustrating aspects is there little evidence that agrees on Kauffman's interior decoration. Another example includes the home of Blue Stockings leader, Elizabeth Montagu. Some eighteenth-century sources and art historians say Kauffman had direct involvement in the decoration of 22 Portman Square, London.[170] But other eighteenth-century sources, including Kauffman's own diaries, does not include this information. This particular example is hard to prove or resolve due to the home being extensively by bomb damage in World War II.[171] An additional example shows attribution of Kauffman is not so simple. At Newby Hall, there are a pair of painted roundels in an Adamesque interior. These decorative scenes, *Beauty Directed by Prudence Rejects with Scorn the Solicitations of Folly* (figure 12) and *Design Directed by Beauty to Giver Her Allegiance to Poetry* (figure 13), were considered by guidebooks to be after Kauffman. However, Roworth and Malise Forbes Adam believe it to be an original due to the thematic and stylistic similarities.[172]

As previously mentioned, her designs were also popular on various consumer goods like porcelain, furniture, and even doors (figure 14). The level of copying would extend further since most of these designs were based on copies of Kauffman to begin with. An example of this inception would be the print *Cupid Disarm'd by Euphrosyne* (figure 15) and then an adaptation of this print on the right porcelain vase housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figure 16).

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169 Adam and Mauchline add that without an x-ray examination, an overpainting of the work could not be ruled out. However, they still believe this work to not be a legitimate Kauffman. Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 116.

170 See B. Chancellor, *The Private Palaces of London* (London 1908), 328; J. Swarbrick, *The Lives and Work of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1915), 282.

171 Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 119.

172 Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 120.

At the bottom of the print, it reads "from the original picture in the possession of George Bowles, Esq." George Bowles was one of Kauffman's greatest patrons and collectors. Printed in 1784, this would seem to be a legitimate print by Thomas Burke with the permission of George Bowles. However, the vases have no signature except a shield, the factory mark of the Imperial Porcelain Manufactory. It labels the artist as 'Scenes after designs by Angelica Kauffmann.' If this was not condemning enough, the figures are nowhere near the precision Kauffman or her engravers would have given to her subjects. Gooden said her designs that had been copied on china and porcelain were the hardest designs to legitimize or value because so many innumerable fakes cheapened the originals.[173] Adam reiterates that while there were copies after Kauffman during her life, it did not detract from her influential role on the eighteenth-century decorative arts in England.[174] Kauffman was not the only artist to also have copyists during the eighteenth-century. Many of her contemporaries including Reynolds and even Josiah Wedgwood's work were quickly copied after each new pottery invention he produced.[175] Copies in the eighteenth-century would appear no matter the amount of protection placed on a work of art.

A contemporary example of Kauffman's decorative reach and its resulting copies is found in the 1995 BBC miniseries *Pride and Prejudice.* In *The Making of Pride and Prejudice* feature, the producer Gerry Scott includes her insight on the set design and how it was necessary to do extensive research on the social life, the political situation, and the interior design in order to create an accurate representation of the eighteenth-century.[176] While most viewers are drawn

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[173] Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eigtheenth-Century Icon*, 6285.

[174] Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England,* 120.

[175] Neil McKendrick, John Brwer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (HarperCollins Publishers, 1984), 107.

[176] "Making of… Featurette," *Pride and Prejudice,* DVD, directed by Simon Langton (1995, UK: BBC Television and BBC Worldwide, 1995), 5:11, 6:45.

into the luxurious rooms of Pemberly, it is the Bennet's home, Longbourn, which includes the Kauffman copies. The production found Luckington Court in the Cotswolds to represent the interior and exterior of Longbourn. The interior of Longbourn was created to represent a typical, Georgian home. The patriarch, Mr. Bennet, was a landed gentleman of modest income who inherited Longbourn. Although a gentleman and considered part of the upper class, the Bennet family was not particularly rich are financially secure as that is a key plot in Jane Austen's novel. Josh Silvers mentions Austen often placed her characters in a setting, like Longbourn, which reflected their social, economic, and intellectual circumstances.[177] Gerry Scott adds the Longbourn in the 1995 miniseries was not meant to be pretentious. It was to be a comfortable home, which was reflected in its furniture and decoration.[178] Gerry Scott makes it clear her goal with the set design was to make the Longbourn home as authentic a Georgian home as possible.

In the Bennet's parlor or sitting room, there are three specific decorative pieces that relate to Kauffman. The first can be seen in the scene where Lady Catherine de Bourgh arrives unexpectedly. Behind Mrs. Bennet's head, there are two sanguine engravings. Only one of these engravings are recognizable as the design *Etiam Amor Criminibus Plectitur* or *Cupid Punished* (figure 17). This print was engraved and published by Ryland in 1777. This picture was one of the more popular subjects and Kauffman probably painted several versions to be engraved.

The next two decorative pieces are two larger pieces. These two appear to be oil paintings or large mechanical paintings, but more than likely they were painted replicas for the film set. Despite being replicas, they were based off a paired set of prints – *The Graces Dancing* and

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177 Josh Silvers and Toby D. Olsen, "Pride and Prejudice: Establishing Historical Connections among the Arts," in *Conjuring the Real: The Role of Architecture in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* ed. Rumiko Handa and James Potter (University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 192.

178 "Making of… Featurette," *Pride and Prejudice,* 9:51.

Sacrifice to Ceres. These designs were engraved by Russian engraver Gabriel Scorodomoff and published by Robert Sayer in 1778.[179] *The Graces Dancing* (figure 18) can be seen over the fireplace in multiple episodes in the miniseries. The clearest shot can be seen when Mr. Bingley is intimately talking with Jane Bennet (figure 19). *Sacrifice to Ceres* (figure 20) is harder to see in the parlor, but there are glimpses in the background of the film. A better shot of *Sacrifice to Ceres* is seen in *The Making of Pride and Prejudice* special feature. At the time stamp 10:01, the painting is resting on a dresser in preparation to be hung (figure 21). It is interesting to note that *Sacrifice to Ceres* is flipped from the print, as if the painting in the miniseries had taken reference from the original drawing or painting, whereas *The Graces Dancing* is not flipped from the print of the same name. There is no found explanation for this flip, however, it is highly unlikely *Sacrifice to Ceres* is an original by Kauffman.

While this miniseries was produced more than two hundred years after the original Kauffman works were created, this inclusion is an important case study to the recognition of Kauffman's brand. Gerry Scott and everyone involved in the production design made conscious decisions on the look and aesthetic of Longbourn. They were concerned with creating an intimate interior that represented a comfortable, well-to-do Georgian home and part of their recreation efforts included Kauffman's designs.[180] This presence, even in the background, highlights a couple points from this thesis. First, Kauffman's paintings and prints were an influential, interior decoration trend in Georgian England. Second, her paintings and prints

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[179] While not one of top names, Sayer published quite a few engravings after Kauffman. His large publishing firm was extremely productive throughout the last decades of the eighteenth-century. Sayer's publishing firm also had a long tradition of replicating history paintings.

[180] There seem to be other prints made in the style of Kauffman throughout Longbourn, but they are not as accessible.

traversed social classes and were desired for enlightened interior spaces. While the middle class was the social class that increased its status during the eighteenth-century, the aristocratic class also collected paintings and prints that fit this trending design.[181] The final point is there are both paintings and prints after Kauffman in the parlor at Longbourn. Not everyone could afford a Kauffman painting. Even if the Bennet family were supposed to have possessed an original Kauffman, they also purchased and exhibited prints after her designs. The Bennets were considered higher than the middle class as Mr. Bennet was a member of the landed gentry. Prints were not only for those who could not afford original works by Kauffman. Copies were just as valuable and were collected by all members of society. As previously mentioned, these imitations of Kauffman's designs reflected the same aura and quality as original Kauffman works.

A natural reaction would be to question whether Kauffman knew or cared about this loophole in artistic ownership and copyists in general. Kauffman may have had a reputation for gentility, but she was also firm in her beliefs. On more than one occasion, she had stood up for herself and her reputation.[182] Regarding the incident with Nathaniel Hone, not only did she write to Hone about her displeasure, but she also addressed Sir William Chambers and the Royal Academy. She politely tells the members of her displeasure of *The Conjurer* being exhibited since it made a slight against her own reputation. At the end of the letter, she says, "I beg leave

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[181] Vaughn, *British Painting: The Golden Age (World of Art),* 47.

[182] In 1775, Nathaniel Hone's *The* Conjuror was accepted for the Royal Academy exhibition, but it was withdrawn after Kauffman lodged a complaint. She believed, as did many, the nude female figure in the top left-hand corner and possibly the young girl leaning against the conjuror's knees was meant to represent her. It also insinuated a relationship with Sir Joshua Reynolds. The Academy then objected to the painting and asked Hone to remove it from the exhibition. Gooden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon,* 1949.

to present my Respects to the society and hope they will always – regard their own honour – I have but one request to make, to send home my Pictures. If that is to be exhibited."[183] This letter shows her overwhelming concern with her reputation and public perception, even if Hone claimed the painting did not represent her. From this personal example, it seems Kauffman would not have been afraid to have addressed anything she felt was an artistic overreach.

Until the nineteenth century, fine artists were not concerned with the copyright and there are very few examples of any legal action taken against unlawful reproduction. The closest case to the time frame of Kauffman would have been *De Berenger v. Wheble* in 1819. Deazley summarizes the case and the end result suggested anyone could produce copies of existing paintings and drawings without punishment or legal action from those who had actually paid the artist for the privilege of reproduction.[184] If she felt she had been wronged, even if she did not take legal action she would have cut ties with the English print sellers. However, she maintained this profitable relationship. It may not have been monetarily profitable to have copyists recreating prints and designs in her distinctive style, but it helped create an artistic legacy.

Another possibility was the way Kauffman and her print sellers created her works in the first place. In 1774, Kauffman had sold etchings she had made in her studio and even made an advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* for "Twenty Etchings, Designed and Engraved by Angelica Kauffman."[185] These personal sales must have been successful, because two years later she advertised two more designs:

TWO Prints from Original Pictures by

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[183] The underlining is in the translation from the source. Maierhofer, *Angelica Kauffmann*, 37.

[184] Deazley, "Breaking the Mould? The Radical Nature of the Fine Art copyright Bill 1862," *Privilege and Property,* 295-98.

[185] *The Public Advertiser* (25 and 26 March 1774).

GUIDO and ANGELICA KAUFFMAN:
The one representing St. Peter and St. Paul, from
the Zampieri Collection at Bologna, the other the
Holy Family in the Collection of the Earl of Warwick.
To be had at Angelica Kauffman's House in Gol-
den Square, and at the Print Shops (figure 22).[186]

While there is little evidence she continued to sell etchings from her London studio after 1776, her short printing activity raises an interesting point briefly mentioned by Jung. Because Kauffman both engraved her own work and sold designs to be engraved, she and her print sellers blurred the lines between originals and copies. The phrases "finished by the hand of Angelica Kauffman" or even "in the style of…" now takes on a new meaning. The link between original and mechanical reproduction was now encouraged by the phrases that graced her designs.[187] Historians are unable to confirm this approach by Kauffman as most of her personal papers were destroyed by herself before she died. However, evidence points to her possession of an acute business sense and instinct. If a male artist were in a similar position, his success would not be attributed to luck.[188] Kauffman had just as much ambition and strategy if not more than many of her contemporaries.

Her designs, especially her prints, helped forge her legacy. She effectively publicized her work through her originals on public display at exhibitions as well as through widely circulated engravings. Her distinct feminine figures and designs effectively stood out from her other

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[186] *The Public Advertiser* (23 February 1776).

[187] Jung, "Print Culture, High-Cultural Consumption, and Thomson's "The Seasons', 1780-1797," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 506.

[188] Vickery, "Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England," 18.

contemporaries. The print market allowed her work to know no boundaries as it spread across Europe. While her particular aesthetic fell out of favor in the Victorian era, her designs were adapted for a new age. The renewal of the Neoclassical interior trend of the 1920s and 1930s in American and the United Kingdom brought her to the decorative forefront of many who desired beautiful, decorative interiors. Even today, eBay and other antique sites list vintage porcelain "signed" by Angelica Kauffman. The amount of reach her designs had and continue to have proves the popularity of a distinct and adaptable brand. Her reputation and popularity in Georgian England has been shown not only in the amount of art created after her style, but also in reconstructions of the past such as the 1995 *Pride and Prejudice.* Some would presume Kauffman's success came from luck. If she had not been in London during the late eighteenth century, she would not have received the same level of success.[189] This may be true, but implies a lack of complacency. Kauffman's fame was earned. It was a brand that turned the whole world "Angelicamad."[190]

Conclusions

Regardless of veiled promotion and extensive copying, Angelica Kauffman adapted and took advantage of a growing market to create a distinct, successful brand, which decorated Georgian England. Kauffman created a brand that was distinct, marketable, and profitable. Her figures hid an agenda of empowering the female artist, but also maintained a modest, simple, feminine charm. The eighteenth-century British print market was the perfect tool for her work to gain recognition. Her designs, whether copied or created by her own hand, became popular

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[189] Dorothy Moulton Mayer, *Angelica Kauffman, R.A. 1741-1807* (Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Coin Smythe Ltd, 1972), 35.

[190] Quoted in a letter of 19 October 1781 from the Danish Ambassador to London, Count Schönborn, to Klopstock. Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Werke und Briefe,* 17 vols (Berlin and New York, 1974-1999), VII. 223.

across Europe and defined an interior decoration trend in Britain. If she had stayed in Italy, she would not have received the same amount of reach. Her time spent in Britain allowed her to make life-long connections with other artists and engravers. Kauffman profited from this brand and its reach in more ways than one. While there is no evidence how much monetary gain she received from prints or her designs, she lived comfortably and was able to continue making art the rest of her life without financial strain.[191] Also, Kauffman's legacy profited from this distinctive brand. She is known primarily for her history paintings, but with the continuous output of copyists and the print market, Kauffman became a household name that was highly desired by many social classes. Unlike other studies on Kauffman, this thesis seeks to provide further insight into copyists of Kauffman, the significance of the print market on her works, and the recognition Kauffman deserves as an entrepreneur.

Kauffman was never a Josiah Wedgwood. Her sex would not have allowed her to become an entrepreneur in that term. However, like Wedgwood, Kauffman responded to a growing market and fulfilled the desires of the middle class with her designs. Her brand, defined by modesty and refinement, was popular for the Georgian middle-class. In fact, Kauffman probably never would have admitted to openly promoting her work in this way as it would have conflicted with the appearance of a modest, eighteenth-century woman. Like the veiled promotion in her paintings, she seemed to make decisions that reflected her desire for recognition. Scholars have consistently pointed out her strengths, which would have heralded a male artist as a prolific,

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[191] Farington notes in his diary that Kauffman, the paintress, earned around £14,000.00 while in England. How Farington came to that number is unknown. It is also unclear how much of that income were from prints. By today's standard, that income would equate to £2,124,780.00 or $2,648,410.78. Farington, *The Farington Diary,* I.13.

hard-working entrepreneur. Despite this shortcoming of her sex, Kauffman was and is still recognized for her work.

Criticized for her figures, it defined her work and made it immediately recognizable. It was true her figures were not as technically accurate due to her lack of anatomical training, but while many have considered it a weakness, it became a strength. In her works, she was able to provide a commentary on overwhelming masculinity and at the same time promote the feminine and specifically the female artist. The aura of modesty and femininity surrounded all of her works and the public came to appreciate it. She did not fight against the patriarchal constraints of the eighteenth century.[192] She used it to her advantage and defined her work around the Georgian culture of sensibility with distinct, classical figures.

The eighteenth-century British print market helped Kauffman and her brand thrive. Both the middle class and the increasing improvement of mass production technology contributed to Kauffman's success. Because her figures and designs were already recognizable and admired, the print market fueled the cravings of the middle class. Prints of her work stretched her name and her brand across Europe. It is true she had built a reputation before coming to England, but it was her stay and interaction in England that allowed her reputation to blossom into a recognizable brand. Her collaboration with English engravers provided her designs with the highest talent and the greatest output. Even when she returned to Italy, she continued this relationship with the English engravers, which allowed her work to constantly be at the forefront of the British public. She also collaborated with authors and other engravers to create illustrations and furniture designs. Even when copyists and other engravers took advantage of her

[192] The only exception was if she felt her reputation had been wrongly accused such as the instance mentioned earlier with Nathaniel Hone.

popular brand, Kauffman understood the importance of the print market, its effects on her financially and on her brand. The print market sealed her legacy and deserves as much attention as her paintings.

The hardest shortcoming in this thesis is the lack of knowledge on Kauffman's intentions. She destroyed many of her personal papers near the end of her life and ordered others to be destroyed at her death. What correspondence was left confirms the overwhelming attitude of art historians towards Kauffman - she was a modest, talented, female artist who focused on history paintings and had an aptitude for decorative schemes. Scholars do acknowledge she had a head for business, foresight, and a basic understanding of the populace's desire in art. Yet few will take the next step and acknowledge her choices and adaptability as a mark of someone who was more than a painter of pretty schemes and chocolate boxes.

This thesis does make that final step and believes Kauffman had an active hand in her success. Her design work and embrace of the print market guaranteed her legacy. She created work that catered to an aesthetic and ideal, which furthered her artistic reach. Her feminine figures made her work distinct and allowed her to be unique from her other contemporaries. She effectively publicized her work in both exhibitions and circulated engravings, which achieved international fame for her and her work. While the Kauffman aesthetic or "Angelicamad" phase became unpopular in the English Victorian era, her designs are still recognizable and used in interior decoration. Through an examination of the literary and government documents, as well as examples of the eighteenth-century print market featuring Kauffman's designs, it is clear Kauffman made active choices with her work, which created a brand that defined an entire era of British art.

Illustrations

Figure 1 Angelica Kauffman, *David Garrick,* ca. 1764. Oil on canvas, 83.8 cm x 69.2 cm. The Burghley House Collection. https://collections.burghley.co.uk/collection/david-garrick-1717-1779-by-angelica-kauffman-r-a-1741-1807/

Figure 2 Angelica Kauffman, *Maria,* ca. 1777. Oil on metal, 31.1 cm x 25.4 cm.

The Burghley House Collection.

https://collections.burghley.co.uk/collection/maria-from-sterne-by-angelica-kauffmann-r-a-1741-1807/

Figure 3 Angelica Kauffman, *The Three Fine Arts* (drawing for a fan), c. 1780. Sepia and ink on paper, from a scrapbook in the Burghley House Collection.

Wendy Roworth, ed. *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England.* (London: Reaktion Books, 1993), 171.

Figure 4 Angelica Kauffman, *The Artist in the Character of Design Listening to the Inspiration of Poetry,* ca. 1782. Oil on canvas, circular diameter 61.

Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood.

William Vaughn. *British Painting: The Golden Age.* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 120.

Figure 5 Angelica Kauffman, *Zeuxis Selecting Models for his Painting of Helen of Troy,* ca. 1778. Oil on canvas, 81.3 cm x 111.8 cm.

(Photo credit: in the public domain)

Figure 6 Angelica Kauffman, *Angelica Kauffmann,* ca. 1770-75. Oil on canvas, 73.66 cm x 60.96 cm. National Portrait Gallery. https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw03540/Angelica-Kauffmann

Figure 7 Angelica Kauffman, *Self-portrait of the Artist hesitating between the Arts of Music and Painting*, ca. 1794, Oil on canvas, 180 cm x 249 cm.

The National Trust Collections.

http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/960079

Figure 8 Francesco Bartolozzi after Angelica Kauffman, *Wanderer, Bell's Poets,* ca. 1780, Etching, 12.2 cm x 7.9 cm. The British Museum. https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3225948&partId=1

Figure 9 Bernhard Siegrist after Angelica Kauffman, *Celadon and Amelia,* ca. 1791, Stipple engraving.

https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objobjec=1648917&page=1&partId=1&peoA=119271-2-23&people=119271

36. J. M. Delattre afer Angelika Kauffman, *Penelope Weeping over the Bow of Ulysses*, 1779, colour stipple, 372 × 282 mm (London, British Museum).

Figure 10 J. M. Delattre after Angelica Kauffman, *Penelope Weeping over the Bow of Ulysses,* ca. 1779, Colour stipple engraving, 37.2 cm x 28.2 cm.

Antony Griffiths. "English Prints in Eighteenth-century Paris," *Print Quarterly.* Vol. 22, Issue 4 (December 2005), 385.

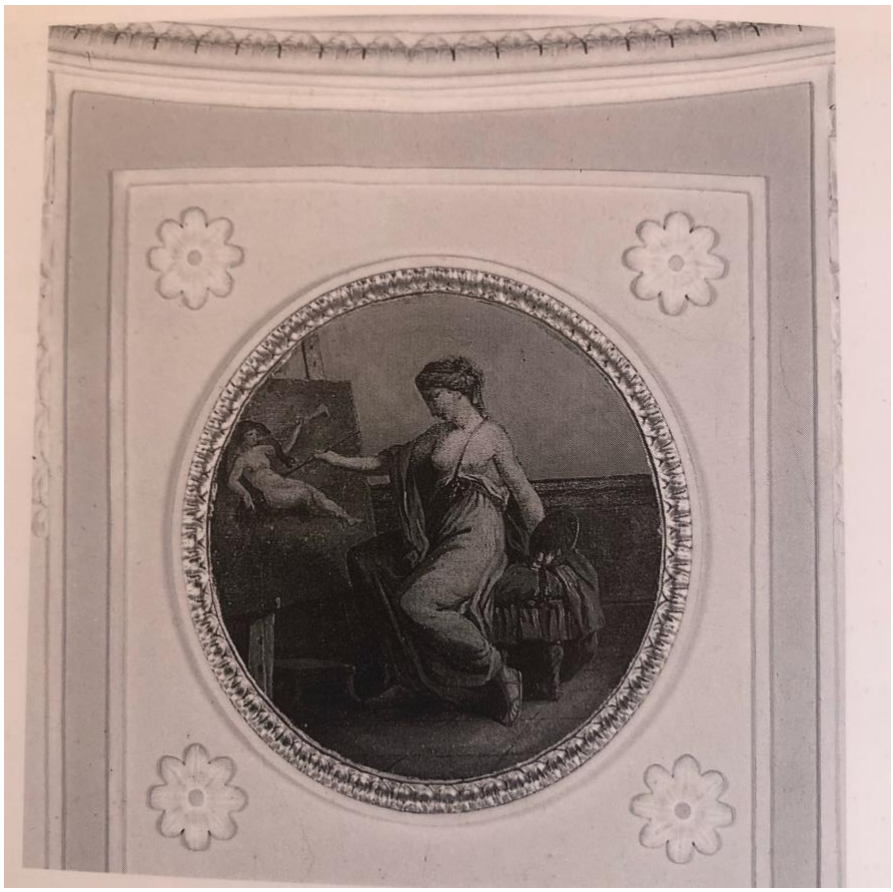

Figure 11 Attributed to Antonio Zucchi after Angelica Kauffman, *Painting,* ca. 1770s, Oil on paper applied to canvas.

Chandos House, London.

Wendy Wassyng Roworth ed., *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London: Reakiton Books, 1993), 118.

Figure 12 Angelica Kauffman, *Beauty Directed by Prudence Rejects with Scorn the Solicitations of Folly*, ca. 1783, Oil on paper applied to canvas.

Newby Hall, North Yorkshire.

Wendy Wassyng Roworth ed., *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London: Reakiton Books, 1993), 121.

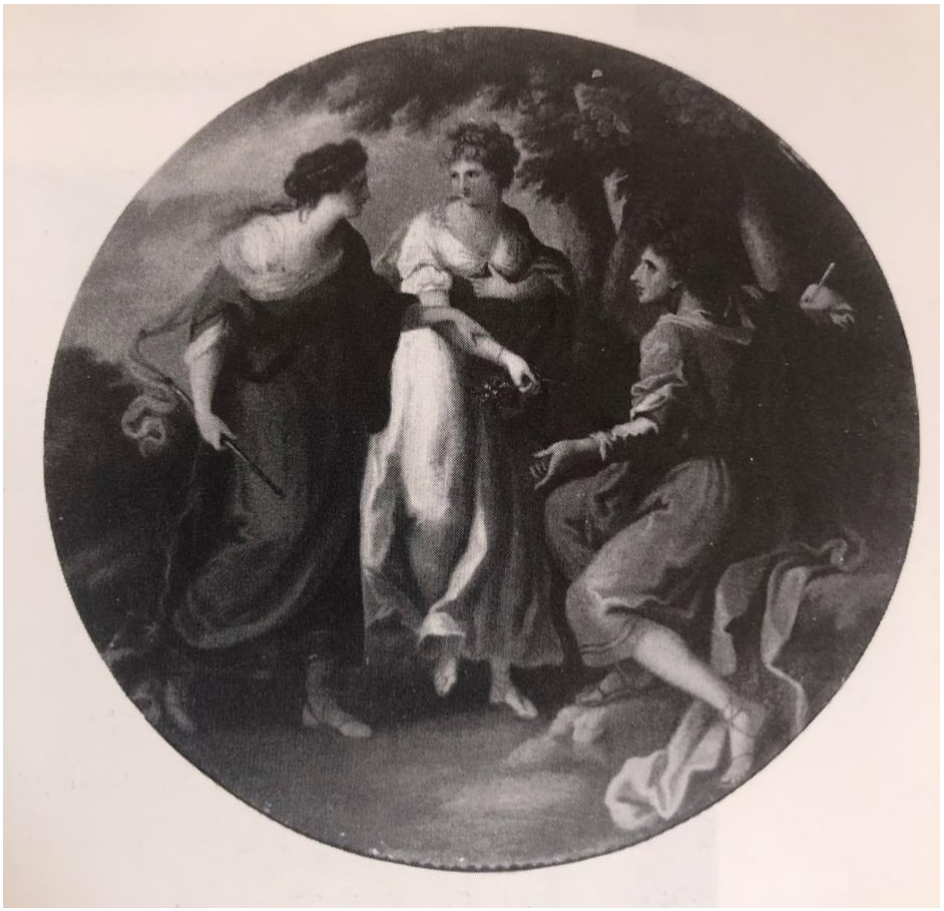

Figure 13 Angelica Kauffman, *Design Directed by Beauty to Give her Allegiance to Poetry,* ca. 1783, Oil on paper applied to canvas.

Newby Hall, North Yorkshire.

Wendy Wassyng Roworth ed., *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London: Reakiton Books, 1993), 121.

Figure 14 After compositions by Angelica Kauffman, *Pair of Doors with Scenes After Angelica Kauffman*, ca. after 1784, Wood, polychromed copper, gilt bronze.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/209227?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=Angelica+kauffman&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1

Figure 15 Thomas Burke after Angelica Kauffman, *Cupid Disarm'd by Euprosyne,* ca. 1784, Stipple Engraving.

Rijks Museum. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-22.491

Figure 16 Scenes after designs by Angelica Kauffman, *Pair of Vases,* ca. 1780-1800, Hard-paste porcelain.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/188531

Figure 17 William Wynne Ryland after Angelica Kauffman, *Etiam Amor Criminibus Plectitur*, ca. 1777. Stipple etching, 3.64 cm x 3.12 cm. The British Museum. https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3151162&partId=1&searchText=Angelica+kauffman&page=3

Figure 18 Gabriel Scorodomoff after Angelica Kauffman, *The Graces Dancing*, ca. 1778. Stipple etching.

Angelika Kauffmann und ihre Zeit: Graphik und Zeichnungen von 1760-1810. (Düsseldorf: C.G. Boerner, 1979), 46.

Figure 19 Simon Langton, "Episode 6" *Pride and Prejudice,* ca. 1995. DVD.

Pride and Prejudice, DVD, directed by Simon Langton (1995, UK: BBC Television and BBC Worldwide, 1995), 27:40.

Figure 20 Gabriel Scorodomoff after Angelica Kauffman, *Sacrifice to Ceres,* ca. 1778. Stipple etching.

Angelika Kauffmann und ihre Zeit: Graphik und Zeichnungen von 1760-1810. (Düsseldorf: C.G. Boerner, 1979), 49.

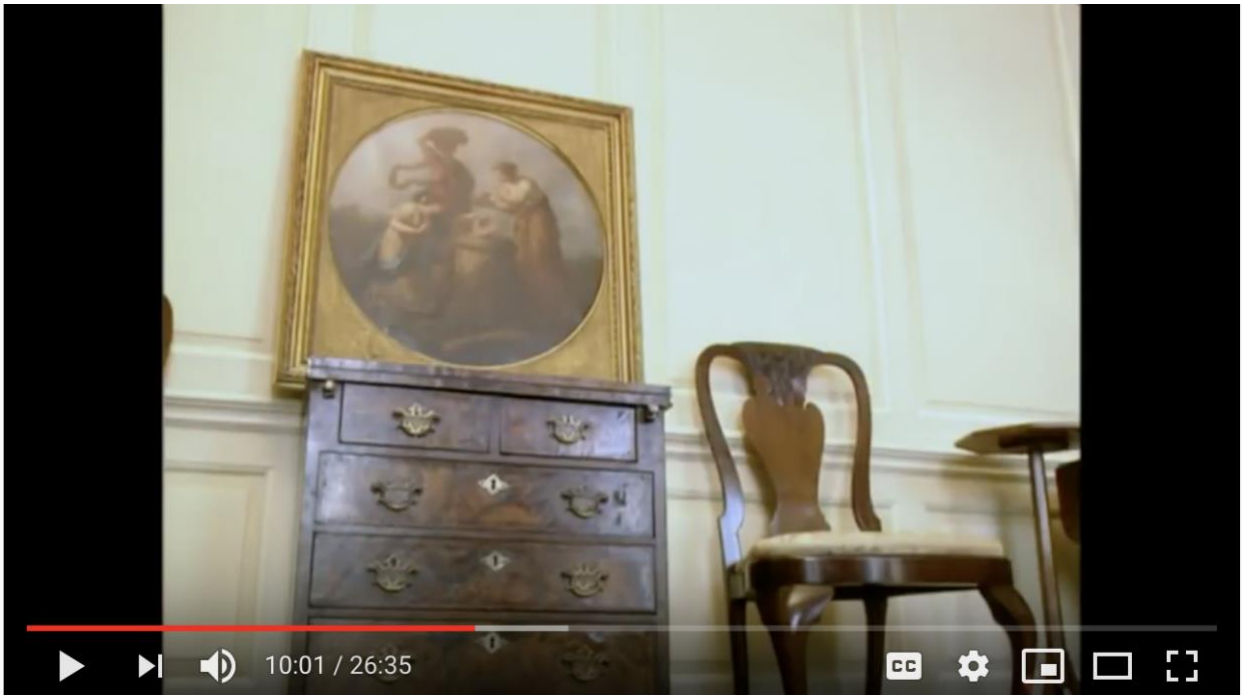

Figure 21 Simon Langton, "Making of… Featurette," *Pride and Prejudice*, ca. 1995. DVD.

Pride and Prejudice, DVD, directed by Simon Langton (1995, UK: BBC Television and BBC Worldwide, 1995), 10:01.

Figure 22 Angelica Kauffman, *Ego flos Campi* (The Holy Family with an Angel), ca. 1780. Engraving after her own painting.. The Burghley House Collection.

Wendy Roworth, ed. *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England.* (London: Reaktion Books, 1993), 170.

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