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### The Pathos of the Jacobin Revolution

Patos rewolucji jakobińskiej

Патос якобинской революции

The French way of thinking underwent a profound change in the era of Enlightenment. Socio-political organization was widely criticized; the official interpretation of the *Scriptures* was questioned; belief was set against reason and Revelation against Nature. People came to disbelieve in the "divine State" and awaited the just state on earth. They condemned the hypocrisy of Christian morality which served the monarchy and the Church as an excuse for the exploitation of the common people. Life clashed with moral principles at every step, and everybody felt the daily confrontation in a painful way. Rejecting traditional religious morality people advocated at the same time new moral principles which demanded from the individual honesty in human relations and self-sacrifice in the struggle for a just and ethical state organization. For those who were then alive the revolutionary impulse was above all a moral protest against injustice sanctioned by the feudal rule and the Church. And though events succeeding one another rapidly blurred the idea of ethical renewal, yet it remained alive throughout the revolution merely changing its rank in the hierarchy of problems.

When the heart of the revolution began to beat faster in the years of the Jacobin terror, ethical problems came again to the foreground. They became the weightiest argument justifying the political practice that aimed at a complete transformation of the human consciousness, that fundamental condition of the new political organization. For the real aim to be achieved through broad propaganda was the unity of thinking and of acting of the whole society which was to build with its own hands a just state on earth — the long-dreamt-of republic of virtues.

But the Jacobins fused together ethical ideals and the cult of reason, peculiar for their epoch, which they regarded as an objective force cap-

able of creating a just political organization as soon as it has freed itself from shackles. They treated reason as the highest legislator independent of any authority, whether temporal or divine.

In our survey we intend to focus our attention on that particular artistic activity which the leaders of the revolution employed in the process of educating the new man. We will present in particular the art of Jacques-Louis David, a great artist and a prominent revolutionary, because he was one of the principal inspirers and organizers of the wide-scale campaign of education and propaganda which he conducted with special energy in the period of the Jacobin terror.

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In 1785 J. David showed his picture, *Oath of the Horatii*, at the Salon, i.e. the biennial exhibition of paintings organized under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The picture excited wide interest, the more so that its maker was already an academician and enjoyed the reputation of a leading representative of neoclassicism. Two years later, at the next Salon, a new picture by David, *Death of Socrates*, was exhibited and in the year of the Revolution the painter showed there his *Lictors bringing back to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons*.<sup>1</sup>

These three paintings became, as it were, the manifesto of the new civic ethic; they appealed to the imagination of society much more powerfully than did the brilliant disputes of the philosophers conducted in the circles of the intellectual élite of Paris. David's paintings proclaimed the gospel of the new faith in which the highest rank belonged to three virtues represented by the three pictures mentioned above: duty to the fatherland, love of truth and loyalty to the republic. These three virtues were to dominate over personal interest, over family love and were even — if circumstances demanded it — to be paid for with one's life.

*Oath of the Horatii*, exhibited in 1785, presents three Roman knights, each with his right hand up, swearing by the swords held up by their father that they will fight to the last for their mother country.

At the exhibition of 1787 the public saw *Death of Socrates* for the first time. There the noble Sage, surrounded by his disciples, decides to die for the sake of the truth that he has taught.

The third picture, which was exhibited in 1789 — the year that the Bastille fell — was regarded by high nobility as a challenge of the monarchy. In contrast to that the representatives of the third estate saw

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<sup>1</sup> The role of David's paintings as political propaganda is discussed by D. L. Dowd in *Pageant-Master of the Republic*, Lincoln 1948, pp. 24—44.

in it an accusation of the weak king tolerating the betrayal of the fatherland by those surrounding him. Such associations must have indeed been aroused by the scene that the picture presents with its heroic figure of the consul, Brutus, to whose house the lictors are bringing the bodies of his sons sentenced to death by himself for the betrayal of the republic. It is not surprising that the royalists protested against the exhibition of this "mutinous picture". Only under the pressure of the public opinion was it admitted into the Salon, where the disciples of David, wearing the uniforms of the newly formed Nation Guard, were keeping watch over the work of their master.

To us these pictures are not without a certain theatrical pathos, but their contemporaries viewed them with admiration, because they glorified a new morality; they inspired protest against the accepted state of things; finally, they appealed to imagination.

David's triumph also marked the victory of neoclassicism over rococo. The new style in art expressed the aspirations and the moral attitude of the bourgeoisie, its disapproval or even condemnation of easel-pictures that idealized the life of aristocracy. Ideologists of the bourgeoisie wanted art to have social commitments, they thought art should educate people and make them moral. Starting with the middle of the eighteenth century opinions were expressed, even in circles close to the court, that the over-subtle art of the rococo should be replaced by great works proclaiming the glory of the monarchy and its heroes. It is commonly known that the ancient world provided the philosophers of Enlightenment with ethical and aesthetic models. In addition, neoclassicism gained ground owing to an increasing interest in antiquity that was the result of excavations in Herculaneum and Pompeii.<sup>2</sup> The glamour that descended on ancient history was largely the result of the work of two Germans staying in Rome, one of whom was the archaeologist Winckelmann and the other — the painter R. Mengs. The charm on the two men captivated both the ideologists of Enlightenment and the leaders of the French Revolution.<sup>3</sup>

In the autumn of 1775 the twenty-seven-year old Jacques-Louis David found himself in Rome where for five years he was earnestly studying the art of antiquity, as is evidenced by the twelve notebooks from this period filled with drawings and sketches. In future these notebooks were to become an inexhaustible mine of his artistic ideas.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Herculaneum was discovered in 1738 and excavations were continued there till 1780. Pompeii was discovered in 1748.

<sup>3</sup> H. T. Parker: *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries*, Chicago 1937, pp. 8—36.

<sup>4</sup> W. George: *Le Dessin Français de David à Cézanne et l'esprit de la tradition baroque*, Paris 1929, pp. V—XLI.

David's characteristic style was shaped in Italy so that when he returned to Paris his pictures — and in particular *Belisarius*, the portrait of *Count Potocki*, *The Grief of Andromache over the body of Hector* — exhibited in the years 1781—1783, opened before him the door of the Academy and made him a universally acknowledged leader of neoclassicism.<sup>5</sup>

Yet it seems that term "neoclassicist" does not suffice to define his art. The problem is more complex because a lot of things contributed to the development of the style of this great artist and his way of seeing the world. Undoubtedly, he was powerfully affected by the ideas of Enlightenment, which he strove to express through his art and owing to which he came to be called "the philosopher of the brush". But he also possessed some sort of romantic cult of antiquity that was to become the inspiration of his art. What is more, ancient sculpture moulded his realistic style and trained him to observe rigorously the principles of proportion, rhythm of composition, logic of construction. In addition, he was a man whose artistic activity arose from a profound belief that a work of art should teach society principles of civic morality, inspire it to heroic deeds and that it should even become the sword of revolution destroying the enemies of the new order.

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Louis XVI convened the estates-general in May 1789 ordering them to hold separate sessions as an independent Assembly of the Estates. It will be remembered that the representatives of the third estate refused to form a separate body and when the king ordered the closing of the chamber of session they adjourned, on June 20, 1789, to the *jeu de paume* (tennis) court. There they swore solemnly on the same day never to disperse until they had given France a constitution and not to be deterred by anything. A unanimous decision of the third estate was the first victory of the followers of new order over the monarchy.

A year later, when an anniversary of this decision of the deputies of the third estate to defy the king was celebrated, David promised "to transmit to posterity the features of the inflexible friends of the public weal".<sup>6</sup> The Jacobins, who were supporting David's initiative, wanted to give wide circulation to a smaller, engraved version of the future painting, while its large-size original was to decorate the chamber of the

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the equestrian portrait of Stanislaw Kostka Potocki see A. Ryszkiwicz: *Francusko-polskie związki artystyczne [French-Polish Relations in Art]* Warszawa 1967, pp. 32—46.

<sup>6</sup> A. Mathiez: *Les origines des cultes révolutionnaires, 1789—1792*, Paris 1904, p. 49.

National Assembly. An announcement even appeared that a public subscription would be taken for the picture which was to commemorate the turning-point in the history of France. David set to work enthusiastically; he was drawing fragments, making sketches grouping individual figures. He finally did compose the whole picture but never completed it, because political events, in which he was deeply involved, followed one another rapidly and left him little time for systematic work. He only made a small drawing of the whole and exhibited it for the first time in 1791. The drawing has been reprinted a number of times in various books and has become — as it were — an official document of those stirring days. It aptly reflects the mood of the times and the emotions of the people who were starting the Revolution, and more than anything it expresses their collective will to create a new order on the ruins of the old one. Through the open windows of the tennis court where the excited deputies are taking their oath can be seen a raging storm with thunderbolts — an image of the destruction of the hated past.

Whereas David's picture symbolizes the unity of purpose of those who aimed at a complete break with the past, the festival on the Champ de Mars, with which the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was celebrated, was an expression of the readiness of the whole nation to become reconciled to the monarchy and the Church. The celebration was also organized to honour the establishing of National Federation which demonstrated the unity of France evenly divided since December 1789 into 83 departments. The procession of *fédérés* representing the newly created Departments was enthusiastically applauded by a throng of 300 thousand people gathered on the Champ de Mars. There, in view of all the people, Talleyrand celebrated Mass on the altar of *la patrie* and Lafayette took an oath, in behalf of all those attending the ceremony, to be faithful for ever "to the nation, the law and the king". The Fête of Federation was regarded as a national reconciliation; it was a demonstration of patriotism strengthened by the brotherly unity of the French people gathered round their king and their Church. But the unity shown on the Champ de Mars on 14th of July 1790 turned out to be merely illusory for soon various kinds of antagonism began to rise to the surface. There were disagreements between the reactionary court and the liberal leaders of the Revolution; the provinces opposed the decisions of the capital; after the confiscation of ecclesiastic property and subordination of clerics to the State religious conflicts broke out between political parties; finally, major differences emerged between the interests of the bourgeoisie and the city paupers led by the numerous Jacobin clubs.

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During the first three years of the Revolution a number of suggestions were made to the effect that artists should celebrate with monumental works the achievements of the new order. When the third estate was transforming the Constituent Assembly into the National Legislative Assembly the *Mercure de France* was predicting that in the new era art would have to serve as propaganda of the ideas of reformers. Among the few projects that were carried out a notable one was the decision of the National Assembly, taken a day after Mirabeau's death on 2nd April 1792, to convert the church of Sainte-Geneviève into the Panthéon — a national shrine dedicated to the heroes of France. The front of the edifice was to bear the inscription: *Aux Grands Hommes, La Patrie Reconnaissante*.<sup>7</sup> The task of converting the church was entrusted to Quatremère de Quincy who gave it secular character by replacing Christian images with revolutionary iconography.

At the time of the Revolution the printed word was doubtless an important factor in shaping public opinion, yet the service to which it could be put was restricted both because the programs of the numerous political clubs differed and because a large percentage of people were illiterate. Hence an essential role in shaping the consciousness of the masses was played by popular festivals, of which David said that they were organized by the people and for the people. Prepared carefully, they made active thousands of people who participated in them, and at the same time they were watched by throngs of spectators. The effectiveness of these large-scale spectacles depended largely on the collaboration of various artists, because fêtes appealed to spectators by their décor, music and words — either recited or sung.

Advocates of popular festivals often quoted the words of Rousseau from his *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles* where he argued that one of the characteristic features of the republic were popular festivals in the open air reflecting the happiness of citizens and their loyalty to their state.

„*Quoi! ne faut-il donc aucun spectacle dans une république?* — asked Rousseau, and answered the question: *Au contraire, il en faut beaucoup. C'est dans les républiques qu'ils sont nés, c'est dans leur sein qu'on les voit briller avec un véritable air de fête. A quels peuples convient-il mieux de s'assembler souvent et de former entre eux les doux liens du plaisir et de la joie, qu'à ceux qui ont tant de raison de s'aimer et de rester à jamais unis? Nous avons déjà plusieurs de ces fêtes publiques; ayons-en davantage encore, je n'en serai que plus charmé. Mais n'adoptons point ces*

<sup>7</sup> Archives parlementaires, vol. XXIV, p. 536 and f.

*spectacles exclusifs qui renferment tristement un petit nombre de gens dans un antre obscur; ...Non, peuples hereux, ce ne sont pas là vos fêtes. C'est en plein air, c'est sous le ciel qu'il faut vous rassembler et vous livrer au doux sentiment de votre bonheur. Que vos plaisirs ne soient efféminés ni mercenaires, que rien de ce qui sent la contrainte et l'intérêt ne les empoisonne, qu'ils soient libres et généreux comme vous, que le soleil éclaire vos innocents spectacles; vous en formerez un vous-même, le plus digne qu'il puisse éclairer."*<sup>8</sup>

At the outset of the Revolution Mirabeau likewise affirmed the need to organize popular festivals because he believed that they appeal to the emotions and the imagination of people. He thought that man obeys his passions more readily than his reason and this is why it is not enough to prove to him that something is true; one should rather arouse his love of truth. Even the constitution of 1791, which established the "sovereignty of the nation" on the ruins of absolute rule, said that *fêtes nationales* should educate society and unify public opinion.<sup>9</sup>

During the Terror Danton thought that in order to attain an ardent love of liberty the whole nation should participate in *fêtes nationales*, in mass celebrations and in pageants commemorating revolutionary deeds. He demanded in his speeches that all should be given weapons who were able to carry them, that education should be provided to all youth and mass festivals to the people. Robespierre, on the other hand, viewed the matter more broadly, for he was convinced that *fêtes nationales* should not only educate society in the spirit of civic virtues, but should also become a factor that controlled and directed emotions and opinions, so that the concerted effort of all might lead to the building of a republic of virtues.<sup>10</sup>

The methods of organizing mass festivals became perfected during the years of the Revolution. Those who organized them mostly belonged to groups which, supported by the masses, opposed the declaration of revolutionary changes. The *fêtes* that should be mentioned here were: the moving of Voltaire's remains to the Panthéon and the Fête of Liberty organized in honour of the soldiers from the regiments stationed at Nancy who had rebelled against their aristocratic officers.

As is commonly known, the Paris clergy had denied Voltaire Church burial in 1778. After the outbreak of the Revolution his old friends decid-

<sup>8</sup> J. J. Rousseau: *Contrat Social ou Principes du Droit Politique, précédé de Discours, Lettre A. D'Alembert sur les Spectacles*, Paris 1900, pp. 228—229.

<sup>9</sup> B. F. Hyslop: *French nationalism in 1789 according to the general cahiers*, New York 1934, pp. 178—183.

<sup>10</sup> A. Cobban: *The Political Ideas of Maximilien Robespierre during the Period of the Convention*, "English Historical Review", No. LXI, 1946, p. 62 and f.

ed to pay tribute to the great thinker and to bury him with honour in revolutionary Paris. This idea was eagerly taken up by the patriots who advocated the new order. The intention of organizing a Voltaireian ceremony remained unrealized until the spring of 1791 when the Pope condemned the subordination of the French clergy to the government. This was followed by the ignominious attempt of Louis XVI to flee the country in June of the same year. Less than a month after this ill-fated attempt, on July 11 1791, Paris became the arena of huge anti-royalist and anti-Church manifestation organized on the occasion of moving Voltaire's remains to the Panthéon. The procession, in which a hundred thousand people were said to have participated, was distinguished by its décor modelled on the antiquity, as well as by its music and chorus chants composed specially for the occasion. The participants had banners, the images and symbols carried in the procession were evidently secular in character, though the procession did resemble a Church ceremony. Yet it was intended as glorification of Voltaireian anti-clericalism. The Revolution dissociated itself from the Church and was preaching victory of reason over prejudice, of philosophy over faith and of freedom over tyranny. Owing to this ceremony it now had its "great saint" who soon came to be regarded as the founder of the new cult of Supreme Being. Camille Desmoulins wrote that no saint of the old calendar entered heaven with greater pomp than did "St. Voltaire".

The revolutionary zeal kindled up by the Voltaireian manifestation was soon cooled by the tragic events that occurred less than a week later, on July 17 1791, in Champ de Mars. An unarmed crowd, demanding a trial of the disgraced monarch, was met with a volley of shots which killed fifty people. This was followed by the rule of royalist reaction supported by Barnave, Lameth and Lafayette who left the ranks of the Jacobins in order to form the so-called Feuillant Club.

The authorities did not permit manifestation in honour of the victims of the Champ de Mars massacre, whereupon Jacobin clubs resolved to protest against lawlessness by organizing Fête of Liberty on the first anniversary of the events at Nancy. A year before several regiments of the garrison of Nancy, among them one of the Swiss of Châteauevieux, had protested against financial abuses of their pro-royalist officers. Their mutiny was brutally suppressed: twenty soldiers were hanged and forty condemned to the galleys. The Jacobins denounced the events at Nancy as an act of counterrevolution. When it was revealed that the man responsible for the massacre of the Swiss of Châteauevieux, Marquis de Bouille, deserted after the king's unsuccessful attempt to flee the country, the Jacobin attitude came to be widely accepted. After the Champ de Mars tragedy the word Châteauevieux became the battle-cry of the pa-



triotis resisting reactionary policy. Funds were being raised to pay for freeing from the galleys those Swiss who survived and to honour the victims of despotism. David, who became a member of the Jacobin club in 1790, was the main designer of the décor of both the previous ceremony and the present one, while Gossec composed the music for it and M. J. Chénier wrote the lyrics. The procession that was to honour the soldiers of Nancy turned into a vast manifestation in praise of liberty, as its organizers had intended. On April 15, 1792 a crowd of sansculottes numbering almost half a million demonstrated its power and its indomitable revolutionary zeal. For the people of France the festival was more than a vindication of the Nancy soldiers, more even than a fête of liberty; it was a plebiscite declaring support to the republic and rejection of monarchy. Royalist attempts to organize *fêtes nationales* failed; they turned into army parades in which the people took no part remaining mere passive spectators. Such was the festival organized on June 3rd 1792 on behalf of order and harmony and aiming at instilling in society respect for the law which was to curb revolutionary enthusiasm. In contrast to this, popular festivals in which the people participated had three distinguishing features: 1) opposing exclusiveness, 2) secular character and 3) new symbolism that was commonly understood.

1. The artists active in organizing mass ceremonies were closely connected with the cultural policy of the Jacobins who opposed such an exclusive organization as the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Until the time of the Revolution this Bastille of aristocratic art had dictatorial status and arbitrarily decided about all matters of art. Only owing to Jacobin criticism was it deprived of its privileges when, in the autumn of 1790, a rival organization, and one more democratic, was set up under the name of Commune des arts. When this, too, began to turn into a closed corporation, a more democratic association of artists was established. It was called La Société populaire et republicaine des arts, and its president, L. F. Boizot, defined the principal aim of the new organization in the following words: "*Aimer la république, une et indivisible, hair les tyrans, sacrifier tout pour la liberté et l'égalité, placer son bonheur à bien mériter de la patrie et de ses frères.*"<sup>11</sup>

The Jacobins criticized both exclusive associations of artists and art addressed to a narrow circle of people, because they wanted art to be clear and communicative so that it might influence the masses and mould their consciousness. Hence *fêtes nationales* were one of the principal criteria of the usefulness of art in the revolutionary effort to transform society.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted after J. A. Leith: *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750—1799*, Toronto 1965, p. 112.

2. *Fêtes nationales* were also an expression of de-Christianization of society and their secular character was clearly demonstrated, though superficially they retained the Church ritual and the vocabulary of religion. Prayers were said during popular manifestations. Speeches and pamphlets were full of such words as sin, condemnation, transformation, salvation and the notion that recurred most frequently was that of sainthood: *La sainte patrie, la sainte liberté, or la sainte Constitution*. The Jacobins themselves believed in their priestly vocation which bid them create the republic of virtues on earth.

3. The Revolution also made familiar the new symbolism which was widely used and understood without any ambiguity. During *fêtes nationales* revolutionary ideals were represented by means of symbols and allegories. In the symbolic language of the Revolution the level signified equality, the Phrygian cap — liberty, the pike — the weapon of poor people, the mace — universal will, fasces — revolutionary solidarity, oak wood — re-birth of civic virtues, the eye — the watchfulness of providence. The three republican ideals — liberty, equality and fraternity were personified by three women holding up appropriate symbols. But the total number of allegorical matrons was much larger than that, for they also represented nature, reason, philosophy, truth, victory, justice, unity. Revolutionary symbols and allegories were an important element of the new order coming into existence at the time. And though this new order reacted against Christianity, yet it did not abandon religious ritual, more than that — it tried assiduously to acquire its own saints and martyrs.<sup>12</sup>

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Karl Marx wrote about the first French Revolution: "*In der ersten französischen Revolution folgt auf die Herrschaft der Konstitutionellen die Herrschaft der Girondins und auf die Herrschaft der Girondins die Herrschaft der Jacobiner. Jede dieser Parteien stützt sich auf die fortgeschrittenere. Sobald sie die Revolution weit genug geführt hat, um ihr nicht mehr folgen, noch weniger ihr vorangehen zu können, wird sie von dem Kühnern Verbündeten, der hinter ihr steht, beiseite geschoben und auf die Guillotine geschickt. Die Revolution bewegt sich so in aufsteigender Linie.*"<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In his exhaustive study on the use of art for Revolutionary purposes J. A. Leith emphasizes the role of allegories and symbols in it. *Ibid.*, pp. 96—128.

<sup>13</sup> K. M a r x: *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*, Berlin 1953, p. 37, Bücherei des Marxismus-Leninismus, Band 39.

Contrary to the hopes of liberal bourgeoisie the constitutional monarchy, established in September 1791, lasted no longer than ten months. The new legislative Convention which assembled in October of the same year was — on the one hand — under the pressure of reactionary groups headed by the king, and on the other — under that of the patriotic forces displeased with half-hearted measures. The declaration of war on Austria, with which the court associated its hopes for the suppression of the Revolution, merely accelerated the downfall of the monarchy, because military losses increased internal difficulties, releasing a new wave of revolutionary action on 10th August 1792. A new government, the Commune, was formed under the pressure of the people, monarchy was abolished and the Legislative Convention was replaced by the National Convention, a new body formed by popular vote.

The Revolution demonstrated its power. Troops of sansculottes, inspired by patriotism and revolutionary zeal, were able not only to resist the best European armies but passed to counterattack. Defending their thrones the European monarchs formed a coalition, because the Convention announced at the outset that it would offer help to any people of Europe fighting for their liberty against their royal tyrants. Immediately afterwards the Convention sentenced to death Louis Capet, the King of France, for his betrayal of the French people.

Attempts at saving monarchy, difficult situation at the different fronts and in the country itself, finally — the outbreak of a counter-revolutionary insurrection in the Vendée made the Girondists — the right wing of the Convention — lose influence among the masses. On 31st May 1793 Robespierre became the leader of a popular uprising. That brought about the downfall of the Girondists. Power was seized by the Jacobins, called "Montagnards" from their upper seats in the session room of the Convention. The Jacobin terror was about to begin.

As the Revolution gathered momentum the Jacobins came to realize that their victory depended on a close bond with the people. Robespierre remarked in the notebook which he kept during the days of the uprising that domestic dangers were the work of the bourgeoisie. To triumph over the bourgeoisie — he reflected — it was necessary to win the favour of the people. The people had to become the allies of the Convention so that the Convention would direct the action of the people.<sup>14</sup>

Having come to power the Jacobins did not cease in their efforts to influence the consciousness of the people. They realized that the mass processions organized in those years were an effective means of control-

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<sup>14</sup> Quoted after A. Soboul: *Rewolucja francuska [The French Revolution]*, Warszawa 1951, p. 179.

ling the emotions of the excitable Parisian people to whom popular songs together with images and symbols appealed more strongly than did the printed word. This kind of appeal became then even more of a vital problem, because the radical leaders of the Revolution aimed at a complete transformation of human consciousness; they wanted to replace man's belief in supernatural forces by a belief in self-salvation. The people were to believe that they could build the divine state on earth through their own effort. This vision of the new state was neither that of heavenly kingdom, nor that of the Eden of wealth; what was to be created was a republic of civic virtues, the triumph of freedom and justice. The past was to be left behind and a future was promised that was to be built by the people themselves. The Promethean idea inspired men with readiness to act and strengthened their will to make whatever sacrifices were necessary in the struggle for a just political system. Those ancient heroes, who — like Brutus — condemned to death their own sons for betraying their fatherland, were now in the minds of all. However, a clear distinction was made between the heroic ethic of the patriots and those rules of everyday morality which were reflected in such virtues as industry, modesty, loyalty to one's spouse, or love for one's parents. But the high civic morality, those heroic virtues to which the Revolution aspired, justified the Jacobin terror, as they gave meaning to the republic of virtue. Robespierre insisted that a man's love of his fatherland was the only guarantee that the revolutionary government would not become despotic.

In the Jacobin conception heroic virtues demanded a new sacral tradition, new saints and martyrs whose blood sacrifice would consolidate belief in the nascent order.

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The group of Jacobin martyrs wearing the halo of sainthood came to include Lepelletier, Łazowski, Marat and the two younger heroes — Bara and Viala — who died fighting against counter-revolution. The first three were honoured by funeral processions, whereas the deaths of the last two could not be followed by such manifestations as the Montagnards had earlier fallen from power.

The death of the king upon the guillotine in January 1793 made the struggle between the royalists and the republicans fiercer. To the former the death of their monarch seemed like redemption of his errors and weaknesses. After his death Louis XVI became the martyr of the royalist cause and the hero of reactionaries. But the people of Paris remained unaffected by this mood; on the contrary, they took the opport-

unity to demonstrate their loyalty to the Republic. On the eve of the king's execution a royalist assassinated a popular deputy to the Convention, Michel Lepelletier. The assassination roused the people to indignation and the Convention issued the following address to them: "Citizens, it is not one man alone who has been struck, it is you; it is not Michel Lepelletier who has been basely assassinated, it is you; it is not against the life of a deputy that the blow has been dealt but against the life of the nation, against public liberty, against popular sovereignty!"<sup>15</sup>

The procession of the people at the funeral of their assassinated leader moving along the streets of Paris from the Place Vendôme to the Panthéon, where Lepelletier was solemnly buried, became a vast manifestation of the French people against monarchy. David presented to the National Convention his canvas entitled *Lepelletier assassinated*, which was a true Pietà of the Revolution. David's hero has the position of the dead Christ from the religious iconography and sculpture that presents Mary with the body of Jesus in her lap. The artist presented a blood-stained sword suspended above Lepelletier's naked body and thrust through a sheet of paper inscribed with the words, "I vote the death of a tyrant". David's painting was hung in the chamber of the Convention.<sup>16</sup>

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Four months after the assassination of Lepelletier the death of Łazowski provided another opportunity for a funeral that the Jacobins turned into a mass demonstration against the Gironde. It is appropriate to devote a little attention to Łazowski, a Pole who — in comparison with later Polish revolutionaries — has remained a rather obscure figure in this country.<sup>17</sup> Claudius Łazowski was well known among the radicals

<sup>15</sup> The text of the address was published by all newspapers, among others by "Auditeur National" No 128 of Jan. 27, 1793, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> This painting has not been preserved; we know it only from descriptions and from two reproductions (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and Musée de Dijon).

<sup>17</sup> A monograph devoted to this historical figure was written only by Witold Łukasiewicz; it appeared with the significant title: *Klaudiusz Franciszek Łazowski — nieznaný bohater Rewolucji Francuskiej* [K. F. Lazowski — the Unknown Hero of the French Revolution], Warszawa 1948. B. Leśnodorski writes in his book *Polscy Jakobini* [Polish Jacobins], Warszawa 1960, on p. 570: "Two eminent Jacobins, Józef Sułkowski and Klaudiusz Franciszek Łazowski, have not been included in this survey because their activity took place mostly abroad." At the same time there is no information about Łazowski in Polish encyclopaedias, e.g. in *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna*.

in Paris though little is known about his earlier life.<sup>18</sup> This is because he distinguished himself and gained a wider reputation only on August 10, 1792, when he was captain in command of the Finistère gunners leading the attack of the sansculottes against the Tuileries.<sup>19</sup> It was then that Łazowski, dubbed the hero of the suburb of Saint-Marceau, was made a member of the Commune. The Girondists attacked him with particular bitterness because he had criticized them violently on March 8—10, 1793. Five days later, on March 15, Łazowski said with pride, at a meeting of the Jacobin Club, that the Girondists had treated him as their enemy and a conspirator and concluded his address in the following way: "*Je respecte la Convention, parce qu'elle est nommée par le peuple, mais quelle opinion voulez-vous que j'aie de quelques individus qui sont nos commis, et qui sont évidemment en état de contre-révolution?*"<sup>20</sup> When he died suddenly, news circulated that he had been poisoned by the Girondists. Such opinion was publicly expressed for the first time by Peyre on Wednesday April 24, 1793 at a meeting of the Jacobin Club in Paris. The joyous mood of those then present, aroused by the news of the acquittal of Marat by the new Revolutionary Tribunal, turned into a wave of violent anger.<sup>21</sup> Peyre's announcement was followed by an immediate reaction — an appeal to all Jacobins and citizens sitting in the galleries to take part in Łazowski's funeral.<sup>22</sup> This funeral was to become a great Jacobin manifestation against the Girondists. At the same meeting Robespierre made a speech in honour of Łazowski, of which only the opening and the closing parts were written down and preserved:

<sup>18</sup> A contemporary of Łazowski, Marie Philipon Mme Roland, who knew him before the Revolution as an inspector of manufactures, devoted to him a full chapter in her memoirs. Cf. *Mémoires de Madame Roland, avec une notice sur sa vie, des notes et des éclaircissements historiques*, par MM. Berville et Barrière, 2-e éd., t. II, Paris 1821, pp. 164—168. However, (Louis) Mortimer-Ternaux, in his monumental work *Histoire de la Terreur 1792—1794 d'après des documents authentiques et inédits*, vol. VII, Paris 1869, p. 168, note 1, threw doubt on the truth of Madame Roland's information for a long time suggesting that she had confused Klaudiusz Łazowski with his brother Maksymilian. The problem was clarified only with the publication of two works: R. Farge: *Documents sur Łazowski*, [in:] *Annales Révolutionnaires*, Besançon 1921, vol. 13, pp. 63—67 and P. Boyé: *La cour polonaise de Luneville (1737—1766)*, Nancy 1926.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, 2-e éd., p. 167; Mortimer-Ternaux: *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>20</sup> *La Société des Jacobins, Recueil de documents pour l'histoire du club des Jacobins de Paris*, éd. F. A. Aulard, vol. V — *Janvier 1793 à Mars 1794*, Paris 1895, p. 90.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151, note 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

"Si la tyrannie [of the counter-revolution] — he said — avait eu un défenseur tel que celui que la République vient de perdre, son éloge eût été prononcé avec tous les charmes de l'éloquence, et de toutes les extrémités de la République on lui eût décerné des honneurs publics, tels que ceux qu'on a décernés à Mirabeau. Mais, quand un grand homme ignoré termine sa modeste carrière, quand il n'a pour panégyristes que les hommes qui lui ressemblent, ce grand homme n'est loué que par le peuple [...]"

Further it is recorded in the minutes that Robespierre spoke about Łazowski's efforts "pour faire entendre la vérité à la Convention". During his address an unfinished gallery collapsed under the weight of visitors who were crowding there having failed to find room elsewhere. Robespierre continued:

"Citoyens, connaissez le prix de la liberté, puisqu'il faut tant de crimes pour opprimer ses défenseurs. Pleurez votre frère... Je le pleure, mais je jure que ma douleur profonde tournera au profit de la liberté. (Applause). Je jure que tous les amis de Lazowsky, c'est-à-dire tous les patriotes, sont mes amis, je jure que je leur suis dévoué jusqu'à la mort. Je jure par l'ombre de Lazowsky, je jure par son tombeau, une haine implacable à tous les fripons, un amour immortel à tous les hommes vertueux, à tous les malheureux.

Citoyens, si vous voulez conserver ce que vous avez de plus cher, honorez la mémoire des patriotes, donnez cette consolation à leurs successeurs, et que de la cendre des défenseurs de la liberté renaissent des millions de vengeurs. (Applause. All the citizens take off their hats and swear simultaneously to avenge the death of Łazowski).

Citoyens — continued Robespierre — ne soyez plus la dupe du charlatanisme de nos ennemis, qui n'honorent que les héros de l'intrigue. Lazowsky était au sein du peuple!

Vous avez des magistrats dignes de vous, car on assure qu'ils veulent rendre des honneurs à la mémoire du vertueux Lazowsky. Donnez l'exemple au reste de la terre d'honorer les amis de la liberté. Ils ne sont pas dans la classe opulente, ils sont parmi les sansculottes. Soyez persuadés que, quel que soit le nombre de nos ennemis, nous sommes plus forts qu'eux; nous avons la raison, la vertu et le peuple! (Applause).<sup>23</sup>

Responding to Robespierre's fiery speech the Jacobins made a spontaneous demand to honour Łazowski. This is what the record says: "Mit-tié fils demande qu'un artiste, choisi parmi les membres de la Société, soit chargé d'exécuter le buste de Lazowsky, qui sera placé à côté de celui de Brutus.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 153 and f.

Robespierre propose de charger des membres de rédiger une adresse aux Sociétés affiliées sur l'événement malheureux de la mort du patriote Lazowsky.

*Cette proposition, appuyée par Peyre, est adoptée.*

C... — Citoyens, il faut que la cendre d'un sans-culotte repose au Panthéon. Il occupera la place que Mirabeau profane actuellement. Nous ne pouvons pas ordonner cette translation, mais nous devons recueillir religieusement la cendre de Lazowsky, en attendant qu'une Convention plus pure que celle qui existe honore ce patriote.

David propose que son coeur, renfermé dans une pierre, soit placé sous la tribune, et il demande à remplir les fonctions de commissaire pour ordonner les obsèques de Lazowsky.

On propose de nommer des commissaires pour connaître la cause de la mort de Lazowsky et en rendre compte à la Société.

Une députation de la section du Finistère, à laquelle appartenait Lazowsky, et qui a assisté à la séance, demande à conserver le coeur de ce patriote.

*La séance a été levé à dix heures.*<sup>24</sup>

The people of Paris buried Łazowski on April 28 on the Place du Carrousel from where, less than a year before, he had led the attack on the Tuileries.<sup>25</sup> The red flags, those symbols of Revolution, the ringing of the bells and the music composed specially for the occasion — all these aroused indignation against the Girondists who were blamed for Łazowski's death.<sup>26</sup> A month after his funeral those who had participated in the obsequies brought about the fall of the Gironde.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>25</sup> Though D. L. Dowd discusses perceptively propaganda role of mass manifestations, he mentions Łazowski only in a peripheral way. In fact he merely states that Łazowski's funeral ceremony "was a marvelous opportunity for the Jacobins to assemble their forces and to rally the masses to their cause." (*op. cit.*, p. 103).

<sup>26</sup> The funeral was put off till Sunday 28th April to let working people participate and to achieve thus broader popular response. The program of the ceremony, prepared by David, is presented in the study of Farge (*op. cit.*, pp. 63—67). A detailed description of Łazowski's funeral — tallying with this program — can be found in Robespierre's newspaper *Le Republicain*, "Journal des hommes libres", No 181, vol. XXVI, 1793. The main points of the ceremony are presented in short in Mortimer-Ternaux: *op. cit.*, pp. 467—468. See also Łukaszewicz: *op. cit.*, pp. 247—251.

<sup>27</sup> Łazowski's bust was ready a few months later. It was offered to the Jacobin Society by Curtius and the fact was recorded in the minutes on 28th brumaire an. II (18th November 1793). Cf. *La Société des Jacobins*, vol. V, p. 525.



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The third martyr of the Jacobin Mountain party was Marat who was stabbed to death by Charlotte Corday on 13th July 1793. His death made a deep impression in Paris. The sansculottes demanded vengeance for the death of this great leader of the Revolution commonly called "the friend of the people". But the situation had changed radically; the Jacobins were in power, whereas the Girondists, now in opposition, organized resistance against the Convention. There was an open insurrection in the Vendée and a serious possibility of foreign intervention. At such a time the Jacobins were by no means keen to arouse the emotions of the people; they were rather anxious to calm those emotions. This is why Marat's funeral procession passed along the streets of Paris in silence, by night, in the light of torches and to the sound of muffled drums, till the bier reached his place of rest in the garden of the church of the Cordeliers where he had often made his speeches.

In November 1793 David presented to the Convention his famous picture *Marat Assassinated*, which was frequently reproduced and which contributed largely to the spreading of the cult of Marat.

The revolutionary canonization of Marat was the last ceremony of this kind. As the Jacobins fell from power it was no longer possible to honour with funeral manifestations the two heroic boys who died in the struggle against counter-revolution. The fourteen-year-old Joseph Bara fell in the Vendée and the thirteen-year-old Joseph Agricola Viala was mortally wounded near Avignon.

The hardships which became serious in the summer of 1793 were further aggravated in August when the English seized Toulon with the whole Mediterranean fleet. Facing new dangers the Jacobins introduced the reign of Terror but at the same time made a tremendous effort to arouse the enthusiasm of the people for an uncompromising struggle against domestic and foreign enemies. Such was the aim of two mass festivals: the first organized on 10th August, the anniversary of the fall of monarchy, the other — on 30th December to honour military victories.

On 10th August there was a vast procession, lasting sixteen hours, during which the people demonstrated the unity and indivisibility of the Republic. It was a great *fête nationale* in honour of France under the Jacobin rule. Owing to the décor designed by David and owing to his appropriate selection and distribution of allegories and symbols, the procession became a colourful illustration of revolutionary ideology. The participants made stops at five different places in the city to honour the ideals of the Republic and its new constitution on which the vote had been taken on 24th June 1793. During this festival were announced the

results of the voting in which the people approved of the new constitution almost unanimously. It was an ultimate victory of the Jacobins and an irrevocable defeat of the Girondists. True, the constitution was postponed until the end of the war and the reign of Terror began, but the festival of unity prepared France for the *levée en masse* which was to turn the country into a war camp.

Two weeks after the celebration the Convention was able to pass the famous act which decided that until the time when enemy forces have been driven away from the territory of the Republic all Frenchmen were to be called to military service. Single men were to be sent to the front, family men were to make weapons and supply food, women were to sew uniforms and nurse the wounded, while old men were to encourage people to fight, teach them to hate tyrants and sing the glory of the Republic.

Owing to general enthusiasm and readiness to sacrifice the Jacobin government was able to keep its ground against the enemy and after Toulon had been re-captured at the end of December 1793 the people of France realized their own strength and came to believe in the power of the Republic which had passed to counter-attack on all fronts. On 30th December the Capital celebrated victory with a mass festival which was again organized and designed by David. The procession moved along to the sound of military marches with the singing of triumphal hymns. Among those marching were civilians, deputies to the Convention and those in authority, as well as representatives of the fourteen armies carrying weapons. Cars went carrying invalids escorted by white-clad girls. The revolutionary symbols and tricolor banners were dominated by the statue symbolizing the unity of will and of action of the French people.

The last public action performed by David during the reign of the Jacobins was the organizing of the Fête of Supreme Being on 8th June 1794 — almost on the eve of 9 Thermidore of an.II. This celebration was of a different nature from those preceding it, because it inaugurated a new religious cult. In his famous speech, delivered at the Convention of March 7 1794, Robespierre sought in the new religion the justification of republican system, asserting at the same time that immorality must lead to social degeneration and despotism. On that occasion a system of national festivals was established setting aside every tenth day, which replaced Sunday, for the exercise of civic virtues. In addition, four annual holidays were to commemorate the principal events of the Revolution: the storming of the Bastille (14th July 1789); the fall of monarchy (10th August 1792); the execution of the king on the guillotine (2nd January 1793); the seizing of power by the Jacobins (31st May 1793).

The introduction of the celebration in honour of the Supreme Being

started with the festival in June, which had the character of religious ceremony glorifying the love of the fatherland and turning it into the principal tenet of the new cult.

Owing to the investigations of Aulard and Mathiez we know the course of the celebrations connected with the establishment of the new religion as well as the role played in it by Robespierre who was its advocate and a sort of arch-priest.<sup>28</sup>

But the illusion that the religious cult of the Supreme Being would make possible the building of a just state on earth was swiftly shattered. The counter-revolution overthrew the Jacobin government by treason and deceit. That happened on the memorable Thermidore 9 of an.II — i.e. on July 1794. Robespierre, arrested on that day, uttered the memorable words about the triumph of bandits and the defeat of the Republic.

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During their rule the Jacobins had made a tremendous effort working to re-shape social consciousness and using in this work all the means at their disposal. For they were convinced that in order to establish their ideal political organization they needed not merely a new constitution and new political and legal institutions; what was an indispensable condition was the transformation of the human nature, a change of motivation of conduct and a new vision and evaluation of the world. This regeneration of man, as it was then called, was justified by the conception professed at the time that human nature is malleable and can be shaped in any manner desired by appropriate education. In accordance with the philosophy of Locke the Jacobins believed that the human mind was a tabula rasa — a clear slate on which traces are left only by experience and education. In their opinion the human personality was merely the result of education. The words of Locke provided them with adequate arguments justifying their universal plan for the moral transformation of society. Education — wrote Locke — "[...] makes the great difference in mankind. The little, and almost insensible impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences; and there is, as in the fountains of some rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels, that make them take quite contrary courses; and by this little direction, given them at first in the

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<sup>28</sup> A. Aulard: *De Culte de la Raison et le de l'Être-suprême*, Paris 1892; A. Mathiez: *Robespierre et le culte de l'Être-suprême*, "Annales Révolutionnaires" 1910, III, pp. 209—238.

source, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at last at very remote and distant places.”<sup>29</sup>

Introducing a comprehensive system of education the Jacobins tried to appeal to the human intellect, the imagination and the emotions. Also, they wanted to bring under the influence of their education the whole society, and not just the youth. The mass manifestations described above were just a form of political education. But other forms were also used along with it: the press, books, the theatre; the work of the artists was valued in particular because art was to appeal to emotions and to imagination.

Announcing the publication of his newspaper, "Le Patriote français", Brissot wrote in April 1789 that the French should be informed and instructed by easily accessible and understandable means. In his opinion this role was to be played by the press reaching people of all ranks and all those who were trying to get release from the shackles of bondage and ignorance.

Indeed, from the very first days of the Revolution there was a rapid development of the patriotic press.<sup>30</sup> Starting in July 1789 there were issued regularly the „*Courrier de Paris à Versailles*” and the „*Révolution de Paris*”; in September of the same year Marat began to publish his "L'Ami du Peuple ou le Publiciste parisien", to mention only some of the papers. The Jacobins were always aware of the importance of the press in the political struggle, but when they came to power they restricted the freedom of the press, so that during the reign of Terror opposition newspapers disappeared and were replaced by new papers, subsidized and controlled by the Jacobins. The paper that had almost the status of official organ at the time was the four-page daily "Feuille du salut public", where — apart from the news — were printed such programme articles as: *Morale politique*, or *La Patrie et non les individus*, stressing the role of civic morality in the life of the Republic. Another Jacobin daily, "Journal de la Montagne", issued since June 1793, conducted a particularly intensive campaign against Christianity at the same time advocating deism as the basis of the new political organization.

There were also two dailies addressed to the army, "Journal des hommes libres", and "Journal militaire" and a few weeks before the fall of Robespierre "La Soirée du camp" began to be issued in a fairly numerous edition. In order to unify the policy of the many Jacobin clubs scattered all over France and in order to make their activity known everywhere

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<sup>29</sup> *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, ed. by J. W. Adamson, London 1912, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup> G. Walter: *Histoire des Jacobins*, Paris 1946.

the "Anti-fédéraliste" was launched. However, the editions of the newspapers were not very large, usually 600 copies to a few thousand, so that the ten thousand copies of "La Soirée du camp" seemed something exceptional. Hence it is not surprising that in order to give wider circulation to press newspapers were read aloud at political meetings and in clubs, a procedure initiated in the Meurthe department.<sup>31</sup>

A more systematic educational programme was to be realized by school which had imbibed republican ideals. In December 1793 the Convention decreed that elementary education free of payment was obligatory. A publishing campaign launched simultaneously resulted in the issue of such new handbooks as: *Elements du jeune républicain*, *Grammaire française républicaine*, *Le manuel des jeunes républicains*, *L'Ami des jeunes patriotes*, which taught the principles of civic ethic, fundamentals of the republican system, new calendar and the cult of the Supreme Being.

Publishing activity was not restricted to books for youth. Some books were also published for adults, presenting in simple, easily understood form the ideals of the Republic. These books often contained imaginary dialogues, collections of simplified aphorisms or collections of stories from history glorifying those who had fought for freedom. These books had significant titles: *Alphabet des sans-culottes*, *Catéchisme républicain*, *La philosophie de sans-culottes*, *Recueil des actions héroïques et civiques*, *Temple de la morale*, *Almanach du républicain* and others. It was their task to teach civic virtues: respect for the Republic and readiness to serve it, subordination of personal interests to common good, industry, modesty, self-discipline, friendliness and to emphasize the importance of virtues accepted in private life.

In their effort to educate all the citizens the Jacobins used — apart from the printed word — also the spoken word making use of the theatrical stage.<sup>32</sup> Owing to the high political tension the audience quickly responded to what was happening on the stage, especially if the action of the play contained any allusions to the current situation. When the Revolution was approaching its peak there were forty theatres in Paris which presented over a hundred plays a year. In August 1793 the Convention resolved to close those theatres which presented — as it was said — pro-royalist plays and plays glorifying prejudice. A few months later the censors reviewed 151 plays out of which 33 were held back and 25 were to be substantially changed.

"Theatre for the people" — such was the inscription running across

<sup>31</sup> J. A. Leith: *Media and Revolution*, Toronto 1968, p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> M. Carlson: *The Theatre of the French Revolution*, Ithaca 1966.

the façade of the National Theatre, called the Theatre of Equality during the Jacobin rule.

Among the means used to shape new social attitudes an exceptional position was occupied by music. One ought to remember that it was an important factor in mass festivals. Chorus chants were perfectly suited to express collective emotions, whereas songs composed on the spur of the moment informed people about current events, which they also appraised, imposing on them emotional colouring.

The Jacobins believed that in manipulating human moods music, of all the arts, affected man's emotions most strongly. That is why they were inclined to value musical compositions and revolutionary songs more highly even than philosophical discussions, as they were convinced that it is impossible to change man's moral attitude by rational arguments alone. To support this view they quoted the words of the treatise *De Musica*, ascribed to Plutarch, asserting that the best government and the most just laws are found in those states which provide their citizens with good musical education.<sup>33</sup> Conversely, they ignored the opinion of Montesquieu, who regarded the Hellenic concept of the educational role of music as a paradox of antiquity.<sup>34</sup> The patriotic leaders of the Revolution, and in particular Danton and Robespierre, were influenced by the four-volume study by Jean-Jacques Barthélemy with a somewhat lengthy title *Voyages du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce dans le milieu du quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire*. It came out a year before the wrecking of the Bastille and became a classical item for many years. Its eighteenth chapter, discussing the educational role of music in ancient Greece, were of major importance for the revolutionaries.<sup>35</sup>

The man who was an ardent advocate of music as a means of education was Jean-Baptiste Leclerc, a member of the National Convention. He believed in the almost magical appeal of music to emotions and ascribed the power of determining the fate of France to two Revolutionary songs: the *Marseillaise* and *Ça ira*.<sup>36</sup>

The National Institute of Music was established in the autumn of 1794; it was to become the organization rallying over a hundred composers who were active at the time. Over 3000 songs were preserved from the period of the Revolution and most of them were composed in 1794.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II, London 1957, p. 379.

<sup>34</sup> Montesquieu: *De l'Esprit des lois*, translated into Polish by T. Boy-Żeleński, vol. I, Warszawa 1957, p. 74.

<sup>35</sup> A. L. Ringer: *J. J. Barthélemy and Musical Utopia in Revolutionary France*, "Journal of the History of Ideas" 1961, vol. 22, No 3, pp. 359—363.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 364—366.

<sup>37</sup> J. A. Leith: *Music as an Ideological Weapon in the French Revolution*, "The Canadian Historical Association" 1966, p. 139.

The people responded readily to tunes and learned at once revolutionary songs which were made known to soldiers and civilians through the efforts of various publishing firms. It can be judged how great was the importance attached to Revolutionary songs from a letter written by one of the generals to the Convention in which he asks, not without some pathetic expressions, for a thousand men and a single copy of the *Marseillaise* and promises to attain victory with their help.<sup>38</sup>

The artists did not turn a deaf ear to the call of the Revolution; they offered their talents to its service and, whenever it was necessary, they also sacrificed their lives. When the Legislative Assembly announced in the summer of 1792: *La patrie en danger!* students of art were the first to come as volunteers and to form a *Compagnie des arts* taking a solemn oath that they would defend the newly won liberty and equality till death. On that occasion the President of the Assembly declared publicly that artists had always been the children of liberty and could not survive without it and that therefore liberty could not have more ardent defenders than were artists.<sup>39</sup>

The story of David's life is one that reveals a limitless involvement of this great artist with the affairs of the Revolution. Yet he was not an exception. Other artists realized the importance of the events and their own social responsibility and followed into David's footsteps. The man who was closely connected with the Jacobins was the painter Jean François Carteaux. He distinguished himself in battle so much that he became a *sansculotte* general and was praised by the Convention as a man *bien mérité de la patrie*. Besides him five other painters achieved the rank of general in the Revolutionary troops. Sergent and Bouquier sat with David in the Jacobin benches at the Convention. Artists were also members of various Republican authorities, among others of the Revolutionary Tribunal and of the Commune.<sup>40</sup> When reactionary forces overthrew the Jacobins ten painters came to share the fate of Robespierre as victims of the guillotine.<sup>41</sup>

Though the Revolution failed ultimately, yet it released the power of the nation which, conscious of its sovereign position in the state, broke with the past in order to inaugurate a new epoch.

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<sup>38</sup> Ch. L'Homme: *Les Chants Nationaux de la France*, Paris 1883, p. 1119.

<sup>39</sup> „Journal des débats et des décrets”, No 348, 9th Nov. 1792, p. 157.

<sup>40</sup> D. L. Dowd: *The French Revolution and the Painters*, "French Historical Studies" 1958, vol. I, No 1, pp. 135—138.

<sup>41</sup> D. Greer: *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution*, Cambridge 1935, p. 154.

## STRESZCZENIE

W epoce Oświecenia dokonał się głęboki przełom w sposobie myślenia Francji. Wiarę przeciwstawiano rozumowi, a objawienie — naturze. Zwątpiono w „państwo boże”, aby uwierzyć w państwo sprawiedliwości na ziemi. Odrzucając tradycyjną religijną moralność, głoszono jednocześnie zasady nowej moralności, żądającej od jednostki uczciwości w stosunkach międzyludzkich oraz poświęcenia w walce o sprawiedliwy ustrój. Dla współczesnych rewolucyjny bunt był przede wszystkim moralnym protestem przeciw niesprawiedliwości uświęconej feudalną władzą. I chociaż szybko następujące po sobie wydarzenia przesłoniły ideę etycznej odnowy, pozostawała ona niezmiennie aktualna w ciągu całej rewolucji, zmieniając jedynie miejsce w hierarchii zagadnień.

Kiedy w okresie jakobińskiego terroru serce rewolucji zabiło żywiej, problemy etyczne uzyskały ponownie naczelną rangę. Stały się one najważniejszymi argumentami uzasadniającymi praktyczną działalność polityczną. Drogą bowiem szerokiej propagandy ideałów rewolucyjnych chciano uzyskać jedność myślenia i działania całego społeczeństwa, które miało zbudować na ziemi sprawiedliwy ustrój — wymarzoną republikę cnót.

Mój esej składa się z trzech części. W pierwszej omawiam okres przedrewolucyjny, koncentrując uwagę głównie na trzech dziełach Dawida — obrazach: *Przysięga Horacjuszów*, *Śmierć Sokratesa* i *Liktorzy niosący na marach zwłoki synów konsula Brutusa*. Te trzy obrazy stały się jakby manifestem nowej etyki obywatelskiej i oddziaływały na wyobraźnię społeczeństwa silniej niż błyskotliwe dyskusje filozofów w towarzyskich kręgach intelektualnej elity Paryża.

W drugiej części przedstawiam propagandę jakobinów, gdy pozostawali w opozycji do przywódców rewolucji. Zwracam uwagę na wykorzystywane w tym celu masowe manifestacje. Przy tej okazji wydobywam z zapomnienia postać niezłomnego rewolucjonisty — Polaka, Klaudiusza Łazowskiego, którego pogrzeb w dniu 28 kwietnia 1793 r. przekształcił się w potężną patriotyczno-rewolucyjną manifestację zwolenników jakobińskich.

W części trzeciej omawiam syntetycznie przemyślany system propagandy ideologicznej w okresie jakobińskiego terroru.

## РЕЗЮМЕ

В эпоху Просвещения во Франции произошел глубокий перелом в образе мышления. Вера противопоставлялась разуму, а сверхъестественность — природе. Начали сомневаться в существовании „царства божьего”, для того чтобы поверить в государство справедливости на земле. Отбрасывая традиционную религиозную моральность, провозглашали принципы новой этики, требующей от личности честности по отношению к другому человеку, способности посвятить себя борьбе за справедливый общественный строй. Для современников революционный бунт был прежде всего моральным протестом против несправедливости, освященной феодальной властью. И хотя быстро сменяющиеся события на какое-то время заслонили идею этического обновления, она оставалась актуальной в течение всей революции; изменялось только место этой идеи в иерархии проблем.

В период якобинского террора, когда сердце революции забило быстрее, этические проблемы снова получили ведущее значение. Они стали важнейшими аргументами, обосновывающими практическую политическую деятельность. Ибо



единство мышления и действия всего общества, мечтающего о построении на земле справедливого общественного строя — республики гражданских добродетелей, якобинцы хотели достичь путем широкой пропаганды революционных идеалов.

Мое эссе состоит из трех частей. В первой части я рассматриваю дореволюционный период, концентрируя внимание в основном на трех произведениях Давида — картинах „Присяга Горациев“, „Смерть Сократа“ и „Ликторы, несущие тела сыновей консула Брута“. Эти картины стали как бы манифестом новой гражданской этики и действовали на воображение общества сильнее, чем блестящие дискуссии философов в обществе интеллектуальной элиты Парижа.

Вторая часть моей работы посвящена пропаганде якобинцев в период, когда они находились в оппозиции к вождям революции. Обращаю внимание на использование в целях пропаганды массовых манифестаций. При этом извлекаю из забвения образ несгибаемого революционера, поляка Клавдия Лазовского, похороны которого (28 апреля 1793 г.) превратились в мощную революционно-патриотическую манифестацию сторонников якобинцев.

В третьей части рассматривается система идеологической пропаганды в период якобинского террора.

