

BREAKING THE MOLD: SCULPTURE IN PARIS FROM DAUMIER TO RODIN

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The sculptor, the man who gives, even outside of all literary considerations, the plastic representation of a human face but who does not want to make simply a ‘photo-sculpture’, has no other means at his disposal than to underline the primary characteristics of the face: for example of pushing forward the lips in a mocking fold indicating a satirical expression, of accentuating the arch of the eyebrow and of enlarging the eye sockets so that the resulting shadows express reflection and observation and finally to exaggerate the jutting and dimension of the forehead in order to underline the creative faculty. This is precisely what Mr. Rodin has done with the head of his Balzac.¹

—Arsène Alexandre, art critic, 1898

The Committee of the Société des Gens de Lettres regrets that it has the duty to protest against the sketch exhibited at the Salon by M. Rodin, in which it refuses to recognize the statue of Balzac.²

—Société des Gens de Lettres, 1898

The vocal and often heated response to Auguste Rodin’s (1840–1917) *Monument to Balzac* (Fig. 17) marked the coming-of-age of critical evaluation of modern sculpture. Arsène Alexandre was one of the most astute observers and defenders of French contemporary art at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1886, upon seeing Georges Seurat’s (1859–1891) *Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte* at the eighth and final Impressionist exhibition, Alexandre became one of the earliest supporters of the group of artists that his colleague Félix Fénéon that year dubbed “neo-impressionists.”³ Within the

next decade in addition to writing an extensive history of caricature from ancient times to his own, Alexandre authored the first definitive critical studies and biographies of Honoré Daumier (1808–1879); the great Romantic sculptor of animals, Antoine-Louis Barye (1795–1875); and the sculptor/ceramist Jean Carriès (1855–1894).⁴

Alexandre’s respect for innovative contemporary artists and his deep appreciation of the role of humor in art, particularly that of satire and caricature à la Daumier, were put into practice on a weekly basis through his involvement with *Le Rire*. Co-founded by Alexandre and Félix Juven in November 1894, *Le Rire* was an immensely popular satirical journal profusely illustrated in color and black and white after drawings by such artists as Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen (1859–1923), Félix Vallotton (1865–1925), Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–1901), Charles Léandre (1862–1930), Adolphe Willette (1857–1926), and many other mostly emerging young artists. By the end of the decade with his unique background as historian and art critic, Alexandre proved with his eloquent defense of Rodin’s *Balzac* (1897) to be one of the most enlightened and effective advocates of modern tendencies in French sculpture.

Our account of *Balzac* begins in 1888. That year, a committee of the Société des Gens de Lettres commissioned Henri Chapu (1833–1891) to create a public sculpture of the society’s first president, Honoré Balzac (1799–1850), following its rejection of the proposal of Anatole Marquet de Vasselot (1840–1904; Fig. 18). Chapu died in 1891 without having completed the project. Later that year after rejecting a new proposal by Marquet de Vasselot, the committee, which now included the society’s current president,



17 **Auguste Rodin**
Monument to Balzac, 1897,
Plaster, 275 x 121 x 132 cm,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris,
Réunion des Musées
Nationaux/Art Resource, NY



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Emile Zola, selected Rodin to undertake the commission (Fig. 19). When Rodin finally unveiled the plaster model for *Balzac* at the 1898 Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, the committee refused to accept it on the grounds that it was an *ébauche*, or sketch, and not physically recognizable as a likeness of the great French author.

Alexandre immediately responded to the committee's decision with his brochure *Le Balzac de Rodin*, in which the critic clearly presented his views on the advanced and positive qualities of the piece.

According to Alexandre, Rodin followed in "the great French tradition" of Medieval art, always seeking "the freedom of movement and the accentuation of character which entails the robust and logical layout of planes combined with a very simple and sometimes rough execution." As he further noted, such qualities of simplification were not "new" in the history of art, but could be found throughout the masterpieces of early Egyptian, Greek, Cambodian, Medieval, and Japanese sculpture.

Alexandre's defense of *Balzac* had significant implications beyond that work itself. The text simultaneously vilified and challenged traditional academic standards and definitions of art while at the same time enunciating the basic elements of modern sculpture: the simplification and distortion of forms and the use of non-classical and/or non-Western sources of



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inspiration. Formally, creators of modern sculpture sought to "establish a harmony among the basic lines and planes" of a scepter.⁵ They rejected verisimilitude and anecdotal details ("material resemblance"⁶) in favor of "simplification" and "deformation" in order to "accentuate" the essential character of the work of art or, in the case of portraiture, that of the individual depicted.

Rodin completed a number of casts of his dramatic over-life-size head of Balzac in plaster and, in collaboration with Paul Jeanneney (1861–1920), in colored enameled stoneware. The decapitated large white plaster *Balzac* head should be seen within the context of the nineteenth-century practice of creating powerful, isolated "head portraits," either complete in themselves or isolated from bodies, that began with Pierre-Jean David d'Angers's (1788–1856) impressive 1829 head of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (Fig. 20), François Rude's (1784–1855) mid-1830s heads of the Gaulois and the Marseillaise for the Arc de Triomphe, and Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux's (1827–1875) *Portrait of Alexandre Dumas Fils* (1873; Fig. 21), and concluded with Leonetto Cappiello's (1875–1942) head of the café-concert performer Charles Brasseur (1898, Carnavalet Museum, Paris). As Alexandre stated: "The sculptor, the man who gives, even outside of all literary



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considerations, the plastic representation of a human face but who does not want to make simply a 'photo-sculpture', has no other means at his disposal than to underline the primary characteristics of the face."

The state's rejection of Rodin's *Balzac* outraged another insightful *fin-de-siècle* writer on French contemporary art, Gabriel Mourey (1865–1943).⁷ Mourey was a poet, playwright, art critic, associate of Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898) and Claude Debussy (1862–1918), and the director of the journal *Les Arts de la vie* in the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century. To compensate for this loss, Mourey in 1904 successfully "organized the international subscription that permitted *The Thinker* to be offered to the 'Peuple de Paris.'"⁸ Two years later, *The Thinker*—one of the leading components of Rodin's unfinished opus, *The Gates of Hell*—was publicly erected two years later in front of the Paris Panthéon; in 1922, it was relocated to what is now the Musée Rodin in Paris. Thirty-five years after the *Balzac* furor, Mourey's great contempt for the Third Republic's presumed lack of support for "independent artists" was unrelenting. Greatly overlooking the fact that Rodin was a privileged artist whom the French state commissioned to create *The Gates of Hell* and that the state also acquired many of Rodin's sculptures beginning with *The Age of Bronze* in 1880, Mourey's 1933

article on art for the two-volume *Histoire de la IIIe République* is packed with venomous phrases condemning the French state and the Academy of Fine Arts:

Not only, in effect, did it not encourage, support or employ any of the independently-minded artists who are nowadays the glory of the French Academy, but, in reserving all of its favors, purchases, orders and honors for the representatives of the worst academic traditions, it has also contributed to making the task of these independently-minded artists more arduous and to hampering their chances of success.

What is more disconcerting still is that in the realm of art, the republican regime which claims to be independent, to love progress, liberty...etc., etc., has exercised and continues to exercise as much mistrust of the modern spirit with regard to art. No, the Third Republic has no right to claim to have recognized French art. None? Let us cry it out. None.⁹

With respect to sculpture in particular, Mourey complained of

The thousands and thousands of statues that populate the avenues, crossroads, squares, and gardens of Paris... the list of busts giving the impression of having been playfully massacred, of statues of hardened lard, of nudist apotheoses made from chocolate and sugared candy, of muses, of victories, of genii, of objects of love, of unclothed ladies, of

18 Anatole Marquet de Vasselot
Honoré de Balzac, 1888,
Terracotta, ZAM

19 Auguste Rodin
Large Head of Balzac, 1897,
Plaster, Olson and Johnson
Private Collection

20 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Portrait of Goethe, 1829,
Plaster, 83 x 58 x 51 cm,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris,
Réunion des Musées
Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

21 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux
Bust of Alexandre Dumas Fils,
1873, Plaster, Diamond
Private Collection



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allegories, of symbols gesticulating around effigies, of the more or less great men of our time. Moreover, certain images illustrating these pages will suffice to give the reader an idea of the vulgarity, the inanity and the baseness with which this type of practice has been exercised here in the nineteenth century, certainly since before the advent of the Third Republic, but especially since its establishment.¹⁰

In spite of his disgust with what he perceived as the general state of government-sponsored sculpture under the Third Republic, Mourey admitted that sculpture in France was not a total loss. He cited Rude, Barye, Carpeaux, Rodin, and Antoine Bourdelle (1861–1929) as the five greatest French sculptors of the nineteenth century, and also had high praise for Antonin Mercié (1845–1916), Emmanuel Frémiet (1824–1910), Paul Dubois (1829–1905), Henri Chapu, Alexandre Falguière (1831–1900), Albert Bartholomé (1848–1928), Jules Dalou (1838–1902), Constantin Meunier (1831–1905; whose works “belong as much to France as they do to Belgium”¹¹), and others “who, either through remaining attached to classical forms or through practicing a more free, more audacious, more living art, have earned the right to be remembered in the future.”¹² As for the generation of French and foreign sculptors who comprised “l’Ecole Française” at the turn of the twentieth century, in addition to Rodin and Bourdelle he recognized the following as “véritables maîtres”: Alexandre Charpentier (1856–1909), Lucien Schnegg (1864–1909), F. David, Joseph Bernard (1866–1931), Jane Poupelet (1878–1932), Jules Desbois (1851–1935), Charles Despiou (1874–1946), François Pompon (1855–1933), Pierre Poisson, Robert Wlérick (1882–1944), Albert Pommier (1880–1944), François Paul Niclausse (1879–1958), Jean-Jean Cornu (1819–1876), Marcel Gimond (1894–?), Guénot, Charles Lefèvre, Contesse, Jean Auguste Damppt (1853–1946), René Quillivic (1879–?), Leon Drivier (1878–1951), Arnold, Albert Marque (1872–1947), Henri Bourchard (1875–1960), Popineau, Elisée Cavaillon (1873–1954), Parayre, J. Boucher, Pimienta, Aristide Maillol (1861–1944), Louis Dejean (1872–1953), Francisco Durrío (1868–1940), Joachim Costa (1881–1971), Vigoureux, Halou, James Vibert (1872–1942), Carl Milles (1875–1955), Jacob Epstein (1880–1959), Ivan Mestrovic (1883–1962), and George Minne (1866–1941).¹³

While present-day art historians may generally agree



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with Mourey’s selection of major nineteenth-century French sculptors, his rather helter-skelter list of those he favored from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries does not reflect current views on avant-garde art. Omitted from the list are numerous artists who have since been recognized as significant contributors to the field as well as to the contemporary battle between the “ancients” and the “moderns”: the painter/sculptors Edgar Degas (1834–1917), Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), Georges Lacombe (1868–1916), Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), and Henri Matisse (1869–1954) and the sculptors Jean Carriès, Rupert Carabin (1862–1932), and Medardo Rosso (1858–1928). On the other hand, Alexandre to his credit recognized early on the achievements of Carriès and later those of Carabin.¹⁴

Today with historical perspective and all due respect to Mourey, his list, save for Maillol, Bernard, Minne, and Epstein, would be greatly altered. Even Damppt, Bourchard, Cavaillon, and Milles, all of whom are considered of some importance for this current project, do not normally make the roll call of the top turn-of-the-century artists. Nevertheless, Mourey’s basic assessments of the benign and at times antagonistic role of the Third Republic vis-à-vis modernity in art and sculpture in particular remain quite valid. Thus in 1897 while Armand Dayot, the French Inspector of Fine Arts, admired the artistic merits of Daumier’s 1832–35 caricatural clay busts of legislators and other members of King Louis-Philippe’s *juste milieu* society, he could do little else but bemoan their poor state of conservation:

These admirable small caricatural busts, of an art so vibrant, of an expression of life so intense... these living sculptures, kind of *snapshots* in clay, modeled with the quick touch of a thumb after a long and penetrating observation of the subject and with an impeccable memory... serve as Daumier’s models for his lithographic portraits and his



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[print] *The Legislative Stomach* (Fig. 22)... Daumier is not only one of the greatest painter/social commentators of his century, but also one of the greatest portraitists who has ever existed.¹⁵

Thirty years later, the Louvre would still reject them!¹⁶

Daumier created the series of satirical busts (collectively titled *Celebrities of the Juste Milieu*), thirty-six of which survive today, in direct response to the Revolution of 1830. The Revolution had erupted in July of that year and overthrew the restored Bourbon monarchy of kings Louis XVIII and Charles X, which under the latter’s six-year reign became progressively dictatorial. It ushered in a brief period of parliamentary democracy under the July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe, which represented a compromise between those who sought to establish a republican form of government such as that existing in the United States and those who feared that such a democracy would lead to further violence and revolution.¹⁷ Commissioned in 1832 by Charles Philippon, the editor of *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*, Daumier’s busts were produced between 1832 and 1835 as models for the satiric lithographic portraits he created for *La Caricature*. The lithographs soon became that publication’s primary visual means of criticizing the Louis-Philippe regime, which, in spite of the king’s promises to uphold the constitution that was established following the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815, had become increasingly reactionary and autocratic.

Clay caricatures of real people outfitted in modern-

day attire, the Daumier busts are neither allegorical, didactic, nor idealized (Fig. 23). Naturalistic, crudely modeled lumps of clay painted in various colors, they are rendered in an expressionistic formal vocabulary that takes them beyond the particular to a universal realm of human satire not limited to time or place. For all of these reasons, the busts constituted an extreme rupture with neoclassical sculpture. They challenged early-nineteenth-century academic standards demanding that sculpture be morally uplifting; present glorified, heroicized portraits; and not depict figures in contemporary dress, be painted, or executed in such an inconsequential medium as uncooked clay (the preferred material was marble with a fine finish). Alexandre, who recognized the importance of the busts to the success of the artist’s satirical lithographs for *La Caricature*, wrote:

Through these figurines, he rediscovered the attitude, the expression, the tiniest details of his types, and it was because of this that all of the games of light and shade so characteristic of a drawing influenced by relief were set into the lithograph like precious jewels.... The two works were not copies of each other, in a way they were twin sisters.¹⁸

As this passage suggests, the perspicacious critic who in 1898 argued on behalf of the facial exaggerations, roughness of execution, and elimination of detail in Rodin’s *Balzac*, implicitly equated Daumier’s caricatural busts with modern tendencies in sculpture.

From a historical perspective, the busts’ unusual qualities make them some of the most radical examples of Romantic French art from the early days of the July Monarchy. Their strangeness and fragility kept them mostly out of sight until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As a result, the works had no direct influence on the work of Daumier’s contemporaries. It was only in 1878—more than forty-five years after their creation—that artists such as Degas, Rodin, Gauguin, Paul Bourbier (1851–?), and Carriès, along with many others, had an opportunity to see ten of them along with other sculptures by the artist at the Galerie Durand-Ruel, in Daumier’s first and only retrospective exhibition held during his lifetime.¹⁹ Their impact may be discerned in French sculpture of the final decades of the nineteenth century, when the busts’ most innovative features—the expressionistic use of clay (“modeled quickly using thumbs”²⁰), inclusion of color, and caricatural realism—paralleled the emerging aesthetic concerns of vanguard sculptors of the period.²¹

22 Honoré Daumier
The Legislative Belly, 1834,
Lithograph, The Baltimore
Museum of Art

23 Honoré Daumier
Jean-Marie Fruchard, 1833
(cast in 1937), Painted
terracotta, ZAM



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24 **Edgar Degas**
Little Dancer Aged Fourteen,
1878–81, Wax and fabric,
National Gallery of Art

25 **Dantan-Jeune**
Giovanni Tadolini, 1836,
Painted plaster, ZAM

26 **Virgile Morey**
To My Friend Godon, Ca. 1885,
Terracotta, ZAM

27 **Rupert Carabin**
Portrait of Charles Léandre,
1899, Bronze, ZAM

Those sculptors included Edgar Degas, whose *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen* (1878–79; Fig. 24) bears comparison with the Daumier busts. *Little Dancer's* realism shocked public and critics alike when it was first shown in the Impressionist exhibition of 1881. A painted wax statuette of a fourteen-year-old ballerina fitted with real hair and real material for clothes, the work is neither humorous nor a caricature as such but instead, in the words of Joris Karl Huysmans

(1848–1907) (paraphrasing Baudelaire's description of Daumier's print *Rue Transnonain, April 15, 1834*), a "terrible reality."²² Douglas Druick has convincingly argued on behalf of the sculpture's relationship to contemporary theories of criminality, explaining that Degas depicted the subject of *Little Dancer* using facial features he and his contemporaries considered typical of those of psychopaths and criminals.²³ Similarly, for his painted, exaggerated, cranial caricat-

ural busts of the 1830s Daumier drew on F. J. Gall's (1758–1828) controversial theories of phrenology, which claimed that an individual's moral and intellectual disposition can be determined by the physical structure of the cranium. Put more simply, phrenology argued that the shape of one's head—its bumps and cavities—reflected the inner spirit, negative or positive, of the individual.²⁴

Even prior to his work on *Little Dancer*, Degas had already been influenced to some degree by Daumier's lithographs, which he collected.²⁵ But while Daumier humorously goaded members of Louis-Philippe's *juste milieu* with his satirical busts, Degas hit the establishment of the Third Republic much harder by presenting it face-to-face with a hyper-realist sculptural rendition of a young ballerina from the lower strata of society who would inevitably prostitute herself to and potentially infiltrate the ruling class. The live counterpart to the *Little Dancer* and her kind were an acknowledged threat to the tenuous stability of French hierarchical society.²⁶

Just as Daumier's series of satirical busts anticipated Degas's *Little Dancer*, they themselves had an important precedent: Dantan-Jeune's (Jean-Pierre Dantan; 1800–1869) small, gently humorous sculpture portraits of the 1820s and 1830s (Fig. 25). Dantan-Jeune produced his first such works in 1826 and five years later exhibited six non-caricatural portraits at the 1831 Salon, where they were well received by the press. That same year, however, with his satirical portrait of the well-placed court painter Pierre-Luc-Charles Ciceri (1782–1868), Dantan-Jeune was able to enter the fashionable society of Princess Belgiojoso-Trivulzio, which included "Hugo, Stendhal, Musset, George Sand, Heine, Bellini, Rossini" as well as Franz Liszt, Frédéric Chopin, and Niccolò Paganini.²⁷ The artist quickly achieved public and financial success following his creation of multiple caricatural plaster portraits of many of these well-known individuals. The January 7, 1833, issue of *Le Courrier français* announced the publication of the first installment of *Dantanorama*, a series of lithographs by Dantan-Jeune after his humorous busts: "All those whom M. Dantan immortalizes will figure in *Dantanorama*."²⁸

In contrast to the political thrust of Daumier's work, political commentary was noticeably missing from Dantan-Jeune's oeuvre. Dantan-Jeune's apolitical stance allowed him to thrive during his thirty-five-year-long career, which extended from the early days of the July Monarchy (1830–48) to the waning days of the Second Empire (1852–70) and throughout

which he produced over nine hundred serious or humorous sculptural portraits of the rich and famous. Along with Daumier's *juste milieu* busts, Dantan-Jeune's caricatural portraits of writers, composers, and popular performers influenced many other works of the nineteenth century. They provided an important model for turn-of-the-century portrayals of similar subjects (Fig. 26) by such graphic artists as Toulouse-Lautrec, Charles Léandre (1862–1930), and Jean Veber and by sculptors like Carabin (Fig. 27), and Cappiello.

Dantan-Jeune's career exemplifies one of the two primary sources of financial support available to aspiring French sculptors in the early nineteenth century. Artists relied on either private patronage, as in the case of Dantan-Jeune, or on state sponsorship, that is, royal commissions for public monuments.²⁹ There was only way to gain access to these two potential sources: exhibiting at the official Salon mounted by the Academy of Fine Arts, which, in turn, required artists to adhere to the aesthetic norms of neoclassicism. Codified by Johann Joachim Winckelmann in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke* (Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks, 1755), neoclassicism was based on antique Greek and Roman art. It was the style promoted by Napoleon, who sought to reinforce his imperial status by favoring work such as painting by Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) and sculpture by Antonio Canova (1757–1822) that reflected the formal qualities of classical art and the iconography of imperial Rome.

The approximately fifteen-year period following the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815, that of the Bourbon Restoration, constituted a window of opportunity for French artists seeking to challenge the artistic constraints of neoclassicism. Wishing not to memorialize Napoleon's reign by continuing to promote an imperial form of art, the Bourbon kings Louis XVIII and Charles X instituted a degree of liberalism in the arts that permitted the flowering of romantic tendencies in art and literature. Such tendencies were embodied by writers like Victor Hugo, who rejected classicism and sought in its place a "modern" form of literature reflecting their own time and place. Hugo's play *Hernani*, which challenged the conventions of classical theater, was one of the landmarks of Romanticism.

Because of the 1830 Revolution and the appearance that year of *Hernani*, the French Romantic movement in art and literature is often nominally associated



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28 **Pierre-Jean David d'Angers**
Pediment of the Panthéon
(right detail), 1834–37,
Plaster model, 280 x 1540 cm
(entire model), Musée David
d'Angers, Angers

with 1830. Romanticism in French sculpture, by contrast, cannot be pinpointed to a single work, activity, or precise period of time. It is composed of an assortment of different styles, subjects, concerns, and works that span the nineteenth century and represent alternatives to the conventions of academic neoclassicism.³⁰ On the other hand, some of the most important and earliest examples of Romantic sculpture—Daumier's satirical busts, Rude's *Departure of the Volunteers of 1792* (1833–36) on the Arc de Triomphe, David d'Angers's (1830–37) sculpture for the front pediment of the Panthéon (Fig. 28) and his *Liberty* (1839; Fig. 29)—embody the the spirit of the 1830 Revolution in both their aesthetic ruptures with the past and their indirect or direct promotion of a philosophical/political program related to republican ideals.³¹

The first significant sculptural expression of this shift in French aesthetics and politics was David d'Angers's statue of the seventeenth-century Bourbon military hero, Prince Louis II of Condé (Fig. 30), commissioned by Louis XVIII in 1816 as one of eleven sculptures commemorating major figures of the ancien régime. In opposition to academic norms, *Grand Condé* presents its subject in seventeenth-century period costume. A further non-classical feature is the subject's dynamic, baroque-like stance, suggestive of dramatic

movement and of the Grand Condé's selfless, defiant (albeit fruitless) challenge to the Bavarian troops that overwhelmed the French at Fribourg.

During the years of the Bourbon Restoration, the selection jury for the Salon was composed of both academic artists and members of the Institute of France from other disciplines such as music. This diversity weakened the control of the conservative Academy that, in spite of the changes in French politics, remained committed to strict classical training for its artists. Thus, in spite of the Academy's classical leanings, Romantic paintings were accepted into the Salon beginning around 1819–22 with Théodore Géricault's (1791–1824) *The Raft of the Medusa* and Eugène Delacroix's (1798–1863) *Bark of Dante and Virgil*. So, too, beginning in 1831, were the animal sculptures of Barye and Fratin. The period's aesthetic liberalism quickly ended, however, with the Salon of 1834, when the new Orleanist government of Louis-Philippe bowed to the Academy's request to restrict the Salon's jury to artist members of the Institute. "Independent," Romantic sculptors such as Barye, Fratin, Rude, and many of Rude's students were soon locked out of the annual Salon until the Revolution of 1848, when for one year there was no jury.³²

Beginning in the 1830s and 1840s, various artists



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were able to circumvent the Salon system and gain a degree of financial and artistic independence by participating in a newly emergent phenomenon: the creation of statuettes, or editions of small-scale sculptures, for the growing bourgeois market.³³ These works were made possible by the new technologies of sandcasting and galvanoplasty as well as by the invention in 1839 of a mathematical system of reproduction and reduction.³⁴ As Luc Benoist, the author of a seminal study of Romantic sculpture, has explained, the statuette

was the form dreamed of by romantic artists enamored with the movement and the rough outlines which superimpose themselves on one another in small statues and not in large



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29 **Pierre-Jean David d'Angers**
Liberty, 1839, Bronze, ZAM

30 **Pierre-Jean David d'Angers**
The Grand Condé, 1816–17,
Plaster, 241 x 97 x 82 cm,
Musée David d'Angers, Angers

ones. This also explains their favoring of cooked clay. But for all that, the bourgeoisie ordered these statuettes and busts from official rather than from independent artists and these independent artists remained poor.³⁵

Benoist considered Etienne Hippolyte Maindron's (1801–1884) statuette of the actor Bocage (Fig. 31) the best work he ever created: "Beautiful like Apollo, dashing in his fitted riding jacket, walking quickly, stealing hearts as he goes, as one would imagine him in his legendary role of Antony."³⁶ With its naturalistic depiction of a living individual in contemporary dress, along with its dramatic flare, suggestion of movement, and inviting take-me-home-and-put-me-on-your-mantle scale, *Bocage* exemplifies many aspects of Romantic art. At the end of the century, Capiello exaggerated these same qualities in his depictions of the popular café-concert performers Yvette Guilbert and Polaire, while Rodin simplified



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and magnified the physical presence of portrait sculpture with his *Balzac*. Hans-Stoltenberg Lerche (1867–1920) parodied the latter in *One Step Forward* (1898; Fig. 32),³⁷ turning Rodin's *Balzac* into a plaster statuette that resembled a walrus with flippers instead of hands, and one foot stepping out of its base.

Rodin and fellow innovative artists faced extreme difficulty in their attempts to overcome the constraints of neoclassicism, to “break the mold” imposed upon them by the academic establishment (Figs. 33, 34, 35). Academic training remained firmly entrenched in nineteenth-century French society, so much so that a passionate defense of neoclassicism was mounted in 1867—more than one hundred years after the appearance of Winckelmann's *Reflections*. That year, the influential art historian Charles Blanc published *Grammaire des arts du dessin*, which, much like its German predecessor, argued on behalf of the hegemony of classical antiquity in the training of contemporary painters, sculptors, and architects. Blanc, a staunch supporter of a republican form of government who served as secretary of the provisional government after the 1848 Revolution and as director of fine arts during the Second Republic, was co-founder of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and author of the serial *L'Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à nos jours* from 1849 to 1876.

Blanc's *Grammaire des arts du dessin*—in part a reaction against Romanticism—further elaborated the neo-classically-based definition of art. It asserted that the notion of beauty is based on the ideal canons of the human figure as formulated by the classical Greeks, and also claimed that art is absolute, not agreeable, and is neither faddish nor utilitarian. The treatise had much to say about art's relationship to nature, arguing that art is not the *imitation* but, rather, the *interpretation* of nature, and that in order to reveal his genius, an artist's work needs to distinguish itself from nature; in other words, it must not be a *trompe l'oeil*. As for sculpture in particular, Blanc dismissed the use of real clothing, which he characterized as the mere repetition of nature and therefore not art. In this regard, he also objected to the employment of color as a device that only momentarily tricks the viewer into thinking that the sculpture is itself life (but which makes the sculpture hideous because it cannot live up to its subject). For Blanc, wax figures were among the worst culprits of such trickery, becoming more hideous the more they resembled nature.³⁸

31 Etienne Hippolyte Maindron
The Actor Bocage, 1839,
Painted plaster, ZAM

32 Hans-Stoltenberg Lerche
One Step Forward, 1898,
Plaster, ZAM

33 Auguste Rodin
Study for Vase of the Titans,
Ca. 1876, Plaster and terracotta,
Schlossberg Private Collection

34 Auguste Rodin
Head of a Funerary Spirit,
1899, Plaster, Diamond
Private Collection

35 Henri Chapu
Half-size study for *Cantata*
sculpture for the façade of
the Paris Opéra, 1868–69,
Plaster, ZAM



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POLITICS AND WAR

It is not surprising that a commonality linking various early independent sculptors was their liberal politics. David d'Angers, Rude, and Daumier were all deeply committed to the republican ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, ideals that not only informed but also often dominated their art. While David d'Angers's *Grand Condé* celebrated a member of the ancien régime and was commissioned by a Bourbon descendant of the subject, it more importantly also celebrated a burgeoning nationalism by honoring a seventeenth-century defender of France from foreign invasion.

Rude's design for the Arc de Triomphe at the top of the Champs-Élysées (Fig. 36) represents one of the more successful efforts by a sculptor to maintain artistic integrity while adhering to governmental dictates. The Arc de Triomphe was first constructed in 1806 to celebrate Napoleon's military victories, but was left unfinished. The Louis-Philippe regime took on the task of overseeing the completion of the sculptural decoration of the arch in a manner that did not overemphasize the achievements of the Napoleonic empire. Rude's high-relief sculpture for the arch, *The Departure of the Volunteers of 1792* (Fig. 37), highlights the bravery of French citizens from the city of

Marseille who as volunteers, both young and old, left to confront and defeat the Prussian intruders at the Battle of Valmy in September 1792. The work was also titled *Marseillaise* after the marching song written in 1792 by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle that in 1795 became one of the first French Republic's two national anthems.

Through a mix of allegory and realism, and containing indirect reference to the democratic victory of the 1830 Revolution, Rude's *Departure of the Volunteers* honored the struggle for liberty on the part of French citizens. With its strong diagonal lines of figures and swords going from right to left dramatically suggesting a surge of patriotic movement, the sculpture broke with the quiet academic compositions favored by Napoleon. The centrally situated, dynamically posed female allegorical figure of *Victory* (also known as the *Genius of Victory* or the *Genius of War*; Fig. 38) thrusts forward, rousing the volunteers through her violent frenzy. *Victory* wears a Phrygian hat, a symbol of liberty and since the time of the French Revolution a motif synonymous with a republican form of government. The hat is also worn by David d'Angers's virtually contemporary statuette *Liberty* (1839), a small-scale model of a work the artist hoped would crown the Arc de Triomphe.³⁹

The other central figure in *The Departure of the Volunteers* is an old bearded soldier (Fig. 39) positioned directly below *Victory*, whose forceful stance reinforces the aggressiveness of *Victory's* gesture. The soldier is a Gaul, thereby representing the indigenous forebears of the French people. Through this figure, the sculpture suggested that the basis for French national unity lay in the common ethnic heritage of its citizens. As *The Departure of the Volunteers* indicates, nationalism and republicanism went hand in hand for Rude (as it did for a number of his contemporaries).

In contrast to the staunchly liberal Rude and David d'Angers, the animalier Barye (Fig. 40) was a more moderate republican who willingly accepted commissions from the family and government of Louis-Philippe. Although at first glance his *Lion Attacking*

36 Unidentified artist
Arc de Triomphe, Paris,
1806–36, Mid-nineteenth-
century albumen print, ZAM

37 François Rude
The Departure of the Volunteers
of 1792, Arc de Triomphe, Paris,
1833–36, Mid-nineteenth-
century albumen print, ZAM

38 François Rude
Victory, for the Arc de Triomphe,
Paris, 1833–36 (reduced
version cast later), Bronze,
Hammerschlag Private
Collection

39 François Rude
Gaul, for the Arc de Triomphe,
Paris, 1833–36 (reduced version
cast in the mid-nineteenth
century), Plaster, ZAM

40 Antoine-Louis Barye
Horse Attacked by a Lion,
1833 (cast ca. 1857),
Bronze, The Baltimore
Museum of Art



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the *Serpent* (Fig. 41), which debuted in the form of a plaster model at the 1833 Salon, appears to be merely another creative example of the new genre of animal sculpture introduced by Barye and Fratin at the Salon of 1831, the work has a political message appreciated by Louis-Philippe's politically liberal son Prince Ferdinand Philippe, the Duke of Orleans. The lion (Fig. 42), signifying the astrological sign of July, and the serpent, representing the defeated Bourbon monarchy, together symbolize the July Revolution and its broader implications: the triumph of good over evil, the victory of parliamentary government over despotism.

The Duke of Orleans, an amateur artist himself who supported the aesthetic and thematic interests of the new Romantic school of painters and sculptors, commissioned Barye to produce *Lion Attacking the Serpent* in a more lasting material. In 1836, the work was cast in bronze and placed in front of the Tuileries Palace. Two years later, the government called upon Barye to incorporate the symbolic July lion into the decoration of a large bronze column commemorating the lives sacrificed during the momentous three days of the July Revolution. Under construction since 1831 and located at the Place de la Bastille, the *July Column* was finally inaugurated on July 29, 1840, by which time republican optimism for the Orleanist government had totally dissipated. Around that same time, Prime Minister Adolphe Thiers commissioned Barye to design a sculptural monument for the top of the Arc de Triomphe that, in notable contrast to David d'Angers's republicanist proposal, was intend-

ed to appease Bonapartists by celebrating Napoleon's military victories over other nations. Barye's design, which featured a colossal imperial eagle sitting with spread wings atop a globe of conquered nations, was vetoed by the King, who sought to maintain a conciliatory relationship with France's neighbors.⁴⁰

Along with Barye's Lions (Fig. 43), numerous other sculpted lions by the artist himself and other animaliers including Auguste Cain (1822–1894) are visible throughout the city of Paris. Positioned at the gates and entrances of the palaces of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (Emperor Napoleon III) and the public monuments and buildings of the Third Republic, these works constitute the most visible manifestation of Barye's legacy and function as symbols of the state's role as protectorate of its citizens. The most prominent of these animalier productions is Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi's (1834–1904) *Lion of Belfort* (Fig. 44). Located at Place Denfert-Rochereau, *Lion of Belfort* is a reduced but still quite large bronze version of the artist's colossal sandstone monument (11 x 22 meters) constructed between 1871 and 1880 at Belfort near the German border to honor the bravery of French soldiers during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) and to mourn the loss of Alsace to Germany.⁴¹

While Barye willingly compromised his republican ideals in order to bolster his career, Daumier's bold expressions of his political beliefs landed him in jail. The latter's caustic lithographic satire of Louis-Philippe as a defecating Gargantua earned him six months in the Ste.-Pélagie prison in 1832. Three years later, Daumier created his most serious indict-



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ment against the Louis-Philippe regime: the lithograph *Rue Transnonain*. *Rue Transnonain* is a devastating image of the innocent civilians—grandfather, father, wife, and child—arbitrarily killed in their sleep by government troops during labor riots in Paris. Its publication resulted in total government censorship of political criticism in the press until the 1848 Revolution.

Daumier also criticized the July Monarchy in his earlier-discussed series of sculptural busts of the “celebrities” of Louis-Philippe's *juste milieu*. The sculptures, transmitted to the general public through the lithographs that appeared in *La Caricature* (Figs. 45, 46), constitute a parody in miniature of the “Great Men of France” theme initiated in 1776 by Count d'Angivillier, Director General of Buildings and Gardens for Louis XVI. Their phrenologically-inspired facial and cranial distortions resemble those of the painted-wood guignols or puppets that performed regularly in the Champs-Élysées (Fig. 47).⁴² And just as puppet performances mocked human foibles and pretensions, Daumier's caricatural sculptures attacked the pomposity of the bourgeois leadership of the Louis-Philippe regime.

Owned by the publisher Charles Philipon and after a brief display in the 1830s, Daumier's revolutionary sculptures were not publicly exhibited until 1878. They had to wait out the essentially politically conservative environment of France until 1878, when a more stable republican government began to emerge. This was also true of the artist's satiric sculpture *Ratapoil* (ca.1850; Fig. 48). *Ratapoil*, which literally



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41 Antoine-Louis Barye
Lion Attacking the Serpent,
1832 (probably cast in
1847 or 1848), Bronze, The
Metropolitan Museum of Art

42 Antoine-Louis Barye
Persian Lion, 1836,
Bronze, ZAM

43 Antoine-Louis Barye
Seated Lion, Undated,
The Baltimore Museum of Art

44 Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi
The Lion of Belfort, Copper
7-x-4-meter reduced version of
the large stone monument *Lion*
(22 x 11 meters) constructed
on the side of a hill at Belfort,
France, in 1875, Place Denfert-
Rochereau, Paris

45 Honoré Daumier
Clément-François-Victor-Gabriel
Prunelle, 1832? (cast in 1937),
Painted terracotta, ZAM

46 Honoré Daumier
Mr. Prunelle, 1833,
Lithograph, ZAM

47 Unidentified artist
Four hand puppets from
Lyon, France, Ca. 1880,
Wood, horse-hair, and
fabric, ZAM

48 Honoré Daumier
Ratapoil, Ca. 1850, Terracotta
Berenson Private Collection



49

49 Honoré Daumier
Napoleon III, Ca. 1852, Crayon, Schlossberg Private Collection



50

50 Unidentified artist
Grenadier, Austerlitz 1805, Ca. 1860, Terracotta, ZAM



51

51 Henri Chapu
Homeland December 2, 1870, 1870, Plaster, ZAM

52 Emmanuel Frémiet
Joan of Arc, 1874 (original replaced by the artist in 1899), Gilded bronze equestrian monument, place des Pyramides, Paris, Nineteenth-century albumen print, Cate and Gumpert Private Collection



52

53 Lucien Pallez
Joan of Arc, Ca. 1880, Painted wax, ZAM



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means “rat hair,” derived in part from the character of the artist’s amoral buffoon, Robert Macaire, a swindler and liar who regularly appeared on the pages of *Le Charivari* from 1836 through 1838.⁴³ Just as the fictional Macaire embodied all that was exploitive of the capitalist, bourgeois French society under Louis-Philippe, *Ratapoil* symbolized the scourge of the post-1848 French society, namely, the Bonapartists who sought a political comeback at the expense of the Second Republic. With the fall of the Louis-Philippe regime on February 24, 1848, and the subsequent establishment of the Second Republic (1848–52), it was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, Napoleon’s nephew, who on December 10 of that year won the popular vote by a landslide to become president of the new republic. The newly devised French constitution, however, allowed the President to hold office for only four years with no chance of reelection.

In 1850 and 1851, Daumier created a series of lithographs featured in *Le Charivari* in which Ratapoil, sporting a beard and moustache similar to those of Louis Napoleon, represented the Bonapartist propagandist bullying the electorate to support the extension of the presidency and Louis Napoleon’s quest for increased and prolonged powers. The Bonapartist coup d’état of December 2, 1851, succeeding in doing just that; one year later, Louis Napoleon proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon III, leader of the Second Empire (Fig. 49).⁴⁴

As a result of those developments, the sculpture *Ratapoil* literally went undercover; Daumier’s wife hid the politically damning statuette in their home out of fear of persecution by the new imperial government.⁴⁵

It was not by chance that Louis Napoleon selected December 2 as the date of his coup against the Second Republic. December 2 marked the date of the 1804 coronation of Emperor Napoleon I as well as the 1805 victory of Napoleon at Austerlitz—historical precedents for success that could not be ignored.⁴⁶ Commemorative statuettes of the Battle of Austerlitz (Fig. 50) were even created during the reign of Napoleon III in order to profit from the continued nostalgia for the Napoleonic era. Ironically, however, an event occurred nineteen years later, on December 2, 1870, that broke with that victorious Bonapartist tradition: major losses in the Franco-Prussian War that had broken out in July of that year.

The Franco-Prussian War was to be a quick and

humiliating encounter for Napoleon III. On September 2, 1870, the Prussians defeated the emperor’s forces at the small French town of Sedan near the Belgian border. Only two days later, with the Second Empire in collapse, the Third Republic was declared on the steps of the Hotel de Ville in Paris, the government of National Defense established, and preparations begun for the siege of Paris.⁴⁷ As the war continued into the fall of 1870, France’s military position became ever more precarious. On December 2, French troops encountered major defeats in the Loire Valley at Loigny and just outside eastern Paris in the towns of Bry and Champigny. The efforts to break the Prussian belt separating besieged Paris from the French forces in the south and east had failed.

Henri Chapu’s large plaster rondel *Homeland December 2, 1870* (1871; Fig. 51) mourns the devastating French military losses in the war. The artist’s nude figure of a dying warrior holding a broken sword references the Hellenistic sculpture *Dying Gaul* (ca. 220 B.C.), while the fluttering imperial eagle to the left alludes to the fall of the Napoleonic empire. The sculpture’s roughly modeled, quickly incised unfinished quality defies the French tradition of neoclassical sculpture embodied by its allegorical classical nude. *Homeland* was an early emotional response to the war based on the theme of the humiliation of defeat rather than the pride of defense or resistance. The closest parallel to Chapu’s artistic reaction is Rodin’s *Age of Bronze* (1877). Initially entitled *The Vanquished*, Rodin’s young nude warrior was to hold a spear in his left hand and serve as an allegory of the suffering of French soldiers during the Franco-Prussian War.⁴⁸

Since France was not the victor in the Franco-Prussian War, the honorable themes of resistance and defense became essential to the Third Republic’s propaganda machine. St. Joan, France’s savior from invaders, was the major sculptural theme symbolizing the nation’s quest for revenge against Germany.⁴⁹ Inspired by Frémiet’s equestrian statue of Joan of Arc on horseback and dressed in military costume commissioned by the state in 1872 for the Place des Pyramides (Fig. 52), provincial cities throughout France ordered their own very similar monuments from numerous artists (Fig. 53).

The concept of resistance provided the subject and title of an over-life-size sculpture produced in December 1870 by Alexandre Falguière (1831–1900)



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with the assistance of Henri Chapu. Modeled out of snow, *Resistance* featured a female nude posed brazenly and defiantly with arms crossed sitting atop a cannon. It is interesting to note that the work's two creators, along with the etcher Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), were members of the National Guard stationed at Bastion 84 on the Montmartre ramparts of Paris.⁵⁰

The defense of Paris was the subject of a major sculptural competition held in 1879. By that year, the now nine-year-old Third Republic was on solid ground, having seen the resignation of the reactionary Mac Mahon in February 1879 and the subsequent election of the progressive Jules Grévy. As Ruth Butler has explained, following these developments "The municipalities of the Third Republic generated numerous competitions to honor great men and past events relevant to the Republic and pride in national life... [including one announced by] The Prefecture de la Seine... in the spring of 1879 for an allegorical group of two figures that would commemorate the recent defense of Paris."⁵¹ The competition received one hundred submissions by academic sculptors such as Alexandre Lequien (1822-1905), Ernest Barrias (1841-1905), Antonin Mercié, Albert Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887), and Alexandre Falguière.⁵²

The entrants also included Rodin, whose entry, *The Call to Arms* (Fig. 54), centered on a bare-breasted, winged female figure symbolizing the Third Republic rising up behind a dying warrior. *The Call to Arms* was influenced by Mercié's elegant neoclassical work *Gloria Victis!* (Glory to the Vanquished, 1874; Fig. 55), which features a calm, windswept allegorical figure of Fame carrying on her shoulders a gracefully posed, dying nude warrior who, although he holds the obligatory sword emblematic of defeat, contains no hint of pain, physical struggle, or human anguish. Mercié's treatment of the subject reflects neoclassical artists' understanding of "defeat" as an abstract notion represented by a traditional vocabulary of symbols bearing no direct correlation to the actual realities of war.⁵³ Not so for Rodin, who took Mercié's basic composition, inverted the physical relationship of the figures, and gave them a dynamic life-evoking baroque torque. Rodin's female is an inconsolable "Marianne" who issues a bloodcurdling cry of

anguish and revenge and whose aggressive pose and violent screaming gesture were taken directly from Rude's *Genius of War* figure in *The Departure of the Volunteers*. For his competition entry, Rodin also looked to Michelangelo; his dying warrior collapsed under the weight of his own body in a manner similar to that of the languid, muscular Christ in Michelangelo's late *Pietà* (1555-64).

Although Rodin included the necessary, officially-recognized iconography for the subject at hand—the winged female, the broken sword—his *Call to Arms* dramatically departed from academic norms through its borrowings from Michelangelo and Rude, rough manipulation of the surface texture, and unfinished quality. Perhaps most strikingly, Rodin in *Call to Arms* dared to express a more human reaction to the terror of war and the humiliation of defeat than that seen in neoclassical sculpture. He later remarked: "I still often ask myself why I ever entered [the competition]. Indeed, I could not challenge Barrias and Mercié. My group must have appeared too violent, too intense. So little progress has been made since the *Marseillaise* by Rude, which also cries with all its strength."⁵⁴ Although he did not win the 1879 competition (that honor went to the neoclassical artist Barrias), the lessons of Rodin's work were not lost on his followers. In 1902, the art critic Mecislas Goldberg, commenting on Bourdelle's *Monument to the Combattants of 1870* (1894-1900; Fig. 56) for the city of Montauban, stated:

You know the banal form of these sorts of monuments: a bugler, a woman with a flag, a wounded soldier. Nothing like that from Bourdelle! Through a series of figures, he studied war and its furies. He could see the deformations of form that give rise to struggle and brutality, he could scrutinize the gestures of desolation, fury and despair.⁵⁵

Rodin's paraphrasing of Rude's *Departure of the Volunteers* served not only to situate his own subject in a noble historical republican context but also to instill his work with the dynamic, modern energy of Rude's relief. The same was true of Jean-Paul Aubé's (1837-1916) *Monument to Gambetta* (Fig. 57). Formerly a representative of the Belleville working-class district of Paris, Léon Gambetta (1838-1882)

was one of the leaders of the newly born Third Republic who in, his capacity as Minister of the Interior and of War, was one of the more aggressive advocates for continuing the war against the Prussians. *Monument to Gambetta* (1886, now destroyed) focuses on this aspect of its subject, honoring the politician as a hero of the war against Germany and a founder of the Third Republic.⁵⁶ Aubé posed Gambetta in the same manner and relative location as Rude's bearded *Old Gaul*, a borrowing intended to suggest that Gambetta was French to the very core of his existence despite his Italian heritage (his grandfather came from Italy). And as in Rude's relief (albeit in an updated version), Aubé's monument represents the different ages of French citizens through the figures of the two volunteers and the soldier with a broken sword astride the cannon (all dressed in contemporary garb) fighting in defense of their homeland against outside invasion by, once again, the Prussians.

Although essentially an academic artist, Aubé was well acquainted with and at times embraced contemporary, non-academic practices. This is particularly evident in the artist's 1883 patinated plaster sketch (*ébauche*) for the Gambetta monument (Fig. 58). The sketch has a fractured surface reflecting light in an impressionistic manner similar to that of the contemporary sculptures of Medardo Rosso, Jean François Raffaëlli (1850-1924), and Degas (Fig. 59) as well as Rodin's slightly earlier *Call to Arms*.⁵⁷ The visual breakup of structure by the play of light is a distinctively modern trait that separates these artists' work from that of the "ancients," as is the presence of traces of the artists' accidents, fingerprints, and other tactile signs of creation in the examples just cited.

Impressionism's influence on Aubé may also be seen in his work in the decorative arts. In the late 1870s and early 1880s to augment his income, the artist created sculpted, painted, and glazed ceramic vases first at the Haviland Brothers Factory directed by Félix Bracquemond at Auteuil and then beginning in 1882 at the new Haviland studio of Ernest Chaplet on rue Blomet. Aubé's decorative vases, like his Gambetta plaster, are constructed with compositional elements that break the formal confines of the vase and overlap borders. They feature the same sort of lightened palettes and airy landscapes characteristic of the



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54 Auguste Rodin
The Call to Arms, 1883,
Bronze, Fine Arts Museums
of San Francisco

55 Antonin Mercié
Gloria Victis! (*Glory to the
Vanquished*), 1874, Bronze and
red marble, 88.5 x 43 x 31 cm,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Réunion
des Musées Nationaux/Art
Resource, NY

56 Emile Antoine Bourdelle
*Warrior for Monument
to the Combattants of 1870*,
1894-1900, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

57 Jean-Paul Aubé
Monument to Léon Gambetta,
Ca. 1886, Albumen print,
Cate and Gumpert Private
Collection

58 Jean-Paul Aubé
*Model for Monument to Léon,
Gambetta*, 1883, Painted plaster,
ZAM

59 Edgar Degas
The Spanish Dance, Ca. 1883
(cast 1919-21), Bronze,
The Art Institute of Chicago

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Impressionist painters, to whom Aubé was introduced by Bracquemond, a regular participant in the Impressionist exhibitions beginning in 1874. It is also interesting to note that this body of Aubé's work had an important influence on the sculptural work of Paul Gauguin. In 1882, the young Gauguin left his job at the Paris Stock Market and shared a space in Aubé's sculpture studio, creating some of his first sculptures there. Seeking to emulate Aubé's success at earning extra income with decorative ceramic vases, Gauguin beginning in 1886 worked at Chaplet's studio, where he executed some of the most inventive *fin-de-siècle* ceramics in which sculptural, non-utilitarian qualities dominate (Fig. 60).⁵⁸

As the Rodin/Aubé examples suggest, the line of demarcation between the academic and independent artists—or the ancients and the moderns—is not always clear-cut. Their art often contained shared characteristics; as we have seen, this was especially the case when it came to government commissions the didactic nature of which required artists, in spite of their modernist leanings, to include allegorical elements basic to neoclassicism within their contemporary designs.

Neoclassical designs dominated the entries received for the second sculpture competition organized by the City of Paris in 1879. The competition was designed to celebrate the republicans' recent political victory over the monarchists and promote the accomplishments and democratic values of the Third Republic. Artists were instructed to create a model of a colossal standing statue of Marianne, to be located in the place du Château d'Eau (renamed place de la Republique shortly thereafter). A public display of the models was held in October at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The jury of selection was composed of members of the Paris City Council and conservative artists, the latter of whom controlled the majority of votes and chose the academically correct entry submitted by Léopold Morice (1846–1920).⁵⁹

The three-tiered triangular assembly of Morice's statue (Fig. 61), designed by his brother Charles, contains the obligatory lion in front; Marianne located up high and remote on a pedestal in a static, conventional pose; and the seated allegorical figures of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity below. Circling the base, and conform-

ing to the rules of Charles Blanc's academic instructions on the proper design of sculptural monuments, is a series of narrative reliefs didactically imparting historical events leading up to the establishment of the Third Republic.⁶⁰

Although Jules Dalou's competition entry did not win, it greatly impressed the public as well as a number of representatives of the City Council with its realism and expressivity. In fact, the City Council was so enamored with the artist's model for *Triumph of the Republic* (Fig. 62) that in 1880 it commissioned Dalou to transform it into a ten-meter-high bronze monument to be located in the Place du Trône on the east side of Paris. Once again, as during the times of Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III, the conservative artistic standards of the Academy did not reflect those of the country's leaders, who sought to express the modernity of their rule with an art more closely in line with the tenor of its time.⁶¹ In the words of the art critic Paul Vitry, writing more than twenty years later about *Triumph of the Republic*:

We will not describe here once again the monument at the 'place de la Nation'. One knows what a masterly air it possesses, and what abundant genius bursts forth and circulates there. One knows the almost too classical and theatrical pomp of its general composition, and especially of its decor, one knows too what powerful breath animates each of its figures, unreal in themselves, but nevertheless alive and blossoming in their expressive force: the young svelte Republic with her restraining gesture, the energetic Work and the ample Justice, a realistic allegory worthy of Rubens or the Venetians, and finally the healthy, juvenile Abundance, strewing her flowers behind the triumphant chariot. This, perhaps better than anything else, allows us to immediately grasp amid the classical pomp in Dalou's work, the reappearance of an essential naturalist temperament.⁶²

Dalou's monument was completed and installed in 1899. Facing in toward the city proper at what was then renamed the Place de la Nation, *Triumph of the Republic* is the polar opposite of Rude's *Departure of*

the Volunteers in the west and directly in line via the boulevard Voltaire with Morice's statue on the Place de la Republique. These three sculptures on the right bank combined with *Lion of Belfort* at the southern axis of the left encircle Paris with monuments symbolic of revolution and liberty, physically imposing upon the public of France the nation's nearly one-hundred-year-long struggle to build an enduring republic.

In the decade following the commission of Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic*, that of the 1880s, the Third Republic itself faced several major obstacles. They included the government's opportunistic practices and the atmosphere they engendered; its focus on colonial expansion, which sapped the country's resources and will away from revenge against Germany; and repeated instances of growing corruption, which resulted in President Grévy's resignation. These developments resulted in the threat of a coup d'état in early 1889 by the increasingly popular ex-Minister of Defense, General Boulanger, whose failure to act at the right moment and subsequent fall into disgrace saved the Republic.⁶³

The 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle, which opened in the spring of that year, provided an important propaganda vehicle for the embattled government. Held to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution and display France's colonial holdings, the 1889 Exposition also enabled the Third Republic to demonstrate its success in once again establishing France's international leadership in the arenas of technology (via the Eiffel Tower, built for the occasion) and the arts, following the country's humiliating defeat of 1870–71. Several months later, on September 20, 1889, the new President of the Republic, Sadi Carnot, inaugurated with great fanfare the full-size plaster model of Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic* (tinted to appear bronze) in the place de la Nation. The recently elected Carnot also awarded the artist, a life-long devoted democrat and erstwhile member of the Paris Commune exiled in England until the amnesties of Communards in 1879 and 1880, the Officer's Cross of the Legion of Honor.

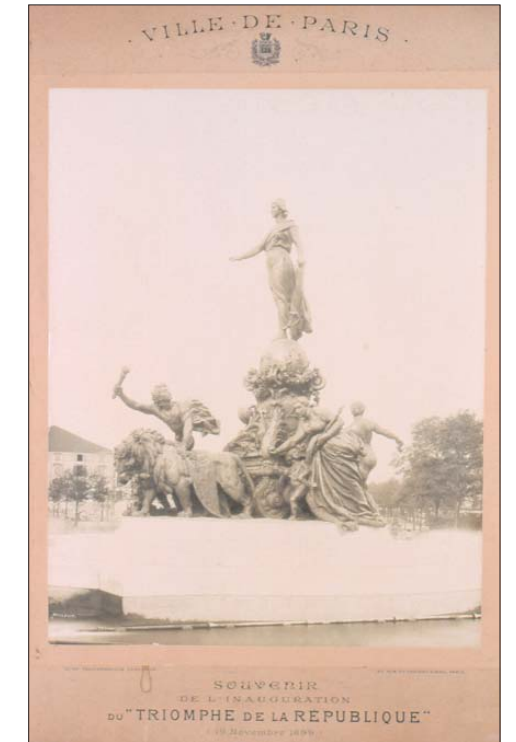
Despite this recognition of Dalou and his monument, it took ten years for *Triumph of the Republic* to be cast in bronze. That finally occurred on November 19,



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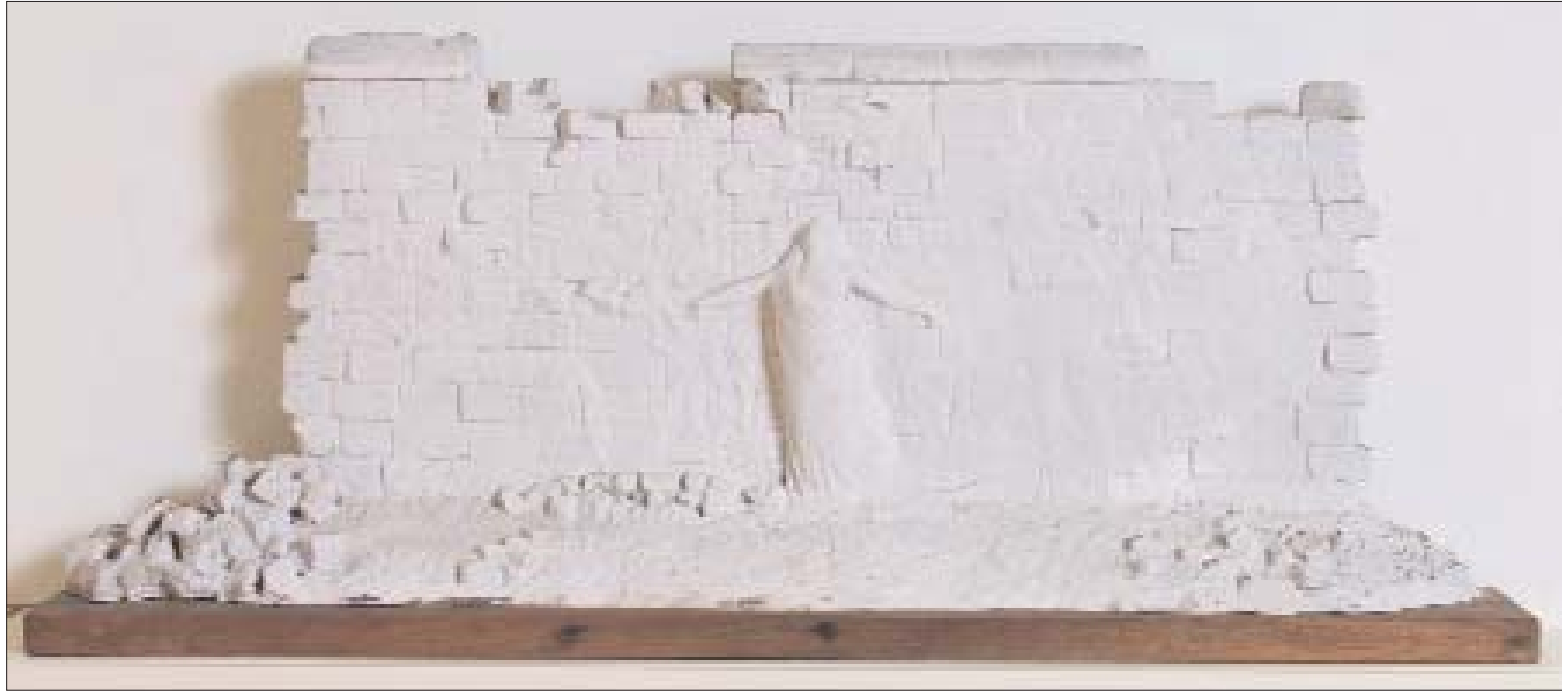


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60 Paul Gauguin
Portrait of the Artist, 1889, Enameled stoneware, 28 x 23 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

61 Léopold Morice
The Republic, 1879–83, Bronze, place de la Republique, Paris, Nineteenth-century albumen print, Cate and Gumpert Private Collection

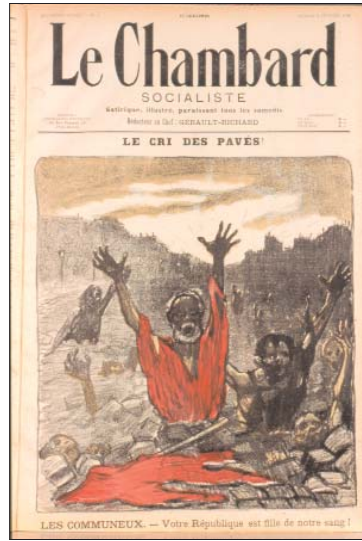
62 Jules Dalou
Triumph of the Republic, 1879–89 (unveiled 1899), Bronze, place de la Nation, Paris, Albumen print, 1899, ZAM



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1899, in conjunction with the Fête du Triomphe. Organized by the City of Paris and the Third Republic, the Fête du Triomphe was a parade-like event that was designed to link the longstanding republican ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity

with those of Work, Justice and Prosperity, and involved the participation of the nation's labor unions. The left-leaning government of Émile Loubet put Dalou's sculpture, devoted to celebrating the important role of the working class in the preserva-

63 Paul Moreau-Vauthier Model for Monument to the Victims of Revolutions (Wall of the 'Fédérés'), 1906–09, Plaster, ZAM

64 Paul Moreau-Vauthier Monument to the Victims of Revolutions (Wall of the 'Fédérés'), 1906–1909, Stone, Life-size, Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris

65 Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen The Cobblestone Shout, Cover of *Le Chambard Socialiste* (February 3, 1894), Stencil-colored photo-relief, ZAM

tion of republican ideals, to good propagandistic use in the Fête du Triomphe. In the words of one City Council member:

Dalou meant that the triumph of the Republic will assure the shining glorification of work, which is not a punishment as certain atrophic philosophers would have it. The workers who are there, escorting the chariot of the Republic, say that work will be appealing and fruitful when everybody will be unequivocally assured of receiving the part that they are justly entitled to. When the enemies of the Republic were removing their masks and calling on an available king or caesar, was it not necessary to come and say that the people had not forgotten the dates with which they were threatened—neither Brumaire 18th nor December 2nd?⁶⁴

Dalou's biographer, Maurice Dreyfous, stated that on the day of the fête nearly two hundred thousand workers filed past the artist's monument, many of them in uniforms of their trade and carrying tools and red banners with the names of their corporations or worker associations.⁶⁵

The Fête du Triomphe was held only nine months after a badly attempted coup by the nationalist Paul Déroulede and the Ligue des Patriotes, and concurrently with the politically and socially divisive Dreyfus Affair. It took place at a time when the French army, in conflict with the government of President Loubet, was struggling to save face through lies and fabrication of evidence in its efforts to maintain its 1894 guilty verdict for espionage against the Jewish captain Alfred Dreyfus.⁶⁶ In fact, the government's accommodation to the working class and labor unions around that time ironically put it on a political course that was philosophically akin to the radical socialist views of the 1871 Paris Commune and that of the ex-Communist Dalou himself. In effect, the Third Republic's position in 1899 disavowed much of the government's and the military's anti-Commune actions of 1871.

The Paris Commune was proclaimed on March 18, 1871. It announced itself as the representative government of France in place of the Versailles-based Third Republic. The two-month-long civil war that followed ended only after the Bloody Week (as it has since been known) of May 21–28, in which twenty to thirty thousand Communards were killed by the invading French army of the Versailles government.

For nearly a decade thereafter, the subject of the Commune and its ugly repression were forbidden topics of conversation among most French. As Albert Boime has well documented, even the Impressionists in their paintings of Paris from the 1870s omitted any reference to the physical devastation of the city and the violence that occurred during and after the spring 1871 uprising of the Paris Commune in order not to scare off potential clients.⁶⁷

Efforts to bring about a reconciliation of the Communards with their fellow citizens and thereby bring closure to that chapter of French history began in 1879–80, with the amnesties of exiled and deported Communards, and continued into the next century. As late as August 1895, the call by leftist members of the Paris City Council for the construction of a monument honoring the thousands of French Communards indiscriminately executed by government troops against the wall of Père Lachaise Cemetery was denied.⁶⁸ A compromise was finally reached in 1906, when the Paris City Council decided to dedicate the monument proposed a decade earlier to the victims of revolutions in general and not specifically to the Communards. In spite of that fact, Paul Moreau-Vauthier's 1906–09 sculpture (Figs. 63, 64) leaves no doubt that the ghostly scene of men, women, and children emerging in low relief from a stone wall refers directly to the Bloody Week of 1871. The work incorporates remnants of the massacre—actual bullet-ridden stones from the execution wall collected by the artist's father, who lived near the cemetery.⁶⁹ The victims themselves are not represented by classical nudes. Instead, much like the screaming, disembodied figures seen in Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen's 1894 image of Communards that appeared in the anarchist-socialist journal *Le Chambard Socialiste* (Fig. 65), Moreau-Vauthier's victims are realistically depicted in contemporary dress and could just as easily be the mirror-images of their fellow citizens who survived the civil war—a haunting reminder that no one is immune to the arbitrary use of force. In sharp contrast to Rude's psychologically uplifting Victory figure for the Arc de Triomphe of seventy years earlier, Moreau-Vauthier's allegorical figure of the Republic—the artist's only obvious concession to the ancients—tries but fails to protect the innocent victims of war. From wall to Paris wall, from the Arc de Triomphe to Père Lachaise, artists broke the traditional molds of sculpture in order to more effectively express a democratic, socially progressive philosophical message, one, however, more closely akin to the ideal than the real world.



66

66 **Auguste Clésinger**
Woman Bitten by a Snake, 1847,
Marble, 56.5 x 180 x 70 cm,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Réunion des
Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

67 **Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux**
The Dance, 1868, Plaster model for the
façade of the Paris Opera, 2.32 x 1.48 x
1.15 m,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Réunion des
Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

68 **Jules Dalou**
The Republic, 1879, Terracotta,
33.8 x 14.1 x 9 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris,
Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art
Resource, NY

69 **Jules Dalou**
Crouching Nude, 1895, Plaster,
Schlossberg Private Collection

70 **Jules Dalou**
Seated Nude, 1895, Plaster,
Schlossberg Private Collection

71 **Jules Dalou**
*Nude Woman Seen From
the Back*, 1895, Plaster,
Schlossberg Private Collection

ESCAPING THE CONFINES OF ACADEMIC ART

Realistic representation of the human form in sculpture was opposed to the canons of academic training and regularly rejected by Salon juries throughout the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It is therefore not surprising that realism, to one degree or another, was the most popular alternative to neoclassical idealism adopted by progressive sculptors. Beginning in the 1830s and continuing into the early years of the twentieth century, it was also the means by which artists could, in the famous words of Charles Baudelaire, portray aspects of “modern life.”

But the ways in which artists arrived at their particular form of realism differed greatly. Some, like David d'Angers, were influenced by the art of the Baroque era. Others, such as Dalou, David d'Angers, and Carriès, looked to the art of the distant past (Roman, Medieval, Renaissance) or, as in the case of Deck, Carriès, and Gauguin, to non-Western art such as that of Japan. Still others, namely, Degas and Rosso, drew inspiration from popular art forms such as the fully-clothed figures of Neopolitan saints, marionettes, or figures in wax museums. Barye, Fratin, and Frémiet studied live animals at the Jardin des Plantes, while Auguste Clésinger (1814–1883), Carpeaux, Rodin, Degas, and Carabin sculpted from live nude models or photographs. But rather than using the model solely as the basis for generalized, i.e., idealized interpretations of the human form, these artists sought to imbue their sculptures with a sense of life and human sensuality/sexuality, retaining the untempered qualities of flesh and/or the accidental characteristics of individual models.

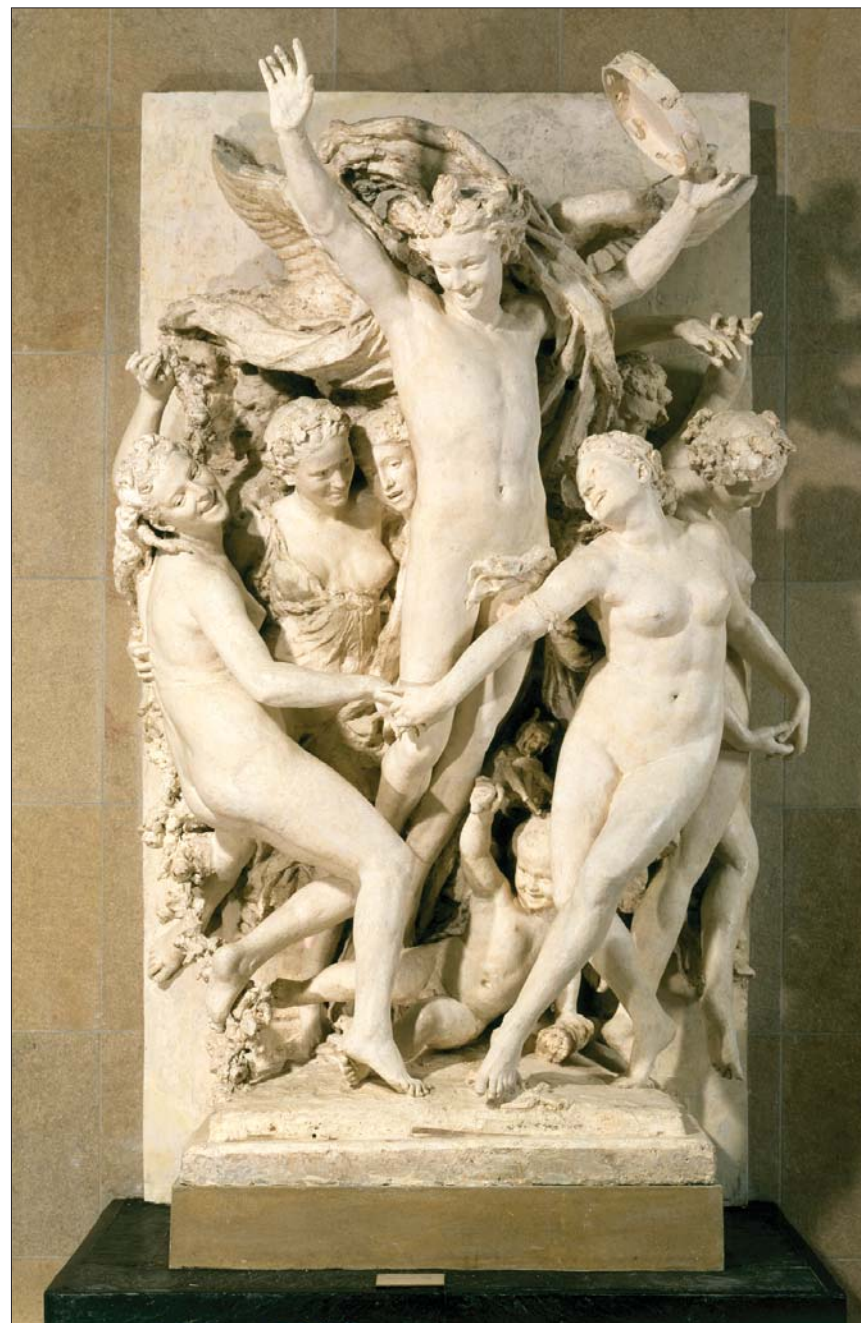
Nineteenth-century French sculpture is replete with examples of the “shock of realism,” works that shocked audiences and critics through their immediacy and blatant disregard for academic norms. The following are five of the most notorious examples of the shock of realism:

1. Clésinger's *Woman Bitten by a Snake* (1847; Fig. 66) created an uproar at the 1847 Salon when it was learned that the original plaster had been cast from an actual body—in particular, that of Josephine Sabatier (1822–1890). Sabatier regularly hosted dinners at her home for such important artists as Delacroix, the Goncourts, and Gustave Flaubert, and was also the mistress of Clésinger, among others.⁷⁰ Anne Pingeot has observed: “Success left its mark, and the female body became more curvaceous and elongated, but there was no recurrence of the cellulite at the top of Mme. Sabatier's thighs that argued in favour of the birth of realism.”⁷¹

2. The naked subjects of Carpeaux's *Dance* (1868; Fig. 67) on the façade of Charles Garnier's Opera display such an inebriated delight for life and unabashed sensuality that in 1869, on the eve of the fall of the Second Empire, they were almost replaced by more modest imagery. Even in marble, Carpeaux's sculpture retains a flesh-like malleability as seen in the indentations on the back of one joyful dancer produced by the tactile pressure of the fingers of her female partner. *Dance* introduced a new type of robust realism predicated on recognized Old Masters, in particular Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Paolo Veronese (1528–1588).⁷² It, in turn, informed other nineteenth-century portrayals of women (Figs. 68–71) including the earthy allegorical nudes featured in Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic*.

3. Rodin's ability to create realist likeness in sculpture was such that in 1877, he was accused of casting from life rather than modeling after nature the figure of the young nude soldier seen in *The Vanquished* (later called *The Age of Bronze*; Fig. 72).

4. Frémiet's ferocious *Gorilla Carrying off a Woman* (1859) was rejected by the Salon jury of 1859—the same year that Darwin's *Origin of the Species* was published. Thirty years later, the academic position on realism had finally mellowed, and a slightly different but equally terrifying version of Frémiet's gorilla



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72 **Auguste Rodin**
The Age of Bronze, 1877, Bronze,
178 x 59 x 65.1 cm, Musée
d'Orsay, Paris, Réunion des
Musées Nationaux/Art
Resource, NY



73

73 **Emmanuel Frémiet**
Reproduction of 1887 sculpture
that appeared on the cover of
Oscar Méténier, *The Gorilla*
(Paris: Victor Havard, 1891),
ZAM



74

74 **Emmanuel Frémiet**
*An Orangutan Strangling a
Savage from Borneo*, 1895,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM

75 **Henri Edouard Vernhes**
Young Girl Standing, 1894,
Wax over plaster support, ZAM

was accepted into the 1887 Salon (Fig. 73).⁷³ By that time, Darwin's theory of man's evolution from the ape had gained wider acceptance. Its argument on behalf of the gorilla's close kinship with his human counterpart is evoked in Frémiet's sculpture. In 1895, Frémiet was commissioned to create *Orangutan Strangling a Savage from Borneo* (Fig. 74) for the entrance foyer of the Museum of Natural History. Paul Vitry's description well captures the drama of the last-cited work:

Brought down after an epic struggle in which everyone had received bloody wounds, the naked hunter dropped his redened weapon and expired in the powerful grip of the monster. We must see the powerfulness with which the artist renders the taut, terrifying arms of the monkey as he smothers his panting victim, leaning back on back paws as supple as his arms, puffing out shuddering jowls that are so broad it is as if his victorious grimace surveys the whole scene. It is a whole drama of energy and ferocity.⁷⁴

5. As discussed earlier, the realism of Degas's *Little Dancer* dressed in real textiles shocked critics and public alike at the 1881 Impressionist exhibition.

The terrible reality of this statuette produces in him an evident malaise, all of his ideas of sculpture, of the cold inanimate whitenesses and of the memorable clichés copied and recopied over the centuries, are turned upside down.

This is due to the fact that from the outset Mr. Degas has overturned the traditions of sculpture just as for a long time now he has been shaking up the conventions of painting. While taking up again the method of the old Spanish masters, Mr. Degas, through the originality of his talent, immediately makes it absolutely particular and absolutely modern.

Like certain madonnas who are made-up and dressed in robes, like the Christ of Burgos Cathedral whose hair is real hair, whose thorns are real thorns, whose drapes are made of real fabric, Mr. Degas's dancer too has real skirts, real ribbons, a real bodice, real hair.⁷⁵

Already in 1867, Charles Blanc had pronounced the academic objections to such realism in sculpture:

Suppose that the sculptor decides to put a real helmet on the figure of the hero, real armor, real linen and real fabrics, he will not be effecting an imitation but a pure pleonasm, because no matter who the artist may be, there is no imitation in the meaning of art, there is repetition.... We have a striking example of this in the wax figures: the more they resemble nature, the more hideous they are.⁷⁶

This admonition did not, however, deter the academic artist Henri Edouard Vernhes (1854–1926) from sculpting the life-size figure of a young girl in tinted wax over plaster in 1894 (Fig. 75). Unlike Degas, Vernhes did not attire his statue in real clothing but instead recreated in wax in painstaking detail the exact costume in style that year available to the bourgeoisie at the department store Grands Magazins du Louvre.⁷⁷ And even though Rude's 1836 stone relief of the Old Gaul dressed in armor and helmet on the Arc de Triomphe and Jean-Léon Gérôme's bronze *Gladiators* (1878) are hyper-realist in style, they remain within the boundaries of academic sculpture at least in this regard through their traditional materials and historical subject matter.

On the other hand, David d'Angers's relief sculpture for the Arc de Triomphe in Marseille (Figs. 76, 77), which celebrates the same event depicted in Rude's *Departure of the Volunteers*, is pure genre. The volunteers going off to battle are ordinary Marseille citizens of all classes dressed in contemporary costume of the 1790s and carrying rifles, backpacks, and drums of the period. The scene is consumed by anecdotal details: men kissing their wives and children goodbye, a small baby in his mother's arms sucking his thumb, a young girl holding onto her mother's dress, a little boy scoffing his foot at a French poodle making his way amid the legs of volunteer soldiers, and the mother of a little drummer boy holding his cheek as she washes a spot of dirt off his face. The artist's only concessions to neoclassical art are located at the far left of the scene where, almost invisible on the margin of the scurrying figures of men, women, children, and dog, sits an allegorical figure of Victory giving her benediction to the volunteers as they move to the right, while below her an angel records on a slate, one assumes, the names of those going off to battle.

In contrast to Rude's exalted, symbolic homage to the Marseille volunteers, David d'Angers's *Motherland Calling Its Children in the Defense of Liberty* includes no idealized body types, clinging drapery, or historicizing Gauls. Rather, it presents a real-life drama,



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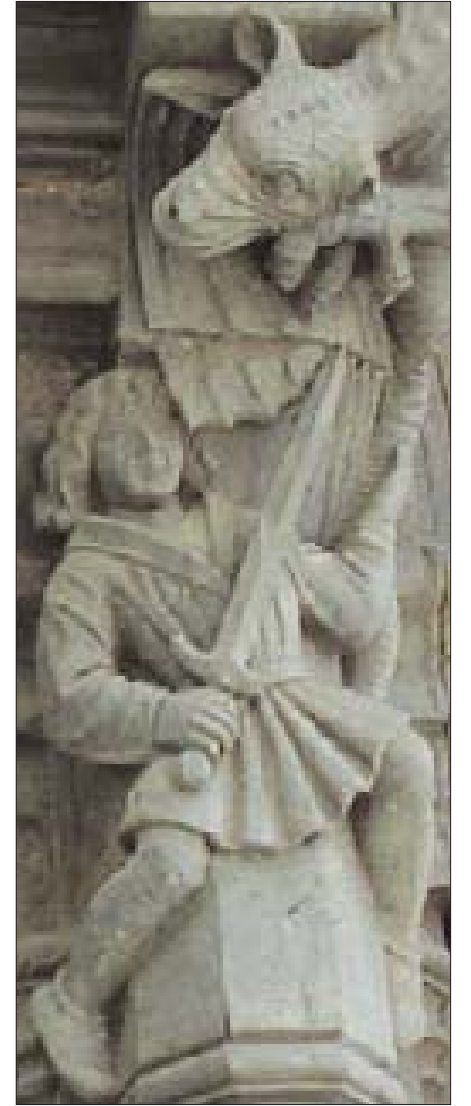
76 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
The Departure of the Volunteers, Arc de Triomphe, Marseille
 Ca. 1836, Painted plaster,
 135 x 33.3 cm, Musée David d'Angers,
 Angers

77 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
 Section of *Volunteers*, from the Arc de Triomphe, Marseille
 1835, Bronze, Schlossberg Private Collection

78 Unidentified artist
 Detail of wood sculpture, from *La Maison des Artisans*
 Fifteenth century, La Place Sainte Croix, Angers



77



78

poignant and touching for its everyday qualities and suggestions of human emotions. Much like the subjects of Moreau-Vauthier's *Victims of Revolutions* of seventy years later, the protagonists of David d'Angers's work could be one's next-door neighbors, individuals caught up in events beyond their control and forced to be heroic.

In its unidealized, realistic treatment of the human figure, David d'Angers's work was unusual for its time. Sources for his realism, seen not only in his

relief for the Marseille Arc de Triomphe but also his pediment design for the Paris Panthéon (1830–37), included contemporary folk, Epinal woodblock prints.⁷⁸ Another, more obvious, inspiration, however, was the fifteenth-century wood sculptures on the exterior of the *Maison des Artisans* (Fig. 78), located in the center of Angers—a group of works David d'Angers could have seen virtually every day of his youth. Moreover, since his father was a cabinetmaker, woodcarvings would have been central to the young



79

79 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Victor Hugo, 1828, Plaster,
Miles Private Collection

80 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Géricault Pictor, 1830, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

81 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Niccolò Paganini, 1834, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

artist's training prior to his departure from Angers for the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

An important aspect of David d'Angers's oeuvre was the production of portrait busts and medallions of leading cultural figures such as Goethe, Hugo (Fig. 79), Géricault (Fig. 80), and Paganini (Figs. 81–97). These works, designed to express the individual character and genius of these “Great Men,” followed in and expanded upon the realist tradition of sculptural portraiture established at the end of the previous century by Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828). With the work particularly of Carpeaux (Figs. 98, 99), Rodin (Fig. 100), Charpentier (Fig. 101), Paul Troubetzkoy (Fig. 102) (1866–1938), and Louis Valtat (1869–1952; Fig. 103), the practice of creating realist portraits of historical figures and contemporaries, especially fellow artists (Figs. 104–110), continued into the beginning of the twentieth century.

Beginning around 1859, when Carpeaux created a medallion of his artist-friend Alphonse Roussel (1829–1869; Fig. 111), these portraits were marked by an ever-increasing expressivity of modeling and manipulation of surface texture, features that produced effects akin to those of Impressionist painting with its visual disintegration of forms. Other vivid examples of “Impressionist” bronze portraits, albeit not within the “Great Men” tradition, are Rosso's *Ragamuffin* (1882), Rafaëlli's portrait busts of the 1880s (Figs. 112, 113), and Bourdelle's *Self-Portrait* (1908). Daumier's caricatural busts and Carriès's Japanese-inspired grotesque masks of the 1890s (see Fig. #) are separated in time by almost sixty years, yet they are equally “modern” in their respectively humorous and frightening distortions of reality. As we have seen, Rodin explored this kind of facial exaggeration in *Balzac* in order to physically convey its subject's intellectual prowess and creative genius. In fact, *Balzac* served as the monumental *finalé* to the nineteenth-century practice of paying homage to great men by means of dynamic realistic portraiture devoid of allegory yet open to expressive exaggeration, while Auguste de Niederhäusern's 1902 portrait of Paul Verlaine extended the practice into the twentieth century (Fig. 114).

The two decades leading up to the creation of *Balzac* saw the initiation of another important practice among French independent sculptors: the use of realism as a vehicle for expressing social concerns and asserting creative identity. In keeping with their deep regard for the laboring class, Dalou, Baffier,



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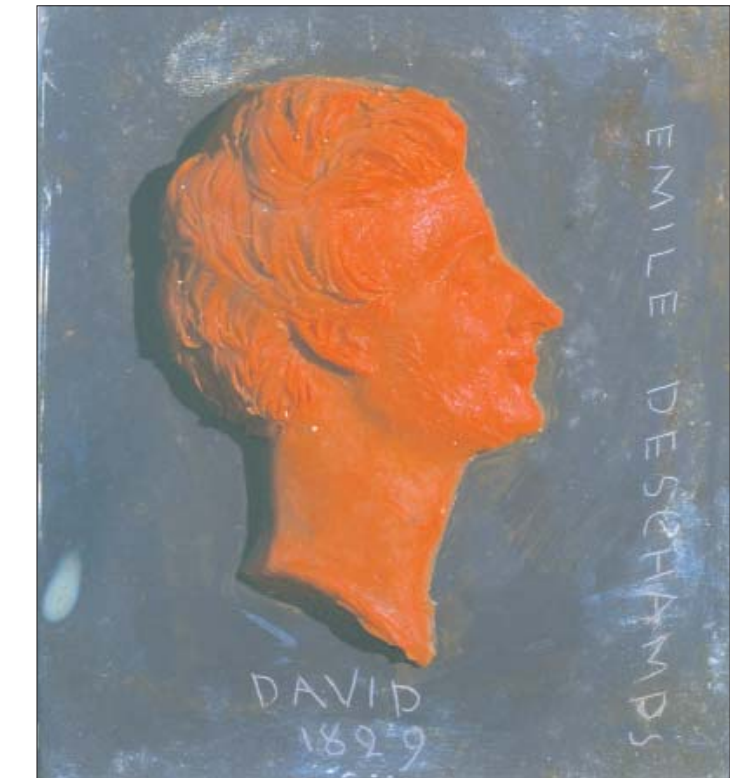
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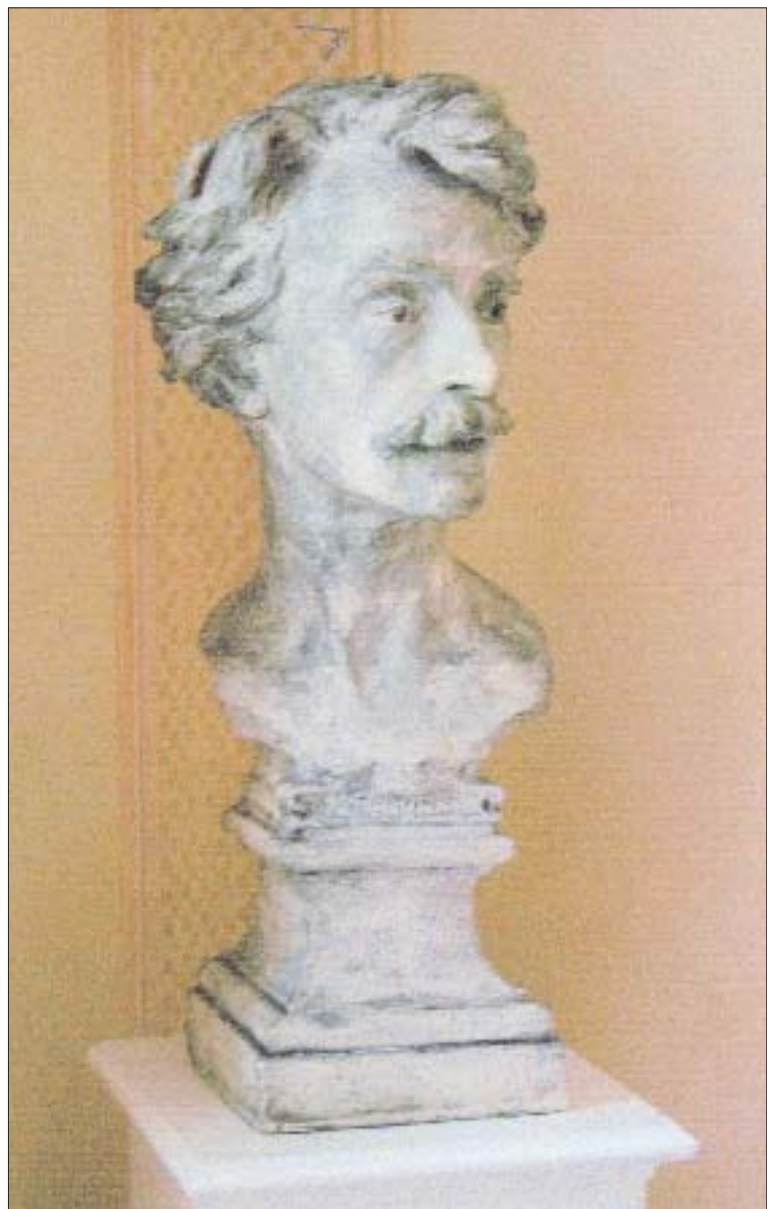
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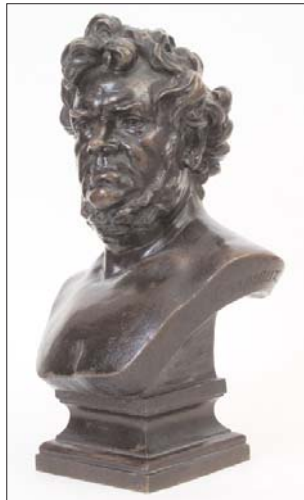
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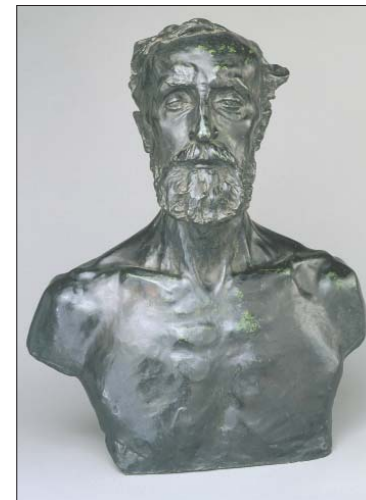
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82 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Alexandre Delaunette, 1825,
Bronze, Schlossberg Private
Collection

83 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres,
1826, Bronze, Schlossberg
Private Collection

84 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Mme. Ingres, 1826, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

85 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Nicholas-Toussaint Charlet,
1828, Bronze, Schlossberg
Private Collection

86 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Victor Hugo, 1828, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

87 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
*Relief Portrait of Emile
Deschamps*, 1829, Wax on slate,
Diamond Private Collection

88 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
René Levasseur de la Sarthe,
1831, Bronze, Schlossberg
Private Collection

89 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Dominique-François Arago,
1833, Bronze, Schlossberg
Private Collection

90 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Alfred de Musset, 1831, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

91 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
*Baby Boy with Thumb in Mouth
(Robert David)*, 1834, Plaster,
Diamond Private Collection

92 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Baby Girl (Hélène David),
1838, Plaster, Diamond
Private Collection

93 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Mademoiselle Mars, 1835,
Plaster, Schlossberg Private
Collection

94 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Honoré de Balzac, 1842, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

95 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Henri Lehmann, 1843, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

96 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
Madame Récamier, Undated,
Bronze, Schlossberg Private
Collection

97 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers
*Eustache Langlois du Pont
de L'Arche*, 1838, Plaster,
Miles Private Collection

98 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux
Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1871,
Terracotta, Hammerschlag
Private Collection

99 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux
Louis-Maximilien Beauvoir,
1862, Bronze, Schlossberg
Private Collection

100 Auguste Rodin
Portrait of Aimé Jules Dalou,
Nineteenth century (modeled
in 1883; this bronze cast in
1910), Bronze, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art

101 Alexandre Charpentier
Edmond de Goncourt, 1891,
Bronze, Hammerschlag
Private Collection

102 Paul Troubetzkoy
Portrait of Tolstoy, 1899,
Bronze, ZAM



103



104



107

Charpentier, Rodin, and Carriès envisioned themselves as artisans first and artists second. As Carriès described in regard to his experimentation into stoneware ceramics, knowledge of the craft and mastery of the manual skills required for every stage of the sculpture process were essential to them as creators:

The modern artist must make a tabula rasa of the stupid lessons he has received, and must first of all learn to become a master worker. He must be solidly armed to dominate the substance, especially stone—a noble substance that does not lend itself easily to picturesque expressions. He must be sure of himself, both of the production process and of the idea. One does not improvise a masterpiece. The inspired artist should also be a very skilled worker.⁷⁹

In a similar manner, Rodin announced: “I am a worker who enjoys the vilest occupations. These rough hands here work the block, mix the plaster. I have retained the habits of a mason from my days as an apprentice. I am like the artists of the Renaissance: they were craftsmen and not refined gentlemen.”⁸⁰ The theme of the artist as artisan or worker is treated in Jeanneney’s *Portrait of Carriès* (1900; Fig. 115) and Bourdelle’s *Self-Portrait* (Fig. 116), the former depicting its subject as Medieval craftsman and the latter as brooding artist-genius with the tools of his trade, mallet and chisel, at his feet. *Self-Portrait*’s didactic symbolism keeps it rooted in the nineteenth century.

Even with its formal abstraction, the work is conceptually closer to David d’Angers’s *Liberty* (1839), with its symbolic accoutrements of the French Revolution, than to Dalou’s *Large Peasant* (1897–1903) or Matisse’s *Serf* (1900–04), both of which are free of such anecdotal motifs.

Another self-proclaimed worker-sculptor was Baffier, who saw the rural peasantry as the inheritor of the French Gallic cultural traditions and the folktales, songs, and traditional costumes unique to each provincial community as the sacred remnants of a bygone France. The artist, a practitioner in charge of the stonemasons for Aubé’s *Monument to Gambetta*, regarded the medieval guild system as the best defense against a centralized, capitalist cosmopolitan French society.⁸¹ Although his political sympathies initially lay with the new republic, Baffier’s growing disenchantment with the inaction of opportunistic republican legislators and their internationalist leanings prompted him to embrace a conservative, protofascist agenda.⁸²

Baffier was one of many leading independent nineteenth-century French artists to depict rural and urban workers and those located at the margins of society: the impoverished, homeless, and disenfranchised.⁸³ The realistic craggy, wrinkled faces and bodies that inhabit Baffier’s and Dalou’s sculptures reveal à la Millet their creators’ sympathy and



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106



110

103 Louis Valtat
Portrait of Paul Cézanne,
Ca. 1905, Bronze, The
Metropolitan Museum of Art

104 Unidentified artist
Bust of a bearded man,
Ca. 1885–90, Wax on slate,
ZAM

105 Frédéric Brou
Portrait of a Woman, Ca. 1895,
Painted plaster, ZAM

106 Charles Cordier
Louis Rambourg, 1891, Plaster,
Schlossberg Private Collection

107 Constantin Meunier
Self-Portrait, Undated,
Bronze medallion, Schlossberg
Private Collection

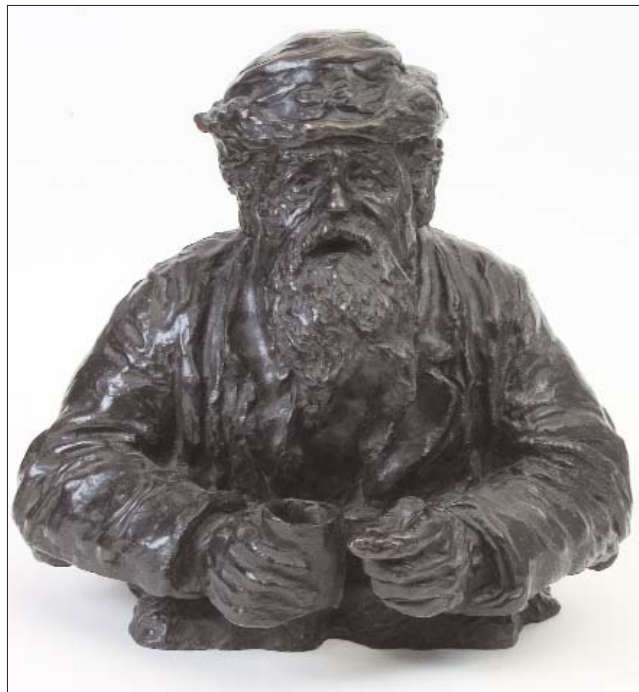
108 Paul Paulin
Auguste Renoir, 1902, Bronze,
Schlossberg Private Collection

109 Paul Paulin
*Bust of Edgar Degas at the Age of
Seventy-Two*, 1907 (cast at an
unknown date), Bronze,
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art

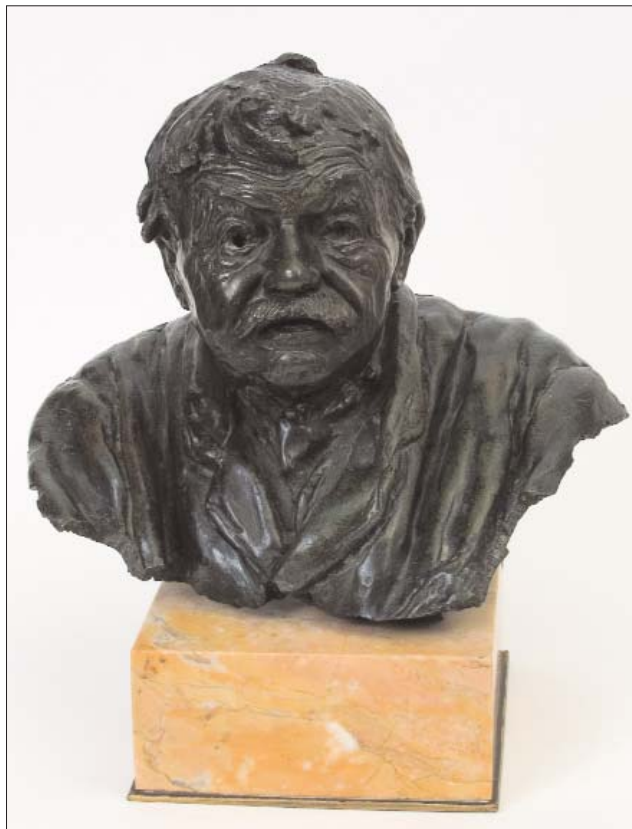
110 Jean-Désiré Ringel d’Ilzsch
Portrait of Auguste Rodin,
1884, Bronze, Diamond
Private Collection



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120

111 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux
Alphonse Roussel, 1859, ZAM

112 Jean François Raffaëlli
Political Discussion, Ca. 1884,
Bronze, Schlossberg Private
Collection

113 Jean François Raffaëlli
A Fellow Sitting on a Bench
Ca. 1884, Bronze,
26 x 24.1 x 17.8 cm,
Schlossberg Private Collection

114 Auguste de Niederhäusern
Paul Verlaine, 1902, Plaster,
Private collection courtesy of
David and Constance Yates

115 Paul Jeanneney
Portrait of Jean Carriès, 1900,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM

116 Emile Antoine Bourdelle
Self-Portrait, 1908, Bronze,
ZAM

117 Jean Eugène Baffier
*Farmer's Wife Taking Splinter
out of Her Husband's Hand*,
1887, Bronze, ZAM

118 Aimé Jules Dalou
Head of a Worker, 1890–1900,
Plaster, ZAM

119 Constantin Meunier
Profile of a Worker, 1895,
Plaster, ZAM

120 Constantin Meunier
Profile of a Man, 1900,
Bronze, ZAM

- 121 **Constantin Meunier**
The Hammerman, 1883–84, Bronze, The Art Institute of Chicago
- 122 **Henri Bourchard**
Hauler, 1903, Bronze, ZAM
- 123 **Guillaume Charlier**
Procession of Fishermen, 1888, Wax model for Monument to Fishermen, the Transport of Fish, ZAM
- 124 **Alexandre Charpentier**
The Bakers, 1889–97, Enamelled stoneware, Life-size, Now located in la place Scipion, Paris



121



122

respect for the hard lives of the French peasantry. The subjects of Baffier's 1887 *Farmer's Wife Taking Splinter out of Her Husband's Finger*—modeled on the artist's parents—are depicted as physically worn down and prematurely aged by their labor (Fig. 117). By contrast, Dalou's peasants maintain the type of rough but solid physical presence found in the antique portraits of Roman nobility (Fig. 118).

Belgian artists created some of the most moving late-nineteenth-century depictions of workers (Figs. 119, 120). The artistic communities of Paris and Brussels were particularly close during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with various artists moving between the two cities. Carriès, Carabin, Charpentier, and other French sculptors were included in the shows of the Brussels avant-garde collective Les Vingt. Rodin spent six years in Brussels, first as an apprentice to Carrier-Belleuse and later in partnership with the Belgian sculptor Antoine-Joseph Van Rasbrough before moving back to Paris in 1877 (at which time he exhibited *The Age of Bronze* at the Salon). Rodin, in turn, influenced Meunier's bronze sculptures of noble muscular workers. Meunier's *Hammerman* (1883–84; Fig. 121), one of his early portrayals of the backbreaking work of Belgian coalminers, appeared almost simultaneously with *Germinal*, Zola's novel on the subject. *The Hammerman* was exhibited at the Paris 1884 Salon,⁸⁴ inspiring Dalou, Carriès (*Miner of the Loire*, 1884–88, Musée d'Orsay), and later Bourchard (Fig. 122) to handle similar subject matter in a bold monumental format:

Constantin Meunier affiliates himself with the tradition of the masters of antiquity. He goes beyond the emotional rhythms of the Renaissance and directly reconstitutes the simple and grandiose physical Man of the virgin ages.... Meunier provokes a new emotional form: for this reason he deserves to figure beside the two masters who took on the intellectual aesthetic of the *fin-de-siècle* with the most intensity: Puvis through the infinite dream of the ages, Rodin through the nervous paroxysm of passion.⁸⁵

By the time Meunier created *The Hammerman*, the idea of creating sculptural monuments to labor or workers was of profound interest to French and

Belgian artists alike including Meunier, Baffier, Dalou, and Rodin.⁸⁶ The plaster models for the monuments planned but never executed by Baffier, Dalou, and Rodin exist today.⁸⁷ Dalou's many small terracotta or plaster studies for his intended monument to workers were not discovered until just after his death. The worker realized for *Triumph of the Republic* was the only figure known during the artist's lifetime. In 1903, Paul Vitry stated:

Even his close friends knew him only partially. *The Large Peasant*, seen this past year at the Salon was discovered by his friends after his death, behind a canvas in a corner of a studio... at the same time a white wood cupboard of his was opened, revealing sketches of a whole population of workers, minuscule artisans living obscurely in clay or plaster, waiting to spring into grandiose life.⁸⁸

Meunier's design for his *Monument to Workers* became a reality years only after his death. In 1930, the sculpture was installed near the port of Brussels in Laeken.⁸⁹ Meunier's lesser-known countryman, Guillaume Charlier (1854–1925), who studied at the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts from 1880 to 1882 and again from 1884 to 1886, exhibited regularly at the Paris Salon and even won a gold medal for sculpture at the 1889 Exposition Universelle, similarly demonstrated his concern with the plight of workers in pieces such as his plaster *Female Miner* (1880) and bronze *Miller* (1882)—sculptures predating those of Meunier. Charlier's *Monument to Fishermen, the Transport of Fish* (Fig. 123) was cast in bronze in 1889 at half size (for which the Zimmerli's wax was its model) and displayed at that year's Les Vingt exhibition in Brussels. It was later cast in bronze full size and erected in the town of Tournai.

This monument of *The Fishermen* bears no resemblance to anything in the world of sculpture; it draws its grandeur and meaning from the study of reality and of nature and thus rises to an elevated level of human expression. He synthesizes the monument of work, of maritime work, as Constantin Meunier will later synthesize work in general.⁹⁰

The only surviving *fin-de-siècle* public monument to labor existing in Paris is Alexandre Charpentier's life-



123



124



125

125 Eugène Guillaume
Reaper, 1849, Bronze,
168 x 78 x 95 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris,
Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art
Resource, NY

126 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux
Ugolino, Ca. 1860, Painted
plaster, The Metropolitan Museum of
Art

127 Unidentified artist
The Slave, Black Female Nude,
Ca. 1880–90, Terracotta, ZAM

128 Auguste Rodin
Eve, 1881, Bronze,
Miles Private Collection



126

size relief *The Bakers* (Fig. 124), which depicts bakers at their bread ovens. First exhibited in plaster at the 1889 Paris Salon, *The Bakers* was cast eight years later by Emile Müller & Company in polychrome enameled stoneware and included in the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, where it was described as a “a curious impression of modern art marked with an archaic character”⁹¹ and “an adaptation of Assyrian art, of which the Frieze of Archers at the Louvre is such an astonishing model.”⁹² By 1902, the sculpture was temporarily on display in the little garden to the left of the entrance of the church of St. Germain des Près (today place Laurent Prache) before being transferred permanently to the square Scipion in the Fifth Arrondissement.

While realism per se provided an important alternative to academic art, the differences between the two could be very subtle. For example, the subject of Rodin’s *Age of Bronze* may be realistically rendered. However, the model chosen is in such ideal physical condition and the pose so graceful that it is hard to distinguish between Rodin’s realistic representation and that, for instance, of Eugène Guillaume’s (1822–1905) idealized *Reaper* (Fig. 125). On the other hand, the tense and writhing, muscular realism of the Michelangelesque bodies found in Carpeaux’s *Ugolino* (Fig. 126) and Rodin’s *Gates of Hell* break with all neoclassical decorum and physical canons: blood flows through their veins.

The realism of the Zimmerli’s *The Slave, Black Female Nude* (ca. 1880–90; Fig. 127) stands somewhere between that of Rodin and that of Dalou. The unidentified artist who created the original terracotta must have known of Rodin nudes such as *Eve* (Fig. 128), which combine a similar traditional contraposto with a Michelangelesque musculature and sway of the body. Nevertheless, *The Slave* maintains a greater degree of realism than that often found in Rodin’s sculptures, and this may be due to its ethnic subject matter that because of its rarity called for a greater fidelity to the live model. The thickness of the hips and stomach and the muscular diaphragm diminish the traditional classical waist. The Negroid facial features and hair are not of a generic type, but rather more likely derive from a specific live studio model. It is an exceptional work specifically because it is not an ethnographic study per se as in the statues



127



128

of Charles Cordier (1827–1905), for instance.⁹³ Although there are similarities to the head and facial features of Bartholdi’s male Negro nude for *Monument to Bruat* (1864, Musée Bartholdi, Colmar), the obvious prototype was Carpeaux’s nude African woman for *Four Parts of the World* (1867–72), located at the south end of the Luxembourg Gardens (Figs. 129, 130).⁹⁴ Yet even



129

129 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux
Fountain of Four Continents,
1867–72, Bronze,
Luxembourg Gardens,
Avenue de l'Observatoire, Paris

130 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux
A Negress, 1868, Plaster with
patina, red stone base, 34.6 x
24.8 cm, Brooklyn Museum,
1993.83, Gift of Benno Bordiga,
by exchange, and the Mary
Smith Dorward Fund

with its fairly realistic depiction of ethnic types (African and Chinese), Carpeaux bows to a more idealized form of the female nude torso than that seen in the present work. Rather, in its directness of execution and earthy realism, *The Slave* is perhaps closer to Dalou's 1879 terracotta nude study for *Triumph of the Republic* (Musée d'Orsay).

Carpeaux played a major role in Dalou's career, having persuaded the latter's parents to allow him to attend the Petite Ecole.⁹⁵ By 1870, Dalou was creating marble sculptures on naturalist domestic themes devoid of allegorical intent: embroidery, reading, breastfeeding a baby. After the fall of the Paris Commune, Dalou spent the greater part of the 1870s in exile in London where he produced, among other naturalist works, a realistic depiction of a contemporary woman totally nude except for high-heeled shoes sitting and reading in a high-back easy chair (Musée d'Orsay). Its casualness and directness predated Degas's own interest in the genre of the observed, contemporary domestic nude depicted in various positions, stages of undress, or at the bath (Fig. 131). Dalou, like Degas, often freely modeled his nude studies in wax (Fig. 132). Yet unlike Degas, Dalou did

not stop there. Rather, these studies represented merely the beginning of a sculptural process that ultimately resulted in finished plaster, terracotta, marble, or bronze examples of varying sizes.

Carpeaux's *Dance*, Dalou's voluptuous women in *Triumph of the Republic*, Degas's many women in awkward poses, and Rodin's depictions of old women such as his *She Who Was the Helmet Maker's Once Beautiful Wife* (1884–87) went a long way toward destroying the neoclassical myth of feminine beauty. And while the Romantic small bronze statuettes of *Leda and the Swan*, for instance, may have been titillating for the male generation of 1830, it was the psychological and physiological investigations of female sexuality (Fig. 133) that were major concerns of Rodin (Fig. 134), Gauguin, Carabin, and others at the end of the century. In her extraordinary biography of Rodin, Ruth Butler quotes Rainer Maria Rilke's evaluation of female sexuality in *The Gates of Hell*. In Rilke's words, "[Woman is here] no longer the forced or unwilling animal. Like man, she is awake and filled with longing, it is as though the two made common cause to find their souls."⁹⁶ As presented in Gauguin's *Black Venus* (1889; Fig. 135) and the anonymous plaster of a half-woman/half-serpent (ca. 1885–90; Fig. 136), woman is a mysterious, dangerous sexual temptress. The sexual symbolism is far less oblique in Carabin's bronze inkwell *Siren and Octopus* (Fig. 137)—the octopus is the siren's genitalia—as well as his fountain (Fig. 138), which expels water onto the grotesque male head from the nude woman's vagina.

Like some of his fellow independent artists (Figs. 139–141), Carabin sought to endow his female subjects with a contemporary look and a personality reflective of the moment in which they lived. The artist's women are usually quite plain or vulgar, often featuring awkward but realist bodies somewhat along the lines of Degas's *Little Dancer* (Fig. 142). Carabin's *Woman Holding a Cat* (Fig. 143) sits brazenly in the nude with a topknot hairdo typical of dance-hall performers—clear indications that she is a prostitute. Her low social status is further emphasized by her imperfect body as well as the presence of the cat, the latter a symbol of promiscuity à la Manet. The subject of Milles's *Young Girl Holding a Cat* (Fig. 144) may also be a prostitute, but absent the harsh realism of Carabin's woman there is no overt sign to suggest

that the young girl is anything more than a child cuddling her feline.

Prostitutes appear in other works by Carabin who, along with his close friend Toulouse-Lautrec, experienced the sordid world of prostitution personally and professionally in the Paris neighborhood of Montmartre, where they both lived. Richard Thomson has convincingly argued on behalf of a direct link between Carabin's wax sculpture of a prostitute preparing herself for a medical inspection and Lautrec's painting on the same subject.⁹⁷ Carabin and Toulouse-Lautrec had much else in common as well. The two residents of Montmartre—the center of the literary/artistic avant-garde community in Europe around the turn of the twentieth century—both participated in and portrayed essential elements of the invigorating world of Parisian nightlife that included popular entertainment at dance halls such as the Moulin Rouge, cabarets artistiques like the Chat Noir, and café-concerts such as the Folies-Bergère. (Fig. 145)

Carabin's series of six bronze sculptures (1896–97) and one enameled stoneware (Figs. 146, 147) of the American performer Loïe Fuller in a sequence of dance movements finds its parallels in an 1893 lithograph by Lautrec and an 1893–95 group of eight pastels by the artists' mutual friend Charles Maurin (Fig. 148). Lautrec hand-colored and touched with gold each of his Loïe Fuller prints slightly differently so that when a number of them are displayed together, the lithographs appear to create a cinematic effect of the dancer in sequential movements. The dynamic abstract movements of Fuller's famed Serpentine Dance intrigued other artists of the period as well. Jules Chéret (1836–1932), Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen (Fig. 149), Pal (Jean de Paleologu, 1855–?; Fig. 150), and others created drawings, prints, posters, and paintings of the dancer, while Bernhardt Höetger (1874–1949), Pierre Roche (1855–1922), and Raoul Larche (1860–1912), among others, produced numerous statuettes in bronze, plaster and terracotta. In 1904, Roche created eighteen gypsograph illustrations for Roger Marx's book *Loïe Fuller*, which was published in a limited edition of one hundred and thirty copies by the Société des Cent Bibliophiles.⁹⁸

An important aspect of Montmartre cultural life was the Chat Noir Cabaret. Opened on the southern edge



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131



135

- 131 Edgar Degas**
The Tub, 1889 (cast 1919–21),
Bronze, The Art Institute
of Chicago
- 132 Jules Dalou**
Study for *Triumph of the
Republic*, 1879, Painted wax,
ZAM
- 133 Raymond Sudre**
Arachnid, 1897, Plaster, ZAM
- 134 Auguste Rodin**
Woman on a Rock, Undated,
Patinated plaster, Hammerschlag
Private Collection
- 135 Paul Gauguin**
Black Venus, 1889, Enameled
stoneware, Nassau County
Museum



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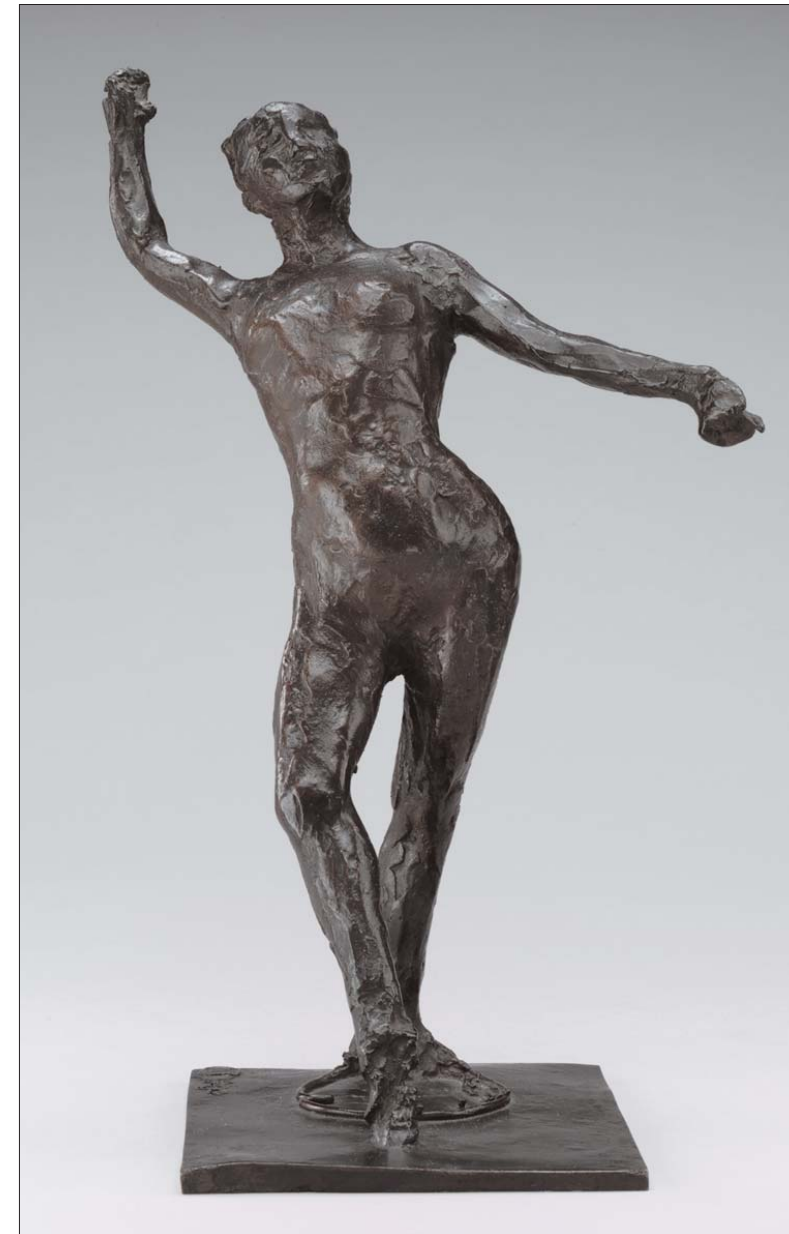
136 Unidentified artist
Female Serpent, Ca. 1885–90,
Plaster, ZAM

137 Rupert Carabin
Siren and Octopus, 1900–01,
Bronze inkwell, ZAM

138 Rupert Carabin
Woman sitting on a grotesque head
of a man, 1894–95,
Bronze and enameled stoneware
fountain, ZAM

139 Edgar Degas
Dancer with a Tambourine,
Ca. 1885 (cast 1919–21), Bronze,
National Gallery of Art

140 Jules Desbois
The Dance, 1906, Plaster and fabric,
ZAM



139



140



141

141 Alfred Grévin With Frédéric Beer
Actress in Hen Costume (Poule)
Ca. 1880, Painted plaster, ZAM



141a

141a Unidentified artist
Actress Walking Downstairs
Ca. 1875, Terracotta, ZAM

142 Edgar Degas
Study in the Nude of Little Dancer Aged Fourteen
1879–1917 (cast ca. 1926),
Bronze, National Gallery of Art



142

144 Carl Milles
Young Girl Holding a Cat
Ca. 1900, Bronze, ZAM



143



144

145 Rupert Carabin
At the Moulin de la Galette
1903–04, Bronze, ZAM



145



146

146 Rupert Carabin
Loïe Fuller, 1896–97, Series of six bronze statuettes, ZAM

147 Rupert Carabin
Loïe Fuller, Ca. 1897–98, Enameled stoneware, ZAM

148 Charles Maurin
Loïe Fuller, 1893–95, Sprayed pigment and black chalk, ZAM

149 Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen
Loïe Fuller, from Gil Blas illustré, no. 52 (December 25, 1892), 1892, Photo-relief, ZAM

150 Pal
Loïe Fuller at the Folies-Bergères, Ca. 1893, Lithograph, ZAM

151 Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen
The Chat Noir Ballad, Photo-relief cover illustration for the journal Le Chat noir (August 9, 1884), ZAM



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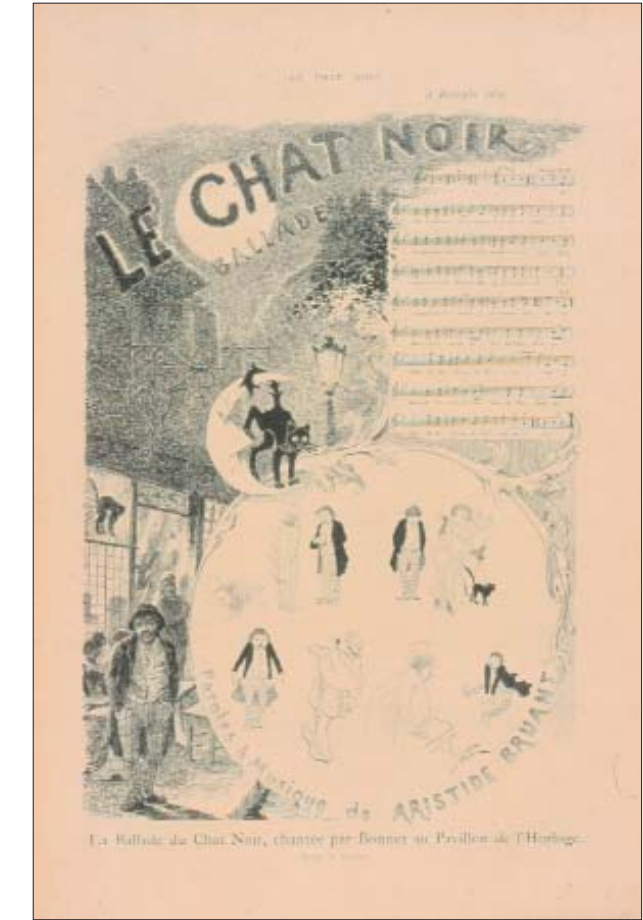
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152

152 Henri Rivière
Saint Anthony and the Devil
silhouette for the shadow-theater
play, *The Temptation of*
St. Anthony, 1887, Zinc, ZAM

153 Henri Somm
Five female silhouettes for the shadow-theater play *The Son of the Eunuch*, Ca. 1890–95, Zinc, ZAM

154 Caran d'Ache
Silhouette for the Chat-Noir Cabaret shadow-theater play *The Epic*, Zinc, 1888, ZAM

72 155 Jean François Raffaëlli
The Move, Ca. 1887–90, Zinc, Diamond Private Collection

156 Jean François Raffaëlli
The Rag Picker, Ca. 1887–90, Zinc, Diamond Private Collection

of Montmartre at 84, boulevard Rochechouart, in the fall of 1881 under the entrepreneurial direction of Rodolphe Salis, the Chat Noir inaugurated the *cabaret artistique* (Fig. 151). Within a short time, the Chat Noir had become internationally recognized on several fronts: for its nightly performances of poetry and music, the audacious, anti-bourgeois antics of Salis and his contemporaries, and as the home for avant-garde artists and writers. In June 1895, the Chat Noir moved several blocks away to a much larger *hotel particulier* at what is now 12, rue Victor Massé. There, the artists Henri Rivière (1864–1951), Henri Somm (1844–1907), and others initially created puppet plays, but within a short time Rivière transformed the puppet theater into a shadow theater for which he and his

colleagues wrote, designed, directed, and fabricated humorous satirical and symbolist plays through the course of the ensuing decade.

The small theater of the 'Chat Noir', managed by Mr. Henri Rivière, is repeating its success of last winter. The plays that have been showing there for a few days now are: *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Fig. 152), by Mr. Rivière, *The Son of the Eunuch* (Fig. 153), by Mr. Henri Somm, *The Game of Whist* by Mr. Sahib, *The Golden Age* by Mr. Willette.

Mr. Henri Rivière has civilized the art of Chinese shadows—an art which has been rudimentary up until now. Before him, the shadows marched past like characters from a frieze or like Pawns. When he engineered Mr. Caran d'Ache's *The Epic* (Fig. 154), he arranged them so as to create effects of perspective on planes that seemed to stretch back toward infinity. For the movement and disappearance of the groups he devised a series of skillful and instantaneous things, and even if the transparent surfaces still only registered black outlines, at least they ceased to be innocent surfaces and became endowed with depth. A sign of decisive progress is that today he has all of the colours; in forty minutes forty scenes are shown. In this *Temptation of Saint Anthony* the only consideration is to do the work of a painter; Mr. Rivière has not been overly concerned with bringing out the meaning of the book.... The temptations which obsess the saint are made current. The saint comically identifies himself with Mr. Sadi-Carnot, a member of parliament that the Congress elected President of the Republic at Versailles on December 3rd, and whose name is dear to us because it was the name of the founder of thermodynamics. Mr. Henri Rivière has staged this work with marvelous spirit and with great intellectual and artistic wisdom.⁹⁹

The Chat Noir's productions influenced the work of Jean François Raffaëlli. While best known for his *fin-de-siècle* paintings and prints of Paris and Parisian types, Raffaëlli by 1890 completed various bronze portrait sculptures of workers and an inventive series of bronze reliefs described and praised by the art critic Gustave Geffroy:

There is no need of grand explanations in order to admit that this is an example of a



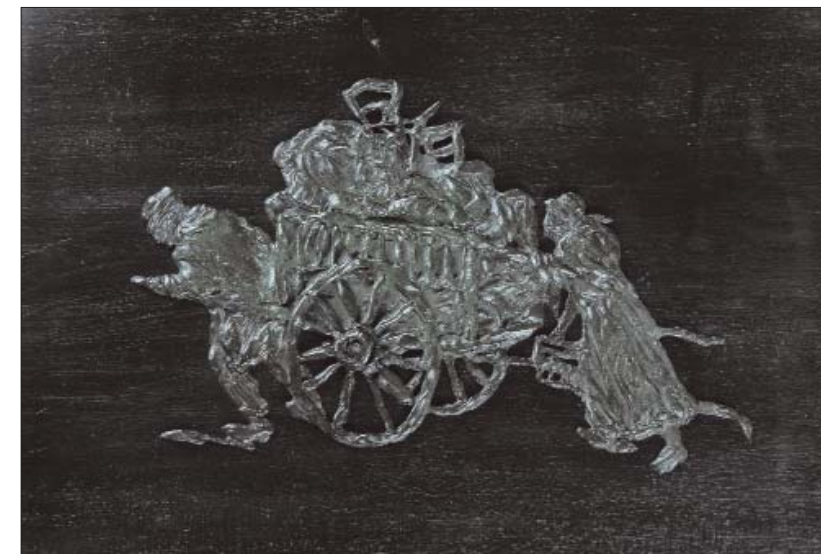
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new usage of sculpture, and that the intrepid artist has found a form that has not been employed previously... These are bas-relief sculptures without bases, silhouettes of beings and objects represented like Chinese shadow plays in terms of their outlines, but embellished by contours, relief and all of the coloring of light and shade... It can, with just one detail of artistic perspective point out the distant line of the horizon, summarily sketch a panorama of a town, encapsulate a cloud.... The statue and the bas-relief sculptures, as they are produced today, cannot be placed in cramped bedrooms.... In order to represent attitudes, i.e., human actions, the sculptor manipulates the infinitely expressive bronze into zigzagging twists and turns. A (destitute) man sits at an inn, his elbow on the table. A handcart, onto which is precariously loaded a plain piece of furniture, ascends a slope—that it is a slope is evident from the position of the collapsing wheels, and from the man who pulls and the woman who pushes.¹⁰⁰

As Geffroy's description suggests, the silhouette effect of Raffaëlli's reliefs (Figs. 155, 156) derived from the shadow-theater plays (*ombres chinoises*). The zinc cutouts for *The Temptation of St. Anthony* and the other highly sophisticated shadow plays at the Chat Noir (Figs. 157–159) were not intended as sculptures per se. Nonetheless, Raffaëlli appropriated and trans-



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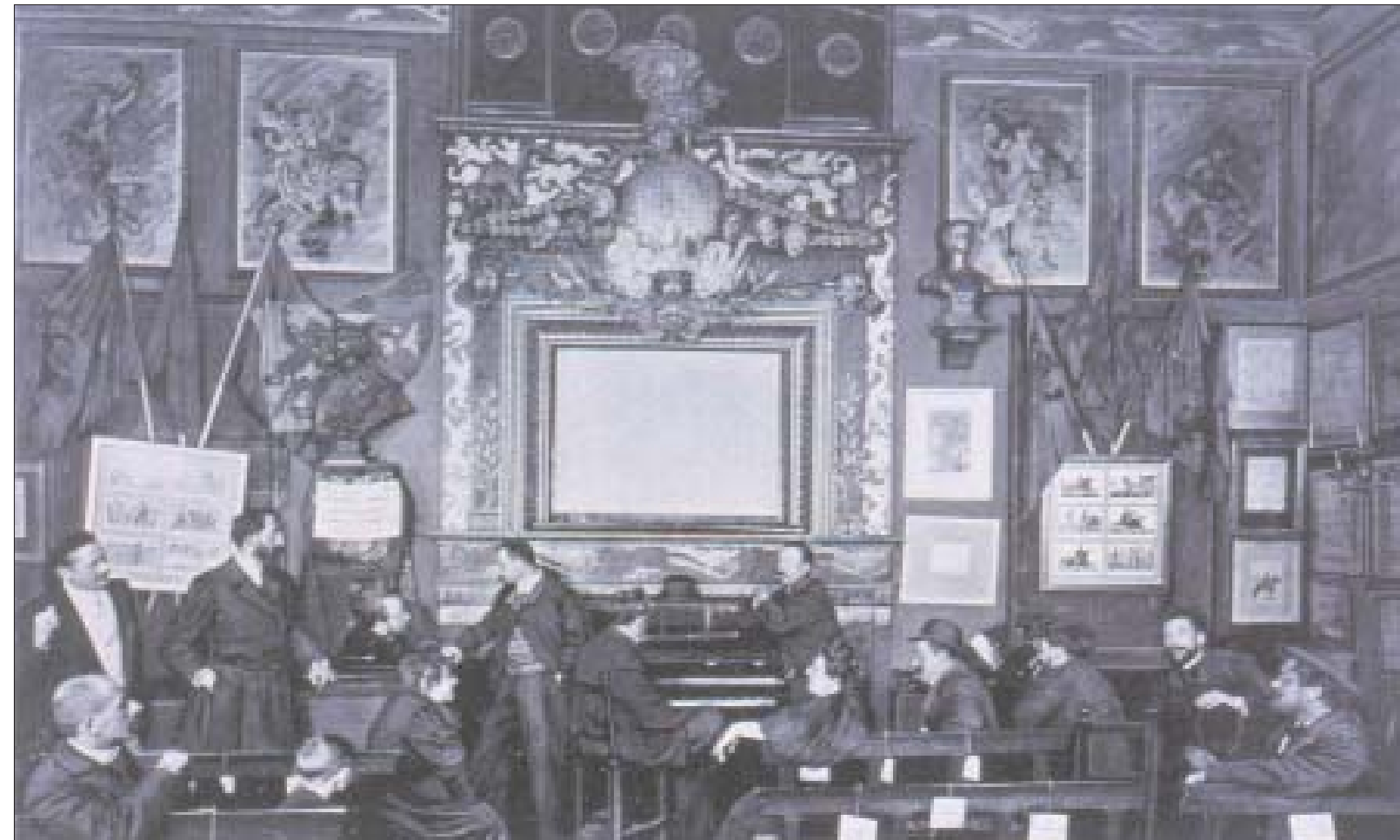
formed the ephemeral visual effects of the plays—silhouettes in perspective that formed scenes of contemporary Paris—into sculptural elements, just as Toulouse-Lautrec adapted the flat silhouettes, foreshortening of figures, and color schemes of the cabaret's productions in his early illustrations and his 1891 groundbreaking poster design for the Moulin Rouge dance hall.

In the fall of 1893, the Chat Noir opened its new season of shadow plays with a renovated and enlarged theater. “On the walls were Jules Chéret’s posters and the color prints of Rivière, Louis Morin, Lautrec and Auriol (Fig. 160).”¹⁰¹ In addition to Adolphe Willette’s *Golden Calf* stained-glass front window, the elaborate façade décor included two fifteenth-century-style lanterns and an enormous heraldic bronze black cat surrounded by golden sunbursts, all of which were designed by Eugène Grasset (ca. 1841–1917).

Willette’s bronze *Black Cat on a Half Moon* was placed over the entrance, while a large plaster cast of Houdon’s nude *Diane* was featured on the ground floor. Throughout the cabaret, the walls of stairwells and rooms contained an assortment of antiquities, Japanese masks, portraits of Chat Noir figures by Antonio de la Gandara (1861–1917), and many of the original drawings for the *Chat Noir* journal by Salis, Auriol, Rivière, Steinlen, Somm, Caran d’Ache (1858–1909), and numerous other artists. In the Salle des Fêtes, which housed the shadow theater and was said to have accommodated one hundred and fifty guests, was a group of forty-five drawings created by Camille and Lucien Pissarro, Degas, Claude Monet, and Toulouse-Lautrec, among others. That same year, Grasset redesigned the façade of the theater. Framing the screen on the bottom and sides was a painted frieze of cats and hanging over the center was a large plaster head of a black cat, above which were hung eight monochromatic Japanese-inspired masks by Grasset representing the major Chat Noir personalities: Salis (yellow), Albert Tinchant (1860–1892; green), Maurice Mac-Nab (1856–1889; gray), d’Ache (off-white), Steinlen (blue), Rivière (red), Somm (scarlet), Willette (“pierrot” white). At the top was the Chat Noir’s motto, “Montjoye et Montmartre!” Because of the quantity and variety of art in the Chat Noir, the cabaret was regarded by many of its habitués as “the Louvre of Montmartre.”¹⁰²



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THE PERIOD OF PURE CREATION

Although sculpture existed peacefully with other arts at the Chat Noir, the following decade saw an intense debate over whether sculpture could, like painting, exist independently of architecture and its role as ornamentation. From this evolved the question of whether there was such a thing as Impressionist sculpture. The latter issue came to a head in 1901 with the publication of Edmond Claris’s article “L’Impressionisme en Sculpture” in the July issue of *La Nouvelle revue*.¹⁰³ In defense of Rodin’s *Balzac* and sculpture by Rosso, Claris had posed the question, “Can and must sculpture compete with painting?”¹⁰⁴ and included the responses of a number of writers, collectors, and artists (including Rodin and Rosso themselves). The author and publisher Octave Uzanne voiced the academic argument that sculpture should be

subordinate to architecture and serve primarily as harmonious decoration, displaying the human figure in its idealized form:

The art of contemporary sculpture, which is still valued by some respectable individuals, offers rather an unfavorable picture on the whole. The manner in which our public squares are dishonored, in Paris as much as in the provinces, makes us skeptical about the future of sculpture. Sculpture, having ceased being primarily *decorative and ornamental*, no longer deserves to be looked at in terms of its entirety, but only in terms of more or less artistically precocious *pieces*.¹⁰⁵

The general consensus, however, was in support of innovation in art and, as Camille Pissarro urged, that there be “no restrictions” on sculpture.¹⁰⁶ As regards the

157 Henri Somme
Parisian, for silhouette shadow-theater play *From Cythera to Montmartre*, Ca. 1890–95, Zinc, ZAM

158 Unidentified artist
Old Lady, silhouette for an unidentified shadow-theater play, Ca. 1890–95, Zinc, ZAM

159 Unidentified artist
Sailors, silhouette for an unidentified shadow-theater play, Ca. 1890–95, Zinc, ZAM

160 Unidentified artist
Interior of the Chat Noir cabaret, illustration in *Le Figaro illustré* (June 1896), p. 113, Photo-relief, ZAM



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medium's place within Impressionism, Claris stated:

The impressionists did not allow themselves to become absorbed by the study of “the phenomena of light”; they also paid particular interest to “social phenomena”... So a movement of emancipation is beginning to take shape in sculpture, and a development of a kind similar to that provoked by Monet, Pissarro, Raffaelli, Renoir and Degas has burst upon the scene. There are courageous attempts being made to go beyond the cold and rigid nude of the academies, to break with the conventions these impose and to go back to nature... With Rodin and Medardo Rosso, we are entering into a period of pure creation.¹⁰⁷

The “period of pure creation” essentially commenced in 1878. That was the year of the Daumier retrospective at the Galerie Durand-Ruel and the Paris Exposition Universelle, where the displays of Japanese ceramics, especially stoneware, inspired the young Carriès, Gauguin, and others. Carabin, just starting out that year as an apprentice to a stone engraver,



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later recalled: “My memories hardly go back farther than the universal exhibition of 1878, a time where we were still completely within the production of the Second Empire, the Renaissance and Henry II.”¹⁰⁸ Tadamas Hayashi (see Fig. #) accompanied the Japanese pavilion and remained in Paris after the exhibition, serving thereafter as the major dealer/agent from Japan for the dissemination of Japanese art in Europe. Another artist who possibly viewed the Daumier retrospective and the Universal Exposition was the Milanese sculptor Giuseppe Grandi (1843–1894), who may have visited Paris that year. Grandi was a member of the Italian avant-garde movement Scapigliatura, a literary and artistic group active in the 1860s and 1870s whose work had much in common with progressive French painting and sculpture of the same period.¹⁰⁹ This is evident in the pose and freely manipulated texture of Grandi's bronze statuette *Marshal Ney* (1875; Fig. 161).¹¹⁰ Grandi's sculpture represented a stylistic link between the Parisian and Milanese avant-gardes, and directly influenced the work of his fellow native Medardo Rosso. As Luciano Caramel has explained:

The elder artist's work taught the young Rosso intolerance for the spatial and plastic isolation of the statue.... In tandem with Grandi's attempts to overcome the abstract inertia of clean, uniformly modeled bronze was his determination to go beyond the academic pose in order to capture the immediacy of the instant.¹¹¹

The decade following the Universal Exposition and Daumier retrospective constituted a defining era for sculpture in France, particularly that produced in Paris, one that saw new and serious challenges to the academic rules of the medium. Degas's, Rodin's, Gauguin's, and Rosso's works of those years established them as the leaders of the avant-garde in modernist sculpture. The decade opened with the display of Degas's sculptural anomaly, *Little Dancer*, and the state's commissioning of Rodin's *Gates of Hell*. This was followed in 1885 and 1886 by exhibitions of Rosso's “Impressionist” bronzes (including *Ragamuffin* [Fig. 162]) at the Salons of the Société des Artistes Français and the Salons des Indépendants. It was also during the latter year that Gauguin transformed glazed ceramics into a vital, independent sculptural medium at Chaplet's studio.

In 1889, Rosso moved to Paris, sold a copy of *Ragamuffin* to the important collector Henri Rouart, and met both Rodin and fellow practitioner in wax, Degas. By that time, Rosso had developed a unique system of sculpting in wax over plaster that produced a transparency and spontaneity of touch and, in turn, deemphasized contours per se so as to create the effect of integrating form with light and atmosphere. Rosso's ultimate goal was to contradict Baudelaire's complaint, expressed in the latter's review of the 1846 Salon, that sculpture was boring and limited because the sculptor, unlike the painter, could not control the beholder's viewpoint.¹¹² Rosso set out to prove Baudelaire wrong by scrupulously controlling the one perspective from which his sculptures could be visually comprehended. In so doing, Rosso created an art that was formally ambiguous from all but its one “correct” viewpoint—an achievement that anticipated on small scale (Fig. 163) the dynamism of Rodin's *Balzac* and the abstract concerns of artists such as Constantin Brancusi (1876–1957; Fig. 164) at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Along with their interest in the effects of light, the Impressionists were, as Claris noted, at least equally concerned with “social phenomena.” In his review of the 1879 Salon, Huysmans remarked:

I have often contemplated with astonishment the hole that the Impressionists and Flaubert, de Goncourt and Zola hollowed out in art. The naturalist school was revealed by them; art was turned upside down and liberated from the official constraints of the academies.¹¹³

It was of course Baudelaire who in the 1840s and



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1850s had pressed artists to look to the world around them—“modern life”—for inspiration. Two decades later, fed up with academic sculpture's lack of relevance to the contemporary world, Huysmans argued that sculpture should either adapt itself to the depiction of modern life or succumb to mere ornamentation. As a naturalist author himself, Huysmans practiced what he preached. His works included the 1876 novel *Martha, Story of a Prostitute*, devoted to the miserable life of a Parisian prostitute. In 1879, the publishing house Bibliothèque Naturaliste released a new edition of *Martha*, for which Huysmans asked his friend Jean-Louis Forain (1852–1931) to create an etched portrait of Martha to serve as the book's frontispiece. Forain's initial design portrayed Martha as a typical bordello prostitute brazenly standing in full-frontal nudity except for striped stockings (Fig. 165).¹¹⁴

Huysmans's review of that year's Salon is puzzling. It referred to only three sculptors whose work was of interest to him: Sarah Bernhardt, Carrier-Belleuse, and Jean-Désiré Ringel d'Illzach (1849–1916).¹¹⁵ Given his own interest in the theme of prostitution, it is surprising that Huysmans did not dwell upon or even note that Ringel's sculpture was a polychrome wax figure of a female nude entitled *The Demi-Monde* so scandalous that it was destroyed!¹¹⁶ Was the artist's work still too academic for the critic, or too kitschy?

161 Giuseppe Grandi
Marshal Ney, 1875,
Bronze, ZAM

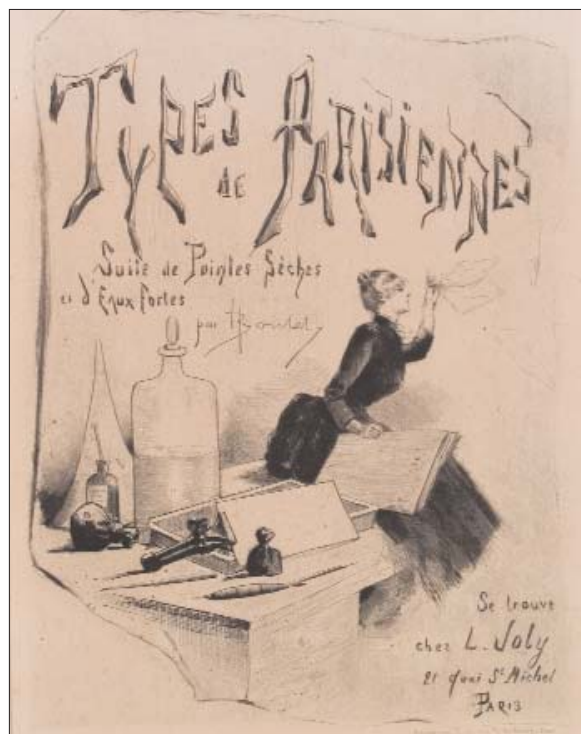
162 Medardo Rosso
Ragamuffin, 1882, Bronze, ZAM

163 Medardo Rosso
The Bookie (Man at the Racetrack), 1894 (cast in the 1930s), Bronze, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution

164 Constantin Brancusi
Suffering, 1907, Bronze,
The Art Institute of Chicago



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Or did Huysmans have a bias for his friend Degas, who at that time was already in the process of creating his *Little Dancer*?

Huysmans's review of the 1881 Salon mentioned only one sculpture: Ringel's *Splendor and Misery*. *Splendor and Misery* was a very curious life-size colored terracotta depicting a Parisienne and a man in a safari hat and, according to Philip Ward Jackson, included a real straw hat for the lady and blue sunglasses.¹¹⁷ As an example of modern life, the "Parisienne" (Fig. 166), an elegant middle-class Parisian woman, was of growing interest to sculptors at that time. Treatments of the theme included a life-size marble created by Emile François Chatrouse (1829–1896) in 1877¹¹⁸; Gauguin's small wood sculpture *The Little Parisienne*, dating to 1880; Degas's *Schoolgirl* (Fig. 167), produced in 1880 or 1881; Charpentier's small plaster *Parisienne*; and Ringel's enameled stoneware piece *The Parisienne* (Fig. 168), from 1883.

Ringel's *Demi-Monde* (1879) was the artist's first wax sculpture and appears to have been the first three-dimensional representation of a prostitute accepted by the jury of the Salon. By 1882, Ringel was creating life-size wax figures for the newly opened Musée Grévin.¹¹⁹ But his most audacious sculpture of a



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female nude was the strangely entitled *The Advertisement* (Fig. 169). Exhibited at the 1893 Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, the work was vividly described in Henri Bouchot's *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* review: "The ideal figure of *The Advertisement*, a yellow woman, with a lynx's eyes, wearing mummy-like wrappings and bandages, with the malicious intention of troubling simple souls."¹²⁰

Although Ringel is best known for his work in wax—in particular his pigmented wax masks such as those he made of the Chat Noir cabaret poet and pianist Maurice Rollinat¹²¹—his contributions to sculpted enameled stoneware are quite significant and may have influenced Gauguin's work in the medium. Ringel began working with the ceramicist Ernest Chaplet in 1883. The starkly realist sculpted circus scenes Ringel applied to Chaplet's decorative vase (Fig. 170) predated by three years Gauguin's initial efforts at modeling human shapes for his Chaplet



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collaborations. Ringel's circus vase is wonderfully funny with its trainer, clowns, child pickpocket, and performers in elephant costumes. The artist's Japanese-inspired vases (found in private collections) with their Breton-like landscapes also relate to Gauguin's ceramic sculptures of Brittany scenes. In fact, it is likely that there was a give-and-take among artists as they worked at Chaplet's studio (Fig. 171).

Ringel's and other late-nineteenth-century artists' investigations into polychrome sculpture and unusual materials had important precursors in the work of Charles Cordier, Théodore Deck (1823–1891), and Henri Cros (1840–1907).¹²² Cordier, Deck, and Cros circumvented the academic prohibition of polychrome sculpture and nontraditional media in a

165 Jean-Louis Forain
Martha in Striped Stockings,
1879, Etching and aquatint,
ZAM

166 Henri Boutet
Parisian Types, 1885,
Drypoint, ZAM

167 Edgar Degas
The Schoolgirl, Ca. 1880–81
(cast 1956), Bronze, National
Gallery of Art

168 Jean-Désiré Ringel d'Illzach
The Parisienne, 1883, Cast and
reworked stoneware with brown
gilt glaze, Schlossberg Private
Collection

169 Jean-Désiré Ringel d'Illzach
The Advertisement, 1893, Plaster
and colored wax, As illustrated
in the catalogue for the 1893
Salon of the National, Society of
Fine Arts, Paris



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171

170 Jean-Désiré Ringel d'Illzach With Ernest Chaplet
The Circus, (Two Views) 1883, Enameled stoneware, ZAM

171 Ernest Chaplet And Frédéric Hexamer
The Sower, 1886, Enameled stoneware, ZAM

172 Théodore Deck
The Japanese Woman, 1876, ZAM

variety of ways: the utilization of enamels and patinas, the invention of technical processes that involved the use of color, and the treatment of subject matter that fostered freedom of experimentation.

Cordier did not paint his sculptures, but rather beginning in the early 1850s with his portraits of different ethnic and national types such as Africans, Chinese, Greeks, and Italians produced bronze busts with areas of colored enamel and oxidized patinas of gold and silver. He also combined luxuriant marbles of a rich variety of natural colors.¹²³ (Marble, the noble material, was the Academy's preferred medium for sculpture even if naturally tinted.)

In 1876, the ceramist Deck collaborated with the sculptor Frederic-Etienne Leroux (1836–1906) and the designer Emile-Auguste Reiber (1826–1893) on the polychrome enameled stoneware statuette *The Japanese Woman* (Fig. 172), a landmark achievement within the Japonisme movement that developed in France from the late 1850s through the end of the century. In its subject matter, the work calls to mind Monet's portrait of his wife in kimono of the same year (Boston Museum of Fine Arts). The process used to create *The Japanese Woman* was a reinvention of the ancient Asian technique of high-firing polychrome enamels.

Beginning in 1869, Cros developed a system of creating

polychrome wax for the production of his portraits. He exhibited his first such works at the 1870 Salon. His color wax relief *Tournament Prize* (Fig. 173) was shown at the 1873 Salon and reveals the artist's romantic historicizing interest in the Middle Ages much in the pictorial manner of the "troubadour" paintings of a generation earlier. (Because the Academy regarded portraiture and historicized genre as lesser categories within the hierarchy of acceptable artistic subject matter, artists depicting such themes had greater latitude than they did, for example, with the moralistic themes of antique allegory, religion, and heroic history.) In 1880, Cros stopped working in wax and reverted to creating portraits in colored terracotta. Three years later, he reinvented the ancient Greek process of creating glass paste in a variety of colors that when placed in a mold and heated vitrify into cast sculptural forms in color (Fig. 174). Cros termed the technique "pâte de verre" (glass modeling paste).

Following Cros's, Ringel's, and Degas's initial efforts in the 1870s, wax, once only employed as a means to the production of terracotta, plaster, and bronze, became a primary medium in itself for important nineteenth-century French sculptors such as Carabin (Figs. 175, 176), Carriès and, of course, Rosso. Carabin reputedly began creating small wax statuettes of nude female prostitutes and dancers in the early

1880s, making him the only other artist besides Degas to do so. The two artists were actually neighbors in Montmartre, and Degas is said to have bought wax figurines from the aspiring young sculptor. With the exception of *Little Dancer*, Degas's wax dancers and horses were essentially studies, exercises in the configuring of bodies in motion and/or in non-classical positions (Fig. 177) that were never intended to be publicly exhibited or sold. By contrast, Carabin's works in the medium (Figs. 178–184) are finished sculptures meant to be sold as one-of-a-kind objects or in very small bronze editions. Carabin was exhibiting his wax statuettes at the Salon des Indépendants by 1888, if not earlier.¹²⁴ He was a co-founder, along with Georges Seurat, Albert Dubois-Pillet (1846–1890), and Paul Signac (1863–1935), of the Société des Artistes Indépendants in 1884, which that year held its first annual Salon. At the time of the 1888 Salon, a critic made special mention of Carabin's *Prayer*, an image of a nude woman kneeling in prayer on actual tree branches: "In a glass cabinet there are a half-dozen wax figurines which display a rare accomplishment and a singular expressiveness; the one entitled *Prayer* is quite simply a work of art."¹²⁵

During the 1880s, Carabin was also the only other significant artist aside from Gauguin (Fig. 185) to create sculpture in wood, a medium that flourished in France during the Middle Ages but was frowned upon by academics in the nineteenth century. From 1878 to 1885, Carabin worked as a woodcarver of decorative details for a furniture maker. He created his first independent wood sculpture in 1889, which led that year to the major commission by Henry Montandon of an elaborate carved *bibliothèque* (bookcase; Fig. 186). The bookcase, made to house Montandon's literary collection, was completed in 1890 after eleven months of work and is now owned by and on display at the Musée d'Orsay. Its realist treatment of the nude reflects the influence of Gauguin's early wood sculptures of 1880–82.¹²⁶

In 1890, Gustave Geffroy discussed the Montandon *bibliothèque* in detail, stressing that its modernity rested in its assimilation of art of the past:

In spite of the long past of art which makes an original evolution in this century so difficult, the modern artist [Carabin] has found a new formulation which may prove fruitful.



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173 Henri Cros
The Tournament Prize, 1873,
Painted wax and pearls,
60 x 51 cm, Musée d'Orsay,
Paris, Réunion des Musées
Nationaux/Art Resource, NY



174

174 Henri Cros
Figure with Foliage, 1890–93,
Glass paste, ZAM

175 Rupert Carabin
Nude Woman Sleeping,
Ca. 1900, Wax, ZAM

176 Rupert Carabin
Dancer with Castanets,
1905–06, Wax, ZAM



175

In actual fact, he is at once new and traditional, he has decorated his piece of furniture like the great sculptors of the Middle Ages decorated stone buildings, he has combined sculpture and architecture. He took the simple notion of the woodcarvers and the stonecutters—the notion of allowing the substance to flower and blossom and he revitalized and modernized this notion by bringing today's intellectual and symbolic concerns to bear on it.¹²⁷

Ironically, because the Montandon *bibliothèque* was neither painting nor sculpture but a form of decorative art, it was not accepted into the 1890 anti-academic Salon des Artistes Indépendants—the very organization that Carabin had himself helped establish in order to free artists from the constraints of the official Salon de la Société des Artistes Français. As he later noted: “It was refused on the grounds that the following year it would have been possible to submit chamber pots.”¹²⁸

Geffroy insisted upon discarding the traditional idea of a hierarchy of the arts that consigned the decorative arts to a lower status than such media as painting and sculpture: “The idea of the unity of art is an idea as old as art itself.... It is because of having lost this notion of viewing art that our century has been superseded.”¹²⁹ In fact, the idea of “the unity of art” was one of the leading causes of the schism that took



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177 Edgar Degas
*Dancer: Arabesque on
Right Leg, Left Arm in Line,
Ca. 1877–85 (cast ca. 1919–31),
Bronze, Hirshhorn Museum and
Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian
Institution*

178 Rupert Carabin
*Nude Woman Balancing on a
Sphere, Ca. 1890, Wax, metal,
and wood, ZAM*



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179 Rupert Carabin
Ballerina, 1898–99,
Bronze, ZAM

180 Rupert Carabin
Ballerina, 1898–99,
Bronze, ZAM

181 Rupert Carabin
Ballerina, 1898–99,
Bronze, ZAM

182 Rupert Carabin
Dancer with Castanets,
1905–06, Bronze, ZAM

183 Rupert Carabin
Spanish Dancer with Castanets,
1900–01, Bronze, ZAM

184 Rupert Carabin
La Belle Otéro, 1906–07,
Bronze, ZAM

185 Paul Gauguin
Be Mysterious, 1890, Painted
linden, 73 x 95 x 5 cm, Musée
d'Orsay, Paris, Réunion des
Musées Nationaux/Art
Resource, NY



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189

- 186 **Rupert Carabin**
Montandon Bookcase, 1890,
Wood, wrought iron, glass,
290 x 215 x 83 cm, Musée d'Orsay,
Paris, Réunion des Musées
Nationaux/Art Resource, NY
- 187 **Alexandre Charpentier
With Ernest Meissonier
and Puvis de Chavannes**
Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts,
1890, 1890, Bronze,
Hammerschlag Private Collection
- 188 **Rupert Carabin**
Allegorical figures of wine,
1906, Painted plaster model for
wooden side panel of the buffet
Salt and Pepper, ZAM
- 189 **Rupert Carabin**
Salt and Pepper, 1906–08,
Pear wood, pink marble,
and glass buffet, Fremont Private
Collection

place in 1889–90 within the membership of the Société des Artistes Français and resulted in the creation of two official French art societies, each with its own annual Salon: the old Société des Artistes Français, established in 1880 as the official artist-run organization, which was led by the arch-academic artist Adolphe William Bouguereau (1825–1905) and remained as conservative as ever, and the newly formed Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts (Fig. 187), organized under the leadership of the equally academic artist Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) but whose members included strong advocates of the decorative arts such as Rodin, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824–1898), and Jules Dalou.¹³⁰ It was Dalou who successfully advocated for the inclusion of the Montandon *bibliothèque* in the 1891 Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. Thus, progressive sculpture in the form of decorative arts finally found an official annual forum that was augmented during the decade with commercial galleries such as Art Nouveau, Galerie des Artistes Modernes, and La Maison Moderne. (Figs. 188, 189)

In addition to Gauguin's woodcarvings, another important influence on Carabin's Montandon book-



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case was Rodin's *Gates of Hell* (1880–1917; Fig. 190), the plaster version of which was completed 1889–90. The never-completed *Gates of Hell* was a continuous work in progress, the principal effort of Rodin's career during the last thirty-seven years of his life that resulted in many individual works but never satisfied him in its entirety. In 1880, Edmond Turquet, the Director of Fine Arts, commissioned the artist to create the work for the entrance to a national museum of decorative arts planned in 1882 to be built along the Seine.¹³¹ Rodin based his project on Dante's *Divine Comedy* and was also inspired by the dynamic anti-academic yet classically-influenced body types found in Michelangelo's sculptures (a combination found earlier in Carpeaux's *Ugolino* [1863]).¹³²

The Gates of Hell was exhibited publicly for the first time in the artist's self-organized retrospective exhibition held at the place de l'Alma from June through November 1900 at the same time as the Paris Exposition Universelle. In fact, this showing of *The Gates* along with one hundred sixty-five other sculptures by the artist in a large hall specially constructed for the exhibition constituted Rodin's challenge to the academic world, the latter of which dominated the displays of art at the Universal Exposition. Obviously shocking to viewers was the frank eroticism of the Rodin sculptures, with their "violent flashes of

strained muscles, voluptuous force of hollowed loins, intertwining flesh melting into a kiss."¹³³ Yet, equally disconcerting to many was the seeming incompleteness, the unfinished quality of his work. Rodin had a new plaster cast of *The Gates* made for the exhibition. In addition to this, the artist included numerous writhing nude figures from *The Gates* groups such as *Ugolino* and *Fugit Amor* (*Fleeting Love*; Fig. 191), emerging from rough-hewed stone in the manner of Michelangelo's *Slaves*. While these sculptures normally protruded from the gates' doors, from which they created startling shadow and light effects, they were here exhibited as independent works, in parts or whole. Without many of these sculptural elements, the *Gates* was noticeably devoid of narrative and physically bare. As Antoinette Le Normand-Romain has explained: "in stripping the *Gates* in turn of all that made them comprehensible he goes even further [than with *Balzac*]; leaving behind the principles of resemblance and clarity inherited from the Renaissance, he goes beyond the limits of the figurative and is the first to penetrate the domain of pure abstraction."¹³⁴

As *The Gates of Hell* was for Rodin, the Montandon *bibliothèque* was Carabin's most important work. In addition, each was commissioned to permit physical access to knowledge. Although the aesthetics of the

192 Auguste Rodin
The Three Shades, from
The Gates of Hell, 1880–1904
(cast II/IV in 1991), Bronze,
The Iris and B. Gerald
Cantor Foundation

193 Jean Carriès
Model for the *Persifal Gate*,
Ca. 1891, Plaster, As illustrated
in Arsène Alexandre, *Jean
Carriès* (Paris, 1895), p. 163



192



193

192 Auguste Rodin
The Three Shades, from
The Gates of Hell, 1880–1904
 (cast II/IV in 1991), Bronze,
 The Iris and B. Gerald
 Cantor Foundation

193 Jean Carriès
 Model for the *Persifal Gate*,
 Ca. 1891, Plaster, As illustrated
 in Arsène Alexandre, *Jean
 Carriès* (Paris, 1895), p. 163



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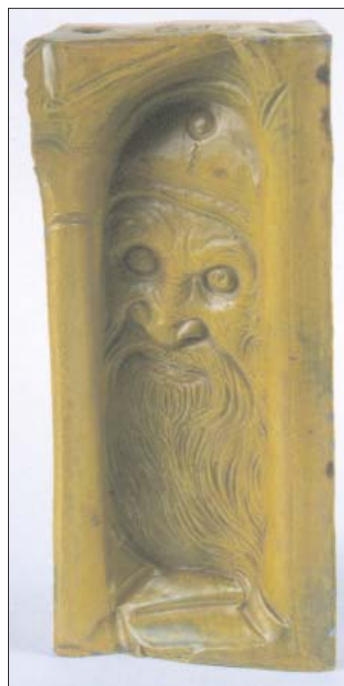
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two works differed greatly, Rodin's *Gates* informed the design of Carabin's bookcase. This is seen in the incorporation of realist erotic carved-in-the-round nudes sitting atop Carabin's bookcase, which have their precedents in Rodin's nudes. These figures may also be regarded as the structural/figural counterparts to the two dominant elements at the top of *The Gates*, *The Thinker* and *The Three Shades* (Fig. 192), which were publicly exhibited in 1889 independently of the whole ensemble. It is quite probable that Carabin, who at this point in his career likely had visitor's access to Rodin's studio, was well aware of the crowning function of these two sculptures. Carabin's Montandon *bibliothèque* and Rodin's *Gates* also invite comparison with another major sculptural ensemble of the period: Carriès's enameled stoneware *Parsifal Gate* (1890–94; Fig. 193).¹³⁵ Commissioned in 1890 by the wealthy American Winnaretta Singer (who by marriage was the Princess de Sceaux-Montbéliard), *Parsifal Gate* was to be a monumental entrance for the room in Singer's new Parisian home that housed her recently acquired original manuscript of the Richard Wagner opera *Parsifal*.

Like Rodin's *Gates*, Carriès's *Parsifal Gate* represented the single greatest artistic challenge of its creator's career and was also never completed. Carriès spent the last four years of his life working on the project,

but the technical demands of casting, glazing, and connecting its six hundred individual pieces proved too overwhelming (Fig. 194). In fact, during their lifetimes both artists succeeded only in realizing full-size plaster maquettes of their gates (to be finished in bronze in Rodin's case and enameled stoneware in Carriès's) around 1890. The two finished monuments were also to be very close in size: Rodin's was to be 5.0 meters x 4 meters (before he added *The Three Shades* to the top) and Carriès's, 5.75 meters x 3.20 meters.¹³⁶ It should here be noted that like Carabin, Carriès likely had visitor's access to Rodin's studio during these years. Carriès's entrance gate is formally indebted to Rodin's *Gates* in several ways, most notably through its incorporation of masks and the centrally situated female figure, which evokes *The Thinker* and *The Three Shades* in its body type and location. Of the two monumental gates, Carriès's seems by far the more aesthetically adventurous. While, Rodin's *Gates*, as earlier noted, is a narrative interpretation of *The Divine Comedy*, Carriès's gate makes no apparent reference to the Wagnerian opera *Parsifal*. Rather, its mysterious symbolism is independent, located within its own realm of the fantastic and lacking all reference to classical antiquity.

Carriès's interest in enameled stoneware (as well as ceramics in general) originated at the 1878 Paris

Exposition Universelle, where he saw examples of Japanese works in the medium. It was fostered through his acquaintance with Gauguin, to whom he was introduced sometime during the winter of 1886–87 by Chaplet at the latter's ceramic studio on the rue Blomet.¹³⁷ Gauguin's inventive sculptural ceramics in painted or glazed stoneware struck a positive cord with Carriès. Thanks to the interest in and acquisition of Carriès's work (see Fig. #) by the state and by wealthy patrons, the artist by the fall of 1888 had gained a degree of financial independence that permitted him to essentially give up working in what had thus far been his primary media—plaster (Fig. 195), wax (Fig. 196), and bronze—and devote himself to perfecting the complicated firing process of ceramic stoneware ("this male of porcelain"¹³⁸).

The artist established a studio in Saint-Amand-en-Puisaye, an area southeast of Paris famous for its clay and artisan potters. Within four months of his return to Paris he was able to claim: "I have brought 350 coloring tests of my very own back with me. On Wednesday I will rush to pick up 125 pieces which come out of the oven at Saint-Amand on Thursday morning. In this eagerly awaited batch I have 40 sculpted and enameled pieces. I think that I have found mat enamels."¹³⁹ Firmly committing himself to the role of artist as artisan, Carriès developed enamel



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194 Jean Carriès
Dwarf, for *Parsifal Gate*, Ca. 1892,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM

195 Jean Carriès
Baby, 1887, Painted plaster, ZAM

196 Jean Carriès
Baby, 1886, Wax, Schlossberg
Private Collection

197 Jules Desbois With
Paul Jeanneney
Mask of Death, 1903,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM

198 Alexandre Falguière
Head of a Wounded Man,
Ca. 1871, Enameled stoneware,
Olson and Johnson Private
Collection

199 Charlotte Besnard
Cora (Proserpine or Summer),
1893, Enameled stoneware,
ZAM

200 Adrien Dalpayrat With
Alphonse Voisin
Actor's mask from the
Comedia dell'Arte, 1892,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM

201 Adrien Dalpayrat With
Ettore Cacciapuoti
The Parisienne, Ca. 1900,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM

202 Adrien Dalpayrat
Mask for a man, Ca. 1890,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM



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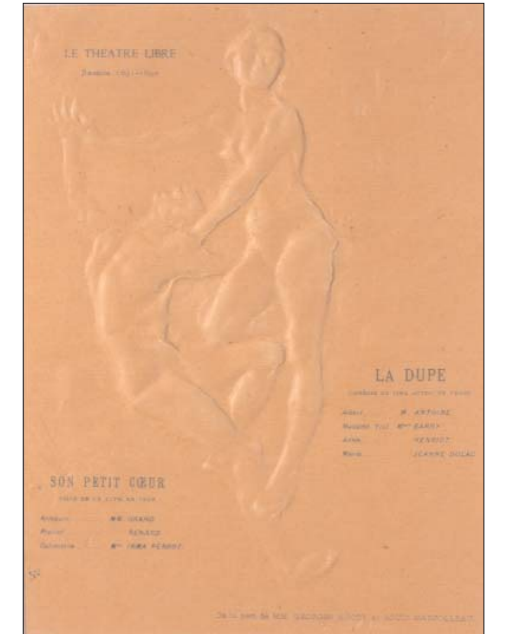
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97

203 Raoul Larche
The Young Jesus in the Temple,
Ca. 1900, Bronze, ZAM

204 Raymond Sudre
Head of Christ, 1895–1900,
Tinted wax, ZAM

205 Henri Guérard
Keyhole with grotesque,
Ca. 1890, Pewter, ZAM

206 Alexandre Charpentier
Grande tuilerie d'Ivry, 1897,
Lithograph, ZAM

207 Alexandre Charpentier
Madame Réjane, Ca. 1895,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM

208 Alexandre Charpentier
Maternity, 1882, Bronze, ZAM

209 Alexandre Charpentier
Maternity, Ca. 1890,
Enameled stoneware,
Hammerschlag Private
Collection

210 Alexandre Charpentier
Théâtre Libre program for
The Dupe, 1891, Embossed
paper, ZAM

211 Alexandre Charpentier
The Dupe, 1891, Bronze, ZAM

glazes in subtle variations of brown, beige, and cream. Beginning in 1888–89, he applied these color effects to stoneware versions of many of his earlier portraits as well as to a growing repertoire of fantastic and grotesque masks, self-portraits, and animals inspired by Gothic sculpture and Japanese art (see Fig. #).

Although Carriès died in 1894 at the young age of thirty-nine, his art had already received much exposure, and he had achieved substantial official recognition. Two hundred of his works were included in the 1892 Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, and that year he was named a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Three years later, the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts gave him a retrospective exhibition.¹⁴⁰ In 1898, his friend and student Paul Jeanneney bought Carriès's ceramic studio in Saint-Amand-en-Puisaye and continued working in enameled stoneware with numerous artists (Fig. 197) including Rodin.¹⁴¹

As suggested by the official recognition of Carriès's achievements, the state's interest in the decorative arts was substantially greater in the late 1880s/early 1890s than what it had been several decades earlier. One of the by-products of this development was a greater acceptance of polychrome sculpture within the academic community. In 1889, Henri Cros's earlier proposal for state support to continue his experiments into *pâte de verre* resulted in a free studio, equipment, and raw materials at the Sèvres porcelain factory, in addition to an annual stipend—all for the rest of his life.¹⁴² From the mid- to late 1880s through the 1890s, the Grand Tuilerie d'Ivry, Emile Müller's tile manufacturing company in the southeastern suburbs of Paris, solicited artists such as Falguière, (Fig. 198) Frémiet, and Charlotte Besnard to cast examples of their sculpture in enameled stoneware. Besnard's allegorical plaster relief alternately titled *Cora* or *Proserpine* in the catalogue for the 1892 Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts received high praise by critics for its use of color:

Though Champ-de-Mars's *Cora* may amaze and trouble ignorant people, it nevertheless issues directly from the Greek tradition. It is not a pastiche because in the tender gesture of the woman clutching a sheaf of corn to her chest, and in the slightly affected grace of her face and smile, there are a whole range of very modern feelings that are extremely distant from antiquity. It is also clear that the shades produced in the oil painting are com-

pletely different to the fragile, ochre colors used by the Attic and Philistine sculptors... This is an intelligent transformation which has brought a 2,500-year-old procedure and subject into line with current tastes.¹⁴³

The next year, Müller capitalized on the popularity of Besnard's polychrome relief, making at least two casts of the work in color enameled stoneware (Fig. 199).¹⁴⁴

In 1887 Adrien Dalpayrat (1844–1910), an experienced professional ceramist, began working in enameled stoneware. To hone his skills in this medium, Dalpayrat in 1891 moved to the porcelain-manufacturing town of Bourg-la-Reine on the southern outskirts of Paris, where he met the academic artist Alphonse Voisin-Delacroix (1857–1893).¹⁴⁵ Voisin had studied in the mid-1880s with Henri Chapu and had had some success at the Paris Salons. Seeking greater public exposure, Voisin formed an official partnership with Dalpayrat in November 1892 in which Voisin was responsible for creating sculpted forms that Dalpayrat would then cast in enameled stoneware (Fig. 200).¹⁴⁶ Dalpayrat at that time had just developed his method of *grès flammé*, an updated version of a thirteenth-century Chinese technique for producing a *sang-de-boeuf* red and other dramatically colorful glazes—yellow, greens, blue-grey—with flame- or lava-like effects evolving from the oxidizing process during the firing.¹⁴⁷

Although Voisin died within five months of the founding of their partnership and few works were produced with the monogram “VD” (Voisin-Dalpayrat), the two were able to hold a successful exhibition of their collaborative ceramics at the Georges Petit Gallery in December 1892. Dalpayrat's reputation was enhanced greatly by the show. Over the next decade in addition to participating in the decorative arts movement with his own elegant *grès flammé* ceramics, he collaborated with sculptors such as Meunier, Bernhardt Höetger, James André Vibert (1872–1942), Ettore Cacciapuoti (Fig. 201), and others in the production of color enameled stoneware sculpture.¹⁴⁸ Because of the aesthetic and technical achievements of Chaplet, Ringel, Gauguin, Carriès, and Dalpayrat in enameled stoneware (Fig. 202) and Cros in *pâte de verre*, the face of sculpture literally changed from the early 1880s to the early 1890s not only in complexion and texture but in shape as well (Figs. 203–205).

Along with the artists cited above, Charpentier was also solicited by Müller's company (Fig. 206) to cast

examples of his work in enameled stoneware (Fig. 207). Charpentier's training began around 1873, in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts studio of the metal engraver Hubert Ponscarme. It was there that he became adept at portrait medallions and low reliefs, the two art forms that dominated his subsequent career. Charpentier's large plaster relief *Maternity* (Musée d'Orsay) won Honorable Mention at the Salon of 1883 and was then purchased by the state. In its straightforward unsentimental realism, this secular Madonna and Child owes as much to Dalou's 1870s sculptures on domestic themes as it does to Renaissance prototypes. It became one of the artist's most celebrated works, fabricated over the next two decades in various sizes and media—bronze (Fig. 208), marble, pewter, enameled stoneware (Fig. 209).

Maternity's popularity notwithstanding, it was Charpentier's work for Le Théâtre Libre that brought him financial success. Established in the center of Montmartre in 1887 by André Antoine, the Théâtre Libre revolutionized French theater with its realist productions based on the work of contemporary writers, French and foreign, such as Zola and Henrik Ibsen. From 1887 to 1893, Antoine commissioned artists like Edouard Vuillard (1868–1940), Henri Rivière, Henri Ibels (1867–1936), Toulouse-Lautrec, and Charpentier to illustrate the covers of its theater programs (Figs. 210, 211). In 1888, Charpentier created a series of fourteen plaster medallion portraits of actors, artists and writers related to Le Théâtre Libre. These works, which decorated the foyer of the theater, brought him numerous commissions for similar medallions from well-known and emerging avant-garde personalities from Parisian literary/artistic society.

Throughout the course of his career, Charpentier created over five hundred portrait medallions (Figs. 212–230), works that rival in quantity and artistic invention those of David d'Angers.¹⁴⁹ Those executed until around 1894 were created spontaneously, sketched directly into clay from life. The irregular shape of the medallions, their rough surface textures, and the freely incised artist's signatures and sitters' names—all these features served to intensify the medallions' impressionist, unfinished character, paralleling the free spirit of the Théâtre Libre itself. Charpentier's many subsequent medallion portraits and medals are more formalized and controlled, yet marked their creator's continued involvement with artists and writers such as Camille Pissarro (Fig. 231), Meunier (Fig. 232), and Zola, each of whom, like Charpentier, demonstrated strong social concern in his work and political stance.¹⁵⁰

Charpentier (Fig. 233) was the most prodigious relief sculptor at the end of the nineteenth century. In addition to medallion portraits in plaster, terracotta, enameled stoneware, *pâte de verre*, and bronze; commemorative bronze medals and plaques; and embossed stamps for art publications such as *L'Estampe originale*, he produced hundreds of low-relief designs of nudes, singers, musicians (Fig. 234), and children (Fig. 235) in bronze, pewter, plaster, enameled stoneware, paper, and leather. These designs decorated both utilitarian objects (pitchers, locks, and domestic furniture) and entire interiors as well as served as independent artworks. Throughout his work in all these media, Charpentier demonstrated his commitment to the ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which strove to bring art to the realm of everyday objects (Figs. 236–245). The artist was among those singled out in Gabriel Mourey's 1897 review of a group show at the Galerie des Artistes Modernes. Mourey's piece indicates the speed at which sculpture became a significant aspect of the Arts and Crafts Movement in France:

Their desire is to show the public work not designed to be unique, but such as can be executed in the ordinary course of labour—articles of everyday use, that is, within the reach of all... Jean Dampit is one of our most remarkable sculptors (Fig. 246). He has the sentiment of the artists of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, together with their delicacy, their scrupulously careful workmanship and regard for effect.... A craftsman of the first rank, he carves, wood and marble and ivory, and works on metals too.... His bronze, à *cire perdue*, of Aman-Jean (Fig. 247), has remarkable breadth of touch.... Mr. Charpentier is the soul of the little knot of artists with whom I have been dealing. He was one of the first, it may be said, to have faith in this renaissance of industrial art of which he is the acknowledged leader. He had no hesitation in devoting to this purpose the highest talents as a sculptor, at a period when decorative art was despised, and looked upon in France as an inferior art. And that is not many years ago.... The tobacco-jar in green stoneware, the *aubergine* confit-box (Fig. 248), and the ink-pot in chestnut-yellow stone, by this artist [Carabin], are certainly among the best things of the kind produced recently (Figs. 249–253).¹⁵¹



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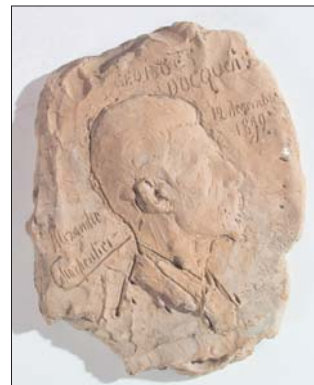
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212 Alexandre Charpentier Paul, 1888, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

213 Alexandre Charpentier Gustave Guiches, 1888, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

216 Alexandre Charpentier Ernest Laumann, 1889, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

218 Alexandre Charpentier Jules Vidal, 1889, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

220 Alexandre Charpentier Profile of a Woman, 1894, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection

223 Alexandre Charpentier Alexandre Arquillère, 1894, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

226 Alexandre Charpentier Emile Zola, 1898, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection

228 Alexandre Charpentier François Coppée, 1894, Glass paste, Hammerschlag Private Collection

230 Alexandre Charpentier Portrait of a Young Girl, Undated, Plaster, Hammerschlag Private Collection

232 Alexandre Charpentier Constantin Meunier, 1899, Bronze, Schlossberg Private Collection

214 Alexandre Charpentier Jules Antoine, 1888, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

217 Alexandre Charpentier Ernest Laumann, 1889, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection

219 Alexandre Charpentier Jules Vidal, 1889, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection

221 Alexandre Charpentier Portrait of a Woman, 1894, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection

224 Alexandre Charpentier André Antoine, 1895, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

227 Alexandre Charpentier François Coppée, 1894, Glass paste, Hammerschlag Private Collection

229 Alexandre Charpentier Double Portrait of Fanny and Edouard Vitta, 1899, Bronze, ZAM

231 Alexandre Charpentier Camille Pissarro, 1895, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection

215 Alexandre Charpentier Lucien Descaves, 1888, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

222 Alexandre Charpentier Georges Docquois, 1892, Terracotta, Hammerschlag Private Collection

225 Alexandre Charpentier Francis Jourdain, 1895, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection



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233 Alexandre Charpentier
Self-Portrait, 1897,
Plaster, Hammerschlag
Private Collection

234 Alexandre Charpentier
The Sonata, 1891,
Bronze, Hammerschlag
Private Collection

236 Alexandre Charpentier
Bather, 1890, Bronze,
Hammerschlag Private
Collection

235 Alexandre Charpentier
Jean and Pierre, 1892,
Bronze, Hammerschlag
Private Collection

237 Alexandre Charpentier
Nude and Bass Violin, 1901,
Plaster, Hammerschlag Private
Collection

238 Alexandre Charpentier
Nude with Violin, 1901,
Plaster, Hammerschlag Private
Collection

239 Alexandre Charpentier
Carpenters at the Eiffel Tower,
1896, Embossed leather,
Hammerschlag Private
Collection



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240 Alexandre Charpentier
Cabbage Sellers, Ca. 1895–1900,
Painted terracotta, Hammerschlag
Private Collection

241 Alexandre Charpentier
Violin Player, 1893,
Bronze keyhole cover, ZAM

242 Alexandre Charpentier
Woman Singing, 1893,
Bronze keyhole cover, ZAM

243 Alexandre Charpentier
Pitcher, 1893, Pewter, ZAM

244 Alexandre Charpentier
Victory, 1896, Bronze, ZAM



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FROM MONUMENT TO BIBELOT

While the small-scale objects described in Mourey's review reflect the detailed craftsmanship of their respective creators, revealing the artist's touch in its most sensitive form, the same perhaps cannot be said of the great public monuments and large-scale sculptures created by Rude, David d'Angers, Dalou, Rodin, and a host of other less inspired nineteenth-century artists. Works such as Rude's *Departure of the Volunteers* and Aubé's *Monument to Gambetta* were executed by practitioners, artisan stonemasons who used calibrating tools to translate the artists' plaster models into enlarged stone formats. They are in fact three stages away from the initial clay or wax used to produce the original plasters that were cast to make the plaster models that, in turn, served as the basis for their practitioners' final realizations of the artists' works into large outdoor monuments. Many sculptors, including Rodin, Baffier, Bourdelle, and Camille Claudel (1864–1943; Fig. 254), began their training as practitioners in the studios of established artists, where they eventually gained enough financial independence to go it alone as sculptors. From the 1880s on, Rodin had numerous practitioners recycling his popular works into expensive marble.

Labor-intensive and expensive, the practitioner system was an impractical means of making multiples of original plaster medallions, portrait busts, or stat-



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uettes. Far more workable was the production of plaster, terracotta, and bronze casts of relatively small original plasters by the method of sandcasting. This technique retained the artist's hand to a greater degree than the work of practitioners, albeit not as close as the original clay or wax, while at the same time permitting the multiplication of the artist's work based on market demand.

Another important factor in the production of bronze and terracotta multiples was the invention of mechanical systems of reduction and enlargement in the 1830s. In the first half of the century, it was Eugène Gonon who reintroduced in France the lost wax process of bronzecasting and made Barye's *Lion Attacking a Serpent* a reality in 1836.¹⁵² In the 1880s Dalou and Carriès, in particular, both relied upon the expertise of Pierre Bingen in the lost-wax process. In 1895 after a ten-year delay, Dalou's enormous *Triumph of the Republic* proved too much for the technician; it was subsequently manufactured by the Thiébault company by means of the sandcasting process.¹⁵³

In the 1830s Ferdinand Barbedienne and Victor and Amédée Susse opened shops on the rue Notre-Dame-de-Lorette and at the place de la Bourse, respectively, that both sold small plaster and bronze sculptures.¹⁵⁴ Later that decade, capitalizing on the newly-developed technologies for duplication and reduction, Barbedienne and Susse began to commission artists such as Rude, d'Angers, Fratin, and, later, Frémiet,

Carpeaux, and others to manufacture and sell reduced and multiple versions of their sculptures. In 1838, Barye established his own foundry to fabricate and commercialize his bronzes, first using sandcasting and within the next year the lost-wax process. Thus, beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and continuing throughout the rest of the century, new and revived technologies offered sculptors alternatives to their long-standing dependence upon state commissions and the Salon system of recognition and income.

Rodin was in the unique position of being able to exploit both the traditional systems of state support and the entrepreneurial potentials that accompanied the newly available technologies of casting. During the 1880s as the figurative elements of *The Gates of Hell* evolved, Rodin cast many of them separately in plaster, terracotta and/or bronze, in various sizes and arrangements, and then proceeded to sell them as a means of earning income beyond his government commissions. (The state, in fact, commissioned him to produce *The Thinker* in marble for the 1889 Exposition Universelle.)

By cannibalizing *The Gates of Hell* in this manner, Rodin actively participated in the market of "bibelots." What were bibelots? Writing in the 1902 publication *Documents sur l'art industriel au vingtième siècle*,¹⁵⁵ the critic Yvanhoé Rambosson defined bibelots as small-scale three-dimensional works designed to decorate home interiors that constituted "the natural production of our times."

The first efforts to break the monotony of the interior decoration of our houses and to bring a little art into our family lives are attributable to the sculptors. We find that it was Alexandre Charpentier, Desbois, Baffier and Pierre Roche who were at the root of the decorative renaissance.... Thus over the past few years we have seen the blossoming of a series of *small subjects* which are no longer reductions of larger figures, of monuments destined for public spaces or devised to occupy large spaces but real *bibelots* which were deliberately produced in restrained proportions... On the one hand, we have the "big machines" of the official salons, dubious symbols, banal creations, notable only for their bulky size, with the exception of some rare works which are indeed worthy of adorning public squares. On the other hand, we have the small-scale sculpture which is



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- 245 Alexandre Charpentier
Female and Printing Press,
1909, Bronze, ZAM
- 246 Jean Auguste Dampé with
Emile Müller
Tray with woman's portrait,
Ca. 1895, Enameled stoneware,
ZAM
- 247 Jean Auguste Dampé
The Painter Aman Jean,
1892, Plaster, ZAM
- 248 Rupert Carabin
Confit dish, 1894–95,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM
- 249 Rupert Carabin
Woman with a Gourd, 1894–95,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM
- 250 Rupert Carabin
Woman with a Gourd, 1894–95,
Enameled stoneware, ZAM



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far more interesting because it is the *natural production* of our times, the appropriate way to embellish our homes.

Rodin, that simple and profound genius, proved his greatness when as well as undertaking monumental works, he lovingly lingered on the *bibelots* designed to decorate the shelves of a home.

Constantin Meunier, a painter whose admirable drawings are like written sculpture and who was inspired by the motifs and lines of Millet, emerged as the sculptor who dramatically exalted hard labor and human misery, and sometimes created works whose size allowed them to be placed on furniture or to be hung on the walls.¹⁵⁶

Rambosson's article reproduced Meunier's glazed stoneware (*grès flammé*) collaboration with Dalpayrat featuring the profiles of two miners (Fig. 255). *Documents sur l'art industriel au vingtième siècle* also contained images of sculptures by a number of the artists mentioned in this essay, including Carl Milles and Edouard Fortiny (Fig. 256). It reproduced



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Höetger's *Vagabond* (Fig. 257), which it listed as one of the "Parisian types by B. Höetger executed in *grès flammé* by Dalpayrat."¹⁵⁷

Several recent developments helped fuel the newly emergent interest in small-scale sculpture. These included the exhibition of ten of Daumier's thirty-six caricatural busts and the archeological discovery of preclassical figurines at Tanagra, Greece, which took place almost simultaneously in the last years of the 1870s. In addition, Arsène Alexandre's humorous journal *Le Rire* was a strong promoter at the very end of the nineteenth century of the popular fashion for *bibelots*. The October 28, 1899, issue of the publication announced "A grand competition of sculpted chestnuts" to which "amateur and pure artists" [were invited to participate and for which]...All sortes of figurines and comical *bibelots*, sculpted in chestnuts from India, painted or not, [would be]... accepted."

In the first two December issues of that year, the journal reproduced the selections of entries and prizewinners (Fig. 258), stating that "The sculpted chestnuts of *Le Rire*...will contribute in the future to the renewal of the old 'gaité française,'—and in addi-



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tion opens new horizons in art!"¹⁵⁸ The first-prize winners were the recipients of another, more academic, *bibelot* created by the artist Georges Guitet: *Laughing Girl*, a sixty-centimeter-tall terracotta of a seminude, allegorical smiling young woman holding a mask of Selinus (Fig. 259). *Le Rire* first offered the work in May 1899 as a free gift to readers with a year's subscription to the journal's sister publication, *La Vie scientifique*.¹⁵⁹ But it was in the December 23, 1899, issue that Alexandre illustrated and promoted as Christmas or New Year's gifts the two hand-painted plaster statuettes of the popular café-concert performers Jeanne Granier and Yvette Guilbert by the journal's "modern" young Italian illustrator, Leonetto Cappiello:

These two charming *bibelots*, turn-of-the-century Parisian versions of "Tanagra," are the quintessence of feminism and of Parisianism. They could and should have a place among the most selective collections and in the most elegant and refined interiors.

Lovers of art, you can place them beside rare and precious works because these are pieces found and created by a real artist, in love

with form and lines. And Parisians, my dear brothers, you should reserve a corner of a salon or of a boudoir for them because the young master has incorporated a little of your very lives, your pleasures, your spirit, your elegance into these two statuettes incarnating the feminine trilogy grace, art and gaiety.¹⁶⁰

Hyped as produced in a limited edition of only one hundred, they each sold for one hundred francs (packing and shipping included) or one hundred and eighty francs for the pair. However, based on the limited number of known examples existing today, it is unlikely that the number of statuettes ever came close to the projected edition size.¹⁶¹

In 1903, four years after the belated unveiling of Dalou's monumental bronze, *Triumph of the Republic*, in the place de la Nation and one year after the artist's death, the Sèvres porcelain manufacturing company created a small version in biscuit of Dalou's *Large Peasant* (Fig. 260). The original plaster for the over-life-size version of *The Large Peasant* was discovered in Dalou's studio only after his death. But just before his demise, the artist had made arrangements with

- 251 Rupert Carabin
Nude woman holding a veil, 1898, Bronze, ZAM
- 252 Rupert Carabin
Intercollegiate soccer tournament trophy, 1903–04, Bronze, ZAM
- 253 Rupert Carabin
Bagpipe Player, 1901–02, Bronze, ZAM
- 254 Camille Claudel
The Implore, 1898 (probably cast in 1905), Bronze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 255 Constantin Meunier with Adrien Dalpayrat
Two Miners, 1900, Enamelled stoneware, ZAM
- 256 Edouard Fortiny
Bust of a Woman, Ca. 1900–05, Bronze, ZAM



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Sèvres and the bronzecasting firm of Hébrard for them to produce posthumous commercial reductions of his sculptures as a means to support his invalid daughter. Ironically, Dalou's dream of a great public monument to workers only became realized in the form of individual bibelots decorating bourgeois home interiors (Fig. 261).

SCULPTURE AND PRINTMAKING

Sculpture shares several notable characteristics with printmaking (Figs. 262, 263). For one, both art forms entail the use of matrices that permit multiple copies of essentially the same work. On the positive side, this may increase the public dissemination of an artist's work by means of a process that need not involve him/her. In fact, as evidenced by the work of Daumier, Gauguin, and Degas, the multiplication of a sculpture or print may even occur posthumously and in a format not necessarily ever approved by the artist. Thus, the benefits of multiplicity may be negatively offset by the artist's loss of control over the final result.



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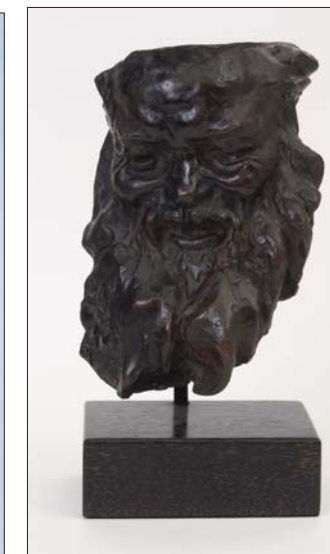
Another common feature of sculpture and printmaking is the reliance on a third party for technical expertise. This was particularly true during the nineteenth century, when an artist's success often depended on his/her collaboration with technically knowledgeable artisans. From the early nineteenth century through the 1890s, lithographic printers such as Delpech (active 1820s–1830s), Comte de Lasteyrie (1759–1849), Joseph Lemercier (1803–1887), Auguste Clot (1858–1936), Edouard Duchatel, and André Ancourt supplied presses and supervision to artists like Géricault, Manet, Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), Pierre Bonnard (1867–1947), and Toulouse-Lautrec in the production of lithographic prints and posters (Figs. 264, 265). From the 1840s to the end of the century, hundreds of artists in Paris interested in black-and-white etching relied on the instruction and studio of master printer Auguste Delâtre (1822–1907) and for color etching in the 1890s on his son Eugène. The printmaker Félix Bracquemond guided fellow Impressionists such as Pissarro and Degas in the complexities of etching and played the same instructional role in the 1870s at the Charles Haviland porcelain factory at Auteil in the 1870s to artists involved in ceramic decoration. In 1882, Ernest Chaplet took over Bracquemond's position and the Haviland Brothers studio moved to rue Blomet in south central Paris. There, Chaplet introduced the sculptural capabilities of ceramic stoneware to, among other artists, Dalou, Ringel, and Gauguin.

Sculpture's affinities with printmaking may also be analyzed in terms of aesthetics. As described earlier, Daumier's 1832–35 caricatural busts were made in preparation for his published lithographic parodies of "celebrities" of the *juste milieu*. In his lithographs (Fig. 266), Daumier emulated the irregular sculptural quality of his clays by deemphasizing the subtle modeling of traditional drawing in favor of a bold use of crayon to produce short transitions from dark to light. Conversely, through his work in sculpture Daumier drastically altered the aesthetics of French drawing. This is seen, for example, in the lithographs of Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, Louis Anquetin (1861–1932), and other *fin-de-siècle* artists.

Sculpture and printmaking may be used to address common themes (Figs. 267, 268). The pseudo-science phrenology was promoted in nineteenth-century



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France not only by the sculptural caricatures of Dantan-Jeune and Daumier but even more so by the widely distributed lithographs of Louis Léopold Boilly and Daumier. Animalier subjects were also frequently depicted in both media. Delacroix and Barye visited the Jardin des Plantes together, sketching from live specimens to learn animal anatomy. The results were animalier lithographs by both artists published in the journal *L'Artiste* and sculptures by Barye (Fig. 269). Louis Boulanger's *Tiger Attacking a Horse* (Fig. 270) is the lithographic equivalent of Fratin's *Lions and Indians* (Fig. 271), while J. J. Grandville's (1803–1847) humorous lithographic images of beaked birds inhabiting human bodies in his album *Metamorphoses of the Day* (1829) inspired the Zimmerli's terracotta parody of a Jesuit priest created by an unidentified artist. Indeed, Grandville's animal menagerie served as a direct source of sculpted



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imagery for a multitude of bronze animalier candlesticks and other elaborately decorated bibelots from the Romantic period. Another recurrent subject in nineteenth-century French sculpture and printmaking was the earlier-noted “Great Man of France” theme. Achille Devéria's (1800–1857) portrait of Victor Hugo (Fig. 272) is the lithographic counterpart to David d'Angers's depictions in the round or relief of the great Romantic author and of many other famous men.

Daumier's *Celebrities of the Juste Milieu*—a parody on the “Great Man” theme—and his *Ratapoil* directly relate to his lithographs for *La Caricature* and *Le*

262 Louis Legrand
Exercice, 1893, Aquatint
and etching, ZAM

263 Edgar Degas
*Dancer Adjusting the Shoulder
Strap of Her Bodice*, ca. 1882–95,
Copper alloy (brass), National
Gallery of Art



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Charivari. The sculptural multiples, however, were not produced until long after the artist's death and thus did not serve to transmit his radical aesthetics during his lifetime. This was also true of Degas's numerous waxes that were only cast into bronze editions beginning in the 1920s. Many of the waxes parallel in subject and composition Degas's numerous lithographs and monotypes. The monotypes, however, were also private creations accessible to collectors and the general public only after the artist's death.

During the last two decades of the century, the naturalist theme of the prostitute à la Flaubert, de Goncourt, Zola, and Huysmans was visually represented in the sculpture of Degas and Carabin and in the widely distributed printed works of Jean-Louis Forain (Fig. 273), Louis Legrand (1863–1951), Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri Ibels, and Théophile Alexandre Steinlen, among others. In addition, Millet's peasants of the 1850s (Fig. 274) find their *fin-de-siècle* counterparts in the sculpture of Dalou, Baffier, and Meunier, while the mother-and-child sculptures of Dalou in the 1870s and Charpentier in the 1880s are echoed in Mary Cassatt's (1844–1926) drypoints (Fig. 275) and Eugène Carrière's (1849–1906) lithographs.

Nineteenth-century French sculptors exhibited a wide range of relationships to printmaking, as printmakers did to sculpture. Rodin (Fig. 276), Meunier, and Carabin, for example, experimented with print-

264 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec
Mademoiselle Marcelle Lender,
1895, Lithograph, Biderman
Private Collection



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making on a very limited basis, while painter-printmakers such as Henri Guérard (1846–1897; Figs. 277, 278), Valtat (Fig. 279), Félix Vallotton, and Capiello dabbled infrequently in sculpture. On the other hand, Raffaëlli with fourteen sculptures and Steinlen (Figs. 280, 281) with possibly the same number were two very prolific printmakers who made sustained efforts to translate their aesthetics from two to three dimensions (Figs. 282, 283). Maillol, Roche, Charpentier, Gauguin, Matisse, and Picasso regarded printmaking and sculpture as equally important within their total oeuvres, with Roche and Charpentier even going so far as to merge the two art forms by inventing ingenious ways to emboss prints. Roche's process of *gypso-graphie* (Fig. 284) “involved pressing dampened paper into a plaster mold lined with ink to produce an embossed print that combined the subtle colors of painting with the tactile relief quality of sculpture.”¹⁶² Charpentier produced blind stamp embossed prints (Fig. 285) by means of *gaufrage*, “a three-dimensional method adapted from the Japanese [that involved building up a] ... bas-relief matrix... with cigarette paper.”¹⁶³ This was the technique used to create *Violin Player* (Fig. 286), a print made for *L'Estampe originale* (1893), whereby Charpentier combined color with embossment by first printing the color areas from lithographic stones and then embossing the paper by dampening it and running it through the same press over a bas-relief matrix.¹⁶⁴

Charpentier's prints, more so than Roche's, are paper

265 Paul François Berthoud
Louise, 1900, Terracotta, ZAM



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266 Honoré Daumier
Ch. De Lam, 1833, Lithograph



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equivalents in style and subject matter to his relief sculptures in plaster and bronze. They include nudes (Fig. 287), portraits of famous men (Fig. 288) musicians, and mother-and-child images (Fig. 289). Carabin (Fig. 290) and Maurice Dumont (1870–1899; Fig. 291) were among those to create embossed prints with or without color in the 1890s.¹⁶⁵ Paper relief “sculptures” that functioned as independent prints (Fig. 292), theater programs (Fig. 293), or advertisements (Fig. 294) constitute a segment within the Arts and Crafts Movement in France of the last quarter of the century in which artists innovatively mixed and expanded the range of media,

267 Eugène Delacroix
Mephistopheles in the Sky, 1828, Lithograph, ZAM

268 Jean-Jacques Feuchère
Mephistopheles, 1836, Bronze, Hammerschlag Private Collection



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creating aesthetically significant *objets d'art* often with utilitarian value.

Another link between nineteenth-century French printmaking and sculpture, one involving the mediums' earlier-described potential for multiplicity, may be seen in the production of editions. As discussed above, the Barbedienne and Susse companies beginning in the 1840s and continuing well into the first decade of the twentieth century produced editions of reduced versions of sculpture in bronze and terracotta by a great number of artists. The Sèvres factory did the same in porcelain. The Müller firm (Fig. 295) produced casts that were often numbered and stamped “reproduction interdit” (Fig. 296) and constituted the three-dimensional counterparts, albeit in much more limited editions (normally of two to five), to André Marty's *L'Estampe originale* print publications. One of the highlights of the Arts and Crafts

269 Antoine-Louis Barye
Persian Lion, Ca. 1832, Lithograph, ZAM

270 Louis Boulanger
Tiger Attacking a Horse, 1831–32, Lithograph, ZAM



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and modernist movements in the area of printmaking, *L'Estampe originale* was a serial publication of nine quarterly print albums issued between 1893 and 1895 that presented a total of ninety-four prints by seventy-four artists. Like Müller, Marty engaged well-known and emerging artists from Puvis de Chavannes to Toulouse-Lautrec to produce prints in a variety of media and primarily in color.¹⁶⁶ As Patricia Eckert Boyer has shown, Marty in 1896 also founded the enterprise *L'Artisan Moderne*, which sold by subscription small editions of artist-made objects by Carabin and Meunier as well as a porcelain vase with low-relief designs by Charpentier.¹⁶⁷

271 Attributed to Christophe Fratin
Lion and Indians, Ca. 1850, Terracotta, ZAM



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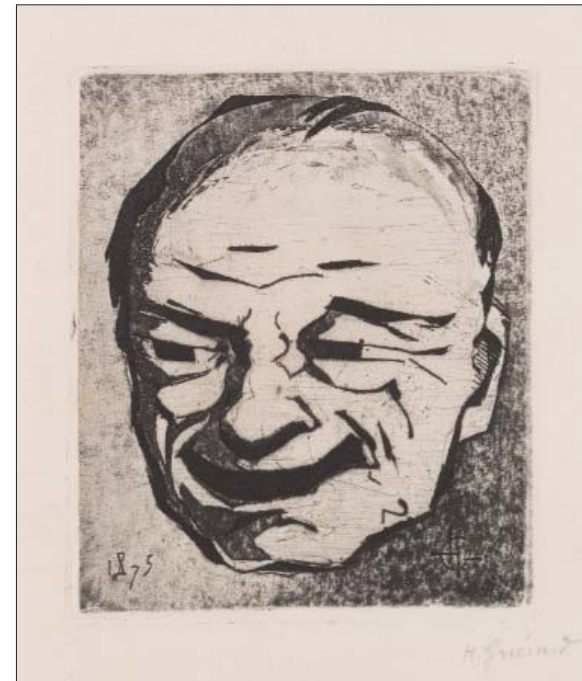
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272 Achille Devéria
Victor Hugo, 1829,
Lithograph, ZAM

273 Jean-Louis Forain
Martha, 1879, Etching
and aquatint, ZAM

274 Jean-François Millet
The Diggers, Ca. 1855,
Etching, ZAM

275 Mary Cassatt
Nursing, 1889-90,
Drypoint, ZAM

276 Auguste Rodin
Victor Hugo, 1885,
Drypoint, ZAM

277 Henri-Charles Guérard
Philippe Burty as a Japanese
Mask, 1875, Etching, ZAM

278 Henri Guérard
Medallion bust of a woman,
Ca. 1890, Pewter, ZAM



279

279 Louis Valtat
Nude, Ca. 1905, Plaster, ZAM

280 Attributed to Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen
Mother and Child, Ca. 1900, Plaster, ZAM

Although Müller's and Marty's editions offered often aesthetically progressive prints, sculptures, and decorative art objects at relatively reasonable prices to an expanded public, the growing market of editioned art troubled at least one artist of the period, Henri Nocq (1868–1944; Fig. 297). In 1896, Nocq outlined his concerns about this development:

The artist for his part, in his effort to make a profit, should not flatter the tastes of the times; rather than lowering himself, he should raise the public to his level. Because the goal of decorative art is to bring the charm of the beautiful into our private lives, he must adapt the elements of beauty found in nature to everyday objects, disdaining useless objects which would become horrible *bibelots*. He should perform this adaptation with taste, intelligence and discernment, the object should be pleasant to touch, its adornments should work against neither its capacity to be used nor its solidity and all this should be achieved in such a way that color and richness be allowed to add their charms to the work. He should above all know how to adapt the material to the composition and to the purpose of the work; not to use wood for a thing that should be made from plaster, not to mold in iron that which resembles cast bronze. He should be first of all a worker, then an artist by virtue of his feeling and a thinker by virtue of his ideas.¹⁶⁸

Much in the manner of Carriès, Dalou, Rodin, and other *fin-de-siècle* artists, Nocq urged artists to be “first workers” and then artists. He also foresaw that a potential problem resulting from the editioning of sculpture would be the temptation for editors as well as artists and their descendants to cast works in inappropriate media for the sole purpose of enhancing their profits. A case in point is the posthumous bronze casts after Gauguin's wood sculptures permitted in the late 1950s by the descendants of Daniel de Monfried.

Nocq's admonition to artists to be true to their materials also anticipated the concerns of early twentieth-century figures such as Maillol, Brancusi, and Georges Lacombe (Fig. 298). Inspired by works such as Gauguin's ca. 1890 painted direct woodcarvings (Fig. 299), these and other artists abandoned the expressive modeling of clay or wax to work in the reductive processes of stone- and woodcarving (*la taille directe*), performing the carving, cutting and



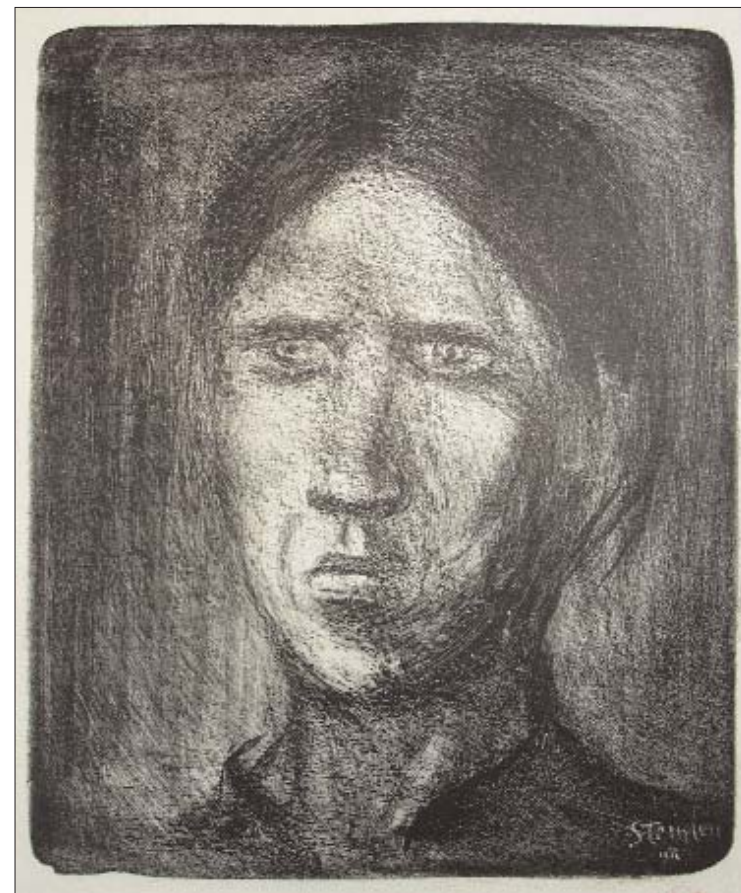
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281



282



283

281 Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen
Cat Sitting on a Stand, Ca. 1903,
Bronze, Bartman Private
Collection

282 Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen
Head of a Woman, Ca. 1903,
Bronze, Bartman Private
Collection

283 Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen
Popular Type, 1896, Lithograph,
ZAM



284



285



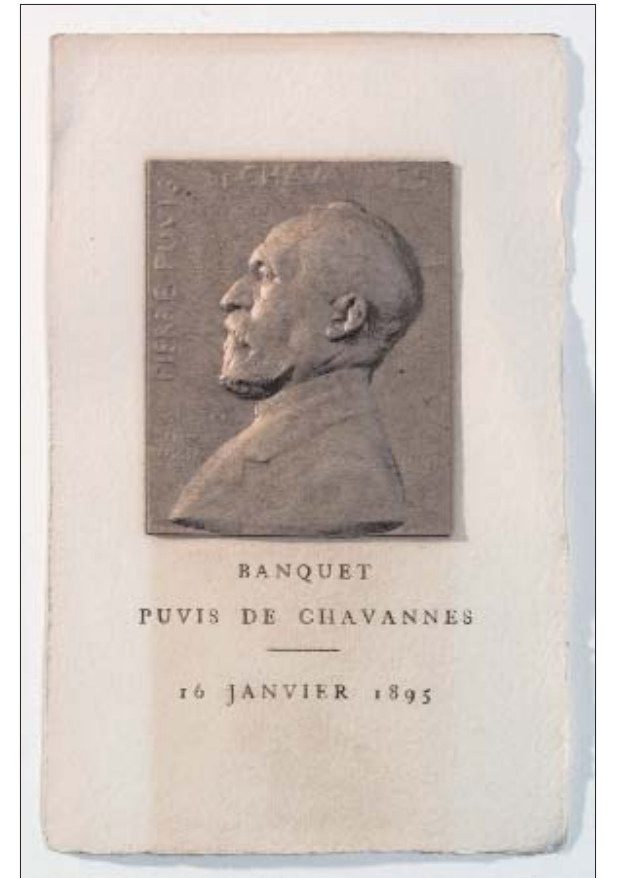
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288

284 Pierre Roche
Algae, 1893, Gypsograph, ZAM

285 Alexandre Charpentier
Woman Reading, Ca. 1896,
Lithograph on embossed paper,
ZAM

286 Alexandre Charpentier
Young Girl Playing the Violin,
from the album *L'estampe
originale*, 1894, Lithograph on
embossed paper, ZAM

287 Alexandre Charpentier
Business card for the Café
Procope, 1894, Embossed
paper, ZAM

288 Alexandre Charpentier
Banquet Puvlis de Chavannes,
1895, Embossed paper, ZAM

289 Alexandre Charpentier
Mother and Child, from the
album *In Zélande*, 1894,
Lithograph on embossed
paper, ZAM



290

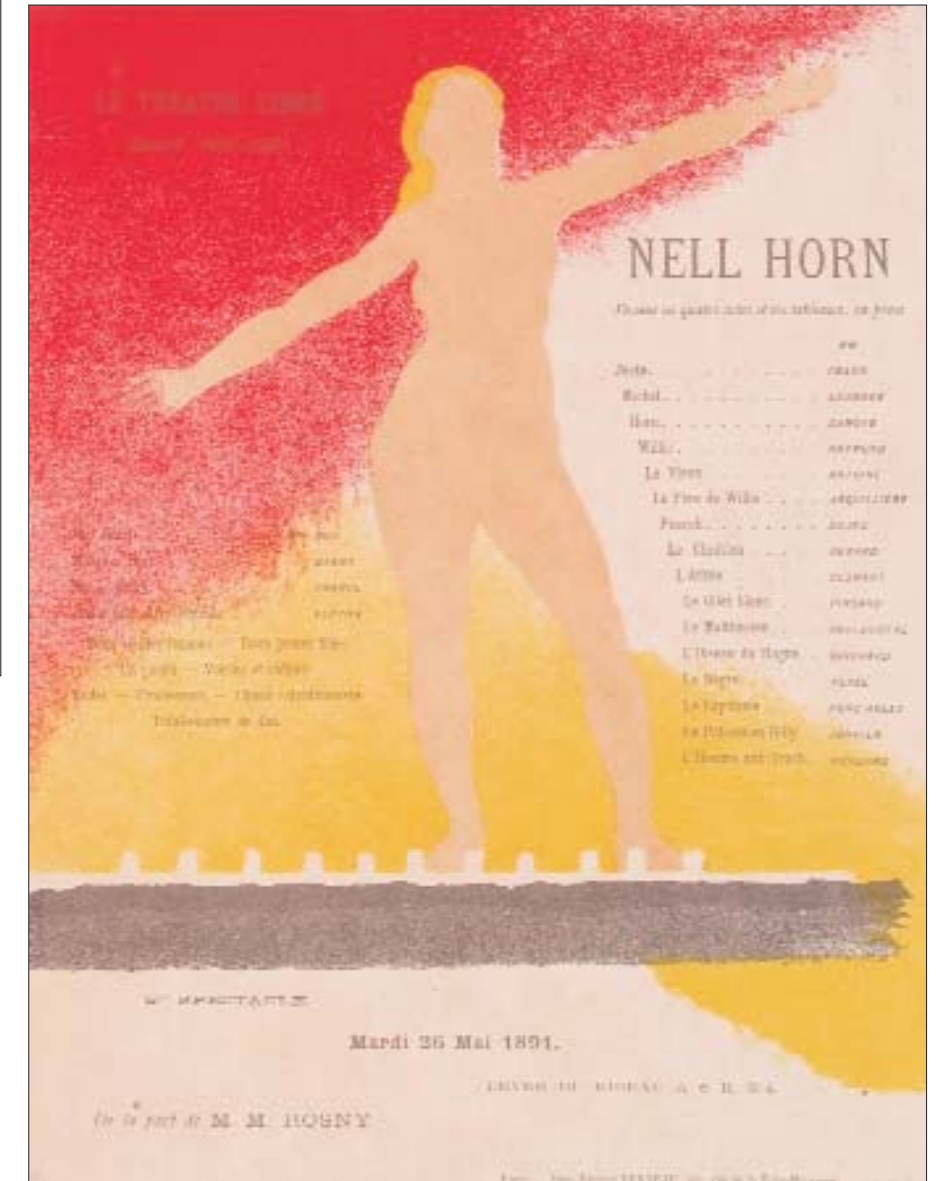
- 290 Rupert Carabin**
Statuette, Embossed paper, 1896,
ZAM
- 291 Maurice Dumont**
Polichinelle, Ca. 1895, Lithograph on
embossed paper, ZAM
- 292 Giambaldi**
Nouvelle Imprimerie,
Ca. 1895-1900, Lithograph
on embossed paper, ZAM
- 293 Alexandre Charpentier**
Théâtre Libre program, 1889,
Lithograph on embossed paper, ZAM



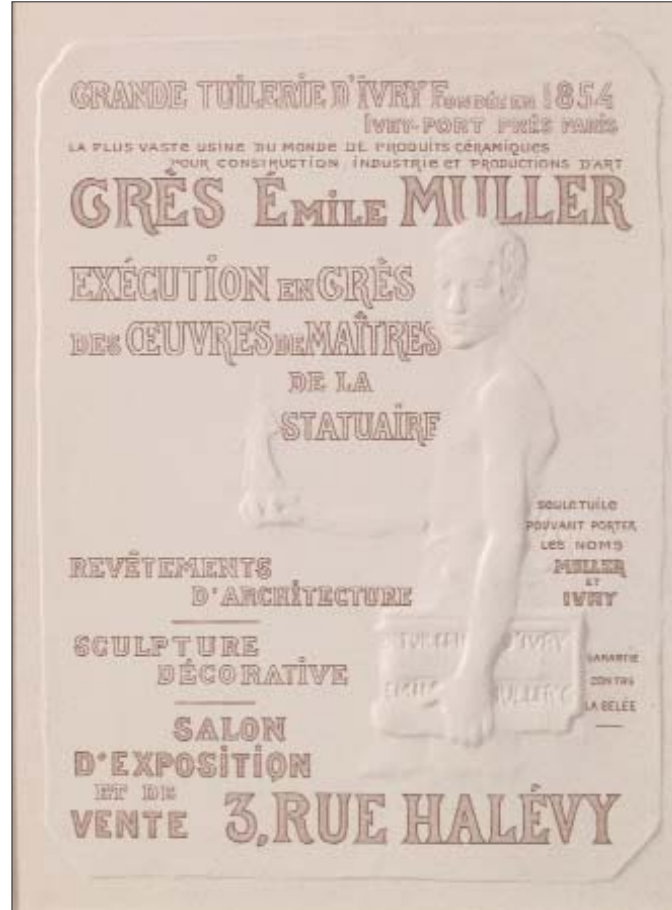
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294 Alexandre Charpentier
Business card for the stoneware manufacturer Emile Müller, 1897, Embossed paper, ZAM

295 Ernest Wittmann
Advertisement for Emile Müller's sculpture factory, 1900, Enameled stoneware, ZAM

296 Charlotte Besnard
Mask, Ca. 1895, Enameled stoneware, ZAM

297 Henri Nocq
Yvette Guilbert, Ca. 1895, Stoneware, Hammerschlag Private Collection



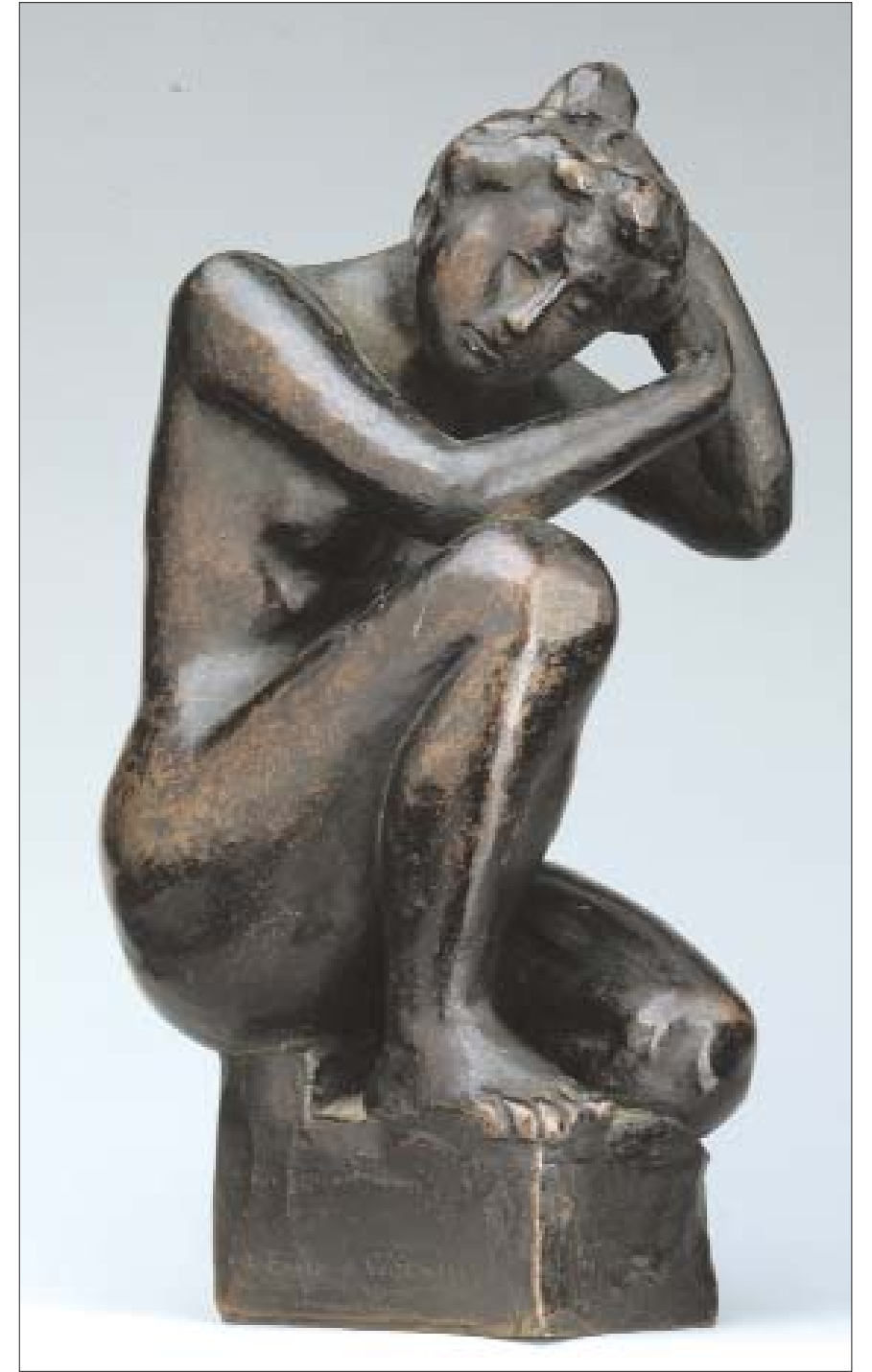
298



299



300



301

298 Georges Lacombe
*The Damned Women
and Bacchus, 1905–06,*
Mahogany, ZAM

299 Paul Gauguin
Be Mysterious, 1890, Painted
linden, 73 x 95 x 5 cm, Musée
d'Orsay, Paris, Réunion des
Musées Nationaux/Art
Resource, NY

300 Aristide Maillol
Standing Bather, 1899
(probably cast ca. 1900),
Bronze, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art

301 Aristide Maillol
*Crouching Girl, Twentieth
century (modeled in 1900;
cast at an unknown date),*
Bronze, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art



302 **Aristide Maillol**
The Mediterranean, Ca. 1906,
Marble, National Gallery of Art

302



303 **Boleslaw Biegas**
The God of Space, Ca. 1900,
Painted plaster, ZAM

303



304



305

chiseling themselves as essential acts of the artist/artisan. Working in this manner enabled these individuals, and many of their contemporaries, to free themselves from the dominant expressionistic realism of Rodin without resorting to academic classicism or the stark realism of Carabin.¹⁶⁹

The sculptural forms of Maillol's nudes illustrate the notion of truth to materials (Figs. 300, 301). Rather than denying their materials in favor of a greater realism, these works proclaim them, echoing the geometrical boundaries and axis of the stone or the framework of plaster or clay from which they were cut or molded. With the artist's female nudes such as *The Mediterranean* (ca. 1906; Fig. 302), we see a return to a stylized simplicity and antique calm that derives from the sculptures of pre-classical Greece.

The return to style as we have termed it, should not be confused with a resurgence of neo-classicism. Although the reference to classical antiquity comes constantly to mind, it is not a wish to imitate the sculpture of antiquity that characterizes it but rather a desire to rediscover the qualities of clarity and equilibrium exemplified in the sculpture of classical antiquity, a desire to move away from the live model and to break with the teachings of the School of Fine Arts, in such a way as to bring sincerity, strength and poetry to sculpture.¹⁷⁰

Similarly, Boleslaw Biegas (1877–1954; Fig. 303), who arrived in Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century, achieved a geometrical abstraction that closely anticipated the Cubist concerns of Picasso of about five years later by looking to the indigenous folk sculpture of his native Poland.

A related development of the period was the transformation of objects customarily viewed as outside the boundaries of art and the tools of art into art itself. By way of example is the Chat Noir's shadow plays, which elevated to a highly sophisticated level the content and technology of forms of domestic and/or family entertainment. The zinc cutouts and their resultant ephemeral silhouettes for the Chat Noir shadow-theater plays (Figs. 304, 305), in turn, inspired Raffaelli's bronze low-relief silhouette sculptures. Analogously, while wax had long functioned as a tool for creating bronze or marble sculptures, by the end of the nineteenth century it became the material for the final creative product for figures such as Degas, Ringel, Carabin, and Rosso, as well as an aca-



306



307

304 Louis Morin
Silhouette for the Chat-Noir cabaret play *The Carnival of Venus* by Maurice Vaucaire, 1891, Zinc, ZAM

305 Louis Morin
Silhouette for the Chat-Noir cabaret play *The Carnival of Venus* by Maurice Vaucaire, 1891, Zinc, ZAM

306 Albert Marque with Henri Methey
Head of a Young Girl, Ca. 1905–10, Enameled stoneware, ZAM

307 Henri Matisse
Bust of an Old Woman, 1900 (cast 1947–55), Bronze, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution



308

308 Pierre Roche
*The Monk in the Form of a
 Liquor Container, 1900,*
 Bronze, ZAM

demical artist like Vernhes. In a similar manner, Carpeaux's expressionistic/impressionistic, accident-ridden small clay preparatory studies became the primary aesthetic goal of artists such as Rodin, Rosso, Troubetzkoy, and Bourdelle.

At the 1905 Salon d'Automne, a venue that had debuted two years earlier as the most progressive annual juried exhibition in Paris, one could find numerous sculptors who were breaking the mold of academic art. Rodin, in fact, was given an exhibition of his most recent works. Arsène Alexandre described the work of other artists in the show in *Le Figaro*:

Do you want sculpture? It has successfully been blended with painting in a number of salons giving rise to an affect that is at once intimate and irregular. Mr. Bourdelle and Mr. R. Bugatti have an entire series of works admirably executed in the lost wax process by the great founder A. A. Hébrard. The first work consists of vigorous and animated wax pieces, full of anxiety and grandeur, the second shows surprising figurines. There are two beautiful things from Miss Camille Claudel, a superb *Torso* from Mr. Höetger, a large figure from Mr. Maillol, extremely interesting contributions from Mrs. Charlotte Besnard, Mrs. Yvonne Serruys and Mr. Derré, Mr. Gairaud, Mr. Marque, Mr. Perlmeng, Mr. Moreau-Vauthier, etc.¹⁷¹

The mixing of paintings and sculptures in the same gallery was not viewed favorably by all critics. In fact, it was in regard to the 1905 Salon d'Automne that the term "fauve" appeared for the first time. It was used by the art critic Louis Vauxcelles to describe the brilliantly-colored paintings of Matisse, Albert Marquet (1875–1947), Henri Charles Manguin (1874–1949), Charles Camoin (1879–1965), André Derain (1880–1954), and Maurice de Vlaminck (1876–1958) that were displayed on the walls in Gallery VII and that surrounded two "Italianate" sculptures by Albert Marque (1872–1947):

The ultra-bright salon of the bold extremists, whose intentions we must try to decipher, while allowing those who are malign and foolish the right to the too-facile criticism of laughter. Marquet and company are a crowd of complete Independents... In the center of the gallery are a child's torso and a small marble bust both from Albert Marque, who sculpts with a delicate wisdom. Amid the

orgy of pure color, the candor of the busts is surprising: Donatello among the Fauves.¹⁷²

Another contemporary who appreciated Marque's work—in particular, its anti-natural color and unfinished, Medardo Rosso-like quality—was the former Nabis and proselytizer of abstraction Maurice Denis (1870–1943). Denis admired a work Marque exhibited at the 1902 Salon des Indépendants, a small head of a young girl modeled after his sister about three years earlier. Denis liked it so much that he gave Marque one of his paintings in exchange for the sculpture.¹⁷³ Marque's purple enameled *Head of a Young Girl* (Fig. 306), which belongs to the Zimmerli, may very well have been cast from the same original plaster model as the one appreciated by Denis. It is signed on the back by Marque and by his ceramist friend Henri Methy, who was responsible for the purple glaze and lived in Marque's apartment for three years while the latter was serving in the French military.¹⁷⁴

Many of the ruptures with academic conventions at the turn of the twentieth century were rarely as drastic as Daumier's caricatural busts, Carpeaux's *Dance*, Degas's *Little Dancer*, and Rodin's *Balzac*. However, the sustained and progressively numerous "breaks" with academic standards in style, content, and media that occurred over more than three-quarters of a century in pre-Cubist Paris produced a greatly enhanced sculptural vocabulary (Figs. 307, 308). During the first quarter of the twentieth century, these breaks, in turn, prompted artistic challenges to the ancients so effective that academic traditions essentially became irrelevant to the process and purpose of making art.

¹ "Le sculpteur, l'homme qui donne, même en dehors de toute considération littéraire, la représentation plastique d'un visage humain mais qui ne veut pas faire simplement de la 'photo-sculpture', n'a pas d'autres moyens matériels à sa disposition que de souligner les traits caractéristiques de ce visage: par exemple de retrousser et d'avancer la lèvre en un pli moqueur pour indiquer une expression satirique, d'accentuer l'arcade sourcilière et d'agrandir la cavité des yeux, pour que, par de belles taches d'ombre elles rappellent l'expression de la méditation et de l'observation, enfin d'exagérer au besoin le relief et la hauteur du front pour souligner les facultés créatrices. C'est précisément ce que M. Rodin a fait pour la tête de son Balzac." Arsène Alexandre, *Le Balzac de Rodin* (Paris, 1898), 29. The French quotations cited in this essay were translated by Niamh Dugan.

² As quoted in Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven, 1993), 320.

³ Arsène Alexandre, "Les Peintres indépendants," *L'Événement* (August 23, 1886).

⁴ The publications are, respectively, *L'Art du rire et de la caricature* (Paris, 1892); *H. Daumier, l'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1888); *Barye* (Paris, 1889); and *Jean Carriès, imagier et potier,*

étude d'une oeuvre et d'une vie (Paris, 1895).

⁵ This is an excerpt from the following: "la suprême beauté, en sculpture, consiste dans la trouvaille des grandes lignes et dans l'entente des grands plans." Alexandre further explained this when he wrote: "Sculpture, one has said, is a contour seen from all sides." ("Sculpture, a t-on dit, est un contour vu de tous les côtés.")

⁶ The original French is "la ressemblance matérielle."

⁷ Although the Société des Gens de Lettres was a private organization, it also represented, in this case, the official opinion of the state.

⁸ Gabriel Mourey, *Histoire de la IIIe République*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1933), 408–09. Mourey included Aubé's *Monument to Gambetta* (1883) in his double-page insert of images illustrating "Some of the ugliest monuments of Paris" ("Quelques monuments parmi les plus laids de Paris").

⁹ "Non seulement, en effet, elle n'a encouragé, soutenu, employé aucun des artistes d'esprit indépendant qui sont aujourd'hui la gloire de l'Ecole française, mais, en réservant toutes ses faveurs, achats, commandes, honneurs, aux représentants des pires traditions académiques, elle a contribué à rendre plus ardue la tâche des premiers et à entraver leur succès.

Ce qui est encore plus déconcertant, c'est que le régime républicain avec ses prétentions à l'indépendance, son amour du progrès, de la liberté... etc., etc., ait professé et professe encore en art autant de défiance de l'esprit moderne... Non, la Troisième République n'a aucuns titres à la reconnaissance de l'art français. Aucuns? S'éciera-t-on. Aucuns." Ibid., 394.

¹⁰ "Les milliers et les milliers de statues qui peuplent les avenues, les carrefours, les squares, les jardins de Paris... la liste des figures des bustes de jeu de massacre, des statues de saindoux durci, des apothéoses nudistes de chocolat et de sucre candi, des muses, des victoires, des génies, des amours, des dames dévêtues, des allégories des symboles qui gesticulent autour des effigies, plus ou moins grands hommes de notre temps. Au surplus, certaines images qui illustrent ces pages suffiront à donner au lecteur une idée de la vulgarité, de la niaiserie, de la bassesse avec laquelle ce genre d'exercice s'est pratiqué au XIXe siècle chez nous dès avant l'avènement, certes, mais surtout depuis l'avènement de la Troisième République." Ibid., 408–09.

¹¹ The original French is "lequel appartient autant à la France qu'à la Belgique."

¹² The original French is "qui, soit en demeurant attachés aux formes classiques, soit en pratiquant un art plus libre, plus audacieux, plus vivant, ont bien mérité de l'avenir." Ibid., 407.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Arsène Alexandre, *Rupert Carabin* [exh. cat., Musée Galliera] (Paris, 1934).

¹⁵ "Ces admirables petits bustes caricaturaux, d'un art si vibrant, d'une expression de vie si intense... ces vivantes sculptures, sortes d'instantanés en terre glaise, rapidement modelées à coups de pouce, après de longues et pénétrantes observations du sujet, et avec une mémoire impeccable come auxiliaire... servirent de modèles à Daumier, pour ses portraits lithographiques et son *Ventre législatif*... Daumier est non seulement un des plus grands peintres de moeurs de son siècle, mais encore un des plus grands portraitistes qui aient jamais existé." Armand Dayot, *Journées révolutionnaires, 1830–1848* (Paris, 1897), 2–3, note 1.

¹⁶ In the Louvre's terse 1927 official statement vis-à-vis its decision not to purchase the Daumier busts, it explained: "The Louvre does not purchase caricatures." ("Le Louvre n'achète pas de caricatures.") Quoted in Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, *Luc Benoist, "La Sculpture romantique"* (Paris, 1994), 8.

Lemaistre states that the museum declined to buy Daumier's busts soon after the completion (but not because) of Benoist's 1926 dissertation for l'Ecole du Louvre. Since the busts were purchased in 1927 by the Parisian art dealer Maurice Le Garrec, one must assume that they were first offered to the Louvre in either 1926 or 1927.

17 With General Lafayette's republican blessing and a vote by the Chamber of Deputies, on August 9, 1830, the Duc d'Orléans became the "Citizen King" in pursuit of "the middle way (*le juste milieu*) to avoid both 'anarchy' and 'despotism.'" Robert Tombs, *France 1814–1914* (London, 1996), 356.

18 "Grâce à ces figurines, il retrouvait l'allure, l'expression, les moindres détails de ses types, et c'était pour cela qu'on sentait dans le lithographe tous les jeux de lumière et d'ombre si caractéristiques d'un dessin d'après le relief.... Les deux oeuvres n'étaient pas la copie l'une de l'une, elles étaient en quelque sorte soeurs jumelles." Alexandre, *H. Daumier*, 61.

19 Edouard Papet, *Daumier* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada] (Ottawa, 1999), 85.

20 The original French expression is "rapidement modelées à coups de pouce."

21 It should here be noted that alongside the Daumier busts, sculpture by a number of independent artists of the second quarter of the nineteenth century—Rude, Barye, Maindron, and Jean Baptiste Feuchère (1807–1852), to name a few—anticipated thematically, technically, and stylistically the work of their *fin-de-siècle* counterparts.

22 J. F. Huysmans, *L'Art moderne* (Paris, 1883), 226.

23 Douglas Druick, "La Petite Danseuse et les criminels: Degas moraliste?," *Degas inédit* (Paris, 1988), 224–50; Douglas Druick, "Framing the Little Dancer Aged Fourteen," in Richard Kendall, ed., *Degas and the Little Dancer* [exh. cat., the Joslin Art Museum] (Omaha, 1998), 77–96.

24 Marc Renneville, *Le Langage des crânes, une histoire de la phrénologie* (Paris, 2000). A number of Daumier's artistic contemporaries were also influenced by Gall's theories. They included Louis Léopold Boilly (1761–1845), Dantan-Jeune, and David d'Angers. On this, see Edouard Papet, "'Il fait aussi de la sculpture,'" in *Daumier* [exh. cat., The Grand Palais] (Paris, 1999), 54.

25 *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas* [exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art] (New York, 1997).

26 Phillip Dennis Cate, *Prints Abound: Paris in the 1890s* [exh. cat., The National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 2000), 36–45.

27 Philippe Sorel, *Dantan-Jeune* (Paris, 1989), 30.

28 *Ibid.*, 31.

29 Lemaistre, *Luc Benoist*, 77–78.

30 For discussions on Romantic sculpture, see Luc Benoist, *La Sculpture romantique* (Paris, 1928).

31 Since the 1830 Revolution brought only a temporary breath of fresh air to French political life, these three artists' roles as advocates of democracy were curtailed by the imposition of censorship in the case of Daumier and by governmental neglect in the case of Rude and David d'Angers, both of whom counted on official commissions for their sculptural monuments.

32 Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, "Les Anti-Fonds: Les Sculpteurs refusés à partir de 1831," in *La Sculpture du xixe siècle, une mémoire retrouvée* (Paris, 1986), 170.

33 Among the leading artists to participate in this practice were Dantan-Jeune, David d'Angers, Maindron, Feuchère, Fratin, and especially Barye.

34 For detailed discussions on new technologies, editions, and editors of multiple sculptures, see Catherine Chevillot, "Edition et fonte au sable," in *La Sculpture française au XIXe siècle* [exh. cat., The Grand Palais] (Paris, 1986), 80–94. In the same publication, also see Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, "Le Sentiment romantique," 254–61.

35 The statuette "était la form rêvée des artistes romantiques amoureux du mouvement et de l'ébauche, qui se supposent dans une petite statue et non dans une grande. C'est ce qui explique aussi, auprès d'eux, la faveur de la terre cuite.... Mais malgré tout, ces statuettes et ces bustes, les bourgeois les commandaient aux artistes officiels plutôt qu'aux indépendants et ceux-ci restaient pauvres." Lemaistre, *Luc Benoist*, 83.

36 "Beau comme Apollon, fringant dans sa redingote à taille, le pas rapide, entraînant les coeurs avec soi, tel qu'ou l'imagine dans son rôle légendaire d'Antony." As quoted in *ibid.*, 103.

37 Dantan-Jeune had previously caricatured Balzac in two statuettes of the writer in 1835. One represented Balzac holding his notoriously large, jewel-encrusted walking stick, while the other was simply made to resemble Balzac's cane, which had become his attribute. Philippe Sorel, *Dantan Jeune: Caricatures et portraits de la société romantique* (Paris, 1988), 149. Rodin may have taken inspiration from Dantan-Jeune's first statuette, which is similar in pose to Rodin's maquette of 1891, *Balzac with a Frock-Coat Leaning on a Support*. Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, 1898: *Le Balzac de Rodin* (Paris, 1998), 271.

38 Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin* (1867; reprint, Paris, 2000), 90, 416.

39 The base of David d'Angers's final sculpture was to contain an inscription linking the revolutions of 1789 and 1830, thereby proclaiming directly the republican ideals referenced in Rude's relief.

40 Michel Poletti, *Monsieur Barye* (Lausanne, 2002), 143–47, 157.

41 Ruth Butler and Suzanne Glover Lindsay, *European Sculpture of the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, 2000), 3.

42 Lemercier de Neuville, *Histoire anecdotique des marionnettes modernes* (Paris, 1892), 13.

43 Daumier's character was based on that of the actor Frédéric Lemaître, who played the leading role in his play *Robert Macaire* in 1834. See Pierre Cabanne, *Honoré Daumier: Témoin de la comédie humaine* (Paris, 1999), 35.

44 François Furet, *Revolutionary France, 1770–1880* (Malden, 2000), 443.

45 Papet, *Daumier*, 286.

46 In fact, the Zimmerli's statuette of a Napoleon I-era grenadier with "1805 Austerlitz" incised on the front of its base was most likely produced during the reign of Napoleon III to revive the Napoleonic legend on which the new emperor based his right to rule.

47 John Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870–1871* (New Haven, 2000), 62–3.

48 Peter Fusco and H. W. Janson, *The Romantics to Rodin* [exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art] (Los Angeles, 1980), 327.

49 H. W. Janson, *19th-Century Sculpture* (New York, 1985), 182.

50 Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France*, 111.

51 Fusco and Janson, *The Romantics to Rodin*, 331.

52 *Quand Paris dansait avec Marianne, 1879-1889* [exh. cat., Musée du Petit Palais] (Paris, 1989), 86–103.

53 Fusco and Janson, *The Romantics to Rodin*, 305–06.

54 As quoted in *ibid.*, 332.

55 "Vous connaissez la banale forme de ces sortes de monuments: clairon, femme avec drapeau, un soldat blessé. Rien de pareil

chez Bourdelle! A travers une série de figures, il étudia la guerre et ses furies. Il a pu voir les déformations de la forme que donnent la lutte et la brutalité, scruter les gestes désolation, de fureur et de désespoir." As quoted in Carol Marc Lavrillier and Michel Dufet, *Bourdelle, et la critique de son temps* (Paris, 1979), 14.

56 On January 18, 1871, in an official celebration of the unification of the German states, the Prussian King Wilhelm was inaugurated as Emperor of Germany in the Palace of Versailles.

57 As noted above, Mourey cited Aubé's *Monument to Gambetta* as among the ugliest statues commissioned by the Third Republic (see note 8). In fact, the translation of Aubé's patinated plaster *ébauche* by his practitioners into the stone monument did indeed have a stifling effect on the final result.

58 Jean d'Albis, *Ernest Chaplet* (Paris, 1976), 10–13; and Laurence Madeline, *Ultra-Sauvage, Gauguin sculpteur* (Paris, 2002), 19.

59 *Quand Paris dansait avec Marianne*, 49.

60 "N'est-ce pas une des premières lois de l'art statuaire que, si l'on veut accompagner de quelques ornements les statues en ronde-bosse, il faut y adapter des bas-reliefs ou des hauts-reliefs.... les bas-reliefs sont, au pied d'une statue monumentale, ce que sont les notes au bas d'un livre." Quoted in *ibid.*, 32.

61 Notable examples of this phenomenon are the Duke d'Orléans's support of Barye and other members of the Romantic school in the 1830s and 1840s and Louis Napoleon's sponsorship of the 1863 Salon des Refusés.

62 "Nous ne décrivons pas ici une fois de plus le monument de la place de la Nation. On sait quelle est son allure magistrale, quelle sève abondante y circule. On sait la pompe un peu trop classique et théâtrale de son agencement général, de son décor surtout; on sait aussi quel souffle puissant anime chacune de ces figures, irréelles en soi, mais si vivantes cependant et si épanouies en leur force expressive: la jeune svelte République au geste modérateur, l'énergique Travail et l'ample Justice, allégorie réaliste digne de Rubens ou des Vénitiens, la saine et juvénile Abondance enfin, qui sème des fleurs derrière le char triomphal. Mieux qu'aucune autre peut-être, celle-ci nous permet de saisir sur le fait la réapparition chez Dalou, au milieu des pompes classiques, du tempérament naturaliste essentiel." Paul Vitry, "Jules Dalou," *L'Art et décoration XIV* (July–December 1903): 280.

63 Tombs, *France 1814–1914*, 451–53.

64 "Dalou a voulu dire que le triomphe de la République, assurera la glorification éclatante du travail, qui n'est pas un châtiment, comme l'enseigne certaines philosophies atrophiantes. Les travailleurs qui sont là, escortant le char de la République, disent que le travail sera attrayant, fécondant, lorsque chacun aura la certitude de recevoir, sans contestation, la part qui lui est équitablement due. Ne fallait-il pas, lorsque les ennemis de la République, jetant bas les masques, faisaient appel à un roi ou à un César du cadre de disponibilité, venir dire que le peuple n'a oublié ni les 18 brumaire, ni les 2 décembre dont on le menace?" Statement of a member of the Paris City Council at the November 19th inauguration of Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic* as quoted in Maurice Dreyfous, *Dalou: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1903), 137. "18 brumaire" refers to November 18, 1799, when Napoleon I staged a coup d'état that toppled the existing French government.

65 Dreyfous, *Dalou*, 139.

66 In June 1899, the Cour de Cassation (Supreme Court of Appeal) annulled the December 1894 judgment of the military court that originally found Dreyfus guilty of spying for Germany. The court ordered the army to retry Dreyfus that summer in Rennes. The War Council once again found the Jewish captain guilty, this time with extenuating circumstances. It would take another three years for Dreyfus to finally be

acquitted, but only after a second revision of his case was taken out of the hands of the military.

67 Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune, Imagining Paris After War and Revolution* (Princeton, 1995).

68 Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, *Mémoire de marbre, la sculpture funéraire en France, 1804-1914* (Paris, 1995), 98, 100.

69 *Ibid.*

70 Anne Pinget, "Eclectisme, Néo-baroque et orientalisme," in *La Sculpture française au XIXe siècle*, 440, note 5.

71 Anne Pinget, *Orsay Sculpture* (Paris, 2003), 43.

72 Vitry, "Jules Dalou," 280.

73 Janson, *19th-Century Sculpture*, 184-85.

74 "Terrassé après une lutte épique où chacun a reçu de sanglantes blessures, le chasseur nu a lâché son arme rougie et expire sous l'étreinte puissante du monstre. Il faut voir avec quelle puissance l'artiste a tendu ces bras effrayants du singe étouffant sa victime pantelante, arcbouté ses pattes de derrière aussi souples que des bras, gonfle ses bajoues frémissantes et élargi comme planant sur toute la scène son rictus victorieux. C'est tout un drame d'énergie et de férocité." Paul Vitry, "L'Oeuvre Décorative de M. Fremiet." *L'Art et décoration IV* (July–December 1898): 75.

75 "La terrible réalité de cette statuette lui produit un évident malaise; toutes ses idées sur la sculpture, sur ces froides blancheurs inanimée, sur ces mémorables poncifs recopiés depuis des siècles, se bouleversent. Le fait es que, du premier coup, M. Degas a culbuté les traditions de la sculpture comme il a depuis longtemps secoué les conventions de la peinture.

Tout en reprenant la médés vieux maîtres espagnols, M. Degas l'a immédiatement faite toute particulière, toute moderne, par l'originalité de son talent.

De même que certaines madones maquillées et vêtues de robes, de même que ce Christ de la cathédrale de Burgos dont les cheveux sont de vrais cheveux, les épines de vraies épines, la draperie une véritable étoffe, la danseuse de M. Degas a de vraies jupes, de vrais rubans, un vrai corsage, de vrais cheveux." Huysmans, *L'Art moderne*, 226–27.

76 "Supposons que le statuaire s'avise de mettre sur la figure d'un héros un vrai casque, une vraie cuirasse, de véritable linge et des étoffes réelles, il ne fera pas une imitation, mais un pur pléonasm, car, qui la représente, il n'y a pas imitation dans le sens de l'art, il y a répétition. ...Nous en avons un exemple frappant dans les figures de cire: plus elles ressemblent à nature, plus elles sont hideuses." Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin*, 416–17.

77 Florence Quideau, *Zimmerli Journal 1*, Part 2 (Fall 2003): 145.

78 Stephen F. Eisenman, *Nineteenth-Century Art: A Critical History* (New York, 2002), 215.

79 "Il faut que l'artiste moderne fasse table rase des imbéciles leçons qu'il a reçues, et apprenne d'abord à devenir un maître ouvrier. Il faut qu'il soit armé solidement; pour dominer la matière, surtout le grès, matière noble et se prêtant peu aux expressions pittoresques. Il faut qu'il soit sûr de lui-même, et par l'exécution et par l'idée. On n'improvise pas un chef-d'oeuvre. L'artiste inspiré doit être doublé d'un ouvrier très habile." Armand Dayot, "Notes sur Carriès," *L'Art et décoration VII* (January–June 1900): 69.

80 As quoted in Marie-Pierre Delclaux, *Rodin: A Brilliant Life* (Paris, 2003), 34, note 5.

81 Neil McWilliam explained in a 2000 study of the artist that Baffier "looked to the Middle Ages and the guild system as offering an organic model of craft production sustained by a

network of interdependence in which the worker derived self-fulfillment from the sympathetic support of a unified social hierarchy.” McWilliam, *Monumental Intolerance: Jean Baffier, A Nationalist Sculptor in Fin-de-Siècle France* (University Park, 2000), 170.

82 This ultimately led to the artist’s violent actions of December 9, 1886, whereby he attacked Germain Casse, a liberal member of the Chamber of Deputies, with a knife. Ibid., 14.

83 The other artists who turned to these themes included Dalou, Carriès, Rosso, Raffaëlli, Charpentier, Cavaillon, Bourchard, and Höetger.

84 Philippe Durey, “Le Réalisme,” in *La Sculpture française au XIXe siècle*, 363.

85 “Constantin Meunier s’affilie à la tradition des maîtres antiques. Il dépasse les rythmes émotionnels de la Renaissance et directement reconstitue le simple et grandiose Homme physique des âges vierges... Meunier suscita une forme d’émotion nouvelle: il mérite ainsi de figurer à côté des deux maîtres qui assumèrent le plus intensément l’intellectualité esthétique de la fin de ce siècle: Puvis par le rêve infini des âges, Rodin par le paroxysme nerveux de la passionnalité.” Camille Lemonnier, “Constantin Meunier,” *L’Art et décoration* IX (January–June 1901): 43.

86 For a discussion of this theme in the work of Meunier, Baffier, Dalou, and Rodin, see Durey, “Le Réalisme,” 362–371.

87 The models for Baffier’s, Dalou’s, and Rodin’s unrealized monuments may be found, respectively, at the Maison Artistique Jean Baffier, Sancoins; Le Petit Palais, Paris; and Le Musée d’Orsay, Paris.

88 “Ses intimes même ne la connaissaient que partiellement, *Le Grand Paysan* que l’on a vu au Salon de l’an passé fut découvert après sa mort par ses amis, derrière une toile, dans un coin de l’atelier... en même temps que s’ouvrait l’armoire de bois blanc où vivait obscurément, dans la terre ou le plâtre des esquisses, tout un peuple de travailleurs, d’artisans minuscules animés d’une vie grandiose.” Paul Vitry, “Jules Dalou,” *L’Art et décoration* (July–December 1903): 274–75.

89 Sura Levine and Françoise Urban, *Hommage à Constantin Meunier, 1831–1905* (Anvers, 1998), 31.

90 “Ce monument des Pêcheurs ne rappelle rien d’analogue dans le domaine de la sculpture; il puise sa grandeur et sa signification dans l’étude de la réalité et de la nature et s’élève ainsi à une haute expression humaine. C’est le monument du travail, du travail maritime qu’il synthétise, comme Constantin Meunier devait synthétiser plus tard le travail en général.” Sander Pierron, *Guillaume Charlier* (Brussels, 1913), 79.

91 The original French is “curieuse impression d’art moderne marquée en un caractère archaïque.” Léon Maillard, “Le Sculpture du Champs de Mars,” *La Plume* 194 (March 15, 1897): 316.

92 The original French is “une adaptation de l’art assyrien, dont la *Frise des archers*, au Louvre, est un si étonnant modèle.” Gaston Scheffer, *Le Salon de 1897* (Paris, 1897), 95.

93 Laure de Margerie and Edouard Papet, *Charles Cordier (1827–1905), Sculpteur, l’autre et l’ailleurs* [exh. cat., Musée d’Orsay] (Paris, 2004). For a detailed discussion on ethnographic sculpture see: *La Sculpture ethnographique de la Vénus hottentote à la Tehura de Gauguin* [exh. cat., Musée d’Orsay] (Paris, 1994).

94 For discussion on Bartholdi’s *Monument to Bruat* see Butler and Lindsay, *European Sculpture of the Nineteenth Century*, 4–7.

95 Janson, *19th-Century Sculpture*, 194.

96 Butler, *Rodin, The Shape of Genius*, 441.

97 Richard Thomson, “Toulouse-Lautrec and Sculpture,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1384 (1984): 83. The frank representation of modern Parisian life found in Carabin’s and Lautrec’s work continued into the beginning of the twentieth century the Baudelairean theme of modern life and the discourse related to female sexuality initiated by Edouard Manet in painting with *Olympia* (1865) and by Degas in sculpture with *Little Dancer*.

98 *Loïe Fuller, Danseuse de l’art nouveau* [exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts] (Nancy, 2002).

99 “Le petit théâtre du *Chat-Noir*, dirigé par M. Henri Rivière, retrouve son succès de l’hiver dernier. Les pièces qui depuis quelques jours y fonctionnent sont: *la Tentation de Saint Antoine*, de M. Rivière, *le Fils de l’Eunuque*, de M. Henry Somm, *la Partie de Whist*, de M. Sahib, *l’Age d’Or*, de M. Willette.

M. Henry Rivière a civilisé l’art jusqu’alors rudimentaire des ombres chinoises. Avant lui, elles défilaient, les ombres, comme des personnages de frises ou des Pawnies. Quand il dut machiner *l’Epopée* de M. Caran d’Ache, il les disposa en effets perspectifs sur les plans se reculant à l’infini et conçu pour l’évolution des groupes et leur disparition d’adroits et instantanés trucs: si le transparent n’enregistrait encore que des silhouettes noires, du moins il cessait d’être une surface naïve, se douait de profondeur. Progrès décisif, il reçoit aujourd’hui toutes les couleurs; en quarante minutes quarante tableaux viennent s’y affirmer. Dans cette *Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, soucieux seulement de faire oeuvre de peintre, M. Rivière s’est peu préoccupé de mettre en valeur le sens du livre... Les tentations sont de fabrication actuelle qui obsèdent le saint, et celui-ci s’identifie cocassement avec M. Sadi-Carnot, un député que le Congrès, amassé à Versailles le 3 décembre, élu président de la République, et dont le nom nous était cher puisque le fondateur de la thermo-dynamique le porta... Cette oeuvre, M. Henri Rivière l’a réalisée avec la plus sagace intellection artistique et une émerveillante fougue.” Félix Fénéon, “Calendrier,” *La Revue indépendante* (January 1888): 163–65.

100 “Il n’est pas besoin de grandes explications pour faire admettre qu’il s’agit d’un nouvel emploi de la sculpture, et que le volontaire artiste a trouvé une forme qui n’avait pas encore été employée avant lui... Ce sont des bas-reliefs sans fonds, des silhouettes d’êtres et d’objets traitée en ombres chinoises quant aux lignes qui les délimitent, mais augmentées du modelé, du relief, de toute la coloration de la lumière et de l’ombre... Il peut, par une juste indication de perspective, indiquer la lointaine ligne d’horizon, bâtir sommairement un panorama de ville, fixer un nuage... La statue et le bas-relief, tels qu’on les pratique, ne peuvent pas prendre place dans nos chambres exigües... Pour la mise en scène d’attitudes ie d’actions humaines, elle se zigzague en méandres de bronze infiniment expressifs. Un homme est assis au cabaret, le coude sur la table. Une voiture à bras, où s’entasse et se hérisse un mobilier strictement composé, monte une pente absolument appréciable par la position des roues dégringolantes, de l’homme qui tire, de la femme qui pousse.” Gustave Geffroy, “J. F. Raffaëlli,” *La Vie artistique* (Paris, 1892), 52–55. First published as “Raffaëlli, Peintre, Sculpteur” in *Catalogue de quelques peintures, sculptures et dessins de Jean-François Raffaëlli* [exh. cat., Boussod et Valadon] (Paris, 1890), 8–9.

101 “Aux murs, des panneaux de Jules Chéret, des gravures en couleur de Rivière, Louis Morin, Lautrec, Auriol.” George Auriol, “Le Théâtre, au Chat-Noir,” *Revue encyclopédique* (February 1894): 2.

102 Paul Eudel, “L’Auberge du Chat Noir,” *La Lecture illustrée* (1897): 365.

103 This article was reprinted in Luciano Caramel, *L’Impressionismo nella scultura* (Milan, 1989), 79–91.

104 Luciano Caramel, *Impressionismo nella scultura*, 83.

105 “L’art de la statuaire contemporaine, qui vaut encore par quelques magistrales personnalités, offre dans son ensemble une vision plutôt défavorable. La façon dont sont déshonorées nos places publiques, tant à Paris qu’en province, nous rendrait plutôt sceptique sur l’avenir de la sculpture qui, pour avoir cessé d’être surtout décorative et ornementale, ne mérite plus d’être regardée pour son ensemble, mais uniquement pour le morceau interprété avec plus our moins de préciosité.” Ibid., 89.

106 Ibid., 88.

107 “Les impressionnistes ne se sont pas laissés absorber par l’examen des ‘phénomènes lumineux’; ils se sont aussi et surtout occupés des ‘phénomènes sociaux’... Or voici qu’en sculpture un mouvement d’affranchissement se dessine, une manifestation semblable à celle provoquée par Monet, Pissarro, Raffaëlli, Renoir, Degas, a éclaté. Des tentatives courageuses sont faites pour sortir du nu froid et rigide des académies, pour rompre avec les conventions imposées par les écoles et revenir à la nature... Avec Rodin et Medardo Rosso, nous entrons dans une période de création pure.” Ibid., 79.

108 “Mes souvenirs ne remontent guère au delà de l’exposition universelle de 1878 époque à la quelle nous étions encore complètement dans la production du second empire, la Renaissance et Henry II.” Rupert Carabin, *Notes*, (unpublished memoirs at the Fondation Le Corbusier), photocopy in “Carabin” box at Department of Documentation, Musée d’Orsay, Paris.

109 Luciano Caramel, *Medardo Rosso, Impressions in Wax and Bronze, 1882–1906* (New York, 1988), 4, note 10. As Caramel points out, little is known about Scapigliatura except that its members were anti-bourgeois and precursors to the Decadent Movement of the 1880s.

110 Although the statuette’s pose and texture are similar to those of Daumier’s *Ratapoil* of twenty-five years earlier, the latter was on public view only for the first time at the 1878 Daumier retrospective.

111 Caramel, *Medardo Rosso*, 4.

112 Janson, *19th-Century Sculpture*, 126.

113 “J’ai souvent pensé avec étonnement à la trouée que les impressionnistes et que Flaubert, de Goncourt et Zola ont faite dans l’art. L’école naturaliste a été révélée par eux; l’art a été bouleversé du haut en bas, affranchi du ligotage officiel des Ecoles.” Huysmans, *L’Art moderne*, 75.

114 The publisher censored this image, and Forain, in turn, created a toned-down rendition in which Martha, somewhat inebriated in a state of *décolleté*, sits immersed within the foggy gaslight atmosphere of a bar holding a bottle and glass.

115 Huysmans, *L’Art moderne*, 228.

116 Andreas Blühm, *The Colour of Sculpture, 1840–1910* [exh. cat., van Gogh Museum] (Amsterdam, 1996), 68; and *Les Modernes, 1870–1950* (Strasbourg), 190.

117 Philip Ward Jackson, “Huysmans and Sculpture,” *The Burlington Magazine* (December 1996): 804.

118 Huysmans, *L’Art moderne*, 228.

119 Blühm, *The Colour of Sculpture*, 42.

120 In the original French, Bouchot wrote: “la figure idéale de la *Réclame*, une femme jaune, aux yeux de lynx, habillée de bandelettes et de bandages, sous intention malicieuse de troubler les âmes simples.”

121 Created in 1892, the mask of Rollinat is now located in the Musée d’Art Moderne, Strasbourg.

122 Along with Ringel, these artists include Degas, Carriès, Charpentier, Carabin, and Dalpayrat.

123 See Blühm, *The Colour of Sculpture*; de Margerie and Papet, *Charles Cordier*, 58–63; and Emmanuelle Héran, “L’Evolution du regard sur la sculpture polychrome,” *La Revue du Musée d’Orsay* 18 (Spring 2004): 62–71.

124 There is some confusion over the year that Carabin first displayed his wax nudes at the Salon des Indépendants. In the 1901 biography of Carabin published in *Alsacienne illustrée* III, 141–49, Charles Coquiou asserted that Carabin’s first waxes were featured in 1884 at the first Salon. He reproduced the wax *Woman with a Monkey* with a caption stating that it was featured in the 1884 exhibition. However, that year’s Salon catalogue listed only two portraits by Carabin, and the first reference to *Woman with a Monkey* appeared only in the 1888 catalogue (no. 115). Nevertheless, a review of the 1888 Salon des Indépendants indicates that there were a number of Carabin waxes on view and refers directly to Carabin’s wax *The Prayer*, now at the Musée d’Art Moderne, Strasbourg, and entitled *Woman Kneeling on a Pyre*. See Nadine Lehi and Etienne Martin, *F. R. Carabin* [exh. cat., Musée d’Art Moderne de Strasbourg] (Strasbourg, 1993), cat. no. 58. However, *The Prayer* is only mentioned in the catalogue for the 1890 Salon des Artistes Indépendants, which leads one to believe that the listings in the Salon des Indépendants catalogues are not always complete.

125 “Il y a sous une vitrine une demi-douzaine de figurines en cire singulièrement expressives et d’une rare exécution; celle intitulée: *Prière* est tout simplement un petit chef-d’oeuvre.” As quoted in Lehi and Martin, *F. R. Carabin*, 83.

126 By 1889, Gauguin had moved on to a more radical and primitive style of painted woodcarving inspired by the folk art he encountered in his visits to Brittany and Martinique.

127 “L’artiste moderne [Carabin], malgré tout le passé d’art qui rend si difficile une évolution originale en ce siècle, a trouvé une formule nouvelle qui peut être féconde. A vrai dire, il est à la fois nouveau et traditionnel, il a orné son meuble comme les sculpteurs du grand moyen âge ornaient la bâtisse de pierre, il a fondu la sculpture et l’architecture. Il a eu la simple conception du fleurissement et de l’épanouissement de la matière qu’avaient eue les foyers de bois et les tailleurs de pierre, et cette conception il l’a rejuvenie, modernisée, par la préoccupation de l’intellectuel et du symbolique d’aujourd’hui.” Gustave Geffroy, “A propos d’une bibliothèque du sculpteur Carabin,” *L’Art décoratif* (July–August 1890): 47.

128 “Elle y fut refusée sous prétexte que l’année suivante on pourrait envoyer des pots de chambre.” As quoted in Lehi and Martin, *F. R. Carabin*, 14.

129 “L’idée de l’unité de l’art est une idée aussi ancienne que l’art lui-même... C’est pour avoir perdu cette idée de vue que notre siècle est précédé.” 42–49.

130 Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, 1989), 8.

131 Although the site chosen for the museum instead became a railroad station in 1900, the Museum of Decorative Arts was incorporated in 1899 into the northwest wing of the Louvre, where it stands today but without *The Gates of Hell*. The railroad station, in turn, was transformed into the current Musée d’Orsay in 1986.

132 It was also influenced in part by Lorenzo Ghiberti’s *Gates of Paradise* (1425–1452) for the entrance to the Florence Baptistry.

133 Georges Casella, “L’Exposition Rodin,” *L’Effort* (June 27, 1900), as quoted in Butler, *Rodin*, 353.

134 Antoinette le Normand-Romain, *Rodin, The Gates of Hell* (Paris, 2002), 27.

135 Carriès first exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1875, and his sculp-

ture became progressively recognized by critics in the early 1880s. At the Salon of 1881 in addition to the dramatic head of Charles I decapitated, the artist displayed *The Desolate Ones*, a series of realist plaster busts in varied painted patinas depicting impoverished, marginal types. He was awarded an Honorable Mention from officials and received high praise from the critic Judith Gautier:

These busts or rather these heads, on the ends of seemingly mutilated shoulders, set down flat with neither a base nor a plinth for support, are so arresting that at first glance one would think that they were molded from real-life. They almost seem like paintings and when one sees the head of the dead Charles I, one exclaims spontaneously “It’s a Van Dyck”.... The artist seems to know human pain and it is on this that he prefers to focus his attention; he applies his boasting chisel to it as he would apply a scalpel... Who is this unknown sculptor?... All of the sculptors have been moved by this triumphant debut and the great artists are already preparing to make room among them for this new arrival.

The following year, Carriès had a successful one-person show at the Cercle des Arts Libéraux, where, along with his busts of *The Desolate*, was a group of macabre babies’ heads. He continued to produce these works in painted plaster and wax until about 1888, when he initiated his investigations into the medium of enameled stoneware.

Carriès’s painted plaster *The Bishop* (1883) reveals the artist’s life-long obsession with subtle varieties and modulations of patinas and other surface colorations. It also anticipated his series of portraits of historical figures such as Frans Hals and Rubens and illustrates Carriès’s admiration for the realist portraiture of persons of strong character (children included) found in Italian Renaissance sculpture, seventeenth-century Dutch painting, and sixteenth-century French sculpture (for example, Germain Pilon’s [1540–1590] bronze portrait *The Cardinal René de Biraque* [Louvre]).

In 1883 Carriès met Pierre Bingen, the artisan responsible for reinventing the Renaissance practice of lost-wax casting (*cire perdue*). In comparison to sandcasting, the lost-wax process produces a bronze cast with much greater fidelity to the surface details and textures of the original terracotta, plaster, or wax. A bronze cast of *The Bishop* was commissioned by the state in 1889 and is now on display at the Musée d’Orsay. Its rich patina is very similar to that of the Zimmerli painted plaster version of *The Bishop*.

136 I thank Anne Pinget for pointing out the fact that without *The Shades*, Rodin’s monument is actually smaller than that designed by Carriès.

137 Haruko Hirota, “De la poterie à la sculpture Aubé, Carriès et Gauguin,” *Histoire de l’art* 50 (June 2002): 113.

138 The original French is “ce mâle de la porcelaine.”

139 “J’ai rapporté avec moi 350 essais de coloration, à moi, bien à moi. Je refile mercredi chercher 125 pièces qui se défournent à Saint-Amand jeudi matin. J’ai dans cette fournée impatiemment attendue, 40 pièces sculptées et émaillées. Je crois avoir trouvé les émaux mats.” As quoted in *Jean-Joseph Carriès*, 24.

140 After his death, Carriès’s friend and follower Georges Hoentschel was responsible for all of his sculptures remaining in the artist’s studio. In 1904, Hoentschel gave this collection to the Petit Palais of the City of Paris. See *ibid.*, 32.

141 Rodin and Jeanneney’s collaborations resulted in three enameled stoneware versions of Rodin’s large head of Balzac (two of which are located at the Musée Rodin and one at the Petit Palais in Paris) and one statue and three busts of Jean d’Aire

from the *Burgers of Calais* (found at the Musée Rodin). Anne Lajoix, “Auguste Rodin et les arts du feu,” *Revue de l’art* 116 (1997): 84.

142 Jean Luc Olivie, “All of Antiquity in a New Soul,” *New Work* 31 (Fall 1987): 15.

143 “Si la *Coré* du Champ-de-Mars étonne et déconcerte les ignorants, elle n’en est pas moins issue directement de la tradition grecque. Ce n’est pas un pastiche, car il ya dans le geste tendre de la femme serrant sur sa poitrine une gerbe d’épis, dans la grâce un peu apprêtée de la tête e du sourire tout un ordre de sentiments très modernes et fort éloignés de l’antiquité. Il est clair aussi que la peinture à l’huile fournit des tons tout à fait différents des couleurs fragiles et ocieuses employées par les modeleurs attiques ou béotiens.... C’est une intelligente transformation, au goût de notre temps, d’un procédé et d’un sujet vieux de deux mille cinq cents ans.” Edmond Potter, “Les Salons de 1892, la sculpture—les arts industriels,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* II (1892): 33.

144 In addition to the Zimmerli’s cast, another, more brilliantly colored enameled stoneware example of this work is located at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Both were acquired from the Galerie Elstir, Paris.

145 For a full discussion of Voisin, see *Alphonse Voisin-Delacroix* [exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts] (Besançon, 1993).

146 André Dalpayrat, *Pierre-Adrien Dalpayrat, Céramiste de l’art nouveau* (Château de Sceaux, 1999), 41.

147 Horst Makus, *Adrien Dalpayrat, Céramique française de l’Art Nouveau, art du feu* (Stuttgart, 1998), 184.

148 Dalpayrat, *Pierre-Adrien Dalpayrat*, 102–11.

149 For an estimate of the number of portraits produced by Charpentier, see Madeleine Charpentier-Darcy, “Alexandre Charpentier, médailles et petits bas-reliefs,” *The Medal* 34 (1999): 43. Also see *idem*, “Introduction à l’art d’Alexandre Charpentier. Catalogue sommaire de l’oeuvre (sculpture—art décoratif),” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Art Français* (1996): 185–247.

150 Charpentier created his portraits of Pissarro, Meunier, Séverine, and Zola in 1895, 1899, 1898, and 1898, respectively.

151 Gabriel Mourey, “The Decorative Art Movement in Paris,” *The International Studio* (April 1897): 119–24.

152 *Jean-Joseph Carriès*, 65.

153 Dreyfous, *Dalou*, 130–34.

154 Poletti, *Monsieur Barye*, 162–66.

155 *Documents sur l’art industriel au vingtième siècle* is a catalog of art products available at the important Paris gallery La Maison Moderne that also serves as a visual survey of decorative arts from the period including small-scale sculpture. It contains essays by respected art critics of the day including that by Rambosson.

156 “Les premiers efforts en vue de briser la routine dans l’ornementation intérieure de nos maisons et d’apporter un peu d’art dans notre vie familière sont dus à des sculpteurs. C’est Alexandre Charpentier, c’est Desbois, c’est Baffier, c’est Pierre Roche que nous trouvons au début de la renaissance décorative.... C’est ainsi que nous avons vu éclore dans ces dernières années une série de *petits sujets* qui ne sont plus des réductions de grandes figures, de monuments destinés à la place publique ou conçue pour un large espace, mais de véritables *bibelots* d’art intentionnellement exécutés dans des proportions restreintes.... D’un côté, les “grandes machines” des Salons officiels, douteux symboles, banales conceptions qui ne comptent que par leur volume, à l’exception de quelques rares oeuvres dignes d’orner les places publiques. D’autre part, la

sculpture de petit format beaucoup plus intéressante parce que’elle est la *production naturelle* à notre époque, l’agrément adéquat à notre *home*.

Rodin, ce génie si simple et si profond, s’est montré également prestigieux aussi bien lorsqu’il a entrepris des oeuvres monumentales que lorsqu’il s’est amoureuxment attardé sur des bibelots d’étagère.

Constantin Meunier, inspiré par les motifs et par la ligne de Millet, ce peintre dont les admirables dessins sont de la sculpture écrite, s’est montré le chantre dramatique du travail rude et de la misère humaine et a créé parfois des oeuvres dont la dimension permet de les placer sur l’ameublement ou de les accrocher à la muraille.” Yvanhoé Rambosson, “La Sculpture,” *Documents sur l’art industriel au vingtième siècle* (Paris, 1902), 7-9. In addition to the artists cited above, the following sculptors represented in the present exhibition are also included in the writer’s round-up of “the greatest masters of contemporary sculpture” (“les plus grands de la sculpture contemporaine”): Camille Claudel, Bourdelle, Damppt, Lerche, Fortiny, Milles, Cros, Höetger, Marque, Ernest Wittmann (1846–?), and Larche.

157 “Types parisiens de B. Höetger exécutés en grès flammé de Dalpayrat.” Ettore Cacciapuoti’s *Parisienne* fits within this popular turn-of-the-century category of Parisian types, and was also made in collaboration with the colorist Dalpayrat.

158 *Le Rire* 265 and 266 (December 2 and 9, 1899): 10 and 10.

159 *Le Rire* 235 (May 6, 1899): 14. The *fin-de-siècle* French journal practice of offering small-scale sculptures as an incentive for an annual subscription occurred earlier in the nineteenth century as well. For an example, see *Le Journal amusante* (May 28, 1859): 8.

160 “Ces deux bibelots charmants, quintessence de féminisme et de parisianisme, sortes de ‘Tanagra’ parisiens de l’an 1900, peuvent et doivent prendre place dans les collections les plus difficiles, comme dans les intérieurs les plus élégants et les plus raffinés.

Vous pouvez, amateurs d’art, les placer à côté d’oeuvres rares et précieuses, car ce sont des morceaux trouvés et créés par un artiste véritable, amoureux de la forme et de la ligne. Et vous devez aussi, parisiennes et parisiens, mes très chers frères, leur réserver un coin du salon ou du boudoir, car c’est un peu de votre vie même de votre plaisir, de votre esprit et de vos élégances que le jeune maître a incorporé à ces deux statuettes, incarnations de cette trilogie féminine: la grâce, l’art, et la gaité.” Arsène Alexandre, *Le Rire* 268 (December 23, 1899): 3. Mary Chapin was kind enough to bring this ad to my attention.

161 The Carnavalet Museum in Paris contains examples of both statuette by Capiello, while the Musée d’Orsay has one of *Yvette Guilbert*. The author knows of another example of *Yvette Guilbert* in a private collection in Paris.

162 Heather Nolin, “Pierre Roche,” *Zimmerli Journal* 2, Part 2 (Fall 2004): 165.

163 Catherine E. Hammond, “Alexandre Charpentier,” *Zimmerli Journal* 2, Part 2 (Fall 2004): 156.

164 This was also true of Charpentier’s series *In Zélande*, along with other works by the artist.

165 Anne and Arsène Bonafous-Murat, *Maurice Dumont, graveur, et éditeur de “l’Epreuve”* [exh. cat., Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris] (Paris, 1991), 29.

166 Patricia Eckert Boyer and Phillip Dennis Cate, *L’Estampe originale: Artistic Printmaking in France, 1893–1895* [exh. cat., Van Gogh Museum] (Amsterdam, 1991).

167 Boyer and Cate, *L’Estampe originale*, 43.

168 “L’artiste de son côté, dans un but de lucre, ne doit pas flatter le goût du moment: au lieu de s’abaisser lui-même, il doit

élever le public jusqu’à lui. Puisque l’art décoratif a pour but d’apporter le charme du beau dans notre vie intime, il faut qu’il adapte aux objets usuels les éléments de beauté épars dans la nature, dédaignant les objets inutiles, qui deviendraient d’horribles bibelots. Qu’il fasse cette adaptation avec goût, intelligence et discernement; que l’objet soit agréable au toucher, que les ornements ne nuisent point à son usage et à sa solidité, enfin que la couleur et la richesse viennent y ajouter leurs charmes. Surtout qu’il sache bien adapter la matière à la composition et à la destination de l’oeuvre; ne pas faire un bois d’une chose destinée au plâtre, ne pas forger du fer qui ressemble à de la fonte. Il doit être d’abord ouvrier, puis artiste par le sentiment, enfin penseur par l’idée.” Henri Nocq, “Opinion de Jean Damppt,” *Tendances nouvelles* (1896): 36. On Nocq’s professional relationship to André Marty, see Boyer and Cate, *L’Estampe originale*, 43.

169 Rodin confessed in a 1906 letter to Antoine Bourdelle that “Michelangelo liberated me from academic models.” (The letter is quoted in Maria Mimita Lamberti, “Rodin and Michelangelo: A Turning Point in Modern Sculpture,” *Rodin and Michelangelo: A Study in Artistic Inspiration* [Philadelphia, 1997], 76.) On the other hand, as early as 1882 Henry Detouche voiced the opinion of the radical anti-academic group of Parisian artists and writers called the Incohérents: “It seems to me that in front of Michelangelo’s masterpiece, *Moses*, the true artist of today should say: I would like to do something else.” (Henri Detouche, *Le Panurge* [November 12, 1882]: 4.)

170 “Ce *retour au style*, ainsi qu’on l’a qualifié, ne doit pas être confondu avec une résurgence du néo-classicisme, quoique la référence à l’Antiquité classique vienne sans cesse à l’esprit: ce n’est pas une volonté d’imiter la sculpture antique qui le caractérise, mais le désir de retrouver les qualités de clarté et d’équilibre dont celle-ci reste le grand modèle, une distanciation du modèle vivant et la rupture avec l’enseignement de l’Ecole des Beaux-Arts, de façon à rendre sincérité, force et poésie à la sculpture.” Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, “Le Retour de Style,” *La Sculpture française au XIXe siècle*, 303.

171 “Voulez-vous de la sculpture? Elle est mélangée heureusement à la peinture dans nombre de salles, et l’effet en est intime et capricieux en même temps. M. Bourdelle, M. R. Bugatti, ont toute une suite d’oeuvres admirablement fondues à cire perdues par le prestigieux fondeur A. A. Hébrard; le premier, de vigoureux et verveux morceaux, pleine de trouble et te grandeur; le second, des figurines qui surprennent. Il y a aussi de belles choses de Mlle. Camille Claudel; un superbe *torse* de M. Höetger; une grande figure de M. Maillol... des envois fort intéressants de Mmes. Charlotte Besnard, Yvonne Serruys, de MM. Derré, Gairaud, Marque, Perlmeng, Moreau-Vauthier, etc.” Arsène Alexandre, “Le Salon d’Automne,” *Le Figaro* (October 13, 1905): 3

172 “Salle archi-claire des oseurs, des outranciers, de qui il faut déchiffrer les intentions, en laissant aux malins et aux sots le droit de rire, critique trop aisée. Et c’est tout un lot d’Indépendants, Marquet et compagnie... Au centre de la Salle, un *torse* d’enfant et un petit buste en marbre, d’Albert Marque qui modèle avec une science délicate. La candeur de ces bustes surprend au milieu de l’orgie des tons purs: Donatello chez les fauves.” Louis Vauxcelles, “Le Salon d’Automne,” as quoted in *Les Fauves et la Critique* [exh. cat., Palazzo Bricherasio] (Turin, 1999), 39.

173 Léandre Vaillat, “L’Art décoratif, Albert Marque,” *L’Art et les artistes* (April–September 1912): 275. I would like to thank Ms. Sandrine Nicollier for bringing this article to my attention.

174 Marque selected the portrait of his sister for the 1902 Salon des Indépendants after his return. It may have been at that time that the two men collaborated on its casting and glazing.