

MALE
BONDS
IN
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
ART

Thijs Dekeukeleire, Henk de Smaele
and Marjan Sterckx (eds)

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Edited by
Thijs Dekeukeleire, Henk de Smaele, and Marjan Sterckx

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Alliances of virtue

Hungarian (self-)Reformers and their (self-)representation at the Diet in Pressburg (1825–1827)

Éva Bicskei

In December 1825, Count István Széchenyi (1791–1860), an emergent public actor who was later to become the leading modernizing “father figure” of the Hungarian Reform Era (1825–1848), commissioned a portrait gallery. Portrayed were his political comrades in the Diet, the Hungarian parliamentary assembly. Many pieces of the gallery were dispersed early on, but individual portraits can be identified today, while written source material attests to the gallery’s purpose and composition. A correspondent of the Diet reported: “Count Széchenyi is having his friends in the Diet painted for himself and to his own delight.”¹ A few years later, in 1827, the fashionable Viennese Biedermeier painter Johann Nepomuk Ender (1793–1854) mentioned in an autobiographical note that he executed for Széchenyi “the portraits of the most prominent orators of the last Diet.”² Széchenyi’s diaries, letters, and bequest also attest to the fact that the count commissioned and possessed portraits, most probably of the same gallery.³ He appears to have received new portraits up to 1832,⁴ and it is certain that not all were executed by Ender.⁵ Based on the available sources and the extant works that can be associated with the ensemble, I argue that the portrait gallery consisted of at least eleven oil paintings on wood of a small scale (measuring approximately 25 × 20 cm), in the European portrait tradition (fig. 2–9).

Art historical writing has overlooked the importance of Széchenyi’s gallery to date.⁶ This study aims to reconstruct, contextualize, and reinterpret this series of portraits. The paintings represent men of mixed social and religious backgrounds active in the political opposition at the Diet in Pressburg (today Bratislava, Slovakia) in 1825–1827, often referred to as the “Reformers.” As I will explain, these Reformers embodied exempla of intransigent virtue; they wished to transform not only politics and society in Hungary but also themselves “from within.” Their explicitly masculine ideal of self-improvement and national reawakening created amicable bonds between kindred spirits and political allies, headed by

Széchenyi himself, but it also generated new rivalries, tensions, and conflicts. The new type of competitive behavior hindered the unification of these Reformers into a common political party. In retrospect, the portrait gallery remained their only coherent manifestation as a united group, encompassing all their manifold, overlapping, and transient male bonds, based on ideals of manly virtue.

In this chapter, I will not analyze the individual portraits in detail, but I will reflect on the social and political functions of portraiture in the first half of the nineteenth century, and more particularly on the phenomenon of portrait collections.⁷ While public or semipublic portrait galleries have been the object of research before (e.g., in dynastic and national contexts), few studies have looked at examples of more intimate, small-scale, and private or semiprivate galleries. However, small and miniature portraits not only abounded in the nineteenth century, they were also objects that could easily be exchanged and that helped to construe or maintain social ties. In the series of portraits commissioned by Széchenyi, distinctive and distinguished Hungarian politicians were brought together in an egalitarian virtual brotherhood (of which Széchenyi was the center), while keeping their unique traits and individuality. In their own eyes, the renewal of Hungary depended on this circle of friends and their collective efforts, as well as on their individual trajectories of self-reform and “virilization.”

In the first section of the chapter, I will further elaborate on this early nineteenth-century desire for masculine and national regeneration, which was in itself hardly a phenomenon unique to Hungary, but was nevertheless colored by the specific circumstances of the feudal and subordinate position of the Hungarian kingdom, in fact a “Magyar province” within the Habsburg Empire.⁸ The iconic position of the Diet of 1825–1827 and the role of Széchenyi will be briefly discussed, before outlining his neo-Stoic vision on masculinity. I will then reflect on the significance of male friendships and rivalries within this context, to finally come back to the main topic: Széchenyi’s portrait gallery and what it reveals about male bonds in nineteenth-century art.

Virtus rediscovered

In Hungarian historiography, the Diet in Pressburg in 1825–1827 has long enjoyed an almost mythical status as the symbolic starting point of a new political era, the Reform Age, the first step in the arduous process of transforming a feudal province of the Habsburg Empire into a modern nation-state. Equally legendary is the figure of Count Széchenyi, who played a decisive role in the foundation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the late autumn of 1825, which was destined to cultivate the national language in arts and sciences. Széchenyi’s biographers have emphasized the personal, societal, and political impact of this act on the count’s life, turning a relatively unknown military man into a dominant figure

of the Reformers and the chief civil initiator of different economic, social, and cultural modernizing projects in Hungary. Széchenyi has been the object of an immense popularity cult—even today.⁹

From the late 1980s on, however, a wave of critical studies has questioned the political significance of the Diet. New studies have pointed out that liberal ideas spread slowly in the Diet: out of around one hundred representatives in the lower house, no more than two dozen were part of the anti-imperial opposition, joined by merely half a dozen to a dozen magnates in the upper house.¹⁰ Moreover, the studies have emphasized how the opposition defended Hungarian constitutionalism against imperial absolutism, not by unambiguously opting for a liberal agenda based on popular sovereignty, but by supporting feudal grievances and aristocratic privileges. Such revisionist studies have also condemned the inability of the Reformers to achieve legislative success, as shown by the fact that, with the notable exception of the founding of the academy, all oppositional bills failed to be adopted during the two-year-long session of the Diet.

Without denying the accuracy of these revisionist observations, it seems important not to entirely dismiss the interpretation of the 1825–1827 Diet as a defining moment in the political modernization of Hungary, not so much because of its efficacy, but due to the way it started to transform the political mores and culture. To oppose the absolutist political agenda of the Habsburg Emperor Franz I, the Reformers employed various forms of parliamentary obstructionist tactics.¹¹ Instead of reading their discourse in Latin or Hungarian when given the floor, oppositional deputies “fiercely,” “suddenly” “jumped up” and gained the floor in an ad hoc manner, without respecting the agreed order of the speakers. They interrupted their opponents’ speeches and debated loudly and expressively in Hungarian.¹² In this way, they managed to out-talk the progovernmental deputies, forcing them to sit down in silence. The public perceived this as a victory for the oppositional forces and a humiliating defeat for the governmental representatives.¹³ This way of orating was used by oppositional deputies such as Pál Felsőbüki Nagy, Ábrahám Vay, Tamás Ragályi, Count József Dessewffy, Lajos Almássy in the lower house, and Széchenyi, Count Mihály Esterházy, and Count Alajos Mednyánszky in the upper house (where Latin was still the official language of politics).

This performative standing up and orating also expressed the Reformers’ moral stance. They defended the Hungarian constitutional principles¹⁴ and fiercely promoted the values of the common good, even if that entailed the renunciation of their own income.¹⁵ The Reformers condemned governmental councillors and county administrators for high treason and demanded capital punishment for their allegedly unconstitutional activities.¹⁶ They even went so far as to call for sanctions against the counties if their local representatives collaborated with the governmental administration.¹⁷ Moreover, to intimidate the progovernmental deputies, they abundantly cited the classics in their speeches¹⁸ and invoked Greek and Roman exempla of tyrannicide.¹⁹

Progovernmental representatives in the Diet did not know how to counter this strategy. They remained perplexed, calling the Reformers “rude,” “uncomely,” “roaring,” or “shouters” who offended the rulers of the empire.²⁰ Palatine Archduke Joseph, Chancellor Metternich, and even the emperor himself provided “proper education” for the Reformers during private audiences, calling them to order through patriarchal exhortations. Faced with intimidation and blackmailing, some Reformers fell in line. Those who resisted did so at high personal costs, knowing they committed political or professional “suicide.”²¹

The attacks by the government incited the oppositional members to set aside their internal rivalries and to unite forces. The relatively rare but precious manifestations of oppositional in-group solidarity in the Diet were greatly appreciated by the public.²² The same amalgam of rivalry and comradeship characterized the Reformers’ informal political meetings (called “conferences”), discussion groups,²³ and the “reunion” (a political club) in Pressburg during the sessions of the Diet.²⁴ However, because the activities of debating political actualities and of drafting propositions were relatively new to all of them, their efforts to reach a common ground *as equals* rarely led to concrete, consensual results. There were continuous clashes among the Reformers, due to their divergent political, economic, and social views, but also due to their competition for popularity and jealousy of each other’s public success.²⁵ Tense personal relations made reaching common standpoints often impossible. For example, the notorious hatred between Vay and Felsőbüki Nagy, representatives of the same county, undermined the chances of success of oppositional propositions at voting sessions.²⁶

While, in this sense, the Reformers were not very successful in their attempts, the combative political confrontations at the Diet nonetheless had a formative impact on the oppositional deputies. I therefore argue that the Diet was a forum for forging, performing, and disseminating a new masculine behavioral model in Hungary, based on (Neo-)Stoic virtues of fearless self-sacrifice and incorruptible patriotism. This model was explicitly built in opposition to the earlier ideal of the courtier, who was now represented as a weak, corrupt, and servile supporter of the absolutist imperial government. The main achievement of the Diet of 1825–1827 was therefore not its legal-political agenda per se, but rather the appearance of the virtuous (self-)Reformers, loosely grouped around Széchenyi, forming intimate friendships, debating circles, strong brotherhoods, and informal political alliances of equals. It is precisely in this context, as will become clear, that Széchenyi’s portrait gallery functioned. The patriot did not aim simply to change society by legal means at the Diet, but to improve himself and, by his exemplum, the next generation of Hungarian political elites. This great individual and collective transformation was meant to remove all feudal patriarchal structures in mentalities, attitudes, and manners, which hampered the spread of liberalism and of values indispensable to the formation of a modern nation-state.

Virtus embodied

The emergence of a new kind of political actor in the Hungarian Diet mirrored similar, earlier trends in other European countries at the time. In *The Body and the French Revolution* (1989), Dorinda Outram argues that the French Revolution abolished the monarchic legitimation of power symbolically manifested in the sacred body of the king.²⁷ Subsequently, the “body” became a ground of political struggle: the void created by regicide was filled by the endless recreation and regulation of the body by rival political ideologies. Outram explored, in particular, a middle-class male behavioral pattern that enabled individuals to become autonomous actors in the public sphere. This new behavioral pattern was based on what Norbert Elias called the *homo clausus*: a man with self-control, acting rationally.²⁸ This new masculine prototype combined several sets of ideas: views of classic Stoicism about whether a virtuous man should take part in the public life in moments of national crisis; the doctrines of the Renaissance Neo-Stoics such as Michel de Montaigne, according to which individuals with virtuous self-control are morally obliged to participate in the public life; and notions of the philosophers of the Enlightenment, such as Montesquieu’s view of the individual who aspires to achieve autonomy from the oppressive state.

Such new public actors followed the Roman Stoic ethos of *incredibilis gravitas* (incredible dignity), in other words, an austere and virtuous way of life as practiced, for example, by Cato the Younger. They renounced their financial interests, gave up their careers in the state apparatus, repressed their physical and emotional needs, and even sacrificed the lives of their family members or their own lives (e.g., by taking a bold stance against a tyrannical power) for the common good. In doing so, these men attempted to become authentic embodiments of *virtus* (virtue) and thus put forward exempla to be emulated by others, so as to foster change in society. Outram argues that this middle-class male behavioral model became the most significant (although soon outdated) export of the French Revolution.²⁹

Outram’s framework helps to further illuminate the conduct of oppositional deputies in the Diet of 1825–1827. Their behavior demonstrated the internalization and further dissemination of this prototype of an autonomous political persona. Széchenyi provides the best illustration of the new behavioral model. His diaries delineate a comprehensive, multilayered, long-term character-building program, based on virtue. He aimed at his own self-reformation, but his ultimate goal was the education of the Hungarian aristocratic youth in the spirit of patriotic fervor, so they would abandon the cosmopolitan and “effeminized” imperial court life and the career in the hierarchical imperial administration.

In the early 1820s, Széchenyi was a Hungarian magnate in his thirties. Notorious for his financial debts and scandalous love affairs, he saw himself as a disillusioned Byronic hero without family or aim in life.³⁰ His promising military career had stalled: the emperor refused his promotion to the rank of major, a fact

which would eventually prompt Széchenyi to leave the army. In his dark hours, Széchenyi wished to die or to retreat from the world for good, either by becoming a monk or a Stoic philosopher, or by emigrating to America to start a new life.³¹ Around 1824, after a period of tormenting introspections, the count found a way out of this deadlock by practicing virtue as a guiding principle.³² His inspirational models were the Greek and Roman exempla of *virtus*,³³ along with the writings of Neo-Stoics such as Montaigne, whose thoughts on regicide he carefully annotated.³⁴ Later on, these were complemented by the “practicing” philosophers of militant Christianity, in other words, the solitary Templars and the Knights of Malta,³⁵ as well as by English gentlemen (the modernized exemplars of the *homo clausus*)³⁶ and by famous Enlightened and Romantic “shapers of the world” such as Napoléon Bonaparte, Lord Byron, George Washington, Simón Bolívar, and Benjamin Franklin.³⁷

Initially, Széchenyi was unable to put into practice these great moral principles: he did not manage to emulate the behavior of his ideal, the Roman Stoic philosopher-soldier Marcus Aurelius.³⁸ But his encounter, in the summer of 1824, with Crescence Seilern, the faithful and prudent wife of Count Károly Zichy, a highly positioned man in the Viennese court, marked a turning point in his life. Seilern was to become the object of Széchenyi’s tormented love. Yet, for the first time, the count had to learn to master his passion. Gradually, he started to appreciate the renouncement of sexual and emotional needs as the “most beautiful victory” over himself.³⁹ It is striking that Széchenyi, a military man, cited Plato’s dialogue *Laws* to describe his moral improvement. As self-restraint became dominant in his daily life, Széchenyi started to set nobler goals for himself, planning to devote his activity and fortune to the advancement of the Hungarian nation.⁴⁰

In the autumn of 1825, as part of his agenda of self-reformation, Széchenyi decided to take part in the Diet, which provided the count with an arena in which to practice his newly found guiding principles in a variety of forms. This new public role proved to be challenging to the relatively unknown military man he was at that time.⁴¹ In the beginning, he did not dare to stand up and speak, so he passively observed the debates (partly because of his limited knowledge of the Hungarian language).⁴² He admired the behavior, attitude, and oratorical style of the anti-governmental deputies in the lower house,⁴³ but criticized their futile rivalry in light of the urgent need for economic and social modernization.⁴⁴ Széchenyi’s first speech in the upper house in mid-October 1825, delivered in Hungarian, was a great success, and was emulated the next day by his friend, Count Mihály Esterházy.⁴⁵ Despite this auspicious debut, Széchenyi’s anxiety about speaking in public dissipated only slowly.⁴⁶ This experience played a significant role in the implementation of his character-building program. He started to measure his moral advancement, for example, by evaluating his daily activity against a chart of virtues similar to that used by Franklin (fig. 1).⁴⁷ The most crucial part of his program was to build an “authentic” political image.

Január	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
①	0	0	+	+	+	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Temperance	0	0	0	#	0	#	0		#	#	#	#	0	0	#	0	#
Science	#	#	0	0	#	#	#		#	#	#	#	#	#	0	#	#
Order	0	#	0	0	0	#	0		#	#	0	0	0	#	0	0	0
Resolution	0	0	0	#	#	0	0		0	0	0	0	#	#	0	0	0
Economy	0	0	0	0	0	#	0		#	#	0	0	0	#	0	0	0
Pravil	#	#	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sincerité	0	0	0	0	0	0	#		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Justice	0	0	0	0	#	0	0		0	0	0	0	#	0	0	#	#
Moderation	#	#	0	#	#	0	0		0	0	0	0	#	#	0	#	#
Propriété	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tranquillité	0	0	#	#	#	0	0		0	#	0	0	#	#	#	#	#
Humilité	#	0	0	#	#	0	0		0	0	#	0	#	0	0	0	#
Religion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	#	0	#	0	0
Charité	0	0	0	#	#	0	0		0	0	#	0	0	0	0	0	#
La Morale	#	#	0	#	#	#	#		#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#

Fig. 1. István Széchenyi, *Table of Virtues (à la Benjamin Franklin)* in his diaries, 12–28 January 1826. Pen, paper, leather, 250×250 mm. Budapest: Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K 296/7 fol. Photo: Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Széchenyi's unadorned rhetoric helped construct the novel image of Roman Stoic character.⁴⁸ At the beginning of November 1825, Széchenyi announced in the lower house the donation of his yearly “income” (his mortgage interest, that is) for the foundation of an institution devoted to advancing the Hungarian language.⁴⁹ This gesture was celebrated as an exemplum of moral greatness of a military man who, guided by the noble purpose of the public good, took it upon himself to lead a Spartan way of life with Stoic calmness and ascetic resignation. His dignified behavior was immediately emulated by his aristocratic friends and followers, such as Vay, György Károlyi, and György Andrassy.⁵⁰ Moreover, instead of claiming general public recognition, these founders withdrew to their own narrow circle of brothers-in-arms, as a would-be community of highly elevated, puritan men.

Széchenyi continued to preserve his Stoic tranquility even when reprimanded in private audiences, first by his military superiors, then by the Habsburg chancellor, Prince Metternich, and finally, by the emperor himself. The despotic power failed to discipline him. Citing ancient authors on moral stance and Montaigne on regicide, Széchenyi talked about the accountability of a sovereign who lacks

virtue and is therefore undeserving of the loyalty of his subjects.⁵¹ His moral firmness was again tested when he was offered the military promotion that he had aspired to for so long, on the condition that he withdrew from the opposition.⁵² Széchenyi did not falter, however, aware that ethical integrity was essential to his political credibility. He also understood that the ethos of *incredibilis gravitas* entailed solitude and isolation.⁵³ As a political neophyte, this aspect turned out to be the most challenging. In November 1825, Széchenyi noted in his diary: “It would give me immense pleasure to live in a company—where there are at least some or even just one witness to the fact that the most difficult victory in the world is won over oneself!”⁵⁴

Following his generous donation, Széchenyi gained popularity as a model of patriotism to emulate. Soon, a social network was built around him, which remedied his solitude to some extent, and which formed the basis for the portrait gallery he would soon commission. This network consisted of old aristocratic friends as well as new political collaborators and allies. Most importantly, they shared a common ideal of *virtus*. Széchenyi had intimate confidants in his love life, such as Vince Esterházy, an exemplum of private virtue; Miklós Wesselényi, who himself suffered from a broken heart at that time;⁵⁵ and an inner circle of younger aristocratic friends, who looked up to him as their role model and cultivated similarly strict ethical norms and political aims, such as Károlyi, Andrassy, and Mihály Esterházy. Some of these men became his closest collaborators, as cofounders of the academy. In addition, Széchenyi started to co-operate with his new political idols, such as Vay and Felsőbüki Nagy, two of his comrades during the protracted fights at the Diet for founding the academy.⁵⁶ A couple of months later, he came to despise and abandon them, however, for their alleged moral weakness.⁵⁷ With other (self-)Reformers, such as József Almássy, Széchenyi had a more distant relation, observing and honoring them from afar.

Széchenyi also started to attend the meetings of comradely associations of equals, the informal political debating circles and “conferences” of the opposition. His residence grew into one such meeting place.⁵⁸ All these informal circles paved the way to the “reunion,” the first political club in Pressburg, formed in November 1825. Besides Széchenyi, the club grouped Mihály Esterházy, Andrassy, Wesselényi, Dessewffy, and Vay, among others. Another important new grouping was the “Alliance of Virtue” (*Érényszövetség*), a (self-)reforming male bond, which Széchenyi established with Wesselényi and Esterházy, and which was later joined by Andrassy and Károlyi.⁵⁹

The alliance provided the self-Reformers with yet another “bond” to practice different aspects of virtue, by continuously reversing the roles of surveilling mentors and emulating pupils. In many ways, the new association can be seen as the culmination of Széchenyi’s conscious political character-building program—as he finally embodied the example of his role model, the philosopher-soldier Marcus Aurelius—through its extension as a group project that involved his closest friends.

The alliance made possible the members' collective acknowledgment of their individual accomplishments. They saw themselves as embodying a new ideal of masculinity, that of the self-Reformer, forming a strong male bond, thus setting an example to be emulated by the next generation of would-be politicians of the young Hungarian aristocratic elite. Their endeavor was rooted in the ideas of the Enlightenment, but was also informed by the Romantic prototype of the patriot in service of the nation. Such homosocial brotherhoods of men adhering to radical views, restraint, asceticism, and solitude were not uncommon in Europe at the time.⁶⁰ Their proliferation after the French Revolution and during Romanticism was intimately related to the emergence of modern nation-states.⁶¹

Yet, the alliance was short-lived, just like all the other informal circles of the self-Reformers around Széchenyi. The ideals of equality, solidarity, and unity were continuously undermined by in-group competition for the title of "the most virtuous character"—the (spiritual) leader, that is—resulting in vain, offensive personal remarks, resentment, and dramatic break-ups.⁶² Arguably, the self-Reformers of aristocratic or noble origins and those with a military upbringing were accustomed to always being right and were thus often unable to reach a compromise, to take the position of novice, and to accept criticism from youngsters or persons of lower social origins or of different religious denominations. The self-proclaimed men of virtue had no mercy for erring comrades, and their self-confidence was only rarely shaken by critical introspection or the awareness of one's own personal defects.⁶³

Virtus represented

The simultaneous emphasis on individual growth and devotion to the collective proved difficult in practice. As has become clear, the moral ideal of masculinity Széchenyi struggled to embody required a willingness to forsake all tokens of social appreciation, as well as a total dedication to one's brothers and to the entire Hungarian nation. The gallery of portraits that Széchenyi started in December 1825 is a clear expression of his longing "to live in a company" of kindred spirits, and to surround himself with his friends and political brothers in his private living quarters. His friends were apparently prepared (and most probably honored) to sit several hours to have their portraits painted and to become part of the decor of Széchenyi's flat. Small and miniature portraits were a fixed part of the material culture of well-to-do nineteenth-century families; they can be seen as "literal reifications of social and familial bonds."⁶⁴ While "private," the project was also social and political: the sitters were all incorruptible men of virtue in the service of the Hungarian nation, "soldiers achieving the most beautiful victories over themselves," as the philosopher-soldier Széchenyi might have put it. This is the leading idea Széchenyi wanted to convey by gathering all the

exemplary individuals present at the Diet in the winter of 1825 and organizing them into a community of equals on the paintings. In this final section, I will elaborate on the significance of the gallery as an expression of male bonds during the Hungarian Reform Era.

The portraits represent men of mixed social and religious backgrounds, who were active in the opposition at the Pressburg Diet in 1825–1827, or accepted *virtus* as a life-guiding principle: Dessewffy, Károlyi, Vince Esterházy, Vay, Ragályi, Felsőbüki Nagy, Lajos Almássy, Mednyánszky, Wesselényi, Mihály Esterházy, Andrassy, and an unidentified person (figs. 2–9). Széchenyi had a somewhat smaller portrait of himself, as a vigorous military officer, done by Ender around 1812, too.⁶⁵ Many of these portraits have been lost, however, and are known only through mentions in diaries, letters, and journals of the era or through contemporary reproductions as engravings.⁶⁶ Only a few of the small-scale portraits have survived—ironically, some with their own copies—scattered across different private and public collections in Hungary and Europe.⁶⁷

Formally, the portraits are quite similar in size, technique, and framing (they are half-length). Most of the sitters wear almost identical costumes, typical for Hungarian nobles and aristocrats, and pose in front of a neutral background. Most sport a mustache, a conspicuous symbol of Magyar masculinity originally associated exclusively with military men, that clearly distinguished them from the representatives of Austrian imperial power. As Alexander Maxwell has shown, “moustaches increasingly distinguished Hungarian patriots, and particularly the Hungarian liberal opposition, from the Habsburg monarchs and their servants,” who were all clean-shaven, as was the international fashion at the time (except for military men).⁶⁸ Metternich, for instance, was always portrayed without facial hair. In line with the general trend at the time, and the early nineteenth-century insistence on “transparency” (in contrast to the artificiality of the *ancien régime*), the sitters are represented with their natural hair instead of the wigs that were still popular a few decades before.⁶⁹

Their postures are quite similar: commanding, rigid, and stiff. The minor differences in pose and gesture displayed by the portraits—turning the head right or left, up or down, etc.—helped to avoid monotony in the ensemble as a whole, while still retaining cohesion. The quality expressed by all is dignity, as reinforced by the idealized, noble features of the sitters: Vince Esterházy (fig. 2), Felsőbüki Nagy (fig. 7), or Wesselényi (fig. 9) turn their face and eyes away from the onlooker with an assertive stance; Károlyi (fig. 3) distances himself from the beholder. Even when looking at the viewer, as Ragályi (fig. 6) and the unidentified man (fig. 4) do, they keep “their distance.” This restrained attitude was uncommon in contemporary aristocratic friendship portraits or in Viennese small-scale portraiture, which tended, on the contrary, to reveal intimate emotional bonds with each other or with the beholder. Nevertheless, all these features create a unified visual effect, testifying to the existence of a comprehensive program.



Fig. 2. Johann Nepomuk Ender, *Count Vince Esterházy (?)*, mid-1820s. Oil on wood, 24.2×19 cm. Budapest: Art Collection, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, inv. no. 22. Photo: Károly Szelényi. (Plate 10, p. 281)



Fig. 3. Johann Nepomuk Ender, *Count György Károlyi*, 1825–1827. Oil on wood, 24×19 cm. Budapest: Art Collection, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, inv. no. 21. Photo: Károly Szelényi. (Plate 11, p. 281)



Fig. 4. Johann Nepomuk Ender, *Unknown person (Mihály Esterházy?)*, mid-1820s. Oil on wood, 25×19.5 cm. Budapest: Art Collection, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, inv. no. 81. Photo: Károly Szelényi.



Fig. 5. Johann Nepomuk Ender (?), *Count József Dessewffy*, before 1828 (?). Oil on wood, 25.5×20.5 cm. Budapest: Art Collection, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, inv. no. 80. Photo: Károly Szelényi.

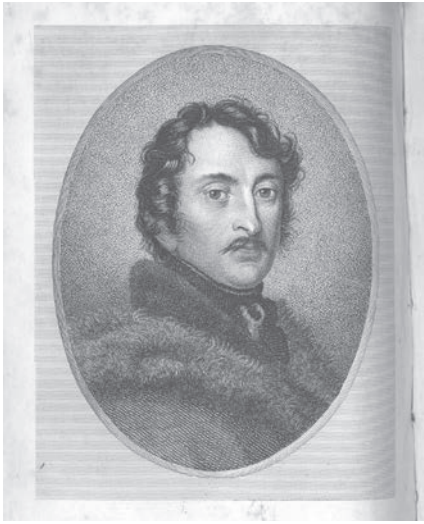


Fig. 6. Unknown engraver after Johann Nepomuk Ender, *Tamás Ragályi*, 1830, in Joseph Freiherrn von Hormayr (ed.), *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* (Munich: Strauss, 1831), between 134–135. Photo: Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest.



Fig. 7. Unknown engraver after Johann Nepomuk Ender, *Pál Felsőbüki Nagy*, 1830, in Joseph Freiherrn von Hormayr (ed.), *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* (Munich: Strauss, 1831), between 336–337. Photo: Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest.

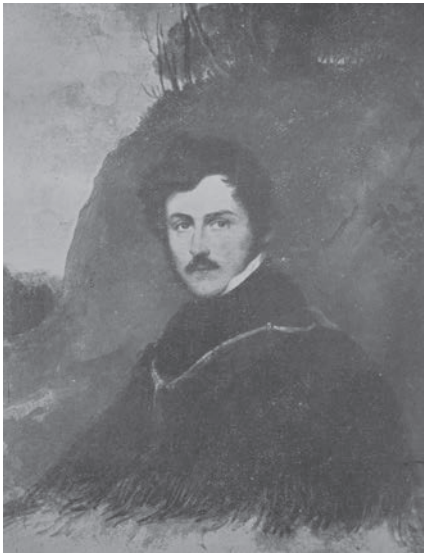


Fig. 8. Moritz Michael Daffinger, *Count György Andrassy*, 1820s. Oil on board. Lost. Once located in Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.



Fig. 9. Carl August Schwerdgeburth after Johann Nepomuk Ender, *Miklós Wesselényi*, 1833. in József Bajza (ed.) *Aurora*, Pest, 1834, title page. Photo: Hungarian Historical Gallery, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.



Fig. 10. Photograph of the Offizier-Galerie of the Koháry armored troop (portrait paintings by Karl Emmrich and his followers), 1727–1735. Svätý Anton: Castle of the Koháry's. Photo: Orsolya Bubryák. (Plate 12, p. 282)

To visually represent this program, the portrait gallery emulated the eighteenth-century tradition of the extended *Offizier-Gallerien*, which united austere, commanding portraits of military men fighting in the same imperial or royal army. These galleries consisted of dozens, even hundreds, of similar pictorial units, with loose, additive, and repetitive structures (suggesting the equal merits of the sitters), decoratively covering walls or rooms. Different versions of this tradition can be found in the military galleries and halls of fame of Prussian royal or Russian imperial palaces⁷⁰ and in the arsenals or salons of Hungarian aristocratic castles, such as in the Koháry castle of Szentantál, the Andrassy castle of Betlér (Svätý Anton and Betliar, both today in Slovakia), and the Esterházy castle of Fraknó (Forchtenstein, today in Austria) (fig. 10). These—rather provincial—examples must have been well known to Széchenyi, too, due to his familial and amical ties.

Such collections propagated an age-old conduct characteristic of military officers: the *esprit de corps* based on common values of honor, loyalty, and self-sacrifice.⁷¹ This feature of the *Offizier-Gallerien* was amply manifest in the overwhelming visual effect produced by the manner in which the military men

distinguish themselves: by the proud attitude and rather stiff posture and pose of the sitters, a characteristic also well represented in Széchenyi's portrait gallery. Most self-Reformers were familiar with this masculine ideal of esprit de corps due to their military training and career. This might have helped them emulate Stoic behavior, facilitating the internalization of the "self-reforming" ethos.

Nevertheless, practicing Stoicism as a public political actor was not a simple expansion of the esprit de corps of military officers, but meant an irreversible break with the past, the former egos and relations, lifestyles and values; it constituted a new, unknown battlefield for (former) military men turned (self-)Reformers. Such was exactly the case for Széchenyi: military campaigns were abandoned in favor of tense political confrontations during the interminable sessions of the Diet; martial arts and hand-to-hand training fights were replaced with combantant oratorical and discursive practices; military tactics were replaced with political maneuvering; casualties of territorial expansion and military glory with financial and private sacrifices for sociopolitical betterment; a position in the military and bureaucratic hierarchy with civil and political equality.

Similarly, not only were the traditional masculine behavioral models and male bonds represented in the *Offizier-Gallerien* modernized to fit the (self-)Reformers' heroic, Romantic ego and their classicist ideas, the provincial monotony and repetitiveness of the baroque genre also took on a classicist air and a Romantic turn in the hands of the refined, fashionable Viennese painter that Ender was. The function of the portrait gallery was transformed as well: instead of being shown in semipublic homosocial spheres, as was traditional, the gallery was installed in Széchenyi's private office (*Büro*) in his upper-middle-class apartment in Pest, a quickly developing town on its way to becoming the nation's capital.⁷² The gallery did not extol aristocratic family histories and identities, but instead glorified a highly personal selection of *exempla virtutis* to follow. It still honored individual greatness, triumphing over one's enemy—but the enemy was an inner one, and, in addition, one did not serve a ruler, but the emerging modern national community.

The portrait gallery as an ensemble not only reflected a new ideal and an improved ego: it simultaneously reflected an idealized self-image of the self-Reformers, which they wanted to hold up to the next generation of politicians, even if they themselves could not live up to it, especially not as a united group of equals. Besides playing an instrumental role in forging the Reformers' group identity, by embodying their new, idealized public political persona, the gallery thus propagated their multilayered "alliances of virtue" in society, ranging from private conferences and debating circles, through the Alliance of Virtue, to the "reunion." Széchenyi's portrait gallery played a paramount role in the visualization, manifestation, and dissemination of the new masculine ideal as brotherhood. The news about the commission of the gallery first spread in the winter of 1825 in the Diet, and it was soon widely discussed in the city of Pressburg. Once it was

executed, the gallery became a spectacle in Széchenyi's apartment, for the select few that visited.⁷³ Finally, the ensemble as a whole was mentioned and described in German and in Hungarian journals of the era, and several of its portraits were also reproduced as engravings or copied for the families of the depicted persons.⁷⁴ The private gallery had become national property.

To conclude: Virtus propagated

Traditional historiography argued that, in the early stages of the process of nation-building, the aristocracy tried hard to preserve its leading role by passing on its system of values.⁷⁵ In fact, contrary to this assertion, the (self-)Reformers propagated a behavioral pattern that was starkly different from the one dictated by their social status.⁷⁶ They were not servile; instead of bowing and kicking their heels in waiting rooms for promotions in the imperial administration, they preferred to discuss politics in close circles and habitually caused troubles and scandals at the Diet, jumping up, shouting, and interrupting others. Faced with their superiors, they kept a defiant silence or talked back. In the eyes of contemporaries, the main problem was that they refused to be courtiers (*cortegiano*, in the Castiglionian sense of the word,⁷⁷ still valid at that time): they ignored the prevailing court etiquette and hierarchy. This generated reactions of hostility and hatred in the upper class and at the court, much more than their political views would have caused.⁷⁸

There was more at stake than manners. The Alliance of Virtue embodied and Széchenyi's portrait gallery propagated a new behavioral standard that challenged the dominant model of masculinity of the time; it upset the long-standing, hegemonic self-image, value system, and career trajectory of young Hungarian aristocrats who, for centuries, had defined their own masculinity and honor in relation to their "filial" service and loyalty to the emperor. They became independent men. New relationships of brotherhood and camaraderie were propagated. The sessions of the Diet, the private conferences, and discussions in the "reunion" replaced the superficial, "effeminized," and idle entertainment of fancy dress balls, ice-skating, and soirées at the court and in high society.⁷⁹ The duty of the aristocracy was redefined as participation in the grand work of nation-building, instead of servile integration into the cogs of the absolutist imperial government.

The rise of this new ideal of the nation as a community of brothers was palpable everywhere in Europe. It required new visual strategies and artistic imaginings. Art historians have done wonderful work showing how the school of Jacques-Louis David, among others, provided the French revolutionaries with such images.⁸⁰ More recently, the social and political functions of portraiture have been recognized by (art) historians as well. Amy Freund remarked:

Portraits, unlike other visual representations of revolutionary events and ideals, such as history paintings or prints, created new forms of selfhood for their viewers as well as for their sitters, inviting a direct and bodily form of empathy and emulation. The Revolution wanted to create new people for a new nation.⁸¹

In this chapter, I have similarly argued how the commission by the Hungarian Count Széchenyi of a gallery of portraits of his friends, while hardly “spectacular,” was nevertheless a historically significant expression of new and transformative ideas about manhood and nation.

Notes

1. “Gróf Széchenyi festeti az ő diatai barátjainak képeit maga számára s gyönyörködésére.” Kolos Vaszary, “Adatok az 1825-ki országgyűlés történetéhez,” *Értesítő a pannonhalmi Szt-Benedek-Rend győri Főgymnasiumáról az 1882/83. tanév végén* (1883), 1–272, quote on 160.
2. “[A] legutóbbi diéta fő szónokainak arcképeit [bírja tőle].” F.H.B., “Wanderung in die Ateliers hiesiger Künstler,” *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst* no. 136 (1827): 742–744.
3. Tamás Ragályi and Pál Felsőbüki Nagy in Béla Majláth, ed., *Gróf Széchenyi István levelei*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1889), 121–122; Mihály Esterházy in László Bártfai Szabó, ed., *Adatok gróf Széchenyi István és kora történetéhez 1808–1860* vol. 1 (Budapest: A Szerző kiadása, 1943), 133, 153; Miklós Wesselényi in Gyula Viszota, “Bajza levele Széchenyihez az ‘Auróra’ és ‘Tudománytár’ ügyében,” *Akadémiai Értesítő* no. 2 (1908): 81–84.
4. Bártfai, *Adatok*, 133, 153.
5. For example, the portrait of György Andrássy is by Moritz Michael Daffinger. (Today lost; once in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.)
6. The gallery is occasionally mentioned, but the sitters, the paintings, and the program of the gallery are misidentified. See Júlia Szabó and Valéria Majoros, eds., *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia és a művészetek a 19. században* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1992), cat. 115–118b; Gábor György Papp, ed., *Johann Nepomuk Ender (1793–1854) Thomas Ender (1793–1875) emlékkiállítás* (Budapest: MTA Művészeti Gyűjtemény, MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 2001), cat. 8–11, cat. 13; Zsuzsa Gonda, “A bécsi Dioszkuroszok. Johann Nepomuk és Thomas Ender művészi pályája,” in Papp, *Ender*, 23; Júlia Szabó, “A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia és a művészetek a 19. században,” in Gábor György Papp and Edit András, ed., *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia képzőművészeti kincsei* (Budapest: MTA, 2004), 18–19, cat. 53.
7. In this sense, this study builds on recent works such as Amy Freund, *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014); Shearer West, *Portraiture* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Richard H. Saunders, *American Faces: A Cultural History of Portraiture and Identity* (Hanover & London: University Press of New England, 2016); Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013); Temma Balducci, Heather Belnap Jensen, and Pamela J. Warner, ed., *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789–1914* (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2016); Tony Halliday, *Facing the Public: Portraiture in the Aftermath of the French Revolution* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1999); Anne Ayer Verplanck, “Facing Philadelphia: The Social Functions of Silhouettes, Miniatures, and Daguerreotypes, 1760–1860” (PhD dissertation, Virginia, College of William and Mary, 1996).
8. There is a growing body of literature in English on the history of masculinity in relation to nationality in Hungary. See e.g., Alexander Maxwell, “The Nation as a ‘Gentleman’s Agreement’: Masculinity and Nationality in Nineteenth-Century Hungary,” *Men and Masculinities* 18, no. 5 (2015): 536–558; Alexander Maxwell, “‘The Handsome Man with Hungarian Moustache and Beard’: National Moustaches in Habsburg Hungary,” *Cultural and Social History* 12, no. 1 (2015): 51–76; Miklós Hadas, “Gymnastic Exercises, or ‘Work Wrapped in the Gown of Youthful Joy’: Masculinities and the Civilizing Process in 19th-Century Hungary,” *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 1 (2007): 161–180. For a comparative (European) perspective, see Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
9. András Gergely, *Széchenyi eszmerendszerének kialakulása* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 59–61; Csorba László, *Széchenyi István* (Budapest: M-Erték, 2010), 97, 108; Zoltán Fónagy, “Széchenyi István,” in *Széchenyi és Kossuth. Párhuzamos életrajzok a magyar történelem századaiból*, ed. Zoltán Fónagy and Tamás Dobszay (Budapest: Kossuth, 2003), 33–36; András Oplatka, *Széchenyi István* (Budapest: Osiris, 2005), 131–133, 140–142, 158–160.
10. Domokos Kosáry, *A történelem veszedelmei* (Budapest: Magvető, 1987), 228; Fónagy, “Széchenyi,” 34, and Oplatka, *Széchenyi*, 159.
11. These tactics are detectable in the scattered contemporary notes and diaries written by participants of the Diet: Ignác Zsoldos, “1825/1826-ki pozsonyi országgyűlési napló-jegyzés,” 1825–1826, *Történelem, Napló* 8-rét. 2. sz. Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; Jelenvolt, “Az 1825-ik, 1826-ik, 1827-ik esztendőben tartott Diéta Fojamatjának summás előadása. Írta egy Jelenvolt,” *Hon*, 1868. Esti kiadás, no. 76–78, 82–89,

- 101–103, 105–107, 109–111, 113, 115–117, 127–130, 135, 138–140; Imre Révész, “Szoboszlai Pap István országgyűlési református lelkész levelei, az 1825–1827-ik évi országgyűlésről,” *Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi osztálya köréből* (1876–1877), 74–100; István Szilágyi, “Kritikai adatok az 1825. évi országgyűlés november 2. és 3. napi tárgyalásainak történetéből,” *Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és széptudományi osztálya köréből* (1876–1877), 3–43; Kolos Vaszary, “Adatok az 1825-ki országgyűlés történetéhez,” *Értesítő a pannonhalmi Szt-Benedek-Rend győri Főgymnasiumáról az 1882/83. tanév végén* (1883), 1–272; József Östör, “Gróf Keglevich Jánosné Zichy Adél naplói a reformkorszakból (1822–1836). I–II–III.,” *Budapesti Szemle* 729 (1938), 136–159; 730 (1938), 273–294; 731 (1938), 81–103; Ambrus Oltványi, ed., *Széchenyi István: Napló* (Budapest: Osiris, 2002).
12. Vaszary, “Adatok,” passim; Révész, “Szoboszlai,” 80; Zsoldos, “1825/1826,” fol. 74 verso, fol. 86 recto; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 139; Östör, “Keglevich,” 288.
 13. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 146, 165; Zsoldos, “1825/1826,” fol. 5 verso–6 recto; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 103.
 14. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 51, 54, 57, 165, 168.
 15. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 183–184; Géza Ballagi: “A nemzeti államalkotás kora 1815–1847,” in *A magyar nemzet története*, Sándor Szilágyi, ed., vol. 9 (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1897), 127.
 16. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 42–45, 49–50, 59, 61, 63, 155, 210, 269–270; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 76, 107; Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 349; Östör, “Keglevich,” 290.
 17. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 55, 155; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 76; Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 349.
 18. Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 115, 138–139.
 19. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 55; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 115.
 20. Östör, “Keglevich,” 88, 276, 282, 293; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 76, 84.
 21. Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 76–77. sz.; Vaszary, “Adatok,” 140–147, 202, Östör, “Keglevich,” 282, 287–290; Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 343, 348, 370.
 22. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 62–63; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 116.
 23. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 120, 130–134, 184, 212, 242; Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 334, 360, 362–364, 389.
 24. Östör, “Keglevich,” 281; Zoltán Simon, “A reformkori magyar politikai nyilvánosság és a Nemzeti Kaszinó,” *Sic itur ad astra ...* no. 3 (2000): 11–46;
 - Árpád Tóth, *Önszervező polgárok. A pesti egyesületek társadalomtörténete a reformkorban* (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2005), 143. Alexander Maxwell and Alexander Campbell, “István Széchenyi, the Casino Movement, and Hungarian Nationalism, 1827–1848,” *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 3 (2014).
 25. Vaszary, “Adatok,” 41; Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 103; Östör, “Keglevich,” 90.
 26. Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 101.
 27. Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution. Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989).
 28. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969, 1982).
 29. Outram, *The Body*, 154. For a broad comparative perspective, see Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body*.
 30. For a brief summary of Széchenyi’s activity, see István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution. Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 25–26.
 31. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 210, 233, 252, 262, 289, 398.
 32. A kind of starting point: Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 287.
 33. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 83, 107, 228, 239, 266–267, 289, 297, 429; László Bártfai Szabó, ed., *Adatok gróf Széchenyi István és kora történetéhez 1808–1860* vol. 1 (Budapest: A Szerző kiadása, 1943), 48.
 34. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 257.
 35. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 274, 340, 363, 381, 398, 405.
 36. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 405, 408.
 37. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 282, 318; Oplátka, *Széchenyi*, 138; Gyula Viszota, ed., *Gróf Széchenyi István naplói*, vol. II (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1926), 716, 719–721.
 38. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 266–267, 297.
 39. “[...Crescence miatt] a legszebb győzelmet [arattam magamon].” Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 304.
 40. Oplátka, *Széchenyi*, 106–110. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 405. All the translations are the author’s, unless otherwise indicated.
 41. About the oratory practice at the Diets in Hungary from the late eighteenth century on, see Ferenc Toldy, “Egy pillantás a magyar politikai

- szónoklat történetére,” in *A magyar politikai szónoklat kézikönyve a legrégebbi időkől a jelenkorig, vagyis a kitünőbb politikai szónokok életrajzi adatokban és jellemző mutatóvályokban feltüntetve* (Pest: Emich Gusztáv, 1864), v–xiv. For a comparison, see Josephine Hoegaerts, “Speaking like Intelligent Men: Vocal Articulations of Authority and Identity in the House of Commons in the Nineteenth Century,” *Radical History Review* 121 (2015): 123–144.
42. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 347–348.
 43. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 332, 336–338, 342, 349, 379.
 44. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 339, 347, 350.
 45. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 347–348; Vaszary, “Adatok,” 60; Östör, “Keglevich,” 279.
 46. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 372, 387.
 47. Franklin elaborated a system for moral perfection in his formative years in the 1720s and practiced thirteen virtues daily during his whole life. His lists and charts of virtues were integrated in his autobiographical notes, which were published in several dozen different (English and French) editions until the 1820s and became popular readings in the United States and Europe. Széchenyi had and read a copy of one of the editions as well. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 318; Oplatka, *Széchenyi*, 138. For Széchenyi’s charts of virtues see Viszota, *Széchenyi*, 716, 719, 720–721.
 48. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 340.
 49. On several occasions, Széchenyi proved that he placed the public good above his financial interest, and he justified his donations with the same words with which he described the suppression of his emotional and sexual needs, as “the most beautiful victories” over himself. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 340, 378, 434.
 50. Jelenvolt, “1825-ik,” no. 82; Zsoldos, “1825/1826,” fol. 93 recto; Szilágyi, “Kritikai,” 34, 38; Révész, “Szoboszlai,” 82; Zsigmond Kemény, “Széchenyi István,” in *Magyar szónokok és statusférjak (Politikai jellemrajzok)*, ed. Antal Csengery (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1851), 357–358; Vaszary, “Adatok,” 208.
 51. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 351, 356, 368, 372, 383–386, 438, 442. A famous case: Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 397. Following Montaigne on regicide, see Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 282–283; Révész, “Szoboszlai,” 98; Vaszary, “Adatok,” 225–226; Östör, “Keglevich,” 293.
 52. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 368–369.
 53. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 244, 377, 393, 407, 418.
 54. “Nemde végtelen boldogság volna olyan társaságban élni—melyben legalább néhány, vagy akár egyetlen tanúnk lenne, hogy az életben a legnehezebb győzelmet önnön magunk fölött arathattuk!” Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 363.
 55. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 387, 393, 411.
 56. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 386–391.
 57. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 412.
 58. Östör, “Keglevich,” 281.
 59. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 364. Majláth, *Széchenyi*, vol. 2, 188–190.
 60. Mary Anne Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Laura Morowitz and William Vaughan, “Introduction,” in *Artistic Brotherhoods in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Laura Morowitz and William Vaughan (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), 1–31.
 61. Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 23–25.
 62. There are uncountable fights recorded between confidants over private questions of virtue, etc. See Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 381, 387–395, 399, 444. For debates turning into dramatic confrontations over public or political issues, see Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 339, 382, 389–392; Vaszary, “Adatok,” 41; Östör, “Keglevich,” 90, 287; Jelenvolt, “Az 1825-ik,” no. 101, 103.
 63. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 427–428.
 64. Saunders, *American Faces: A Cultural History of Portraiture and Identity*, 172.
 65. Oil on canvas, 19.7 x 15 cm. Xántus János Múzeum, Győr.
 66. For example, Tamás Ragályi and Pál Nagy in *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* (1831), between pages of 134 and 135, 336 and 337.
 67. Probably Count Vince Esterházy, oil on wood, 24.2 x 19 cm, Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, inv. no. 22.; Unknown man (probably Mihály Esterházy), oil on wood, 24.8 x 19.5 cm, Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, inv. no. 81.; Count József Dessewffy, oil on wood, 25.5 x 20.9 cm, Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, inv. no. 80.; Count György

- Károlyi, oil on wood, 26 × 20.9 cm, Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, inv. no. 21; Count György Károlyi, oil on wood, 27 × 20 cm, Lempertz Kunsthaus, Cologne, 20 November, 2020, no. 1240; Count József Dessewffy, oil on wood, 26 × 20 cm, Budapest History Museum; Unknown man (probably Mihály Esterházy), oil on wood, 25 × 18.5 cm, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest; Miklós Wesselényi, oil on wood, 25 × 19.5 cm (today lost; once in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest).
68. Maxwell, “‘The Handsome Man with Hungarian Moustache and Beard,’” 53.
69. On the importance of “transparency,” see e.g., Freund, *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France*.
70. Enikő Buzási, *Mányoki Ádám (1673–1757). Monográfia és oeuvre-katalógus* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2003), 38–49; Rouven Pons, “Freundschaftskult und Korpsgeist—Zum politisch-sozialen Hintergrund von Porträtgalerien des 18. Jahrhunderts,” *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte Neue Folge* (2009): 1–36. See also a late version in the War Gallery of 1812 in the Winter Palace (later, the State Hermitage Museum), St. Petersburg, opened in 1826.
71. Jürgen Kloosterhuis, “Ordre, Liste und Porträt. Identitätsstiftung und Traditionsbildung im Preussischen Offizierkorps des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel seiner Schrift- und Bildquellen,” *Hitotsubashi Journal of Law and Politics* 39 (2011): 3–29.
72. Majláth, *Széchenyi*, vol. 1, 235–236.
73. Gábor Vaderna, “Gróf Dessewffy József útinaplója 1828-ból,” *Lymbus* (2014), 283.
74. See, for example, the portraits of Ragályi and Felsőbüki Nagy reproduced in the *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* (1831): 134–135, 227–336; the portrait of József Dessewffy reproduced in *Életképek* (1845); the portrait of Miklós Wesselényi reproduced in *Aurora* (1834). The portraits of György Károlyi, József Dessewffy, and an unknown man, probably Mihály Esterházy, are known in copies, too, such as one in private collection (auctioned at Lempertz Kunsthaus, Cologne, 20 November 2010, cat. 1240); one in Budapest History Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv. no. 17.865; one in the Hungarian National Museum, Historical Portrait Gallery, inv. no. 53.257.
75. Oplatka, *Széchenyi*, 167–168.
76. For similar views, see Gergely, *Széchenyi*, 154–156, 174–175.
77. Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1528).
78. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 366, 378, 382, 387, 393, 397, 400, 425, 426, 444, 447; Östör, “Keglevich,” 82–92, 97, 100, 102, 278, 281–287, 289–291.
79. Oltványi, *Széchenyi*, 367, 381.
80. Seminal works include Thomas Crow, *Emulation: David, Drouais, and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France*, revised edition (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006); Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Satish Padiyar, *Chains: David, Canova, and the Fall of the Public Hero in Postrevolutionary France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2007); Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997).
81. Freund, *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France*, 25.