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### Maria Cosway, Grand Manner Portraits, and Myth in Eighteenth-Century British Art: A Case Study on "Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana"

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SALVE REGINA UNIVERSITY

MARIA COSWAY, GRAND MANNER PORTRAITS, AND MYTH  
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH ART:  
A CASE STUDY ON *GEORGIANA, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE AS DIANA*

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
DR. ANTHONY F. MANGIERI  
OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF ART AND ART HISTORY

BY  
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## Introduction

In 1781, two exceptional young women of the eighteenth-century would meet to create one of the most unusual and astounding Grand Manner Portraits in all of art history: *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana* (c. 1782) (Figs. 1 & 2).<sup>1</sup> Georgiana Spencer Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806) and artist Maria Hadfield Cosway (1760-1838) were arguably two of the most influential and important women of their time (Figs. 3 & 4). Like Maria Cosway who married Sir Richard Cosway, Georgiana had also been married at seventeen to the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire and became an icon of London society. The Duchess was effortlessly popular due to her engaging yet mysterious personality and witty sense of humor, making her influential in Whig politics and fashion. For Londoners, it was as exciting to see the Duchess riding past in a carriage as a member of the Royal Family.<sup>2</sup> Maria Cosway was also a well-known and influential member of London society, boosted by the fame of her artist husband, Richard Cosway. Cosway was a lauded hostess for her husband's soirées which she organized and invited all classes of society, including artists, musicians, politicians and aristocrats. She was known to be a generous and kind woman, entertaining her guests by singing and playing the harp. An artist in her own right, Cosway exhibited works frequently at the Royal Academy.<sup>3</sup> While both women struggled greatly in their marriages, they dealt with their situations in very different ways. Cosway devoted herself to her artwork, while Georgiana tried to cope by distracting herself with amusing endeavors and gambling parties.<sup>4</sup>

Cosway exhibited several works in the Royal Academy's exhibition of 1782. Most critics seemed to praise her full-length portrait of the Duchess. Prior to painting the

portrait, Georgiana had been in Bath with her husband in hopes of conceiving an heir after eight years of marriage. Her spirit was low on her return to London. She had seen Cosway's pictures at the Academy and commissioned a portrait of herself by Cosway, perhaps to cheer herself up. Cosway could not refuse an offer from such an influential member of society. Sometime in the winter of 1781, Cosway would be permitted to go to the Duke and Duchess's London seat at Devonshire House, probably following financial approval from the Duke of Devonshire.<sup>5</sup> There is little documentation about their meeting and brief collaboration on this portrait, but one can only imagine that the result was the collaboration of two highly influential women of the eighteenth-century. Cosway would have suggested that she paint Georgiana as a goddess, as was custom and popular at the time. It is impossible to know where Cosway got the idea to paint Georgiana flying through the night sky, other than the obvious inspiration behind it. Cosway painted Georgiana as the ancient Roman goddess of the hunt, Diana, but used Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) for visual and poetic inspiration.

The gown that Georgiana in the portrait would not have been fashionable at the time, other than for costume balls or Grand Manner paintings such as this. The gown is likely a combination of elements from Georgiana's vast, fanciful wardrobe and Cosway's invention. Cosway was extremely well versed in the Classical world and it was common for portrait painters to depict women in invented clothes with reference to ancient dress. The vision of Georgiana suspended in the deep blue night sky in her flowing gauzy white gown with an intensely expressive face seems to capture the essence of the Duchess in a way that most of her other portraits do not – a fact which can be attributed to Maria Cosway's skill as an artist.

The Duchess' son, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, would go on to say about Cosway's depiction of his mother that, "the head... is very like my mother and it is almost the only likeness of her that reminds me of her countenance."<sup>6</sup> This was an enormous accomplishment, considering Georgiana had been painted by some of the most famous portrait painters of her day, including Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, and Thomas Lawrence. He also insisted that no artist truly succeeded in capturing his mother's likeness and personality with total accuracy, but Cosway's portrait was the most successful. The most famous surviving portrait of the Duchess, however, is the one by Gainsborough that, according to biographer Amanda Foreman, "succeeds in capturing something of the enigmatic charm which her contemporaries found so compelling. However, it is not an accurate depiction of her features: her eyes were heavier, her mouth larger."<sup>7</sup> Surely, Maria Cosway's striking portrait of Georgiana should be more famous for its better attempt at accuracy and portrayal of her personality, yet it is not.

Maria Cosway has all but been forgotten in modern Art History, save for a few references to her husband. In her day, she was a vibrant, intellectual, accomplished, and gifted artist who was known by the masses. As a woman of the eighteenth-century, she achieved what was nearly impossible, and that should not go unappreciated. There is little research on Cosway's paintings and only a handful of biographies on the artist.<sup>8</sup> This thesis hopes to fill this lack in scholarship by exploring, recovering, and reframing the complexities of Cosway's artistic career and life through a feminist lens. Studies of Maria Cosway have tended to focus on her relation to the men in her life. By distinguishing her

artistic accomplishment from how the dominant historical narrative has portrayed Cosway, I am able to offer new insights and a corrective to the biased historical record. The extraordinary portrait of *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana* (Fig.1) by Maria Cosway demonstrates her artistic skill and is a highly unusual Grand Manner Portrait that both highlights similarities to portrayals of the goddess in other works and sets it apart, making it an indispensable work in the study of eighteenth-century British art.

In Chapter 1, I offer biographical information on Maria Cosway's life and artistic career. It examines the life events and relationships that shaped her career and places her other work into context. For clarity, this biographical section of the thesis refers to Cosway with her first name, Maria, in order to avoid confusion with her artist husband, Richard Cosway. Chapter 2 provides a formal description of the painting, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana*, which is the focus of the rest of the remaining chapters. Chapter 3 explores the iconography of the Duchess' portrayal as Diana and places it into context within the long history of the representation of myth. In Chapter 4, I examine the tradition of Grand Manner Portraits in Europe, specifically England, with a particular focus on the portrayal of dress in art. An explanation surrounding the type of garment that the Duchess wears will be provided in this chapter. Finally, the conclusion reflects on the importance of recovering forgotten female artists like Maria Cosway and how she was a woman ahead of her time.

## Chapter 1: Maria Hadfield Cosway

Maria Louisa Caterina Cecilia Hadfield was born in 1759 in Florence, Italy, where she enjoyed a remarkable upbringing in the Tuscan countryside. Her parents, originally from England, ran several different inns for foreign travelers. At the time of Maria's birth, the Hadfield's were living at an inn located along the Arno River opposite the Palazzo Corsini named Locanda di Carlo. Maria's father, Charles Hadfield, was from Manchester and son to wealthy merchants, but had no surviving family back in England. Maria's mother, Isabella Pocock Hadfield met Charles in Tuscany, and they were married in 1753 in Siena, Italy.<sup>9</sup> The family began with a tragic tale which Maria herself believed to be true. Maria wrote in a confessional letter in 1830 that explained the unusual deaths of her elder siblings:

I may relate a Circumstance at my birth, as extraordinary as unheard of. – four or five children were born before me; put to nurse out of town. My mother used to go frequently, found the child well, and to her great surprise the next day the Nurse Came and the Child had died in the Night. Changed Nurse, Changed place, the same happened thro' four Children. At my birth My father resolved to take a nurse and the Child. One day one a Maid Servant went in the Nursery, took me in her Arms, and said pretty little Creature, I have sent four in heaven and I hope to send you also; the governess struck at this extraordinary speech ran to my father, proper enquiries were made, the woman said she thought it doing a good act, and was confined for life. – from that in short my father said I should be brought up a Catholic and all his Children were also. When four years Old I was put into a Convent, under the protection of the Grand Duke and the grand Duchess of Tuscany.<sup>10</sup>

This extraordinary story is one that has shaped Maria's entire outlook in life. Maria's repeatedly told this story, insisting that she was the first of her siblings not to be murdered by their servant, Brigida. The laundress eventually confessed to having sent Maria's elder siblings 'to heaven straight on' due to their Protestantism by placing a small vial of poison to the infants' mouths.<sup>11</sup> Maria's parents were English Protestants,

and the local Catholics had a strong distrust for them and the many other English settlers residing in Florence at the time. Whether or not this miraculous anecdote is true, Maria's parents feared for her life so they sent her to the local convent, which would also prove to be a defining experience in their young daughter's life. They vowed that all of their children would be protected by being raised Catholic, the religion that Maria practiced for the rest of her life.<sup>12</sup>

Maria received her early education from the nuns at Il Conventino where she displayed a prodigal talent for music and art. The precocious Maria believed that she had been spared by God for a reason— that she was destined for great things in comparison to her siblings. This belief motivated Maria to study all of her subjects with devoted effort. The Italian sisters were very kind to Maria, teaching her to speak Italian and French, as well as history and geography. They also taught her typical female pursuits of the time such as embroidery and the art of music. Maria was a gifted musician and could play the harp, harpsichord, and organ with nimble grace. As a child she once played at the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany with the composer Signore Campioni. She was said to have a lovely voice and eventually composed her own music— all by the age of six.<sup>13</sup> Maria would always look back at her time in the convent with such joy, reminiscing about her beloved Florence, as if it was an idyllic oasis. The Tuscan city was home to a modern drainage system, keeping the streets clean and the surrounding air fresh. Lush gardens, orchards, and farms were abounding, for which must have been a perfect escape for young Maria.

By the time Maria was eight, her interests began to shift towards drawing. She once saw another girl drawing and decided to take up the art herself, quickly surpassing

the nuns' artistic abilities. The sisters asked Signora Violante Siries Cerruoti to give her lessons. Violante was a famous artist who had also been a child prodigy, having studied in Paris with Flemish masters. She taught Maria for about four years, where she taught her about painting and drawing. Violante became a second mother to Maria during these years, since she could converse on topics such as religion. Maria became so devoutly catholic that she began to think about joining the convent for life, which lead her to have a vivid prophetic dream. Maria dreamed that the Madonna came to earth and wanted to take Maria to the heavens with her but changed her mind and left her on earth. Of course, the frightened girl consulted with Violante who consoled her by saying that until the middle of her life, she would be lifted towards heaven. This further solidified Maria's religious convictions and deep desire to retire to a convent and live a simple life of virtue. At many tumultuous points in Maria's life, she would consider this choice.<sup>14</sup>

By the time Maria was twelve years old, it was obvious that she had surpassed the tutelage of Violante. Her mother had also grown jealous of their bond and had no qualms about finding a new instructor for her daughter. She struggled to get along with her mother as both had different ambitions. Maria wanted to study, travel and live life as an unmarried woman, whereas her mother wished her to marry of advantage. That is where Maria's father could indulge her as his favorite child, since he encouraged her education. His demeanor was warm and loving with Maria, which in turn made Maria regard him with the utmost respect. When Charles died, however, he did not leave any inheritance to Maria, stating that she had already received more than her due through her amply provided education. Her siblings did not enjoy the same advantages and thus had far less

ability to sustain themselves. Maria did not respond well to this, and it ultimately placed her in the position of being responsible for the fate of her family's future.<sup>15</sup>

When Johann Zoffany, the favorite painter of Queen Charlotte, arrived in Florence, Charles Hadfield arranged for art lessons with his daughter. Maria was given permission to visit the Grand Duke's picture gallery, which introduced her to an array of antiquities and great works. She studied everything from Roman busts to natural curiosities such as exotic bones, marking the beginning of her interest in the Classical world. Zoffany's circle of friends introduced her to a wide circle of artists and patrons, which helped to broaden her cultural horizons. When Maria was fifteen, she was also given access to the inner sanctum of the Tribuna at the Uffizi Gallery where she could study and copy Renaissance paintings. Zoffany's painting of the Tribuna gives a sense of what was available to Maria (Fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> By 1775, Maria had 'come of age' and had been practicing her painting with dedication for two years. She was ambitious and had decided that she would make her living as an artist, especially since she had no dowry or marriage prospects. While it was unusual, successful female artists like Angelica Kauffman and Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun inspired Cosway. She needed to travel and further her studies away from Florence, so she began to pine for new experiences in Rome. Until then, she occupied herself with the delights of Florence, such as attending operas, playing music, conversing with young men, dancing at balls, and of course, painting.<sup>17</sup>

In 1776, Maria's father, at last, had arranged for her to travel to Rome with the respectable Mr. and Mrs. Gore and their family. Rome, twice the size of Florence, was a bustling and exciting city, with modern entertainments such as princely collections and pleasure gardens. In Rome, Maria embarked on her own Grand Tour by visiting ancient

sites, admiring the neoclassical architecture, and drawing everything she saw. Just a few months after arriving in Rome, Maria received a letter that her father had died. By the time she had found out, it was too late to return for his funeral, so Maria stayed in Rome to finish her studies. Although her father did not provide for her in his will, he would have wished her to continue her education. The Gores helped Miss Hadfield to gain introductions with numerous artists, patrons, aristocrats and people of influence, who, in turn, did the same for Maria. Her days were filled with exploring palaces and studying master works, and her evenings would be spent in Ozias Humphrey's apartments conversing with other like-minded artists. Among the group that helped Maria with her artistic education were Thomas Banks, Henry Tresham, Henry Fuseli, Pompeo Batoni, and Anton Raphael Mengs.<sup>18</sup>

While in Rome, Maria also consorted with Mr. Prince Hoare, the son of William Hoare, an artist at the Royal Academy. He often called and went on expeditions with her and Humphrey. In 1777, she received a marriage proposal from William Parsons, but did not accept. Her mother hoped to find her a better match, so she did not worry when Maria refused his hand. Others thought that Maria and Hoare had formed an attachment since they were so frequently together. By this point, the Gores were preparing to return to England and Maria's mother and brother had come to Rome. Maria's mother wanted her to return to Florence and so they did.<sup>19</sup>

Maria deeply missed her friends in Rome and her time spent with Hoare. Back in Florence, Maria continued to work on her paintings and entertained herself with new visitors, a young Scot, Joseph Mercer, and a young Florentine, Giovanni Bastianelli. She would paint this remarkably adept self-portrait of herself around this time, proving her

skills and self-assurance at such a young age (Fig. 6).<sup>20</sup> She spent a great deal of time with Mercer, often taking long walks or dining together with the Hadfields. Maria and her brother eventually returned to Rome later in the year, where Maria reunited with Prince Hoare and Henry Tresham, and she was introduced to James Northcote, who would become a lifelong friend.

Early in the next year, Joseph Mercer went to Rome and called on Maria. One evening, they attended the theater with Mrs. Banks, Thomas Banks' wife, as chaperone. He wrote in his journal that evening, "Found myself very uncomfortable. Miss Hatfield spoke to me several times & I gave her very awkward answers. I can account for my behavior in no other manner than that I am certainly in love with her and don't like her to know..."<sup>21</sup> Mercer was in love with Maria, but only two days later departed Rome without telling her. Maria did not understand but soon learned men would frequently show interest, but that did not mean they were serious suitors. After a few more months, Maria's mother made the decision that her entire family should move to London. She thought there would be more opportunities for Maria's painting career and marriage prospects, and without her husband to help run the inns, it became tiresome. Despite Maria not wanting to leave Italy, the Hadfield family departed for London in 1779.<sup>22</sup>

After arriving in London, Mrs. Hadfield found a house in Hanover Square at 9 George Street. They began to call on influential members of society with letters of introduction provided by Lady Penelope Rivers. She gave Maria letters to Angelica Kauffman and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Maria called on Reynolds who agreed to look at some of her paintings. He did not offer much flattery, but he only ever did if he felt unthreatened according to his assistant, James Northcote. Kauffman was one of only two

women admitted to the Royal Academy, along with Mary Moser. Their election was the result of insistence from Queen Charlotte herself. Kauffman acted as a role model for Cosway, as she was a successful female artist while also remaining a respectable lady. Maria had the opportunity to meet Kauffman but never had the chance to receive training from her.

As the months went by, Maria's mother began to run out of resources as the remains of her husband's funds drained. Evidently aware of their situation, Maria's mother was keen to marry her daughter in hopes of restoring the family's security. Despite being completely against her wishes, the fate of her brothers and sisters were in Cosway's hands. Making it even worse, Maria despised London and its grim winter weather. It was in 1780 that Maria was introduced to the well-known miniature portraitist, Richard Cosway. He would call on her at home, where he would complement her paintings and flatter her mother. Richard Cosway was a fashionable artist at the time, having seen success with the Prince of Wales. Mr. Cosway received permission to ask for Maria's hand from Isabella Hadfield, who very much approved of the marriage. Knowing that Maria would likely object, they made sure she was married before she reached the age of maturity. They would be wed on January 18, 1781 while Maria was seventeen years old.<sup>23</sup>

In the early days of her marriage to Richard she did not particularly enjoy the company of her husband, but she did not object. He was twenty years her senior and had a reputation of being a dandy or a macaroni and was often caricatured by the media for his odd personality and transgressions. Maria's mother told her it would be easier for her to submit her will, and so Maria did, becoming melancholic. It did not help that Richard

wanted to shield Maria from the public eye by keeping her at home. Richards's townhouse was located at No. 4 Berkeley Street near fashionable Piccadilly. Their windows actually faced the side wall of Devonshire House, making Maria and the Duchess of Devonshire's eventual encounter ever more likely. Richard believed that by keeping his young wife out of the public, she would have the time to learn about proper social etiquette. Maria spent some of her days drawing or painting in Richard's studio, and sometimes he taught her about miniature portrait painting. Frequently, Maria would model for Richard's drawings or paintings.<sup>24</sup> Figures 7-11 illustrate Richard's depictions of Maria, which demonstrate his interest in fancy dress costume, and offer a glimpse into their lives.

Maria wrote about her first year of marriage, saying that, "I kept very retired for a twelve month until I became acquainted with the society I should form."<sup>25</sup> She did, however, manage to exhibit three works at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1781 and would continue through 1789. In total, she showed over thirty oil portraits and history paintings at the Royal Academy. Very few of her paintings have survived to today due to her waning popularity over the centuries, however, she was once considered one of the foremost female artists exhibiting work in London during her life. She was lauded as the new Angelica Kauffman. All of her work copying Old Master Renaissance and Baroque paintings during the 1770s informed and greatly influenced her style, which was known to be eclectic yet ambitious. Stylistically, she was compared to Henri Fuseli. She frequently incorporated history, ancient subjects, mythology, spiritual iconography, Biblical stories and fantastical literature into her works, which were noted for being most 'unlike' that of a woman.<sup>26</sup> Some examples of her mythological works are *A Girl by the*

*Sea repelling the Spirit of Melancholy*<sup>27</sup> and *A Girl Dancing by the Sea*<sup>28</sup> which bear resemblance to Cosway's portrait of the duchess (Figs. 12 & 13). Others include *Sappho* (1826)<sup>29</sup> and *Creusa Appearing to Aeneas* (1781)<sup>30</sup> (Figs. 14 & 15). Examples of her work inspired by Biblical or religious themes are *A Persian Lady Worshipping the Rising Sun* (1784)<sup>31</sup>, *An Angel and Putti Accompanying a Child's Soul to Heaven*<sup>32</sup>, and *The Judgement of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram* (1801)<sup>33</sup> (Figs. 16, 17 & 18).

A large portion of her work were portraits of patrons or friends, often 'in character,' though most are untraced or lost today. Some examples of traditional portraiture by Cosway can be seen in an undated self-portrait<sup>34</sup>, *Mrs. Vizelli*<sup>35</sup>, and *Miss Mary Linwood*<sup>36</sup> (Figs. 19 & 20). Cosway had the opportunity to paint a Grand Manner Portrait of *Caroline, Princess of Wales, and Princess Charlotte* in 1800 (Fig. 22).<sup>37</sup> Other examples of Cosway combining myth with portraiture include *Lord Melbourne as Child*<sup>38</sup> and *The Infant Bacchus*<sup>39</sup> (Figs. 23 & 24). Two of Cosway's most successful and praised works were *The Hours* (1780)<sup>40</sup> and *The Death of Miss Gardiner* (1789)<sup>41</sup> (Figs. 25 & 26). The former features characters from myth while the latter is a spiritual depiction of death, showcasing her interests in philosophical, biblical, and ancient subjects.<sup>42</sup>

In 1782, following the release of *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana*, Valentine Green engraved it in a mezzotint and mass-published it in 1783. A critic from the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* praised it for its "elegant compliment" of the Duchess, and it's "originality and delicacy." They also said that Maria was the 'first of female painters' inferior to her husband and Sir Joshua Reynolds.<sup>43</sup> In 1783, another critic wrote promisingly about Maria and her work in the news:

If the Parisians boast of their Madame Le Brun we have our Maria Cosway, born of English parents, but nursed in the schools of Rome and Florence. This

young artist (yet *very* young) promises to be one of the luminaries of the approaching age. Her figure delicate, and feminine to a great degree, is accompanied by a mind the emulates the boldest subjects, the grand and the terrible. Her stile is nearer that of *Fuseli* than any other modern artist; yet it possesses a distinguishing character that, to a discerning eye, proves her to be no copyist... There is a noble wildness enough, but little consistency or nature. It is worthy remarking, that her taste in music seems to be essentially different from that which governs her pencil in painting. In music her compositions are tender, elegant, and persuasive; in painting strong and commanding. The *Cosway* is perhaps the only lady, not only in England, but in Europe, who possesses an excellence so superior in the two sciences of music and painting.<sup>44</sup>

Maria had gained a following shortly after the release of her first works, her status elevated in part being the wife of Richard Cosway. Before she knew it, Maria was well known in London and abroad as Mrs. Cosway, the hostess, musician, and artist. She entertained the guests of Richard's studio at her famous drawing room salons which attracted the gamut of polite society, but most importantly, the Prince of Wales, who was Richard's patron. They frequently hosted formal dinners and Maria even had musical evenings on Mondays where she performed on the harp or harpsichord and sang Italian operas.<sup>45</sup>

As the years went by, Mr. and Mrs. Cosway were subject to solicitous gossip and public ridicule, due to Maria's "Italian" nature, Richard's appetite for the bawdy, and their association with the controversial Prince of Wales. In 1786, Richard decided that they would go to Paris for some time to get away from London society. It was there that Maria first met the American Minister to France, Thomas Jefferson. He frequently accompanied the Cosway's on excursions and visits to gardens, where they could converse about music or theater. After two to three months gallivanting through society, the Cosways prepared to return to London.<sup>46</sup> Jefferson had injured his arm during the last two weeks, which caused Maria distress, especially since she would not see him for

several more years. They would continue to exchange letters until his death in 1826. The details of their attachment are uncertain, though it obvious in their letters that they shared a mutual affection and regard for one another.<sup>47</sup>

By 1787, the Cosways were back in London to participate in the Royal Academy's exhibition. After criticism of her earlier works, Maria decided to focus on pictures of women and children, painting Ladies Charlotte, Anne, and Frances Villiers as two nymphs and the mythological figure Cybele. She painted the Countess of Jersey and her children as an enchantress. She also portrayed the Lady Melbourne's infant, George Lamb, as Bacchus (Fig. 24).<sup>48</sup> All of these works received critical acclaim, for which Maria must have been pleased. Maria desperately wanted to return to Paris but could not since Richard was always stalling for one reason or another. Eventually, Maria would return to Paris, but this time alone. She reunited with Jefferson and spent her days calling on the vast circle of friends she had made during her previous trip. In 1789, while back in England and Jefferson having returned to the United States, after eight years of marriage, Maria unexpectedly learned she was with child.<sup>49</sup>

Maria's pregnancy was a difficult and unpleasant one, as she was frequently ill and only able to accept a few callers. On May 4, 1790, Maria gave birth to a baby girl called Louisa Paolina Cosway, named for the Countess of Albany who would be her godmother. Although initially fine, Maria's post-partum health quickly deteriorated. If she had lived today, she likely would have been diagnosed with post-partum depression or anxiety. Richard and her family did not know what to do, but eventually decided a change of scenery might help. They sent her to Rome to join her younger brother George who was studying there. Maria left her newborn daughter in the care of her mother, sister

Charlotte, a wet nurse, a governess, and Richard. Maria was not keen to travel, but the idea of returning to her home in Italy provided hope.<sup>50</sup>

Maria spent the year of 1790 in Venice, where rumors about her ran rampant. There were public questions about why she left her daughter and husband to travel alone. Some thought that she was having an affair or decided to leave her husband to fend for himself, rumors that were not true. At one point she begged Richard to join her in Italy and signed a letter, "I kiss Louisa a thousand times," as she probably missed her daughter greatly.<sup>51</sup> In 1791, Maria decided to return to her childhood home in Florence where she reunited with Lady Hannah Cowper, the daughter of Mrs. Gore who had first took Maria to Rome. After a few days in Florence, they decided to go to Rome for Holy Week. In Rome, Maria saw Angelia Kauffman again, and she also met Madame Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun. As the years went by in Italy, Maria's reputation continued to suffer. People were gossiping in London and everywhere Maria went. Her friends in Italy began to turn on her as she realized that her reputation in London was severely at stake if she did not return home soon. Even Horace Walpole was concerned, writing, "I am glad Mrs. Cosway is with you; she is pleasing, but surely it is odd to drop a child and her husband and country all in a breath!"<sup>52</sup> This led Maria to write to her husband for help, but he offered none at first. In 1793, Maria entered the convent of Santa Brigida as a boarder, not as a nun. She hoped to seek solitude and to reform her once virtuous reputation.

In 1794, Richard finally gave permission for Maria to return home. In the four years of her absence, he had moved to a new house on Oxford Street. Louisa had never seen her mother before, but instantly formed an attachment due to Maria's sister and mother constantly reminding the girl that her mother would return one day. Upon being

reunited with Louisa, Maria turned her entire focus to her daughter's education, which would be the start of a lifelong calling to teach. She enacted a strict regimen for her daughter which included early rising, a morning walk, reading lessons with her mother, sometimes a trip to a gallery, handicrafts in the afternoon, and, at the end of the day, she would be rewarded with drawing pencils. Maria was worried that her daughter was too spoiled and jealous, so she taught her how to share her desserts at dinner and gave her anything she desired, so that she would not be jealous of her friends. Maria began to dress more simply as an encouragement for her daughter to not be vain, which was also becoming popular in revolutionary France. After just two years of happiness spent with her daughter, little Louisa caught a fatal cold while walking in the park. She quickly became ill with a fever and died suddenly and unexpectedly. Maria and Richard were devastated, and both dealt with their grief in different ways. Maria put herself into her artwork and thought about opening a school for girls since she had enjoyed teaching her daughter so much. In 1800, Maria exhibited seven paintings, the most productive year of her life. With Louisa gone, Maria felt like she had nothing left in London. She departed for France once again.<sup>53</sup>

Maria was sent to Paris by Richard due to a commission he could not undertake because of France and England being at war. Maria was to make copies of the pictures in the Gallery of the Louvre for Napoleon Bonaparte. Maria spent an immense amount of time working on the copies and managed to publish some of the etchings but was unable to complete the commission due to the ongoing war (Fig. 27).<sup>54</sup> During this time Maria became intimate with the entire Bonaparte family, particularly Napoleon's uncle, Joseph Fesch, who would become an Archbishop and Cardinal. He helped her to open a school

for young women in Lyons, which she ran successfully until 1803. The location in Lyons then proved to be problematic and she had issues with support from local officials. In that time Maria still worked on commissions. Due to the war, Maria could not get a passport to return to London. The college in Lyons closed in 1809 when she departed for Lombardy.<sup>55</sup>

In Lombardy Maria stayed with her sister, Elisabetta. It was there that she met the Duke of Lodi who wanted to establish a school within a convent at Lodi near Milan, Italy. This school was for girls aged six to twelve and was supported by a religious order, which Maria was fond of at first. After some time, the nuns did not like Maria's approaches to teaching which proved to be difficult but not unmanageable. In 1815 Maria was called home to London to nurse her ailing husband. Their reconciliation was surprisingly pleasant and Richard soon recovered. Maria would return to London once more in 1817 and stay there until 1822 when Richard died. After his death she took care of his properties, organized his paintings, and auctioned off his remaining collections. While in England she missed her students dearly back in Lodi and returned as soon as she was able. She had formed a particular attachment to a student, Annette Prudon, who Maria referred to as an adopted daughter. Annette eventually joined the convent and remained a teacher under Maria's care. Maria stayed in her position as headmistress at the Collegio di Lodi until her death on January 5, 1838. A great many people in Lombardy mourned her death, with a monument being erected at her resting place in the church of Santa Marie delle Grazie. A marble bust was commissioned to be displayed at the school. Maria outlived both of her executors, Sir John Soane and Prince Hoare, as

well as most of her friends in England. The school would continue to operate until 1978, and the buildings are still used for educational purposes today.<sup>56</sup>

## Chapter 2: Description of *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana*

Cosway painted the full-length Grand Manner portrait, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana* between 1781 and 1782. The oil on canvas painting is on display at Chatsworth House in Derbyshire, England. The painting depicts the enigmatic duchess dressed as the goddess Diana, floating through the night sky directly towards the viewer.<sup>57</sup> The duchess is suspended in a crescent of soft clouds, framing the edges of the picture, with darker shades of cerulean at the outset and a fusion of seafoam, pale aqua, grey, and cream highlighting the innermost clouds. The clouds seem to be dissipating just as Georgiana flies through the sky. Directly behind the duchess and in the upper right corner, rich navy blue and deep teal night sky peek through to contrast dramatically against the clouds and the white gown. A few stars speckle the sky, providing depth and a celestial atmosphere.

The duchess herself is centered in the composition both vertically and horizontally, floating above the plane. She faces frontally with her arms confidently outstretched; her right arm is lifting towards the sky and her left arm is reaching for the earth. Her left leg is positioned slightly more forward, making her left foot visible while her right foot is hidden in the drapery of her gown and smoky clouds. The duchess's facial expression is calm, yet full of intensity. Her blue eyes are open wide, gazing out at the beholder. She has either applied rouge to her cheeks, or Cosway has emphasized them with a rosy tint. Her hair, an auburn brown but powdered to appear grey, is styled into a typical 1780s coiffure, with tendrils hanging loose at the back. The hair is windswept and messy, accentuated with a shining gold crescent moon tiara atop her head in the style of

the Roman goddess Diana or the Greek goddess Artemis. Behind her head, clouds emanate behind her head to form a halo, emphasizing her divinity.

Georgiana wears a fantastical costume, inspired by Classical dress. Her white gauzy gown is probably made from sheer silk or fine muslin, a lightweight cotton fabric that would become extremely popular in the decades to follow. Her gown is a variation of a Greek chiton, which probably would have been worn underneath another robe in ancient times. The sleeves are pinned at the top and at her left arm. In antiquity, this garment was not sewn, but rather wrapped around the body, and tied at the sleeves. An increased interest in the Classical world during the eighteenth-century led many to embrace the styles of antiquity, but with modern convenience. When Cosway painted this portrait, it was the norm for girls to wear simple white frocks with higher waistlines, while some fashionable women, like Georgiana, might have had fancy dress costumes similar to this one. It is possible that the duchess had a gown like this in her wardrobe for special occasions, or that Maria invented it based on other depictions. In the decades to follow, gowns like this would become normal day wear for women, often in white or other pale colors.

The wrapped white gown has a low round neckline and is trimmed with gold piping. The elbow-length sleeves are secured with four gold ornaments but which leave some skin exposed on her arms. A swath of drapery reaches from the shoulder and meeting in a knotted bow at the center of her empire-waisted bodice, with the ends fluttering behind her in night sky. There is a section of her dress beneath the bow on the bodice that either features gold embroidered details or a gold metal decoration, reminiscent of chryselephantine sculpture. From the bottom of the bodice, gathered

draperies cascade into the long floor-length skirt. The thin layers expose just a kneecap, with only her left foot visible. She also wears Classically inspired gold sandals with an intricate decorative design that wraps around the foot.

### Chapter 3: Diana in Myth and Portraiture

Since little written documentation survives about Cosway's intentions and inspiration surrounding her striking portrait of the duchess, there has been confusion among scholars on how to identify and interpret the figure. In the past, some catalogs, books, or museums have identified this portrait as *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana*, while others still say she is in the character of Cynthia from Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590). The various interpretations over the identity of the figure leaves one bewildered as to how this confusion began and the answer continues to elude simple explanation. I will argue that Cosway, being an inquisitive and curious woman of the Enlightenment, would have known the conventional iconography of the goddess Diana and also used visual and poetic inspiration from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* to create this unusual depiction of the duchess as Diana.

In the ancient world, the image of Diana or Artemis was an extremely potent and powerful image, imbued with an array of symbolism and meaning. She was the goddess of the moon, chastity, the hunt, mistress of animals, patron of girls and young women, and protector of childbirth. Diana, or the Greek counterpart Artemis, was often used to promote chastity or to portray young women who died before maturity. As art historian and scholar Eve D'Ambra explains, many Roman statues of goddesses have been misidentified as merely portraits of an idealized Diana, rather than as a funerary portrait of a girl or young woman. These portraits often featured the facial features of a young girl attached to the conventional stylized body of Diana. D'Ambra notes, "The maiden goddess... is an entirely appropriate choice for their stage of life... As a goddess who staunchly resists marriage and motherhood, Diana nonetheless takes responsibility for

bringing youths to adulthood and assists in rites of passage.”<sup>58</sup> It is also entirely appropriate that the Duchess of Devonshire was depicted as the goddess, who at 25, was still a young woman despite having been married for seven years. She wished to conceive her first child and had been in Bath seeking treatment prior to sitting for the portrait, for which Diana was the patron goddess of conception and childbirth – making her portrayal even more fitting.

Diana is frequently depicted in Roman art wearing a short chiton, which allowed for mobility during the hunt, and a crescent moon diadem or crown. Her hair is often short and tied back. She is sometimes accompanied by hunting dogs or a deer, with a bow and quiver in hand.<sup>59</sup> The funerary altar in relief shows the girl as Diana in a short chiton, aiming with her bow, while her dog prances forward (Fig. 28).<sup>60</sup> The drapery that balloons with the wind behind her is not dissimilar to the windswept fabric and clouds surrounding Cosway’s Diana. The Diana of Versailles sculpture portrays a very similar goddess, with her in motion, drawing a quiver from her pouch, while she holds a deer by the antlers (Fig. 29).<sup>61</sup> She is also seen wearing the typical tied back hairstyle and sandals. Interestingly, she wears a diadem, but it does not feature a crescent moon. The sculpture of Diana at the Vatican museum features a horizontal crescent moon diadem that is nearly identical to the one worn by Georgiana in the portrait, although it may have been added at a later date (Fig. 30).<sup>62</sup> Alternatively, she also wears a floor-length chiton instead of a shortened one, once again similar to Cosway’s portrait. She stands elegantly and confidently, with a bow and arrow in her hands, and a fierce dog at her side.

In the painted fresco at the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii, Diana can be seen flying through the sky, on her way to save Iphigenia (Figs. 31-33).<sup>63</sup> The fabric of

her garment blows in the wind while she holds onto a stag. She is also wearing a stylized diadem. In another common interpretation of this fresco, Diana is the flying figure on the right, and she holds the typical bow and arrow and wears a golden crown. In a fresco from Stabaie, Diana can be seen wearing a full-length chiton, with her hair tied back and adorned with a simple diadem (Fig. 34).<sup>64</sup> She leans forward, aiming her bow at the ground as she prepares her arrow. In a fresco from the House of the Vettii in Pompeii, Diana is accompanied by a deer in a scene of sacrifice in honor of herself (Fig. 35).<sup>65</sup> She wears a long chiton-like gown with sandals, her hair is tied back, and it is unclear whether she wears a diadem. She does however appear to wear jewelry, including snake bracelets, which Diana sometimes wears in Roman art.

Following the new eighteenth-century fascination for Classical art kindled by excavations at Pompeii in 1748, more and more people became familiar with the Greco-Roman world and its visual culture. Architects like Robert Adam revived and popularized a polished Neoclassical take on Roman interiors, while artists painted scenes from mythology, and philosophers reinterpreted the ideas of Classical scholars. These images, along with engravings of archaeological finds, were circulated widely throughout Europe and beyond.<sup>66</sup> Cosway would have been more than familiar with classical subjects as a girl, since she had access to many private art collections, including that of her husband. Later in life, she would have been bombarded with Classical works or reproductions on a daily basis, making it almost certain that she was familiar with Greek and Roman mythology and the conventional iconography of Diana in ancient art.

Cosway was certainly not the first to depict a sitter as Diana in the eighteenth-century. It was common for female sitters to be depicted as the goddess in portraits,

which can be seen from the Renaissance onwards. Cosway would have also been familiar with some of these works due to her visits to princely collections. The School of Fontainebleau painting of *Diana the Huntress* (1550) is an early example of portraying a real-life woman as the goddess (Fig. 36).<sup>67</sup> It depicts Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of King Henry II of France in a full-length portrait, where she walks away, yet turns to look directly at the viewer. She is accompanied by a hunting dog and carries a bow in left hand, and a quiver in her right. Diane de Poitiers is practically nude, which is unusual for the iconography of Diana, but she has a garment over her shoulder, which she carries. Her hair is braided close to her head and she wears a crescent moon diadem.<sup>68</sup> The tradition of Grand Manner portraits began with works like this one, as well as allegories by other renaissance painters, such as Sandro Botticelli who had a penchant for mythological subjects.

An example of a later allegorical Grand Manner painting is *Portrait of an Unknown Woman* (1590-1600) by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1561-1636) (Fig. 37).<sup>69</sup> In this portrait, an aristocratic woman poses in a similar manner to Queen Elizabeth I of England but is wearing an unusual floral embroidered garment in an outdoor scene. A cartouche in the bottom-right corner explains that this is meant to be read as an allegory. The woman was in search of a husband and is displaying her fertility through the tree of life, animal and floral imagery, and the loose atypical gown. She is also posing with her hand over a stag, a reference to Diana, the goddess of fertility and chastity, which would also have been valuable virtues in marriage for a sixteenth-century Englishwoman. While the iconography here is less conventional, it is apparent that contemporary Europeans

were well acquainted with mythology and iconography and this would continue to be through the case for centuries.

By the eighteenth-century, Grand Manner portraits were at the height of fashion, with many examples of women being depicted as Diana, including the influential trendsetter Madame de Pompadour<sup>70</sup> as seen in Jean-Marc Nattier's portrait of her (Fig. 38).<sup>71</sup> In Pietro Rotari's Grand Manner painting of Diana, the woman is depicted wearing a stylized chiton in white, tan and red drapery (Fig. 39).<sup>72</sup> She wears a quiver with bow and arrow across her back, while her hair is powdered and done in an "ancient" style. There is a hunting dog in the bottom-right corner, and she is outside at night, probably preparing for the hunt. She wears a jeweled headpiece, and Rotari has painted a crescent moon above her head, instead of attaching it to a diadem. The prominent crescent moon and deep blue night sky is reminiscent of Cosway's portrait, perhaps providing some inspiration to Cosway. In Francois-Hubert Drouais' portrait of Marie Josephine of Savoy as the goddess, a crescent moon has also been placed above her eighteenth-century powdered wig, signifying that she is also Diana (Fig. 40).<sup>73</sup> She wears a blue robe, which was probably a silk dressing gown. She also wears a leopard or cheetah fur pelt, which were sometimes seen in Roman depictions of goddesses. Two rowdy hunting dogs accompany her, as she holds both arms out, with her bow in her right hand. This pose appears to make her fly, referencing the fresco at the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii (Fig. 32).

Not all of the visual inspiration from the eighteenth-century was from Grand Manner Portraits, since Cosway would also have seen exhibited works or circulated engravings of Rococo or Neoclassical mythological scenes. For instance, Jean Honoré

Fragonard frequently painted mythological scenes, and in his *Diana and Endymion*, the goddess floats on a cloud, hovering above a sleeping dog, while a large crescent moon glows behind her (Fig. 41).<sup>74</sup> She is wearing a flowing robe but is partially nude. In this way, she also appears to be floating or flying through the night sky. Angelica Kauffman, famed Neoclassical painter and acquaintance of Cosway in her later life, also produced many scenes from ancient myth, such as *Orestes and Iphigenia at Tauris* which she painted in 1771 (Fig. 42).<sup>75</sup> In the painting, the figures worship a deity of Diana who wears crescent moon diadem. Another example is *Diana Preparing for Hunting* (Fig. 43).<sup>76</sup> This was printed and circulated just years before Cosway painted Georgiana, making it all the more likely she would have taken note of Diana's iconography. Diana is seen sitting, pointing to an arrow, with a bow in her other hand. She is wearing a stylized version of a Roman garment yet is also partially nude. She also wears the typical sandals, and her hair is tied back. A crescent moon is suspended over her head, providing iconographical identification if it wasn't already made clear by the other symbols. This engraving and painting are important because they are a visual source for which Cosway would have been familiar with.

The reason Cosway's portrait has been identified as Cynthia from Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) is likely due to the fact that the fairy herself is a goddess of the moon, like Diana. Spenser's epic poem is an allegory about several medieval knights who each represent a specific virtue and are on a quest to find the Faerie Queene, Gloriana. The prose draws on myth, history, Arthurian legend, and contemporary politics. Spenser wrote and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth I to gain her favor. 250 years after publication, a popular rendition of one of the fairies, Cynthia, was

created by William Blake in a dreamy watercolor painting depicting the characters from the epic poem (Fig. 44).<sup>77</sup> Cynthia is seen bursting forth from a shining moon or planet into the night sky, with her arms spread outwards, while she looks backwards at the moon or down at the earth. Behind her head is a halo or a moon, and it appears there are clouds or drapery floating around her. This depiction references representation of Diana when she is flying, perhaps on her way to save Iphigenia. It also calls to mind the representations of another goddess, Fortuna, such as in Kauffman's drawing (Fig. 45).<sup>78</sup> This work depicts Fortuna, who is balancing delicately over a throne, since in the ancient Cinderella tale, one of her slippers was stolen by an eagle and dropped at the feet of an Egyptian pharaoh. However, the part of the throne that Fortuna floats over, also appears like an orb, or a planet. She is depicted nude and holds a swath of drapery that blows in the wind. Her floating pose, with one arm above her head and the other at her side, while one foot touches the spherical object, is a pose that recalls Cosway's positioning of the duchess.

One might assume Kauffman and Cosway were inspired by Blake's depiction of Cynthia, however, Blake painted it decades after *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana* was created. It is clear, though, that Cosway's representation of the duchess was informed by Cynthia's character in the poem, even without any obvious contemporary visual sources for comparison. Cosway would later reflect on this letter to Sir William Cosway in 1830, "The first pictures I exhibited made my reputation. The novelty & my Age Contributed more than the real Merit – The portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire then the Reigning beauty & fashion – in the Character of Cynthia from Spencer seemed to strike..."<sup>79</sup> Cosway must have made it known to the public too, since a press review from

the time states, “The fair artist has unquestionably a claim to a *poetic* fancy. In the personification of Cynthia, she has evidently introduced the Duchess of Devonshire.”<sup>80</sup> While Cosway knew she was representing the duchess as Cynthia, she also would have been inspired by Kauffman’s depictions of Diana and Fortuna, completed just years before her portrait, as well as earlier portrayals of Fortuna. An early example is this small painted panel *Allegory of Fortune* (c. 1580-99) which portrays the goddess balancing on a globe (Fig. 46).<sup>81</sup> This pose can be seen occasionally in Renaissance art, for which Cosway would have seen during her childhood in Italy. Another later example is *Allegory of Fortune* (1730) which portrays a dramatic scene in Fortuna’s myth, once again with her floating on an orb with drapery blowing behind her (Fig. 47).<sup>82</sup> Cosway reportedly used the pose for an oil portrait of Henry Lubomirski as Eros formerly at the castle of Lancut in Poland.<sup>83</sup> Richard Cosway, also copied this pose, as seen in two of his large-scale paintings, yet again decades after Cosway’s portrait (Figs. 48 & 49).<sup>84 85</sup> Perhaps he was inspired by his wife’s successful portrait of Georgiana.

In Maria Cosway’s portrait, Georgiana is not seen floating over a planet, but she may as well be, considering the similarities to the pose of Fortuna. It also makes sense for the duchess to be flying through the night sky, since it is a common pose for Diana, albeit an unusual version with her facing the viewer. She wears the chiton and sandals of classical Roman women and goddesses. Most importantly, she wears Diana’s most common icon, the crescent moon diadem, and there appears to be a halo of light around her head, signifying she is a divine goddess. Although Cosway herself and the public knew the portrait was inspired by Cynthia, they also recognized the blatant iconography of Diana in the portrait. Horace Walpole described Cosway’s critically acclaimed portrait

as the “Duchess of Devonshire as Diana in the air. Extravagant,” thus providing evidence that Cosway’s contemporaries knew the portrait intentionally depicted the goddess.<sup>86</sup>

Maria Cosway’s celestial portrait of the duchess is undoubtably a Grand Manner portrayal of Diana and manages to draw on longstanding traditions of mythological iconography, while also reinventing it in such a way to make a most peculiar yet enigmatic and charming depiction of Georgiana.

## Chapter 4: Dress and Other Grand Manner Portraits

The tradition of Grand Manner portraits was established early in the eighteenth-century and coincided with the penchant of many artists for painting subjects from mythology and ancient history.<sup>87</sup> History paintings were always regarded highly, for which many Neoclassical artists of the period flourished against the less serious and more playful depictions of idyllic Rococo fête galantes (Fig. 50).<sup>88</sup> Rococo artists, including Fragonard and Watteau, frequently painted mythological scenes or allegories, but with a tone of frivolity, whereas Neoclassical depictions of mythological subjects were more highly regarded throughout the century. Both Angelica Kauffman and Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun, women whom Cosway admired and emulated, often depicted classical subjects in their work. One of Kauffman's best-known works is *Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi, Pointing to Her Children as Treasures*, where she has painted a scene from ancient history featuring a virtuous and devoted mother, marking the painting as rather serious (Fig. 51).<sup>89</sup> While the majority of Vigée Le Brun's work primarily consists of portraits, she too painted scenes from myth, such as *La Paix ramenant l'Abondance* which dates to 1780 (Fig. 52).<sup>90</sup> These subjects helped to promote widespread public interest in ancient history and recognition of iconographical symbols of myth. It also promoted a romanticized way of life, thus influencing women's fashion later in the period. Cosway's portrait of the duchess epitomizes the powerful influence that the Enlightenment had on both dress, public perception, and art in the eighteenth-century.

In the eighteenth-century, women controlled their appearance, to which some men expressed distaste for their 'frivolous' or 'vain' nature. Women designed and sewed their own garments, deciding on the appearance and fit, which frequently changed based on

what was fashionable. The inability to control the way women dressed continued to prevail as an underlying criticism until moralistic dress reforms in the early nineteenth-century. There existed an idea that women's dress was not worthy of depiction due to its extravagance, thus translating into immoral behavior. For that reason, simplicity was promoted as the dress ideal throughout the century, even though nearly all women ignored that notion full heartedly in the name of fashion.<sup>91</sup>

Some artists hesitated to paint women's actual clothes due to their associations or inappropriateness for an occasion such as sitting for a serious portrait. John Singleton Copley was known to do this in particular and can be seen in his portrait of Mrs. John Stevens (Fig. 53).<sup>92</sup> Despite the portrait being painted around 1770, Mrs. Stevens is wearing a garment unlike anything women wore at the time. It could potentially pass as a silk wrapping or dressing gown, but even that would be inappropriate to wear in a formal portrait. Her dove-gray silk garment wraps around her body beneath a navy-blue shawl, but neither is indicative of any particular style or period in fashion. It is meant to appear timeless against the everchanging whims of eighteenth-century dress and portrays Mrs. Stevens as an elegant and virtuous woman.<sup>93</sup> In contrast, Nicolas de Largillierre paints an actress as Ariadne. Due to her profession, he did not necessarily need to worry about being seen as a virtuous mistress (Fig. 54).<sup>94</sup> Instead, she is depicted as a glamorous goddess in a sumptuous burgundy gown, not dissimilar to those worn in this period. Even though some artists refused to paint the actual contemporary garments that were worn, there were plenty of other artists who did not find women's dress problematic, as exemplified in the inexhaustible number of straightforward portraits that survive.

In eighteenth-century England, there was nothing more popular than wearing fancy dress to pose for a portrait or attend a masked ball, particularly in the style of ‘Van Dyck dress.’ Portraitists depicted women in a range of dress: imaginary generic gowns, their actual gowns, or the dress of previous centuries. The past was always seen as wholesome and nonproblematic, so it would not have been inappropriate to dress in seventeenth- or sixteenth-century clothes.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, Richard Cosway was one of these artists, and he was known to have a trunk of costumes in his studio in the style of that found in a Rubens or Van Dyck painting. Cosway often posed for her husband in these costumes in the early days of their marriage, a practice which Cosway would use in her own work when depicting subjects inspired by antiquity or the Bible.<sup>96</sup>

At first glance, it might seem disrespectful that Grand Manner portraits depict women in “ancient” style dress because such gowns were revealing and often resembled undergarments. However, being depicted as a mythological figure was seen as an honor reserved for only the most morally virtuous, so artists had more leeway when it came to the gowns their sitters wore, even if wearing such a garment in real life would evoke the harshest of criticism. Despite the fact that the majority of these Greco-Roman Grand Manner costumes were simply figments of an artist’s imagination, some women of the period dared to dress in ancient-styled garments in real life too. There were two main arguments against doing so, one is that it was shameful to dress in simpler styles, since it would be seen as wearing the dress of peasants. The second reason is the gowns were too revealing, since long stays were not usually worn, and for the first time in centuries the natural female form was exposed. Alternatively, some thought ancient dress actually promoted moral behavior, recalling the great women of antiquity.<sup>97</sup>

It is easy to believe that all criticism of contemporary women's fashion came from men, but some women disliked it as well. Feminist and author Mary Wollstonecraft was a proponent of simpler dress, writing in *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787), "Dress ought to adorn the person, and not rival it. It may be simple, elegant and becoming, without being expensive..."<sup>98</sup> Wollstonecraft preferred clothes to reveal the natural body shape, rather than exaggerate it, as the paniers and bum rolls of the eighteenth-century would have done. The simpler gowns were revealing in terms of showing the natural shape, yet they were still discreet with numerous layers underneath.<sup>99</sup> In her memoir, trendsetter Vigée Le Brun also "loathed the costume worn in those days... I made every effort to render it a little more picturesque."<sup>100</sup> Vigée Le Brun goes on to state that she herself only wore chemise gowns instead of the structured silk ones usually worn at Versailles (Fig. 55).<sup>101</sup> The type of gown that she refers to is the *chemise à la reine*, a precursor to the ancient style gowns of the following decades.<sup>102</sup> Although it was revealing, Le Brun wears a Greek style chiton in a self-portrait with her daughter, where instead of it being inappropriate, the dress portrays her as a morally upright and caring mother (Fig. 56).<sup>103</sup>

Vigée Le Brun's patron and Queen, Marie Antoinette, was also responsible for popularizing the *chemise à la reine*: an often white, lightweight, cotton gown with a gathered neckline, drawstrings for fastening at the waist, and a flounced hem. It was a loose gown and not too long for walking, making it comfortable and perfect for leisurely activities. The Queen began wearing chemise gowns during her first pregnancy and continued to wear them while out in her hamlet garden at the Petite Trianon. These gowns were also inspired by the dress of the peasants, which was slowly making its way

into elite fashion.<sup>104</sup> Women like Cosway or the Duchess of Devonshire would have spent their childhoods in lightweight white cotton frocks, usually decorated with lace or ruffles, and a cummerbund sash (Fig. 57).<sup>105</sup> By the time they were young adults, they would be wearing *robe à l'anglaise* gowns, typical for Englishwomen, and also the popular sacque-back gown, *robe à la française*. They would have worn smoothing stays with layers of undergarments to create the desired shape, while the dresses were made from sumptuous silks or printed imported cottons. By the 1780s, women would be wearing similar gowns to those of their childhood.<sup>106</sup> When Vigée Le Brun painted Marie Antoinette in 1783 wearing a chemise gown, it initially scandalized and shocked the public, for a queen should not wear anything resembling peasant dress or undergarments.<sup>107</sup> The chemise gown, however, prevailed and nearly every woman of rank or fortune had one in her wardrobe for breezy summer days (Fig. 58).<sup>108</sup> By the next decade, women were wearing Grecian style gowns that would become the standard costume of the Regency period (Fig. 59).<sup>109</sup>

The Duchess of Devonshire would have surely owned multiple chemise gowns, considering she was friends with Marie Antoinette, and she herself was the leading fashion figure in England at the time. It is unknown if she wore a chemise gown or a fancy-dress costume while posing for Cosway, or if the gown is simply of Cosway's creation. It is certainly plausible that the two women planned and picked out an outfit for the Duchess to wear in her portrait, even if Cosway reimagined it. In Reynold's Grand Manner Portrait of the duchess, she wears a wrapped garment, which probably never existed, and it bears little resemblance to conventional dress of the time (Fig. 60).<sup>110</sup> In another Grand Manner portrait by Gainsborough, the duchess wears a garment that is

partly inspired by ancient dress, but also the newly popular floaty gowns of the day (Fig. 61).<sup>111</sup> It is dated just a year after Cosway's portrait, so perhaps the Duchess had a similar dress in her wardrobe after all. Like Marie Antoinette, Vigée Le Brun, and Wollstonecraft, the Duchess of Devonshire was unafraid of avant garde fashion, and while other women were not yet wearing this style, it is likely that Georgiana did in the 1780s, even if only at a masquerade ball or a Grecian dinner party. A portrait miniature of the duchess and her close companion, 'Bess' Lady Elizabeth Foster, which dates to 1791, shows the two women in white Greek chitons with blue waist sashes (Fig. 62).<sup>112</sup> The duchess, who stands closest to the viewer, wears a chiton nearly identical to the one in Cosway's portrait, with the openings and gold buttons on the sleeves. There also seems to be some gold detailing at the shoulder and hem, not unlike the details on the bust of Cosway's chiton. Furthermore, the miniature portrays the women against a night sky, and besides the duchess's head there is a small crescent moon. The colors of the miniature are also extremely similar to Cosway's portrait, so perhaps the miniaturist was familiar with Cosway's portrait of the duchess, or maybe the duchess truly owned a chiton gown for occasions such as this. By the 1790s, fashion had already embraced ancient styles and had evolved from the chemise gown, making this entirely possible (Fig. 63).<sup>113</sup> Curiously, there is another miniature of the Duchess of Devonshire in the same gown and pose, but without Lady Elizabeth Foster and dates to 1812, six years after her death (Fig. 64).<sup>114</sup> Clearly, the duchess would always be remembered as an effervescent Diana. The most likely scenario with Cosway's portrait is that the duchess wore some kind of costume or chemise, and Cosway used her knowledge of ancient iconography and other Grand Manner Portraits to imagine the perfect garment for a goddess.

## Conclusion

Maria Cosway's portrait of *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana* is unique among Grand Manner portraits, yet it also shares many of its usual characteristics, like references to classical myth and iconography. While the exact details of Cosway's painting are unknown, we can conclude that she was inspired by representations of the goddess Diana, and thus painted the duchess as her. Flying through the night sky, she wears a crescent moon diadem and Greco-Roman costume, which reflects Cosway's knowledge of the conventions and iconography for representations of Diana.

I also conclude that Cosway was inspired greatly by Angelica Kauffman's mythological prints, particularly that of *Rhodope and King Psammetichus* (Fig. 45) which dates to 1780, just a couple of years before she painted the duchess' portrait. It is fair to assume that Cosway knew Kauffman's print because it would have circulated throughout London society. Fortuna's pose in this print bears a striking resemblance to Cosway's portrait, and thus also led many other artists of the Regency period to later copy it. It is almost certain that Cosway would have seen that pose, which translated into the flying pose of the duchess in her portrait. Kauffman was also one of the first introductions Cosway received upon arriving in London and, the two women would continue to cross paths again for many years. Though Kauffman was not a mentor to Cosway, as some scholars were led to believe, she was a role model that Cosway admired. Kauffman's example showed Cosway how it was possible to be a woman in the eighteenth-century who was an artist, a member of society, a wife, and a mother all at the same time.

Cosway's story reveals the importance of female relationships both socially and professionally, and how it had the potential to inform art in the eighteenth-century. For far too long, Maria Cosway's name only has been mentioned in connection to her relationships with men, including that of her husband, Richard Cosway, or Thomas Jefferson. I hope this thesis contributes to a reassessment and reframing of Cosway's significance and impact as an artist who was ahead of her time. Even as a teenager, Cosway already began to see herself painting professionally, which was an extremely uncommon notion for girls of her time. Young women were expected to marry, and those that had forged careers for themselves were rare. The fact that Cosway did not want to marry but wanted to become a professional painter as early as the 1770s is extraordinary. There were a few pioneering women to whom Cosway must have aspired. Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun had found success at the court of Versailles for her exceptional royal and aristocratic portraits. Likewise, Angelica Kauffman had succeeded as a Neoclassical painter and became one of two women accepted into the Royal Academy. These women, and other female artists, were role models for a young Cosway.

Many of Cosway's most significant relationships or friendships were with women, as we have seen throughout this thesis. Perhaps this was because of her lifelong wish to become a nun and join a sisterhood. Her earliest experiences took place at a convent, where kind Florentine nuns taught her to sing and play musical instruments. Her drawing tutor, Signora Violante, also acted as a role model, mentor, and, at times, mother. When Cosway became a mother herself, but lost her daughter at only six years old, she decided to take up teaching other little girls. She founded two religious schools for girls, all while continuing to paint and draw. Towards the end of her life, Cosway

became an adopted mother to her pupil Anne (Fig. 65).<sup>115</sup> It was through these friendships with women, whether professional or social, that Cosway forged success as an artist in her career. This too is the case with her *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana* which is a direct result of friendship and mutual respect. Cosway likely had an idea of how she would paint the duchess, and then the two of them would have decided on what she would wear and how she would pose. The portrait of Georgiana likely is a collaboration between one of the leading female artists and one of the leading fashion figures of the eighteenth-century.

In conclusion, my thesis recovers the work of an eighteenth-century female artist, who has long been overlooked as an artist in her own right due to a biased historical record that has privileged her relationship with men over her artistic contribution. Cosway spent the majority of her life apart from her husband, and she deserves to be separated from centuries-long intrigue over her letters with Jefferson. Cosway was an established and well-known artist, musician, and celebrity not only in England, but also France, Italy and elsewhere. Her work and life have been almost completely lost to history, and I hope this thesis prompts further analysis and research on this important artist. While Cosway is just one of many female artists who have been forgotten, it is important that her work and others are properly documented, recognized, and honored. Influential and talented, Cosway's life sheds light on woman's experiences, especially that of a woman artist in the eighteenth-century. Cosway's experience, like that of other women artists was complicated and nuanced. Despite not being able to study or draw the same subjects as her male counterparts and being kept from formal studies or from joining the Royal Academy, Cosway still made a life and career for herself, and today is

somewhat lauded as a woman ahead of her time. Finally, I hope that this thesis demonstrates how a feminist lens offers new insights on the lives of female artists, and that my research might prompt future studies about other now forgotten artists.

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<sup>1</sup> Maria Cosway, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, oil on canvas, ca. 1782.

Derbyshire, Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House.

<sup>2</sup> Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. ed. (New York: Random House, 1998), 3-83.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995), 41-67.

<sup>4</sup> Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, 87-89.

<sup>5</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love* (Lausanne: Column House, 2007), 92-97.

<sup>6</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 95.

<sup>7</sup> Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, 3-5.

<sup>8</sup> On Maria Hadfield Cosway see: Elsa Honig Fine, *Women & Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* (Montclair, N.J.: Allanheld & Schram/Prior, 1978); Stephen Lloyd, "The Accomplished Maria Cosway: Anglo-Italian Artist, Musician, Salon Hostess and Educationalist (1759-1838)" *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, V. 2. (Malta University Press, 1992); Gerald Barnett, *Richard and Maria Cosway: A Biography* (Devon: Westcountry Books, 1995); Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995); John P Kaminski, *Jefferson in Love: Love Letters between Thomas Jefferson & Maria Cosway*, 1st ed. (Madison: Madison House, 1999); Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway*:

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*Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love* (Lausanne: Column House, 2007); Edmond De Goncourt and Jules De Goncourt, *The Woman of the Eighteenth Century: Her Life, from Birth to Death, Her Love and Her Philosophy in the Worlds of Salon, Shop and Street* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2012); Diane Boucher, "Maria Cosway (1760–1838): A Commentator on Modern Life," *The British Art Journal* 18, no. 3 (2017): 78-86.

<sup>9</sup> Diane Boucher, "Maria Cosway (1760–1838): A Commentator on Modern Life," *The British Art Journal* 18, no. 3 (2017): 78-86.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 41-42.

<sup>11</sup> Elsa Honig Fine, "Maria Cosway," *Women & Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram/Prior, 1978).

<sup>12</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 41-45.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *The Accomplished Maria Cosway: Anglo-Italian Artist, Musician, Salon Hostess and Educationalist (1759-1838)*, *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, V. 2. (Malta: Malta University Press, 1992), 108-128.

<sup>14</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 1-26.

<sup>15</sup> Diane Boucher, "Maria Cosway (1760–1838): A Commentator on Modern Life," *The British Art Journal* 18, no. 3 (2017): 78-86.

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<sup>16</sup> Johan Joseph Zoffany, *The Tribuna of the Uffizi*, oil on canvas, ca. 1772. London, Royal Collection Trust RCIN 406983.

<sup>17</sup> Gerald Barnett, *Richard and Maria Cosway: A Biography* (Tiverton, Devon: Westcountry Books, 1995), 39-50.

<sup>18</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 27-50.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 108-128.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Cosway, *Self-Portrait with Turban*, oil on canvas, ca. 1778. Florence, Uffizi Gallery 5258.

<sup>21</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 27-50.

<sup>22</sup> Diane Boucher, "Maria Cosway (1760–1838): A Commentator on Modern Life," *The British Art Journal* 18, no. 3 (2017): 78-86.

<sup>22</sup> Gerald Barnett, *Richard and Maria Cosway: A Biography* (Tiverton, Devon: Westcountry Books, 1995), 39-50.

<sup>23</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 67-84.

<sup>24</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 85-100.

<sup>25</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 101-118.

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<sup>26</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 45-66.

<sup>27</sup> Maria Cosway, *A Girl by the Sea repelling the Spirit of Melancholy*, pen, ink, watercolor, and oil paint on paper, ca. 1759-1838. Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery D.1946.2.

<sup>28</sup> Maria Cosway, *A Girl Dancing by the Sea by Moonlight*, pen, ink, watercolor, and oil paint on paper, ca. 1759-1838. Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery D.1946.3.

<sup>29</sup> Maria Cosway, after Richard Cosway, *Sappho*, brown ink and graphite on cream laid paper, ca. 1826. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art B1981.3.2.

<sup>30</sup> After Maria Cosway, engraved by Valentine Green, *Creusa Appearing to Aeneas*, mezzotint on paper, ca. 1781. London, British Museum 1877,0512.536.

<sup>31</sup> Maria Cosway, *A Persian Lady Worshipping the Rising Sun*, oil on canvas, ca. 1784. London, Sir John Soane's Museum SM P145.

<sup>32</sup> Maria Cosway, *An Angel and Putti Accompanying a Child's Soul to Heaven*, oil on canvas, ca. 1780s. Christie's Auction House.

<sup>33</sup> Maria Cosway, *The Judgment of Korah, Dathan and Abiram*, pen and ink and oil on canvas, ca. 1801. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art B1976.7.71.

<sup>34</sup> Maria Cosway, *Self Portrait*, oil on canvas, ca. ca. 1759-1838. Leeds, Temple Newsam House, Leeds Museums and Galleries LEEAG.PA.1925.0034.SW.

<sup>35</sup> Maria Cosway, *Mrs. Vizelli (possibly) (later Mrs. J. Wesley)*, oil on canvas, ca. 1759-1838. Oxford, Oxford Brookes University, Harcourt Hill and Westminster College Oxford Trust MCH.2001/WES/7.

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<sup>36</sup> Maria Cosway, *Miss Mary Linwood*, oil on canvas, ca. 1759-1838. Private collection.

<sup>37</sup> Maria Cosway and Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Caroline, Princess of Wales, and Princess Charlotte*, oil on canvas, ca. 1800. Private collection.

<sup>38</sup> Maria Cosway, *Lord Melbourne as a Child*, oil on canvas, ca. 1780s. Private collection.

<sup>39</sup> Maria Cosway, *The Infant Bacchus (George Lamb as a child)*, oil on canvas, ca. 1780s. Private collection.

<sup>40</sup> After Maria Cosway, engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi, *The Hours*, paper and wood, ca. 1780. Swindon, National Trust NT 1312110.

<sup>41</sup> Maria Cosway, *The Death of Miss Gardiner*, oil on canvas, ca. 1789. Vizille, Musée de la Révolution française 1994.30.

<sup>42</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 45-66.

<sup>43</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 95.

<sup>44</sup> Carol Burnell, *V&A Press Cuttings, Vol I, p.194*. in *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 98-99.

<sup>45</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 85-118.

<sup>46</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 133-187.

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<sup>47</sup> John P Kaminski, *Jefferson in Love: Love Letters between Thomas Jefferson & Maria Cosway*, 1st ed. (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> Maria Cosway, *The Infant Bacchus (George Lamb as a Child)*, oil on canvas, ca. 1780s. Private collection.

<sup>49</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 67-68.

<sup>50</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *The Accomplished Maria Cosway: Anglo-Italian Artist, Musician, Salon Hostess and Educationalist (1759-1838)*, 108-128.

<sup>51</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 281-310.

<sup>52</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 281-310.

<sup>53</sup> Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 281-310.

<sup>54</sup> Maria Cosway, *Twenty-five Italian Old Master Paintings at the Louvre*, etching on paper, ca. 1802. London, The British Museum 1880,0710.713.

<sup>55</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 67-72.

<sup>56</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 89-96.

<sup>57</sup> On Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire as Diana see: Elsa Honig Fine, "Maria Cosway," *Women & Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram/Prior, 1978);

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Stephen Lloyd, *The Accomplished Maria Cosway: Anglo-Italian Artist, Musician, Salon Hostess and Educationalist (1759-1838)*, *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, V. 2. (Malta University Press, 1992); Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995); Gerald Barnett, *Richard and Maria Cosway: A Biography* (Tiverton, Devon: Westcountry Books, 1995); Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. ed. (New York: Random House, 1998); Alison Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709-1791* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love* (Lausanne: Column House, 2007); Kamilla Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction: The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764-1835* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013); Zara Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Diane Boucher, "Maria Cosway (1760–1838): A Commentator on Modern Life," *The British Art Journal* 18, no. 3 (2017): 78-86.

<sup>58</sup> Eve D'Ambra, "Daughters as Diana: Mythological Models in Roman Portraiture," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Supplementary volumes 7 (2008): 171-83.

<sup>59</sup> Suzanne Hinman, "Diana Defrocked," in *The Grandest Madison Square Garden: Art, Scandal, and Architecture in Gilded Age New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019), 136-46.

<sup>60</sup> *Altar of Aebutia Amerina*, ancient Roman, ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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- <sup>61</sup> *Diana of Versailles*, ancient Roman marble, ca. 125-150 CE. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 589.
- <sup>62</sup> *Diana or Artemis*, ancient Roman marble, ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Rome, Chiaramonti Museum at the Vatican Museum.
- <sup>63</sup> *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Pompeii, Italy, ancient Roman fresco, ca. 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Naples, National Archeological Museum.
- <sup>64</sup> *Artemis*, Stabaie, ancient Roman fresco, ca. 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Naples, National Archeological Museum.
- <sup>65</sup> *Scene of sacrifice in honor of Diana*, ancient Roman fresco, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 62-79 CE. Pompeii, House of the Vetti.
- <sup>66</sup> Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 168-171.
- <sup>67</sup> School of Fontainebleau, *Diana the Huntress*, oil on canvas, ca. 1550. Paris, Musée du Louvre INV 445.
- <sup>68</sup> Suzanne Hinman, "Diana Defrocked," in *The Grandest Madison Square Garden: Art, Scandal, and Architecture in Gilded Age New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019), 136-46.
- <sup>69</sup> Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Portrait of an Unknown Woman*, oil on canvas, ca. 1590-1600. London, Royal Collection Trust and HM the Queen RCIN 406024.
- <sup>70</sup> Rosamond Hooper-Hamersley, "Pompadour and Artistic Patronage" in *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour: Patronage, Politics, Art, and the French Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011), 189-300.

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<sup>71</sup> Jean-Marc Nattier, *Madame de Pompadour as Diana*, oil on canvas, ca. 1746.

Versailles, Palace of Versailles MV 9042.

<sup>72</sup> Pietro Antonio Rotari, *Diana, Goddess of the Hunt, Leaning Against a Tree*, oil on canvas, ca. 1720-62. Sotheby's Auction House.

<sup>73</sup> Francois-Hubert Drouais, *Marie Josephine of Savoy as Diana*, oil on canvas, ca. 1770-80. Versailles, Palace of Versailles MV 3971.

<sup>74</sup> Jean-Honore Fragonard, *Diana and Endymion*, oil on canvas, ca. 1753-56. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art 1960.6.2.

<sup>75</sup> Angelica Kauffman, *Orestes and Iphigenia at Tauris*, oil on canvas, ca. 1771. Sotheby's Auction House.

<sup>76</sup> Angelica Kauffman, *Diana Preparing for Hunting*, stipple engraving, ca. 1780. London, Royal Academy of Arts 03/791.

<sup>77</sup> William Blake, *The Characters from Spenser's 'Faerie Queene'*, watercolor and ink on muslin attached to paper on canvas, ca. 1825. Swindon, National Trust NT 486263.

<sup>78</sup> Angelica Kauffman, *A Scene from the Story of Rhodope and King Psammetichus of Egypt*, pen and ink and wash on paper, ca. 1780. London, Royal Academy of Arts 03/1762.

<sup>79</sup> Carol Burnell, "M.C. to Sir William Cosway, 24th May 2018, V.A.," in *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 426-27.

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<sup>80</sup> Carol Burnell, "V&A Press Cuttings, Vol. I, p.227," in *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible Love*, 94-95.

<sup>81</sup> Jacopo Ligozzi, *Allegory of Fortune*, oil on panel, ca. 1580-1599. Florence, Uffizi Gallery 1890 n.8023.

<sup>82</sup> Balthazar Nebot, *Allegory of Fortune*, oil on canvas, ca. 1730. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art B1976.7.60.

<sup>83</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 134.

<sup>84</sup> Richard Cosway, *Maria Caroline Duff*, pencil and watercolor on paper, ca. 1807. Christie's Auction House.

<sup>85</sup> Richard Cosway, *Harriet Mellon as a Sibyl*, oil paint on mahogany, ca. 1805. London, Tate Britain, T04114.

<sup>86</sup> Stephen Lloyd, *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, 134.

<sup>87</sup> On Grand Manner Portraits see: Julius S. Held and Donald Posner, *17th And 18th Century Art: Baroque Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1971); Michael Quick, Marvin S. Sadik, William H. Gerds, *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner, 1720-1920* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981); Alison Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709-1791* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Kim Sloan, Andrew Burnett, and British Museum, *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003); Shearer West,

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<sup>88</sup> Joseph-Marie Vien, *Jeunes grecques parant de fleurs l'Amour endormi*, oil on canvas, ca. 1773. Paris, Musée du Louvre INV 8431.

<sup>89</sup> Angelica Kauffman, *Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi, Pointing to Her Children as Her Treasures*, oil on canvas, ca. 1785. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 75.22.

<sup>90</sup> Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun. *La Paix ramenant l'Abondance*, oil on canvas, 1780. Paris, Musée du Louvre INV 3052.

<sup>91</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 106.

<sup>92</sup> John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of Mrs. John Stevens (Judith Sargent, later Mrs. John Murray)*, oil on canvas, ca. 1770-2. Chicago, Terra Foundation for American Art 2000.6.

<sup>93</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, "The Whole Art of Dress: Costume in the Work of John Singleton Copley," in *John Singleton Copley in America*, edited by Carrie Rebora and Paul Staiti

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(New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 103-116.

<sup>94</sup> Nicolas de Largillierre, *Portrait of the Actress Marie-Anne de Chateauneuf as Ariadne with Bacchus*, oil on canvas, 1712. Chantilly, Conde Museum PE-330.

<sup>95</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, "Some Evidence of the Influence of the Dress of the Seventeenth-Century on Costume in Eighteenth-Century Female Portraiture," *The Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 897 (1977): 834-42.

<sup>96</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, "Portraying the Fashion, Romancing the Past: Dress and the Cosways" in *Richard & Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995), 101-105.

<sup>97</sup> Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, "The Chemise a la Reine," in *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 172-199.

<sup>98</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*, 148-149.

<sup>99</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*, 148-149.

<sup>100</sup> Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 186.

<sup>101</sup> Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Self Portrait in a Straw Hat*, oil on canvas, ca. 1782. London, National Gallery NG1653.

<sup>102</sup> Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette*, 186.

<sup>103</sup> Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Madame Vigée Le Brun and her daughter, Julie*, oil on canvas, ca. 1789. Paris, Musée du Louvre INV 3068.

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<sup>104</sup> Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette*, 172-185.

<sup>105</sup> Angelica Kauffman, *Portrait of Three Children, Almost Certainly Lady Georgiana Spencer, Later Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Henrietta Spencer and George Viscount Althorp*, oil on canvas, ca. 1760s. Sotheby's Auction House.

<sup>106</sup> Leslie Reinhardt, "Serious Daughters: Dolls, Dress, and Female Virtue in the Eighteenth Century," *American Art* 20 (Summer 2006), 32-55.

<sup>107</sup> Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette*, 172-185.

<sup>108</sup> George Romney, *Mrs. Billington as Saint Cecilia*, oil on canvas, ca. 1787-88. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 23.397.

<sup>109</sup> Dress (Chemise a la Reine), United Kingdom, white Indian cotton muslin, ca. 1783-1790. Manchester, Manchester Art Gallery 1947.1714.

<sup>110</sup> Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Georgiana (Spencer) Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire*, oil on canvas, ca. 1775-6. Huntington, Huntington Art Museum 25.20.

<sup>111</sup> Thomas Gainsborough, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, oil on canvas, ca. 1783. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art 1937.1.93.

<sup>112</sup> Jean-Urbain Guerin, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and Lady Elisabeth Foster*, paint on ivory, ca. 1791. London, Wallace Collection M177.

<sup>113</sup> Gown, Spitalfields silk and linen, ca. 1780s (weaving), ca. 1790-1795 (sewing). London, Victoria and Albert Museum T.10-2005.

<sup>114</sup> Horace Hone, *Portrait Miniature of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, enamel on copper, ca. 1812. London, Victoria and Albert Museum 264:1, 2-2008.

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<sup>115</sup> Gabriele Rottini, *Baroness Maria Hadfield Cosway listening to Vittoria Manzoni*, ca. 1835. Private collection.

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Figure 1: Maria Cosway, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, oil on canvas, ca. 1782. Image courtesy of the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House.



Figure 2: Maria Cosway, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* on display at Chatsworth, oil on canvas, ca. 1782. Image courtesy of the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House.



Figure 3: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, oil on canvas, ca. 1785-87. Image courtesy of the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House.



Figure 4: after Maria Cosway, engraved by Valentine Green, *A Self-Portrait of Maria Cosway*, mezzotint, ca. 1787. Image courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust RCIN 653011.



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Figure 7: Richard Cosway, *Portrait of Maria Cosway*, pencil and watercolor on paper, ca. 1780s.  
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Figure 8: After Richard Cosway, printed by Luigi Schiavonetti, *Maria Cecilia Louisa Cosway*, stipple engraving on paper, ca. 1794. Image courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art B1985.17.



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Figure 12: Maria Cosway, *A Girl by the Sea Repelling the Spirit of Melancholy*, pen, ink, watercolor, and oil paint on paper, ca. 1759-1838. Image courtesy of the Whitworth Art Gallery D.1946.2.



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Figure 18: Maria Cosway, *The Judgment of Korah, Dathan and Abiram*, pen and ink and oil on canvas, ca. 1801. Image courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art B1976.7.71.



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Figure 20: Maria Cosway, *Mrs. Vizelli (possibly) (later Mrs. J. Wesley)*, oil on canvas, ca. 1759-1838. Image courtesy of Oxford Brookes University, Harcourt Hill and Westminster College Oxford Trust MCH.2001/WES/7.



Figure 21: Maria Cosway, *Miss Mary Linwood*, oil on canvas, ca. 1759-1838. Image courtesy of private collection.



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Figure 30: *Diana or Artemis*, ancient Roman marble, ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Image courtesy of the Chiaramonti Museum at the Vatican Museum.



Figure 31: *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Pompeii, Italy, ancient Roman fresco, ca. 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Image courtesy of the Naples National Archeological Museum.



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Figure 33: Detail of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Pompeii, Italy, ancient Roman fresco, ca. 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.  
Image courtesy of the Naples National Archeological Museum.



Figure 34: *Artemis*, Stabaie, Pompeii, Ancient Roman fresco, ca. 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Image courtesy of the Naples National Archeological Museum.



Figure 35: *Scene of sacrifice in honor of Diana*, Ancient Roman fresco, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 62-79 CE. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 36: School of Fontainebleau, *Diana the Huntress*, oil on canvas, ca. 1550. Image courtesy of the Musée du Louvre INV 445.



Figure 37: Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Portrait of an Unknown Woman*, oil on canvas, ca. 1590-1600. Image courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust and HM the Queen RCIN 406024.



Figure 38: Jean-Marc Nattier, *Madame de Pompadour as Diana*, oil on canvas, ca. 1746. Image courtesy of the Palace of Versailles MV 9042.



Figure 39: Pietro Antonio Rotari, *Diana, Goddess of the Hunt, Leaning Against a Tree*, oil on canvas, ca. 1720-62. Image courtesy of Sotheby's Auction House.



Figure 40: Francois-Hubert Drouais, *Marie Josephine of Savoy as Diana*, oil on canvas, ca. 1770-80. Image courtesy of the Palace of Versailles MV 3971.



Figure 41: Jean-Honore Fragonard, *Diana and Endymion*, oil on canvas, ca. 1753-56. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art (Washington D.C.) 1960.6.2.



Figure 42: Angelica Kauffman, *Orestes and Iphigenia at Tauris*, oil on canvas, ca. 1771. Image courtesy of Sotheby's Auction House.



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Figure 45: Angelica Kauffman, *A Scene from the Story of Rhodope and King Psammetichus of Egypt*, pen and ink and wash on paper, ca. 1780. Image courtesy of the Royal Academy of Arts 03/1762.

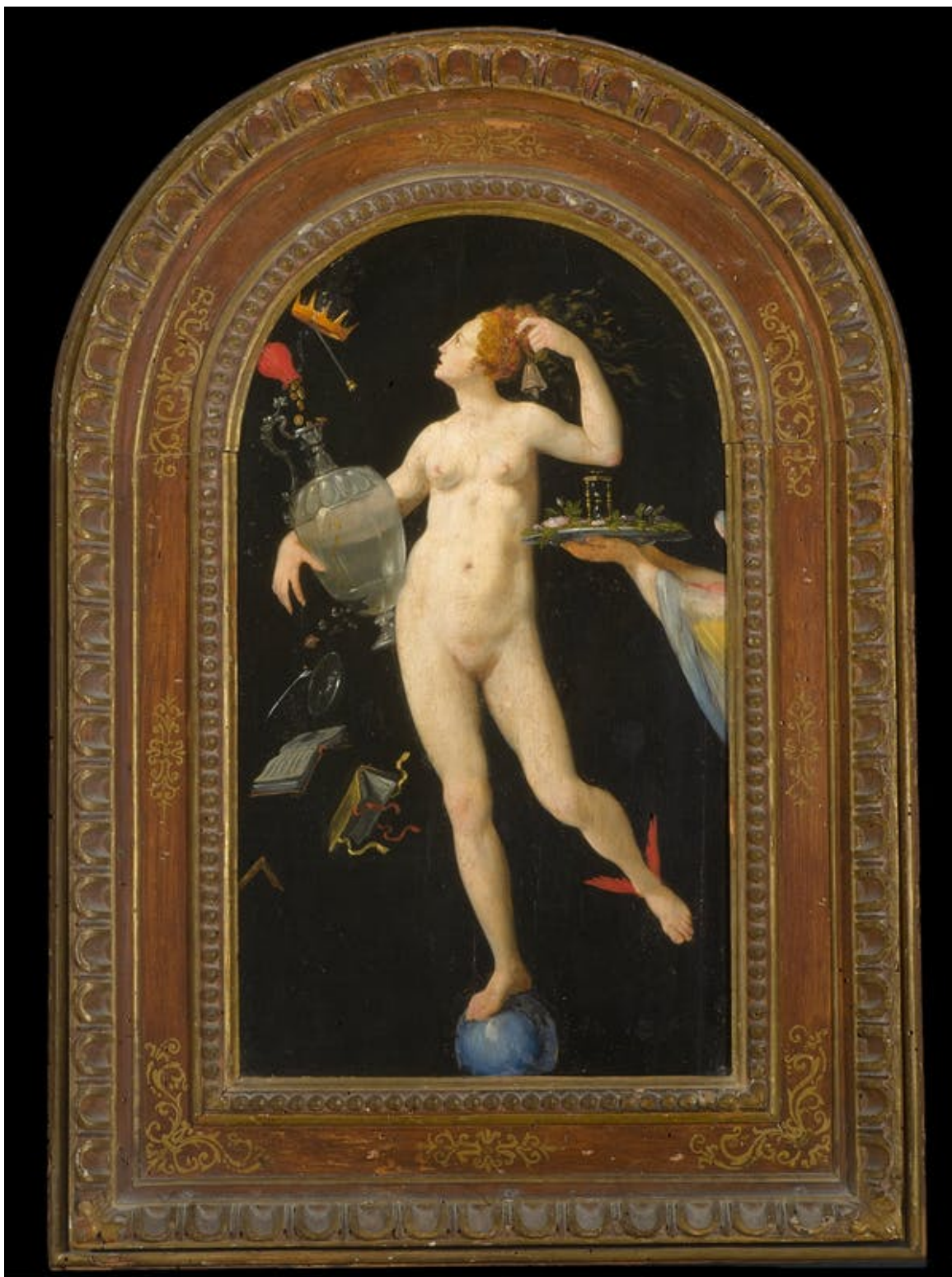


Figure 46: Jacopo Ligozzi, *Allegory of Fortune*, oil on panel, ca. 1580-1599. Image courtesy of the Uffizi Gallery 1890 n.8023.



Figure 47: Balthazar Nebot, *Allegory of Fortune*, oil on canvas, ca. 1730. Image courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art B1976.7.60.



Figure 48: Richard Cosway, *Maria Caroline Duff*, pencil and watercolor on paper, ca. 1807.  
Image courtesy of Christie's Auction House.

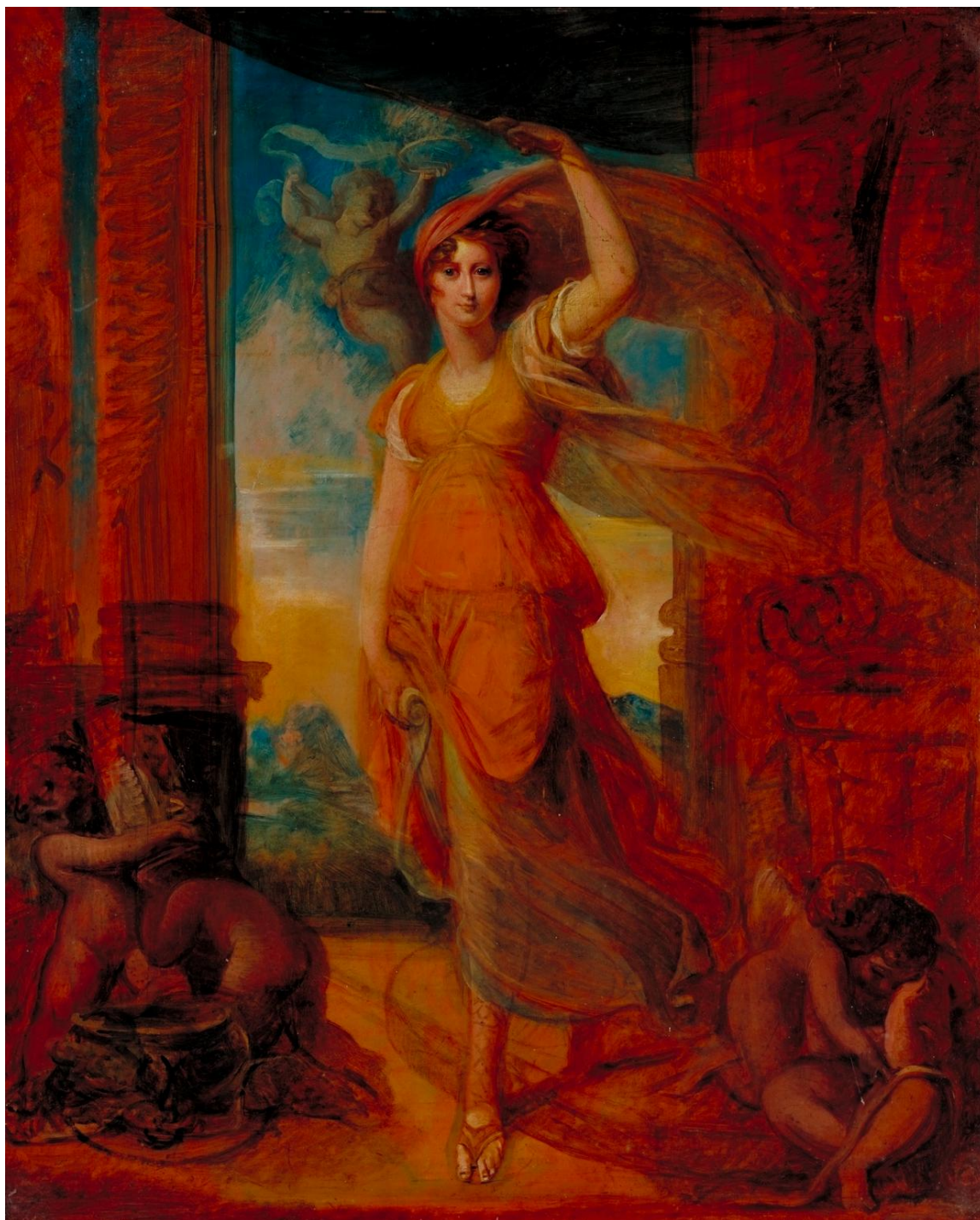


Figure 49: Richard Cosway, *Harriet Mellon as a Sibyl*, oil paint on mahogany, ca. 1805.  
Image courtesy of Tate Britain T04114.



Figure 50: Joseph-Marie Vien, *Jeunes grecques parant de fleurs l'Amour endormi*, oil on canvas, ca. 1773. Image courtesy of the Musée du Louvre INV 8431.



Figure 51: Angelica Kauffman, *Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi, Pointing to Her Children as Her Treasures*, oil on canvas, ca. 1785. Image courtesy of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 75.22.



Figure 52: Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun. *La Paix ramenant l'Abondance*, oil on canvas, 1780.  
Image courtesy of the Musée du Louvre INV 3052.



Figure 53: John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of Mrs. John Stevens (Judith Sargent, later Mrs. John Murray)*, oil on canvas, ca. 1770-2. Image courtesy of the Terra Foundation for American Art 2000.6.



Figure 54: Nicolas de Largillierre, *Portrait of the actress Marie-Anne de Chateaufne as Ariadne with Bacchus*, oil on canvas, 1712. Image courtesy of the Conde Museum PE-330.



Figure 55: Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Self Portrait in a Straw Hat*, oil on canvas, ca. 1782.  
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Figure 56: Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Madame Vigée Le Brun and her daughter, Julie*, oil on canvas, ca. 1789. Image courtesy of the Musée du Louvre INV 3068.



Figure 57: Angelica Kauffman, *Portrait of Three Children, Almost Certainly Lady Georgiana Spencer, Later Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Henrietta Spencer and George Viscount Althorp*, oil on canvas, ca. 1760s. Image courtesy of Sotheby's Auction House.



Figure 58: George Romney, *Mrs. Billington as Saint Cecilia*, oil on canvas, ca. 1787-88. Image courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 23.397.



Figure 59: Dress (*Chemise à la Reine*), United Kingdom, white Indian cotton muslin, ca. 1783-1790. Image courtesy of the Manchester Art Gallery 1947.1714.



Figure 60: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Georgiana (Spencer) Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire*, oil on canvas, ca. 1775-6. Image courtesy of the Huntington Art Museum 25.20.



Figure 61: Thomas Gainsborough, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, oil on canvas, ca. 1783.  
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Figure 62: Jean-Urbain Guérin, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and Lady Elisabeth Foster*, paint on ivory, ca. 1791. Image courtesy of the Wallace Collection M177.



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Image courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum T.10-2005.



Figure 64: Horace Hone, *Portrait Miniature of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, enamel on copper, ca. 1812. Image courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum 264:1, 2-2008.



Figure 65: Gabriele Rottini, *Baroness Maria Hadfield Cosway Listening to Vittoria Manzoni*, ca. 1835. Image courtesy of private collection.