

European Sculpture · Nineteenth Century



NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART · WASHINGTON

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EUROPEAN SCULPTURE
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



THE COLLECTIONS OF
THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
SYSTEMATIC CATALOGUE

European Sculpture

OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

RUTH BUTLER
SUZANNE GLOVER LINDSAY

WITH
ALISON LUCHS • DOUGLAS LEWIS
CYNTHIA J. MILLS • JEFFREY WEIDMAN

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Foreword

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY was marked by groundbreaking leaders (Napoleon, Garibaldi, Bismarck, Abraham Lincoln); a rising New-World power (the United States); growing global empires (France and Britain); and the industrial, commercial, and urban growth that so profoundly changed all levels of society. As we know, this foment encompassed the arts as well. The avant-garde movements of this period, notably impressionism, have been celebrated for opening the way to modernism. Many artists associated with these movements were sculptors, among them Paul Gauguin, Edgar Degas, and, of course, Auguste Rodin. During the artists' own lifetime, some among them—Antonio Canova and Rodin—became international cult figures. This came about in part because the medium was vital to the artistic debates of the century. But it was also because works of sculpture communicated the broader concerns of the period: as instruments of public policy; gripping expressions of a collective mood; or treasured indexes of identity. Our own citizens appeared in force among the many collectors of that time who bought sculpture as prestigious modern art. Later, some of the most eminent American collectors of our century bought nineteenth-century sculpture (particularly French) as part of their interest in pre-modernism.

The nineteenth-century French sculpture at the National Gallery stands out both in number (over 150 works) and importance, with two marbles by Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux once owned by Napoleon III and

Empress Eugénie; three primitive works by Gauguin; and thirty-seven works by Rodin. The collection represents the major movements of the period, from neo-classicism (Canova and Joseph Chinard) to British arts and crafts (Sir Alfred Gilbert) to neo-Renaissance portrait medallions and figures (Pratt and Saint-Gaudens). Several private collections were among the first to enter the National Gallery. Many were gifts from among the National Gallery's most generous donors such as Chester Dale, Lessing J. Rosenwald, and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.

The principal authors of this volume, Ruth Butler and Suzanne Glover Lindsay, are specialists in the field and have published numerous volumes on nineteenth-century sculpture. They are joined by National Gallery curators Douglas Lewis and Alison Luchs, and independent scholars Cynthia J. Mills and Jeffrey Weidman. Each author brings a distinct perspective to the objects; all bring admirable expertise.

A companion to the present volume, devoted solely to Degas' sculpture, is forthcoming. We are deeply indebted to the Getty Grant Program for its support of these volumes of the systematic catalogue. The results of their generosity are evident here in the newly photographed and richly reproduced colorplates. Their commitment to this ambitious endeavor over the next several years is heartening, and we are truly grateful.

Earl A. Powell III
Director



Acknowledgments

PERHAPS MORE than any other type of museum publication, the permanent collection catalogue brings together a host of individuals from around the world, over a great span of time. Many contributed to a resource that is as unsung as it is vital to research on a museum object: the National Gallery of Art curatorial files. That corpus contains the research and comments of many people, most notably curators and interns, and visiting or corresponding scholars. To that community represented by the curatorial files, known (and cited) or anonymous, we extend our profound thanks, for this catalogue is one of the fruits of their efforts.

Virtually every department of the National Gallery was called upon for assistance at some point in the project. We thank them here for their valuable contributions: former staff of the sculpture department, Melissa Beck, Donald Myers, and Willow Johnson; in the department of object conservation, Shelley G. Sturman, Daphne Barbour, Judy Ozone, Katherine Holbrow, Brian Ramer, Meg Craft, Helen Spande, and Marie Labinis, as well as scientists René de la Rie, Lisha Glinsman, Michael Palmer, Suzanne Quillen Lomax, Glenn Gates, and Deborah Rendhal; in the library, Ted Dalziel, Lamia Doumato, and Tom McGill; Wendy Cole of photographic archives; Tom O'Callaghan of the slide library; and Gary Webber of the registrar's office. Anne Halpern, in the department of curatorial records and files, checked and expanded the information on the provenance and exhibition history for individual works. She is also responsible for the lion's share of the archival research and ground-breaking information that informs the discussions of the Daumier sculpture from Lessing J. Rosenwald. Maygene Daniels and the staff of the Gallery archives enthusiastically made material accessible throughout the process.

We owe much to the late Sydney Freedberg, as well as to Suzannah Fabing, assisted by Barclay Gessner, for their vision and energy at the inception of the project. The project was brought to conclusion by the staff of the editors office: particularly the late Frances P. Smyth, Mary Yakush, and Chris Vogel. The many formidable aspects of its execution—including the editing—were in the able hands of Katherine Whann, assisted by Janet Blyberg. Their professionalism and enthusiasm made working together a pleasure. The massive re-photography of each object was undertaken by Philip Charles,

formerly of the department of imaging and visual services. Rebecca Abrams served as artistic director for photography, and the results speak for themselves.

The outside readers of the manuscript responded to the daunting task not only with their time and energy, but with acute commentary. For their contributions, we thank Malcolm Baker, June Hargrove, Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, and Philip Ward-Jackson.

We are grateful to European institutions in which members of their staffs made collections, files, and photographs available: in Paris, the Documentation des Musées du Louvre, the Musée d'Orsay, the Petit Palais, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; in Angers, the Musée des Beaux-Arts; in Lille, the Musée des Beaux-Arts; in Aix-les-Bains, the Musée Faure; in Brussels, the Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts; in London, the Conway Library at the Courtauld Institute of Art, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Library, the General Register office and the Public Record office.

In the United States the authors were made welcome at the Metropolitan Museum of Art library and archives, the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, the Museum of the City of New York, the Philadelphia Museum of Art library, the University of Pennsylvania library, the library of Bryn Mawr College, the Academy of Natural Sciences and the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, and the Harvard University libraries in Cambridge, Massachusetts. We would also like to thank the Bayly Art Museum of the University of Virginia and the Santa Barbara Museum for their help with photographs.

Individual colleagues who gave their time and advice are listed in the notes at the end of the entries, but following is a list of those whose contributions deserve particular attention: William Agnew, Joseph Baillio, Ursel Berger, Catherine Chevillot, Jacques de Caso, Marie-Pierre Dion, Sibylle Einholz, David Hart, Hugh Honour, Regis Hueber, Pascale Heurtel, Fred Licht, Bernhard Maaz, and Jean-Marie Schmitt.

Ruth Butler received enormous help from the Musée Rodin. In particular, thanks go to director Jacques Vilain; chief curator Antoinette Le Normand-Romain; archivist Alain Beausire; curator of photography Hélène Pinet and her assistants Sylvester Engbrox,

Anne-Marie Barrère, and G r me Manoukian. G r me Le Blay helped locate Rodin's many bronzes. Individuals who deserve special thanks for help on the Rodin entries and the Simpson letters are Martine Bruel, Emmie Donadio, Christopher Gray of the *New York Times*, Mme. Jacqueline de Groote, Mme. Van der Eeckhoudt, M. Weynans of Galerie l'Ecuyer in Brussels, Daniel Rosenfeld, and John C. Whitehead. In addition,

thanks are owed to the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation for its continued willingness to help with various Rodin questions.

To all, our gratitude and admiration.

Ruth Butler and
Suzanne Glover Lindsay
July 2000

Introduction and Notes to the Reader

HENRY ADAMS may have been the first American to put together a small collection of Rodin sculpture—something he did in the 1890s—but Kate and John Simpson were the first American collectors of the Frenchman's work to form a serious collection of his work in America. They played an important role in encouraging the Metropolitan Museum of Art to build a Rodin collection and gallery, which opened in that institution in 1913. Mrs. Simpson always thought that at least some of the works she had purchased from the artist, as well as those he had given to her, would join that fine collection. But when the National Gallery opened its doors in 1941, she decided that her twenty-eight Rodins might be needed more by the young museum in the nation's capital. She was also impressed by the assurance she received from the Gallery's staff that her works would remain together and be exhibited as a collection. It was the beginning of a sculpture collection at the National Gallery, and since it is one that includes unique works of great beauty, it marked a very good beginning indeed.

In 1943 the Samuel H. Kress Foundation gave the Gallery Carpeaux's celebrated *Neapolitan Fisherboy* and its pendant *Young Girl with a Shell*, figures whose unsettling beauty and expressive energy became the signature of this influential mid-century artist. That same year Lessing J. Rosenwald began deeding to the Gallery his exceptional collection of Daumier bronzes, all from the earliest editions and featuring a rare full set of the caricature busts. The Chester Dale collection provided two of the Gallery's three-dimensional works by Gauguin, embodying the earliest and latest phases of the artist's pursuit of the "savage." The National Gallery's first curator of sculpture, Charles Seymour Jr., was essential to developing and publishing the collection in the early years. His successor in 1968, Douglas Lewis, began acquiring nineteenth-century sculpture by purchase through funds that had been established recently for such ends. The first, in 1970, was Gauguin's *Eve*, an extraordinary glazed stoneware of 1890 bought through the Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund. It is a seminal piece in Gauguin's oeuvre and a crucial complement to the Dale sculpture, as a pivot between his Breton and South Seas work. The range of significant artists and sculptural issues represented in the National Gallery collection widened with new acquisitions. The collec-

tion soon included excellent examples of "table-top" *animalier* bronzes from throughout the century, figures and portraits by David d'Angers from the 1830s and 1840s, and Dalou's late-century naturalist statuettes and portraits. Such works presented the public with new aesthetic and historical problems surrounding nineteenth-century sculpture. The variety in format and scale increased as well. Intimate bronzes and portraits were joined by statues: Mercié's *Gloria Victis*, purchased with the Andrew Mellon Fund, and Rodin's life-size plaster *Age of Bronze*, given by Iris and B. Gerald Cantor in honor of the National Gallery's fiftieth anniversary. Acquisitions also branched out to encompass continental and American sculpture, notably Augustus Saint-Gaudens' plaster portrait relief of the Butler children, purchased with the Avalon Fund and Margaret Bouton Memorial Fund in 1990, as well as statuettes by Canova, Gilbert, and Götz.

The many commemorative statues and other sculpture found in memorials, parks, and federal buildings throughout the city of Washington represent by far the largest concentration of major works of nineteenth-century American public sculpture in existence. Works such as the grand pediment sculpture of the United States Capitol, Augustus Saint-Gaudens' moving and enigmatic *Adams Memorial*, Thomas Ball's famous *Emancipation Group*, and literally hundreds of others make American sculpture part of the very life of the nation's capital. The Gallery's collection of nineteenth-century American sculpture, although not extensive, does include notable examples by Randolph Rogers (whose large marble of *Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii*, was acquired after this catalogue had gone to press), William Rimmer, and Saint-Gaudens. One of the greatest masterworks of nineteenth-century sculpture permanently on view at the National Gallery is the full-scale plaster version of Saint-Gaudens' *Memorial to Robert Gould Shaw and the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Regiment*. It is not included in this catalogue because it is on long-term loan from the National Park Service, and not formally part of the Gallery's collection.

Between the two world wars the majority of collectors and museums in Europe and America turned away from nineteenth-century sculpture. By the 1950s, however, some works from this period began turning up in New York galleries. By the 1960s American museums

were buying works by Rodin, Carpeaux, and Barye, often for the first time since these sculptors' works had come to be considered "modern." Exhibitions and scholarly discussion soon followed. In 1971 the J. B. Speed Museum in Louisville, Kentucky, mounted a large exhibition entitled "Nineteenth-Century French Sculpture: Monuments for the Middle Class." And in 1974, H. W. Janson gave the Andrew W. Mellon lectures at the National Gallery on the rediscovery of nineteenth-century sculpture. A full-scale revival was in progress by the 1981 opening of the National Gallery's "Rodin Rediscovered" exhibition, selected by Albert Elsen. This exhibition was a high point in the renewed appreciation for the bronzes, marbles, plasters, and terra cottas of the past century.

The artists in this volume are identified in the usual way, but anyone who studies nineteenth-century sculpture is aware of the efforts of the many people who assisted in the process of bringing a work of sculpture to fruition: for example, the men and women who prepared the armatures and molds; those who did the foundry work of casting and finishing; as well as the sculptors who carved the artists' marbles through the intervention of the device known as the "pointing machine." When marks on the works or additional documents have identified the assistants who worked on an individual piece, that information has been recorded. Often a work was cast in bronze some years after the original model was made. In these cases, pertinent information and both dates appear in the entries.

This catalogue has expanded the areas of discussion for a single work of art in other ways as well. Many entries go beyond traditional art historical concerns to address such issues as critical reception, broad cultural function, and the art market. Such topics explore dimensions of the individual object and of art historical analysis that have been the domain of other categories of scholarship in the past. It suggests that a permanent collection catalogue can be a site of debate, speculation, and catalytic inquiry as well as a tool of reference and authority.

In two major instances, this catalogue contains new information concerning the history of an important collection given to the National Gallery in its first years. Kate Simpson and Auguste Rodin carried on an active correspondence between 1903 and 1917, the year in which the sculptor died. Sixty of these documents, from the Musée Rodin in Paris, have been translated and reproduced here. The second, interspersed throughout individual entries, concerns the collection of fifty Daumier bronzes given to the National Gallery by its foremost donor of prints and drawings, Lessing

Julius Rosenwald. His entire holdings were originally housed in Alverthorpe Gallery, a wing of his home in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania (near Philadelphia). The archival material that informs the entries on his Daumiers became available only as this catalogue was in preparation. These files, dating from the early 1920s through 1979, document the activities of Mr. Rosenwald and the curators who worked for him (most prominently Elizabeth Mongan, curator from 1937 to 1963) in developing, maintaining, and exhibiting his collection. Mr. Rosenwald's gifts to the Gallery came over a period of many years, and the files accompanied the final gift of art after his death in 1979. The Rosenwald Papers, which came to the Gallery in 1979, contain vital reference data on provenance and exhibition history. Discussed briefly in the entries, that same information tells an important story about international networks of patronage and taste in the early twentieth century.

The authors of this catalogue employ different approaches and styles. However, all are concerned with medium; though many works are based on a common model, each medium has its own characteristics, aesthetic, historical tradition, and cultural function. The authors worked closely with Gallery conservators and scientists, and this catalogue includes the voices of both on technical matters. An analysis by two of the Gallery's conservators of a group of nineteenth-century marbles in the collection, with new, preliminary information concerning the possible sources of the marble, is discussed in the technical appendix.

A brief biography and selected bibliography for each sculptor are included. Bibliographic references are cited in short form, with full information available in the general bibliography. Individual entries are organized chronologically. For the bronzes, the date that determines the order is that of the model. The following conventions are used in the entries:

1857	Executed in 1857
c. 1857	Executed sometime around 1857
1857–1861	Begun in 1857, completed in 1861
1857/1861	Executed sometime between 1857 and 1861
c. 1857/1861	Executed sometime around the period 1857–1861

Where casts are involved—mostly bronzes—the date of the model is accompanied by a casting date, however speculative, for the specific work under discussion.

Acquisition numbers for each work are followed, in parentheses, by the original Gallery inventory numbers, which were used until 1983. Dimensions are given

in centimeters, height preceding width, followed by dimensions in inches within parentheses. Signatures, dates, inscriptions, cachets, and foundry marks have been transcribed as accurately as possible. In some exceptional cases a photograph accompanies the transcription.

The technical notes that follow the header information, discussing materials, method of manufacture, alterations, and treatments, have already been mentioned, given the emphasis on the subject in the catalogue. X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), X-ray powder diffraction (XRD), and polarized light microscopy (PLM) were conducted.

In the Provenance section of the entries, parentheses indicate a dealer, auction house, or agent. A semicolon between two names indicates a direct transfer of the

work from one owner to the other, whereas a period indicates that no direct transfer is recorded. Short titles are used for frequently cited exhibitions and catalogues. Titles in the reference and note sections are given in short form. Monographs and articles are abbreviated using the author's name and date of publication; exhibition catalogues are abbreviated using the city where the exhibition originated; and museum catalogues are listed under the name of the museum.

The authors of this catalogue are, in alphabetical order: Ruth Butler (RB), Douglas Lewis (DL), Suzanne Glover Lindsay (SGL), and Alison Luchs (AL). Cynthia Mills contributed the entry on Bela Lyon Pratt and Jeffrey Weidman wrote on William Rimmer. Shelley Sturman and Katherine A. Holbrow contributed the appendix on marble analysis.

CATALOGUE



Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, *Allegory of Africa*, 1991.84.1

Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi

1834–1904

BARTHOLDI WAS BORN in Colmar, in the Alsace region of France, to a family of German Protestant origin (the name was latinized from Barthold, probably in the late seventeenth century). His father, Jean-Charles, a counselor to the prefecture and well-to-do property owner, died when Auguste was two years old. His mother, Augusta Charlotte, moved with Auguste and his older brother Jean-Charles to Paris, where another prosperous and influential branch of the family lived. Throughout Bartholdi's childhood, however, the family spent long periods in Colmar, and a passionate devotion to his native region colored the artist's life.

Auguste took drawing lessons with Martin Rossbach (1787–1870) in Colmar, and in Paris he went on to study sculpture with Antoine Etex (1808–1888), architecture with Henri Labrouste (1801–1875) and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), and painting with Ary Scheffer (1795–1858). Scheffer encouraged his interest in sculpture, which he pursued further in the studio of Jean-François Soitoux (1816–1891). He submitted a *Good Samaritan* sculptural group (later edited in bronze) to the Salon of 1853, and within two years had wrested a commission from the older Alsatian sculptor Lavalette to make a bronze commemorative statue of the Napoleonic General Jean Rapp for Colmar (1855–1856). Thus began Bartholdi's career as a prolific creator of patriotic monuments, primarily in Alsace, and as a proficient lobbyist for his own artistic ambitions.

A journey to Egypt and Yemen in 1855 and 1886, respectively, in the company of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904) and other orientalist painters, fueled Bartholdi's fascination with colossal sculpture. He returned to Egypt in 1869 with a proposal to create a lighthouse—in the form of a gigantic draped figure holding a torch—at the entrance to the newly completed Suez Canal. The commission never came, but his plan found a new form later in the Statue of Liberty.

Throughout the 1860s Bartholdi worked on well-received patriotic monuments for Colmar, including one dedicated to the painter/engraver Martin Schongauer (1861–1863, Musée Bartholdi, Colmar) and the fountain memorial to Admiral Bruat (1856–1864; see 1991.84.1, p. 00). As an officer during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, he took part in the defense of Colmar. Desolate over the French defeat and the loss to

Germany of his beloved Alsace, Bartholdi channeled his anguish into monuments celebrating French valor in the defense against Germany. The most spectacular of these was the colossal *Lion of Belfort* (11 meters high and 22 meters long; 1871–1880), which was constructed of sandstone blocks against the side of a cliff.

In 1871 Bartholdi made his first trip to America, to promote the idea of a colossal statue of Liberty as a gift from the French to the American people in honor of the centennial of American independence. The idea of such a gift, according to Bartholdi, was first broached in 1865 by his friend Edouard-René Lefebvre de Laboulaye, an eminent professor of law, political philosopher, and scholar of American history. Laboulaye's intellectual circle, including Bartholdi, shared republican sympathies and a dedication to liberty. After the Suez colossus proposal fell through, Bartholdi reshaped his idea into a French statue for America, to stand on an island in New York harbor.

An able and tireless entrepreneur, Bartholdi campaigned throughout the 1870s to raise support and funds for the statue of *Liberty Enlightening the World*. Viollet-le-Duc and later Gustave Eiffel (1832–1923), who would subsequently build the famous tower in Paris, designed the interior iron-and-steel armature that supported the copper sheets composing the exterior of the 151-foot statue. Constructed in Paris, the statue was then dismantled, shipped to New York, rebuilt, and inaugurated in 1886. During its production Bartholdi made frequent trips to America and left several sculptural monuments there, including a cast-iron fountain near the Capitol in Washington, D.C. (1878). He married Jeanne-Emile Baheux, a fellow native of France, in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1876. Continuing his energetic production of statues, portraits, and monuments, he exhibited in the Paris salons from 1853 until 1904, the year of his death.

The Statue of Liberty secured Bartholdi a fame perhaps disproportionate to his artistic talent, but commensurate with his ambition, drive, and showmanship in the promotion of great artistic undertakings. In addition to sculpture, Bartholdi practiced oil painting, drawing, watercolor, and photography. The family house in Colmar, maintained by the artist even when he lived elsewhere, became the Bartholdi Museum in 1922.

AL

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1991.84.1

Allegory of Africa

Conceived 1863/1865; cast date unknown

Bronze, 31.8 × 50.6 × 16.8 (12½ × 20 × 6⅞)

Gift of the 50th Anniversary Gift Committee

Inscriptions

Cast in on top of base, along edge parallel to extended left leg:
A BARTHOLDI

Technical Notes: The alloy, tested by X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF), was identified as a brass, with an average elemental content by weight of approximately 89% copper, 7.5% zinc, 2% tin, and less than 1% each of iron, nickel, and lead. Traces of antimony, arsenic, and silver are also present.

Charred sand adhering to the hollow interior confirms that the sculpture is a sand cast. Examinations including X-radiography indicate that it was cast in four sections: the base, torso, head, and left leg were cast as one piece, the two arms and the bent right leg each cast separately and secured to the main section with sleeve joins. The join at the right thigh is reinforced with three screws visible on the interior. The interior also contains rusted remnants of a ferrous armature, some of it wrapped with a finer gauge wire, which must have served to support the core during casting.

The light brown bronze was coated with a dark, reddish brown pigmented wax, which was wiped off selectively to accentuate the modeling. Highlighted relief areas alternate with hollows and shadows covered with the thick, dark coating. Magnification reveals marks of filing and chasing. A few abrasions and scratches throughout the coating can be seen on the right shoulder, hand, thigh, and left foot. Smooth, bright green patches are visible on the left knee.

A casting flaw at the back of the head and neck, not visible from the exterior, was repaired with lead solder on the interior.¹

Provenance: Brigadier J.O.M. Ashton, O.B.E. [1908–1989], Welston Court, Milton, Tenby, Wales; (Thomas Agnew & Sons, Ltd., London) by 1990.

Exhibited: NGA 1991, supplement to the catalogue, color repro.

THIS ALLEGORY OF Africa is a reduction, apparently unique, of an immense stone figure designed for Bartholdi's monument to Admiral Armand Joseph Bruat (1796–1855).² The Bruat monument (fig. 1) was the second of the commissions

for patriotic monuments in Colmar that launched the young sculptor's career.

The city was preparing a triumphal welcome for Admiral Bruat, a Colmar native who had served France heroically, when word came that the Admiral had died from a sudden attack of cholera on his homeward journey. The resultant emotional outpouring turned toward a monument. Bartholdi, only twenty-two years old but fresh from successful completion of the Rapp monument, won the commission for a commemorative ensemble that would serve as a civic fountain. He designed a bronze statue set above a basin of pink Vosges sandstone, with four reclining sandstone figures radiating from it representing Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, the parts of the world in which Bruat had advanced French strategic and colonial interests.

The design process was long and arduous as a result of financial constraints and debates over a location for the monument. After a dispute over the iconographic details of the allegory of Europe, Bartholdi replaced Europe with Oceania, declaring that Bruat himself represented Europe. In 1861 he was told to eliminate the parts of the earth for economic reasons, but an anonymous donor (later revealed to be the sculptor's mother) provided funds in August 1861 to retain these elements that the artist cherished. The Bruat memorial was inaugurated on 21 August 1864 on the Champs de Mars, amid celebration and praise for the subject and the artist.³



Fig. 1 Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, *The Bruat Monument*, bronze and sandstone, 1856–1864, formerly Colmar (destroyed 1940), photo collection Christian Kempf



1991.84.1



Fig. 2 Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, study for *Allegory of Africa*, terra cotta, c. 1860, Colmar, Musée Bartholdi, photograph courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London

In September 1940 the German occupiers of Colmar destroyed the monument; only the statue and the heads of the allegorical figures were preserved. The city recreated the monument with the original statue and new surrounding sculpture in 1958. The imposing heads, measuring 46.5 to 48.5 centimeters high, are preserved in the Bartholdi Museum in Colmar (fig. 2).

The size of the National Gallery sculpture compared with the *maquettes*, its high degree of finish, and differences from the terra-cotta study in Colmar (fig. 3) indicate that this is a reduction from the finished work rather than a cast from a preliminary model. This appears to be confirmed by a photo of the completed sandstone *Africa*. The reduction may have been made from the large, possibly full-sized plaster cast of the Bruat monument exhibited in the Salon of 1864.⁴ No information is available concerning the commission for the National Gallery reduction, the size of the edition, or the foundry at which it was cast. No other version of *Africa* has been found to date. Bronze reductions of two of the other parts of the world are in a private collection in London.⁵

Allegorical figures representing the four continents or parts of the world appeared frequently in European art since the Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century. Serving at first to proclaim the universal dominion of the Catholic Church, they also figured in artistic celebrations of rulers and heroes. Typically they received costumes and attributes alluding to European conceptions of the salient characteristics of each continent. Thus Bartholdi clothed *Africa* in a grass skirt and placed him on a lion skin, with his right arm supported by the stump of a palm tree.⁶

The four continents usually were personified as women in earlier periods of art. Their representation on the Bruat memorial by heroic reclining male and female figures recalls Michelangelo's four *Times of Day* on the tombs in the Medici Chapel in Florence (1524–1534). Reduced replicas of those figures, in fact, appear in later photographs of Bartholdi at work in his Paris studio.⁷ Bartholdi's handling of the male nude, however, at least in *Africa*, suggests less of the agonized

torsion of Michelangelo's figures than their calmer antecedents in antique sculpture. These include ancient reclining statues of river gods, also portrayed as majestic male figures with geographic attributes, and perhaps even the *Dionysus* (or *Hercules*) from the east pediment of the Parthenon (London, British Museum), a fifth-century B.C. masterpiece celebrated in nineteenth-century Europe.⁸ Like *Africa*, that figure reclines on a panther or lion skin, and each man raises his torso with a bent elbow resting on a block. Bartholdi may have wanted to lend his *Africa* something of the classical nobility of the Parthenon sculpture. The strongly individualized facial features, however, suggest the record of a specific model rather than a generic type (figs. 2, 4); this is even more evident in the less heroically proportioned terra-cotta study in Colmar (fig. 3).⁹ More akin to Michelangelo are the powerful build and brooding solemnity of Bartholdi's *Africa*. In nineteenth-century art, figures personifying Africa were often characterized as gloomy or withdrawn. The combination of stoic sorrow with majestic dignity, however, may also have reflected Bartholdi's feelings about Africans in general, with particular reference to their enslavement in America. Like his friend Laboulaye, who had proposed the Statue of Liberty, Bartholdi had strong abolitionist sentiments.¹⁰ The injustice of slavery would have been an issue of increasing international importance during precisely the years when he was designing the Bruat monument.

Perhaps because of its contemporary relevance, the theme of Africa drew forth an expression of human sympathy exceptional in the work of a sculptor who usually concentrated on the colossal, the grandiloquent, and the ideal. Until the statue was destroyed, this quality gave the original figure the power to move its beholders deeply. Albert Schweitzer (1865–1965), the physician and theologian who won the 1952 Nobel Peace Prize for his humanitarian work in equatorial Africa, described Bartholdi's *Africa* as an early source of inspiration:



Fig. 3 [left] Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, detail, *Allegory of Africa*, from *The Bruat Monument*, sandstone, 1861–1864, formerly Colmar (destroyed 1940), photograph by Christian Kempf



Fig. 4 [right] Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, surviving fragment of the head of *Allegory of Africa*, sandstone, c. 1861–1864, Colmar, Musée Bartholdi, photo collection Christian Kempf

... it was the Colmar sculptor Bartholdi . . . who directed my childhood thoughts toward distant lands. On his monument to Admiral Bruat in the Champ de Mars is a Negro carved in stone that is certainly among the most impressive things to come from his chisel: a Herculean figure with a pensive, sorrowful expression on his face. This Negro pre-occupied me greatly. Whenever we visited Colmar I sought an opportunity to look at him. His face spoke to me of the misery of the dark continent. Even today I still make a pilgrimage to see him whenever I am in Colmar.¹¹

Africa also seems to have touched two young Colmar men who broke off and hid its head in September 1940, on the night before the Germans planned to blow up the monument. They made a vow that the Nazis “won’t get that head!”¹² A comparison of the surviving sandstone head (figs. 2, 4) with the Washington statuette confirms that this reduction has retained much of the affecting power of the lost monumental figure.

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Notes

1. Technical Examination Report by Helen Spande, NGA Object Conservation department (30 July 1997).
 2. On Bruat, see Jean-Marie Schmitt in *Nouveau dictionnaire de biographie alsacienne*, no. 5 (Strasbourg, 1984), 373–374.
 3. On the Bruat memorial, see Betz 1954, 45–50, 68; Bartholdi 1979, 151–156; Schmitt 1985, 26–29; and Vidal 1994, 26–28. On Bartholdi’s mother as the donor, see Betz 1954, 57–60. On the monument’s role in the cult of Bartholdi, see Bartholdi 1979, 103–106. I am grateful to Jean-Marie Schmitt and Regis Hueber for providing abundant documentation (letters from Schmitt and Hueber to the author of 15 May 1991 and 16 September 1996, respectively, in NGA curatorial files). The Musée Bartholdi in Colmar possesses several works related to the Bruat monument: four terra-cotta statuettes of the Parts of the World, inscribed 1862, apparently for a *maquette* (fig. 3, 27.5 cm. long); three slightly smaller plaster statuettes for *Africa* (24 cm. long), *America*, and *Europe*; six sketches in clay for the Bruat statue (16.5–31 cm. high); and two tinted plaster *maquettes* of the whole monument (each 72 cm. high). The four surviving sandstone heads from the destroyed Parts of the World are also there; that of *Africa* (fig. 2) is 46.5 cm. high.
 4. The plaster is illustrated in Betz 1954, 50. On page 57 that author refers to it as a cast (*moulage*). Its present location, if it survives, is unknown.
 5. The Washington reduction was conceivably cast at the foundry of Charnod & Fils at Montrouge, near Paris. This was the foundry that cast the statue of Bruat (letter to the author from Jean-Marie Schmitt dated 15 May 1991 in NGA curatorial files).
- Information on the reductions of two other Parts of the World was provided by William Agnew (letters to the author dated 29 August and 3 October 1996 in NGA curatorial files). The figures in question, reductions of Bartholdi’s *America* and *Oceania*, measure about 15 in. high and 18 in. long (letter of 3 October 1996). These dimensions correspond approximately to those of the National Gallery’s *Africa*. Yet a photograph of the London reductions suggests enough differences in facture from the National Gallery’s *Africa* to raise the possibility that the latter belongs to a different edition. The presence of a date inscription—“1864”—accompanying the artist’s signature on the London bronzes but not on the Washington one might be

additional evidence for this. My thanks to William Agnew for information on *America* and *Oceania*.

6. The fullest study on the iconography of the four Parts of the World, with reference also to precedents in ancient art and literature, is Sabine Poeschel, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1985). See also James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, rev. ed., New York, 1979, 129; and Pigler 1974, 2: 521–523. A principal source for artists dealing with the theme was Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, a detailed handbook on imagery for allegories, first published in Rome in 1593. An expanded, illustrated edition was published in 1603, also in Rome, and subsequently in numerous editions in various languages.

7. Photograph in Vidal 1994, 111.

8. Compare for instance the statues *Nile* and *Tiber* excavated in Rome in the early sixteenth century. The latter has been in Paris (presently Musée du Louvre) since 1803. See Haskell and Penny 1981, 272–273 and 311–312. For the reclining man from the Parthenon, see Brian F. Cook, *The Elgin Marbles*, 2d ed., London, 1984, 61–63; Olga Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon*, Leiden and New York, 1993, especially 19–20; and Angelos Delivorrias, “The Sculptures of the Parthenon: Form and Content,” in Panayotis Tournikiotis, ed., *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times*, English trans. by Cox and Solman, Athens and New York, 1996, 98–135, especially 102–105, with extensive bibliography.

9. The name and history of the model for *Oceania* is recorded: Emilie Leblond Saint-Laurent, a half-Mexican woman who married a Colmar lawyer in 1861. She was the great-grandmother of the couturier Yves Saint-Laurent (Vidal 1994, 28, based on archival data compiled by Jean-Marie Schmitt; copy in NGA curatorial files. See also Yves Saint-Laurent, interview in *Elle* magazine, 27 January 1992). No such record has been found concerning the model for *Africa*.

10. On nineteenth-century personifications of *Africa* among the four continents, often in attitudes of sorrow and subordination, see Honour 1989, 4: 259–264, and Albert Boimé, *The Art of Exclusion. Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*, Washington and London, 1990, 9–13. I am grateful to David Hart for these references.

On Bartholdi and Laboulaye as abolitionists, see *Liberty* 1986, 80, 88, and 102.

11. Schweitzer’s comments are recorded in his *Aus meiner Kindheit und Jugendzeit*, first published in Munich in 1924, pages 44–45. Translation by the author, from the German: “. . . war es der aus Colmar stammende Bildhauer Bartholdi . . . der meinen kindlichen Gedanken die Richtung in die Ferne gab. An seinem Denkmal des Admirals Bruat, auf dem Marsfeld in Colmar, ist ein Neger in Stein gehauen, der wohl zu dem Eindrucksvollsten gehört, was sein Meissel geschaffen hat. Eine herkulische Gestalt mit einem sinnenden, traurigen Ausdruck im Gesicht. Dieser Neger beschäftigte mich sehr. So oft wir nach Colmar kamen, suchte ich Gelegenheit, ihn zu beschauen. Sein Antlitz sprach mir von dem Elend des dunkeln Erdteils. Noch heute pilgere ich zu ihm hin, wenn ich in Colmar bin.”

12. The two young men, Jean Deutschmann and André Turck, eventually saw the head safely into the collection of the Bartholdi Museum. The detached heads of the other Parts of the World figures were also saved; Marie-Joseph Bopp, “La destruction des monuments colmariens d’Auguste Bartholdi: le 9 septembre 1940,” *Saisons d’Alsace* 23: 3 (summer 1954), 184–188, suggests Colmar citizens obtained the fragments from German guards in exchange for cigarettes. Deutschmann’s and Turck’s story is told in *Dernières Nouvelles d’Alsace*, 25 December 1988 (copy in NGA curatorial files).

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- 1992 National Gallery of Art, 1991 Annual Report 16, repro. 17.
 1992 Agnew: 192, pl. 174.
 1994 NGA: 24, repro.

Antoine-Louis Barye

1795^I–1875

BARYE LIVED his entire life in Paris and may never have left France. He is reported to have had minimal formal schooling even in reading, and to have acquired his extensive liberal-arts education on his own. His initial professional training was in metalwork: first with his father, a goldsmith from Lyons, then with a metal engraver in military equipment, and finally with Martin-Guillaume Biennais (active 1800–1832), then master goldsmith to Napoleon. After serving in the army from 1812 to 1814, Barye trained in the fine arts with sculptor François-Joseph Bosio (1768–1845) and painter Baron Gros (1771–1835). He then studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from 1818 to 1823. His miniature medallion, *Milo of Crotona Devoured by a Lion*, won an honorable mention in metal engraving in 1819, but he failed to win the Prix de Rome. He worked as a craftsman for the goldsmith Jacques-Henri Fauconnier (1779–1839) from 1823 to 1831 and made his Salon debut in 1827 with a selection of busts. Barye achieved his critical and public mark as a sculptor four years later, in the Salon of 1831, with groups representing predatory violence in the wild. His first government commission came soon after, precisely for such a subject. The Minister of the Interior purchased Barye's monumental plaster *Lion* (since called *Lion Crushing a Serpent*), shown in 1833, and had it cast in bronze by Honoré Gonon and shown in 1836, before placing it in the public Tuileries gardens (now Musée du Louvre, Paris). In 1834 Barye was chosen for a project that was never executed, the colossal eagle as the crowning element of the triumphal arch at the Etoile. Around 1836 the government commissioned him to execute the emblematic animal decoration on the July Column at the place de la Bastille, inaugurated in 1840. He produced a monumental effigy of Saint Clotilde for the Church of the Madeleine, Paris, in the early 1840s. In 1846 the government commissioned a pendant *Seated Lion* for the Tuileries *Lion Crushing a Serpent* (1847, bronze, Portal, Pavillon de Flore, Palais du Louvre, Paris). During these same years the royal family began buying and commissioning small-scale works from Barye for their private collections. Around 1834, the duc d'Orléans commissioned a highly publicized *surtout de table* representing hunts of different regions and historical periods, possibly one of several tabletop projects that he ordered from Barye. The duc's sister Marie d'Orléans allegedly commissioned a lost-wax

bronze of Barye's *Charles VI Surprised in the Forest of Le Mans* (location unknown; later serial variants), a model first shown in the Salon of 1833; his brother, the duc de Montpensier, apparently commissioned a pair of figurative candelabra and a clock surmounted by Barye's *Roger and Angelica* (1840–1846, location unknown; later serial variants) as a mantelpiece garniture.

Barye submitted works to the Salon only rarely after the jury rejected his *surtout* elements in 1837. Unable to capitalize on that outlet and on royal patronage, which declined after the death of the duc d'Orléans in 1842, he embarked on a new venture that lasted his entire career. He began to market his figurative and ornamental works as small-scale serial bronzes, first through the foundry Maison Besse in 1844, then directly to the public. He then worked in partnership with entrepreneur Emile Martin from 1845 to 1857, after which he proceeded independently. This serial production provided Barye's most widespread and enduring reputation, with casts distributed throughout the United States and Europe during the artist's lifetime. In the process he closely aligned himself with high-quality industrial craftsmanship. He won the coveted Grand Gold Medal for technical excellence for a selection of his serial proofs in the industrial arts section of the Paris Universal Exposition of 1855, while simultaneously garnering accolades in the fine arts section for his bronze *Jaguar Devouring a Hare* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). In 1863 he became a founder and president of the consultative Commission of the Central Union of the Arts Applied to Industry.

Other professional skills were put to work during the Second Republic and the Second Empire. Beginning in 1848, Barye served as director of plaster casting at the Louvre and curator of the gallery of plaster casts. In 1850 he taught drawing at the agricultural school at Versailles and, from 1854 until his death, he was master of zoological drawing at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, where the young Rodin briefly studied with him in 1863. Simultaneously, his career as a monumental sculptor revived. He received several government commissions during this period: ornamental eagle reliefs for the Pont d'Iéna (1849); a series of decorative masks for the Pont Neuf (c. 1851); four allegorical seated groups (*Strength, Order, Peace, and War*) for the facade of the Louvre (1854); an allegorical pedimental relief, *Napo-*

leon I Crowned by History and the Fine Arts (1857); and a bronze relief with the equestrian portrait of Napoleon III as emperor, *à l'antique* (1861, destroyed; presentation drawing, Musée du Louvre, Paris, office of the architect-in-chief). Barye received two important government commissions for provincial dynastic equestrian monuments: the imperial Napoleon I surmounting the Bonaparte family monument at Ajaccio, inaugurated in 1865; and a second Napoleon I for Grenoble, a commission of 1862, which he abandoned in 1866. In 1869 Barye executed pairs of monumental lions and tigers in stone for the gates of the Palais de Longchamps at Marseilles.

During the Second Empire Barye was showered with distinctions. He received the Légion d'Honneur in 1833 and was promoted to *chevalier* in 1855. In 1868 he was elected to the Institut de France. After an elaborate funeral to signal his high artistic stature, Barye was buried at Père-Lachaise Cemetery.

Though also a painter and printmaker, Barye triggered important debate, through his sculpture, about animal subjects, complex narrative, stylistic realism, and the threshold between fine and decorative art. He was a master of anatomical form, whether human or animal. His work became a benchmark for animal sculpture in monumental and tabletop format. The latter often conveyed a powerful sense of grand scale, just as his monumental work successfully blended rich materialism, naturalistic detail, and broad rhythms. Barye's advocacy of good design and craftsmanship in serial work that was affordable to the middle class broadened options available to artists, artisans, and patrons alike. His example and success enhanced the modest reputation of animal and small-scale sculpture as "fine art" during the nineteenth century.

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Notes

1. The year of Barye's birth has been revised recently from 1796, thanks to Martin Sonnabend's recalculation of the Revolutionary calendar.

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1992.55.23

Virginia Deer

1831

Bronze, 8.96 × 15.07 (3½ × 5⅙)

Gift of Lisa and Leonard Baskin

Inscriptions

Vertically, incised up right side of model: BARYE 1831

Marks

Reverse top center bears former ownership or price code

Axis in red ink

Technical Notes: The plaque is sand cast; its lightly granular reverse has a rough incuse negative of the obverse image. The reverse is diagonally cross-filed to achieve a flat, uniform plane. The highly regular edges are diagonally filed. Surface analysis using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the alloy to be a copper alloy whose average elements are approximately 90% copper, 5% zinc, 4% tin, 0.50% lead, 0.30% nickel, 0.20% iron, and a trace of arsenic. The reddish golden alloy has been given a light brown patina and a medium brown lacquer. There are two small spots of surface discoloration, possibly from the removal of a paint or stain, in front of the deer's head. There are substantial traces of investment material remaining along both sides of the deer's left front leg, and a tiny spot of corrosion product behind the animal's neck.

Provenance: Art market, London; purchased c. 1960/1985 by Lisa and Leonard Baskin, Leeds, Massachusetts.

RELIEF SCULPTURE is remarkably rare in Barye's oeuvre. In comparison with some two hundred three-dimensional compositions of animal subjects (the most numerous class of objects among his works), or as against almost sixty three-dimensional subjects involving the human figure, barely twenty relief compositions were produced over nearly six decades of the artist's working life.¹ In the same way (and for the same reasons) that an approximately equal number of Barye's three-dimensional sculpture independently or predominantly featuring the human figure (such as *Juno with Her Peacock*, p. 43) has attracted less critical attention than his much better-known statuettes of animals,² so too have Barye's reliefs formed something of a peripheral minority among his sculpture. Yet at least one among them, his pacing *Lion* for the base of the July Column, forms a prominent part of a major public monument (see p. 23).

Another relief type, a series of huge *Eagles*, their wings spread, within garlanded wreaths (c. 1849), constitutes the principal ornament of the Pont d'Iena in Paris; their design is based on a well-known Roman imperial prototype, also at monumental scale.³

As distinct from such very large reliefs conceived as major components of public monuments, Barye's cabinet reliefs are a distinct and very limited genre. If one subtracts his half-dozen very early reliefs featuring the human figure (consisting of two traditional classical narratives⁴ and four portraits⁵), his remaining reliefs—all of animal subjects—include only two derivations from the *Lion of the July Column*,⁶ a middle-period group (1831) of four abstractly silhouetted single animals including this plaquette with its parallel *Walking Panther* (p. 13), and two isolated pairs of similar but stylistically more developed relief images. Those, also issued as four plaquettes at uniform size (conforming in height to the preceding group of four single animals), include a *Pointer Flushing Ducks* and an *Elk Running through a Forest* (dates unknown; examples of each at WAG) as a late pair of hunting scenes—thereby implying an unseen human component—with elaborately naturalistic backgrounds.⁷ Barye's final relief subjects are two masterful compositions (at the same small scale as the hunting scenes) of an *Eagle with a Serpent* and an *Eagle with a Chamois* (both 1820s; examples of each at WAG): both birds are grandly isolated on high, rocky crags with their prey at their feet, alternating in pose and action between combative (with the serpent) and triumphant (over the mountain goat).⁸ The latter two subjects are probably Barye's most impressive small reliefs: avoiding both the glyptic isolation of the single animals on abstracted, frieze-like grounds (as exemplified by the two NGA reliefs from the four plaquettes of 1831), as well as a meretricious attempt to depict illusionistic backgrounds in the pendant hunting scenes (which through that failing are among the least appealing as well as the least characteristic of Barye's works), his two *Eagle* reliefs are in-

stead highly successful images, small in scale but impressive in imaginative scope and symbolic power.

In the context of this very rare class of relief designs, then, Barye's 1831 single-animal plaquettes occupy an important and transitional place. The *Leopard* (one of the remaining two pendants of this set) exactly prefigures the pose of the *Lion Roaring* (of shortly after 1836; example at WAG),⁹ and the inclusion of the prey of the *Genet* or *Civet Cat* also directly parallels Barye's other, more pictorial plaquettes such as the *Eagles* and *Hunting Scenes*. *Virginia Deer* accomplishes something of the same effect, by its naturalistic setting; and the popularity of these four images—often reissued, even after Barye's death—testifies to the continuing appeal of Barye's endowment of his animal subjects with intimations of grandeur, and even of sublimity.

One of Barye's four related plaquette designs—similarly formatted, each devoted to a single animal in friezelike extension on a blank ground—the *Virginia Deer* is closest in conception to a parallel *Genet Carrying off a Bird* (fig. 1).¹⁰ These two miniature reliefs include modest hints of the animals' habitats, in at least minimally naturalistic base zones; the *Genet Carrying off a Bird* also gains context by incorporating the victim. Their associated subjects of a *Walking Panther* (see 1995.27.8, p. 00)¹¹ and *Walking Leopard* (fig. 2),¹² however, which Barye designated as pendant designs in his contiguous catalogue listings of these four plaquettes,¹³ are completely abstract silhouettes on rigorously purified base lines. Bengé's extended analysis of the "classic planarity, economy, and restraint"¹⁴ of the *Leopard* and *Panther* types applies equally well to this *Virginia Deer*, with its stylized configuration and its geometrically balanced play of solids and voids.

All four plaquettes were designed in 1831, when the thirty-five-year-old Barye had finally left Fauconnier's studio and exhibited his work at the Paris Salon. The instantly notorious focus of these works was his *Tiger Devouring a Young Crocodile He Had Surprised* (later called *Tiger and*

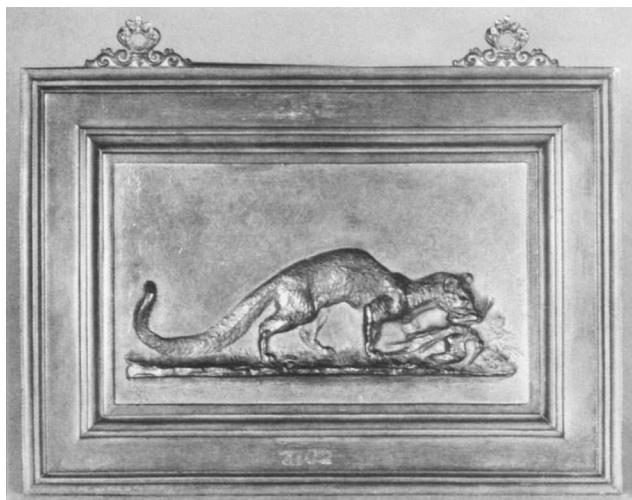


Fig. 1 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Genet Carrying off a Bird*, bronze, 1831, Washington, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Museum Purchase



Fig. 2 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Walking Leopard*, bronze, 1831, Washington, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Museum Purchase



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Virginia Deer*, 1992.55.23

Gavial, 1831; examples at WAG, CGA, Musée du Louvre), of which Gustave Planche wrote (in a generally favorable review), “Yet I would reproach Barye for smothering the life of these animals beneath a multitude of details minutely reproduced.”¹⁵ Benge has postulated that Barye may have responded to this constructive criticism almost at once, with the abrupt, clarified style of his small but monumentally conceived plaquette designs of later that year.¹⁶ By 1836 Barye was to derive a fully monumental corollary from their severely simplified style, in his magnificent *Lion of the Zodiac* for the July Column, of which the National Gallery possesses an important *maquette* (see p. 23).

The subject of this plaquette (the only noncarnivore among the 1831 quartet) is closely paralleled in a contemporaneous three-dimensional work, Barye’s *Ganges Deer* (*Cerf du Gange*; examples at PMA, CGA), also of the 1830s.¹⁷

In the absence of a comparative catalogue raisonné of all Barye’s casts, there is no readily available estimate as to the number of these rare plaquettes that may have been produced. It is probably significant, however, that no other early, dated cast of this *Virginia Deer* seems ever to have been published.¹⁸

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Notes

1. Pivar 1974, 36–48, oeuvre lists of F1–F56 for subjects involving human figures, A1–A199 for *animalier* sculptures, and R1–R20 for reliefs; the latter are illustrated on pages 239–251.

2. For one corrective to this neglect, see Douglas Lewis, “The Saint Petersburg Bronzes of Barye’s *War and Peace*,” *Pharos* (Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Saint Petersburg, Florida) 14: 1 (May 1977), 1–12, and the subsequent documentary researches which vindicated those conclusions: Anne Pinget, “War,” in *The Second Empire, 1852–1870; Art in France under Napoleon III* (Exh. cat. PMA.) Philadelphia, 1978, 210–211.

3. The prototype, which seems perhaps not to have been mentioned in the Barye literature, is a superb early second-century A.D. marble *Eagle* relief on the right end wall of the narthex (entrance portico) of the church of Santi Apostoli, Rome: Touring Club Italiano, *Roma* (Milan, 1977), 259.

4. For these typical Ecole des Beaux-Arts student reliefs (*Milo of Croton* and *Hector Reproaching Paris*), see the important study by Frédéric Chappéy, “Antoine-Louis Barye à l’Ecole des Beaux-Arts,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991–1992), 119–120, figs. 1–2 and 6–7.

5. Pivar 1974, 240–243, figs. R3–R6.

6. Pivar 1974, 244–245, figs. R8 (*Walking Lion*) and R9 (*Lion Roaring*); the *Lion of the July Column* is Pivar’s fig. R7.

7. *Pointer Flushing Ducks*: Pivar 1974, 249, fig. R16; and *Elk Running through a Forest*: Pivar 1974, 249, fig. R17.

8. *Eagle with a Serpent*: Pivar 1974, 248, fig. R14; and *Eagle with a Chamois*: Pivar 1974, 248, fig. R15.

9. Compare the two illustrations in Pivar 1974, 245: R9, *Lion Roaring*; and R10, *Walking Leopard* (from this 1831 series).

10. Pivar 1974, 31 (for English title); 47, no. 412; repro. 246. Corcoran 1988, 82, repro.

11. Pivar 1974, 31; 47, no. R11; repro. 246. Benge 1984, 87, fig. 71. Corcoran 1988, 84–85, repro.

12. Pivar 1974, 31; 47, no. R10; repro. 245. Benge 1984, 82–83, fig. 62. Corcoran 1988, 83, repro.

13. Numbers 149 (*Léopard*), 150 (*Panthère*), 151 (*Genette*), and 152 (*Cerf*) in Barye’s post-1865 catalogue, reproduced in Pivar 1974, 267.

In the post-1865 catalogue, undated casts of these plaquettes were being offered both with and without small self-frames, of approximately 15 × 20 cm. Earlier, dated casts, such as the National Gallery’s, were apparently not issued with frames.

14. Benge 1984, 4, 6, 32, 41, 75–76, 81–83, 86–88.

15. Cited in Benge 1984, 32.

16. Benge 1984, 32.

17. Corcoran 1988, 81, repro.

18. Later, undated casts are in the BMA (Pivar 1984, 247, repro.), and the CGA (inv. no. 74.44; 14.6 × 20.5, with frame: Corcoran 1988, 81, repro.).

1995.27.8

Walking Panther

1831

Bronze, 7.74 × 14.13 (3¼ × 5½)

Gift of Lisa and Leonard Baskin

Inscriptions

Vertically, up right side of obverse: BARYE 1831

Technical Notes: The plaque is sand cast, with little cold-work following the casting. It is relatively thin, the smooth, planar reverse bearing a congruent incuse negative of the obverse image. The obverse ground is slightly flecked or mottled, evidently in the positive plaster or the mold, to achieve a matte texture. There is a slight “shadow” around the contours of the figural image, representing an earlier, smoother ground in clay and/or wax. There is a fine, sharp definition of detail, particularly in the texture of the pelt and the subtleties of anatomy. The reverse shows traces of small point supports (to prevent distortion of cast) in areas of deepest relief projection, as well as traces of scraps picked up from the work surface on the reverse of the wax. There are light areas of filing around the reverse perimeter and on edges. The solder that attaches a mounting ring to the reverse top center has cracked. Surface analysis using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the average elements of the alloy to be approximately 88.5% copper, 5.5% tin, 4.5% zinc, and 1% lead, with traces of iron and silver. The golden alloy has been given a light brown patina and a medium brown lacquer.

Provenance: Art market, London; purchased c. 1960/1985 by Lisa and Leonard Baskin, Leeds, Massachusetts.

ONE OF A SERIES of four small bas-reliefs of animals that Barye contributed to the Salon of 1831, this sullen, brooding *Walking Panther* has a livelier—and marginally larger—pendant in this collection, the *Virginia Deer* (see p. 11); the other components of the series are a *Walking Leopard* (p. 10, fig. 2) and *Genet Carrying off a Bird* (p. 10, fig. 1). These four subjects are all closely related to each other by style and date, by Salon submission, and through Barye’s own catalogue listings (where they were offered either unframed—at an advertised size of “10 × 16”—or in self-frames, listed as “15 × 21” centimeters).¹ The *Genet Carrying off a Bird*, however, is idiosyncratic to the other reliefs by virtue of its double subject, as is the *Virginia Deer*, to some extent, by its non-



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Walking Panther*, 1995.27.8



Fig. 1 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Cougar*, pencil sketch, 1831, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery

carnivorous species and the uniform development of its foreground as an illusionistic landscape.

Barye catalogued this *Walking Panther* and its cognate *Walking Leopard* as “pendants”; their two superbly balanced subjects are shown as formidable exemplars of strength, with the *Leopard* more aggressively extended, while this *Panther*, as Bengé has shown, is intensified in its sullen tension by the tight containment of the fictive ledge on which it walks.² A faint, momentary sketch of a *Cougar* drawn from life, in an attitude prefiguring this relief, is preserved at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, as one of Barye’s *premières pensées* for this composition (fig. 1).³

While unmarked by any bronzecaster’s name, this remarkably fine cast is delicately signed and dated (evidently in the wax), and is very highly detailed in its variety of surface textures. A similar cast at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, has perhaps a slightly more generalized surface, as well as a somewhat more mechanical signature and date.⁴ A third published cast in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, is signed but not dated, enclosed in one of the frames Barye had advertised as late as 1865, and which appears to be a later reissue⁵ of the original type represented by the National Gallery cast. Several more publicly owned examples probably exist in addition to these few that have been published in the most easily accessible literature on Barye.

DL

Notes

1. Pivar 1974, 31, 46–47, nos. R10–R13, 245–247, figs. R10–R13, and 267, nos. 149–152 (Barye’s 1865 catalogue). Bengé 1984, 87, figs. 62 and 71. Corcoran 1988, 81–85, nos. 74.41 (*Walking Leopard*), 74.42 (*Walking Panther*), 74.43 (*Genet Carrying off a Bird*), and 74.44 (*Virginia Deer*).

2. Pivar 1974, 267, nos. 149–150 (1865 catalogue), for Barye’s “pendant” notation; Bengé 1984, 87, figs. 62 and 71.

3. Inv. no. 37.2193; 7.6 × 10.2 cm.: Bengé 1984, 87, fig. 180.

4. Inv. no. 27.494; 7.6 cm. high: Pivar 1974, 246, no. R11, repro.; Bengé 1984, 87, fig. 71.

5. Inv. no. 1874.42; 13.8 × 19.2 cm.: Corcoran 1988, 84–85, no. 74.42, repro.

1967.13.2 (A-1725)

Tiger Surprising an Antelope

Model c. 1831; cast after 1855

Bronze, 34.9 × 55.8 × 22.9 (13³/₄ × 21¹/₁₆ × 9)

Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer

Inscriptions

Incised into model on right front of base: BARYE

Technical Notes: This bronze is hollow-cast in about ten pieces, indirectly from a plaster and wax model, by the sand-casting method. Burnt sand clings to a pin, probably a tie-rod for the core, in the interior of the left rear leg of the antelope, accessible through a small opening cut on the underside of the tiger’s chest. The cast sections of the animals are pinned and brazed, and the ensemble then screwed onto the base. Surface analysis using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the alloy to be a brass of relatively consistent composition throughout the sculpture and self-base whose average elements are approximately 92% copper, 5% zinc, 3% tin, and less than 1% iron and lead, with trace levels of iron and arsenic as well. The absence of impurities in the alloy suggests refining of the copper, hence may indicate a production date in the late nineteenth century. The surface has been cold-worked only minimally, to remove casting flaws. It bears direct evidence of its assemblage as well as cast-through traces of the assemblage of the proof model from which it was cast. The patina was achieved by brushing the heated bronze with a chemical solution that produced translucent brown. Its adherence is irregular, partly because of the differing cold-work throughout the composition: A smooth plug atop the tiger’s head has no patina. There are pinholes, casting flaws, behind the tiger’s left ear. Examination with ultraviolet light reveals no evidence of repairs or inpainting. A wax surface coating has blanched in the recesses.

Provenance: Eugene [1875–1959] and Agnes Ernst Meyer [1887–1970], Mount Kisco, New York, and Washington, probably after 1910.¹

Exhibited: NGA 1974, as *Tiger Seizing a Gazelle*.

THIS GROUP can be associated, through its subject and dimensions, with serial casts offered in Barye’s sales catalogues under its present title, *Tiger Surprising an Antelope*.² The National Gallery cast shows only cranial bumps on the prey, but the prototype was horned. Other bronzes include definite horn butts sawn off at varying points in order to make the arched prey’s head fit against the tiger’s upper foreleg.³

Barye executed over fifteen known three-dimensional works representing a tiger and over sixty on paper on that subject or the antelope.⁴ This bronze forms part of a series, initiated around 1830, specifically about the tiger preying upon a fallen deer or antelope. One, a close compositional echo of his celebrated entry in the Salon of 1831, the *Tiger Devouring a Young Crocodile It Had Surprised*,⁵ represents a recumbent tiger devouring a dead, disemboweled gazelle whose head rests upon the feline’s shoulder.⁶ The National Gallery bronze reflects a variant whose prototype may be a lost plaster illustrated in a review for the 1831 Salon.⁷ The



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Tiger Surprising an Antelope*, 1967.13.2

illustrated plaster was a tardy entry, listed in a late supplement of the catalogue as “Animal groups in plaster,” which the critic describes as two predation scenes that “may be superior to the first [the tiger and crocodile].”⁸ The pose of the tiger in the lithograph resembles that of the National Gallery bronze and its closest kin. In this group of variants, the prey is represented alive and struggling, though its identity and pose may differ. In the lithograph the prey has blunt, short, curved horns and legs that sprawl in a pattern diagonally opposed to that of the tiger. The contrapuntal arrangement survives, though the limbs are drawn more tightly to the body, in two groups that Bengé calls *Tiger Devouring a Stag*, one with a multiple-point rack and one with ringed antelope horns.⁹ The latter, in a subsequent galvanoplastic cast, is signed and dated “Barye 1830.” The National Gallery variant represents an antelope type whose forelegs are curled close to the chest and whose back legs splay in “splits” that parallel the tiger’s rear left leg. The least related variant within this iconographic group may be the latest, what has been identified as an autograph bronze for the *surtout de table* of the duc d’Orléans, executed c. 1834–1835, depicting a tiger atop a huskier, overturned antelope with upwardly flailing legs.¹⁰

Barye’s tiger groups in the Salon of 1831, his first entries in that forum without human protagonists, signaled the sculptor’s commitment to animal subjects as fine art. Since most were groups representing predation, his entries significantly departed from the single figures of peaceful subjects, usually domestic animals, by other artists in earlier Salons.¹¹ Despite their close affinities to baroque and English romantic paintings of predation in the wild,¹² Barye’s tiger groups were considered, in their own time, strongly radical as *sculpture*. They challenged the stringently anthropocentric idealist attitudes towards high sculpture that had prevailed since the late eighteenth century. In doing so, Barye’s predatory groups invoked the painters’ own source, the classical tradition of animal sculpture that was revived from the Renaissance to the early nineteenth century in both antiquarian and naturalist works—the small- and large-scale sculpture of Andrea Riccio (1470–1532) and Giambologna (1524–1608), for example.¹³

Barye’s *Tiger Surprising an Antelope* also reflects the romantic interest in the terrible sublime, in naturalism based on direct observation, and in the broader scientific and intellectual problems of the late 1820s and early 1830s. Manifested particularly in the predatory feline subjects, such concerns highlight the sculptor’s close working relationship with Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) during these years. Delacroix initiated his own animal subjects with tigers in a print of 1828, *Wild Horse Felled by a Tiger*.¹⁴ He executed at least three tiger paintings over the following three years. Delacroix’s *Young Tiger Playing with Its Mother* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), signed and dated 1830, was shown the following spring as *Study of Two Tigers*, in the same Salon as Barye’s tiger groups.

Barye’s predation scenes are probably artistic fabrica-

tions based upon some direct observation. Zieseniss claims Barye and Delacroix might have been inspired by the staged animal fights—one of which, on the route de Pantin, allegedly featured a “tiger”—that were outlawed in 1833.¹⁵ Both artists were known to draw from life at the Jardin des Plantes, whose menagerie had long included both felines and various kinds of deer and antelope.¹⁶ However, artistic license was required to create a predation image from such specimens, as the large carnivores were typically isolated at the extreme end of the menagerie, deliberately remote from their traditional prey.¹⁷

Certain problems surround the tiger, however, during the years of Barye’s execution of the subject, 1830–1831. Although at that time the French term for tiger included any pattern-coated feline, a live version of the true “Bengal,” “Indian,” or “Royal” tiger—represented here by Barye with incised stripes—had only recently arrived in Paris. Barye’s first tiger scenes do not correspond to any known representation of that feline among earlier drawings, prints, or illuminated manuscripts.¹⁸ Those shown in the Salon of 1831, his first known representations of tigers, closely succeed the acquisition of the first tiger at the Jardin des Plantes in late 1830. Such chronology suggests that this particular example was a source for Barye, though he might also have had access to a mounted specimen at the Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle as well as the celebrated tiger in the traveling menagerie of Henri Martin that appeared in Paris, at the urging of the eminent zoologist Georges Cuvier, from 1829 to 1831.¹⁹

Barye’s tiger subjects may reflect current zoological debates. Kliman notes that Cuvier, who had allowed Delacroix and Barye the coveted privilege of examining a dissected lion in his laboratory in 1829,²⁰ was of the traditional school. Rooted in the natural histories of Aristotle and Pliny, traditionalists claimed that the tiger was the moral antithesis of the lion: Whereas the lion was the emblem of the monarch capable of both strength and clemency, the tiger demonstrated the dark side of bestiality. This contingent then claimed that tigers killed not merely for food, but for what they believed was cruel pleasure—drinking blood.²¹ Nygren proposes that Barye’s *Tiger Devouring a Young Crocodile It Had Surprised* reflects that negative view, and suggests that the tiger and antelope group might as well.²² On the other hand, Barye’s tiger eating a disemboweled gazelle renders the acceptable object of predation: for nourishment.

As seen in the National Gallery bronze, Barye’s emphasis upon the tiger’s grasp of its prey suggests some physiognomic views surrounding felines that were current at the time. The feline foreleg was considered uncannily similar to the human forearm, especially with its five-clawed digits flared to resemble a hypertrophic human hand. Such correspondences, noted often in scientific literature, were rife in Barye’s immediate circles.²³ This morphological resemblance between felines and humans, seen to prove an unusually close link between the two species, contributed a

new dimension to the long-held physiognomical interest in the moral qualities of humanity as revealed through their bestial counterparts.

Stylistically, the National Gallery bronze reflects Barye's dual involvement with avant-garde interests of the 1830s and the classical tradition. Its animated pose, naturalistic anatomy, and "painterly" representation of stripes in the tiger's coat align it with anti-idealist romanticism. The relative smoothness of the animals' coats (no bristling fur on either), lack of flora or fauna on the rocky base, essential frontality and horizontality, and the coherent, albeit active, overall outline suggest Barye's adherence to traditional principles of clear, sculptural outline and purified forms. The tooling of the cast further schematizes the model. The large-scale toothed chiselwork emphasizes rich metallic surfaces over striped fur and the filework reduces contours to more generalized, almost geometric shapes, as in the antelope's forelegs and tail.

There are no known models or maquettes for *Tiger Surprising an Antelope*. Bengé claims the variants of the subject of 1830 and beyond were based upon several anatomical drawings of a tiger in Barye's sketchbook at the Louvre.²⁴ However, the only tiger known to have died, and implicitly to have followed the normal course of being dissected, is the inaugural specimen that arrived in 1830 and died in July 1839, too late to serve as a model for most of these groups.²⁵

According to Barye's surviving catalogues of his serial work, the tiger and antelope or deer subjects were serialized as early as 1844, by Maison Besse.²⁶ The National Gallery bronze corresponds to an entry in Barye's own catalogue of about 1855.²⁷

A catalogue standardly dated to 1865 offers *Tiger Surprising an Antelope* as a pendant to *Panther Seizing a Stag*, listed as measuring 39 by 54 centimeters.²⁸ In 1985, Shepherd Gallery exhibited a pair of bronzes—whose bases are identical to the National Gallery example—that reflects the intended juxtaposition.²⁹ The catalogues do not list alternative sizes for the National Gallery variant, thus it is possible that the version measuring around 32 by 53 centimeters was the only one offered. Furthermore, the antelope pendant does not appear in the Barbedienne catalogues.³⁰ Barye's proof model, a double-base version cast by Brame, and its companion plaster were purchased by an untraced "Roman" at the 1876 auction of Barye's estate.³¹ Numerous casts appeared in the most prominent collections at the time of the artist's 1889 retrospective at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.³² Bronzes of this size by Susse Frères currently circulate on the market, though the dates of their editions are unclear.³³

Casts vary in quality of foundry model, cast, and cold-work, and the National Gallery bronze is one of the more technically sensitive. They also differ formally in their patina, tooling, tail position, and base type. Some lack the incised stripes.³⁴ In addition to these, there are numerous sand-cast bronzes in other museum collections: LACMA; the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha; MFA; CGA and The Hir-

shhorn Museum & Sculpture Garden, Washington; WAG (three); BMA: The George A. Lucas Collection (two); the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh; BrMA; Musée du Louvre (at least three, including a proof model); Musée Bonnat, Bayonne; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux; and Musée des Beaux-Arts, Algiers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has a double-scale enlargement in serpentine.

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Notes

1. The Eugene and Agnes Ernst Meyer Papers at the Library of Congress have no information as to when they acquired the sculpture, or its earlier provenance. It was probably acquired after their marriage in 1910.

2. Lami 1914–1921, 1: 80.

3. Two at the PMA, from the John G. Johnson Collection and the Wiltach Collection (W'93–1–166).

4. Lami 1914–1921, 1: 75–80; Ziesenis 1954, nos. B1–52, D13–15, F9; Delteil 1969, 6: nos. 2, 9, 11–12. The memorial exhibition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts also included—among Barye's anatomical casts—five anatomical sections of a tiger cast in bronze from the natural form (EBA 1875, nos. 318–321).

5. Bengé 1984, fig. 54.

6. WAG (27.112); Bengé 1984, fig. 55.

7. Lithograph by Delaunoy after a drawing by Barye; discussed in Schoelcher 1831, 315; lithograph opp. p. 314.

8. Supplement 4, Catalogue, 1831 Salon, no. 3042; Schoelcher 1831, 315.

9. WAG (27.133 and 27.450, respectively); Bengé 1984, figs. 18–19.

10. DIA (76.92). Isabelle Lemaistre's catalogue entry in Grand Palais 1991, 328, color repro.

11. For example, single figures of horses, cows, dogs, or goats by artists such as Jacques-Nicholas Brunot (1763–1826) and Jean-Martin Renaud (active 1787–1817). Wild animals also appeared: In 1812 Brunot showed a "study after the Asian bull at the Jardin des Plantes" (no. 1021).

12. For example, Peter Paul Rubens' (1577–1640) various hunt groups, George Stubbs' (1724–1806) *Lion Attacking a Horse* (YUAG) and James Ward's (1769–1859) *Lioness Disturbed* (Ponce Art Museum, Puerto Rico). See Frederick Cummings, "Lion Attacking a Horse," in Philadelphia 1968, 51–53 and 181–183, repro.

13. For a general history of animal sculpture, see Hachet 1986, 34–72.

14. Delteil 1969, 3: no. 77.

15. Emile de Labédollière, *Le Nouveau Paris*, 1833; cited in Ziesenis 1954, 38.

16. See the list of living and mounted animals in Deleuze 1823, 688–690.

17. Deleuze 1823, 683–684.

18. In his discussion of Barye's *Tiger Hunt* (WAG), Hamilton 1936 does not discuss the tiger.

19. Nygren 1988a, 30, claims the institution's *registre d'entrée*, no. 25, gives the tiger's date of entry as 28 August 1830; Kliman 1984, 68, instead states the tiger's arrival was announced months later, in *Le Temps*, 30 October 1830.

20. Kliman 1984, 69.

21. Kliman 1982, 446–447. See, for instance, Buffon 1859, 2: 263–264. Rousseau 1837, 8–9, however, claimed such "sanguinary" views of the tiger were "much exaggerated," given the gentleness of several such animals. He cited the tigress at the Jardin des Plantes, who leapt with joy upon seeing the vessel with her favorite drink, sugar milk, and three other tigers discussed in Cuvier's own *Recherches sur les ossements fossils* as "gentle as any species could be." Contemporary scientists instead allege that a predator drinks blood (as many species do) for liquid nourishment or water.

22. Nygren 1988a, 32.
23. Kliman 1982, 460; figs. 27–28 illustrate fellow *animalier* Brunot's casts of the feline foreleg.
24. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 8480); Bengé 1984, 26, fig. 155.
25. Nygren 1988a, 30n.16.
26. Maison Besse 1844, 9, cites a "Tigre et gazelle" among its offerings by Barye.
27. Barye Quai des Célestins 10, nos. 57–58, in Ballu 1890, 174.
28. Barye Quai des Célestins 4, nos. 54–55, in Pivar 1974, 264. Suggesting a casting date that very year, the city of Bordeaux reportedly purchased its closely analogous cast in 1855 (Bordeaux 1933, no. 487).
29. Shepherd Gallery 1985, nos. 23 and 24, repro.
30. Pivar 1974, 279.
31. The entry in Hôtel Drouot 1876, no. 579, reads: "Tigre surprenant une antilope (deux terrasses). / Modèle en bronze avec son plâtre [fondu par Brame]"; the buyer's name, "Roma"[in?] and price ("2.400") are marked on the margin. The information is often erroneously interpreted as documenting Brame's purchase of the proof model for subsequent edition.
32. EBA 1889, no. 210 (Bonnat), no. 316 (Lutz), and no. 513 (anonymous).
33. A bronze comparable in dimensions and patina (a "greenish-brown patina"), inscribed "BARYE Susse Frères à Paris" and stamped "SUSSE FRES," sold at *Sporting and Marine Paintings and Sculpture Including Modern Sporting Guns*, Sotheby's, New York, 5 June 1992, no. 133, repro.
34. Two examples are in the PMA, one from the Wilstach collection, the other from the John G. Johnson collection (see note 3).

References

1994 NGA: 26, repro.

1980.44.5 (A-1834)

Two Bears Wrestling

Model 1833; cast after 1847–1848

Bronze, 22 × 13.8 × 17.25 (8¹¹/₁₆ × 5⁷/₁₆ × 6¹³/₁₆)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised into the model on the side of the self-base below the upper bear: BARYE

Technical Notes: The group is hollow-cast, indirectly from a wax and plaster model, in two sections by the sand-casting method: Burnt sand is evident in the interior of the base and in the upper bear's lower legs. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) of the cast reveals the average composition of the alloy to be relatively consistent throughout the figures: elements above trace levels average 90% copper, 2% zinc, 5% tin, and 3% lead, with traces of arsenic. The alloy in the base is slightly lower in copper and zinc content (88% and 1%, respectively) and higher in lead content (5%). The fur textures created by a toothed chisel were cast-through from the foundry model without enhancement by tooling: Visible cold-work merely removes some remnants of the last phase of manufacture. Seams cast-through from the foundry model remain visible. Traces of the removed core pins are evident in varying degrees, one leaving a circular hole in the neck of the upper bear. The welded joins are only cursorily finished. The join across the

lower bear's back, demarcating the two casting sections, forms a ridge roughly finished with rasps and files in some areas, with fully open, unchased gaps in others. The two cast segments were assembled by brazing and screws, and then joined to the green-veined marble base with a long brass rod threaded into the underside of the join and secured with a nut on the underside of the base. The patina was achieved by brushing the heated bronze with a chemical solution that produced dark brown. The cast has no major damage or repairs. It is covered with a heavy coat of pigmented wax mixture. There are several white paint drips throughout, some slightly corroded to a pale green.

Provenance: (Bernard Black Gallery, New York, by 1965);¹ sold May 1966 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.²

Exhibited: San Antonio 1965, no. 30. NGA 1974.

THIS BRONZE has long been associated with a serial work of the same subject and size listed in Barye's sales catalogues as "Two Bears, group." The composition is apparently based on his lost plaster, shown in the Salon of 1833 under the title *Combat of Two Bears, one from North America, the other from the Indies*.³ Bengé identifies the lower bear as the North American species described in the title because of the pronounced shoulder hump, a feature that specifically suggests the American grizzly bear (*Ursus horribilis*), rather than the rounded black bear, known in French sources as the "American bear."⁴

This group forms part of a small corpus of Barye's work in various media showing animals of similar species fighting—others represent lions or tigers. As a bear subject, however, it joins the large family of Barye's ursines. Beginning with his sketch of a bear in the Salon of 1831, Barye executed over a dozen works on the theme.⁵ Models for most of Barye's three-dimensional bear subjects date from 1831 to 1836, though he included four "new" models in his sales catalogues after 1855.⁶ Barye's affinity for the bear seemed so remarkable in the 1830s that the popular press teased him about it. *Le Charivari* published a caricature of the artist modeling his *Seated Bear*,⁷ which highlights the physiological resemblance between the sculptor and animal: Barye's actual upturned nose is exaggerated into a concave snout similar to that of the bear.⁸

Scholars have been divided on the art-historical significance of the bear subjects. De Kay erroneously claims that Barye's are art-historical innovations; Robinson posits that the subject remained minor because of its rarity in high art and prevalence in scenes of hunting or popular amusement.⁹ However, though not prolific, images of bears have long held special status among Western animal subjects that explore human nature and the relative place of humanity in the cosmos. The most anthropoid of Near Eastern and European animals when standing erect, the bear was long regarded as the human's near-counterpart, just across the threshold between civilization and wilderness, or between humanity and bestiality—the human's discomfiting *bête noire* or alter ego on a similar scale.¹⁰ In its role as a close kin embodying dark and forceful nature, the bear



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Two Bears Wrestling*, 1980.44.5

could represent moral temptation (especially when climbing the forbidden Tree of Knowledge) or could affirm human supremacy in hunt or combat images that pitted bears and humans against one another.¹¹ The latter role is openly represented in eighteenth-century sculptural groups representing the two in combat, as in Edme Bouchardon's (1698–1762) *Athlete Fighting a Bear* of about 1737.¹² Such views of the bear still prevailed in Barye's time, to judge by the horror expressed in the 1850s before Emmanuel Fremiet's (1824–1911) lost, over-lifesize *Wounded Bear*, which depicted a standing she-bear fatally crushing a hunter. Many contemporary critics claimed the sculpture subverted all anthropocentric tenets of civilization.¹³

Upon viewing Barye's bear subjects exhibited in the 1833 Salon, critics reportedly experienced a comic—if manifestly patronizing—empathy, describing the animals as representing churlish humanity in action: “They make you laugh despite yourself, as at the Jardin des Plantes, with their antics, their appeal of a cunning peasant.”¹⁴ Robinson notes that Barye treated the single bear almost as a domestic animal, “showing it as it was in captivity, not in the wild.”¹⁵ Similarly, this combat image may reflect an episode observed at the zoo, unlike *Tiger Surprising an Antelope* (p. 15). During those years, the Predator House at the Jardin des Plantes (*loges des animaux féroces*) had a fenced yard with no apparent internal barriers, where the animals were released in temperate weather.¹⁶ Today, such open penned areas at that institution often have signs stating that the fights between mature bears observed there, no mere cub-play, prove that captivity does not destroy all patterns from the wild and force the species into peaceful coexistence.

Two Bears Wrestling epitomizes Barye's eclectic romantic realism of the 1830s. Like his predatory subjects (1967.13.2, 1980.44.4, and 1995.75.5, pp. 15, 26, and 35, respectively), its dramatic violence subverts classical rationalism and order. Its bold movement and muscular forms seem baroque, as its serpentine three-dimensionality suggests mannerist sculpture. Reflecting romantic interest in scientific naturalism and rich textures, the bronze's modeling and surfaces are at once descriptive and richly material. The plastic boldness of the group is apparent especially when compared to renditions of the same subject by Barye's peers. The animated form of Barye's wrestling bruins—full of voids and projections, lights and darks—differs markedly from the unbroken mass of Fratin's close counterpart, entitled *Bears Playing*.¹⁷

There are few related works beyond two tinted-plaster models, one at the Petit Palais, Paris, and another, signed and dated 1836, which appeared on the market in 1969.¹⁸ A drawing of a seated bear, with its torsion, snarling, and distinctively upturned snout, may have contributed to the composition.¹⁹ The group was heavily (and successfully) marketed as a small-scale serial work. Maison Besse offered casts of the composition with unknown dimensions.²⁰ The model appears regularly, only in the size corresponding to the National Gallery cast, in Barye's published sales cata-

logues beginning in 1847–1848, as well as in Barbedienne's catalogues after the sculptor's death.²¹ No cast bearing foundry marks has yet been located. Sand-cast bronzes of this composition, with differing patinas and self-bases, are in numerous museum collections: NCG; Musée du Louvre, Paris (a six-piece proof model and two casts, one on deposit at the Musée d'Orsay);²² Musée Bonnat, Bayonne; WAG (silver-leafed); BMA: The George A. Lucas Collection; BrMA; and CGA.²³ The cursory cold-work on the National Gallery bronze can be found on most other versions (notably the Walters'), making a tooled cast seem the exception.²⁴ Bengé considers this unfinished surface to be evidence of the “crude, limited mass production technical experimentation of the early thirties.”²⁵ The sand casts with minimal tooling are, however, often superb in every other respect. Barye's previously mentioned proof model by Barbedienne is as fine technically as it is sophisticated formally, suggesting that such prominent founders consciously challenged the established views of sand-cast bronzes. Traditionally, their raw surfaces were considered unfailingly poor, demanding cold-work, as sand casting lacked the precision so prized in the lost-wax method, whose sharp registration of the model made tooling unnecessary in the best examples of the type. These findings support and amplify Lemaistre's contention that major founders of the 1830s, such as Richard, Eck, and Durand, set out to demonstrate the level of quality that could be achieved with sand casting, trying to compete with the extraordinary prestige of the lost-wax process.²⁶

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Notes

1. Cited as the lender in San Antonio 1965, no. 30.
2. In NGA curatorial files.
3. Supplement, Catalogue, 1833 Salon, no. 3240.
4. Bengé 1984, 128. Deleuze 1823, 688, identifies the *Ursus americanus* as the “black bear of America,” one of which was in the menagerie of the Jardin des Plantes in 1823. Barye's own nomenclature seems to have varied, however. A similarly hump-shouldered bear with exceptionally long claws, visible in his watercolor, *Walking Bear* (Ziesenis 1954, no. H 1 [repro.]), is called “Bear of the Mississippi” in Barye's related lithograph of 1836 (Delteil 1969, 6: no. 6, repro.).
5. Lami 1914–1921, 1: 75; Ziesenis 1954, nos. H 1–2 (repro.); Delteil 1969, 6: no. 6, repro.
6. Lami 1914–1921, 1: 83.
7. Pivar 1974, A5–6, repro. pp. 100–101.
8. De Kay 1889, fig. 28; Robinson 1988, 21, fig. 18. De Kay (1889, 44–45) suggests that the bear is Barye's personal emblem since his name resembles modern nouns based on old, non-Latin forms of the word “bear,” such as baron, Bern, and Beara.
9. De Kay 1889, 37; Robinson 1988, 21.
10. The ape, the more familiar humanoid (Janson 1952), was more a subject of derision than rivalry or fear until the discovery of the lowlands gorilla in the late 1840s. Until then the small size of the known species of monkeys appears to have prevented the same quality of empathy triggered by the bear. See Lindsay 1978 (in NGA curatorial files).
11. Janson, *Nanni*, 1963, 101–103.
12. A terra-cotta model, pendant to *Athlete Taming a Lion*, was

shown in the Salon of 1737. A stone version of *Athlete Fighting a Bear* formerly stood in the park of the château de Gros-Bois, a gift from Louis XV to his *garde des sceaux*, M. le Chauvelin (Lami 1910–1911, 1: 105).

13. For a brief discussion, see Lindsay 1978 and Lindsay 1987, 11.
14. "Salon de 1833. 8e article," *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 5, 12 (1833), 142–143.
15. Robinson 1988, 21.
16. Deleuze 1823, engraving of the building repro. opp. p. 673.
17. Horswell 1971, repro. p. 99.
18. Heim Gallery 1969, no. 126, repro. (current location unknown).
19. Benge 1984, fig. 191.
20. Maison Besse 1844, 9.
21. Barye 1847–1848, no. 55 (priced at 100 francs); cited in Ballu 1890, 161. The dimensions are given as 23×13 , either a typographical error or an indication that a 4-cm. self-base was later added. Barbedienne immediately began editing the work after 1875. See Barbedienne 1877, 3 (priced at 150 francs).
22. The proof model is incised inside "595," the catalogue number in Barye's estate sale of 1876 for the sculptor's own proof model, executed by Barbedienne together with the plaster working model, bought from that sale, according to an annotated catalogue, by the dealer Goupil (Hôtel Drouot 1876, no. 595). However, it later went to Ferdinand Barbedienne himself, who lent it to the 1889 Ecole des Beaux-Arts retrospective (EBA 1889, no. 2).
23. Some American holdings are listed in Benge 1969, 2: no. 110.
24. For example, the Thomy-Thiéry cast at the Louvre (OA 5672).
25. Benge 1969, 2: 458–459.
26. Lemaistre 1991, 283.

References

- 1965 San Antonio: no. 30.
1994 NGA: 26, repro.

1984.62.1

Lion of the Colonne de Juillet

1836

Tinted terra cotta, (without frame) $21 \times 40.5 \times 5.2$ ($8\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$); (with frame) $37 \times 58.5 \times 4.8$ ($14\frac{9}{16} \times 23\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$)
Gift of Asbjorn R. Lunde

Technical Notes: The terra cotta, painted to simulate patinated bronze, is directly modeled in a buff-colored, grainy clay that was not thoroughly wedged, leaving voids throughout the mass. The plaque was formed by first pressing lumps of wet clay against a rectangular lipped tray, then building the elements in relief and tooling the wet surfaces. The lion's body and background were hatched with combed tools of various gauges. Fingerprints in the mane suggest it was modeled by hand in places. Perhaps to stabilize the edges for framing, the irregular border of the terra cotta was infilled with white plaster that was incised when almost dry in jagged, irregular strokes unlike those in the terra cotta. The plaque is secured to the heavy oak frame by metal brackets; the edges of the relief are padded with corks as shims and insulation against friction. The age of the current paint surface, in tones that simulate patinated bronze—a blackish-brown with traces of blue-green around the lion—remains unclear. Examination under ultraviolet light reveals several areas of loss that may have been repainted. Except for abrasions on the

prominent points of the relief (the mane, for example) and flaking paint around a collapsed void above the right rear paw, the surface is stable and inactive.

Provenance: (Anonymous dealer); (Heim Gallery, London, by 1969);¹ sold 1969 to Asbjorn R. Lunde, New York.

Exhibited: Heim Gallery 1969, no. 127.

THIS PATINATED SKETCH was largely unknown before its exhibition at Heim Gallery in 1969 as Barye's "first idea" for his bronze relief on the July Column (figs. 1a and 1b). It was thus closely associated with one of the most important and symbolically charged monuments of nineteenth-century France. The July Column is a government memorial to the 500 insurgents buried in the crypt below, who died, according to the plaque on the column base, fighting for the "defense of public liberties," during the three-day July Revolution of 1830. The reactionary Charles X was ousted as a result, and, despite some hopes for another republic, Louis-Philippe was elected king of the French (the July Monarchy). Louis-Philippe attempted to link 1830 with the liberal ideals of 1789 at the site of the demolished Bastille, the very embodiment of the Great Revolution, which had seen a succession of interrupted plans to build a suitable national monument there. Though some scholars see the July Column as a celebration of military glory, like its Roman antecedents, its format reportedly was intended to reflect the initial design of 1789, a tribute to the "restorer of public liberty," Louis XVI.² The finished design conveys its political and martyrial message by means of various allegories. The revolutionary ideal of freedom (through a representative, legislated government) is embodied in Augustin Dumont's (1801–1884) surmounting gilt *Genius of Liberty*; the national, popular element is represented by Barye's four Gallic cocks on the corners of the square pedestal.³ The lion motif, in Barye's marble masks around the top and the colossal relief on the west side of the pedestal, was seen as an appropriate multi-faceted emblem: as the astrological symbol for the July Revolution and Monarchy (the constellation Leo governs late July); as a symbol of strength; and as the unstinting protector of the dead.⁴ The first stone of this new martyrial-political venture was placed on the first anniversary of the Revolution, July 1831.⁵ After various metamorphoses, the final design was established by the new royal architect Joseph-Louis Duc (1802–1879); casting of the figurative elements began in the spring of 1835; the monument was unveiled and the remains of the martyrs reburied there in a public funerary ceremony on 28 July 1840.⁶ The July Column quickly became one of the most potent republican symbols of the generation: as a processional stop in their funerals and as an image of martyrdom for the law and liberty in paintings.⁷

Contemporaries considered the allegorical language of the July Column a success. The architect-critic César Daly praised its extraordinary legibility at "all times, by all people." This legibility was achieved without using narrative



Fig. 1a Antoine-Louis Barye, *The July Column* (*La colonne de Juillet*), inaugurated 1840, Paris, Place de la Bastille, photograph courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY

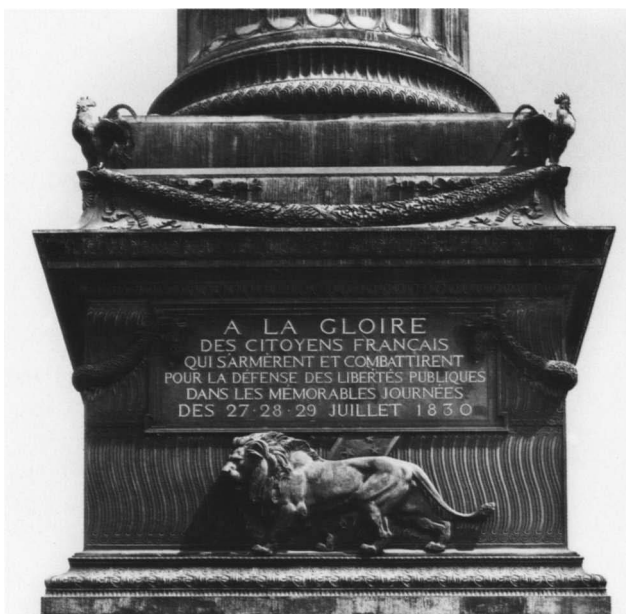


Fig. 1b Antoine-Louis Barye, *The July Column*, detail of base relief showing lion, Paris, Place de la Bastille, photograph courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY

or iconic human elements: The architectonic column, he claimed, constituted the most forceful artificial symbol complemented by the expressive natural symbolism of Barye's emblematic beasts.⁸

The terra cotta does not seem to correspond to any work described in the Barye literature. Aside from the serial bronze advertised during the artist's lifetime, only one sketch for the July Column is documented. Its first known mention is in the memorial exhibition of 1875: a plaster "first project" of the Lion of the July Column, quickly followed by its sale the following year.⁹ It may be the plaster sketch subsequently lent by Léon Bonnat to the Barye retrospective of 1889 (fig. 2).¹⁰ Ballu claims Barye executed more than two designs, but is silent about their precise char-

acter and sequence: The architect apparently "demanded of him several successive modifications that in fact required total reworkings of the design, since the proportions appeared not to be satisfactory."¹¹ The terra cotta and plaster sketches do not reflect such claims for "total reworkings," particularly of the proportions. Though both lack the strigilated field and the zodiac band that physically joins the word "Juillet [July]" in the inscription with the lion, they differ from one another and the monumental relief only in subtle details of the figure. Unlike the other two, the National Gallery terra cotta represents the lion's tail resting against his right haunch, its tip turned downwards. The lion in the Musée Bonnat plaster has an inverse gait to its counterpart in the National Gallery terra cotta and final monument: foreground legs backward and background legs forward. All positions of the head differ slightly from one another, with the lion's head in the July Column dramatically emerging in high relief from the background.

Though both sketches are plausibly preliminary works for the monument itself, they can be closely associated with Barye's variant serial bronzes of the subject. Technically, the consistently low relief, unlike the monumental version, lends itself to sand-casting. The Musée Bonnat plaster seems identical, down to the block signature on the plinth, to the serial bronze reliefs often called *Walking Lion* that are still common on the market; some, marked Barbedienne, are gilt-bronze casts.¹² The National Gallery terra cotta instead can be linked to what is now often called the *Walking Lion* (*Lion of the Zodiac*; fig. 3), as the handling of the lion and

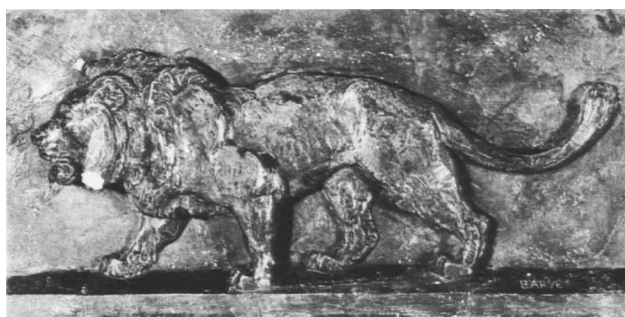


Fig. 2 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Lion of the July Column* (*Lion de la colonne de Juillet*), plaster bas-relief, 1836, Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. 920



Fig. 3 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Walking Lion*, bronze bas-relief, model 1838, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 27.165



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Lion of the Colonne de Juillet*, 1984.62.1

the proportion of figure to ground are nearly identical.¹³ On the basis of their dimensions, which are within one centimeter of each another, either serial variant might be the *Lion of the Colonne de Juillet*, first advertised in Barye's sales catalogues of about 1855.¹⁴

In broadest iconographic terms, the July Column lion employs one of Barye's most common animal subjects of the 1830s, reflecting contemporary interest in scientific realism and the exotic. Its astrological symbolism relates this particular conception to Barye's first public monument, what is now called *Lion Crushing a Serpent* for the Tuileries gardens (now Musée du Louvre, Paris).¹⁵ The July Column lion goes even further into symbolism by invoking ancient sculptural prototypes for the formidable companions or guardians of the deceased.¹⁶ Bengé suggests its inspiration in an eighteenth-century engraving of an ancient Roman tomb near Tivoli.¹⁷ In his close adherence to the funerary type from antiquity in the July Column lion, Barye outclassifies the neoclassical sculptors, who instead provide expressive new forms of the ancient feline motif. The most notable examples are Antonio Canova's tombs for Clement XIII (1783–1792, St. Peter's, Rome) and Maria Christina (1798–1805, Augustinerkirche, Vienna) and Bertel Thorvaldsen's (1770–1844) *Lion of Lucerne* (1819–1821, cliff outside Lucerne, Switzerland).¹⁸ There, majestic lions respectively mourn or die, accenting the lyrical, elegiac mode of these earlier monuments, in contrast to the heroic mode of the July Column. In its insistence on the antique tradition, Barye's July Column lion may provide an important iconographic precedent for such later monumental funerary projects as Bartholdi's colossal *Lion of Belfort* (1880, cliff under the fort, Belfort, France).¹⁹

Stylistically, Barye's two lions represent successive phases of his departure from the coloristic or goldsmith's descriptive detail and worked surfaces of the 1830s, to the broader classicizing treatment of many later works—particularly in works conceived as monuments, rather than as small-scale objects. The ideal grandeur praised by some in Barye's Tuileries lion²⁰ becomes a more radical, hieratic formality in its successor on the July Column relief. For all its direct handling and rich material, the National Gallery terra cotta displays many of those characteristics. The stylized pose, rhythmic formality, and compressed shallow field of Barye's two lions in relief suggest Neo-Babylonian monumental examples, like the glazed-brick decoration on the processional avenue from the Ishtar gate to temple Marduk, Babylon (Musée du Louvre, Paris; State Museums, Berlin; BM). Contemporaries later applauded the Asian affinities in Barye's sculpture, though they knew he could not have known the material at that time. For observers still dazzled by the Khorsabad corpus, the first such work in Western Europe upon its arrival in Paris in 1847, Barye's earlier lions seemed to come straight from "ancient Asia."²¹

Although the date of the actual commission remains unknown, the sketch is given to 1836 on the basis of the established date of casting of the finished pedestal, 3 August 1836.²²

No drawings are known for Barye's July Column relief. Barye's various undated watercolors of a lion in a landscape relate only generally and instead closely reflect the Musée Bonnat plaster and its serial progeny, and the statuette called *Walking Lion* (FAM), introduced as a serial work in 1847–1848.²³ The wide-footed frame that supports the thick terra cotta sketch as a freestanding tabletop object closely resembles the one on his sketch for the relief of *Lion and Serpent* (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris); the age of those frames, however, is unknown.²⁴

SGL

Notes

1. See also letter from A. S. Ciechanowiecki, dated 30 July 1996, to Anne Halpern (in NGA curatorial files). Heim Gallery 1969, 30, fig. 127 (copy in NGA curatorial files).
2. Bengé 1984, 38. For a survey of the initial plans and history of the final design, see Daly 1840a, 406–418; and Jouin 1879, 329.
3. For a brief discussion of the association of the cock with the French people, see the entry on Auguste Cain's *French Cock Crowing* (p. 52).
4. Daly 1840b, 753–757; Ballu 1890, 83–86; and Lami 1914–1921, 2: 242. For a recent general discussion of the July Column, see Bengé 1984, 37–42. For a discussion of the pivotal importance of the monument as public allegory, focusing on Dumont's *Genius*, see Peter Fusco, "Allegorical Sculpture," in Los Angeles 1980, 63.
5. See the discussion of that phase in the entry for Paul Grégoire's drawing of the event (Musée Carnavalet, Paris), in *Il y a cent cinquante ans . . . Juillet 1830* [Exh. cat. Musée Carnavalet.] (Paris, 1980), 81.
6. Daly 1840a, 420; "Intérieur, le 28 juillet," *Le Moniteur Officiel*, no. 211 (29 July 1830), 1769. The latter account reports that the funerary coach designed for the ceremony echoed the monumental program in bearing four silver cocks on the corners and an "immense sarcophagus supported by twelve consoles and two silver lions."
7. Liberal Opposition Deputy Etienne Garnier-Pagès' vast funeral procession went from Montmartre to the July Column, on its way to Père-Lachaise Cemetery to the east, the following year (*Le National*, 27 June 1841). The column is prominently featured in the background of Ernest-Louis Pichio's (1840–1893) *Alphonse Baudin sur la barricade du faubourg St. Antoine le 3 décembre 1851*, dated 1869 (Musée Carnavalet, Paris, P. 1402), where its actual appearance at that site is exaggerated for its symbolism. The victims of the February Revolution of 1848 were buried under the July Column as well.
8. Daly 1840b, 751.
9. EBA 1875, no. 56; and Hôtel Drouot 1876, no. 518 (the annotation for that entry claims the work was cast by Brame and purchased by "Romain"). My thanks to Dr. Glenn F. Bengé for his generous help with this search.
10. "Lion de la Bastille. Esquisse. Modèle plâtre. App. à M. Léon Bonnat" (EBA 1889, no. 624).
11. Ballu 1890, 84.
12. Fogg 1982, 44, repro. Bengé (1969, 2: 430–431) includes both variants under the title "Striding Lion," as the documented reduction of the July Column relief. Barbedienne catalogues offered two versions of the *Lion de la Colonne de Juillet* with different dimensions, "no. 1" at 27 × 55, and "no. 2" at 21 × 42 (Barbedienne 1877, 8).
13. Bengé 1984, 81–83, no. 64. The serial Zodiac lion varies from the monumental version in the smooth field and far wider zodiac band. Barye may have produced casts under this very title: A sketch of a relief by this name is listed in Ecole memorial show (EBA 1875, no. 284) and the estate sale offered two bronzes (Hôtel Drouot 1876, no. 373). What may have been a plaster sketch for this composition (the 1875 entry?) was exhibited in the summer of 1992 in the vitrine

of the gallery L'Atelier on the rue Toussaint in Angers, which was unfortunately closed.

14. Barye Fossés-Saint-Victor, no. 124, "Lion de la Colonne de Juillet," 22 × 44; also in Barye Quai des Célestins 10, nos. 151 and 148; both cited in Ballu 1890, 177, 181.

15. The very recent success of the Tuileries monument may have brought Barye the July Column commission. For discussions of the Tuileries lion and its astrological iconography, see Glenn Bengé, "Center City: City Hall," in Fairmount Park 1974, 30–35, 344–345; and Bengé 1984, 34–37.

16. The Greco-Roman use of the lion evolved from various Asian prototypes. It was not only the emblem of royal power, and therefore the traditional guardian of sacred places, but it also served in Asian mysteries as the symbol of the celestial fire through which the dead must travel. Its use on the July Column, a funerary monument, recalls its role in Greece as a symbol of courage, particularly to honor those who heroically faced death. See Maxime Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'art grec* (Paris, 1911), 88–92, and Franz Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris, 1942), 157–160. For the direct links of Barye's lions to Asian prototypes, see further in the text.

17. Bengé 1984, 39, fig. 217.

18. Janson 1985, 52, fig. 43; and 73, fig. 64.

19. Janson 1985, 178, fig. 199.

20. "Salon de 1836 (VI^e article). Sculpture," *L'Artiste*, 1st ser. 11 (1836), 122.

21. Anatole de Montaiglon in Louis Gonse, *L'Art moderne à l'Exposition de 1878* (Paris, 1878), 80. For a brief history of Assyrian archaeology and museology in France and their effects on modern art, see the entry for Emile Hébert's *Queen Antiope or Hippolyta* (p. 277).

22. Jouin 1879, 336; Lami 1914–1921, I: 75.

23. Zieseniss 1954, no. A27, pl. 5.

24. Pivar 1974, no. R18, repro.

References

1969 Heim Gallery: no. 127, repro.

1994 NGA: 26, repro.

1980.44.4 (A-1833)

Horse Attacked by a Tiger

Model 1837 or before; cast possibly after 1875

Bronze, 26.1 × 36.9 × 16.2 (10¼ × 14½ × 6⅜)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised into the model on the right side of the self-base: BARYE

Technical Notes: The interior of the base is filled with silicone rubber, presumably to reinforce the thin shell. However the bronze seems to be hollow-cast by the sand-cast method, indirectly from a wax and plaster model, in at least seven pieces, later assembled by brazing. Surface analysis using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the average composition of the alloy to be relatively consistent throughout the figures: approximately 88% copper, 2% zinc, 8% tin, and less than 1% lead, with trace levels of iron and arsenic. The alloy of the rimmed self-base is proportionally lower in copper (83%) and higher in zinc and tin (10% and 6%, respectively). The cast-through tooling of the foundry model can be seen on the surface. Cold-work is minimal, mainly to remove traces of casting and assembly. The

patina was achieved by successively brushing the heated bronze with chemical solutions that produced a dark green undercoat beneath a warm brown. The surface is lightly waxed. The patina is abraded on the high points, especially the tiger's right rear leg and back. The base is abraded and scratched on both long sides, apparently from efforts to remove the overflow of silicone rubber. There is green corrosion around the two supports under the horse's belly.

Provenance: (Bernard Black Gallery, New York); sold May 1966 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.¹

Exhibited: NGA 1974. *Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts: Sculpture, Drawings, Prints*, NGA, 1974, no. XIX.

BENGÉ CLAIMS this group was shown in the Salon of 1835.² The exhibition catalogue for that year includes only one approximate candidate, a *Tiger in Bronze*.³ However, one critical review raises the question whether any of Barye's work was actually shown: It alleges that the artist had made nothing since the prior year.⁴ Otherwise, the composition can only be associated with two versions of a "horse attacked by a tiger" in Barye's estate sale of 1876.⁵ That year, Charles Blanc seemed to describe this very composition, without a title, possibly on the basis of works in the estate sale: "When he models that tiger writhing snake-like around the horse that he is about to overcome, the sculptor is no longer as violent, passionate, because he has measured the limbs of this elastic quadruped, because he has counted the bones of the skeleton and has seen them at work . . . , because he knows all the flexibility that the cervical vertebrae . . . can have, and all the firmness in their most pronounced movements."⁶

However little documented, this group closely relates to Barye's work of the 1830s. The subject recalls two in the Salon of 1833, a watercolor entitled *Tiger Devouring a Horse*⁷ and a sculptural group entitled *Horse Overturned by a Lion*. The three-dimensional variants on the attacked-horse theme broadly invoke classical types, notably the celebrated *Lion Attacking a Horse* that inspired Stubbs' painting of the subject, and the numerous treatments of a *Stag Attacked by a Hound*.⁸ The tiger represents an updated variation using a wild animal first seen in Paris around 1830, but that served Barye many times afterwards as a model for his imagery.⁹

The three main elements of this sculpture differ considerably in style and handling. The sinuous tiger, with its incised stripes, is strongly naturalistic. The horse, despite its active, muscular body, suggests an archaic relief in its planar alignment and schematic modeling and tooling: The mane and tail are especially stylized.¹⁰ In contrast to the horse and tiger, the base evokes, rather than describes, a grassy hillock through its deep tooling of clay in a highly liquid state. These discrepancies, which are also found in Barye's *Axis*, among others,¹¹ might be attributed to his practice of *marcottage*, or recycling elements among numerous compositions. Although some incorporate blatantly replicated details, some, like this one, rework other compositions. The striding horse in the National Gallery bronze relates to a



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Horse Attacked by a Tiger*, 1980.44.4

variant dated by most to about the same period: a fallen horse with forelegs tucked closer to its body and rear legs twisted sideways, in Barye's *Arab Rider Attacked by a Serpent*.¹² The latter assemblage shows stylistic differences among the various elements of the group that are comparable to those evident in the National Gallery bronze.

No sketches are known for this composition. Barye may not have serialized the model. Susse purchased both the plaster model and the allegedly unedited bronze from Barye's estate sale, supporting Pivar's claim that they may have edited the group—perhaps the earliest to do so.¹³ One marked Susse cast in a private collection, Paris, has been published recently.¹⁴ The 1889 New York Monument exhibition included a cast that was called “unique” belonging to R. Austin Robertson, Esq.¹⁵ Nonetheless, at least four other casts can be traced: one bearing a marble base at The Sladmore Gallery, London; another bought from Christie's by Agnew's in July 1979;¹⁶ a proof model at the Louvre without the rimmed self-base;¹⁷ and a close comparative version, with an identical base, at the Walters Art Gallery that, judging from the attached inventory label, came from the celebrated collection of the comte Doria. Others are occasionally reported on the market.

SGL

Notes

1. In NGA curatorial files.
2. Bengé 1969, 2: 502–503, fig. 164.
3. Catalogue, 1835 Salon, no. 2179.
4. “Salon de 1835. VIIe article. La Sculpture,” *L'Artiste*, 1st ser. 9, 12 (1835): 136.
5. Hôtel Drouot 1876, nos. 450 (an “unedited bronze”) and 451 (a plaster model).
6. Blanc 1876, 401.
7. Zieseniss 1954, no. B46, pl. 16. The image closely echoes Delacroix's print, *Wild Horse Felled by a Tiger* of 1828 (Delteil 1969, 3: 77). Isabelle Lemaistre (personal communication) notes the formal affinities of the tiger and base with Barye's groups for the duc d'Orléans' *surtout*.
8. For a brief discussion of the English romantic use of classical sculpture representing wild animals attacking domestic ones, see p. 14. For Barye's other work on this theme, see Bengé 1969, 2: figs. 546–547; 556–557.
9. See pp. 14–18.
10. For instance, horses and animals in the sixth-century painted amphorae or the friezes of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi. See Bernard Ashmole in Groenewegen-Frankfort and Ashmole 1977, figs. 209 (amphora showing combat between Herakles and Nessos), and 324–329 (reliefs from the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi).
11. Pivar 1974, no. A113, repro. p. 175.
12. Pivar 1974, no. F13, repro. p. 63.
13. Pivar 1974, no. A151. Susse's name is annotated in the margin of Hôtel Drouot 1876.
14. Poletti and Richarme 1992, no. 79, color repro.
15. Barye 1889, no. 357.
16. Bengé 1972, repro. Concerning the Agnew cast, see the letter from William Agnew of 27 October 1994 to the author (in NGA curatorial files).
17. Pivar 1974, no. A151, repro. p. 207.

References

1994 NGA: 25, repro.

1980.44.3 (A-1832)

General Bonaparte on Horseback

Model c. 1838; cast after 1847

Bronze, 37.5 × 33 × 13.4 (14¾ × 13 × 5¼)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised into the model on top of the base behind the left rear leg of the horse: BARYE

Technical Notes: The group and base are hollow-cast, indirectly from a wax and plaster model, apparently by the sand-cast method. The abdomen of the horse bears a patched clean-out area for core removal. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the average composition of the alloy to vary slightly throughout the figure, with the most evident anomaly in the hat: The figures and base contain around 94% copper, 4% tin, 2% zinc, with trace elements of iron, arsenic, and silver. The hat has less copper (93%) and more zinc (5%), crossing the threshold from bronze into brass. The absence of impurities in the alloy suggests refining of the copper, a process consistent with known late nineteenth-century metallurgical techniques. The base was cast in one piece, but the horse and figure appear to have been cast in about twenty sections and assembled by brazing. The horse was joined to the base by means of the integrally cast flanges around the hooves set into recesses in the base, secured by brazing and screws, and tooled to resemble the surrounding “ground” on the base. Although the base was polished slightly, the figures were largely left untooled after casting. The limited cold-work removed more evidence of manufacture on the figure than on the horse, where ridges from a misalignment of the mold sections are visible across the rump. Casting flaws remain throughout, particularly on the horse's chin, the left side of its neck, and the saddle area. A pinhole in the top right side of the hat has been pushed in, and an airhole and porous region appear on the underside of Bonaparte's chin. The patina was achieved by successively brushing the heated bronze with chemical solutions that produced a discontinuous dark green undercoat, which is fragile and brittle where exposed, beneath a dark brown throughout the entire surface. A heavy coat of blackened wax distorts the color of the patina and fills the signature. There is no evidence of major damage or repair. The patina is scratched on the left scabbard tassel and left thigh. There are what appear to be water spots on Bonaparte's coat and trousers. The edges of the base are abraded.

Provenance: Bernard Black and Hugues-W. Nadeau, New York and Europe; (their sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 3 December 1971, no. 51); purchased by (Lock Galleries, New York) for Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.¹

Exhibited: NGA 1974.

THIS WORK CORRESPONDS in subject and size to an entry for a “General Bonaparte” among the equestrian figures offered in Barye's own sales catalogues. Scholars have long agreed that this composition represents Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) as the extraordinary general of the Republic, avoiding his controversial ascendancy to First Consul (1799) and then to Emperor (1804).² The youthful, thin physiognomy of Barye's figure strongly recalls portraits

representing the republican general in 1798, such as Charles-Louis Corbet's (1758–1808) portrait bust, executed from life and shown, in plaster, at the Salon that year.³ In Barye's work, as in that of Corbet, Bonaparte wears the gold-embroidered ceremonial general's uniform codified in 1798 but used well into the Consulate: He wore one at the historic Battle of Marengo on 14 June 1800 (Musée de l'Armée, Paris), which is represented in Jacques-Louis David's (1748–1825) *Bonaparte Crossing the Great St. Bernard* (1801, Musée National du Château de Malmaison, Paris).⁴ Much more specific and significant, however, is the long, blunt-cut hair that Bonaparte favored until he adopted the cropped, antique style after the Cairo expedition in 1799, on the eve of his ascent to First Consul.⁵

For all its naturalism, this is not an informal representation. It addresses ceremonial public life and the hieratic categories of human imagery. Like most of Barye's other equestrians (see pp. 32 and 47, for example), *General Bonaparte* appears in formal dressage mode. It represents the rider and horse, apparently an Arabian, performing the *piaffe*, or stately trot in place. In this case Bonaparte controls the reins single-handedly, resting the other on the right thigh, one of the traditional poses for dressage.⁶

The distinctive full "French" braid of the horse's forelock and mane, and the unbound tail signal the elaborate grooming for dressage, rather than the drama of the free-flowing (if rosetted) manes and tails in the celebrated equestrian portraits of rulers that inform the best-known equestrians of Napoleon.⁷ That dressage treatment nonetheless appears in several state equestrian portraits and history paintings of ceremonial events from the Napoleonic years to the Bourbon Restoration.⁸ Where, through its contrast with the rider, the spirited horse with the unbound mane and tail has long symbolized the "bestial" subjects that the human governs apparently effortlessly,⁹ the controlled grooming of the disciplined mount emphasizes, through repetition, the high status and strong authority of the rider. Such stylized handling also punctuates the sheer formality of the image apparent in the sitters' ceremonial costume, the horse's tack, and the dressage gait.

In format and composition, this bronze forms part of a type of serial equestrian sculpture of rulers produced after the late eighteenth century. It closely resembles the biscuit statuettes, particularly of Bonaparte as an equestrian, executed by Sèvres during the Consulate and Empire. Two variants were produced, also *piaffant*, but with differing modern uniforms and unbound manes on the horse: Josse-François-Joseph Leriche's (1738–1812) Consular prototype of 1801 and Jean-Charles Nicolas Brachard's (1766–1830) variant of 1809, which merely substitutes an older Napoleon.¹⁰

The circumstances of the Sèvres commissions shed some light concerning the exceptional artifice of Napoleon Bonaparte's public persona as a horseman. The two Sèvres equestrians are based on a drawing by Carle Vernet (1758–1836) inscribed with the demand for the right-hand-on-hip position because "it is the First Consul's habit."¹¹ Bonaparte was

very conscious of the symbolic importance of equitation in public military contexts. He is alleged to have mounted a horse only when in sight of the troops, preferring a carriage in other situations. Once on horseback, he reportedly alternated between "break-neck" recklessness and slack-bodied absent-mindedness, in either case avoiding disaster only at the last moment.¹²

Barye's *General Bonaparte* appears to have been executed purely as a serial statuette. A close variant of the subject from the 1860s differs in representing the older, heavier Bonaparte in his riding coat; the model was apparently produced for Barye's aborted government commission of a monument to Napoleon at Grenoble that was not widely serialized.¹³

The National Gallery type initiates Barye's full series of Napoleonic images and is itself the only version that does not date from the Second Empire.¹⁴ The terminus ante quem for the model is provided by the appearance of the subject in Barye's 1847–1848 sales catalogue.¹⁵ However, most scholars accept the date of 1838 given for this work in the posthumous nineteenth-century literature.¹⁶ A date of the 1830s can be justified by the group's many stylistic affinities to Barye's equestrian statuettes, whose models can be more surely placed in this period. Its crisp detail reflects the handling of the medieval *Bear Hunt* for the *surtout* of the duc d'Orléans (WAG), begun c. 1834 and dated 1838. The slender form of Bonaparte in Barye's equestrian resembles that of *Charles VII the Victorious*, a cast of which is dated 1836.¹⁷

The equestrian statuette reflects the wide and multifaceted French preoccupation with Napoleon Bonaparte after his fall from power in 1814, and especially Louis-Philippe's many efforts to capitalize upon that volatile national factor in his state policies a decade after Napoleon's death (1821).¹⁸ Barye's conception could appeal to a broad range of social groups. It bears attributes of the "little corporal," in the Revolutionary coiffure and plumeless bicorn, for instance, that endeared him to the troops and, later, Bonapartists, as well as hierarchical elements (the formal uniform, equitation gait, and grooming) that could appeal to authoritarians of various sorts. Although produced as a serial statuette that never appeared in the Salon, Barye's *General Bonaparte* was invoked in discussions of Louis-Philippe's public Napoleonic projects. Gustave Planche singled out this statuette, with its republican iconography and stylistic grandeur, as being a better choice for Louis-Philippe's Invalides monument to Napoleon than the controversial final version by Charles, baron Marochetti (1805–1867).¹⁹

This equestrian demonstrates Barye's distinctive naturalism and pursuit of "coloristic" surface treatment. The horse and figure are supple and alive. The surface provides broad expanses of liquid, rippling form that play against the relatively small proportion of the figure and muted handling of the jewellike detail. Perhaps as a modern subject, it eschews the extreme encrustation of surfaces seen in the



Antoine-Louis Barye, *General Bonaparte on Horseback*, 1980.44.3

Renaissance subjects being widely produced at the time (pp. 32 and 47).

There are no known drawings or maquettes for this equestrian. Planche claims Gonon executed an early cast of this statuette, but there are as yet no documents for, or traces of, any such bronze.²⁰ The statuette was offered only at this size in Barye's sales catalogues and in the Barbedienne catalogues published after the sculptor's death.²¹ The composition is known only in bronze and appears regularly on the market, both unstamped and with Barbedienne's cachets. Other museum collections with casts of this model are: WAG; CGA; Musée du Louvre, Paris;²² and NCG. The shaped base of the National Gallery bronze departs from the standard rectangle on other casts, but echoes that on the later variant with the older Bonaparte in a riding coat.

SQL

Notes

1. Black-Nadeau 1971, lot 51, repro. and cover in color (in NGA curatorial files).
2. Planche 1851, 71; Nygren 1988b, 51.
3. No. 513. Jane Van Nimmen, "Bust of General Napoleon Bonaparte," in Louisville 1971, 102–103, repro.
4. Colonel MacCarthy in Grand Palais 1969, 42, no. 136, repro.; David 1981, no. 161, repro. in color in the unpaginated preface. The painting commemorates the "impossible" winter passage through the Alps that enabled the French to defeat the Austrians at Marengo, and thus gain control of Northern Italy.
5. Nicole Hubert in Grand Palais 1969, 15, no. 56, repro.
6. See de Pluvinel 1623, a widely used tract originally written and published for Louis XIII. This hand position can be seen in Jean-Baptiste Gobert's (active 1680s–c. 1723) 84-cm. *Equestrian Statuette of Louis XIV as Emperor* (Souchal 1977–1993, 2: 84); and Diego Velázquez's (1599–1660) *Prince Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School* (Julián Gállego's catalogue entry in MMA 1989, 178–185, repro.).
7. For instance, the type represented by Velázquez's *Philip III* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) and David's earlier-mentioned *Bonaparte Crossing the Great St. Bernard*.
8. Notably Anne-Louis Girodet's (1767–1824) *Napoleon Receiving the Keys to Vienna* (Musée National du Château de Versailles), shown in the Salon of 1808 (Marrinan 1988, pl. 182); Baron Gros' (1771–1835) equestrian of Prince Napoléon Victor Jérôme Bonaparte, his horse rearing in the traditional *corvette* (Musée National du Château de Versailles); and Gros' equestrians of Napoleon and Charles X reviewing their troops (Musée National du Château de Malmaison and Musée National du Château de Versailles, respectively). For the latter two, see Petit Palais 1936, pls. 2 and 36. My thanks to Major J. Craig Nannos, military historian, for his comments concerning any possible significance of the mount's grooming, which he felt had no codified symbolism.
9. For example, the Marcus Aurelius equestrian statue (Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome). It is the implicit symbolism of David's equestrian portrait of Napoleon, in which the sitter is represented as calm on a rearing horse (Schnapper 1980, 206).
10. Leriche was the *chef de l'atelier de sculpture* at Sèvres in 1801. See Brunet 1951, 15–19, repro. opp. p. 16. The earlier version by Leriche was included by Serge Grandjean in Grand Palais 1969, 40, no. 128, repro.
11. Brunet 1951, 16.
12. Soreau 1970.
13. See André Dezarrois, "Un Projet mystérieusement abandonné, le Monument de Napoléon Ier à Grenoble par Barye," *Revue de l'Art* 71 (1937), 258–266; and Benge 1984, 69–70. A clay or plastilene

sketch (Musée du Petit Palais, Paris) and two bronzes (WAG, 27.173; and BrMA, 10.199) have been related to the Grenoble project.

14. Benge 1984, 50–70.
15. Barye 1847–1848, no. 72; cited in Ballu 1890, 162.
16. De Kay 1889, 149; Pivar 1974, 32; and Corcoran 1988, no. 78. Though Benge originally dated the composition to the 1830s (Benge 1969, 2: no. 206), he more recently asserted a date of c. 1847, ostensibly reflecting the certain date of its marketing (Benge 1984, 69).
17. That cast is discussed and illustrated on p. 46.
18. Butler 1978, 92–107; Marrinan 1988; and Nygren 1988b, 51.
19. Planche 1851, 71–72. For Marochetti's project, see Vicaire 1974, 145–148.
20. Planche 1851, 72.
21. Barbedienne 1877, 2. Repeated in Barbedienne's 1880 and 1893 catalogues.
22. Possibly the foundry model cast by Barbedienne for Barye, purchased by Goupil at the artist's estate sale (Hôtel Drouot 1876, no. 684) and later owned by Barbedienne, shown in the second Ecole des Beaux-Arts retrospective (EBA 1889, no. 34).

References

1994 NGA: 25, repro.

1980.44.2 (A-1831)

Gaston de Foix on Horseback

Model 1839/1840; cast after 1855

Bronze, 33.5 × 32.1 × 13.7 (13³/₁₆ × 12⁵/₈ × 5³/₈)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised into the model and enhanced through cold-work, top left side of base: BARYE

Technical Notes: The bronze is hollow-cast, indirectly from a plaster foundry model, by the sand-casting method. The interior was not examined because it is firmly attached to a marble pedestal, but X-radiography reveals that, excepting the head and tail, the horse's body was cast integrally and that there are about twenty separate pieces forming the tack and the rider's body that were assembled after casting by brazing; screws attach the horse's hooves to the base. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the average composition of the alloy to be around 91% copper, 5% zinc, 3% tin, less than 1% lead, and traces of arsenic, iron, and antimony. The absence of impurities in the alloy suggests refining of the copper, a practice common to late nineteenth-century metallurgical techniques. There is minimal cold-work to remove evidence of manufacture. The armor and bard were left largely as cast, except for a patch on the interior lower edge of the bard and two plugs in the articulated *crin* (the armor over the mane). Casting defects remain: a cluster of holes at the top of the rider's right shoulder, and a pinhole and crack in the temple near the rider's right eye. The patina was achieved by successively brushing the heated bronze with chemical solutions that produced a dark green undercoat, wiped to remain primarily in the recesses for definition, beneath a translucent dark warm brown throughout the entire surface. An overall wax coating pools in the recesses; it blackens and evens the intended modulated coloration. The patina, especially on the base, is very fragile and abraded. The baton in the right hand is bent; the spurs are loose and bent downwards.

Provenance: (Bernard Black Gallery, New York, until 1969); Bernard Black and Hugues-W. Nadeau, New York and Europe;¹ (their sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 3 December 1971, no. 50); purchased by (Lock Galleries, New York) for Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.²

Exhibited: NGA 1974.

THIS MODEL has long been associated in the literature with Barye's entry for an equestrian statuette of the same title and dimensions that appeared in his sales catalogues of about 1855.³ The rider can be identified as Gaston de Foix by the heraldry on the horse's armor: All four emblems represent, unaccountably reversed, the badge of the comtes de Foix, surmounted by the crown, denoting a prince and duke, and surrounded by the filigreed collar of the Order of Saint-Michel.⁴

Gaston de Foix (1489–1512), together with the more famous Bernard DuGuesclin (c. 1323–1380) and Pierre Terrail Bayard (c. 1473–1524), served as the highest exemplar of French chivalry since the Middle Ages. Through his father Jean he was a member of a powerful feudal dynasty in the Narbonne region of southwestern France. His mother Marie d'Orléans was the sister of the reigning king, Louis XII. In 1505 Louis gave Gaston the title by which he is now better known, duc de Nemours, in exchange for the Narbonne title. During the Wars in Italy, Gaston de Foix commanded the French army against Julius II's coalition with brilliant success until his final (and fatal) victory at Ravenna. He died as the battle ended, ambushed by fleeing Spaniards whom he charged despite Bayard's pleas to leave pursuit to him. His tragically avoidable death at twenty-three immediately dominated the historical literature as a revealing moral lesson. Nineteenth-century sources commonly quote early chroniclers who observe that Gaston "perished because of excessive ardor after having won because of his courage."⁵

Barye's equestrian presents the formidable military commander rather than the celebrated pathos-laden knight visible in Ary Scheffer's (1795–1858) *Gaston de Foix Found Dead after His Victory at Ravenna* (1824, Musée National du Château de Versailles).⁶ Both recall Gaston's *gisant* commissioned by Francis I⁷: Barye's version bears its youthful features, chin-length hair, and light beard. The armor, however, is unlike the undecorated versions on the *gisant* and Scheffer's image, though it includes authentic features of characteristic examples from Gaston's lifetime. Despite anomalous projecting elements throughout, Barye's armor reflects the characteristics of Maximilian-type fluted field armor, dating from the first quarter of the sixteenth century;⁸ the sturdy battle horse wears an extraordinary articulated armor and solid, embossed steel bard, decorated throughout but culminating in a lion's mask tailpiece over the apotropaic Medusa mask. It is historically authentic in overall character, with a few elements of fantasy, most notably the overweening scale of the heraldic decoration.⁹

The pose—with Gaston's resolutely forward gaze and proud bearing, a baton in hand—static but for the wind-blown scarf, has rich art-historical resonances. Benge sees a variety of sources for this composition, but especially the forceful rider in Verrocchio's Colleoni Monument (Campo di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice); the gait, scale of the rider, position of the arms, and treatment of the horse in *Charles IX, Equestrian* (Musée du Louvre, Paris); and François Lemot's (1772–1827) *Henri IV* of 1818 (Pont Neuf, Paris).¹⁰ Like his two other equestrians (see pp. 29 and 47), Barye's conception invokes the most formal and symbolic type of equestrian portraiture, in the ostensibly modest format of a small-scale work.¹¹

Like his *Charles VII* (p. 47), Barye's *Gaston de Foix* can be related to the broader interest during the period in national history and artistic historicism. It is linked specifically to the romanticism of the 1830s through its rich surfaces on molten bronze. As a "tabletop" sand-cast work, it also reflects the increasing taste for a variety of subjects as domestic decoration that even the middle class could afford. In representing this armored knight in a small-scale, serial bronze, Barye's *Gaston de Foix* can be compared to such groups by Jean-François-Théodore Gechter as his sand-cast silvered-bronze *Death of Tancred* (model dated 1837, Musée du Louvre, Paris).¹²

The extraordinary handling of the armor in this particular model may constitute a unique tribute to past artistry.¹³ Its masterful complexity suggests not only a nineteenth-century appetite for ancient splendor, but also Barye's sense of professional kinship with the Renaissance artists who were involved in armor-making. Trained as both a military metalworker and fine-art sculptor, Barye seems to celebrate the imagination and craftsmanship involved in this famous, waning art of decorated wearable sculpture through a remarkable miniature counterpart, and on a suitable hero represented in the highest form of equestrian portraiture.

There is as yet no hard evidence from which to date the model. Planche describes the statuette—the artist's only known representation of Gaston de Foix—in his 1851 critical study of Barye, hence predating its documented appearance as a serial bronze after 1855.¹⁴ It so closely relates to Barye's *Charles VII*, datable to the first half of the 1830s, that its most commonly accepted date in the 1830s seems justified.¹⁵ Most follow De Kay in placing it at the end of the decade, though he gives no reason for his specific date of 1838.¹⁶ The catalogue of Barye's estate sale, however, bears an annotation of "1833" beside the entry for the proof model, suggesting current views of its earlier date.¹⁷

Though the edition was perhaps not commercially produced at the time, the model could have been conceived in the decade of the 1830s. Artistic interest in Gaston may have surged during those years through his inclusion in the *Galleries Historiques de Versailles*, inaugurated in 1837. Scheffer's painting of Gaston de Foix, initially commissioned by the Maison du Roi under Louis XVIII, was prominently featured in the Versailles program, and a portrait statue of



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Gaston de Foix on Horseback*, 1980.44.2

Gaston de Foix by Charles-Emile Seurre (1798–1858) was commissioned for the sculpture galleries (c. 1836–1840).¹⁸ Like his *Charles VII*, Barye's *Gaston de Foix* may constitute an appeal for royal or royalist patronage. Nygren points out that Gaston, an Orléans through his mother, was related to the current royal family and he bore the precise title also held at the time by one of Louis-Philippe's sons, the duc de Nemours,¹⁹ who, in fact, owned a cast of this work by 1889.²⁰

There are no documented sketches or maquettes for this model, which is known only as a sand-cast serial work in this particular size. Casts, some silvered or gilded, were ubiquitous in nineteenth-century French and American collections.²¹ Examples by other founders have not been located, though Pivar claims Brame offered a posthumous edition—ostensibly from the proof model and working plaster that his foundry cast for Barye and that Brame himself purchased at the sculptor's studio sale in 1876.²² Wildestein and Company had an otherwise unmarked cast stamped "H."²³ Other museums with casts are: WAG; BMA: The George A. Lucas Collection; BrMA; CGA (lost 1957); and Musée du Louvre, Paris (numerous).²⁴

SGL

Notes

1. Black-Nadeau 1971, no. 50, repro. According to the unpaginated foreword, the partners of the Bernard Black Gallery retained a selection of Barye casts as a study collection after closing the gallery in 1969.

2. In NGA curatorial files.

3. Barye Fossés-Saint-Victor, no. 4; cited in Ballu 1890, 170.

4. Rietstap 1972, 2: 686; Rolland and Rolland 1967, 1–2: pl. CCCXXXVII; Jouglé de Morénas 1934–1949, 1: pl. I; and de Laigue 1818, 251–253. Barye's precise source for this coat of arms is not clear, but surviving elements of Gaston de Foix's tomb bear aspects of it. The *gisant* from his tomb (Museo d'Arte Antica del Castello Sforzesco, Milan) wears the Order of Saint-Michel; the central badge on the sarcophagus below, in a scene showing Gaston's funeral, bears the crown (Clausse 1912, pls. II and V). For a recent publication concerning the tomb, see Milan 1990.

5. Michaud 1854–1865, 14: 284–285.

6. Wakefield 1973, fig. 32 (detail).

7. See Clausse 1912 and Milan 1990. This tomb, celebrated by Vasari and Canova alike, might have been known to Barye through a plaster cast in the Musée des Moulages at the Louvre. According to Clausse 1912, 35–36, the *gisant's* face was regarded as true to life; a tradition transmitted by Vasari (1511–1574) held it to be based upon a portrait by Girolamo da Cotignola (c. 1481–c. 1550) taken immediately after Gaston's death. See also the retrospective portrait of the armored Gaston de Foix attributed to Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674) in Dorival 1976, 2: 94, no. 168, pl. 168.

8. See, for example, the articulated and fluted suit by Giovanni Angelo Missaglia (c. 1510–1515; no. G 8, Musée de l'Artillerie, Paris;

Boccia and Coelho 1967, figs. 198/204, 198/199/200). Though no direct inspiration can be securely established, Gaston's armor broadly corresponds to an example of this general type, identified at the time as belonging to him (*Notice sur les collections dont se compose le Musée de l'Artillerie* [Paris, 1837], no. 34bis; repeated in the 1840 edition, no. 34). My thanks to M. Jean Pierre Reverseau, conservateur en chef, Musée de l'Armée, Paris, for comments on this matter.

9. For example, the articulation, fluting, and bell shape of the metal armor covering the horse's body can be seen in an equestrian armor in the Armeria Reale, Turin (Aroldi 1961, pl. XXVIII). The fringe under the bard may reflect nineteenth-century display techniques. This discussion of period armor depends heavily upon verbal information from Stuart W. Pyhrr and Donald J. LaRocca, Arms and Armor department, MMA. Bengé feels the armor shows a "relaxed regard for historical accuracy," though Barye's drawings of armor indicate that he studied and measured actual prototypes (Bengé 1984, 146, fig. 188).

10. Bengé 1984, 146–148.

11. See the discussion of the type in the entry for Barye's *Charles VII the Victorious* (p. 46).

12. Isabelle Lemaistre's catalogue entry in Grand Palais 1991, 359, color repro.

13. Pivar (1974, 19) assesses this bronze as a "tour de force of meticulously detailed bronze work."

14. Planche 1851, 71: In addition to mentioning that Gaston is represented armored, Planche claims that "[l]e caractère mâle et résolu de Gaston de Foix [has furnished the artist] l'occasion de montrer comment il comprend l'accord du visage et de la pensée."

15. Bengé 1969, 2: 535.

16. De Kay 1889, 149; Pivar 1974, no. F7. Black-Nadeau 1971 dates it to 1839–1840.

17. Hôtel Drouot 1876, no. 691.

18. "Beaux-Arts. Musée Historique de Versailles (Ile article)," *L'Artiste*, ser. 1, 13 (1837), 340; Lami 1914–1921, 4: 255.

19. Nygren 1988b, 51.

20. EBA 1889, no. 559. Barye's heraldic decoration does not include the Nemours coat of arms. There is a direct family link to the painted portrait of Gaston de Foix attributed to Philippe de Champaigne (see note 7). It formerly belonged to Louis-Philippe's father, Philippe l'Egalité, and had been in the Beaujolais apartments of the Palais Royal (e.g. Louis-Philippe's beloved youngest brother's rooms) upon its confiscation during the Revolution, whence came its eventual entry into the collections at Versailles; see Dorival 1976, 2: no. 198.

21. George Lucas ordered a cast for Frank Frick in 1867, the location of which is unknown (Randall 1979, 2: 234). Beyond those listed in the text, casts from private collections were exhibited in EBA 1889: no. 89 (M. Binder); no. 193 (Bonnat; gilt bronze); no. 255 (M. X. . .); no. 374 (M. Lefuel); no. 433 (anonymous; gilt bronze); and no. 481 (M. de Hérédia).

22. Pivar 1974, no. F7. Hôtel Drouot 1876, no. 691.

23. Jane Van Nimmen's catalogue entry in Louisville 1971, 43, repro.

24. Some listed in Bengé 1969, 2: no. 205.

References

1994 NGA: 25, repro.

Python Swallowing a Doe

Model 1840; cast possibly 1876/1914

Bronze, 8.5 × 34.8 × 12.1 (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$)

Gift of Lisa and Leonard Baskin

Inscriptions

Incised, probably in the foundry model, on the plinth by the front left hoof of the doe: BARYE

Marks

Incised, probably in the foundry model, on the edge of the plinth: F.BARBEDIENNE FONDEUR.

Inset, on the plinth by the curve of the python's tail, a gold foundry cachet: F. B.

Incised on the underside: 43

Previous incision surmounted by stamped horizontal: 6

Technical Notes: This bronze is cast in about seven sections, indirectly from a wax and plaster model, by the sand-casting method, as evidenced particularly by the angular cut and residual burnt sand in the core cavity. The python, doe, and plinth are mostly hollow and cast integrally, with the deeply undercut and delicate projecting parts cast separately and brazed in place. The smaller projecting elements are solid-cast; the large neck and first coil of the python are hollow-cast. X-radiography shows traces of a core armature and tie-rods, and three screws to attach the section in place. A peened bronze extension, perhaps a flange, hides the join and minimizes variations in the patina by providing a ground of the same alloy rather than of a foreign brazing metal. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the surface alloy composition as being approximately 90% copper, 4.5% tin, 3.5% zinc, and less than 1% lead, with trace elements of silver and antimony. The inset cachet contains gold and silver. There are few areas of cold-work on the exposed areas beyond small repairs, light filing around joins to reduce evidence of assembly, and heavier filing on the doe's legs, especially the separately cast sections. The low and undercut areas bear some cold-work but are mostly left rough, with flashing apparent under the doe's forelegs. The patina was achieved by successively brushing the heated bronze with chem-

ical solutions that produced a uniform dark brown undercoat throughout the entire surface beneath a black, wiped to remain in incised or recessed areas for definition. The thin and patchy areas in the patina, as on the plinth inside the final loop of the python's tail, may result from poor adhesion or later deterioration of the patina's lower layer. The surface and underside both show evidence of light green corrosion, which appears to be superficial and inactive. Microscopic examination reveals cotton fibers trapped in a soft, dark-green compound of what may be oleates and stearates, suggesting that a natural animal fat may have been applied with cotton in a treatment before its acquisition by the National Gallery of Art.

Provenance: Art market, New York, mid-1960s; (F. Gorevic & Son, Inc., New York); sold 1965/1970 to Lisa and Leonard Baskin, Leeds, Massachusetts.

THIS MODEL APPEARS under its present title in De Kay's monograph of 1889.¹ Still the most commonly used title, it is drawn from an entry in Barye's sales catalogues dating after 1855 for a "Python serpent swallowing a doe" of the same dimensions.² The founder of the National Gallery cast, Barbedienne, later used that rendition in his 1893 Barye catalogue.³ The group has since been associated with a variant name, "Serpent Swallowing an Antelope," based on a listing in Barye's earliest catalogues for a model of identical size.⁴ It is not clear what type of antelope is intended in the latter case. None of Barye's models with Bovoidae, or horned ruminant animals, are known to represent the python-swallowing subject.

The National Gallery model is the smallest and least known of four variants, all small-scale works, that represent pythons attacking large wild animals. The others are the famous *Python and Gnu* (fig. 1), *Python Asphyxiating a Gazelle* (location of model unknown; serial variants), and *Python Encircling a Crocodile* (fig. 2).⁵ The python series has close ties with some of Barye's most important commissions of the 1830s. It immediately follows a snake subject that launched his career as a monumental sculptor, the group now in the Louvre called *Lion Crushing a Serpent*. As Bengé notes, the python variants differ from this lion group in representing the giant boid's tacit victory over a larger, different species, rather than that of the lion over a smaller species.⁶ The gnu



Fig. 1 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Python Killing a Gnu*, lost-wax bronze, c. 1834/1835, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 27.152

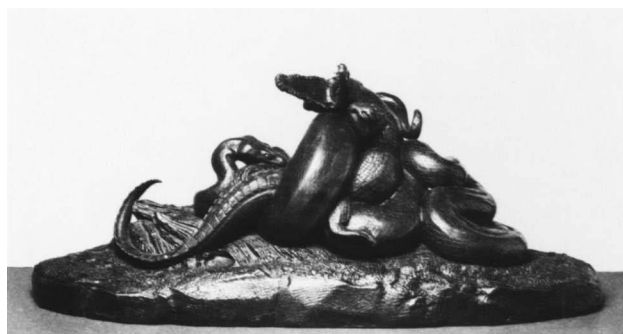


Fig. 2 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Python Crushing a Crocodile*, bronze, model c. 1840, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 27.153



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Python Swallowing a Doe*, 1995.75.5

group may initiate the python series, since the first known cast, Gonon's lost-wax bronze, was produced for the duc d'Orléans' celebrated *surtout*, begun in 1834 and completed in 1839.⁷ The other python subjects, which have always appeared together in Barye's sales catalogues, are standardly dated a year later, 1840, based on the date inscribed on other casts of the doe-swallowing model.⁸ Barye also produced two sculptural groups of pythons attacking humans that are usually dated to the 1840s as well: the serial bronze entitled *Abyssinian or African Horseman Attacked by a Python* and *Greek Rider Seized by a Python*, known through a single plaster (both Musée du Louvre, Paris).⁹ This body of material only begins to suggest Barye's extraordinary interest in the giant snake: He also executed paintings, watercolors, and drawings of pythons, alone and with prey.¹⁰

In broadest iconographic terms, this little-known corpus inhabits the realm of the romantic terrible sublime and scientific naturalism, Barye's acknowledged arena as a pioneer in sculpture. Like all his animal subjects, the python group rejects the human imagery of idealist sculpture to propose the modernity of a venerable alternative, sculpture that represents animal predation in the wild, a type that was prolific in antiquity and widely emulated in later sculpture and painting.¹¹ The specific interest in the snake—with its broad connotations of the supernatural, vitality (immortality, sex, and healing), and sin—has a rich lineage in all mediums, from biblical images of the Fall, to classicizing images of powerful or monstrous snake-women (Minoan priestesses, the Pythia, and Medusa), and of women fatally bitten by snakes (notably Cleopatra, Eurydice, and Auguste Clésinger's [1814–1883] *Woman Bitten by a Snake* of 1847; marble, Musée d'Orsay, Paris); celebrated tempresses are often depicted suggestively wrapped in them (Lilith and Salammô).¹² Among snakes, however, the boids (Boidae)—pythons and boas¹³—are special. They were considered the great scourges of land and sea, one of nature's most feared monsters in Mediterranean culture. Some ancient Greek authorities regarded pythons as the children of Gaia (Earth), underworld "dragons" that either possessed Gaia's special prophetic vision or guarded oracular sites.¹⁴ They were considered evil as well as powerful. For that reason one of Apollo's supreme heroic feats was to kill the famous python at Delphi, place it on his staff, and appropriate the oracle there as his own. Pythons were also viewed as agents of divine punishment. One such was sent, according to some accounts, to punish the Trojan priest Laocoön for unmasking the Greeks' giant gift horse as a trap.¹⁵ The gigantic size and compelling strength of these "supernatural" creatures has haunted the collective imagination for centuries. Since antiquity boids have been known to reach over thirty feet in length (some reported since Pliny to be up to 120 feet long), with girths documented at 37½ inches and weight estimated at more than 320 pounds.¹⁶ Classical texts offer several accounts of the python's formidable physical powers when under attack that were well known in the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Images of human struggle with these

darkly charged giants became benchmarks of cultural reform in the eighteenth century. The celebrated marble *Laocoön* (Musei Vaticani, Rome) was one of the most important, a paradigm of moral grandeur, the aesthetic role of horror, and the expressive limits in the arts.¹⁸ Denis Diderot applauded Nicolas Poussin's (1594–1665) *Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake* (National Gallery, London) as his exemplum of the horrible sublime.¹⁹ Several eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century works in this vein are currently known.²⁰ Bengé and Nygren link Barye's python groups to paintings in the sublime mode, from the turn of the eighteenth century, that represent boids assaulting mounted riders: James Ward's history painting *Liboya Serpent Seizing Its Prey* (c. 1803, present location unknown) and Henry Fuseli's (1741–1825) watercolor of about the same time (Kunsthau, Zurich).²¹ Fuseli's treatment is especially close to the National Gallery group since, as Bengé notes, the python appears to be swallowing the horse headfirst.²² Hugh Honour has presented enough other examples from these decades to suggest how powerful this motif was in the arts and literature into the nineteenth century.²³ It pervades English romantic poetry as a compelling example of the *beau horrible*. There, the snake often conflates the various mythological and Judeo-Christian readings of the serpent and the physical traits of the boid for wide-ranging symbolism: The boid's size and suffocating squeeze represent its victim's agonizing moral, emotional, or intellectual burden.²⁴ These interpretations resonate in other categories of literature of the period.

Barye's Maison Besse catalogue is particularly relevant in this respect. Typical of *animalier* criticism, the entries anthropomorphize the python groups into metaphoric moral battles: Barye's serpent is predictably cast as a villain.²⁵ Some nuances of that guise can be deduced from eyewitness accounts of python predation in travel books of the time. Dr. McLeod, author of a celebrated memoir of a scientific expedition in 1816–1817, remarked that the python he observed, like the biblical serpent, was sinister and implacable. It "fixed a deadly and malignant eye on the trembling victim"; however, "against the silent, sly, and insidious approach of a snake, there is no guarding, nor any escape when once entwined within his folds."²⁶ Evil's victory seemed horribly assured. McLeod implied that the prey's vulnerability before the python was the very sign of its virtue, triggering the observers' psychic identification with its suffering. After watching the captive python attack, kill, and swallow its proffered meal, a goat, he claimed: "It is difficult to behold, without the most painful sensation, the anxiety and trepidation of the harmless victim, or to observe the hideous writhing of the serpent around his prey, and not to imagine what our own case would be in the same helpless and dreadful situation."²⁷

The closest artistic counterpart to Barye's python groups with animal prey may be Ward's *Boa Serpent Seizing a Horse* shown at the Royal Academy in 1822 (location unknown).²⁸ However, Barye's general subject here broadly

links his python groups to his and Delacroix's many images of predation in the wild, such as Barye's own *Tiger Surprising an Antelope* (p. 15). A mark of his long association with scientific naturalism, Barye's subject matter here—eschewing Ward's familiar horse—seems closer to popular science and travelogues than to high art. Nygren claims that chronicles from as early as the seventeenth century treat encounters between reptiles and animals.²⁹ Accounts dating from Barye's own time, however, are especially close, showcasing the very prey that he represents. Mirroring the sculptor's sheer range from gnus to crocodiles, those texts highlight the occasional assaults by the largest boids upon large mammals (such as buffalo) and amphibians (specifically crocodiles and turtles), as compelling evidence of their indiscriminate appetite and extraordinary skills as predators. Barye's fallen gazelles and does, however, relate to a special group in these tracts. They are the darlings of natural-history writing for their agility, refined beauty, and impression of innocence and courageous vulnerability.³⁰ In the Maison Besse catalogue, Barye's renderings of gazelles and does as python prey are treated as positive moral lessons, palpable tributes to humanity that are affirmed by the viewer's reaction, compassion. The caption for the *Serpent and Gazelle* remarks of the subject: "Yet another charming inhabitant of the forests that will die under the venomous fang of a villainous serpent; what is worse is that the real world—for the weak sometimes find defenders there—is unlike our forests or those of the new world or the desert, [where] no animal will help the weakest against the strongest. . . . [T]he gazelles, deer, axes that Barye makes so shapely, delicate, with such gentle physiognomies . . . one feels pity for their plight, as if they were alive. . . ." ³¹

Judging by Barye's own titles, his four python groups without humans also provide a serial narrative. Together, they represent the various stages of the often-described process of python predation, beginning with the bite that secures this limbless predator's hold on its prey until the latter dies.³² The *Python Encircling a Crocodile* (fig. 2) suggests the first attack, before the prey is overcome and aligned with the python's trunk for the squeeze that cuts off breath and circulation.³³ The gnu and gazelle variants both represent the ensuing struggle, once felled and properly positioned, but before the fatal asphyxiation. The National Gallery variant embodies the infamous third stage of boid predation: the swallowing after the kill. That chosen moment alone emphasizes its affinities with contemporary scientific narratives. Many accounts dwell upon the method by which the serpent ingests its dead prey whole, without the aid of limbs or tearing off chunks, and gorges animals that are far bulkier and often bristling with potentially injurious anatomy (horns or razor-sharp scales, carapaces, or quills).³⁴ The boids' ability to swallow such animals riveted the nineteenth-century public as a spectacular "feat," as it does today, where it is a common photographic subject in popular-press snake books.³⁵ The time involved was also striking. McLeod claims the shipboard captive took two



Fig. 3 detail of 1995.75.5

hours and twenty minutes to swallow the goat. Whether catering to the public's love of the sensational or directing the views of the uninitiated, nineteenth-century menagerie guides emphasize these skills by describing the entire predatory cycle. Bennett's entry for the Tower Menagerie "Indian boa" is typical. Luridly paraphrasing McLeod's famous description, it relates the phase after asphyxiation: "[T]he serpent, after slowly disengaging his folds, placed his head opposite to that of his victim, coiled himself once more around it to compress it into the narrowest possible compass, and then gradually propelled it into his separated jaws and dilated throat; and finally [McLeod's narrative] presents a disgusting picture of the snake when his meal was at an end, with his loose and apparently dislocated jaws dropping [sic] with the superfluous mucus which had been pouring forth."³⁶

Compared to this account and to modern photographs, Barye's rendition seems aestheticized, tactful.³⁷ The snake is represented atop the tiny, wide-eyed doe with barely-opened jaws enveloping its muzzle (fig. 3). Barye chooses a pregnant moment immediately *before* the final "disgusting" phases of the process, when the snake unhinges its jaws and fully engulfs its kill, transmuting grotesquely into its prey's undulating skin. The viewer's imagination is free, even invited, to add its own fantasies to such a discreet example of horrible beauty.

This aestheticizing in Barye's model, however, is intimately interwoven with scientific fact. The bronze plausibly



Fig. 4 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Serpent Crushing an Antelope*, watercolor, c. 1840, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 37.835

represents both animals in their proportional relationship and in the snake's tapered sinuous body, flattened head, and pointed prehensile tail. Though lacking the signature colored patterns, Barye's sculptural example can be loosely associated with various types of what are now called Indian pythons (*Python molurus*),³⁸ thanks to the markings represented in Barye's watercolor of an identical subject and composition (fig. 4).³⁹ This similarity strengthens the link made by Nygren between Barye's python groups and the so-called "Pythons of Java," an Asian type acclaimed at the time as the largest and most famous for taking huge prey.⁴⁰ Like the broadest discussions of this serpent in scientific accounts of his time, Barye otherwise seems to universalize the boids through his choice of prey. Gazelles and gnus are mostly African; the doe is possibly American and even (implausibly) European.⁴¹ That juxtaposition is true in its essence. Modern scientific texts are full of reports of Indian, African, and Australian pythons preying upon Bovoidae in their native habitats.⁴²

It is not clear when Barye could have observed live specimens. Nygren claims the first arrived in 1836, loosely coinciding with the opening of a Reptile House at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris.⁴³ An official guide of the menagerie and Muséum of 1837, however, offers no discussion of live reptiles or their intended enclosure.⁴⁴ Barye's various anatomical studies of pythons, including one with proportional measurements,⁴⁵ are not necessarily drawn from live observation. As the 1837 handbook indicates, skins, skeletons, and even mounted specimens had been displayed in the Muséum since the 1820s.⁴⁶

Barye's images of python predation are most probably invented, in the spirit of the popular literature, rather than observed. Like today, captives in the early nineteenth century reportedly received a standard diet of smaller domestic animals (pigs, rodents, and fowl).⁴⁷ It is also unknown whether captives were fed during public hours, a form of menagerie theater like the shipboard episode described by McLeod.⁴⁸ Pythons, at any rate, feed infrequently. If not fasting, boids reportedly take smaller prey only every sev-



Fig. 5 detail of 1995.75.5

eral weeks—digesting, immobilized, for a month or more.⁴⁹ Such information suggests how narrow the narrative options are for python subjects from actual life. Unlike the mammals that roam, play, and quarrel with arresting variety (as in Barye's *Two Bears Wrestling*, p. 19), predation is one of the python's few observable activities; they are otherwise often motionless, their coiled piles obscuring visibility.⁵⁰

In expressive terms, the National Gallery bronze reveals Barye's power to suggest narrative through the body. Few other anatomical elements are provided in this subject. But for the haunting single eye of each (fig. 5), there is no facial expression. The doe's limp legs and ears are the sole gestural elements—the tiny-headed python has only its compelling trunk and tail. This group is thus unique. Barye's victims and predators are typically complex expressive vehicles that, as Nygren has argued, even apply facial expressive codes for humans to animals, a strategy that is evident in the struggling crocodiles, gnus, and gazelles of the other python groups.⁵¹

A mark of Barye's eloquent body language, his treatment of the doe-swallowing subject epitomizes what Nygren claims is visible in Barye's predatory feline subjects⁵²: the sexual charge of the predation image. Suggesting the snake's long association with the phallus,⁵³ the python's hefty "masculine" body sprawls over and beyond the delicate supine female, its coils slackly embrace its unresisting object, its kiss signals impending extinction, and—most subtle of all—the prehensile tail-tip gently encircles the doe's right rear hock.⁵⁴ The sense of languor disarms, leaving the viewer horribly startled when confronted with the cues for imminent annihilation. For De Kay, this sexualized swallowing makes this model the "acme of the horrible."⁵⁵ For Ballu, Barye's "bold invention" here is matched "by the supreme power of the result."⁵⁶ Ballu extols its play on obstructed viewing. The prey lies under a heap of coils, mostly invisible but without ambiguity: "a hideous drama; a marvel of art."

Barye's means of clarifying that concealed horror de-



Fig. 6 detail of 1995.75.5



Fig. 7 detail of 1995.75.5



Fig. 8 detail of 1995.75.5

plays the psychological power of successive beholding in three-dimensional form, even in small scale. Viewed from the side with Barye's signature, facing the doe's legs, the group merely suggests the inert victim's demise (fig. 6). When examined overhead as a tabletop work (fig. 7), the group hints at the precise narrative moment, seen in the smoothly merged heads. Any uncertainty dissolves when the heads are viewed up close, nearer to eye level and lengthwise (fig. 8).⁵⁷ The deliberateness of the strategy, to fully develop the narrative through multiple perspectives in the bronze, seems clearest when the sculpture is compared with the watercolor (fig. 4) and drawing, where all relevant details, sharply rendered for emphasis, appear simultaneously, thanks to the high viewpoint and tilted ground.

Stylistically, this model represents Barye's typical dramatic romantic realism, with unusually apparent aesthetic control. Serpentine grace dominates natural fact. There

are, as Bengé notes,⁵⁸ strong formal contrasts between the huge serpentine trunk and the doe's fragile angular limbs; the coils are spaced with clarity; contours and internal rhythms are lively at every perspective. Subject and material complement one another. The python's pulsating strength both carries in and emphasizes the molten energy of cast bronze. For De Kay, the serpent's lightly incised scales, its only surface detail, distinguishes this model as fine art, a high step up from the "species of harlequin art we find in the stores for modern bric-à-brac," that would result by rendering the colored patterns.⁵⁹ Even in the naturalistic "ground" of this variant, there are none of the raised textures that provide the descriptive detail and rich materiality in Barye's other models of these years.⁶⁰ This is primarily an arrangement of clean volumes, with a patina that emphasizes the subtlety of the tooling in the model. The result insists upon the work as a bronze artifact. The worn state of its foundry model may mute the original character of its detail, but this Barbedienne cast suggests respect for its source. Cold-work barely intervenes. That choice leaves casting flaws and brute matter in less exposed areas; sensitive filing enhances the nuanced planes of the doe's legs and ears, unlike the many sand casts of Barye's deer, whose delicate projections are schematized by coarser file work.

In art-historical terms, for all its dark drama, this model suggests the lyrical delicacy of small Renaissance objects, unlike the robust baroque energy of Barye's other python groups. Its sophisticated refinement particularly recalls the work of Bernard Palissy (1510–1588/1590), the Renaissance scientist-sculptor who was celebrated especially for his polychrome ceramics decorated with high-relief reptiles (especially snakes) and insects modeled from life, many of them oval platters whose format recalls this small bronze (fig. 9). Critics of the 1830s applauded Barye by likening him to Palissy, whose reputation in France was rehabilitated during those very decades, giving rise to a cadre of eminent followers throughout the century.⁶¹ This positive association

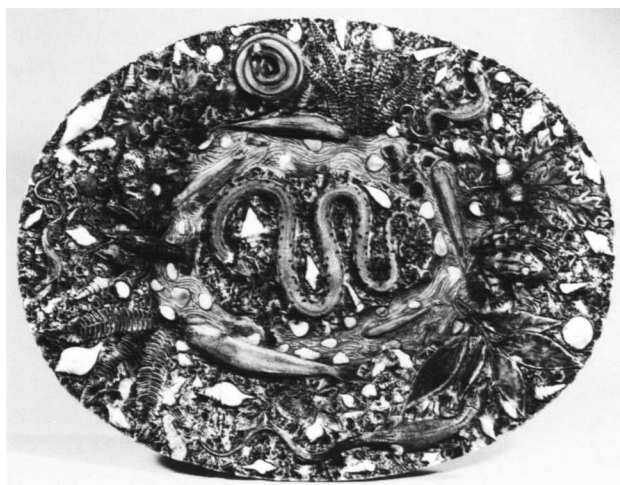


Fig. 9 Period of Bernard Palissy, *Platter*, lead-glazed earthenware, late 16th century, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 53.225.52

tacitly challenged the prejudice against the decorative arts that had plagued Barye's Salon career thus far, by celebrating genius and mastery of science and craft in both artists.⁶²

The National Gallery composition was apparently made available only as a serial bronze, along with the gazelle and crocodile variants. It may first have been edited in 1844, by Maison Besse,⁶³ though no extant casts have been associated with this enterprise. Like the other two python groups, the model is listed in all of Barye's sales catalogues in only one size, that of the National Gallery cast. The first phases of that commercial venture may be represented by two stamped casts that bear a variant ribbed architectonic plinth (no. "1," last recorded in a private collection⁶⁴; no. "2," WAG).

Information conflicts concerning Barbedienne's acquisition of the model, making efforts to date this cast especially problematic. It is certain that he owned the *modèle* that he had made earlier for Barye (Musée du Louvre, Paris) by 1889.⁶⁵ However, some scholars claim he bought it directly from the 1876 estate sale, though the Louvre's documentation identifies its buyer at that point as "Jacquemart" (probably the *animalier* and critic Henri Marie Alfred Jacquemart [1824–1896]).⁶⁶ The doe-swallowing group appears in Barbedienne's catalogues, possibly for the first time, in the Barye catalogue of 1893, the same year that Leblanc-Barbedienne reportedly began production under his own *cachet*, after taking over his famous uncle's foundry the year before.⁶⁷ Little is firmly established about the gold-seal Barbedienne series, despite repeated discussion.⁶⁸ Current speculation is that they date from the years immediately after Barye's death, when Barbedienne first acquired the *modèles*.⁶⁹ By that line of thinking, the National Gallery cast could date from the late 1880s, when Ferdinand Barbedienne lent the *modèle* of the python group to the Ecole Barye retrospective, and possibly as early as 1876—both options prior to the documented offering of the serial edition in 1893.⁷⁰ Zoubaloff's donation of the *modèle* to the Louvre in 1914 might constitute a cut-off date for the edition,⁷¹ if reproduction rights accompanied it. Less speculative, however, is the actual quality of these casts. By tradition they identify the highest-quality sand casts produced by the foundry in the late nineteenth century, especially given the relatively fresher condition of the working models in 1876. This view comes into question, however, when the bronzes themselves are compared. Even discounting the evident wear of the foundry models (true of many posthumous Barbedienne casts), "F. B." casts of the doe-swallowing model vary dramatically in technical quality, from mediocre (WAG) to very high (NGA). The latter, in fact, recalls the artist's sensitive earlier stamped sand casts such as no. "2" at the Walters.⁷²

No maquettes are known for this composition and Barye's model has not been traced. There are many largely unpublished drawings of specimens and compositional possibilities, both sketches and finished studies.⁷³ As mentioned earlier, a watercolor (fig. 9) and a contour drawing at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, represent the identical sub-

ject and composition. Barye apparently executed a painting of a closely similar subject: A painting entitled *Boa Encircling a Roe-Deer* (location unknown) was shown in his memorial retrospective in 1875.⁷⁴ Beyond the bronzes mentioned above, those in museum collections include: another cast with the gold F. B. *cachet* (BMA: The George A. Lucas Collection); a bronze marked "ALB" (YUAG); and one with no known marks at the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, once owned a cast. Bronzes of this model appear only rarely on the market, but are recorded in recent private collections.⁷⁵

SGL

Notes

1. De Kay 1889, fig. 49.
2. Barye Fossés-Saint-Victor, no. 121; cited in Ballu 1890, 172; Barye Quai des Célestins 10, nos. 148 and 145; cited in Ballu 1890, 177 and 181.
3. Barbedienne 1893, 7; cited in Pivar 1974, 280.
4. Barye 1847–1848, no. 56; cited in Ballu 1890, 162; Barye Saint-Anastase, no. 56, and Barye rue Chaptal, no. 56; both cited in Ballu 1890, 165 and 168. The problematic title, used in the earlier Maison Besse catalogue, will be discussed further in the text.
5. The last two titles, from Barye's catalogues, are often misleadingly translated as the python "crushing" its prey (Pivar 1974, nos. A197–198, repro.). The importance of the narrative distinction will be addressed further in the text.
6. Benge 1984, 98, rightly notes that Barye's snake subjects appear to have originated in his decorative projects of the 1820s for the Fannière Frères. Barye's plaque of an eagle and serpent, marked "F. F." but not dated (WAG; Benge 1969, 2: no. 119, fig. 40) closely mirrors the monumental lion and snake group. Benge 1984, 98, distinguishes between the symbolism of the early serpent reliefs, which treat snakes as emblems of "darkness and evil" vanquished by animals with positive, even divine association (the eagle, for example) and the monumental lion group, in which the snake embodies Hydra overcome by Leo (symbolizing the July Monarchy), along classic astrological principles.
7. The most comprehensive discussion of this project, with new documentary information, is Lemaistre 1993, 133–145.
8. Two bronzes of this subject, bearing Barye's numbered stamp, are incised "1840" in the model. For more details on the two, see the discussion of the serialization of the model further in the text.
9. Glenn Benge, "Python Crushing an African Horseman," in Los Angeles 1980, 134–135, repro. The model is listed in Barye 1847–1848, no. 74; cited in Ballu 1890, 161. Ballu 1890, 87, links it to the python group of about 1840 but believes, on formal and technical grounds, that it might date closer to 1837. Lami 1914–1921, 1: 76, dates it to 1840–1850, and further cites (p. 77) an *Aurochs Attacked by a Serpent* of about this date at the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, that may be the *Python and Gnu*.
10. Many are at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and the Baltimore Museum of Art; some remain on the market. For published examples, see Zieseniss 1954, nos. F1–11, pls. 29–30; Benge 1984, figs. 185, 189; Wildenstein 1994, nos. 123–143, repro., and Lemaistre and Tupinier Barrillon 1996. Two oil paintings on canvas (locations unknown) are listed in Barye's memorial exhibition catalogue: a *Lion Stopped by a Serpent Boa* (*ébauche*) and a *Boa Encircling a Roe-Deer* (EBA 1875, nos. 361 and 378). More on the latter further in the text.
11. See the entry for *Tiger Surprising an Antelope* (p. 14).
12. Pigler 1974, 2: 88; Janson 1985, 126–127, 150, figs. 130, 161; Dijkstra 1986, 305–314.
13. Pythons are the egg-laying type from the Old World and

Asia; the boas are their viviparous cousins mostly in the New World. These distinctions were widely but not consistently used in the nineteenth century. See, for example, further in the text, where what is now called an Indian rock python is termed an Indian boa.

14. Konrat Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, 24: 606–617, s.v. “Python”; and Lilly Kahil in LIMC 1981–, 7/1: 609–610, s.v. “Python.”

15. Erika Simon in LIMC 1981–, 6/1: 196–201, s.v. “Laokoon.”

16. See the caption for a photograph of a female reticulate python in Pope 1961, opp. p. 45.

17. For example, see Larousse 1866–1879, 13/1: 475, s.v. “Python,” for Daubenton’s version of Pliny’s account of one that attacked Regulus’ troops and was killed with great difficulty and many casualties.

18. The literature on the subject, centering on the debate between Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), is extensive. See, for example, Haskell and Penny 1981, 243–247, no. 52, repro.; Lindsay 1983, 146–150; Potts 1994, 136–144; and Hannoosh 1995, 7–8.

19. Goodman 1995, 242, pl. 29; Diderot mistakenly describes the victim in Poussin’s landscape as a woman.

20. However, these early works are rarer than the ubiquitous ones from the late nineteenth century, which change the subtle sexually charged death imagery to sexual dances between powerful equals, the python with either a man or woman. One such, the benchmark of British New Sculpture and widely considered at the time as the greatest modern sculpture executed in England, is Frederic Leighton’s (1830–1896) modern “Laocoön,” *Athlete Struggling with a Python* (1874–1877, bronze; Tate Gallery, on deposit at Leighton House, London; see Janson 1985, 240–242, fig. 289). Others represent, as mentioned earlier in the text, ancient seductresses with serpents in addition to such snake-women as Medusa; see Dijkstra 1986, 305–314.

21. Bengé 1984, 99, fig. 238; Nygren 1988a, 40n. 32. For Ward’s surviving studies for the *Libya Serpent* (private collection, England; and Yale Center for British Art, New Haven), see Honour 1989, figs. 43–44.

22. A largely unfamiliar image of the sublime, Fuseli’s horrific rendition of a snake swallowing its rearing prey may follow ancient accounts of such a fate that are probably apocryphal, as will become clear further in the text. Bengé 1984, 98–99, loosely associates Barye’s images of pythons attacking horsemen with Diodorus Siculus’ narrative of one python hunt on horseback that, despite casualties (including one man swallowed), yielded a live python for King Ptolemy II of Alexandria.

23. Honour 1989, 320n. 227. John McCoubrey brought this source to my attention.

24. Pedrini and Pedrini 1966, particularly 44–45. John McCoubrey brought this source to my attention. Honour 1989, 90–91, calls attention to various images that link these serpents with Africans, and proposes them as possible meditations upon Africans as “primeval Nature’s child” or as comments upon black slavery.

25. Maison Besse 1844, 6. The relevant passage is quoted below.

26. McLeod 1820, 306, 311. Some accounts offer a sympathetic view to offset such negativity. Bennett 1829, 236, counters his dark image of predation (openly drawn from McLeod) with a description of the python on view at the Tower Menagerie, as an “anxious” mother whose eggs failed to hatch despite solicitous care. Bennett’s narrative will be discussed further in the text.

27. McLeod 1820, 310–311.

28. Honour 1989, 91.

29. Nygren 1988a, 35.

30. Buffon 1859, 2: 132–152, 336–340. Contemporary sources discussing pythons preying on these species are Bennett 1829, 235, and Cuvier 1836, 406.

31. Maison Besse 1844, 6. The claim for the “venomous fang” of the python reflects a widespread erroneous view during this period that the boids were venomous. The conflated image of the venomous constrictive snake appears, in fact, in romantic poetry as an image of complex human passions. See Pedrini and Pedrini 1966, 43–44.

32. See especially McLeod 1820, 305–312, and Pope 1961, 90–95.

33. Recent scholars refute the traditional view that pythons deliberately break their prey’s bones as part of the kill; instead they claim that fractures occur during the struggle or as part of the python’s stretching the prey’s body to streamline it for easier swallowing. See Pope 1961, 92.

34. In addition to sources mentioned in note 30, see also Wright 1831, 288–289.

35. Pope 1961, 77. For photographic illustrations of boids swallowing their prey, see, for example, Pinney 1981, 128 (an anaconda swallowing a pig), and Stafford 1986, 27 (boids swallowing rabbits and birds).

36. Bennett 1829, 235–236.

37. This swallowing subject corresponds generically to Barye’s many images of feeding predators, most of which are similarly embellished. Only some show active feeding rather than the actual attack, the transporting of the victim, or the protecting of the kill. Using his own titles, examples include *Lion Devouring a Doe*, *Lion Devouring a Boar*, and the celebrated *Jaguar Devouring a Hare* (Pivar 1974, nos. A36, A51, and A82, repro.). Even those show the prey intact and no gore. Barye’s doe-swallowing subject finds rare echo in a variant recorded as by Charles Valton (1851–1918), allegedly a student of Barye and Fremiet: *Python of Seba Swallowing a Rabbit*, a plaster (location unknown) in the Salon of 1876 (Lami 1914–1921, 4: 339).

38. Pope 1961, opp. p. 12, representing Sylvia, a captive Indian python from northeast Burma. See also Stafford 1986, 44–52, with color plates representing other species, including the reticulate python found in the same regions; two species of *Python molurus* are illustrated on pp. 48–49, 51–52.

39. Zieseniss 1954, no. F9, pl. 30 (entitled *Serpent étouffant une antilope*) which he links to this sculptural model.

40. Nygren 1988a, 35. Period texts give various scientific names for the “Javanese” python, even a local name, Ular-Sawa. See Cuvier 1836, 1: 408.

41. One of Barye’s lost paintings mentioned earlier is said to represent the New-World boa and the Old-World roe-deer (*chevreuil*).

42. Pope 1961, 80–84.

43. Nygren 1988a, 35, 40n. 31.

44. Rousseau 1837, 3–81. Unfortunately, the *registres d’entrée* for the menagerie appear to be of no assistance here, as they reportedly document only mammals and birds. My thanks to Pascale Heurtel, conservateur des manuscrits at the Bibliothèque Centrale du Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle, who investigated the issue on behalf of this project. See her letter dated 23 July 1996 to the author (in NGA curatorial files).

45. Bengé 1984, fig. 189; Wildenstein 1994, no. 142, repro.; and various unpublished sketches at the Walters Art Gallery, notably 37.2125a–b (sketch of a snake’s head with measurements); 37.2170 (measured sketches of a snake); and 37.2188 (snake’s skin).

46. Rousseau 1837, 264, 285.

47. Bennett 1829, 238; Pope 1961, 83–88.

48. As possible negative evidence, McLeod 1820, 310, claims that most who witnessed the first feeding aboard the ship chose to avoid subsequent ones, given the horror of the spectacle.

49. McLeod 1820, 309, claims the python took a second goat within three weeks. Bennett 1829, 237–238, reports the Tower Menagerie anaconda (a boa) usually fed on a fowl or rabbit every five to six weeks. Pope 1961, 85, claims one specimen was amply nourished by fourteen and one-half-pound meals once every thirty-five days. He also cites examples of pythons fasting from one to four years even if kept warm: Cold temperatures induce hibernation in some (pp. 88–89).

50. This observation suggests that Barye’s various watercolors of boids resting on tree branches might be from life (Zieseniss 1954, pls. 29–30, F1–4, 7).

51. Nygren 1988a, 37. See also the entry for *Tiger Surprising an Antelope* (p. 14).

52. Nygren 1988a, 32, 36.

53. Newton Bigelow and G. Monroe White in Pedrini and Pedrini 1966, unpaginated foreword.

54. The boid's powerful tail-tip can be used to capture and hold prey. See, for instance, the previously mentioned photo of the anaconda swallowing a pig in Pinney 1981, 128, in which the tip firmly secures the hind quarters of its prey as the mouth engulfs its front half.

55. De Kay 1889, 65.

56. Ballu 1890, 120.

57. The latter perspective was selected for the Havemeyers' cast of this model when placed on the high dining-room mantelpiece shelf, where it limits the story to the revealed horror. See Vincent 1993, 70, 73, fig. 6 (the doe-swallowing group is second from the left).

58. Bengé 1984, 143.

59. De Kay 1889, 65. All Barye's bronze snake groups are treated in this manner.

60. For example, his previously mentioned *Two Bears Wrestling* (p. 19). For a new interpretation of the detail and materiality in works of that decade, see Einecke 1994, 233–242.

61. "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1837," *L'Artiste* 13 (1837), 50; Burty 1886; Katz and Lehr 1996.

62. The anonymous review subtly addresses the climactic rejection that very year, of various of Barye's groups for the duc d'Orléans' *surtout*. See particularly Isabelle Lemaistre, "La Chasse à l'élan," in Grand Palais 1991, 325.

63. Maison Besse 1844, 5–6, lists all three titles but provides a problematic description of the *Serpent and Antelope*. According to the catalogue, the group represents one of the "combats" that at least might be "more equal . . . with an animal that can at least defend itself against its assailant; yet, as usual, the victory will be for the serpent." The Louvre links this description to *Python Swallowing a Doe* only tentatively (Documentation du département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre [Dossier Barye-Serpent python avalant une biche]). The text might refer instead to the *Python and Gnu*, which is described in the duc d'Orléans' account book by a similar title to that of Maison Besse (*Un serpent python étouffant de ses replis un [sic] antilope*; listed by Lemaistre in her catalogue entry in Grand Palais 1991, 327). Iconographically and formally, the gnu group reflects the caption in the Maison Besse catalogue more closely than the doe-swallowing variant (the gnu or wildebeest is a type of antelope). The model is otherwise not known to have been offered as a serial piece before the late nineteenth century.

64. Kashey and Rohowsky 1977, no. 13.

65. It is listed among the *modèles* lent by Barbedienne to the Barye retrospective of 1889 at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (EBA 1889, no. 66).

66. Documentation du département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre (Dossier Barye-Serpent python avalant une biche). My thanks to Isabelle Lemaistre for this information. Poletti and Richarme 1992, no. 9, identifies Barbedienne as the buyer in 1876.

67. See the entry for David d'Angers' *Thomas Jefferson* (p. 214). According to Bengé 1975, 102, Leblanc-Barbedienne published a catalogue of casts of Barye's work that seems restricted to mechanical reproductions. Reinis 1985, 222, claims the Barye bronzes with the Leblanc-Barbedienne mark were lost-wax casts. It is not clear how the Barbedienne casts of Barye models beginning in 1893 are marked, if not with the Leblanc-Barbedienne seals.

68. Reinis 1973; Lewis 1977, 3n. 4; Reinis 1985, 221–222.

69. Reinis 1985, 222; Poletti and Richarme 1992, 66. Initial curatorial views (in NGA curatorial files) date the cast to c. 1860–1875/1883, based on the evolving conclusions of Robert Kashey of Shepherd Gallery, New York, in consultation with other specialists, published in Lewis 1977, 3n. 4. Kashey (personal communication) still believes the "F. B." was applied purely to small-scale Barye casts, and that the variant "Collection F. Barbedienne/Paris" was applied mainly to larger-scale compositions, such as the Barye *War and Peace*, which measure around 39 inches in height (Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, Florida); for a photo of the *cachet*, see Lewis

1977, 5, repro. A very preliminary tally of Barye casts with the *cachet* largely supports that view.

70. Robert Kashey (personal communication) even proposes that Barbedienne might have secured the plaster working model (or had one cast from it) and reproduction rights from Jacquemart, if indeed the latter bought it in 1876. Kashey feels all "F. B." seals date from the years immediately following Barye's death; Reinis, instead, leaves the question open as to when the seals were no longer used.

71. Documentation du département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre (Dossier Barye-Serpent python avalant une biche).

72. This author largely agrees with the comparative analysis of the Barbedienne and stamped casts at the Walters Art Gallery in Bengé 1969, 2: nos. 147–147a. The underside of the Walters' Barbedienne cast is marked with an incised 45 surmounted, as in the National Gallery cast, by a horizontal, stamped 6. Given Joseph Reinis' speculation (1973 and 1985, 222) that such marks identify the artisans who worked on the cast, the shared number might suggest that artisan "no. 6" worked on both. The many technical differences between the two casts, however—from the Walters' extraordinarily thin shell that requires spanners on the underside, to its elaborate but schematic cold-work and reddish patina—seem to argue against a common hand.

73. Zieseniss 1954, nos. F1–F10, pls. 29–30; Bengé 1984, 143, fig. 189; Wildenstein 1994, 131, III, no. 142, repro. A drawing entitled *Python Crushing an Antelope* relates more closely to the doe-swallowing variant in its encoiled inert prey, than to the struggling gazelle version, as claimed in Wildenstein 1994, no. 142.

74. EBA 1875, no. 378.

75. See, for instance, Poletti and Richarme 1992, no. 9, repro. Though no marks are listed, it is alleged to be an early twentieth-century Barbedienne cast.

1986.61.1

Juno with Her Peacock

Model c. 1840; cast after 1855

Bronze, 28 × 38 × 15.1 (11 × 14¹/₁₆ × 5¹/₁₆)

Gift of The Brown Foundation, Inc., Houston

Inscriptions

Incised into the model on left front of base (enhanced after casting): BARYE

Technical Notes: The bronze is hollow-cast, indirectly from the original wax and plaster model, by the sand-cast method: The interior surface bears the fine-grained texture of the sand core that remains, as residue, in the peacock's neck and recesses of the base rim. The approximately eleven sections of Juno are assembled by pinning and brazing, and then joined to the base with three copper-alloy screws in the left foot and underside of the seat. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the average composition of the alloy to be relatively consistent: approximately 91% copper, 4% zinc, 4% tin, and less than 1% lead, with trace levels of iron and arsenic. The base and peacock show only minimal cold-work to remove most casting flaws and to sharpen the cast-through signature: The raised edge was reduced around the enhanced inscription, yet a small hole remains behind the peacock head. The figure is instead highly finished with cast-through tooling from the model and extensive cold-work. Fine-gauged tooling is evident throughout: The front bears parallel tooling with rasps or files, and the rear is worked with abrasives in circular patterns. Traces of assembly and repair are visible, however. Rounded pits, made with a punchlike tool



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Juno with Her Peacock*, 1986.61.1

to remove flaws along the joins, remain on the front center of the torso and armpits, and fail to hold the patina. The pinned sleeve joins of both upper arms are visible. The patina was achieved by evenly brushing the heated bronze with a chemical solution that produced a uniform bright antique green, now abraded. The bronze has undergone alterations, damage, and restorations. The seat bears two holes from a prior mount or pedestal base. The pin of the right upper arm is lifted and the join below it is open, possibly from a fall. Repairs to the damaged raised wing and left torso of the peacock differ considerably in appearance from the surrounding areas: The repairs are rough, undetailed, and grayish-purple. Black and dark red spots on the peacock's tail and comb, simulating the "eyes" on the peacock tail, are wax or wax-resin restorations to cover the powdery uneven patina underneath, perhaps destabilized by the application of heat during repair. Ultraviolet light reveals the presence of natural resin varnish in irregular spots throughout the base. The break in the bent staff, just below the hand, may have been repaired after acquisition by the National Gallery of Art, though there is no record of past treatment in conservation department files.

Provenance: Private collection, Geneva; (art dealer, Geneva); sold by 1986 to (Pegasus Fine Arts, New York).¹

IDENTIFIED BY the commanding gesture, traditional peacock, and diadem scepter of *Juno Regina*,² this bronze is one of three serial statuettes created by Barye as spin-offs of a *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus* encircling the base of his "candelabra with nine branches, decorated with figures, masks, and chimera" (fig. 1).³ The figures are commonly dated 1840 based on the catalogue for Barye's memorial exhibition of 1875, which claims that the prototype for the candelabra—a matched pair to flank a mantelpiece clock surmounted by Barye's *Roger Abducting Angelica*—was allegedly commis-



Fig. 1 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Pair of Candelabra*, bronze, model 1840, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 10.108.1 a, b

sioned that year by one of Louis-Philippe's younger sons, the duc de Montpensier.⁴ Ballu maintains that the garniture was completed in 1846,⁵ however the reliability of the information is as yet unclear, as the existence of the royal garniture has not been proven to date.⁶ Serial casts of the abduction group, *Graces*, and candelabra were announced in 1847.⁷ Barye apparently offered a separate *Juno* for the first time around 1855,⁸ which differs from its counterpart on the candelabra in the scale and position of the peacock. The bird in the statuette is less massive than that on the candelabra,⁹ and its more active, three-dimensional disposition at *Juno*'s seat—with a raised wing, elaborate tail forward, and head to the rear—replaces its original frontal stance. Nonetheless, *Juno*'s downward gaze, an orientation that limits study of a statuette at table height, may in fact retain the conception for the supposed site of the prototype, a high mantelpiece.

Benge has noted that "[w]ith these candelabra, the female nude enters Barye's oeuvre as a significant new theme, a late complement to the heroic male nudes Barye had created toward 1820."¹⁰ That importance extends to the nude *Angelica* in the central equestrian group. However, unlike its male counterpart, the female nude never became a major subject in Barye's work at any point; what few additional examples are known seem to have remained isolated phenomena or mere sketches.¹¹ Nonetheless, Barye's *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus* for the candelabra were hailed in the artist's lifetime as "undoubtedly among the most exquisite of our own time," treated with a precision and variety that permit instant recognition of the subject: "The face of *Juno* breathes pride and everyone recognizes the queen of Olympus."¹²

Given the prominence of the female nude in the candelabra, Benge proposes the overall program of the object to be a celebration of ideal beauty.¹³ As exemplified by the National Gallery *Juno*, the statuettes emphasize these concerns in rendering the nude figures fully in the round. The identity of these goddesses, furthermore, suggests that they may represent a particular myth concerning ideal beauty. *Juno*'s juxtaposition with *Minerva* and *Venus*, in the context of the Three Graces at the top of the candelabra, invokes her role in the *Judgment of Paris*, a celebrated beauty contest. There, she competes against precisely these other two goddesses for the status of most beautiful divine woman, with the Trojan shepherd-prince Paris as their judge and the Golden Apple as the prize.¹⁴

Barye's *Juno* has no close antecedent among its classical counterparts. Benge has suggested it strongly reflects, in reverse, the upper part of the *Venus of Arles*, which Barye copied in a contour drawing (Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris): The stylized face and linear hair treatment of *Venus* can be seen in both Barye's *Juno* and *Minerva*, and the downward gaze and frontality have affinities with *Juno*.¹⁵

Seen in isolation, the sedate grandeur and repose of this figure seems coolly Winckelmannian in mood. As an ensemble, however, the figures create an undulating mannerist

rhythm throughout and emphasize the stylistic eclecticism of the extended garniture group, a formal complexity that demonstrates Barye's creative flexibility and mastery of various forms of iconographic and stylistic historicism.

Several authors note these figures' special debt to the mannerist nude: Lemaistre considers *Juno* an inverse image of Giambologna's *Architecture*.¹⁶ Bengé, Schifanelli, and Lemaistre see these goddesses as having the attenuated proportions of mannerist figures.¹⁷ However, their thick legs and overall voluptuousness, which Ballu likens to figures by Rubens,¹⁸ broadly recall classical canons and anticipate the ponderous, curvaceous nudes of Aristide Maillol (1861–1944). Barye's *Juno* and *Minerva* closely relate to his own *Theseus Slaying the Minotaur*,¹⁹ generally dated to the 1840s, with its stocky proportions; broad, slightly snub features; and archaic, linear treatment of hair—unlike the Early Classical Greek corkscrew curls of some of his later classical males such as *Theseus Slaying the Centaur Bienor* of 1850.²⁰ Barye's goddesses appealed to a mid-century idealist aesthetic. Paul Mantz praises the figures for the “elegance of their lines, power of the structure and . . . the mysterious [*je ne sais quelle*] bloom of the epidermis. . . .”²¹

Bengé notes a sheet with two profile studies of a peacock as relating to this composition.²² However, no maquettes are documented for this statuette: It is known only as a serial, sand-cast bronze. Suggesting its kinship to the mantelpiece program, Barye's sales catalogues normally present the variants of the abduction centerpiece and candelabra together as a unit. Among them, in 1855, was a variant decorative object that presented the three goddesses together, as in the candelabra: *Three Seated Women, Venus, Minerva, and Juno, who Support a Vase*, at the same scale as the initial figurine, 20 by 9 centimeters.²³ Examples of that variant are as yet unknown. The individual statuettes were originally offered in two sizes: a series at the same scale as those in the goddess bowl, 20 by 9 centimeters, at ten francs less than the 33-centimeter size.²⁴ No casts of the 20-centimeter size are currently known. Maison Brame offered a 28-centimeter variant, which remains untraced.²⁵ *Juno* is not known to have been serialized by Barbedienne, who edited *Minerva*.²⁶ The composition was nonetheless popular well after Barye's death: Multiple casts were in the two Barye exhibitions of 1889 on both sides of the Atlantic.²⁷ Many, with differing surface treatments, entered public collections from such private sources: gilt bronze (WAG); two casts, one of them gilt bronze (BMA: The George A. Lucas Collection); CGA; BrMA; and from Tiffany & Co. (YUAG).²⁸ Similar casts are known to be in modern private collections.²⁹ Though such casts occasionally appear at auction, they are not currently common on the market.³⁰

SGL

Notes

1. Letter to the author dated 14 November 1990 from the late Joseph J. Wade, Pegasus Fine Arts (in NGA curatorial files). The dealer in Geneva had the sculpture on consignment.

2. Pauly-Wissowa, 19: 1119, s.v. “Juno, [section] 9 (Juno Regina);”

and Eugenio La Rocca in LIMC 1981–, 5: 814–856, s.v. “Juno.” Bengé (1984, 152) suggests Juno is dictating “events on earth” or “driving away the peacock.” On the original candelabra, she may command the winds, personified, as on antique sarcophagi, by the bearded masks on the base. See, for instance, the “Juno” firedog by Michel Anguier (1612–1686) and Alessandro Algardi (1602–1654) (Mann 1981, no. S162, pl. 44).

3. Barye 1847–1848, no. 105; cited in Ballu 1890, 163.

4. EBA 1875, no. 296. Glenn Bengé, “Roger Abducting Angelica,” in Los Angeles 1980, 136–137, repro. Bengé 1984, 150; Lynch 1988, 45–47. As Isabelle Lemaistre observes (personal communication), the models certainly existed and were slated for serialization by 1844, when casts were announced as forthcoming in the Maison Besse catalogue (Maison Besse 1844, 9).

5. Ballu 1890, 79. Lemaistre supports the date of 1846 from another vantage point: Montpensier's marriage to the Spanish *infanta* that year as justification for this undocumented royal commission (Lemaistre's catalogue entry in Grand Palais 1991, 447).

6. Though scholars tacitly accept the Montpensier commission as fact by using it to date the various serial bronzes, no extant work by Barye has been identified with the project. Planche (1851, 69, 72) is the earliest source on Montpensier's patronage, but he neither actually states that the clock and candelabra were for the same project, nor offers anything in his text to support Ballu's later contention (1890, 79) that Planche had witnessed their actual execution.

7. Barye 1847–1848, nos. 64 (Three Graces) and 78 (*Angelica and Roger Mounted on the Hippogriff*); cited in Ballu 1890, 163.

8. Barye Quai des Célestins 10, 1855, nos. 16 and, in a later series in the catalogue, as no. 15; both cited in Ballu 1890, 174. The two will be discussed later in the text.

9. Bengé 1984, 152.

10. Glenn Bengé, “Pair of Nine-Light Candelabra,” in Los Angeles 1980, 138.

11. Pivar 1974, nos. F40–42, repro.

12. Planche 1851, 72.

13. Bengé in Los Angeles 1980, 138 (see note 10).

14. LaRocca in LIMC 1981–, 4: 709–712, s.v. “Hera”; Pigler 1974, 2: 204–212, s.v. “Urteil des Paris.”

15. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (R. F. 8480, fol. 31r); Bengé 1984, 151–152.

16. Lemaistre in Grand Palais 1991, 448 (see note 5).

17. Bengé 1969, 2: 553; Schifanelli 1988, 58, and Lemaistre in Grand Palais 1991, 448 (see note 5).

18. Ballu 1890, 82.

19. Glenn Bengé, “Theseus Combatting the Minotaur,” in Los Angeles 1980, 135, repro.

20. Bengé 1984, fig. 30.

21. Mantz 1867, 117.

22. WAG (37.2234B); Bengé 1984, 153.

23. Barye Fossés-Saint-Victor, no. 12; cited in Ballu 1890, 170.

24. The two sizes are offered in separate categories, with new numeration, in the same catalogue, possibly suggesting that Ballu merged the two Quai des Célestins catalogues with different dates (c. 1855 and c. 1865) and different addresses (10 and 4, respectively).

25. Maison Brame 1886, no. 8.

26. Barbedienne 1893, 2; cited in Pivar 1974, 278.

27. Barye 1889, nos. 127 (CGA) and 315 (James F. Sutton); and EBA 1889, nos. 140 (Lucas), 426 and 525 (Montaignac, the second a *modèle*).

28. Bengé 1969, 2: 554–555.

29. Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, Herbert L. Kleinfield, and Jeanne K. Wetcher, *The Diaries of S. P. Avery, Art Dealer* (New York, 1979), fig. 36 (private collection, Claremont, California).

30. For example, *Works of Art*, Parke-Bernet, New York, 2 April 1969, no. 187.

References

1994 NGA: 26, repro.

1980.44.1 (A-1830)

Charles VII the Victorious on Horseback

Model c. 1844; cast 1860/1909

Brass, 29.2 × 27.3 × 10.8 (11½ × 10¾ × 4¼)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised into the model on the left center edge of the base and probably enhanced after casting: BARYE

Followed by (faint): 1860

Marks

On the underside of the bronze base, in ink: G.A. Lucas/21 Rue de l'arc de . . . phe

In white paint: LUCAS

Technical Notes: The bronze was hollow-cast, indirectly from an original wax and plaster model, by the sand-cast method: Burnt sand from the core sifts through an open seam between the rider's left leg and the saddle. The interior was closed to direct examination above the base, but X-radiography reveals that the horse was cast integrally and the smaller elements, including the rider, were cast in about twenty pieces that were assembled by brazing, with the integrated unit then attached to the base by brazing and screws into the horse's hooves. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the alloy to be a brass, with an average composition of around 92% copper, 3 to 4% zinc, and 2% tin. The lead content varies markedly throughout the group: from under 1% in the horse's tail, to 1.9% in its neck, to 2.4% in the rider's left arm. The absence of impurities in the alloy suggests refining of the copper, which is consistent with known late nineteenth-century metallurgical techniques. Surfaces have been extensively cold-worked to remove evidence of manufacture. Nonetheless, there are faint cast-through seams and casting flaws: a shrinkage crack inside the horse's left foreleg; a small pinhole on the rider's back at the waist; a visible core pin at the top of the horse's neck; and plugged holes at the corners of the base. The patina was achieved by successively brushing the heated bronze with chemical solutions that produced a green undercoat, wiped to remain only in the recesses for definition, beneath a translucent brown with black highlights throughout the entire surface. The surface has been waxed in the past. The cast is structurally intact, though some delicate projecting elements are bent: the tip of a laurel leaf in the crowning garland at left and one spur. Abrasion has almost completely removed the patina on the upper surfaces of the horse and the top of the rider's right shoulder. White paint, perhaps from earlier installations, is spattered around the base and rider. The marble base appears to have been added since its sale at auction in 1971.¹

Provenance: (George A. Lucas, Paris, 1874–1909).² (Bernard Black Gallery, New York, until 1969); Bernard Black and Hugues-W. Nadeau, New York and Europe;³ (their sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 3 December 1971, no. 48); purchased by (Lock Galleries, New York) for Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.⁴

Exhibited: Possibly EBA 1889, no. 136.⁵

THE TITLE FOR this bronze is Barye's own for an equestrian statuette of these dimensions in his sales catalogue of about 1855; he introduced the group simply as "King Charles VII (equestrian statue)" in prior catalogues of 1844 and 1847–1848.⁶

Charles VII (1403–1461) is best known as the Valois who owed his crown as king of France and the restitution of his domain, held by England, to Joan of Arc, whom he then "abandoned" to her fate as a condemned heretic in enemy hands. His characterization in historical sources has careened wildly over the centuries. The most negative, dating shortly after his death, presents a phobic medieval Nero who dallied with his mistress Agnès Sorel and the arts, while his subjects fought his wars. At the other pole is a laudatory picture of Charles in some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources, as the Valois who alone created the "new" monarchy of the ancien régime by consolidating the power of the crown over a restored France through canny statecraft.⁷

During Barye's time, official sources presented a hybrid view. The catalogue of the new Galeries Historiques at Versailles, inaugurated in 1837, claimed Charles VII deserved the titles conferred by history, "victorious" and "restorer of France," merely because it was impossible for him not to have played a principal role in the "great events of his reign." However, the text urged the viewer to judge him "severely" for being passive, indolent, and better suited for a luxurious private life than for military or state affairs.⁸

This particular statuette has been identified with Barye's advertised equestrian of Charles VII at least since the sculptor's death.⁹ The model existed by 1836, the date inscribed on a lost-wax gilt-bronze cast by Honoré Gonon (fig. 1).¹⁰ However it may have been conceived earlier. Its alternate title in the early literature, *Fifteenth-Century Knight*,¹¹ links it to an otherwise unlocated work by that name which Barye showed in the Salon of 1833. Bengé believes there is no proof



Fig. 1 Antoine-Louis Barye, cast by Honoré Gonon, *Charles VII, Le Victorieux*, bronze, 1836, Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 7213, anc. 1022



Antoine-Louis Barye, *Charles VII the Victorious on Horseback*, 1980.44.1

to support this claim,¹² but new evidence makes it plausible. A print of the 1833 entry, published recently by Martin Sonabend, illustrates a similar armored figure in reverse, with the far simpler horse's trappings the most evident difference between them.¹³ Indeed, the iconography of the *Charles VII* is remarkably generic, especially compared with Barye's other portrait equestrians. The elaborate baton in the right hand is merely an emblem of military command. Unlike his *Gaston de Foix* (p. 32), Barye's *Charles VII* includes no heraldic decoration. Only one version displays standard French royal attributes: The Bordeaux lost-wax bronze bears incised fleur-de-lys on the bard and reins, cast-through from the model, which do not appear in the sand casts. The incised decoration could have been added to transform an otherwise "knightly" guise. The Bordeaux cast also never had the one attribute that might identify this figure as Charles VII, the laurel wreath of victory.¹⁴ The wreath could suggest Charles' epithet since his death, "the victorious,"¹⁵ but it is a common victor's emblem, as on François Lemot's earlier monumental equestrian of Henri IV (1818, Pont Neuf, Paris).¹⁶

Benge proposes that Barye conceived this group from the outset as a symbolic representation of Charles. He speculates that the disproportionately tall rider vis-à-vis his mount is intended to suggest the fourteen-year-old Dauphin riding a pony.¹⁷ Such an attractive prospect nonetheless must be gauged against another of Barye's contemporary serial works. *Charles VI Surprised in the Forest of Le Mans*, in which the rider is considerably larger than his horse, represents an episode known during the nineteenth century to have occurred when Charles (born 1368) was twenty-four years of age (1392).¹⁸

Barye's equestrian does combine fantasy and historical accuracy. If indeed it represents Charles VII, it only broadly reflects even the most idealized images of the medieval king available at the time, such as the bust from his partially destroyed tomb at Saint-Denis (Musée du Louvre, Paris), represented intact in the Gaignières Collection manuscripts (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).¹⁹ Rather than the sleek page-boy coiffure in Barye's group (which recalls images of the later Charles VIII and Louis XII), the hair in these earlier portraits is curly, when not cropped and tonsured. Barye's equestrian does not resemble the homely large-nosed king in period sources.²⁰ Barye's rendition instead comes closer, in figurative and facial handling, to the almost androgynous youthful type for Charles VII established in such earlier Troubadour paintings as Fleury Richard's (1777–1852) *Charles VII Writing His Farewell to Agnès Sorel* (1802, copy at Musée Napoléon, Arenenberg).²¹ The armor and bard, on the other hand, are relatively authentic to the alleged century, if not to Charles' own time. The field armor suggests North Italian types from the third quarter of the fifteenth century and the horse's studded and tasseled bard, a generic decoration, was in use from the end of the fourteenth century.²²

Historicism aside, this "portrait" equestrian statuette epitomizes Barye's full series of the male type (pp. 29 and 32, and the later *Duc d'Orléans*) in its iconic formality. As such,

it differs fundamentally from the nineteenth-century examples that it superficially resembles, such informal serial equestrians as Gustaf Bläser's (1813–1874) *Empress Alexandra Feodorovna on Horseback* of 1822.²³ Instead, it invokes a Western tradition of iconic state portraiture in small-scale three-dimensional form that dates to classical antiquity. Many are reduced variants of celebrated public monuments, but others depart enough from such large-scale versions to become independent works for private collections.²⁴ Most, like the Baryes, celebrate the military prowess of the sitter, whether a ruler or not. Barye's versions incorporate the most formal traditions of this symbolic type. When not *à l'antique* (François Girardon's [1628–1715] *Louis XIV*),²⁵ these groups generally represent their subject in contemporary formal military garb or armor, displaying the sitter's mastery of a spirited horse (a time-honored symbol of governance of troops or subjects) and of the formal maneuvers of dressage (a noble, if not royal, imperative).²⁶ Rather than the dashing *corvette* (the controlled rearing maneuver) favored in painting (and rarer in monumental sculpture because of the technical problems created by gravity), Barye's equestrians draw upon the prevailing prototype for sculpture in which the rider and horse execute the stately *piaffe*, or trot in place. Regretted by Barye's champions as lacking the "charm of action," such statuettes were to convey a *gravitas* suitable for the warrior-ruler.²⁷

As Blanc observed in 1876, Barye was typical of his period for working with medieval themes.²⁸ The precious historicism in this small-scale work forms part of the broad anti-classical movement throughout Europe since the eighteenth century to celebrate national history in works bearing period accessories. Its benchmarks in earlier nineteenth-century French sculpture are David d'Angers' *Grand Condé* (1817, marble destroyed, sketch serialized in bronze; surviving plaster, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers) and François-Joseph Bosio's iconic *Henri IV as a Child* (1822–1824, Musée du Louvre, Paris).²⁹ The "fairy-tale quality of elegant delicacy" that Benge ascribes to this equestrian generally relates it not only to Troubadour painting, but to contemporary neo-medieval sculpture: Félicie de Fauveau's (1799–1886) lost *Monument to Dante* is one of the most elaborate in this mode.³⁰ Their shared concern for small-scale, slender, pliant figures, and rich detail, however, extends to contemporary subjects as well. A good example is the small-scale portraiture of living personalities by Jean-Auguste Barre (1811–1896), as in the statuette of the dancer Fanny Elssler.³¹ Barye's descriptive surfaces suggest his earlier career as a goldsmith and relate to his more current concern in animal sculpture for natural truth and rich surfaces. The fastidiousness of that detail is offset by the fluid mane and tail, and the open silhouette of the prancing horse, whose anatomy has the vitality of many of his pure animal groups. The credible flexibility of the fully armored, immobile rider signals the mastery of the human figure that characterizes Barye's work throughout his career.

The chronology of the project suggests Barye's aware-

ness of the much-heralded transformation of Versailles from a royal palace to an immense national museum illustrating French history through old and new art.³² Barye's portrayal of a militant Charles VII—unlike the amorous Charles of earlier Troubadour painting and his negative historical assessment as king and soldier—reflects the more heroic slant of Charles' representation within the Galeries Historiques. Though views of the king are qualified by the historical text discussed before, most of the ten history paintings of Charles' reign celebrate the reconquest of French territory and the broad support for his beleaguered monarchy.³³ However, the entire program directs the limelight to Joan of Arc, symbol of the ancient monarchy's dependence upon the people. She is also, thus, the metaphor of Louis-Philippe's own debt to (and, by extension, choice by) the French people, as their elected king.³⁴

Though he opted to represent the fortunate king instead of the popular heroine, Barye may have hoped to attract one of the many Versailles commissions at the time: The sculpture galleries ultimately featured two portrait statues of Charles VII, one by his contemporary Charles Emile Seurre, commissioned in 1837.³⁵ Other writers have observed Charles' potential appeal to private patrons on historical grounds. Nygren proposes his relevance to the royal family (as liberator of their home city of Orléans and unifier of a factionalized France), and an earlier American observer claims its calculated appeal to royalists embittered at their ousting by the "usurper" Napoleon.³⁶

The Galeries Historiques may have fired public interest in, and shaped public views of, Charles VII. Barye's other work suggests he capitalized on the pivotal importance given to his reign: He created a three-light candelabra, "style Charles VII" (location unknown).³⁷

No maquettes for this composition are known. A contour drawing at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which represents the unlaureated variant on a tall stepped pedestal, may be the one linked with the project since at least his memorial exhibition of 1875.³⁸ Bengé considers one existing drawing of armor "an accurate preparation" for that on *Charles VII*, though some differences of detail are evident.³⁹ No other Gonon casts, like the above-mentioned lost-wax gilt bronze at Bordeaux, are known. The Maison Besse catalogue of 1844 cites a *Charles VII à cheval*.⁴⁰ Several laureated models bear dates as early as 1840. One stamped and dated cast (no. 10; dated 1840, BrMA) can be associated with Barye's catalogue of 1847, in which he claims all proofs would be numbered.⁴¹ An unlaureated variant in a private collection in Paris is undated but likewise stamped no. 4, suggesting it could relate to the 1847 enterprise as well.⁴² With or without the wreath, the model is known only in this 30-centimeter size, either in his catalogues or in existence. Barye presented the work as decoration for public domestic spaces: It is among his offerings of clocks for the salon, as distinct from those of clocks for the office or bedroom.⁴³ In 1855 Barye himself added an elaborate bronze and marble socle as an ornamental option.⁴⁴ George Lucas

ordered one such base in red marble for William T. Walters in Baltimore in 1866 (The George A. Lucas Collection, WAG).⁴⁵ They abounded in Parisian and American collections by 1889, with differing mounts.⁴⁶ Many entered public collections: CGA; Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford (Avery's version with a clock pedestal); Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha; and Musée du Louvre, Paris (dated on the base "1841"; a second cast stolen 1974). Barbedienne edited the work, from Barye's proof model in his possession, immediately after the sculptor's death in a larger size as well (39 by 30 centimeters).⁴⁷ Both unmarked and Barbedienne casts appear regularly on the market, the latter in both sizes and in silvered bronze.

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Notes

1. It does not appear in the illustration of the cast in the sales catalogue (Black-Nadeau 1971, no. 48, repro.).

2. George Aloysius Lucas (1824–1909) was a Baltimore native residing in Paris from 1857 until his death, who helped to shape many important French and American collections as agent to private and museum patrons. He was crucial to Barye's lifetime commercial success, and to disseminating the serial work after the sculptor's death (Randall 1979, 1: 3–32; Bengé 1969, 1: 60–68). The inscription on the base of this cast reflects his last known address. Lucas lived in an apartment building on the rue de l'Arc de Triomphe beginning in 1861, but its number changed from "41" to "21" in 1874 (Randall 1979, 1: 33). Since his private collection (now at BMA and WAG) has no examples of this subject (see *The George A. Lucas Collection of the Maryland Institute* [Exh. cat. BMA.] Baltimore, 1965, nos. 343–416), this cast may be among several that Lucas bought and sold during his career. For example, after arranging for a version for his associate Samuel P. Avery in early 1881 (Randall 1979, 2: 513–533; possibly the one now at the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford), he ordered a clock mount from Barbedienne for a *Charles VII* in early 1882 (Randall 1979, 2: 533–543; diary entries for 27 January, 3 May, and 9 June 1882).

3. Black-Nadeau 1971. According to the unpaginated foreword, the partners of the Bernard Black Gallery retained a selection of Barye casts as a study collection after closing the gallery in 1969.

4. In NGA curatorial files.

5. EBA 1889, no. 136 (Collection de M. Lucas). A "socle piédestal à la statue de Charles VII," from Lucas' collection, measuring 16 × 25 cm., is listed as a separate entry (EBA 1889, no. 183).

6. Maison Besse 1844, 4; cited in Poletti and Richarme 1992, no. 19; Barye 1847–1848, no. 71; cited in Ballu 1890, 161; Barye Fossés-Saint-Victor; cited in Ballu 1890, 170.

7. Vale 1974, particularly pp. 3–20.

8. Gavard 1838–1841, 2: 39.

9. "En son attitude impérieuse, Charles VII, monté sur un cheval caparaçonné et piaffant, semble modelé en petit d'après un monument du quinzième siècle . . ." (Blanc 1876, 386–387); illustrated under this title in W. E. Henley, "Barye," *The Art Journal*, n.s. (1888), 22; and Ballu 1890, opp. p. 42. Conflicting evidence is Planche (1851, 72), who claims Barye's Charles wears a "habit de chasse."

10. Inv. no. 7213 (formerly no. 1022). Bordeaux 1933, no. 489, "don des héritiers de M. Scott, 1865." The date is incised in the model and cast through, on the base to Charles' right: "BARYE. 1836." To Charles' front and continuing to his left on the base, incised in the model and cast through, in a different hand: "LES MEMBRES DU COMITE D'AD/ MN [Administration] DE LA SOCIETE DES AMIS/ DES ARTS DE BORDEAUX A MR/ T.B.G. SCOTT GONON/ 185[9?]." The founder's signature is mostly on the rear of the base: "FONDU PAR HONORE/ [GONON, on left, as cited above] ET SES DEUX FILS." If the apparent date of 1859 documents the execution of the foundry model from the original wax, it sug-

gests that Gonon's sons produced it, since Honoré retired in 1840 and died in 1850 (see p. 262n. 8).

11. Blanc 1876, 386–387.

12. Glenn Benge, "Charles VII Victorious," in Los Angeles 1980, 132–133. His tacit acceptance of a common model for both titles can be seen in his date of 1833 for the composition, based upon the 1833 Salon entry (Benge 1969, 2: 532; Benge 1984, fig. 142). There is potentially negative evidence in Barye's memorial exhibition of 1875, in which a bronze *Cavalier du Moyen Age*, said to be "inédit" (no. 22), was exhibited as well as a cast and *croquis* of Charles VII (EBA 1875, nos. 155, 547). However, the two could simply represent two of the known variants. For the versions identified as Charles VII, see further in the text.

13. Sonnabend 1988, fig. 3.

14. The Bordeaux bronze bears no evidence of even intended attachment of an attribute on the head. It was apparently a special commission to commemorate Mr. Scott's foundation of the Société des Amis des Arts in Bordeaux. It would have constituted a witty gift to this former British consul if it represented the French monarch famous for throwing the English off French soil.

15. The more elaborate original epithet, "Le Très Victorieux," appears to have been applied to Charles VII only upon his burial (Vale 1968, 243–247).

16. Benge 1984, fig. 228. This authority considers Lemot's monument an important common source for Barye's portrait equestrian. See the discussion beginning on p. 30.

17. Benge 1984, 148. Earlier, he argued that disproportion was to suggest Charles' youthfulness as king (Benge in Los Angeles 1980, 133 [see note 12]; followed by Schiff 1984, 108; and Nygren 1988b, 52).

18. Michaud 1854–1865, 7: 535; Pivar 1974, F35, repro. p. 79. Furthermore, if the National Gallery bronze indeed represents an adolescent knighted Charles, there are historical problems. Contemporary paintings reveal that it was then known that French kings were generally knighted only upon their coronation. An example is *Bayard Knighting Francis I*, in the illustrated *Histoire de Bayard* (reproduced in Chaudonneret 1980, figs. 255–256). Charles VII was no exception: He was knighted at his coronation at Reims in 1428, when he was twenty-five, by Jean, duc d'Alençon (Vale 1974, 7).

19. These are among the sources identified for images in the eighteenth-century historical texts, such as de Montfaucon 1731, 3: pl. XLVII, fig. 5.

20. Compare to other portraits of Charles VII found in Vale 1974: frontispiece (*Adoration of the Magi*, illuminated manuscript attributed to Jean Fouquet [1415/1420–1477/1485], Musée Condé, Chantilly); fig. 6a, *Jean Le Bègue Presents His Translation of Leonardo Bruni's History of the Punic War to Charles VII*, illuminated manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris); fig. 9, *Charles VII as St. Louis, with St. John the Baptist*, from the Retable of the Parlement de Paris (Musée du Louvre, Paris). The celebrated late portrait attributed to Jean Fouquet at the Louvre, showing Charles with beady eyes, bulbous nose, and swollen lips, had disappeared from Paris during the Revolution and may not have been available before its purchase by Louis Philippe in 1838 for the Galeries Historiques at Versailles (Maumené and d'Harcourt 1928, 2: 66–67, repro.).

21. Chaudonneret 1980, 65, no. 9, fig. 60. Planche (1851, 71) characterizes Barye's Charles VII as "effeminate." Closest of all, however—even to hair treatment—is a slightly earlier image that warrants study. The *militant* young Charles, wearing body armor but no helmet, appears in an engraving published in 1791 that records a famous sculpture before its destruction by local Revolutionaries the following year: the *Monument de la Pucelle d'Orléans* [Monument to the Maid of Orleans], the first recorded in Joan of Arc's honor. A large bronze representing her and Charles as praying soldiers beneath a Pietà (changed, following vandalism during the Religious Wars, from a Calvary, with Charles given the features of the new king, Louis XII) was erected in 1502 on the site of the French victory of 1429 against the English, the old city bridge (demolished in 1760–

1762; monument moved to the new bridge). See Millin 1790–1798, 2: pl. 1, who—perhaps significantly for July Monarchy patronage—erroneously identifies Charles as the source of the commission (actually much later local magistrates and descendants of a defense witness at Joan of Arc's posthumous vindication trial). For an account of the project and its subsequent fortunes, see Brun 1979. The importance to the July Monarchy of such lost cultural patrimony concerning the king's dynastic roots in Orléans has yet to be explored.

22. This discussion of armor depends heavily upon conversations with Donald J. LaRocca, Arms and Armor department, MMA. Recent sources stress the rarity of extant French armor dating before 1440 (Thomas 1973, 1: 107). Dating armor in historicizing paintings or sculpture is complicated by the often composite nature of suits while in use and as later display pieces. Attributions prior to the twentieth century are also notoriously unreliable and strongly hagiographic, claiming a distinguished owner, such as with the late-sixteenth-century armors linked during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with Joan of Arc (*Notice sur les collections dont se compose le Musée de l'Artillerie* [Paris, 1840], no. 14). Another entry in that same catalogue (no. 1) associates an as yet-unidentified armor and bard with Charles VII's time that is plausibly fifteenth century and broadly resembles the one in Barye's equestrian: "Armure complète d'homme et de cheval, comme on la portait en France sous les règnes de Henry VI et d'Edouard IV. Elle est remarquable par l'élégance de ses formes, autant que par leur bizarrerie, et surtout par la construction des pédaux terminés en pointe d'une longueur démesurée." Some of those features can be seen in a possibly Milanese example currently at the Musée de l'Armée (G 5), which M. Jean Pierre Reverseau, conservateur en chef, brought to my attention (letter to the author dated 30 January 1992, in NGA curatorial files). A bard generically like the one in Barye's equestrian group is in de Montfaucon 1731, 3: pl. VII, fig. 2, representing Charles V (d. 1380).

23. Rheims 1977, 297, fig. 22.

24. Mann 1981, 58–60, 63–64, pls. 40–42. A variant representing Fernando I de' Medici known only as a statuette (House of Liechtenstein): designed by Giambologna; executed by Antonio Susini (active c. 1580–d. 1624); inspired by, and long thought to echo, Giambologna's monumental statue of his father, the Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (Piazza della Signoria, Florence). See the discussion of the statuette by Johanna Hecht in her catalogue entry in MMA 1985, 65–68, color repro.

25. The full-scale monument at what is now the Place Vendôme, Paris, was destroyed in 1792; a model and several reduced variants have been identified. See Mann 1981, 63, pl. 42; Souchal 1977–1993, 1: 258, repro.

26. These formal types in part grew out of imperial Roman processional rituals represented on period coins: the *Adventus Augusti* (entry into a city) and the *Profectio Augusti* (departure for a military campaign or battle). See Panofsky 1969, 85–87, figs. 100 and 101. The maneuvers and symbolism of royal equitation appear to have been codified in early-seventeenth-century sources; see de Pluvinel 1623, originally produced for Louis XIII, but repeatedly published throughout Europe ever since. For the use of this source in interpreting equestrian portraits of the period, see Gállego 1968, 222–223.

27. Planche 1851, 71; Johanna Hecht in MMA 1985, 67 (see note 24).

28. Blanc 1876, 386.

29. Janson 1985, figs. 95–96.

30. Benge 1984, 148; Schiff 1984, 102–110; Janson 1980, fig. 73.

31. Peter Fusco, "Fanny Elssler," in Los Angeles 1980, 112–113, repro.

32. Louis-Philippe publicly announced his plans for Versailles on 29 August 1833 and commissions were still in progress in the 1840s. See Gaechtens 1984 and Marrinan 1988 for discussions of the project.

33. The works, representing critical battles, sieges, and triumphal entries were scattered throughout the galleries but are listed in Gavard's running text (Gavard 1839, 2: 1–39). See also "Beaux-Arts. Musée historique de Versailles. Ile article," *L'Artiste*,

ser. 1, 13 (1837), 339, which claims that most of the paintings seem uninspired by the memorable events that they represent.

34. Gaehtgens 1984, 162–164, 251.

35. Lami 1914–1921, 4: 255.

36. Nygren 1988a, 52; and *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art Treasures Collected by the Well Known Connoisseur, the Late Cyrus J. Lawrence* (New York, 1910), 358.

37. Barye Quai des Célestins 10, no. 165; cited in Ballu 1890, 177.

38. Pencil on tracing paper, WAG (37.2233). For the documentary mentions of such a related drawing, see, for instance, EBA 1875, no. 547.

39. Benge 1984, 146, repro.

40. Maison Besse 1844, 4.

41. Benge 1975, 82–83, cites evidence that the practice of numbering proofs continued at least into 1850.

42. Poletti and Richarme 1992, no. 19, repro.

43. Barye 1847–1848; cited in Ballu 1890, 163. For a contemporary example of the decorative type, see the *garniture de cheminée* by Nicolas-Germain Charpentier (active 1834–1864), after models by Jean-François Théodore Gechter (1796–1844), discussed in the entry by Anne Dion-Tenenbaum in *Grand Palais* 1991, 483, color repro.

44. “19 × 46; socle bronze et marbre servant de base de la statue de Charles VII”; Barye Fossés-Saint-Victor, no. 149; cited in Ballu 1890, 173.

45. Benge 1969, 2: 532; Randall 1979, 2: 215–221 (Appendix A).

46. EBA 1889, no. 31 (Barye’s proof model then belonging to Barbedienne); no. 136 (belonging to George Lucas); and nos. 194–195 (belonging to Léon Bonnat); Barye 1889, nos. 119, 284, and 396.

47. Barbedienne 1877, 2.

References

1994 NGA: 25, repro.

Auguste-Nicolas Cain

1821–1894

BORN IN PARIS, Cain apprenticed initially with his father, a butcher. His shift to sculpture began with formal training under Alexandre Guionnet (active 1831–1853), an ornamental sculptor, then with François Rude (1784–1855) for an undetermined period before 1852. During the 1840s Cain provided models for the eminent Parisian jewelers Fannièrre Frères and, particularly, Frédéric-Jules Rudolphi (active 1841–c. 1867), for whom he designed decoration for poignards, paperweights, and walking sticks. He made his Salon debut in 1846 as an *animalier* with the small wax group, *Warblers Defending Their Nest against a Dormouse* (location unknown). His subsequent submissions to the Salon were small-scale bronzes that he cast in the foundry of *animalier* Pierre-Jules Mêne (1810–1879). Cain's association with the well-established Mêne proved of long and fruitful duration. He married Mêne's daughter in 1852 and edited his own small-scale work in his father-in-law's studio-foundry, which he took over, together with the family residence, upon Mêne's death in 1879. Mêne's widespread connections quickly brought Cain several important government commissions, beginning with a *Brown Vulture Devouring a Serpent*, the plaster model for which was commissioned by the Minister of the Interior in 1849, cast in bronze the following year by the founder Gonon, who then cast it in quadruplicate as supports for a colossal porphyry table for the Musée des Antiquités Egyptiennes at the Louvre. Cain's career as a monumental sculptor continued into and beyond the Second Empire, bringing him commissions for, among other things, reliefs to decorate an imperial kennel (1860–1863); a bronze *Wild Vulture on the Head of a Sphinx*, originally placed in the Jardin des Plantes (1864, now in a public square, Thann, France); and a *Rhinoceros Attacked by Tigers* for the Jardin des Tuileries (1874–1882). Beginning in the 1860s, he executed a notable series of monumental lions and tigers as garden and architectural decoration: a *Family of Tigers* shown in plaster in the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867 and commissioned in bronze that year for Central Park, New York (now Central Park Zoo); and a *Lioness* executed in quadruplicate after 1869 for entrances on the *cour du Carrousel* side of the Louvre.

Cain continued to exhibit regularly in the Salon until the year of his death, 1894. In 1869 he was awarded the

Légion d'Honneur and was named officer of that prestigious organization in 1882.

Like Barye before him, Cain stands out in his generation for success as both a monumental sculptor and as founder of his own serial bronzes. Cain's *oeuvre* reflects an equal concern for "high," industrial, and decorative art; the artist sought to be represented in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs as well as in the Musée du Luxembourg, both in Paris. His prolific small-scale work displays a stylistic variety that is absent from the large-scale public projects, a difference that suggests a respect for artistic modes—high public work versus informal private objects. Cain's monumental work aligns him closely with Barye in the majestic grandeur that accompanies its naturalism, whether the subjects are in repose or dramatically active. His prestigious commissions, variousness and productivity, and the sheer quality of Cain's *oeuvre* enhanced the status of *animalier* work. Even with its acknowledged prominence by the 1850s, it remained a segregated and subordinate class within the professional hierarchy of sculpture.

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Bibliography

Lami 1914–1921, I: 233–238.

Horswell 1971: 249, 257.

Lindsay, Suzanne G. "Auguste-Nicolas Cain," in *Philadelphia* 1978: 211.

Hachet 1986: 92–97.

Kjellberg 1987: 164–168.

1980.44.6 (A-1835)

French Cock Crowing

Model c. 1860/1894; cast possibly 1890s/c. 1914

Bronze, 30.5 × 13.5 × 29.8 (12 × 5³/₁₆ × 11³/₄)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised into the model on the front of the self-base, enhanced with cold-work: CAIN

Marks

Susse Frères' foundry cachet inset after casting at rear of the self-base¹



Auguste-Nicolas Cain, *French Cock Crowing*, 1980.44.6

Technical Notes: The figure is hollow-cast in several sections by the sand-casting process, indirectly from a wax original. The bronze sections are assembled by brazing and are attached with bolts to the sand-cast self-base. The average percentage composition of the alloy, as determined by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), is: approximately 89% copper, 8% zinc, 2% tin, and less than 1% iron and lead. The composition of the alloy in the cachet, inset after casting, differs significantly: 94% copper, 5% zinc, 2% tin, and less than 1% iron and lead. Extensive delicate cold-work complements the bold cast-through detail in the model. The translucent dark-brown patina was achieved by successively brushing the heated bronze with chemical solutions that produced black, wiped to remain primarily in the recesses, beneath a reddish brown throughout the entire surface, which is covered by a layer of varnish. The self-base has a small hole on its underside and minor scratches, abrasions, and dents on the upper surface.

Provenance: (Bernard Black Gallery, New York); sold 31 May 1966 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.²

Exhibited: NGA 1974.

ENTITLED HERE as it appears in early Susse foundry catalogues, this small bronze resembles Cain's larger version of the subject, commissioned for the Salle du Jeu de Paume at Versailles in 1880,³ in every detail but the base: The domed self-base of the National Gallery reduction bears wheat sprigs instead of the oak leaves of the Versailles bronze. The rooster reappears, poised on an overturned basket, in a third variant known as *Cock on a Basket*. The lively barnyard character of these figures belies their symbolism: Oak leaves are familiar emblems of strength and endurance, and wheat often implies abundance. The crowing cock has been heavily charged with meaning for centuries, thanks to its familiar announcement of imminent daybreak. In classical cultures it served, among other things, as oracle, as benign solar symbol in association with Apollo, and later, for Socrates and Plato, as symbol of rebirth and immortality.⁴ Most relevant to Cain's work, the cock's generic Greek or Latin name (*Gallos*, *gallus*, from the Persian *gal*, for sound) became the homonym of ancient Gaul in imperial Roman texts, and, by the eighteenth century, was considered—erroneously—the Gauls' own symbol. The bird itself became an embodiment of the French people that remained clearly distinguished from any emblem of their governmental structure or reigning dynasties. It was most often represented crowing in order to suggest martial courage or the arrival of a beneficent new era.⁵

Cain's Jeu de Paume *French Cock*, the only surely datable version, was commissioned during an intense resurgence of nationalist imagery, beginning in the 1870s. In 1879 a republican government was finally consolidated in France, stimulating a host of programs to galvanize a nation that had been in upheaval since the fall of the Second Empire (1870) and to commemorate an ideological keystone of the new Republic, the constitutional mandate of 1789.⁶ The Salle du Jeu de Paume at Versailles constitutes a vital element of that campaign. To honor the celebrated Oath to the Constitu-

tion that had been pledged there by the Third Estate on 20 June 1789,⁷ the space was transformed into a new museum as the "august and humble cradle of the greatest Revolution to enlighten the world."⁸ The *French Cock* represents the "awakening of the people and dawn of the Revolution,"⁹ a pivotal role in the entire iconographic and architectural program. Perched on the peak of the gabled central niche, bearing a plaque inscribed with the Oath to the Constitution and René de Saint-Marceaux's (1845–1915) portrait-statue of Jean-Sylvain Bailly in front, the dramatic crowing cock strains toward the dawn visible through the opposite windows, its gilt body set agleam by the emerging light (fig. 1).¹⁰ It is a defiant republican rejoinder to the *roi-soleil's* gilt absolutist settings just beyond, at the Palais de Versailles.¹¹

The cock with the wheat sprigs may have been similarly conceived as a public monument. The tinted-plaster model of this variant (Musée du Petit Palais, Paris) is almost identical in size to that for the Salle du Jeu de Paume (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris), 92 centimeters high.¹² Furthermore, a larger gilt-bronze cast of the wheat-sprig variant, belonging to the city of Paris, was placed at the Hôtel de Ville, Vincennes.¹³

The vigorous naturalism of the *French Cock* attests to Cain's contribution to the romantic-realist *animalier* tradition that began its ascendancy with Barye's work of the 1830s. In the 1860s Cain had produced other rooster subjects with a stronger zoological or genre dimension. Among them are the *Cock of Cochinchina* and the *Cock Fight* (locations unknown), both shown in plaster in the Salon of 1861 and the latter in bronze in the Salon of 1864.

The formal and technical mastery of the *French Cock* typifies Cain's best work. It has none of the precious detailing of certain bronze tabletop *tableaux* by Mêne, Jules Moigniez (1835–1894), or Fratin. Feathers and horny skin are distilled into varied layers of lush, broadly swirling mass without losing any sense of pliant vitality and textural differentiation. The contour is essentially simple, animated by the profusion of bold, arching tail feathers. These qualities reveal Cain's consummate capacity as a monumental sculp-

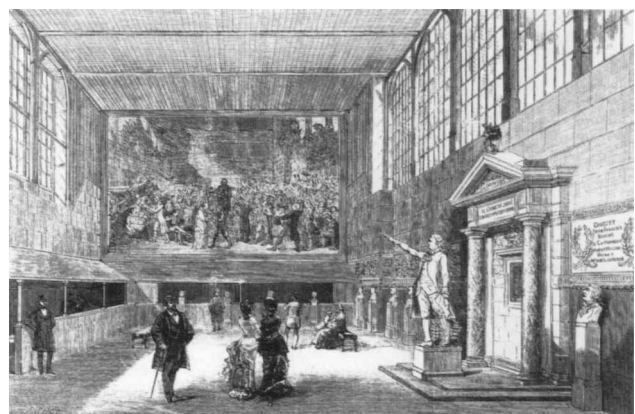


Fig. 1 "Versailles: La Salle du Jeu de Paume Restaurée," lithograph, published in *L'Illustration*, vol. 77, no. 2018 (29 October 1881), p. 293, Washington, Library of Congress

tor, creating form for effect at great distances. The bronze is nonetheless congenial as an intimate object as well, thanks in part to the artful naturalism of Cain's model and in part to the judicious participation of the *ciseleur*. The subtle chasing of the bronze, for interest when viewed at close range, enriches the more austere handling of the tinted-plaster model, which bears minimal surface work.

No preliminary drawings or maquettes of any of these variants are presently known. Both the wheat and oak variants were serialized and are currently available on the market. The *Cock on a Basket* is only known presently as a small commercial work. The date of the first conception of this subject is not clear, since distinctions among the variants are rarely made in the relevant documents. According to Horswell, the *Cock on a Basket* appears in Cain's catalogue of 1857.¹⁴ Though the catalogue itself remains elusive, Catherine Chevillot has located documents concerning Cain's successful court action against base-metal founder Charles Patry and sculptor Henry Van Krucke for an unauthorized "imitation of [Cain's] cock match-holder" in September 1857.¹⁵ That possibility suggests a much earlier date for the figural composition than the 1880s and that it was in demand as a utilitarian variant. However, the Jeu de Paume oak-leaf variant seems to have been edited first in reduction immediately after the inauguration of the Salle du Jeu de Paume in 1883. The sculptor himself inscribed a "first proof" 45-centimeter bronze reduction of the *Gallic Cock*, a gift to the critic Albert Wolff, with the date 1884.¹⁶ Casts by Susse Frères are the only other examples traced thus far. Horswell maintains that Susse purchased Cain's models directly from the sculptor late in his life in order to serialize them.¹⁷ The *French Cock Crowing* is advertised in the illustrated edition of a Susse catalogue of about 1907 as available in two unspecified sizes. Though the text identifies the composition as that for the Salle du Jeu de Paume, the plate shows the wheat-sprig variant.¹⁸ Unillustrated editions of the catalogue list a *French Cock Crowing* in four sizes¹⁹: The National Gallery reduction corresponds in size to "no. 3" of the c. 1907 catalogue. It is impossible to discern from the catalogues which variant is intended. A 45-centimeter oak-leaf variant, said to be without a founder's mark, corresponds to Susse's reduction "no. 2."²⁰ Susse resumed the series in 1914 under the title "Awakening (*Le Réveil*) 1914," its martial and nationalist significance logical with the outbreak of World War I.²¹ It is possible that the National Gallery's cast could date from the late wartime reprise.

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Notes

1. The mark is a variant of the better-known design in which the foundry name circles the emblematic tools. See, for example, Shepherd Gallery 1985, 301, fig. 78.

2. In NGA curatorial files.

3. Gilt-bronze, 95 × 55 × 66 cm., cast and gilded by Barbedienne (on deposit from the Musée d'Orsay, Paris, R.F. 656). My thanks to Catherine Chevillot, former curator at the Musée d'Orsay, for clarifying information on the Jeu de Paume bronze.

4. Girard 1976, 12–22. These meanings attached to the cock gained additional Christological resonances because of its role in Peter's denial of Jesus.

5. Encyclopédie 1780–1785, 9: 389, s.v. "Coq"; Larousse 1866–1879, 5: 75–76, s.v. "Coq"; Girard 1976, 55–71; Lefèvre n.d.; *Cinquante ans* 1980, no. 271.

6. See the various essays in Petit Palais 1989.

7. See Bordes 1983.

8. Jules Ferry, "Discours de Versailles pour l'inauguration de la salle du Jeu-de-Paume (20 juin 1883)," in Robiquet 1893–1898, 401.

9. Official commission of 4 March 1882 in Dossier AN F²¹ 2060 (Archives Nationales, Paris; cited in Edouard Pommier, "Etude historique: Coq français ou gaulois," in Gaborit and Ligot 1987, 187–189, no. 45). Cain's involvement in the Jeu de Paume project dates from at least 1880; see Claretie 1880, 289.

10. For a general history of the project, see Chronique 1883, 182, and Vatel 1883. After years of subsequent neglect, the Salle was restored yet again and reopened as a museum in conjunction with the bicentennial celebration of the French Revolution in 1989.

11. The Salle du Jeu de Paume is outside the main entrance to the Palais de Versailles, by the Grandes and Petites Ecuries.

12. The Petit Palais plaster is inv. P.P.S. 796; the variant at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs is inv. 29922. Unlike the latter, the Petit Palais variant is not dated in the model. Lami (1914–1921, 1: 235) identifies the Petit Palais model as the original plaster for the Jeu de Paume project. For a recent historical and technical discussion of the wax-and-plaster model at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, see Drilhon, Colinart, and Tassery-Lahmi, "Etude technique: Coq français ou gaulois," in Gaborit and Ligot 1987, 189.

13. The documented height of the cast is 145 cm. (Municipal Fine Arts Deposit at the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, no. 1536/1537, present location unknown). Documentation du Département des Sculptures du Musée du Petit Palais; and verbal communication from former curator Guénola Groud.

14. Horswell 1971, 257.

15. Archives de la Réunion des Fabricants de bronzes, dépouillement du Musée d'Orsay, 1995, deuxième registre (1839–1865). The Tribunal de Commerce decided in favor of Cain on 3 May 1858. My thanks to Catherine Chevillot for this information.

16. "Souvenir bien affectueux à Albert Wolff. Auguste Cain. 1884." Albert Wolff sale, Hôtel Drouot, 6 April 1892, no. 113 (Documentation du Musée d'Orsay [Dossier Cain]). The present location of this proof is unknown.

17. Horswell 1971, 249.

18. *Collection Complète des Bronzes d'Art de P. J. Mène [sic] et de Auguste Cain—sujets de Chasse-animaux*. Susse Frères, no. 20, repro. The catalogue is dated "avant 1907."

19. Nos. 22–24 bis. They are, respectively, a full-scale 92-cm. *French Cock Crowing* "no. 1" (22) for 1,200 francs; "no. 2" (23) at 47 × 32 × 23 cms. for 360 francs; "no. 3" (24) at 30 cms. (another copy gives its dimensions as 31 × 20 × 13 cms.) for 180 francs; and a fourth (24bis) at 21 × 12 × 8 cms. for 90 francs.

20. *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Decorative Arts*, Sotheby's, London, 4 November 1988, no. 13, repro.

21. Pommier in Gaborit and Ligot 1987, 189 (see note 9).

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1994 NGA: 37, repro.

Antonio Canova

1757–1822

CANOVA WAS BORN in the village of Possagno near Treviso in the Veneto. His father Pietro, a stonemason, died in 1761. His mother, Angela Zardo, remarried in 1762, and entrusted Antonio to the care of his grandfather Pasino Canova (1711–1794), also a stonecutter and sculptor. The boy's precocious talent attracted the attention of Senator Giovanni Falier, who arranged in 1768 for him to enter the workshop of Giuseppe Bernardi, called Torretti (1664–1743), at Pagnano di Asolo. Torretti's subsequent move to Venice gave his young apprentice the opportunity to study drawing from life at the Accademia and antique sculpture from the collection of casts in the Palazzo Farsetti.

Falier provided early commissions on antique mythological themes, including *Eurydice* (1773–1775) and *Orpheus* (1775–1776; both Venice, Museo Correr) for his villa at Pradazzi di Asolo. *Orpheus* won public acclaim at the 1776 Venetian Fiera della Sensa exhibition. In 1775 Canova opened his first studio in the cloister of Santo Stefano in Venice. His *Dedalus and Icarus* (1777–1779; Venice, Museo Correr) was exhibited at the Fiera della Sensa exhibition in 1779; its impressive contrasts of emotions and physical types won him funds for a trip to Rome, where he would settle permanently in 1780.

The Venetian colony in Rome, including the family of Pope Clement XIII Rezzonico (reigned 1758–1769), offered patronage and support. Venetian Ambassador Girolamo Zulian provided Canova lodgings in the Palazzo Venezia. Prince Abbondio Rezzonico, a papal nephew, commissioned *Apollo Crowning Himself* (1781–1782; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum), Canova's first work aspiring to the "noble simplicity and tranquil grandeur" of the classical ideal promoted by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), which was at the time beginning to seize the European imagination. Ambassador Zulian, leaving Canova free to choose a subject, received a more dramatic classical essay, *Theseus and the Minotaur* (1781–1783; London, Victoria and Albert Museum). Pleased with the rising potential of a young Venetian sculptor in the artistic capital, the Venetian Senate awarded Canova an annuity to continue studying and working in Rome. In 1783 he met the theorist and critic Antoine-Chrysosthème Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849), who became a lifelong friend, correspondent, and advocate. In the same year, Canova took up painting.

A brief engagement in 1781 to Domenica Volpato, daughter of the Venetian engraver Giovanni Volpato (1740–1803), ended when she chose instead to marry the etcher Raffaele Morghen (1758–1833). Volpato helped Canova obtain the prestigious commission for a monument to Pope Clement XIV Ganganelli in 1783. That monument, unveiled in the basilica of Santi Apostoli in Rome in 1787, won the artist acclaim as the greatest modern sculptor. A tomb for Pope Clement XIII was commissioned in 1784 by the Rezzonico family for Saint Peter's, where it was installed in 1792. Resting in Naples from his labors on the Clement XIV monument, Canova met the English Colonel John Campbell, who commissioned the embracing *Cupid and Psyche* (1787–c. 1794; Paris, Musée du Louvre; a second version of 1794–1796 in Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum). This celebrated creation reveals Canova's highest capacities both for compositional originality and tender and sensuous treatment of his subjects.

After the unveiling of the Clement XIII monument in 1792 Canova returned to Possagno and to Venice, where he worked on reliefs of Homeric, Virgilian, and Socratic subjects. In Rome in 1781 he had begun the practice of having classical literature read aloud to him while he worked. He produced a monument to Admiral Angelo Emo (1792–1795; Venice, Museo Storico Navale) for the Republic of Venice. Catherine the Great invited Canova to Saint Petersburg in 1794 to carve her portrait, but he refused, writing to Giuseppe Falier—the son of his first patron—that he dreaded court life and loved solitary concentration on his work. After completing *Venus and Adonis* (1789–1794; Geneva, Villa La Grange), in 1796 Canova undertook *Hercules and Lichas*, completed in marble only in 1815 (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna). General Napoleon Bonaparte wrote to the artist in 1797 promising protection amid the turmoil of the invasion of Italy.

After the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1798, Canova returned to Possagno. On a visit to Vienna later that year to seek the restoration of his state pension from the new Austrian rulers, he was persuaded by Duke Albert of Saxony to design one of his most poignant tomb monuments, to Maria Christina of Austria (installed 1805; Vienna, Augustinerkirche). During this time he also traveled to Bohemia and Germany. Returning to Possagno in 1798 he painted an altarpiece,

the *Lamentation of Christ* (1799–1821; Possagno, Tempio), and after his return to Rome he was named to the artists' academy, the Accademia di San Luca, in January 1800. Canova's half-brother Giambattista Sartori came to live with him and to serve as his secretary in May 1800. In 1801 he completed a marble *Perseus* (Rome, Musei Vaticani; second version MMA), which came to occupy the pedestal of the beloved antique *Apollo Belvedere*, sent to Paris by French conquerors in 1798. Pope Pius VII made Canova a Knight of the Golden Spur and the Inspector General of Antiquities and the Fine Arts. In the latter post he strove energetically to prevent major works of art from leaving Italy.

Invited to Paris in 1802, Canova met Napoleon and modeled his bust in clay. The commission for a monumental statue of the First Consul, conceived as a heroic nude, came in 1803 (see the following entry). In 1804 the artist accepted a commission to carve a reclining nude portrait of Napoleon's sister, Princess Paolina Borghese, as *Venus Victrix* (Rome, Galleria Borghese). A vociferous critique of his work by Carl Ludwig Fernow, published in 1806, disparaged Canova for excessively sensuous naturalism, compared with the purer classicism of the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768 or 1770–1844).

Canova attended the inauguration of his monument to the poet Vittorio Alfieri (1804–1810; Florence, church of Santa Croce) and returned to Paris to model a portrait bust of Napoleon's second empress, Marie Louise (1810; Possagno, Gipsoteca). Resisting the emperor's offers of high positions in Paris, Canova lobbied for imperial support of the arts in Italy, including the conservation of works of art in their original settings. Between 1804 and 1812 he completed two versions of a *Venus Italica* (Munich, Residenzmuseum, and Florence, Palazzo Pitti), his response to the ancient *Medici Venus* that also had been sent to France in 1802. A *Self-Portrait* bust (Possagno, Tempio) was completed in 1812. In 1813 he began the first version of his celebrated *Three Graces* for Josephine (completed 1816; Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; the second version of 1815–1817, for the Duke of Bedford, was recently acquired jointly by the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Canova was elected president of the Accademia di San Luca in 1810, and perpetual president in 1814. In 1815 Pope Pius VII appointed him chief delegate to the Congress of Paris, where his diplomacy furthered the return of many art treasures taken from Italy during Napoleon's ascendancy; the grateful Pope named him Marchese of Ischia in the following year. Also in 1815 Canova traveled to visit Lord Elgin's collection in London, and wrote of his

awed response to the naturalism of the Phidian marble sculpture from the Parthenon.

The government of North Carolina commissioned a monumental seated statue of George Washington (1817–1821; Raleigh, State Capitol; destroyed by fire 1831; models in Possagno, Gipsoteca). In 1817–1819 Canova commemorated the last Stuart pretenders to the English throne with a monument, *The Cenotaph to the House of Stuart*, in Saint Peter's, Rome. In response to an appeal in 1818 from the people of Possagno to help finance repairs to the village church, the artist decided to provide and decorate a new building, whose foundation ceremonies he attended the following year. Increasingly debilitated by a chronic stomach ailment, possibly the result of years of leaning on a drill, Canova continued working, completing *Ferdinand I in the Guise of Minerva* (1810–1820; Naples, Museo Nazionale), *Mars and Venus* for George IV (1816–1822; London, Buckingham Palace), *Venus* for Thomas Hope (1817–1820; Leeds, City Art Gallery), and *Endymion* for the Duke of Devonshire (1819–1822; Chatsworth), until his death in Venice on 13 October 1822. His remains were interred in the Tempio he had endowed at Possagno (consecrated 1830), and his half-brother Giambattista Sartori, named Canova's universal heir, transported the plasters, clay models, and marbles preserved in the sculptor's Rome studio to Possagno in 1826, where he arranged for their eventual display in the Gipsoteca next to Canova's house, constructed between 1831 and 1836.

The most celebrated sculptor and perhaps the most renowned artist of his time, Canova was hugely prolific and preternaturally proficient. He renounced marriage and family life, dedicating his entire energy to his work. Several hundred works of sculpture, often in repeated versions that allowed the artist to "improve" on his conceptions, came out of his studio, along with about one hundred paintings. His clay sketch models show astonishing spontaneity and animated abstraction. As was customary in his time, Canova employed assistants to rough-hew marble compositions from his plaster models, making use of pointing; he was a pioneer in the use of full-size rather than small-scale models, and exceptional for his insistence on personally carving the surfaces into their final character. Marbles from Canova's hand display dazzling technical virtuosity and tactile attractions. The consummate neoclassical artist, he answered his age's demand for an idealization evoking purified antique forms, but endowed these with delicate naturalistic textures that were both praised and blamed. His posthumous reputation suffered both from changing taste and from the numerous copies and emulations of his style by hands that could not approach

the quality of his carving. His output included portrait busts that exalt and detach their subjects from the world of transient individuality, and fantasy heads that embody abstract ideals of beauty. John Keats (1795–1821) and Lord Byron (1788–1824) praised his work, which was sought by the powerful of every nationality and political persuasion. Generous in endowing charities for the arts, artists, and his native town, and heroic in his efforts to repatriate a plundered Italian artistic patrimony, Canova showed a farsighted concern for national artistic patrimonies and the preservation of works of art in situ.

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1991.125.1

Winged Victory (after the Antique)

c. 1803/1806

Bronze, with base: $76.6 \times 20 \times 18.1$ ($30\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$); gilded globe, diameter 10.2 (4); height of base 14.9 ($5\frac{7}{8}$); height of figure, from left big toe to top of head, 38 ($14\frac{1}{16}$); from left big toe to tip of right wing, 53.3 (21); from left big toe to tip of left wing, 51.8 (20%)

Patrons' Permanent Fund

Technical Notes: The statuette, of olive-brown metal with a thin black surface coating, is generally in good condition.¹ There are numerous small repaired flaws in the surface, for instance in the skirt (fig. 1). With the surface coating flaking away, joins are visible where the separately cast arms, head, feet, and upper and lower body are attached. The body, head, and arms are hollow cast, apparently by the lost wax method (based on the integral casting of deeply undercut elements like the floating folds at the hips). The head and arms were cast separately and fitted to the torso by sleeve joins.²

Marks of extensive, crude filing are visible on the skirt, arms, and backs of the wings. The head, the most freshly modeled and crisply cast element (fig. 2), appears largely unchased, as does the right foot. The right ankle, thickened by what appear to be repairs, is suspended from a strip of metal across the bottom of the skirt. A rod about six centimeters long rises from this strip to make contact with the back of the skirt.

A metal band about 3 to 4 centimeters wide around the interior of the waist reinforces the join of the upper and lower sections of the torso, which shows many gaps at the back. The bronze is secured to this band by a pin at the back and another through the abdomen. Flattened folds below the left breast indicate a patch along the edge of the join. There also may be a repair to the floating fold over the left hip, and another at the flat, unarticulated area under the right armpit.



Fig. 1 detail of 1991.125.1



Fig. 2 detail of 1991.125.1

The fronts of the wings bear several fine raised ridges, possibly flashing from piece molds, often in corresponding positions on each wing, with evidence of sprues nearby. The wings differ in appearance from the rest of the sculpture, with softer surface details. In addition, numerous tiny cast-in bubbles are visible to the naked eye, possibly caused by air bubbles in a plaster mold. The casting process may have been different, but the alloy is generally consistent with the rest of the bronze. The wings have no projecting elements for joining, but are welded to the back (fig. 3).

Unlike the rest of the sculpture, the gilded globe, cylindrical base, and left foot are meticulously finished. The alloy of these elements also differs slightly from the rest. The alloy of the figure is composed of approximately 76 to 81% copper, 9 to 13% lead, 5 to 6% zinc, 4 to 5% tin, less than 1% each of iron, antimony, and silver, and traces of nickel and arsenic. The alloys of the base and the left foot contain approximately 80 to 82% copper, 8 to 9% zinc, and 4 to 7% lead. The alloy content and the finishing suggest that they were cast separately from the main figure but simultaneously with each other. The alloy of the globe is unquantifiable because the surface is covered by mercury gilding, but it seems, like the base and the left foot that adjoin it, to contain proportionately less lead than the main body. The high lead content of most of the figure, which saves expense and facilitates the flow of molten metal, would be consistent with the theory that this was an experimental cast. The lower lead content in the left foot and base could indicate a higher quality bronze used for mounting.

The hollow, cylindrical base is filled with a wooden core. A pin passes from the base through the globe and up into the left foot. A hollow, threaded tube, apparently repairing a break in the ankle, runs from the left foot into the skirt. Gray putty was applied inside the skirt to reinforce this juncture.

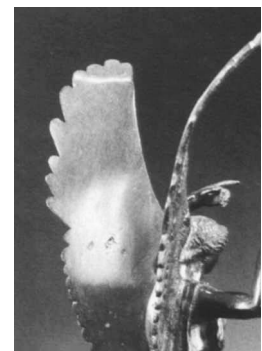


Fig. 3 detail of 1991.125.1

Provenance: Art market, London, 1980s;³ (sale, Sotheby's, London, 5 July 1990, no. 139);⁴ (Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York).

THIS WINGED DANCER in swirling drapery is closely related to the exquisite gilt bronze *Winged Victory*⁵ that stood until recently in the outstretched right hand of Canova's colossal marble statue of *Napoleon as Mars* of 1803–1806 (figs. 4 and 5).⁶ The ultimate source of both these statuettes, however,



Antonio Canova (after the Antique), *Winged Victory*, 1991.125.1

seems to be an actual ancient bronze *Victory*, now in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Kassel (figs. 6 and 7).⁷ Details and dimensions of the Canova *Victories* are so similar to those of the Kassel bronze that a cast of this ancient work surely figured in their production. Yet the Canova *Victories* are by no means mere aftercasts. The complicated relationship between the antique bronze, the *Victory* on Canova's *Napoleon*, and an independent example with the unique characteristics of the National Gallery bronze requires careful analysis.

The *Napoleon* statue and its *Victory* had their genesis in Canova's visit to the First Consul at Saint-Cloud in 1802. The eminent sculptor agreed to execute a portrait statue of Napoleon, and modeled a clay bust of him during a series of informal sessions. The contract for an over-life-sized nude statue of Napoleon was signed in Rome in January 1803. In August 1806 Canova completed his colossal portrait of a contemporary conqueror in the heroic, ideal nudity of an ancient god or deified emperor.⁸ The statue was carved of Carrara marble, but provided with gilt bronze accouterments: a staff in the left hand and the statuette of a *Winged Victory* dancing on a gilt marble globe in the right.⁹

There is no specific documentation on the bronze elements. A reasonable proposal is that they were cast and finished for Canova by the expert Roman bronze founders Francesco Righetti (1749–1819) and his son Luigi (1780–1852).¹⁰ But the likelihood that the Righetti cast the London

Victory leaves questions as to the origins of the model they used. Comparisons of the Kassel, National Gallery, and London statuettes suggest an experimental role for the National Gallery *Victory* in a complex process of casting from the antique and adaptation into a new work of art.

At some stage early in the design process¹¹ Canova must have decided to make use of a clay, plaster, or wax cast of the Kassel *Victory*. The cast he had in hand might have been made in Rome before 1777, or in Germany later. There is even a possibility that it was provided by the Righetti.¹² With molds taken from this replica, he would have arranged to make and adapt a new wax model which was used to cast the National Gallery bronze. The condition of the drapery folds around the belt suggests that either his Kassel replica or his wax cast from it was damaged. Whether through similar deficiencies in the model or through careless bronze casting, certain Kassel details were lost or obscured in the National Gallery bronze. At the same time, however, the wax used to cast the National Gallery bronze was altered and in some respects enriched in comparison with the antique model. The waves of the hair were freshly modeled, with new ones introduced on top of the head. The folds over the legs became softer, and the wings received a downy texture, not present in the Kassel bronze, at their inner edges near the shoulders.¹³ The figure's face was made slimmer, with a less prominent jaw. Canova also may have provided his own version of the left foot and globe, which



Fig. 4 Antonio Canova, *Napoleon as Mars*, marble/bronze, 1803–1806, London, Wellington Museum at Apsley House



Fig. 5 Antonio Canova, *Victory*, bronze, 1803–1806, on deposit, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, since 1976



Fig. 6 Roman, second century A.D., *Victory* (front view), bronze, Kassel, Staatliche Museen



Fig. 7 Roman, second century A.D., *Victory* (side view), bronze, Kassel, Staatliche Museen

were restored on the Kassel bronze at an unknown date before 1803.¹⁴

Certain Kassel refinements absent from the National Gallery bronze reappear in the London version: the pointed nipples; the nested V-folds on the left hip; and the thinner, more undulating folds floating at the edges of the tunic. For the final version the sculptor evidently worked with a new wax, more faithful to the details of the Kassel bronze—either a better wax cast, or a cast made from a second, more faithful replica.

The National Gallery bronze would thus be a trial cast, an early stage in the process that led from the antique original to the highly refined adaptation that finally stood in Napoleon's hand in London. The high lead alloy of the National Gallery example, allowing an easy flow at a low melting point, together with the fresh, rough, minimally chased character, would be consistent with an experimental purpose. In addition, one detail places the National Gallery bronze closer to the Kassel version than to the London variant: the belt, a flat band in the Kassel and National Gallery examples, changed into a multilayered twist of fabric in the London statuette and the later bronzes derived from it.

Many mysteries remain. Did Canova ever see the actual Kassel bronze? At what stage did he decide to use it for his

Napoleon? Was it his own choice, or was it proposed to him, perhaps after the First Consul was crowned emperor in 1804, by someone knowledgeable about antiquities, such as Francesco Righetti?¹⁵ Did Canova delegate the job of adapting the antique model, or did he personally modify the waxes used to produce the National Gallery and London statuettes?¹⁶ Since there is no parallel case in Canova's oeuvre, and since arguments from style¹⁷ are complicated by the *Victories'* fidelity to the ancient model, these questions may remain unanswered.

In addition to the London and National Gallery examples, three other metal casts of *Victory* in the same size are known: the bronze cast by the Righetti for the hand of the bronze Napoleon for the courtyard of the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan;¹⁸ a bronze in the Dallas Museum of Art;¹⁹ and another with a palm of victory in its left hand in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.²⁰ The Dallas and Saint Petersburg statuettes appear to be perfected and slightly elaborated replicas of the London statuette or its model, as indicated not only by their cool, smooth finishes, but also by a significant alteration to the backs of the wings. In the Kassel, National Gallery, and London bronzes the wing backs were left smooth; in the Dallas and Hermitage casts, clearly intended as independent small bronzes, they were modeled into feath-



1991.125.1

ers. The latter casts were probably executed by the Righetti sometime after they produced the Milan bronze cast of the statue now in London (see notes 10 and 18).

The National Gallery bronze, while not originally created as a finished work of art, must have been kept, valued, and mounted as one. The general acceptance of its model as Canova's pure invention testifies both to the skill of his subtle adaptation and to the consonance between the antique style and his own.

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Notes

1. These notes are based on the Scientific Analysis Report submitted by Deborah Rendahl and Rene de la Rie, NGA Scientific Research department, and the Technical Examination Report by

Katherine A. Holbrow, NGA Object Conservation department (August 1997).

2. In this object, the separately cast neck and arm each have a tapered extension that fits into a corresponding socket in the torso. Sleeve joins, sometimes called Roman joins, are often fixed with a pin or rivet.

3. A telephone message from Sotheby's, London, 6 May 1991 (in NGA curatorial files), reports that the bronze was acquired from an unidentified antiques dealer in King's Road, London.

4. *European Sculpture and Works of Art* . . . , Sotheby's, London (5 July 1990), no. 139.

5. Victory personified as a winged young woman in clinging, fluttering drapery appears frequently in ancient Greek and Roman art. For the profusion of antique *Victories* in marble and bronze sculpture, coins, and other media, see the article "Nike" in LIMC 1981–ff. 6: 1 (1992), 850–904; and 6: 2 (1992), pls. 557–606.

6. The Apsley House statuette is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 5), inv. WM. 1442: 2-1948. For literature on this work, see note 9; a good detail reproduction is in Licht and Finn 1983, 100, pl. 66. Its height, from the left big toe to the top of the head, is 38.3 cm., compared with 38 cm. for the National Gallery bronze (measurements made by Douglas Lewis in June 1991). In other comparative measurements the National Gallery bronze is slightly larger, however. There is no consistent evidence of shrinkage to suggest that one bronze derived directly from the other. If each was made from a separate cast from the same wax or clay model, one would not expect to find such shrinkage in any case.

The Apsley House statuette was moved to the Victoria and Albert Museum for security reasons around 1976, at which time a bronze replica was cast to replace it on the statue at Apsley House. The original globe of gilt marble remains at Apsley House. My thanks to Peta Evelyn, Marjorie Trusted, Diane Bilbey, and Anthony Radcliffe for this information.

7. In November 1996 Eleonora Luciano, NGA research associate, called attention to the relevance of this ancient bronze for the Canova *Victory*, a relationship long recognized by classical scholars but overlooked in the Canova literature. The Kassel *Victory* is most recently illustrated and discussed by Peter Gercke in *Aufklärung und Klassizismus in Hessen-Kassel unter Landgraf Friedrich II. 1760–1785* [Exh. cat. Kassel, Orangerie.] Kassel, 1979, 252–253, cat. 471. Its use by Canova was noted by Bieber 1915, 61–62, no. 153.

The statuette at Schloss Wilhelmshöhe in Kassel (inv. Br. 121) is now dated to the second century A.D. It measures 55.5 cm. high from the left big toe to the tip of the left wing, and 39.5 cm. from the same toe to the top of the head. Its right wing, left foot, and globe are replacements for lost elements, made at unknown dates. Reportedly discovered at Fossombrone, it was purchased by Count Friedrich II of Hesse-Kassel from the Roman dealer Sibilio in 1777. It was in Paris with other Kassel war booty from 1807 (not 1804 as stated in Gercke's 1979 catalogue cited above) until 1815, but Canova's *Napoleon* statue was already completed in 1806. For the Kassel *Victory*'s appeal to the Napoleonic court, see Reinhard Lullies, "Zur Victoria aus Fossombrone und zu den Bienen Napoleons I," *Mansel'e arma gan = Melange Mansel*, Ankara, 1974, 319–326, pl. 108. I am grateful to Peter Gercke for detailed information, bibliography, and measurements.

8. On ideal nudity in post-antique portraiture, see references cited in the Chinard entry (p. 96n. 2). As shown by Hugh Honour (1973, 183), Canova must have been familiar with nude statues of Roman emperors, including the young Augustus.

9. The history of the statue and the previously published literature are admirably summarized in Honour 1973, 180–184, following the detailed account in Hubert 1964, 141–147. Hubert (1964, 147n. 4) refers to the London *Victory* as gilt copper, but sculpture curators at the Victoria and Albert Museum have recently confirmed that it is bronze. See also Pavanello 1976, 109–110, cat. 143–145. The English government purchased the *Napoleon* statue in 1816 as a gift to Lord Wellington, who placed it in his London home, Apsley House, where it remains.

10. Honour (1973, 182) suggested that the Righetti cast the *Victory* from a model by Canova. On the Righetti, see Alison Luchs in *Dictionary* 1996, 26: 389. Canova employed them in 1808–1811 to cast the bronze version of the *Napoleon* that now stands in the courtyard of the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; they may have earned his trust a few years earlier by executing the metal fittings for the marble version of the emperor. The Righetti went on to produce signed bronze reductions of Canova's nude *Napoleon*. For examples, see Pavanello 1976, 110, cat. 145; Mann 1981, 85, pl. 57 (S 231); and Broeder 1973, 134–135, no. 134.

11. Canova drawings dated to 1802 in the Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa, show Napoleon holding a winged *Victory*, but its sketchy forms by no means confirm that at this early stage it was based on the Kassel bronze. See Honour 1973, 183, fig. 6, and Elena Bassi, *Il Museo Civico di Bassano. I Disegni di Antonio Canova* (Venice, 1959), 179–180, nos. E.c. 81.1280 and E.c. 85.1284 (the latter unillustrated; photocopy in NGA curatorial files). My thanks to Mario Guderzo for his assistance.

Pavanello (1976, 110, no. 144) mentions a *bozzetto* [sketch model] for the *Victory*, formerly at Possagno but lost during World War I. No other reference or record of such a *bozzetto* has been found. In reply to an inquiry about it, Settimo Manera reported that the late curator of the Gipsoteca had mentioned only the loss of the plaster *Victory* from the hand of the Napoleon statue at Possagno (letter to the author from Manera dated 7 December 1996, in NGA curatorial files). This would presumably have been a cast of the finished work rather than a sketch model. On casts from the statue and statuette now in London, see Elena Bassi, *La Gipsoteca di Possagno. Sculture e dipinti di Antonio Canova*, Venice, 1957, 173–174, no. 159; and Hubert 1964, 145n. 3.

12. A list of bronzes offered by the Righetti in 1794 included “a Winged *Victory* on a globe, cast after the antique.” See Haskell and Penny 1981, appendix. Francesco Righetti might have obtained molds of the *Victory* from Fossombrone before it left for Kassel. There is a record of at least one early casting campaign on the *Victory* from Fossombrone. In 1801–1802 the sculptor Johann Conrad Wolff (1768–1815) made a plaster cast of it, patinated to resemble bronze, and sent it to Carl August Böttiger in Weimar, who discussed the Kassel *Victory* in an article published in 1803 (see note 14). See Rudolf Hallo, “Wolff, eine Kasseler Steinmetzen- und Baumeisterfamilie,” *Hessenland* 41 (1930), 289 ff., esp. 295. Another early cast, of ochre-tinted plaster, was acquired by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) at an unknown date and survives today in the Goethehaus in Weimar. I am very grateful to Peter Gercke for the Wolff reference, and to Gabriele Oswald of the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik for information and illustrations of the Goethe cast. See also note 14.

13. Compare the raised wings in Canova's *Cupid and Psyche*, versions in Paris, Musée du Louvre, and Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum. For illustrations of the Louvre version, see Pavanello 1976, pl. XVIII; and Canova 1992, pl. 239.

14. This might explain the separate casting of these elements from a different alloy in the Washington bronze, the slight difference in height from the left big toe to the top of the head in the two *Victories* (39.5 cm. for Kassel vs. 38 cm. for NGA; this difference, however, could also be a result of normal shrinkage of a bronze cast compared to its model), and the slightly different dimensions of the globes (9.5 cm. for Kassel vs. 10.3 cm. for NGA). The National Gallery foot, globe, and base seem to have been cast at the same, relatively late, date, with mounting in mind (see Technical Notes).

The Kassel bronze was apparently provided with a new left foot and globe before 1803, since it appears with these elements complete in an engraving by Ludwig Friedrich Kaiser (1779–1819), published as the frontispiece of the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, vol. 2, April–June 1803, illustrating an article by Carl August Böttiger on the *Victory* from Fossombrone. Kaiser may have worked from a cast of the Kas-

sel *Victory* in Böttiger's possession (see note 12). I am grateful to Gabriele Oswald for her help in locating this engraving.

Interestingly, illustrations of the Goethehaus plaster version of the Kassel *Victory*, presumably cast close to 1803, show a different placement of the left foot from the present condition of the Kassel bronze and the Canova *Victory*. The whole sole of the foot in the plaster adheres to the globe, while the Kassel and Canova figures stand on tiptoe, the former on a separately cast top segment of the globe. The handling of the foot in the Weimar plaster could record an early restoration of the Kassel bronze, later changed to bring the ancient work closer to Canova's more graceful interpretation. Or it could simply reflect an adjustment introduced by the caster of the Weimar plaster to make it more stable, or even a later repair to the plaster. Another difference in the plaster, the clumsily drooping left hand, could also reflect later damage and repair to the plaster.

15. The Kassel *Victory* has long been recognized as a descendant of the golden statue of *Victory* standing on a globe, consecrated by Augustus in the Curia Julia after the battle of Actium. That lost statue was widely familiar from reproductions on coins of Augustus and other emperors (Bieber 1915, 61), a fact that may have influenced the selection of its Kassel descendant as the model for the *Victory* to be held by Napoleon. On the Curia Julia *Victory*, see Tonio Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz am Rhein, 1967, esp. 6–12.

16. Canova himself was a consummate marble carver who was not known as a metalworker. Hugh Honour, in “Canova's Sculptural Practice” (Canova 1992, 32–43, esp. 43n. 14), notes Canova's general lack of interest in bronze. Thus the Napoleon/*Victory* project was an exceptional one in the whole course of his oeuvre.

17. Honour (1973, 182) noted the similarity of design between the London *Victory* and Canova's marble statues of *Hebe*, of which four versions were carved between 1795 and 1817. *Hebe*, with its lifted arm and form-defining drapery that billows backward as the figure dances forward on tiptoe, may itself reflect study of ancient *Victory* sculptures. The sensuous cling and relatively unbroken sweep of innumerable fine parallel folds in *Hebe* surpasses even the London *Victory*. Yet given the differences in material, size, and function, there would be no provocation to question their common authorship without external evidence like that of the Kassel bronze. For *Hebe*, see Pavanello 1976, 102, nos. 99–100, and 119, nos. 213–215; and Canova 1992, 264–273, nos. 128–129.

18. The Brera *Napoleon* was cast from a plaster taken from the London statue (Hubert 1964, 145). The *Victory* was stolen from its hand on 25 October 1978, and has not been recovered (information of 19 March 1999, from the International Foundation for Art Research). Thus there has been no opportunity to study this version, which was presumably cast directly from the London statuette.

19. The Dallas bronze, inv. 1979.40 FA, was also acquired from Michael Hall Fine Arts. It is illustrated in *The Taste of Napoleon* [Exh. cat. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri.] Kansas City, 1969; *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin* 4: 10, 54–57, no. 43; and Broeder 1973, 135, no. 135 [sic], fig. 36. Its height from the left toe to the top of the head is 38 cm., corresponding to the National Gallery bronze. I am grateful to Susan Barnes and Samuel Heath for this information.

20. I saw this bronze (inv. 223) in storage at the State Hermitage Museum in October 1992. It is first mentioned in an inventory of 1859. The *Victory* stands on a jasper globe 12 cm. in diameter, on a cylindrical metal base. My thanks to Sergey Androssov for this information (letter from Sergey Androssov to the author dated 3 December 1996, in NGA curatorial files). Early photos indicate that the Brera *Victory* also held a palm frond; the London version may thus have had one as well.

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Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, detail of 1943.4.89

Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux

1827–1875

THE SON AND GRANDSON of stonemasons, Carpeaux was born in Valenciennes and moved to Paris at the age of eleven. Beginning in the early 1840s he studied at the Petite Ecole, the state school for training in the applied arts, formally called the Ecole Gratuite de Dessin, before entering the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1844, where he changed masters repeatedly, oscillating between typical student ambition (optimal credentials for the Prix de Rome) and his interest in more liberal approaches. Carpeaux moved from Ecole painter Abel de Pujol (1785–1861), to the independent sculptor François Rude, and finally to the prestigious Ecole sculptor Francisque-Joseph Duret (1804–1865). After winning lesser competitions—despite being caught cheating—Carpeaux was awarded the Prix de Rome in 1854, but outstanding imperial commissions and illness delayed his departure until 1856.

Once in Rome Carpeaux intensified his reputation as institutional bad boy, canny professional maneuverer, and provocative artist. As a *pensionnaire* he battled repeatedly with the Villa Medici authorities and flouted Ecole policy. Yet his major *envois*—the *Neapolitan Fish-boy* and multi-figural *Ugolino* (both begun 1857)—introduced his name in Paris and provided the artistic and commercial germs for his entire life. His preeminence, as the star among emerging sculptors, was established at the Salon of 1863, where he exhibited finished versions of those two works as well as his new state portrait bust of the emperor's powerful cousin, Princess Mathilde (marble, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), which earned him a first-class medal.

He entered the imperial circle in 1864 as artistic tutor to the Prince Imperial, and executed the boy's bust and full-scale portrait statue for the prince's parents (both mid-1860s, marble; Musée d'Orsay, Paris). He also received some of the most significant monumental commissions of the period: the architectural decoration of the Pavillon de Flore of the Palais du Louvre (1863–1866, *Imperial France Enlightening the World* and the *Triumph of Flora*); and *The Dance* (1865–1869) for the facade of the Paris Opéra. His native Valenciennes commissioned several public projects between 1860 and 1884, including a monument to another of its native artists, Antoine Watteau (1684–1721).

This extraordinary activity was interrupted by the upheavals after the fall of the Second Empire and by

Carpeaux's increasing frailty with cancer. He executed some smaller figures and portraits upon commission and completed his monumental projects in Paris (1868–1874, Observatory Fountain, Jardin du Luxembourg). He mainly focused on amassing income through commercial edition, hoping to recoup his devastating financial losses from those projects and from the war. Estranged from his family, Carpeaux spent the last two years of his life traveling, in the care of patrons, and in clinics.

An ambitious entrepreneur even as an Ecole student—a flagrant violation of the academic policy forbidding commerce—Carpeaux produced serial works throughout his career. Most were reductions or spinoffs of his Salon figures, public monuments, or celebrated portraits. They emerged in a variety of materials, dimensions, and mounts, executed by numerous sources: celebrated bronze founders, the state Manufacture de Sèvres, and his own vast studio in Auteuil. He made use of exhibition outlets throughout Europe—notably the coveted (and juried) industrial sections of international exhibitions—as well as provincial exhibitions throughout France, and sold his work at auction in Paris, London, and continental Europe every year beginning in 1870. He learned the risks and rewards of retaining reproduction rights over his models early in his career. As a student, his refusal to sell works to the government so that he could control the rights to them smacked of dangerous pride, a strategy that ultimately paid handsomely in commercial terms.

Carpeaux provided a highly visible, radical alternative to prevailing norms for sculptors of his own generation as well as the following one. Considered a telling barometer of his age, he and his work aroused bitter public debate. Critics accused him of shameless ambition for seeking constant public exposure. His sculpture was considered just as aggressive. Advocates and opponents alike agreed that his architectural decorations overwhelmed their frameworks. His sumptuous use of baroque and rococo idioms was either excoriated for plagiarism or hailed as embodying the special grandeur of modern times. With its intense expressive energy and naturalism on the one hand, and richly articulated surfaces and decorative quality on the other, Carpeaux's work challenged assumptions about the very nature of high sculpture. His emphatically physical

nudes, male or female, riveted and discomfited his generation, triggering heated arguments about their implications for contemporary morality—especially since they sold well and were repeatedly pirated. Yet his last works and theories about art, largely overlooked until recently, reveal a subdued classicizing approach that parallels that of his master Rude's later works. Carpeaux's influence can be seen in the oeuvre of the later luminaries—Aimé-Jules Dalou, for instance—but it especially permeates the theories and art of Auguste Rodin, his student at the Petite Ecole and an admirer throughout his long and eminent career.

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1943.4.89 (A-64)

Neapolitan Fisherboy *(Pêcheur napolitain à la coquille)*

1857–after 1861

Marble, 92 × 42 × 47 (36¼ × 16⅞ × 18½), including self-base
 Samuel H. Kress Collection

Inscriptions

Lightly incised on shell between the figure's legs: CD [or (A)]/CARPEAUX/ROMA 18[5 or 6] 7 (figs. 1 and 2)

Technical Notes: The figure is carved from a single block of white, gray-veined microcrystalline statuary marble, possibly Italian and from Carrara.¹ The different elements of the work are emphasized by contrasting toolwork. The fleshy areas of the figure are finished with fine cross-hatched filing, while the musculature is smooth and polished. The hair is executed with a narrow-bladed flat chisel, and the pupils of the eyes with a drill. The channels in the conch shell are produced with a bull-nosed chisel and the overall surface worked with a toothed chisel, as is the shoreline. The face and body are finely finished with abrasives such as pumice or emery. The wedge-shaped bridge linking the little finger of the left hand to the heel of the right hand (fig. 3), normally a support during carving and transport that is removed at the last minute, has been retained. There are pinholes throughout the marble, created by mineral inclusions dislodged during carving. The largest of the inherent faults in the marble, to the

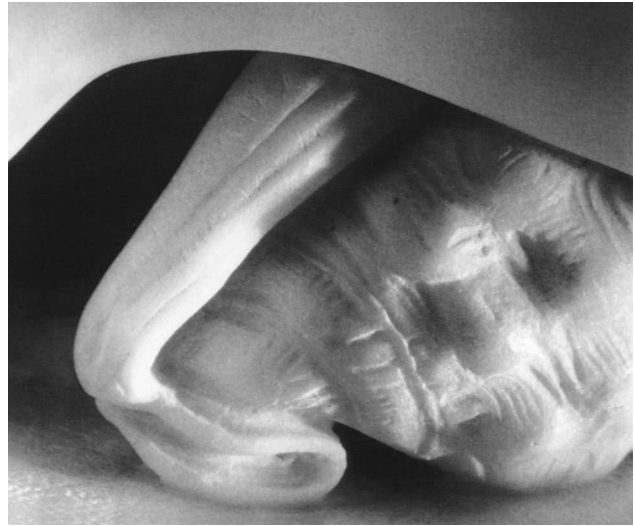


Fig. 1 detail of 1943.4.89



Fig. 2 detail of 1943.4.89

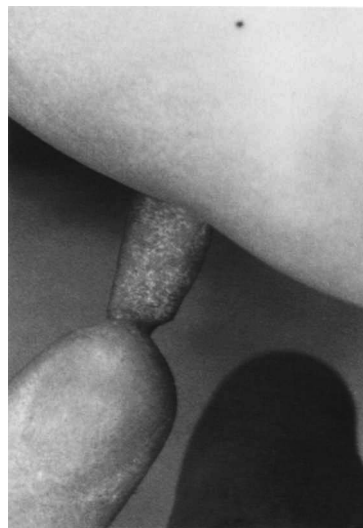


Fig. 3 detail of 1943.4.89



Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Neapolitan Fisherboy (Pêcheur napolitain à la coquille)*, 1943.4.89

right of the plinth, has widened toward the outside edge through subsequent trauma. There are old losses to the self-base and the lip of the shell between the hands.

Provenance: Sold by the artist, possibly before February 1862, to Napoleon III [1808–1873], but officially identified as owned by his wife Eugénie [1826–1920]; installed at the Palais des Tuileries, Paris;² taken by the imperial family as private property to their first residence in exile in England, Chislehurst, probably by summer 1871; bequeathed by Eugénie as part of the family estate at her final English residence, The Hall, Farnborough (Hampshire), to her nephew, Prince Napoléon Victor Jérôme Bonaparte [1862–1926]; sold privately before the estate sales of July 1927 to (Duveen Brothers);³ (Duveen Galleries, New York, by January 1941);⁴ sold 1941 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York; placed on loan March 1941 to the National Gallery of Art.⁵

Exhibitions: Villa Medici, Rome, 1861. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1861.⁶ Salon, Paris, 1863, no. 2273, as *Pêcheur napolitain à la coquille*. Universal Exposition, Paris, 1867, no. 647, as *Pêcheur napolitain*. 103d Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, 1871, no. 1263, as *Le pêcheur napolitain*.⁷ *Exhibition of Sculpture*, Duveen Galleries, New York, 1941.⁸ NGA 1974, as *Pêcheur à la coquille (Fisherboy with a Shell)*.

THIS MARBLE is Carpeaux's final *envoi* as Prix de Rome *pensionnaire*, the most celebrated version of the academic exercise that launched his career, drew powerful patrons, and established his mature style. It is an open tribute to the anti-idealist romanticism of the 1830s. In broad iconographic terms, it affirms an art drawn from typical modern life, a theme revived by the earlier generation of artists and common in Carpeaux's own. The figure represents a particular category: the picturesque and exotic in a Mediterranean world still dominated, in the arts, by the classical past. It echoes the sentimentalized vision of the 1820s and 1830s that emerged in part from discontent with life at home, after a traumatic Revolution and loss of Napoleonic glory. This nostalgic view casts Naples as a modern Arcadia, where the humble or marginalized classes pursue a gayer, simpler, and freer life close to benevolent nature.⁹ Léopold Robert's many paintings of bandits and peasants are the most familiar examples of this type, but the theme of the ideal life in nature was treated also by academic artists such as François Baron Gérard (see p. 219), as in his *Corinne Improvising at Cap Mysène* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons).¹⁰

Carpeaux's figure pays direct homage to François Rude's *Jeune Pêcheur Napolitain* (Neapolitan Fisherboy Playing with a Turtle; fig. 4) and Francisque-Joseph Duret's *Neapolitan Fisherboy Dancing the Tarantella* (1832–1833, bronze; Musée du Louvre, Paris).¹¹ By invoking these celebrated precedents, Carpeaux—a mere student—sought to legitimize his work and to publicly announce his artistic credo. Carpeaux's *Fisherboy* echoes those of both Rude and Duret in its fundamental aim, to reconcile modern naturalism with the inherited artistic conventions of the life-size statue, a concern most obvious in the partial or total nudity of the figures, identified as modern Neapolitans by their stocking caps.

However, Carpeaux seeks more intense expression than Rude: The celebrated earlier figure smiles; Carpeaux's—according to his own account of the time—laughs.¹² The impish expression recalls an ancient lineage that idealists despised as coarse naturalism: the puckish rowdies of classical mythology, Pans, satyrs, and Bacchus' merrymakers that abounded from antiquity to the eighteenth century.

Carpeaux's naturalistic *Fisherboy* imposes more artistic license upon literal truth than is immediately evident. For example, the shells represented in the work include types that are not indigenous to Neapolitan shores. The most prominent shells were common nineteenth-century studio props that had only recently lost their rare *Wunderkammer* value of prior centuries. The boy sits on a helmet shell (*Cypraea rufa*) from the Indo-Pacific area and holds a Queen's Conch (*Strombus gigas*) from the West Indies.¹³ The only shells associated with the Mediterranean are the small snail shells scattered at the boy's feet.¹⁴

Kocks is the only scholar to distinguish Carpeaux's shell-listening motif from other menial or leisure activities within the category of exotic genre. He associates the *Fisherboy* with a Renaissance bronze statuette, attributed to the Circle of Andrea Riccio, of Pan holding a triton; however, Pan seems instead about to blow the shell.¹⁵ Kocks otherwise points to a figure from the 1840s, Hiram Powers' *Fisher Boy*, a conception of 1841 that resulted in several mar-



Fig. 4 François Rude, *Jeune Pêcheur Napolitain*, marble, 1831/1833, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Photo RMN

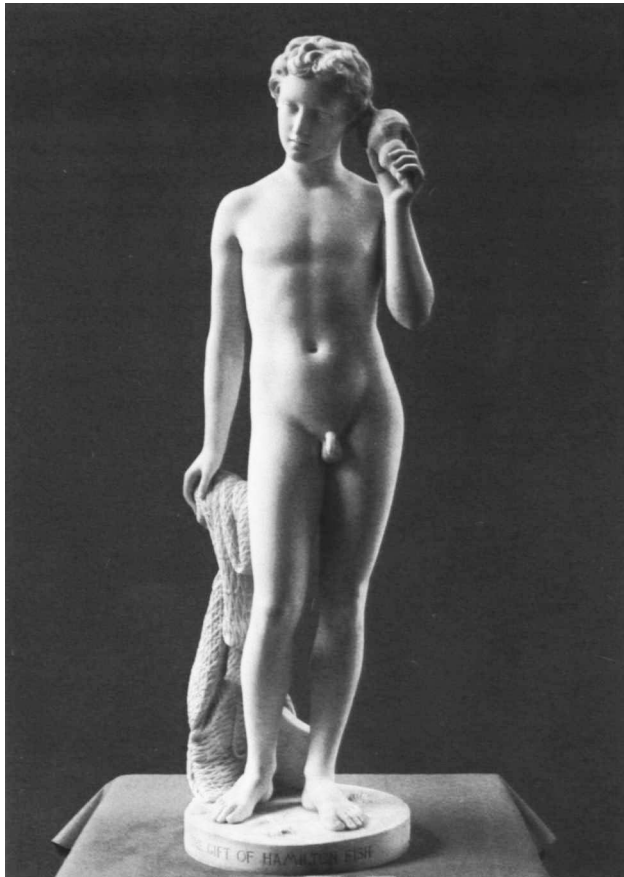


Fig. 5 Hiram Powers, *The Fisher Boy*, marble, 1848, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of the Honorable Hamilton Fish, 94.9.1

ble figures and busts of the subject over the ensuing years (fig. 5). In addition, German sculptor Carl Johann Steinhäuser (1813–1879) executed a closely similar standing *Shell Girl* in Rome the year before.¹⁶

Shell-listening seems to be a rare subject in the visual arts, compared with the common imagery of blowing triton trumpets and riding, playing, or adorning oneself with scallops or nautilus. Powers' sculpture is among the few, as well as the earliest, to come to light.¹⁷ Perhaps significantly, for reasons to be discussed below, all are three-dimensional figures.

As an artistic theme, the motif may have its roots in early nineteenth-century literature. It pervades the poetry of English romantic naturalists. The most famous among those to develop the theme is William Wordsworth (1770–1850), who claimed shell-listening was common and widespread, used by children in his native Cockermonth to determine the tides.¹⁸ He used the motif repeatedly in verse to articulate one of his most important tenets: the tragic contrast between the jaded materialistic adult of the modern industrial age and the sensitive child whose imagination embraced the complex harmony of the universe. The child's channel to that cosmic richness, he argued, was sound. For Wordsworth, like many Kantian intellectuals of

his time, the receptive ear was the most spiritual human sense.¹⁹ Closer to Carpeaux's immediate world, advocates of romanticism in France strongly prized imagination, and some upheld the unsophisticated urchins of Naples as the most sensitive in this regard.²⁰ Carpeaux's figure thus can be seen to represent just such an act of poetic flight in an ideal model. Moreover, the imagination required of the child to interpret the evocative sound tacitly demands the same of the viewer before the figure. The meager narrative tools of the statue—facial expression, body language, and attributes—are all that is offered; no suggestive title serves as guide. Perhaps, like Powers' and Steinhäuser's shell-listening figures, Carpeaux's exploits the idealists' censure against elaborate narrative in the figure. The silence imposed on high sculpture enhances the value of suggestion and secret communication in that medium, as in no other. Thus, Carpeaux's gleeful genre subject may address the mysterious dynamic of imagination between a provocatively ambiguous artifact and receptive viewer, a creative mental act that was mourned as rare in French sculpture after the 1830s.²¹

Carpeaux's *Fisherboy* is more complex stylistically than its predecessors from the 1830s. Unlike Rude's and Duret's Neapolitan figures, it functions as a fully three-dimensional form by commanding multiple perspectives and aggressively manipulating physical gravity and space. The swiveling, top-heavy, precious pose emphatically distinguishes Carpeaux's adolescent from Rude's solidly planted, seated boy.²² It creates an open, bold, and asymmetrical contour that spars with the surrounding envelope, alternately projecting into space and being penetrated by it. The impression of barely contained force in the tense figure recalls the expressive energy of Michelangelo's (1475–1564) nudes. The extravagant fanning of the fingers, which implausibly support the huge shell, recalls the artifice of dance rather than the artlessness of childplay, as in Rude's figure. Many of these features evoke mannerist and classical prototypes: the spiraling, gesturing figures of Rosso (1494–1541), Utewael (1566–1638), Jean Goujon (1520–1572), or Giambologna, classical types such as the *Crouching Venus*, which Carpeaux copied as a student at the Ecole in 1850–1851.²³ The figure also closely suggests rococo art in its play upon the artful naturalism and elegant asymmetry of the shell that forms part of the style's name (*rocaille* [rustic grotto work] and *coquille* [shell]).

On the other hand, the scale, tacit viewpoint, and psychological vitality of the figure give an intense immediacy that link it to the many historical styles associated with naturalism. It is nearly lifesize. The boy's focused gaze draws the viewer close and can be "met" at its right, suggesting the ideal eyelevel and intimate viewpoint of the work. Carpeaux's descriptive anatomical rendering eschews the smooth forms on Duret's and Rude's figures to animate the work even further. The boy's body demands sustained scrutiny at every angle, both as "living" anatomy and enticing artifact: This is especially evident in the counterpoint

throughout the work between the boy's ectomorphic build and his delicate fleshiness. Recalling strategies familiar in "fleshy" works from Hellenistic Greece to Canova, bones and sinew play against cushioned cheeks and thighs, folds at the waist, and buttocks yielding before the supporting heel. The figure thus asserts the sculptor's scientific and artistic knowledge through its artful curves and angles and hard and soft masses. It is compellingly sensual, as enticing to the sense of touch as to the eye. It aims for technical bravura. The broad range of textures and chiaroscuro developed through its finishwork triggers a rich play of light effects. Such treatment establishes two hallmarks of Carpeaux's oeuvre that idealists condemned and advocates of nature applauded: its "coloristic" effect, carrying it into the domain of painting, and its impression of quivering, supple vitality. Both were features commonly associated with Gian Lorenzo Bernini's (1598–1680) marbles, but were also famous and controversial qualities of those by Canova.

Such formal eclecticism seems logical in a work created as an example of high sculpture for the Académie. However it also characterizes Carpeaux's later work and that of an entire generation. The *Fisherboy* anticipates the androgynous adolescents of the 1860s that were regarded at the time as synthesizing the best of naturalism and antiquity on the authority of Renaissance models such as Donatello (1386–1466), Andrea del Verrocchio (1435–1488), and Jacopo Sansovino (1477–1570). The works of Alexandre Falguière (1831–1900) and Paul Dubois (1829–1905), notably the latter's *Fifteenth-Century Florentine Singer* (1865, full-scale silvered bronze; Musée d'Orsay, Paris),²⁴ are celebrated examples. This group of decorative, highly wrought figures of adolescents embodies the sensual elegance that had wide appeal during the Second Empire.²⁵ In the context of Carpeaux's own work, the *Fisherboy* is the first of many crouching, energetic figures, followed almost immediately by *Ugolino* (1863, bronze; Musée d'Orsay, Paris). Along with its pendant, the *Girl with a Shell* (p. 75), the laughing *Fisherboy* provides the formal and expressive blueprint for Carpeaux's greatest monumental projects of the Second Empire, notably *The Dance* (1865–1869, Opéra Garnier, Paris), as well as the central motif for the myriad spinoffs of these works for commercial edition.

Carpeaux conceived and executed the *Neapolitan Fisherboy* to satisfy the mid-term assignment for *pensionnaires* at the Villa Medici: a lifesize *étude de figure* of the artist's own invention.²⁶ After struggling with the project through 1857, in December Carpeaux wrote his friend and colleague Charles Laurent that he had finally arrived at a fruitful idea and had begun work in earnest: "the movement is changed, as you can see in this terrible sketch which I gave you" and that its subject was now "a young fisherman on the shore, listening to a shell."²⁷ He later described the subject as "taken from life," representing an eleven-year-old boy who laughs at what he hears.²⁸ Carpeaux claimed the figure had already caused quite a stir by then; even Roman *cognoscenti* came to "see the work that is so much talked about."²⁹ He

boasted that a visiting critic compared it favorably with Rude's *Fisherboy*.³⁰ It was still a work in evolution, however. Carpeaux did not feel it was beyond possible alteration until March of that year. However, he refused to have the plaster cast until he could compare the figure to his reduction of Rude's version, which he requested Laurent to ship from Paris.³¹ He failed to have it cast in time for the annual exhibition of *envois* in Rome on 22 April or for shipment to Paris in June, for exhibition at the Ecole.³²

The plaster made its Paris debut that September, among the Prix de Rome winners and Villa Medici *envois* of that year.³³ Once again it catapulted Carpeaux into the limelight. However, it also triggered bitter debate and even censure for a wide array of qualities. The official report from the Ecole condemned the figure's modernity as unbefitting the high art of the statue: Though exhibited without a title, the judges dismissed its subject (identified as a "shepherd"), expressive intensity, and naturalism as ignoble and lowly.³⁴ For them, Rude's and Duret's popular works in this vein were not appropriate credentials. For Carpeaux's critics, however, these figures were positive benchmarks. It seemed obvious to his supporters that Carpeaux had built inventively upon his master's versions, creating an artful, expressive figure for the new generation, with all the virtues of naturalism.³⁵ Others considered its expressive intensity, especially the laugh, and emphatically articulated nudity offensive: Lifelike yet—by idealist standards—overstudied and overworked, it suggested to them a bestial decadence masquerading as youthful innocence in the high art of the nude.³⁶

While preparing the model, Carpeaux planned simultaneously for marble and bronze casts of the figure. He claimed he had been assured a marble block from the Minister of State as well as a commission for a bronze cast.³⁷ Instead, the government proposed to buy the plaster for 2,000 francs. Carpeaux refused the offer in order to retain the reproduction rights.³⁸ The sculptor initially paid all costs of executing the marble himself. He relied on the high price he demanded for the bronze, which was being cast from the plaster in Paris, to pay for the blocking out of the marble underway in Rome.³⁹ Work proceeded with little speed, perhaps due to a lack of funds. In the spring of 1860, the Ecole granted Carpeaux an indemnity of 3,000 francs towards completion of the figure, according to Villa Medici policy, and to encourage progress on his *Ugolino* group for the annual Ecole exhibition the following year.⁴⁰ By the summer, Carpeaux called the marble "admirable," though how finished it was at the time is unknown.⁴¹ Clément-Carpeaux states that Laurent arrived in Rome in late October to complete the marble, but there is little documentation to substantiate her claim.⁴² Carpeaux considered it far enough along to include in the annual student exhibition of 1861 in Rome and Paris.⁴³ Although critics in both cities dismissed the work as unfinished, they did not repeat the objection when Carpeaux exhibited the sculpture at the Salon of 1863,⁴⁴ thereby raising the possibility that further

work was performed on the marble after its 1861 debut. The degree of finish remains questionable, however, because of the bridge between the hands that is usually removed at the very end. Although bridges and struts exist in many classical and modern large-scale marbles, such a blatant technical aid here seems to conflict with the virtuosity of this marble, which presents exquisite, delicately wrought, extended forms as part of its aesthetic problem. The bridge is not included in the later version of 1873, a period in which Carpeaux is documented as wanting such supports removed—especially in works for the imperial family.⁴⁵

The date commemorated in the inscription is also open to question. Seymour and Avery read it as 1861, the date of the marble's public debut and alleged completion.⁴⁶ The last digit differs significantly from the initial "1" and more closely resembles a "7," suggesting 1857, the beginning of the project when Carpeaux was a Roman *pensionnaire*, or 1867, the year it was exhibited a second time. With the additional mention of Rome in the inscription, 1857 seems more plausible, especially since other variants are similarly dated.

The meaning of the letters above Carpeaux's signature (fig. 1), which Avery interprets as "CD,"⁴⁷ is unclear. If included with Carpeaux's permission, as acknowledging a collaborator, they are still problematic. Carpeaux allowed such credit on other versions of those years in lesser material. The plaster that he gave to his native city in 1860 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes) is inscribed: "Cast by Ch. Laurent—student of the author [sculptor]."⁴⁸ The name by which he identifies the *mouleur*, however, suggests that the letters on the marble do not refer to Laurent (known only much later as Charles Laurent-Daragon); it is also set well apart from the signature. Under certain light conditions, the version on the marble suggests a parenthesized "A," as on Carpeaux's unique plaster of Charles-Joseph Tissot (Musée du Petit Palais, Paris): "(A) mon Ami Tissot. J. Bte Carpeaux. 186[]," or on a drawing of Anna Foucart: "Carpeaux et (A)."⁴⁹ The two types of inscriptions, however, have apparently different functions: The first, possibly meaning "To" my friend . . . ; the second, if not a coy reference to the sitter (an old friend from Valenciennes), is unclear. If not a private personal tribute, the version on the National Gallery marble may refer to the *praticien*—one of Carpeaux's was known as Armand. That speculation seems far-fetched, however. Though Armand was on the team that produced *The Dance*—a monumental stone group—he does not seem to count among the workers entrusted with the prestigious marble busts and statues of that period, such as Bernard Bernaerts.⁵⁰ None of these marble projects, moreover, is marked with any other name beyond Carpeaux's.

Shown three times in Paris in the 1860s, the marble received favorable accolades even from opponents to the plaster and bronze. The key factor was its refined handling. Its carving was seen to reconcile the emphatic naturalism of the model with the demands of high art in its noblest material, marble. The critics saw Carpeaux's approach to the

model as differing according to material in each case, a technical issue with great symbolic value. His most vocal champion in this regard was Théophile Gautier, who praised the sculptor's discriminating change of idiom from bronze to marble: "If M. Carpeaux is romantic and violent in the bronze, he knows to be delicate and tender in the marble, where immaculate whiteness accords so well with pure forms."⁵¹ The implacably hostile Paul Mantz, who decried Carpeaux's relentless exhibition of the *Fisherboy* in different materials, admitted that the marble was "worked with love and a singular delicacy of execution" even if, for him, it still exceeded the limits of art as Rude's version never had.⁵² After Carpeaux's death, his longtime champion Chesneau pointed to this marble as the very reason the *Fisherboy* ultimately received its laurels, as Carpeaux's first masterpiece of many: "The carving is supple, exquisite, delicate, and fine; the emphasis on the pectoral muscles and spine, though more pronounced than in Rude's, is subdued to its appropriate value in the marble, that of [controlled] force, that the plaster had exaggerated."⁵³

Accounts of its acquisition conflict. According to Clément-Carpeaux, in June 1862 the *Ugolino* committee proposed that the State buy the marble *Fisherboy* to compensate for its stalemate over the controversial group, an offer Carpeaux allegedly refused as a shameful compromise.⁵⁴ In 1863, the sculptor claimed he had already sold the *Fisherboy*, during his tenure in Rome, to the Emperor: Carpeaux left Rome in January 1862 and arrived in Paris early the following month.⁵⁵ If his allegations are true, the imperial family's acquisition of the marble *Fisherboy*, a professional triumph that any emerging sculptor would gladly advertise, appears instead to have been a discreet transaction. The family is not mentioned as owning the marble in the catalogue of the 1863 Salon.⁵⁶ Not until the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867 was the marble *Fisherboy* identified as belonging to the Empress, like its pendant *Girl with a Shell* in the Salon of the same year.

Several drawings, oil sketches, and terra-cotta or wax maquettes are associated with the *Fisherboy*.⁵⁷ A drawing and two oil sketches correspond closely to this composition.⁵⁸ The three-dimensional sketches appear to relate only loosely as generic studies of crouching, extended, or twisting figures. They may instead comprise the common well-spring for Carpeaux's numerous projects that explore these artistic concerns.⁵⁹

At least four full-scale plasters are extant: the original model at the Musée du Louvre, Paris; the *mise-au-point* model, signed and dated 1858, at the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris; the 1857 plaster cast by Laurent, at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes (given by the artist to the city in 1860); and a plaster, thought to be a period cast, at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, given by Clément-Carpeaux in 1933, tacitly in honor of Rude.⁶⁰

Three full-scale marbles can be documented that were produced and marketed during Carpeaux's lifetime. The National Gallery example, begun in Rome, is the first. A



Fig. 6 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Pêcheur Napolitain*, marble variant with base, 1873, Paris, Fabius Frères

marble shown anonymously at the Royal Academy, London, in 1871 could be a second version, but it may well be the National Gallery's, since the imperial family resided nearby in exile.⁶¹ A second, surely documented marble was produced later in Paris; it is signed and dated 1873 as is its accompanying carved-wood base and its pendant, similarly entitled *Girl with a Shell* (fig. 6). Both appeared for the first time at Carpeaux's auction (Hôtel Drouot, 20 December 1873, nos. 1 and 2). The location of a third marble (sold at the same location, 23 May 1874, no. 44), remains unknown to date.⁶² The 1873 marble is more broadly handled than the National Gallery version. Iconographically, however, the two are virtual twins, though the later marble is often described as bearing a net on the left leg.⁶³ Both depart from all other examples in including the helmet shell between the legs, perhaps as an additional structural support for the precariously perched figure in heavy marble.

Carpeaux and commercial founders aggressively produced and marketed bronzes of the figure from the outset.⁶⁴ The sculptor commissioned Victor Thiébaut to cast at least two full-scale bronzes of the figure before the marble was completed. The first, patinated to resemble Duret's *Neapolitan Fisherboy* and shown in the Salon of 1859, was sold that year to James Rothschild; its current location is unknown. The second, sold to A. Patoux while making its rounds of provincial and foreign exhibitions in 1860–1861, is now at the Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.⁶⁵ Thiébaut

allegedly edited a reduction of the figure by 1861 as well, and offered full-scale and reduced casts at least through 1867.⁶⁶ Delesalle offered full-scale casts in 1863; by July of that year Barbedienne had charged Carpeaux for the execution of one reduction.⁶⁷ At the same time Carpeaux established bust variants: a capped boy with draped shoulders, known as the *Rieur* (Laughing Boy), and another instead crowned with vine garlands (*Rieur aux pampres*).⁶⁸ By the late 1860s Carpeaux had opened the Auteuil studio and offered the *Fisherboy* under his own marks; the many spin-offs—including the figure atop an inkwell—became the mainstay of the operation.⁶⁹ The most common among extant examples, a variant figure with a net over the left leg in full-size and in reduction, is standardly dated to 1873.⁷⁰ However, Fabius' netless marble—inscribed 1873—challenges such a clear chronological line, suggesting at a minimum that the original composition was available subsequently as well.⁷¹ The choice of either option was made available on some serial examples: Shepherd Gallery had a proof model, without a foundry cachet, of a bronze reduction with a removable net.⁷² Eventually the figure and bust variants were offered in bronze and terra cotta; the figure was advertised in full-scale and reduction (35 centimeters for the bronze, 50 centimeters for the terra cotta), and additionally in white-glazed Capodimonte ware—appropriately, a Neapolitan product.⁷³ The Atelier Carpeaux continued to edit his works until at least a decade after the sculptor's death.⁷⁴ Susse Frères, probably through posthumous arrangements with Carpeaux's family, also executed casts of the subject.⁷⁵ Serial casts in the various materials, sizes, and variant formats appear frequently on the market and can be found in many public collections. Full-size bronzes are presently at: the Musée municipal de Cambrai; the Peabody Institute (Towson Branch), Towson, Maryland; the Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond; YUAG; and the New Orleans Museum of Art. Full-size terra cottas are at: NCG and the Musée Jules Chéret, Nice. A bronze reduction is at the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College.

SGL

Notes

1. See Technical Appendix by Katherine A. Holbrow and Shelley Sturman. Recent evidence identifies Carrara marble as the preferred material for works like the *Fisherboy*, produced as *envois* at the Villa Medici during the early nineteenth century. Le Normand 1981, 46, states that when purchasing their own blocks in Rome, *pensionnaires* sought Carrara statuary marble, whether from a local distributor or directly from Carrara. The Académie subsidized the costs of marble and outside labor for the first-year antique copy and the final *envoi*, but not the second-year project. According to Holbrow and Sturman, the marble of the National Gallery *Fisherboy* and *Girl with a Shell* is very similar morphologically, corresponding to *campanino*, the hard marble found at Pescina or other sites on the outer stratum, despite the differences in time and location of production of the two figures.

2. Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 82.

3. 'A Farnborough ont été photographiés par le comte [illegible in original document] chez l'Impératrice Eugénie les deux groupes

en marbre du pêcheur et de la Jeune fille de la coquille. Ces groupes n'ont pas figuré à la vente de l'Impératrice, ni à Londres les 1er ou 7 juillet 1927 ni à Farnborough les 18–27 juillet 1927. (Le marbre avec son pendant ayant été à Farnborough, ont été achetés à l'amiable par Duveen.)" *Registre* [Elie Fabius], Archives, Fabius Frères, Paris. Pierre Fabius made available this unpublished reference.

4. Cortissoz 1941.

5. In NGA registrarial files.

6. For the Rome and Paris exhibitions of 1861, see further in the text.

7. Royal Academy 1871, 52. For a discussion of the identity of this marble, see further in the text.

8. Cortissoz 1941, 6, repro. opp. p. 10.

9. Wagner 1986, 146. For a general discussion of this issue in connection with personal and political liberty, see Honour 1979, 241–244.

10. For a contemporary discussion of the painting, see Starzynski 1966, 131–134, repro. (detail), opp. p. 115. Its subject is drawn from Madame de Staël's *Corinne* of 1807, perhaps the single most influential portrayal of the European vision of Neapolitan naive happiness.

11. Wagner 1986, 72, fig. 52.

12. Carpeaux, letter of 18 September 1858, to J. B. Foucart; Mabillet de Poncheville 1921, 154.

13. Letter from the late R. Tucker Abbott, President of American Malacologists, Inc., to the author dated 2 July 1988, and letter from Jerry Harasewych, associate curator, department of Invertebrate Zoology (Mollusks), National Museum of American History, Washington, to Donald Myers dated 22 August 1988 (in NGA curatorial files). The species are not described in such early texts as Aristotle's *Natural History*, but are catalogued in the tenth edition of Linnaeus' *Systema Naturae* of 1758.

Their devaluation as luxury items is pointedly demonstrated in Charles Bird King's (1785–1862) painting, *The Poor Artist's Cupboard* of about 1815 (CGA), which presents the conch among the modest props available to the penurious artist. Douglas Lewis brought this work to my attention. However—mark of their residual value as treasured objects—in the 1840s Hiram Powers reportedly used a shell from the celebrated collection of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany as a model for the attribute of his own *Fisher Boy* (fig. 5, to be discussed further in the text). See Crane 1972, 210. Abbott (annotated xerox of Peter Dance's *History of Conchology*, [London, 1966], in NGA curatorial files) identifies the shell that Powers' figure listens to as a small Triton's Trumpet (*Charonia tritonica*), linking this American sculptor to European predecessors who similarly represented this specimen, drawing perhaps from the Medici collection: Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572), in *Pearl Fishing* for the Studiolo of Francesco I at the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; and Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), in *Marie de Medici Landing in Marseille* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). For the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century examples, see Abbott, Stix, and Stix 1968, fig. 2.

The burgeoning business of luxury items made from shells, particularly cameos produced from helmet shells, was an important factor in the availability of such objects, which were sold by dealers in major European cities by the nineteenth century. The commercial value of shells made them an increasingly prominent feature in the universal expositions of the late nineteenth century, in the category of "hunt, fishing, and the harvest." A highly revealing discussion of the industry, distribution, and commercial demand for these shells is found in that context: H. de La Blanchère, "Coquilles et coraux," *Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée* 50 (25 November 1867), 451–452.

14. These are the conical *Cerithium vulgatum* Brugière, the Pelican's Foot Shell (*Aporrhais pespelecani*), and one species of the celebrated *Bolinus brandaris* that produces the Tyrian Purple. See Dr. Harasewych's previously mentioned letter of 22 August (see note 13) as well as Donald Myers' letter of the same date to the author that records Dr. Harasewych's comments during his examination of the marble (in NGA curatorial files).

15. Kocks 1981, 64, fig. 279. Two other bronzes given to that circle, both inkwells, are even closer. Alison Luchs (verbal communication) notes a kneeling Atlas-like figure carrying a disproportionately large gastropod belonging to Heinz Schneider (Wixom 1975, no. 90, repro.) and an example at the National Gallery representing a standing child carrying another comparatively colossal gastropod (1957.14.35; NGA 1994, 191, repro.).

In another discussion of the iconographic context, Wagner 1986, 146–147, includes two shell subjects in her discussion of figures of Neapolitan fishermen or boys exhibited in Paris from the 1840s through the 1860s (Jules Klagmann [1810–1867], *Enfant jouant avec des coquillages*, and Barthélemy Frison [1816–1877], *Le Pêcheur des coquillages*; present locations unknown; both repro. p. 147).

16. *19th Century Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors and Sculpture*, Christie's, New York, 25 May 1988, no. 161, repro. I am grateful to Alison Luchs and Donald Myers for drawing my attention to this work.

17. Philip Ward-Jackson (personal communication) notes Alexander Munro's group *The Sound of the Shell*, shown at the Royal Academy in 1861 (Engelfield House, Berkshire, England). Yet another example is Chauncey B. Ives' (1812–1894) seated marble girl listening to a gastropod, entitled *The Truant* (after 1871, New-York Historical Society). See Gerds 1973, repro. p. 135.

18. Preface to *Composed by the Seashore* (1833, revised 1842); Sheats 1982, 724, a rejoinder to Walter Savage Landor, who accused Wordsworth of stealing the motif from his own poetry.

19. See, for example, Wordsworth's *On the Power of Sound*; *The Excursion* (Book IV, esp. verses 1130–1147); and *Not Love, Not War, Nor the Tumultuous Swell*.

20. See Stendhal's discussion of the Neapolitan *lazzarone* in Madame de Staël's and baron Gérard's *Corinne* . . . ; Starzynski 1966, 133–134.

21. For a discussion of this subject concerning modern sculpture, see Baudelaire's "Salon of 1859"; Lemaître 1962, particularly 383–394.

22. Kocks 1981, 64, describes the difference between these two figures as merely a spiraling movement, versus a closed, sitting pose.

23. Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, 1: 27–28. Ruth Butler Mirolli's catalogue entry in Louisville 1971, 64, notes the stylistic kinship of the *Crouching Venus* type to Carpeaux's *Fisherboy*. The prototype, known through casts, reductions, and engravings, is the marble at the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. See Haskell and Penny 1981, 321–323, fig. 171. Philip Ward-Jackson (personal communication) notes the use of the crouching pose by other sculptors at this time: Holme Cardwell's (1815/1820–after 1857) *Water Nymph* dated 1856 (art market); and Cincinnato Baruzzi's (d. 1878) *Sylvia* (Woburn Abbey, England). For both, see the corresponding artist's file at the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

24. Anne Pingeot, "Sculpture," in Philadelphia 1978, 226–227, repro.

25. Butler Mirolli 1966, 63, 68–69; Lindsay, Pingeot, and Rishel 1978, 206.

26. Académie Impériale de France à Rome. Section de Sculpture [report prepared by Victor Schnetz, Director], *Travaux exécutés par MM les pensionnaires pendant l'année 1857, exposés en avril 1858, et expédiés à Paris, le 16 juin suivant* in Kocks 1981, 129. For discussion of these *envois* and their aims, see Le Normand 1981, 23–67, and Wagner 1986, 109–170.

27. Carpeaux, letter of 19 December 185[7?] to Charles Laurent; *Figaro* 1906. The present location of the illustrated letter is unknown. The date of the letter, moreover, is problematic. Madame Regnal dates it 1859, which seems illogical, placed at the end of the sequence of events that it initiates. I follow Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, 1: 76, and Wagner 1986, 291n. 97, who date it to 1857. However, Wagner, in Los Angeles 1980, 145, dates the beginning of the project to late January 1857. If so, Carpeaux produced little over the ensuing months since the director of the Villa Medici complained the fol-

lowing July that he had not begun anything (Schnetz, letter of 20 July 1857, to de Mercey; Varenne 1908, 580).

28. Carpeaux to Foucart (see note 12). After Carpeaux's death his children elaborated that story. His son claimed the figure depicted "a child that he saw one day on the beach in Naples, playing with a shell," (Carpeaux 1899), an episode that Clément-Carpeaux later ascribed to a second trip to Naples around November 1857 (Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 76).

Two life models for the project have been proposed. Wagner 1986, 149, identifies an unnamed Roman boy from the Borgo, whose grandmother had posed for Carpeaux. The second is a certain Giuseppe Moretti who claimed to be the very Neapolitan youth who had inspired the subject. He presented his case in an unpublished letter of the late 1930s concerning the sale of his terra cotta bust variant of the *Fisherboy*. He claimed his father received it from Carpeaux himself, as thanks for having allowed the boy to pose for the initial figure, having noticed him listening to a seashell on his father's boat. He stated the episode took place in Naples in 1857, when he was ten years old (Moretti, letter of 6 August 1938, to an unnamed correspondent, probably Chester Beatty; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin). The letter was brought to the attention of Douglas Lewis by Shreve Simpson, who received a copy of it from David James of the Beatty Library (in NGA curatorial files). The letter is in French, datelined Saint-Ouen. Given the close resemblance of Moretti's account to that in Clément-Carpeaux's monograph published shortly before, as well as his eagerness to sell the bust, his story is open to question. It is nonetheless feasible on chronological grounds: If he was ten in 1857, in 1938 he would have been about eighty-one, an age consistent with the unsteady script of the letter.

29. Carpeaux, letter of 19 December 185[7?], to Laurent; *Figaro* 1906.

30. Carpeaux, letter of 16 July 1858, to Madame J. B. Foucart; Wagner 1986, 146.

31. Carpeaux, letter of 27 March 1858, to Laurent; *Figaro* 1906.

32. Schnetz ("Travaux . . . 1857–1858") in Kocks 1981, 129. Schnetz reported the plaster was being cast as the other *envois* were being shipped (e.g., June). Anne Wagner, "Neapolitan Fisherboy," in Los Angeles 1980, 145n. 3, cites a bill dated 3 August 1858, for eighteen *scudi*, submitted by Leopoldo Malpieri for casting the "statua" of Carpeaux, which is probably post-facto, like many of its kind.

33. Carpeaux to Foucart (see note 12). Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 81, followed by Wagner in Los Angeles 1980, 145 (see note 32), instead places the exhibition in June. However, in addition to Carpeaux's September letter that discusses the exhibition as in progress, the critical reviews themselves date from early October: for example, Auvray 1858, 3–4, and About 1858, 1247.

34. Chesneau 1880, 57.

35. About 1858, 1247; Auvray 1858, 3–4.

36. Du Pays 1858, 230; and Mantz 1858, 72. See also the excellent discussion in Wagner 1986, 149–150.

37. Carpeaux, letter of 9 June 1858, to Laurent; *Figaro* 1906.

38. Schnetz, letter of 30 October 1858, to de Mercey, intermediary for the Minister of State; in Wagner 1986, 292n. 101.

39. Carpeaux, letter of 15 October 1858, to his parents; in Wagner 1986, 292n. 102.

40. Official Institut memorandum of 26 April 1860; Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 102. For the policy, see note 1.

41. Carpeaux, letter of 10 August 1860, to Laurent; *Figaro* 1906.

42. Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 109. Laurent was head of the casting studio at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Carpeaux standardly used *praticiens* throughout his career (Braunwald and Wagner 1975, 112). Little is known about his direct involvement in carving after 1855, when he suffered a severe toxic reaction to marble dust (respiratory infection and temporary blindness), while working on the marble of his first state commission, the *Reception of Abd-el-Kadar*; the marble was ultimately executed by Charles Capellaro ([1826–1899], Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes). See Clément-Carpeaux

1934–1935, I: 56, 262. There is also no documentary evidence that his primary *praticien* in Paris during the 1860s, Bernard Bernaërts, was involved either. See Bernaërts' accounts for those years in Dossier Praticiens, Fonds Carpeaux, Bibliothèque municipale classée, Valenciennes. My thanks to Marie-Pierre Dion for investigating the question in the archive on my behalf.

43. Schnetz, "Travaux . . . 1860–1861," in Kocks 1981, 130.

44. De Sault 1864, 313; Mantz 1861, 465; Mantz 1863, 51. Their views accord with the Ecole committee's verdict; minutes of the meeting of 28 October 1861, in Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 125n. 1.

45. The later marble is discussed further in the text; it is reproduced, without the relevant area of the hands visible, in Grand Palais 1975, no. 44, repro. For Carpeaux's attention to the removal of those struts, see his correspondence to another *praticien* Bernard from Puy in August 1874; one such, for a bust of Napoleon III, is cited in Wagner 1986, 183n. 24.

46. Seymour 1949, 183; Charles Avery, "Young Girl with a Sea Shell," in Middeldorf 1976, 115–116.

47. Avery in Middeldorf 1976, 115 (see note 46).

48. Hardy and Braunwald 1978, 44, pl. 21 (inscription not visible).

49. Grand Palais 1975, no. 93, and *Carpeaux* 1955–1956, no. 71, belonging then to Pierre Schommer, Paris.

50. In 1865–1866 Bernaërts finished Carpeaux's portrait statue of the Prince Imperial after it was blocked out by Verseron, and may have executed the earlier nude bust version as well; Wagner 1986, 199.

51. Gautier 1863, 1114–1115.

52. Mantz 1863, 51.

53. Chesneau 1880, 68.

54. Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 136.

55. Carpeaux, letter of 5 May 1863, to Louis Dutouquet; in Mabile de Poncheville 1921, 192. Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 126–127, provides as evidence of Carpeaux's travels a letter datelined Marseille, 3 February 1862, and one 11 February 1862, from his new Paris address, 36, rue de l'Ouest.

56. See the Provenance. There are other cases of that fairly common policy being applied to Carpeaux's imperial works in the Salon: Princess Mathilde's marble bust, which she commissioned and owned, shown in the Salon of 1863, and the plaster model for the portrait statue of the Prince Imperial, a private commission shown in the Salon of 1866.

57. Most are included, discussed, and illustrated in Grand Palais 1975, nos. 33–40.

58. A study of a head (Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, R. F. 1205; Grand Palais 1975, no. 37, repro.) is possibly taken from life. A sketch in black crayon, highlighted in white, from the same collection (R. F. 5138), relates more to the head of the full figure than to the variant decorative bust, as suggested in Grand Palais 1975, no. 39, repro. A *grisaille* oil on canvas (Grand Palais 1975, no. 38, repro.) echoes the final figure except for the self-base and missing shells between the hands and legs.

59. Grand Palais 1975, nos. 32–36, and 40, repro. Figures from a *carnet* of 1858, proposed by Wagner 1986, 153–155, as related to this project, are too late for the evolution of the *Fisherboy*. See the text.

60. Pinget's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 114, cites an apparently untraced plaster shown at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1894. That list of documented and extant versions is the most detailed to date.

61. For a brief discussion of Carpeaux's stay in London, see Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, I: 327–333.

62. Kocks 1981, 161, claims that a marble is in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. The only version presently documented is a full-scale bronze. See Pushkin 1961, no. 182-1-2a.

63. Pillion 1909, 5; Lami 1914–1921, I: 263; Wagner in Los Angeles 1980, 146 (see note 32); and Pinget's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 114.

64. Charles Carpeaux (1899) claimed the sculptor earned more than 300,000 francs through sales of this model, which helped sub-

stantially to defray the costs of his monumental projects of the 1860s, notably *Flora* and *The Dance*. Furthermore, it was so popular by 1874 that his *atelier* chief reported pirated casts were being sold in a Paris department store (Wagner 1986, 184).

65. Bruton Gallery 1981, E 19, color repro. See also the correspondence surrounding this bronze between the author and the dealers and curators (in NGA curatorial files).

66. Braunwald and Wagner 1975, 112. For Thiébaud's later offering of the full-scale figure, see Coligny 1866, 179. Jacques de Caso directed my attention to the Coligny article and noted, additionally, a catalogue listing both sizes at that time: *Bronzes d'art, V^{or} [Victor] Thiébaud. 114 Faubourg St. Denis . . . Catalogue de ses modèles* [Paris, 1867], 2, in which the full-scale model (no dimensions given) is offered at 1,100 francs and the "petit modèle" (again no dimensions) is priced at 150 francs. De Caso, letter of 15 January 1989, to the author (in NGA curatorial files).

67. Fonds Carpeaux, Bibliothèque municipale classée, Valenciennes; cited by Wagner in her catalogue entry in Los Angeles 1980, 146n. 12. See Pinget's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 114, for additional enterprises, documented but largely untraced.

68. Wagner in Los Angeles 1980, 146 (see note 32); and Pinget's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 114.

69. Braunwald and Wagner 1975, 112–113; Wagner 1986, 292n. 102.

70. Grand Palais 1975, no. 31; Wagner in Los Angeles 1980, 146 (see note 32). Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, 1: 96n. 2, merely states that early examples lack the attribute and does not provide a precise date for the change. However, she identifies 1873 as the year in which similar variations were made to new casts and spinoffs of *The Dance* as a concession to Third-Republic reactionary modesty (Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, 1: 377, followed by Braunwald and Wagner 1975, 132).

71. The Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art, Japan, recently purchased an "Atelier" cast from Fabius Frères which, like the marble, bears no net across the left leg.

72. Shepherd Gallery 1991, 1, repro. The Paris gallery l'Univers du Bronze had a similar proof model as well in 1994.

73. Pinget's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 115–116.

74. De Caso 1975, 11.

75. Agreement between the Carpeaux family and Susse Frères dated 1 January 1914 (de Caso 1975, 11). Susse may have taken over the Frank Foundry in Antwerp which, according to an agreement of 1909 between that foundry and the Carpeaux family, serialized the *Fisherboy* in various sizes. De Caso gives the termination of the Susse contract as 12 October 1925, when Carpeaux's estate went into the public domain. De Caso, letter of 15 January 1989, to the author (in NGA curatorial files).

References

- 1880 Chesneau: 68.
- 1914–1921 Lami, 1: 255, 263.
- 1921 Mabilde de Poncheville: 186–192, 213.
- 1934–1935 Clément-Carpeaux: 102, 109, 125, 136, 151.
- 1949 Seymour: 183–184, nos. 54–55, repro. 166.
- 1976 Avery, Charles. "Fisherboy with a Sea Shell," in Middel-dorf: 115–117, figs. 193, 197–198.
- 1994 NGA: 43, repro.

1943.4.90 (A-65)

Girl with a Shell (Jeune fille à la coquille)

1863–1867

Marble, 102.6 × 51.5 × 62.3 (40³/₈ × 20¹/₄ × 24¹/₂), including self-base

Samuel H. Kress Collection

Inscriptions

Incised, left rear of top of self-base, the first half in cursive, the second half in block letters: JBte Carpeaux/ PARIS 1867. (fig. 1)

Technical Notes: The figure was carved from a single block of white, ocher-veined microcrystalline marble and adhered with mortar to an octagonal plinth of similar material.¹ There are inherent faults in the marble forming the left forearm and right thigh. There are pinholes throughout the figure, produced by mineral inclusions dislodged during execution. It was carved with a variety of tools for different surface effects: for faceting the hair and basket, a narrow-bladed flat chisel; a convex bull-nosed chisel for the fluting of the conch; a small, flat-bladed chisel for the fish scales; and a drill for the pupils of the eyes. The overall surface was smoothed with small files and finely finished with abrasive such as pumice or emery. The inserts in the conch appear to be coeval with the figure, included perhaps because of a flaw in the marble or an error in carving. The sculpture was cleaned in 1956 by Joseph Ternbach prior to the establishment of a conservation department at the National Gallery of Art.²

Provenance: Acquired by Empress Eugénie [1826–1920] by spring 1867,³ possibly placed at the Palais des Tuileries, Paris, with the *Neapolitan Fisherboy*; taken by the imperial family as private property to their first residence in exile in England, Chislehurst, probably by summer 1871; bequeathed by Eugénie, as part of the family estate at her final English residence, The Hall, Farnborough (Hampshire), to her nephew Prince Napoléon Victor Jérôme Bonaparte [1862–1926]; sold privately before the estate sales of July 1927 to (Duveen Brothers); (Duveen Galleries, New York, by January 1941);⁴ sold 1941 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York; placed on loan March 1941 to the National Gallery of Art.⁵

Exhibited: Salon, Paris, 1867, no. 2165, as *Jeune fille à la coquille*. 103d Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, 1871, no. 1262, as *Jeune fille à la coquille*.⁶ *Exhibition of Sculpture*, Duveen Galleries, New York, 1941.⁷ NGA 1974.

CARPEAUX EXECUTED this figure as a companion to his earlier *Neapolitan Fisherboy* (see p. 66). According to the artist's own account of the time, it was to represent an eleven-year-old girl at the seashore, "adorning her head with a shell."⁸ In broadest art-historical terms, the juxtaposed motifs of shell-listening and self-display recall the long iconographic tradition of paired personifications of hearing and sight. In the context of nineteenth-century art, the *Girl* reflects, like its companion, the widespread interest of progressive artists from the 1830s onward in the typical informal activities of youth and the humble or marginal segments of society.⁹

Kocks also identifies Carpeaux's *Girl* as a complex image of the pre-adolescent coquette that draws upon several older iconographic veins.¹⁰ The most familiar among them is the classical tradition that associates shells and women, thanks to the myth of Venus' marine origins. Its most common forms are images of Venus transported by scallops or nautilus or, as in Antoine Coysevox's (1640–1720) "antique" *Venus with a Shell* (1683–1685, marble; Musée du Louvre, Paris), seated and playing with a scallop shell.¹¹ Carpeaux's specific choice of shell emphasizes the erotic connotations. The gastropod has long been associated with the vulva, and appears in classical kneeling Venuses (fig. 2), known and studied in the Renaissance, in poses similar to that of the National Gallery's *Girl*.¹² However, Carpeaux treats the subject with special wit: By placing the large and unlikely gastropod on her head, the girl acknowledges it as a deliberately ludicrous adornment. Kocks likens her gesture to the Hellenistic putto donning an outsize mask as a hat (Capitoline Museum, Rome).¹³ Finally, as Kocks indicates, the fish was associated with female sensuality in standard emblematic literature.¹⁴

The sheer action of the figure emphasizes playful seductiveness. The girl's smiling, outward glance is strongly focused upon an unseen viewer at her left, hinting at her intent to communicate. Her clowning even seems to have been triggered by a spectator, and she appears to solicit our joining in her fun. The flirtatiousness of her action is punctuated by her gaze under her uplifted arm, a conventional device in erotic images of women. Viewed from its left, the figure recalls particularly the intimate toilette scenes of Watteau, such as the celebrated painting at the Wallace Collection (fig. 3): The seated nude similarly sits in profile, with crossed ankles, peering outward through her encircled arms as she dons or doffs her clothing. Carpeaux avoids such overt eroticism by couching his narrative as spontaneous childplay. This strategy associates his *Girl* with the less obvious erotic imagery of the eighteenth century, best known in Greuze's tearful or meditative pubescents. Carpeaux's pre-adolescent female is thus a fitting counterpart

to his *Fisherboy*, their youthful games rendered as disarming diversions within otherwise sexually charged images.

Carpeaux appears to have been more casual about the attributes in the *Girl* than in the *Fisherboy*. The gastropod in her hands resembles a Queen's Conch, but the basket more strongly recalls examples used for field harvest in Italy.¹⁵ Unlike the shells, the fish are marine types commonly caught for food throughout Europe.¹⁶

The girl's face has been described repeatedly as having a strong sense of modern immediacy. Inspired by the vivacious features of Anna Foucart, a friend from Valenciennes whose portrait Carpeaux modeled in 1860, the *Girl* and its bust variants established the sculptor's canonical female face and expression, culminating in the smiling *Flora* and laughing bacchantes of *The Dance*.¹⁷

As in Carpeaux's *Fisherboy*, the *Girl*'s psychological vitality and modern naturalism are accompanied by a strong evocation of earlier artistic precedents. The classical type of the *Crouching Venus*, which Carpeaux copied in 1850–1851, is most often identified as its source;¹⁸ and an even closer variant has already been discussed earlier in this text (fig. 2). Kocks claims the proportions of Carpeaux's *Girl* have affinities with late eighteenth-century French figures.¹⁹ However, the comparative stocky legs, thick knees and ankles,



Fig. 1 detail of 1943.4.90

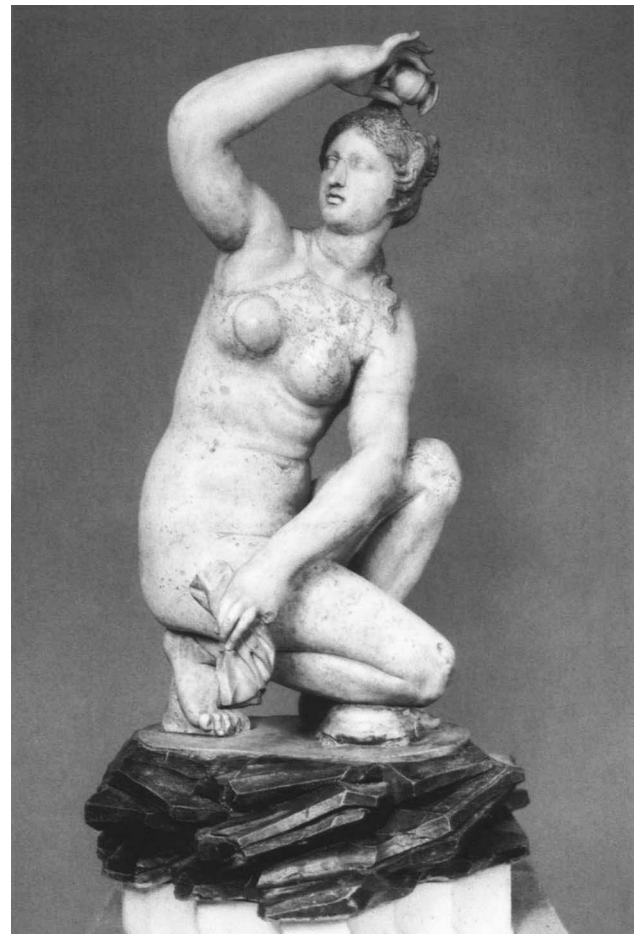


Fig. 2 *Venus Kneeling on a Tortoise*, marble, c. 250 B.C., Madrid, Museo del Prado



Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Girl with a Shell* (*Jeune fille à la coquille*), 1943.4.90



Fig. 3 Antoine Watteau, *A Lady at Her Toilette*, 1719, London, The Wallace Collection, P439

and large feet depart substantially from the attenuated, delicate extremities of many *ancien régime* female figures.²⁰ Beyond the bold asymmetry of the *Girl*'s pose (resolved in the *Fisherboy*'s countering disposition), this figure involves more subtle strategies of action and surface than its pendant. Although the female figure seems merely frontal, two compositional elements provide three-dimensional interest. One is the governing importance of the turned head. It is the focal point of the fanning diagonals formed by the elbows and knees from the "front," but must be fully experienced from the figure's left. The second is the extraordinarily detailed still life disposed around the sides and rear, demanding the viewer's rotation around the figure. Perhaps to suggest a soft female character, the volumes and textures of the *Girl*'s flesh are more muted and consistent in handling than those of the *Fisherboy*. Their velvety, undulating opacity plays against the light-catching textures of the hair, basket, seine, and incised fish scales. Such differences in handling between the two marbles may also reveal differences in approach between the *praticiens* who produced them.²¹

Carpeaux had established the broad lines, if not the definitive concept, of the *Girl*'s composition by at least spring of 1863.²² By that autumn the duchesse Castiglione-Colonna asked about progress on the model.²³ The figure was apparently complete by late January 1864; according to Carpeaux, the Superintendent of Fine Arts, comte de Nieuwerkerke, found it "ravishing" and declared that it would go

directly to the empress.²⁴ The finished plaster was exhibited that spring, in the Salon of 1864, where it elicited only a lukewarm response. Some critics found it too dependent upon its celebrated companion (which was absent from both the exhibition and the catalogue entry) and questioned the very ability of a figure, designed as a foil for its pendant, to function as autonomous sculpture.²⁵ The marble found a prestigious home nonetheless: It made its debut in the Salon of 1867 as part of the imperial collection.²⁶

Several preliminary drawings and at least one maquette of the *Girl* are extant. The current location of the original plaster, sold at the *atelier* sale of December 1913, is unknown.²⁷ A second plaster, patinated and inscribed "Carpeaux 1867/Paris" is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes. A 100.3-centimeter marble, signed and dated "1869," without any known reference in the Carpeaux literature, emerged recently from the collection of Joey and Toby Tanenbaum, Toronto (present location unknown).²⁸ Two marbles with long-documented histories are dated 1873: an 88-centimeter version (NCG)²⁹ and a 102-centimeter version, on a carved-wood base, in the collection of Fabius Frères, Paris. The carving in the latter marble is more fluid and generalized than that of the National Gallery example.

The *Girl* was also immediately edited with its companion *Neapolitan Fisherboy* in bronze and terra cotta, with only subtle differences in scale between the pendants.³⁰ The serial versions known to date all appear to have been produced by the Atelier Carpeaux. Unlike the *Fisherboy*, no reduction of the full-length *Girl* is known. However, bust variants of the *Girl* were produced in various sizes to accompany those of the *Fisherboy*: *The Playful Girl* (*L'Espiegle*); a capped Neapolitan type, *The Laughing Neapolitan Girl* (*Rieuse napolitaine*); and a classically attired model, with roses in the hair and bodice, *Laughing Girl with Roses* (*Rieuse aux roses*), to accompany the *Laughing Boy with Vine Garlands* (*Rieur aux pampres*). As with the serial figures of the *Girl*, the bust variants often differ slightly in scale from their companion *Laughing Boy*.

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Notes

1. According to the marble analysis in the Technical Appendix, the marble of the *Girl* is very similar to that of its earlier pendant, *Neapolitan Fisherboy* (see p. 72n.1). Both correspond morphologically to marbles from such sites as Pescina, from the outer stratum of Carrara.
2. Charles Avery, "Young Girl with a Sea Shell," in Middeldorf 1976, 116.
3. Catalogue, Salon of 1867, no. 2165: "Appartient à S. M. l'Impératrice."
4. See the Provenance for 1943.4.89, p. 72–73nn. 3 and 4.
5. In NGA registrarial files.
6. Royal Academy 1871, 52.
7. Cortissoz 1941, 8, repro. (reprint: 7, repro. opp. p. 14).
8. Carpeaux, undated letter c. May–June 1863, to Perraud; Pin-geot in Lille 1982, 120.
9. See the discussion for 1943.4.89, p. 66. Kocks 1981, 65, fig. 289, proposes a *Young Fisher Girl* by American sculptor William Randolph Barbee ([1818–1868] 1858, National Museum of American Art, Wash-

ington) as an antecedent for Carpeaux's subject. There are earlier French examples as well, notably Joseph de Bay's (1779–1863) *Jeune fille au coquillage* shown in plaster in the Salon of 1853 and in marble in the Paris Universal Exposition of 1855 (locations unknown; bronze, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, England; see Documentation, Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London). My thanks to Philip Ward-Jackson for noting this version.

10. Kocks 1981, 66–67.
11. Souchal 1977–1993, 1: 190, repro.
12. For Leonardo's use of the type, see Allison 1974.
13. Kocks 1981, 380, fig. 285.
14. Kocks 1981, 66. Although he does not mention this aspect, the erotic symbolism of the fish was especially current in eighteenth-century Paris as a reference to Madame de Pompadour, whose maiden name Poisson (fish) proved irresistible to the wits of her time.
15. Donald Myers, letter of 8 June 1989, to Richard Vari, curator, Division of Fishes, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (in NGA curatorial files). Vari observes that the *Girl's* abundant harvest would demand a seine of about 100 meters rather than the tiny version represented. Harasewych identifies the shell at her feet as "probably a juvenile Spider Conch" (Donald Myers, memorandum of 29 August 1988, to the author, with notes from Dr. Harasewych's comments [in NGA curatorial files]).
16. Vari identifies the most detailed specimens as Sea Robins and flounders, and the others as generic labrids, which do occur in the Mediterranean. See Vari's undated response to the letter cited above (note 15).
17. Chesneau 1880, 63, and Mabillet de Poncheville 1921, 162. For illustrations, see Grand Palais 1975, nos. 262 (the life mask of Anna Foucart, also called the *Mask of Flora*) and 272 (half-size model of Flora at the Pavillon de Flore, Palais du Louvre, Paris).
18. Most recently by Pinget in her catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 120. For an illustration of the figure, see the discussion of 1943.4.89, p. 73n. 24.
19. Kocks 1981, 67.
20. For example, Christophe-Gabriel Allegrain's (1710–1795) *Venus at the Bath*, Jean-Baptiste Pigalle's (1714–1785) *Love and Friendship*, and Jean-Antoine Houdon's (1741–1823) *Diana* (all Musée du Louvre, Paris). See Arnason 1975, figs. 30, 37, and 99–101.

21. As with the *Fisherboy*, there is no documentary evidence that Carpeaux's primary *praticien* of these years, Bernard Bernaërts, was involved in the execution of the *Girl*. See Bernaërts' surviving accounts for these years in Dossier Praticiens, Fonds Carpeaux, Bibliothèque municipale classée, Valenciennes. Renewed thanks to Marie-Pierre Dion for investigating this problem in the archive on my behalf.

22. In the drawing made in his letter of that time to Perraud (cited in note 8; see Grand Palais 1975, no. 43, repro.), the arm positions are reversed and varied in a more subdued and modest concept: The left arm crosses the body to rest on the right, balancing the otherwise syncopated weight of the work and covering the girl's chest.
23. Letter, dated 14 September 1863, from the duchesse to Carpeaux; Bessis 1975, 85n. 8.
24. Carpeaux, letter of 27 January 1864, to the marquis de Piennes; Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, 1: 161–162.
25. See particularly Blondel 1864, 335.
26. See the Provenance. Clément-Carpeaux 1934–1935, 1: 162, instead claims it was purchased for the emperor after its exhibition in the Salon.
27. Hardy and Braunwald, catalogue entry, in Lille 1982, 119, claim erroneously that it is in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.
28. Sotheby's 1994, no. 65, color repro. The marble has no known provenance beyond its immediate source, the late dealer Anthony Roth in London.
29. The marble identified by Kocks 1981, 161, as at the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, is more likely the terra cotta that entered the Museum in 1927. See Pushkin 1961, no. 105-II-2a, repro.
30. The most complete list is Pinget in Lille 1982, 120 (see note 18).

References

- 1914–1921 Lami, 1: 265.
 1934–1935 Clément-Carpeaux, 1: 161–162.
 1941 Cortissoz: 7, 15, repro. opp. p. 14.
 1949 Seymour: 183–184, no. 54.
 1976 Avery, Charles. "Young Girl with a Sea Shell," in Middel-dorf: 115, 117, figs. 194–196.
 1981 Kocks: 61–67, fig. 282. 1982.
 1994 NGA: 42, repro.

Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse

1824–1887

CARRIER-BELLEUSE is the name used by this sculptor—born Carrier de Belleuse—on his mature pieces, after initially signing works “A. Carrier.” His career began firmly in the applied arts, with his apprenticeship at thirteen to a Parisian *ciseleur* today known as Bauchery (or Beauchery), and he did subsequent work for Jacques-Henri Fauconnier and Fannièrre Frères. His formal education took place at the Petite Ecole—chosen after an unhappy stint at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1840 under the direction of David d’Angers, his official master. While at the Petite Ecole in the 1840s, Carrier-Belleuse began his lifelong practice of providing commercial houses with models for edition, as statuettes or as ornament for functional pieces. Around 1850, the sculptor moved to England as a designer for Minton China Works, at Stoke-upon-Trent, as well as for Wedgwood, Coalbrookdale Ironworks, and Graham & Jackson furniture makers. Even after returning to Paris in 1855, he continued to send models to British firms throughout his life.

He began to garner acclaim as a fine-arts sculptor after ten years of showing in the Salon, beginning with two portrait medallions in 1850 and a flurry of busts and groups with mythological or historical subjects between 1857 and 1861, the latter of which earned him a third-class medal. Carrier-Belleuse finally received serious attention in 1863, when the emperor bought his marble *Bacchante* from the Salon for the Jardins des Tuileries (Musée d’Orsay, Paris). Four years later, his marble *Messiah* was purchased by the State from the Salon of 1867 and allotted to Saint-Vincent-de-Paul in Paris; it earned him a Medal of Honor and the cross of the Légion d’Honneur.

From that time onward, Carrier-Belleuse was established internationally as a high-art sculptor as well. He produced abundantly for a variety of international patrons in most categories of three-dimensional work—public monuments, for example, *Masséna* (1867, Nice), allegorical reliefs for Parisian buildings (Palais des Tuileries and Banque de France, 1865–1866), tombs for foreign heroes (San Martín Cathedral, Buenos Aires, Argentina), and classicizing figure subjects such as *Sleeping Hebe* for the Salon (1869, marble; Musée d’Orsay, Paris)—while simultaneously maintaining high visibility in the applied arts.

Carrier-Belleuse raised a critical hue and cry during

his lifetime with his sensuous female nudes, especially *Angélique*, shown in 1866 (marble, lost; reduced terra cotta variant, private collection). Broadly in the vein of nineteenth-century “voluptuous antiquity,” the work pursues more realism and seductive materiality than Pradier’s classical women through their violently sinuous movement and polychromy. Like Clésinger, who had riveted Paris in 1847 with his *Woman Bitten by a Snake* (Musée d’Orsay, Paris), Carrier-Belleuse violated the idealist canon of pure marble by adding real jewelry of his famous contemporaries such as Froment-Meurice. However, the sculptor applied his enormous capacity for modeling and design to a variety of stylistic and expressive modes. The neo-baroque realism of his heroic monuments differs signally from the neorococo preciousness, material richness, and vivacity for which he is best known. Yet he explored few expressive extremes outside the dionysiac. Open violence and pathos are rare in his work; his most typical expressive mood was the intimate and wittily spirited. He consequently gave varied and winsome life to historical figures and fantasy busts, and was a masterful portraitist. His prolific portraiture of both men and women is often compared to Houdon’s, as it similarly conveys extraordinary likeness and psychological life within richly tactile, modeled work. For all his association with rococo sensuality, Carrier-Belleuse’s mastery at articulating form gave as much vitality and appeal to the marbles carved from his models as to his many works in clay and bronze.

The sculptor sold finished serial work directly through his studio and at auction, and thus counted among the most actively entrepreneurial of his fellow professionals, like Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux and his senior, the *animalier* Christophe Fratin. His models and published designs integrated the human figure within functional forms—torchères and table service, for instance—in a variety of styles, and with imagination and verve; they were commercially successful and influential for decades. Carrier-Belleuse was appointed director of works at the state Manufacture de Sèvres in December 1875, where he greatly improved the quality of the models and expanded production in biscuit. A charter member of the new professional organization for the applied arts (the Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts Appliqués à l’Industrie), founded in the early 1860s, he



Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, possibly with Auguste Rodin, *The Abduction of Hippodamia* (*L'Enlèvement d'Hippodamie*), 1977.58.1

was enormously important in elevating the stature of the applied arts and for the sheer quality of his ornamental design. For that contribution to France alone the artist was promoted to officer of the Légion d'Honneur in 1885. Thanks to his huge studio production and responsibilities at Sèvres, he had considerable impact on the art and careers of younger sculptors who worked for him, notably Auguste Rodin, whether in Paris or in Brussels, where both moved during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871.

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Bibliography

Lami 1914–1921, I: 276–185.

Ségard 1928.

Hargrove 1977.

ALBERT-ERNEST CARRIER-BELLEUSE, possibly with AUGUSTE RODIN

1977.58.1 (A-1785)

The Abduction of Hippodamia (*L'Enlèvement d'Hippodamie*)

Model 1877/1879; cast after 1877

Brass, 64.8 × 55.6 × 29.2 (25½ × 21¾ × 11½), including self-base

William Nelson Cromwell Fund

Inscriptions

Incised in the model, in mixed block and cursive characters, and enhanced after casting, beside the urn on the self-base: Carrier-Belleuse

Embossed in the model, on the title plaque on the self-base: L'ENLÈVEMENT

Foundry Marks

Cold-stamped on the self-base beneath the rear left hoof: BRONZE GARANTI AU TITRE

Nearby, cold-stamped: n

Technical Notes: The bronze group was hollow cast by the sand-cast method, from a foundry model probably of plaster, in at least twelve pieces. The average percentage composition of the alloy, as determined by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), reveals it is brass: 81% copper, 10% zinc, 3% tin, 2% lead, and less than 1% iron. The absence of impurities in the alloy suggests refining of the copper. Although the joint lines of the cast sections were left clearly in evidence, there is extensive cold-work throughout the bronze to repair other types of casting imperfections, to enhance fine details, and to provide subtle cross-hatched texture. The “antique” patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions on the heated bronze that produced black, wiped to remain only in the recesses, and green throughout the entire surface. The second solution was found to

consist of emerald green, a copper aceto-arsenite pigment, as determined by XRF and X-ray diffraction spectroscopy (XRD), polarized light microscopy, and microchemical testing. The sculpture has minor abrasions, dents, and scratches throughout the figures and self-base. There is evidence of conservation treatment prior to its acquisition by the National Gallery of Art: Light green filler is found over a joint line on the centaur's right foreleg (which, in equine anatomy, is the arm), above its rear right hock, and on the left side of its equine chest and rump (thigh).

Provenance: Private collection, Paris; purchased c. 1976 by (Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York).

Exhibited: Los Angeles 1980, no. 50.¹

THIS BRONZE belongs to a large family of classical abduction themes in art—Persephones, Europas, Ganymedes, Sabines, Helens, and Deianiras carried off by gods, heroes, and centaurs—that proliferated until well into the twentieth century. The specific subject of this group is provided by other casts of the model with more descriptive title plaques. One such reads, “Abduction of Hippodamia by the Centaur Pylous . . . Episode of the War of the Centaurs and Lapiths.”² Although the inscription suggests careless rather than arcane philology,³ its text comes closest to the most detailed version in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book XII, Fables Three and Four). This is one of the most eminent sources to identify the victim, wife of the Lapith King Pirithous, as Hippodamia rather than as Deidamia, her more familiar name through Plutarch.⁴ At their wedding feast, a lusty drunken guest, the centaur Eurytus (or Eurytion), seized Hippodamia for himself and prompted his besotted comrades to follow suit. Pirithous' friend Theseus rescued Hippodamia, triggering a bloody brawl between the Lapiths and centaurs. The uneasy truce between these two races, rivals for dominion of Thessaly, thus collapsed, precipitating the final war between them that the Lapiths won; the centaurs retreated to the Arcadian mountains. The pivotal abduction and brawl, a violation of the sacred Greek codes of civilized society (hospitality and self-discipline) became an important classical emblem of the moral battle between rationality and bestiality, or between enlightened civilization and primitivism, within society and the individual.⁵ The subject appears frequently in fifth-century Greek images of the nuptial battle, where it is almost indistinguishable among the mass captures of women and boys. The earliest, largest, and most prestigious representation among surviving works is on the west, or “rear,” pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.⁶

The National Gallery bronze includes attributes that reflect classical examples, such as the overturned wine jar on the ground and garlands on the centaur's and bride's heads that signal the disrupted wedding festivities. Unlike the battle between the Lapiths and centaurs, which is a common theme in postclassic art, Carrier-Belleuse's group is one of the rare images of the aborted abduction of Hippodamia



Fig. 1 Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse and MM. Christofle et Cie., Jockey Club Trophy showing the Abduction of Hippodamia, silver, c. 1874, published in *Le Monde illustré*, vol. 34, no. 889 (25 April 1874), p. 264, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, General Research Division

as an independent group.⁷ His earlier variant (fig. 1) indicates it had additional meanings in that format for this mid-nineteenth-century generation. As decoration for a Jockey Club trophy,⁸ it reflects a different classical view of the brawl: as an emblem of competition among horsemen. In that very loose metaphoric guise, the centaur's attempted theft of Hippodamia (which means "horse-tamer") can be seen as the trigger for a vital contest of skill between rivals who made the region famous throughout the classical world due to their unequalled horsemanship: Diodorus Siculus claims the Thessalians were the first to ride the horse instead of driving a horse-drawn chariot.⁹ Through its use in the leisure pursuits of modern Paris, Carrier-Belleuse's classical subject thus subtly relates to the naturalist images of modern races, horses, and riders of those decades by Edouard Manet (1832–1883), Edgar Degas (1834–1917), Alfred Dedreux (1810–1860), Mêne, Emmanuel Fremiet, and Christophe Fratin.

Stylistically, however, the National Gallery bronze bears little resemblance either to those "modern" images or to its classical prototypes. Based on images of Nessus and Deianira, the surviving metopes from the Temple of Zeus at

Olympia portray Hippodamia, like other abductees at the feast, with dignified composure: mildly reluctant expressions, bound hair, semi-draped bodies, and feet firmly on the ground; the centaurs have mustaches and long beards. Formally, the Jockey Club variant is more classical than the National Gallery example. The centaur in the former bears antique corkscrew curls and beard, is sober of expression, and his upward thrust is balanced by the counter-movement of Hippodamia. Both variants more closely recall the mannerist drama of Giambologna's sculptural abductions, *Nessus and Deianira* and *Rape of the Sabines*, in which nude women are lifted by their abductors and the limbs of both protagonists project aggressively into space.¹⁰ Iconographically and stylistically, the National Gallery bronze relates even more strongly to works of Carrier-Belleuse's own time, by artists who explored the dynamic formal idiom of the baroque. It resembles, in reverse, a pen-and-ink drawing by Théodore Géricault, in which a beardless centaur's head is similarly turned forward, over bulging arms that pin the nude captive to his back.¹¹ It fits even more congenially within its sculptural context. Dalou and Rodin explored the subject in the energetic compositions and rippling surfaces of their works of the 1870s and 1880s.¹²

Such stylistic qualities in the National Gallery type have already raised questions of attribution and dating. Zoeckler notes the centaur's kinship to "many of Rodin's figures."¹³ Hargrove observes that this model is atypical for Carrier-Belleuse. Calling attention to its affinities with Rodin's *La Défense* (*Call to Arms*) of 1879 (fig. 2) and the problematic *Vase of Titans* (fig. 3), she speculates that Rodin, a known studio employee, participated in its execution.¹⁴ The centaur does suggest Rodin's work, though Hippodamia closely resembles Carrier-Belleuse's female nudes.¹⁵ The group's expressive energy falls outside Carrier-Belleuse's typical idiom. Neither the grinning satyrs of the 1860s nor the screaming Camille Desmoulins, in the monument of 1883 (present location unknown),¹⁶ approximates the bellicose intensity of the centaur's face in the National Gallery *Hippodamia*. Rather, it recalls Rodin's Bellona-like allegorical female in *La Défense*. Carrier-Belleuse's male nudes, from the satyrs to the Jockey Club centaur of 1874, display a sinewy muscularity quite unlike the hypertrophic development of the National Gallery centaur. Moreover, its sense of monumentality and molten modeling, so reminiscent of the mature Rodin's Michelangelesque *non-finito* and *terribilità*, has no known counterpart in Carrier-Belleuse's work, which instead presents rococo flourishes and descriptive details.

These qualities in the centaur of the National Gallery *Hippodamia* find close echo in Rodin's male figures in *La Défense* as well as projects for the *Gates of Hell*, and are strong reasons for Butler's and Hargrove's re-attribution of the *Vase of Titans* to the younger sculptor despite the Carrier-Belleuse signature.¹⁷ There is, in addition, a special affinity between the National Gallery centaur and its counterparts in Rodin's rejected panels for the *Gates*. The dark energy of the National Gallery model prefigures the restless



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *La Défense*, bronze, 1879, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 984, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York / ADAGP, Paris

liquidity of the centaurs in Rodin's example (dated to "by 1885"), and surges throughout the reliefs—expressive résumés, as Tancock notes, of the unifying concept of the *Gates*, the victory of passion over reason.¹⁸

The date of the National Gallery *Hippodamia* is also problematic. The cast has been dated c. 1885, when examples similar in title and scale appear in Carrier-Belleuse's auction of 21 December 1885; Shepherd Gallery dates a bronze in its possession to c. 1883.¹⁹ Indeed, a version of the group can be seen in a painting of about this date by Carrier-Belleuse's son Louis Robert of his father's studio.²⁰ Hargrove instead places the model in the early 1870s. She first dated it c. 1874, on grounds of another so-called "*Abduction*" in Carrier-Belleuse's auction in late December of that year.²¹ She argued that the sculptor altered its composition and title to "circumvent" the copyright restrictions upon the Jockey Club trophy produced earlier that year.²² She later proposed a date of c. 1871 for the National Gallery group, having found another so-called "*Abduction*" among serial works auctioned in Belgium on 11 July 1871.²³

The latter date for the model of the National Gallery cast especially raises questions if Rodin is accepted as a collaborator. The precise formal qualities that invoke his work of the late 1870s are alien to his known sculpture up to 1871.



Fig. 3 Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse and Auguste Rodin, *The Vase of Titans*, terra cotta, 1874, Goldendale, Washington, Maryhill Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel Hill, 1938.01.209

They reflect the major change in Rodin's work during those crucial years: A dramatic power that comes, as Butler has recently argued, with his first monumental projects in Brussels in 1872,²⁴ and, as is traditionally claimed, with his close study of Michelangelo's work during his Italian trip of 1876. If the National Gallery model is dated to 1871, the centaur becomes an even earlier manifestation of that mature monumental style, the germ for Rodin's vision that later takes fuller form under the impact of Michelangelo.

However, the expressive intensity of the centaur, which does not appear in Rodin's known sculpture until the late 1870s, persuades this author to favor a later date, during the years that he again worked for Carrier-Belleuse at his studio, around 1877, and at Sèvres, beginning in 1879.²⁵ The various *Abduction* titles in Carrier-Belleuse's auction catalogues from 1871 to the end of his career may indeed refer to versions of the Hippodamia episode: Carrier-Belleuse is not known to have worked with any other rape theme. According to Hargrove, he is also not known to have given dissimilar compositions the same title.²⁶ Yet the dissimilarities between the Jockey Club trophy and National Gallery type—especially the varied poses, stylistic consistency, and more muted expressive energy of the former—are palpable proof that he produced variant models of the same subject. Given the fundamental differences between these two, it is not impossible that Carrier-Belleuse might execute more than two models on the theme throughout his career, however similar in composition.

The National Gallery type might have been produced during Rodin's second stint in Carrier-Belleuse's studio (to which Butler has recently attached the *Vase of Titans*), an engagement that began in 1877 and ended at some still unknown moment, perhaps around 1879, when Rodin produced the model for *La Défense*.²⁷

The current location of the Jockey Club trophy, won by Major Fridolin, is unknown.²⁸ As mentioned earlier, the subject appears repeatedly in Carrier-Belleuse's auction catalogues, though these versions also remain untraced: a terra-cotta *Abduction of Hippodamia* at Hôtel Drouot on 21 December 1885, which included a terra cotta simply entitled *Abduction* that was apparently close in size (70 centimeters) to the National Gallery bronze. Earlier entries, generally entitled *Abduction*, include one terra cotta (the Belgian example of 1871) and a marble (Paris, 21 December 1874), possibly the one belonging to Eugène Cornu (location unknown), the only documented marble example.²⁹ Carrier-Belleuse may have made examples available to commercial founders during his lifetime. Shepherd Gallery offered a bronze with a slug marked "Syndicat des Fabricants de Bronze Unis. France. 1878," which may suggest production to coincide with, if not for, the Paris Universal Exposition of that year.³⁰ Emile Pinédo, who cast other models by Carrier-Belleuse, advertised the abduction subject in a catalogue that Hargrove dates prior to 1896.³¹

Most versions of the model known today reflect the style, composition, and scale of the National Gallery bronze. A terra cotta was formerly with Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York; another, if not the same, was sold at Hôtel Drouot Nouveau, Paris, on 13 May 1982. The majority of the examples known are bronzes, and appear widely on the market and in private collections.³² The National Gallery bronze is similar in base, cartouche design, and founder's marks to several casts that are currently known (one is on loan to the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe).³³ A second type, cast by the Syndicat des Fabricants de Bronze Unis mentioned above, has a semi-lunar cartouche with rope and floral borders and extensive titles.³⁴ The Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern had a green cast with the Pinédo cachet.³⁵ A bronze (appearance and marks unrecorded and current location unknown) was on loan until 1981 from Walter Chrysler to the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk.³⁶

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Notes

1. June Hargrove, "Abduction of Hippodamie (L'Enlèvement)," in Los Angeles 1980, 164–166, repro.
2. *Nineteenth Century Sculpture, Art Nouveau & Art Déco*, Christie's, New York, 20–22 March 1981, no. 51, repro.
3. As given in the plaque, the centaur's name "Pylous" appears to be a corruption of that of Hippodamia's husband, Pirithous. Contemporary discussions of Carrier-Belleuse's close variants of this composition (to be addressed further in the text) provide the commonest names and relevant narrative: "*L'Enlèvement d'Hippodamie, femme de Pirithous, par un Centaure, pendant la fameuse querelle des Centaures et des Lapithes*, tel était le sujet du groupe dont le mo-

dèle avait été confié . . . au sculpteur Carrier-Belleuse" ("*L'Enlèvement d'Hippodamie*," *Le Monde illustré*, 18th yr., v. 34, no. 889 [25 April 1874], 264); cited in Hargrove 1977, 256. The plaque on a recently available cast (Shepherd Gallery 1987, no. 135, repro.) adds the even more anomalous description of the abduction as an "episode of the war between the gods and lapiths." For a discussion of the classical story, see further in the text. My thanks to Ruth Butler for her comments on an earlier draft of this entry.

4. Alternately given as Hippodame or Hippodameia. The name Hippodamia appears in several other classical sources on Pirithous: Homer's *Iliad* (II: 724) and *Odyssey* (XXI: 295ff), Hyginus' *Fabularum Liber*, Fab. XXXIII (Centauri); and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, Book V, Elis. 1. The Greek sources for Ovid's late, elaborate account are as yet unidentified. I am indebted to Professor Richard Hamilton, Paul Shorey Professor of Greek, Bryn Mawr College, for help with this research. For Plutarch's version, see his biography of Theseus (Arthur Hugh Clough, ed., *Plutarch. The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. Trans. John Dryden [New York, n.d.], 20).

5. Woodford 1974.

6. Pausanias V: Elis. 1. The west or "rear" pediment of the Temple of Zeus is thought to be inspired by a famous fifth-century mural in the Theseion of Athens (now lost). The east or "front" pediment illustrates the nuptial races between Oinomaos, king of Pisa, and Pelops for the hand of the former's daughter, a totally different Hippodamia. For a discussion of the two, see Pauly-Wissowa, 8: 1725–1730, s.v. "Hippodameia." The major discussions of the literary and artistic history of the wedding brawl are: Shefton 1962; Barron 1972; Woodford 1974; and Cohen 1983.

7. Pigler 1974, 2: 152–153.

8. The project is currently known only through the article on the race and the trophy made by Christofle (see note 3).

9. For a philological discussion of the brawl in the light of the history of horsemanship (equitation and the breeding and training of horses), see Riley 1858, 433–434. Archaeological evidence supports the more common view that the Scythians were the earliest equestrians in the Western world.

10. Linda Davies Zoeckler in Riverside 1974, no. 52; and Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 164 (see note 1).

11. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (R. F. 51.70). Also relevant are studies of the subject in the same collection, in a comparable neo-baroque approach, by Carrier-Belleuse's friend Honoré Daumier (R. F. 35.838); see Ives, Stiffmann, and Sonnabend 1992, no. 35, repro., and fig. 83.

12. For a cast of the Dalou, see *Dalou* 1976, no. 20, repro. For Rodin's studies for the *Gates of Hell*, see Tancock 1976, 173–175, repro. Tancock (p. 173) suggests Bartlett may have had Ovid's wedding brawl in mind when the latter described those elements in the final versions as the "festival of Thetis and Peleus when invaded by Centaurs." The stylistic implications of Rodin's version will be discussed further in the text.

13. Linda Zoeckler's catalogue entry in Riverside 1974, no. 52.

14. Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 166 (see note 1). The *Vase of Titans*, a serial work in various materials, came to light only forty years ago, in 1957, in an exhibition of the work by Rodin's circle at the Musée Rodin, Paris. As scholars subsequently attached maquettes and other versions to the project, the corpus engendered extended debate concerning attribution, the careers of both Rodin and Carrier-Belleuse, and nineteenth-century studio practices. For a recent historiographic overview and discussion of the *Vase of Titans* project, see Butler in Los Angeles 1980, 333–334.

15. For Carrier-Belleuse's female nudes, see Hargrove 1977, especially figs. 211–218.

16. Hargrove 1977, fig. 20.

17. Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 166 (see note 1), and Butler, "The Call to Arms," in Los Angeles 1980, 333–334.

18. Tancock 1976, 173–175, repro.; Mirbeau 1885.

19. In NGA curatorial files; the 1885 auction is cited in Hargrove

in Los Angeles 1980, 165, though she dates the model much earlier. See further in the text. For the date of c. 1883, see Shepherd Gallery 1987, no. 135.

20. The painting is signed but undated; *Important 19th Century Pictures*, Christie's, London, 29 November 1985, no. 68, color repro.; and later *19th Century European Paintings, Sculpture and Master Drawings*, Christie's, New York, 22 May 1996, no. 226, color repro.; the former cited in Holsten's catalogue entry in Eichler and Holsten 1994, 36, fig. S 181.

21. Hargrove 1977, 257.

22. She cites Falize's later report that the coveted trophy models were unique and the plasters were destroyed to prevent commercial edition (Lucien Falize, *Rapport du jury international. Exposition Universelle 1889* [Paris, 1891], 16; in Hargrove 1977, 257).

23. Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 164–166 (see note 1).

24. Butler 1993, 75, fig. 24.

25. Butler 1993, 102–103, 113, 144–145. My thanks to Ruth Butler for drawing my attention to her reassessment of Rodin's activities in 1877, an important discovery with wide-ranging implications for Rodin's work and career at this point. See further in the text.

26. Letter, dated 29 November 1990, from June Hargrove to the author (in NGA curatorial files). In that letter, Hargrove adheres to her date of 1871, given his working methods and the similarities of composition and title.

27. Butler 1993, 113n. 10; and Butler, "The Call to Arms," in Los Angeles 1980, 331–332.

28. *Le Monde illustré* 1874, as cited in note 3.

29. Hargrove 1977, 257.

30. Shepherd Gallery 1987, no. 135. The bronze was last seen in 1987 at Pannonia Galleries, New York.

31. Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 165 (see note 1). The mark on a cast of the bust of John Milton is recorded as: Pinédo Bronzier Paris (see Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 169, repro.). For drawn renditions of the foundry marks, see Shepherd Gallery 1985, 299, figs. 60–61.

32. Berman 1974, 4: 1050, no. 4154. The composition appears frequently under other names at auction, perhaps because of a lack of title plaque or the presence of the generic version on the National Gallery bronze: For example, the earlier-cited terra cotta was called "Nessus Abducting Deianira" and a bronze was sold in Paris, *Art Nouveau, Art Déco*, Hôtel des Ventes, 21 May 1980, no. 92, repro., as "L'Enlèvement d'Europe."

33. For the Karlsruhe cast, see Holsten in Eichler and Holsten 1994, 36–37, fig. S 181. My thanks to Dr. Holsten for drawing my attention to the cast lent to his collection. At auction, *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Sculpture*, Sotheby's, London, 30 April 1993, no. 95, repro.; and *Art Nouveau-Art Déco*, Paris-Drouot Montaigne, 23 October 1996, no. 128, repro., with green and brown patinas, respectively (brought to my attention by Douglas Lewis). Another cast apparently of this type belonged to George Longstreet of Beverly Hills in 1974; see Zoeckler's catalogue entry in Riverside 1974, no. 52, repro.

34. One, inscribed "Episode de la guerre des centaures et des lapithes," was sold at *19th Century Sculpture, Art Nouveau & Art Déco*, Christie's, New York, 20 March 1981, no. 51, repro. That is the type illustrated in Berman 1974, 4: 1050, no. 4154. A greenish-brown cast in this group was with Bruton Gallery (Bruton Gallery 1981, A3, color repro.). An example of this type is in the collection of Fred and Meg Licht; see Hunisak 1994, 69, repro.

35. Holsten in Eichler and Holsten 1994, 37. The mark was confirmed in a letter from Dr. Holsten of 8 February 1995, to the author (in NGA curatorial files).

36. Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 165n. 18 (see note 1).

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- 1980 Hargrove, June. "Abduction of Hippodamie (L'Enlèvement)," in Los Angeles: 164–166, repro.
1994 NGA: 43, repro.

Henri-Michel-Antoine Chapu

1833–1891

CHAPU LEFT his native village of Le Mée as an adolescent, when his parents moved to Paris as the concierges for the marquis de Vogüé. In 1848 he enrolled in the Petite Ecole to learn the tapestry profession. He changed professional course within the year and successfully competed for admission to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1849. Chapu studied sculpture with James Pradier until the latter's death in 1852, then pursued sculpture and painting simultaneously with Duret and Léon Cogniet (1794–1880). In 1855 he won the Prix de Rome in sculpture and moved to the Villa Medici late that year. In contrast with the tumultuous career of his fellow *pensionnaire*, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, who became a lifelong friend, Chapu's career proceeded steadily towards success. The marble of his final Villa Medici envoi, *Mercury Inventing the Caduceus* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), won a third-class prize in the Salon of 1863. Commissions for private and State projects began immediately upon his return to Paris in 1861. It was not until after 1870, however, that Chapu was in demand as a sculptor. His reputation skyrocketed with his greatest Salon successes, *Joan of Arc at Domrémy*, first shown in 1870 (plaster; Musée Henri Chapu, Le Mée), and *La Jeunesse*, the central allegory of a cenotaph for painter Henri Regnault (1843–1871) and other academy students killed in the Franco-Prussian War. The marble *La Jeunesse* won the gold medal for sculpture in the Salon of 1875 as well as subsequent accolades after the monument was inaugurated in 1876 at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Major commissions for the decoration of civil, commercial, and church architecture and fountains emerged soon after. Chapu's most acclaimed work in France and abroad, however, was his monumental funerary sculpture. The most famous are his initial projects with single-figure personifications for monumental stela (*La Jeunesse*, *La Pensée*, and *L'Immortalité*) and the *gisants* of high-ranking clergy and former royalty (notably that of the duchesse de Nemours, originally at Weybridge, Surrey [now Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool], and the duchesse d'Orléans at the Royal Chapel, Dreux). A replica of *L'Immortalité*, a nude male youth

representing Jean Reynaud's belief in metempsychosis (astral migration of the soul after death), was placed on Chapu's tomb in the cemetery of Le Mée.

A member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts since 1880, he was elected its President in 1889. He had been a *chevalier* of the Légion d'Honneur since 1867, and was promoted to officer in 1872.

Chapu's voluminous production was made possible by a large studio, with extensive personnel for the demanding technical work of his medium. Some were students who were more like medieval apprentices than observers. Contrary to the Ecole system, Chapu firmly believed in the artist's responsibility to master and practice sculpture as a craft; he practiced that credo himself. A superb craftsman, he remained directly involved in almost every phase of work.

Little is known about the extensive serial edition of Chapu's oeuvre. Commercial enterprises—notably Thiébaut and Barbedienne—produced bronzes and marbles of individual figures, as reduced variants, well into the twentieth century. Some may date from the last years of the artist's life.

Chapu's artistic idiom was the iconic human figure; narrative was rare. In the realm of monumental art, his art negotiated an effective course between tradition and modernity for his generation. Whether historical or modern (*Steam*, 1889, Musée National du Grand Palais, Paris), his subjects beyond portraiture were elevated or sober, handled with a refinement that drew largely upon classical and Renaissance sources. It was an approach that avoided extremes: no violent gesture or expression; fastidious detail was absorbed within broad planes and clear outlines. Instead, Chapu's figures have a living, fluid grace, thanks to a mastery of anatomy, of the formal power of three-dimensional mass, and the nuances of surface handling.

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La Pensée

1877/1891

Marble, 89 × 53.5 × 24.8 (35 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$)

Pepita Milmore Memorial Fund

Inscriptions

Incised on the self-base, beneath the books: h. chapu

Technical Notes: The relief is carved from a block of medium-grain, white marble.¹ There are small surface holes throughout from mineral inclusions dislodged during carving and finishing. Fissures in the surface of the background are possibly inherent faults in the material. The background was apparently carved first with a large point chisel and then with various claw-tooth chisels. The figure, bench, and pedestal of the bust were most likely roughed out in the same manner, then worked with a combination of point, flat, and narrow-bladed bull-nose chisels, and finished with small files and rasps. The drill appears to have been used rarely except in the drapery beneath the right thigh. There is some use of abrasive material, such as emery or pumice, for final finishing. Two drilled holes to the right of the pedestal may have been intended to attach the relief to a vertical support. A hairline crack runs from the right edge of the background to the neck of the figure. There are minor surface losses from impact at the base of the pedestal and on the figure's left foot, and minor scratches on the pedestal and on the figure's right arm.

Provenance: Allegedly the estate of the artist's widow, Marie-Euphémie-Mélanie Cozette de Rubempré [1847–1919].² (Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 10 February 1971, no. 48).³ Private collection, Pennsylvania;⁴ (Pegasus Fine Arts, New York, by April 1986).

THE NATIONAL GALLERY marble is a reduced variant of a work Chapu exhibited under this title in the Salon of 1877. It is the figurative element of his stela tomb in Père-Lachaise cemetery, Paris, for Daniel Stern (Marie de Flavigny, comtesse d'Agoult [1805–1876]). About one-third the height of the 230-centimeter stela, this relief transforms a monument to a particular modern intellectual into a universal image of literary inspiration, under the aegis of the Greco-Roman patroness of the arts and wisdom. The bust of Minerva, or Athena, on the pedestal of this version replaces a bust of Goethe in the tomb relief. The National Gallery marble omits the overt references to Stern on the tomb: the dedication at lower right; her portrait medallion at the top; "Daniel Stern" inscribed over the central allegorical figure; and the biographical data and references to her oeuvre.

The dominant motif in both, the classically draped female figure, is a conflation of several iconographic conventions. The pose recalls baroque allegories of revelation or resurrection, such as Bernini's *Truth Revealed by Time* (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and Louis-François Roubiliac's (1695–1762) *Monument to General William Hargrave* (Westminster Abbey, London),⁵ or images of creative inspiration, such as Roubiliac's *Monument to Handel* (also Westminster Abbey, London) and Caravaggio's (1560/1565–1609) *Saint*

Matthew and the Angel (Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome).⁶ The eclecticism of the marble struck the critics when it was exhibited at the Salon. Henry Houssaye observed, "Is it actually *La Pensée* that is represented by this draped figure that, fixing an inspired gaze upon the heavens, raises the hem of her *himation* over her head with her right arm, in the adorable pose of a nereid or a dancer of Herculanum, and holds in her left hand a papyrus scroll? This is not the pose in which humans, gods, or even symbols meditate. The head and lower body belong to Polymnia, but the bust and arms are of Terpsichore."⁷ Yet the figure's head seemed so contemporary that another critic thought it represented the comtesse d'Agoult "as a muse."⁸

The critics widely applauded Chapu's full-scale figure for formal qualities that are evident in the National Gallery reduction as well: an elusive poetry and a blend of naturalism, idealism, and formal rhythms in highly plastic form that bestow both modernity and grace to the work. Many commentators felt the relief emulated the greatest Greek sculpture in these features. They also applauded its masterful manipulation of natural light. Houssaye described the encounter between light and carved volumes within *La Pensée* as high drama: "Light bursts across the face, spills down the arm, makes the breast gleam, [and] shoots powerfully across the thigh, whose volumes it emphasizes under the drapery. Shadow bathes the underside of the chin and accentuates the outer contours of the figure . . . giving greater importance to the highlighted areas."⁹

For many supporters, *La Pensée* revealed Chapu's strength as an emerging funerary sculptor for his generation. Although the Stern commission was his first true tomb project, it was immediately paired with his celebrated *La Jeunesse*.¹⁰ Together, they were seen to demonstrate Chapu's capacity to provide the appropriate allegory for very different circumstances: "What suited a painter struck down at the beginning of his career, [the *Jeunesse* figure on the Ecole monument] was rightly replaced [by a different allegory] on the tomb of the writer who was able to complete her work."¹¹ Much to the sculptor's despair, he was rarely able to turn away from these formulae in the later allegorical tombs,¹² a dilemma particularly evident in his cenotaph for Gustave Flaubert (facade, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen). Strongly invoking *La Pensée*—and more overtly Bernini's *Truth Unveiled*—the Flaubert monument's *La Vérité* is personified by a seated woman engrossed in thought, but this time disrobed, with loose hair and pen arrested while writing.¹³

The traditionalism of Chapu's approach throughout his career becomes especially evident when *La Pensée* is compared with Rodin's subsequent version of the subject (fig. 1). The latter attempted to suggest the energy of thought by making "the head so exuberantly alive . . . that it imparted vitality even to the inert mass of marble beneath it."¹⁴ Chapu's approach nonetheless elicited broader support at the time than Rodin's radical symbolism, which more often met with hostility.



Henri-Michel-Antoine Chapu, *La Pensée*, 1986.27.1



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, detail of *La Pensée*, marble, 1886, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 1003, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

Chapu obtained the commission for Stern's tomb monument some time after her death in penury in Paris on 5 March 1876. His patrons for the project were a group of admirers and the family of her legitimate daughter, Claire de Charnacé, herself an eminent writer under the pseudonym Charles de Sault.¹⁵ A plaster "model," apparently of the central figure alone, appeared, as mentioned at the outset, in the Salon of 1877 and helped Chapu to win his second gold medal in sculpture that year.¹⁶ Its fame caused *La Pensée* to be engraved and discussed in critical reviews during the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878, though it was not exhibited there.¹⁷ The very concept of the work was apparently achieved relatively late. A tinted-plaster model, signed and dated "1877" (Musée Municipal, Melun), differs considerably from the final composition. It suggests a traditional representation of Meditation or Melancholy: The figure perches on a block, supports her weight with her right arm, and rests her chin on her left hand.¹⁸

The full-scale plaster¹⁹ and several preliminary drawings are at the Musée Henri Chapu, Le Mée, and the Louvre. Three sheets each bear two line drawings in brown ink of the figure in varying poses.²⁰ The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek has owned a full-scale plaster cast since at least 1888.²¹

The precise nature of the National Gallery marble reduction is as yet unclear. No other versions are known. The play of the roughly carved background against the highly fin-

ished figurative elements differs from the consistent handling of both his large-scale works or the commercial reductions. Such contrasts in handling in a single work suggest Rodin's sculpture of the mid- to late-1880s (such as the aforementioned *Thought*) rather than Chapu's. The signature and careful contours argue against its being unfinished. If the marble did come from the Chapu estate, it may not have been produced for mass consumption. Though unlike his standard handling, the subtlety of the finished carving reflects the high standard of execution that he demanded of his marbles. Despite his traditional studio arrangement, with a corps of technicians for every phase of work, Chapu was a fine carver who finished the primary areas of marbles himself, and sometimes even the roughing-out, as in the Flaubert monument.²²

Though no versions are currently known, a marble that roughly corresponds to the National Gallery reduction was offered by Maison Thiébaut Frères, Fumière & Gavignot. If, however, the narrowness of the marble "frame" (actually a plinth and back that extends beyond the relief's own borders) on Thiébaut bronzes circulating today reflects the treatment of those marbles, it would not provide the approximately 13 centimeters needed to bring the 89-centimeter height of the National Gallery marble to the published height of the Thiébaut version.²³

The National Gallery variant is iconographically identical to the Thiébaut bronzes, which are common on the market today. Bearing the Minerva or Athena bust and no inscriptions, the bronzes similarly represent the universal theme of literary genius without reference to Stern. One cast of the subject, at the Musée des Arts et Traditions in St. Etienne, appears to date from the last years of Chapu's life.²⁴ The Thiébaut venture is the only one surely identified thus far, and seems to date from the end of the sculptor's career, if not after his death in 1891, into the twentieth century.²⁵ Thiébaut offered *La Pensée* in five sizes in bronze, either patinated or gilded, with or without a frame: The largest size, "no. 0," was 125 centimeters in height; the smallest, "no. 4," 20 centimeters. Known bronzes of the subject in public collections are Thiébaut casts: an unframed cast, 15.35 by 9.2 centimeters in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel;²⁶ and a cast framed in dark-red marble at the Musée Henri Chapu, Le Mée. Stamped versions of these offerings now circulate regularly on the market. The frames on many of those provide a sumptuous accent. The colors of the bronze and marble vary considerably, suggesting a deliberate effort to provide variety. For example, a 74-centimeter patinated cast (size "no. 2"), framed in red marble, was sold at Sotheby's, London, in 1987; a gilded-bronze version, framed with dark green marble, corresponding to size "no. 1" (102 centimeters), was sold at Nouveau Drouot, Paris, that same year.²⁷ In the known Thiébaut catalogues after 1900, *La Pensée* was offered, as it often appears today in auction catalogues, as a pendant to a cast of its later echo, *La Vérité*, from the Flaubert monument.

SGL

Notes

1. According to the findings of the marble analysis report in the Technical Appendix, the isotope data from this marble corresponds most closely with that of the quarries at Afyon, Turkey, raising important questions about availability and ongoing trade during these tumultuous years. A second option for the marble sample is the Saint-Béat quarries in the French Pyrenees. The statuary marble from this general region was sought by various nineteenth-century sculptors (David d'Angers, for example), but the Saint-Béat source is closely associated with Carpeaux, whose marble *Ugolino and His Sons* (MMA) was commissioned by the quarry owner himself, Cyr-Adolphe Dervillé. See Braunwald and Wagner 1975, 119–122.
2. Verbal communication via the late Joseph J. Wade from his unnamed source, who obtained it by exchange from yet another unnamed dealer, who claimed it was drawn from the “estate of Chapu’s widow.” (Letter to the author from the late Joseph J. Wade [then owner of Pegasus Fine Arts], dated 14 November 1990 [in NGA curatorial files]). No estate sale for either the artist or the widow is documented. According to Annie-Claire Lussiez, Director, Musée Henri Chapu, Le Mée (verbal communication), “a few objects” descended through their adopted daughter, Henriette Bréauté (Madame Gaston Bréauté), but no systematic record of them exists. The death announcement for Madame Chapu is dated 9 April 1919 (Archives, Musée Henri Chapu, Le Mée).
3. A speculative identification. The auction catalogue entry, which is not illustrated, describes a marble of the same dimensions (90 × 54 cms.). Thus far, the National Gallery relief is the only one that conforms to those specifications. The National Gallery’s source for the marble, the late Joseph Wade (see note 2), claimed to have learned of the sale only after the marble entered the museum collection and likewise felt it was the Hôtel Drouot marble.
4. According to a dealer’s brochure from Pegasus Fine Arts, New York (in NGA curatorial files).
5. Panofsky 1964, fig. 443; Whinney 1988, fig. 144.
6. Whinney 1988, fig. 148; Gregori 1985, fig. 6.
7. Houssaye 1877, 851–852.
8. Véron 1877. Excerpt in Documentation du Musée d’Orsay, Paris (Dossier Chapu). That association is easy to make on the full stela: Stern’s name is inscribed directly over the head of the figure. Stern’s portrait medallion, which represents a manifestly different and older woman, emphasizes the ideal nature of the figure.
9. Houssaye 1877, 851.
10. Rheims 1977, 335, fig. 45. For the discussion of another important sculpture concerning that war, see the entry for Mercié’s *Gloria Victis* (p. 292).
11. Castagnary 1892, 2: 285.
12. Ernest Legouvé, *Soixante ans de souvenirs*, in Fidière 1894, 110.
13. Pinget 1979, 35–40, repro., first proposed Chapu’s use of Bernini’s *Truth Unveiled*.
14. Ludovici 1926, 71; quoted in Tancock 1976, 590.
15. Desanti 1980, 341; Dupêchez 1989, 304.
16. Catalogue, 1877 Salon, no. 3643: “*La Pensée*; statue, plâtre.

(Modèle d’une statue qui doit être exécutée en marbre pour le monument de Daniel Stern—Mme d’Argoult [*sic*]).” Most scholars follow Fidière (1894, p. 95), who erroneously claims the plaster appeared in the Salon of 1876—i.e. six weeks after Stern’s death—and the marble in the Salon of 1877. According to the Salon catalogue, Chapu showed only two busts in 1876 (nos. 3132–3133).

17. An engraving of the marble, published in the *Magasin pittoresque* (1878), includes a figure of Goethe rather than the bust visible in the plaster and model.

18. The dimensions of this model are 53.2 × 30.4 × 11 cms. (Chapu 1991, 83). Its small scale suggests this plaster did not represent the project in the 1877 Salon, which is described by the catalogue and the critics as a “statue.” Geneviève Becquart (catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 152, repro.) notes the iconographic similarity between this sketch and Chapu’s *La Fidélité* for the Berryer monument, the finished marble of which appeared in the Salon of 1877. If this tinted-plaster sketch is indeed *La Jeunesse*, it suggests the shared conceptual process from which these very different projects emerged.

19. For the plaster, see *Musée Chapu* n.d., 23, repro. p. 24. For the sketch of the full composition at the Louvre, see Le Normand-Romain 1995a, fig. 557. A full-scale bronze (230 × 145 cms.) has been reported at the Musée du Vieux Château, Nemours (Documentation du Musée d’Orsay, Paris [Dossier Chapu]).

20. Inv. nos. 912.1.348–350; in Lussiez 1976, nos. 30–32, repro. p. 16.

21. Copenhagen 1888, no. 346.

22. Fidière 1894; Pinget 1979, 40. Reportedly, Chapu executed that marble on location at Seravezza, Italy, making the question of the source of the material for the National Gallery *La Pensée* all the more pertinent, if from his studio and possibly his hand.

23. *Catalogue d’édition des bronzes de la Maison Thiébaud Frères, Fumière & Gavignot*, (Paris, n.d. [after 1889: the text cites their Grand Prix awarded at the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition]), unpaginated. Photocopy Documentation du Musée d’Orsay, Paris (Dossier Chapu). The marble is listed under bronze “avec cadre marbre,” size “no. 1” (102 × 64 × 25 cms.), at a price of 3,500 francs (as compared to 1,500 francs for the bronze).

24. It is inscribed “La Ste [Société] d’Art et d’Industrie de la Loire à M. Marius Vachon. Organization du Musée d’Art et d’Industrie. 1890.” Its dimensions and marks are unknown. Photocopy of photograph and information in Documentation du Musée d’Orsay, Paris (Dossier Chapu).

25. Comparable catalogues document production of the variant past 1900, since they cite an award from that year.

26. Martin Sonnabend’s catalogue entry in Kassel 1987, 1: no. 166, repro.

27. *Nineteenth Century Ceramics, Animalier Bronzes and Sculpture*, Sotheby’s, London, 11 June 1987, no. 273, repro.; and *Vente Art Nouveau et Art Déco*, Nouveau Drouot, 1 July 1987, no. 23, repro.

References

1994 NGA: 44, repro.

Joseph Chinard

1756–1813

CHINARD WAS BORN into a family of master silk weavers and merchants in Lyon, where he studied under the court painter Donat Nonotte (1708–1785) at the Ecole Royale de Dessin. At the age of fifteen he caught the attention of the sculptor Barthélemy Blaise (1738–1819), who employed him on restoration work for the Hôtel de Ville. His first independent works were ecclesiastical commissions in the Baroque style. These included colossal statues of Saint Bruno and Saint John, made for the Carthusian monastery at Selignac in 1782 (respectively church of Saint-Denis, near Bourg-en-Bresse, and private collection, Bourg-en-Bresse; damaged). In 1784 Chinard left for Rome, supported by private patrons including the chevalier de la Font de Juis, for whom he produced copies after the antique. His reputation grew in 1786 when he won first prize in the Concorso Balestra of the Accademia di San Luca, the first Frenchman to do so in sixty years. His winning sculpture, a terra-cotta *Perseus and Andromeda*, remains in the Accademia collection (enlargements in marble, unfinished, and terra cotta at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon). In Rome he also began to produce the portrait medallions and busts in which he would reveal his greatest gifts.

In 1787 Chinard returned to Lyon, where he married the embroiderer Antoinette Perret the following year. In 1791 he departed again for Rome with various commissions, including candelabra bases for the merchant van Risambourg representing *Apollo Trampling Superstition* and *Jupiter Striking Down Aristocracy*. The terra-cotta models for these (both Paris, Musée Carnavalet), seen as attacks against religion, led to his arrest in September 1792. Imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo, he was released and expelled from Rome in November. Back in Lyon, Chinard received a hero's welcome; but, ironically, works he designed soon thereafter for his native city's Hôtel de Ville were perceived as counter-revolutionary. As a result he was denounced and imprisoned in October 1793. Acquitted in 1794, Chinard went on to serve the republic, the directoire, and the empire as organizer of civic festivals and designer of patriotic monuments.

Busy with the public allegorical productions and monuments that he apparently regarded as his most important achievements, Chinard also worked steadily as a portrait sculptor. First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte,

visiting Lyon with his wife Josephine in January 1802, found a newly completed marble bust of himself by Chinard in his room (private collection, Switzerland; plasters at Musée National du Château de Malmaison and elsewhere). Henceforth Chinard became the favorite portrait sculptor of Napoleon's family, creating and replicating busts in terra cotta, plaster, and marble. Some of the marbles were produced at Carrara, Italy, where Chinard opened an atelier in 1804 under the patronage of Napoleon's sister Elisa, the princess Bacciocchi. He was expelled in 1808, accused of marble profiteering.

From 1795 until 1807 Chinard often stayed in Paris, sometimes at the home of the Lyonnais banker Jacques Récamier. His sensuous yet reserved portrait busts and medallions of the celebrated beauty Juliette Récamier, the subject of David's famous full-length painting of 1800 (Paris, Musée du Louvre), are among his masterpieces (marble, of uncertain date in early nineteenth century, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts; various versions in terra cotta, plaster, and bronze).

Chinard became a member of the Institut de France around 1795, and was among the first members of the Lyon Academy after its reestablishment as the Atheneum in 1800. He was named professor of sculpture in 1807 at the Ecole des Arts du Dessin at Lyon, by imperial decree. After his expulsion from Carrara he stayed in Lyon, but participated regularly in the Paris salons. A widower since 1794, he married Marie Berthaud in 1811. At his death in 1813 of a heart attack or aneurysm, he left many unfinished pieces of sculpture and sketches awaiting execution. Among his last works was a marble statuette self-portrait, draped as a classical philosopher, which was placed on his tomb (1812–1813; terra-cotta sketch at Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon).¹

Prolific and uneven, Chinard was the most important French sculptor working outside Paris in his time, and one of the great portrait sculptors of the Napoleonic period. In spite of neoclassical pretensions in his statues of gods and designs for public monuments, his style for most of his career kept a delicacy, refinement, and attention to naturalistic detail that binds him to the eighteenth century. In this he contrasts with contemporaries like Canova, who tended far more to subordinate individual appearances to a classical ideal. Adept at meticulous modeling in clay, Chinard showed a par-

ticular gift for portraits of women. The best of his female portraits, which include the various versions of Madame Récamier (a fine terra-cotta example is in Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum) and Empress Josephine (an excellent terra-cotta example is in the Cleveland Museum of Art), are graceful and vivacious, yet reserved. An astute observer with a capacity for psychological penetration, especially in images of men, Chinard usually tempered realism with a genial sympathy for his sitters. Of his many public works, most of which survive only in the form of models (primarily in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon), his *Carabinier* destined for the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel has been termed “strong and realistic” (commissioned 1807; shown at the Salon of 1812).² His oeuvre and technical practices await comprehensive examination.³

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Notes

1. *Important European Sculpture and Works of Art*, Christie's, London, 10 December 1996, no. 77.
2. Vitry 1909, 17–18.
3. A catalogue raisonné is being prepared by Madeleine Rocher-Jauneau.

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1990.128.1

A Lady

1810

Patinated terra cotta, 60.7 × 40.4 × 30 (23⁷/₈ × 15⁷/₈ × 11³/₄)

Gift of Daniel Wildenstein, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

Incised on the front of the base: Chinard de Lyon 1810

Technical Notes: The sculpture is in good condition, with no major defects evident. Visible repairs were made to an abraded area on the right shoulder blade, and there are minor losses and areas of abrasion on the lower edges of the self-base. The walls of the base are about 2 to 2.5 centimeters thick.

Both the bust and cubic self-base were hollowed out to minimize cracking when the work was dried and fired. X-radiography and examination of the interior suggest that the bust was cut in half from left to right after modeling to facilitate hollowing out. It would have been reassembled before firing. A clay strut running from front to back provides structural support, and additional support comes from full-width horizontal clay slabs set inside the front and back of the base.

The surface shows evidence of the use of tools, including flat, pointed, and bull-nose spatulas, as well as rasps, as in the fine parallel lines on the left side of the chin. Small indentations from the pressure of fingertips are also visible, especially on the upper part of the woman's chest and, less abundantly, on the face. There are no clear fingerprints.

The bust was modeled from a fine clay of pink to light-red color. A red coloration was overlaid with a glossy brown varnish. In addition, a dark pigment was applied selectively, for instance in the grooves of the hair and circumscribing the eyes. The interior of the base was apparently coated with a gray-brown slip. Gray deposits also appear on the rear left corner of the base and on the left side of the back of the base.¹

Provenance: Private collection, London; acquired 1965 by the Wildenstein family, New York.

Exhibited: NGA 1991, 128–129. *Obras Maestras de la National Gallery of Art*, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, 1996–1997, 98–99.

THE AUSTERE and monumental style of this late work stands in contrast to the sprightly and meticulously detailed treatment familiar in Chinard's best-known portraits. Bereft of the lace, embroidered borders, delicate pleats, and ornate hairdressing typical of Chinard, the subject wears a plain loose gown with large folds and clasps at the shoulders, emulating a classical chiton but belted above the waist in the Empire style. As she raises her left shoulder, the gown slips down on her chest on the right to reveal the nipple, while the left breast remains covered. This faintly recalls the décolletage in the celebrated busts of Madame Récamier executed a few years earlier. The more straightforward use here, however, on an older and less glamorous subject, suggests not so much the erotic flirtation of the Récamier portraits as it does the ancient Roman use of nudity to portray a sitter as immortal.² Indeed, far more than in most of

Chinard's busts, the costume here seems intended to remove the subject from her own milieu into a timeless, classical world.

The modeling style corresponds to the form in its freer, more generalized treatment, enlivened by the imprints of the sculptor's fingers. Conceivably this sculpture was a model for a portrait to be executed in marble, which might explain the relatively sketchy treatment, as well as the peculiar form of the inscription, with the numerals of the date compressed on the right as if in a miscalculation that could be corrected in the final version. The stark cubic socle, unusual not only in Chinard's work but in neoclassical portrait sculpture in general, may have had special significance, or it may have been a simple forerunner to a socle form yet to be selected for the marble version. On the other hand, the colored surface, the date of which is unknown, implies a state of completion, or at least an expectation that the bust would be displayed as a work of art in its own right.

The subject's identity is unknown, and the question of whether this may have been a posthumous commemoration, as suggested by the simplicity and faintly sad mood, remains open. Yet the austerity of costume and socle are counteracted by a subtle vivacity. The head turning toward the lifted shoulder and the incised rivulets flowing through the tightly bound hair infuse the bust with movement and animation. The face is portrayed with the honest yet sympathetic observation that makes Chinard such an appealing portraitist. It is a face in transition, with delicate contours beginning to give way to the fullness and lines of age.³ While the pupils are left blank in the idealized classical manner, indentations in the forehead and around the finely formed eyes betray human imperfection and suffering. The lady looks outward with a level gaze and gently sorrowful smile. The perplexed brow and slightly projecting upper lip give an air of persisting innocence.

Conceivably this was one of two portraits of women by Chinard exhibited in the Salon of 1810, depicting either Madame de Beuzi or Madame de Kaus.⁴ Since the salon



Fig. 1 Joseph Chinard, *Portrait Bust of a Woman* (detail), terra cotta, c. 1810, Charlottesville, Bayly Art Museum, University of Virginia



Fig. 2 comparison of NGA and Charlottesville busts

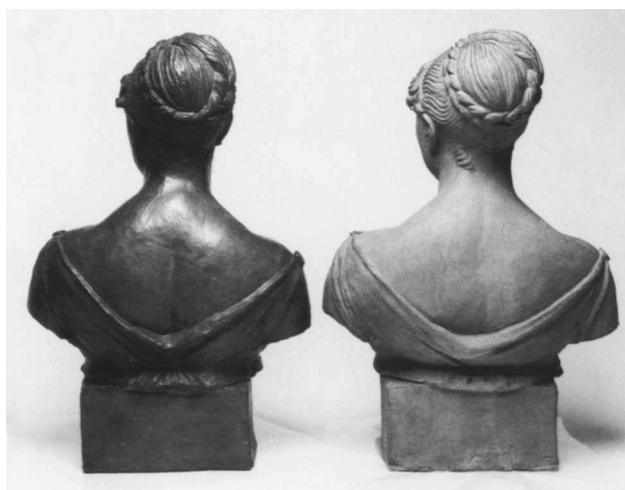


Fig. 3 comparison of NGA and Charlottesville busts



Fig. 4 comparison of NGA and Charlottesville busts



Joseph Chinard, *A Lady*, 1990.128.1

record does not provide a description or indicate the medium, this must remain conjectural.

A second version of the National Gallery bust exists in the Bayly Art Museum at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville (figs. 1–4).⁵ The Charlottesville bust, whose surface is covered with a monochrome wash of a matte orange-brown color, was evidently produced by pressing clay into a sectioned mold. This is indicated by the presence of depressed seams visible across the shoulders and down the back, as well as by the relatively smooth surfaces, simplified forms, and interior finger marks consistent with molding. Pitted areas on the surface of the cheeks are of a type sometimes left when clay is released from a mold. The surfaces and forms of the National Gallery bust, by contrast, are less regular, more sharply defined, and full of signs of hand modeling. While the Charlottesville bust shows hand modeling and direct toolwork in details of the hair, nose, and ears, this must have been done after the essential forms were finished.

The molds used to produce the Charlottesville bust were not taken from the National Gallery bust, as confirmed by differences in detail and in the positions of the head and neck on each bust, as well as the slightly larger size of the Charlottesville bust. Since clay shrinks slightly upon firing, any clay sculpture will be smaller than the model from which it was derived. Thus the Charlottesville bust must have been molded from a third version, slightly larger than both and unknown at present. The relationship of the hand-modeled National Gallery bust to this hypothetical third example would remain a puzzle. Conceivably it served as the model for an as yet undiscovered marble, from which the Charlottesville bust was later made.

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Notes

1. For this and more detailed information, see Technical Examination Reports dated 27 April 1994 and 1998 by Brian Ramer and Susanne Ørum, respectively (in NGA curatorial files).

2. See Madeleine Rocher-Jauneau, "Joseph Chinard et les bustes de Madame Récamier," *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments lyonnais* 7 (1978), no. 2, 133–145. On Roman portraits alluding to apotheosis, the conferring of divine status on a mortal, see Henning Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum. Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz am Rhein, 1981, especially 1–6; for nude portraits in the early nineteenth century, primarily with reference to male subjects, see H. W. Janson, "Observations on Nudity in Neoclassical Art," *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes* (Acts of the 21st International Congress for Art History in Bonn, 1964), 3 vols. (Berlin, 1967), 1: 198–207.

3. In the first publication of this bust, Rocher-Jauneau (1964, 225) observed that it reveals the sculptor of feminine charm as "not unresponsive to the solid qualities that go with ripper years."

4. Lami 1910–1911, 1 (1910), 216. The portraits in question are numbered 950 and 951, respectively, in *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des Artistes vivans [sic], exposés au Musée Napoléon le 5 Novembre 1810*, Paris, 1810, 111–112. Number 952 under Chinard's name is "Plusieurs bustes, même numéro." My thanks to Suzanne Lindsay for locating the original Salon publication.

5. Bayly Art Museum inv. 1982.81, measuring 60.8 × 41.3 × 31.4 cm. This bust was acquired in 1982 from Shepherd Gallery Associates, Inc., New York, which obtained it from a French private collection. Its relationship to the National Gallery bust was first noted by Douglas Lewis in June 1997. It is as yet unpublished. My thanks to colleagues at the Bayly Art Museum, particularly Jean Lancaster Collier, Nita Grupe, and Jill Hartz, for arranging its loan to the National Gallery of Art for study purposes.

The observations here are based on a report by Getty Fellow Susanne Ørum summarizing her comparative study of the two busts carried out in the Object Conservation Laboratory at the National Gallery in 1997–1998.

References

- 1964 Rocher-Jauneau: 225, repro. 224.
1994 NGA: 44, repro.
1996 *Obras Maestras de la National Gallery of Art*. [Exh. cat. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City.] Washington and Mexico City: 98–99, repro.

Aimé-Jules Dalou

1838–1902

BORN TO A glovemaking in Paris, Dalou attracted the attention of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, who directed him to the Petite Ecole in 1852 for his first artistic training. Carpeaux then presented him at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in March 1853 (until recently thought to occur the following year), where Dalou studied painting with Abel de Pujol (1785–1861) and sculpture with Carpeaux's own Ecole master, Duret, for three years. Though he officially acknowledged all three artists as teachers, Dalou always considered Carpeaux his real master. The curriculum and relationship particularly with Duret proved uncongenial for the younger artist. His failure to win the Prix de Rome after four tries, from 1861 to 1865, contributed to a lifelong hostility to the institutional power and vision of the Academy.

Instead, Dalou pursued the artistic values of the Petite Ecole in a multi-faceted career that blossomed after a decade of obscurity. He earned a livelihood in the 1860s with goldsmiths Fannièrre Frères and several decorators. He was among the legions of sculptors to produce the architectural decoration and figurative furniture for the new mansions of Second Empire Paris—notably the Hôtel Paiva on the Champs-Élysées. Only the final entries among his five Salon appearances during the 1860s drew any significant attention. His *Daphnis and Chloe*, shown in 1869, and *La Brodeuse*, a third-class medal winner in 1870, were purchased by the government, though the marbles were never completed and both plasters were since destroyed.

Dalou's minor role in the Commune, principally as a curator at the Louvre in 1871, made him a persona non grata in Paris. He escaped retribution by fleeing with his family to London, where he lived until 1880, after receiving amnesty. Nonetheless, the French community in London welcomed him warmly, just as a more lenient French government of the mid-1870s included a bronze of Dalou's *La Brodeuse* among the nation's entries to the International Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia (as *The Needle-Woman*). Dalou eventually found wide success in Britain, thanks in part to French official support. His first and most vital boost, however, came from an old friend, long an expatriate in London, the painter Alphonse Legros (1837–1911), and his own entries in the various prestigious exhibitions of the city, beginning in the 1860s. He showed not only sculpture but around thirty works on paper at Dudley Gallery, a

recent discovery, with few details currently known, that revises established views of his public professional activity and his relationship to drawing and painting. Though, like Legros, he spoke little English, Dalou began teaching modeling at the National Art Training School, South Kensington (renamed the Royal College of Art in 1896) in 1877, and then briefly at the South London School of Technical Art (called “Lambeth”). His instructive demonstrations and sheer example profoundly influenced a new generation of sculptors in Britain. Dalou helped to usher in a new approach to the medium, there termed “The New Sculpture,” that closely allied sculpture and architecture, and gave high priority to both traditional craft and the new industrial idiom. He also gained favor as a portraitist and sculptor of genre subjects. His statuette of the *Boulonnaise with a Branch* (Castle Howard, Yorkshire, England) was one of his first to be acquired, by the earl of Carlisle, in 1871. In the late 1870s, thanks to Princess Louise, a student in Dalou's modeling class at South Kensington, the royal family commissioned a private memorial to Queen Victoria's grandchildren who had died in infancy (Windsor Castle). He subsequently executed his first public project in London, *Charity* (commissioned 1877), for a public drinking fountain behind the Royal Exchange.

Upon his return to France, Dalou found himself well-known and in demand. He devoted the remainder of his career largely to socially useful projects, particularly monuments and the portraiture of great men. The city of Paris commissioned the celebrated *Triumph of the Republic* (1879–1899; Place de la Nation) in addition to the official competition winner (1879–1883, bronze and stone; Place de la République) by the Morice brothers, sculptor Léopold (1846–1920) and architect Charles (1848–1908). Many other municipal commissions followed: among them, the colossal bas-reliefs of historical or allegorical subjects celebrating republican France (*Mirabeau Responding to Dreux-Brézé in 1789*, bronze relief, Chamber of Deputies; and *Fraternity*, marble, Musée du Petit Palais; both c. 1883); and homage to an influential director of Public Works (*Monument to Alphand*, inaugurated 1899, stone; avenue Foch, Paris). Dalou executed two of the most compelling tombs of those decades, recumbent figures of the radical activist Auguste Blanqui and the assassinated journalist Victor Noir (1885 and 1890, respectively; Père-Lachaise Ceme-

tery, Paris). He worked for years on a personal project, the *Monument to Workers*, which was never executed—it remained in the state of sketches and models.

Dalou played a major role in French cultural life by providing influential alternatives to the Academy and the Salon as arbiters of modern art. He was a founding member of the Société des Artistes Français and later a founder of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. His contribution to the nation was officially rewarded with the highest rank of the Légion d'Honneur two years before his death, with the inauguration of the *Triumph of the Republic*, in 1899.

Dalou is one of the handful of leading French sculptors of the late nineteenth century, ranking with Chapu and Mercié in reputation and in contribution to monumental sculpture. Where his colleagues' work has great consistency of subject and style, Dalou's has extraordinary range, absorbing a wide array of painterly and sculptural sources throughout his career. Most important among these was the work of Louis-François Roubiliac (1695–1762), an eminent eighteenth-century French sculptor working in Britain who was practically unknown in France, but whose work Dalou studied closely while in London. Dalou's vigorous plasticity, stylistic eclecticism, and modern figure types give exceptional life to his forms regardless of mode and scale. His expressive moods, subject matter, and sculptural format vary considerably even in his late career. The government commissions are as diverse in style as they are in sculptural category. Alongside the familiar patriotic works are Dalou's ebulliently neo-baroque *Triumph of Silenus* (1884, bronze; Jardin du Luxembourg) and his decorative vases manufactured by Sèvres for the Luxembourg buildings, the *Great "Golden Age" Vase* and the *Vase with Garlands and Putti* (the first, on deposit, Fort Mont-Valérien, near Paris; the latter, location unknown).

Dalou's famed republican or socialist politics, which he described in almost inconsistent terms throughout his career, gave a broadly liberal slant to his professional activities. Like earlier liberal sculptors (David d'Angers and Rude), he provided models free of charge for certain anti-despotic projects, notably Victor Noir's tomb monument. Dalou steadily aimed to benefit a broad-ranging public, to provide a public art that celebrated democratic virtues, both private and public, and to dignify labor and *métier*.

The latter concern informs all aspects of his work. Encouraged by the Petite Ecole's respect for craft, Dalou advocated technical excellence and celebrated the host of specialists involved in the execution of a project; for him, the finished sculptural work was a sig-

nificant collective enterprise, not the product of a single mind or hand. He gained semi-mythic fame as an engaged and self-critical craftsman. He destroyed works in progress, some of which are only known today thanks to his old friend, studio assistant, and successor as modeling instructor at South Kensington, Edouard Lanteri, who salvaged fragments, cast them in durable form, and distributed them throughout England and France without Dalou's direct participation. Dalou's lofty moral and artistic ideals, which disdained marketable variants and serialization, were apparently sacrificed when his family's material well-being seemed at risk. He arranged to have small-scale works edited in limited numbers several times, beginning in the 1870s in London; towards the end of his life, Dalou sought to generate income to support his family upon his death. In the 1890s the sculptor contracted with the Parisian city government and the Maison Susse for bronze serialization of three small-scale models, two of them reductions of public monuments. After his wife's death, Dalou arranged a network of resources to support his severely handicapped daughter. He placed her in the custody of the public Orphanage of the Arts, and bequeathed to the institution his studio contents as an income-producing asset (primarily the reproduction rights with a percentage of each sale for his daughter). He made a similar arrangement with Giraudon for publishable photographs of his work. After his death in 1902, Dalou's executors approached other bronze founders and expanded the arrangement with Susse to include some preliminary works from his studio in order to begin the flow of income. Susse also marketed some large-scale marbles carved by Dalou's studio chief. The small-scale works, however, became popular and, as a result, changed the image of the artist. The abundance of serial works and preliminary sketches from the studio, bought by the Musée du Petit Palais in late 1906, revealed the private side of Dalou that he had resisted making public during his lifetime, and formed the basis of his reputation in the following decades.

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1983.I.51 (A-1861)

Mother and Child

c. 1873

Patinated terra cotta, 29.2 × 10.75 × 15.9 (11½ × 4¼ × 6¼)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised on left of self-base: DALOU

Technical Notes: The group was produced in a medium-grain, pinkish-tan clay with considerable grog, perhaps to reduce drying time and the rate of shrinkage. Slight variations in its color on the underside indicate that the mass is comprised of different batches of this clay; air holes throughout that area suggest they were not wedged sufficiently before modeling. The group and self-base are directly modeled. There is evidence of a small number of clay modeling tools, largely flat and claw-tooth spatulas. Fingerprints throughout the work reveal the direct involvement of the artist's hands. No finishing tools appear to have been used to smooth the surface. The underside of the group was slightly hollowed to decrease weight and minimize damage during firing; nonetheless, enough mass remained to produce firing cracks, notably on the underside and lower half of the group. Microscopic examination suggests that reddish-brown and light-brown slips were applied prior to firing, probably with a brush. It is uncertain whether the mother's missing left foot was ever modeled or is an early loss.

Horizontal and vertical cracks on the left of the pedestal may be due to trauma after firing. The self-base has minor surface abrasion and numerous fragmentary losses, largely along the bottom. Dark stains on the pedestal and mother's torso, and white deposits on the mother's head, lower back, left side, and the left side of the pedestal predate the work's acquisition by the National Gallery. There is evidence of old restoration work. The mother's head broke off during transit from London to the United States and was reattached in 1967.¹

Provenance: (David Peel and Co., London); sold May 1967 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.²

THIS HITHERTO-UNRECORDED terra cotta relates generally to Dalou's intimist images of modern women of the 1870s.³ The series provides the earliest significant counterpart within French sculpture to the many genre paintings of typical modern domestic life since the eighteenth century.⁴ Caillaux sees close emotional affinities between Dalou's sculpture and eighteenth-century painting in this mode: "[These] works have the gentle gravity of Chardin's paintings and are imbued with a warm familial tenderness. . . ."⁵

Caillaux claims that they all represent Dalou's wife, beginning with *La Brodeuse* shown in the Paris Salon of 1870, as she prepared the layette for their forthcoming child; the artist was allegedly too poor to afford a model.⁶ Such an assertion is inaccurate: As Caillaux herself notes earlier in her text, Dalou's daughter Georgette was four years old when the family left Paris in 1871.⁷ Dreyfous instead maintains that Madame Dalou's features merely pervade the sculptor's work in "interpreted" form, since she was a powerful and enduring force in his personal, intellectual, and professional life.⁸

The terra cotta's specific subject links it to a sub-group of the intimist series representing the modern nursing mother. The sequence opens with *Maternal Joy* and closes with *A Boulonnaise Nursing Her Infant* (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1872 and 1877, respectively).⁹ The National Gallery sketch reflects no single finished work in the closely related series, and departs from all of them in certain features.¹⁰ The pose of the seated woman in the National Gallery terra cotta most strongly resembles that of the urbane, middle-class mother in a variant of *Maternal Joy* (fig. 1). In both, the mother's left leg tightly crosses over the right and her upper body leans forward as she gazes at the infant nursing at her left, their hands touching as she supports her breast. Elements of dress, however, relate the National Gallery terra cotta instead to Dalou's *French Peasant* (fig. 2), shown in terra cotta at the Royal Academy in 1873. Both women wear a simple working dress with scooped bodice and elbow-length sleeves instead of a peignoir or fitted dress. Furthermore, each bears a type of headgear associated with rural life. The *French Peasant* wears the coarse, broadly shielding scarf for field work; the woman in the National Gallery terra cotta instead has a delicate, close-fitting kerchief, tied at the crown of her head, recalling those in Jean-François Millet's (1814–1875) paintings of peasant women tending flocks, in the barnyard, or at home.¹¹ She is also represented barefoot, unlike any other variant.

The poised tranquility of the mother in the National Gallery terra cotta recalls Millet's peasants, rather than Dalou's own *French Peasant*, which suggests a harvester's hasty interlude as a nursing mother in the field, perched expediently and inelegantly on an overturned basket. The National Gallery sketch provides an especially dignified iconic counterpart in sculpture to the healthy, modern arcadian family in the work of Millet and the younger François



Fig. 1 [left] Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Maternal Joy*, bronze, model 1874, Somerset, England, Bruton Gallery, photograph by Michael Le Marchant

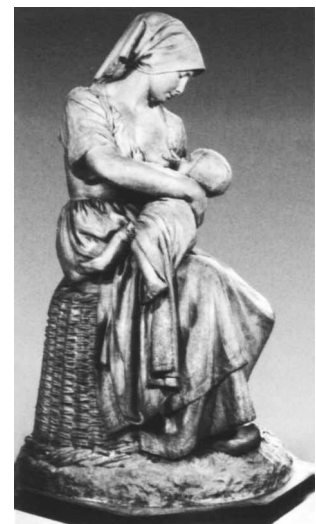


Fig. 2 [right] Aimé-Jules Dalou, *French Peasant*, terra cotta, 1873, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A27-1912



Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Mother and Child*, 1983.1.51

Bonvin (1817–1887) that was so widely appealing in the nineteenth century. This ideal view of modern rural life constituted the perceived antithesis of Gustave Courbet's (1819–1877) famously subversive, vulgar, and ugly realism.¹²

Hunisak emphasizes the personal framework for the maternal theme. For him, it reveals Dalou's emotional ties to his family and therefore his sincere engagement in the subject matter.¹³ The array of social types represented in the series, however, also signals Dalou's interest in maternity in a variety of socio-economic groups. In turn, the critical and commercial success of these works suggests they struck a responsive chord in the broader public. In historical terms, the nursing-mother group, and the public reaction to it, reflects the vitality of the Enlightenment campaign for a strong nuclear family, as an antidote to what Rousseau considered the unnatural selfishness of modern civilization; the woman who breastfed her own children embodied the family's very core, the nourishing mother.¹⁴ That cultural priority in the late nineteenth century has already been explored in the work of Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) and the "Symbolist of family life," Eugène Carrière (1849–1906).¹⁵

Dalou's nursing mother subjects enjoyed great success in England. When it made its debut at the Royal Academy in 1872, the nearly life-size terra cotta *Maternal Joy* was acclaimed by both the critics and public for its candid, informal naturalism, simple grace, and sheer beauty.¹⁶ Buyers quickly emerged as well. Sir Coutts Lindsay, a patron of James McNeill Whistler's (1834–1903), purchased the *French Peasant* when it appeared the following year.¹⁷ By 1880, however, when Dalou returned to Paris, he rejected the woman-centered intimist themes. Hunisak proposes the series suffered a "dearth of ideas" by then and that the artist wished to explore modernity and style in new forms.¹⁸

The nursing-mother series reveals Dalou's wide stylistic explorations during those years. The genre group is more eclectic than subsequent sketches for *Charity* or for the terra-cotta memorial to Queen Victoria's grandchildren, which consistently suggest Bernini's work inflected with rococo rhythms.¹⁹ The National Gallery terra cotta has a subtle vigor all its own. Its balanced, simple contour is enlivened by lilting rhythms within. Technically, this group is revealing: The wealth of fingerprints throughout the National Gallery terra cotta, an exploratory *ébauche*, challenges the dominant view that Dalou modeled clay exclusively with tools.²⁰

Typical of his working method, there are no known preliminary drawings for this or any other variant in the nursing-mother series. The National Gallery terra cotta appears to be unique, with no known casts. The nursing-mother group is otherwise most fully represented in the maquettes at the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. Examples were serialized, probably in England and surely in France. Dalou left many of the molds with Lanteri when he returned to France in 1880, but authorized *Maternal Joy* (also known as *Nursing Mother*) to be issued by Haviland, Limoges, in brown stoneware ("grès brun"); in porcelain by the Manufacture de Sèvres; and in

bronze by Susse Frères.²¹ Dalou allegedly owned a Sèvres version at the time of his death.²² It is unclear whether the nursing series was included among the bronze editions of his work authorized shortly before he died.²³ At an unspecified date during his last years in Paris, Dalou donated to a charity auction a reduction of the *French Peasant* that Susse bought and that they and Sèvres reputedly edited afterwards.²⁴ A. A. Hébrard cast a lost-wax edition of ten casts of a terra-cotta maquette of *Nursing Mother*.²⁵ Bronzes of the reductions, studies, and sketches without founders' cachets are also known. The Baltimore Museum of Art owns a 58-centimeter, unmarked bronze *Maternal Joy*.²⁶ Sand casts of sketches and reductions of the *French Peasant* have appeared on the market in at least two sizes, 41 centimeters and 51 centimeters, apparently also without marks.²⁷

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Notes

1. Conservation treatment at that time was by Robert Bros in New York (report in NGA curatorial files).
2. In NGA curatorial files.
3. Hunisak 1977, 53–68; examples of works in this series are figs. 26, 33, 36, and 45.
4. Hunisak 1977, 59. He points to James Pradier's *Maid Ironing* (1850, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva) as an exception (see Reims 1977, 183, fig. 6). Small-scale family groups, executed in the 1830s and 1840s, are informal portraits. See Isabelle Lemaistre's entries in *Grand Palais* 1991, 307, 484, repro.
5. Caillaux 1935, 28.
6. Caillaux 1935, 77.
7. Caillaux 1935, 19. Her actual age is cited in the secret safe-conduct pass to London, dated 6 July 1871, published by Dreyfous 1903, 46–47. Later portraits of Georgette in London indeed show her to be elementary-school-age while there; see Dalou's bust and Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema's (1836–1912) image of her in his portrait of the Dalou family; both Musée d'Orsay, Paris (R. F. 3951 and R. F. 1977-18, respectively).
8. Dreyfous 1903, 29 and 73.
9. Hunisak 1977, figs. 33 and 45, respectively.
10. John Hunisak suggests that the terra cotta is a preliminary work for the *French Peasant* (Alison Luchs, memorandum documenting conversation with Hunisak in 1983, in NGA curatorial files).
11. A typical example, which additionally includes a capped infant like Dalou's in the National Gallery group, is Millet's *Woman Feeding a Child* of 1861 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille). That detail is especially clear in the related drawing illustrated and discussed in Murphy 1984, no. 89. This connection was made by Dilys E. Blum, curator, department of costume and textiles, Philadelphia Museum of Art. Even closer to the National Gallery group in both pose and costume is a painting by Louis Muraton (active 1880s–c. 1901) entitled *Le Premier-Né* (date unknown, now Musée d'Art et d'Histoire des Côtes-du-Nord, Saint-Brieuc). See Coutume 1987, no. 245, repro.
12. The most common relative critical terms for Courbet's work, used to distinguish it from images of modern life—for example, those by Millet—that were found acceptable by his antagonists. For a classic discussion of nineteenth-century realism, see Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (New York, 1976).
13. Hunisak 1977, 147–151.
14. Duncan 1973, esp. 573–583. Weisberg 1981, 19n. 13, notes the importance of painting strong family life to social progressives of the 1840s and afterwards: ". . . strong family ties were regarded as essential to the continuation of the democratic viewpoint." See

my own discussion of that value to July Monarchy democrats of all classes, in the context of Godefroy Cavaignac's funeral and tomb, in my forthcoming book on nineteenth-century French tomb sculpture.

15. For Carrière, see Weisberg 1981, 203–205, repro. For Cassatt and the problem of the secular Madonna, see Mathews 1980.

16. John Hunisak, "Maternal Joy," in Los Angeles 1980, 187, repro. (a bronze reduction).

17. Dreyfous 1903, 62. For a brief biography and portrait of Sir Coutts Lindsay, see Lambert 1991, 74, repro.

18. Hunisak 1977, 107–108.

19. For a cast of the maquette of the latter, see Janson 1985, fig. 221.

20. Citing Anny Braunwald, former conservator of sculpture at the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, as the first to propose this view, Hunisak 1977, 98, refutes Arnold Wilson's claim (Wilson 1962, 172) that Dalou reportedly usually modeled with his thumb.

21. Lantéri 1901, 380; Caillaux 1935, 126.

22. Hunisak in Los Angeles 1980, 187 (see note 16).

23. Hunisak 1977, 92.

24. Caillaux 1935, 127.

25. PPS. 196, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. Caillaux 1935, 126.

26. Hunisak in Los Angeles 1980, 187, repro (see note 16).

27. *The Nineteenth Century. European Ceramics, Furniture, Sculpture and Works of Art*, Christie's, London, 14 May 1987, nos. 126–127, repro.

References

1994 NGA: 50, repro.

1991.2.1

Portrait of a Young Boy (Henry Ebenezer Bingham?)

1871/1879

Marble, 47.6 × 26.5 × 17.6 (18¾ × 10⅞ × 6⅞)

Gift of the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

Incised at the rear of the left shoulder, above the truncation of the back: DALOU

Technical Notes: The bust was carved from a fine-grained, creamy white block of statuary marble, which has acquired a yellowish patina over time, probably from handling.¹ In order to attach a columnar socle of a whiter, gray-veined marble, the bust was indented at the rear to accommodate a flange on the socle, suggesting the two elements are coeval. The join was cemented with mortar. The bust was executed by means of a traditional array of stone-carving tools. The flesh, collar of the shirt, truncated back, and base are worked with a flat chisel. The overshirt is carved with a claw-tooth chisel. The hair is worked with point- and bull-nose chisels, the latter particularly in the bangs and curls. The iris and pupil are drilled. The carved surface is smoothed with files and possibly emery or pumice. It does not appear to have been polished or waxed. There are several losses: the tip of the tie, with a small nick immediately above; a loss in front of the right ear, several losses on the top and back of the head, as well as on the join of the lower shoulder and back. The

socle is abraded and scratched particularly on the lowest register, which bears one particularly deep scratch at right.

Provenance: Henry E. Bingham [1866–1949], London;² by descent to his grandson, Trevor H. B. Shaw, Esq. [1923–1996], Surrey;³ (sale, Sotheby's, London, 20 June 1989, no. 36);⁴ (Thos. Agnew & Sons Limited, London).

Exhibited: *Master Drawings and Sculpture*, Thomas Agnew & Sons Limited, London, 1989, no. 62. Biennale des Antiquaires, Grand Palais, Paris, 1990, no cat.⁵ NGA 1991, 174–175. *Obras Maestras de la National Gallery of Art de Washington*, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, 1996, 100–101.

HUNISAK and other scholars accepted this previously unknown, signed bust of an unidentified sitter when it first came on the market in 1989.⁶ The attribution is persuasive, given the close resemblance of this marble to Dalou's documented portraits of children executed while in Britain during the 1870s.⁷

The portrait format, a tapered bust with a columnar socle, is a classical design popular since the Renaissance.⁸ This bust's proportionally large block and socle solidly ground the form, emphasizing its stable weight instead of providing the standard illusion of the bust floating above a delicate support.⁹

The National Gallery marble forms part of a prolific and varied tradition of child portraiture, including state por-



Fig. 1 Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Alexandre Brongniart*, marble, 1777, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.123



Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Portrait of a Young Boy (Henry Ebenezer Bingham?)*, 1991.2.1

traits of youthful monarchs, heirs-apparent to thrones or great houses, and ideal portraits of Christ or Saint John the Baptist.¹⁰ It closely relates to progressive portraiture of the 1870s in the informal neo-rococo mode: naturalistic, psychologically alive, and formally energetic, whether carved or modeled. Carrier-Belleuse produced busts of this type, such as his terra-cotta portrait of Simone Bucheron (1872, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle, Calais).¹¹ As is well established, the use of realism has roots in baroque portraiture, with its arresting impression of life in both formal and informal manner. It owes even more to the master portraitist of children of eighteenth-century France, Houdon. Scholars have already noted the generic kinship of the *Young Boy* with similar works by Houdon,¹² whose busts of children in everyday dress are particularly relevant here. Houdon's bust of Alexandre Brongniart (fig. 1), is especially similar to the Dalou marble. Both suggest children in characteristic guises, disheveled boys who seem to pose only fleetingly in the midst of energetic activity. The loose collar and skewed tie on Dalou's version seems to update the unbuttoned skeleton suit on Houdon's boy of a century earlier.¹³ Dalou's child is otherwise neater—perfect ringlets instead of tousled locks—and manifestly more solemn, a demeanor that characterizes several of his images of children executed in Britain (figs. 2 and 3).¹⁴

Dalou's British portraits of children (about five recorded examples),¹⁵ also share an even subtler trait. The subjects in most of the known examples physically resemble one another: wide eyes, full cheeks, delicate bee-stung mouth, a sturdy chin, and wavy, if not curly hair. Such similarities

blur the division between Dalou's portrait busts, ideal heads such as those taken from Queen Victoria's memorial to her grandchildren at Windsor Castle,¹⁶ and the idealized nude portrait statues (for example, *Arthur St. Clair Anstruther* [fig. 2a]). It thus calls into question the prevailing view of Dalou's "naturalistic" portraiture as truthful documents, raising the prospect of an intervening ideal canon.

The National Gallery marble relates especially closely in format, mood, and handling to the well-known bust of Miss Helen Ionides of about 1879 (fig. 3). The affinities have led scholars to date the National Gallery bust to the same years, as the identity of the sitter and circumstances of the portrait are undocumented.

Concrete answers to these questions are as yet unavailable, but biographical information on the earliest known owners suggests some likely possibilities. The late Trevor Shaw stated that the bust was in the home of its first known owner, his maternal grandfather Henry Bingham, where he lived as a boy.¹⁷ Born 12 November 1866,¹⁸ Henry Ebenezer Bingham was five years of age and living in Chelsea in London¹⁹ when Dalou arrived in the city. His age agrees with that suggested in Dalou's portrait (a pre-school child); the geography accords unusually well, as we shall see. This bust may record a collegial relationship between the sculptor and this family, like his portrait of Legros (see p. 108), or reflect a less familiar type of patron for Dalou, a member of the lower middle class in the early phases of upward social and economic mobility.

Henry Bingham's family was from the artisanal class of London, master marble and stone masons and sculptors



Fig. 2a Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Arthur St. Clair Anstruther*, marble, 1877, Edinburgh, Royal Museum of Scotland, photograph The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland



Fig. 2b Aimé-Jules Dalou, detail of head, *Arthur St. Clair Anstruther*, Edinburgh, Royal Museum of Scotland, photograph courtesy of Christie's Images, London



Fig. 3 Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Miss Helen Ionides*, terra cotta, 1879, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A10-1956

who prospered in the 1870s, diversified into stove manufacturing in the 1880s,²⁰ and then into mosaic, encaustic, and enameled tile in the opening years of the new century.²¹ Henry's eldest brother Edward Thomas owned considerable personal property and stock, in addition to partnership holdings, by the time of his death in 1919.²² Henry was head of the firm in its final years around World War II.²³ The primary force behind that upward move seems to have been their father Edward (1833–1915),²⁴ apparently the son of a marble and stone mason named Thomas Bingham (c. 1806–after 1853).²⁵ Edward Bingham made dramatic changes in the business and family fortune after he married and began a family in the 1850s.²⁶ Shortly before 1871, he moved both the residence and business to a prime stretch of Fulham Road, opposite Pelham Crescent, where the business remained until the 1930s.²⁷ That border area between Chelsea and South Kensington, long involved in manufacture and trade, was being developed rapidly as an elegant middle-class residential and commercial quarter.²⁸ It had become associated, particularly after the 1850s, with progressive social programs and modern arts and crafts, thanks in part to the pioneering “Great Exhibition” of 1851 which had taken place nearby, followed by the new South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) only blocks away.²⁹ At least two of Edward Bingham's sons had joined their father in business by 1891.³⁰ The firm was known as Edward Bingham & Sons by 1905.³¹

Nearby, Dalou taught modeling and had his own studio; he eventually lived on another section of Fulham Road.³² It is possible that he executed this bust for Edward Bingham (fig. 4) and/or his wife. Whether it represents one of their children is as yet unclear. If so, five-year-old Henry is a strong candidate (fig. 5). Such a portrait would not be a traditional dynastic image: Henry was the fourth male, the last among them to survive into adulthood.³³ It may also represent one of Edward Bingham's daughters: either one known only as S. M. Amy, who was about six in 1871,³⁴ or Mary Rosina, who was ten when she died in 1879.³⁵ As is well established, by the sixteenth century to well into the twentieth, boys and girls were coiffed and dressed alike—normally in what is considered feminine guise—until the age of about five.³⁶ Lambert claims that boys of the 1860s might be distinguished subtly by their simpler hairstyle and absence of bands or bows, as in the Dalou portrait.³⁷ The moment of radical differentiation—breeching the boys and cropping their hair—most often occurred at school age among nineteenth-century bourgeois and above, and even earlier for working-class boys who entered the labor force when no longer toddlers.

The sailor suit was top fashion for girls and boys into the late twentieth century. Inspired by the five-year-old Prince of Wales' winsome facsimile, worn on a state visit to Ireland in 1846 aboard the royal yacht, it was adopted in Britain to celebrate imperial naval strength. Its jaunty “costume” look, versatility as formal and informal wear, and sheer practicality made it a generic uniform for middle-class and



Fig. 4 Photograph of Edward Bingham, c. 1910, Surrey, England, Collection of the late Trevor H. B. Shaw



Fig. 5 Photograph of Henry Ebenezer Bingham, c. 1916, Surrey, England, Collection of the late Trevor H. B. Shaw

noble children throughout Europe and America, available through elite tailors and through ready-to-wear markets.³⁸ It was standard dress for children by the 1860s, and became even more popular in the 1870s when the Prince's own sons began to wear it constantly. If Buck and all who follow her are correct, however, the fashion was initially gender-specific: She finds it was restricted to boys until the 1880s,³⁹ a fact that, along with the unaccessorized hair, suggests Dalou's image might represent a boy. Again, Henry would be favored among the Bingham.

The bust may thus signal the family's social and artistic aspirations. Dalou's modern, modish dress and apparently embellished naturalism situate the marble in the realm of flattering progressive taste. The image also lays a dual claim to artistic heritage and the modern craftsman. The material of the portrait alone, unusual for those by Dalou during these years (which were “modern” terra cotta rather than traditional “noble” statuary marble, as seen here),⁴⁰ would convey a message of high aesthetic ambition as it presents the material trademark of this family, marble masons of apparent means. A further sign of its ambition, the marble was produced and signed by a sculptor sought, in his high-art guise, by *cognoscenti*, the wealthy, and the socially elevated.

On the other hand, taking into account who is involved and the date of the piece, the possible collegial relationship embodied in the bust is also significant. The marble brings together an artist in the process of revolutionizing British modeling and a family engaged in the traditional craft of carving. Unfortunately, little information is available about the Bingham's projects before the 1890s. However, they have been linked to prestigious later projects in London associated with architectural sculpture, art-nouveau decorative art, and modernist sculpture, and thus can be linked tentatively with several sculptural idioms, including figurative.⁴¹ Less is known about the Bingham's possible involvement in the reformed sculptural training, in which Dalou

proved so pivotal.⁴² The descriptions of their occupations in the census records through 1891 signal the traditional craftsman's path, training privately as apprentices and possibly moving through the guild system.⁴³ If this hypothetical professional profile is accurate, the Bingham's embody the shortcomings of the reform movement identified in 1891 by a leader in the field, sculptor Frederick William Pomeroy (1857–1924). The “new school,” claimed Pomeroy, had produced two unequal types of sculptors, those with the new institutional training in modeling, but with little practical experience in carving and architectural collaboration; and those with traditional training in modeling and carving, who are more responsive and qualified to work as equals with architects.⁴⁴ The sculptor and the apparent patrons of this bust represent precisely those disparate camps, though Dalou, with his *Petite Ecole* training and early decorative work, embodies Pomeroy's very ideal. Any specific conclusions as to what the bust suggests about Dalou and the Bingham's as colleagues are hypothetical. Dalou's respect in principle for craftsmen, and for a work in sculpture as a collective product, is well known. The Bingham's may have worked for him on the rare occasions that a marble was ordered. Dalou is known to have employed a marble pointer in London, Angelo Cartoni.⁴⁵ The sculptor used marble carvers among the many technicians necessary for the complex process, especially since his own carving skills were apparently unreliable at this time.⁴⁶ It is tempting to speculate that this marble was produced collaboratively by Dalou—the famed modeler and teacher who signed it—and Edward Bingham, the master mason-sculptor.

Without the original model, the respective contribution of the sculptor and *praticien* is difficult to isolate. The marble reflects approaches seen in Dalou's busts in other materials: the broad and delicate articulation of anatomy and dress; the equally broad rhythms established in the hair; and the precise delineation of lips and pupils of the eyes. The carving is subtly masterful. It is highly finished and, like other marbles by Dalou from this period—the figure of Arthur St. Clair Anstruther, for instance (figs. 2a and b)—it provides clearly defined transitions from one area to another, without the contrasts in textures or surface treatments visible in Carpeaux's *Fisherboy* (see p. 66). However, this small bust does not aim for the dazzling virtuosity of the full-scale figure, which is carved to present a range in chiaroscuro and surface contrasts: smooth gleaming undulations against matte textures, and gradual volumes against abrupt drilled pits. Where the drill is extensively and emphatically used in the figure, its traces appear only in the rendering of the eyes in the National Gallery bust. The carving of the bust has a character that is utterly distinct from that of the figure. The surfaces are highly consistent and integrated, an unbroken enterprise of gentle volumes that suggests form viewed through hazy filters. The tooling of the hair, eyes, and coat describe without subverting unity of effect—no abrupt edges or changes in texture or volume, and no fussy detail. The hair, for instance, is general-

ized especially at the crown of the head, with only scattered areas of tooling to delineate individual locks. The range of lights and darks is narrow as well as gradual. The unpolished surface, finished to permit ghostly traces of tooling throughout, imparts a mellow textured glow to this fine-grained marble, rather than a cleanly crisp gleam. If Dalou contributed the finishing touches here, which he is recorded as having done on busts of the 1880s,⁴⁷ his carving skill and pursuit of individual character are evident in this work.

No drawings have been identified with this bust. The location of the clay model, or the existence of any other durable or serial form of the bust, is unknown. The portrait bust is quite possibly as unique as it may be personal, since it is not known to have been publicly exhibited during Dalou's lifetime.

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Notes

1. The marble analysis in the Technical Appendix suggests the work is of Carrara marble of a “slightly different” variety from others in the sample. Its greater tonal warmth may be due to discolored wax or another material embedded between the grains.
2. The late Trevor H. B. Shaw, Esq., letter of 9 March 1995, to the author (in NGA curatorial files). The Bingham tomb (Brompton Cemetery, London) cites his death date as 27 July 1949, at age eighty-two. I am grateful to William Agnew, Diana Keith-Neal, and Tiggy Sawbridge for their help with the biographical research.
3. Agnew 1989, no. 62, color repro.
4. *Nineteenth Century European Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, London, 20 June 1989, no. 36, color repro.
5. In the Agnew display. William Agnew, letter of 1 May 1995, to the author (in NGA curatorial files). My thanks to Daniel Imbert for bringing this exhibition to my notice.
6. See the arguments presented in Agnew 1989 and Luchs' catalogue entry in NGA 1991, 174.
7. See the discussion further in the text.
8. See, for example, the busts of Trajan and Antoninus Pius at the British Museum, London (Groenewegen-Frankfort and Ashmole 1977, figs. 694, 696); Bernini, *Monsignor Francesco Barberini*; Antoine Coysevox (1640–1720), *Louis II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé* (the latter two in NGA 1994, 29, 49, repro.); and Auguste Rodin, *Bust of a Woman* in this catalogue (see p. 328).
9. Many of Houdon's busts utilize the alternative “floating” strategy. See NGA 1994, 109–111, repro.
10. See, for instance, the busts of Saint John the Baptist, Christ, and a little boy (NGA 1994, 28, 72–73, repro.).
11. Dominique Viéville's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 143, repro.
12. Alison Luchs, memorandum documenting conversation with John Hunisak, 16 April 1992 (in NGA curatorial files).
13. The skeleton suit or skeleton, with its frilled shirt and trousers, was the Enlightenment boy's first suit. Aimed at providing greater comfort and movement, it was reportedly based on contemporary notions of peasant attire for relaxation. See Yarwood 1982, 78.
14. A mood noted by Hunisak 1977, 133, in the bust of Helen Ionides, in addition to the “withdrawn and melancholic” quality suggested by the bust of Dalou's daughter Georgette.
15. In addition to the two illustrated, a “Bust of a Child” and portrait of Miss Dorothy Heseltine shown at the Royal Academy in 1875, and possibly the terra-cotta portrait of Miss Howard, whose age is unknown, shown at the Royal Academy in 1873 (all portraits, present locations unknown). See Graves 1905–1906, 2: 233. One example may reflect Dalou's little-known trip to Scotland in the summer of 1877: *Boy's Head*, a bronze bust (present location unknown).

lent by Henry Ballantyne Esq., Tweedale House, Walkeburn, to the Royal Scottish Academy exhibition of 1917. See Baile de Laperriere 1991, no. 782.

16. For example, the glazed-ceramic boy's head at the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. See Pinget and de Margerie 1986, 107, repro.

17. Trevor Shaw, letter of 9 March 1995 (in NGA curatorial files).

18. Birth certificate, Saint Luke Parish, Chelsea, Middlesex; General Register Office, England.

19. 103 Fulham Road; 1871 Census Record: Saint Luke Parish, Chelsea, 14, schedule no. 46. All information cited from census records derives from the Public Record Office, London. Henry Bingham's father Edward is discussed further in the text. Philip Ward-Jackson's advice concerning public-records research in Britain was extremely helpful for the biographical information for this family.

20. *London Post Office Directory* 1886, 75, lists Edward Bingham as a "marble and monumental mason" at 103 Fulham Road, with works at 14 Marlborough Street, Chelsea, in southwest London, and as a "stove and rangemaker and marble chimneypiece manufacturer" at 101 Fulham Road. This information is reiterated in the directory from the next year (pp. 334, 762).

21. The fullest array of services and skills is cited in *London Post Office Commercial Directory* 1905, 942: "marble and monumental masons, marble chimney piece, stove and kitchen range makers and mosaic, encaustic and enamelled tile merchants, 101, 105, 113, and 115 Fulham Road SW; works, 14 Marlborough St., Chelsea SW."

22. Probated will of Edward Thomas Bingham, The Cottage, 48 Heathfield Road, Mill Hill Park, Acton W3, Middlesex, probated 4 February 1919; Somerset House, London.

23. Trevor Shaw, letter of 9 March 1995 (in NGA curatorial files).

24. His birth and death dates (16 November 1833–9 November 1915) are inscribed on the Bingham tomb, Brompton Cemetery, London.

25. His age, recorded birthplace in Westminster, Middlesex, and recorded sister Sarah, correspond with the biographical information on Thomas Bingham, widowed "stone mason aged forty-five," at 13 Vauxhall Bridge Road (13 Stafford Place), in the 1851 Census Record for Saint John the Evangelist Parish, Westminster, with a son Edward, aged seventeen, and Sarah, around ten. Thomas Bingham, "mason & marble turner," "stone & marble mason," or "marble & stone turner," is listed on Vauxhall Bridge Road in the *London Post Office Directory* of 1839 (p. 50; with an unpaginated addendum listing him instead at 82 Regent Street, Westminster) and of 1840 (p. 24). The last published citation located for him was in 1853, specifically at 13 Stafford Place, Vauxhall Bridge Road (*London Post Office Directory* 1853, 1: 587). Though purely speculative, it is possible that Thomas is related to two sculptors of the previous generation, active around Peterborough, England: Edward Bingham, d. 1796, and James, active 1800–1820. See Gunnis 1954, 52–53. Philip Ward-Jackson drew my attention to this information.

26. He married Mary Elizabeth Beardmore (12 June 1832–10 November 1893) of Kennington in late 1856 (a silver tankard commemorating their twenty-fifth anniversary, belonging to the Shaws, is engraved 28 October 1881). His eldest apparently to survive was the earlier-mentioned Edward Thomas, born 31 August 1857 in Chelsea (birth certificate, Saint Luke Parish, Chelsea, Middlesex; General Register Office, London). Judging by the nineteenth-century census records, six children survived past 1891; two listed on the family tomb died either at birth or in early childhood. The children and Henry are discussed further in the text.

27. By the time of Henry's birth in late 1866, the family was at 40 Regent Street, Chelsea. One of the last references to them at the Fulham Road address is the *London Post Office Directory* of 1930, 2: 1426. The 1939 directory (p. 1665) cites them at 152 Brompton Road. The 1942 directory (p. 491), merely at Marlborough Street, presumably the old "works" address at 14; and they are not listed at all in the 1947 directory, though the business survived for several years after the war at that address (Trevor Shaw, letter of 8 August 1995, in NGA cu-

atorial files). These multi-storied buildings functioned then as they do now: the ground-floor spaces as commercial enterprises with the upstairs floors as residences. For a social and architectural history of this area, see *Survey* 1983, 80–108, 130–148; Pelham Crescent is discussed on pp. 92–97. No detailed study appears in this important series for the southern, mixed commercial and residential side of Fulham Road where the Bingham moved. The building numbers in use during the Bingham's documented tenure there appear to have remained constant.

28. The residents at Pelham Crescent, for instance, are described as "rentiers" (individuals with independent income); professionals; property owners; merchants; and François Guizot, exiled in 1848–1849, maintaining "Brompton's tradition as a place of refuge for exiles" (*Survey* 1983, 96–97).

29. Beattie 1983, 9–10, 20.

30. 1891 Census Record, Saint Luke Parish, Chelsea, 13, schedule no. 158: Edward T., aged thirty-three, and Arthur E., aged twenty, are listed as "in Business with Father."

31. 1905 directory (as cited in note 21), 419.

32. His first residence was on Islep Street, Kentish Town, in northwest London, but his studio was on Glebe Place, King's Road, Chelsea, and he eventually lived nearby at "25 Trafalgar Square, Fulham Road" (Dreyfous 1903, 48, 51, 55, 71, 83). For a description of this quarter and photographs of a Glebe Place property associated with him in historical accounts (house number 215; his letters refer only to nos. 50 and 217), see *Survey* 1913, 81, pls. 82–83.

33. 1871 Census Record, Saint Luke Parish, Chelsea, 14, schedule no. 46. The Bingham tomb records a Wilhelm Claud Bingham, born 15 February 1874, who may not have survived, as he does not appear in the 1881 Census Record.

34. 1881 Census Record, Saint Luke Parish, Chelsea, 13, schedule no. 44 (item continued from prior page). She appears there for the only time in the relevant 1871–1891 Census Records, reportedly sixteen years of age.

35. She appears only on the 1871 Census Record, aged two, information that accords with her life dates recorded on the Bingham tomb as 22 February 1869–8 June 1879.

36. Buck 1961, 200; Yarwood 1982, 78; Lambert 1991, 29. For a photograph of a young boy at that early age, see Lambert 1991, 29, fig. 17. My thanks to Susan North for her discussion of these issues and a bibliography for further research.

37. Lambert 1991, 29.

38. Buck 1961, 204; Ewing 1977, 87–89.

39. Buck 1961, 201–204; Ewing 1977, 87–88; Lambert 1991, 69, fig. 74. Buck 1961, 204, cites a fashion article in *Ladies' Treasury* of 1883 as an index of its emerging wear by girls. For a photograph, dated 1882–1886, showing boys and girls wearing sailor suits, see Buck 1961, fig. 49.

40. All Dalou's portraits exhibited at the Royal Academy during his nine years in London were reportedly of terra cotta, even those of eminent academicians (Frederic Leighton, Alma-Tadema, E. J. Poynter [1836–1919]). In fact the only marble exhibited there is his intimist genre group, *Hush-a-Bye, Baby* (or *La Berceuse*; model exhibited 1874, marble exhibited 1876). See Graves 1905–1906, 2: 233–234. Only two other marbles by Dalou are documented for his English period: *Jeu de Cache-Cache*, a small-scale marble group formerly owned by Lord Northbrook, London (present location unknown; Lami 1914–1921, 2: 8); and the earlier-mentioned marble portrait statue of Arthur St. Clair Anstruther (figs. 2a and b), which will be discussed later in the text.

41. According to the family, they executed "statuary on many London buildings including Unilever on the north side of the Thames at Lambeth Bridge . . . most of Harrods' exhibition marble work"; part of the celebrated Michelin House (1910) only a block away from their Fulham Road address; and the "rather famous 'Three Soldiers' statue in Battersea Park," the latter, according to Philip Ward-Jackson, probably Eric Kennington's 1924 war

memorial to the 24th Division (World War I). See Trevor Shaw, letter of 8 August 1995, to the author (in NGA curatorial files). For a history of the rebuilding of Harrods under architect C. W. Stephens (1894–1912), with interior work directed by Frederick Sage Ltd., see *Survey* 1983, 17–23.

42. Beattie 1983, 9–61.

43. Edward Bingham is a “stone mason” in 1871 but a “master mason and sculptor” by 1881. In 1881 his sons Edward Thomas, George A., and Henry E. are each defined as “mason & sculptor” and a nephew residing with him that year, a “mason’s apprentice,” with another nephew described in 1891 as a “marble mason’s assistant.” It seems likely that the nephews apprenticed or worked with Edward Bingham.

44. Beattie 1983, 61.

45. Hunisak 1977, 133n. 131.

46. Dreyfous 1903, 48–49, reports he was fired from his first job in London, as a marble worker for an English sculptor, for a mistake that ruined a bust he was charged with finishing.

47. As a counterweight to the reported fiasco of the damaged bust in London, Hunisak 1977, 93, invokes a much later account of Madame Paul Michel-Lévy’s five or six sittings for Dalou himself, after the *praticien*’s preliminary work, to finish the marble version of her bust from life.

References

- 1991 Luchs, Alison. “Jules Dalou,” in *NGA*: 174–175, color repro. [reversed].
1992 Agnew: 191–192, pl. 172.
1994 *NGA*: 50, repro.

1956.14.2 (A-1670)

Alphonse Legros

Model c. 1876; cast possibly 1879/1920

Bronze, 34.1 × 23.7 × 23.7 (13⁷/₁₆ × 9⁵/₁₆ × 9⁵/₁₆)

Gift of George Matthew Adams in memory of his mother, Lydia Havens Adams

Technical Notes: Bearing a relatively thick shell, the head was hollow cast from a finely tooled wax or clay model,¹ probably by the lost-wax method: It was cast in one piece and bears traces of a refractory investment core inside and two iron nails and a bronze-colored pin as tie-rods. The average percentage composition of the alloy, as determined by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), is: 86% copper, 10% tin, 1% zinc, and less than 1% iron. The absence of detectable amounts of silver suggests refining of the copper, a conclusion consistent with known metallurgical techniques of the late nineteenth century. The surface has extensive filing in the flesh areas, yet virtually no cold-work in the hair. The tooling on the self-base is coarser and may be by another hand, significantly after cold-work on the head. The mottled, dark-green patina was achieved by brushing a chemical solution onto the heated bronze. There is no evidence of varnish. The bronze is in good condition except for minor abrasions on the hair and temple, and at the rear of the self-base.

Provenance: George Matthew Adams [1878–1962], Riverdale, New York, possibly by the 1920s.²

Exhibited: NGA 1974.

MAURICE DREYFOUS first identified this unsigned portrait head as by Dalou, of “his most beloved friend,” the artist Alphonse Legros (1837–1911).³ A native of Dijon, Legros drew critical and public attention as a painter in Paris beginning in 1859, with his blend of “hispanicist” old-master and realist qualities in portraiture, religious subjects, and genre scenes of modern provincial religious life. He moved permanently to London in 1863, but he continued to exhibit and sell on both sides of the channel. Despite his failure to learn English, Legros became increasingly involved in the artistic world in England as a painter, printmaker, and drawing slide teacher, particularly after 1876 at the newly founded Slade School of Art at University College, London.⁴

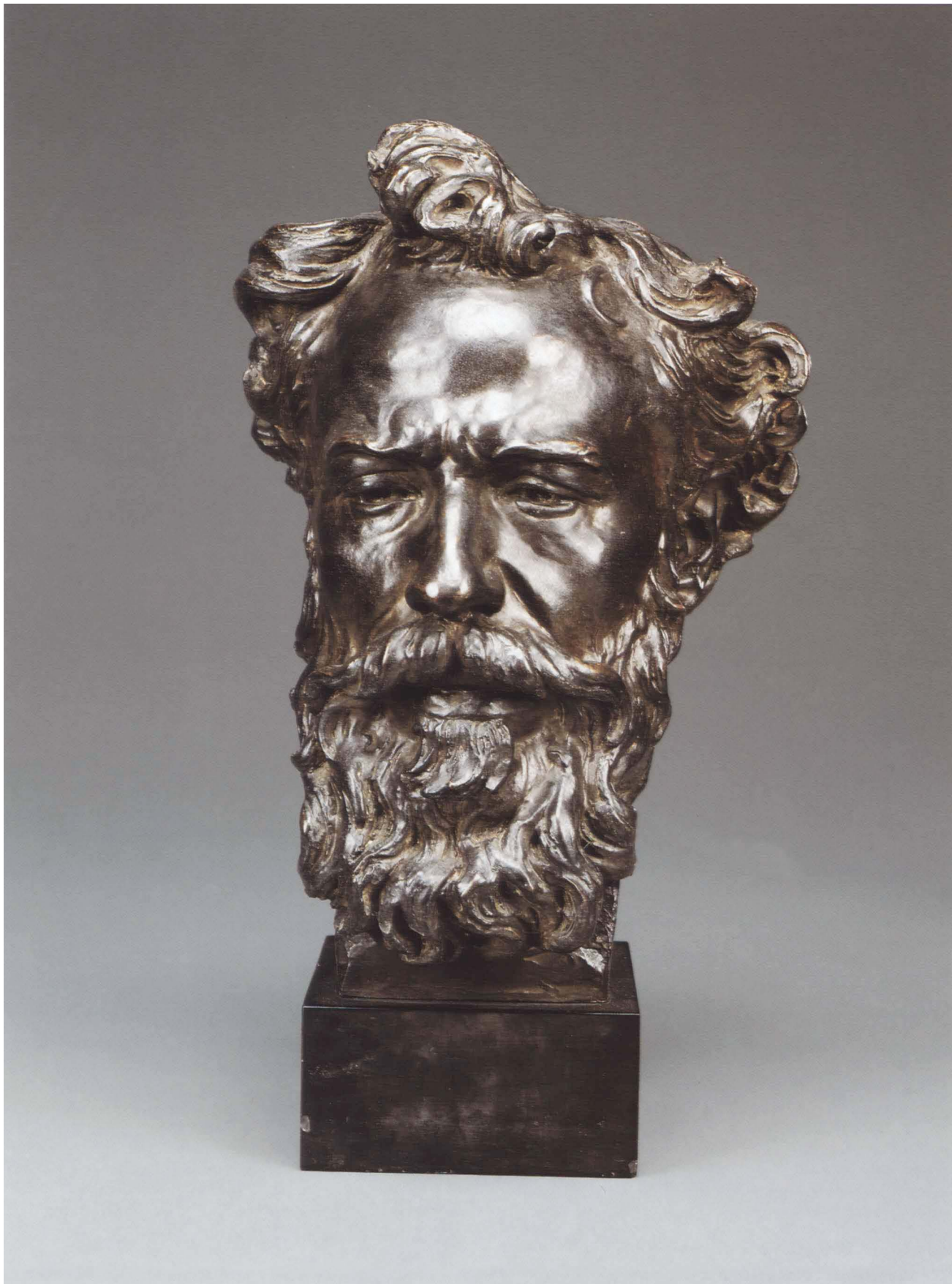
Dalou and Legros first became acquainted in the 1850s as students at the Petite Ecole in Paris. When the Dalou family arrived in London in 1871, Legros took them in, found them an apartment of their own, and secured a teaching job and patrons for his colleague.⁵

This portrait has long been associated with their reunion in England. According to Dreyfous, the head is the sole surviving fragment of a lost half-length bust, salvaged by Dalou’s friend and assistant, Edouard Lanteri, when the sculptor destroyed the work in progress in a characteristic bout of self-criticism.⁶ Alley has since dated the project to 1876, to coincide with Legros’ etched portrait of Dalou of that year.⁷

According to Dreyfous, the original bust represented Legros in the act of painting, holding a palette in one hand and darting his brush with the other, “in that movement of withdrawal peculiar to the painter who hesitates before placing the next stroke.”⁸ The format of the half-length bust with arms is a lively baroque convention that Dalou’s master Carpeaux sometimes used, as in the latter’s *Duchesse de Mouchy* and *The Violinist*, which represents the artist’s brother holding a violin.⁹

Iconographically, Dalou’s half-length Legros in mid-stroke departs from most sculptural images of painters who merely hold their attributes, such as Carpeaux’s statue of Watteau for the fountain monument in Valenciennes.¹⁰ Recalling instead painted portraits of the artist at work, Dalou’s bust intended to suggest an unseen canvas between the portrayed artist and the viewer. As revealed in the National Gallery bronze, the surviving head conveys the concentration and slightly downward, focused gaze that would lend itself to such creative labor. A similarly innovative concept in sculpture is later echoed in the *Monument to Claude Lorrain* (1892, bronze and marble; Promenade de la Pépinière, Nancy) by Dalou’s longtime friend Auguste Rodin.¹¹

Dalou’s original half-length of the painter actively at work went beyond the standard tribute to inner genius to applaud the physical means of artistry as well. This private English project may thus prefigure Dalou’s well-known public works in Paris that honor manual labor, among them his self-portrait as the ideal artist-worker in his *Monument to Alphonse* and his *Triumph of the Republic*.¹² The artist, blacksmith, and farmer become *confrères*, heroes of an ideal modern republic at peace.



Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Alphonse Legros*, 1956.14.2

Stylistically, the National Gallery bronze attests to Dalou's highly individual blend of tradition and modernity. The strong likeness and psychological characterization bear witness to his realist approach to the figure. Yet the masterful modeling reveals his attention to traditional principles of sculptural form, unlike the more unfinished approach in Rodin's portrait of Legros of the following decade.¹³ Dalou's fragment has the dignified yet vigorous presence of many classical, Gothic, or Renaissance heads.

Its lush materiality and lively S-curves in the hair relate the head to Dalou's English work of the late 1870s, such as his Berniniesque memorial to the grandchildren of Queen Victoria who had died in infancy.¹⁴ As portraiture, the National Gallery head can be linked to the rococo-realist French sculpture of the mid-nineteenth century, whose lineage through Carpeaux and Carrier-Belleuse generally draws upon the informal baroque portraiture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet its soberer rendition of these qualities recalls sculpture of Renaissance Florence. The immediacy of *Legros*' probing expression suggests Donatello's (1386–1466) austere *Saint Mark* (Orsanmichele, Florence),¹⁵ just as the subtle blend of rugged plasticity and precious S-curved locks of hair evokes the work of Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560), such as the *Dead Christ with Nicodemus* (SS. Annunziata, Florence) and *Hercules and Cacus* (Piazza della Signoria, Florence).¹⁶

No preliminary maquettes for the portrait head have been documented. The original clay model seems not to have survived. Caillaux erroneously claims a marble executed by Dalou is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.¹⁷ Lantéri seems to have taken charge of the salvaged fragment and had it cast and disseminated through England and France long after Dalou's return to France, but during the sculptor's lifetime. He gave a tinted-plaster cast to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, in 1897.¹⁸ A second tinted-plaster cast, given to the Tate Gallery (on deposit at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), is reported to have come from Lantéri as well.¹⁹ A plaster is in the College Art Collections, University College, London.²⁰ The patina on the plaster at the Victoria and Albert provides a dense, molten surface that is unlike the crisp handling of the National Gallery bronze. Several bronzes are documented in addition to the National Gallery's, but they are few in number and rare on the market, unlike the casts of his maquettes.²¹ All are of comparable size (though the bases vary) and patina, and are unmarked. Public collections with casts are: the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Slade School of Fine Art, London (reported stolen); the National Portrait Gallery, London; the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff;²² and The Cleveland Museum of Art. Little is known about the history of the bronzes. Michael Le Marchant of Bruton Gallery speculates they were cast in England, "almost certainly by Cantoni."²³ The prevalence of casts in Britain drawn from English sources—some reputedly from Lantéri himself—suggests they were indeed produced there.

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Notes

1. Period accounts claim the original model was clay. If bronzes were not immediately cast from the original clay, it is possible that they reflect a subsequent wax, whose surface could be altered or enriched by tooling with a fine spatula—as the sculptor has done here—drawn from a plaster cast of the ephemeral clay model.

2. The date he acquired the bronze, which he deposited on permanent loan at the National Gallery in December 1946, is not known, however his letter to David Finley dated 7 March 1946 (in NGA curatorial files), states "this collection has taken me over 25 years to collect. . . ." The Dalou bust complemented the five etchings by Legros for which Adams was best known as a collector, lent to the National Gallery at the same time as the bronze and given one by one from 1947 to 1963 (his bequest).

3. Dreyfous 1903, 66, repro. 49.

4. A serious biography of Legros has yet to be published. For a recent treatment, see Wilcox 1988.

5. Dreyfous 1903, 48–49.

6. Dreyfous 1903, 66.

7. Alley 1959, 49. For Legros' impression of the print that he gave the Musée des Beaux-Arts in his native Dijon in 1877, see Wilcox 1988, no. 61, repro.

8. Dreyfous 1903, 66.

9. Both Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, P.P.S. 1538 and P.P.S. 1557, respectively; in Grand Palais 1975, nos. 187 and 370, repro.

10. For the plaster maquette (Musée du Louvre, Paris, R.F. 1680), see Grand Palais 1975, no. 377, repro. One unique precedent is Antoine Etex's tomb effigy of Géricault "painting" the *Raft of the Medusa* below him on his tomb (1841, marble; 1884, bronze replica; Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris). See Le Normand-Romain 1995, figs. 123, 125.

11. For a recent interpretation of Rodin's little-known monument in that light, see Silverman 1989, 245–256. Rodin is more likely to have discussed such ideas with Dalou than to have been influenced by the surviving fragment of the latter's abandoned Legros project in England.

12. Hunisak 1980, 57–58, figs. 50–51, for the Alphand Monument; and pp. 53–60, fig. 47, for the *Blacksmith and Child* group within Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic*.

13. Tancock 1976, 493–495, repro.

14. For a posthumous cast of a maquette, see Janson 1985, 195, fig. 221. Dalou's treatment of Legros' hair may be exaggerated for formal purposes; compare with the photograph of Legros in Weisberg 1981, 299.

15. Janson 1979, pls. 6–7.

16. Pope-Hennessy 1985, pls. 64 and 65.

17. Caillaux 1935, 128.

18. Dijon 1960, no. 373. This is the version discussed and illustrated by Dreyfous.

19. Alley 1959, 49, pl. 24d.

20. Nicola Kalinsky, letter of 28 June 1995 to the author (in NGA curatorial files). My thanks to Philip Ward-Jackson for his help on this issue.

21. Bruton Gallery offered a cast, with a taller stepped base, for sale in 1979 (Bruton Gallery 1979, 48, repro.).

22. They purchased their cast, formerly belonging to ballet collector and critic Arnold Haskell, from Bruton Gallery in 1975. Mr. David Alston, Keeper of Art, National Museum of Wales, also cites a bronze offered by Leicester Galleries, London, in 1958. Letter from David Alston, dated 6 January 1995, to the author (in NGA curatorial files).

23. Michael Le Marchant, "Portrait of Alphonse Legros," in Bruton Gallery 1979, 48. He later expanded on that claim: "To the best of my knowledge, Cantoni was the only founder used by Dalou during his stay in England and stylistically the characteristics of the cast confirm that this is the case"; letter, dated 4 January 1995, to the author (in NGA curatorial files). Little is known about Cantoni, but

if he is Enrico Cantoni, he defines himself in the *London Post Office Directories* (1905, 1003 and 314; 1908, 1: 1000; 1920, 262) as a “moulder for sculptors”; hence his direct involvement in bronze-casting and finish work remains unclear. He appears consistently in that guise in the commercial directories from about 1905 to the 1920s, at 100 Church Street, Chelsea, suggesting his activity postdates Dalou’s sojourn in London and may instead reflect Cantoni’s employment by Lantéri or other Dalou advocates in England.

References

1994 NGA: 50, repro.

1990.68.2

The Espousal (The Passage of the Rhine)

Model 1890/1892; cast c. 1907

Bronze, 26.5 × 11.5 × 12.5 (10⁷/₁₆ × 4¹/₂ × 4¹⁵/₁₆)

Gift of Patricia Bauman and John L. Bryant, Jr., in honor of Douglas Lewis, and in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

Incised probably in a wax foundry model, on the base at rear:
DALOU

Marks

To the right of the signature, on the base at rear, stamped probably in a wax foundry model, a foundry cachet: CIRE / PER-DUE / A A HÉBRARD

Incised, probably in the wax foundry model, on the base rim at rear, lower left: (B 8)

Technical Notes: The bronze was hollow-cast in one piece, by the lost-wax method, by means of a multipartite, slush-cast wax foundry model indirectly cast from the original terra-cotta sketch. The bronze records both tooling and modeling by hand. Analysis by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) indicates that the average composition of the alloy is that of a brass: 81% copper, 11% zinc, 4% tin, and 1 to 2% iron and lead. The absence of significant quantities of nickel, arsenic, silver, or antimony suggests refining—a conclusion consistent with an early twentieth-century date of production. The interior surface of the cast shows air bubbles cast-through from the core material, as in the area beneath the striding figure’s left foot. Though the metal walls vary slightly in thickness, the cast has an exceptionally thin shell overall, with hairline cracks around the right arm of the striding male, and three airholes in the area behind his left knee. Numerous repairs to the shell are evident in the interior, mostly in the form of pins or threaded screws, possibly of a copper alloy. There is extensive delicate cold-work, such as the fine tooling on the female’s back and on the male’s body. Both figures’ heads and the inner side of the woman’s right arm have been filed. The semi-opaque, even-toned, deep-brown patina was achieved by successively brushing a chemical solution onto the heated bronze. The patina is nonetheless uneven in density, being thinner in the creases and folds. The entire surface is covered with a transparent material, possibly a protective wax. There are superficial scratches throughout: a gouge in the woman’s back; and small nicks in the anterior drapery and

around the woman’s toes on the right foot. The surface also bears small spots of green corrosion, possibly malachite from chaplets and repair plugs that have since corroded.

Provenance: (Paul Drey Gallery, New York, c. 1987);¹ purchased spring 1987 by Patricia Bauman, Washington.²

THIS BRONZE is a serial cast of the only known full-figure *esquisse* for one of Dalou’s rare residential projects: a marble fountain group for the Paris townhouse of the duc and duchesse de Gramont.³ The marble follows the *esquisse* in most fundamental features except one: It replaces the rocky outcropping to the figures’ left in the study with a third figure, the reclining Rhine, portrayed as an aged classical river god, between the male figure’s legs. The National Gallery title reflects the dual subject that Dalou himself devised, according to Caillaux, who identifies her source as the duc’s eldest daughter, allegedly an eyewitness.⁴ The author claims it is Dalou’s “bizarre” interpretation of a very personal subject for his patrons, a celebration of two victorious passages of the Rhine by a Gramont. The first was accomplished by Antoine, duc de Gramont (1604–1678), a Maréchal de France under Louis XIV who brought military glory to France upon leading his troops across the Rhine with the Grand Condé.⁵ The second was a more recent metaphoric passage of the Rhine, the union of Dalou’s patrons, Agénor d’Aure, tenth duc de Gramont (1851–after 1914), and his second wife Marguerite de Rothschild (c. 1855–1905) of Frankfurt, a daughter of the last powerful Rothschild in the dynasty’s city of origin.⁶ As Caillaux notes, their betrothal and marriage had taken place long before the commission of the fountain around 1890: They were married 10 December 1878.⁷ The title of the marble, when exhibited in the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1892, *Les Epousailles*, singles out the nuptial theme for its public guise.⁸ The group itself seems to emphasize that subject, since it bears no manifestly military or epic feature.

In broadest iconographic terms, Dalou’s *Espousal* belongs within the vast family of subjects celebrating marital union. That body of works encompasses allegories and marriages of gods (Ariadne and Bacchus and the mystic union of Christ and Saint Catherine, for instance) and of historical figures, whether sovereigns (Rubens, *Marriage by Proxy of Henri IV and Marie de Medici*, Musée du Louvre, Paris) or merchants (Jan Van Eyck, *Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*, The National Gallery, London).⁹ These mythological and historical scenes, however, appear predominantly as two-dimensional images—paintings, prints, reliefs—as most deploy elaborate narratives or settings to convey their message. The sculptural repertory offers few counterparts. Among them are the ancient Etruscan and Roman conjugal tombs and their many descendants, representing the pair reunited in the hereafter.¹⁰ Allegories of marriage, civic and religious, were produced in nineteenth-century France as iconic architectural decoration for churches and town halls.¹¹ Dalou’s choice to represent his

subject as free-standing sculpture and as a vertical pair, with the female sitting on the striding male's upper body, fuses several celebrated "carrying-while-striding" types in three-dimensional sculpture. All are historical narratives that often serve as sculptural moral exempla. One is Aeneas and Anchises fleeing Troy—for instance, Bernini's group (1619, marble; Galleria Borghese, Rome)—a subject isolated from Virgil's heroic epic as an emblem of religious and filial piety in adversity.¹² Hunisak justly notes the possible influence on Dalou of Pierre Lepautre's (1660–1744) *Aeneas and Anchises* (Jardin des Tuileries, Paris).¹³ The best-known type invoked in the Dalou version, however, is the abduction particularly of women, such as Carrier-Belleuse's *Abduction of Hippodamia* (see p. 82), many of which serve as emblems of moral or cosmic conflict. Though it registers a mere *esquisse*, the National Gallery bronze conveys a positive characterization; this is conduction rather than abduction,¹⁴ and this quality suggests the closest, yet least familiar, sculptural prototype of all: groups representing the episode in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's famous novel *Paul et Virginie* (1788), in which the boy carries his beloved Virginie across the Black River. Dalou's conception seems especially close to an English example, that of 1843 by W. Calder Marshall (1813–1894), which he might have seen in Britain.¹⁵ The woman's posture and face suggest willingness and interest in their course; his, gentle solicitude as well as manly courage and strength. They create a unique emblem of concord and the virtues of their respective genders. The National Gallery bronze amply conveys a mood that is both lyrical and heroic, like the monumental marble. The sympathetic engagement of the man and woman, though their gazes are focused forward, is emphasized by their mutually encircling arms, strategies that Canova used several times, but with special power, in his reclining group of *Cupid and Psyche* (Musée du Louvre, Paris).¹⁶

Whatever its lyrical qualities, Dalou's vertical format has a long and celebrated tradition as a sculptural vehicle for epic drama. The three-figure composition in the finished marble, with the principal group stepping over a subordinate figure on the base, reflects prototypes made famous by eminent sculptors of the Renaissance, and used dramatically in the seventeenth century. Such groups provided ambitious displays of the power and virtuosity of sculptural form, of knowledge of anatomy and formal composition. Whether monumental or tabletop, they capitalized upon three-dimensionality: arresting compositions to be viewed and marveled at from various angles. Many large-scale examples were designed for outdoor viewing, such as Giambologna's monumental marble *Rape of the Sabines* for the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence,¹⁷ and the four groups designed by Charles LeBrun (1619–1690) for the *parterres* of Versailles commissioned by Louis XIV.¹⁸ Narrative and formal elements of the sculptural spectacle are gradually revealed by moving around the work.

Dalou's conception is more three-dimensional than is suggested by the figures' frontal gaze. Space moves ener-

getically around and through the form. The sweep of the arms, legs, and drapery, and the turn of the bodies generate flowing rhythms throughout. The subtle torsion in each of the figures provides expressive features and arresting contours at various perspectives. From the rear and left, a full-figure view of one is complemented by the dynamic profile of the other. From the front and below, their facial expressions and gaze become clear. From above, the woman's upper back and neck bend gracefully forward.

Unfortunately, little is known about the space for which Dalou's group was intended, or the extended program, if any, in which it was installed as a fountain. The house was demolished sometime between 1914 and 1935 and the marble moved to its subsequent outdoor site.¹⁹ No images or detailed verbal descriptions of its original disposition have been located to date. Dreyfous states it decorated the basin of a "serre," a conservatory or garden room.²⁰ Most scholars follow Caillaux, who claims it was conceived for the base of a double curving stair rising from the vestibule, centered as a dramatic visual focus for the space. Both situations could provide opportunities for three-dimensional viewing. In the case of the vestibule, though the frontal view is the most obvious, the perspectives upon the fountain group from either rising stair are also crucial. The group would be experienced from many angles, including from above—as the viewer moves up or down the stairs. The site could provide manifold points of view which Dalou's three-dimensional conception, as reflected in the National Gallery bronze, amply met.

This small *esquisse* successfully suggests its formal strategies as decoration within both settings. In stylistic terms it announces its monumental concept; there is nothing precious or intimist about the group. As most scholars note, it recalls the grand style of the seventeenth century.²¹ Though this commission is unusual for the mature Dalou, as a private work for a domestic space, it fits logically within his oeuvre. The group develops the formal sophistication and serpentine figure of his neo-mannerist decoration of the 1860s.²² The robust form and modern figure types seen here reflect especially Dalou's work following his return to Paris in 1880. Particularly close are the contemporaneous *Monument to Delacroix* and *Triumph of Silenus* (both Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris), and his ongoing studies for the *Monument to Workers*.²³ Those same projects show the sculptor's extensive exploration of striding males and figures lifting or supporting their companions, motifs that provide the central focus in the Gramont group. Though facial features are only suggested in the *esquisse*, the anatomy of the two figures is masterful, distinguishing the youthful robustness of the man and soft delicacy of the woman.²⁴ As in most of Dalou's work, the group credibly evokes movement. The National Gallery bronze announces the distinct stylistic vision of the *Espousal* among projects of those years, however. The powerfully unifying sweep of the drapery throughout this cast *esquisse* differentiates it from the more staccato neo-rococo handling in the *Monument to Delacroix*.²⁵



Aimé-Jules Dalou, *The Espousal (The Passage of the Rhine)*, 1990.68.2

The National Gallery bronze registers Dalou's handling of the *esquisse*: broad, sure strokes made by modeling tools, interspersed with imprints from modeling by hand.²⁶ This technique appears on most preliminary studies of the time, especially the terra cottas in Paris at the Musée du Petit Palais and the Musée d'Orsay, for a variety of projects, including the unexecuted *Workers* monument, which have bases modeled primarily by hand.

Little is known about the commission. Both Dreyfous and Caillaux date it between 1890 and 1892. Caillaux reports that it was triggered by the Gramonts' move to a new townhouse at 52, rue de Chaillot.²⁷ They may have built the house themselves, as they allegedly did the château near Mortefontaine at around the same time.²⁸ Dreyfous claims Dalou accepted the commission to pay the Bingen foundry for other work.²⁹ Based on the eldest daughter's account, Caillaux states that the duchesse, rather than the duc de Gramont, selected Dalou for the project, intending to "compensate" for his unhappiness with his terra-cotta portrait statuette of her, which he destroyed after completing it in London years before.³⁰ The argument for compensation seems far-fetched, but the duchesse's essential influence here seems plausible. There was a strong tradition of art patronage in her family. Her father had amassed a celebrated collection of ivory and wood sculpture, goldwork, and jewelry that went to local museums in Frankfurt as well as to his children.³¹ Her mother, one of the powerful English Rothschilds, allegedly bought a terra-cotta cast of Dalou's *Boulonnaise at Church* that the artist had contributed to a French colony charity sale in 1875.³² The fountain commission of 1890 is the second known contact between the Rothschilds and Dalou since the ill-fated portrait statuette project,³³ and the first known commission by the Gramont family.³⁴ The differences between the *esquisse* and the marble indicate possible alterations in the design. The substitution of the rocky outcropping in the *esquisse* with the figure of the Rhine suggests two changes. The final composition was made more physically ambitious: The rocks, needed to buttress the unstable group when executed in heavy stone, were eschewed for the more complex and less supportive figure. That alteration also causes an iconographic shift: The Rhine figure clearly signals the river-crossing theme which the outcropping, a mark of perilous solid ground, does not. It is a matter of pure speculation, at this juncture, whether the Rhine subject evolved during the process or whether the two variant compositions simply sought the clearest expression of one concept. Little is known about the history of its execution and installation. When shown in 1892, it was described in the catalogue entry as "unfinished."

The subject matter of the fountain group was more problematic at the time than is apparent. A representation that linked Germany to the Gramonts—even a sentimental theme like marriage—is likely to have conjured a very current and controversial political event for which this family was blamed. Many French held the duc's father, who had died in 1880, responsible for the war between Prussia and France

ten years before, and therefore for the traumatic defeat of their country, a downfall that profoundly scarred the nation for decades.³⁵ Antonin-Agénor-Alfred, duc de Gramont, had been an eminent career diplomat who, as Napoleon III's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1870, had persuaded the emperor of Prussia's planned aggression against France, a position that prompted a war for which the latter was ill-prepared and lost. Afterwards, though he received an army appointment as a palliative, Gramont became an important scapegoat for France's very public humiliation, despite his published self-defenses and support from influential liberals like encyclopedist Pierre Larousse, until well into the twentieth century.³⁶ His children and grandchildren apparently avoided high-level politics but not the social and cultural forum, so the stigma was likely to touch them as well. Whether intentional or not, the subtle reference in Dalou's fountain to Gramont successes across the Rhine provides a symbolic antidote to the recent national disaster, the marriage a metaphoric Franco-Germanic rapprochement that suggested moving beyond the hostilities of 1870.³⁷

No record of the public reaction to this project *in situ* has been located thus far, and the Salon catalogue entry for the marble omits any reference to the patrons, as well as to the subject, as mentioned at the outset. However, the critics' comments reveal clear awareness of both.³⁸ It is difficult to determine whether the mixed critical response to the work stems from feelings surrounding 1870. Without explaining their position, some declare Dalou's group lacking in originality.³⁹ An advocate, Philippe Gille, who saw the work before it arrived at the Salon, refers positively to the "great French [family] name" of the patron and subject, and to Dalou's judicious handling of the declared nuptial subject, "which could not be more banal or charming." Though admirable in composition and execution, its strength lies, he feels, in its distinct characterization of the two main characters, the morally and physically strong man and beautiful, fearful, and graceful woman. Pottier, who claims it displays solid facture and robust grace, nonetheless dismisses the work as failing his standard for decorative sculpture. It does not, he argues, depend on a fixed backdrop to delineate the "silhouette of the figures," excluding architecture as an integral part of the composition. Pottier's ideal decorative framework, a "grotto or copse," favors a frontal, two-dimensional space within which Dalou's group becomes distastefully autonomous. For him, it seems, sculpture and architecture should be a static unit, rather than dynamic complements.

No drawings have been identified with the *Espousal*. The *esquisse* on which this bronze edition was based, and a full-scale head of the Rhine, possibly a detailed study, are the only preliminary works documented for the project. The Musée d'Orsay, Paris, owns what is called an "original" plaster of the head. Dalou gave the terra cottas of the *esquisse* and head to his lawyer and executor, Charles Auzoux; they were last recorded as inherited by the latter's widow. Hébrard gave the plasters that served as his foundry models

from the originals to the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, in 1907, just after that museum bought Dalou's studio contents.⁴⁰ The gift grew out of a special arrangement, dated 31 January 1907, between Dalou's daughter, Auzoux, and Adrian A. Hébrard to include Auzoux's two fountain works among the "ordinary" Dalous to be edited to benefit the Orphanage of the Arts—as subsidy for their care of Dalou's dependent daughter.⁴¹ The head of the river god was serialized in bronze by Hébrard, and in biscuit by the Manufacture de Sèvres. The Dalou-Auzoux-Hébrard contract places the two-figure *esquisse* specifically within the corpus of "unlimited proofs."⁴² Hébrard casts of the *esquisse* are typically dated as given here, to 1907, tacitly because of the contract for the enterprise that year. However it is not clear whether the gift of the foundry plasters to the Petit Palais that same year marks the end of the serialization campaign, or whether other plasters were taken from them to continue the process. The extent of serialization, given the absence of restrictions, is unknown. No systematic study of marked casts has been undertaken as yet. Few have been traced to public collections: A cast marked "B 7," ostensibly the predecessor to this one, is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Arras.⁴³ These fine lost-wax casts, most with an even brown patina similar to the National Gallery's, circulate regularly on the market.⁴⁴ Casts by other founders have not been located.

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Notes

1. In NGA curatorial files.
2. Verbal communication from Douglas Lewis and Donald Myers to the author.
3. Caillaux 1935, 99–100. A recent study photograph of the marble is in the Dossier Dalou-Epousailles, Documentation du Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, photocopies of which are in Documentation du Musée d'Orsay, Paris (Dossier Dalou) and NGA curatorial files.
4. Caillaux 1935, 99: "La liberté la plus grande lui était laissée pour traiter le sujet qu'il entendrait." There is room to believe, thus, that some broad guidelines might have been provided. Caillaux 1935, 99n. 3, cites her source to be Elisabeth de Gramont, duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre, the duc's daughter by his first wife who died in 1875, the year their child was born. For biographical data on the family, see Ruvigny 1914, 724–725, s.v. "Gramont." Herself a woman of letters, the duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre published biographies of other members of the family.
5. For a biography from Dalou's own time, see Larousse 1866–1879, 8/2: 1441, s.v. "Gramont (Antoine, duc de)."
6. Ferrari 1905 claims that Marguerite was twenty-three when she married the duc de Gramont in late 1878. Her father was Freiherr [Baron] Mayer Karl von Rothschild (1820–1886). For a brief history of the rise of the Rothschilds and their subsequent geographic distribution, see Ravage 1929. For the Frankfurt branch, see Stricler 1889.
7. For the date of marriage, see Ferrari 1905 and Ruvigny 1914, 724. It is not clear whether the date marks the civil or religious rite, which typically took place at different times in the Roman Catholic church. Marguerite de Rothschild was one of the first of the dynasty to convert from Judaism; Ferrari states that she was a "fervent" Catholic and was buried in her neighborhood church, Saint-Pierre-de-Chaillot, Paris.
8. Catalogue, 1892 Salon, no. 1483; in Reff 1981.
9. For the latter images of historical marriage, see Louvre 1979, 116, repro.; and Janson 1963, 290, fig. 449.
10. For example, Panofsky 1964, figs. 74 and 123.

11. For instance, Jacques-Marie-Hyacinthe Chevalier's (1825–1895) statue of marriage, c. 1859, on the facade of the *mairie* of the 14th *arrondissement*, Paris. See Lami 1914–1921, 1: 377.
12. Hibbard 1974, 34–36, fig. 8.
13. Hunisak 1977, 121, fig. 75.
14. A close comparative work within this "positive abduction" theme from the period is William Bouguereau's (1825–1905) celebrated *Abduction of Psyche* of 1895 (private collection), which inspired a popular bronze sculpture by Henri Godet (1863–after 1914). For both the Bouguereau and the Godet, see Walker 1984, no. 131, repro.
15. For the latter, see the artist's file, Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London. I am grateful to Philip Ward-Jackson (personal communication) for suggesting this sculptural subject in the context of the Dalou group. He also suggests the relevance of images of the Flood and the popular tradition of the groom carrying the bride over the threshold of their new home.
16. Licht and Finn 1983, 164–167, figs. 151–152. Licht is one of the rare scholars to analyze the embrace that drew Carl Ludwig Fernow's famous criticism of the work as a rococo windmill.
17. Pope-Hennessy 1985, 383–384, pls. 85–86.
18. Girardon's *Abduction of Proserpine* (Parc de Versailles); Balthazar Marsy's (1628–1674) and Anselme Flamen's (1647–1717) *Abduction of Oreithyia*; Thomas Regnaudin's (1622–1706) *Abduction of Cybele* (the latter two, Musée du Louvre, Paris); and a fourth, *Rape of Corónis* (unexecuted). See the general discussion in Souchal 1977–1993, 2: no. 42.
19. The house was still standing when Ruvigny published his account of the family, and the fountain group was at the château de Vallière by the time Caillaux published her monograph on Dalou in 1935. See "Critique d'art. Les Salons de la Sculpture," *La Plume* 1892 (reprint Slatkine 1968), 249.
20. Dreyfous 1903, 198.
21. See also the unpublished manuscript on this bronze by Donald Myers (in NGA curatorial files).
22. See, for instance, his caryatid console, produced under Carrier-Belleuse's supervision, for the Hôtel Païva (now the Travelers' Club, Paris). See Colombe Samoyault-Verlet's entry in *Philadelpia* 1978, 102, repro.
23. Hargrove 1989, 220, color repro.; Hunisak 1977, figs. 51C–E, 112A–G.
24. Myers, unpublished manuscript (in NGA curatorial files).
25. John Hunisak, "Monument to Delacroix," in *Los Angeles* 1980, 194–196, repro.
26. See the discussion of the debate concerning his modeling technique in the entry for Dalou's *Mother and Child* (see p. 99).
27. The specific street address is given in Ruvigny 1914, 724.
28. Michelin 1976, 129.
29. Dreyfous 1903, 198. Dreyfous' representation of Dalou, as the engaged socialist and anti-materialist who disdained private commissions for the elite, may distort actuality. The biographer's own hostility—as a political liberal with idealist aesthetics—to private decorative projects and specifically to the Gramont fountain group (which he claims is expressively distasteful) is evident in the text.
30. Dubouloz 1876, 280–281, repro.; Caillaux 1935, 99. Dreyfous 1903, 65–66, reports that Dalou lied to his patron about the fate of this work, claiming it had been irretrievably damaged by accident. Allegedly he would not accept the money (approximately 100 pounds sterling) that she tried to pay him for the interrupted project.
31. Stricler 1889, 375.
32. Dubouloz 1876, 280n. 2.
33. Dreyfous 1903, 200, reports an indirect commission through the decorator Cruchet in 1881–1882: reliefs of the four seasons, intended as overdoors for the French branch of the Rothschild family.
34. The duc's interest in the arts during these years is not well documented. However, in 1914 he belonged to the Cercle de l'Union and the Union-Artistique. See Ruvigny 1914, 724. This couple later

commissioned a hunter subject for the château that was not executed, though sketches survive at the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, and were likewise serialized by Hébrard. See John Hunisak, "Hunter with His Dog," in *Los Angeles* 1980, 198–199, repro.

35. See the discussion of the subject in the entry for Mercié's *Gloria Victis* (see p. 292).

36. See Gramont's various writings on the subject, published under the pseudonym Memor, particularly his *La France et la Prusse avant la guerre* (Paris, 1872). See also Gramont's memoirs written by his brother-in-law and published by his son. For various views of his life, career, and impact, see Larousse 1866–1879, 8/2: 1442, s.v. "Gramont (Antoine, Agénor, Alfred, duc de)"; *New York Times* 1880; de Grunwald 1950; and Echard 1985. De Grunwald 1950, 13–14, reveals that Gramont was also the model for Alexandre Dumas' Armand Duval (and later operatic counterparts) in *La Dame aux Camélias*, thanks to his ill-fated liaison with Marie Duplessis before marrying a Scottish gentlewoman, a certain Miss McKinnon, with whom he had four children, Dalou's patron being the eldest.

37. Given their closely similar figural composition, the Dalou *Espousal* forms an intriguing foil to the Mercié *Gloria Victis* (see p. 292) as modern meditations on Franco-Prussian issues: the former victorious, the latter martyrial.

38. Gille 1892; photocopy, Documentation du Musée d'Orsay, Paris (Dossier Dalou); Pottier 1892, 10. All subsequent references to these two critics' views are from these sources.

39. *La Plume* 1892, 249 (as in note 19); photocopy, Documentation du Musée d'Orsay, Paris (Dossier Dalou).

40. P.P.S. 1737 and P.P.S. 0358, respectively. Guénola Groud, unpublished catalogue entry; Documentation du Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (Dossier Dalou-Epousailles). For an illustration of this plaster, see Hunisak 1977, fig. 74.

41. Contract between Georgette Dalou and Charles Auzoux, *ancien avoué, tribunal de la Seine*, for Jules Dalou, with Adrian A. Hébrard; photocopy, Documentation du Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (Dossier Dalou-Epousailles).

42. Dalou-Auzoux-Hébrard contract, appendix, "Epreuves illimités: 1099a. Esquisse de la Fontaine du duc de Grammont [*sic*]."

43. Masson 1982, 331.

44. Documentation du Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (Dossier Dalou-Epousailles).

References

1994 NGA: 49, repro.

Honoré-Victorin Daumier

1808–1879

DAUMIER HAS transmuted, in recent decades, from the modernist avant-garde genius to the Baudelairean observer who represents the fleeting nuances of Parisian life in turbulent times, by means of form that many scholars claim was definingly sculptural even when drawn.

Information about his life and his personal beliefs is limited. He seems to have lived mostly apart from the great events of his day, retreating to a modest life within a small circle of family and friends. He was born to the world of the cultured artisan. His father was a framer and glazier in Marseilles whose literary ambitions, as a classicizing poet, took the family to Paris early in the Bourbon Restoration. Museum director and archaeologist Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839), a patron and family friend, reportedly convinced Daumier père to allow his son to prepare for an artistic career, after seeing the boy's drawn copies from the Louvre. Lenoir, who studied painting with Gabriel-François Doyen (1726–1806), undertook the boy's initial education himself, supervising further drawing from antique casts, his own collection of paintings, and the collections at the Louvre. The latter were in dramatic flux, absorbing elements of Lenoir's dismantled Musée des Monuments Français as Napoleon's artistic booty from throughout his dominions was removed for repatriation. Among Daumier's many jobs during the 1820s, it seems, was to move sculpture for Lenoir as part of this process. However brief, Lenoir's tutelage was critical to Daumier's later work. From about 1823 to 1828, Daumier reportedly worked from the live model at the studios of the Bureau des Nourrices, rue Saint-Denis, at the academy of someone recorded only as "Boudin," about whom little is known, and at the Académie Suisse. Though he supposedly learned more about the figure at the public baths, it was at these informal art academies that he made some of his most enduring friendships, notably with painters Philippe-Auguste Jeanron (1807–1877) and Paul Huet (1803–1869), and the sculptor Antoine-Augustin Préault (1809–1879). Around the same time (c. 1820s), Daumier apprenticed to a lithographer, Zéphirin Belliard (1798–after 1843), setting the course for his lifelong profession. After some itinerant work for several print publishers around 1829, he began his long association with liberal editor and caricaturist Charles Philippon (1800–1862), as one of the various artists for Philippon's satiric journals,

La Silhouette, then *La Caricature*, and, finally, *Le Charivari*. Like other draftsmen working for Philippon, Daumier produced a considerable amount of political caricature for the newspapers. A vast proportion, however, instead represented scenes of broader modern life, physiologies of social types—lawyers, doctors, the bourgeois—and ambitious compositions concerning modern creativity (*Chimeras of the Imagination*). Unlike his editor and publisher, Daumier was charged, fined, and imprisoned for satiric images against the government only once, early on, from late 1832 to February 1833, for his censored *Gargantua*. He concentrated on genre images when press censorship suppressed political dissidence at different points in his career: from 1835 to 1848, and from 1852 to 1867. Daumier's published imagery seems to convey the views of his engaged and witty editor. His own politics and social vision remain unclear and prompt continuous debate among modern scholars. One contingent claims Daumier was at times even more radically left than Philippon, who rejected images that promoted the more extreme position. Others argue that Daumier had no political views—or did not express his own in his published images. Many scholars feel that, though Philippon supervised all prints and controlled the legends attached to them, Daumier's images of women—the bluestocking, the laundress, the devoted wife—reflect his own Rousseauesque antifeminist views. What little is known about his home life seems to fit: His own wife Didine (Marie-Alexandrine) was reportedly retiring and devoted to the family hearth.

By the 1850s, Daumier had won high accolades as a draftsman and caricaturist. He was lauded by Baudelaire as a peer of both Delacroix and Ingres, and was later extolled by the Goncourts. He was painting simultaneously, though canvases or panels reportedly executed in the 1830s have never been traced. By the 1860s, when Philippon's death temporarily interrupted work for *Le Charivari*, Daumier had produced an abundance of watercolors, paintings, and drawings for sale and exhibition at dealers. An advocate of alternative exhibition contexts, Daumier showed only sparingly at the Salon, and in a largely different vein from his prints: mythological and literary subjects. In 1849, a republican Salon, he showed a celebrated fable subject from La Fontaine, a painting entitled *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (Burrell Collection, Glasgow). In 1850, he showed *Don Qui-*

jote and Sancho (panel, private collection) and bacchic images (*Women Pursued by Satyrs*, Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal; and an unlocated drawing of Silenus). Despite the critics' dislike of their pallid, unmodulated color, the republican government commissioned paintings from Daumier: his sketch for the 1848 state competition (*Republic*) and two religious subjects. Daumier was unaccountably unable to complete any of these projects beyond sketches, however. Yet he produced successfully and voluminously for the market, atypically yielding works instead full of vibrant, translucent color that were bought by collectors in Paris and the United States. During the Second Empire official circles sought to honor him. In 1869 the Ecole des Beaux-Arts bought a drawing of *Fugitives* for its collections, and the following year the government offered him the cross of the Légion d'Honneur, which he refused. Daumier continued to work quietly, as his eyesight failed, until he died at his country home at Valmondois.

Daumier's sculpture is central to his work yet constitutes one of its most enduring puzzles. His formal idiom is repeatedly called sculptural for its light-catching volumes in three-dimensional space. He is known to have produced sculpture from the 1830s to at least the early 1850s. The corpus of widely accepted works is limited to about fifty clay models, thirty-six of which are an informal set. The latter are Daumier's earliest autograph sculpture—polychrome unbaked-clay maquettes—caricatural portrait busts commissioned by Philipon and executed beginning around 1832, as lithographic models (Musée d'Orsay, Paris). Only one statuette is surely documented: *Ratapoil*, executed around 1851, and two bas-relief variants entitled *Fugitives* of around the same time. Apart from these, there are many genre figures and portrait heads whose attribution to Daumier remains debated. Most of his sculpture represents modern life, except for *Fugitives*, an ambiguous image with neutral spaces and anonymous nude figures. Few were executed in a "finished" material during the artist's lifetime; those cast in plaster were more durable and stand in for the lost originals. The many posthumous campaigns to serialize Daumier's sculpture, which lasted well into the 1960s, have provided a subtly altered view of that aspect of his work at the same time they made examples widely available.

Little is known about Daumier's sculptural training. His friends Préault, and later Victor Geoffroy-Dechaume (1816–1892) and Jean-Jacques Feuchère (1807–1852) in the early 1850s, are often credited with inspiring the artist to work in this medium. Geoffroy-Dechaume is known to have cast certain models into plaster and stored them in his nearby studio—*Fugitives*, for instance,

which he eventually owned in plaster. The unconventional *non-finito* and close resemblance of Daumier's sculpture to his two-dimensional work suggests, to most scholars, that he had no formal training in the discipline. Though speculative, it seems likely that Lenoir directed Daumier's education there as well. He was a trained artist, known to emphasize technique, and he had devoted his professional career, as founder and director of the previously mentioned Musée des Monuments Français (a repository of French sculpture), to making that body of work available to artists and the public. Daumier's prints reveal how intimately aware he was of the many facets of the medium, its makers, and the public. They repeatedly explore sculpture-filled studios, plaster-casting in progress, amateurs holding figurines, the public's disinterest in Salon sculpture, and the symbolic power of public effigies. His own sculpture is technically challenging. Though of painted, unbaked clay—a fragile state doomed to disintegrate—the initial set of thirty-six portrait busts reveals a sure and daring hand with the clay and modeling tools, producing nuanced features as well as the celebrated molten textures. The clay model for *Ratapoil*, the location of which is now unknown, would have required a sophisticated armature for its serpentine, contrapposto pose.

The conclusion that the busts were made by an untrained artist stems from an unclear notion of their purpose. Except for *Ratapoil*, the accepted works were called maquettes or sketches in their own time; they were thus defined as private preliminary efforts, not as finished works. None was apparently produced for public view or sale. Most critics and the public at large only learned of Daumier's sculpture at his retrospective the year before he died. The resemblance of the sculpture to the two-dimensional oeuvre has caused scholars to consider the surely attributed examples as study pieces, rather than as separate exercises in a different medium. However, *Ratapoil* emerges as an independent work produced for Daumier himself, apparently midway through the print series for *Le Charivari*.

Daumier's sculpture distills some essences of his art, which are in turn profoundly traditional to the three-dimensional medium. One essence is its subject matter. His sculpture utilizes the most time-honored tool and concern of the medium, the human figure, to focus on the primary subject of his work, the human condition. The artist's modeled forms emphasize a widely acknowledged virtue of his oeuvre, the rich expressive power of the human form—through costume, gesture, expression, and structure. Daumier took those expressive features to a greater extreme than his peers, often

in the name of satire. His three-dimensional pieces deploy a formal quality that is quintessentially sculptural: manipulating the war between gravity and heavy mass for expressive purposes. His modeled forms in relief and in three dimension suggest mood or character through their interaction with gravity: Disheartened humans struggle for progress on a difficult road; lumpy, static portrait busts suggest obstructive mental inertia. This expressive strategy gives special power to his drawings and paintings. His many images of burdened laundresses, of Atlases struggling with overwhelming loads, of Louis-Philippe as the pear weighing heavily on the belly of a traumatized citizen (often likened to Fuseli's *Nightmare*), suggest Daumier represented the symbolic power of weight, of a body struggling with a spiritual or symbolic burden made physical. Physiological interest of this sort links Daumier's work with the late oeuvre of Degas, who admired Daumier and similarly explored physical tensions within laboring bodies. However, the overtly expressive use of ponderous mass relates Daumier to Michelangelo and to Rodin, whose tortured caryatids are the clearest evidence of their portrayal of psychological weight through burdened physical form.

Daumier's sculpture apparently influenced the Belgian nineteenth-century sculptor Constantin Meunier (1831–1905) and possibly Henri Matisse (1869–1935) in its sense of apparent scale, despite its small size, and in its capacity to suggest the epic or monumental quality in modern life, whether in modern dress or in ideal nudity.

For all its transgressive blend of pictorial and sculptural sources, Daumier's work seems to respect artistic mode. There are usually differences, details, or fundamental strategies explored in one medium but not in another, suggesting he undertook each category on its own terms. The innovativeness that came with such respect may have contributed to his influence in each formal type.

SGL

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The Portrait Busts

Technical Notes: These busts are hollow-cast, by the lost-wax method, indirectly from Daumier's clay models. Foundry models, probably of plaster, were taken from the clays by means of a gelatin mold.¹ The interiors of many of the busts retain ferrous-based tie-rods and residual investment-core material. Analysis of the surface composition of six busts by means of X-ray spectrometry (XRF) shows them to be brass, with traces of less than 1% lead and iron, with variation in the alloys of individual casts.² The busts bear cracks, pits, and airholes, casting flaws probably caused by the radically varied and undercut mass of the models. The substantial differences in the surfaces of the bronzes and the clays suggest the intermediate wax positives may have been reworked extensively, and considerable detail was lost through the multiple stages of indirect casting. The bronzes also do not register the full range of Daumier's surface handling, from the subtle modeling to the varying gauges of comb tooling on the clay. The lost-wax casts are extensively but subtly chased to enhance details and to repair some casting flaws. The patinas were achieved by successively applying chemical solutions onto the heated bronze, which in most cases yielded a variegated dark greenish-brown color. The bronzes do not appear to have been varnished. Some of the casts have losses in the patina from light flaking.

THIS GROUP of thirty-six busts is one of the rare complete sets of the full-scale serial bronzes, cast in the first half of the twentieth century, from Daumier's autograph unbaked-clay originals (fig. 1). The busts represent Daumier's earliest, most famous, and most ubiquitous works in sculpture, and closely relate to his graphic work for journals of the same period.

They are commonly associated with the caricatural sculpture of the artist's colleague in Paris, Jean-Pierre Dantan, called Dantan *jeune* (1800–1869).³ Like many examples by the latter, Daumier's busts are well under life size: Most are about the size of a human hand. Unlike Dantan's busts, which appear in various formats, Daumier's utilize only one: a type that crops the body horizontally at the chest,

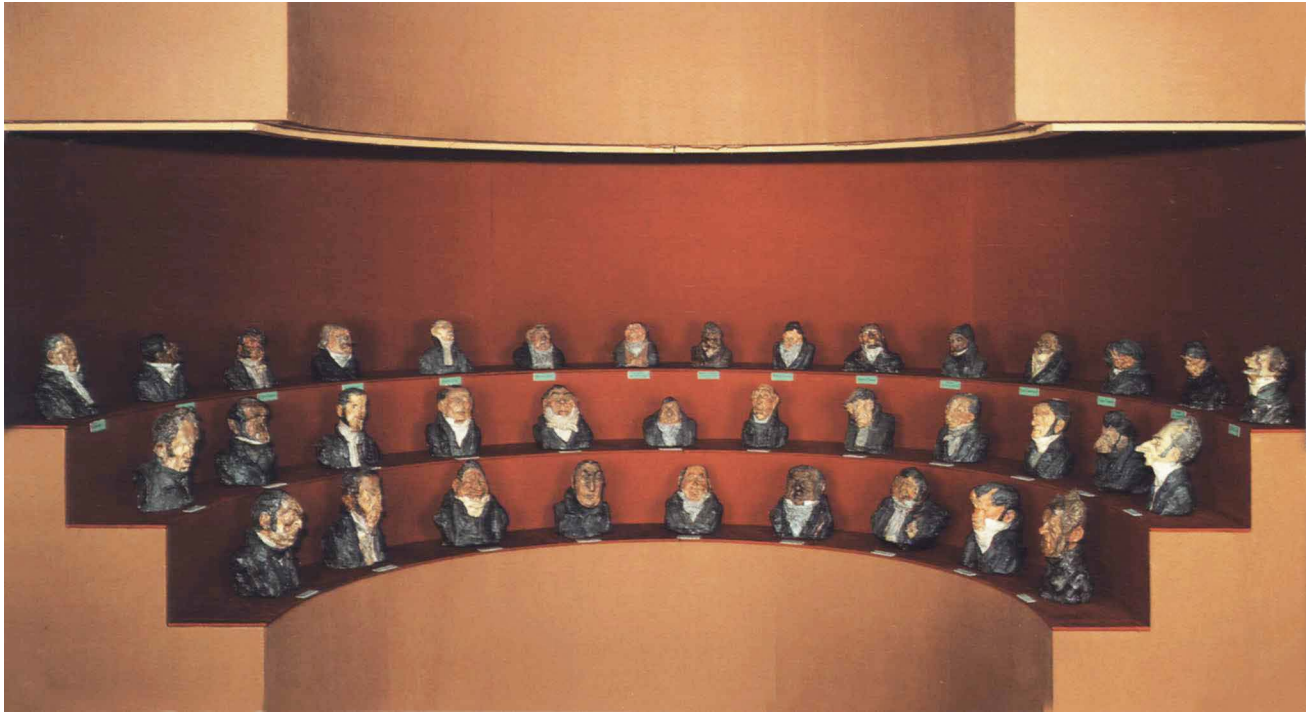


Fig. 1 Honoré Daumier, "Célébrités du juste milieu," terra cotta, 1831–1835, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, Photo RMN

with no transitional architectonic zone for inscriptions (the truncated herm type), or intermediary pedestal, both of which transform the "living" effigy into a small "eternal" monument.⁴ For all the elfin scale of the busts, Daumier's cropped format suggests the illusion of the upper body emerging from a surface in actual space. An established portrait type that evolved from Roman niche tombs, where the deceased seems to peer over a wall, it became common in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as in Benedetto da Maiano's (1442–1497) *Saint John the Baptist* or Desiderio da Settignano's (1428–1464) *Christ Child* (both NGA).⁵

The mobile expressions of Daumier's busts seem modern when compared to classicized, ideal examples. However, that quality also relates them to a variety of alternate iconographic traditions in sculpture. The numerous busts that portray arrested speech⁶ recall an ancient type of oratorical sculpture, both formal and intimate. Examples among monumental figures range from the Etruscan *Aulus Metellus* (Archaeological Museum, Florence) to the many effigies of the preaching Saint John the Baptist.⁷ The lifelike informal portraiture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Bernini's *Costanza Bonarelli* (Museo del Bargello, Florence)⁸ and Jean-Baptiste Pigalle's engaging terra cotta self-portrait (Musée du Louvre, Paris),⁹ for example—often sought to suggest ongoing conversation with someone in real space. Daumier's grimacing *Broglie* (see p. 134) harks back to Greco-Roman genre sculpture that represents the world of frail humanity: drunkards, the elderly, the infirm. Daumier's smiling and laughing faces (see, for instance, *Philippon*, p. 175), give "real" modern people the expression

that, in classical art, signified secret cosmic knowledge, mystic transport in bacchic celebrants (drunkenness), or the lusty glee of the semi-bestial creatures of classical mythology like Pan, satyrs, and nymphs.¹⁰ Images of merriment or mischief abound in later sculpture, where expressive vitality takes priority over ideal dignity, values familiar in the Roman baroque, rococo, and romanticism. Among the most famous are Bernini's and Clodion's (1738–1814) mythological subjects, and the work of Carpeaux, beginning with the *Neapolitan Fisherboy* (see p. 66).

DAUMIER'S SUBJECT MATTER

The set of Daumier's portrait busts has long been associated with a project announced in *La Caricature* of 26 April 1832 as "in progress." The caption for Daumier's lithographic portrait of *Lameth* (see p. 164, fig. 1), written probably by the editor Charles Philippon, claims the image initiates a long-promised "gallery of portraits of the celebrities of the Juste Milieu"; the project had been delayed, it states, because these portraits were to be drawn from "maquettes" modeled in clay.¹¹ The resemblance between the lithographs and sculpture is in fact often close, except for the spectacles represented in the lithographs and omitted in the three-dimensional models. Philippon eventually published examples in both journals, and represented the same subject more than once, in various guises, and by various artists. Some of Charles-Joseph Traviers' lithographs for the series also relate closely to Daumier's maquettes (notably that for *Lameth*). Unlike some of the "serious" portraits,

this gallery was described as a collection of likenesses that “would possess that energetic character, that burlesque trait, known as a *charge*,” which loosely translates as a caricature or satiric portrait.¹² Except for Passeron,¹³ most scholars agree that the sculptural busts are precisely that satiric type, which removes them from the realm of “high” art and places them on a popular level. The grotesque physiognomies and extreme expressions on many of the busts are caricatural, as their lithographic counterparts are called in the journals. Meaning, then, is as important as form, given the focus on expressed content.

Ideas about Daumier’s conceptual role in this portrait gallery have changed over the last twenty years. The traditional view, that these busts represent Daumier’s own creative vision and social engagement, has given way to a stronger emphasis on the role of Philipon, known at the time as the source of all content of his journals’ texts and images.¹⁴ Even metaphoric “shop” images for his publications show him providing subjects merely to be “sauced” by his subordinates (fig. 2). These busts most probably reflect the point of view—choices of subjects and of characterization—of Philipon, one of the activist journalists of the liberal opposition, translated into expressive plastic form by Daumier.

The intended scope of the gallery is not known. Interpreted literally, Philipon’s announcement of the project suggests the maquettes and drawings had already been produced, as opposed to being in progress: “*La Caricature* has delayed the execution of the project, because it had each personality modeled *en maquette*. The drawings have been executed (*ont été exécutés*) after these clay models.”¹⁵ Such an interpretation implies a great deal both for the chronology of the busts, which will be discussed later, and for any fixed concept of the gallery. The published images, however, suggest an open-ended series, responding to events as they occur rather than to a fixed aim. It is also not clear how closely the surviving group of thirty-six models reflects the original corpus. There is still considerable debate about the initial number of busts, and undocumented examples (locations unknown) are repeatedly attached to the group.¹⁶ Views of their subject matter, collective and individual, have not changed radically, though recent scholars have given closer attention to current events and the identity of the represented figures. Though the busts are often called portraits of “the Parliamentarians” or “Deputies,” that rubric is misleading.¹⁷ The majority does represent deputies (who often held various official positions at the same time),¹⁸ but a significant number do not. Most of the latter are instead purely ministers or judges. Study of the individual portraits reveals that most are, as Philipon suggests, images of Louis-Philippe’s supporters, formulators of the July Monarchy ideology or of its political or legal policies. Given the frequent appearance in the prints of yet other figures in those categories, scholars have repeatedly speculated on the obvious gaps in the sculptural series: representations of the king, liberal historian and statesman Adolphe Thiers, who



Fig. 2 Auguste Bouquet, “A quelle sauce la voulez-vous?,” lithograph, published in *La Caricature*, no. 162 (13 December 1833), pl. 339, opp. p. 1291/1292, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

was twice Minister of the Interior in the 1830s, and many other deputies and ministers.¹⁹ It is possible that some of the maquettes have disappeared. Recent study has focused on why the surviving busts represent those precise individuals and not others, when the sheer number of possibilities was so vast. In April 1831 there were 459 deputies; the number of peers was only slightly smaller.²⁰ Durbé opened a fruitful course of study in 1961 when he probed the columns of *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*—where possible, at the precise moment of the publication of the relevant lithographic portraits. As a result, attitudes, if not specific issues, have begun to emerge.

Though much remains to be clarified, current information on the subjects of the surviving busts suggests some broad tendencies. In the first place, the conclusion of earlier Daumier scholars, that certain busts are politically neutral—images of contemporary or imaginary figures included purely for their physical quirks—seems erroneous. References to the known individuals in Philipon’s two journals are polemical, negative, and usually based on recently observed behavior. These are individual moral portraits, drawn from the political arena, that collectively shape a moral portrait of modern times, not just of a regime. Politically, they judge the increasingly repressive constitutional monarchy by republican standards. The ethics expressed in these discussions, however, are sweepingly nonpartisan. The histories of many of the individuals represented in Philipon’s texts and images are, as is well known, fables of turncoatism and sordid pliancy. Though many distinguished leaders changed or fused ideological positions during these turbulent decades (Chateaubriand and Hugo, for instance), Philipon openly accuses his targets of corruption. He calls certain among them “*les improstitués*” [the prostituted ones], a term publicly used by liberal journalists to condemn political opportunism, favoritism, and power politics among government officials.²¹ The sins of Philipon’s individual

subjects vary dramatically, from rapacious manipulation and petty silliness, to opaque inertia, regardless of political affiliation. Philipon's overweening concern with the Chamber of Deputies in his two journals, an issue that has never been explored, is particularly pointed. It goes beyond the time-honored lampooning of established powers to comment on the broader population. For him, that Chamber reflects the dismal moral state of the electorate at large, instead of the highest intellectual, moral, and patriotic elite of the nation, as it should.²² Philipon openly condemns the Chamber. In doing so, he also subtly blames the voter as much as power politics. This is, after all, the one high Chamber that is accountable to the electorate: Their members are elected, rather than appointed by the king, like the peers. By presenting certain individuals for judgment, this gallery may have been designed to stir the journals' readership into voiced reaction, and the electorate among them to action, by means of the vote. Only a select group had such a privilege at the time, however: male citizens of at least thirty years of age who paid direct taxes of a substantial sum (i.e., at least three hundred francs).²³

These portraits' overriding focus, otherwise, is on those who abuse political power and the hard-won civil liberties guaranteed by the Charter that Louis-Philippe swore to uphold when elected king of the French in 1830. Philipon attacks the current constitutional monarchy, in which absolutist tendencies surface and prevail, at the people's expense yet again. The sins are manifold: Attorney General Persil (see p. 174), constantly guilty of miscarriage of justice as he manipulated power and the law to subdue the opposition, often resulting in appalling persecution; all magistrates who succumbed to Persil's political pressure, persuading juries to disregard the truth in favor of the prosecution; all censorship of the press and popular activities; all efforts to give the Church a greater role in secular education, thus in the shaping of social thought. The eminent theorists of the *juste-milieu* (Guizot, Royer-Collard) are blamed for this untenable and frail socio-political structure.

Increasingly close study, therefore, suggests that most of the busts represent villains of varying degrees, with some merely inept buffoons for comic relief. Philipon frequently ridicules petty proposals and directs the reader's gaze to otherwise invisible deputies who sleep quietly after election. However scholars since Adhémar have seen heroes among them as well, in the portraits whose subjects have remained elusive: The bust long called *Pelet de la Lozère* is proposed as representing Daumier's associate on the two journals and an especially obscure character, Gallois, a man of letters who, as a fellow liberal, is merely linked circumstantially with this group. Though information is still scant and all suggestions tentative, this author presents a counter-proposal that shrinks the heroic ranks: *Pelet* is proposed to be, instead of one of Daumier's editorial cronies, one of the harsher judges of the press (Barbé-Marbois). The identity of the so-called *Philipon*, otherwise called the *Rieur édenté*, seems very likely to be the editor on physiognomic grounds,

but also because it seems logical in the context of other busts. Philipon represents the gadfly who makes all of them visible and accountable before the reader. His is the derisive voice of conscience; the laughing expression suggests his mocking guise and distills a subtle feature of the entire series. It is about those whose voices shaped modern life in France. The busts openly represent that feature in the various laughing or speaking expressions, but the texts make it even clearer. They draw attention to their affective voice or physical presence: the influential ideologues, lawyers, and judges; debaters in Chambers; the interrupters who disrupt or "voice" a negative view during debate through sudden movement, groans, or nose-blowing, thus nonverbally shaping opinion; to those who are the opposite, famous for their ineffectual muteness or for triggering, through their objectionable acts, a *charivari* (known in the southern United States as "shivaree"), or the people's rite of public non-violent dissidence.²⁴ Their victim is publicly humiliated by the clamor of beaten pots and pans, cowbells, trumpets, mulelike braying, or catcalls. Philipon, the populist journalist, personifies that popular rite and makes it the stated mission of one of his journals (*Le Charivari*).

These moral modern portraits are, as most scholars have noted,²⁵ physiognomic portraits. The underlying theories, popular since the Renaissance, gained widespread use as a means of interpreting (and, conversely, of representing) moral character through the individual's permanent physiological structure. Their nineteenth-century advocates were as diverse as the idealist David d'Angers and realists Champfleury and Théophile Thoré. Their use, however, is still poorly understood, especially concerning Daumier's images. Fortunately, Philipon's journals occasionally provide physiognomic explanations of the lithographic portraits that help to interpret the sculptural busts: They "explain" structural details as well as kinetic elements that static images cannot represent (how those forms move); they also correlate the information, in traditional form, with the moral character of a specific animal (for example, Lefèvre as the predatory lynx, Persil as the meditative, carrion-chewing hyena). Thus, the busts and their accompanying journalistic texts are extremely valuable in revealing how one prominent group utilized current theories and constructed textual and formal portraits for its readers.

FORMAL ISSUES

Considered stylistically, Daumier's highly individualized and psychologically animated busts otherwise suggest romantic and later realist preference for particular character or the grotesque over universal beauty. They challenge ideal canons even further in their choice of material and finish. Air-dried modeled clay goes beyond the acceptable informality of baked clay (*terra cotta*). It is vulgar: raw, honestly gritty or liquid, and ephemeral. Emphatic tooling and liquid surface lend a spontaneity and physical life that complement the busts' physiognomic information. Daumier apparently

uses three-dimensional mass here expressively. Some of the busts (for example, *Podenas*, p. 00) are markedly ambiguous in form and suggest ponderous, inert mass despite their small scale. The explanatory caption for the published lithograph directs the reader/viewer to those formal qualities and claims that they embody this deputy's character and public contribution—obstructive inertia. The polychrome immediately applied to the clay is important as well. It defies the protocols of the medium to suggest that this supposed maquette is a finished work, blurring the lines between process and finish. Its apparent intent, however, is to provide physiognomic data, more than realism or aesthetics, through the symbolic code of the localized, unmodulated color. Technically, the busts' fragile medium and extraordinarily turbulent modeling, with radical undercuts, deep crevices, and complex outline—qualities that made these maquettes so difficult to cast—are evidence of the busts' intended function. They were executed as informal studio resources—visual aids for two-dimensional images—whose lasting life or use as a foundry model was of little consequence to their first patron or users.

As mentioned in the Technical Notes, there are considerable differences between these twentieth-century bronzes and Daumier's sketches. The patinated, subtly tooled casts are refined, monochromatic renditions of the coarse unbaked clays, whose polychrome realistically represents hair, eyes, and costume, and symbolically suggests individual temperaments. The ruddy, "choleric" complexion of Persil, for instance, was interpreted as a sign of his fanatic ambition.²⁶ Even though cast by the very responsive lost-wax process, the bronzes considerably mute the original undercutting, comb tooling, and imprint of the sculptor's fingers from direct modeling. Thanks to alterations in the intermediate foundry models, the bronzes also do not convey the damaged condition of the fragile clays, despite many restoration campaigns.

THE ORIGINAL PROJECT

The history of the busts is well known and often recounted.²⁷ Philippon conceived the project of publishing this gallery at the outset of the July Monarchy, and announced it as imminent in *La Caricature* of January 1831. Daumier was reportedly commissioned to execute the maquettes the following March 1831.²⁸ He is the only artist known to have provided maquettes, and he was reportedly paid fifteen francs for each one he produced.²⁹ Owned outright by Philippon, they were kept in two cabinets in the editorial offices, for use by his draftsmen, and apparently were not even shown in the display windows of the editor's first shop in the passage Véro-Dodat, which normally exhibited lithographs for sale.³⁰

The dating of the clay busts has been debated for years. At first Adhémar took Philippon's announcement of 1832 literally, claiming the busts were mostly produced *en bloc*, between January and April 1832, in order to be made available

for subsequent lithography.³¹ Durbé argues that many busts were logically made during the period in which the individual subjects appeared in the journal, both as a portrait and as a subject of editorial comment. His chronology separates the busts into two groups, some before Philippon's announcement of the drawn gallery in 1832, and the other after Daumier's release from prison in February 1833.³² Passeron dates each clay according to the date of the published appearance of the lithographic bust, which establishes a range, depending on the identification of some of the problematic examples, from 1832 to 1835.³³ After Jean Lukach's decision not to take a stand on precise dating, Wasserman and Adhémar proposed an open-ended bracket beginning no later than 1832.³⁴ There is no way to know for sure yet, but the slight formal differences among them, long noted by scholars, argue against their having been produced *en masse*, as Adhémar first suggested. Their execution about the time of the first published lithographic portrait seems logical, leaving the chronological span open-ended after April 1832. Adhémar and Wasserman's 1983 reprise has challenged the traditional closing date for the series, 1835, when new censorship laws (the so-called September Laws) discouraged political satire. The two scholars proposed that some of the busts, particularly the one identified as representing the comte de Falloux (see p. 148), might date instead from the Second Republic, like the second gallery of lithographic portraits of representatives during those years.³⁵ Their arguments make sense, and might be applied to other problematic busts in the series, notably the one thought to represent Gallois (see p. 155).

Sources conflict on how and where Daumier executed the busts. Champfleury and others claim he modeled the clays in the relevant Chambers, directly from the live subjects, in canonical realist mode.³⁶ Philippe Burty and Armand Dayot instead maintain that the artist memorized his subjects in their official spaces, and returned to work the clay in his studio.³⁷ Most recent scholars, this one included, favor the latter position as more practical and typical of Daumier. Though Philippon touts some of Daumier's drawn portraits for *Le Charivari* as taken *in situ*, Daumier was famous among his associates for never working from the live model, and for relying on memory to distill the essential and characteristic features of his subject for representation, an anti-realist strategy expounded later by Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran (1802–1897) to such Petite Ecole students as Rodin.³⁸

The busts remained with Philippon's survivors and descendants after the editor's death in 1862, at which time they were seen and commented upon by visitors. Philippon's son had them photographed in 1865 in order to retain a record of their deteriorating forms.³⁹ Philippon's widow lent an unspecified ten of Daumier's clays to Durand-Ruel's exhibition of 1878.⁴⁰

No preparatory sketches are associated with these busts, only the published lithographic portraits that relate to the most important of them. As Lukach notes,⁴¹ the single portraits of the celebrities seem to closely reflect the sculptural group—the one exception being the double lithographic portrait of the Versailles judges, Gady and Lecomte. However, beyond the obvious differences of the subjects' wearing spectacles in the lithographs and not in the maquettes, there are subtle physiognomic differences between some drawn and modeled busts. The most evident might be those of Kératry, who is dramatically flat-headed in the sculpture and less so in the lithograph. The caption for the drawing gives a physiognomic interpretation of that flatness, which makes its lesser emphasis there seem curious.

SERIALIZATION

The history of the busts' execution and distribution as serial works in bronze and terra cotta is also well known.⁴² The busts were serialized in bronze, in part to provide durable examples of the deteriorated and much-restored clays, by dealer-publisher Maurice Le Garrec, when he purchased them from Philipon's descendants in 1927. Under his order, sculptor Pierre-Félix Fix-Masseau (1869–1937) restored and prepared them for lost-wax serial casting and made the plaster foundry models for the procedure. The Barbedienne foundry was commissioned to cast the full set in editions of twenty-five and thirty, twelve busts at a time. The first set of twelve was made available by subscription in 1929–1930.⁴³ Rosenwald purchased twelve from this offering through his print and book dealer in Philadelphia, Charles Sessler, in July 1930.⁴⁴ The marks are complex and highly identifiable. They include no foundry mark, only Maurice Le Garrec's monogram and two edition numbers. Rosenwald obtained the third cast in each of the series, which are additionally marked on the rim with letters and numbers. The set of twelve is composed of six pairs in tight alphabetical sequence: *Podenas* and *Delessert*, for instance, are both marked A¹; *Fulchiron* and *Kératry*, B¹—and the sequence goes through F¹ (*Fruchard* and *Philipon*). The second set of twelve was apparently released by subscription in early 1940; Rosenwald bought his, again through Sessler in Philadelphia, on 12 March 1940.⁴⁵ As in previous examples there is only Le Garrec's monogram and an edition number. Rosenwald obtained the third cast of each edition that are additionally marked with five numbers in sequence, from 2192–1 (*Barbé-Marbois*) to 2206–1 (*Vatout*).⁴⁶ Their marks indicating editions of twenty-five and thirty suggest that there were at least two editions produced at that time, though the secondary numerical marks are identical and sequential. On 2 March 1951, Rosenwald bought the final twelve, breaking a full set of thirty-six bronzes sent on approval the summer before, from a regular print source in Paris, Henri M. Petiet.⁴⁷ Lukach notes that casts of all thirty-six were available by 1948, when the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles, obtained

its full set.⁴⁸ However, the last suite of twelve Rosenwald casts, all numbered twenty-three, suggests the full selection of busts was largely available in 1952, two years later and two years before the year given as the project's end.⁴⁹ Besides the edition number, the series bears only an inscription, "BRONZE." The Barbedienne foundry returned the molds to Le Garrec's widow when it ceased operation in the early 1950s.⁵⁰

Aside from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Marseilles and the National Gallery, two other museums are known to have a full set of the portraits: the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Philipon's native Lyons, and the Akademie der Künste, Berlin. Count Aldo Borletti di Arosio, Milan, Madame Berthe Le Garrec, Paris, and the late Billy Rose, New York, also owned the complete series. Billy Rose's set has long since been dispersed. Selected busts are at the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, and the Corcoran Gallery of Art (both Washington), the latter from the Armand Hammer Collection.

Madame Le Garrec has identified unauthorized *bronzes surmoulages* of Barbedienne casts of Pataille, Viennet, and Philipon marked "H. D.," cast by an unknown foundry at an unknown time.⁵¹

Upon the demise of the Barbedienne foundry, Madame Le Garrec commissioned three full sets of the thirty-six busts from Valsuani, stamped "MLG" and either "LG," "MME H," or "C"; the plaster molds and models were destroyed when the edition was completed in March 1965.

The Le Garrec family also planned to produce an edition of seven sets of the busts, in handpainted, cast terra cotta, taken from Fix-Masseau's original molds, for private use. Begun in the 1930s, it was left incomplete by the time the molds were broken in 1965.⁵²

Lukach notes references to poor and unauthorized casts of the busts, some supposedly nineteenth century; those actually traced reportedly were destroyed as unauthorized.⁵³ Finally, in 1957, Alva Museum Reproductions began an authorized edition in bronzelike synthetic material of four of the National Gallery bronzes: Lameth, Lefèbvre, Montalivet, and Persil. The editions are unlimited and clearly marked "Alva Museum Replicas, Inc."

SGL

Notes

1. For an extensive technical discussion, see Arthur Beale, "Materials and Techniques," in Fogg 1969, 16–17, 24–25.

2. "Bronze" is the traditional term in sculpture for copper alloy that permits some deviation of the proportions into the domain of brass. These busts may be stamped to claim such an artistic level and to distinguish them from base-metal casts. Although we refer to the busts as "brass" here and in the header section of the individual entries, we will use the term "bronze" throughout the text. The sampled bronzes and their respective elemental surface composition are: *Kératry* (1943.3.4), 89% copper, 7% zinc, 4% tin; *Royer-Collard* (1943.3.6), about 88% copper, 8% zinc, average just over 3% tin; *Galloys* (1943.3.21), 90% copper, 6% zinc, 4% tin; *Falloux* (1943.3.23), 89% copper, average just over 7% zinc, 3% tin; *Guizot* (1951.17.11), average just over 86% copper, average just over 9% zinc, 3% tin; *Lefèbvre* (1951.17.13), 88% copper, 8% zinc, and 3% tin.

3. Larkin 1966, 21; an example of one such caricature from these same years is Janson 1985, fig. 106.
4. See the discussion for David d'Angers' *Baron Gérard* (p. 219).
5. For examples of Roman niche tombs showing this type, see Panofsky 1964, figs. 91–94; for the cited Renaissance busts, see NGA 1994, 28 and 72, repro.
6. For example, the busts of Dupin *ainé* and Harlé *père* (see pp. 144 and 160, respectively).
7. Lindsay 1983, 142, 150–154.
8. Hibbard 1974, figs. 53–54.
9. Gaborit 1985, 81–83, repro.
10. Panofsky 1964, 34; and Barbara Fowler, "The Centaur's Smile: Pindar and the Archaic Aesthetic," in Moon 1983, 159–170.
11. *La Caricature* (26 April 1832); in Durbé 1961, 74.
12. *La Caricature* (26 April 1832); in Durbé 1961, 74.
13. Passeron 1968, 194, claims they go "beyond" provoking laughter—to what, he does not say.
14. Jean Adhémar and Jeanne Wasserman, "Les Portraits-charges, 1831–1834(?)," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 59–60; Cuno 1985, 120. *Le Charivari*'s own self-representation is of the publishers, draftsmen, and editors working in concert to Philipon's drum. See Daumier's celebrated headpiece, *L'Orchestre de Charivari* of November 1833, discussed in Laughton 1996, 10–11, fig. 9.
15. *La Caricature* (26 April 1832); in Durbé 1961, 74.
16. See especially Joan Lukach, "Introduction to the Busts," in Fogg 1969, 32–34, and Cherpin 1979, 138–140. Vincent 1968, 48, introduced what he argued was a second bust of Dupin, the authenticity of which has since been questioned. See Appendix III in Fogg 1969, 254–255.
17. Berlin 1952; Le Duc 1980; Pénicaud 1993. Some of the names associated with the busts derive from the captions for one of the 1865 photographs of the set in the auction catalogue for Champfleury's collection (Paris, 26 January 1891, no. 72).
18. For an analysis of the complex government structure and division of power, see Rousselet 1937; Bastid 1954; and especially the relevant entries in Newman 1987.
19. Adhémar 1954, 17; and Adhémar and Wasserman, "Hypothèses," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 57.
20. James Kieswetter's entries on the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Peers, in Newman 1987, 1: 179 and 182. The number of and criteria for deputies and peers varied wildly even annually, though they mostly remained in the hundreds.
21. See the use of the term by Armand Marrast, editor of *La Tribune* in 1833, during his self-defense when on trial for press violations; in Blanc 1844, 1: 161.
22. "De la toux considérée comme argument péremptoire," *Le Charivari* (5 December 1832), 1.
23. Kieswetter in Newman 1987, 1: 179 (see note 20).
24. For the history of the charivari in France, where its use for political contention was at its peak during these very years (1830–1848), see Larousse 1866–1879, 3/2: 995–996, s.v. "Charivari"; and Tilley 1986, 30–34.
25. Lukach in Fogg 1969, 34 (see note 16).
26. Geffroy 1905, 104. For a discussion of Persil, see p. 174.
27. The most complete discussions are Lukach, "Introduction to the Busts," in Fogg 1969, 29–42, and Adhémar and Wasserman, "Les Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 59–62.
28. Adhémar and Wasserman (see note 27) in Wasserman et al. 1983, 60.
29. Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *Journal. Mémoires de la vie littéraire*. 22 vols. (Monaco, 1956), 1: 104; cited by Adhémar and Wasserman in Wasserman et al. 1983, 60 (see note 27).
30. Adhémar and Wasserman in Wasserman et al. 1983, 60 (see note 27).
31. Adhémar 1954, 15, though he raises the possibility (p. 16), later developed in 1983, of *Falloux* dating after this early group.
32. See Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 30.
33. Passeron 1979, 76.
34. Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 30, and Adhémar and Wasserman in Wasserman et al. 1983, 60 (see note 27).
35. Adhémar 1954, 16; Wasserman et al. 1983, 59, 71.
36. Champfleury 1865, 34; Eugène Montrosier, "La Caricature politique: H. Daumier," *L'Art* 2 (1878), 27; cited in Vincent 1968, 43n. 7.
37. Escholier 1930, 107–108.
38. Larkin 1966, 19; Vincent 1968, 95; Antoinette Le Normand-Romain's preface in Pénicaud 1993, 14. For an example of a portrait that, according to the caption, was drawn literally on the same bench as the sitters—Daumier's double lithographic *croquis* of indicted murderers Bastien and Robert on the opposite page—see "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (18 August 1833), 4. For Rodin's discussion of Lecoq's theories of working from memory, see Henri-Charles-Etienne Dujardin-Beaumetz, "Rodin's Reflections on Art," in Elsen 1965, 170.
39. Fogg 1969, 31, fig. F. One example, now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from an edition of twelve sets of six sheets.
40. Durand-Ruel 1878, no. 236: "Têtes en terre coloriée/ Appartient à Mme Ve Philippon [sic]." The number actually shown is cited in a letter of 23 March 1878, from Geoffroy-Dechaume; Adhémar and Wasserman in Wasserman et al. 1983, 61 (see note 27).
41. Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 36–37.
42. The most extensive discussion is Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 39.
43. Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 39. Le Garrec published Bouvy's monograph on the busts two years afterwards, suggesting a coordinated campaign to promote the bronzes, since the fragile clays in his possession were not available to the public.
44. Podenas, Delessert, Fulchiron, Kératry, Barthe, Royer-Collard, Ganneron, Prunelle, Viennet, Dupin, Fruchard, Philipon (1943.3.1–12). Alverthorpe's copy of the accession card for the set of twelve (Rosenwald Papers, Box 5 of the accession cards). Miss M. Borlase, secretary to Mr. Rosenwald, letter of 15 July 1930, to James Paden, Eliel and Loeb Co. (Mr. Rosenwald's insurance company); Rosenwald Papers, Box 2.
45. Alverthorpe's copy of the accession card for the set of twelve (Rosenwald Papers, Box 5 of the accession cards); E. Wellens, secretary to Mr. Rosenwald, letter of 22 March 1940, to C. J. Margraff, Eliel and Loeb Co. (Rosenwald Papers, Box 12).
46. The sequence bears an unexplained gap, 2203–1 through 2205–1, though no casts are known to be missing from the set of twelve.
47. Henri M. Petiet, letters of 6 June 1950; 23 June 1950; 28 July 1950; 18 September 1950; 19 April 1951; and 18 May 1951, to Elizabeth Mongan, Mr. Rosenwald's curator; Elizabeth Mongan, letter of 9 March 1951 to Henri M. Petiet; Rosenwald Papers, Box 44 (1950), Box 48 (1951). "Prints and Books Purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald during the Month of March, 1951" (a list prepared by Mr. Rosenwald's staff) reads "Daumier: 12 Small Bronzes" and is annotated on the margin "Carstairs Gallery, M. Petiet 3-2-51"; Rosenwald Papers, Box 44.
48. Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 39.
49. J. C. Romand, letter of 27 December 1968, to the Fogg Museum; Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 39.
50. Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 39, says 1953; Tancock 1976, 35, says 1952.
51. Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 40.
52. Four included in the Daumier exhibition of 1934 at the Bibliothèque Nationale are: the busts of Cunin, Harlé *père*, Lameth, and the one identified as Sébastiani (Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 40).
53. Lukach, "Introduction," in Fogg 1969, 40.

1951.17.5 (A-1602)

Antoine-Maurice-Apollinaire, Comte d'Argout

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 13 × 15.9 × 10.2 (5⅞ × 6¼ × 4)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the rear lower left: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below right: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, at right front, in an inscribed circle: 23/30

Technical Notes: The bronze registers a sense of unusually liquid clay and comb tooling in the hair, skin, and the cloth of the model.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 10. NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 1. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 6.

THE SUBJECT of this bust has been identified as d'Argout (1782–1858) on the grounds of various lithographic caricatures from Philippon's journals, but particularly from Daumier's lithographic portrait bust in *La Caricature* of 9 August 1832.¹ An auditor under the Empire who supported the Bourbons after Napoleon's fall in 1814, d'Argout served various ministerial positions under the July Monarchy: Minister of Navy and Justice, Commerce and Public Works, Interior, and Finances. Daumier scholars have long considered d'Argout a benign presence among the caricatured personalities, lampooned by many Parisian wits merely for an extraordinarily jutting nose.² It is indeed mocked in various ways—as causing lunar eclipses, as serving as camouflage in warfare. The most important and relevant here, however, concerns his much-criticized activities as Minister of Commerce and Public Works. The exaggerated nose is the physiognomic index of *Le Charivari*'s hostility towards d'Argout specifically for his overweening and, for them, wrong-headed censorship of the performing arts, seen as one of the few public liberties available as Louis-Philippe began to tighten civil restrictions in 1832. During the Christ-

mas holidays of that year, d'Argout's unexplained censure of the popular masked balls at the Opéra, Variétés, and Théâtre Montansier raised such a furor that he amended the prohibition, moving the balls, reportedly, to the Louvre for closer government controls. *Le Charivari* jeers at d'Argout's official denial that he "censored" such public events,³ and represents his actions, through texts and images, as nasal invasion. One example is its article, "No more Balls than Belles, or d'Argout's Nose Considered as Obstacle to Public Gaiety." Displeased by the three balls, "M. d'Argout placed his nose across the path and said balls were stopped. One must speculate that, in effect, when M. d'Argout puts his nose anywhere, there will not be any ball."⁴ Daumier's ostensibly apolitical caricature of d'Argout, protecting his family from a storm with his nose as a shelter,⁵ may criticize his censorious policies as well, as the minister frequently claimed to protect society through his decisions. D'Argout's nose is thus presented as a formidable reconnaissance weapon, sniffing out even the most subtle "danger"; as a physical barrier to creative and popular will; and as the vast containment chamber (government buildings) into which he herds the people through official controls. His nose is often accompanied by the far more familiar emblem of censorship: scissors, as in the coat of arms below Daumier's bust portrait for *La Caricature*.

The similarity of Charles-Joseph Traviès' half-length caricature of d'Argout, in all aspects but its pompadour,⁶ raises the possibility that it was based on Daumier's bust.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 44–47, fig. 1e.
2. Fogg 1969, 44–47; Pénicaut 1993, 20. Official portraits of d'Argout represent the trait as less spectacular; see, for example Jean-Louis Chenillion's portrait bust of 1838 (*Mobilier et objets d'Art*, Christie's, Monaco, 22 June 1991, no. 128, repro.). Alison Luchs brought this bust to my attention.
3. "Je ne fais pas de censure!" *Le Charivari* (19 December 1832), 4.
4. *Le Charivari* (24 December 1832), 2.
5. *Le Charivari* (29 September 1833), opp. p. 4; in Fogg 1969, fig. 1f.
6. "Musicien de la Chapelle. Mr d'Argot, Nazillard du Roi," *Le Charivari* (4 December 1832), opp. p. 4.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1968 NGA: 133, repro.
1994 NGA: 51, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Antoine-Maurice-Apollinaire, Comte d'Argout*, 1951.17.5



Honoré Daumier, *Claude Bailliot*, 1943.3.22

1943.3.22 (A-1694)

Claude Bailliot

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 17.2 × 15.9 × 13 (6¾ × 6¼ × 5⅛)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower right shoulder: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on bottom rim at right: 2200–1

Cold-stamped inside, front center: 3/25

Technical Notes: There are minute airholes and fine-hatched cold-work throughout. Bare bronze is revealed in depressions in the ears, cavities in the hair, and under the lapel.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 2. NGA 1974, as *Bailliot*.

THE IDENTIFICATION of this bust as Claude Bailliot (1771–1836), commonly identified as Bailliot, dates from the twentieth century, on grounds of Daumier's full-length portrait of "Mr. Baill . . ." published in *La Caricature* on 12 September 1833, Bailliot's last year as deputy.¹ The accompanying editorial comment to Daumier's caricature states: "He was not one of the most remarkable men of the Chamber, for all the noise he made there."² He makes several appearances in the 1832 and 1833 issues of *Le Charivari*, and on those occasions he is consistently among the vocal and visible "prostituted ones."³

Bailliot was one of many liberal turncoats portrayed in the series of busts. A center-leftist exchange agent who had helped to rebuild state finances during the Restoration, he voted against Bourbon claims to the throne in 1830. His subsequent wholesale support of July Monarchy policies in Chamber, according to *Le Charivari*, made republican deputies "sneer at the time."⁴ The king elevated Bailliot to peer of France in 1834 as compensation for the loss of his son in the riots of April 1834.⁵

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 49–50, fig. 2c.
2. Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 68–69.
3. Contrary to Pénicaut 1993, 22, who claims Bailliot was one of the rare deputies to escape the journal's "claw."
4. Le Duc 1980, 57.
5. See Robert et al. 1891, 1: 140.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 51, repro.

1943.3.13 (A-1685)

François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois (?)

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 14 × 12.7 × 10.8 (5½ × 5 × 4¼)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on the bottom rim at front left: 2192–1

Cold-stamped inside, front center, in incised circle: 3/25¹

Technical Notes: There are pits, cracks, and an airhole penetrating the entire shell to the right of the collar and cravat, from the casting process.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960, as *Pelet de la Lozère*. Hill School 1964, as *Barbé-Marbois?*. Fogg 1969, no. 34, as *Unknown* ("Pelet de la Lozère"). NGA 1974, as *Bust of an Unknown Man*, called "Pelet de la Lozère."

EARLIER SCHOLARS have long debated the subject of this bust, since no label has been documented on the clay and none of the proposals based on Daumier's lithographic portrait has been widely accepted. Gobin's and Adhémar's suggestion of Pelet de la Lozère is unpersuasive, as Durbé first noted, since the bust does not resemble the known figure corresponding to that name in the *Ventre Législatif*.² More recently Adhémar and Wasserman suggested it might represent one of Daumier's two collaborators at *Le Charivari* who wrote legends for his prints and published the popular series of social types, *Physiologies*. They propose either Louis Huart (1813–1854), editor and eventually director of *Le Charivari*, or Albert Cler, pseudonym for Jules de Bréval (d. 1864).³ The scant comparative visual material located thus far does not seem to favor one over the other.⁴ However, the distinctive Holbeinesque skullcap, in addition to the beaked face and hooded expression, does recall one of Daumier's lithographic portraits: that of Barbé-Marbois (1745–1837).⁵ He served in 1835 as judge for the Chamber of Peers' infamous mass trial of the so-called "April Accused," those held responsible for the riots of April 1834 in Lyons and its environs. This so-called "Monster Trial" opened the most active government campaign against dissidents throughout France, especially after the September Laws, established the following autumn, that crushed the opposition until the late 1840s.⁶ Philippon's journals' commentary on the trial and harsh sentences (heavy fines, imprisonment, or exile for many activist journalists of the liberal opposition) is predictably hostile, as in earlier cases of government prosecution addressed in the group of busts.⁷



Honoré Daumier, *François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois(?)*, 1943.3.13



Fig. 1 Honoré Daumier, “Mr. Barbe Marbois,” lithograph, published in *La Caricature*, no. 238 (28 May 1835), Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1943.3.2945 (Deltail 117)

Appearing repeatedly during the trial in Philippon’s two journals—*Le Charivari* published it first, on the very day the trial foundered under the taunts of the liberal press, 12 May 1835 (fig. 1)⁸—Daumier’s image of Barbé-Marbois suggests a forbidding capped and robed Inquisitor of the Counter-Reformation. The manifestly bitter caricature is the only one of a “Monster Trial” peer judge in *Le Charivari*, amidst many portraits of the “persecuted” at the trial; Barbé-Marbois thus tacitly represents all the judges for the journal.⁹ The sculptural bust, with its modern civilian dress, only partially suggests the inquisitorial characterization. However, if it refers to the judges of the infamous trial, it embodies the final political polemics issued in these journals before the September Laws were imposed. Consequently the bust may count among the last in the portrait series that can be surely given to the 1830s.

SGL

Notes

1. The marks given in NGA 1994, 56, reflect Gallery records prior to examination for this catalogue.
2. Fogg 1969, 153, as *Unknown* (“Pelet de la Lozère”).
3. Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 71. For brief biographies of these two, see Provost 1989, 10 and 21; and Sorel 1986, no. 128.
4. For a caricature showing Cler at right, see Adhémar and

Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 71, repro. For Huart, see Sorel 1986, no. 128, repro. Pénicaut 1993, 70, tacitly rejects Albert Cler as a possibility by citing only Pelet and Huart as options.

5. Though this author arrived at the present identification independently, it was proposed in Hill School 1964, for the so-called *Pelet de la Lozère* by process of matching loan lists with the brochure entry. Correspondence between Richard S. Field, curator of the Rosenwald Collection, and Paul Chancellor (dated 21 and 24 April 1964; Rosenwald Papers, Box 103) indicates that the brochure text supposedly derives from labels supplied by Dr. Field, who claims to have no memory of having intended to revise the title of the bust (telephone conversation with the author, April 1997). My thanks to Anne Halpern for her work and comments on this problem.

6. See my discussion of those events surrounding the major liberal leader, Godefroy Cavaignac, in my forthcoming book, the working title of which is *Embodying Modern Death; The Gisants and Transis of Nineteenth-Century France*.

7. For instance, the busts of Dubois, d’Argout, Lecomte, Persil, and Gady (1951.17.4–5, 1951.15.10, 1943.3.15–16). For *Le Charivari*’s coverage of the trial, see the issues beginning 6 May 1835 and running well into June.

8. *Le Charivari* (12 May 1835), opp. p. 4.

9. Barbé-Marbois might have been singled out as a tellingly grotesque peer: He was a royalist who had adhered to his conservative views as he courted successive sovereigns after the Revolution—and consistently held high government office. He served as president of the first Cour des Comptes under the Restoration, and later under the July Monarchy until 1834. See Robert et al. 1891, 1: 158–159. Additionally, just after it published his caricature, *Le Charivari* mocked Barbé-Marbois specifically as a judge of the Monster Trial for publishing his memoir as the victim of just such aggressively political persecution: “*Mémoires d’un déporté de fructidor, ou le Jugé sans juges.*” See “Carillon,” *Le Charivari* (14 May 1835), 7.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 56, repro.

1943.3.5 (A-1677)

Félix Barthe

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 16.5 × 14.6 × 13 (6½ × 5¾ × 5⅛)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower left shoulder: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim at front right: 3/25 C¹

Cold-stamped inside, within incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: There are fissures and flashing in the interior.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: Huntington 1958, no. 12. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 3. NGA 1974. *Arts and Crafts in Detroit: The Movement, the Society, the School*, DIA, 1976–1977, no. 254. NGA 1979, no. 8.



Honoré Daumier, *Félix Barthe*, 1943.3.5

THE IDENTIFICATION of this bust as Félix Barthe (1795–1863) rests on its association with various Daumier caricatures from 1831 to 1833, notably the full-length figure of “Mr. Barthe” in *La Caricature* of 18 July 1833.¹ Initially a liberal opposition lawyer, Barthe held a variety of government positions after 1830—some simultaneously—when he is most frequently lampooned in Philippon’s papers (1831 to 1834): deputy, Minister of Public Instruction, then Minister of Justice; finally Keeper of the Seals, and President of the Royal Council from May 1831 to April 1834.² He is credited with liberalizing the penal code during these years.³ However, his frequent appearance in the first issue of *Le Charivari* is a mark of hostility. There, Barthe’s shift from the republican opposition of the Bourbon Restoration to the favored circles of the July Monarchy draws scorn. He is portrayed in the columns as an unctuous manipulator, a traitor to old friends or allies, an ingrate, and a turncoat.⁴ Barthe’s qualities are referred to physiognomically by means of his “false” smile and his wall-eyes which, *Le Charivari* alleges, seek information and opportunities in all directions. The explanatory note for Traviès’ portrait bust of Barthe, published March 1833, claims his features reveal “the wealthy lawyer, once a profession of genuine patriotism and secret conspiracies.”⁵ The sculpture, both in clay and bronze, may suggest Barthe’s moral traits through a more subtle physiognomic disparity: the opened right eye and the nearly closed left eye.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 51–53, fig. 3c; Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 63.
2. See Bastid 1954, 327; Robert et al. 1891, 1: 182; Fogg 1969, 51; Robert Brown, “Barthe, Felix,” in Newman 1987, 1: 71–73.
3. Bastid 1954, 319; Brown in Newman 1987, 1: 71–73 (see note 2).
4. “D’Une Nouvelle Manière de Noircir les Gens, par M. Barthe, ex-Carbonari,” and “Carillon,” *Le Charivari* (1 December 1832), 4, 7.
5. *Le Charivari* (20 March 1833), opp. p. 4.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 51, repro.

1951.17.15 (A-1612)

Charles-Léonce-Victor, Duc de Broglie

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 14.9 × 12.7 × 9.5 (5⁷/₈ × 5 × 3³/₄)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower right shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Inside, in incised circle: 23/25

Technical Notes: Fissures from casting in the interior and on the rim. The comb tooling in the model is obscured by an unusually thick and pasty patina.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960, as *Soult*. Fogg 1969, no. 36, as *Unknown* (“*Soult*”). NGA 1974, as *Bust of an Unknown Man* (“*Soult?*”).

THE IDENTIFICATION of the subject of this bust is the most debated of all, its expressiveness tantalizing without hard evidence or close resemblance to any of Daumier’s lithographic portraits. The prominent Imperial Marshal Nicolas Soult (1769–1851) was a likely candidate for Philippon’s and Daumier’s scorn for having aligned himself with every new sovereign until his death. He was ennobled by the Emperor as the duc de Dalmatie, given various ministerial offices under Louis-Philippe, and became rich, as well as powerful and famous, in the process. However, his features in Daumier’s caricatures, notably the *Masks of 1831* and the bust portrait published in *La Caricature* on 28 June 1832,¹ are only broadly similar in their extreme cragginess. In the lithographs, Daumier makes Soult’s profile concave, even crescent-shaped—with a radically protuberant lower jaw.

Passeron suggests the bust instead represents Achille-Charles-Léonce-Victor, duc de Broglie (1785–1870), offering as comparative evidence Daumier’s caricature of “His Majesty Broglie I” published in *Le Charivari* of 5 April 1835, lampooning his overweening ego, ambition, and royal favor (fig. 1).² Noble by birth, Broglie was a political moderate who attempted throughout the Restoration and July Monarchy to reconcile the old and new France. Under Louis-Philippe he served as Minister of Public Instruction (1830), of Foreign Affairs (1832), and then president of the Royal Council (1835).³ There is strong physiognomic similarity between Daumier’s Punch-like characterization in the sculpture and the print of Broglie, even to the grimace. If the sculpture indeed represents Broglie and dates from the moment when Daumier’s lithographs are published, this bust is among the latest surely from the 1830s (1835).

As a third alternative, Adhémar and Wasserman propose Pierre-Nicolas Berryer (1757–1841), whose clean-shaven, ovoid face and long nose (like Broglie’s)⁴ might be carica-



Honoré Daumier, *Charles-Léonce-Victor, Duc de Broglie*, 1951.17.15



Fig. 1 Honoré Daumier, “Sa Majeste de Broglie, 1^{er}, autocrate de France et de Navarre,” lithograph, published in *Le Charivari* (5 April 1835), Washington, Library of Congress, Rare Books Division (Delteil 20)

tured as Daumier did in print and sculpture. None of Daumier’s prints appears to represent this Berryer, however. Daumier later repeatedly lampooned his obese legitimist son Pierre-Antoine (1790–1868) during the Second Republic.⁵ The senior Berryer, Pierre-Nicolas, was a celebrated lawyer who, despite his specialization in commercial affairs, defended Marshal Ney in 1815, with his son and Dupin *ainé* (1932.3.10, p. 00).⁶ Advocates of this identification note that Daumier’s “speaking” bust suggests a lawyer. The expression is pushed to grimace, however. The reason for Philippon’s and Daumier’s interest in Berryer *père* during the July Monarchy is still unclear. The dark hair represented in the polychrome clay seems to suggest a younger man, but that feature may be a modern alteration.⁷

Of the two suggested alternatives to Soult, the present historical and physical evidence—particularly the expression and features—seems to favor Broglie as the subject of the sculptural bust.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 158–159, fig. 36d; Delteil 1969, 20: nos. 42 and 46, respectively. In the *Masks*, Soult is on the bottom row, second from the right.
2. Passeron 1979, 77.
3. *Nouveau Larousse illustré* 1898–1904, 2: 294, s.v. “Broglie (Achille-Charles-Léonce-Victor, duc de).”
4. *Nouveau Larousse illustré* 1898–1904, 2: 39, s.v. “Berryer (Pierre-Nicolas).”
5. Delteil 1969, 25: no. 2138, repro.
6. Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 66; *Nouveau Larousse illustré* 1898–1904, 2: 39, with engraved portrait.
7. For a nineteenth-century photograph of the clay, showing a less contrasting value in the hair color, see Fogg 1969, fig. 36b.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 1994, 59, repro.

1943.3.14 (A-1686)

Jean-Auguste Chevandier de Valdrome

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940

Brass, 18.4 × 14.3 × 12.1 (7¼ × 5⅝ × 4¾)

Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on bottom rim at right: 2193–1

Cold-stamped inside, front center, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: Delicate and intricate tooling especially in the depressions (eye sockets, jowls, the space between the cravat and coat).

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. *Impressionism in Sculpture*, traveling exhibition organized by The American Federation of Arts, 9 venues, 1961–1962. Fogg 1969, no. 4. NGA 1974.

THE LIFE DATES standardly given in Daumier literature for Chevandier de Valdrome (1781–1878) in fact conflate his own (1781–1865) with those of his son, Deputy Jean-Pierre-Eugène-Napoléon (1810–1878).¹ Chevandier de Valdrome seems to appear only once in Daumier’s lithographic work, in a bust portrait for *Le Charivari* of 20 June 1833.² Most Daumier scholars identify Chevandier as a liberal deputy and peer who was attacked by all sides.³ As they note, the editorial explanation for the caricature claimed that “his spirit of independence is no more solid than his merchandise [he was a prosperous owner of glass factories in his native department of Meurthe],” a moral trait that, it claimed, was strikingly revealed in 1832, when he “flowed from the benches of the right, to the center of the *juste-milieu*.”⁴ It goes further to identify him as “one of the *improstitués* who are otherwise most remarkable for their parliamentary obscurity” and complete muteness in Chamber. He voted, *Le Charivari* claims, by the “silent vote of the rump,” his being one of the “most devoted and insightful of the lower chamber.” Daumier evokes that alleged silent obscurity and non-opposition in his lithographic and sculptural busts of the sleeping Chevandier. Such characterization, however, contrasts dramatically with that of another liberal journal, the following year, when Chevandier de Valdrome was re-elected deputy, which counted this “ebullient character” among the most brilliant, versatile, and effective “interrupters” and “vocalizers” of the Chamber, through his “brutish” interruptions: “He is peerless with bursts of sudden laughter, and carries the vote [with it] amidst furious and prolonged clamor . . . In certain moments of effervescence, Mr. Chevandier loses self-control: He shakes vio-



Honoré Daumier, *Jean-Auguste Chevandier de Valdrome*, 1943.3.14

lently, cries, gestures, throws himself around, he knows no obstacle. It is difficult to conceive that human faculties can adequately provide for that consuming specialty.”⁵ If not sarcastic, this contradictory guise marks Chevandier as belonging to a small but famous group—including Harlé père and Lefèbvre (see pp. 160 and 167, respectively)—in the Chamber of Deputies who influence through eloquent non-speech.⁶

SGL

Notes

1. Robert et al. 1891, 2: 94; cited correctly in Pénicaud 1993, 26. Le Duc 1980, 69, gives his name instead as Chevandier de Valdronne.
2. Fogg 1969, 55–56, fig. 4d.
3. Fogg 1969, 55–56; Le Duc 1980, 69; Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 67. The latter source calls him “Eugène Chevandier de Valdrôme.”
4. “Dessin,” *Le Charivari*, 20 June 1833, 4; cited in Le Duc 1980, 69, and Pénicaud 1993, 26.
5. From the accounts of the 1834 session by the Société *Aide-toi, le ciel t’aidera*; quoted in Robert et al. 1891, 2: 94. The portrayal there is paraphrased in Pénicaud 1993, 26.
6. For more discussion of an interrupter, see the entry for Harlé père.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 59, repro.

1951.17.7 (A-1604)

Laurent Cunin, called Cunin-Gridaine

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 14.6 × 13 × 9.8 (5¾ × 5⅛ × 3⅞)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on rear lower center, in incised circle:
MLG [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below that: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, front right, in incised circle: 23/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers an unusual amount of comb tooling in the model. There is extensive cold-work throughout, yet unrepaired fissures and airholes in the cavities and top of the head remain.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 5. NGA 1974.

THE BUST has been associated with Laurent Cunin (1778–1859) on grounds of Daumier’s lithographic bust portrait of

“Mr. Cunin Grid . . .” in *La Caricature* of 18 July 1833.¹ A textile worker born into the working class, Cunin advanced his fortunes by marrying the factory owner’s daughter, adding her family name to his, becoming his father-in-law’s partner, and, eventually, head of the family fabric business. Cunin is another turncoat from Restoration liberalism to the July Monarchy *juste-milieu*. He was deputy from 1827 to 1848, voting and speaking for liberal positions during the Restoration, and then supporting July Monarchy policies afterwards, specifically the infamous September Laws of 1835.² For *Le Charivari*, he distinguished himself in various high positions—notably as secretary and vice president of the Chamber of Deputies in 1830 and 1832, and under the Soult-Guizot ministry after 1840, Minister of Commerce³—for obscurity and rote approval of government policies. The explanatory note to Daumier’s lithographic bust places Cunin in the majority that tumbled into the vast sewer of the *juste-milieu*.⁴ Loyal to the government in hopes of a peerage, he never spoke and gave the impression of rarely thinking seriously. The journal wittily suggests, through a metaphor of Cunin as an upholsterer who has no furniture to work with, that he has no substance.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 57–59, fig. 5c.
2. Robert et al. 1891, 2: 231.
3. Bastid 1954, 132; Fogg 1969, 57; Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 67.
4. “Dessin,” *Le Charivari* (24 April 1833), 4; partially quoted in Pénicaud 1993, 28.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 52, repro.

1943.3.2 (A-1674)

Benjamin Delessert

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 17.5 × 14.3 × 10.2 (6⅞ × 5⅝ × 4)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower left shoulder, in incised circle:
M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim at front left: 3/25 A²

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers various types of tooling from the model: coarse comb tooling behind the right ear and coat, and fine shallow comb tooling along the right shoulder. The surface is considerably pitted, and bears fine hatched cold-work throughout. The patina is uneven and heavy in areas.



Honoré Daumier, *Laurent Cunin, called Cunin-Gridaine*, 1951.17.7



Honoré Daumier, *Benjamin Delessert*, 1943.3.2

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 6. NGA 1974.

THIS BUST is identified as representing Benjamin Delessert (1773–1847) on the basis of caricatures published in *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* on 27 June and 26 October 1833.¹ Delessert's long career in the Chamber of Deputies began in the early Restoration. He represented the Department of the Seine from 1817 to 1827, then that of Saumur until his retirement in 1842. An entrepreneur, industrialist, and banker who helped establish the English system of a savings bank in France, Delessert was also a prominent philanthropist in the arts and sciences, a collector of art and shells, and an avid botanist.² He appears rarely in the columns of *Le Charivari* in 1832–1833—no explanatory note accompanies Daumier's portrait bust published there in late October 1833. Delessert is listed as one of the formidable commercial powers in the Chamber, together with Odier (see p. 171) and Lefèbvre (see p. 167), and therefore, tacitly, may be one of its predatory financial "lynxes (*louxes-cerviers*)."³

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 61–62, figs. 6c–d.
2. Fogg 1969, 61; James Kieswetter, entry on Delessert, in Newman 1987, 1: 312–313; Pénicaud 1993, 30.
3. See the discussion in the entry for *Lefèbvre* (p. 167).

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 52, repro.

1951.17.8 (A-1605)

Jacques-Antoine-Adrien, Baron Delort

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 22.9 × 14.3 × 10.2 (9 × 5⁵/₈ × 4)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on rear, lower right: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside: 23/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers a sense of wet clay in the

model, as well as broad and fine comb tooling in the hair. There is fine cold-work throughout, yet with many airholes and fissures remaining. The patina is unusually thick and matte in consistency, and has flaked on the coat.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 7. NGA 1974.

THE BUST is identified as representing Baron Delort (1773–1846), on grounds of various lithographic portraits, but apparently only one by Daumier, the bust portrait of "De l' Or" published by *Le Charivari* on 29 June 1833.¹ The explanatory caption for the portrait condemns Delort as "doubly prostituted in his double capacity as aide-de-camp to the King and as lieutenant-general," another turncoat, in other words, from a Napoleonic general to a jaded court sycophant.² The portrait may have been triggered by a recent event recounted in *Le Charivari*: a quarrel with Félix Barthe (see p. 132), who apparently failed to secure a government position for Delort's relative, as promised. The powerful Keeper of the Seals reported that incident to Louis-Philippe—who promptly forced Delort to resign his dual positions. *Le Charivari* pillories both courtier and king in its narrative: Not only did Delort display his corrupt arrogance, but the king revealed yet another flaw, his pleasure in having Delort constantly under his thumb.

The caption further points out that Delort was well known at the time for crushing the "hydra of anarchy [a dissident uprising]" at Grenoble, and for the "exemplary" charivari he received in his native Arbois afterwards for his role there.³ That aspect of Delort is emphasized in the coat of arms below Daumier's lithographic bust, which includes the instruments of a charivari: pots and pans, cowbells, horns.⁴ Delort, a deputy since 1830, nonetheless continued to serve as such until 1837, when the king awarded him a baronetcy and elevated him to the upper Chamber.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 63, fig. 7d.
2. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (29 June 1833), 4; partially quoted in Fogg 1969, 63, and Pénicaud 1993, 32.
3. See the brief discussion in Blanc 1844, 1: 611.
4. Largely overlooked in the Daumier literature, these coats of arms were recently discussed in Cuno 1985, 178n. 39, as probably by Philippon, who often designed "speaking coats of arms" for satirical works. More attention should be given to these attributes as keys to the portraits.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 52 repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Jacques-Antoine-Adrien, Baron Delort*, 1951.17.8

1951.17.4 (A-1601)

Hippolyte-Abraham Dubois

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 19.3 × 19.5 × 14.3 (7⁵/₈ × 7¹/₁₆ × 5⁵/₈)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower right rear, in incised circle:
M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below that: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 23/25

Technical Notes: There is comb tooling throughout the hair and robe, and incised tooling for the rosette and eyes. The patina is abraded.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: Huntington 1958, no. 12. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 8. NGA 1974.

THE IDENTITY of the bust has been established on the basis of Daumier's lithographic bust of "M. Tu-bois" published in *Le Charivari* 25 March 1833.¹ Most scholars identify its subject as the magistrate Hippolyte-Abraham Dubois (1794–1863), known as Abraham-Dubois.² Michel Le Duc instead follows Geffroy, who identifies the "Dubois" on Champfleury's label as the Angevin president of the court of Assizes, Jean-Jacques Dubois (1768–1845).³ However, *Le Charivari*'s columns of the time make it clear that the portrait represents the journal's special *bête noire* of late March, Abraham-Dubois, who presided over a much-publicized trial during those weeks against a liberal journalist and veterinarian wrongly accused of attempting to shoot the king in the so-called "*attentat horrible*" ("horrible attempt," in which gunshots possibly were arranged by the royal police escort as an unsuccessful ploy to win public sympathy for the king).⁴ Abraham-Dubois gained considerable notoriety for this trial, and for having persuaded the jury—after a plea from Minister of Justice Persil (see p. 174)—to reverse its unanimous decision to exonerate the defendants in favor of the prosecution. *Le Charivari*'s steady assault upon Abraham-Dubois, from the moment of the defendants' indictment the prior fall, culminated, the day after the conclusion of the trial, in Daumier's lithographic portrait of the magistrate, whom it tauntingly dubs, "*dont on fait les flûtes*" [much-celebrated].⁵ It attacked not only the unfairness of the trial—which it renamed the "*attentat risible*" [laughable attempt], but also the obvious political motives behind the trial and Dubois' response to Persil. The coat of arms underneath the bust and the opaque spectacles reflect the key themes of the explanatory note to the drawing: "To that [skewed] balance held by such an even hand, to that physical myopia that gives merely a feeble idea of the intel-

lectual myopia of the individual, to that dense air . . . of the magistrature, who does not recognize this individual *dont on fait les flûtes* . . . whom we will not name. . . ." ⁶ In the same cautionary spirit, despite the journal's otherwise flowing verbiage against Abraham-Dubois, Daumier atypically abstained from signing his lithographic portrait. The sculptural portrait bust omits the spectacles but may suggest limited vision by means of the heavy eyelids over tiny eyes.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 67–68, fig. 8d.
2. Fogg 1969, 67.
3. Le Duc 1980, 66.
4. See Durbé 1961, 15–16.
5. "Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'attentat risible," *Le Charivari* (24 March 1833), 1–2.
6. *Le Charivari* (25 March 1833), 4; quoted in Pénicaud 1993, 34.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 52, repro.

1943.3.10 (A-1682)

André-Marie-Jean-Jacques Dupin Aîné

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 14.6 × 14.9 × 9.2 (5³/₄ × 5⁷/₈ × 3⁵/₈)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim at right front: 3/25 E²

Inside, cold-stamped, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers a sense of unusually wet clay in the model, and bears several fissures in the head from casting.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: Huntington 1958, no. 12. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 9. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 2.

THIS BUST is identified as representing Dupin *aîné* [the elder] (1783–1865) on grounds of its close resemblance to Daumier's lithographic bust portrait for *La Caricature* published 14 June 1832.¹ He was a celebrated lawyer who, with Berryer father and son,² unsuccessfully defended Marshal Ney in his notorious trial for treason in 1815. Dupin *aîné* moved from general prosecutor at the Cour de Cassation, to become



Honoré Daumier, *Hippolyte-Abraham Dubois*, 1951.17.4



Honoré Daumier, *André-Marie-Jean-Jacques Dupin Aîné*, 1943.3.10

vice-president and finally president of the Chamber of Deputies from November 1832 to 1840. Contemporaries considered him the most powerful figure in Chambers in the early 1830s. He was legendary, as president, for intervening in parliamentary debates with mordant sarcasm, especially on favorite issues like the Church (he was violently anti-clerical). The liberal press—especially *Le Charivari*—criticized him roundly for overstepping his bounds and using his political power and ties to Louis-Philippe for special interests. The coat of arms under Daumier's speaking portrait of Dupin, dating before his presidency, bears a bag of money on the badge to signal the lawyer's own material interests.³ Though Dupin was cited as having refused a ministerial appointment after a term as minister-at-large, in 1833 *Le Charivari* noted that, in fact, he wished to govern France as a minister, but that he coyly avoided outlining a program when asked.⁴ Physiognomically, this powerful individual stood out for his exceptionally ugly appearance and an outrageous demeanor. Léon Gozlan notes of him: "He is the most pockmarked [*grêlé*] man in France! Do I have the right to add that he is also the most lawyerly—that is, the most impertinent?"⁵

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 69–72, fig. 9f.
2. See the discussion in the entry for the bust identified here as representing the duc de Broglie, proposed earlier as representing Marshal Soult (p. 134).
3. Fogg 1969, fig. 9f.
4. "Sept Cent Cinquante-Trois Mots sur M. Dupin, sans qu'il soit question de ses souliers," *Le Charivari* (19 January 1833), 4; Robert et al. 1891, 2: 490–493; Robert Brown's entry on Dupin, in Newman 1987, 1: 353–356.
5. Gozlan 1970, 80.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 53, repro.

1951.17.9 (A-1606)

Charles-Guillaume Etienne

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950

Brass, 16.2 × 14.9 × 13.7 (6³/₈ × 5⁷/₈ × 5³/₈)

Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower center rear, in incised circle: MLG [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, front right, in incised circle: 23/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers an unusually wet clay and hatched tooling in the model. There is a small hole, probably a casting flaw. The patina is slightly abraded and shows some flaking.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 10. NGA 1974.

THIS BUST has been identified as representing Etienne (1778–1845) through its association with at least two of Daumier's lithographic portraits, especially the bust portrait in *Le Charivari* of 20 September 1833.¹ Etienne is one of the rare deputies represented by Daumier from the world of arts and letters. Author of theatrical pieces and a history of post-Revolutionary theater, he gained admission to the literary branch of the Academy. Etienne stands out, however, especially as founder and editor of *Le Constitutionnel*, a liberal-opposition paper during the Restoration that served the present July Monarchy as an unofficial government mouthpiece. In an unusually long explanatory note to Daumier's lithographic portrait, *Le Charivari* points to the paradox of Etienne's having served as censor while sitting on the liberal bench during the Restoration. It also derides Etienne as deputy for empty "academic" addresses—as ambiguous and insubstantial as his newspaper's columns and presentations at the Academy. His most characteristic mode, it claims, was somnolence: He "sleeps in Chambers as he sleeps at the Institut. He awakens only in time for meals, whereupon he finds all his intellectual faculties, the most remarkable of which is a deafening loquaciousness . . . Unhappily digestion does not delay in plunging him into that state of torpor represented by M. Daumier's able crayon."²

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 73–75, fig. 10c.
2. "Dessin. Esquisses Biographiques. M. Etienne," *Le Charivari* (20 September 1833), 3–4.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 53, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Charles-Guillaume Etienne*, 1951.17.9

1943.3.23 (A-1695)

*Alfred-Frédéric-Pierre,
Comte de Falloux*

Model possibly 1848/1850; cast 1929/1940

Brass, 22.9 × 14 × 13.7 (9 × 5½ × 5⅜)

Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower right shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on bottom rim at right: 2202-2

Cold-stamped inside, at front, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The shell is unusually uneven in thickness, producing many casting flaws: There are cracks and airholes in the surface throughout. One hole, at the base of the hair by the left ear, penetrates the shell completely.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 9. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 11. NGA 1974.

THE SUBJECT and date of this bust have long been debated. Some scholars claim it represents the Falloux in Daumier's full-length lithographic portrait for *Le Charivari* in 1849.¹ Despite considerable confusion, most recent scholars accept Falloux (1811–1886) to be a prominent personality of the Second Republic, born to an Angevin bourgeois father and aristocratic mother, whom Charles X ennobled just before the July Revolution.² A moderate legitimist and Catholic, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1846 and, in 1848, to the Constituent Assembly as deputy from Maine-et-Loire. Appointed Minister of Public Instruction in December 1848, Falloux formulated plans for what was officially called freedom of education, enacted subsequently as the very controversial Falloux Law. In principle, his efforts sought a reconciliation of traditional rivals, the State and Church, concerning all levels of education, but in reality the law permitted the Church to operate schools that competed with the State's, and to place clergy in influential university posts.³ The various problems surrounding education are at the heart of the anti-clerical *Le Charivari*'s interest in Falloux during the early Republic. Daumier's full-length lithograph of 1849 mocks Falloux as a pious Jesuit (his nickname was "Saint-Ignatius of Falloux"),⁴ who relegated modern primary-school-age children to the ministrations of ignorant clerics.

The resemblance between Daumier's bust, his 1849 lithograph, and other portraits of Falloux at various ages has proven problematic in dating this bust—like the majority—to the 1830s. All scholars acknowledge that the sitter appears to be at least middle-aged, therefore too old for this controversial minister of the Second Republic, as he would have appeared in the 1830s. He was not a public figure then anyway. Durbé supports a date of the 1830s for the bust and therefore rejects its identification as Falloux.⁵ After first speculating that this might represent Falloux's father—apparently never a public figure—Adhémar and Wasserman affirm its identification as the controversial deputy, and argue that the bust must date from the Second Republic,⁶ a position that radically revises the traditional view of the set as a coherent group from the July Monarchy.

Adhémar's and Wasserman's arguments seem plausible despite differences between the sculptural bust and lithograph. The beard and mustache in Daumier's lithograph of 1848, which departs from the goatee represented in the sculpture, may be part of Falloux's evident transformation into the seventeenth-century Loyola.⁷ There are stylistic factors in favor of this representing Falloux in the Second Republic as well. Though closely related to the busts of the 1830s, its vibrant, almost El Grecoesque portrayal of the sitter has some of the broadly mannerist qualities of *Ratapoil* (see p. 189). Those stylistic features accord with the lithograph's message of a mystical inwardness that completely ignores the needs of modern schoolchildren.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 77–78, fig. 11d.
2. *Nouveau Larousse illustré* 1898–1904, 4: 432, s.v. "Falloux (Frédéric-Alfred-Pierre, comte de)"; Limouzin-Lamothe in *Biographie* 1933, 13: 547–548, s.v. "Falloux du Coudray (Alfred Frédéric-Pierre, comte de)"; Le Duc 1980, 48.
3. This controversial issue is widely discussed in the historical literature. For a history of the problem by a Catholic historian, see de La Gorce 1914, 2: 249–303.
4. Driskel 1992, 40.
5. Durbé 1961, 25, entitled "Unknown."
6. Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 71.
7. As opposing evidence, however, Falloux bears a moustache and beard in a portrait of 1837 (Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 71, fig. 36a) and in later life (Larousse 1982–1985, 4: 4139, s.v. "Falloux"). Daumier's physiognomies in the sculpture and lithograph, however—craggy, narrow-faced, with sardonically arched brows on a high brow—are close, for this author, a telling comparative point.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 53, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Alfred-Frédéric-Pierre, Comte de Falloux*, 1943.3.23

1943.3.11 (A-1683)

Jean-Marie Fruchard

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 12.7 × 14.5 × 11.8 (5 × 5¹/₁₆ × 4⁷/₈)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower left shoulder, in incised circle:
M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim at front right: 3/25 F¹

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: There are airholes in the cravat.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 12. NGA 1974.

THIS BUST has been associated with Fruchard (1786–1872) on the strength of its resemblance to Daumier's lithographic bust portrait of "Mr. Fruch . . .," published in *Le Charivari* on 12 October 1833.¹ A magistrate from Lorient who was elected deputy in 1831, Fruchard was known in his own day for his obscurity,² which was the very message of *Le Charivari*'s focus on him in 1833. The explanatory note to the lithographic portrait claims Daumier's "ambiguous" formal approach there embodies what is known about Fruchard: "What is this unformed mass that emerges roundly on the opposite page? . . . That object whose nature eludes you is your deputy, charged with managing your interests. It has a name, Fruchard . . . That name is so unknown that the most determined research has failed to discover what city elected him. All that we know is that he is a deputy, as Daumier affirms having discovered him reclining on a prostituted bench. Our merry caricaturist was so struck by this remarkable *facies* [face], that he thought he should share his discovery with Europe."³ Without the polychrome on the clay bust, the bronze emphasizes a sense of inert, rough-hewn mass that *Le Charivari* claims is so physiognomically apt in the lithograph.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 79–81, fig. 12d.
2. Robert et al. 1891, 3: 81; Pénicaut 1993, 42.
3. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (12 October 1833), 4. Quoted in its entirety in Durbé 1961, 144.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 53, repro.

1943.3.3 (A-1675)

Jean-Claude Fulchiron

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 16.2 × 12.4 × 11.1 (6³/₈ × 4⁷/₈ × 4³/₈)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower left shoulder: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim, at front right: 3/30 B

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/30¹

Technical Notes: The bronze registers light hatch tooling throughout. The surface bears airholes and the patina is unusually opaque, pasty, and undifferentiated.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 12. LACMA 1958, no. 224. NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 13. NGA 1974.

WITH THE EXCEPTION of Fuchs, who identifies the subject as Ganneron on dubious grounds, most scholars accept this bust as representing Fulchiron (1774–1859), based on its resemblance especially to the lithographic portrait of "Mr. Fulchir . . ." published in *La Caricature* on 16 May 1833.² Fulchiron was a minor poet serving as conservative deputy from Philipon's native Lyons in the early 1830s. He was lampooned in *Le Charivari*, at the very time his portrait was published in *La Caricature*, for a grotesque campaign to censor popular dissidence. In April of 1833, upset by the people's hostile catcalls that greeted his hero, Prince Rosolin, during his voyage through Châlons-sur-Saône, Fulchiron reportedly drafted a law to suppress any form of such public derision.³ *Le Charivari* mocks Fulchiron's campaign for threatening a very basic liberal tenet: the freedom of public expression. Editorial support for the people's right to the charivari—the folk tradition of public noise-making to convey scorn or outrage without violence—also affirms the freedom of the press, an especially pertinent issue in this case, since Philipon named his journal after that popular rite. As in his lithograph of Fulchiron, Daumier's bust represents this deputy as one of the beaknosed, foreheadless "flatheads." The explanatory note for Daumier's full-length lithographic portrait claims Fulchiron represents a new and alarming type of prostituted one for the reader, as revealed in the portrait: "Before that horizontally shaped forehead, those narrow temples, those lips foolishly open, that thick layer of stupidity that envelops him from head to foot, one doubts that the figure represented there is one of the 'prostituted ones' sent to us from the provinces . . . This one is named Fulchiron . . . He comes from Lyon, like our friend Philipon, whom that city, in laudable remorse, appears to have unleashed in pursuit of [Fulchiron]."⁴

SGL



Honoré Daumier, *Jean-Marie Fruchard*, 1943.3.II



Honoré Daumier, *Jean-Claude Fulchiron*, 1943.3.3

Notes

1. Marks cited correctly in Fogg 1969, 84, fig. 13c; those given in NGA 1994, 54 (3/25 F1 and 3/25), reflect older NGA records.
2. Fogg 1969, 82–84, fig. 13e.
3. “Carillon,” *Le Charivari* (8 April 1833), 7; and “Comme quoi M. Fulchiron pousse l’égoïsme jusqu’à vouloir nous empêcher de siffler,” *Le Charivari* (9 April 1833), 3–4. See Durbé 1961, 20, for a brief account.
4. *La Caricature* (16 May 1833); quoted in Durbé 1961, 98.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 54, repro.

1951.17.10 (A-1607)

Auguste Gady

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 16.2 × 12.7 × 11.4 (6³/₈ × 5 × 4¹/₂)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower left rear, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below that: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 23/25

Technical Notes: Only some of the many small flaws throughout the bronze have been repaired.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: Huntington 1958, no. 12, as *Gaudry*. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 16, as *Gaudry*. NGA 1974, as *Bust of Gaudry*.

THIS BUST has been associated with “Mr. GA . . .” in Daumier’s two-figure lithograph published in *Le Charivari* on 29 August 1833.¹ The figure has been identified, thanks to Champfleury’s label on the clay model (“Gady, judge at Versailles”), as the magistrate who, together with Alexandre Lecomte,² presided over a trial at Versailles, on 10 August 1833, for *Le Charivari* and the moderately liberal daily *Le National*. Daumier scholars traditionally identify this particular magistrate as Joachim-Antoine-Joseph Gaudry (1790–1875), twice president of the Paris bar.³ However, as Geffroy claims and Le Duc demonstrates, period documents reveal that judge to be Auguste Gady (1774–c. 1847), allegedly the dean of judges at Versailles who retired c. 1840.⁴ *Le Charivari* emphasizes their target to be Gady by identifying him in several satirical attacks on their trial, as “Gadi” or “Gâchis” (a play on the word for “bungled”).

The latter word encapsulates the journal’s reaction to their treatment in that trial, which was noteworthy among the liberal press’ many skirmishes with the Ministry of Jus-

tice in the early 1830s. Conducted in August 1833, it was a retrial that aimed to redress a miscarriage of justice in Paris. The initial judge (Duboys d’Angers) inappropriately presided over a trial in which he was clearly prejudiced, as the object of the litigation. He was the magistrate accused by the two newspapers, in their accounts of one of his recent trials, of biasing court arguments. The published editorial statement triggered the Attorney General’s indictment for distorted reporting of the trial, which constituted injury to the royal courts. Duboys’ severe judgment was annulled as a mistrial, and the case moved to an ostensibly neutral court in Versailles, where the sentence was almost as harsh, prompting the opposition to complain that the court in Versailles was as politically motivated as that of Duboys: There were rumors of the judges’ having joined Attorney General Persil for dinner at his country house in order to shape the trial. *Le Charivari*’s various columns attack the two Versailles judges as dupes of the manipulative Persil (dubbed for such maneuvers “S’il Perd” [see p. 174]), despite clear evidence of no wrongdoing or malice of intent. *Le Charivari* metaphorically presents the judges’ response to their professional and moral dilemma as escape from the uncomfortable truth through sleep,⁵ providing the key motif for Daumier’s double caricature—and for his sculptural busts that correspond to them—published as a final comment on the trial: “We promised our subscribers to give them the portraits of MM. Gâchis and Boncompte,⁶ judges resting at the civil tribunal of Versailles. M. Daumier has sketched these irreproachable magistrates at the moment that they nap during the *National* affair. M. Gâchis looks especially soporific.”⁷ Thus the physical metaphor of static mass, seen in other portrait busts, joins the physiological metaphor of sleep to suggest obstruction of justice, another type of evasion of ethics and of intellectual and professional responsibility.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 93–94, fig. 16c.
2. For the various versions of Lecomte’s name, see the discussion in the entry for the corresponding portrait bust (p. 165).
3. Larousse 1866–1879, 8/2: 1077, s.v. “Gaudry (Joachim-Antoine-Joseph).”
4. Le Duc 1980, 37, bases his arguments on unspecified archives on the trial itself. For published references to the trial and its protagonists, see the brief account of the projected trial published in *Le National* (1 August 1833) [unpaginated]; and “Cour d’Assises de Versailles,” *Le National* (12 August 1833) [unpaginated]. All subsequent discussions of the trial derive from these two sources.
5. “Souscription du citoyen Gachis, à l’amende portée par lui contre le *National*, dans le louable but de réparer le dernier de ses coq-à-l’âne,” *Le Charivari* (17 August 1833), 1–3.
6. *Le Charivari* transforms Lecomte’s name into a word for “Good Account” in order to emphasize their own allegation of innocence of the charge of a “Bad Account.”
7. “Dessin,” *Le Charivari* (29 August 1833), 4.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 54, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Auguste Gady*, 1951.17.10

1943.3.21 (A-1693)

Charles-Léonard Gallois(?)

Model c. 1832/1835 or c. 1849; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 21.3 × 13.7 × 10.8 (8³/₈ × 5³/₈ × 4¹/₄)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower right shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on bottom rim at right: 2199-1

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze suggests different qualities of clay in the model: a wet clay for the body and drier, crisper material for the head. The cast registers a range of comb tooling in the hair and coat of the clay model. There is evidence of repairs after casting to airholes and cracks.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 14. NGA 1974.

THIS TENTATIVE identification rests almost entirely on Champfleury's label for the clay bust inscribed "Gallois man of letters and journalist," since the bust does not relate to Daumier's known lithographic portraits, and no comparative images have emerged as yet.¹ Champfleury's identification is thought to refer to the Gallois who would have been familiar to liberals of the 1830s, a radical-left pamphleteer, journalist, and historian (1789–1851).² During the Restoration Gallois participated in the liberal opposition as a contributor to *Le Constitutionnel*, and as author of polemical histories of the Spanish Inquisition, French revolutionary politics, and Napoleonic generals and a distinguished enemy—Wellington. He allegedly collaborated in later journals and books with his son Léonard-Joseph-Urbain Napoléon Gallois (b. 1815).

Le Charivari's interest in either Gallois remains unclear. The elder is not included in the columns or images of 1832 and 1833, the dates in which the majority of Daumier's caricatural portraits appear, an absence pointing to Adhémar's and Wasserman's recent proposal that the sculptural portrait dates from the Second Republic.³ Indeed, this bust is among the largest, and it is handled similarly to that of Falloux. If true to life, the dark hair represented in the polychrome clay model does not suggest a man on the verge of sixty, as the elder Gallois would have been in the late 1840s, raising the possibility that the bust represents his son Léonard.

SGL

Notes

1. Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 71.

2. Fogg 1969, 87; *Nouveau Larousse illustré* 1898–1904, 4: 748, s.v. "Gallois (Charles-André-Gustave-Léonard)"; and Firmin Didot 19: 327–331, s.v. "Gallois (Charles-André-Gustave-Léonard)."

3. Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 71.

References

1965 NGA: 150.

1994 NGA: 54, repro.

1943.3.7 (A-1679)

Auguste-Hippolyte Ganneron

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 18.1 × 13 × 10.5 (7¹/₈ × 5¹/₈ × 4¹/₈)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on the bottom rim: 3/25 D1

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers an impression of unusually wet clay. There is little comb tooling in the model except in the sides of the nose, the cravat, and the coat.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 15. NGA 1974.

THIS BUST has been identified as representing Ganneron (1792–1847), on the grounds of Daumier's lithograph of "Gan . . ." published in *Le Charivari* on 6 September 1833.¹ Trained as a lawyer, judge at the tribunal of Commerce, Colonel of the National Guard, and deputy, Ganneron was a supporter of the July Monarchy. He is one of the most prominent figures in Philipon's two journals, where his character and career are repeatedly mocked through metaphors based on another guise, as heir to a candle factory. A man of few words ("Unlike his candles, Mr. Ganneron's phrases do not drip easily"),² Ganneron is sarcastically presented as one of the brightest or most enlightened deputies, a "Man-Lamp."³ One of the most outstanding examples from 1833, in which he revealed himself to be the "great enlightener of the century," is his arrest, as commander of the National Guard, of several women who entered the Bourse, and his subsequent effort as deputy to propose legislation forbidding them admittance into that forum.⁴ Ganneron was outraged to find the women actively trading every day, by means of runners from the galleries—where they were allowed—to the agents. He presented a traditional defense: They were violating the sanctity of the domestic hearth, jeopardizing society at large, and taking time away from their true responsibilities.



Honoré Daumier, *Charles-Léonard Gallois(?)*, 1943.3.21



Honoré Daumier, *Auguste-Hippolyte Ganneron*, 1943.3.7

Le Charivari's scorn for Ganneron's actions on that occasion seems contrary to Daumier's famous Rousseauesque hostility to bluestockings,⁵ which this journal might be seen to endorse by publishing, if not commissioning, his caricatures on the subject.

Neither the sculptural bust nor the lithograph gives any indication of the wordplays surrounding Ganneron, suggesting that particularly the lithograph depends on *Le Charivari*'s texts, or at least the reader-viewer's prior knowledge of current events. Though both portraits bear emphatically undulating volumes, the sculptural bust lacks the bump on the bald spot crowning Ganneron's skull that is so evident in the lithograph.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 89–91, fig. 15c.
2. "Carillon," *Le Charivari* (3 December 1832), 7; quoted in Pénicaut 1993, 48.
3. "De la toux considérée comme argument péremptoire," *Le Charivari* (5 December 1832), 1.
4. "Nouvelle Ganneronade. Moins coulante, mais plus longue que ses chandelles," *Le Charivari* (4 November 1833), 3–4.
5. See particularly the various essays in Powell and Childs 1990.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 54, repro.

1951.17.11 (A-1608)

François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 21.6 × 17.2 × 14.6 (8½ × 6¾ × 5¾)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the rear, lower right: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 23/25¹

Technical Notes: The bronze conveys an impression of extremely liquid clay in the model. The fine hatched tooling in the hair and comb tooling in the clothing of the model are obscured by the thick patina, which has flaked along the cravat and jacket.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 17. NGA 1974.

THIS BUST has been identified as representing the very celebrated and recognizable Guizot (1787–1874) on grounds of its resemblance to Daumier's lithographic full-length por-

trait of "Mr. Guiz . . ." for *La Caricature* of 13 December 1833.² A prominent historian and journalist, Guizot was among the most powerful political thinkers and forces in France of the first half of the century. He was a university professor who shifted to public office under Louis XVIII as a moderate advocate of constitutional monarchy. After participating in the July Revolution, Guizot served Louis-Philippe in various ministerial capacities: as Minister of the Interior (1830), Minister of Education (1832–1839), and as Ambassador to the Court of Saint James (1840). He retired from office at the onset of the Revolution of 1848. Democratic liberals took Guizot to task for believing, like the latterday *philosophe* he was, that reason and morality would prevail over power politics even in a limited representational government.³ Images of Guizot in *Le Charivari*'s issues of 1833, including Daumier's, relate precisely to discussions of that sort, to suggest the doctrinaire is misguided, if well-meaning. The journal publishes Traviès' portrait of Guizot as that of "the grand *lama* of doctrine, the Procustes of the July Revolution, the sentimental voyager,"⁴ an ironic comment on Guizot's vision of civil liberty in a constitutional monarchy, as disproved by current political realities. The portrait and note appear in the midst of accounts of arrests in pursuit of press censorship at the close of *Le National*'s much-publicized trial for alleged transgressions (see the entry on Dubois, p. 142). In the spring of 1833, Daumier's lithographic bust of Guizot appears without an explanatory note, but seems to comment on the column on the opposite page: The portrait bust faces, as opposed to turning away from, the text. The column that it seems to contemplate exhorts the absolute monarch of Spain (Ferdinand VII, a Bourbon) to stop ruining his country and to provide his people with a true charter in all haste.⁵ Daumier's character seems to ponder the feasibility of even a constitutional monarchy in a country whose history was intertwined with, and eerily similar to, that of France.

SGL

Notes

1. The marks as cited in NGA 1994, 55, reflect old NGA records.
2. Fogg 1969, 95–98, fig. 17f.
3. See the brief discussion in Durbé 1961, 21.
4. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (23 March 1833), 4.
5. "Il n'y a vraiment d'heureux ici bas," *Le Charivari* (31 May 1833), 4.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 55, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot*, 1951.17.11

1951.17.12 (A-1609)

Jean-Marie Harlé, Père

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 12.1 × 14.6 × 11.1 (4¾ × 5¾ × 4⅜)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on rear, lower right, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, at front right, in incised circle: 23/30

Technical Notes: Extensive cold-work throughout, though it avoided removing traces of tie-rods on the crown of the skull.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 18. Louisville 1971, no. 45. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 12.

THIS BUST has been associated, since Bouvy's publication of it for Le Garrec, with Harlé (1765–1838) on the basis of Daumier's lithographic bust portrait of "Mr. Arlepaire" for *Le Charivari* of 5 November 1833.¹ Deputy from Calvados since 1816 and a liberal who turned conservative after the July Revolution, Harlé père is dubbed, in the note to Daumier's caricature, "one of the most remarkable fossils of the center." Daumier scholars consistently mention his infamous drippy nose and handkerchief, both seen in Daumier's later *Ventre législatif*.² However, *Le Charivari*'s explanation of Daumier's bust identifies his humorous "frailty" as what made him one of the most powerful "interrupters" in Chambers of that time. Such individuals contributed a type of non-verbal, subversive comment that disrupted debate and often swayed opinion—and ultimately, the vote. It was considered a formidable skill, yielding political reputations as substantial as those of great orators. Harlé's style, claims *Le Charivari* in this text, was unique to him: to sneeze or blow his nose, making a noise akin to Persil's famous explosive introductory comments. Harlé's interruptions were strategic and reportedly premeditated. *Le Charivari* notes: "It is said that [his interruptions] were the only reason that he consumed such enormous quantities of snuff, which have left obvious traces in his nasal passages [the inflammation that made them drip]."³ However, given its format, Daumier's bust presents but one of Harlé's interruptive weapons. The caption in *La Caricature* to Daumier's standing portrait of Harlé introduces the full body-arsenal that suggests how much he squirmed and wheezed in addition: "[The portrait represents] M. Arlé-paire, legislator, goutty, decrepit, asthmatic, rheumatic, mucousy. . ."⁴ As a famed interrupter, Harlé père thus joins Chevandier de Valdrome and Lefèbvre in the ranks of influential anti-speakers in the Chamber of Deputies. As a politician whose power is em-

bodied by his nose, he joins d'Argout. Daumier's portrait busts, however, do not overtly represent the latter facet and instead portray him oralizing, perhaps an argument for his "nasal" language as an accepted form of non-verbal speech.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 99–100, fig. 18d.
2. Fogg 1969, 99.
3. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (5 November 1833), 4.
4. *La Caricature* (6 June 1833), in Durbé 1961, 106.

References

1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 55, repro.

1943.3.4 (A-1676)

Auguste-Hilarion, Comte de Kératry

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 12.1 × 13.3 × 9.2 (4¾ × 5¼ × 3⅝)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on the bottom rim at left: 3/25 B²

Cold-stamped inside, front right, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers a sense of very wet clay in the model. There are extensive fissures and airholes from casting, though the surface is finely chased.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 19. NGA 1974.

THIS BUST has been identified as representing Kératry (1769–1859) on the grounds of its resemblance to Daumier's caricature of "Mr. Keratr . . ." in *La Caricature* of 19 September 1833 (fig. 1).¹ An art theorist who served as deputy of Finistère in 1818 on the left, Kératry turned resolutely politically conservative after 1830. During the July Monarchy he became a member of the State Council and later president of the surveillance commission for subsidized royal theaters. Steadily supporting the government's policies through his vote in Chambers, Kératry was re-elected deputy and was called to the peerage and the Chamber of Peers in 1837.²

Unlike *La Caricature*, *Le Charivari* does not discuss or directly portray Kératry in 1832 and 1833. Daumier scholars do not find any ideological grounds for satirists' interest in this deputy. Durbé speculates that the reasons were per-



Honoré Daumier, *Jean-Marie Harlé, Père*, 1951.17.12



Honoré Daumier, *Auguste-Hilarion, Comte de Kératry*, 1943.3.4



Fig. 1 Honoré Daumier, "Mr. Keratr," lithograph, published in *La Caricature*, no. 150 (19 September 1833), Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1943.3.2931 (Deltail 70)

sonal and physiognomic, focused on his apelike features, unctuous manner, and, allegedly, his marital problems.³ The caricatures' emphasis on Kératry's "theatrical" expression and fawning, affected manner might allude to his role as royal theater censor as well as his own political turncoatism and opportunism. The spirited expressions in Daumier's images do reflect the distinctive qualities conveyed in written physiognomic portraits of Kératry. One describes him as "sneaky-looking, lively; he thinks, speaks, moves rapidly. His physiognomy is animated and offers a living billboard of his talents: one senses that it belongs to a sensitive soul, that it yields to the joys of *enthusiastic* inspiration and superhuman emotions."⁴ Durbé points out that *Le Charivari*'s commentaries interpret Kératry's flat, bumpy cranium in the caricatures as a sign of his lack of curiosity and intelligence: "during the long discussions on forests, [he] showed such lively impatience: it was easy to see that he had wood [*des bois*, a pun on blocks of wood and forests] on top of his head."⁵

That very physiognomic feature is far more emphasized in the sculptural bust than in its published lithographic counterpart. Daumier's sculptural bust presents Kératry as one of the more dramatic "flatheads" in the group, with his emphatically "foreheadless" skull curving back from the orbital ridges.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 103–104, fig. 19d.
2. Fogg 1969, 103; Firmin Didot, 27: 598–602.
3. Durbé 1961, 12.
4. Anonymous [Henri de Latouche, L-F. Lheritier and Emile Deschamps, eds.], *Biographie pittoresque des députés*, quoted in Robert et al. 1891, 3: 454, and partially in Pénicaud 1993, 56.
5. Durbé 1961.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 55, repro.

1943.300.18 (A-1690)

Charles-Malo-François, Comte de Lameth

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 14.6 × 14.3 × 8.3 (5³/₄ × 5⁵/₈ × 3¹/₄)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the rear, lower left, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on the bottom rim, rear left: 2198-1

Cold-stamped inside, front right, in incised circle: 3/30

Technical Notes: The bronze registers modeling with the fingers as well as comb tooling in the model. Evidence of repairs to the airholes and cracks are subsequent to casting.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 13. LACMA 1958, no. 230. NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 20. NGA 1974.

THIS BUST is identified as representing the comte de Lameth (1752–1832) on the basis of Champfleury's label on the clay model, and the resemblance of the busts to Daumier's lithographic portrait of "Ch. de Lam . . ." for *La Caricature* of 26 April 1832.¹ As mentioned in the general discussion of Daumier's portrait busts, the lithograph is advertised in the accompanying caption as the first offering from Philipon's advertised gallery of drawn portraits of the "célébrités" of the *juste-milieu*. If executed just before the publication of each lithograph, the sculptural bust may thus be the first to be modeled. The timing of the appearance of the lithographs is significant for the busts' meaning. The lithographic bust is the third of at least four caricatures of Lameth produced for Philipon's journals (the first is in Daumier's *Masks of 1831*, published in *La Caricature* on 8 March 1832), all of which appear *after* Lameth's long tenure as deputy. He failed to be re-elected in December 1831 and lived only twelve months longer. The various lithographs date from



Honoré Daumier, *Charles-Malo-François, Comte de Lameth*, 1943.3.18



Fig. 1 Charles Joseph Traviès de Villers, "Musicien de la Chapelle," lithograph, published in *Le Charivari* (25 December 1832), Washington, Library of Congress, Rare Books Division

those months between his political death in Chambers and his physical demise, and are portraits of a neutralized public force with strong moral residue: a phenomenon whose past remains telling evidence of the present. The final caricature of Lameth for Philipon may be a half-length by Traviès, published several days before the ex-deputy's death, which is so close to Daumier's bust that it actually might be based on his clay model (fig. 1).

All the caricatures mock Lameth as a unique turncoat, a man of successive opposing "monomanias," culminating in his frenzied loyalty, as an old man, to the *juste-milieu*.² Durbé presents Lameth as a weathervane whose only constant is the acquisition of fortune, like many other ministers in the group.³ As evidence, he points to the legend on Lameth's coat of arms in the initial bust portrait of 26 April — "To emigrate is not to desert": Lameth is known to have

emigrated in 1792, as an ardent republican aristocrat, to Hamburg, where he became a highly prosperous businessman.⁴ More in keeping with *La Caricature's* and *Le Charivari's* voiced concerns surrounding Lameth, however, are his having deserted France and republican activism at a crucial time. The issue of emigration during the Revolution was bitterly controversial throughout the early nineteenth century, as evidence of loyalties tested under fire.⁵ The legend for Lameth's bust portrait uses the typical royalist defense for emigration, arguing that those who left took the moral spirit of France with them, to protect it from the new corrupted France. The legend thus signals Lameth's metamorphosis into a royalist upon emigration. The ideological concern for the republican-turned-monarchist is evident especially in Traviès' final portrait of December 1832, which ponders Lameth's merely reversed passions: What, it muses, makes the young liberal of 1789 "decay" into the old man of 1830, one of the most implacable and opinionated adversaries of republican institutions and civil liberties? The editors provide no direction in gleaned information from Traviès' portrait. They do, however, suggest looking at the portrait, as "one must ask the physiological and pathological arts" for insight beyond simply the consequences of passage of time.⁶

The bronze presents tantalizingly expressive body language and forms, and depends heavily upon them for legibility. Seen from the front, the bust of Lameth is a static, almost illegible mass without the descriptive polychromy of the clay model. Seen at three-quarters, as in the lithographs, the bust presents its slumped, downcast pose and harshly planar face. Lameth's apparently meditative guise may mirror or encourage the viewer's scrutiny of him as an object of final public judgment, at the end of a tumultuous career.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 106–108, fig. 20e.
2. "De Labête [Lameth], fou de la liberté, puis fou de religion, ensuite fou de monarchisme, aujourd'hui fou du juste milieu (dernier degré)." Individual caption, "Le Charenton ministériel," published in *La Caricature* on 31 May 1832. Delteil 1969, 20: no. 44, repro. The captions are fully quoted in Durbé 1961, 80.
3. Durbé 1961, 6.
4. For a biography, see Robert et al. 1891, 3: 565–566.
5. For a brief discussion, see Lindsay 1983, 232n. 31.
6. "M. de Lameth," *Le Charivari* (23 December 1832), 4.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 55, repro.

1943.3.16 (A-1688)

Alexandre Lecomte

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 17.2 × 12.7 × 12.1 (6¾ × 5 × 4¾)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive, on the lower left rear, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on the bottom rim, in front: 2195-1

Stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers modeling with a pointed tool in the eyes, jowls, and ears, and comb tooling in the clothing, hair, forehead, and cheeks. A threaded pithole suggests the removal of a threaded rod, possibly a repair after casting.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: Huntington 1958, no. 12. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 21. NGA 1974.

IDENTIFIED AS representing “Lecomte” (b. 1778) in its first known mention by Geffroy in 1905, perhaps because of Champfleury’s label on the model, this bust has been further associated with the figure called “Mr. Lecomte . . .” in Daumier’s lithographic double portrait with Gady, published in *Le Charivari* on 29 August 1833.¹ He is known to be Gady’s companion magistrate for *Le Charivari*’s and *Le National*’s trial two weeks before the appearance of the caricature. Le Duc identifies him, ostensibly from trial archives, as Alexandre Le Conte.² However, he is clearly named Lecomte in *Le National*’s account of the trial, and is nicknamed “Bon-compte” by *Le Charivari*, a reference to the government’s indictment of the two for “Bad [journalistic] Accounts” that distort the facts and injure the royal government.³

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 109–111, fig. 21c.
2. Le Duc 1980, 37.
3. See the discussion of the trial in the entry on Gady, p. 152.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 56, repro.

1951.17.13 (A-1610)

Jacques Lefèbvre

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 19.4 × 11.8 × 14 (7⅝ × 4⅝ × 5½)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive at center rear, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, front right, in incised circle: 23/25

Technical Notes: The comb tooling recorded by the bronze from the model, in areas representing clothing, is obscured by a thick, opaque patina which is flaking throughout the head, hair, and cravat.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 7. LACMA 1958, no. 236. NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 22. Louisville 1971, no. 46. NGA 1974.

THOUGH SOMETIMES mistaken for that of Persil (see p. 174), this bust has been identified as representing Lefèbvre (1773–1856) on the basis of an old photograph of the model, labeled “Lefèbvre,” illustrated by Geffroy, and of Daumier’s lithograph, labeled “Mr. Jacob-Lefaiivre,” published in *Le Charivari* on 9 November 1833.¹ Lefèbvre was a financier who became deputy in 1827 and reportedly turned reactionary after the July Revolution. He was also a regent of the Banque de France.²

These portraits do not suggest one of his most distinctive roles in the Chamber, according to *Le Charivari*, as one of the most dramatic interrupters in the Chamber, whose antics are described there as “epileptic, the rival of the most redoubtable among them [M. Vérolet].”³ *Le Charivari* also gives Lefèbvre a major role on commercial matters in the Chamber, on a par with Delessert (see p. 139) and Odier (see p. 171), and in the Ministry of Commerce. In that commercial context, the journal criticizes Lefèbvre as one of the most “lynx-like bankers” (“*l’un des banquiers les plus loups-cerviers*”) of the Chamber of Deputies. Acidly applied to the elder Odier as well, the term denotes a predatory and unscrupulous financier.⁴ That unflattering guise nonetheless dramatically contrasts with the passivity ascribed to others represented in this group (see the entry on Cunin-Gridaine, p. 137). *Le Charivari* also aligns Lefèbvre with the opportunists and servile among the *juste-milieu*.⁵

Daumier’s portrait bust strongly parallels the written physiognomic portraits of Lefèbvre, as an astringent, focused worker. One such, from later in the July Monarchy, describes him as “assiduous during meetings. He arrives there with his rangy body, long nose, sharp-edged figure, tight lips, his harried air and a demeanor with little benevolence and affability.”⁶

SGL



Honoré Daumier, *Alexandre Lecomte*, 1943.3.16



Honoré Daumier, *Jacques Lefèvre*, 1951.17.13

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 113–114, fig. 22f.
2. Fogg 1969, 113.
3. “Dessin,” *Le Charivari* (17 March 1833), 4.
4. *Grand Larousse de la Langue Française* (Paris, 1975), 7: 3118, s.v. “Loup-cervier.”
5. “Carillon,” *Le Charivari* (3 December 1832), 7. See also the ledger of moral qualities that serves his attribute in both Traviès’ lithograph (*Le Charivari*, 17 March 1833, opp. p. 4) and Daumier’s (*Le Charivari*, 9 November 1833, opp. p. 4), in the coat of arms.
6. Dauvin et Fontaine, *Biographie statistique des députés*, quoted in Pénicaud 1993, 62.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 56, repro.

1951.17.6 (A-1603)

Marthe-Camille Bachasson, Comte de Montalivet

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 18.7 × 14.3 × 15.9 (7³/₈ × 5⁵/₈ × 6¹/₄)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the rear, lower right, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 23/30

Technical Notes: The bronze shell is unusually thick. There is evidence of repairs to airholes and cracks after casting. The patina is thick and opaque, and has flaked in places to the bare metal surface.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960, as *Montlosier*. Fogg 1969, no. 23, as *Montlosier*. NGA 1974, as *Montlosier*.

MOST EARLY SCHOLARS follow Bouvy, who identifies this bust as representing François-Dominique Reynaud, comte de Montlosier (1755–1838), on the basis of Montlosier’s figure in Daumier’s triple full-length portrait published in *La Caricature* on 3 July 1835.¹ A political Proteus, Montlosier emigrated in 1791, after which time he supported Napoleon.

During the Restoration he upheld absolute monarchy and noble privilege, and was made peer under Louis-Philippe. Yet during discussions of freedom of education in 1833, he opposed clerical education of children.

Adhémar and Wasserman suggest the bust instead represents Marthe-Camille Bachasson, comte de Montalivet (1801–1880), a peer who aligned himself with Louis-Philippe after 1830. Best known as the General Intendant for the Civil List in the late 1830s, he was Minister of the Interior in 1830 and 1832, when *La Caricature* published attacks upon him.² Adhémar and Wasserman relate the bust to Charles-Joseph Traviès’ half-length caricature of “Montaugibet” (Montalivet), which compares favorably in all but the jowls, which are full.³ They publish a “serious” portrait of Montalivet with a thin face, as in the bust, but it represents a far more youthful subject.⁴ Of the two prevailing suggestions, the identification of the bust as Montalivet seems more visually convincing. Daumier’s lithograph of Montlosier shows him as bald, unlike this subject’s portrayal in the polychrome model—early photographs show the sitter with long sideburns and hair, as in Traviès’ caricature of Montalivet. Daumier’s bust also more closely conforms with photographs taken of a thin Montalivet at a later age.⁵ This author thus accepts the proposal as plausible, given current evidence, though others who have recently published discussions of the set adhere to the traditional identification of Montlosier.⁶

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 115–117, fig. 23g.
2. *Nouveau Larousse illustré* 1898–1904, 6: 23, s.v. “Montalivet (Marthe-Camille Bachasson, comte de)”; and Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 63.
3. Though speculative, it is possible that the fat-jowled “Montaugibet” is a metaphoric “Gargantuan” physiognomy given to Montalivet as director of the Liste Civile, whom *Le Charivari* regularly criticized for demanding the people’s non-existent money for royal luxuries, like the Gargantuan King himself in Daumier’s censored caricature—who was indeed portly, however. For *Le Charivari*’s complaints about the Liste Civile, see “Pour la Liste Civile,” *Le Charivari* (5 February 1833), 3–4.
4. Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 63, fig. 1a.
5. *Nouveau Larousse illustré* 1898–1904, 6: 23, repro.
6. For example, Pénicaud 1993, 64.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 56, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Marthe-Camille Bachasson, Comte de Montalivet*, 1951.17.6

1943.3.17 (A-1689)

Antoine Odier

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 14.3 × 11.4 × 9.8 (5⁵/₈ × 4¹/₂ × 3⁷/₈)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower right shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on the bottom rim at rear right: 219 7-1

Cold-stamped inside, front right, in incised circle: 3/30

Technical Notes: The surface bears extensive cold-work throughout, some to repair airholes and cracks from casting.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 24. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 4.

THE SUBJECT of this bust was identified as Odier (1766–1853), based on Champfleury's label on the clay, "Odier banker and deputy," and Daumier's print of "Mr. Odieux" in *La Caricature* on 20 June 1833.¹ He was a liberal opposition deputy during the Bourbon Restoration, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and owner of a spinning mill. Odier's cropped hair suggests an ancien-régime coiffure of the 1780s, as in the National Gallery statuette of Jefferson by David d'Angers.² Though not a frequent player in the journals' pages, Odier appears there, as suggested in his corrupted name cited earlier, as one of their "odious" targets.³ In its explanation of Daumier's portrait, *Le Charivari* judges Odier harshly, as one of the "most voracious lynxes" ("loup-cerviers") of the prostituted Chamber, condemning the younger Lefèbvre as well.⁴

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 119–121, fig. 121.
2. See the discussion of this coiffure in the entry on Thomas Jefferson beginning on p. 216.
3. The word in French, "Odieux," is a moral play on his name.
4. For the metaphoric definition of *loup-cervier*, see the entry for *Lefèbvre* (p. 165).

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 57, repro.

1951.17.14 (A-1611)

Alexandre-Simon Pataille

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1950
Brass, 16.8 × 13.3 × 10.8 (6⁵/₈ × 5¹/₄ × 4¹/₄)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive at rear, lower right, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped below: BRONZE

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 23/30

Technical Notes: The shell is unusually heavy. There is extensive fine hatching and stippling throughout, as well as filing to repair casting flaws, fissures, and flashing.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. June 1950); sold 2 March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: Huntington 1958, no. 12. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 25. NGA 1974. Los Angeles 1980, no. 86.

THE SUBJECT of this bust has been identified as Pataille (1781–1857) on the basis of Daumier's lithographic portrait of "Bataille" in *Le Charivari*, published 11 June 1833.¹ Deputy from Montpellier, Pataille was also a magistrate who was famous for his persuasive eloquence. *Le Charivari* directs attention to that guise as magistrate in publishing Daumier's lithographic portrait in June 1833, in the midst of the press trials that had been in progress since March. The journal links Pataille with the much-maligned Hippolyte-Abraham Dubois (see p. 143), the latter the "most beautiful ornament of the gallery of irreproachable magistrates."² Following yet another press trial—this time *La Tribune*—claims the explanatory note, Pataille was one of those who forcefully rejected the defense's persuasive arguments for common-law, in favor of the prosecution. *Le Charivari* condemns Pataille for such an outcome: Such a choice, one of the "crudest errors," shows that "the talent of this prostituted first president of the court of Aix, is absolutely at the level of his spirit of independence."

The exaggerated central bump in the forehead is thought to have been inspired by phrenologists' charts,³ though no meaning for the structure has been proposed. Its reverse has very specific connotations in physiognomics, however. A concavity or "cloud" in the forehead signifies leonine clemency, a trait far removed from *Le Charivari*'s textual portrait of Pataille.⁴

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 122, fig. 25d.
2. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (11 June 1833), 4.
3. Fogg 1969, 122.
4. Lindsay 1983, 100–102.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 57, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Antoine Odier*, 1943.3.17



Honoré Daumier, *Alexandre-Simon Pataille*, 1951.17.14

1943.3.15 (A-1687)

Jean-Charles Persil

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 19.1 × 16.8 × 10.2 (7½ × 6⅝ × 4)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the rear lower left, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on the bottom rim at rear left: 2194-1

Cold-stamped inside, front right, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers an impression of very wet clay in the model. There are deep and broad fissures throughout, particularly a partially filled one in the cravat.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: Huntington 1958, no. 12. NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 26. NGA 1974.

THE SUBJECT was identified as Persil (1785–1870) on the basis of Champfleury's label on the clay model and Daumier's lithographic portrait published in *La Caricature* on 11 April 1833.¹ Deputy in 1830, Persil served as Minister of Justice during the period that most of Daumier's lithographic portraits were published. In the latter capacity—a position that gave him broad and deep powers—Persil advocated reducing civil liberties in those restive years, and ferociously prosecuted alleged conspiracies, organized sedition, and offenses in print by the political opposition. He is largely responsible for the wide-ranging repression that culminated in 1835 with the September Laws, effectively neutralizing all dissidence for the rest of the July Monarchy. Persil and Philipon's liberal journals were, thus, predictably adversaries. The minister looms tacitly and visibly within the journals as their single most important bogeyman. Physiognomically and phonically, Persil was prime material for all satirists of the opposition. As Daumier scholars often note, his sharply austere profile is likened to a sawblade, and his name provides a pun on similar imagery, as Daumier's lithographic caricature reveals, "Père-Scie" [Father Blade; guillotine].² The badge on the coat of arms represents his dreadful tools—guillotine and manacles—and the severed head of his victim. Philipon's journals, however, go further during these years. They reverse his name to "S'il Perd" [if he loses] for his maneuvers, out of determination not to lose a major conviction, to change a jury's unanimous vote to exonerate the defendants in *Le Charivari*'s and *Le National*'s trial at Versailles in August 1833.³ The editorial pun-dits explore many forms of deviant bloodlust to suggest his constant and extraordinary appetite for human victims: One such is "antropophage"—eater of raw human flesh.⁴

La Caricature urges the viewer to see precisely those predatory, carnivorous qualities in Daumier's portrait of 1832:

"We present the portrait of the cruellest enemy of Liberty, and above all the press. Perhaps one will find in these angular features, that pinched mouth, those profoundly sunken eyes, something of the hyenalike expression that the movement of the eyelids and contraction of the facial muscles provide. . . ." ⁵ Such physiognomic descriptions, blending human moral qualities with particular animals, confirm the editors' avowed love for satiric moral fables à la Aesop and La Fontaine, based on physiognomic principles utilized since antiquity. Champfleury's later description of the polychrome bust suggests instead the moral content of Persil's ruddy color, a feature not captured in the prints or bronze: The smooth face seems "pink with ambition."⁶

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 125–128, fig. 26c.
2. Fogg 1969, 125–128.
3. See the discussion on Gady, p. 152. Also "Laissez Passer la Justice du Roi," *Le Charivari* (22 August 1833), 1–2.
4. "M. Persil antropophage," *Le Charivari* (14 January 1833), 2–3.
5. *La Caricature* (11 April 1833), quoted in Durbé 1961, 94.
6. Champfleury 1865, 41; quoted in Durbé 1961, 19.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 57, repro.

1943.3.12 (A-1684)

Charles Philipon

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 15.6 × 13.7 × 10.2 (6⅞ × 5⅜ × 4)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive on lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim at front center: 3/25 F²

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers broad comb and hatch tooling in the clothing and hair. There are airholes throughout.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960, as *Rieur édenté*. *Impressionism in Sculpture*, traveling exhibition organized by The American Federation of Arts, 9 venues, 1961–1962, as *Le rieur édenté*. Fogg 1969, no. 35, as *Unknown*, *Le Rieur édenté* (*Toothless Laughter*). NGA 1974, as *Bust of an Unknown Man*, "*Le Rieur Édenté*" (*Toothless Laughter*).

UNIDENTIFIED IN the early literature, this bust's tentative association with Daumier's editor Charles Philipon (1800–1862), by Adhémar in 1954, has been accepted by many sub-



Honoré Daumier, *Jean-Charles Persil*, 1943.3.15



Honoré Daumier, *Charles Philippon*, 1943.3.12



Fig. 1 Honoré Daumier, "Vas te coucher Figaro, tu sens la fièvre," lithograph, published in *Le Charivari* (26 February 1833), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of William P. Babcock, B4281.15 (Delteil 142)



Fig. 2 Félix Tournachon, called Nadar, Charles Philippon, print on salt paper, 1856–1858, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, PHO 1991–2.76, Photo RMN



Fig. 3 David d'Angers, Charles Philippon, bronze portrait medallion, 1834, Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. MBA 838.8.14

sequent scholars.¹ The Fogg equivocates, identifying it as "unknown" but stating it could be Philippon who, it is hoped, was not toothless at thirty; Durbé and Gurney contend that it is merely a personification of laughter; and Passeron feels this is a portrait of someone much older than the thirty-odd-year-old editor, and proposes Talleyrand instead.²

The suggestion of Philippon seems very plausible. The concave mouth and creased features, which at first evoke a toothless elderly man, in fact also evoke Philippon's mobile, ectomorphic face at any age (figs. 1 and 2). His thin-lipped mouth recedes between the long, upturned nose and sharp, prominent chin; his cleft chin and dimpled cheeks are exaggerated even in a subtle smile. The laughing expression and spirited qualities especially relate this bust to caricatures of the jester/clown who personifies *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* (fig. 3), who often resembles Philippon and is widely assumed to represent the editor. Like Daumier, various artists of the 1830s at *Le Charivari* exaggerate Philippon's sharp features into the grinning face, ringed by tousled curly hair, of the journal's irrepressible jester-leader (see fig. 2 in the introductory essay to the busts).³ In very broad physiognomic terms, the bust and lithographs suggest Philippon's foxlike physical appearance and clever, lively character.

SGL

Notes

1. Adhémar 1954, 16. The most familiar name, *Rieur Edenté*, commonly translated as "Toothless Laughter," is from Gobin 1952, no. 12.

2. Fogg 1969, 155; Durbé 1961, 4–5. Support for the identification is, most notably, George Gurney's entry in NGA 1974, 11; Passeron 1979, 77; Le Duc 1980, 20; Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 70; and Pénicaut 1993, 74.

3. For example, Adhémar and Wasserman, "Les Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 61, fig. 2; Ingeborg Pabst's catalogue entry in Göttingen 1980, 164, repro. (identified as Philippon's

self-portrait as the jester/sharps shooter) and Jürgen Döring's catalogue entry in Göttingen 1980, 193 (the Bouquet cited here). I am grateful to Janet Blyberg for this material and her comments on the problem. Daumier's headpiece of 1833 for *Le Charivari* showing Philippon beating the drum (Laughton 1996, fig. 9) links the caricature and personification quite evidently.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 58, repro.

1943.3.1 (A-1673)

Joseph, Baron de Podenas

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930

Brass, 20.6 × 19.4 × 11.8 (8⅛ × 7⅞ × 4⅝)

Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower right shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on bottom rim at front right: 3/25 A¹

Cold-stamped inside: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers broad comb tooling throughout the clothing and hair in the model. There is fine-toothed cold-work especially on the edge of the collar.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 27. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 10.



Honoré Daumier, *Joseph, Baron de Podenas*, 1943.3.1

THE SUBJECT of this bust was identified as Podenas (1782–1851) on grounds of the caricatures of *Pot de Naz* [Pot-Nose] published in *Le Charivari* on 2 May and 14 June 1833.¹ Apparently extremely ugly in person, Podenas was deputy from Condom who sat on the extreme left in the Chamber in 1831, then moved to the *juste milieu*.² *Le Charivari*'s inclusion of his portrait in the gallery of "célébrités" marks that precise "promotion" into "prostitution" with typically derisive fanfare.³ It suggests the opposition only benefitted with his move. Podenas, they state, may have settled in its ranks in order to block its progress and to compromise its success, through his "ridiculous amendments and interminable speeches." Seeing how little he gained there—except for the "curses of the stenographers"—he shifted to the ministerial majority, in turn weakening it with his pernicious support. Daumier's lithographic portrait, the explanatory note claims, may provide only a limited visual image, but Podenas' "chirping" indeed corresponds to his "plumage." The text thus asserts that Daumier's opaque, immobile mass formally conveys their view of Podenas' intellectual contribution and oratorical brilliance: uncommunicative and obstructive.⁴

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 129, fig. 27f. Contrary to this source, which gives his death date as c. 1838, Robert et al. 1891, 5: 8, followed by Pénicaud 1993, 76, states that he died in Montpellier on 10 January 1851.

2. Fogg 1969, 129; and Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 67.

3. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (14 June 1833), 4. Quoted in Pénicaud 1993, 76. See also "Nouvelles fraîches et produit saur du Baron Podenas," *Le Charivari* (23 October 1833), 1–2.

4. For reasons that are unclear, a woodcut bust-length portrait of Podenas, taken apparently from either Daumier's lithograph or maquette, accompanies an account of the mounting competition for the seat at the Académie of the eminent Catholic Royalist philosopher, Pierre-Simon Ballanche, after his death on 12 June 1847. Podenas, who was still alive, is not mentioned in the column nor has any known qualifications for that august body. See "Les Successeurs de M. Ballanche," *Le Charivari* (17 June 1847), 1–2.

References

1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 57, repro.

1943.3.8 (A-1680)

Dr. Clément-François-Victor-Gabriel Prunelle

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 13 × 14.9 × 10.5 (5⅛ × 5⅞ × 4⅞)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on the bottom rim at front center: 3/30 D²

Cold-stamped inside, front center: 3/30

Technical Notes: The bronze registers an impression of the hair modeled by "dripped" liquid clay. There is fine hatched cold-work on the shoulders and hair, and repairs to cracks and airholes. Casting flaws remain: a crack at the join of the cravat and jacket and along the right shoulder, and a cluster of airholes in the interior.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 8. LACMA 1958, no. 227. NGA 1960. *Impressionism in Sculpture*, traveling exhibition organized by The American Federation of the Arts, 9 venues, 1961–1962. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 28. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 9. Los Angeles 1980, no. 87.

THE SUBJECT of this bust has been identified as Prunelle (1777–1853) on the basis of Daumier's lithograph of "Mr. Prune" published in *La Caricature* of 27 June 1833.¹ A member of the liberal opposition under the Bourbons, this physician and mayor of Philipon's native Lyons was elected deputy of Tour-du-Pin (Isère) as a moderate at the beginning of the July Monarchy. Like many others, however, over the next ten years he gravitated towards the ministerial majority, voting for hereditary peerage and the repressive September Laws in 1835, until he was voted permanently out of political office in 1839.² Prunelle does not appear as frequently in Philipon's journals as other characters in this portrait group. Daumier scholars have long considered him one of the benign figures included because of an "unfortunate" appearance.³ It is often mentioned that, without a smile to illuminate his face, Prunelle's features settled into a hostile scowl, which earned him the nickname "The Bison."⁴ However, *Le Charivari* assails Prunelle for feeling threatened by truths obvious to others: "M. Prunelle does not like evidence, because it jumps out at you."⁵ Similarly, *La Caricature* attacks his blindly partisan support for ministerial policies, suggesting he could benefit from treatment at the spas for which he had responsibility (as chief medical inspector of public spas). It was hoped that immersion might calm the frenzied "epileptic" transports that he was subject to in session, in favor of the ministries.⁶

SGL



Honoré Daumier, *Dr. Clément-François-Victor-Gabriel Prunelle*, 1943.3.8

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 133–134, fig. 28d. The birth date provided in the present discussion, which departs from that in the Fogg entry (1774), depends on Robert et al. 1891, 5: 55, which gives it as 23 June 1777. Pénicaud 1993, 78, accepts the latter as well.
2. Robert et al. 1891, 5: 55–56.
3. Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 69.
4. Fogg 1969, 133, no. 28.
5. “Carillon,” *Le Charivari* (9 January 1833), 7; quoted in Pénicaud 1993, 78.
6. *La Caricature* (27 June 1833); quoted in Durbé 1961, 120.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 58, repro.

1943.3.6 (A-1678)

Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 13 × 11.8 × 8.9 (5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim: 3/25 C²

Cold-stamped inside: 3/25

Technical Notes: Though fine hatched cold-work is evident throughout, there is unrepaired flashing on the face and chest. The seams appear to have separated slightly at the rim and in the thin shell along the left shoulder.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 29. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 13.

THE SUBJECT of this bust has been identified as Royer-Collard (1763–1845) because of its resemblance to the bust-length caricature published in *Le Charivari* of 24 January 1833, and the full-length of “Royer-Col” in *La Caricature* of 22 August 1833.¹ Royer-Collard was a political philosopher who, with Guizot (see p. 158), helped shape the ideological basis of a constitutional government for post-Revolutionary France. He was active as a member of the Paris city council and secretary of the Commune during the Revolution. He became an influential deputy under the Restoration and Chamber president in 1828, where ultra-royalists assaulted his efforts to curb royal and noble privileges, in favor of broader popular involvement. During the July Monarchy the aged and allegedly exhausted statesman voted with the doctrinaire majority, and became increas-

ingly less active until he was voted out of office in 1842. Nonetheless his salon remained one of the key gathering places for liberal partisans until his death three years later.²

Le Charivari does not discuss this doctrinaire often at the time it publishes Royer-Collard’s caricatural portrait. The journal’s views, however, are negative. Both *Le Charivari* and *La Caricature* attack his thought as cryptic, abstract, and blind to the social problems of the people,³ utilizing the common physiognomic indexes for these points: a distracted demeanor and a celebrated wig, worn to camouflage his premature hair loss, that shifts when his forehead moves in thought.⁴ The connection is clear in the verbal physiognomic portrait by another contemporary, Léon Gozlan: “Venerable Royer-Collard with his venerable wig? There are those who say, ‘A mummy!’ So be it, but that mummy is sometimes the statue of Memnon. That utters oracles!”⁵

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 137–138, fig. 29c. A bust of Royer-Collard was cited as among those in the photograph of the group in Champfleury’s 1891 sale (see note 17 in introductory essay).
2. Robert et al. 1891, 5: 221–222; Pénicaud 1993, 80.
3. Durbé 1961, 13–14.
4. Fogg 1969, 137; Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 69.
5. Audebrand 1970, 80.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 59, repro.

1943.3.19 (A-1691)

Horace-François-Bastien Sébastiani (?)

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 13 × 11.8 × 10.2 (5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 4)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in wax positive, on lower right shoulder: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on bottom rim at right: 2201-1

Cold-stamped, inside: 3/25

Technical Notes: Some of the cast wax “drips” in the interior have been filed.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 30. Louisville 1971, no. 47. NGA 1974.



Honoré Daumier, *Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard*, 1943.3.6



Honoré Daumier, *Horace-François-Bastien Sebastiani(?)*, 1943.3.1

THIS BUST has long been thought to represent Sébastiani (1772–1851), a working-class Corsican who, in typical fashion during the Revolution, rose through the military with his compatriot Napoleon Bonaparte to become one of the latter's generals with a title, the comte de la Porta. Like many subjects in this corpus of portrait busts, he rallied to each of the sovereigns to emerge as the previous one fell. Switching to the Bourbons in 1814, he returned to the emperor during the Hundred Days and was elected at the time by Corsica as its deputy. As a member of the leftist opposition, he struggled to hold that seat throughout the Restoration. Upon his ascent to the throne in 1830, Sébastiani's longtime friend Louis-Philippe made him (in addition to deputy) Minister of the Navy, then Minister of War and Foreign Affairs, where his controversial antipathy to popular revolutions in central Europe caused him to be replaced by Broglie in 1832. Sébastiani served as ambassador to Great Britain and was repeatedly re-elected deputy until the 1840s, when his health began to fail, especially after the sensational murder of his daughter, the duchesse de Praslin in 1847. The president of the Second Republic, Louis-Napoléon, ordered Sébastiani's burial at the Invalides, an honor reserved for the highest-ranking generals.¹

Most scholars have accepted the identification since Bouvy first published it in 1932, on the grounds of the bust's resemblance to two of Daumier's published caricatures of Sébastiani (*La Caricature*, 13 June 1833; and *Le Charivari*, 10 June 1833).² However, his appearance in those lithographic portraits provides as many differences as similarities to the sculpture. The lithographs and sculpture both convey a supercilious manner, paralleling *Le Charivari*'s claim that this decayed "Cupid" of the Empire retained only the aristocratic pretensions of his lost youthful glory.³ The physical features differ, however, in the lithographs and sculpture. The broad, convex nose, coarse head, and stout build in the sculptural bust markedly depart from the thin ski-jump nose with pinched nostrils, and the slender build in Daumier's lithographic portraits. Such differences between the sculpture and prints make it difficult to confirm the subject of other busts,⁴ and suggest the correlation of this bust with Sébastiani is not entirely firm.

SGL

Notes

1. Robert et al. 1891, 5: 290–291; James Kieswetter's entry on Sébastiani, in Newman 1987, 2: 966–968.

2. Fogg 1969, 140–141, figs. 30c–d.

3. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (10 July 1833), 4; quoted in Pénicaud 1993, 82. He was reportedly then a celebrated dandy, gifted with a "seductive Raphaelesque" beauty. See Robert et al. 1891, 5: 291.

4. The bust identified here as Montalivet, for instance (see p. 169).

References

1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 59, repro.

1943.3.24 (A-1696)

Jean Vatout

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940

Brass, 19.4 × 15.9 × 10.2 (7⁷/₈ × 6¹/₄ × 4)

Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive at lower left rear, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on bottom rim, center rear: 2206–1¹

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/25

Technical Notes: The bronze registers modeling in the clay primarily with the fingers and pointed stick, with little comb tooling except in the cravat. There is fine-hatched cold-work throughout.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 31. NGA 1974.

A BUST OF Vatout was mentioned as visible in the photograph of 1865 sold in the Champfleury sale of 1891. The association of this particular bust with Vatout (1791–1848) was made through its resemblance to Daumier's lithograph of "Vat . . ." published in *Le Charivari* on 16 November 1833.² A Bourbon supporter and sub-prefect at Semur early in the Restoration, Vatout later joined the opposition and entered the charmed circle around Louis-Philippe. He returned to elected office in the July Monarchy, first as deputy of Charente and later of Semur again in the 1830s and 1840s, where he was highly vocal in parliamentary debate. Vatout supported equitable distribution of theatrical subsidies and increased funds for the encouragement of arts and letters, as well as to aid families of the convicted. Simultaneously he was first librarian to the king, *conseiller d'état*, and, after 1839, president of the Council of Public and Historical Monuments. He was elected to the Institut just before the February Revolution of 1848, but followed the monarch into exile in England, where he died.³

Vatout appears regularly in *Le Charivari* in various guises. He is presented as deputy in the *Ventre législatif*, and, in the texts, as royal librarian and overseer of historical monuments in addition. *Le Charivari* attacks him in the latter aspect, for example, for trying to purify the king's very compromised lineage. In an account of work on a picture gallery of Louis-Philippe's ancestors, *Le Charivari* asks how will Vatout deal with the blood on the king's own father, Prince Egalité, who "cast his relative [Louis XVI] onto the scaffold [with a vote for the death sentence]."⁴ The text claims he is thus radically distorting history: ". . . Vatout's aim . . . is only to rehabilitate the ancestors of our monarchy in the public's esteem, like a gardener redirects the trunk of a pear tree to obtain the most beautiful pears."

SGL



Honoré Daumier, *Jean Vatout*, 1943.3.24

Notes

1. This is a revised reading of the rim mark, given in previously published citations as 2203–1.
2. Fogg 1969, 142–144, fig. 31c.
3. Robert et al. 1891, 5: 488; Fogg 1969, 142.
4. “Conjuration de Cellamare,” *Le Charivari* (11 December 1832), 1–2. Though against absolutism, democrats were against capital punishment.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 60, repro.

1943.3.20 (A-1692)

Charles Henry Verhuel, Count of Sevenaar (?)

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1940
Brass, 12.7 × 11.4 × 8.9 (5 × 4½ × 3½)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive on the lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Cold-stamped on the bottom rim at front right: 2196-1

Cold-stamped on inside, in incised circle: 3/30

Technical Notes: Evidence of some repair to the many fissures and airholes, the latter particularly in the cravat and collar at rear.

Provenance: Sold 12 March 1940 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: NGA 1960, as *Girod de l'Ain*. Fogg 1969, no. 33, as *Unknown* (“*Girod de l'Ain*”). NGA 1974, as *Bust of an Unknown Man* (so-called “*Girod de l'Ain*”).

IDENTIFIED FOR many years merely as “unknown,” this bust has been associated with historical figures only tentatively, despite considerable discussion.¹ It corresponds with no known print by Daumier. The name of Girod de l'Ain was attached to it for reasons that are not clear, though scholars have consistently rejected it in favor of Gobin's suggestion that it represents Admiral Verhuel. Both Girod and Verhuel appear, clearly identified, in Daumier's triple full-length portrait published in *La Caricature* on 6 August 1835. It represents Verhuel with a similar grimace, fine, sharp features, and extraordinary top knotted “mop” coiffure, unlike

the bald, phlegmatic, and heavy-featured Girod.² Verhuel (1764–1845), a Dutch admiral and diplomat associated with Louis Bonaparte as king of Holland, took French citizenship after Napoleon's abdication, was elevated to peer, and entered the Chamber of Peers in 1819.³

Adhémar and Wasserman instead propose that Daumier's bust represents Marshal Lobau (Georges Mouton, comte de Lobau, 1770–1838), a liberal opposition deputy during the Restoration whom Louis-Philippe made General Commander of the National Guard of Paris with the resignation of Lafayette. Lobau was widely lampooned in 1832 and 1833 for having turned firehoses on Bonapartists who demonstrated nightly on the place Vendôme in May 1832.⁴ Adhémar and Wasserman argue that the problematic representation of the coiffure in the bust is a poor restoration of the clay, which was originally flat; however, there is little to support their view.⁵ Moreover, Daumier's lithographic caricature of Marshal Lobau only distantly corresponds, with its huge features, wide mouth, and comic, though not grimacing, expression.⁶

Of these three suggestions Verhuel seems the most feasible candidate for the subject of this bust.

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 149.
2. Fogg 1969, 149–150, fig. 33c. Charles-Joseph Traviès' rendition of Girod de l'Ain from 1832 represents him with short hair but similarly large and heavy features. See *Le Charivari* (28 December 1832), opp. p. 4.
3. Larousse 1866–1879, 15/2: 906, s.v. “Verhuel (Charles-Henri).” There were rumors beginning in the July Monarchy that because he was Hortense's lover when she was queen of Holland, Verhuel was Napoleon III's biological father, rather than Louis.
4. Larousse 1866–1879, 10: 602; and Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 64.
5. Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 64. Curatorial files for the clay bust at the Musée d'Orsay contain no evidence of such radical intervention in this bust in technical reports on the series. My thanks to Catherine Chevillot, former curator of sculpture, Musée d'Orsay, for pursuing this question on my behalf.
6. Delteil 1969, 20: no. 65, repro. Comparably large, heavy features and short-cropped, straight, forward-combed hair quite unlike those in the Daumier bust, can be seen in Traviès' caricature of Lobau, published in *Le Charivari* (19 December 1832), opp. p. 4. See Adhémar and Wasserman, “Catalogue des Portraits-charges,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 64. Pénicaut 1993, 88, implicitly rejects the attribution by not including Lobau among the possible candidates as a subject of this bust.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 51, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Charles Henry Verhuel, Count of Sevenaar(?)*, 1943.3.20

1943.3.9 (A-1681)

Jean-Pons-Guillaume Viennet

Model c. 1832/1835; cast 1929/1930
Brass, 19.7 × 15.9 × 12.7 (7¾ × 6¼ × 5)
Rosenwald Collection

Marks

Stamped in the wax positive at the lower left shoulder, in incised circle: M.L.G [Maurice Le Garrec]

Incised on bottom rim at front right: 3/30 E¹

Cold-stamped inside, in incised circle: 3/30

Technical Notes: The bronze is far more subtle and generalized in modeling and surface detail than the clay. A casting flaw in the left shoulder is repaired with a plug. The patina is unusually uneven: many depressions revealing bare bronze, on one hand, and unusually thick and opaque in other areas.

Provenance: Sold 1 July 1930 through (Charles Sessler, Philadelphia) to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 11. LACMA 1958, no. 228. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 32. NGA 1974.

THE SUBJECT of this bust was identified on the basis of Champfleury's label on the clay as well as Daumier's lithographic bust published in *Le Charivari* on 5 June 1833.¹ Viennet (1777–1868) was an idealist academician and polemicist who remained steadfastly hostile to romanticism; his politics, by contrast, were ambiguous and protean. His naval career foundered under Napoleon, as a result of his vote against the Consulate and Empire, but prospered under the Restoration and the July Monarchy until his retirement in 1837. That year, he was elevated to peer by Louis-Philippe and moved to the upper Chamber after serving as deputy since 1820. During the Restoration, he wrote for *Le Constitutionnel*, as part of the liberal opposition, yet he attacked Chateaubriand's brochure, "On Monarchy According to the Chart" through his own, entitled "Letter of a True Royalist." He sat on the left beginning in 1830, yet supported the July Monarchy ministerial policies steadily throughout his career. His loyalties, if not his ideology, soon became clear. He lost his initial popularity, as a defender of the liberty of the press, by attacking the dissident press and opposition in Chambers for any criticism of the regime. Viennet's hostility alone made him widely unpopular and the butt of constant satire.²

Le Charivari cites him especially frequently and unflatteringly as a court sycophant in 1833, but adds the more dangerous dimension that he could be bought. As reflected in the coat of arms below Daumier's lithographic portrait of

Viennet (a lyre), it lampoons Viennet as "the Orpheus of the *juste-milieu*," the poet-orator who delivers paeans to Louis-Philippe, yet must defend himself from accusations of "political versatility."³ His pretentious populist and pastoral poetry earned him the epithet "singer of ragpickers" and "bard of mules"—the latter especially because he became enraged when crowds subjected him to a charivari (an event often presented in texts as the braying of mules).⁴ His oratory was famously empty, if epic as declamation.⁵ Daumier's lithographic portrait of Viennet, which represents him as "*Le Vieux Niais*" [The Old Fool], attacks the poet-orator's scorn for the "niaiseries" uttered by the "great" men of the time. Daumier's bust lithograph is the culmination of *Le Charivari*'s extended verbal onslaught on this point. Viennet's views appear in an article in the *Revue de Paris* ("Des coteries politiques et littéraires") that triggers a sharp rejoinder in *Le Charivari* in one column of 15 May, with repeated snipes over the two weeks before Daumier's lithograph was published. In the initial column, *Le Charivari* concludes that, if—as Viennet contends—such laughably foolish verbiage in prestigious chambers (court, legislative chambers, the Academy) is the mark of a great man, then Viennet seems to have forgotten his customary modesty, "for he could not make it clearer that he is the great man of modern times."⁶

For all the brash noise that he is said to have made, Viennet is often represented in this expressively impassive, physically static pose, head buried in his cravat in the midst of activity around him. His intellectual pretensions and ego may be embodied in the pronounced and bumpy forehead noted by various Daumier scholars.

Casts of this bust are among the unauthorized bronze surmoulages that emerged in early 1948 without edition numbers and the "M.L.G." stamped instead "H.D."⁷

SGL

Notes

1. Fogg 1969, 145–148, fig. 32e.
2. Robert et al. 1891, 5: 517, s.v. "Viennet (Jean-Pons-Guillaume)"; Fogg 1969, 145; Adhémar and Wasserman, "Catalogue des Portraits-charges," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 70; Robert Brown's entry on Viennet, in Newman 1987, 2: 1087–1089.
3. "M. Viennet, chef de l'école poétique abracadabrante," *Le Charivari* (8 December 1832), 4; and "Carillon," *Le Charivari* (10 December 1832), 7–8.
4. See the lithograph by Benjamin Paillor(?) in *Le Charivari* (5 September 1833), opp. p. 4.
5. "Dessin," *Le Charivari* (29 March 1833), 4.
6. "Carillon," *Le Charivari* (15 May 1833), 7.
7. Fogg 1969, 145.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
1994 NGA: 60, repro.



Honoré Daumier, *Jean-Pons-Guillaume Viennet*, 1943.3.9

1951.17.3 (A-1600)

Ratapoil

Model 1851; cast c. 1891

Brass, $43.5 \times 16.4 \times 18.2$ ($17\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{16}$)

Rosenwald Collection

Inscriptions

Incised probably in the foundry model and enhanced after casting, left corner of the self-base at rear: DAUMIER

Marks

Apparently inset on the rear rim of the self-base, the Siot-Decauville cachet: SIOT-DECAUVILLE/FONDEUR/PARIS

Cold-stamped beside the Daumier signature: 17

On the underside of the self-base, linen tape marked: TL 17092/Alverthorpe

Technical Notes: This figure is hollow-cast, by the lost-wax method, most likely indirectly from the nineteenth-century plaster cast of Daumier's lost clay original.¹ The figurine and self-base are cast integrally. Examination by X-radiography reveals an extensive investment core well into the head, legs, and left arm, and a network of iron core vents, chaplets, and armatures (fig. 1).² Analysis by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) indicates that the average composition of the alloy is that of a brass: 86% copper, 9% zinc, 2.5% lead, 2% tin, and traces of iron, silver, and antimony. Little of the comb tooling visible in the nineteenth-century plaster³ has registered in this bronze, suggesting the generations of models intervening between the two. Instead there is extensive but subtle cold-work throughout the bronze, such as in the tooling to enhance *Ratapoil*'s mustache and beard. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze, producing a reddish-brown color and a medium green. The matte surface suggests little, if any, varnish was applied over the patina. Minor surface wear from handling has abraded the top layer of green to the reddish-brown undercoat.

Provenance: (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, c. 1940); private collection, Paris; (Henri M. Petiet, Paris, by 1950); sold March 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.⁴

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 22. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 37. NGA 1974. NGA 1979, no. 65. Los Angeles 1980, no. 89.

THIS POSTHUMOUS serial bronze represents Daumier's most celebrated sculptural project; it is the only figure whose attribution has never been questioned.⁵ A plaster cast, illustrated under this title by Alexandre, can be traced to Geoffroy-Dechaume,⁶ who was directly involved with the bronze edition from which this cast derives.

The figure's title, usually translated into English as "Rat-skin,"⁷ is the name of a character best known in Daumier's political cartoons of 1850–1851 for *Le Charivari* that criticized Louis-Napoleon's maneuvers, as Prince-Président of the Second Republic, to undermine the shaky new democracy in order to establish a second Bonapartist empire under his sovereignty.⁸ Those efforts culminated in a long-expected *coup d'état* (the so-called Eighteenth Brumaire) in Decem-

ber 1851, which abolished the parliamentary government and opened the way to his accession as Napoleon III of the Second Empire (1852–1870).⁹

Scholars have long debated the precise allusions in Daumier's various images of Ratapoil. His aquiline features and extravagant goatee and mustache are often thought to invoke Louis-Napoleon himself.¹⁰ However, the Prince-Président's features and coiffure at the time, both in actuality and in caricature, were different and distinct: His features were heavier and his short goatee and mustache were less emphasized than his "English [i.e., foreign]" spicurls.¹¹ Clark proposes that the name "is a cluster of political associations" surrounding supporters with phonetically similar names such as General Rapatel and General Hautpoul.¹² However, Daumier's contemporaries and most scholars consider Ratapoil a conceptual entity. The statuette's first known critic, the historian Jules Michelet, reputedly said of it: "Ah! You have directly hit the enemy! There, you have pilloried the bonapartist idea for ever!"¹³ Most feel that Ratapoil personifies the aims and means of Louis-Napoleon's unofficial police force in his campaign for re-election, known as the Société du dix Décembre [December Tenth Society], in honor of the date of his initial election as president of the Republic in 1848. According to Karl Marx, a contemporary observer, that organization shaped the ragtag bohemian elements of all classes into a sinister corps on the military model.¹⁴

The latter views are mostly borne out by the editorial content of *Le Charivari* during the period that Ratapoil appeared; the journal is also quite clear about the figure's intended meaning. Ratapoil's "biography" there is specific, and his characterization multifaceted, changing in response to current events and to individual treatment by various writers and caricaturists for *Le Charivari*. Typical of this satiric journal, Ratapoil is one of three loaded personifications invented to represent the imperialist and Bonapartist activities that accelerated in early 1850, thanks to the



Fig. 1 X-radiograph of 1951.17.3

preliminary electoral campaigns.¹⁵ Unlike Ratapoil, the other two figures are apparently purely textual representations. One is a now-obscure but pivotal character in the drama: Cocambo, a Haitian republican agitator (reference to the broad republican bloc that resisted Louis-Napoleon) who “infiltrated” France to subvert Louis-Napoleon’s imperialist designs, and whom the Ten-Decembrists had sworn to eliminate.¹⁶ The other is a rare find in *Le Charivari*, a mythic hero: Jacques Bonhomme, the clear-eyed man of the people who assures the reader that he can count on his community to protect the republic and to reject Louis-Napoleon’s dictatorship as a sure disaster for France.¹⁷

Like Cocambo and Bonhomme, Ratapoil may be a collective invention by *Le Charivari*’s staff. He appears first, most often, and most variously in its texts. As Heusinger von Waldegg notes, Ratapoil made his debut on 12 August 1850, in the first of a series of columns “signed” by him, as “Col. Ratapoil,” head of the troops of the newly formed December Tenth Society.¹⁸ His appearance was apparently triggered by Louis-Napoleon’s impending public-relations campaign in Dijon on 15 August, a trip to a traditional Bonapartist stronghold on Napoleon I’s anniversary. Ratapoil’s biography, costume, and attributes are first provided two weeks later, in a column that announces his return to Paris after ignominious defeat in Burgundy.¹⁹ He is described as an aged Napoleonic veteran in civilian clothes—a sign of his dandyism in earlier and better times—whose attachment to the first emperor spurs his loyalty to the nephew, the Prince-Président. He wears a tattered blue frock coat (*redingote*) falling to the calves, buttoned to the throat, with a black collar that covers his undergarments; boots with worn heels and holes in the soles; and a rakish “hat tilted over one ear, bearing the traces of numerous dents.” His only other attributes are crutches—he is still convalescing from the pleurisy and laryngitis caused by the drenching rain during the failed Burgundian campaign. His mission at that point is pure propaganda: to surround the Prince-Président with crowds shouting “Vive l’Empereur”; and to adopt disguises and accents to simulate the diverse populations they had infiltrated. Ratapoil of August 1850 is a buffoon, falling several times from his crutches in his effort to strike a resistant Burgundian, who shows only concern for his stumbling assailant—until Ratapoil offends him by cursing. Ratapoil acquires his familiar club several weeks later, when the December Tenth Society gains its actual-life infamy as brutes who persuade through force. They bludgeon a crowd that had gathered to meet Louis-Napoleon upon his return at Saint-Lazare station in mid-September. For months afterwards, Ratapoil and his cohorts protest their innocent error, in “missives” to *Le Charivari*, claiming that the “troops” mistook their victims for their sworn enemy Cocambo, and that public opinion is wrong to condemn them.²⁰ Daumier’s celebrated first lithograph representing Ratapoil, published in *Le Charivari* on 28 September 1850 (fig. 2), emerged soon after the beating near the train station, at the Place du Havre. This lithograph is apparently



Fig. 2 Honoré Daumier, “Prestation de serment d’un membre de la Société Philantropique du Dix Décembre,” lithograph, published in *Le Charivari* (28 September 1850), p. [3], Washington, Library of Congress, Rare Books Division

the first image of Ratapoil to appear in print. Though Ratapoil is not named in the caption, the caricature represents the figure with the tattered clothing and newly acquired cudgel described in the earlier columns, and goes further to provide him with the slender and energetic (if no longer youthful) physique and sardonic features familiar in Daumier’s renditions.²¹ Daumier’s first Ratapoil is fully bearded; the second bears the goatee, and over the following months, his figure becomes increasingly elongated, emaciated, and short-haired. Though his own rendering evolved over time, Daumier seems to have supplied the essential physiognomic blueprint that his fellow caricaturists broadly used for their own Ratapoils.²² However, theirs differ markedly in details. The most radically at variance is Cham’s depiction of Ratapoil, which appears more frequently than Daumier’s in 1850: He sports an undamaged broad-brimmed hat, “curled” sideburns, and no beard (fig. 3).²³ Charles Vernier’s 1851 version of Ratapoil more strongly resembles Louis-Napoleon, with his coarse features and spiccurls. Yet Vernier’s example bears traces of another signature trait of the textual Ratapoil: his heavy drinking represented in the flushed nose.²⁴

Daumier’s renditions of 1851, by far the largest corpus of published images of Ratapoil that year, provide the most varied statements concerning the Decembrists’ many gambits to seduce a diverse public without physical force, as well as the many forms of resistance they met that year.²⁵ The columnists of 1851, however, add yet other nuances to Rata-



Honoré Daumier, *Ratapoil*, 1951.17.3



Fig. 3 Cham [Amédée-Charles-Henri Noé], "Licenciement de la Société du Dix Décembre," lithograph, published in *Le Charivari* (22 October 1850), Washington, Library of Congress, Rare Books Division

poil as a concept that are not visually represented. Caraguel calls the press that supports Louis-Napoleon that summer, "journalistic Ratapoils."²⁶ He also invigorates Ratapoil sufficiently for the old veteran to produce a child with an off-stage wife, Madame Ratabiche, appointing his compliant ally, the Chief of Police, as godfather.²⁷

Thus, though Daumier is long thought to have invented Ratapoil, he may have provided instead the defining and most varied—though not only—image of this character. Ratapoil also emerges as a fluid representation, shifting easily between texts and caricatures over those tumultuous months. In addition, texts and images complement one another discursively. The images' primary focus on Ratapoil's distasteful behavior—hypocrisy, beatings, political seductions, and false promises—are framed within the varied and often comic humanity presented in the columns. Together, these qualities may disarm Ratapoil's otherwise dark guise: to persuade the citizen to laugh at the enemy laid bare, in order to subvert it.²⁸

Descriptions of Daumier's statuette of *Ratapoil* reflect many of the traits provided by those formative forces. Alexandre's initial interpretation of it in 1888,²⁹ echoed by many later writers, suggests Ratapoil's double-edged character: engagingly jaunty but threatening ("a hip-swaying gait, and a sinister aspect . . ."; a head that is "a little, bony, featherless vulture's skull";³⁰ and a hand that "brandishes a club"); combined with an elusive sense of past elegance and glory, and of ongoing corruption or tragedy in the tattered dandy and seedy veteran ("an old floppy frock-coat . . . dented top hat" and "disheveled pair of Hussar's trousers").³¹ Recent scholars remark on the sense of dangerous asceticism "à la Don Quixote"³²—quite unlike the editorials' emphasis on Ratapoil's delight in drink (especially at another's expense) and spectacularly comic Sanchoesque drunks. Sonnabend sees the statuette as an "intensification" of the lithographic narratives featuring Ratapoil, the dis-

tilled icon of violence and malice, Daumier's "contribution to the genre of the monument."³³ Clark, however, sees a blend of the comic and grotesque. He argues that Daumier's *Ratapoil* is at once villain, hero, and dupe of the very system he served.³⁴ He maintains it is not a polemical image, but rather, "provokes a kind of affectionate laughter,"³⁵ a vision that reflects the comic qualities given to Ratapoil in the editorials. But it does not sufficiently account for the subversive power that early observers claim *Ratapoil* had in its own time. Its acknowledged multiplicity draws upon that more sinister quality. Furthermore, Daumier apparently treated this statuette like no other of his works and no other representation of this character. Perhaps under government pressure, *Le Charivari* suppressed Ratapoil from its columns and caricatures when the *coup* turned bloody on 3 December 1851.³⁶ Yet Daumier reportedly considered the statuette important enough to keep, despite fears of government reprisals if it were found. As is often mentioned, according to Alexandre, Daumier wrapped it and hid it from view during the Second Empire, and that later his widow "could never find a safe enough hiding place [for it]."³⁷ Even if exaggerated for polemical heroics, the clandestine quality that these writers give to the statuette of Ratapoil has provocative implications. It suggests that, for Daumier, Ratapoil gained unique authority as sculpture, perhaps something of the ancient magic charge of three-dimensional idols that his friend Baudelaire had earlier deplored in "fetishistic" sculpture.³⁸ The reported security risks surrounding the figurine of Ratapoil contrast strikingly with the apparent amusement evoked by Dantan *jeune's* caricatural statuettes of actual-life personalities. Daumier's effigy went beyond parody of a prominent personality to criticize a highly repressive sovereign and political regime. In that sense Sonnabend's celebration of Daumier's figure as a modern "monument" seems justified. The statuette may have borne a symbolic load similar to that of some public sculpture of the time. We need only recall the power of certain monuments as demonstration sites (the July Column, p. 21), as objects of political vandalism (the Vendôme Column), or as vehicles of public criticism (Gauguin's *Père Paillard*, p. 245). Daumier represented a portrait-statue of Ratapoil in his prints, as a companion to one of Macaire, for the Paris Bourse.³⁹

In art-historical terms, Daumier's modern swaggerer has long been acclaimed for departing from the idealist sculptural norm of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ *Ratapoil* recalls a variety of anti-classical precedents. Though a modern character, this sinister figure can be related to the broad-ranging romantic interest in the macabre and satanic at the time. Clark associates *Ratapoil* with Alfred Rethel's neo-medieval "Death" in his suite of prints of 1848, the *New Dance of Death*.⁴¹ *Ratapoil*, in fact, comes closer to another character that Werner Hofmann considers fundamental to Daumier's imagery, the Mephistopheles of Delacroix.⁴² Daumier's modern enforcer formally and conceptually reflects Delacroix's illustrations of 1828 for Albert Stapfer's French translation of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's *Faust* (fig. 4).⁴³

Ratapoil's grotesquely predatory features can be seen as demonic; his posture, like Mephistopheles', is confident, focused on persuasion by any means. However shabby, Daumier's modern *Ratapoil* broadly parallels the winged demon's appearance to medieval society as an attractive dandy of that time. Both are unscrupulous, protean seducers and con artists. Mephistopheles changes form and approach according to his target, just as *Ratapoil* changes strategies to pursue his own disparate factions. Daumier's other political prints published in late September repeatedly reflect Delacroix's Faustian images. Schültze and Winther note that Daumier adapted Delacroix's *Mephistopheles in the Air* for his caricature of Thiers, wooing the prince de Joinville in *The Tempter*, published in *Le Charivari* on 29 September (fig. 5).⁴⁴ Similarly Daumier's print of *Ratapoil* making advances to a disdainful Republic, published four days earlier, on 25 September, strongly echoes Delacroix's *Faust Seeking to Seduce Marguerite*.⁴⁵

As an art bronze, *Ratapoil* relates to tabletop figurines of Mephistopheles that proliferated during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Daumier's figure recalls certain noteworthy examples that date slightly later, Jacques-Louis Gautier's two statuettes of a gaunt *Mephistopheles*, available as serial bronzes by 1855.⁴⁶

As a modern-life counterpart to Faust's Mephistopheles, *Ratapoil* suggests another example of Daumier's updating not only an art-historical precedent, but of cosmic myths of

the human struggle against evil, as seen in his *Temptations of Saint Anthony*.⁴⁷

In stylistic terms, Janson associates the sinuous anti-classical handling of this figure with the baroque and with Dantan *jeune's* expressive, flamelike statuette of violinist Niccolò Paganini.⁴⁸ However, in keeping with its satanic flavor, Daumier's *Ratapoil* also reflects certain types of romantic anti-classical historicism in French art bronzes. Several macabre or neo-medieval "Northern" themes were likewise represented by a nervous, delicate form, like Gautier's *Mephistopheles*. *Ratapoil's* "infernal" molten modeling, in a subtly demonic subject, especially recalls the celebrated *Satan* of about 1833, by Daumier's friend Jean-Jacques Feuchère (fig. 6). Clark links Daumier's statuette with mannerism at its "most extreme and expressive."⁴⁹ Although he merely notes two-dimensional Northern precedents, international mannerist sculpture from either the sixteenth century or its later revival in the eighteenth broadly demonstrates the same concern for elongated proportions and eccentric, restless form.⁵⁰ Most of all, *Ratapoil's* animated three-dimensionality recalls a defining element of mannerist or neo-mannerist sculpture: its writhing *figura serpentina* intended to astonish from every angle.⁵¹

As Beale notes of most casts of *Ratapoil*, the National Gallery cast does not register the lush detail evident in the early plaster, particularly its comb tooling and radically sketchlike quality.⁵² However, the excellent fidelity of the



Fig. 4 Eugène Delacroix, "Méphistophélès Apparaissant à Faust," lithograph from Albeur Stapher's translation of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased: McIlhenny Fund ('41-8-40), photograph by Lynn Rosenthal



Fig. 5 Eugène Delacroix, *Mephistopheles in the Air*, lithograph from Albeur Stapher's translation of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Gift of Ruth B. Benedict, 1994.60.13



Fig. 6 Jean-Jacques Feuchère, *Satan*, bronze, model 1836, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Times Mirror Foundation, M.77.45

lost-wax cast to the bold modeling, the subtle cold-work, and the lustrous surface highlight its plasticity, the strength of the diagonals and curves coursing through it, and the nuanced range of its volumes.

The statuette is traditionally dated to coincide with the appearance of the major series of prints, from the autumn of 1850 to December 1851. Most scholars assert the figure emerged before the prints, as the model from which Daumier drew his character on stone.⁵³ Adhémar challenges that view, fixing its date instead to February–March 1851. He points to Alexandre’s seminal anecdote about Michelet, which claims that Daumier had only just begun the statuette when the historian first saw it in March 1851.⁵⁴ According to these new arguments, Daumier explored Ratapoil in sculpture only after he drew the character for lithography.⁵⁵ The formal evidence supports Adhémar’s position. The dissimilarities between the graphic and sculptural representations of Ratapoil over the winter of 1850–1851 suggest that the character evolved independently in each medium for

that period.⁵⁶ The sculptural Ratapoil differs from its graphic counterparts in the full series of Daumier prints on the subject. Even the popeyed, short-haired Ratapoil of the October 1851 prints is never bald, as in the effigy. The latter is compelling in its sparseness. As with Daumier’s other subjects represented in various media, the approach is never identical, suggesting not only the breadth of his creative powers, but his sheer sense of the autonomy of individual media.

Thus the purpose of the figure, if not a model for the prints, is less clear. Daumier is not known to have shown it or made it available for sale around the time it was produced. It is tempting to speculate that Daumier was inspired by *Le Charivari*’s mocking call for a public-subscription monument to expiate the “unfair” condemnation of the December Tenth Society for its violence at the Place du Havre in September 1850: The column recommended a triumphal equestrian of Ratapoil atop a pedestal with narrative reliefs.⁵⁷ If in fact the effigy dates from February or March, Daumier worked on it while the Society was officially dissolved and in disgrace for the incident, though unofficially seeking a political subscription for Louis-Napoléon.⁵⁸

As mentioned above, Daumier reportedly hid the statuette for most of his lifetime, beginning with Louis-Napoleon’s coup in 1851. Although Alexandre was the first to discuss it in any depth, nine years after Daumier’s death, *Ratapoil* was publicly introduced before that, as a late entry to Durand-Ruel’s Daumier exhibition of 1878, where the critics noted its emergence and remarkable qualities as sculpture.⁵⁹ *Ratapoil* was not completely unknown prior to 1878, however. In 1862, Philippe Burty reported Daumier’s having modeled “several years ago” a “*badinguetiste*,” a now-obscure Second-Empire idiom for a Bonapartist.⁶⁰

The location of the original clay model is unknown. Most scholars follow Gobin in concluding that it was destroyed when Geoffroy-Dechaume cast it in plaster.⁶¹ Discussions of the history and number of plasters are, and remain, full of contradictory claims.⁶² Aside from two plasters clearly cast from a bronze, two plasters of *Ratapoil* currently exist: one at the Albright-Knox Gallery, Buffalo, and another cast in a private collection in Milan. The latter two reportedly came from Geoffroy-Dechaume and Gobin argues that the sculptor cast both versions.⁶³ Angrand later published documents that reveal one to be a posthumous foundry cast by Siot-Decauville’s *mouleurs*, Jean Pouzadoux et fils, from Geoffroy-Dechaume’s prototype.⁶⁴ Currently, the debate centers on which existing version is Geoffroy-Dechaume’s from the original clay, and which is the later foundry model. Lukach and Beale conclude, on technical grounds, that the toned and finished Buffalo plaster must be Geoffroy-Dechaume’s “original” plaster and that the seamed, unpatinated Milan cast must be a foundry model.⁶⁵ Cherpin argues the reverse mainly on common sense, asking why would Daumier’s friend and advocate relinquish his original and keep a lesser cast himself?⁶⁶ Without definitive

proof, the issue remains speculative. However, the fact that the Buffalo plaster is finished and patinated, like Geoffroy-Dechaume's surviving plasters of the *Fugitives* (p. 201, fig. 3), seems to favor the position taken by Beale and Lukach.

The various known campaigns to serialize *Ratapoil* have made bronzes of the figure ubiquitous. Fifty-five casts were traced by 1969, though many more are potentially available, judging by the number and scale of the documented editions.⁶⁷

The National Gallery cast derives from the earliest documented serialization of the figure. The most ambitious of the various such enterprises known, in sheer number of casts associated with it, that project is still poorly understood, despite extensive discussion. It has long been accepted, despite definitive proof, that Siot-Decauville cast two editions indirectly from the Buffalo plaster, in 1890 and 1891–1892, though accounts of their source and edition size conflict.⁶⁸ The “first” venture dated by most scholars to 1890 is open to question, since all documentary evidence points to Armand Dayot's first known proposal to cast *Ratapoil* in November 1890, and all preliminary responses from the founder and government, a crucial patron, were made in January 1891.⁶⁹ It thus seems likely that any bronzes resulting from those negotiations date no earlier than 1891. Perhaps supporting the tradition that two editions were produced, a near-twin to the National Gallery's recently came to light: a second Siot-Decauville cast numbered “17” that is technically very similar—suggesting that neither is a *surmoulage* of the other.⁷⁰ That there are at least twenty casts in one such edition is confirmed by a bronze stamped no. 20 at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.⁷¹ According to archival evidence, the French Fine-Arts administration received its two commissioned bronzes by January 1892; one went immediately to the Musée du Luxembourg (Musée d'Orsay, Paris, no. 4), the cast that entered the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Marseilles in 1896 (no. 2) is probably the second.⁷² The date of Siot-Decauville's completion of the venture, however, is unknown. Other museums holding Siot-Decauville casts are: the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (no. 1), the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (no. 5); Neue Pinakothek, Munich (no. 6); and The George A. Lucas Collection, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (no. 16). Additional Siot-Decauville casts have long circulated on the market.

A subsequent lost-wax edition of twenty full-scale casts was produced in 1925 by the Alexis Rudier foundry, also based indirectly on the Geoffroy-Dechaume plaster. The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, Los Angeles, owns “no. O” in the edition; Philadelphia Museum of Art, no. 3; Hamburger Kunsthalle, no. 7; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, no. 9; Kunstmuseum Winterthur, no. 13; and Kunsthalle Mannheim, no. 19. Yet another full-scale edition, of twelve numbered casts and three proof models (E1–3), was cast in 1959–1960, indirectly from the Milan plaster, by the Valsuani foundry.⁷³ Cherpin has identified an edition of about fifteen plasters cast from

the Marseilles Siot-Decauville bronze by Auguste Carli in 1929, for the administrators of the Musée du Vieux Marseilles.⁷⁴ Only two are known to be extant, one at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Marseilles and another, noted by Cherpin in 1979 as in the collection of Alvaro Cotrin in Rio de Janeiro. A full-scale cast of *Ratapoil*, based on the National Gallery Siot-Decauville bronze, has been available in synthetic material through Alva since the 1960s.

SGL

Notes

1. The most extensive technical discussion of the formation of the figure, from original model to lost-wax bronzes, is Arthur Beale, “Materials and Techniques,” in Fogg 1969, 17–22.

2. For a discussion, see Beale, “Materials and Techniques,” in Fogg 1969, 20.

3. For a discussion, see further in the text.

4. Henri Petiet, letters of 23 October, 10 November, 22 December 1950, and 17 October 1953, to Elizabeth Mongan; Mongan, letter of 9 March 1951, to Petiet; Rosenwald Papers, Box 44. The cast may be identical to the “bronze of the first edition” in Paris that Jean Goriany, New York, first offered Mr. Rosenwald for sale in December 1939; Goriany, letter of 14 December 1939 to Elizabeth Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 14.

5. The attribution to Daumier of ten male figurines (pp. 206–212) is widely doubted; at the National Gallery they are identified as by an “Imitator of Daumier.”

6. Alexandre 1888, repro. opp. p. 296. For a discussion of the models, see further in the text.

7. Based on the nineteenth-century French etymology for the word. See Larousse 1866–1879, 13/1: 721, s.v. “Ratapoil.” Possibly a reference to the signature *redingote* that he wore, made of a blend of wool and beaver (another rodent). Larousse's definition of the word is “partisan of militarism, and particularly Napoleonic caesarism.”

8. The most complete anthology of *Ratapoil* prints, organized chronologically, is Delteil 1969, vols. 25–26.

9. The subject has been treated many times, from many viewpoints. For recent discussions in the context of Daumier's *Ratapoil*, see Agulhon 1983, 127–129; and Laughton 1991, 45–47.

10. A recent advocate of its representing Louis-Napoleon is Alan Darr in Los Angeles 1980, 208. Laughton 1991, 45, on the other hand, argues that no one individual is represented and that the resemblance to Louis-Napoleon is only faint.

11. For a “serious” representation of Louis-Napoleon as deputy and president in 1848, see Thompson 1967, between pp. 120–121. For *Le Charivari*'s caricatural portrayal during these years, see, for example, Charles Vernier's “Un quatrième sur lequel on ne comptait pas,” *Le Charivari* (9 March 1850).

12. Clark 1982, 116.

13. Alexandre 1888, 295. Quoted in most texts on the subject. Not all consider it reliable. Laughton 1991, 45, even claims it is apocryphal. According to Cherpin 1979, 163, Alexandre's source for that information is verbal and retrospective, from either Madame Daumier or Madame Michelet after the deaths of their spouses in the 1870s. See further in the text for documentary evidence of Michelet's visit to Daumier's studio in 1851.

14. Founded in 1849, the Society, claims Marx, was organized into sections led by Bonapartists, “with a Bonapartist general at the head of the whole. Alongside decayed *roués* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, *lazzaroni*, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaus* (procurers), brothel keepers, porters, *litterati*, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, the whole in-

definite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, [whence] the French term *la bohème* . . ." (Marx 1969, 75). This text was first published serially in 1852, in a German language periodical in New York entitled *Die Revolution*; it was then published as a book in 1869 in Hamburg.

15. The Emperor Soulouque of Haiti, a personification of Louis-Napoléon's imperial aspirations, is not a direct player in this drama. For a study of Soulouque, a repeated subject of Daumier's, see Childs 1990.

16. [Le colonel Ratapoil], "Légion du dix-décembre. Ordre du jour," *Le Charivari* (28 August 1850).

17. Jacques Bonhomme, "Quelques questions de Jacques Bonhomme aux rédacteurs du *Charivari*," *Le Charivari* (19 November 1851).

18. Heusinger von Waldegg 1980, 15. However, he also tentatively dates (p. 18) one lithograph representing Ratapoil, Daumier's unpublished *Suffrage Universel* (Delteil 1969, 25: no. 2000, repro.), to March 1850, ostensibly before the character's debut in the column. That *Suffrage*, however, relates most closely, in formal terms, to Daumier's late images of Ratapoil, in the autumn of 1851 (for example, "Nouveau joujou dédié par Ratapoil," published 16 October 1851; Delteil 1969, 26: no. 2158, repro.), and, in iconographic terms, to issues treated in various cartoons concerning the burgraves' efforts to limit the electorate at that same time (for example, Durandeu's "La République rudement menée par Ratapoil et par Casmajou," published 10 July 1852).

19. "Avis au public," *Le Charivari* (30 August 1850).

20. See the initial "letters" from Casmajou, Flambart, Moustache, and Duracuire, in the issue of 16 September 1850.

21. "Prestation du serment d'un nouveau membre de la société philanthropiste du dix décembre," Delteil 1969, 25: no. 2029, repro. Vincent 1968, 143; and Jean Adhémar, "Sculptures," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75. Daumier's *Ratapoil* has long been considered the heir to his Robert Macaire of the July Monarchy, a character he adapted from Frédéric Lemaître's theatrical character. See Lukach's catalogue entry in Fogg 1969, 161. For discussions of Robert Macaire, see Larkin 1966, 37, and Wechsler 1982, 85. For Dantan *jeune*'s caricature of Lemaître as Robert Macaire, see Sorel 1986, 36, repro. For Daumier's direct pairing of Ratapoil and Macaire during the Second Republic, see further in the text.

22. Noted by Heusinger von Waldegg 1980, 15.

23. For instance, in the issues of 6, 18, 19, and 22 October, and 17 November, of *Le Charivari*. See also Heusinger von Waldegg 1980, 24–25, repro. p. 28. Charles Vernier and E. Durandeu, both regular caricaturists for *Le Charivari* in 1851, each had a Ratapoil caricature published there twice: the former on 24 June and 4 September; the latter, on 30 July and 14 August.

24. See, for instance, "Vains efforts de Ratapoil et de Casmajou pour essayer de faire sortir un Empereur d'un pot de moutarde de Dijon," *Le Charivari* (24 June 1851).

25. *Le Charivari* (26 February; 3 April; 5–6, 9, 31 May; 19–20 June; 1, 9, 12, 28 July; 4, 8, 19, 20, 26 August; 11, 12, 19, 23, 25, 29 September; 16 October; 10, 18, 25 November; and 2 December 1851).

26. Clément Caraguel, "L'Épée Décembriste," *Le Charivari* (28 July 1851). He cites only the dailies, *Le Constitutionnel*, *La Patrie*, and other "Ratapois périodiques."

27. Clément Caraguel, "Le Triomphe de M. Lemulier," *Le Charivari* (30 July 1851).

28. This strategy suggests a "demonic" subversive power to caricature through laughter that is explored by Baudelaire. See "De l'essence du rire," in Lemaître 1962, particularly pp. 243–254.

29. Alexandre 1888, 295–296.

30. Beyond its ominous association with death, the vulture was then closely associated with the Bonapartes as an alter ego for the imperial eagle: It was the emblem of a secret Bonapartist society during the Bourbon Restoration entitled the "Vautours de Bonaparte" (Suzanne Lindsay, "Vulture and Sphinx," in Philadelphia 1978,

212) and was identified with Louis-Napoléon himself after his aborted military *coup* at Strasbourg in 1836 (Marx 1869, 76).

31. Geffroy 1905, 108, in particular identifies Ratapoil's allure as representing the disgruntled military: "He is the *déclassé* of the army, he continues the *demi-soldes* of the Restoration [the soldiers drawn from all levels of society during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic campaigns who were retired on half-pay during the Bourbon Restoration and who consequently became significant opponents to the monarchy and advocates of Napoleon or Bonapartism] and the *brigands* of the Loire [probably the local legitimists who supported the duchesse de Berry's abortive insurgency there in 1832]. . . ." In the lithographs of Ratapoil, however, the trousers are tattersall, suggesting their fashionable civilian source.

32. Passeron 1968, 55; Clark 1982, 117; and Laughton 1991, 45.

33. Martin Sonnabend, "Sculptural Aspects of Daumier's Drawings," in Ives, Stuffman, and Sonnabend 1992, 32.

34. Clark 1982, 116; followed by Laughton 1991, 45. Lukach's catalogue entry in Fogg 1969, 161, adheres to the traditional view of *Ratapoil*'s intended litigiousness.

35. Clark 1982, 105.

36. Ratapoil's last appearance, until his re-emergence with Napoleon's fall in 1871, is in a lithograph published the first day of the *coup*, 2 December 1851 (Delteil 1969, 26: no. 2174, repro.). It may be significant that Baudelaire's important discussion of Daumier in *Quelques Caricaturistes Français* (Lemaître 1962, 271–281), first published under Napoleon III (1857), also omits any reference to the celebrated caricatures featuring Ratapoil.

37. Alexandre 1888, 301. Armand Dayot reports the same phenomenon ("Daumier sculpteur," *L'Art dans les Deux Mondes* [21 February 1891], cited by Adhémar in Wasserman et al. 1983, 76n. 15).

38. The section entitled, "Pourquoi la sculpture est ennuyeuse," in "Salon de 1846"; Lemaître 1962, 187. A classic discussion of effigy magic in relation to the psychological dynamics of art is Kris 1952, 47–52, 201–203.

39. "Projet de statue pour orner la Péristyle de la Bourse" (Delteil 1969, 25: no. 2024, erroneously cited as published 9 July 1850). His sculptural guise in that print varies from his "live" form: The goatee is minimal and frock coat classicized into a peplos-like form; he is frontal, legs joined, with the club supporting him in front.

40. Lukach in Fogg 1969, 161 (see note 34).

41. Clark 1982, 116.

42. Werner Hofmann, "Daumier und Deutschland," in Stoll 1985, 63. Elizabeth C. Childs directed me to this discussion. Hofmann (p. 64) also points out an alternate role of Rethel's Death as devil-tempter.

43. Delteil 1969, 3: 57–74.

44. Schültze and Winther 1980, 213–214; followed by Hofmann in Stoll 1985, 64, figs. 56–57 (see note 42).

45. Daumier's *Belle Dame. Voulez-vous bien accepter mon bras?* (Delteil 1969, 26: no. 2153, repro.). The Delacroix print is Delteil 1969, 3: no. 65, repro.

46. Peter Fusco, "Mephistopheles," in Los Angeles 1980, 281, repro.; and Shepherd Gallery 1985, 90–92.

47. Delteil 1969, 20: no. 101, repro.; 25: no. 1912, repro.

48. Janson 1985, 131, fig. 107.

49. Clark 1982, 116.

50. For instance, the sculpture of Ignaz Günther and Joseph Anton Feuchtmayer. See Hibbard 1966, figs. 87–88.

51. For example, Giambologna's fountain figure, *Florence*, and his statuette, *Astronomy*. See Hibbard 1966, figs. 68, 71. Philip Ward-Jackson (personal communication) notes various subtle iconographic dimensions emphasized by the serpentine pose: the sense of outdated courtly posturing and, together with the club, the evocation of Hercules, an important national personification throughout French history, but especially during the Revolution. The latter association makes the emasculated figure and club even more preposterous. Finally, Ward-Jackson suggests this pose possibly refers to

the “rash” of swaggering military statues from 1847 to 1852, such as Théophile Bra’s *General Negrier* of 1849 (Esplanade, Lille; in *L’Illustration*, 27 October 1849, 129). The action is common in militant images of Spartacus and soldiers, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The bravado of the bully cum fallen boulevardier seems very similar.

52. As evident in the plaster at the Albright-Knox Gallery, Buffalo; see Beale in Fogg 1969, 19, figs. 8 and 37a (see note 1). For the debate about the identity of this plaster vis-à-vis another in a private Milanese collection, see further in the text.

53. Vincent 1968, 143; Lukach, “Ratapoil,” in Fogg 1969, 164; Cherpin 1979, 162; and Janson 1985, 130.

54. Jean Adhémar, “Sculptures,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75. Alexandre 1888, 295, claims Michelet witnessed Daumier actually modeling the figure in clay, “dont l’idée depuis quelques jours le hantait.” These sources date Michelet’s visit to 26 and 30 March, respectively, slightly after his only documented meeting with Daumier, in a journal entry dated 20 March: “[I have] seen Daumier for the first time” (Viallaneix 1959–1962, 2: 153). Cherpin 1979, 163, who considers 20 March the very date on which Michelet first saw the figure, further notes the correspondence between the two afterwards that does not mention it at all.

55. Jean Adhémar, “Sculptures,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75. Cherpin 1979, 163, continues to date the initiation of the figure to the prior autumn, to coincide with Ratapoil’s debut in the prints and to emphasize its kinship with Daumier’s earlier portrait of Robert Macaire.

56. See the selection of caricatural prints in Heusinger von Waldegg 1980, 21–59. Clark 1982, 116, makes a general point about the independence of Daumier’s sculpture from his graphic work that year.

57. Clément Caraguel, “Un monument expiatoire à Ratapoil,” *Le Charivari* (30 December 1850).

58. See Clément Caraguel, “Ratapoil proscrit,” *Le Charivari* (25 February 1851), and Daumier’s “La Souscription napoléonienne telle que l’auraient comprise les membres de la société du dix décembre” published in *Le Charivari* the following day. As mentioned earlier in the text, the statuette most closely resembles its graphic counterpart executed later that autumn.

59. *Ratapoil* is not listed in the exhibition catalogue, which may have influenced scholars including Lukach, “Ratapoil,” in Fogg 1969, 164, to claim it was not in the exhibition. However, its tardy inclusion is reported in critical reviews of late May (*Le Petit Journal* and *La France*, both 26 May 1878, and Camille Pelletan, *Le Rappel*, 31 May 1878; see Cherpin 1979, 117–118).

60. Philippe Burty, note headlined “Daumier, 10 December 1862,” in *Croquis d’après nature*, cited in Cherpin 1979, 156. For the meaning and etymology of *badinguetiste*, see Rheims 1969, 73, s.v. “Badingueusard.”

61. Gobin 1952, 294.

62. For a brief review of the literature, see Lukach’s catalogue entry in Fogg 1969, 164–169. For more recent discussions, see An-

grand 1974, 103–107; Angrand 1975, 120; Cherpin 1979, 163–175; and Adhémar, “Sculptures après 1834,” in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75–76.

63. Gobin 1952, 294.

64. Angrand 1974, 103–107; and Angrand 1975, 120.

65. Beale in Fogg 1969, 17–19 (see note 1); and Lukach’s catalogue entry in Fogg 1969, 165–169.

66. Cherpin 1979, 171.

67. Lukach, “Ratapoil,” in Fogg 1969, 161; Alan Darr, “Ratapoil,” in Los Angeles 1980, 208.

68. Lukach, “Ratapoil,” in Fogg 1969, 168; Angrand 1974, 104–108; and Adhémar in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75–76 (see note 62). For a different view of Siot-Decauville’s serialization campaign, see Cherpin 1979, 166–171.

69. Angrand 1974, 103–108. The relevant dossier that he is responsible for locating on this issue is Archives Nationales Dossier F²¹ 2193 [Siot-Decauville].

70. *Nineteenth Century European Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture*, Sotheby’s, London, 27 November 1984, no. 62, repro.; *Nineteenth Century European Paintings and Drawings*, Sotheby’s, London, 19 June 1990, no. 39, repro.; and *19th Century European Paintings, and Sculpture Including Master Drawings*, Christie’s, New York, 22 May 1996, no. 96, repro. [unsold]. Comparable in dimensions, alloy composition, fabrication, and marks, the two casts differ most significantly only in cold-work (less such finishwork, particularly filing, on the National Gallery cast) and in patina (the National Gallery’s is lighter and more translucent). Other reasons for two such casts may exist, however, including the possibility of a stamping error. My thanks to Dr. Andrew Butterfield of Christie’s, New York, for making the second no. 17 cast available for comparative examination. Recent evidence of a limited, relatively numbered series has proved questionable. According to Dr. Butterfield (letter to the author of 18 April 1996; in NGA curatorial files), the catalogue entry for a cast allegedly marked 7/10 (*Important Impressionist and Modern Drawings, Paintings, and Sculpture*, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 2 May 1969, no. 30, repro.; cited in Penny 1992, 34) is an error: The cast is simply stamped number “7.”

71. Rosenwald’s primary source for the Daumier sculpture, Henri Petiet, had been told this cast of *Ratapoil* was from the “first edition” of twenty proofs. Petiet, letter of 17 October 1953, to Elizabeth Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 57.

72. Angrand 1974, 107. Pinget 1982, 27, confirms the history and edition number of the Musée d’Orsay cast, originally for the Musée du Luxembourg, which Cherpin 1979, 170–171, claims bears no number.

73. Lukach, “Ratapoil,” in Fogg 1969, 164–165.

74. Cherpin 1979, 174.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150.
- 1968 NGA: 133, repro.
- 1994 NGA: 58, repro.

1943.3.25 (A-1718)

Fugitives (*Emigrants*)

Model c. 1850/1852; cast 1893

Bronze, with border: 37.2 × 76.2 × 6.8 (1 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 30 × 2 $\frac{1}{16}$);

without border: 33 × 72.1 × 6.8 (13 × 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{16}$)

Rosenwald Collection

Inscriptions

Incised probably in the foundry model and heightened after casting, at lower right corner: h. Daumier

Marks

Cold-stamped at lower right, the Siot-Decauville cachet: SIOT-DECAUVILLE/FONDEUR/PARIS

At left, cold-stamped and encircled, by direct incision: 2

Technical Notes: This bronze was sand-cast indirectly from a nineteenth-century plaster cast of Daumier's original clay variant called the "Second Version."¹ The reverse of the bronze shows traces of baked sand and the distinct contour of the protruding figures resulting from this casting method. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) indicates that the average composition of the alloy is: 89% copper, 9% zinc, 1% tin, and less than 1% lead and iron. Its proportionally low lead content, an important element for ductility in the molten state, may account for the numerous airholes in the surface of a relief of this size and complex form. The reverse bears a number of localized cracks apparently due to casting stress. Again, possibly due to the low lead content,² many of the fine details cast into the "original" plaster from the clay model have not translated into the bronze: notably the internal modeling of the various foreground figures and the heads of the background figures, which register as smooth form in the bronze. They have been enhanced only minimally by cold-work. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze: an undercoat producing reddish-orange, a second coat producing mid-brown, and an overall surface coat yielding a dark green. There is no evidence of varnish. The front surface bears minor scratches and abrasions. The patina has a long history of instability and has suffered extensive losses throughout. There is evidence of numerous cosmetic treatments, the most recent of which was undertaken in 1983 at the National Gallery of Art.

Provenance: Sold 1893 to Paul Bureau [1874–1915], Paris; (his estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 20 May 1927, no. 124); purchased at that sale by "Uhde" [possibly Wilhelm Uhde, d. 1947].³ (Galerie Thannhauser, Lucerne);⁴ Paul and Mildred H. Lamb, Cleveland Heights and later Shaker Heights, Ohio, by 1933;⁵ (her sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 11–12 December 1941, no. 52);⁶ purchased by (Jean Goriany, New York) for Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.⁷

Exhibited: *Modern Sculpture*, The Arts Club of Chicago, 1933, no. 10.⁸ Short-term loan and exhibition with the permanent collection, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1933.⁹ *Century of Progress, Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture*, Art Institute of Chicago, 1934, no. 183. *The Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition of the Cleveland Museum of Art. The Official Art Exhibit of the Great Lakes Exposition*, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1936, no. 264.¹⁰ BMFA 1958, no. 23. LACMA 1958, no. 240. NGA 1960. *Daumier. An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture, Prints*, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, 1961, no. 24. Fogg 1969, no. 39. NGA 1974.

CALLED "REFUGEES" in recent years, the National Gallery bronze is a full-scale posthumous cast of a relief that was given the present title during Daumier's lifetime, and the variant *Emigrants* just afterwards.¹¹ Described in the 1878 retrospective catalogue as a sketch (*esquisse*), *Fugitives* is the sculptor's only known bas-relief and his only multi-figural composition and representation of the nude in sculpture. It is widely acclaimed as his greatest sculptural achievement.

Its precise subject, if there is one, remains elusive. The image evokes a multitude of people on the move, without reference to cause, point of departure, or destination. The titles merely address the departure, perhaps triggered by disaster or persecution (*fugitives*). Scholars have long contended that this apparently anonymous, timeless, and placeless image is Daumier's attempt to universalize a modern dilemma or to demonstrate the tragic grandeur of modern life. For Alexandre, it constitutes Daumier's elevated "dream," born of the prospect of an unknown future elsewhere: "Daumier had been more than once haunted by the idea of rendering the sense of anguish of man before the unknown, the melancholy and disquiet of departures for remote, undetermined regions. Where are we going? What awaits us?"¹² Modern scholars speculate that the image reflects upon the many migrations triggered by agrarian poverty or revolutions and deportations not just in France, but throughout Europe, from the 1830s to the 1850s.¹³ Socially engaged artists and intellectuals among the avant-garde of the time frequently explored this dark theme of

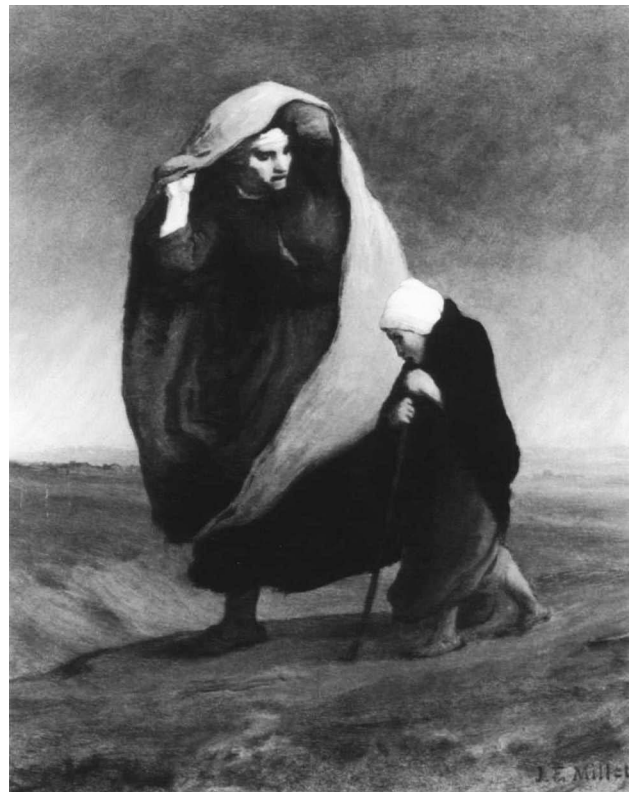


Fig. 1 Jean-François Millet, *The Wanderers*, oil on canvas, 1848–1849, Denver Art Museum, 1934.14



Honoré Daumier, *Fugitives (Emigrants)*, 1943.3.25

uprooted communities, marginalization, and misery in modern times. The specific subject, human dispossession, was featured in modern literature and drama for decades. In 1858, Théophile Gautier praised a French play entitled *Les Fugitifs*, based on a recent account of the Hindu mutinies in India, as a Hugoesque meditation on a devastated humanity, on civilization itself: "The authors of the *Fugitifs* have exposed . . . only the consequences of these catastrophes upon a defeated civilized human group, in the midst of barbaric cataclysm."¹⁴ In the visual arts, Daumier's *Fugitives* relates closely to works by his friends and contemporaries, whose titles signal a comparably global vision: Préault's *Two Poor Women* (destroyed), *Mendicity* (destroyed), and *Pariahs* (current location unknown) of the 1830s are examples of a lifelong series of such subjects associated with romanticism;¹⁵ and Millet's *Wanderers* (fig. 1) offers a realist version.¹⁶ However, the faceless nudes of Daumier's image are more radically generic than those of Préault and Millet, which present a recognizable modern social type to personify a broad social dilemma. This image of migration has epic qualities that can be associated with the Old Testament exodus to the Promised Land or, in the apparent unhappiness of its protagonists, with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden.

Daumier's formal approach to the subject abounds in art-historical resonances. Sonnabend links it to the emigrants in Delacroix's Attila fresco (1847, Chamber of Deputies, Palais des Bourbons, Paris). Its closest kin as multi-figural relief are the classical reliefs of ritual processions, especially Roman examples that use a similarly emphatic, protruding baseline to organize a multitude of figures moving horizontally to or from common points.¹⁷ The artist's country studio was, reportedly, full of casts and fragments of such reliefs.¹⁸ The hypertrophic figures in *Fugitives* relate this relief, otherwise, to the Michelangelesque vein of modern works from the 1830s associated with romanticism. They also recall the work of Préault, particularly the horrific and ambiguous colossal relief, *Tuerie (Slaughter)*.¹⁹ Daumier and Préault both explore a "painterly" play of light and dark on their surfaces, challenging the idealist threshold between sculpture and painting. Daumier's *Fugitives*, however, presents a dense *sfumato* quality, born of volumes that diminish to mere ripples on a flat surface. It thus suggests the delicately vibrant reliefs of the Renaissance sculptor Donatello, and the theatrical *Horses of the Sun* by French eighteenth-century sculptor Robert Le Lorrain (Hôtel de Rohan, Paris), in which Apollo's steeds seem to magically burst forth from the clouds.²⁰

Even as a preliminary sketch, *Fugitives* achieves an extraordinarily intimate alliance of formal, technical, material, and iconographic elements towards the suggestion of an arduous mass migration. The groundline evokes the austere landscape with which toddlers, infant-bearing women, and load-bearing males must engage. The wall of anonymous figures in the background indicates the great multitude of travelers; the differentiated age and sex of the foreground

figures suggest a widespread civil dilemma. Daumier deploys body language, without facial expression, to represent a quietly troubled odyssey in progress. A sense of perpetual motion emerges in the repetition of open, striding legs, at a mesmerizingly constant forty-five-degree angle, from right to left. Its relentlessness is varied only by a crescendo and diminuendo of lights and darks, suggesting progress through time and space: The volumes of the legs and bodies increase to jutting, strongly lit prominence at center, only to "fade" at left.²¹ There are further, subtle transitions in time and place at the central "ford." Not only do figures pivot at that point to face the rear at left,²² but the central woman crossing the gap alters the gait from the right-leg forward position seen in the figures behind her at right, to the left-leg forward stride of those ahead of her at left. The bronze registers the thick slabs of clay, pushed and pressed with fingers, then shaped and incised with tools, that form the swelling anatomy of the figures. Its richness as modeled matter seems to convey the earthbound humanity of figures under emotional and physical strain: the flayed look of the stretched sinews on the burdened males, and the apparent determination of the toddler at center-left, with its forward-straining body, fat buttocks and thighs, and extended right foot propelling it onward as it tries to keep pace with the adults.

The sense of monumentality in the small relief and the congruence of the various expressive elements of Daumier's relief anticipate Rodin's sculpture, which likewise communicates poetically—through evocation, rather than prosaic description—in its emphatic materiality, modeling, and body language regardless of scale. Escholier notes that Daumier's *Fugitives* influenced Belgian sculptor Constantin Meunier—an effect perhaps embodied in the latter's *Return of the Miners* of about 1890 (Nationalgalerie, Berlin).²³

Despite considerable discussion, the circumstances and history of the project remain speculative. Early efforts to identify this relief among works seen in Daumier's studio after 1852 are problematic because of the questionable accuracy of the accounts.²⁴ The most generally accepted description of the project during Daumier's lifetime is very close, except for medium. It is provided by Philippe Burty, concerning a visit to Geoffroy-Dechaume's studio in December 1862: "[Geoffroy-Dechaume] let me see a bas relief in wax and a bas relief in terra cotta by Daumier executed some years before. They treat the same subject with some variation. It is a sort of departure, of flight, of nude people carrying large or heavy packets on their shoulders, their heads, their hips. They are most beautifully modeled. The heads are massed like those in antique works. The backs have a particularly superb anatomy."²⁵

The date of this relief is also conjectural. Most scholars date it to somewhere between 1848 and 1851, based, by some among them, on the many social upheavals within Second-Republic France and, by Maison, upon the kinship of the relief with a closely related drawing that he dates stylistically to these years.²⁶ Vincent, and later Adhémar, argue that the

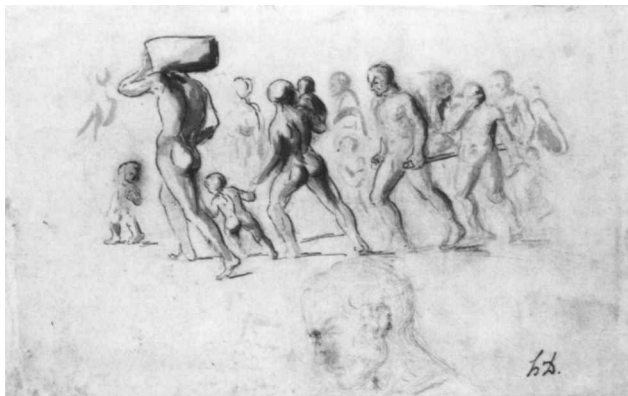


Fig. 2 Honoré Daumier, *Les Emigrants*, c. 1850, black and red chalk, gray wash, and pen and ink on paper, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, RF 36.801, Photo RMN

relief was inspired specifically by the deportations of republicans primarily to Africa beginning in late 1850 and continuing through 1852.²⁷ Lacking any more concrete evidence, the latter views seem the most plausible and the National Gallery relief is here dated accordingly.

Unlike *Ratapoil* and the portrait busts, *Fugitives* relates to Daumier's paintings and drawings rather than to his known prints.²⁸ The paintings depart considerably from the relief in their handling of the subject. However, as scholars frequently note, one drawing (fig. 2) represents a group similar to the figures in highest relief in the sculpture.²⁹ Some, like Maison, consider it an actual study for the bas-relief,³⁰ but its handling does not suggest this was the case. The figures in the drawing are more widely distributed within deeper space, struck by a sharp raking Caravaggesque light that often casts deep shadows. Sonnabend suggests that this freer spatial handling indicates Daumier's reprise of the composition after producing the relief, leading eventually to the panel painting of the subject on loan to the National Gallery, London.³¹

The clay model for the relief is apparently lost. The thorniest problem surrounding *Fugitives* concerns the relationship between the surviving early versions of the composition, two nearly identical clay-colored plasters from which the various bronze editions were cast. Because the early literature frequently refers to two contemporary versions, scholars largely agree that they must be roughly coeval, and were perhaps cast simultaneously by Geoffroy-Dechaume from the original clay models. They were certainly cast during Daumier's lifetime—Geoffroy-Dechaume is identified as the lender of both sketches *in plaster* to the Daumier retrospective of 1878.³² Both remained with Geoffroy-Dechaume's descendants until the mid-twentieth century.

Subtle differences of format, modeling, and condition distinguish the two. Gobin considers the more compact, tooled variant as the "first version" (fig. 3), put aside, he suggests, in favor of a "second," freer, more unfinished version.³³ Recent scholars largely accept Wasserman's and



Fig. 3 Honoré Daumier, *Les Emigrants* ("First Version"), plaster, model c. 1850, cast by 1878, Paris, Musée du Louvre, on deposit at Musée d'Orsay, RF 2830, Photo RMN

Beale's arguments for the reverse of that sequence.³⁴ They suggest the first version was more likely the final one because of its more resolved composition, sophisticated modeling, and the similarity of its fine-gauge comb tooling to that in the portrait busts and *Ratapoil*, next to which Gobin's second version seems earlier because it is more spatially ambiguous, apparently more rapidly worked, and less tooled. Because the plaster of the second version reveals losses that were cast-through from the original model, they speculate that the clay sketch dried out and lost sections of the fragile bottom ledge while it was put aside, before both reliefs were cast in plaster.³⁵

Whatever the actual sequence of their execution, it seems that both were eventually prized, since both were cast in more durable material—possibly at Daumier's request. The two have manifestly different iconography and narrative strategies. The first version places its figures on a totally blank ground that rises at the sides, according to Wasserman, to suggest infinity. By contrast, though the more loosely handled of the two, the second version presents a more descriptive approach to landscape, visible in the shallow horizon above the fragmentary ledge. The "missing" fragments of the ledge in the second-version plasters and bronzes could be read as chasms to be bridged or inclines to be followed, as at far left.³⁶

The original plaster of the second version is now in a private North American collection. Gobin claims the artist's descendants own a plaster fragment of the left side of the relief from the original mold, but does not indicate which version is involved.³⁷ An unmarked gilt-bronze cast (present location unknown) was sold at auction in 1949 by the daughter of sculptor Paul Moreau-Vauthier (1871–c. 1930). It is thought to have been cast around 1895 from Geoffroy-Dechaume's plaster, by Moreau-Vauthier himself, who also may have cast a plaster foundry model of it for Rudier.³⁸

Both variants of *Fugitives* have been serialized, the second version by far the more prolifically.³⁹ The Geoffroy-Dechaume family allegedly retained reproduction rights to the latter.⁴⁰ Four plasters of the second version were cast, apparently by Victor Geoffroy-Dechaume's son Adolphe, after Daumier's death but before 1893, when three were offered to the artist's most active supporters (notably Roger-Marx and Armand Dayot). They are now at the Ny

Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, the Museo de Arte de São Paulo, Brazil, and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.⁴¹ The latter served as model for three bronzes cast by Clementi.⁴²

The National Gallery bronze, purchased by Bureau, is the second of five numbered casts from the initial bronze edition by Siot-Decauville in November 1893, taken from Armand Dayot's plaster of the second version.⁴³ The only other cast from this series currently traced to a museum collection is no. 4, at The Minneapolis Institute of Art, purchased from M. Knoedler and Co., New York, in 1956 as Armand Dayot's bronze.⁴⁴ The location of other casts, which have appeared on the market in recent years, is unknown. This "second" variant also exists in later editions about which little is known, including their locations. They are an unmarked, apparently clandestine edition, reportedly taken from the Roger-Marx plaster, a possibly unauthorized German edition in *galvanoplastie*, and a reduction. Even later, the Alexis Rudier foundry produced an edition, allegedly of ten numbered casts, for the Geoffroy-Dechaume family. Because Gobin's monograph of 1952 does not mention the Rudier edition, it may date after the manuscript. But it does not date long after the publication: The foundry reportedly ceased operation the same year, with the death of Alexis Rudier's son Eugène, who had run the business since his father's death in 1922.⁴⁵

Before the plaster of the first version was acquired by the State in 1960, Eugène's nephew Georges Rudier cast from it an edition of ten numbered bronzes, after which the mold was broken before an official witness. Jean Osouf claimed that two unauthorized bronzes of this version were cast by the Godard foundry, an allegation denied by the foundry and the owner's widow.⁴⁶

SGL

Notes

1. The most extensive discussion of its technical genesis is Wasserman's catalogue entry in Fogg 1969, 176–178. For a discussion of the two plasters, see further in the text.

2. Verbal communication; Shelley Sturman and Judy Ozone, NGA Object Conservation.

3. Identified as the buyer of *Emigrants* in an annotated copy of the catalogue: *Collection Paul Bureau. Première Vente*, 20 May 1927, 91, no. 124, repro. (in NGA library), and in a report on the sale in *La Gazette de l'hôtel Drouot*, (36e année, no. 59, 21 May 1927). Wilhelm Uhde (1874–1947) was a German-born collector, dealer, critic, and historian who resided in Paris for most of his career and wrote extensively on late nineteenth-century French painting. Contrary to Gobin 1952, 309, who claims Bureau owned cast no. 1, Bureau's auction catalogue specifies no. 2. Furthermore, the Bureau family tradition holds that the Rosenwald cast belonged to their family (unsigned handwritten memorandum to the file, in the hand of Douglas Lewis, documenting a visit on 9 August 1978, of Jean-Marie Brouard of Paris, whose maternal grandfather was allegedly Paul Bureau; in NGA curatorial files).

4. Chicago 1934, no. 183. The identifying edition number is given in Cleveland 1936, no. 264.

5. Lenders of this work to a local exhibition by the month of June and then to the Cleveland Museum of Art. See notes 8 and 9.

6. *Modern French and American Art. Property of Mildred H. Lamb, Shaker Heights, Ohio*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 11–12

December 1941, no. 52, repro. Located by Anne Halpern, department of curatorial records and files, NGA.

7. Jean Goriany, letter of 27 November 1941, to Elizabeth Morgan; and invoice of 31 December 1941, to Alverthorpe Gallery, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania; Rosenwald Papers, Box 18. Located by Anne Halpern, department of curatorial records and files, NGA.

8. Opened 2 June 1933. My thanks to Kathy Kottong, artistic director of the Arts Club, for her generous provision of documents concerning this show. Verbal communication, Carol Thum, associate registrar, Cleveland Museum of Art, who pursued this and all registrarial matters pertaining to the Lamb Collection cited in this entry.

9. From 25 July–29 October 1933. Registrar's records, Cleveland Museum of Art. Erroneously cited as "Loan Exhibition of the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Lamb," 1941, in the Lamb sales catalogue (see note 6).

10. The 1941 sales catalogue's claim that this bronze was in an exhibition of contemporary sculpture in 1937 is not confirmed by the registrar's files, though the Lambs did lend various works to the exhibition.

11. Called *Fugitives* in Durand-Ruel 1878, nos. 235 and 236; and Duranty 1878, 535; and *Emigrants* in Alexandre 1888, 339.

12. Alexandre 1888, 339.

13. Gobin 1952, 64; Fogg 1969, 174; Adhémar, "Sculptures après 1834," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75.

14. Gautier 1858, 813. The play, at the Théâtre Ambigu-Comique, by Auguste Anicet-Bourgeois and Ferdinand Duguet, is an adaptation of Félix Maynard's *De Delhi à Cawnpore, journal d'une dame anglaise, pages de l'insurrection hindoue* (Paris, 1858).

15. For an updated catalogue raisonné of Préault's works, see Préault 1997, 118–243.

16. For a discussion of this subject in the various realist modes, as exemplified by Millet's picture and Jean-Pierre Alexandre Antigna's *The Forced Halt* (Musée des Augustins, Toulouse), see Weisberg 1981, 57–58, repro.

17. Margret Stuffman and Martin Sonnabend, "History and Illustration," in Ives, Stuffman, and Sonnabend 1992, 94, 96, fig. 69. Examples of classical reliefs are the *Sacrificial Scene*, a frieze from the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Rome (Musée du Louvre, Paris) or the *Ceremonial Procession* from the exterior of the Ara Pacis, Rome; see Groenewegen-Frankfort and Ashmole 1977, 444 and 449, figs. 659 and 666.

18. Alexandre 1888, 332; Escholier 1923, 10. See the biography on Daumier.

19. Janson 1985, 119, fig. 123.

20. An example of Donatello's relevant reliefs is the marble *Assumption of the Virgin* on the tomb of Cardinal Rainaldo Brancacci (S. Angelo a Nilo, Naples); see Janson, *Donatello*, 1963, pls. 37–40. For Le Lorrain's undated late work for the Hôtel de Rohan, see Levey, "The Early Years: Le Lorrain," in Kalnein and Levey 1972, 47–48, fig. 43.

21. Martin Sonnabend, "Sculptural Aspects of Daumier's Drawings," in Ives, Stuffman, and Sonnabend 1992, 33.

22. Vincent 1968, 152.

23. Escholier 1923, 10. For Meunier's relief, see Janson 1985, 231, fig. 274.

24. Fogg 1969, 174. The most persistently quoted and tantalizing example is Poulet-Malassis' account of his visit to Daumier on 14 January 1852, in which he claims to have seen a relief of "a great bacchanal, in wax, on the studio wall." Recently cited in Laughton 1991, 96.

25. Philippe Burty, note dated 10 December 1862, *Croquis d'après nature*; cited in Cherpain 1979, 156. The most complete review of the debate concerning the early accounts is Fogg 1969, 174.

26. For a brief review, see Fogg 1969, 174 (where no position on chronology is taken) and Adhémar in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75 (see note 13). Gobin 1952, 66, stands alone in arguing for a date of 1871, a stylistic attribution (broad handling due to failing eyesight at the

time) that coincides with migrations associated with the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War. Gobin's date is problematic if one accepts, as this author does, Burty's description of 1862, quoted earlier in the text, as referring to the *Fugitives*.

27. Vincent 1968, 151, and Adhémar in Wasserman et al. 1983, 75 (see note 13). Laughton 1991, 52–56, agrees but notes that the cholera epidemic of the summer of 1849 was also a reason for flight: In August it caused Daumier to escort his wife to Langrone for safety.

28. Maison 1968, 1: 1–27, pl. 293 (which he dates 1848–1850); 1–56–57, pls. 65–66 (both dated 1852–1855); 169, 1–215, pl. 68 (dated 1868–1870); Maison 1968, 2: nos. 741, pl. 293, and no. 819, pl. 317.

29. Fogg 1969, fig. 38c.

30. Maison 1968, 2: no. 819, pl. 317.

31. Sonnabend in Ives, Stuffman, and Sonnabend 1992, 33, repro. (see note 21).

32. Durand-Ruel 1878, nos. 234–235. If Burty's earlier-cited account of seeing these works at Geoffroy-Dechaume's is reliable, they had been with this sculptor since at least 1862.

33. Gobin 1952, 308.

34. Fogg 1969, 176–178. Wasserman notes that French specialists, particularly Marcel Lecomte, had already arrived at the reversed sequence themselves.

35. See Arthur Beale's technical report on the second-version plaster, in Fogg 1969, 177–178.

36. For a discussion of the losses, see Fogg 1969, 177–178.

37. Gobin 1952, 309.

38. Cherpin 1979, 160.

39. The most complete discussions of the serialization are Fogg 1969, 175–176, and Cherpin 1979, 157–162, 201–204.

40. *Note rétrospective de M. Bouasse-Lebel*, in Cherpin 1979, 203–204.

41. Cherpin 1979, 160.

42. Grand Palais 1986, 69, repro. For a cast marked 9/10, reportedly from one of three Clementi editions, see *19th and 20th Century Sculpture from the Collection of Joey and Toby Tanenbaum*, Sotheby's, New York, 26 May 1994, no. 83, color repro.

43. Adolphe Geoffroy-Dechaume, undated letter from between 16 and 31 May 1914, to Bouasse-Lebel; in Cherpin 1979, 202. Bouasse-Lebel claimed six bronzes were cast but did not know the location of the sixth (*Note rétrospective* in Cherpin 1979, 203). For discussion of the edition before Cherpin's publication of that document, see Fogg 1969, 175.

44. Bill of sale dated 11 October 1956, alleging Dayot's collection as its source (Minneapolis Institute of Art curatorial files). My thanks to Caroline Wanstall, departmental administrative assistant, for the relevant documents. The Minneapolis bronze may be the Knoedler cast shown in the Museum of Modern Art's *Corot-Daumier* exhibition of 1930, no. 148.

45. Tancock 1976, 35, claims 1952; Fogg 1969, 39, claims 1953.

46. Cherpin 1979, 162.

References

1965 NGA: 152.

1968 NGA: 133, repro.

1994 NGA: 58, repro.

IMITATOR OF HONORÉ DAUMIER

1951.17.1–2 (A-1598–1599)

The Smiling Man and Man in a Tall Hat

Models possibly 1830s; cast 1944/1950

Brass, average height 9 cm.

Rosenwald Collection

Inscriptions

Incised in the model, on the right rear of the collar on each head: h.D.

Technical Notes: Both heads were hollow-cast from unbaked-clay models, probably by the indirect lost-wax method, since the interior of each contains traces of refractory material characteristic of the investment core for that procedure. The composition of the alloys of the two, as determined by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), is an unusually zinc-rich brass, but each bears a markedly different percentage and ratio of copper and zinc. The average amounts in the *Smiling Man* are about 79% copper and 12% zinc, those in the *Man with a Tall Hat* are about 70% copper and 20% zinc. Both contain 5% tin, 3% lead, and less than 1% each of nickel, iron, antimony, and chromium. There is extensive cold-work with fine, pointed tools throughout both heads to enhance texture and detail. The patinas were achieved by brushing a chemical solution onto the heated bronze, producing an “antique” effect (dark-greenish black). Both may bear a light coat of varnish; both have minor surface scratches and abrasions. The flange supporting *Smiling Man* is weak due to a mended crack.

Provenance: (J. Falk-Jensen, Athenaeum Kunsthandel, Copenhagen, by January 1951);¹ sold 21 February 1951 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.²

THESE ARE FULL-SCALE twentieth-century serial casts after two unbaked-clay busts whose attribution to Daumier is strongly contested. Their given history offers little firm evidence for associating them with the artist. Found by sculptor Jean Osouf in 1944 at an unnamed Paris gallery on rue Drouot, the clays were presented as a pair in an oval vitrined base dating from the Second Empire, with a handwritten label: “Reminiscence of my adoptive father A. Bertrand, mason-journeyman, found in the debris of Daumier's home after a fire.”³ Haavard Rostrup, who immediately purchased the clay pendants for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, introduced them merely as “Caricature Busts.”⁴ Gobin's alternative *Tête d'homme en chapeau haut de forme* (*Head of a Man with a Tall Hat*) and *Tête d'homme souriant* (*Head of a Smiling Man*) have become their most widely accepted titles.⁵

Scholars tacitly agree that the clay models were executed by the same artist. Those who support the attribution to Daumier relate the two to specific examples of his work. Rostrup links their muted characterization to the artist's lithographic genre works of the 1840s and 1850s, their portrayal of seedy cunning as a prefiguration of Daumier's *Ratapail* (see p. 189), and argues that *Smiling Man* resembles the



Imitator of Honoré Daumier, *The Smiling Man* and *Man in a Tall Hat*, 1951.17.1–1951.17.2

artist himself.⁶ Gobin claims the pair is stylistically distinct from most of Daumier's work, but aligns them with what he considers weaker lithographs from the 1830s. He associates *Smiling Man* to *Ferey*, whose lithographic portrait was published in *Le Charivari* on 6 July 1835, and *Man in a Tall Hat* with a mustachioed figure from a genre scene published in the same journal on 16 July 1838.⁷

All scholars consider the models to be of high artistic quality, and concede that the bronze casts are inadequate reflections of their prototypes.⁸ Wasserman nonetheless feels the original clay pair was made by an artist other than Daumier. She argues that, though these may not be caricatures like the portrait busts, the shallow modeling, variety of tooling, descriptive detail, and fragmentary format seem alien to Daumier's undercutting, rich but consistently handled tooling, and truncated format for his portrait busts.⁹ Marcel Lecomte supports Rostrup's and Gobin's attribution of the pair to Daumier as well as the latter's date of the mid-1830s.¹⁰

This author follows Wasserman to suggest an "as yet unidentified" nineteenth-century sculptor for the two heads.¹¹ Their physiognomical handling, plastic values, and expressive vitality seem entirely removed from any work by Daumier, regardless of period or medium. Their modeling reflects formal training in sculpture. Despite their genial contemporaneity and rumpled "unfinished" surfaces—more muted than in any of Daumier's fully accepted sculptural work—they possess qualities that recall genre figures by a variety of trained sculptors of the 1830s throughout Europe: their restrained treatment of mass, surface, and expression; their greater concentration upon details; and their almost precious scale.¹² The most persuasive connection to Daumier is the monogram which, as Wasserman indicates, could have been "applied independently of their creation," by incising the surface after moistening it.¹³

Little is known about the serialization of the pair in bronze. As Wasserman notes, there is no cachet to identify the foundry. It seems likely that they were cast before the clays were purchased for the Glyptotek, possibly under Osouf's supervision. Only one numbered edition of fifteen is known, recently identified as by Valsuani Paris, despite the lack of foundry cachet, and available by 1950 when a pair was purchased by the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.¹⁴ Trial proofs also exist, but with conflicting information about them. Wasserman claims two trial proofs of each were cast,¹⁵ whereas Lecomte asserts three of each were made, identified by two letters, "E[ssai] A," "E B," etc. The complete lack of marks on the National Gallery bronzes makes their status even more unclear. They could have been cast in Copenhagen, where they were purchased. The apparent composition of the alloys is so distinctive, in the varying contents of each head and high proportion in each of zinc to copper, that it suggests the pair was not cast by the standard art foundries of Paris of that time.¹⁶ Lecomte notes having seen unmarked casts, but does not elaborate on the subject. It is possible that they reflect a separate authorized edition from the same year.

The Stockholm bronzes are numbered 2/15; Rostrup claims other public collections own examples but does not give any details. In the 1970s Lecomte owned a pair of bronzes whose marks are not indicated.¹⁷

1951.17.1 (A-1598)

The Smiling Man

Model possibly 1830s; cast 1944/1950

Bronze, 8 × 6.2 × 6.3 (3⅞ × 2⅞ × 2½)

Rosenwald Collection

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 65.

Other marked casts documented at auction are: bronze reportedly marked "I. F." (Sotheby's, London, 5 July 1973); no. 1/15 (Paris, Palais Galliera, 4 March 1975); and no. 13/15 (Copenhagen, Collection of Arne Bruun Rasmussen, 30 August 1977).

1951.17.2 (A-1599)

Man in a Tall Hat

Model possibly 1830s; cast 1944/1950

Bronze, 10.2 × 6.4 × 6.4 (4 × 2½ × 2½)

Rosenwald Collection

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 66.

Other marked casts documented at auction are: "I.A.E." (Sotheby's, London, 5 July 1975); 8/15 (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 13 November 1969); and 13/15 (Sotheby's, London, 25 October 1989).

SGL

Notes

1. Correspondence of 12 January–16 February 1951 between Elizabeth Mongan, Haavard Rostrup (curator, NCG), and J. Falk-Jensen, Athenaeum Kunsthandel, Copenhagen; Rosenwald Papers, Box 47. The heads are never overtly described, but internal evidence in the correspondence clearly indicates that they are casts of the two models just purchased for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and awaiting publication by its curator. For a discussion of the clay models, see further in the entry.

2. Date of purchase recorded in annotation on 16 February 1951 letter referenced in note 1, and a list of Rosenwald purchases for February 1951; Rosenwald Papers, Box 44. Also, Elizabeth Mongan to Henri Petiet, 9 March 1951: "... John Rewald gave me a kind tip that there were two more *unknown* Daumier bronzes in Copenhagen. I did write for them, and we have bought them bringing our lot up to 38 [alluding to the thirty-six portrait busts]. I have not seen them as yet"; Rosenwald Papers, Box 48.

3. The major discussions of these two heads are Rostrup 1951, 40–48; Gobin 1952, 35–37; and Wasserman's catalogue entries in Fogg 1969, 248–250.

4. Rostrup 1951, figs. 1–2.

5. Gobin 1952, 241, 243, repro. *Head of a Smiling Man* is more commonly known as "Head of a Laughing Man," despite the French term "*souriant*."

6. Rostrup 1951, 46–47.

7. Gobin 1952, 240–243, repro. Wasserman's entry in Fogg 1969, 249, argues that Daumier's lithograph of 1842, *The Knight of the Golden Spur*, comes even closer to the bust (fig. 66c).

8. See especially Rostrup 1951, 40; and Wasserman's entry in Fogg 1969, 249.

9. Wasserman's entry in Fogg 1969, 249.

10. Lecomte 1979, nos. 38–39. All other references to Lecomte, in the context of these heads, are from this source.

11. Wasserman's entry in Fogg 1969, 250.

12. One example with comparable period dress, features, and coiffure is *Standing Man with Top Hat*, c. 1835–1840, by Karl Friedrich Müller, who trained both in Germany and France; Shepherd Gallery 1985, 50, repro. Similarly animated expressions can be found in the informal modern work of traditionally trained sculptors outside France since the earliest decades of the century. See, for example, Josef Malinsky, *Valet*, c. 1805, in Rheims 1977, 88, no. 5, repro. Ward-Jackson (personal communication) instead suggests an Italian source or even Geoffroy-Dechaume's work outside the neo-gothic monumental category, as in his portrait bust of Daubigny (Daubigny tomb, Père Lachaise cemetery, Paris).

13. Wasserman's entry in Fogg 1969, 250.

14. Petra Grömlinger, letter to the author dated 14 April 1997 (in NGA curatorial files).

15. Wasserman's entry in Fogg 1969, 248.

16. For example, the ten National Gallery figurines, called "Imitator of Daumier" in this catalogue, cast by Valsuani, or the same foundry's cast of Géricault's *Flayed Horse III* (see p. 264).

17. Ingelheim 1971, nos. 480–481.

References

1994 NGA: 61–62, repro.

1965 NGA: 150, as by Daumier.

1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.

IMITATOR OF HONORÉ DAUMIER

1953.8.1–2 (A-1638–1639), 1954.13.2–3 (A-1641–1642),

1958.8.1–2 (A-1697–1698), 1961.17.1–2 (A-1702–1703),

1964.8.1–2 (A-1715–1716)

Ten Figurines

Models probably after 1860; cast 1930s/1960s

Bronze

Rosenwald Collection

Inscriptions

Incised on the self-base of each figurine, in the model and enhanced after casting: h. D.

Marks

Valsuani foundry *cachet*

1953.8.1–2: Stamped on the exterior rim of the base: BRONZE

An edition number on the underside of each figurine

Technical Notes: The figurines were hollow cast by the lost-wax process, from plaster foundry models made from prototypes reputedly of terra-cotta. The quality of the casts is uniformly high, with few flaws.¹ Three figurines were analyzed by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF). The average percentage composition of their alloys classifies them as brass: 87% copper, 8% zinc, 5% tin, and less than 1% iron and lead. The presence of less than 1% chromium may derive from the patina. The extent and quality of cold-work varies considerably among the figurines. Chasing is especially fine in *The Small Shopkeeper*. All bear a greenish-black patina that was achieved by brushing a chemical solution onto the heated bronze. All the figurines have been varnished, yet some—for example, *The Visitor*, *The Stroller*, and *The Listener*—have a glossier surface, either due to a different chemical composition of the patina or a heavier application of varnish. Several figures have minor surface scratches.²

Provenance: (Maurice Gobin, Paris, c. 1950–1956);³ (Henri M. Petiet, Paris); sold December 1952–April 1963 to Lessing Julius Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.⁴

THESE TEN BRONZES are full-scale twentieth-century casts after a group of monogrammed genre statuettes that remain the most problematic works discovered and attributed posthumously to Daumier. They represent over half the original corpus of nineteen figurines, reportedly of terra-cotta, first introduced and discussed by Gobin in 1952.⁵ Three additional subjects were widely attached to the group in the 1960s,⁶ and still other statuettes continue to be associated with it. Tallies of their total number and composition consequently vary. One of the most inclusive accounts, by Marcel Lecomte, puts the number at twenty-four terra cottas.⁷ Not all of the original group was serialized as bronzes, and not all of those terra cottas have survived: The locations of some are unknown and at least one has been destroyed.⁸

Gobin gives no documentary evidence for Daumier's authorship and, in most cases, confers the titles by which the group and individual figurines are most widely known. His arguments for attributing the figurines to Daumier are technical and stylistic, and rest heavily upon the perceived relationship of the figurines to Daumier's graphic work. Indeed, his chronology and titles largely derive from the prints that he associates with specific figurines. According to Gobin, the terra cottas were produced in three "periods," from the 1840s to the 1860s, as study works from life for lithographs and woodcuts. He considers the terra cottas to be directly modeled from life and superior to the prints in having greater spontaneity. The obvious differences between the sculptural and graphic versions, he claims, reflect Daumier's free interpretation of those models in the later graphic work.⁹

Some Daumier scholars dispute Gobin's attribution of the newly discovered figurines. They argue that the corpus lacks the essential quality of, and stylistic affinity with, his accepted work. For these reasons Durbé and his colleagues excluded the figurines from the 1961 Daumier exhibition in Milan, and Durbé later omitted them in his monograph of 1966.¹⁰ Maison dismisses the terra cottas as "superior bric-a-brac."¹¹ The most wide-ranging challenge to Gobin's arguments is from Wasserman.¹² She proposes, on technical grounds, that the terra cottas derive from the prints. The figurines and prints are rendered facing the same direction, whereas a print normally reverses its model. Unlike *Ratapail*, whose dramatically serpentine form appears from all points of view in the prints, the figurines favor frontal or quarter views, as if taken from a single two-dimensional source. She argues that the stylistic differences between these figurines and Daumier's prints are atypical for the artist. She sees the figurines' characterizations as weak syntheses of Daumier's graphic types, and as stereotypical, vacuous, and saccharine compared with Daumier's usual



Imitator of Honoré Daumier, *Ten Figurines*, 1964.8.2, 1953.8.1, 1954.13.2, 1953.8.2, 1964.8.1, 1954.13.3, 1958.8.1, 1961.17.2, 1961.17.1, 1958.8.2

astringency and variety in his documented work. In Wasserman's view, the body forms and relationship of clothing to the body in the figurines have none of the subtlety or variety seen in the prints. And finally, as sculpture, these works suggest to her the mind and hand of a conventionally trained sculptor or artisan, which Daumier was not. For Wasserman, their mechanical assurance and consistency differ from the wiry distortions and daring, turbulent flourishes of Daumier's accepted works. The technical superiority of the terra cottas to Daumier's uncontested sculpture seems especially significant. The subdued surfaces and stout, hollow construction, often integrating a supportive trunk for stability, suggests to Wasserman a technique intended for immediate firing or casting for durability, unlike Daumier's apparently slapdash approach and physically delicate results in the busts and *Ratapail*, for example. This author suggests that, rather than Daumier's sheer inexpertise compared with that of the figurines' maker, the differences Wasserman notes might emphasize a known fact, that Daumier's accepted models—particularly the portrait busts—were apparently not conceived for firing or casting.

Wasserman repudiates Gobin's dating as well. She concludes the original terra cottas were made by one individual, using Daumier's prints, and that they could date from the twentieth century. De Caso suggests alternatively that they might have been made by one of the legions of obscure artisan-sculptors active during Daumier's sudden celebrity in the 1860s, many of whom advertised "the imitation of caricatures and sketches," works that were broadly distributed in inexpensive formats by street peddlars.¹³ As evidence he notes a related work with a double signature, an H. D. with a partially effaced J. D. alongside: the second terra cotta of *The Representative*, that Gobin identifies as a copy of a Daumier print by Dantan *jeune*.¹⁴ For de Caso, these works constitute a legitimate, if modest, category of work that could have been approved by Daumier or his widow: "They are, artistically speaking, neither a fake nor a pastiche. As with a print, the signature J. D. separates the execution of the statuette from the invention of the model whose signature H. D. illuminates the paternity and assures its marketability."

Escholier and Lecomte instead support Gobin's views. The latter acknowledges Wasserman's skepticism in principle,¹⁵ but offers various counter-arguments. As to the problematic lack of documentable provenance, Lecomte suggests that they, like the political busts, could have been "abandoned" to the hands of the editor who had commissioned the genre subjects, Léon Curmer, whose holdings were dispersed without a trace after his death in 1870.¹⁶ He supports Gobin's attribution on the basis of the formal quality of the figurines. Tacitly, the attribution was upheld by the inclusion of seven of these figurines in a Daumier exhibition in Bremen in 1980.¹⁷

No sounder arguments or documentary evidence have emerged since. This author rejects the attribution to Daumier for the stylistic and technical reasons proposed by

Wasserman, Maison, and Durbé and his Italian colleagues. Wasserman's and de Caso's suggestion—that they are the product of an artist working freely from the prints—also seems compelling. The formal character of these works seems markedly different from anything surely given to Daumier. They seem fundamentally alien, in temper and approach, to the artist's work in any medium. The stolid, uniform figural canon of the figurines has little of Daumier's fluctuating physiological strategies; the bodies seem stiff and reticent compared with his subtle, pliant examples. The facial types are as unlike Daumier's as they are uniform among themselves, and the subdued surfaces and contours have little richness.

Yet this near canonicity does not suggest an identifiable artist—or artists.¹⁸ The figurines might date from the nineteenth century, as de Caso proposes, since such modern genre subjects had been produced throughout Europe since the turn of the century, and works with "sketchy" qualities, such as Pradier's *Chloris* (see p. 301), had been marketed in France since the mid-century. The lower-level market for caricatures that de Caso identifies is even more likely, but too little is known about it to speculate further.

The terra cottas for most of the figurines appear to be still in private hands in Paris. The models for some are currently untraceable, including those for *The Dandy* and *The Confidant* in the National Gallery set. Though unpublished until 1952, several were known in the 1930s. Two terra cottas, of subjects outside the National Gallery corpus (*The Amateur* and *The Bourgeois Out for a Walk*), were bought by David-Weill in 1933.¹⁹ Gobin states that around 1930 he studied the terra cotta of *The Lawyer Tipping His Hat* through Eduard Fuchs who, "some years later," owned a bronze of it.²⁰ Gobin further identifies two bronzes, in the 1936 Daumier exhibition at the Albertina, as trial proofs for *The Man of Affairs* and *The Dandy*.²¹

These early "proofs" may derive from the only authorized edition of the figurines, by the Valsuani foundry in Paris. Correspondence in the Rosenwald Papers suggests that the project was initiated and supervised by Maurice Gobin himself, who owned about a dozen of the models, simultaneously with the publication of his book.²² He also seems to have masterminded the distribution and pricing of the works. Serial production in bronze began, according to Valsuani foundry director Antoine Tamburro, in the 1930s.²³ That early date may only indicate work on the trial proofs, however. Lessing Rosenwald's source, Henri Petiet, announced the forthcoming "publication" of the first serial casts in May 1951 and offered most of them to Rosenwald, allegedly just before they were released to the public.²⁴ The Valsuani foundry produced an edition of thirty casts of seventeen of the eighteen original terra cottas, all numbered and stamped, plus three or four justified trial proofs.²⁵ Several figurines outside the National Gallery selection were reserved for the founder, for A. Dunoyer de Segonac, and for Madame Thérèse Dorny.²⁶ According to Lecomte, the Valsuani edition was a one-time venture, and the plaster

foundry models were destroyed after casting.²⁷ Judging by the National Gallery bronzes, the series is technically homogeneous in some features and variable in others. The alloys are relatively consistent, the quality of the casts uniformly fine, and the patina is very similar. The cold-work, however, differs so much in quality and character that it suggests strongly individual approaches to specific casts.

Rosenwald purchased all the figurines he eventually donated to the National Gallery from Petiet, and kept all but two of those sent on approval.²⁸ As mentioned earlier in the text, Rosenwald received them as soon as they were serialized, which was in pairs. Each pair has the same number in its corresponding edition. The five pairs, brief entries on which follow, span their editions with casts from early, middle, and late points in the numerical sequence. The first pair, *The Man of Affairs* and *The Dandy*, casts marked 6/30, were serialized and released around June 1951, and purchased December 1952.²⁹ The second pair, *The Stroller* and *The Lover*, casts marked 20/30, were serialized and released around January 1954, and purchased in May of that year.³⁰ The third pair, *The Confidant* and *The Representative*, casts marked 20/30, were serialized and released around November 1954, and purchased the following month.³¹ The fourth pair, *The Small Shopkeeper* and *The Visitor*, casts marked 11/30, were serialized and released after February 1956 and purchased that June.³² The fifth and final pair, *The Jolly Good Fellow* and *The Listener*, were serialized and released November 1956 and purchased April 1963.³³

The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, which owns nine figurines, is the only other museum known to own casts from this group.³⁴ Most seem to be in private hands. John C. Whitehead, New York, owns twenty-one, with differing edition marks, the majority from the full series that belonged to Count Aldo Borletti di Arosio, Milan.³⁵ Ten of the group in the Gutzwiller Collection, also bearing various edition numbers, were sold on 24 June 1996.³⁶ The following collectors are known to have owned a selection, if not the full series, with unrecorded edition marks: Eberhard W. Kornfeld, Bern, and Marcel Lecomte and René Gaston-Dreyfus in Paris. The latter sold his at auction at the Palais Galliera, Paris, on 14 June 1966. At least six figurines, whose marks are not recorded, were last known in the collection of Benjamin A. and Julia M. Trustman, Boston.³⁷ Casts appear frequently in exhibitions and the market.

1953.8.1 (A-1638)

The Man of Affairs (L'homme d'affaires), numbered 6/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around June 1951

Bronze, 19.5 × 6.8 × 7 (7¹/₁₆ × 2¹/₁₆ × 2³/₄)

Two individuals other than, or including, Gobin apparently co-owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization. It was purchased by a Parisian collector after Petiet unsuccessfully tried to sell it to Rosenwald.³⁸

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 53.

References

- 1965 NGA: 150, as by Daumier.
- 1968 NGA: 133, repro., as by Daumier.
- 1994 NGA: 62, repro.

1953.8.2 (A-1639)

The Dandy (Le dandy), numbered 6/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around June 1951

Bronze, 18.7 × 6.8 × 6.5 (7³/₈ × 2¹/₁₆ × 2⁵/₁₆)

Two individuals other than, or including, Gobin apparently co-owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization. It was purchased by a Parisian collector after Petiet unsuccessfully tried to sell it to Rosenwald.³⁹ Its location was unknown at the time of the Fogg exhibition of 1969.⁴⁰

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 15, as by Honoré Daumier. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 52.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
- 1968 NGA: 133, repro., as by Daumier.
- 1994 NGA: 60, repro.

1954.13.2 (A-1641)

The Stroller (Le bourgeois qui flâne), numbered 20/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around January 1954

Bronze, 18.8 × 8.4 × 6 (7³/₈ × 3³/₁₆ × 2³/₈)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization, however Petiet did not purchase the bronze from him. This cast is the only one documented to have been purchased by Petiet for Rosenwald from another source.⁴¹

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Hill School 1964.⁴² Fogg 1969, no. 50.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
- 1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
- 1994 NGA: 63, repro.

1954.13.3 (A-1642)

The Lover (L'amoureux), numbered 20/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around January 1954

Bronze, 18 × 8.3 × 6.3 (7¹/₁₆ × 3¹/₄ × 2¹/₂)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization. The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, has cast no. 11/30.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 45.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
- 1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
- 1994 NGA: 61, repro.

1958.8.1 (A-1697)

The Confidant (Le confidant), numbered 20/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around November 1954

Bronze, 18.4 × 6 × 5.8 (7¹/₄ × 2³/₈ × 2⁵/₁₆)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serial-



Imitator of Honoré Daumier, *The Man of Affairs* (*L'homme d'affaires*) and *The Dandy* (*Le dandy*), 1953.8.1–1953.8.2



Imitator of Honoré Daumier, *The Stroller* (*Le bourgeois qui flâne*) and *The Lover* (*L'amoureux*), 1954.13.2–1954.13.3



Imitator of Honoré Daumier, *The Confidant* (*Le confidant*) and *The Representative* (*Le représentant noue sa cravate*), 1958.8.1–1958.8.2



Imitator of Honoré Daumier, *The Small Shopkeeper* (*Le petit propriétaire*) and *The Visitor* (*Le visiteur*), 1961.17.1–1961.17.2



Imitator of Honoré Daumier, *The Jolly Good Fellow (Le bon vivant)* and *The Listener (Le bourgeois en attente)*, 1964.8.1–1964.8.2

ization. Its location was unknown at the time of the Fogg exhibition of 1969. The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, has cast no. 23/30.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 51.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
1994 NGA: 60, repro.

1958.8.2 (A-1698)

The Representative (Le représentant noue sa cravate), numbered 20/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around November 1954

Bronze, 17.6 × 7.2 × 6.5 (6¹/₁₆ × 2¹/₁₆ × 2⁹/₁₆)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization. A second terra cotta (location unknown), discussed earlier in this entry, with a partially effaced second monogram of J. D. and slightly different handling, is also documented. Its identity, relationship to Gobin's accepted figurine, and implications for the authenticity of the entire group remain disputed.

Exhibited: NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 59.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
1994 NGA: 62, repro.

1961.17.1 (A-1702)

The Small Shopkeeper (Le petit propriétaire), numbered 11/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around February 1956

Bronze, 16.9 × 7.8 × 5.7 (6⁵/₈ × 3¹/₁₆ × 2¹/₄)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization. The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, has cast no. 23/30.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 19, as *The Little Proprietor*. LACMA 1958, no. 242. NGA 1960. *Exhibition of Sculpture, Prints, Drawings, and Paintings by Daumier*, Watson Gallery, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, 1965, no cat.⁴² Fogg 1969, no. 56.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
1994 NGA: 62, repro.

1961.17.2 (A-1703)

The Visitor (Le visiteur), numbered 11/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around February 1956

Bronze, 17 × 6.3 × 6.2 (6¹/₁₆ × 2¹/₂ × 2⁷/₁₆)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 20. NGA 1960. Hill School 1964. Fogg 1969, no. 61.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
1994 NGA: 63, repro.

1964.8.1 (A-1715)

The Jolly Good Fellow (Le bon vivant), numbered 11/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around November 1956

Bronze, 16.2 × 6.5 × 5.4 (6³/₈ × 2⁵/₁₆ × 2¹/₈)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 17. LACMA 1958, no. 241. NGA 1960. *Exhibition of Sculpture, Prints, Drawings, and Paintings by Daumier*, Watson Gallery, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, 1965, no cat. Fogg 1969, no. 47.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
1994 NGA: 61, repro.

1964.8.2 (A-1716)

The Listener (Le bourgeois en attente), numbered 11/30

Model probably after 1860; cast around November 1956

Bronze, 15.5 × 6.9 × 7.4 (6¹/₈ × 2¹/₁₆ × 2¹/₁₆)

Gobin apparently owned the terra cotta at the time of its serialization.

Exhibited: BMFA 1958, no. 18, as *The Attentive Bourgeois*. NGA 1960. Fogg 1969, no. 48.

References

- 1965 NGA: 151, as by Daumier.
1968 NGA: 134, repro., as by Daumier.
1994 NGA: 61, repro.

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Notes

1. The exception is *The Lover* (p. 210), which has a small hole, approximately 1 mm. in diameter, on the underside of the cloak near the right side.
2. Under the right arm of *The Visitor*; on the hands and back of the coat of *The Listener*; on the nose and back of the coat of *The Man of Affairs*; on the abdomen of *The Jolly Good Fellow*; on the head and back of the coat of *The Representative*; and on the top hat of *The Stroller*.
3. See the discussion and documentation in the text.
4. All references to the Rosenwald Papers can be found in the NGA Archives. For details, see further in the text.
5. Gobin 1952, 37–58, 79–83, 98–106, 110–115, nos. 40–58. The remaining original subjects not represented in the National Gallery group, most of which were serialized in bronze, are: *L'amateur d'art* (Gobin 1952, no. 58 [not edited]); *L'avocat saluant* (Gobin 1952, no. 46); *Le bourgeois en promenade* (Gobin 1952, no. 52); *Le lecteur* (Gobin 1952, no. 45); *Le monsieur qui ricane* (Gobin 1952, no. 47); *Le poète* (Gobin 1952, no. 42); *Le portier parisien* (Gobin 1952, no. 44); *Le rôdeur* (Gobin 1952, no. 53), all repro. Gobin cites yet another, which he entitled *Valet de chambre* (Gobin 1952, no. 43), and which he claims to have seen only once, "for a few minutes" in the 1940s: It remained unphotographed and unserialized.
6. *L'amateur surpris*, *L'Amateur en contemplation*, and *Coquetterie*; included in the group, perhaps for the first time, in the René Gaston-Dreyfus sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, 14 June 1966, nos. 35, 45–46, pls. 17, 20; and Fogg 1969, 244–247.
7. Lecomte 1979.
8. Gobin 1952, 45n. 1, *L'avocat saluant*.
9. Gobin 1952, 38.
10. Durbé 1961 and Durbé 1966.
11. Maison 1968, 1: 36n. 30.
12. Wasserman, "Introduction to the Figures," in Fogg 1969, 205–208, and Wasserman, "Les Statuettes," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 77. All points of her argument presented below derive from these sources.
13. De Caso, "Les Statuettes," in Wasserman et al. 1983, 78–79. All subsequent points of his argument are from this source.
14. Gobin 1952, 326.
15. Ingelheim 1971.
16. Lecomte 1979. Unless otherwise noted, all further references to Lecomte's arguments are from this source.
17. Bremen 1980, no. 15.
18. More than one artist may be involved or the corpus may not have been conceived as an integral unit, since several among the original figurines, all absent from the Rosenwald group, are noticeably larger in scale, more textured in handling, and physiognomically less coherent: *Le portier parisien*, *L'avocat saluant*, and *Le monsieur qui ricane*.
19. Wasserman, "Introduction to the Figurines," in Fogg 1969, 205.
20. Gobin 1952, 45n. 1.
21. Albertina 1936, nos. 82–83. Gobin 1952, 245, identifies no. 82, *Offiziöser Verteidiger am Friedengerichtshof*, as *The Man of Affairs*; and no. 83, *Mann mit dem Hut in der Hand*, as *The Dandy*, and claims they are marked. Lacking illustrations of the entries, the catalogue information is not conclusive. Both figurines are described as merely monogrammed "bronzestatuetten," with no mention of edition marks. The latter's title and dimensions (18 cm.) are indeed close to

those of *The Dandy* (18.7 cm.). However, its comparison to one in Delteil 1969, 27: "3038" (probably no. 3037), more strongly suggests *The Lover*, which is the same size. The given dimensions for *The Man with Hat in Hand* (17.5 cm.) suggests a figure gesturing with his hat closer to *The Visitor* (16 cm.) than *The Man of Affairs* (19.5 cm.), which is among the largest in the group.

22. For Gobin's role in the serialization and distribution of these figurines, see Henri M. Petiet, letters of 27 April 1956, 16 July and 11 December 1957, to Elizabeth Mongan; and Mongan, letter of 20 December 1957, to Petiet. The exceptional cast obtained directly from a source other than Gobin is *The Stroller*; see Petiet, letter of 7 January 1954 to Lessing Rosenwald. (Correspondence in Rosenwald Papers, Box 61 [1954], Box 69 [1956], and Box 74 [1957]).

23. Wasserman in Fogg 1969, 205 (see note 19). Tamburro is also directly attributed with casting Gericault's *Flayed Horse* in 1959–1960. See the entry on *Flayed Horse III* (p. 263).

24. Henri M. Petiet, letters of 18 May and 25 June 1951, to Elizabeth Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 48.

25. Wasserman in Fogg 1969, 205 (see note 19). Lecomte 1979. According to Lecomte, all but one have three justified trial proofs; *The Bourgeois Taking a Walk* (his no. 53) has four. The casts are numbered accordingly, but information on the marks differs. Lecomte says they are identified by "E. E." [*épreuve essai*, or trial proof]. According to Gobin 1952, 245, a numerical sequence (1–3) is preceded by the letter "E." Some of the figurines added to the group following the publication of Gobin's 1952 monograph allegedly bear the mark "h. c." [*hors commerce*]. If accurate, the marks published in the sales catalogue, however, suggest additional variations.

26. According to Lecomte 1979, these were *L'avocat saluant*; *Coquetterie*; *Le bourgeois en promenade*; and *L'amateur d'art*. The last was possibly cast after 1969, since the Fogg catalogue states that this figurine had not been cast at that point.

27. Lecomte 1979.

28. *Le portier parisien* and *Le rôdeur*. Held on approval 9 July 1957, and returned after 8 May 1963, per Elizabeth Mongan, letter of 9 July 1957, to Henri Petiet, and Richard Field, letter of 8 May 1963, to Petiet; Rosenwald Papers, Box 74 [1957], and Box 99 [1963].

29. Petiet, letters of 18 May and 25 June 1951, to Elizabeth Mongan; and Mongan, list titled "Alverthorpe—Daumier. Bronzes purchased" [from H. M. Petiet, Paris] and dated June 1959 (hereafter cited as *Bronze Review* 1959); all in Rosenwald Papers, Box 48 [1951], Box 82 [1959, file labeled "1959—Dealers: Other Dealers [J–Z]"].

30. Petiet, letter of 7 January 1954, to Rosenwald; Rosenwald Papers, Box 61; *Bronze Review* 1959.

31. Petiet, letter of 26 November 1954, to Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 61; *Bronze Review* 1959.

32. Petiet, letters of 22 February and 27 April 1956, to Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 69; *Bronze Review* 1959.

33. Petiet, letter of 13 November 1956, to Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 69; *Bronze Review* 1959.

34. Hirshhorn 1974, 678. See the list of public and private collections in Lecomte 1979. The owners' holdings are neither itemized nor identified as to edition numbers.

35. Moeller 1987, 38–39, repro. The figurines are attributed to Daumier, though the text (p. 39) acknowledges the dispute.

36. *Impressionist Art from The Gutzwiller Collection*, Sotheby's, London, 24 June 1996, no. 2, repro.

37. *Le poète*, *Le portier parisien*, *Le lecteur*, *Le représentant*, *Le confidant*, *Le rôdeur*; exhibited in Brandeis 1963, nos. 121–126 [not repro.].

38. Petiet, letters of 27 January and 6 February 1954, to Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 61.

39. Petiet, letters of 27 January and 6 February 1954, to Mongan; Rosenwald Papers, Box 61.

40. Wasserman in Fogg 1969, 205 (see note 19).

41. Petiet, letter of 7 January 1954, to Rosenwald; Rosenwald Papers, Box 61.

42. For documentation, see NGA curatorial files.

Pierre-Jean David d'Angers

1788–1856

A FACT THAT he never forgot, David d'Angers rose to eminence with considerable help, over the objections of his father, a modest woodcarver in Angers, who felt the arts had few true friends and offered no secure livelihood or glory to the deserving. After working in his father's shop, he studied drawing in Angers with painter Jean-Jacques Delusse (1757–1833), who subsidized his move in 1808 to Paris for more ambitious training. That very same year he entered the Ecole des Beaux-Arts as a student of sculptor Philippe-Laurent Roland (1747–1816) but also trained with Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825). As a result of his outstanding work there, his Ecole masters secured a pension for him from his native city, thus freeing the youth from the outside architectural work he had taken on to survive. In 1811 David won the Prix de Rome. To show his gratitude for its financial support, he dubbed himself “David d'Angers” after his birthplace, though he signed his works simply “David.” The young sculptor's lifelong vision of his art began to emerge at the Villa Medici. He opted against Canova's sensuous forms for the painter David's revolutionary icons, thus setting a more austere artistic course than fellow *pensionnaire* James Pradier.

David's career was launched with two major public projects, following his Roman tenure and a visit to London in 1816: the *Grand Condé* for what is now the Pont de la Concorde in Paris (1816–1827, marble destroyed; plaster, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers), a royal commission inherited from Roland upon the latter's death; and the tomb of General Bonchamps for a fellow Angevin (1816–1825, abbey church, Saint-Florent-le-Vieil), a national subscription. Institutional honors immediately followed: the cross of the Légion d'Honneur in 1825, election to the Académie des Beaux-Arts, and appointment to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts the following year. David's marriage in 1831 proved as important to his career as these honors and influential positions. His wife Emilie Maillscheau's considerable wealth enabled him to pursue his profession with fewer material constraints than most sculptors.

David became the pre-eminent monument-maker of the 1830s and 1840s, producing statues of great men for a variety of patrons and sites throughout France and abroad. To note only a few: his *Greek Girl* for Marco Botzaris' tomb at Missolonghi (1827, plaster; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers); the tomb of General Foy (1827–

1831, marble; Père-Lachaise Cemetery, Paris); and the *Gutenberg* (1837–1840, bronze; Place Gutenberg, Strasbourg). A masterful sculptor in bas-relief as well, David produced many throughout his career. The most famous is the pedimental decoration for the Panthéon in Paris (1830–1837). His portrait busts of men and women from all over the world were celebrated, and his small-scale portrait medallions provided their many owners a famous portable museum of illustrious individuals from the remote past as well as from their lifetime.

The sculptor's political activism, as a liberal democrat, shaped his mature career and ultimately drew severe official censure. Once established professionally, David d'Angers participated openly in opposition activities: He was a pallbearer at the funeral of a major opposition leader, General Foy, in 1827, and fought against the Bourbons in the July Revolution of 1830. David repeatedly sought political office and achieved it after the Revolution of 1848. He was elected mayor of a district in Paris in 1848 and then served as a deputy from his native Maine-et-Loire in the Constituent Assembly. For his opposition to Louis-Napoleon's coup d'état in 1851, the sixty-year-old David was exiled for a year. A stroke forced him to stop working in 1855, and he died one year later. Despite heavy censorship, the sculptor's funeral turned into a liberal demonstration. The imperial government retaliated by refusing to buy David's works and attempting to erase his memory.

Considered a leader of the French school of the 1830s, along with Ingres and Delacroix, David provided an influential model of the liberal artist-citizen in those complex decades. His social vision was broadly humanitarian and anti-despotic. As a mark of that ethical stance, despite his own republican politics, he found exemplary virtue in many royal and royalist subjects. Like some engaged artists of 1793, David donated his works to liberal causes, such as the previously mentioned figure for Greek freedom fighter Botzaris' tomb, or to national subscriptions for monuments to worthy modern heroes of France, such as Renaissance surgeon Ambroise Paré. His unquestioned loyalty and service to France often prevented harsh criticism by the government. Despite the controversy over the liberal heroes he included in the Panthéon pediment—a government project—the July Monarchy authorities continued to commission provincial monuments from David and to

provide generous funds to national subscriptions for projects to which he contributed the model.

David's artistic mission to "pay society's debt," particularly to its modern heroes, was complex and ambitious. For the artist, sculpture rivaled historical writing for a broad public in its aim to immortalize or resurrect great humans, as historian Jules Michelet intended through his own work. David was also obsessed with the sheer power of the word to communicate abstractions, prompt meditation, and establish social contracts. Though superficially focused on heroic figures, his oeuvre was intended as physical matter that conveyed moral ideals and spiritual qualities. Towards that end David's monuments deployed an often innovative vocabulary of expressive physiognomy, gesture, and attributes, at times with a complement of narrative reliefs and extensive inscriptions. Literal truth was often sacrificed to expressive ends in his work. A preoccupation with physiognomics and phrenology alone led to expressive alterations of the human form that were often not understood in their day and still elude interpretation.

Masterful as sculptural form, his projects were influential, controversial, and reflected no easily defined "style." In fact, his art served as an international benchmark in modern sculpture for artists and critics of his time. His approach to the portrait statue varied according to his chosen characterization. The *Grand Condé's* romantic, "stormy" energy contrasts with the classicism of the iconic, meditative *Racine* and the assertive, oratorical *Foy*. David's *Child with Grapes* (1845, Musée du Louvre, Paris) presents a Canovaesque lyrical study of naive childplay. However, the artist's handling of monumental reliefs shifted *en bloc*: from an early Goujon-esque treatment of atmospheric, graduated planes, to a later dense arrangement of angular figures, starkly differentiated from a flat, blank ground—a blend of the abstract classical relief and the popular woodblock print.

David eschewed commercial serialization except in his portrait medallions and the handful of portrait statues that he permitted to be edited without his direct supervision. Instead, he reproduced his works in engravings for wide distribution, either as albums or as inclusions in brochures or books on the subject of the monument. While a student at the Ecole, David began giving examples of his oeuvre to his native Angers, a policy continued by his heirs into this century. Now housed in the dramatic former abbey church adjacent to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, of which it forms part, the Galerie David d'Angers permits a unique review, in one location, of the artist's entire output.

As a teacher in the 1830s and an intellectual leader and major force in cultural politics into the 1850s, David

was immensely influential. Though competitive and self-interested at times, he championed struggling artists throughout his career, providing genuine friendship and even funerals for the most ill-fated. He published extensively on modern art and political history. Only now is his intellectual thought being seriously analyzed. Its impact is still elusive, though David's correspondence and the prolific critical literature about him during his lifetime, positive and negative, suggest it was significant. However, like his actions and his art, David's views are often inconsistent and self-justifying, affirming his probing, if self-aware, intellectualism and complexity as a "modern" human being.

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1975.11.1 (A-1764)

Thomas Jefferson

Model 1832–1833; cast after 1892

Bronze, 38.7 × 16.7 × 12 (15¼ × 6⅞ × 4¾)

Ferdinand Lamot Belin Fund

Inscriptions

Incised in the model on the scroll in Jefferson's left hand: Tout homme/a deux Patries/la Sienne/et/la France

On the front rim of the self-base: JEFFERSON

In cursive on the right rim of the self-base: David

Marks

Foundry cachet impressed in the model on the rear rim, at right, of the self-base: CIRE PERDUE/LE BLANC BARBEDIENNE/A PARIS

Below, probably cold-stamped: BRONZE

Technical Notes: The bronze was cast in one piece by the lost-wax method, from a wax foundry model cast from a terra-cotta or plaster sketch. Except for the torso, which bears evidence of a bronze tie-rod to support a core to the right on the back, the figure is solid. There is visible tooling in the model throughout the figure and scroll. Some, like the inscription and tooling on the coat, was probably incised in the wax foundry model. The entire surface of the bronze received light cold-work. Surface analysis of the metal through X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals an average percentage composition of 89% copper, 7% zinc, 3% tin, and less than 1% iron. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze that produced black, wiped so as to remain only in the recesses; a reddish-brown coat overall; and finally, a light



Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Thomas Jefferson*, 1975.II.1

green for select areas, such as the upper body and upper rear of the scroll. A layer of varnish seems to have been applied immediately afterwards. Except for a small crack on the underside of the self-base and light abrasions from repeated handling, the sculpture is in very good condition.

Provenance: (Reportedly London art market, by 1974).¹ (Michael Hall Fine Arts, Inc., New York, 1974).

Exhibited: Los Angeles 1980, no. 99.² *John Frazee, 1790–1852, Sculptor*, National Portrait Gallery, Washington; The Boston Athenaeum, 1986.³

THE NATIONAL GALLERY bronze is based on an apparently lost *esquisse* for David's portrait statue of Jefferson in the Rotunda of the Capitol in Washington (fig. 1).⁴ Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), revolutionary patriot and third president of the United States, diplomat, philosopher, and scientist, was an international hero in his own time and afterwards.⁵ He was a unique blend of Old World sophistication and New World idealism and engagement. He personified the very Enlightenment, thus endearing him to its liberal heirs, as one of the elite who pursued social progress not only through public office, but through many forms of applied theoretical and practical knowledge.

This statuette differs iconographically from the public monument primarily in the text on the scroll. Instead of imprinted passages from the Declaration of Independence, as seen in the full-scale bronze and plaster model (City Hall, New York),⁶ this version offers a handwritten sentence that transforms the father of American independence into the panegyrist of France: "Every man has two homelands, his



Fig. 1 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Thomas Jefferson*, bronze, 1833, Washington, United States Capitol Building, photograph courtesy of the Architect of the Capitol

own and France." The French have long associated Jefferson with this phrase, which they themselves may have distilled from various comments in his published papers.⁷

David's characterization of Jefferson departs subtly from most portraits of the statesman.⁸ It reflects the eighteenth-century European portrait type for the inspired modern genius, an Enlightenment adaptation of images of Christian prophets and Evangelists.⁹ Such a conception reflects David's well-known campaign to pay homage through his art to modern greatness, especially to those who contributed to social progress.¹⁰ His *Jefferson* conveys the sculptor's special reverence for those who benefited society through the word. It also indicates David's high esteem for exemplary character. Jefferson's gesture to his heart may be the artist's sign for the great man's natural, humane morality, an essential virtue, in David's Rousseauesque democratic view, for a healthy society.¹¹

David's rendering of Jefferson in period attire broadly reflects the anticlassical romantic call for a modern idiom in the 1830s. As a choice for a public monument, however, that priority places *Jefferson* within a dispute over sculpture that did not affect painting. The importance of public monuments in France had grown with every one of its liberal revolutions—by 1833 there had been two (1789 and 1830).¹² Now a supreme public homage to great individuals and civic virtue, not just to those who served the crown, the modern public monument triggered intense debate over dress as a symbolic language of respect and exemplary morality among peers. Many social liberals in the early 1830s, including David, felt that classical idealization still served such a purpose in most cases. At the opposite pole, anticlassicists felt the modern monument should find a formal idiom for the heroic and moral in actual time and place, to find transcendence in this world.¹³ One of them, critic Gustave Planche, hailed David's *Jefferson* as having broken new ground, even to be the first contemporary public monument in Europe to achieve artful communication without being stymied by sleeves and shoe buckles.¹⁴ Though hardly the first, *Jefferson* is pivotal in David's oeuvre for its use of historical costume. Despite the sculptor's theoretical bias towards the ideal, his subsequent portrait statues more consistently represent their subjects in period dress than his earlier projects, lending support to the broader interest in that strategy.¹⁵

The choice of modern dress for Jefferson may have been encouraged by the portrait statue's patron, American naval officer Uriah Phillips Levy, who spoke favorably of it later. When he presented David's effigy to Congress as a gift to the nation, he argued it was already famous in France for "the fidelity of its likeness to the great original, as well as the plain republican simplicity of the whole design."¹⁶ Levy may have described the figure in those terms to win support for his gift from democratic America. In the early nineteenth century, citizens of the United States were deeply ambivalent about idealization, torn between conservative views of high art and the nation's espoused populist princi-

ples that rejected deification of its citizens and prideful public monuments. The conflict had affected the planning and reception of several statues of George Washington.¹⁷ Not surprisingly, American idealists were hostile to *Jefferson's* mundane appearance and ignoble material, bronze.¹⁸

David's rendition broadly recalls the only known statue of Thomas Jefferson at the time, a project that Levy, a New York resident, might have known: John Henri Isaac Browere's (1792–1834) figure originally in the Banqueting Room of City Hall in New York (now lost). It was executed, with Jefferson's approval and collaboration, for the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, celebrated in New York in 1826. Based on Browere's life mask of Jefferson, the lifesize standing figure was apparently painted naturalistically and dressed in Jefferson's actual apparel on that occasion, "the right hand extended and holding the unfolded scroll, whereon the Declaration of Independence."¹⁹

As a likeness, the National Gallery bronze differs markedly from David's completed monument. Holderbaum notes that the large-scale figure represents an older Jefferson, allegedly based on a portrait by Thomas Sully (1783–1872) that was lent to David by Lafayette.²⁰ Bush identifies the sculptor's source as a copy—the present location of which is unknown—of Sully's 1821 half-length portrait (American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia); however, Sully's likenesses of Jefferson, from the statesman's last five years, seem to represent an even older, frailer individual.²¹ David's statue comes closer to the portraits of Jefferson from his first presidency, which were widely distributed as engravings and published in French-language almanacs.²² Especially with its backswept coiffure, the National Gallery statuette instead invokes Jefferson of the 1780s, as in Trumbull's group portrait of 1787 (YUAG) and Houdon's bust of 1789 (MFA), the period of the historic birth of the new republic and Jefferson's diplomatic mission in Paris.²³

The face in the National Gallery bronze has no known counterparts among portraits of Jefferson in its craggy, globular structure, undulating brow, and high, aquiline nose. The careful rendering suggests that it is not arbitrary or unfinished. It constitutes, possibly, an ideal portrait whose expressive alterations cannot yet be deciphered.

Compared with the full-scale monument, the National Gallery figure is elongated, slender, and, as Holderbaum observes, neo-rococo in handling.²⁴ Its forms and surface seem to quiver in the light, as if with Jefferson's energetic spirit and genius. The cohesive contour of the National Gallery bronze, with the hand and quill merely raised elements on the torso, emphasizes organic unity, unlike the full-scale statue, with its assertively projecting attributes.

Levy commissioned the full-scale figure to honor Jefferson's pursuit of religious liberty in the new republic.²⁵ As the first Jewish career officer in the American navy, he may have been prompted to commemorate that ideal by a disappointing reality. He encountered serious discrimination within his own ranks—which his own belligerence did not help to neutralize. Levy had planned to commission a mon-

ument to Jefferson since the latter's death in 1826, but he only acted on the idea once he had earned considerable wealth from real-estate ventures in New York six years later. For all its eventual fame, the portrait statue was publicly unavailable for much of Levy's or David's lifetime. In France, it could only be seen in the artist's studio and the foundry through 1833. The bronze was only briefly visible in Washington until 1835, while Levy attempted to secure official Congressional acceptance of his gift to the nation.²⁶

Several related works are known. Three black-crayon drawings are at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers.²⁷ David bequeathed a unique third-scale plaster of the head to the city of Saumur (Musée des arts décoratifs, Château de Saumur). A plaster surmoulage of the full-scale figure was commissioned by the patron's nephew, Jefferson Levy, for David's native city in 1905 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers).²⁸ Though its attribution is unknown, a plaster bust at Monticello may be a variant.²⁹

The circumstances of the commercial edition of the sketch remain obscure. David himself agreed to release the model to unnamed founders for serialization in bronze, so examples might have been cast before 1856.³⁰ Only two other examples are currently known, nineteenth-century casts belonging to the sculptor's children: In 1891 David's son gave his to what is now the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers; and Madame Leferme gave hers to the Louvre in 1900. All three are very close in handling and scale: They differ by less than two centimeters in height, the smallest being the National Gallery cast. The Angers and Louvre bronzes, however, have blank scrolls, no foundry marks, different alloys, and may be sand casts.

The National Gallery example is thus distinct among known versions of David's *Jefferson*. It stands alone as an overt tribute in French to France, suggesting it was produced for David's native country. Its date of execution is implied by the cachet: Gustave Leblanc-Barbedienne took over the Barbedienne foundry with the death of his uncle in 1892 and established his own mark by the following year.³¹ It is thus likely that the inscription on the scroll of the National Gallery cast does not reflect the artist's own conception—the script there differs from David's signature. It may relate instead to later uses of the figure.

If not a unique cast, it may form part of a limited series to commemorate a special Franco-American event, such as the celebration in Angers on 15 September 1905 of Jefferson Levy's gift of the plaster surmoulage; the famous epigram attributed to Jefferson would have been especially appropriate to the occasion.³²

Whatever its date of execution, this lost-wax cast is formally quite individual, thanks to its different technical approach. Where the National Gallery bronze is handled with unvarying delicacy, the Louvre and Angers casts have vigorous tooling throughout, and volumes that alternate between crisp and soft.

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Notes

1. Douglas Lewis, letter to James Holderbaum dated 10 January 1975 (in NGA curatorial files).
2. James Holderbaum, "Thomas Jefferson," in *Los Angeles* 1980, 218–221, repro.
3. The statuette was shown only in Washington and is absent from the catalogue, which discusses the monumental project (in NGA curatorial files).
4. Philip Ward-Jackson (personal communication) raises the question whether this *esquisse* might have been produced after the Capitol figure rather than before it, as it suggests a more accommodating view of ancien-régime fashion and a more "developed" sense of Jefferson's character. The alternate sequence should indeed be kept in mind, however our knowledge of David's working methods is still too inadequate to be of help. The Capitol figure and *esquisse* certainly do suggest *different*, if not *successive*, representations, and I am not persuaded that the character development in the Capitol version is less developed.
- According to Madame David (letter to Henry Jouin dated October 1867, in Jouin 1877–1878, 2: 512), the *esquisse* for *Jefferson* was among David's less finished statuettes to be released for serialization during his lifetime. Though not recorded in the art-historical literature, a plaster appears to have been at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers, until at least 1938, when arrangements were made to send "la dite maquette de plâtre" to Leblanc-Barbedienne in Paris to have another plaster cast from it. See the letter from the unnamed President of the Rotary International to Georges Chesneau, 8 October 1938 (Documentation du Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers).
5. See the critical biography in Larousse 1866–1879, 9/2: 942–943, s.v. "Jefferson (Thomas)."
6. For a general view of the plaster model, see Voss 1986, fig. 17.
7. The conclusion of an anonymous American commentator on David's Capitol monument ("Thomas Jefferson. By David d'Angers," *The Studio* n.s. 3, no. 3 [September 1887], 53; photocopy in Documentation du Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers [Dossier David]). The phrase is not in Jefferson's known writings. Its general content comes closest to Jefferson's remarks about France after the fall of Napoleon, whom he considered a tyrant: ". . . France, freed from that monster, must again become the most agreeable country on earth. It would be the 2d. choice of all whose ties of family and fortune give a preference to some other one, and the first of all not under those ties" (letter to William Short dated 28 November 1814; in Peterson 1984, 1359); and "So, ask the traveled inhabitant of any nation, in what country on earth would you rather live?—Certainly in my own, where are all my friends, my relations, and the earliest & sweetest affections, and recollections of my life. Which would be your second choice? France" (entry for 6 January 1821, in his *Memoir*; in Randolph 1829, 1: 87). Both were immediately available and influential in France. My thanks to Elizabeth Peters, Research Associate, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Princeton University, for her comments on the National Gallery version and the quotes from 1814 and 1821.
- By mid-century, Jules Michelet encapsulated these comments, without attribution to Jefferson, in a paean to France: "'For every man', was the impartial observation of an American philosopher, 'the first country is his own and France the second'." ("Superiority of France," *The People*. Trans. G. H. Smith [New York and Philadelphia, 1846], 170.) The famous version that equates France with home, rather than ranks it a close second as in Jefferson's quotes, appears in Larousse's earlier-cited (note 5) entry on Jefferson published in 1873 (Larousse 1866–1879, 9/2: 943).
8. See Cunningham 1981; and Bush 1987.
9. For example, Peter Scheemakers' (1691–1781) memorial to William Shakespeare and Roubiliac's tomb of George Frederick Handel (1740 and 1761, respectively; both marble, Westminster Abbey, London; in Whinney 1988, figs. 130 and 148, respectively), and Pierre Julien's (1731–1804) statue of La Fontaine (1785, marble; Musée du Louvre, Paris; in Hargrove 1989, 28). The ambiguous, molten

- forms behind Jefferson in the National Gallery statuette are probably attributes of the American's influential writings as seen in the full-scale effigy: two books and a laurel wreath.
10. For recent discussions, see Coubertin 1990; and de Caso 1992, 62–63.
 11. Another example is David's *Fénelon* of 1826 (Cathedral, Cambrai), in de Caso 1992, 73, 77–78, figs. 48–50. American sculptor John Frazee (1790–1852) interpreted the gesture as an echo of the final oath in the Declaration of Independence: "his hand on his heart firmly, as if ready to seal with his heart's blood the last words 'our sacred Honor'"; letter to Robert Launitz dated 16–17 July 1833, in Voss 1986, 37.
 12. Hargrove 1989, 31–41.
 13. For a recent discussion of the problem and of David's views on the subject, see de Caso 1992, 97–104.
 14. Planché 1833, 198–199. It is unclear whether Planché is applauding David's success here—in making a modern-dress figure that communicates "artfully"—or is touting *Jefferson*, erroneously, as the first post-Revolutionary statue in modern dress. The critic does not mention David's earlier clothed figures among his celebrated public monuments: the previously cited *Fénelon* and *Condé*, as well as *Gouvion Saint-Cyr* (1832, marble; Père-Lachaise cemetery, Paris). See Huchard 1989, 41 and 50–51, repro. Planché also overlooks many projects by other artists, such as Pierre Cartellier's (1757–1831) figure of Vivant-Denon of 1826, a public-subscription project for the latter's tomb at Père-Lachaise cemetery, Paris (see de Caso 1992, fig. 68). The critical debate over period dress in contemporary monuments began escalating during the early Bourbon Restoration; see Lindsay 1983, 190–203.
 15. For his earlier use of period costume, see note 14. One important example of his later representation of modern dress is the tomb effigy of Armand Carrel (1839, cemetery of Saint-Mandé); see de Caso 1992, fig. 66.
 16. Letter from Levy dated 23 March 1834 to the House of Representatives; cited by Holderbaum in *Los Angeles* 1980, 219n. 22 (see note 2).
 17. Lindsay 1987, 22–23; Miller 1966, 58–65; and Craven 1984, 51–74, 105–109.
 18. Holderbaum in *Los Angeles* 1980, 220–221 (see note 2). See also Frazee's complaint that David's version "has more the appearance of an old farmer than the statue of a great personage"; letter to Robert Launitz dated 16–17 July 1833; in Voss 1986, 37.
 19. Browere, letter to Jefferson dated 20 May 1826, in Hart 1899, 43. Jefferson died the very day of the celebration. A surviving plaster variant, a classical bust (New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York), is now considered the most faithful living portrait of Jefferson. See Bush 1987, 95–97, repro.
 20. Holderbaum in *Los Angeles* 1980, 220 (see note 2). For David's reported use of Lafayette's Sully, see Lossing 1853, 149, allegedly based on an interview with Levy.
 21. Bush 1987, 77–79, repro. For the full-length that resulted from the same sittings (United States Military Academy, West Point, New York), see PAFA 1922, 158, repro.
 22. For instance, the canonical first portrait of Jefferson by Rembrandt Peale, c. 1800 (The White House). For its dissemination in engraved form, see Cunningham 1981, 22–53 (with many illustrations).
 23. Bush 1987, 17–19, 23–26, repro.
 24. Holderbaum in *Los Angeles* 1980, 221 (see note 2).
 25. Levy, letter to John Coulter dated November 1832, in Fitzpatrick and Saphire 1963, 127–128.
 26. David's monumental bronze met with wide resistance in the Senate. Even when accepted, it commuted between storage and temporary exhibition sites in Washington until 1900. See Holderbaum in *Los Angeles* 1980, 219. For further details and for a discussion of comparable problems surrounding the plaster, which the anonymous author attributes to religious prejudice, see the previously cited account in *The Studio* (note 7), 50–53.
 27. Chesneau and Metzger 1934, no. 946.

28. Chesneau and Metzger 1934, no. 25.

29. Monticello and Levy have been at the center of considerable confusion about the plasters related to David's figure. Lami 1914–1921, 2: 83, erroneously places the original model at Monticello. Fitzpatrick and Saphire 1963, 133, claim that Levy purchased two "copies" of the figure. The plaster bust actually at Monticello (acc. no. 23.14) has been associated with David's statue by American sources since at least the mid-nineteenth century. See Lossing 1853, 149. The features and coiffure on the bust are similar to their counterparts on David's full-scale monument, but the head on the former is frontal and the torso draped *à l'antique*. The plaster also has been identified as a variant or preliminary work for Giuseppe Ceracchi's (1751–1802) marble bust of Jefferson "in the Roman costume," thought to have burned in the fire of 1851 at the Library of Congress. Jefferson and his family reportedly preferred that likeness above all others. For a recent discussion of the Ceracchi portrait project, see Bush 1987, 15–17. For a comparative analysis of the attribution of the Monticello plaster to Ceracchi or David, see James A. Bear, Jr., "The Giuseppe Ceracchi Bust of Jefferson," unpublished typescript (Archives, Monticello). My thanks to Susan R. Stein, curator of Monticello, for information on this matter.

30. Jouin 1877–1878, 2: 512.

31. Shepherd Gallery 1985, 277.

32. Documentation du Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers (Dossier David). There is evidence of a link between Leblanc-Barbedienne and Angers on the matter of casts of this model. The letter of 1938, cited in note 4, indicates that Leblanc-Barbedienne was commissioned by the civic leaders of Angers for even plaster casts of the sketch well into the twentieth century, though the museum had its own *mouleur*.

References

1994 NGA: 64, repro.

1991.95.1

François-Pascal-Simon, Baron Gérard

1836–c. 1838

Plaster, 61 × 39.7 × 30 (24 × 15⁵/₈ × 11¹³/₁₆)

Gift of The Christian Humann Foundation, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

Incised in block letters in the model, on the front of the herm: A GERARD / P. J. DAVID / 1838

Apparently in David's own handwriting, in black chalk, watercolor, or India ink, on the left of the herm: à Madame Gerard/ David

Technical Notes: The plaster was hollow-cast in a piece-mold taken from a finished and inscribed model. Cast without an internal metal armature, the lower half was reinforced later with liquid plaster introduced into the hollow interior: Fingermarks on the inner walls of the self-base suggest it was spread by hand. Details of the portrait, such as the incised locks of hair and the toothed-chisel tooling on the coat, are cast-through from the model, with little evidence of enhancement or alteration after casting. There are few traces of tooling to reduce evidence of manufacture and casting flaws, such as the abundant airholes throughout. The reworked chin may indicate repair immediately after casting. Also, there is evidence of filing and smoothing on

several facial zones, notably the forehead. A plaster solution over some of the seamed areas, visible under reflected ultraviolet light, suggests an effort to camouflage them. Otherwise, seam lines, registering a piece-mold of up to twenty-five sections, are largely visible throughout except on the left shoulder and the back of the collar, where they have been reduced. The surface does not appear to have been toned after casting, aside from the above-mentioned plaster solution in select areas. There are small dents below the right eye and along the right shoulder; a minor loss on the left eyebrow; several scratches on the lower half of the bust; a crack in the interior, in the region of the right shoulder; and surface losses and abrasions along the vertical and horizontal edges of the self-base. The surface bears extensive traces of handling and exposure, with brown stains on the self-base and deposits on the left shoulder and left rear of the self-base that are probably superficial.

Provenance: Possibly a gift from the artist to Gérard's widow, Marguerite-Françoise Mattei [d. 1 December 1848].¹ Private collection, Paris, c. 1990; (André Lemaire, Paris, by December 1990).²

Exhibited: NGA 1991, supplement to the catalogue.

UNKNOWN UNTIL it emerged on the market in 1990, this plaster, one of three located in relation to an untraced marble, records a little-studied relationship between two eminent French artists and provides insight into David's influential activity as a portraitist.

Its format, the truncated-herm bust, is an important portrait type from ancient Greece, with a distinct symbolism that David consciously manipulated. Evolved from hermes-headed columns that served as road- and tombmarkers, the portrait herm signifies heroicization or deification. The sitter's metamorphosis into an immortal is effected by the physical merging of his or her upper body with the architectionic form (the truncated pillar). The resulting effigy is symbolically a monument, though small in scale. However realistic the portrait, the blank pupils emphasize removal to the ideal realm, regardless of whether the sitter was still living.³ The type retained its identification as a Greek commemorative portrait when adopted by other cultures. Romans took over the form, which differed markedly from their own ancestral portraiture, primarily as a vehicle for honoring distinguished Greeks, their own cultural exemplar. Being essentially alien to baroque and rococo bravura and naturalism, the herm portrait found renewed favor in the classical idealist movement after 1770. Houdon used the type for a bust of Napoleon, as dignified yet human emperor (1806, terra cotta; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon).⁴ Canova adopted it in numerous portraits of men and women.⁵ David d'Angers became a leading and internationally influential⁶ advocate of the herm bust, as part of his stated mission to pay society's debt to luminaries of modern times through sculptural portraiture. Some of his unclothed examples convey chaste timelessness, as in the herms of Honoré de Balzac, Armand Carrel, and that of Miss Mary Robinson, which imparts a neo-Greek purity to modern feminine form.⁷ Others are like the National Gallery portrait in rendering the sitter in everyday dress:

notably, his portrait of populist clergyman Hugues Félicité Robert de Lamennais (1782–1854) of c. 1837 and Revolutionary soldier-politician Louis-Antoine-Léon Saint-Just (1767–1794) of 1848 (both Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers).⁸ Many bear inscriptions similar to the one on the front of the National Gallery plaster, signalling this portrait to be the sculptor's personal tribute to the painter.

The subject of the National Gallery plaster, Baron Gérard (1770–1837), is confirmed by the close resemblance of the sitter to various portraits of him in his later years, notably the lithograph published in *L'Artiste* at the time of his death (fig. 1).⁹ The marked differences between this plaster and Pradier's grandly baroque state bust (fig. 2), a royal commission for the Louvre immediately following the painter's death,¹⁰ suggest David's alternative vision for his own portrait.

The eminent painter Gérard, a student and protégé of Jacques-Louis David during the Revolution—as the sculptor was during the later Empire—rose to power as First Painter to Josephine under the Empire, and then to Louis XVIII in 1817, with a huge and active studio to meet the demand for his work. He is best known for his lyrical mythological images, such as *Cupid and Psyche*, and history paintings, such as *Ossian Evoking the Shades with his Harp* (first version, 1800, Hamburger Kunsthalle).¹¹ During his lifetime Gérard was also sought for his portraits and battle paintings, such as the *Battle of Austerlitz* (shown 1810, Musée National du Château, Versailles).¹² Even such heroic subjects as the latter reflect Gérard's more delicate register of

the Davidian classical baroque, whether treating historical or modern subjects. When he refused Louis-Philippe's appointment as First Painter in 1830, the king allegedly eliminated the official post but offered the venerable artist many important commissions.¹³ Gérard produced several canonical history paintings and state portraits of Louis-Philippe to promote the July Monarchy.¹⁴ One of Gérard's final projects was the series of four allegorical pendentives in 1836 for the Panthéon in Paris, completed at the same time that David produced his controversial pedimental sculpture for the front of the building. Baron Gérard won most of the professional and state honors that an artist of his time could achieve: a founding knight of the Légion d'Honneur; professor at the Ecole since 1811 and member of the Institut since 1812; knight of the Order of Saint Michel since 1816; baron in 1819; and elected to many academies abroad.¹⁵

The date on the National Gallery plaster, 1838, reveals that it was inscribed a year after Gérard's death in early 1837. Because the date is cast-through from a prior model, this plaster could have been produced afterwards, but during David's lifetime since it bears an apparently authentic, if undated inscription by his hand. The inscription's address to Madame Gérard suggests the bust was given to the painter's widow before her death in 1848. The documented marble (last recorded at the Institut de France, Paris) is reportedly dated 1836,¹⁶ the final year before Gérard's death at sixty-six.

This physical evidence links the work, David's only recorded three-dimensional bust of Gérard, to an important discussion of such a project in his *carnet* for 1836. That pas-

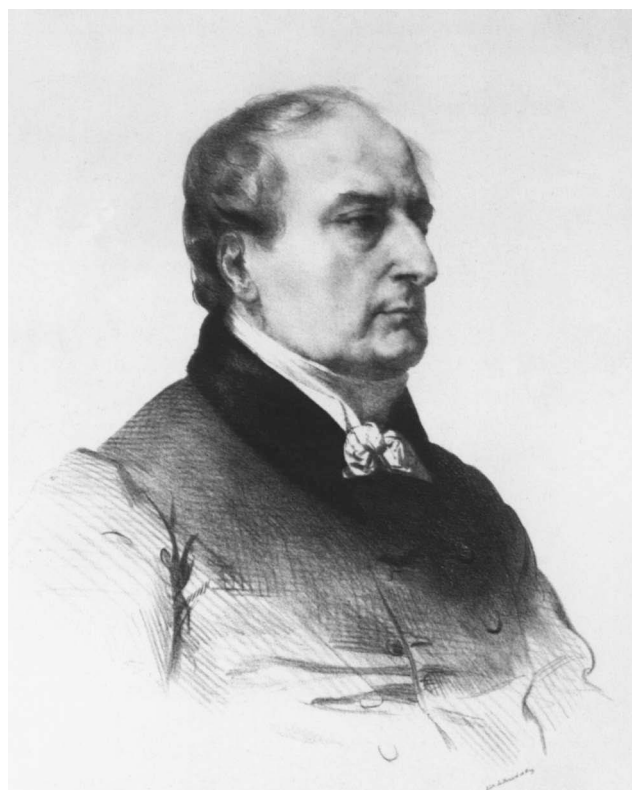


Fig. 1 "Le Baron Gérard," lithograph, published in *L'Artiste*, series 1, vol. 12 (1837), after p. 340, Washington, Library of Congress



Fig. 2 James Pradier, *Le Baron François Gérard*, marble, 1837–1838, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Photo RMN



Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *François-Pascal-Simon, Baron Gérard*, 1991.95.1

sage is his account of Gérard's posing for a bust that the sculptor claims to have had in mind for some time. The portrait was conceived as a gift, to compensate for an injustice perceived by the sculptor to the aging painter, though no such problem is mentioned in standard sources on Gérard.¹⁷ In David's own words: "Today, 8 December 1836, I have begun the bust of Gérard, the painter who is almost blind, abandoned like all those who, at the end of a glorious career and no longer socially useful, become a burden." David claims, if the portrait turned out well, he would "offer [Gérard] a marble; that gift would prove that not all men are so unfair."¹⁸ However, Gérard died only five weeks later, on 11 January 1837, altering David's strategies for the tribute. Upon his completion of the model, the sculptor instead decided to give the marble to the fine-arts section of the Institut de France.¹⁹ The reported inscription on that version seems to commemorate a final intimate contact, during the December sitting (or sittings) in David's studio. However, David reconceived the work as a mutual tribute among professional peers: "[Given by a peer to the Académie, Gérard's] image will thus always be among us, in the midst of a corps of which he felt honored to be a member."²⁰ David's arrangements to have it moved and placed there can be documented but not dated.²¹ It is possible that the plasters inscribed 1838 signal the marble's installation at the Institut, where it was last recorded in the vestibule of the Great Meeting Hall, as part of a vast program of academicians' busts.²²

David's intent to publicly honor Gérard by such means overrode his private criticism of the painter during the latter's final years, for shameless pursuit of positive publicity; polished but empty language; overweening self-esteem; and power plays at the Institut meetings.²³ The tribute also reveals a new facet of the sculptor's famous social engagement. Long known for supporting young, neglected geniuses,²⁴ David is revealed here as an advocate of the seniormost among them as well, those who, he felt, lost society's esteem through no fault of their own.

David may have felt a distinct personal debt in this case, as Gérard had been a powerful advocate on his behalf during the sculptor's early career in Paris. Beginning in the Restoration, the celebrated painter had invited the young sculptor to his prestigious Wednesday salons, and actively promoted him and his work before the international *cognoscenti* that gathered there.²⁵ In addition, both the sculptor and painter were close to David's wife's grandfather, Angevin botanist and president of the Directorate, Louis-Marie de Larévellière-Lépeaux (1753–1824). The painter publicly supported the engaged republican scientist through perilous political circumstances over the decades. Both artists executed portraits of him as personal tributes (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers)—Gérard's was instantly renowned. The older painter remained a steadfast family friend as well, painting David's wife as a child (also Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers).²⁶

David's notes on Gérard's sitting also document the con-

ceptual evolution of his portrait bust. The sculptor claims Gérard urged him to provide a more human representation than was underway at the time: "I had roughed the bust out to be larger than life; [Gérard] expressed his desire that the proportions be reduced to those of [natural] truth."²⁷ It is not clear how large the bust was first intended to be. David's "larger" portraits range to a colossal 83 centimeters, as in the portrayal of his great hero, German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832).²⁸ Neither is a herm bust. Whether Gérard's wishes altered David's fundamental concept or simply prompted his thinking about it, the painter's plea triggered a revealing meditation by the sculptor on the symbolism of portraiture. David intimates that Gérard's view on that subject is appropriate only to a painted portrait. The sculptor's concept of the herm bust instead endorses its original Greek function, as a symbolic apotheosis like any sculptural monument: "Sculpture, with its uniform color, has no other mission than the apotheosis of the soul; it is more an apparition of the thing represented, than an attempted representation of its reality . . . [unlike a painted portrait, which is like looking at a person through glass], the bust is a monument with its herm form." Such views of the herm bust conform closely to David's view of the modern statue.²⁹ Yet for all the ideal or spiritual level of expression he ascribed to the type, David feels natural details should not be minimized in the portrait herm. Rather, they should be fully rendered in the bust "so that one can believe that that man exists," and to ensure that the entire world believes it represents a "man who has accomplished great things." David invokes Goethe's view on human grandeur, that the qualities that make a great man human, like Homer's "living" heroes, are what make him admirable; such an empathetic quality lends a special monumentality to portraiture. Quoting Goethe directly, the sculptor remarks of successful portraiture, "'If you do not know him, you believe he is colossal; [the bust of such an individual stirs] that feeling for apotheosis that nature has placed in the human heart'."³⁰

The National Gallery bust suggests the quiet monumentality and empathetic humanity that David claims to value, as do most of his herms of older men.³¹ The frankly modeled physiognomies of aging, strong-featured men, so like Roman republican portraits,³² are given "Greek" grace through their greater refinement and flat, decorative treatment of the short-cropped hair. These are conscious characterizations, a choice of mode that typifies David's portraiture.³³ The austere, if elegant dignity of these images dramatically contrasts with the more familiar "romantic" turbulence of David's other portraits of geniuses from the same period. Many are of youthful firebrands, such as Carrel and Hugo, both dating from 1837; others, from 1830, represent the most venerable living geniuses of that generation, such as Chateaubriand (fig. 3) and Goethe, and virtuoso violinist and composer Niccolò Paganini (1833, bronze; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers).³⁴ These portraits all include lifted or swirling hair, as apparently alive with spiritual

energy as the facial features. Despite their differences, these and the herm busts all bear unusually detailed handling of the head, with special attention given to the conformation of the forehead. That common feature suggests David's strong interest in phrenology and physiognomics, as a means of revealing spiritual character and genius in the human head, particularly the face. However, as in most other examples of David's work, the precise insights that such modeling is intended to convey in his portraits are not yet understood.

The National Gallery *Baron Gérard*, however, has a psychological quality that distinguishes it from other busts by David. A slight turn of the head, quizzical pucker of the brow, and faint smile, together with the rakishly skewed cravat, suggest a genial urbanity. As a counter-thrust to the otherworldliness conferred by the bust type, Gérard is represented here as subtly engaged, more of this world than in the sculptor's other herms. The painter appears here in everyday dress, rather than in formal Institut attire and mantle, as in Pradier's state portrait (fig. 2), where the much-decorated Gérard faces forward with unseeing dignity.

The comb tooling of the coat enriches the surface of David's bust at the same time it suggests the texture of cloth. This technique, seen in the plasters and terra cottas of some clothed busts (notably those of Lamennais and Saint-Just), is used with considerable effect in the modeled statues of the 1830s and 1840s, both the definitive full-scale monuments and their reduced serial variants.³⁵ It links David's work yet again to that of Houdon, as in the latter's bust of the composer Christoph Willibald Glück (1714–1787) of 1775,³⁶ and anticipates the Houdonesque male portraiture of Carrier-Belleuse, as in his terra-cotta bust of Daumier (fig. 4). By comparison with these examples, David's tooling

and psychological animation are noticeably restrained. Those "austere" qualities nonetheless are among the reasons that David's male portraiture was so influential upon Rodin's earliest portraits of men.³⁷ Rumpled in hair and face like David's romantic portraits, Rodin's bust of Father Eymard bears the blank pupils, dignified energy, actual dress, and—in some variants—a truncated format like that of David's *Gérard*.³⁸

A sepia-ink line drawing of Gérard's profile is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers.³⁹ The location of the original clay is unknown. There are two very different plasters at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers. One is a *mise-au-point* model for a marble (fig. 5). The cast-through detail suggests this plaster derives from the original clay model, whose handling appears to have been fresh and lively, as in several surviving terra-cotta models.⁴⁰ The relationship among the other plasters and the marble is still unclear. In addition to its different scale (55.5 by 40 by 33 centimeters), the surface of the *mise-au-point* plaster departs radically from the finished, muted handling in the National Gallery plaster, a near twin of the second plaster at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers, in all aspects but dimensions. The greater subtlety and degree of finish of the National Gallery plaster and its Angevin kin suggest they are based on a prototype closer to a marble. However, the cast-through tooling in the coat indicates they are not, as they might seem at first glance, actual surmoulages of the marble. Such comb tooling typifies David's handling of ductile material but not of stone.⁴¹ Since their inscriptions are cast-through, it seems that both derive from yet other unknown models, directly or indirectly. Moreover, the Angers and Washington plasters may not be absolutely identical. The cast in Angers is shorter and wider by one centimeter than the Gallery's ex-

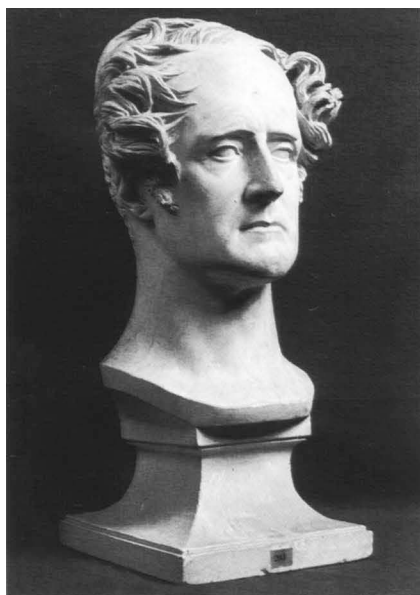


Fig. 3 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Bust of Chateaubriand*, plaster, 1829, Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts

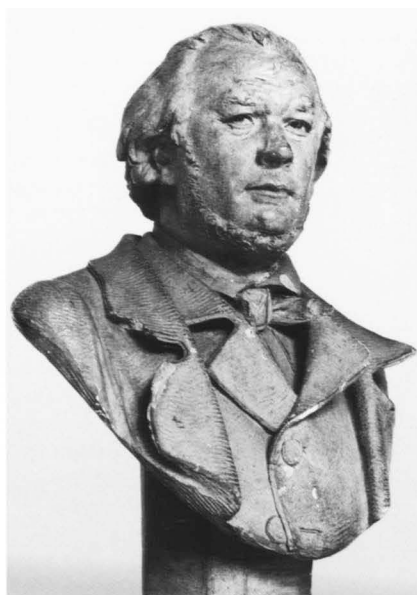


Fig. 4 Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, *Bust of Honoré Daumier*, plaster, c. 1865–1870, Musée National du Château de Versailles, MV 5545

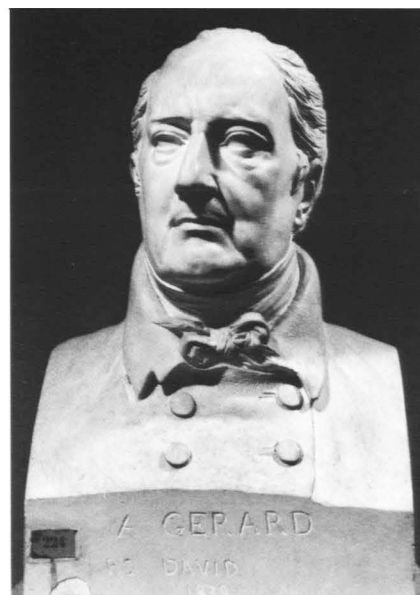


Fig. 5 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Bust of Baron Gérard*, plaster, 1837, Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. MBA 839.16.1

ample. If not due to variations in measuring, this disparity may mean that the two derive from subtly different models. A bronze portrait medallion of Gérard, dated 1837 perhaps to commemorate the painter's death, is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers.

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Notes

1. Gérard 1886, 1: 29.
2. In NGA curatorial files.
3. Breckenridge 1968, 144–147; Schefold 1943, 196.
4. Arnason 1975, fig. 201.
5. For instance, his herm busts of Gavin Hamilton (1797/1815, Gipsoteca, Possagno) and Maria Luisa, duchess of Parma (1821–1822, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma), and the fantasy busts of Sappho, the Vestal Virgins, or Philosophy (c. 1818, Gipsoteca, Possagno, and Civica Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Milan, respectively). See Praz and Pavanello 1976, nos. 55, 327–328, and 336, repro. Ward-Jackson cites Christopher Hewetson's *Leibniz* (c. 1789, Leibniz House, Hanover) and *Gavin Hamilton* (1784, Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow) among other significant herm busts from the 1780s.
6. Note, for instance, the similarity of David's herm busts to that by August Leonard Rounblom's (1823–1858) of bell-founder Anders Mathias Rounblom (1850, Collection Gunnar W. Lundberg, Paris); see Rheims 1977, 255, no. 40, repro.
7. Huchard 1989, 67, 70, 86, repro. The marble of Miss Robinson is now at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.
8. For these and other examples, see Huchard 1989, 77–87, repro.
9. The lithograph after Jean Gigoux's likeness accompanies an anonymous obituary of Gérard (*L'Artiste* 1836). The text (p. 316) erroneously claims Gigoux's portrait is the only one that Gérard permitted to be taken from life. It is tempting to speculate, moreover, whether David and Gigoux, who were good friends, shared the sittings or whether Gigoux used David's bust as his model. See also the profile bust portrait of 1835 published with Gérard's correspondence by his former student and longtime associate Marie-Éléonore Godefroy or Godefroid (Gérard 1886, 2: 118, repro. frontispiece). For her full name and one version of the spelling of her name, see Chesneau and Metzger 1934, 321.
10. Lami 1914–1921, 4: 105. The bust was to be placed in the Salle Henri II, beside Gérard's *Cupid and Psyche* (1796, Musée du Louvre, Paris). See the Archives du Louvre, S6 1837, 14 January [1837]; Documentation du Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris. The marble was shown in the Salon of 1838, unlike any version of David's bust of Gérard.
11. Honour 1975, fig. 95; and Geneviève Lacambre, "Sainte Thérèse," in MMA 1975, 434–435, pl. 182.
12. Marrinan 1988, fig. 195.
13. Gérard 1886, 1: 15.
14. Marrinan 1988, 12–14, 58, and 165–166.
15. See Lacambre, "Le comte et la comtesse de Fries," in MMA 1975, 432.
16. According to Madame Larnaudie, Archivist of the Institut de France (telephone conversation with the author), the bust apparently is not in the building and cannot now be located through current documents. A more extensive search remains pending. For the inscribed date on the marble, see Guiffrey and Louvrier de Lajolais 1879, 17.
17. Gérard 1886, 1: 16 and 29, simply notes Gérard's failing health at the end, and the shock and grief of the friends who learn of his death when they gather, as was their custom, for Gérard's Wednesday salon.
18. Carnet 30 (1836); Bruel 1958, 1: 398.
19. David, undated letter to the President of the Academy; in Jouin 1877–1878, 2: 380, no. 37. Jouin dates the document to 1836, an error since David clearly refers in his text to Gérard's prior death.

20. David, undated letter to the President of the Academy; Jouin 1877–1878.

21. David, undated letter to architect Louis-Hippolyte Le Bas at the Institut; Archives du Louvre, Paris. Béatrice De Chancel kindly provided a photocopy of this letter.

22. Lami 1914–1921, 2: 91. Very likely taken from its mention in one of David's principal sources (Guiffrey and Louvrier de Lajolais 1879, 17). This bust is one of seven busts and medallions by David recorded as being at the Institut. Two other busts by David joined that of Gérard in the vestibule, that of Alexandre De Laborde (1843) and that of Constantin-François Chasseboeuf, comte Volney (1824); Guiffrey and Louvrier de Lajolais 1879, 11, 15–18, and 20. The circumstances and dates of their entry there, as well as their current locations, are unknown.

23. Carnet 10 (1830–1831) and Carnet 17 (1831–1832); Bruel 1958, 1: 104, 110, 182, and 186.

24. See my forthcoming article on the problem in the context of David's unfinished project for the *Ill-Fated Gilbert*, the working title of which is "David d'Angers' *Gilbert*: Penetrating the Language of Romantic Agony and Death."

25. See the extensive account of David's introduction by Gérard to Lady Sydney Morgan (1776–1859), an influential, if controversial Irish writer and critic (Morgan 1830, 1: 253–265).

26. For Gérard's portrait of David's wife Emilie Maillocheau, see Chesneau and Metzger 1934, 321. For Gérard's portrait of La-révellière-Lépeaux, see Lacambre in MMA 1975, 432–434, pl. 143 (see notes 11 and 15). For David's marble bust, see Catherine Lesseur's catalogue entry in Angers 1994, 86–87, repro.

27. Carnet 30 (1836); Bruel 1958, 1: 398.

28. Huchard 1989, 75–76, repro.

29. Lindsay 1983, 199–202.

30. Carnet 30 (1836); Bruel 1958, 1: 398–399.

31. Examples in the nude are David's previously mentioned bust for La Révellière-Lépeaux and of the celebrated marquis de La Fayette (1829, plaster; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers). For the latter, see Paris 1966, no. 59, repro.

32. For example, one marble portrait at the Palazzo Torlonia, Rome, in Janson 1963, fig. 222.

33. De Caso 1992, 168–173.

34. Huchard 1989, 70, 72–73, 75–77, 84, repro.

35. See the discussion of David's *Jefferson* and *Ambroise Paré* (pp. 214 and 225, respectively).

36. Several versions in plaster and terra cotta exist; see, for instance, the plaster in the Landesbibliothek, Weimar (Arnason 1975, fig. 78).

37. Butler 1993, 35, 307–308.

38. Tancock 1976, 468–472, fig. 78b.

39. Inv. no. 630; Chesneau and Metzger 1934, 300. This is David's only known drawing of Gérard. Given its close technical and iconographic kinship with studies in a series of *croquis* apparently taken during Institut meetings, it is difficult to associate this drawing with one identified in Jouin 1885, 163, as a pencil study for the portrait.

40. For instance, the previously cited herm busts of Hugo and Lamennais; Huchard 1989, 77, 80, repro.

41. See, for example, the smooth carving to render clothing in several works from various years, freestanding and in relief, in marble and stone (de Caso 1992, 68–69, figs. 41–43, 51, and 93). Some instead closely simulate fabric, however. His marble portrait statue of Georges, baron Cuvier, for example (Muséum Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris), evokes the reflective qualities of moiré silk and the surface richness of fur (de Caso 1992, figs. 95–96).

References

- 1991 NGA, supplement to the catalogue.
1994 NGA: 63, repro.

Ambroise Paré

Model 1836–1839; cast after 1840

Bronze, 47.7 × 20.7 × 17.1 (18 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Myron Miller

Inscriptions

Incised in the foundry model and enhanced with cold-work on the spine of each book: Amb. Paré

On the front rim of the self-base: AMBROISE. PARÉ.

On the right rim of the self-base: P. J. David. / 1840

On left rim of self-base: F. BARBEDIENNE. FONDEUR.

On the underside of the self-base, incised through cold-work into the cast: 112

Marks

Foundry cachet cold-stamped on rear rim, at right: REDUCTION MECANIQUE. A. COLLAS/BREVETE

Technical Notes: The reduced bronze is sand-cast in several sections, by means of a foundry model probably of plaster, derived from the full-scale plaster model by the Collas method of mechanical reduction. The cast components were assembled by brazing and bolted to the self-base. The limbs and attributes may be solid, but the torso, which appears to contain core material, and base are hollow-cast. Surface analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the average composition of the alloy to be relatively consistent throughout the sculpture and self-base: Elements above trace levels are about 91% copper, 5% zinc, 3% tin, and less than 1% iron and lead. There is extensive tooling in the model and cold-work throughout the sculpture. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze that produced a green, wiped so as to remain only in the recesses, and a reddish-brown overall. A hole at the left side of the back is probably a casting flaw. There are small cracks on top of the manuscripts resting on the pedestal. Drilled holes in the self-base and inkwell indicate that this cast has lost the quill and arquebus included on other versions. The brazing line joining the books to the left leg has become detached, and the self-base is slightly warped. Residues of a cleaning compound on the surface suggest that the bronze was cleaned prior to its acquisition by the National Gallery.

Provenance: (Moulin de la Brocante, Juziers, France, c. 1963–1964); sold between June 1963 to July 1964 to Mr. and Mrs. Myron Miller, Sharpsburg, Maryland.¹

THIS STATUETTE is a serial reduction of David's portrait statue of Ambroise Paré (c. 1510–1590), a French surgeon known in the nineteenth century as the father or restorer of modern surgery. Paré was internationally famous during his lifetime for his skill and innovativeness as a military surgeon, for his groundbreaking publications on many scientific issues, and for his exceptional service as surgeon to four Valois monarchs: Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III. He was premier surgeon and advisor to the last two. Today he is ranked as one of the greatest surgeons of all time, and a major figure in the history of postclassic healing arts. Of modest birth and self-taught in the liberal arts,

Paré rose from the guild of barber-surgeons, who were limited to minor external operations supervised by a physician, to the newly founded Collège de Saint-Côme. This rival body of academic surgical doctors was authorized to perform unsupervised major surgery, drawing upon both clinical experience and theoretical knowledge of internal medicine. Paré's example helped to revive the classical status of surgery, which had fallen during the Middle Ages under Church sanction against bloodletting and bodily alteration; it also helped to ally empirical methods with theoretical knowledge, and to gradually unify medicine and surgery as equivalent specialties by the time of the French Revolution.²

As Paris grew into the international center for surgical training after the fall of Napoleon,³ Paré's fame rose among nineteenth-century physicians. He was already one of France's national heroes by that date, however, reflecting the extraordinary prestige that the profession had gained with the "glorious" Napoleonic campaigns. Paintings of battlefield care, military hospitals, and surgeons proliferated in the Salons of those years.⁴ Napoleon himself sought to officially honor the descendants of the most famous military surgeon in French history. Paré also embodied an important moral exemplum for the entire nation. For the fragmented society of post-Revolutionary France, Paré was both admirable humanitarian and patriot. He treated the wounded regardless of religion and nationality,⁵ but refused to enter the service of France's political foes. He was significant for nineteenth-century populists as well. A man of the people who tended the humble as well as kings, Paré also made once-exclusive professional information widely available in the inexpensive new medium of printed books and in the vernacular.⁶

David's portrait statue for the surgeon's native city of Laval became the focal icon of the cult of Paré during the nineteenth-century, thanks in part to the attention that its execution attracted throughout France.⁷ The project brought together various parties who wished to honor the surgeon with his first monument anywhere. It was a national subscription with ample money and materials from royal, national, and regional sources. David was involved from the outset. Negotiations began in 1835–1836, as the sculptor finished a local educator's bust for the Laval civic group, which then undertook the Paré commission. He joined the project for the patriotic reasons that he often cited: regional pride (Laval is near his native city of Angers); a lifelong admiration for scientists and healers; and a long-time desire to commemorate Paré with a portrait statue, already having executed the surgeon's bust and portrait medallion.⁸ David and the architect, Inspector of Public Works Edouard Moll, provided the model and base designs free of charge as their part in the public tribute. Installed in Laval's prestigious Place de la Mairie, the monument was inaugurated 29 July 1840, the tenth anniversary of the monarchy that supported Paré's project so generously.⁹

The National Gallery reduction mirrors the figurative aspects of David's monument, but lacks its elaborate



Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Ambroise Paré*, 1977.27.1

textual information. The front of the self-base on the full-scale bronze bears Paré's modest dismissal of his achievement, "Je le pansay, Dieu le guarit" [I treated him, God cured him].¹⁰ The spine of each of the five books in the full-scale work cites a different edition, in a different language, of Paré's complete works.¹¹ The scroll on the rear of the pedestal in the monument contains several of Paré's maxims, suggested in the reduction by an illegible scrawl.¹²

Paré's head in the full-length figure resembles David's earlier portraits, a bust first shown in 1819 and a portrait medallion dated 1835 (figs. 1 and 2).¹³ They in turn resemble a group of engraved portraits of the surgeon produced during his lifetime, all apparently based on one bust-length engraved prototype (fig. 3).¹⁴

The program for the monument amalgamates ideas from the sculptor and patrons. When David consulted the commemorative commission in Laval on the pose, noting that, for him, thinkers sat and orators and soldiers stood, they opted for a charismatic, active guise:

... if Ambroise Paré was a thinker who worked for science and the future, he was also and above all a man of action, a great military surgeon, bringing help to the wounded on the battlefield, and whose mere presence in a besieged city fired the courage of the garrison and sustained the energy of the city's defense.¹⁵

The completed figure, they claimed, truly represented the multifaceted character of the striding, "meditative" Paré, "about to seize one of the surgical instruments resting near him on a pile of books which embody his works. . . . An arquebus at his side reveals the great military surgeon. . . ."¹⁶

In addition, David subtly presents other professional and moral dimensions. The surgical instruments seen in the reduction closely recall the ones, illustrated in Paré's *Contusions*, for the innovative surgery that made him famous: the ligation of arteries following amputation, a procedure that proved less painful and less frequently fatal than the conventional cauterization with boiling oil.¹⁷ The elegant ruff and studded doublet of the royal surgeon contrast with the artlessly wrapped cloak, evoking perhaps the impatient unselfconsciousness of the dedicated battlefield healer. The incised pupils and irises within the furrowed face suggest a focused gaze rather than inward absorption. They provide the major figurative difference between the full-scale and reduced version: The monumental figure gazes downward, seeming to intensely examine the viewer standing below, whereas the reduced figure looks forward. In both, Paré's hands are strongly gestural, a typically Davidian expressive device. They are also unusually delicate and articulated, perhaps to embody the surgeon's consummate skill as a carver. David thus honors, through his rendering of the hands, the counterpart in the healing arts to the sculptor, masterful carver of the human effigy.¹⁸

David's portrait statue appears to be the first full-length representation of Paré in any medium. As a public monument, it helped to revive the lost classical tradition of erecting public effigies to physicians as a civic honor—David himself later produced several others, as discussed later in the text.¹⁹ It has iconographic affinities with other portrait types for physicians in classical sculpture. Funerary reliefs similarly render the physician's craft and learning through surgical instruments and scholarly texts.²⁰ Paré's head re-

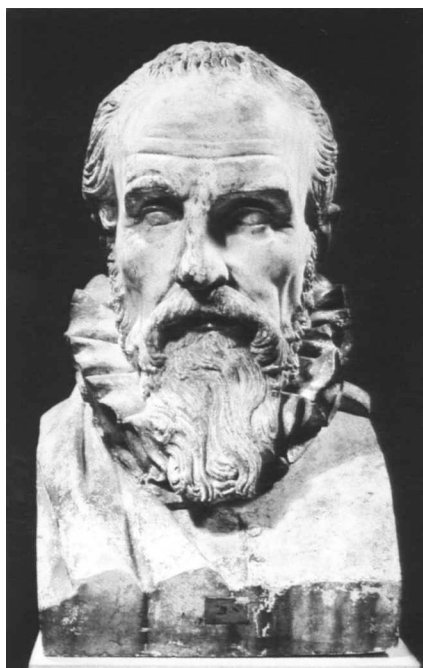


Fig. 1 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Bust of Ambroise Paré*, plaster, 1819, Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 2 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Ambroise Paré*, bronze portrait medallion, 1835, Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. MBA 838.5.14

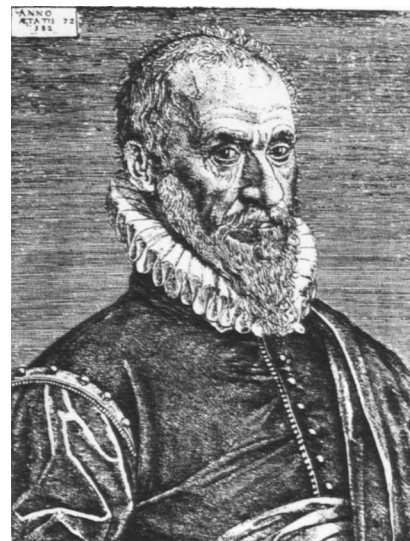


Fig. 3 *Ambroise Paré*, engraving, after a portrait (1582) by Étienne Delaulne, published in Claude Stéphanie Le Paulmier, *Ambroise Paré d'après de nouveaux documents . . .* (Paris, 1884), opp. p. 138, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library Center, Department of Special Collections

calls the ideal type for the poet or philosopher given to Hippocrates, as the “Father of Medicine,” in the so-called Ostia bust of Hippocrates (marble copy of Hellenistic original, Ostia Museum, Rome).²¹ The pose expands upon the ideal characterization in energetic mode, suggesting classical Walking Poets and meditative figures, rather than the static iconic figure type seen in effigies of physicians.²² In so doing it subtly draws upon David’s own earlier statues of modern, active soldiers (*Grand Condé*) and coeval tributes to discursive intellectuals (*Georges Cuvier*).²³

The National Gallery reduction conveys the powerful plasticity of the full-scale work. The strong contour and rippling surfaces read well at great distances and from all angles. The exaggerated proportions of Paré’s upper body probably were intended to adjust for the anticipated height of the finished project on its multiple bases (the figure, approximately 260 centimeters; the nine-block stone pedestal, 360 centimeters). Unlike the smooth handling of David’s earlier busts of Paré, the turbulent realism of this figure provides easy legibility and vitality, both important criteria for David in the communication of the monument’s message to a diverse modern public.²⁴

Paré is one of the sculptor’s most successful and complex monuments. It anticipates his highly important portrait statues to eminent, recently deceased surgeons: the two of Xavier Bichat (1842, Bourg-en-Bresse; and 1851–1857, Ecole de Médecine, Paris), and especially the statue of a chief surgeon of the Grande Armée, baron Larrey (1846–1850, Val de Grâce, Paris).²⁵ These later examples carried the expressive strategies in *Paré* to such a radical degree that they were widely considered obscure or deformed in their own time.

In broadest art-historical terms, the National Gallery statuette of Paré can be linked to the progressive romanticism of the 1830s and 1840s in its celebration of spirited modern genius; anticlassical period dress; expressive gestures and physiognomy; richly plastic forms; and use of the dark, evocative fluidity of bronze, whether in large or small scale.

No drawings for the project are known. The locations of two recorded preliminary works are currently unknown; a plaster *esquisse* given by David to Larrey’s son Hippolyte; and a sketch-size plaster *modèle*, given by David to Victor Pavie.²⁶ The full-scale plaster model, dated 1839, is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers;²⁷ a full-scale plaster cast is reportedly at the Musée Dupuytren in Paris.²⁸ David executed a 23-centimeter medallion of the full-length statue, dated 1840, a bronze cast of which is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers.²⁹

According to Madame David, the sculptor permitted his *Paré* to be serialized exclusively as a Collas mechanical reduction from the full-scale plaster, without his participation.³⁰ To judge by the date of 1840, visible on the majority of casts known today, Barbedienne’s production began immediately, thanks to the founder’s legal arrangement with Collas. Such information may not, however, indicate an early date for this cast. The Barbedienne-Collas cachet seen here appears on serial casts of models from the late nine-

teenth century as well, such as Paul Dubois’ *Fifteenth-Century Florentine Singer and Charity* (full-scale bronze, Lamoricière tomb, Cathedral, Nantes), whose models date 1865 and c. 1876, respectively.³¹ Barbedienne continued to offer versions of *Paré* in various sizes into the late nineteenth century. The foundry’s catalogues of 1880, 1884, and 1886 advertise the size roughly corresponding to this cast as its “Grandeur d’exécution,” at 49 by 18 centimeters and at a price of 250 francs, in addition to three reductions: “no. 1” at 28 by 11 centimeters; “no. 2” at 23 by 9 centimeters; and “no. 3” at 16 by 6 centimeters.³² At the turn of the century David’s daughter, Madame Leferme, gave the Louvre a Barbedienne cast of the largest scale offered. Another Barbedienne cast approximating the advertised “reduction no. 1” (28.5 centimeters) belongs to the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston, Texas. At least two of those Barbedienne casts bear incised numbers like the National Gallery’s—on the spanner under the self-base—though they lack the Collas stamp. The Louvre’s rust-colored cast is marked “27” and a dark-brown cast, purchased from Shepherd Gallery, New York, by a private collector, is marked “29.” If these signal a sequence among casts, they may indicate that the National Gallery bronze, numbered “112,” comes late in the series, and is therefore possibly of a later date. The surfaces of this cast, less subtle and crisp than those of the Louvre and Shepherd Gallery, follow suit in suggesting either a frequently used model or a working foundry model that is technically very distant from its source. Although today Barbedienne casts dominate the market and private and institutional collections,³³ bronzes by other major foundries exist or can be inferred from period evidence. Heim Gallery, London, had a handsome rare cast of this size, also dated 1840 but marked Eck and Durand, that is now in a private collection. Jacques Fischer, Paris, had another exceptionally good cast by these founders, in their earlier partnership with Richard, inscribed “Frie de L. Richard Eck et Durand,” in 1995. Finally, in 1849 the Maison Susse offered a cast of *Paré* which, though unidentified in their text, must derive from David’s effigy and (judging by the price) may be this very size.³⁴

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Notes

1. Myron Miller, letter to the author dated 11 May 1995 (in NGA curatorial files).

2. The classic study of Ambroise Paré’s place within the history of Western surgery up to his day remains Joseph-François Malgaigne, “Introduction,” in *Malgaigne 1840–1841*, 1: xv–cccli. For a recent professional history of postclassic medicine, see Gelfand 1980. See the discussion of medical history and nineteenth-century painting in Johns 1983, 71–75.

3. Johns 1983, 57.

4. Examples gleaned merely from the Salon catalogues include: Jacques-François-Joseph Swebach’s (1769–1823) battle scenes of Marengo and Mont-Thabor (Salon of 1802); Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson’s portrait of Dominique-Jean, baron Larrey, chief surgeon of the French army during the Egyptian campaign (Salon of 1804); and views of military hospitals (Salon of 1804) by Nicolas-Antoine

Taunay (1755–1830). For David's later monument to Larrey, see further in the text.

5. Early sources allege that Paré was Huguenot and was hidden by Charles IX himself during the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The question remains unresolved and heatedly argued.

6. See especially Vimont 1814, Perdrix 1936, and Doe 1937. For a general discussion of the surgeon as hero of modern life, see Johns 1983, 58.

7. Malgaigne's publication of Paré's complete works was closely associated with the production of David's monument. Malgaigne not only illustrated David's medallions of Paré (see further in the text), but he visited the monument during its genesis and, unlike the artist, attended its inauguration (Malgaigne 1840–1841, 3: xxii–xxxii). An English translation of Malgaigne's introductory essay and account of the inauguration can be found in Hambdy 1965. Other sources on Paré's importance to the nineteenth century are Vimont 1813; Willaume 1837; and Laval 1840.

8. Laval 1840, 5–6. See also Viviane Huchard, "Ambroise Paré et David d'Angers," in Laval 1990, 69–73, and my forthcoming study of David's unfinished project for the *poète infortuné* Gilbert (see p. 224n. 24 in this catalogue).

9. Denis 1991, 9–15; undated photocopy in Documentation du Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Dossier David). Denis (p. 14) notes the inauguration became a liberal and Orleanist event that was boycotted by the clergy and legitimists involved in the project.

10. This comment first appears in Paré's late memoir (*Apologie et voyages*), in his account of treating Captain Le Rat's gunshot wound ("Voyage de Thurin—1536," in Malgaigne 1840–1841, 3: 689).

11. The second and third from the top contain dated inscriptions that signal important first editions: the second, in the universal scholarly language of Latin, which Paré himself never mastered, "Opera/Ambrosii/Pare/1682 [sic] (probably 1582)," and the third in English, "The Works/of/Ambrose Parey/1632 [sic] (probably the known 1634 edition)." The fourth refers to Italian editions "Opera di Ambrogio Pare"; and the last, those in German, "Ambrosius Werke." For a discussion of the various editions, see Doe 1937.

12. "Un remède expérimenté/vaux mieux qu'un/nouveau inventé; Le nauzê doit faire/abstinence s'il veut/avoir prompte alégeance; celui qui pour avoir &/non pas pour savoir se fait/chirurgien, manquera de/pouvoir; La gangrène qui est/ja grande, rien que/le cousteau ne demande; le chirurgien ayant la/face piteuse rend à son/malade la playe vermineuse." The last, "Des playes faictes par arquebuses," is the title of the treatise widely considered to have initiated Paré's reform of surgery, a study of the radically different types of wounds caused by a new shoulder-supported gun that changed the nature of warfare: the arquebus, predecessor of the musket and its modern descendants.

13. The marble, exhibited in the Salons of 1822 and 1824, was given by David in 1828 to the Académie de Médecine, Paris. Two bronze casts of the portrait medallion are at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers.

14. An engraving inscribed "S. F." [Stephanus Delaulne fecit] in Paré's *Discourse on the Mummy* of 1582. See Le Paulmier 1884, 13–15, 133–140, repro. opp. p. 138. The print, in turn, may be based on an anonymous painted portrait of Paré, belonging to his descendants at the Château de Paley, which Le Paulmier himself brought to light and published as his frontispiece. Paré was allegedly seventy-five in Giullis [or Egidius] Horbeck's (active 1580s) engraved portrait from a 1628 edition of Paré's *Complete Works*, which was copied for David's use and included among the documents buried in the foundation of the monument (Laval 1840, 13, 20).

A twentieth-century discussion of the subject that notes other painted portraits is Power 1929, 965.

15. Laval 1840, 13–14.

16. Laval 1840, 25.

17. The saw and two *becs de corbin* (haemostats); see Malgaigne 1840–1841, 2: 223–225. The full-scale monument excludes the saw.

18. Johns 1983, 75n. 59, draws a broadly similar parallel between Velázquez's (1599–1660) portrait of the sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and Thomas Eakins' (1844–1916) Dr. Gross in *The Gross Clinic* (1875, Jefferson Medical College, Thomas Jefferson University, Philadelphia), likening their "dexterity and intelligence, action and thought."

19. Malgaigne 1840–1841, 1: 21, 25, and 31, notes several classical examples. Some were likewise public subscriptions, even if to honor service to the sovereign, as in the case of Antonius Musa, Augustus' private physician. See Suetonius' "Augustus" in his *Lives of the Caesars*. Some honored exceptional public doctors: One physician to be commemorated in this manner was Alexander, whose effigy on the Embolos at Ephesus is one of the rare examples to survive. See Foss 1979, 21–22, fig. 3. The physician's professional contribution was not always the reason for the tribute. It was often conferred for general civic benefactions, as it would have been for any major philanthropist among wealthy citizens. See Jackson 1988, particularly 56–58, 64–65. Jackson (p. 64) speculates that Galen's failure to contribute public benefactions to any important site may account for the lack of known statues or commemorative inscriptions to him anywhere, despite his fame and importance. My thanks to Dr. Lee T. Pearcy for his insights and information on this topic.

20. Marble sarcophagus, 4th century A.D., in Jackson 1988, illustrated as the frontispiece. An analogy noted by Pearcy.

21. Jackson 1988, 19–20.

22. Foss 1979, fig. 3.

23. De Caso 1992, figs. 28 and 95.

24. The fluidity of these forms is indebted to its conception as a bronze (David, letter to the anonymous subscribers dated 22 March 1836, in Laval 1840, 5–6); the full-scale monument was cast by Parisian founders Soyer and Ingé.

25. De Caso 1992, 146–149, 190–192; figs. 9 and 147–149. Philip Ward-Jackson (verbal communication) notes the close similarity of a later statue by David's student Ferdinand Taluet (1820–1904) of Bernard Palissy (inaugurated 1868, place Bassompierre, Saintes, Charente-Inférieure, France) to David's Paré. For information on Taluet's work, see Lami 1914–1921, 4: 282; for a photograph, see the photographic archives of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

26. Jouin 1877–1878, 2: 489.

27. Huchard 1989, 62, repro.

28. Lami 1914–1921, 2: 96.

29. Huchard 1989, 141.

30. Madame David, letter to Henry Jouin dated October 1867; in Jouin 1877–1878, 2: 512.

31. John Hunisak, "Florentine Singer," in Los Angeles 1980, 242–243, repro.

32. Barbedienne 1880, 40; Barbedienne 1884, 41; and Barbedienne 1886, 41.

33. A comparable cast is at the Musée de l'Assistance Publique de Paris.

34. Advertisement for the *loterie des artistes* in the *Journal des Débats*, 6 December 1849; in de Caso, "Pradier et la statuette d'édition: objets, sources, et méthodes," in Geneva 1985, 251. David's Paré is the only statue of the subject known from this decade; at least four other nineteenth-century figures of Paré were executed later in the century, the closest in date to David's being a seated statue by Henri Varnier (d. 1890) in the Salon of 1857 and serialized in reduction by Barbedienne.

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1994 NGA: 64, repro.

Christophe Fratin

1801¹–1864

A NATIVE OF Metz, Fratin first apprenticed with his father, a taxidermist, until about 1821, after which he shifted to a career in sculpture. He studied in his home city with sculptor Charles Augustin Pioche (1762–1839), then went to Paris and worked in the studio of Théodore Géricault, the only master he listed in the entries for his works in the Salon catalogues of the 1860s, where that information was required. He made his debut with several wax models, of a thoroughbred horse and several dogs, in the Salon of 1831, ushering in with another debutant, Barye, the golden age of *animalier* sculpture that year.

Though never as celebrated as Barye, Fratin enjoyed greater professional and commercial success than many of his fellow *animalier* sculptors during the nineteenth century. He received several commissions for public sculpture in Paris and in the United States: A bronze group of two eagles and their prey is in Central Park in New York. The government also commissioned small works that were deposited throughout France in provincial museums, including Metz.

Fratin gained an international reputation during his lifetime with small-scale serial work for the market, producing examples in bronze, terra cotta, plaster, and even faience. Functional objects (platters and cane heads, for example) were produced as well as “pure” sculpture. The English market in particular favored Fratin’s work. The sculptor commissioned established founders to execute the serial versions of his models. In the 1830s Susse Frères produced plasters for him; E. Quesnel, Braux, Richard, Eck, and Durand, and Alfred Daubrée de Nancy cast many of his small bronzes. Fratin’s public success and critical reputation owed much to his sales at public auction, a means of direct marketing that he used more frequently than most of his colleagues. Beginning in 1849, Fratin held at least one sale in Paris almost every year that was reviewed in the art journals. Susse Frères and Thiébaud et Fils offered bronzes of his work, cast from models bought at the yearly sales during the artist’s lifetime and subsequent estate sales, until well into the late nineteenth century.

In general, his subject matter involves a wide range of domestic and wild mammals. Human themes, modern, mythological, or historical, are documented but are rarely seen today. Fratin was celebrated for his lively

anthropomorphic narrative subjects using animals. Called a modern “La Fontaine” in one of his own sales catalogues, Fratin was seen to have achieved a modern anti-heroic art in this popular form through its appeal to middle-class interests, its subtle expression, vigorous modeling, and high-quality foundrywork.

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Notes

1. Recent scholarship has revised Fratin’s traditional birth date of 1800 to 12 nivôse Year IX, or 1 January 1801.

Bibliography

Lami 1914–1921, 2: 403–405.

Horswell 1971: 81–102.

Bougon 1983.

Hachet 1986: 98–99.

Kjellberg 1987: 322–326.

1983.65.1

Cow Lowing over a Fence

Model c. 1845/1864; cast possibly by 1865

Bronze, 25.3 × 40.5 × 6 (9¹/₁₆ × 15¹/₁₆ × 2³/₈), relief only;

28 × 44 × 6 (11 × 17⁵/₁₆ × 2³/₈), with frame

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Marks

Upper left of verso, by cold-work: n 2 [an inscription to its right has been obliterated by cold-work]

Technical Notes: The relief is hollow-cast, probably from a plaster foundry cast of the original clay model, by the sand-casting method. It is attached by screws within the separate frame, composed of several pieces executed by different processes. The lateral and upper sections, with egg-and-dart decoration, are possibly sand-cast from a plaster model. The undecorated bottom edge is produced by a metal-raising process and joined to the lateral pieces with pins after the relief had been inserted within. Surface analysis of the metal by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) has determined that the composition of the alloys of the relief and frame are different. The relief is proportionally higher in copper: 91%; 5% zinc; 1% tin; and 0.9% lead, and the frame proportionally richer in zinc overall, with small compositional variations between the top and bottom sections (75% copper in the top versus 70% in the bottom; 21% zinc in the top versus 27% in the bottom; in both, below trace levels of tin, and 2% lead). The bronze reveals considerable evidence of change and tooling in the model. The recessed “halo” around the cow’s shoulder and clear outline of another back and tail above the existing form suggest that the figure was reworked and either lowered or made smaller. Delicate claw-tooling

throughout the figure is cast-through from the model. The cast has minimal cold-work. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze that produced black, wiped so as to remain only in the recesses, and a reddish-brown translucent coat overall. A layer of varnish covers the entire surface. There is a superficial crack in the cow's left foreleg, dents in the rim of the frame, and minor abrasions and scratches on both sides of the relief. To reinforce the poor fit of the relief to the frame, a metal clip and screw were added at the lower-right rear corner of the frame by the National Gallery Object Conservation department in 1983.

Provenance: Private collection; (Mallett at Bourdon House Limited, London, by November 1962); sold 1964 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.¹

Exhibited: *The "Animaliers": French Animal Sculpture of the Nineteenth Century*, Mallett at Bourdon House Limited, London, 1962, no. 45.

IN ITS FORMAT and animal subject, this bronze reflects a large body of reliefs produced serially as affordable interior decoration for middle-class homes or offices. The most prominent nineteenth-century *animaliers* designed and executed many examples throughout their career. Some versions include integral loops on the frame for hanging on a wall, similar to paintings.² This ringless work, however, may have been designed to be inset into a mantelpiece, paneling, or furniture. The plain bottom edge of the frame suggests that the original section was either damaged or replaced to suit a new context.

Although unsigned, the only identified example of this composition and apparently unknown in the literature on the sculptor, this plaque corresponds convincingly to Fratin's signed or stamped oeuvre. Its similarity to his many images of cattle is especially persuasive.³ One relief that has appeared on the current market seems particularly close in all aspects: a signed and dated bronze plaque of a bull, in an integrally cast truncated frame (fig. 1).⁴

In the National Gallery relief, the straining cow seems distressed by what she sees and responds with a cry, not



Fig. 1 Christophe Fratin, *Relief of a Bull*, bronze, model 1864, private collection, reproduced by permission of Sotheby's, London

only beyond the fence but "off-stage." The strategy of extending narrative attention beyond the given image is relatively common in *animalier* sculpture. It operates especially in isolated figures of calling animals (all serialized), as in Rosa Bonheur's (1822–1899) bellowing *Bull* (model before 1845), or Mêne's *Djinn, Barbary Stallion* (model 1848).⁵ Unlike these works, Fratin's choice of the barricaded cow evokes a specific narrative. It recalls contemporary images of calf-weaning, which was then accomplished by keeping mother and nursling apart merely with a physical barrier, as is shown in Bonheur's painting of the subject (fig. 2).

The subject dwells on the hardships of maternal bonding, the pain of forced separation felt even by domestic animals. Bonheur's version renders it as subdued unease, unlike Fratin's, which suggests it as open distress. Actually, calf-weaning is said to provide one of the most emotional moments of rural life, triggering anthropomorphic empathy even today. As one chronicler recently observed of cattle in contemporary Wyoming: "Weaning is noisy; cows don't hide their grief. As calves are loaded into semis and stock trucks, their mothers—five or six hundred of them at a time—crowd around the sorting alleys with outstretched necks, their squared-off faces all opened in a collective bellowing."⁶ Without resorting to predatory violence for drama, as certain bovine subjects by Fratin do, this image conveys an undeniable pathos, thus gently subverting the classic portrayal of the cow as enviably serene, the very emblem of pastoral tranquility.

The appeal of this emotionalism to a nineteenth-century audience seems evident. However, such a bovine theme in a serial work for wide distribution also reflects the pervasive private and official interest in cattle breeding in late-nineteenth-century Europe, particularly where dairy, meat, and tannery activities were involved. In France, elaborate trophies by Christofle were commissioned for French regional agricultural competitions, cast from models by *animalier* sculptors.⁷



Fig. 2 Rosa Bonheur, *Weaning the Calves*, oil on canvas, 1879, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, 87.15.109



Christophe Fratin, *Cow Lowing over a Fence*, 1983.65.1



Fig. 3 Christophe Fratin, *Group of a Cow and a Bull*, bronze, c. 1850, private collection, reproduced by permission of Sotheby's, London

Stylistically, Fratin's relief evinces a wide range of handling—from the emphatic form of the cow to the “unfinished” quality of the ground—in a richly modeled medium. Its austerity of detail lends drama. The vast ambient space, with the ghostly aura of *pentimenti* around the cow, creates a varied, atmospheric quality and offsets the sharp contour and plasticity of the animal. The gritty metal and delicate claw-tooling across the cow's anatomy animate the surface. It is a sumptuous yet disciplined work—vigorous rather than precious in its modest scale.

The expressiveness of anti-classical iconography drawn from the modern natural world and emphatic materiality relate Fratin's relief to romantic painting and sculpture, particularly of the later decades. The relief's close similarity to Fratin's previously mentioned plaque of a bellowing bull, inscribed 1864, the year of his death, provides a relevant chronological benchmark. However, that composition cannot be traced to any sales in Fratin's lifetime either, and, as often happens in serial works, the inscribed date could indicate a reprise of a model produced and serialized earlier. Until more is known about the sculptor's career, Mêne's more securely dated examples of the mid- to late-1840s may

provide useful *termini post quem*. In addition to *Djinn*, *Barbary Stallion*, shown in the Salon of 1848, Mêne exhibited a bronze *Flemish Cow and her Calf* in the Salon of 1845 that displays a comparable psychological interest in the engagement of the cow with her nursing calf.⁸

Fratin's relief has even broader affinities with *animalier* works by other artists from the 1840s to the 1870s. Epitomized by the weaning subject of 1879 already mentioned, the art of Bonheur bears a close relationship, with its special focus upon cattle subjects, often anecdotal handling, and rugged sculptural quality.⁹ Those elements also relate Fratin's *Cow* to paintings by Sir Edwin Landseer (1802–1873), particularly in the often-sentimental, anthropomorphic narratives about emotional bonds in animals. One famous example of many is his *Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* (c. 1837, Victoria and Albert Museum, London).¹⁰

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Notes

1. A. S. Ciechanowiecki, letter to Anne Halpern dated 30 July 1996 (in NGA curatorial files). The verso bears handwritten numbers that may reflect dealers' or auction inventories as yet untraced: an encircled 7 (handwritten by an apparently modern hand in chalk); and an adhesive tag with the handwritten code number, also apparently modern, T-125.

2. For example, three framed reliefs by Barye in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington: *Genet Carrying off a Bird*; *Leopard*; and *Panther* (Corcoran 1988, 82–84, repro.).

3. For example, the bronze bull and cow sold at *Nineteenth Century Ceramics and Silver, Animalier Bronzes, Continental Bronzes and Sculpture, Clocks and Furniture*, Sotheby's, London, 21 March 1985, no. 209, repro. (fig. 3); and a relief of a Brahman bull and cow against an “Eastern” background sold at *Good Continental Furniture, Works of Art, Clocks, Bronzes and Animalier Bronzes*, Sotheby's, Belgravia, 21 April 1976, no. 215, repro.

4. The cast belonging to Michael Hall Fine Arts, Inc., New York, in 1985 (Shepherd Gallery 1985, no. 42, repro.). A cast was sold at *19th and 20th Century Sculpture*, Sotheby's, London, 30 April 1993, no. 14, repro.

5. Respectively Cooper 1975, fig. 150; Pivar 1974, 192, no. A131; and Cooper 1975, color repro. p. 108.

6. Ehrlich 1987, 128.

7. For example, a trophy for a regional agricultural competition, with a model by Pierre-Louis Rouillard (1820–1881); Daniel Alcouffe in Philadelphia 1978, 133, repro.

8. For the wax model, see Grand Palais 1986, 143, repro.

9. See especially Horswell 1971, 178–179, repro. Bonheur's special fondness for bovines is commemorated in the monument to her at Fontainebleau, an enlargement of her figure of a bull. See Ashton 1981, 188, repro.

10. Ormond et al. 1981, 110, repro.

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1994 NGA: 91, repro.

Paul Gauguin

1848–1903

GAUGUIN'S FAMOUS GUISE as the original Western savage was his own embellishment upon reality. No mere bohemianism, that persona was, for him, the modern sequel to the "natural man" constructed by his idol, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Gauguin's rejection of the industrialized West for an earthly paradise embraced, in artistic terms, all handmade arts and crafts as equivalent creative endeavors. As his own ideal artist-artisan, he produced an abundant, cross-fertilizing body of work in many media, dissolving the traditional boundaries between high art and decoration.

The artist and his older sister Marie were born in Paris to highly literate upper-middle-class parents from France and Peru. Gauguin's early life was shaped by his family's liberal political activism and their blood ties spanning the Old and New Worlds. His father was a republican journalist; his maternal grandmother, Flora Tristan (Flora Tristán y Moscoso), was a Peruvian creole and a celebrated socialist active in France. Through her, Gauguin claimed a special link to the earlier New World as a descendant of its pre- and post-Conquest elite. With or without foundation, Gauguin identified his grandmother's ancestors as the noble Spanish Viceroy of Peru who ordered the first European voyage to the Marquesas Islands (the artist's own final home) and, before that, a high-born Inca, a legacy that he "proved" with his own craggy "Inca" profile. In 1849 his parents fled France for Peru with their two young children, fearing repercussions from the candidate his father's paper had not supported for president of the republic, Louis-Napoleon, later Napoleon III. His father died on shipboard. Gauguin spent his childhood in colonial Lima and his adolescence in his father's native city of Orléans. Though his widowed mother had few means beyond a modest salary as a seamstress in Orléans, the boy was surrounded in both cities by prosperity and culture, thanks to family and friends. In the late 1860s Gauguin traveled the world with the merchant marine, and then the eastern Mediterranean as a third-class military seaman. He started painting and building an art collection when he settled in Paris as a stockbroker in 1872. Having inherited trust funds from his grandparents and now earning good money in his new career, he lived well, married a middle-class Danish woman, Mette Gad, in 1873, and had five children with her. His artistic training was informal and limited. After learning to paint and

model on his own, Gauguin was tutored by the active professionals among his landlords and neighbors. Intellectually restless and independent, Gauguin sought and absorbed information from myriad sources, synthesizing them into his own aesthetic. He apparently began to show his work before he sought any training. His Salon debut in 1876, with *Under the Tree Canopy at Viroflay* (Seine et Oise)—possibly the landscape of that area, dated 1875, that belonged to his sister's descendants, Hernando Uribe Holguin, Bogotá—occurred four years before he met his only acknowledged painting master, his landlord Félix Jobbé-Duval, in 1880. In 1877, Gauguin modeled a clay bust of his wife and observed as another landlord, sculptor-*praticien* Jules Bouillot, carved a marble rendition (Courtauld Institute of Art, London), in order to execute the entire process himself immediately afterwards; he did so in a bust of his son Emil (1877, marble; MMA). His fellow tenant at Bouillot's, sculptor Paul Aubé, may have guided Gauguin as well, and may have encouraged his interest in clay sculpture. Gauguin studied ceramics much later, in 1886 with Ernest Chaplet, whose studio was nearby. In 1879 he joined the "Independents" (impressionists), thanks in part to Camille Pissarro, another New World transplant (from Danish Saint-Thomas) who became a special mentor. Gauguin showed regularly with them until they disbanded in 1886, entering a variety of works, including sculpture, that earned modest critical attention. Various dealers bought his work. Gauguin lost his final job in the brokerage world after the financial crash of 1882. He moved his family to the less expensive town of Rouen and became a sales representative for a canvas manufacturer. However, his focus intensified on art and political activism: He undertook missions to the Spanish border to promote the Spanish republican cause. Alarmed at the dramatic change their life was taking, his wife took the children to her native Copenhagen. Gauguin followed, but soon declared the city to be uncongenial. He left to pursue an independent life, though he remained in regular contact with his wife and children, largely by correspondence, for the rest of his life.

Surviving on odd jobs and often without cash, Gauguin began his lifelong peripatetic migration between exotic regions and Paris in 1886. In the process he grew in stature as a colorful and controversial avant-garde artist, primarily through works sent from those remote

sites for sale and exhibition in Europe. After an ill-fated move to Panama and Martinique, in 1888 he began spending extended time in the French provinces. He went first to Pont Aven, Brittany, where Emile Bernard's (1868–1941) *cloisonnisme* profoundly affected his work. Yet Bernard and his circle of friends—notably Paul Sérusier (1863–1927), Maurice Denis (1870–1943), and Charles Laval (1862–1892)—regarded Gauguin as their own mentor. His art and stated views in Brittany shaped their aesthetic definingly for years, producing first what is known as the school of Pont Aven, and then the more varied work of their later years, as the self-styled Nabis. Gauguin then went to Arles to join Van Gogh, which proved to be a seminal encounter artistically, if tumultuous emotionally, for both. He then returned to Brittany, to the village of Le Pouldu. By 1890, Gauguin's work was shown at avant-garde exhibitions in Paris and Brussels and had earned the admiration of symbolist writers in Paris, particularly that of its current leader Stéphane Mallarmé. Gauguin was invited to attend regular gatherings when in the capital, and was often the honored guest. His final move to the Pacific Islands, with sporadic returns to Paris, began in 1891 with his transfer to Tahiti, as head of a government-funded artistic mission. He found his dream of an earthly paradise there severely compromised. As in Europe, he saw discord and a native culture overcome by Western values—including the need for capital to live. Nonetheless he produced prolifically, amidst quarrels with authorities, scandals, and relations with local women that yielded yet more children. Various illnesses, including syphilis, left Gauguin increasingly immobilized during his last years. He died and remains buried on Atuona (Marquesas Islands).

Gauguin's complex art has long been divided into the impressionism of his early years, and the synthetism and exotic symbolism of his mature years in Brittany and Oceania. It is broadly defined as an incremental rejection of naturalist modernity, the tenets of high art, and Western illusionism, in favor of a syncretism that drew upon a broad range of artistic and literary sources. His course is frequently charted with landmarks: the landscapes, figure paintings, and interiors that particularly suggest the work of Pissarro and Degas, from his years as a leisure-time Impressionist painter; the brilliantly colored *cloisonné* paintings of Brittany (*The Vision After the Sermon* [*Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*], 1888, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh); and his enigmatic monumental testament from the Pacific, *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* (1897, BMFA). The formal qualities and meaning of that work, however, continue to be debated. His paintings in

the Impressionist exhibitions of the early 1880s emerge, under renewed scrutiny, as more anti-naturalist and anti-conventional than previously thought. As is well established, the anti-illusionism of his mature work and the variety of media, especially functional objects, convey his advocacy of craft and the decorative, and of the artist as the physical, as well as conceptual, source of art. Gauguin was no pure formalist however. His support for the decorative encompassed, even demanded, the conveyance of meaning by a close alliance of form, content, and technique, a strategy—so dear to symbolist poets—that was central to Gauguin's disciples in Brittany, whether in a church fresco or a decorative screen. That sense of charged meaning, however, owed little to traditional Western symbolism and narrative strategies, which demanded coherent legibility. Gauguin's later works from Brittany and beyond remain ambiguous, perhaps unresolvable, as provocative expressions of mysterious truths, at once personal and cosmic.

The artist produced two- and three-dimensional sculpture and functional objects throughout his career. Typologically, they range from conventional portrait busts and architectural reliefs to functional objects—among them vases, knife handles, and wine casks. Many were intended for public exhibition and sale like his paintings, prints, and drawings. Throughout his career, Gauguin both modeled and carved; at some point, however, his choice of materials changed. Whether for practical or ideological reasons, Gauguin eschewed the “noble” marble of his first sculptural efforts (the family busts) for “humbler” materials, mostly wood and clay. His advocacy of direct handiwork caused him to reject methods that involved indirect mechanical processes, such as throwing ceramics on a wheel. Only one work produced by such techniques can be documented, a cast plaster of the so-called *Self-Portrait, Ovir* (1894–1895), known today through posthumous serial bronze casts. Famous for their “savage” subject matter and format, non-Western polychromy, and sense of slapdash formation, these works deliberately vary in character. Throughout his career, Gauguin's carved surfaces could be smoothly undulating, like any traditional Western sculpture, as well as emphatically planar and “crude,” in the more familiar primitivizing mode. He did not completely reject commercial reproduction of his sculpture. While in Tahiti, the artist planned to serialize *Mask of a Savage* (1894–1895, terra cotta; Musée Léon-Dierx, Saint-Denis, Réunion [Mascarene Islands]) and what he called his best sculpture, *Ovir* (1894, stoneware; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), in bronze. *Ovir* and several other figures were, in fact, cast by several commercial founders

as lost-wax serial bronzes from the years before World War I to the late 1950s.

Gauguin also published his extensive writings, beginning with a very revealing critical commentary on ceramics in the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889, and ending with autobiographical tracts such as *Noa-Noa*. After his death, as with Rousseau, his literary production shaped views of his work and persona as profoundly as the physical objects. His artistic influence in France took many forms before and after his demise; one of the most evident examples is the work of Odilon Redon, who revered the artist as much as his aesthetic.

SGL

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1963.10.239. a and b (A-1708)

Pair of Wooden Shoes (*Sabots*)

1889/1890

Polychromed oak, leather, and iron nails;

left: 12.9 × 32.7 × 11.3 (5¹/₁₆ × 12⁷/₈ × 4⁷/₁₆),

right: 12.8 × 32.7 × 11.2 (5¹/₁₆ × 12⁷/₈ × 4⁷/₁₆)

Chester Dale Collection

Technical Notes: The shoes were probably purchased ready-made. The wood was determined, through low magnification, to bear features consistent with those of the white oak group (*Quercus* spp.). The flat- to medium-relief decoration was apparently executed by means of a variety of woodworking tools: chisels to remove the wood surrounding the relatively flat design; gouges for the rounded interior details; and a file or abra-

sive (perhaps sandpaper) to smooth the carving. According to X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), the applied pigments include mostly lead white, zinc white, chrome yellow, and vermilion, with others in smaller quantities. The wooden structure shows evidence of grain splits (some from nail insertion), surface abrasion, and damage from an old, inactive infestation of wood-boring insects. The applied paint surface is stable. The leather soles have suffered losses and are fragile; loose fragments were consolidated in 1989.¹ The soles are also missing several nails, and those remaining are corroded. The wood has developed a brownish-red warm patina from wear and handling. The right shoe has a black deposit and spots of blue and white paint.

Provenance: Marie Henry, Le Pouldu [1859–1945];² her daughter, Madame Ida Cochenec [b. 1891];³ possibly Madame Lenoble, Paris;⁴ (Etienne Bignou, Paris and New York, by 1928);⁵ Chester Dale [1883–1962], New York, by February 1956.⁶

Exhibited: Possibly *Paul Gauguin. Exposition d'Oeuvres inconnues*, Galerie Barbazanges, Paris, 1919, no. 29, as *Les Sabots de Gauguin*. Possibly Dru 1923, no. 62.⁷ *Gauguin sculpteur et graveur*, Musée du Luxembourg, Paris, 1928, no. 27. Palm Beach 1956, no. 29, as *Wooden Sabots. Gauguin*, Wildenstein, New York, 1956, no. 104. Chicago 1959, no. 117, as *Wooden Shoes, Carved and Painted. Paul Gauguin*, Haus der Kunst, Munich, 1960, no. 142, as *Holzschuhe. The Chester Dale Bequest*, NGA, 1965. Toronto 1981, no. 2. *Gogen: Vzgljad iz Rossii*, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow; State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, 1989, not in cat. *Gauguin et Ses Amis Peintres*, Yokohama Museum of Art; Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art; Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art, Japan, 1992, no. 12.

THIS IS ONE of three pairs of clogs (or *sabots*) documented as decorated by Gauguin and ultimately owned by other individuals.⁸ Though not signed, like the pair originally owned by Schuffenecker,⁹ the National Gallery example is the only one to bear all the colors described by Rotonchamp on the *sabots* carved in Le Pouldu and worn by Gauguin himself. He states they bore “barbaric arabesques of gold, blue, and vermilion”; for Rotonchamp, these “rustic sabots” recall the venerated Victor Hugo’s “predilection for the object decorated in a formidable and brutal taste” while in Guernsey.¹⁰ This pair does not appear to have returned to Paris with Gauguin, since they can be associated with the innkeeper Marie Henry in Brittany.

Traditionally worn by artisans and peasants, these *sabots* palpably signal Gauguin’s rejection of European civilization, first visible with his move to rural Brittany, and the evolving vision of the savage that would preoccupy him for the rest of his life. They epitomize the early phases of his artistic and moral challenge to high art and luxury objects of high design, in precious materials for elite settings.¹¹ With their decorated vamp, these sturdy high-heeled shoes for laboring workers seem to parody the delicate satin slippers with ornamental buckles worn by ancien-régime nobility. They join a wide array of ready-made functional objects that Gauguin carved and painted, beginning with his “luxury” box and fan holder of around 1884–1885, executed in Paris. The artist produced many objects in Brittany, including a carved, polychromed oak wine cask for the dining room of Marie Henry’s inn.¹²



Paul Gauguin, *Pair of Wooden Shoes (Sabots)*, 1963.10.239 a and b

The clogs appear to be authentic examples—they have leather soles and hob nails—and were probably bought from a professional *sabotier*. It is possible that Gauguin intended them to be used, as he himself did later in Paris.¹³ The National Gallery pair very well may have been worn: Its outer edges, near the soles, show evidence of wear.¹⁴ Gauguin associated the local *sabot* with the outdoor rural activity that typified its use there. His Breton imagery represents it in farm work and ritual dances. An often-quoted letter written at that time stresses the great value Gauguin placed on his own activity in clogs. He claims walking in them provides his vital creative link with the austere terrain that moved him so: “I love Brittany. I find the savage and primitive here. When my clogs ring on this granite ground, I hear the muted, hollow, powerful sound I am looking for in my painting.”¹⁵

Decorated clogs have few direct kin in art history. However, through his appreciation of their use, Gauguin’s *sabots* subtly echo the worn hobnailed boots that Van Gogh dignified as a still life painting in 1887. When Gauguin asked Van Gogh why he conferred such an artful tribute to unusually humble objects, the Dutch artist claimed it was for their having bravely borne the trials of his voyage on foot to Belgium, as an itinerant evangelist.¹⁶

The decoration itself seems to celebrate rural labor. The right *sabot* may represent two women making hay; the goose on the other shoe can be associated with herding. Through such motifs the National Gallery clogs are broadly linked to Gauguin’s oeuvre of the period, especially in its focus on women, boys, and girls at work. Gray notes that the female group on the right seems to derive, like some of the motifs in his ceramics from this period, from a drawing in one of his Breton albums.¹⁷ The shoes are especially similar to the ceramics, which often link geese with either a female or a boy shepherd.¹⁸ As has long been argued, however, such imagery already carries multiple, often conflicting moral values for Gauguin, the motifs connoting, on one level, the virtue of honest labor, an important feature of this arcadian oasis, within an increasingly corrupt, urbanized modern Europe, a legacy of Barbizon views learned through Pissarro. The repeated pairing of geese with women, claims Andersen, confirms Gauguin’s subtle but deepening preoccupation with symbolic imagery as a means of conveying his complex attitudes towards women.¹⁹ He argues that images of modern women at work represent at once objects of prurient interest, the contemptible mindless laboring beast, and the fatefully corrupt modern Eve. Yet, as in folk proverbs, they also may represent the innocent when accompanied by a white goose, a traditional emblem of female purity.

These two motifs emphasize Gauguin’s shift, while in Brittany, to a formal concern for a simpler, stronger contour and an archaizing rusticity, as noted by Rotonchamp.²⁰ The artist frequently employs the robustly graceful form of the goose—the rustic counterpart of the swan—especially in curved poses. The rear view of a woman with upraised arms steadily recurs in his work after leaving Paris, begin-

ning perhaps with his *Women Bathing* (1885, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo) inspired by Edgar Degas’ (1834–1917) own version of the subject.²¹ The female motif on the clogs is especially close to its counterparts in Gauguin’s Breton pottery, where the woman’s gesture seems more hieratic than narratively logical, and provides sharply geometric formal interest to the body of the vase or a bridge between handles.²²

The low relief and emphatic linearity of the woman’s skirt seen from the rear reflect the most archaizing of such figures in Gauguin’s pre-Martinique ceramics, suggesting applied designs more than modeled ones.²³ Yet the severity of these shapes is softened throughout by curves: The crescent-shaped sheaf on one *sabot* echoes the bent goose on the other, and the plane underlying the motifs undulates organically.

It is generally felt that Gauguin’s Breton work explores flat, decorative surfaces. Krauss and Takahashi suggest that his carved and hand-built sculptural forms are ambivalent in their spatial interest, seeming to affix decoration to surfaces of hollow objects with none of the interest in inner structure or space seen previously in the artist’s vases.²⁴ The National Gallery *sabots*, which, like his vases, are conceived as functional works, reveal an active alliance of hollow form and surface. Though painted for contrast, the low relief mutes any sense of its autonomy by curving with the surface. It thus calls attention to the structural logic and character of the whole: a hollow, open form with a constituent mass that varies in thickness throughout and undulates assertively. The shoe reveals its finely finished, dynamic interior when not worn. Without the foot dictating the structure, the shoe’s carved volumes actively engage negative space, which plunges into the void at the wide heel and under the vamp, and then disappears from view near the pointed, upturned toe. Gauguin’s concern for the interplay of three-dimensionality, interior structure, and negative space is quite evident in some of his non-functional works, notably his stoneware figures of *Eve* (see p. 241) and *Oviri* (see p. 240, fig. 1). This concern is most easily seen, however, in his paintings that feature vases, where he represents, often intricately, the dynamic play of space and curved mass in a vessel with multiple openings, as in the *Still Life with Profile of Laval* (1886, Josefowitz Collection).²⁵ It also appears in his exploration of the open, basketlike forms of the Breton headdress in works of various media.²⁶

The National Gallery *Wooden Shoes* are not the most elaborate example of Gauguin’s decorated *sabots*; another pair features complex openwork to the shoe tip that is backed with leather.²⁷ Instead, the predominance of carefully finished surfaces, handsome shape, and rich grain of the oak in this pair suggest Gauguin’s respect for the integrity and intrinsic beauty of the carved utilitarian form—and for the skill of the individual who made them. His admiration for the Breton *sabotier* as a craftsman may be seen in his painting of one such individual in the process of carving two clogs.²⁸

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Notes

1. See NGA curatorial files.
2. Gray 1963, 200, claims Malingue had a photograph dating from 1889 that showed these with the *Figure of a Martinique Negress*, which is documented as belonging to Marie Henry. Malingue 1959, 37–38, himself lists among some old photographs of works belonging to her, a photograph of *sabots* taken in 1895, whose description matches only the National Gallery pair in size, polychromy, and decoration with human figures: “No. 7: Sabots de Gauguin sculptés et peints, 13 × 33 cm. Sur le dessus des sabots, dans un cercle, sont sculptées de petites Bretonnes.” For a biography of Marie Henry (“Poupée”), see Jean-Marie Cusinberche, “La Buvette de la Plage racontée par . . .,” in Prieuré 1985, 114–115, 127. Gauguin stayed at her inn intermittently from the summer of 1889 through November 1890 (Chassé 1921, 25; Chassé 1955, 65–67; and Cahn in NGA 1988, 47–49). For an account of Gauguin’s lawsuit against Henry, to reclaim works left with her in 1890, see Chassé 1955, 89.
3. Malingue 1959, 36–38, and Cusinberche in Prieuré 1985, 115.
4. Chicago 1959, no. 117. This information may instead apply to the other pair of *sabots* catalogued by Gray 1963, 201, as of these dimensions and belonging first to Ernest Chaplet, then to his daughter, Louise Lenoble.
5. Cited as the lender in Gauguin 1928, no. 27.
6. Cited as the lender in Palm Beach 1956, no. 29.
7. These two are unverified identifications in Chicago 1959, 72, with other possible factual errors concerning this pair of shoes (see Provenance). Gray 1963, 201, instead tentatively associates the 1923 exhibition entry with the pair formerly with Schuffenecker, now in a private collection (see note 4). The entries in both exhibition catalogues give no lenders’ names or adequate physical description. Both call the loans Gauguin’s own *sabots*, an association given to all recorded examples. As noted in Gray 1963, 200, the fact that two of the three sculptural works in the 1919 Galerie Barbazanges exhibition were from Marie Henry lends credence to the possibility that the exhibited *sabots*, the only other three-dimensional pieces in the show, were likewise hers—hence the National Gallery’s. My thanks to Anne Halpern, department of curatorial records and files, for pursuing this information and for her comments.
8. Gray 1963, 200–201, repro.
9. The right shoe bears the “PGO” monogram seen also on *Père Paillard*; see Gray 1963, 201, repro.; last recorded, c. 1987, in a private collection.
10. Rotonchamp 1906, 63.
11. For an analysis of Gauguin’s moral judgment of such items before he left Paris, see the discussion of his *Decorated Wooden Box* in Stuckey in NGA 1988, 30–31, color repro. One of Gauguin’s earliest representations of *sabots* is in his *Flowers, Still Life, or The Painter’s Home, Rue Carcel* shown in the 1882 Impressionist exhibition in Paris (Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo): An unpainted pair hangs on the wall of his bourgeois salon, in startling counterpoint to the Oriental decorative objects that otherwise furnish the room. See Stuckey in NGA 1988, 27–28, color repro., who discusses the *sabots* as “prefigurations of the variety of genres and mediums of his subsequent art.”
12. Cachin in NGA 1988, 173–174, color repro.
13. The question remains open whether Gauguin wore decorated examples in Brittany as well. His self-portrait at Le Pouldu, *Bonjour Monsieur Gauguin* (1889, Národní Gallery, Prague), represents him in a plain pair, with straps around the instep. See Cachin in NGA 1988, 172, color repro.
14. The interiors do not, however. According to English tourists in the 1880s (Andersen 1971, 42), clogs were worn stuffed with straw, which could abrade the interior.
15. Gauguin, letter to Emile Schuffenecker dated late February or 1 March 1888; in Merlhès 1984–, 1: 172, no. 141. Among the many citations of this quote are Goldwater 1957, 82; and Toronto 1981, 22.
16. Morice 1919, 40. The celebrated still life is now in the Cone Collection of The Baltimore Museum of Art. See Pickvance 1984, 35–36, color repro.

17. Album Briant, Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, R. F. 30273. See Gray 1963, 15, fig. 9c.
18. For example, Gray 1963, 135 (*Pitcher with Three Handles*); 138 (*Pot Decorated with a Figure of a Bretonne*); 150 (*Vase in Stoneware with Geese*); and 156 (*Jardinière*).
19. Andersen 1971, 54–55.
20. Rotonchamp 1906, 63.
21. Moffett 1986, 458, color repro. Compare with Degas’ *Peasant Girls Bathing in the Sea at Dusk* in Moffett 1986, 176, color repro.
22. Frèches-Thory in NGA 1988, 72–73, color repro. These also seem to be based upon the drawing in the Album Briant that Gray associates with the National Gallery clogs (see note 17).
23. See also *Vase with Four Handles Decorated with Breton Peasants* (1886–1887, Musée d’Orsay, Paris); Frèches-Thory in NGA 1988, 74, color repro.
24. Krauss 1977, 34; cited in Koji Takahashi, “The Superficial Paradise: A Study on Gauguin’s Sculpture and Ceramics,” in Tokyo 1987, 39.
25. Frèches-Thory in NGA 1988, 77, color repro.
26. For example, *Pot in the Form of the Head of a Breton* (Gray 1963, 149, repro.) and *Vase Decorated with Breton Scenes*, based on a drawing of a Breton headdress (Frèches-Thory in NGA 1988, 69, color repro.).
27. Gray 1963, 201, repro.
28. Wildenstein and Cogniat 1964, 1: no. 280 (private collection), repro.

References

- 1906 Rotonchamp: 63.
 1959 Malingue: 37–38.
 1963 Gray: 200, repro.
 1994 NGA: 96, repro.

1970.30.1 (A-1737)

Eve

1890

Glazed ceramic, 60.6 × 27.9 × 27.3 (23⁷/₈ × 11 × 10³/₄)

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

Inscriptions

In relief on the self-base, near the left foot: P Gauguin

Marks

Glued to the rear of the base, a scalloped paper disc stamped in ink: DOUANE/PARIS/CENTRALE

Technical Notes: The very uniform iron-alumina-silicate clay appears to be a low-fire earthenware.¹ The work is shaped from the base upwards first by coiling, then detailed through direct modeling by hand, flat-bladed and bull-nose spatulas, and a fine-pointed tool for incised work. The torso and left side of the sculpture were hollowed before the self-base was closed with coils. They were then smoothed by a tool, chamois, or abrasive prior to firing. The arm may have been modeled independently, as was typical; if so, the evenness of the surface and glaze over that area suggests it was attached while wet, before firing. A right arm may have been planned but was not executed. Unlike the free-form aperture at the top of the head, the almost mechanical regularity, depth, and smoothness of the arm socket suggest it was shaped for the insertion of a separate element. The socket was then glazed, as if acceptably empty. Though in-

herently limited in providing a full analysis of glazes (the process is incapable of detecting numerous components, such as silica, sodium, or aluminum), analysis by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) indicates high concentrations of calcium and cobalt in the glazes, suggesting the use of cobalt oxide and calcium oxide to produce the blue and cream glazes. Preliminary tests suggest that a lead glaze was not employed, as was common and as Bodelsen claims appears in the bronze-colored "skin."² There are various firing cracks, especially on the lower portion of the figure and self-base, where the clay is especially thick, that extend through the glaze to the clay. The sternum and pubic area have faintly incised lines, and the hairline is emphasized at left with an incised line. There are gray accretions of undetermined nature within the cavity around the hair. A wooden stick surrounded by a yellowish-brown translucent material, most probably an adhesive, in the interior of the figure, near the aperture at the top of the head, may have been intended as reinforcement of the delicate structure. The adhesivelike material has oozed out through many of the small cracks in the torso: the figure's hair at the right hip and behind the right shoulder socket. There is paper or wood stuffed in the interior, possibly the remains of old packing material. Tan-colored deposits on the back of the head may be paint from prior installations.

Provenance: On consignment from the artist at (Boussod-Valadon, Paris, late 1890).³ Michel Manzi [1849–1915], Paris, by 1893;⁴ (his estate sale, Galerie Manzi, Joyant & Cie., Paris, 14 March 1919, no. 239).⁵ Walther Halvorsen, Norway, 1921.⁶ H. d'Oelsnitz, Paris, by 1928.⁷ (Galerie Le Portique, Paris, by 1929).⁸ Georges Pécout, Paris, by 1964.⁹ (Galerie Beyeler, Basel, through October 1970).¹⁰

Exhibited: *Les XX, huitième exposition annuelle*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1891, no. 3, as *Statue émaillée (grès)*. *Exposition Paul Gauguin*, Galerie Durand-Ruel, Paris, 1893, no. 45, as *La Femme Noire*?¹¹ Gauguin 1928, no. 32, as *Jeune femme nue, debout*. *Cent oeuvres de Gauguin*, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 1960, no. 131, as *Noa-Noa*. NGA 1974. NGA 1988, no. 104 (shown only in Washington).

CONSIDERED A Tahitian work until well into the twentieth century, this glazed ceramic figure was gradually re-identified, beginning in the 1940s, as an Eve produced in Paris just before Gauguin's departure for the South Pacific.¹² In the 1950s Henri Dorra associated it with an unfinished figure that Rotonchamp saw at Emile Schuffenecker's studio in Plaisance, during Gauguin's brief stay there in November 1890: "On a modeling stand emerged, from the damp cloths . . . a maquette in red clay to which the artist gave life, a standing Eve draped in opulently unbound hair."¹³ Alhadeff confirmed Gray's tentative identification of this figure as Gauguin's "enameled statue" in the *Cercle des XX* exhibition in Brussels in February 1891, through the fuller account of that entry by critic A. J. Wauters as "that statue of a woman dressed in enamel . . . [Do go] examine Gauguin's one-armed statuette ('statuette manchotte')." ¹⁴

The different titles and dates alone suggest *Eve's* importance as a pivotal work in Gauguin's oeuvre. As a standing nude with hair flowing to the ground, the figure anticipates his later *Oviri* (fig. 1). However, *Eve's* small breasts, well-fleshed muscular body, stout legs, and huge hands and feet first appear as his favored Breton figure type, characteristic of the subtle populist realism and symbolism that he began

developing at the time.¹⁵ As Gray notes, *Eve's* face is also distinctly European in type.¹⁶ It strongly reflects the moody demeanor, delicate features, and bulging forehead seen in many of Gauguin's Breton images of women.¹⁷

Dorra places this ceramic statue within the group of Breton Eves introducing an important theme of Gauguin's ideal, the native wife in an earthly paradise.¹⁸ Within that genre, its closest kin is his *Exotic Eve*, a painting of about 1890 (private collection, Paris),¹⁹ which represents a more stylized Eve standing in an ideal landscape. Dorra sees the *Exotic Eve* as a fusion of Gauguin's memories of subtropical Martinique with the hieratic figures of the Borobudur reliefs, casts of which appeared at the Javanese Pavilion of the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889.²⁰

The subject of the National Gallery *Eve* has been described in various ways. Bodelsen proposes a simple uninterpreted narrative, Eve looking down into flower-filled water as she supports her left hand on a blooming tree or bush.²¹ Others argue for more Symbolist dimensions to the piece. Using Belgian critic Emile Verhaeren's remarks about Gauguin's entries in the *Vingtiste* exhibition of 1891, Alhadeff sees the sculpture as evidence of the artist's desire to grow, like a grafted plant, by direct immersion in fertile soil. For Alhadeff, Gauguin's lush figure represents both vitality, through imperishable tresses that cascade towards primal water in "the throb of life itself," and the inevitable decay evoked by the missing arm.²² His view reflects the sym-



Fig. 1 Paul Gauguin, *Oviri*, stoneware, 1894, Paris, Musée d'Orsay



Paul Gauguin, *Eve*, 1970.30.1



1970.30.1

bolism ascribed to the full series of Eves from Brittany to Polynesia: as an embodiment of both life and death that, if she opens herself to the opportunity, engages the male creative force through sex in the Edenic garden, the most benign setting for the essentially traumatic cycle of life.²³

The present author departs from other scholars on the issue of water imagery on the base. The entire field is filled with flowers, with no demarcation between ground and water. The fact that it supports Eve and other forms as it abuts the tree suggests, instead, solid ground throughout.²⁴ The ensemble does seem to explore the dynamics of creation, though it may favor open-ended mystery over any single interpretation. The figure and hair appear to metamorphose, like Apollo's beloved Daphne, into—or possibly from—a hollow tree trunk linked through foliage and flowers to the figure's wrist. The horizontal cant to the hand, suggesting the Javanese dance that so captivated Gauguin at the Paris Universal Exposition, seems to address the florific ground, as if communing with or invoking its powers.²⁵ Both the iconography and handling hint at growth, purity, doom. The *cloisonné* incised work on the base suggests *fleurs-de-llys*, perhaps lilies of purity here, within the trefoils at Eve's feet.²⁶ Directly beneath her hand is a serpentine form in relief that evokes a growing vine or writhing snake, as in Gauguin's *Exotic Eve* mentioned previously. Slightly to the front of that motif, on the base, is Gauguin's signature. Its raised characters distinguish his name from the incised decoration on the ground and link it to the raised snake/vine nearby. Thus it might be a moral statement, if its companion organic form is read as a serpent (an image of the temptation?), or a representation of the artist who invokes or surges with creative powers, if the organic form is read as a growing vine—or it could be both and suggest yet other meanings as well. These are among the multiple, simultaneous interpretations associated with the artist's celebrated *Self-Portrait* from the year before, a project often associated with the symbolism of Eve (fig. 2).²⁷ It may be relevant to Eve's concern with creative forces that Rotochamp's description of the figure, quoted before, uses an ancient *topos* of "divine" sculptural creation, presenting it as a clay sketch that the artist was "bringing to life."

The startling gap in the right shoulder, which Gauguin endorsed by merely exhibiting the figure in that state in 1891, might be interpreted as his own comment on sculptural creativity. He later boasted—erroneously—that he was the first to produce "ceramic sculpture" rather than traditional effigies based on casts.²⁸ The socketed hole might reflect the conviction expressed there, that sculpture should evolve conceptually as it is modeled and finished, rather than reflect a preordained idea or preexisting model. Eve's missing arm also stresses the hollowness of the form and its nature as an artifact rather than as an imitation of life. The void introduced so jarringly in the shoulder draws attention to the many apertures throughout the statuette: the vent at the crown of the head; the gaps in the cascading hair; and the yawning vessellike hollow behind the figure's

legs in the base. By these similarities Eve again anticipates *Oviri*, which opens to the hollow interior at the rear, emphasizing the kinship of these nonfunctional sculptures to Gauguin's functional clay vessels.²⁹

Gauguin's anti-realist approach here and his acute sensitivity to fired-clay forms in general are emphasized by his approach to glazing on *Eve*. The skin is pigmented a bronze-like dark brown, but the hair is given a dramatic cobalt blue amidst the golden ivory tone, in delicate streaks until it seems to cascade from the buttocks down. The cream glaze reappears on the groin as pubic hair, but also drips from the arm socket, spatters across the body and the base, and is brushed—together with the cobalt—on the left arm and thigh. This apparently random, energetic handling suggests a more intense register of the "Japanese" and "savage" qualities that Gauguin claimed he sought in his slightly earlier self-portrait in the form of a jug (1889, glazed stoneware; Museum of Decorative Arts, Copenhagen). Those were qualities inspired in part, perhaps, by the Japanese stoneware in the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878 and 1889 that had such widespread impact on sculptors and ceramists. Eve

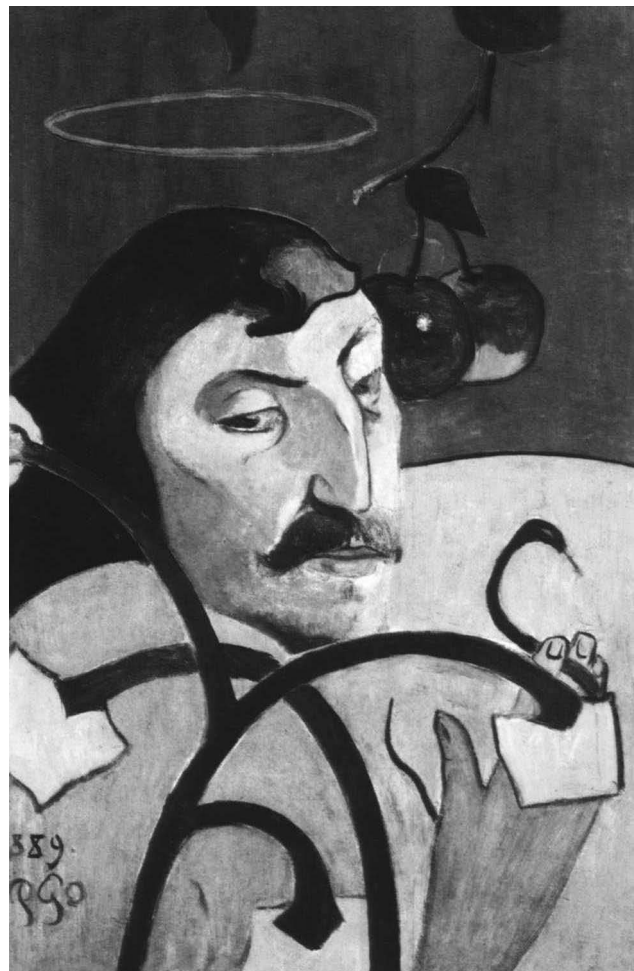


Fig. 2 Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait*, oil on wood, 1889, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection, 1963.10.150

emphatically reflects Gauguin's often-stated claim, first published during these years, that the "vital element" of beauty is harmony between the material, form, and imagery.³⁰ The liquid, varied quality of the glazes conveys the igneous character of the firing process; the subject of matter in flux thus carries in the figure's facture as well. These features account for Gauguin's special passion for ceramics, as the testimony of the dynamic energy of natural creation. For him, their best examples reveal the metamorphic, rather than destructive, power of fire.³¹ In its complex alliance of symbolic content, form, material, and technique, the National Gallery *Eve* can be seen as a compelling prefiguration of *Oviri*, which Gauguin called "the best thing of mine" as ceramic sculpture.³²

Eve is a masterful work of modeled polychrome sculpture. It presents an extraordinary contrast of the tumbling multi-colored hair against the dark, precise contour of the figure. Every viewpoint offers an emphatically different articulation of color, form, space, and light. Its refinement and accessible figural canon become evident after the initial shock of its differentness subsides. These qualities drew praise for Gauguin from critics who previously had dismissed his new work while in the *Vingtiste* exhibition. Gustave Lagye, for instance, felt that *Eve* confirmed the talent of "this eccentric carver of childishly polychromed images," as it had "real qualities of style and facture," but he would, however, "wait until [Gauguin] recovers from this so-called symbolic nightmare before taking him seriously."³³

Eve is among various sculptural works by Gauguin—*Idol with a Shell*, *Idol with Pearl*, *Hina Hina*, *Te Katou*, *Tahitian Mask*, *Luxury*, and *Oviri*—that were serialized in lost-wax bronze by Valsuani in limited editions of varying size, around 1959, authorized by the owners of the prototypes.³⁴ Little is known about the circumstances concerning casts of *Eve*, other than bronzes sold recently at auction that derive from an edition of ten; none is known to be in a public collection.³⁵

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Notes

1. The particles were identified using a JEOL Scanning Electron Microscope with an Oxford Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy attachment. I am grateful to Michael Palmer, conservation scientist, National Gallery Scientific Research department, for performing the analyses.

2. Bodelsen 1964, 138.

3. Rewald 1973, 72. Claire Frèches-Thory, "Eve," in NGA 1988, 183, claims Schuffenecker owned *Eve*, presumably on the basis of the 1891 Brussels exhibition catalogue in which his is the only lenders' name cited for Gauguin's entries there. However, his name appears below the last three entries, "4. trois vases (poterie)," as if these alone were his. That conclusion is supported by a letter from Schuffenecker to Octave Maus, the organizer of the *Vingtiste* exhibition, cited in Rewald 1973, 68n. 140, that reportedly claims he merely lent three ceramic pieces to the show—hence the three "pottery" vases.

4. This possibility was suggested by Victor Merlhès (personal communication) based on Gauguin's letter of early 1894, to be published in a forthcoming volume of the correspondence, that refers

to *La Femme Noire* in Gauguin's exhibition of 1893 at Durand-Ruel as belonging to Manzi. See exhibition history.

5. Sales catalogue, Galerie Manzi, Joyant & Cie., Paris, 14 March 1919, no. 239, repro. opp. p. 40. The piece reportedly sold for 1,980 francs. See the biography of Michel Manzi in the preface (pp. I–XII).

6. Berryer 1944, 24, fig. 29.

7. Cited as the lender in Gauguin 1928, no. 32.

8. Illustrated and identified, as a *Maori-Mädchen*, as belonging to this gallery in Barth 1929, 182–183.

9. Bodelsen 1964, 138 and 235.

10. In NGA curatorial files.

11. See note 4 above. Merlhès' proposal challenges the current identification of this work as *Black Venus* (Nassau County Museum of Art, Roslyn Harbor, New York).

12. Malingue 1944, pl. 44, and 1948, 54, are among the first sources to entitle this figure "Eve." Berryer 1944, 24, calls it a "Standing Tahitian" of about 1895.

13. Rotonchamp 1906, 69; first cited in Dorra 1953, 193.

14. Alhadeff 1979, 178n. 21; Gray 1963, 214.

15. See, for example, Claire Frèches-Thory's catalogue entry in NGA 1988, 145 (*In the Waves* [Ondine]); 152 (*Black Venus*); and 163–164 (*Breton Girls by the Sea*), all color repro.

16. Gray 1963, 214. Bodelsen 1964, 138, instead interprets the face, thanks to the dark glaze, as a reminiscence of a mulatto with European features that had caught his attention recently.

17. Though she may not be the actual prototype, Schuffenecker's daughter Jeanne epitomizes Gauguin's Breton facial type, as seen in his anthropomorphic pot-portrait of her (Frèches-Thory's catalogue entry in NGA 1988, 88, color repro.). Her face and sulky expression, seen in the frequently published group photograph of the Schuffenecker family (Cahn in NGA 1988, 45, fig. 31), is especially close to those of *Human Misery*; see Frèches-Thory's catalogue entries in NGA 1988, 112, 135, and 144, all color repro.

18. Dorra 1953, 193.

19. Françoise Cachin's catalogue entry in NGA 1988, 186, repro. Like many recent authors, Cachin follows Andersen 1971, 17, in proposing Gauguin's *Eve* as an exotic idealization of his mother—a quality visible especially in the face, when compared to a photograph of Madame Gauguin.

20. Dorra 1953, 193.

21. Bodelsen 1964, 138; followed by Claire Frèches-Thory, "Eve," in NGA 1988, 184. More on the problem of water imagery further in the text.

22. Alhadeff 1979, 180–181.

23. Jirat-Wasiutyrski 1978, 267–268.

24. Frèches-Thory in NGA 1988, 184 (see note 21) is among the various accounts of this piece to echo Bodelsen's water imagery that do not address this feature. The form relates to several "aquatic" subjects in Gauguin's work surrounding the Ondine theme (Frèches-Thory's catalogue entry [see note 15] in NGA 1988, 145–147). The flowing metamorphic forms are especially close. The suggested setting and pose, however, anticipate Gauguin's Tahitian works entitled *Te nava nava fenua* [Delightful Land] in which the Edenic Eve stands on solid florific ground. *Eve* may link the two types of imagery in suggesting the contemplation of water "off-stage" in her distinctive downward gaze—which could also evoke reverie or active engagement—body and gaze—with the natural elements around her. For a discussion of the painting of *Te nava nava fenua* of 1892 (Ohara Museum of Art, Kurashoki, Japan), see Frèches-Thory's catalogue entry in NGA 1988, 268–271, color repro. My thanks to Elizabeth Childs for her comments on the NGA *Eve*, which support its various associations with water.

25. Frèches-Thory in NGA 1988, 184 (see note 21), analyzes the gesture as resting on the "shrub" sprouting from the self-base. The point of contact on the wrist, however, does not account for the angle and extension of the hand. For a photograph of the dancers at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889, see Isabelle Cahn, "Chronol-

ogy: July 1886–April 1891,” in NGA 1988, 47, fig. 41. The gesture reappears, over a tall flower, in variants of *Te nave nave fenua* from the woodcut suite *Noa-Noa* (Brettell’s catalogue entries in NGA 1988, 324, color repro.; and 330–335, repro., the latter in color).

26. The meaning of the more delicately incised work on the figure’s chest and pubis is not clear. On the former, it suggests a flaming or floral shape; on the latter, if not also flames or flora, perhaps hair, as in *Te nave nave fenua*, where the represented pubic hair is often remarked upon.

27. See Jirat-Wasiutyński 1978, 322; Andersen 1971, 11–12, 189–190; François Cachin, “Self-portrait with halo,” in NGA 1988, 165–167, color repro.

28. Gauguin, letter to Ambroise Vollard dated 25 August 1902; cited by Danielsson 1975, 302n. 105. I take Gauguin’s words to mean directly modeled clay sculpture that is fired as a durable and definitive work. Gauguin overlooks the many original clay works, fired and not, like Dalou’s *Mother and Child* (p. oo). There are many “finished” examples as well: for example, the terra-cotta busts of Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici by Andrea del Verrocchio (c. 1475/1478 and c. 1478, respectively; both NGA) and the unbaked *Putto Poised on a Globe* (NGA 1994, 232–233, repro.).

29. Andreas Blühm, “In living color,” in Amsterdam 1996, 58, interprets this cavity in symbolic terms, as a “vaginal” orifice that provides an assurance of vitality to counter the figure’s various references to violent death.

30. “Notes on Art at the Universal Exhibition [Excerpts],” in Guérin 1978, 31–32. In the article he complains that such harmony is lacking in most ceramics at the Paris Universal Exposition.

31. Guérin 1978, 30–32. See also Cachin’s discussion of the *Portrait of Gauguin as a Grotesque Head* (1889, Musée d’Orsay, Paris), in NGA 1988, 128–129, color repro.

32. Gauguin, letter to Vollard dated 25 August 1902; Claire Frèches-Thory, “Oviri,” in NGA 1988, 372.

33. Gustave Lagye, “Chronique des Beaux Arts: Le Salon des XXe [III], *Eventail* [Brussels edition] (8 March 1891), 56 (in Documentation du Musée d’Orsay, Paris [Dossiers Gauguin]).

34. Gray 1963, 214–215, does not discuss the serialization of *Eve*, yet other figures were cast by different founders at various points in time. For example, the *Figure of a Martiniquan Negress*, with an edition of six before World War II, cast by Galerie Zak, and a second edition of six cast in 1957 by Modern Foundry in New York. See Gray 1963, 177.

35. Recorded casts at auction are: no. 4/10, with a black patina and Valsuani stamp, sold at *Importants Tableaux Modernes*, Palais d’Orsay, 8 December 1978, no. 62, repro.; and no. 5/10, sold at *Impressionist and Modern Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Hapsburg, Feldman, Inc., New York, 8 May 1989, no. 27, color repro.

References

- 1906 Rotonchamp: 69.
- 1929 Barth: 182–183, repro.
- 1944 Berryer: 24, fig. 29 (as *Tahitienne debout*).
- 1953 Dorra: 193.
- 1963 Gray: 214–215, no. 92, repro.
- 1964 Bodelsen: 138 and 235, no. 55, fig. 93.
- 1979 Alhadeff: 178n. 21, 180–181, fig. 171.
- 1988 Frèches-Thory, Claire. “The Art of Paul Gauguin,” in NGA: 183–184, color repro.
- 1994 NGA: 96, repro.

1963.10.238 (A-I707)

Père Paillard

1902

Miro wood, painted, 67.9 × 18 × 20.7 (26³/₄ × 7¹/₁₆ × 8¹/₈)

Chester Dale Collection

Inscriptions

Carved in relief along the central front of the self-base: PERE PAILLARO [*sic*]

Incised on left of self-base: P G O.¹

Marks

On the underside of the figure, a fragment of a paper label, in ink: [GALER] IE [D]RUET/ St-Honoré Par[is]/[Gaugui]n/[Paill/ard 9 6 [996?]] (fig. 1)

Technical Notes: The sculpture was carved in a wood confirmed, upon comparison with a prepared sample provided by the Botany department of the National Museum of Natural History, to be, as Gray states, miro wood (*Thespesia populnea*), which is native to the Marquesas Islands.² If not drilled for a base that has since been removed, three holes on the underside of the self-base suggest that the figure was probably secured by nails within a horizontal frame for carving. Tool marks throughout the figure indicate a variety of traditional wood-carving utensils: an adze or axe for roughing-out, and several chisels, gouges, and files to finish the work. The male face is far more finished than other portions of the sculpture: Fine-gauge file marks are especially evident on the chin. A gold-colored paint, analyzed by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) as a brass-powder paint composed largely of copper and zinc, was applied to the eyeballs of the central figure and women, the central inscription, and the plantlike forms adjacent to the women. It may have been intended to enhance the original paint. Numerous superficial grain cracks exist but few have separated to any significant extent: a large one (approximately 0.5–1.0 millimeters



Fig. 1 detail of Druet label, 1963.10.238

wide) on the top of the central figure's head and one running vertically along the right side of its face. The heartwood or core of the tree is missing, leaving a void approximately 1 centimeter in diameter, which has weakened the surrounding area on the underside of the figure. Most of the surface has darkened or discolored through handling and exposure.³ There is minor damage throughout: abrasions to the painted areas and tip of the nose and chin, base; and slight chipping beneath the left breast, base of the left horn, and the signature. There is a 15-millimeter gouge on the right rear side of the head. While on loan to an outside exhibition in 1989, the piece fell, resulting in a chipped and crushed left horn, and producing a variety of gouges and scratches throughout, notably an approximately 1-millimeter J-shaped gouge on the left of the self-base.

Provenance: Collection of the artist until his death, 1903; his estate sale, Tahiti, 2 September 1903 (possibly among nos. 60–62); sold to Emile Lévy [1858–1932], Papeete; sold c. 1905 to (Galerie Druet, Paris).⁴ Possibly Ambroise Vollard, Paris;⁵ (Etienne Bignon, Paris and New York) by 1928;⁶ gift June 1930 to Chester Dale [1883–1962], New York.⁷

Exhibited: *Exposition de sculptures et poteries de Gauguin*, Galerie Eugène Blot, Paris, 1910, possibly as *Idole Maorie*.⁸ *Exposition Paul Gauguin*, Nunès et Fiquet, Paris, 1917, no. 23.⁹ Dru 1923, no. 59. Gauguin 1928, no. 22. Palm Beach 1956, no. 28. *Gauguin*, Wildenstein & Co., New York, 1956, no. 102. Chicago 1959, no. 124. *Paul Gauguin*, Haus der Kunst, Munich, 1960, no. 158. *The Chester Dale Bequest*, NGA, 1965. Toronto 1981, no. 17. *Exotic Worlds—European Phantasies*, Württembergischer Kunstverein, Stuttgart, 1987, no. 43. NGA 1988, no. 259. *Gogen: Vzgljad iz Rossii*, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow; State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, 1989, no. 64.

THIS CELEBRATED figure and its original 66-centimeter pendant *Thérèse* (fig. 2), separated at some point after Gauguin's death, are among the largest of his extant three-dimensional works.¹⁰ They are exceeded in size only by the 75-centimeter ceramic *Oviri* (see p. 240, fig. 1) and another Marquesan caricatural wood icon, the 94-centimeter *Saint-Orang* (1903, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).¹¹

Père Paillard forms part of the highly eclectic late Polynesian work that embodies the final phase of Gauguin's vision of the savage.¹² It departs from most other examples of that period in not being intended for European exhibitions or buyers. Instead, it was among a small number of works made for local display. *Père Paillard* and its pendant were added to an elaborate Marquesan decorative ensemble that was openly polemical and tacitly autobiographical: Gauguin's own property in Atuona, the *House of Pleasure* (*Maison du Jouir*), studios, and garden (now partly destroyed). The exterior of the complex bore images and inscriptions that celebrated "primitive" anti-Western values through their content, technique of direct carving, and use of traditional local materials.¹³ The appearance of *Père Paillard* and *Thérèse* depends, to a large extent, upon their intended function, as highly visible public icons that introduced the *House of Pleasure*, and upon their intended viewer, the residents of the island who either passed by or entered the property.¹⁴ Such an audience would interpret the pair on the basis of exclusive local knowledge. Read together, the figures de-

rided one of Gauguin's eminent antagonists in Atuona at a strategic point in hostilities that engaged the broader community.

The pendants' history and basic subject are well established and often published. Briefly, the figures publicly mocked the hypocrisy of the Catholic bishop, prelate of the mission next door, who urged Gauguin to stop his liaisons with women of his parish, at the same time that he himself bedded them, notably the beautiful *Thérèse*, despite his vows of celibacy.¹⁵ Written just after this episode, Gauguin's *Avant et après* describes his motives for the project. He states that the pair of figures is his public reply to the bishop's first exhortation to chastity, what he claims opened a "war" between them:

To cut two superb pieces of rosewood [*bois de rose*]¹⁶ and to sculpt them in the Marquesan fashion was child's play for me. One represented a horned devil (*Père Paillard*). The other, a charming woman [with] flowers in her hair. It was enough to have named it *Thérèse* for all without exception, even the schoolchildren, to see an allusion to such celebrated lovers.

It may be a legend, but still it isn't I who created it.¹⁷

Though often overlooked, *Thérèse*, a Marquesan member of the mission, openly—even aggressively—expressed her satisfaction with the liaison, unlike her clerical paramour. She even competed regularly for his bed and gifts with her own sister Henriette, another of the bishop's known lovers. Guillot notes that she and Henriette, both



Fig. 2 Paul Gauguin, *Thérèse*, wood, c. 1903, photograph courtesy of Galerie Beyeler, Basel



Paul Gauguin, *Père Paillard*, 1963.10.238

employed as domestics at the bishop's house and the latter newly married, brawled noisily during High Mass at Easter, when Henriette saw the silk dress the bishop had given Thérèse, instead of the mere cotton garment she had received.¹⁸

The chronology of these events is easy to trace. Gauguin's account of the episode appears just before an entry in *Avant et après* dated 20 January 1903. More specifically, a police report on the incident identifies the works as in place immediately after Monseigneur Martin forbade parish women from entering Gauguin's house, his revenge for yet another of the artist's "assaults" upon the Catholic cause: At the Bastille Day Festival (14 July) of 1902, Gauguin awarded a coveted singing prize to the boys of the enemy Protestant missionary school, his neighbors to the other side.¹⁹ Groom dates the appearance of the pendants *in situ* to a month later, mid-August of that year.²⁰

Gauguin's claim to have produced works in the Marquesan fashion might be borne out in their essential format and figural canon: Like Marquesan *tikis*, they are carved, stylized isocephalic representations of the human figure.²¹ *Père Paillard's* kneeling, praying pose more closely approximates some versions, with hands on the abdomen and crouched position (fig. 3), than the stiffly standing *Thérèse*. As a satirical portrait, the National Gallery figure is broadly linked to nineteenth-century Western caricatural works, the most famous being those of Daumier (see, for example, 1943.3.1–24) and Dantan *jeune*.²² However, its closest analogy, effectively



Fig. 3 *Tiki Akau*, wood, Marquesas Islands, collected near Taipi Valley, Nukuhiva (in 1874?) by C. D. Voy, Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania Museum, inv. 18033

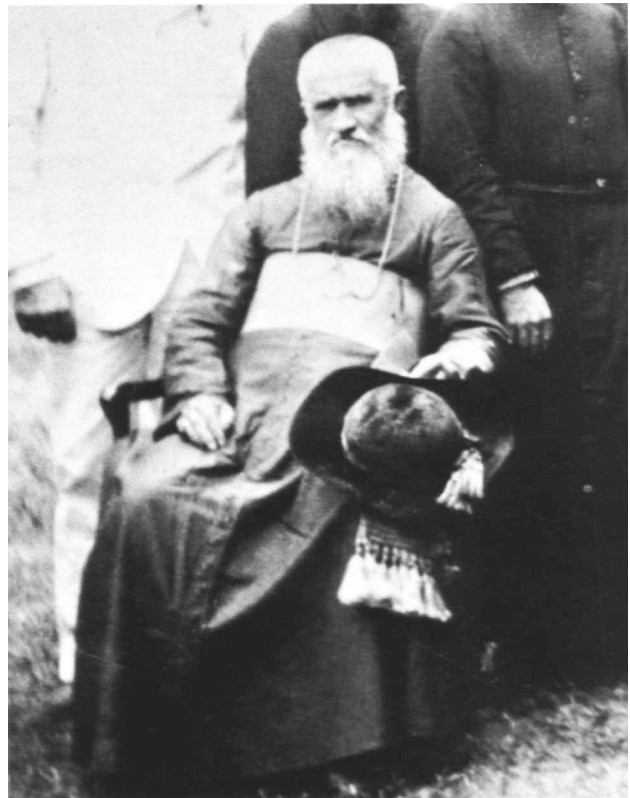


Fig. 4 photograph of Monseigneur Martin in Papeete, 1905, collection Christian Gleizal, Moorea

its prototype, is by Gauguin himself: the cylindrical wood bust of the artist's cohort Meyer de Haan of about 1889 (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa), placed in a position of honor within a public decorative program, the dining room of Marie Henry's inn at Le Pouldu.²³

Contemporary eyewitnesses claimed Gauguin's effigy of *Père Paillard* was an exact likeness of the "bearded bishop."²⁴ However, judging by known photographs of Monseigneur Joseph Martin (fig. 4), only the long nose seems similar. Though another *gendarme*, Charpillet, identifies the figure specifically as bearing a "head with a great beard,"²⁵ the powerful jaw and chin in Gauguin's effigy show no beard as Gauguin had represented on the roughly contemporary figure of Saint Orang. The meaning of such discrepancies is not clear.

Gauguin's epithet, *Père Paillard*, long translated as "Father Lechery or Debauchery," which implies a generic moral personification, is actually more specific in its given adjectival form: "Lecherous Father (Priest)" or "Father Lecher." It affixes Monseigneur Martin's pastoral title to a traditional French idiom that associates debauchery with cheap straw mattresses (*paille*).²⁶ Gauguin's inscription defines the sexual nature of the hypocrisy alluded to by representing this entity—a horned goat, as Gauguin calls Martin, as well as a devil—at prayer, his bare sex and true feelings (his heart) masked by the pious pose. Such a nuanced characterization distinguishes *Père Paillard* from *Thérèse*. The quietly standing female figure, adorned but partially nude, hair flowing

solidly behind her, evokes Indian ritual figures backed by mandorlas or screens.²⁷ Rather than deceit or victimization, the bare-chested *Thérèse* suggests a dignified openness, perhaps in accord with her reported honesty vis-à-vis the relationship with Monseigneur Martin and her own appetites—like Eve at her most natural. The pair can be seen as foils that, together, convey an important theme in Gauguin's work, the multiple and conflicting moral qualities of humanity. In its meditation specifically upon the Western male, *Père Paillard* recalls Gauguin's *Self-Portrait* (see p. 243, fig. 2), one of his most famous treatments of the male as holy, demonic, and sexual. *Père Paillard* is most often associated with a demonic image that Gauguin conceived in Tahiti, also in conjunction with a woman: his so-called "Evil Spirit," with its unreadable gaze and reptilian physiognomy. It appears in the Vollard suite of transfer drawings and woodcuts, and in a 59-centimeter wooden head (private collection), known until recently only through a photograph that Gauguin included in *Noa-Noa*.²⁸ That Tahitian spirit may be *Père Paillard*'s closest kin among the Polynesian works, suggesting the prelate's transformation—or perhaps magical revelation—as a demon, emphasizing the anti-realism of the image. The now-abraded metallic paint on the pupils may evoke the phosphorescent light that Gauguin often gave to natural forms (especially human eyes) while in Tahiti, to connote demonic vitality,²⁹ a possibility that suggests its multivalence: Similarly, reflective metallic paint can be found upon *Thérèse* as well.

The motifs on the sides and back are more difficult to decipher. Wilkinson interprets the two half-length females meditating floral motifs as possibly Youth and Age.³⁰ There is little apparent physiognomical contrast between them, however. He identifies one of the vertical elements at back as a flower and the central serpentine form, which emerges from the groundline and disappears into the top of the head, as perhaps a snake, suggesting the "temptation to which *Père Paillard* has succumbed."³¹ Other interpretations are also possible. The serpent could also be this devil's alternative guise in the Pacific paradise—another mythical motif, since there are reportedly no snakes in that habitat. Though a public caricature that aims for legibility, the figure—like Gauguin's other works—may avoid any single or literal reading.

Whatever its sources, the effigy goes far to eschew Western representational canons, to instead emphasize the intrinsic qualities of the wooden log. Scholars have remarked on the unremittingly cylindrical shape of *Père Paillard*, unlike *Thérèse*, whose anatomy is clearly defined against the screenlike hair, and unlike the articulated Marquesan *tikis*.³² Only slightly indented at the groundline, the full circumference of the log carries into *Père Paillard*'s head, undifferentiated as neck, shoulders, chest, or back until that point. Arms, breasts, and legs emerge from that unbroken shaft without cohesive integration upon a body "trunk"; structurally, they are freer than the subsidiary figurative and botanical motifs, attached to the ground. *Père Paillard* thus

provides an exceptional example of Gauguin's long-held view of beauty, as the harmony of subject and materials (see *Eve*, p. 241). In art-historical terms, those structural strategies anticipate the work of the present-day Venezuelan sculptor Marisol.³³

Recent scholars have also noted the high degree of finish and three-dimensional treatment in the head, a strong contrast with the rougher, two-dimensional treatment of the rest of the sculpture.³⁴ This stylistic counterpoint sets *Père Paillard* apart from the majority of Gauguin's three-dimensional work and links it primarily with two sculptural works from different moments in his career: *Soyez Amoureuses et Vous Serez Heureuses* (1889, BMFA),³⁵ and *Head of a Tahitian Woman with a Standing Nude on the Reverse* (c. 1892, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).³⁶ The smooth, undulating planes of the principal figurative elements suggest the high degree of naturalism and nuanced carving that Gauguin could produce from the outset, even throughout his pursuit of the "savage." Concerning the *Head*, Stuckey suggests that such formal contrasts might aim to distinguish ideal realms from real ones. In the case of *Père Paillard*, however, it is not clear whether the head is a "real" portrait, or a symbolic metamorphosis that was instantly recognized by its intended audience.

As Brettell notes, the hieratic intensity of these pendants is striking,³⁷ a quality that in *Père Paillard* conveys its mordant wit concerning a high-ranking prelate and stresses its sacrilegious quality—even alluding to a *nude* Catholic priest, with carefully rendered full breasts and erect nipples.³⁸ It links this sculpture on yet another level to Gauguin's earlier Tahitian idols: as one of what Stuckey calls the "pseudo-idols" that Gauguin may have intended as replacements for the "bizarre gods" that he found missing in Polynesia when he first arrived.³⁹ *Père Paillard* is especially relevant to that perceived loss, given whom it represents. Gauguin blamed the destruction of Marquesan effigies upon missionaries such as Martin, who condemned the idols as fetishes that "offended the Christians' gods."⁴⁰ By representing a ravager of native culture in a satirical "fetish," *Père Paillard* perhaps sought to expiate the Europeans' cultural assault upon Polynesia on behalf of its victims.

Thérèse and *Père Paillard* had considerable impact *in situ*. According to the Protestant missionary, the Marquesans "'laughed uproariously . . . which angered the vicar greatly'."⁴¹ Pola Gauguin claims the women among them saluted the figure "with a cordiality which the priest would have preferred to avoid in broad daylight."⁴² There is no evidence, however, that Martin had the offending figures removed before Gauguin's death, nor did he intervene in their sale at the estate auction in Tahiti. On a final ironic note, having regained face by appropriating the artist's corpse for burial in Catholic ground,⁴³ Monseigneur Martin became Gauguin's nearest neighbor in the cemetery, when he died in 1912.⁴⁴

No drawings or maquettes are known to relate to the wood figure. However, a second object by Gauguin may

be associated with the project: a *coco de mer* (Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo) covered with incised animal and floral decoration.⁴⁵ Its inscription (A MR PAILLARD [to Monseigneur Paillard]) and the magical association of this nut with male sexuality—its 30-centimeter, double form resembles huge testes—strongly link this work to the National Gallery figure. The circumstances of its genesis and intended destination, however, remain unclear.

SGL

Notes

1. For a discussion of the spelling here of “paillard,” see note 28. The “P G O” signature is a phonetic abbreviation of Gauguin’s name. Its first known use is on his ceramics in 1886 (*Tall Bottle with Stopper*, private collection; Gray 1963, 124, repro.), and then spread to his works on canvas and paper in 1887 (*Le Petit Laveur*, private collection; in Wildenstein and Cogniat 1964, 1: 86, repro.). It remained an alternative form of self-reference in his work throughout his career. Patterns of usage, and by extension any consistent meaning, are not yet clear. Scholars have already noted Gauguin’s having named his Marquesan dog after himself with its phonetic equivalent, “pego” or “pegau” (Le Bronnec 1956, 199; Gray 1963, 81; Danielsson 1966, 260). Andersen 1971, 186, claims Gauguin used the monogram to invoke a common idiom for phallus, “pégo” or “pé-got” (prick; a common French idiom dating from the fourteenth century; like its English counterpart, from the Latin *picare*. See *Le Grand Robert de la Langue Française*, 2d ed. [Paris, 1989], 7: 214). Andersen discusses the signature in the context of the print *Words of the Devil* (Andersen 1971, fig. 107), and suggests the sexual content of that image is enriched by actively involving the monogram: The abbreviated phallic term is encircled by the vaginal final “o” within the image. A comparable sexual play through the signature may be relevant to *Père Paillard*, given Gauguin’s own sexual vanity and the effigy’s role in Gauguin’s battle with the local priest over promiscuity. However, it is more problematic in other works except as a possible emblem of the sexual vitalism that, like Rodin, he associated with artistic creativity. For the latter, see Butler 1993, 310–311. My thanks to Richard Field and Marla Prather for their comments on this issue.

2. Gray 1963, 288; Gray’s term *Thespia*, echoed by Richard Brettell, “Sculpture from the House of Pleasure,” in NGA 1988, 464, is incomplete.

3. The approximately 3-cm. band of lighter color around the base may reflect the figure’s placement within a wood ring for support while on display.

4. The standard provenance that identifies Piétri of Papeete as the buyer from the 1903 death sale is based on Loize 1951, 133, no. 360: “Au dos [of Georges-Daniel Monfreid’s notes about Gauguin’s death], liste d’œuvres de Gauguin achetées avant ou après sa mort . . . Les bois . . . ‘Thérèse et l’Évêque’ aux mains de M. Piétri, Juge à Tahiti probablement. . . .” This is Monfreid’s purely speculative statement, based on information that Loize believes came from Victor Segalen. The judge is a documented buyer of an inexpensive “tiki” (no. 64 at 6 francs; Wildenstein 1956, 207). However, various other references suggest that the pendants went to Lévy, who bought three “tikis” from the sale (nos. 60–62 at 16, 15, and 20 francs, respectively; Wildenstein 1956, 207). Segalen himself (1918, 67–68) identifies the pendants’ buyer at the sale as a merchant (Lévy was a pearl merchant) and Henri Jacquier (1957, 677) states that Lévy sold the pendants two years later to Edouard Druet. Victor Merlhès of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, suggested this alternative provenance and the texts that support it (correspondence with Anne Halpern of the NGA dated 14 December 1999, in NGA curatorial files). The Druet ownership is also based on the label on the underside of the figure (see “Marks” at the beginning of

the entry), the number on which could possibly be an inventory number.

5. The standard provenance that places the work in the collections of Emile Schuffenecker and Ambroise Vollard is found in Gray 1963, 288. The Chester Dale papers (in NGA curatorial files) document only Vollard’s ownership, and the provenance is recorded twice: “Mr. Bignou got it from Am. Vollard, who had it from Gauguin”; and “Former collection Ambrose [sic] Vollard, Paris, who bought it from Gauguin.” Merlhès discounted their plausibility altogether (see above note 4).

6. Cited as the lender in Gauguin 1928, no. 22.

7. The date of Bignou’s gift of *Père Paillard* to Chester Dale is recorded in the Dale papers (in NGA curatorial files).

8. *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* no. 35 (19 November 1910), 280; and Louis Vauxcelles, “A propos des bois sculptés de Paul Gauguin,” *L’Art décoratif* 13 (January 1911), 37, repro. *Thérèse* is illustrated on page 38 as *Divinité tahitienne*, raising the possibility that, if not reunited for the exhibition, the two were still pendants by this date. Anne Halpern located these sources.

9. *Thérèse* was included in the same exhibition (cat. no. 22, as *Sainte Thérèse*), suggesting that the two works continued to be seen together, if not treated as pendants. Victor Merlhès kindly provided a photocopy of this catalogue.

10. For the possibility that the pendants remained together while on the market in Paris, see above notes 8 and 9. Warm thanks to Walter Feilchenfeldt and his associate Dr. Roland Dorn for arranging for this rare photograph during their inquiry, on behalf of this catalogue, on the current location of the figure.

11. Gray 1963, 289, repro.

12. For recent discussions of the general problem of Gauguin’s late symbolic primitivism, see Jirat-Wasiutynski 1978; Teilhet-Fiske 1983; Varnedoe 1984; Stuckey’s and Brettell’s catalogue entries in NGA 1988, 210–289, 297–377, and 389–494.

13. For a recent discussion, see Brettell in NGA 1988, 461–464, color repro. (see note 2).

14. Sources differ on the precise location of the figures outside the house. One eyewitness, *gendarme* François Guillot (cited in Chassé 1955, 100), claims they flanked Gauguin’s entry door. Gauguin’s neighbor Timo Vanatetua reports they were placed over the carved panel *Soyez Amoureuses et Vous Serez Heureuses*, “au pied de l’escalier, côté droit [leading to the upper bedroom and studio]” (Le Bronnec 1956, 199) and, in a drawing prepared for Le Bronnec (Le Bronnec 1956, 196), Timo places *Thérèse* at left and *Père Paillard* at right of the steps. Pola Gauguin (1903, 266) states they were on the “posts of the gate leading from the public road to Gauguin’s property.” For a brief discussion of the problems in reconstructing the exact arrangement of this program, see Brettell in NGA 1988, 461–464.

15. The most detailed account is Chassé 1955, 97–115.

16. Michael R. Palmer, Scientific Research department, NGA, claims that miro wood is not a form of rosewood (verbal communication via Brian Ramer).

17. Gauguin 1903, 46.

18. Chassé 1955, 104.

19. Account of ex-brigadier of the colonial *gendarmérie*, Charpillet, who reportedly left the Marquesas on 16 December 1902 (Chassé 1955, 109–110). Nonetheless several sources give alternative dates without proof: The exhibition catalogues for the Palm Beach and Wildenstein shows of 1956 date it to 1892, and the catalogue for the Art Institute of Chicago exhibition of 1959 dates it c. 1901.

20. Gloria Groom, “Chronology: July 1895–November 1903,” in NGA 1988, 386.

21. Gray 1963, 78, and Teilhet-Fiske 1983, 158, are alone among scholars to see any Marquesan influence at all, and that purely in the “exaggerated” head size. The University Museum example also includes other common features of the Marquesan type that have counterparts in *Père Paillard*: the prominent ears and thick neck

(only visible from the rear view). Elizabeth Childs (personal communication) reported that Adrienne Kaeppler, curator of Polynesia, National Museum of Natural History, Washington, felt the eyes and ears also recalled Easter Island dance paddles.

22. Gray 1963, 78–79, associates the pair with late-nineteenth-century caricatures without citing specific examples. There are affinities with early-nineteenth-century types, however. An example showing the less radical form of iscephalism seen here is the portrait of comedian Coquelin *ainé*; see Viéville's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 184–185, repro.

23. Françoise Cachin, "Bust of Meyer de Haan," in NGA 1988, 170–171, color repro. There is considerable debate about the meaning of the de Haan portrait. Especially with the rooster overhead, possibly an emblem of de Haan's name ("haan" is Dutch for rooster) and of virility, it may represent a satirical comment on de Haan's sexual prowess: Gauguin had just lost out to the hunchbacked de Haan for Marie Henry's sexual attentions.

24. François Guillot cited in Chassé 1955, 100.

25. Chassé 1955, 109.

26. Larousse 1866–1879, 12: 299, s.v. "Paillard." The reason for Gauguin's rendering the last letter of "paillard" as an "o" is unclear. If intentional, it might reflect the local rendition of the French idiom, so the Marquesan community would be sure to grasp it. It is possible that it represents Gauguin's own Polynesianesque invention, as Danielsson claims he "didn't even try to learn" the very different Marquesan dialect during his two years in Atuona (Danielsson 1967, 229).

27. For example, the *Standing Buddha* from Mathura, 5th c. A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta; in Janson 1963, fig. 838.

28. Saint Paul 1997, 62–64, color repro. and cover; correspondence from 22 October–19 November 1997 between Annette Pioud, Attachée de Direction, Fondation Maeght, and the author (in NGA curatorial files).

29. See his account in *Noa-Noa* of his painting *Manao Tupapau* (*The Specter Watches Over Her*) and the catalogue entry by Claire Frèches-Thory in NGA 1988, 279–282, color repro. See also recent discussions of this painting and *Parau na te varua ino* (*Words of the Devil*); Andersen 1971, 181–185, and Charles Stuckey's catalogue entry in NGA 1988, 267, color repro. Gauguin's related "idols" do not appear to have had painted eyes, though many, like *Père Paillard*, bear metallic polychrome elsewhere on the surface.

30. Toronto 1981, 58.

31. Toronto 1981, 58. For a slightly different interpretation of the Temptation theme that includes the two nudes on the sides, see Amishai-Maisels 1985, 459.

32. Suggesting *Père Paillard*'s conscious differences from a *tiki*, Gauguin's earlier drawing of one such effigy emphasizes the distinct anatomical and planar transitions in the form. See Varnedoe 1984, repro. p. 192.

33. For a recent discussion of Marisol's work, see Grove 1991.

34. Gray 1963, 288; Toronto 1981, 58.

35. See Andersen 1971, fig. 84.

36. Stuckey, "Head of a Tahitian Woman with a Standing Female Nude on the Reverse," in NGA 1988, 273–274, color repro.

37. Brettell in NGA 1988, 464 (see note 2).

38. Solomon-Godeau 1992, 327–328, argues that Gauguin's Polynesian images of men are feminized "in conformity with the status . . . of the Maori [as a culture, 'massively coded as feminine' (p. 322)]," which raises questions about this feature in a Polynesianizing effigy of a European male. Eisenman 1997, 91–122, instead proposes a more complex dynamic on gender codes. He relates Gauguin's work and writing to non-dimorphic elements of Tahitian culture, enabling a flexible combination of male and female features to signal a variety of gendered identities. The "hermaphroditic" qualities that he argues for Gauguin's images of and references to the "virile Tahitian woman" (p. 121) raise issues of comparable readings of a feminized *Père Paillard*, which he does not discuss in these terms (p. 175). Elizabeth Childs, who drew my attention to this new argument, also pointed out the peculiarly cleft form of the effigy's nearly joined praying hands—a floral/genital motif referring to his own hermaphroditic features, to the object of his (male) sexual union with *Thérèse*. The present discussion of *Père Paillard* and related works challenges Solomon-Godeau's contention (p. 327) that "male nudes appear only in the Breton period."

39. Stuckey, "The First Tahitian Years," in NGA 1988, 215. The cultic resonances of Gauguin's figure might carry in its material as well, since wood is reportedly sacred in Polynesia, according to Adrienne Kaeppler (via Elizabeth Childs).

40. Gauguin 1903, 52.

41. Frederick O'Brien, "Gauguin in the South Seas," *The Century* 200, 2 (June 1920), 228; quoted in Teilhet-Fiske 1983, 158.

42. Gauguin 1937, 266. His source is unclear and the account, however amusing, may be an elaboration.

43. Chassé 1955, 101.

44. Danielsson 1966, fig. 61.

45. Gray 1963, 292–293, repro. June Hargrove directed me to the location of this work.

References

- 1903 Gauguin: 46.
- 1919 Morice: 224.
- 1937 Gauguin: 262, 266.
- 1951 Loize: 133, 175.
- 1955 Chassé: 100, 109, and 115, repro.
- 1956 Le Bronnec: 196, 199.
- 1963 Gray: 288, no. 136, repro.
- 1966 Danielsson: 272.
- 1971 Andersen: 259.
- 1983 Teilhet-Fiske: 158.
- 1988 Brettell, "The Final Years: Tahiti and Hivaoa," in NGA: 464–465, color repro.
- 1994 NGA: 96, repro.

Jean-Louis-André-Théodore Géricault¹

1791–1824

GERICAULT IS best known for his paintings, prints, and drawings. However, thanks to the plasticity of his forms in those media and a handful of reliefs and three-dimensional groups, he was repeatedly acclaimed for his great promise as a sculptor. That tantalizing prospect, however, was cut short by an early death at the age of thirty-two.

The artist was born in Rouen to wealthy middle-class property owners, who moved to Paris when Géricault was about five years old. He was a poor student at the Lycée Impérial, indifferent to most subjects except drawing and classics. Géricault *père* opposed his son's decision to pursue artistic training. Aided by his uncle's subterfuge and his mother's bequest, in 1808 the boy secretly entered the studio of Carle Vernet (1758–1836), a painter of modern military and genre subjects that featured Géricault's lifelong mania, horses; he officially acknowledged Vernet as his master two years later. In February 1811, he entered the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, listed instead as a student of Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774–1833). Within a few months, Géricault quit attending his master's studio regularly, and turned to intensive study of the old masters on his own, copying paintings at the new Musée Napoléon (an early phase of the Louvre), until he was permanently expelled from the museum for assaulting a fellow student there in May 1812. He nonetheless regularly entered in the Ecole competitions.

Even during his student years, Géricault immersed himself as an artist and a citizen in the tumultuous events of the time, the twilight and aftermath of Napoleonic glory. Though he showed in only three Salons, his entries publicly stated a commitment to painting modern subjects. He made his debut in 1812 with the *Equestrian Portrait of M. D**** (now known as *Charging Chasseur* [Musée du Louvre, Paris]), a dramatic monumental tribute to the Napoleonic epic. The painting won a gold medal but was not purchased by the state and triggered little critical discussion. Its later pendant in the Salon of 1814, the now-celebrated *Wounded Cuirassier Leaving the Battle* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), apparently fared no better with the critics and the new Bourbon government despite its subject, France's military losses under Napoleon. In the meantime, Géricault entered the political fray through the military. After avoiding the draft by "buying" a substitute three years

before, in the spring of 1814 he joined the mounted Second Squadron of the Paris National Guard, then the First Company of Musketeers of the King that followed Louis XVIII into exile the following year, during the Hundred Days (March–July 1815), and was disbanded en route. Though accounts conflict, Géricault remained in hiding over those months, perhaps in Paris, despite Napoleon's law forbidding members of the royal household troops in or near the capital. With Louis' return to the throne in July, he resurfaced, was released from royal service that autumn, and became active in liberal artistic and military circles.

Géricault competed unsuccessfully for the Prix de Rome, but went at his own expense in the fall of 1816. His Roman works reveal his profound response to the antique, the Renaissance, and modern life. In early 1817, he executed studies for a monumental painting of the climactic feature of the Roman carnival, the riderless horse races on the Corso. The many preliminary works for the unfinished project reveal Géricault's conception of the subject as an epic, timeless frieze, a modern classic on canvas that invoked ancient sculpture, Renaissance frescoes, and baroque painting. He interrupted that stay to return to Paris by autumn, where he resumed a stormy liaison with his maternal aunt that remained a secret for decades. Their union yielded a child: She gave birth to their unacknowledged son, Georges-Hippolyte, in August 1818.

For the next two years, Géricault retreated into work for his third and final submission to the Salon, a huge canvas depicting a national scandal: the hardships of the crew of the French naval frigate *Medusa*, abandoned to a makeshift raft by its aristocratic officers who took the lifeboats. Shown simply as *A Shipwreck Scene* in the Salon of 1819, the painting won the artist a gold medal and a state commission for a religious work on the subject of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Géricault was disheartened by the government's response (referring the commission to the younger Delacroix) and by the critical reaction, which he found myopic for debating the painting's possible political content instead of its artistic merits. In April 1820 he and an artist friend, Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet (1792–1845), took the painting, commonly called the *Raft of the Medusa* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), on public tour through Britain, where it was moderately successful financially and critically. Géri-

cault flourished artistically in Britain: His work exhibited at the Royal Academy received warm praise, and he found congenial colleagues and patrons as well as new sources of artistic inspiration. Géricault stayed in Britain for almost two years. During that fruitful period he executed watercolors, a series of horse-racing paintings (such as *Epsom Downs Race*, Musée du Louvre, Paris), and his important published suites in the new medium of lithography depicting other modern subjects from everyday life.

Géricault returned to Paris in December 1821 in declining health, which he aggravated by subsequent riding accidents. During those final years, the quantity of works he produced was small, but the power of the finished paintings—the ten portraits of the insane and the *Lime Kiln*—was compelling. Bedridden for most of 1823, he began studies for two projected modern history paintings, *African Slave Trade* and *Opening of the Doors of the Inquisition*. He died in January 1824. That autumn, after repeatedly failing while Géricault was alive, the director of the Louvre, the comte de Forbin, finally was authorized to buy the *Raft of the Medusa* for the museum.

Géricault's accepted works in sculpture number about nine reliefs and full-in-the-round groups; seven of these have been identified as extant. Several exist in multiple versions and in various materials. Apparently, they were never publicly shown during the artist's lifetime, and were never considered fully completed. They range iconographically from classical mythological themes and equestrians to such modern subjects as wild animals and the Russian Czar Alexander. Stylistically, some display an almost Phidian austerity; others, a baroque robustness. Their relationship to Géricault's two-dimensional oeuvre is unclear. There is a general kinship of subjects and style, but no apparent direct counterparts in the various media for these works, unlike his study maquettes of animals or figures. The chronology of the sculpture is still debated. The works themselves are poorly documented. Only one has been given a date in the early literature: Charles Clément ascribed a bas-relief c. 1819. Some modern scholars place the sculpture at the beginning and end of Géricault's career as episodic exercises; others cluster them after 1816, as evidence of an increasingly fertile and tragically interrupted experimentation.

Géricault is consistently called a genius who died on the brink of full creative flower. His surviving works in every medium have always eluded categorization. Independent and undogmatic, he acted with both impetuous engagement and rigorous discipline, moved easily from classical to modern subjects, and integrated scrupulous preliminary studies with inspired invention, no

matter the subject. He evolved a powerful coalition of solid draftsmanly structure, a light-catching, palpable three-dimensionality, and a painterly touch and palette. Géricault became one of the following generation's most haunting artistic paradigms, the ill-fated engaged genius. For many, his work signalled a brilliant path for the art of the future to negotiate between tradition and innovation.

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Notes

1. In contrast to traditional and very recent sources, this catalogue follows Philippe Grunchev and his adherents in giving Géricault's name without an accented "e." The origin of the word is reportedly the river Ger in his native Normandy; family documents exclude the accent; and Géricault regularly signed his name without. However, apparently authentic signatures with an accent can be found on drawings and legal documents illustrated in Bazin 1987–1990, 1: figs. 60–67. For arguments against the accent, see Grunchev 1978, 83; Grunchev 1985, 11; and Lorenz Eitner's letter to Suzannah Fabing dated 12 September 1990 (in NGA curatorial files). Dr. Eitner's recent work on Géricault is included in *French Paintings of the Nineteenth Century, Part I: Before Impressionism* from the National Gallery's systematic catalogue (published May 2000).

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1980.44.7 (A-1836)

Flayed Horse I

c. 1820/1824

Pigmented wax, 23.2 × 21.7 × 11.7 (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{5}{8}$)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised on the top left of the self-base: Geric[a]u [It scratched out] (fig. 1)

To its right, on the same line: Ge[ricault]

Technical Notes: X-radiography reveals that the figure is constructed from a solid body of wax over a metal armature and supported on a self-base, composed of four pieces of wood nailed together and covered with similar wax (fig. 2). According to analysis by gas chromatography, the figure and surface of the

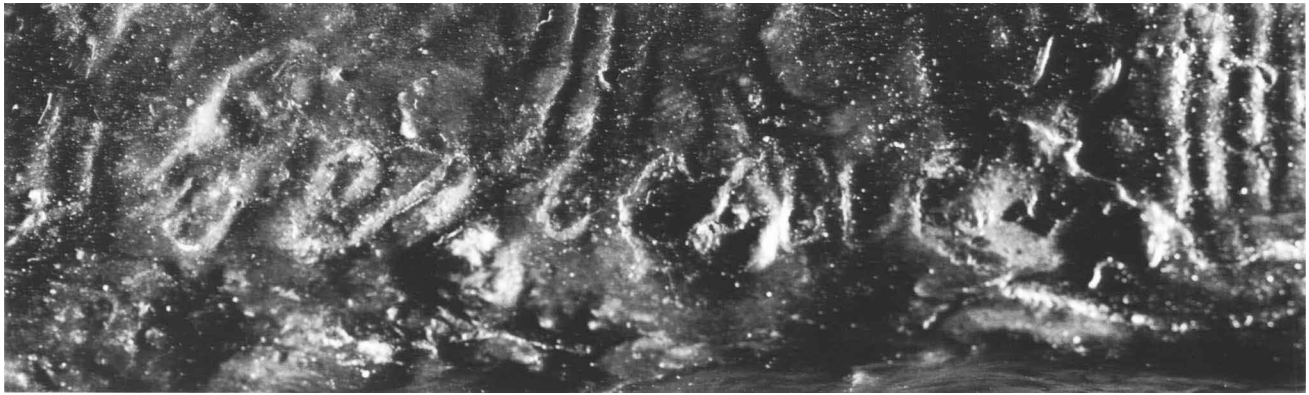


Fig. 1 detail of 1980.44.7

base are composed of beeswax pigmented with carbon black, gypsum (calcium sulfate), and iron oxide. The large, cream-colored particles visible on the surface and throughout the medium by means of X-radiography were identified as lead white, presumably added to the wax matrix as a bulking agent.¹ The surface is extensively worked with a typical selection of modeling tools, from a tooth-chisel spatula on the self-base to pointed tools for finer hatching throughout the figure. The contrast between the generally glossy surface of the figure and the matte quality of the small loss in the left rear hoof suggests that a thin layer of pigmented wax or varnish was applied overall. The surface bears no traces of mold preparation, although at least three molds may have been taken from the wax in order to produce casts in plaster and bronze. A surface crack, about 6 centimeters in length, by the right rear hoof, may have developed during modeling rather than as the result of trauma. There is evidence of losses and of restoration or alteration that may date after the casting in 1832 of *Flayed Horse II* (see p. 259) and before 1959, the year *Flayed Horse III* (see p. 263) was executed. The ears in the wax appear to have been repaired after 1832: *Flayed Horse II* has tapered ears, unlike those in *Flayed Horse III*, which replicate the wax. There are visible repairs on the upper edge of the right foreleg. The shape and angle of the right hoof in the wax differ from that in *Flayed Horse II*; among the possible explanations is that the right hoof in the wax was reworked between 1832 and 1959.² There is an old, repaired break at the base of the tail that reopened in 1981.³ The higher position and different shape of the tail in *Flayed Horse II* suggests that the tail in the wax was radically modified after 1832 and before 1959, perhaps during repair: It was completely severed and reattached at some point, and the old break has reopened repeatedly. There are three minute vertical slashes on the base in front of the left foreleg, surface losses on the two rear hooves, and fingerprints on the figure and the right rear corner of the self-base. The two barely visible signatures on the base, examined under ultra-violet light, appear to be over the tooling and also over the finish coat of varnish or wax, suggesting that they are modern additions.

Provenance: (Reportedly Géricault's Paris atelier sale, 2–3 November 1824); allegedly purchased by Susse.⁴ Sold by spring 1867 to Maurice Cottier [d. before July 1882], Paris.⁵ Madame Cottier, his widow, by 1889;⁶ Cottier descendants, until February 1958; (Alex Reid and Lefevre Ltd., London, by 1958);⁷ purchased 25 October 1960 by Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.⁸

Exhibited: Paris, Cercle de l'Union artistique, 1866.⁹ Paris, Exposition Centennale de l'Art Français, 1889, no. 85.¹⁰ Lefevre Gallery, 1960, no. 38.¹¹ NGA 1974, as *Un cheval écorché* (*A Flayed Horse*).

THE ATTRIBUTION of this wax to Géricault has never been questioned. It was accepted long before the discovery of the two signatures on the base, which do not appear in the casts and are possibly modern.¹² The frequent mentions of the work in nineteenth-century publications establish its fame but not its detailed appearance. When first discussed after the artist's death, it was described as a popular studio accessory, available in plaster through all the *mouleurs*.¹³ The earliest known description thus far, in fact, differs slightly from the attributed examples: Clément claims the horse had a raised left front leg.¹⁴

This particular model was identified, perhaps for the first time, with the work mentioned in the Géricault literature in 1917, when the Louvre was given a plaster cast (fig. 3) attributed to the artist by the descendants of his friend and student, painter Antoine-Alphonse Montfort (1802–1884).¹⁵ The appearance in 1960 of the wax and a recent bronze edition cast from it, identified at that time as Géricault's famed *Flayed Horse*, publicly established the association.

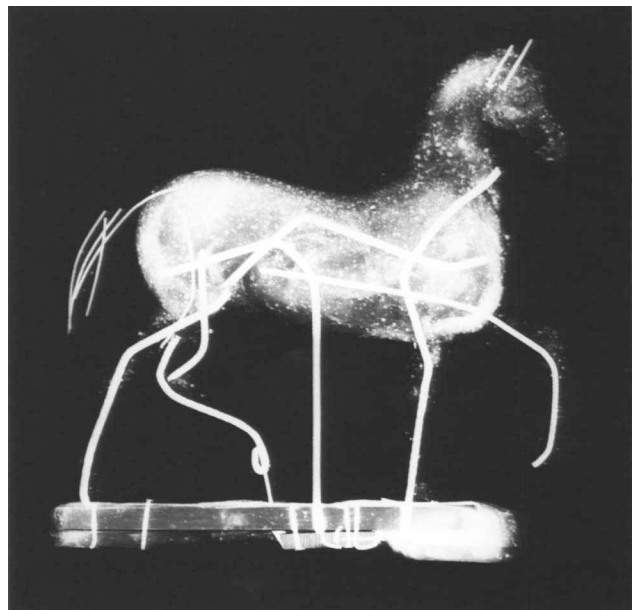


Fig. 2 positive of X-radiograph showing interior composition of 1980.44.7



Théodore Géricault, *Flayed Horse I*, 1980.44.7



Fig. 3 Théodore Géricault, *Cheval Ecorché*, plaster, by 1884, Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 1657, Photo RMN

There is no technical data on other waxes attributed to Géricault to serve as benchmarks for the National Gallery *Flayed Horse*. However, the facture of this one reflects techniques used in the nineteenth century. Though he is known for “waxes,” which are in fact plasters with a thin layer of wax on the surface, Barye also constructed smaller models from solid, homogeneous masses of wax; Mêne’s waxes resemble *Flayed Horse I* in material, armature strategies, and surface coloration.¹⁶

In the broadest terms, the work fits logically within Géricault’s oeuvre. As sculpture, it exemplifies his widely touted concern for three-dimensional form. As an equine anatomical study it strongly relates to his exhaustive drawings for human and animal subjects to clarify composition, handling, and physiological structure. No secure evidence has been put forth for the date of the model. Clément offers only hearsay that it derived from Géricault’s youth.¹⁷ Schmoll and Laveissière tentatively support Clément,¹⁸ whereas Berger gives all sculpture to the years of Géricault’s experimentation with new materials and animal subjects, after 1816.¹⁹ Hargrove proposes that the sculpture was made during the last four years of Géricault’s life, 1820–1824.²⁰ Though highly speculative, a late date for the work has merit. The sculptural oeuvre forms a relatively cohesive body in its exploration of technique and materials, alternating between classical Greek and baroque styles and subjects, thus paralleling the painted work of the late years. Although Clément implies that such a flayed figure is a fledgling’s artistic exercise, Géricault produced anatomical studies throughout his career and apparently planned an illustrated book on equine anatomy while in England.²¹ Visual analysis and X-radiography reveal an artist who used

conventional armature strategies in most areas of the figure and had good command of traditional modeling tools. Those features suggest an expertise and concern for craft that might be correlated with the years following Géricault’s reported shift from a kitchen knife to authentic sculptor’s tools, while working on a relief in 1819.²²

The flayed figure—*écorché* in French—is a depiction of what is revealed of the anatomy if the skin is removed: the superficial muscles and ligaments in their natural locations on the body.²³ Of all the anatomical studies produced by artists since the Renaissance,²⁴ the flayed figure is the most obviously applicable to Western art of that period. The artist’s mastery of the anatomical information it contains helps to suggest convincing physical or emotional vitality in the rendered figures, from the nuanced facial shifts of a frown to the violent strain of physical combat.

The most celebrated examples represent humans, which appear in vast numbers in illustrated anatomical treatises. However, the type gained its special stature as three-dimensional sculpture, especially in the eighteenth century, with its additional concern for education. Houdon’s flayed figures of 1766–1767 (full-scale plaster, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris) became celebrated as artistic and scientific exempla and gained wide distribution, in various scales and materials, as study aids.²⁵ Nineteenth-century paintings show that such figures were studio accessories as common as casts of Renaissance sculpture and the human skull.

Though not as well known, sculptural flayed horses have a corollary tradition and prestige beginning in the Renaissance. Eitner and Bazin both point to Giambologna’s celebrated example, prepared, according to some authorities, for his equestrian of Cosimo I de’ Medici.²⁶ The type was common in ancien-régime France as well. Following the lead of his rivals Bouchardon, Maurice-Etienne Falconet (1716–1791), and Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704–1778), Houdon executed life-size bas-reliefs of a flayed horse, one cast from a dissected specimen, as credentials for his ability to execute an equestrian monument.²⁷ Flayed horses were exhibited in the Salon to attract a worldwide clientele for serial examples. In 1789, Etienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois (1731–1823) showed both a wax model of a flayed horse, described as executed from a dissected model at the veterinary school, and a cast, “to advise foreign Academies, artists, and individuals” of its availability in serial form.²⁸ Géricault’s contemporaries and successors also produced them: Brunot showed a trotting flayed horse in the Salon of 1817 and Fratin entered a bronze of the subject in 1833.²⁹

Though little studied by modern scholars, Géricault’s flayed horse was singled out by nineteenth-century observers as the most important evidence of his lifelong passion for the horse, of his scientific rigor, and of an unfulfilled genius for sculpture.³⁰ Twentieth-century scholars have increasingly questioned Géricault’s involvement in equine anatomy. Expanding upon the earlier observations of Tréal, Cuyer, and Rosenthal, Bazin doubts that Géricault himself ever attended, much less performed, the dissection

of a horse. He rejects the traditional attribution to Géricault for most drawings of dissected horses and regards them as studies from published illustrations.³¹ Both Eitner and Bazin argue that Géricault's *Flayed Horse* is based on the art-historical forerunner mentioned earlier: Giambologna's trotting *Flayed Horse*, known perhaps through related versions attributed to Luigi (1726–1785) or Giuseppe (1762–1839) Valadier.³² Eitner sees Géricault's horse as a "close copy" in type, pose, and muscular relief, but "altering the shape and length of its tail." The affinities are indeed very close. The figural type departs from Géricault's representations of modern breeds to instead recall the Marcus Aurelius-inspired variant (fig. 4): The two small-scale horses are similar in pose, elegantly curved contour, and arrangement and degree of schematization. The Géricault wax nonetheless suggests more vitality or naturalism in the nearly closed mouth and slight turn of the alert head, the tension of the bulging individual elements, and the nuanced flow of the volumes into one another. Such features might come from studying live animals. They also reflect Géricault's neo-baroque sculptural qualities. The figure is strongly three-dimensional, interesting from every angle. Its surface is subtly but convincingly plastic, thanks in part to its gritty



Fig. 4 Giovanni da Bologna [Giambologna], *Cheval Ecorché*, bronze, model c. 1598, The Torrie Collection, Talbot Rice Gallery, University of Edinburgh

material and in part to the sensitive modeling and tooling throughout. The modulated volumes and textures effect a varied play of light across the surfaces of the figure, flowing in long, smooth streams across the back and haunches, quickening to energetic flickers across the head, neck, chest, and legs. X-radiography draws attention to its subtly Phidian quality, the pure, almost stylized contour of the horse's body: Its maker had extraordinary command of modeled form.

Géricault's purpose in creating this wax model is unclear. If it served as a personal study piece for his paintings or prints, it did so at a considerable distance, for it has no close counterpart in the artist's existing two-dimensional work. It might have been produced as a study model for colleagues. The history of the flayed-horse type and Géricault's involvement in the commercial production of prints and books, especially late in his career, lead one to speculate that this highly finished wax might have been conceived as it ultimately served: as a prototype for serialization. The sturdy ventral rod and bridge between the self-base and the raised left rear hoof not only help to support the weight of solid beeswax, but could also facilitate casting in bronze or plaster.³³

The wax appears to be the indirect source of the bronze casts (see pp. 261 and 264), as well as to be the prototype, however many times removed, for a multitude of commercial editions in plaster that are noted in the literature from the 1840s onward. Plasters of this flayed horse appear to have been common studio items beginning at least in the early 1830s, as one is represented in Sébastien Dulac's (1802–after 1851) painting entitled *The Model Cooking*, dated 1832 (The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, Indiana).³⁴ Three extant plasters have been identified: Van Gogh's, now at the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam; one in a private collection, reportedly from the collection of landscapist Paul Huet (1803–1869); and the other mentioned previously, from Montfort's descendants (fig. 3).³⁵ Since the Louvre plaster reportedly belonged to Montfort himself, who died in 1884, it may pre-date examples by Sennelier, the only commercial house currently known to have edited the model and said to have been founded in 1887.³⁶ It presents its modest, even derivative nature as a study piece: Seam lines from the piece mold are visible throughout. Judging by the Louvre cast and the example represented in Dulac's painting, the plasters had a thicker ventral post, more schematic anatomical treatment, and reflected the bronze *Flayed Horse II* cast by Gonon in the angle and shape of the tail, suggesting that they pre-date the repair of the tail in the wax. The resemblance of the right front hoof on the plaster to the longer, sharper version in the wax, rather than to the stubby version in *Flayed Horse II*, raises several possibilities. The plaster may have been cast after the wax was altered, hence after 1832, or the stubby hoof in *Flayed Horse II* may register a technician's alterations to the bronze (see the next entry). The ears in the Louvre plaster are completely missing, therefore are no help concerning changes to the wax.³⁷

Several later drawings and paintings prominently feature the plaster: a study by Van Gogh; and a drawing by Odilon Redon (1840–1916).³⁸ In addition, Carpeaux drew studies of several views of the *Flayed Horse*, as did Degas, whose own wax *Horse Walking* echoes its pose.³⁹

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Notes

1. The particles were identified using a JEOL Scanning Electron Microscope with an Oxford Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy attachment. I am grateful to Michael Palmer, Conservation Scientist, of the National Gallery Scientific Research department, for performing the analyses.

2. For another interpretation, see further in the text.

3. Report of 24 November 1981 (in NGA curatorial files).

4. Clément-Eitner 1973, 325. As Sylvain Laveissière's catalogue entry in *Géricault* 1991, 335, notes, there is no documentary evidence to support that statement. No sculpture is listed in that sale (Eitner 1959, 115–126); the notes of the *commissaire-priseur* for the sale, maître Parmentier, are thought to have disappeared in the destruction of his office (Bazin 1987–1990, 1: 9). To judge by the catalogue, the London sale of 3 November 1824 included only paintings and works on paper. Furthermore, Géricault's estate inventory lists only two wax equestrians and two hide-covered wood study models of a cow and bull (Bazin 1987–1990, 1: 89, Doc. 299). "Monsieur" Susse may have bought the wax privately, though it is not clear if he is either Victor (J.-V. Susse, 1806–1860) or Amédée (J.V.-A. Susse 1808–1880), who expanded their grandfather's paper business into an art-bronze enterprise (Shepherd Gallery 1985, 286).

5. Clément 1867, 325. The text and pagination of this biography remain unchanged in the major editions, and will be cited through the most accessible version, the edition of 1879 reprinted in Clément-Eitner 1973, with Eitner's supplemental notes.

6. Though the owner is not cited in the exhibition catalogue, Cottier's widow has been identified as the lender of the wax to the Exposition Centennale of 1889; see "Notable Works" 1960, pl. 16.

7. "Notable Works" 1960, pl. 16. According to an anonymous memorandum dated 7 February 1974, documenting verbal information from Germain Bazin (Documentation du Département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre, Paris [Dossier Géricault-Ecorché], R. F. 1657), followed by Laveissière in his catalogue entry in *Géricault* 1991, 335, a "Mason" acquired the wax in February 1958 when it was released by the Cottiers. However, the source of that information and identity of the party are unknown.

8. In NGA curatorial files.

9. Lagrange 1866, 400: "Aux curieux elle réserve la cire originale du *Cheval écorché* de Géricault. . ."

10. Catalogue, Fine Arts section of the 1889 Universal Exposition, no. 85.

11. Lefèvre Gallery 1960, no. 38, repro.

12. See the technical notes. Grunhech 1978, 82, claims that Géricault's non-graphic work is rarely signed and that often signatures found even on genuine works are counterfeits based on facsimiles repeatedly reproduced in Blanc (for example, Blanc 1861–1876, 12). Here, the cursive signatures in the wax differ from Géricault's in bearing the loop of the "G" on the same line as the subsequent lower-case letters, rather than dropped below the line. Two other pieces of sculpture are known to be signed: A plaster flayed human figure (Grunhech 1978, 89) has an illegible signature; and the varnished-stone *Nymph Attacked by a Satyr* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen) reads "T. Géricault" on the base (Peignot 1965, repro. p. 50). The latter signature is not executed in cursive and its authenticity remains to be determined.

13. Blanc 1845, 434; Chesneau 1861, 29.

14. Clément-Eitner 1973, 325.

15. For information on the gift, see the object file cited in note 7.

16. Waxes by a number of nineteenth-century artists, including Cain, Barye, Degas, and Fremiet, are similarly patinated or varnished. See, for example, the "Etudes Techniques" sections by Drilhon, Colinart, and Tassery-Lahmi in Gaborit and Ligot 1987, 148–166, 184–186, 264–266, 269–271, 302–310.

17. Clément-Eitner 1973, 325.

18. Schmoll 1973, 320; Laveissière's catalogue entry in *Géricault* 1991, 335. Eitner tacitly supports Clément by not contradicting him in his supplemental notes to the nineteenth-century biography (Clément-Eitner 1973). His more recent discussions are silent on the subject (Eitner 1983, 333n. 113).

19. Berger 1978, 16; see also Isabelle Julia, "Le fou assassin," in MMA 1975, 446.

20. June Hargrove, "Flayed Horse," in Los Angeles 1980, 284. By way of support, she claims that Schmoll dates all of Géricault's sculpture to the last four years (when in fact he ascribes this precise composition to his youth) and points to the National Gallery's traditional dating of the model to between 1817 and 1824.

21. Bazin 1987–1990, 2: 313, fig. 194. Bazin doubts the seriousness of that project, presuming that such illustrations must be direct studies of dissections, which he believes the artist never performed. See further in the text.

22. Clément-Eitner 1973, 325. Clément's story features tools bought from stone masons for a carving project. However, many of the tools, like the toothed chisel, are used for both carving and modeling and their use is evident in the wax. See the technical notes. The close similarity between the construction of this wax and that for Bouchardon's equestrian statue of Louis XVI (c. 1749, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon) further suggests the artist's sophistication and openness to traditional methods. See the X-radiograph published in Gaborit and Ligot 1987, 107. Some works attributed to Géricault, both carved and modeled, display similar toothed-chisel tooling; see the wax *Parthenon Rider* and the stone *Nymph and Satyr* (Peignot 1965, 49 and 50–51, respectively). Those qualities similarly suggest a date after 1819, if the anecdote about the tools purchased at that time is accurate.

23. Amerson 1975, 2.

24. Leonardo's notebooks are the most famous examples of first-hand anatomical studies by an artist. See volume 3 of Clark and Pedretti 1969; and Amerson 1975, 11–12. The standard textbook on the history of the relationship between anatomical science and art (Mayor 1984) does not discuss the flayed figure.

25. The initial version, with arm extended, was executed as a preparatory study in 1766 for his own *St. John the Baptist* for Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome. See Réau 1964, 1: 204–210; and Arnason 1975, 13–14, fig. 58.

26. Eitner 1983, 333n. 113; and Bazin 1987–1990, 2: 308–309. The attribution and relationship of the reductions to the equestrian monument have been debated; see *Giambologna* 1978, 185–186.

27. The studies were executed in the early 1780s, when he unsuccessfully sought an American commission for an equestrian monument to George Washington in addition to his celebrated portrait statue (State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia). He gave them to the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris in July 1793. See Réau 1964, 1: 208, 124.

28. Catalogue, 1789 Salon, no. 221. Gois' campaign reportedly had little success among artists, however. See Lami 1910–1911, 1: 382.

29. For Brunot, see Lami 1914–1921, 1: 212. The anonymous carved-wood *écorché* sold at *Succession Charles Hathaway. Ancienne Collection Hubert de Saint Senoch. Oeuvres de l'Atelier Jean Hugo*, Sotheby's, Monaco (4–6 December 1992, no. 21, repro.), recalls the stylized elegance of Brunot's signed work. See, for instance his *Stallion*, sold at *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Sculpture*, Sotheby's, London, 30 April 1993, no. 28, repro. For Fratin, see Lami 1914–1921, 2: 403.

30. Blanc 1845, 434–435; Planche 1851, 62; Chesneau 1861, 29.

31. Rosenthal, n.d., 25; Bazin 1987–1990, 2: 308–314. Bazin (313)

claims the same is true for his anatomical drawings of humans, tacitly distinguishing such studies from Géricault's celebrated paintings of dismembered, but not dissected, human parts. By contrast, Eitner 1983, 333n. 113, accepts the Géricault attribution for the anatomical drawings, though he agrees they derive from book illustrations. Debord 1997, 51–57, persuasively argues that all works representing dissected limbs were most likely based on anatomical casts, and that the equine anatomies were prepared in collaboration with a friend as studio tools.

32. Eitner 1983, 333n. 113; Bazin 1987–1990, 2: 309.

33. When translated into a mold bearing the negative impression of the figure, these forms become open channels, providing gates into those sections of the figure if it were cast by traditional strategies, upside-down, with the self-base on top serving as a wide-mouthed opening into which to pour liquid plaster or molten bronze.

34. Shepherd Gallery 1975, 105, repro. 106; cited by Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 284n. 9 (see note 20).

35. Laveissière's catalogue entry in *Géricault* 1991, 335. An anonymous memorandum in the Louvre object file on the plaster (cited in note 7) and Laveissière claim that another plaster is at the Cleveland Museum of Art, an error according to curator Henry Hawley (telephone conversation with the author). Its author may have misconstrued the circumstances of June Hargrove's research, while teaching at Case-Western Reserve in Cleveland, on a Valsuani bronze in a private California collection for the exhibition of 1980–1981 (Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 284; see note 20).

36. "Notable Works" 1960; anonymous memorandum of 8 February 1974 in the Louvre object file (see note 7).

37. The plaster at the Van Gogh Museum, however, resembles *Flayed Horse II*, with a cropped right hoof and flowing tail (the ears appear to be repaired).

38. "Notable Works" 1960; and Hargrove in Los Angeles 1980, 284n. 9 (see note 20).

39. The Carpeaux drawing is either a free interpretation of the plaster, since it lacks the ventral rod, or a drawing after the bronze (Grand Palais 1975, no. 367, repro.; detail opp. prefatory essay "L'art de Carpeaux"). Degas' drawing is in his notebook 1, p. 93 (Millard 1976, fig. 17; Degas' wax study is fig. 15).

References

- 1866 Lagrange: 400.
- 1866 Rousseau: 214.
- 1868 Clément: 325.
- 1872 Mantz: 382.
- 1882 Blondel: 437.
- 1960 "Notable Works": pl. 16.
- 1965 Peignot: 48, repro. p. 47.
- 1973 Clément-Eitner: 325, no. 1; 460, no. 1.
- 1973 Schmoll: 320, no. 1.
- 1978 Grunhec: 148, no. 21.
- 1980 Hargrove, June. "Flayed Horse," in Los Angeles: 285.
- 1983 Eitner: 333n. 113.
- 1991 Laveissière, Sylvain. "Cheval écorché," in *Géricault*: 335.
- 1994 NGA: 96, repro.

1980.44.8 (A 1837)

Flayed Horse II

Model c. 1820/1824; cast c. 1832

Bronze, 24.1 × 24.8 × 11.7 (9½ × 9¾ × 4⅝)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised in the foundry model on left side of the self-base: FONDU PAR H. GONON ET SES DEUX FILS / 1832 (fig. 1)

Marks

Stamped on the underside of the self-base: Dodanes/N40¹

Glued to the self-base, under a wood block, a handwritten label: Cire perdue / Etude de cheval / par Géricault / Donné par le baron de M[on]ville (fig. 2)

Technical Notes: A wood block fills the underside of the self-base, preventing direct examination of the interior of the bronze. Toolwork and evidence from X-radiography (fig. 3) suggest that the bronze is largely hollow-cast indirectly from a foundry model, since the original wax has survived (see the previous entry). It appears to have been integrally cast. X-radiography reveals plugged holes that would have held chaplets used to secure a core during casting. Patches on the underside of the belly were apparently applied to repair casting flaws and to remove the core; they are also visible in the X-ray.² It was probably cast by the lost-wax method, as the handwritten note alleges. Analysis of the surface of the metal by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals an alloy with a composition averaging approximately 87% copper, 2% zinc, 9% tin, 1% lead, and less than 1% iron, with traces of silver and antimony. The presence of those impurities is consistent with metalwork of the early nineteenth century. The surface is extensively cold-worked not only to repair the casting flaws mentioned earlier, but to create a subtle texture to receive the patina; little tooling to enhance the detail from the model is evident, however. The patina was achieved by brushing a copper-rich solution onto the heated bronze, resulting in a dark reddish-brown color overall. The adhesion between the patina and surface is poor; there is crazing in some areas and losses where the surface has been abraded.

Provenance: Perhaps baron de Monville, active 1830s?–1860s; a gift possibly to an organization or charity sale.³ Possibly Albert-Désiré Barre [d. 1878]; by descent through the family until 1968/1970.⁴ Possibly (Georges Bernier, Paris, 1970);⁵ (Cyril Humphris, London, 1970); sold 30 June 1971 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.⁶

Exhibited: NGA 1974, as *Un cheval écorché (A Flayed Horse)*. *Géricault* 1991, no. 25.⁷

THIS CAST of the *Flayed Horse* was apparently unpublished before its emergence on the market around 1970. Given its source in an eminent art founder, its early inscribed date, and its distinct personality as a cast, it has considerable art-historical significance.

The circumstances of the cast's production are as yet unclear. In 1832, Honoré Gonon was just emerging as a master founder and strong advocate and practitioner of traditional lost-wax casting, then considered a luxury for sculpture.⁸



Fig. 1 detail of 1980.44.8

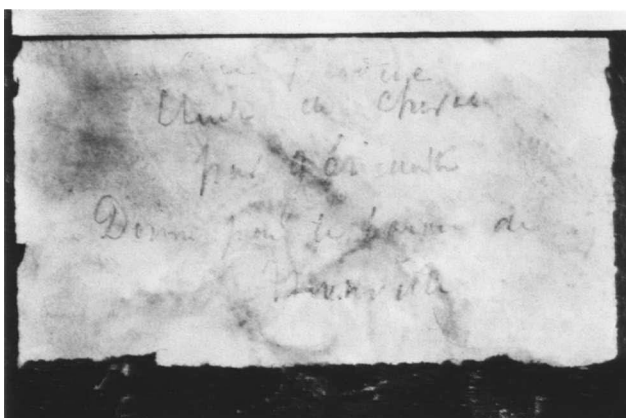


Fig. 2 detail of 1980.44.8

He had much to gain by executing a bronze of a celebrated sculptural model, available at the time primarily in inexpensive plaster: one example appears in Sébastien Dulac's painting of an artist's studio of the same date (see p. 256, fig. 3). Gonon had the opportunity to transform a modern classic into an art bronze, another dimension of his well-known campaign to revive Renaissance practices—in artistic terms through the model, and in technical terms through his craftsmanship.

The austere surfaces of this cast differ markedly with those of the wax and the modern Valsuani cast in the National Gallery's collection. Gonon was capable of many approaches, especially that of transmitting the qualities of the model.⁹ His method produced casts so flawless and faithful to the original that they required only minimal chasing: Barye's contributions to the duc d'Orléans' *surtout* are the most celebrated of such examples. The contrast in handling between this bronze and the wax suggests several possibilities. One is that Gonon based his foundry model instead on a plaster cast that was closer in character to the very schematic Louvre version.¹⁰ Another is that the founder varied the sacrificial working model taken from the original wax to make his bronze an aesthetically distinct entity. Whatever their source, the resulting clean, subtle forms recall the more classical quality of earlier flayed figures—even Houdon's in bronze.¹¹



Fig. 3 X-radiograph of 1980.44.8

Other differences between the wax, the Louvre plaster, and this bronze raise the issue of alterations to each. As discussed in the technical notes on the wax (pp. 253–254), the higher angle and different shape of the tail in this cast may register its original setting in the wax. Because the tail in the Louvre plaster exactly replicates the Gonon version, its counterpart in the wax was probably broken and reset sometime near or in the twentieth century, but before the Valsuani cast of 1960. The right front hoof here is shorter than its wax and plaster counterparts. It is possible, as is also mentioned in the technical notes on the wax, that the hoof in the wax was reworked. However, the stubby hoof here is unlike the three others on this model, which are longer and tapered. It does not reflect an artist who repeatedly painted,



Théodore Géricault, *Flayed Horse II*, 1980.44.8

drew, and modeled horses. It might have been altered through radical coldwork after casting, a formal change, deliberately or not, by a *ciseleur*.¹²

This cast has long been considered unique since it is unnumbered and no other versions have been located. However, in 1944—more than a decade before the production of the Valsuani edition—a bronze then belonging to a Madame Regnoul was reported. If it was not the National Gallery Gonon cast, then at least one other, the current location of which is unknown, existed at the time.¹³

SGL

Notes

1. Possibly a sale or exhibition lot number. The meaning of “Dodanes” is not clear. The word broadly resembles the various terms referring to “Dodones,” the French name for the ancient Greek cult and oracular site in Epirus for chthonic divinities, primarily Zeus, that has no known association with horses. There is, however, a celebrated link with cast-metal objects: a cult offering for Corcyra of a bronze or brass gong that became famous for its prolonged vibration when the wind caused the scourge, held by a figure standing over it, to strike it. For an extensive discussion, see Pauly-Wissowa 5/1: 1258–1265; for a nineteenth-century view, see Larousse 1866–1879, 6: 1023, s.v. “Dodones.” Isabelle Lemaistre first suggested it might reflect a classical Greek word.

2. The delicacy of the bronze shell prompted extensive examination of this object in 1981 to determine if it was instead an electroplated cast; the evidence then and now is resoundingly negative. See notes in NGA curatorial files.

3. Based on the text of the handwritten note on the underside. The individual named there may be a baron de Monville whose titular property is in Gericault’s native Seine-Maritime, around Rouen. He was well known in Paris in the 1860s as a collector of art bronzes and decorative arts, including a 45-cm. sixteenth-century Italian human *écorché*. Many of his Italian bronzes were sold in a much-discussed (and as yet unidentified) sale in early February 1861 (Chesneau 1861). He was later intimately involved in the efforts by the new applied-arts association (see the biography of Carrier-Belleuse in this volume) to found a “retrospective museum of industrial arts” similar to what is now the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Blanc 1865, 200, 204). No nineteenth-century sculpture is as yet identified with Monville. It is tempting to associate with him or his family the “de Monville” collection, with Renaissance and French romantic paintings, drawings, and decorative objects, that was sold in Paris 7–10 March 1837. The precise relationship of this little-known nineteenth-century collector with François Nicolas-Henri Racine de Jonquoy, baron de Monville (1734–1797), the designer, builder, and owner of the Désert de Retz, the celebrated “psychological” folly garden at the northern end of Marly Forest, is unclear. See Ketcham 1997.

4. The bronze reportedly belonged to a “M. Barre” in charge of the Paris Mint in the late nineteenth century (letter of 26 May 1971 from Cyril Humphris to Paul Mellon [in NGA curatorial files]). Younger brother of the better-known sculptor Jean-Auguste Barre (1811–1896), Albert-Désiré became *graveur général des monnaies* in 1855, succeeding their father Jean-Jacques in that position (Lami 1914–1921, 1: 36). The National Gallery bronze was reportedly purchased privately from the descendants at the cited date by a Paris dealer (verbal communication, 1989, from an anonymous dealer).

5. Clément-Eitner 1973, 460.

6. In NGA curatorial files.

7. Laveissière’s catalogue entry in *Géricault* 1991, 335, color pl. 66.

8. Parisian founder Jean-Honoré Gonon (1780–1850) began his career by casting elements of several public monuments during the Empire, including the Vendôme column and Antoine-Denis Chau-

det’s (1763–1810) laureated bust of Napoleon. He worked in both sand-cast and lost-wax methods as a collaborator in the casting of other monuments, including François Lemot’s *Henri IV* (1816, Pont Neuf, Paris), which was cast by the lost-wax method. The difficulties of that project moved him to learn more about the method from historical sources, and to apply it to contemporary needs. In 1829, in conjunction with two sons (one the *animalier* sculptor Eugène), Gonon created a foundry in the Buttes-Chaumont quarter of Paris for works of art that were difficult to cast. He built his reputation on his casts of the early 1830s. His first project (1831) was to cast by the lost-wax method Henri de Triqueti’s (1802–1874) bas- and high-relief *Death of Charles the Bold* purchased by the Duke of Istria (location unknown). Around 1833 he undertook several eminent large-scale works in lost wax, such as the state commissions for Barye’s *Lion Crushing a Serpent*; the bronze of Duret’s *Neapolitan Fisherboy*; and David d’Angers’ *Paganini* and the full-scale *Thomas Jefferson*. Gonon’s most famous private commission was for five of Barye’s hunt groups for the duc d’Orléans’ *surtout de table*, the casting of which in both lost wax and sand was completed for delivery of the ensemble in 1839 (Lemaistre 1993, 133–140). He retired from foundry activity in 1840. His son Eugène continued his work in, and advocacy of, the lost-wax method as a viable, time-honored craft for modern times. See Metman 1989, 196–197; and Lemaistre, “Gonon,” in *Grand Palais* 1991, 525.

9. For instance he successfully rendered in cast bronze the rich, burred surfaces of some of Barye’s wax-over-plaster models of those years. For detailed illustrations, see Glenn Benge, “Antoine-Louis Barye: Technical Practices,” in Fogg 1975, 80, figs. 9–9b; and Lemaistre’s catalogue entry in *Grand Palais* 1991, 327, color repro.

As an example of Gonon’s other approaches in bronze, his cast of Barye’s *Charles VII Victorious on Horseback* has an almost volcanic quality to its surface, full of airholes and pits, that eschews the precious jewellike character of the sand casts for a molten, integrated form.

10. In character of detail, the Gonon cast is somewhere between the Louvre plaster and the wax model. The Louvre plaster is more generalized than the Gonon cast: The anatomical rendering is less sharp and the self-base has none of the comb tooling visible to a limited extent on the Gonon bronze and to a large extent in the wax model. The total loss of the ears in this plaster may represent a loss subsequent to casting.

11. Bazin 1987–1990, 2: figs. 234bis and 235.

12. That projecting limb is a logical place for a vent so that gases could flow out of the figure as the molten bronze surges through the cavity. The removal of that important channel, which fills with bronze during casting, could affect the shape of the original hoof to which it was attached. Perhaps in support of that view, the corresponding hoof in the Louvre plaster resembles the prototype in the wax, emphasizing a possible change in the bronze alone. On the other hand, the raised left rear leg in the bronze, which also demands radical coldwork to remove the connection to the self-base present in every other version, bears a tapered hoof, leaving the stubby front hoof as the exception.

13. Metman 1944, 86.

References

1994 NGA: 97, repro.

Flayed Horse III

Model c. 1820/1824; cast 1959–1960

Bronze, 23.2 × 21.7 × 11.6 (9⅞ × 8⅞ × 4⅞)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Marks

Incised after casting on the self-base, next to the right rear hoof:
7/15

Foundry stamp impressed into the foundry model on the rear edge of the self-base: CIRE/C. VALSUANI/PERDUE

Technical Notes: The bronze was hollow-cast, by the indirect lost-wax method, by means of a sacrificial wax model taken from the surviving wax model (1980.44.7, p. 253). The figure appears to have been cast integrally. X-radiography reveals that the tail, legs, upper neck, and head of the horse are mostly solid, that the self-base is hollow with solid pits below the hooves for support, and that the shell of the body varies considerably in thickness. It is, however, generally thicker than that of *Flayed Horse II*, perhaps accounting for its being twice the weight of the latter.¹ There is a patch on the underside of the belly to repair the hole through which the core was extracted. Surface analysis of the metal by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) revealed that the average percentage composition of the alloy is approximately 90% copper, 6% zinc, 3% tin, less than 1% iron, and between 0 and 1% lead. The surface shows limited cold-work to enhance the cast-through detail from the model, and little tooling for repairs. The varied, dark patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze, producing a reddish-brown, wiped so as to remain only in the recesses, and a brownish-black overall. A finishing coat of varnish was apparently applied over the figure and base.

Provenance: (Alex Reid and Lefevre Ltd., London, 1959–1960); sold 25 October 1960 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

Exhibited: Lefevre Gallery 1960, no. 38.² NGA 1974, as *Un cheval écorché* (A *Flayed Horse*).

THIS BRONZE is from a limited edition of twenty serial lost-wax casts commissioned by Alex Reid and Lefevre Ltd., London, from Etablissements Valsuani, Paris, in the late 1950s. Its prototype was a recent purchase by the London gallery, the wax model of the *Flayed Horse* attributed to Géricault that had just recently come to light, reportedly after decades in a private collection (see provenance, p. 254). Begun probably in 1959 and completed in June 1960, the bronze edition was executed by Antoine Tamburro under the supervision of Marc Leroy, professor of sculpture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Nancy from 1933 to 1938.³

Comparison of the three versions of the *Flayed Horse* reveals that the Valsuani cast most faithfully registers the current state of the original wax, especially in the low tail and chipped ears. Again unlike the Gonon bronze, the Valsuani cast retains the attachment between the left rear hoof and the self-base, though it eliminates the ventral rod. Unlike the Gonon cast, whose self-base is larger than the two others, the dimensions of the Valsuani cast are a fraction under those of the wax, and its vibrant volumes and gritty surface, resulting from the large inclusions in the wax, are similar to

those in the original model. However, the indirect method of casting—using a cast wax as a sacrificial intermediary between the original wax and the bronze—resulted in some apparent losses. The Valsuani cast does not register the sensitive tooling throughout the original wax, and the comb tooling on the self-base is merely a faint echo of that on the wax. Nonetheless, the small amount of coldwork suggests the Valsuani craftsmen pursued a traditional canon of fine lost-wax casting, minimal intervention in the cast surface through chasing. The result is a cast with more nervous animation of contour and surface than the earlier Gonon bronze (1980.44.8, p. 259), and yet one which simultaneously distinguishes itself from the wax.

The Valsuani edition consists of fifteen casts for sale and an additional five for the Cottier family, from whom the wax had been purchased. Casts are marked according to the two categories produced. Those cast for sale, like the National Gallery bronze, were numbered one through fifteen, and the Cottier limited group was marked, according to contemporary practice, with a prefix “H. C.” (*hors commerce*, not for sale), and numbered one through five. Although it is not known whether the mold or foundry model survives, the sales contracts for the Valsuani bronzes restrict further serialization of the work. Buyers of these authorized examples agreed to make “no further editions of the bronzes” from their purchased versions.⁴ The bronzes seem to have been the only ones of this composition generally available until ten years later, when the Gonon cast of 1832 appeared on the market.⁵

Casts from the limited series for the Cottier family have already entered the market: H. C. 4/5 was sold in 1975 and belonged by 1980 to Saul Brandman of Beverly Hills, California; H. C. 2/5 was sold in London in 1982.⁶ Though all original buyers of the commercial edition of fifteen were private collectors, the Mellon cast is the only one currently known in a museum collection. The others appear frequently on the market.⁷

SGL

Notes

1. *Flayed Horse III* weighs 2.948 kg (6 lbs. 8 oz.), compared to 1.684 kg (3 lbs. 11 oz.) for *Flayed Horse II*.

2. Lefevre Gallery 1960, no. 38. All fifteen casts were exhibited there, though which one appears in the illustration with the wax is unknown.

3. Certificate from Valsuani, 22 June 1960 (in NGA curatorial files).

4. Letter of 23 May 1961, from Paul Mellon to Gerald Corcoran, Alex Reid and Lefevre Ltd., London (in NGA curatorial files). Paul Mellon also agreed to make no further casts from the original wax purchased at the same time.

5. For the possibility of one other bronze known in 1944, which could be the Gonon cast, see the previous entry.

6. Laveissière's catalogue entry in *Géricault* 1991, 335. H. C. 4/5 was sold at *Impressionist and Modern Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture*, Christie's, London, 15 April 1975, no. 42, repro.; Los Angeles 1980, 284, repro.

7. Laveissière's catalogue entry in *Géricault* 1991, 335.

References

1994 NGA: 97, repro.



Théodore Géricault, *Flayed Horse III*, 1980.44.9

Sir Alfred Gilbert

1854–1934

BORN IN LONDON, Gilbert was the son of professional musicians who encouraged his artistic instincts. Denied a scholarship to pursue a surgical career, he studied at Thomas J. Heatherley's School of Art in London from 1872 to 1873, and at the Royal Academy Schools from 1873 to 1875. He won the Academy prize for the best model after the antique, but grew dissatisfied with the available training in sculpture. To gain technical knowledge he apprenticed himself to private sculptors including William Gibbs Rogers (1792–1875) and Matthew Noble (1817–1876). The highly successful, Hungarian-born sculptor Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm (1834–1890) became his principal master and promoter. After three years, the older artist urged Gilbert to study at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Early in 1876 Gilbert eloped with his cousin Alice Gilbert to Paris.

He became one of the first English sculptors trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, where his teachers were Pierre-Jules Cavelier (1814–1894) and Fremiet. However, it was not until he produced *The Kiss of Victory* (model 1878), inspired by a description of Gustave Doré's *Gloire*, that Cavelier encouraged Gilbert to go to Rome and execute the sculpture in marble. While he and his family lived in Italy, from 1878 to 1885, Gilbert eagerly studied Renaissance bronze sculpture in Florence, Venice, and Padua. He produced his major bronzes *Perseus Arming* (1882; good example in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) and *Icarus* (1884; Cardiff, National Museum of Wales), the latter commissioned by Frederic, Lord Leighton (1830–1896). Fascinated with bronze technique, he supervised the casting of *Perseus Arming* by Sabatino de Angelis of Naples. Later in his career Gilbert became an ardent advocate of lost-wax casting for major sculpture in England, where previously its use had largely been limited to jewelry and small art objects.

The warm reception for *Perseus* and *Icarus*, as well as the support of Boehm and Leighton, led Gilbert to return in 1885 to the success beckoning in England. Important commissions bolstered his reputation: the monument to Henry Fawcett in Westminster Abbey (1885–1887), introducing polychromy in its bronze statuettes of the Virtues; the imposing bronze statue of Queen Victoria enthroned for Windsor Castle (1887); and his best-known work, the memorial fountain to the philanthropist Earl of Shaftesbury, with its aluminum statue of *Eros* in Piccadilly Circus (1886–1893). The latter

project dragged him increasingly into debt as he struggled to support a sick wife and five children.

Bronzes, portraits, commemorative statues, and goldsmith work filled his most productive years, from 1885 to 1898. In 1892 came the commission for the tomb of the Duke of Clarence, son of the Prince and Princess of Wales, at Windsor. Its polychrome design called for bronze, brass with varicolored patinas, marble, ivory, and aluminum. Working in a rich ornamental style, Gilbert continually revised the complex, multifigure project, deferring completion. Honors came, including the status of full Academician in 1892 and election as professor of sculpture at the Royal Academy in 1900, where he gave a series of spellbinding lectures on sculpture between 1901 and 1902. Living lavishly, Gilbert built a new house and studio at Maida Vale, north of London (completed in 1893), and continued to accept more commissions than he could finish. In 1899, deep in debt, he sold off the bronze and ivory saints produced for the Clarence tomb, replacing them with all-bronze casts. He declared bankruptcy in 1901 and moved his family to Bruges, smashing many of his plaster models before departure.

Funerary monuments commissioned in Bruges led to stormy relationships with two patrons and further decline of Gilbert's reputation. *Mors Janua Vitae* (1905–1909) was cast for Eliza Macloghlin only after Gilbert surrendered the plaster under duress (plaster and wood model in Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery; partial bronze casts in Grundy Art Gallery, Blackpool, and Royal College of Surgeons of England, London). Mrs. Frankau, whose husband's memorial the artist did not finish, took the claims of various disappointed clients to the press in 1906. Impoverished and disgraced, Gilbert resigned from the Royal Academy in 1908. He remained in Bruges until 1926, with an interlude in Rome between 1924 and 1925, working fitfully on projects full of personal symbolism, which he often destroyed. One surviving work from this period is the Wilson chimney piece (1908–1913, Leeds City Art Galleries). Gilbert's wife Alice, from whom he separated in 1905, died in 1915; in 1919 he married his Belgian housekeeper, Stephanie Quaghbeur.

In 1926, after a campaign by Gilbert's biographer Isabel McAllister, George V called him back to England to finish the Clarence tomb, which he completed by 1928. A further royal commission was the memorial to

the king's mother Queen Alexandra at Marlborough gate, London (1928–1932). With its installation came a knighthood and reinstatement in the Royal Academy. Gilbert died in London in 1934.

A consummate goldsmith sculptor, Gilbert was deeply involved with the technical aspects of his craft. His gift for naturalistic modeling served a feverishly imaginative fin-de-siècle style, with symbolist psychological overtones. Polychromy, varied materials, and art nouveau ornamental motifs enriched his creation. Favored themes were the passage from childhood to adulthood, the exalting power of mature love, and the terrors of troubled dreams. A mood of uneasy meditation pervades much of his work. He exercised a strong influence on the English bronze, producing statuettes conceived as significant works of art for private collectors in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, neither massive monuments nor tiny bibelots. He took a leading role in the New Sculpture movement in England.¹

AL

Notes

1. See the following entry for further discussion of the New Sculpture movement in England.

Bibliography

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Read 1982: esp. 294, 313–315, 337–343.
Beattie 1983: esp. 138–146, 162–165, 213–218, 244–245.
Dorment 1985.
Dorment 1986.
Stocker, Mark. “Alfred Gilbert,” in *Dictionary* 1996, 12: 610–613.

1984.67.1

Comedy and Tragedy: “Sic Vita”

Model 1891–1892; cast probably 1902/1905
Copper alloy, attached to marble base, 34.6 × 15.6 × 13.7
(13⅞ × 6⅞ × 5⅜); base height 5.1 (2); diameter 15.3 (6)
Pepita Milmore Memorial Fund

Inscriptions

On the self-base below the right foot, applied as a cachet in relief: integrally cast monogram of artist's intertwined initials AG in a cipher (fig. 1)

Technical Notes: The sculpture is composed of an alloy with elemental averages of 89% copper, 6% zinc, 3% tin, approximately 0.5% lead, and small traces of iron and silver.¹ It has an overall golden brown patina, which is blackish brown in crevices and depressions. A reddish-brown coloration, presumably a result of the high copper content, shows through the patina in numerous areas, especially under the arms.

The cast is of high quality, with no cracks. X-radiography reveals casting in three sections with smooth, regular interior walls, indicating that the statuette is probably a sand cast.² One section includes the mask of Comedy and both arms to just below each shoulder; a second section consists of the left leg to just above the thigh; and a third section comprises the head, torso, right leg, and the small mound under the right foot. The arms, mask, and both legs are solid cast, while the head, torso, and mound are hollow. An armature consisting of a hollow rod wrapped with wire extends from the right leg to the top of the head. The joins, which consist of a tapered sleeve to fit one part into another (particularly apparent in the X-radiographs at the top of the left leg), appear comparable to those used by the Compagnie des Bronzes to make sand casts of Gilbert's *Saint George*.³

X-radiography shows core pins located parallel to the figure's spine on the right side, with a filled crack running along the top, sides, and bottom. File marks and evidence of chasing are visible in crevices and along contours of the figure. Some small depressions and casting flaws are visible under magnification. A repaired flaw is visible to the naked eye on the back of the right knee.

The dark green marble base has a few chips and repairs on the right side, with a filled crack running along the top, sides, and bottom. The figure is attached to the base by means of a threaded ferrous bolt embedded in lead solder, which fills half of the hollow mound forming a self-base beneath the figure. The bolt is secured with a copper washer and brass nut.

Provenance: Possibly John Postle Heseltine [1843–1929], London, at least in 1903.⁴ (Sotheby's, Belgravia); acquired c. 1972 by (Daniel Katz, London).⁵

COMEDY AND TRAGEDY, according to Gilbert's own reminiscences in 1902,⁶ was the climax in a trilogy of bronze statuettes of male nudes that he considered an autobiographical “cycle of stories”; he declared that in them he was “writing my own history by symbol.” They expressed his states of mind and pressing problems, personal and artistic, at the time of their creation. The first two, *Perseus Arming* and *Icarus*, were conceived and executed in Italy, and sent back to considerable acclaim in England. By the time Gilbert set to work on *Comedy and Tragedy*, he had returned to England and entered “the most fecund and fraught” period of his life.⁷ *Comedy and Tragedy* was to be his last independent statuette of a nude.



Fig. 1 detail of 1984.67.1



Sir Alfred Gilbert, *Comedy and Tragedy*: "Sic Vita," 1904.67.1

In 1890, when the idea for this bronze first formed in his mind, Gilbert was emerging as the most famous sculptor in England after the death of his mentor Boehm in 1890,⁸ and had attracted the royal attention and patronage that would soon bring the ill-fated commission for the tomb of the Duke of Clarence (1892). With all the trappings of worldly success, he led a lively social life that contrasted with the private problems he faced: a sick wife, mounting debts, quarrels with patrons, and his persistent dissatisfaction with his own work.

The split Gilbert felt between the bright and dark aspects of his experience inspired him to create a work of sculpture to express this dichotomy. A title that went with the theme, *Comedy and Tragedy*, piqued his imagination. As he described it twelve years later:

I was living a kind of double life at that time, enjoying the society of Irving and Toole and other famous and pleasant members of the Garrick Club, going to the theatre at night, and with Tragedy in my private life, living my Comedy publicly, if not enjoying it. . . . At the time I am thinking of a one-act play was being enacted at the Lyceum called "Comedy and Tragedy," by a namesake of mine, Mr. W. S. Gilbert, with Miss Mary Anderson in the leading rôle. . . . Attracted by the title of the piece in much the same way as I was attracted to Doré's "Kiss of Glory," I went to see it, and was so deeply impressed that I went night after night. The dramatic fable with which the play inspired me gave me no idea of how to treat it in plastic form, and yet the subject haunted me. Always having the Theatre in my mind I conceived the notion of harking back to the old Greek stage upon which masks were always worn, and I conceived of a kind of stage property boy rushing away in great glee with his comedy mask, and on his way being stung by a bee. This was the only way in which I could present the hidden pain and passion of the boy. . . . The youth, seen from one position through the open mouth of the comic mask, exhibits an expression of hilarity, but from the opposite view he is seen glancing at his wounded leg, and his expression assumes one of pain and sadness. . . . And, surely, that is a symbol of our lives; it certainly is of mine, or was at the time.⁹

In an elaboration of his meaning Gilbert described the boy as "stung by a bee—the symbol of Love. He turns, and his face becomes tragic. The symbol is in reality fact. I was stung by that bee, typified by my love for my art, a consciousness of its incompleteness; my love was not sufficient."¹⁰

On 3 December 1890 Gilbert had sketched his *première pensée*, labeled as such, for the sculpture: a winged putto, holding out a mask of Comedy, lifting his left foot and turning to stare down over his left shoulder at an arrow that has landed in the pedestal, just missing his right leg. The arrow probably had a meaning similar to that of the bee, that is, the sting of love.¹¹ But when Gilbert began to model the figure early in 1891, he made the protagonist a young man rather than a child. The change was perhaps meant to make the work less light-hearted, more serious. The modeling

was completed by 1892, when an example was exhibited at the Royal Academy. This example is usually identified with a plaster 73.7 centimeters high, patinated to resemble bronze, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 2).¹²

The style of the statuette reflects Gilbert's continuing dialogue with the Italian Renaissance bronze, as experienced in Florence in particular. The relatively serene and pensive *Perseus Arming* and *Icarus* evinced his critical study of *Perseus* (1545–1553, Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi) by Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) and *David* (mid-fifteenth century, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello) by Donatello (1386 or 1387–



Fig. 2 Sir Alfred Gilbert, *Comedy and Tragedy*: "Sic Vita," patinated plaster, probably 1891/1892, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A90-1956

1466). *Comedy and Tragedy* also pays homage to Cellini in its reminiscence of the slender statuette of *Mercury* hopping on the toes of one foot, taken from the pedestal of Cellini's *Perseus*.¹³ The call for opposing movements further evoked the manner of another late Renaissance master, Giambologna, with his refined figures in difficult and artificial poses whose real subject, as Dormont notes, is the art of sculpture itself.¹⁴ The boy rushes in one direction, extends the mask in another, and stops short to twist around in yet a third direction, creating a virtuoso convoluted pose. No single view dominates; one must move around the figure or turn it for a full understanding of its meaning. A glimpse from the right through the grinning mask shows the youth's apparently laughing face. A view from the left brings the observer up sharply against his scream of pain. The ostensible cause, the bee, is absent in the National Gallery example, as in most casts. Only a few—including those at Anglesey Abbey in Lode, Cambridgeshire, England; Pollok House in Glasgow; the Tate Gallery in London; and the Detroit Institute of Arts—actually include the bee or its sting.¹⁵

The fantastic headdress worn by the property boy is characteristic; Gilbert, it seems, could hardly bear to create a human figure without elaborate headgear or mask. In this case the headband increases the artificial quality already inherent in the pose and in the exaggerated grimace on the boy's face, making the head all the more ornamental, less human. Knowing that the "tragic" element of this conception is a bee sting inevitably trivializes a work that claims so ambitious a theme as spiritual duality.¹⁶ Perhaps this is why Gilbert omitted the bee in many casts. The psychological subtlety and complexity in the attitudes of *Perseus* or the brooding *Icarus* contrast with the externalized approach here. Even with the knowledge that Gilbert was depicting physical pain as a symbol for his own spiritual torment, the effect is of clever, skillful invention, with a minimum of emotional depth. Gilbert himself may have been acknowledging this when he said of the sculpture: "I confess that I had to resort to rather adventitious methods to convey my meaning; and, indeed, I now look upon such methods as more or less legitimate tricks."¹⁷

The wiry young model who posed for *Comedy and Tragedy* was Angelo Colorossi, born in 1875 and therefore about fifteen years old at the time. The son of a famous model, also named Angelo, who had posed for Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898), John Everett Millais (1829–1896), and Leighton, the younger Colorossi had begun working for Gilbert not long before as a studio assistant. He went on to pose for the *Eros* atop the Shaftesbury Memorial fountain, beginning around May 1891.¹⁸ The angular body, with considerable grace in the affected pose, is quite individual, but the face, in keeping with the concept, is treated as a schematic mask.

Information on the casting history of *Comedy and Tragedy* is incomplete, as is the case for most of Gilbert's models. The example exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1892 is usually assumed to be the full-size plaster now in the

Victoria and Albert Museum, but theoretically it could have been a bronze. The first definite record of a bronze example is from 1900.¹⁹ Bronzes in the full 73.7-centimeter size, and still more of half-size like the National Gallery example, can be found in many collections.²⁰

The National Gallery statuette has been identified as one of two half-size casts that were ordered in November 1905 from the Compagnie des Bronzes in Brussels. This firm, which Gilbert had employed as early as 1893, became his principal founder after 1900.²¹ In particular he ordered casts of some of his best-selling works from them during his Belgian exile. The Compagnie des Bronzes produced casts of high quality both by lost wax and sand casting. The exceptional golden-brown patina on the National Gallery bronze was probably selected by Gilbert, and it is likely that he chased it personally to his own high standards.²²

Comparison of the National Gallery statuette with an example acquired from the artist in 1905 (Preston, Lancashire, Harris Museum and Art Gallery),²³ lends some support to the proposal for common production then, but also leaves open other possibilities. Examination of the Preston bronze under dim light suggested a similar tawny patina over a high copper alloy, with joins in the same places. The National Gallery and Preston bronzes also share the uncommon feature of a monogram in the mound below the boy's right foot. The monogram applied just under the foot in the National Gallery statuette is composed of Gilbert's elegantly intertwined initials (fig. 1). The Preston example bears a simple, blossomlike cross engraved close to the outer edge of the mound. Gilbert apparently introduced such identifying marks after discovering, sometime before July 1903, that several of his bronzes were being pirated and sold in unauthorized casts. Before this he usually had preferred not to sign his bronzes.²⁴

The different form and technique of the identifying marks, together with the apparent slightly superior refinement of execution and patination in the National Gallery statuette, nevertheless suggests different casting dates, even if in a common foundry (that of the Compagnie des Bronzes). Conceivably the National Gallery statuette is identical to the exceptionally fine example that J. P. Heseltine owned by the spring of 1903. This could be ruled out only by discovery of an example of similarly high quality with an identical base.²⁵

Comedy and Tragedy reflects certain key goals of the New Sculpture movement, which was named in retrospect in an 1894 article by Edmund Gosse. Gilbert was a leader of this movement, which lasted from around 1875 to 1905.²⁶ Its members rebelled against the bland "Gibsonian-Canovan" classicism and pretentious melodrama that dominated earlier nineteenth-century English sculpture (with the notable exception of Alfred Stevens [1817–1875]). *Comedy and Tragedy* is characteristic of the New Sculpture in its very conception as a mid-sized statuette rather than a marble statue or small bibelot. Also typical of that movement are its rich and lively surface treatment, its naturalistic modeling, its highly per-

sonal expressive content, and its allusion to models of the Italian Renaissance and modern France rather than to classical antiquity or Canova. It retreats, however, from the mystery and psychological depth, associated with the symbolist movement, that characterized much of the New Sculpture movement, including such other major works by Gilbert as *Icarus* and *An Offering to Hymen* (1884–1886; good example in Manchester City Art Galleries).²⁷ The work also abandons the symbolist use of an ornamental base, as seen in the earlier works, perhaps because in this case the figure and its accessories spell out the message with a precision that called for no further elaboration.²⁸

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Notes

1. Scientific Analysis Report submitted by Lisha Glinsman, NGA Scientific Research department (October 1996). Technical Examination Report by Marie Laibinis and Shelley Sturman, NGA Object Conservation department (24 January 1997).

2. See report of 24 January 1997, cited in note 1. As observed there, the type of joint construction, the low relief quality of the surface, and the rough, granular surfaces of unchased metal underneath the mound and in recesses, taken together with the X-ray evidence, point to sand casting. The exceptional quality of the National Gallery cast compared to other examples led Penny (1992, 83) to conjecture that it was a lost-wax cast, but after seeing the evidence of the X-rays he concluded this was unlikely. See letter from Nicholas Penny to the author dated 2 November 1996 (in NGA curatorial files).

3. This was observed by Marie Laibinis in her report cited in note 1, based on illustrations of patterns for the *Saint George* (private collection) in Dorment 1986, 161, no. 68.

4. The NGA example appears to be very similar to the one illustrated in Hatton 1903 (p. 12), and owned at the time by Heseltine. See also note 25.

5. Information from Daniel Katz (in NGA curatorial files); an exact date and title for the Sotheby's, Belgravia, sale has not as yet been located.

6. Hatton 1903, 11–12. On the Hatton interview, which took place on 5 August 1902, see Dorment 1985, 1 and 226–227.

7. Dorment 1985, 108.

8. Dorment 1978, 164.

9. Hatton 1903, 11–12.

10. Hatton 1903, 11–12.

11. Dorment 1978, 181; for the dated sketch, in Gilbert's notebook in the Jean van Caloen Foundation, Bruges, see Dorment 1978, 202, no. 112, and Dorment 1986, 203, no. 117 xiii.

12. Dorment 1986, 117; for a contemporary critical response, see Claude Phillips, "Sculpture of the Year," *MagArt* 1892, 380, without reference to the size or material. No contemporary record has yet been found to confirm that the piece exhibited in 1892 was plaster rather than bronze.

13. *Mercury* is now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; see John Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York, 1985), 177, pl. 112.

14. Dorment 1978, 181. Along with its debts to Cellini and Giambologna, the design may reflect influence from Carpeaux's *Genius of the Dance* (unveiled 1869; Paris Opera), and Leighton's *Needless Alarms*, a sculpture shown at the Royal Academy in 1886 (private collection). For Carpeaux's influence, see Dorment 1986, 117; in his 1901 lectures at the Royal Academy Gilbert praised Carpeaux's *Dancers* as "a masterpiece before which one should take off one's hat" (Dorment 1985, 211). On Leighton's *Needless Alarms* as a possible stimulus, see Dorment 1978, 181n. 4; and Dorment 1986, 118. *Needless Alarms* is illustrated in *Frederic, Lord Leighton, Eminent Victorian Artist* [Exh. cat.

London, Royal Academy of Arts.] London and New York, 1996, ed. Richard Ormond et al., 83, fig. 59; and *19th and 20th Century Sculpture, Belle Epoque Series*, Sotheby's, London, 20 May 1994, no. 113.

15. Dorment 1978, 181; for an illustration of the cast in Detroit showing the sting, see Dorment 1985, 132, pl. 82.

16. For this criticism, see Beattie 1983, 162; and Handley-Read 1968, 27.

17. Hatton 1903, 12; Dorment 1985, 134, defends the efficacy of Gilbert's use of personal symbolism in this instance.

18. Dorment 1978, 181 and 188. Angelo Colorossi never grew past five feet tall; see Martin Chisholm, "The Man who was Eros," *Picture Post* (28 June 1947), 12–13; and Dorment 1986, 111, 141.

19. See note 12. *Exhibition of Cabinet Pictures, Sculpture etc., By Members of the Surrey Art Circle*, The Clifford Gallery, 21 Haymarket, London (5–30 November 1900), 27, no. 132, lent by Mr. Robert Demthorne. A copy of this catalogue in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum has an annotation that Demthorne's *Comedy and Tragedy* was a bronze. The size is not indicated. I am grateful to colleagues at the Victoria and Albert for a photocopy.

20. A partial list of casts of *Comedy and Tragedy* in public collections includes full-sized casts (approximately 73.7 cm. high, like the 1892 plaster) in the DIA; the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; the Leeds City Art Galleries; the Castle Museum and Art Gallery, City of Nottingham; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney; and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Half-size casts like the National Gallery example are in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery; the Cardiff Museum; Pollok House, Glasgow; the Tate Gallery, London; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; and the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston, Lancashire. For lists, see Beattie 1983, 244; Dorment 1986, 118; and Penny 1992, 83. Handley-Read (1968, 23–24) commented: "Gilbert's small bronzes were all reproduced many times: not in editions, as was sometimes done, but unnumbered and cast as occasion demanded. Gilbert claimed that he always finished them himself after founding.... Gilbert also remodelled his more important works in various sizes." For examples of the complicated and incomplete casting histories of many Gilbert bronzes, see Penny 1992, 71–92, especially 74–75, on various foundries he employed.

21. On Gilbert's dealings with the Compagnie des Bronzes, see Dorment 1985, 233; Dorment 1986, 118; and Penny 1992, 75. The two casts ordered in November 1905 are the only half-size casts of *Comedy and Tragedy* recorded for the period 1902–1918, when Gilbert was commissioning casts of his best-known works from the Compagnie des Bronzes. The cachet signature, which Gilbert presumably began using only around 1903 (see text and note 24), would seem to place the National Gallery bronze in this period. See Dorment 1986, 117–118, citing unpublished papers of the late Lavinia Handley-Read, Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London. Dorment notes, however, that Gilbert, being on the spot in Belgium, could have ordered other casts that are not documented. I am grateful to Richard Dorment for further clarification concerning the casting history. See letter from Dorment to the author dated 12 November 1996 (in NGA curatorial files).

In 1935 the Compagnie des Bronzes sent three cases of Gilbert's plaster and metal models back to England. These were presumably among the models found in his studio in June 1936, which were shown in the Gilbert Memorial exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum later that year, prior to distribution of the models to various British institutions. The exhibition included the full-size plaster of *Comedy and Tragedy*. See Dorment 1986, 118, 212.

On the process of making a reduction from a model, see Arthur Beale, "A Technical View of Nineteenth-Century Sculpture," in *Fogg* 1975, 47.

22. Dorment 1986, 118; he observes on page 106, "No artist of his generation was more intrigued by colour, variations in scale, or the importance of the founder's skilled collaboration."

23. The Preston bronze was bought from the artist by the Har-

ris Museum in 1905. See letters from Brian Manning to Donald Myers dated 7 March and 25 April 1997 (in NGA curatorial files, with photocopies of *The Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library and Museum of the Borough of Preston, including the Financial Statement, for the Year Ending March 31st, 1906*, Preston, 1906, 14). My thanks to Mr. Manning and Stephen Whittle for this information, and to Vincent Kelly for his assistance in examining the Preston bronze in storage on 1 October 1997.

24. On Gilbert's monograms, see Dormont 1986, 118. On pirating, first mentioned by Gilbert in a letter of 29 June 1903 to the art critic Marion Harry Spielmann, see Dormont 1985, 233. In reference to the piracy and to his current manner of signing, Gilbert wrote to the *Times* on 18 September 1909: "It is well known that I never deface the surface of my work with the unseemly addition of bad and unnecessary calligraphy, contenting myself instead with a mere private mark as unobtrusive as it is secret in nature" (quoted in Dormont 1985, 234).

25. Thus far illustrations of only two examples of *Comedy and Tragedy* demonstrably cast earlier than 1905 have been found: the one illustrated by Hatton (1903, 12), then in the J. P. Heseltine collection, of unknown size but apparently of superlative quality; and the cast in the Victoria and Albert Museum, acquired in 1904. The unusual base of the Heseltine statuette resembled that of the National

Gallery example closely enough to raise the possibility that these statuettes are identical. The photographs published by Hatton are unfortunately not clear enough to confirm this beyond doubt, but no other example with a similar base has been found to date.

26. On the New Sculpture movement, see Read 1982, 289–326; Beattie 1983; and Mark Stocker's entry in *Dictionary* 1996, 23: 33–35.

27. On these bronzes, see Dormont 1986, 110–115, nos. 15–20; and Penny 1992, 74–77.

28. My thanks to Donald Myers for his assistance in researching this entry.

References

- 1985 National Gallery of Art, *1984 Annual Report*: 48; repro. 14.
- 1986 Dormont, Richard, ed. *Alfred Gilbert, Sculptor and Goldsmith*. [Exh. cat. Royal Academy of Arts, London.] London: 116–118, no. 23, color repro.
- 1986 Dormont, Richard. "The Creator of Eros." *Illustrated London News* (April 1986): 57–58; repro. 58.
- 1986 *Alfred Gilbert, Sculptor and Goldsmith* (exhibition brochure), Royal Academy of Arts, London.
- 1992 Penny, 3: 83.
- 1994 NGA: 102, repro.

Johannes Götz

1865–1934

BORN IN FÜRTH, Götz attended the Kunstgewerbeschule in Nuremberg from 1881 to 1884, and went on to study sculpture with Fritz Schaper (1841–1919) at the Berlin Akademische Hochschule in 1884 and 1885. Thereafter, like so many young German sculptors of his generation, he joined the Berlin studio of the imperial sculptor Reinhold Begas (1831–1911), where he was employed from 1885 to 1890. As a Begas pupil Götz created his *Boy Balancing on a Ball* (*Balancierende Knabe*), modeled in 1888; a bronze cast was acquired by the Berlin Nationalgalerie in 1889. In 1892–1893 he received a state stipend to study in Rome, where he modeled *Girl Drawing Water*, another genre bronze, of which the Nationalgalerie acquired an example in 1893 (transferred to Bonn University 1934; another cast, now lost, was at the Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum). Casts of each, and of Götz's *Boy Rolling a Hoop* (location unknown), were sent as part of the German contemporary sculpture installation to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.

Götz continued to collaborate with Begas on major projects to adorn Berlin at the behest of Kaiser Wilhelm II, an ambitious patron of monumental sculpture. These included the *Neptune Fountain* (1886–1891; formerly in front of the Berlin Schloss, now in front of the Roten Rathaus); the Kaiser Wilhelm Nationaldenkmal, for which Götz designed the bronze quadriga for the north portal in 1893 (destroyed); and the Siegesallee (1895–1901), an avenue lined with thirty-two statuary groups commemorating Prussian rulers from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century (largely destroyed after World War II, fragments surviving), to which Götz contributed the monument to Prince-Bishop Joachim I Nestor, completed in 1900.

Beginning in 1893, Götz contributed regularly to exhibitions in Berlin with portrait busts, genre groups, and statuettes. In 1901 the town of Magdeburg commissioned him to make monuments to Queen Louise and to Gutenberg. He modeled a bronze bear for the Moabit bridge over the Spree River in Berlin (melted down for the metal during World War II), and executed statues for the Wittenberg Schlosskirche and the Cathedral of Berlin. In 1904 he produced statues of three Roman Emperors for the Saalberg. The Kaiser's satisfaction with these led to a commission for an over-life-sized bronze statue of the *Victorious Achilles* (completed 1910) for the

Achilleion, Kaiser Wilhelm's summer residence on Corfu. Götz's 1907 marble bust of Kaiser Wilhelm is in the Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal.

The painterly, sensuous, and naturalistic neo-Baroque style of Begas is a clear influence on Götz's early work. After 1900 he turned, as did many of Begas' pupils, to a more severe style reflecting the influence of Adolf von Hildebrand (1847–1921); this is exemplified in Götz's *Achilles*, a neoclassical superman, which was cast by the Gladenbeck foundry in Berlin-Friedrichshagen. They also issued reductions of Götz's works, from the *Boy Balancing on a Ball* (see the following entry) to *Achilles*. The sculptor died in Potsdam in 1934.

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Thièrme-Becker, 14 (1921): 321.

Ethos und Pathos 1990, 1: 113, 137, 138, 202, 255–256, 296, 329, 345, 466; 2: 26–27 (Begas), 112–113.

Bloch and Grzimek 1994: esp. 168, 278, 284, 285.

1976.3.1 (A-1775)

Boy Balancing on a Ball

Model 1888; cast probably c. 1905

Bronze, 24.6 × 7.6 × 7.3 (9¹/₁₆ × 3 × 2⁷/₈);

marble base, 3.7 × 9.2 × 6 (1¹/₁₆ × 3³/₈ × 2³/₈)

Gift of Dr. Dieter Erich Meyer

Inscriptions

On proper right side of ball: J. Götz / Berlin

Technical Notes: The sculpture is cast of an alloy containing approximately 90% copper, 6% tin, 4% zinc, and 0.3% lead.¹ It has an evenly applied light- to olive-brown patina, with a pale, discolored patch on the back under the left shoulder. Two small, pale, circular discolorations along the lower edge of the right buttock are probably plugs filling holes left by pins that held the model in place during casting.

X-radiography suggests that the head, torso, upper legs, and ball are hollow cast, with the arms and lower legs cast separately as solid forms and attached. The presence of a faintly visible join line below the right armpit helps support this theory. Wire-wrapped armatures survive inside the body and the ball. The thickness of the walls ranges from 1.7 to 2 millimeters in the boy's body, and 2.5 millimeters in the ball.

The sculpture appears to be a lost-wax cast, based on the absence of rough surfaces that often indicate sand casting, and the fine, sharp-edged lines of the signature inscription. The clean



Johannes Götz, *Boy Balancing on a Ball*, 1976.3.1

strokes, without burr, indicate the words were inscribed in the wax model and cast into the bronze rather than engraved after casting. The fluid forms of the hair also suggest the flow of wax.

The bronze is attached to its brownish-black marble base by means of a screw inside a circular recess in the base, passing into the ball. There are two small holes drilled in the left side of the base.

Provenance: Erich Meyer [1893–1968], Görlitz, Silesia, probably before 1933; gift 1939 to his son, Dr. Dieter Erich Meyer [b. 1926], Berlin-Dahlem.²

THIS BRONZE is a reduction of an early work by Götz, who conceived it at age twenty-three while still an assistant in the bustling Begas workshop. Although he went on to a career as a sculptor of nationalistic public monuments, this engaging statuette, with its blend of genre and Renaissance references, is counted among his best works.³

Götz modeled *Boy Balancing on a Ball* in 1888, and it was exhibited at the Berlin Academy that year. The earliest known version is a bronze 75 centimeters high, which the Berlin Nationalgalerie acquired from the sculptor in 1889 (fig. 1).⁴ In 1893 an example of the bronze, of unknown size, was sent to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago as part of the extensive display of modern German sculpture.⁵

The Nationalgalerie bronze was cast by the Schaeffer and Walcker foundry in Berlin. By about 1905 the Gladenbeck Aktiengesellschaft, a bronze-casting firm in Friedrichshagen near Berlin, was offering the statuette in three sizes: 76, 48, and 25 centimeters high.⁶ The National Gallery bronze is probably one of these.⁷

The precise rendering of details in the National Gallery bronze is consistent with the Gladenbeck tradition of painstaking craftsmanship.⁸ Indeed, the details of hair, hands, and feet are finer in the National Gallery reduction than in the larger, earlier version in the Berlin Nationalgalerie. This could reflect the distinction between a gallery bronze, meant to be seen at some distance, and the household destination of a small bronze like this one, intended for handling and close examination.⁹ The National Gallery reduction shows a boy with a slimmer, more fragile physique and a smoother, sleeker surface compared with the more faceted, somewhat more muscular forms and slightly grainy texture of the Berlin bronze. The highly polished reflective stone socle, which differs from the matte textured bronze base plate on the Berlin bronze, accords with the sleek character of the reduction.

The subject, slender and agile with a thick mop of hair, retains a joyous but precarious balance, his toes tensely gripping the surface of the ball. He looks to be no more than ten years old, with a childish softness to his body and a minimum of adolescent angularity. The play of line in the curving torso and extended, bent hands and arms is appealing, as is the summation of a fleeting moment in immediate time and human life. Comparison with the type of Renaissance bronzes that may have been among the sources for this design, statuettes of Fortune poised on the globe,



Fig. 1 Johannes Götz, *Boy Balancing on a Ball*, bronze, 1888, Berlin, Nationalgalerie

for example, brings out the greater stability and monumentality of the Renaissance compositions.¹⁰ But Götz's spatially complex design, with the young figure twisting and extending his limbs into the air to generate multiple enjoyable views, recalls both Renaissance and mannerist precedents. Nothing heralds his monumental and chilly *Achilles* of twenty-two years later, except perhaps the slender proportions and a quality of nervous energy.

The immediate inspiration for the bronze must have come from the work of Götz's employer and teacher Reinhold Begas. Götz modeled the *Boy Balancing* during the years when he was assisting Begas with production of the

Neptune Fountain, on which the figures include nude boys who struggle to keep their hold on the rocks as surging water threatens to sweep them off.¹¹ While Götz's boy is older and slimmer than Begas' plump and petulant putti, a kinship is likely.

Though aimed at a traditional taste, this bronze seems to have touched the imagination of a great early modernist. Picasso's *Young Acrobat on a Ball* of 1905 (Moscow, Pushkin Museum) is closely based on Götz's *Boy Balancing*.¹²

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Notes

1. Scientific Analysis Report submitted by Lisha Glinsman, NGA Scientific Research department (August 1986). Technical Examination Report submitted by Esther Chao and Shelley Sturman, NGA Object Conservation department (August 1996).

2. Letter from the donor, Dr. Dieter Erich Meyer, to Douglas Lewis dated 29 December 1975 (in NGA curatorial files). Dr. Meyer received the bronze as a gift from his father in 1939. He remembered having seen it in the family home since around 1933, when he was seven years old.

3. Einholz's catalogue entry in *Ethos und Pathos* 1990, 2: 113.

4. For the Nationalgalerie bronze, see Maaz 1992, 106, no. 43. The dimensions are 75 × 23 × 24 cm. The ball is 13.5 cm in diameter, compared to 4.5-cm. for the National Gallery ball. See letter from Bernhard Maaz to Douglas Lewis dated 26 August 1996, following examination of the National Gallery bronze during a visit to Washington (in NGA curatorial files).

5. *World's Columbian Exposition 1893. Official Catalogue, Part X, Art Galleries and Annexes. Department K. Fine Arts*, Chicago, 1893, 90, no. 46. *Columbische Weltausstellung in Chicago. Amtlicher Katalog der Ausstellung des Deutschen Reiches*, Berlin, 1893, 222, no. 5449. Götz also sent a bronze of *Girl Drawing Water* and a zinc cast of *Boy with a Hoop*.

6. Einholz's catalogue entry in *Ethos und Pathos* 1990, 2: 113; Aktiengesellschaft H. Gladenbeck u. Sohn, Abteilung B. *Werke aus der neueren Zeit und der Gegenwart*, Berlin, c. 1910 (first ed. 1905), B²⁷⁵, nos. 1934–1936, as *Kugelläufer (Balancierender Knabe)*. On the Gladenbeck family and casting firms, famous at the turn of the century for both public monuments and small-scale domestic bronzes, see Berger 1988, 22: 3496–3501; and 23: 3662–3666. For the Schaeffer and Walcker foundry, a competitor, see Berger 1988, 22: 3499.

7. Other known examples include a 50-cm. cast by Oscar Gladenbeck in a private collection (Einholz in *Ethos und Pathos* 1990, 2: 112–113); a 78-cm. version stamped "Akt. Ges. v. H. Gladenbeck u. Sohn-Berlin," numbered D3070, offered at *19th and 20th Century Sculpture*, Sotheby's, London, 23 November 1990, no. 322, and a version 23.4-cm. high offered at *Nineteenth Century Furniture, Sculpture, Porcelain and Decorative Objects*, Christie's East, New York, 24 May 1993, no. 24, which, like the National Gallery bronze, lacked a foundry mark.

The Christie's East bronze was reportedly inscribed "J. Götz fec. Berlin," which differs slightly from the inscription on the National Gallery piece. This variant inscription and the slightly smaller size measurement could, if accurate, indicate either that different models were used or that more than one foundry was offering reductions of *Boy Balancing*. Hermann Gladenbeck's son Oscar, caster of the bronze exhibited in *Ethos und Pathos* 1990, had inaugurated his own bronze-casting firm in 1904. This was one of several new

Gladenbeck firms created by family members after their 1892 expulsion, under accusation of financial mismanagement, from the Aktiengesellschaft founded by Hermann (Berger 1988, 2: 3662–3664). Conceivably more than one Gladenbeck firm had models of *Boy Balancing*. On the other hand, the base of veined brown marble with beveled top edges on the Christie's East example looks similar to that of the National Gallery bronze, suggesting that at least the mounting was undertaken by the same firm.

Another reduction described as 10 in. high [25.4 cm.] is illustrated as "On the Ball" in Harold Berman, *Bronzes. Sculptors & Founders. 1800–1930 [Abage Encyclopedia]*, 5 vols., Chicago, 1974–1981, 2 (1976), 263, no. 1912. It had a base similar in form to that of the National Gallery bronze, but apparently taller.

8. On the high quality of Gladenbeck workmanship, distinct from that of cheap, mass-produced bronzes, see Berger 1988, 2: 3664, 3666.

9. I am grateful to Bernhard Maaz of the Nationalgalerie, Berlin, for observations and suggestions concerning the differences between the full-size bronze and reductions during an examination of the Berlin bronze on 27 January 1992, and for reviewing this entry.

10. Einholz in *Ethos und Pathos* 1990, 2: 112, notes the classical antecedent of Fortuna imagery. For Renaissance bronze examples of a nude female Fortuna poised on the globe, see Hans R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten 15.–18. Jahrhundert*, Braunschweig, 1967, 142–143, figs. 161–162, (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, attributed to Danese Cattaneo; and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, a "Venus Marina" also attributed to Cattaneo but clearly of different origin); and Charles Avery's catalogue entries on four different versions of Fortune in *Giambologna*, 1978, 69–71. Perhaps also relevant for Götz was Girolamo da Carpi's painting of *Chance and Patience*, c. 1541 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden), with Chance portrayed as a young man balancing on a ball. See *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* [Exh. cat. NGA; MMA; Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.] Washington, 1986, 88–89, no. 23.

11. Maaz (1992, 106, no. 43) points out this connection. On Begas, see Sibylle Einholz, "Reinhold Begas und sein Kreis. Die situation der Berliner Bildhauerei in den 1890er Jahren," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins* 90: 3 (July 1994), 274–283; and Hannelore Hägele's entry in *Dictionary* 1996, 3: 497–499. For detailed illustrations of the *Neptune Fountain*, see Bloch and Grzimek 1994, pls. 280, 281. Even more relevant to the smooth rendering of childish anatomy and thick caps of hair is a Gladenbeck bronze of a detail of the *Neptune Fountain: Boy with a Crayfish*, by a Götz contemporary, Felix Goerling (b. 1860), after Begas, illustrated in Berger 1988, 1: 3499, fig. 5.

12. Richardson and McCully 1991, 346–347, 509n. 48. For the *Young Acrobat*, see also Picasso: *The Early Years 1892–1906*, Marilyn McCully, ed. [Exh. cat. NGA; MFA.] Washington, 1997, 247, cat. 125 (not in exhibition). Compare also the balancing boy in *Circus Family*, a Picasso drawing with watercolor of early 1905, in the Cone Collection, BMA (cat. 121). Whether Picasso saw the sculpture illustrated in an arts magazine or knew a bronze example is uncertain. I am grateful to Ursel Berger for independently suggesting a Picasso connection, and to Jeffrey Weiss for the Richardson reference.

References

- 1976 National Gallery of Art, *1975 Annual Report*: 28.
- 1991 Richardson and McCully: 346–347, 509n. 48, repro. 347.
- 1994 NGA: 103, repro.

Pierre-Eugène-Emile Hébert

1828–1893

ANATIVE PARISIAN, Hébert apparently lived and worked in the capital until his death. He studied sculpture privately, with his father Pierre (1804–1869) and Jean-Jacques Feuchère (1807–1852), both of whom pursued modestly successful careers in the Salon and as public sculptors beginning in the 1830s. Hébert learned extensively from their very divergent paths. Whereas Pierre Hébert, a laborer's son, trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Feuchère emerged within the art-bronze industry of his family, where he also prospered, providing various founders with models throughout his career. The latter was, in fact, one of the most masterful practitioners of the romantic anti-classical historical idiom, and particularly of the neo-medieval macabre: Feuchère is best known today for his sinuous figure of Satan, a serial bronze in various sizes. Emile Hébert is the able successor to both sculptors in all such categories.

Hébert began his Salon career during the Second Republic, with portrait busts of eminent sixteenth-century figures that were immediately purchased by the government. He then exhibited statuettes representing a variety of subjects—genre, classical mythologies, and the satanic. Well respected in official circles by the mid-1850s, Hébert was chosen, along with his father, to represent France in the Fine-Arts section of the 1855 Paris Universal Exposition. The state commissioned or acquired several of Hébert's works: a *Bacchus* for the Tuileries Palace (1866, present location unknown); personifications for the facade of the théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris; *The Oracle*, a marble relief (vestibule, Musée de Vienne, Isère); portrait-statues of great French writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as *Jean-François Regnard* (1880, facade, Hôtel de Ville, Paris) and *François Rabelais* (erected 1882, Quai Jeanne d'Arc, Chinon). Anne Pingeot discovered hitherto-unknown allegories by Hébert of anatomy and Etruscan art on the facade of the Nouveau Louvre (Pavillon Sully and between the Pavillons Daru and Denon, respectively, the latter signed and dated 1856). The sculptor showed regularly in the Salon until his death. Though he appears not to have had strong critical impact in Third-Republic exhibitions, the government of that time repeatedly chose Hébert's work to represent the nation internationally: His state-owned works appeared in the French Fine-Arts section of the 1873 Vienna Universal Exposition.

Thanks to Catherine Chevillot's unpublished research

on nineteenth-century French foundries, it emerges that Hébert's lifetime reputation instead rests heavily upon his prolific work for the art-bronze industry throughout his career. Unlike most entrepreneurial *animaliers* and Carpeaux, who cast and marketed their own works, Hébert produced models for edition in bronze, plaster, and terra cotta by other founders for at least thirty years. Though they frequently obtained reproduction rights, founders commonly identified Hébert as the sculptor in the catalogue and on the casts. He is recorded as providing models for a founder known only as E. Vittoz (a bronze *Mephistopheles*, for example); for another known only as E. Sévenier (a clock ornament of *Hide-and-Seek*, in addition to busts and groups); and for Auguste Gouge (*Oedipus and the Sphinx*, in bronze and plaster variants). Hébert's best-recorded and apparently longest-lived relationship, however, was with a founder today known only as G. Servant, whom the sculptor supplied with new models and variants of his Salon entries from the 1860s until Servant sold the business in 1882. Hébert's serial designs were thus seen and reviewed, possibly triggering orders at the founders' displays at the international exhibitions in London and on the continent through at least the 1870s. Nonetheless the studio sale after his death in 1893 reveals he retained reproduction rights and molds to many models, including his celebrated group *Et Toujours!! Et Jamais!!*

Known in various materials and sizes, *Et Toujours!! Et Jamais!!* remains Hébert's best-known work today. The plaster, shown in the Salon of 1859 (present location unknown), and the bronze, shown in the Salon of 1863 (possibly the 150-centimeter cast at the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence), riveted the critics of the time, including Charles Baudelaire. Its poetically enigmatic title, darkly erotic "Death and the Maiden" treatment, Hugoesque play on beauty and the grotesque, fluid, sinuous forms, and rippling textures reflect the mid-century romantic resurgence. Hébert, however, commanded a variety of modes. He was a superb modeler of the human form and of ornament, and manipulated both with great complexity, whether in monumental format or in small scale. Hébert's serial work especially reveals his modeling skill. His art bronzes range in subject from ancient mythologies—classical, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian—to contemporary athletes: boxers, rowers, champions. The sports

figures often display the florid neo-baroque realism of his architectural decoration; so too the humorous moral allegories such as *Ecole de filles* [Girls' School]. Hébert often adjusted his style to historical subject: severe neo-Greek handling in his *Thetis, Oracle*, and *Oedipus and the Sphinx*; and stylized and rigid neo-Egyptian handling in his busts of Rameses and Isis. Some of his most intriguing work is in this historicizing mode, which provides especially useful insights into nineteenth-century French orientalism. Models in this vein for the founder Servant often reflect the eclecticism of better-known orientalist works by other artists in sculpture, painting, and theater that display an arresting mix of styles and ornament. However, Hébert also produced compositions that are tantalizingly advertised in sales catalogues as "restitutions" of known museum pieces: two sizes of the so-called Trophonius bust from the "Musée Assyrien" (the newly formed Assyrian collection at the Louvre), for example. Though unknown today, such a model could be a freely interpretative caprice on a known fragment or an earnest reconstruction.

Hébert's frequently poetic approach to his Salon works, sophisticated historicism of his serial work, and evident familiarity with museum collections suggest he was deeply engaged in the contemporary world of learning. The life and career of this little-known sculptor invite serious future investigation.

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Bibliography

Lami 1914–1921, 3: 142–144.

Stump 1982.

1987.25.1

Amazon Preparing for Battle (Queen Antiope or Hippolyta?) or Armed Venus

Model c. 1860/1872; cast by 1882

Bronze, 65.3 × 40.6 × 26.6 (25¹¹/₁₆ × 16 × 10¹/₂)

Pepita Milmore Memorial Fund

Inscriptions

Incised, probably in the foundry model, on the top of the base near the left foot: EMILE HEBERT

Marks

Cold-stamped, on the rim of the base at rear: Servant's foundry cachet (fig. 1)

Technical Notes: The bronze was hollow-cast, probably by the sand-casting technique, in at least four pieces and then assem-

bled by brazing, except for the bow-string, which was joined with metal pins. The underside of the self-base bears residue of foundry sand. The pedestal and self-base appear to be coeval with the figure. Analysis of the surface of the metal by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) indicates that the alloy is: 86% copper, 10% zinc, 3% tin, and less than 1% iron and lead, respectively. The large amount of cast-through hatched tooling suggests it was cast from a bronze foundry model with extensive cold-work. The surface has been highly finished in order to remove most casting flaws, though minute pits remain in the recesses of the seated woman's hair, and to create elaborate tooled patterns: emphatic cross-hatching in the robe and helmet; a burnished effect in skin areas through hatching; and mechanical faceting in the hair, possibly from punch tooling. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze to produce black, wiped only to remain in the recesses, then an overall coat to produce translucent brown. Varnish was probably applied selectively to particular areas of the work, for example in the hair. The surface bears superficial abrasions in the right elbow of the figure and along the self-base. The underside of the self-base has green copper corrosion products that may derive from residues of metal cleaning compounds applied prior to its acquisition by the National Gallery of Art.

Provenance: Private collection, New York, by early 1987; (Pegasus Fine Arts, New York, by May 1987).¹

THE NATIONAL GALLERY figure has no known monumental prototype by Hébert, and may be among those that the sculptor produced exclusively as a small-scale serial bronze.

Unlike many such works by Hébert, this figure lacks a titular inscription, and its precise subject matter is not immediately obvious. It can, however, be broadly linked to various themes. Within the vast array of classicizing female figures produced into the twentieth century, Hébert's figure represents a subject that gained special prominence in nineteenth-century art: women with often lethal power through wile (Lilith, Judith, Lucrezia Borgia, and Bianca Capello) or supernatural skills (Circe, Medea, the Delphic Pythia, and Medusa).² The National Gallery figure belongs to an iconographic group that adds physical prowess to those compelling attributes: the woman warrior, as belligerent and deadly able as her male counterpart, and doubly threatening for her seductive beauty and often inaccessible sexuality, a type that captivated the postclassic imagination as a crossover into the male domain.³ Most of these subjects derive from Asian and classical mythology, androgynes who originally embodied visions either of lost cosmic unity⁴ or of early phases of evolving life.⁵ The best known today, and most ubiquitous at any time, are Athena, Diana, and the



Fig. 1 detail of 1987.25.1



Pierre-Eugène-Emile Hébert, *Amazon Preparing for Battle (Queen Antiope or Hippolyta?) or Armed Venus*, 1987.25.1



1987.25.1

Amazons. Nineteenth-century Europe proved unusually fertile ground for these themes. Strife-ridden since 1789, France in particular promoted icons of patriotic combat that featured classical goddesses and its own national heroines and personifications stridently at war: Victories, Bellona, Marianne, Liberty, Joan of Arc, and Jeanne Hachette. One famous example of such an image is Rodin's *La France* (see p. 397). Eugène Delacroix's painting of the Revolution of 1830, *Liberty Leading the People* (1830–1831, Musée du Louvre, Paris), and François Rude's architectural relief of the so-called *Marseillaise* (1833–1836, Arc de Triomphe, Place de l'Etoile, Paris), are the most famous.⁶ Rodin's *Bellona* and *La Défense*, known through many variants, and Fremiet's equestrian of Joan of Arc (1872–1899, Place des Pyramides, Paris, and Benjamin Franklin Parkway, Philadelphia) count within that tradition as well.⁷

The specific action represented in the National Gallery bronze emphasizes that Hébert's woman *fights*—she is no mere symbol or muse to men. It has a uniquely complementary iconographic framework, a classical sculptural type showing males preparing their bows for action, based on a lost bronze attributed to Lyssippos of the nude Eros with his bow. Widely disseminated in later copies, the legendary statue generated many variations, especially in France. Lyrical *reprises* of the Eros theme in the eighteenth century, such as the figure by Edme Bouchardon,⁸ are the most famous, but heroic counterparts emerged in France at the same time. One example is a celebrated academic *morceau de réception* of 1715 that was serialized in bronze into the nineteenth century: Jacques Bousseau's *Soldier Bending His Bow* (fig. 2).⁹



Fig. 2 Jacques Bousseau, *Soldat Bendant son Arc*, marble, 1715, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MR 1766, Photo RMN



Fig. 3 Pierre-Eugène-Emile Hébert, *Bust of Semiramis*, bronze, model c. 1874, private collection, reproduced by permission of Christie's Images, London

The precise subject of this little-known model has been debated at length since the present cast appeared on the market. Other bronzes have been identified as representing Diana the huntress;¹⁰ the National Gallery figure was initially offered as an Athena.¹¹ Based on its apparent narrative and orientalizing helmet, like that on Hébert's bust inscribed "Semiramis" (fig. 3), Douglas Lewis proposed the title, upon acquisition of the figure by the National Gallery, as *Semiramis Called to Arms*, by linking it to an anecdote surrounding that character.¹² The story presents Semiramis as the legendary queen of the Assyrian empire who interrupted her toilette to quell an insurgency in Babylon, a city that she founded and built.¹³ The characterization of Semiramis as warrior-queen, which stresses her despotism alongside her beauty and militancy, appeared in many history paintings during and after the seventeenth century, and many later portrayals of Semiramis in Enlightenment studies of sovereignty.¹⁴ Despite the public fascination with Assyria in the mid-nineteenth century, after the discovery in the 1840s of sites previously known only through texts,¹⁵ Semiramis appears only rarely in art of that period, and in other guises than that suggested by the National Gallery bronze. Edgar Degas' painting *Semiramis Building Babylon* (c. 1860–1862, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) presents her as the celebrated founder of great cities, for some the enchanted antidote to Napoleon III and his controversial rebuilding of Paris as a modern imperial capital.¹⁶

Hébert's bust of *Semiramis* is the only such subject currently known among nineteenth-century French sculptural works, beyond Dantan *jeune*'s sketch of diva Adelaide Kemble in the operatic role of the formidable queen (present

location unknown).¹⁷ The bust suggests Hébert's close familiarity with the subject, as it combines elements of the myths, historical accounts, and material culture surrounding Semiramis and Assyria. It represents her miraculous apotheosis as a dove, the bird that, in many related myths, nurtured her as an infant and became her mythological attribute as Astarte and, later, as Venus.¹⁸ Described as the deified queen of Assyria in the Salon catalogue, the bust may present her historical dimension through the reliefs on the base that depict the famous colossal Assyrian gate guardians (winged man-headed bulls), reference perhaps to her guise as builder.¹⁹ The bust otherwise develops Semiramis' story in a medley of idioms. Her naturalistic body, classically draped and rendered in a distinctly unhieratic swoon, is Assyrianized through vaguely Semitic modern features and archaeologically evocative tight corkscrew curls and elaborate ear ornaments.²⁰

By contrast, the National Gallery bronze only broadly relates to the warrior-queen in earlier history painting and, unlike the bust, reflects few extant Assyrian objects beyond the helmet's distant resemblance to examples in the Khorabad battle reliefs.²¹ The figure instead suggests classical types but with deliberately orientalizing details. It especially recalls the most familiar formula for the Amazon, most commonly known as a race that inhabited the Black Sea territory and conquered all Asia Minor: the athletic body; unbound wavy hair; belted short chiton attached at one shoulder; and the Phrygian-type headgear.²² Nineteenth-century sculptural images of Amazons standardly follow this type (fig. 4).²³ Scholars have noted other attributes that link the National Gallery bronze to classical Amazons. Myers and Jentoft-Nilsen²⁴ independently point to the distinctive pelta on the rear (fig. 5), one of the shield types to appear frequently in canonical images of Amazons, like the



Fig. 4 August Kiss, *The Amazon*, bronze, 1837–1841, Berlin, Altes Museum, photograph courtesy of the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Deutsches Dokumentationszentrum für Kunstgeschichte, Philipps-Universität, Marburg



Fig. 5 *Equestrian Armed Amazon*, volute krater, Greek, 4th century B.C., Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, H 3253

Mattei Amazon (Musei Vaticani, Rome).²⁵ Jentoft-Nilsen further asserts that Amazons are often represented on vase paintings with crested helmets similar to the one on the National Gallery figure, in order to associate them with Asia Minor.²⁶ Indeed Hébert's figure more richly reflects images of the Amazon in small-scale classical works as opposed to those in monumental sculpture: the generally dynamic pose and abundant detail (clothed chest, decorated girdle, boots, and the raised decorated cheekpieces on the helmet that suggest wings).²⁷ Jentoft-Nilsen also notes the medalion belt and the lion pelt draped under the National Gallery figure, wondering if they reflect the story of Herakles, in particular his ninth Labor, to obtain the girdle of the Amazon queen called, among other names, Hippolyta, Antiope, Andromache, or Melanippe.²⁸ In some accounts and in a large proportion of the classical imagery, Herakles and his allies successfully wage war against the Amazons for the girdle, either killing the queen in the process or obliging her to surrender it as ransom. Unlike the lion skin, however, a key attribute for Herakles as trophy of his victory against the Nemean lion, the Amazon girdle seems to have few distinctive features. Described by Euripides as being made of gold, it is sometimes represented in classical images as thicker than the narrow decorated belt normally shown on Amazons. The action surrounding it is often the primary means of identifying the trophy girdle.²⁹ So too with the queen. When the narrative does not single her out (in this episode, the ritual surrender or Herakles removing the girdle from her corpse), she is most often distinguished from other elaborately armored battling Amazons by inscription.³⁰ If Hébert's figure renders this subject, it accurately reflects the generic classical type of the fighting Amazon queen, though the specific action of preparing her bow is untraditional. The lion skin alone separates this militant image from non-specific Amazon battle scenes as the Heraklean episode.

Though highly speculative, the identification is persuasive, given the attributes here. Single-figure, iconic images are known to suggest the combat of Herakles and the Amazon queen purely through select attributes. One famous

Roman example is the ideal portrait of Commodus as Herakles (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome) in which the bust of the bearded emperor, nude but for the lion-pelt hooded cape, is supported by a trophy with the Amazon shield and a kneeling statuette of a booted Amazon in a short chiton.³¹

Hébert's recorded oeuvre does not list either an Amazon or a Hippolyta, as contemporary French sources often identify Herakles' foe. However, an "Antiope" listed in Servant's liquidation-sale catalogue of 1882 might refer to the Amazon queen rather than to Jupiter's lover, since no known models otherwise correspond to that title.³²

Another possibility that more closely relates to the Hébert documents, but is more remote iconographically, is that this bronze reflects a "figure" of a "*Vénus armée*" [Armed Venus] by Hébert that is listed repeatedly among the models exhibited and sold by the founder of the National Gallery bronze, Servant, along with casts of the sculptor's bust of Semiramis.³³ No detailed description of it has been found to date, however. This title invokes a guise of Venus that is uncommon in postclassic art but, like the Amazon, reflects a classical type with strong Asiatic roots.³⁴ The militant Venus, an aspect worshiped particularly in Cyprus, Sparta, Corinth, and Cythera, is the hellenized Phoenician Astarte, presented in nineteenth-century philological and popular sources as a form of Ishtar, the androgyne who fuses the sexual attributes of the *magna mater* and the warlike and athletic character of male divinities—and who is, as mentioned earlier, a mythological source for, or guise of, the Assyrian Semiramis.³⁵ The Asiatic warrior Amazon might provide a congenial art-historical vehicle for such a subject that has no familiar prototype in Western art. If this figure represents an armed Venus, the medallion belt might be interpreted as her famed girdle. Whatever the truth here, the iconography of this bronze and Hébert's recorded offering of an armed Venus reflect the broad-reaching syncretism that binds this androgynous group, according to nineteenth-century scholars. For them Semiramis-Venus-Ishtar was a seminal prototype for Herakles' cross-dressing dominatrix Omphale, the huntress Procris, and the Amazons.³⁶

The classical quality of the National Gallery bronze is more emphatic in the decorative framework for another cast, atop the mantelpiece clock seen at right in Edward L. Henry's (1841–1919) painting of a contemporary interior (fig. 6). For all its orientalizing motifs (striding lions), the ornamental and figural motifs suggest a neo-Greek mode for the garniture.³⁷

Henry's interior is significant for the chronology of Hébert's figure, since few other benchmarks are currently available. The painting is dated 1872, suggesting not only that the model existed, but that it was actively edited by that time.³⁸

Lewis dates the model for the National Gallery figure to the early 1850s. He argues that its precise neo-Greek handling resembles the works of James Pradier, who died in 1852, and that similar subjects (Amazons) count among



Fig. 6 Edward Lamson Henry, *Parlor on Brooklyn Heights of Mr. and Mrs. John Bullard*, oil on panel, 1872, Manoogian Collection

Hébert's late master Feuchère's works sold in the studio sale of 1853.³⁹ The National Gallery bronze more closely recalls Hébert's own models from the late 1850s through the 1860s. The spiraling, slender, firm-bodied figure and liquid handling can be seen in his celebrated *Et Toujours!! Et Jamais!!* (fig. 7), first shown in the Salon of 1859. However, the face of the National Gallery figure is more severe, with its smooth forehead, narrow but full mouth, and long straight nose, like that of his archaizing *Thetis*, and his neo-Egyptian bust of Isis, the latter signed and dated on the model 1867, and both bearing Servant's "Médaille d'Or 1867" cachet.⁴⁰

In broader stylistic terms, the National Gallery figure reflects the second wave of romanticism that fused energetic naturalism with detailed, though not overly fussy ornamentation. Its proximity, both in subject and handling, to Carpeaux's allegorical woman warrior, *Valenciennes Defending the Nation in 1793* (1868–1870, gilt bronze; Hôtel de Ville, Valenciennes), emphasizes the close links between Hébert's figure and the most famous works in that vein.⁴¹ Hébert demonstrates his skill at modeling and anatomy in the figure's serpentine torsion and the counterpoint of tense pressure in the right limbs and confident stability in the left; such features brought praise to the celebrated bow-preparation subjects from Lyssippos to Bousseau.

The Servant cast of this complex form capitalizes on the ductility of bronze in registering the range of sinuous forms, fluid folds, and crisp contours and details of Hébert's model. The bronze celebrates metal as artistic matter, and metalwork as a multi-faceted craft and artifact. It emphasizes the final phases of the process: The dynamism of raw molten metal disappears before the extraordinary prominence given to coldwork. The nuanced burnishing in the skin contrasts with the emphatic faceting in the hair and the deep, precise cross-hatching in the tunic and helmet deco-



Fig. 7 Pierre-Eugène-Emile Hébert, *Et Toujours! Et Jamais!*, bronze, 1863, Lawrence, Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Friends of the Art Museum Fund

ration (notably the outer faces of the lifted cheekpieces). The patina highlights the intrinsically warm tones of the alloy. Its modulated browns and blacks and glossy translucence reveal the high degree of finish and the contrasting surface treatments that capture and play with light in various ways.⁴²

Little is known about the founder G. Servant, whose mark (fig. 1), standardly misread as “C S,” “G & S,” or “C O S,” is identified here for the first time. He was a manufacturer of art bronzes and decorative objects at 137 rue Vieille-du-Temple, Paris, who regularly represented France in the industrial-arts section of international exhibitions beginning in the 1860s.⁴³ Servant drew considerable attention when awarded a gold medal at the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition, where the official reporters singled him out as one

of the two finest new foundries to distinguish themselves that year.⁴⁴ He subsequently served as a member of the admission and installation jury, and as the official reporter for art bronzes at the 1878 Paris Universal Exposition.⁴⁵ The marks on other casts of this model are not recorded.⁴⁶ Servant is the only documented founder for Hébert’s *Antiope* and *Armed Venus*, though others could have acquired both the models and their reproduction rights when Servant quit the business in 1882. His liquidation-sale catalogue (1882) lists two versions of *Antiope*, though how they varied is unclear, and only one of *Armed Venus*, suggesting that the latter model came only in one size and iconographic version. The National Gallery bronze does not bear the “Médaille d’Or 1867” cachet, which, common sense suggests, might have been applied only to casts executed after the award was officially announced in mid-1867, indicating that it might have been produced before the Universal Exposition.⁴⁷ Other known casts of the figure reveal it was given different mounts, perhaps upon direct order from the patron. A cast recently sold at auction, for example, lacks the bottom self-base.⁴⁸ Actual examples of the design in Henry’s painting of the Bullard parlor (fig. 6) are not known.

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Notes

1. Dealer’s information sheet (in NGA curatorial files).
2. For discussions of this subject and nineteenth-century artists who represented it, see Auerbach 1983; Rosenblum and Janson 1984, 313; and Dijkstra 1986, particularly pp. 304–401.
3. Historical accounts suggest a comparable fascination and possible respect for actual women in that guise. Fighting women were reportedly admired in eighteenth-century England: Several became famous when unmasked after prolonged active military combat disguised as males. A French tourist observed aristocrats and laborers alike watching a bloody sword fight between women in a public arena. The encounter ended only when one was seriously wounded, after being repeatedly stitched up on stage for lesser cuts and fortified with spirits before resuming the contest. Not only did observers bet heavily on the outcome, but they showered both combatants with coins for their performance. Though the latter examples suggest a titillating voyeurism, Jarrett 1974, 138–140, presents them to argue that eighteenth-century English working classes respected courage in a woman as much as in a man.
4. Lenormant 1873, 43–44. Douglas Lewis located this important philological source.
5. DuBois 1982.
6. Rosenblum and Janson 1984, 208, pl. 20, fig. 172. Others are visible in Meissonier’s *Siege of Paris* (Rosenblum and Janson 1984, 327, fig. 270). For the role of women warrior images after 1870, see Imbert 1989b. Nochlin 1992 proposes that such images are made less threatening to men by emphasizing the represented women’s otherness (allegories alongside “real” men) or their reassuringly domestic drives (protecting their children or territory in the absence of men). Hébert’s armed warrior seems to lack comparable safety valves. Pamela Jean Warner brought this source to my attention.
7. Rosenblum and Janson 1984, 467, fig. 362. For Rodin’s *La Défense*, see p. 84, fig. 2.
8. NGA 1994, 32, repro.
9. The link between the Hébert and Bousseau figures was made by the late Joseph J. Wade; object information sheet, Pegasus Fine Arts (in NGA curatorial files). For Bousseau, see Lami 1910–1911, 1:

122, Documentations du Département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre (Dossier Bousseau-Soldat bandant son arc).

10. *European Works of Art, Sculpture, Furniture and Carpets*, Christie's, South Kensington, 3 July 1991, no. 37, repro. My thanks to Donald Myers for drawing my attention to this cast.

11. Dealer's information sheet (in NGA curatorial files).

12. Douglas Lewis, memorandum of 4 May 1987 (in NGA curatorial files).

13. The subject derives primarily from Valerius Maximus' account of this famous queen and of a monument that she allegedly erected in Babylon, representing her in that guise. The most extensive discussion of the historical literature is Lenormant 1873.

14. For the art-historical tradition, see Pigler 1974, 2: 341; 3: pls. 4, 286 (in NGA curatorial files). For discussions of the most celebrated eighteenth-century treatments, see Bailbé 1983. See also Mercier 1784–1785. Voltaire and Crébillon each wrote a tragedy about Semiramis, among their various works about Mesopotamian sovereigns.

15. French and English excavations uncovered the ruins of Khorsabad and Nimrud in their search for Nineveh; the public imagination was captured and held by a flood of descriptions and illustrated books, and finally, by the extraordinary sculpture and objects that were soon on view at the British Museum and the Louvre. For a recent wide-ranging discussion of the discoveries and their impact, see the various essays in Fontan and Chevalier 1994. Many nineteenth-century viewers interpreted this excavated world as biblical epiphany, revelation of their deepest Judeo-Christian roots: That region was the home of the patriarch Abraham himself and therefore more significant even than Moses' Egypt (Layard and Botta 1851, 38). Gustave Doré's illustrations of the Bible published in 1865 include architectural elements from the site to emphasize the biblical link. See the brief discussion in Bohrer 1994, 251. Until the German excavations of the early twentieth century, little distinction was made between Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian material.

16. McMullen 1984, 95–96; Loyrette 1988, 92, color repro. Along those lines, ancient Assyria had a very current political meaning in the nineteenth century. Its historical importance and stunning material culture provided a new cultural idiom—so different from Alexandrian or Roman examples—for European visions of modern empire, revived in France under Napoleon III. See, for example, Musée Assyrien 1850. There, the republican journal *Le Charivari* treats the newly opened museum at the Louvre (then a cluster of specialized museums housed in the former royal palace) as an archaeological metaphor of despotic monarchy first for Louis-Philippe and then for Louis-Napoleon, whose imperial ambitions were often discussed while he was Prince-Président of the Republic. For a general discussion of Louis-Napoleon's ascent to the throne, see the entry for Daumier's *Ratapail* (see p. 189). The Assyrian museum was very popular, but its precise effect on contemporary art seems to be inconsistent. Loyrette 1988, 92n. 10, notes Degas' specific borrowings from the Louvre holdings for his *Semiramis* but justifiably argues that the painting has none of the archaeological accuracy sought in contemporary stage designs for the new Paris production of Gioacchino Rossini's earlier opera, *Semiramide*. For the latter, see Wild 1976, 21. Degas' "primitive," delicate forms and palette, shallow modeling, and the graceful sensibility of the horse, however, are as congenial with the refined sensibility of the Assyrian bas-reliefs as with that of Pre-Raphaelite and Italian Renaissance painting.

17. Lami 1914–1921, 2: 37.

18. Lenormant 1873, 7–8, 23, 27–30. For a recent discussion of the bust, see Nathalie Bondil's catalogue entry in Amsterdam 1996, 194, color repro.

19. For images of the figures' first appearance in Paris, see Fontan 1994, figs. 5, 8–9; for widely disseminated popular illustrations of them during that period, see Layard and Botta 1851, 120 and 128, repro.

20. See, for example, the head of King Sargon II (Musée du Louvre, Paris; Lackenbacher 1994, fig. 3). Hébert's free adaptation of

Assyrian motifs in his bust suggests French sculptors and founders were interested in this archaeological material as an artistic source for their own models, a prospect that is tantalizingly confirmed in lost recorded works by Hébert and Servant mentioned in Hébert's biography in this volume. It invites rethinking the recently expressed view that French industrial or decorative arts were never affected by the well-known state and public support in France for the Assyrian discoveries. See Rudoe 1994, 272.

21. See particularly the crested helmets illustrated in Layard and Botta 1851, 147 (kneeling soldier at right) and 211 (helmet at lower left). My thanks to Ann Kuttner for her help with ancient armor.

22. For a philological study of the Amazons, see Pauly-Wisowa, 1/2: 1754–1789, s.v. "Amazones"; and Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981.

23. James Pradier's *Amazon*, a monumental iron equestrian formerly at the entrance of the old Cirque d'été, Champs-Élysée, Paris (1840–1841, present location unknown; replica of 1852, facade of the Cirque d'hiver, place Pasdeloup, Paris) also bears the light boots. See Geneva 1985, 388, repro. Both the pose and flapped boots recall fighting Amazons on the west pediment of the Temple of Asklepios (National Museum of Epidaurus, Athens). See Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 1/2: pl. 492, no. 421(a). For a list of recorded Amazon subjects in nineteenth-century French sculpture (about twenty-two in number), see Janson and Herschman 1983, 7.

24. Donald Myers, memoranda of 22 May 1987 and 24 August 1988; Letter, from Marit Jentoft-Nilsen to the author dated 31 July 1995 (both in NGA curatorial files).

25. Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 1/2: pl. 508, no. 605.

26. Letter, from Jentoft-Nilsen to the author dated 31 July 1995. Hébert's crest design and basic helmet shape are similar to late fourth-century Phrygian-type Northern Greek helmets in Southern Italy (Tomb 10, Conversano, Puglia; now at the Museo Archeologico, Bari). See de Juliis 1988, fig. 43. Jentoft-Nilsen directed me to this source. The helmet type typically bears, in addition to the hinged cheekpieces, separate volutes to secure the missing visor that suggests wings when raised.

27. An example of this type is a volute krater depicting an equestrian armed Amazon (Museo Nazionale, Naples, H 3253), illustrated in Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 1/2, pl. 489, no. 384.

28. Letter, from Jentoft-Nilsen to the author dated 31 July 1995; and Boardman 1981, 6/1: 71.

29. Boardman 1981, 6/1: 71. For an example of an image showing both the trophy girdle and the belt standardly worn by the Amazons, see the surrender of the girdle to Herakles in Boardman 1981, 6/2: pl. 84, no. 2461; and Devambez and Kauffman-Samaras 1981, 1/2, pl. 523, no. 778(a). Other images of the belt worn by the fighting Amazon are in Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 1/2: pl. 452, no. 92(d); the aforementioned pl. 465, no. 186; and pl. 486, no. 370, where the belt has hooked motifs like the helmet crest.

30. For an image identifying Queen Hippolyta by inscription among armored Amazons, see Devambez and Kauffman-Samaras 1981, 1/2: pl. 471, no. 240.

31. Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 1/2: pl. 522, no. 776. The girdle is apparently absent from the trophy elements.

32. Servant 1882, nos. 111–112. The model is identified as a group, however. The definition of that format is unclear or inconsistent. A model entitled *Fil de la Vierge* in the same catalogue (nos. 119–120), likewise called a group there, is in fact a single figure seated on a tree trunk (Berman 1974–1980, 4: no. 4034, repro.). The full title is incised on the plinth.

33. Falize 1878 [in his discussion of the offerings of "l'habile bronzier" Servant]: "... une Vénus armée toute pleine de séductions, et surtout une Sémiramis dont on peut voir ici une fine et exacte reproduction." Also Servant 1882: "Figure Vénus Armée. Emile Hébert, sculpteur" (no. 91); and his "Buste, Semiramis" in three sizes, nos. 245–247. Catherine Chevillot provided this catalogue.

34. Lenormant 1873, 43, 48–49.
35. Lenormant 1873, 41–68; Larousse 1866–1879, 1/2: 823, s.v. “Astarté”; Hammond and Scullard 1970, 80–81, s.v. “Aphrodite”; *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica*, 1958–1966, 1: 749–750, s.v. “Astarte”; 4: 232–235, s.v. “Ishtar.”
36. Lenormant 1873, 57–59.
37. Donald Myers brought this painting to my attention. He also suggests the affinities of the plaques on the clock with Barye’s striding-lion reliefs. See the discussion of these images in the entry for Barye’s *Lion of the Colonne de Juillet* (see p. 22). For a neo-Greek decorative work of the period, see the *torchères*, dated c. 1862, by the *bronzier* Charpentier, based on models by Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse (Suzanne Lindsay’s catalogue entry in Philadelphia 1978, 219, repro.). The Bullard garniture seems less eclectic than certain English designs of the time that are associated with the Assyrian fashion. Some designs place Egyptian motifs on Greek shapes decorated with Assyrian forms and figures, including a queenly woman, a motif then considered distinctly absent in Assyrian but not in Egyptian art. See the garniture set illustrated in Fontan and Chevalier 1994, 241–242.
38. The signature is at lower left, in a light red pigment similar to that used elsewhere on the canvas, suggesting it is authentic. The only published source to cite the inscription is Shreveport 1987, 16, repro. Ronald J. Burch directed my attention to this reference and provided a photocopy of the catalogue entry, among his various contributions to this research. The standard source on this painting is McCausland 1945, no. 98. For a recent discussion of the painting, see Sarah Townsend Hufford’s catalogue entry in Manoogian 1989, no. 28.
39. Douglas Lewis, memorandum of 4 May 1987 (in NGA curatorial files).
40. For *Thetis*, see Berman 1974, 4: no. 4186, repro.; for *Isis*, see Sotheby’s 1994, no. 38, color repro. Servant offered the pendant to Hébert’s *Isis—Ramses*—until he liquidated in 1882. See Servant 1882, nos. 252–253, in addition to plaster casts of the pair from “unexecuted” marbles, nos. 254–255. For an ormolu-like Servant cast of *Ramses*, see Sotheby’s 1989, no. 334, color repro.
41. Rheims 1977, 102, fig. 5.
42. For a different approach to sand-cast bronzes, see my discussion of Barye’s *Two Bears Wrestling* (pp. 18–21).
43. If not a close relation, he may be the same founder as the only Servant listed in Metman 1989, 210: “Servant fils” and “J. Devay,” at the same address through the 1850s and early 1860s. According to Metman, this partnership produced “candelabras, cups, bronze statuettes” as well, obtained an honorable mention at the 1855 Paris Universal Exposition, and exported 40% of its production in 1862 (the year of the second London Universal Exposition). Servant showed typical categories of art bronzes and decorative objects in 1867 (Paris 1867, 28): “Bronzes d’art, pendules, candélabres, statuettes, coupes et objets de fantaisie.” Unfortunately, individual works are not usually itemized in industrial-arts entries and must be gleaned from published images and descriptions in the critical reviews and reports.
44. Bardelieue 1867, 296.
45. Servant 1878, 1.
46. This cast was thought to be unmarked until the cachet, which measures about 1 cm. in height, emerged under magnification.
47. Awards 1867, 40.
48. Christie’s 1991, no. 37 repro.

References

1994 NGA: 107, repro.

Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier

1815–1891

MEISSONIER is best known today as a painter, as he was during his lifetime, when he enjoyed international prominence and every mark of professional recognition in France. He moved at an early age from Lyons to Paris, where his father's success in business provided the artist with material ease for the rest of his life. After a brief apprenticeship in the pharmaceutical business, undertaken to please his father, he opted for a career in the arts—with his father's active support. Meissonier began his formal studies with an obscure drawing master at a women's academy, Jules Potier (dates unknown), who took him to Cogniet's studio, where he worked for about four months and saw the master only twice. Meissonier learned engraving and aquatint at this time as well. By the mid-1830s, he earned a good livelihood as a book illustrator with Tony Johannot. Simultaneously, influenced by seventeenth-century Northern genre and contemporary historical genre painting, he began painting small-scale scenes of typical life set in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He made his Salon debut with the latter in 1834, notably a painting called *Flemish Burghers* (now entitled *Dutch Burghers*, Wallace Collection, London), that was purchased from the exhibition by a progressive industrialist and collector named Jacques Paturle. Showing regularly in the July Monarchy Salons, he quickly became known for his masterful draftsmanship and scrupulous attention to detail and authenticity, amassing his own "work library" of accessories at the local costume markets.

Meissonier determined to become the modern van der Meulen (Adam Frans van der Meulen, the prestigious military painter to Louis XIV), and shifted from historical genre to images of modern warfare and military life as both "high" history painting and genre. His passion for military affairs culminated, in 1859, in an imperial commission for an illustrated book on the current Solferino campaign, with a text by Edmond Texier of *Le Siècle*. His representation of contemporary military subjects expanded to include earlier Napoleonic subjects. Meissonier's career prospered despite the fall of his imperial patron in 1870. A staunch nationalist who fought in the Franco-Prussian War and was deeply upset by his country's defeat, he pursued the Napoleonic imagery in part to remind his compatriots of France's proven military glory. Such works were nonetheless in

great demand abroad as well. By the time of his death, Meissonier's paintings and prints could be found throughout Europe and the United States. He was also a recognized power in the art world: He had served on Salon and Universal Exposition juries, been elected to the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1861, served as president of the Institut de France and later of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, and received an elaborate academicians' funeral at the Madeleine in Paris. Meissonier's extravagant spending, particularly on the house he built in Paris, however, left his heirs heavily in debt.

By contrast with his painting and printmaking, the artist's sculptural activity was unfamiliar to most connoisseurs during his lifetime. It was also apparently secondary, private, and mostly small in scale. Little is known about his formal training in the medium. Meissonier claims that in the 1830s he and Johannot had a "mania for modeling each other's heads"—a plaster life mask of Meissonier dated 1834 survives today in a private collection—and he reportedly executed a portrait head of their employer, publisher Henri-Léon Curmer. His documented oeuvre is otherwise limited to around twenty waxes or works in plastic clay (*pâte plastique grise*), none of which is known to have been shown or sold during his lifetime. Aside from the figural caryatids for his studio fireplace in the Paris house (and related studies), the waxes appear to have been produced largely as research tools for his two-dimensional work—or as subsequent spin-offs. It helped his approach to painting, which he described as that of "a sculptor, always seeking the *relief*," the internal topography rather than the contours. He claimed to enjoy modeling for its special quality as "direct creation." The chronology of his sculptural activity is unclear. Many scholars feel it is largely restricted to the Third Republic—from the 1870s to his death. However, Philippe Burty remembered that, upon a visit to Meissonier's vast country studio in 1862, it was "jammed with all sorts of sketches, with studies of horses modeled in clay." Photographs from the late 1860s, showing him beside a modeling stand with one such figure, confirm his work in that medium in the 1860s. Thiébaud-Sisson claims, however, that his and Daumier's sculptor friend Victor Geoffrey-Dechaume, directed Meissonier's work on some small study figures (*poupettes*) for a painting in 1848, *Lawn-Bowling Match* (present location unknown). Though not visible pub-

licly until after the artist's death, the three-dimensional works did shape his artistic reputation abroad during his lifetime. By 1879 American art journals reported he modeled small harnessed horses in wax as part of his extraordinary pursuit of authenticity. There has been some speculation that Meissonier supervised a serial edition in bronze of some of the waxes. The documentary evidence suggests instead that most known casts were produced posthumously by his heirs, perhaps to pay off the artist's debts.

Best known today for horses and equestrian groups, Meissonier's sculpture constitutes an important example of nineteenth-century French historical genre based upon scrupulous research, whether concerning issues of anatomy or of accessory. His pursuit of empirical truth was nonetheless allied with subtle aesthetic judgment and a lively narrative sense, giving these works their delicate animation, immediacy, and artistic strength.

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1980.44.10 (A-1839)

Horseman in a Storm

Model c. 1878; cast after 1894

Brass, (including self-base) 47.2 × 59.3 × 23.9

(18 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{7}{16}$)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Incised in model on left side of the self-base and heightened after casting: ∃ Meissonier

Marks

Cold-stamped behind horse's left rear hoof: 31

Foundry mark cold-stamped onto right rear of self-base: Siot-Decauville/fondeur/Paris

Technical Notes: The bronze was mostly hollow cast indirectly from a surviving wax model, probably by the lost-wax method.¹ The elements of the harness were made separately, possibly by hammering, and subsequently attached. Analysis of the surface by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals that the alloy is composed of about 82% copper, about 15% zinc, about 1% tin, about 2% lead, less than 1% iron, and traces of mercury. The absence of impurities in the alloy suggests refine-

ment of the copper, a process common in the late nineteenth century. The mercury revealed by XRF may be a constituent in the patinating solution. There is extensive cold-work: filing, probably to reduce flashing fins created during casting, on the inside of the horse's left ear, and throughout the horse's mane to heighten details. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze that produced a medium reddish-brown undercoat; a greenish-black, wiped so as to remain only in the recesses; a light to mid-green tone; and a deep reddish-brown overcoat. The bronze is in good condition, with no missing elements. The reins are slightly bent. As a result of poor adhesion between the layers, the patina is flaking or detached from the surface in places, with actual losses in the horse's hind quarters and hooves, the left side of its underbelly, the reins, and the collar and front of the cloak. Small areas of inactive copper-based corrosion productions are evident in certain places, such as the underside of the rider's left foot. Red deposits, possibly paint, are found on the rider's left boot. A filler material was added to join the soles of the boots to the stirrups, probably before the bronze entered the collection of the National Gallery, since no record of such treatment is on file in the Gallery's Object Conservation Lab.

Provenance: (M. R. Schweitzer Gallery, New York); sold 18 April 1966 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

Exhibited: Schweitzer Gallery, New York, 1966, as *Napoleon in Russia*.² NGA 1974, as *The Retreat from Moscow*.

THE TITLE for this bronze, a posthumous serial work, is the one given by Meissonier's major biographer, Gréard, for the wax from which it was cast (fig. 1).³ The sculpture is now more commonly known by the title under which it appeared in the artist's memorial exhibition of 1893, *The Traveller (Le Voyageur)*.⁴ Though Gréard gives no information on the subject, scholars generally agree that the wax served as a study piece for numerous two-dimensional works beginning in the late 1870s. Le Normand-Romain convincingly dates the model to 1878, the year Meissonier executed a closely related print, *A Gust of Wind (Coup de Vent)*, the first of a series of two-dimensional variants apparently based on the sculpture.⁵

Other titles have been given to this work over the last twenty years to suggest that Meissonier intended to represent a precise historical figure or narrative, as in his better-known military history paintings. Some were dealers' titles for their own bronzes for sale: In 1966, Schweitzer called this very cast *Napoleon in Russia* and, in 1973, Shepherd Gallery named another example *Marshal Ney or Retreat from Russia*.⁶ The cockaded tricorne and collared cape, used throughout the Western world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, are widely associated with the Napoleonic campaigns. However, most scholars now agree that the group is, as indicated by the earliest titles for the wax and the resulting two-dimensional images, a nonspecific military genre subject placed in that period: The modern, broad-featured face recalls no identifiable historical figure and the costume bears no obvious attribute of military rank.⁷

Meissonier's equestrian seems related to images of Napoleon's failed campaigns in its portrayal of the rider's phys-

ical vulnerability.⁸ For some modern observers this quality reflects the romantic heroic ideal of human frailty and overpowering nature.⁹ Like most of the artist's sculpture, the *Horseman* can also be associated with nineteenth-century French naturalism. Its focus upon the inglorious aspects of modern life, especially the daily hardships endured, recalls many examples in literature and painting.¹⁰ The subtle drama of *Horseman in a Storm* avoids the neoclassical or romantic sublime of hero mastering beast, of human combat, or, as in David's epic *Bonaparte Crossing the Great St. Bernard* (1801, Musée National du Château de Malmaison), of the hero's victory over obstructive nature in the metaphoric ascent up the rocky road of virtue. Its close kin, Daumier's painting entitled *Fugitives* (c. 1850, private collection, Montreal, on permanent loan to the National Gallery, London), with its anonymous riders leaning into the wind, their ragged cloaks billowing, makes Meissonnier's version seem emotionally muted against such epic tragedy.¹¹ This is the modern heroism of the mundane, which dwells on process rather than outcome. Meissonnier's horse and rider are a team that tensely pits its efforts against a shared natural enemy, the wind.

As an equestrian subject, the National Gallery bronze forms part of the extensive family of nineteenth-century genre equestrian statuettes. Most similarly portray social types, such as Barye's hunt scenes and later modern, historical, or ethnic equestrians.¹² The closest precedents, however, are the historical or contemporary military statuettes that Fremiet executed beginning in the early 1850s, with a comparable interest in natural truth or historical authenticity.¹³

Stylistically, Meissonnier's *Horseman* reflects both naturalist and romantic features. The unseen adversarial force, the wind, is invoked in myriad cues in the horse and rider: their forward thrust, the horse's backturned ears, whipped mane and tail, and the loose reins suggesting the constant pumping of the horse's neck and head as it struggles forward.¹⁴



Fig. 1 Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonnier, *Le Voyageur*, wax model, 1878, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, RF 3672, Photo RMN

The roughly modeled base bears hoofprints, perhaps to suggest a path recently taken by other horses through deep mud. The dominant iconographic element, however, is the cloak enveloping the rider and the rear half of the horse's body, which speaks more eloquently than the rider's impassive face. Its animation suggests the wind has penetrated the loosely fastened front, driving beyond to lift the heavy fabric into rigid, diagonal folds from the man's shoulder. The wind is made to seem relentlessly powerful by this treatment of the cloak, unlike that in a variant drawing, *Riders in the Wind* (c. 1879, present location unknown), in which the wind merely plays with the hem, leaving the upper part tightly wrapped around the rider's body.¹⁵ There are subtle details of the *Horseman's* configuration, however, that formally link the human and horse. The cloak's 45-degree lift continues the precise angle of the horse's forward-straining left legs. In addition, seen from the right side, the rear leg leads into the major fold, merging man and mount as a dynamic unit and emphasizing the difficulty of their mutual campaign against the wind.

In giving the undulating cloak such prominence, Meissonnier has utilized one of the most traditional and powerful expressive elements in three-dimensional art: drapery. Its dramatic force, rich plasticity, and varied chiaroscuro place this equestrian group within an important sculptural family. Broadly related to the billowing apparel on Greek "moving" figures—the Louvre's celebrated *Nike of Samothrace*, for example—the *Horseman's* cloak specifically recalls its counterpart whipping behind the running mourner in Niccolò dell'Arca's (1414–1494) lifesize *Lamentation* (c. 1485–1490, Santa Maria della Vite, Bologna).¹⁶ Within that lineage it anticipates the sculpture of Giacomo Manzù (1908–1991) and the work of modern American dancers such as Isadora Duncan and, particularly, Martha Graham. These twentieth-century artists deploy the varied expressive qualities of fabric over human forms in often dramatic positions or motion.¹⁷

As three-dimensional sculpture, Meissonnier's *Horseman in a Storm* successfully integrates internal surface interest and clear, animated contour.¹⁸ The form is asymmetrical, open, and simple. Generous, active space courses around the entire figure, including the evenly splayed horse's legs. The swelling forms of the cloak contrast with the muted, merely evocative handling of the rider and the horse's mane, tail, and musculature. Light moves in varied rhythms over this deceptively simple, delicate work.

Le Normand-Romain distinguishes the bronzes—in their molten romantic richness and material consistency—from the original wax, with its greater documentary value and the illusionism of the various "real" accessories.¹⁹ The original wax, used as a maquette to be studied from all angles,²⁰ is a hybrid form somewhere between an accessorized live model and a small-scale sculpture. Meissonnier's finished work demanded those qualities. The small scale of his paintings, claimed the artist, required the sharpest relief, which he developed in both its aesthetic and documentary aspects.²¹ The wax stresses realism in its accessories: The



Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonnier, *Horseman in a Storm*, 1980.44.10

cloak and saddle blanket are of real fabric, the reins of real leather, and the bit and stirrups of metal.²²

Its execution was a scrupulous study of scientific data. Recent X-radiography of the Orsay wax confirms what nineteenth-century chroniclers alleged, that Meissonier's equine armatures closely simulate equine bone structure.²³ He also took a known technique for realist religious effigies—draping carved figures with real fabric stiffened with glue into durable folds—to a more radical degree for authenticity: He exposed the glue-soaked miniature cloak to a heavy wind, to obtain “real” folds of windblown heavy fabric.²⁴ There has been recent speculation that the horse's walking pace may reflect Meissonier's known study of the revolutionary photographs of moving horses by Muybridge. However, the *Horseman* apparently pre-dates the artist's exposure to that corpus in 1881 and Meissonier incorporated their principles in his work only long after he first saw them, for maquettes of the galloping General Duroc (1891, wax; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons) in *The Morning of [the Battle of] Castiglione*, a painting of 1890–1891 (Musée de Moulins).²⁵

There are notable differences in the handling of the accessories between the serial bronzes and wax. The cloaks are dissimilar in that the emphatic texture of the wax model is absent in the bronzes. Furthermore, recent photographs reveal that the folds in the cloak on the wax vary not only from their arrangement in the bronzes, but also from that in the early photograph of the wax itself.²⁶ The cloak on the wax was reportedly reshaped during recent conservation treatment on the basis of related two-dimensional works.²⁷ The early photograph also shows very different saddle blankets and disposition of the reins from those on the bronzes or the current state of the wax. Such evidence suggests that the detachable “real” parts on the wax were repeatedly altered or replaced over time. It also suggests that the foundry model was accessorized with its own subdued saddle blanket and cast-in sections of the bridle and reins on the horse's head and body.²⁸ As with the original wax, the serial bronzes had their detached reins and stirrups added separately.

The history of its serialization has long been known, though without all relevant information.²⁹ The lost-wax edition of the *Horseman* formed part of a joint enterprise between dealer Georges Petit and founder Siot-Decauville, beginning in 1894, to cast the four waxes bequeathed by the artist to the children from his first marriage—his second wife inherited others cast by Bingen beginning the year before. Casts were available by 1895, when the Musées des Beaux-Arts in Lille and Bordeaux each purchased a full set of the four. The quantity of casts of the *Horseman* is unclear: The highest number currently known is thirty-two.³⁰

Aside from the Orsay wax and two-dimensional works already mentioned, several works on paper appear to be related to the project.³¹ No three-dimensional studies are known. The Siot-Decauville casts are the only serial bronzes documented to date. Casts appear commonly on the market. Besides the versions at Bordeaux and Lille (nos. 4 and 5, respectively), other museum collections that hold

Siot-Decauville casts are: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Reims (illegible, possibly no. 1); Napoleonmuseum Arenenberg, Salenstein, Switzerland (no. 2); Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington (no. 15); and David and Alfred Smart Gallery, Chicago (no. 23).³²

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Notes

1. Brian Ramer notes, as evidence of sand casting instead, residual sand on the underside of the base and a circular imprint on the girth strap that might be a core pin. The evidence revealed by X-radiography was not conclusive, though the two figures seem integrally cast. The first discussion of the edition is René Mauglas, “Siot-Decauville fondeur,” *Bulletin de l'Art dans l'Industrie, supplément de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1 June 1894), 1–8; cited in the most comprehensive account of this work, Le Normand-Romain 1985, particularly p. 130.

2. *Apollo*, n.s. 83, no. 50 (April 1966): xlv (repro.).

3. Gréard 1897, 394.

4. *Exposition Meissonier* [Exh. cat. Galerie Georges Petit, Paris.] (Paris, 1893), no. 837.

5. Le Normand-Romain 1985, 133.

6. Shepherd Gallery 1973, no. 28. Variant titles for casts now in museum collections are *Retreat of Marshal Ney* (Peter Fusco's catalogue entry in Los Angeles 1980, 301) and *Officer of the Empire in a Storm* (Hervé Oursel's catalogue entry in Lille 1982, 263).

7. Middleton 1981; Oursel in Lille 1982, 263 (see note 6) and Le Normand-Romain 1985, 133.

8. The most famous are Géricault's numerous images, such as his painting, *Wounded Cuirassier* of 1814 (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and lithograph, *The Return from Russia* of 1818. For a general discussion, see Honour 1979, 38–42.

9. Fusco in Los Angeles 1980, 301 (see note 6).

10. Meissonier explored the struggle against harsh winds in various paintings, by nonmilitary travelers as well, dating as early as the 1840s, such as *Horseman Crossing a Ford in a Storm*, 1845; cited in Middleton 1981, 3n. 10.

11. Ives, Stuffman, and Sonnabend 1992, 96, color repro.

12. Pivar 1974, nos. F 23–24, F 26, F 49–53, repro.; Rheims 1977, 296, figs. 19, 23–24, repro.

13. Lindsay, Pinget, and Rishel 1978, 206; Chevillot 1988, for example, 108–119, repro.

14. Middleton 1981, 7.

15. Le Normand-Romain 1985, fig. 12.

16. Janson 1963, figs. 181 and 513.

17. See especially Graham's costumes and choreography for *Episodes Part I, Alcestes, Clytemnestra, Tanagra, A Study in Lacquer, and Lamentation*. In Leabo 1962.

18. Middleton 1981, 6–8a.

19. Le Normand-Romain 1985, 131.

20. See its use for *Riders in the Storm*, mounted on a rotating modeling stand, seen from the left, with a second model behind, mounted at an angle (Le Normand-Romain 1985, fig. 11). Variant paintings such as *Traveller*, 1879 (Le Normand-Romain 1985, fig. 7) reflect frontal views of the sculptural model.

21. Gréard 1897, 208.

22. Le Normand-Romain 1985, 130n. 12.

23. Le Normand-Romain 1985, 133–134; Guilhem Scherf, “Etude historique: Le voyageur,” in Gaborit and Ligot 1987, 299.

24. The anecdote about Meissonier's creation of the folds by this method, from the Russian artist Vassili Verestchagin, is given in *Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, Masters of Art* (Boston, 1903), 27; cited in Middleton 1981, 6a. The procedure of using stiffened fabric on lifesize figures was apparently practiced in Spain during the nineteenth century; see Proske 1967, 155n. 236.

25. Gréard 1897, 210; Duhousset 1893, 196; Middleton 1981, 7n. 22; Le Normand-Romain 1985, 134; and Sayag 1993, 260.
26. See, for instance, Le Normand-Romain 1985, fig. 11.
27. Verbal communication via Daphne Barbour, associate conservator, Objects Conservation department, NGA.
28. Middleton 1981, 4a, 5a, noted some of these differences between the bronzes and wax.
29. Le Normand-Romain 1985, 130.
30. *Le Cortège des passions*. 1994. [Exh. cat. Galerie Univers du Bronze, Paris.] Paris, 1994: 12–13, color repro.

31. Two drawings (Cabinet des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, R.F. 2404, and a variant known only through old photographs) and watercolor entitled *Traveller*, known through an old photograph; in Le Normand-Romain 1985, figs. 6, 10, and 7, respectively.

32. This list is based in part on that of Le Normand-Romain's entry in Meissonier 1993, 250, no. 151.

References

1994 NGA: 149, repro.

Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié

1845–1916

MERCIÉ, A NATIVE of Toulouse, studied sculpture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris with François Jouffroy (1806–1882) and Alexandre Falguière (1831–1900). His Salon debut, with a modest portrait medallion of a young girl, took place the same year he won the Prix de Rome, 1868. The youth's *envois* immediately drew the honors normally accrued over time by an established artist, launching an exceptional career even for an Ecole-trained professional. When he showed his *David* in the Salon of 1872, Mercié was awarded the cross of the Légion d'Honneur and a first-class medal; his figure was purchased and cast in bronze for the prestigious national museum of living artists, the Musée du Luxembourg (now at the Musée d'Orsay, Paris). His next *envoi*, the *Gloria Victis*, created a sensation from the very moment it appeared in Rome, and was immediately acquired and executed in multiples, as memorials throughout France for the dead of the Franco-Prussian War.

As prolific as he was popular with the public and with patrons, Mercié was much in demand as a monumental sculptor. He executed architectural decoration, such as the *Genius of the Arts* (c. 1877, bronze relief; facade of the Palais du Louvre, Paris) and *Fame*, the colossal gilt-bronze figure for the dome of the Palais du Trocadéro, also Paris (1878). He decorated the tombs of some of the most eminent figures of his century: historian Jules Michelet (c. 1899, Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris); national president and historian Adolphe Thiers (c. 1879 and c. 1891, both Père-Lachaise cemetery, Paris); and Louis-Philippe and his wife Marie-Amélie, two of their sons, and a grandson (1886, 1904, 1914, and c. 1910/1916, respectively, Chapelle Royale, Dreux). Mercié produced yet more celebrated war memorials, notably his *Quand Même!* (inaugurated 1884, Place d'Armes, Belfort) and the bronze group commemorating the defense of Châteaudun (inaugurated 1897, promenade du Mail, Châteaudun), as well as a host of portrait statues of modern politicians (notably that of Jules Ferry, Saint-Dié, Vosges) and, for her native village of Domrémy, a memorial to Joan of Arc in front of her home. The artist also won critical and official acclaim for paintings shown in the Salons of the 1880s and 1890s.

Mercié received most of the major institutional awards of his time. He won the highest medals at the universal expositions; election to the Académie des Beaux-Arts (1889); a professorship at the Ecole des

Beaux-Arts; election to *grand officier* of the Légion d'Honneur; and in 1913 the presidency of the Société des Artistes Françaises. Along with Chapu—whose career is closely intertwined with his as peer, collaborator, and preceding faculty at the Ecole—and Dalou, Mercié was one of the most successful and prominent sculptors of the period into World War I. His work varied little stylistically over the decades, lending the elegance and animation of Florentine Renaissance sculpture to his modern figure types. Its often sensitive conception struck a powerful chord nationwide with the public, authorities, and many critics.

His celebrated monumental works also translated effectively into serial reductions, their neo-Florentine grace often given a precious finish and sumptuous patinas and pedestals. Many were edited soon after the monuments appeared, were much in demand, and continue to circulate abundantly on the market today. Despite the growing interest in his work among scholars, a serious critical study of Mercié has yet to be published.

SGL

Bibliography

Lami 1914–1921, 3: 431–436.

Fusco, Peter. "Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié," in *Los Angeles* 1980: 303.

Vogt 1986.

1985.52.1

Gloria Victis

Model c. 1874; cast after 1879

Bronze, 140 × 84.1 × 67.3 (55½ × 33½ × 26½)

Andrew W. Mellon Fund

Inscriptions

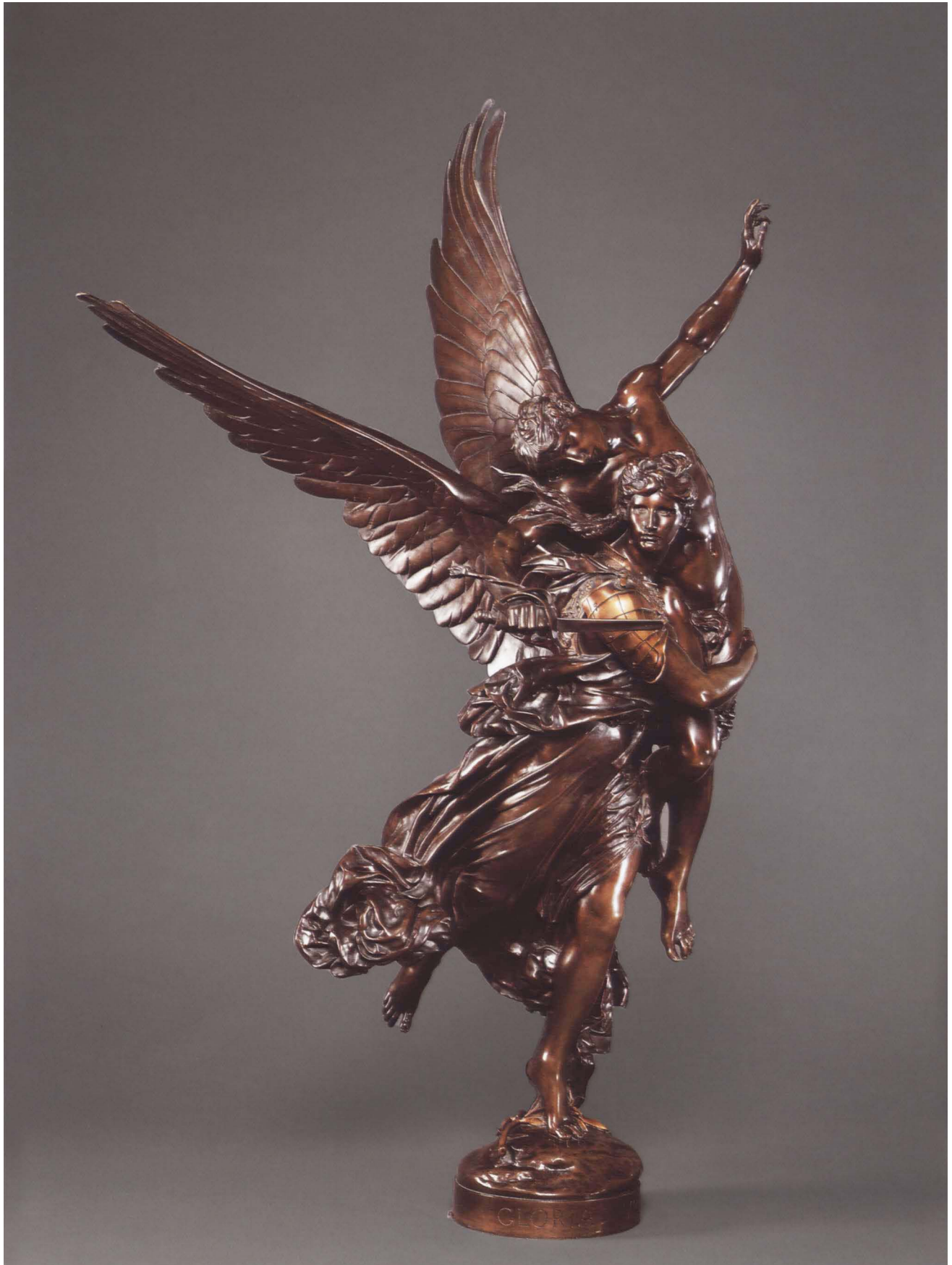
Incised in the model on the front rim of the self-base: GLORIA VICTIS.

On the top of the self-base, near the left foot of the running figure: A. MERCIÉ (fig. 1)

Marks

Incised on the rear rim of the self-base: F. BARBEDIENNE, Fondateur

Technical Notes: The complex bronze group is hollow-cast, probably by the lost-wax method given the sharp surface details,



Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié, *Gloria Victis*, 1985.52.1



1985.52.1

in about ten sections. Evidence of tie-rods at the base of the wings suggests the composite structure is reinforced with an interior metal framework for additional support of such extensions. Surface analysis of the metal through X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals an average 86% copper, 9% zinc, 4% tin, and less than 1% each of lead and iron, with variations of around 4–5% in the alloys of the left wing and forearm of the running figure. The surface shows extensive cold-work, especially delicate chasing resembling the Florentine finish in gold jewelry, as in the feathery semi-circular filing of the wings. The patina was achieved by successively brushing chemical solutions onto the heated bronze, producing a dark brown on the drapery and a translucent medium brown on the skin. The gilt tone of the armor may have been produced by means of fire (mercury) gilding, a conclusion suggested by the gold and mercury found in the surface of that area through X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF). The surface then may have been covered with varnish. The bronze is in a good state of preservation. There are several superficial scratches and abrasions throughout, some of which, such as a large scratch on the left side of the soldier, were inpainted probably prior to its acquisition by the National Gallery of Art.

Provenance: Private collection, England;¹ (Shepherd Gallery Associates, New York, in association with Ramon Osuna, of Osuna Gallery, Washington, by 1985).

Exhibited: Shepherd Gallery 1985, no. 66.² *Antonin Mercié: Sculptor of the Lee Monument: The French Academic Tradition in American Sculpture*, Marsh Gallery, University of Richmond, Virginia, 1990.³

THIS BRONZE is a reduced serial cast after Mercié's three-meter group, the most celebrated French monument to the dead of the 1870s.

The inscribed Latin title, "Gloria Victis" [Glory to the Vanquished] furnishes its innovative program. As is often recounted, the idea grew out of Mercié's reaction, as a Frenchman, to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 that erupted while he was at the Villa Medici in Rome.⁴ He transformed the two-figure *envoi*—already in progress—that heralded France's anticipated triumph into the present work, in honor of his country's actual devastating defeat.⁵ The style of the phrase, given an exclamation point and italicized in the Salon catalogues of 1874 and 1875, suggests a conscious rhetorical construction. By tradition the "quote" is the sculptor's own inversion of the famed "Vae Victis!" [Woe to the Vanquished!], allegedly delivered during the sack of Rome by the invading Gaul, Brennus (Livy, *History of Rome*, 5: 48).⁶ Mercié's brief, sonorous phrase thus transmutes the ancient predatory cry of the Gallic victor into modern French martyrial homage. Whether invented or borrowed by Mercié, the compelling words took hold throughout France as the new rhetoric for the fallen. In the spring of 1874, at the inauguration of a monument at Auvours to those who had died there on 11 January 1871, Monseigneur David delivered a "patriotic speech on the text *Gloria victis!*"⁷

The iconography of the group has a classical precedent that is closely identified with modern France. As Peter Fusco notes, the running female recalls the Hellenistic *Nike of Samothrace*, a French archaeological discovery of 1863, which became a celebrated trophy at the Louvre only after 1867.⁸

Mercié's concept of apotheosis of the fallen highlights the fleet-footed Victory's dual affinities with the messenger of the gods, Iris, and the demon of death, Keres, who swiftly carries off the dead.⁹ Though rarely mentioned, the owl at the feet of the winged female figure, facing backward on the full-scale model (and forward in National Gallery reduction), may serve in its funerary guise here, perhaps to suggest that these fallen worthies being swept to glory will not suffer the dreaded obscurity of death.

Mercié's innovative adaptation of these traditional allegories caused *Gloria Victis* to be commissioned for a type of collective memorial long dominated in France by emblematic animals or architecture.¹⁰ He applies the classical and Christian convention for apotheosis of the specific individual (airborne transport by a winged animal or figure) to an image of universal mankind.¹¹ The winged female figure also blurs the line between Christian and secular iconography. However, it seems not to have furnished a close blueprint for other monuments to the dead.¹²

Like his earlier *David*, Mercié's *Gloria Victis* explores stylistic concerns of the 1860s inspired by sculpture of Renaissance Florence: the restlessly varied rhythms throughout; the elongated grace of both figures and the slender youthfulness of the male; and the precious handling of surface details. The bold movement seen here was considered the trend in modern sculpture of the previous decade. Writing of the most notable Salon entries—by Mercié's master Falguière, in particular—one critic of 1864 claimed that "modern sculpture dances with its feet high in the air."¹³ Marc de Montifaud identified Mercié's group as the most extreme in this lineage of moving figures; for this critic, its defiance of classical stasis threatened to push it beyond the domain of sculpture into the "ultra-picturesque."¹⁴

The stride of the running figure is only part of the work's exceptional formal energy. Her vast ruffled wings and his delicate arms and legs stretch into space on the diagonal, giving forward thrust to the "windmill" effect of Canova's celebrated *Cupid and Psyche* (1787–1793, Musée du Louvre, Paris).¹⁵ Its dynamic silhouette provides compelling, yet tremulous presence to the group at a distance as well as up close, linking it to traditional figures for building spires, the flying Mercuries and archangels still very much in demand in Mercié's time.¹⁶

Gloria Victis drew international attention when the plaster made its debut, as Mercié's second *envoi*, at the Villa Medici's annual student exhibition during the early summer of 1873.¹⁷ It was the sensation of the *pensionnaires'* exhibition in Paris the following autumn, with extensive coverage in the popular and *belles-lettres* press.¹⁸ It won Mercié the coveted Grand Medal of Honor for sculpture at the subsequent Salon of 1874.

Much was written then and afterwards about its impact upon that generation. American critic Earl Shinn claimed it brought solace to this defeated nation as no other literary or visual form could.¹⁹ A deputy to the National Assembly, who reviewed the plaster in 1874, pronounced it as poeti-

cally ambiguous as it was eloquent: "There are no words to express the sublimity of these two figures: it is one of those poems in action whose message no analysis can convey."²⁰

The celebrated group was quickly appropriated for the public spaces of the nation. The Prefecture of the Seine purchased the plaster in 1874 and commissioned a full-scale bronze without a specific destination in mind.²¹ It authorized other full-scale bronzes upon request from communities throughout France.²²

A bronze sketch is at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.²³ The full-scale plaster is thought to have been destroyed after 1920, following wartime storage. Two plaster heads of Victory, patinated to resemble bronze and terra cotta, respectively, are at Paris' Municipal Sculpture Depot in Ivry. The full-scale bronze cast by Thiébaut was placed at the Place Montholon, Paris, in 1879 and then at the central court of Paris' Hôtel de Ville in 1884; it is now in the entry hall of the Musée du Petit Palais. The authorized full-scale bronzes, dating from the 1880s to 1901, can be found throughout Europe: in France in Agen, Bordeaux, Châlons-sur-Marne, Cholet, and Niort. A Thiébaut cast measuring 220 centimeters is at another Municipal Sculpture Depot in Auteuil. The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen owns a full-scale lost-wax bronze cast in 1906.²⁴

To date the only serial casts located are by Barbedienne, perhaps the only founder authorized to edit *Gloria Victis*: The Prefecture granted him that right in 1877. Barbedienne showed one in the industrial section of the 1878 Paris Universal Exposition.²⁵ Reductions in three sizes were made available in 1879. Subsequent catalogues show an increased number of sizes so that, by 1900, seven options were offered. According to the 1886 catalogue, the largest reduction size was 185 centimeters, at $\frac{3}{5}$ scale and costing 6,000 francs; to date no examples of this size have been traced.²⁶ The National Gallery reduction corresponds to the second largest reduction offered by Barbedienne from the outset, that of $\frac{2}{3}$ scale, at a cost of 3,200 francs. Bronzes of this size have been sold at auction recently, at Sotheby's, Los Angeles, on 4 March 1980, and the Hôtel de Ventes Horta, Brussels, on 14 October 1985. The National Gallery example is the largest commercial reduction currently known in a museum collection. Other public collections with casts are: MMA (107 centimeters, a loan since 1896); CMA (73.6 centimeters); and Stanford University Museum of Art, Palo Alto (46 centimeters). Sizes under 140 centimeters are currently prolific on the market, with both gilding and standard patina, and with the elaborate neo-Florentine tooling on the National Gallery cast that distinguishes the serial reductions from the full-scale bronzes. Some are numbered and stamped with a Collas "réduction mécanique" cachet. The National Gallery bronze was purchased with a tall, stylized oak pedestal (fig. 2) that can be found on other casts of this size on the market in the 1980s.²⁷ Bases were probably ordered separately, since the Barbedienne catalogues do not list any with this subject. Period examples vary considerably in style, proportional height, and material.

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Fig. 1 detail of 1985.52.1



Fig. 2 original oak pedestal of 1985.52.1

Notes

1. In NGA curatorial files.
2. Shepherd Gallery 1985, 154, repro.
3. Knox 1990, 12–13, fig. 12.
4. The group was publicly identified by the given title upon its debut in 1873 (L. C., "Visite de l'Impératrice de Russie à l'Ecole de Rome," *L'Illustration*, 61, no. 1581 (14 June 1873), 415.
5. Du Seigneur 1882, 44.
6. Peter Fusco, "Gloria Victis!," in Los Angeles 1980, 305; *Nouveau Larousse illustré* (Paris, 1898–1904), 14: 867, s.v. "Gloria victis!"

7. "Le Monument d'Auvours," *Le Monde illustré*, 18th yr., 889 (25 April 1874), 259.

8. Fusco in Los Angeles 1980, 306 (see note 6); Haskell and Penny 1981, 333–335, repro.

9. *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, 4: 461–462, s.v. "Nike."

10. For example, the nearly concurrent *Lion de Belfort* (Belfort fortress, France), for its native sons killed in the Franco-Prussian War (Janson 1985, 178–179, fig. 199; see the discussion of the imagery in the context of the July Column, p. 21). For Parisian monuments, projected and executed, see Imbert 1989b. A famous type that is finally drawing serious study, collective monuments to fallen soldiers of all ranks—both tombs and commemorative types—seem to emerge, according to the evidence thus far, in France and Prussia in response to the Revolution and Napoleonic wars, beginning around 1793, along with a variant in France for casualties of internal violence: insurgency, massacre, assassination, execution, and even industrial disaster. The twin types appear among proposed and built projects in France on the heels of ephemeral examples in early Revolutionary festivals (surely in two of summer 1792), and strongly relate to the celebrated designs for collective tributes to great men since 1740 and to lesser-known projects for symbolic Mountains and Temples to Equality (both often including tombs) submitted to the national contest of Year II (summer 1794 through summer 1795). Given classical architectonic form and (where actually built) placed on battlefields, mass graves, and in prominent urban spaces, they were inspired by "democratic" group memorials to those killed in the pivotal battles of ancient Greece (notably Marathon and Thermopylae), known primarily through texts that were standardly consulted around 1800—Pausanias, Herodotus, and Plutarch. Post-classic France occasionally honored its fallen soldiers: the duc de Lorraine built a victory chapel on a crucial battle and burial site (after 1477, Notre Dame de Bon Secours, Nancy); and a popular classical form, the memorial plaque naming the dead, appears in a seventeenth-century example listing officers dead of wounds (Chapel of the Hôpital de Lille). See Neumeyer 1938–1939; Hammond 1968; Ariès 1977, 540–544; Boehlke 1979, 1: 190–191; Ragon 1983, 111; Janson 1985, 90–91; Penny 1987; and particularly Leith 1991; some with additional bibliography. My thanks to Phillip Ward-Jackson for his help on this issue.

11. For instance, as in the deification of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, sitting on the wings of Fame, flanked by eagles, on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius (161 A.D., Cortile della Pigna, Musei Vaticani, Rome; Groenewegen-Frankfort and Ashmole 1977, fig. 683). Equally relevant are their classical and Christian funerary counterparts: Winged figures either carry roundels with bust-length portraits of the deceased or the full figure (for example, the *Apotheosis of Romulus* [British Museum, London], in Panofsky 1964, fig. 239).

Philip Ward-Jackson (personal communication) wonders whether Mercié might have appropriated a Prussian memorial type (a generic hero à l'antique with a Nike or classical goddess) developed in response to the earlier Napoleonic wars. One particularly relevant example is Ludwig Wichmann's (1788–1859) fallen hero leaning on Nike of about 1853–1857 for Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Schlossbrücke in Berlin (Bloch and Grzimek 1994, 199, fig. 144). That intriguing suggestion implies yet another inversion, here of a very current enemy's victory program appropriated for France's newest defeat at its hands. It raises several logistical and psychological issues, if true. The Prussian type—which reappears in Prussia's victory programs for the Franco-Prussian War as well (which Mercié very likely could not visit but might know through published images)—echoes a theme of patriotic death on the facade of the Panthéon in Paris executed during the Revolution (Lemaistre 1989, 239, repro.). Mercié's dramatic variation representing physical transport to the beyond in-

roduces a unique dimension that few later memorials would incorporate. I am grateful to Mr. Ward-Jackson for opening this line of inquiry, and to Elizabeth Kashey for information on the topic.

The Panthéon and Schlossbrücke concepts prefigure (and, in the latter case, parallel, in terms of execution) memorials beginning in the 1850s that represent the clothed universal modern soldier, as in Denmark for that country's successful war against Prussia (1848–1850): for example, Herman Vilhelm Bissen's (1798–1868) *Landsoldaten* of 1850–1857, inside Kolding Gate, Fredericia, Denmark (*Illustrated London News* [2 April 1864, 309]). Ward-Jackson identified this example. The generic modern soldier became common for memorials concerning the American Civil War. See Hargrove, Monument, 1977, 33–70.

12. Many follow the earlier tradition of a personification that supports, rather than transports, the dying. See Imbert 1989b, figs. 66, 68–69. A much later American work that recalls Mercié's program as well as the Christian *Ecce homo* is Walker Hancock's (1901–1934) *Pennsylvania Railroad War Memorial* for the dead of World War II (1950, Thirtieth Street Station, Philadelphia); see Philadelphia 1974, 295, repro.

13. Lagrange 1864, 28.

14. De Montifaud 1874, 21.

15. Licht and Finn 1983, 164, figs. 150–152.

16. For example, Fremiet's *St. Michael*, commissioned in 1896 for the spire of the church of Mont-Saint-Michel; see the catalogue entry by Janson in Los Angeles 1980, 280, repro.

17. L. C., "Prix et envois de Rome," *L'illustration* 61, no. 1597 (4 October 1873), 227.

18. L. C., "Prix et envois de Rome," *L'illustration* 61, no. 1597 (4 October 1873), 227; and M., "Exposition des envois des pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome," *Le Monde illustré*, 17th yr., 866 (15 November 1873), 310.

19. Earl Shinn [pseud. Edward Strahan], *The Chefs d'oeuvre d'art of the International Exhibition* (Philadelphia, 1878), 21; and Butler, "Rodin and the Paris Salon," in NGA 1981, 27.

20. Duvergier de Hauranne 1874, 689.

21. Daniel Imbert, "Aux Origines du fonds de sculptures du dépôt d'Ivry: La Politique de commande de la Ville de Paris dans les débuts de la IIIe République," in *Ecole du Louvre* 1986, 97; and Pinget in NGA 1981, 302. The plaster was identified in the 1874 Salon catalogue as belonging to the Préfecture de la Seine though the transaction, begun the previous autumn, was not formally concluded until late 1874. Vogt 1986, 241, notes that the cuirassed Victory in the bronzes differs from its counterpart in the original plaster, which was without armor and bare-armed. The significance of the braided segments of her hair, largely overlooked, is not clear—perhaps a Gallic allusion?

22. Mark of the sensitivity of its subject, many of those escaped the widespread meltdown of monuments during the German occupation. See Pinget's catalogue entry in NGA 1981, 302.

23. Unless otherwise noted, all details concerning versions of this work are from Pinget's catalogue entry in NGA 1981, 302.

24. Inv. 1336; went on loan to a convalescent home at Gilleleje in 1927. Copenhagen 1936, no. 703.

25. Fusco in Los Angeles 1980, 305 (see note 6).

26. For an eyewitness account of the entire manufacturing process for the reduction, see Child 1886. Daphne Barbour directed me to this source.

27. Anne Pinget and Marie Bouchard provided this information.

References

1994 NGA: 149, repro.

Jean-Jacques [James] Pradier

1790–1852

PRADIER WAS BORN in Geneva to a family of horologists, like his celebrated namesake Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). He apprenticed as a watchcase engraver and then trained at Geneva's Ecole de Dessin before joining his elder brother, engraver Charles-Simon Pradier (1783–1847), in Paris around 1807–1808. He entered the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and worked with painter Baron Gérard, who remained a vital influence and ally, and studied sculpture with François-Frédéric Lemot, won the Prix de Rome in 1813, and stayed at the Villa Medici as a *pensionnaire* until late 1818. His successful career began immediately upon his return, thanks to his Salon debut in 1819 with two works executed in Rome, the plaster *Bacchante and Centaur* (lost) and the marble *Bacchante* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen), which earned him the gold medal for sculpture that year. His steady stream of Salon entries throughout his career amply demonstrated Pradier's mastery of a variety of sculptural modes. He garnered some of the most important public commissions of the Restoration and July Monarchy: the Rousseau monument, Ile Rousseau, Geneva (1834); a commemorative monument to the murdered duc de Berry for the cathedral of Saint-Louis (1821) and numerous portrait statues for Louis-Philippe's Galeries Historiques, both Versailles; four bas-reliefs of Fame for the Arc de Triomphe, Place de l'Etoile (1829), the monumental seated figures of Strasbourg and Lille for the Place de la Concorde (completed 1836), the south pediment of the Palais du Luxembourg (commissioned 1840), and twelve colossal Victories for Napoleon's tomb at the Invalides (commissioned 1843), all Paris. He executed portrait statues, busts, and statuettes of the royal family and many contemporary luminaries in the political and cultural arenas. Despite Pradier's many efforts, however, he failed to win the most coveted State commissions, notably the pediment of the Madeleine in Paris (a competition project in which he refused to participate on principle), and the most important royal funerary commissions—the funerary statues for Louis-Philippe's popular heir apparent, the duc d'Orléans, who died accidentally in 1842.

Despite his complaints of official neglect, Pradier was showered with professional honors and powerful posts. In 1827 he was elected member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, given a studio at the Institut, and made professor of sculpture at the Ecole, teaching legions of

students who consequently prospered in the artistic world of mid-nineteenth-century France. Pradier became *chevalier* of the Légion d'Honneur in 1828. His Salon entries were steadily purchased by the State and distributed throughout the national museums in France. By the time of his death, Pradier was considered one of the kingpins of modern French sculpture, along with David d'Angers and Rude, and a critical benchmark within the contemporary debates on the medium in modern times.

Pradier was also a canny and ambitious entrepreneur in the realm of serial edition. His work became known internationally through the vast number of small-scale works that he distributed throughout his career, some reductions of his large-scale pieces and others special designs for this market, and primarily as bronzes.

Even during his lifetime, Pradier's art was seen to exemplify the most fundamental struggles in modern French sculpture through mid-century: the intransigence of the antique before the "therapeutic" power of romantic modernity; and the sensuality so reviled as corrupt and trivial by the social liberals of his generation. Within that framework, Pradier echoed the anacreontic erotic works by artists of the prior generation, notably Canova, David, and those favored by Josephine Bonaparte and her circle. He also opened the way for other artists working in this vein in the 1840s and beyond, such as Clésinger and Carpeaux. Recent revisionist scholarship has shed considerable light on Pradier's work in other categories. His approach often changed in accordance with sculptural mode. His monumental work displays a sober and ideal grandeur, yet his portrait statuettes eschew the neoclassical idiom altogether for the informal demeanor and detailed physiognomy and dress of everyday modern life. Pradier's most familiar mode, the mythological female figure in seductive poses that dominates his Salon entries and nonportrait serial work—the epitome of what was then called "*antiquité voluptueuse*"—has a lyricism that becomes movingly elegiac in some of his funerary works. The most radical in that respect is his *Comte de Beaujolais*, for the Galeries Historiques de Versailles (on deposit at the Chapelle Royale, Dreux) and Beaujolais' tomb at the church of Saint-Jean, Malta. It is a contemporary image of melancholy, portraying a sensitive youth disinherited by the massive upheaval of modern times who dies in

exile, dreaming of his native land. Even at their most hieratic, Pradier's figures suggest extraordinary anatomical pliancy. Their naturalism plays against an equally strong formal presence: in the beauty of contours and internal rhythms, some broadly restless, some with riveting coiled energy; the decorative handling of hair and drapery; the assertive materiality and technical excellence regardless of mode and scale. Pradier was committed to his craft, finishing some of his celebrated marbles himself and demanding technical excellence in the serial works under his control.

SGL

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1981.55.1 (A-1840)

Chloris Caressed by Zephyr

Model 1847; cast 1847/1904

Plaster, 29.5 × 8.3 × 7.8 (11⁵/₈ × 3³/₄ × 3¹/₁₆)

Gift of Esther J. Willcox and Esther W. Putnam

Inscriptions

Apparently stamped into the model from which this plaster was cast, on the bottom rim, at left, of the self-base: J. PRADIER

Technical Notes: The statuette appears to be hollow-cast from a piece-mold of at least fifteen sections, using the self-base as a pour-cup that was subsequently filled in. The great number of large air holes and molten quality of the details suggest that the plaster, which contains a dark, fine-grained crystalline material additive, was highly liquid and not thoroughly blended when poured. There is little evidence of tooling subsequent to casting except for a seam removed from the abdomen and the modification of the navel area. The surface appears not to have been patinated or painted. The statuette is in fair to good condition, with minor scratches, abrasions, and a surface darkened from handling.

Provenance: Purchased reportedly in Paris in the late 1920s by Esther Leavens Jenkins Willcox [1898–1981], New York; by inheritance to her daughter, Esther Willcox Putnam, McLean, Virginia.¹

THIS STATUETTE is a reduced variant of a figure whose full-scale plaster model (fig. 1) is dated 1847 and whose polychromed marble, dated 1849 (Musée des Augustins, Toulouse), is identified on the plinth as *Chloris*, but was shown in the Salon of 1849 as "Spring . . . Chloris Caressed by

Zephyr."² De Caso proposes the single figure is a variant of a group undertaken in 1841 representing Flora and Zephyr—"who places a kiss on her neck"—that Pradier ultimately serialized.³

The sculptor's conception of this subject thus conflates several stages of the metamorphosis of Chloris, a Greek mythological character, as rendered in Ovid's *Fasti* (Book V). She is the nymph who is deified as Flora, goddess of flowers, gardens, and youth, after being seduced by, and wed to, the wind god Zephyr. Her true role was, as de Caso remarks, "to remind mortals not to allow spring and youth to escape without enjoying them."⁴ However, her own erotic engagement with Zephyr struck many authorities as unmitigated *volupté*, and led to her frequent association with Venus.⁵ Chloris here bears the attributes of Flora (the roses in her hair and arms), but the narrative moment, as given in the Salon caption, is the first in the cycle, the nymph's first acceptance of Zephyr's caress.

This aspect of the nymph-goddess is rare in sculpture. De Caso points to a close antecedent in Baron Gérard's painting dated c. 1802 of Flora (Musée de Grenoble) that was engraved by Pradier's brother.⁶ As Held observes of the painting, which represents Flora walking the globe with her garment uplifted by the wind, hugging herself with her head thrown back and her eyes closed, flowers cascading from her hair: "[t]he dreadful fascination of [Gérard's] work



Fig. 1 James Pradier, *Chloris*, plaster model, 1847, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. 1852-9

is probably due to its combination of cool neoclassical shapes and a sentiment suggestive of erotic rapture.”⁷

Pradier’s rendition of the subject epitomizes the “*antiquité voluptueuse*” that made him critically controversial, yet popular and commercially successful. As de Caso notes, here Pradier has inverted the intent of the *Medici Venus*, a *Venus Pudica*, in appropriating its pose. Instead of emulating the modest Venus by covering herself under the gaze of an encroaching intruder, Chloris seems to respond to her invisible lover’s advance with rapt focus, lifting her bared shoulders to his touch.⁸

Few erotically charged subjects—even those by Pradier—involve as complex a phenomenology as this figure. Most isolated nudes, such as the *Venus Pudica* and Pradier’s *Phryne* (1845, marble; Musée de Grenoble) and *Nyssia* (1848, marble; Musée Fabre, Montpellier), involve narratives about presenting female beauty merely to the eyes, as the object of voyeuristic pleasure.⁹ Pradier’s two-figure version of *Flora and Zephyr* demands less imagination of the viewer than his single-figure counterpart, since it represents Zephyr in human form. The isolated figure seen in the National Gallery statuette suggests the god’s disembodied presence through Chloris-Flora’s physical responses alone, as in Gérard’s painting. However, Pradier’s palpable medium of sculpture lends a unique power to the composition that Gérard’s painting cannot emulate: the compelling impact of the image—however small—as three-dimensional form in the viewer’s own space, with multiple viewpoints, and the option of touching the enticing figure in the apparent throes of physical pleasure.

The reduction demonstrates Pradier’s lyrical, eclectic approach to the female form: the pliant, rounded, fleshy, large-breasted figure, and the face with a straight Grecian nose but Clodion-esque rounded cheeks and chin, and beestung lips. The palpitating life of those forms characteristically contrasts with the decorative textures and arabesques created by flowers, hair, and drapery. Suggesting the need for more flexible art-historical “labels,” these features bear the intimate, sensual, “feminine” qualities traditionally associated with the rococo, neo-Greek classicism, and neo-rococo.

This plaster variant departs in several substantial respects from the marble and full-scale plaster, which differ only in subtle details from one another. Where the National Gallery statuette bears a floral garland over hair drawn tightly into a chignon, the two full-scale versions present Chloris-Flora’s unadorned hair spilling across the left shoulder. The National Gallery figure is more subtly angled: The head tilts and turns only slightly to the right, unlike those in the full-scale statues, at nearly ninety degrees, for an expressive frontal view of the face from the right and an almost complete profile view of the head from the front and back. In the National Gallery plaster, the shoulders are slanted more radically on a downward diagonal from the figure’s right. The draped fingers of the left hand differ from their exposed counterparts in the other two versions. The plasters are alike in one respect that separates them from the marble. They have subdued, knife-pleat vertical folds

in the drapery that contrast with their complex, rippling, highly plastic counterparts in the marble.

The National Gallery plaster comes closest, even in scale, to a plaster of this figurine cast by Pradier’s *mouleur*, Salvator Marchi, left in the latter’s studio at his death (fig. 2).¹⁰ Both small-scale versions may derive from Marchi’s own commercial serialization of the subject. He advertised another variant of the figure, entitled “Flora,” unlike Pradier’s Chlorises, in his undated *Album des modèles de Salvator Marchi* (Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, J. 324), which identifies Pradier as the source of the model. This album presents his low-cost repertoire: A version in “terre” [clay] was priced at twenty-five francs and he offered a version in “plastique” [synthetic clay], for twenty francs. He also edited the figurine in the more expensive medium of bronze. His auction of 18–19 December 1856 included bronzes of the subject in two unspecified sizes.¹¹

The three figurines differ so fundamentally in their accessories that they are distinct variants among themselves. The technical identities of the National Gallery and Geneva plasters remain unclear, however. The cast-through signature on both plasters suggests they were cast from models for serialization. The majority of the Geneva statuettes loosely correspond to this character. Though they differ in degree of finish, inscriptions, and marks, they were bought from Marchi’s widow as a collection of discarded “*épreuves-types*” cast for Pradier.¹²



Fig. 2 James Pradier, *Chloris*, plaster reduction, model c. 1847(?), Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. 1910-226



James Pradier, *Chloris Caressed by Zephyr*, 1981.55.1

The National Gallery plaster is less technically refined than the other two small variants. Its casual execution and comparatively raw state suggest a studio proof. Similar seams can be found on what has been called a proof of a group, entitled *Bird Fallen from a Nest* (1840s, private collection, Paris), thought to have been edited by Marchi. Like the National Gallery plaster, it bears only references to Pradier (a tin label) and none of Marchi's known marks.¹³

Pradier claimed to have little interest in editing such works for his own account, writing that he gave these "little nothings" to his "*mouleur* for all the casts that I had him make for me."¹⁴ Nonetheless Pradier retained reproduction rights for a bronze statuette of the subject; they were sold with the statuette at his death.¹⁵ Which of these two artistic entrepreneurs, if not a third party, produced the rare bronze cast known today in a private collection, a 29-centimeter, partially gilded and silvered bronze,¹⁶ is not yet known. Pradier allegedly produced a marble reduction of *Chloris* that he intended to sell by lottery in his studio, but instead released to the "duc de Leuchtenberg."¹⁷

SGL

Notes

1. Letter, from Esther W. Putnam to Douglas Lewis dated 16 October 1981 (in NGA curatorial files).

2. Jacques de Caso's catalogue entry in Geneva 1985, 149–150, repro. Another patinated plaster of the same dimensions, 165 cms., is in a private collection in Paris (*Chefs d'oeuvre de la sculpture du XIXe siècle* [Paris, 1986], color plate opp. p. 20).

3. De Caso's entries in Geneva 1985, 149, 271–272, repro.

4. De Caso's entry in Geneva 1985, 150, repro.

5. The basic text on representations of Flora in art and poetry, cited by de Caso (Geneva 1985, 152n. 7), is Julius Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," in Meiss 1961, 1: 201–218.

6. First made in de Caso 1981–1982, 116.

7. Held in Meiss 1961, 1: 208; for an illustration of the painting, see Meiss 1961, 2: 71, fig. 9.

8. De Caso's entry in Geneva 1985, 151. For a brief comparison of this figure with contemporary classicizing images of modesty based on the *Venus Pudica*, see Philippe Durey in Grand Palais 1986, 299.

9. De Caso's entries in Geneva 1985, 137–140, 152–155, repro. According to the various versions of the story of Nyssia, merely seeing her fabled beauty unveiled was the exclusive privilege of her husband, Candaulus, and she ultimately had him executed for sharing that privilege without her permission with an outsider, Gyges, whom she then married.

10. See Gielly 1925.

11. No. 6 ("grand modèle") and no. 7 ("petit modèle"); in de Caso in Geneva 1985, 152n. 1.

12. Gielly 1925, 347.

13. De Caso's entry in Geneva 1985, 281, repro.

14. Letter, from Pradier to A. de Mercey dated 28 October 1850 (Bibliothèque Doucet, Paris, carton 40); Guillaume Garnier in Geneva 1985, 246n. 6.

15. Accompanying a *Flora* of unidentified material among the statuettes sold in Pradier's death sale (de Caso's entry in Geneva 1985, 152n. 1).

16. De Caso's entry in Geneva 1985, 149.

17. Unpublished journal of Pradier's son John, 8 October 1878; de Caso's entry in Geneva 1985, 152n. 1.

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1994 NGA: 176, repro.

Auguste Rodin

1840–1917

AUGUSTE RODIN was the second child and only son of Jean-Baptiste Rodin and Marie Cheffer, first-generation Parisians of modest means. Nothing in his family background or situation suggested that he might become an artist. At age thirteen, however, Rodin decided to enroll in the *Ecole Spéciale de Dessin et de Mathématique*, a school with the mission to educate the designers and the artisans of the French nation. In the course of his studies, young Rodin articulated larger goals for himself, specifically to become a sculptor. He competed for admission to the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* three times, but each time met with failure.

Having failed to enter the elite track, a solitary Rodin plied two paths, one to pay his bills, the other to bring himself to the attention of the great world of art in Paris. Neither worked well. Although he was engaged in the studio of Albert Carrier-Belleuse, one of the most visible and productive sculptors in Paris during the Second Empire, Rodin remained quite poor; and though he produced a work in 1863–1864, *The Man with the Broken Nose*, that he considered an excellent sculpture, surely worthy of entry to the Salon, twice it was refused.

During this period of ill-starred beginnings, when Rodin was in his twenties, he also assumed family responsibilities. In 1864 he began living with Rose Beuret, who became his lifelong companion. In January 1866, she gave birth to their only child, Auguste Beuret. It was a period of struggle and poverty that continued to the end of the decade and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in July 1870.

The war only made things worse for sculptors. Now they could hardly hope to find work in Paris. Fortunately for Rodin, Carrier-Belleuse had a major commission in Brussels, where the city was building a new Bourse. Rodin's Brussels residency began in March 1871. Although his employ with Carrier-Belleuse soon ended, he found a Belgian partner, Joseph Van Rasbrough (1831–1902), with whom he was able to continue working at the Bourse. The association with Van Rasbrough developed into a real partnership, with Rodin as the primary administrator responsible for the day-to-day operations of a studio from which some fine public commissions were brought to completion between 1872 and 1874.

Rodin's most notable single figure of his Brussels period, however, was the one he undertook on his own

in 1875. His desire to understand the beautiful male body, combined with his ambition to create an outstanding work that would establish his reputation, led Rodin to embark on a month-long trip to Italy between February and March 1876. There he would study the figures of antiquity, of Donatello, and especially those of Michelangelo.

The following winter Rodin exhibited this figure in plaster in the rooms of the *Cercle Artistique et Littéraire* in Brussels, calling it *Le Vaincu* [The Vanquished One; 1991.183.1, p. 310]. It became his ticket back to Paris, where it was accepted for the Salon of 1877 under the title *The Age of Bronze*. It is Rodin's first recognized masterpiece.

The Age of Bronze was a controversial figure, mostly because it looked so close to life that critics raised the question if it might not be a cast from life. One man who admired it unreservedly, however, was Edmund Turquet, a liberal politician serving in the *Chambre des Députés*, who, in 1879 became Undersecretary of State for fine arts. Turquet was ambitious and hoped to be the commissioner for many public works of art. One of his most unusual ideas was to commission a bronze door for the *Musée des Arts Décoratifs*—unusual because no such museum existed, although there was much talk about creating one. Turquet offered his strange commission to Rodin. The museum was never built and the door was never cast in Rodin's lifetime, but *The Gates of Hell* (fig. 1)—as we now call it—was Rodin's most important work. It was the canvas on which he projected his imagination; it was the surface from which he would draw the creations of an entire career (see 1942.5.7, p. 348; 1942.5.12, p. 321; 1942.5.15, p. 326; 1942.5.25, p. 357; 1967.13.6, p. 338; 1978.71.1, p. 354).

The decade of the 1880s, when Rodin was in his forties, was the most intense and productive of his entire life. It was the time when he modeled the majority of the figures for his “doors,” as he called them. The designation, “The Gates of Hell,” only evolved in the writing of critics in the latter part of the 1880s.

The figures for the doors were far from being the extent of Rodin's activity in the eighties. He created a series of brilliant realistic portraits which he showed in the Salons of the 1880s. It was in connection with these portraits that critics began to describe him as a great artist, perhaps even the best young sculptor in modern France.¹ The eighties was also the decade of *The Bur-*



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *The Gates of Hell* (*La Porte d'Enfer*), plaster, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, Photo RMN

ghers of Calais (see pp. 342–348), probably Rodin's most satisfactory and successful public monument. And it was the period in which Rodin met Camille Claudel (1864–1943), the woman who became the focus of the most terrible and overwhelming passion of Rodin's life. He suffered tremendously from this experience, but it was the fertile ground that nourished the large number of erotic groups that began appearing in the 1880s.

By the end of the decade, when the sculptor joined Claude Monet (1840–1926) in a large exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, Rodin was clearly a major presence in the world of modern art, a man from whom much could be expected. In the coming decade he would spend much of his time on two of the most coveted commissions a French sculptor could hope to achieve: the *Monument to Victor Hugo* for the Panthéon and the *Monument to Balzac* for the Société des Gens de Lettres (see p. 360). They went badly, however. Both clients—the state and the Société—were difficult, there was an extravagant amount of unhealthy publicity surrounding the two commissions, and Rodin spent much of the 1890s in a severe depression, so severe he was frequently unable to work. Neither work was accepted as originally commissioned, and when the

Balzac was turned down *after* it was shown in the Salon of 1898, something broke in Rodin. He stopped being a nineteenth-century French sculptor who wanted nothing more than to obtain and carry to completion important public monuments.

Rodin entered the new century with a large retrospective that was to include the plaster of his *Gates of Hell*, curiously stripped of its figures, thus presenting itself as a field waiting to receive them. Though held at the time of the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900, the State played no role in his exhibition. Rodin had negotiated with three bankers to underwrite the show in a pavilion he had built in the place de l'Alma on the right bank of the Seine. He was clearly aiming at the international audience expected to teem through the exhibitions and overflow into the streets of Paris during the summer of 1900.

The new entrepreneurial direction of Rodin's career worked. From this time on he was able to count on having orders for casts, marbles, portraits, and requests for his participation in exhibitions all over Europe, and even in America.

In the last seventeen years of his life Rodin's creative energies were fully alive, something that is particularly evident in the thousands of drawings he made, in the marvelous portraits he made of men and women who were sure that honor would accrue to their name and memory if they were only portrayed by Rodin (see 1942.5.16, p. 372; 1972.78.1, p. 394; 1974.29.1, p. 399), and in the occasional large, new work such as the *Whistler Muse*. In these years Rodin also devoted himself to considering his vast oeuvre—especially the figures from *The Gates*—in a way that allowed it all to be seen again from a fresh point of view: figures newly fragmented or isolated from a previous context; figures combined with others not seen together before; figures translated into marble; figures enlarged; and figures reduced. Rodin proved that sculpture was anything but the intractable art some had made it out to be, but that it was fluid, open to spontaneous change.

Rodin had other preoccupations in the twentieth century as well, especially collecting and writing. He acquired an impressive collection of ancient sculpture, also purchasing medieval, Indian, and Far Eastern work in a way that was adventurous. He enjoyed making his views on these works known both through his own writing and through interviews. Rodin came to be seen as the culmination of all that was great in Western sculpture, or as Camille Maclair put it: "his reference points are Puget, Goujon, the sculptors of the Middle Ages, of Greece, and the rules for decoration established on the Lion Gate of Mycenae as well as the Sera-

peum of Memphis.”² His reputation and influence extended beyond Europe—to the Far East and to North and South America, and it is safe to say no artist was more famous than Rodin at the beginning of the twentieth century. Rodin sought to give permanence to his reputation by offering France his entire oeuvre if the State would agree to establish a Musée Rodin. Rodin’s bequest was executed and accepted by the French legislature in 1916.

By the time Rodin’s will was executed, the movements of cubism, futurism, and dada, as well as the new “truth to materials” movement in sculpture, had been established. The attention of the art world moved on and Rodin’s work went into eclipse until after the end of World War II. Then, slowly, in the 1950s and 1960s, with artists and their audience giving a fresh look at fragmentation, assemblage, the figure, and the expressive gesture, Rodin’s sculpture came back into fashion. By the end of the twentieth century, with new Rodin museums in Japan, Korea, and Mexico City, and Rodin shows opening in great profusion, he is once again, perhaps, the most exhibited and collected sculptor in world.

RB

Notes

1. After Louis de Fourcaud saw the *Jean-Paul Laurens* in the Salon of 1882, he said: “Among all the young sculptors, he is the one I would place in the highest rank” (“Salon de Paris,” *Le Gaulois* [1 July 1882]).

2. Camille Mauclair, “Auguste Rodin, Son oeuvre, son milieu, son influence,” *Revue Universelle* (17 August 1901): 769–775.

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Author’s Note

Frequently in the Rodin section of the National Gallery nineteenth-century sculpture catalogue works appear with two dates: the year of the original conception and the year the actual work on view was produced. The method in which Rodin worked, which was the same as that of most of his contemporaries, went back to the Renaissance. It was the traditional approach for the artist-creator to make a work in clay or wax before entrusting it to a mold maker who would make the plaster mold. From this either a marble could be carved or a bronze cast could be made. Although this was true of nineteenth-century sculptors in general, two things make Rodin of special interest: the unusual number and variety of works that emerged from his studio and the existence of the extensive Rodin archive, which allows us to

know a great deal of precise information on the production of his studio. Further, because he deeded his entire holdings to the State, there are a large number of replicas and variations of his works all collected in one place, and one can actually study how he broke plaster figures into separate sections—heads, arms, hands, torsos, feet, etc.—and reassembled them in original combinations to create new works. Such abundance and such processes sometimes make it difficult to say what is the “original” work, that is, which was the one formed by Rodin’s own hand as he studied the living model.

Then there is the issue of scale changes. Many sculptors in the nineteenth century enlarged and reduced works, but they did so as a matter of expeditiously fitting the circumstance—to make a popular work small in the interest of sales or to make a small work large in order to create a public monument. But often Rodin simply wanted to see a work large or small for its own sake. With the aid of a particularly gifted artisan, Henri Lebossé (d. 1922), who did most of Rodin’s famous enlargements in the twentieth century, Rodin made scale an aspect of style. It was a new way of thinking about sculpture.

The sheer number of works by Rodin is overwhelming. The Musée Rodin owns over 5,000 plasters, the majority of which were never cast in the artist’s lifetime. After Rodin’s death, the Musée Rodin, as manager of his oeuvre, imposed the limit of twelve on the number of casts that could be made of any existing plaster. This does not mean that there were not many more casts of popular works, such as *The Age of Bronze*, before Rodin made his donation to the state. Rodin’s bronzes, the products of at least twenty-eight foundries, are all over the world. From 1902 until his death Rodin worked principally with Eugène Rudier, a founder who honored his own father Alexis (d. 1897), also a founder, by signing his father’s name: “Alexis Rudier.” Records exist showing that Rudier made over 600 bronze casts for Rodin.¹

The marbles represent an equivalent volume of work. Records in the Musée Rodin show that more than eighty individuals, men with particular skill in the art of stone carving, worked as practitioners in Rodin’s employ,² according to the method used by sculptors since the Renaissance. That is, they transferred measurements from a plaster model to a block of marble with the help of a three-point compass known as a pointing machine.

Rodin’s identity as a sculptor was that of modeler, not carver. This being the case, modern collectors and critics have usually preferred his plasters and bronzes since they are closer to the hand of the sculptor. But that was not necessarily the view held by Rodin’s patrons during his lifetime. Many of them, including Mrs. Simpson, had the highest regard for marble, traditionally regarded as the essential material of sculpture.³

It is sometimes said that Rodin never carved his own marbles. But as a young sculptor he became a skilled carver and he maintained this ability so that he could touch up and finish the marbles pointed by the *praticiens* who worked in his studio. His American student Malvina Hoffman (1885–1966) described her own experience watching him carve and her admiration for the way he “avoided sharp edges,” and “used light reflections almost as a painter would, to envelop his forms.” Rodin recalled for Hoffman his long hours studying Michelangelo’s marbles in Florence, where he had identified the tools by the strokes he saw and how well he came to know just what effects they were capable of giving.⁴

RB

Notes

1. See Monique Laurent, “Observations on Rodin and His Founders,” in NGA 1981. Isabelle Vassalo, “Rodin et ses Fondateurs,” *Mémoire de maîtrise*, Université de Paris, 1991–1992.

2. See Daniel Rosenfeld, “Rodin’s Carved Sculpture,” in NGA 1981; and Rosenfeld 1993.

3. Before Mrs. Simpson made the decision to donate her collection to the National Gallery, she had planned on giving the two works she regarded as the most important to the MMA. Both were marbles: her own portrait and *The Evil Spirits* (Simpson file, MMA Archives).

On nineteenth-century taste for marble, see Rosenfeld in NGA 1981.

4. Hoffman 1936, 97.

1942.5.4 (A-68)

Bust of a Young Girl

1868

Terra cotta with plaster, 31.1 × 16.5 × 17.4 (12¼ × 6½ × 6⅞)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the back: BUSTE.FAIT.EN.1868 / RETROUVÉ.
OFFERT. A. MME KSimpson / EN 1905 / A. RODIN

Technical Notes: *Bust of a Young Girl* was made through a combination of casting and freehand modeling. X-radiography reveals layers of thin clay used to build up the face and neck and thicker sheets for the shoulders. These layers suggest that the basic form was made by pressing slabs of clay into a mold.¹ The evidence of seams, even though they have been smoothed over, at either side indicates a two-part mold. Although there is extensive modeling and reworking on the surface, the underlying form is in low relief and has no hard edges. Areas that were not part of the mold are the locks of hair falling onto the shoulders. These were formed of small pieces of clay pressed together and smoothed over with more clay. Flowers and bows were also formed separately and applied to the bust while the clay was still damp. The surface has been scratched by tools, fingerprints, and punctures from sharp points. The eyes in particular show considerable reworking. Clay was evidently added to the eyelids and the pupils and surrounding iris rays were formed through the use of a pointed tool. Two layers of pigment once covered the terra cotta: a buff-colored brown, which remains largely intact, and an upper layer of red, which is mostly worn away. The signature and dedication are on the back of the bust, the lower part being covered with a layer of plaster and the inscription then engraved into it.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1905.

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 2, as *A Young Girl*. NGA 1965. NGA 1974.

AT SOME POINT Rodin called his charming, naturalistic portrayals of young women “the sins of my youth.” Once, in conversation with Judith Cladel, he spoke about his early notions of “beauty”: “When I was young, I committed the same error as others; in order to make the bust of a woman it was necessary that she was pretty, according to my own particular idea of Beauty; today I can make the bust of any woman and it will be beautiful.”³ But in spite of the fact that he found his early aesthetic judgments somewhat wanting, Rodin gave examples of his early female busts to two

clients for whom he had particular affection: Kate Simpson and Victoria Sackville.⁴

Rodin’s first attempts at portraiture were based on male models: his father, Jean-Baptiste Rodin (c. 1860); his spiritual mentor, Pierre-Julien Eymard (1863); and a neighborhood odd-jobs man, Bibi, who was the model for the *Man with the Broken Nose* (1863–1864). But what he was learning in the *ateliers* where he worked for his living in the 1860s was how to fashion the face of a pretty girl—a subject far more likely to attract a sale. This was certainly what he learned from his major employer, Carrier-Belleuse, who preferred to give Rodin assignments working on genre groups and “fantasy” busts than on the big projects that came out of his studio. Rodin learned how to turn out decorative heads with coquettish smiles that called to mind the sweetness and grace of portraits from the later eighteenth century, but he had little respect for this kind of work, describing Carrier as being out “to please the uncultivated, often vulgar, fancy of the commercial world.”⁵ At the same time he did admit that Carrier had good ideas about arrangement and composition, and he believed that no one could finish a Carrier-Belleuse sketch “as well as myself.”⁶ It was during the time Rodin spent in Carrier’s *atelier* that he both learned what “types” pleased contemporary taste and what he himself wanted to do. His goal was to work from nature.

The National Gallery terra-cotta busts (see also the following entry) from Rodin’s early years are examples of his attempt at employing the kind of pretty model who was sure to please. At the same time he wanted to fashion portraits that were life studies, not simply repetitious contemporary “types.” Comparison of the two busts in the Gallery’s collection show different degrees of success in the way he handled this problem.

About forty decorative busts of attractive young women pre-dating Rodin’s commission for *The Gates of Hell* (that is, before 1880) have been identified.⁷ The majority are in Paris at the Musée Rodin, with a smaller number in both public and private collections.⁸ It is not known how many such busts have been lost.⁹ Rodin told Truman Bartlett that when he returned to Paris from Brussels he found his landlord had taken over his studio in Montmartre. Without telling Rodin, he had auctioned off the contents of the studio.¹⁰ So when Rodin inscribed his gift to Kate Simpson *retrouvé*, he may well have been referring to a work lost in this way.

The majority of Rodin’s early female busts are in terra cotta and, like the Washington busts, most are contemporary portraits. Others, such as the *Bacchante* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and *Flora* in the Rodin Museum, Philadelphia, all from the second half of the 1860s, have been given mythological names and are more generalized. Still others, like *La Lorraine* or *Dosia* and *Suzon*, from the 1870s and in the Musée Rodin, Paris, are clearly more types than they are portraits. But, between the three categories there is a thin line. They remain a group by their prettiness, their decorativeness, and the fancy, *décolleté* drapery that Rodin preferred for these figures.



Auguste Rodin, *Bust of a Young Girl*, 1942.5.4

The under-life-size bust that Rodin “re-found” and gave to Mrs. Simpson is a portrait of a slightly melancholy wide-eyed girl. Rodin emphasized the deep irises and pupils under the thick eyelids of his delicate sitter, whose abundant hair is pulled up in the back and wrapped around the top of her head, waves falling to either side of her neck. Her complicated coiffeur creates the perfect foil for her smooth skin. Flowers ornament the band pulled across the top of the girl’s head and a second ribbon is tied around her neck. The small gathering of drapery that passes over the lower rounded edge of the bust reinforces a quality of delicacy and grace.

RB

Notes

1. Malvina Hoffman recalled Rodin bringing in the mold-maker after a few sittings on a portrait in order to have a negative record made of his work. Then he would “squeeze” fresh clay into the mold and proceed to work on this newly cast form. Hoffman 1936, 43. Hoffman did not meet Rodin until 1910, but as is evident in this bust, it was a procedure he used from his earliest years. This is not surprising, since the process of a cast terra-cotta bust made from a piece mold, which would then have various details added to it with fresh clay, was familiar to Rodin from his years in Carrier-Belleuse’s studio. See Fogg 1975, 44.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Katherine A. Holbrow, NGA Object Conservation department (25 April 1996).
3. Cladel 1908, 116.
4. In 1913, when Lady Sackville was fifty-one and quite worried about her double chin, Rodin presented her with an early bust, *Le Printemps*, which he described as “a portrait of Lady Sackville at age eighteen.” He then gave her two more terra-cotta busts dating from the earliest years of his career. Nicolson 1970, 42.
5. Bartlett 1889 (29 January), 44.
6. Bartlett 1889 (29 January), 44.
7. In the first volume of her catalogue raisonné, Cécile Goldscheider, former curator of the Musée Rodin, Paris, doubled the number of known feminine busts from the first two decades of Rodin’s career. Most are undated and undocumented. She grouped them stylistically and assigned the majority to one of three periods: 1860–1865; 1865–1870; and 1871–1875. She is the only scholar who has dated female busts in the first years of the 1860s. Goldscheider 1989, 36–40.
8. Goldscheider includes twenty-four such busts as being owned by the Musée Rodin, Paris. Goldscheider 1989.
9. For instance: Rodin exhibited eight terra cottas at the 1876 centennial exhibition in Philadelphia. They bore such names as *Autome*, *Grande grappes*, and *Fleurs des champs*. There is no way of knowing if these are works that now have other titles or if they are lost works. Beausire 1988, 65.
10. Bartlett 1889 (9 February), 66.

References

- 1966 Butler Mirolli: 117.
 1976 Tancock: 578.
 1989 Goldscheider: 52.
 1997 Le Normand-Romain: 124–152.

1942.5.3 (A-67)

Bust of a Woman

1875

Terra cotta with plaster and paint, 48.9 × 35.6 × 26.9 (19¼ × 14 × 10⅞)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on lower back: offert à madame &/ monsieur J. W. Simpson/A Rodin/1908/terre-cuite original faite/en 1875

Technical Notes: *Bust of a Woman* was made through a combination of casting and freehand modeling (see note 1 in the previous entry). X-radiography shows a series of thin clay layers which were pressed into a mold to build up the face, ears, and neck, as well as a single thick slab used to form the shoulders. Other components—including flowers, ruffles, bows, and elements of the hat—show a complex topography of hollows and relief that is clearly the result of freehand modeling and must have been added to the bust when the clay was still damp. The back of the head reveals narrow gaps at points where the applied elements meet the separately fashioned hat. The surface was reworked a great deal after the main body was completed, as is evident from the marks of various scraping tools, fingerprints, and punctures from sharp points. Clay was added to the eyelids and pupils, and the surrounding iris rays were formed by a pointed tool being poked into the clay. Two layers of paint once covered the surface: a pinkish-brown layer with a darker, reddish-brown layer over it. The uppermost layer has been worn away, but survives in scattered patches. The lower pinkish-brown layer is present in quantity, though only on about half of the bust’s surface. It is not clear when the paint layers were added. The surface of the hat has been coated with a layer of plaster and it seems likely that this was added at the time of Rodin’s gift to the Simpsons. There is a similar plaster layer on a section of the dress and the cape over the woman’s right shoulder, as well as two layers of plaster over a plaster mount and the dedication at the back of the sculpture.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1908.

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 1, as *A Young Woman*. NGA 1965. NGA 1974.

IN THE 1880s Rodin made his reputation by executing penetrating portraits of creative men.² The previous decade, however, he had given much more of his time to modeling the faces of pretty young women. It was the kind of sculpture for which there was a waiting clientele, and Rodin was extremely adept at fashioning these kinds of portrayals (see the previous entry).

According to the inscription, Rodin made this bust during the period when he lived in Brussels, where he moved in 1870, after the Franco-Prussian War.³ This was a time when it was difficult to find work in Paris, but fortunately his Parisian employer, Carrier-Belleuse, had won a big commission for the sculpture to decorate the new Bourse in Brussels.

This is one of Rodin’s most successful fancy busts. He surely admired the pretty model who sat for him, as he



Auguste Rodin, *Bust of a Woman*, 1942.5.3

modeled the fullness of her cheeks and lips, her turned-up nose, and the dimple in her chin. He showed her as if about to speak. With a sharp point Rodin pierced deep holes into the clay where her iris and pupil would be. Besides the deeply marked eyes, he hollowed out the nostrils and the ears. She cocks her head to the right but at the same time appears to glance to the left. She also shifts her body toward the left just as she raises her right shoulder. The effect of this contrapposto is to give the bust tension and life. The bodice, jacket, and bow around her neck are vigorously modeled and uninhibited by excessive details. Nothing is more dazzling than the little hat (which looks like it came from one of the millinery shops patronized by Degas' sitters) atop the sitter's piled-up hair. The feather that turns over her curly bangs and the veil falling away from her head onto her right shoulder contribute to the vigorous asymmetry and add to the lively profiles.

As we know from the inscription, this was Rodin's gift to Mrs. Simpson in 1908. She wrote to thank him on 22 November, saying that it had arrived without accident and that it looked absolutely perfect in her boudoir, "but the enormous thing is that you, my friend, have thought to give me such a magnificent and exceptional gift."⁴ The *Bust of a Woman* was one of Rodin's many gifts to the Simpsons that helped to fill out the group of works they had purchased from him and to make theirs the only significant private collection of Rodin's work in America in the early years of the twentieth century.⁵

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Katherine A. Holbrow, NGA Object Conservation department (25 April 1996).

2. Butler 1993, 162–178.

3. Goldscheider 1989, 52, dated this bust between 1865 and 1870. She gave no reason for her decision, though it is perhaps due to the resemblance of the bust to the beautiful terra-cotta *Jeune Fille au chapeau fleuri* (fig. 1), usually dated 1865–1870. This was one of the reasons I dated the work to the late 1860s in my own Ph.D. dissertation (Butler-Mirolli 1966, 120). When I wrote about Rodin's early work in the 1960s there were no examples of works securely dated to the



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *Young Girl in a Flowered Hat* (*Jeune fille au chapeau fleuri*), terra cotta, 1865–1870, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 1056, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

1870s that seemed comparable to the National Gallery bust. More works have since come to light, especially the portrait of *Mme. A. C.* (Salon of 1879), now in the Musée Rodin, Paris. Another reason I considered giving it an earlier dating was a note in the National Gallery's curatorial files indicating that Rodin told Mrs. Simpson he made the bust at the time when Carpeaux was working at the Opéra, that is, the second half of the 1860s. If Mrs. Simpson remembered correctly, Rodin's words and inscription contradict each other, but at this juncture I prefer to believe the inscription rather than the hearsay recollection.

4. MRA.

5. The only other collection of Rodin's work in the first decade of the twentieth century in America was in the MFA. It had been made possible through the joint effort of Henry Adams and Henry Lee Higginson, but it no longer remains intact.

References

1966 Butler Mirolli: 120.

1976 Tancock: 579.

1989 Goldscheider: 52.

1997 Le Normand-Romain: 124–152.

1991.183.1

The Age of Bronze (*L'Age d'Airain*)

Model 1875–1876; cast 1898

Plaster, 180 × 71.1 × 58.4 (70⁷/₈ × 28 × 23)

Gift of Iris and B. Gerald Cantor, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

Inscribed on top of base near left foot: Rodin

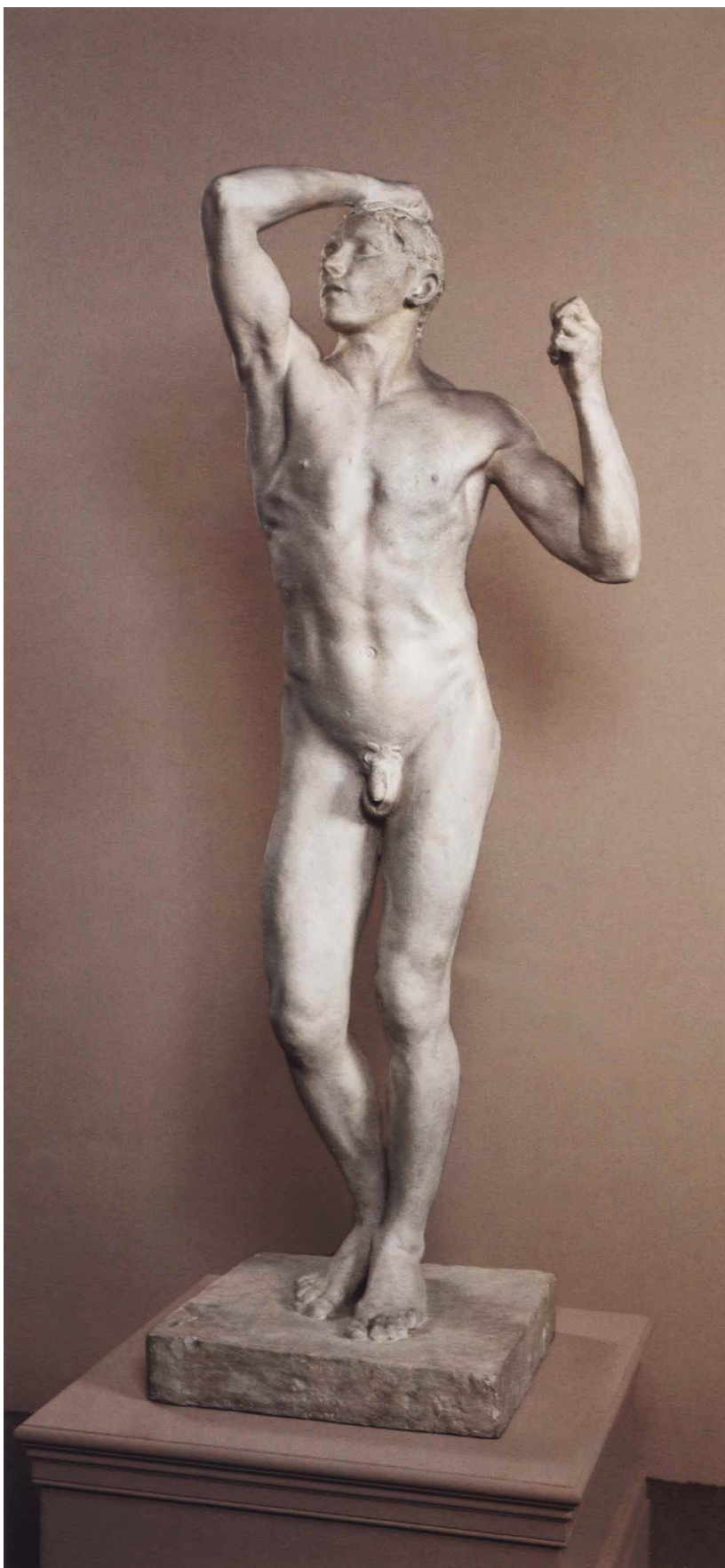
Technical Notes: The plaster cast of *The Age of Bronze* appears to be composed of three sections, each made from multiple-part molds. X-radiography reveals two major joins: at the left arm between the shoulder and the biceps, and around the stomach above the navel. The two joins divide the figure into three parts: the right arm and head through the lower chest above the navel; the left arm and hand; and the hips, legs, and feet.

The mold lines around the ears are particularly complex as a result of the necessary undercutting. In this cast the figure lacks the helix of the right ear through the ear's lobe. In an early photograph of Rodin's original plaster it is evident that the right ear was not integral to the cast, that it was out of proportion to the head, and that there is a dark line where the ear meets the head implying a gap.¹

X-radiography also shows the walls of the cast to be quite thin in relation to the overall size. They are between ¼- and ⅜-inches thick. The outer shell is made of extremely homogeneous plaster and is reinforced by an inner layer of plaster/fiber mix. The addition of fibers gives strength to the cast, allowing it to be self-supporting. No internal armature has been detected through X-radiography.

The base also appears to be made of reinforced plaster and it is not apparent through X-radiography how the sculpture was attached to the base. It is possible that the base is integral to the figure.

The surface has been coated with a thin white wash. In some areas there is a brown color beneath the wash—perhaps an aged shellac.



Auguste Rodin, *The Age of Bronze* (*L'Age d'Airain*), 1891.183.1

Although the white wash is intact and the sculpture looks in good condition, there are a number of hairline cracks and areas of paint loss. The treatment reports and photographs that accompanied the sculpture when it came to the National Gallery from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts make it clear that the sculpture has had a long history of being very dirty, cracked and chipped, of being cleaned and restored, and of being used for the purposes of making a new mold of the statue when it was owned by the Academy.²

Provenance: PAFA, 1898.

Exhibited: 68th Annual Exhibition, PAFA, 1899, no. 820.

Other Versions

In addition to the plaster in the National Gallery, life-size plasters are to be found in: Musée Rodin, Paris; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Cognac; Albertinum, Dresden; Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; The Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; Ville de Saint-Gilles-les-Bruxelles; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Le Havre; Academy of Fine Arts, Istanbul; Institut français, London; and The Patsy and Raymond D. Nasher Collection, Dallas.³

RODIN WAS living in Brussels when he began working on the statue we know as *The Age of Bronze*. It is his earliest surviving independent life-size statue.⁴ The artist conceived of a male nude assuming a gentle contrapposto stance and grasping his head with his right hand. This statue was uppermost in Rodin's thoughts and work for more than a year and a half in 1875 and 1876. It was to be his "masterwork," that is, the work through which he would make his name at the Paris Salon, the forum that counted the most and in which he had previously achieved little success.⁵

Although Rodin had been in Brussels for over four years when he began modeling this figure, he was well informed about what kinds of pieces were most successful in Paris during the early years of the Third Republic. He had read the critics who heaped praise on Paul Dubois' *Narcissus* (1862–1863, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), Antonin Mercié's *David* (1869–1870, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), and Ernest Barrias' *Oath of Spartacus* (1871, Tuileries gardens, Paris), all life-size male nude figures created under the spell of Italian Renaissance sculpture.⁶ With such figures clearly in mind, in 1876 Rodin interrupted his work on the figure and went to Italy for a month—all that his pocketbook would allow—to study ancient and Renaissance sculpture, especially the work of Michelangelo. We might even say that at this time Rodin adopted Michelangelo as his "master."⁷

Rodin went to considerable trouble to find the right model. He wanted to avoid professionals, preferring someone who would be fresh and untutored in the established modes of posing. He was convinced that a soldier would be right and, having a personal connection with the local Sixth Ixelles Company of Telegraphists, he located a young Fleming by the name of Auguste Neyt, "a fine noble-hearted boy, full of fire and valor."⁸ Neyt posed for Rodin for the first time on 7 October 1875. Years later he described his sessions with Rodin, remembering how he had "to go through all kinds of poses . . . in order to get the muscles right. Rodin

did not want any of the muscles exaggerated, he wanted naturalness."⁹

The importance Rodin placed on this statue resulted in a series of reworkings that dragged on for months. There were "at least four figures in it," is the way he explained it to Truman Bartlett.¹⁰ Struggling to realize the most judicious relationships of volumes, planes and contours, Rodin put great effort into what he called the "profiles." He would walk around the figure, looking at the profiles one after the other, making sure that each clay contour matched that of the man before him. Except for the month he spent in Italy, Rodin worked on the statue throughout 1876. Later in life he confessed that he felt the figure was overworked, but in 1876 he could hardly bring himself to release it to a mold maker.

When the white plaster statue was returned to his studio, it had a dazzling coherence in the movement up from the ankles, so close together, the knees, slightly flexed, the swelling chest, the arms and elbows moving away from the body, the mouth partially open, and the left hand and head raised as if in a moment of awakening. The integration of the smooth-skinned surface and the high degree of naturalism had, and still have, a feeling of perfection about them.

By the end of 1876 Rodin's first surviving life-size figure was ready for exhibition. In January he looked forward to putting it in the galleries of the Cercle Artistique et Littéraire, a cultural organization of which he was a member. There it attracted the attention of an anonymous journalist who wrote "Chronique de la Ville" in Belgium's leading political daily, *L'Etoile belge*. This in itself was unusual, for rarely could readers find news of the arts in this column. The reviewer considered Rodin's statue "odd," nevertheless he praised it as having a "quality that is as rare as it is precious: life." But he found it so perfect he wondered if "casting from life" had not played a part in its making. Further, he was perplexed about the lack of a title: "it seems to us that the artist wished to represent a man on the verge of suicide."¹¹ A devastated Rodin wrote a sharp letter of protest to the editor, inviting the anonymous critic to come to his studio and see for himself how far this figure was from being a "servile copy" of the model.¹²

Rodin turned to Belgium's top art critic, Jean Rousseau, for help. Together they chose a title, *Le Vaincu* [The Vanquished One], which Rousseau thought would help to clarify things for the public. It was a title that seemed to place the figure in a contemporary context, for the pain of vanquishment at the hands of the Germans in 1870 still lived as an open wound in the hearts of most French men and women.¹³ The most popular sculptural monument of the entire decade in France was Mercié's *Gloria Victis* (see p. 292), a work that Rodin had seen and admired at the Salon of 1874. Rousseau thought it would make even more sense if Rodin put two spears in the raised right hand.¹⁴ For stylistic reasons Rodin rejected Rousseau's idea; he feared the addition would ruin the profiles. So when Rodin took his statue to Paris in the spring, in order to avoid any confusion, he changed the

name. It would be *The Age of Bronze*. By doing this Rodin was able to eliminate any negative connotations from the figure—after all his first reviewer had thought it looked suicidal—and replace them with a positive idea, that of man's awakening to a new day. Contemporary ideas on the "Ages of Man" were in the process of redefinition. In the late nineteenth century the "age of bronze"—the period when tools and weapons came into being—was viewed as a highly creative time in human history.¹⁵

Rodin's *Age of Bronze* was accepted for the Salon of 1877, although it suffered the usual fate of a work by a little-known artist, that is, it was badly placed in a poorly lit corner. And the reviews were disappointing. Charles Timbal in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* described the figure as a "sickly nude fellow," and repeated the rumor that it was probably a life-cast. He also found the title pretentious.¹⁶ Although Charles Tardieu of *L'Art* accepted it as an honest work, he thought it a "slavish likeness of a model with neither character nor beauty, an astonishingly exact copy of a most commonplace individual."¹⁷



Fig. 1 Auguste Neyt, model for the *Age of Bronze*, photograph by Gaudenzio Marconi, April 1877, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 270

In spite of the critics, Rodin believed in his statue's worth, and he wrote to the director of Fine Arts, the marquis de Chennevières, requesting that the State purchase it. Chennevières was not interested.¹⁸ But Rodin was not about to accept the judgment that was being pronounced on his statue; he mounted a campaign to clear his statue from any suggestion that he had used the dubious practice of life casting. He had photographs taken of Auguste Neyt, in the same pose as the statue so he could put them beside photos of the statue (figs. 1 and 2). Anyone could see they were not the same.¹⁹

There was no one to whom Rodin could turn while Chennevières was minister. Finally, in February 1879, a change in government brought Edmond-Henri Turquet to the post of undersecretary of state for Fine Arts. Rodin remembered that Turquet had congratulated him for his statue at the Salon of 1877, so it took the artist no time to write Turquet asking for an inquiry into the accusations against *The Age of Bronze*. Turquet granted the request, a decision that ultimately resulted in a positive recommendation from a group



Fig. 2 *Age of Bronze*, photograph by Gaudenzio Marconi, probably February 1877, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2742

of seven well-known sculptors.²⁰ Finally Rodin had what he wanted and his figure was to be cast in bronze at the expense of the government.²¹

The new bronze cast was exhibited in the Salon of 1880. Yet critics still accused Rodin of being “a slave to anatomical detail.” Nevertheless, by 1880 Rodin—at age forty—was stepping out of the shadows. An astute Salon visitor could have considered the possibility that he might be looking at the work of an important new sculptor, one to whom it was worth paying attention.

When we examine *The Age of Bronze* and think about its history, it becomes clear that Rodin was less concerned with the statue’s meaning than with the statue’s look. Such a reversal of priorities in the 1870s was nothing short of revolutionary. This, as much as anything else, accounts for the controversial reception of *The Age of Bronze*. Rodin did not set out to create a “David” or a “Roman Gladiator”; he simply wanted to create a beautiful and expressive figure. Thus, the statue has meant many things and it has been exhibited as *Man Awakening to Nature*, *The Iron Age*, *The Stone Age*, *The Wounded Soldier*.²² That the sculpture has meaning seems clear enough, but the precise meaning remains ambiguous. Long after Rodin finished this work, he said that for him the statue embodied a quality of “awakening, the slow return home from a deep dream.”²³ We can feel in this statement his remembrance of a personal odyssey to create a statue that he could bring home and proudly place before the eyes of his countrymen. Truman Bartlett spoke of *The Age of Bronze* as being the sculptor himself in the guise of a young warrior waking from half-sleep.²⁴ Bartlett’s identification of Rodin’s first life-size figure as an idealized self-portrait is surely the most interesting interpretation of them all.

The combination of a new approach to subject and intense realism that Rodin brought to life during his long months of work and passionate devotion to the living model before his eyes produced one of the most intriguing pieces of sculpture created in the Western world in the late nineteenth century.²⁵ It is no wonder that museums and collectors the world over found it so desirable to have a cast of *The Age of Bronze*, whether in plaster or bronze, large or small.

For almost a century the plaster in the National Gallery belonged to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. It was Rodin’s first figure to enter a public collection in the United States.²⁶ In a sense it came to Philadelphia under false pretenses, for the Academy was not as interested in acquiring a work of art as it was a good example of male anatomy. To understand the context of the acquisition we need to remember the scandal caused by Thomas Eakins’ use of live models in his life drawing classes. Eakins’ lack of propriety in these matters led the directors of the Academy to request his resignation.

It was Truman Bartlett’s son Paul who negotiated the purchase of Rodin’s plaster. Young Bartlett, trained as a sculptor at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and resident in a studio close to Rodin’s studio in the rue de Vaugirard, had become

one of Rodin’s friends. Surely Paul Bartlett gave Rodin no inkling of the real nature of the Academy’s interest in owning *The Age of Bronze*. The purchase was handled by the “Cast Committee.” Bartlett had told them that he could acquire casts of noted French statues “at the mere cost of casting.”²⁷ In the case of *The Age of Bronze* this meant 120 dollars, less than half of what Rodin normally asked for the plaster cast of the statue.²⁸

When the statue reached Philadelphia, Paul Bartlett wrote Rodin that it arrived “in good shape.”²⁹ He said the academicians were delighted with it and that they planned on putting it in their annual exhibition. This they did, but they made certain that there was no indication that the statue, sure to offend at least a portion of Philadelphia society, was actually owned by the Academy.³⁰

RB

Notes

1. In 1877 Rodin commissioned Marconi to photograph both his sculpture and his model, Auguste Neyt. Reproduced in Elsen 1980, plates 2–5.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).

3. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Charlottenburg purchased a plaster of *The Age of Bronze* from Rodin in 1902 (probably destroyed). This is also the case for an example Rodin gave to the University of Bonn in 1904, that in the School of Fine Arts in Hanoi, and that in the Museum of Fine Arts at the University of Bogota. In addition, there have been several plasters of unknown provenance in the art market in recent years. Le Normand-Romain 1997, 270–273. Nasher 1996, 35–36, 60–61.

4. Rodin had made a “Bacchante” around 1863 or 1864, which he told Bartlett was “better than ‘The Age of Brass.’” The figure was accidentally destroyed during a move from one studio to another. Bartlett 1889 (19 January), 27.

5. Rodin tried to place a portrait—the work we know as *The Man with the Broken Nose*—in the Salon of 1865. Not really a bust, but simply a mask in plaster, it was refused. In the 1870s he had *The Man with the Broken Nose* carved as a complete marble bust. Though it was accepted for the Salon of 1875, along with a terra-cotta portrait of M. Garnier, it went virtually unnoticed by critics. Butler, “Rodin and the Paris Salon,” in NGA 1981, 20–21.

6. Butler, “Rodin and the Paris Salon,” in NGA 1981, 24–27.

7. Butler 1993, chapter 8.

8. Bartlett 1889 (26 January), 45.

9. Neyt 1922; quoted in Descharnes and Chabrun 1967, 49.

10. Bartlett 1889 (9 February), 65.

11. “Chronique de la Ville,” *L’Etoile belge* (29 January 1877), unnumbered.

12. “Chronique de la Ville,” *L’Etoile belge* (3 February 1877), unnumbered.

13. Butler 1979, 161–167.

14. “Revue des Arts,” *Echo du Parlement* (11 April 1877), unnumbered.

15. An important article on the subject was by Emile Burnouf, “L’Age du Bronze et les origines de la métallurgie,” *Revue des deux mondes* (15 June 1877), 752–782. Le Normand-Romain suggests Rodin could have been influenced by the representation of the Four Ages of Art, executed by Rodin’s friend Modeste Carlier (1820–1878) for the staircase at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. Le Normand-Romain 1997, 251.

16. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd period, 16 (1877); reprinted in Butler 1980, 34.

17. *L’Art* 3 (1877), 108; reprinted in Butler 1980, 34.

18. Butler 1993, 110.
19. Reproduced in Elsen 1980, plates 2–5.
20. The sculptors were Dubois, Falguière, Carrier-Belleuse, Chaplain, Thomas, and Delaplanche. Their letter to Turquet is in the Archives Nationales, Paris (inv. L. 907).
21. An administrative order to acquire Rodin's plaster was put through on 26 May 1880. The price was 2,000 francs. On the same day the State commissioned Thiébaud Frères to execute the bronze cast for the sum of 2,200 francs. Beausire 1988, 73.
22. Grappe 1944, 16.
23. Letter from Rodin to the Director of the Bremer Kunsthalle, dated 29 January 1906; quoted in Waldmann 1945, 73.
24. Bartlett 1889 (25 May), 250.
25. See Le Normand-Romain 1997, 257–258, for a particularly fine discussion of Rodin's approach to realism in this statue and how it owes more to the lessons of ancient sculpture than to either contemporary or Renaissance sculpture.
26. The first work by Rodin to enter a public collection was the *Head of Saint John the Baptist*, Samuel P. Avery's gift to the MMA in 1893. Butler, "Rodin and His American Collectors," in Weisberg and Dixon 1987, 90–91 and 100.
27. Bartlett's letters of 1897–1899 are in the PAFA archives.
28. The price of a plaster *Age of Bronze* at the Vienna Secession in 1901 was 1,500 francs. Beausire 1988, 205. In 1898, 120 U.S. dollars equaled approximately 600 francs, which would have been equivalent to approximately 2,350 U.S. dollars in 1996.
29. Letter from Paul Bartlett to Rodin, dated 7 January 1899 (MRA).
30. It is not clear that the Pennsylvania Academy ever exhibited their plaster as "a work of art." When I saw it for the first time in 1985 it was not being treated in such a manner, as it was rather casually placed in a corridor of the school.

1942.5.10 (A-74)¹

The Age of Bronze (L'Age d'Airain)

Model 1875–1876; cast 1903–1904

Bronze, 104.1 × 35 × 27.9 (41 × 13³/₄ × 11)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on left side of base near the left foot: Rodin

A cachet in raised letters on the inside of the left foot: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The small *Age of Bronze* was not a mechanical reduction but was modeled as a new work and cast for the Simpsons (see below).

The bronze alloy used was 92% copper, 6% tin, 0.9% zinc, 0.6% iron, 0.2% lead, 0.1% arsenic, and traces of silver and antimony. The figure was hollow cast and has no internal support, though armatures used to secure core material during casting are visible through X-radiography. Particles of charred sand remain on the interior. The sculpture appears to have been cast in six sections: the right arm from shoulder to wrist; the left arm beginning just above the elbow and including the hand; the head, right hand, torso, and legs to just below the knees; the legs below the knees including the feet; the base; and a "u"-shaped section at the back of the head, presumably designed as an access to the interior of the sculpture in order to remove the core. The sculpture is evenly cast with walls ranging in thickness from approximately 0.6 to 0.8 centimeters thick.

The patina appears to have been applied in two campaigns: an undercoat of light green over which a darker green was applied. Select areas of the sculpture were additionally patinated using turquoise, as seen for example on the calves. X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) identifies one constituent of the patinating solution as copper nitrate. After the two solutions were applied an additional patina was applied to the tops of the toes, the back of the right lower leg, the upper arms, the nipples, and salient parts of the features: lips, nose, cheeks, chin, eyebrows. This has also been found to contain copper nitrate hydroxide. Matte earth-red material is present in many of the recesses of the surface. The entire surface was covered with a thin layer of wax.

The sculpture is structurally sound but superficially unstable. The patina is flaking in many areas, exposing the light-green underlayer, most noticeably in the armpits, both sides of the chest, and the inner thighs.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1905.

Exhibited: *Renaissance and Modern Bronzes*, MFA, 1908, no. 162, as "*Age d'Airain*."³ NGA 1946, no. 9. NGA 1965. NGA 1974.

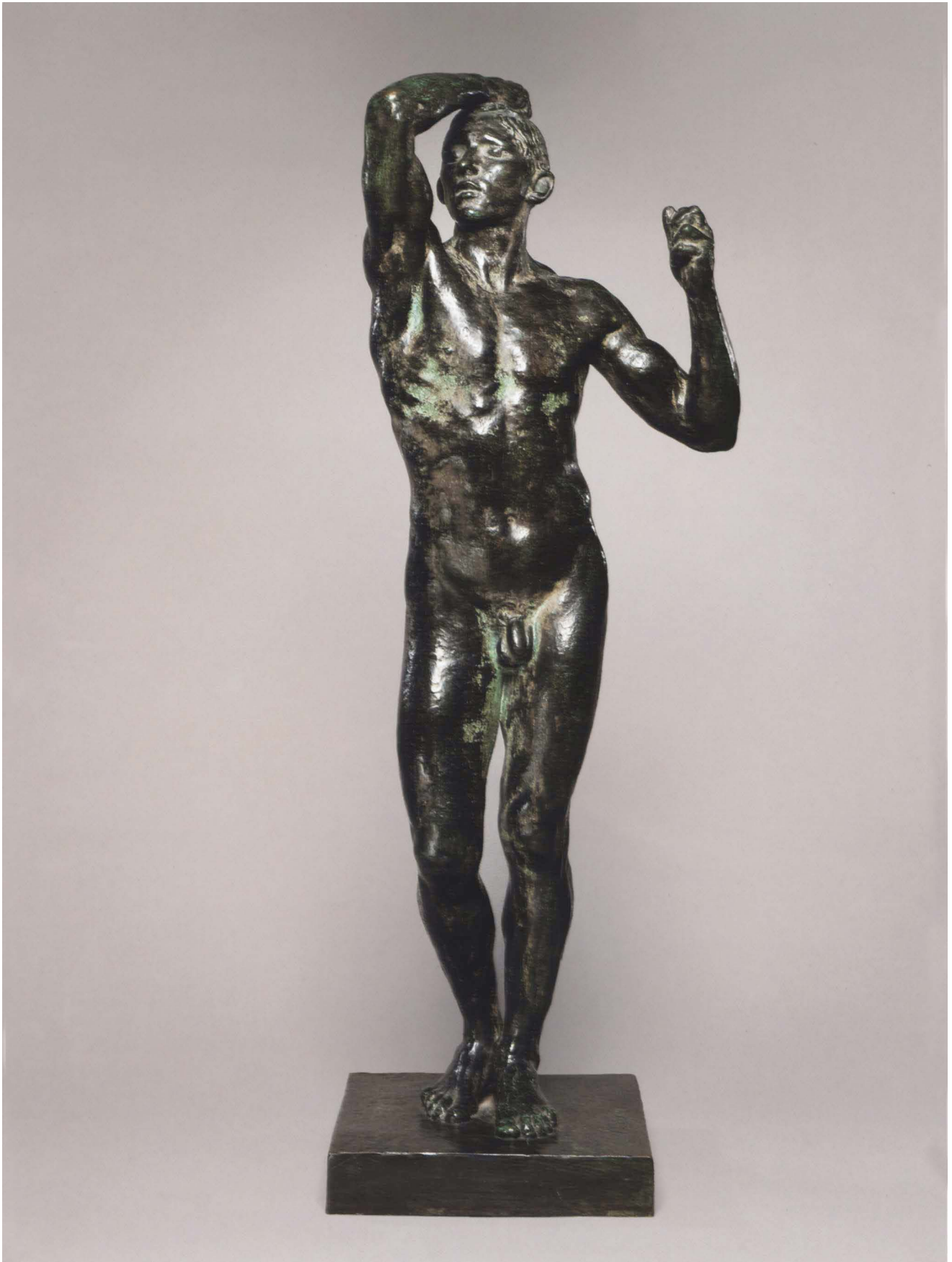
Other Versions

In the winter of 1903/1904 Rodin asked Henri Lebossé, a highly skilled artisan who both reduced and enlarged works for him, to make two reductions of *The Age of Bronze*: one 105 centimeters, the other 66 centimeters.⁴ The banker Maurice Masson purchased the first cast of the larger version, writing to Rodin in June 1905 to request a certificate stating this to be the case. Rodin wrote back that Masson's cast was indeed the first, but that he had made a second cast, also in this size, "for one of my friends. These are the only two which exist at the present time."⁵ The second cast was for the Simpsons.⁶ Both were Rudier casts and we know the foundry made at least one more cast in this dimension. There exist about nineteen posthumous casts in this size.⁷ Examples in public collections can be found in the Musée Rodin in Paris, the Musée de Metz, the Queensland Art Gallery in Brisbane, Australia, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the Princeton University Art Museum, the Stanford University Art Gallery, and the Edmonton Art Gallery, Canada.

RB

Notes

1. See the previous entry for the plaster version of *The Age of Bronze*.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (22 July 1996). See Seymour 1949, note 56 ("A first-hand report states that Rodin personally supervised the process of patination").
3. Mrs. Simpson wrote to Rodin on 6 March 1908 to tell him she had sent four bronzes to Boston. A list of works in the exhibition is provided by the *Boston Evening Transcript* (6 March 1908).
4. Elsen, "Rodin's 'Perfect Collaborator', Henri Lebossé," in NGA 1981, 258.
5. Letter from Rodin to Maurice Masson, dated 20 June 1905. Beausire and Cadouot 1986, 161–162. Between 1977 and 1994 the Masson cast was on loan to the Musée de Lille. Since that time it was sold at auction at the Hôtel Drouot (sale of 13 June 1994), and the present location is unknown.
6. John Simpson wrote to Rodin on 6 November 1905: "The enclosed draft (francs. 5000) is for the 'Age d'Airain,' payment for which, in order to oblige me, you so kindly postponed until I should arrive home" (MRA).
7. Information provided by the Musée Rodin in May 1995.



Auguste Rodin, *The Age of Bronze* (*L'Age d'Airain*), 1942.5.10

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 1877 Tardieu: 108.
 1877 Timbal: 42–43.
 1889 Bartlett.
 1903 Rilke: 15–16.
 1911 Rodin: 75, 79, 84.
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 1949 Seymour: note 56.
 1959 Alley: 210–211.
 1963 Elsen: 20–26.
 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 52–54.
 1967 Spear: 39–40, 94–95.
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 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 38–47.
 1979 Butler: 161–167.
 1980 Butler: 32–35.
 1980 Elsen: 157–158; pls. 2–5.
 1981 Butler, Ruth. "Rodin and the Paris Salon." In *NGA*: 33–34.
 1981 Vincent: 24.
 1983 Schmoll: 53–56.
 1987 Ambrosini and Facos: 56–58.
 1987 Grunfeld: 98–106, 113–114, 125–129.
 1988 Fonsmark: 67–69.
 1989 Goldscheider: 114–116.
 1993 Butler: 99–112.
 1996 Kausch: 252–254.
 1997 Le Normand-Romain: 246–319.
 1998 Porter and Lacasse: 58–59.

1942.5.II (A-75)

The Walking Man¹ (*L'Homme qui marche*)

Model 1878–1900; cast probably 1903
 Bronze, 85.1 × 59.8 × 26.5 (33½ × 23⅞ × 10⅞)
 Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Incised on the base between the feet: A. Rodin

In raised letters on the underside of the base, inside left foot:
 A. Rodin

In raised letters behind right heel, on the underside of the base:
 A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The sculpture is a hollow sand cast. The bronze alloy used was approximately 93% copper, 4.6% tin, 1.1% zinc, 0.6% iron, and 0.4% lead. Particles of charred sand remain on the interior wall. X-radiography reveals a cast in four sections: the torso and the upper quarter of the thighs; the right leg and foot; the left leg and foot; and the base. The feet have rectangular extensions that protrude from the underside and fit into similarly shaped openings on the base. With the exception of raised seams that extend down the figure under the arms, the seam marks on the torso were the result of the casting in plaster and were then reproduced in the bronze cast.

The thickness of the metal walls ranges from 0.4 to 0.6 centimeters. A casting flaw on the proper right ankle has been reinforced on the interior. X-radiography reveals oblong marks, cross-hatched marks, and both broad- and narrow-toothed tool marks, all were used on the original clay surface prior to casting in bronze.

After casting, the surface was filed and chased to eliminate the remnants from the casting process. Next the patina was applied, starting with an undercoat of light green, over which a darker moss green interspersed with a reddish-brown layer was painted. A sample taken at the right collarbone has been analyzed using X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) and identified as copper nitrate hydroxide, suggesting one constituent of the patinating solution was copper nitrate. An additional patina resulting in a bright turquoise color was applied to select areas of the sculpture: the left leg, the chest, the hip area, and the groin. Finally, the surface was covered with a thin layer of wax.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1903.

Exhibited: *Loan Collection of Paintings by Claude Monet and Eleven Sculptures by Auguste Rodin*, The Copley Society of Boston, Copley Hall, 1905, no. 3, as *Saint Jean, Sans Bras et Sans Tête*.³ *NGA* 1946, no. 8. *NGA* 1965. *The Partial Figure in Modern Sculpture from Rodin to 1969*, BMA, 1969–1970, no. 60. *Rodin Drawings: True or False*, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum of Art, New York, 1972. *NGA* 1974. *NGA* 1981, no. 286. *In the Sculptor's Landscape: Celebrating Twenty-Five Years of the Franklin D. Murphy Sculpture Garden*, Wight Art Gallery, Los Angeles, 1993, no. 82.

Other Versions

When the Simpson's purchased "St. John of the Column" in 1903, they acquired one of the first—if not the first—bronze casts of this figure.⁴ Other early casts can be seen in the Musée Faure, Aix-les-Bains, the Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal, Germany (gift of Dr. Robert Wichelhaus in 1910), the Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (originally a gift from Rodin to Gustave Geffroy), and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (the original owner was Mrs. Nelson Robinson, Kate Simpson's sister). The cast Rodin gave to Edward Steichen in 1908, now in the collection of Malcolm Wiener, New York, is a promised gift to the Museum of Modern Art, New York.⁵ Posthumous casts are owned by: the Kunstmuseum Athenaeum, Helsinki; the Musée Rodin and the Musée Bourdelle, both in Paris; and the Art Gallery and Museum of Aberdeen, Scotland.

RODIN CREATED *The Walking Man* around 1900 out of some fragments that had been in his studio for more than two decades. The original parts date from 1878 when Rodin was working on his second large male figure, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*, a work intended as a future submission to the Paris Salon. Throughout his life Rodin enjoyed telling the story of this powerful figure, and how the man who modeled for him, a peasant from the Abruzzi named Pignatelli, had certain instincts that were invaluable to the way the figure developed. In 1913 he recalled how Pignatelli would arrive in the studio, mount the model's stand, and then plant "himself, head up, torso straight, at the same time supported on his two legs, opened like a compass. The movement was so right, so determined, and so true that I cried: 'But it's a walking man!'"⁶ Truman Bartlett's 1889 articles contain an even earlier description. Rodin told Bartlett how he selected "the subject of 'St. John Preaching,'" and then

began “a sketch half the size of what he intended the statue to be.”⁷ Even though *The Walking Man* is 85 centimeters—that is, less than half the size of the 2-meter *Saint John*—it was long presumed that this was the sketch Rodin worked on in 1878.⁸ In one of her later books, however, Judith Cladel spoke of seeing the separate fragments of *The Walking Man* in Rodin’s studio, and that they were not joined until c. 1900. Thus, *The Walking Man* and the sketch referred to by Bartlett are not the same.⁹ Gradually a shift has taken place in the way the small *Walking Man* is seen. Rather than thinking about the individual parts, and thus placing the figure with Rodin’s early work, the reassemblage of 1900 is seen as the creative act. The work is now viewed as representative of Rodin’s mature style, when partial figures as independent works had become typical in his oeuvre.¹⁰ Recent catalogues reflect this viewpoint.¹¹

One of the things that has effected the willingness to change the date of the small *Walking Man* has been new interest in Rodin’s exhibition history.¹² When Kate and John Simpson purchased their sculpture in the summer of 1903, it was called “St. Jean of the Column.”¹³ The title refers to the way Rodin had been showing it on top of a tall column in recent exhibitions (fig. 1). The installation was particularly effective at his large retrospective in the Place de l’Alma in 1900. It was seen in the same fashion in the Vienna Secession and the Venice Biennale, both of 1901, and again in Mulhouse and Prague in 1902.¹⁴ In fact, the column became so much a part of the presentation of Rodin’s head-

less and armless figure that when his students and assistants assembled in the woods of Chaville in 1903 to celebrate Rodin’s elevation to “commander” in the Légion d’Honneur, they brought along both column and *Walking Man*, and placed them in the center of their circle (fig. 2). The choice, made by the men in Rodin’s studio, indicates the singular importance of the fragment as it became one of Rodin’s most admired works in the twentieth century.¹⁵

In these early shows the work was referred to variously as “Saint Jean,” or “Colonne de Saint Jean” (Venice), or “Ombre” (Mulhouse). The designation we know—“Walking Man”—did not come into use until after 1905 when the work was enlarged to an over life-size format. In 1905 Rodin ordered Lebossé to take his small figure and make a big version (213 centimeters). While Lebossé was working on it, Rodin’s assistant referred to it simply as “torso with legs.”¹⁶ The first time the enlarged version was exhibited was in Strasbourg in the spring of 1907. There it became *L’homme qui marche*.¹⁷

The enlarged version had a tremendous effect on contemporary audiences and it has long been considered one of Rodin’s twentieth-century masterpieces (fig. 3). We get some sense of this from George Bernard Shaw’s reaction to seeing it at the London International Society Exhibition in January 1908. His own bust by Rodin was also in the show, which led him to complain in mock horror that it was “useless to stand beside the bust so that people can compare me to it: everyone’s eyes look at nothing but the divine tramp . . . I’m so downcast. Without these two satanic legs, I would be king of the exhibition.”¹⁸

Another Englishman who fell in love with *The Walking Man* was Henry Moore (1898–1986). He owned a cast in the same dimensions as the National Gallery figure. In the mid-1960s, Albert Elsen went to Moore’s home so that together



Fig. 1 *The Walking Man*, photograph by Stephen and Haweis, 1903–1904, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2160



Fig. 2 Rodin with *The Walking Man* and friends at Vélizy, photograph by Limet, 1903, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 729



Auguste Rodin, *The Walking Man* (*L'Homme qui marche*), 1942.5.11



Fig. 3 *The Walking Man* in the courtyard of the Farnese Palace, Rome, photograph by Cesare Faraglia, 1912, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 4422

they might study this “haunting sculpture for artist and art historian.” They focused first on the torso alone, considering how the bronze cast of Rodin’s torso in the Petit Palais, Paris, related to antique figures and to drawings and clay sketches by Michelangelo. Then they thought about the legs as Rodin had modeled them from Pignatelli’s body. Moore believed the two legs stood with their armatures joined at the top before they were joined to the torso. It was clear to Moore that when the plaster legs and torso were put together there was no attempt “to model a new buttocks or to conceal the raw adhesion.”¹⁹ *The Walking Man* was one of Moore’s favorites because it was a work in which viewers could truly experience Rodin’s antipathy to symmetry, and at the same time see his enormous “sensitivity to the inner workings and balance of the body. . . . He could make you feel his modelled feet gripping the ground as in the *Walking Man*.” And further, Moore said Rodin had opened his own eyes “to the fragment, the sketch, [and] the accident,” for which Moore was forever grateful. It made him keep *The Walking Man* forever in view as an aid in his personal search for new forms.²⁰

RB

Notes

1. The title of the work at the time of its purchase by the Simpsons was *St. John of the Column*.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (28 June 1996).

3. The *Boston Evening Transcript* (20 March 1905, p. 11) listed the four works the Simpsons loaned to the Copley Hall exhibition. One of them was “Saint John without arms or head.”

4. See note 14.

5. When he received the gift, Steichen wrote Alfred Stieglitz an excited letter about the quality of the cast which he described as “a wonder.” Rodin told him “it was to be a symbol for me and to keep on marching.” Undated letter of 1908 in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, New Haven.

6. Dujardin-Beaumetz 1913, 65.

7. Bartlett 1889 (2 March), 99.

8. Elsen 1963, 28; Jianou and Goldscheider 1967, 86; Descharnes and Chabrun 1967, 55; Tancock 1976, 365. Further confusion arises from the five editions of the catalogue of the Musée Rodin (Grappe 1927, 1929, 1931, 1938, 1944) in which *The Walking Man* is dated 1877, even though it is the 213-centimeter work that is both illustrated and discussed.

9. Cladel 1948, xvi–xix. Noted by Schmoll 1954, 61, and by Steinberg 1963, 24. Elsen changed his dating in his article of 1967 (see Elsen and Moore 1967, 26–27).

10. It is generally believed that the bronze torso which Sir Joseph Duveen gave to the Petit Palais in Paris in 1923 in some way reflects the early fragments from which *The Walking Man* was created. Elsen and Moore 1967, 27. Tancock has suggested that this torso was exhibited in the 1889 Monet/Rodin exhibition. In the recent recreation of that show at the Musée Rodin (1989), from among the thirty-six works that were in the original show, two torsos (nos. 34 and 36) could not be identified, so Tancock’s suggestion remains a possibility. Tancock 1976, 363.

11. Lampert 1986, 160; Fonsmark 1988, 150; Goldscheider 1989, 130; Pinget 1990, 219.

12. Made possible by Beausire 1988.

13. Rodin’s *atelier* note, dated 1 September 1903, lists five works intended for the Simpsons. The second on the list is “St. Jean de la colonne” (MRA).

14. Beausire 1988, 185–186, 208, 215, 223, 233.

15. All these casts were in plaster, which leads me to speculate that the Simpson cast was the first bronze cast.

16. Elsen, “Rodin’s ‘Perfect Collaborator,’ Henri Lebossé,” in NGA 1981, 258.

17. Beausire 1988, 284.

18. Letter from Shaw to Rodin, dated 26 January 1908 (MRA).

19. Elsen and Moore 1967, 28.

20. Elsen and Moore 1967, 29–30.

References

- 1889 Bartlett: 99.
- 1913 Dujardin-Beaumetz: 65–66.
- 1917 Cladel: 258–260.
- 1927 Grappe: 29.
- 1944 Grappe: 16–17.
- 1948 Cladel: xvi–xix.
- 1954 Schmoll: 61–62.
- 1963 Elsen: 28–33, 173–174, 180–181.
- 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 55, 213.
- 1967 Elsen and Moore: 26–31.
- 1976 Tancock: 357, 360, 364, 365, 369.
- 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 77–79.
- 1981 Vincent: 26.
- 1983 Schmoll: 131–132, 135.
- 1986 Lampert: 160–161.
- 1989 Goldscheider: 130.
- 1990 Pinget: 124–127.
- 1996 Kausch: 255–256.

1942.5.12 (A-76)

The Thinker (Le Penseur)

Model 1880; cast 1901

Bronze, 71.5 × 36.4 × 59.5 (28 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 23 $\frac{7}{16}$)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Incised on base at left side: A. Rodin

On the lower left side of the interior of the base: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The metal composition is a true bronze alloy: 93% copper, 4.5% tin, and 1% zinc with traces of iron, silver, antimony, lead, and possible arsenic.

The figure was sand cast and bits of charred sand were found on the interior of the sculpture. Examination of the interior, along with X-radiography, reveals that the sculpture is cast in at least six sections: the largest section consisting of the head and the torso; a second the left arm and hand; a third the right arm extending from the biceps and including the hand; a fourth the left leg and foot; a fifth the right leg and foot; and a sixth the base. X-radiography also reveals that the thickness of the cast wall ranges from approximately 0.55 to 0.75 millimeters. Metal rods, probably remnant armatures, coil down both legs and extend along both arms. Thinner, hollow tubes run from the shoulders to the wrists of both arms.

After casting the figure was cold-worked. File marks are evident under the chin, on the stomach, on the left biceps, and on the right knee. The surface has a complex, multi-colored patina, which gives the figure a painterly appearance. The patina seems to have been applied in three campaigns: first, an undercoat of light green, over which a moss green was applied, interspersed with a dark brown. Turquoise is found on the raised areas of the right leg, the top of the head, the eyebrows, and scattered over other parts of the figure. Matte earth red is present in some recesses, especially on the base and in the hair. Analysis of the patina using X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) identified copper nitrate hydroxide indicating copper nitrate as a major constituent of the patinating solution. The patina on *The Thinker* differs from that on other bronzes in the National Gallery in that it is quite sloppy, showing drips that run down the left side of the chest and leg. Wax has been applied to the surface.

The sculpture is in good and stable condition. There are superficial scratches on the left shoulder and the left buttocks.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1903.²

Exhibited: *Loan Collection of Paintings by Claude Monet and Eleven Sculptures by Auguste Rodin*, The Copley Society of Boston, Copley Hall, 1905, no. 2.³ Photo-Secession Gallery, New York, 1910. NGA 1946, no. 7. NGA 1965. NGA 1974. NGA 1981, no. 261.

Other Versions

In its original size (71 centimeters)—the size of the National Gallery version—*The Thinker* exists in a large number of casts. At least twenty-four are in public collections and some thirty to forty more in private hands.⁴ Rodin began selling casts of *The Thinker* very early. In 1884 the London banker/collector, Constantine Ionidas, purchased one for 4,000 francs (now National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia).⁵ Rodin gave a bronze cast done by the firm of J. B. Griffoul to the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (formerly Musée Rath), in 1896. The Nationalgalleriet in Oslo purchased their cast in 1898, and a bronze cast was made by the Petermann Foundry in Belgium in 1899 from a

plaster Rodin exhibited at the Maison d'Art in Brussels.⁶ In 1901 the Rudier Foundry made three casts.⁷ One of the three went to Carl Jacobsen (now NCG) and one was purchased by the Simpsons. Three other life-time casts belong to the Nationalgalerie in Berlin (gift, 1906), the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (purchase, 1909) and the MMA (purchase, 1910). In addition, in 1906, Ralph Pulitzer ordered a cast which is now in a private collection (formerly Paley Collection).

ONCE RODIN was informed that he would receive the most important commission of his life—a pair of colossal bronze doors for a new museum of decorative arts being planned by the French government—he was called upon to select a subject. He chose Dante's *Divine Comedy* as a theme. The next issue was design and, after briefly considering a traditional format of small narrative panels, he began to organize his doors in terms of five large sections: two panels, flanked by pilasters, with a rectangular lintel above (fig. 1). At the center of the rectangle he placed a seated figure, the original concept for the figure we know as "The Thinker."⁸

The Musée des Arts décoratifs commission was Rodin's first official command in France, and with it came the privilege of working in a state studio. At age forty, Rodin finally experienced the feeling of being accepted. We can almost feel the power of *The Thinker* as somehow related to his new level of success. Although Rodin had already experi-



Fig. 1 maquette for *The Gates of Hell*, photograph by E. Freuler(?), 1880(?), Musée Rodin, Ph 284

mented with muscular male figures before 1880, it is “the giant of the doors” that makes us think of Michelangelo’s *Tomb of Lorenzo de’ Medici*, of the *Belvedere Torso* (which Rodin had incorporated into an allegorical group he made in 1874), and of Carpeaux’s *Ugolino*.⁹ We recognize in Rodin’s brooding nude giant, with its studied contrapposto, the sculptor’s eagerness to position himself within the history of sculpture. He wanted to create an image in line with the great artists who were his heroes. As an artist Rodin had a lifelong commitment to work collaboratively with the models who sat for him. He liked to say, “I take from life the movements I observe; I do not impose movements on the models.”¹⁰ But in this instance, Rodin clearly had some notion about how his model should assume the pose.

Rodin worked on the clay figure for the top of his doors throughout the fall and winter of 1880 and 1881. It was one of the first figures for the doors to take form, and when he wanted to see its position over the lintel, he hoisted it up on a wooden scaffolding (fig. 2). Visitors would come to the studio and gaze at this figure perched high up above them, and frequently they referred to it as “Dante.” Octave Mirbeau described how

within a slightly recessed panel, the figure of Dante detaches itself from the background in a pronounced, projecting position. Surrounded by bas-reliefs, which represent his arrival in hell, Dante’s pose somewhat recalls that of

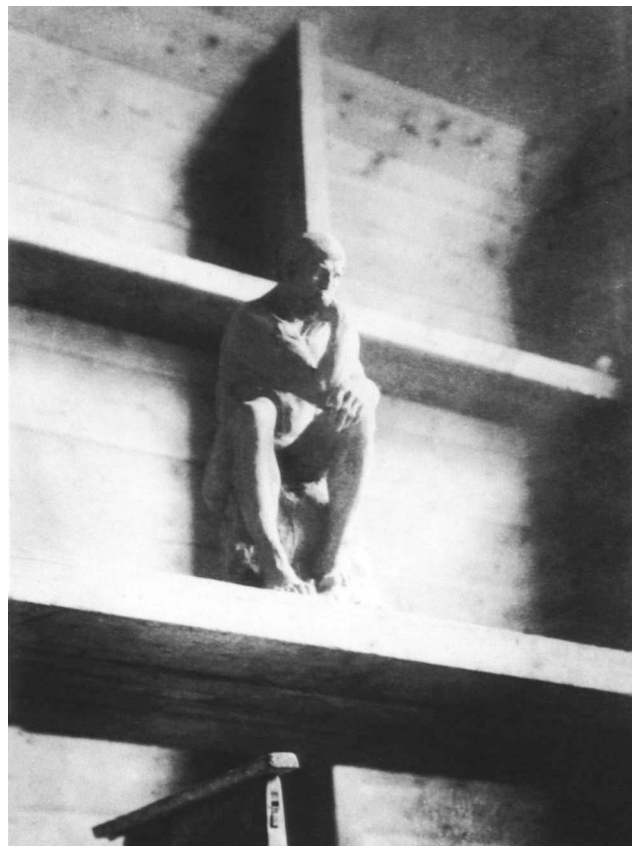


Fig. 2 *The Thinker* on scaffolding in Rodin’s studio, photograph by Victor Pannellier, 1882, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 289

Michelangelo’s *Thinker*. He is seated, his body leans forward, his right arm rests on his left leg, giving his body an inexpressibly tragic movement. His face, like that of a terrible avenging god, rests heavily in his hand; the hand sinks into the flesh near the corner of his compressed lips, and his dark eyes plunge into the abyss that exudes the moaning of the damned on the sulfurous winds.¹¹

Rodin did not object to the identification with Dante, but later in life he explained that after having worked on it for a year, he himself did not think of the figure in that way. The mighty brooder became less and less an individual—Dante—and “no longer a dreamer, he is a creator.”¹² In taking this direction, Rodin was exploring ideas with marked similarity to those found in Victor Hugo’s poetry. Further, he was identifying himself as the artist with the image, and thus *The Thinker* became a sort of ideal self-portrait.¹³

In the late 1880s Rodin began to exhibit his seated figure: In Copenhagen in 1888 the plaster model was called “Le Poète,” and in the 1889 Monet/Rodin show, it was “Le Penseur; le Poète.”¹⁴ But, by 1896, when it was shown in Geneva, it was simply “Le Penseur,” as it was in Copenhagen the following year when a bronze cast was exhibited for the first time.¹⁵ From then on, until Rodin’s death in 1917, *The Thinker* was exhibited in some major city almost every year. Many who saw it shared the view of a Belgian critic who saw it in Brussels in 1899: “the figure . . . stands as the most complete synthesis of the master’s genius.”¹⁶

It was no wonder that the Simpsons felt they should own *The Thinker*. In 1903, when Rodin was completing Kate Simpson’s portrait, this would have been especially true, for it was much on Rodin’s mind, and surely he spoke of it often. Two years earlier he had asked Henri Lebossé to enlarge his figure and in the summer of 1903 he was waiting impatiently for the finished plaster.¹⁷ The following year, Rodin introduced his large figure, which was to become one of the commanding presences of the Western world: in January at the fourth exhibition of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers in London; and in April at the Paris Salon, where the first bronze cast—paired with the marble bust of Mrs. Simpson—greeted Salon-goers. Throughout the summer of 1904, a plaster cast was displayed at the St. Louis World’s Fair, while another was in the international exhibition in Düsseldorf, and yet another at the fine arts show in Dresden as part of a large retrospective panorama of nineteenth-century art.¹⁸

The appearance of the bronze cast in the Paris Salon had special importance. After having seen it, Gabriel Mourey, editor of the small review *Arts de la vie*, launched a campaign to purchase it for placement somewhere in Paris. Rodin’s friend, the critic Gustave Geffroy, joined the committee as its treasurer, fearing if they did not work hard to organize a subscription, *The Thinker* would end up in England or America, which, as he pointed out, were “so much more hospitable to Rodin’s work than Paris.”¹⁹

Though highly controversial, the initiative was a success: *The Thinker* was installed in front of the Panthéon, and the



Auguste Rodin, *The Thinker* (*Le Penseur*), 1942.5.12



1942.5.12

inauguration took place on 21 April 1906 (fig. 3).²⁰ One of the interesting things about the event, which came through in the inaugural speeches, was how much the passage of twenty-five years and the change of scale altered the idea of who *The Thinker* was and for what he stood. No longer the brooding Romantic poet-genius, now he was “a man for all time.”²¹ Speeches included words like “athlete,” and “arduous worker.” *The Thinker* symbolized “social progress.” These were the ideas that dominated the rhetoric at the inauguration at the Panthéon.²² By 1906, Rodin’s giant, a figure that continues to be capable of projecting almost any idea a viewer wishes, was well on its way to becoming the world’s most famous statue.²³

Kate Simpson was enormously proud of her *Thinker*. When Alfred Stieglitz and Edward Steichen organized a Rodin drawing show at the new Photo-Secession Gallery in 1910, she gladly lent her cast, reporting to Rodin that it gave the “perfect cachet” to the show, and that “the dignified Thinker is like a guardian angel in the exhibition.”²⁴

In 1915 and 1916, Kate Simpson was helping museums in St. Louis and Cleveland to negotiate the purchase of large bronze casts of *The Thinker*. Only Cleveland succeeded; their *Thinker* arrived in 1917. But it was Alma Spreckles of San Francisco who was responsible for bringing the first large bronze cast to an American city. The San Francisco *Thinker* arrived for the Panama-Pacific International Exhibi-

tion in 1915, and at the close of the exhibition it was moved to Golden Gate Park.²⁵

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (10 June 1996).
2. There is a copy of a note Rodin sent to the Simpsons dated 1 September 1903, listing five works that he was sending. *The Thinker* was number 1 on the list (MRA).
3. *The Thinker* was one of the four works the Simpsons lent for the 1905 Boston exhibition. They are listed in *The Boston Evening Transcript* (20 March 1905), p. 11.
4. Rodin also had reductions made in a 15¼-in. size. Fewer casts exist in this dimension, but since 1985 at least seven have been sold at auctions in New York and London. The best list of the locations of the various casts is found in Tancock 1976, 120–121.
5. Letters from Ionidas to Rodin, dated April, May, and December 1884 (MRA).
6. Information provided by Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, conservateur en chef, Musée Rodin, Paris.
7. Information supplied by Gérôme Le Blay, who worked on a database for Rodin bronzes at the Musée Rodin, Paris.
8. The best publication in English on *The Gates of Hell* is Elsen 1985a. Also consult Elsen 1985b.
9. Elsen 1985b, figs. 13–21, and 26.
10. Gsell 1911, 29.
11. Octave Mirbeau, “Chronique Parisienne,” *La France*, 18 February 1885, 15–16. Translated by John Anzalone in Butler 1980, 47.
12. “Thin, ascetic, Dante separated from the whole would have been without meaning. Guided by my first inspiration I conceived another thinker, a naked man, seated upon a rock, his feet drawn under him, his fist against his teeth, he dreams. The fertile thought slowly elaborates itself within his brain. He is no longer a dreamer, he is a creator.” Letter from Rodin to Marcel Adam, printed in Adam 1904, translated and quoted in Elsen 1985b, 43.
13. The relationship of Rodin’s figure to images in Hugo’s work has been explored by Jamison 1986. Also see Elsen 1985b, 65–71. It should be noted that a cast of the enlarged *Thinker* was placed upon Rodin’s tomb at his home in Meudon.
14. Beausire 1988, 99, 105.
15. Beausire 1988, 125, 137.
16. Ergaste, “L’Exposition Rodin,” *Petit bleu* (9 May 1899).
17. On 13 August 1903 Rodin wrote to his German client, Max Linde: “The plaster of ‘The Thinker’ is finished and I will have it cast soon.” Rodin’s letters to Linde are in the archives in Lübeck. They have been translated and published in Marandel 1988, 41. Lebossé’s letters to Rodin are in the MRA. On the enlarging and casting of *The Thinker*, see Elsen 1985b, 76–85.
18. Beausire 1988, 247–254.
19. Geffroy 1904, 775.
20. This cast was removed from the Place du Panthéon in 1922 and installed at the Musée Rodin, where it remains today in a place of honor: the garden in front of the museum.
21. Mourey 1904.
22. Butler 1993, 430.
23. See Elsen 1985b, 145–161. At least twenty-one bronze casts of the large *Thinker* are in public spaces, ten of them in the United States.
24. Letter from Kate Simpson to Rodin, dated 1 April 1910 (MRA).
25. De Caso and Sanders 1977, 134.

References

- 1889 Bartlett: 224.
 1889 Geffroy, Gustave. “Le Statuaire Rodin.” *Les Lettres et les Arts* (1 September 1889), in Vilain 1989: 62.



Fig. 3 *The Thinker* in front of the Panthéon, photograph, 1906, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2881

- 1904 Adam.
- 1904 Mourey: 267–270.
- 1927 Grappe: 61.
- 1944 Grappe: 24–25.
- 1953 Gantner: 27–28.
- 1963 Alhadeff: 363–367.
- 1963 Elsen: 52–54.
- 1967 Spear: 52–53, 96–97.
- 1976 Tancock: 111–121.
- 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 131–138.
- 1980 Elsen: figs. 19–22, pls. 23, 24, 165–166.
- 1980 Los Angeles: 334–335.
- 1981 Vincent: 4–5.
- 1983 Schmoll: 54–58, 66–67, 192–193, 278–282.
- 1985a Elsen: 56–57.
- 1985b Elsen.
- 1986 Jamison: 69–122.
- 1988 Beausire: 99, 105, 156, 185, 195, 220, 242, 265, 266, 271, 286, 302, 307, 314, 315, 349, 366, 368.
- 1988 Fonsmark: 73–78.
- 1989 Vilain: 174–176.
- 1993 Butler: 423–435.
- 1996 Kausch: 166–168.
- 1998 Porter and Lacasse: 78–83.

1942.5.15 (A-79)

The Kiss (*Le Baiser*)

Model 1880–1887; cast c. 1898/1902

Copper alloy, 24.7 × 15.8 × 17.4 (9¾ × 6¼ × 6⅞)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

On front of rock, stamped below the left hip of female figure:
RODIN

On left side of rock, in script: hommage à Madame / Kate Simpson / en souvenir des heures / d'atelier Sept 1902 / A. Rodin

Stamped below dedication is Collas metal inset: REDUCTION
MÉCANIQUE / A. COLLAS / BREVETÉ

Inscribed by hand on right bottom edge, below right foot of male figure: F. BARBEDIENNE, Fondateur

Marks

Stamped in bronze inside cast: R and 407

Technical Notes: X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) was used to determine that the alloy of *The Kiss* is a mixture of brass and bronze, with a composition of approximately 87.4% copper, 8.2% zinc, 3.5% tin, 0.1% iron, 0.4% lead, 0.2% nickel, 0.03% silver, and 0.09% arsenic.

The sculpture is a reduction of the original 86-centimeter work, made by use of a Collas machine.¹ It is a hollow sand cast, as is evident in the remnants of charred sand on the interior as well as the granular quality to the surface in crevices observed under magnification. The work appears to have been cast in pieces: the base section, including the female figure but without her left arm and leg; and the right leg and lower half of both arms of the male figure. Another section includes the rest of the male figure and the left arm and leg of the female figure.

The male figure is held onto the base by a small protruding piece of metal that extends from his buttocks and fits into a

sleeve with the same oval contour on the base. The two pieces are held together on the interior using a pin that bisects the oval sleeve. Similarly, a single screw secures the female's right foot to the base. Additional remnants of the casting process are visible through X-radiography, such as armatures for the core material.

After the casting the very smooth surfaces, which betray little modeling, were filed and chased to eliminate unsightly remnants of the casting process. Unlike the patina on the other bronzes in the National Gallery, this one is brown-gold in color with light green in the recesses. A red patina is also seen in the left ear and the fingers of the male figure. The red and green are probably copper corrosion products representing a natural aging of the surface.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1902.

Exhibited: NGA 1965. *Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, FAM, 1975–1976, no. 27d. NGA 1981, not in cat. *Genius Rodin: Eros und Kreativität*, Kunsthalle Bremen; Städtische Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 1991–1992, no. 14.

Other Versions

The earliest bronze cast of *The Kiss*, taken from the original half life-size model, was made in 1887 by the foundry of Griffoulet et Lorge. More than a decade later, on 6 July 1898, Rodin signed a contract with Gustave Leblanc-Barbedienne, nephew of Ferdinand Barbedienne, and head of the most successful foundry in Paris for commercial editions in bronze. He gave Barbedienne exclusive right to cast all reductions of *The Kiss*. Immediately the firm brought out two, one 71 centimeters, another 25 centimeters, which sold for 1,400 and 380 francs, respectively. In 1901 they issued two more sizes: 40 centimeters and 60 centimeters, selling at 700 and 1,200 francs, respectively. Barbedienne cast *The Kiss* a total of 329 times before their contract expired in 1918 and rights reverted to the Musée Rodin. There are sixty-nine Barbedienne casts of the 25-centimeter version, the size of the National Gallery cast.

FROM RODIN'S earliest days of work on the doors for the new museum of decorative arts in Paris (see entry for *The Thinker*, p. 321), he intended to include Paolo and Francesca, the famous star-crossed lovers in the fifth canto of Dante's *Inferno*. We see the embracing couple at the bottom of the left panel of the final terra-cotta *maquette* for the doors, created in 1880 (see 1942.5.12, p. 321, fig. 1). As Rodin developed his composition he united the pair in an embrace, creating a composition that is integrated and close, but their lips do not actually meet in a kiss. This group, like many of Rodin's figures and groups, was made in sections so that he could remove the parts for reworking.³ At some point, probably because the two-figure composition was too large and too complete within itself, Rodin removed the seated pair from the doors and developed it as an independent group.⁴

In general, people have found the urgency and authenticity of the couple's embrace to be so natural and so modern that it is difficult to keep the medieval lovers in mind.⁵ But Rodin did retain one element to remind us of the original narrative. In the male figure's left hand is the book from which the couple was reading of the love between Lancelot and Guinevere, a story that had such powerful results: "sometimes at what we read our glances joined, looking from the book to each other's eyes."⁶ This book, at the back



Auguste Rodin, *The Kiss (Le Baiser)*, 1942.5.15



1942.5.15

of the sculpture on top of the rock, is far more distinct in the marble and plaster versions (fig. 1) than it is in the National Gallery cast by Barbedienne.

Traditionally *The Kiss* has been dated 1886.⁷ The date is probably based upon the group's first appearance in two exhibitions in 1887: Paris in the spring and Brussels in the autumn.⁸ Rodin surely executed the group during his first years of work on *The Gates*, however.⁹ The primitive idea for it is clear in the terra-cotta *maquette* for the doors. In addition, there is a letter of 1882 from the British writer William E. Henley regarding a photograph he had just received of *Paolo and Francesca*, in which he said he was so glad Rodin had sent it because it had "an extraordinary effect" on him.¹⁰ Surely Henley was looking at a photograph of *The Kiss*.

The title—*The Kiss*—which has become the standard designation for Rodin's most famous lovers, only came into use after the exhibitions of 1887. At the Galerie Georges Petit it was shown without a title. A critic for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* wrote that people should go to see this "bronze that Houdon would have called *The Kiss*."¹¹ That autumn at the Brussels Salon the plaster group bore the title *Francesca da Rimini*. One critic, who fell in love with the "adorable



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *The Kiss*, plaster, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 2834, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris



Fig. 2 *The Kiss* in the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, May-June 1898, photograph by Eugène Druet, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1025

group of lovers, naked as worms," suggested that it would be better called "*The Kiss*: Can anyone tell me what *Francesca*, be she *da Rimini* has to do with this?"¹²

The Kiss stuck. In September the founder Griffoul et Lorge delivered a "Kiss group." From then on it was the name used in the Rodin *atelier*.¹³ Antoinette Le Normand-Romain has pointed out that the new title, being unconnected to the past or to a literary source, gave the work new power and "was part of the reason for its success among a public relatively unused to a liberty that would not surprise anyone today."¹⁴

The Paris exhibition of *The Kiss* in 1887 was an enormous success, so much so that the Ministry of Beaux-Arts ordered a marble enlargement. The director hoped to have it in time for the great Paris Universal Exposition being planned for 1889.¹⁵ But it would be another decade before Rodin had his enlargement ready. He finally showed it in 1898 (fig. 2), at the same Salon in which he exhibited his *Monument to Balzac*.

By the time *The Kiss*—in 1898 a work that was fifteen years old in its conception—went on exhibition in the enlarged version, Rodin seems to have distanced himself from it, especially when he compared it to *Balzac*: "I saw that it looked slack, that it did not hold its place beside the *Balzac*."¹⁶ No matter what doubts he had, what Rodin could not over-

look was that the group was enormously popular. Perhaps it was this combination—feeling that it was not his best work, but recognizing the public's fascination with *The Kiss*—that accounts for Rodin's signing the contract with Barbedienne. However it seems he was not terribly pleased with the resulting editions. In response to an inquiry from William Rothenstein he wrote: "[T]he kiss does exist in bronze from Barbedienne. But I am not taken with these little casts in various sizes."¹⁷

Given Rodin's attitude toward the Barbedienne casts, we might wonder why he gave one to such an important patron as Kate Simpson. Yet in 1902 he did not know she was going to become a serious collector of his work, and the little group—the smallest and least expensive of the Barbedienne reductions—was, as the inscription indicates, simply a souvenir, a gift to remind his new friend of their pleasant weeks together while she was posing for her portrait.

Rodin was more interested in enlargements of *The Kiss* than in reductions. His two most important commissions for marble enlargements, after that by the French government in 1888, came in 1900: one from Carl Jacobsen, a Danish brewer and collector who ended up putting together a large collection of Rodin's works;¹⁸ and the other from Edward Perry Warren, an American archaeologist and collector living in England.¹⁹ In the twentieth century Rodin also exhibited enlargements in bronze and in plaster.²⁰

RB

Notes

1. In 1836 Achille Collas invented a simple machine that was operated in the manner of a pantograph and which allowed a foundry to reduce a sculpture by one-half, one-third, one-fifth, three-fifths, etc. Isabelle Vassalo, "Barbedienne et Rodin: l'histoire d'un succès," in Barbier 1992, 187–190. Le Normand-Romain 1995, 22, 39–40. For a description and illustration of the system, see Arthur Beale, "A Technical View of Nineteenth-Century Sculpture," in Fogg 1975, 47.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (15 September 1996).
3. Elsen 1985a, 81 and fig. 4.
4. In the twentieth century Rodin spoke of it as "a theme treated according to the tradition of The School The Ecole des Beaux-Arts; a subject complete in itself and artificially isolated from the world that surrounds it." Unsigned article in *La Revue* (1 November 1907). Quoted in Elsen 1985a, 78.
5. According to a story in the *Sunday Graphics* (11 November 1956), the male model was Liberto Nardone, of whom there is a photograph at age eighty-eight standing in front of *The Kiss* in the Musée Rodin, Paris. Carmen Zenobia, a popular Parisian model who died in 1950, modeled for the female figure. Alley 1959, 225. The big question is: did they pose together or separately? Probably the latter. It was against conventional rules for artists to have nude male and female models in the studio at the same time. See Butler 1993, 552n. 12.
6. *The Inferno of Dante*. Trans. Robert Pinsky, New York, 1994, 53.
7. Grappe 1927, 47. Grappe 1944, 58–59.

8. In Paris at the Galerie Georges Petit, May–July. In Brussels, Exposition générale des Beaux-Arts, September–October.

9. Elsen (1963, 63) was probably the first to move the date back, dating it "1880–1882?"

10. Letter from William E. Henley to Rodin, dated 27 September 1882 (MRA).

11. Alfred de Lostalot, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (June 1887).

12. Solvay, *La Nation* (27 September 1887). Quoted in Le Normand-Romain 1995, 9.

13. MRA; Le Normand-Romain 1995, 22.

14. Le Normand-Romain 1995, 30.

15. The Director of Beaux-Arts was Jules-Antoine Castagnary. On 4 February 1888 he wrote to Rodin: "I wish to add that the commission has been given with the Exposition Universelle of 1889 in mind, and that we wish that you would get to work on it without delay" (MRA). See Barbier 1987, 184.

16. Mauclair 1905, 73.

17. Undated letter in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The letter, however, fits into a series written in 1900 and probably dates from the end of that year.

18. The group arrived in Denmark in February 1904 and is now in the NCG. See Fonsmark 1988, 106–108.

19. A contract was drawn up for this commission that included the condition that "the genital organ of the man is to be represented in its entirety" (MRA). Rodin delivered the marble in 1904 and it was shown in the sixth exhibition of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers in London in 1906. It is now in the Tate Gallery, London. The three marble enlargements were shown together for the first time at the Musée Rodin, Paris, in the autumn of 1995. See Le Normand-Romain 1995, 35–36.

20. A plaster was exhibited in Prague in 1902, another in Düsseldorf in 1904, a bronze in Brussels in 1908, and a plaster in São Paulo in 1913. Beausire 1988, 228, 253, 295, 349.

References

- 1883 Anonymous. "Current Art." *MagArt*: 176.
 1884 Cartwright: 137–139.
 1885 Mirbeau.
 1889 Bartlett: 200, 223–225, 249.
 1900 "Le Baiser dans l'oeuvre de Rodin." *La Critique* (20 November).
 1906 Lawton: 62–63, 74, 109–110, 184.
 1927 Grappe: 47.
 1944 Grappe: 58–59.
 1959 Alley: 224–226.
 1963 Elsen: 62–63, 102–103, 134, 191, 199, 209.
 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 131–135.
 1975 Fogg: 168–176.
 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 148–153.
 1981 Rosenfeld, Daniel. "Rodin's Carved Sculpture." In NGA: 85–87.
 1985a Elsen: 78–81.
 1987 Barbier: 184–187.
 1987 Grunfeld: 187–190.
 1988 Beausire: 95, 96, 126, 211, 277, 327, 349, 351, 367.
 1988 Fonsmark: 106–108.
 1992 Barbier: 187–190.
 1993 Rosenfeld: 529–540.
 1995b Le Normand-Romain.
 1996 Kausch: 146–147.

1942.5.8 (A-72)

Right Hand

Possibly 1880s¹

Terra cotta, greatest extension 13.3 (5¼)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

On the wrist: Rodin

Technical Notes: This long, narrow hand with slightly bent fingers was modeled from a low-fired clay. The body of the clay is finely textured, yielding a smooth surface, and, given its size, the work feels heavy when picked up. A number of dark inclusions, perhaps deriving from iron, are evident at the wrist and near the knuckle of the first finger.

The middle finger has been broken at the base, which is quite apparent where the repair adhesive has darkened. The overall surface is lightly soiled.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1907 or 1908.³

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 18, as *Study of Right Hand*. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 87, as *Study for Hand*.

IN THE SUMMER of 1905, Rodin gave Anna Seaton-Schmidt, an American writer, permission to come to his studio in Meudon at her convenience to write about his work. One day in August she was alone in his *atelier*, surrounded by the immense cases along the walls, “filled with fragments of his work. They look as though humanity had been broken, torn into bits. Here a man thrown forward—there’s a woman’s torso—an arm—a leg. It is difficult to write, surrounded by such tumultuous forms.”⁴ One of Rodin’s most singular contributions was the establishment of the fragment as an independent work of art. From his earliest days Rodin had a natural affinity for the unfinished and the fragmentary. In creating *The Gates of Hell*, he discovered a process that took advantage of this inclination. He came to recognize that dismembering could be as fertile an activity as molding and joining in creating sculpture. Before the decade of the 1880s was over, Rodin had truly exalted the power of the fragment. He began to exhibit individual torsos and heads as works of art,⁵ and by the twentieth century his studio contained thousands of fragments, many of them in cases like the ones that surrounded Anna Seaton-Schmidt in 1905.

By the turn of the century, the avant-garde critics who frequently visited Rodin’s studio really began to *see* the fragments, especially the hands. They made Gustave Kahn think of Verlaine’s hands: “The hands by the great sculptor have presence and life like those of the poet Verlaine. They are sad hands, furious and tired hands, hands full of energy, or sagging in fatigue; they are hands of one who has embraced chimeras or passions, the hands of heroism or the hands of vice.”⁶ When Rainer Maria Rilke wrote his first book on Rodin in 1903, in describing this new world of

sculpture he recognized it as one that included “independent, small hands which, without forming part of a body, are yet alive.” Rilke went on to think about the long history of hands, how “they have their own civilization, their special beauty; we concede to them the right to have their own development.” He had been able to think about all this after learning from Rodin’s work that “a hand laid on the shoulder or limb of another body is no longer part of the body to which it properly belongs.”⁷

Everyone was not a forward-looking critic or visionary poet, however, and at the turn of the century most people were like Anna Seaton-Schmidt and found Rodin’s “humanity broken . . . torn into bits” too difficult to take. Rodin once observed to his friend, the critic and fine arts administrator Armand Dayot:

I had to work much in order to attain the maximum of truth of expression in the modeling of the hand. The study of the human hand is full of difficulties. Today, it is for me a very familiar subject and I amuse myself with it effortlessly.⁸

And to another he complained about the public and critics having reproached him for his exhibition of “simple body parts”:

I have suffered the lewd drawings of caricaturists. Did these people understand nothing of sculpture? Of the study? Did they not imagine at all that an artist ought to apply himself as much to the expression of a hand, or a torso, as to a physiognomy?⁹

As a result, Rodin set out to educate his public. In the majority of collections begun during the artist’s lifetime, we can count on finding various examples of the small plaster fragments, particularly the hands, but also feet and legs. All were gifts from Rodin.¹⁰

The terra-cotta hand, with its strange, abnormally long fingers, is larger than the other hand fragments and the foot in the Simpson collection (see the following entry), and it is signed, so it represents a slightly more important gift than the others. We should, however, think of the group as a whole and of Rodin’s effort to assist the Simpsons during the period when they were building their collection of his works. Clearly he wanted it to be truly representative of the various aspects of his creative life.

RB

Notes

1. This work cannot be securely dated. We have grouped it with the work of the 1880s simply because Rodin produced the largest number of small fragments and sketches in that decade when he was working on *The Gates of Hell* and on *The Burghers of Calais*.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).

3. There is only one mention of “little sketches” in the Simpson correspondence with Rodin. In a letter of 25 February 1911, Kate Simpson spoke of a visitor who particularly admired the “little sketches . . . souvenirs of my wonderful summers in Paris and Versailles.” The Simpsons spent the summers of 1907 and 1908 in Versailles, so perhaps this hand, as well as the four plaster hands



Auguste Rodin, *Right Hand*, 1942.5.8

and the plaster foot discussed in the following entry were gifts of these visits.

4. Seaton-Schmidt 1918, 137.

5. Most notably in the Monet/Rodin show at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, in 1889.

6. Kahn 1900, 316–317.

7. Rilke 1903 in Houston 1986, 18–19.

8. Armand Dayot, “Le Musée Rodin,” *L’Illustration* 143 (7 March 1914), 174; in de Caso and Sanders 1977, 317.

9. Michel Georges-Michel, *Peintres et sculpteurs que j’ai connus: 1900–1942*, New York, 1942, 264; in de Caso and Sanders 1977, 317.

10. This is true for the collections of the MMA, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, the CMA, and the Maryhill Museum, Washington.

1942.5.26–1942.5.30 (A-90–94)

Right Hand¹; Right Hand²; Right Hand³; Left Hand; Right Foot

Possibly 1880⁴

Plaster, greatest extension: 10.2 (4); 8 (3¹/₈); 6.4 (2¹/₂);

4.2 (1⁵/₈); 6.9 (2¹/₁₆)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Technical Notes: The most remarkable thing about these five plasters is the number of sections in which they were made and the clarity with which the mold lines are visible. They were examined using XRF, XRD, and light microscopy and found to be a hydrated form of calcium sulfate (gypsum). All have a light soil over the plaster.

1942.5.26: This hand and partial arm is made from a piece mold composed of at least nine sections. The most pronounced mold line runs the length of the top of the hand. The truncated arm has a clean knife-cut surface. There are two repaired breaks in the extended forefinger, one between the knuckle and the first joint, the other at the first joint.

1942.5.27: The hand and partial arm is made in a piece mold composed of at least twelve sections.

1942.5.28: The hand and partial arm is made in a piece mold composed of at least five sections. The most prominent mold line is on the palm side running up the outside of the arm and outer edge of the palm, across the knuckles, and down the inner edge of the palm and arm. The arm ends in an irregular surface.

1942.5.29: The tiny left hand is made in a piece mold composed of at least seven sections. There are mold lines down the sides of every finger. The thumb has been broken off and it is truncated at the wrist.

1942.5.30: The right foot is made in a piece mold composed of at least three sections. The most prominent mold line runs down the center front, through the second toe, which slightly overlaps the big toe. Another mold line, one which is particularly beautiful, runs from the back of the heel, down through the arch to the large toe. There is a third line across the tips of the toes, along

the outer edge of the foot, and up through the ankle. The angled terminus, above the ankle, has a rough surface.⁵

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1907 or 1908.⁶

Exhibited: NGA 1965. NGA 1981, nos. 82 (1942.5.30); 83 (1942.5.26); 84 (1942.5.27); 85 (1942.5.28); and 86 (1942.5.29), as *Study for Hand*.

SEE THE previous entry. These extremely nuanced miniature fragments, with their delicate surfaces and prominent seamlines, gain force when held in the hand and turned over repeatedly. This was surely Rodin’s own fascination with them and what he wished to share with the Simpsons when he made them this gift.

RB

Notes

1. Called “Hand of a Pianist” NGA 1994, 202. In 1963, when Cécile Goldscheider, at that time director of the Musée Rodin, visited the National Gallery, she suggested that the name be changed to “Hand of a Pianist,” although she offered no documentary support for the change. It is generally known that Rodin liked watching the hands of pianists. Descharnes and Chabrun once published a photograph of the backs of a pair of Rodin hands as if seen at a keyboard. Descharnes and Chabrun 1967, 233.

The California Palace of the Legion of Honor owns a bronze cast of this hand. De Caso and Sanders 1977, no. 71. It seems that an enlarged version of it was the basis for the over life-size pair of right hands known as *The Secret*. There is a bronze example in the Rodin Museum in Philadelphia (Tancock 1976, no. 126) and a marble example in the Musée Rodin, Paris (Barbier 1987, no. 89).

2. Called “Hand of a Pianist” in NGA 1994, 202. See note 1.

3. Called “Study for a Hand of a Burgher of Calais” in NGA 1994, 208. Also renamed by Madame Goldscheider at the time of her 1963 visit (see note 1). Rodin loved the hands of the *Burghers*, so much so that at one point he made an assemblage of hands and heads from the group. This does not appear to be one of them. If it were, however, it would have to be a study for the hand of *Jean d’Aire*, the only Burgher with a clenched right hand.

4. See p. 331n. 1.

5. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).

6. See p. 331n. 2.

References

1900 Kahn: 316–320.

1903 Rilke: 18–19.

1963 Steinberg: 13, 64–67.

1976 Tancock: 616–621.

1976 Frel and West: 42.

1977 De Caso and Sanders: 323–331.

1981 Vincent: 35, 41.

1983 Laurent.

1986 Lampert: 231.

1990 Pinet: 171–195.



Auguste Rodin, *Right Hand; Left Hand; Right Hand; Right Hand*, 1942.5.26, 1942.5.29, 1942.5.28, 1942.5.27



Auguste Rodin, *Right Foot*, 1942.5.30

1942-5.24 (A-88)

Head of a Woman

Possibly 1880s

Plaster, $6.2 \times 4.6 \times 5.1$ ($2\frac{7}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{16} \times 2$)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Technical Notes: The piece mold for this head was composed of at least five sections. The mold lines—less sharp than we usually find in small Rodin casts—are somewhat worn down. They are still quite prominent, however, especially the horizontal line across the forehead and the vertical line down the middle of the face. On the top of the head is a $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch diameter hole. Areas of high relief, such as the brow, nose, lips, and chin, are slightly yellowed, presumably from handling.

Analyses by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) and X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) reveal the material to be a hydrated form of calcium sulfate. The finely textured plaster has been covered with a light gray wash.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1905(?).²

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 16, as *Study of Woman's Head*. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 81.

Other Versions

Five plasters and one terra-cotta version of this head can be found *en réserve* at the Musée Rodin, Meudon. The Brooklyn Museum owns a bronze cast of the head, which they call *Head of Mournful Spirit*.³

THE CONTEXT in which Rodin created this little head has yet to be discovered, but we suspect that were we able to crawl through the intricate crevices high up on *The Gates of Hell*, we might find her there among the damned women. A slender bony head, high cheekbones above sunken cheeks, pursed lips, small deeply set eyes, and a prominent nose, she is no beauty, but clearly has a modern woman's face.

The anonymous figures who populate *The Gates of Hell* were never merely types. They were inspired by real women with highly individual expressions. Rodin looked lovingly at features such as high cheekbones and the quality of a strong nose. He knew how to give expressive emphasis to lips that were not especially sensuous. The tiny head in the National Gallery allows us to think of the *Kneeling Fauness* in the left tympanum of *The Gates of Hell*. Although the model of this little head was not the same as the one who posed for the *Fauness*, the two share characteristics that appealed to Rodin and that he may have thought appropriate while creating figures that would lend themselves to the spirit of the possessed or the demonic.

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).

2. In a letter to Rodin written on 31 October 1905, just after the Simpsons' return from Paris, Kate Simpson mentioned small, fragile works which she left with a craftsman to have repaired. Presum-

ably these were recent gifts and perhaps the little head was among them.

3. Ambrosini and Facos 1987, 181.

References

1987 Ambrosini and Facos: 181.

1942-5.23 (A-87)

The Lovers

Model mid-1880s; cast after 1900

Plaster, 11.1×7.5 ($4\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Technical Notes: The relief appears to have been cast in a simple open-back mold. The modeling is soft, creating two figures that seem to melt into each other, although the musculature of the left side of the male figure—neck, shoulder, arm, and leg below the knee—are more forcefully rendered. Faint comb-like tool marks delineate the frame at the top and along the left side.

The entire surface has been covered with a light gray wash. There is some flaking on the female figure's right thigh and the overall surface is lightly soiled.

There is damage on the right edge of the frame below the elbow of the male figure and scratches on his left arm and leg.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1905(?).²

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 17, as *Man and Woman*. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 79, as *Embracing Couple*.

Other Versions

En réserve at the Musée Rodin, Meudon, are four plasters which are almost, but not quite, identical to the relief in the National Gallery.

THE GROUP CALLED *The Lovers* is the progeny of *The Kiss* (see p. 326).³ Male and female have exchanged sides and they are not as graceful nor so actively amorous—he does not caress her hip and she does not throw her arm around his neck—but there is an extraordinary intensity in the small group. In fact, they are what remained in *The Gates of Hell* instead of Rodin's early conception of Paolo and Francesca (*The Kiss*), which in the end proved to be too large and too three-dimensional to retain its position in the realized project. A memory of *The Kiss* remains in this couple whom we see at the base of the right pilaster.⁴ With a few minor variations, this is essentially the group we call *The Lovers*.

In the Musée Rodin, Meudon, we find two versions of the relief, the difference between them being one of proportion. The broader relief is like that in the National Gallery showing the left foot of the male figure raised and resting in front of the knees of the female figure. The alternate version is narrower, and the knees of the female touch the frame, forcing the male foot and leg into a tighter position behind her lower thigh. This is the arrangement that Rodin selected to put into the right pilaster of *The Gates of Hell*.



Auguste Rodin, *Head of a Woman*, 1942.5.24



Auguste Rodin, *The Lovers*, 1942.5.23

Both versions exist as framed plaques. It seems likely that they are reductions made after 1900, when Rodin brought the project to what he considered to be its definitive state. Rodin gave a plaque of the narrower version of *The Lovers* to his friend Loïe Fuller.⁵ He also ordered reductions made from other sections of the pilasters, examples of which can be found in the Maryhill Collection, Washington, the Spreckels Collection in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, and the Rodin Museum, Philadelphia.⁶ In 1916 Rodin had a medal made of the embracing couple at the very top of the left pilaster. Calling it *Protection*, he donated it to the French Actors' Fund to be sold for the fund's benefit. Casts were made in bronze and in silver.⁷

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).
2. This may have been among the small and fragile items mentioned in Kate Simpson's letter to Rodin of 31 October 1905 (MRA).
3. Le Normand-Romain 1995b, 15.
4. Rodin's contemporaries interpreted the pilasters as representing "Limbo." Mirbeau 1885; reproduced in Butler 1980, 47. Gustave Geffroy, "Le Statuaire Rodin," *Les Lettres et les Arts* (1 September 1889); reproduced in Vilain 1989, 58.
5. This relief is now owned by the CMA. Spear 1967, 99.
6. The Maryhill Collection, Washington, has a plaster of the same approximate dimensions as the NGA relief, showing a centaur and a couple from the upper half of the left pilaster. Frel and West 1976, 28–29. The Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, has a plaster reduction of the lower half of the left pilaster, which includes three adult females and a number of children. De Caso and Sanders 1977, 179–183. The PMA owns bronze casts of the two sections of the left pilaster seen in plaster at the Maryhill Collection and in San Francisco. Tancock 1976, 228–230.
7. The Portland Museum of Art, Maine, owns a bronze cast; the CMA and the Musée Rodin, Paris, both own casts in silver. Spear 1967, 63 and 99–100.

References

- 1967 Spear: 63 and 99–100.
 1976 Frel and West: 28–29.
 1976 Tancock: 228–230.
 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 178–183.
 1995b Le Normand-Romain: 15–16, 66–67.

1967.13.6 (A-1729)

Figure of a Woman "The Sphinx"

Model early 1880s; carved 1909
 Marble, 59 × 62.1 × 58.3 (23¼ × 24⅞ × 22⅝)
 Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer

Inscriptions

Inscribed on right side of self-base, near the fingers of the figure:
 A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The sculpture is carved from a cream-white, fine- to medium-grain block of Carrara marble with no inherent

faults.¹ It was pointed from a plaster model of the same size by a *metteur au point*, a technician who did the measuring with the assistance of calipers. There is evidence of three of the primary guiding marks (*points de repère*), two on the front and one on the rear of the self-base. A fourth area where guiding marks are visible is on the back of the head. The carving tools used were: a pitching tool, marks from which are seen on the rear of the self-base; a point chisel, seen on the rear and upper surfaces of the self-base, and in areas of the hair; a claw-tooth chisel, seen in areas around the figure's hands and knees and on the left side of the hair; and a flat chisel, for the large, smooth areas of flesh such as the back, arms, and legs. Files and fine abrasives—either emery or pumice—would have been used to finish the work. The figure has a high polish, which gives it a light-capturing quality.²

Provenance: Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer, Mount Kisco, New York, and Washington, D.C., 1910.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Works by Members of the "Société des Peintres et Sculpteurs,"* Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo; AIC; City Art Museum, St. Louis, 1911–1912, no. 125.³

Other Versions

At the writing of this catalogue we do not know the location of any other marble version of *The Sphinx*.⁴ When Eugene Meyer ordered his marble in 1909, however, there were two. It was probably in the spring of that year that Meyer ordered his *Sphinx*. At the end of the year he wrote Rodin saying that he knew his fiancée, Agnes Ernst, at the time traveling in Italy, had received a letter in which Rodin told her he had another "Sphinx" which "you liked better than the one which I saw, and which I asked you to complete for me. If this is the case, kindly send me the one which you consider the better."⁵ From the records of the *praticien* J. M. Mengue, we know that he delivered a sphinx in 1909.⁶

RODIN MADE a charming little sphinx, at once seductive and coy, in the early 1880s and installed her in the upper left panel of *The Gates of Hell*. He took a small plaster of this figure, probably no more than 6 inches, called her *Sphinge*, and placed her in his exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1889.⁷ Rodin showed another small kneeling figure as well, she too leaning forward in a frontal position, placing her hands on either side of her legs, and pressing into the base. This work he called *Figurine Sphinx*. In the twentieth century this second figure (which is close to one of the *The Sirens*, 1978.71.1, p. 355), with her head straight and lifted, her long, flowing hair framing her rather demonic face, has become known as *La Succube* (fig. 1).

Rodin's choice of titles for very similar female figures—sometimes using the word sphinx, sometimes the feminine form *sphinge*, has created confusion about what he showed when, particularly since early catalogues were not illustrated. We do not know if the marble *Sphinx* shown in the "Loan Collection of Foreign Masterpieces" at the Columbian Exhibition of 1893 could have been a version of our *Sphinx*, or if it was *La Succube*, or perhaps another work altogether.⁸ In the nineteenth century the work we now refer to as *Fugit Amor* [Fugitive Love] was often called *La Sphinge*.⁹ We also cannot be sure about the marble *Sphinge* shown in Dresden in 1897.¹⁰ It does seem, however, that in



Auguste Rodin, *Figure of a Woman* "The Sphinx," 1967.13.6



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *The Succubus* (*Le Succube*), bronze, 1889, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 657, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

the 1900 retrospective the plaster *Sphinx* was the model for our *Sphinx*.¹¹

In the twentieth century, Rodin's tiny figure from *The Gates of Hell* was made large, now capable of being transferred into marble. This new grand *Sphinx*, a seductress of great charm, fit solidly into Rodin's old-age manner. It was the period of the great Rodin exhibitions and he became accustomed to surveying his earlier pieces to locate those which he could rethink in a new scale. They were works that had great attraction for his growing international audience.

Rodin's first reworking of *Sphinx* appears to have been a figure in the Musée Rodin known as *La petite fée des eaux* [The Little Water Sprite], carved in 1903 (fig. 2), and seen in a photograph of 1913 in the Hôtel Biron (fig. 3).¹² The figure is from the same plaster as *The Sphinx*, but this time Rodin had her placed in a large round basin, one that is illusionistically carved in such a manner to create the effect of water overflowing its brim. From the edge the sprite leans forward in a long horizontal lunge. Her hair has the same texture, created through the use of a claw-tooth chisel that we see in *The Sphinx*, and, like the National Gallery sculpture, the highly polished surfaces and long, clean lines of the body have an immediate attraction.



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *The Little Water Sprite* (*Petite fée des eaux*), marble, photograph by Albert Harlingue(?), Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2304

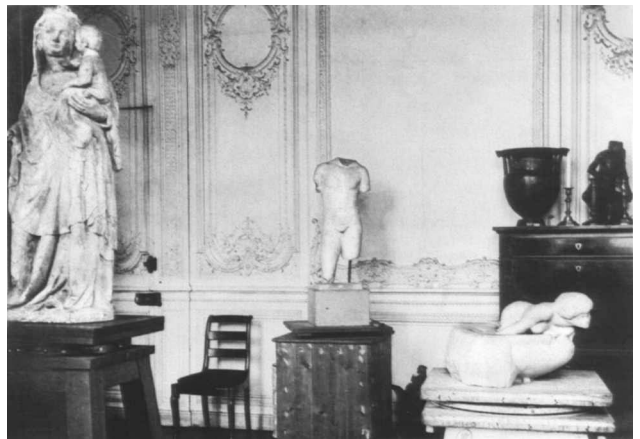


Fig. 3 *The Little Water Sprite* in the Hôtel Biron, photograph by Eugène Druet, 1913, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2427

We know that Rodin had two marble *Sphinxes* in the making when Agnes Ernst and Eugene Meyer came to see him in 1909, and that Meyer saw one. By February of 1910, however, he had ordered another: "I enclose herewith a check for 10,000 fr., which is the amount we agreed upon for the 'Sphinx,' according to my best recollection. I shall be most happy to have the one which you consider the better of the two."¹³

Fortunately we have early photographs taken by two different photographers. One, taken in the Hôtel Biron by Eugène Druet (fig. 4), shows a marble that is close to the National Gallery *Sphinx*, but with significant differences in the base and the hair. It does not have the high polish of the Washington marble. It is not unthinkable that the photograph shows the National Gallery marble before it was finished, but since Rodin had not really taken over the Hôtel Biron by 1909, or moved many of his works to those beautiful rooms that would come to make up his museum, we are probably looking at the other marble, the one Rodin felt was not as interesting as the one he suggested Eugene Meyer purchase. There can be little doubt that Albert Har-



Fig. 4 *The Sphinx*, marble, photograph by Eugène Druet, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1533

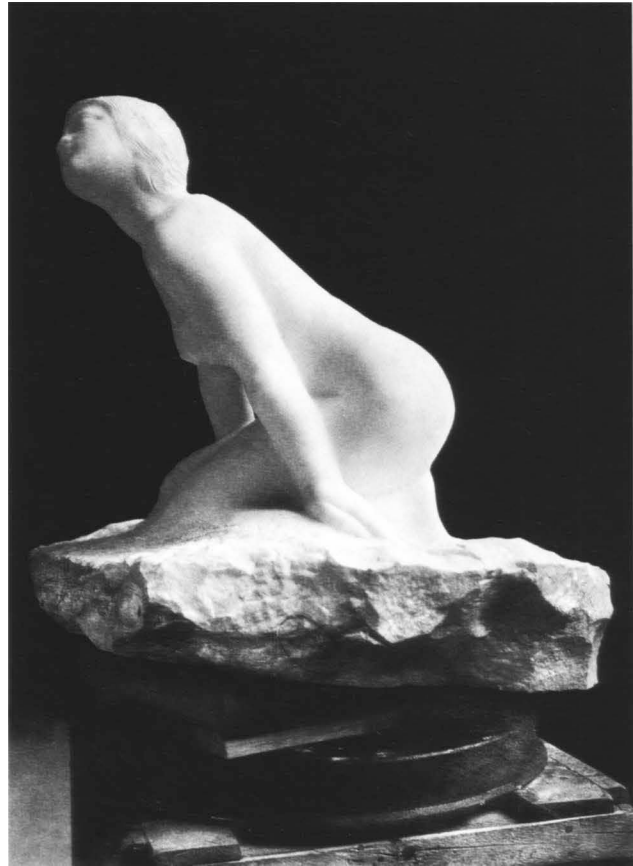


Fig. 5 photograph of 1967.13.6 by Albert Harlingue(?), Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2202

lingue's photograph (fig. 5) is of the sculpture in the National Gallery, as all the details of the self-base, including the position of the *points de repère*, are identical. Through this photograph we are able to see exactly what Agnes Ernst and Eugene Meyer saw in 1909: the sumptuously finished material, and the long smooth lines of this inquisitive, energetic pixie perched upon the island of marble that would soon grace their home. In March of the following year, Agnes and Eugene Meyer wrote to Rodin from their honeymoon trip in Hawaii to tell him how happy they were "to have the Sphinx waiting for us on our return to New York."¹⁴

RB

Notes

1. See Appendix A.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Brian Ramer, NGA Object Conservation department (20 April 1994), and isotopic and petrographic analyses by Katherine A. Holbrow (1997).
3. Beausire 1988, 327–328.
4. There are small versions in both plaster and bronze. The Musée Rodin owns a bronze and five plasters, one with the *Sphinx* placed on a tall column. Rodin gave a similar plaster figure and column to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, in 1903. At about the same time he gave a bronze now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Symons. Hawkins 1975, no. 9 (*Siren on a Pillar*).
5. Letter from Eugene Meyer to Rodin, dated 31 December 1909 (MRA).

6. Rosenfeld 1993, 590.
7. A variation was shown in the 1989 centenary re-creation of the exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit. Vilain 1989, no. 39.
8. Probably the latter, as it is unlikely that *The Sphinx* was enlarged in the nineteenth century.
9. Rodin's showing in "The Loan Collection of Foreign Masterpieces" has always been something of a confusion. There was an official catalogue for which the organizer, Sarah Hallowell, simply made up names for the works to be shown because she did not know what works Rodin would send. The names of the works that actually appeared in the exhibition were only printed in a little pamphlet that came out later. One of Rodin's three entries was a marble *Sphinx*. See Butler 1987, 94. It is most likely to have been the *Fugit Amor*, for we are certain that a marble version of that work did exist in 1893, which we do not know for either *Sphinge* or *Sphinx*. Grappe speaks of an old photograph of *Fugit Amor* on which he saw the words "La Sphinge." Grappe 1944, 63. See also Beausire 1988, 117.
10. Beausire 1988, 135.
11. Beausire 1988, 194.
12. The date is based on the records of the *praticien* George Mathet, who received 1,450 francs for carving "Femme au bassin" in 1903. Barbier 1987, 102–103.
13. Letter from Eugene Meyer to Rodin, dated 23 February 1910 (MRA).
14. Letter from Eugene and Agnes Meyer to Rodin, dated 8 March 1910 (MRA).

References

- 1927 Grappe: 58.
 1944 Grappe: 56.
 1959 Alley: 223–224.

- 1975 Hawkins: 22, figs. 14 and 15.
 1987 Barbier: 102–103.
 1988 Beausire: 104, 117, 123, 135, 194, 253, 327, 367.
 1989 Vilain: 200–201.
 1992 Barbier: 119–126.

1984.85.1

Jean d'Aire

Model 1884–1889; cast probably early 20th century

Plaster, 47.6 × 58.4 × 40 (18¾ × 23 × 15¾)

Gift of the B. G. Cantor Art Foundation

Technical Notes: The basic material is a white gypsum plaster. The interior plaster is a gray color, containing bits of hair and other unidentified matter. An overall reddish-brown coating, worn and rubbed, gives the bust a somewhat mottled appearance.

The head and the shoulders appear to have been made separately. The join line can be seen quite clearly. On the back the line is horizontal with rounded corners that extends upward between the drapery folds at the shoulder blades and then passes over the shoulders to the front; on the left shoulder the join line becomes obscure; and in the front the line falls just below the uppermost fold of drapery underneath the chin. Details of the join on the interior are completely obscured by a layer of new restoration plaster.

The join line indicates that either the bust was made in two parts, or that during the sculpting process it was cut into parts that were subsequently rejoined. We know that Rodin worked on the bodies and the heads of *The Burghers of Calais* separately and the bust in the National Gallery seems to present the combination of a completed head with a completed chest and shoulders to produce a bust of the most popular figure from among the *Burghers*.

A slightly contrasting approach in the front and back of the head is apparent. The former is well defined and carefully modeled, while the latter is loosely modeled and has rough, curved gouges that do not occur elsewhere on the sculpture. Also, the back is lighter in color than the front, leading to the conclusion that the two parts were joined. Join areas can be seen behind the ears and across the top of the head. After front and back were joined, a new mold was produced in order to cast the complete head.

On the face at least ten small pinholes are present that suggest preparation for pointing, although the number of holes is not sufficient for the reproduction of the entire face.

Several raised mold parting lines are seen on the lower portion of the bust in the drapery and ropes. There is evidence of tool-working on the plaster surface in the presence of fine- and large-toothed file marks. A scored line runs diagonally across the entire back of the drapery along the lower edge. Some lines are smoother, and may have been transferred in the casting from a previous model, while others are fresh and sharp, and appear to have been applied after casting. These sharp incised lines may represent cut marks from removal of a flexible mold material such as gelatin or latex.

The entire work has been given a reddish-brown coating of shellac, which is more red in the drapery than in the face. The presence of the shellac coating, a traditional parting or separating medium, combined with the pinholes on the face and the heavily marked surface suggest that the bust was a working

model. The National Gallery plaster might have served as a model for the stoneware versions of the bust.

The plaster is structurally stable. A break in the neck was repaired with new plaster, which was not inpainted to match the surrounding plaster. This break must be subsequent to the insertion of the head into the bust, as it covers portions of lacquered plaster and bears no tooling marks such as those evident on the rest of the bust.¹

Provenance: Victor Rousseau [1865–1954], Belgium;² by inheritance to his nephew, Jean de Vlaminck; sold to (L'Ecuyer, Brussels).³ (unknown dealer, Japan); (sale, Sotheby's, New York, 19 May 1983, no. 324); B. G. Cantor Art Foundation, New York.

Exhibited: Cantor 1986, no. 25.

Other Versions

The NGA plaster *Jean d'Aire*, which is the same size as the finished over life-size figures of *The Burghers of Calais*, appears to be unique. Bronze casts in this size are owned by the Musée Rodin, Paris, and the Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. Stoneware busts of approximately the same size (slightly smaller) are owned by the Musée Rodin, the Stanford University Art Gallery and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.⁴

THE MONUMENT commemorating the burghers of Calais was among the few public commissions in Rodin's life that came to a happy conclusion in a reasonable amount of time.⁵ Though the commission was complicated and far from problem-free, Rodin relied heavily on the support of an exceptional and friendly administrator, Omer Dewavrin, mayor of Calais. With Dewavrin's backing and Rodin's own determination to see the work to completion, the artist was able to witness the monument's inauguration a little more than a decade after he began working on it.

In October 1884, Rodin learned that Calais intended to erect a monument celebrating Eustache de Saint-Pierre, Calaisian hero of the Hundred Years' War. In 1347, when the English laid siege to the city, Eustache de Saint-Pierre and five of his fellow citizens volunteered their lives in order that the rest of the city might be spared. Initially King Edward intended to kill the entire population, but he relented. He then ordered that "six of the chief burghers of the city . . . come out, their heads and feet bare, and with halters round their necks, and with the keys of the town and the castle in their hands. They will be at my mercy, and the rest of the town shall go free."⁶ In Froissart's fourteenth-century text, Rodin's primary inspiration, we read that after Eustache de Saint-Pierre offered himself as hostage, "another very rich and much respected citizen, called Jean d'Aire, who had two beautiful daughters, rose up and said he would keep him company."⁷ Rodin's decision to celebrate the six as a group and not just the leader was an aspect of his own dedication to Froissart's text. It was a grand and imaginative decision, quite at odds with the usual approach to monuments focused on a single figure, often accompanied by allegories. In less than a month Rodin had composed his six figures, placing them on a rectangular pedestal upon which he drew a triumphal arch design. He sent the



Auguste Rodin, *Jean d'Aire*, 1984.85.1

sketch to Calais. The members of the Municipal Council of Calais responded immediately, saying that they found the plan truly “seductive” and were awarding the commission to Rodin.⁸

Rodin’s second *maquette*, consisting of figures slightly over two feet, was ready the following summer. In preparing the figures he worked out the body types, the gestures, and a range of physiognomic expressions. He did small sketches of heads as well as the figures in the nude. Then he worked with the draped forms. He charged just one burgher with the keys (fig. 1), even though Froissart had said that “each” held a handful of keys of the town and of the castle. Rodin cautioned the mayor that many details were yet to be worked out. He must have sensed potential trouble and, in fact, when the *maquette* arrived in late July, for the first time some negative voices rose within the membership of the committee. They felt uneasy with these figures so clearly touched by sorrow—even despair. What they had in mind was a celebration of their forebears’ heroism.

Rodin worked intensely on his figures throughout 1885. He made numerous separate studies of the portrait heads. Wanting to work with men from the Calais region as models in order to attain the greatest possible realism, he asked two friends, originally from Calais, to pose: the painter Jean-Charles Cazin (1841–1901) and the Comédie Française actor Coquelin *cadet* (1848–1909).⁹ We do not know who served as the model for the intensely determined face drawn over a strong bone structure, with its deep-set eyes, broad nose, prominent diagonal creases in the lower cheeks framing the thin, downturned mouth—the one we have come to know as *Jean d’Aire*.¹⁰ The power of the volume of the head and

the expression of resigned sadness seen in this face has reminded many people of Donatello’s figures for the *Duomo* in Florence, particularly that of the *Beardless Prophet*.¹¹ Rodin had seen these figures when he was in Florence in 1875 and it is likely they were now inspiration for him as he worked on his *Burghers*.

Although a minority among the Calais officials did have reservations about Rodin’s approach to their monument, that particular factor did not prevent an expeditious completion of the work. Rather, it was a combination of a financial crisis—the “Great Depression” of 1886—and of Rodin’s own incredibly over-committed schedule. The officials expected to use the monument as their major showpiece at the 1889 celebration of the Centennial of the Great Revolution, but it was not yet completed. The best Rodin could do was to put the plaster group in his own exhibition (a two-man show in the company of Claude Monet) at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, at the time of the Centennial.

It was six more years before Rodin could get the plaster ready for casting. One fortunate thing that grew out of the delay was the arrival in Rodin’s studio of an impressive new assistant who was able to take over the supervision of the task: Emile-Antoine Bourdelle (1861–1929), a young sculptor from Mautauban, and a man already recognized as an outstanding artist. It would be January 1895 before Bourdelle could inform Rodin: “We can send the Burghers of Calais to the mold makers!”¹² Four months later the bronze cast was hoisted onto a five-foot pedestal and bolted into place in front of the new post office, now the Hôtel de Ville, Calais (fig. 2). But when Rodin saw it he was not pleased; he had wanted it on a low base.¹³

When *The Burghers of Calais* was inaugurated on 3 June 1895 many spoke of the power and originality in Rodin’s group, one not matched by any other modern monument in France. The American sculptor Lorado Taft (1860–1931) came from across the Atlantic for the unveiling. He rejoiced when he found a work in which there was:

no attempt at scenic effect; no allegory nor attributes such as sculptors poor in ideas employ to suggest the illusion of ideas. Here are only attitudes, expressions, states of mind. The burghers go. And the drama thrills you from head to foot.¹⁴

Clearly he was thinking about how this sculpture contrasted to his own recent experience of a large selection of contemporary public monuments. Two years earlier Taft’s sculpture was shown at the Chicago Columbian Exposition. It was received with far less acclaim than that accorded the grandiose allegorical monuments of Daniel Chester French (1850–1931) and Frederick William MacMonnies (1863–1937), leaders of the American Beaux-Arts movement in sculpture. Taft delighted in Rodin’s ability to reveal “states of mind” without the inclusion of attributes or allegory; his admiration should be seen accordingly.¹⁵

Looking at the head of the figure we know as *Jean d’Aire*, isolated and developed as a bust, gives us the oppor-



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *Jean d’Aire*, plaster from the second *maquette*, 1885, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 430, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris



Fig. 2 Mrs. Nelson Robinson (Kate Simpson's sister) and daughter in front of *The Burghers of Calais*, Calais, 1904, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1679

tunity to focus on Rodin's ability to develop the expression of power and determination in the face of the most stoical among the burghers. Jean d'Aire is the only burgher Rodin put into the form of a traditional bust. It was most unusual for Rodin to fashion a bust at all, with its straight cut at mid-chest in the manner of a Renaissance portrait.¹⁶ He usually experimented with fragmented parts of the human figure, such as we see in the assemblage he made of burghers' heads and hands arranged in a heap beneath the spreading arms of a winged figure.¹⁷ But once he decided to do a bust, it is hardly surprising that he chose Jean d'Aire, not only the most popular one in the group, but the only one not conceived as a figure in movement, and thus easily adapted to the form of a bust.

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Shelley G. Sturman, NGA Object Conservation department (1996). Analysis of the plaster performed by Hoanh Tran, Scientific Research department.
2. Letter from Madame Denise Vanden Eeckhoudt, daughter of the painter Jean Vanden Eeckhoudt, to the author, dated 19 October 1995. In the letter she states that the Belgian sculptor Rousseau and her father met Rodin in Menton in April 1914 and at that time Rousseau intended to make a portrait of Rodin the following summer. She says that *Jean d'Aire* was always on the mantel in Rousseau's studio until the time of his death.

3. My thanks to Madame Jacqueline de Groote for obtaining this information for me. The owner of the gallery, M. Weynans, informed Madame de Groote that when he purchased the bust he saw a letter from Rodin to Rousseau informing him that he was going to give him a bust of a burgher. I have not been able to locate this letter.

4. Letter from Jeannerey to Rodin, dated 3 July 1904 (MRA). Jeannerey says that he made six stoneware busts.

5. Others that worked out well were the *Monument to Bastien-Lepage* (dedicated 1889) and the *Monument to Claude Lorrain* (dedicated 1892).

6. *Froissart's Chronicles*, Book I, trans. John Jolliffe, 1967, 154.

7. *Froissart's Chronicles*, Book I, trans. John Jolliffe, 1967, 155.

8. Judrin, Laurent, and Viéville 1977, 47.

9. Cazin posed for the figure we call Eustache de Saint-Pierre, and Coquelin for Pierre de Wissant. The names were not assigned until after Rodin's death, apparently by Georges Grappe, conservator of the Musée Rodin from the mid-1920s to 1944. The names first appear in the second edition of his catalogue in 1931, on page 85.

10. Judith Cladel suggested that the burgher with a key was modeled after Rodin's son, Auguste. Cladel 1936, 159. But in 1885 Auguste Beuret was only nineteen, and this is clearly not the face of a nineteen year old. It seems likely that the same model who posed for Jean d'Aire also posed for Andrieus d'Andres, the figure whose face can barely be seen, as he covers his bowed head with both his hands.

11. McNamara and Elsen 1977, 41, fig. x.

12. MRA.

13. "I hope the city will consent to the artist's desires and place his group on a low platform, a few feet off the ground, and thus, without the architectural base, it can take on the strange and powerful character as the Breton Calvaries." Mirbeau 1895, 211.

14. Lorado Taft, "August Rodin," *Chicago Record* (8 July 1895).

15. Rodin sent a full-scale plaster cast of the figure we call *Jean d'Aire* to the French section of the Columbian Exhibition, so Taft would have seen the figure before he went to Calais in 1895.

16. In 1899, in a large exhibition mounted in three Dutch cities, as well as in Brussels, Rodin showed his six burghers in plaster cut at the waist. It was a solution with less precedent in the history of art and more in the style of Rodin's way of working than the National Gallery bust. Judrin 1996, fig. 21.

17. Judrin, Laurent, and Viéville 1977, no. 93.

1942.5.13 (A-77)

A Burgher of Calais (Jean d'Aire)

Model 1884–1889; reduction cast probably 1895

Copper alloy, 47 × 16 × 14 (18½ × 6¼ × 5½)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the back of the base: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: Analysis using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) shows the alloy used for the figure of *Jean d'Aire* to be a mixture of brass and bronze with an average copper content of approximately 88.5%, 8.1% zinc, 2.6% tin, 0.3% iron, 0.3% lead, 0.2% nickel, and 0.1% silver.

The work is a reduction of the over life-size figure through the use of the Collas machine.¹ The sculpture is a hollow sand cast with the exception of the hands, which are solid. Remnants of charred sand on the interior as well as a granular quality apparent under magnification in some crevices are consistent with sand-cast sculpture. The figure appears to have been cast in two

pieces: the left foot and leg; and the rest of the sculpture. The pieces are held together with bolts on the interior. X-radiography reveals additional remnants of the casting process—armatures for the core material—on the interior.

After casting, the surface was filed and chased. Most of these marks are masked by the patina, though file marks are visible on the left leg.

Jean d'Aire has a mottled look because losses in the original patina have left areas of bare metal exposed. The original patina seems to have been applied in two campaigns: an undercoat of light green, over which a darker moss green, interspersed with a darker green layer, was applied. Selected areas were then highlighted with a bright turquoise as seen, for example, on the left foot. Through the use of X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) on the uppermost layer of the patina, copper nitrate hydroxide has been identified, suggesting copper nitrate as one constituent of the patinating solution. XRD also identifies the turquoise as copper nitrate hydroxide. It is not unusual that the same patinating solution constituent is found in different colors.

What is unusual about *Jean d'Aire* is an olive-green paint that has been applied to the surface. Like many patinas on Rodin bronzes that contain copper nitrate, not only those belonging to the National Gallery but in other American collections, the patina has flaked severely. In this case someone overpainted the surface with a pigment that mimicked the original, but which has since become discolored.

The final coating was a thin layer of wax, applied to the sculpture prior to its arrival at the National Gallery.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, before 1905.

Exhibited: *Loan Collection of Paintings by Claude Monet and Eleven Sculptures by Auguste Rodin*, The Copley Society of Boston, Copley Hall, 1905, no. 7.³ *Renaissance and Modern Bronzes*, MFA, 1908, no. 171, as *Bourgeois de Calais*.⁴ NGA 1965. NGA 1974.

Other Versions

In 1895, the year *The Burghers of Calais* was inaugurated, Rodin asked Lebossé to reduce two of the six figures by the popular mechanical Collas method of reduction.⁵ Since the names used to identify the individual figures were only assigned in the twentieth century, we cannot be totally certain which two were reduced in 1895. The figure we now call *Jean d'Aire* was the most popular, however, and it was most likely to have been one of the two.⁶ Rodin had another *Burgher* reduced in 1899, a fourth in 1900, and a fifth in 1902–1903. The least successful of the six figures, that of Jacques de Wissant, was never made in the 47-centimeter size.⁷ Tancock lists sixty-four casts of small burghers, seventeen of which are of *Jean d'Aire*.⁸ Reductions of the final figure of *Jean d'Aire* in bronze are found in public collections in Buenos Aires, Paris, Lille, Milan, Dresden, Leipzig, Bremen, Glasgow, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Cleveland, Los Angeles, St. Louis, San Antonio, San Francisco, and Kansas City. In addition, numerous casts have been sold in London and New York over the past twenty years, most bearing the mark of L. Persinka, Versailles, a foundry recorded as having made fourteen small burghers for Rodin between 1899 and 1901.⁹ The Rudier foundry made casts of reduced burghers. The foundries charged Rodin between 270 francs and 450 francs per figure.¹⁰

CALAIS RETURNED Rodin's second *maquette* in the autumn of 1885. Some time after this, he began to work on the nude figures in the over life-size dimensions of the final monument. As he worked on a new scale, Rodin introduced many

changes to the figures. In *Jean d'Aire* (fig. 1), we find him working with a more developed body. His model was someone with sloping shoulders and a set, square body. Rodin raised the head and planted the feet firmly at some distance from each other; he made the arms rigid with the key-holding hands clenched into fists. He created a thoroughly unyielding, strong man. Once Rodin clothed this figure, he took away the cushion with its pair of keys and placed a single key between the outstretched fists.

When the monument is viewed from what is generally considered the front, *Jean d'Aire* is the figure that anchors the entire group on the right. Holding his key, he is the most restrained, the most solid and upright. For this reason some early commentators called him Eustache de Saint-Pierre,¹¹ but Grappe identified the aged central figure as Eustache and the figure with the key as Jean d'Aire.¹²

There are three things that take our attention most sharply when looking at Rodin's burghers: their expressive faces, big hands, and the relationship between the drapery and the bodies. Never in his whole life did Rodin execute such drapery. It takes us back to the saints and prophets of old—to Donatello's figures for the Duomo in Florence and the jamb figures of the great Gothic cathedrals. The creases

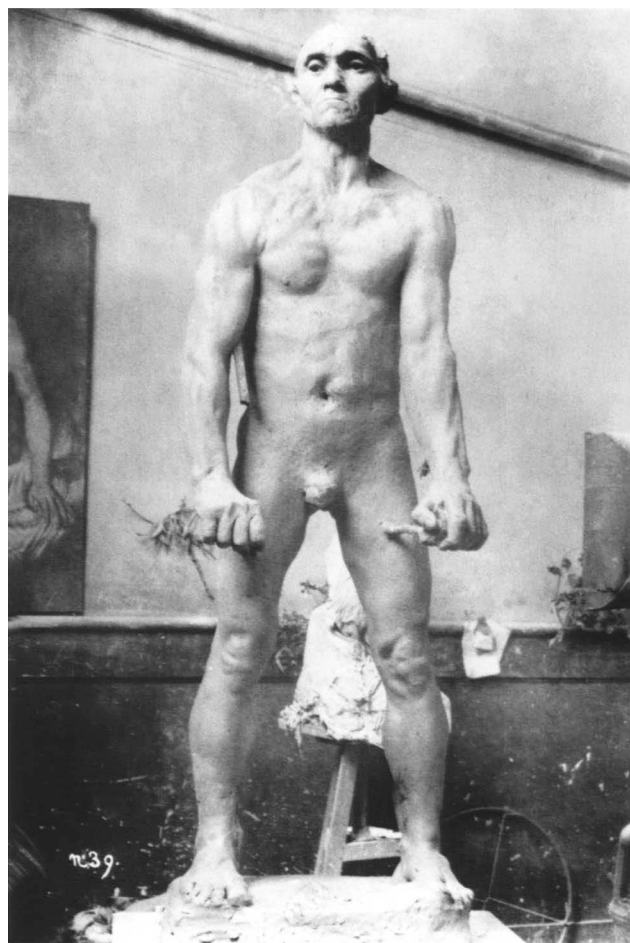


Fig. 1 *Jean d'Aire*, over-life-size nude plaster model in Rodin's studio, photograph by Charles Bodmer, c. 1886, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 956



Auguste Rodin, *A Burgher of Calais (Jean d'Aire)*, 1942.5.13

of Jean d'Aire's robe fall in deep and luxurious folds, straight and heavy, concealing, yet expressing the body beneath and locking the figure to the base. The hands and feet are big, rough and coarse, while the face of Jean d'Aire melds the faces of Donatello prophets with memories of ancient Roman Republican faces.

We have no record of a Simpson purchase of this statuette. It was most likely a gift from Rodin. The Simpsons must have owned it by late 1904, for they were ready to lend it to Boston early in 1905. Rodin began exhibiting his reductions of the *Burghers* in 1900 and they were immediately highly prized by collectors. The normal price was 2,200 francs per figure, although Rodin was known to sell them for as little as 1,000 francs.¹³

RB

Notes

1. The Collas machine operated on a principle of mathematical proportions. A tracing needle that moves over the surface of the original plaster model is attached by links to a cutting stylus able to reproduce the model on a reduced scale as it cuts into the soft plaster blank. The model and the reduced plaster image are held securely in the same plane while the device is in operation.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (2 October 1996).

3. Four works are listed as being on loan from Mrs. Simpson: "A Burgher of Calais," "Saint John without arms or head," "Désespoir," and "The Thinker." "Rodin's Sculpture at Copley Hall," *Boston Evening Transcript* (20 March 1905).

4. On 5 March 1908 Mrs. Simpson wrote to Rodin: "This week we sent four of your bronzes to an exhibition at the museum in Boston. My house feels empty but I like believing that it brings the public a little closer to you" (MRA). The *Burgher of Calais* was one of the four listed in the *Boston Evening Transcript* (6 March 1908).

5. The order for the reduction is in the Lebossé correspondence (MRA).

6. Names assigned by the former curator of the Musée Rodin in 1931. Grappe 1931, 85.

7. Judrin, Laurent, and Viéville 1977, 222. In a letter dated 19 September 1949 Marcel Aubert, director of the Musée Rodin, wrote to the Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, that Rodin did not wish the group reassembled in its small dimension, thus he only allowed five figures to be made. Letter in the Nasjonalgalleriet archives. See de Caso and Sanders 1977: 215–216.

8. Tancock 1976, 397–402.

9. Judrin, Laurent, and Viéville 1977, 222.

10. Judrin, Laurent, and Viéville 1977, 222. Joanny Peytel, who became one of Rodin's backers for the 1900 exhibition, owned the first set of bronze casts of the reduced *Burghers*. A letter of 2 November 1899 mentions "1,000 for the *Burghers of Calais* and 1,200 for a bronze cast of the same work" (MRA).

11. Lorado Taft for example, identified the "rugged man who clutched a gigantic key" as "Sieur Eustache de St. Pierre." *Chicago Record* (8 July 1895).

12. Grappe 1931, 85–86.

13. Beausire 1988, 192–194.

References

- 1889 Geffroy, Gustave. "Le statuaire Rodin," *Les Lettres et les Arts* (1 September 1889), in Vilain 1989: 64–65.
- 1889 Bartlett: 250.
- 1895 Mirbeau.

- 1903 Rilke: 35–39.
- 1911 Gsell: 102–116, 188.
- 1927 Grappe: 51–53.
- 1936 Cladel: 152–166.
- 1944 Grappe: 59–62.
- 1963 Elsen: 70–87.
- 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 106–115.
- 1967 Spear: 40–47.
- 1971 Goldscheider: 169 and pl. 3.
- 1976 Tancock: 376–402.
- 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 204–225.
- 1977 Judrin, Laurent, and Viéville.
- 1977 McNamara and Elsen.
- 1986 Lampert: 101–115.
- 1986 Miller and Marotta: 41–71.
- 1987 Le Nouëne and Pinet.
- 1988 Beausire: 95, 96, 98, 100, 105, 116, 123, 151, 157, 158, 164, 192, 201, 205, 210, 212, 213, 217, 220, 231, 237, 250, 251, 253, 260, 266, 357, 359, 366.
- 1988 Fonsmark: 111–115.
- 1993 Butler: 199–213.
- 1994 Levkoff: 92–101.
- 1998 Porter and Lacasse: 95–105.

1942.5.7 (A-71)

Eve Eating the Apple

c. 1885

Terra cotta, 23 × 27.3 × 15.6 (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the self-base below the left leg: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The arms and legs of the figure rest lightly on its L-shaped base and the top of the head is stabilized, though not supported, by a free-form bridge of clay. The sculpture appears to be composed of both molded and modeled components. A mold line on the left side of the figure that runs from the waist to the ankle, as well as on the right side of the torso, is evident. The mold lines are not particularly prominent, as the body surface has been smoothed out. In contrast the head, hands, feet, and L-shaped base are rough and generalized. There are numerous fingerprint impressions, especially in the hair, on the left cheek, and on the base. The base also has incised marks and some broad knife-cut sections. Rodin's signature is inscribed on an oblique knife-cut plane below the left leg.

The terra-cotta material is porous in texture, pale in color, and has a number of small black, white, and shiny mica inclusions. The sculpture is attached to a wooden plank with pigmented plaster.

There is a small repaired crack between the left knee and calf; the lower left leg sags slightly, presumably from the misaligned repair. A slight crack appears where the left arm meets the base, probably a result of shrinkage during firing.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1905(?).²

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 12, as *Eve*. NGA 1965. NGA 1974. NGA 1981, not in cat.



Auguste Rodin, *Eve Eating the Apple*, 1942.5.7

Other Versions

The National Gallery piece is the only terra-cotta version of this figure.³ Plaster versions are owned by the Musée Rodin, Paris, and the Maryhill Museum of Fine Arts, Washington. Another plaster version was sold at Sotheby's in 1976. The figure was cast in bronze for the first time in 1929. The Musée Rodin initiated a new bronze edition in 1972 (fig. 1), based on the original plaster.⁴

THIS LONG, lean female figure, bending forward and unable to remain upright without a support, is one of the scores of figures modeled by Rodin in the process of creating the vast population of *The Gates of Hell*. She is plainly visible in the lower right-hand portion of the right panel between *Despairing Youth* and *The Prodigal Son*. The figure—shoulders hunched, bent arms pulled to the chest, left knee bent as if to kneel, right leg outstretched—became an ingredient in the great Rodinian vocabulary. He tried it without a head (fig. 2); he explored the possibility of the figure as no more than a torso and placed her upright;⁵ and he linked her with the *Despairing Youth*. A photograph of this group exists in which Rodin painted the background (fig. 3) and scribbled “*Dans la mer*” on the assemblage. He tried this combination again with the male figure at a slightly different tilt, and called it *L'Aurore, contrepartie du crépuscule* [Dawn, the other side of Dusk]. A plaster example of the figure exists with only an upper body, arms, and head. On another occasion Rodin cut off both her legs and head and stuck the body into a Greek pot. He also turned her on her back, placing her in a giant male hand (taken from one of the *Burghers of Calais*) calling the result *La Main du diable* [The Hand of the Devil].⁶

We think of Rodin as the great sculptor of fragments. It was his love of process and his passion for sculpture as an open-ended search for form that led to so many fragments in his oeuvre. When he had a patron—either an institution or a friend—for whom he had particular admiration, he wanted them to understand this aspect of his artistry, there-



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *The Dawn (L'Aube)*, bronze, c. 1887 Paris, Musée Rodin, S 471, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *L'Aube sans tête ni pied*, plaster, 1890, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 3105, photograph by Adam Rzepka, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris



Fig. 3 Auguste Rodin, *Aurore, or "Dans la Mer,"* painted photograph(?), Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 350

fore he shared some of the rich excess of his studio through gifts of fragments and studies. As a result, the Simpsons came into possession of this terra-cotta figure.

When the figure arrived at the National Gallery in 1942, it was called *Eve Eating the Apple*. The gesture of the right hand placed near Eve's mouth and the way the figure turns in upon itself have the combined effect of a furtive, guilty look, possibly suggesting the title to the Simpsons. The plaster example in the Maryhill Museum is called *Variant of "Sorrow,"*⁷ while the one in the Musée Rodin has been known as *L'Aube* [Dawn], because the word is incised just above Rodin's signature on the base. Recently, however, a curator noticed an “à” before the inscription, and now thinks that the figure is dedicated to Rodin's friend, the sculptor Jean-Paul Aubé (1837–1916).⁸ Rodin's little figure probably never had a particular name. She was an anonymous sinner

in *The Gates of Hell*, but when isolated so that we can experience the emotional quality of her gestures and her body, the impact is such that we want to bestow a name upon her.

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).
2. In her letter of 13 October 1905, Mrs. Simpson referred to works that Rodin had given her and that needed to be repaired and fired again. *Eve Eating the Apple*, which has a broken leg, may well have been one of these. There are no other references in the correspondence about the Simpsons having received terra cottas.
3. See letter from Kate Simpson to David Finley, NGA director, dated 13 May 1942 (in NGA archives), in which she says: "The terre cotte [sic] figure 'Eve' on her knees is very rare, in fact the only one."
4. The plaster was given to the Musée Rodin by Madame Rudier in 1954. Barbier 1992, 41.
5. A bronze cast of this work was part of Rodin's gift to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1914. The Musée Rodin made a cast of it for its own collection in 1979. Barbier 1992, 47.
6. All these versions are illustrated in Barbier 1992, 42–51.
7. The name comes from its close relationship to a figure in the Musée Rodin called *La Douleur*. Grappe 1944, 65–66.
8. Antoinette Le Normand-Romain noticed this and shared the information with me.

References

- 1976 Frel and West: 34.
1976 Tancock: 264–265, 626.
1992 Barbier: 41–51.
1998 Porter and Lacasse: 32–33.

1942.5.19 (A-83)

Woman and Child (originally *Première Impression d'Amour*)¹

Model c. 1885; carved c. 1900–1901
Marble, 43.2 × 44.4 × 33.1 (17 × 17½ × 13¼)
Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on a smoothed irregular rectangle on the bottom left side: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The fine-grained, cream-white block of marble, probably from Mount Pentelikon, Greece, is without veins or inherent faults.² There is a slight brown-gray patina on the top and the edges of the self-base and on the figures' limbs. The sculpture was made through the "indirect" process, i.e. a measuring device was used to reproduce the sculpture from a plaster model into the marble. The major *point de repère* (guiding mark) is the hole visible on the self-base in front of the woman's feet. Not so evident but visible to the eye with careful examination are 75 to 80 small holes, the *détails* (measuring holes) made by the pointing machine. Tools employed were flat chisels for the back of the self-base and on the flat areas of the flesh of the figures; claw-tooth chisels for the self-base, especially evident in the vegetation on the front and the woman's hair; and point chisels for

the self-base. Use of file work for smoothing is evident everywhere and fine abrasives (emery or pumice) would have been used to complete the sculpture. The figures are finely finished but not highly polished.³

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1902.

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 6, as *Girl and Cupid* (*Premières Impressions d'Amour*). NGA 1965. NGA 1974. NGA 1981, no. 150, as *Fleeing Love*.

Other Versions

Two other marble versions of this sculpture have been identified. Both were purchased from Rodin in the period when the Simpsons bought their group. The first patron to be drawn to the group in marble was Henry Lee Higginson of Boston. Higginson purchased his work out of Rodin's 1900 retrospective,⁴ and by 1907 it was in the MFA, where it remained until 1961, when it was deacquired. It is now in a private collection.⁵ Sometime after 1900 Dean Sage, a lumberman from Ithaca, New York, purchased a marble from Rodin.⁶ It was sold to a private collector at Sotheby's in November 1989.⁷

IN HIS MUSÉE Rodin catalogues, Georges Grappe called *Woman and Child* by the name *L'Amour qui passe* [Fleeting Love] (fig. 1), and dated it 1885.⁸ Both indications are, more or less, standard in the Rodin literature. Grappe's dating is based on the closeness of *L'Amour qui passe* to two other groups, one which he calls *Jeune mère* [Young Mother], the other *La Jeune mère à la grotte* [Young Mother in a Grotto] (fig. 2). All three works are related to Rodin's interest in mother-child groupings in the early 1880s, when he was working with such subjects at the Sèvres porcelain factory. He was also in the process of trying to conceive ways to include babes paired with young women in *The Gates of Hell*. For the two young-mother groups just mentioned, with upright children on the knees of female figures, there is clear evidence they existed in the 1880s.⁹ But for the group with



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *Fleeing Love* (*L'Amour qui passe*), bronze, photograph by Jacques-Ernest Bulloz, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 3056



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Young Mother in the Grotto*, plaster, 1885, Philadelphia, Rodin Museum, Gift of Jules E. Mastbaum, F'29-7-102

the child placed horizontally, its little body lightly grazing the female figure's left thigh, there is no mention before 1892, when Alex Reid ordered a bronze version of *Femme avec un amour* [Woman with a Cupid].¹⁰ In 1900 Higgenson purchased his marble *Flight of Love*, and two years later the Simpsons selected their first piece by Rodin, *First Impressions of Love*.¹¹ The child in the Boston version became a Cupid through the addition of little wings on its back.

The female figure in *Woman and Child* derives from the same plaster cast as the freestanding *Young Mother*. Both lean back on their left arms and twist their bodies in the same direction. Their knees and feet are clasped tightly together, with the legs drawn back under the thighs. But the figure of the child is completely different from the child in *Young Mother*, and may have its origin in the plaster used for one of the children in the two-figure group called *L'Idylle d'Ixelles* (1883–1884, Musée communal d'Ixelles, Brussels).¹²

Though the marble in the National Gallery was carved at the beginning of the twentieth century, its origins are in Rodin's early work. This is most recognizable in the stylishly pinched look of the female figure—her little nose, pointed chin, delicate eyelids, the carefully detailed ears. Rodin's studies of children with big heads and chubby joints go back to the 1860s when he himself became a father and showed interest in mother and child groupings for the first time.¹³ And the subject never lost its attraction for Rodin, as

we can see in his work at Sèvres, and among the groups and figures found in the complex surfaces of *The Gates of Hell*.

Particularly during the period when he was working on *The Gates of Hell*, Rodin made common use of readapting separately conceived figures to form new groups. It was an old technique called *marcottage*, which was used by decorative sculptors in the nineteenth century for the sake of economy. Rodin's reasons were different, however. He discovered in this process a subtle way of creating new and powerful psychological realities. For example, by a simple change of position, figures that once related to each other in a way that suggested affection could now suggest a total disregard of the other's presence. The process fascinated Rodin. We see it at work in his rethinking of the 1880s "Young Mother" groups. Instead of loving engagement, *Woman and Child* shows us an introverted young beauty who turns absent-mindedly to take note of the little figure glancing off her thigh. The child, which is frequently understood to be a Cupid, allows the viewer to see the group as suggesting either the arrival of or the departure of love. However one wishes to interpret it, the work has a vaguely symbolist overtone to it. This was just the kind of work for which there was a waiting clientele at the moment when Rodin was making his brilliant entrance into a world market.¹⁴

RB

Notes

1. The title at the time of purchase. Between 1984 and the publication of the present catalogue, the work was called *Young Woman and Winged Child*, which was an error, as the child has no wings.
2. See Appendix A.
3. Technical Examination Report submitted by Brian Ramer, NGA Object Conservation department (April 1994), and isotopic and petrographic analyses by Katherine A. Holbrow (1997).
4. The work is not mentioned in the catalogue, but Alain Beausire found it listed in the *carnet noir*, in which the sales from the exhibition are recorded. Beausire 1988, 196.
5. Rosenfeld 1993, 442.
6. This might seem a surprising purchase until one learns that Mr. Sage's son, also Dean Sage, joined John Simpson's law firm in 1900. So we can hypothesize that Sage senior visited the Simpson home, admired their Rodin collection, and ordered a marble just like the one they owned.
7. Rosenfeld 1993, 443.
8. Grappe 1944, 49.
9. Grappe's date for *Jeune mère* is based on Rodin's contribution of a cast (presumably plaster) to a benefit lottery in 1885 to raise funds for the Monument to Claude Lorrain. Grappe 1944, 48–49. See also Beausire 1988, 91. Evidence for a marble version of *Jeune mère* in 1889 and two of *La Jeune mère à la grotte*, one in 1889 and one in 1891, can be found in practitioners' accounts. Rosenfeld 1993, 438–441. See also Beausire 1988, 125.
10. In a letter of 19 January 1900, when Reid was negotiating to buy more casts, he reminded Rodin that in 1893 he had bought *Femme avec un amour* which Rodin had cast for him "sur un marbre" (MRA). This tells us that a marble did exist by the early 1890s. Alex Reid sold his bronze to James Smith in 1899, who bequeathed it to the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, in 1927 where it is entitled *Unlasting Love*. Walker Art Gallery 1977, 332.
11. Just as Mrs. Simpson's bust was brokered by Samuel Bing, so was their first purchase. Bing's receipt, dated 24 January 1903, is



Auguste Rodin, *Woman and Child*, 1942.5.19

found in the MRA: "Reçu de Monsieur Auguste Rodin la somme de Deux mille francs pour commission sur le groupe Première Impression vendu à M. Simpson." Presumably Bing got the same 20 percent commission as he did for the bust, which would make the price 12,000 francs. The Simpsons never paid such a high price again for a work by Rodin, since the artist lowered his prices for those he considered friends and good clients, which the Simpsons certainly became.

12. This relationship has been suggested by Rosenfeld 1993, 439.

13. Butler 1993, 52–53.

14. See the chapter entitled "Becoming an Entrepreneur," on Rodin's large exhibition in Belgium and Holland in 1899 and on his preparations for his 1900 retrospective, in Butler 1993, 333–348.

References

- 1944 Grappe: 49.
- 1976 Tancock: 182–185.
- 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 99–100.
- 1977 Walker Art Gallery: 332.
- 1988 Beausire: 91, 125, 196, 217, 235, 237, 241, 266, 332.
- 1993 Rosenfeld: 436–443.

1978.71.1 (A-1819)

The Sirens

Model before 1887; cast probably 1900/1920

Bronze, 43.2 × 45.8 × 31.8 (17 × 18½ × 12½)

Gift of David Baron in memory of his wife, Mary F. Baron

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the left side of the front of the base: A.. Rodin

Incised on the right side of the back of the base: Alexis RUDIER/
Fondeur. Paris.

In relief on interior of the base at the back: A. Rodin

Marks

Painted numerals in white on interior of the base at the back: 77

Chalk or crayon numeral on interior of the back: 3

Green paint on interior wall of the base at the back: X

Round sticker with scalloped edges on interior wall of the base at the back: Douane Central/Exportation Paris

Technical Notes: The bronze alloy, determined by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), is a tin-bronze with a copper content of approximately 93%, approximately 5% tin, approximately 1% zinc, and less than 1% each of iron and lead, with trace amounts of silver and antimony. Gold was detected in the hair of each figure.

The group was made by a sand casting process and remnants of charred sand are found on the interior. Seam marks resulting from the casting of the model in plaster are evident on the surface. The bronze cast seems to have been made in at least four pieces: the right arm of the right figure; the whole of the right figure with the exception of the aforementioned arm and the left leg below the knee; the legs of the central figure; the sea and the two remaining figures.

X-radiography reveals the walls of the cast as being fairly uneven. Also there are tiny air bubbles scattered throughout the sculpture.

Much of the character of the work results from the contrast between the roughly treated base and the shiny, smooth surfaces of the three female bodies. Although there are tool marks on the figures, the tools used to delineate the sea were much broader. A flat chisel, as well as a single point tool, was used to delineate the motion of the waves.

The patina is reddish brown, variegated with a light green color. Under magnification, light and dark green appear to be placed over the reddish brown. Samples taken from two areas of green patina were identified as basic copper nitrate hydroxide and basic copper chloride, atacamite. This suggests that one of the patinating solutions was copper nitrate. Copper chloride has not been detected in any of the other Rodin bronzes in the National Gallery collection. In this case, however, it appears to have been used as an intentional constituent of the patinating solution. There is a sparse gilding in the hair of the figures which appears to have been burnished onto the surface.

The sculpture is in good and stable condition. Superficial scratches are present overall. There are small areas where the patina has worn and the bare metal is exposed. Patches where the light green patina is missing expose the reddish-brown underlayer (left forearm of the tallest figure).¹

Provenance: (Marlborough Fine Art Limited, London, and Marlborough Galleria d'Arte, Rome) by 1958; sold 1965 to David Baron [1894–1991], St. Louis, Missouri.

Exhibited: *XIX and XX Century European Masters: Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture*, Marlborough Fine Art Limited, London, 1958, no. 90, as *Les Trois Graces*. NGA 1981, no. 265. *Sculpture: Looking into Three Dimensions*, Anchorage Museum of History and Art, Alaska, 1987–1988.

Other Versions

Rodin first exhibited a bronze cast of *The Three Sirens* in the second exhibition of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers in London in 1899.² The Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest purchased its bronze cast from Rodin for 4,000 francs in 1900, while Comte Dimitri Tolstoï acquired the same work at the same time for 3,000 francs.³ Three casts, all of which bear the mark of Alexis Rudier, were in public collections by 1926: the Musée Rodin in Paris, the Rodin Museum in Philadelphia, and the CMA. The NGA cast, also bearing the mark of Alexis Rudier, is close to these works and most likely dates from the early twentieth century. The casts in the Tokyo National Museum of Western Art, as well as those in private collections in Lausanne (by Persinka) and Dresden, date from before the Second World War.⁴ After the war, George Rudier produced an edition in which we know there were at least ten casts.⁵

THE SIRENS gives the visitor to the National Gallery an excellent opportunity to consider the way Rodin composed the figures and groups inserted into the matrix of *The Gates of Hell*. The small *Sirens*—as opposed to the group as a separate enlarged work—can be seen halfway up the left panel at the left edge of Rodin's door. The fluid interplay of bodies and arms turning and twisting, the legs of two of the figures mired in the material—their arms unnaturally thick, their hands and arms elongated beyond natural proportions—have, nevertheless, created a composition that works perfectly. The approach is typical of Rodin in his years of intense work on *The Gates of Hell*. We think of other groups created for *The Gates* and subsequently released from them



Auguste Rodin, *The Sirens*, 1978.71.1

—such as *Paolo and Francesca* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—in which bent knees and overlapping arms attached to supple young bodies provide a complexity that invites the beholder to walk around the piece repeatedly to understand the way the bodies work together.

The American sculptor Truman Bartlett (1835–1923), whose 1887 visits to Rodin's studio yielded so much information and so many insights into Rodin's art, looked at these “unearthly creatures, weird and seductive,” and found them to be “perhaps the most subtle composition in the door.” He felt that no “illustration can give any idea of their charm and color, for their beauty begins and ends with themselves.”⁶

As fast as Rodin created works for his great door, he separated them out to make them into independent works. *The Sirens* group was exhibited for the first time at the Galerie Georges Petit in the spring of 1887. When the critic Gustave Geffroy visited the exhibition he saw them as those “sad figures of three women whose limbs entwine in a passionate and sterile struggle more reminiscent of Baudelaire than of Dante.” Though he did not name them, they can be none other than *The Sirens*.⁷

The group was then exhibited in the Monet/Rodin show at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1889. It was probably shown in plaster, as may have been the case also at Rodin's exhibition in Geneva in 1896 and again at the 1897 Venice Biennale. We cannot be sure, however, as Rodin did not always baptize a work and his titles were capable of shifting. The group in Geneva was called “Three Women.”⁸ When the avid Rodin collector from Lübeck, Max Linde, inquired about the group, he called it “Crest and Wave.” Rodin replied that the work he was asking about represented “three Nereids who hold on to one another and who sway as they sing.”⁹

The group in the form of a bronze cast probably made its debut as *The Three Sirens* at the second exhibition of the newly formed London group, the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers, in 1899. In 1900, there was a bronze cast in the Berlin Secession and in Rodin's own retrospective at the time of the Paris Universal Exposition (fig. 1).¹⁰

Rodin not only extracted and enlarged figures and groups from *The Gates of Hell*, he reused them endlessly. Sometime in the late 1880s, he took his three singing maidens and placed them above the prone body of a young man for whom they sing a mournful chant, a work called *Death of the Poet* (fig. 2). In the early 1890s, they reappeared in Rodin's program for a monument to Victor Hugo (fig. 3). In this version of the monument, known as *The Apotheosis of Victor Hugo*, the maidens are “nereids” and they thrash about in the waves singing their melody for the naked old poet who strides above their heads across the rocks of Guernsey.¹¹

The relationship between the creative man—the poet—and the woman or the women who speak, chant, shout, or whisper the breath of inspiration into his being was a central theme throughout Rodin's work. *The Sirens* is not only



Fig. 1 Bronze cast of *The Three Sirens* (*Trois Sirènes*), photograph by Eugène Druet, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2472



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Death of the Poet* (*La Mort du Poète*), plaster, c. 1888, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 2292, photograph by Adam Rzepka, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

a good example of the theme, but in these undulating bodies, bound together by arms and hair and a melancholy chant, we have a work with a symbolist aura that held immense attraction for admirers of Rodin's work at the end of the nineteenth century.

The subject was also perfectly suited to marble, and at



Fig. 3 Plaster maquette for the monument to Victor Hugo, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 5718, photograph by Béatrice Hatala

least three collectors ordered it in that material.¹² In October of 1901 Max Linde inquired about ordering a bronze for his garden, but by the end of the year he wanted it in marble for his music room. When it arrived the following September, he was thrilled and his response to the work gives us some insight into the open-ended nature of Rodin's sculpture and the multiple ways in which his subjects can be interpreted. Linde wrote:

What a superb piece of marble you have sent us! Your works inspire in me the same feeling as does nature. This musical movement of the three interlaced women gives me the illusion of the whispering ocean, or perhaps the origin is music. The beauty of its lines and proportions is indeed remarkable and the purity of the stone matches it. Your art proves the intimate connection between sculpture and music. Yesterday, as I was playing a Beethoven sonata at the piano, the marble seemed to enter in motion. Music and marble became one to give me the strong sensation of a divine art.¹³

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Sheila Payaqui (19 August 1994), and revised by Daphne S. Barbour (4 June 1996), NGA Object Conservation department.

2. Beausire 1988, 148.
3. Beausire 1988, 182.
4. Tancock 1976, 219.
5. No. 10 was sold at *Impressionist and Modern Painting and Sculpture, Part II*, Sotheby's, New York, 15 May 1985, no. 10.
6. Bartlett 1889 (11 May), 225.
7. Gustave Geffroy, "A. Rodin," *La Justice* (19 May 1887). Daniel Rosenfeld (1993, 470) was the first to note Geffroy's description of *The Sirens* in 1887, thus establishing the first exhibition date.
8. Beausire 1988, 125, 131.
9. Letter from Rodin to Linde, dated 10 October 1901 (Lübeck Archives).
10. Beausire 1988, 148, 157, 182.
11. Roos 1981, 651–652.
12. The three examples are in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, the NCG, and the Thielska Galleriet, Stockholm. John Tancock (1976, 219) identifies a fourth example in the Toledo Museum of Art. Rosenfeld (1993, 471), however, has pointed out that this is a different work.
13. Letter from Linde to Rodin, dated 22 September 1902 (MRA). Published in Marandel 1988, 38–39.

References

- 1887 Geffroy, Gustave. "A. Rodin." *La Justice* (19 May).
 1889 Bartlett: 225.
 1927 Grappe: 63.
 1944 Grappe: 67.
 1967 Spear: 8, 60–61, 64, 99.
 1976 Tancock: 215–219.
 1981 Roos: 651–652.
 1988 Beausire: 105, 125, 131, 148, 157, 178, 181–182, 211, 233, 251, 255, 330.
 1988 Fonsmark: 122–123.
 1993 Rosenfeld: 470–474.
 1998 Porter and Lacasse: 154–155.

1942.5.25 (A-89)

Head of Saint John the Baptist

1887¹

Plaster, greatest extension: 6.7 (2⁵/₈)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the back: en Souvenir de Paris / l'an 1907 / a monsieur J.W. / Simpson de / New York en grande Sym / pathie A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The head was made in a piece mold composed of at least fourteen sections. Small air bubbles are evident across the mustache and beard and around the nose.

Analyses by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) and X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) reveal the material to be a hydrated form of calcium sulfate. The fine-textured plaster is covered with a light gray-colored wash.

The forehead, nose, cheeks, and tips of the hair are slightly gray from handling and black granules of soil have accumulated within the recesses of the mouth and right ear. There are minor scratches and abrasions across the cheeks and other areas in relief.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1907.

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 15, as *Study of Head*. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 80.

Other Versions

Although Rodin's *Head of Saint John the Baptist* exists in many versions, none is exactly like that in the NGA; that is, in plaster, small enough to hold in the palm of the hand, and without any background surface. Perhaps the closest to the NGA plaster is a silver cast of the same dimensions in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille (fig. 1).

RODIN'S ASSISTANT, Jules Desbois, remembered that in the mid-1880s the artist hired an Italian model of distinctive features who possessed a kind of nervous beauty. According to Desbois, he posed for two works: "Christ on the Cross" and the "Head of Saint John the Baptist."³ We do not know Rodin's early Christ, although perhaps it has been absorbed into *Christ and the Magdalene*.⁴

Rodin clearly had great affection for his *Head of Saint John the Baptist*, as evidenced by the many examples in existence. Like his earlier, more famous *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*, we understand immediately that we are looking at a saintly face. We recognize it in the open mouth, the type of beard and mustache, and in the extreme concentration. Rodin made the feeling more explicit in the second Saint John—the severed head—by working with a lean model, whose face was truly ascetic, and by fashioning closed eyes, set deeply beneath eyebrows tightened into a spasm at the moment of martyrdom's final blow.

It was unusual for Rodin to work with a traditional Christian subject. So when we know that he went to Saint John twice for inspiration, we must wonder what this saint meant

to Rodin. Saint John as prophet, as innovator, as the great voice in the wilderness, had, in fact, become a favorite among artists in the second half of the century. And it is clear that Rodin was among those who saw in "The Precursor" a special patron for artists from the Christian roster.

The preacher was the precursor. But the head alone was the martyr, and we cannot look at it without thinking of the fatal woman who brought this martyrdom to pass: Salomé, frequently celebrated by fin-de-siècle artists and writers.⁵ In the period when Rodin created the *Head of Saint John*, Edouard Toudouze painted a celebrated image of a lavishly enthroned Salomé. At her feet we see the open-mouthed martyr's head laid upon a charger.⁶ This popular fin-de-siècle theme allowed both artists and public to linger upon the idea of what men faced when confronted with an independent young virgin who had the instinct of bloodlust.

After Rodin created the decapitated head, he proceeded to place it in various contexts, shifting the orientation and the background for different effects. He tried it on its side so that viewers looked at the profile against the platter. It was in this position that a marble of the head was exhibited for the first time in the Monet/Rodin show of 1889 at the Galerie Georges Petit.⁷ In the 1890s Rodin ordered his *praticiens* to carve two more marbles. In the twentieth century he placed the head full face upward, allowing a surrounding bed of uncut marble to serve as the platter.⁸ It is this position—face up and fully exposed, as seen in the National Gallery plaster—that Rodin used when he inserted the head into *The Gates of Hell*. It can be found at the upper right corner of the door, at the far outer edge of the projecting molding, in a position that is virtually impossible to see from the ground. The martyred saint's head is there, however, though not on a charger; it is cradled within a bower of richly growing leaves.⁹

Rodin's special regard for the *Head of Saint John the Baptist* and his clients' warm response to the work is evident in the number of existing marble examples, as well as in Rodin's desire to see the work executed in silver. Rodin exhibited the head at least fourteen times in his lifetime.¹⁰ It is interesting that among all the gifts he made to the Simpsons, this particular piece is the only one that Rodin designated as being specifically for John Simpson. In 1911 he gave his biographer, Judith Cladel, a small silver cast of the head, which she had mounted as a necklace.¹¹ In 1916, when Alma de Bretteville Spreckels began her Rodin collection, following the close of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, one of the artist's gifts to her was a life-size plaster of the head. In the same year he indicated that he wished Elizabeth, Queen of Belgium, to have his last marble version of the *Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Platter* as an expression of his sympathy for the suffering of the Belgian people during the war.¹²

For his own personal version, Rodin took the little *Head of Saint John* and created an assemblage, with three suffering hands laced together on a velvet ground and placed within an oval frame (fig. 2).



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *Head of Saint John the Baptist* (*Tête de Jean-Baptiste*), silver cast, c. 1903/1907, Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts

RB



Auguste Rodin, *Head of Saint John the Baptist*, 1942.5.25



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Assemblage with Head of Saint John the Baptist and Hands*, plaster, c. 1910, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 1375, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

Notes

1. Grappe 1944, 64. This traditional date has never been disputed.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).
3. Desbois shared this information with Judith Cladel. Cladel 1936, 146.
4. In a 1918 exhibition a cast of *The Head of Saint John* was labeled "Head of Christ." Grappe 1944, 64 and 93.
5. Gustave Moreau and Gustave Flaubert led the exploration into Salomé's story and her lust for the Baptist's head. There were many others: Henry Regnault, Alfred Stevens, Benjamin Constant, Joris-Karl Huysmans, as well as Rodin's friends Mallarmé and Arthur Symons. See Dijkstra 1986, 380–481.
6. Illustrated in Dijkstra 1986, 383.
7. Vilain 1989, 189.
8. In the Matsukata Collection in the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo. Rosenfeld 1993, 413–418.
9. Well-illustrated in Descharnes and Chabrun 1967, 85.
10. Vilain 1989, 189.
11. This work was purchased by the Musée Rodin in 1948.
12. The queen did not receive the work at the time. She protested and, finally, in 1926, the Musée Rodin gave her the marble. Rosenfeld 1993, 414–417.

References

- 1927 Grappe: 50.
 1936 Cladel: 146.
 1944 Grappe: 64.
 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 85, 241.
 1976 Tancock: 205–209.
 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 85–87.
 1981 Elsen in NGA: 130.
 1989 Vilain: 189.
 1993 Rosenfeld: 413–417.

1942.5.14 (A-78)

Head of Balzac

Model 1897; cast probably early 20th century
 Copper alloy, 16.5 × 20.9 × 18.1 (6½ × 8¼ × 7⅛)
 Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Incised on lower back, in left corner: A. Rodin

Marks

Sticker on the interior: MFA / Simpson

Technical Notes: The head was sand cast in a single piece, evidence of which is found in the remnants of charred sand inside the sculpture. X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) has revealed that the copper alloy used is a cross between brass and a true bronze, i.e. there is a higher percentage of zinc (8%) than we find in true bronze, in which copper (84%) with tin (6%) is the main composition. The absence of impurities in the alloy suggests refinement of copper. The piece was finished by hand, carried out with extensive cold-work and file marks of various sizes, evident over much of the sculpture. The smoothest areas of the sculpture are on the forehead and cheeks. A dark green patina covers the entire head. A second solution, yielding a lighter green, was applied to the left cheek, the nose, the edges of the lips, the eye sockets, and the right side of the hair. The deep holes forming the eyes are treated with a pale, matte turquoise. The combination of the different greens, combined with turquoise, yields a very painterly effect.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1903.

Exhibited: *Renaissance and Modern Bronzes*, MFA, 1908, no. 167.² NGA 1946, no. 10. NGA 1965. NGA 1974.

Other Versions

In 1901 Rodin began exhibiting the final version of his head of Balzac as a separate work, both in its monumental form and in the small version that is the NGA cast. In June, he sold a small bronze to an American collector, John K. Sanders, now in the CMA,³ and in the fall he exhibited one in Helsinki, where it can still be seen in the Kunstmuseum Athenaeum.⁴ There are at least twenty-six casts in the small size bearing the mark of Alexis Rudier and another eight or nine with the mark of Georges Rudier. Several casts, like the NGA bronze, are without a founder's stamp.⁵

AFTER *The Gates of Hell*, the *Monument to Balzac* was Rodin's most dazzling commission. The Société des Gens de Lettres had wished to honor Balzac, a founding member and former president of the organization. In 1891, just as Emile Zola assumed his duties as president of the society, Chapu, their original choice to sculpt the monument, died in a flu epidemic. Zola then turned to Rodin. It was a commission Rodin himself had been longing for even before this time, and upon receiving word that the prize was now his, he wrote to Zola: "It's thanks to you, here I am the sculptor of Balzac and patronized by Zola! I feel surrounded in the most formidable fashion."⁶ Zola, who as a writer had led the fight for the legitimacy of the naturalist novel, was striv-



Auguste Rodin, *Head of Balzac*, 1942.5.14

ing to reinforce his case by claiming Balzac as a forerunner of the movement. And Zola considered Rodin the leading naturalist sculptor of the day. Hence, no other sculptor would do as the creator of this monument now under his charge.

In 1851, when Balzac died, Rodin was only eleven, too young to have ever seen the novelist with his own eyes. So he had to find Balzac in his own way. It was an important search because Rodin, like Zola, obeyed the dictates of nature. Further, in a sense he identified with the great novelist of the first half of the century in that he considered the scope of his *Gates of Hell* parallel to that of Balzac's *Human Comedy*. Rodin's energy and commitment to come to an understanding of Balzac in his physical, psychological, and spiritual reality was untiring. To this end, he collected all visual documentation he could find—daguerreotypes, drawings, paintings, and portraits in three dimension. Rodin read Balzac's novels, corresponded with the novelist's relatives, and got a great-nephew to send him a plaster cast of Balzac's hand. He also communicated with the leading Balzac specialist of the day, the Belgian Viscount Charles Spoelberch de Lovenjoul.

Ultimately, however, Rodin's search had to be grounded in nature. For this he needed live models. Within a month of receiving the commission Rodin was traveling the byways of Touraine, the region of Balzac's birth, in search of men who were the right physical type, in order to conceptualize Balzac's body, his physiognomy, and the shape of his head.

Rodin was both fascinated and tormented by his commission to make a monument to Balzac. When he accepted it, he agreed to have it ready in eighteen months, a commitment that was totally unrealistic. He was not only busy with other commissions, but it took a long time for him to be certain how he saw the formidable writer. Furthermore, he was badgered by an unusually demanding client. Many members of the Société des Gens de Lettres were extremely critical when Rodin did not appear with a monument under his arm on 1 May 1893, the date upon which they had agreed. He did have supporters within the society, however, and one of them was the feminist writer Séverine. In late 1894, when the issue of the deadline was reaching a crisis point, she went to Rodin's studio to examine the *maquette*. She described the statue as a solid figure, marching forward to take possession of the ground. Upon it Rodin had placed a face which she found to be almost "formless . . . full of holes, with a grin like a scar and a nose like a bird's beak, a cannibal-like jaw, a rugged forehead beneath a mass of hair like a clump of weeds." This image—it was one that was almost superhuman—sent shivers down her spine.⁷

Over the years, Rodin conceived of Balzac in many ways, for the most part working with the head and the body separately. He made young Balzacs, smiling Balzacs, Balzac staring straight ahead, older Balzacs, and a jowly Balzac with his head tilted to one side. The mustache was a given, but Rodin considered different styles for the hair, just as

Balzac himself had changed it throughout his life. Though Rodin worked from living models, the choice of men he hired as models was influenced by the works of art he was consulting. In his early years Balzac kept his hair short and neat; Rodin tried this first. As time went on, the heads became rougher, the hair shaggier, more asymmetrical, the eyes more deeply set, and the whole mien took on greater seriousness. Rodin's plaster and terra-cotta sketches were increasingly less naturalistic, more interpretive and personal. He exaggerated the features, thickening the lips, deepening the eyes, cantilevering the eyebrows into space, adding mass to the neck. In the twentieth century Rodin told a writer that he "wanted to show the very process of his breathing—Balzac, alone in his studio, hair in disorder, eyes lost in a dream, a genius who, in his little room, is able to reconstruct bit by bit the entire structure of society and to expose life in all its tumultuousness. . . ."⁸ It was this visionary interpretation of Balzac that was his ultimate choice for the monument.⁹

By 1896, the Société des Gens de Lettres was putting Rodin under enormous pressure to finish the monument. Within the society a movement was growing to take the commission away from Rodin and give it to someone else. In early 1897 Rodin informed the society that his *maquette* was ready.¹⁰ But it then had to be enlarged, so it was another year before Rodin could write that the figure was ready to go to the foundry.¹¹ At this point the society did a strange thing: instead of rejoicing that they finally had their monument and rushing it off to be cast in bronze, they informed Rodin that they wished to have the plaster exhibited in the next Salon.

Thus it was the Société des Gens de Lettres, not Rodin, who was responsible for one of the most polemical exhibits ever seen in a nineteenth-century Salon. When the plaster *Balzac* appeared in the Galerie des Machines (fig. 1), although it delighted some, for the majority it was a disagreeable shock: "*ordure*" [garbage] and "*monstrueux*" [monstrous] were preferred adjectives. Taunts such as "a querulous concierge who has not yet shaved and is still in his bathrobe" rang out in the vicinity of Rodin's figure. Not everyone was so negative and individuals of modern taste and open minds, such as Oscar Wilde, were amused at the way that "people howl with rage over it," when in fact "the head is gorgeous."¹²

For Rodin, the blow of 11 May 1898 was even worse: The Société des Gens de Lettres informed him that it did not "recognize the statue as being Balzac."¹³ This canny organization of writers and journalists had orchestrated an unexpected turn of events, for now with public opinion solidly on their side, they were free to turn their back on France's most celebrated modern sculptor and give the commission to someone else. It passed to Rodin's contemporary and friend Alexandre Falguière (1831–1900), who provided France with a rather tired-looking *Balzac*. It was carved in marble and still sits in the middle of the avenue de Friedland.¹⁴

RB



Fig. 1 *Balzac* in the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, photograph by Eugène Druet, 1898, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2901

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Brian Ramer, NGA Object Conservation department (26 April 1991).
2. This was one of four Simpson bronzes exhibited at the MFA. Listed in the *Boston Evening Transcript* (6 March 1908).
3. The CMA owns a receipt of payment signed by Rodin, dated 18 June 1901. Spear 1967, 91.
4. Beausire 1988, 218.
5. Information provided by Jérôme Le Blay, Musée Rodin, Paris.
6. Rodin's letters to Zola are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This particular letter is dated 9 July 1891. They have been published by Joy Newton and Monique Fol, *Cahiers naturalistes* 59 (1985). These authors have also published "Zola et Rodin," *Cahiers naturalistes* 51 (1977).
7. "Les Dix Mille Francs de Rodin," *Journal* (27 November 1894). Reproduced in Tancock 1976, 448.
8. Paul Gsell, "Auguste Rodin," *L'Art et les Artistes*, 4, 23 (February 1907), 410–411.
9. Rodin made more than twenty studies for the head of Balzac. The studies were first exhibited at the Musée Rodin in 1950 in a show entitled "Balzac et Rodin." Illustrated comparisons with the sources used by Rodin are found in Goldscheider 1952, 37–44. Other illustrated discussions of the evolution of Rodin's *Balzac* are to be found in: Spear 1967, 9–30; Elsen, McGough, and Wander 1973; and Tancock 1976, 425–459. The centenary of *Balzac's* appearance in the Paris Salon was celebrated by a major exhibition in the summer of 1998 at the Musée Rodin, Paris. It was accompanied by a richly illustrated 450-page catalogue, which brings together new research and numerous sketches that are published for the first time.
10. The NGA bronze is a cast of the final version, in the dimensions of the finished *maquette*.
11. Letter from Rodin to Henry Houssaye dated 17 March 1898 (Bibliothèque Doucet, Paris).
12. Rupert Hart-Davis, ed., *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*, London, 1962, 732.
13. The best summary of the whole affair is found in Morhardt 1934, 475.
14. Unveiled in 1902. Illustrated in Hargrove 1989, 158.

References

1898 Alexandre.

- 1899 Ferry: 641ff.
 1927 Grappe: 77–78.
 1934 Morhardt: 463–489.
 1936 Cladel: 182–224.
 1944 Grappe: 98–99.
 1952 Goldscheider: 37–44.
 1964 De Caso: 279–284.
 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 164–175.
 1967 Spear: 9–30, 91–93.
 1973 Elsen, McGough, and Wander.
 1976 Tancock: 425–459.
 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 237–241.
 1986 Lampert: 126–129.
 1988 Beausire: 208, 210, 218, 219, 235, 242, 245, 253, 273, 315.
 1993 Butler: 252–256, 285–294, 299–305, 315–329.
 1998 Le Normand-Romain.
 1998 Porter and Lacasse: 113–119.

1942.5.17 (A-81)

The Evil Spirits

c. 1899

Marble, 71.2 × 75.7 × 59 (28¹/₁₆ × 29¹/₁₆ × 23¹/₄)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the bottom right side of the base: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The group is carved from a block of fine-grained cream-yellow Carrara marble; there is no veining or significant fault in the stone.¹ It was carved by an indirect process, whereby a pointing machine was used to transfer the composition from a plaster model into marble. Many *détails* [measuring holes] are visible over the upper surface of the self-base, as well as on the right foot of the hovering male figure. These were used in the transfer process. The *praticien* who carved the work used both point chisels and claw-tooth chisels on the self-base to create a richly patterned texture across the surface. Claw-tooth chisel marks in a horizontal pattern are seen on the strut that holds up the leg of the male figure and a very fine claw-tooth chisel was used to carve some of the mass of hair of the seated female figure. Flat chisels were used on the hair of the standing figure and for the flesh of all the figures. The work would have been finished with emery or pumice. It does not have a high polish. A tan-brown patina is seen at the edges of the self-base, with a light gray-tan patina on some parts of the carved figures such as arms, shoulders, heads, and hair.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, between 1903 and 1911.³

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 4, as *Three Figures*. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 154.

Other Versions

There are two other marble versions of *The Evil Spirits*, neither quite as large as the NGA group, nor do they have such a sweeping horizontal base. One is in the collection of John C. Whitehead,⁴ while the other, once owned by the Kurokawa Institute of Ancient Culture in Osaka, was sold at Sotheby's in May 1985.⁵ The present location is unknown.



Auguste Rodin, *The Evil Spirits*, 1942.5.17

THE PUBLIC first saw *The Evil Spirits* at Rodin's retrospective in 1900. He called it *Jeune Fille Entre Deux Génies* [Young Woman between Two Spirits].⁶ The work is an assemblage. Among the plasters *en réserve* at the Musée Rodin in Meudon we find the seated *Woman Combing Her Hair*. Her head is turned sharply to the left and her long, thin arms, oddly proportioned for the body, reach out to grasp a mop of hair dissimilar to the sumptuous mass of heavy tresses that Rodin made the focal point of his three-figure group. Over the back of the seated young woman, Rodin placed two genies who hover—one nude, one with its head mysteriously wrapped in a cloth that sweeps down her back. The two figures draw near, one on either side, and, as they whisper in the seated young woman's ears, they capture her in an embrace.

There is an aura of secret seduction here, but the subject remains vague. It was perfect for a turn-of-the-century audience grounded in Symbolism. Hovering figures delivering secret messages became a favorite theme of Rodin's in the 1890s. We only have to look at the figures hovering over Victor Hugo's head in Rodin's various models for the *Monument to Victor Hugo*; or to the figure in *The Sculptor and His Muse* who brings messages to inspire both sexual and creative power; or the harbinger of mortality who leans over Adonis in *Death of Adonis*. *The Evil Spirits* evolves out of these groups, but the atmosphere is quite different. In those groups the male recipient of the message—be he sculptor, poet, or a youth beloved by goddesses—acquired benefits of energy, inspiration, and solace from female messengers. In *The Evil Spirits* it is not so clear that a gift is being offered. We suspect rather the opposite.

There are five plaster examples of the group *en réserve* at Meudon: the original plaster *maquette*; two others approximately half the size of the National Gallery marble; and two enlargements, one clearly having been prepared for transfer into marble. Although Rodin did have the group cast in bronze,⁷ marble appears to have been his chosen medium for this particular group. Among the three known marbles, the National Gallery version is the only one with a



Fig. 1 *The Evil Spirits* (*Les Mauvais Génies*) and *Jean d'Aire* in Rodin's 1902 exhibition in Prague, photograph by Rude Bruner-Dvora, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1563



Fig. 2 *The Evil Spirits*, plaster, photograph by Stephen and Haweis, 1903–1904, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1462

broad horizontal self-base, which provides such a strong sense of the environment, where dark secrets shrouded in mystery are whispered in the young girl's ears.

The 1899 dating of *The Evil Spirits* is based on its appearance in the 1900 exhibition and the fact that it had not been photographed or mentioned in any previous correspondence. Its only other recorded exhibition in Rodin's lifetime was in Prague, where it was shown in plaster in 1902 (fig. 1).⁸ We know from photographs that by this time a plaster was on prominent view in Rodin's Meudon studio for prospective clients, such as the Simpsons, to see. In 1903 or 1904, Englishman Stephen Haweis photographed one of the plaster versions from the back (fig. 2). Jacques-Ernest Bulloz, the photographer with whom Rodin signed a contract in 1903 and whose work gives us very atmospheric interpretations of Rodin's late marbles, took almost the same view of a marble (fig. 3).

It is not clear when the name we now use—*The Evil Spirits*—became standard, but in a letter of 1912 Kate Simpson described a visit she had from a certain Madame Kalbfleisch “who admires you very much.” Together they looked at “The Good and Bad Spirits,” which brought Mrs. Simpson's



Fig. 3 *The Evil Spirits*, marble, photograph by Jacques Ernest Bulloz, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 976

visitor to tears. The title she used for her marble was not quite the one we have settled on, but we can see that it was almost in place by 1912.

RB

Notes

1. See Appendix A.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Brian Ramer, NGA Object Conservation department (April 1994).
3. We have no record of the purchase of *The Evil Spirits*. The first reference to it in one of Kate Simpson's letters is 7 January 1912 (see letter 33). Mrs. Simpson said that Madame Kalbfleisch had been in her home the previous week and had admired "Le bon et mauvais Genie" (MRA).
4. This work was once owned by the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris. It has been in private collections in France and the United States since Petit sold it in the nineteenth century.
5. *Impressionist and Modern Paintings and Sculpture, Part II*, Sotheby's, New York, 15 May 1985.
6. Beausire 1988, 195.
7. In 1903, a painter by the name of Victor Perdoux asked Rodin about his "beautiful group *Woman Combing Her Hair Solicited by Two Spirits*," which he had seen in bronze in Rodin's studio. Rodin informed Perdoux that it was a unique cast, although he reserved the right to make "one or two others." Letter from Perdoux to Rodin dated 22 August 1903. Letter from Rodin to Perdoux dated 7 September 1903. Beausire and Cadouot 1986, vol. II, 93–94. There are small bronze casts in the Rodin Museum in Philadelphia and in the Cincinnati Art Museum that match the size of the plasters in Meudon. The Musée Rodin in Paris owns a larger bronze cast.
8. Beausire 1988, 233.

References

- 1927 Grappe: 83.
 1944 Grappe: 104–105.
 1976 Tancock: 312–314.
 1988 Beausire: 31, 181, 195, 232–233.

1942.5.5 (A-69)

Statuette of a Woman

Possibly early 20th century¹

Terra cotta, 35 × 17.2 × 18.7 (13³/₄ × 6³/₄ × 7³/₈)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on side of base below the right hip: Rodin

Technical Notes: The figure was modeled by hand from a fine-textured, low-fired clay. It has a base built up out of a mass of clay, from which the figure sweeps up at a forward cant of approximately 40 degrees. The head is small for the body and there are hatch marks around the neck indicating a join.

The deliberate texturing of the surface is unlike the other terra cottas in the Simpson collection. A mat of needle-point impressions appears across the chest, abdomen, outer arms, and tops of the thighs. The regular arrangement of the points suggests that they were made with a sculptor's rasp or riffler. Other tool marks include tiny comb lines on the lower abdomen, pubic area, inner left thigh, and below the left knee. Areas such as the inner left thigh and the base near the left foot have been cut away with a loop tool.

The coloration is mottled, ranging from light orange to gray.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1905(?).³

Exhibited: NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 77.

Other Versions

Two other plaster versions of this statuette exist *en réserve* at the Musée Rodin in Meudon. One of them shows the beginning of an assembled composition, which probably would have included a second figure standing behind the woman. All that can be seen of it now is an arm and a hand clutching at the right-hand side of the figure's waist.

THIS LITTLE figure, with its unusual surface treatment, exhibits Rodin's way of developing energy and expressiveness in a highly economical way. We feel it in the forward, upward, and outward thrust of the clay, from which one leg is not fully differentiated. The upward tilt of the woman's head gives the figure a quizzical look, and the hands placed squarely on the hips emphasize their largeness, bringing out a quality of fecundity, which is also seen in the firm breasts that point to either side. Leading with chin and breasts, the figure seems to cut the air in a way that reminds us of figures once seen on the prow of ships.

RB



Auguste Rodin, *Statuette of a Woman*, 1942.5.5

Notes

1. There is no documentary evidence for dating this statue, but its straightforward symmetry and uncomplicated line are related to Rodin's interest in classical figure types in the twentieth century. Antoinette Le Normand-Romain has noted that the plasters *en réserve* at Meudon that appear to be related to this terra cotta are usually regarded as studies for the marble figure *Psyché* in the Musée Rodin, Paris, also considered a work of the early twentieth century. But she has also brought to my attention that in an 1895 portrait of Gustave Geffroy (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) by Cézanne (1839–1906), we see a little female figure by Rodin on Geffroy's writing table, which could be part of this same series of studies, thus moving the date back into the nineteenth century.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).

3. Like the other terra cottas given by Mrs. Simpson, this figure may be among those she referred to in her letter of 13 October 1905 (see 1942.5.6 below, 1942.5.7 [p. 348], and 1942.5.4 [p. 306]).

1942.5.6 (A-70)

Statuette of a Woman

Possibly early 20th century¹

Terra cotta, 32.4 × 10.2 × 11.6 (12¾ × 4 × 4⅞)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed behind the left leg: Rodin

Technical Notes: The unglazed sculpture was modeled in a low-fired clay and is bright yellow-gold in color. The clay is finely textured, homogeneous earthenware containing occasional black and brown inclusions. The rough surface shows numerous fingerprints, especially in the hair, between the breasts, at the back of the left forearm, and at the back of the support. The arms seem to have been attached to the shoulders at the biceps through the use of patches of clay smoothed over the joins.

The clay is fairly friable and there are several vertical drying cracks through the front torso, ranging in length from 4 to 10 millimeters. The end of the hair at the back of the head has a somewhat truncated appearance, as though a section of the clay had been lost.

The sculpture was cleaned at the National Gallery in August 1979. Although there is no formal treatment report, photographs taken before cleaning show that the head was detached, the right foot was missing, and the sculpture had an overall grimy surface.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1905(?).³

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 11. NGA 1965.

THE STORAGE rooms of the Musée Rodin in Meudon bear witness to the fact that Rodin modeled and kept crude little figures—usually female—which were barely articulate and to which he had given little attention to details such as facial features. Usually, however, Rodin showed more interest in contrapposto and in a kind of energy that is absent here. The thick, leaden quality of the figure, its stumpy legs, and

finlike feet are atypical of Rodin's work. Were it not for the figure's provenance and the signature, it would be a difficult figure to attribute to Rodin.⁴

RB

Notes

1. There is no documentary evidence for dating this statuette, but its quiet mien and relaxed stance have more in common with Rodin's twentieth-century work than with the complicated and tense figures he was creating in the nineteenth century for *The Gates of Hell*.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).

3. This figure, like the *Eve Eating an Apple* (1942.5.7, p. 348), may have been in the group of terra cottas Mrs. Simpson refers to in her letter of 13 October 1905 (see the correspondence between Rodin and Kate Simpson following these entries).

4. A standing female figure in bronze exhibited at the Hayward Gallery in London in 1970 is the closest figure I have seen to the NGA piece. It was from the collection of Mary Moore, London. But even this figure showed more energy and movement than the NGA terra cotta. *Rodin* [Exh. cat. Hayward Gallery, London.] 14 January–5 April 1970, no. 83.

1942.5.21 (A-85)

Mask of Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson)

1902

Plaster, 17.8 × 19.5 × 15.3 (7 × 7⅞ × 6)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed in pencil on the left side of the chin: Mme. K Simpson
esquisse pour le portrait/ 12 septembre 1909 / A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The mask was made in at least twenty-six sections, including separate sections for the eyes even though these mold lines are not readily apparent. The cast is quite thin; the thinnest area below the right ear measures 4 millimeters. The mask is strengthened in the rear by a T-shaped ridge of thick string or bundled jute that was then covered with a layer of plaster brushed across the entire back surface. The mask is thought to have been cut down, as indicated by the very small mold section behind the right ear, which measures only ¼ inch wide.

Analyses by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) and X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) reveal the material to be a hydrated form of calcium sulfate. The surface texture of the plaster is quite fine and it has been covered with a light gray wash.

There is a hairline crack above the left temple. Otherwise the mask is in good condition except for the dirt, especially on the nose and eyelids, plus a few minor scratches and abrasions.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1909.

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 13, as *Study Mask*. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 76.



Auguste Rodin, *Statuette of a Woman*, 1942.5.6



Auguste Rodin, *Mask of Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson)*, 1942.5.21



1942.5.21



Figs. 1a and b Auguste Rodin, *Mrs. Simpson*, plaster, 1902, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 1538, photograph by Adam Rzepka, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

Other Versions

The Musée Rodin in Meudon has one plaster head of Mrs. Simpson (figs. 1a and 1b). It differs from the NGA mask in that it is a complete head and neck, but since it has the identical lines of a piece mold clearly the two works resulted from the same negative mold.

WHEN Mr. and Mrs. Simpson returned to New York in the autumn of 1902, after Kate's first season of posing for Rodin (see 1942.5.16 below), he had modeled her face as we see it in the National Gallery mask, and in the head at Meudon. While he did not neglect her curls and her stylish topknot, as is evident in the Meudon head, his primary concern for the portrait was capturing a quality of solidity and solemn dignity, which he saw in Kate Simpson's face. To do so he emphasized symmetry and relied upon a steady, even handling in the cheeks, the thin lips and closed mouth, the wide-open eyes under heavy lids, and the horizontal brows.

Presumably the Simpsons were back in Paris in the autumn of 1909, although the trip is not documented in Kate Simpson's correspondence. It seems that on such an occasion Rodin presented them with the mask as a gift, just as he had given them other pieces in previous years.

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).

1942.5.16 (A-80)

Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson)

1902–1903

Marble, 55.4 × 69 × 41.5 (21¹/₁₆ × 27³/₁₆ × 16⁵/₁₆)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on left side of self-base, on a flat leaf carved below the shoulder: A. Rodin / 1903

Technical Notes: The work is carved from a white, fine- to medium-grained Carrara marble.¹ A yellow-brown vein runs down the right side of the figure. The triangular shape of the self-base suggests that it came from a rectangular block and that the back of the figure would correspond to the length of the original block. The work was made by an indirect carving process in which an assistant in Rodin's *atelier* transposed the measurements from a three-dimensional model to the marble block by use of major *points de repère* [guiding marks] and *détails* [small secondary holes]. A single guiding mark on the back at the base of the shoulder as well as several small holes across the surface are evidence of the use of pointing.

The carving itself was carried out with an array of tools, creating a wide variety of textures. There is evidence of a point chisel, a claw-tooth chisel, and drill work, particularly in the recesses of the flowers. The smoother areas of the chest, shoulder,



Auguste Rodin, *Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson)*, 1942.5.16

ders, neck, and face have been worked with a flat chisel, finished off by some combination of files, abrasives, and emery or pumice. The face and neck are finely finished but they are not highly polished.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1903.

Exhibited: Société nationale des beaux-arts, Paris, 1904, no. 2080.³ NGA 1946, no. 3, as *Portrait of Mrs. Simpson*. NGA 1965, NGA 1981, no. 157.

THE SIMPSONS met Rodin in the late summer of 1902. The result of the meeting—a commission for Mrs. Simpson's portrait—was a daring act. No other American had been so bold as to approach the world's most famous sculptor for a portrait. In 1902 Rodin was better known for his characterizations of men than of women. To be sure, he had done a few fabulous portrayals of women in the nineteenth century, most notably those of the wife of the Chilean ambassador to France, Madame Morla-Vicuna; the wife of John Russell, an Australian painter who was a friend of Rodin's; and wonderful studies of the two most important women in his life, Rose Beuret and Camille Claudel (see *La France*, p. 396).

Samuel Bing, international dealer in Asian art and Art Nouveau, made the contact between Rodin and the Simpsons. Bing was well traveled in America, had a New York branch of his Paris shop, and had good working relationships with the major figures in American decorative arts, men such as John La Farge (1835–1910) and Louis C. Tiffany (1848–1933). During the years when the Simpsons were decorating their new Fifth Avenue home, it would have been easy for them to have met Bing. The dealer surely was pleased to make the contact with Rodin—he earned a 5,000-franc fee for having brought these patrons to the sculptor, 20 percent of the 25,000 francs the Simpsons paid for their bust.⁴

Kate Simpson began sitting late in the summer of 1902. We have considerable visual documentation allowing us to follow Rodin's work on the bust. Many of the photographs are the work of Ouida Grant, Jean Simpson's governess, who traveled with the family and who was an amateur photographer. It seems most likely the photographs of Rodin working on the clay bust are from 1902 (see fig. 1 and p. 372, figs. 1a and b). Here we discover Rodin's first appraisal of Kate Simpson's look—straightforward and somewhat serious. He fleshed out the dimensions of her full face, thin lips, and the mass of tight curls on top of her head, while capturing her alertness and proud bearing, her head held high and her eyes open wide. Rodin emphasized symmetry in the bust. Kate Simpson's square-cut camisole was ideal for this simple presentation. By the time the Simpsons were ready to leave for New York, Rodin would have made, or at least have what he needed to make, a plaster cast of her portrait (see 1942.5.21, p. 387).

The straight-on, slightly stiff quality almost makes Simpson look like she had been holding a pose for a photogra-

pher. But this was not how Rodin saw her portrait. His next step was to take plaster casts of the clay head—a fair number of them—and try them in various positions. *En réserve* at Meudon we find Kate Simpson looking to the left and to the right, as well as cocking her head and looking up. We find a plaster in which Rodin began to augment the scope of the bust by placing flowers on her chest and giving the style of her hair more dimension. One aspect to which Rodin was quite sensitive was Kate Simpson's weight—she was not exactly overweight, but she was fleshy. It was this sense of her solidity, both physical and spiritual, that he would capture.

Sometime in the winter or spring Rodin turned the finished plaster model over to a *praticien*. We do not know the identity of the carver, but most of the work must have taken place in the first half of 1903. In the spring, as Kate Simpson looked forward to seeing the progress on her bust, she wrote to Rodin with a warmth that characterized their whole relationship: "Every day I think of you and your goodness and I am convinced that my bust will show your dignified and superior nature."⁵

By July the Simpsons were again in Paris. When they arrived, the marble must have been fairly well blocked out. We can study photographs of the work in its unfinished state (figs. 2, 3, and 4) and see the powerful block, sheered off on the right side and rising like a mountain on the left. Ouida Grant took a photograph of Kate Simpson, again stripped to her camisole in the way that she had modeled the previous year, with Rodin in position as if he were carving the marble (fig. 5). It is simply a document of their work together, the time for decisions that could have benefited by the presence of the model having long since passed.

The marble bust signed by Rodin in 1903 is quite different from the early studies in clay and plaster. Onto a powerful horizontal expanse of marble—cut abruptly on the



Fig. 1 Rodin and the bust of Mrs. Simpson in his studio, photograph, 1902(?), Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 799



Fig. 2 *Bust of Mrs. Simpson*, clay, photograph, 1902(?), Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2335



Fig. 3 *Bust of Mrs. Simpson*, unfinished marble, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2332



Fig. 4 *Bust of Mrs. Simpson*, unfinished marble, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2331

right, gaining force as it grows toward the left, and completed by a gentle diagonal slope—Rodin placed Kate Simpson's head, slightly at an angle, picking up the general diagonal design of the marble base. The self-base was carved to give the vague illusion of an elegant evening wrap, trimmed in fur, with a rose placed at the closing. The expanse of marble also includes a variety of vegetal growth, enlarging the sense of setting and further amplifying the decorative richness of the bust. The combination of the shape of the base, coming forward to a point at the bottom, and the resulting asymmetry, plus the way the head is set back at a distance from this point, create a unique quality of space and dimension. With the unusual self-base, Rodin produced a work best seen from one side or the other. We

must look at Mrs. Simpson with her left shoulder leading or with her right profile in view. Looking at the work from dead center is less interesting.

The commanding presence and subtle beauty of this portrait eloquently testify to the respect Rodin had for his first American sitter and to the considerable pleasure he took in working with her, a feeling enthusiastically returned and one we find echoed many times throughout their correspondence.

The young German poet Rainer Maria Rilke met Rodin for the first time in 1902, a few weeks after the Simpsons first met the artist. Rilke was under contract to write a book on Rodin. The slim volume appeared in 1903 and in the pages devoted to a discussion of Rodin as a portraitist, Rilke praised the sculptor's recent portraits of women as being of a profound and uncommon beauty. He pointed out that these portraits were mostly of foreigners, and especially Americans. Yet at that point in his life Rodin had portrayed only one American: Kate Simpson. So when Rilke wrote about "these portraits, pure as antique cameos . . . with faces whose smile is nowhere defined but which plays over the features with so veil-like a softness that it seems to rise with every taking of the breath," it was the portrait of Mrs. Simpson he was describing.⁶

In October, John Simpson telegraphed Rodin for measurements so that he could order a base on which to place the bust, and, by the end of November, it was in the Simpson's mansion on Fifth Avenue.⁷ It arrived along with three other works. It was a week before John Simpson sent a letter to Rodin: "Of the bust it is impossible to speak with moderation. It surpasses all expectation. I thought I appreciated it before I saw it in its place, but now at every moment I discover a new beauty, a new force. It is simply overwhelming, not only one of your masterpieces, but one of the great masterpieces of all art." He went on to say that



Fig. 5 *Rodin and Kate Simpson in his studio*, photograph, 1903, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1327

this was not just his own opinion but that of many people competent to judge who had been in their home to see the work. John Simpson finished by telling Rodin "I owe you an enormous debt for having given me this work and I thank you with all my heart."⁸

Rodin did not answer John Simpson's letter until April when he acknowledged how pleased he was that they were completely happy with the bust. He also told them that "le monde parisien" agreed with their judgment. For on 17 April, when the Paris Salon opened, it included Mrs. Simpson's portrait. Rodin had paired it with the enlarged version of *The Thinker* which, after the monuments to Victor Hugo and Balzac, was surely the most widely discussed sculpture he had ever placed in a Paris Salon. The Simpson bust was installed in a prominent position at the bottom of the stairway of the Grand Palais near *The Thinker*, and, thus, it attracted a great deal of attention. Rodin told the Simpsons that people in Paris were comparing it with "the bust of the Luxembourg," by which he meant his 1888 bust of Madame Morla-Vicuna, universally considered one of the finest he had ever made.⁹

The judgment made in 1904 was well warranted. Certainly Kate Simpson never lost sight of what a special treasure she possessed. In 1914, when Rodin wrote to her about his plans for an exhibition in connection with the Panama Pacific International Exposition to open in San Francisco in 1915 and inquired about the possibility of including her bust, she was forced to reply: "I feel vexed and saddened to say 'no' . . . but my bust is the most precious thing I own and I cannot risk it."¹⁰

RB

Notes

1. See Appendix A.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Brian Ramer, NGA Object Conservation department (20 April 1994). The best discussion of Rodin's practices in marble can be found in Rosenfeld 1993. See also Rosenfeld, "Rodin's Carved Sculpture," in NGA 1981.
3. It is quite amazing to think of the Simpsons receiving their bust in the fall of 1903 (letter no. 4, p. 414), only to ship it back to Paris in the spring for the Salon. For a period of time I thought this so unlikely that I wondered if there might not be a second version, unknown to us. But Rodin's reference to the bust in a 1908 note to Kate Simpson (letter no. 21, p. 420)—"People still speak of it to me from time to time and I tell them it is in America"—makes it clear that Mrs. Simpson's portrait is unique.
4. Three documents describe the transaction: a letter from Bing, dated 8 September 1902, telling Rodin that Mr. Simpson "will not be able to visit Meudon tomorrow"; an undated note saying, "I mentioned 25,000 francs for the portrait"; and a receipt dated 5 October 1902 saying, "Received from M. Auguste Rodin the sum of 5,000 francs for the bust of Madame Simpson" (MRA). In Grappe's catalogue (1944, 110) he said that "The bust was shown at Art Nouveau, at Bing's place, in 1902." However, the bust was not finished in 1902. Grappe's assertion is probably the result of a misreading of the 5,000-franc receipt.
5. Letter from Kate Simpson to Rodin dated 8 April 1903 (MRA).
6. Rilke 1903; translated by Houston 1986, 31.
7. Made clear in two telegrams: the first (17 October 1903) asked for dimensions; the second (27 November 1903) stated "les oeuvres ont arrivée Magnifique" (MRA).

8. Letter from John Simpson to Rodin dated 5 December 1903 (MRA).

9. Letter from Rodin to Kate and John Simpson dated 29 April 1904. It was written for Rodin by a secretary and was among the effects of Miss Jean Simpson at the time of her death. I saw the letter c. 1980 in East Craftsbury, Vermont. It was purchased by B. G. Cantor at Sotheby's, New York, 10 December 1982 (*Modern paintings, drawings and sculpture, dance, theater and opera*) and is still in the Cantor Collection, Los Angeles.

10. Letter from Kate Simpson to Rodin dated 7 December 1914 (MRA).

References

- 1903 Rilke: 31.
 1927 Grappe: 91–92.
 1944 Grappe: 110.
 1981 Vincent: 22–23.
 1985 Hare: 412–417.
 1987 Butler, Ruth. "Rodin and His American Collectors," in Weisberg and Dixon: 87–110.
 1987 Grunfeld: 442–443.
 1988 Beausire: 249.
 1993 Butler: 411–414.

1942.5.9 (A-73)

La France¹

1904

Bronze, 49.5 × 48.5 × 35.3 (19½ × 19¼ × 13⅞)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the left shoulder: A Rodin

On the underside of the right shoulder, in raised letters: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: Through the use of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) it was determined that the bronze alloy used for *La France* has a composition of approximately 92.1% copper, 5.1% tin, 1.2% zinc, 1.3% iron, and 0.1% lead. Absence of trace elements suggests that the copper was refined electrolytically prior to forming the bronze.

The sculpture is a hollow sand cast, with no internal structural support. There are remnants of charred sand on the interior. It appears to have been cast as one piece in a two-part mold. Seam marks are visible over the backs of the shoulders and the back of the helmet. A faint seam also follows the outer contour of the face. Here, however, it appears to be related to the fabrication of the plaster model rather than the bronze cast.

The clay model was richly worked upon with tools. There are horizontal bands of broad-toothed tool marks on the surface of the drapery. Finer-toothed tool marks are present on the front of the helmet and single-point tool marks on the sides of the helmet and on the flaps. Flat chisel marks, again in horizontal bands, delineate the back of the helmet though toothed tool marks are interspersed among the flat bands on the right side. At the back of the helmet, there is a rectangularly shaped recessed area, which in turn is textured with parallel striations made using a single-point tool.

After casting, the surface was filed and chased. Most of the file marks are masked by the patina, though some are visible on the underside of the base.



Auguste Rodin, *La France*, 1942.5.9



1942.5.9

The surface of *La France* is the most complex and colorful among the National Gallery's bronzes by Rodin. The patina appears to have been applied in two campaigns: an undercoat of light green, over which a dark moss green was applied, interspersed with an even darker green. A sample of the uppermost layer analyzed by use of X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) was identified as copper nitrate hydroxide, suggesting that one constituent of the patinating solution was copper nitrate. After an overall patina had been applied, selected areas were highlighted with a bright turquoise color, similar to that of a turquoise stone, as seen for example on the nose, as well as on raised areas of the helmet and shoulders. Blue-green enhances areas of the chest, neck, and left side of the face. A reddish brown is scattered throughout the interstices of the headdress. A sample, analyzed using XRD, identified the constituents as copper nitrate hydroxide (the patina), Prussian blue, red lake, cuprite, and tenorite. The first three resulted from intentional embellishment, but the cuprite, which is red, and the tenorite, which is black, are naturally occurring copper corrosion products. A gray-blue is seen on the front of the headdress and around the eyes, as well as a matte salmon color in the interstices of the headdress, particularly on the interior.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1906.

Exhibited: *Renaissance and Modern Bronzes*, MFA, 1908, no. 164, as *La Minerve*, portrait of Mlle C.³ NGA 1965.

Other Versions

The NGA bust of *La France* was the first cast to be taken of this work.⁴ Nine other busts were cast in Rodin's lifetime. Upon his marriage to Rose Beuret in 1917, Rodin presented one to the mayor of Meudon in honor of the occasion. This cast is now found in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Meudon. In addition, there are two casts from the 1920s, and the E. Godard Foundry has brought out a recent edition.⁵ Examples in public collections are found in the Musée Rodin, Paris, the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, the Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art, Japan, the Tel Aviv Museum, Israel, the Stanford University Art Gallery, the PMA, and The Brooklyn Museum, New York.

STANDING IN FRONT of *La France* a viewer can readily feel the qualities of strength, pride, and the beauty emanating from the form. Rodin was able to project these values into the face of Camille Claudel by imbedding her features and shoulders into rich surrounds of rough drapery and a triangular helmet.

The young sculptor Camille Claudel was Rodin's great love during the 1880s and the early 1890s, the period that coincides with his most powerful creative years. He first modeled the regular features of her solemn face in 1884 when she was eighteen years old (fig. 1), but he did not show this intimate image until fifteen years later.⁶ Instead of showing it, he kept it in his studio and rethought it many, many times over the years: *Camille Claudel in a Phrygian Cap*, *Saint George*, *Thought*, *Dawn*, *The Convalescent*, *Farewell*, and *La France*.

To see a woman's face in terms of allegory was Rodin's usual approach in the nineteenth century. His male sitters entered the Paris Salon under their own names—*Legros*, *Dalou*, *Victor Hugo*, *Rocheport*, for example—but women, with a few notable exceptions, such as the busts of Madame Morla-Vicuna and Mrs. Russell—and even here they were



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *Camille Claudel*, plaster, 1884, photograph by Adelys, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2268



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Saint Georges*, plaster, 1888–1889, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 2826, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

“Mme. V.” [Salon of 1888] and “Mme. R.” [Salon of 1890]—were better seen under the guise of large, abstract meanings. Women were Rodin's “Republic,” his “Courage,” his “Thought.”

The first public appearance of one of Rodin's portraits of Camille Claudel was at his exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1889. He placed a helmet on her head with the front edge pressing down over her eyebrows, emphasizing the steadiness of her gaze; the flaps touch her cheeks and protect her neck. Rodin called the head *Saint George* (fig. 2). As a result of such simple changes, a quality of determination overcame the youthful openness of the 1884 head. As

Georges Grappe pointed out: “the helmet modifies the normal expression of Claudel’s face, giving her a proud air of defiance.”⁷ It was an appropriate look for Camille Claudel, a woman who defied both her family and the French establishment in fighting to establish herself as a professional sculptor.⁸ The *Saint George* was also exhibited as *Courage*, a title which fit it well and a quality Rodin much admired in his lover.⁹ But Rodin’s reworkings of Claudel’s face in the 1890s, when their relationship was coming apart, show a different mood. He called them *Thought*, *Melancholy*, *Silence*, *Convalescence*, and *Adieu*.¹⁰

In 1904, when Rodin again took a plaster cast of Claudel’s face, he returned to the idea of strength. Although there had been no direct contact between the former lovers for six years, Claudel was still very much in Rodin’s thoughts.¹¹ Now he placed her face on a large base, filling out the chest as if it was enclosed in armor and putting a fantastic helmet on her head. The helmet has two spiky projections coming forward at its apex, while side-flaps behind the ears swell out like an Egyptian headdress. This version, seen in a plaster *en réserve* at the Musée Rodin in Meudon (fig. 3), has a fantasy quality to it and must have preceded the National Gallery version. The armor in the second work is softer, its texture enriched through the use of a claw-toothed chisel dragged across the clay in a series of horizontal lines. In the center of the bust there is the vaguest suggestion of a single, large leaf. The high, broad casque is simpler than the



Fig. 3 Early version of *La France*, plaster, 1904, Meudon, Musée Rodin, S 1898, photograph by Adam Rzepka, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris



Fig. 4 *La France* in Rodin’s 1904 exhibition in Leipzig, photograph by Ernst Arnold, Kunsthandlung, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1230

Meudon sketch. The face turns slightly to the right and is framed by the helmet flaps, creating pockets of shadow to either side. The pyramidal design of the whole and the framing of the face give a nobility and a force not seen in Rodin’s earlier images of Claudel. It is tempting to read in this head a sign of Rodin’s understanding of how sick his former lover had become and his wish that she would remain strong rather than yield to her illness.¹²

Rodin also made a relief version of this head, slicing off the left side beyond the eye and affixing it to a background plane so that the top of the casque fitted snugly under an arch. The relief version has become better known than the free-standing bust, and thus the bust is often called *Study for ‘La France’*.¹³

René Chérut, who worked as Rodin’s secretary intermittently between 1902 and 1908, said he saw the work being made in 1907 or 1908:

I must confess that Rodin did not exert himself in doing this composition. He took a face of Camille Claudel, added the shoulders and the sketchy helmet in the round. Then placed it as a high relief in front of a plaster plaque with the indication of a vault—profile turned to the right he called it *La France*.¹⁴

Clearly Chérut did not appreciate Rodin’s lively approach to assemblage in the way we do today. Further, his memory of the events that took place fifty years earlier did not serve him well, since Rodin’s exhibition of the work in 1904 in its relief form is well documented (fig. 4).¹⁵ In the various exhibitions, the work was called *Saint George*, the title under which the Simpsons purchased their bronze in 1906. Rodin gave a cast of *Saint George* (relief version) to the University of Glasgow in 1907 upon receiving an honorary degree. Tancock has suggested that Rodin changed the title from *La France* to *Saint George* in order to make the gift especially fitting for Glasgow.¹⁶ But Rodin did not change the name. From the beginning he thought of his bust as *Saint George*, just as he did the helmeted portrait of Camille Claudel from the 1880s.

Before 1911 Rodin occasionally used the title *La France* for the bust, but it was only in that year that something occurred to put this designation firmly in place. The United States was planning a celebration of the tercentenary of Samuel de Champlain's discovery of the lake named after him between New York and Vermont. The ambassador to Washington, M. J. Jusserand, felt France should not be "absent from this occasion." Gabriel Hanotaux tells the story of the diplomatic musings that took place over what "stone would be dignified enough? . . . What could France take as a monument?"

We went to Rodin's. Everyone knows how popular he is in America. . . . We walked through the rooms of the Hôtel Biron, those naked and noble salons so filled with genius, and, among the works . . . we discovered . . . a bust in bronze: *La France*. Think of the emotions called up by this encounter. We were looking for an image, a symbol, I dare say a signature, of our country . . . and we found France herself.¹⁷

Fittingly it was the maiden voyage of *La France* that brought Rodin's bronze relief to America and to Crown Point, New York, where the work was dedicated on 3 May 1912. As president of the Comité France-Amerique, Gabriel Hanotaux gave the major address. He told Americans that the depiction of "la France" in this bust was the way French people see their country: "smiling yet solemn, of delicate and pure features, with full cheeks indicating her health, and a direct look marking her resolution and sincerity."¹⁸

From this time on, a patriotic reading went along with Rodin's image wherever it went. In 1913, on the occasion of the anniversary of Brazilian independence, the Comité France-Amerique had the bust engraved for the cover of their catalogue of French art in São Paulo. There was the same feeling about it the following year when it was shown in London, and even more intensely in 1915 as the Great War moved into its second year. At that time a contemporary journal, *Le Pays de France*, wanted to organize an exhibition celebrating French glory with works of art created by Frenchmen. It went without saying that Rodin would be represented by *La France*.

RB

Notes

1. When the Simpsons purchased the work, it was called *Saint George*. But when they lent it to the MFA in 1908, the catalogue listed it as "La Minerve, portrait of Mlle. C." It entered in the NGA collection as *Bust of Bellona*, but in 1964 Cécile Goldscheider, then curator of the Musée Rodin, Paris, advised that the title be changed to *La France*.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (9 September 1996).

3. In a letter of 5 March 1908, Mrs. Simpson told Rodin she had lent four works to the museum in Boston. The *Boston Evening Transcript* (6 March 1908) listed the works in the special exhibition that were by Rodin and included a *Head of Bellona*.

4. A document in English on "City of Paris" stationery reads: "Auguste Rodin, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a professional sculptor, residing in and having a studio in Paris. That the

bronze statue entitled Buste Saint Georges bought by Madame J. W. Simpson from himself, on or about the 28 day of May 1906, is the first cast from the original clay model and design of said statue. That said clay model was conceived, designed and executed by deponent personally, and said first cast was made and finished by himself in his studio under deponent's direction and supervision." There is also a bill dated 29 September 1906 on "182 rue de l'Université" stationery. It gives the price as 4,500 francs. Both documents are in the MRA.

5. Gêrôme Le Blay of the Musée Rodin provided these figures. M. Le Blay worked on establishing a résumé of known casts, identifying dates of castings and the foundries that did the work. According to M. Le Blay's research, Rudier cast *La France* twice in 1904.

6. Shown for the first time in Brussels in 1899. Beausire 1988, 155.

7. Grappe 1944, 100.

8. When Octave Mirbeau reviewed Claudel's work in 1895, he took along an imaginary companion to whom he posed the question: "Do you know that we are in the presence of something unique, a revolt against nature: a woman of genius. . . . And the state is not on its knees in front of her to beg for chefs-d'oeuvres! Why? . . . If she were a man, she would have great success." Octave Mirbeau, "Ca et là," *Journal*, 12 May 1895.

9. Grappe 1944, 100.

10. The famous marble *La Pensée* [Thought] has traditionally been dated to the 1880s. See Grappe 1944, 84, and Tancock 1976, 589–590. But Nicole Barbier and Daniel Rosenfeld, who have done the most recent work on Rodin's marbles, place it in the 1890s. See Barbier 1987, 92; and Rosenfeld 1993, 492–497.

11. In 1903 Rodin placed Claudel's name on a list of sculptors he was recommending for a monument to Auguste Blanqui (1805–1881) being planned by the government, and he still had a marble of hers in his studio, hoping to get the Musée du Luxembourg to take it for its permanent collection.

12. By 1904 Claudel had become quite paranoid. When Henri Asselin visited her that year, she told him her shutters had been forced open by two of Rodin's models who had orders to kill her. She was only forty at the time, but Asselin said she looked fifty and that her whole state of physical being was in "decline." Radio interview, 1956. Transcripts published in Cassar 1987, 441–452.

13. Tancock 1976, 601.

14. Letter from Chérut to unknown dated 1 January 1957 (Tate Gallery Archives, London). See de Caso and Sanders 1977, 289.

15. In Weimar, Leipzig, and Düsseldorf. Beausire 1988, 253, 257, 260. Beausire (1988, 260) illustrates photographs of it in Leipzig.

16. Tancock 1976, 601.

17. Hanotaux 1912.

18. Hanotaux 1912.

References

- 1912 Hanotaux: 165–167, 211–219.
- 1927 Grappe: III–II2.
- 1944 Grappe: II4–II5.
- 1963 Elsen: 194–195.
- 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 129.
- 1975 Hawkins: 25–26, pls. 22 and 23.
- 1976 Frel and West: 40–41.
- 1976 Tancock: 601–604.
- 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 288–291.
- 1986 Lampert: 131–135.
- 1988 Beausire: 257, 258, 259, 271, 283, 291, 349, 355, 359.
- 1993 Butler: 470.

1942.5.20 (A-84)

Aurora and Tithonus

1905 or 1906

Plaster, greatest extension: 26.6 (10½)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the truncated end below Tithonus' head: L'Aurore se leve de la / couche du beau Typhon / Metamorphose / d'Ovide

Inscribed on the side under Tithonus' left elbow: hommage à Mme Kate Simpson / A Rodin / 1907

Technical Notes: The sculpture is assembled from two cast parts: one is the upper body and head of Aurora; the other is the base, which includes the body of Tithonus and the knees, lower legs, feet, and right hand of Aurora. The two components that comprise the sculpture have been made in two separate piece molds that together contain a total of at least thirty-two sections. The composition is such that the female seems to dive into the male's body so that his nose appears to be pressed against the back of her head. His mouth is wide open, as if in a shriek, while her expression is impassive and masklike. Crescent moon-shaped locks of hair fall from her head, although her hair is oddly askew. The front of the sculpture—that is, where the inscription is located—shows several horizontal mold lines, and there is a continuous mold line that runs from Aurora's head and left breast, through the left thigh, onto the pelvis of Tithonus.

The plaster has been analyzed through X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) and X-ray powder diffraction (XRD), which reveal it to be a hydrated form of calcium sulfate.

The group has been given a light gray wash. In addition, it is darkened by a small amount of dirt, especially apparent on the figure of Aurora.¹

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1907.

Exhibited: NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 78.

Other Versions

En réserve at the Musée Rodin in Meudon is a plaster that is essentially the same, with identical mold lines, as the National Gallery *Aurora and Tithonus*. The head and left arm of the Aurora figure have been roughly repaired with clay, and the group has been marked for pointing.

RODIN HAD a predilection for this kind of assemblage, one in which he brought together a prone, inactive male and a vigorous female, here seen bending at the hips, thus displaying her buttocks, thighs, and back in a splendid curve. It is a more dynamic rendition of a similar group dating from the 1880s, *Death of Adonis*, which, like *Aurora and Tithonus*, draws inspiration from Ovid.²

In 1905 or 1906, when Rodin probably created the group and when he was at the height of his glory, we can imagine a certain sympathy on Rodin's part for the tale of a man so favored by the gods that they granted him immortality, but overlooked the gift of eternal youth. In Book IX of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells of how Tithonus' wife Aurora

complained about her husband's old age. Rodin would have noticed the text in this period when he himself was struggling with his own strong feelings about aging. He wrote to Helene von Hindenburg-Nostitz that he accepted death, but at the same time he was looking at "adorable nature pass before me with all her charms and her seasons, and then when I look in the mirror I am astonished."³

Although Rodin may have taken note of the Tithonus tale because of its reference to the anxieties of aging, it was not the story he wanted to evoke. As we can see, the male figure is young and the inscription reads: "Aurora raises herself from the bed of beautiful Tithonus." It is clear that what Rodin was thinking about were the glorious days of love after Aurora carried off the youth who would father her sons.

The figure of Aurora has its origins in *The Gates of Hell*. In the left pilaster, the second adult figure from the bottom shows an early variant of the kneeling female, her splendid back coming out in relief toward the viewer.⁴ Rodin never lost sight of this beautiful back. We find her in a four-figure plaster group called *Le Flot; la grève* [The Flood; the Strike], which he exhibited in his joint show with Claude Monet at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1889.⁵ In Rodin's retrospective of 1900, he called the four-figure group *Deux sirènes voyant une de leur compagnes prise par un triton, se mordent* [Two sirens, seeing a companion captured by a triton, bite themselves] and showed it in conjunction with another plaster group that also incorporated the torso: *Jeune homme emporté à l'abîme par une sirène* [Young man carried to the abyss by a siren]. Here we find Aurora's back acting as a bench for a charming, somewhat mannered, young man who sits comfortably on the bent arc of her body (fig. 1).⁶



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *The Poet and the Siren* (*Le Poète et la Sirène*), photograph by E. Freuler(?), Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1073



Auguste Rodin, *Aurora and Tithonus*, 1942.5.20



1942.5.20



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Aurora and Tithonus* (*L'Aurore et Tithon*), marble, 1906, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 1419, photograph by Philippe Sebert

Rodin ordered all three groups carved in marble in the early twentieth century.⁷ The *praticien* Mathet finished *Aurora and Tithonus* in 1906 (fig. 2).⁸ He placed the group on a broad marble base and filled in the spaces between the figures, creating a more unified profile. He also articulated the facial features and the limbs to a greater degree than what we see in the National Gallery plaster.

It is clear that Rodin had special affection for this torso, with its large breasts and elegantly bent hips. He incorporated her into groups that were emblematic of his late work, sculptures haunted by the imagery of romantic and symbolist poetry, in which the search for a love is a continuous theme and where intimate meetings between lovers are not consummated and frequently are thwarted by malevolent forces.

Those around Rodin recognized his fondness for the little torso, and several weeks after his death in November 1917, someone took a mold that had been made of Rodin's own hand and into the fingers they slipped a cast of the little bending buttocks and torso (see 1942.5.22, p. 407).

In 1958 the Musée Rodin made a bronze cast of the torso by itself. It is now known as *Petit Torse assis A*.⁹

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).
2. Tancock 1976, 276.
3. Letter from Rodin to Helene von Hindenburg-Nostitz dated 5 June 1905. Beausire and Cadouot 1986, vol. 11, 159.
4. Consult illustrations in de Caso and Sanders 1977, 181–182.
5. Vilain 1989, 202–203.
6. Beausire 1988, 181.
7. When the *praticien* Ganier was working on *Le Flot; la grève* in 1901, he referred to it as *La Vague* [The Wave]. In 1909, the *praticien* François Curillon worked on a marble he called “Poète assis sur une femme et descendant dans l’abîme” [Poet seated on a woman and descending into the abyss], and it had several more names before the Musée Rodin settled on *Le Poète et la Sirène*. Barbier 1987, 100, 110.
8. Georges Mathet was one of Rodin's most trusted and prolific *praticiens*. His bill for this group in the Musée Rodin reads: “Travaux

exécutés du 28 avril 1906/ Groupe l’Aurore exécution au double . . . 650F.” Barbier 1987, 164.

9. Barbier 1992, 81–83.

References

- 1927 Grappe: 105.
1944 Grappe: 118.
1976 Tancock: 276–279.
1987 Barbier: 164–174.
1992 Barbier: 81–91.

1942.5.18 (A-82)

Morning

1906

Marble, 60.4 × 28.7 × 33.3 (23¾ × 11⅝ × 13⅛)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the left side, on a smoothed-out rectangular surface at the bottom of the self-base: A. Rodin 1906

Above the primary signature, near the figure's knee, is another signature, partially removed by a sculptor's tool: A R d i

Technical Notes: This piece is carved from a fine-grained, cream-white Carrara marble.¹ There is neither veining nor are there any inherent faults in the marble. The sculpture has been made through the technique of pointing, and the *détails* are evident on the right side of the self-base, as well as on the top of the head in the hair. The usual array of sculptor's chisels were employed: a point chisel on the self-base and in the hair; a flat chisel on the hair, torso, and limbs; and a claw-tooth chisel on the lower edges of the self-base. The surfaces of the figure would have been smoothed out with files and emery or pumice. The figure is not highly polished, and individual grains sparkle in reflecting light. The lower half of the figure exhibits a light- to mid-gray color.²

Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1906.

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 5. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 159.

Other versions

Two marbles in public collections bear close resemblance to the NGA *Morning*: *La Toilette de Venus* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille (fig. 1),³ and the *Kneeling Caryatid* in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art (fig. 2).⁴ We know there are still other marbles of this figure of which the present locations are unknown. One of these arrived with the marble Rodin sent to the Simpsons. It was also called *Morning* and was purchased by the Simpsons' friend James S. Inglis.⁵ A marble called *Femme à la Fleur*, once owned by Anthony Roux, has been mentioned as being similar to those in this group. In addition, there are two stone figures that can be associated with the group: *Sirène/Toilette de Venus* in the Musée Rodin, Paris, and *Awakening* in the John G. Johnson Collection, PMA.

MORNING is a wonderful example of the way Rodin took a figure he had created and then nurtured it within the terms of his personal vocabulary. With great intensity, during his

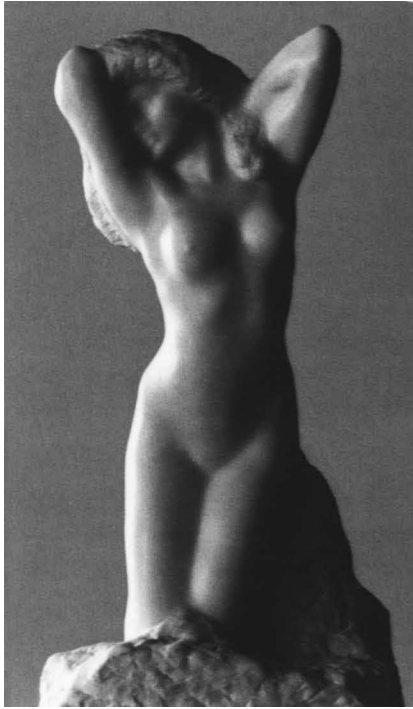


Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *La Toilette de Vénus*, marble, 1905, Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Kneeling Caryatid*, marble, 1910, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Frank Norris in Memory of Mary H. Halliday, 1991.123



Fig. 3 Auguste Rodin, *Kneeling Fauness*, bronze, c. 1884, Philadelphia, Rodin Museum, Gift of Jules E. Mastbaum, F'29-735

most fruitful years of work on *The Gates of Hell*—the 1880s—and working closely with live models, he discovered a whole range of new poses. They became his repertory of figure types and were forever available for later rethinking.

Morning began as a diabolical figure, a kneeling fauness prominent in the left tympanum of *The Gates*. She kneels upon the earth, raises her arms, stretching to place her hands on her top vertebra, thus opening up her body to our gaze. Her face is an oddity of thick lips and nose, sunken cheeks, and a twisted smile. The sum of it all is a brutalized demonic being. Rodin loved this figure, using it more than once in *The Gates*, combining it with others to form new groups, and showing it by itself (fig. 3) in twentieth-century exhibitions.

Rodin then rethought the figure in a second version, again with her elbows high and her body covetous of our gaze. But she is now an enchantress. The rigidity is gone, the features are no longer harsh. Her long hair flowing, she twists her body seductively and invites the viewer to revel in her *volupté*. Legs do not cross ankle over ankle as before, but are now buried in the material of the self-base. Rodin liked the new figure almost as much as the first, making a drawing of her for the edition of Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*, which he illustrated in 1888.⁶ And he chose her as a work to show in the 1889 exhibition with Monet at the Galerie Georges Petit, where she was called *Satyresse à genoux*.⁷ The figure became such a favorite that Eugène Carrière chose her for the cover of Rodin's 1900 catalogue, depicting her as an enigmatic phantom rising out of Rodin's hands. Though the figure

seemed to have had no fixed name in the nineteenth century, the second version of the kneeling figure in the twentieth century has become known as *La Toilette de Venus*.⁸

Rodin's final consideration of the figure took place in the period when his marbles had enormous currency with a large international clientele. The sculpture the Simpsons purchased was conceived for marble. The figure's hair is a voluminous mass that complements the roundness of breasts, belly, and hips, and exudes a sensuousness that is particularly rich in the finely finished white material. Rodin focused on the belly and breasts, and through them emphasized a shift in weight in a manner not so evident in the earlier kneelers. The calves and feet, which were absorbed into the base of *La Toilette de Venus*, have reappeared in *Morning*. The whole sense of facial features is altered by the veiled quality that is achieved through the soft carving style, which suppresses edges and line.

Rodin had good judgment when it came to knowing what his admirers and patrons would like. Kate Simpson's letter after receiving *Morning* would have confirmed the choices he made for her work. She wrote to describe how it looked in her "beautiful Louis XV boudoir" and told him that he could not possibly know the joy she felt at owning this work.⁹ A few years later, Mary Halliday, who purchased the marble now in Santa Barbara, was even more effusive: "Since this morning the Caryatid is on its pedestal, bathed in a spring-like light. She is all beauty, all purity—like a pearl shown against a pale primrose wall. Our little house has become a temple."¹⁰

RB



Auguste Rodin, *Morning*, 1942.5.18

Notes

1. See Appendix A.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Brian Ramer, NGA Object Conservation department (April 1994).
3. In the Rodin correspondence referred to as "Fauness" when it was purchased by Maurice Masson in 1905. It is slightly shorter (57 cm.) than the National Gallery's figure. But the biggest difference between *La Toilette de Vénus* and *Morning* is that the legs below the knees are buried in the marble self-base in the Lille figure. When Masson ordered his "Fauness" in June 1905, he thought it would cost 4,000 francs. Rodin wrote back that the price was actually 5,000 francs. If, however, he had said 4,000 to Masson at some point, he was willing to settle for 4,500 francs. Rodin spoke of the work as "unique in the arms and the head." As a collector Masson was particularly interested in unique works and first casts. Rodin would not have been able to make the statement a year later, as the Simpson marble has virtually the same head and arms. Beausire and Cadouet 1986, vol. III, 161–162.
4. Purchased by Mary Hughitt Halliday from Rodin in 1910. It is a recent gift to the Santa Barbara Museum from Mrs. Frank Norris in memory of Mary H. Halliday. Miss Halliday, an American artist living in Berlin, ordered her *Caryatid* in the fall of 1910, and received it in February 1911. The price was 10,000 francs, "not a merchant's price but one for an artist," she was told. The sale was negotiated by the duchesse de Choiseul who, more or less, doubled Rodin's prices in this period. Rodin's letters are in the Santa Barbara Museum and Halliday's letters are in the MRA.
5. On the Simpsons' bill from Rodin (29 September 1906) we find two works entitled *Morning* listed, one with "(M. Inglis)" written after it. It was billed at 5,000 francs, whereas the Simpsons' cost only 4,500 (the same as Masson's). There are three letters in the MRA from James S. Inglis. In the first (23 December 1904) he told Rodin that he wanted one or two marbles, that he was a friend of the Simpsons', and that "Mr. Simpson will doubtless know which is the best way to send it."
6. A luxury edition of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, illustrated by Rodin, was published in 1888. Rodin placed his kneeling figure within a darkened cavelike environment at the bottom of the poem "Le Guignon" [Ill-luck].
7. The plaster was no. 7. Vilain 1989, 196–197.
8. The title appears for the first time in Grappe's Musée Rodin catalogue of 1931 (no. 177).
9. In the same letter Simpson mentions a second marble, "Love and Friendship," a work now entitled *Brother and Sister*, given by Jean Simpson to the University of Vermont in 1942. Letter from Kate Simpson to Rodin dated 30 December 1906 (MRA).
10. Letter from Mary Halliday to Rodin dated 24 February 1911 (MRA).

References

- 1927 Grappe: 48.
 1944 Grappe: 41, 56–57.
 1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 232–233.
 1976 Tancock: 168–171.
 1986 Lampert: 82.
 1989 Vilain: 196–197.

1982.6.1 (A-1852)

Memorial Relief (*Hand of a Child*)

1908

Marble, 40.8 × 32.7 × 14.9 (16 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$)

Gift of Elizabeth Merrill Furness

Inscriptions

Inscribed on a flat surface above the hand: OFFERTE / A MADAME ELYSABETH MERRILL/EN SOUVENIR DE SA FILLE / SALLY HICKS / CROSWELL

On a flat surface below the hand: A. RODIN

Technical Notes: The work is carved from a cream-white Carrara marble that has no inherent faults and is without veins.¹ To the right and left of the wrist area there is evidence of well-formed holes that appear to be *points de repère* [guiding marks] used in the pointing technique for carving the hand. At the top of the piece "punch" work can be seen and all around the circumference of the relief are the marks of a point chisel. Claw-tooth chisel marks surround the hand. The hand itself, as well as the flat surfaces used for the inscriptions, has been achieved with a flat chisel. Files and finishing materials would have been used to smooth the marble after carving. The relief is not highly polished and on the hand itself there is a mid-gray colored patina, the result of handling over a long period of time.²

Provenance: Gift 1908 from the artist to Elizabeth Musgrave Croswell Merrill [Mrs. Charles M. Croswell, later Mrs. Thomas Merrill, 1853–1928], Duluth, Minnesota; by inheritance to her daughter, Elizabeth Merrill Hubbard Furness [Mrs. William Coit Hubbard, later Mrs. Thomas F. Furness, 1898–1986], Chicago and Middleburg, Virginia.

Exhibited: *Twentieth Century American Sculpture: Inspired by Rodin*, The White House, Washington, D.C., 1998–1999.

VISITORS to the National Gallery will be surprised to find this work. Although we think of Rodin as the great sculptor of hands, his hands were large, expressive, and full of movement. This lone child's hand carved on the large marble field is unique in Rodin's oeuvre.³ The relief character of the piece, its insistent frontality, the prominent inscription, as well as the nature of the signature itself are all uncharacteristic. But the work's authenticity cannot be doubted: Mrs. Merrill's letters speak clearly of her having received it from Rodin.

In some ways the story behind the work is more interesting than the work itself, for it is a noteworthy document in the great romance between Rodin and Americans in the early years of the twentieth century. On both sides there was fascination and affection, though neither was burdened by deep understanding. It was a period when wealthy Americans in large numbers were trying to upgrade their cultural sophistication. European standards of taste and European artists were the measure and the challenge. And Rodin was among the most exciting for those who engaged with modern art.

As for Rodin, he had been fond of Americans since



Auguste Rodin, *Memorial Relief (Hand of a Child)*, 1982.6.1

American critics and artists entered his life in the 1880s. During the years of his warm relationship with Kate Simpson he constantly had in view that part of what made her special was that she was an American. And an even more powerful relationship with an American woman developed in 1908 when he fell in love with the marquise de Choiseul, née Claire Coudert, of a prominent New York family.⁴ Thus it is not a surprise that when Rodin received a letter from an unknown American lady in February 1908, he did not turn a deaf ear, nor feel her to be an intrusive stranger, which she herself feared. The opening sentence of Elizabeth Merrill's first letter to Rodin began: "Upon the shore of the great Lake Superior in the United States lies a town named for a countryman of yours: Chevalier Jean Greysolon Duluth, named for him because when that land was the home of the Red Indian he was one of the many Frenchmen who . . . came to that new land."⁵

During the next six months Elizabeth and Thomas Merrill organized a campaign to persuade Rodin that creating a monument to the chevalier Duluth would be one of the most exciting undertakings he might ever imagine. They sent him books and articles on the subject, and maps of Minnesota and Duluth so that he would have "an idea of the appearance of this 'unique city'—gateway between the chain of Great Lakes and the great North West of the United States."⁶ Of course the great men of Duluth had very little real knowledge about Rodin and his work, but they had the idea that he was an "Immortal," and such a man was what they wanted for their homage to Duluth. A friend of Merrill's, upon hearing the idea, wrote: "A statue to our own Duluth: the very idea warms the heart. And Rodin! Fancy how that marvelous creative perception of his will grasp the mystery, the subtle, unrevealed fascination which his great countryman must ever hold for the student."

Imagining Duluth—man or city—was not something Rodin could do. He sent a rather perfunctory description of a two-meter tall figure in white marble accompanied by two allegories, which would cost 150,000 francs (approximately 30,000 U.S. dollars). It was the highest fee that had ever been mentioned for one of Rodin's works.⁷ The financial arrangements were primarily in the hands of the marquise de Choiseul, and her notion of what Rodin should receive for his work was considerably more elevated than his own.⁸ But Duluth wasn't buying and by August of 1908 the whole idea seems to have fizzled out. In spite of his enthusiasm, Thomas Merrill had always had his misgivings, and early on he had shared them with Rodin: "Unlike the peoples of the Old World our energies are directed to the material rather than the beautiful, but I believe our people appreciate the beautiful and the true which are the same thing. But the country has passed through a crisis which has strained its resources to the utmost."⁹

By this time Elizabeth Merrill, who had spent a great deal more time with Rodin than her husband had, was too committed to the idea to simply let the whole thing drop. So she shifted gears, and by November she had ordered a work for herself: "The marquise de Choiseul tells me that

you are so good as to do the bas-relief of me and my little daughter. . . . I cannot tell you how I appreciate your kindness nor how honored I feel *that* you can do *this*."¹⁰ The daughter she was talking about was Sally Hicks Crosswell, child of her first marriage, a young woman who had died four years earlier at age seventeen. Mrs. Merrill immediately began sitting for her portrait in the bas-relief, but December brought a call from home—a second daughter was seriously ill.

When Elizabeth Merrill returned to Duluth, in her luggage she carried a gift from Rodin: "Every day I bend over this little hand that you gave me and I still cannot imagine that it is only marble. It seems to me that my dream that my child should be immortal has come true."¹¹ This hand—the National Gallery relief—was based on a plaster cast of young Sally's hand that had been provided by Mrs. Merrill.¹² We should recognize the Merrill relief as part of the traditional nineteenth-century desire to possess a cast of a famous person's or loved-one's hand as a way of keeping their memory alive.¹³ The approach is in sharp distinction to Rodin's way of working with hand fragments in order to create a psychological force and to provide a whole new kind of human expression.

It seems most likely that in the autumn of 1908, when Mrs. Merrill was sitting for Rodin, he took the plaster cast of Sally Crosswell's hand, turned it over to a marble carver with instructions for the inscription, and asked the *praticien* to work it up. We come to this conclusion as there is nothing of Rodin's approach in the relief. Nevertheless, he must have known it would please his patroness, and he was right.

When Elizabeth Merrill got home, she wrote Rodin to describe exactly what she wanted her commission to be. Perhaps she had been afraid to say what she wanted face to face. She enclosed a photograph, taken in 1887 or 1888, of herself with Sally (fig. 1). This was what the sculpture was to be and she wanted Rodin to use the photograph "to reproduce and to make immortal my resemblance and that of my much loved child." To work from a photograph, let alone a twenty-year-old photograph, was quite alien to Rodin. Merrill knew she was asking something she should not, but, as she said in her letter, she counted on his goodness.¹⁴ Rodin could not do what she wanted, but he did begin a work inspired by Elizabeth Merrill's love for her lost child. It took shape as a mountain of marble containing two faces and two clasped hands, a work that has a haunting beauty about it (fig. 2). In January 1910, Thomas Merrill sent two payments for the work, and a few months later the Merrills stopped in Paris in order to see it. The following year they sent friends to check on it. After that, there was little contact until March 1917 at which time Thomas Merrill wrote to Rodin that he wanted his work, "finished or not." He would send the final payment: "Please ship it by American Express."¹⁵ But by this time the contents of Rodin's studio belonged to France. The unfinished Merrill sculpture was part of Rodin's gift to the nation. After Rodin's death in November 1917, it remained for Merrill's lawyers to fight with Léonce Bénédict, first director of the Musée Rodin.¹⁶



Fig. 1 Mrs. Merrill and her daughter Sally Croswell, photograph by Herman & Verner's, 1887/1888, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2575



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Mother and Her Dying Child* (*Mère et sa fille mourante*), marble, photograph by Michel Manzi-Joyant, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2171

The lawyers were not successful and the work remains in the Musée Rodin, where it is known as *Mère et fille mourante* (*Mrs. Merrill et sa fille*). After Mrs. Merrill's death in 1928, Aristide Rousaud, who had carved the group in the first place, made a second version. This sculpture is now in Middleburg, Virginia, at the home of the late Elizabeth Merrill Furness, the donor of the National Gallery's marble relief dedicated to her half-sister.¹⁷

RB

Notes

1. See Appendix A.
2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Brian Ramer, NGA Object Conservation department (April 1994).
3. The work to which it seems most related is the marble *Main sortant de la tombe* [Hand Coming Out of the Tomb] in the Musée Rodin in Paris. This, too, is a late work, and has the same kind of frontality, with the hand emerging from a rectangular flat area awaiting a carved inscription. But the work in Paris is more clearly within the tradition of Rodin's oeuvre. The hand itself is a reconfiguration of a hand from *The Burghers of Calais*, and it is freestanding, not a hand against a relief ground. See Barbier 1987, 212–213.
4. See Butler 1993, 455–476.
5. Letter from Elizabeth Merrill to Rodin dated 13 February 1908 (MRA).
6. F. E. House, President of the Duluth Iron Range Railroad Co., sent these to Rodin on 2 July 1908 at the request of Thomas Merrill (MRA).
7. Two monuments that would have been much more work had they been completed as projected were the *Monument to Victor Hugo* for the Pantheon, which Rodin agreed to execute for 75,000 francs, and the monument to Benjamin Vicuna Mackenna of Chile, for which Rodin asked 79,000 francs. Payment documents for the *Monument to Victor Hugo* are in the Archives Nationales, Paris. For the Mackenna monument, which was never executed, see Beausire and Pinet 1985, vol. I, 121–122.
8. Elizabeth Merrill sent a telegram to her husband on 20 February 1908 to let him know that the marquise had told her the monument would cost 30,000 U.S. dollars. Thomas Merrill wrote back that he feared it would “look like a great deal of money to our people, many of whom measure art in feet and pounds especially while coppers are in the dumps. . . .” (MRA).
9. Letter from Thomas Merrill to Rodin dated 29 April 1908 (MRA). Merrill was referring to the great depression of 1907.
10. Letter from Elizabeth Merrill to Rodin dated 12 November 1908. The price mentioned was 20,000 francs (MRA).
11. Letter from Elizabeth Merrill to Rodin dated early 1909 (MRA).
12. At the time of the gift to the NGA, Douglas Lewis prepared a questionnaire for Mrs. Furness to answer in order that the curators might better understand the background of the work. To the question “was the hand in the Memorial Relief actually based on a plaster cast” of her half-sister's hand, Mrs. Furness answered “yes.”
13. See Anne Pinget, “Main mémoire,” in Orsay 1990, 171–172.
14. Undated letter from Elizabeth Merrill to Rodin (MRA).
15. Letter from Thomas Merrill to Rodin dated 10 March 1917 (MRA).
16. The MRA has a large file of letters concerning the Merrill sculpture after Rodin's death.
17. Barbier 1987, 82–83.

References

- 1927 Grappe: 102.
 1944 Grappe: 124.
 1987 Barbier: 82–83.

Head of Hanako (Ohta Hisa)

Model c. 1908; cast 1965

Bronze, 15.5 × 11.3 × 9 (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{16}$)

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the lower left side: A. Rodin / N. 12

Inside head: A Rodin

Stamped into the bronze at the back of the neck: G. Rudier. / Fond. Paris

Technical Notes: Three areas of the surface were analyzed through the use of energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) in order to characterize the elemental surface composition. The alloy is a true bronze with a content of 93.4% copper, 3.8% tin, 1.7% zinc, 0.6% lead, and 0.2% iron. The absence of trace elements within the alloy suggests refinement of the copper.

The mask is a hollow sand cast, which was verified by examining surface crevices under magnification. This revealed the granular quality of the surface. No seam marks, sprue, or gate remnants are discernible to the naked eye.

Following the casting, the surface was filed. Most of the chasing marks have been masked by the patina, though file marks are visible along the edges. The patina appears to have been applied in two campaigns: an undercoat of light green (more olive in color than the light greens of the Simpson bronzes), over which a dark brown layer was applied in an uneven manner. As a result, the gradations of color range from light to moss to olive green and then to reddish brown, which is the main color covering the surface. On many of the raised areas, especially the nose, contours of the eyes and eyebrows, and the lips, the darker patina has worn away, exposing the lighter green underlayer.¹

Provenance: Cast 1965 by the Musée Rodin, Paris; sold to (Dominion Gallery, Montreal). (sale, Sotheby's, London, 30 November 1967, no. 76); purchased by (Hector Brame, Paris) for Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

Other Versions

Rodin made more than fifty busts, heads, and masks of Hanako. The Musée Rodin has grouped them into seven major types. The NGA mask is called "type G" and was cast from a terra cotta in the Musée Rodin, Paris.² Between 1963 and 1965, the Musée Rodin brought out a bronze edition of thirteen casts. Keeping one for its own collection, the museum offered the rest for sale, and they were bought principally by galleries in England, America, and Canada.³

RODIN ONCE described the human face as "a universe" unto itself, and he was ever alert to discover a special type of physiognomy that he wanted to capture in three-dimensional form. It was a quality he found in the face of a diminutive Japanese actress he met in 1906.

In the period when he first laid eyes on Hanako, Rodin was already enamored with Asian beauty. It was July 1906 in Marseille. He had followed King Sisowath's Cambodian dancers from Paris to Marseille to see them perform again—he had already seen them in Paris—in a colonial exhibi-

tion organized by the French government. He felt that "the Cambodian dancers revealed movements to me that I have never found anywhere before, either in the art of sculpture or in nature."⁴ In the days that followed—"the four most wonderful days of my life"—as Rodin described the period during which he studied and drew the Cambodian dancers,⁵ he happened to pass a little hut on the exhibition grounds where a small group of Japanese actors was putting on a play. It ended with a death scene that impressed him greatly. Rodin asked to meet the actress and learned that the company was being shepherded around by his American friend, the dancer Loïe Fuller. Introductions were made, and the memory of a very special face became lodged in Rodin's brain.

Early in 1907, Rodin began to inquire as to what had become of the Japanese actress. Through the sculptor Pierre Roche (1855–1922), he learned that she was living with Loïe Fuller.⁶ The woman Rodin was looking for was Ohta Hisa, recently given the new name of Hanako by Fuller.⁷ Hanako was thirty-nine years old, but looked much younger, and about 4 feet 5 inches tall, although she appeared to be even shorter. Newspaper articles referred to her as "not quite four feet," and even as "the three-foot Geisha."⁸

By May, Hanako was in Rodin's studio posing. She hardly spoke a word of French and in the beginning Loïe Fuller accompanied her to posing sessions.⁹ They were held in the morning so that Hanako could be at the theater in the afternoon. Rodin was totally focused on capturing the expression he had first seen on her face during the death scene at the end of the play in Marseille: "[H]e asked me to sit for him because he wished to make a masque of my anguish of death when I was killed by a villain under a cherry-tree in 'Geisha's Revenge'."¹⁰ Because of this goal, Rodin worked with Hanako in a manner at odds from his normal procedure. Instead of the freedom of movement he usually favored, he asked Hanako to assume a particular expression, in which she betrayed extreme anguish, especially through the use of her eyes, so that she appeared to be looking death in the face. Rodin asked her to hold the pose for thirty minutes: "[F]or the first fifteen minutes it was all right, but after that I found it very difficult to keep the same posture and the same facial expression, particularly the eyes!"¹¹ After many, many sessions and much irritation on both sides, Rodin completed the head to his satisfaction. Hanako remembered it as being in the forty-first year of Meiji, that is 1908.¹²

In the course of their work together Rodin and Hanako became friends. He frequently invited her to stay at Meudon, where she occupied a small separate guest house of the Villa des Brillants. On one occasion, she remembered taking her rest period from a session devoted to the "Head of Death" in the garden: "Rodin noticed my absent-minded look and sketched me, ordering me to hold the same pose. After sketching me, he declared that he would make a mask of 'A Meditating Woman'."¹³ From then on he worked on "Death" in the morning and "Meditation" in the afternoon.



Auguste Rodin, *Head of Hanako (Ohta Hisa)*, 1995.47.21

Hanako's face had become one of Rodin's obsessions. He felt all the nuances of fear, horror, anger, wonder, serenity, and inner stillness were waiting there for him to explore. He produced over fifty heads, masks, and busts, but it was Hanako's face that fascinated him, and the masks dominated his work. The most interesting collection are the plasters and terra cottas, in which we see the marks of Rodin's tools pushing frowns and squints into place; little balls of clay never smoothed out on pitted cheeks and chins; partially opened mouths and visible teeth; or simple, smooth volumes that show off the sensuality of a face in repose. Most of these remain in the Musée Rodin in Meudon.¹⁴

With its calm expression, smoothly domed forehead, fleshy lips, and gaze seeming to extend to a distant place, the little head in the National Gallery is clearly one of the meditative group. We know from photographs that Hanako was normally coiffed in traditional Japanese fashion, with her abundant black tresses separated into smooth volumes and a large bun pulled to the back of her head. Usually, but not always, Rodin dispensed with this complicated series of shapes and used only a bit of hair to extend the head and play off of the flesh. But in the National Gallery head—that is “type G”—the hair is used to develop a strong asymmetry.

Rodin was working intensely with Hanako in 1907 and 1908. Records of posing sessions continue through 1911.¹⁵ The Hanako series had been a very personal search for Rodin, and he was not particularly interested in exhibiting these masks and heads. The first public showing of a bronze mask of Hanako was in 1910 at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts' annual exhibition of work recently purchased by the State. After that we have records for only three exhibitions in Rodin's lifetime: one in London and two in Paris (1912 and 1917).¹⁶ However, in the second half of the twentieth century there has been enormous interest in these small and unusual portraits, so the Musée Rodin has issued several of the various versions in bronze editions. The National Gallery work is a good example of one of these recent casts.

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (October 1996).
2. Judrin 1979, 38.
3. Information provided by G  r  me Le Blay, Mus  e Rodin, Paris.
4. Auguste Rodin, “Ausserungen   ber die kambodisch-anischen T  nzerinnen,” *Kunst und K  nstler* IV (1906), 531–532; translation in G  se 1985, 271.
5. G  se 1985, 271.
6. Letter from Lo  ie Fuller to Rodin dated 5 February 1907 (MRA).
7. Lo  ie Fuller met Hanako in London in 1905 when the Japanese company was playing at the Savoy Theater. Fuller gave the group a great deal of advice, going so far as to rewrite their plays so that each one would end with Hanako doing a death scene. Fuller then changed Ohta Hisa's name, which she found untranslatable. Suketaro 1984, 22–23. My thanks to Mina Oya for bringing this book to my attention.
8. Suketaro 1984, 18–19.
9. Ren   Ch  r  y was Rodin's secretary at the time and he was

present when Hanako came with only a Japanese companion: “[T]he conversation was nil, neither she nor the companion having any comprehension of French or English.” Keene 1962, 127.

10. Hanako told her own story of the work and her relationship to Rodin in a series of interviews published from 6–10 January 1925 in the *Gifu Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* [*Gifu Daily News*]. The actress was born in Gifu. This series is quoted at length in Suketaro 1984, 39.

11. Suketaro 1984, 42.
12. Suketaro 1984, 43.
13. Suketaro 1984, 45.
14. Many are reproduced in Judrin 1979, 26–39.
15. Judrin 1979, 25.
16. Beausire 1988, 320, 323, 336, 367.

References

- 1917 Cladel: 161–165.
- 1927 Grappe: 97.
- 1944 Grappe: 123–124.
- 1962 Keene: 125–127.
- 1967 Spear: 32–37, 93–94.
- 1976 Tancock: 546–551.
- 1977 De Caso and Sanders: 304–309.
- 1979 Judrin: 23–43.
- 1981 NGA: 232–233.
- 1984 Suketaro.
- 1987 Grunfeld: 521–522.
- 1988 Beausire: 320, 323, 336, 367.

1972.78.1 (A-1738)

Gustav Mahler

1909

Bronze, 34.6 × 24.5 × 24.7 (13⁵/₈ × 9⁵/₈ × 9³/₄)

Gift of Lotte Walter Lindt in memory of her father, Bruno Walter

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the left side of the neck: A. Rodin

On the right side of the neck, in the back, incised by hand:
ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR PARIS

In raised letters on the left underside of collarbone, integral to the cast: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: The Mahler hollow sand cast is one of exceptional quality. Through X-radiography, broad-toothed tool marks that flattened balls of clay to define the hair can be detected, especially above the ear on the right side. Elsewhere in the hair finer toothed chisel marks are visible and a flat chisel was used on the back of the head to compress and form the hair. A single-point tool was used to delineate the hair along the line of the forehead on the front of the head.

Analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) shows that the bronze alloy used was 92% copper, 5% tin, 0.8% zinc, and approximately 0.5% lead. The head was hollow cast and remnants of charred sand remain in the interior, but evidence of the casting process such as seams or gate remnants are not discernible to the naked eye. These were removed through filing and chasing following the casting process. What marks remained were masked through the application of patina.

The patina on the bust of Gustav Mahler is the darkest among



Auguste Rodin, *Gustav Mahler*, 1972.78.1

the Rodin bronzes in the National Gallery. It appears to have been applied in two campaigns: first an undercoat of reddish or warm brown, over which a darker black layer was applied. X-ray powder diffraction (XRD) identifies the black layer as copper nitrate hydroxide, suggesting the patinating solution contained copper nitrate. In many of the areas around the nose, eyes, and lips the darker patina has been worn away to expose the reddish underlayer. Moss green is present on the lower half of the neck, a color that resulted from placing the reddish brown over a light green underlayer.

The sculpture is in good and stable condition. Several scratches have abraded the patina, exposing bare metal below the right cheek and eye. Areas where the dark patina has worn off are scattered overall. The surface has been covered with a thin layer of wax. The head is attached to a red marble base in such a way that it tilts back, bringing Mahler's chin forward.¹

Provenance: Gift 1913 to Bruno Walter [1876–1962]; by inheritance to his daughter, Lotte Walter Lindt [d. 1970], Breisgau, Germany.

Exhibited: NGA 1981, not in cat.

Other Versions

Rodin made two versions of his portrait of Mahler. It is generally believed that the type in the NGA was the first to be made (see discussion below). Taking the two versions together, we know of twenty-two Rudier casts made during Rodin's lifetime. Probably about fifteen more were cast after 1917.² Public collections that include the same type as that in the NGA are the Vienna Opera (Mahler's personal cast, gift of Alma Mahler to the Opera); the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum; the Neue Pinakothek in Munich; and The Brooklyn Museum, New York.

RODIN BELIEVED that there was no higher goal for a sculptor than to portray the creative geniuses of his own time. Thus, when he was asked to make Gustav Mahler's portrait, he was quite receptive. The commission was an idea that arose within the circle of Mahler's family and friends in Vienna, and especially with the help of the Zuckerkandls and Mahler's father-in-law, Carl Moll.

Berta Zuckerkandl—the reigning diva of the liveliest salon in Vienna, who attracted and supported modern artists in all domains—was the key figure in laying the groundwork for the commission. She had known Rodin since the late 1880s when her sister, Sophie, married Paul Clemenceau and moved to Paris. We know she visited Rodin's 1900 retrospective at the time of the Paris Universal Exposition, in the company of Georges Clemenceau.³ Two years later she acted as Rodin's hostess and guide when he went to Vienna. A major moment during the trip was the visit to the studio of Gustav Klimt (1862–1918), for, as Zuckerkandl reported, in meeting Klimt Rodin believed he had met an equal.⁴

Among the large number of artists Zuckerkandl drew to her side, none did she hold in higher esteem than Mahler: “Gustav Mahler! The world is not yet sufficiently aware of the greatness of this giant who strove to conquer the highest peaks of his art.”⁵ And Zuckerkandl played a major role in Mahler's life, for she was the person who introduced him to Alma Schindler, whom he married in 1902. Thus, Alma

Mahler's stepfather, the painter Carl Moll, a man greatly respected in Viennese art circles, entered Mahler's life.

Apparently Paul and Sophie Clemenceau had already been talking to Rodin about a possible portrait of Mahler,⁶ but it was Carl Moll who took the matter in hand. The first problem for Mahler's supporters was the fact that they could not imagine the great composer actually sitting for a portrait. Mahler had always been an anxious man, ill-at-ease in many situations, but since the death of his elder daughter and his resignation from the Vienna Hofoper, both having occurred in 1907, his anxieties had increased noticeably. Then it was discovered that he had a heart condition. Sitting for a portrait at this point in his life was the furthest thing from Mahler's mind. So the Clemenceaus and Carl Moll developed a strategy to make it possible: they asked Rodin to pretend that it was *he* who wanted to do the portrait of the great musician. A meeting was arranged when Mahler was on his way back to Vienna after his first season as director of the New York Metropolitan Opera. Paul Clemenceau wrote Rodin (22 April 1909): “If you are free to come tomorrow, Friday, half past noon for lunch with us at the Café de Paris. Mahler will be there. . . . I remind you that Mahler is convinced that it is you who desires to make a bust—if not he would refuse to pose.” The conspiracy was facilitated by the fact that neither artist spoke the other's language. Paul Clemenceau had eased Rodin into the plan by making it clear to him that he would be dealing with an artist who was as highly regarded in the world of music as Rodin was in the world of art.⁷

Mahler came to Rodin's studio in the rue de l'Université on 28 April 1909.⁸ Alma Mahler and the Clemenceaus accompanied him. They watched intently as the two great men looked each other over, the subject in a short black jacket and with his hat under his arm; the artist in a long gray blouse, his head covered by a large black beret. They did not speak, yet each knew what to do: Mahler mounted the platform and Rodin began to work. Throughout the entire session Mahler did not budge. Paul Clemenceau was standing behind Rodin and could see how “the spirit of the music came from Mahler's eyes in order to inspire the sculptor.”⁹ Alma Mahler found the sittings to be a “marvelous experience”; she described the way Rodin made “little pellets of clay which he rolled between his fingers,” then added them to the lump of clay before him. It was only when sitter and entourage had departed that Rodin smoothed down the work so that the next day he could begin again by adding more lumps. Frau Mahler noticed that she “scarcely ever saw him with a tool in his hand.”¹⁰ These accounts are reminiscent of Rainer Maria Rilke's description of Rodin working on George Bernard Shaw's bust. Rilke also spoke of the way Rodin built up the lump of clay with small pellets, working mostly by hand and refashioning everything once he was left alone in the studio.¹¹

Mahler was anxious to return to Vienna, and Rodin could not persuade him to remain. By the first of May the Mahlers had gone. In her autobiography Alma Mahler commented

on Rodin's unhappiness at their leaving: She felt Rodin had "fallen in love with his model." But clearly the problem was that the composer limited Rodin's time to an unbearable degree. When Bernard Shaw had posed for Rodin a few years earlier, he came for three weeks, which was probably more time than Rodin wanted. Two days, however, were not sufficient. In June, Moll expressed his gratitude for Rodin's having accepted the commission: "You cannot imagine how much we love this man and how it gives us satisfaction that the only artist who could understand this head . . . will make his portrait." He added some words about Mahler's bad health. He felt that because of it Mahler "did not look well when he was in Paris."¹²

Mahler returned to Paris in the autumn so Rodin had a second chance to work on the portrait.¹³ He arrived a few days after Rodin's *Monument to Victor Hugo* was inaugurated in the garden of the Palais-Royal, and now it was Rodin who could not work Mahler into his schedule. He gave him a date for the following Monday at which time he would "be happy to see if I can discover something new in the bust."¹⁴ Since the Mahlers sailed on 13 October 1909, we can assume Rodin had two additional sittings in October.

Even though Mahler probably sat for Rodin only five times, and even though neither spoke the other's language, a rapport developed. The proof is in the portrait. Corroborating evidence for this is found in a letter Sophie Clemenceau wrote to Rodin the following spring: "Mahler arrived on Tuesday and his first word was to ask if you would come to hear his symphony Sunday afternoon. He considers it above everything and was delighted when I told him you had promised to come."¹⁵ This was the first performance of Mahler's Second Symphony in France. It would be fascinating to know if Rodin actually heard Mahler's symphony, a work so difficult for French ears that Debussy, Dukas, and Pierné all left the concert hall in the middle of the second movement.¹⁶

Rodin's *Mahler* is one of the sculptor's best late portraits, a work in which he captured the strength and the determination, as well as the dark and troubled side of this much-admired musician. Mahler was forty-eight when he sat for Rodin. Bruno Walter, who had met Mahler when the latter was in his thirties, described his own first impression of the composer: "pale, thin, of small stature, with a long head, his high forehead framed in jet-black hair, keen eyes behind spectacles, with lines of suffering and humor in a face that exhibited . . . the most amazing changes of expression. . . ."¹⁷ This description agrees with Rodin's portrayal. He gave the face an asymmetrical thrust, most evident in the area around the eyes, specifically the treatment of the eyebrows and the frontal bones. The right eye betrays a slight squint and reminds us of the absent glasses without which Mahler could not see. Rodin focused attention on the forehead and its receding hairline, on the powerful nose, and the straight thin lips. The bust is cut just below the collarbone and there is a slight suggestion of a garment open at the neck in the manner of an intimate eighteenth-



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *Bust of Gustav Mahler*, plaster study, photograph by Jacques Ernest Bulloz, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 2166

century portrait bust *en négligé*. Its power is reinforced by a slight tilt of the head. The importance of this decision is immediately evident when we compare the bronze to one of the plaster studies, in which the head sits squarely on the base below (fig. 1).

On 10 December 1910, Rodin wrote to tell Moll that "the original bust of *Mahler*" was about to be shipped.¹⁸ Moll and his friends were eagerly awaiting its arrival, as they intended to send it to Mahler in New York for Christmas.¹⁹ Moll had ordered five additional casts so that friends and admirers of the great musician could also have the portrait. And Rodin had made not just one version of the bust, but also a second. He sent both versions to Vienna. The version in the National Gallery of Art appears to be the first one.²⁰ We can surmise this from Moll's reference to it as "the original" upon the arrival of the second type in Vienna in the spring of 1911. He wrote to Rodin: "These are not replicas of the bust that you sent me—before—the original bust." In another letter he explained once again that Mahler's friends wanted the "original," which "is a little more finished and more smooth."²¹

The main difference between the first and second versions of Rodin's *Mahler* (fig. 2) is a shift from an emphasis on anatomy to one that focuses on a rich, impressionistic sur-



Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Gustav Mahler*, bronze, second version, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 812, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

face. In the second version Rodin played down the importance of Mahler's prominent jaw and withheld the attention he had previously given to Mahler's eyes. The surfaces clearly reveal the little balls of clay that he had roughly formed and then attached. It was Rodin's normal practice to work first from nature and then in subsequent versions of a sculpture to loosen the treatment, leaving areas unfinished and allowing parts of the anatomy to remain without clear definition.

There was vagueness in the verbal agreement between Moll and Rodin about the final cost for all these casts. Rodin had promised a *prix d'ami*. Moll was grateful, as he had explained to Rodin that he and his friends could not possibly afford Rodin's regular prices. When the time came to discuss the actual bill, the two men had very different ideas about what they had agreed on. Moll finally negotiated a price he and his friends could afford—2,000 francs per replica—and a reduced price on the original by declaring that the original would remain Rodin's property, and he would have no need for any authorization to make further casts. Rodin accepted Moll's proposal, while pointing out that this price was a real sacrifice for him.²² These negotiations make another point clear: the reason for two versions. Rodin

would have been quite conscious of the fact that a bust of Mahler would be a highly desired sculpture because of the sitter's prominence. Normally the rights for future casts belonged to the purchaser, so Rodin wanted to make sure that he himself could still sell portraits of Mahler.

Bruno Walter, whose daughter donated her father's portrait to the National Gallery, was Mahler's protege and succeeded him as conductor of the Vienna Hofoper. He was a likely recipient for one of the casts that went to Vienna in 1911, but he did not own one until 1913, the date of his own resignation from the opera. At that time his friends Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Jacob Wassermann, and Richard Beer-Hofman presented him with Mahler's portrait in honor of his years at the Hofoper.²³

Gustav Mahler died in May 1911. During the next couple of years Rodin's bust was prominent in exhibitions all over Europe, from London to Saint Petersburg, from Ghent to Rome. It was out of these shows that many of the major museums purchased casts of the two versions of the bust.²⁴

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (22 July 1996).
2. Gutmann 1985, 150.
3. Berta Szeps-Zuckerandl, *Clemenceau tel que je l'ai connu*, Algeria, 1944, 141.
4. Berta Szeps-Zuckerandl, *My Life and History*, translated from the German by John Sommerfield, New York, 1939, 180.
5. Berta Szeps-Zuckerandl, *My Life and History*, translated from the German by John Sommerfield, New York, 1939, 188.
6. On 15 December 1908, Sophie wrote to Rodin: "Paul has a rather interesting matter about which he wishes to speak with you. . . ." (MRA). Paul Clemenceau's description of the plans are contained in his article "Gustave Mahler und Rodin," *Die Kunstauktion* (20 July 1930).
7. Quoted in Gutmann 1985, 144.
8. The date is based on a postcard Mahler wrote to his sister Justine. It is found in the Alfred Rosé Collection in London, Ontario, and is quoted in La Grange 1983. La Grange is Mahler's principal biographer. My source for the La Grange quote is Gutmann 1985, 143.
9. Clemenceau quoted in Gutmann 1985, 145. Mahler's friends and family were not the only visitors watching the sitting. Agnes Meyer (donor of the *Sphinx*, p. 338) met Rodin as a young woman when she was still Agnes Ernst. In the spring of 1909 when she was in Paris, Rodin invited her to the session. She felt that Mahler "had genius stamped on his nervous features more distinctly than almost anyone I have ever known." Agnes E. Meyer, *Out of These Roots*, Boston, 1953, 85.
10. Mahler 1969, 148.
11. Letter from Rainer Maria Rilke to Clara Rilke dated 19 April 1906. A copy of the letter is among the Shaw papers in the library of the British Museum, London.
12. Letter from Carl Moll to Rodin dated 11 June 1909 (MRA).
13. Undated letter from Sophie Clemenceau to Rodin (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).
14. Undated letter from Rodin to Gustav Mahler (J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). The following "Monday" would have been 11 October 1909.
15. Letter from Sophie Clemenceau to Rodin dated 14 April 1910 (MRA).
16. Mahler 1969, 170.
17. Bruno Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, Vienna, 1936, 11–12.

18. Beausire and Cadouot 1987, vol. III, 120. The letters referred to in this discussion—both those to Rodin and from him—are in the Musée Rodin, Paris.

19. An acquaintance of Moll's living in Paris by the name of Klossowsky acted as a go-between for Moll and Rodin in 1910. His letter to Rodin of 20 October 1910 speaks of the reason for the urgency (MRA).

20. Danièle Gutmann has done the primary research on Rodin's *Mahler*. In her doctoral dissertation she identified the sketchier, more impressionistic example as "A," though considering it to have been executed second. She gave the label "B" to the more natural, more structured and anatomical version which she believed to have been executed first. Gutmann 1980, 84–85; and Gutmann 1985, 148.

21. Letters from Carl Moll to Rodin dated 17 March 1911 and 21 August 1911 (both MRA).

22. Letter from Carl Moll to Rodin dated 17 November 1910; letter from Rodin to Moll dated 10 December 1910 (both MRA). See Gutmann 1985, 146–147. In the twentieth century, Rodin usually charged between 3,500 and 4,500 francs for a bronze bust. These are the figures he put on a price list for busts of Dalou and Victor Hugo at the time of his 1903 New York show. It is also true, however, that Rodin's normal price for the *Mahler* bust when it was exhibited after the composer's death in 1911 was 2,000 francs. When the museum in Strasbourg ordered one Rodin only charged 1,700 francs. See Beausire 1988, 332. In 1998 an amount of 2,000 francs in 1911 would be equal to approximately 10,000 U.S. dollars.

23. Walter spoke of the gift in a letter of 16 March 1913. See Lotte Walter-Lindt (ed.), *Bruno Walter: Letters 1894–1962*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1969, 145.

24. Beausire 1988, 321–348.

References

- 1927 Grappe: 103.
1930 Clemenceau.
1944 Grappe: 129.
1976 Tancock: 552–555.
1980 Gutmann.
1985 Hare: 565–577.
1985 Gutmann: 141–145.
1986 Gutmann: 564–575.
1987 Grunfeld: 534–537.
1988 Beausire: 321–322, 327–330, 332–333, 335, 338, 344, 347–348.
1996 Kausch: 236–238.

1974.29.1 (A-1759)

Thomas Fortune Ryan

1909–1910

Bronze, 63 × 51.5 × 29.5 (24¹/₁₆ × 20¹/₄ × 11⁵/₁₆)

Gift of Mrs. John Barry Ryan Jr.

Inscriptions

Inscribed on the lower section of the left arm in the front: A Rodin

Inscribed on the right shoulder in the back: ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR Paris

Inscribed in relief on the interior of the left arm: A. Rodin

Technical Notes: X-radiography reveals ridged tool marks along the front and the side of the bust that were made in a malleable material, presumably clay, of the original sculpture. Also evident

are the rough surfaces of the clothing, the workings of thumb and tools on the clay before casting. There is rich manipulation of the clay in the area of the eyebrows and forehead, and Rodin drew in the clay to achieve the effect of wisps of thinning hair.

The bronze alloy used was 91% copper, 6% tin, and 1% or less iron, lead, and zinc. The bust was sand cast, evident in the remnants of charred sand found in the interior of the head and in the three mold lines that radiate from the top of the head, covering the shoulders and chest. Evidence of the casting process is also present in the interior of the sculpture in a thin wire hanging from the left cheek—probably a chaplet not removed after casting—and a pipe extending from the top of the head, perhaps the remnant of a vent.

The patina is heavy and richly applied, and there is a slight difference in appearance between the face and the bust, which is more matte. The patina was applied in three campaigns: first, a light green (identified as copper sulfate) was applied, followed by some reddish areas, covered overall with a dark green (identified as copper nitrate) that appears almost black in places. The red and light green show through in several places, the most prominent being the patch of green visible on the tip of the nose and the red on the front of the shirt. The latter was identified through XRD as a combination of red lake and Prussian blue. Both are pigments and imply that areas of the tie and shirt were painted.

The sculpture is in good and stable condition, although there are some superficial scratches and a circular flaw in the patina approximately 1½ inches in diameter between the eyebrows.¹

Provenance: Commissioned by Thomas Fortune Ryan [1851–1928], New York; by inheritance to his son, John Barry Ryan [d. 1942], New York; by inheritance to his son, John Barry Ryan, Jr. [d. 1966], London; by inheritance to his wife, Mrs. John Barry Ryan, Jr., New York and London.

Exhibited: *Salon de 1910, XXe Exposition*, Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Grand Palais, Paris, 1910, no. 1929, as M. R. . . . M. Knoedler & Co., New York, November 1910.

Other Versions

The NGA portrait of Ryan is the first cast, the one commissioned by Ryan himself and shown in the Paris Salon of 1910. It so impressed the undersecretary of fine arts that he asked for a cast to be placed in the Luxembourg Museum (at the time France's museum of modern art). This cast is now in the Musée Rodin, Paris. In 1911, Rodin gave a cast of the bust to the MMA in honor of Ryan's 25,000-dollar gift, which made possible a Rodin gallery in the museum. Three years later a fourth cast was part of Rodin's gift to the English nation (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Ryan himself gave a cast to the Dublin Municipal Gallery of Modern Art in 1915, surely to honor his own Irish heritage. All five bronze casts bear the Rudier mark. One more—a silver cast (present location unknown)—was made by Rudier for Mr. Ryan.²

IF, THROUGH her love of Rodin's work and her energy in bringing his sculpture to the attention of the officials of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Kate Simpson is the godmother of the Rodin collection in New York, Thomas Fortune Ryan, with his eagerness to invest a considerable amount of money in Rodin's work for that museum, is the godfather. And his bust is the only portrait of an American millionaire that ranks with Rodin's best contemporary portrayals. In the same period as the Ryan portrait, Rodin was



Auguste Rodin, *Thomas Fortune Ryan*, 1974.29.1

commissioned to do the busts of Joseph Pulitzer and Edward Henry Harriman. Pulitzer turned out to be an exceptionally difficult sitter, and Harriman died soon after the commission was made. Thus Rodin had to create his portrait from a death mask and photographs. Both works reveal these less than happy circumstances.

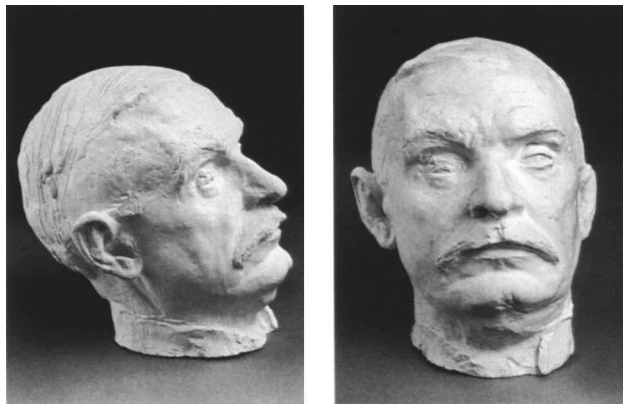
Rodin must have found this millionaire—in the early twentieth century Ryan was one of the richest men in America³—a reasonably sympathetic character, for he captured the combination of strength and reticence that many noted as the essence of Ryan's character. A *New York Times* reporter, who met him for the first time in 1905, described how struck he was by the power of the six-foot-two-inch financier: "lithe, tense, impressive figure, with broad shoulders thrown back and supporting a head which . . . suggested the fighting top of a battleship."⁴ Yet the journalist also noted his genial blue eyes, blunt iron-gray mustache, quiet nature, and a plain manner of speech that humanized the battleship.

There was another reason that would have made Rodin take special interest in Thomas Fortune Ryan, and that was the manner in which the two men met. Though undocumented, it appears the intermediary was another New Yorker—Claire Coudert—daughter of a prominent New York lawyer, whose family was among the most illustrious Catholic families in America, and therefore the kind of family who would have been in Ryan's social circle.⁵

In 1891, Miss Coudert had married a man from the lower echelon of the great Choiseul family. Thus she entered French life with a title: first marquise, later duchesse.⁶ In emotional terms she would come to dispense with the marquise, and by 1907 her real love was Rodin. Slowly, after some years of hesitation, Rodin learned to reciprocate her feelings.⁷ Rodin would ultimately turn Claire de Choiseul out of his life, but until he did, she had tremendous influence over him. Perhaps Ryan and the result of his meeting with Rodin—the funding for the Rodin collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art—were the most lasting and the best results to emerge from this tumultuous and widely discussed affair.

Ryan met Rodin in the summer or autumn of 1908.⁸ He returned to Paris in 1909 to sit for his bust, and was one of the first people to pose for Rodin in the beautiful new quarters the artist had discovered in the company of Rainer Maria Rilke—the Hôtel Biron. In 1909, Rodin was only one of several people who rented space in the former convent, now owned by the State. Reports by those who knew of Ryan's sitting spoke of how pleased Rodin was with his model because Ryan could keep a pose without moving for incredibly long periods. As with Gustav Mahler, each man attended to his responsibility in silence, not being able to speak the other's language.⁹

Rodin chose to portray the American businessman in contemporary dress—collar, tie, and suit—rendered with great clarity across the expanse of Ryan's chest and shoulders. However, the face, placed upon that strong neck,



Figs. 1a, b Auguste Rodin, *Mr. Ryan*, plaster, 1909, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 1566, photograph by Adam Rzepka, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

holds its own above the broad base. Rodin brought out the horizontals of Ryan's eyebrows, mouth, and mustache, but he did not diminish his powerful nose and the determined chin (figs. 1a and 1b). Ryan's body has a rigid, iron-clad look to it and the bronze cast is mounted on the base in a way that provides a slight tilt back, giving the sitter a proud and commanding bearing. Just how important this mounting is can be understood by examining a plaster in the Musée Rodin in which the placement makes Ryan move forward and look down. Much of the power is lost. Rodin understood this well, and when he made the second cast, now in the Musée Rodin, he gave greater breadth to a squared base, tilting it back even further. Ryan's portrait betrays the usual asymmetry of a Rodin bust, particularly visible in the dominant right eye. Rodin has thrust the left collar wing forward in a way that is both spatial and centering, as it brings attention to the point where face and body meet.

Rodin evidently worked on the bust for some months. In the winter of 1910, Claire de Choiseul wrote to Ryan that the few persons privileged to see his bust found it to be a masterpiece and that the work would be ready when he returned to Paris in May. Ryan responded with an expression of pleasure that Rodin and his friends were satisfied with the bust, and he thought Rodin had been exceptionally patient and kind throughout the sittings, since he himself was surely an inadequate subject for such genius.¹⁰

Ryan ordered three versions of the bust for his own collection, all of which Rodin sent before the end of 1910: the bronze now in the National Gallery; a silver cast, the present location of which is unknown; and a marble version in the Bayly Art Museum of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville (fig. 2).

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Molly McNamara and Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (April 1996).

2. In 1910, Ryan decided to exhibit his busts before he took them home to 858 Fifth Avenue. Toward the end of 1910, the Rudier

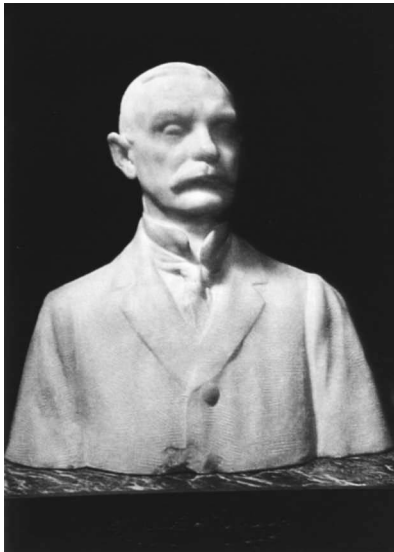


Fig. 2 Auguste Rodin, *Bust of Thomas Fortune Ryan*, marble, 1910, Charlottesville, Bayly Art Museum, University of Virginia, Gift of Members of the Ryan Family, 1950.4, photograph by Ed Roseberry

Foundry sent the two casts—the NGA bronze and the silver example—to the Knoedler Gallery, New York. One of the gallery's employees wrote to Rodin to ask him the value he placed on each, and he replied that the silver version was worth 10,000 francs, the bronze 5,000 francs (letters in MRA). See also *The Craftsman* 19, 4 (January 1911), 424.

3. Ryan made his fortune primarily in railroads, tobacco, and insurance. When he died the *New York Times* (24 November 1928) called him "one of the world's richest men," with an estimated fortune in the range of 500,000,000 U.S. dollars.

4. William Griffith, "Thomas F. Ryan, the Sphinx of Wall Street," *New York Times*, 18 June 1905, section III.

5. Also buttressing this supposition is the fact that most of Ryan's letters in the Musée Rodin are addressed to Claire de Choiseul and have a friendly tone to them.

6. In 1909, after he came into some money through his American wife, Charles-Auguste ceased to call himself marquis de Choiseul, and adopted duc de Choiseul. Marc de Montalembert, grandson of Charles-Auguste de Choiseul-Beaupré's sister, assured me that this was a total fiction.

7. This romance is described in detail in Butler 1993, chapter 33.

8. Documented in the correspondence at the Musée Rodin, Paris. In 1908 Ryan ordered *Pygmalion and Galatea* (now MMA).

9. Paul Gsell, "Un Triomphe pour l'Art française aux Etats-Unis," *Le Journal* (September 1910).

10. Choiseul's letter is dated 11 January 1910; Ryan's answer, addressed to Rodin, is dated 29 January 1910 (MRA).

References

- 1927 Grappe: 109–110.
- 1944 Grappe: 129.
- 1959 Alley: 221–222.
- 1975 Hawkins: 31.
- 1981 Vincent: 19–21, 32–33.
- 1985 Hare: 585–590.
- 1987 Grunfeld: 530–531.
- 1988 Beausire: 314, 316, 355, 359.

1988.54.1

Victoria Sackville-West, Lady Sackville

1913–1914

Plaster, 45.7 × 47.6 × 37.5 (18 × 18¾ × 14¾)

Gift of the B. Gerald Cantor Art Foundation

Inscriptions

Inscribed at lower right on the back: red wax seal with the initials HG

Technical Notes: The sculpture is made of plaster that was probably cast in two or three pieces, and was then dipped in a thin plaster after casting. When the pieces were assembled, an inner layer of plaster was applied by hand, at which time two pieces of wooden lath were embedded in the new plaster for support. A wax seal was inserted before the final surface was applied. The bust is virtually identical to one in the Musée Rodin except for the depth of the relief and a long scarf that hangs from the Paris version.

Rodin frequently assembled his works in separate sections. It seems likely that the head and body of *Lady Sackville*, and perhaps the scarf, were cast separately and then joined, as suggested by the tool marks and scrapes at the junction of the neck and scarf, and by the irregularities at the back of the hair.

The bust is in fair condition. The surface is fragile and has powdered off in an unusual spotted pattern, which may be the result of inadequate adhesion of the dipped plaster layer, or from additives in the plaster. Wear and abrasion, especially around the circumference of the base, account for a number of losses in material. A layer of dirt covers the sculpture, especially heavy on the raised areas.¹

Provenance: Made from a cast of a terra cotta (no longer extant) owned by Gabriel Hanotaux [1853–1944]; by descent to his nephew, A. de Fondscolombe. (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 26 May 1977, no. 50 bis).² (sale, Sotheby's, London, 29 March 1984, no. 523).³ (sale, Hôtel des Ventes, Enghien-les-Bains, 25 June 1987, no. 208); purchased by the B. Gerald Cantor Art Foundation, New York.

Other Versions

There is a plaster cast *en réserve* at the Musée Rodin in Meudon (fig. 1). It differs from the NGA bust in that the scarf is much longer, flowing down in two sections beyond the horizontal cut of the bust. Also the relief surfaces have a somewhat greater resolve than the NGA bust. The Musée Rodin owns a second plaster, which is not quite as close to the NGA bust. In addition, it owns a plaster head and four terra-cotta heads of Lady Sackville.

VICTORIA SACKVILLE was the illegitimate daughter of Lionel Sackville-West. As a teenager she honed her social skills in Washington serving as her widower father's hostess when he was British Minister to the United States. When Sackville-West's elder brother died in 1888, the family returned to England in order that Victoria's father might assume the title that was now his and inherit the property of Knole. Victoria's marriage to her first cousin Lionel Sackville-West was her guarantee that she would be a Sackville forever, as well as mistress of Knole. Although illegitimate, Victoria Sackville moved in the highest circles of British society, and her vivacity and beauty attracted an im-



Auguste Rodin, *Victoria Sackville-West, Lady Sackville*, 1988.54.1



Fig. 1 Auguste Rodin, *Lady Sackville*, plaster, 1914, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 2823, photograph by Adam Rzepka, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York / ADAGP, Paris

pressive string of admirers and lovers including J. P. Morgan, Lord Kitchener, William Waldorf Astor, and Sir Edwin Lutyens.

Rodin's portrait of Lady Sackville is one of the last portraits he ever made.⁴ She had entertained the idea for some time, probably ever since Rodin made the portrait of her close friend, Mary Hunter, in 1904. That portrait had made Mrs. Hunter the "happiest woman in the world."⁵

It was not until the spring of 1913, when Rodin visited Lady Sackville at Knole, that they got down to business and talked about a commission. Both were at loose ends, each having seen a serious relationship end the previous year: Lady Sackville's "soul" friend, Sir John Scott, died (leaving her a great deal of money); and Rodin terminated his long-term affair with the duchesse de Choiseul.

Rodin was not eager to undertake this commission, but he clearly wanted to please Victoria Sackville. And he wanted to spend time with her. A few days after she escorted him to a Louis XIV costume ball at Albert Hall, all the while looking "after him as if he was my father,"⁶ Rodin overcame his hesitation: He would do her portrait—in marble and in bronze—for 30,000 francs.⁷ He reiterated his reservations about busts because he was so busy, and be-

cause busts "give me more grief and more pleasure than my other work." Then, in a typical burst of generosity, especially when a pretty woman was involved, he added: "[I]f you wish you can criticize and redo the estimate of the cost."

Lady Sackville was in Paris the following September, but she was too busy shopping to see Rodin. Finally, she wrote from Knole that she would like to have a sitting on 5 November. She wanted him to do her with a boa around her neck, holding one end in her hand: "At my age [51], being almost a grandmother [her daughter, Vita, had married a few weeks earlier] one loses a bit of the contour in the line of the neck, although I have no wrinkles on my face. So please be indulgent and flatter me just a little tiny bit!"⁸

Rodin and Lady Sackville devoted two weeks to each other—morning and afternoon—and out of these sessions emerged the clay study that served as the basis for the plasters in Washington and Paris (fig. 2). Sackville described Rodin wearing his "long cape and a big velvet Tam o'Shanter" as he worked. He wanted her "fully décolletée" for their sessions, which made her feel shy. "He does my two profiles and back and full-face."⁹ At first she hated it: "perfectly hideous up to now. I look like a fat negress with pouting lips."¹⁰ Ten days later she was encouraged: "Rodin never did my head better than this morning." By the following day it was: "so beautiful now, although a little sad or



Fig. 2 Rodin in the Hôtel Biron examining the clay head of Lady Sackville, photograph by Pierre Choumoff, 1915–1916, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 872

serious.”¹¹ It was clear to Lady Sackville how much work was going into this bust, much more work than in any of her painted portraits by Paul Helleu (1859–1929), John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), and Charles Carolus-Durand (1838–1917).

As the days wore on, sitter and sculptor became better acquainted, and they were able to confess their mutual loneliness to one another. Rodin begged Sackville to join Rose Beuret and himself on the Riviera, where the couple planned to spend the winter months. He promised Lady Sackville he would devote his full time to her portrait.

Two weeks in Rodin’s studio moved Victoria Sackville, as it had Kate Simpson, to begin to think about acquiring a collection of his works. After her departure, Rodin wrote to try to give some order to the many threads that had run through their conversation:

1st the bust. I am working on it and I am convinced that it is on the path to a beauty which slowly appears. As you know the price has been put aside and depends on your modification. You want *The Thinker*—that would be eight thousand francs to add to the bust. The little sketch, 18th century type in terra cotta, 5,000 francs.

He told her that *The Hand of God* was impossible, but that he would send some little terra cottas. She should not, however, count on these “proofs of friendship” as being the basis for a collection of true value. He planned on taking the bust with him to the Riviera where he would be waiting for the joy of the “big model’s” arrival.¹²

By the end of February, Rodin was in Menton. He took the bust with him, and the “big model” showed up almost immediately. When she saw the work he had in tow, she was horrified, likening its features to those “of a fat negress.”¹³ Rodin said it was finished; he intended to work only on the drapery. But Sackville wanted the bust she saw in Paris and paid him 5,000 francs for it on the spot. He gave her a receipt, indicating that he was not pleased: “He told me how severe I had been . . . when I criticized the bust.”¹⁴ Gabriel Hanotaux, the distinguished historian/politician and Rodin’s friend, was on hand to make it clear to Lady Sackville that she was getting a bust for far less than Rodin usually charged and further that Rodin did not want to do portraits anymore. This had been a favor.

By the middle of March, Sackville was in Italy, and whatever falling out had occurred over the bust, it was not enough to keep her from sending a stream of letters from Siena, Perugia, Rome, Naples, and Orvieto, and from demanding a note from Rodin be waiting at each stop in her itinerary.

Although we lack certain documentation, what seems most likely is that Rodin gave the clay version of the portrait he had brought from Paris—the one Lady Sackville expressed as not interesting to her—to Hanotaux, and that a cast was taken from this, the one now in the National Gallery.

The bust has a wonderfully stylish, contemporary aura about it. Rodin used the “boa,” which he seems to have turned into a muffler, in establishing the asymmetry: a sim-



Fig. 3 Auguste Rodin, *Lady Sackville*, marble, 1914–1916, Paris, Musée Rodin, S 809, photograph by Bruno Jarret, 1997 Artists Rights Society, New York/ADAGP, Paris

ple right shoulder contrasts sharply to the sequence of ruffled planes on the left shoulder. The face, its chin up, projects over the horizontal line of the thick cloth. Lady Sackville’s abundant hair—Victoria Sackville was famous for her spectacular hair—is swept up in the back and seems almost to rest on her muffler. The result gives a gentle backward diagonal line to the whole bust, and is related to the position of the head Rodin examines in the photograph taken in the Hôtel Biron. The result is a raised nose and a saucy, pert look. Lady Sackville was right: the lips are thicker than what we see in her photographs. The splendid eyes are made expressive by the addition of irregular blobs of clay in horizontal ridges, above which Sackville’s finely shaped eyebrows are lightly scratched into the clay. The aureole of curls that framed Sackville’s face in her middle years, here—as in life—helps to give the portrait the feeling of youth that she so desperately wanted.

On 17 November 1917, the day of Rodin’s death, Lady Sackville wrote in her diary: “I shall write at once to M. Bénédite to claim my bust.”¹⁵ Her personal records for the following May indicate that Bénédite agreed to her claim of having paid 30,000 francs for a marble, a bronze, and seven *maquettes*. They would be delivered.¹⁶

When Lady Sackville died in 1936 she was estranged from her daughter and her grandsons. They seem not to have known what works by Rodin she owned, nor whether she ever received a portrait.¹⁷ Documents, however, make it clear that there were two marble versions, both carved by Aristide Rousaud, one between 1914 and 1916, the other in 1917. Nicole Barbier, former curator of the Musée Rodin, believes that the first is the one in the Musée Rodin (fig. 3), and the second, which Rodin never saw after it was carved, was delivered to Lady Sackville.¹⁸ Its present location is unknown.

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Jack Flotte, NGA Object Conservation department (April 1996).
2. Information provided by Drouot sales catalogue in the files of the Musée Rodin, Paris. A curator from the museum has written in script: "Provenant de la collection Fondscolombe, neveu de G. Hanotiaux. Cachet en métal HG derrière l'épaule droite. l'écharpe ne débord pas du platre."
3. *Impressionist and Modern Paintings and Sculpture, Part II*, Sotheby's, London, 29 March 1984, no. 523. The year on the title page of the sale catalogue is incorrectly printed as 1983.
4. The only portraits he did after Lady Sackville's bust were of Pope Benedict XV (1915) and Etienne Clémentel (1915–1916).
5. Letter from Mary Hunter to Rodin dated 8 December 1904 (MRA).
6. Lady Sackville's diary, now in the Lilly Library, Indiana University. Quoted in Grunfeld 1987, 614.
7. Rodin wrote Sackville on 8 and 9 June, saying essentially the same thing in both letters, making the terms more specific in the second. Beausire, Cadouot, and Vincent 1992, vol. IV, 42–43. Rodin was offering Sackville a slightly better price than what he charged the American millionaires Harriman, Pulitzer, and Ryan (see p. 399), all of which were priced at 35,000 francs for a marble and a bronze.
8. Vita Sackville-West's friend Violet Trefusis described Lady Sackville in terms of "her vivacity, effervescence, like new wine in an old bottle. She was a woman of c. 50. In her too fleshy face, classical features sought to escape from the encroaching fat. An admirable mouth, of a pure and cruel design, held good." Quoted in Philippe Jullian and John Phillips, *The Other Woman, A Life of Violet Trefusis* (Boston, 1976), 23.
9. Sackville diary, entry for 5 November 1913; in Nicholson 1970, 38.
10. Sackville diary, entry for 7 November 1913; in Nicholson 1970, 38.
11. Sackville diary, entries for 16 November and 17 November 1913; in Nicholson 1970, 41.
12. Beausire, Cadouot, and Vincent 1992, 54.
13. Sackville diary (date unknown); in Hare 1985, 621.
14. Sackville diary, entry for 8 March 1914; in Nicholson 1970, 41.
15. Nicholson 1970, 43.
16. Sackville diary, entry for 18 May 1918; in Nicholson 1970, 43.
17. Nicholson 1970, 42–43.
18. Barbier 1987, 76.

References

- 1927 Grappe: 114.
 1944 Grappe: 136–138.
 1970 Nicholson: 37–43.
 1981 Rosenfeld, Daniel. "Rodin's Carved Sculpture," in NGA: 99–100.
 1985 Hare: 617–624.
 1987 Hare: 372–381.
 1987 Barbier: 76–77.
 1987 Grunfeld: 613–618.
 1993 Butler: 483–487.

1942.5.22 (A-86)

Hand of Rodin with a Female Figure

1917

Plaster, greatest extension: 22.9 (9)

Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson

Technical Notes: The weight of this hand indicates that it is a solid cast. It was made through the use of a piece mold in at least eight sections, although the seam lines are barely evident. The plaster that was used for this life-cast is a very fine-grained material allowing all the details and lines of an old man's worn hand to be reproduced with great accuracy. The torso that was slipped into the hand at a later date was affixed to it through the use of wet plaster. Mold lines on this cast have been smoothed out, so that only a faint line down each thigh is visible. There is a pale gray wash over both the hand and the figure, although the coloration of the hand is darker.¹

Provenance: Mrs. John W. Simpson, New York, 1921(?).²

Exhibited: NGA 1946, no. 14, as *Study of Hand and Figure*. NGA 1965. NGA 1981, no. 138.

Other Versions

The Musée Rodin owns several examples in plaster of the *Hand of Rodin with a Female Figure*. Paul Cruet, the mold-maker who fashioned the hand, gave his cast to the Musée d'Issy les Moulineaux. The MMA has a plaster cast, which was donated by Rodin's American student Malvina Hoffman. Following the Armistice in 1918, Léonce Bénédict asked Hoffman to help him put some order into the collection at the Hôtel Biron. The hand—inscribed "a/Malvina Hoffman/1919"—was in recognition of her work. There are early bronze casts of Rodin's hand in the Musée Rodin, Paris, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Washington County Museum of Fine Arts in Hagerstown, Maryland. In 1971 the Musée Rodin issued a new bronze edition. B. G. Cantor bought several of these casts and made gifts of them to the Los Angeles County Museum, The Brooklyn Museum, and the Stanford University Art Gallery.

IT IS INTERESTING to note that when this gift came to the National Gallery in 1942, the ability to see and understand Rodin's art was still so uncertain that the piece was called "Study for the Hand of God."³ The juxtaposition of the hand, which was cast from Rodin's own hand and reveals all the details of lines and excess flesh, and his own creation, the fragment of the tiny torso, are so clearly different to our eyes today that it is difficult to imagine how someone once saw this as a sculpture by Rodin.

The work is not a sculpture by Rodin, but an icon that came into being in the period following his death. A few weeks before the artist died, Léonce Bénédict, curator of the new Musée Rodin, asked Paul Cruet, one of Rodin's mold-makers, to take a cast of Rodin's hand.⁴ Sometime after Rodin's death, it was determined that the torso we now call *Petit Torse assis A* (which appears to be a fragment of the Aurora figure, see p. 383) be inserted into the fingers.



Auguste Rodin, *Hand of Rodin with a Female Figure*, 1942.5.22

We can read it as a memento, a work to remind us of the artist as he was in life, examining his sculpture, turning it over in his hand as he did a thousand times. Or, we can interpret it as a restatement of the central metaphor of Rodin's work: the sculptor as a godlike figure who can bring forth life.

On another level this is a very twentieth-century work, for it arises as the result of combining two different realities, one a "photographic" reproduction, the other a work of art, the resulting sum being an assemblage realized through collaboration.

RB

Notes

1. Technical Examination Report submitted by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (1996).
2. This work could only have been given to Mrs. Simpson after Rodin's death in November 1917, and presumably after the end of

the war in November 1918. The most likely time for Léonce Bénédicté, the first director of the Musée Rodin, to have made such a gift was in 1921, when Mrs. Simpson donated funds to restore Rodin's home in Meudon. She had been there in the spring of 1921 and told Bénédicté how disturbed she was by its dilapidated state (Musée Rodin curator's files).

3. Original accession card (in NGA curatorial files).
4. Cladel 1936, 402.

References

- 1927 Grappe: 119.
1936 Cladel: 402.
1944 Grappe: 139.
1967 Descharnes and Chabrun: 271.
1969 Elsen: 28.
1976 Tancock: 637–638.
1983 Schmoll: 83, 120.
1987 Ambrosini and Facos: 141.
1990 Pinget: 174.
1992 Barbier: 84.
1995 Didi-Huberman: 105–107.

Auguste Rodin and Kate Simpson Artist and Patron—A Perfect Match¹

IN EVERY ROOM in which I live there is something beautiful of you . . . admiring these works is a great part of my life.” Rodin’s most important American patroness wrote these words to him in February of 1908 (fig. 1). A few weeks later he returned the compliment by writing of his pleasure at her remarks and lamenting the way men are called “*des Mécènes*,” when there was no proper word for women who encourage artists. In the same letter he referred to the bill she had requested for *The Age of Bronze*, the full-scale cast she had recently given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art: “[I]t’s up to you to set a price that is noticeably lower than what I usually ask in recognition of our friendship—and please, do not hurry.”

The Simpson collection, the centerpiece of the National Gallery’s Rodin holdings, exists thanks to the unusually devoted artist-patron relationship that existed

between Auguste Rodin and Mrs. John W. Simpson. It is not that Rodin did not have other enthusiastic clients to whom he responded with generosity and warmth—the German ophthalmologist Max Linde and the British socialite Victoria Sackville come to mind—but Kate Simpson was in a class by herself. And as far as she was concerned Rodin was *her* artist. In her regard he had no competitors. She saw herself as Rodin’s most credible ambassador in America, opening her home on Fifth Avenue—“my museum”—to all serious lovers of his art. During the war, Simpson acted as an agent for potential Rodin purchases by the museums of St. Louis, Cleveland, and Buffalo. She was horrified when she discovered that “stores of the type of the Bon Marché” were selling reductions of his works: “I beg you never to sell your works outside of museums. Ask me before you give them to anyone except to particular persons like myself” (letter 55).

Kate Simpson was certainly not the first American to be attracted to Rodin’s work. Truman H. Bartlett, sculpture professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote about Rodin in the 1880s and then promoted his work in Boston. He was followed by Henry Adams, who purchased Rodin sculptures with Henry Lee Higginson’s money, works that would initiate a Rodin collection for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.² Sarah Tyson Hallowell, who took responsibility for many fine art exhibitions in Chicago, was a great connoisseur of modern French art, and in her capacity as curator of the famous “Loan Exhibition of Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States” at the 1893 Columbian Exposition, she was able to insert works by Rodin. By 1900 the American dancer Loïe Fuller had become Rodin’s friend and was eager to organize the first Rodin exhibition in the United States. Her show took place at the National Arts Club in New York in May 1903 and it included some twenty works. But none of these individuals had Kate Simpson’s staying power, nor did any of them make their way into Rodin’s affections in the way that she did. The interest and activities of the artist’s other American admirers have been recorded for history, but only Kate Simpson’s work continues to exist so concretely as it does in the National Gallery’s collection of works by Rodin.

What was the impulse that led this wealthy New York matron to bring Rodin and his sculpture into the very



Fig. 1 Portrait of Kate Simpson, photograph by T. H. Voigt, 1906, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 1656

center of her life in the early years of the twentieth century? Certainly her collector's impulse was a natural inheritance from her father, George Ingraham Seney, New York financier, philanthropist, and collector. The bulk of Seney's collection of modern paintings—both European and American—was sold at auction in 1885, though he retained enough works to be able to make an important donation to the Metropolitan Museum of Art a few years later. Seney's advisor in building his collection had been Samuel Putnam Avery, the man responsible for the single Rodin sculpture owned by the Metropolitan—*Head of Saint John the Baptist*—before the Simpsons entered the picture.

Kate Seney married John Woodruff Simpson in 1889.³ A successful corporate lawyer who had recently created his own New York firm, John Simpson did not bring a habit of collecting into his marriage. The grandson of an immigrant farmer from Scotland who settled in East Craftsbury, Vermont, and the son of James Simpson, businessman and a person of influence in Vermont, John Simpson's tradition was frugal when compared to that of his high-society wife.⁴ But once the money was there, Simpson became an eager collector and connoisseur, especially after 1898 when he commissioned C.P.M. Gilbert to build him a fine mansion at 926 Fifth Avenue (fig. 2).⁵ The works that gave him the most pleasure were eighteenth-century French paintings, and the man who initiated him into serious collecting was the noted Parisian dealer Jean Gimpel.⁶

In August of 1902, it was another Parisian dealer who provided the Simpsons with their introduction to Rodin: Samuel Bing, connoisseur, an importer of Asian art, and the man who more than anyone else defined the style of art nouveau. Bing negotiated Mrs. Simpson's portrait commission and received a fee from Rodin for bringing him new clients.⁷ The Simpsons' first contact with Rodin was undertaken by John, but somehow we have to believe the portrait was Kate's idea. And what an idea it was! Although Rodin became the darling of English and American patrons for portraits in the twentieth century—with the exception of conservative parliamentarian Ernest William Beckett's 1901 commission of a portrait of the woman he hoped would become his bride, the beautiful Eve Fairfax—no one in the English or American community before the Simpsons had made a step in that direction. It is even more amazing when we think of how few pieces by Rodin the Simpsons could have known at that time. There was the *Head of Saint John the Baptist* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the plaster *Age of Bronze* in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia,⁸ and the small collection of Rodins in the Musée du Luxem-



Fig. 2 Simpson residence, 926 Fifth Avenue, photograph, 1916, Museum of the City of New York, The Wurts Collection

bourg, Paris, which included the beautiful portrait of Madame Morla-Vicuna, a sculpture that would later be compared to the portrait of Mrs. Simpson. Maybe it was a visit to the Luxembourg that put the idea of a portrait in Kate Simpson's head. Whatever it was, it opened up a new world for her.

John Simpson made the arrangements through Bing and signed the check, but it was Kate Simpson who made the friendship with the world's most renowned sculptor.⁹ Some years after Rodin's death, Mrs. Simpson told René Gimpel that she sat for Rodin sixty times and that Rodin told her "no model had ever consented to pose for that length of time, and that it was essential to him."¹⁰ Although sixty times somehow sounds like an exaggeration, we can be sure that it was many hours, during which a deep and lasting sympathy developed between these two people, one that we can follow in their correspondence, which lasted until 1917, the year of Rodin's death.

At some point in the second half of 1903 two journalists came to Rodin's studio, and in the company of the sculptor they examined Kate Simpson's portrait. As they were looking, Rodin spoke of his impressions of American women: "Almost invariably there is intelligence in the faces of the women of this nation. But

there is, furthermore, kindness of heart evidenced in the countenance of this model. That is what I attempt to express and it is a difficult task.”¹¹ Of course Rodin knew other American women such as Sarah Hallowell, Loie Fuller, Elizabeth Sherman Cameron—wife of the senator from Pennsylvania—and Mrs. Potter Palmer, who began sitting for her portrait in 1904. However, Rodin’s ideal image of “the American woman” was based on Kate Simpson. And he honored her by choosing her portrait for the Salon of 1904, showing it beside his enlarged version of *The Thinker*. Together they constituted Rodin’s most important Salon exhibition in the twentieth century.

As is clear in Kate Simpson’s first existing letter to Rodin from the spring of 1903, the friendship was a family affair. Rodin had immense regard for both John Simpson and the Simpson’s only child, Jean, born in 1897 (fig. 3). Jean and Rodin had their own exchange of letters and also of drawings. The shift from friendliness to friendship took place during the Simpsons’ second visit to Rodin in the summer of 1903. The letter dated 15 April 1904 is no longer addressed “Chère Monsieur,” as was the previous letter, but “Cher Ami.”

In human terms, there was little arrogance or self-centeredness in the two participants in this correspondence and a mutual respect pervades the letters. We long to have more of the other side of the correspondence. Rodin’s letters to Kate Simpson were surely of great interest—when he cared for someone, particularly a woman, Rodin was capable of opening up his heart in an extraordinary way.¹² But Rodin made his esteem and affection for the Simpsons clear enough



Fig. 3 Photograph of Rodin, Mrs. Simpson and her daughter Jean, taken by Ouida Grant, Paris, Musée Rodin, Ph 80

through the number of gifts he gave them and through the favorable prices for which he sold his pieces to them. This is most obvious in the sale of September 1906, when Rodin sent a marble *Morning* for the Simpsons and one for their friend James Inglis in the same shipment, charging Inglis 500 francs more than he charged the Simpsons. We can be sure the Simpsons got the better of the two marbles.

As for Kate Simpson’s letters, at times her effusive delight at knowing Rodin and owning his works turns into what could be called gushing, for example in her overuse of the word *beau*. Yet we have to make allowances for Simpson’s limited vocabulary and style in French, combined with the excessively emotional letter-writing style of the period. Having met Rodin and spent so many hours in the magical kingdom of his studio, Kate Simpson returned to New York each autumn an exile. She followed Rodin’s life and triumphs in American journals, something that was not hard to do as he was constantly in the spotlight, and when she felt the presence of others in his life when she was in America, Kate Simpson was jealous: “Tell me of the progress of the portrait of the Countess of Warwick—it seems to me that I am a little forgotten this winter” (5 March 1908). By 1908 there was real provocation for jealousy in the presence of Claire Coudert de Choiseul. She was a woman of Kate Simpson’s age and also from New York, although the Couderts did not quite have the social status of the Seneyss. But Coudert had married into French nobility—the marquis de Choiseul—and by 1907 she was moving into Rodin’s orbit with her own serious intentions. In 1909 she reached her goal. We do not know when Kate Simpson found out about Rodin’s affair with Choiseul, although the gossip-mill had plenty to offer and it could easily have reached her ear. The correspondence of 4 October 1910 makes it evident that the Simpsons met “la Duchesse” during their visit to France that year. Her position in Rodin’s life clearly had a negative effect on Kate Simpson’s friendship with the sculptor. Letters became few and far between, and Kate no longer addressed them to “Cher Ami,” but to “Maître,” or even “Monsieur.”¹³ In September 1912, Rodin broke with the duchess. Everyone knew about it, since it was reported on the front page of the *New York Times*.¹⁴ But Kate Simpson delicately waited until she had a more personal report, writing Rodin on 12 October 1912 that she had heard from her sister, who had recently seen Rodin and thus she knew, that he was “all alone at rue de Varenne.” Kate said she was pleased, for “to my way of thinking you have had too many distractions, too many visitors to allow you to do your work in peace. Basically yours is a simple, yet strong nature; you are a world

unto yourself with your thoughts and your work.” Kate Simpson must have been disappointed by such an unseemly affair, one that should have been beneath “the artist of the century,” as she called him (letter 29). Consequently, she took it upon herself to brighten his spirits by redoubling her efforts to promote his work in America. “I feel that you are happy and working and I am sure that for you true joy is in your great art,” she wrote in December 1912, when, in fact, Rodin was miserable. Kate Simpson desperately wanted Rodin to be hard at work and in control of his life and not to be regretting the absent Choiseul.

World War I arrived in August 1914, putting an end to the Simpsons’ visits to Europe. They now spent their vacations on Lake Champlain, where Kate worried and fretted about Rodin, frequently following his movements in the papers. In 1915 Rodin went to Rome intending to make a portrait of the Pope. He wrote to her that he felt it would be his last work, to which she took strong exception, for it “makes me sad. You will always have perpetual youth because your soul cannot grow old” (letter 49). But her most frequent lament was: “When will be the day when we can return to France and find you again?” (letter 58). The last letter we have is dated 20 February 1917, a letter of condolence to Rodin for the loss of his wife Rose Beuret: “Perhaps if I were with you I could help in some way!” Nine months later Rodin himself was dead, and in three more years Kate Simpson would lose her husband John. We cannot help but imagine the two deaths creating a dividing line in Kate Simpson’s life. The spring following John’s death, Kate Simpson returned to Meudon and found Rodin’s home in a state of total disorder. She immediately gave the director of the Musée Rodin, Léonce Bénédite, a check to begin the cleanup, asking him to make an estimate as to what a restoration of the house and the furniture would cost. She wished it to be carried out at her expense.¹⁵ Kate Simpson’s conversion to Catholicism in 1922 was yet another turning point in her life. We find this presaged in her letters to Rodin when he was in Rome for the Pope’s portrait. The project interested her immensely and she terribly wanted to own a cast of the unfinished work (letter 57). The allure of Catholicism, so at odds with Simpson and Seney family traditions, did, in fact, cause a temporary falling-out between Kate and her daughter Jean.¹⁶ Catholicism was surely part of the atmosphere of Kate Simpson’s life in France for which she was nostalgic. More than likely it figured in her conversations with Rodin. Rodin—in no way a practicing Catholic—loved the liturgy, and, especially late in life, he attended mass and talked with pleasure about the faith of his youth.

The letters to Rodin stop and we know no more about Mrs. Simpson, a widow who lived in New York on Fifth Avenue during the twenties and thirties. One thing we can be sure of, however, is that she continued to be a noted figure with the most significant private collection of Rodin’s works in America, a woman who welcomed visitors and students, and encouraged them to know and to relish her treasures.

In the early 1940s, Kate Simpson closed her Fifth Avenue home to prepare for a permanent move to East Craftsbury, Vermont, where her daughter had already taken up full-time residence. As a result, she had to decide to which institution her collection of Rodin’s works would be donated. Her long and close affiliation with the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the role she had played in establishing their Rodin collection made this the natural institution to receive her bequest. However, they had so many works by the artist that giving them all she owned did not make sense, as some works even duplicated those existing at the Metropolitan. So she decided to give only the two that she considered to be the most important: her own bust and *The Evil Spirits*. The gift was made on 25 April 1942. One week later the offer was withdrawn, because as Jean Simpson wrote from Brassknocker Farm: “The National Gallery of Art in Washington has accepted the whole collection, to be left together and displayed as a unit. My mother is, of course, very happy.”¹⁷

The Simpson Collection at the National Gallery of Art is one of the few private collections anywhere that was assembled during Rodin’s lifetime, with his participation, and that remains intact.

RB

Notes

1. I have written at length on this subject in Weisberg and Dixon 1987. Also in chapter 30, “Teaching Americans about Sculpture,” in Butler 1993. All the quotations from letters written by Kate and John Simpson and by Rodin are taken from the letters which are translated and published in this volume.

2. Adams met Rodin in 1895 and purchased his first sculpture in 1900. It was *Psyche Carrying Her Lamp* and he gave it to his niece, Louisa Hooper, as a gift.

3. The wedding took place on 15 May 1889 in the home of Mrs. George R. Sheldon at 89 Park Avenue, New York. Only a few friends were present, and “the bride was unattended” (*New York Times*, 16 May 1889: 8). Mrs. Sheldon was Kate Simpson’s sister. Kate was the youngest of the six Seney girls; she also had three brothers.

4. I have learned about John Simpson’s background from the thesis of Carolyn Cavalier, “The Simpsons of East Craftsbury,” Middlebury College, 1988.

5. I wrote a query letter about the Simpson house to Christopher Gray, author of the “Streetscapes” column in the *New York Times*. He identified C.P.M. Gilbert for me. He also looked into the census records, finding that in 1910 John and Kate Simpson lived at 926 Fifth Avenue with Jean, their daughter, and with eleven servants (*New York Times*, 1 September 1996).

6. In his memoir, René Gimpel reported that: "My father initiated a major client: John W. Simpson, a lawyer. He sold him *Child Blowing Soap Bubbles* by Chardin for \$22,000, and a still life for \$2,800" (Gimpel 1966, 300). Gimpel also mentions Simpson having owned three Fragonards, a Watteau, two Paters, a Gainsborough, and a second Chardin (Gimpel 1966, 302–303, 306, 398). Kate Simpson gave *Child Blowing Soap Bubbles* to the National Gallery in 1942 and Jean Simpson gave *Love as Conqueror* and *Love as Folly*, both by Fragonard, to the National Gallery in 1947.

7. See note 2 in the entry for Mrs. Simpson's bust (see p. 372). Bing also negotiated the first Simpson purchase of a work by Rodin. He helped them buy the marble we now call *Woman and Child* (see p. 351). The receipt in the MRA reads: "Reçu de Monsieur Auguste Rodin la somme de Deux mille francs pour commission sur le groupe Première Impression vendu à M. Simpson." It is dated 24 January 1903 and signed by Bing.

8. See pp. 310–315.

9. The earliest evidence I have seen documenting a Simpson visit to Paris was an album belonging to Jean Simpson at the time of her death. The album dated from July and August 1901 and contained photographs of: "England with Grandma at Eaton and London, and in Paris." The grandmother Jean Simpson referred to was Phoebe Moser Seney, Kate Simpson's mother, who lived with the Simpsons following G. I. Seney's death in 1893. The album was in East Craftsbury, Vermont, shortly after Jean Simpson's death in 1980, however its present location is unknown. The contents of Jean Walker Simpson's estate were auctioned at Sotheby's, New York, on 10 December 1982 (*Modern paintings, drawings and sculpture, dance, theater and opera*).

10. Gimpel 1966, 159–160.

11. Jean Schopfer and Claude Anet, "Rodin." Translated by Irene Sargent, *The Craftsman*, March 1904, 532.

12. We know this best from his extraordinary correspondence with Helene von Nostitz, his beautiful young German friend. She knew the value of her letters from Rodin and had the good sense to publish them: *Rodin in Gespräche und Briefe*, Dresden, 1924; and *Dialogues with Rodin*, translated by H. L. Ripperger, New York, 1931.

13. This parallels the experience of most of Rodin's friends. Choiseul drove a wedge between him and the majority of people he knew before he met her. In the end, it was friends who talked Rodin out of his relationship with Claire de Choiseul. See chapter 33 in Butler 1993.

14. *New York Times*, 16 September 1912.

15. Documented in the curator's files at the Musée Rodin, Paris.

16. Carolyn Cavalier, "The Simpsons of East Craftsbury," *Middlebury College*, 1988, 61–62.

17. Letter from Jean Simpson to Mr. Remington, curator of Renaissance and Modern Art, dated 30 April 1942, can be found in the MMA archives.

The Simpson Correspondence¹

APRIL 1903

I KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue

8 April 1903

Chère Monsieur²

It's been a long time since I have written. I am sick with the grippe and I have been in bed for nine days but today I am a lot better. My little Jean is sick with the same thing. Your letter pleased me so much. Your expression of friendship for myself and for my husband is so nice for us.

Every day I think of you and your goodness and I am convinced my bust will reveal the praiseworthy and superior quality of the feelings that went into it. In your heart I found something truly peaceful and uplifting. If everything goes well we shall leave for Europe on the first of July, to London and then to Paris. What a pleasure it will be to see you?? Did you receive the little photographs?³

Tous jours votre amie sincère et fidèle

Kate Simpson

Notes

1. The MRA owns more than ninety communications—letters, postcards, and *pneumatiques*—from Kate and John Simpson to Rodin, and it is clear from gaps in the correspondence that many are missing. Fifty-five of them—plus three communications from Rodin—are translated and reproduced here. S.A.L. and S.L. refer to signed autograph letter and signed letter, respectively. A.L. refers to autograph letter. Unless otherwise indicated, they have been translated by the author. I have tried to keep some of the rather school-girl awkwardness and repetitiveness of Kate Simpson's French, although that has not been fully possible. The letters selected for inclusion either refer to particular works or give some insight into the relationship between Rodin and the Simpsons. Although Rodin's letters must have been among Kate Simpson's most precious possessions, with the exception of two (here included), they have disappeared.

2. Believing it will give readers a better feeling for the tone and style of the Simpson letters, I have decided to keep the salutations and the complimentary closings in French just as they were written, including all the errors—of which there were many—such as the feminine form of *cher* which Mrs. Simpson uses in this letter. And she was not consistent—sometimes she wrote a word correctly and in the very next letter it would appear without accents or in the wrong gender.

3. Ouida Grant, Jean Simpson's governess, was an amateur photographer and took photographs of the Simpsons' visits to Rodin. Prints of many of her pictures are to be found in the MRA.

SEPTEMBER 1903

2 RODIN TO MR. AND MRS. SIMPSON

182 rue de l'Université
1 September 1903

Monsieur Madame Simpson

- 1 Thinker
- 2 St. John of the Column¹
- 3 Head of Balzac
- 4 Head of Bonaparte²
- 5 Centauress³

Notes

1. Rodin's name for *The Walking Man*, p. 317.
2. The Simpsons never owned *Head of Bonaparte*. Thomas Fortune Ryan purchased it in 1910.
3. There is no evidence that the Simpsons ever received a *Centauress*.

OCTOBER 1903

3 JOHN SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.L.)

Simpson, Thacher, Barnum & Bartlett
25 Broad Street, New York
28 October 1903

Dear Monsieur Rodin,¹

I have seen Mr. Elwell,² and learn from him that, a few days ago, he delivered to the packer, with directions to ship the same immediately to Miss Loie Fuller, No. 24 Rue Cortambert, Paris, the following pieces:³

1. The Thinker.
2. Head of Balzac.
3. Head of John the Baptist on a Platter.
4. The Tempest.
5. Bust of Rodin.

This was done pursuant to instructions from Miss Fuller through the Bank of New Amsterdam here. These pieces should now be on their way to Paris, and I have no doubt Miss Fuller has sent for them, in order that she may deliver them to you; but I suggest that you see her or have some one see her for you at once.

There remain at the Metropolitan Museum, in care of Mr. Elwell, the following:—

1. Fauness and Nymph.
2. A head and hand.
3. A Mask.
4. From the Sea.

These are in a closed cabinet in Mr. Elwell's private office, in his charge. They are not, and have not at any time, been on exhibition in the Museum; neither have any of the pieces now on their way to Paris been exhibited at the Museum.

To obtain the pieces still remaining with Mr. Elwell, it

would be necessary for Miss Fuller to surrender the receipt which she holds. The one which I have is only a copy; she or some one acting for her has the original. In accordance with the rules of the Museum, this must be given up in order to obtain the articles. You must, therefore, communicate with Miss Fuller, and have her send the receipt to some one here representing her, with instructions to give it up at the Museum in exchange for your things. I will be glad to act in the matter if she is willing to send the receipt to me, and, in the meantime, you may rest assured that the pieces are well taken care of and not exposed.

Mrs. Simpson and Miss Jean are both very well, as also am I. We think and speak of you often, and are and always will be your warmest friends.

With sincere regard,

Faithfully yours,
John Simpson

Notes

1. This letter is in English.
2. Frank Edwin Elwell was curator of the department of ancient and modern sculpture at the MMA in 1903 and 1904.
3. The American dancer Loie Fuller had been an enthusiastic friend and promoter of Rodin's since she met him in 1900. In May 1903, she arranged for an exhibition of approximately twenty pieces of Rodin's sculpture at the National Arts Club in New York. When the show closed Fuller made an agreement with the MMA that some of the works might remain on display at the museum for a year. But Rodin opposed the idea, cabling her: "Send everything back immediately." It is clear from John Simpson's letter that "immediately" did not happen and that Rodin requested John Simpson's intervention to get his sculpture back.

DECEMBER 1903

4 JOHN SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.L.)

Simpson, Thacher, Barnum & Bartlett
25 Broad Street, New York
5 December 1903

My dear M. Rodin,¹

The four pieces arrived without accident, and have now been set up in my house, of course on *temporary* pedestals.²

One may say of all of them that they are strong and beautiful beyond words. On the bust it is impossible to speak with moderation; it surpasses all expectation. I thought I had appreciated it before when I saw it in your place, but every time I discover in it new beauty and new power. It is simply overwhelming, not only one of your masterpieces, but one of the great masterpieces of all art. This is not only my feeling and belief,—it is the feeling and belief among many who have seen it here, some of whom are quite competent to judge. I owe you an immense debt for having given me this, and I thank you again from my heart.

I have delayed writing you, hoping that I might send you a sketch of the permanent pedestal for your suggestions be-

fore it is made. The sketch, however, is not yet ready; when it is, I will send it to you, and the pedestal will not be constructed until we shall have heard from you.

Mrs. Simpson and Miss Jean, who are both well, join me in sending you our best wishes. Be always assured of our admiration and of our affection.

Yours,
John W. Simpson

Notes

1. This letter is in English.
2. The four works were: *The Thinker*, *Head of Balzac*, *The Walking Man* ("St. John of the Column"), and the *Portrait of Mrs. Simpson*.

APRIL 1904

5 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN¹ (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
15 April 1904

Cher Ami,

For four months now sickness has been in our house. Everyone has had the grippe but for the last six weeks my husband has been in a state of nervous exhaustion. He is better now and the doctor has ordered a long period of rest. We leave on the 7th of May for Paris and if everything goes well the 14th of May will find us in Paris. What a joy to see your beautiful France in flower. We have never been in Paris in the spring and everyone says it is just the right moment to see the beauty of Paris. M. Benedite² paid me a visit and as always it was a true pleasure to speak of you. I hope you are well and happy—I look forward with joy to my visits to Meudon—to your home.³

Agréez nos sinceres souhaits—

Comme toujours
Votre amie
K.S.

Notes

1. This is the only 1904 letter in the Simpson dossier in the MRA. A letter to Alfred Stieglitz from Edward Steichen, a close friend of the Simpsons' who was being treated for typhoid in a New York hospital, makes it clear that the Simpsons stayed in France through the summer into the autumn: "When you are in Paris look up Simpson to take you to Rodin—he knows you are to be there. Be sure because Rodin will be nice to you then. . ." (letter in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

2. Léonce Bénédite (1859–1925), French art historian and museum administrator. Bénédite became director of the Musée du Luxembourg (France's museum of modern art) in 1889, at which time he made the acquaintance of Rodin. When the Musée Rodin was created in 1916, Bénédite was named its first director.

3. In 1895 Rodin purchased the Villa des Brillants in the village of Meudon, southwest of Paris. Following the closing of the 1900 exhibition, Rodin had his pavilion dismantled and moved, along with his work, to Meudon so that it became not only his home but his atelier and his museum. He loved entertaining foreign visitors there.

APRIL 1904

6 RODIN TO KATE SIMPSON¹ (S.L.)

182, rue de l'Université
29 April 1904

Chère Madame

I feel that I am happy for I have made you content with your bust which you have judged to be very beautiful, the first, and also Monsieur Simpson (who I hope is feeling better) finds himself to be satisfied. This judgment I find both biased and charming.

The judgment is ratified by *le monde parisien* which finds in it a subtle grace, almost more delicate than the grace of the bust in the Luxembourg.² I gave my soul to it for all the difficulties that are encountered when working on the bust of a beautiful woman.

I hope Monsieur Simpson will also be interested by the Bust of Napoléon 1812 on which I am working. I wait for instruction as to his thoughts on the subject.

I saw Monsieur Carnegie who came to visit and who knows Monsieur well. Unfortunately he did not see your bust. He was with one of your relatives.³

It is a lovely and tender spring in flower. It is from my garden that I have written you this letter. This is a moment of pure joy and relaxation away from the work that tyrannizes me.

au revoir chère madame. Comme vous me l'avez fait annoncer dans votre dernière lettre et recevez et marquez à Monsieur et a votre charmante Jean toute mes affections respectueuses et devouées.

Auguste Rodin

Notes

1. When Jean Walker Simpson died in East Craftsbury, Vermont, in 1980, this letter was in her possession. It is now at the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation, Los Angeles.

2. Rodin is referring to how the bust was received in the Salon, where he showed it in the company of his enlarged *Thinker*. One review read: "And such is the suppleness of Rodin that at two steps from the austere chef-d'oeuvre, *The Thinker*, we find a bust of a woman that, by its immediate charm, recalls the well-known head in the Luxembourg" (Alfred Paulet, *La Famille*, 1 May 1904). The reference was to the portrait of the wife of the Chilean ambassador to Paris, Madame Morla-Vicuna, a work that the State purchased in 1888 for the Musée du Luxembourg. A few days before the Simpsons received Rodin's letter, they heard from the Parisian art dealer E. Gimpel, who sent them a selection of Salon reviews. His letter and the reviews are now at the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation, Los Angeles.

3. Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919), the wealthiest industrialist in America. It is surprising to find Carnegie at Rodin's studio, as he did not collect modern art and he objected to having Rubens' name engraved on the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh—"only a painter of fat, vulgar women." In all likelihood he would have had reservations about Rodin's work. What probably brought Carnegie to Paris in 1904 was his work on international peace, and what probably brought him to Rodin's studio was the Simpson relative.

AUGUST 1905

7 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

Hôtel Vendôme
Wednesday

Cher Monsieur Rodin,

Today, my husband, Jean and myself went to see you at rue de l'Université, but, unfortunately, you were not there. We arrived in Paris Monday evening and I have lost no time in paying you a visit. The concierge told me that you do not come to Paris very often, and I hope to see you very soon in Meudon. At the moment my automobile is not working, but it will be fixed in two or three days and I shall come to Meudon. I hope that you are well and that we shall see you often.

au revoir, amitiés sincere
K.S.

OCTOBER 1905

8 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
31 October 1905

Cher ami,

We had a good crossing and now I am home with this life that does not please me at all—I am so content when I am in Paris and with my little visits to you. Thank you for your lovely letter which I received in Queenstown.¹

This morning I left my works (yours, that is) with Mr. Barglaw so that he could fire them.² There are two or three little pieces broken off, but he will do everything possible to repair them. I find that he does things very well and he told me that he has shown in the Salon de Printemps and he hopes that he will please you. He is an artist.

Pensez à moi et m'crivez

souvent—

Comme toujours
K.S.

Notes

1. Late in September, the Simpsons sailed from France to Queenstown, Ireland [Cobh]. Before she left Paris, Kate Simpson wrote to Rodin asking him to write to her in Queenstown.

2. Mrs. Simpson is clearly referring to some of the small works in terra cotta and plaster that Rodin had given her.

NOVEMBER 1905

9 JOHN SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.L.)

Simpson, Thacher, Barnum & Bartlett
25 Broad Street, New York
6 November 1905

Dear Monsieur Rodin,¹

The enclosed draft (FrCs. 5000) is for the "Age d'Airain," payment for which, in order to oblige me, you so kindly postponed until I should arrive home.² Accept again my hearty thanks.

We had a very comfortable crossing of the Atlantic, enjoyed every moment of the voyage, and arrived home in fine health and spirits. We thought and talked much about the three new pieces³ which are to come later, and about the master, their author.

To whom always gratitude and affection.

Believe me,

Sincerely and faithfully yours,
John W. Simpson

Notes

1. This letter is in English.

2. Rodin deposited the check in the Crédit Algérien on 1 February 1906.

3. See letter II.

MAY 1906

10 CERTIFICATE FROM THE CITY OF PARIS

City of Paris
Department of the Seine
Republic of France

Auguste Rodin being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a professional sculptor, residing and having a studio in the said city of Paris.

That the bronze statue entitled *Buste Saint Georges* bought by *Madame J. W. Simpson* from *himself*, on or about the 28 day of *May* 1906, is the first cast made from deponent's original clay model and design of said statue. That said clay model was conceived, designed and executed by deponent personally, and said first cast was made and finished by *himself in his studio*, under deponent's personal direction and supervision.¹

Notes

1. The original of this document in the MRA is a typed form-letter in English. The specific notations in the form have been written in hand. The handwritten words are indicated here in italics.

SEPTEMBER 1906

II BILL FROM RODIN

182 rue de l'Université
29 Sept. 1906

Owed by Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Simpson

	francs
1 marble "Group of Children" ¹	4,500
1 " " "Morning" ²	4,500
1 " " "Morning" (M. Inglis) ³	5,000
1 "St. Georges" (bronze bust) ⁴	4,500
	<hr/>
	frs. 18,500 ⁵

Notes

1. Jean Simpson gave this work, now called *Brother and Sister*, to the Robert Hull Fleming Museum at the University of Vermont in 1942, at the same time the major part of the Simpson collection came to the NGA. The marble is inscribed "Monsieur & Madame J. W. Simpson à leur fille Jean" and signed "A. Rodin 1906."

2. See 1942.5.18, p. 385.

3. In the autumn of 1904, James S. Inglis introduced himself to Rodin as a close friend of the Simpsons. He visited both Rodin's Meudon and Paris studios and then ordered a bronze cast of *Eve*, writing Rodin that he intended to order "one or two of your marbles" (23 December 1904). Evidently when he did order a marble, he ordered one just like that the Simpsons had purchased and had it shipped with their works. Note that Rodin charged the Simpsons less than he charged Inglis.

4. 1942.5.9, now called *La France*, p. 376.

5. On the bottom of the bill in a different script is written: "paid by check end of december 1906. Check on Hollinguer and Davis, deposited Crédit Algérien."

NOVEMBER 1906

12 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
23 November 1906

Cher Ami

The two marbles arrived yesterday and they are installed in my boudoir.¹ What a pleasure to see them again. They are charming, full of grace and for me it is a true joy to own them.

We had a very bad crossing and my little Jean got the measles on the ship. She was not too sick but it gave me a shock. Three days after our return she went out and I am happy again.

I miss Paris—I so love my visits to you so much—the whole artistic atmosphere—our little talks. Write me all your news soon and of the busts that I saw. Tell me of the success you have had with Mrs. Palmer and with the Russian woman.²

My husband and I are both well and I hope that you yourself have had enough rest.

Give my best to Madame Rodin and accept my sincere wishes and thanks for all the pleasure that you have given me.

Comme toujours
votre amie
K.S.

Notes

1. Referring to the *Group of Children and Morning*. See the previous letter.

2. Rodin began a bust of Mrs. Potter Palmer of Chicago in 1904. She was not an easy sitter and in 1906 he was still trying to finish the work. Mrs. Palmer never paid for or collected her bust, which is still in the Musée Rodin. "The Russian woman" would have been Natalie de Goloubef, a titled Russian who lived in Paris. She began sitting for Rodin in June 1905 and had her last sitting in November 1906 (MRA).

DECEMBER 1906

13 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
30 December 1906

Cher Ami,

Your beautiful letter gave me much pleasure. It's full of you, of your art, and of your friendship. Thank you. Each day I have a new impression of my beautiful marbles. You cannot possibly know the joy I have in owning them. I find the bronze bust of St. George so beautiful and strong—and the two marbles, *Morning* and *Love and Friendship*,¹ are beautifully placed in my beautiful Louis XV boudoir. When you come to see me in April, I am sure you will find these beautiful things well placed.² Thank you for your Christmas card—it is so nice that you sent it. We are all very happy—my husband is well, Jean becomes more charming every day, Miss Grant is much better, and as for myself, I am, as always, very well. Write me often. Your letters make me feel so good. It's like a little chat with you in your atelier which is something I always love.

Agréez mes meilleurs souhaits pour 1907 et ne m'oubliez pas. Votre amie sincere et comme toujours,

K.S.

Notes

1. Kate Simpson seems to have renamed this work, which appeared on her bill as simply "Group of Children." See letter 11.

2. The Simpsons, like other American admirers, always hoped Rodin would visit the United States. He probably said he would, although as he was basically afraid of water and ocean voyages, it was surely never a serious consideration.

JULY 1907

14 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

Grand Hôtel Bagnoles-de-L'Orne¹
4 July 1907

Cher ami,

I am very happy that you have your degree and that all goes well with you.² I read in the papers about all the festivities in your honor in London and I am content. My husband feels much better but at the moment he has a cold. We have had rain for two weeks and it is difficult to avoid colds. We do not have our automobile here, so I do all my excursions on foot or in a small carriage with a pony—just Jean and myself; it is quite delicious. What beautiful country!! So tragic and simple and natural! I love it with a great passion. We shall leave for Paris on the 9th for two days, before we go to London en route to Scotland. I shall come to see you at the rue de l'Université on the afternoon of July 10th if that will be convenient for you. I have news of the bronze at the Metropolitan in New York.³ Everyone is delighted and with good reason.

Au revoir cher ami à la semaine prochaine
Comme toujours
K.S.

Notes

1. The Simpsons sailed for France on 7 May 1907; in the middle of June they went to Bagnoles-de-L'Orne in Normandy.
2. Rodin had just received an honorary degree from Oxford University.
3. Mrs. Simpson gave a full-scale *Age of Bronze* to the MMA. The statue arrived in New York on 7 May 1907. The detailed record of this gift is to be found in the MMA archives.

SEPTEMBER 1907

15 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

11bis rue de Réservoirs¹
Thursday

Cher ami,

I have had tonsillitis but I think that it is finished and that I am as good as new.

Thank you for your letter. You are very nice, but why do you think you have done something for which you must reproach yourself? Not at all—you have always been so kind with my family that I do not understand why you might think otherwise. Think no more of it. I am very pleased that you have taken a few days vacation.² You need it. Rest is the best thing and I think it would be good if you took even more days of relaxation. I've been walking in the park—we go to the Trianon park every day and it is a pleasure I shall never forget. Make me a little drawing of the cathedral and send it to me. That would be so pleasant for me. My hus-

band sends you his best regards, and he joins me in asking you to never say that you have displeased us. That would be impossible.

Comme toujours votre amie sincere
K.S.

Notes

1. This address is in Versailles, very near the palace. The Simpsons spent most of September and October of 1907 there.
2. What probably happened was that Rodin had an engagement with the Simpsons and he stood them up. This was the period when his relationship with Claire Coudert de Choiseul—"la Duchesse," as she came to be known—was getting under way. Rodin spent the second and third week of September at Boix-le-Houx, a country home in northern France belonging to relatives of her husband.

OCTOBER 1907

16 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

11bis rue de Réservoirs
1 October

Cher Ami,

What delightful days I have had with you!¹ A beautiful memory that will last forever.

Can you come for lunch with us on Thursday? We can visit the Louis XV apartments before lunch and the little Trianon theater after.

The sun will shine and I am sure we shall have a wonderful time. My husband is truly delighted with your gift and sends you a thousand thanks.² And, as for me, you know very well of my gratitude.

Comme toujours votre amie sincere
K.S.

Notes

1. The previous week Rodin came to Versailles to lunch with the Simpsons and to walk in the Trianon park.
2. Rodin gave the *Head of Saint John the Baptist* (see p. 357) to John Simpson at this time.

JANUARY 1908

17 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
3 January 1908

Cher ami,

Thank you for your very nice letter and for the telegram. Both have pleased me—it is so pleasing to be sure of one's friends, especially when they are so far away.

I have had the grippe, and I am still confined to the house, but now that I am out of bed I feel better. Soon I shall go out.

At the Metropolitan Museum they are about to give a St. Gaudens exhibition—the plasters of all his beautiful works.

Tell me sincerely—what are your thoughts on St. Gaudens and his work.¹ I really want to know your ideas.

I miss Paris terribly, especially the quiet of Versailles. Do you remember our wonderful walks under the beautiful trees? I shall never forget them.

Agréez cher Monsieur Rodin mes meilleurs souhaits pour la nouvelle année ainsi que à Madame Rodin—votre amie en toute sympathie

Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, generally regarded as America's greatest sculptor in the early twentieth century. Saint-Gaudens died the previous August and a large retrospective was being planned at the MMA to open in March 1908. Saint-Gaudens had visited Rodin's studio in 1899, but the two sculptors did not become friends. Rodin would have known Saint-Gaudens' work very well since it was frequently in the Paris Salon. There is no known record of Rodin's opinion on the artist, but since Saint-Gaudens was more or less a Beaux-Arts artist, Rodin might have had certain reservations about his work.

FEBRUARY 1908

18 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
2 February

Cher ami,

It's been a long time since I have had a letter from you. Have you forgotten me? I hope not. I have had great satisfaction here in New York in being able to see the exhibition of your drawings.¹ They are so beautiful and my sister Madame Robinson² bought two of them: "La Serpentine" and "L'homme qui marche." Both shine with beauty and strength. Every so often I admire the ones that I own and I never forget the gifts that you have given me and how much gratitude I feel.³ In every room in which I live there is something beautiful of you, and—truly—admiring these works is a great part of my life.

Do you know dear friend that you have never sent me a bill for the bronze "l'age de airain" that I gave to the museum?⁴ Will you send it in your next letter. The bronze is beautifully placed in the museum—at the end of the staircase across from the entry. I am very satisfied and I am sure that you would approve.

Ecrivez-moi—Souvenez vous de notre amitié.

Comme toujours
K.S.

Notes

1. An exhibition of Rodin's drawings opened in January 1908 at the Photo-Secession Gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue. It was organized by Edward Steichen—a friend of the Simpsons and of Rodin—and by Alfred Stieglitz. Stieglitz wrote to Rodin on 17 January (letter in the MRA) that living with these drawings for four weeks was "the greatest spiritual treat I have ever had," and that "the best element of New York, social and cultured has approached the work. The Amer-

ican woman especially seeming intuitively to grasp the elemental beauty you feel to express in all things." Included in the show were fifty-eight drawings of female nudes. J. N. Laurik described them as "a challenge to the prurient prudery of our puritanism."

2. Mrs. Nelson Robinson of 23 East Fifty-Fifth Street, New York.

3. Included in the Simpson gift to the NGA were six watercolors and two pencil drawings by Rodin, presumably all gifts from the artist.

4. See letter 14.

FEBRUARY 1908

19 RODIN TO KATE SIMPSON¹ (S.A.L.)

17 February 1908

Très Chère Amie

As always your letter gives me such tender pleasure, your thoughts that I forget. Alas my life is so terrible that I am always sick though ready to get well again. I work too much but if I don't do that, I don't know what to do and I get bored but when I do relax I think of you who, by your goodness, has meant so much in my life.

There is no word for women who encourage those in the arts.

Men we call *des Mécènes*.

I was so pleased by what you said about my drawings, that you find them beautiful and that Mrs. Robinson has purchased two of them.

These drawings have not had good luck so far and yet Steichen tells me that in New York they have had a certain success.

Steichen has made a very fine portrait of me and with your permission I shall send you one.²

As far as the bill for *l'age d'airain* goes, it's up to you to set a price that is noticeably lower than what I usually ask in recognition of our friendship, and please do not hurry.

You know how much I love your family, so noble and so affectionate, and after the admiration you have shown for my works, I need to be a friend whose friendship will bring us even closer together.

Affectueusement respectueusement votre dévoué ami

Aug. Rodin

Notes

1. This letter is in the MRA and has been published in Beausire and Cadouot 1987, 28–29.

2. Edward Steichen (1879–1963), who made a pilgrimage to Paris in 1900 with the express purpose of getting to know Rodin and his work. He met the sculptor in 1901 and a real affinity grew between the two artists. Charles H. Caffin felt Steichen's portrait of Rodin with the *Monument to Victor Hugo* in the background (1902) was so extraordinary as a photograph that people were no longer free to argue over whether photography was an art form or not: "The battle is won" (*Camera Work*, January 1903). Steichen did portrait series in 1902, in 1904, and was working again with Rodin in Meudon (mostly on the *Monument to Balzac*) in 1908. Steichen also had a well-established friendship with the Simpsons.

MARCH 1908

20 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
5 March

Cher ami,

I accept your bill as the bill “from a friend to a friend” and I thank you with all my heart—for your friendship—and for your kindness.

Yesterday, I had a very interesting conversation at the museum on the subject of your work (with M. Robinson the director).¹ He told me the museum is in the process of commissioning some works and that he wants to speak with my husband and myself. Rest assured that I shall do my best to see that the museum of New York will have several of your marbles. How happy I will be to see you shown in a decent way in my country. This week we sent four of your bronzes to the museum in Boston for an exhibition.² My house feels empty, but I like to believe that this will bring the public a little closer to you. Every time I see *l'age d'airain* in the museum I am filled with joy. Don't forget to write. Tell me of the progress on the portrait of the Countess of Warwick³—it seems to me that I am a little forgotten this winter. But I think of you with the thoughts of a faithful friend.

Souvenirs de toute ma famille, et reconnaissance de la partie de mon mari.

Toujours votre ami,
K.S.

Notes

1. Edward Robinson (1858–1931), curator of Classical antiquities and then director of the MFA until 1905, when he went to the MMA. There he served as assistant director and curator of Classical art until he was elected director in 1910. Perhaps he was serving in that capacity even before his official appointment and thus Mrs. Simpson's mistake about his title.

2. The four were: *The Age of Bronze*, the *Head of Balzac*, *Jean d'Aire*, and *La France*, which was exhibited under the title “Bust of Bellona” (*Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 March 1908).

3. Frances Maynard, countess of Warwick (1861–1938), an English noblewoman of some renown—she had been the mistress of the Prince of Wales in the late nineteenth century—met Rodin in 1904. She yearned to have her portrait done by him and achieved her goal in 1908.

MARCH 1908

21 RODIN TO KATE SIMPSON¹ (A.L.)

Your reference to my negligence, though said so sweetly in your charming good letter has totally moved me. And while you are praising me, you are also reproaching me which does not go together.² In reality the devil is beating up on me these days and I am so occupied with him that I have no time for angels.

I am taking hold of myself in response to your sweet reproaches and again I thank you.

I shall not let the joy I receive from your letters evaporate without responding quickly and with all my heart which will always be grateful to you.

You are overjoyed to read about the expressions of sympathy for my act. And by that amazing intuition of women you have been the first to notice, and you must believe that I will never forget your active and faithful soul. In spite of all that, I did not respond and you are pardoning me.

I kiss the hand that blesses me.

Thank you for having sent the 4 bronzes to Boston and I am happy to be the only one among the antiques.³ You have understood me.

I send thanks to little Jean for her kiss. It is a kiss that comes also for the dear father and mother.

And the bust remains a glory for me. People still speak of it to me from time to time and I tell them it is in America.

Notes

1. This is a draft, written by Rodin, found in the MRA. Although it bears no salutation and is undated, it clearly follows Mrs. Simpson's letter of 5 March 1908. The writing is rough, the spelling full of errors, there is no punctuation at all, and in general it reveals Rodin's natural penchant for writing in ungrammatical, garbled French.

2. Apparently Rodin is referring to Mrs. Simpson's remark that he seems to have “forgotten [her] this winter.” See the previous letter.

3. This was a loan exhibition of approximately one hundred and fifty antique, renaissance, and modern bronzes that took place at the MFA in March 1908. In some way—although it is not evident in the letter of 5 March—Mrs. Simpson must have misled Rodin into thinking there were no other modern works in the exhibition, which was not true. The works of Barye, David d'Angers, and Fremiet were all represented there, as well as those of Paul Bartlett and Saint-Gaudens.

APRIL 1908

22 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

chez moi
29 April

Cher ami

I have great faith in the sympathy between spirits and your dear letter which I received this morning shows me that you too are thinking of me during these first days of spring. It is the beautiful season and we have thoughts as beautiful as nature herself.

Mr. Edward D. Adams' personal address is 455 Madison Avenue, New York City.¹ The bronzes were truly appreciated in Boston, and last week I had the pleasure of receiving in my home Mrs. Robinson, the sister of our president Mr. Roosevelt.² She came with Mr. Jaccaci³ especially to see your work. She was enchanted, captivated and she showed sincere interest in you and a very intelligent appreciation of your beautiful work. If you could only see me—*chez moi*—surrounded by my works of art, explaining your thoughts

and my own. I am sure you would be pleased. My entire family is in good health. Mr. Simpson worked well this winter, and Jean celebrated her birthday on 25 April. She is eleven now and has developed in a manner that gives us great satisfaction.

Toute la famille me joint en vous envoyant nos sentiments sincères et affectueuses.

à bientôt-votre amie
K.S.

Notes

1. Edward D. Adams, a New York banker, was a long-time trustee of the MMA and a particularly active member of the Committee on Sculpture.

2. Theodore Roosevelt's younger sister, Corinne (1862–1933), married Douglas Robinson, heir to a real-estate fortune, in 1882.

3. Presumably August Florian Jaccaci (1856–1938), a French-born mural painter.

SEPTEMBER 1908

23 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN

Hôtel des Réservoirs¹
Versailles
Wednesday²

Cher ami,

I shall come to see you Saturday afternoon rue de l'Université, around 3:30 because maybe we shall be "*en auto*." Will you sign my bust *cher maître* before it is packed?³ I hope you are a little less tired today. See you soon,

et comme toujours votre amie sincère
K.S.

Notes

1. There are four letters and *pneumatiques* from the Simpsons at this address dating from August and September 1908.

2. The cancellation stamp on this *pneumatique* gives the date as 16 September 1908.

3. See the entry for 1942.5.3, p. 308.

NOVEMBER 1908

24 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
22 November

Cher Ami,

We have been home for a month now and often I think of you. My terra cotta bust arrived in perfect order¹—no problem or accident. I cannot tell you the pleasure I get every time I look at it. The bust itself is in perfect harmony with my boudoir. But, the important thing is that you my friend have thought to give me such a magnificent and exceptional gift. It is too bad that you cannot come and see us and stay a little in our home.

I am delighted to know that Mr. Adams has given your *Hand of God* to the Metropolitan Museum.² Why didn't you tell me? Almost every day visitors come to see your beautiful works in my home. Just now we (my husband and I) have subscribed for your Whistler for the city of Paris. It's Mr. Pennell who has spoken to me about this.³ Write me soon about your health, about your life, and about all those who are dear to you. And always remember that you have in me a faithful and sincere friend.

Mon mari vous envoie ces meilleurs salutations,
Comme toujours
K.S.

Notes

1. 1942.5.3, p. 308 (see letter 23, note 3).

2. Edward Adams (see letter 22) was the cousin of the French banker, Albert Kahn. In 1906 both men ordered marble versions of this famous group. The group that Adams gave to the MMA arrived in 1908.

3. Joseph Pennell (1860–1926), an American painter and biographer of Whistler. He lived in London and was a member of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers, of which Whistler was president until his death in 1903. Rodin succeeded Whistler as president of this organization and then became the society's choice to sculpt a monument to his distinguished predecessor. It was intended for the Chelsea Embankment near Whistler's house, and a subscription was opened in 1906. By 1908, the year the "Muse" for the monument was exhibited in the Paris Salon, there was a movement to have a replica mounted outside Whistler's home in Lowell, Massachusetts. There was also talk that one would be commissioned for New York City. See the *New York Times*, 4 October 1908. Rodin never completed his monument.

JANUARY 1909

25 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
23 January

Cher ami,

I just received your beautiful letter. Thank you. I am so proud of the high esteem in which you hold me, although I doubt if I merit it. It is a great help to go through life with such a friendship and I feel that I have yours. Between you and me there is a great sympathy, one that will last forever. Nothing can change it.

Mr. Alexander the painter (the one who did your portrait)¹ came to see me and to see your beautiful works. He was enchanted with everything and we had a very nice chat about you.

I sent you two photographs, one of Jean and one of myself, for New Years. Did you get them? What do you think, *cher monsieur*, on the subject of coming to America?² I am so afraid that it would be too much for you—we would be so happy to see you but only in terms of what would be truly a pleasure for you, and I think it might be better for you to stay home. The trip is hard and life here is not calm. I say all this because I know it to be the truth. As far as my husband

and I are concerned, we would be delighted to offer you the hospitality of our house and our hearts. But, as you know, we always have the hope of seeing you in France—tell me your thoughts. Everything goes well here and I hope that you are in good health.

I await next summer when we shall be together in the beauty of your garden and the serenity of your ateliers.

Toujours votre amie sincère,
K.S.

Notes

1. John White Alexander (1856–1915), an American painter who went to Paris in 1891. He became a member of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, which held its first exhibition in 1890 and of which Rodin was a founding member.

2. Talk of a Rodin visit to America was in the air. In October the *New York Times* had a long article “Famous French Sculptor Talks of His Coming Visit to America” (4 October 1908), which included quotes from Rodin about how he wanted to get to know American art: “I hear there is something new, fresh, and spontaneous over there.” This imagined visit probably was floated in the context of Rodin’s affair with Claire de Choiseul. And this probably accounts for Kate Simpson’s cool reception to it. A couple of years earlier she seems to have been encouraging such a visit (see letter 13).

FEBRUARY 1909

26 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
11 February

Cher ami

I am happy to have such good news from you and now you must be careful and take care of yourself.

Everything is fine here and from time to time I have visitors to see my beautiful things and especially our *Rodins*. How fortunate I am to have so many Rodins in one house!!

When you have time would you sketch something on the program from the fête de Versailles. Just as a souvenir from that beautiful evening.¹

Steichen has written me that he has succeeded with the photographs taken in the moonlight.² I am dying to see them. How do you find them?

Write me about your health, your work, and everything else.

Croyez moi toujours votre amie fidelle
K.S.

Bien des choses de la part de ma famille.

Notes

1. This must have been an evening they spent together during the previous August and September when the Simpsons stayed in Versailles.

2. In the late summer of 1908—during the period when the Simpsons were in France—Edward Steichen made a ravishing series of photographs of the *Monument to Balzac* by moonlight. Rodin was so pleased with them that he told the American photographer: “You will make the world understand my Balzac through these pictures. They are like Christ walking in the desert” (Edward Steichen, *A Life in Photography*, New York, 1963, chapter 4).

MARCH 1909

27 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
28 March

Cher ami,

I am always content to hear good news from you and appropriately only today I read in the paper that your Victor Hugo will be installed in the gardens of the Palais Royal. It’s beautiful, it’s fitting and I am happy when I know that one of your beautiful works will be well placed in Paris.¹ Just think of it—your “Thinker” and your “Victor Hugo”—have found the best places in all Paris.²

I wait with pleasure and impatience for the drawing you have promised me as a souvenir of our beautiful evening at Versailles. What do you think of M. Sorèlla l’Espagnol—and his works?³ He has promised me to make a portrait of Jean and I hope to have something really fine. I find his art both strong and beautiful.

Every week I have visitors who come to see “my Rodins.” What a pleasure for me to show them, always keeping the master in mind. Bien des choses de la part de ma famille, et de moi toujours l’amitié d’une amie sincère,

K.S.

Notes

1. Rodin was supervising the preparation of the site through the spring and summer of 1909. The inauguration of the *Monument to Victor Hugo* in the garden of the Palais Royal took place on 30 September 1909.

2. An over life-size bronze cast of *The Thinker*, inaugurated in the Place du Panthéon on 21 April 1906, was the first of Rodin’s to be installed in a public space in Paris.

3. Joaquín Sorolla (1863–1923), Spanish painter born in Valencia, whose reputation in Spain parallels that of Jules Bastien-Lepage in France: as a peasant-genius who was very gifted in a naturalist style. Sorolla had a big exhibition at the Hispanic Society of America in New York in 1909, which is probably when the Simpsons would have made his acquaintance.

FEBRUARY 1910

28 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
3 February 1910

Cher ami,

I hope that the terrible days have passed without anything bad having happened to you.¹

Send me a note to tell me that you are well and that none of your beautiful works have been hurt.

Thank you for your charming letter which I received around New Year’s Day. It is always a pleasure to have your news.

Mr. Steichen is in New York at the moment. He was successful with his exhibition,² but I still fear that he is too

much of a poet to succeed with the masses. I find him a great artist and a very fine man. He (like so many other persons) idolizes you. As ever the world is at my door to see my "Rodins" and as ever I am proud to show them!!

Amitié sincere et reconnaissance
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. There was a major flood in Paris in January and February of 1910, resulting in 200,000 homeless people. Money was being raised all over America for the victims of the flood. On 2 and 3 February the *New York Times* ran large picture stories on the catastrophe.

2. Steichen showed a series of color photographs at the Photo-Secession Gallery (also known as Gallery 291), New York, from 21 January to 5 February 1910.

APRIL 1910

29 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
1 April

Cher ami,

Yesterday I went to see your drawings arranged by Steichen—I lent my bronze *Thinker* for the entirety of the exhibition and I can assure you that it provides just the right touch.¹ The drawings have been installed with great taste and the dignified *Thinker* sits like the guardian angel over the show. You are in good hands here in New York when Steichen and I work together. The drawings are absolutely beautiful—you are truly the artist of the century!!! Thank you for the charming letter. But it suggests that you are tired. *Take care* of your health. See you soon. I remain always grateful for the joy you have given me with your work and your friendship.

Comme toujours votre amie sincere et fidelle.
K.S.

Notes

1. Between 31 March and 18 April 1910, Rodin's drawings, Steichen's photographs of Rodin and his work, and the Simpson's *Thinker* were shown at the Photo-Secession Gallery in New York.

OCTOBER 1910

30 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN

Hôtel Vendôme
Tuesday (4–10–10)

Good-bye and a thousand thanks for the lovely drawing.¹ I shall keep it always. My best wishes for a good winter and my compliments to the Duchesse.²

I am always looking forward to good news from you.

Croyez en moi un amie fidèle.
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. This is a *pneumatique* written without salutation.

2. Claire Coudert de Choiseul (1864–1919) married the marquis de Choiseul in 1891. The marquis arbitrarily assumed the title of *duc* in 1909. See Butler 1993, 458. Although Rodin and the "duchesse" had been friends for a couple of years, in all probability 1910 is the first time Rodin introduced her to the Simpsons.

FEBRUARY 1911

31 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
25 February

Cher Monsieur Rodin,

It has been such a long time since I received your lovely letter to which I never responded. You must pardon me and show that you have done so by sending another letter soon. I have been occupied almost all winter with illnesses. We have had in our family (especially mine) some serious operations, but now things are better. Happily my husband and my dear Jean are strong.

No doubt Mlle. Cladel¹ spoke to you about the lectures in New York. I would like to help her, but I think—as does Mr. Robinson²—that the auspicious moment has not yet arrived. The other day at the Colony Club³ Monsieur Chérut,⁴ your former secretary gave something of a chat or a lecture with slides on Rodin. It was very well received and one can talk of it as a success, but for Mlle. Cladel one must arrange a lecture in a grand way that is worthy of *you*, the greatest master of the century.

Yesterday Doctor Oldenbourg (Doctor Bode's nephew)⁵ came to see my treasures. He told me that never in his life has he seen a marble bust as full of life as mine. He was enchanted by the little sketches in plaster, the souvenirs of my wonderful summers in Paris and Versailles.

The Age of Bronze is in *its place* at the museum at the base of the great staircase. I, like you, hope that it will stay there forever. Give my warm regards to the Duchesse and remember that you always have the respect and friendship of the Simpson family.

à votre Santé cher monsieur
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Judith Cladel (1873–1958) had known Rodin since her youth and she became his greatest life-time biographer. Her first book on the artist was published in 1903. In 1911, the duchesse de Choiseul had suggested Cladel do a lecture tour in America. It was an idea that interested Cladel, and at first the duchesse was eager to help her organize it, but the rivalry between the two women became too great and talk of such plans ceased.

2. By 1911 Edward Robinson was director of the MMA.

3. The chic circle of New York ladies.

4. René Chérut served as Rodin's personal secretary from December 1902 to May 1905, again for a month in May 1906, and finally from December 1906 to September 1907. He then emigrated to the United States, where he taught first in Windsor, Connecticut, then in Tucson, Arizona.

5. Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), probably the most prominent museum official in Germany at the turn of the century, directed the Berlin Museum. His nickname was “the Bismark of museums.” Rudolf Oldenbourg was an art historian who studied the history of European painting from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. He published a guide to painting in the Berlin Museum.

APRIL 1911

32 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

14 April 1911

Cher Maître,

It has done me such good to have your charming letter and to feel the sincerity with which you wrote it. As always I thank you with all my heart.

Time passes peacefully here. My husband has returned to normal health, but he feels the necessity of a big vacation. As far as I am concerned, I am always well for I never have the time to be sick.

From time to time people come to see my chefs-d'oeuvre and the name of Rodin is like a dream for the young people. I explain as best as I can although it is never a difficult task for me to speak of the master who has initiated me to the mysteries of his art.

Me too, I await those quiet walks in Versailles where we so often exchanged ideas and especially I was the student of your good advice. I am happy to have the news of the Duchesse. Take care of your health. You are in good hands. Hope to see you soon, and as always with the friendly greetings from my family.

Je reste votre amie sincère et fidèle.

Kate Simpson

JANUARY 1912

33 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue

7 January 1912

Is it you my dear friend who sent me the German brochure on Rodin?

It came a few days ago, but without a word or a card. If it was you I want to thank you with all my heart. It is well done and in it there is a good reproduction of my bust.

Last week I was visited by a very artistic woman—she gives lectures on art. It is a Madame Kalbfleisch who visited you last year and who admires you very much. When she looked at our works, and standing in front of our superb marble, “*Le bon et mauvais Génie*,”¹ I found she was so touched she had tears in her eyes.

You can imagine how much pleasure it gives me to show my “Rodins” to such sympathetic souls.

My best wishes for you and the Duchesse in 1912.

et croyez-moi toujours votre amie sincère

Kate Simpson

Notes

1. 1942.5.17, *The Evil Spirits*, p. 363. This is the first mention of the important marble in the correspondence. We have no record of when it was purchased.

OCTOBER 1912

34 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue

16 October 1912

Cher ami,

I got a letter from my sister Mrs. Robinson who has given me your news. She told me that you were in good health but all alone at rue de Varenne.¹ I have known you for a long time and I know that you are never alone or sad among your beautiful works and when you are working. Rather you need quiet to achieve your great work.

To my way of thinking you have had too many distractions, too many visitors to allow you to do your work in peace. Basically yours is a simple, yet strong nature; you are a world unto yourself with your thoughts and your work.

Donnez-moi de vos nouvelles et gardez toujours un bon souvenir de votre amie fidèle.

Kate Simpson

Notes

1. “Rue de Varenne” refers to the Hôtel Biron, a noble residence on the Left Bank that Rodin took over bit by bit between 1909 and 1911. It was the residence he shared with Claire de Choiseul. But in September 1912 Rodin broke with the duchess. It is strange that Kate Simpson had to wait to hear of this from her sister, since it was covered in journals on both sides of the Atlantic, but perhaps it seemed gentler to raise the subject in a more personal way than to say she had read it in the paper. On the front page of the *New York Times* (16 September 1912), under the headline “Rodin and Duchess Quarrel,” an article described how Paris socialites were talking of nothing else and how pleased Rodin’s friends were with this turn of events because the duchess “had exercised too great influence over the master.”

DECEMBER 1912

35 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue

12 December 1912

Cher Maître et ami,

The good news that you sent me has given me such pleasure. I feel that you are happy and working and I am sure that for you true joy is in your great art.

Recently I had Mr. Brownell¹ for dinner, at another time Mr. Robinson of our museum. We spoke of you, always a subject warm with friendship. Today I went to the museum to see the Rodin collection,² and I can assure you that it is very beautiful and very impressive. Mr. Ryan has lent his Napoleon for a while.³ Send me a letter soon, and accept the

best wishes for a joyous Christmas a happy New Year from the Simpson family.

Croyez-moi toujours votre amie Sincère et constante,
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. William C. Brownell (1851–1928), a New York writer who lived in Paris from 1881 to 1884, at which time he got to know Rodin. He wrote an article about Rodin's work for *Century Magazine* (November 1890) and then in *French Art* (1892) he included a chapter on Rodin and dedicated the book to him.

2. The Rodin Gallery at the MMA had opened on 3 May 1912. It contained forty works of sculpture, as well as watercolors and drawings.

3. Thomas Fortune Ryan (1851–1928), see 1974.29.1, p. 399. Ryan donated \$25,000 to the MMA in order that they might make a large Rodin purchase. As is obvious from this letter, Ryan purchased Rodin's *Napoleon*, which, a few years earlier (see letter 6), Rodin had hoped would become part of the Simpson collection.

NOVEMBER 1913

36 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
7 November

Cher ami,

I have just come back from my second visit to the Metropolitan Museum and today I had a conversation with Mr. Robinson (the curator) about your "Martyr."¹ I explained to him the beauty, the force and the price (sixteen thousand frs), and he asked me to get photographs to him as soon as possible as well as the measurements of the bronze. The little Kodaks that Miss Grant took in Paris did not come out because of the bad light.² So, send me whatever you have right away. Perhaps Mr. Dawson can help you. We had a good crossing and now I am again at home with my Rodins. Monsieur Vitry³ of the Louvre came to visit and he was enchanted with my Rodin collection. My little statue is charming on my mantel—as always a wonderful souvenir of the greatest artist in the world.⁴

Ecrivez-moi et croyez-moi toujours une amie fidele et dévouée

Kate Simpson

You can see how black the Kodaks are.

Notes

1. A figure from the mid-1880s created for *The Gates of Hell*. In the *Gates* it is a standing figure. As a single, enlarged figure it is supine.

2. These were surely taken in the late summer or autumn of 1913, when the Simpsons were on their annual visit to Paris. Three brief communications in the MRA document that they were staying at the Hôtel Vendôme in August.

3. Paul Vitry (1872–1941), one of the leading French art historians of his generation. He had a particular interest in French sculpture of the Medieval and Renaissance periods.

4. This is a reference to a recent gift. The vagueness of the description makes it sound like it might have been one of the terracotta female figures (1942.5.5 or 1942.5.6, pp. 366 and 368, respectively).

NOVEMBER 1913

37 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
7 November
Second letter

Cher ami,

Since I wrote you a letter an hour ago, one of my best friends came for dinner.¹ During dinner I explained the project of your bronze "Martyr" to him and—suddenly he said "I shall give it to the museum!!" I am delighted and I immediately telephoned to Mr. Robinson of the museum who said that the museum is so happy to have the bronze. I told him what I thought would be the best location. It's the room next to the Rodin room, with "The Thinker" and four or five other works of yours. Send the bill for sixteen thousand francs (16 thousand) to the museum because that is the price I gave to Mr. Dickerman, the donor.² I am so delighted, so happy to see another work of yours in our museum and to have caused it to happen. I shall send you a telegraph tomorrow.

Toujours votre amie fidele
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Watson B. Dickerman (1845–1923) also lived on Fifth Avenue. He was president of the New York Stock Exchange and of the New York Zoological Society.

2. MMA 13.22.1.

DECEMBER 1913

38 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
4 December

Cher ami

Your letters have made me so happy. I feel the joy that touches you in learning that your magnificent "Martyr" will be in the museum in New York.

Your last letter which I received this morning is not finished. It is cut when you turn the page. I hope that this is simply an oversight and that nothing is wrong. Mr. Brownell who I see every week is a lively reminder of our wonderful day in the rue de Varenne last October. We always speak of you. M. Gimpel is profoundly impressed by you and by your art. Here we have a sincere young Frenchman.¹

Toute ma famille me joindre en amities et profound respect

à vous cher maître
Kate Simpson

The bronze has not yet arrived.

Notes

1. René Gimpel (1881–1945), a Parisian art dealer. The Simpsons had been in Paris from the previous August through October. In the MRA is an undated note in which Mrs. Simpson informs Rodin she is coming to see him in the company of “M. Gimpel.” Some years later, Gimpel noted that: “it was in fact through her [Mrs. Simpson] that I made the sculptor’s acquaintance.” Gimpel 1966, 160.

JANUARY 1914

39 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
20 January 1914

Cher ami,

Enclosed find the check for 16,000 frs. for “The Martyr.” Could you send me a receipt in Mr. Dickerman’s name right away? Also send a diagram of the base for the statue. It is not yet on exhibition at the museum because they do not know how to put it. Perhaps Mr. Dawson could send me all the necessary measurements.

Bien des chose à vous, en grand hâte

Votre amie Sincère
Kate Simpson

FEBRUARY 1914

40 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
6 February

Cher Ami

I am so sorry to hear that you are in bed. Take care of yourself. When you feel better, leave immediately for the Midi.

Fortunately Steichen is now in New York and he has gone to the museum to explain to Mr. Robinson how “The Martyr” should be installed. Like us Steichen is delighted with the bronze and I remain proud to have been the intermediary.

Jean would be very happy to get a drawing from you.

Mille choses de toute la famille à vous notre grand Maître

Comme toujours
Kate Simpson

APRIL 1914

41 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
10 April 1914

Cher ami,

I received your letter from Marseille (late by a month!!!) this morning.¹ It is just like you great artist to forget to put a stamp on a letter. I went to see “The Martyr” which is well installed in the museum and I am delighted. The donor, Mr. Dickerman, came to see me today and told me that he too is delighted with the statue and he is most content to be the donor. I congratulate you with all my heart—your success with the Hôtel Biron. Finally finished? And what a beautiful museum, worthy of the great master of the century.²

I have something sad to tell you. We shall remain in America this summer. We shall spend the summer on a very quiet farm in a beautiful landscape.

I shall miss Europe’s art, miss Rodin and our visits in the rue de Varenne. Don’t forget me and write me often—always to my address here at 926 Fifth Avenue. Take care of your health. A thousand good wishes on the part of the Simpson family.

Bien à vous comme toujours,
K.S.

Notes

1. Rodin had arrived in Marseille on 21 February 1914 and he remained in the south of France until mid-April. He was both ill and exhausted during this period.

2. By 1912 there was an active campaign to turn the Hôtel Biron, which belonged to the French government, into a museum housing Rodin’s works. In 1914 things were coming to a head and it looked like it would happen, however the government did not enact the order to establish the museum until 1916.

MAY 1914

42 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
4 May

Cher ami,

Your last letter made me sad. I feel that you are not well.¹ With all my heart I hope it is nothing except fatigue. Now that it is warm and beautiful you can breathe the good air again. Why isn’t this Biron affair over? According to our journals it is finished in your favor. Take care of yourself and gets lots of rest.

I am very angry to miss my visit to Paris this summer, but we have rented a house on the shore of a beautiful lake and I am sure we shall find peace there and get a good rest.²

I have not yet received your Cathedrals, but everyone is talking of it as a very beautiful work.³ I would be very happy to have it.

à vous de tout sincérité
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Rodin continued to be depressed and ill throughout the spring and summer.
2. Lake Champlain.
3. Rodin's book, *Les Cathédrales de France*, richly illustrated with his drawings of France's great cathedrals, was published in March 1914.

MAY 1914

43 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
24 May

Cher Ami,

"The Cathedrals of France" arrived yesterday. How grateful I am for your goodness! Now what I want to ask you is a little dedication that I can paste onto the first page. I am so proud of being the recipient of your beautiful book that I want to have a dedication in your own hand. I never knew that you could also make architectural drawings. Dear *grand maitre*, you can do everything. The work itself is beautiful—delightful—full of you, and I will keep it forever. *Thank you* a thousand times. At the museum I asked them to put "The Martyr" on a dark base and to hang a curtain behind the statue. Mr. Robinson, the curator, did this, and I have been over to see the effect—it's a thousand times better. I hold all the works of Rodin close to my heart. I hope that both you and Madame Rodin are much better.

Bien de choses de toute la famille,
comme toujours
Kate Simpson

JUNE 1914

44 RODIN TO KATE SIMPSON¹ (S.A.L.)

Chère grande amie

I write you with the constant thought that you are my great pearl, that you come from pure and beautiful waters.

This is a rare thing in the world, like a beautiful sculpture.

I include the dedication to put in my Cathedral book so that one knows you are a goddess upon the earth.²

a Monsieur Simpson, a votre chère artiste Jean mes respects affectueux.

A. Rodin

Notes

1. The letter bears no date, but someone has penciled on it "June 1914," probably from the envelope. It was among the effects of Jean

Simpson at the time of her death in 1980. The contents of her estate were sold at a Sotheby's auction on 10 December 1982. This letter was among the items purchased for the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation of Los Angeles, which still owns it.

2. See the previous letter.

AUGUST 1914

45 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

Boquet Lodge
Willsborough, Essex Co.
New York
28 August 1914

Cher Ami,

I think of you and of your dear country, which is a little bit my own, every day during this terrible war. I know how tormented and unhappy you are, and I send you all my sympathy and all my wishes that it will soon be finished.

When I think back to the peace of those days of my bust and of the tranquility at rue de l'Université, it seems to me that we are in another world. My best thoughts to you and to Madame Rodin and send me a note so that I know you are both alright.

Dieu vous garde.
Vivre La France
Votre amie Sincère et pour toujours,
Kate Simpson

NOVEMBER 1914

46 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
3 November

Cher Ami

Your letter, which came this morning, gave me much pleasure. I've been so worried about you and Madame Rodin and about your beautiful works, and now I know that both of you are well and safe in England I have more peace of mind.¹ Your museum will be intact and one of these days you will find yourself again in your dear and beautiful France among your works and your friends. I don't want to talk about the war. It's terrible and my heart is wounded, but I love France and the French more than ever and I hold them in high esteem. Thank you. We are all well after spending a superb and restful summer at Lake Champlain.

Send me news as quickly as possible. Are you with English friends? Try to be calm and to rest. Give my sincere wishes to Madame Rodin.

Dear Jean is always painting; she was very inspired by the beauty of Lake Champlain.

A vous cher maitre et ami de tout un coeur sincère,
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. In the company of Judith Cladel, Rodin and Rose Beuret left France for England in September. For a while they stayed in a pension in Cheltenham. Then they went to London and to Mary Hunter's country house in Epping Forest. By early November Rodin knew he did not want to spend the winter in England. He was then briefly in Paris before leaving for Rome.

NOVEMBER 1914

47 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
11 November 1914

Cher grand Maître,

The announcement of your beautiful, generous Gift to London is in today's paper!¹ I am sending you my thanks and all my congratulations. I am so proud that you have done this. Your name will live for always, but now in England where France has found a true ally, your name will be venerated. Yesterday I received your charming letter, but you did not tell me with whom you and Madame Rodin are staying in England. The suffering of your and of my dear country makes me enormously sad. For my part, I work for the soldiers and for the poor overseas and that supports me a bit.

Send me your news often and tell me if you will stay in England for the winter.

Where is our civilization, our twentieth-century culture, in this cruel war?

Vivre La France!!

De toute ma famille notre sincere respect et sympathie,
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. In the summer of 1914 there was an exhibition of recent French art at Grosvenor House in London. It included some twenty works by Rodin. When the war broke out, the works were moved to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) for safekeeping. At this time Rodin decided to give the works—which included seventeen bronzes, a marble, two terra cottas, and a plaster—to the English nation as a gift in honor of the united French-British effort to stop the German menace.

DECEMBER 1914

48 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
7 December 1914

Cher Ami,

I am both vexed and sorry to say "no" to your request that my bust go to San Francisco.¹

I assure you that if it were a bronze, I would quickly send it. But with the marble it is another matter completely.

We do not have packers like those in Paris, but even worse is the railroad. For a load of that weight you need a

slow train and that would take at least two or three weeks of travel with many changes along the way. Now I hope, *cher maître*, that you can understand why I am forced to cable you "no." You know that my bust is one of most precious things in my house and that we cannot run such a risk.

I wish for you with all my heart as well as for Madame Rodin a good year, health, and our dear France *to conquer*.

Toujours à Vous
Kate Simpson



Photographs of *Bust of Mrs. Simpson*, from a scrapbook of Rodin, compiled by Mrs. Jean Simpson, Los Angeles, Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation

Notes

1. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition was scheduled to open in San Francisco in June. Loïe Fuller, in cooperation with Armand Dayot, the arts administrator who organized many of the French sections for international expositions, was helping select works to represent Rodin in the exhibition.

MARCH 1915

49 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
23 March 1915

Cher Ami,

How happy I am to have your news!

Again safe and well in Paris. I am so interested to know that you are thinking of making His Holiness the Pope's bust,¹ but you must not say that it will be your last. That makes me sad. You will always have perpetual youth because your soul cannot grow old. Yesterday my husband

and I went to a sale of art works among which was your bust of Mr. W. E. Henley.² We were enchanted by the beauty and spirit of this bust. And we were ready to buy it, but the bust was sold for an amount that was beyond our pocketbook.

Do you still have the plaster and could you have a bronze made of this bust or even a patinated plaster? If you could send me the price, we believe that the bust would be good and magnificent in our Rodin Collection.

At the moment I am thinking of lending my eighteenth-century paintings for "Les Secours Français."³ We hope to put together a big sum for the noble cause. My sympathy for *la belle France* and for its brave people is always there.

I shall miss—a real hole in fact—not going to France this summer but it would not be prudent. Instead we shall again go to the shores of Lake Champlain which is certainly a very beautiful place and it comforts me a bit for the absence of France, of my art, of my friends and of you. Do write me often.

I wait impatiently for your response about the Henley bust and the price. I am sending a little photograph of the bust that can help you to find it. Please write me the date and anything that has to do with this bust.

Mille choses de la part de ma famille, et de moi,
Comme toujours mon amitié sincère et fidele,
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. In November, while he was in England, Rodin got the idea to do a portrait of Benedict XV. In some vague way he thought it might contribute to the war effort, thinking perhaps he could talk to the Pope about the Allied point of view. Rodin was only able to get the Pope to sit briefly and the portrait was never finished.

2. William Ernest Henley (1851–1903), an English writer and editor of the *Magazine of Art*, which first introduced Rodin to the British public in 1883. Rodin made Henley's portrait in 1884.

3. One of these would have been *Soap Bubbles* by Chardin, which was included in Mrs. Simpson's gift to the NGA in 1942.

MAY 1915

50 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
4 May 1915

Cher Ami,

Your letter from Rome did me a world of good but I am touched and unhappy at the same time for hearing that Madame Rodin has been so sick.¹ It seems to me that as you have said "*La danse infernale*" of this winter is weighing hard enough on you without the sickness of your wife. Give my good wishes to Madame Rodin. I wonder if she has not completely forgotten me. I shall never forget her kindness in my regard in Meudon during those joyous times of summer and our lunches in those bygone days.

I appreciate your generous offer to make the bust of Mr. Henley for me at my price. Would the sum of 2,500 frs.

seem reasonable to you?² At this moment we are not buying art, but this work of yours has so tempted me. It is a profound pain for me to pass yet another summer without seeing you, but I count very much on your letters. Tell me about the bust of His Holiness. Put your whole force into it and the world will have a masterpiece of Rodin, that is to say of a Michelangelo.

Miss Hoffman³ telephoned that she wants to come with Monsieur Roux of "Matin" to see my "Rodins." What a pleasure to be able to welcome one of your friends from Paris!

à vous de toute amitié, et de fidélité,
Kate Simpson

The summer address is Boquet Lodge
Willsboro Essex Co.
New York

Notes

1. Rodin and Rose Beuret arrived in Rome in November 1914, but by February Rose was so sick that Rodin had to take her back to Paris. In April Rodin returned to Rome by himself hoping to get the Pope to sit for the portrait he so wanted to do. He got three brief and deeply unsatisfactory sittings with the Pope, and by the middle of the month he was on his way home with his unfinished plaster head.

2. In the twentieth century Rodin usually charged between 3,500 and 4,500 francs for a bronze bust. See the entry on *Gustav Mahler* (p. 399n. 22).

3. Malvina Hoffman (1885–1966), an American sculptor who met Rodin in 1910 and became his loyal disciple. In her autobiography she wrote: "It was my determined intention to become a pupil of Rodin. While still in America I had studied his work from books and photographs and from the varied and interesting collection of his clay studies, bronzes, and marbles owned by Mrs. John Simpson in New York" (Hoffman 1936, 34).

JULY 1915

51 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

Boquet Lodge
Willsborough, Essex Co.
New York
5 July

Cher Ami,

I'm so pleased to know you are back home—in Paris, and also pleased about the news that the bust of Mr. Henly [sic] is finished. Send it to New York, 926 Fifth Avenue, and at the same time send me the bill.

If you do the bust of Benedict XV as well as you did the bust of Mr. Harriman (also only three or four sittings)¹ the world will have one more masterpiece from Rodin. Mrs. Harriman has lent her husband's bust to our Metropolitan Museum for a certain time. It is being shown in the Rodin Room with your works.

Remember me to Madame Rodin. I am sorry that her health has gotten worse. It is only natural when one thinks

of all the troubles of your dear country—of the sadness in your nation. Believe me when I say I suffer with you.

Jean and my husband send you their best wishes and myself

Comme toujours mon amitié sincère et fidèle.
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Mrs. Simpson is wrong about the sittings. Rodin did not receive the commission to make the railroad tycoon's portrait until 1910, a year after Harriman's death. Rodin relied on photographs and a death mask, something he rarely did.

SEPTEMBER 1915

52 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

Boquet Lodge
Willsborough, Essex Co.
New York
2 September

Cher ami,

Your letter in your *own* hand gave me such pleasure.¹ Today I heard that the bronze has arrived in New York. I'm so anxious to see it, but I will have to wait until the family returns to the city. Now will you send me the bill for the bronze. All the shipping costs are paid.

Your dear and beautiful country suffers and I am suffering with you. You know how much I love La France! So many brave people and the United States has such profound respect for France. Send me your news and also word of Madame Rodin. Try to stay calm and take care of your health.

Votre amie fidèle
Kate S.

Notes

1. Starting in 1899, Rodin regularly employed personal secretaries; most of his letters to Kate Simpson were written by secretaries.

SEPTEMBER 1915

53 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

Boquet Lodge
Willsborough, Essex Co.
New York
16 September 1915

Cher Ami,

My husband is in the city for the moment, and he writes me that he has seen the bronze of Henly [*sic*], and that he finds it so beautiful. He is enchanted! I am happy and content to have one more work by the great artist.

Last spring Miss Hoffman showed me a little bronze of yours. She bought it from an artist I believe. It is a hand cov-

ering the face of St. John the Baptist. Several years ago you gave me a plaster of the head,¹ but I have never seen the bronze. It's as big as this.² Do you have the mold for this bronze? That is for the head and hand *together*.

I am always thinking of you and my admiration for French people grows larger each day.

Send me news of yourself and of Madame Rodin.

Et croyez toujours à mon amitié fidèle et sincère
Kate S.

Notes

1. 1942.5.25, p. 357, Rodin's gift of 1907 with an inscription to John Simpson.

2. At this point on the page Mrs. Simpson drew an oval $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ ins. to show Rodin the size of the head and hand together.

NOVEMBER 1915

54 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
9 November 1915

Cher ami,

I am again in my own home and I have seen my bust of Henley. I swear to you that from every side I am enchanted, and I find *le maître* in every line just as I do with my other works by Rodin. It makes me feel rich and happy. This bust presents all the force and humanity of a remarkable man.¹

I hope that you and Madame Rodin are well and not too overwhelmed by this ugly war. France is always for me—and more than ever—my adopted country and I suffer with you. I am always anxious to have your news. Send it often—I beg of you.

From myself and my family accept our best wishes for the winter and for the end of the war.

Toujours votre amie fidèle
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. The present location of the Simpsons' bust of Henley is unknown.

NOVEMBER 1915

55 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
29 November 1915

Cher Ami,

I have been asked to write you about a bronze for the Museum of Saint Louis, one of our big cities in the West. It would be the first work by Rodin in their museum. The bronze that they want is "The Thinker" in the same dimensions as the cast in front of the Pantheon. Would you respond quickly if that is possible and if you would be able to

do it, as well as the price. This is not a gift, the museum wants to buy it. I am pleased to ask you because I know that it is a good thing from every point of view: for you and for one of our great cities.

My thought is that you do it, but give the price and make everything clear in advance on paper, all expenses included. An artist asked me if you had patented your "Thinker" because he told me one can buy it in smaller dimensions in stores of the type of the Bon Marché, etc. I beg you never to sell your works outside of museums. Ask me before you give them to anyone except to particular persons like myself. Almost every day I have a visit from someone to see my Rodins, and I can truly say that my house is a little museum.

Do you and Madame Rodin plan on staying in Meudon for the winter? With this ugly war traveling is dangerous but I know it would be much better for your health to be in the South.

The bust of His Holiness—are you able to work on it without the model? I really want to see how this bust looks. I wish you good health and much work. It is the best way to avoid and to forget a little the sadness of your dear country.

When I hear from you I will pass it on immediately to the committee at the St. Louis Museum.¹

From my entire family accept the assurance of our great and perfect sympathy.

à vous de toute amitié,
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Saint Louis never did buy a large *Thinker*.

JANUARY 1916

56 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
20 January 1916

Cher Ami,

Yesterday I telegraphed you about sending "The Thinker" to the Cleveland Museum in Ohio. The price is the one you gave of 26,000 francs.¹ The man who is giving the work came to see me and he is a person of taste and of appreciation for your art.²

I've been told that the museum is one of the most beautiful in the world. It is inspired by the antique and Mr. King is thinking of putting "The Thinker" on a large block of black and white Belgian marble!

I am so happy that my country is showing your sculpture and now I am in the process of trying to place "The Thinker" or another work in the museum of Buffalo. You must not sell your works through dealers. I can always help you place them if you ask for my advice.

Send the bronze to the Cleveland Museum, Cleveland, Ohio, United States.

I hope all goes well with you and also with Madame Rodin. These times are really hard but I assure you of my

country's concern and of the profound respect we have for *La France*.

Ecrivez moi bien tot et croyez moi comme toujours
votre amie fidèle,

K.S.

Notes

1. In 1903 Rodin sold a cast of the enlarged *Thinker* to the German collector Max Linde for 14,000 francs. This cast is now in the DIA. See Marandel 1987 (vol. 62, no. 4) and 1988 (vol. 63, no. 3/4). Max Linde, an ophthalmologist from Lübeck, occupied a position in Germany parallel to that of the Simpsons in America. He met Rodin around 1900, developed a deep admiration for his work, and in the early years of the twentieth century lovingly assembled a Rodin collection. Patrice Marandel has published fifty-nine of the Rodin-Linde letters in the *Bulletin* of the DIA.

2. Mr. and Mrs. Ralph King of Cleveland gave *The Thinker* to the CMA in 1917. The following year they gave a life-size cast of *The Age of Bronze* to the same institution.

MARCH 1916

57 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
6 March 1916

Cher Ami,

Would you sell me a plaster of your head of the Pope for my "Rodin Museum?" Say yes and tell me the price.

Would you also do me the favor of sending a photograph of yourself *signed*, to Doctor Davenport West, with *your name*? He is my doctor—young, intelligent—and he likes your work very much, and I want to give him this pleasure and honor. I am so content that your works are getting around in my country. Now one finds Rodin in many cities and I continue to work in the good cause.

My bust remains for me one of the great joys of my life. How you have penetrated my soul!

à vous de tout coeur
Kate S.

APRIL 1916

58 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
3 April

Cher ami

Your magnificent gift to France (our France is it not so?) was announced in this evening's paper.¹ I hasten to send my compliments and my profound thanks. I am touched in heart and soul. Thank you, thank you so much.

I am always waiting for your news, as well as the signed photograph for my good Doctor Davenport West. Have you forgotten this?

Again this summer we shall go to Lake Champlain. When

will be the day when we can return to France and find you again? I ask myself so often. Your last letter gave me so much pleasure. Between us there is a great understanding which will last always and which will never change.

Votre amie fidèle
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Rodin's donation to the French State of all of his art that he possessed, intended to be installed in the Hôtel Biron, was drawn up and signed at his home in Meudon on 1 April 1916.

FEBRUARY 1917

59 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
7 February 1917

Cher Ami

The two beautiful photographs have arrived in good condition in spite of all the discussion about *des Boches*.¹ A thank you from me and from my good doctor. Both he and I are delighted to have them.

I am pleased to know that your health is better, as well as that of Madame Rodin.² Remember me to Madame. I really miss not being able to go to Meudon to pass an afternoon with you in your beautiful garden. One of my liveliest memories is your wonderful welcome. I am so pleased that my country has broken with the Germans. Now I can say that I am an American.

à vous, et à Madame Rodin de tout coeur.
Kate Simpson

Notes

1. Toward the end of 1916, Germany announced that it would begin unrestricted submarine warfare. As a result the United States broke off relations with Germany. This had just happened when Mrs. Simpson wrote her letter.

2. Rose Beuret had been Rodin's common-law wife for more than fifty years. They were legally married on 29 January 1917. Obviously Mrs. Simpson did not know this. One week later Rose Beuret Rodin was dead.

FEBRUARY 1917

60 KATE SIMPSON TO RODIN (S.A.L.)

926 Fifth Avenue
20 February 1917

Cher ami,

The sad news of Madame Rodin's death has appeared in our papers.

I hasten to send you my most profound sympathy.

When we first met you, you led me to understand the debt you owed to your dear wife. You spoke to me of her help with your work and with all the things for which you were indebted to her. With my own eyes I saw her devotion to you. If you have enough strength send me a few words, telling me that your health is good and that you are not too sad.

I really miss not being in France at this moment. Perhaps if I was with you I could help you in some way!

My husband and Jean wish to have their sympathy remembered to you along with my own.

Comptez toujours sûr votre amie fidèle,
Kate Simpson

AMERICAN SCULPTURE



Bela Lyon Pratt

1867–1917

ASCUPTOR OF New England renown and restraint, Bela Pratt was born in Norwich, Connecticut, to a family that prized education. His father was a Yale-educated lawyer and his maternal grandfather was the founder of an early music conservatory in Connecticut. At age sixteen, Pratt began studying at the Yale University School of Fine Arts, where his teachers included John Henry Niemeyer (1839–1932) and John Ferguson Weir (1841–1926). Four years later, he entered the Art Students League in New York. There he took classes with William Merritt Chase (1849–1916), Kenyon Cox (1859–1919), Francis Edwin Elwell (1858–1922), and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who became a crucial mentor and model for his career. After working in Saint-Gaudens' private studio for a short time, Pratt went to Paris, where he trained with sculptors Chapu and Alexandre Falguière (1831–1900) and won several medals and prizes at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. At Saint-Gaudens' invitation, he returned to the United States in 1892 in time to create two colossal sculptural groups representing *The Genius of Navigation* for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, thus becoming one of the new generation of sculptors whose careers were launched at the Chicago fair. At this time, he also began a twenty-five-year career as an influential teacher of modeling in the school of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and an advocate for the role of sculpture in public and private life.

Described as a mild-mannered, modest, and congenial man who loved music and the outdoors, Pratt married Helen Pray (1870–1965), a sculpture student. By 1897 the couple had four children, whom they raised in comfortable circumstances. Over the next few decades, Pratt created a wide range of work, from small portrait busts, reliefs, and memorial tablets to ideal nudes, fountain figures, and public monuments of heroic size. A number of his students became his assistants, helping to turn out this prolific array of sculpture characterized by a combination of technical skill, naturalism, and simple restraint that his contemporaries often described as quintessentially American.

Pratt created a gallery of sculpted portraits of Boston's intellectual community, some of which were featured at the first major exhibition of his works at the Saint Botolph Club in December 1902. His best-known portraits include busts of Episcopal minister Phillips Brooks (1899, Brooks House, Harvard University),

Colonel Henry Lee (1902, Memorial Hall, Harvard University), and Boston Symphony Orchestra founder Henry L. Higginson (1909, Symphony Hall, Boston). His medals and coins included an early medal of Harvard University President Charles William Eliot (1894) and highly praised sunken-relief designs for gold coins in the amount of two and a half and five U.S. dollars.

In 1895–1896, Pratt won the prized commission for six female allegorical spandrel figures carved in granite to be placed above the bronze doors at the main entrance of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. He also designed *Philosophy*, one of eight figures in the library's rotunda, and medallions of the four seasons for the library pavilion.

During a year abroad after his marriage, Pratt exhibited works at the Salon in Paris, including a recumbent neo-Renaissance figure of Dr. Henry Augustus Coit for St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, which won honorable mention in 1897, and a life-sized *Orpheus Mourning Eurydice*, a nude that fit within French academic traditions, in 1898. He also created a *Floral Wreath* for the esplanade of the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901, as well as other architectural sculpture for that fair, at which he was awarded a silver medal for his marble statuette of a nude girl.

In 1909, his terra-cotta reliefs of *Music*, *Drama*, and *The Dance* executed for the facade of the Boston Opera House received considerable attention. His large-scale permanent public sculpture included: a figure of a young soldier at St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, in memory of 120 of the school's alumni who served in the Spanish-American War (dedicated 1906); *The Andersonville Prison Boy* in the National Cemetery, Andersonville, Georgia (1907), a memorial to Civil War soldiers who died in Southern prisons; the *Butler Memorial* for Lowell, Massachusetts (1909), a Beaux-Arts high relief of personifications of *Peace* and *War* reminiscent of the work of Daniel Chester French (1850–1931); and the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument* in Malden, Massachusetts (dedicated 1910). His *Whaleman's Monument* in New Bedford, Massachusetts (1913), features a man, a boat, and a decorative wave in bronze against a granite background on which sculpted gulls fly above an inscription from Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*.

Large-scale portrait statues included a standing figure of Connecticut Revolutionary War martyr

Nathan Hale, dressed in homespun with hands tied behind his back, for Yale University (1908–1914); a seated *Nathaniel Hawthorne* in Salem, Massachusetts (c. 1914); and a bearded *Edward Everett Hale* (1913), with hat in hand, cane, and heavy overcoat, placed on a low pedestal in Boston's Public Garden.

Pratt's long career intertwined with Saint-Gaudens' even after the older sculptor's death in 1907. Saint-Gaudens had begun work on, but never completed, designs for two groups of allegorical figures for the piazza of the Boston Public Library designed by McKim, Mead, and White. Pratt later was awarded a commission for personifications of *Art* and *Science* to stand in front of the library. Also, a controversy had developed over the suitability of a sculpture honoring minister Phillips Brooks, left incomplete at Saint-Gaudens' death but finished by his former studio assistants and installed on the lawn of Trinity Church, Boston, in 1910. Pratt was commissioned by an opposition group to make a replacement statue of Brooks in 1916, but a legal battle prevented its placement and it did not gain a permanent home until 1925 (North Andover common, Massachusetts).

Contemporary critics regularly noted that much of Pratt's subject matter and style fit within "the Saint-Gaudens tradition" for a sculpture of "noble dignity" at the turn of the century.¹ Pratt's work was described, however, as lacking the French nervousness of his master and containing a greater American character of reserve. In the twentieth century, Pratt has continued to be described as "a Connecticut Yankee of Puritan stock" who became a missionary for sculpture's role in New England.² Pratt was active until his death of heart disease on 18 May 1917, when he was working on his statue of Alexander Hamilton for Chicago's Grant Park. A retrospective exhibition of 125 of his works was held at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston in the spring of 1918.

CYNTHIA J. MILLS

Notes

1. Christian Brinton, "Bela Pratt," *Century* 56 (September 1909), 723.
2. Kozol 1986, 309.

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Kozol 1986: 309–322.

1992.80.1

Clara and Lizzie, Daughters of Frederick and Elizabeth Shattuck

Model 1893; cast 1894

Bronze oval, 60.6 × 57.8 × 4.2 (23⁷/₈ × 22³/₄ × 1⁵/₈)

Gift of John Goelet in honor of J. Carter Brown

Inscriptions

In raised letters across the top: DAUGHTERS OF FREDERICK AND / ELIZABETH SHATTUCK

In raised letters on right behind sitter: LIZZIE

In raised letters on left behind sitter: CLARA

Inscribed at bottom right: B. L. Pratt 1893

Cold-stamped in cursive text in surface of outer edge below relief after casting: Cast by Lorme & Aubry. / New York. 1894.

Technical Notes: The sculpture is an oval, open-backed relief that appears to have been sand cast in one piece. The height of relief ranges from approximately 1 centimeter in the shoulders of the sitters to less than 0.3 centimeters in their hands. A subtle surface texturing is present overall. Details such as the lace of the girls' dresses and locks of hair were created on the model before casting. There is no evidence of any cold-work to enhance the details. After casting, the surface was filed and chased to eliminate unsightly remnants from the casting process. Most of these marks are masked by the patina, but some file marks are visible on the outer edge.

The foundry mark indicates that the piece was cast in bronze in 1894 by A. T. Lorme & E. Aubry, a partnership operating in New York from 1894 to 1896.¹ The bronze alloy used was 92% copper, 4.7% tin, 2.8% zinc, 0.2% lead, and 0.1% nickel, with traces of silver and iron. The patina consists of a warm brown underlayer over which a black pigmented wax was applied. The wax serves to darken the appearance of the piece without concealing the brown layer beneath.

The sculpture is in good and stable condition. A few scattered areas of corrosion are present on Clara's right sleeve and Lizzie's left sleeve. A two-inch-long scratch is found on Lizzie's left



Bela Lyon Pratt, *Clara and Lizzie, Daughters of Frederick and Elizabeth Shattuck*, 1992.80.1

sleeve, with smaller, parallel scratches nearby. Higher relief areas are slightly worn overall. Two areas of abrasion are visible on Clara's hair.²

Provenance: Frederick and Elizabeth Shattuck, Boston; by descent in the family of the sitters. (Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York); sold 8 February 1984 to John Goelet, New York.³

Exhibited: *Sculpture by Bela Lyon Pratt*, Saint Botolph Club, Boston, 1907–1908, no. 6, as *Daughters of Dr. F. C. Shattuck*.

THIS BRONZE RELIEF presents a dual portrait of Clara Lee Shattuck (1883–1921) and her older sister Elizabeth Perkins Shattuck (1881–1977), the daughters of prominent Boston physician Frederick Cheever Shattuck (1847–1929) and his wife Elizabeth Perkins Lee Shattuck (1845–1931). According to a family account, sculptor Bela Pratt was struck by the girls' appearance when he saw them traveling on a Boston tram car with their mother. He introduced himself to Mrs. Shattuck, telling her that he would like the privilege of modeling a bas-relief of her daughters, who were about ten and twelve years old at the time. Mrs. Shattuck accepted and was so satisfied with the result that she asked Pratt to do a second bas-relief in 1894, this time of herself and Clara (fig. 1).⁴

Pratt soon became a "close friend of the family," which also included twin sons George Cheever Shattuck (1879–1972) and Henry Lee "Harry" Shattuck (1879–1971) (fig. 2). George Shattuck later recalled fondly that the sculptor dined with the family once a week. "Frequently after dinner, he played his guitar and sang for us in a deep bass voice."⁵ The Shattuck family, well-situated in Boston society, became an influential patron of Pratt's work, helping him to gain other private and public commissions in future years.⁶

In the sensitively rendered relief of Clara and Lizzie, the two girls face each other in profile and wear long-sleeved dresses, the high collars decorated with lace. Both have similarly bobbed hair styles. The girls are further connected by



Fig. 1 Bela Pratt, *Elizabeth Shattuck and Her Daughter Clara*, bronze relief, 1894, private collection



Fig. 2 Elizabeth, Henry, George, and Clara Shattuck, c. 1885–1886, private collection

their clasped hands at the bottom center of the relief. The echoing circles of the child's hoop that Clara holds and the rounded shape of the bronze tondo reinforce a sense of sibling intimacy.

Lizzie, the older sister, is represented as physically larger, adding variety to the mirrorlike symmetry of their pose. Her hand rests over Clara's right hand, which holds the stick used in hoop play. Lizzie's dress also appears to be situated slightly closer to the viewer, as her dress and right hand overlap her sister's form. Lizzie holds a daisy in her right hand, possibly an oxeye daisy, a wildflower commonly found in New England meadows in summer and fall. A similar bloom is behind her, with other leaves interspersed in very low relief across the lower background.⁷

The surface of the girls' dresses is subtly modulated, with the sense of swirling brushstrokes in the modeling on the sleeves, which are in highest relief at the shoulder. The sculptor creates a clear contour for the faces and forms of the sisters and he catches the childish tilt of Lizzie's upper lip. Each girl's hair is a little unkempt, with a few lines incised at the back of the head to suggest uncombed strands and which enliven the composition.

At top center, the title identifies the children as belonging to Frederick and Elizabeth Shattuck. Lizzie's head bumps up against the "k" of the word Shattuck. Each girl's name appears in raised roman capital letters behind her, on a slightly different level from her sister's. The line delineating the horizon also is on a different level behind each girl.

Pratt framed his relief by placing a raised edge all the way around the tondo, with enough irregularity of width to keep it from looking mechanically even. It is bordered on its interior edge with a pattern of elongated diamonds alternating with small circles.

The relief bears many parallels to the kind of touching details and tasteful use of lettering that Pratt may have learned from Saint-Gaudens, who created a great popularity in the Gilded Age for sculpted reliefs similar to fifteenth-century Florentine relief productions. Nineteenth-century arts critic Adeline Adams was among a number of writers who described Pratt's early portrait reliefs as "in the manner of Saint-Gaudens."⁸ Pratt's sculpture of the two Shattuck daughters is in higher relief, however, than Saint-Gaudens' *Charles Stewart Butler and Lawrence Smith Butler* (see p. 455), applying a firmer, less delicate touch than that found in Saint-Gaudens' work. The contour of Saint-Gaudens' Butler boys, for instance, is drawn with a sunken line, while the sleeve of Lizzie Shattuck is cleanly raised.

The artist has given the Shattuck sisters a mood of inward contemplation and detachment from the adult world, partly a result of their static pose, lack of eye contact, and of the artist's abbreviated treatment of the eyes. The sense of reverie may parallel somewhat the paintings of Edmund C. Tarbell (1862–1938), a friend of Pratt's in the American impressionist circle. Works by Pratt and Tarbell were shown jointly in an exhibition sponsored by the Guild of Boston Artists in 1914.

The portrait of Clara and Lizzie helped Pratt secure commissions for several similar reliefs featuring children, all of which, however, are in a rectangular format rather than a tondo shape. In 1894, Pratt created the bronze relief, measuring 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ by 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of Mrs. Shattuck, known as "Bessie," with Clara in her lap (fig. 1). The sitters again face each other in profile and hold hands without making eye contact. Mrs. Shattuck holds a featureless framed object, perhaps a slate or mirror. The treatment of the sitters' clothing seems more fluid and dynamic in this second Shattuck relief, which also incorporates lettering, this time reading, "Elizabeth . Shattvck . and Her . Daughter . Clara . MDCCCXCIV." That same year, Pratt made a vertical rectangular relief of William Albert and Eleanor Slater, the children of William A. Slater, with their dog (location unknown). About 1902 he also made a relief of Lily and Phyllis Sears, the daughters of Herbert Sears of Boston, both facing right as they hold hands (location unknown).⁹

Critics discussing Pratt's work frequently praised his reliefs of children, writing of the simplicity, restraint, and truthfulness of their conception, unadulterated by any excess of sentiment. In 1903, William Howe Downes called Pratt's portrait of the Shattuck sisters "one of his most charming productions in low relief portraiture." Comparing it stylistically to the sweetness and delicacy of low reliefs from the Italian Renaissance, he said it also illustrates "those attractive personal traits in childhood which (owing to their naturalness and absence of self-consciousness) are in all the graphic arts such congenial themes for portraiture."¹⁰

In 1897, when Pratt was working in Paris, he had silver reductions of "about five-inches in diameter" made of the relief of Clara and Lizzie. He apparently hoped these ex-

amples would create a demand for similar reductions by other Boston families. "This is a speculation on my part," he wrote his mother on 20 December 1896. "I think, myself, that there is more sense in having a thing of that kind around than a large relief, or at least unless one has a truly good light for the latter. I think that if the rich people could see enough of this sort of thing it would become very popular with them and I do like to work in that way, part of the time, anyhow."¹¹ He also wrote his mother that he was going to submit "the relief of the little Shattucks" to the Paris Salon.¹²

Clara and Lizzie Shattuck each officially entered Boston society with a debut party, on which occasion the local newspapers described Clara as a "graceful blonde . . . sweet and winsome."¹³ While not afforded the college education their brothers received, both girls married well—their mother, after all, was the daughter of Boston banker Henry Lee and their grandmother was a Cabot. Dr. Shattuck was a longtime member of the Harvard Medical School faculty and one of Boston's best-known medical consultants. The children grew up in Boston and summered at Beverly Farms, Massachusetts, and Isleboro, Maine.

In 1906, Lizzie married Henry Bryant Bigelow (1879–1967), a professor of zoology at Harvard who became a world-renowned oceanographer and the first director of Woods Hole. In addition to raising four children, Elizabeth Bigelow, Henry B. Bigelow, Fred Bigelow, and Mary Bigelow Soutter, she was active in educational projects and became an officer of the North Bennet Industrial School in Boston and founder of Concord Academy, chartered in 1922 in Concord, Massachusetts. She lived to the age of ninety-six.

Clara married Edward Peirson Richardson (1881–1944), a noted surgeon, in 1917 and had three sons, Edward Peirson Richardson, Jr., Elliot Lee Richardson, and George Shattuck Richardson, who followed distinguished careers in medicine and the government. She died shortly after the birth of her third son.

The girls' brother Henry Lee Shattuck became a Boston lawyer and legislator, and his twin George Cheever Shattuck became an influential physician who spent over thirty years on the staff of the Harvard medical faculty and specialized in tropical diseases.¹⁴

CYNTHIA J. MILLS

Notes

1. See Michael Edward Shapiro, *Bronze Casting and American Sculpture, 1850–1900* (Newark, 1985), 167–168.

2. Technical Examination Report submitted by Daphne S. Barbour, NGA Object Conservation department (19 August 1998).

3. Gallery records were checked by Claire McDonald of Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York, during a telephone conversation with the author (1998). Verification of the date of purchase was provided by Mr. Goelet's office.

4. Shattuck 1967, 14.

5. Shattuck 1967, 14–15.

6. For example, Pratt also made a bust of Frederick C. Shattuck's physician father, George Cheyne Shattuck (1813–1894), the founder of St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire (1900,

chapel, St. Paul's School). In addition, Pratt won the commission for a sculpture, dedicated on 6 June 1906, honoring youths who fought in the Spanish-American War for St. Paul's School, and Frederick C. Shattuck was a member of the committee for a new Phillips Brooks statue in Boston, a commission Pratt won. Mrs. F. C. Shattuck owned a marble statuette of a young girl by Pratt.

7. Daisies were associated with innocence or, sometimes, with patience in such nineteenth-century writings as Mary Chauncey, *The Floral Gift, from Nature and the Heart* (New York, 1850). They are perennial flowers, a member of the chrysanthemum family, and associations with growth and a child's garden might also be intended here. My thanks to Barbara Oxman, a horticulturalist with the Brookside Gardens in Wheaton, Maryland, for her suggestions about identifying the flowers and considering their symbolic meanings.

8. Adams 1943, 8: 167.

9. The Sears and Slater bas-reliefs are discussed and pictured in Downes 1903, 765, 770.

10. Downes 1903, 764–765.

11. Letters from Pratt in Paris to his mother, Sarah V. Pratt, dated 20 December 1896, 25 January, 7 February, and 13 December 1897. Excerpts of the letters were provided by Pratt's granddaughter, Cynthia Pratt Kennedy Sam, from the family collection of his papers. A silver reduction owned by Mrs. Sam is illustrated in Alan M. Stahl, *Medals in America* (New York, 1988), 159. At least one other reduction remains in another private collection. Pratt later made a sterling silver posthumous relief of Harriett Lawrence Hemenway (1915, MFA).

12. Pratt exhibited *Portraits de deux petits filles:—médaille, plâtre* at the Paris Salon of 1897 (no. 3310). A plaster of the Shattuck sisters, the present location of which is unknown, it was sold by a London dealer in 1993.

13. Undated newspaper clipping from the Frederick C. Shattuck Scrapbooks, Frederick C. Shattuck papers, Box 2, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

14. For information on the Shattuck family, see: Massachusetts Historical Society, *Pro Bono Publico: The Shattucks of Boston* (Boston, 1971); Galvin 1996; and Frederick C. Shattuck Scrapbooks, Frederick C. Shattuck papers, Box 2, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Shattuck's medical papers are in the Rare Books and Special Collections Department, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University.

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William Rimmer

1816–1879

FROM THE TIME of his youth in France and later in England, the artist's father Thomas Simon Rimmer (d. 1852) believed himself to be the younger son of Louis XVI and rightful heir to the throne of France after the death of his older brother in 1789. Although the validity of Thomas' claims cannot be verified, three generations of the Rimmer family carried on this belief. William Rimmer's supposed royal heritage provided the source for many of his most powerful and imaginative works of art with recurring themes and motifs of Promethean hubris, exile, thwarted ambition, confrontation, gladiators, and soldiers.

William Rimmer arrived in America in 1818 and never returned to Europe. Brought up in poverty, he spent most of his life eking out a living for himself and his large family and was virtually unknown as an artist until the age of forty-five. He was essentially self-taught in most of his diverse activities, including composing music. A learned anatomist, Rimmer practiced medicine in the Boston area from the late 1840s to the early 1860s, and, through his study of art anatomy, he fashioned a personal grammar of form in which the male nude became a metaphor for themes of heroic struggle. In addition to lecturing on art anatomy in Boston, New York, Providence, New Haven, and other East Coast cities during the 1860s and 1870s, he served as director of the School of Design for Women at Cooper Union in New York from the autumn of 1866 to the early autumn of 1870. He published two highly illustrated and important books—*Elements of Design* (1864) and *Art Anatomy* (1877)—and taught several of the next generation's major artists, notably John La Farge (1835–1910) and Daniel Chester French. Rimmer's art and writings also evince his awareness of contemporary scientific and pseudo-scientific areas of investigation, including photography, physiognomy, phrenology, typology, comparative anatomy, and Darwinian thought. His books and teaching earned him many admirers, the sculptors Gutzon Borglum (1867–1941) and Leonard Baskin (b. 1922) among the most enthusiastic of this century.

Only about two-thirds of Rimmer's approximately 600 known works have been traced, and the quality of most of those that survive is high. Fewer than a quarter of his works were commissioned, and he was not well paid even for such works as his only surviving public monument, the granite statue of *Alexander Hamilton*

(1865) on Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, and the eighty-one drawings for *Art Anatomy* (1876, MFA). His statuette of *Seated Man* ('Despair') of 1831 (MFA) was reputed to be the first nude sculpture in America. With *Head of a Woman* (c. 1859, CGA) and bust of *Saint Stephen* (p. 310, fig. 1), Rimmer was probably the first American sculptor to create granite carvings for purposes other than those that were strictly utilitarian.

Rimmer was once seen as an enigmatic and isolated artist, but increasingly scholars are placing him within his own times, while recognizing his special achievements. Although an amateur in many respects, he was the most gifted sculptor of his generation in America, a painter of compelling and evocative images, a powerful and imaginative draftsman, and an important teacher.

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1968.2.1 (A-1730)

Dying Centaur

Model 1869; cast 1967

Bronze, 65.4 × 65.1 × 54.6 (25¾ × 25⅝ × 21½)

Gift of the Avalon Foundation

Inscriptions

Inscribed on top of base, between hooves: W. Rimmer

Inscribed on vertical edge of base by tail: © / Cast by Kennedy Galleries Inc. 1967 / #2/15

Technical Notes: The sculpture is a hollow sand cast with no



William Rimmer, *Dying Centaur*, 1968.2.1

internal structural support; under magnification, the surface crevices exhibit a granular quality consistent with sand casting. A large cavity runs from the base through the horse body and into the human torso. Joins visible through X-radiography suggest that the sculpture was cast in at least four sections: the right arm, head, human torso, horse body, and three legs; the right front leg; the tail; and the base.

The appearance of the right front leg in the X-radiographs is inconsistent with that of the other parts of the sculpture in that the walls of the leg are thinner. On the 1905 plaster, that leg was broken (and presumably lost) when it was purchased by Kennedy Galleries and refabricated freehand from the 1905 bronze (MMA) by Joseph TERNBACH prior to casting. X-radiography also displays curious formations throughout the base characterized by a porous, and in some areas, an almost organic appearance. Uncharacteristic spaces and gaps in the underside base of the bronze may help to explain the porosity evident through X-radiography. A second layer of bronze may have been cast on top of an already cooled first layer, possibly to correct flaws in the initial casting procedure.

Other remnants of the casting process are visible through X-radiography. Many thin core pins, used to secure the core material while the molten bronze was poured, are visible in the head, human torso, horse body, and at joints. Air bubbles are present toward the top of the extended arm and the face. Numerous metal plugs, apparently made to fill the porosity of the surface, are present at various locations throughout the sculpture.

Most of the sculpture appears to be evenly cast, with walls ranging in thickness from approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inches thick, with the exception of the right front leg, which is significantly thinner than the rest of the sculpture.

After being cast in bronze in 1967, the surface was filed and chased to achieve the desired uniform appearance. While the surface is subtly textured by this process, most of the marks are obscured by the patina.

In order to characterize the elemental composition of the sculpture by nondestructive means, four areas have been analyzed using energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF). The sculpture is a tertiary bronze composed primarily of copper, tin, and zinc. The surface alloy consists of approximately 86% copper, 4.5% tin, 8% zinc, 1% lead, and less than 1% each of iron and nickel. Silver and antimony, common trace elements in bronze, and a small amount of manganese have been detected in all the areas examined, although there is significantly less manganese in the worn area, which suggests that its presence is most likely from the patina.

The condition of the work is structurally sound but its surface is unstable. The patina is wearing in several areas, exposing a light green underlayer, most notably on the back and right hind quarter.¹

Provenance: James Lincoln Borglum [1912–1986]; (Kennedy Galleries, Inc., New York).

Exhibitions: NGA 1969. NGA 1974.

CONCEPTUALLY BOLD, compositionally dramatic, formally sensitive and powerful, thematically richly textured, and symbolically multilayered, *Dying Centaur* is a quintessential work by William Rimmer, whether one considers the original plaster of 1869 (MFA) or the twentieth-century casts made from the *moulage* of 1905 (YUAG) by Joseph TERNBACH for Kennedy Galleries in 1967.² The National Gallery's bronze is the second in this group of fifteen. It is not only the sculpture that culminates Rimmer's most fruitful scul-

tural decade, which had opened in 1860 with the bust of *Saint Stephen* (fig. 1), but it also marks his return to expressive, dynamic sculpture, which he had not fully explored since 1861 in the full-length *Falling Gladiator* (fig. 2). Moreover, *Dying Centaur* also looks forward to several of Rimmer's finest plastic creations, among his relatively small sculptural output of the 1870s, namely the late 1870–early 1871 *Fighting Lions* (original plaster lost; 1907 bronze, MMA); the 1877 plaster *Torso* (MFA); and toward the magnificent 40-by 50-inch drawing on canvas of *Evening, or the Fall of Day* (late 1869–early 1870, MFA). *Dying Centaur* exhibits Rimmer's awareness of and interest in European literary and artistic traditions as well as the aesthetic concerns of his American contemporaries. While consistently recognized since at least 1916 as one of Rimmer's finest works in a sculptural oeuvre that was ahead of its time,³ the sculpture received hardly any critical attention during the artist's lifetime. The sole instance is a review of its exhibition on 27 May 1869 at the annual exhibition of New York's Cooper Union School of Design for Women, of which Rimmer was the director, where a Boston correspondent observed that "Rimmer's latest work, the 'Centaur' . . . shows his thorough knowledge of the animal as well as the human figure, to say nothing of the difficult combination of horse and man."⁴

Were it not for this newspaper article, we might still be adhering to Truman Bartlett's statement in 1882 that Rim-

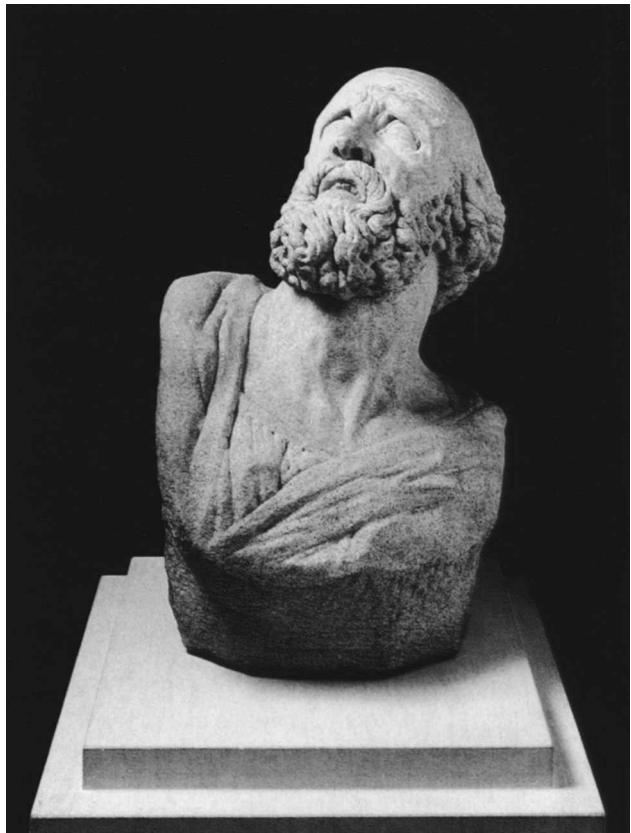


Fig. 1 William Rimmer, *Bust of Saint Stephen*, granite, 1860, The Art Institute of Chicago

mer's *Dying Centaur* "was made . . . in 1871."⁵ The 1869 newspaper article, however, does not necessarily imply that *Dying Centaur* was created in that year, before late May, but sufficient circumstantial, formal, iconographic, thematic, and symbolic evidence exists to assert with certainty that, indeed, it was made during the spring of 1869. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that *Dying Centaur* is not an isolated work in Rimmer's oeuvre, but, rather, the material embodiment of thoughts and ideas that had been developing since at least 1864.

The blackboard and published drawings that Rimmer created for his lectures on artistic anatomy during the 1860s and 1870s are fecund sources for his sculpture, as well as for his other works of art. Two systematic presentations were published during his lifetime, *Elements of Design*⁶ and *Art Anatomy*.⁷ While there are numerous images in *Art Anatomy*, which post-dates the *Dying Centaur*, that can be related generically to the sculpture's human torso, there is at least one image in *Elements of Design*, which pre-dates the *Dying Centaur*, that shows a human torso bent backward with, significantly, both arms raised and truncated just before the elbow.⁸

Although Rimmer's blackboard drawings were not documented directly through photographs, several sketchbooks by students who studied with him during the spring of 1864 have been preserved. And, while students' sketchbooks or individual sketches always beg the question of what is the master's work and what is the student's, Rimmer's method generally consisted of his students' copying his blackboard drawings, which he then corrected in class. Thus, although such student work cannot usually be relied upon as stylistic resources for the master's work, it can be relied upon guardedly as reflecting the master's images. The caveat reflects not knowing for certain if a student added something to a classroom drawing later or if the student's sketch is a classroom-created embellishment of the master's original.

The most complete sketchbook, the first and last drawings of which are dated 20 February and 17 June 1864, is by Hammatt Billings, and is from his studies with Rimmer at the Lowell Institute, Boston.⁹ The sketchbook, besides being the earliest known complete record of Rimmer's pedagogical method, contains several images that can be related to the *Dying Centaur*'s human torso, including one of a reclining male nude seen from the back, whose right shoulder and arm are raised, although the arms are not truncated.¹⁰ Another student of Rimmer's during this time was John La Farge, whose surviving sketches, while not as comprehensive as those of Billings, are tantalizingly more revealing in terms of the *Dying Centaur*. In 1864, La Farge created a painting that depicted the standing centaur Chiron carrying the infant Achilles (William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport). Prior to this, while studying with Rimmer during the spring of 1864, he drew a number of centaur-related sketches, which reveal images very close to Rimmer's *Dying Centaur*, most specifically three drawings that depict a horse's front right

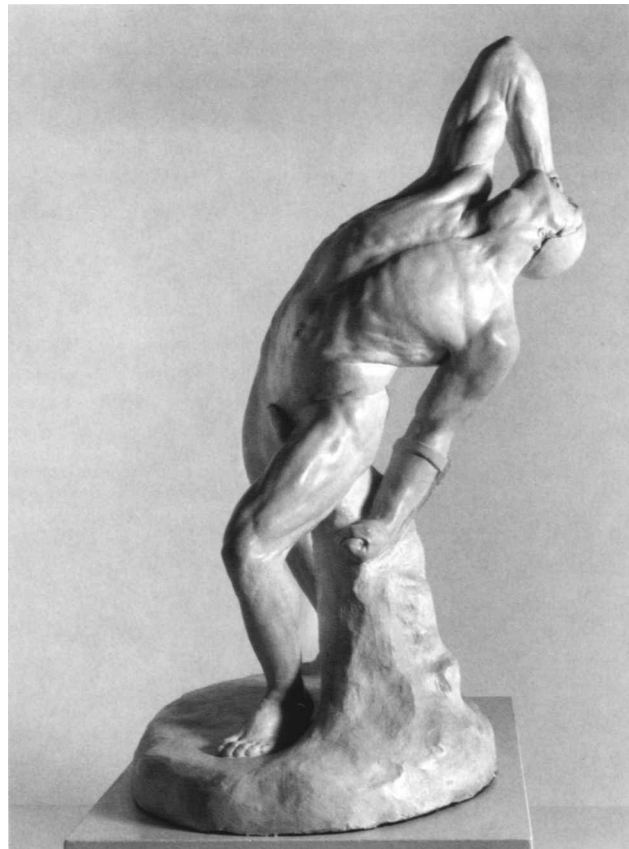


Fig. 2 William Rimmer, *Falling Gladiator*, plaster, 1861, Washington, National Museum of American Art

leg and hoof bent backward; a horse's doubled-under left legs; and a human torso with raised right shoulder and arm and lowered left shoulder, which is joined to a horse's body. In the latter drawing the horse's body appears to be lying down with its right front leg extended.¹¹ If we can, indeed, attribute the original images of these drawings to Rimmer, it is clear that he was considering the theme of a centaur as a visual image, and, perhaps, that of a centaur dying, by at least the spring of 1864.

The idea of sculpting a centaur, and one on a relatively small scale, might have been suggested initially to Rimmer sometime before the summer of 1865 by his friend, mentor, and patron, Stephen Higginson Perkins (1804–1877), who had been encouraging Rimmer and attempting to promote his teaching and artistic careers since they had first met in the late 1850s. In a letter of 24 August 1865 from Florence, where he had been living since 1863, Perkins referred to his own sculpture-in-progress of a standing *Chiron*. He mentioned that he had "done nothing since I wrote last but reset the head of Chiron." He also enclosed two photographs of the work, which have not survived, asked for Rimmer's advice on changes he was contemplating making, and, most significantly, wrote that his *Chiron* was "only about 22 inches long," dimensions close to Rimmer's own *Dying Centaur*.¹² As further discussion will argue, it does not seem that Rimmer created his own *Dying Centaur* soon thereafter, but it

does seem at least possible that when Rimmer did create his own sculpture, he may have consciously attempted to memorialize his overall debt to Perkins, who was particularly preoccupied with proportion, by commemorating his mentor's work in this fashion.

From 1862 onward, and especially during 1867 and 1868, Perkins was the main force behind Rimmer's preoccupation with full-length, nude, idealized, classically oriented, reposeful sculpture, but none of these works, which seem to have changed names and to have been started but never completed, ever materialized into what Perkins envisioned as major works, that is, those worthy of being cut in marble in Florence. These include an *Orpheus*, a *David*, a *Prometheus*, a *Figure*, as well as newer versions of two works initially begun in 1862 and abandoned in the autumn of 1863, a *Chaldean Shepherd* and an *Endymion*.¹³ Accordingly, the more relevant and immediate impetus for Rimmer to begin work on his *Dying Centaur* may have come from Perkins at the end of 1868, when, in his last surviving letter of 23 December to Rimmer he wrote, within the context of Rimmer's unsuccessful attempts of 1867–1868 to realize the kind of post-*Falling Gladiator* idealistic sculpture Perkins valued so highly, that he was “desirous that you should put at least one work, expressing your ideas of beauty, & dignity & exhibiting your full science, into a permanent form.” Perkins closed this exhortation near the end of his letter with “don't die 'till you've done it, & put all your force & plenty of time & study into it.”¹⁴ It is probable that Rimmer conceived his *Dying Centaur* in this spirit.

Before, during, and shortly after the years Rimmer spent at Cooper Union, he created a significant number of drawings and other works that, like the previously mentioned student drawings, are formally related to *Dying Centaur*, but, because this form is so prevalent in Rimmer's work, none of them can be reliably used to date *Dying Centaur*.¹⁵ This is equally the case for equine forms in Rimmer's oeuvre.

At the opposite end of the plethora argument is the paucity, or, rather, total lack of any written factual or critical mention of *Dying Centaur* before the newspaper account in 1869 of its exhibition at Cooper Union. None of the earlier Cooper Union-related newspaper articles that discussed Rimmer mention the sculpture.¹⁶ Furthermore, if *Dying Centaur* had been completed by the summer of 1867, we might expect to have seen it reproduced, as we do *Falling Gladiator*, in the image of Rimmer's Cooper Union sculpture classroom that appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrierte Zeitung* on 6 July 1857.¹⁷ Moreover, Perkins does not mention it in any of his letters to Rimmer. Though this evidence is circumstantial, combined with the aforementioned material it does strongly suggest that *Dying Centaur* was not created until the end of the 1860s, and, furthermore, that the sculpture can be seen as the result of Rimmer's full realization of his genuine lack of interest and limitations in a more superficially reposeful sculptural mode, as had been recommended to him by Perkins for most of the decade.

Although Truman Bartlett was certainly wrong in dating

Dying Centaur to 1871, the rest of his short statement on the sculpture, that it was made “in odd hours . . . without the employment of a model,” is fully consistent with Rimmer's situation and working methods.¹⁸ His administrative and teaching responsibilities at Cooper Union, especially during the spring of 1869, were such that—as was the case throughout his life—he had very little time to work in a sustained manner on any of his artistic creations, except, perhaps, his pencil sketches. No preliminary or preparatory drawings survive for *Dying Centaur*, and it is unlikely that Rimmer created any. He preferred to work without a model and without preliminary sketches, and his expert knowledge of anatomy, as well as his apparent ability to hold and work through a mental image until he was ready to materialize it, relieved him of the need for more traditional preparatory work.¹⁹

Rimmer's *Dying Centaur* is lying on its left side and is sprawled on the ground. Its body is twisted to the left, upward and backward, and its head is thrown backward. The hair, the texture of which echoes that of the tail, falls over the upper shoulders. The left front leg is doubled under, with the other three legs splayed simultaneously outward, forward, and backward (fig. 3). The left arm, if present, would have continued upward to the left. Apparently severed or torn at the shoulder, the missing limb has left an uneven surface, which contrasts with the right arm, severed or amputated just below the elbow, that thrusts upward, following the general stretching of the torso (fig. 4). *Dying Centaur* is strained and energized, from its tail to its hair, from its hooves to its right arm.

It is a sculpture of intense contrasts or, rather, contrasts in tension. The composition is organized around a point of intersection from opposing lines of movement—the tense and straining human torso and upper horse's body against the collapsed remainder of the equine body—that function as a spiral, subtly locking the figure into a hovering, tenuous, and uneasy balance, a feature Rimmer had not utilized since the *Falling Gladiator*. The energized upward movement of the raised right arm is held within the balance of the spiral by the weight of the body and by the disposition of the legs. It has a tense and unstable equilibrium, made all the more powerful by the weight of the body, which is held in the subtlest balance, giving the sense that it will imminently collapse. The formal point of equilibrium is precariously established by the relative reconciliation of opposed dynamics. The formal contrasts of the heavy body, which seems to press into the physical world, and the upraised face and arm, which seem to aspire to an extraterrestrial realm, help create *Dying Centaur's* tension and power.

Part of *Dying Centaur's* strength derives from the richness of experiencing its many vantage points. Its composition and form combine to encourage the viewer to move around the sculpture, to observe its many angles. When fully experienced, the seemingly impotent quality elicited by the mutilated left shoulder/arm's base and severed right arm is mitigated by the creative, phallic power of the sculp-



Fig. 3 overhead view of 1968.2.1



Fig. 4 detail of 1968.2.1

ture, which is enhanced by the highly animated and rippling surface, with its pattern of highlights and shadows. These formal elements had not been seen in Rimmer's oeuvre since the *Falling Gladiator*. They are also hallmarks of two of his earlier, finest works: *Seated Man* (1831, gypsum; MFA) and the bust of *Saint Stephen*, as well as the later *Fighting Lions* and, to a somewhat lesser degree, the plaster *Torso*.²⁰

Despite Rimmer's expertise in both human and equine anatomy, *Dying Centaur* is far from being a mere exercise in anatomical ingenuity. As an artist who had also practiced medicine from the early 1840s to the early 1860s, Rimmer was dedicated to anatomical fidelity, not for its own sake, but for the emotional and dramatic power it enabled him to achieve. In *Art Anatomy*, and surely voiced in his many verbal lectures before then, Rimmer wrote that a "work of art should be something more than the solution of a problem in science."²¹ This is eminently demonstrated in *Dying Centaur*, where the stress of the accurately rendered anatomical parts is transformed into an expression of the agony inherent in the figure itself.

Rimmer's *Dying Centaur* may be the first treatment of this subject in America, but it was a relatively popular theme in European art. With this in mind, past and present scholars who have worked on this sculpture, and on Rimmer's art and life in general, have been faced with the fundamental issue of determining just what written and visual information was available to the artist on Western art and artists. Moreover, when might Rimmer have come across such material and, if he did, did he make use of it?²² Thus, all suggested influences for *Dying Centaur* must remain speculations, no matter how plausible.

One of the main influences may have been an English publication, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762–1794).²³ Plate XII in the second volume illustrates a Parthenon metope in which a fallen centaur is pulled backward by a Lapith who has him locked around the head. Although the engraving is awkwardly executed,

the treatment of the transition from animal to man, the severance of the left arm at the shoulder, and the protrusion of the abdominal muscles may have guided Rimmer, along with the casts of this metope that were common in America. Due to the canonical status of the Parthenon sculpture, it is not far-fetched to suggest, as has been done most recently by Jan Seidler Ramirez, that *Dying Centaur's* "creator implicitly begs the question, 'Couldn't this centaur be taken, too, as the fractured masterpiece of some ancient Greek sculptor?'"²⁴ This type of question has been recognized for some time as implicit in most of Rimmer's sculpture, paintings, drawings, and prints, whether one is thinking, for example, of other antique sculpture, of Trecento and Quattrocento paintings, of drawings by Michelangelo or William Blake, or paintings by Washington Allston or Gérôme.²⁵ Further antique sources that might have influenced Rimmer are the standing older and younger *Furietti Centaurs* (Rome, Capitoline Museum) and *The Centaur with Cupid* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), all of which were well known through prints and reproductions during Rimmer's time.²⁶

A more contemporary related sculpture that may have attracted Rimmer was Barye's c. 1850 bronze of *Theseus Slaying the Centaur* (fig. 5), in which the protrusion of the abdominal muscles is similar in treatment to Rimmer's sculpture. Although Barye's form is less fluid and expressive than Rimmer's, which makes a more subtle transition from animal to human anatomy, Rimmer might have been attracted to the anatomical realism and energy of Barye's animal bronzes in general. The scale and formal elements of Barye's bronzes may have served as a partial catalyst for Rimmer to abandon the full-length, ostensibly reposeful, idealized sculpture favored by Perkins and return to energized sculpture that was intended to be experienced in the round.²⁷ Furthermore, had Rimmer known *Theseus Slaying the Centaur*, its success and popularity in America, as well as that of Barye's bronzes in general, it may have led Rimmer to attempt to improve on Barye's work.²⁸



Fig. 5 Antoine-Louis Barye, *Theseus Slaying the Centaur*, bronze, modeled 1849–1850, Northampton, Massachusetts, Smith College Museum of Art, 1973.4

The closest European sculptural parallel to *Dying Centaur* is Canova's marble group of *Theseus Slaying the Centaur* (fig. 6), which also recalls the Parthenon metope sculpture in the general position and form of the centaur. Both Canova and Rimmer depicted the centaur kneeling, his body tilted to the left. There are also similarities in the details, such as the backward thrust of the torsos and heads, as well as the upraised right arms, the doubled-under left front legs, and the extended right legs. Rimmer handled these features in a more subtle and fluid manner than Canova, and a significant difference between the two works is that Rimmer's—more compact and more plastically dynamic than Canova's—is meant to be experienced from all sides. In essence, Rimmer's *Dying Centaur* improves formally upon Canova's sculpture. In light of his documented criticism of Canova's sculpture, it is probable that Rimmer was correcting what he considered to be Canova's faults in an effort to show his presumed superior talent.²⁹

Besides Rimmer's aesthetic confrontation with these European works and their creators, he also might have been competing with the *Dying Hercules* by American artist Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872), perhaps with the plaster study (fig. 7) and the painting of 1812–1813, both of which had been at Yale University since 1866.³⁰ Rimmer could have stopped in New Haven to see them on one of his many trips between Boston and New York. Also, a copy of the painting by Greenwood had been in the Boston Museum since 1841.³¹ Rimmer's drawing of *Hercules* may be a free version

of the sculpture and/or the painting.³² Significantly, Morse's title might have suggested to Rimmer the idea of a centaur in the act of dying, whereas the other sources considered only showed the centaur subdued or about to be slain.

Both Morse and Rimmer concentrate—in a small sculpture with somewhat comparable dimensions—on a single, nude, dying, and protesting male figure.³³ Additional similarities exist in the expert handling of expressive anatomy, especially in the area of the abdominal muscles; in a raised right arm; the head turned upward; and the body weight leaning to the left. Compared to Rimmer's tension-filled work, however, Morse's sculpture seems relatively relaxed. It does appear that Rimmer sought to exaggerate individual aspects of Morse's sculpture.³⁴ *Dying Centaur's* head and torso are bent back to a greater degree, enlarging and tightening the stretched muscles in the neck and in the abdomen; the fall of Rimmer's figure onto its doubled-under left leg contrasts with the relatively unstrained left arm and evenly distributed weight of Morse's figure; and the legs in Morse's work maintain a relatively relaxed balance, while the legs in Rimmer's strain to hold a tense equilibrium. *Dying Centaur* invokes, through creative assimilation and transformation, all the works previously discussed and, with characteristic boldness, demands comparison with them.

Although *Dying Centaur* may have been unique in American sculpture, Rimmer's classically oriented audience certainly would have been familiar with its mythological subject. Rimmer's particular choice, with its youthful body, calm face, and severed arms, indicates his commitment to a Greek ideal and its implicit cultural moral authority, albeit significantly different from that of his contemporaries' assessments and beliefs.

On one hand, both the *Falling Gladiator* and *Dying Centaur* adhere to certain neoclassical tenets propagated by Johann Winckelmann (1717–1768), such as noble serenity of facial treatment and expression and the action of the body



Fig. 6 Antonio Canova, *Theseus Slaying the Centaur*, marble, 1805–1819, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Fig. 7 Samuel F. B. Morse, *Dying Hercules*, plaster, 1812, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Reverend E. Goodrich Smith, 1866.⁴

showing the artist's intention.³⁵ Furthermore, the two works share with neoclassical sculpture and its theorists the broader intentions of striving for generalization and idealization. On the other hand, they are ones of engagement that exult the primacy of plastic form as carriers of thematic content, with powerfully expressive anatomy, three-dimensionality, provocative iconography, and psychological tension, all of which demand our attention and elicit our vicarious participation.

Rimmer was concerned more with the principles underlying antique art than in mere narrative, didactic superficialities, as seen in his contemporaries' relatively insipid work. He fashioned a personal grammar of form in which the naturalistically and realistically depicted male nude became a metaphor for themes of heroic struggle and in which antique art informs his concern for the spiritual quality of existence. *Falling Gladiator* and *Dying Centaur*—in their evocation of a mythic, spiritual content—suggest his attempt to find sculptural equivalents for those intangible spiritual qualities underlying the phenomenal world.³⁶

Rimmer's emphasis on the fusion of form and meaning led him to use the Classical fragment for its suggestive power. Its truncated limbs imitate antique sculptural fragments, enhancing *Dying Centaur's* romantic and tragic power. We empathize with the fragmented, wounded, and dying creature, whose humanity strikes us as both profoundly personal and universal.³⁷ This compositional device of the "partial figure"³⁸ as a means of expression also anticipates experiments with fragmentary sculpture by Rodin. Furthermore, both Rimmer and Rodin, because of their skill in rendering the male human body, were accused by Parisian critics of having cast a figure from life, Rimmer in the *Falling Gladiator* and Rodin in the *Age of Bronze* (see pp. 331 and 336). Both artists transcended the narrative conven-

tions of their era and used the male nude to express heroic themes.³⁹

Dying Centaur's materiality allows the suggestion of various formal sources for it as well as Rimmer's particular use of them, but the lack of any written or other recorded observations by him on this particular sculpture makes it exceedingly difficult to presume to know his motivation for creating it and to comment with any certainty on its symbolic dimensions, especially as Rimmer's works are frequently elusive in their universal, cultural, and personal dimensions. But, as the sculpture is suggestive of a wide range of rich interpretations, some speculation is necessary.

Traditional descriptions of centaurs portrayed them as wild, beastlike monsters. Throughout most literary and artistic representations, centaurs in general were associated with drunkenness and physical violence, often sexual. A more humane depiction and interpretation of centaurs in general begins to appear by the mid-eighteenth century, notably with Edward Young's *The Centaur Not Fabulous* and continues into Rimmer's time with Maurice de Guérin's poem of 1840, "Le Centaure."⁴⁰ Although Guérin's poem bears no resemblance to Rimmer's work, Young's offers provocative parallels, which will be discussed further in the text. There was, however, always a sole exception to the negative interpretation, namely Chiron, the wise and kind old medicine "man" of divine origin, who, wounded in the knee with a poison arrow by Hercules, sacrificed his immortality rather than endure eternal suffering, and died in the place of Prometheus. Chiron was schooled in the arts, music, and archery, and was the teacher of divine children and heroes, such as Achilles and Jason.⁴¹ It seems likely that Rimmer was aware of these characteristics and distinctions, but what is certain is that he depicted his centaur differently from the artistic sources suggested—Parthenon, Barye, Canova—in which the centaur is forcibly subdued and about to be killed. Rimmer's centaur, on the other hand, is the only protagonist. There is no other figure to receive the viewer's sympathy. It is neither a repulsive nor a despicable creature but, rather, noble and heroic, elements seen and implied in its actions, its facial expression, and in its dynamic and energized anatomy. Its equine body is ample, strong, muscular, and nobly proportioned, as is the case with the vast majority of Rimmer's other equine depictions throughout his oeuvre.⁴² The human torso is powerfully wrought, and the face is relatively calm and placid, although its bulging eyes and grimacing mouth attest to its intense suffering. While it may be difficult to determine the age of *Dying Centaur's* equine/human body, the face is clearly youthful.

Rimmer's depiction of his centaur is significantly different from traditional artistic representations, and certainly different from the specific sculptural sources already suggested, but one of its symbolic dimensions seems to be traditional, namely the dualism in man: the conflict between his animal and human natures, his irrational and rational tendencies. In Rimmer's solitary centaur, this symbolic ele-

ment is all the more forceful, exemplified by Lincoln Kirstein's eloquent description that the sculpture shows "physical ache, the wrench of the cerebral against the muscular animal."⁴³ Rimmer dealt thematically and plastically in a powerful and profound way with this universal theme of unresolved tendencies as explicit physical torment.⁴⁴ And, in so doing, he expressed a dark vision of the human condition analogous to contemporary American authors such as Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864) and Herman Melville (1819–1891).

Themes of eternal life and the soul's immortality are prevalent throughout Rimmer's artistic and literary oeuvre.⁴⁵ The bulging effect of the centaur's eyes—apparently a result of the extreme strain caused by his pose, though perhaps an example of the fashion for pupil-less and lidless eyes from antique and neoclassical sculpture that was common among Rimmer and his contemporaries—*Dying Centaur's* eyes are also, arguably, a formal expression of the centaur's striving toward the transcendent. The idea of the "eyes as the windows of the soul" was not only expressed by Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), one of Rimmer's favorite poets,⁴⁶ but was also a well-known Transcendentalist belief he shared.

With *Dying Centaur* stretching, gazing, and striving toward the transcendental, an obscure literary source is suggested, namely Edward Young's previously mentioned *The Centaur Not Fabulous*. It deals not only with the salvation of a human centaur's immortal soul, but also talks about a young centaur's death, as well as describing the centaur as "blind" to itself.⁴⁷ While it is unclear if *Dying Centaur's* eyes can be considered blind, the parallels between Young's and Rimmer's works, though perhaps merely coincidental, are, however, provocative.

A less obscure literary source, which reflects the *Dying Centaur's* overall beauty and gestalt, is suggested by Hawthorne in *The Marble Faun* of 1860. He observed that "In some long-past age [the Faun] must really have existed. Nature needed, and still needs, this beautiful creature; standing betwixt man and animal, sympathizing with each, comprehending the speech of either race, and interpreting the whole existence of one to the other."⁴⁸

Rimmer's depiction of a youthful and dying centaur also suggests the possibility that he conceived his sculpture as a symbolic memorial to the Civil War, in keeping with his desire to find an aesthetic embodiment for the heroic individuals who had fought and died in that conflict. This level of cultural symbolism is consistent with Rimmer's desire to avoid journalistic works of art. He tended to memorialize human deeds in suitably heroic, ideal forms. At the end of the decade, and considering the Greek-oriented culture in which it was created, *Dying Centaur* might very well have been conceived and created by Rimmer as a fitting symbolic memorial to the young, self-sacrificing men who died in the Civil War, for as their deaths contributed to the salvation of the nation, so the death of this centaur will lead to the salvation of its soul. Furthermore, it is compelling to regard

the animal/man dichotomy, tension, and struggle in *Dying Centaur* as a visual metaphor for the war itself.

Despite the various aforementioned suggestions that shed a somewhat hopeful light on *Dying Centaur*, it, as with so many of Rimmer's works, could not be called entirely optimistic. Nevertheless, from Rimmer's perspective, its defeat and imminent death could be seen as triumphant, noble, dignified, and even regal. Objectively, however, such defeat is still defeat. This broad assessment and interpretation of Rimmer's artistic oeuvre is particularly well evinced when we consider the possible personal symbolic dimensions of *Dying Centaur*.

Despite calling the four years he spent in New York "the happiest of his life,"⁴⁹ Rimmer may have created *Dying Centaur* during the spring of 1869 as a culmination of the growing difficulties and criticism he had been experiencing toward his attempts to implement a comprehensive pedagogical program, as director and teacher, at the School of Design for Women at Cooper Union. Although Rimmer had been hired by Peter Cooper to accomplish exactly that, Rimmer's attempts to put such a plan into action were much more difficult than Cooper had anticipated. This was made worse by Rimmer's difficult personality and his unwillingness to compromise what he perceived as the only useful and justifiable approach. This resulted in unfavorable press and increasing friction between Rimmer and Cooper, the school's trustees, and Abram Hewitt, the secretary of Cooper Union and Cooper's son-in-law. By early 1869, the situation had become worse, persisting until Rimmer finally resigned in 1870 at the beginning of the fall term.⁵⁰

This information is useful not only for suggesting a possible date for *Dying Centaur*, but also for viewing it more broadly as symbolic of Rimmer's career. Such an interpretation has been most colorfully expressed by Albert TenEyck Gardner, who wrote of the sculpture "... with amputated arm stretching its handleless stump to a pitiless Puritan sky. This was what society could do to an artist who loved art more than literature, who dared to express ideas by form rather than by the trumpery props prescribed by convention. They could let him squander his great talents and exhaust his mind lecturing on anatomy. . . ." ⁵¹ The first part of Gardner's observation echoes that of French (see note 3), but it is incorrect to characterize Rimmer's artistic career as being drained by his teaching. The thought that went into forming Rimmer's philosophical and pedagogical ideas permeates his works of art. He may have found lecturing difficult and tiring, but such activities were integral to his works and life.⁵²

Nevertheless, and without in any way disparaging his wife's contributions, self-sacrifice can be seen as a hallmark of Rimmer's life: nurturing and then losing five young sons; caring for an invalid wife; raising three daughters; performing odd jobs as well as practicing medicine for twenty years to support his large family; as first-born male heir, carrying the family-imposed Dauphin legacy;⁵³ compromising his health by too many activities, including teaching; and fitfully

creating works of art. There is, thus, a clear personal parallel between Rimmer's life and the theme of self-sacrifice as embodied in *Dying Centaur*. This somewhat general symbolic dimension may be even more specific. Although *Dying Centaur* is young rather than old, clean shaven rather than bearded, and lacks any marks on its knees or other parts of its body that might be interpreted as being made by Hercules' poisoned arrow, it is possible that Rimmer conceived *Dying Centaur* as Chiron on at least one symbolic level. By the late 1860s, Rimmer was nearly sixty years old and wore a beard. He was a musician, an artist, a teacher, a medical doctor, and, considering his regal lineage, might have identified with the divine Chiron, the only named and quintessentially self-sacrificing centaur. Rimmer may have viewed him as a mythological analog to himself as teacher-artist-physician who, faced with an uncomprehending public, sacrificed his own material comforts for the sake of art. Such a connection might elucidate further why Rimmer chose to use Morse's *Dying Hercules* as a source for *Dying Centaur*, for it was Hercules who shot Chiron with what proved to be the fatal arrow. In this light, Rimmer's sculpture could be seen as mythologically and artistically rectifying the wrong perpetrated by Morse's Hercules.

A final element of personal, autobiographical symbolism that might inform *Dying Centaur* is the aforementioned Dauphin legacy. Rimmer certainly was not isolated artistically from his contemporaries, but the Rimmer family's presumed royal heritage, while nurturing him on one level, also led to a tragic solitariness that could not be compromised or broken. Much of Rimmer's life was sacrificed to this secret. Many of his works of art can be symbolically related to this allusive, autobiographical content, which, to the uninformed viewer, seems elusive at best. One cannot avoid regarding *Dying Centaur* in this light, or is it shadow?

These suggestions for personal symbolic dimensions of *Dying Centaur* shed light on its possible date and on its richness and profundity, but it would be shortsighted to view this sculpture as a mere embodiment of Rimmer's frustrations and personal disappointments. While the concept of struggle against a stern fate is a leitmotif of Rimmer's art and life, it is usually mitigated by the redeeming factor of the quality of his artistic creations and his philosophical and religious beliefs and statements. A spiritual position of relative detachment allowed him to creatively approach his personal suffering, and to transform it through creative imagination, in his finest works of art, into universal statements.

It is not known if Rimmer hoped that the plaster *Dying Centaur* would one day be transferred to a more permanent version, such as marble or bronze. The pitted areas in the plaster's face and chest, sometimes referred to as blow-holes and not retouched, might suggest that he did not consider it a finished product. Bronze seems to be a more likely candidate, as these minor imperfections in the plaster cast easily could have been retouched in the wax stage. None of this, however, is conclusive, and there is no known documentation extant to verify or deny these speculations.

Transfer to bronze did eventually take place, but it happened more than twenty-five years after Rimmer's death.

Sometime during 1905, three of Rimmer's friends formed the so-called "Rimmer Memorial Committee" to gather funds and make arrangements for the casting into bronze of, respectively, *Dying Centaur*, *Falling Gladiator*, and *Fighting Lions*. The three Committee members, the latter two of whom had studied with Rimmer, were: the well-known architect, author, and educator, William Robert Ware (1832–1915), former professor of architecture at MIT and Columbia University, who, along with Perkins, had participated in Rimmer's early public career in Boston; Edward Robinson Smith (1854–1921), reference librarian at the Avery Library of Columbia University; and the well-known sculptor Daniel Chester French, who had been elected a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1903, and who supervised its modern sculpture collection from 1905 through 1931. These men were assisted in their efforts, which were realized two years later in 1907, by Saint-Gaudens and Borglum.

The relationship of the original plaster cast of *Dying Centaur* to the subsequent twentieth-century plaster and bronze casts is detailed and complex.⁵⁴ Briefly stated, the bronze casting was done sometime during the autumn of 1905 at the Gorham Manufacturing Company in Providence, and Borglum completed the patina by mid-January 1906. A bronze cast was given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1906 by Gorham's president Edward Holbrook. Since the surface imperfections of the original plaster are missing in this bronze, it seems that it was not made from the original plaster (presently on loan to Gorham's foundry from the MFA). Indeed, the Metropolitan's bronze attests to the existence before 1906 of a plaster cast in which the surface imperfections of the original had been eliminated. A *moulage* (plaster cast) of *Dying Centaur* now at the Yale University Art Gallery seems to have been made from the original plaster cast in 1905, presumably at the Gorham foundry. The anatomical articulation of the original plaster is slightly sharper than in the Yale *moulage*, the surface of which is generally smoother and less dry than that of the original plaster. It seems likely, therefore, that the Metropolitan's bronze was cast from this first twentieth-century *moulage*. The second twentieth-century plaster cast associated with the Committee's project was a plaster, also made at Gorham's, that Smith presented on 5 November 1906 to the Avery Library of Columbia University (lost). The Yale *moulage* was acquired in 1968 from Kennedy Galleries which, significantly, had purchased it from James Borglum's son, Lincoln. As one leg was missing from the cast bought from Lincoln Borglum, Ternbach used the Metropolitan's bronze to assist him in its reconstruction (see Technical Notes). Thus, the Yale *moulage* appears to be the parent of all the twentieth-century bronze casts and, perhaps, of the lost Avery plaster cast as well.

Recognizing the power and importance of *Dying Centaur* as perpetuated in this modern-day bronze edition, the first of these 1967 bronzes was bought by Mr. and Mrs. John D.

Rockefeller 3d, and was eventually given to the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Besides the second one in the National Gallery of Art's collection, three others from the edition are in public museums: the third at the Detroit Institute of Arts; the sixth at the Art Institute of Chicago; and the tenth at the New Orleans Museum of Art. Numbers four, five, thirteen, and fifteen are in private collections, and the rest are still owned by Kennedy Galleries.

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Notes

1. Technical Examination Report by Judy L. Ozone, NGA Object Conservation department (16 August 1996).

2. For my earlier discussions on Rimmer's *Dying Centaur* as well as his other works of art and life in general, see: Weidman 1982, 1: 307–356; vol. II–IV, respectively; Weidman 1983, 146–163; and the introductory essay and entries in Weidman 1985, 42–43. For several other significant and relatively substantial discussions of *Dying Centaur*, either unknown to me for the above or published afterward, see Cheryl Rene Johnson, *William Rimmer's Art: An Iconologic Study*, M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1976, 41–42, 134, 148–152; and Ramirez 1986, 75–78, and 67–75, 78–79, for a discussion of Rimmer's life and art in general as well as entries on other works.

3. The earliest printed observation is by French, who had studied with Rimmer during the early 1870s. His remarks of 14 February 1916, which were elicited by the imminent Rimmer Centennial exhibition that was to open on 17 February at the MFA, were contained in his letter to the art editor of the *Boston Transcript*, which was published in William Howe Downes' review of the show that appeared in the 17 February issue of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, 11, cols. 5–6, in the Fine Arts section; French's original typewritten letter is found in Box 3 of the French Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. French's relevant comments: "When we consider the period at which these works [*Saint Stephen*, 1860; *Falling Gladiator*, 1861; *Dying Centaur*, 1869; and *Fighting Lions*, late 1870-early 1871] were executed we cannot fail to be impressed with the independence and originality of the mind that conceived them. They are so opposed to all the sculpture that was being done at the time. These works are real sculpture and exhibit knowledge and feeling and sculptural qualities that are rare in any age." Of all those writing subsequently on Rimmer, Leonard Baskin has most eloquently echoed French's assessment in "William Rimmer: A Note," vii–ix, in the 1970 edition of Bartlett 1882/1970. Writing on *Dying Centaur* (page vii), Baskin observed that it "is massive and strong in the disposition of its forms, in the urgency of its thrust, the timelessness of its intention. . . . The work is free of flippant irrelevancies, is not decorative, and it hearkens to an antique mold. . . . Rimmer was transfixed with an archetypal sense of the monumental and grand in sculpture."

4. "Dr. Rimmer," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, 2 June 1869, 2, col. 3. While it is moot to speculate on the verbal, unknown, or lost written critical attention that *Dying Centaur* might have received during and after Rimmer's lifetime and before French's observations in 1916 (see note 3), there is at least one known recorded observation, which notably echoes both the anonymous remarks of 1869 and French's of 1916. These were written to Bartlett by an individual whom he does not identify, who had heard Rimmer lecture in Worcester in 1871, and printed in Bartlett 1882/1970, 136: "The doctor's *Centaur* is quite unique, and without a peer. The doubling-back of the horse, the terrible writhing of the animal part, has never been expressed in any such way before. To be sure, the torso is mannered to a certain degree; but its attachment to the horse is extraordinarily clever, and its ideal character only serves to contrast it the more perfectly with the beast—to which it is welded."

5. Bartlett 1882/1970, 124. Although the so-called Rimmer News-

paper Clipping Scrapbook (Boston Medical Library, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University) contains a copy of the 1869 review (see note 4), neither the newspaper, its date, the page, nor the column are identified. Virtually simultaneously, the clipping was identified by Marcia Goldberg and Jeffrey Weidman. See letter from Marcia Goldberg to William P. Campbell, NGA, dated 7 March 1975. Weidman, however, did not publish the identification until 1982 (see Weidman 1982, 1: 307, 330, 346n. 1). Until Weidman's dissertation appeared, all other writers who had published on Rimmer, and who had given a date for *Dying Centaur*, followed Bartlett. It is noteworthy, however, that in an earlier letter from Marcia Goldberg to William P. Campbell dated 27 February 1975, she suggested the date of 1866, based upon the Perkins evidence discussed in note 12.

6. Rimmer 1864. A second, revised edition, with an added part VI on "Form," was published in 1879 as *Elements of Design in Six Parts* (Boston and New York). This was reprinted in 1891 and 1907. Part VI reflects, in part, material in Rimmer 1877 (see note 7).

7. Rimmer 1877. Later American editions were published in 1884, 1889, 1893, and 1905. An edited and rearranged edition was published in New York in 1962. There was also a London edition, published in 1884.

8. Rimmer 1864, pl. 26, fig. 9, "Part III. Skeleton Limits."

9. The Billings sketchbook is in the collection of the Boston Medical Library, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University.

10. Although the pages are not numbered in the Billings sketchbook, the sheet on which this drawing appears is vertical, with a drawing at the top of a nude male holding what appears to be an ax over and behind its head. The reclining figure is at the bottom of the sheet, with another reclining figure at its left. The sheet is about the twenty-second in the sketchbook.

11. James L. Yarnall first noted the La Farge/Rimmer connection in "Nature and Art in the Painting of John La Farge," in Henry Adams et al., *John La Farge* (Exh. cat. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington; Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh; MFA.) New York, 1987: 79–121, esp. 95 and 119n. 21. After I shared my thoughts with Yarnall in 1987, he revised his specific opinion on the temporal nature of this connection. I am, however, most grateful to Yarnall for sharing information on and photocopies of La Farge's drawings in telephone conversations and correspondence we shared in 1987, 1988, and 1996. The first drawing is at Bowdoin College (1956.24.223.3, fol. 17); the second and third drawings are from fol. 20 (deaccessioned in 1987) in the Avery Library, Columbia University.

12. This is the fourteenth of nineteen surviving letters that Perkins wrote to Rimmer from December 1860 to December 1868 (Boston Medical Library, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University); transcriptions of the letters are found in Weidman 1982, IV: 1279–1307, 1301 (quoted material). The first letter is from when Perkins was living near Boston; the second through the nineteenth, from 3 October 1862 to 23 December 1868, are from when Perkins was in Europe, where he had gone to promote Rimmer's bust of *Saint Stephen* and the *Falling Gladiator*. Perkins died in Florence in 1877. The thirteenth letter is dated 5 October 1864, but it is clear that the reference "since I wrote last . . . of Chiron" in the fourteenth letter of 24 August 1865 indicates that one or more letters written between these two dates are lost. Thus, we must assume that Perkins and Rimmer had already discussed the former's *Chiron*.

13. For discussions of these works, see Weidman 1982, 1: 236–242. During 1867–1868, Rimmer did complete four idealized busts (see Weidman 1982, 1: 235–236, 280–296, and 303–307): an *Ideal Bust* (lost, but known from a reproduction in Edward R. Smith, "Dr. Rimmer," *The Architectural Record* 21 (March 1907), 187–204, 221, repro. 194, as "Ideal Bust in Plaster"); commissioned marble busts of *Horace Mann* and *Abraham Lincoln* (both, Museo Historico Sarmiento, Casa de Sarmiento, Buenos Aires; see Weidman 1985, 39, for reproductions);

and *Human Head*, which replaced the removable hawk's head on Rimmer's *Hawk-Headed Osiris* (all lost; see Weidman 1982, I: 263–276). The one somewhat reposeful, full-length, clothed sculpture that Rimmer did complete under the influence of Perkins, who had been the prime mover behind Rimmer receiving the commission from the City of Boston, was his statue of *Alexander Hamilton* and its *Medallion Relief Portraits of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay* (1865, Commonwealth Avenue, between Arlington and Berkeley Streets); see Weidman 1982, I: 242–263 and 276–279.

14. Weidman 1982, IV: 1307.

15. The earliest full-blown examples are *Saint Stephen* and the *Falling Gladiator*. Several noteworthy drawings that depict male nudes whose torsos can be related to *Dying Centaur* include *Dedicated to the 54th Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers* (1863, MFA); *Sadak in Search of the Waters of Oblivion* (1867–1868, Pittsburgh, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute); *Creation* (1869, FAM); and *Evening, or the Fall of Day* (1869, MFA), which itself is preceded by a drypoint of the same title (1866; first impression, Boston Medical Library, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University; second impression, MFA) and which culminates in the similarly titled magnificent pencil and chalk on canvas (late 1869–early 1870, MFA). For discussion, see Weidman 1982, I: respectively, 163–187, 187–232; III: 809–115, 885–890, 946–950, 964–965, 828–831, and 969–981; Weidman 1985, respectively, 38–39, 40–41, 85, 87, 96, 99, 100, 117, and 101; for *Saint Stephen*, Weidman 1983, 147–153 and 161; for *Falling Gladiator*, Ramirez 1986, 71–75.

16. Many of these are contained in the Rimmer Newspaper Clipping Scrapbook (see notes 4 and 5).

17. The illustration appears on page 360 in the anonymous article “Die Cooper-Union-Zeichnen-Schule für Frauenzimmer,” *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Zeitung*, no. 517, band xx, no. 23 (6 July 1867). The caption under the illustration reads: “Das Modellir-Zimmer der Schülerinnen der Zeichenschule im Cooper-Institut, New York-Gezeichnet von U. Berghaus.” For a reproduction of this illustration, see Weidman 1982, V: 1472, ill. 6h.

18. Bartlett 1882/1970, 124.

19. Drawings related to Rimmer's works are relatively rare in his oeuvre, and as the notable exceptions were predominantly created at significant times before the ultimate work, it is often difficult to regard them as preliminary or preparatory in the usual sense. For example, we have already seen that the large drawing on canvas of *Evening, or the Fall of Day* was preceded by a drawing and drypoint of the same title. The only works for which there are surviving drawings are *Saint Stephen* and *Fighting Lions*. The case for the earlier sculpture is the more tenuous, in that Rimmer created a painting (now lost) and a drawing (Mrs. R. Rex Price) around 1845 of the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* that were done fifteen years earlier than the sculpture (for the painting, see Weidman 1982, II: 442; for the drawing, see Weidman 1982, III: 744–747, and Weidman 1985, 39, ill. 5). *Fighting Lions* (see Weidman 1985, 45, and Weidman 1982, I: 356–375) has several temporally closer works: a pencil drawing of the same title, dated 1866–1869, which is the eighth sheet in the so-called Bates Sketchbook (Boston Medical Library, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University; see Weidman 1982, III: 840–841, and Weidman 1985, 88); and images on a lost *Leaf (Sheet) of Sketches* from c. November 1870 (see Weidman 1982, III: 992–994, and VI: 1685, ill. 263). Related drawings exist for several paintings, arguably the best-known being the drawing *Oh for the Horns of the Altar* (1867, Clements C. Fry Print Collection, Yale Medical Historical Library) for the foreground figure in the painting *Flight and Pursuit* (1872, MFA); for the drawing and painting, see, respectively, Weidman 1982, III: 872–878, and II: 592–626, and Weidman 1985, 68–69.

20. For *Seated Man*, sometimes called *Despair*, see Weidman 1985, 35; Weidman 1982, I: 141–150; and Ramirez 1986, 69–70. For *Torso*, see Ramirez 1986, 78–79; Weidman 1985, 46; and Weidman 1982, I: 387–390.

21. Rimmer 1877, Part II, drawing 12; 1962 ed., 88.

22. This predicament is, of course, not unique to Rimmer studies, but it is exacerbated by knowing that the little information on Rimmer's artistic, philosophical, and other preferences and interests included in Bartlett 1882/1970 is but a tiny fraction of primary material, which is either lost or its location unknown, such as diaries and other writings. The Boston Medical Library, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University, contains the largest collection of Rimmer's surviving manuscripts: an album of poetry and the holograph of “Stephen and Phillip,” the latter being a long and convoluted narrative on many philosophical issues, a number of which can be specifically as well as generally related to his works of art, of which the most thorough study to date is Johnson, *Iconologic Study* (see note 2). For a thorough and detailed discussion of the complex movement and fate of Rimmer's surviving, unlocated, and lost writings and works of art from his death to the end of the 1970s, see “Appendix H: History of William Rimmer's Works” in Weidman 1982, IV: 1310–1366.

23. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1762 [Volume 1], 1787 [Volume 2], and 1794 [Volume 3]; reprinted New York, 1968).

24. Ramirez 1986, 75.

25. See Weidman 1982; Weidman 1983; and Weidman 1985.

26. Haskell and Penny 1981, 176–180.

27. The suggestion was first made by Edward J. Nygren in Nygren 1969, 10.

28. In New York or Boston, Rimmer could have seen any number of Barye's bronzes, perhaps in the latter city in the collection of his friend William Morris Hunt (1824–1879). Barye's sculpture was sufficiently popular in America to warrant an exhibition of 124 works in 1874 at the CGA.

29. Bartlett 1882/1970, 122, includes an excerpt from Rimmer's lost East Milton diary (1855–1863) in which he commented on seeing some photographs of Canova's works: “‘He made some fine statues; but, if I may venture an opinion on the works of so great an artist, I should say that he strains a little for effect, and has too much mannerism to be altogether agreeable. His *Hercules* is brutal, with many fine points, but execrable in attitude, and most offensive in its lines. Every thing that makes art beautiful in its manifestations is in his work sacrificed to mere action.’”

30. The plaster was the gift of the Reverend E. Goodrich Smith, B.A. 1822, and the painting was the gift of the artist. For recent discussion of the sculpture and painting, see William Kloss, *Samuel F. B. Morse* (New York, 1988), 25–30, 34, 83, 147; and Paul J. Staiti, *Samuel F. B. Morse* (Cambridge and New York, 1989), 18–25, 31, 37, 39, and 225.

31. The Boston Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts, which was actually a theater, was opened by Moses Kimball in June 1841 at the corner of Bromfield and Tremont Streets, moving in 1846 to a new and larger building on Tremont Street between Court and School Streets. Its extensive public collections consisted of natural history and art objects, including paintings, engravings, marbles, and casts. Collection catalogues are extant for 1841, 1844, 1847, and 1849.

32. No further information is known about Greenwood. The drawing, in the Clements C. Fry Print Collection, Yale Medical Historical Library, is the recto image of *Oh for the Horns of the Altar* (see note 9). For a discussion of the *Hercules* drawing, see Weidman 1982, III: 871–872.

33. Morse's sculpture is 20 × 22½ × 9 in.

34. This was first suggested in Goldberg 1972, 45.

35. His first work, the 1755 pamphlet (with English translations appearing during the 1760s), *On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, contained the famous dictum that the “most eminent characteristic of the Greek works is a noble simplicity and sedate grandeur in gesture and expression.” This pronouncement would be explored further from the mid-1760s onward in his magnum opus, *The History of Art*, with the first English translation appearing in 1849: G. Henry Lodge, *History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks*, 4 vols. in 2 (Boston, 1849), with subsequent editions. Consid-

ering Rimmer's probable use of Canova's *Theseus Slaying the Centaur*, it is significant to note that Canova was considered the most famous inheritor and promoter of Winckelmann's ideas.

36. In an unidentified and undated newspaper notice in the Rimmer Newspaper Clipping Scrapbook, entitled "Art Instruction for Women—The Cooper Institute School of Design," Rimmer is quoted as stating that: "People talk of the study of the ancients in art, but what does it mean except that we should look at the real world and strive to express it, for that is what they did." It is clear from this and other statements, as well as from Rimmer's artistic oeuvre, that the "real world" mentioned by him was a world transformed by imagination.

37. In terms of Rimmer's allusion to Classical fragments, Milo M. Naeve (*The Classical Presence in American Art* [Exh. cat. AIC.] Chicago, 1978, 27) observed that *Dying Centaur* "reveals the widespread acceptance of the Classical fragment, which routinely had been restored until the nineteenth century. Rimmer was among the first to endorse the concept as a compositional device."

38. The term is Albert Elsen's in *The Partial Figure in Modern Sculpture from Rodin to 1969* [Exh. cat. BMA.] Baltimore, 1969. Elsen, however, does not mention Rimmer.

39. One of the first to suggest Rimmer as a forerunner of Rodin was the sculptor Gutzon Borglum, who in 1921 wrote a newspaper article on Rimmer and observed that "... in sculpture he worked more like Rodin at Rodin's best than any man in modern times," in "Our Prophet Unhonored in Art. His Sculptures Anticipated Rodin's Best—But Who Has Heard of Rimmer, Obscure Physician and Teacher of Art Anatomy," *New York Evening Post*, 18 June 1921, 9, cols. 1–3, and illustrations in the Saturday Graphic section. The Rimmer-Rodin anticipation in general and *Falling Gladiator* in particular as the harbinger of a new style and of Rodin's work has been discussed by many writers, two of the finest being Gardner 1945, 38, and Gerdtz 1974, 101. One wonders if Rodin saw Rimmer's statue at Loison's studio in 1862 and/or when it was exhibited at the Salon des Refusés in 1863. The pose of Rodin's *Age of Bronze* is reminiscent of Rimmer's work. Weidman 1982, I: 43, 114–115, 196, 227, reveals Rimmer's anticipatory modernity even beyond Rodin, a modernity that is reflected by a much later sculptor, namely Henry Moore (1898–1986), who wrote that Greek sculptors "knew what was beneath the surface, so were able to release the life force which gave an added strength and vitality to their work. There is a deeper truth to be found in the knowledge of sculpture than in just the appearance of a sculpture. ... A work of sculpture can have in it a pent-up energy, an alert tension between its parts, an intense life of its own, independent of the object it may represent. When a work has this powerful vitality, we do not connect the word beauty with it. ... Between beauty of expression and power of expression there is a difference of function. The first aims at pleasing the senses; the second has a spiritual vitality which ... goes deeper than the sense" (Henry Moore and John Hedgecoe, *Henry Moore: I Would Like My Work to be Thought of as a Celebration of Art and Nature* [San Francisco, 1986], 102).

40. Edward Young, *The Centaur Not Fabulous* (London, 1755; with later English editions as well as early to mid-nineteenth century American editions published in Boston and Philadelphia). Maurice de Guérin's well-known poem, "Le Centaure," was first published in 1840 by George Sand in her article on Guérin in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* 22 (15 May 1840): 583–589. Thereafter, it was widely available, being included in every major edition of Guérin's works. For an English translation, see *The Poetic Works of Maurice de Guérin* (Birmingham, England 1992), 293–306.

41. The literary history of centaurs can be found in many sources; one of the best is *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Several recent sources that document literary and artistic representations

include: Jane Davidson Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts 1300–1990s* (New York and Oxford, 1993), 289–295, and 302–304 (for Chiron); and Malcolm Smith, *Mythical and Fabulous Creatures: A Source Book and Research Guide* (New York, 1987), 225–239.

42. Several exceptions include his earliest known surviving sculpture, *Horse Pulling a Stone-Laden Cart* (c. 1830, Middlebury College Museum of Art); see Weidman 1982, I: 140–141; Weidman 1985, 34; and Hunisak 1994, 73–74. For the drawing *Dedicated to the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals* (c. 1869–1876, FAM), see Weidman 1982, III: 945–946.

43. Rimmer 1946; Lincoln Kirstein, "William Rimmer: His Life & Art," *The Massachusetts Review* 2, no. 4 (summer 1961): unpaginated.

44. A much less satisfying plastic embodiment of this theme was created over twenty years later by the American sculptor George Grey Barnard (1863–1938), whose rhetorical and didactic *Struggle of Two Natures in Man* (1889–1894, MMA) used two human male nudes.

45. The most remarkable example of the latter is the philosophical narrative of "Stephen and Phillip" (Boston Medical Library, The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University).

46. Bartlett 1882/1970, 95.

47. This provocative suggestion was made in Nygren 1969, 20–21, note 27. Young's works were popular in America during the first half of the nineteenth century, mainly because of his poem of 1742–1745, *The Complaint; or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*, which dealt with themes found in *The Centaur Not Fabulous*.

48. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun or The Romance of Monte Beni* (New York, 1958), 7; first edition published simultaneously in Boston with this title, early in 1860, and in England with the title of *Transformation*.

49. Bartlett 1882/1970, 59. Bartlett may have learned this directly from one of Rimmer's family members or he may have read it in one of the artist's lost diaries.

50. For a full discussion, see Bartlett 1882/1970, 51–59, and Weidman 1982, I: 29–30, 100–101.

51. Albert TenEyck Gardner, "Hiram Powers and William Rimmer: Two 19th Century American Sculptors," *Magazine of Art* 36, no. 2 (February 1943), 46; repeated in Gardner 1945, 38. A somewhat similar position is taken in Gerdtz 1974, 102.

52. For Rimmer's teaching, see Bartlett 1882/1970, Weidman 1982, and Weidman 1985. See especially Neil Harris, "William Rimmer: The Artist as Teacher," in Weidman 1985, 14–19.

53. Briefly stated, this legend claimed that William Rimmer's father was the lost Dauphin, destined to become Louis XVII, who was smuggled out of France and raised in England. However, after his uncle became Louis XVIII, Thomas Rimmer emigrated to America and went into hiding. Although there is circumstantial evidence to support the family's claims, what is important is that several generations of the Rimmer family firmly believed in the legend and lived under its expectations. This informed William Rimmer's entire life and the majority of his works of art. See Weidman 1982 and Weidman 1985.

54. For detailed documentation, see MFA administration office records and registrar's office records; Library of Congress, Manuscript Division: The Papers of Gutzon Borglum and French Family Papers; and MMA Archives. For discussion, see Weidman 1982, I: 312–329; and IV: 1315, 1335–1337.

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- 1970 NGA: 174, repro. 175
- 1980 Wilmerding: 36, repro.
- 1988 Wilmerding: 43, repro.
- 1994 NGA: 195, repro.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens

1848–1907

SAINT-GAUDENS WAS BORN in Dublin, Ireland. His father, Bernard, was a shoemaker from Aspet in Gascony, France, who married an Irishwoman, Mary McGuiness. A few months after Augustus' birth, the family emigrated to the United States to escape the famine, settling in New York City. In 1861 Augustus began his apprenticeships to French cameo cutters in New York, first in the studio of Louis Avet and later, in 1864, with Jules Le Brethon. He also attended classes at the National Academy of Design and the Cooper Union. Early in 1867, with his parents' backing, Saint-Gaudens embarked for Paris. Supporting himself as a cameo cutter, he studied first at the Ecole Gratuite de Dessin (Petite Ecole) and, beginning in 1868, in the atelier of the sculptor François Jouffroy (1806–1882), who recommended his admission to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Saint-Gaudens became one of the first Americans to study sculpture at the Ecole.

In November of 1870, the Franco-Prussian War prompted Saint-Gaudens to move to Rome, where he began modeling *Hiawatha* (marble, 1874–1875; private collection) and made cameos and busts of American visitors. With assistance from one patron, Montgomery Gibbs, he returned to New York in September 1872 and began work on trademark panels for the Adams Express Building in Chicago. He taught his younger brother Louis (1854–1913) cameo cutting, and the two went to Rome together in 1873. Augustus modeled a number of portrait busts and copies after the antique, produced in marble in collaboration with Louis and other assistants. But he was above all a modeler whose greatest achievements would be realized in bronze. In 1874 he became engaged to Augusta Homer, who was in Rome studying painting.

Seeking commissions that would provide security for his marriage, Saint-Gaudens returned to New York in 1875, where he designed ornamental metalwork for Tiffany Studios. Around that time he met the painter John La Farge (1835–1910) and the architects Stanford White (1854–1906) and Charles McKim (1847–1909), who became lifelong friends and collaborators. La Farge encouraged Saint-Gaudens to try modeling portrait reliefs and to seek the commission for a monument to Admiral Farragut planned for Madison Square Park. He secured the Farragut commission in 1876. In 1876–1877 he also obtained commissions for tombs and monuments

and, with La Farge's help and collaboration, for the reredos for Saint Thomas' Church (polychrome cement composition relief panels, 1877; destroyed by fire in 1905). After a sketch of his was rejected for the National Academy of Design exhibition, Saint-Gaudens joined Richard and Helena Gilder and others in founding the Society of American Artists. He finally married Augusta Homer on 4 June 1877; they left for Paris two days later.

In Paris Saint-Gaudens began modeling the portraits in low relief which would become a leitmotif of his career, and worked on the *Farragut Monument*. Stanford White, who came to live with the newlyweds, collaborated on designs for the base, the first of many such projects. With its allusions to Donatello's *Saint George* (c. 1416–1417, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello), the *Farragut Monument* evoked the style of the Italian Renaissance as well as the French Ecole des Beaux-Arts, spurning the neoclassicism that had prevailed in American monuments. It was completed in 1880, just as Saint-Gaudens' son Homer (1880–1958) was born, and unveiled in 1881. Its quality and innovative character won Saint-Gaudens his first great public success.

Numerous commissions followed in the 1880s and 1890s. These included two major interior decorative projects for New York mansions between 1881 and 1883: the home of Cornelius Vanderbilt II (mantelpiece preserved in the MMA) and the Henry Villard House. The latter was designed by McKim, Mead, and White, with sculpture executed by Louis Saint-Gaudens under his brother's direction. Monument commissions included *The Puritan* for Merrick Park in Springfield, Massachusetts (1883–1886), and the standing statue of Abraham Lincoln for Lincoln Park, Chicago (1884–1887). An 18-foot statue of a nude *Diana* (1886–1891), made of gilded sheet copper to stand as a weather vane atop Stanford White's Madison Square Garden, proved too large and was replaced by a 13-foot version (see p. 462, fig. 3). Simultaneously he worked on his most celebrated funerary monument, the *Adams Memorial* (1886–1891, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C.), designed by Stanford White. The heavily veiled, seated figure, with its shadowed, introspective face, summons myriad emotions only beginning with grief for Marian Adams, the wife of historian Henry Adams, who committed suicide in 1885.

Diana and the *Adams Memorial* statues, at opposite ends of the expressive spectrum, share an ideal of beauty that came to life for the sculptor in his model Davida Johnson Clark, who became his mistress in the early 1880s, and bore him a son, Louis P. Clark, in 1889. Aside from *Diana*, works that are generally recognized as portraits of Davida include the much-admired *Amor Caritas*, an entranced, standing winged woman in richly modeled drapery, executed in variously sized bronze high reliefs, beginning in 1898. This figure was evidently conceived around 1880 for the tomb of Edward D. Morgan (unfinished, models destroyed), employed for the Vanderbilt mantelpiece caryatids in 1881–1883, and perfected on the tomb of Anna Maria Smith (1897, Newport, Rhode Island; signed by Louis Saint-Gaudens).

Arguably Saint-Gaudens' masterpiece is the *Shaw Memorial* on Boston Common, in progress from 1884 to 1897, combining statuary and high relief in bronze. It commemorates the young Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and the regiment of African-American volunteers who died in great numbers with him in a heroic assault on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, in 1863. Saint-Gaudens' gifts for portraiture, cadenced composition, and reserved expression calling forth projected emotions make this an exceptionally powerful war memorial. His last great public commission was the *Sherman Monument* of 1892–1903 on Grand Army Plaza in Central Park, New York, with a statue of General William Tecumseh Sherman on horseback led forward by a winged Victory.

In his peripatetic career Saint-Gaudens shuttled between Paris, Rome, his New York studio, and the one at his country estate of Aspet, in Cornish, New Hampshire, which was purchased in 1891 and named for the French town where his father was born. Diagnosed with cancer in 1900, he continued working with the help of assistants, recovering from a disastrous studio fire in 1904 and persevering until his death in Cornish in 1907. His late productions included the *Stevenson Memorial* of 1902 for Saint Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, incorporating a version of the famous portrait relief of Robert Louis Stevenson that he had modeled in 1887. In 1905–1907 he designed a new classical coinage for the United States mint, including ten-dollar and twenty-dollar gold pieces.

Saint-Gaudens took a leading role in planning the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago, for which architects, planners, sculptors, and painters together created an ephemeral but influential White City. His continuing collaborations with architects and planners, along with his tremendous talent, promoted increased recognition of the sculptural profession in the

United States. He was a founder of the National Sculpture Society in 1893 and of the American Academy in Rome (1894–1895, chartered 1905). His many pupils included Frederick W. Macmonnies (1863–1937) and Bela Lyon Pratt.

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Augustus Saint-Gaudens 1848–1907: A Master of American Sculpture. [Exh. cat. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse; Musée national de la coopération franco-américaine, Château de Blérancourt.] Paris, 1999.

1990.31.1

Charles Stewart Butler and Lawrence Smith Butler

1880–1881

Plaster relief, 62.2 × 90.2 (24½ × 35½)

Avalon Fund and Margaret Bouton Memorial Fund

Inscriptions

At upper left, written twice on surfaces of intertwined ribbon:
 DABIT DEVS HIS QVOQVE FINEM

At upper right, with monogram: FE / ASTG / CIT [Fecit Augustus Saint-Gaudens]

At center left: CHARLES·STEWART·BVTLER·IN·HIS·FOVRTH· / YEAR

At center right: LAWRENCE·SMITH·BVTLER·IN·HIS·SIXTH· / YEAR

At lower left: TO·MY·FRIEND·PRESCOTT·HALL·BVTLER· / SIXTH·OF·IVLY·EIGHTEEN·HVNDRED·AND· / EIGHTY—MARCH·TWENTY·SIXTH·EIGHTEEN·HVNDRED·AND·EIGHTY·ONE; and in monogram to right of first two lines, with intertwined initials: SW [Stanford White]

At lower right: MODELLED·BY·AVGVSTVS·SAINT·GAVDENS·NEW·YORK·OCTOBER·EIGHTEEN·HVNDRED·AND· / EIGHTY—MARCH·EIGHTEEN·HVNDRED·AND·EIGHTY·ONE

On the back, in pencil: Cast for / Mr. White

Technical Notes: The relief is cast from white plaster, probably plaster of Paris. Less than one-inch thick at its thinnest points, it is reinforced by an armature of metal bars of an iron alloy,



Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Charles Stewart Butler and Lawrence Smith Butler*, 1990.31.1

probably steel, along all four edges and across the center. Horizontal striations created by a finishing tool such as a stiff bristle brush are visible on the front surface. The softened character of these marks suggests that they were cast in from the model rather than worked directly into this cast.

The relief is in good condition, with no major cracks or flaking apparent. Minor damage at the edges, especially at the bottom and right, was repaired for Hirschl and Adler in 1990. Repairs appear also in the letters AV at the lower right, and in the letters of SMITH BUTLER at center right.

Examination using ultraviolet light and microscopic analysis of a cross-section sample indicated the presence of at least two coatings on the front of the relief: a thin colorless layer with a thicker pigmented layer below it. The latter is predominantly white with traces of red and yellow earth pigments. The transparent layer, which has yellowed over time, may be a natural resin such as dammar. The examination also suggested at least two campaigns of localized inpainting on top of the transparent layer: one applying a slightly pinkish-white paint over filled losses, for instance at the edges; and a second adding chalky white paint around the face of the older child, possibly to cover abrasion or dirt. The latter does not seem to be associated with any underlying fills.¹

The present frame was made for Hirschl and Adler by David Brown.²

Provenance: Gift 1881 from the sculptor to Stanford White [1853–1906], Saint James, Long Island; by inheritance to his wife, Bessie Smith White [d. 1950]; by inheritance to their son, Lawrence Grant White [1887–1956]; by inheritance to his son, Peter White [b. 1917]; gift between 1956 and 1971 to the nephew of the sitters, William Reed Huntington [1907–1990]; gift 1971 to his children;³ gift 1983 to the Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, New York; deaccessioned and sold 25 May 1990 through (Hirschl and Adler Galleries, New York) to NGA.

Exhibited: *Primary Models: American Plasters 1880–1940*, Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York, 1990, no. 4.

LIKE MOST of Saint-Gaudens' portrait reliefs, this one had its genesis in a personal relationship. It is, among other things, a testament to his friendship and artistic collaboration with the architect Stanford White of the firm of McKim, Mead, and White. Its origin also coincides with a moment of high promise in the sculptor's private and professional life.

Although trained as a maker of cameo portraits, Saint-Gaudens did not begin modeling portrait reliefs to be cast in bronze until 1877. The first of these were works on a small scale representing friends, like that of the painter David Maitland Armstrong (1836–1918), who shared a studio with Saint-Gaudens in 1876. Armstrong indirectly sparked Saint-Gaudens' activity as a relief portraitist by introducing the young sculptor to the painter John La Farge in 1875. It was La Farge who, according to Saint-Gaudens' reminiscences, gave him the courage to take up portrait relief sculpture when he despaired of matching his Renaissance predecessors.⁴ Saint-Gaudens portrayed Armstrong in relief as one of his first experiments, which he presented to his friend as a gift (1877, one example in New York, Century Club).⁵ The portrait in low relief eventually became a mainstay of his career, and one of Saint-Gaudens' great contributions to American sculpture.

Through Armstrong, Saint-Gaudens also undertook his first portrait relief of a child, the painter's daughter Helen Maitland Armstrong at the age of nine, modeled in Paris in 1878 (private collection). The Armstrong plaques, like most of Saint-Gaudens' earliest relief portraits, were bust-length profiles, recalling their ancestry in Renaissance medals like the "Pisani" [Pisanello] examples of which the artist owned casts. The commission for the double-portrait of the Butler children, however, called for a composition on a much larger scale than any portrait relief he previously had attempted, to fill a place in a specific architectural setting. This is surely one reason why he made their portraits at three-quarter length. Work on this design coincided, however, with the artist's portrayal, also in three-quarter length, of the beautiful sixteen-year-old Sarah Redwood Lee (example in Emmitsburg, Maryland, Mount Saint Mary's College, Special Collections House, Lee-La Farge collection). Modeled in 1881, the Lee relief became one of his favorite accomplishments in relief portraiture. Greenthal has duly noted the resemblance of the Lee composition to Pisanello's portrait medal of a young Renaissance noblewoman, *Cecilia Gonzaga* (1447; many examples, including National Gallery of Art, Washington).⁶ Whether Saint-Gaudens conceived it first for her or for the Butler children is uncertain.

Inscriptions typically play a significant part in the design and composition of Saint-Gaudens' portrait reliefs. In this case an inscription provides insight into the circumstances of the commission: the one on the lower left, identifying the relief as a gift from Stanford White [the monogram SW] to his friend Prescott Hall Butler, the father of the children portrayed. White's role is confirmed by an undated letter he wrote to Butler to accompany the relief, probably in 1881.⁷

The example referred to in White's letter would most likely have been the bronze version made for installation above a fireplace in a dining room White designed for the Butler home on Long Island (fig. 1). White, a close friend and collaborator of Saint-Gaudens since 1875, had met the prominent New York lawyer Butler in 1880. The introduction came from White's partner Charles McKim, a classmate of Butler's at Harvard. McKim designed a house for Butler at Saint James, Long Island, which was built between 1878 and 1880, with interior rooms designed by White. The Butler family members White met in the course of this project included Bessie Springs Smith, the youngest sister of Butler's wife, Cornelia. White's introduction of a portrait of Bessie's nephews into the decoration for the house, a surprise to the boys' father, may have figured in a courtship that culminated early in 1884, when Bessie Smith married Stanford White.⁸

The "return of compliments" from Saint-Gaudens suggests that the sculptor designed the relief at White's behest, but as a gift to him rather than a paid commission. Perhaps it was part of the recompense for White's crucial assistance with a major creation then in progress, the *Farragut Monument*. White provided the general design of the pedestal, and also helped Saint-Gaudens work with the commission that supervised the project.⁹

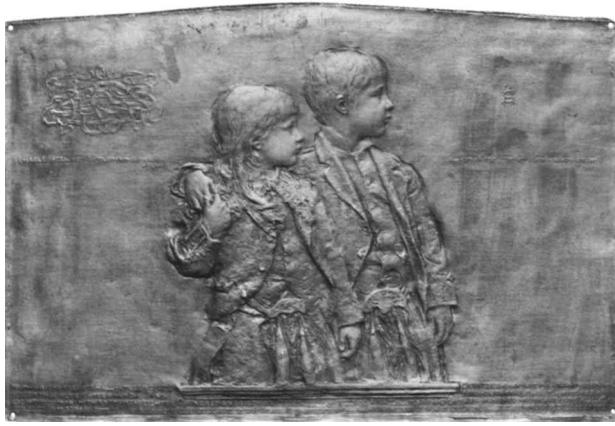


Fig. 1 Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Charles Stewart Butler and Lawrence Smith Butler*, bronze, 1880–1881, collection of the Butler Family, photograph by Jerry L. Thompson

The dates Saint-Gaudens inscribed on the Butler relief, October 1880 to March 1881, presumably record the beginning and end of his work on it. They also coincide with an exhilarating time in his life. He was not yet a celebrated sculptor, but the public commission that would soon win him fame, the *Farragut Monument*, was nearing completion. And a few days before he began modeling the Butler children, his own first child, Homer, was born (29 September 1880). Thus he must have begun this project in an exceptional state of excitement, gratitude to his collaborator White, and sensitivity to the subject matter.

The little boys' Scottish costume, presumably reflecting their ancestry, gave the sculptor scope for a varied play of textures. The timeless, unchildlike calm of their expressions is typical of his classic emotional restraint. In the National Gallery relief that reserve is tempered by the protective and affectionate gesture of the older boy draping an arm over the younger's shoulders so that they clasp right hands. The repeating forms of the parallel relaxed left arms and the curving jacket lapels give a rhythm and harmony to the composition that reiterates the emotional closeness. The spacious breadth of the composition, with the inscriptions floating to either side, adds to a sense of suspended time.

The style of execution, in strikingly low relief, recalls both the Renaissance portrait medals Saint-Gaudens revered and the low reliefs of great Renaissance sculptors such as Donatello and Desiderio da Settignano (1429/1432–1464). Yet the free, sketchy handling that evokes the soft modeling material has a more modern character. The portrait of the Butler children exemplifies the admiring description the painter and art critic Kenyon Cox (1856–1919) wrote of Saint-Gaudens' work in low relief, with special attention to this example:¹⁰

The fact is that low relief is a kind of drawing by means of light and shade, the difference . . . being that the lights and shadows are produced not by white paper or crayon strokes, but by the falling of the light upon the elevations and depressions of the surface of the relief; and these elevations

and depressions are regulated solely by the amount of light or shadow which the sculptor desires and are almost arbitrary in their relations to the projection of the model . . . as the painter varies the tone of his background, so does the sculptor, by slight undulations which catch the lights and cast pale shadows, vary his; he even uses outline and cuts fine trenches of shadow around the edges of his figures here and there, where greater definition seems desirable. . . . The lower the relief the greater—the more marvelous—the delicacy of modeling required to give the proper relations of light and shadow. . . . Such reliefs as the portrait of the two children must be seen and studied to be understood, it being impossible for any illustration to give an adequate idea of the sweet fluency of the modeling and of the marvelous economy of means . . . which places them among the most remarkable productions of our times . . . the exquisite fineness, which is power, of the workmanship, the beauty of surface, caressed into delicate form, which in a direct light is invisible, nothing but the reliefs themselves can show one. They are masterpieces of skill and knowledge.

For such characteristics of the modeling, as well as for the drawing and composition, the Butler panel is indeed among the most successful portrait reliefs Saint-Gaudens ever made. Along with two other reliefs of children, it was among three works Saint-Gaudens himself chose, at the end of his life, for execution in marble to represent his art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.¹¹

Persisting mysteries include the symbolism of the endless knot on the upper left,¹² as well as the significance of the precise dates in Stanford White's donor inscription, one of them several months earlier than the initial date in that of Saint-Gaudens. The Latin phrase repeated twice on the ribbon of the knot, "Dabit Deus his quoque finem," comes from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book I, line 199. Spoken by Aeneas to comfort his shipwrecked crew, it can be translated "God will give an end to these [troubles] also."¹³ The personal significance of this passage for Butler, White, or Saint-Gaudens is unknown.

It is likely that Saint-Gaudens worked out the composition in a series of clay sketches comparable to those made for the relief of the Schiff children in 1885 (sketches destroyed; bronze example in Cornish, New Hampshire, Saint-Gaudens National Historical Site).¹⁴ The final design would have been modeled in clay. From this, molds would have been made and used to cast the bronze version (private collection)¹⁵ and several plasters, including the National Gallery example, a friendly gift from the sculptor to Stanford White.¹⁶ Saint-Gaudens' younger brother and lifelong assistant Louis apparently played some part in the execution or installation plan for the Butler relief, but the precise nature of his role is not clear.¹⁷

The father of the subjects wrote an engaging letter to the sculptor after his first sight of this portrait. Butler's letter is dated 29 March 1881, the day after the opening of the American Society of Artists exhibition in which a bronze example was displayed.¹⁸ A drafted reply from Saint-

Gaudens to Butler's letter, however, indicates that the example Butler had seen was not a final version, and leaves some doubt as to whether it was plaster or bronze.¹⁹ The eventual effect of the bronze relief in the setting White designed for it was described by the British art critic C. Lewis Hind:

How does a bronze low-relief portrait group look, usurping the place of a picture in a modern drawing room? I was fortunate in seeing the relief of the *Butler Children* in its rightful place in the house of the mother of the two little boys whose young beauty it perpetuates, enclosed in the hammered oak frame designed for it, hanging on the wall of a panelled room above a wood fire which cast shifting reflections upon the patina of the bronze. No picture could seem more suitable to the place, or give a more enduring pleasure than the surfaces of this low relief, hiding and revealing themselves under the influences of the ruddy light from the fire and the pale light from the window.²⁰

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Notes

1. Technical Examination Report by Katherine A. Holbrow, NGA Object Conservation department (24 April 1997).

2. Brown has made numerous frames for Saint-Gaudens reliefs in public and private collections, based generally on the Saint-Gaudens/Stanford White type of frame. Notes on the frame by Donald J. Myers, 8 May 1990, based on a conversation with Susan Menconi (in NGA curatorial files). On the frames of Saint-Gaudens reliefs, often designed by his friend Stanford White, see Greenthal 1985, 43, 123–124. On White's frames in general, see William Adair, "Stanford White's Frames," *Antiques* 151 (March 1997), 448–457, with further references.

The original frame designed by White for the bronze version of this relief was briefly reunited with that version for the exhibition at the MMA in 1985. The bronze and frame currently belong to different descendants of Prescott Hall Butler, the subjects' father.

3. I am deeply indebted to a granddaughter of the subjects' sister, Susan Butler Huntington, for invaluable information on the history and descent of the relief and its frame within the family, as well as for the text of Stanford White's letter to Prescott Butler.

Biographical information on the sitters is published in obituaries in the *New York Times*: for Lawrence S. Butler (1875–1954) on 27 March 1954, 17, col. 6; and Charles S. Butler (1876–1954) on 27 October 1954, 29, col. 5. I am grateful to a family member for the birthdates, and to Thayer Tolles, assistant curator, department of American paintings and sculpture, MMA, for copies of the obituaries as well as other information on the Butler relief, based on her research on the marble version in the Metropolitan's collection (catalogue forthcoming).

4. "Perhaps the most definitely helpful moment of all fell one afternoon in the sad studio in the German Savings Bank Building, when [La Farge] saw some of my casts of the Pisani [probably Pisanello] reliefs of the fifteenth century, and when, to my expressed despair of ever attempting to do medallions after looking at those achievements, he said quietly and incisively, 'Why not? I don't see why you should not do as well.' This is no doubt the reason I have modeled so many medallions since . . ." (Saint-Gaudens 1913, 1: 162).

For the influence on Saint-Gaudens of Italian Renaissance sculpture, mediated through the Renaissance revival style of contemporary France, see Margaret I. Bouton, *The Early Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, 1946, especially 105–106, 245–246, 393–394, and 424–427.

5. Armstrong's portrait measures 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. Dryfhout and Cox 1969, cat. 4; Dryfhout 1982, 82, cat. 61.

6. Greenthal 1985, 81–82.

7. The letter was handed down to Prescott Butler Huntington, grandson of Prescott Hall Butler. A photocopy and transcription were provided by a family member:

Dear Prescott,

I hope you will like this relief of your boys enough to forgive me for sending it, and you must accept it as an expression of friendship only, for I owe so much to your kindness that I shall never attempt to pay the debt.

As it is a return of compliments from St. Gaudens to myself, you can feel at ease on that score—and you must not say what you did of the window frame*—for this has been no end of trouble to design and I carved some of it myself.

I am sure old boy—that I am at least as pleased to give it to you as you will be to receive—so what more is there to say between us—save that if some day I should not be here to stand up for myself—you will let this plead some forgiveness for my sins.

Affectionately your friend,
Stanford White

Monday, 4:30 PM

*By "window frame," White perhaps meant the frame for the relief, standing empty in its architectural setting until the relief arrived.

8. Saint-Gaudens' wedding present was a marble relief portrait of Bessie in her bridal dress, inscribed with the wedding date of 7 February 1884. It is now in the MMA, in a frame designed by Stanford White.

For the Butler house, called Bytharbor, at Saint James, Long Island, see Leland M. Roth, *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White 1870–1920. A Building List*, New York and London, 1978, 13, no. 29, and 38, nos. 174–175; Richard Guy Wilson, "The Early Work of Charles F. McKim. Country House Commissions," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14 (1979), 235–267, esp. 240–241; Samuel G. White, *The Houses of McKim, Mead, and White*, New York 1998, 24–27; and note 15 below. On White, Butler, the courtship, and the portrait of Bessie, see Saint-Gaudens 1913, 1: 282; Dryfhout and Cox 1969, cat. 30; Dryfhout 1982, 142, cat. 109; Greenthal 1985, 115; and David Garrard Lowe, *Stanford White's New York*, New York, 1992, 94–101. On White's relationship with Saint-Gaudens, see also Lawrence Wodehouse, *White of McKim, Mead and White*, New York and London, 1988, 207–222.

9. Dryfhout 1982, 110–115, cat. 90.

10. Kenyon Cox, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 35 (November 1887), 28–37. Engraved reproductions of the relief of the Butler children are on pages 28 and 29.

11. On the marble version in the MMA, see the references cited in note 16. The other two reliefs Saint-Gaudens selected, in discussions with Daniel Chester French, were his portraits of the children of Jacob H. Schiff and of his own son, Homer Saint-Gaudens.

12. Thayer Tolles (see note 3) did not find the knot or inscription in a search through Butler heraldry. The knot is presumably an invention of Saint-Gaudens or Stanford White. For the inscription, see the following note. For Renaissance engravings of interlaced knots, attributed to Leonardo da Vinci and copied by Dürer, see Jay A. Levenson in *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* [Exh. cat. NGA.] Washington, 1973, Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn Sheehan, eds., cats. 114–116, 283–285; and *The Illustrated Bartsch* 10, *Sixteenth Century German Artists: Albrecht Dürer*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, New York, 1981, cat. 1001.

13. My thanks to Judy Beck for identifying the source of this inscription and suggesting a translation.

14. For discussion of Saint-Gaudens' sketches and photos of the Schiff sketches, destroyed in a fire, see Greenthal 1985, 44–51.

15. A bronze version of the relief was shown in 1881 at the 4th Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists, New York, no. 107 (no medium indicated; Thayer Tolles has confirmed based on reviews that this was indeed the bronze, not a plaster). It is illustrated in Dryfhout and Cox 1969, cat. 20, and Greenthal 1985, 110, fig.

100. According to the sitters' grandniece (see note 3), it was inherited by Charles Butler, along with its frame, before the house was sold in the 1940s. The interior of the house was renovated and then damaged in a fire in the 1970s or 1980s. It has been restored based on old plans, but the original setting for the relief no longer exists. The bronze and frame now belong to different Butler descendants.

16. In general Saint-Gaudens preferred not to exhibit his work in plaster (Dryfhout 1982, 33–34). Plaster versions of his portrait reliefs, when they did not figure in the casting process, must have been meant for the private admiration of those closely connected with the commission, as in this case.

Other versions are known. A plaster patinated to resemble bronze, in the American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York, was a gift from Charles Niehaus in 1935. The Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site has two plasters: no. 938, in pristine condition but less sharp and clear than the Washington plaster; and no. 4141, in soiled and damaged condition. In addition, the Historic Site has a full-sized plaster mold (no. 3349) and a plaster mold for reduced versions (no. 3418, 16.2 × 24.1 cm.). A bronze reduction (15.88 × 23.40 cm.) is in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris, and a similar one is owned by Butler descendants. The original Stanford White frame, also belonging to Butler descendants, now contains an electrotype replica. See Dryfhout 1982, 125, cat. 99; and Menconi 1990, 11.

The marble version in the MMA (inv. 1905.15.1) was carved in the Piccirilli Studio in 1906–1907, with funds donated for the purpose by Jacob H. Schiff in 1905; see Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, *American Sculpture. A catalogue of the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1965, 48; "Augustus Saint-Gaudens—Replicas of His Bas-Reliefs of Children," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, old series 1 (November 1906), 25–27, and a forthcoming Metropolitan Museum catalogue entry by Thayer Tolles (see note 3). Saint-Gaudens had agreed to personally finish this and other marble versions of his reliefs destined for the MMA, but he died before the projects were completed.

In addition, Butler descendants possessed until recently a separate plaster and bronze relief portrait of each boy, unpublished and known to the author only through photographs. The plasters, which were sold to a private collector in February 1999, appear to be cast from a model or cast of the large relief, but the bronzes are different enough in details and inscriptions to suggest variants produced and reworked by the sculptor.

17. In an undated letter to his wife, published in Saint-Gaudens 1913, 1: 287, Augustus wrote "... Louis went to Stockbridge for a day or two by the eight A.M. train to-day. He goes to work on the Butler tablet, and is frightened out of his wits at the prospect of meeting the Butler family and the consequent social treatment of him." On Louis' character and role in the workshop, see Dryfhout 1982, 31, 134–135, cats. 105 and 315. He worked with Stanford White carving decorative sculpture for the Villard house in New York in 1881–1883, but his part in producing the Butler relief remains undefined.

18. Dartmouth College, Library, *Microfilm edition of the papers of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, Ann Arbor and Hanover, 1974, reel 2, frames 495–498; found and copied for NGA curatorial files by Deborah Chotner, department of American and British paintings; original in Special Collections, Baker Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

March 29, 1881

Dear Mr. St. Gaudens,

How shall I begin to express to you my gratification over the portrait of my boys. It not only fulfills my most cherished desire but surpasses in design and treatment anything of the kind I had ever dreamt of: and besides, however improbable it may appear to you, it was a genuine surprise to me. Some time ago from something the boys dropped I got the idea that you were perhaps modelling their hands or making some little sketch of one or the other of them but that such a work as this was in progress never was suggested to me. I must confess to the common failing of parents in thinking

my own boys exceptionally charming in form feature and character and so it was a most natural and long cherished wish of mine to possess some enduring and worthy portrait of their childhood. I had no great hopes of having my wish fulfilled, since I rather despaired of finding an artist who would add to consummate skill that delicate and sympathetic appreciation of my children's character and moods which must be an essential to the success of such a work. How much the result of your patient labor and exquisite treatment satisfies me, and how much and how deeply obliged to you I am, I can hardly express, except to say that could I have had all that [I] ever wished for in its most perfect state, it would have fallen far short of what you have given me; and you must permit me to believe that in your work your genius was aided if not inspired by a genuine admiration and love for the two little fellows who have tried your patience for so many months.

My only regret is that I shall never be able to repay you the obligation I am under.

Yours very truly,
Prescott Hall Butler

19. Saint-Gaudens' handwritten draft, also on reel 2, frames 499–501, reads in part: "Your kind note I received this afternoon. I am delighted that you should like the medallion [illeg.] for Rosie Bianco and I hope that the final one will do your boys more justice—I suppose Rosie has told you that the one he gave you having been cast in a great hurry and without being quite ready was not all we wanted." Katherine Whann has proposed that "Rosie Bianco," thus far unidentified, could be a fanciful nickname for Stanford White. His surname translated into Italian would be "Bianco," and "Rosie" could refer to his red hair. While no corroboration has been found so far in the literature on White or through consultation with his family, this identification would certainly make sense in the context of the letter.

20. C. Lewis Hind, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, New York, 1908, xxiv.

References

- 1990 Menconi: 10–11, no. 4, repro.
- 1991 National Gallery of Art, *1990 Annual Report*: 2, 14, repro. 74.
- 1994 NGA: 213, repro.

1975.12.1 (A-1766)

Diana of the Tower

Conceived 1892/1893; cast 1899

Bronze, 96.6 × 48.5 × 28.9 (38 × 19 1/8 × 11 3/8)

Pepita Milmore Memorial Fund

Inscriptions

On upper front face of pedestal: •DIANA•/OF THE•/TOWER•

On top of base, near back: AVGVSTVS / SAINT-GAVDENS / MDCCCXCIX

To right of signature and date, in circle: •COPYRIGHT•/•BY• AVGVSTVS•/SAINT-GAVDENS /•M•/•DCCCXC•/•IX•

Marks

Foundry mark on top of base near back, in circle: E.GRUET/ JEUNE/FOUNDEUR/44^{BIS} AVENUE DE CHATILLON•PARIS•

Technical Notes: Examination of the interior of the base indicates that it was sand cast. X-radiography reveals no seams, sug-

gesting that the base was cast as a whole. The figure of Diana, which is attached to the base via a threaded bolt, was cast separately. Although the figure is closed and therefore cannot be directly examined, there are a number of features visible through X-radiography to suggest that the bronze was sand cast in four sections: the right leg, the two arms, and the head and torso with the left leg. The casting of separate parts is more common with sand casting than with lost-wax casting. In addition, the walls of the cast are even, another argument for sand casting versus the lost-wax method. Surface analysis using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) reveals the alloy to be a bronze of relatively consistent composition throughout, whose average elements are approximately 88% copper, 8% zinc, 3% tin, and 1% lead. A chemical solution applied to the triangular base produced a medium brown patina, whereas the patina on the figure appears to have been applied in two layers: first a layer of green and then a dark brown layer. The patina on the head is noticeably greener than the rest of the figure and the arms and lower legs are a darker brown. On the lower torso and legs above the knees the patina is thinner and the golden color of the bronze fabric is visible. The surface of the figure is highly finished and polished, with numerous small file and wire brush marks throughout. The surface was evidently coated with wax prior to acquisition by the National Gallery.

Provenance: (Doll & Richards [the sculptor's agents], Boston, 1899); presented to The Honorable Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France to the United States [tour of duty 1897–1902]; by descent in the Cambon family; acquired 1974 by (Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York).

Exhibited: Fogg 1975, no. 41, repro. (detail of head); *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, MMA, MFA, 1985–1986, fig. 140.

ONE OF THE results of the lifetime collaboration of Saint-Gaudens with the architect Stanford White, *Diana of the Tower* was conceived as an immense gilded sheet-copper weathervane to crown the 330-foot tower (modeled on the famous Giralda, or bell tower of the cathedral of Seville in Spain) that White designed in the mid-1880s to surmount his celebrated sports arena of Madison Square Garden in New York.¹ Saint-Gaudens' first preliminary ink sketch (c. 1885/1886) depicted a voluminously draped figure of *Fame* standing atop a large globe, stabilized by a vertical staff from which billowed another huge arc of drapery.² As Greenthal has remarked,³ there are loose conceptual analogies between that first and most generically Beaux-Arts configuration and a contemporaneous but more actively posed figure of *Fame* by Louis-Ernest Barrias (1841–1905), perhaps developed as early as 1878, and available in statuette form by the later 1880s.⁴ On a second, much more heavily worked sheet of sketches, Saint-Gaudens' first concept of *Fame* was replaced by successive versions of *Diana the Huntress* bending a bow, another iconography at least tangentially appropriate to a sporting commission.⁵

The choice of the new subject seems to have depended more upon a sympathetic relationship between the architect and the sculptor, however, than upon the nature of the commission—for which the result was often seen as being inappropriate.⁶ Saint-Gaudens is likely to have discussed with White, during the decade of their close friendship

before the *Diana* project,⁷ his hope of creating a major allegorical figure for a public commission.⁸ The contemporaneous success of Bartholdi's colossus for New York Harbor, *Liberty Enlightening the World*,⁹ may have inspired Saint-Gaudens to imagine a female figure of heroic scale and, atop the "pedestal" of White's tower, one placed at commanding height.¹⁰ It is thus probably not coincidental that the monumental *Diana* shared with Bartholdi's *Liberty* both a new sculptural technique—that of thin metal plates bolted to an iron armature—and a rival position dominating the skyline of New York.¹¹

The image of a large nude *Diana* with a bow descended directly to Saint-Gaudens from the recent history of French sculpture, with which he and White were intimately familiar since the time of their shared residence in Paris, beginning in 1878.¹² At the Salon of 1882 Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière (1831–1900) exhibited a fully life-size plaster *Diana*, her left arm holding a bow and her right hand raised beside her head; her stance also roughly prefigured that of Saint-Gaudens' goddess.¹³ Falguière's female nudes were routinely criticized for retaining the all-too-recognizable images of his models: in exactly the same way, it was immediately clear that the head of Saint-Gaudens' *Diana* was derived from a marble portrait of his mistress, Davida Johnson Clark (1886, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire).¹⁴ The remainder of the figure's anatomy was based on that of his frequent professional model, Julia Baine.¹⁵

In all its characteristics except the raised arms, the essential pose of the Madison Square figure returned to the boldly innovatory prototype which underlay Falguière's conception as well,¹⁶ that is a life-size nude *Diana* of 1776 by Houdon.¹⁷ Houdon's lithe, graceful figure is balanced on her left foot in a forward-leaning pose, her right leg extending freely behind; a bow and arrow are held in her left and right hands, close to her body, at the level of her hips; her classical coiffure is as close a prototype for Saint-Gaudens' figure as is her ponderation, or the delicately neo-Mannerist slenderness of her proportions.¹⁸

Since White and Saint-Gaudens had justified their concept of a figure for the Madison Square tower which was three times life size through its function as a weathervane, the sculptor's basic appropriation of Houdon's model was revised by bringing both arms up to the horizontal line of the shoulders: the arrow fitted to Diana's bow, parallel to her outstretched left arm, thus pointed the direction of the wind, as the figure was swung by the movement of air against a huge swirl of drapery at her back. That concept was developed as a small (approximately 1 foot high) plaster sketch model, known only through an early photograph (fig. 1);¹⁹ from it the eventual 18-foot colossus of riveted copper was constructed between 1886 and 1891 by the W. H. Mullins Company of Salem, Ohio. It was installed on White's tower, which was erected in 1890–1891, in October 1891,²⁰ but on 7 September 1892 it was removed, having proved defective in both scale and logistics. Improperly bal-



Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Diana of the Tower*, 1975.12.1

anced against its very bulky drapery “rudder,” it failed to rotate properly, and both White and Saint-Gaudens—as well as the general public—soon agreed that the 18-foot version was substantially overscaled.²¹ That first *Diana* was reinstalled in 1893 atop the classical dome of the Agricultural Building by McKim, Mead, and White at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Partially destroyed by fire in February 1894, its upper portion was stored in the Field Museum, Chicago, until it was loaned in August 1909 to a Saint-Gaudens retrospective at the Chicago Art Institute. After that exhibition closed, it disappeared, and its present location is unknown.²² One bronze reduction preserves a partial three-dimensional record of Saint-Gaudens’ first *Diana*: a unique, unmarked cast of the undraped figure (52 centimeters high), without attributes, acquired in 1907 from Stanford White’s collection by John Gellatly (National Museum of American Art, Washington).²³

The sculptor prepared the revised model for a smaller, replacement weathervane in 1892–1893. By substantially reducing its mass and especially its drapery, he produced his final design, the linear elegance of whose silhouette may distantly reflect Saint-Gaudens’ initial training as a gem carver. The 13-foot gilded copper figure was installed atop Madison Square Garden tower on 18 November 1893, as a crowning symbol of the “Gilded Age” (fig. 2).²⁴ Its lighter, more calligraphic drapery appendage still broke off in a windstorm, and the again imperfectly balanced figure was bolted into immobility. It remained in that state until Madison Square Garden was demolished in 1925 to make way for a building to house the New York Life Insurance Company.

That firm eventually donated the figure, which had spent seven years in storage, to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1932 (fig. 3).²⁵

The earliest visual record of Saint-Gaudens’ revised or second design for *Diana* is the original half-size (6 feet 6 inches high) plaster working model, which is preserved—together with a bronze copy made from it in 1972—at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site.²⁶ From that working model in 1894 was cast a cement replica (approximately 6 feet high), also for Stanford White, that is now in the Amon Carter Museum of Art, Fort Worth. Two editions of large bronzes were cast from that cement copy in 1927/1928 and 1979/1980.²⁷

The many small bronze replicas of the second *Diana* (of which this is an example of the rarest type) may first be distinguished by size. Two major classes of reductions exist: a few casts of a larger version (1895) in which the figure alone is 30 or 31 inches (76 to 79 centimeters) high, holds a bow with a more vertical profile, and stands on a small half-sphere. A much more numerous group of casts at a smaller size (1894–1899)—the National Gallery example is one—in which the figure alone is 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches (55 centimeters) high, holds a bow stretched horizontally, and stands on a small full sphere. Most of the larger 31-inch versions were cast in a small “edition” by the Aubrey Brothers Foundry, New York; they bear the cast-in inscription A•SAINT-GAUDENS / MCCCXCV [1895]. The plaster model for that type is preserved at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, and some eight bronzes, cast from it, are known: the collection of Walker O. Cain Associates (the former McKim, Mead, and White),



Fig. 1 Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Sketch for Diana of the Tower*, plaster, c. 1866, Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Library



Fig. 2 Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Diana atop the Madison Square Garden Tower*, New York, gilded copper, 1892–1893, Museum of the City of New York

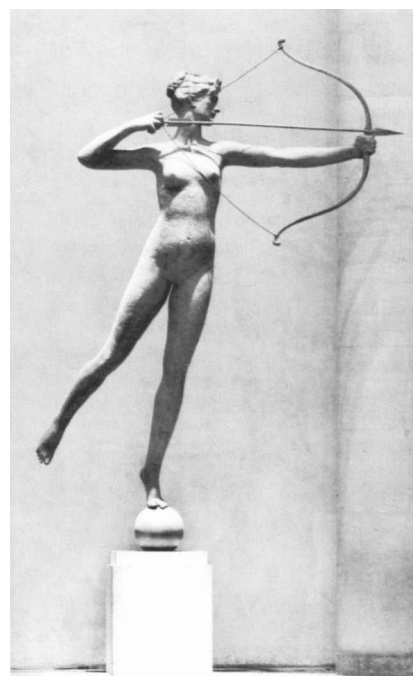


Fig. 3 Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Diana* (second version), copper sheets, 1892–1894, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of the New York Life Insurance Company

New York; Indianapolis Museum of Art, acquired 1917; The Brooklyn Museum, acquired 1923; Metropolitan Museum of Art, acquired 1928 (gilded); Chesterwood, National Trust for Historic Preservation; private collection, Washington, D.C.; and Christie's, New York, in 1984 and 1996 (two different examples).²⁸ A variant type of this "large *Diana*," with the 30-inch (76-centimeter) figure standing on a *full* sphere, above a delicately molded flat base inscribed with the title, and cast by E. Gruet *jeune*, Paris, is presently known in only one cast offered by Christie's, New York, in 1985.²⁹

The more numerous, second class of smaller 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch reductions (the "small *Diana*") are again of two principal kinds: Type I examples are those in which the bronze ensemble normally includes only the figure and the small sphere below its left foot, the sphere being supported on various base designs of different media. Type II examples are those with the figure and its sphere raised on a tall triangular bronze base designed by Saint-Gaudens in 1899, with lower corner figures of winged griffins: the National Gallery sculpture is of Type II. Type I examples are known in some seven casts, made by Gruet in Paris: Nichols House Museum, Boston; private collection, Brookline, Massachusetts, through at least 1982/1989;³⁰ formerly in the Saint-Gaudens family, then with Christie's, New York, in 1983;³¹ another cast with Christie's, New York, in 1984;³² formerly Mrs. Palfrey Perkins, Boston, then with Hirschl & Adler, New York, in 1989;³³ Sotheby's, New York, in 1996;³⁴ and Sotheby's, New York, in 1999.³⁵

The most frequently encountered of all the "small *Diana*" reductions is Type II. Two plaster models of this type are preserved at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, and some fifteen bronze casts are known, in this case almost all made by Gruet.³⁶ These show minor variations: the first few casts by those Parisian foundrymen misspelled Saint-Gaudens' title, inscribed in low relief on the front of the triangular base, as DIANA / OP[sic] THE / TOWER. Such misinscribed casts are in the New-York Historical Society, acquired 1977; Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa; Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Massachusetts; Childs Gallery, Boston, in 1982/1989; and formerly the Leon Harris collection, then with Shepherd Gallery, New York, in 1990.³⁷

The "standard" Type II, with a corrected title, is known in casts at the Cleveland Museum of Art, acquired 1946; Currier Gallery, Manchester, New Hampshire, acquired 1977; Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts (cast by Aubrey Brothers, New York, acquired 1915); Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, acquired 1975; New York Life Insurance Company (probably acquired 1925); Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, in 1975; private collection in Seville, Spain (reported in 1982); by descent in the Adams family, Lincoln, Massachusetts, then with Hirschl & Adler, New York, in 1989; and private collection, New York, then with Christie's, New York, in 1991.³⁸

The final two variants among Type II reductions, which have modified coiffures that follow a reworked plaster model (Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site), are the rarest

of all the "small *Dianas*": the National Gallery example; and another formerly in the Stanford White family collection, now in a private collection in Santa Fe.³⁹

DL

Notes

1. Dryfhout 1975, 201–217.
2. Greenthal 1985, 137–138, fig. 136. The sculptor's annotation of the sketch, in an undated letter to "Stan"[ford] White, is "I will start the figure for the Tower today / something in this character . . . on a ball with drapery blowing in the wind."
3. Greenthal 1985, 138.
4. Los Angeles 1980, 119–120, no. 11, repro., which states that "the exact date that it was first modeled is uncertain," but gives "c. 1893–1902," following Lami 1914–1921, I: 53–61. Greenthal 1985, 137, caption to fig. 137, publishes without further reference or substantiation a firm date of "1878 [for the model], this cast after 1889" for a bronze statuette.
5. Greenthal 1985, 137, fig. 138: both sketches are in the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York, Stanford White Correspondence, Box 9.
6. Wilkinson 1985, 209–218, esp. 217.
7. The sculptor and the architect had met in 1875; see Dryfhout 1982, 27.
8. Such a hypothesis is presented as a fact in Wilkinson 1985, 212. Dryfhout 1982, 32, lists Saint-Gaudens' eight most celebrated public monuments: of their subjects six are men, the *Adams Memorial* is ambiguous, and only *Diana* presents a monumentally scaled female figure in heroic nudity.
9. Marie Busco, "Liberty Enlightening the Wind," in Los Angeles 1980, 122–123, no. 13, repro. of reduction. The relationships of date and height (though not of type) between *Liberty* and *Diana* are suggested in Wilkinson 1985, 210: the *Liberty* was designed and constructed between 1870 and 1883, unveiled in Paris on 4 July 1884, and installed in New York on 26 October 1886.
10. The flame of *Liberty*'s torch rises to 305 feet above mean tide in New York Harbor, while the tip of the first *Diana*'s bow reached 347 feet above the ground (a slightly greater altitude than the top of the tallest "skyscraper" at the time, the Singer Building, making *Diana* the highest structure in New York City). It was debated whether the huge figure should appropriately be seen as a finial to Madison Square Garden, or whether White's gracefully proportioned tower might more accurately be understood as a pedestal for the sculptural colossus; see Wilkinson 1985, 210, and 400, chapter 24, note 2. Dryfhout 1982, 111, no. 90, fig. 1, publishes an informative archival photograph of Saint-Gaudens' first popular public success, the *Farragut Monument* of 1877–1880 in Madison Square Park, with a distant (almost full-length) view of White's tower supporting the second *Diana* (dating, that is, between 1893 and 1925).
11. Although the structural techniques of the two monuments individually have of course been published innumerable times, this crucial aspect of their relationship seems never to have been mentioned as an explicit connection. Their relationship of height is suggestively connected in Wilkinson 1985, 210, to America's "period of fabulous firsts."
12. Dryfhout 1982, 28.
13. Los Angeles 1980, 258–259, no. 130, repro. of reduction; Wilkinson 1985, 214. It seems not to have been remarked that a second, companion work by Falguière, his *Hunting Nymph* (life-size plaster, Salon of 1884; bronze, Salon of 1885; marble, Musée de Toulouse, 1888: see Los Angeles 1980, 260, no. 132, repro. of reduction) is both chronologically and formally even closer to the Madison Square figure than his *Diana*. It depicts a running female nude balanced on one foot, with her other leg extended behind; crucially, it adumbrates the pose of the left arm extended almost horizontally (with a bow), and a right hand raised beside the head (having just loosed an arrow).

In comparison with its exaggerated naturalism, however (for which see Wilkinson 1985, 214), the chaste classicism of Saint-Gaudens' revision owes far more to Houdon.

14. Dryfhout 1982, 154, no. 120, repro.

15. A lively account of this eccentric personality is given in Wilkinson 1985, 214–216.

16. The central importance of Houdon's *Diana* to Saint-Gaudens' was noted in Arnason 1975, 111n. 105; it was also noted in passing in Wilkinson 1985, 213–214 (with the Houdon mistakenly postdated, however, by sixteen years).

17. Arnason 1975, 43–45, fig. 99 (plaster of 1776, Schlossmuseum, Gotha); pl. 41 (terra cotta of 1778, Frick Collection, New York); fig. 101, pl. 40a (marble of 1780, Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, formerly in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg); and fig. 100, pl. 40b (bronze of 1782, Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino, California).

18. Many of the conceptual questions underlying the origins and nature of a monumental nude *Diana*, with particular attention to Renaissance, baroque, and rococo prototypes, are masterfully explored in Arnason 1975, 43–45.

19. The photograph of c. 1886 by Lionel Moses was enclosed in a letter from Moses to Homer Saint-Gaudens dated 5 March 1909, in Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Hampshire: see Dryfhout 1975, 202, fig. 27; Greenthal 1985, 136, fig. 135. Dryfhout 1982, 155, no. 121, pl. 121-2 (reproducing the archival photograph by Moses), perhaps inaccurately suggests that this lost, certainly smaller, plaster model could have been the direct source for a much larger (52 cm.) bronze in the National Museum of American Art (see note 23). In addition to its evident size difference, the National Museum of American Art's bronze revises the relationship of the figure's foot to the support; changes the former half-sphere, which is seen in the photograph of the lost plaster, to a full sphere; and omits all the plaster's draperies and attributes.

20. Dryfhout 1975, 203; Dryfhout 1982, 194, no. 144, repro. (finished state at foundry).

21. Dryfhout 1975, 203; Greenthal 1985, 139.

22. Dryfhout 1975, 203, fig. 29 (illustration of first *Diana* installed at Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893); Dryfhout 1982, 194.

23. Dryfhout 1975, 203–204, fig. 30, and 216, no. 30; Dryfhout 1982, 155, no. 121, pl. 121-1.

24. Dryfhout 1975, 209: for the photograph as completed at Mullins Company foundry, see 204, fig. 31; for the final installation photos, see 205, figs. 32–32a (another in Greenthal 1985, 139, fig. 141). Subsequent authors are evidently incorrect in giving the installation date as "1894": see Dryfhout 1982, 205, no. 154, pls. 154-1 through 154-3; and Greenthal 1985, 139.

25. Dryfhout 1975, 209, with illustrations of 1925 removal (fig. 34) and Philadelphia installation (fig. 35); Dryfhout 1982, 205; Greenthal 1985, 139–141, with Philadelphia installation photo (fig. 143).

26. Dryfhout 1975, 209, fig. 33; 216, no. 33; Dryfhout 1982, 207, inv. nos. 897 and 1649.

27. Dryfhout 1975, 209; Dryfhout 1982, 207, with enumeration of casts: 1928 cast at MMA illustrated as pl. 154-11; that formerly retained by the White family is now also at the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. Further information on the later locations of these casts (especially the six of 1979/1980) is given in Peter H. Davidson, "Saint-Gaudens and the Huntress," *Sculpture Review* 40: 2 (April-June 1991), 28, 37.

28. Dryfhout 1975, 207; Dryfhout 1982, 208 (Chesterwood cast illustrated as fig. 36 and pl. 154-5, respectively); sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 1 June 1984, no. 69, repro.; and *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Christie's, New York, 4 December 1996, no. 69, repro.

29. Formerly collection of the Lords Revelstoke, Lambay Island, Ireland (from c. 1910): sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 31 May 1985, no. 173, repro.

30. Dryfhout 1975, 208–210 (Nichols House cast illustrated as fig. 38, private collection cast as fig. 37); Dryfhout 1982, 208 (Nichols House cast illustrated as pl. 154-6); Menconi 1989, 26–27.

31. Property of Carlotta Saint-Gaudens Miller: sold at *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 3 June 1983, no. 82, repro.

32. Formerly in an English private collection: sold at *American Watercolors, Drawings, Paintings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 21 September 1984, no. 109, repro.

33. Formerly Perkins family (by descent to Mrs. Palfrey Perkins, Boston); sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 26 May 1988, no. 97; Menconi 1989, 26–27, repro.

34. Sold at *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 22 May 1996, no. 110, repro.

35. Sold at *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 27 May 1999, no. 162, repro.

36. Dryfhout 1975, 209–211; Dryfhout 1982, 208–210 (the plasters are inv. nos. 890 and 1239).

37. Dryfhout 1982, 208–210 (Williams College example illustrated, as pl. 154-7); spelling idiosyncrasy pointed out, and its examples first enumerated, by Alice Levi Duncan in her catalogue note for the Leon Harris cast: sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 23 May 1990, no. 62, repro. See also Marie Busco, "Diana of the Tower," in Shepherd Gallery 1991, 92–93, repro.

38. Dryfhout 1975, 209–211 (one cast illustrated as fig. 36); Dryfhout 1982, 208–210; sold at *American 18th, 19th & 20th Century Paintings, Watercolors & Sculpture*, Sotheby Park Bernet Inc., New York, 17 April 1975, no. 66, repro. (unsold), and again at *American 18th, 19th & 20th Century Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors & Sculpture*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, on 12 December 1975, no. 77-A, repro.; Menconi 1989, 28–29, repro.; sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 6 December 1991, no. 57, repro.

39. Dryfhout 1975, 211, 216, nos. 40–41, with illustrations of plaster model (figs. 40, 40a) and this cast (fig. 41); Dryfhout 1982, 209–210, with illustrations of plaster model (pl. 154-10) and this cast (pl. 154-9). The version formerly in the Stanford White family collection was sold in the early 1970s through Davidson Gallery, New York.

References

- 1975 Dryfhout: 211–212, fig. 41 (detail of head); 216–217, no. 41.
- 1982 Dryfhout: 209–210, pl. 154-9 (full figure, with pedestal).
- 1985 Greenthal: 138–139, fig. 140 (detail of head); 174.
- 1994 NGA: 213, repro.

Henry Merwin Shrady

1871–1922

THE SCULPTOR WAS the son of a fashionable New York physician of international prominence (as well as an amateur artist), Dr. George Frederick Shrady (1837–1907), who coincidentally anticipated his son's major commission by serving as consulting surgeon to General Ulysses S. Grant during his final illness, in 1885.¹ Henry Shrady took his A.B. in law from Columbia College in 1894, and was a second-year student in the professional school of law in 1894–1895; an attack of typhoid fever caused him to withdraw before taking his second degree.² Instead he served from 1895 to 1900 as an officer of the Continental Match Company, established in 1894 by Edwin Gould (second son of the railway tycoon Jay Gould), whom Shrady's stepsister Sarah Cantine had married in 1892.³ Shrady's true profession emerged during his three-year convalescence (1895–1898), in which he turned to drawing: he began with sketches of household pets, since he had been attracted to animals from childhood.⁴ He had inherited an interest in anatomy from his father, pursued it more formally in biology courses at Columbia, and supplemented those studies by sketching a variety of animals from life at the Bronx Zoo. His father's natural talent for drawing helped to inform Shrady's early efforts; but apart from his undergraduate instruction in anatomy, and the paternal example in sketching and modeling, he was for the most part self-taught.⁵

While still engaged in his brief business career—and newly married, to Harrie E. Moore, in 1896—Shrady began to spend his evenings experimenting with watercolors: his first recorded work was a painting of a *Fox Terrier Seizing a Mouse* (c. 1896/1897, location unknown) which his wife submitted to an exhibition at the National Academy of Design; to Shrady's surprise it even attracted a buyer. He next attempted two versions from life of a group of *Kittens*, intended as an improvement on a similar picture that the Goulds had bought in Paris: it too was exhibited at the Academy (c. 1896/1897, collections of Alexander Shrady and Mrs. H. M. Shrady II).⁶

Frustrated by the difficulties of mixing and judging colors only in his recreational hours at night, Shrady turned to his father's second avocation of modeling in clay. He chose as his first sculptural subject his own saddle horse, which he rode—while in the city—in Central Park. Shrady was also able to ride on his family's estate, established before the Revolution, at Elms-

ford in Westchester County, and at the Gould family's hunting lodge in the Berkshires and their game preserve in North Carolina.⁷ Shrady studied equine anatomy with the aid of textbooks, as well as by the less orthodox technique of hosing down his horse before riding, so as to discern more clearly the movements of its muscles. The first result of these researches was a spirited sculptural model of four horses and riders harnessed to a caisson with two drivers, called *Artillery Going into Action* (1898/1899, location unknown).⁸ Alvan S. Southworth, a retired war correspondent and friend of Shrady's father—who himself had seen field service in the 1898 Spanish-American War—had the group photographed by De Silva & Hill, and the image published in a photo-engraving; that print attracted the notice of Theodore B. Starr (1837–1907), a jeweler and entrepreneur producer of small bronzes, who asked Shrady to expand the *Artillery* group, and to model further subjects for sale through his firm.⁹ As products of his long experience at the zoo, these evolved as a superb elk buffalo, called *Monarch of the Plains* (1899), and an equally impressive *Bull Moose* (1900),¹⁰ of which splendidly detailed statuettes were issued, under copyrights by Starr. These were some of the very first American bronzes to be cast by the lost-wax method, pioneered in the United States by Riccardo Bertelli at his new firm of Roman Bronze Works in Brooklyn in the late 1880s. The great American artist of Western subjects, Frederic Remington (1861–1909), was sufficiently enthusiastic about that new process—and about Shrady—to acquire an early cast of the *Monarch of the Plains*, and to become a friend of Shrady's. Between March and May of 1900, Remington designed his next sculpture, *The Norther*, specifically for lost-wax casting at the Roman Bronze Works, and thereafter used that process exclusively himself. The windblown virtuosity of Remington's *Norther*, in turn, strongly influenced Shrady's *Empty Saddle*, which was designed between March and December of 1900.¹¹

Among other sculptors attracted to the new bronze-casting technique in 1899/1900 was Karl Bitter (1867–1915), who saw Shrady's *Monarch of the Plains* and *Bull Moose* statuettes on sale through Starr, and invited the artist to prepare eight monumental expansions of them for the grounds of the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. Bitter further offered Shrady the

use of his sculpture studio in Weehawken, where the enlargements (to 8 and 9 feet, respectively) were carried out within six weeks: these were the first professional premises Shrady had occupied, and his independent association with Bitter constituted his only technical apprenticeship. His plaster *colossi* on the canal bridges at the Buffalo fairgrounds were a popular and critical success, and launched his career as a sculptor of public monuments.¹²

Early in 1901 a member of the James R. Howe Art Committee noticed a cast of *The Empty Saddle* in Starr's shop on Fifth Avenue, and on its merit invited Shrady to enter the competition for an equestrian statue of *George Washington at Valley Forge*, to be erected at the Brooklyn entrance to the Williamsburg Bridge. Shrady rented a studio in the Chelsea district of Manhattan (a block from Starr's premises on Madison Square), and produced five models in six months: the two he submitted won the \$50,000 competition, and—after submission of his final project in 1905—the monument was dedicated in 1906. Shrady copyrighted its working model in 1903, and from 1903 to 1904 he cast from it a small edition of statuettes by Roman Bronze Works.¹³

Shrady's meteoric success was crowned by his victory in 1902 of a nationwide competition, judged by a commission established by the United States Congress (which appropriated \$250,000 for the winning design), for the *Appomattox Memorial Monument to General Ulysses S. Grant*, to be erected in Union Square at the east end of the National Mall in Washington, D.C.¹⁴ Its seven enormous components—two lateral bronze groups of a cavalry charge and an artillery team, flanking a colossal bronze figure of Grant on horseback, surrounded by four recumbent lions—are placed on individual pedestals and a base ensemble by the architect Edward Pearce Casey (1864–1940), stretching some 262 by 71 feet along the edge of the Capitol Basin. The research, design, casting, and mounting of the *Grant Memorial* extended over a full twenty years: Shrady lived to see his masterwork installed (in respective campaigns of 1909, 1912, 1916, and 1920), but died in New York on 12 April 1922, two weeks before the memorial's dedication on the centennial of Grant's birth (27 April).¹⁵

The near-simultaneous victories of the *Washington* (1901) and *Grant* (1902) equestrian competitions, by a thirty-year-old “gentleman amateur,” suddenly elevated Shrady to the status of a nationally prominent sculptor. It is true that he had to overcome a few “false starts” near the beginning of his career: he was commissioned in 1903 by the Holland Society of New York to design an equestrian monument of *William the Silent* for Riverside Park, but that project was aban-

doned, unexecuted, in 1913.¹⁶ Karl Bitter initially asked him in 1908/1909 to design a bronze relief of *Local Indians Greeting the Explorer Henry Hudson* for the base of a Hudson-Fulton memorial planned for Spuyten Duyvil Hill in the Bronx; but after a thirty-year delay the *Henry Hudson Memorial Column* was completed in 1939 with a figure of that explorer (after Bitter's design) and two bronze reliefs (the Indians possibly after Shrady's lost design), all executed by Karl Gruppe (1893–1982).¹⁷ Shrady did design two further equestrian monuments which were completed, that of *Major-General Alpheus Starkey Williams* for Belle Isle Park, Detroit (1913–1921),¹⁸ and one of *General Robert E. Lee* (commissioned 1917, modified and executed in 1924 by Leo Lentelli) in Lee Park, Charlottesville, Virginia.¹⁹ Shrady's monumental works also include a seated bronze memorial statue of the railway magnate *Jay Cooke* in Duluth, Minnesota (dedicated in 1921).²⁰ He contributed a sculptural study of a *Horse's Head* to the National Academy of Design in 1908,²¹ and modeled a *Bust of General Grant* for the New York University Hall of Fame;²² he also executed a portrait of *Emily Morris* (present location unknown).²³ Shrady's numerous bas-relief portraits (the present locations of which are unknown) included *Daniel Bennett Saint-John Roosa*, a medical colleague of his father's (1903/1908),²⁴ as well as *Mrs. Archibald Douglas and Her Daughter* (undated).²⁵ He even made portraits of celebrity dogs: *Jay Cooke* is accompanied by his collie, and *Mrs. Louise Grau* of New York commissioned a canine group (location unknown).²⁶

Beginning his career as a modeler of *animalier* bronzes (the early genre represented by *The Empty Saddle*), Shrady developed with astonishing speed into a capable, and often inspired, monumental sculptor.²⁷ *George Washington at Valley Forge* won high praise from Daniel Chester French (1850–1931) and others, for its exceptionally inventive use of heavy draperies, as well as the original, naturalistic attitude of its mount.²⁸ His great *Grant Memorial* (whose model was selected in the competition by French and Saint-Gaudens) has been universally acclaimed for the brilliance of its solution to a complicated program on an immense site; and for the continuing appeal of its dynamically active groups, in which dramatically struggling horses are managed by realistically posed and accoutered (but idealistically rendered) human figures, “passionately portrayed in a kind of exalted realism.”²⁹ Even with his restricted oeuvre, Shrady is one of the magisterial figures of the “American Sculptural Renaissance” of the Beaux-Arts period.³⁰

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Notes

1. See George Frederick Shrady, *General Grant's Last Days* (New York, 1908); and Annan 1943, 17: 132. Henry Merwin Shrady's preeminent commission is the *Grant Memorial*, for which see the following text and note 2.

2. The fundamental sources for Henry Merwin Shrady are: Garrett 1903, 545–552, 8 reprints. (crucial report of a direct personal interview with the sculptor); obituary, *New York Times*, 13 April 1922, 19; Moore 1943, 132–133 (fullest résumé of biographical facts, based on extensive published sources, with supplementary material from Shrady's family); Paris 1943, 127–132 (revision of the same author's contribution in *Homage to Henry Merwin Shrady, Sculptor* [New York, 1942], 13–20, on the dedication at New York University of a *Bust of Shrady* by Edmond Romulus Amateis [1897–1981], repro. p. 16); and most importantly in the modern literature, Goode 1974, 243–248, 594 (by far the most complete discussion of the *Grant Memorial*—including previously unpublished drawings—plus new biographical data provided by Shrady's sons).

Shrady may have attended Columbia in part because one of his eighteenth-century ancestors had been a founder of its antecedent institution, King's College, New York (obituary, *New York Times*, 13 April 1922, 19). He took his A.B. in 1894, and withdrew from the Law School in 1896 (*Columbia University Alumni Register, 1754–1931* [New York, 1932], 800). He lived with his family on the corner of Fifth Avenue, at 8 East 66th Street, during his student years (*Columbia College Catalogue* [New York, 1893–1894], 165, and [1894–1895], 159). Columbia College was located on Madison Avenue at 49th Street during Shrady's tenure, since its new Morningside Heights campus was begun only in 1895 (Thomas J. Vinciguerra, "When the College Became the University, in 1896," *Columbia College Today* [New York, 1996], 12–13, 53).

3. Edwin Gould (1866–1933) married Shrady's stepsister Sarah Cantine on 27 October 1892. He was captain, 71st Regiment, New York National Guard, supply sergeant, Squadron A, 1917–1918; major ordnance officer, 1st Brigade, 1918 (*Who Was Who* 1943, 473). Presumably on the strength of this connection through his brother-in-law, and in order to gain military experience, Shrady himself joined the New York National Guard for four years upon winning the *Grant Memorial* competition in 1902 (Goode 1974, 244). Shrady was listed as "president" of the Continental Match Co. (Goode 1974, 244); that firm, instead of "failing [in] 1900" (as claimed by all previous commentators on Shrady) was actually consolidated with Diamond Match Co. in 1899 (*Who Was Who* 1943, 473); Shrady left after the merger, in 1900 (Garrett 1903, 545).

4. On typhoid fever, see obituary, *New York Times*, 13 April 1922, 19; on three-year recuperation, see Goode 1974, 244; on childhood interest in animals, see Paris 1943, 129–130; on first sketches, see Garrett 1903, 547–548.

5. On inherited interest in anatomy, see Adams 1929, 91; on biology at Columbia and life sketches at the zoo, see Garrett 1903, 548; on the artistic talent of his father, "who can draw well, and who has modeled a little for his own amusement," see Garrett 1903, 547.

6. On his marriage of 18 November 1896, see *Who Was Who* 1943, 1122; for survivors—his wife, a daughter, and three sons, including Henry M. Shrady, Jr., and Frederick Charles Shrady, a sculptor (1907–1990)—see Moore 1943, 133; Goode 1974, 594; *Washington Post*, 25 January 1990, D-7. On *Fox Terrier*, which sold for \$50, and *Kittens*, see Garrett 1903, 547–548; on the former, see also the interview with Mrs. Harrie Shrady in "A Great American Sculptor," *The Journal of American History* 7: 2 [Spring 1913], 1000–1014, esp. 1005–1006.

7. On the commencement of modeling, saddle horse, and Central Park, see Garrett 1903, 548–549; on the estate at Elmsford, between White Plains and Irvington-on-Hudson, where Shrady was born on 24 October 1871, see Moore 1943, 133; on the Gould family estates, see Robert E. Riegel, "Gould, George Jay" [brother of Edwin Gould], *Dictionary of American Biography* 7 (1943), 450.

8. On textbooks, including "Chauveau's *Comparative Anatomy of*

Domesticated Animals, and Wagner's *Standard Horse and Stock Book*," see Garrett 1903, 552; 549 (on hosing down the horses); 548, repro. (of *Artillery Going into Action*); and Adolph A. Weinman in Paris 1943, 29.

9. On Southworth photograph (repro.), and "the representative of a New York silver house, dealing in Russian bronzes," see Garrett 1903, 548; on George Frederick Shrady in the Spanish-American War, see Annan 1943, 132; on Theodore B. Starr, whose jewelry firms were, respectively, Reed & Taylor (1850s), Starr & Marcus (1864), and Theodore B. Starr Co. (1877, eventually at 206 Fifth Avenue), see obituary, *New York Times*, 10 May 1907, 7: 4.

10. On *Monarch of the Plains*, see Broder 1974, 241–242, pl. 260 (14-in. high example, inscribed "1899," in Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa [mislabelled by Broder as "33" in. high, and misdated as "1901"]). Other 14-inch high casts, each marked (twice) "1899," have appeared in the following sales: 19th & 20th Century Sculpture, Christie's, New York, 1 March 1980, no. 130, repro.; *American 19th Century and Western Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 22 October 1982, no. 88, repro.; *Important 19th and 20th Century Paintings and Sculpture*, William Doyle Galleries, New York, 28 September 1983, no. 94, repro.; *Important American Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 26 May 1993, no. 101, repro.; and *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 27 May 1999, no. 52, repro.

23-inch casts, each marked "1900," have appeared in the following sales: *Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings and Bronzes: From the Collection of the late Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 31 October 1975, no. 83, repro.; *American 18th, 19th, & 20th Century Paintings, Watercolors and Sculpture*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 29 April 1976, no. 78, repro.; *American 19th & 20th Century Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors & Sculpture*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 21 April 1977, no. 68, repro. (inscribed "No. 8"); and *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Christie's, New York, 4 December 1996, no. 168, repro.

On *Bull Moose*, see Gardner 1965, 109, no. 1948.149.25; Broder 1974, 241, 243, pl. 261 (example in Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa). Each of the known casts is 20 inches high, and all are inscribed "1900." Several have appeared in the following sales: *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 22 May 1980, no. 340, repro.; *American 18th Century, 19th Century & Western Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors & Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 17 October 1980, no. 10, repro.; *American Paintings and Western Art*, Phillips, New York, 21 October 1982, no. 175, repro.; *Important American 18th, 19th and 20th Century Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 2 June 1983, no. 67, repro.; *Important American 19th and 20th Century Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 8 December 1983, no. 151, repro.; *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 23 May 1990, no. 89, repro.; and *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Christie's, New York, 23 May 1996, no. 181, repro.

11. On Bertelli and the establishment of the Roman Bronze Works, see Shapiro 1981, 46–47, fig. 27 (*The Norther*); and Shapiro and Hassrick 1988, 189 (detail), 195–198, pl. 54.

12. On Bitter's commission, and offer of studio space, see Garrett 1903, 548–549 (reporting—from his interview with Shrady—that Bitter first noticed *Bull Moose* and *Monarch of the Plains* in Theodore Starr's jewelry shop, on a day when Shrady was also present there; that first encounter has been implausibly relocated to "the Bronx Zoo" by most subsequent commentators). On Shrady's only technical instruction from Bitter, see Paris 1943, 17. Bitter's studio in Weehawken was not far from Charles Schreyvogel's in Hoboken; the two New Jersey artists may well have known each other by 1899, and one may have introduced the other to Shrady in that year (see 1971.1.1, p. 00). See also Ferdinand Schevill, *Karl Bitter* (Chicago, 1917), xiii, 28–29, 32–35. The Buffalo Exposition opened in May 1901.

13. On *The Empty Saddle* as a catalyst (thereby dating the sale of its casts to the first months of 1901), see Garrett 1903, 549–550. On

Joseph R. Howe's gift of \$50,000 for the Washington equestrian commission, with its chronology, see Sharp 1974, 19, 66. On Shrady's studio "on the fourth floor of a building on Twenty-Fourth Street, near Sixth Avenue . . . over a stable" [with its description], and "his studio companion, Mr. Lawrence," see Garrett 1903, 550–552. The latter was possibly William Hurd Lawrence (1866–1938); see Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who Was Who in American Art* (New York, 1985), 361. For an illustration of the preliminary (winning) model of the Washington equestrian, see Garrett 1903, 547, repro. Different, 26-inch working model cast in statuettes by Roman Bronze Works, dated "1903" and "1904," with examples in the following sales: *Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings and Bronzes from the Collection of the late Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 31 October 1975, no. 9, repro.; *The Medallion Art Collection of American Bronzes*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 29 September 1977, no. 5, repro. (marked ©1903); *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 22 May 1980, no. 299, repro.; *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 5 December 1980, no. 70, repro.; *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 7 December 1984, no. 30, repro.; *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries: Including Paintings from the Collection of Mrs. George Arden, Part I*, Christie's, New York, 22 May 1991, no. 183, repro.; and through Hindman, Chicago, 22 May 1994, no. 15, repro.

14. For details of the competition, as learned directly from Shrady and including the second trial with runner-up Charles H. Niehaus, see Garrett 1903, 545–546, 550–551, with reproduction of final 4-foot model of main equestrian group. On Niehaus, see Gardner 1965, 109. On the original presentation model of the ensemble, reproduced, see William Walton, "The Monument to General Grant, in Washington," *Scribner's Magazine* 49: 3 (March 1911), 381. On the jury composed of Generals J. M. Schofield and W. Merritt from Grant's staff, sculptors Saint-Gaudens and French, and architects Daniel Burnham and Charles Follen McKim, see Moore 1943, 133. All previous discussions superseded by Goode 1974, 243–248, with 7 repros.

15. The substructures, pedestals, and four lions installed 1907–1909; artillery group installed 1912; cavalry group installed 1916; Grant installed 1920; infantry relief panels (one by Amateis, one by Sherry Fry [b. 1879], both after drawings by Shrady) installed on pedestal 1920s; see Goode 1974, 243–247.

16. Stott 1996, 25–32, esp. 29–30, fig. 7 (superseding all previous discussions).

17. Commissioned 1908/1909 by the Bronx Citizens' Hudson-Fulton Celebration Commission (for which reason the early Shrady sources routinely refer to a "Robert Fulton Monument"); erected between 1909 and 1912 as a 77-foot Doric column by Walter Cook on a 20-foot pedestal by Karl Gruppe, the latter apparently first intended to bear Shrady's relief: this first mentioned, as "a commission . . . to execute a large panel in relief, in bronze, of a group of Indians" by Walton 1911, 384. The site is in Hudson Memorial Park, at 227th Street and Independence Avenue: Rider 1923, 517; Joseph Lederer, *All Around the Town: A Walking Guide to Outdoor Sculpture in New York City* (New York, 1975), 197–198, repro.; Frederick Fried and Edmund V. Gillon Jr., *New York Civic Sculpture* (New York, 1976), 144–145, repro. of Gruppe's 1939 execution of Bitter's 1908–1910 model for the figure of Hudson atop the column, and erroneous mention of "bronze panels by H. M. Shrady"; and Donald Martin Reynolds, *Monuments and Masterpieces: Histories and Views of Public Sculpture in New York City* (New York, 1988), 343–345, repros. The two 6 × 9-foot bronze reliefs (on the north and south faces of the pedestal), of *Wiechquaeskeck Indians Greeting Henry Hudson* and *Henry Hudson with His Son* (only the latter of which has ever been mentioned in print) are both clearly signed by Gruppe. For this unpublished fact, as well as for photographs of both reliefs, the author is deeply indebted to Asbjorn R. Lunde, Esq., a member of the Circle of the National Gallery of Art and a resident of this neighborhood in the Bronx.

18. Dennis Alan Nawrocki, *Art in Detroit Public Places* (Detroit, 1980), 78–79, no. B-6, repro.

19. Shrady's model is preserved in the Jefferson-Madison Regional Library, Charlottesville: see Boyce Loving, "Sculptor's Plea," *The Daily Progress* (newspaper), Charlottesville, 20 November 1959, repro.; David Maurer, "Artist's Last Wish," *The Progress Plus* (newspaper weekly supplement), 7–13 November 1990; Betsy Gohdes-Baten, draft of nomination to *National Register of Historic Places*, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1996. These references were provided by Margaret O'Bryant, librarian, Albemarle County Historical Society, Charlottesville. An apparently unique bronze cast of Shrady's model for the *Lee Monument* has been identified by Douglas Lewis; it is a bronze equestrian group, 19 inches high, inscribed H. M. SHRADY. For information, see *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's Arcade, New York, 17 December 1990, no. 169, repro., as "Civil War Officer on a Horse" [sic].

20. Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1907); "Cooke, Jay," *Dictionary of American Biography* 4 (1943): 383–384; "Statue of Jay Cooke . . . Dedicated," *The Duluth Herald*, 8 October 1921, repro.; "Duluth[s] Tribute to Jay Cooke," *The Duluth Sunday News-Tribune*, 9 October 1921, repro. The site is on Ninth Avenue East and Superior Street, on the lakeshore in Duluth. These references and supporting information were provided by Patricia Maus, administrative curator, Northeast Minnesota Historical Center, Duluth.

21. Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Annual Exhibition Record of the National Academy of Design, 1901–1950* (New York, 1990), 473. On the basis of this submission, Shrady was elected an associate of the National Academy (1909); he had already become a member of the National Sculpture Society, the New York Architectural League (both in 1902), and was later elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters. See obituary, *American Art News*, 15 April 1922; and Moore 1943, 133.

22. Rider 1923, 511, reporting on the actual installation of Shrady's *Bust of Grant*, which was, however, replaced between c. 1925 and c. 1950 with a collaborative bust of the same subject by James Earle Fraser (1876–1953) and Thomas Hudson Jones (1892–1969); the site, with its 102 busts, is now the property of Bronx Community College. This information was provided by Ralph Roerke, director, New York University Hall of Fame.

23. Paris 1943, 132; the sitter is reported by Henry M. Shrady III to have been the wife of the Hon. D. Hennen Morris, subsequently chairman of the Shrady Memorial Committee, New York University, in 1942 (see Paris 1943, 12), and U.S. Ambassador to Belgium.

24. Roosa (1838–1908) was head of the Holland Society's committee for an equestrian monument to William the Silent (1903), for which Shrady was selected and prepared two models, before the project was abandoned in 1913 (Stott 1996, 30). See Gertrude L. Annan, "Roosa, Daniel Bennett Saint-John," *Dictionary of American Biography* 16 (1943): 132–133.

25. Paris 1943, 132.

26. See note 20 and Paris 1943, 132.

27. It was rumored that Saint-Gaudens selected the otherwise almost unknown Shrady for the *Grant Memorial* because of the Shrady family's prominent social position in New York. See Goode 1974, 244; and Moore 1943, 28.

28. Document quoting French's judgment cited in Sharp 1974, 19, and 66n. 11. An exact, full-size bronze replica of the Washington equestrian was installed in Washington Square Park, Kansas City, on 11 November 1925. See Board of Parks and Recreation Commissioners, *Historic and Dedicatory Monuments of Kansas City* (Kansas City, Missouri, 1987), 75, repro.

29. Cited phrase from Adams 1929, 92. In the words of Shrady's 1903 interview, "I shall model only from Americans, considering them the most beautiful type; nor shall I caricature them by depicting them as being over-sunken of cheek and emaciated. It is better to idealize in a work of this sort" (reported by Garrett 1903, 550). Compare Shrady's very highly idealized drawings in Goode 1974,

248, repro., with his executed faces of Fairfax Ayres, James Chaney, and Henry Weeks (all West Point, class of 1908) on the artillery group; see Goode 1974, 246–247, repro. Goode’s quite defensible judgment (1974, 246) is that the pendant cavalry group “possesses more dramatic interest and suspense than any sculpture . . . in the Nation.” Helen Wright called the *Grant Memorial* a “magnificent work of art, unusual, original, dramatic, and inspiring . . . one of the greatest achievements of modern sculpture” (“The Grant Memorial in Washington,” *Art and Archaeology* 13: 4 [April] 1922, 185).

30. Shrady’s small and remarkably poorly published oeuvre has never been accurately listed, and an analytical study of the whole is long overdue. For one exception, see Dennis Montagna, *Henry Merwin Shrady’s Ulysses S. Grant Memorial: A Study in Iconography, Content and Patronage*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Delaware, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1987. At least five of Shrady’s works have never been mentioned in the literature: an early cavalry group, *Saving the Colors* (see 1971.1.1, p. 00); a *Grazing Bison*, 9¼ in. high, Roman Bronze Works, undated, sold at *Important American 18th, 19th and 20th Century Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby’s, New York, 2 June 1983, no. 128, repro.; a horse (model for the *Grant Memorial*), 22½ in. high, dated 1903, one cast numbered “6,” sold at *The Medallic Art Collection of American Bronzes*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 29 September 1977, no. 99, repro., and *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie’s, New York, 23 May 1979, no. 187, repro.; Arline Chaffee Shrady (seated figure), 9¾ in. high, unique(?) bronze statuette, inscribed “To Dr. and Mrs. A[rthur] M[elville] Shrady, 1916,” sold at *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie’s, New York, 22 May 1980, no. 393, repro.; *Bust of George Shrady Byrne [1899–1911] as a Child* (patinated plaster), National Sculpture Society, *Exhibition of American Sculpture* (New York, 1923), 345.

Notes 16–20 and 22–24 were compiled with the invaluable assistance of Melissa Beck and note 30 with the help of Claudia Kryzarski, both of the NGA sculpture department.

1971.1.1 (A-1739)

The Empty Saddle

Model March/December 1900; cast January 1901

Bronze, 27.9 × 32.7 × 16.5 (11 × 12⅞ × 6½)

Gift of Joseph Ternbach

Inscriptions

On side of base, below horse’s left hind leg: H M SHRADY (together with H M S F[ecit] on lobes of four-leaf-clover, below)

Below horse’s right hind leg: COPYRIGHT 1900 / Theodore B. Starr.

Marks

All inside cavity of base: [cast no.] 2, in circle

Possibly foundryman’s initials: E.W., in circle

CIRE PERDUE CAST / ROMAN BRONZE WKS / N.Y., all lightly incised, the latter across center of underside cavity

Technical Notes: This bronze was expertly made using the lost-wax method, in two major parts: the base and legs are one component; the upper body is another. X-radiography reveals a very fine thin-walled structure and meticulous, almost invisible, joins between the various parts, with very little core material present. There are occasional, rare traces of surface filing, but otherwise the figure is unchased, the details entirely worked up in the wax

model and plaster mold. The surface composition of the alloy includes approximately 87% copper, 12% tin, and traces of lead, iron, arsenic, and silver. The horse’s free rein, which is attached separately, is composed of approximately 97% copper, less than 2% zinc, and traces of other elements. The light gray-green chemical patina appears as a thin bloom over the clearly visible reddish alloy, with no evident lacquer, wax, or later coatings on the surface. There are no marks of wear, except for the reattachment of the loose rein, which was done prior to acquisition by the National Gallery.

Provenance: (Theodore B. Starr and Son, New York, 1901). Art market, New York; purchased c. 1950s by Joseph Ternbach, Forest Hills, New York.

Exhibited: *Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts: Sculptures, Drawings, and Prints*, NGA, 1974, no. XI.

BY VIRTUE of its title, *The Empty Saddle* suggests an arrested relationship between an otherwise placidly grazing horse and its conspicuously missing rider, identifiable even in *absentia* as a U.S. cavalryman, invoking those who slightly earlier had been engaged in the “Indian Fighting Army” of the Great Plains and mountain states from the 1860s through 1890s.¹ Shrady’s horse is fully accoutered in bridle and reins (one of which trails on the ground, with the other looped over its neck), saddle blanket, cavalry saddle,² saddlebags, bedroll, canteen and cup, carbine (in its socket), and—on this early cast—a sheathed hunting knife³ attached to the front of the saddle’s left flap. The presence of all this gear in an undisturbed state (only one of the three straps of the left saddlebag is shown loose), together with the horse’s placid demeanor, partly belie the foreboding title; but another melancholy note is introduced in the multiple evidences of a restless wind, agitating the extremities of the horse’s tail, forelock, and mane. A contemporary reviewer who had interviewed Shrady referred to the composition as “a cavalry horse without its rider, grazing near the noise of battle.”⁴

The principal art-historical interest in this simple but affecting image relates to its position in an interrelated sequence of designs by a variety of artists. The initial concept of a windblown, riderless horse was not Shrady’s, but was adapted by him from two immediately preceding (and exactly cognate) small bronze statuettes of related horse-and-rider groups. One was Remington’s storm-tossed composition of a rancher or cowboy huddled on his pony in a strong wind, called *The Norther*,⁵ which was modeled between March and May of 1900 (fig. 1); from it Shrady derived his horse’s mobile stance, sharply blown tail, and agitated mane—the top part of which, together with the forelock, is almost exactly replicated on Shrady’s animal. Such borrowings, however, are generic enough to amount perhaps only to a kind of obligatory homage to the reigning master of Western imagery in American art.

The Empty Saddle is also inscribed on its casts as “©1900,” but in fact it was actually copyrighted—and then only as “a Model . . . to be reproduced in Bronze”—between 11 and 14 January 1901.⁶ Its design is intimately dependent upon that



Fig. 1 Frederick Remington, *The Norther*, bronze, 1900, New York, Sotheby's

of *The Last Drop*, a painting (fig. 2) as well as a small bronze (fig. 3) by Charles Schreyvogel (1861–1912), Remington's contemporary and chief competitor of these years. It was described in its respective copyright application (of ten months earlier) as “showing a trooper giving his horse the last drop of water from his canteen.”⁷ Identified by New York art critics in this same decade as “America's greatest living interpreter of the Old West,”⁸ Schreyvogel made several journeys to the Indian lands of the Western frontier between 1893 and 1909, accumulating the voluminous material that supported an almost obsessive passion for the topographical, figural, and equine accuracy of his Western paintings (his few bronzes constituting a distinctly secondary interest).⁹ He had been showing his paintings privately to prospective patrons in New York throughout the 1890s, but Schreyvogel first came to the attention of the public in December 1899, when the rescue picture of *My Bunkie* won the Thomas B. Clark Prize at the Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design.¹⁰ His first copyright applications date from that same month: one for a bronze bust of the Indian chief *White Eagle*, as well as the registration of *My Bunkie*; these were quickly followed by the applications to protect seven further pictures, between 17 January and 5 April 1900. Since the storm of publicity over *My Bunkie* had made Schreyvogel a public figure overnight (and since he is known to have been a slow worker), it is clear that his nine copyrights in the first three months of his critical fame must have been for the purpose of registering previously existing paintings. One of these was *The Last Drop*. The application



Fig. 2 Charles Schreyvogel, *The Last Drop*, oil on canvas, 1894/1899 (Horan 1969, pl. 38)



Fig. 3 Charles Schreyvogel, *The Last Drop*, bronze, 1899/1900, New York, Sotheby's

is dated 31 March 1900, which therefore dates the work to an undefined moment in the later 1890s.¹¹ Its composition is so closely related, both formally and thematically, to Shrady's *Empty Saddle* that these two works almost seem to be “before” and “after” images of the same incident: a cavalryman, low on water, gives the contents of his canteen to his horse; one then imagines him moving away from his mount, when another event intervenes that prevents him from returning.

The exact means of transmission of this image from Schreyvogel (ten years older, a reclusive “blue-collar” artist living in essential isolation in Hoboken) to Shrady (the fashionable son of a distinguished New York physician) has never been specified. Nor has the clear chronological priority, by almost a full year, of *The Last Drop* over *The Empty Saddle* heretofore been established explicitly. In fact, Shrady would have had ample opportunity to study Schreyvogel's sculptural model of *The Last Drop* as it was being frequently



Henry Merwin Shrady, *The Empty Saddle*, 1971.1.1



Fig. 4 Henry Merwin Shrady, *Saving the Colors*, bronze, 1899, Morristown, New Jersey, Macculloch Hall Historical Museum

cast, throughout 1900, at the same Roman Bronze Works in which Shrady's own *Artillery Going into Action*, *Monarch of the Plains*, and *Bull Moose* were being produced simultaneously.¹² Shrady's dependence on other compositions by Schreyvogel, however, predates this specific borrowing by at least one year further, as can be demonstrated through the design of Shrady's earliest table-size sculpture, which has not heretofore been mentioned in the literature. His first ambitiously scaled bronze group (immediately succeeding his *incunabulum*, the miniature *Artillery Going into Action*) is a rare early composition called *Saving the Colors*, which was inscribed "Henry Merwin Shrady 1899" (fig. 4).¹³ Not only is its anecdotal Western subject absolutely dissimilar to any other work by Shrady—while being completely typical of Schreyvogel—but both its governing concept as well as its individual characters can be shown to depend directly on Schreyvogel's specific prototypes. The latter had painted a dramatic stagecoach attack in the later 1890s, with the imitable title of *Saving the Mail* (formerly Jack N. Bartfield Gallery, New York): it includes a foreground cavalryman mounted on a galloping horse, which is precisely replicated in Shrady's *Saving the Colors* (1899), even to the exact poses of its head and all four legs.¹⁴ Moreover, Schreyvogel's contemporaneous picture of *The Dispatch Bearers* (1894/1899, formerly Jack N. Bartfield Gallery, New York) features the same relationship of one wounded and one supportive cavalryman, together with the same poses and gestures as Shrady's precisely dependent two-figure group, and with an intimately related theme.¹⁵ It is therefore evident that among the wealthy potential patrons with whom the impoverished Schreyvogel had deposited these canvases for purchase consideration, in 1898 or 1899, must have been a member of the Gould family—or possibly even Shrady himself, who evidently profited from seeing those pictures by producing an unabashedly derivative composition. Such straightforward borrowing by Shrady of Schreyvogel's themes may have precipitated the sudden sequence of nine

copyright applications that Schreyvogel submitted—for the first time in his career—between December 1899 and April 1900.

In the early or middle months of 1900 Shrady may have been drawn specifically to Schreyvogel's *Last Drop* primarily by impatience with what he might have perceived as its deficient design. He was quite possibly impelled by a natural urge to apply his own superior horsemanship¹⁶ and knowledge of anatomy to what can only be recognized as a dull pictorial rendition, and an even more mechanical bronze, by Schreyvogel. In fact, *The Last Drop*, as well as its apparently pendant composition of the 1890s of *A Friend in Need Is a Friend Indeed* (formerly Jack N. Bartfield Gallery, New York)—which was copyrighted a week earlier than its companion picture, on 23 March 1900¹⁷—are among the most uncharacteristically static of Schreyvogel's usually dashing, even explosive compositions. The overt sentimentality of their cavalymen's almost maudlin solicitude for their mounts was improved upon by the more generalized abstraction of Shrady's title, and the evocative, even haunting removal of his horse's rider. Fundamentally, though, it is the far more active and movemented pose of Shrady's horse, together with its much more thoroughly detailed naturalism, that make *The Empty Saddle* a more satisfying composition. The buoyant and springy pose of the horse's hindquarters specifically recalls the inherent vitality of Remington's horse in *The Norther*, while the slowly ambling gait of Shrady's grazing steed, suggested with superb economy and verisimilitude by his animal's forelegs, neck, and head, make it a substantial improvement upon the pose of Schreyvogel's model. Its extraordinarily sensitive handling of texture, not only on the horse and its tack but also in the grass and twigs of the base, makes it a most highly expressive image of life on the Great Plains.

The chain of interdependent borrowings represented by *The Last Drop* and *The Empty Saddle* did not end with Schreyvogel and Shrady in 1900/1901, but continued well into the twentieth century. Another riderless horse (with head and tail up), again entitled *The Empty Saddle*—this time with an expressly elegiac intention—was commissioned in 1921 from Herbert Haseltine (1877–1962) by the members of the Cavalry Club, London, as a memorial to their comrades lost in World War I. Its pedestal by Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) is inscribed with the title, and the dates MCMXIV and MCMXIX in memorial wreaths; its frequent bronze reductions (of 1925/1930) are almost the same size as Shrady's thematic prototype.¹⁸ Sally James Farnham (1876–1943), a pupil of Remington's, returned almost precisely to Shrady's composition with the pose of *Will Rogers on His Pony* (1938), whose reductions are again of comparable scale.¹⁹

Schreyvogel's *Last Drop* was made as a statuette group by various bronzecasters: by an unknown early foundry without a mark;²⁰ by Roman Bronze Works, New York, in 1900,²¹ and again, under its renewed copyright of 21 October 1903, to at least the total number of 150 casts, in 1903;²² as well as—perhaps independently—in 1903 by Cellini

Bronze Works, New York.²³ Shradý's *Empty Saddle*, by contrast, was apparently cast exclusively by Roman Bronze Works, on commission from Shradý's agent Theodore B. Starr, whose primary business as a jeweler engendered the often-encountered statement that Shradý's bronzes were cast in "the Gorham foundry."²⁴ *The Empty Saddle* was evidently made in a small, continuous original edition in 1901–1902, and marked with the few cast numbers—so far reported—of "2" (the NGA cast), "3" (R. W. Norton Art Gallery, Shreveport, Louisiana),²⁵ and "11" (present location unknown).²⁶ In addition to those three examples, all of which are dated "1900," though they were actually cast in 1901, only one other unquestionably early cast has been published in the last quarter-century: it was inscribed internally by Roman Bronze Works with the date of "1902."²⁷ Two further casts, whose markings are unreported, have also been on the art market in recent years.²⁸ Considerably simplified and unnumbered, summary aftercasts of *The Empty Saddle* are known as well, also produced—possibly at a later date—by Roman Bronze Works: one was in the collection of Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge, then at Kennedy Galleries, New York,²⁹ and another was part of an estate in Washington, D.C., in the 1970s.³⁰

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Notes

1. The "Indian Wars" of the late nineteenth century followed close on the heels of the American Civil War (1861–1865), with official Army operations against tribes in the Dakota and Colorado Territories occurring as early as 26 May–9 June 1865; they extended at least through the Battle of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, 29 December 1890. See Helen Rex Keller, *The Dictionary of Dates*, 2 vols. (New York, 1934), 2: 168–206.

2. Compare this saddle and its accouterments with those illustrated in James S. Hutchins, "The United States Cavalry Saddle," *Saertryk af Vaabenhistoriske Aarboger* 16 (Copenhagen, 1970), 145–162.

3. "The object that hangs from the saddle pommel on the left side is . . . a knife in a leather sheath. Although a sheath knife such as this was not part of regulation equipment, many cavalry soldiers obtained and carried such on field service in the West. They were very handy for butchering game, cooking, cutting tent poles, etc." Letter of 4 August 1983 from James S. Hutchins to Alison Luchs (in NGA curatorial files).

4. Charles Hall Garrett, "The New American Sculptor," *Munsey's Magazine* 19: 4 (July 1903), 545–552.

5. *The Norther* was begun on 5/6 March 1900, and was ready for casting on 7 May 1900; the copyright application was submitted on 30 June 1900, and it was registered on 2 July 1900. Shapiro 1981, 46–47, fig. 27, 106; Michael D. Greenbaum, *Icons of the West: Frederic Remington's Sculpture* (Ogdensburg, New York, 1996), 84–85, 193, repro. p. 84; the third and final cast of the edition of three was sold at *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Vol. I, Sotheby's, New York, 5 December 1996, no. 121, both sides repro., with details. *The Norther* was Remington's first sculpture to be cast by the lost-wax method, and his first to be made by Roman Bronze Works: Shradý, who was a friend of Remington's, anticipated him by a year to eighteen months on both these counts (Shapiro and Hassrick 1988, 190, 198).

6. Application submitted to Copyright Office, Library of Congress, by Theodore B. Starr, of 1126 Broadway, Madison Square, New York City (as "Proprietor"), on 11 January 1901; copyright registered 14 January 1901, as no. 59/86; photocopy of original document courtesy of the office of the Register of Copyright (in NGA curatorial files).

7. Horan 1969, 27, black-and-white plates 38 (painting), 39 (bronze).

8. Horan 1969, 41: repro. of double-page spread from *Leslie's Weekly* with quoted words as title; undated in Horan, but immediately following Remington's death on 26 December 1909.

9. Horan 1969, 16–17, 27–28, 57.

10. Horan 1969, 23–26, repro. p. 25 (from *The New York Herald* illustrated review of 1 January 1900).

11. See Horan 1969, 54–56 (copyright records); 46 (working slowly); 51 (routinely producing only two canvases a year). *The Last Drop* certainly dates from 1894/1899: Schreyvogel had returned from his first trip to the West by the end of 1893 (Horan 1969, 17), and the picture was evidently completed by the end of 1899 at the latest, since it was copyrighted with a photograph made from the finished canvas early in 1900. The clay model for Schreyvogel's painting served as the *maquette* for his contemporaneous small bronze group (see Horan 1969, 27).

12. This is demonstrated by identical foundry labels and overlapping copyright dates of 1899/1900, on Roman Bronze Works casts of Shradý's *Bull Moose* and *Monarch of the Plains*, and Schreyvogel's *Last Drop*: see Broder 1974, 241–244, pls. 260–261; Horan 1969, 27, 54, pl. 39. Indeed Shradý's study of Schreyvogel's bronze *Last Drop* evidently resulted not only in an exactly derivative composition—*The Empty Saddle*—but also in a fundamental change to Shradý's modeling technique. His early *Bull Moose* (see Broder 1974, 243, pl. 261) and *Monarch of the Plains* (sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 26 May 1993, no. 101, repro.) have very highly particularized surface textures, so exaggerated that Garrett (1903, 548, 549) repeatedly refers to them as "Russian bronzes," or small bronze groups directly emulating the fashionable, flickering surface textures of Saint Petersburg and Moscow bronzes of the previous decades, by artists such as Prince Paul Troubetzkoy (1866–1938). Schreyvogel's *Last Drop*, by contrast, is extraordinarily undetailed and smooth to the point of slickness; Shradý's *Empty Saddle*—as well as his later technique, subsequent to 1900—consciously replicates that simpler surface handling.

13. The group is 15¾ in. high and is inscribed ROMAN BRONZE WORKS / N.Y.; three casts are known: MacCulloch Hall Historical Museum, Morristown, New Jersey; and private collections in Texas and formerly in Kingston, New York. The latter cast was sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Christie's, New York, 30 November 1995, no. 85, repro. (incorrectly naming the institution in Morristown).

14. The work was copyrighted 17 January 1900: see Horan 1969, 55, pl. 18.

15. The painting is inscribed "1900," and was copyrighted 17 April 1901. Shradý's borrowing of the image and theme, however, proves that this image was available in some form by the end of 1899; see Horan 1969, 54, pl. 24.

16. Shradý was sufficiently wealthy—and experienced—to have been able to work directly from the model of his own horse, which he had ridden in Central Park from at least c. 1890; after he won the commission for the *Grant Memorial* in 1902, he was even able to bring horses, with their grooms, directly into his studio by elevator (see Garrett 1903, 549, 552). Schreyvogel, by contrast, learned to ride only as an adult (sometime around 1893), and never had the means to work directly from equine models in Hoboken, where all his compositions were produced on the roof or in a room of his own house (see Horan 1969, 16–17). When Shradý embarked on his studies for the *Grant Memorial*, he was able to choose from 300 equine models, which were offered to him by the New York Police Department (see Goode 1974, 245).

17. *A Friend in Need Is a Friend Indeed* was copyrighted 23 March 1900 and again on 17 April 1901: see Horan 1969, 54, pl. 33; the subject is a kneeling cavalryman binding his horse's sprained foreleg with a kerchief, while a companion looks on.

18. For the bronze reductions, see Meredith E. Ward, *William Stanley Haseltine (1835–1900)/Herbert Haseltine (1877–1962)*. [Exh. cat. Hirsch & Adler Galleries.](New York, 1992), 42, no. 48, repro. p. 41 (10 in. high, dated 1925–1927); sold at *American Watercolors, Drawings, Paintings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 14 March 1986, no. 131, repro. (13¼ in. high, dated 1925); and sold at *American Watercolors, Drawings, Paintings and Sculpture of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 28 September 1989, no. 150, repro. (13⅝ in. high, dated 1930).

19. Reproductions of Farnham's cast sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 25 May 1989, no. 174; and *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries Including Paintings from the Collection of Mrs. George Arden, Part I*, Christie's, New York, 22 May 1991, no. 206, repro. Both are 21½ in. high. They are undated.

20. Horan 1969, 8, 27, 57.

21. Roman Bronze Works casts of *The Last Drop*, dated 1900, and numbered respectively "33" and "45," were sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 4 December 1986, no. 149, repro.; and *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 25 May 1988, no. 149A, repro. (see also note 22).

22. Roman Bronze Works casts of *The Last Drop*, dated 1903, and numbered respectively "95," "119," and "150," were sold at Christie's, New York, 5 December 1986, no. 140, repro. (title of sale unknown); *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 30 November 1989, no. 111, repro.; and *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 3 December 1987, no. 154, repro. Cast no. "97" was sold at *Modern Works Chiefly by French and American Artists*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, at an unknown date in 1940 (Horan 1969, 57); it is probably to be presumed that the numeration of this 1903 edition followed sequentially after the numeration of the 1900 edition (see note 21).

23. The Cellini cast was sold at *Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings and Bronzes: From the Collection of the Late Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 31 October 1975, no. 56, repro.; because of its misspelling of Schreyvogel as "Schereyvogel," this may have been a pirated cast.

24. For example, in Broder 1974, 241.

25. The size, color, and markings of the Norton cast are identical to the NGA cast, except for its inscribed cast number "3," and its lack of the initials "E.W.," which appear on the Washington cast: letters of 10 August 1971 and 4 January 1972 from Jerry M. Bloomer, secretary-registrar, R. W. Norton Art Gallery, to Douglas Lewis (in NGA curatorial files).

26. Cast "No. 11," dated "1900," was sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 31 May 1984, no. 129, repro.

27. Cast dated "1902" from the M. C. Clark collection (through Custer Antiques, Toledo, Ohio) was sold at *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Christie's, New York, 3 June 1982, no. 96, repro.; *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 5 December 1985, no. 108, repro.; and *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 2 December 1993, no. 78, repro.

28. The first example, with unreported date and casting number, was sold at *Important American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, New York, 4 December 1986, no. 150, repro.; the second example, with unreported markings, was sold through Pinney's, Montreal, 18 September 1984, no. 132, repro.

29. Slightly reduced aftercast, at 10½ in. high: sold at *Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings and Bronzes: From the Collection of the Late Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, 31 October 1975, no. 104, repro. This cast was inspected in October 1975 by Douglas Lewis; it was later exhibited by Kennedy Galleries, New York, *Artists of the American West* (New York, 1980), no. 13, repro. The cast was stolen in July 1980; its present location is unknown.

30. Formerly in the collection of the late Constance Mellon Byers, the work was photographed at the NGA and directly compared with the NGA's Ternbach cast in 1972 by Douglas Lewis.

References

- 1974 Douglas Lewis. "The Empty Saddle, 1900." *Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts: Sculpture, Drawings, Prints* (Washington, 1974): 23, no. XI, repro.
- 1994 NGA: 219, repro.

Appendix: Analysis of Nineteenth-Century French Marbles

New directions in evaluation of stone sculpture

The study of marble and other sculptural stones has developed rapidly over the past several decades, shifting from an emphasis on color and visual characterization to include more rigorous analytical procedures. Detection capabilities of scientific instruments have improved dramatically, and reference databases have been established containing detailed quantitative and qualitative information on major quarry sites throughout Europe and the Mediterranean region. As these reference tools become more accessible and comprehensive, the publication of parallel information on well-provenanced sculpture has become increasingly important to further evaluate marble works of art. The National Gallery of Art is using these new methods to conduct a broad investigation of the marble sculpture in its collection.¹

Stable isotope analysis

Used for over twenty years, analyses of the stable isotopes of carbon and oxygen provide the most promising method to date of determining quarry sources.² The isotopic composition of marble varies at different geologic locations, as a result of conditions present during the formation and metamorphism of the rock, such as contact with other minerals and water. Caution must be used in interpreting results, however, as several factors can influence their accuracy. Natural variations in rock and the presence of inclusions or accessory minerals may cause shifts in isotope levels. Isotope ratios within an outcrop or quarry have been estimated to vary up to $\pm 2\text{‰}$ (parts per thousand), and variations have been found within a single apparently homoge-

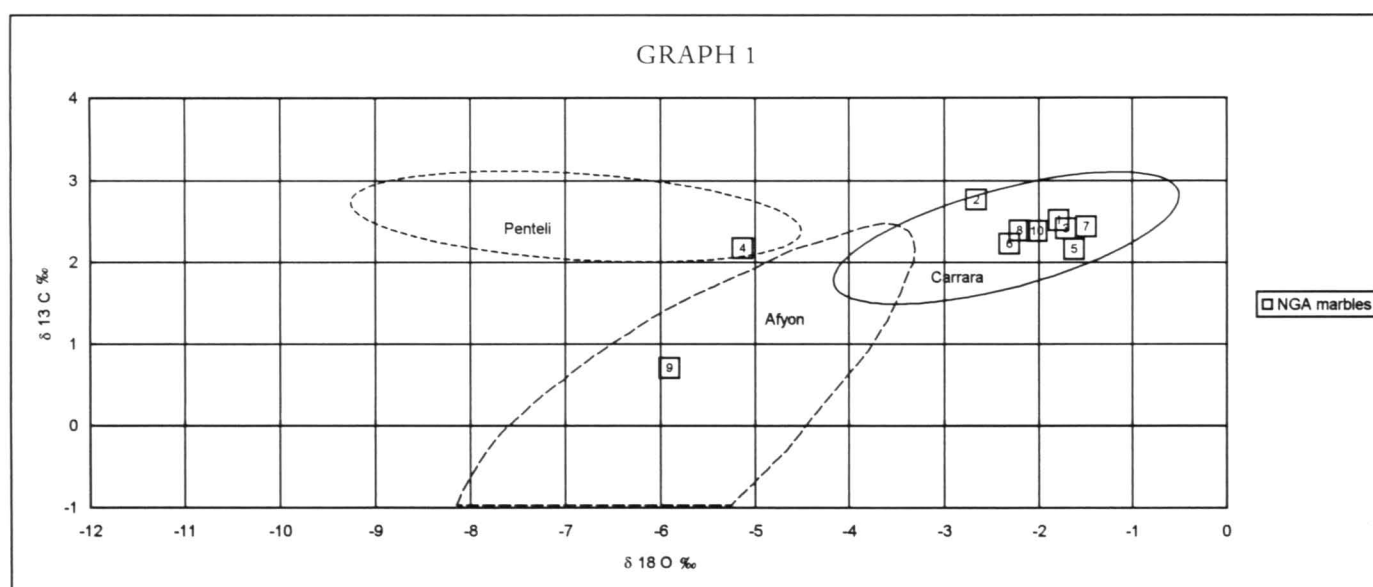
nous slab of as much as 1.02‰ .³ Weathering or contamination of the stone can also skew results considerably.⁴ In addition, data for some quarries overlap. Other analytical techniques such as X-ray diffraction, cathodoluminescence, and trace element analysis may be used in these cases to further refine the results.

Sampling

Approximately 10 to 20 milligrams of marble were collected from each sculpture, typically from the back, underside, or bottom edge, and always at the site of a previously existing chip or flaw. Outer surfaces, although typically not weathered (all works evaluated are displayed indoors), were scraped away to minimize contamination from possible treatments such as cleaning and waxing. Samples were taken using a small chisel rather than a drill. The solid chip produced could then be used for both isotopic and petrographic analysis.

Petrography

All works were initially examined visually with a $10\times$ hand lens for general color, mineral inclusions and distribution, and other macroscopic characteristics. A small section of the sample was mounted on a glass slide and polished as a petrographic thin section. Examination of the polished section using polarized light microscopy provides useful information concerning grain size, texture, and metamorphic strain in the stone, as well as very limited qualitative identification of accessory minerals. The mounted sample is available for further analyses.



Analysis

Samples were evaluated for stable isotope ratios of carbon and oxygen. Carbon dioxide was extracted from the calcite mineral phase of the stone using phosphoric acid, and the isotopes ^{18}C , ^{16}C , ^{13}O , and ^{12}O quantified using a Finnegan Delta E mass spectrometer at the Stable Isotope Mass Spectroscopy Laboratory, Geology department, University of Georgia, Athens. Isotope ratios for each element are compared to those of the Pee Dee belemnite standard, and the result expressed as δ , or deviation from the standard, in parts per thousand or ‰. Analytical precision for the measurements is $\pm .1\text{‰}$.

Results

Graph 1 plots stable isotope values for the National Gallery's nineteenth-century French marbles. Also included on the graph, but indicated by outlines only, are data fields for the main quarry sites of fine-grained, white calcitic statuary marble from western Europe.⁵ The graph indicates that the majority of the sculpture falls within the published parameters for the Carrara region. While isotope data for other white marble quarries (notably Marmara, Thasos, and Usak) plot in the same region of the graph as Carrara, these quarries are not considered in this study since they can be distinguished from Carrara by differences in grain size and/or dolomite content. A complete summary of the data for works in the National Gallery's collection, including some petrographic information and provenance determination, follows Graph 1.

1. Auguste Rodin

Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson),
1902–1903
1942.5.16

$\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.52
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -1.79
maximum grain size, millimeters: .18
accessory minerals: graphite
grain shape: subhedral
texture: granoblastic
visual characteristics: veined
provenance determination: Carrara

2. Auguste Rodin

The Evil Spirits, c. 1899
1942.5.17

$\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.77
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -2.66
maximum grain size, millimeters: .33
accessory minerals: pyrite, graphite
grain shape: subhedral
texture: heteroblastic
visual characteristics: spotted
provenance determination: Carrara

3. Auguste Rodin

Morning, 1906
1942.5.18
 $\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.42
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -1.71
maximum grain size, millimeters: .29
accessory minerals: K-feldspar
grain shape: subhedral
texture: heteroblastic
visual characteristics: spotted
provenance determination: Carrara

4. Auguste Rodin

Woman and Child, carved c. 1900–1901
1942.5.19
 $\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.18
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -5.13
maximum grain size, millimeters: .42
accessory minerals: magnetite or pyrite
grain shape: anhedral
texture: heteroblastic
visual characteristics: spotted
provenance determination: probably Penteli

5. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux

Neapolitan Fisherboy, 1857–after 1861
1943.4.89
 $\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.16
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -1.62
maximum grain size, millimeters: .52
accessory minerals: mica (phlogopite?)
grain shape: subhedral
texture: heteroblastic
visual characteristics: veined and spotted
provenance determination: Carrara

6. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux

Girl with a Shell, 1863–1867
1943.4.90
 $\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.23
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -2.31
maximum grain size, millimeters: .34
accessory minerals: not available
grain shape: not available
texture: not available
visual characteristics: spotted
provenance determination: Carrara

7. Auguste Rodin

Memorial Relief (Hand of a Child), 1908
1982.6.1
 $\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.44
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -1.49
maximum grain size, millimeters: .3

accessory minerals: none seen
grain shape: subhedral
texture: granoblastic
visual characteristics: no spots or veins
provenance determination: Carrara

8. Auguste Rodin

Figure of a Woman "The Sphinx," carved 1909
1967.13.6

$\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.39
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -2.21
maximum grain size, millimeters: .64
accessory minerals: none seen
grain shape: subhedral
texture: granoblastic
visual characteristics: no spots or veins
provenance determination: Carrara

9. Henri-Michel-Antoine Chapu

La Pensée, 1877/1891
1986.27.1

$\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 0.71
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -5.91
maximum grain size, millimeters: 1.05
accessory minerals: magnetite or pyrite
grain shape: anhedral
texture: slightly heteroblastic; deformed twinning lamellae
visual characteristics: no spots or veins
provenance determination: Afyon

10. Aimé-Jules Dalou

Portrait of a Young Boy (Henry Ebenezer Bingham?),
1871/1879
1991.2.1

$\delta_{13}\text{C}$: 2.38
 $\delta_{18}\text{O}$: -2.02
maximum grain size, millimeters: .38
accessory minerals: magnetite or pyrite
grain shape: anhedral
texture: heteroblastic
visual characteristics: spotted
provenance determination: Carrara

Discussion

Carrara marble is characterized by its very fine grain size (.6 to 1.3 millimeters in diameter with an average diameter of .8 millimeters),⁶ and crystallized under low-grade metamorphic conditions. Statuary quality marble from Carrara consists of 95% or more calcite, with accessory minerals including dolomite, muscovite, plagioclase, and epidote. Trace quantities of other minerals such as clays, pyrite, graphite, and magnetite are also seen.⁷ In finished works of Carrara marble, small pits are often seen where mineral inclusions have been washed or picked out. Figures 1 and 2

show samples of Carrara marble in thin section at 100 \times magnification.

Examination of the morphology of the National Gallery marbles shows that a number of the samples possess similar petrographic features. Samples from Rodin's *Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson)*, *The Evil Spirits*, *Morning*, *Memorial Relief (Hand of a Child)*, and *Figure of a Woman "The Sphinx"* show calcite grains exhibiting straight or curved sides, and generally uniform grain size (figs. 3–5). Some show the presence of smaller crystals of calcite along grain boundaries. Accessory minerals, including potassium feldspar, pyrite, and graphite, are present in low modal abundance. Examination of the works shows that areas discolored from impurities often appear as rounded spots exhibiting little or no deformation, again indicating a low grade of metamorphism.

Calcite grains in Carpeaux's *Neapolitan Fisherboy* appear subhedral in form and are less uniform in size than the previously mentioned Rodin samples. This marble contains very fine grains of what can be tentatively identified as a micaceous mineral, probably phlogopite (fig. 6). Macroscopic comparison of the marbles shows this work to be similar in color and translucency to Carpeaux's *Girl with a Shell*. The marbles used in these two works appear harder and more translucent than that of the other works from Carrara; they correspond to a hard marble described as *campanino*, referring to the bell-like tone it produces when struck, which is found at Pescina and other sites at Carrara.⁸ The two works by Carpeaux show the soft mineral inclusions and related pitting characteristic of Carrara's low metamorphic grade (fig. 7), although X-ray diffraction of a sample showed the matrix to be pure calcite.⁹ These similarities in isotope ratios and visual character indicate that the two Carpeaux works are both made of marble from Carrara.

Dalou's *Portrait of a Young Boy* also appears to be of Carrara marble, although slightly different in appearance from the others. This work is warmer in coloration and appears more translucent, but petrographic examination shows similar morphology to the other Carrara samples. The petrographic thin section shows discolored material embedded between the grains at the surface, which is perhaps a wax or another type of coating that has contributed to the warmer, yellowish color of the stone (fig. 8). X-ray diffraction of a sample showed only calcite present, although the diffraction pattern was somewhat obscured (probably by the embedded coating material). Thus the petrographic information, in combination with the isotope data, again supports the determination of Carrara as the source for this marble.

Two marble samples indicate a quarry source other than Carrara. Chapu's *La Pensée* shows a larger variation in grain size than the other marbles, with deformed twinning indicating a different type of strain than that typically seen in samples from Carrara (fig. 9). The maximum grain size noted is also over 1 millimeter in diameter, larger than any other works examined for this catalogue. This fact, in combination with the isotope data, indicates that *La Pensée* is

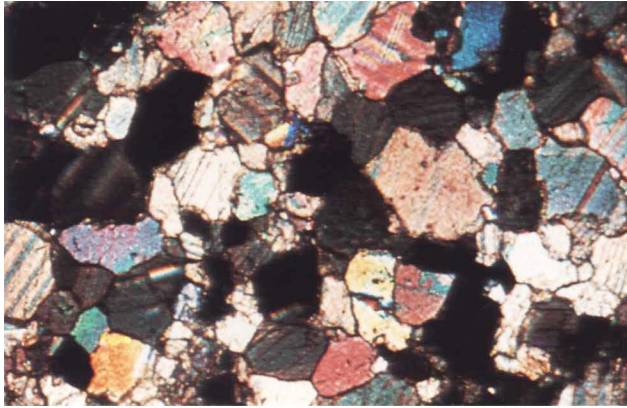


Fig. 1 Marble sample from Crestola quarry, Carrara, Italy (NMNH 113575-27), shown at 100x magnification under crossed polars

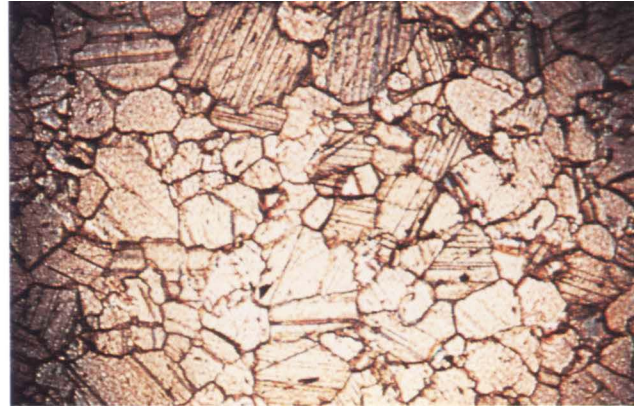


Fig. 2 Marble sample from Crestola quarry, Carrara, Italy (NMNH 113575-28), shown at 100x magnification under uncrossed polars

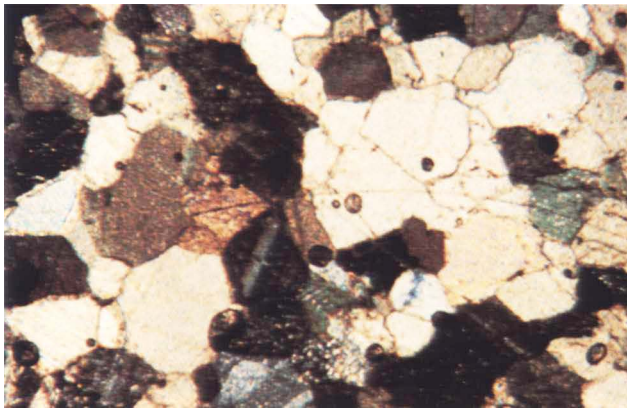


Fig. 3 Marble sample from Auguste Rodin, *Katherine Seney Simpson* (Mrs. John W. Simpson), 1942.5.16, shown at 100x magnification under crossed polars

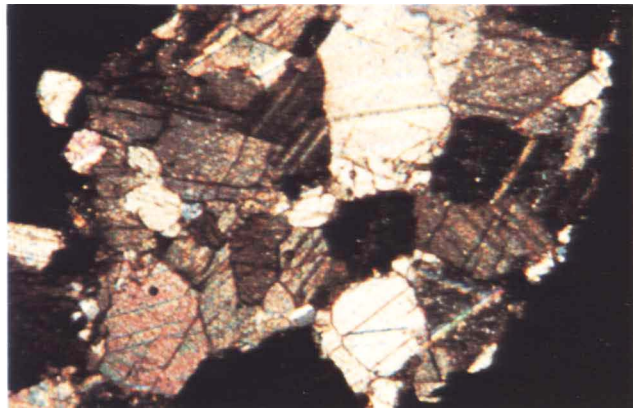


Fig. 4 Marble sample from Auguste Rodin, *Morning*, 1942.5.18, shown at 100x magnification under crossed polars

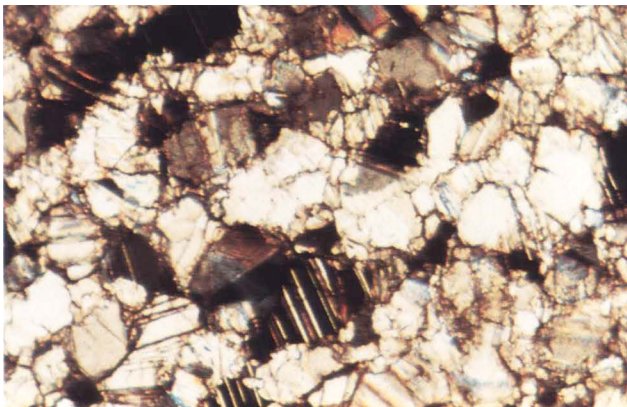


Fig. 5 Marble sample from Auguste Rodin, *Figure of a Woman "The Sphinx,"* 1967.13.6, shown at 100x magnification under crossed polars

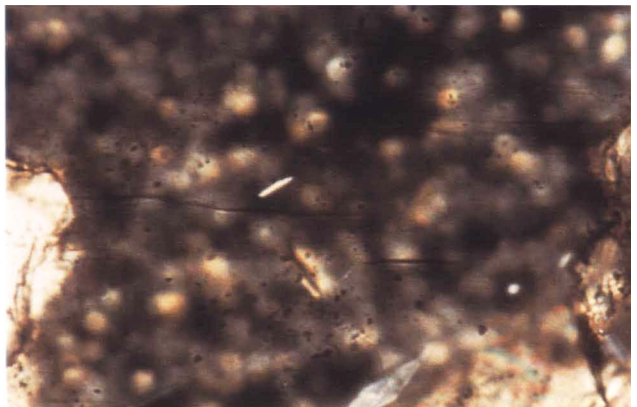


Fig. 6 Marble sample from Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Neapolitan Fisherboy*, 1943.4.89, shown at 400x magnification under crossed polars



Fig. 7 Detail of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Neapolitan Fisherboy*, 1943.4.89, showing pitting in marble surface

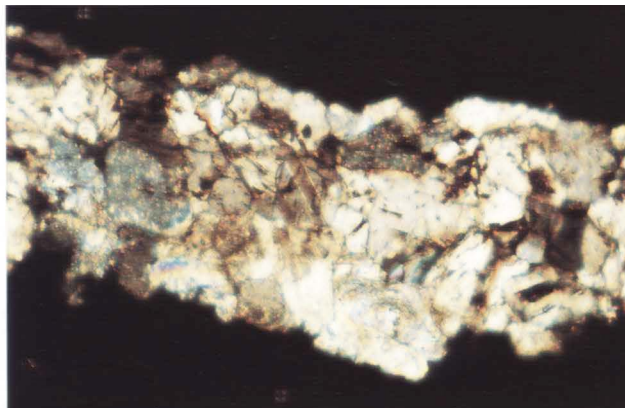


Fig. 8 Marble sample from Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Portrait of a Young Boy* (Henry Ebenezer Bingham?), 1991.2.9, shown at 100× magnification under crossed polars



Fig. 9 Marble sample from Henri-Michel-Antoine Chapu, *La Pensée*, 1986.27.1, shown at 100× magnification under crossed polars



Fig. 10 Marble sample from Auguste Rodin, *Woman and Child*, 1942.5.19, shown at 100× magnification under crossed polars

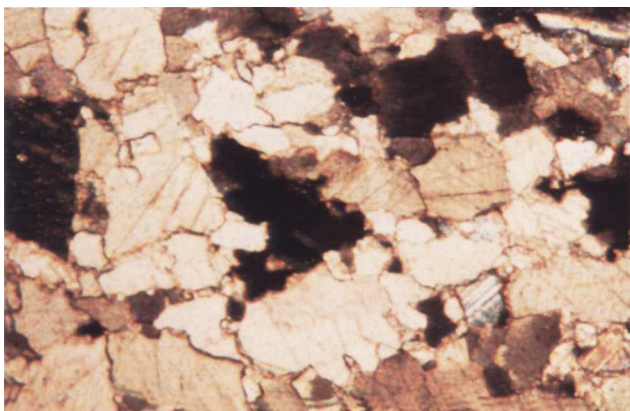


Fig. 11 Marble sample from Pentelikon quarry, Greece (HERZ PE51-13), shown at 100× magnification under crossed polars

almost certainly not of Carrara marble. The isotope data for *La Pensée* corresponds with that of several other quarry sites including the Pyrenean quarries at Saint Bât, France, the quarries at Thasos, Greece, and those at Afyon, Turkey. Because Saint Bât marbles have been used occasionally for sculpture by French artists, this site was considered as a possible source. However, Saint Bât marbles have an average grain size of 3 millimeters in diameter,¹⁰ significantly larger than that of *La Pensée*. X-ray diffraction of a sample from *La Pensée* showed only calcite present, eliminating the possibility of a dolomitic quarry source such as Thasos. The Afyon quarries, which produce a white calcitic statuary grade marble of slightly larger grain size than the Carrara quarries,¹¹ are the best match for this work when both petrographic and isotopic data are considered. The working properties of marbles from different quarries can differ significantly, and such a difference may explain the anomalies in Chapu's carving of *La Pensée* that are discussed in the catalogue entry. Unlike marbles from Carrara, Afyon marbles show a "tendency to flake away and be uncontrollable" when carved with certain tools,¹² which may have influenced the artist's design.

Analysis of Rodin's *Woman and Child* produces isotopic data that also plots outside the Carrara group. Again the isotope data corresponds to more than one quarry site, but the fine grain size, calcitic matrix, low modal abundance of accessory minerals, and low degree of metamorphism limit the number of possible sources. The provenance of the marble is not certain, but Penteli, Greece, offers the best match isotopically, and the petrographic information supports this determination (figs. 10 and 11).

Although the works discussed here represent only a very small sampling of French sculpture of the late nineteenth century, the results present important possibilities for further research. The preference for Carrara marble seems clear, which is no surprise given the popularity and broad distribution of this material over many centuries. Knowledge of when and why other quarries were used, however, may complement the art historical data in important ways. Commercial monopolies and trade embargos during wartime, for example, may directly influence the availability of different marbles. As the ability to establish isotopic fingerprints for marble improves, and as the body of information on marble use by different artists grows, the art historical value of such information can only increase.

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Notes

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2. Craig and Craig 1972, 401–403; Klaus Germann, G. Holzmann, and F. J. Winkler, "Determination of Marble Provenance: Limits of Isotopic Analysis," *Archaeometry* 22 (1980), 99–106; Norman Herz, "Stable Isotopic Signatures Applied to Problems of Classical Greek Marble," *National Geographic Society Research Reports* 20 (1985), 353–363.
3. Herz and Dean 1986, 139–151.
4. Norman Herz, "Isotopic Analysis of Marble," *Archaeological Geology*, G. Rapp Jr. and J. A. Gifford, eds. (New Haven, 1985), 331–351; Herz and Dean 1986; Nikolaas van der Merwe et al., "Stable Carbon and Oxygen Isotope Sourcing of Marble Sculptures in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Sackler Museum, Harvard," in Maniatis, Herz, and Basiakos 1995, 187–198.
5. The database for stable isotope analysis of white marbles was made available to us by Norman Herz. It contains data from numerous sources, both published and unpublished, including: Craig and Craig 1972; Herz and Dean 1986; Moens et al. 1988, 243–250; and Peter F. B. Jongste et al., "A Multivariate Provenance Determination of White Marbles Using ICPAES and Stable Isotope Analysis," in Maniatis, Herz, and Basiakos 1995, 143–150.
6. Luc Moens et al., "Scientific Provenance Determination of Ancient White Marble Sculptures Using Petrographic, Chemical, and Isotopic Data," *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture* (Malibu, 1990), 116.
7. Herz and Dean 1986, 142.
8. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Carrara e i Maestri dei Marmo, 1300–1600* (Massa, 1973), chapter 2.
9. Owing to the pristine surface condition of *Girl with a Shell*, it was only possible to remove enough of a sample for isotopic analysis and X-ray diffraction. Therefore a thin-section for petrographic analysis could not be made.
10. Christine Costadoat, "Recherches sur les marbres pyrénéens," *Les marbres blancs des pyrénées: approches scientifiques et historiques. Entretiens d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 2 (Toulouse, 1995), 109.
11. Moens et al. 1988, 245.
12. Peter Rockwell, *The Art of Stoneworking: A Reference Guide* (Cambridge, 1993), 28.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Frequently Cited Institutions

AIC	Art Institute of Chicago
BM	British Museum, London
BMA	Baltimore Museum of Art
BrMA	The Brooklyn Museum of Art
CGA	Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington
DIA	Detroit Institute of Arts
EBA	Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris
FAM	Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge
FAMSF	Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
FARL	Frick Art Reference Library, New York
LACMA	Los Angeles County Museum of Art
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MR	Musée Rodin, Paris
NCG	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen
NGA	National Gallery of Art, Washington
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art
WAG	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
YUAG	Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

Abbreviations for Frequently Cited Periodicals

AB	Arts Bulletin
GBA	Gazette des Beaux-Arts
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
MagArt	Magazine of Art

Abbreviations for Frequently Cited Exhibitions

NGA 1960	<i>Honoré Daumier</i> , NGA, 1960, no cat.
NGA 1965	<i>Wax Sculptures by Degas, Sculptures and Drawings by Rodin</i> , NGA, 1965–1966, no cat.
NGA 1969	<i>In Memoria, Ailsa Mellon Bruce</i> , NGA, 1969, no cat.

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Concordance of Old-New Titles

Titles changed since publication by the National Gallery of Art of *Sculpture: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Washington, 1994).

Artist	Accession Number	Old Title	New Title
Antoine-Louis Barye	1967.13.2	<i>Tiger Seizing a Gazelle</i>	<i>Tiger Surprising an Antelope</i>
	1984.62.1	<i>The Lion of the Colonne de Juillet</i>	<i>Lion of the Colonne de Juillet</i>
	1980.44.1	<i>Charles VII Victorious on Horseback</i>	<i>Charles VII the Victorious on Horseback</i>
Auguste-Nicolas Cain	1980.44.6	<i>Crowing Rooster</i>	<i>French Cock Crowing</i>
Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux	1943.4.89	<i>Neapolitan Fisherboy</i>	<i>Neapolitan Fisherboy</i> (<i>Pêcheur napolitain à la coquille</i>)
	1943.4.90	<i>Girl with a Shell</i>	<i>Girl with a Shell</i> (<i>Jeune fille à la coquille</i>)
Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, possibly with Rodin	1977.58.1	<i>The Abduction of Hippodamia</i>	<i>The Abduction of Hippodamia</i> (<i>L'Enlèvement d'Hippodamie</i>)
Aimé-Jules Dalou	1991.2.1	<i>Head of a Young Boy</i>	<i>Portrait of a Young Boy</i> (<i>Henry Ebenezzer Bingham?</i>)
Paul Gauguin	1963.10.239	<i>Pair of Wooden Shoes</i>	<i>Pair of Wooden Shoes (Sabots)</i>
Pierre-Eugène-Emile Hebert	1987.25.1	<i>Queen Semiramis Called to Arms</i>	<i>Amazon Preparing for Battle</i> (<i>Queen Antiope or Hippolyta?</i>) or <i>Armed Venus</i>
Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier	1980.44.10	<i>A Horseman in a Storm</i>	<i>Horseman in a Storm</i>
Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié	1985.52.1	<i>Gloria Victis!</i>	<i>Gloria Victis</i>
Honoré Daumier	1943.3.22	<i>Claude Baillot</i>	<i>Claude Bailliot</i>
	1951.17.4	<i>Hippolyte-Abraham (?) Dubois</i>	<i>Hippolyte-Abraham Dubois</i>
	1951.17.10	<i>Joachim-Antoine-Joseph Gaudry</i>	<i>Auguste Gady</i>
	1943.3.20	<i>Girod de l'Ain (or Admiral Verhuel?)</i>	<i>Charles Henry Verhuel, Count of</i> <i>Sevenaar (?)</i>
	1951.17.12	<i>Père Jean-Marie Harlé</i>	<i>Jean-Marie Harlé, Père</i>
	1943.3.16	<i>Alexandre (?) Lecomte</i>	<i>Alexandre Lecomte</i>
	1951.17.6	<i>François-Dominique-Reynaud,</i> <i>Comte de Montlosier</i>	<i>Marthe-Camille Bachasson,</i> <i>Comte de Montalivet</i>
	1943.3.13	<i>Pelet de la Lozère (?)</i>	<i>François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois (?)</i>
	1943.3.12	<i>Le Rieur Edenté (Toothless Laughter,</i> <i>Charles Philipon?)</i>	<i>Charles Philipon</i>
	1951.17.15	<i>Nicolas Soult (?)</i>	<i>Charles-Léonce-Victor, Duc de Broglie</i>
	1943.3.19	<i>Horace-François, Comte Sébastiani</i>	<i>Horace-François-Bastien Sebastiani (?)</i>
	1943.3.25	<i>The Refugees</i>	<i>Fugitives (Emigrants)</i>
Imitator of Daumier	1951.17.1	<i>The Laughing Man</i>	<i>The Smiling Man</i>
	1953.8.1	<i>The Man of Affairs</i>	<i>The Man of Affairs (L'homme d'affaires)</i>
	1953.8.2	<i>The Dandy</i>	<i>The Dandy (Le dandy)</i>

Artist	Accession Number	Old Title	New Title
Imitator of Daumier	1954.13.2	<i>The Stroller</i>	<i>The Stroller (Le bourgeois qui flâne)</i>
	1954.13.3	<i>The Lover</i>	<i>The Lover (L'amoureux)</i>
	1958.8.1	<i>The Confidant</i>	<i>The Confidant (Le Confidant)</i>
	1958.8.2	<i>The Representative</i>	<i>The Representative</i> <i>(Le représentant noue sa cravate)</i>
	1961.17.1	<i>The Small Shopkeeper</i>	<i>The Small Shopkeeper</i> <i>(Le petit propriétaire)</i>
	1961.17.2	<i>The Visitor</i>	<i>The Visitor (Le visiteur)</i>
	1964.8.1	<i>The Jolly Good Fellow</i>	<i>The Jolly Good Fellow (Le bon vivant)</i>
	1964.8.2	<i>The Listener</i>	<i>The Listener (Le bourgeois en attente)</i>
Auguste Rodin	1991.183.1	<i>The Age of Bronze</i>	<i>The Age of Bronze (L'Age d'Airain)</i>
	1942.5.10	<i>The Age of Bronze</i>	<i>The Age of Bronze (L'Age d'Airain)</i>
	1942.5.11	<i>The Walking Man</i>	<i>The Walking Man</i> <i>(L'Homme qui marche)</i>
	1942.5.12	<i>The Thinker</i>	<i>The Thinker (Le Penseur)</i>
	1942.5.15	<i>The Kiss</i>	<i>The Kiss (Le Baiser)</i>
	1942.5.8	<i>Female Hand (Pianist)</i>	<i>Right Hand</i>
	1942.5.26	<i>Hand of a Pianist</i>	<i>Right Hand</i>
	1942.5.27	<i>Hand of a Pianist</i>	<i>Right Hand</i>
	1942.5.28	<i>Study for a Hand of a Burgher of Calais</i>	<i>Right Hand</i>
	1942.5.13	<i>A Burgher of Calais</i>	<i>A Burgher of Calais (Jean d'Aire)</i>
	1942.5.19	<i>Young Woman and Winged Child</i>	<i>Woman and Child</i> <i>(originally Première Impression d'Amour)</i>
	1942.5.21	<i>Mask of Mrs. Simpson</i>	<i>Mask of Katherine Seney Simpson</i> <i>(Mrs. John W. Simpson)</i>
	1942.5.16	<i>Mrs. John W. Simpson</i>	<i>Katherine Seney Simpson</i> <i>(Mrs. John W. Simpson)</i>
	1982.6.1	<i>Memorial Relief (Hand of Child)</i>	<i>Memorial Relief (Hand of a Child)</i>
	1995.47.21	<i>Head of Hanako</i>	<i>Head of Hanako (Ohta Hisa)</i>
	1988.54.1	<i>Lady Sackville</i>	<i>Victoria Sackville-West, Lady Sackville</i>
	1942.5.22	<i>Hand of Rodin with Female Figure</i>	<i>Hand of Rodin with a Female Figure</i>

Concordance of Old-New Attributions

Attributions changed since publication by the National Gallery of Art of *Sculpture: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Washington, 1994).

Accession Number	Old Attribution	New Attribution
1977.58.1	Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse	Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, possibly with Auguste Rodin

Concordance of New-Old Accession Numbers

1942.5.3	A-67	Auguste Rodin, <i>Bust of a Woman</i>
1942.5.4	A-68	Auguste Rodin, <i>Bust of a Young Girl</i>
1942.5.5	A-69	Auguste Rodin, <i>Statuette of a Woman</i>
1942.5.6	A-70	Auguste Rodin, <i>Statuette of a Woman</i>
1942.5.7	A-71	Auguste Rodin, <i>Eve Eating the Apple</i>
1942.5.8	A-72	Auguste Rodin, <i>Right Hand</i>
1942.5.9	A-73	Auguste Rodin, <i>La France</i>
1942.5.10	A-74	Auguste Rodin, <i>The Age of Bronze (L'Age d'Airain)</i>
1942.5.11	A-75	Auguste Rodin, <i>The Walking Man (L'Homme qui marche)</i>
1942.5.12	A-76	Auguste Rodin, <i>The Thinker (Le Penseur)</i>
1942.5.13	A-77	Auguste Rodin, <i>A Burgher of Calais (Jean d'Aire)</i>
1942.5.14	A-78	Auguste Rodin, <i>Head of Balzac</i>
1942.5.15	A-79	Auguste Rodin, <i>The Kiss (Le Baiser)</i>
1942.5.16	A-80	Auguste Rodin, <i>Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson)</i>
1942.5.17	A-81	Auguste Rodin, <i>The Evil Spirits</i>
1942.5.18	A-82	Auguste Rodin, <i>Morning</i>
1942.5.19	A-83	Auguste Rodin, <i>Woman and Child (originally Première Impression d'Amour)</i>
1942.5.20	A-84	Auguste Rodin, <i>Aurora and Tithonus</i>
1942.5.21	A-85	Auguste Rodin, <i>Mask of Katherine Seney Simpson (Mrs. John W. Simpson)</i>
1942.5.22	A-86	Auguste Rodin, <i>Hand of Rodin with a Female Figure</i>
1942.5.23	A-87	Auguste Rodin, <i>The Lovers</i>
1942.5.24	A-88	Auguste Rodin, <i>Head of a Woman</i>
1942.5.25	A-89	Auguste Rodin, <i>Head of Saint John the Baptist</i>
1942.5.26	A-90	Auguste Rodin, <i>Right Hand</i>
1942.5.27	A-91	Auguste Rodin, <i>Right Hand</i>
1942.5.28	A-92	Auguste Rodin, <i>Right Hand</i>
1942.5.29	A-93	Auguste Rodin, <i>Left Hand</i>
1942.5.30	A-94	Auguste Rodin, <i>Right Foot</i>
1943.3.1	A-1673	Honoré Daumier, <i>Joseph, Baron de Podenas</i>
1943.3.2	A-1674	Honoré Daumier, <i>Benjamin Delessert</i>
1943.3.3	A-1675	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jean-Claude Fulchiron</i>
1943.3.4	A-1676	Honoré Daumier, <i>Auguste-Hilarion, Comte de Kératry</i>
1943.3.5	A-1677	Honoré Daumier, <i>Félix Barthe</i>
1943.3.6	A-1678	Honoré Daumier, <i>Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard</i>
1943.3.7	A-1679	Honoré Daumier, <i>Auguste-Hippolyte Ganneron</i>
1943.3.8	A-1680	Honoré Daumier, <i>Dr. Clément-François-Victor-Gabriel Prunelle</i>
1943.3.9	A-1681	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jean-Pons-Guillaume Viennet</i>
1943.3.10	A-1682	Honoré Daumier, <i>André-Marie-Jean-Jacques Dupin Aîné</i>
1943.3.11	A-1683	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jean-Marie Fruchard</i>
1943.3.12	A-1684	Honoré Daumier, <i>Charles Philipon</i>
1943.3.13	A-1685	Honoré Daumier, <i>François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois (?)</i>
1943.3.14	A-1686	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jean-Auguste Chevandier de Valdrome</i>
1943.3.15	A-1687	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jean-Charles Persil</i>
1943.3.16	A-1688	Honoré Daumier, <i>Alexandre Lecomte</i>
1943.3.17	A-1689	Honoré Daumier, <i>Antoine Odier</i>
1943.3.18	A-1690	Honoré Daumier, <i>Charles-Malo-François, Comte de Lameth</i>
1943.3.19	A-1691	Honoré Daumier, <i>Horace-François-Bastien Sebastiani (?)</i>
1943.3.20	A-1692	Honoré Daumier, <i>Charles Henry Verhuel, Count of Sevenaar (?)</i>
1943.3.21	A-1693	Honoré Daumier, <i>Charles-Léonard Gallois</i>
1943.3.22	A-1694	Honoré Daumier, <i>Claude Bailliot</i>
1943.3.23	A-1695	Honoré Daumier, <i>Alfred-Frédéric-Pierre, Comte de Falloux</i>

1943.3.24	A-1696	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jean Vatout</i>
1943.3.25	A-1718	Honoré Daumier, <i>Fugitives (Emigrants)</i>
1943.4.89	A-64	Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, <i>Neapolitan Fisherboy (Pêcheur napolitain à la coquille)</i>
1943.4.90	A-65	Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, <i>Girl with a Shell (Jeune fille à la coquille)</i>
1951.17.1	A-1598	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Smiling Man</i>
1951.17.2	A-1599	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>Man in a Tall Hat</i>
1951.17.3	A-1600	Honoré Daumier, <i>Ratapoil</i>
1951.17.4	A-1601	Honoré Daumier, <i>Hippolyte-Abraham Dubois</i>
1951.17.5	A-1602	Honoré Daumier, <i>Antoine-Maurice-Apollinaire, Comte d'Argout</i>
1951.17.6	A-1603	Honoré Daumier, <i>Marthe-Camille Bachasson, Comte de Montalivet</i>
1951.17.7	A-1604	Honoré Daumier, <i>Laurent Cunin, called Cunin-Gridaine</i>
1951.17.8	A-1605	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jacques-Antoine-Adrien, Baron Delort</i>
1951.17.9	A-1606	Honoré Daumier, <i>Charles-Guillaume Etienne</i>
1951.17.10	A-1607	Honoré Daumier, <i>Auguste Gady</i>
1951.17.11	A-1608	Honoré Daumier, <i>François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot</i>
1951.17.12	A-1609	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jean-Marie Harlé, Père</i>
1951.17.13	A-1610	Honoré Daumier, <i>Jacques Lefèvre</i>
1951.17.14	A-1611	Honoré Daumier, <i>Alexandre-Simon Pataille</i>
1951.17.15	A-1612	Honoré Daumier, <i>Charles-Léonce-Victor, Duc de Broglie</i>
1953.8.1	A-1638	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Man of Affairs (L'homme d'affaires)</i>
1953.8.2	A-1639	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Dandy (Le dandy)</i>
1954.13.2	A-1641	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Stroller (Le bourgeois qui flâne)</i>
1954.13.3	A-1642	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Lover (L'amoureux)</i>
1956.14.2	A-1670	Aimé-Jules Dalou, <i>Alphonse Legros</i>
1958.8.1	A-1697	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Confidant (Le confidant)</i>
1958.8.2	A-1698	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Representative (Le représentant noue sa cravate)</i>
1961.17.1	A-1702	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Small Shopkeeper (Le petit propriétaire)</i>
1961.17.2	A-1703	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Visitor (Le visiteur)</i>
1963.10.238	A-1707	Paul Gauguin, <i>Père Paillard</i>
1963.10.239	A-1708	Paul Gauguin, <i>Pair of Wooden Shoes (Sabots)</i>
1964.8.1	A-1715	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Jolly Good Fellow (Le bon vivant)</i>
1964.8.2	A-1716	Imitator of Honoré Daumier, <i>The Listener (Le bourgeois en attente)</i>
1967.13.2	A-1725	Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Tiger Surprising an Antelope</i>
1967.13.6	A-1729	Auguste Rodin, <i>Figure of a Woman "The Sphinx"</i>
1968.2.1	A-1730	William Rimmer, <i>Dying Centaur</i>
1970.30.1	A-1737	Paul Gauguin, <i>Eve</i>
1971.1.1	A-1739	Henry Merwin Shrady, <i>The Empty Saddle</i>
1972.78.1	A-1738	Auguste Rodin, <i>Gustav Mahler</i>
1974.29.1	A-1759	Auguste Rodin, <i>Thomas Fortune Ryan</i>
1975.11.1	A-1764	Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, <i>Thomas Jefferson</i>
1975.12.1	A-1766	Augustus Saint-Gaudens, <i>Diana of the Tower</i>
1976.3.1	A-1775	Johannes Götz, <i>Boy Balancing on a Ball</i>
1977.27.1	A-1780	Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, <i>Ambroise Paré</i>
1977.58.1	A-1785	Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse, possibly with Auguste Rodin, <i>The Abduction of Hippodamia (L'Enlèvement d'Hippodamie)</i>
1978.71.1	A-1819	Auguste Rodin, <i>The Sirens</i>
1980.44.1	A-1830	Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Charles VII the Victorious on Horseback</i>
1980.44.2	A-1831	Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Gaston de Foix on Horseback</i>
1980.44.3	A-1832	Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>General Bonaparte on Horseback</i>
1980.44.4	A-1833	Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Horse Attacked by a Tiger</i>
1980.44.5	A-1834	Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Two Bears Wrestling</i>
1980.44.6	A-1835	Auguste-Nicolas Cain, <i>French Cock Crowing</i>
1980.44.7	A-1836	Théodore Géricault, <i>Flayed Horse I</i>
1980.44.8	A-1837	Théodore Géricault, <i>Flayed Horse II</i>
1980.44.9	A-1838	Théodore Géricault, <i>Flayed Horse III</i>
1980.44.10	A-1839	Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonnier, <i>Horseman in a Storm</i>

1981.55.1	A-1840	Jean-Jacques [James] Pradier, <i>Chloris Caressed by Zephyr</i>
1982.6.1	A-1852	Auguste Rodin, <i>Memorial Relief (Hand of a Child)</i>
1983.1.51	A-1861	Aimé-Jules Dalou, <i>Mother and Child</i>
1983.65.1		Christophe Fratin, <i>Cow Lowing Over a Fence</i>
1984.62.1		Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Lion of the Colonne de Juillet</i>
1984.67.1		Sir Alfred Gilbert, <i>Comedy and Tragedy: 'Sic Vita'</i>
1984.85.1		Auguste Rodin, <i>Jean d'Aire</i>
1985.52.1		Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié, <i>Gloria Victis</i>
1986.27.1		Henri-Michel-Antoine Chapu, <i>La Pensée</i>
1986.61.1		Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Juno with Her Peacock</i>
1987.25.1		Pierre-Eugène-Emile Hébert, <i>Amazon Preparing for Battle (Queen Antiope or Hippolyta?) or Armed Venus</i>
1988.54.1		Auguste Rodin, <i>Victoria Sackville-West, Lady Sackville</i>
1990.31.1		Augustus Saint-Gaudens, <i>Charles Stewart Butler and Lawrence Smith Butler</i>
1990.68.2		Aimé-Jules Dalou, <i>The Espousal (The Passage of the Rhine)</i>
1990.128.1		Joseph Chinard, <i>A Lady</i>
1991.2.1		Aimé-Jules Dalou, <i>Portrait of a Young Boy (Henry Ebenezer Bingham?)</i>
1991.84.1		Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, <i>Allegory of Africa</i>
1991.95.1		Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, <i>François-Pascal-Simon, Baron Gérard</i>
1991.125.1		Antonio Canova, <i>Winged Victory</i>
1991.183.1		Auguste Rodin, <i>The Age of Bronze (L'Age d'Airain)</i>
1992.55.23		Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Virginia Deer</i>
1992.80.1		Bela Lyon Pratt, <i>Clara and Lizzie, Daughters of Frederick and Elizabeth Shattuck</i>
1995.27.8		Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Walking Panther</i>
1995.47.21		Auguste Rodin, <i>Head of Hanako (Ohta Hisa)</i>
1995.75.5		Antoine-Louis Barye, <i>Python Swallowing a Doe</i>