

NOTE TO USERS

Copyrighted materials in this document have not been scanned at the request of the author. They are available for consultation in the author's university library.

462-733

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]

**“GENIUS HAS NO SEX”: THE SCULPTURE OF ADELE D’AFFRY, THE DUCHESS
CASTIGLIONE COLONNA, A.K.A. MARCELLO (1836-1879)**

by

CATERINA Y. PIERRE

VOLUME I

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New
York**

2005

UMI Number: 3286575

Copyright 2005 by
Pierre, Caterina Y.

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3286575

Copyright 2008 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© 2005

CATERINA YVONNE PIERRE

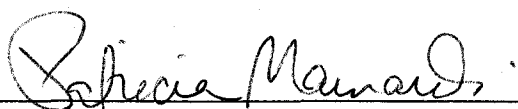
All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 21, 2005
Date


Chair of Examining Committee

April 21, 2005
Date


Executive Officer

Dr. Patricia Mainardi
Advisor

Dr. Jane Mayo Roos
Second Reader

Dr. Sally Webster
Third Reader

Dr. Victor Stoichita
Outside Reader

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

“GENIUS HAS NO SEX”: THE SCULPTURE OF ADELE D’AFFRY, THE
DUCHESS CASTIGLIONE COLONNA, A.K.A. MARCELLO (1836-1879)

by

Caterina Y. Pierre

Advisor: Dr. Patricia Mainardi

This dissertation investigates the life and sculptural oeuvre of the nineteenth-century artist Marcello (Adèle d’Affry, Duchess Castiglione Colonna, 1836-1879), one of the most prominent sculptors active in Second Empire Paris. Born to a historically important Swiss family, she married an Italian Duke and gained the aristocratic title that afforded her many social opportunities. Despite her high social class, she faced many obstacles common to women artists of the period. She managed, however, to eventually establish herself with success within the difficult, gender-biased, and often misunderstood medium of contemporary sculpture. By refusing to align herself with a specific style or master, she was able to explore a multitude of non-traditional subjects and themes. Her professional use of a masculine pseudonym was a major factor in shaping her artistic persona and signified her desire to be treated as an equal among male artists.

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. The first chapter includes an overview of the literature on the history of sculpture. Additionally, special focus is given in the chapter to various themes with regard to women’s role in the medium and to education, mechanical techniques, and a discussion of the reputation and position of sculpture during the long nineteenth century. This is followed by a brief biographical chapter (Two), which includes a discussion of Marcello’s Swiss origins and the details

surrounding her choice of the pseudonym and how it affected her public and critical reception. The next three chapters (Three, Four and Five) deal with Marcello's sculpture from a thematic angle, dealing with her portraits of her family, friends, and contemporaries; her representations of women from history and mythology as heroic (and by extension "masculine") figures; and her artworks that were influenced by or connected to music and operatic characters. The final chapter (Six) is a historiography of the original Musée Marcello, a collection of works by the artist and from her personal collection, given by bequest to the canton of Fribourg. This museum, which no longer exists in its original location or arrangement, is reconstructed in this chapter.

Finally the text includes four appendices. Appendix A outlines the foundries and assistants that Marcello employed during her career. Capsule biographies of the artists whose work was included in the Musée Marcello are provided in Appendix B. A checklist of the contents of the original Musée Marcello is furnished in Appendix C. Lastly, Appendix D is a chronology of the major events affecting the Musée Marcello from 1877 to the present.

Apart from the sculptures themselves, this study is organized around two important types of primary source documents. The first type is Marcello's personal writings, which survive in the form of diaries, letters, her unfinished memoirs and her last will and testament; most of this material has never been published. The second type consists of the critical reviews of Marcello's sculptures as written and published by some of the foremost critics of the age. The bringing together of these historical documents with the subjects and themes of her sculptures creates a social and historical context around the works that has not before been presented in a study of the artist's

oeuvre. By presenting the sculptures in a thematic, rather than a strictly chronological, manner, scholars can better understand Marcello's own perception and comprehension of her contemporary world through her works of art.

For Brian

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No project of this size and scale can be completed without the aid of many individuals. It pleases me to have the opportunity to thank some of them here, and yet I am sorry that I cannot thank every intern, librarian, peer, student, staff member, and the like, from every institution that I came into contact with since 1996, when I first heard the name "Marcello." No amount of assistance was ever too small, and I thank them all in my heart.

Two scholars in particular helped my early ideas and papers on Marcello evolve into a full-scale dissertation, and without their support this project would not have come into being. Dr. Patricia Mainardi, my advisor since my undergraduate days at Brooklyn College, has been an unending source of advice, encouragement and support throughout my scholarly life. I feel privileged to count her among my friends. Dr. Jane Mayo Roos was the first person to ever suggest to me that Marcello's life and art might make for an interesting dissertation topic. She has always been able to provide me with good professional advice and a kind word, for which I am deeply grateful.

Two other professors supported this project and I also owe them a debt of gratitude. Dr. Sally Webster provided excellent comments and advice on the material as the third reader, and I appreciate her assistance. Dr. Victor Stoichita of the Université de Fribourg, Switzerland, kindly agreed to support this project during my year at that university as a Fulbright scholar. He was immensely helpful as the fourth reader of this project, and offered many insightful comments.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance of Marcello's living descendants, who allowed me to interrupt their summers to read through the artist's numerous letters and view their hidden treasures. At the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, Countess Natalie Snoy et d'Oppeurs, Monique von Wistinghausen, and Magnus von Wistinghausen treated me with the greatest respect and kindness and I am forever grateful; I hope to have done their ancestor justice with this manuscript.

I was fortunate to have received a number of grants and fellowships from various sources to help this project come to fruition. From the CUNY Graduate School and University Center's Art History Department, I was awarded a John Rewald Fellowship (2000), a Spero-Goldreich Fellowship for Dissertations in Sculpture (2000), and a Summer Travel Grant (2001). In addition, the Art History Department provided tuition waivers for numerous semesters. I was also awarded two Graduate Teaching Fellowships (2000-2002, 2004-2005), which permitted me to teach at the College of Staten Island and Queens College, where my students were an endless source of youthful curiosity and constant inspiration. Through the Office of the Provost, I received a Dissertation Year Fellowship for the 2002-2003 academic year; this grant was funded through the generosity of the Jewish Foundation for Education of Women.

Swiss Institutions have been equally supportive of this project. In the summer of 2001, I was a resident fellow at the Swiss Institute for Art Research in Zurich, where I was given the opportunity to study in their exquisite library and live on their breathtaking property. Pro Helvetia, the Arts Council of Switzerland, provided a generous travel grant for the summer of 2002, which funded a research trip to Fribourg, Switzerland. A United States Fulbright Fellowship in 2003-2004, funded jointly by the Swiss Federal

Commission for Scholarships for Foreign Students, allowed me to return to Switzerland as a guest scholar of the Université de Fribourg, where I was advised by Dr. Stoichita. While in Fribourg, I was assisted by the wonderful staff of the Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, especially by Alain Bosson, Regula Feitknecht, and Alex Eric Pfingsttag.

The Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg provided open access to their archives, handled my constant queries with speed and kindness, and provided many of the photographs for the dissertation without charge. Dr. Yvonne Lehnerr, Colette Guisolan-Dreyer and Caroline Schuster-Cordone, all of the museum in Fribourg, truly were my support system abroad. At the Archives de l'État de Fribourg, I was greatly assisted by the archivists M. Hubert Foerster and Mme Marie-Claire L'Homme. Their help with documents concerning Marcello's life in Fribourg and the original Musée Marcello contributed greatly to this dissertation. Additionally, I must thank M. Pierre Murith and M. Yoki Aebischer, both of Fribourg, for personally replying to my requests for information regarding the original Musée Marcello.

Many other art historians and art professionals provided assistance of various types, and I would especially like to acknowledge Lucille Audouy, Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Stephen Edidin, Sarah Faunce, Robert Kashey, Diane Kelder, Dara Kiese, Isabelle Lemaistre, Michael Mallory, Katherine Manthorne, Susan Miranda, Anita Petrovski, Anne Pingeot, and Maggie Stenz. Dr. Hans Lüthy and his wife Mascha should be singled out as important sources of comfort and advice. In Montpellier, France, Brigitte Selignac, Bruno Gallo, Alain Ontivero, and Jennifer Hannachi aided me in finding documents in that city. Antoaneta Brakova-Zadory and Patrick Zadory provided me with a place to

live during the last two months of my Fulbright year in 2004; without their assistance, the final editing of this manuscript could not have been so easily completed.

Dr. Elisabeth Tenenbaum, of the Department of English at the Graduate Center, provided countless hours of advice and assistance with the more technical aspects of writing a dissertation. I produced more writing under her tutelage than at any other point in the writing process; she became both a mentor and a friend. Dr. Tenenbaum's dissertation workshop, held in the fall of 2002 and the spring of 2003, greatly assisted me in making the dissertation more readable. In the fall workshop, portions of this dissertation were read and commented upon by Richard Aste, Jennifer Borum, Gina D'Angelo, Marianne Eggler-Gerozissis, Jennifer Farrell, Cynthia Sanford, and Kathleen Weintrack. From the spring workshop, readers included Kelly Baker, Giovanna Fiorino-Iannace, Dong-Yeon Koh, Laurel Lyman, Natasha Poor, Lisa Schiff, Alexandra Schein, Sarah Wagner, and Lisa Young. Many of their suggestions have been included herein and I wish to thank them for their kindness and consideration.

Quite a few professionals outside of the field of art history also helped this dissertation arrive at completion. I am deeply indebted to Véronique Dubosson, Sophie Saint-Just and Maboula Saumahoro, all of whom offered numerous comments and suggestions on my French translations. Beth Posner, of the Graduate Center's Interlibrary Loan office, saved me thousands of dollars and years of my life obtaining otherwise unattainable articles from European libraries. Sara Barker assisted me in obtaining many obscure French journal articles unavailable through Interlibrary Loan. Sharon Lerner was my wise-woman who always gave excellent advice and who taught

me how to keep my priorities straight. Dr. Jerome Patrick Harkins and Joyce Haboucha provided many years of practical and common sense advice on just about everything else.

My family has always been supportive of my endeavors for which I am grateful. My parents, Joseph and Cecilia Pierre, my sister, Claudine Pierre, and my grandmother, Carmela Tubello, always encouraged my educational endeavors.

Most importantly I want to thank my husband, Brian Edward Hack, who endured Marcello's takeover of our house and our life. Brian has always been there for me at the best of times, but more importantly, at the worst of times, when things were tough and I seriously considered giving up my pursuit of the doctoral degree. He tolerated every aspect of this project, including my leaving him for more than a year, five months into our marriage, to complete the manuscript in Fribourg. It is to him that this dissertation is dedicated.

Finally, I would also like to memorialize three women who are no longer here to witness the completion of my dissertation. My great-grandmother, Maria Grazia Astore (1889-1975), whose daring trip on the *Verona* from Orria, Italy, to Ellis Island in 1914 (on a ship that later sank) allowed us to have a life in America as Italian-Americans, and my grandmother Caterina ("Kitty") Pierre (1904-1996), who never had very much but who always appreciated the good things in life. My mother Cecilia Pierre (1939-2005) passed away less than three weeks before my defense. I know how proud she was of my accomplishments, and I continue to be amazed at how many people she told about my trips to Switzerland and at her keeping the newspaper clippings about me that I sent to her from Fribourg. I have been blessed to have known so many great, strong women who made me believe, rightly, that anything is possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Acknowledgements	viii
Lists of Illustrations	xiv
Introduction	1
Chapter One: An Overview of Sculpture During the Long Nineteenth Century	22
Chapter Two: Becoming Marcello: Family History and Brief Biography of Adèle d’Affry, Duchess Castiglione Colonna, 1836-1879	104
Chapter Three: Marcello’s Portraits of Family, Friends, and Contemporaries	153
Chapter Four: The Female as Hero in Marcello’s Mature Work, 1863 – 1876	192
Chapter Five: Sculpture and the Sounds of Silence: Marcello and Music	271
Chapter Six: The Musée Marcello: The Artist as Patron and Collector	323
Conclusion	378
Appendix A: Foundries and Studio Assistants Employed by Marcello	386
Appendix B: Biographical Notes on Artists in the Musée Marcello Collection	402
Appendix C: Contents of the Musée Marcello, Circa 1881-1882	424
Appendix D: Chronology of the Musée Marcello	428
Bibliography	433

VOLUME II

Images	462

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER ONE AND APPENDIX A

Figures:

- 1-1. Bénigne Gagneraux (1756-1795). *Genius of the Arts*. 1789. Oil on canvas. Private Collection.
- 1-2a. Jean-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779). *Attributes of the Arts and Their Rewards*. 1766. Oil on canvas. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis.
- 1-2b. Chardin. *Attributes of the Arts*. Not dated. Oil on canvas. Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.
- 1-3. Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779). *Johann Joachim Winkelmann*. Circa 1755. Oil on canvas. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 1-4. Hubert Robert (1733-1808). *Imaginary Projection for the Grande Galerie of the Louvre*. 1796. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- 1-5. Robert. *Salle des Saisons*. 1802-03. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- 1-6. Johnson, Wilson and Company, New York. *Harriet Hosmer*. 1874. Engraved print. Collection of the author.
- 1-7. Antonio Canova (1757-1822). *Self-Portrait*. 1812. Marble. Tempio Canoviano, Possagno.
- 1-8. Canova. *Theseus and the Minotaur*. 1781-83. Marble. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- 1-9. Canova. *Maria Paolina Borghese as Venus Victrix*. 1808. Marble (with various colors and gilding). Borghese Gallery, Rome.
- 1-10. Émile-Jean-Horace Vernet (1789-1863). *Bertel Thorvaldsen with the Bust of Horace Vernet*. Not dated. Oil on canvas. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 1-11. Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844). *Jason and the Golden Fleece*. 1802-03. Marble. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.
- 1-12a. Canova. *Cupid Awakening Psyche*. 1783-93. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- 1-12b. Canova. *Cupid Awakening Psyche*. Circa 1787. Plaster model, pointed for transfer. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photograph by the author.
- 1-12c. Canova. *Cupid Awakening Psyche*. Circa 1787. Detail of plaster model showing points. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photograph by the author.
- 1-13. Canova. *Paris*. Original model, detail of resting points for pointing machine. From *Canova* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1992; New York, Rizzoli, 1992).

- 1-14. Honoré Daumier (1789-1879). *Sad Countenance of Sculpture Placed in the Middle of the Paintings*. 1857. Lithographic print. From "La Salon de 1857," in *Le Charivari*, 22 July 1857. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 1-15. The former Café Court of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 2001. Photograph by the author.
- 1-16a. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-1875). *Ugolino and his Sons*. 1865-67. Marble. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photograph by the author.
- 1-16b. Carpeaux's sculpture as it was formerly placed within the Café Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 2001. Photograph by the author.
- 1-17a through 1-17l. Félix Potin. "*Chocolate Card*" *Photographs of Major Nineteenth-Century Sculptors*. Circa 1920. Period photographs reproduced on cardboard chocolate boxes. Collection of the author.
- 1-18. Anna Klumpke (1856-1942). *Portrait of Rosa Bonheur*. 1898. Oil on canvas. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 1-19. *Hélène Bertaux at age 27*. 1852. Photograph. From Edouard Lapage, *Une Page de l'histoire de l'art au XIXe siècle: Une Conquête féministe, Mme Léon Bertaux* (Paris: J. Dangon, 1912).
- 1-20. Diagram showing the major components of the sand casting process. From Gerald K. Geerlings, "Casting a Bust in Metal," in *Crafts in Architecture* (New York: 1929).
- 1-21a. F. Bewer, Diagram showing the major steps in the lost-wax casting process. From Jean Bassett and Peggy Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles; J. Paul Getty Museum and the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1997).
- 1-21b. Diagram showing the major parts of a mold used in the lost-wax casting process. From Harry Jackson, *Lost Wax Bronze Casting: A Photographic essay on this antique and venerable art* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1972).
- 1-22. *Portrait Bust of Achille Collas*. From Theodore Child, "Ferdinand Barbedienne: Artistic Bronze," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (September 1886), 491.
- 1-23. Paul Poiré. *Collas Sculpture Reducing Machine*. From *La France industrielle* (Paris: 1880).
- 1-24. *Harriet Hosmer and Her Studio Assistants*. 1867. Photograph. Watertown Free Public Library, Watertown, Massachusetts.

- 1-25. *Workers Pouring Bronze*. From Harry Jackson, *Lost Wax Bronze Casting: A Photographic essay on this antique and venerable art* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1972).
- 1-26. Charles M. Sheldon. *The Pointer at Work*. From William Ordway Partridge, *The Technique of Sculpture* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1895).
- 1-27. Henri Chapu (1833-1891) and Alfred Boucher (1850-1934). *Tomb Sculpture for Ferdinand Barbedienne (1810-1892)*. 1892. Marble and bronze. Le Jardin-Musée du Père-Lachaise, Paris. [*Bust of Barbedienne* by Chapu and *Inspiration, Work and Guardian of the Flame* by Boucher.] Photograph by the author.
- 1-28a, 1-28b. Marnyhac Stamp and seal from a bronze cast of Auguste Clésinger's *Owl and Skull*. Ewolfs Auctions, 2000.
- 1-29a. François Willème, *Making a bust using photosculpture*. 1860. Extract from the French patent no. 46,358, registered on 14 August 1860. Ink drawings heightened with watercolor. Institut national de la propriété industrielle, Paris.
- 1-29b. François Willème, *Twenty-Four Photos of a Child for a Photosculpture*. Circa 1860. George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.
- 1-30. *Admiral Farragut Sits for a Photosculpture*. Circa late 1860s. Photograph. George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER TWO

For clarity, catalogue numbers previously assigned to works in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg or the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, have been given here in brackets.

Figures:

- 2-1. Adèle d'Affry, Duchess Castiglione Colonna, known as Marcello. Handwritten manuscript for her memoirs. Circa 1870. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland.
- 2-2. Johann-Friedrich Dietler (1804-1874). *Portrait of Adèle d'Affry* [at the age of seventeen]. 1853. Watercolor. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-3. Dietler. *Portrait of the Count Louis d'Affry* [Posthumous]. 1841. Watercolor. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-4. Ferret. *Countess Lucie d'Affry*. Not dated. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-5. Ch[arles] Robert. *Postcard with Crest for the Village of Avry-sur-Matran*. Not dated. Lithographic postcard, number 31 in a series of 40. Collection of the author.
- 2-6. Benôit de Diesbach Belleruche. Genealogical Chart, showing the Affry family branch, who resided in Givisiez. From Diesbach Belleruche, *La Famille d'Affry* (Fribourg: Intermède Belleruche, 2003), 8.
- 2-7. Noël Aeby, Maison aux Armes d'Affry, today known as the Château d'Affry, with inset showing the family crests of the Affry and Tardy families, dated 1708. 2002. Postcard. Copyright Noël Aeby, Senèdes, Switzerland.
- 2-8. Holy water font at the entrance of the Church of Saint-Laurent, Parish of Givisiez and Granges-Paccot, showing Affry coat of arms. Photograph by the author.
- 2-9. Church of Saint-Laurent, Parish of Givisiez and Granges-Paccot. Fribourg, Switzerland. Photograph by the author.
- 2-10. Jean-Baptiste Bapst. *Portrait of François Pierre d'Affry* (1667-1734). Not dated. Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 2-11a. Stained-glass panel with Affry coat of arms. 1580. Stained glass. Château de Gruyères, Gruyères, Switzerland.
- 2-11b. Stained-glass panel with Affry coat of arms, made in honor of François d'Affry. 1645. Stained glass. Musée Gruérien, Bulle, Switzerland.

- 2-12. Alexandre Roslin, *Portrait of Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry, Wearing the Cross of the Order of Saint Esprit*. 1784-85. Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 2-13. Bertel Thorvalsen [design] and Lucas Ahorn [carving]. *The Lion of Lucern (Löwendenkmal)*. 1821. Sandstone. Lucern, Switzerland.
- 2-14. Joseph de Landerset (1753-1824). *Louis-Auguste-Philippe d'Affry (1743-1810), First Landamman of Switzerland*. Circa 1803. Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 2-15. Pierre Nicolas Legrand, *Portrait of Charles d'Affry (1772-1818)*. Not dated. Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 2-16a. Louis d'Affry. *Untitled [Landscape]*. 1839. Watercolor. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 2-16b. Louis d'Affry. *Untitled [Landscape]*. Circa 1839. Watercolor. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 2-17. Dietler. *Portrait of Cécile d'Affry*. Not dated. Watercolor. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 2-18. Adèle Colonna (known as Marcello after 1863). *Drawing after Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel Frescoes, showing detail from the Last Judgment Altarpiece*. Circa 1859. Ink on paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-19. *Heinrich Max Imhof*. 1865. Photograph. Historisches Museum Uri, Switzerland.
- 2-20. B.L. Singley. *The Gallery, Palazzo Colonna, Rome, Italy*. Circa 1900. Stereoview published by the Keystone View Company, Meadville, Pennsylvania. Collection of the author.
- 2-21. Dietler. *Portrait of Don Carlo Colonna, Duke of Castiglione Altibranti*. Circa 1855-56. Watercolor. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-22. Church of Trinità del Monte, atop the Spanish Steps, Rome. Photograph by the author.
- 2-23. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *Self-Portrait*. 1857-8. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 71]. Photograph by the author.
- 2-24. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *Portrait of Carlo Colonna*. 1857-58. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 63].
- 2-25. Pierre Petit. *Portrait of Adèle d'Affry Colonna*. Not dated. Photograph. Fondation

Marcello, Fribourg.

- 2-26. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). Detail of 2-23, back view of *Self-Portrait*.
- 2-27. Berthe Morisot (1841-1895). *Portrait of Rosalie Riesener*. 1866. Watercolor. Marked on the base "My portrait by Berthe Morisot. Rosalie Riesener Pillaut." Collection Pillaut, Gift to the Musée du Louvre. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- 2-28. *Berthe Morisot*. Not dated. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-29. Rosalie Riesener (1843-1913). *Portrait of Madam Duchess C. C. -Marcello*. 1866. Oil on canvas. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-30a. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *The Beautiful Helen [La Belle Hélène]*. 1861. Painted Plaster. Kunstmuseum, Bern, Switzerland.
- 2-30b. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *The Beautiful Helen [La Belle Hélène]*. 1861. Bronze. Napoleon Museum, Salenstein, (Canton of Thurgau), Switzerland.
- 2-30c. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *The Beautiful Helen [La Belle Hélène]*. 1861. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 2-31a. L.R. Illustration of Auguste Clésinger's *Hélène*. 1862. From *Le Monde illustré* (1862), 92.
- 2-31b. Auguste Clésinger. *Bust of a Young Woman with a Necklace [Helen]*. 1861. Bronze. From Pierre Kjellberg, *Bronzes of the 19th Century* (Atgler, Pennsylvania: Schiffer, 1994), 216.
- 2-32. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *Diana (or Diana Sleeping)*. 1862. Red wax. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 19].
- 2-33. Bacard Fils. *Louis-Adolphe Thiers*. Not dated. Carte-de-visite photograph. Collection of the author.
- 2-34. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *Diana (also known as Dina)*. 1862. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 7].

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER THREE

For clarity, catalogue numbers previously assigned to works in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg or the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, have been given here in brackets.

Figures:

- 3-1. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. *Marcello Modeling Clay and Study of a Male Back*. 1864. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland [d 210].
- 3-2. Marcello. *Portrait of the Countess Lucie d'Affry (The Artist's Mother)*. 1864. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 29].
- 3-3. Marcello. *Mater Amābilis*. 1864. Ink on paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-4a. Marcello. Panels for the *Salon Chinois*. 1875. Oil on canvas. Château d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 3-4b. Marcello. Detail of leftmost panel, bottom left, for the *Salon Chinois*. 1875. Oil on canvas. Château d'Affry, Fribourg.
- 3-5. Le Jeune. *Empress Eugénie of France*. Circa 1867. Photograph. Collection of the author.
- 3-6. Marcello. *Bust of the Empress Eugénie*. 1865-66. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 72].
- 3-7. Marcello. *Head Study for a Portrait of the Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Wax. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 75].
- 3-8. Marcello. *Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Plaster pointed for transfer. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 70].
- 3-9. Marcello. *Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Marble. Collection Audouy, Paris, France.
- 3-10. Marcello. *Portrait Bust of the Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Marble. Musée des beaux-arts, Lyon, France.
- 3-11. Carpeaux. *The Prince Imperial with his Dog, Nero*. 1865. Patinated plaster. Musée des beaux-arts, Valenciennes, France.
- 3-12. Carpeaux. *The Empress Eugénie and the Prince Imperial*. Circa 1865. Terra cotta. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
- 3-13. Carpeaux. *Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Patinated plaster. Musée des beaux-arts,

Valenciennes.

- 3-14. Franz Xaver Winterhalter. *Portrait of the Empress Eugénie*. 1864. Oil on canvas. Musée national du château, Compiègne.
- 3-15. Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar. *Marcello's Bust of the Empress Eugénie*. 1867. Photograph retouched with graphite. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-16. Rabending and Monckhoven. *Portrait of Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary* (known as Sissi). Not dated. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-17a. Marcello. *Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, at Her Coronation*. 1867. Drawing in brown crayon. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-17b. Marcello. *Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, at Her Coronation*. 1867. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-18. Marcello. *Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary*. 1867. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 43].
- 3-19a. Marcello. *Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary*. 1867. Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, on extended loan to the Château de Gruyères, Gruyères, Switzerland [M 10].
- 3-19b. Marcello. *Portrait of Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary*. 1867. Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, on extended loan to the Château de Gruyères, Gruyères, Switzerland. Photograph by the author.
- 3-20a. Henri Regnault. *Juan Prim: 8 October 1868*. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
- 3-20b. Regnault. *Juan Prim: 8 October 1868*. Detail of far right side of canvas, showing portrait of General Bosch. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
- 3-21. *General Milans del Bosch I Mauri*. Circa 1868. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-22. Regnault. *Portrait of General Milan del Bosch I Mauri*. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the original Musée Marcello bequest, 1881.
- 3-23a. Marcello. *Bust of General Milas del Bosch I Mauri*. 1868. Rose-colored plaster. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Photograph by Bruno Jarret, Paris.

- 3-23b. Marcello. *Drawing for the Bust of General Milans del Bosch I Mauri*. Circa 1868. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-24a. Marcello. *Portrait of the Baroness Keffenbrink-Ascheraden*. 1876. Period photograph of original marble Salon submission. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-24b. Marcello. *Drawing for the Portrait of the Baroness Keffenbrink-Ascheraden*. 1876. Drawing in red crayon and pencil heightened with white. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-25. Andre-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri. *Louis-Adolphe Thiers*. Not dated. Photograph. Collection of the author.
- 3-26. Marcello. *Portrait of Louis-Adolphe Thiers*. 1872. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 74].
- 3-27. Léon Bonnat. *Louis-Adolphe Thiers*. 1876. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- 3-28. Large-format photograph of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, with dedication to Marcello. 1874. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-29. Carpeaux. *Portrait of the Duchess Castiglione Colonna (Marcello)*. 1864. Charcoal drawing heightened with white gouache on beige paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-30. Carpeaux. *Portrait of the Duchess Castiglione Colonna (Marcello)*. 1869. Plaster tondo relief in red wax mounted on cardboard. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-31. Marcello. *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux ("Carpeaux by Marcello")*. 1875. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 2].
- 3-32. Victor Bernard (with Carpeaux). *Portrait of Carpeaux (Carpeaux âge)*. 1875. Bronze. Private Collection, New York.
- 3-33. Marcello. *Ecce Homo* (also known as *Le Christ* and *Redemptor Mundi*). 1875. Period photograph of original marble shown at the Salon of 1875. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-34a. Marcello. *Phoebe (Portrait of Mélanie de Pourtalès)*. 1875. Period photograph (heliogravure) of original marble shown at the Salon of 1875. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 3-34b. Marcello. *Phoebe (Portrait of Mélanie de Pourtalès)*. 1875. Period photograph (heliogravure) of original marble shown at the Salon of 1875, published by Goupil and Co., Paris. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

- 3-36a. Marcello. *The Beautiful Roman Woman (La Belle Romaine)*. 1875. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 4].
- 3-36b. Marcello. *The Beautiful Roman Woman (La Belle Romaine)*. 1875. Period photograph (heliogravure) of original marble shown at the Salon of 1875, published by Goupil and Co., Paris. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER FOUR

For clarity, catalogue numbers previously assigned to works in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg or the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, have been given here in brackets.

Figures:

- 4-1. Marcello. *The Petite Madonna (La Petite Madone)*. 1864. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland [S 27].
- 4-2a. Marcello. *Bianca Capello*. 1863. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 1]. Photograph by Bruno Jarret, Paris.
- 4-2b. Marcello. *Drawing for the Bust of Bianca Capello*. 1863. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-3. Marcello. *Drawing for the Bust of Bianca Capello*. 1863. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Private Collection. Photograph copyright Christie's London (Sale, 13 April 1983).
- 4-4. Marcello. *Portrait of Madam Duchess of San Cesario*. 1863. Wax with traces of paint. Collection Audouy, Paris.
- 4-5. Marcello. *Portrait of Count Gaston de Nicolay*. 1863. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 6].
- 4-6. Alessandro Allori (1535-1607). *Portrait of Bianca Capello*. Circa 1570. Oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy.
- 4-7. E.G. Dannel. *Elopement of Bianca Capello*. 1843. Engraving for *Godey's Lady's Book*, after a painting by J.R. Herbert. Collection of the author.
- 4-8. Alphonse Fouquet (1828-1911). *Châtelaine Bianca Capello*. Circa 1878. Gold, diamonds, mother-of-pearl and paint. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
- 4-9. Marcello. *Bianca Capello*. (Side view.) 1863. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.
- 4-10. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564). *Venus* (also known as *Zenobia* or *Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus*). 1522. Black chalk drawing. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
- 4-11. Francesco d'Ubertini, known as Bacchiacca (1494-1557). *Sibylle*. Circa 1520s. Oil on canvas. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, Austria.

- 4-12. Marcello, *Portrait of the Countess Castiglione*. 1864. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-13. Marcello and Edouard Lagout. *Notes for Esthétique Nombree, Application de l'équation du beau a l'analyse, harmonique de la statuaire nouvelle* (detail). 1863. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-14. Engraving of Marcello's bust of Bianca Capello. 1863. Published in *L'Illustration, journal universel* (1 August 1863), 85.
- 4-15. L.B.Q. Court and L. Chabon. *Bianca Capello, Bust by Marcello*. 1863. Engraving published in *Le Monde Illustré* (6 June 1863), 368.
- 4-16. Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar. *Photograph of Marcello's Bianca Capello*. 1863. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-17. Marcello. *Marie-Antoinette at Versailles*. 1866. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the Musée Marcello bequest, 1881 [M 5].
- 4-18. Marcello. *Marie-Antoinette at Temple Prison*. 1866. Marble. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
- 4-19. Marcello. *The Gorgon*. 1865. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the Musée Marcello bequest, 1881 [S 34].
- 4-20. *Commodus as Hercules*. Circa 185 A.D. Marble. Musei Capitolini, Rome.
- 4-21. Antonio Canova (1757-1822). *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*. Circa 1808. Marble. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 4-22. Michelangelo Merisi, known as Caravaggio (c.1571/3-1610). *Medusa*. After 1590. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
- 4-23a. Michelangelo. *Cleopatra*. Not dated. Drawing. Galleria Buonarroti, Florence.
- 4-23b. Marcello. *Drawing after Michelangelo's Cleopatra*. Not dated. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-24. Marcello. *The Gorgon*. 1865. Bronze. The Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London. Photograph copyright the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- 4-25. Marcello. *Ananké*. 1867. Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 3].
- 4-26a. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. 1867. Marble. Parc du domaine municipal de

- Grammont, Montpellier, France. Photograph by the author.
- 4-26b. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. 1867. Period photograph showing sculpture with no damage in the artist's studio. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-26c. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. Showing areas of considerable damage from movement, weathering and vandalism (broken tail, exposed metal struts). 2004. Photographs by the author.
- 4-26d. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. Showing areas of considerable damage from movement, weathering and vandalism (broken dog's ear, fingers). 2004. Photographs by the author.
- 4-26e. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. Showing areas of considerable damage from movement, weathering and vandalism (broken nose, surface damage). 2004. Photographs by the author.
- 4-26f. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. Showing areas of considerable damage from movement, weathering and vandalism (broken fingers, surface damage). 2004. Photographs by the author.
- 4-27. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. Circa 1867. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-28. Michelangelo. *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici (called Il Pensieroso)*. Circa 1526-33. Marble. Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence.
- 4-29. Marcello. *Drawing after Michelangelo's Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici (called Il Pensieroso)*. Not dated. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-30. Marcello. Unidentified drawing, possibly after a work by Michelangelo. Not dated. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-31. Michelangelo. *Sistine Chapel Ceiling, detail of the prophet Jeremiah*. Circa 1508-12. Fresco painting. Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Rome.
- 4-32. Marcello. *Drawing after Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel Ceiling, detail of the prophet Jeremiah*. Not dated. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-33. Auguste Rodin. *The Thinker*. 1880. (This cast 1902-03.) Bronze. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 4-34. Gustave Moreau. *Jupiter and Semele*. 1894-95. Oil on canvas. Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris.
- 4-35. Augustin Pajou (1730-1809). *Pluto, God of the Underworld, Holding Cerberus in*

- Chains*. 1760. Marble. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- 4-36. Marcello. *The Tired Bacchante (La Bacchante fatiguée)*. 1869. Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the Musée Marcello bequest, 1881 [M 7].
- 4-37. Marcello. *Drawing for the Tired Bacchante*. Circa 1869. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-38. Michelangelo. *Bacchus*. Circa 1497-98. Marble. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.
- 4-39. Marcello. *Portrait of Eduardo Rosalès-Martínez* (after a photograph). Circa 1869. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-40. Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870. (Installed 1875.) Bronze. Opéra Garnier, Paris.
- 4-41a. Marcello. Drawing for the Caryatid Project for the Opéra Garnier. Circa 1867. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-41b. Marcello. Drawings for the Caryatid Project for the Opéra Garnier. Circa 1867. Graphite drawings. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-41c. Marcello. Drawing for the Caryatid Project for the Opéra Garnier. Circa 1867. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-42. Marcello. Drawings for the tripod base of the *Pythia*. Circa 1868-70. Ink on paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-43. Marcello. *Abyssinian Chieftain*. 1870. Polychromed bronze. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York. Photograph by the author.
- 4-44. Marcello. *Drawings for the Abyssinian Chieftain*. Circa 1868-70. Ink on paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-45. Henri Regnault. *Salomé*. 1869-70. Oil on canvas. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 4-46. Marcello. *Head of a Woman* (possibly after Regnault's *Salomé*). Circa 1869. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 4-47. Marcello. *Salomé*. Circa 1868. Etching. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.
- 4-48. Newspaper clipping showing a photograph of Maria Latini, the supposed model for Regnault's *Salomé*. Archives, Department of European Paintings and Sculpture, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

- 4-49. Amédée-Charles Henri de Noé, known as Cham (1818-1879). 4713 – *M. Marcello*. From *Cham au Salon de 1870* (Paris: Arnaud de Vresse, 1870).
- 4-50. Marcello. *Abyssinian Chieftain*. 1870. Marble. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
- 4-51. Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870. Marble. Musée Carnavalet, Paris. Photograph copyright Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.
- 4-52. Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870. (This cast, after 1880.) Bronze. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Photograph by the author.
- 4-53. Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870. (This cast, after 1879.) Bronze. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the Musée Marcello bequest, 1881 [M 15]. Photograph by Primula Bosshard.
- 4-54. Cham. *Actualities, les visiteurs profitent du vestibule de l'Opéra pour s'y donner un peu de fraîcheur*. [Current news, The visitors profit from the vestibule of the Opera where they receive a little refreshment.] From *Le Charivari* (13 August 1878), 177.
- 4-55a. *Stereoscopic Views of the Papal States Section of the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867*. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. [Visible from left, the *Gorgon*, *Marie-Antoinette at Temple Prison*, *Hecate and Cerberus*, *La Trastéverine* (now lost), and *Marie-Antoinette at Versailles*.]
- 4-55b. *Stereoscopic Views of the Papal States Section of the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867*. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. [Visible from left, *Marie-Antoinette at Versailles*, *Hecate and Cerberus*, *Marguerite from Goethe's Faust* and *Ananké* (partially covered by *Marguerite*).]
- 4-55c. *Stereoscopic Views of the Papal States Section of the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867*. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. [Visible from left, *Bianca Capello*, the *Gorgon*, *Marie-Antoinette at Temple Prison*, and *Hecate and Cerberus*.]

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER FIVE

For clarity, catalogue numbers previously assigned to works in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg or the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, have been given here in brackets.

Figures:

- 5-1. Marcello. *Paolo and Francesca*. Circa 1862. Terra cotta. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 50].
- 5-2. Marcello. *Marguerite from Goethe's Faust*. 1867. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, on extended loan to the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [S 35]. Photograph by the author.
- 5-3a. Marcello. *Rosina*. 1869. Terra cotta. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 17]. Photograph by the author.
- 5-3b. Marcello. *Rosina*. 1869. Terra cotta. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 17]. Photograph by the author.
- 5-3c. Marcello. *Rosina*, detail showing left hand holding a letter. 1869. Terra cotta. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 17]. Photograph by the author.
- 5-4. Marcello. *Portrait of Franz Liszt*. 1869. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 8].
- 5-5. Gurney and Son. *Adelina Patti*. Circa 1870. Photograph. Private Collection.
- 5-6. Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar. *Madame R[evirard]*. Circa 1865. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 5-7a. Eugène Delacroix. *The Shadow of Marguerite Appearing to Faust*. 1828. Lithograph for Albert Stapfer's translation of Goethe's Faust, as published in J.W. Goethe, *Faust, traduction d'Albert Stapfer, illustre de 18 lithographies d'Eugène Delacroix*, Paris: Éditions Marchal, 1982), 191.
- 5-7b. Eugène Delacroix. *Faust in Marguerite's Prison Cell*. 1828. Lithograph for Albert Stapfer's translation of Goethe's Faust, as published in J.W. Goethe, *Faust, traduction d'Albert Stapfer, illustre de 18 lithographies d'Eugène Delacroix*, Paris: Éditions Marchal, 1982), 213.
- 5-7c. Eugène Delacroix, *Faust Trying to Seduce Marguerite*, 1828, Lithograph for Albert Stapfer's translation of Goethe's Faust, as published in J.W. Goethe, *Faust, traduction d'Albert Stapfer, illustre de 18 lithographies d'Eugène Delacroix*, Paris: Éditions Marchal, 1982), 109.

- 5-8. James-Jacques-Joseph Tissot. *Meeting of Faust and Marguerite*. 1860. Oil on Wood. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
- 5-9. Photograph of Marie Miolan-Carvalho in the role of Marguerite in Gounod's *Faust*, Prison scene. Circa 1859. Photograph. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 5-10. Carte-de-visite photograph of Marie Miolan-Carvalho. Circa 1860. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 5-11. Marcello. Drawing after a scene from *Faust (Meeting of Faust and Marguerite)*. Circa 1867. Sanguine drawing with graphite. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 5-12. Marcello. Drawing of Mademoiselle Block in the role of Sapho. Dated 12 April 1867. Graphite drawing heightened with white on beige paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 5-13. Marcello. *Rosina* (showing damage). Circa 1869. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 14]. Photograph by the author.
- 5-14. Marcello. *Rosina*. 1869. Terra cotta. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 52]. Photograph by the author.
- 5-15. Letter and musical "sketch" from Rossini to Marcello. Dated 6 March 1864. Archival documents. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. Photograph by the author.
- 5-16. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. *Figaro*. 1873. Terra cotta. Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris.
- 5-17. Richard Kissling. *Monument to William Tell and His Son*. 1895. Bronze. Rathausplatz, Altdorf (Canton of Uri), Switzerland. Photograph by the author.
- 5-18. Vincenzo Vela. *Monument to William Tell*. 1856. Plaster. Museo Vela, Ligornetto (Canton of Ticino), Switzerland. Photograph by the author.
- 5-19. Heinrich Max Imhof. *Monument to William Tell*. 1867. Terra cotta. Historisches Museum Uri, Aldorf, Switzerland.
- 5-20. Ary Scheffer. *Portrait of Pauline Viardot*. From Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
- 5-21. L. Suscipj. *Charles François Gounod*. 1869. Photograph, Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER SIX

For clarity, catalogue numbers previously assigned to works in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg or the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, have been given here in brackets.

Figures:

- 6-1. The Lyceum of the Collège Saint-Michel, Fribourg, Switzerland. View of exterior. 2004. Photograph by the author.
- 6-2a. Ernest Lorson. *The Musée Marcello at the Lyceum of the Collège Saint-Michel*. After 1881. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 6-2b. *The Painting Salon in the Musée Marcello*. After 1881. From *La Femme Suisse, un Livre de famille* (Neuchâtel: F. Zahn, 1910), 269.
- 6-3a. Door of the original Musée Marcello, now the aula maxima in the Lyceum of the Collège Saint-Michel, showing placement of Marcello's crest above the portal. 1881. Photograph by the author.
- 6-3b. Detail of fig. 6-3a, Marcello's family crest above the portal. 1881. Photograph by the author.
- 6-4. Sadag. Front cover illustration for *Souvenir du Musée Marcello, Fribourg en Suisse*. 1905. Collection of the author.
- 6-5. Librairie Josué Labastrou, Fribourg. Publicity postcard for the Musée Marcello showing the *Pythia*. Not dated. Archives Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Fribourg.
- 6-6. Jean Fumal. *Hôtel Ratzé* (now houses the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg). 1581-83. 12, rue de Morat, Fribourg. Photograph by Jean-Christophe Aeby.
- 6-7. "Fribourg – Université." 1909. Postcard published in *La Liberté* (11 July 1980), 11. Original, Collection Jean-Pierre Cuendet.
- 6-8. Luftbild Alpar, Bern. Monastery of the Visitation of Saint Marie, Fribourg. Circa 1935. Postcard. Cabinet des estampes, Swiss National Library, Bern, Switzerland [81 K 2485].
- 6-9a. Display of artworks from the Musée Marcello bequest at the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. 1998. Photograph by the author. This arrangement has remained relatively unchanged since 1963.
- 6-9b. Display of artworks from the Musée Marcello bequest at the Musée d'art et

- d'histoire, Fribourg. 1998. Photograph by the author. (Opposite view of fig. 6-9a.)
- 6-10. Georges Clairin. *Marcello in Her Atelier*. 1871. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 64].
- 6-11. Edouard Blanchard. *Portrait of the Duchess Castiglione Colonna*. 1877. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 61].
- 6-12. Henri Regnault, *Portrait of the General Milan del Bosch I Mauri*. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 83].
- 6-13. Gustave Courbet. *Landscape*. Circa 1870. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 67].
- 6-14. Regnault. *Spanish Mule Tender*. Circa 1868. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 84].
- 6-15. Eugène Delacroix. *The Punishment of Heliodoros (or Heliodoros Driven from the Temple)*. 1852. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 70].
- 6-16a. Reconstruction of first room of the Musée Marcello. Drawing by the author. (Not drawn to scale.)
- 6-16b. Reconstruction of the first and second rooms of the Musée Marcello. Drawing by the author. (Not drawn to scale.)
- 6-17. Marcello. *The Fieschi Conspiracy*. 1874. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 21].
- 6-18. Gustave Courbet. *Portrait of Marcello*. 1870. Oil on canvas. Musée des beaux-arts, Reims, France.
- 6-19. Edition Bursy. General view of Fribourg, facing the Bourg region, showing bell tower of the Collège Saint-Michel in the center and the tower of the Cathedral of Saint Nicolas on the right. Source: www.access2000.ch
- 6-20. *The Lyceum of the Collège Saint-Michel*. Circa 1840. Engraving. From *Les Monuments d'art et d'histoire du canton de Fribourg* (Basel: Éditions Birkhäuser Bâle, 1959), 149.
- 6-21. Marcello. *Portrait of the Princess Czartoriska*. 1869. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [M 8].
- 6-22. Eduardo Rosalès Martinez. *Study of a Young Man in a Renaissance Costume*. Not dated (circa 1863). Sanguine drawing heightened with white gouache on beige paper. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 86].

- 6-23. Gustave Boulanger. *Arabian Horseman*. Not dated. Sanguine drawing on beige paper. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 62].
- 6-24. Boulanger. *African*. Not dated. Sanguine drawing, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 63].
- 6-25. Eugène Delacroix. *Lion at Rest*. 1849. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 68].
- 6-26. Delacroix, *The Martyrdom of Saint Just* (copy after Rubens). 1847. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 69].
- 6-27. Delacroix. *Hercules and the Lion of Némée*. 1847. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 71].
- 6-28. Auguste Clésinger. *Landscape*. Not dated. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 66].
- 6-29. Clésinger. *Portrait of Marcello*. Circa 1861-66. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 6-30a. Jean-Victor Schnetz. *Study of a Head for the Sacking of Aquileia by Attila*. Circa 1841-1845. Drawing with three pencils on colored paper. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 88].
- 6-30b. Schnetz. *Episode from the Sacking of Aquileia by Attila in 452*. 1845. Oil on canvas. Musée Picardie, Amiens.
- 6-31. Schnetz. *Head of an Elderly Man with Beard*. 1867. Drawing with three pencils on paper. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 89].
- 6-32. Ernest Hébert. *Italian Woman*. Not dated (circa 1853-55). Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 76].
- 6-33. Hébert. *The Little Beggar*. Not dated. Watercolor. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 77].
- 6-34. Hébert. *Marcello's Pythia*. 1869. Black and white graphite drawing on two sheets of paper, joined with pins. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 78].
- 6-35. Marià (Mariano) Fortuny y Marsal. *Study for a Head of a Man*. Circa 1868. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 72].
- 6-36. Fortuny. *The God Mars* (after Velázquez). Not dated. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 73].

- 6-37a. Fortuny. *Nude Study*. Circa 1868. Sepia ink wash drawing heightened with white gouache. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 74 a].
- 6-37b. Fortuny. *Nude Study*. Circa 1868. Sepia ink wash drawing heightened with white gouache. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 74 b].
- 6-38. Attilio Simonetti. *Italian Woman* (after Marcello's *Bianca Capello*). Not dated (after 1863). Graphite drawing. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 79].
- 6-39. Simonetti. *Serenading a Lady*. Not dated. Watercolor. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 80].
- 6-40. Simonetti. *Young Woman Carrying a Basket*. Not dated. Watercolor. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 81].
- 6-41. Tony Robert-Fleury. *Portrait of a Young Woman*. Not dated. Oil on wood. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 85].
- 6-42. Louis-Henri de Rudder. *Head of a Elderly Bearded Man*. 1866. Sanguine drawing heightened with white. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 87].
- 6-43. Paul-Alexandre Protais. *Dead Soldier*. Not dated (circa 1866). Graphite drawing. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 82].
- 6-44. Diego Velázquez. *Dead Soldier*. Circa 1635-40. Oil on canvas. National Gallery, London.
- 6-45. Clairin. *The Spanish Guard Corps*. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 65].
- 6-46. Grato Brunel. *Vincenzo Vela lying in his coffin placed within the exhibition room at his villa in Ligornetto, 5 and 6 October, 1891*. From *Le Museo Vela à Ligornetto* (Bern: Société d'Histoire de l'Art en Suisse, 2003), 75.
- 6-47. Hôtel d'Affry. 1680. From "Rue Pierre-Aeby 16, Ancienne maison de Reynold-d'Affry," (Fribourg: Service des biens culturels, 2003), fiche number 017/2003.
- 6-48. Floor plan for the Maison R. Aeby (i.e., The Hôtel d'Affry). 1957. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
- 6-49. Lorson. *Salon of the Society of Friends of the Fine Arts, Maison d'Affry, Fribourg*. 1896. Photograph. Archives Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Fribourg [00150 ERLO].
- 6-50. Plan for a reconstruction of the Musée Marcello at the Monestery of the Visitation.

1945. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout her career, the Swiss-born artist Marcello (1836-1879, née Adèle d’Affry, later the Duchess Castiglione Colonna) received high praise for her sculptures. In the late summer of 1863 Amédée Cantaloube, a critic for the journal *L’Illustrateur des dames*, *Journal des soirées de famille*, admired a marble bust in that year’s Paris Salon sculpted by this artist. Here, in one of the earliest descriptions of the artist, Cantaloube placed Marcello among the masters of the Renaissance:

Imagine a woman of exquisite distinction; a patrician of high rank; blond as the Venetians of Veronese; a noble and expressive physiognomy; meanwhile animated by the graces of her sex and by the fire of intellectual life; with delicate fingers more talented than those which usually ornate the most fine embroideries with fine materials, daring to knead and soften clay, to carve in marble the type of historical character superbly interpreted. Imagine, I say, what one could believe to be a fantasy, a capricious dream of the imagination, existing with a palpable attraction of a happy reality, and you will hardly have an idea of *Marcello*, the sculptor who had her debut using this pseudonym with so much success at the latest salon with a creation that masters would not deny.¹

Although her gender was almost always brought into their discussions, critics nonetheless gave Marcello’s work serious consideration. During her career, which spanned only sixteen years, her sculptures were admired by the most prominent critics of the period. She was best known in Paris, where she kept a studio during the 1860s and 1870s. Without

¹ A[médée] Cantaloube, “Chronique artistique et littéraire, buste de Bianca Capello par Marcello,” *L’Illustrateur des dames*, *Journal des soirées de famille* (30 August 1863): 510. “Figurez-vous une femme d’une distinction exquise; une patricienne de haute race, blonde comme les Vétienues de Véronèse; une physionomie noble et expressive, animée en même temps des grâces de son sexe et du feu de la vie intellectuelle; des doigts délicates et plus déliés que ceux qui ornent d’ordinaire de fins tissus les broderies les plus légères, osant pétrir et assouplir l’argile, puis tailler dans le marbre le type d’un personnage historique superbement interprété; figurez-vous, dis-je, ce qu’on pourrait croire une chimère, un rêve capricieux de l’imagination, existant avec l’attrait palpable d’une souriante réalité, et vous aurez à peine une idée de *Marcello*, le statuaire qui a débuté sous ce pseudonyme avec tant de succès au dernier salon par une création que les maîtres ne désavoueraient pas.”

doubt, she was one of the most outstanding and successful artists in Paris during the Second Empire and the beginning of the Third Republic.

Marcello was well known during her career and her biography was entered into the 1869 edition of Pierre Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire universel*; the entry was published only six years after her first exhibition at the Paris Salon and ten years before her death. Although utilizing terminology typical in descriptions of women artists during the period (reminding the audience of the "frailty" and "weaknesses" of women), Larousse's inclusion of Marcello in the *dictionnaire* still added to her renown in Paris and elsewhere:

Miss d'Affry had the rare happiness of not finding in her aristocratic family too lively an opposition towards her artistic instincts, and she could surrender peacefully to the study of great art that she admired, far from the noise of the world and in the silence of a studio. Patient and courageous, the future princess [*sic*] braved the disgust and the fatigues of this rough apprenticeship. A frail and elegant young woman, she had the admirable bravery to handle skillfully the steel chisel and even more so to knead plaster and clay with her hands. This courageous work had good results, and the young sculptor could soon show some busts proudly modeled, which gave a surprise to many a master. Sculpture, in effect, distances itself from so many weaknesses in the nature of women, it demands so much real virility, that we could not, without astonishment, observe in a woman the robust faculties that she supports. It was necessary nevertheless to give in to the evidence, and the talent of Miss d'Affry was seriously applauded and encouraged. [...] Without fear of being denied by the future, we can announce that this young sculptor will have many more brilliant successes.²

The final line of this entry in the *dictionnaire* turned out to be, for the last one hundred and thirty-five years at least, wishful thinking. After her death, the memory of

² Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, Vol. IV (Paris: Administration du grand dictionnaire universel, 1869): 653. "Mlle d'Affry eut le rare bonheur de ne pas trouver dans son aristocratique famille une opposition trop vive à ses instincts d'artiste, et elle put se livrer paisiblement à l'étude du grand art qu'elle aimait, loin du bruit du monde et dans le silence d'un atelier. Patiente et courageuse, la future princesse [*sic*] bravait les dégoûts et les fatigues de ce rude apprentissage. Frêle et élégante jeune fille, elle eut l'admirable bravoure de manier le ciseau d'acier, et plus encore de pétrir de ses mains le plâtre et la terre glaise. Ce courageux travail eut de bons résultats, et la jeune statuaire put montrer bientôt des bustes fièrement modelés, qui firent la surprise de plus d'un maître. La sculpture, en effet, s'éloigne tellement des faiblesses de la nature des femmes, elle exige tant de virilité réelle, qu'on ne saurait, sans étonnement, observer dans une femme les facultés robustes qu'elle suppose. Il fallait pourtant se rendre à l'évidence, et le talent de Mlle d'Affry fut sérieusement applaudi et encouragé. [...] Sans crainte d'être démenti par l'avenir, nous pouvons annoncer à cette jeune statuaire des succès plus brillants encore.

Marcello and her work began its descent into oblivion. In France, little was written about her after she succumbed to tuberculosis while convalescing in Italy in 1879. Much of the posthumous literature pertaining to the artist during the last two decades of the nineteenth century was published in Switzerland, and concerned, for the most part, the Musée Marcello, a now defunct museum that the artist planned during her final years. By the late twentieth century, one was hard pressed to find valid information on the artist. Only a single exhibition catalogue, published at the one-hundredth anniversary of her death, exists, and it was, on the whole, poorly conceived. By the early twenty-first century, Marcello was forgotten even in Fribourg, the town of her birth, where most residents could direct a person to the Rue Marcello but could not explain who its namesake was. How could such an artist, so relevant to Swiss history, women's history, and art history in general, be forgotten so quickly and so succinctly?

The objective of this dissertation is to return Marcello to her rightful place in the history of art, primarily through an exploration of her contributions to later artistic movements and styles such as Symbolism and Art Nouveau. As one of the foremost sculptors of the period, Marcello also helped to break down many barriers posed by the profession against women artists. Her sculptures are significant and vital to gender studies as well as art history, in that many of them represent heroic, famous women from history, mythology and her contemporary circle who lived powerful, independent lives. Rarely do we find a female point of view in European sculpture; yet throughout her career, Marcello would sculpt and exhibit such women with heroic qualities as, for example, *Diana* (1862, red wax, Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, hereafter FM), *Bianca Capello* (1863, bronze, FM), *the Gorgone* (1865, bronze, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington),

Ananké, the goddess of destiny (1867, marble, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, hereafter MAHF), *Hecate and Cerberus*, powerful goddess of the underworld (1867, marble, Grammont Municipal Park, Montpellier), *The Empress Eugénie* (1867, marble, Musée de Lyon) and, what would certainly become her most celebrated sculpture, the *Pythia* (1870, bronze, Opéra Garnier, Paris).³

In addition to her choice of subject matter, many of Marcello's works incorporate various motifs which would later become associated with Symbolism and Art Nouveau such as the sinuous line (e.g. *Pythia*, but also as seen in her tombstone which she designed the year before her death, now at her gravesite in Givisiez, marble, 1878), flower and animal metamorphoses (e.g. *Pythia* and *The Gorgon*, but also *Phoebe*, 1875, marble, MAHF), polychromy and mixed media, (e.g. *The Abyssinian Chieftain*, 1870, bronze, FM) and her exploration of such themes as androgyny, decadence, legends, mysticism, mythology, religion, sexuality, and *femme fatale* subject matter.

Although this dissertation will be primarily a socio-biography,⁴ informed by women's history, gender studies and socio-political history, it will also include discussions of nineteenth-century sculptural practice, the status of sculpture within contemporary art criticism (particularly insofar as it was "gendered" and "male"), and a discussion of the artistic education of women, focusing on training in sculpture techniques. Finally, this

³ Many of Marcello's sculptures exist in multiple editions and various media. For example, *Bianca Capello* exists in at least sixteen known versions, with at least eight in marble, four in polychromed bronze, and four in plaster. Related terracotta and wax maquettes also exist for many of the works.

⁴ The term *socio-biography* is often preferred today over *monograph* when dealing with writing the lives of women artists, as *monograph* has come to be equated over the years with male-centered studies. For similar reasons, I have avoided words with feminized suffixes, such as *sculptress*, which has been replaced with *sculptor*.

dissertation will be the first major study of Marcello's sculpture within a critical, social, and art historical context.

Marcello's painting, which makes up a large portion of her artistic production, particularly in her final years, will not be treated in this dissertation. Although many of her canvases are interesting in light of pre-Impressionist painting and (in some cases) Orientalist themes, they have less of a critical history because they were rarely exhibited. In general her paintings were not well received when exhibited, in part because nineteenth-century critics were often unkind to artists who alternated between two media. Her most important painted project, the canvases for her Symbolist-styled *Salon Chinois* in her home at the Château d'Affry in Fribourg, Switzerland, and completed after her death by her cousin, Elisa de Boccard (1847-1925), has already been treated by Cristina Ferreyros in her Master's Thesis for Antioch University, entitled "The Conservation of Three "Chinoiserie" Decorative Paintings by Marcello" (1981).

Additionally, this dissertation is not meant to be a *catalogue raisonné* of Marcello's sculptural works. Although certainly such a reasoned catalogue is necessary and desirable, it seemed to be an irrational project for a dissertation. If one were to include all of her drawings, paintings, plaster and wax sketches, as well as her sculptures in all of their stages and media, the project would encompass a number of volumes of text and would require many additional years to complete. Instead, one finds presented here the best examples of Marcello's work, which illustrate her most important contributions to the history of art. The importance of these works is judged not on my personal preference, but on their relevance to Marcello's contemporary critics and on their significance to what was to follow historically. A conscious effort to place the artist and her work in a social and art

historical context, which has not been accomplished before by other Marcello scholars, has been undertaken in this text.

A very well-connected figure, Marcello had an enormous circle of friends and acquaintances including visual artists such as Antoine-Louis Barye, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, Gustave Courbet, Berthe Morisot, composers such as Charles François Gounod, Franz Liszt, Gioachino Rossini, and government officials such as the Emperor Napoleon III, Empress Eugénie, and Adolphe Thiers (the latter a French statesman, historian and first president of the Third Republic). Privately trained in Rome by the Uri-born, Swiss sculptor Heinrich Maximilian Imhof (1795-1869; a student of Bertel Thorvaldsen), she gained the title Duchess Castiglione Colonna at the age of nineteen through her marriage to Don Carlo Colonna, Duke of Castiglione-Altibranti. After his premature death eight months later (of typhoid fever, which he contracted while they were on their honeymoon), she was left free to continue her career as a sculptor without the pressures of married life.

Marcello was also internationally known. She retained studios in Paris, Rome, and Givisiez (Switzerland) for most of her career, and in 1863 took the pseudonym Marcello, borrowed from the eighteenth-century Italian composer Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739), so that the juries of the Paris Salon exhibitions would concentrate on her submissions and not her gender. Along with the successful exhibition of her sculpture in seven of the thirteen Paris Salon exhibitions held between 1863 and 1876, she also showed at other venues, including the Royal Academy, London (in 1865, 1866 and 1867), and at the Universal Exhibitions in Paris (1867), Munich (1869) and Vienna (1873). Tragically she died of tuberculosis in 1879 at the age of forty-three. Because of her long suffering from

her illness and premature death, her sculptural *oeuvre* consists of fewer than one hundred original concepts for production in sculptures of various media.

There are currently no available texts on Marcello in print, and most of the existing literature has been written in French and has not been translated. The most recent book-length study, by a family relation, Ghislain de Diesbach, *La Double Vie de Duchesse Colonna: la chimère bleue* (1988) is a very anecdotal and romantic biography that does not discuss the important feminist issues implicit in Marcello's work. Henriette Bessis, the first person outside of the family to study Marcello, published only one major text on the artist in the last two decades, an exhibition catalogue for the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg entitled *Marcello: Sculpteur* (1980). Bessis's text, which has become the basis for all work on Marcello to date, was an important first step in the study of this artist. It is, however, based strictly on connoisseurship; the author does not discuss the difficult circumstances under which most women artists (particularly women sculptors) worked at the time. A major theme of Marcello's sculpture is her depiction of women as heroic figures; this is not discussed in either Diesbach's or Bessis's texts, and even their stylistic critiques of the works are inadequate. The Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg published a brief brochure, *Marcello*, in conjunction with a smaller section of the exhibition which traveled to Paris in 1980 and included a very short essay by its then senior curator, Michel Terrapon.⁵

With the exception of Bessis, most Marcello scholars have been relatives of the artist: Monique von Wistinghausen, who wrote a very brief (five page) essay entitled "Marcello, esquisse socio-historique" in *Marcello*; the Countess Odette d'Alcantara, author

⁵ This portion of the exhibition was held at the Musée Rodin in Paris. The exhibition was scheduled to travel to Rome, but due to a lack of funds, this Italian venue was cancelled.

of various short articles published in *La Liberté* (1955-56, 1959) and her posthumous text *Marcello* (1961); and Hélène de Diesbach, who penned “Marcello, la duchesse Colonna, née d’Affry” in *La Femme suisse, un livre de famille* (1910) were all in some respect related to the artist. Although these texts – all by authors with family ties to the sculptor – are variously problematic (too biographical, lacking art-historical or historical context, lacking feminist consideration, etc.), they remain the principal secondary sources of information on Marcello to date.

The only American art historian to ever seriously consider Marcello was the late Horst Woldemar Janson (1913-1982), who examined her sculpture in many of his publications including *Nineteenth-Century Art* (posthumous, with Robert Rosenblum, 1984), *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (also published posthumously, 1985), his article “Realism in Sculpture: Limits and Limitations” (in Gabriel Weisberg’s *The European Realist Tradition*, 1982), and in the exhibition he co-curated with Peter Fusco, *Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (1980). Janson’s writings on Marcello, although generally consisting of very brief entries of a strictly biographical nature, were the first to introduce this sculptor to an American (or at least to an English-reading) public. This is interesting in light of the fact that feminist scholars had criticized Janson in the 1970s for not including women artists in his original and second editions of *History of Art* (1962, 1969). Although he was by no means an advocate of women’s artistic production, it should be noted that Janson had included Marcello’s work in a number of his later projects, while feminist art historians had ignored her completely.

Although the secondary source literature on Marcello is limited, a plentitude of primary source material exists that gives substance to her sculptural oeuvre. By organizing

this study around contemporary criticism and her own writings and collection of personal letters, Marcello's art and its significance to later artistic developments are more clearly illustrated.

My personal interest in Marcello began almost a decade ago, when I was preparing a Master's Thesis for the City University of New York at Hunter College, under the direction of Dr. Jane Mayo Roos. This thesis, entitled "Unjustly Neglected: Gustave Courbet in the 1870s," (1996) concerned the late career of the French Realist painter and sculptor Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). I was particularly concerned with Courbet's sculptural oeuvre and with his final years spent on the Swiss *riviera vaudoise* in the town of La-Tour-de-Peilz (known for its huge white tower where animal pelts once proudly hung, hence the name). It was at this time that letters passed between Courbet and Marcello, who were fond of each other's art.

Courbet and Marcello were good friends, as can be deduced from letters between them. An important letter from Courbet to Marcello, sent after she and her cousin, Olga, the Marquise de Tallenay, had visited him in La-Tour-de-Peilz in 1874, had been translated and published by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu in her *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (1992), giving me a starting point for my work on Marcello.⁶ Other letters also existed, suggesting that Courbet owed his easy passage into Switzerland to Marcello's political and professional influence in Italy and Switzerland as the Duchess Colonna and as a member of an illustrious Swiss aristocratic family. By some accounts, the two artists may have met as

⁶ Letter from Gustave Courbet to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 24 January 1872, in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 539-40.

early as 1865, and he painted her portrait around 1869 (now in the collection of the Musée des beaux-arts, Reims).

Later, during Courbet's political troubles and at a time when many of his friends shunned him, Marcello refused to abandon him. He later wrote to the Marquise de Tallenay, expressing that "I will always be grateful to Madame Colonna, persuaded as I am that she looked after me in prison."⁷ It is known that Marcello invited both Courbet and Henri Regnault (1843-1871) to Switzerland during the Franco-Prussian War in an effort to provide them with a safe haven; they had both refused. (Sadly, had Regnault accepted, it may have saved his life.)⁸ Thus it is not farfetched to assume that the Duchess's assistance played a role in Courbet's choice of Switzerland as his place of exile, nor is it hard to believe that her influence with her long-time friend Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), probably saved Courbet from a prolonged stay in prison or even execution for his alleged role during the Commune.

There were also works of art that connected these two artists. Marcello had not only sat for a portrait by Courbet, but she owned works by him, including his *Landscape* (*Paysage*) of 1870 (fig. 6-13, discussed in Chapter Six), which was later exhibited as part of the Musée Marcello (today the work is part of the permanent collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg). Another work, a sculpture entitled *Portrait of the Marquise*

⁷ Letter from Gustave Courbet to Olga de Tallenay, dated 28 November 1874, in Chu, 539-40.

⁸ Regnault's refusal of the invitation is found in a letter from him to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated "ce Mercredi soir [1870]," Archives Fondation Marcello (hereafter Archives FM). In this letter, his last to Marcello, he wrote "Chère Miettita... Je vous remercie de votre offre gracieux d'hospitalité, mais je ne crois malheureusement pas pouvoir en profiter, obligé que je suis de defender Paris, et decide à ne pas quitter la France tant qu'un Suisse en y sera vivant.... Mille et mille tendresses. Je voudrais dire, à bientôt! Mais je peur que ce soit encore une fanfaronade. Tout à vous, Riquet." The suggestion that Courbet was offered the same invitation is found in Henriette Bessis, "Marcello à Paris," *Marcello: Adèle d'Affry, duchesse Castiglione Colonna* (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1980-1981), 11. Bessis does not provide her original source for this.

de Tallenay and once thought to be Courbet's best experiment in sculpture (fig. I-1, c. 1874, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), is now attributed by the Musée d'Orsay to Marcello. In 1973, Courbet specialist Jack Lindsay called this plaster mask "the best work of sculpture that [Courbet] did, and which shows that if he had worked hard at this medium he would have gone far in it."⁹ The work was given to the Musée du Louvre in 1916 by a relative of Courbet, but was rarely exhibited. Although the question of authenticity is not so easy to solve, the reattribution of the *Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay* is based on its similarity to a work unquestionably created by Marcello and found today at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg. The work, also a plaster mask known as *Head of a Woman (Tête de femme*, fig. I-2, c.1874, FM), shares many physical qualities with the *Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay*, including a similar layering of the hair on the forehead, the direction of the incised eyes, the set of the head on the neck, and the placid facial expression. With these few letters between the two artists and the artworks that connected them, I began, in 1996, to plan a future project on Marcello, which has resulted in this dissertation.

Chapter Synopses

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. In Chapter One, a history of nineteenth-century sculpture will be presented. On the surface, this chapter has little to do with Marcello directly and presents only a small amount of archival research. Yet it is vital to the understanding of the text that follows. A short history of sculpture, its placement, reception and reputation within the history of art, is essential to the understanding of not only Marcello's accomplishments (and failures) but of those of other female sculptors of the period. A summary of educational possibilities for these women is included not only to

⁹ Jack Lindsay, *Gustave Courbet: His Life and Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 311.

show their paucity but also to show that there were, however few, some opportunities for women to learn an artistic skill during the period.

Additionally in Chapter One, a discussion of how sculpture was (and in many cases still is) produced is included. Most art historians and the art viewing public, unless they are specialists or work in conservation, have no idea of how a bronze is cast or how a marble is carved, or how a sculptor generally begins a project, which would eventually be turned over to a technician for production in a more permanent medium. It shocks the most learned scholar to hear that most nineteenth-century sculptors hardly ever, or never, touched the bronze or marble that bears their name. As it was necessary for Marcello and all sculptors to learn the basics in sculpture production and technique, a basic overview of technical processes is incorporated within this chapter.

In relation to this, there exists the bias against women sculptors who used, alongside their male counterparts, founders, *praticiens*, other specialists in carving and polishing, and technicians to produce definitive versions of their works. All sculptors during the period used some form of technical assistance. The goal of the chapter is thus to dispel the idea that men used assistants because they were “geniuses” who could not be bothered with the laborious and artistically empty process of producing a final version of a sculpture, while women used assistants because they could not do the final work themselves due to their lack of education and lack of physical strength. This is one of the greatest fallacies in the history of art, and one that needed to be addressed herein. This chapter, although it does not discuss Marcello’s work or career directly, is indispensable as it presents the core information necessary for understanding the field of nineteenth-century sculpture and the context in which Marcello, and other women sculptors of the period, worked.

Chapter Two explores Marcello's life in her own words, and is based on her writings and her unpublished memoirs. A short biography of Marcello's life is presented in Chapter Two so that the thematic chapters that follow need not be chronological. This chapter also analyses the artist's choice of her pseudonym. To date, there is no scholarly study of pseudonym usage by artists from a professional and psychological point of view; this chapter tries to lay some groundwork for the exploration of the pseudonyms of visual artists. I attempt to analyze Marcello's choice of the name and the culture and context in which she worked that made it necessary to employ it throughout her career. The male-dominated sculptural system made the name necessary, and the artist's own personal views about acceptance within the official system made it imperative. The fact that she kept the name long after her true identity was revealed is a testament to Marcello's desire to be taken seriously, that is to say, as if she were a man.

Within this chapter, the illustrious history of her family is also discussed. Marcello was inspired by the high social and military positions held by her ancestors, and by their fearlessness in the face of great danger. (One of these ancestors died while protecting Marie-Antoinette and Louis XVI during the French Revolution.) Although Marcello left her memoirs unfinished at the time of her death, her final years are also recounted in this chapter, based on her memoirs, her last will and testament, published obituaries, and letters to her family and friends.

In an attempt to show Marcello as an emerging artist, a short chapter on Marcello's experiments with portraiture is included as Chapter Three. The portraits add another dimension to her biography, and are representative of her wide social circle, as she usually made portraits, without a commission, of friends from high society and the world of

politics. Also discussed in depth is Marcello's only commission for an imperial portrait, that of the Empress Eugénie. It would be unfair to include only the positive reviews of Marcello's work, and so the eventual refusal of Eugénie's portrait is included in this discussion. Although most critics who chose to write about her admired Marcello's work and persistence, her inability to earn a Salon medal until her last exhibition there in 1876 – and her own personal feelings of failure at the hands of an all-male art system – are additionally explored.

The purpose here is also to lead the reader from the inner, personal life of the artist as formulated in Chapter Two to her life in the outer, public world as discussed in Chapter Three. Through the discussion of the portraits, Marcello's life becomes multifaceted; I will show not only the influence of others on her development but also her influence over them as well.

Marcello's exploration into the possibility of the female as a heroic figure is the subject of Chapter Four. Undeniably, she was most interested in producing images of powerful women with strong and often valiant characteristics; these sculptures are the most outstanding in her oeuvre. Her treatment of the specific themes now considered Symbolist actually anticipated the later Symbolist movement. Included here are numerous contemporary critiques of the artist's most significant works, many of which have never been treated or translated in previous studies on this artist. The strong focus on critical reviews in this chapter serves to substantiate the validity and importance of her work in her own time. Additionally, Marcello's lifelong study of the works of Michelangelo and her attempts to bridge the grand manner of Renaissance sculpture with the nascent modernism of later nineteenth-century sculpture will be treated.

In Chapter Five, Marcello's interest in music and her sculptures based on characters from contemporary operas and portraits of musical figures are surveyed. The discussion of Marcello as a forerunner to Symbolism is continued, as music and the related fields of mathematics and science were to become as important to that movement as the gender-related themes discussed in Chapter Four. Historical, linguistic, and scientific connections between visual art and music during the second half of the nineteenth century play an important role in understanding why she was interested in music and how she used it as point of reference for her work. Marcello's polysensoriality, or the ways in which she conceived of her works through her sensory reception of the world around her (mainly through sight, sound and touch) is analyzed here. As with the previous chapters, this section is heavily dependent upon primary sources such as critical reviews, letters to and from the artist, and her own writings.

These two subsequent thematic chapters (Four and Five) analyze Marcello's exploration of heroic and musical subjects respectively. Her role in the development of ideas and themes which would later be considered Symbolist was significant, yet never before has it been evaluated. As noted in these two chapters, Marcello explored the spirituality of heroism, redemption, and higher states of being in many of her sculptures; these very ideas became central to the goals of later Symbolist artists. The archival documents in these two chapters show that the origins of Symbolism cannot be discussed without including an evaluation of Marcello's sculptural oeuvre. As musical subjects and operatic characters influenced the Symbolists, so too had they played a large role in her artistic production years earlier. Similarly, Marcello's treatment of heroic and powerful women, imbued with the spirit of defiance, pride and virility, full of honorable and

admirable qualities not often permitted in images of women, predated the works of the Symbolists by more than twenty years. Her unconventional images of women, in light of early Symbolist themes, are some of Marcello's most significant contributions to art history and visual culture.

The concluding chapter (Chapter Six) presents a historiography of the original Musée Marcello, now defunct. Although current literature and exhibition catalogues allude to this museum as if it still exists, this is false. The original Marcello Museum, which was the artist's final project, was one of the earliest private museums in Switzerland. Few artist-created, private museums existed in Switzerland in the late nineteenth-century, and Marcello's personal collection was a unique gift to her birthplace. As there were few places for sculptors to exhibit their work on a permanent basis during the century, Marcello created what she had hoped would be a place for the continual display of her art for future generations.

The Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg, which inherited the Marcello collection in the 1940s and which organized its current partial display of the works in 1981, is not the Musée Marcello as the artist had planned it to be. Beginning with details from Marcello's last will and testament, the history of the Musée Marcello is traced in this dissertation from its opening to the public in 1881 to its closing in 1936. Reasons for its closing are developed herein, and the attempts made by Marcello's descendants to have the museum restructured to conform more closely to the artist's final wishes are traced from its closing to the present day. An effort is made in this chapter to reconstruct the organization and progression of works in the original display. Original documents concerning various aspects of the museum's history, now housed at the Archives de l'État de Fribourg, are

utilized as the basis for this chapter, as are original critiques of the museum and private letters.

On an unfortunate note, no eyewitness accounts could be collected and included in this chapter; as of this writing, I failed to locate a living visitor of the original Musée Marcello who could provide a clear, vivid account of the display, organization, and experience of visiting the museum. (Such oral accounts could only be provided by persons who had visited the museum as an adolescent before 1936, that is, someone who would today would be around eighty years of age.) Yet, this study is still significant because no in-depth study of the original museum has been previously written or published, and for the first time since its closing in the late 1930s, a reconstruction the layout of the original display is suggested in this chapter, based upon published descriptions and floor plans for later reconstructions of the display. The text also provides the only historical account of the original museum from original primary source documents. A chronological breakdown detailing the major events in the history of the Marcello collection was created for the conclusion of the chapter.

The dissertation also contains four appendices. The first (Appendix A) catalogues the foundries and *praticiens* used by Marcello based on documents conserved at the Fondation Marcello and from casting marks on the actual works. The second appendix (B) lists brief biographies for the artists whose works were included in Marcello's bequest to the canton of Fribourg. These artists' works made up the original collection of the Musée Marcello, and many of them are forgotten today. Appendix C provides the reader with the 1882 list of works contained in the original Musée Marcello. The final appendix (D) is a

chronology of the history of the Musée Marcello that I assembled from archival documents found at the Fondation Marcello and the Archives de l'État de Fribourg.

Throughout the dissertation are numerous illustrations, most of which have not been heretofore presented. Finally, this text includes the most complete bibliography of primary and secondary sources concerning Marcello and her oeuvre to date, including viable Internet resources.

I have tried to balance the study of Marcello as a sculptor and as a woman artist who faced particular difficulties in the field in which she worked. Linda Nochlin's 1971 text "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" warned against digging up women artists only for the sake of adding more of them to the art historical canon.¹⁰ Nochlin was, on the one hand, correct in noting, thirty-three years ago, that no one had previously questioned the obstacles that women artists had faced, save for Virginia Woolf in her essay "A Room of One's Own," written in 1929. However, it will be proven throughout this study that the offense Nochlin warned against has not been committed here. First of all, Marcello was by no means mediocre, nor did she have a modest career; she was considered by contemporary critics to be among the masters of her epoch. Additionally, Marcello need not have been dug up: critical reviews of her work appeared steadily throughout her career

¹⁰ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *Women Art, and Power and Other Essays* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 145-78. The essay was originally published in *Art News* in 1971. On pages 147-8 of the 1991 reprint, Nochlin notes that "The feminist's first reaction [to the question posed] is to swallow the bait, hook, line, and sinker, and to attempt to answer the question as it is put: that is, to dig up examples of worthy or insufficiently appreciated women artists throughout history; to rehabilitate rather modest, if interesting and productive careers; to "rediscover" forgotten flower painters or David followers and make out a case for them; [...] Such attempts [...] are certainly worth the effort, both in adding to our knowledge of women's achievement and of art history generally. But they do nothing to question the assumption lying behind the question 'Why have there been no great women artists?'" On the contrary, by attempting to answer it, they tacitly reinforce its negative implications."

in the major European art journals and broadsides, such as *Art Journal* [London], *Le Charivari*, *Le Courrier artistique*, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, *Le Figaro*, *Moniteur des arts*, *Le Moniteur universel*, *Le Monde illustré*, and *Revue de Paris*, to name just a few. Her work continues to be visible, particularly in France and Switzerland, in a number of important public sites and permanent collections. Marcello was also a significant artist, regardless of gender, whose art was of major importance to the critics of her time and who made valuable, lasting contributions to the field of nineteenth-century sculpture. How someone so instrumental to the European art world was forgotten, particularly by feminist art historians during the later half of the twentieth century, is particularly shocking, and this point of contention was one of the initial catalysts for this project.

This dissertation does not attempt to answer Nochlin's famous question of whether there were great women artists or, if so, whether Marcello can be placed among them. Greatness and genius are deeply philosophical concepts that are difficult to codify in studies of any artist, male or female, even today. The point of this text is not to decide whether Marcello was a great artist, but instead to point out her contributions to the history of art in general and the history of nineteenth-century sculpture specifically. Certainly gender-biased obstacles that she faced will be discussed in relation to how they affected her career; the artist's choice of a male pseudonym alone testifies to the fact that she herself felt that men dominated the art world, especially in the realm of sculpture production. However, it is only through the understanding and critical analysis of her artistic production (rather than by focusing exclusively on her gender) that we can truly judge Marcello's significance to the history of art.

A final word should be said with regard to the title of this dissertation. It is familiar legend to art historians that when the Empress Eugénie of France bestowed the *Légion d'honneur* upon the painter Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899) in June of 1865, she was claimed to have said the words “Le génie n’a pas de sexe,” or “genius has no sex.” This phrase seems to have been borrowed by Eugénie from the writings of Madame de Staël (Anna-Maria-Louise Germaine Necker, 1766-1817). Later the phrase was used by the press to identify or describe any woman (often judged as a person outside the norm) who found success in the arts; for example it was used in this sense by the journal *Le Papillon* on 11 March 1883 for its cover article on the sculptor Hélène (known as Mme Léon) Bertaux (1825-1909).¹¹ Genius, as Nochlin established more than three decades ago, was always considered a male trait; women who possessed it were considered (if at all) to be outside the norm. Today, the phrase “genius has no sex” can be applied to women whose works prove that genius itself is not, and never was, gender specific, and that women, given the right opportunities, could excel and even surpass men in any field of study. It is in the latter sense that I have applied the phrase to Marcello within this text.¹²

Against all odds (her aristocratic background, the lack of educational opportunities for women sculptors, and her gender in and of itself), Marcello succeeded in producing significant works that were seriously evaluated by European critics and the art-viewing public. Her pseudonym was not a contradiction to the phrase “genius has no sex,” but was

¹¹ Fèò de Jouval, “Silhouette – Mme Léon Bertaux,” *Le Papillon* (11 March 1883): 1-2.

¹² See Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women’s Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), in particular Chapter Five (pages 105-52), entitled “The Sex of Art: In Search of *le génie féminin*,” which discusses the issues of sex, gender, and genius in relation to late nineteenth-century artistic production.

instead used, especially later in her career when her true identity was well known, as a way to thwart the common notion that genius was male.

Eight months after the appearance of Cantaloube's first article on Marcello, a second was published in *L'Illustrateur des dames* on 3 April 1864, complete with an engraved portrait of the artist that ran on the front page (fig. I-3). After again praising her *Bianca Capello*, her very successful marble bust of the previous Salon, and mentioning her works in progress, Cantaloube presented a literary portrait of the artist herself:

L'Illustrateur has not been the last to render homage to a young woman who has preferred to dominate in the art world rather than in the milieu of frivolous society. What more beautiful privilege than to be thus favored by nature and be able to unite all the exterior graces of the most eloquent gifts of a lively inspiration. So the critic cannot be taxed for an excess of enthusiasm when he passionately admires in this artist talent, beauty and virtue!¹³

What follows herein is an art historical portrait of one of the most significant sculptors working in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century.

¹³ A[médée] Cantaloube, "Les grandes dames de l'Europe, la duchesse Colonna de Castiglione," *L'Illustrateur des dames, Journal des soirées de famille* (3 April 1864): 1 (front page). "*L'Illustrateur* n'a pas été le dernier à rendre hommage à une jeune femme qui a préféré dominer dans l'art que dans le milieu des sociétés frivoles. Quel plus beau privilège que d'être ainsi favorisée de la nature et de pouvoir unir aux grâces extérieures les dons les plus éloquents d'une vive inspiration. Aussi le critique ne peut être taxé d'un excès d'enthousiasme, quand il admire passionnément dans cette artiste, le talent, la beauté et la vertu!"

CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW OF SCULPTURE DURING THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

“The only difference I find between painting and sculpture is that the sculptor conducts his works with greater *physical* effort than the painter, and the painter conducts his works with greater *mental* effort than the sculptor.”

-Leonardo da Vinci¹

Introduction

Before one can begin a serious study of Marcello, or any female sculptor from the nineteenth century, one must first be familiar with some of the major issues in the history of sculpture. Many questions immediately arise and must be dealt with: why did sculpture surpass painting as the ideal art form before the nineteenth century, and how did it lose and regain that status throughout the century? How was sculpture generally received by the critics and the art-viewing public? How were artists trained to become professional sculptors, and to what extent was this training available to women artists? What was women's role in sculpture production? How was the production of nineteenth-century sculpture different from that of preceding centuries? How was the use of assistants, *ciseleurs*, foundries, modelers, pointing machines, reproduction machines, etc. understood by artists, the art-viewing and art-buying public, and the critics? (If, in fact, they were understood at all.)

This chapter attempts to lay a foundation for the study of Marcello's life and work through presenting an overview of the history of sculpture of the period. The bulk of this chapter will focus on the period before Marcello and her work became known, thus setting

¹ Leonardo da Vinci, *Parte Prima*, Chapter 36. As quoted in Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, and Titian* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 65.

up her *milieu*, the focus of the following chapters. Thus, this section should in no way be considered an exhaustive historical study of nineteenth-century sculpture, but rather a necessary summary or primer, outlining the important historical issues with particular regard towards women sculptors. This portion of the study challenges the views of the history of nineteenth-century sculpture as it has been presented by previous scholars, especially in the area of female participation in the medium.

More than thirty years ago Ruth Mirolli noted, in her catalogue essay for the exhibition *Nineteenth-Century French Sculpture: Monuments for the Middle Class* (1971), that “there is no good general discussion of nineteenth-century French sculpture.”² Unfortunately, little has changed since her statement and many of the important texts that were originally published in the 1970s are currently out of print today. The best basic studies of the subject remain Horst Woldemar Janson’s *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (1985), and Rudolf Wittkower’s *Sculpture: Processes and Principles* (1977), both published posthumously. Both texts are compilations of lectures on sculpture given by the authors in the early 1970s, when Janson participated in the Andrew W. Mellon Lecture Series at the National Gallery, Washington DC (1974), and Wittkower was the Slade Professor of Fine Arts at Cambridge (1970-71).³ Although both books are still major texts in the field of sculpture history, they are both deficient with regard to their discussion of sculptors’ education and information on women sculptors.⁴

² Ruth Mirolli, “Monuments for the Middle Class,” in *Nineteenth Century French Sculpture: Monuments for the Middle Class*, exh. cat. (Louisville, KY: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1971), 26. Mirolli later published under the name Ruth Butler and is best known for her writings on Rodin.

³ It is interesting to note that the major forces behind the composition and publication of these two texts were the wives of the authors: Margot Wittkower and Dora Jane Janson.

⁴ Janson discusses Marcello only briefly after a long section on Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, and makes mention of Camille Claudel as if only to remind the reader that she and Auguste Rodin were lovers; he

Other texts that make up the core of nineteenth-century French sculpture studies are Mirolli's aforementioned text, a catalogue produced in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title at the J.B. Speed Art Museum, which presented the works of twenty-eight preeminent male sculptors of the nineteenth century; *Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (1975) edited by Jeanne L. Wasserman, the catalogue for another ambitious exhibition, this one held at the Fogg Art Museum, containing an analysis of foundry practices, discussion of technical terminology, and the stages involved in sculpture production; and Bo Wennberg's *French and Scandinavian Sculpture in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Trends and Innovations* (1978), which includes chapters on education (for males) and technical procedures for producing sculpture during the period.

Additional important secondary sources that considered sculpture's history have been published within the last two decades. Janson and Peter Fusco's widely-cited exhibition catalogue *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture in North American Collections* (1980), contains eight major essays on sculptors' education, sculpture production and related themes, and a complete catalogue in which four of the fifty-seven artists treated were women. There is also the often-cited *Hollow Icons* (1987) by Albert Boime, whose text concerns the relationship of sculpture to French governmental policy from the Restoration to the Third Republic.⁵ The more recent catalogue entitled *The*

mentions Marie d'Orleans, but excludes her from his discussion of sculptures of Jeanne d'Arc, even though her version was the most highly revered version of its time. Janson also makes no mention of any of the well-known American women sculptors of the period, referred to by the derogatory title, "the White Marmorean Flock": Harriet Hosmer, Edmonia Lewis, Anne Whitney, Vinnie Ream Hoxie, Emma Stebbins, etc, yet he finds room to discuss the little-known American male sculptors Edward Thaxter (1857-1881) and Johnathan Scott Hartley (1845-1912). Wittkower's text makes no mention of any women sculptors at all. See H.W. Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (New York: Abrams, 1985), 1 *passim*; Rudolf Wittkower, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles* (New York and London: Penguin, 1977), 1 *passim*.

⁵ I have mentioned Boime's text here so that it does not seem as if I am unaware of its existence, since it is so widely cited. Yet scholars would be better served by the texts mentioned in Boime's bibliography

Colour of Sculpture 1840-1910 (1996) deals with the history of embellishment and patination, polychromed sculpture and the industries involved with the production of such sculptures. Alison West's *From Pigalle to Préault: Neoclassicism and the Sublime in French Sculpture, 1760-1840* (1998), is an important, recent survey of Neo-classical sculpture. Other standard texts that were resurrected in recent reprints include Luc Benoist's *La Sculpture romantique* (1928, re-issued in 1994); Fritz Novotny's *Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880* (1960, still in print); and Stanislas Lami's *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au dix-neuvième siècle* (c. 1921, reprinted 1970, indexed by Janson, 1983; Marcello is not included in Lami's dictionary). Scholars have not forgotten Maurice Rheims's *La Sculpture au XIXe siècle*, a text that remains important more than thirty years after its original publication in 1972.⁶

This chapter hopes to remedy the omissions of the aforementioned texts, namely to create a document that succinctly develops a history of sculpture based on four major issues: (a) Sculpture's revival in the late eighteenth century and the causes for that revival; (b) the medium's reputation during the nineteenth century in relation to critics and the public's view of it; (c) the education of sculptors, both male and female, during the period; (d) and the production of sculpture and foundry practices (the standards for which often differed for male and female sculptors). These issues, although discussed occasionally in some of the above texts, have not been discussed, to my knowledge, in a more comprehensive fashion, and it is necessary to understand these issues in order to understand the importance of

rather than the book itself. He covers much of the same groundwork as the books he lists, adding little new material. For example, his chapter on Bartholdi's *Statue of Liberty* is almost a carbon copy of Marvin Trachtenberg's original ideas in his own book, *The Statue of Liberty* (New York: Penguin, 1977).

⁶ A more complete listing of sculpture-related texts and essays can be found in the bibliography at the end of this study.

Marcello's career. Although the focus herein remains on France because of the country's reputation as the leading art center of the period (Marcello and other Swiss artists made their careers there),⁷ other countries such as Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States will be touched upon. Because Marcello traveled widely throughout her life and called so many cities her home, it is important to avoid a too-narrow approach.

Without a discussion of the aforementioned issues of sculpture, female sculptors of the nineteenth century do not seem to have been such an odd lot. Taking into account the economic and social risks involved with the medium, however, I find it fascinating to wonder why any woman at all would bother to venture into a career in sculpture at a time when, for the most part, that art form was itself highly problematic. For women artists, the key issues were that: (1) sculpture was not always enthusiastically received by critics and the art viewing public, nor was it often placed advantageously in exhibitions, especially after the fall of Neo-classicism and the advent of Romanticism; (2) sculpture has always been considered a man's art, requiring not only strength but a high level of intellect thought to be necessary to understand the very technical aspects of the foundry industry and its machinery, characteristics that women were thought to lack; (3) sculpture was and remains expensive to produce (an issue that deserves consideration, since at the time most women had less financial resources and fewer rights than men), and (4) formal training was difficult to obtain, and for women was almost impossible before the late 1860s. Consequently it is

⁷ Since there was no national Swiss school or artistic group in the nineteenth century, most Swiss artists established careers, clients and professional ties elsewhere in Europe. Many who spoke French, like Marcello, went to Paris, but those Swiss artists from German-speaking parts of the country often established themselves in Stuttgart or Munich. Some who spoke Italian naturally went to Italy. The most well known Swiss expatriates are Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966), Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, a.k.a., Le Corbusier (1887-1965), Paul Klee (1879-1940), James Pradier (1790-1852), Jean Tinguely (1925-1991) and Vincenzo Vela (1820-1891).

important to have a basic understanding of the context in which female sculptors worked before delving into a specific discussion of Marcello's career.

Sculpture always competed with painting, and sometimes during the nineteenth century, albeit not often, the plastic arts would be victorious. Taking on the characteristics of a punctuated equilibrium, sculpture evolved at various points throughout what is often now called the "long nineteenth century," beginning with the French Revolution (1789) and ending with the advent of the First World War (1914).⁸ There were three major punctuations where sculpture dominated the art scene, certainly some more pronounced than others, during this period. These events occurred most notably during the Neo-classical period, when sculpture was the primary artistic medium, most associated with classical Greece and Rome; the Second Empire, when the need for public sculpture was sponsored by the "Haussmannization" of Paris; and the period of Statuomania, beginning in the 1870s and running through to the early 1900s, characterized by the seemingly unending need for war memorials in France, but also in Germany, Italy and the United States, all of whom had recently concluded major military campaigns. Marcello's own career and her public persona were defined by all of these punctuations, although it will be the second, during the Second Empire atmosphere in which she lived and worked, that will be of the most concern herein. A brief overview of Neo-classical sculpture and that of the Third Republic, however, is necessary by way of an introduction and for a complete picture of the medium's history during the period in question.

⁸ "Punctuated equilibrium" is a term coined in part by the late paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould, which has been adopted by humanists and historians in recent times. Scholars are attracted to his theories of human evolution, which he believed occurred not all at once, nor over a long span of time, but at specific moments in time, or at various punctuations, when the need for change and adaptation was ripe. This term describes the situation of sculpture (and other artistic advancements throughout history) quite well.

Since the earliest periods of history, sculpture was a public art – used mainly to memorialize a person or site or to decorate an architectural project, often commissioned by the church or the state. Although it was the major art form of the ancients, or at least we believe so, given the lack of extant ancient paintings, sculpture was often considered to be secondary to the “higher” arts of painting (an intellectual art form) and architecture (a necessary art form) at most times in western history. The reasons for sculpture’s historical subservience have been widely discussed, but probably most important to note is that sculpture has always been an expensive medium and thus commissions for sculpture had to be already in place and funds secured before a sculptural project could be carried out in a permanent medium. Also of major importance is the fact that large-scale sculptures depended upon two major patrons, church and state, and throughout western history, especially at times of religious conflict and war, commissions from these patrons were scarce. By the latter half of the eighteenth century, church and state provided so few commissions in France and Italy that sculptors appealed to the public with small portrait busts.⁹ Furthermore, sculpture was considered a “lower” medium of representation due to its inherent subservience to architecture. “From the beginning of recorded history,” Janson noted in *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*,

the sculptor seems to have lagged behind both the architect and the painter in social status. To the extent that his work was linked to architecture, he had to do the architect’s bidding, along with his humbler companion, the stonemason. Compared to painting, sculpture demanded far more heavier physical labor, much of it routine or mechanical.¹⁰

⁹ Janson, 15. For a different view of the role of the private patron, see Fred Licht, *Sculpture 19th and 20th Centuries*, History of Western Sculpture Series, consultant ed. John Pope-Hennessy (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1967), 18. This book is not cited earlier because it deals mostly with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artists and issues, many of which fall outside the scope of this chapter.

¹⁰ Janson, 12.

Certainly during the Renaissance, the period when classical antiquity was first revived, sculptors such as Donatello (Donato di Niccolò, 1386-1466) and Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) received acceptance and praise. Yet at the same time the tradition of *paragoni*, or “comparisons” of the arts, specifically the comparison of painting and sculpture, has been well documented by scholars. Although he was not the first to compare the arts and defend painting (Leon Battista Alberti’s (1404-1472) *On Painting* (1435) had dealt with the issue decades before), Leonardo da Vinci’s “paragone” is the best known and most widely cited comparison of the arts.¹¹ At the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth, Leonardo and others promoted painting as the most intellectual of the arts, and more specifically as a science because of its use of mathematical perspective and proportional ratios. According to Leonardo, painting was noble and virtuous because it was quiet, clean, and required knowledge and intellect; sculpture was noisy, dirty, and required the artist’s physical strength, which positioned it as a manual labor, or more specifically in the ancient category of *Artes Mechanicae*. Painting was also seen as a more successful medium for storytelling: as early as the 1550 edition of *Lives of the Most Eminent Architects, Painters and Sculptors*, Giorgio Vasari argued that paintings had the ability to

¹¹ The best sources on Leonardo’s “Paragone” (which was not the title he gave to his writings on the comparisons of the arts in his notebooks) are Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci’s Paragone: A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1992) and Lauriane Fallay D’Este, *Le Paragone, Le parallèle des arts* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1992). Although Leonardo’s defense of painting is best known, the true *paragoni* of the sixteenth century were the three lectures presented at the Florence Academy in 1547 by Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565), and his questionnaire to eight leading artists asking for their thoughts on the comparison of the arts. The respondents were the painters Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino, Jacopo Pontormo, and Tasso Del Battista, and the sculptors Francesco San Gallo, Nicolo Tribolo, Benvenuto Cellini, and Michelangelo Buonarroti. Each artist defended his own media. I owe thanks to Dr. Victor Stoichita who permitted my attendance in his seminar “Le Paragone: le dialogue entre la peinture et la sculpture à l’aube des temps modernes,” during the Fall/Winter 2003-2004 semester at the Université de Fribourg, Switzerland. Thanks also to Richard Aste, who answered some of my original questions about sixteenth century *paragoni* debates in 2002.

show many views in one single glance, yet sculptures required a change of position and point of view by the observer.¹²

In the early years of the sixteenth century there was an even more pressing problem than specific artist's opinions and points of view: Martin Luther's (1483-1546) ninety-five theses or arguments against indulgences and corrupt materialism in the Catholic Church, tacked to the door of the Cathedral in Wittenberg, Saxony in 1517, had begun the Protestant Reformation. The Reformations that ensued (both the Protestant and the Counter Reformations) were bad for sculpture, since the medium represented the epitome of idolatry, reminiscent of the Golden Calf of the Old Testament. Bernini's sculptures, which were commissioned as part of the church's militant reaction against the Reformation, were among the few three-dimensional works seen in a positive light.

Although in his later teachings Luther became less concerned with the dangers that iconic religious images might pose, other reformers, including Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) and John Calvin (1509-1564), were strictly against them.¹³ While religious painting was again seen as virtuous because it acted to glorify God in a somewhat harmless, two-dimensional way, sculpture was affiliated more closely with the commandment warning

¹² Vasari recounts, in his second edition of *Lives*, an anecdote which supposedly occurred between the Giorgione and a group of sculptors: "Giorgione fell into an argument with some sculptors who maintained that since a statue showed to anyone who walked around it different aspects and poses, sculpture was superior to painting, which could represent only one aspect of any given subject. Giorgione argued to the contrary that in a single scene the painter could show to an observer standing still in one place various aspects of the one figure depicting a number of different gestures; whereas for a work of sculpture to produce the same effect, he said, the observer must change his position and viewpoint." See Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists, Vol. I*, trans. George Bull (New York: Penguin Classics, 1965 [1568]), 275-6 and the prefix to *Lives* published separately as *Vasari on Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehole (New York: Dover, 1960), 141-99. See also Goffen, 60-64. Paolo Pino, in his *Dialogue on Painting* published in Venice in 1548, recounted the story of Giorgione's paragone earlier than Vasari.

¹³ See Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979). I give special thanks to James Blakeley, specialist in the Swiss Reformation, for clarifying Luther's position on art to me in 2004.

against “graven images.” It is important to note that the very word “graven” was related directly and specifically to images that were carved.¹⁴ As Leatrice Mendelsohn-Martone has noted, “from the earliest Classical times it was thought that sculpture could not only represent, but could contain the “essence” of the God.”¹⁵ Nudity, particularly in sculpture, but also in painting, became awkward, and prudish reformers armed with hammers and fig leaves ran amok. This is not to say that sculpture was completely shunned, destroyed or disfigured, but the Reformation certainly began a decline in the popularity of sculpture on the part of iconoclasts and others suspicious of its purpose especially in highly Protestant countries like Denmark, Germany, England, the Netherlands, Norway, and parts of Switzerland. The charges of idolatry against sculpture persisted throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁶

The Italian sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) would bring back interest to the art form, certainly due to his dramatic style and innovative sculptural concepts. However, during the hundred years or so between the end of Bernini’s career and the beginning of that of Antonio Canova (1757-1822) there were few sculptors with similar international reputations. In France, only Augustin Pajou (1730-1809) would come close; but for most of the eighteenth century until Canova, lesser-known but important regional

¹⁴ The word “graven,” past participle of “grave,” comes from the Latin *gravis*, meaning “heavy, weighty,” but also has etymological roots in Old English (*grafan*) and is akin to the German *graben*. The archaic meaning of “graven” means, in fact, “sculptured,” “to shape by carving” and also “to engrave or incise.” The Oxford English Dictionary cites an early Old English reference to *Exodus*, Chapter Twenty, from 1382: “Thow shalt not make to thee grauen thing,” and in 1388, “a grauen ymage.” Under the second definition of “graven” in the OED, another Biblical reference is provided, again affirming that “graven” referred to sculpture specifically: “1609 Bible (Douay) *Psalms* lxxvii, 58 In their gravens [Vulg. *in sculptilibus suis*] they provoked him to emulation.” See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition, Vol. VI, ed. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 786.

¹⁵ Leatrice Mendelsohn-Martone, *Benedetto Varchi’s “Due Lezzione”: Paragoni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1982), 112.

sculptors dominated in France and Italy. Enlightenment principles allowed for the reacceptance of sculpture after more than a century of religious challenge and usage as a complementary art, but for a long while sculpture was considered subordinate to the other visual fine arts: drawing, painting and architecture.

To illustrate the point of sculpture as a complementary art – that is, adjunct to other art forms – let us take as an example the painting by Bénigne Gagneraux (1756-1795), entitled *Genius of the Arts, Surrounded by Three Small Genii*, of 1789 (fig. 1-1). A handsome and categorically Neo-classical personification of the Arts, who dominates the center of the canvas, is shown about to bestow a laurel crown onto the head of one of three genii, each of whom represents a different discipline of the fine arts. The genie to be crowned is not that representing Sculpture or Architecture, but instead Drawing, a winged putto seated on a fragment of an ionic capital, who is so diligently working in his sketchbook that he fails to notice that he has been chosen as supreme among the arts. Architecture tries to catch the attention of the Genius of the Arts by flailing his architectural plan in the air, with a desperate expression on his pudgy face. Sculpture, puffy-cheeked and blushing, struggling to turn his certainly heavy bas-relief to the attention of the Genius, is perfunctorily ignored. Sculpture is shown not with his preparatory drawing, nor his wax sketch, called a maquette (in Italian this sketch is often called a *bozzetto*), but he is the only Genius shown with a finished product, hence canceling out the idea that he too draws to create. This little personification is not even on the same side of the canvas as the other two, as the main action gravitates towards the right side of the canvas, thus adding force to the idea that Sculpture is certainly separate from Architecture and Drawing. Yet with a Latin

¹⁶ Licht, 16.

phrase, chiseled into a column onto which the Genius of the Arts leans, (and conveniently placed slightly below the mouth of Sculpture as if to indicate he is saying the words to justify and pacify himself alone) Gagneraux honors them all: DOCTARUM...PRAEMIUM FRONTIUM DEIS MISCENT SUPERIS (“Reward for great minds they join the gods on high”).¹⁷

A painting from twenty-three years earlier by Jean-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779) entitled *The Attributes of the Arts and Their Rewards* (fig. 1-2a), however, shows Jean-Baptiste Pigalle’s (1714-1785) sculpture of the god of artistic inspiration, *Mercury Fastening His Wings* (c. 1739-44) as its central object. Pigalle was the first French sculptor to be honored with the cross of the Order of Saint Michael, an honor that he refused in 1765 but later accepted in 1769. The medal is shown on the left in the painting. Chardin painted three versions of the work: one for Catherine II of Russia who commissioned it for the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg; another for Pigalle himself (fig 1-2a); and a third version (location unknown), said to have been shown in the Salon of 1769 in honor of Pigalle, where it was praised by the critic Denis Diderot. Certainly a sculptor being so honored meant something about the rising status of this type of artisan; yet to take this painting as an example that sculpture was considered the main artistic mode of the moment would be misleading. Pigalle and Chardin were friends, and the former owned “at least six” of the latter’s paintings.¹⁸ Thus Chardin’s canvas acts as a tribute to Pigalle the artist, and

¹⁷ Dean Walker, “An Introduction to Sculpture in Rome in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Fine Art/Merrell, 2000), 367. Gagneraux was the first recipient of the États de Bourgogne, in 1776; this was a Rome scholarship established by the region.

¹⁸ For information of these paintings and Chardin in general, see Pierre Rosenberg, et. al., *Chardin*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2000), 306-9 and *passim*.

not to sculpture in general. Furthermore, the other fine arts and their attributes are not completely ignored, as in Gagneraux's work: Painting is represented on the left with a palette, brushes and palette knife (and, of course, by the painting itself), and Architecture is arguably as central to the work as Sculpture, an architectural drawing showing columns scaled out drapes over the desk and under the sculpture, with compass, t-square and ruler all present.

Conversely however, earlier in his career, Chardin produced two similar companion works, entitled *Les Attributs des arts* (fig. 1-2b) and *Les Attributs des sciences*, both now located at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris. In the former work, Sculpture is represented by both a plaster (or marble) bust of an unknown figure on a socle base and a clay bas-relief depicting what seems to be a group of putti. Again, the painting itself and the palette and brushes within the work represent the attributes of Painting, and a rolled blueprint and various ambiguous tools to the right of the sculptural bust represent Architecture. A potted plant, elegant red velvet drapery, and a spider monkey holding a quill frame the still life. Here we could argue more convincingly for the prominence of Sculpture and its role as an important member of the beaux-arts trinity. In *Les Attributs des arts* Chardin honors not a specific sculptor (such as Pigalle) but the medium in a more generalized sense, evidenced by the expansiveness and centrality of the depiction of two forms of the medium.¹⁹

¹⁹ Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744-1818), one of a limited number of female academicians, also depicted the beaux-arts trinity in her painting *The Attributes of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture* of 1769, ultimately accepted as one of her reception pieces to the French Academy. She too depicted two sculptural forms in this painting, a clay head and a headless, armless torso. Her work has been analyzed most recently in Erik Kahng and Marianne Roland Michel, *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press/ Dallas Museum of Art, 2002), 40.

The mid-1700s would certainly be a beginning for the rise of the sculptural medium, but some years of groundwork and other developments would have to occur before it held the reins at the forefront of the proverbial golden chariot in the early 1800s. Although throughout the century drawing was considered the essential medium from which all of the fine arts were derived (as it was equally considered during the Renaissance in most *paragoni* debates), sculpture as an art form in and of itself was beginning to gain greater prominence in the Academy and greater popularity in the Salons, and was propagated by a revival of interest in the antique artifacts, history and culture. This revival was due to a number of important factors, among them (1) the writings of Winkelmann; (2) the birth of a museum culture in France, beginning with Napoleon's restoration of the Louvre and its opening as a public museum in 1795, and the opening of the Museum of Antiquities within the Louvre in 1800; (3) the primacy of Rome as an artistic center; (4) and the international reputations of the sculptors Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen.

1. The Revival of Sculpture in the Late Eighteenth Century and the Rebirth of the Antique: Winkelmann

By the final two decades of the eighteenth century, the art movement now called Neo-classicism reigned supreme throughout Europe. The term was not used during the period; artworks now described as Neo-classical were at that time called the "true style" referring to a revival of the arts, or a "*risorgimento* of the arts" as noted by Hugh Honour.²⁰ Sculpture was the primary medium of expression of Neo-classicism because of the high esteem held

²⁰ Hugh Honour, *Neo-Classicism: Style and Civilization* (New York: Penguin, 1968), 14.

for antiquity, a time from which few paintings survived; only with the advent of Romanticism, around the late 1820s in France, would sculpture begin to lose this preeminence to painting. At this time, the finest and one of the most important Romantic sculptors of the day, Antoine-Louis Barye (1796-1875) had his Salon debut in 1827 and dominated the sculpture scene at the official French Salon exhibitions for the following ten years. It was also during this period that the famous Renaissance contest between line and color was revived, fought out most notably in the Salon of 1824 between two paintings: Ingres' *Vow of Louis XIV* (exemplifying the preeminence of line) and Delacroix's *Massacre at Chios* (exemplifying the importance of color). Sculpture had always been identified with line and contour, and not until the middle of the nineteenth century was it discovered that most ancient sculpture had originally been painted. As the German aestheticist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (fig. 1-3, 1717-1768), noted in his 1764 text, *The History of Ancient Art* (*Geschichte der Kunst des Alterums*), "Color assists beauty; generally it heightens beauty and its forms, but it does not constitute it...Color, however, should have but little share in our consideration of beauty, because the essence of beauty consists, not in color, but in shape, and on this point enlightened minds will at once agree."²¹ Winckelmann himself knew only of marble (white) and bronze (black) sculptures.

A few determining factors played into this new role for sculpture in the eighteenth century. Archeological excavations fostered the revival of taste for the antique, first and foremost. Many major ancient sites in Italy were first excavated in the eighteenth century, including Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli (excavated in 1724, 1742, and 1769), Herculaneum

²¹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*, excerpts ed. Lorenz Eitner in *Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750-1850 Volume I. Enlightenment/Revolution* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970), 15. Eitner uses the translation of Winckelmann's text by G. Henry Lodge published in Boston in 1880.

(1738) and Pompeii (1748 and 1763).²² The exhumed works found at Herculaneum were on view to the public at a nearby museum throughout the excavation period, although sketching from them was strictly prohibited unless an artist was officially commissioned to do so.

Through these excavations and the removal and eventual sale of works of art from churches and private collections, some antique sculpture began to enter the European art market in the late eighteenth century.²³ Although, as today, many scholars and sculptors were against restoration, for fear of misinterpreting the past artists' original intent, or because it was seen as damaging to the works, restoration of these ancient finds became big business and part of many a young sculptor's training included learning how to restore ancient sculptures.²⁴ Also, as part of the revival, early foundries began carving and casting replicas of antiquities for sale.

The writings of Winckelmann, some of which were based on and inspired by the recent excavations, were another major catalyst to the revival of sculpture.²⁵ The publication in 1755 of his manifesto of the Greek ideal, entitled *Reflections on the Imitation*

²² For an overview of some of these issues, see Walker, 211-223; especially 216-22.

²³ Sculpture made up an important part of the finds in Herculaneum and Pompeii, yet Honour notes that "the most important finds...were the large-scale wall paintings." Honour, 45.

²⁴ Liberties taken during such eighteenth-century restorations have been the cause of much historical misunderstanding, and today many museums have opted to remove eighteenth-and nineteenth-century renovations and additions from their antique sculptures. For an example, see Elizabeth J. Milleker, "The Presentation of Marble Sculpture in the New Greek Galleries at the Metropolitan Museum," presentation given at the College Art Association 88th Annual Conference, 25 February 2000, New York. The presentation is available on audio archive through CAA.

²⁵ In his discussion of the prevalent views on sculpture of the eighteenth century, Wittkower cites the work of Winckelmann, Canova, and J.G. Schadow. I prefer instead to discuss Winckelmann, Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen, the latter of whom is more appropriate herein because the latter's reputation was more widely recognized than Schadow's and because Marcello received her earliest sculptural training from H.M. Imhof, a follower of Thorvaldsen. For an intellectual biography of Winckelmann, see Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 1 *passim*.

of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture (Gedanken uber die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst), encouraged the imitation of the classical ideal in any medium. With the publication of this work, sculpture became superior to painting for the first time in modern history since Bernini, and Neo-classical sculpture was promoted as the most pure form (called “True Form” or “True Style”) of the classical model. Originally printed in Dresden in an edition of only fifty copies, the forty-page *Reflections* also contained three engravings done by Winckelmann’s friend and drawing teacher, the Hungarian artist Adam Friedrich Oeser (1717-1799). Winckelmann had yet to travel to Rome (and never went to Greece) to see the “originals” of the works over which he waxed so poetic in *Reflections*, and much of what he knew of Greek art was, unbeknownst to him, based on his study of Roman copies of Greek originals located in Dresden. Yet *Reflections* gained a huge following, solidifying Winckelmann’s reputation as an art historian and archaeologist, and established him as the principal scholar of antiquities in all of Europe. Soon after its initial publication, *Reflections* was translated into French, German, and Italian. All of Winckelmann’s writings, but especially *Reflections*, were in essence a defense of the Neo-classical style. The words “noble simplicity and calm grandeur” (*Edle Einfalt und still Grösse*) which he used to describe the style of the Greek masters (and the sculpture *Laocöon* specifically) became the mantra of the Neo-classical movement in Europe. Although Winckelmann was decidedly anti-French, the French on the other hand were impressed with his reevaluation of the classics. His books were translated and widely read there.²⁶ Winckelmann’s ideas were further advanced by a French scholar, T.B. Eméric-

²⁶ On the Francophobia of Winckelmann and others, see Honour, 29.

David, whose *Recherches sur l'art statuaire chez les anciens et chez les modernes* was published in 1805.²⁷

Reflections was followed by a number of other publications by Winckelmann including his subsequent essays *Observations of the Architecture of the Ancients* (1762), his reports on the ongoing excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum (1762 and 1764), and his magnum opus, *History of Ancient Art* of 1764. He was widely acclaimed in his own time, counted Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) among his closest friends, was the Commissioner of Antiquities to Pope Clement XIII, and was sought for counsel on antiquities by the world's greatest scholars. In his *History of Ancient Art*, Winckelmann wished to create a chronology of Greek sculpture and promoted three ideas which became characteristic of Neo-classicism: (1) the ideal is more perfect than nature, that is, it is a step beyond nature; (2) ideal beauty is most perfectly embodied in the male nude form; and (3) line and contour are more important than color, especially with regard to the pure white marble preferred for sculptures. His theories were highly regarded and his reputation was international, but his life was unfortunately cut short as he was murdered in 1768 by a chance acquaintance in Trieste.

In *Reflections*, Winckelmann informs his readers that “the only way for us to become great, or, if this be possible, inimitable, is to imitate the ancients.”²⁸ Eighteenth-century art theory is very clear on the issue of imitation, which was not considered copying. As if by some early Eugenic philosophy, Winckelmann thought that everything in Greece –

²⁷ Bo Wennberg, *French and Scandinavian Sculpture in the Nineteenth-Century: A Study of Trends and Innovations* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1978), 194.

²⁸ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton (LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 1987), 5.

including the climate, the athleticism of the youths, the geography and the very period of historical time – contributed to the greatness of the Greek race and their cultural production. He even went so far as to say that the Greeks were conscious of the preservation of beauty, and thus did not play the flute “for fear of distorting the face” and that they had methods of changing their eye color from blue to black.²⁹ According to Winckelmann, imitation eventually leads to individuality in an artist:

I believe that the imitation of the Greeks can teach us to become knowledgeable more quickly, for it shows us on the one hand the essence of what is otherwise dispersed through all of nature, and, on the other hand, the extent to which the most perfect nature can boldly, yet wisely, rise above itself. Imitation will teach the artist to think and to draw with confidence, since he finds established in it the highest limits of that which is both humanly and divinely beautiful...only then can the artist...allow himself...a greater freedom.³⁰

Winckelmann’s analogy between two kinds of artists, one who studies antiquity and the other who studies directly from nature, would become part of the basis for all institutionalized art education to follow; the latter artist would “depict nature as he finds her,” but the former would “depict nature as it should be.”³¹

Finally, it is necessary to mention the relationship between the Neo-classical movement and the idea of the hero in western art. Certainly Winckelman was aware of the idea of the hero in Greek art and society. Theirs were the great heroes of the ancient world, consisting of the actual soldiers, their mythological gods, goddesses, and counterparts, and even the athletes of the ancient games. The heroes of Homer were greatly praised and studied by Neo-classical artists, and Neo-classical art is almost completely inundated with

²⁹ Winckelmann, 9.

³⁰ Winckelmann, 21.

³¹ Winckelmann, 23.

images of heroic male figures of ancient origin and invention. Even James Macpherson's *Fingal* and other epic poems published as the ancient lost works of Ossian, a mythical Gaelic bard of Macpherson's invention, were highly praised for the greatness of its heroes. The theme of the noble hero was a staple of Neo-classical art, and their stories were part of the essence that was embedded in "noble simplicity and quite grandeur." In this context, only in rare cases were the heroes ever female. According to the great scholar of heroic mythology, Joseph Campbell, women have historically played the role of goddess, temptress, mother, and the hero's prize, but only rarely the hero themselves. Symbolist artists at the *fin-de-siècle* would later revive the exploration of the hero in art. In subsequent chapters, I hope to show that Marcello, an early Symbolist, tried to fight against this type, that is, the hero as exclusively male, in her sculpture (see Chapter Four).

Thus Winckelmann seemed to beckon sculptors (and, to some extent, painters) of his day to look towards the Greeks for inspiration and for a way to return to the greatness of antiquity (for a style *à la Grec* or *all'antica*). It must be noted, however, that his discussion of ancient Greek sculpture was inherently contradictory and could be equally discouraging to eighteenth century sculptors. As Winckelmann noted, the historical period of time and all of the surrounding elements – climate, culture, historical time, geography, race, etc. – contributed to the perfection of the art of the ancient Greeks, and those elements together could never be exactly replicated. Thus how could modern sculptors ever create works on a par with Greek sculptors of the past? Winckelmann had justified sculpture and had elevated the medium as superior to all others, and yet sculptors could never live up to the achievements of the ancient masters or Winckelmann's expectations. According to Alison

West, it was in a way, certainly for many sculptors, like winning the battle but losing the war:

The great return to the precepts of classicism presented a special problem for sculptors, since the largest surviving body of work from antiquity was sculpture. This naturally put contemporary sculpture at a disadvantage, because it was held to be, a priori, inferior to its predecessors, and also at a singular advantage, since, by virtue of its medium, it was the natural perpetuator of the classical style. To Winckelmann, Schlegel, Hegel, Reynolds, Quatremère de Quincy, Gautier, Baudelaire and others, as well as to a good many artists, sculpture had achieved the summit of its perfection several millennia before, never to be equaled again.³²

Similarly, Whitney Davis has noted Winckelmann's inherent contradictions; Davis reminds us that although Winckelmann recommends imitation as a way to find and restore the Greek ideal, he finds that contemporary copies that lack the forcefulness of the original only underscore the loss of the great society and its beautiful works of art.³³ Here it seems that Davis interprets Winckelmann's statements about imitation to mean, in no uncertain terms, "to copy directly." Finally, in their introduction to a newly translated publication of *Reflections*, Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton have declared that there was an inherent contradiction in Winckelmann's theories:

The dilemma of Winckelmann's aesthetics was that it led him to an illogical conclusion. Systematic imitation of the ancients was historically unfeasible and of little practical use for the very reason Winckelmann had demonstrated so brilliantly, namely that the development of Greek art was determined by its particular environment: the climatic, social, and political conditions that made it unique. It is the irony of Winckelmann's genius that his dual role as modern historian and conservative aesthetician caught him on a one-way road looking

³² Alison West, *From Pigalle to Préault: Neoclassicism and the Sublime in French Sculpture, 1760-1840* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4-5.

³³ Whitney Davis, "Winckelmann Divided: Mourning the Death of Art History," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 44-45. According to Davis, Winckelmann's described these less forceful copies as "a trace of its loss," with "its" referring to the classical ideal. Davis also relies heavily on Winckelmann's sexuality in his article, which is interesting but does not concern me here.

back with nostalgia while erecting signposts pointing in the opposite direction.³⁴

Thus the contemporary sculptor, in an advantageous position because of the medium in which s/he worked, had inherited a great legacy, yet one difficult to live up to. Was it possible to imitate the past, yet be seen as uniquely modern at the same time? This would be the challenge of all great sculptors of the era, and many sculptors, beginning with Canova, nobly faced the challenge and were victorious.³⁵

2. The New Museum Culture

Although the French critic and theorist Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849) did not think a museum of confiscated art would have much impact on modern sculptors, in fact another major reason for the revival of the antique was the opening of the Museum of Antiquities (*Salle des antiques*, or *musée d'antiques*) on 19 brumaire year IX (November 10, 1800) within the Louvre Museum (figs. 1-4 and 1-5) in Paris. After more than twenty years of planning, the Louvre opened to the public in August 1793, during the French Revolution, and various galleries within the museum (such as the Museum of Antiquities) were opened at various intervals throughout the ten years that immediately

³⁴ Introduction to Winckelmann's *Reflections*, Heyer and Norton (as in note 8), xix.

³⁵ What would Winckelmann have thought of the female sculptor? One assumes not much, since he did not think that even the female body was as worthy a subject as that of the male: "Since human beauty, in order that one may obtain an knowledge of it, must be included in one general idea, I have observed that those who pay no attention except to the beauties of the female sex, and are little moved, or not at all by those of *our* sex, are not likely to have an innate, general and lively feeling for beauty: For them, beauty in the art of the Greeks must necessarily be imperfect, for the greatest beauties of that art are more frequently to be found in the masculine than in the feminine sex." See Mario Praz, *On Neoclassicism*, trans. Angus Davidson (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1969), 44.

followed.³⁶ Originally the museum public was comprised mainly of scholars, artists and patrons, both men and women, but the audience expanded as the century progressed.

Certainly the Louvre was built on Enlightenment principles, as it was meant to instruct such a public on the development and history of art and the idea of the individual genius, but the museum also played a political role in that it housed the booty of the Napoleonic Wars, including many sculptures taken from Italy. The museum acted as “evidence” that France was a superior nation in politics and culture, and thus, “...claimed to be uniquely qualified to safeguard the world’s treasures for the benefit of mankind.”³⁷

The last project to be put into place by the Louvre museum administration at the end of the eighteenth century was the construction of the antique sculpture galleries, begun in 1795 and greatly facilitated by the French invasion of Italy and the collection of spoils in 1796-98. Through Winckelmann’s writings and other sources, Italy was known best for its great collection of ancient marbles, and it was those items that France appropriated during the invasions. In 1797, Pope Pius VI was forced by the French to sign the Treaty of Tolentino, which among other things called for the release of one hundred works of art to be chosen by French commissioners (yet far more than one hundred works were actually taken).³⁸ By this time, both Winckelmann’s *Reflections* and his *History of Ancient Art* had been translated into French and were available at all the principal libraries in the country.

³⁶ For a history of the Louvre, see Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 1 *passim*.

³⁷ McClellan, 7.

³⁸ For a history of this treaty and the later repatriation of these works, see Christopher M.S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 171-94. Additionally, see Patricia Mainardi, “Assuring the Empire of the Future: The 1798 Fête de la Liberté,” *Art Journal* (Summer 1989): 155-63.

Because Winckelmann's friend Anton Raphael Mengs (and others) saw inconsistencies with his chronology of ancient sculpture and because Mengs believed that many of the ancient marbles taken from Italy, such as the *Apollo Belvedere*, were in fact Roman copies (to the chagrin of the French), great pains were taken at the museum to group the sculptures by subject rather than by date or origin.³⁹ The *Laocöon* and the *Apollo Belvedere* were both present in the Louvre at that time to the benefit of artists who wished to study directly from works that Winckelmann had seen for himself and of which he so inspirationally wrote.⁴⁰ It can certainly be argued that the reason Napoleon's army chose to make off with both *Laocöon* and the *Apollo Belvedere* (among other works including many paintings) and praise them so fulsomely was because Winckelmann wrote of these two specifically and thought so highly of them years earlier. In 1821 the Louvre acquired, via more acceptable means, the Hellenistic masterpiece *Venus de Milo*, one year after its discovery on the Cycladean island of Melos.⁴¹ After the fall of Napoleon I in 1815, Canova (with the help of a number of English dignitaries) worked to return the looted works taken from the Papal States and Italy during the Napoleonic Wars; artworks taken from Germany and the Netherlands were also repatriated.

Although an overview of the history of museums is not essential to this study, it is interesting to note that the Louvre was actually a latecomer to the European museum

³⁹ McClellan, 148-54. It should be noted that Mengs was an advocate of museums: in the eighteenth century, while the court painter and artistic advisor to Charles III of Spain, he advised the king to start a Royal Museum. Charles III did not take the bait. Instead the Museo Real de Pintura y Escultura (now the Prado Museum) opened through the efforts of María Isabel de Braganza and her husband King Ferdinand VII.

⁴⁰ McClellan goes into greater depth in his discussion of the *musée d'antiques* in *Inventing the Louvre*, 148-54.

⁴¹ The Louvre did not acquire its other great Hellenistic sculpture, the *Winged Victory (Nike) of Samothrace*, until 1891.

scene.⁴² Italy, the art center of the world in the eighteenth century, had the oldest museums in the world: the Capitoline Museum, founded in 1471; the Galleria degli Uffizi, founded by Francesco I de Medici in 1581; and the Musei Vaticani, begun in 1503 under Pope Julius II but officially opened to the public in the 1750s. In 1776-80, Pope Pius VI added a rotunda designed by Michelangelo Simonetti for the display of antique sculptures.⁴³ The oldest museum in England began with the private collection of curiosities of Elias Ashmole (1617-1693), donated to Oxford University and later opened to the public as the Ashmolean Museum in 1683; it was the first museum in Britain open to the public. The British Museum was created much later by an Act of Parliament in 1753, and was opened to the public in 1759. At the time of its opening, it had three departments: printed books, maps, globes, and drawings; manuscripts, medals and coins; and natural and artificial productions. However, its Department of Antiquities did not open until 1807, some seven years after that of the Louvre.⁴⁴

One should remember that many private collections of European aristocrats, princes and lords, known as *Kunstkammers* and *Kabinettes*, were beginning to open to scholars and the public all over Europe at this time. France's first cabinet of antiquities contained objects once owned by Jean-Baptiste Boisot, the Abbot of St. Vincent in Besançon, in the 1500s.

⁴² The Musée des monuments français originated around 1790 and opened in 1795 by Alexandre Lenoir as a preservation museum. Because Lenoir was suspected of playing a part in the desecration of French churches due to the large presence of church monuments and tombs in the museum, the clergy staged a reaction against Lenoir's institution in 1815. This is not to be confused with the Musée de sculpture comparée, which opened in 1879 under the direction of Viollet-le-Duc and the then minister of public instruction, Jules Ferry. The Musée de sculpture comparée is now the modern Musée des monuments français. For a complete history, see *Le Musée des monuments français* (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, 2001).

⁴³ Honour, 86.

⁴⁴ Other major European museums opened later in the nineteenth century, such as the Museo Real de Pintura y Escultura (now the Prado), which opened in Madrid on 19 November 1819, and the State Hermitage

Although in England the Elgin Marbles were not bought by the British Museum until 1816, they were on view to the public at Thomas Bruce's (the 7th Lord of Elgin) London flat beginning as early as 1802.⁴⁵ Canova was called upon to authenticate the Elgin Marbles in 1815. Other important sculpture locations included Alexandre Lenoir's Museum of French Monuments, which opened in 1793 and was officially recognized in 1795. It contained French sculpture and tomb monuments dating from the Middle Ages to the present day removed from French churches and it remained open to the public until December of 1816.⁴⁶ In addition there was the Belvedere Museum in Vienna (1779), and Hugh Honour notes the establishment of the Fredericianum, a museum of antique statues, a library, and natural history collection, which opened in Germany in 1769.

Museums of copies and casts were also popular, and many opened around Europe later in the century; prior to this casts of famous works of art were used in art schools to train students to draw *après la bosse*, or after plaster casts. Copying was a major component in the education of a young artist, and this education was facilitated by casts of works from around the world. Plaster casts taken from famous works of art made studying these works easier, more widely available, and more engaging than if students were left only to copy from works immediately available. The Musée des études at the École des beaux-arts in Paris formed in 1834 was one of the earliest study collections of casts in France. Major cities such as Paris, London and later New York had large repositories of casts, and some of

Museum in St. Petersburg, which opened on 7 February 1852. Information on the openings of the museums listed in this section came directly from the official museum websites.

⁴⁵ West, 221.

⁴⁶ For an entire chapter on Lenoir's museum, see McClellan, 155-97. Lenoir's son Albert helped found the Musée de Cluny in 1844. See also Honour, 86.

these, such as the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington, are still on public display. This museum, which opened in 1844 as the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House (moving to South Kensington in 1857), was set up “not to collect sculpture but rather to encourage excellence in contemporary design and manufacturing by the provision of exemplary samples from the present and earlier examples.”⁴⁷ These examples consisted of both original artworks and plaster casts. Even before the opening of the museum, London had a Government School of Design, established as early as 1837 where casts were used for student instruction. The casts from this institution ended up in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Today the emphasis on casts has waned, mainly because drawing from the live model is more widely acceptable for both male and female students and because students can now travel to see and learn from famous original works of art with relative ease. However it should be noted that many casts made in the nineteenth century have today gained a new purpose: many of the original sculptures are in a more damaged condition today than they were when the casts were taken, or the works have been completely destroyed since the casts were taken. The Victoria and Albert’s cast of the ancient Roman *Column of Trajan* preserves many details that have since been damaged on the column itself due to pollution. Additionally there exists a female bust by the early Renaissance sculptor Francesco Laurana (c. 1430-1502), for which this museum’s cast is the only surviving record, the original work of art having been destroyed in 1945 in Berlin.

All of these museums or collection-institutions were open to women and thus were

⁴⁷ Paul Williamson, ed., *European Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996), 10.

important to their development as artists, especially since this was a time when there were few other scholarly establishments that would accept them. The museum was an important breakthrough for all artists' educations, but for women it was revolutionary. Even if they needed a chaperone to accompany them, female artists would at least gain familiarity with, and be inspired by, the works and could almost always copy after them unhindered.

Admission fees to these institutions were often minimal or free. Most male students were taught to learn through observation of works by painters and sculptors of the past, and female artists learned to do this on their own. Thus early public museums were instrumental to women's artistic education, particularly in the area of sculpture because there were many sculptures and plaster casts on view at these institutions.

3. Rome

More than any other city in the nineteenth-century, Rome was considered the center for the study of ancient society, culture and education. It was the place in which the most valued works of ancient history and the Renaissance still remained, most *in situ*, well before a serious museum culture anywhere in Europe. Even after the Louvre opened to the public in 1793, intellectuals and tourists alike took the "Grand Tour," which was felt to be imperative to a scholarly and cultured lifestyle, and Rome was often the culmination of the trip. There, art was to be found just by strolling the streets, touring the churches, and walking among the ruins. Artists from all over Europe and America came to Rome for their artistic education, and some remained there for a greater part of their careers. As we will see in the next chapter, Marcello spent five formative years there between 1853 and 1861 to

study and make contacts with other sculptors, and continuously returned to Rome and to other parts of Italy throughout her life.

There were numerous advantages for artists in Rome, especially sculptors, and more especially, female sculptors. Foremost was the inspiration and direct education one would gain from viewing, in person, the great artworks from both antiquity and the Italian Renaissance. The many and excellent early museums in Rome had an abundance of ancient Roman and Italian Renaissance sculptures, from which artists could learn and gain inspiration. Since more sculptures survived from these earlier periods than paintings, Rome proved particularly magnetic to budding sculptors. Painters in Rome, lacking ancient models, were instead inspired by the natural Italian landscapes and were particularly “seduced by the...ruins.”⁴⁸ Learning directly from past works of art was the standard form of training, as most young sculptors acquired their formative education through sketching after sculptures and casts. Since drawing from the living nude model was usually frowned upon for women artists, while viewing art was seen as more acceptable for them, learning to draw, sketch and model from existing sculptures was particularly appealing for women. In some earlier educational environments, though, women could be prohibited from viewing a plaster cast if it depicted a nude human form.

Expenses for everyday living and materials in Rome were significantly cheaper than elsewhere, such as London or Paris. Barbara Novak reminds us that Herman Melville, for

⁴⁸ Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980), 214ff. See also page 223 where Novak discusses the differences of patriotism between American expatriate painters and sculptors: “Though the sculptors, tied to their marble and to their craftsmen, had practical reasons for immersing themselves in the Italian dream, the landscape painters also had them, on the other side of the ocean.” Although Novak is concerned with American expatriates in Rome, her statements seem true of all foreigners studying art in Rome during the same period.

example, dined at the Trattoria Lepri on the Via Condotti for nineteen cents a day.⁴⁹ Marble was much less expensive when bought at the source, right at the quarries. Also in abundance and willing to work on the cheap were models (often peasant boys and girls), marble carvers (known commonly by the French term *praticiens* or the Italian *scarpellini*) and older, somewhat past-their-prime artists who were more than willing to give lessons to any serious artist, male or female, for a modest fee. Adding to these positive economic factors, an overflow of wealthy American tourists on the “Grand Tour” often made Rome the climax of their trip, and visited many studios along the Piazza di Spagna, in order to buy works directly from the artists (studio addresses were often listed in the guide books of the day). Wealthy collectors would visit studios and order works in marble after seeing *bozzetti* for such works in clay or plaster.⁵⁰

Rome also provided access to an entire international community of sculptors, many of whom had studios along the Via Spagna and dined at the famed Caffè Greco. Older, usually male, artists were abundantly available to train young sculptors in Rome, and, as mentioned above, private tuition could be obtained from any one of them for the right price. Training women was most profitable for these teachers; although many young men could acquire their education for free or cheaply from official academic schools, women had almost no choice but to pay for it. Finally, Rome had a very liberal society where women could do outrageous things such as wear pants without a permit or walk the city’s streets without a chaperone (although the latter was probably not wise, even by today’s standards).

⁴⁹ Novak, 211.

⁵⁰ Walker, 216-22.

In Rome, foreign women were emancipated from the strict, conservative decorum expected of them at home.

This is not to say that women were completely welcomed in the very male-dominated sculpture society that existed in Rome. Bologna was actually a more liberal city that had, since the Renaissance, a university that welcomed women artists and scholars. Although Rome was, in many ways, more accepting of their existence than almost any other city in the world, the world of sculpture production was still gender-coded as male and the field was dominated by men. Harriet Goodhue Hosmer (1830-1908, fig. 1-6), without doubt the most famous American female sculptor of the nineteenth century, wrote a long poem first published in the *New York Evening Post* in the summer of 1864 entitled "The Doleful Ditty of the Roman Caffè Greco," in which she satirized male sculptors, who complained:

Tis time my friend, we cogitate,
And make some desperate stand,
Or else our sister artists here
Will drive us from the land.

It does seem hard that we at last
Have rivals in the clay,
When for so many happy years
We had it all our way.⁵¹

It should also be noted that Rome's status as a major artistic center in the early years of the nineteenth century was built upon the presence of Canova; if he was there, then it was the place all sculptors needed to be. After Canova's death Hosmer worked in one of his former studios, a small space adjacent to that of her teacher, John Gibson. An English sculptor who taught only one other female artist, the English sculptor Mary Thornycroft

⁵¹ Harriet Goodhue Hosmer, "The Doleful Ditty of the Roman Caffè Greco," as reprinted in *Harriet Hosmer Letters and Memories*, ed. Cornelia Carr (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1913), 194-97.

(1809-1895), Gibson had arrived in Rome in 1817 and studied with both Canova and Thorvaldsen.

A major part of the Roman cultural landscape dominated by foreigners was the French Academy in Rome (the *Académie de France à Rome*), established in 1664 and governed first by the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture and then by the École des beaux-arts after 1798. The *Prix de Rome* competition was open to any male student at the Academy (or after 1798, the École des beaux-arts), who was an unmarried, French citizen under thirty years of age and who had won a medal in any of the various competitions held at the school.⁵² To win, artists had to adhere to the standards of academic classicism, as established by Winckelman and other critics and theorists who followed. Not until the twentieth century, in 1903, was the competition opened to women, and a woman did not win it until 1911, when a young sculptor named Lucienne-Antoinette-Adélaïde Heuvelmans (1881-1944) took the prize.⁵³ The winner was provided with a three-to-five year stay at the *Académie de France*, located at the Villa Medici, at state expense. All living expenses were provided by the Academy, and taking commissions from patrons was frowned upon because it interfered with a student's progress, although many students did so anyway to earn extra funds. Winning the *Prix* also insured an artist's future success. It was possible to have a successful career without winning the *Prix de Rome*, as the career of many a sculptor of the

⁵² For additional information on the *prix*, see Philippe Grunhech, *Les Concours des prix de Rome 1797-1863* (Paris: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 1986), 1 *passim*; Carl Goldstein, *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 59; and Emmanuel Schwartz, *Les Sculptures de l'École des beaux-arts de Paris, histoire, doctrines, catalogue* (Paris: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 2003), 130-39.

⁵³ Edouard Lapage, *Une Page de l'histoire de l'art du XIXe Siècle: Une Conquête féministe, Mme Léon Bertaux* (Paris: J. Dagon, 1912), 262.

period proved, yet these sculptors had to work much harder for recognition and to compete for public commissions.

The competition for sculptors usually had between forty-five and seventy-five contestants in a given year.⁵⁴ The Academy would begin by choosing a Greek, Roman or Biblical subject for that year's competition. There were two testing levels, the *premier essai* (requiring a drawn sketch) and the *deuxième essai* (requiring a figure sketched from a live model). From the contestants of the *premier essai*, sixteen would advance to the *deuxième essai*. The drawn sketches prepared during the *premier essai* were taken from the artists and held by the judges until the end of the competition, to insure that the original concept was not drastically changed in the final concept, which was grounds for disqualification. No drawings to help artists remember their original proposals were allowed during the administering of the *deuxième essai*. Artists who tried to sneak in drawings, or any papers for that matter, as one artist who will figure largely herein, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-1875), had unsuccessfully tried to do in 1846, were disqualified.⁵⁵ In the second stage of the competition, the sculptor was asked to produce a figure from a living model posed by the *Section de Sculpture*. Eight finalists advanced to the last stage, in which they had to complete a finished sculpture based on their original concept sketch; from this final stage only one sculptor would be chosen to go to Rome.⁵⁶ Although according to Bo Wennberg

⁵⁴ For a detailed history of the Prix de Rome and a list of all the winning sculptors from 1801 to 1968, see Schwartz, 140-94.

⁵⁵ For information regarding Carpeaux and the *Prix de Rome*, see Anne M. Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1986), 91-93. Carpeaux competed for the *Prix* nine times, six times as a finalist. He finally won the *prix* in 1854 with his *Hector tenant dans ses bras son fils Astanax* (Hector holding his Son Astanax in his Arms).

⁵⁶ Anne M. Wagner, "Learning to Sculpt in the Nineteenth-Century: An Introduction," *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth Century Sculpture in North American Collections*, exh. cat., (Los Angeles: Los

the sculpture *Prix de Rome* required a finished composition as a bas-relief, and not until the 1880s was the competition “decided on the basis of sculptures in the round,”⁵⁷ the competition actually alternated between bas-reliefs and sculptures in the round from 1806 onwards.

Once in attendance at the Academy in Rome, the winning artist was expected to produce what was known as an *envoi* for each year he was there, productions that included *têtes d'expression*, bas-reliefs, and a completed full-scale marble figure group. Often the final full-scale model would be submitted to the French Salon exhibition of the year the work was completed, providing an introduction of the sculptor's work to the professional and academic arena.

The major criticism of the French Academy in Rome was the lack of originality and freedom that the artists were allowed to have. Only a few *Prix de Rome* winners would ever break the chains of their formal training to produce unique and innovative work. As early as 1793, the painter Jacques-Louis David exclaimed, “in the name of humanity, in the name of justice, for the love of art, and, above all through your love for youth, let us destroy, bring to nothing, the already too fateful academies which cannot any longer exist in a free state.”⁵⁸

Although many artists were aware of the stagnant atmosphere of the French Academy in Rome, many competed for the prize anyway because it insured important contacts, professional success, and future commissions. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-

Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980), 9-20. Wagner again deals with Carpeaux and the *Prix de Rome* in *Carpeaux*, 63-108.

⁵⁷ Wennberg, 195. Photographs of many of the winning compositions are found in Schwartz, 140-94.

⁵⁸ Jean-Pierre Mouilleseaux, “David: A Classical Painter Against the Academy and a Teacher of the French School,” in *The French Academy: Classicism and Its Antagonists*, ed. June Hargrove (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 131, 138.

1875), who lost the *Prix de Rome* eight times before winning on his ninth attempt, and who changed masters from François Rude (1784-1855) to Francisque Duret (1804-1865) because the latter produced more winning students, himself knew of the pitfalls of the Academy. Carpeaux noted that “the only students of the School of Rome who have made a name in the history of French art are those who have best played truants and thus escaped the consequences of a hard and dangerous teaching.”⁵⁹ Pierre Jean David d’Angers (1788-1855), in a statement that seems to have been an antithesis of Winckelmann’s theories, noted that “antiquity becomes a fruitless field if one, when harvesting, does not bring his own inspiration.”⁶⁰ But before David d’Angers had uttered these words, two sculptors at the beginning of the century had already succeeded in bringing inspiration to their antique-inspired works and escaped the bonds of their tutelage.

4. The Influence of Antonio Canova (Italy), Bertel Thorvaldsen (Denmark) and Michelangelo Buonarroti (Italy)

Although between the careers of Bernini and Canova (fig. 1-7) there were many talented and well-known sculptors working in various cities in Europe, none had equaled nor surpassed the achievements of these two sculptors. The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century crushed the ideas that were prominent during the Reformation, with the denouncing of religion and the supremacy of the individual genius, and Canova’s works arrived on the scene at just the right moment in history. Canova’s sculptures were thought by many a

⁵⁹ Le Normand-Romain, 166.

⁶⁰ H. Jouin, *David d’Angers, sa vie son oeuvre, ses écrits et ses contemporains* (Paris, 1878), 2: 175; as quoted in Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, “The Weight of Tradition,” in *The French Academy: Classicism and Its Antagonists*, 141.

critic to have embodied Winckelmann's theories on the imitation of classical ideal, and even went beyond Winckelmann to bring something new, modern and improved to this ideal. His reputation almost single-handedly resurrected sculpture as the most revered medium, and for a brief moment sculpture even surpassed the status of painting and painters. His death in 1822 could also be used as a date to mark and signify the beginning of the end of the Neo-classical movement in Europe, although the influence of the classical ideal would in fact persist throughout the nineteenth century in Europe and America.

In the eighteenth century, according to Dean Walker, "the subsidiary role of sculpture within architectural projects largely came to an end through the reestablishment of sculpture as an independent work of art..."⁶¹ This reassessment can be attributed in part to Canova's reputation and success. The fact that during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the most important artist in Europe was a sculptor promoted the reputation of the medium immensely. By the time Canova had reached thirty years of age he was considered the finest sculptor of his day. His international clientele exceeded Bernini's considerably, and his completion of two papal tombs by 1800 was "an honor not achieved by a sculptor since Bernini."⁶² Canova was the first sculptor to develop an artistic balance between Winckelmann's call for "imitation" of the ancients and a modern and individual interpretation of those ancient ideals. Canova's art embodied the very essence of simplicity, thought to be the aim of all art by Enlightenment scholars who espoused Winckelmann's criteria of noble simplicity and quiet grandeur. Although Canova's work best embodied the theories of Winckelmann, grace and simplicity in the nude youthful body,

⁶¹ Walker, 222.

⁶² Walker, 219.

he managed to create original works of art and refused to make copies of ancient sculptures for collectors so as to avoid being labeled a copyist. Canova's career spanned more than forty years and his influence on Neo-classical sculptors cannot be overstated.

Canova led an illustrious life. After studying privately with his grandfather Pasino Canova (1714-1794), a minor sculptor and owner of a quarry at Possagno,⁶³ he trained privately with the sculptor Giuseppe Bernardi (d.1774) and, after his death, with Giovanni Ferrari (1744-1826). He attended the *Accademia* in Venice, but while still a student he obtained major commissions. In 1779 he was already nominated to the Venetian *Accademia*, and he left to study in Rome later that year. There, like most artists who came before and after him, he met influential people, made major contacts, and produced his most famous and important works. Some French critics admired Canova even after he made the French return the sculptures Napoleon looted from Italy; Quatremère de Quincy described his *Theseus and the Minotaur* (fig. 1-8, 1781-83) as the first example of the resurrection of antiquity.⁶⁴ Quatremère de Quincy's *Canova et ses ouvrages*, one of the first major monographic studies of his life and work, was published in Paris in 1834.

Canova's tomb sculptures would be important throughout the nineteenth century, as designs for extravagant and even poetic tomb sculptures for even the slightly rich came into vogue. The fashion for elaborate tomb sculptures would remain popular throughout the century, as the many macabre subjects that could be produced for tombs were popular with

⁶³ Hugh Honour, "Canova's Sculptural Practice," in *Canova* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1992; New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 33.

⁶⁴ Quatremère de Quincy, *Canova et ses ouvrages; ou Mémoires historiques sur la vie et les travaux de ce célèbre artiste* (Paris: Adrien Le Clere et cie., 1834), 33. "Je ne saurois exprimer quel plaisir il eut de m'entendre lui dire, et lui développer ce que me paroissoit pronostiquer son groupe, où je voyois le premier exemple donné à Rome de la véritable résurrection du style, du système et des principes de l'antiquité."

Romantic and Realist sculptors. This would continue to be the case throughout the century all over Europe and in the United States, where cemeteries had a triple function as resting places for the dead, public parks, and outdoor sculpture museums. (Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York, and Père Lachaise in Paris are two major examples of this nineteenth-century phenomenon, which has regained popularity in recent years.⁶⁵) Also in the 1780s, Canova's works on the cupid theme could be understood as the earliest works that were part of a modern sculptural series. Inspired by finds excavated at Herculaneum, he became known as the leader in the erotic-mythological genre.

In his later years, the majority of Canova's output was portraiture, a subject type that would become most lucrative to sculptors in the nineteenth century. Prior to 1798, the Papacy was the major patron of large-scale sculpture, but because of political turmoil and the Napoleonic wars, that patronage began to wane.⁶⁶ Government and state commissions throughout Europe but especially in Italy and France were not supported as they had been in the past, and this would not change in France until well into the Second Empire (1852-1870); thus sculptors appealed to private patrons for sales. Although Canova received more official commissions than any sculptor in Europe, he did this as well. Prior to 1815, Canova produced numerous works for Napoleon's family and court, the most famous certainly being *Maria Paolina Borghese as Venus Victrix* (fig. 1-9, 1808). Like many sculptors, Canova

⁶⁵ Recent plans to reopen the original chapel at Green-Wood Cemetery as a mini-museum and tourist welcoming center and weekly tours currently held from early spring to late fall are evidence of this revival of interest in the art of tombs. Père Lachaise remains in every guidebook of Paris, complete with maps denoting the location of famous persons' graves. A huge on-line database boasting an archive of over 300,000 graves can be accessed on-line at www.findagrave.com, where the final resting places of many famous artists are archived with color digital images and location information. See also Jeffrey I. Richman, *Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery: New York's Buried Treasure* (New York: Stinehour Press, 1998), and Roger Charneau and Antoine Stéphan, *Les ailes et le sablier: le jardin-musée du Père-Lachaise* (Paris: Éditions Cercle d'Art, 1997).

⁶⁶ Walker, 222.

experimented with painting after 1780 and worked in the service of the arts, giving donations of his own money to cultural institutions and helping museums to acquire works of art from excavations. Although Canova never took on any students of his own, he devoted a large amount of his own money to helping young art students. After the advent of Romanticism, Canova's reputation waned, but his legacy was restored in the twentieth century.

Because of his reputation as a great artist and a person of integrity and intelligence, Canova was called upon to negotiate the return of art looted from the Papal States and Italy by the French. France, and its relatively nascent Louvre Museum, was referred to by Canova as "this great cavern of stolen goods."⁶⁷ Originally Canova refused the assignment, foreseeing the political effect this would have on his reputation, but he was eventually convinced to take it on by Cardinal Consalvi and Pope Pius VII.⁶⁸ His major argument for having the works returned (supported by Quatremère de Quincy and the Pope) was that Rome was "the seat of the arts and the tutor of artists," and that the works would be better understood and appreciated in Rome.⁶⁹ Most of the major works were repatriated (save for a few which were too heavy to return or which were widely dispersed and hidden throughout France, making them difficult to reclaim) and Canova was given the title of marchese d'Ischia by Pope Pius VII, which came with a stipend of 3,000 scudi a year, funds that he promptly gave away to cultural institutions he favored.⁷⁰ He also earned the

⁶⁷ For a recent overview of Canova's role in the return of looted art to Rome, see Johns, 171-94.

⁶⁸ Johns, 172.

⁶⁹ Johns, 173.

⁷⁰ Johns, 191.

detestation of the French, which would resonate in many critics' writings throughout the century.

Although he became a hero in Italy, and although some remained angry that he was unable to retrieve all of the works of art, Canova's legacy in France was stunted. When a monument to Canova was proposed after his death, the final conception being a cenotaph by the artist, librarian, and collector Leopoldo Cicognara (1767-1834), Louis-Philippe d'Orléans (later Louis-Philippe, citizen king of France) adamantly refused to subscribe to it:

It is public knowledge that in 1815 Canova abandoned his chisel to come to Paris, charged with the destruction of this museum of which France deplores the loss, and of which the friends of the fine arts of all countries must, in my opinion, regret the dispersal. This sad page in his history prohibits any Frenchman from adding his name to the list of those who are raising a monument to him.⁷¹

Canova's only contemporary to have a somewhat equal reputation to his own was the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (fig. 1-10, 1770-1844). Some saw Thorvaldsen as Canova's equal when the latter was still alive, but the former's career flourished best after the latter's death. According to Thorvaldsen's biographer Just Matthias Thiele, when Canova died in 1822, Thorvaldsen "stood without a rival at the head of the sculptors of the day."⁷²

Thorvaldsen was born of two paupers, Gotskalk Thorvaldsen, an immigrant wood carver and Karen Dagnes, daughter of a schoolmaster. In Copenhagen, the place of his birth, he grew up in poverty, but showed a talent for carving at an early age. Entering the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen at age eleven, he received his earliest formal tutelage

⁷¹ Johns, 200.

⁷² Just Matthias Thiele, *The Life of Thorvaldsen*, trans. Rev. M.R. Barnard (London: Chapman and Hall, 1865), 143. Thiele's monograph on Thorvaldsen was originally published around 1831-50.

from the (at that time famed) tomb sculptor Johannes Wiedwelt (1731-1802), a friend and supporter of the theories of Winckelmann. Thorvaldsen won a number of medals and scholarships and eventually won a travel scholarship from the Academy in Copenhagen, which brought him to Rome on 8 March 1797 (a day he later celebrated as his "Roman Birthday"). He spent most of his working life in Rome, and after Canova's death he became the leading Neo-classical sculptor in that city. His first major work, *Jason and the Golden Fleece* (fig. 1-11, 1803), was a product of his studies in Rome and became known as one of the greatest Neo-classical masterpieces of the day. Where Canova's works were more closely related to the ancient Hellenistic sculptural style, Thorvaldsen's works were linked to the Severe or Early Classical style similar to the ancient works of Phidias. Much was made of the comparison between Canova and Thorvaldsen and, respectively, the Italian and the Nordic styles.

Thorvaldsen became a professor of the Academy in Florence the year after *Jason*, in 1804. This appointment was followed by a membership and professorship at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen (1805) and also at the prestigious *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome (1808).⁷³ *Jason* was followed by commissions for numerous other works, many of them mythological figures and portraits. In 1819-21, Thorvaldsen was commissioned by the city of Lucerne to design the *Lion of Lucerne* (modeled in 1819 but carved into the cliff at Lucerne by Lucas Ahorn (1789-1856) in 1819-21). The colossal image of a dying lion commemorates the Swiss Guards who remained faithful to Louis XVI, many of whom were

⁷³ Sigurd Schultz, "Thorvaldsen's Life," *Thorvaldsens Museum* (Copenhagen: Thorvaldsens Museum, 1961), 9-20.

massacred at the Tuileries Palace by an angry Parisian mob in 1792.⁷⁴ The *Lion of Lucerne* would be matched only much later by Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi's (1834-1904) similarly political and colossal *Lion of Belfort* (1875-80).⁷⁵ By the time Thorvaldsen returned to Denmark in 1838, he was quite wealthy and, with Canova long dead, he was the leading sculptor in Europe.

Like Marcello, Thorvaldsen spent much of his later years developing plans for establishing a museum in his native city to house his works, original plasters and his art collection. In 1837, he set up a large endowment for the museum and a public subscription was begun to build a museum. Thorvaldsen died before the museum opened in 1848, but his remains were transferred to the museum's grounds which became his final resting place.

Canova and Thorvaldsen knew each other well, and although there was certainly a rivalry between them, their relationship seems to have been cordial. In J.M. Thiele's *The Life of Thorvaldsen* (c.1831, English translation, 1865), it is noted that their relationship was of "a friendly nature," though Thorvaldsen complained that Canova often asked for his opinion but rarely took it. Consequently, when Thorvaldsen asked Canova's opinion, Canova never gave him any advice or comments of value.⁷⁶

Regardless of the true nature of their feelings for each other, the two sculptors shared similar working methods. Both were able to produce as much as they did because they employed assistants to help them bring the works through the various stages from

⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that a number of Marcello's ancestors were among those Swiss Guards (see Chapter Two).

⁷⁵ Trachtenberg called Bartholdi's *Lion of Belfort* "a cross between Khafre's *Sphinx* at Gizeh and Thorvaldsen's *Lion of Lucerne*." in his *Statue of Liberty*, 49.

⁷⁶ Thiele, 143-4.

plaster to marble. Generally the masters would create a drawing or drawings on which to base a three-dimensional clay or wax sketch (*bozzetto* or *modello*), which they would also model themselves. A full-scale model made in clay would follow this *bozzetto*, and from this a mold would be made. At this point the job was usually transferred to assistants: From the mold a plaster would be produced (thus in many cases preserving the master's clay model), and this is often referred to as the original plaster. This plaster would then be "pointed up," using a pointing machine and other devices such as calipers and pins to mark off the points. It was then used to create any number of replicas in marble. The plasters end up full of holes and sometimes pins, giving them what Wittkower called the "German measles" look (see figs. 1-12a through 1-12c and 1-13). Both Canova and Thorvaldsen insisted on finishing the marbles themselves, adding the *ultima mano*, or final touches, which included polishing, and in the case of Canova, a bit of tinting (now lost from most of his works due to excessive cleaning). Canova often added a tint or "soot" to tone down his highly polished sculptures and give the marbles *carnosità*, or a flesh-like quality, whereas Thorvaldsen preferred a matte finish to his works.

According to Johann Gottfried Schadow's 1802 essay *The Sculptor's Studio*, at least three people were involved in every sculpture: one to make the plaster and do the pointing, a second to do the actual carving and drilling of the block, and a third, the master, who designed it in the first place and who often did the finishing, polishing and in some cases, tinting.⁷⁷ Wittkower called this fact "objectionable" to both Renaissance and modern points of view, as in fact it remains. Young students of art or art history are often shocked to discover that a marble or bronze work of art by, for example, August Rodin (1840-1917)

⁷⁷ Johann Gottfried Schadow, "The Sculptor's Studio," as quoted in Wittkower, 230.

was probably not touched by the hand of the master himself. Rodin never saw the foundry-produced bronzes of the 1870's, cast more than fifty years after his death, nor even his *Porte d'Enfer* (the *Gates of Hell*), which was not produced in bronze in his own lifetime. This was the case in the nineteenth century as well. The very fact that sculptures have, in most cases, no original, and that sculpture is in its very nature a collaborative and mechanically-reproduced medium, was especially injurious to its reception, and to the reputations of female sculptors specifically, during the period, as we shall see presently. (A brief history of how sculpture was made from the Renaissance through the nineteenth century will be discussed in this chapter, below.)

The process of transferring the plaster into a more lasting material such as marble had always been left to assistants, both to save the master from the toils of manual labor and so that s/he could begin to work on new designs and commissions. Clay sketches disintegrate after drying unless they are fired and transformed into terra-cotta, and firing itself causes shrinking and fragmenting. Thus sculptors wanting to preserve their works in a more permanent medium often called on the services of assistants. For many master sculptors later in the nineteenth-century who were not trained to be master marble-carvers (and most were not), this was often the case. Marble, like wood or any other malleable material, is worked through a reductive method, *i.e.*, by reducing the material through carving out the desired form; if a mistake is made, it is irreparable. Thus one who was not specifically trained in the carving of these often expensive materials had best leave it to those who knew how to do so. Practically everyone from Canova to Rodin worked in this way, alongside a professional carver or, as these unknown ghost sculptors and minor masters were known in France, *practiciens*.

A brief word must be said about Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564), whose work was revered during the nineteenth century. He cannot be ignored in this study because Marcello's work was heavily informed by his sculpture and legacy. Michelangelo's art was important to Romanticists in the first half of the nineteenth century, but he seems to have been promoted as sculptor *über alles* after the publication of *L'Art*, a French journal that devoted many important issues to the Renaissance master's art. at the moment of the quadricentennial of his birth (1875).⁷⁸ Although Auguste Rodin is often credited with truly reviving and reinventing Michelangelo's art, Marcello was influenced by the Renaissance sculptor and was using his work as a source of inspiration almost two decades before Rodin would do the same. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux would also quote Michelangelo in his *Ugolino and His Sons* of 1858 - 1862. Conversely, unlike Marcello, Rodin was instrumental in reviving Michelangelo's *non-finito* (unfinished) technique, such as that seen in the latter's infamous *Captive Slaves* at the Musée du Louvre. The *non-finito* technique would later become a mark of modernism in sculpture of the twentieth century. While it is not feasible to go into an in-depth discussion of Michelangelo's influence during the nineteenth century in this chapter, his affect on Marcello's art will be show in relation to her works in subsequent chapters.

Sculpture's Reputation After Neo-classicism: A Different Revival for Sculpture --

Romanticism and the New "Age of Bronze"

⁷⁸ Flavio Fergonzi, "The Discovery of Michelangelo: Some Thoughts on Rodin's Week in Florence and Its Consequences." in *Rodin and Michelangelo: A Study in Artistic Inspiration*, exh. cat., (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1997): 51-67.

The vogue for Neo-classical sculpture that had arisen in the 1780s and 1790s began to decline by the 1820s in France. Sculpture would not again be more esteemed than painting until the end of the century. The death of the greatest Neo-classical sculptor, Canova, contributed to its decline, as did the rise of sculpture foundries producing bronzes in the later 1830s; the white marble most used by Neo-classical sculptors seemed to symbolize the very purity of the "true style" of antiquity.⁷⁹ The ancient Greek and Roman sculptors also utilized bronze, but to these works history had been less kind, as most of the bronzes were later melted down by conquerors for use in building projects or weapons. In the nineteenth century, bronze became equated with sculptors working in a Romantic style, while marble continued to have a more Neo-classical association.

In his review of sculpture in the Salon of 1834, the critic Alexandre de Saint-Chéron (1807-1892) noted that disdain for the medium was becoming apparent:

If we say that sculpture is disdained by the public, we are unafraid of using a cliché that could have been used by any intelligent person at any moment in history. But can the public be excused for showing such indifference to this noble, elevated art, occupying such an important position in our cities? This is what we must decide. And as far as we can see, without hesitation we say that the indifference of the public is all too justified by the direction taken by today's sculptors.⁸⁰

Most famously, sculpture was criticized by Charles Baudelaire in his review of the Salon of 1846, under the heading, "Why is Sculpture Boring?":

Once removed from the primitive era, sculpture, in its most magnificent development, is nothing other than a complementary art. It is not a question of

⁷⁹ Winkelmann himself objected to any color other than white, stating that "the color white, since it reflects a greater number of rays, is the one to which the eye is most sensitive, and whiteness, therefore, adds to the beauty of a beautiful body; indeed, if it is naked, it seems, owing to this brilliance, to be larger than it really is; hence it is that plaster casts taken from statues seem, as long as they are now, to be larger than the originals." As quoted in Praz, 59.

⁸⁰ Alexandre de Saint-Chéron, "Salon de 1834, Sculpture," *L'Artiste*, Ser. I, VII (1834), 88. As quoted and translated in Mirolli, 10.

carving portable figures industriously, but to become a humble slave to painting and architecture, and to serve their intentions... At all great eras, sculpture is a complement; at the beginning and at the end, it is an isolated art.⁸¹

Hence we seem to have returned to the general opinion of sculpture during the height of the Rococo in the mid-eighteenth century; sculpture was once again slipping into the submissive role of decoration and ornament. This point is well-illustrated by Honoré Daumier's caricature published in *Le Charivari* of 22 July 1857, entitled *Sad Countenance of Sculpture Placed in the Middle of the Paintings* (*Triste contenance de la Sculpture placée au milieu de la Peinture*, fig. 1-14), which depicts a sculpture crying because, having been exhibited in the middle of a painting gallery, it is completely ignored.⁸² Sculpture had become somewhat formulaic during these years, and Baudelaire's critique had officially announced the problem.

The decades between 1830 and the later 1850s, however, were significant because there were new issues for sculptors regarding new subject matter, the *animalier* type, put forward by Barye, for example. The lack of government support for more modern, innovative artists who were less connected to the official academy was problematic, but the

⁸¹ Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846, XVI. Pourquoi la sculpture est ennuyeuse?," in *Oeuvres Complètes de Charles Baudelaire: Quelques-uns de Mes Contemporains, Curiosités Esthétiques* (Paris: Louis Conard, 1923), 187-88. "Sortie de l'époque sauvage, la sculpture, dans son plus magnifique développement, n'est autre chose qu'un art complémentaire. Il ne s'agit plus de tailler industrieusement des figures portatives, mais de s'associer humblement à la peinture et à l'architecture, et de servir leurs intentions... A toutes les grandes époques, la sculpture est un complément; au commencement et à la fin, c'est un art isolé." See John Mayne, *Art in Paris 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1965), 111-12 for a slightly different translation.

⁸² This lesser known caricature by Daumier was brought to my attention by Dr. Jane Mayo Roos, who exhibited it in the exhibition "Picture This! Daumier's Caricatures on Art and Artists," which she curated at the Bertha and Karl Leubsdorf Galleries, Hunter College of the City University of New York, from November 8 to December 14, 1990. A brief catalogue of the same title does not reproduce the image but the catalogue entry for the work, written by Pauline Arama-Streit, notes that "the cry to the Salon's spectators has a dual significance, as both a bid for attention and a plea to regard sculpture as an art form equal in importance to painting." As I argue in this chapter, sculpture had held this level of importance, lost it by mid-century, only to regain it by the end of the century.

new work cast in the up-and-coming foundries was exciting and appealed to a middle-class audience. Romantic sculptors “sought almost any alternatives to academic principles;” during the Second Empire their efforts were eventually rewarded with a more liberal Salon Jury.⁸³ The year 1833 was an important one for sculpture, a time when Barye successfully exhibited a bust of his greatest patron, the Duc d’Orléans. Sculpture still had roots in the Neo-classical/academic tradition, as noted by Luc Benoist: “The anti-academic sculpture of 1833, liberated, in a revolt against Canova, was not a monster born without a mother. The further one goes, the more one will realize that in sculpture, as in the other domains of art, Romanticism only made reconnections with the traditions of the eighteenth-century; besides, this is why it was able to go so far.”⁸⁴

Barye became one of a group of artists who were shunned by the Salon jury after 1837 because they failed to submit to accepted academic standards for fine art. In 1837 Barye submitted five sculptures representing hunting scenes that were commissioned by the Duc d’Orléans, conceived to be placed on the Duke’s table in relation to a silver ornamental tray created by Aimé Chenavard.⁸⁵ Despite the Jury’s decision to refuse his works, Barye became one of the most important sculptors, teachers and bronze founders of the age. He was admired by countless numbers of his contemporaries, including Marcello and Rodin and the scores of other sculptors who took his classes at the Musée d’histoire naturelle (in the Jardin des plantes) beginning in 1854.

⁸³ Victor Beyer, et. al., *The Second Empire: Art in France Under Napoleon III*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978), 204.

⁸⁴ Luc Benoist, *La Sculpture romantique*, ed. Isabelle L.-J. Lemaistre (Paris: Gallimard, 1994 [1928]), 57. “La sculpture anti-académique de 1833, libérée, en révolte contre Canova, n’est pas un monster né sans mère. Plus on ira, plus on se rendra compte qu’en sculpture comme dans les autres domaines de l’art, le romantisme n’a fait que renouer avec la tradition du XVIIIe siècle; c’est pourquoi, d’ailleurs, il a pu aller loin.”

⁸⁵ Mirolli, 39.

The 1830s saw the completion of the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, with Rude's *Departure of the Volunteers in 1792* also known as *La Marseillaise*, in place by 1836. Other public monuments were altered and changed: David d'Angers completed *To the Great Men, From a Grateful Nation*, for the pediment of the building known variously as the Panthéon and the Church of Sainte-Geneviève. In the same decade the statue of Napoleon I on the Vendôme Column was replaced. The 1840s was a decade of political and economic crisis, and there were few commissions of any kind to be had. The largest project for sculpture during the 1840s was for the Luxembourg Gardens, but this was not on a scale anywhere near the size of the public sculpture projects of the Second Empire (1852-1870).

Although sculpture gained a new, forceful presence during the Second Empire, problems often arose regarding how and where to exhibit sculptures at the official Salon. Sculptures were often exhibited as if they were purely decorative objects and not Salon submissions in their own right, as such placements in the Gardens at the Palais de l'Industrie in Salons of the mid-1860s suggest. Even today, the sculpture collection of many major museums takes on a separate role of garden or café décor, as was the case, until recently, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (figs. 1-15, 1-16a and 1-16b). There was something ludicrous about Carpeaux's *Ugolino* in this setting, gazing hungrily at the café counter and its patrons, as his frightened sons seem to beg him to have the biscotti instead of them. Recently the café was set slightly back from the sculpture court, so that there are no longer sculptures among the bar stools and seats.

As Jane Mayo Roos has pointed out, sculpture at the Salon of 1866 (at which Marcello had exhibited two works) was installed on the ground floor of the Palais de

l'Industrie in "two galleries that ran the building's length."⁸⁶ The darkness and unpopularity of the rooms on the ground floor was a defeat for sculptors. The garden, away from the more popular painting galleries, at least drew crowds of smokers and people wishing to sit down and contemplate the works without the distraction of paintings. Thus Salon viewers were drawn to a place to sit and contemplate the works over a smoke and a bit of early-summer sun. Sculpture returned to the outdoor garden at the 1868 Salon after a series of complaints about the basement.

A substantial part of this study will deal with the issues of sculpture during the Second Empire and the commissions for sculpture by Napoleon III, his wife the Empress Eugénie, and the Count de Nieuwerkerke, all of whom commissioned works from Marcello during the height of her career. The Empress favored women artists; it should be remembered that on 10 June 1865 she presented the painter Rosa Bonheur with the ribbon of the Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, making her the first woman artist to receive the honor.⁸⁷ But it should be noted that the period in which Marcello was most actively producing sculpture was in fact propitious for female sculptors. The major building projects during the Second Empire were the restoration of the Louvre, the creation of the Tuileries gardens, the construction of the Opéra designed by the architect Charles Garnier, and the later restorations of the Hotel de Ville and Notre-Dame Cathedral. By the end of the century, there were also literally hundreds of female sculptors learning and exhibiting in

⁸⁶ Jane Mayo Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866-1874)* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 43-5, 104-5, 139.

⁸⁷ The body of literature on Bonheur is huge, but a very good recent publication is entitled *Rosa Bonheur: All Nature's Children*, exh. cat. (New York: Dahesh Museum of Art, 1998). Many texts cite that when the Empress pinned the ribbon on Bonheur she said that the artist was proof that "genius had no sex." These words were also used to refer to Hélène Bertaux and other women artists of the period who found public success, and thus it is the source of my dissertation title (see the Introduction to this volume).

Paris, with many of them receiving commissions for works to be used in these building projects and for private tomb sculptures.

Statuomania: Sculpture and the Third Republic

Statuomania, a term coined by June Hargrove in her 1989 study entitled *Les Statues de Paris*, defines a period when the sculpture industry boomed after the Franco-Prussian War and The Paris Commune, a time at which the Third Republic (the government which was in place in France from 1875 until 1940) was established.⁸⁸ A number of factors played a role in this third major revival of sculpture during the nineteenth-century: around the world, many major countries had recently ended military campaigns, such as France (which actually suffered devastating consequences of the war mentioned above), Germany (which conquered the French during the Franco-Prussian War), Italy (which won independence and unity in 1870), and the United States (which ended its Civil War in 1865). There was thus a need for monuments commemorating fallen heroes, soldiers and generals alike.

By the 1870s, the technical production of sculpture had advanced a great deal, and works could be produced at a faster and more accurate rate than ever before, with the most sophisticated effects of patina, electroplating, and other types of coloration. One could certainly argue that Bartholdi's *Liberty Enlightening the World* (now commonly called the *Statue of Liberty*), placed on Bedloe's Island (Now Liberty Island) in 1886 in New York after more than a decade of planning, was the culmination of Statuomania, a sculpture commemorating not one person but instead an entire country and its democratic values.

⁸⁸ June Hargrove, *Les Statues de Paris* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1989) 105, 254-258; this text was published in English as *The Statues of Paris* (New York: Vendome Press, 1990).

There was also a desire by the nascent Third Republic to create works of art that separated their goals and monuments from those produced by the Second Empire.

France led the world in sculpture production and sculptors through the end of the century. Even before Rodin gained significance, other sculptors were dominating the Salons, gardens, graveyards, public spaces, and universal exhibitions with their work – the main male sculptors of this latter period were Bartholdi (1834-1904), Henri Chapu (1833-91), Jules Dalou (1838-1902), Paul Dubois (1829-1905), Alexandre Falguière (1831-1900), Emmanuel Frémiet (1824-1910), Antonin Mercié (1845-1916), (figs. 1-17a through 1-17l) and the painter Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), who after 1878 took up sculpture and was as successful in the medium as he was in painting. Many of these men became teachers, most notably Chapu, who taught female sculptors at the Académie Julian.

The Education and Training of Sculptors (Male and Female)

The growth of art schools in Europe cannot be overlooked, and at these academies, the primacy of study after the antique, fostered by the writings of Winckelmann, was central to any art curriculum. It was generally accepted that the best way to study from the antique was from copying plaster casts (*après la bosse*) of famous ancient sculptures. The best collection of such casts were owned by the Académie de France in Rome, housed in the Villa Medici after 1725. In addition to this, the Musée des études at the École des beaux-arts in Paris established in 1834 was one of the earliest study collections of casts in France.

Later the Victoria and Albert Museum, which opened as a museum of design in 1844, would contain one of the most famous collections of such casts (the Museum

purchased a work of Marcello's in 1865).⁸⁹ The Victoria and Albert Museum's Cast Courts (or Architectural Courts as they were originally known when these cast galleries opened up in 1873) "reflected the widespread educational fervor of the mid-nineteenth century, which coupled with the limited opportunities for students to travel widely, encouraged the establishment of cast collections across Europe."⁹⁰ In the United States in 1844, at the Pennsylvania Academy, female students could draw only from the collection of nude antique plaster casts for one hour on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in a 'safely segregated' class.⁹¹ At this academy, certainly often seen as more advanced than its European counterparts with regard to women's education, the nude female model was introduced into the female classes in 1868, and a draped male model was introduced, with caution, in 1878. However, it was actually ten years later, in January of 1886, that the American painter Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) was fired from the Pennsylvania Academy for removing a loincloth from a male model during a lecture in a female or mixed-sex class.⁹²

Although during the years of the French Revolution women were exposed to an increased level of rights and privileges, and began the earliest measures of formal protest to retain and expand such civil rights, this would be unfortunately short-lived and

⁸⁹ On the history of casts within the history of art education, see Lisa Reilly, "But Is It Authentic? The Collecting and Use of Casts in the Study of Medieval Sculpture," presentation given at the College Art Association Annual Conference, 25 February 2000, New York. The presentation is available on audio archive through CAA.

⁹⁰ Williamson, 182.

⁹¹ Micheal Forrest, *Art Bronzes* (Westchester, PA: Schiffer, 1988), 299. Forrest cites Charlotte Streifer Rubenstein's *American Women Artists from Early Indian Times to the Present* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1982), 92.

⁹² H. Barbara Weinberg, "Thomas Eakins and the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 50:3 (Winter 1994/95): 28.

underdeveloped for most of the nineteenth century. In the *Code Napoléon* issued in France in 1804, women's civil status was reduced to that of minors; their *raison d'être* was understood to be, first and foremost, to produce and raise their husband's children, who would later become good citizens. That and caring for their husband and household, was all that was expected or permitted. The Code abolished the liberal divorce laws and welfare provisions for widows, unwed mothers and the aged that were in practice in the 1790s.⁹³ Women's education, artistic or otherwise, was almost a complete nonentity. The Church controlled the education system in France and it was concerned only with the education and intellectual development of male children.⁹⁴ Some of the most prominent feminists (many of them followers of the socialist Saint-Simon) of the nineteenth century had just been or had yet to be born, such as Elisa Lemmonier (1805-1865) and Flora Tristan (1803-1844).

Yet many women, whether or not they were vocal feminists (Marcello was not), continued to find ways around the system in order to express themselves and the world around them, and often their work received public exposure.⁹⁵ Women writers, for example, began to gain new levels of popularity much earlier, and in the nineteenth century were headed by the Brontës and George Sand, who had a significantly easier time creating and

⁹³ The most recent study on the social and cultural impact of the *Code Napoléon* is Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives, and Lovers: Marriage and Its Discontents in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁹⁴ Colin Jones, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of France* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1994]), 196-198. Jones points out that one escape from a veritable domestic hell on earth was the religious life, and between 1815 and 1870 the number of women entering convents "rose tenfold" (p. 197). Life as a nun released many women from the role of wife and mother, and provided them with an opportunity to travel, help the poor, and devote themselves to quiet intellectual pursuits such as reading and writing.

⁹⁵ For women's role in nineteenth-century society, see Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds. *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, volume ed., Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard, 1990). The book was originally published as *Histoire de la vie privée, Tome 4, De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

publicizing their work than female visual artists for numerous reasons. First, most middle class women were taught to read and write, if not for themselves, then certainly so that they would be proper teachers to their own children, “equal” counterparts to their husbands, and be able to run a household; a basic education in reading and writing would also help women acquire positions as governesses if they needed to find work. Therefore once a woman had her basic education she could begin writing her stories. Painting and sculpture production, however, required a specific kind of education, and one not necessarily provided to women. Writing was a quiet art, one that did not necessarily require a separate space (such as an art studio); theoretically it could be put aside at the very first sound of a baby’s cry or a husband’s demand. Writing was not a messy, dirty process as was painting and, even more so, sculpture (which was messy, dirty and noisy as well). Female painters, although it was difficult for them to fight the stigma of being labeled amateurs, could break the cultural barriers if they were persistent enough. Yet for female sculptors the situation was gravely different.

Sculpture was a noisy, messy, heavy and expensive art, which required space, time, strength, money and access to education, which most women did not have, nor could easily obtain. Some sixteenth century *paragoni* arguments against sculpture are relevant here; Leonardo da Vinci pointed out in his writings on the comparison of the arts that painting was a “gentleman’s art,” and sculpture was a more physical, mechanical art for which a manual laborer was best suited.⁹⁶ In light of *paragoni* arguments, women and sculpture seem like sisters: that which was considered the most negative aspects of the art form itself (the physical strength required for it, its dirtiness, etc.) were also seen as negative qualities

⁹⁶ See D’Este, 25.

for women. Therefore a female sculptor was, at the risk of sounding dramatic, an abomination.

Sculpture was not always seen in the best light, even when produced by men, and it was often difficult to sell. It was an art that required years of devoted study, first in drawing, then in studio practice, and also in foundry practice, before artists could even begin to market themselves as serious sculptors. Money played a major role in sculpture production for both men and women; but for women artists having money was not an option, it was a necessity. For most of the century, there was only one state-sponsored, tuition-free school of design for women in France and it was, as we shall see, an inadequate one fraught with problems. The other option, besides having a parent who was an artist who could train his/her children at home, was to be wealthy enough to have parents who were willing to hire a private tutor to come into the home to give private training. This was, in no uncertain terms, a huge investment.

Discussing and understanding the education of female sculptors is a major task. Such a study requires an understanding of how male sculptors trained for the profession, yet this too leads to other problems. No two artists ever receive exactly the same kind of education or training. Just as art is not created in a vacuum, neither are artists. Some methods of training often stay constant throughout the century, such as short stints at an academy or *École*, or a long stay in the studio of some known, well-established sculptor, or the presence of a family member who was an artist who provided early encouragement and training close to home. Thus I have limited the discussion herein to three major career paths for sculptors, for both males and females: (1) "official" academic training at a state sponsored school of some kind; (2) alternative training methods (such as master-apprentice

and *ateliers privés*) and finally (3) a brief discussion on the private atelier explosion in the second half of the century.⁹⁷ Marcello was not part of this final metamorphosis of education for sculptors, as she was already an established professional by the mid-1860s, and she did not take any pupils. However, for the purposes of this chapter, which sets out to fill in the gaps of past texts on the medium's history, it is important to give a brief overview of private training for female sculptors during the period when the private art education business soared in Paris.

1. "Official" State-Sponsored Training

From ancient times through the Renaissance and beyond, young would-be sculptors trained for a career in the craft in the studios of master sculptors or through the guild system, where they learned practices handed down through the centuries. These practices would continue to exist and would remain an important part of a sculptor's education. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, the favored master-apprentice approach gave way to an academic system, which, for the better part of three hundred years, excluded women. The earliest official academy in France was the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture (*l'Académie royale du peinture et de la sculpture*), which opened in 1648. It was founded by young artists "of little means"⁹⁸ who did not have much funding for rent, casts, models and prizes for the artists, and for a long time they did not receive any funding from the Royal government. The academy was troubled by its financial situation for many years

⁹⁷ I presented much of this material as a lecture entitled "Detours: Women's Artistic Education in France Before the Académie Julian," presentation given at the Dahesh Museum, New York, on 30 April 2000. The lecture is archived at the Dahesh Museum (Now the Dahesh Museum of Art) on videocassette.

⁹⁸ Antoine Schnapper, "The Debut of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture," in *The French Academy: Classicism and its Antagonists*, 30.

until in 1662 the treasurer, Charles LeBrun, provided funding for the pension of professors, rectors, models and prizes for students.⁹⁹ In 1666 the Académie de France in Rome was created, and the first Salon was held in the following year. Financial problems recurred in the late 1770s when funds for buildings dwindled.

After 144 years of financial and political problems, the Académie Royale was abolished in 1792 during the French Revolution and was transformed into the Commune général des arts de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure, with the *Prix de Rome* suspended for the years 1792 to 1797. Finally, the Commune Général was replaced in 1795 with the Académie des beaux-arts, one of five branches of Napoleon's Institut de France, which administered the École nationale supérieur des beaux-arts. The École was a "more rigid, more constraining" institution than the Académie royale, but it became the leading art institution in the world and set precedents for future schools both within and outside of France.¹⁰⁰ Women were not admitted to the École, nor could they become members of the Institut de France, but they could submit artwork to the Salon exhibitions, opened to non-academicians in 1791. For men, entering the École required a previous knowledge of art and a display of talent on the *concours de places* (entrance examinations); thus it was expected that students had some previous training in a private academy, provincial trade school, or under the tutelage of a parent or private teacher.¹⁰¹ At the École des beaux-arts, all the students were male until the doors were opened to women in 1897.

⁹⁹ Schnapper, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Schnapper, 35; Janson, 13.

¹⁰¹ According to Goldstein, 59, the *concours de places* was administered twice a year and questions included those on anatomy, perspective and world history, plus a drawing from the antique or from life.

Lessons at the École were based strictly on drawing from casts and from life, anatomy and perspective, and theoretical lectures on art. To learn the real rudiments of sculpture or painting, students also attended the private atelier of a master. This master could be someone who taught at the École or someone who did not, and was chosen by the student directly. Often a student chose a professor who had a good track record whose students gained prizes and medals. Male sculptors had the same training as did painters, the basis of which was drawing.¹⁰²

After 1800, many young would-be artists who wished to learn a trade attended the École gratuite de dessin in Paris, more commonly known as the Petite École, founded privately in 1766 by the academician Jean-Jacques Bachelier; it became governmentally funded and tuition-free the following year.¹⁰³ The Petite École was a center for the study of decorative design, technical drawing, copy drawing and mathematics for a trade in the decorative, industrial, manufacturing and/or ornamental arts. The school became important to sculptors who might earn their living working on architectural projects. According to Harrison and Cynthia White, in their standard text *Canvases and Careers*, “[The Petite École] was designed for workers in trades related to the arts...its training, however, was merely subsidiary to the practical requirements of applied art, for it was limited until the

¹⁰² A lecture on training at the École was presented by Patricia Mainardi, “Learning to Paint: the Education of Artists in Nineteenth-Century France,” presentation given at the Dahesh Museum, New York, on 5 May 1998. The lecture is archived at the Dahesh Museum (Now the Dahesh Museum of Art) on videocassette.

¹⁰³ Anne M. Wagner, “Learning to Sculpt in the Nineteenth-Century: An Introduction,” *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture in North American Collections*, H.W. Janson and Peter Fusco, eds. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980), 9-20; Harrison C. and Cynthia White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993 [1966]), 16, 27, 71.

mid-nineteenth-century to a low-level Academic system of copying from drawings of ornaments, patterns and decorative motifs.”¹⁰⁴

Although a few sculptors who attended the Petite École in their youth would gain admittance to the École des beaux-arts in Paris, a majority of the students came from very poor families and were there to learn a trade so as to secure a job producing ornamental objects and architectural elements. Unfortunately, study at the Petit École did not guarantee acceptance into the “Grande” École, Rodin is the best-known example of a Petit École student who failed to be accepted to the École des beaux-arts, despite his numerous attempts to gain admission. Most students finished their study at the Petit École and went on to fill positions as marble carvers or designers, or to make workshop-produced arts like candlesticks, ornaments for interiors, and the like. Often they began with the dream of becoming a fine artist, but left needing to support a family. A career as a fine artist was lucrative only for the select few. The Petite École continues in existence today as the École nationale des arts décoratifs.

There was, in fact, a similar school for women called the *École nationale gratuite de dessin pour les jeunes filles* (the Petite École for Girls), which opened in 1803 but was not recognized as official until 1810, when it became a public institution and tuition-free. It was the only government-sponsored French school that trained women in art and design. The school was created to assist poor women in developing skills to work in a craft, such as lace-making, fan and ceramic painting, and fabric and textile design.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately the *École nationale gratuite de dessin pour les jeunes filles* did not provide appropriate training for

¹⁰⁴ White and White, 27.

¹⁰⁵ Susan Waller, *Women Artists in the Modern Era: A Documentary History* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1991), 154-55.

women sculptors, and many women found the school, on the whole, inadequate. There were no other free schools for women artists in the early years of the century, and because women were often prohibited from holding apprenticeships, poor women hoping to become sculptors or designers essentially had no options other than this school. Learning to draw directly from a live nude model or copying from plaster casts or even nude sculptures was not an option for poor women, since models were expensive to hire, and it was considered improper for women to view the naked body, whether it be male or female, real flesh or sculpted reproduction.¹⁰⁶

Both Écoles gratuites focused on drawing and copying as the main curriculum. Students at both institutions copied from drawing courses and print books containing images of mythological-type figures and ornamental motifs. The Petite École for women prepared women for employment as porcelain, lace and textile makers, wallpaper designers, and as Charlotte Yeldham has noted, “all the arts and trades that demanded neither bodily strength nor a public display of their persons.”¹⁰⁷ From 1848-49, Raymond Bonheur (1796-1849), father of the animalier painter Rosa Bonheur (fig. 1-18, 1822-99), was the director of the École gratuite de dessin pour les jeunes filles. The Bonheurs were followers of the utopian theories of Claude Henri, the Count de Saint-Simon, whose supporters believed in equality for women. In 1849, on the death of her father, Rosa and sister Juliette (1830-1891), who was also a painter, took over the direction of the École gratuite de dessin pour les jeunes

¹⁰⁶ Jane Mayo Roos was the first person to bring to my attention a late-eighteenth century print entitled “Art and Decency” that she found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, showing a young woman trying to sketch from a nude ancient sculpture, while an elderly woman covers the sculpture’s genital area with a bonnet. The image is not otherwise published to my knowledge. Many thanks to Dr. Roos for making me aware of this print.

¹⁰⁷ Charlotte Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England* (New York: Garland, 1984), 7-62.

filles. Their attempt to introduce a fine arts curriculum to the school was a disaster, because as a result women received an inadequate education both in the fine arts and in the crafts and could not compete with their male counterparts. Rosa Bonheur resigned from the school in 1860, replaced by Mlle Marandon de Montyel, and Juliette Bonheur left in 1862. Montyel tried to create a balance between the industrial and applied arts courses and the fine arts courses (which strengthened under her directorship), but her attempts to create a better fine arts curriculum were frowned upon by the governmental arts administration. The École gratuite de dessin pour les jeunes filles later became part of the École nationale des arts décoratifs, a purely vocational school, and the focus of the school returned to technical drawing and design.¹⁰⁸

Besides the inadequacy of art education for women in Paris in the early nineteenth-century, there were no competitions open to women for study in Rome (or anywhere else for that matter). If they wanted to study in Rome they had to pay for it themselves. Most private ateliers did not open until the second half of the century and were usually expensive to attend. By the time the École des beaux-arts in Paris began accepting women in 1897, after a decade or more of feminist agitation, the school had lost or forfeited almost all of its official power and significance. Tamar Garb has noted in her *Sisters of the Brush* (1994) that by 1897, it no longer meant so much to say one was a student at the École: "Ironically,

¹⁰⁸ Tamar Garb, "Men of Genius, Women of Taste: The Gendering of Art Education in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris," in Gabriel P. Weisberg and Jane R. Becker, *Overcoming All Obstacles: the Women of the Académie Julian*, exh. cat. (New York: Dahesh Museum in association with Rutgers University Press, 1999), 121-22.

by the time [women] were admitted as full students, the École...had relinquished much of its power and importance in the Paris art world."¹⁰⁹

For men of means who could not pass the entrance exam for the École des beaux-arts, and for women of means who could not attend because of their gender, there was the option of private training. This was the option chosen by Marcello since she came from a relatively wealthy background and her family had important connections with the cultural elite.

2. Alternative Modes of Training: Early Private Academies and Private Tutors

Being prevented from attending official academies did not stop women from pursuing careers in art. The private atelier system was important in art education, but it was of course a necessity to women artists for often it provided their only experience with professional training. There were a number of important *ateliers privés* in the nineteenth century. The Académie Suisse was well respected, as were the ateliers of the painters Charles Gleyre, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Thomas Couture, and those of the sculptors Rude, David d'Angers, and James Pradier.¹¹⁰ Most private art schools that either accepted women along with men or that admitted women exclusively were not established until the 1860s or later. The best known of these *ateliers privés* were those of Rodolphe Julian, Colarossi, Charles Chaplin, and Hélène Bertaux. There is

¹⁰⁹ Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 104. The École des beaux-arts remained tuition-free, however, which made it an important option for women who could not afford to attend the private ateliers.

¹¹⁰ An important predecessor to the later ateliers privés was that of the painter Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). His *Atelier Libre*, which was in existence for only a few months (1861-62), was short lived because he brought in various large animals to the rented space (who reportedly used the floor as they would in a stable) and thus earned himself an eviction notice from the landlord.

evidence that such schools existed, if only for girls of very wealthy families, in the 1830s. Honoré de Balzac's novelette entitled *Vendetta* takes place in Paris in 1820s, primarily in the atelier of a fictitious artist named Servin who "was one of the first to conceive of the idea of opening a studio for young girls who wished to take lessons in painting."¹¹¹ There was at least one real private academy open to women sculptors by the 1830s, established by the sculptor Antonin Moine (1796-1849) in 1834, and quite successful according to a critic writing in *L'Artiste*:

Sculpture waits for what has already taken place in painting – that its study and comprehension be easier and more attractive for young people. Therefore, we salute the decision of that young and skillful sculptor Antonin Moine to open an atelier where men of fashion, and even women, as well as young artists, can receive lessons in sculpture. The art that Moine wants to teach in his atelier will not be grandiose and monumental but it will be an elegant art that will better fill our need for extravagance.¹¹²

As the interest in industry and design increased through the century, women's educational opportunities increased as well. There was a movement in France to compete with other countries, especially England, in design and industrial arts. London's *Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations*, held at the Crystal Palace in 1851, was a great success, one that France wanted to emulate and surpass. By 1868 there were twenty schools in Paris offering free design instruction for young women.

Elisa Lemonnier (1805-1865, née Grimailh), an important educator and advocate for women's rights, founded many vocational schools (*éducation professionnelle*) for women

¹¹¹ Honoré de Balzac, *Vendetta*, trans. Katherine Prescott Wormeley (Indypublish.com, 2003 [1829]), 7. The full text in English is available on-line at <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/>. A modern French edition was published in Paris by Gallimard in 2001.

¹¹² As quoted in Mirolli, 19.

and girls in France.¹¹³ During the 1848 revolution, Lemonnier opened a workshop for seamstresses that eventually helped to employ more than 200 women; unfortunately this workshop was suppressed after the June Days and the eventual closure of the *ateliers nationaux*. In 1856 she founded the Société de protection maternelle, which sent women to attend a professional school near Frankfurt. After a number of attempts during the 1840s and 50s to create a successful vocational school for women, in 1862 she opened France's first private, non-religious vocational school for young women, under the title Société pour l'enseignement professionnel des femmes. She used her own money to run the studio and purchase the supplies. A sister branch which opened in 1864 offered girls courses and professional training in sewing and commercial arts and crafts such as engraving and painting on porcelain. Lemonnier was, like the Bonheur family, a follower of Saint-Simonianism, which promoted equality of the sexes. By the time of Lemonnier's death her schools had helped hundreds of women find work in textile and craft factories. Her school was taken over by the city of Paris, and a street in the twelfth arrondissement was named after her. In recent years scholars of women's art education have cited Lemonnier in their studies, because of her belief that women had the right to be educated, which would be postulated later by other female educators.

Although none of Lemonnier's students are known to have become professional fine artists, and her schools would not have been attended by middle class or wealthy women, her schools do represent an early attempt to promote women's education as a means of obtaining not only skills, but emancipation in all male-dominated professions. The

¹¹³ Charles Lemonnier, *Elisa Lemonnier, fondatrice de la Société pour l'enseignement professionnel des femmes* (Saint-Germain: L. Toinon et cie., 1866), 1-46.

importance of ateliers such as Lemonnier's "trade" schools should not be underestimated, because for many artists, male or female, they provided an opportunity for some kind of artistic or creative instruction; male artists such as Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841-1919) began as a painter of porcelain; and Rodin made candlesticks and other ornaments in the studio of Albert Ernest Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887).

Wealthy women preferred to hire private tutors for their daughter's education, even if it was originally intended only as a "finishing" or polishing of their skills so as to be a desirable wife for a wealthy suitor. In the case of Marcello and countless other women artists, this exposure to the fine arts with a private teacher led to a serious devotion to the arts. Private training of this sort was also open to male children, but for men it was one of many educational possibilities; for women it was one of a very few, if they could afford it.

Certainly many women who wanted to make art did not want to do so professionally, that is, to earn a living from their art. For example, the Romantic sculptor and daughter of Louis-Phillippe, Princess Marie d'Orléans, had no need to earn a living from her art. One might even conclude that women who were not dependant on art production for their livelihood created the earliest examples of "art-for-art's sake." Of course, many serious, would-be professional women artists stopped making art after they were married, had children, or after some other major life event. But one does not just pick up a palette knife and a lump of clay and start sculpting – some essence of instruction was needed and expected and can often be found in an artist's earliest years.

3. A Note on the Private Atelier Explosion of the 1860s and 1870s

In 1868, Rodolphe Julian (1839-1907) opened his first private academy, which from its beginnings had branches for female students.¹¹⁴ There they had the most liberal art education available to women in Paris at that time, and they competed for prizes with the male students who were also enrolled. Initially, women and men shared studios; only after this experiment caused criticism did Julian open separate studios for female students. Julian's academy is certainly the most well-documented of all of the *ateliers privés*, given its fame during the later years of the nineteenth-and early twentieth-centuries, the various accounts written of the academy from its former students (Marie Bashkirtseff, Henri Matisse, George Moore, etc.), and more recent scholarly studies, especially the late Catherine Fehrer's publications on the institution. Although the sculptor Chapu gave instruction at Julian's, the school was modeled after the École des beaux-arts, and as such academic drawing from the model was the focus of the students' daily work. The school still exists, at least in spirit, as L'Académie Julian Del Debbio, established in the mid-1970s after André Del Debbio purchased 5, rue de Berri, a former branch of Julian's.¹¹⁵

As for sculpture, the school did have classes in sculpture and modeling, but unfortunately no nineteenth-century female sculptor of note seems to have come out of Julian's academy. It has been often noted, Julian's academy cost considerably more for females to attend than for males: according to Gabriel Weisberg, "Men were trained at considerably less cost than what was charged to women, as it was generally believed that women would be able to find a family member or an outside sponsor who would pay their

¹¹⁴ Weisberg and Becker, 3.

¹¹⁵ Catherine Fehrer, "Introduction," in Weisberg and Becker, 9.

expenses.”¹¹⁶ Thus women who could not find such a benefactor or did not come from a wealthy family were essentially prohibited from attending this important institution.

One woman can be credited with the founding of the first academy devoted to sculpture training for women students – Hélène Bertaux (fig. 1-19, 1825-1909). Bertaux was one of the most important activists for women’s education and admittance into the free École des beaux-arts. She was a sculptor who had studied with her stepfather Pierre Hébert, a minor ornamental sculptor who trained her and her brother Emile. She also studied privately with Augustin Dumont. She was a regular Salon participant and medalist at the Salon, winning a gold medal in the Universal Exposition in 1889 making her *hors concours*. She received commissions for the Opéra Garnier, as did Marcello, and the reconstructed Hotel de Ville. In 1872 she opened her studio as an *académie privée* for female sculptors, an atelier that became so successful that she had to open a number of branches. Yet the fact remained that there was still no low-cost or free instruction available to women throughout the century. Aware that many women without money could not attend a private atelier such as her own, Bertaux fought for free art education for women. In 1881 she founded the Union des femmes for female painters, sculptors, engravers, and decorators, which helped to promote the work of women artists; on 11 March 1883, a journal from the period, *Le Papillon*, called Bertaux “the best living proof that genius has no sex.”¹¹⁷ She was the first woman to serve on a Salon Jury, beginning in 1898 until her death in 1900. It was through her efforts that the École des beaux-arts opened its doors to women in 1897, although

¹¹⁶ Gabriel P. Weisberg, “The Women of the Académie Julian: The Power of Professional Emulation,” in Weisberg and Becker, 14.

¹¹⁷ Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 5. Here we see another use of the phrase “genius has no sex” to describe a female artist.

women were allowed to attend lectures but could not participate in the life classes until 1900.

How Sculpture was Made into a Permanent Medium: Sand Casting, Lost-Wax Casting, and the Pantograph

An additional reason that sculpture held an uncertain position within the history of art, and was difficult field in which women could participate, was because it rested halfway between fine art and industry. Producing a marble or bronze sculpture involved the use of many machines and the labor of artisans and manual laborers. The production of a sculpture was (and remains) a veritable mystery to many critics, the general public, and even many art historians who do not deal with sculpture in their work. It will be shown that the lack of knowledge about how sculpture was made posed specific problems for women who worked in the medium.

The mysteries of sculpture production were laid out for study as early as 1550, with Vasari's technical prefix to his *Lives of the Most Eminent Architects, Painters and Sculptors*. Vasari first discussed the production of a wax or clay model, made by the master sculptor, followed by a discussion of how that wax or clay model metamorphosed into a marble or metal version. Without doubt sculptors used clay and wax sketches since antiquity to give form to their initial ideas, regardless of whether they decided to carve the final version themselves or to leave such laborious processes to their assistants.¹¹⁸ Although he was not personally acquainted with the foundry process, it was well known at the time of

¹¹⁸ For a study of the use of clay sketches during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, see Ivan Gaskell and Henry Lie, eds., *Sketches in Clay for Projects by Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, Harvard University Art Museum Bulletin (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museum, 1999), 1 *passim*.

Vasari's writings that most sculptors, such as Donatello, did not cast their own sculptures into metal, but instead entrusted them to professional craftsmen. Like other writers at the time, the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini was aware of the process and warned sculptors not to trust foundry workers, whom he called "these mere mechanics" whom he claimed lacked "ingenuity and resource."¹¹⁹ Throughout the centuries since the Renaissance, writers of technical books on the process of casting sculpture either seem to encourage sculptors to cast or carve their own works or else they do not mention who should do the actual labor. Books from the twentieth century, however, containing photographic illustrations of the processes of sculpture, often show more than one person at work on the project.

By the nineteenth century, the two most practiced forms of bronze casting were the sand-casting method and the ancient lost wax (also called "cire-perdue") casting method. According to Michael Edward Shapiro and others, the sand-casting or French sand-casting method was the most popular method of casting bronze works from the early eighteenth through the late nineteenth century.¹²⁰ The sand mold was in use during the Renaissance, but the method was not perfected until the eighteenth century.

The sand casting process (fig. 1-20) begins with a shellacked plaster model (made with an interior metal armature) placed in a bed of "French sand" embedded in an iron box or flask. Sand from the Fontenay-aux-Roses region of France (just outside Paris) is best known for its cohesiveness and its excellence for use in this process, and was used by

¹¹⁹ Notes to *Vasari On Technique*, by G. Baldwin Brown, 200.

¹²⁰ Michael Edward Shapiro, *Bronze Casting and American Sculpture 1850-1900*, (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 16; see also William Ordway Partridge, *The Technique of Sculpture* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1895), 88ff.; and Jane Bassett and Peggy Fogelman, *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1997), 79.

important foundries of the period such as that of Ferdinand Barbedienne.¹²¹ Separate piece molds are then made of all the projecting parts on both sides of the model, using “a sand fine enough to record details, yet permeable enough to allow gases to escape.”¹²²

Everything is dusted with a powder (sometimes talc is used; other texts mention “bone dust”) so that the piece molds will remove from the surface of the plaster easily and piece molds are then set into place. The flask is turned over, and piece molds are created for the other side. The piece molds are then placed back into the flask and covered with a coarse type of sand. A core is then made, placed where the plaster model was, so that the bronze will not be solid. Gates and channels are dug into the sand at this point for the molten bronze to run through the mold. Molding, the next step, is the process of hardening the sand by baking the mold, which also prevents the sand from sticking to the metal. The melting and pouring process (liquefying the bronze at around 1900° Fahrenheit and pouring the liquid into the mold through the gates) is very similar to that step in the lost-wax method. The final steps in the sand casting process are cleaning, chasing and patination. These steps involve wiping off the bronze (sometimes with acid), chasing the surface (i.e., removal of all extraneous material that is not part of the finished work), removing the inner core material, and patination (addition of chemicals to change the color of the bronze).¹²³

It is often noted that sand-casting was the preferred method of bronze casting in the nineteenth century because the sand absorbs the gases emitted from the liquefied metal,

¹²¹ For an interesting period article on Barbedienne’s foundry, see Theodore Child, “Ferdinand Barbedienne: Artistic Bronze,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 73:436 (September 1886): 489-504.

¹²² Bassett and Fogelman, 79.

¹²³ For a step-by-step account of the process illustrated with photographs, see Jack C. Rich, *The Materials and Methods of Sculpture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 141-6 and plates 20-21. Rich’s text is still one the best books on sculpture processes available today and is widely cited.

causing fewer pores, bubbles and holes in the finished works; in the lost-wax method, gases often become trapped inside the mold. However, as Jack C. Rich noted in his text, *The Materials and Methods of Sculpture* (1947), “the sand mold tends to generalize form, whereas the lost-wax process reproduces minute detail and fine modeling.”¹²⁴

In the 5000 year-old lost-wax or “cire-perdue” method (fig. 1-21a and 1-21b), there are many similar steps to those in the sand casting process. A model is made, but here the model is usually made in wax with an interior metal armature. From this model a hollow wax is made (called the reproductory wax) and a core material is poured into it. After this wax is retouched, pins are driven into it, which will keep the core in place after the wax around it is melted out of the mold. Wax sprues, gating vents, a breathing tube and a casting cup (the latter called a *bevera* in Italian) are added to the wax and core model, and these will act as arteries, allowing the bronze to flow through the mold; the breathing tube allows gases to escape. Then the entirety, model, pins, gating and casting cup, is covered with a liquid, fast-hardening investment, and then encased in an outer layer of more solid investment. The mold is then turned upside-down and heated so that all the wax melts and pours out (hence it is burned out or “lost”), leaving only spaces in the investment mold where the wax had been. Next the mold is turned right side up again, and properly prepared so that there are no blockages or moisture in the burned-out mold. Blockages and moisture can cause an explosion if the molten metal gets trapped inside of the mold and “the whole thing can blow up like a bomb, spraying molten metal everywhere,” as Harry Jackson has noted, “carelessness has caused foundry disasters which have injured or killed many

¹²⁴ Rich, 147.

men.”¹²⁵ Bronze “pigs” or solid blocks are placed in a crucible and when liquefied (fig. 1-25), it is poured into the investment mold through a hole left by the pouring cup; this is left to cool from a usual minimum of twenty-four hours to many days depending on the amount of metal used and the temperature of the cooling area. Finally, the mold is broken away, the metal is freed from the mold, and the sprues, vents and casting cup (now bronze) are cut away; the bronze is chased smooth, and finally a patina is often added.

For works of art in marble, the process almost always involved the assistance of professional marble carvers, called *praticiens*, in the nineteenth century. Marble is a relatively soft stone and is easier to carve than other stones, yet it is quite durable, and it can be highly polished, hence its name derived from the Greek μάρμαρος, meaning “shining stone.”¹²⁶ In France, there can be found around 250 varieties of marble, some of which are very good for carving; however in the nineteenth century Carrara marble from Italy was highly favored and it became the standard for sculptural marble.¹²⁷ The fact that the ancient Romans were known to have used Carrara marble for their works, as did Michelangelo, certainly was a factor in its popularity.

The direct method of carving stone requires nothing more than the block of stone, the chisel and the artist. A drawing can be made directly on the block as a guideline from which the sculpture is fleshed out. A positive aspect of the direct method is that it is obviously less costly than hiring professionals to carve the work, and the artist can make

¹²⁵ Harry Jackson, *Lost Wax Bronze Casting: A Photographic Essay on this Antique and Venerable Art* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1972), 69. This illustrated text is sprinkled with quotes from Benvenuto Cellini's *Treatises on Goldsmithing and Sculpture* and from text by Vasari. The book also contains a useful glossary.

¹²⁶ Rich, 223.

¹²⁷ Rich, 223.

changes to his/her original ideas in the process. In the twentieth century carving one's own pieces came back into vogue. However, most nineteenth-century marbles were made utilizing a pointing machine and professional carvers. In this indirect process the artist needs only to create a plaster, clay or wax model of the work that is to be produced in marble. The pointing machine (see figs. 1-23 and 1-26), a mechanical device which transfers precise points of the design from a model to a block of stone, would then be used to rough out the design. Measurements were then taken for depth of carving required. Raised reference points would be placed on the model so that the pointing machine could rest on these points while measurements were being taken for height, width, and depth (see fig. 1-13 and 1-23). The points or holes were drilled into the block, and the marble left between the holes was carved away. This pointing process allowed for the "rapid roughing out of marble sculptures in any desired size," and allowed the artist to work in a very easily malleable material in plaster, clay or wax, "while...some, or all, of the marble carving could be carried out by skilled technicians and professional stonecutters."¹²⁸ It is generally accepted that the ancient Greeks and Romans used such a device, but it came into technical perfection and prominence in the late-eighteenth century when the English sculptor John Bacon (1740-1799) created a superior pointing machine that was widely used in England and France.¹²⁹ Nicolas Marie Gatteaux (1751-1832), a French sculptor and medal engraver, had improved the pointing machine at the turn of the eighteenth century. Carving was viewed during this period as a laborious craft, and the design and modeling of a sculpture as the fine art, and thus carving the blocks was usually relegated to assistants.

¹²⁸ Bassett and Fogelman, 70.

¹²⁹ Erika Langmuir and Norbert Lynton, "Bacon, John," *The Yale Dictionary of Art and Artists* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 38.

The process of reducing the finished product from the original model was also aided by the Collas Sculpture Reducing Machine, based on the pantograph system and invented by Achille Collas in 1838 (figs. 1-22 and 1-23). Collas' machine allowed for reductions of models, which could then, in turn, be used as models in the bronze casting process. (For more on Collas, see Appendix A). The Pantograph ("that which records all," a mechanical device consisting of a framework of jointed rods in a roughly parallelogram form, used to reproduce an object on a different scale) and pointing machines could be used for reductions and well as enlargements. According to Rich, "during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and extending into the first part of the twentieth, virtually all stone sculpture was produced by the indirect method of carving, and the majority of these pieces were executed by commercial firms and individual stone cutters hired by the sculptor."¹³⁰ All of the major sculptors of the century outsourced their marble carving. Scholars today discount the idea that Rodin carved his own marbles, as it is known that he employed numerous assistants, although he wanted the world to believe that he, like his hero Michelangelo, carved directly from the block. Rodin had not received any official training in carving and, although a master modeler, he was by no means a master carver or professional stonecutter.¹³¹ His American contemporary, Daniel Chester French (1850-1931) hired the famed Piccirilli brothers (an Italian family business in New York, begun by Giuseppe Piccirilli in 1888 and continued by his seven sons, most of them master carvers and artists in their own right) to

¹³⁰ Rich, 262.

¹³¹ Leo Steinberg, "Rodin," in his collection of essays *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 328-329.

carve his works, as French was known to be “a modeler, not a carver.”¹³² And on, and on: all of the major sculptors, regardless of sex, had indirectly-carved marbles produced from their models. This is important to note because while it was acceptable for male artists to employ assistants, it was not so for women sculptors, who were seen as being incapable of completing the works themselves.

Obviously the process of bronze and marble production has been seriously simplified here, and there are a number of very good technical books available to explain each process in greater depth.¹³³ What is important to understand for the purposes of this study is that most artists did not execute their works in marble or bronze because of the expensive equipment required, the costs and dangers involved, and the labor power needed. Even the marble sculptures of Canova and Thorvaldsen, produced through the use of a pointing system or pantograph, required at minimum three people to complete them. The piece-mold process in the sand-casting method takes time and professional laborers to produce, and most sculptors were not professionally trained in these processes. The heating and pouring of molten metal is a dangerous process even today, requiring safe conditions and years of training. Even the application of chemical patinas could produce deadly fumes and, if one’s studio was not properly ventilated, could be equally dangerous. Most artists did not have facilities in their studios to produce works in bronze, and so works were sent out to foundries. The process of casting works into metal or personally carving stone was so time-consuming that artists would be wasting their time doing the manual aspects of the

¹³² Michael Richman, *Daniel Chester French: An American Sculptor*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 22-23.

¹³³ See those in notes 108 and 111; Louis Slobodkin, *Sculpture: Principles and Practice* (New York: Dover, 1949); Malvina Hoffman, *Sculpture Inside and Out* (New York: Bonanza, 1939); and others listed in the bibliography herein.

production. They could easily outsource the work through a foundry and get on with new commissions or other works immediately after finishing the wax, clay, or plaster models. The price of having the work cast into bronze or carved by a professional would simply be added into the cost of the finished work and thus passed on to the patron or purchaser. It was undoubtedly cheaper to have the work done by a foundry than for artists themselves to buy all the equipment, hire all the labor, and do everything else. Finally, when a patron ordered a new bronze or marble, the artist could simply order it from the foundry or carver's studio. So except in a few rare instances where artists cast or carved their own work, all sculptors, male or female, had their work made permanent in this way, that is, through outsourcing to foundries, and to *praticiens*, moldmakers, carvers, finishers, and the like.

Surface and Substance: The Gendering of Sculpture

“Sketch with fire and execute with phlegm”: this maxim coined by Winckelmann was the impetus for the production of sculpture with gusto with which it was usually produced. But fire and phlegm were not often associated with women in the nineteenth century. Their capability, strength, knowledge and mental capacity were often questioned and it was thought that their constitutions were too delicate and their minds too naïve and simple to be able to produce art imbued with these masculine attributes.

Art critics, patrons and the viewing public rarely understood how sculptures were produced. Misunderstandings often led to lawsuits, scandals, and on occasion to a devaluation of the medium itself. Women sculptors were often caught in these public critiques and trials. Marcello was involved in one of these lawsuits after the sale of her *Bianca Capello* from the Paris Salon of 1863; when she and her founder, Ferdinand

Barbedienne, were sued by the buyer, a collector named Alfred Beurdeley.¹³⁴ He believed he owned the “original” version of *Bianca Capello*, and that his permission was required before editions of the work could be produced and sold (see Chapter Four).

Although the number of female sculptors was growing at an extraordinary rate in Europe for the first time in history, a double standard existed between them and their male counterparts in terms of how their works were critiqued. This becomes evident when one studies the art criticism of the period and women sculptors’ defenses against that criticism, the most important of which was written by the American sculptor Harriet Hosmer.

A Massachusettes-born sculptor, Hosmer was criticized most harshly for the large studio of assistants and carvers in her employ. In a famous photograph from 1867 (figure 1-24), she is shown surrounded by her assistants; proof of her successful studio is evidenced by their presence, for she had as many assistants as the successful male sculptors of her day. But in 1859, Hosmer was accused in London’s *Art Journal* of not sculpting her own work. The accusations revolved around her *Zenobia*, a full-scale figure of the ancient queen of Palmyra, captured and brought to Rome in chains. Rumors had surfaced that her teacher, the English sculptor John Gibson, was doing her work for her, which prompted Hosmer to leave the studio she occupied adjoining his. Hosmer was also accused in *Art Journal* of having her Italian carver do her work for her, again, a ridiculously naïve claim when one is familiar with the processes of sculpture, but grave when presented to a public ignorant of these processes. William Wetmore Story came to her defense, stating publicly that he saw her work on *Zenobia*, and Gibson also attested to her talent and similarly defended her. But

¹³⁴ Although Bessis is not clear on the identity of “Beurdeley,” he was most likely Alfred Beurdeley (1808-1882), a dealer in “Objets d’art, de curiosités, et d’ameublement.” He ultimately lost the suit in court. The sculpture he purchased, *Bianca Capello*, will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

one of Hosmer's mentors, the actress Charlotte Cushman, suffered from the common ignorance about sculpture production when she wrote to Emma Crow in 1862: "Hattie is getting along very slowly with her fountain [work] –she really plays at work and more or less has it all done for her...she really does very little of her own work. She can do it – but she is idle and being paid good prices she can afford to employ other people to do it for her – and she takes the credit and the profit."¹³⁵

Hosmer's practice of hiring molders, carvers, bronze founders, and the like was no different from that of other major sculptors of the period. Yet Cushman continued to berate Hosmer in her letters: "And as to the work of her studio – she does less of it every day of her life – She has a modeler to do the work for her constantly – She directs him as to how she likes things – to be sure, but she does not do it."¹³⁶ As Hosmer pointed out in her essay "The Process of Sculpture," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in December 1864, the use of assistants was "no secret" and was in fact accepted practice.¹³⁷

Other women sculptors tried to avoid the label of dependence in their work, some to the point of exhaustion, and always at the price of seriously reducing their production because they insisted on doing everything themselves. Apparently Emma Stebbins, (1815-1882), designer of the Bethesda Fountain in New York's Central Park, suffered from harassment about her studio practices and accusations of nepotism with regard to her

¹³⁵ Charlotte Cushman to Emma Crow, 5 April 1862, Charlotte Cushman Papers, Library of Congress. As quoted in Sara Foose Parrott, "Networking in Italy: Charlotte Cushman and the 'White Marmorean Flock'" *Women's Studies* 14:4 (1988): 336.

¹³⁶ Cushman to Crow, 19 February 1863, Charlotte Cushman Papers, Library of Congress. As quoted in Parrott, 324. In this quote, Cushman says that Hosmer hired a "modeler," which would have been highly unlikely at the time since artists usually modeled their own works. It is unclear whether Cushman actually understood the difference between a modeler and a carver.

¹³⁷ Harriet Hosmer, "The Process of Sculpture," *Atlantic Monthly* 14:86 (December 1864): 737.

commission to do the Bethesda Fountain. Stebbins, the close friend and biographer of Cushman, took on so much of the production work of her sculpture “that she seriously undermined her health.”¹³⁸ Edmonia Lewis (c.1844-after 1911) also did much of her own work in her early years, not entirely because she wanted to, but in part because she could not afford to hire assistants; and Lewis had something else to fear – she was often accused of not doing her own work because she was black. She once ejected two whites from her studio when they asked if they could watch her work, because they could not believe a black person could make a sculpture so fine.¹³⁹ Hence she did much of her own carving. In fact for all of these reasons more women sculptors carved their own works for longer in their careers than their male counterparts. Female sculptors from America were the most unfairly judged on their production process, mainly because Americans in general were particularly ignorant about sculpture production processes.

Even Canova, whom Hosmer greatly admired, left the major labor to his assistants, which allowed him to complete the largest number of commissions possible. After a series of *bozzetti*, Canova would produce a full-scale clay model from which a plaster would be made. The points of measurement would be marked with pins and then his studio assistants would carve out the figure in the marble, leaving it rough so that Canova could finish it himself.¹⁴⁰ Thus in her article, Hosmer attempts to explain the process of making sculpture to a critical audience:

¹³⁸ Parrott, 336. Stebbins obviously feared being criticized by Cushman and thus did much of her own production work.

¹³⁹ Romare Bearden and Harry Henderson, *A History of African-American Artists from 1792 to the Present* (New York: Pantheon, 1993), 66.

¹⁴⁰ Giovanni Pavanetto, “Canova, Antonio,” *Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove, 1996): 631-32.

I have heard so much, lately, about artists who do not do their own work, that I feel disposed to raise the veil upon the mysteries of the studio, and enable those who are interested in the subject to form a just conception of the amount of assistance to which a sculptor is fairly entitled, as well as to correct the false but very general impression, that the artist, beginning with the crude block, and guided by his imagination only, hews out his statue with his own hands.¹⁴¹

Hosmer continues with a full discussion of the production of the clay model over an iron skeleton. After this she asserts that the sculptor's work is "virtually ended; for it is then cast in plaster and given into the hands of the marble-workers, by whom, almost entirely, it is completed, the sculptor merely directing and correcting the work as it proceeds."¹⁴²

Acknowledging that her disclosure "will shock the many," she explains fully how the process is completed. And then she delivers the coup de grâce:

We women-artists have no objection to its being known that we employ assistants; we merely object to its being supposed that it is a system peculiar to ourselves. When Thorwaldsen was calling upon to execute his twelve statues of the Apostles, he designed and furnished the small models, and gave them into the hands of his pupils and assistants...The great master rarely put his own hand to the clay; yet we never hear them spoken of except as "Thorwaldsen's statues."¹⁴³

Hosmer laid it out clearly: women do not, but should, receive the credit they so justly deserve for working in the same methods as male sculptors. And she concludes with fire and phlegm: "It is high time that some distinction should be made between the labor of the hand and the labor of the brain."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Hosmer, 734.

¹⁴² Hosmer, 735.

¹⁴³ Hosmer, 736.

¹⁴⁴ Hosmer, 737.

Conclusion

This chapter has been an attempt to set the stage for the understanding of Marcello's life and works. From the revival of Neo-classicism to the preeminence of Rome to the private training system, the production of sculpture and the gendering of the medium, all these issues in some way touch on Marcello's work. An understanding of these issues is important not only to scholars interested in Marcello, but to those interested in the history of sculpture as a whole and in women's role in the fine arts. An effort has been made to both survey the existing literature on the history of sculpture and to add to this a discussion of women's role and participation in that history. In the next chapter we will see especially how Rome, museums, private training and educational reforms, and the process of making sculpture all played significant roles in Marcello's career.

CHAPTER TWO

BECOMING MARCELLO: FAMILY HISTORY AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF

ADÈLE D'AFFRY, DUCHESS CASTIGLIONE COLONNA, 1836-1879

"All the ideas of my youth had renewed me, and I did not forget, under the brilliance of the parties of Paris, the oath made at the foot of the oak tree, with heaven and the birds in the trees as witnesses, to search for a social, useful, and fraternal goal to my existence."

- Marcello, *Memoirs*¹

Chapter Introduction

Although it is unclear when she began, Marcello planned her memoirs and wrote ninety-five pages of text for it in longhand. Two other pages written three days before Marcello's death, which were dictated by the artist and written in someone else's handwriting (probably that of her domestic François Butty), are also included in the portfolio containing the original manuscript. Left unfinished and unpublished, the manuscript is today conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, Switzerland (fig. 2-1). A typewritten copy from the manuscript was diligently prepared in the 1970s, in preparation for the retrospective exhibition held at the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, in 1980. Marcello had expressed in her testament the wish that her family try to find a publisher for the manuscript, but unfortunately this has not been accomplished to date.²

¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland (hereafter Archives FM), "Paris, 2 bis," [pagination on original manuscript], 40 [typewritten copy]. "Toutes les idées de ma jeunesse m'avaient reprises, et je n'oubliais pas, sous les lustres des fêtes de Paris, le serment fait au pied des chênes, avec le ciel et les oiseaux du bois pour témoins, de chercher un but social, utile, fraternel à mon existence." All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

² Testament of Madame la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna née d'Affry, 28 November 1877. The original copy of the testament is deposited at the Archives de L'Etat de Fribourg (hereafter AEF), RN 6055, documents 417-422. "Je charge entre mon beau frère de publier à Paris, chez [illegible, possibly Calmann-

The original manuscript text is one of the best primary sources for Marcello's early life and career; it covers, in her own words, her early travels, education, marriage, widowhood and first artistic successes in Paris, and details her great admiration for her male ancestors, most of whom served in important positions in military operations in France and Switzerland. The text ends, somewhat abruptly, after an account of her life in Paris during the early 1860s.

In her preface to her memoirs, Marcello stated her desire to be remembered for her artistic contributions. She considered her sculptures as substitutes for the children she never had, in numerous examples of her writing, and continued in this vein in her preamble:

It is possible that in the future my nephews, and some others who are members of my intellectual family, will stop to think in front of a marble by Marcello, and will ask themselves who was this artist whom they admire, and how did she live her life. These pages are addressed to them, they will speak when eternal silence will cover this woman who never knew the sweet pride of being a mother with joyous infants.³

Continuing further down in the short preface, Marcello assures future readers that they shall find what they seek about the artist if they search deeply and seriously, as "mankind speaks to his descendants through a language only heard by those who research the life and the spirit of the artist, under the exterior surfaces, to see who they really were. In this way I

Lévy] si possible, aux frais de ma succession, l'écrit de ma main intitulé *Mémoires*, sans y faire aucune changement, ceci est ma volonté expresse." It is possible that the family did not try, nor want, to publish the memoirs after Marcello's death, as it would have been relatively easy to do so.

³ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, Préface. "Il est possible que dans l'avenir mes neveux, et quelques passants qui appartiendraient à ma famille intellectuelle, s'arrêtent pensifs devant un marbre de Marcello, et se demandent quel fut cet artiste, ce qu'il aimait, et comment s'écoula sa vie. À ceux-ci répondront ces pages, elles parleront quand l'éternel silence se sera étendu sur cette femme qui ne connut pas le doux orgueil de se voir mère de joyeux enfants." The preface is found as an unpaginated sheet marked "Préface" at the beginning of the original manuscript folio. It is not recorded in the typewritten copy of the manuscript, but a facsimile of this page was reproduced in Odette d'Alcantara, *Marcello, Adèle d'Affry, Duchesse Castiglione-Colonna 1836-1879, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée et ses amis* (Geneva: Éditions Général, 1961), 25.

would like this book to speak of me one day, to those who love me and to those whom I have loved.”⁴

Family History

Adèle d’Affry⁵ was born Adelaïde-Nathalie-Marie-Hedwige-Philippine d’Affry (called Adèle, fig. 2-2) on 6 July 1836, the first child of the Count Louis-François-Romain-Charles d’Affry (fig. 2-3, 1810-1841) and the Countess Marie- Louise-Anne-Julie-Lucie de Maillardoz (fig. 2-4, 1816-1897), at 58, Grand-Rue in Fribourg, Switzerland where the ancestral house of the Affry family is located.⁶ Her illustrious and historically important family on both her paternal and maternal sides made a great impression on Adèle d’Affry throughout her life, and she devoted a large portion of the beginning of her memoirs to a discussion of the military history of her ancestors. Her male ancestors included lieutenants, generals and other high-ranking *hommes de guerre*, diplomats, ambassadors, and Swiss Guards in the service of France. She was raised in the family houses, living what she often termed in her *Mémoires* in an unironic tone as “la vie rustique,” with stories of the greatness of her ancestors who lived in these homes before her.

⁴ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, Préface. “L’homme parle à ses descendants par un langage entendu seulement de ceux qui sous la figure extérieure des choses, recherchent la vie et l’esprit de celui qui les fit. Ainsi voudrais-je que ce livre parlât de moi un jour, à ceux qui m’aimeront à ceux que j’aurais aimés.”

⁵ Published sources on Marcello’s life and work (although all are out of print) are Alcantara, 1961; Henriette Bessis, *Marcello: Sculpteur* (Fribourg: Musée d’art et d’histoire de Fribourg, 1980); and Ghislain de Diesbach, *La double vie de la Duchesse Colonna: La chimère bleue* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1988). An invaluable text on the sculpture of the period is Peter Fusco and H.W. Janson, *Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (Los Angeles and New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and George Braziller, 1980), see esp. 299-300, where Marcello is discussed.

⁶ This building still exists in Fribourg and a metal coat of arms (dated 1741) and a modern plaque mark its historical importance. The plaque reads, “58 Grand-Rue, maison construite en 1755 par Franco-Philippe de Diesbach-Steinbrugg, comte du St.-Empire, maréchal de camp et colonel propriétaire du régiment de Diesbach au service de France, mort le 7 avril 1764. Sa fille Marie-Anne femme du Landammann Louis d’Affry léga cet immeuble à la famille d’Affry.” The building now houses the Musée Wassmer – Musée Suisse de la machine à coudre (the Swiss sewing machine and quaint objects collection).

The surname “Affry” (originally d’Avry) fills three double-column pages of the *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Schweiz*, an encyclopedia of Switzerland’s most significant historical and luminary figures.⁷ The earliest recorded member of the family was Aleyson Davrie (born circa 1190, alias de Awry), whose name stemmed from the commune where his family originated, Avry-sur-Matran (fig. 2-5).⁸ Only two of the Affrys mentioned in the 1921 edition of the *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon* are women: Hélène d’Affry, an Abbess in Magereau, who died on 23 June 1548; and the sculptor Adèle d’Affry, whose biography finalizes the entry.⁹ Most other women in the family were members of the aristocracy, many of them having held titles as baronness and countesses, as noted on her genealogical chart (fig. 2-6). Affry’s relatives were also members of the oldest families in Fribourg, including those of Boccard, Diesbach, Praroman and Maillardoz, and her genealogy can be traced with assurance to the thirteenth century.¹⁰ The tomb of Abbot Pierre d’Affry, a cistercian monk who headed Hauterive monastery in the thirteenth century, dates to 1449, but the Affry family was established in Fribourg as early as 1293. This is a very early date in Swiss history; it should be noted that the first three cantons of Switzerland (Uri, Schwyz, and Obwalden/Nidwalden) had united only two years

⁷ *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Schweiz*. (Neuchâtel: Administration du dictionnaire historique et bibliographique de la Suisse, 1921-29). See the modern version currently being produced, *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, Marco Jorio, ed., Vol. I (Hauterive/Basel: Éditions Gilles Attinger et Fondation Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS), 2002), 93-96. (Hereafter cited as *DHS*)

⁸ In the 2002 edition of the *DHS* under the heading “Affry,” the suggestion is made that the family could also have originated from the village of Avry-devant-Pont. See the *DHS*, 93.

⁹ In the 2002 edition of the *DHS*, No women are given independent entries under the “Affry” heading. Adèle d’Affry’s biography will be placed in the forthcoming volume under the heading “Marcello.”

¹⁰ See Benoît de Diesbach Belleruche, *La Famille d’Affry* (Fribourg: Intermède Belleruche, 2003). An up-to-date Affry genealogy is available online. See also Benoît de Diesbach-Belleruche, 2001. *Site Généalogique et Héraldique du Canton de Fribourg* [online]. Fribourg: Intermède Belleruche. [cited 6 Dec. 2001]. Available from the World Wide Web: www.diesbach.com/sghcf/a/affry.html.

before (1291).¹¹ The Maillardoz family, that is, Adèle d’Affry’s maternal lineage, is also included in the *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon* and its roots can be traced in Fribourg as far back as 1230, that is, long before the country of Switzerland came to be.

The Château d’Affry in Givisiez, just outside of the city of Fribourg, where Adèle d’Affry grew up and spent most of her life, bears the date 1708 and the Affry and Tardy coats of arms (fig. 2-7).¹² Originally built for Nicolas-Alexandre d’Affry and his wife Ursule Tardy, the Château d’Affry was known as the *Maison aux armes d’Affry* during the nineteenth century. The street that leads to the château is appropriately named the “route du Château d’Affry,” which attests to the importance of the building and the history of its inhabitants. The first “president” of Switzerland, Louis d’Affry, had also lived at the château. He later composed and signed the Act of Mediation with Napoleon I (see below for a discussion of this Act). The family owned additional property in the surrounding area, but much of it has long been turned over to private foundations. In fact, there are two châteaux d’Affry in Givisiez: the *Maison aux armes d’Affry* mentioned above, where Adèle d’Affry actually lived, and the older one, now known as *Le Manoir*, which is now an

¹¹ Jean-Jacques Bouquet, *Histoire de la Suisse* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 13. “Les habitants des vallées situées entre le Gothard et Lucerne, les *Waldstätten* ou pays forestiers, formaient quatre corporations: Uri, Schwyz et les deux Unterwald, au-dessus et au-dessous (Ob- et Nidwald) de la forêt qui les sépare.”

¹² For the history of the château and the surrounding buildings, which were once part of a large complex owned by the Affry family, see Anne-Marie Benali-Chatton, *Le Manoir de Givisiez: Une Histoire, une fondation* (Givisiez: Oertig à Givisiez, 1996). The last proprietor of the Château d’Affry was the Countess Natalie Snoy et d’Oppuers who created the Fondation d’Affry in 1961 and the Fondation Marcello in 1963. The former is a family-run foundation that cares for this ancestral home and that conserves the cultural heritage of the family d’Affry extinct since the death of Cécile d’Affry, Baronness d’Ottenfels (Marcello’s sister) in 1911. The later is a state-run organization controlled by the Canton of Fribourg that conserves the works of the artist, her sculptures, paintings drawings, her personal art collection, and important archival material and ephemera such as correspondence, diaries, newspaper clippings, period photographs, and her personal affects.

assisted-living hostel for the aged.¹³ L'Église Saint-Laurent, the small church at Givisiez (known as the *Paroisse de Givisiez et Granges-Paccot*, fig. 2-9), built in 1777, contains the Affry family crest (figs. 2-8), positioned on the holy water fonts near the entrance of the chapel. It also contains within its churchyard the final resting places of many members of the family, including Adèle Colonna (Marcello).

Adèle d'Affry was the namesake of her great great-grandmother on her maternal side. The original Adèle d'Affry (1701-1744) married Antoine Constantine de Maillardoz (1691-1768) in 1720; thus her parents' union was not the first to join the two families. The Affry and Maillardoz families are best remembered for their historic roles as part of the Swiss military service abroad, which provided security services to the kings of France. They served France as part of the Swiss Guard continually from 1536 to 1818. One of the first of Adèle d'Affry's paternal ancestors to enter into such service was Louis d'Affry (1535-1608), a commander of four hundred Swiss Guards at Lyon. François Louis d'Affry (1590-1645), son of Louis, served in a wide range of military positions including that of Lieutenant of "Les Cent Suisses" (The One-Hundred Swiss Guards), an elite faction of the militia. A stained-glass representation of the Affry crest with a full description of François' honorific titles is currently located in the Musée Gruérien, Bulle (fig. 2-11a and 2-11b).

François Pierre Joseph d'Affry (fig. 2-10, 1667-1734) also held military positions and honorific titles, at the end of his life serving as the Lieutenant General of the armies of the King of France. Later Adèle's paternal great-great grandfather, Count Louis-Auguste-

¹³ As noted in Benali-Chatton, 7, "Givisiez était alors appelé le Versailles de Fribourg." La Fondation le Manoir, located at Place d'Affry 2 in Givisiez, was the former residence of a number of important Affry family members from 1539 to 1819. It was passed on to the Boccard family, relatives of the Affry's, until 1922. In 1982 it became the property of the commune of Givisiez, and since 1989 it has operated primarily as an assisted-living hostel for the aged.

Augustin d’Affry (fig. 2-12, 1713-1793) was a high officer and commander of the Swiss Guard. He was born at Versailles and held a number of positions during his more than sixty years of military service, including a post as a French diplomat to Holland.¹⁴ He often entertained important cultural figures in his Paris apartment, among them the sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741-1828) and the painters Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) and Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-1789).¹⁵ Louis-Auguste-Augustin was also a member of the Academy of Architecture in Paris.

There was also a deep, personal connection between Louis-Auguste-Augustin d’Affry and his cousin, Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz (1727-92). Maillardoz was a lieutenant general and lieutenant colonel of the Swiss Guard and author of *Considérations et réflexions sur une république aristocratique* (1766). After Louis XVI tried to escape France during the Revolution, the Tuileries were stormed on 10 August 1792, an infamous event known today as the Tuileries Massacre. The Swiss Guard “put up a staunch resistance and two-thirds of the regiment [approximately six hundred men] was annihilated.”¹⁶ Affry, who had wanted to retire and used the pretext of his age to do so, was

¹⁴ Affry had an impressive military resumé. The database entry of the *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse* (in conjunction with the Swiss National Library) for Louis-Auguste-Augustin d’Affry states that he served as “Cadet aux Gardes suisses en 1725, d’A, brigadier (1744), maréchal de camp (1748), lieutenant-général (1758), colonel des Gardes suisses (1767), ministre plénipotentiaire de Louis XV (1755), puis son ambassadeur ordinaire (1759-1762), auprès des Etats-Généraux de Hollande. Administrateur général des Suisses et Grisons (1771-1792), il était à Versailles l’ambassadeur informel du Corps helvétique.” The dictionary database can be accessed online at <http://www.sn�.ch/dhs/externe/protect/textes/F20462.html>. See also Monique von Wistinghausen, “Qui est Marcello? Esquisse socio-historique de l’artiste,” in *Marcello (1836-1879)* exh. cat. (Fribourg: Musée d’art et d’histoire, 1980), 11-25.

¹⁵ Wistinghausen, 15.

¹⁶ Andres Furger, ed. *Swiss National Museum, Zurich and Prangins*. Swiss Museums Series. (Zurich: Swiss Institute for Art Research, 1998), 81. See also Jérôme Bodin, *Les Suisses au service de la France*, (Paris: Édition Albin Michel, 1988), 241-91, esp. 262, 272. Bodin sets the number of Swiss Guards killed on 10 August and 2-3 September at 850 men and 26 officers. However the actual number of Swiss men who were killed or were missing in action is not known with certainty. For additional information on the events of 10 August and 2-3 September, see Georges Andrey and Alain-Jacques Czouz-Tornare, *Louis*

spared at the time of the Tuileries Massacre because his cousin Maillardoz had replaced him on 10 August. Affry was subsequently arrested on 10 August, imprisoned at l'Abbaye, released on 2 September, and was finally acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal on 10 October. He then retired to Saint-Barthélemy, where he died eleven months later.¹⁷

Maillardoz, on the other hand, was arrested on 10 August after escorting Louis XVI and the royal family to the Tuileries and was imprisoned at the Conciergerie, along with the Queen consort Marie-Antoinette and other members and friends of the Monarchy. On the day Affry was released from prison, his cousin who replaced him was killed, "massacré par la populace," during the bloodbath at the Conciergerie.¹⁸ Later, Napoléon Bonaparte was greatly impressed by the bravery of the Swiss guards and their willingness to give their lives for the ruler of a country that was not their own.¹⁹

Bertel Thorvaldsen's (1770-1844) *Lion of Lucerne* (fig. 2-13) was designed as a monument to the fallen Swiss Guards who died during the events of 10 August and 2-3 September 1792. This large and impressive monument, with its heart-wrenchingly sad dying beast, was carved directly at the site in Lucerne, Switzerland in 1820-21 by the stonemason Lucas Ahorn (1789-1856), from Thorvaldsen's designs. Carved above the

d'Affry, 1743-1810, *Premier Landamman de la Suisse, La Confédération suisse à l'heure napoléonienne* (Geneva: Slatkine, 2003), 62-71.

¹⁷ Georges Andrey, "Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry," *Encyclopédie du Canton de Fribourg* (Fribourg: Office du Livre SA, 1977), 2: 454. "Epargné lors du massacre des Tuileries (20 août 1792), journée pendant laquelle il adopta une attitude peu claire, il fut ensuite arrêté à deux reprises avant de pouvoir se retirer en Suisse."

¹⁸ J.-R. Bory, "Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz," *Encyclopédie du Canton de Fribourg*, 2:485.

¹⁹ An exhibition held to recognize the two-hundredth anniversary of the Act of Mediation, entitled *Bonaparte et les Suisses: L'Acte de médiation de 1803*, was held at the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Espace Ami Lullin, Geneva, in 2003. From the tombstone text of the exhibition, one label read: "Le spectacle des Suisses chargés de la défense de Tuileries le 10 août 1792 et massacrés par la populace fit grande impression sur Bonaparte qui était alors à Paris."

creature are the words HEVETIORUM FIDEI AC VIRTUTI, or “to the loyalty and bravery of the Swiss.” Many of the names of the Swiss Guards carved below the sculpture include Marcello’s relatives, such as the three members of the Maillardoz family, a Diesbach, and a Diesbach-Steinbrugg.

Louis-Auguste-Augustin-d’Affry’s son, Count Louis Auguste-Philippe d’Affry (fig. 2-14, 1743-1810),²⁰ is best known as the great “Landamman de la Suisse,” credited with helping to reconstruct the Swiss Federation.²¹ After studying at the Collège Louis-le-Grand (an elite Jesuit secondary school in Paris, whose other illustrious pupils included Voltaire, the marquise de Sade, and later Charles Baudelaire), Louis d’Affry joined the Swiss Guard in 1758 at the age of sixteen. He worked along side his father and held a number of important military positions. On 4 June 1770 he married his cousin, Marie-Anne de Diesbach-Steinbrugg and they moved into her father’s house at 58 Grand-Rue in Fribourg. Subsequently as commanding officer of the Haut-Rhin troops (1791), he escaped the Tuileries Massacre because he was in Fribourg on 10 August. In 1802 he founded the Cercle de la grande société de Fribourg, a clandestine society of patriotic aristocrats.

Additionally in the autumn of 1802, Louis d’Affry went to Paris, as a member of the delegation of Fribourg, to the negotiations of the Act of Mediation, a compromise

²⁰ The most complete source on Louis-Auguste-Philippe-d’Affry is Andrey and Czouz-Tornare, 2003. This text contains an extensive bibliography. See also Max de Diesbach’s “Louis d’Affry: Premier Landamman de la Suisse et la diète fédérale de 1803,” in *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* Vol. 29 (1904): 169-88; F. de Diesbach’s, “Louis d’Affry Landamman de la Suisse, 1743-1810,” in *Annales Fribourgeoises* 41 (1951): 176-207; and Johannès Dierauer, *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, 5 Vols. (Lausanne: Librairie Payot & Cie., 1918), 156-201, 205-248.

²¹ There is no equivalent for the word “Landamman” (sometimes alternatively spelled with two “n’s”) in English or French. The word originates from the German *Landammann*, Land-Bailiff or Land-Ambassador. It is defined as (1) a chief magistrate in some of the Swiss cantons (2) The president of the Helvetic Confederation from 1803-1813. Special thanks must be paid to Monique von Wistinghausen for clarifying this definition. Wistinghausen also discusses this term in the “Avant-propos,” in Andrey and Czouz-Tornare, xv, and in the Glossary of the same text, 389. At Wistinghausen’s suggestion, I have used the English equivalent “Chief of State” in the above text.

between old federal structures and new democratic rights. Napoléon chose Affry as the first “Landammann der Schweiz,” or Chief of State. A mutual confidence seemed to exist between the older aristocrat (at that time Affry was sixty years old) and the much younger Premier Consul (thirty-four years old). Until his death in 1810, Affry was the key negotiator involved in the then delicate Franco-Swiss relationship. His primary job was to preserve the independence and neutrality of the Swiss motherland under all circumstances, which was not an easy task in Napoleonic Europe. During his last visit to Paris in 1810, Affry met with the Emperor in a long session, and there received the title of “Commandeur” of the Légion d’honneur. Affry died ten days later.²²

Louis Auguste-Philippe d’Affry’s portrait as the Landamman, painted by a fellow guard and native of Fribourg, Joseph de Landerset (1753-1824, fig. 2-14), was completed towards the end of his life in 1807.²³ Depicted in formal dress, Louis d’Affry leans his right hand on an upright book, with the letters “PF” inscribed on its cover. This text represents a copy of the Act of Mediation, and the letters “PF” referred to the Act being written in the name of the *Peuple français*; the original text, with this exact cover, is conserved at the Federal Archives in Bern. The desk behind the Landamman is complete with references to the signing and writing of the Act of Mediation: these objects include a

²² The Act of Mediation, passed by Napoléon Bonaparte on 19 February 1803, reestablished the original thirteen cantons of Switzerland, thus changing the name of the government from the Helvetic Republic back to the Swiss Confederation. Switzerland gained much of its independence and neutrality through the Act of Mediation. The downside of the Act was that Napoleon “supervised” the Swiss press, increasing censorship, and monitored Swiss politicians. The Act was repealed on 29 December 1813. The exhibition held to recognize the two-hundredth anniversary of the Act of Mediation, entitled *Bonaparte et les Suisses: L’Acte de médiation de 1803*, was accompanied by a catalogue: Victor Monnier, *Bonaparte et la Suisse: travaux préparatoires de l’Acte de médiation (1803)* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 2002). See also Jocelyn Rochat and Chantal Tauxe, “Napoléon, le faiseur de Suisse,” *L’Hebdo* 30 (24 July 2003): 39-46.

²³ For a brief biography on Landerset’s life and work, see Ivan Andrey, “Joseph de Landerset, Petit-Maître patricien,” in *Fribourg 1798: Une Révolution culturelle?*, Raoul Blanchard and Hubert Foerster, eds. (Fribourg: Musée d’art et d’histoire, 1998), 111-17.

quill pen and inkwell, numerous sheets of handwritten documents, and a red pouch containing the official seals, decorated with a personification and inscribed with the date 1803, the year that the Act was passed. At the top left, one finds a gilded tondo containing the image of Napoléon I, crowned with laurel leaves, who looks over Affry like a protective god. On the right is the allegorical figure of the virtue of Prudence, represented as a sculpture in the background. She is shown with her typical iconography, a mirror and a snake.²⁴ The figure is important because she signifies Affry's own prudence in helping to pass the Act of Mediation. Thus the image serves as an excellent form of symbolic painting with political iconography from the early years of the nineteenth century. Two copies of this painting are known; one is conserved in the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg and the other is in the Château d'Affry in Givisiez.

Around 1803, the Landamman gave his cousin, the marquis Antoine Constantin de Maillardoz (1765-1832) the title of "envoyé extraordinaire du Landamman et de la confédération Suisse." Louis had found out that Constantin's father, Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz, had given his life in exchange for that of his own father. Thus Louis's naming his cousin to an honorific, lucrative post and naming him Swiss Minister to Paris was, according to historian Max de Diesbach, "without a doubt an act of reparation."²⁵ Constantin's brother (and Marcello's maternal grandfather), Philippe de Maillardoz, later played an important role in the Swiss *Sonderbund* (Separatist League, 1845-47).²⁶

²⁴ Prudence is usually shown with a mirror, which refers to the prudent person who has the ability to see her or himself the way s/he really is; the snake is a reference to Matthew 10:16, "Be ye wise (*prudentes*) as serpents."

²⁵ Max de Diesbach, "Louis d'Affry: Premier Landamman de la Suisse et la Diète Fédérale de 1803," in *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte*, Vol. 29 (Zürich: S. Höhr, 1904), 182.

²⁶ The *Sonderbund*, or Separatist League, was an illegal resistance force of seven Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland (Fribourg, Lucerne, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Valais and Zug). The league was

Louis-Auguste-Philippe d’Affry’s son, Count Charles Philippe d’Affry (fig 2-15, 1772-1818) was the godchild of the Count d’Artois and Madame Adélaïde de France. He would be the last of the family to serve in the mercenary force. He too served as “Sous-lieutenant au régiment des Gardes Suisse” in August of 1792, but was sent to Normandy and thus, like his father and grandfather, escaped the massacre at the Tuileries. He served in many military campaigns and was named “Maréchal de camp au service de la France” when the service of the Swiss Guard was briefly restored.²⁷ After becoming an Officier de la Légion d’honneur in 1812, he resigned from the military in 1815. Charles d’Affry made many watercolors depicting scenes of battles and military life. His death unfortunately predated his granddaughter Adèle’s birth, but her childhood nevertheless was filled with remembrances of her ancestors. His watercolors and drawings were available to her as a child, and some are still conserved at the Fondation d’Affry.

Charles’s son Jules died at a very young age, but his second son, Count Louis-François-Romain-Charles d’Affry (fig. 2-3, 1810-1841), lived long enough to become Adèle’s father. A lieutenant in the Swiss cavalry, he not only enjoyed drawing and watercolor painting (see figs. 2-16a and 2-16b), but was something of a musician as well. Although he was quite talented, for the most part his artistic pursuits were a pastime, not a serious commitment. It is, however, possible that his interest in art was conveyed to his daughter during their very short time together; he died at the age of thirty-one, just eleven

formed to protect Catholic interests and prevent the formation of a more centralized Swiss government. In 1848 a federal constitution ended the sovereignty of the individual cantons and forced the end of the *Sonderbund*. For Philippe de Maillardoz’s (*i.e.*, Marcello’s maternal grandfather’s) role in the *Sonderbund*, see his own account, *Mémoire sur ma participation aux événements de Fribourg en 1847* (Lausanne: Association Semper Fidelis, 1996 [1850]).

²⁷ The Swiss Guard was finally dissolved in France after the Revolution of 1830. Today the Swiss Guard corps remain in service in Rome, and are the primary security force for Vatican City. See Furger, 81.

days short of Adèle's fifth birthday. His enigmatic death, which was not often discussed by members of the family, occurred relatively soon after the birth of a second daughter, Cécile-Marie-Philippine-Caroline (fig. 2-17, 1839-1911), later the Baroness d'Ottensfels. In his biography of Adèle d'Affry, Ghislain de Diesbach asked if it was a brain fever or suicide ("fièvre cérébrale...se serait-il suicidé...?") that led to Louis' death.²⁸ He also noted, however, that in her later years Adèle d'Affry would have a number of older male friends who acted as father figures for her.²⁹ Since only his wife and two daughters survived him, Louis's death brought the long, celebrated Affry line to an end.³⁰ In her memoirs, Adèle expressed regret that she could not add to her illustrious family's military history, noting that "all my life was crossed by the evidently hereditary regret of not having been a soldier, but instead a woman and an artist."³¹

Early Education and Artistic Training

Lucie de Maillardoz, the Countess d'Affry, widowed at the age of twenty-five with two small daughters, impressed an aristocratic upbringing on her children, one appropriate to their class status. She provided her daughters Adèle and Cécile with a broad education that emphasized art, literature, and music, a curriculum she certainly deemed most appropriate to their future lives as women of aristocratic standing. Perhaps more important

²⁸ Diesbach, 32.

²⁹ Diesbach, 14. "...sont déjà des hommes mûrs et sans doute remplacent-ils auprès d'elle le père qui lui a manqué dans son enfance et dont elle aura toujours la nostalgie."

³⁰ Gonzague de Reynold, "Introduction historique," in Alcantara, 21.

³¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 3 [original manuscript], 3 [typewritten copy]. "[...] car toute ma vie aussi fut traversée du regret évidemment héréditaire de n'avoir point été soldat, plutôt que femme et artiste."

to Adèle d’Affry’s intellectual and emotional development was her relationship with her mother and the values that the latter impressed upon her. Their relationship remained strong throughout their lives together, and Affry sought and respected her mother’s opinions on everything from art to love. Hundreds of letters between the mother and the daughter are extant, and span almost a twenty-year period. The Countess had asked Guillaume d’Affry (1779-1860), son of the Landamman, to tutor Adèle and Cécile. Travel at an early age between the family property in Nice and their home in Fribourg exposed them to many cultured situations. Coming of age in a household headed by a self-sufficient, confident woman certainly prepared them for independent, self-directed lives.

By the age of fifteen, Adèle d’Affry was fully absorbed in her studies, and her educational routine at home was complemented by frequent trips to France and Italy. The Fondation Marcello conserves twenty-one notebooks used by Affry during her formative years. They include notes on anatomy, the fine arts, Latin, philosophy, and theology. She also kept notebooks on specific artists and intellectuals, such as Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and the color theories of Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786-1889).³²

Adèle received substantial training in the arts as well. She studied painting in Nice with the French landscape painter Joseph Fricero (1807-1870)³³ and watercolor with the German painter Peter von Cornelius (1783-1867). It is also thought that Adèle began to study art at the age of nine with Joseph-Auguste Dietrich (1821-1863), a local artist who

³² Chevreul was a chemist hired by the Gobelins tapestry company to work on dye mixtures for fabrics. It was there that he developed his idea that two adjacent colors, when seen by the naked eye, will appear as dissimilar as possible, and that adjacent colors influence each other. His *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l’assortiment des objets colorés* was published in Paris by Pitois-Levrault in 1839. His work influenced such artists as Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), Georges Seurat (1859-1881), and Robert Delaunay (1885-1941).

³³ Adèle was one of Fricero’s first students. See Serge Romaine, *Joseph Fricero 1807-1870: Ses voyages, Nice, Saint-Petersbourg, La Cour de Nicolas 1er*. (Paris: Chez Jacques Ferrand, 1993), 105-6.

made many images of Affry family members.³⁴ After 1853, she spent much of her time in Rome, where she came under the spell of Michelangelo. A portfolio that remains in her childhood home attests to her fascination with his work, as it includes many skillful graphite and ink drawings after the Sistine Ceiling and the Medici Chapel (fig. 2-18). At the age of seventeen she met Heinrich Maximillian Imhof (fig. 2-19, 1795-1869), a Swiss-born sculptor working, like most of the Neo-Classical artists of the day, in Rome.³⁵ She took lessons from Imhof in the basics of sculpture, primarily in modeling figures in clay, beginning in 1853-1854 and again in 1857-1858.

Training in sculpture was widely considered too expensive, messy, noisy, and physically demanding to be appropriate for women. It provided skills opposite to those required for her anticipated aristocratic marriage. Yet Adèle d’Affry’s training far exceeded the norm; she was provided with not just one art tutor and not just one tour of the major European cities, but many. Drawing and watercolor, even oil painting, were accepted, quiet pastimes for women and girls; they were skills that later could be utilized to teach children in their care. Lessons in sculpture, however, could be seen as both psychologically dangerous and unnecessary, as well as physically hazardous, for an aristocratic girl bound for marriage. Whatever would she need with a skill so unladylike?

³⁴ Carl Brun, ed., *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexicon* (Frauenfeld: Verlag Von Huber, 1905), 13; Hélène de Diesbach, “Marcello, La Duchesse Colonna née d’Affry,” in *La Femme suisse, un livre de famille*, Gertrude Villiger-Keller, ed., (Neuchâtel: F. Zahn, 1910), 229.

³⁵ Imhof studied with Johann Heinrich Dannecker and Bertel Thorvaldsen. His style was characteristically Neo-classical and he often dealt with Christian subject matter. His first biographer was E. Prosch, who wrote *Heinrich Max Imhof* (1870) and he is listed in Gantner and Reinle’s encyclopedic *Kunstgeschichte der Schweiz* (1962). The most recent study on Imhof was published in 1995, the late Karl Iten’s *Heinrich Max Imhof (1795-1869): Ein Urner Bildhauer in Rom*. exh. cat. (Altdorf: Historisches Museum Uri, 1995).

Adele d’Affry was given an education that equaled or exceeded that which was typically given to young men of her social class. Although she came from an aristocratic background that often discouraged women from intellectual pursuits, she seems to have overcome all such restrictions. It is quite possible that her mother’s early widowhood encouraged her to give her daughters a formidable education. This may have been meant to prepare them for their own survival in the event of a similar tragedy. At the very least, Lucie de Maillardoz seems to have planted the seeds for some sort of extraordinary achievement in her daughters, even though she certainly did not envision professional careers for them. It was just as well that she prepared them for whatever the future might bring; it gave Adèle the means of coping successfully with a fate not unlike her mother’s.³⁶

By the mid-1850s, Adèle d’Affry had reached a marriageable age. In 1855, she accompanied her mother to Naples, where they were to meet some friends from Fribourg and other luminaries who were in the court of the King of Naples; according to one of her biographers, Odette d’Alcantara, she made quite an impression on many of the young military men in their company. The Princess Colonna (née Marie Jeanne Catteano de San Nicandro) remarked that the young and beautiful Swiss blond would make a lovely wife for her second son Carlo Colonna (fig. 2-20, 1825-1856). As was customary for the period, negotiations for marriage were carried out, and the ceremony was held on 5 April 1856 in Rome. Normally this would have effectively ended Affry’s possibilities for a serious career in sculpture or any other art form. Her role as wife and, as they must have assumed, mother, would now have to take precedence, and when Pope Pius IX bestowed on Don Carlo Colonna the title of Duke of Castiglione-Altibranti, his nineteen-year old wife thus

³⁶ Adèle was widowed at the age of twenty. Her sister Cécile became a Dame de la croix étoilée and a poet. Cécile’s poetry will be discussed in Chapters Four and Six.

became the Duchess de Castiglione-Colonna, a woman of high aristocratic status. A career in sculpture was possibly the furthest thing from her mind at that point. For a few weeks the newlyweds resided at the Château Colonna at San Marino, where Carlo's ancestor Vittoria Colonna, the famed poet, had been born.³⁷ To reside in the childhood home of this great intellectual woman, poet, and close friend of Michelangelo, and to have had access to the famed Palazzo Colonna in Rome (fig. 2-21) must have been an incredible thrill for the young duchess. By all accounts, theirs was a happy marriage; the duchess was devoted to her "Carluccio," as she called him, and it seemed that a happy future awaited them both.

Their married bliss, unfortunately, would not last. Their honeymoon was cut short when, two months after arriving in Paris, Carlo Colonna contracted typhoid fever and, within three days of being diagnosed, died on 18 December 1856, only eight months after their wedding. The Duchess Colonna wrote in striking terms of her experience at his death:

I remained seated beside him for five or six hours, his eyes fixed, in a terrible and tranquil horror. Everything had been taken from me, and in this disaster of all my senses, only reason brought precise clarity to this scene. I did not lose track of anything, and even the future appeared to me in its entirety, in his dreadful deserted gaze, and in all the torments that I have suffered since.³⁸

Distraught, the twenty-year old widow returned to her mother at the château in Givisiez, where she was consumed with grief and was treated for symptoms of depression by as many doctors as her mother could hire, to no avail. About five months later, she

³⁷ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "39 bis," [original manuscript], 26 [typewritten copy].

³⁸ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 41 [original manuscript], 30 [typewritten copy]. "Je restai cinq ou six heures assise près de lui, les yeux fixes, dans une terrible et tranquille horreur. Tout m'avait été repris, et la raison seule, parmi ce désastre de toutes mes facultés, éclairait cette scène d'une lueur claire, précise, je ne perdis rien de vue, et même l'avenir m'apparut tout entier dans son affreux désert, et dans tous les tourments que j'ai subis depuis." See also the latter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess d'Affry, dated 18 December 1856, Archives FM, which reads in part, "Je viens de traverser la plus triste épreuve on puisse être une femme qui aime son mari, mon pauvre Carluccio est mort ce matin après 5 jours de maladie. Je suis bien affligée, comme vous le pensez, mais Dieu me soutient." [I have come to cross the saddest ordeal one can face as a wife who loves her husband, my poor Carluccio died this morning after five days of being ill. I am terribly afflicted, as you might think, but God supports me.]

returned to Italy with her uncle, Count Ladislas de Diesbach-Belleruche.³⁹ The trip had two goals: to try to ease Adèle Colonna's depression and to find out if she was entitled to anything through Carlo Colonna's will.

While waiting for the testament to be read, her uncle searched for a place for his niece to stay in Rome. In the summer of 1857, she was installed in the convent at Trinità del Monte, the famous church atop the Spanish Steps (figure 2-22), less than a block away from the French Academy in Rome at the Villa Médicis. Adèle Colonna noted that the cell she occupied was decorated only with a large crucifix, a small bed, and a fireplace, and was only ten feet square ("tout au plus dix pieds carrés").⁴⁰ In exchange for the space, she aided the religious in their daily duties. Her existence there, however, was not so simple; the longer she stayed in Rome, the more artistic connections she made, and the more she visited museums, churches and ruins, the greater her desire became for an intellectual and creative life. She filled her days visiting churches and museums, admiring antiquities, and frequenting the salons of important society figures.⁴¹ Although nothing significant had been settled from her late husband's last will and testament, she decided, against her mother's initial advice, to remain in Rome and resume her sculpture studies with Imhof.

Early Career: 1858-1862

The earliest-known sculptures by the Duchess Colonna are her *Self-Portrait* (fig. 2-23) and her *Portrait of Carlo Colonna* (fig. 2-24), sculpted as companion pieces from the

³⁹ The Count Ladislas de Diesbach-Belleruche was Adèle Colonna's uncle on her maternal side. He was married to her mother's sister, Caroline de Maillardo.

⁴⁰ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 44 [original manuscript], 33 [typewritten copy].

⁴¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "Paris I," [original manuscript], 39-41 [typewritten copy], for a discussion of her acquaintances made in Paris.

end of 1857 to early 1858.⁴² Both works were produced in plaster, an inexpensive but traditional material mimicking marble, and both were secured to matching socle bases. Although of the two, only the *Self-Portrait* is signed (as “Adèle Colonna”) and dated, both were certainly made around the same time while she was still studying under Imhof in Rome. Already at this early stage in her artistic development, Adèle Colonna was, as evidenced by the *Self-Portrait*, well on her way to creating a personal identity and style. The sculpture is quite successful in its likeness, as can be determined from another image of Colonna from the period (fig 2-24). Portrait sculpture would occupy her for most of her career, and she was adamant about achieving realistic likenesses of her subjects, often using photographs, products of a still-nascent technology, as reference materials. The *Self-Portrait* exhibits both a sure hand, as noted by the elaborate hairstyle in the back, and a youthful naïveté, evidenced by the simplified garment and brooch. When viewing the back of the sculpture, one notices that Colonna modeled a very ornate, elaborately twisted *chignon* (compare figs. 2-25 and 2-26). She also included fine wisps of hair near the ears and at the nape of the neck, giving the work a naturalistic quality. Her attention to details such as garments, hairstyles, and jewelry would increase as her work became more advanced.

Colonna’s goal was to attain the strength of expression that she found in Roman portrait busts, and she was particularly enamored with the work of Michelangelo, whom she emulated. Interestingly, she used two different eyeball styles in the *Self-Portrait* and *Portrait of Carlo Colonna*. This may seem at first to be an unnecessary point, but in figural sculpture the eye has been, since antiquity, the most difficult and important aspect of the

⁴² These two sculptures were only discovered in the attic of the Château d’Affry in the 1970s; thus they were unknown and not discussed by scholars before that decade.

head for an artist. Rudolph Wittkower wrote extensively on Gianlorenzo Bernini's use of the "incised eyeball" for heroic portraits and saints, and the "blank eyeball" for regular portraits.⁴³ Colonna used the incised version in her own portrait, but the blank version for the eyes of her late husband. Throughout her career, she seems to have used the incised eyeball for realistic portraits of living persons, and the more mystical and other-worldly blank eyeball in her depictions of heroes, mythological figures and posthumous portraits.

At the end of 1857, Colonna mentioned in a letter to her mother that she had begun working on the *Portrait of Carlo Colonna*. She later recalled that the work was inspired by a combination of "this passion of love, hard to extinguish, and the cult of beauty that sweetly soothes my grief for its lonely dreams."⁴⁴ The somber portrait of the Duke of Colonna, produced posthumously, was modeled from memory and possibly from some images of him that the duchess had in her possession. His garments are certainly more elaborate than those of the *Self-Portrait*, and the detail of the facial hair is impressively modeled through skilled tool marks. These two sculptures were her earliest experiments in the medium, and they were never exhibited publicly during the artist's lifetime. Today they are in fragile condition and remain together at the Fondation Marcello.

In March of 1858, Colonna left Rome and traveled to Nice and Paris, and then to Fribourg for the summer. She had decided to leave Rome in March because she was then twenty-one and the decision about Carlo Colonna's estate had been made by this time. Although some sources suggest that she came into quite a bit of wealth, parts of the will

⁴³ Rudolf Wittkower, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles*. (New York and London: Penguin, 1977), 185-88.

⁴⁴ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 45 [original manuscript], 34 [typewritten copy]. "L'idée me vint de faire le buste de mon mari, combinant cette passion d'amour mal éteinte, et le culte du beau qui calmait doucement mes peines dans ces rêves solitaires."

that would have benefited her greatly were never executed.⁴⁵ She spent most of her time in Rome working on sketches, modeling sculptures and studying anatomy. She complained in her diary, summing up her progress during 1860-61, that because of some bouts of illness, she had not been as productive as she would have liked. However she felt that her trips to Rome during this period “launched a new epoch in [her] studies.”⁴⁶ The years between 1858 and 1862 were formative for they marked her recognition of her desire to become a professional artist. She was developing an artistic philosophy of her own and wrote that a true spirit should accompany each of her works.

Colonna truly began her career when she arrived in Paris, where in 1859 she leased an apartment from Léon Riesener (1808-1878), a painter and cousin of Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863).⁴⁷ Riesener had purchased the plot of land on the corner of the rue Bayard and the Cours-la-Reine in 1846, and prior to Colonna’s arrival, the artist Gustave Doré (1832-1883) had occupied the studio as a tenant.⁴⁸ It was through her friendship with Riesener’s

⁴⁵ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 43 [original manuscript], 32 [typewritten copy]. “Par contrat de mariage, je devais jouir des revenus de mon mari ma vie durant. [C]e contrat, confié pour être enregistré à don Vincenzo Colonna, oncle de mon mari, maire de Rome, n’avait pas reçu cette formalité encore, et donna prise par là au refus d’exécuter les engagements. Un protégé de mon mari, son homme d’affaires et le mien nécessairement, arrangea les choses de façon qu’il fut ensuite récompensé par la confiance de la partie adverse.”

⁴⁶ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets (known as the *Récapitulation*) circa 1862, Recapitulation of 1860-1861, Archives FM. “Le voyage de Rome inaugure une nouvelle époque dans mes études.”

⁴⁷ Delacroix’s step-grandfather was the cabinetmaker Jean-Henri Riesener (1734-1806) and his mother’s half-brother was the painter Henri-François Riesener (1767-1828). Léon Riesener’s daughter Rosalie (1843-1913) was also a painter who exhibited in a number of Salon exhibitions under her maiden name and her married name, which was Pillaut. Her 1866 entry was her *Portrait de la duchesse Colonna* (1866) now located at the Fondation Marcello.

⁴⁸ She remained at 1, rue Bayard until 1867, at which time she moved to 16, rue Neuve-des-Capucines (now the rue des Capucines). Constantine Nigra, an Italian ambassador whom she knew, later occupied her former apartment. See *Léon Riesener, 1808-1878*, ex. cat. (London: Couper Gallery, 1965), n.p. Riesener’s original property no longer exists at the site as it was destroyed during the Franco-Prussian War and the current building at 1, rue Bayard was built by Charles Mewes in 1887.

daughter Rosalie (fig 2-27, 1843-1913), that she later met the painter Berthe Morisot (fig 2-28, 1841-1895), their neighbor and friend. According to Tiburce Morisot, in an early biography of the Impressionist, "Berthe met the Duchess Colonna at the Rieseners'. She was known everywhere in the art world under the name of Marcello, and her studio at the Cours-la-Reine shared a wall with the Rieseners' house. They became friends and from her contact with the duchess, Berthe developed a desire to sculpt as well."⁴⁹ A student of her father, Rosalie Riesener was a highly talented painter and draftsman in her own right, and she exhibited on a number of occasions at the Paris Salon. Although the few sources that mention Rosalie Riesener state that she exhibited only in the Salons of 1865 and 1866, in fact she later exhibited under her married name, Pillaut, in 1877, 1880, and 1881.⁵⁰ Her successful 1866 submission was a portrait of the duchess Colonna (fig. 2-29), now prominently displayed at the Fondation Marcello.

Although Colonna sought art instruction in Paris, there were few educational opportunities open to women in the early 1860s. As noted in the previous chapter, a proper education for women artists, especially sculptors, during the 1850s and early 1860s was almost non-existent. Madame Léon (Hélène) Bertaux (1825-1909), unquestionably the most important advocate for women's artistic education in Paris during the last three decades of the century, had not yet opened her first "ateliers d'études," where she held

⁴⁹ Tiburce Morisot, as quoted in Armand Fourreau, *Berthe Morisot* (Paris: F. Reider et Cie., 1925), 26. Translated in Alain Clairet, et al., *Berthe Morisot, 1841-1895: catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint*, translations by Jean-Alice Coyner (Montolivet: CERA-nrs, 1997), 79.

⁵⁰ I am fairly certain that no one has ever bothered to check the salon livrets under her married name. She is listed in the livret for 1877 in the painting section as "Pillaut-Riesener (Mme)," and as having submitted a work entitled *Portrait de Mlle****; in 1880 in the drawing section named incorrectly, "Pillaud-Riesener (Mme. Rosalie)," as the artist of *Portrait de Mlle**** in pastel; and finally in 1881, again in the drawing section and again incorrectly as "Pillaud (Mme. Rosalie, née Riesener)," as the artist of *Portrait de M. Julien P...*, in pastel. There has never been a published text written on Rosalie Riesener to my knowledge and she is not listed in the *Dictionary of Women Artists* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1996).

cours de modelage et de sculpture exclusively for women.⁵¹ The Duchess Colonna was already a professional sculptor working on commissions when the development and success of the *atelier privés* began in Paris in the later 1860s and early 1870s. Although she had had a number of years of training with Imhof by the time she reached Paris and had set up a permanent studio, she continued seeking advice from many artists, remaining open to suggestions and commentary on her art production. In addition to her sculptural work, Colonna was also painting and sought advice from painter-friends such as Delacroix.

There are conflicting reports of how Colonna finally met Delacroix, but most likely a studio visit was arranged either by Joséphine de Forget (Delacroix's cousin and for some time his lover as well), the Rieseners, or Adolphe Thiers, a friend of both artists. Colonna had admired Delacroix's work greatly and sought him out almost as soon as she reached Paris. They quickly became friends. The Romantic painter wrote of her work and her beauty in his diaries and letters, and she was an avid collector of his oil sketches, many of them purchased through his student and assistant, Pierre Andrieu. She queried Delacroix for advice on her own painting, which he provided, along with the suggestion that she also seek advice on painting from her landlord, Riesener, who was also willing to help.⁵²

⁵¹ Bertaux's sculpture schools for women, the first of their kind in Europe, had begun in 1873. She founded the Union des femmes peintres et sculpteurs (UFPS) in 1881 and was its first president, from 1881-94. She was involved in all aspects of education for women, and through her efforts the École des beaux-arts in Paris was finally opened to women in 1896. She exhibited her own sculptures at the Paris Salon frequently from 1849 until her death in 1909, and was included in the Royal Academy exhibition in London (1874), the Exposition Universelle, Paris (1889) and the Women's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago (1893). Appallingly, Bertaux is not included in any major survey of nineteenth-century art and is rarely given even a brief mention in surveys of women in the fine arts. The most significant study of Bertaux is Tamar Garb's *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

⁵² For further information regarding Delacroix and Marcello's collection of his works, see Chapter Five.

Although she was always open to advice from her artist-friends, Marcello really had no master other than Michelangelo. As she wrote in her notes from around 1861, “the powerful hand of Michelangelo teaches me to assemble scattered elements, to subject them to a supreme force.”⁵³ There are countless references to Michelangelo in Marcello’s drawings and writings, including drawings after the Sistine ceiling and written passages in her memoirs. In recounting her early days in Rome, she recalled his influence: “From my first visits to the Vatican, I had in my innocence, with regard to art, impressions of the masters which have lasted throughout my life. Michelangelo appeared to me to dominate all, and I was delighted without end by the ease and the noble sincerity of antique sculpture.”⁵⁴ She even wrote of Michelangelo’s greatness on her deathbed.⁵⁵ Her style became so different from that of Imhof and the other artists she worked with in her early career that none of them can truly be designated as her teacher. Although some sources claim that she studied and worked in the studio of Marie-Louise Lefèvre-Deumier (1816-1877), an unofficial portraitist of the imperial family and a frequent Salon exhibitor, the true extent of her relationship with Lefèvre-Deumier is unclear.⁵⁶

⁵³ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets (known as the *Récapitulation*) circa 1862, Recapitulation of 1860-1861, Archives FM. “Je comprends mieux, par l’ensemble, et la puissante main de Michel Ange m’enseigne à rassembler les éléments épars pour leur imprimer une souveraine impulsion.”

⁵⁴ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, “46 bis,” [original manuscript], 34 [typewritten copy]. “Dès mes premières visites au Vatican, j’eus dans mon ingénuité à l’égard des arts des impressions qui ont persisté durant toute ma vie, à l’égard des maîtres. Michel-Ange me parut tout dominer, et j’étais sans cesse ravie par l’aisance et la noble sincérité de la sculpture antique.”

⁵⁵ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, final pages, dated 13 July 1879. These sheets are not paginated or included in the typewritten copy of the manuscript. They seem to have been dictated to her domestic as they are written in someone else’s hand. In these pages, Marcello calls Dante and Michelangelo “[les] beaux génies.”

⁵⁶ Hélène de Diesbach, in *La Femme suisse*, notes on page 250 that Marcello worked in Lefèvre-Deumier’s studio and made her sculptures of *La Belle Hélène* and *Ste. Clothilde* (the latter now lost) there. See Hélène de Diesbach’s article “Marcello, la Duchesse Colonna, née d’Affry,” in *La Femme Suisse, un livre de famille* (Neuchâtel: F. Zahn, 1910). Marcello certainly knew Lefèvre-Deumier and mentions her in a letter to her mother dated 22 July 1867.

If we are to believe the suggestions of various sources, Colonna also studied with Ernest Hébert, Mariano Fortuny, Attilio Simonetti, Henri Regnault, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, and Jean-Baptiste (called Auguste) Clésinger. All of this must be analyzed critically; although she developed strong professional relationships with all of these artists, as will be discussed presently, it is hard to imagine Colonna as a perpetual student, chasing after these artists all over Europe. Rumors of female artists' relationships with highly regarded male artists are typical and persistent in art historical writing. Among most discussions of women artists written over the centuries, there has always been a need to justify the worth of female artists through a discussion of the famous men they knew, worked around, befriended, loved and/or married. As Kristen Frederickson astutely pointed out in an essay concerning Camille Claudel, women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries "were presented as inherently and inescapably students, by virtue of their [supposed] limited capacity for originality."⁵⁷ It thus should be clarified at the outset that although she remained open to advice, criticism, and suggestions for new media from her friends and colleagues, Colonna followed no teacher and, totally independent, answered to no one throughout her career.

Givisiez remained a significant place in Colonna's life for both personal and professional reasons. It completed a traveling triangle with Paris and Rome, the two other places where the artist spent the bulk of her working life. She maintained a studio in Givisiez from the mid-1860s and this studio still exists today. Colonna and her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, renovated the château in Givisiez beginning in mid-1860s (around 1866-68), adding on two adjacent buildings to the main part of the original 1708 structure.

⁵⁷ Kristen Frederickson, "Carving Out a Place: Gendered Critical Descriptions of Camille Claudel and her Sculpture," *Word & Image* 12:2 (April-June 1996): 161-74. The quote is taken from page 162.

One section became Colonna's second sculpture studio, where she worked and entertained guests when she was home from Paris. Directly above the studio Adèle Colonna situated her bedroom. Later in her career, when she suffered more gravely from the effects of tuberculosis, having the bedroom directly above the studio was crucial, as she would often feel the need to take rests during a day working in the studio.

Back in Paris in 1861, Colonna continued to progress. In an attempt to gain access to the École des beaux-arts, then closed to women, Colonna evidently asked a male friend or member of her family to write a letter on her behalf requesting permission to draw at the École. The reply, dated 12 December 1861 and written on official *École Impériale et Spécial des Beaux-Arts* stationery is conserved at the Fondation Marcello. Addressed to "Monsieur," and signed L. Viniz, the letter is worth reproducing here in its entirety:

In your letter dated to the tenth of this month, you asked me if our rules permitted the approval of Madame la Duchess Colonna di Castiglione the authorization to draw in the classrooms at the École.

The rules of a school to which young male artists come to receive training cannot accommodate such a request; they do not permit this. An analogy cannot be established between our classrooms and the galleries of the Louvre; at the École, our students feel at home, often they are few in number, they know each other, and they do not have reason to hold back because of strangers; the Louvre, on the contrary, is the museum of the entire world; one finds there workers of both sexes who, by their great number, support each other mutually and this profusion is augmented by the crowd of visitors who stroll through the galleries daily. Nothing like that exists at the École, and in spite of the fact that we keep an eye on them, some small outbreak of high spirits occurs from time to time. That we must pardon, because they are young, but this would not appeal to everyone.

I think, sir, that these observations will modify the request that you have made to me; but should it be otherwise, I would be very grateful if you would deal with this matter officially, with our President, who can submit it to the Assembly General.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Letter from L. Viniz to "Monsieur," dated 12 December 1861, Archives FM. "Par votre lettre du 10 de ce mois, vous me demandez si nos règlements permettent d'accorder à Madame la Duchesse Colonna di Castiglione l'autorisation de dessiner dans les salles de l'École. Les règlements d'une école dans laquelle de jeunes artistes mâles viennent recevoir l'enseignement n'ont pas pu prévoir une semblable demande; ils n'admettent pas ce cas comme possible. On ne peut établir aucune analogie entre nos salles et les galeries du Louvre; dans l'École, nos élèves sont chez eux, souvent en petit nombre, se connaissant tous, et ils n'ont pas, pour les retenir, la présence de personnes étrangères; le Louvre, au contraire est le musée du monde entier; on

Clearly Viniz tried with this letter to discourage Colonna from attempting to gain access to the École. He stressed, by his underlining of the word “mâles” in the text, that the École did not permit women in its classrooms. Using a “sour grapes” approach, Viniz attempted to paint a picture of the École classrooms as a bit unruly, complete with the students apparent “cheerfulness” (comprised of who knows what; comments against women were possible, in addition one imagines off-color jokes about sex, bodily functions and other unpleasantries) that might be deemed crude and tasteless to other members of society. Viniz points out that the students “do not have reason to hold back because of foreign persons,” which seems to relate to the disrobing of the male models used at the École, and open conversations on art, politics, nudity, sex, society, and other actions and topics often deemed inappropriate for the eyes and ears of a woman.

Adèle Colonna did not take rejection lightly. Obviously feeling that Viniz’s reasons for keeping the door of the École closed to her were feeble at best, she wrote a reply. Although it is unclear whether she actually mailed the reply, an undated draft copy is extant at the Fondation Marcello. Colonna often made handwritten copies of letters for her own records, so it is likely that she sent the original to the École. In her tongue-in-cheek reply, which is mostly biting and scornful, Colonna makes one excellent observation that she hoped the directors of the École would take to heart:

As for my personal opinion, I do not suppose that your colleague would extend his surveillance, I believe that I can relieve him of this worry by assuring him that a

y trouve des travailleurs des deux sexes qui, par leur grand nombre se protègent mutuellement et cette protection est rendue encore plus efficace par la foule des visiteurs qui parcourent journellement les galeries. Rien de tout cela n'existe à l'École, et malgré la surveillance que nous faisons exercer, il échappe de temps en temps quelque petit éclat de gaîté, qu'il faut pardonner à la jeunesse mais qui pourrait ne pas être de goût de tout le monde. Je pense, Monsieur, que ces observations pourront modifier la demande qui vous m'avez communiquée; mais s'il en était autrement, je vous serais fort obligé si vous vouliez traiter cette affaire, officiellement, avec notre President qui en saisirait l'Assemblée générale.”

woman has no need of being protected by an administration in order to inspire respect around her.⁵⁹

An administration that was secure in itself, and promoted the respect of women artists and their work, would not fear that such female artists, if invited to study in the École's drawing classrooms, would be offended. Here Colonna was making a point by being sarcastic: she was pointing out that women, if admitted to the École, could take care of themselves.

Medical colleges in both Europe and America did offer opportunities for study where women students were admitted under certain circumstances. After spending most of the following year in Rome making important professional connections with Carpeaux and Jean-Baptiste (known as Auguste) Clésinger (1814-1883), she returned to Paris in the fall of 1861. Upon her return she obtained permission to be present at cadaver dissections at the École pratique de médecine, on the condition that she dress as a man; this would have required her to obtain a permit from the *préfecture de police*.⁶⁰ At the École pratique, she recalled studying with a professor named Dumont, and she owned and used the 1857 edition of the textbook *Anatomie classique du Docteur Auzoux*, published at the "place de l'École-de-médecine, rue Antoine-Dubois 2, Paris."⁶¹ Later studies note that Marcello

⁵⁹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to "Monsieur," undated draft of a response to the letter from the École impériale et spéciale des beaux-arts (dated 12 December 1861), Archives FM. "Quant à mes impressions personnelles je ne suppose pas que votre collègue étende jusque là sa surveillance, je crois pouvoir lui ôter ce souci, en l'assurance qu'une femme n'a nul besoin d'être protégée par une administration pour inspirer le respect autour d'elle."

⁶⁰ For a woman to dress as a man in Paris during the period, she had to obtain a "transvestite permit" from the *préfecture de police*. Rosa Bonheur is without doubt the most famous artist known to have done this.

⁶¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "5x" [original manuscript], 48 [typewritten copy]. Marcello's copy of Doctor Auzoux's textbook is conserved at the Fondation Marcello. She also owned Charles de Cheppe et Powell, *La Physique des gens du monde (enseignée en vingt leçons, sans le secours des mathématiques)*, Second Edition (Paris: Audin, 1827) and F.P. Liharžik, *La Loi de la croissance et la structure de l'homme* (Vienna: L'Imprimerie impériale royal de la cour et de l'état, 1862) and Eugène

studied cadavers with Doctor Auzoux directly, and additionally with a professor named Doctor Sapey.⁶²

It was around this time that she began work on her next major sculpture, *La Belle Hélène* (1861, figs. 2-30a through 2-30c). The first of her mythological figures, *La Belle Hélène* was also the first work that she had cast in bronze. Her studies at the École pratique were paying off, as evident in the body of *Hélène*, which is very realistically developed and complete with the suggestion of a clavicle and musculature beneath the flesh. The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris also became Colonna's second home, and throughout her career she would use this resource to research background material for her works. In the early months of 1861, Clésinger, who had recently hired Barbedienne to cast his *Helen of Troy* (fig. 2-31a and 2-31b), completed in Rome the previous year, visited Colonna at her studio. She was experiencing many difficulties with her own version of the subject, remodeling it at least four times. Although she may have been inspired by Clésinger's choice of subject matter, her version of the work is much more Neo-classical, especially in her treatment of the figure's dress, hair, pose, and the chair on which *Hélène* sits. The work seems to have been made in homage to her instructor Imhof, a well-known Neo-classicist.

The sculpture quickly brought Colonna recognition. Louis Leroy, the well-known art critic who later gave Impressionism its name, admired *La Belle Hélène* during a visit to Colonna's studio in 1862:

Caudron, *Explication d'un nouvel écorché à l'usage des artistes, sous le direction de M. le docteur J. Fau* (Paris: Méquignon-Marvis, not dated), among other anatomy texts. These texts remain conserved at the Fondation Marcello.

⁶² *Hélène* de Diesbach, 249. Adèle Colonna mentioned Sapey in a number of letters from 1861, conserved at the Archives FM.

The artist is reproducing this figure in an enlarged version, and it was for me an interesting sight to see an elegant young woman, without caring for the velvet and the lace of her outfit, tackle this enormous block of clay, searching it, modeling it with a drive that reminds us of the feverish struggles that the sculptor Préault launches against clay, this enemy that offers so little resistance but is, however, so difficult to conquer.⁶³

Early plaster and painted plaster versions of the sculpture are not signed, but a bronze example in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, is marked on the base "A. Marcello;" this bronze was most likely cast after she began using the pseudonym in 1863. Ferdinand Barbedienne, an important bronze founder during the period (see Chapter One and Appendix A), later owned the rights to reproduce *La Belle Hélène* on order.

Although Colonna complained that she had not been as productive in 1861 as she would have liked, *La Belle Hélène* was an early success; it was the first of her works to enter a public collection. In 1862, Colonna gave a patinated plaster version of the work to the Bernischen Kantonal-Kunstverein (The Bern Art Society). The society, no longer extant, gave its collection to the Kunstmuseum, Bern, where this version of *La Belle Hélène* is now located, unfortunately damaged and in storage.⁶⁴

An early bronze cast, unsigned because Affry had yet to take on the pseudonym "Marcello," is also extant and was part of the private collection of Empress Eugénie and Emperor Napoléon III. On 15 April 1862, Colonna wrote to Baron H. Larrey from her rue

⁶³ Louis Leroy, "Revue des ateliers," *Le Charivari* (25 February 1862): 1. "L'artiste est en train de reproduire cette figure en grand, et ça été pour nous un spectacle intéressant de voir une jeune femme élégante, sans souci du velours et des dentelles de sa toilette, s'attaquer à cet énorme bloc de terre glaise, le fouiller, le modeler avec un emportement qui nous a fait penser aux combats fiévreux que le statuaire Préault livre à l'argile, cette ennemie si peu résistante et cependant si difficile à vaincre."

⁶⁴ The example at the Kunstmuseum in Bern is damaged at the right knee. It is not on public view and remains in a storage facility. I extend my gratitude to Judith Durrer of the Kunstmuseum Bern, who provided me with photographs and documentation for the three sculptures by Marcello in its collection and allowed me to view all three works during the summer of 2001.

Bayard studio, offering to send a bronze sculpture to Napoléon III.⁶⁵ Although the letter does not mention which work she offered, it was most certainly a bronze version of *La Belle Hélène*, at the time her most accomplished piece and that of which she was most proud. For many years it was unclear whether Napoléon III accepted the piece; however, it is now known that the work was accepted and can be found today among the private collection of works owned by the Empress Eugénie and Napoleon III, held at the former home of Napoléon I at the Château d'Arenenberg in the canton of Thurgovie in Switzerland, now the Napoléon Museum (fig. 2-30b).⁶⁶

Although Colonna was inspired by contemporary operas, *La Belle Hélène* actually predates Jacques Offenbach's opera of the same title, which opened with great success in Paris in 1864.⁶⁷ It is, of course, important to note that *La Belle Hélène*, the first major sculpture of Colonna's early career, was also her first representation of an important mythological figure. Although Helen of Troy is an example of what Joseph Campbell called "the Hero's prize," she represents a figure from ancient Greek lore for whom the greatest war of antiquity was fought. Later in her career, Colonna would choose many female figures who embodied the characteristics of heroes and protectors. Most mythological stories and world religions contain a female character who fills the role of a

⁶⁵ The letter is published in *Nouvelles Archives de l'art français*, troisième série, tome XVI, année 1900. (Paris: F. de Nobele, Libraire de la société, 1973), 289-90.

⁶⁶ The suggestion that the work represented Pauline Bonaparte was noted in the museum guide; Jacob Hugentobler and Bruno Meyer, *Musée Napoléon, Château d'Arenenberg* (Frauenfeld: Huber et Cie, 1984), 9. See my article (in progress) "Marcello's Images of Sovereignty: Portraits of the Empress Eugénie," and this chapter, below. Empress Eugénie and Napoléon III used the Château d'Arenenberg during the Second Empire as a summer residence. My thanks to Dominik Stephan Gügel and Christina Egli, director and conservator of the Napoleon Museum respectively, who allowed me to view and photograph the piece in the summer of 2004. The museum recatalogued the sculpture as a work by Marcello after my visit.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of Marcello's interest in music and subjects from operas, see Chapter Five. This work is not included in that chapter because it predates the premiere of Offenbach's opera.

supernatural helper, healer, cosmic mother, powerful goddess, and protector. Colonna would explore these themes in the sculptures of her mature years (See Chapter Four).

In line with her interest in mythological themes, Colonna produced, in 1862, a wax bas-relief of the goddess Diana, mistress of the hunt, in repose, entitled *Diane endormie* (fig. 2-32).⁶⁸ She carried out this small relief in red wax on a wood base, and depicted the goddess asleep, legs crossed at the ankles and her left arm above her head. If it were not for the fact that the figure is lying down with her eyes closed, one would certainly think that this graceful figure is dancing. Again, her anatomical studies in Paris helped Colonna successfully produce this partially draped, half-nude figure, with perfectly curvaceous breasts, abdomen, and hips, the left side being more exposed than the right.

It is evident from letters between Adolphe Thiers (fig 2-33), the original owner of the relief, and Adèle Colonna that the latter was somewhat unhappy with the work. Thiers had a close friendship with Colonna that would last throughout their lives, providing her with some political clout in her later years. Although the facts surrounding the sculpture are not completely clear, Colonna, deeming the sculpture unworthy of his collection, seems to have recalled the sculpture from Thiers at the end of 1862 to produce a more successful plaster version for him.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ The words "Diane endormie" are written in the wax on the lower right, next to the feet of the relief. This is not noted in the 1980 catalogues, but was evident when I visited the sculpture at the Fondation Marcello in 1998.

⁶⁹ See Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Adolphe Thiers, 15-18 December 1862, Archives FM. The letter is also catalogued in Henriette Bessis' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Adolphe Thiers et la duchesse Colonna," (Paris: Sorbonne, 1972), as letter number 43, on page 138-9. "Je caressais l'idée cette petite Diane finirait par vous plaire, et j'y mettais tous mes soins. Mais la personne qui voulait bien s'en charger jusqu'à Paris, m'ayant fait dire qu'elle passait plus tôt que je ne m'y attendais, force me fut d'abandonner l'espoir de la rendre parfaite, et de me borner à tâcher qu'elle fut présentable. La veille au soir il lui manquait les 2 bras et je passai toute la nuit, dix sept heures pour ce jour-là, et mes yeux en deviennent encore plus petits, à précipiter un travail qui eût mieux valu si je l'eusse achevé à loisir. Aussi vous demanderai-je de pouvoir l'achever à mon retour et en faire couler un exemplaire pour moi-même, je n'ai pensé qu'à vous. Mais je tenais à cette jeune nymphe destiné à vous rappeler une absente dont bien des neiges vous séparent, et qui

There is no known extant version of *Diane endormie* in plaster, however, and yet the red wax version is in the possession of the Fondation Marcello today, suggesting that Thiers did send the sculpture back to the artist for reworking.⁷⁰ In January of 1863, M. Nicolăy, a mutual friend of Thiers and Colonna, saw the work and admired it; Colonna's portrait of Nicolăy eventually became one of her first Salon submissions.⁷¹ Today *Diane endormie* is in very fragile condition at the Fondation Marcello in Givisiez; notes from the archives of the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg describe the sculpture's state: "mildew, cracks, very delicate situation. Not to be touched?"⁷² A related plaster bust from the period entitled *Diana* or *Dina* (1862, fig. 2-34) is also located in Givisiez. Although not previously suggested by other Marcello scholars, this may have been the plaster concept that Colonna produced for exchange with Thiers, based on the dating of the work, the medium and the related subject.

A plaster version of another early sculpture entitled *Bérénice*, produced during this period and conceived in marble the following year, is now located in a private collection in Paris. *Bérénice* seems to have been one of the first works for which Colonna hired a

n'en conserve pas moins le souvenir des heureux moments passés auprès. Mais je tenais à ce qu'elle me devançât auprès de vous, afin qu'elle remplit le seul but auquel je prétends pour elle, celui de vous rappeler une amitié qui n'a cessé de vous rejoindre par la pensée."

⁷⁰ That is, if this was in fact the work that he owned, although it seems strange that Colonna would have given or sold a wax model to Thiers.

⁷¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Louis-Adolphe Thiers, undated (circa end of January 1863), Archives FM. Catalogued in Bessis, 1972, as letter number 45, on page 144-5. "J'ai donc mes bonnes raisons pour m'être aussi attachée à vous, et d'autres non moins bonnes pour me fâcher parfois. Savez vous pourquoi j'ai mis une de mes filles chez vous, pour l'y aller voir de temps à autre; à ce propos, un de mes amis, celui qui vint avec nous au Louvre un jour, M. de N., me disait, en apprenant que cette petite Diane allait chez vous, je préfère vous voir sacrifier à l'empire du génie plutôt qu'au génie de l'Empire. Mais cela vous est bien égal."

⁷² Archives de Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. "moisissures, fentes, situation très délicate. A ne pas toucher?"

praticien, or professional marble carver, to assist with the fleshing out of the piece, a common practice among sculptors, male or female, throughout the century. Although the whereabouts of the marble is not currently known, one of Marcello's *praticiens*, a Swiss marble carver named Campi Ambrogio (or Ambrogio Campi in some texts), signed a receipt dated 1 November 1863 and charged Colonna 600 francs for his work on the marble.⁷³

Other sculptures from 1862 are not extant. On the basis of letters and other written evidence, it can be determined that among the missing sculptures created in 1862 are an *Enfant courant*, a *Bacchante*, a *Jonas*, *copié d'après Raphael* and a portrait of her friend Pauline Viardot (1821-1910) a successful and internationally known mezzo-soprano (see Chapter Four for a discussion of the latter work).

The Duchess Colonna had become a society figure in the early years of the decade. With her connections to Delacroix, Forget, Morisot, Riesener, Thiers, Viardot, and numerous other artists, performers, writers, musicians and political figures, her rise within high social circles was quickly realized. The Duchess' Italian title helped matters, and she found herself often invited to costume balls, parties, and salons in Paris during these years. Colonna was in regular attendance at the lavish salons held in Pauline Viardot's Paris apartment in the ninth arrondissement, which were also frequented by numerous celebrities from the world of contemporary art and music.⁷⁴ By 1863, she was in attendance at the

⁷³ Receipt for services rendered from Campi Ambrogio [or Ambrogio Campi] to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 1 November 1863, Archives FM.

⁷⁴ See Margaret Shennan, *Berthe Morisot: The First Lady of Impressionism* (Thrupp: Sutton, 1996), 57.

Monday evening salons of the Empress.⁷⁵ Colonna's own salons and dinner parties were well known in Paris as well in the early 1860s. Clearly it was important to her career for her to become a society figure, not only to enhance her personal life but also to promote her work and to attract wealthy clients. Thus, she surrounded herself with prominent intellectuals and well-known contemporaries, many of whom would become the subjects of portrait busts that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Always complimented on her beauty, she was comfortable with putting herself on view to the delight of others. However, putting her nascent artwork out on view and becoming a publicly-known figure, making her work and herself susceptible to criticism and possibly ridicule, was a huge risk. (These risks were even embedded in the French language; while *homme publique* means "statesman," *femme publique* is used to designate a prostitute.) The stakes were extremely high for women, who were discouraged on every level from seeking professional acceptance and taking themselves too seriously. By late 1862, Colonna decided that she would face the risks that came with fame, but not without a safety net, hence her pseudonym.

Becoming Marcello: Pseudonyma

There has been no significant study of the use of pseudonyms (from the Greek *pseudo*, "false", and *onyma*, "name") by artists. Historically, writers have most notably adopted pseudonyms to protect their identity and allow for a greater freedom of expression and there is currently quite a bit of "who's-who" literature available on writers. Allowing one to "exhibit different personae in relative anonymity and safety," pseudonyms have

⁷⁵ Pierre Trahard, "Introduction," in Prosper Mérimée, *Lettres à la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna*, ed. Pierre Trahard (Paris: Boivin et Cie, 1938), 14.

been used often by women, people of color, and other groups in marginal positions within a given context.⁷⁶ Thus women, being a marginalized group within the context of nineteenth-century sculpture production, could benefit greatly from hiding their true identity. All of the names that Adèle Colonna thought about using as her pseudonym were male and Italian in origin.

There are various reasons for taking on a pseudonym. These include protecting one's self from persecution for producing sensitive material (for example, Dominique Aury's 1954 pornographic novel *The Story of O* was published under the pseudonym Pauline Réage); separating the genres of an artist's own production from one another (the famous mystery writer Agatha Christie published her six romance novels under the name Mary Wesmacott); wanting a more memorable or easy-to-pronounce name (Joseph Stalin must have had posterity in mind when he changed his name from Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili); or simply for stylistic reasons (a Ralph Lipshitz ensemble just does not sound as elegant as a Ralph Lauren one, and the fashion designer certainly realized this when he changed his name).

Today the largest volume of pseudonym usage can be found on the Internet, where the general public uses them to enter misinformation about themselves, visit sexually-explicit websites, or contribute personal opinions about the world without fear, providing themselves with, as Eric J. Friedman and Paul Resnick have noted, "a license to misbehave

⁷⁶ J. Michael Jaffe, Young-Eum Lee, Li-Ning Huang and Hayg Oshagan, "Gender, Pseudonyms and Computer Mediated Communication : Masking Identities and Bearing Souls," Paper presented in 1995 at the 45th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association. The paper was published under a modified title, "Gender Identification, Interdependence, and Pseudonyms in CMC: Language Patterns in an Electronic Conference," in *The Information Society* 15:4 (1999): 221-34. In modern case studies of the use of pseudonyms, women who use them typically choose a name reflecting a different or neutral gender, while men often choose a same-gender name.

without paying the ‘reputational consequences.’”⁷⁷ The similarity between pseudonyms for web-usage today and for art production and dispersion in the past is that the pseudonym is usually what Jaffe, Lee, Huang and Oshagan have called “a mask for reduced accountability.” In nineteenth-century art the main reason for pseudonym use was often related to professional advancement and critical acceptance without damage to one’s reputation. The ‘license to misbehave’ theory is not far from the reason why women of the nineteenth century used pseudonyms in professional arenas. By all accounts, women who chose a profession, especially an artistic profession, over marriage and children were, in fact, misbehaving. The often-quoted phrase “well-behaved women seldom make history”⁷⁸ comes to mind. If women could hide their true identity, even if only temporarily, they could theoretically avoid the gender obstacle and begin to make a name for themselves without the hassle of making excuses for their gender at the outset. If the attempt to succeed in a given profession fails, the pseudonym hides the person’s true identity, thus they are protected from ridicule. A woman’s use of a pseudonym in the nineteenth century was an act of empowerment.

It should not be assumed that only women used pseudonyms. Some major French male artists and writers used them, such as Molière (1622-1673, born Jean-Baptiste Poquelin) and Voltaire (1694-1778, born François-Marie Arouet), among countless others over the centuries. Even Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux used the pseudonym Ernest Blagny (the

⁷⁷ Eric J. Friedman and Paul Resnick, “The Social Cost of Cheap Pseudonyms,” *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy* 10:2 (2001): 173-99. I have used this citation, although it seems odd, because it points out some very interesting aspects of the use of pseudonyms in general.

⁷⁸ The quotation is from Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, “Vertuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature 1668-1735,” reprinted in Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth Haflin Pleck, eds., *A Heritage of Her Own: Towards a New Social History of American Women* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1979-80), 58.

name of his friend) when he first submitted a sculpture to the Paris Salon of 1852.⁷⁹ The point lies in the reason why people choose pseudonyms: in general, men choose another male name to protect their true identities in case of a public failure, while women choose a pseudonym to hide their gender from the public.

The use of pseudonyms reached its height during the nineteenth century, and was employed primarily by English and French female authors. In the 1840s, the Brontë sisters published a collection of poetry under the names Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell (for Charlotte (1816-1855), Emily (1816-1848) and Anne (1820-1849) respectively). Of course the single most famous and respected female writer of the entire century was George Sand (1804-1876), the pseudonym of Aurora Dupin. Colonna knew and admired Sand, who visited her studio in 1865 to see her sculpture *La Gorgone*.⁸⁰ Sand herself inspired a wave of pseudonyms, directly influencing Mary Anne Evans (a.k.a. George Eliot, 1819-1880, who chose “George” because of Sand), Colonna herself, and many others. One can surmise that many women artists and writers worked under pseudonyms, and did it so convincingly that many of them are lost to us today because of it. As we are often unable to trace them back to their true identities, they cannot be added to the lexicon of historical women.

For Colonna, the choice of a pseudonym originally helped to protect her identity as both a member of the aristocracy and a woman. According to Alcantara, “Adèle hesitated again to exhibit at the Salon. Her friends encouraged her, however, to break out from her solitude, to make herself known. But, for the young woman who bore the name of Colonna,

⁷⁹ Anne M. Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1986), 273.

⁸⁰ Marcello knew Sand personally, whom she met through Alexandre Dumas fils in 1864, and Sand made several visits to Marcello’s studio, especially to see her *Gorgone*, a work that will be discussed in the following chapter. Sand’s autograph is conserved at the Archives FM.

this decision was fraught with consequences. Through this act she would take the rank of an artist and she would accept the struggle. Thus we see her preoccupied with choosing a pseudonym.”⁸¹ She also feared that if she were to be remarried or if she were confused with one of the other Colonnas, her identity would become problematic, confusing to the public and diminishing her importance. In letters to her friend Princess de Metternich, wife of the ambassador to Austria, she acknowledged that the comte de Nieuwerkerke, superintendent for fine arts, advised her against taking a pseudonym for reasons of social and class status. Colonna wrote: “Nieuwerkerke thinks that a pseudonym would make artists think that I disdain them and do not want to be like them.”⁸² But she was interested in the pseudonym for other reasons besides not wanting to tarnish her aristocratic title. She said that the pseudonym would be a “safeguard” and would allow her individuality to be more pronounced.⁸³ She feared Nieuwerkerke’s wrath, stating that “he will be furious, as will all the artists, if I do not have the courage to sign ‘Duchess Colonna.’”⁸⁴ She toyed with such names such Taddéo, Gian Battista, Fabrizio, Severino, and Marcello.⁸⁵

⁸¹ According to Alcantara, 60. “Adèle hésite encore à exposer au Salon. Ses amis l’encouragent cependant à sortir de sa solitude, à se faire connaître. Mais, pour la jeune femme qui porte le nom des Colonna, cette décision est lourde de conséquences. Par cet acte, elle prend rang d’artiste, elle accepte la lutte. Aussi la voyons-nous préoccupée par la choix d’un pseudonyme.”

⁸² Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 25 March 1863, Archives FM. “Si c’est un pseudonyme cela fera dire aux artistes dit Nieuwerkerke que je les dédaigne et ne veux pas faire comme eux.”

⁸³ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 27 March 1863, Archives FM. “Bianca Capello continue à recevoir des ovations et moi à être aussi embarrassée que l’âne de Buridan entre le nom et le pseudonyme. Ce dernier me tente comme sauvegarde et individualité plus prononcée.”

⁸⁴ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 27 March 1863, Archives FM. “Il sera furieux ainsi que tous les artistes si je n’ai pas le courage de signer “Duchesse Colonna.”

⁸⁵ These names are suggested in the letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 27 March 1863, Archives FM. “Je suis fort agitée et ne trouve pas [un] pseudonyme, que Taddeo, Gian Battista, Fabrizio, ou Marcello, ou encore Severino.”

In the end, Affry's *carte d'exposant*, or exhibiting artist's identification card, carried the name Marcello and was signed and sealed by Nieuwerkerke himself. Hélène de Diesbach, one of Marcello's earliest biographers, noted in 1910 that the origin of the name stemmed from the world of music, as did Jean-Jacques Berthier in 1913 where he confirms that that the artist chose the pseudonym after the eighteenth century Venetian composer Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739).⁸⁶ This fact is verified by Marcello's memoirs, where she stated that "I had chosen this art and war name out of the love for music."⁸⁷

An interesting aspect of pseudonyms is that while they hide the identity of a given person, they "simultaneously reveal a personal facet of the author."⁸⁸ Colonna's own desire to be treated as an equal is evidenced by her use of a pseudonym. Like many women artists of her day, Colonna often struggled with issues of equality among her male artist peers. The pseudonym "Marcello" hid her gender from the chauvinistic Salon Jury and allowed her work to be judged on merit and not on gender or reputation. It also revealed a facet of her personality, as the name Marcello was ultimately chosen because of her admiration for music in general and the composer Benedetto Marcello in particular.

⁸⁶ Hélène de Diesbach, "La Duchesse Colonna, Marcello," in *La Femme suisse, Un livre de famille*, Gertrude Villiger-Keller, ed., (Neuchâtel: F. Zahn, 1910), 252. "Le public éprouvait déjà pour les ouvrages signés du nom d'un compositeur italien, Marcello, appelé en son temps le prince de la musique." See also Jean-Jacques Berthier, "La Duchesse Colonna d'Affry," in *Fribourg artistique, à travers les âges*, Section XIII (1913) n.p.

⁸⁷ Berthier, (1913), n.p. Claire W. Henriques, in her 1991 M.A. thesis on Marcello, suggested that the pseudonym had classical origins, noting that "Marcellus was the surname of the principal plebian family of ancient Roman Claudian ancestry who served as counsels from the 3rd to the 1st century B.C." See Henriques, "Marcello, Her Public Sculpture: Women of History and Myth," M.A.Thesis (New York: Hunter College, City University of New York, 1991), 9. Henriques does not, however, acknowledge Diesbach's and Berthier's suggestions, which seems more likely given Marcello's deep admiration for music and musicians, and (most importantly) Marcello's own admission that she took the pseudonym out of a love for music. See Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "Paris, 31" [original manuscript], 66 [typewritten copy]. Benedetto Marcello also used a pseudonym, Driante Sacreo, during his career.

⁸⁸ Jaffe, Lee, Huang, and Oshagan, 43.

Although Nieuwerkerke signed her card and surely knew that she had been thinking of using a pseudonym, whether he or any sculpture jury members of the Salon of 1863 immediately knew Marcello's true identity is doubtful. In any case, the pseudonym was not long a screen; as will be discussed in the following chapter, early reviews of the Salon of 1863 already assumed that a female hand was connected to the works attributed to Marcello.

The pseudonym evoked her desire to attain parity with male artists, evidenced in part by the fact that she was interested only in cross-gender pseudonyms. Although she was not known to have been an activist for women's rights nor an outspoken feminist (she seems to have been a reformist like Sand rather than an activist like Bertaux), simply adopting the male pseudonym seems to show that she was quite feminist-minded even by today's standards. Thus the pseudonym revealed a facet of her belief system (that men fare better than women in the art world) that otherwise may not have been evidenced simply by her actions. And like George Sand before her, the Duchess continued to use "Marcello" professionally even after her true identity was known, so that her message of desiring equality was certainly never truly lost on her public. The pseudonym obviously still meant something to her even after its original function was lost. Women artists of the nineteenth century were quite aware of their unequal status and often expressed their dissatisfaction with the status quo. Marcello's great friend Berthe Morisot stated most tellingly, "I don't think there has been a man who treated a woman as an equal, and that's all I would have asked for, for I know I'm worth as much as they."⁸⁹ In many cases, a pseudonym could help to level the playing field.

⁸⁹ Morisot is quoted in Russell T. Clement, Annick Houzé and Christiane Eerbolato-Ramsey, *The Women Impressionists: A Sourcebook* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 2000), ix.

Cécile d’Affry, the Baroness d’Ottenfels, noted in 1905 that when her sister was asked which name she preferred, she was known to have said “that which one makes for one’s self.”⁹⁰ That is to say, Adèle Colonna, in her professional life, preferred neither her illustrious family name into which she was born, nor the title that she gained through marriage, but the name she earned with her own work: Marcello.

Mature Career, 1863-1877

This dissertation, following the present chapter, will be concerned with the major works of sculpture that Marcello produced during her mature years. Rather than provide detailed information about these works here, only to repeat them in the subsequent thematic chapters, this section instead contains a brief synopsis of the events of Marcello’s life. My objective is to begin with her personal experiences and private life in this chapter, and afterward delve into her portrait sculpture, her experiments in representing people from her inner circle and public life, in the following chapter. The remaining chapters deal with Marcello’s portrayal of the exterior, intellectual and public world in her sculpture, understood through the themes with which she seems to have been most concerned.

In 1863 Adèle Colonna’s career began in Paris. She discovered her first taste of success at the Paris Salon exhibition with three busts she submitted under her newly adopted pseudonym. These submissions included a marble bust of the Renaissance-era Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capello; a marble portrait head of M. Gaston de Nicolaÿ; and a wax portrait head of the Duchess San Cesario. Although the portraits fared

⁹⁰ Baroness d’Offenfels [Cécile d’Affry], “L’Artiste,” in Camille Roy, *Souvenirs du Musée Marcello, Fribourg en Suisse* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1905), 24. “Interrogée un jour sur le nom qu’elle préférerait, la Duchesse Colonna répondit: «Celui qu’on se fait soi-même.» Sa vie a confirmé cette parole.”

well critically, it was the bust of Bianca Capello that brought Marcello into professional acclaim. The critical reception of *Bianca Capello* will be discussed in Chapter Four, as the work is the premier example of Marcello's investigation into heroic images of women. It should be noted here that *Bianca Capello* became her most famous work and marked her beginning as a professional sculptor.

Much of Marcello's professional life was spent traveling. She made frequent trips to Italy, visiting Genoa, Milan, Verona, Florence, and Rome, among other Italian cities. While in Rome during the late 1860s, she met a number of important artists working and studying at the French Academy in Rome at the Villa Médicis. The directors of the academy, in particular Ernest Hébert (1817-1908), often showed her kindness and permitted her access to the Villa that most other women artists at the time were never afforded. She began to collect works of art by artists whom she befriended and admired during her travels. In addition to her art purchases, she also bought furniture, rare books, tapestries and other objects, a large portion of which would later be given to her birthplace of Fribourg in Switzerland.

Her travels to Spain were also of great importance to her continued development as an artist. The lure of Spain was strong for almost all artists working in France at mid-century, and Marcello was not an exception. She copied numerous works at the Prado Museum in Madrid and befriended important Spanish artists such as Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838-1874), whose style was particularly influential to her drawings and watercolors of the later 1860s. Unfortunately, although Marcello traveled through Spain with Henri Regnault (1843-1871) and Georges Clairin (1843-1919) and produced both copies and original works of art alongside them, she is often left out of discussions of their

sphere of influence. Marcello was not included among the artists featured in the important exhibition and catalogue *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting* (Musée d'Orsay, 2002; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), an egregious error because she had visited the same museums, had made the same copies, and was known among her contemporaries in Spain during the period covered in the exhibition. Both Spanish old master artists and her Spanish contemporaries greatly influenced her sculpture as well as her graphic and painted work.

By the 1870s, Marcello had gained significant recognition in artistic and intellectual circles. Her Pythian Sybil, known as the *Pythia*, was exhibited to great success in the Salon of 1870. It was purchased soon afterward for the Paris Opéra Garnier. By 1873, the musée du Luxembourg had obtained two of her sculptures (*Bianca Capello* and the *Abyssinian Chieftain*) and placed them on public view. She was in fact the only female sculptor to have works displayed in the Luxembourg at the end of the century. Her gender alone prevented her from receiving medals at the Paris Salons, but she was awarded two medals at the 1873 Universal Exhibition in Vienna. Finally, while under pressure from the critics, the Salon jury of 1876 awarded Marcello a fourth-class medal for her portrait of her cousin the Baronness de Keffenbrinck.

The Public and Private Death of Marcello

Marcello spent her final months in the town of Castellammare di Stabia, a small seaside town on the Bay of Naples with her domestic François Butty. Having finalized her will in 1877 and having designed her tomb sometime earlier, she tried to relax and find comfort in the warm, dry climate of Italy, which eased the symptoms of tuberculosis.

Marcello had not exhibited at the Paris Salon since 1876, and by 1879, critics noted that she was sorely missed. In a Salon review published in the *Journal de St - Pétersbourg* on 19 June 1879, a critic writing under the initials M.R. wondered what she was working on and when the public would see her works again:

Monsieur Fallsted shows us, under the guise of an Arabian chieftain, an African bust that recalls, in its arrangement, the 1876 [*sic*] entry by Marcello. What memories, what valiance, what dreams of glory, what disastrous premonitions, what attraction, what regret this name evokes in us! Why was she snatched so early from the struggles, from art competitions, from the love of her friends? Marcello, will you return to us? Will you hear this distant call, or does it come, like a broken wave, to die on the banks of Italy, where, languishing, you ask for a comforting rest? The year 1880 will tell us. Perhaps you are working on some long-term project, these are the best. Time is a reliable counsellor and assistant. Those who say the contrary are mistaken or deceive others.⁹¹

The critic's distant call died along with Marcello herself. Her own copy of the *Journal de St-Pétersbourg* was misdelivered to Fribourg, and then forwarded to her Castellammare address; it arrived after her death. When she finally succumbed on 16 July 1879, only her mother, sister, and her works survived her.

Since Marcello died in Italy, it took some time for news of her death to reach France and Switzerland. The earliest reports of her death appeared on 22 July in *Corriere del mattino* (published in Naples) and on 23 July in *Le Figaro*. A few days later, on 25

⁹¹ M.R., "Salon. Exposition de sculpture de 1879 à Paris VI (1)," *Journal de St-Pétersbourg* (19 June 1879): 1. "M. Fallsted nous montre sous le costume d'un chef arabe un buste africain qui rappelle par son arrangement l'envoi de 1876 de Marcello. Que de souvenirs, que de vaillance, de rêves de gloire, de pressentiments funestes, quel attrait, quel regret ce nom évoque en nous! Pourquoi si tôt arraché aux luttes, aux compétitions de l'art, à la sympathie de ses amis? Marcello, nous reviendrez vous? Entendrez-vous cet appel lointain, ou viendra-t-il, comme un flot qui se brise, mourir sur la rive d'Italie, où, langissante, vous demandez un apaisement au repos? L'année 1880 nous le dira. Peut-être travaillez-vous à quelque oeuvre de longue durée, ce sont les meilleures. Les temps est un conseiller et un auxiliaire sûr. Ceux qui disent le contraire se trompent ou trompent les autres." Marcello did not exhibit her *Abyssinian Chieftain* in the Salon of 1876; it was exhibited in the Salon of 1870 and the Universal Exposition of 1873 in Vienna. Marcello's copy of this edition of the *Journal de St-Pétersbourg* is conserved at the Archives FM and is marked "arrivé après la mort d'Adèle," with postmarks and return address labels conserved on the copy.

July, *Gazette de France* published an obituary reminding the public less of Marcello's work than of her charms:

All were attracted by her welcoming grace and rendered homage to the charm of her mind, so cultivated, so lively, so spontaneous. How can we not add that, among all of her qualities, the most precious was her inexhaustible kindness which, united with a profound faith, gave her the gift of the unfortunate by obtaining for her the supreme grace of a death admirably Christian and resigned.⁹²

On the same day, Ernest Fillonneau, Marcello's most supportive critic, lamented her death in *Moniteur des arts*. His tribute to her was much more serious than that found in *Gazette de France*, as he focused on the professional obstacles she faced throughout her career:

We who knew the Duchess Colonna for a long time, we who were often witness to her works, we can attest to all that her elevated nature had suffered of the prejudices of the world and the petty jealousies which have attacked her until her last exhibition. She had, within the jury, only one admirer, one unique defender, the poor Carpeaux, who understood all of the passionate and original talent of Marcello. The votes of independent artists and the admiration of men of high taste, with M. Thiers at the forefront, were of course appreciated by the Duchess Colonna, but she strongly desired to be rewarded for her efforts, and more that once it was instead discouragement that she felt. But her love of art and the affection of her friends soon helped her to overcome a moment of weakness, and she bravely prepared a new work for the following Salon.⁹³

On 5 August, more than two weeks after her death, the Fribourg broadside *La Liberté* published a long obituary on their native daughter. The author, Dubosc de

⁹² "Nécrologie," *Gazette de France* (25 July 1879): 3. "Tous étaient attirés par la grâce de son accueil et rendaient hommage au charme de son esprit si cultivé, si vif et primesautier. Comment n'ajouterions-nous pas que parmi toutes ses qualités, la plus précieuse était son inépuisable charité qui, unie à une foi profonde, la rendait la Providence des malheureux et lui a obtenu la grâce suprême d'une mort admirablement chrétienne et résignée."

⁹³ Ernest Fillonneau, "Chronique," *Moniteur des arts* (25 July 1879): 1. "Nous qui avons connu de longue date la duchesse Colonna, qui étions souvent le témoin de ses travaux, nous pouvons dire tout ce que cette nature d'élite a souffert des préjugés du monde et des jalousies mesquines qui l'ont assaillie jusqu'à sa dernière exposition. Elle n'a eu, au sien du jury, qu'un seul admirateur, un unique défenseur, ce fut ce pauvre Carpeaux, qui comprenait tout ce que le talent de Marcello avait de passionné et d'original. Les suffrages des artistes indépendants et l'admiration des hommes de goût, M. Thiers en tête, étaient certes appréciés par la duchesse Colonna, mais elle ambitionnait naturellement la récompense due à ses efforts, et plus d'une fois le découragement la saisit. Mais l'amour de son art et l'affection des ses amis la faisaient bientôt triompher d'un instant de défaillance, et elle préparait bravement une oeuvre nouvelle pour le Salon suivant."

Pesquidoux, reminded readers of her illustrious background and list of successful works, and concluded with an assessment of her character. It is worth quoting the conclusion at length, as it was the obituary published by the leading newspaper in the town of her birth:

Great woman, artist, woman of letters, witty and attractive, the Duchess Colonna had all of the gifts which attract a court around a feminine personality. During the second half of the Empire, she was one of the Parisian figures most in the public eye. Her birth and her name placed her on a par with the leading aristocrats: her intelligence, her talent, gave her entrance into the Olympia of celebrities. Marcello's studio, situated on the Cours-la-Reine, welcomed all the illustrious figures: Berryer and Thiers went there frequently: both found great charm in the company of the patrician sculptor. Among her eminent colleagues, Delacroix, Carpeaux, liked to receive or give advice at this artistic retreat where a creative inspiration arose; and one remembers that at the funeral of the great painter [Delacroix] the Duchess wanted to publicly demonstrate her admiration by placing a golden laurel on his coffin.

Marcello is dead, at the age of forty-two [*sic*], under this Italian sky, whose brilliance responded to the aspirations of her soul and invigorated her last days: she is dead having given the full measure of her talent and the quota of her works. After having held a distinguished rank, as a woman, in society for the last fifteen years, Marcello left a name and a mark, as a sculptor, in the art of our epoch.⁹⁴

One wonders whether Marcello would have agreed with Pesquidoux's assessment of her success and influence. Three days before her death, she dictated a text to her domestic that was later filed with the portfolio containing her memoirs. Frightened and seeing the end nearing, she resentfully recounted what she saw as her obstacles and failures, noting in the first line that she "saw that my efforts would always be isolated,

⁹⁴ Dubosc de Pesquidoux, "Canton de Fribourg: La duchesse Colonna," *La Liberté* (5 August 1879): 2. "Grande dame, artiste, lettrée, spirituelle et pourvue d'agréments extérieurs, la duchesse Colonna avait tous les dons qui attirent une cour autour d'une personnalité féminine. Durant la seconde moitié de l'Empire, elle fut une des figures parisiennes les plus en vue. Sa naissance et son nom la mettaient de pair avec les sommités aristocratiqu[e]s: son esprit, son talent lui donnaient entrée dans l'Olympe des célébrités. L'atelier de Marcello, situé au Cours-la-Reine, accueillait toutes les illustrations. Berryer et Thiers y venaient fréquemment: tous les deux trouvaient un grand charme dans la compagnie de la patricienne statuaire. Des confrères éminents, Delacroix, Carpeaux, aimaient à recevoir ou donner des conseils dans cette retraite artistique où passait un soufflé fécond; et l'on se souvient qu'aux funérailles du grand peintre, la duchesse voulut témoigner publiquement son admiration en déposant sur le cercueil un laurier d'or. Marcello est mort, à quarante deux ans, sous ce ciel italien dont l'éclat répondait aux aspirations de son âme et vivifia ses derniers jours: il est mort avant de donner la mesure de son talent et le contingent de son oeuvre. Après avoir tenu un rang distingué, comme femme, dans le mouvement mondain des quinze dernières années, Marcello laissera un nom et une trace, comme sculpteur, dans l'art de notre époque."

everywhere weak.”⁹⁵ The bitter realization of the sexist field in which she worked became clear in those final moments:

In Paris the means of the struggle became formidable, fortune, the press, a grand lifestyle, intelligent relationships were pursued towards this goal [of being an artist]. I thus saw my efforts paralyzed in having the worst student at the School of Rome become more celebrated than me, what discouragement and what sadness!⁹⁶

In this text, it is evident that Marcello had experienced the horrible realization that her life was being cut short, that she would never realize all the projects that she had hoped to produce, and that her gender caused her to achieve fewer successes than her male counterparts of lesser talent. This seems parallel to Virginia Woolf's own consternation in her 1929 essay *A Room of One's Own*, in which an uneducated working class boy is afforded privileges that Woolf herself is denied.⁹⁷ Marcello soothed herself in her final lines of the text, the last words about herself and her career that she recorded: “Those who are wounded will be consoled perhaps by those who had a taste in life for all the other beautiful geniuses, Dante, Michelangelo, and the admirable depths from which all of their works are glimpsed.”⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, loose final sheet, unpaginated, dated 13 July 1879. “Je vis que mon effort serait toujours isolé, partout faible.” This sheet is not included in the typewritten copy of the manuscript.

⁹⁶ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, loose final sheet, unpaginated, dated 13 July 1879. “À Paris les moyens de la lutte devaient être formidable, fortune, presse, grand train, relations intelligents poursuivies dans ce but [. J]e vis donc mes efforts paralysé[s] d’avance le dernier élève de l’école de Rome devenant plus célèbre que moi, quel découragement et quelle tristesse!”

⁹⁷ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1989 [1929]), 8. At issue was Woolf's desire to be admitted into a university library on a campus where she was to give a lecture. She was told that “ladies are only admitted to the library if accompanied by a Fellow of the College or furnished with a letter of introduction.” Any male wishing to enter the same library would have passed by the guards unnoticed, regardless of his credentials.

⁹⁸ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, loose final sheet, unpaginated, dated 13 July 1879. “[Des] blessés consolera peut-être celle que goûte tout d’autres beaux génies, Dante, Michel-Ange, et les admirables profondeurs que leurs oeuvres tout entrevoir.”

Chapter Conclusion

Although her life began in the aristocratic surroundings of an illustrious Swiss family, by the age of twenty-seven Colonna had become Marcello, a serious, professional sculptor. Her title, gained through her brief marriage, allowed her to frequent the salons of the most influential people in Europe. She then began to craft her career, promoting her works, building a client base and choosing a pseudonym. A small body of early work beginning in 1857 arrived at a mature level in 1863 with *Bianca Capello*, her first critical and public success, to be discussed in the following chapter. After Marcello spent many years developing as an independent artist and society figure, the success of *Bianca Capello* would mark a new phase in her career. Her extensive travels within Europe helped to secure important connections and to fuel ideas for sculptures. As her health began to fail, she turned more and more to the exploration of painting, which was less physically taxing.

In the next chapter, Marcello's portraits of her family, friends, and contemporaries will be discussed. These works are interesting in light of her biography because most of them depict people she knew personally. She rarely made portraits on commission but instead would personally select the subjects to be depicted. Between 1863 and 1876, Marcello created a number of successful portraits, and some of her models were among the most illustrious figures of the period. Such portraits, representing some of the most influential people in her life, made during the height of her development, will be discussed in the subsequent section.

CHAPTER THREE

MARCELLO'S PORTRAITS OF FAMILY, FRIENDS AND CONTEMPORARIES

Chapter Introduction

The genre of portraiture in the fine arts faced significant changes at mid-century. The catalyst for this was the invention of photography in the early 1820s in France (introduced publicly in 1839) by Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) and Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851). The primary subject matter of photography (as, to some degree, in sculpture) was portraiture. In fact, these two media, photography and sculpture, can be considered sister arts not only because of their shared primary subject matter but also because of the technical qualities that they shared: both were dependent upon machines and industrial technology to assist in their production, and both were mediums of multiples, aimed at a general art-buying public.

The popularity of portrait photography forced painters and sculptors to reconsider the portrait format. It was somewhat easier for painters to readjust the format of their portraits than it was for sculptors. Painting was capable of providing things that photography could not, such as imaginative backgrounds and settings, color, large-scale formats, and the unique, unscientific touch of an artist's own *facture*. To this, Linda Nochlin would add that "in 1875, photography would have been incapable of encapsulating the bold movement, wide angle, and 'stop action' effect inscribed in [for example, Degas's group portrait entitled] *Place de la Concorde*."¹

¹ Linda Nochlin, "Impressionist Portraits and the Construction of Modern Identity," in *Renoir's Portraits: Impressions of an Age*, exh. cat., ed. Colin B. Bailey (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 54.

Additionally, Edouard Manet and the Impressionists, for example, had eventually mastered the conflation of portraiture and genre – that is, scenes of everyday life – something that was less often attempted in photography. Indeed, as Edmund Duranty explained in his 1876 essay *La Nouvelle peinture* (The New Painting), backgrounds in painting could add a contextual setting and created a more realistic image than could photography:

As we are solidly embracing nature, we will no longer separate the figure from the background of an apartment or the street. In actuality, a person never appears against neutral or vague background. [...] When at rest, he will not be merely pausing or striking a meaningless pose before the photographer's lens. This moment will be a part of his life as are his actions.²

Given the nature of sculpture, it was as difficult for sculptors to break free from the creation of stiffly posed subjects with a neutral (or non-existent) background, to which it was impossible to add a genre context (trees, grass, interior context and/or other objects external to the subject). Although color and polychromy began to play an important role in sculpture after 1848, the medium still lacked much that photographers and painters could provide. Thus, sculptors struggled to compete with both the painted portrait and the popular photograph.

The rise of photography also caused the decline of commissioned portraits from traditional artists. As photography became more advanced and more easily and cheaply reproducible, it became immensely difficult for sculptors to compete against the price and portability offered by the photographic medium. Portraiture survived in sculpture because there was still the possibility of receiving a government commission for a portrait and because artists were often willing to produce portraits without a commission,

² Edmund Duranty, "The New Painting; Concerning the Group of Artists Exhibiting at the Durand-Ruel Galleries," in *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886*, exh. cat., ed. Charles S. Moffat (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 44-45.

particularly of their family and friends. According to Joanna Woodall's introduction to *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (1997), the movement towards the non-commissioned image was a mark of the avant-garde:

Portraits depicting the friends and family of the artist had existed since at least the fifteenth century, but in the late nineteenth century 'avant garde' portraiture was markedly confined to uncommissioned images of these categories of sitter. This enhanced the authority of the artist by making worthiness to be portrayed dependent upon one's relationship to him or her.³

So it was within this context of the decline of portraiture that Marcello's sculpted portraits were produced. Very few of her portrait works were commissioned. Of her twenty-five known sculpted portraits, her only major government-commissioned portrait was for that of the Empress Eugénie. For this chapter, six portraits have been chosen for discussion. They include the portrait busts of her mother, the Countess d'Affry (completed 1864); the Empress Eugénie of France (1866); Sissi, the Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary (1867); the Spanish general Llorenç Milans del Bosch I Mauri (1868); Adolphe Thiers (1872); and Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1875). Since Marcello did not favor one gender over the other in her portraiture (thirteen of the known portraits are of women, twelve are of men), an even number of male and female portraits have been selected. Sculptures for this chapter have been chosen from various years over the course of Marcello's career, and will be presented in chronological order, to give an overview of her portrait projects and to show how they evolved within her oeuvre.

Portrait of the Countess d'Affry (1816-1897)

³ Joanna Woodall, ed. "Introduction: Facing the Subject," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 7.

As in the case of many young artists, Marcello's earliest portraits were studies of family members. Such subjects did not require a commission and were usually people to whom the artist had exclusive, and often frequent, access. As a case in point, Marcello's closeness with her mother resulted in a sensitive and compelling portrait. In January 1864, the artist invited Carpeaux to her home in Givisiez for a short vacation in what was then considered *la campagne fribourgeoise*. There, he produced some sketches of her (fig. 3-1a) and her mother (3-1b), which remain at the Fondation Marcello. As she would often do during her career, Marcello shared the opportunity to a model a work in the company of a colleague or colleagues (see below with regard to the bust of Bosch and the artists Georges Clairin and Henri Regnault). Her own portrait of her mother, most likely sketched alongside Carpeaux, exists today in a plaster version pointed for transfer and a finished marble (fig. 3-2); the bust is an example of how she attempted to depict elegance through simplicity, giving a nod to Winckelmann's mantra of "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur." (See Chapter One.)

In Marcello's portrait of her mother, the Countess d'Affry is shown without any jewelry or exterior adornment save for a simple leafy flower between her breasts. The simplified garment is classicized and is decorated only with a thin lace band that falls on either side of the neckline. Her heavy hair is strictly parted in the center and is pinned back across and behind the ears, resembling the coiffure she favored in life (see fig. 2-4). The bust seems to reveal both the austerity and traditional nature of the Countess and the soft, motherly character that is so evident in her letters to her daughter.

Marcello also produced, in 1864, an ink drawing of her mother with the Latin title *Mater Amabilis* (fig.3-3) or "Mother most lovable," conserved at the Fondation Marcello.

Looking away from the viewer, the Countess d’Affry is posed in this drawing as if she were a queen seated on a throne, her head crowned with a wreath of laurel leaves. The drawing by Carpeaux (see fig. 3-1b), conversely, shows the Countess with heavily-lidded eyes (in fact she looks almost as if she is nodding off to sleep) wearing a black kerchief on her head, rather than the “crown” that her daughter had depicted. An additional portrait by Marcello of her mother, in a painted version, is found in the *Salon chinois* at the Château d’Affry (figs. 3-4a and 3-4b). Painted more than ten years after the sculpted bust, the panel depicts her mother as a driving and reassuring force and as, still, the central person in her life.

The Countess d’Affry played an influential role in her daughter’s career. Time and again Marcello sought her mother’s advice and approval, and it seems clear, somewhat sadly of course, that the Countess favored her daughter Ada (her nickname for Adèle) over her other daughter Cécile, who lived a more “normal” life than her sister as a diplomat’s wife with her own child. Marcello’s relationship with her mother was very strong, and the two confided in each other not only in person but in over two hundred extant letters spanning almost two decades. After her daughter’s death in 1879, the Countess d’Affry tried to donate many of her works to public collections in France. (Her mother outlived her by almost twenty years.) Despite being successful in Switzerland, persuading, for example, the Kunstmuseum in Bern to accept some works, the Countess was not as successful in convincing the Musée du Louvre to do the same. She devoted much of her later life to directing the establishment of the Musée Marcello that her daughter planned in her will (see Chapter Six).

Marcello's Images of Sovereignty: Portraits of the Empress Eugénie

As Marcello became professionally well-known and successful, a wealthy and powerful clientele desired works from her studio. She began to move away from the exclusive creation of portraits of family members and began to choose contemporaries as subjects for her works, and some of these people requested she depict them. While continuing to find success at the Paris Salon exhibitions with such works as her *Gorgone* of 1865 (see Chapter Four), Marcello gained appreciation and acceptance within the court of Napoléon III. This obviously provided her with new opportunities, but was not without its pitfalls. Yet, imperial commissions were often financial and professional disasters for those who received them, even if they sometimes briefly provided the artist with public and official recognition. Obtaining a commission from the French government and having it reach fruition as originally planned was not always a certainty during the Second Empire.

More than two decades ago, *Art History* published a significant article by Anne Middleton Wagner entitled "Art and Property: Carpeaux's Portraits of the Prince Impérial," which later became part of her significant book on the sculptor.⁴ Wagner's text clearly described an imperial commission gone awry. Among other issues, her study described the nature of obtaining a government commission, the difficulties it specifically posed for sculptors, and the financial perils it could cause. Wagner's arguments have been oversimplified here, but the point remains that her research opened up an avenue of inquiry regarding imperial commissions for portrait sculptures and their markets.

⁴ Anne Middleton Wagner, "Art and Property: Carpeaux's Portraits of the Prince Impérial," *Art History* (December 1982): 447-71 and *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), especially Chapter Five, "Art and Property," 175-207.

Carpeaux, however, was not the only sculptor at the time to face obstacles and eventual failure when dealing with the major patron of the Second Empire, the French government. Marcello would later encounter similar difficulties when she was awarded a government commission to sculpt a portrait bust of the Empress Eugénie. Existing in multiple versions and media (as do Carpeaux's portraits of the Prince Impérial), Marcello's marbles of the Empress were not all successful; only one marble of the group eventually found its way into a state-funded museum, but not the place originally intended for it as specified in the commission agreement. Marcello's problems with her commission for a portrait of a member of the imperial family were as equally stressful and costly as those met by Carpeaux at almost exactly the same time. Her difficulties were multiplied because she was paid less for her work and she felt that she was treated unfairly because the administration was biased against women artists. Additionally, misunderstandings about Carpeaux's sculptures and Marcello's works still abound. In fact, the connections and mutual friendships between the two were so close that – stylistic differences notwithstanding – their works and commissions are often confused.⁵

Marcello's busts of the Empress are significant because they illustrate her emphasis on images of influential, and in some cases powerful, women, whom she endowed with strong characteristics or compelling expressions. The busts of the Empress exemplified Marcello's ideas of how regal women should be portrayed, and the artist considered the government's refusal to accept the definitive piece as she designed it as a personal attack. In subsequent chapters, I shall show how Marcello cultivated and

⁵ For example, at the Napoléon Museum in Salenstein (Switzerland), upon finding Marcello's *la Belle Hélène* in Queen Hortense's library, I was told that the work may have been an early work by a young Carpeaux.

maintained her exploration into the portrayal of forceful women through her busts of her contemporaries, in particular in the portraits of Empress Eugénie.

Marcello had been in contact with the Imperial Court since April of 1862, when she sent a bronze version of her *La Belle Hélène* to the Emperor and Empress (see discussion of this sculpture above). Letters thanking the artist for the bronze from both Napoléon III and Eugénie are conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, with the Emperor's letter dated 28 April 1862.⁶ The Empress complimented the artist on her works in 1863, as noted in a letter written by Eugène Delacroix to his assistant Pierre Andrieu.⁷ Invited to imperial *séries* at Fontainebleau (in 1863) and at the château of Compiègne, Marcello was in attendance at the same *série* as Carpeaux in November of 1864. She was also in attendance at the Empress's social salons on Monday evenings.⁸ In her memoirs, Marcello recounted the first time she was approached by the Empress, at a special viewing of paintings at the imperial palace:

I found myself with the Princess de Metternich in one of the painting rooms when a group of women came in, the Empress with three or four other attendants. The

⁶ Letter from Napoléon III to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated "Tuileries, 28 April 1862," Archives FM. The letter reads in part, "Je regrette seulement de ne pas pouvoir, comme vous, offrir une ouvrage." [I regret only that I do not have the power, as you do, to offer a work of art.] Anecdotally, conserved with these documents is a dried rose in an envelope marked "Rose, était donné par l'Impératrice, 4 mai 1863." ("Rose given by the Empress, 4 May 1863.")

⁷ Eugène Delacroix to Pierre Andrieu, 21 May 1863, as published in *Eugène Delacroix: Correspondance générale de Eugène Delacroix*, Five vols. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1936-1938), 373-74. "J'ai vu la duchesse deux ou trois fois avec beaucoup de plaisir: je crois qu'elle vous regrette beaucoup et voudrait s'occuper de peinture. J'entends dire qu'elle a beaucoup de succès pour ses bustes, dont l'impératrice lui a fait de très grands compliments: je pense qu'elle doit être satisfaite." ["I have seen the duchess two or three times, with considerable pleasure: I think she misses you a great deal, and she wants to do some painting. I gather she has had a great success with her busts, on which the Empress has complimented her highly: I think she must be pleased."] for the English translation see *Eugène Delacroix: Selected Letters 1813-1863*, edited and translated by Jean Stewart (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1970), 384.

⁸ See Pierre Trahard's Introduction in Prosper Mérimée, *Lettres à la Duchesse de Castiglione Colonna*, Pierre Trahard, ed. (Paris: Boivin et Cie, 1938), 14. After Marcello's success in 1863, "Celle-ci l'invite à ses [the Empress's] lundis, et la duchesse reçoit aux Tuileries un si cordial accueil qu'une sincère amitié s'établit entre elle et l'Impératrice."

rooms being vast and reserved that day for an elite public, it was easy for us after having greeted them to pass into the neighboring room. But the Princess de Metternich was approached by the sovereign, who wanted to make sure that it was in fact this Marcello still a bit mysterious, who had fled from her, and I saw myself approached by one of the women of the palace, Madame de Rayneval [,] who said that she was charged with transmitting to me the compliments of the Empress, as well as the desire that she had to express them to me herself. How could I respond, apart from following the maid of honor and the Princess de Metternich sent to the rescue, and I received some gracious praises, from a charming mouth, with a look that seemed to search for friendship. I was seduced, I must say it.⁹

She and the Empress became fast friends, and that same November the sovereign made Marcello a gift of a piece of Sèvres biscuit porcelain (thought to have been a small bust of Marie-Antoinette). The two women were in contact with each other even after the Empire fell in 1870. When Napoléon III died in 1873 Marcello wrote in her journal, "I feel as if a great part of my own heart was buried."¹⁰ In turn, when Marcello died six years later, Eugénie sent a telegram to her mother expressing sincere condolences.

Carpeaux was not the only artist at the imperial *fête* trying to obtain connections, patrons and commissions; Marcello was also seeking to make a portrait of someone in the imperial family, and she seems to have received the commission for the bust directly from the Empress (fig. 3-5). Never before had Marcello worked as hard on a portrait bust

⁹Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris, 19," [pagination on original manuscript], 58 [typewritten copy]. "Je me trouvais avec la princess de Metternich dans une des salles de peinture lorsqu'un groupe féminin y fit irruption, l'Impératrice avec 3 ou 4 personnes de son service. Les salles étant fort vastes et réservées ce jour là à un public d'élite, il nous fut facile après avoir saluer de passer dans la pièce voisine. Mais la princesse de Metternich s'était approchée de la souveraine qui s'assura que c'était bien cette Marcello encore un peu mystérieuse qui avait fui devant elle, et je me vis aborder par l'une des dames du palais, Madame de Rayneval qui se dit chargée de me transmettre les compliments de l'Impératrice, ainsi que le désir qu'elle avait de me les adresser elle même. Que répondre, sinon suivre la dame d'honneur et la princesse de Metternich envoyée à la rescousse, et recevoir de gracieux éloges, d'une charmante bouche, avec un regard qui semblait chercher l'amitié. J'étais séduite, il faut le dire."

¹⁰Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets, (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), c. 10 January 1873, Archives FM. "J'apprends la mort de l'Empereur! [...] Personnellement, ce que j'éprouve est comme si une grande partie de mon coeur était enterrée."

as she had on that of Eugénie. The project developed into five very different sculptures, including a full bust (fig. 3-6), a head and neck in wax (fig. 3-7), a head and neck in plaster (fig. 3-8), and two very different finished marble busts (figs. 3-9 and 3-10). Although she would garner at least four other orders for sculpture from the French government during her career, her commission for the bust of Eugénie was the first direct commission, and the only one for a specific imperial portrait.¹¹ On 2 August 1865, she had received notification of the commission for the portrait from the state. She would be paid 3,000 francs (1,000 francs less than Carpeaux would receive in January of 1866 for his bust of the Prince Impérial)¹² and the bust was to decorate either the “Salle du conseil municipal” (Municipal Council Hall) or the “Salle du trône” (Throne Room) in the Hôtel de Ville in Paris. The commission for the bust would certainly have helped to further Marcello’s professional credibility.

Both Carpeaux and Marcello were seeking the same commission at the very same time. Carpeaux had lost the opportunity to produce another portrait of the Empress in November of 1864 (his first, *The Empress Eugénie Protecting Orphans and the Arts*, was completed in 1855), and the sovereign instead agreed to the commission for the portrait “en pied” of the Prince Impérial.¹³ Carpeaux nevertheless persisted in his desire to produce an image of the Empress even after receiving the commission for the portrait of

¹¹ For acquisitions, commands and purchases of Marcello’s works by the French government, see file boxes at the Archives Nationales de France (CHAN), files F/21/160 (Dossier 28); F/21/237; F/21/539; F/21/485; F/21/832; F/21/4500B (dossier 2, pièce 30 et pièce 208); F/21/4909B (Dossier 10, pièce 5); F/21/128 (Dossier 34); F/21/2215 (Dossier 13); F/21/470 (Dossier 6); F/21/4910A (Dossier 1, pièce 5); F/21/2208A (Dossier 1).

¹² For the specifics regarding Marcello’s commission, see CHAN files F/21/485; for Carpeaux, see Wagner, 1982, 447.

¹³ Wagner, 1982, 447. Carpeaux was later awarded a commission for a bust of Eugénie in 1866. Whether this had anything to do with Marcello’s rejected bust is uncertain.

The Prince Imperial and his Dog, Nero (fig. 3-11); in 1865, he produced a terra-cotta *esquisse* of the prince with, almost comically, the Empress seated next to him in place of the dog (fig. 3-12).

Marcello, thrilled at having obtained her official commission, began working on it immediately, and before the year's end she had a completed sketch to show her patrons. Although the order in which Marcello produced the portraits of Eugénie is not clear, it seems from published sources that the bust that was eventually photographed by Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar (1820-1910), was the earliest version (see Nadar's photograph, fig. 3-15). Having seen this plaster bust in January of 1866, probably at Marcello's studio, the critic Ernest Fillonneau praised it in *Moniteur des arts* as a masterwork of contemporary portraiture. His review seems to describe the work in question, as it is the only version with a double strand of pearls. As the only published critique of the work from the period, Fillonneau's review is worth quoting in its entirety:

Radiating all the graces of beauty, embodying all the nobility of grandeur, exhibiting a majestic pose, seductions of a soft and protective dignity, such is the bust we can still see before us, so much has it engraved itself in our mind. The delicate traits of the sovereign are to be seen in approximately a three-quarter view. The hair, high and in a knot in the Greek style, falls down in silky curls. On the forehead, a diadem from the middle of which an imperial eagle takes flight. Around the neck, we find a double strand of pearls. Finally, floating on her shoulders, there are ample draperies.

One does not make such a portrait without having been close to the original. It is the official image of the sovereign, but it is also a faithful representation of the woman. The artist owes to her rank as much to her talent the rare privilege of having been able to, during a recent vacation, begin a work which exudes enthusiasm and the sacred fire of emotion, where the heart can claim a part at least as big as the hand and the mind.

This bust, in its original and inspired form, with the charming tones of the clay and the vivid nuances caressed by the sketch, would appear to us as preferable to the marble if in the interest of art and history, the ravages of time were not an issue in a work of sculpture.

The artist, indeed, bears a name that two Salons – two successes, have been enough to bring it fame. This name is: *Marcello*. I will not identify

otherwise to my readers the author of *Bianca Capello* and of the *Gorgone*, already famous.

Will the bust of the Empress by Marcello be seen in the exhibition before entering the Hôtel de Ville where it is to be placed? We strongly wish it for the public, to whom it will bring the exquisite joys of great art, and for the sculptor, who will receive a new harvest of laurels.¹⁴

That summer, however, instead of exhibiting the bust of the Empress at the Salon, Marcello submitted two busts of a different sovereign: Marie-Antoinette (See Chapter Four). She certainly did not want to exhibit the bust of Eugénie without having received prior approval for the version from the Minister of Fine Arts. Regardless, the bust of Eugénie was poised to be a great success, not only because of Fillonneau's glowing studio review but also because the founder Ferdinand Barbedienne had proposed to produce an edition of the bust in bronze.¹⁵ Carpeaux's bronze reductions of his *Prince Impérial and his dog Néro* were cast by the same founder.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ernest Fillonneau, "Un Buste de L'Impératrice," *Moniteur des arts* (26 January 1866): 2. "Rayonnant de toutes les grâces de la beauté, empreint de toutes les noblesses de la grandeur, déployant dans un galbe majestueux les séductions d'une douce et bienveillante dignité, tel est le buste que nous croyons avoir encore devant les yeux, tant il s'est gravé, [h]ier, dans notre esprit. -- Les traits délicats de la souveraine se montrent à peu près de trois quarts. Relevée et nouée à la grecque, la chevelure retombe en boucles soyeuses. Sur le front, un diadème au milieu duquel se détache l'aigle impérial. Autour du cou, un double rang de perles. Enfin, flottantes sur les épaules, d'amples draperies. On ne fait pas un tel portrait sans avoir beaucoup approché l'original. C'est l'image officielle de la souveraine, mais c'est aussi l'image fidèle de la femme. L'artiste doit à son rang autant qu'à son talent le rare privilège d'avoir pu, durant une villégiature récente, commencer une oeuvre d'où s'exhalent l'enthousiasme et le feu sacré de l'émotion ressentie, où le coeur peut revendiquer une part au moins aussi grande que la main et la pensée. Ce buste, dans sa forme première et inspirée, avec les tons charmants de l'argile et les nuances vivaces caressées par l'ébauchoir nous semblerait préférable au marbre, si dans l'intérêt de l'art et de l'histoire, il n'importait pas de disputer le travail du statuaire aux ravages du temps. L'artiste, d'ailleurs, porte un nom que deux Salons -- deux succès, -- ont suffi à illustrer: ce nom est: *Marcello*. Je ne veux pas désigner autrement à mes lecteurs l'auteur d'une *Bianca Capello* et d'une *Gorgone* déjà célèbres. Le buste de l'Impératrice, par Marcello, verra-t-il l'Exposition avant d'entrer à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, où il doit-être placé? Nous le souhaitons bien vivement pour le public, auquel il procurera les jouissances exquises du grand art, et pour le statuaire, qui recueillera une nouvelle moisson de lauriers." Much of this same text was published under the title "Paris au jour le jour," in *L'Événement* (28 January 1866): 2-3.

¹⁵ Anne Pinget, "Marcello," in *Dictionnaire du Second Empire*, Jean Tulard, ed., (Paris: Fayard, 1995): 771-2. "En 1866, Barbedienne lui propose l'édition de son buste de l'*Impératrice Eugénie*." Pinget does not cite the specific source for this information.

¹⁶ Wagner, 1986, 199-201.

Marcello continued to seek opinions from friends and colleagues on the bust throughout the year. Having shown the plaster bust to her friend Prosper Mérimée, Marcello received his suggestion, on 30 August 1866, that she retouch the mouth. "I have thought very much about the portrait. I find it excellent but I would like you to finish one correction at the corners of the mouth, after nature. The mouth seems to me to be that of her majesty when she smiles, while the other traits are hers when she thinks about important things."¹⁷ It may have been around this time that Marcello produced the wax version of Eugénie's portrait, focusing on the head only (fig. 3-7). The work resembles the plaster bust in hairstyle and in the crown with its imperial eagle ornament. Here, with the head slightly tipped to the left, that artist has given the Empress a smile with a less pensive and strict pose.

An additional version showing the Empress with head and neck only and dressed in a ancient Greek-styled classical headdress was produced as well, and this version exists in a plaster pointed for transfer (fig. 3-8) and a finished marble (fig. 3-9). In both, the emphasis on adornment is reduced but the smile and placid expression remain. Marcello's idea to create an image of the Empress with classical elements was certainly implemented to reinforce her role as a timeless and charitable figure, as the garments are reminiscent of those worn by goddesses and offering-bearers in ancient art. The marble includes an *armoire* or crest below the drapery containing the letter E superimposed over the letter N as an additional element that identifies the figure. The emphasis on the facial features of the sovereign work to present her in a personal way, and typical codes for

¹⁷ Letter from Prosper Mérimée to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 30 August [1866], Archives FM. "J'ai beaucoup pensé au portrait. Je le trouve excellent mais je voudrais que vous fissiez une retouche aux coins de la bouche, d'après nature. La bouche me semble celle de S[a] M[ajesté] quand elle rit, tandis que les autres traits sont les siens quand elle pense à des choses importantes."

royalty such as an ornate crown, numerous jewels, Napoléonic bees, and the like are not present in this version of Marcello's intimate portrait of the Empress.

Official government ministers of art could refuse a work of art after it had been produced. In November of 1866, Marcello received a cryptic refusal for the Eugénie commission from Georges Baron Haussmann, Préfet of the Seine. It is not completely clear why the commission was refused, as proceedings for the meetings are no longer extant, but it is clear that Marcello was admonished on one count for submitting a marble to the committee for review:

Madam, the commission of Fine Arts, in their meetings of the 17th and 30th of October, have examined the bust in marble of her majesty the Empress for which you have been commissioned for the Throne Room at the Hôtel de Ville. The attached extracts of the proceedings of these two meetings will inform you of the reasons that have led the commission to refuse the approval of your work. I deeply regret that in developing the definitive execution of your sculpture, you deviated from the precise terms of the order. Thus you are placed, and you have placed me, in a very delicate situation. In effect, if the present critiques of the commission of Fine Arts are justified, the critiques put forward against a bust in draft form could have been made beneficial, while in the presence of a definitive work, they could only produce an unfavorable opinion that I can reject, it is true, although a decision of this type would be embarrassing as well as unusual, but which nonetheless would be injurious to your work; despite this, as I cannot bring myself to make you suffer the consequences of a refusal of acceptance, to which you have exposed yourself, I have decided that the bust (which is) in question would be accepted by my administration. I hope, Madam Duchess, that you will see in this decision a new proof of the sentiments that had inspired the thought of asking you for a work of your talent.¹⁸

¹⁸ A copy of this letter written in Marcello hand is found in the *Cahier de cuir rose-rouge*, Archives FM. The original letter of Georges Baron Haussmann to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), nor the mentioned attachments, is not found at the Archives. "Madame, la Commission des beaux-arts, dans ses séances des 17 et 30 octobre, a examiné le buste en marbre de S. M. l'Impératrice qui vous a été demandé pour la salle du Trône à l'Hôtel de Ville. Les extraits ci-joints des procès-verbaux de ces deux séances vous feront connaître les motifs qui ont déterminé la Commission à refuser son approbation à votre travail. Je regrette vivement qu'en procédant à l'exécution définitive de votre oeuvre, vous vous soyez écartée des termes précis de la commande. Vous vous êtes ainsi placée et vous m'avez placé dans une situation très délicate. En effet, si les critiques actuelles de la Commission des Beaux-Arts sont fondées, les critiques dirigées contre un buste en projet eussent pu être mises à profit, tandis qu'en présence d'un travail définitif, elles n'ont pu se produire que sous la forme d'un avis défavorable que je puis ne pas suivre, il est vrai, quoiqu'une résolution de ce genre soit aussi embarrassante qu'anormale, mais qui n'en subsistera pas moins à l'encontre de votre travail; quoiqu'il en soit, comme je ne puis me résoudre à vous faire subir les suites d'un refus d'acceptation, auquel vous vous êtes exposée, j'ai décidé que le buste dont il s'agit serait

It is not known how Marcello deviated from the original order, or if she actually did so (she seemed to think she had not).¹⁹ Also unclear is which marble Haussmann refused, as Marcello ultimately completed two: the Greek-styled portrait mentioned above (fig. 3-9) and an additional marble, closer in pose and composition to the early plaster, but with additional decorative elements (fig. 3-10, see below).

In a letter to her mother, Marcello expressed her dismay at the rejection. "I am admonished," she noted, "reprimanded, [and] almost punished for having made a bust which is truly a good thing. It is a crime, an offense to the majesty of the Administration, and they are looking for this pretext of my not having submitted the plaster to violently indict me."²⁰ The Countess d'Affry consoled her daughter on 24 November:

I am outraged at this letter from the Préfet who complains that your work is too beautiful. The Administration does not permit it! It seems to me impossible that you take back this bust to please Nieuwerkerke since the Préfet had accepted it [...]. What a mess! What progress can the arts make with such persons to judge and encourage artists. The only thing to do is to accept the price of this bust and to keep quiet on the subject at the moment that you begin receiving commissions, one made a treaty with you, an artist, and with all of these asses who are the masters, too bad. I see that you have a very heavy heart my poor child! Try to pacify the Pasha of the arts nevertheless, if you see him at Compiègne. What has Frémy said of this so stupid letter of Haussmann? [...] My poor child [...] you are universally admired while you are still waiting.²¹

accepté par mon administration. Je desire, Madame la Duchesse, que vous voyiez dans cette décision une nouvelle preuve des sentiments qui m'ont inspiré la pensée de vous demander une oeuvre de votre talent."

¹⁹ Ghislain de Diesbach, in his *La Double vie de la duchesse Colonna: La chimère bleue* (Paris: Perrin, 1988), 180, suggests that the problem was that the neck was too long ("le cou a besoin d'être raccourci") but does not cite his source.

²⁰ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother the Countess Lucie d'Affry, 22 November 1866, Archives FM. "Voici une lettre du préfet de la Seine dont vous appréciez comme moi la teneur blessante. Je suis tancée, réprimandée presque punie pour avoir fait un buste qui est vraiment une bonne chose. C'est un délit, une offense à la majesté de l'administration et ils vont chercher ce prétexte de n'avoir pas montré le plâtre pour me faire un réquisitoire violent."

²¹ Countess Lucie d'Affry to Adèle Colonna (Marcello) dated "samedi matin 24," [24 November 1866], Archives FM. "Je suis outrée de cette lettre du Préfet qui se plaint que ton oeuvre soit trop belle! L'Administration ne le permet pas! Il me semble impossible que tu reprennes ce buste pour faire plaisir à

Marcello took her mother's advice and asked "Frémy," what he thought of Haussmann's letter. Although it is not completely clear, the person referred to seems to have been Louis Frémy (1805-1891) a lawyer, director of the Crédit Foncier, and government representative in Paris (*député*). In a letter to her mother later in the month, Marcello suggests that Frémy convinced Haussmann to accept the portrait of Eugénie for the Musée de Lyon.²²

Around the time of Marcello's problems with the administration, in 1866, Carpeaux seems to have been given a commission to produce a portrait of Eugénie. Whether he had any role in Marcello's rejection is unknown; as badly as he wanted to make another portrait of the Empress, it seems unlikely from their cordial communication and friendship that he would have wanted Marcello to lose her commission in exchange for his own. Nor did Carpeaux have any jurisdiction over which busts would be accepted or refused by the administration, and it would not have been his fault if they or the imperial family preferred his works. It has been noted elsewhere that Carpeaux continually requested a portrait commission from the Empress and that she finally relented

Nieuwerkerke puisque le Préfet l'a accepté quoique aussi [illisible: vraiment; vraisemblable] que possible. Quelle boutique! Quels progrès les arts peuvent-ils faire avec de pareilles gens pour juger et encourager les artistes. Il ne te reste qu'à recevoir le prix de ce buste et à te taire à ce sujet du moment que l'on te fait des commandes, on te traite en artiste et si ce sont des ânes qui sont les maîtres, tant pis. Je vois que tu as le cœur bien gros pauvre enfant! Tache d'amadouer le Pascha des arts pourtant, si tu le vois à Compiègne. [...] Que dit Frémy de la lettre si stupide de Haussmann? My poor child [written in English] [...] mais tu es universellement admirée en attendant."

²² Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 15 November 1866, Archives FM. "On fera le cancan de cette affaire, bien sûr, patience, que n'est la fin, dois en passer par là. Aujourd'hui j'ai [une] lettre de Frémy, il a parlé à M. Haussmann, qui malgré l'avis formel de la commission présidée par Nieuwerkerke pour rejeter mon buste, l'a admis par faveur. C'est heureux, vous jugez en dépit de la pauvre artiste, enfin si elle attrape ses cinq mille [illisible mark, possibly "fr" for "francs"] elle se moque bien du reste."

in 1866.²³ His bust of Eugène from that year (fig. 3-13) resembles closely a painted portrait of the Empress by Franz Xavier Winterhalter (1806-1873), painted in 1864 (compare figs 3-13 and 3-14); in both, the Empress wears a similar necklace, *coiffure*, and off-the-shoulder dress. Carpeaux's bust was no more successful than Marcello's, and it did not progress past the plaster stage. In fact, neither Carpeaux's nor Marcello's busts of the Empress were ever cast in bronze.

Regardless of the events that had passed in November, Marcello continued to work on the Empress's project, this time with the assistance of photographs. She transferred the early version of the bust to Nadar's studio for its representation in his medium in January of 1867. His photograph of the bust (fig. 3-15) is conserved at the Fondation Marcello, and exhibits an interesting element of Marcello's working method. The photograph is "retouched," with the addition of pencil marks and shading; often she used photographs of her sculptures to rework ideas and to add elements to later versions. It is possible that she ordered the photograph so that she could rethink her composition and other elements for the final version to be sent to the Musée de Lyon. Photographs could also be passed on to *praticiens* as an aide in illustrating necessary changes that the artist wanted in the final marble version. It seems that such photographs would have been passed over to Marcello's *praticien*, Francesco Franzoni (active in Carrara, Italy and at 17, rue Daru, Paris), who worked on the marbles of Eugénie, for such a purpose.

²³ Michel Poletti and Alain Richarme, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, Sculpteur, Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre édité* (Paris: Expressions contemporaines/Les éditions de l'amateur, 2003), 22. "L'impératrice, qui n'a jamais apprécié ses portraits dans le marbre (à l'exception de celui réalisé par Nieuwerkerke), n'a guère envie de poser. Ce n'est qu'en 1866, devant l'insistance du sculpteur, qu'elle finit par accepter. Malheureusement, ce buste n'est pas la plus belle réussite de Carpeaux et le travail ne débouchera pas sur la réalisation d'un grand buste d'apparat, ni sur une édition."

Marcello wasted no time in exhibiting the sculpture following the administration's decision against it. Having spent a large portion of 1866 on the portraits of Eugénie, she wanted to exhibit something from the project somewhere. Ultimately, one of the busts of Eugénie was shown in a special exhibition; in the summer of 1867, she submitted a plaster of Eugénie to the Royal Academy Exhibition in London, possibly the plaster bust photographed by Nadar and reviewed by Fillonneau (see fig. 3-15). Exhibiting the bust in London was a strategic move; few people would have known of the difficulties she had experienced with the bust in Paris and she could exhibit the work without fear that the history behind the piece would find its way into critical reviews. In fact, the plaster was exhibited and catalogued in London as a work still destined for Hôtel de Ville.²⁴

Meanwhile in Paris, Marcello exhibited another portrait (of Mademoiselle de Grétry) at the Exposition du cercle de l'union artistique in March of 1867, and eight other sculptures in the Exposition universelle of the same year from April to September (see Chapter Four). The years 1866 and 1867 were Marcello's most prolific, and her work was exhibited in six major exhibitions during these two years, in Lille, London and Paris.

The bust that finally was given to the Musée de Lyon was rather different from the others in the group (fig. 3-10). Similar to the earlier version (compare fig. 3-7), this marble has the same bee motif on the draperies and a similar treatment of the hair. Differences include the three strands of pearls instead of two, a different crown with the imperial eagle removed, and a change in the dress, which is not in Greek style, but instead is styled in a more modern, Second Empire mode with meticulously rendered lace elements. The plain base of the earlier work is here replaced with a more elegant socle

²⁴ Royal Academy Exhibition, 1867, Catalogue number 1180, "H.M. the Empress Eugénie (the original in marble is in the possession of the Hôtel de Ville, Paris, for the Salle du trône)."

base. Although there are more regal elements in this definitive version of the portrait, there is an attempt by the artist to balance the image of the public Empress with that of the private Eugénie, two facets of the woman's personage that Marcello was privileged to know first hand.

The bust of Eugénie at Lyon exemplifies Marcello's ideas and concepts for the depiction of women in positions of power. The positioning of the head and neck is strong and straight, adornment is simplified, and the smile, which the artist retained in this definitive version, speaks to Eugénie's character and kindness. In this way it is similar in composition to Marcello's busts of heroic females, discussed in the following chapter. Additionally, Eugénie is presented to the viewer not as an allegorical figure of charity or as a regal queen of superhuman proportions. Instead she is presented to the viewer as an authentic and approachable figure, a real person capable of true emotions. The symbolism of numerous nineteenth-century images of regal women (as, for example, Carpeaux's *Empress Eugénie Protecting Orphans and the Arts*, where the subject is shown more as a personification of charity rather than a specific person) is here absent.

According to documentation at the Musée de Lyon, this bust was deposited at the museum in September 1870.²⁵ It has been discussed rarely and was not reproduced in Henriette Bessis's catalogue in 1980.²⁶ In 1982, the bust was included in an exhibition entitled *De Carpeaux à Matisse*, held at the Musée des beaux-arts, Calais.

²⁵ Documentation de Musée des beaux-arts, Lyon, inventory number A 3047. Special thanks to Laurence Berthon who kindly provided me with the documentation sheet on Marcello's bust of Eugénie, and to Muriel Le Payen who provided me with the photograph. The bust of Eugénie at Lyon is thought to be that which was destined for the Hôtel de Ville, according to Magnus von Wistinghausen of the Fondation Marcello.

²⁶ Why Bessis did not include photographs of the two marble busts of Eugénie in the 1980 catalogue is unclear. She may have thought the bust in Lyon was an exact copy of the plaster photographed by Nadar, but she also did not include the other marble version (fig. 3-11) now in the Collection Audouy in

Of course, in retrospect it ended up being much better for posterity that one of Marcello's busts of the Empress was placed at Lyon; if a version of the bust had actually been placed in the Hôtel de Ville prior to 1870-71, it certainly would have been destroyed when that building was attacked during the Franco-Prussian war and was virtually destroyed during the Commune. Original plasters are conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, as is the wax head study, returned to the Château d'Affry in Fribourg in 2002 after having been on extended loan to the Musée Château de Compiègne. Marcello herself destroyed another plaster in 1870, possibly that for the marble in Lyon, as the plaster pointed for transfer cannot be located at present for this work.

Empress Elisabeth of Austria, Queen of Hungary, known as "Sissi" (1837-1898)

The extent or closeness of the relationship between Marcello and Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary (née Wittelsbach, 1836-1898, fig. 3-16) is unknown. There are no letters conserved at the Fondation Marcello written by the infamous "Sissi", which is unusual because Marcello was often in letter contact with people she portrayed, and she preserved their letters. Whether the bust of the Austrian Empress was a commission or a work done on speculation is also not known with certainty. Yet in 1898, a critic in *Nouvelles étrences fribourgeoises* noted that the "original" version of the bust could be found at the Château de Gödöllő, Sissi's summer residence, near Budapest.²⁷ The artist did own photographs of the Empress, which remain

Paris. Her omission of these photographs contributes to the confusion regarding the Eugénie commission. Both of these marbles were in collections that should have been known to art historians by 1980.

²⁷ Henri de Schaller, "Comtesse d'Affry," in *Nouvelles étrences fribourgeoises* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Fragnière Frères, 1898): 133. See footnote number 29 for the full citation.

conserved at the Archives Marcello. Having died in 1879, Marcello never knew Sissi's fate; the anarchist Luigi Lucheni had murdered her in Geneva on 10 September 1898.²⁸

On 8 June 1867, Elisabeth and her husband (and cousin) Franz-Joseph were crowned King and Queen of Hungary, and it was around this time that Marcello and her mother traveled to Austria. Marcello began her bust of Sissi on that excursion. Starting with drawings (fig. 3-17a and 17b), Marcello worked on and completed the bust in Vienna (from life and photographs of Sissi) and then sent her plaster (fig. 3-18) to Paris that summer to be executed in marble (fig. 3-19a and 3-19b). Letters between Marcello and her mother suggest that she continued work on the piece through July and August. Although additional strands of pearls and drop pearls were added to the final marble version, Marcello's portrait of Sissi changed very little from the early drawings for the work.

Adorned with a crown, choker pendant necklace, and seven strands of pearls across her bodice, Sissi's regal portrait is the most extravagant of Marcello's busts in this genre. A single bare shoulder is set off by the elaborate garment and heavy cape that she dons. Her wasp-like waist, historically accurate by most accounts, gives the relatively small figure a sense of height; the torso is long enough that the sculpture resembles a figure in half-view rather than a traditional bust. Sissi's classicized hairstyle is reminiscent of that of ancient Roman busts, again a reference to the glorification of female figures in ancient art. She has both a delicate nature that would have been

²⁸ For the standard biography on Elisabeth of Austria, see Egon C. Corti, *Elisabeth d'Autriche, Sissi* trans. Marguerite Diehl (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1992). This book was originally published as *Elisabeth die Seltsame Frau* (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 1936).

expected in images of a contemporary queen, and a haughtiness and pride evident in the expression and composure of the figure, typical of more valiant personages.

By September a Parisian merchant, Auguste Kline, had purchased the bust of Sissi from Marcello with plans to reproduce it for sale, while she retained the right to reproduce the work in various sizes and media. "Exhibited" at Kline's shop at 6, boulevard des Capucines, the bust, now in marble, was seen by D.-G. d'Auvergne, art critic for *Le Figaro*. Auvergne devoted much of his article entitled "Vivat Frantz-Joseph und Elisabeth," of 25 October, to a description of Marcello's bust of the beautiful Hapsburg. He lauded the bust as one of the artist's best works:

Never has Marcello been better inspired, never has a work more delicate and more fine at the same time come from the chisel of the Duchess Colonna; one well senses, lighting this harmonious unity, radiant and pure, that this is the bust of a woman by another woman. I doubt that another sculptor would have as easily understood or interpreted the nuances of this animated physiognomy, which can escape from the chisel and slip through the hands of the artist like an imperceptible shadow.²⁹

Even long after Marcello's death, the bust of Sissi was remembered as one of Marcello's most significant portraits. Henri de Schaller recalled Marcello and her mother's voyage to Austria and the bust to readers of *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* in 1898 (the year of Sissi's death), saying that they actually assisted in the coronation of the Queen:

These women made the voyage together to Vienna to assist in the coronation of the King of Hungary, which occurred in 1867 at Presbourg and Budapest. It was on this voyage that the Duchess Colonna made the gracious bust of the Empress

²⁹ D.-G. d'Auvergne, "Vivat Franz-Joseph und Elisabeth," *Le Figaro* (25 October 1867): 2. "Jamais Marcello n'a été mieux inspiré, jamais oeuvre plus délicate et plus fine à la fois n'est sortie du ciseau de la duchesse Colonna; on sent bien, en voyant cet ensemble harmonieux, rayonnant et pur, que c'est là le buste d'une femme par un autre femme. Je doute qu'un statuaire eut aussi bien compris ou interprété les nuances de cette physionomie mobile, qui doit échapper à l'ébauchoir et glisser entre les mains de l'artiste comme une ombre insaisissable."

Elisabeth, of which the original is found at the Château de Gödöllö [*sic*] and of which we possess a reproduction at the Musée Marcello.³⁰

Images of regal women produced during the nineteenth-century often have a grandeur that masks the true character of the figure depicted. In Marcello's portraits, there is not only an emphasis on the greatness of the person's role in life, but also an attempt to imbue the marble with the personal characteristics of the individual portrayed. The gentleness of Sissi's character and her free spirit, always commented upon by her biographers, seem to be evidenced in her expression as captured by Marcello.

Spain: 1868 and the Portrait of General Llorenç Milans del Bosc[h] I Mauri (1820-1880)

After earning critical success in Paris and London during the early 1860s, Marcello traveled to Spain, arriving there in September of 1868 (while the country was in the middle of a revolution that would depose Queen Isabella II). She joined her friends Henri Regnault and Georges Clairin for an artistic sojourn. Their closeness is exemplified by the affectionate names by which they referred to each other; Clairin was Geogotte (a nickname for Georges, sometimes spelled Jojotte), Regnault was Riquet (the diminutive of the Spanish form of Henri, *i.e.*, Enriques), and Marcello was Mietta or Miettita (the source for which is unknown). The experience was a formative one for all and emulating Spanish art became an important factor in their work.³¹

³⁰ Henri de Schaller, "Comtesse d'Affry," *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Fragnière Frères, 1898): 133. "Ces dames firent ensemble le voyage de Vienne pour assister au couronnement du roi de Hongrie qui eut lieu en 1867 à Presbourg et à Budapest [.]. C'est dans ce voyage que le duchesse Colonna fit le buste gracieux de l'impératrice Elisabeth, dont l'original se trouve au château de Gödöllö et dont nous possédons une reproduction au musée Marcello."

³¹ Although Marcello had been heavily influenced by Spanish art and culture, had documented the war in her letters, and made numerous copies after Velasquez, her work was not included in the exhibition

While the purpose of the Spanish sojourn was artistic and professional, Marcello also had, as a member of aristocratic society, an obligation to the injured. Attached to a letter to her mother, dated 2 October 1868, is a small clipping from a Spanish newspaper:

The elegant and beautiful Duchess Castiglione Colonna, so famous in the aristocratic circles of Paris, who travels to Spain with an artistic objective and who found passage in Cordoba, has visited the battlefield to charitably take aid to the wounded.³²

Marcello wrote of attending to the sick and spending days at the hospital consoling the wounded. It seems that, on the one hand, she needed to justify her trip to her mother, and aiding those in need would help her to do so. Yet she also acknowledged that the true purpose of her trip was “ruined” due to her involvement with the relief effort. Days later she wrote to her mother again:

The war, the wounded, the politics around me have strongly obscured in my mind my impressions of art and because of that the purpose of my trip was lost. Your daughter is thought of as a sort of Miss Nightingale of the Crimea, I am mentioned in every newspaper, and fortunately up to now I have been able to prevent some very ridiculous articles, but the army that saw me alone and confident among them, caring for those at Cordoba, they remember me and I receive many expressions of sympathy.³³

or catalogue *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, exh. cat., Gary Tinterow and Geneviève La Cambre, eds., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

³² Clipping from an unidentified newspaper or journal inserted into a letter from the Duchess Colonna to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, letter dated 2 October 1868. Archives F.M. “La elegante y hermosa Duquesa de Castiglioni [*sic*] Colonna, tan famosa en los círculos aristocráticos de Paris, que viaja por España con un objecto artistico y se encontraba de paso en Córdoba, ha visitado a yer el campo de batalla para llevar caritativamente socorros á los heridos.” I owe special thanks to Letita Lara for her suggestions on Spanish translations.

³³ Letter from the Duchess Colonna in Madrid to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 6 October 1868. Archives F.M. “La guerre, les blessés, la politique, autour de moi avaient fort obscurci en mon esprit les impressions d’art, et par là même le but de mon voyage se trouvait manqué. On fait de votre fille ici une sorte de Miss Nightingale, en Crimée, on me met dans chaque journal, et heureusement jusqu’ici j’ai pu empêcher des articles trop ridicules. Mais l’armée qui m’a vue seule et confiante parmi elle, soignant les siens à Cordoue, me garde souvenir, et je reçois mille marques de sympathie.”

In addition to performing charity work and vividly chronicling the war in her letters, Marcello made art alongside her friends Clairin and Regnault. She accompanied them to the Museo del Prado to make studies after Velasquez, an artist whose work greatly affected her artistic direction. Through Regnault and the liberal General Juan Prim y Prats, of whom Regnault painted an equestrian portrait (fig. 3-20a and 3-20b, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), she met General Llorenç Milans del Bosch I Mauri (fig. 3-21).³⁴

Regnault's own correspondence provides a clear picture of the artists' stay in Spain during this difficult time. He wrote to his father that "the Duchess C*** appeared worthy of being Spanish, although Swiss by birth and subject of a very peaceful republic, she is as passionate as we are for this awful but splendid spectacle."³⁵ Prim and Bosch were major figures during the Spanish Revolution of 1868, especially after September 28, when rebel forces led by General Francisco Serrano defeated the Spanish Royal Army at the Battle of Alcolea near Córdoba; Prim and Serrano became the leaders of the Spanish government. Posing for artists, therefore, may have been part of a larger propagandistic program. Regnault made mention of the revolution in letters to his father throughout 1868, again including Marcello in his text:

In Andalusia, it is different; communications have stopped; also, the Duchess C***, who had left ten days ago for a short excursion to Seville and Grenada, has been detained there against her will.³⁶

³⁴ Regnault included Bosch's portrait on the middle right side of his portrait of General Prim (see fig. 3-20a and 3-20b), which resembles both his own painted portrait of Bosc owned by Marcello and her own portrait bust of the General. Variations on the spelling of the General's name exist, including "Milan del Bosc" and "Milans del Bosch."

³⁵ Duparc 1890, 184. "La duchesse C*** s'est montrée digne d'être espagnole; bien que Suisse de naissance et sujette d'une république bien pacifique, elle s'est passionnée comme nous pour cet affreux mais splendide spectacle..."

³⁶ Duparc 1890, 193. "En Andalousie, c'est différent; les communications sont arrêtées; aussi, la duchesse C***, qui était partie, il y a dix jours, pour une courte excursion à Séville et à Grenade, est-elle retenue dans ces parages malgré elle."

More importantly, Regnault often wrote to his father about the progress of his work and the details that surrounded its production. He again wrote to his father from Spain later in the year:

Last week, in a room of the museum closed off to the public, we made portraits of General Milanz [*sic*]. Clairin made a life-sized, knee-length portrait; me, I made a rough full length sketch, including the boots. During this time, the Duchess C*** made a bust.³⁷

The triple portraits of Bosch seem to have been the first works that Regnault, Clairin and Marcello worked on side by side. The Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg preserves both an unfinished painting of Milans del Bosch by Regnault and Marcello's bust of the General (figs. 3-22, 3-23a and 3-23b). Regnault later gave his unfinished painting of Bosch to her for her collection of works by her contemporaries; at the time of Regnault's death, the work was already in her collection. In addition to "sharing" Bosch in Madrid, Marcello and Regnault also shared a model in Rome; this Italian woman became the preliminary model for Regnault's *Salomé*, and most likely for Marcello's *Pythia*.³⁸

Clairin recounted the artistic sessions that he shared with Marcello and Regnault in his memoirs, edited by André Beaunier and published in 1906 under the title *Les Souvenirs d'un peintre*. The group of artists referred to Bosch as "the little general," and, despite their national and political differences, the general and the artists got on together quite well during posing sessions:

³⁷ Duparc 1890, 216. 'La semaine dernière nous avons fait, dans une salle du musée fermée au public, le portrait du Général Milanz [*sic*]. Clairin le faisait grand comme nature jusqu'aux genoux, moi j'en ai fait une pochade d'ensemble, y compris les bottes. Pendant ce temps-là, la duchesse C*** faisait son buste.'

³⁸ See Chapter Four for a discussion of Marcello's *Pythia*.

Milans del Bosc[h] had a great admiration for the Duchess Colonna. They met each other often at our atelier. They had interminable conversations and exchanged gossip. Regnault sung the *malagueñas*...and in our company, Milans completely forgot the Revolution. One day, at the museum where he had accompanied us, and where each of us worked to paint, draw and sculpt him, he forgot it so well that he had to be reminded of it. [...] The Duchess Colonna made his bust: he was enchanted. When we went to the museum, he escorted the Duchess Colonna. [...] And nothing in the world was more amusing than the sight of the proud charm of this little general, who was arm in arm with a duchess two heads taller than him. A Roman duchess, from old aristocracy, and he, a general of the Revolution.³⁹

Marcello's plaster bust of Bosch retains her markings by hand and tool; since this sketch was not turned over to a *praticien* for reworking in a more permanent medium, her personal facture has not been removed or softened. This individualistic modeling adds considerably to the realistic depiction of Bosch himself. The revolutionary's longish hair is piled loosely atop his head, and a large bushy mustache above parted lips disguises his boney facial features. His eyes, incised and a bit cat-like, are averted skyward and are crowned by a heavy brow. The turn of Bosch's head accentuates his throat and neck muscles, drawing the viewers' eyes towards the loosely tied cravat. The overcoat and blouse are barely suggested. Bosch seems caught at a moment of deep thought; he is shown both relaxed in pose and yet filled with the nervous energy of the revolution.

In his brief comparison of Marcello's busts of Bosch and Carpeaux in 1909, Jean-Jacques Berthier described the pulsing vivacity of the former:

³⁹ Georges Clairin, *Les Souvenirs d'un peintre*, André Beaunier, ed. (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1906): 94-5. "Milans del Bosc avait une grande admiration pour la duchesse Colonna. Ils se rencontraient souvent à notre atelier. Conversations interminables, bavardages. Regnault chantait des *malagueñas*...Et Milans, en notre compagnie, oubliait tout à fait la Révolution. Un jour, au musée où il nous avait accompagnés, et où chacun de nous travaillait à le peindre, à le dessiner, à le sculpter [*sic*], il l'oublia si bien qu'elle dut se rappeler à lui. [...] La duchesse Colonna fit son buste: il était enchanté. Quand nous allions au musée, il escortait la duchesse Colonna; [...] Et rien au monde n'était plus amusant que de voir l'orgueil charmé de ce petit bonhomme de général, qui avait à son bras une duchesse de deux têtes plus haute que lui. Une duchesse romaine – vieille aristocratie, – et lui, général de révolution."

This general, a little disheveled, will not be very strong, without doubt, in wide tactics; he does not appear reflective and concerned enough for this; but he has just seen the enemy in the distance: already he shoots on sight, and since the enemy does not advance, he will go search for them. [...] This is not a head with general and complex ideas; this is a head with ideas that are unique, simple, and easily fanatic. This is not one of reasoning: it is of exclusive energy; the nervousness, the thinness, the tension of the traits do not leave any doubt about the subject. This rapidly sketched bust incontestably resembles the man from a moral as well as a physical point of view.⁴⁰

Never exhibited in her lifetime, Marcello's bust of Bosch contributes historically to this moment in Spain's history, as relatively few images of the general exist from the period. Not simply a portrait bust, this image of Bosch is an artifact from a moment when Spain was in great upheaval, and when three important artists shared a studio in a country in turmoil, which nonetheless brimmed with culture and history.

Final Portraits

Increasing physical problems related to tuberculosis marked Marcello's final years. She exhibited much less frequently than earlier in her career, and during the 1870s her works appeared only in the Salons of 1870, 1875, and 1876. She began to devote herself more frequently to painting, which was much less physically taxing. The submission of her largest canvas, *The Feischi Conspiracy*, to the Salon of 1874 was refused by the Salon Jury of that year. This rejection of a work by an artist whom most critics felt should have been designated *hors concours* years before caused something of

⁴⁰ Jean-Jacques Berthier, "Deux Bustes de Marcello, Le Général Milans del Bosc.-Le Sculpteur Carpeaux," *Fribourg Artistique à travers les âges* (1909): n.p. "Ce général, un peu débraillé ne sera pas très fort, sans doute, en large tactique; il n'apparaît pas assez réfléchi et concentré pour cela; mais il vient d'apercevoir l'ennemi là-bas: déjà il le fusille du regard, et puisque l'ennemi ne vient pas, il ira le chercher; [...] Ce n'est pas une tête à idées générales et complexes; c'est une tête à idée unique, simple, facilement fanatique. Ce n'est pas du raisonnement: c'est de l'énergie exclusive; la nervosité, la maigreur, la tension des traits ne laissent pas de doute à ce sujet. Ce buste rapidement ébauché, est incontestablement ressemblant au point de vue moral, comme au point de vue physique."

a scandal, and the feminist critic Maria Deraismes called the refusal of the artist's work part of the all-male jury's "system of discouragement aimed at diminishing the number of women artists."⁴¹ Yet Marcello was committed to having her work accepted by the Salon jury and exhibited within official venues, and she continued to divide her time between painting and sculpture. Her most significant sculpted portraits of the 1870s were those depicting Thiers and Carpeaux. Marcello was finally recognized for her portrait bust of her cousin, the Baroness of Keffenbrinck (née the Countess de Kielmansegg, figs. 3-24a and 3-24b), and was awarded a fourth-class medal for this work at the exhibition of 1876, her last Salon.

1872: Portrait of Thiers

Marie-Louis-Joseph-Adolphe Thiers (fig. 3-25, 1797-1877) was a French politician, journalist, historian, and founder and first president of the Third Republic (a government which spanned the years 1871-1940). Among his most famous works are a ten-volume history of the French Revolution (*Histoire de la révolution française*, 1823-27), a twenty-volume *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (1845-62), and contributions to the journals *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le National*. Thiers also published Salon reviews in 1822 and 1824, saluting the work of the young Delacroix, and was something of an art collector as well.⁴² After serving in numerous political capacities beginning in 1830,

⁴¹ Maria Deraismes, "Les Femmes au Salon," *L'Avenir des femmes* 142 (3 September 1876): 135. "C'est encore là qu'il y a lieu de se scandaliser de la partialité du jury. Madame Marcello, dont tant d'oeuvres ont fait sensation dans les salons précédents, n'a jamais vu sanctionner par la commission des récompenses, les approbations que lui avait prodiguées la critique. C'est évidemment de la part de ces messieurs un système de découragement organisé dans le but de diminuer le nombre des femmes artistes."

⁴² See Charles Blanc, *Collections d'objets d'art de M. Thiers légués au musée du Louvre* (Paris: Jouaust et Sigaux, 1884) and Louis Réau, *M. Thiers amateur d'art et collectionneur* (Paris: Lahure, 1921).

Thiers helped to elect Prince Louis-Napoléon to the presidency of France; they later had opposing political views and became estranged. During the French insurrection known as the Commune (March to May 1871), Thiers helped to defeat the communards, thus destroying many years of political activism by French Socialist and workers' movements. In August of 1871 Thiers became the first president of the Third Republic and tried to win the support of monarchists, which he ultimately never obtained. Monarchists hated Thiers and labeled him the "worst enemy that France has ever had."⁴³ Left-wing supporters considered him the enemy of social reform. He was accused by others of flooding the streets of Paris with the blood of the communards and innocent bystanders. While he was probably the most powerful and wealthy politician of his epoch, by 1873 Thiers had gained a bad reputation on both sides of the political spectrum that he never truly overcame, neither during his lifetime nor after his death. Thiers resigned from the presidency in 1873 and died suddenly five years later, in September of 1877.

Although Marcello remained very close friends with Thiers and mentioned him numerous times in her memoirs, she also aligned herself with the court of Napoléon III. In spite of the fact that she was quite knowledgeable about world politics and affairs, she did not publicly choose sides with any political group or among her friends. Switzerland was (and remains) proud of its neutrality and Marcello seemed to have employed a neutral position similar to that of her homeland, particularly in relationships with important acquaintances.

⁴³ See Pierre Guiral, *Adolphe Thiers* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 7-8. "Les bonapartistes ne veulent pas admettre l'ennemi obstiné de l'Empire; les monarchistes ne lui pardonnent pas d'avoir fondé la république. «M. Thiers est le plus grand ennemi que la France ait jamais eu », n'hésite pas à dire le duc d'Aumale."

Her portrait of Thiers (fig. 3-26), carved in Carrara marble and conserved today in Givisiez, was begun in 1871, the first year of his presidency. He is portrayed with a furrowed brow, lips slightly parted and eyes averted upwards, all contributing to the loftiness of the pose. The treatment of the hair, with its upswept wave and long sideburns, resembles that in other portraits and photos of Thiers (see figs. 2-33 and 3-25). The bareness of the neck and partial chest suggests nudity, thus classicizing the figure and underscoring his *hauteur*. Without aging the figure too strongly, Marcello represents Thiers with the soft, sagging jowls of a man of seventy-three years, the age of the politician at the time of the portrait. The socle base adds an element of elegance to the presentation.

Thiers, unlike so many political figures of his day, was unaccustomed to posing. It has been suggested that Marcello called him the worst model she had ever had, and complained that he “could not stay still in one place, speaking and gesticulating without end.”⁴⁴ The work was, understandably, due to political reasons, never exhibited in Marcello’s (or Thiers’s) lifetime, and thus was never reviewed or commented upon by contemporary critics. Not until 1903 did someone document the creation of the work and speak of it critically, and even then a brief sanitization of Thiers’s character was required:

Of others [who] have represented for us the admirable historian, the sensible sociologist, the politician who saw so marvelously clearly in 1859, 1866, and 1870, the orator who for five hours entertained questions from the most tiring, the most rebellious of audiences, a chamber of deputies: here [in Marcello’s sculpture], we have this Thiers, who was called *le Petit Thiers*. The work of our artist is one of eloquence and of true perfection, and we prove, with the heads in

⁴⁴ Marcello’s opinion of Thiers as a model is recounted in Jean-Jacques Berthier, “Le Buste de Thiers,” *Fribourg Artistique à travers les âges* (1903): n.p. “M. Thiers est le plus mauvais modèle que j’aie jamais eu: il pose très mal, ou plutôt il ne pose pas de tout. Il ne peut rester en place, discute, gesticule sans cesse. Sa physionomie si mobile change à chaque instant d’expression.” This statement is also found in Alcantara, 147. Both Berthier and Alcantara claimed that Marcello told this to an “ami commun,” but neither author cites the original source.

terra cotta and also the uncast bust of Carpeaux dying, and of some Spanish general [*i.e.*, Bosch], also conserved in Givisiez, that the Duchess Colonna had an incomparable talent for seizing and reproducing almost instantaneously a physiognomy or an attitude.⁴⁵

The most famous image of Thiers is the painted portrait of him by Léon Bonnat (1833-1922, fig. 3-27), now in the collection of the Musée du Louvre. Bonnat's portrait of the statesman, painted in 1876, four years after Marcello's sculpture of the same subject, owes much to her composition. Bonnat's dark painting is almost bust-like, as the head and hand of the president are amplified. Marcello's sculpture does not include the eyeglasses, but her modeling of Thiers's loosened facial muscles and coiffeur (with its stiff egg-white-type peaks) is found in Bonnat's painting. It is reasonable to assume that Bonnat was familiar with Marcello's portrait of Thiers. The two artists were friends, as evidenced by their correspondence, and she wrote of Bonnat often in her letters to her mother from the 1870s.

1875: Portrait of Carpeaux

Among Marcello's most sensitive portraits was that of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (fig. 3-28, 1827-1875). She seems to have met him in Rome in 1861 and they began to correspond with each other by the summer of 1862.⁴⁶ Their mutual interest in

⁴⁵ Berthier, 1903. "D'autres nous ont représenté l'admirable historien, le sociologue avisé, le politique qui a vu si merveilleusement clair en 1859, en 1866 et en 1870, l'orateur qui intéressait pendant cinq heures de suite sur les questions les plus fatigantes, le plus rebelle des auditoires, une chambre de députés: ici, nous avons ce Thiers, qu'on a appelé le *petit Thiers*. L'oeuvre de notre artiste est d'une verve et d'une vérité parfaites, et nous prouve [*sic*], avec les têtes en terre cuite et encore inédites de Carpeaux expirant, et de je ne sais quel général espagnol, conservées également à Givisiez, que la duchesse Colonna avait un incomparable talent pour saisir et reproduire presque instantanément une physionomie ou une attitude."

⁴⁶ Although most sources place their meeting in 1861, Alcantara cites a letter from Carpeaux to the Duchess Colonna dated 3 September 1860. See Alcantara, 44. However, no such letter with that date is to be found among Carpeaux's original correspondence at the Fondation Marcello. Ernest Chesneau cites a letter of Carpeaux to Bruno Chérier written in 1861 where Carpeaux mentions meeting Marcello and

Michelangelo sparked a friendship that would last until Carpeaux's death in 1875. They considered each other as equals and their professional relationship never faltered. They shared praticiens, accepted imperial portrait and government commissions at the same time in their careers (including the sculptures of the imperial family, the Empress Eugenie, and the commissions for the Opéra Garnier), and always supported each other's endeavors.

In 1864 Marcello invited Carpeaux to Givisiez, where he produced a number of drawings of her and her mother (see above discussion of the latter work). A charcoal drawing of Marcello made by Carpeaux during his stay accentuates her delicate features and neckline, ornamented by a pearl earring (fig. 3-29). Another drawing shows Marcello working on a clay model (fig. 3-1a). A sketchbook used by Carpeaux is conserved, along with these images, at the Fondation Marcello. Sometime later, possibly in 1869, he produced a red wax relief portrait of Marcello (fig. 3-30). After his visit to Givisiez, he wrote of her to a friend, "I feel as if I have the height of a giant, a courage that touches upon despair, and I say of this woman, a flower, a dream, who has the power to transform us also, what a prodigy!"⁴⁷

Marcello found herself, in the late spring of 1874, faced with a terrible reality: her colleague and long-time friend Carpeaux was dying. She visited him in the hospital in

visiting the Vatican Museums with her. The letter was published in Chesneau, *Le Statuaire J.-B. Carpeaux: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1880), 73. Henriette Bessis treated many letters between Carpeaux and Marcello in her article "Duo avec Carpeaux," in *Connaissance des arts* 277 (March 1975): 84-91. Her article focuses on the amorous nature of Carpeaux's early letters to Marcello rather than focusing on the artistic and professional nature of their letters.

⁴⁷ Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux to the Marquis de Piennes, dated 27 January 1864, Archives Valenciennes, as quoted in Anne Pinget, "Marcello," in *Dictionnaire du Second Empire*, Jean Tulard, ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1995): 772. "Je me sens une taille de géant, un courage qui touche au désespoir, et dire que c'est une femme, une fleur, un rêve, qui nous transforme ainsi, quel prodige!"

May where they spoke about their days in Rome, a visit he greatly appreciated, noting in a letter to her that “your visit and our conversation yesterday evening had reminded me of happier times, also of which I had kept an excellent impression and for which I thank you very tenderly.”⁴⁸ On 7 June Marcello reported to her mother that Carpeaux had been diagnosed with cancer (of the bladder).⁴⁹ Faced with her friend’s imminent death, Marcello decided, rather than grieve for him before he died, to exalt him instead while he was still alive.

Begun in 1875 in the studio of the artist Bruno Chérier (1819-1880) where Carpeaux lived while estranged from his wife, Marcello’s portrait of the sculptor posed him in a way similar to his drawn portrait of her from more than a decade earlier (compare figs. 3-29 and 3-31). Her portrait of Carpeaux is more classicized than that of Bosch, as the sculptor is shown shirtless with chest and shoulders bared. Posed with his head tilted back and slightly upwards, his eyes deeply carved and lidded, focusing into the distance, the bust shows Carpeaux with a thoughtful and pensive countenance. His irises are deeply incised, giving him a strong glance and a lively expression. The muscles in his neck are visible and curve into the throat, drawing the viewer’s eyes into the tendons between the clavicle. Carpeaux’s face, particularly the around cheeks, is shown drawn and shrunken, possibly as a result of his illness. Marcello’s plaster sketch is

⁴⁸ Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), not dated (c. May 1874), Archives FM. “Votre visite et notre conversation d’hier soir m’ont rappelé des temps bien heureux, aussi en ai-je conservé une excellente impression dont je vous remercie bien tendrement.” Marcello mentioned visiting Carpeaux and speaking about Rome in a letter to her mother dated 22 May 1874 (Archives FM).

⁴⁹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother Lucie d’Affry, dated 7 June 1874, Archives FM. “J’ai vu hier Carpeaux, consterné car le pauvre homme a entendu sa condamnation à mort un [illegible, étonné?] chirurgien le lui a dit, c’est un cancer paraît-il.” [I saw Carpeaux yesterday, dismayed because the poor man had heard his death sentence, a [...] surgeon told him that it appears to him it is cancer.]

covered in tool marks and handprints; she inscribed it by cutting into its base with a carving instrument, signing it “Carpeaux par Marcello.” The bust is striking in its capturing of the spirit of a nude, heroic man clinging to life, his hair piled atop his head and his beard and mustache loosely drooping. Marcello’s admiration for her friend and colleague exudes from the bust.

Marcello’s portrait of Carpeaux dying was not, however, unique for the period. Such images of Carpeaux dying or dead began to appear in 1875 and persisted for decades, culminating with the painting entitled *The Death of Carpeaux* (1892) by Albert Pierre Maignan (1845-1908), which earned him a Salon medal. Chérier’s own representation of Carpeaux was designed at the same time as Marcello’s bust of the artist. Additionally, Victor Bernard (1817- after 1892), with the help of Carpeaux himself, produced a terra-cotta portrait of the same subject, which Barbedienne later edited in bronze (fig. 3-32).⁵⁰ Bernard’s work, sculpted in Nice and completed in May of 1875, is posed and treated in a manner opposed to that of Marcello’s sculpture (compare figs. 3-31 and 3-32). While Marcello’s portrait of Carpeaux is conceived with the artist’s head valiantly directed upwards, Bernard’s *Carpeaux malade* is sculpted with the head posed downwards with a distinctly sad expression, emphasized by the downturned eyes. Carpeaux sorrowfully acknowledged the depressing mood of Bernard’s sculpture, saying of it “it is not a pose either academic or martial, it is very sad to look at; but what do you want? I am as it is.”⁵¹ Although some elements are shared between the two busts (such as

⁵⁰ For a history of Bernard’s bust of Carpeaux, see Michel Poletti and Alain Richarme, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, sculpteur, catalogue raisonné de l’oeuvre édité* (Paris: Expressions contemporaines/Les Éditions de l’amateur, 2003), 172-73.

⁵¹ Chesneau, 177-78. “Ce n’est pas une pose académique ni martiale, c’est bien triste à voir; mais que veux-tu? Je suis comme cela.”

the heavy beard and moustache, the free-flowing hair, and the suggestion of nudity), the two works are opposed in their treatment of the mood of the figure. Other images of Carpeaux were produced by the sculptors Emile Antoine Bourdelle (1861-1929) and René Fache (1816-1891).⁵²

By this time in Marcello's career, critics began to vocalize their dismay that she had not received any honors or medals over the years. After her successful display of three marble busts in the Salon of 1875 (the year she was working on the bust of Carpeaux), one of these critics, Théodore Véron, expressed his bewilderment and concern:

My astonishment intensifies all the more in light of the omission of the designation "hors concours" [outside the competition] for this woman artist, of an indisputable superiority. – What is the meaning of this omission? Because in short, if the copyist of watercolors, Madame Princess Mathilde, usurped a medal, assuredly Marcello, this true artist, deserved at least the cross, as does Miss Rosa Bonheur, indeed, in soul and conscience, Marcello gives to us, since the Empire, a collection of exceptional works; I will go so far as to state that this woman, an original sculptor, with a chisel full of poetry and elevated imagination, occupies truly one of the most elevated places, one of the first ranks among all of our contemporary sculptors. [...] I hope that the [Third] Republic will be more just and will reward this exceptional talent [with the designation hors concours]. What a condemnation of the juries!!⁵³

⁵² Bordelle's sculpture is now conserved at the Musée des beaux-arts, Lyon and Fache's work is located at the Musée de la Chartreuse in Douai.

⁵³ Théodore Véron, *De l'Art et des artistes de mon temps* (Paris and Poitiers: Librairie Henri Oudin, 1875), 145-6. "Mon étonnement redouble encore bien plus en voyant l'omission «hors concours» à cette dame artiste, d'une supériorité incontestable. – Que signifie donc cet oubli? Car enfin, si la copiste d'aquarelles, madame la princesse Mathilde, usurpait une médaille, assurément Marcello, cette véritable artiste, méritait au moins la croix, comme Mlle Rosa Bonheur, attendu que, en âme et conscience, Marcello nous donne, depuis l'Empire, une collection d'oeuvres hors ligne; j'affirme même que cette dame, sculpteur original, au ciseau plein de poésie et d'imagination élevée, occupe véritablement une des places les plus élevées, un des premiers rangs parmi tous nos sculpteurs contemporains. [...] J'espère bien que la république sera plus juste, et récompensera ce talent hors concours. Quelle condamnation des jurys!!"

Although she never exhibited her 1875 bust of Carpeaux, she did display three marble busts, well received in that year's Salon. Anatole de Montaiglon, writing for *Gazette des beaux-arts* was pleased with the submissions but was not overly generous:

The bust of Christ by Madam Marcello is of an effeminate sentimentalism which would be more appreciated in Italy than in France; but her strong and beautiful head of a Roman woman with a ribbon in her hair [*La Belle Romaine*], and above all her *Phoébe*, with a garland of flowers, of which the fine head is reminiscent of Coustou, are relatively more simple, and by the same token more sculptural, than the busts where she is inspired by overly elaborate coiffures and bizarre difficulties of certain drawings by Michelangelo.⁵⁴

The critic Adriani was more charitable in discussing these works, *Ecce Homo* (also known as *Le Christ* or *Redemptor Mundi*, fig. 3-33), *Phoebe* (fig. 3-34a and 3-34b), and *La Belle Romaine* (fig. 3-35a and 3-35b), in his review published one day before the opening of the Salon in *Moniteur des arts*:

The Duchess Colonna (Marcello) [...] send[s] to the Salon three magnificent busts, three very diverse types: A Christ full of energy, a true work by a master, whose features retain a nobility in suffering due perhaps to the Spanish character of the head; a Roman Woman [*La Belle Romaine*] whose expression of haughty cruelty recalls, under the modern costume, the daughter of the Caesars; finally a very Parisian type, full of grace and impish delicacy, a true jewel of art [*Phoebe*], whose shoulders have all the suppleness of the modeling of a sculpture by Clodion.⁵⁵

Marcello's bust of Carpeaux was not well known during the period. She did not often exhibit plasters or terra cottas at the Paris Salon exhibitions, even though it was

⁵⁴ Anatole de Montaiglon, "Le Salon de 1875," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1875): 124. "Le buste de Christ de Mme Marcello est d'un sentimentalisme efféminé qui plairait plus en Italie qu'en France; mais sa tête de forte et belle Romaine avec un ruban dans les cheveux, et surtout sa *Phoebé*, avec une guirlande de fleurs, dont la tête fine se souvient de Coustou, sont relativement plus simples, et par là même plus sculpturales, que les bustes où elle s'inspirait des coiffures contournées et bizarrement pénibles de certains dessins de Michel-Ange."

⁵⁵ Adriani, "Courrier," *Moniteur des arts* (30 April 1875): 1. "La duchesse Colonna (Marcello) [...] vient d'envoyer au Salon trois magnifiques bustes, trois types très divers: un *Christ* plein d'énergie, vrai morceau de maître, dont les traits conservent dans la souffrance une noblesse due peut-être au caractère espagnol de la tête; une *Femme romaine*, dont l'expression de cruauté altière rappelle, sous le costume moderne, la fille des Césars; enfin, un type tout parisien, plein de grâce et de délicatesse mutine, vrai bijou d'art, dont les épaules ont toute la souplesse de modelé d'un Clodion."

acceptable for sculptors to do so. She completed the plaster bust of Carpeaux during the summer of 1875, after the opening of the Salon, and she did not exhibit it after his death in the Salon of 1876, where Bernard's version was shown. There were no critical reviews published concerning Marcello's bust of Carpeaux simply because very few people had seen it.

Offered to the Musée du Louvre by Countess Lucie d'Affry in 1885, the portrait of Carpeaux was refused by the Réunion musées nationaux de France and has remained to this day in Fribourg. In 1966 the Fondation Marcello allowed a bronze cast to be made from the original plaster bust of Carpeaux in their collection; this bronze work is now on view at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg. Apart from its permanent display at the Musée d'art et d'histoire, the bronze was also included in the exhibition *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, sa famille et ses amis*, held in Courbevoie at the Musée Roybet-Fould in 1975-1976, where it was shown with Chérier's portrait.

Chapter Conclusion

Portraiture remained an important subject matter for Marcello throughout her career. Her goal in creating these works was almost never to sell them. Instead, she hoped to capture the essence of a person's character that could be sensed long after the subject was gone from the material world. In his introduction to his book on portraiture, David Lubin defines a portrait as just that. He notes that it is "an interpretation of a specific, delimited human identity," which is achieved through the "depiction and analysis of the behavior, appearance, and 'essence of character' that best make that

particular identity decipherable.”⁵⁶ By providing a glimpse of the traits of her subjects through their representation in stone or earth, her sculptural portraits transcend the slavish, scientific elements of pure likenesses and they provide a multi-dimensional image of those she portrayed.

In the next chapter, “The Female as Hero in Marcello’s Mature Work, 1863-1876,” her most advanced and significant works, some mentioned only briefly here, will be explored in detail, as well as the way in which she marketed her works and explored new techniques and subject matter. Her continued interest in depicting powerful, heroic female figures from history, literature, mythology, and operas will also be explored, as well as her contributions to what would later become the artistic movement of Symbolism.

⁵⁶ David M. Lubin, *Act of Portrayal: Eakins, Sargent, James* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 3.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FEMALE AS HERO IN MARCELLO'S MATURE WORK, 1863-1876

"To believe in the heroic makes heroes."

-Benjamin Disraëli¹

Introduction

Two important themes run through Marcello's sculptural oeuvre: the portrayal of women as heroic figures, and the portrayal of characters from music. This chapter will consider the former, while the following chapter will consider the latter. Both of these themes are important to the history of the Symbolist movement in Europe, and Marcello's role in the realization of this movement will be discussed in both chapters. Symbolism, a literary, musical and visual movement in Europe, was centered in Paris, and is usually dated to the period 1885 through 1895. Although much of Marcello's sculptural work was completed before 1876, that is, before the movement is believed to have begun, within this chapter her work will be discussed in the context of Symbolist ideas and themes. As will be seen, Marcello's choice of subject matter and her interest in legends and mythology, religion, sexuality, and, to some extent, androgyny, decadence, and mysticism, places her as a forerunner of the Symbolist movement, which did not "officially" begin until after her death.

Women artists are rarely discussed as having played a role in Symbolism, in part because much of Symbolist art portrayed women as evil beings, temptresses, and vessels of sin. Negative images of women were abundant, as has been discussed by Bram Dijkstra in his now

¹ Benjamin Disraëli, (1804-1881), *Coningsby*, Bk iii, Ch. 1, as quoted in Burton Stevenson, ed., *The Home Book of Quotations Classical and Modern*, Third Edition (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1937), 895.

canonical text *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (1986). On the rare occasions when women were shown as beings to be admired, it was often through the depiction of male fascination with them and fear of them. Although other Swiss artists, such as the painters Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901) and Ferdinand Hodler (1853-1918), are today considered to have been major figures in the movement, Marcello has not previously been placed within its sphere of influence even though in her lifetime she held equal (or greater) celebrity in Paris, where Symbolism was later to flourish. Except for the few serious studies of the work of Camille Claudel (1864-1943), women artists have been left out of the history of Symbolism.²

In connection with Symbolist themes, it is important to discuss the depiction of heroes in nineteenth-century art. A definition of a heroic genre or "heroic manner" in sculpture will be developed in this chapter, along with critical analysis of how such heroic sculptures were received during the period, particularly when the artist was female. This discussion will include works that Marcello herself deemed "*héroïque*" in her writing, in addition to those figures in her oeuvre that she obviously championed but did not formally label as heroes. Evidence for the existence of a heroic genre that included women (without debasing them) will also be explored.³

² Such studies include Claudine Mitchell, "Intellectuality and Sexuality: Camille Claudel, the *Fin-de-Siècle* Sculptress," *Art History* 12:4 (December 1989): 417-47; Reine-Marie Paris and Arnaud de la Chapelle, *L'Oeuvre de Camille Claudel: Catalogue Raisonné*, 2nd Edition (Paris: Biro, 1991); *Camille Claudel*, exh. cat., (Martigny: Fondation Pierre Gianadda, 1990); Jacques Cassar, *Dossier Camille Claudel* (Paris: Séguier, 1987); and *Camille Claudel (1864-1943)* exh. cat., (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1984). Patricia Mathews also discusses Claudel in light of the Symbolist movement in her text *Passionate Discontent: Creativity, Gender, and French Symbolist Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 64-85. Kristen Frederickson makes important points with regard to current Claudel scholarship in her article "Carving out a place: gendered critical descriptions of Camille Claudel and her sculpture," *Word & Image* 12:2 (April-June 1996): 161-174.

³ Many of Marcello's portraits of contemporary women also share poses and stylistic affinities with the other busts considered in this chapter. I have decided to refrain from discussing the portraits in depth here, however, because they were rarely exhibited or reviewed by the press, and Marcello did not specifically deem them as "heroic" works in her oeuvre. She did not exhibit any portraits at the Paris *Exposition universelle* of

The Female Hero

Undoubtedly a heroic genre or manner, that is, a body of subject matter based in the depiction of valiant and fearless figures, did exist and was quite popular during the nineteenth century. The profusion of public sculptures depicting both victorious and fallen military figures in Europe and America alone testifies to this fact. Many questions concerning gender arise, however, in this discussion. Can female figures ever be read as heroes – that is, was the concept of “woman as hero” in the nineteenth century acceptable or even believable? What classifies as a “heroic” figure in a work of art? (Whether the person in question is inherently “good” or “bad” is a subject for separate discussion; one should simply recall the words of the Duke François de la Rochefoucauld (1613-1680), who said “there are heroes in evil as well as in good.”/“*Il y a des héros en mal comme en bien.*”)⁴ Can we provide a definition of the term “hero” that would correspond to nineteenth-century ideas and biases as well as our contemporary views on the subject? Which of Marcello’s own sculptures did she specifically consider “heroic” and what characteristics of the hero are evident in her other works?

Not every important female figure in art or general history, religion, or mythology can be seen as unambiguously heroic. Personifications seem to qualify as images of heroic female figures, yet they have always been understood as the embodiment or incarnation of something other than themselves. “Marianne,” the embodiment of the French Republic whose image first appeared in France in the eighteenth century, signifies the motherland rather than a real woman with heroic characteristics. Similarly, an image of the Biblical Virgin Mary, an extremely

1867, where the other works discussed in this chapter had been exhibited as a group. I have included a discussion of the numerous portraits of the Empress Eugénie in the previous chapter.

⁴ François de la Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*, no. 185, as quoted in *Dictionnaire des citations françaises* (Paris: Larousse-Bordas, 1998), 331, and Stevenson, 896.

prevalent figure in the history of art, can be seen as having heroic qualities on the surface, but still does not qualify. Canonical artists such as Giotto di Bondone (c.1267/75-1337) and Cimabue (Cenni Bencivieni di Pepo, c.1240-c.1302) often depicted the Virgin as a heroic figure during the Byzantine and early Renaissance periods (she is often shown larger than other figures or she is in some other way glorified during these artistic periods). If we define a hero as a legendary, mythological, or religious figure who displays strength and courage in the face of great difficulty, then the Virgin seems to correspond.⁵ Traditionally she faced a challenge presented to her without fear, *i.e.*, agreeing to accept the role of mother to the son of God, even though she was aware that the child would be persecuted and ultimately sentenced to death. But the purpose of the myths surrounding the entire cult of the Virgin that were promoted by the Roman Catholic Church for centuries was to create an obedient, feminine religious figure for female worshippers to emulate.⁶

In representations from the first millennium after the death of Christ, the Virgin takes on heroic characteristics for theological reasons. In the early days of Christianity, she had to be recognized as a glorified, heroic and iconic figure to bring worshippers to follow her example and to help them recognize her in images. After 1300, this heroicizing of the Virgin was no longer necessary, and, under the influence of Franciscan spirituality, she was humanized, and cast as a mother like any other who looks lovingly at her son. That established, although there are many examples in the history of art that depict the Virgin as strong, powerful, and larger than life, the church (that is, the main patron of these works of art)

⁵ It should be noted immediately that I will use the term "hero" to refer to both male and female figures, as the term "heroine" is, in English, somewhat dated and has been problematic for feminist scholars in recent years.

⁶ See Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 1 *passim*.

promoted her alternate characteristics of quiet acceptance, piousness, resignation and virtue. Through this promotion the Virgin has more often been portrayed, save for the heroic nature of Byzantine and early Renaissance iconic representations, as a quiet, humble, somewhat sad figure with no real control over her own destiny. She was often a figure to be *pitied*, rather than worshipped as a hero or goddess, as abundant *pietà* images suggest.⁷

Artists throughout the centuries endowed the Virgin with the expressions and demeanor expected of every good and pious female. Even Marcello, who made a conscious effort to strengthen and heroicize the appearance of all of her female subjects, created a depiction of the Virgin (*La Petite Madone*, 1864, fig. 4-1) that exhibits the usual traits of modesty and subservience. As successful as the sculpture may be, however, the lowered chin and eyes of the figure are read immediately by the discerning viewer as a code for such characteristics as humility, submission, and restraint that are not typical of definitions of heroism.

The question of the female hero has been treated in other disciplines. Angela Hobbs, in her text *Plato and the Hero: Courage, Manliness and the Impersonal Good*, has written that in the ancient world terms such as *andreia*, or “courage” in Greek, connoted masculinity from the very beginning.⁸ In her discussion of male and female virtue, Hobbs makes the point that virtuous behavior, which is inherently connected to courage and heroic actions, was different for each sex. A virtuous man, according to Homer and other ancient writers, will help his friends and defeat his enemies; a virtuous woman is obedient to her husband and keeps a clean

⁷ For a discussion of the term *pietà* and the various definitions associated with the term, see Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 104.

⁸ Angela Hobbs, *Plato and the Hero: Courage, Manliness and the Impersonal Good* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 69 *passim*.

house.⁹ Childbirth, the Virgin's claim to heroism as described in the case above, was never seen as a heroic deed, no matter how life threatening or important to the continuation of humanity. As Hobbs explains:

The criterion [for heroism] cannot simply have been the risk of pain or death, or women would have also been regarded as having a strong claim to the virtue, given that the risks of childbirth were extremely high: witness Medea's heartfelt plea that she would prefer to stand three times in the front line of battle rather than give birth once. ... Th[e] superior nobility [of a male warrior] presumably results from the fact that the male warrior is perceived as saving an entire community, rather than simply adding to its numbers; there may also be a feeling that courage in battle is to some extent a matter of choice, whereas a woman in labour has no option but to go through with it.¹⁰

The author goes on to discuss the idea that "maleness" is embedded in the ancient Greek language. This is true of the English language as well, and as proof of this we have two words for "hero" that are gender specific (*i.e.*, *hero* and *heroine*). This is curious coming from a language that has relatively few gendered words and terms.

It is interesting to note that Joseph Campbell's influential study *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, published in 1949, does not consider the idea of the female as hero at all. According to his study, in religion and mythology women fall into four categories: unattainable goddess; evil temptress; "cosmic woman;" and hero's prize. Campbell does not discuss the possibility of a female hero, and it seems certain that none of these thousand faces is ever female. This is certainly connected to the long-standing idea stemming back to the Old Testament figure of Eve in Genesis that woman is the source of original sin, disobedience, and damnation, an idea certainly exploited by Symbolist artists at the end of the nineteenth century. It is worth remembering that stories of heroic females written in Biblical times were later often relegated to the Apocrypha to keep them out of the Biblical canon; the best known of them

⁹ Hobbs, 68-69.

¹⁰ Hobbs, 69-70.

remains the Jewish princess and defeater of Holofernes, Judith. One could easily apply Campbell's categories for women to traditional Symbolist art of the late nineteenth century.

The *femme fatale* character, heavily promoted at the end of the nineteenth century by Symbolist artists in particular, endorsed the idea of the female as a vessel of sin. Such images were solidified in art at the *fin-de-siècle* by numerous artists in Europe, and culminated in the works of such visual artists as the Belgian Félicien Rops (1833-1898), the French artists Gustave Moreau (1826-1898) and Odilon Redon (1840-1916), and in literature by Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848-1907) and Émile Zola (1840-1902). *Nana*, from Zola's epic *Les Rougon-Macquart* series, became the model for many images of prostitutes, the real and pentultimate female of temptation and disease at the *fin-de-siècle*. The idea that a woman could embody the heroic and traditionally "masculine" qualities of strength, wisdom, control, and courage, without being sinful or diseased, was not often discussed or promoted, particularly by male artists. Women were either hyper-pious or had completely low morals, and there were no women in between. When one studies the sculptures that Marcello produced between the years of 1863 and 1876, however, a definite attempt to shift the way women were traditionally depicted and perceived becomes evident. Her female figures are neither angels nor whores, and because of this they have depth of character and "appear" more like men. Her works are the female alternative to the work of later male Symbolists artists, who according to Patricia Mathews, "took on the creative personae of feminized masculinity, only to obfuscate it with masculinist rhetoric and imagery."¹¹

¹¹ Mathews, 1.

***“Mes bustes héroïques” -- The Female as Hero in Representations of Historical Women:
Bianca Capello and Two Busts of Marie-Antoinette***

In heroic sculpture, in addition to the subject's need for a noble and strong character, the expression of that figure should be depicted in a grand manner, in which temperament is altogether evident. Marcello did in fact consider some of her sculptures as heroic and she thought that a subject's expression was the most important characteristic of heroic busts. This is done through the positioning of the body in a firm pose with an upright head and firm glance. Writing from Madrid, Marcello sent her mother a letter on 1 November 1868 describing her admiration for Spain, which she was leaving to return to Rome; although the letter contains much information regarding the politics and military upheaval of Spain at that time, the letter also contains a line in which the artist characterizes some of her recent works as “heroic”:

I write to you again from Madrid. It seems extraordinary that I cannot leave it, and yet it is very natural when one considers that if in Rome there is Michelangelo, there is here a whole school of marvels, and that these marvels resurface exactly in the sense of what I make, or would want to make, that is to say, the most expressive feeling of realism, dominates Spanish Art, it has always haunted me deep inside, because you know that my heroic busts, the Gorgone, the Bianca, the Marie-Antoinettes, have some merit only by their expression.¹²

Of the sculptures she singled out as heroic, two represented historical figures. The first, *Bianca Capello*, was shown in the Salon of 1863 (fig. 4-2a) along with two other sculptures, the *Portrait of Count Gaston de Nicolay* (fig. 4-5) and the *Portrait of the Duchess San Cesario* (fig. 4-4). The second, Marcello's busts of Marie-Antoinette, will be discussed below. In 1863,

¹² Letter from Madrid from Adèle Colonna to her mother Lucie, Marquise de Maillardoz, 1 November 1868. Archives Foundation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland (hereafter Archives FM). “Je vous écris encore de Madrid. Il semble extraordinaire que je ne le puisse quitter, et pourtant c'est bien naturel quand on pense que si à Rome il y a Michel-Ange, il y a ici toute une école de merveilles, et que ces merveilles renitent justement dans le sens de ce que je fais, ou voudrais faire, c'est à dire que le sentiment de la réalité la plus expressive domine [dans] l'art espagnol, et m'a toujours hantée, en mon petit particulier, car vous savez que mes bustes héroïques, la gorgone [*sic*, lacks capitization], la bianca [*sic*], les Marie-Antoinette n'ont quelque mérite que par leur expression.” All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

it was the *Bianca Capello* that gained considerable attention with critics and collectors, and, given the sculpture's historical and literary subject, was the most popular of her submissions for that year. The bust combines the soft features of a female's face, neck and chest with an elaborate hairstyle, headdress, diadem, and an ornate costume with a central brooch. Additionally, the Renaissance figure is shown with a stern, straight glance.

Bianca Capello was the only one of these entries that was accompanied by a historical description. Marcello submitted the following brief explanation of the bust for publication in the *Salon livret*:

Born into a noble Venetian family, Bianca Capello ran away at the age of eighteen, in the company of a young Florentine, taking with her the family jewels. As a refugee in Florence, she became the mistress of Francesco de' Medici, feigned pregnancy, got rid of her accomplices in her fraud, and was married to her lover. Having become the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capello tried to poison her brother-in-law, the Cardinal de' Medici, but when her husband ate the dish she had prepared, she resigned herself to dying with him.¹³

Although her two portraits were quite well received, her true success of the year was the historical portrait of Bianca Capello (1548-87), the mistress and later wife of Francesco I de' Medici. Capello was known for her deceitfulness, sordid affairs, and powerful dominance over men, for which she gained notoriety, culminating during the nineteenth century in a resurgence of artistic and literary interest in her infamous exploits and mysterious demise. Nymphet, *puttana* (whore), mistress, murderess, and *la pessima Bianca* (the detestable Bianca) were among the many derisive labels bestowed upon this romantic, historical figure; she was a

¹³ H.W. Janson, ed., *Paris Salon de 1863*, no. 247 (New York: Garland, 1977), 325. See also A. Blühm, *The Colour of Sculpture: 1840-1910* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1996), 192, for a similar translation. "Issue d'une grande famille vénitienne, Bianca Capello s'enfuit à l'âge de dix-huit ans, accompagnée d'un jeune Florentin, en emportant les bijoux de sa famille. Réfugiée à Florence, elle devint la maîtresse de François de Médicis, supposa un enfant, se débarrassa des complices de sa supercherie, et se fit épouser par son amant. Devenue grande duchesse de Toscane, Bianca Capello aurait voulu empoisonner son beau-frère, le cardinal de Médicis; mais son mari ayant pris par mégarde du mets préparé, elle se résigna à mourir avec lui."

perfect choice for a “symbolist” female character. The bust was a great success, establishing Marcello’s reputation and truly marking the beginning of her career as a professional sculptor.

Certainly Marcello must have admired her subject a great deal, finding Capello’s strength an inspiration to persevere in both her personal and professional life. Capello’s history, complete with accounts of her fearlessness and evil deeds, appealed to the artist. Marcello seems to have marketed the image of a famous historical *femme fatale* with this bust a decade or more before such representations would come into vogue at the end of the nineteenth century during the Symbolist era.

Once very much a part of European cultural consciousness, today few people outside of Renaissance scholarship know of Bianca Capello’s fame. Serious interpretations of the figure include a number of historical biographies, such as August Gottlieb Meissner’s *Histoire de la vie et de la mort de Bianca Capello*, (Paris: Maradan, 1790); Johann Phillipp Seibenkess’ *Life of Bianca Capello*, translated from the original German into Italian and English (Liverpool: J.M. Creery, 1797); and S. Ticozzi’s *Memorie di Bianca Cappello, gran-duchessa di Toscana* (Florence: V. Batelli, 1827). During Marcello’s lifetime a number of important Italian publications on Bianca Capello’s life surfaced, including Guglielmo Enrico Saltini’s *Della morte di Francesco de’ Medici e Bianca Capello*, published in *Archivio storico italiano* in 1863, the year Marcello completed her bust of the figure.¹⁴ Marcello owned copies of both Giulio Bernardino Tomitano’s 1816 text *Bianca Cappello e Pietro Buonoventuri* and Meissner’s *Bianca Capello, Roman dramatique* (translated from the original German by Rauquil-Lieutaud in 1790) both still conserved in her library at the Fondation Marcello in

¹⁴ Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, “Della Morte di Francesco I de’ Medici e Bianca Capello” *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Florence: Presso G.P. Vieusseux Editore, 1863): 19-81. Marcello spent many years of her life in Italy, had married an Italian duke, and owned Italian books in her library. She read the language and thus Italian sources on Bianca Capello’s life would have been accessible to her.

Fribourg. She may have also read Jean-Charles-Léonard de Sismondi's (1773-1842) *History of the Italian Republics from the Middle Ages* (1818). Early editions of Pierre Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* also included entries for Capello.

In addition to the history recounted in Marcello's *livret* text, one could add a number of interesting events from Capello's life.¹⁵ She was the beautiful daughter of Bartolommeo Capello, a Venetian nobleman and senator.¹⁶ Her mother had died, presumably when she was very young, so that she lived for many years without any female supervision. Her father then remarried, which caused some strife and may have instigated her flight from the Capello household, as her stepmother was said to have been quite jealous of the attention Bartolommeo lavished on his daughter. She may have been as young as sixteen,¹⁷ not eighteen as the *livret* suggests, when she ran away from home, pregnant.¹⁸ The "young Florentine" she ran away

¹⁵ Saltini's biographical article is the most widely cited scholarly source on Capello of the period. For recent studies on Capello, see R. Cantagalli, "Bianca Cappello e una leggenda da sfatare" *Nuova Rivista Storica* (1965): *passim*, and J.R. Hale, gen. ed., *The Thames and Hudson Encyclopaedia of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981 reprinted 1989), 68; For a selection of Bianca Capello's letters to the Cardinal Frederico de' Medici, see C. Charles Casati, *Lettres royales et lettres missives inédites* (Paris: Didier, 1877), 75-77. Spelling for the family name "Capello" differ from text to text; I have retained the original spellings for each individual text.

¹⁶ All accounts do attest to her beauty, which she certainly used as a tool. Even Honoré de Balzac commented on the beauty of Bianca Capello in his novel *Cousin Bette*: "Bianca Capello, whose portrait is one of Bronzino's masterpieces...[she was one of those women] who remained lovely in spite of the years, their passions, and their lives of excess." See Honoré de Balzac, *Cousin Bette* (New York: Penguin, 1965 [1846]), 32. Marcello had read *Cousin Bette* and remarked (in an unnumbered notebook, marked *Pensées recueillies*) that she found it "admirable" (Archives FM). Beauty and evil go hand in hand, as can be gathered from the work of the Symbolists and Art Nouveau artists of the late nineteenth-century. This can be seen even earlier in literature, for example in Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal*, an early literary precedent for the Symbolist movement published in 1857.

¹⁷ I have yet to find two sources that agree on the age Capello was when she fled with Bonaventuri. J.R. Hale claims she was fifteen when she left Venice, but it is more likely that this was her age when she *met* Bonaventuri. See Hale, 68.

¹⁸ Bonaventuri and Capello's child was a girl, whom they named Pellegrina. The girl later married Count Ulisse Bentivoglio, and she and he were supposedly present after the death of Bianca and Francisco de' Medici. A portrait of Pellegrina is in the collection of the Uffizi, and is reproduced in Mary G. Steegmann, *Bianca Cappello* (Baltimore and London: Norman, Remington and Co., 1913), 156. According to Henry Schütz-Wilson "[Pellegrina] was, in 1598, assassinated in Bologna, by order of her husband, for infidelity to him." See his *History and Criticism: Being Studies on Conciergerie, Bianca Cappello, Wallenstein, Caldereon, Carlyle, Goethe, Faust, Taine* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1896), 92. Reprinted in Philadelphia, R. West, 1976.

with was Pietro Bonaventuri, a poor merchant and rogue who lied to Capello, claiming that he was a descendant of the noble Salviati family when in actuality he was a simple clerk at the Salviati Bank in Venice, located near the Capello home. After threats by her father of having her locked up in a nunnery, Capello and Bonaventuri eloped when her family arrived in Florence. She quickly learned of his true social position, and, having been lied to for the first and last time, she took matters into her own hands. Fearing the extradition demanded by Venice for her return (for she was now an outlaw), she sought and received asylum under the protection of prince Francesco I de' Medici, son of Cosimo I. Soon after she agreed to meet Francesco at his palace in response to a message he sent to her, he installed her at a *pensione* on the Via Maggiore, and their love affair began in 1564. A year later he married Joanna (Giovanna), Archduchess of Austria (daughter of Ferdinand I, King of Naples), who died in 1578 from a "mysterious" illness.¹⁹

A number of enigmatic events soon followed: the unexplained murder of Capello's husband, Bonaventuri, in 1569;²⁰ Francesco's rising to the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany after the death of his father (which was followed by the decline of the Medicis' reign); Francesco's marriage to Capello, within two months of the death of his wife Joanna, affording Capello the title Grand Duchess of Tuscany in 1579; and Capello's own hoax against Francesco, in which

¹⁹ Obviously, it has been suggested that Joanna was murdered by Francesco and Bianca. Francesco's brother, Piero de' Medici, had murdered his wife and Isabella de' Medici had been strangled by her husband, so such murders were not uncommon in Medici history.

²⁰ Bonaventuri lived an equally fascinating life; to keep him in the dark about his affair with Capello, Francesco raised Bonaventuri to a prominent government appointment. Bonaventuri started his own affair with Cassandra Bongianni, whose string of lovers all had been killed by her family. Bonaventuri had so many enemies, one cannot place the blame on anyone with certainty. After Bonaventuri threatened Bianca, Francesco alluded to having him killed.

she claimed to be pregnant and to have “delivered” a son, producing a male heir.²¹ Reclaimed by the homeland that had rejected her after her elopement, she was honored with the title Daughter of the Republic of Venice.

According to modern accounts, the Grand Duke and Duchess died abruptly after a banquet on 10 October 1587 of malaria or some viral fever. The 1867 edition of Larousse’s *Grand dictionnaire universel* left Bianca and Francesco’s death a mystery, only suggesting that they may have been murdered.²² Much later, Mary G. Steegmann discussed the age-old confusion surrounding their deaths, noting that “truth and tradition tell different tales ... the popular belief refuses to accept the simple explanation of natural causes established by medical facts.”²³ Their sudden death and the fact that their subjects hated them immediately gave rise to the rumors that they were poisoned. The most commonly accepted story, as noted by Marcello’s account in the *Salon livret*, was that Capello was trying to “poison her brother-in-law, the Cardinal de’ Medici, but when her husband inadvertently ate from the dish she had prepared, she took part in it and died.”²⁴ According to Ethel Mayne’s early twentieth-century study, the most widely accepted explanation had always been that Bianca failed at adding *empoisonneuse* to her resumé:

Bianca put poison into a sort of tart, of which she had observed the Cardinal particularly fond. Ferdinand either suspected or had secretly discovered her design. He

²¹ Ethel Colburn Mayne claims that she got the child from a poor woman who lived in the slums, taking him back to the palace within an hour of his birth on 29 August 1576. See Ethel Colburn Mayne, *Enchanters of Men* (London: Methuen, 1909), 28. Bianca later confessed the scheme to Francesco, but he legitimized the child nonetheless. The child became Antonio de’ Medici.

²² Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1867), 305-6. “Après ce funeste événement, on sait que Ferdinand jeta son froc aux orties et remplaça sa barrette de cardinal par la couronne de grand-duc. Fut-il l’assassin de son neveu et de celle qu’il appelait la détestable Blanche?”

²³ Steegmann, 277.

²⁴ Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire, Art in France under Napoleon III, 1852-1870* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978), 233-4.

declined tasting the tart. The more she pressed, the more he excused himself. Francesco, hearing the tart so much commended, ate of it plentifully. Bianca, seeing her plot take a wrong turn ... ate up the remainder.²⁵

There is a certain level of misogyny evident in this accepted story; Capello was seen not only as being capable of murder but as being, additionally, incompetent. Yet Capello was much too smart and powerful to blunder a plan to kill her brother-in-law. Instead another story has also been suggested:

[Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici] had noticed that [his brother] Francesco was addicted to the dish, and he bribed the cook to poison it...it is almost confirmed by Ferdinand's conduct when the pair had eaten and succumbed [...] Bianca had been a thorn in Ferdinand's side for years...[His] behaviour to the dead woman was atrocious...all pictures and medals of her were suppressed in Florence; and Ferdinand gave her publicly the epithet of *The Detestable Bianca* (*La Pessima Bianca*).²⁶

Capello was thirty-nine years old, by most accounts, at the time of her death. She was buried in the common vault at the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, as Ferdinand refused to allow her to be buried with the Medici family. For many of Capello's biographers, the Duchess lacked personal and moral dignity; yet it was these very characteristics of defiance that made her interesting to quite a number of artists and writers after her death.

Marcello was not the first artist to take Bianca Capello as a subject. Capello's fantastic and romanticized existence became the subject of numerous works of art beginning in her own lifetime. The painter Alessandro Allori (1535-1607) depicted Capello in a portrait (fig. 4-6) that now hangs in the Tribune Room at the Uffizi.²⁷ Allori's uncle, the famed Agnolo

²⁵ Mayne, 34.

²⁶ Mayne, 35-36.

²⁷ The best source on Allori is currently Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori* (Torino: U. Allemandi, 1991). Allori was a Florentine late mannerist painter who was also the nephew, pupil and principal follower of Bronzino; Guido Reni (1575-1642) may have studied with Allori. It is very possible that Allori's painting of Capello was painted from life. Allori was the court painter to Francesco de' Medici, and as such contributed two panels to Francesco's Studiolo in the early 1570s. As Marcello had certainly known of Michelangelo's drawing of Venus from the Uffizi, she must have been familiar with Allori's painting of Capello as well.

Bronzino (Angelo di Cosimo, called Bronzino, 1503-1572), was also among the many court painters who produced images of her and the Medici family. Also during Capello's own lifetime, cast bronze portrait medals were struck bearing her image, as was done with all members of the Medici family, although after her death the production of medals bearing her image was forbidden by Cardinal Ferdinand.²⁸ Other works bearing Capello's likeness or simply using her as the subject exist from the time of her life through the eighteenth century, but her story was most influential during the nineteenth century, and inspired works which included histories, operas, dramatic plays, and decorative metalworks. She was the subject of numerous plays, including Laughton Osborn's London theater adaptation of her life in 1868. She was also discussed, often with illustrations, in numerous ladies' journals in France, England, and America, such as E.G. Dannel's 1843 engraving after J.R. Herbert's painting *The Elopement of Bianca Capello* for *Godey's Lady's Book*, published in Philadelphia (fig. 4-7). Much attention was given to the Italian Renaissance during this period, for historians constructed the very history of the "Renaissance" in the nineteenth century.²⁹

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* certainly inspired later works by other artists, including the *Châtelaine Bianca Capello* (fig. 4-8) by the artist and jeweler Alphonse Fouquet (1828-1911). This chatelaine was exhibited in the Universal Exposition in 1878. In an exhibition catalogue published in 1989, a catalogue entry for *Châtelaine Bianca Capello* confirmed that "for the portrait within, the jeweler himself considered, and was inspired by, the marble bust of 1863,

²⁸ A bronze portrait medal bearing Capello's image, by Antonio Selvi, surfaced on the art market in 1997 at Bonhams Auction House in London. Other medals bearing Capello's image have survived, and many bear the date of 1578, the year of her marriage to Francesco. My thanks to Arne Flaten, a specialist in Renaissance medals, for bringing some of these extant Capello medals to my attention.

²⁹ A session devoted to the study of this issue, entitled "19th Century Perspectives on the Italian Renaissance," was held at the College Art Association Annual Conference in Los Angeles in 1999.

which had been made by the sculptor Adèle Marcello [*sic*] really the duchess Castiglione-Colonna, née d’Affry.”³⁰

Why did Marcello decide to create a bust of Bianca Capello, and what were her personal influences? As noted above, the artist owned books about the subject that certainly contributed to the defining of her sculptural work.³¹ Additionally, the opera *Pietro de Médicis*, with music by Prince Poniatowski, ran in Paris from 1860 through 1862; Marcello easily might have seen this opera, as she spent significant time in Paris in the early 1860s. Similarly she may have been familiar with Alberto Randegger’s opera *Bianca Capello* that had a run in Trieste beginning in 1854.

Marcello was also familiar with a drawing by Michelangelo in the Uffizi (compare figs. 4-9 and 4-10) that influenced her ideas for the headpiece, bodice, and sleeves for the bust.³² She had studied the drawing in Florence and made a faithful pen-and-watercolor copy of it now in a private collection in Paris. A number of scholars have compared the drawing by Michelangelo, often called *Venus*, but also referred to as *Zenobia*, or *Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus*, to Marcello’s *Bianca Capello*, and it is obvious that Marcello faithfully

³⁰ Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, *Pariser Schmuck vom Zweiten Kaiserreich zur Belle Époque* (Munich: Hirmer, 1989), 124-6. “...Für das Porträt in Maleremail ließ sich Béranger wohl von der Marmorbüste der Bianca Capello inspirieren, die 1863 von der Bildhauerin Adèle Marcello, eigentlich Herzogin Castiglione-Colonna, geb. d’Affry, ausgeführt worden war.” César Ceribelli (1841-after 1907), an Italian sculptor who exhibited frequently in Paris, also created a marble bust of Capello that was exhibited in the last official Paris Salon, in 1881. As I cannot locate an image of Ceribelli’s work at this writing, it is difficult to ascertain how indebted he was to Marcello’s version.

³¹ Giulio Bernardino Tomitano, *Bianca Cappello e Pietro Buonaventuri* (1816) and August Gottlieb Meissner, *Bianca Capello, Roman dramatique imité de l’allemand [de Meissner], par M. Rauquil-Lieutaud*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Didot l’aîné, 1790). Marcello’s copies of these books are preserved at the Archives FM.

³² Luitpold Dussler, *Die Zeichnungen Des Michelangelo* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag Gambh., 1959), 186. See also Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, 233-4, cat. no. V-23, and Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, *Pariser Schmuck Vom Zweiten Kaiserreich zur Belle Époque*, 126. Marcello was quite familiar with the Uffizi collection and the museum is said to own Marcello’s painted *Self-Portrait* as well. Michelangelo’s *Venus* was often copied, and was also faithfully copied by Francesco Ubertini (known as Bacchiacca, 1494-1557) for his *Sibylle* circa 1521 (fig. 4-11).

copied elements of it for the bust of Capello. It has not, however, been noted that if in fact Michelangelo's drawing was originally a portrait of Vittoria Colonna, Marcello's deceased husband's ancestor and her own "relation" through marriage, the image would have had even more personal interest to her.

Marcello never tired of researching every aspect of her subjects' lives; she discussed the life of Capello with the author and diplomat Count de Circourt,³³ and it seems likely that she consulted Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics from the Middle Ages* (1818) which was available in a French translation by the 1820s.³⁴ Sismondi's book may have been brought to Marcello's attention by the French historian and journalist François-Auguste-Marie Mignet (1796-1884), whom she knew through Adolphe Thiers. Mignet wrote a historical notice on Sismondi in 1847 for a publication of the latter's selected essays.

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* became the subject of a mathematical text published in 1863, the same year in which it was exhibited at the Salon. Marcello became deeply involved with mathematical computations during this time, and she studied mathematical equations for aesthetic laws. Her mathematical notebooks are conserved in Fribourg, along with her notes on mathematical aesthetics which she worked on with the mathematician Édouard Lagout (fig. 4-13). A member of the École Polytechnique, Lagout used the sculpture *Bianca Capello* to demonstrate his mathematical theories pertaining to aesthetics in his 1863 edition of *Esthétique nombrée*, an essay on the influence of mathematics on arts and design, harmony, music and philosophy. His theories and analysis were additionally published in the June 1863 edition of

³³ According to Jean-Pierre Samoyault in *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, 233, "The explanatory note on the life of Bianca Capello that appeared in the Salon catalogue may have been written by [the comte de Circourt]." I have found no reason to believe this, as Marcello was quite educated and could have certainly composed the paragraph herself.

³⁴ See Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, 16 Vols. (Paris: Treuttel and Würtz, 1826 [1818]).

Le Monde Illustré.³⁵ Each of these publications contained images of *Bianca Capello*, in the former an engraving and in the latter a photograph.

Lagout's theory used Marcello's work as an example of the most apparent expression of "the equation of the beautiful" in his theory of mathematical aesthetics. The mathematical proportions of the bust impressed him, and he compared the measurements and ratios to the measurements of musical notes. (The importance of music, mathematics, and Marcello's art will be discussed in Chapter Five.) He attributed Marcello's skill to intuition rather than to actual computations (unfairly, as she had studied mathematics, but typical, because women were not supposed to be able to understand mathematics), but regardless of this, his singling her out to illustrate his theory and his publication during the months of the Salon could have only enhanced Marcello's credibility. Lagout's texts mentioned similar scientific affinities in Michelangelo's sculpture, making the connection between the two artists more concrete. He also, somewhat unfortunately, revealed Marcello's true identity in *Le Monde illustré*, explaining that "M. Marcello" was actually "Mme la duchesse Colonna de Castiglione." After all her struggling with the idea of using a pseudonym and her worries that without it she would be disdained, Lagout gave away her identity in a matter of weeks. Although Lagout was the first, he would not be the only author in Paris to do this, as will be shown.

The model for *Bianca Capello* did not actually sit for the work, but instead was a woman of great beauty whom Marcello saw at a wedding and sculpted from memory. In her unfinished memoir, Marcello wrote:

³⁵ Édouard Lagout, *Esthétique nombrée* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1863); the sections on *Bianca Capello* were reprinted in *Le Monde Illustré* (6 June 1863). In her text *Marcello: Sculpteur* (p. 84), Henriette Bessis mistakenly refers to Édouard Lagout as "Eugène Lagout" and mistakenly dates the *Le Monde Illustré* article to "5 juin 1865." The original notes that Lagout and Marcello worked on together, conserved at the Archives FM, have not been previously published or discussed. *Bianca Capello* was not included in Lagout's 1862 edition of *Esthétique Nombrée* (Paris: Renou et Maulde, 1862), obviously because the sculpture had not yet been completed.

Having been invited to the marriage of an Italian couple, I...observed a lady with a proud bearing, a hawk-like nose, and a look both domineering and alluring which she occasionally chose to direct toward some unknown victim of hers. I left, deeply preoccupied, having memorized the features of a woman about whom I knew nothing. I said to myself that here was a type of rare quality, and the means of reproducing that tragic head without altering its beauty came to me. What would have happened in the sixteenth century to that perverse, haughty, passionate woman? In the end the model became a mere pretext. But in order to create a type, one must look further. I had already done a great deal of work on the bust, and I was looking for a name that, for the public, would symbolize the perfidious charms of my heroine when the name of Bianca Capello struck me.³⁶

Although the identity of the Italian lady who so inspired Marcello is unfortunately not known with certainty, it has been recently suggested by Pierre Apraxine that the “haughty, passionate woman” was the Countess de Castiglione, Virginia Oldoini (1837-1899). Oldoini was not related to Carlo Colonna, Duke of Castiglione-Altibrandti, Marcello’s deceased husband. The beautiful mistress of Napoleon III, Oldoini was a spy for the court of Savoy, and the best-known and most glamorous *demi-mondaine* of the age.³⁷ On 14 June 1863, a critic in *Le Figaro* stated that “everyone in Paris knows that the bust of Bianca Capello by Marcello is

³⁶ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, 13-14 [original manuscript], 53 [typewritten copy]. “Donc, étant prée un jour à un mariage entre italiens, je fus placée de manière à apercevoir presque tout le temps une dame dont l’air fier, le bec d’oiseau chasseur et le regard à la fois dominateur et plein de promesses se tournait parfois vers je ne sais quelle sienne victime. Je sortis fort préoccupée, je ne connaissais rien de cette femme, et ne désirais point la prier de poser, le modèle eût gêné mon idée, j’avais pour ainsi dire appris ses traits par coeur. Voici un type italien d’une finesse rare, pensais je, et le moyen de rendre cette tête tragique m’apparaissait sans qu’il en fallût altérer la beauté. Au XVIème siècle que fût devenue cette femme, perverse hautaine, passionnée. Au fond, le modèle est le pretext, mais pour créer, passer un type, il faut voir plus loin. Déjà le buste était avancé, et je cherchais un nom pour le public qui symbolisât les attrait perfides de l’héroïne, lorsque le nom de Bianca Cappello me vint à l’esprit.” The translation used is by Jean-Pierre Samoyault, in *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, 233. In Samoyault’s citation of the original French text, Marcello’s exact sentence structure was modified. I have given the verbatim text from her memoirs in this footnote.

³⁷ Pierre Apraxine and Xavier Demange “*La Divine Comtesse*”: *Photographs of the Countess de Castiglione* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 51. According to Apraxine, “It appears also that the sculptor Marcello had in her possession an album of photographs of the countess lent by Costantino Nigra. These photographs may have inspired the bust of Bianca Capello exhibited by the sculptor in 1863.” The Fondation Marcello, however, could not confirm that Marcello had owned such a book of photographs of the Countess, and Apraxine does not cite the source of his knowledge for this. As Marcello knew the Countess personally, it is unlikely that she would have failed to mention her in connection to the work in her personal memoirs, where she briefly writes of Oldoini. See Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, 21-2 [original manuscript], 59-60 [typewritten copy].

Mme de Castiglione.”³⁸ The Countess de Castiglione had served as a model for other artists’ works. Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887), for example, completed a sculpture entitled *La Comtesse de Castiglione en reine d’Etrurie* in 1864. Carrier-Belleuse’s figure dons a costume based on one Oldoini actually wore, creating a scandal at a ball at the Tuileries on 10 February 1863. Among Marcello’s graphic works, one finds an astute drawing of the Countess by Marcello, although dated in Marcello’s hand to 1864, one year after her *Bianca Capello* was exhibited to public acclaim (fig. 4-12). The subject of the work, as evidenced by the quotation above, was of secondary importance to the sculptor. Marcello stated that she chose the model from memory and the subject of Bianca Capello later. This suggests that she began the sculpture freely, without being committed to a specific subject in the earliest stages of the project.

Bianca Capello won considerable acclaim in the reviews of the Salon of 1863. Often quoted is Theophile Gautier’s critique of the sculpture, published in *Le Moniteur universel* on 1 September 1863. Gautier, one of the most important critics at mid-century, recognized the duality of Marcello’s representations of women, both evil and heroic. In his quite lengthy review, Gautier also complemented Marcello on her other two submissions, and gave her work considerable attention:

One would take the bust of *Bianca Capello* by M. Marcello for the work of the Renaissance masters. It possesses the proud slenderness, the haughty elegance of the sculptures of this period. The head, with a bizarre hairstyle, has a cruel grace, an

³⁸ Monsieur de Cupidon, “Tout Paris, Jambe-de-fer,” *Le Figaro* (14 June 1863): 5-6. “Jeudi, à l’hôtel des Ventes, on a exposé un tableau représentant *Bianca Capello*[,] dont *Marcello*, nous donne le buste cette année. *Marcello* n’est autre, on le sait, que Mme de Castiglione.” It is worth noting that Marcello and Oldoini were at the time (and often today) confused with each other, as they had similar titles and frequented the same exclusive social circles. Ghislain de Diesbach has acknowledged that “à l’apogée du Second Empire, trois Castiglione brillent à la Cour des Tuileries, mais d’un éclat bien inégal. La première est la fameuse comtesse de Castiglione, sur qui sont dirigés les feux de la scène; la deuxième est la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna, tout animée de sa flame intérieure; la troisième, la duchesse de Castiglione, veuve du maréchal Augereau, réduite à l’état de lumignon car elle n’est plus qu’un glorieux debris du passé.” See his essay, “La Duchesse Colonna, un témoignage inédit sur la cour de Napoléon III,” in *Le Souvenir napoléonien* (October 1988): 33-40. See also J. Jordan, “A propos de Marcello les deux Castiglione,” *La Liberté* (25 August 1954): 5.

imperious beauty, a dangerous appeal; it brings to mind these femmes fatales whom nothing can resist, and like those that Italy produced in the sixteenth century. The neck, thin and flexible, extends in viperous undulations, and is attached to a skillfully draped chest.

The portrait of Madame la Duchess de San C*, a bust in wax, captivates with an extraordinary smoothness of modeling which adds more to the transparency of the material, of which the tone, a warm white, recalls ivory with more fleshiness and suppleness. In the portrait of the Count G. de M. [sic](marble), the mask is attacked boldly and by vigorous angular planes. The name of Marcello might be, one says, merely a pseudonym and might hide an illustrious presence [or name] that we will not reveal. We will only say that the hand that handles the chisel in so masterly way is the hand of a woman.³⁹

Gautier, like many other critics that summer, let out the secret that Marcello was certainly a woman. Her pseudonym, if it did begin as a smoke screen to hide her gender from the Salon Jury, had not stayed secret for very long. In July of 1863, Hector de Callias commented on the pseudonym in his sculpture review published in *L'Artiste*:

Finally the pseudonym of Marcello, which hides a grand name of Michelangelesque memory, is located at the base of three busts: *Bianca Capello*, a Florentine figure of the greatest age; *The Duc of San C. [sic]* and a bust in the round, which is a jewel. One would easily say to Marcello -- although *Marcella* is more true than *Marcello: Tu Marcellus eris!*⁴⁰

Using a typical criticism of work by female artists, Paul Mantz mentioned Marcello's sculptures briefly in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, noting in a somewhat backhanded compliment,

³⁹ Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1863," *Le Moniteur universelle* (1 September 1863): 1114-5. "L'on prendrait pour l'oeuvre d'un des maîtres de la Renaissance le buste de *Bianca Capello*, par M. Marcello. Il possède la sveltesse fière, l'élégance hautaine des sculptures de cette époque. La tête, coiffée bizarrement, a une grâce cruelle, une beauté impérieuse, un attrait dangereux; elle fait deviner une de ces femmes fatales à qui rien ne résiste et comme en produisait l'Italie du 16e siècle. Le col, mince et flexible, s'allonge en des ondulations vipérines et se rattache à une poitrine habilement drapée. Le portrait de Mme la duchesse de San C*, buste en cire, se fait remarquer par une extraordinaire finesse de modelé à laquelle ajoute encore la transparence de la matière, dont les tons, d'un blanc chaud, rappellent l'ivoire avec plus de gras et de ductilité. Dans le portrait du comte G. de M. (marbre), le masque est attaqué hardiment et par vigoureux méplats. Le nom de Marcello ne serait, dit-on, qu'un pseudonyme et cacherait une illustration que nous ne dévoilerons pas. Nous dirons seulement que la main qui manie le ciseau d'une façon si magistrale est une main de femme."

⁴⁰ Hector de Callias, "Salon de 1863: La Sculpture" *L'Artiste* (1 July 1863): 5. "Enfin le pseudonyme de *Marcello*, qui cache un grand nom de michelangelesque mémoire, se trouve au bas de trois bustes d'un superbe travail: *Bianca Capello*, une figure florentine de la meilleure époque; *le duc de San C. [sic]* et un buste en cire qui est un bijou. Volontiers on disait à Marcello, -- quoique *Marcella* soit plus vrai que *Marcello: Tu Marcellus eris!*" [Trans. Note: "Tu Marcellus eris!" is Latin for "You will be Marcellus," i.e., "You will be great."]

“the busts signed with the pseudonym Marcello are conceived in the style of the sixteenth century, but the softness of the execution reveals a feminine hand.”⁴¹ Although it was never a well-kept secret, again the gender of the artist was questioned, as Georges Dumesnil asked, “Of which sex are you, o signor Marcello? ... at the risk of sounding indiscreet, I would swear that you are not from ours ... the ugly sex; all to the contrary.”⁴²

There were a few positive reviews pointing out that Marcello had an eye for studying nature and the Florentine masters without having been part of an official academy. For example, Ernest Chesneau wrote in *Le Constitutionnel*, much earlier in the summer, on 2 June that “Nature fully observed by a firm, intelligent and artistic eye is enough to produce the grand style which cannot be learned in school; the sculptures signed with the name Marcello would fully prove this point if one needed it.”⁴³ He continued with a bit of advice that she actually did not take:

I am told that behind the name Marcello is hiding a young patrician who bears one of the most noble names in Italy. I invite her in the future to get rid of this elegant pseudonym and openly sign her work. France provides her a good example of this honesty that each artist owes to his or her talent and to the public that admires them.⁴⁴

Louis Leroy was much kinder to Marcello, and actually sensed the “heroic” qualities of the *Bianca Capello* in his Salon review of 8 June:

⁴¹ Paul Mantz, “Le Salon de 1863 (II article),” *Gazette des beaux-arts* Tome II (1863): 58. “Les bustes signés du pseudonyme de Marcello sont conçus dans le goût du XVI^e siècle, mais la mollesse de l’exécution trahit une main féminine.”

⁴² Georges Dumesnil, “La Sculpture a l’exposition de 1863,” *La Courrier artistique* 3:2 (28 June 1863): 7. “De quel sexe êtes-vous, ô signor Marcello? ... Au risque de passer pour indiscret, je jurerais que vous n’êtes pas du nôtre ... du laid; tout au contraire.”

⁴³ Ernest Chesneau, “La Sculpture au Salon,” *Le Constitutionnel* (2 June 1863): 1. “La nature, franchement observée, d’un oeil ferme, intelligent et artiste, suffit à donner le grand style qui n’est pas une recette d’école; les sculptures signées du nom de Marcello le prouveraient abondamment, s’il en était besoin.”

⁴⁴ Chesneau, 1863, 1. “On me dit que derrière le nom de Marcello s’abrite une jeune patricienne qui porte un des plus nobles noms de l’Italie. J’oserai l’engager à dépouiller à l’avenir ce pseudonyme élégant et à signer franchement ses oeuvres. La France lui donne un illustre exemple de cette franchise que tout artiste doit à son talent et au public qui l’admire.”

Bianca Capello is a bust in the heroic genre. Her curious hair style, her Florentine outfit of the sixteenth century, are of a precision and a flamboyance that attract the eye and demand attention. The Colonnas were lacking a famous name, the young duchess is giving it to them.⁴⁵

Despite a large amount of attention and mostly praise from critics, Marcello received neither a medal nor an honorable mention from the Salon Jury. It is very possible that the early revelations of her true sex, although usually contained within positive reviews of her work, cost her a medal. She expressed her disappointment to her friend Carpeaux, who replied, in a letter dated 28 June 1863, "I consider them too inept, all together, of making *Bianca Capello*. Be proud of your work, my dear and lovely duchess. The press has greatly enhanced your stature. Future and fame lie before you, because you have power, the technical knowledge and the genius of the arts."⁴⁶ On that day, Dumesnil had publicly praised Marcello's submissions in *Le Courrier artistique*, calling them (somewhat unfortunately) "delicate," and "soft." Yet he also referred to the *Bianca Capello* specifically as an "lovable heroine."⁴⁷

Regardless of the Jury's neglect in acknowledging it with an award, *Bianca Capello* was both critically and financially successful. Ernest Fillonneau, art critic for *Moniteur des arts*, praised the sculpture on 27 June, and reported that the bust had found a buyer:

Another bust, the most noticed at the Salon, and one of those most worthy of being noticed, is that of *Bianca Capello*, by Marcello, a pseudonym hiding a great lady whose anonymity we shall respect, and whose skilled carving was well done to reproduce the features of this beautiful Venetian woman. Marcello knows all the resources of her art: The artist would have been made noble by talent had she not been made so by birth. M.

⁴⁵ Louis Leroy, "Salon de 1863, C'est pour avoir l'honneur de saluer la sculpture," *Le Charivari* (8 June 1863): 2. "*Bianca Capello* est un buste du genre héroïque. Sa coiffure curieuse, son ajustement florentin du seizième siècle sont d'une exactitude et d'un flamboyant qui attirent l'oeil et forcent l'attention. Il manquait une illustration au nom des Colonna, la jeune duchesse est en train de la lui donner."

⁴⁶ Letter from Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 28 June 1863, Archives FM. "Je les crois incapables, à eux tous, de faire *Bianca Capello*. Soyez fière, chère et aimable Duchesse, de vos oeuvres. La presse vous a grandie de mille coudées. A vous l'avenir, à vous la gloire: car vous possédez la puissance, la science et la génie des arts."

⁴⁷ Dumesnil, 1863, 7. "Eh bien! signor Marcello, voilà une aimable héroïne que vous avez choisie là!"

Beurdeley, one of our most important merchants of *objets d'art*, has bought *Bianca Capello*.⁴⁸

As noted by Fillonneau, the bust had sold (actually, even before being exhibited) to the collector Alfred Beurdeley (1808-1882), proprietor of a specialty shop, begun by his father Jean. Beurdeley sold "objects d'art, de curiosités et d'ameublement," at the pavillon de Hanovre, at the corner of the Boulevard des Italiens and the rue Louis-le-Grand, 52. He purchased the marble *Bianca Capello* for three thousand francs, then a considerable sum. This was followed by numerous requests by other collectors and prospective buyers for additional marbles and new casts in bronze. Marcello "sold the reproduction rights for *Bianca Capello* to the bronze founder Ferdinand Barbedienne, retaining ownership of the model herself and keeping careful watch on the finish of the copies, which, although they had the same dimensions, were sometimes treated very differently."⁴⁹ Marcello retained the right to receive a percentage of the sale price for each work sold, and the right to apply finishing touches to works if she deemed it necessary. Beurdeley was not happy that numerous replicas of *Bianca Capello* had been created and sold, and claimed that only he owned the "original."⁵⁰ Wanting to produce his own reproductions of the bust to offer for sale in his shop, Beurdeley tried to prevent Barbedienne from doing the same. As stated above, Marcello had sold the rights to

⁴⁸ Ernest Fillonneau, "Salon de 1863," *Moniteur des arts* (27 June 1863): 3. "Un autre buste, le plus remarqué du Salon, et un des plus dignes de l'être, est celui de *Bianca Capello*, par Marcello, un pseudonyme qui cache une grande dame dont nous respecterons l'incognito, et dont le ciseau habile était bien fait pour reproduire les traits de cette belle Vénitienne. Marcello connaît toutes les ressources de son art: l'artiste eût été noble par le talent s'il ne l'était par la naissance. *Bianca Capello* a été achetée par M. Beurdeley, un de nos premiers marchands de curiosité."

⁴⁹ Blühm, 192. Additional evidence for this can be found in Marcello's letters to her praticiens and assistants. See various letters at the Archives FM.

⁵⁰ The question of originality in sculpture is a difficult one. H.W. Janson famously noted that "there are no originals in nineteenth-century sculpture [unless the maquette has been preserved]," *Nineteenth Century Sculpture* (New York: Abrams, 1985), 10. There are numerous sources to cite on this issue, but probably the best debate was between Rosalind E. Krauss and the late Albert E. Elsen. See Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant-Garde," and "Sincerely Yours," *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986); and Elsen's reply in *October* 20 (Spring 1982): 107-9.

reproduce *Bianca Capello* to Barbedienne, with the stipulations that he was to pay her a certain percentage as the owner of the model, that each cast be unique in some detail, and that she retained the right to retouch the reproductions. "She was a modern-minded artist who used new techniques to produce copies in marble and bronze," claimed Blühm in the 1996 exhibition catalogue *The Colour of Sculpture*.⁵¹

Beurdeley filed a lawsuit against Barbedienne in 1867, five years after his purchase of *Bianca Capello* from the Salon, demanding part of the profits from the sale of the bronze editions, claiming he was the owner of the "original" model. This event is certainly one of the most important early cases involving the discussion of originality in art, and yet it has never been cited in art historical texts regarding the issues of originality in sculpture. The Fondation Marcello conserves twenty-three letters from Antoine Berryer (1790-1868), the celebrated Parisian lawyer who represented Marcello and Barbedienne and provided legal council. Beurdeley seems to have lost the suit in court, and Marcello did not have further problems of this nature with reproductions.⁵² The marble that Beurdeley purchased from the Salon is believed to have been in his possession until his death, after which it was sold at auction through the Hôtel Drouot. Listed as number 291 at a sale held from 23-25 April of 1883, it is unknown whether it sold, or, if so, to whom, and today this first marble version of the work remains lost.⁵³

⁵¹ Blühm, 192.

⁵² Twenty-two letters from the lawyer Antoine Berryer (1790-1868) were written to Marcello in 1867-68 concerning the Beurdeley case and they still exist at the Fondation Marcello. However, copies of the *Gazette des tribunaux* from these years did not yield any information concerning this case, and Berryer died in 1868. It is possible that Marcello found a new lawyer and the case came to trial later after 1868, but further investigation of the case in later editions of the *Gazette* is necessary.

⁵³ Hôtel Drouot, *Collection de feu M. Beurdeley père, deuxième vente, objets d'art et d'ameublement, tableaux*, auction and sale catalogue, Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 23-25 April 1883.

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* was visually quite well known in the nineteenth century as well as being critically popular. Nadar made the sculpture known with his photograph from 1863 (fig. 4-16), and representations (either engravings or photographs) of *Bianca Capello* were published in *L'Artiste*, *Le Monde illustré* (fig. 4-15), *L'Illustration* (fig. 4-14), *L'Illustrateur des dames*, and in Édouard Lagout's *Esthétique nombrée*, all of 1863. The 1863 engraving from *le Monde illustré* reappeared in *Gazette des beaux-arts* in 1873 when *Bianca Capello* was exhibited in Vienna. The Emperor Napoleon III purchased a marble version for 4,000 francs on 4 August 1864, and had it transferred to Fontainebleau on 7 March 1865, a wonderful boon for Marcello as this was where numerous important figures and attendees of the court's soirées saw the bust.⁵⁴ Another marble was purchased by the state in 1872 after Thiers became president of the Third Republic, and was exhibited at the Musée du Luxembourg from 1873 to 1886; Marcello was one of only seven women artists to have artwork exhibited in the Luxembourg during the nineteenth century, and among them she was the only female sculptor included during that period.⁵⁵ After the Salon of 1863, other marbles and bronze casts of *Bianca Capello* were exhibited many times during Marcello's life, most notably at the *Exposition des beaux-arts*, Lille (1866); the *Exposition universelle*, Paris (1867); the *Exposition internationale des beaux-arts*, Munich (1869); the *Exposition chez Durand-*

⁵⁴ The provenance is listed in Philadelphia, 1978, 233. "Purchased ("domaine privé") by the Emperor for 4,000 francs by decree of August 8, 1864 (Louvre Archives 2 DD 26, n6 [1864]); sent to Fontainebleau, March 7, 1865 (Louvre Archives, S 12 [1865]); transferred to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles, April 17, 1894 (Louvre Archives S 12 [1894]).

⁵⁵ I must give special thanks to Jane Mayo Roos for making me aware of this point. See Philippe de Chennevières, *Notice des peintures, sculptures et dessins de l'école moderne exposées dans les galeries du musée national du Luxembourg* (Paris: Charles de Mourgues frères, 1873), 1 *passim*. The other six female artists at the Luxembourg were Eugénie Parmentier (1837-1874); Jeanne-Mathilde Herbelin (1820-1904); Elodie LaVillette (1848-1917); Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899); Nélie Jacquemart (1840-1912); and Eléonore Escallier (1827-1888). Marcello's *Bianca Capello* was later removed from the Luxembourg, in 1886, along with her *Chef Abyssin*, because it was realized that they were the works of a foreigner. *Bianca Capello* was then transferred to Fontainebleau. The marble version of the sculpture that was already at Fontainebleau then was transferred to Marseilles in 1894.

Ruel, Paris (1873); the *Exposition universelle*, Vienna (1873, where she was awarded a medal for her submissions); and the *Exposition au cercle artistique*, Nice (1877).

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* is significant for many reasons: its success and popularity, a rare occurrence for a woman artist and her work during the nineteenth century, and its reference to an important historical female figure. It is interesting to note that Marcello made a point of including a brief history of her subject, emphasizing the aspects of her life that were most evil. Why would Marcello want to do this?

Certainly Marcello wanted her public to know that Bianca was "wild" from a young age, she was a thief, she became the Grand Duchess of Tuscany by seducing Francesco de Medici, she faked a pregnancy, and was a murderess, whether she failed on one fatal occasion or was duped by her own designs. Marcello gave her subject the characteristics of a "flower of evil" and seems to have anticipated this aspect of the *fin-de-siècle* culture well before the *fin-de-siècle*, using it to her own advantage to produce a successful, intriguing, and popular work. Even the fact that Capello used poison in her last act of defiance was interesting to the contemporary public. Poisoning was known as a "woman's crime" in the nineteenth century. Between 1825-1885 in France, 53% of all criminals charged with poisoning were women; poisoning reached a peak during the years 1840-1860, right around the time Marcello was sculpting *Bianca Capello*.⁵⁶

Marcello seems to have created an evil female not as someone to be feared, *but instead as someone to be admired*. Even the critic Georges Dumesnil could not help but admire her, in

⁵⁶ Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds. *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, volume ed., Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard, 1990), 153. The book was originally published as *Histoire de la vie privée, Tome 4, De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

spite of the figure's historical background. His critique could very well be confused with one directed to a *fin-de-siècle* artwork by a Symbolist sculptor:

Well! Signor Marcello, here is a good heroine that you chose! If I were you I would have preferred Papavoine or Cartouche; they were of the *people*, it is true, but honestly they were less *thuggish* than your great duchess of Tuscany. This one can be kidnapped, she can rob, poison, and all these kinds of things, which are very Italian, will get you honors of a white marble bust... What is the most immoral thing is that this bust is adorable! This rascally wench, this true strumpet with her insolence, with her rich outfit that seems to be designed by Veronese, one would sell their soul for her! One would allow her anything, even to fake another pregnancy under the only condition that one would believe he was the father!... See, signor Marcello, your Bianca is capable of everything, even making me say more stupid things that I usually do!⁵⁷

We know that Marcello admired the figure she spotted at the Italian wedding, and wanted to assimilate her beauty and strong features with those of an identifiable historical figure. Marcello's goal, then, may have been to stake a claim for powerful women in history by representing a bust of one at the heavily attended Paris Salon. By including the paragraph on Capello in the livret, she made certain that her audience would know the important points of the life of her subject. Particularly towards the end of the century, women were often depicted in art as a prize or muse, or as somehow deformed, or covered with snakes, or with tempting bodies and evil faces. Marcello's bust of Capello, however, challenged negative images of women by providing a figure shown as defiant and proud of how she has lived, regretting nothing. Refusing to editorialize her female figures, Marcello refused to depict them as unattractive or morally ugly; this is, in part, how she presented Capello in a positive light. Thus Marcello promoted a different, more stoic, role for women of history.

⁵⁷ Georges Dumesnil, "La Sculpture à l'exposition de 1863," *La Courrier artistique* (28 June 1863): 7-8. "Eh bien! signor Marcello, voilà une aimable héroïne que vous avez choisie là!... A votre place j'eusse préféré Papavoine ou Cartouche; ils étaient *peuple*, c'est vrai, mais franchement ils étaient moins *canailles* que votre grand duchesse de Toscane. Ainsi, l'on peut se faire enlever; on peut voler, empoisonner et toutes ces gentilleses par trop italiennes vous vaudront les honneurs d'un buste en marbre blanc... [...] Ce qu'il y a de plus immoral, c'est qu'il est adorable ce buste! Cette gueuse, cette franche coquine avec son insolente beauté, avec son riche costume qui semble être dessiné par Véronèse, on se damnerait pour elle! on lui permettrait tout, même de supposer encore un enfant, à la seule condition qu'on pourrait s'en croire le père!... Tenez, signor Marcello, elle est capable de tout, votre Bianca, même de me faire dire plus de sottises que je n'en dis d'habitude!"

The strength of Marcello's *Bianca Capello* lies in her direct representation of an important figure from history as valiant, authoritative, and powerful, although most critics focused on the suppleness and refined carving of the works. This would be the first of many such representations of women from history, mythology, and her contemporary world to come from her hands. By endowing *Bianca Capello* with the characteristics of beauty and strength often reserved for male heroes, Marcello has claimed for this historical woman a position of power and for contemporary women the right to be viewed as more than a beautiful object of sexual desire.

Marie-Antoinette

Marie-Antoinette (1755-1793) does not, at first, seem like a logical choice for the depiction of a historical heroic figure. Most people think of Marie-Antoinette in connection with her assumed distaste for the poor of France, and her suggestion that they be given *brioche* or the pastries that she did not want when they begged for bread at the palace door. There is really no evidence that she actually said this, and yet her bad reputation was born during her years as queen consort and persists (outside of serious scholarship) today.⁵⁸ When one looks at the circumstances of her short life, however, it is easy to see why Marcello counted her representation of Marie-Antoinette among her heroic busts.

In November of 1864, while a guest of Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie at one of the Imperial soirées (also known as the “les séries impériales”) at Compiègne, Marcello learned that both she and the Empress admired Marie-Antoinette. The two were somewhat indirectly connected to the historic figure. Marcello's paternal great-great grandfather, Louis-Auguste-

⁵⁸ See footnote 61 below for an example of such a scholarly study.

Augustin comte d’Affry (1713-93), was a commander of the Swiss Guards in the service of Marie-Antoinette’s husband, Louis XVI. Her maternal great grandfather, Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz (1727-1792), died in Marie-Antoinette’s service during the French Revolution.⁵⁹ Eugénie’s admiration for Marie-Antoinette was seen as distasteful by both Princess Mathilde and the Goncourt brothers, as noted by the latter in their journal.⁶⁰ The Empress Eugénie was, like Marie-Antoinette, a foreign born royal consort of France. A dialogue developed between the Empress and the artist, which resulted in Marcello’s completion, in 1866, of two busts of the historic queen.

The first, *Marie-Antoinette à Versailles, 1774* (fig. 4-17) shows the queen consort at Versailles at the moment of her political and public glory, when her husband ascended the throne. The bust is an example, *par excellence*, of Marcello’s stylistic strategy for producing courageous-looking figures. Exuberantly dressed, the queen smiles slightly and her head, turned towards the left, is held in a bold position. Marie-Antoinette wears an elaborate headdress, including a drop-pearl diadem, which is repeated as a choker at the neck. Surrounded by all of this extravagance, the real emphasis seems to be given to the *poitrine*; with vivacious breasts and the illusion of the elegant softness of skin, the bust exudes youthfulness and sexuality. Here Marie-Antoinette is shown in a moment of glory.

The second, *Marie-Antoinette au Temple, 1793* (fig. 4-18) depicts the queen in prison awaiting her execution. Although the richness of the costume and the emphasis on the chest has changed, the elements of pride and fearlessness have not – in fact these characteristics are instead accentuated here. Marie-Antoinette’s smile is gone, as are her fancy jewels. They have been replaced with a subdued expression and a crucifix necklace, the latter signifying her

⁵⁹ See Chapter Two for a full discussion of Marcello’s family.

⁶⁰ Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal, Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, 4 volumes (Paris: Fasquelle and Flammarion, 1956), 1: 1258-59, 2: 536-37.

appeal for forgiveness, not to the populace, but to a higher power. For Marcello, even a person as thoroughly detested as Marie-Antoinette was redeemable.

A meticulous researcher, Marcello was intensely disciplined when undertaking a new subject. For her busts of the queen consort, she studied over two hundred drawings of Marie Antoinette housed at the Cabinet des estampes in the Bibliothèque impérial (now the Bibliothèque nationale) and read numerous texts published during the queen's reign. Labeled "l'Autrichienne" or simply "the bitch" (*la salope*), Marie-Antoinette was widely lampooned in the pornographic pamphlet literature of the underground press in late-eighteenth-century France.⁶¹ More importantly, the queen consort was accused of monstrous crimes, for which there seems to be no real evidence today, and was executed despite her possible innocence. Marcello may have also been aware of this, as well as Jacques-Louis David's (1748-1825) famous drawing of the queen on her way to the guillotine. David depicted Marie-Antoinette calmly taking her last steps, head held high, even though as a Jacobin and ally of Robespierre he most likely voted for her death.

Marcello's busts of Marie-Antoinette reveal an understanding of the former queen's power and ultimate demise. In keeping with her schema for heroic females, both contain monumental and decorative elements. Although the elaborate dress and adornment of *Marie-Antoinette à Versailles, 1774*, are replaced with a simple peasant garment and crucifix necklace in *Marie Antoinette au Temple, 1793*, both busts show the queen with her head held high, her expression proud and fearless.

⁶¹ See Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problems of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 108-30. I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Diane Kelder for her comments on my work regarding Marie-Antoinette.

The position of the head in a sculptural bust, whether lowered in submission or raised in defiance, has a great effect on how the subject is perceived by the viewer. As noted by Claudine Mitchell in her 1989 article on the sculptures of Camille Claudel, "the lowering of the head and eyes [in sculpture] were registered as a token of modesty, as they were in the codes of social behavior."⁶² In defiance of these social codes, Marcello's females hold their heads high, a fact that critics like Théophile Gautier were quick to notice. In his review of the Salon of 1866, Gautier remarked:

The two busts by Marcello that represent, like an antithesis of destiny, Marie Antoinette at Versailles and Marie-Antoinette at prison: the queen and the captive, the palace and the jail. But the more queen-like of the two is the prisoner. Beneath the outrage, the haughty forehead did not bend, and if she lost the crown she won the halo: in her rich adornment and her poor garment, Marie-Antoinette has the same beauty.⁶³

In addition to the strength present in the heads of Marcello's female figures, one notices immediately that there is a great expressivity present in their necks, shoulders, and chests. Rather than the cold stiffness found in many marbles of the period, in Marcello's figures one finds a dynamism exemplified by the movement of the neck and shoulders, and the placement of the drapery over the chest. Her busts of female figures seem, in this way, to be in sharp contrast to the classical ideal so often promoted by the academy. This is true of the busts of Marie-Antoinette, and becomes more starkly evident here because, when they are exhibited together, one notices that one of the major differences between them is the treatment of the *poitrine*.

⁶² Claudine Mitchell, "Intellectuality and Sexuality: Camille Claudel, the *Fin de Siècle* Sculptress," *Art History* (December 1989), 440.

⁶³ Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1866," *Le Moniteur universel* (10 August 1866), 1002-3. "...et des deux bustes de Marcello qui représentent, comme une antithèse de la destinée, Marie-Antoinette à Versailles et Marie-Antoinette au Temple: le reine et la captive, le palais et la prison. Mais la plus reine des deux est encore la prisonnière. Sous l'outrage, le front hautain n'a pas ployé, et s'il a perdue la couronne, il a gagné l'auréole: Dans sa riche parure et son pauvre vêtement, Marie-Antoinette a la même beauté."

The busts, certainly conceived as companion pieces, were shown side-by-side in the Salon of 1866. Ernest Fillonneau, always an advocate of Marcello's works and one of her most supportive critics, spoke only of the two busts of Marie-Antoinette in his sculpture review in *Moniteur des arts* on 18 May 1866, a little over two weeks after the Salon's opening. It is worth quoting at length, as Fillonneau considered many of the issues regarding the bravery of the queen at the time of her death:

Artists, amateurs, even the unemployed, all stop in front of two busts of Marie-Antoinette, one representing the queen in Versailles in 1774, the other the queen in prison at Temple in 1793. No one passes without looking and without admiring side by side the magnificent antithesis of happiness and misfortune; of joy and martyrdom. Marcello's chisel is responsible for these busts.

Marie-Antoinette à Versailles was nineteen years old: her face, radiating with severe grace and beauty, is shown in three-quarter view; this profile, delicately accentuated, resembles a pure cameo where dignity and intelligence are reflected. The hairstyle that one finds in the engravings of the time, adds more to the character of the portrait, historical and intimate at the same time [...] One has too long forgotten about the Dauphine: Marcello has just given her back to us.

Marie-Antoinette au Temple, on the contrary, has had many portraitists. But I find in this bust, and uniquely here, the only modern interpretation that I would trust if I were writing history. The great mistake of painters, in general, has been to age Marie-Antoinette beyond measure, in forgetting that sorrow changes the expression but not the traits. Here, this is the courageous queen who said to Barnave: "I have always been what you see me as. Only the circumstances have changed." This is the queen famous for disdain of offenses and her resignation. Before this bust, one remembers in spite of one's self the fitting words that she replied to her son asking her if the hardships of the past evening were to be finished soon. "No, my child, yesterday must never end for us." [...]

Marcello here has made two masterpieces, in the ordinary sense of the word. As historical truth, as taste, and as sentiment, one cannot see anything more completely achieved. [...] the noble artist who continues to find shelter under this borrowed [pseudonym] is truly right to hold fast, for [s]he shall be one of the small number of the elite in contemporary art.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ernest Fillonneau, "Salon de 1866," *Moniteur des arts* (18 May 1866): 2. "Artistes, amateurs, désœuvrés même, tous s'arrêtent devant deux bustes de Marie-Antoinette, l'un représentant la Dauphine à Versailles, en 1774, l'autre, la reine au Temple, en 1793. Personne ne passe sans regarder, et sans admirer, à côté de cette magistrale antithèse de la félicité et de l'infortune; de l'allégresse et du martyr. Ces bustes sont dus au ciseau de Marcello. *Marie-Antoinette à Versailles* a dix-neuf ans: son visage, rayonnant de grâce et de beauté sévères, est vu de trois quarts; ce profil, délicatement accentué, semble un pur camée où se reflètent la dignité et l'intelligence. La coiffure, qu'on retrouve dans les gravures du temps, ajoute encore au caractère historique et intime à la fois du portrait [...] On avait trop oublié la Dauphine: Marcello vient de nous la rendre. *Marie-Antoinette au Temple*, tout au contraire, a eu de nombreux portraitistes. Mais je retrouve dans ce buste, et là uniquement, la seule interprétation moderne qui m'inspirerait confiance, si j'écrivais l'histoire. Le grand tort des

Even across the ocean in New York, the busts of Marie-Antoinette were heralded as masterpieces. An author calling himself (or herself) “Rembrandt” in *The Turf, Field and Farm* complimented the works in a review of the French Salon on 11 August 1866:

As usual, there is a long array of sculpture in this collection. It is placed this year, not in the garden of the palace, but in a side avenue. Perhaps its most remarkable feature, [*sic*] is two epic busts of Marie-Antoinette – the one as Queen, at Versailles, the other as prisoner in the temple. They are produced with great vigor, are highly finished, and noble blocks of marble, and are sent in under the name of the works of Marcello, but are ascribed to a noble lady artist, the Countess [*sic*] of Colonna.⁶⁵

None of the critics seem to have commented on the fact that Marie-Antoinette was the hero of the Royalists, and that Marcello, from an aristocratic Swiss family, may have had a more personal interest in heroizing the figure. Only Gautier, a staunch Republican, seemed to acknowledge that the depiction of Marie-Antoinette as a hero was flawed. Yet he was so impressed by the busts that even he was willing to put political differences aside, noting that the “mistake” of glorifying Marie-Antoinette was one “for which we forgive the great heart of the artist.”⁶⁶

Obviously Marcello was aware of the disgrace that surrounded Marie-Antoinette and her memory, yet she refused to depict the queen as demure, repentant, or fearing death. In keeping with the standard artistic formula for representing heroes faced with their own death

peintres, en général, a été de vieillir Marie-Antoinette outre mesure, en oubliant que le chagrin altère l'expression mais non les traits. Ici, c'est cette reine courageuse qui disait à Barnave: “J'ai toujours été ce que vous me voyez. Les circonstances seules ont changé.” C'est cette reine célèbre par son dédain des outrages et par son résignation. On se souvient malgré soi, devant ce buste, de la belle parole qu'elle répondit à son fils lui demandant si les rigueurs de la veille ne finiraient pas bientôt: “Non, mon enfant, hier ne doit jamais finir pour nous.” [...] Marcello a fait là deux chefs-d'oeuvre, dans l'acception la moins banale du mot. Comme vérité historique, comme goût et comme sentiment, on ne peut rien voir de plus complet. [...] la noble artiste qui continue à s'abriter sous ce nom d'emprunt, a grandement raison d'y tenir, car il sera du très petit nombre des élus dans l'art contemporain.”

⁶⁵ Rembrandt, “The French Exhibition of 1866,” *The Turf, Field and Farm* (11 August 1866): 91.

⁶⁶ Théophile Gautier, “Salon de 1866,” 1003. “C'est une faute que nous pardonnons de grand coeur à la artiste.”

(as, for example, in images of Socrates and Christ), Marcello depicted Marie-Antoinette nobly gazing bravely ahead at the executioner and, of course, at the viewer.

The Female as Hero in Representations of Mythological Women: *La Gorgone*, *Ananké*, *Hécate et Cerbère*, *La Bacchante Fatiguée* and *La Pythie*

La Gorgone

On the heels of the success of *Bianca Capello*, Marcello continued to create positive, progressive images of female figures. She continued in this vein with the creation of a number of mythological figures. She conceived of other projects with strong female protagonists, such as her *Gorgon* (fig. 4-19), produced during the winter of 1863-64. It was not her first image of a figure from Greek mythology, as she had sculpted *La Belle Hélène* and *Diane endormie* in the early 1860s (see Chapter Two), but it was her first mythological figure produced on a grand scale.

Always a music lover, she decided to sculpt the bust after hearing an aria by Jean Baptiste Lully entitled the *Tune of the Gorgon*, once sung for Marcello by a Madame Revirard, an amateur *chanteuse* of whom little is known. (More will be said on the works' musical connections in the following chapter.) Exhibited in the Salon of 1865, the earliest marble version was carved to be over life-size, with delicate gold enhancements in the hair.⁶⁷

Displaying her skills as an *animalier*, Marcello dressed the *Gorgone* in a snake-skin vest and a lion skin, and surrounded her with additional animal forms. These accessories are emblematic of heroic figures. The lion skin, a Herculean attribute that adorns the figure's head

⁶⁷ A marble version of the *Gorgone* with gold paint on the serpents in the hair, most likely the version shown in the Salon of 1865, exists today in the private collection of Mme Lucille Audouy, Paris.

and breast, recalls the accoutrements of various ancient Roman busts depicting heroes and emperors, such as the canonical bust, *Commodus as Hercules*, of around AD 190 (fig. 4-20). Marcello certainly may have seen the bust of Commodus during one of her many stays in Rome, and was well aware of the iconography of heroic figures. The *Gorgone's* attire was also inspired by costumes that Marcello had observed at masked balls frequented by members of the aristocracy. Well-educated in the classics and meticulous about rendering her figures accurately, Marcello included snakes, delicately intertwined in the figure's hair, which evoke specifically the gorgon Medusa. Known for her ability to turn men into stone with her hideous face, Medusa was the only mortal of the three gorgon sisters (the other two sisters being Stheno and Euryale). According to myth, Medusa's transformation from beautiful mortal to hideous monster was bestowed upon her by Athena as punishment for allowing the god Poseidon to take sexual liberties with her in Athena's temple. When Medusa became pregnant with Poseidon's offspring, Athena ordered Perseus to hunt her down and destroy her.⁶⁸ Marcello includes a bizarre creature entangled atop Medusa's *coiffure* with wings that allude to the birth of Pegasus, the winged horse, and the warrior Chrysaor, both born from the Gorgon's severed neck and blood after her death at the hands of Perseus.

Certainly it can be argued that the Gorgon is actually the tragic anti-hero; she is the threatening, cursed creature who is destroyed by the male protagonist. Yet Marcello chooses not to depict this figure at the moment of her destruction by Perseus, as so many artists, including most famously Antonio Canova (fig. 4-21) and Caravaggio (fig. 4-22), had done previously. It is not the Gorgone's defeat that is at issue in Marcello's representation, but rather it is the figure's power and strength while she lives, which is shown in full development. The

⁶⁸ Jane Davidson Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s*. 2 Vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 650. Ancient sources for Medusa include Hesiod's *Theogony* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Gorgon is represented with a strong turn of the head and a stern look of dominance and control – the look that could turn men into stone. The deeply drilled irises underscore the figure's deadly gaze. One can also argue that even within the mythological text, it is the decapitated head of Medusa that gives Perseus his strength, as he later uses the head to defeat his enemies; in other words, she embodies the hero's power and he succeeds through her power.⁶⁹ After using the head in battle, Perseus returned it to Athena, who wore it on her breastplate to ward away evil.

Even in its own time, the *Gorgone* motivated writers to discuss the figure's heroic qualities. Inspired by the work, a man known only as Count Siméon sent a sonnet he wrote to Marcello:

Que vous comprenez bien la tête de Gorgone!
Elle n'inspirait pas l'épouvante et l'horreur.
Elle pétrifiait, mais en frappant au coeur,
Sa beauté valait plus qu'un empire et qu'un trop.

May you understand well the head of the
Gorgone!
She does not inspire terror and horror.
She petrifies, but in striking the heart,
Her beauty was worth more than one empire
and more.

Oui, vous la rendez bien cette belle Amazone;
Ses armes et ses traits indiquent sa valeur.
Elle est fière, elle est noble, et puis dans sa grandeur,
Lutter avec Pallas, approcher de Colonne.

Yes, you render well this beautiful amazon;
Her weapons and her features indicate her
value.
She is proud, she is noble, and then in her
greatness
To fight with Pallas, to approach the
Column.

Le sang de la Gorgone a mis Pégase au jour!
Méduse pour ce fait mérite votre amour,
Car Pégase a montré le chemin du Parnasse.

The blood of the Gorgon gave birth to
Pegasus!
Medusa for this fact deserves your love,
Because Pegasus showed the way to
Parnassus.

S'on ne fait plus dompter ce coursier dangereux,
Mais j'ai du moins tâché, dans mon insigne audace,

So one no longer tames this dangerous
messenger,
But I have tried at least, in my illegitimate

⁶⁹ Rainer Mack, "Facing Down Medusa (An aetiology of the gaze)," *Art History* 25:5 (November 2002): 571-604. After beheading Medusa, Perseus uses her head as a weapon to defeat his enemies. According to Rainer, "Perseus, as we might well say, is inhabited by the dead Medusa, whose insistent presence is the seam in the ideological construct he figures, the undeniable denial that makes the hero who he is." (p. 598).

De chanter dans mes vers ce qu'admirent mes yeux. daring,
To sing in my verses that which my eyes
admired.⁷⁰

Marcello's representation of the *Gorgone* (and the Count's sonnet) calls to mind more recent feminist discussions of the Medusa myth, particularly Hélène Cixous' article "The Laugh of the Medusa," in which she states that one "only has to look at the Medusa straight on to see her. And she's not deadly. She's beautiful and she's laughing."⁷¹

Marcello's *Gorgone* lacks the revolting facial features typical of Medusa representations, which conflicts with the history of the character. But in discussing such imagery in his article "The Medusa of Harriet Hosmer," William Gerdtz cited the tradition of the "beautiful Medusa," developed in antiquity, exemplified by the *Medusa Rondanini* (Munich, Glyptothek) and admired by Goëthe and Winckelmann.⁷² A nineteenth-century source that may have inspired both Hosmer and Marcello was Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem "On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery," published posthumously by his wife in 1824. As with most of Marcello's sculptures depicting women, *Gorgone* depicts a beautiful yet intimidating female with legendary power. With her "fatal glance," she is especially a threat to the male viewer.

Marcello's *Gorgone*, like her *Bianca Capello* of the previous Salon, was quite well received. Two weeks after the opening of the Salon, on 14 May, Balthasar Robin's critique was one of the earliest positive reviews of the work. Robin devoted three paragraphs to the

⁷⁰ Count Siméon, "La Gorgone, Sonnet. À Madame la Duchesse Colonne," dated "Berne, le 1er Octobre 1869," Archives FM.

⁷¹ Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," in Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, eds., *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1990), 1239.

⁷² William Gerdtz, "The Medusa of Harriet Hosmer," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 56:2 (1978): 97-107.

Gorgone in his Salon review of that year. Writing in *Le Courrier artistique*, Robin celebrated the realism and energy embodied in the sculpture:

Who would have thought that the hand of a woman, - a fine, elegant, supple, delicate, aristocratic hand, a hand that would seem uniquely made for handling tissue and silk, - could also carve marble, manage the carving tool and take up the heavy hammer of sculptors? Everyone knows, today, that the pseudonym Marcello hides the most well liked and artistic of duchesses: the Duchess Colonna; and everyone also looks with astonishment at the busts that she signs. We have trouble recognizing, in this strong and finely accentuated head, in these proud and animated figures, the work of a woman. It is also that, in front of a block of marble, Madam Duchess Colonna is not only a woman; she is an artist, and an artist of the first order.

The head of the *Gorgone* that she has sent this year is one of her best works. There is in this figure something indefinable of the energetic and of the savage; an indefinable lofty and superb expression; an indefinable lofty quality in all of her features, which charms the spirit and excites the vision. One follows, almost fascinated, all the lines of this admirable face; one walks around the bust; one leaves it and returns to it there; and each time one finds something more attractive in it.

I have rarely viewed, I admit, a profile more pure and more fine than this one [in the Salon]. I have not forgotten, however, the busts of M. Carpeaux. The hairstyle admirably frames the figure of the goddess; our eyes seem to be looking at, by sculptural artifice, the artist who gave her life; the nostrils are softly dilated; the corners of the mouth are turned up disdainfully, and all this is imprinted on a strange beauty, who unites vigor to delicacy, grace to firmness.⁷³

Later in the summer, Paul Mantz, in his Salon review for 1865, called the *Gorgone* "a beautiful head skillfully carved in marble, with all of the elegance of Italian sculpture, by the

⁷³ Balthasar Robin, "Chronique de la semaine," *Le Courrier artistique* (14 May 1865): 198-9. "Qui aurait pensé que la main d'une femme, - une main fine, élégante, souple, délicate, aristocratique, une main qui semblait uniquement faite pour froisser la dentelle et la soie, - pût aussi tailler le marbre, manier l'ébauchoir et tenir le lourd marteau des sculpteurs? Tout le monde sait, aujourd'hui, que le pseudonyme de Marcello cache la plus aimable et la plus artiste des duchesses: la duchesse Colonna; et tout le monde aussi regarde avec étonnement les bustes qu'elle signe. On a peine à reconnaître, dans ces têtes fortement et finement accentuées, dans ces figures fières et vivantes, l'oeuvre d'une femme. C'est qu'aussi, devant un bloc de marbre, Mme la duchesse Colonna n'est plus une femme; c'est une artiste, et une artiste de premier ordre. La tête de *Gorgone*, qu'elle a envoyée cette année, est un de ses meilleurs ouvrages. Il y a dans cette figure je ne sais quoi d'énergique et de sauvage; je ne sais quelle expression hautaine et superbe; je ne sais quel grand air répandu sur tous ses traits, qui charme l'esprit et excite le regard. On suit, presque fasciné, toutes les lignes de cet admirable visage; on tourne autour de ce buste; on le quitte et on y revient; et chaque fois on lui trouve un attrait de plus. J'ai rarement vu, je l'avoue, un profil plus pur et plus fin que celui-là. Je n'ai point oublié, cependant, les bustes de M. Carpeaux. La coiffure encadre admirablement la figure de la déesse; l'oeil semble regarder, tant, par un artifice sculptural, l'artiste lui a donné de vie; les narines sont légèrement dilatées; les coins de la bouche relevés dédaigneusement, et tout cela est empreint d'une beauté étrange, qui unit la vigueur à la délicatesse, la grâce à la fermeté."

artist who competes under the name Marcello.”⁷⁴ Théophile Gautier admired the sculpture and praised the work’s aggressiveness in his review of the Salon of 1865, published in *Le*

Moniteur:

It is indeed an original and proud work...what bitterness and what superb disdain in this head of a malicious beauty...what terrifying grace and what disturbing attraction...it is a monster and it is a woman, and maybe a heart beats under the layer of scales that cover her breast.⁷⁵

Although Thoré-Bürger (Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré, who wrote under the pseudonym Willem Bürger, 1807-1869) incorrectly called Marcello an “Italian woman,” he also celebrated the *Gorgone* in his review of the Salon of 1865. Marcello could not have asked for better publicity than this, and it was enough to rival the young male students in Rome:

There is no indiscretion in repeating that Marcello is the pseudonym of a noble Italian woman, full of the memories of Florentine sculpture and particularly of Michelangelo, whose grandiose style she is seeking to resurrect. This Gorgon head, which appears to have been sculpted after a drawing by Michelangelo, clashes with the average sculpture of those falsely pretending to resurrect Italian and antique art, trained at the pathetic Roman school of the Villa Medici.⁷⁶

Thoré-Bürger may have had in mind Michelangelo’s drawing known as *Cleopatra* (fig. 4-23a), or another of the Renaissance master’s many ominous looking females. In any case, he did correctly sense the influence of Michelangelo on Marcello, as is more potently evident in her *Bianca Capello* (see discussion above). Marcello in fact knew of Michelangelo’s drawing, as

⁷⁴ Paul Mantz, “Salon de 1865,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* (Tome II): 40. “Mentionnons la *Gorgone*, une belle tête savamment taillée dans le marbre, avec toutes les élégances italiennes, par l’artiste qui combat sous le nom de Marcello.”

⁷⁵ Théophile Gautier, “Salon de 1865,” *Le Moniteur* (3 June 1865): 795-6. “C’est vraiment une oeuvre originale et fière...quelle amertume hautaine et quel dédain superbe dans cette tête d’une beauté méchante...quelle grâce terrible et quel attrait inquiétant! ...c’est un monstre et c’est une femme, et peut-être un coeur bat sous les plastrons d’écaille qui couvrent sa poitrine.”

⁷⁶ Thoré-Bürger, “Salon de 1865,” in *Salons de W. Bürger, 1861-68, Préface par T. Thoré* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1870), 265-6. “Il n’y a pas d’indiscrétion à répéter que Marcello est le pseudonyme d’une noble dame italienne, tout imprégnée des souvenirs de la statuaire florentine et particulièrement de Michel-Ange, dont elle cherche à ressusciter le style grandiose. Cette tête de Gorgone, qui paraît sculptée d’après un dessin de Michel-Ange, tranche sur la sculpture banale des faux résurrectionnistes de l’art italien et de l’art antique, formés à la triste école romaine de la villa Medici.”

evidenced by a copy she made, which is today conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg (fig. 4-23b).

One year after its critically successful display at the Paris Salon, Marcello exhibited a darkly patinated bronze version of *Gorgone* (fig. 4-24), at the 1866 Royal Academy Exhibition in London.⁷⁷ Thought to be her second contribution to a Royal Academy annual exhibition, the sculpture was acquired by the South Kensington Museum in London (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) in 1867. Philippe Burty praised the work in his review of the Royal Academy Exhibition in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, noting, “the Duchess Castiglione Colonna, or, if one wants to respect an anonymity that success has betrayed, the sculptor Marcello, has sent a cast in bronze of her *Gorgone*, of which the decorative effect is worthy of a master of the Renaissance.”⁷⁸

One month earlier, an anonymous British author praised the sculpture’s execution while sensing and criticizing its inherent sexual power:

Sensation works, contributed by two foreigners, serve to redeem the collection from routine...[one of these] which has come to us from across the seas is “La Gorgone,” a bronze bust executed by the Duchess of Castiglione Colonna. This, indeed, is a work of admirable spirit, power, and firm execution. The type is that of a demigod, and the serpents interwoven with dragons crown the brow grandly. It is to be regretted that a coarsely voluptuous bust taints this noble conception with vulgarity.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Many of Marcello’s busts were available from Barbedienne’s foundry through the early twentieth century. For example, in the 1911 catalogue, one could order a *Bianca Capello*, which was available in two sizes (in 0.85 cm for 1,850 francs, or in 0.34 cm for 275 francs) or a *Gorgone*, which was available in three sizes (1.03 cm at 1,900 francs; 0.50 cm at 375 francs, and 0.40 cm at 280 francs). See Ferdinand Barbedienne, [*Catalogue des Bronzes et objets d’art*] (Paris: G. LeBlanc – Barbedienne, Successeurs, 1911). See also Appendix A of this dissertation.

⁷⁸ Philippe Burty, “L’Exhibition de la Royal-Academy,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1866): 96. “La duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna, ou, si l’on veut respecter un anonyme que le succès a trahi, le sculpteur Marcello a envoyé un moulage en bronze de sa *Gorgone*, dont l’effet décoratif est digne d’un maître de la Renaissance.”

⁷⁹ “The Royal Academy,” in *The Art Journal* [London] (1 June 1866): 171-2.

The palpable sexuality of *Gorgone* was in direct contrast to typical Victorian tastes.

Nonetheless, the work was purchased from the Royal Academy exhibition and remains on view today, although in an unfavorable location, at the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington, London.⁸⁰

Marcello thought so highly of her *Gorgone* that she included it among the list of sculptures to be carved in marble by her praticien Narcisse Jacques and bequeathed it to the canton of Fribourg at her death. At least four marble versions (Fontainebleau, Musée du château; Fribourg, Musée d'art et d'histoire; Japan, Private Collection; Paris, Private Collection) and four bronze versions (Belfaux (Switzerland), Château de Belfaux; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Paris, Private Collection; Zürich, Private Collection) are extant.

Ananké

Ananké (fig. 4-25), another powerful depiction of strength, was Marcello's next significant bust of a mythological figure. To the Romans she was known as the goddess Necessitas. As the ancient *protogonos* of necessity, she was an unyielding and potent goddess who controlled the force of destiny. The *protogonoi* were the first-born immortals whose forms emerged at the beginning of time. Ananké mated with Chronos (Time) to create the earth, sea, and universe through the entwining of their serpent-like coils. As the first female being and

⁸⁰ For a discussion of the London *Gorgone*, see Charles Avery, "From David d'Angers to Rodin – Britain's National Collection of French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture," in *The Connoisseur* (April 1972): 230-6. Avery reproduced an image of the piece and said of it: "The sculpture belongs to an important subsidiary current in the changing styles of the nineteenth century which might be termed Neo-Mannerist and which ultimately contributed not a little to the repertory of Art Nouveau." Avery was on to something, although he seems to have been unable to see the Symbolist qualities in Marcello's work, or he decided to ignore them. In this chapter, instead of placing Marcello within a period of "Neo-Mannerism" or some other retroactive style, I am positioning her at the forefront of Symbolism.

co-creator of the universe, she was nothing short of the most powerful female figure in the origins of Greek myth.⁸¹

In Marcello's depiction of Ananké, one again finds visual clues that reference the figure's heroic nature. In the livret for the 1867 *Exposition universelle*, Marcello's description of the work appears as "A symbolic head depicting inflexible destiny. She wears the Indian attributes of wisdom: elephant tusks, the horns of Ammon and the sparrowhawk."⁸² With a strong, upright head turned slightly to the right, Ananké glances not directly at the view but off into the distance, at some unknown victim. Great attention is paid to the *coiffure* and *poitrine*, as with all of Marcello's female busts. Starting at the top, Ananké's long tresses cascade in snake-like curls over the shoulders in a natural, non-symetrical way. A reptilian beast, whose two tails slink over her ears, crowns her head. This is certainly a reference to the original serpentine forms of Ananké and Chronos themselves. An additional *animalier* element, a small falcon or sparrowhawk, is found resting between her breasts. Covering these firm breasts, complete with erect nipples, is a plain but elegant toga.⁸³ Her smile, intriguing, mysterious, cannot be qualified: it is neither one of happiness nor sarcasm.

Ananké is not one of Marcello's best-known works, possibly because it had been exhibited publicly only twice during her lifetime: at the *Exposition universelle* in 1867 (the

⁸¹ For a descriptive entry on Ananké, see volume 1 of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* (Zürich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1981), 757.

⁸² *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris. Catalogue général publié par la commission impériale* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1867), 193. "Tête symbolique de la Destinée inflexible. Elle porte pour les attributs indiens de la sagesse, la trompe de l'éléphant, les cornes d'Ammon et l'épervier."

⁸³ It is interesting to take note of which of Marcello's female figures have visible breast anatomy, either under their clothing or exposed. It becomes clear in comparison of the sculptures that many of the strong, dominating female figures are shown with erect *mamelons* or *bouts de sien* (such as *Ananké*, *Bianca Capello* and *Pythia*) while more pious or remorseful figures (such as *Marguerite de Goethe*, *La Petite Madone*, and *Marie-Antoinette au Temple*) do not have this part of their anatomy visible. Like incised eyes and subtle changes in facial expressions, breasts in Marcello's work become a visual code for vigor and virility. In contrast, many of Marcello's images of men (for the most part made up of portraits) are usually cut off at the neck.

year it was completed) and at the *Exposition internationale des beaux-arts* in Munich two years later. *Bianca Capello*, by contrast, had been exhibited seven times between 1863 and 1877, and traveled to Lille, Munich, Nice, Paris, and Vienna during those years. Additionally Ananké is not a subject often treated in art, and thus the figure's history may have been less known to the general public. It is Marcello's choice of lesser-known mythological figures for representation, however, that set her apart from other artists of her day. One critic in *Moniteur des arts* did notice and complement the work a few weeks before the opening of the *Exposition universelle*:

Among the busts still unknown to the public, we cite that of the *Ananké*, symbol of Destiny, from the serious and profound eyes, to the sardonic mouth. This work, so remarkable, attests once again to the powerful originality of this young artist, and perhaps it is the one of her busts that we most admire.⁸⁴

In 1872, the collector, journalist, and publisher Émile de Girardin (1806-1881) purchased the original marble from Marcello, and after her death he donated the bust back to the museum of the canton of Fribourg.⁸⁵ When the Musée Marcello opened to the public in 1881, the sculpture was included in the collection and was reintroduced to the public.⁸⁶ Marcello's sister, the poet Cécile d'Affry, Baroness d'Ottensfels, wrote a poem about the work that was published in 1888 and reprinted in a 1905 brochure for the museum:

Oui, ce rayon divin dans l'atone paupière,
Aurore du désert, a fait vibrer la pierre;

Yes, this divine ray in lifeless eyelids,
Dawn of the desert, made stone vibrate;

⁸⁴ Adriani, "Courrier," *Moniteur des arts* (5 April 1867): 1. "Parmi les bustes encore inconnus du public, citons celui de l'*Ananké*, symbole de la Destinée, aux yeux sérieux et profonds, à la bouche sardonique. Cette oeuvre si remarquable atteste une fois de plus l'originalité puissante de ce jeune artiste, et c'est peut-être celui de ses bustes que nous préférons."

⁸⁵ Émile de Girardin was an important publisher and journalist in Paris, and founded the journal *La Presse*. He was the husband of Delphine Gay (1804-1855), an important poet and journalist. Gay held a literary salon in Paris that was known for its brilliance. She also published comedies, stories, and sketches of Parisian life under the pseudonym Vicomte Charles de Launay. Marcello certainly knew Gay and owned a carte-de-visite photograph of her which remains conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg.

⁸⁶ The Musée Marcello is the subject of Chapter Six.

La funeste Ananké disparaît à nos yeux,

Une autre Destinée émerge au sein
des ombres,

Et l'on croit voir errer sur ses lèvres
moins sombres

Un sourire mystérieux.

Et ce sourire dit: homme, embryon
de l'être,

Larve qui vas périr, papillon qui vas naître

Aux limbes du passé pourquoi river tes pas?

Pourquoi haïr la main qui vient briser
ta chaîne?

Pourquoi pleurer le gland d'où s'élance le
chêne?

Regard en haut et non en bas!⁸⁷

The fatal Ananké disappears from
our eyes,

Another destiny emerges in the shade of
her breasts,

and one believes to see wandering on her
less somber lips

A mysterious smile.

And this smile says: man, embryo
of being,

Larva who is going to perish, butterfly
who is going to be born,

Why bury yourself in the limbo of the
past?

Why hate the hand that has just broken
your chains?

Why cry for the acorn from which
the oaktree is born?

Look above you and not below!

The poem, of which only two stanzas are given here, provides a powerful reading of the figure. Cécile here gives Ananké a voice. Ananké speaks to “man,” (not to “mankind” specifically, but more to the “male” gender) reprimanding him for reproaching the woman who comes to break his chains (Ananké herself, or “woman” in general), and instructs him to be concerned only with the loftier elements of life. Cécile d’Ottenfels, writing in the later 1880s, was more fully aware of Symbolist elements current in literature, poetry and the visual arts than was Marcello. Yet she obviously sensed these elements as palpable in a work made by her sister twenty years earlier.

Ananké is an important sculpture within Marcello’s oeuvre of female figures in the heroic genre. Although not as well known as her other works, she did include it among her submissions for the 1867 *Exposition universelle*, with other works that she had classified as “*héroïque*.” Additionally, Marcello’s choice of a relatively unfamiliar mythological figure that

⁸⁷ Camille Roy, *Marcello et ses oeuvres, Souvenir du Musée Marcello, Fribourg en Suisse*, with poems by Baronne [Cécile] d’Ottenfels d’Affry (Fribourg, Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1905), 29.

was rarely exhibited in art is a testament to her originality and her breadth of knowledge of classical texts. Such deviations from the usual mythological characters were characteristic of later Symbolist artworks, which Marcello predated by several decades.

Hécate et Cerbère (Hecate and Cerberus)

Hecate and Cerberus (fig. 4-26a) is significant to Marcello's oeuvre for a number of reasons. It holds a special place as one of her first large scale marbles to reach completion and earn her a government commission. As with *Ananké*, the artist had again chose a mythological figure seldom represented in the visual arts during the period. The only other representation of Hecate (albeit as a secondary figure) worthy of note is her appearance in Gustave Moreau's *Jupiter and Semele* (Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris, fig. 4-34) of 1894-95. August Rodin treated the subject in a sculpture first cast in 1915; the work is now in the collection of the Musée Rodin. The fact that two major Symbolists depicted the subject of Hecate thirty years or more *after* Marcello treated her in such a grand manner should be regarded as evidence of Marcello's foresight into what eventually became Symbolist themes.

This colossal figure is considered heroic simply by the nature of her mythological origins. In Greek mythology, Hecate (from the Greek *Hekatē*, "she who works her will,") was a benevolent chthonian (underworld) goddess of fertility, women, and the moon, and was the chief goddess presiding over magic and spells. She was often linked (or confused) with Artemis (Diana) and is sometimes called Diana-Hecate. Her other "sister" goddess was Selene, goddess of the moon. Some ancient sources claim that Hecate later became Iphigeneia, a key figure in many Greek tragedies written by Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles. Hecate was also known as the goddess of the crossroads, invisible to all except to the hounds who attended her; thus, she was often worshipped at crossroads. Additionally she was identified with black

magic, sorcery and the occult, themes that were, incidentally, influential on later Symbolist artists. An important mythological figure, she appears in the writings of Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*), Horace (*Sermones*), Ovid (*Fasti*), Seneca (*Medea*) and Vergil (*Aeneis*).

Hecate and Cerberus was one of Marcello's largest sculptures completed in marble and its size contributes to its grandeur. One of the goddess's massive arms caresses her hound while the other rests along her cheek. Her thick hair falls gracefully along her shoulders, and her head is crowned with a crescent moon, symbolic of her connections with that celestial orb. Marcello included one of Hecate's hounds, which she identified as Cerberus, guard dog at the entrance to Hades. Thoughtful, pensive, and strong, *Hecate* is the female predecessor to Rodin's *Thinker* (fig. 4-33), the landmark Symbolist sculpture of almost two decades later. Although their poses are only tangentially related in the sense that each work depicts a seated figure, caught in a moment of introspection, both works deal with Symbolist issues of intellectualism and spirituality. Marcello described *Hecate* to her viewers in the livret for the *Exposition universelle* as a depiction of "the goddess, absorbed in somber meditations, [who] seems to contemplate with irony the tragic destiny of humanity."⁸⁸ She related the melancholy nature of this piece to the ten-year anniversary of the death of her husband, Carlo Colonna, an anniversary that had passed while she began working on the sculpture.

One can again see the influence of Michelangelo in *Hecate and Cerberus*, particularly in the pose and melancholy nature of the female figure. She resembles some of the Renaissance masters's works from the Sistine Ceiling in the Vatican, where Marcello often made studies and ink sketches while in Rome. Similar elements of pose and mood show as well an affinity with the "flayed skin" self-portrait of Michelangelo from the Last Judgement

⁸⁸ *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris. Catalogue général publié par la commission impériale*, 193. "La déesse, absorbée dans de sombres méditations, semble contempler avec ironie les tragiques destins de l'humanité."

Altarpiece also at the Sistine Chapel, in particular the placement of a fist rested on the chin. Michelangelo's flayed representation of himself exhibits melancholy, sadness, and a descent into hell. Such components also exist in the *Hecate*. The most obvious connection between Michelangelo's work and Marcello's is the similarity of her *Hecate and Cerberus* to his *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici* for the sitter's tomb. Critics at the time of the group's exhibition recognized the stimulus of Michelangelo's art on Marcello's *Hecate and Cerberus*, with one critic in *Moniteur des arts* saying of it, "From now on, the *Pensieroso* has a sister."⁸⁹ The phrase is a reference to Michelangelo's *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici* (fig. 4-28, Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence), called *Il Pensieroso* because it illustrates the contemplative life. As discussed in previous chapters, Marcello was deeply influenced by Michelangelo's sculpture, and made drawings after his sculptures that she had seen first hand in Italy. She drew *Il Pensieroso* in one of her many sketchbooks (fig. 4-29), and produced other sketches in the manner of Michelangelo (4-30).

Although a similar relationship has been proposed between Michelangelo's seated self-portrait and Rodin's *Thinker*, it is important to acknowledge that Marcello had spent many years directly studying the works of Michelangelo during her long stays in Italy (where Rodin did not have the same opportunity to study over long periods of time) and the influence of the Renaissance master's work is at least as palpable, if not much more so, in Marcello's oeuvre.⁹⁰ Her consideration of Renaissance art and her attempt to bring the style of such works into the modern art arena as early as the 1860s was particularly hers and was often noted by critics.

⁸⁹ Adriani, "Courrier," *Moniteur des arts* (5 April 1867): 1. "Désormais le *Pensieroso* a une soeur."

⁹⁰ For a study of the connections between the works of Rodin and Michelangelo, see Flavio Fergonzi, et. al., *Rodin and Michelangelo: A Study in Artistic Inspiration*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1997), 1 *passim*. The Casa Buonarroti in Florence organized the exhibition.

In her investigation of contemplative figures and poses, Marcello certainly thought of Michelangelo's *Il Pensieroso*, but also of his Sistine Chapel frescoes, in particular of his image of the Hebrew prophet Jeremiah, the penultimate pensive figure (fig. 4-31). Jeremiah inspired the English word "jeremiad," or a prolonged lamentation. He also had a pessimistic view of the present and foresaw a catastrophic future, over which he brooded. The sad nature of Jeremiah's pose and gestures as captured by Michelangelo at the Sistine match those of Marcello's *Hecate*, and she was certainly thinking of the Renaissance work when she produced her large marble group. Further evidence of *Jeremiah* as a source for *Hecate* is shown through a drawing after Michelangelo's fresco in one of Marcello's sketchbooks (fig. 4-32).⁹¹

Other influences on Marcello's *Hecate and Cerberus* are possible. Around the time she completed her sculpture, the Musée du Louvre seems to have acquired (or had re-exhibited) *Pluto, God of Hell, Holding Cerberus in Chains* (*Pluton, dieu des Enfers, tenant Cerbère enchaîné*) by the sculptor Augustin Pajou (fig. 4-35, 1730-1809). When comparing the two sculptures (see figs. 4-26a and 4-35), one immediately notices the complete reversal of Pluto's pose in *Hecate*. The opposite pose is used in Marcello's figure, which seems almost deliberate, as if she meant to create a companion to Pajou's work by reversing the position of the arms, head, and even the pose of the dog in her work. As Pajou's *Pluto* had long been in the collection of the École des beaux-arts and the Louvre, it is very possible that she was familiar with the work.

Emperor Napoléon III personally ordered *Hecate and Cerberus* in marble from Marcello in 1866 to decorate the entrance of the Forest of Fontainebleau, and on 17 May 1867;

⁹¹ This drawing can be found in Album # VII, conserved in the *Salon Chinois* at the Fondation Marcello (fig. 4-32).

10,000 French francs was allotted for the sculpture.⁹² The Minister of Fine Arts, Nieuwerkerke, had some concerns about the size that Marcello had planned for the sculpture as early as 1866. In a letter of 5 June 1866, Marcello refused to reduce the size, noting that the “majestic effect of the work” would be lost.⁹³ Marcello had to rent a larger studio in Paris, on the rue de Vaugirard where she worked with her *praticien* Stephan Petit, to accommodate the piece. Originally planned for the Tuileries Gardens, *Hecate and Cerberus* seems to have decorated the Palais de Compiègne for a brief time after its completion. In 1889, ten years after Marcello’s death, *Hecate and Cerberus* was moved to Montpellier, where it was displayed in the Peyrou Gardens.⁹⁴ After 1956, the sculpture was moved to the Esplanade du Faubourg de Celleneuve in Montpellier. Since 1986, *Hecate and Cerberus* has been displayed in Grammont Municipal Park in Montpellier, where it remains in deplorable condition (see figs. 4-26b through 4-26f).⁹⁵ One can see the high level of damage of the sculpture when photographs of its current state are compared with a photograph of the work taken soon after its completion in 1867 (fig. 4-27).

In Marcello’s *Hecate and Cerberus*, one senses the theme of melancholy that later became an important subject in the work of the Symbolists; the sculpture foreshadows the spiritual malaise of the *fin-de-siècle*, seen in Hecate’s withdrawn and silent manner. Although

⁹² Archives Nationales de Paris, F/21/237.

⁹³ Letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Emile Nieuwerkerke, dated 5 June 1866, Archives FM “...perdre l’effet majestueux de cette oeuvre.”

⁹⁴ Archives municipales, Ville de Montpellier, Dossier R 2/3.

⁹⁵ Mireille Lacave, *Montpellier, la sculpture dans la ville* (Montpellier, Éditions de l’Equinoxe, 1990), 63-65. “En 1956, alors que l’on enlève systématiquement les sculptures du Peyrou, pour lui redonner sa virginité première, Hécate part en exil sur une place de faubourg, puis vingt ans plus tard, elle gagne un emplacement champêtre, plus approprié à sa méditation solitaire, sur une petite éminence du parc de Grammont.”

inspired by ancient mythological sources, the work also symbolizes human suffering, tragedy, and the artist's own feelings of loss and personal mourning.

La Bacchante fatiguée (The Tired Bacchante)

Shocking to some, poetic to others, Marcello's *Tired Bacchante* (*La Bacchante fatiguée*, fig. 4-36, drawing, fig. 4-37) holds an important place in her oeuvre as one of her most sensual depictions of a female figure. Completed in the spring of 1869 in Rome, the *Tired Bacchante* was Marcello's only submission to the Salon of that year. In his typical conservative tone, Prosper Mérimée asked Marcello, after hearing of her *Tired Bacchante*, "how have you discovered a Bacchante, you who have never been intoxicated?"⁹⁶ Later, Adolphe Thiers called the work the only one in the Salon "which merits the attention of a man of taste, the *Tired Bacchante*, I have silently admired it, she surpasses all that you have made before, and the model for it is admirable."⁹⁷

The intense expression of the *Tired Bacchante* was not lost on critics at the time of its exhibition in 1869. Thémines, critic for *La Patrie*, celebrated the sculpture for its vitality:

And since I speak of expression, let us admire that which Marcello (it is pointless to place a name under this pseudonym so favorably known by artists and cultivated people everywhere) which Marcello, I say, has given to her *Bacchante Fatiguée* (marble bust). We know that this sculptor excels in making the marble live. We remember her magnificent series of busts from the Universal Exposition, notably her two Marie-

⁹⁶ Prosper Mérimée to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), undated (circa summer, 1868), Archives FM. "Comment avez-vous deviné une Bacchante, vous qui ne vous êtes jamais grisée?" This letter was published in Pierre Trahard, ed., *Prosper Mérimée, lettres à la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna* (Paris: Boivin et Cie, Éditeurs, 1938), 56-60. The quote is found on page 59.

⁹⁷ Letter from Adolphe Thiers to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 27 June 1869, Archives FM. Catalogued in Henriette Bessis, "Adolphe Thiers et la duchesse Colonna." (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1972), 278-80, as letter number 114. "Comment! Vous m'aimez encore! Vous pensez à moi! Vous vous souvenez que j'existe! J'ai éprouvé à l'apprendre une joie bien vive et bien profonde. Voulez vous me croire? J'ai eu à peine un moment dans les deux mois écoulés, pour aller au Salon! J'ai vu, regardé un marbre, le seul qui méritait les regards d'un homme de goût, la Bacchante fatiguée, je l'ai silencieusement admirée (elle surpasse tout ce que vous avez fait, le modelé en est admirable) et elle m'a rempli de jalousie."

Antoinettes, the queen and the prisoner, the Marie-Antoinette of Trianon and that of the Conciergerie – this time she has, as I was saying, the bust of a Bacchante.

The ardent priestess, “tired but not satisfied,” rests herself reluctantly; the eyelids half-closed, the figure contracted, the nostrils quivering, the lips creased, the eyebrows softly knitted, she displays on her face all of the fatigue of the erotic dance and voluptuousness from which she finally delivers herself. The very vine branches of her crown fall down wilted on her streaming hair. The purists can prefer a classical head, the calm and serene Olympian of statuary; art lovers crowd around this marble that appears alive to them.⁹⁸

Ernest Chesneau, in his Salon review of 18 May 1869, called the *Tired Bacchante* “a beautiful work, [it is made more] remarkable by the profound aptness of the expression.”⁹⁹

Other critics also admired the work, including among them Marcello’s most adamant supporter Ernest Fillonneau. In *Moniteur des arts*, he praised the piece in a lengthy paragraph:

The works of Marcello – read the Duchess Castiglione-Colonna – have always the privilege to stop, to hold, and to charm the visitor. Her *Tired Bacchante* will have its place alongside the Gorgone and the Bianca Capello already placed among the remarkable productions of contemporary sculpture. Marcello, who must have Prometheus somewhere in her genealogy since her chisel gives to the marble the fire of feeling and of passion, modifies in a very good way the tradition regarding the Bacchante. It is no longer the clumsy and vulgar creature whose crude charms inspire nothing other than disgust more or less pronounced. The interpretation by Marcello, so intelligent in its poetry, softens the lines, gives elegance to the shape and finesse to the traits. Again sensuality prevails and so it should be, but the sensuality of the *Tired Bacchante* puts an end to the lies about the Mythology that has been peopled only with cooks since Rubens. We are drawn despite ourselves, to this ravishing head

⁹⁸ M. de Thémènes, “Salon de 1869. IV. Sculpture,” *La Patrie* (13 May 1869): n.p. “Et puisque je parle d’expression, admirez celle que Marcello (inutile de mettre un nom sous ce pseudonyme si favorablement connu des artistes et des gens du monde) que Marcello, dis-je, a donné à sa *Bacchante fatiguée* (buste en marbre). On sait si ce statuaire excelle à faire vivre le marbre. On se souvient de sa magnifique série de bustes de l’Exposition universelle, notamment de ses deux Marie-Antoinette, le reine et la détenue, la Marie-Antoinette de Trianon et celle de la Conciergerie – Cette fois il a, comme je viens de le dire, le buste d’une *Bacchante*. L’ardente prêtresse, «lasse mais non rassasiée», se repose à contre-cœur; la paupière à demi-close, la figure contractée, la narine frémissante, la lèvre plissée, le sourcil légèrement froncé, elle montre sur son visage toute la fatigue de la danse érotique et voluptueuse à laquelle elle s’est livrée longuement. Les pampres mêmes qui la couronnent retombent fanés sur sa chevelure ruisselante. Les puristes peuvent préférer une tête classique, le calme et la sérénité olympienne de la statuaire; les amateurs entourent en foule ce marbre qui leur paraît vivant.”

⁹⁹ Ernest Chesneau, “Salon de 1869, Sculpture,” *Le Constitutionnel* (18 May 1869): 2. “Le buste de *Bacchante «fatiguée»* signée du pseudonyme Marcello; cette tête, d’un beau travail, remarquable par la justesse profonde de l’expression.”

overwhelmed by the fumes of love, one would like to stare at this vision, hidden from us, and wait for the awakening of these sleeping charms.¹⁰⁰

Placing an overtly sexual figure in the Salon was particularly risky for a female artist.

The conservative critic Armand de Pontmartin alluded to some of the fears that the *Tired Bacchante* was an image representing solely sexual satisfaction and drunken carousing:

Is it not also very modern, in fact ultra-modern, the adorable *bacchante fatiguée* of MARCELLO? Yes, madame, you have made a masterpiece, and those of them who say the contrary are jealous or envious, exasperated by your early success. But everyone does not know that bacchantes are priestesses, that they valued most their reputations and that their fatigue, after excessive sacred dancing, resembled that of some young girls, moreover perfectly honest, who have gone a little too far in a polka or a waltz during carnival. It is the same sense that the chaste Virgil had said:

«... et virginibus *bacchata* Lacoenis Taygeta!...»

For the ignorant and the profane only, that is to say for the large majority, the word bacchante has a less hieratic signification, and the bust by MARCELLO can well prolong the misunderstanding. This beautiful head inclined back, the eyelids half-closed, the hair of which the *beautiful disorder* is a marvel, these cheeks somewhat drawn from which one guesses the joys and the pallor, these lips half-open onto small teeth, more white than that of the marble, the entire ensemble of weariness and melancholy arouses some ideas not at all priestly. Since we are speaking of a kind of mythology, I will say that Bacchus, the god of wine, has played less of this fatigue than Venus Aphrodite; a Venus delicate and wise, daughter of the Renaissance, contemporary of Primatice, of Jean Goujon and of Diana of Poitiers. The work is exquisite; it is not antique. There is reverie in this voluptuous pleasure, a refinement of this art, a reminiscence of the society life of Hémus and Cithéron.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Ernest Fillonneau, "Salon de 1869, Sculpture," *Moniteur des arts* (11 June 1869): 2. "Les oeuvres de Marcello, – lisez duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna, – ont toujours le privilège d'arrêter, de retenir, et de charmer le visiteur. Sa *Bacchante fatiguée* aura sa place à côté de la Gorgone et de la Bianca Capello, rangées déjà parmi les productions remarquables de la statuaire contemporaine. Marcello, qui doit avoir Prométhée quelque part dans sa généalogie, puisque son ciseau communique au marbre le feu du sentiment et de la passion, modifie très heureusement la tradition en ce qui concerne la Bacchante. Ce n'est plus l'épaisse et vulgaire créature dont les appâts grossiers n'inspirent qu'un dégoût plus ou moins prononcé. L'interprétation de Marcello, si intelligente dans sa poésie, adoucit les lignes, donne au galbe de l'élégance et aux traits de la finesse. La sensualité domine encore, et il le faut: mais la sensualité de la *Bacchante fatiguée* cesse de mentir à la Mythologie, qui n'a été peuplée de cuisinières que depuis Rubens. On s'attache, malgré soi, à cette ravissante tête prise par les vapeurs de l'amour, on voudrait fixer ce regard qui se voile, et attendre le réveil de ces charmes assoupis."

¹⁰¹ A[rmand] de Pontmartin, "Salon de 1869," *L'Univers illustré* (19 June 1869): 390. "N'est-elle pas très-moderne aussi, encore plus moderne, l'adorable *Bacchante fatiguée*, de MARCELLO? Oui, madame, vous avez fait un chef-d'oeuvre, et ceux ou celles qui disent le contraire sont des jaloux ou des envieuses exaspérées par vos premiers succès. Mais tout le monde ne sait pas que les bacchantes étaient des prêtresses, qu'elles valaient mieux que leur réputation et que leur fatigue, après des excès de danse sacrée, ressemblait à celle des jeunes filles, parfaitement honnêtes d'ailleurs, qui ont un peu abusé de la polka ou de la valse pendant le carnaval. C'est dans le même sens que le chaste Virgile a dit: «...et virginibus *bacchata* Lacoenis Taygeta!...» Seulement, pour les ignorants et les profanes, c'est-à-dire pour l'immense majorité, le mot bacchante a une signification moins hiératique, et le buste de MARCELLO pourrait bien prolonger le malentendu. Cette belle tête inclinée en

Thus contemporary critics did not overlook the *Tired Bacchante* and her palpable sexuality was openly observed. It is particularly remarkable that Marcello received such glowing reviews for this work, since such sexually-charged images were frequently censured when they came from the studio of a female artist. Perhaps her pseudonym “liberated” the critics to speak freely about her art even though they knew she was a woman.

Additionally Marcello may have learned something from her friend Auguste Clésinger, whose own *Bacchante* and his related and earlier work *Woman Bitten By a Snake* (both 1847), each depicting a woman lying down in an ecstatic pose, were known for their overt sexuality and were sometimes criticized for it.¹⁰² In other words, depicting a work entitled “Bacchante” as a bust (that is, as an upright figure) connotes a different sensibility than one of the same title shown reclining. The fact that Clésinger had given his *Bacchante* this mythological label did not save him from criticism because the pose of the work trumped the title. Thus, Marcello’s compositional choice for the *Tired Bacchante* may have also helped to defend it against critical attacks.

Mérimée, an ardent letter writer and confidante of Marcello’s, was often bluntly honest with her and gave criticism where he felt it was necessary. After stating in a previous letter that he would write to her after he saw her *Tired Bacchante* at the Salon, Mérimée did as promised on 2 June 1869:

arrière, ces paupières à demi closes, cette chevelure dont le *beau désordre* est une merveille, ces joues légèrement amaigries dont on devine le tressaillement et la pâleur, ces lèvres entr’ouvertes sur des petites dents plus blanches que le marbre même, tout cet ensemble de lassitude et de langueur éveille des idées peu sacerdotales. Puisque nous sommes en plein mythologie, je dirai que Bacchus, le dieu du vin, a moins de part dans cette fatigue que Vénus Aphrodite; une Vénus délicate et savante, fille de la Renaissance, contemporaine du Primatice, de Jean Goujon et de Diane de Poitiers. L’oeuvre est exquise; elle n’est pas antique. Il y a de la rêverie dans cette volupté, du raffinement dans cet art, une réminiscence de la vie mondaine dans ce souvenir de l’Hémus et du Cithéron.”

¹⁰² For a discussion of Clésinger’s *Bacchante* and the criticism leveled against it by English critics, see Patricia Mainardi, “French Sculpture, English Morals: Clésinger’s *Bacchante* at the Crystal Palace, 1851,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* (December 1983): 215-20.

I have seen your *Bacchante*. She pleases me. However, I find that her face is too large at the base, [and] I would say the jaw is a little square. People falsely claim that novelists and artists always make portraits of themselves. I would have liked it if you had posed for the jaw of your *Bacchante*. I find also that the muscle of the neck on the right side is a little bulging. The eyes and the mouth are most excellent.¹⁰³

Although always kind, Mérimée often chided Marcello about her opinions on art and her choice of artists to appreciate (for example, Carpeaux, Courbet, Delacroix and Goya, all of whom he disliked and she greatly admired). Yet, their correspondence spanned six years, between 1864 and 1870, the year of the author's death. Marcello was one of the last three people to whom Mérimée wrote before his death, and she owned two artworks by Mérimée in gouache, now in the Fondation Marcello. Theirs was a solid friendship, regardless of differences of opinion and Mérimée's bold estimations of her work, which Marcello nonetheless appreciated.

Michelangelo had once again provided inspiration for Marcello's sculpture. Having spent a significant amount of time in Italy during the years 1868-69, Marcello undoubtedly saw and was inspired by Michelangelo's version of the same subject, his *Bacchus* (c.1497-98, fig. 4-38). Both *Bacchus* and *Tired Bacchante* share, in their expressions, the palpable sense of drunkenness and rapture, complete with parted lips and unfocused eyes. Both are crowned with the obligatory grapes and grape leaves, the usual attributes of bacchante figures and of Bacchus himself. There are two major differences between the two works; the first, and most obvious, being that Michelangelo's sculpture is a full-scale figure while Marcello's is a bust. The second difference is that *Bacchus* is a male and the *Tired Bacchante* is a female.

¹⁰³ Pierre Trahard, ed., *Prosper Mérimée, lettres à la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna*, 102. "J'ai vu votre *Bacchante*. Elle me plaît. Cependant je trouve qu'elle a le visage trop large du bas, je veux dire la mâchoire un peu carrée. On prétend faussement que les romanciers et les artistes font toujours leur portrait. Je voudrais que vous eussiez posé pour la mâchoire de votre *Bacchante*. Je trouve encore que le muscle du col du côté droit est un peu saillant. Les yeux et la bouche sont excellentissimes."

But is this really a difference, or a similar reading by both artists of the androgyny of bacchante figures? It has been noted by Rona Goffen that Michelangelo's *Bacchus* is "bigendered," and that its "feminized masculinity has little precedent in ancient art."¹⁰⁴ She has additionally noted that Michelangelo's figure is a "homogenized sexual *mélange* of male and female qualities."¹⁰⁵ The same exact words can be applied to Marcello's *Tired Bacchante*, who has long, braided tresses and a breast, complete with hardened nipple, peeking out from her garments, but was, according to Marcello's mother, modeled after the features of the Spanish painter Eduardo Rosales-Martínez (1836-1873).¹⁰⁶ If we take this to be true, and it is possible, given that Rosales and Marcello were friends, that she owned a work by him, kept a photograph of him (still conserved at the Fondation Marcello), and made a drawn portrait of him around the time of the sculpture's production (fig. 4-39), it leads to some interesting questions regarding Marcello's treatment of her female figures. Michelangelo had taken a male figure and endowed him with feminine qualities, such as a supple physique and a feminine *visage*. Marcello, instead, took a female figure and gave her masculine qualities of drunkenness and overt sexuality. This was sensed by Mérimée, who was so shocked that a woman could know of such things and apply them to a figure of another woman, that he just had to ask her about them.

¹⁰⁴ Goffen, 99.

¹⁰⁵ Goffen, 99.

¹⁰⁶ Henriette Bessis, *Marcello: Sculpteur* (Fribourg: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1980), 143. "D'après la Comtesse d'Affry, sa mère, son ami le peintre Rosalès aurait posé pour les traits de la Bacchante." Bessis does not give a citation for the source of this information. Although the face of the *Tired Bacchante* has some affinities with images of Rosalès, it is unclear why Bessis agreed with the Comtesse d'Affry's assessment that a man had posed for a sculpture of a female figure.

According to Patricia Mathews, “the androgyne...served as a vehicle for spiritual transcendence so central to the Symbolist aesthetic.”¹⁰⁷ Mathews goes on to argue that the Symbolist androgyne denies sexual difference, and indeed, in Marcello’s early Symbolist work the androgyny of her *Tired Bacchante* seems to be underscored. The figure’s expression borders on the post-orgasmic, her ecstasy quenched. (Hence the reason that she is “tired” in the first place.) Yet the Bacchante is not shown as part of an orgy, or being raped, or submitting to the sexual advances of another figure. Instead she seems to bathe in her sexual satisfaction. In a single work at the height of her career, Marcello here accomplishes the depiction of a moment of “spiritual transcendence,” which the Symbolists so often tried to imply in their own work. Marcello also managed to avoid severe criticism for creating an image of female sexual perversity by giving the sculpture a mythological title.

Marcello time and again metamorphosed real people into mythological and heroic figures. As with the *Tired Bacchante*, she habitually turned a portrait bust of a relative or close friend into a mythological figure. This seems to have been the case with many of her other busts, including *La Belle Romaine* (a portrait of Marcello’s cousin Olga, the marquise de Tallenay); *Medjé* (a portrait of Madame Rodocanachi, née Isabelle Raynouard); and *Phoebe* (modeled after the society figure Mélanie de Pourtalès). Thus, the imaginary in Marcello’s works is often superimposed onto the real, allowing for a heightened sense of sexuality and sensuality in busts of female figures. Such tangible corporeality would have been inappropriate if applied to busts exhibited as straight portraiture. In the artist’s masterpiece, the *Pythia*, it will be seen that the figure embodies the traits of the mythological being, the

¹⁰⁷ Mathews, 90.

Roman model who posed for the piece, and the artist herself, resulting in a tour de force of sexual and mystical connotations.

A New Formula for High Art: *The Pythia*

Shortly after the opening of the celebrated Paris Opéra, the architect Charles Garnier (1825-1898) published an extraordinarily detailed account of the history of the building, in which he discussed many of the artists involved in its construction and decoration. In a chapter entitled "Du grand escalier," Garnier wrote, with a mixture of caution and praise, about the only decorative work in the entire building that was not especially created for the Opéra:

Since I am discussing women, I want to take this opportunity to immediately say some words on an interesting work of one of these women, the Duchess Colonna (in sculpture, Marcello). It is she who has sculpted the *Pythia* which is found under the central vault, and it is only fair that we acknowledge that it is a virile work, robust and far from being mediocre. This statue has been criticized by some, praised by others, such is the fate of human things; even divine things do not escape this; but these discussions do not subtract anything from its energetic allure and its characteristic silhouette.¹⁰⁸

Marcello's *Pythia*, (fig. 4-40) in the Opéra, the sculpture for which the artist is best known, will be discussed in terms of its genesis and reception. This work was not the product of a lone creator struggling with her materials in order to give form to an inspired idea, but had a complex history, in which not only the artist but also models and colleagues had an important role to play.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, ways in which the reception of this work was conditioned by the

¹⁰⁸ Charles Garnier, *Le Nouvel Opéra* (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2001), 296. Originally published in Paris by Ducher & Cie., 1878-81. "Puisque j'en suis sur le chapitre des femmes, je veux en profiter pour dire tout de suite quelques mots sur une oeuvre intéressante due à l'une d'elles, madame la duchesse Colonna (en sculpture Marcello). C'est elle qui a modelé la statue de la *Pythie* qui se trouve sous la voûte centrale, et c'est une justice à lui rendre que de reconnaître que c'est une oeuvre virile, robuste et loin d'être indifférente. Cette statue a été critiquée par les uns, louée par les autres; c'est le sort des choses humaines; c'est même celui des choses divines; mais ces discussions n'enlèvent rien à son allure énergique et à sa silhouette caractérisée."

¹⁰⁹ The sociologist Howard S. Becker discusses this phenomenon in his text *Art Worlds* (University of California, 1982).

fact that its author was a woman will be explored. Although Marcello was often very well received by the press and by fellow artists, she had been shunned more than once due to her gender, her choice of media, and, as we shall see, her choice of subject. Critics either admired women who could produce “masculine” sculptures or condemned them for attempting a career in the male-dominated field of sculpture. Examples of such critiques will be examined in relation to the *Pythia*.

After having earned critical success in Paris and London during the early 1860s, Marcello spent the later part of the decade traveling. In 1868, as was seen, she sojourned for several months in Spain in the company of Georges Clairin and Henri Regnault. She later traveled to Rome in 1869 where she stayed for an entire year. Here, too, she spent much time with artist -friends, including the composer Charles-François Gounod, the painter Ernest Hébert, and Regnault. While in Rome, she prepared two submissions for the 1870 Salon. One of these was a sculpture of a male Arab entitled the *Abyssinian Chieftain*. It would ultimately be purchased by the state, becoming part of the Musée du Luxembourg; it is currently located at the Musée d’Orsay. (A polychromed bronze version of this work recently entered the collection of the Dahesh Museum of Art in New York; see figure 4-43.)

The other submission for the Salon was *Pythia*, sometimes referred to as *The Sybil*. Garnier acquired the work for the Opéra after he had admired it in Rome in 1869. As early as 1867, the architect had contacted Marcello to ask her to create a set of caryatids for the building’s Grand Foyer, but for some unknown reason this project had been abandoned. Evidence for the caryatid project exists in a letter from Marcello to her mother, where she mentions Garnier’s interest in having her sculpt such works for the building, and drawings by

Marcello exist depicting sketches for the sculptures (figs. 4-41a through 4-41c).¹¹⁰ Since the caryatid project did not develop further, the artist was especially excited about the potential sale of the *Pythia* to Garnier, suggested later, and in a letter to her mother, dated 17 May 1869, Marcello noted that “Garnier told Regnault that he will take the Sibyl for the foyer of the Opera, how happy I would be if that succeeds! I have been working with more enthusiasm with this in mind.”¹¹¹

The original idea for the pose, if not exactly the original model, for the *Pythia* came from a relative of the artist and a lived experience. While caring for a dying cousin named Clémence de Montenach, née de Reynold (1839-1865), the artist witnessed her in various states of discomfort and hysteria. Once, Marcello witnessed Clémence rise from her bed, her blouse falling from her body and while ravaged with fever and tremors, her arms were stretched out wildly and her hair was untamed. According to family tradition, the artist seems to have used Clémence as original inspiration for the *Pythia*.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ These caryatids are mentioned in a letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 19 July 1867, Archives FM. “Hier Garnier est venu voir mes caritides, il est enchanté de mon travail, cela est bon, du moins.”

¹¹¹ Letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 17 May 1869, Archives FM. “Garnier a dit à Regnault qu’il prendra la sibylle pour le foyer de l’Opéra, quel bonheur si cela réussit! Je travaille avec bien plus de zèle avec cette idée!”

¹¹² Marcello’s witnessing of Clémence in a state of ecstasy and hysteria is mentioned in Odette d’Alcantara, *Marcello, Adèle d’Affry, duchesse Castiglione Colonna 1836 1879, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée et ses amis*. (Geneva: Éditions générales, 1961), 132-33, and Anita Petrovski, “La Pythie,” Brochure (Fribourg: Société des amis du Musée d’art et d’histoire, 1999): 2. Petrovski focuses on Clémence as the model for the *Pythia* in “La Pythie, une sculpture de l’avenir par Marcello,” *Art + Architecture en Suisse* (Spring 2004): 42-45. Marcello does mention “pauvre Clémence,” in a number of letters from around 1869. I have not uncovered, however, an actual document where Marcello specifically states that she used Clémence as her inspiration for the pose, and neither Alcantara nor Petrovski cite the original document. Although I agree with the suggestion that Clémence sparked the idea for the pose (since Marcello suggests it in her letters), this cousin died in 1865, and thus was not, and could not have physically been, the model who had posed for the work. This section explores the possible models for the *Pythia* rather than the inspiration for the idea. For this reason, rightly or not, I decided to leave out Clémence’s possible role in the origin of the *Pythia* in my article “A New Formula for High Art: The Genesis and Reception of Marcello’s *Pythia*,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (Autumn 2003), www.19thc-artworldwide.org.

Later, for the actual posing of the figure, Marcello certainly shared models with other artists. She would often become intrigued with the features of a particular model, only later constructing a literal meaning for the painting. While in Rome, Marcello writes of “borrowing” a model that Regnault used for one of his paintings. In a letter to her mother dated 27 July 1869, she records the commencement of a new work (not the *Pythia*, but a bust of a female figure that she was working on concurrently): “I have made another bust, a smiling Moorish woman, as a pendant to the grave-looking Abyssinian; the model was the little “Zingara Marie” [literally, Gypsy Marie], who was the inspiration for Regnault’s masterpiece.”¹¹³ Marcello here makes reference to Regnault’s well-known *Salomé*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4-45). That Marcello and Regnault shared a model was confirmed by Henri Cazalis, who noted in his study of Regnault of 1872 that “the model who served him for the composition of the head [of *Salomé*], and whom [Regnault] had met in Rome, also served Mme la Duchess Colona [*sic*] for a bust of an African woman, which she made at the same time.”¹¹⁴ It is unclear whether Marcello used the same model for both the *Pythia* and the bust of the African woman, as the latter has disappeared. However, the two works share several elements with each other. A drawing by Marcello (fig. 4-46) seems to be a sketch after Regnault’s *Salomé*, while *Salomé* clearly shares elements with Marcello’s *Pythia* such as the seated pose, position of the feet, disheveled appearance, and the elaborate treatment of the hair.

¹¹³ Letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 27 July 1869, Archives FM. “J’ai fait un autre buste, une femme mauresque souriante, comme pendant au grave Abyssin, avec comme modèle la petite Zingara Marie, dont Regnault a fait un chef-d’oeuvre...”

¹¹⁴ Henri Cazalis, *Henri Regnault: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1872), 73. “Le modèle qui lui servit pour la composer la tête [of *Salomé*], et qu’il rencontra à Rome, servit aussi à Mme la duchesse Colona [*sic*] pour un buste de *femme africain* qu’elle fit à la même époque.” It is unclear for which work Marcello used Regnault’s model; although she may have easily used Zingara Marie for the *Pythia*, Marcello was also working on other busts of female figures at the same time.

The similarities between Marcello's Pythia and Regnault's *Salomé* must be seen less in terms of the traditional notion of "influence" than as a result of a complex give-and-take between two artists who shared models, saw one another on a regular basis, and even worked together. Apparently, both Marcello and Regnault started their works as simple studies of a model and only later developed these into thematic works. Both must have seen the model as a figure of strength, which cause them to think of mythical, powerful women. There is further evidence to suggest that the two artists not only shared a model but also were inspired by one another's works. Regnault toyed with several titles including *Hérodiane*, *Esclave favorite*, and *Poetassa de Córdoba*, before settling on *Salomé*.¹¹⁵ It is possible that this decision was inspired by an etching by Marcello, produced around 1868, when she was working alongside Regnault in Spain (fig. 4-47); In Marcello's etching, *Salomé* stands holding a large plate topped with the head of the Baptist. The deep cross-hatching and billowy sleeves of her dress lend a sense of energy to the image, not unlike Regnault's painting. Whether Marcello's etched *Salomé* influenced Regnault to rework his painting and give it the same title is not known, but it is generally accepted that he did so as an afterthought, after enlarging his painting (begun in 1869, after Marcello began her etchings) from a simple portrait. In any event, there was certainly an equal exchange of influence on the subject of these works between the two artists. It is interesting to note that, while both *Salomé* and *Pythia* were powerful women, *Salomé* is the typical *femme fatale*, who used her influence to have a man killed. *Pythia*, on the other hand, is fortified by the divine inspiration of Apollo, and uses her power to guide those who seek her council.

¹¹⁵ New York, Archives of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Accessions and Catalogues.

According to Marie Lathers, Zingara Marie served only as the initial model for Regnault's *Salomé*. Regnault seems to have finished the painting in Morocco, using Aïscha-Tchama, a young Arab maid who posed for him and Clairin, as a later and final model.¹¹⁶ According to the Metropolitan Museum of Art archives, *Salomé* was begun in Rome in March of 1869 while the twenty-four year old Regnault was in residence at the French Academy in the Villa Medici. The museum archive conserves a clipping from an unknown journal depicting a woman known as "Maria Latini," (fig. 4-48) and which contains the caption "the model for Regnault's Salome." Yet nothing further is known of Latini apart from this clipping.¹¹⁷

Regnault later enlarged the painting to a bust-length composition called *Study of an African Woman*. Finally, after adding canvas to three sides of the work, he completed the painting in Tangier in 1870, adding the passages that included the knife and basin. Some sources indicate that Regnault's father encouraged him to enlarge the work, while later writers note that the artist did so on a suggestion from the influential Spanish painter Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874).¹¹⁸ Similarly, Marcello's *Pythia*, which was begun as a bust cut off at the torso, was later enlarged to include the figure's entire body and a full tripod on which she sits.

¹¹⁶ Marie Lathers, *Bodies of Art: French Literary Realism and the Artist's Model* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 38. "One is tempted to believe that Regnault finished his most famous canvas, *Salomé* (1870) with Aïscha-Tchama (whose name is sometimes given as Chamma or Aïcha) as his model, although he had begun it the year before in Rome." Lathers also makes note of a mention of Aïscha-Tchama in Charles Virmaitre's *Paris-Palette* (1888, p. 91), where he recalled one could recognize her in the streets of Montmartre, destitute: "it's Aïcha, the woman who served as model for the *Salomé* by the painter Henri Regnault."

¹¹⁷ I first saw the clipping in New York, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in the archives of the Department of European Paintings.

¹¹⁸ Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad: Paris Letters," *Appleton's Journal: A Magazine of General Literature* 14 (31 July 1875):154-6, notes that Fortuny said he was not entering the Salon of 1870 because he had nothing to exhibit, but suggested that Regnault "take that head which you sketched lately and put a body to it; nothing could be better."

Just as Regnault used another model to complete his painting, Marcello used her own hands, arms, shoulders, and upper body to model *Pythia*. In Rome, Marcello had her own arms, back and shoulders cast in plaster to use for the *Pythia*, possibly because models were scarce during summer months.¹¹⁹ Later, Louise Clément-Carpeaux, daughter of the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, one of his first biographers and a sculptor herself, noted many years later that her mother recognized Marcello's features in the *Pythia*. In discussing the work and its supporters, Clément-Carpeaux stated,

This figure of Pythia (a portrait strongly resembling the Duchess herself, as my mother told me), is today displayed in the vestibule of the Opéra, under the large staircase of the ground floor. Evidently, the support of Carpeaux and more still that of the marquis de Piennes, fully devoted to the charming artist, were not foreign to this success.¹²⁰

Both Marcello and Regnault thus acted as modern Zeuxis, combining the features of various models to create the effects they desired. Marcello's use of her own body for the bare-breasted *Pythia* is especially intriguing. Surely it would have been scandalous to admit publicly that the arms, hands, shoulders and bare breasts of the figure shown in the Salon were modeled (and, in part, cast) from the artist's own. But it was not the first time that Marcello used her own body as a model for her sculptures, as she often made drawings of her own body and cast her shoulders and bust (without her head) for use as a

¹¹⁹ In a letter from Adèle d'Affry to the Comtesse d'Affry, Rome, dated 13 July 1869, the artist describes having herself cast by "un habile modeleur." Archives FM. "J'écris ce matin avec la patte fatiguée, car je veux de subir un moulage des bras et de dos pour ma statue dont les parties dorsales les épaules veux je dire sont tout empêtrées par l'armature ce qui rend le travail d'art là dessus impossible en ce moment. Il faut dans attendre que ce soit moulé, et comme alors, après le moulage je filerai, je l'espère, je laisse mes épaules à Rome, dans la pose juste du sujet. Un habile modeleur rajustera cela, en cognant mon dos pour cette partie là. Mais c'était un beau dévouement maternel, car l'affaire n'a rien d'agréable. J'ai aussi fait mouler le pied, et un peu de jambe pour études à défaut des modèles qui s'en volent tous à la montagne. Et puis vous m'avez assez bien bâtie, il faut en profiter tout qu'il en est temps. Je travaille beaucoup, et la statue sera bientôt prête, je l'espère."

¹²⁰ Louise Clément-Carpeaux, *La vérité sur l'oeuvre et la vie de J.-B. Carpeaux (1827-1875)*, (Paris: Dousset et Bigerelle, 1934-35), 23. "Cette figure de la *Pythie* (portrait fort ressemblant de la duchesse elle-même, m'a dit ma mère), est aujourd'hui exposé dans le vestibule de l'Opéra, sous le grand escalier du rez-de-chaussée. Évidemment, l'appui de Carpeaux et plus encore celui du marquis de Piennes, tout dévoué à la charmante artiste, ne furent pas étrangers à ce succès."

study. She profoundly identified with all of her sculpted female figures, considering them as her offspring, noting on her tombstone that she was survived by her works (“Elle aime le beau et le bien et ses oeuvres lui survivent”).

Marcello's choice of the Pythian sibyl as a subject for this sculpture reflects the artist's lifelong interest in ancient stories and myths and her fascination with powerful, heroic female figures. According to the best-known version of the Delphic myth, Pythia was a priestess who served Apollo, the ancient Greek god of prophecy.¹²¹ Many women served as “Pythia” at the temple of Apollo over a period of twelve centuries. These female prophets, each known as the oracle of Delphi, were, according to legend, totally fearless. (The word “oracle,” from the latin *oraculum* “to speak,” can refer to both a person through whom a deity is believed to speak and to the place where prophecies are spoken, as it is more commonly used.) Each priestess was protected from the fumes that rose from below because she remained in an upper-level cell in the Temple of Apollo. When a prophesy was requested, she would descend to the basement cell of the temple, mount her tripod, and breathe in sacred fumes that were emitted from a fault line below the temple. This would cause the priestess to become intoxicated and seemingly possessed, and, her body writhing violently, she would predict the future to those who beckoned to her. She was known also to answer questions, make prophecies, and give orders. Only there, on her tripod, inebriated by the fumes, could she experience a divine intervention or possession that allowed her to become a clairvoyant who predicts the future.¹²² The Sybil's

¹²¹ The best secondary sources on the Delphic myths are H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 Vols., (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), Joseph Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of the Delphic Myth and its Origins* (Berkeley: University of California at Los Angeles, 1959), and Roger Lipsey's *Have You been to Delphi? Tales of the Ancient Oracle for Modern Minds* (Albany: State University of New York, 2001).

¹²² Once thought to be simply the product of myth, the legends of the oracles at Delphi may have been based on fact. Potent gases, particularly ethylene, ethane, and methane, have been found to actually emit from the floor of the Temple of Apollo in Greece. These gases are known to produce altered mental states. See William J. Broad, “For Delphic Oracle, Fumes and Visions,” *New York Times*, Science Times, Section F (19 March 2002): F1, F4.

power was legendary, and the greatest of men were said to have visited her for her guidance and wisdom.

The three earliest stories of the Pythia are found in ancient texts such as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and in the chorus of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. Although Plutarch, the Greek biographer and philosopher, wrote about the priestesses and the fumes, one of the most vivid accounts of such women comes from Book Six of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which a similar priestess of Apollo rendered the oracles (in this case the word refers to the answers provided by the priestess) and mystical visions that came to her ferociously and violently:

The vast cave standing there apart, the retreat of the awesome Sibyl, into whom Delian Apollo, the God of Prophecy, breathes mind and spirit as he reveals to her the future... They had reached the threshold of the cavern when the virgin priestess cried: "Now is the time to ask your destinies. It is the god. The god is here." At that moment, as she spoke in front of the doors, her face was transfigured, her color changed, her hair fell in disorder about her head and she stood there, with heaving breast and her wild heart bursting in ecstasy. She seemed to grow in stature and speak as no mortal had ever spoken.¹²³

Although traditionally the Sybil was a virgin, the passages concerning her in Virgil's text are extremely sexual. Seeing her as a powerful force fighting for and against Apollo's hold, Virgil continued,

But the priestess was still in wild frenzy in her cave and still resisting Apollo. The more she tried to shake her body free of the great god the harder he strained upon her foaming mouth, taming that wild heart and moulding her by his pressure... with these words from her shrine the Sibyl... sang her fearful riddling prophecies, her voice booming in the cave as she wrapped the truth in darkness, while Apollo shook the reins upon her in her frenzy and dug the spurs into her flanks.¹²⁴

¹²³ Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Trans. David West (New York and London: Penguin Classics, 1990 [ca. 29 BC]), 132, 134.

¹²⁴ Virgil, 134-5.

Marcello's sculpture includes many visual codes providing a similarly sexual reading of the figure. The bare breasts, wild coiffure, and over dynamic pose of the *Pythia* correspond with traditional analyses of the priestess.

Placing Marcello within a specific style or movement is not an easy task, yet her late work does prefigure the Symbolist movement, as seen with her other works earlier in this chapter. Her *Pythia* has many Symbolist characteristics, including the exploration of decadence, irrational states of mind, an interest in the occult and the supernatural, and a synthesis or combination of elements from other art forms, such as classical mythology and music (she may have been thinking here of a Sybil from an opera by Lully), to create a total artistic experience. Organic and inorganic forms, of particular interest to Symbolists, are evident by the tripod that metamorphoses into *animalier* groups at the base of the sculpture. Her drawings for the tripod of the *Pythia*, complete with organic forms and sinuous lines, prefigure the later movement (fig. 4-42). Additionally, the *Pythia* conforms to the *femme fatale* type, another important Symbolist motif.

Marcello thought the *Pythia* to be her masterpiece, and in a letter to Carpeaux sent from Rome and dated 30 March 1870, she described the work in detail:

My dear Carpeaux, I have sent an important piece to the Salon for this year; it is a *Pythia on her tripod*, a sort of gypsy woman, agitated by her fateful gift. It is bizarre, energetic, and not at all systematic, so I am going to have everyone against me who follows the regiment, which is a lot of people in France. I hope that you will lend to my defense your friendship and the natural sympathy that a generous and original nature, such as yours, must feel for everyone who dares to struggle, responding by persevering in work, to the continual harshness of the awards jury.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Clément-Carpeaux, 22. "Mon cher Carpeaux, j'ai envoyé une figure importante au Salon de cette année; c'est une *Pythie sur le trépied*, une sorte de gitana agitée par le don fatidique. C'est bizarre, énergique, et pas du tout systématique, aussi vais-je avoir contre moi tout ce qui s'enrégimente. C'est beaucoup de monde en France. J'espère que vous prêterez à ma défense votre amitié et la sympathie naturelle qu'une nature généreuse et originale, telle que la vôtre, doit ressentir pour tout ce qui ose lutter, répondant par la persévérance au travail à de continuelles duretés de la part du jury des récompenses."

She continued in the same letter, describing the difficulties she had with shipping the piece to Paris and additionally asked Carpeaux to see that it was exhibited properly:

Twice the piece collapsed, I restarted it and I did not move for a year until it was finished. On the way to Paris [the maquette] broke into a hundred pieces, and so required more time than one counted on for casting, -- you see it now under the unfavorable aspects of plaster, but Thiébault [*sic*] promises the bronze in time for the opening of the Salon, and I am asking you to ask for a good place for it, that will create a favorable impression on the public.¹²⁶

Many of the reviews of *Pythia*, which was ultimately accepted and shown in the Salon of 1870, were positive. Even the conservative critic Armand de Pontmartin wrote that "this energetic, lively, palpitating bronze has rendered to me, on the contrary, much better than the cold effigies of gods and goddesses, the feeling of these ancient symbols where fear was one of the forms of belief and where religious inspiration often resembled a sort of demonique possession."¹²⁷ Camille Lemonnier remarked that the Sibyl "balances herself on the side of a tripod in a wild and superb attitude."¹²⁸ The strongest praise came from Ernest Fillonneau, critic and director of *Moniteur des arts*:

The success that we predicted for Marcello's *Pythia* before the exhibit has been fulfilled and this masterpiece is sharing with Henri Regnault's *Salomé*, of the painting Salon, the honors of the current discussion. The enlightened members of the public unanimously acknowledge especially in the *Pythia* a new formula of

¹²⁶ Clément-Carpeaux, 22. "Deux fois la figure a croulé, je l'ai recommencée et n'ai bougé d'un an jusqu'à ce qu'elle fût terminée. Dans le voyage de Paris elle s'est brisée en cent morceaux, ce qui a exigé plus de temps qu'on ne comptait pour la fonte, -- vous la voyez donc sous l'aspect défavorable du plâtre, mais Thiébault [*sic*] promet le bronze pour l'ouverture du Salon, et je vous prie de demander pour elle une bonne place, capable de favoriser l'impression sur le public."

¹²⁷ A[rmand] de Pontmartin, "Salon de 1870," *L'Univers illustré*, (18 June 1870): 394. "Ceci posé, je déclare que je ne vois rien de risible dans la *Pythie*, de MARCELLO, et que ce bronze énergique, vivant, palpitant, m'a rendu, au contraire, bien mieux que de froides effigies de dieux ou de déesses, le sentiment de ces antiques symboles où l'effroi était une des formes de la croyance et où l'inspiration religieuse ressemblait à une sorte de possession démoniaque."

¹²⁸ Camille Lemonnier, *Salon de Paris 1870*, (Paris: Morel et Cie., 1870), 231. "Je cite encore MM. Chevet, Deleplanche, Morice, Cordier, Rivey, Gouget et surtout cet original et fougueux *bifrons* Marcello, si savant et si ignorant, dont la *Pythie*, cambrée en manière de femme alpache, se crispe sur le bord d'un trépied dans une attitude extravagante et superbe."

high art, the passionate search for the beautiful on a philosophical principle and finally one of the most daring and gripping conceptions of contemporary sculpture....Concerning the *Abyssinian Chieftain*, also by Marcello, it is not and cannot be challenged by anybody[.]¹²⁹

Additionally, On 21 June 1870, M. de Thémynes, writing for *La Patrie*, similarly praised the sculpture:

Here is the *Pythia* of Marcello (whose pseudonym we respect). As all works that are marked with the seal of genius, this bronze has very fervent admirers, as well as critics. Of course, there is in this work ardor, vigor, and a very rare boldness in its composition. One feels that the artist has a divine passion; while modeling his *Pythia*, he has had to appropriate for himself the supernatural might of the model. The priestess of Apollo is on her tripod, inspired by this god, pronouncing her dark responses. It has been said that statuary requires quietness and seriousness. This is too generalized and it removes half of its power. Although he broke this law, the artist of the *Laocöon* nonetheless left an everlasting work. One cannot give the same pose and the same expression to Minerva and to *Pythia*. Let us not forget the precept of Horace: *Sit Medea ferox* [Let Medea be fierce], etc. Near the bronze one also admires his *Abyssinian Chieftain*, a bust in marble and bronze of great character and great style.¹³⁰

Not all of the reviews were positive, however. There was a published caricature in 1870 depicting the *Pythia* perched haphazardly upon a chest of drawers (fig. 4-49) by the popular French caricaturist Cham (Amédée-Charles Henri de Noé, 1818-1879); having one's

¹²⁹ Ernest Fillonneau, "Salon de 1870: Sculpture," *Moniteur des arts* (24 May 1870):2. "Le succès que nous prédisions, avant l'exposition, à la *Pythie* de Marcello, s'est pleinement réalisé, et cette oeuvre magistrale partage avec la *Salomé* d'Henri Regnault, du Salon de peinture, les honneurs de la discussion. La partie éclairée du public s'accorde à reconnaître, surtout dans la *Pythie*, une formule nouvelle du grand art, la recherche passionnée du beau sur une donnée philosophique, la réalisation, enfin, d'une des conceptions les plus hardies et les plus saisissantes de la statuaire contemporaine....Quant au buste de *Chef Abyssin*, également par Marcello, il n'est et ne peut-être contesté par personne[.]"

¹³⁰ M. de Thémynes, "Salon de 1870. XIV," *La Patrie* (21 June 1870), n.p. "Voici la *Pythie* de Marcello (dont nous respectons le pseudonyme). Comme toutes les oeuvres qui sont marquées au sceau de génie, ce bronze a des admirateurs très fervents, comme il a des détracteurs. Certes, il y a dans cette oeuvre une fougue, une vigueur, une témérité de composition très rare. On sent que l'auteur a le feu sacré; en modelant sa *Pythie*, il a dû s'assimiler la puissance surnaturelle du modèle. La prêtresse d'Apollon est sur son trépied, inspirée par ce dieu, prononçant ses sombres réponses. On a prétendu que la statuaire exige le calme et la gravité. C'est trop généraliser et c'est lui ôter la moitié de ses facultés. Pour avoir enfreint cette loi, l'auteur de *Laocöon* n'a pas moins laissé une oeuvre impérissable. On ne peut donner la même pose et la même expression à une Minerve et à *Pythie*. N'oublions pas le précepte d'Horace: *Sit Medea ferox*, etc. A côté du bronze de Marcello on admire son *chef abyssin*, buste en marbre et bronze; d'un grand caractère et d'un grand style." The Latin phrase *Sit Medea ferox* (let Medea be fierce) is from Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), *Ars Poetica*, 65-8 B.C. See Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough. Loeb Classical Library Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 490.

work chosen as a subject for Cham's popular caricatures was seen as a strange form of flattery (sometimes) and free publicity (always). Other critiques could be quite harsh. René Ménard, in his review of the Salon of 1870 in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, considered the work inappropriate from the hands of a woman:

The great woman who signs her works with the name Marcello has made, this year, an attempt more audacious than successful. Her *Pythia* resembles more closely a witch from the Middle Ages than the priestess inspired by Apollo...Of course, we are far from opposing the talent and effort put into this bronze, but we believe that sculpture is not made for melodrama, and it is almost a sacrilege to dare to give a Greek name to a nightmare from the year 1000....This is a terrible topic for a sculptor, this seriously mad and pompous *Pythia* in delirium who proclaims the judgments of Fate. ...The *Pythia* of Delphi, seated on her sacred tripod, and exalted by the god who speaks through her, is prey to a grand and lyrical drunkenness; all of her body is animated, and in an inspired accent, she tells the future. The tragic austerity of her movements are neither restrained nor difficult, and her rhythmic fury proclaims the resounding and solemn laws.¹³¹

Ménard was concerned mainly with the indecorous contortions of the body of *Pythia*, and he objected to a seemingly intoxicated female figure, feeling that passionate and reckless adventures would lead one (*i.e.*, a woman) to failure. The raw sexuality of the figure noted earlier is also palpable, and Ménard certainly disapproved of its coming from the hand of a woman. On a similar note, the critic Goujon claimed that Marcello's *Abyssinian Chieftain* (see marble version, fig. 4-50 and drawings, fig. 4-44), of the same year and exhibited nearby at the same Salon, had a "savage arrogance" which could "not possibly have been conceived by a

¹³¹ René Ménard, "Salon de 1870," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1870): 64. "La grand dame qui signe ses oeuvres du nom de Marcello a fait, cette année, une tentative plus audacieuse que réussie. Sa *Pythie* ressemble bien plus à une sorcière du moyen âge qu'à la prêtresse inspirée d'Apollon [...] Certes, nous sommes loin de contester le talent et l'effort dépensés sur ce bronze; mais nous croyons que la sculpture n'est pas faite pour le mélodrame, et il y a presque un sacrilège à affubler d'un nom grec un cauchemar de l'an mil [...] C'est un sujet terrible pour un sculpteur que cette folie solennelle d'une Pythie en délire qui proclame les arrêts du Destin [...] La Pythie de Delphes, assise sur son trépied sacré, et exaltée par le dieu qui parle en elle, est en proie à une ivresse grandiose et lyrique; tout son corps s'anime, et, d'un accent inspiré, elle prédit l'avenir. L'austérité tragique de son mouvement n'a rien de contourné ni de pénible, et sa fureur rythmée proclame des arrêts retentissants et solennels."

woman.”¹³² Works of art exhibiting arrogance, passion, and power were not only unsuitable for women to look at, but even more improper for them to produce. Such works were in violation of the classical tradition for all sculptors and it was doubly outrageous for women to make such images.

That Marcello was passed over for a medal at the Salon was not ignored by her supporters. Fillonneau, in his apparent anger over this, went on in his review to publicly accuse the Awards Jury of favoritism:

And what about the jury? What did they do in front of these two outstanding sculptures [by Marcello], eloquent proof of an enormous work, the unexpected and un hoped for results of superb efforts? The jury did nothing. ...Alas! This is not the first time that a jury steps back from the obvious and shuns truth. We believe we know and we would like to believe that among these artists all did not solely vote for their students and friends, but the majority shall regret later depriving her of it [the medal]: As for Marcello, she can console herself. The true audience acclaims her everyday, and one of the greatest artists of these times has said: ‘I would have rather made the *Pythia* and the bust of the *Abyssinian Chieftain* than have won any medal!’¹³³

Other critics, such as Albert Wolff of *Le Figaro*, were equally angry that Marcello had been passed over by the Jury. Everyone knew that the Awards Jury was suspected of giving medals only to their favorite students. Wolff’s admiration for Marcello’s *Abyssinian Chieftain* is impressive, and the text, found under the title “The Forgotten and the Despised,” is worth quoting at length on this point:

No, one does not want to believe it! Marcello, sculptor of talent, Marcello, sculptor of the beautiful marble and bronze bust, one of the prettiest things in the Salon, and of the *Pythia*, a bronze statue that, despite its faults, is a work full of energy and of life,

¹³² J. Goujon, *Salon de 1870*, (Paris: Goujon, 1870), 160.

¹³³ Fillonneau 1870, 2. “Et le jury? qu’a-t-il fait devant ces deux ouvrages hors linge, témoins éloquents d’un énorme travail, résultants inattendus et inespérés d’efforts superbes? Le jury n’a rien fait....Hélas! ce n’est pas la première fois qu’un jury recule devant l’évidence et se soustrait à la vérité. Nous croyons savoir et nous aimons à croire que parmi ces artistes, tous n’ont pas plaidé uniquement en faveur de leurs élèves et de leurs camarades, mais la majorité regrettera plus tard de l’avoir emporté: quant à Marcello, elle peut se consoler. Le public digne de ce nom l’acclame chaque jour, et un des plus grands artistes de ce temps-ci à dit: ‘J’aimerais mieux avoir fait la *Pythie* et le buste de chef arabe que d’avoir remporté n’importe quelle médaille!’

Marcello did not receive the least of medals, no more this year than the previous years. So, then it is true, admirable jury, what I have been told, which is that you do not bestow any awards to busts unless the sculptor has carved the marble or molded the clay to reproduce some official face!

Yes, it must be true, because otherwise one could not explain how the men of the jury could pass by the *Abyssinian Chieftain* without bestowing a medal to this fine and elegant work so full of sentiment and nobility from a woman of the higher classes who is among the most remarkable artists. And if it is true, excellent jury, impeccable jury, infallible jury, that you prefer the first naked type, what we call in the profession's slang *a studio figure*, that is to say studies after nature, with no breath, no originality, to this one of the *Abyssinian Chieftain* by Marcello, then o jury of my soul! Strict jury, academic jury, allow me to laugh as much as I want before going further because, like the publisher of my newspaper, I have to laugh to keep myself from crying about it.¹³⁴

Garnier had seen the original version of *Pythia* in Rome and had a second opportunity to view a bronze version at the Salon of 1870. The high volume of works produced by Barbedienne's foundry caused a seven-month delay in casting the sculpture, and, on the advice of Garnier, Marcello hired the founders Thiébaut et Fils to complete the life-sized sculpture in bronze for the Salon. The work was purchased by the state on Garnier's request on 3 June 1870 for the considerable sum of 12,000 French francs.¹³⁵

The placement of the *Pythia* was not originally planned for the Grand Foyer. Special guests, performers, and wealthy season-ticket holders would enter the building from the rear and lower level of the Opera, called the grand vestibule or the *Pavilion des abonnés*, which led

¹³⁴ Albert Wolff, "La Sculpture au Salon," *Le Figaro* (29 May 1870): 1. "Non, on ne voudra pas le croire! Marcello, le sculpteur de talent, Marcello, l'auteur du beau buste marbre et bronze, une des plus jolies choses du Salon, et de la *Pythie*, statue en bronze qui, malgré ses défauts, est une oeuvre pleine d'énergie et de vie, Marcello n'a pas obtenu la moindre médaille, pas plus cette fois que les années précédentes. Cela est-il donc vrai, jury admirable, ce qu'on m'a raconté, à savoir que tu ne décernes aucune récompense aux bustes, à moins que le sculpteur n'ait taillé le marbre ou pétri la terre pour reproduire quelque visage officiel? Oui, cela doit être, car autrement on ne s'expliquerait pas comment messieurs les jurés ont pu passer devant le *Chef abyssin* sans décerner une médaille à cette oeuvre fine, élégante, si pleine de sentiment et de noblesse, d'une femme du monde qui est un artiste des plus remarquables. Et s'il est vrai, excellent jury, jury impeccable, jury infallible, que tu préfères le premier bonhomme nu ce qu'on appelle en argot du métier *une figure d'atelier*, c'est-à-dire les études d'après nature, sans souffle, sans originalité, à des bustes comme le *Chef abyssin*, de Marcello, alors, ô jury de mon âme! jury austère, jury académique, permets-moi de rire à mon aise avant d'aller plus loin; car, comme le patron de mon journal, il me faut rire pour ne pas être obligé d'en pleurer."

¹³⁵ Archives Nationales de France, Paris, F/21/832.

directly to the grand foyer and then the grand escalier.¹³⁶ The *Pythia* was the first sculpture that these privileged season-ticket holders saw upon entering the main portion of the Opéra, and thus had been placed in a very favorable location. According to Garnier the space was intended for a different work, and originally he did not envision the *Pythia* being placed there:

This figure was not made specifically for the Opera. The niche that receives it was intended to shelter a seated statue of Orpheus, the commission for which, for various reasons, had been postponed. It was in Rome that the Duchess Colonna modeled her *Pythia*, and it was in Rome that I saw it, when the sculpture was still in clay. I liked it a lot, but I did not think then that it should have a place in the theatre. It was not until two years later, while the *Pythia* was exhibited in Paris, after its casting in bronze, that, not seeing the Orpheus coming to fruition, I wanted to see the effect that it could produce under the staircase. This effect was satisfying to me and I asked the minister to acquire the sculpture. That is what took place, and in the place of a white marble figure, quietly representing a very calm god, I had a tormented bronze, representing a priestess of Apollo tormenting herself on her tripod! I do not regret this substitution and, it seems to me, the public is of the same opinion.¹³⁷

Other bronze casts and marble editions of *Pythia* were produced following the overall success of the piece at the Salon and later at the Opéra. A marble of the bust-only version, created for the internationally known couturier Charles-Frederick Worth, is on view at the Musée Carnavalet (fig. 4-51). The Philadelphia Museum of Art owns a bronze *Pythia* in a decorative-sized version, cast by the successors of Thiebaut's foundry, Thiébaut Frères, Fumière and Gavignot (fig. 4-52). In addition, a bronze produced in 1880 by Thiebaut Frères for the original Musée Marcello, is now housed in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg (fig.

¹³⁶ Christopher Curtis Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 118-19.

¹³⁷ Garnier, 296-97. "Cette figure n'était pas faite pour l'Opéra. La niche qui la reçoit devait abriter une statue assise d'Orphée, dont, pour diverses raisons, la commande avait été ajournée. C'est à Rome que la duchesse Colonna modelait sa *Pythie*, et c'est à Rome que je la vis, alors que la statue était encore en terre. Elle me plut fort, mais je ne pensais guère alors qu'elle dût se loger dans le théâtre. Ce n'est que deux ans plus tard, alors que *La Pythie* avait été exposée à Paris, après son moulage en bronze, que, ne voyant pas Orphée venir, je voulus me rendre compte de l'effet qu'elle pourrait produire sous l'escalier. Cet effet me parut satisfaisant et je demandai au ministre de faire l'acquisition de la statue. C'est ce qui eut lieu, et à la place d'une figure en marbre blanc, représentant calmement un dieu fort calme j'eus un bronze tourmenté, représentant une prêtresse d'Apollon se tourmentant sur son tripied! Je ne regrette pas cette substitution et, ce me semble, le public est du même avis."

4-53). Marcello's *Smiling Moorish Woman* of 1869-70, which she was working on at the same time as the *Pythia* and the *Abyssinian Chieftain*, is also striking in its likeness to Regnault's *Salomé*.¹³⁸

Marcello found renewed praise and overall success when the *Pythia* was placed in the Opéra, which opened to the public in 1875. While other works of 1870 by her friends, such as Regnault's *Salomé* and Fortuny's *Vicarage*, were already out of public view, Marcello's *Pythia* continued to bring her fame. On 2 January 1875, a writer in *L'Illustration* spoke of the installation of the alluring but "strange" sculpture at the Opéra:

In the middle of the pool decorated with aquatic plants, the bronze pythoness by Marcello was placed. It is known that under the pseudonym hides Madame Princess [*sic*] Colonna, who, these past few days, came to preside personally over the definitive placement of this statue whose strange character and inspiring allure have been generally remarked upon.¹³⁹

Fifteen years after his first caricature of the *Pythia* (perched upon a chest of drawers), Cham's followup image, published in *Le Charivari* in the summer of 1878, poked fun not at the sculpture but instead at the bourgeoisie (fig. 4-54).¹⁴⁰ The oracle of Apollo is shown recoiling in disgust as four tired *parisiens* soak their tired (and probably dirty) feet in her sacred pool. *Parisiens* would have gotten the joke, which was that people were shown taking a footbath in the sacrosanct pond of the *Pythia*, who represented high culture, classical

¹³⁸ The sculpture thought to be Marcello's *Smiling Moorish Woman* is in the collection of Mme Lucile Audouy. Unfortunately I was unable to view the work in person when I visited Mme Audouy in 2004, because the work was being stored at a location other than the one I visited. I know the work only through photographs. This bust may be that to which Marcello referred in her letter to her mother dated 27 July 1869 (see note 113 above), but the letter is vague and thus it is difficult to know which work she was writing about with certainty.

¹³⁹ Anonymous author, "Le Nouvel Opéra," *L'Illustration* (2 January 1875): 7. "Au milieu de ce bassin garni de fleurs et de plantes aquatiques, est placée la pythonisse en bronze de Marcello. On sait que sous ce pseudonyme se cache Mme la princess [*sic*] Colonna, qui, ces jours derniers, est venue présider elle-même au placement définitif de cette statue dont le caractère étrange et l'allure inspirée ont été généralement remarqués."

¹⁴⁰ The image was published under the title "Actualites," in *Le Charivari* (13 August 1878): 177, with the caption "Les visiteurs profitent du vestibule de l'Opéra pour s'y donner un peu de fraîcheur." [The visitors benefit from the vestibule of the Opera where they give themselves a little refreshment.]

mythology and the greatness of the ancient past. Once again, Marcello's *Pythia* was singled out for attention, but this time it was not a criticism of the sculpture itself but rather of *Parisiens* themselves and more specifically the *bourgeoisie*.

Marcello's sculpture, which she herself called bizarre, did not suffer the criticism that befell Carpeaux's *La Danse*, placed on the building's façade. The depiction of nude, dancing figures on the outside of a public, state-sponsored building proved to be too risqué for Second-Empire tastes; in August of 1869, *La Danse* became the target of a self-appointed, literally ink-wielding critic. By the time of the Opéra's public opening, Third Republic tastes were even more subdued, and less tolerant of unreserved sexuality. Tucked under the grand escalier, Marcello's semi-nude, sexually charged *Pythia* escaped similar public outbursts.

Marcello's *Pythia*, certainly her masterpiece, was also one of her last major sculptures. She had spent two decades producing unconventional art that, although sometimes causing her to be shunned by the Salon jury and some art critics, won her remarkable success. As an early Symbolist work, the *Pythia* promoted, in Fillonneau's words, a new formula of high art. *Pythia*, Marcello's favorite daughter, can be admired today exactly where it was installed in 1875, at the Opera Garnier in Paris.

Chapter Conclusion

At the *Exposition universelle* of 1867, while Gustave Courbet and Edouard Manet staged mini-retrospectives in their private pavilions outside the official arena, Marcello showcased her own retrospective inside the official exhibition. As seen from period photographs taken of her display (figs. 4-55a through 4-55c), Marcello exhibited eight of her most recent and/or significant works in the pavilion reserved for "les États pontificaux," or the Papal States. Undoubtedly, she called in some of her chips as an Italian Duchess to be granted such a

large space and the ability to have such a large number of works accepted for exhibition, particularly since there was limited space allotted for the Fine Arts at the exposition that year.

In a strategic move, Marcello only exhibited sculptures of female figures that she had produced from 1863 through 1867 at the *Exposition universelle*. The exhibition was designed as a retrospective event, encompassing work produced since the *Exposition universelle* of 1855, so Marcello's submissions of works that had been, in most cases, previously exhibited, was logical.¹⁴¹ These works included, starting with the largest piece, *Hecate and Cerberus* (in the livret titled simply *Hécate*), followed by *Marguerite de Goethe*, *La Femme transtévérine* (a marble that is now lost), *La Gorgone* (in the livret entitled *Méduse*), *Bianca Capello*, *Ananké*, *Marie-Antoinette à Versailles* and *Marie-Antoinette au Temple* (in the livret entitled *Marie-Antoinette prisonnière à la Conciergerie*). This display and choice of works attests to her commitment to representations of the female figure and to her depiction of them as heroic, stoic, and valiant. Four of these works were those she called "héroïque" in the letter to her mother quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The other four must have been sculptures that she felt equaled the rest in the depiction of women in the heroic genre and in the quality in which they were produced. All eight were precedents leading up to her masterwork of 1870, the *Pythia*, which best embodies her treatment of issues that would later be called Symbolist.

Marcello's display of works at the *Exposition universelle* was well received by critics. The critic known as "le Flâneur" praised the retrospective in *Revue de Paris*:

This excursion through the statues brings me to speak, before I conclude, to those which are exhibited on the Champ de Mars, in the Roman section, by the great artist known as Marcello. The Duchess Colonna has reunited eight of her most beautiful creations, and as all the art lovers bring themselves there with a sympathetic eagerness, I believe I should make my praises join with those of the crowd.

¹⁴¹ For specifics regarding planning and regulations for the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867, see Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 131.

First: *Bianca Capello*, this admirable bust which belongs to M. Achille Fould; then: *Ananké*, a symbolic bust of Destiny who seems to meditate on the past as well as on the future; then again: *Marguerite* of Goethe who recalls, one has said, the physiognomic character of Madame Carvalho, who has modeled for it without her knowledge, posed in the spirit of the artist, as modeled after the young lover of Faust; finally, the *Gorgone* who decorates, if I am not mistaken, one of the rooms of the Duke of Mouch[y] [...] and this incomparable group: Hécate who seizes the eyes before seizing the thoughts having admired a little all the details.

This group, larger than life, is the work of a woman. It marks a new stage in Marcello's artistic career. Here is that which approaches sculpture in its most supreme expression. In fact, we have seen no other statues, at the exhibition on the Champs-Élysées, which can come close to equaling this great block carved by the hand of this master.¹⁴²

Her impressive series of female busts was recalled by art critics years later, as did Thémines when discussing her *Tired Bacchante* in his review of the Salon of 1869 (see above).

Having collected throughout this chapter evidence for Marcello's role in the history of early Symbolism, I have left one to wonder: did anyone recognize her contributions during the period? At least one author, known only as "G.E.," seemed to do so in a critique of the Swiss National Exposition, held in Zürich in 1883, where three sculptures and four watercolors by Marcello were posthumously shown. This author underscored how Marcello's sculptures from two decades before seemed to foretell art's future. Although "G.E." seemed not to have particularly liked the direction art was taking, the author nonetheless acknowledged the *avant-garde* in Marcello's works:

¹⁴² Le Flâneur, "Le Salon," *Revue de Paris* ([1 May] 1867): 117-18. "Cette excursion à travers les statues, m'amène à parler, avant de finir, de celles qu'expose au Champ de Mars, dans la section romaine, cette grande artiste qu'on nomme communément Marcello. La duchesse Colonna a réuni ses huit plus belles créations, et comme tous les amateurs se portent là avec un empressement sympathique, je crois bien faire en joignant mes éloges à ceux de la foule. C'est d'abord: *Bianca Capello*, ce buste admirable qui appartient à M. Achille Fould; puis: *l'Ananké*, buste symbolique de la Destinée qui semble méditer sur le passé comme sur l'avenir; puis encore: la *Marguerite* de Goethe qui rappelle, a-t-on dit, le caractère de physionomie de Mme Carvalho, laquelle a [i]rait à son insu, posé dans l'esprit de l'artiste, comme modèle de la jeune fille aimée de Faust; enfin la *Gorgone* qui orne, si je ne me trompe, l'un des salons du duc de Mouch [*sic*, Mouchy] [...] et ce groupe incomparable: d'*Hécate* qui saisit les yeux avant que la pensée ait pu en admirer tous les détails. Ce groupe, plus grand que nature, est l'oeuvre d'une femme. Il indique une étape nouvelle dans la carrière artistique de Marcello. Le voici que abord la statuaire dans son expression suprême. Nous n'avons rien vu en fait de statues, à l'Exposition des Champs-Élysées, qui puisse même approcher de ce grand bloc taillé de main de maître."

From the classicism of the Renaissance, the sculptor has passed into the picturesque. And furthermore, one sees again a gracious figure of Héb  ,¹⁴³ a sculpture completely modern, a Salon sculpture if you will, and of which one will say that it senses our epoch of decadence. We do not want to speak ill of the art of decadence. It has produced some of the great geniuses and it often has more eloquence and inspiration, it is more attractive, in any case than classicism, which is worthy perhaps, but without character and momentum. We cannot fully discuss this question on which we can return, we simply remark on how much these three busts by Marcello are varied in their conception and execution. They bear witness to the vast talent of this artist who knew how to tackle all the genres and was successful in all of them.¹⁴⁴

Even though Marcello had already been dead four years when these works were exhibited in Z  rich, they were still included in "Groupe 37," which contained contemporary art. However briefly, critics and curators had recognized Marcello's role in modern art soon after her death.

In this chapter I have tried to show how Marcello accomplished two objectives through her most important works. First, the artist was, without doubt, most interested in producing and promoting her figures of powerful women, often with heroic qualities, grandeur, and strong characteristics. Secondly, through the depiction of such women, Marcello was, without doubt, a forerunner to the Symbolist movement in Europe. She was interested in many of the same themes that later became associated with the Symbolism. This is seen in her treatment of legends (in her *Bianca Capello* and her two busts of *Marie-Antoinette*), mythology (in her *Anank  *, *Gorgone*, *Hecate* and *Pythia*), religion (*La Petite Madone*), sexuality (in all of the

¹⁴³ To my knowledge, Marcello did not produce a sculpture entitled *H  b  *. It is possible that instead the work exhibited was the *Gorgone*, and the author confused the name of one mythological figure with the other. Since the author also believed, incorrectly, that the *Bianca Capello* was Marcello's very first sculpture, such an error is conceivable. In ancient mythology, H  b   was the daughter of Hera and Zeus, and the cup-bearer to the Gods. She appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

¹⁴⁴ G.E., "Le Groupe 37, Art contemporain (II)," *Journal officiel illustr   de l'Exposition Suisse* 24 (19 July 1883), 229. "Du classique de la Renaissance, le sculpteur a pass   au pittoresque. Et, plus loin, on voit encore une gracieuse figure d'H  b  , sculpture toute moderne, sculpture de Salon si l'on veut et dont peut-  tre on dira qu'elle sent notre   poque de d  cadence. Mais nous sommes de ceux qui ne veulent pas qu'on m  dise de l'art de d  cadence. Il a produit de grands g  nies et il a souvent bien plus de verve et d'inspiration, plus d'attrait, en tous cas qu'un classique, estimable peut-  tre, mais sans caract  re et sans   lan. Nous ne discuterons pas longuement cette question sur laquelle nous pourrions revenir nous ferons simplement remarquer combien ces trois bustes de Marcello sont vari  s dans leur conception et leur ex  cution. Ils t  moignent du talent   tendu de l'artiste qui savait aborder tous les genres et r  ussissait dans tous."

female figures, but in particular the *Tired Bacchante*), androgyny (*Tired Bacchante*), decadence (*Bianca Capello and Gorgone*), and mysticism (*Hecate and Cerberus* and *Pythia*).

With Marcello firmly positioned in the history of Symbolism, in fact at its origins in Paris in the early 1860s, it seems now that the history of this movement will need to be rethought by art historians and scholars. Her focus on women as strong figures, for good or for evil, cannot be ignored within Symbolism's history, and her images of the "new hero," in female form, began the movement in a feminist vein. Unfortunately her work was not fully recognized for this contribution by critics and artists of the later nineteenth century and what followed was a literary and artistic movement which was often misogynist and from which women were excluded. What makes Marcello's sculpture noteworthy is that she explored the female as a heroic and courageous figure, a feat not commonly achieved in painting or sculpture during her own period, or later in the century. Continuing with this approach, we shall see how Marcello maintained her exploration into Symbolist themes through her interest in music in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SCULPTURE AND THE SOUNDS OF SILENCE: MARCELLO AND MUSIC

“The production of a work of art is to thought as vibration is to a song.”

-Marcello¹

Chapter Introduction

From both a scientific and historical point of view, music's relationship to painting is better understood than its connections to sculpture. This chapter provides a brief study of the associations between music and sculpture in Marcello's oeuvre; as it will be seen, she was quite preoccupied with musical influences upon her work. Though long ignored, the relationship between some of her major works and the music (and musicians) of her time was very strong, and references to the music world of her period abound in her sculpture. It is important to discuss the interdisciplinary nature of the fine arts during the nineteenth century and Marcello's sculpture provides an excellent example for doing so.

Marcello's friendships with major performers and composers such as Charles François Gounod (1818-1893), Franz Liszt (1811-1886), Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868), and mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot (1821-1910) fostered her interest in characters from contemporary opera. Marcello sculpted portraits of Gounod, Liszt, and Viardot, characters from Gounod's *Faust* and Rossini's *Il Barbiere de Siviglia* (*The Barber of Seville*), and characters from operas by such earlier composers such as Jean-Baptiste

¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), c. 1863, Archives Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland (hereafter Archives FM). “La production d'une oeuvre d'art est à la pensée ce qu'est la vibration au chant.”

Lully (1632-1687). Additionally, her pseudonym was derived from the name of an eighteenth-century Venetian composer, Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739). In her memoirs, she noted that she took the pseudonym as a “nom d’art et de guerre par amour pour la musique (literally, an art and war name taken for the love of music).”² She also culled resources through intellectual exchanges with musical personalities, particularly with Gounod. Although they speak to an intellectual audience about specific historical and fictional figures, her sculptures, much like the Romantic music of the period, achieve a high level of fluidity through the mood they evoke and through the sensory and deeply emotional experience they provide.

No fewer than thirteen of Marcello’s major sculptures were based on characters from operas or were portraits of composers or musicians.³ Through her letters, memoirs and correspondence, we know of seven lost works: a portrait of Pauline Viardot (1862); a series of four sculptures based on the Swiss legend (and the Rossini opera), William Tell (c.1863); a male figure playing an instrument, known only through Marcello’s correspondence; and a portrait of Gounod (1869). Extant works with musical themes, most based on characters from operas of the day, include *Paolo et Francesca* (fig. 5-1, c.1862-9), *Bianca Capello* (see fig. 4-2a, 1863), *La Gorgone* (see fig. 4-19, 1865), *La*

² Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d’Adèle d’Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, “Paris, 31” [original manuscript], 66 [typewritten copy]. In existence at the Archives FM are the original memoirs written in Marcello’s own hand, and a typewritten copy, produced in the late 1970s in preparation for the 1980 exhibition at the Musée d’art et d’histoire in Fribourg. Although both copies are provided to scholars for use at the Archives FM, only the typewritten copy is given to scholars for reproduction.

³ I have not included in this number Marcello’s *Portrait of Mlle de Grétry*, whom I suspect was related to the composer André-Ernest-Modeste-Grétry (1741-1813). Little is known of this sculpture and its sitter, and further investigation is required.

Marguerite de Goethe (fig. 5-2, 1867), and *La Rosina* (fig. 5-a through 5-3c, 1869).⁴

She also produced a portrait of Franz Liszt (fig. 5-4, 1869). Marcello's existing works based on characters from popular opera will be treated, along with a historical discussion of the music and/or musicians that inspired them. Finally, an analysis of her portraits of musicians, both extant and lost, will be presented and will include information on her relationships with these figures. Much of the material cited in this chapter derives from Marcello's personal diaries, letters, memoirs, and notes, most of which have never been published or subjected to scholarly analysis.

Connections between Visual Art and Music: Historical, Scientific, and Linguistic

In his review of the 1845 Salon, Charles Baudelaire staunchly criticized the French sculptor Antoine Étex's (1808-1888) departure from his primary medium by submitting a painting entitled *La Délivrance; allégorie*:⁵

Oh sculptor, who have been known to sometimes give us good statues, are you unaware, then, that there is a great difference between designing upon a canvas and modeling in clay, and that color is a melodious science whose secrets are not revealed by knowing how to cope with marble? We would better understand a musician wanting to emulate Delacroix – but a sculptor, never! *Oh great designer of stone!* Why do you want to play the violin?⁶

⁴ The operas that may have inspired these works, respectively, were Gounod's planned but uncompleted opera, *Paolo et Francesca*; Alberto Randegger's *Bianca Capello* (1854-56); Lully's *Persée* (1682); Gounod's *Faust* (1859); and Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (1816).

⁵ Étex's painting is now in the collection of the Lyons Museum.

⁶ Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," *Charles Baudelaire, Oeuvres Complètes*, Three vols., (Paris: Le Club français du livre, 1966), 240. "O sculpteur, qui fîtes quelquefois de bonnes statues, vous ignorez donc qu'il y a une grande différence entre dessiner sur une toile et modeler avec de la terre, – et que la couleur est une science mélodieuse dont la triture du marbre n'enseigne pas les secrets? – Nous comprendrions plutôt qu'un musicien voulût signer Delacroix, – mais un sculpteur, jamais! *O grand tailleur de pierre!* Pourquoi voulez-vous jouer du violon?" There seems to be an obvious reference here to the "violon d'Ingres," a phrase that came to refer to a hobby, or an act one dabbles in.

Étex, who made his name in the silent and colorless medium of sculpture, had tried his hand at painting, and Baudelaire was less than pleased. The critic's statements are interesting not only because they explore the problems that artists faced when experimenting in other media, but more importantly because they reveal a notion in art that today still rings true: that music is more closely "related" to painting than to sculpture. Though it seems odd at first, music and painting (one an aural art and the other a visual art) appear to be more closely related than painting is to sculpture (both visual arts). Art historians today understand what Baudelaire meant regarding the special relationship between music and painting since the two art forms are related historically, scientifically, and often linguistically. Yet the question remains, why is this so? If it is true that "all art constantly aspires toward the condition of music," as the English art critic Walter Pater (1839-1894) once famously noted, does not sculpture aspire to music to the same extent as the other arts?⁷

Much has been developed from Pater's idea about all of the arts aspiring towards music's condition, as he stated in his 1873 essay, "The School of Giorgione." When Pater discussed art's aspiring towards music's pure "state," he was wrestling with the idea of the ability to eliminate "the matter from the form," in essence to create a merger between the two and cause them to be fluid. This was obviously a difficult task for representational artists. Pater's concept illustrated that music is the sole type of art that can achieve fluidity between its matter and its form (music is actually all form, and has no tangible matter); all other varieties of art, for example painting and poetry, strive to

⁷ Walter Pater, "The School of Giorgione," *The Renaissance* (New York: Mentor/New American Library, 1963 [1873]), 95.

achieve the same.⁸ Many artists and critics, Marcello among them, often noted the supremacy of music over all of the other arts. The German Romantic painter Philipp Otto Runge recognized the importance of the “theme” in both painting and music:

Th[e] picture becomes what a fugue is in music. It became clear to me that one can also find such things in our art; how much easier one makes it on oneself if one extracts the musical idea, which forms the basis of an entire composition, and has it appear with variation again and again throughout the work.⁹

Certainly a painting is not a piece of music and a sculpture is not a poem. Yet their shared means of creating an intellectual and emotional response remains evident. Hugh Honour’s *Romanticism* (1979), still the standard study of the movement, includes an important chapter on the relationship between music and the visual arts, including that with architecture and sculpture.¹⁰ Several recent publications discuss the relationship between the visual arts and music during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This recent scholarship, which includes such texts as *Music and Modern Art*, edited by James Leggio (2002), *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Marsha Morton and Peter Schmunk (2000), including an essay entitled “Painted Responses to Music: The Landscapes of Corot and Monet,” by Kermit Champa, and Elaine Brody’s *Paris, the Musical Kaleidoscope, 1870-1925* (1987), focuses almost exclusively on the links between painting, and (in most cases), instrumental music.¹¹

⁸ For a discussion of the relationship between music and poetry, see Marie Naudin, *Evolution Parallèle de la Poésie et de la Musique en France: Rôle unificateur de la chanson* (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1968).

⁹ Philipp Otto Runge as quoted in Wolfgang Dömling, “Reuniting the Arts: Notes on the History of an Idea,” in *Nineteenth-Century Music* 18:1 (Summer 1994): 5. Translation of Runge’s original German statement by Wolfgang Dömling.

¹⁰ Hugh Honour, *Romanticism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 119-55. The chapter is entitled “Frozen Music.”

¹¹ In addition to the aforementioned essay, the late Kermit Swiler Champa often wrote on issues regarding painting and music. Some of his important texts on the subject include *The Rise of Landscape*

The interrelationship between painting and music can also be discussed through art historical, scientific, and linguistic approaches. Art-historical investigations include formal comparisons between a work of visual art and a specific piece of music; biographical exchanges between artists and musicians; shared cultural markets; and the literal collaboration between artists and musicians, for example artists providing images for libretto covers and scene and stage design. Also popular in the nineteenth century was the illustration of scenes from operas, orchestral performances and the ballet. The visual art form customarily discussed in connection with these types of analyses is painting. Art historians most often relate painting to music through discussions of music-related subject matter, including numerous portraits of composers and musicians; images of musicales and people enjoying music; depictions of characters from musical performances and café concerts; and, later, abstract or non-representational painting, in which colors and brushstrokes are sometimes dictated by sounds the artist hears or recalls while painting.

In addition to an art-historical analysis, one can discuss the relationship between painting and music in scientific terms. Color and sound are both translated through waves (light waves and sound waves, respectively), and their waves are similar scientifically and graphically. Baudelaire's notion that "color is a melodious science" anticipates recent scientific studies of persons with absolute (or perfect) pitch and what is more commonly known as colored hearing.¹² Possessors of absolute pitch are able to

Painting in France: Corot to Monet (Manchester, NH: Currier Gallery of Art, 1991); *Masterpiece Studies – Manet, Zola, Van Gogh and Monet* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); and "Concert Music: The Master Model for Radical Painting in France, 1830-1890," in *Imago Musicae* (1999/2000).

¹² See W. Dixon Ward, "Absolute Pitch," in *The Psychology of Music*, Diana Deutsch, ed. Second edition. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 265-94, esp. 286.

identify a specific tone without a preceding referent, and they often associate particular tones, tonalities, and modes with certain colors. In general, tones at high frequencies tend to be associated with bright colors, and those at low frequencies with dark colors, although specific associations vary greatly. It is quite possible that many visual artists of the past and present have possessed absolute pitch, which greatly influenced their work, but an extensive study of the phenomenon among artists has yet to be pursued.¹³ Wassily Kandinsky wrote of synesthesia, a word that first came into use in the United States in the 1890s, but earlier in Europe (in French the term is *synesthésie*).¹⁴ In 1884, Joris-Karl Huysmans' character Des Esseintes, in his *A Rebours* (*Against Nature* or *Against the Grain*) plays his mouth organ of flavors, sounds and tones, which is often cited as the premier example of synesthesia in a written work.¹⁵ The term refers to the subjective sensation or image of a sense (as of color) other than the one (as of sound) that is in fact

¹³ For example, Lynn Gamwell notes in her text *Exploring the Invisible: Art, Science, and the Spiritual* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 157, that "Kandinsky associate[d] specific hues with musical sounds; in the same way that someone who read music can 'hear' a score, so, in theory, a viewer who knows the artist's color language can 'hear' the painting. Once [Kandinsky] started painting totally abstract works, he gave them musical titles." Although she does not mention absolute pitch, it seems likely that Kandinsky possessed it.

¹⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary* provides an 1891 quotation from the *Century Dictionary* as its earliest citation of the word "synæsthesia," where it was defined as "the production of a sensation located in one place when another place is stimulated." Synesthesia has been associated with the term "colored-hearing" since 1895, where the terms were discussed in tandem in an article from the *American Journal of Psychology* of that year. More interesting is the 1903 citation given for F.W.H. Myers's *Human Personality* (I. Pl. xl): "Vestiges of the primitive undifferentiated sensitivity persist in the form of *synæsthesiæ*, e.g., when the hearing of an external sound carries with it, by some arbitrary association of ideas, the seeing of some form or colour." See J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 467. The term *synesthésie* is not found in Larousse's French Dictionary before 1879.

¹⁵ Joris-Karl Huysmans, *Against Nature*, trans. Margaret Mauldon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1884]), 40. "The correlation could be extended even further: there were tonal relationships in the music of the liqueurs: to cite only one example, Benedictine stands, so to speak, for the minor key of that major key made up of those cordials which commercial specifications designate by the label of green chartreuse."

being stimulated. It is evident from numerous studies of the phenomenon that the relationship between painting and music has a scientific dimension.

Additionally, the connections between music and the visual arts have much to do with the way these art forms are perceived. Color (in music and painting) and sound (in music) are scientifically related, but they are also experienced sensually. The senses are universal and democratic; all people who have their senses intact and want to experience a piece of music or a colorful painting can experience that work without any need for preconceived notions or prior knowledge of the work. But to understand form in music and sculpture, one must have some knowledge about the formal and technical construction of these works of art, which is somewhat less necessary for understanding painting. The French painter and art critic Etienne-Jean Delécluze (1781-1863) ranted against painting because he said it seduced the uneducated through sensual pleasure while sculpture appealed to the intellect.¹⁶ This returns us to *paragoni* arguments, comparisons of the arts and the intellectual battles for hierarchical placement among them. (See Chapter One.)

Also to be considered are the linguistic connections, shared vocabulary and parallel terms (such as “arrangement,” “chromatic,” “color,” “composition,” “harmony,” “nocturne,” “repetition,” “tone,” – one could go on, *ad infinitum*) used by both visual artists and musicians. The term “architectonic” is often applied to musical form, implying a unified structure and thus a deliberate design. The term “synchrony,” simultaneous occurrences, arrangements, or treatments, is also part of the vocabulary of both

¹⁶ Robert Baschet, *E.-J. Delécluze: Témoin de son temps, 1781-1863* (Paris: Boivin et cie, 1942), 262-268, especially the chapter entitled “Primauté de la sculpture.”

disciplines. The color theories of Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786-1889), who claimed that color combinations are most pleasing when they are “in harmony,” were also highly influential and part of the artistic cultural consciousness of the time. Among Marcello’s preserved notebooks is a *cahier* devoted to the study of Chevreul’s theories on color.¹⁷ The verbal affinities between painting and music immediately bring to mind the painting and theories of Kandinsky, best known for translating music into colors and defining his art in musical terms.¹⁸

Some well-known paintings and visual artists have been associated with music, and this association plays a large role in the way they (and their work) are formally discussed. To cite early examples, in sixteenth-century *paragoni* debates, artists (particularly painters) tried to establish an alliance with mathematics and music, which were, according to Leatrice Mendelsohn-Martone, “the most theoretical of the Liberal Arts.”¹⁹ Leonardo da Vinci was an inventor of musical instruments and was something of a musician himself; he was known for his excellence at improvising on the *lira da braccio*, an early form of the violin.²⁰ In more modern art history, James McNeill

¹⁷ Twenty-one of Marcello’s notebooks are preserved at the Archives FM. Nineteen of the notebooks are marked with red Roman numerals in a complete series of I through XIX. Two other notebooks, marked “Mélanges” (“Mixed Notes”) and “Pensées recueillies,” (“Collected Thoughts”) are not numbered. It is not clear whether Marcello numbered the notebooks or if someone else did after her death. Notebook IV is titled “Chevreul avait e[t] de la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs.” This title refers to Chevreul’s book, *De la Loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l’assortiment des objets colorés* (Paris: Pitois-Levrault, 1839).

¹⁸ See Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, Trans. M.T.H. Sadler (New York: Dover, 1977 [1912]). For an interesting study of Kandinsky’s connections to music and science, see James Leggio, “Kandinsky, Schoenberg and the Music of the Spheres,” in *Music and Modern Art*, ed. James Leggio (New York: Garland Publishing, 2002), 97-127.

¹⁹ Leatrice Mendelsohn-Martone, *Benedetto Varchi’s “Due Lezzone”: Paragoni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1982), 110.

²⁰ See Emanuel Winternitz, *Leonardo da Vinci as a Musician* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 1 *passim*.

Whistler's Nocturnes in general, but most famously his *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Flying Rocket* (1875), Kandinsky's series of *Compositions* (c. 1912-24), and Piet Mondrian's *Broadway Boogie-Woogie* (1942-3) most likely resonate when one thinks of art and music because of their musically-inspired titles and the well-known connection between the artists of these works and their admiration for music.²¹ Yet Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux's *La Danse* (1867-75) and Alexander Calder's mobiles (which are reminiscent of music notes, suspended in the air like sounds), such as *Lobster Trap and Fishtail* (1939), do not come to mind, because recognition of the musical influences on sculpture require a more specialized knowledge. Alan Rich has noted that both artists and composers utilized expressionist ideas such as "space" and "chance" in the early twentieth century, noting that "Calder's *Lobster Trap and Fishtail* uses space as part of the artistic design, an idea expressed musically by [Karlheinz] Stockhausen and other composers."²²

The lack of notice paid to the relationship between music and sculpture may ultimately derive from issues discussed in Chapter One: sculpture was, for most of the later nineteenth century, considered a secondary art form intended to embellish architecture or to serve a decorative, and therefore less intellectual, purpose. Furthermore, sculpture in the nineteenth century was rarely abstract but rather was grounded upon a real or imagined narrative. While painting moved toward abstraction in

²¹ Whistler exhibited the first of his four Symphonies in White (*Symphony in White No. 1: The White Girl* of 1861, now at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC) at the 1863 *Salon des Refusés* in Paris. Whistler also called his lithographs "Songs on Stone," and wrote these words on some proofs such as that for *The Winged Hat* (1890, Art Institute of Chicago). See Susan Grace Galassi, et al., *Whistler, Women and Fashion*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Frick Collection, New York, 2003), 194.

²² Alan Rich, *Music: Mirror of the Arts* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 277.

the 1870s and 1880s (particularly with the work of the French Impressionists and Whistler, who were often inspired and influenced by music), sculpture remained primarily narrative and figural through the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth. Even sculptors such as Auguste Rodin (1840-1917) and William Rimmer (1816-1879), who had begun to break down form and move the plastic arts in the direction of abstraction, never completely broke with tradition, textual subjects, or the nude. Sculpture remained conservatively figural and somewhat *retardaire*. It is thus often difficult to sense seamlessness between matter and form in sculpture -- a hard, figurative medium that took its sources most often from a verbal articulation. Although much of the recent scholarship mentioned above is extremely interesting and intriguing, scholars have not fully explored the interconnections between music and sculpture.

Marcello's Personal Thoughts on Music and Musicians

Marcello was a melomane (music lover) of the highest order. Her relationship with music began when she was a small child. Her father was an amateur musician and music was a major part of their home, as it was for most aristocratic households. Music became a more significant force in her work after her arrival in Paris in 1859.²³ Paris was without doubt the opera capital of the world, and Marcello often attended performances once she was established in the city.

Much can be said of Marcello's many pages of notes regarding music and musicians. These notes were not meant for public consumption, but were rather a record

²³ Although musical training was a large part of a young aristocratic girl's education during the period, I have not been able to find proof that Marcello herself played an instrument. Evidence of this might be enlightening in relation to her later visual work.

of her personal reflection upon the arts and the role of sculptors among other artists and intellectuals. Like many of her contemporaries, she placed music high above the other art forms, including her own, for its inspirational qualities. Yet she also noted that music was not alone as an intellectual art form. "It always seemed to me," she wrote in her notes, "...that music was the common hearth of inspiration, while at the same time the most perfect language for the soul; I do not say for the mind."²⁴

Kandinsky is the artist often credited for first recognizing that music is a pure art form, deriving not from an external referent but from within the creator's self. But Marcello preceded Kandinsky, for she had developed this same idea in her notes over forty years before the publication of his *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912). She also thought and wrote about the relationship between artists of various kinds, and felt that musicians were uniquely free from the psychological and material obstacles that often plagued visual artists and other creative masters. In her notes from about 1864-70, she put forth her theories:

It seems to me that the musician is the happiest of artists. Free from the material component, his ideas are born without this torment of the soul from which thinkers such as Dante, Pascal, Rousseau, and many others suffer; for them the power of creation also caused an increase in suffering. The painter and the sculptor perceive the inferiority of their language in the presence of the radiant harmony that fills the soul of the musician. Therefore they go to this source to draw their completely ideal inspiration that they then translate according to the more difficult conditions of their art.²⁵

²⁴ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal notes and drafts written in her handwriting (known as the *Brouillon*), c.1864-70, page number marked as 92, Archives FM. "Il m'a toujours semblé par exemple que la musique était le foyer commun d'inspiration en même temps que le langage le plus parfait pour l'âme; je ne dis pas pour l'esprit."

²⁵ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal notes written in her handwriting on blue paper (known as the *Feuillets d'un carnet bleu clair*), c.1864-70, sheets 5-6, Archives FM. "Il me semble que le musicien est le plus heureux des artistes. Dégagé de l'élément matériel, ses idées voient le jour sans ce tourment de l'âme dont souffrent les penseurs tels que Dante, Pascal, Rousseau, bien d'autres pour qui la puissance de créer fut aussi l'accroissement de la faculté de souffrir. Le peintre, le sculpteur sentent l'infériorité de leur langage en présence de la radieuse harmonie qui emplit l'âme du musicien. Aussi est-ce à cette source

As shown by this passage, Marcello felt that music motivated all artists, and that it was an art form to which they could all turn for inspiration and stimulation. Here, the word “stimulation” is deliberately used, as music can be stimulating psychologically, spiritually, and sexually; Marcello, as it will be seen, considered this to be so.

In an attempt to elucidate her ideas on the inadequacy of visual language and her treatment of music as her muse, Marcello drafted a letter to her mother sometime in 1864 containing passages similar to the above entry from her personal notes. Marcello may have been trying out her ideas about art and music on her mother, whose opinion she respected and whose approval she constantly sought. In what seems a somewhat more clearly developed (yet still nascent) passage on the aforementioned themes, Marcello wrote to her mother with zeal:

The painter and the sculptor perceive the inferiority of their means of expression compared to the radiant harmony of the work of Mozart, for example. It is from this source that it is necessary to draw a whole order of feelings, both tender and elevated, whose translation has more than one difficulty because of the more material conditions of sculpture, for example, the primitive beauty secondary to the form. One understands that the fable of the Centaur was a subject so in conformity with the genius of Greek sculpture, it symbolizes this alliance of the ideal with a kind of development of a force of a higher order but powerful physical being Our painters are enchanted to have a beautiful, already-made ideal that they can convey [through their art].²⁶

qu'ils vont puiser ces inspirations toutes idéales qu'ils traduisent ensuite selon les conditions plus dures de leur art.”

²⁶ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal notes and drafts written in her handwriting (known as the *Brouillon*), c.1864-70, page number marked as 92, Archives FM. “Le peintre, le sculpteur sentent l'infériorité de leurs moyens d'expression en face de la radieuse harmonie qui découle de l'oeuvre de Mozart par exemple. C'est à cette source qu'il faut puiser tout un ordre de sentiments tendres et élevés à la fois, dont la traduction éprouve plus d'une difficulté selon les conditions plus matérielles de la sculpture par exemple, la beauté primitive secondaire de la forme. On comprend que la fable du centaure ait été un sujet si conforme au génie de la sculpture grecque, il symbolise cette alliance de l'idéal avec une sorte de développement d'une force d'un ordre supérieur mais puissant de l'être physique... Nos peintres sont enchantés d'avoir un beau [bel, *sic*] idéal tout fait en poche, qu'ils peuvent communiquer.”

Marcello also asserted that in addition to being inspirational, music provided an example of how the concept of a work of art should be approached. According to her, the sculptor would do well to emulate the musician:

The sculptor must seize the harmony of the shapes, the lines, the reliefs, as the musician must seize that of the flats, the sharps, the major and minor tones. It seems when one is well on track that an invisible hand unrolls for you all of this harmonic sequence; it is the finesse and the accuracy of perception like a logic of the eye, in agreement with that of reasoning.²⁷

With these ideas and theories in mind, Marcello began work on some of her major sculptures of the 1860s, most of which were inspired by music, her hearth of inspiration. Later, in her memoirs, she would solidify her ideas about the relationship between architecture and music with sculpture, noting that both contribute important elements to the logic of a sculptural work:

It is necessary here that I acknowledge, should my words remain closed letters for many people (but perhaps one will understand me) that I have in mind that there exists singular relationships between two art forms from the point of view of proportions, architecture and music with sculpture. I am too ignorant about music to speak of it. My spirit has always has tasted and felt architecture by instinct, ratios of masses and *inevitable* lines where the work includes only the absolute search for the beautiful. This made me feel the bonds that sculpture, also, must preserve with the lines of monuments. The piece of isolated sculpture also has its logic. But the intuition of harmony is rapid. Therefore it matters that the artist work quickly and it is for this reason that they must be educated, must not hesitate, and must possess a strong anatomical knowledge. I was thus more determined than ever to acquire it.²⁸

²⁷ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 1 November 1862, Archives FM. "Le sculpteur doit saisir l'harmonie des formes, des lignes, des reliefs, comme le musicien celle des bémols, des dièzes, des tons majeurs et mineurs. Il semble quand on est bien en train qu'une main invisible vous déroule tout cet enchaînement harmonique; c'est la finesse et la justesse de perception comme une logique de l'oeil, d'accord avec celle d'un raisonnement."

²⁸ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris, 24-25" [original manuscript], 61-62 [typewritten copy]. "Il faut ici que j'avoue, dussent mes paroles rester lettres closes pour bien du monde (mais peut-être un me comprendra) que j'ai dans l'esprit qu'il existe des rapports singuliers entre deux arts au point de vue des proportions, l'architecture, et la musique avec la sculpture. Je suis trop ignorante en musique pour en parler. Mon esprit a toujours goûté et senti l'architecture d'instinct, les rapports de masses et des lignes *inévitables* dans les cas où l'oeuvre ne comporte que la recherche absolue du beau, m'ont fait sentir les liens que la sculpture, elle aussi, doit conserver avec les lignes des monuments. Le morceau de

One could argue that here Marcello, although claiming ignorance of musical knowledge, makes the connection between the horizontal and vertical elements found within both architecture and music. Such connections are obvious in the former; in the latter, harmony, which Marcello mentions specifically, is the vertical element in musical structure. She also may have been simply asserting that sculpture should have the same pleasantness and simultaneous structure as harmonic music.

For Marcello, music was best at moving the soul and was the greatest catalyst for evoking thoughts and reminiscences. In her memoirs, she noted that “the song of Adélaïde by Beethoven alone made all of the lost moments and tender regrets imprinted on my heart reappear.”²⁹ In her writings and letters, she often mentioned names of composers and singers who were most influential to her and those whom she preferred.³⁰ It was music that had the power to induce powerful feelings and memories, and when used as the source for her sculptures, resulted in the creation of more powerful works of art.

Linking Styles: Romanticism and Symbolism in Marcello's Oeuvre

sculpture isolé a aussi sa logique. Mais l'intuition de l'harmonie est rapide. Donc il importe que l'artiste ait le travail prompt et pour cela qu'il soit instruit, ne tatonne pas, et possède un fort savoir anatomique. J'étais donc plus déterminée que jamais à l'acquérir.”

²⁹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, 22 [original manuscript], 17 [typewritten copy]. “Le chant d'Adélaïde dans Beethoven fait seul reparaitre à mon coeur ces instants disparus et les tendres regrets dont il est empreint...”

³⁰ In a letter to Adolphe Theirs, dated “fin janvier 1863,” Marcello wrote “Que faites-vous; chaque lundi, je vois resplendir le Salon Galliéra, mais ce n'est pas la musique de Melle [*sic*] Patti que j'y regrette.” (Archives FM). The Duchess de Galliéra (1812-1888) was a very wealthy collector who held important social Salons in Paris. Adelina Patti (1843-1919) grew up in New York and became a famous soprano during the 1860s, and her exceptional voice was well known in Europe at that time (fig. 5-5).

It is established that in the visual arts the Romantic movement was somewhat supplanted by mid-century with the work of the Realists, most notably by that of the painter Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). Yet many visual artists, particularly sculptors who could not really participate in the Impressionist movement, because the major concerns of this movement dealt with issues in painting specifically, persisted with the Romantic, and then Symbolist, modes late into the century. According to most sources, however, the Romantic style in music continued throughout the century. Gounod and Marcello, whose education in the arts and early works were products of the Romantic generation, were interested in exploring *Sturm und Drang* (storm and stress), the sublime, and deep emotional turmoil in their works in an attempt to establish mood. Although these themes had their roots in Romanticism, they were later renewed during the Symbolist movement at the *fin-de-siècle*. Marcello's work is rooted in a more modern development of these themes, and, as will be shown, her work was at the forefront of Symbolism.

Gounod's operas stressed his love for drama, romance, and tragedy, and although Marcello was interested in the same, she invested much more of her time in the exploration of heroism and redemption. While Gounod worked in intervals of time and Marcello in dimensions of space, both believed that art should create an emotional reaction for the audience, whether listener or viewer, an issue important to later Symbolists. In Marcello's sculptures especially, one senses a mysterious element in the otherwise ordinary depiction of figures; this is another tenet of both Romanticism and Symbolism. Gounod and Marcello were stimulated by the same sources that had inspired their Romantic predecessors, such as the writings of Dante Alighieri, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Friedrich von Schiller.

Placing Marcello within a specific style or movement is not an easy task, as her facture and choice of subject matter were quite individual. In fact, much of Second Empire sculpture was eclectic. Yet one can easily recognize that Marcello's art seems to have been in the vanguard of the pre-Symbolist movement. Her best-known work, the *Pythia* (see Chapter Four), shown in the Salon of 1870, has many Symbolist characteristics. These include explorations of decadence, irrational states of mind, an interest in the occult and the supernatural, and a synthesis or combination of elements from other art forms, such as classical mythology and music, to create a total artistic experience. Organic and inorganic forms, of particular interest to later English Pre-Raphaelites and Symbolists from all backgrounds, are visible in the *Pythia*, particularly evidenced by the tripod that metamorphoses into *animalier* groups at the base. Additionally, the depiction of a *femme fatale* type was certainly an important Symbolist theme, and Marcello convincingly depicts such a figure, that is, a woman not to be crossed, in this work.

As was Marcello earlier in the century, French Symbolists, such as Gustave Moreau (1826-1898), were galvanized by the Symphonic Poems of Liszt and Richard Wagner (1813-1883). It can be easily argued that the almost devotional interest in music that is evident in Marcello's art was to become a major characteristic of Symbolism later in the century. For later Symbolist artists, inspiration often came from the operas of Wagner. In his posthumously published text on Symbolism, Robert Goldwater similarly recognized the "symbolist stress on the direct expressive power of the 'music' of painting."³¹ Yet he also acknowledged the difficulties that visual artists (as opposed to

³¹ Robert Goldwater, *Symbolism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 36.

poets) experienced when attempting to achieve the fluidity of music, the least material of the arts:

Although much was written [at the time] about the relation of poetry and music, the position of painting and sculpture in the hierarchy of the arts is rarely defined....[the poet] Mallarmé may indeed have understood painting better than music, and may have well admired Wagner less as a musical revolutionary than as 'one who in the history of literature, thought text and sound simultaneously', but given the symbolist desire to bypass appearance, the visual arts were at some advantage precisely because they were visual.³²

Even though the attempt to embody the 'condition of music' has already been discussed above, it is important to note here that visual artists working after Marcello's death faced the same struggle to incorporate elements of musical composition in their visual production as she had earlier in the century. This again places Marcello as a precursor of the Symbolist movement because she had had the same theoretical concerns in the 1860s and 1870s as later artists who would become more fully ensconced in the movement at the *fin-de-siècle*.

Music-Inspired Works I: Experiment in Aix-les-Bains – *La Gorgone*

Bianca Capello (see fig. 4-2a, 1863) was the first of Marcello's sculptures inspired, at least in part, by two operas performed in Italy in the nineteenth century that she may have seen there. *Bianca Capello*'s connection to music was noted in *Revue des deux-mondes* within an article entitled "Revue musicale," where the sculpture was listed among a group of artworks in the Salon of 1863 that took musical subjects as their theme.³³ But Capello was also a historical figure, and the artist was just as interested in

³² Goldwater, 180.

³³ P. Scudo, "Revue musicale," *Revue des deux-mondes* (1 August 1863): 749-56. On page 752, it is stated only that "Du reste, les oeuvres de femmes étaient assez nombreuses à l'exposition de cette année,

the biographical facts of the life of this Italian duchess as she was in their operatic translation. Marcello's *La Gorgone* (sometimes called *La Méduse*, see fig. 4-19), a representation of one of the three Gorgon sisters in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, was a subject taken from ancient mythology, which Marcello knew quite well through her avid reading of the classics, but it was also inspired by an opera and a female singer whom she heard singing in Aix-les-Bains. Discussed in the previous chapter within the context of Marcello's heroic sculptures, here *La Gorgone* will be analyzed as part of her musically inspired oeuvre.

During the autumn of 1862, Marcello conceived *La Gorgone* while she was caring for an uncle who was ill. In her memoirs, she recounted how she came upon the idea of sculpting the figure. Her discussion of the evolution of the work is so clear and at times so poetic that it is best retold in her own words. She begins by describing the circumstances that led to her meeting a woman named Madame Revirard (fig. 5-6):

We were leaving Paris for Switzerland in the summer. In the fall, I was responsible for escorting a poor uncle, already very sick, to the waters of Aix-les-Bains. This place was almost deserted, poetic, enchanting. One night in church I heard a contralto voice, so full and vibrant, that it touched the bottom of the soul where so few things can reach. Another voice, younger and less moving, responded to her. I asked where these singing voices were coming from. The priest said to me, "It is your neighbor from the hotel, the wife of a judge from Dijon." I asked him to express to her my desire to hear her again. Meeting her later, she came to me and took me straight to hear once more this singing voice that had delighted me.³⁴

et l'on assure qu'un buste en marbre de *Bianca Capello* serait l'oeuvre délicate d'une femme du monde qui porte un nom illustre dans l'histoire de l'aristocratie romaine." ["Of the rest, the works of women were rather numerous at the exhibition this year, and we are certain that a bust in marble of *Bianca Capello* was the delicate work of a woman of high society who carries an illustrious name in the history of Roman aristocracy."]

³⁴ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris 14-15" [original manuscript], 54 [typewritten copy]. "Nous quittons Paris pour la Suisse l'été, je fus chargée d'escorter aux eaux d'Aix-les-Bains l'automne, un pauvre oncle déjà bien malade. Ce lieu était presque désert, poétique enchanteur. Un soir j'entendis à l'église une voix de contralto pleine et vibrante à toucher ce fond de l'âme où atteignent si peu de choses. Une autre voix plus jeune, moins émue, lui répondait. Je demandais d'où venaient ces accents. Le curé me

Unfortunately little is known of Madame Revirard, as she did not perform at public venues. We know only what Marcello tells us about her marriage and her education in music:

Of course, her husband had hidden her lights under a bushel by never allowing her to perform in public, but she was an elevated soul, an English protestant, who sang for God and, like birds, when nature inspired her. However, she had broad musical knowledge and she was directing her daughter's education, who was also gifted in an admirable manner in singing. But her mother was a student of Pauline Viardot and deeply felt this classic music whose nuances were unknown to me at this time. Little by little she taught me, and whether she blessed the church of Aix with the magnitude of the great Italian psalms, or the sorrows of Alceste and of Orpheus were resounding on the balcony towards evening as far as these prairies and valleys which descend on the lake, I cannot remember having been so moved by music as I was then ³⁵

It is interesting that Marcello noted Madame Revirard's being held back by her husband from a professional career. Certainly Marcello sympathized with her new friend; had her own husband lived, he most certainly would have prevented her from pursuing a professional art career. Revirard's connection with Viardot might have been particularly intriguing for Marcello as well, given that she knew Viardot and was a frequent guest at many of the singer's social salons in Paris. One also senses from this passage that music,

dit, c'est votre voisine à l'hôtel, la femme d'un magistrat de Dijon. Je le chargeai de lui exprimer mon désir de l'entendre encore. La rencontrant ensuite, elle vint à moi, puis tout droit m'emmena entendre encore ces accents qui m'avaient ravie." Marcello also mentions her encounter with Revirard in letters to her mother from September 1862 (Archives FM).

³⁵ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris 14-15" [original manuscript], 54 [typewritten copy]. "Certes son mari avait mis la lumière sous le boisseau en ne l'autorisant jamais à se faire entendre en public, mais c'était une âme élevée, anglaise protestante, qui chantait pour Dieu et comme les oiseaux, lorsque la nature l'inspirait. Pourtant, elle avait un savoir musical consommé, et dirigeait l'éducation de sa fille, douée aussi d'une manière admirable pour le chant. Mais la mère était élève de Pauline Viardot, et sentait profondément cette musique classique dont les accents m'étaient inconnus alors. Peu à peu elle m'initia, et soit qu'elle comblât l'Église d'Aix de l'ampleur des grands psaumes italiens, ou que les douleurs d'Alceste et d'Orphée retentissent du balcon jusqu'au-delà de ces prairies et de ces vallons descendant au lac vers le soir, je ne me souviens pas d'avoir été émue par la musique comme je l'étais alors [...]"

if it had not done so already, was now having a very profound influence on the direction of Marcello's work and choice of subject matter.

Finally, Marcello described how she settled on *La Gorgone* as a subject. Here the dual themes Marcello often invoked through her work are evident; the merging of beauty and fury, typical of her heroic female figures, and the creation of a work using music as the root of her inspiration:

One time Mme R[evirard] sung the *Tune of the Gorgone* [from the opera *Persée*] by Lully. I stopped her, "Quick, give me clay! I will make it mine. You will see that I will make for you a Gorgon head where beauty will meet with contempt and fury, in the moment of defiance and that will struggle with the music." I was brought clay and it was in this manner that I found myself thrust into making this bust, the reproductions of which have been frequent. From Aix, I went to Geneva to choose the marble and give my [clay] model to an Italian *praticien* who was established there.³⁶

Revirard's inspirational aria seems to have come from Act Three, Scene I of Jean-Baptiste Lully's opera *Persée* (1682), at which point the gorgon Medusa laments her fate:

I bear horror and death everywhere.
Everything turns to stone when it gazes upon my hideous countenance.
The thunderbolts unleashed by Jupiter from on high
Are nothing like as fearful
As one of my glances.

The greatest gods of heaven and earth and sea
Rely on me for their vengeance.
If I lose the pleasure of being loved by the whole world,
At least I have the pleasure of being hated.³⁷

³⁶ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris 15" [original manuscript], 55 [typewritten copy]. "Madame R. chanta une fois l'air de la Gorgone de Lulli. Je l'arrêtai, vite de la terre, je veux m'en emparer, vous verrez que je vous ferai une tête de Gorgone, où la beauté se croîsera avec le mépris et la fureur dans l'instant du défi et qui luttera avec la musique. On apporta de la terre glaise, et ce fut ainsi que je me trouvai entraînée à faire ce buste dont les reproductions ont été fréquentes. D'Aix j'allai à Genève, choisir le marbre, et confier mon modèle à un praticien italien qui s'y trouvait établi."

³⁷ Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Persée*, libretto by Philippe Quinault, English trans. by Geoffrey Marshall. (Paris: Astrée, 2001), 62, compact disc recording with libretto. "Je porte l'épouvante et la mort en tous lieux, Tout se change en rocher à mon aspect horrible; Les traits que Jupiter lance du haut des cieux, n'ont rien de si terrible, qu'un regard de mes yeux. Les plus grands dieux du ciel, de la terre et de l'onde, du soin

Earlier, Marcello mentioned that Revirard sang “the sorrows of Alceste,” which may have also come from an opera by Lully, entitled *Alceste, ou Le triomphe d’Alcide* (1674).³⁸ His *Bellérophon* (1679) included a Pythian Sybil, a subject that Marcello would begin to develop soon after her completion of *La Gorgone*, but it is not clear whether the opera by Lully directly inspired the later sculpture. Nonetheless, Lully seems to have been a significant composer for Marcello, whose music can be connected to some of her most important works.

La Gorgone became, as suggested by Marcello in her memoirs, a highly successful commercial work. After its exhibition at the Salon of 1865, the sculpture was often cast for collectors by the founder Ferdinand Barbedienne (who purchased the rights to reproduce the work on order).³⁹ The work is also one of the most significant pieces in Marcello’s oeuvre, as it is the culmination of the two themes she favored, heroism and music, into one sculpture.

Music-Inspired Works II: Goethe, Gounod and Symbolism: Marcello’s *La*

Marguerite de Goethe

In 1867, two years after her success with *la Gorgone*, Marcello created a marble

de se vanger se reposer sur moy; si je perds la douceur d’estre l’amour du monde, j’ay le plaisir nouveau d’en devenir l’effroy.” [Note: the original is written in seventeenth-century French.]

³⁸ Alcestis, or Alceste was the the wife of Admetus and the daughter of Pelias. Admetus was granted immortality on the condition that when it was really his time to die, someone else should go in his stead. His wife cheerfully agreed to die in his place so that her husband’s life would be spared. Admetus mourned his wife’s death so deeply that Hercules retrieved her from the underworld so they could be together once more. Alcestis’s history is recounted in Martial’s *Epigrammata* and Hyginus, *Fabulae (Genealogiae)*.

³⁹ See Chapter Four for additional analysis of *La Gorgone*.

bust entitled *la Marguerite de Goethe* (fig.5-2), a representation of the lead female character in Part I of Goethe's *Faust* (1790). Her sculpture was inspired by Gounod's successful opera of the same title, which had premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial in Paris on 19 March 1859.⁴⁰ In her memoirs, Marcello recalled the power of Goethe's *Faust* after attending a performance of the opera with her friend Victor Cousin (1792-1867):

The friend who always gave advice to me was the philosopher Cousin; in order to change him from his profession of too many principles, I took him one evening, but this later, to hear Gounod's *Faust* [...] I remember that he left after the third act and said to me that he had walked for two hours before being able to return home, so much had he been moved. But it is not *Faust* he said and perhaps *Faust* cannot exist in music; it is *Marguerite*, it is her, her, and once again disturbed, he asked me to thank Gounod for these emotions of the heart and the youth that he owed to him immediately. Here are successes that are equal to those from the general public.⁴¹

The prestige associated with women who performed on the operatic stage was of great importance during the nineteenth century, and the best singers were considered celebrities of the highest order.⁴² They were the "divas" of their age, and photographs of them were often published in opera brochures and in the press. Thus opera singers and female operatic characters provided Marcello with numerous examples of women in

⁴⁰ For a history of the Théâtre Lyrique, see T.J. Walsh, *Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique Paris 1851-1870* (New York: Riverrun Press, 1981).

⁴¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris 18" [original manuscript], 57 [typewritten copy]. "L'ami aux conseils était toujours le philosophe Cousin, pour le sortir de ses professions de principes, je le menai un soir, mais ceci plus tard, entendre le *Faust* de Gounod, je me rappelle qu'il sortit après le 3ème acte et me dit avoir marché ensuite 2 heures avant de pouvoir rentrer chez lui, tant il avait été ému. Mais ce n'est pas *Faust* disait-il, et peut-être *Faust* ne peut il exister en musique, c'est *Marguerite*, elle, elle, et de nouveau troublé, il me priait de remercier Gounod pour ces émotions du coeur et la jeunesse qu'il lui avait due un instant. Voilà des succès qui valent ceux d'une foule." It is unclear whether Marcello was speaking here of attending the 1859 performance of Gounod's *Faust* or one of the revival performances in 1867 or 1869.

⁴² For an overview of the female singers of this period, see Jean Gourret, *Encyclopédie des fabuleuses cantatrices de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 1981), esp. 131-74.

powerful, heroic roles. Her female figures, which greatly outnumber male figures in her work, are often endowed with greater-than-life attributes. She may have also personally identified with these women, particularly with their strong commitment to work and their independent spirit. Marcello's depiction of such figures helped to further their empowerment, as well as asserting her own. Thus, it is not surprising that she was so interested in opera performers and the characters they portrayed; they held a dual place in her oeuvre both as depictions of musical figures and as heroic females.

The Faust legend inspired many artists, composers, and writers in the nineteenth century. Its earliest source is found in the New Testament (Acts 8: 9-24), where the story of the magician Simon Magnus, who conspired to sell his soul to the devil in exchange for supernatural powers, is recounted. The story had a revival in Europe during the Middle Ages, and a historical figure calling himself "Faust the Younger" surfaced in Germany during the Renaissance. Biographies of "Dr. Johann Fausten" appeared in Germany in 1587, and a year later the English dramatist Christopher Marlowe published his *Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*. It is, however, Goethe's *Faust*, the best-known version of the legend, which revived the story for an eighteenth- (and nineteenth-) century European audience after its publication in 1790. Louis de Sainte-Aulaire, Albert Stapfer (both in 1823), and Gérard de Nerval (in 1827) provided independent French translations of *Faust*.

Fostered by a renewed interest in Gothic, Germanic and medieval themes, depictions of characters from Goethe's work were incredibly popular during the

Romantic period in France.⁴³ Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), whom Marcello greatly admired, created eighteen lithographs of the Faust epic to illustrate Stapfer's translation in 1828 (figs. 5-7a through 5-7c). Delacroix's *Faust* lithographs included five images devoted to the scenes where Marguerite figures prominently in Goethe's text. These scenes included the meeting of Marguerite and Faust; Marguerite at her spinning wheel; Marguerite in church; Marguerite's apparition as witnessed by Faust; and Marguerite in her prison cell. In the last two of these images (figs. 5-7a and 5-7b), Marguerite is shown partially nude and before the moment of her repentance. Certainly Marcello would have been aware of these images, given their popularity and her own admiration for the French painter; however, a completely different type of characterization, much less sexualized and bordering on the beatified, embodies her image of Marguerite.

Other artists were equally fascinated by the *Faust* epic, and a profusion of images and musical works flooded France by mid-century. The Romantic painter Ary Scheffer delved into *Faust*, producing a number of paintings, beginning in 1829, which emphasized Marguerite's role in the legend. James Tissot's (1836-1902) *Rencontre de Faust et de Marguerite* (fig. 5-8, Meeting of Faust and Marguerite, 1860, Paris, Musée d'Orsay) was purchased by the French government in 1860 and was exhibited in the Musée du Luxembourg soon afterwards. In his work, it is the shy Marguerite that Faust encounters, not the defiant-looking woman one witnesses in Delacroix lithograph of the same scene (compare figs. 5-7c and 5-8). In music, Goethe's work inspired Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust*, which premiered in 1846 and encouraged other composers to

⁴³ The texts on Romanticism are too numerous to mention in a footnote. Here I am thinking in particular of Chapter Four of Hugh Honour's *Romanticism*, 156-91, entitled "The Last Enchantments of the Middle Age," which discusses artists' interest in Gothic themes during the nineteenth century.

explore the theme, including Gounod, whose opera focuses exclusively on Part I of Goethe's text, and Franz Liszt, whose *Eine Faust-Symphonie* was completed in 1857.

In Goethe's text, Marguerite is redeemed at the end of Part I and Faust, the protagonist, at the end of Part II. But for Gounod, the principal character is undoubtedly Marguerite, whose redemption concludes his opera. She is the only truly admirable figure in the story. A pious girl driven by shame to infanticide, Marguerite recognizes she must take responsibility for her actions, repents in her prison cell, and is redeemed. Interestingly, Germans at the time called Gounod's opera *Margarethe* because they felt his opera did not do justice to Goethe's original text, and because it focused too strongly on the lead female character. Gounod and Scheffer both emphasized Marguerite's role in their works, while some artists, such as Berlioz and Delacroix, were more interested in Faust and the demonic, gothic qualities of Mephistopheles.⁴⁴ As noted in previous chapters, Marcello's oeuvre was particularly devoted to heroic (and often tragic) female figures, and her *Marguerite* is no exception. Like Gounod and Scheffer, Marcello saw Marguerite, rather than Faust, as the protagonist of Goethe's epic.

Jules Barbier and Michael Carré, Gounod's librettists, adhered closely to Goethe's original text, retaining in the end Marguerite's defiant refusal to escape from prison with Faust and her redemption at the moment of her death.⁴⁵ The final act of the opera closes

⁴⁴ For an analysis of Gounod's *Faust*, see Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 101. Earlier artists such as the playwright Christopher Marlowe, in whose *Doctor Faustus* there are no female characters whatsoever, seemed to focus more intently on the male protagonist.

⁴⁵ The libretto contains the lines "Pourquoi ce regard menaçant?" and "Anges purs, anges radieux, portez mon âme au sein des cieux!" See Charles-François Gounod, *Faust*, libretto by Jules Barbier and Michel Carré, English trans. by B. Viere. (New York: EMI, 1986), 177, compact disc recording with libretto. In Goethe's original text, Marguerite's anger is more forceful when she says to Faust in the prison cell, "Leave me! No, I shall suffer no force! Do not grip me so murderously! After all, I did everything you asked." (Laß mich! Nein, ich leide keine Gewalt! Fasse mich nicht so mörderisch an! Sonst hab ich dir ja alles zuliebe getan.) and again later, to heaven "Thine I am, father. Save me! You angels, hosts of heaven,

with Marguerite's ascension, body and soul, into heaven. As Mephistopheles cries, "She is condemned!" he is corrected by a voice from heaven: "No, she is saved!" Caroline-Marie-Felix Miolan-Carvalho (figs. 5-9 and 5-10, 1827-1895), one of the most highly acclaimed singers of the second half of the nineteenth century, created and played the role of Marguerite (sometimes referred to by her German name, Gretchen) to great acclaim, and often revisited the role. She gave fifty-seven performances as Marguerite during the 1859 run of *Faust*. Miolan-Carvalho's best performances were those at the Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial, directed by her husband, Léon Carvalho.⁴⁶

Upon viewing the sculpture (fig. 5-2), it is evident that Marcello represented Marguerite at the very moment of her redemption. The sculpted figure seems to implore forgiveness and her expression is one of peace mixed with pensive sadness. Her hair, partly braided (symbolizing order) and partly loose (symbolizing sensuality and chaos), cascades wildly over her shoulders, suggesting the detachment from reality, her divided loyalties (to Faust and to God), and the loss of sensibility that she experienced in the prison cell.⁴⁷ The simple garment she wears, its only adornment a floral scroll neckline, suggests the spinner's humble background. Fine details, such as the loosely strung and untied bodice, give the figure a romantic aura and act to remind the viewer of Marguerite

stir, encamp about me, be my guard." (Dein bin ich, Vater! Rette mich! Ihr Engel! Ihr heiligen Scharen, Lagert euch umher, mich zu bewahren!) See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, English Trans. by Walter Kaufmann. (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1990 [1790]), 418-21.

⁴⁶ Spire Pitou, *The Paris Opéra: An Encyclopedia of Operas, Ballets, Composers, and Performers. Growth and Grandeur, 1815-1914* (New York, Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1990), 463. See also Walsh, *Second Empire Opera*, 96-106, *passim*.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of hair as an ambiguous sign, see Roland Barthes, "The Romans in Films," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998 [1957]), 26-28.

at her spinning wheel.⁴⁸ The use of blank eyeballs (not incised) endows the figure with the appearance of a mysterious, otherworldly being, and one senses that Marguerite's apotheosis has already occurred. While Faust, under the protection of the devil, was doomed to a possible eternity as the devil's servant, Marguerite, who drowned her child out of shame, was the cause of her brother Valentin's death, and in Goethe's original text, accidentally murdered her mother, attained salvation through sincere remorse.⁴⁹

Whether Marcello's *Marguerite* is a portrait of Miolan-Carvalho is far from certain but surely the artist had the soprano and her performance in mind when she sculpted the piece. In his review of the *Exposition universelle* of 1867, the critic known as Le Flâneur noted that the piece was rumored to exhibit the physiognomic characteristics of Miolan-Carvalho.⁵⁰ The critic Eugène Chapus had made a similar suggestion.⁵¹ The clothing, expression, garment, and hairstyle of Marcello's figure closely resemble those of Miolan-Carvalho in a publicity photo circa 1859, which shows

⁴⁸ Although not depicted in Marcello's sculpture, Marguerite is often shown at her spinning wheel (*la quenouille*), which was a symbol of women's work in traditional society. The spinning wheel, an object present in almost every European and American household before the twentieth century, played an important role in amorous and conjugal relations, as courtship and marriage textiles were made on it. Spinning wheels were often painted red to symbolize love and possible marriage, while those painted black symbolized the death of the fiancé before the marriage. The detail of the loose thread or string on Marguerite's blouse in Marcello's sculpture has, no doubt, a similar connotation (the "knot" between Marguerite and Faust had not been tied).

⁴⁹ In Goethe's work, Marguerite gives her mother what she thinks is a sleeping draught (provided by Faust at Mephistopheles' suggestion), so she and Faust may meet and have intercourse without being disturbed. Unbeknownst to Marguerite and Faust, the draught was a poison. After Faust abandons Marguerite, she realizes she is pregnant with his child; her shame drives her to drown the child shortly after its birth. In Barbier and Carré's libretto, the mother's death is alluded to as something that had happened in the distant past, and we learn only of the death of the child.

⁵⁰ Le Flâneur, "Le Salon," *Revue de Paris* ([1 May] 1867): 117-18.

⁵¹ Eugène Chapus, in *Le Sport* (10 April 1867), Newspaper clipping, Archives FM. "La Marguerite, de Goethe, buste en marbre qui rappelle, dans plus d'un détail, le caractère physionomique de Mme Carvalho, qui a plus d'une fois posé à son insu pour cette oeuvre." [The Marguerite, from Goethe, bust in marble which recalls, in more than one detail, the physiognomic character of Mme Carvalho, who has more than once posed, without having known it, for this work.]

the opera singer in the role of Marguerite during the prison scene of Act Five (fig. 5-9). It is very likely that Marcello saw Miolan-Carvalho's performance as Marguerite during her stay in Paris in 1859, and could also have met her at one of Pauline Viardot's salons. She certainly knew the soprano, as evidenced by her *carte-de-visite*, found among Marcello's collection of photographs. Produced by Charles Reutlinger of 21 Boulevard Montmartre, Paris, the photograph is still extant at the Fondation Marcello (fig. 5-10). Also conserved there is a drawing by Marcello dated "nov. 66," which undoubtedly represents the scene of Faust and Mephistopheles meeting Marguerite for the first time (fig. 5-11).⁵² Therefore it may have been a later performance of *Faust* that had actually inspired the sculpture of Marguerite.

Gounod's works greatly inspired Marcello who seems to have been friendly with the composer sometime before the premier of his *Roméo and Juliette* in 1867, at which time Miolan-Carvalho again starred in the lead female role. Fearing the reaction of the critics, Gounod wanted to be surrounded by his friends on the night of the premiere at the Théâtre Lyrique. As if gathering recruits for a military coup, he summoned his friend Marcello to attend the premiere and assist him at the front lines: "It is tonight – this was decided only yesterday at midnight – do not fail me. I need stout hearts to succeed and yours is worth that of a general."⁵³ Although Pauline Viardot may have introduced

⁵² This drawing is found in a sketchbook in the Salon Chinois marked "ALBUM No. III," with the brand label "Papeterie deluxe A. Cousin, rue de Bac 53, Paris." The verso of this drawing reads in Marcello's hand: "Faire des portraits de lignes, et de quantités masses nombres avait de faire de portraits de traits au de sentiments etc., etc..."

⁵³ Charles-François Gounod to Adèle d'Affry (Marcello), undated [but circa 26 April 1867], Archives FM. "C'est ce soir – cela n'a été décidé que hier à minuit – ne me manquez pas! Il me faut des coeurs pour vaincre et le vôtre vaut bien un général..."

Gounod and Marcello, possibly as early as 1859, the singer had been on less than amicable terms with Gounod since his marriage to Anna Zimmerman in 1852.⁵⁴

A fundamental music-related sketch is also found among Marcello's drawings from the period. Evidence that Marcello knew Gounod by 1867 exists in this drawing, which is marked "Mlle Block en Sapho, chez Gounod 12 avril 67," (fig. 5-12).⁵⁵ This drawing is also significant because it lends proof to the suggestion that Marcello brought her small sketchbooks to performances to make studies for future works, using the opera and other performances as direct sources for her sculptures.

Even before *Marguerite* was exhibited in the Exposition Universelle of 1867, the press had pointed out the influence of Gounod's opera on the sculpture. An unknown British journalist, eagerly awaiting the viewing of the bust in Paris, wrote of Marcello's devotion to music in connection to her sculpture:

There is another bust I am longing to see, the Marguerite of Faust, which is not yet, I think, at the Champs de Mars. While the bust was in execution the Duchess spent the evenings of a whole fortnight at the Théâtre Lyrique, imbuing her imagination with Gounod's music, learning by heart, with the musician's aid, every charm of Goethe's heroine.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ It seems that Gounod's mother and in-laws heard rumors that he and Viardot had once been lovers, a fact both denied. Viardot was barred from the wedding and her gift of a bracelet to the bride returned with a nasty letter written by Gounod, seemingly under the direction of his wife, his family and his in-laws. For the full tale, see April Fitzlyon, *The Price of Genius: A Life of Pauline Viardot* (New York: Appleton Century, 1964), 284-9. Many of Gounod's letters to Marcello are unsigned, which may have acted to protect him in case they were to somehow come to his wife's attention. On his end, Gounod covered his tracks by showing all letters sent to him by other women to his wife. According to Marcello, "Gounod dans mari de devotion donne à lire à sa femme toutes mes lettres et celles de toutes ses autres amies femmes." [Gounod, devoted in his marriage, gives to his wife to read all my letters and those of his other female friends.] Personal notes, dated "déc 68," Archives FM.

⁵⁵ This drawing is also found in the sketchbook in the Salon Chinois marked "ALBUM No. III," with the brand label "Papeterie deluxe A. Cousin, rue de Bac 53, Paris."

⁵⁶ Author unknown, "Correspondence from Paris," Newspaper clipping from a British journal, c. summer 1867, Archives FM.

This short review lends credence to the fact that Marcello was in attendance at later performances of *Faust* that ran in Paris in 1867. After the completion of *Marguerite*, the soprano Christine Nilsson (1843-1921) sung the role of Marguerite in a revival performance for the Opéra de Paris in 1869 to great acclaim. Nilsson performed at the Théâtre-Lyrique in various roles between 1864 and 1867.

Writings and letters between them reveal that Marcello and Gounod had an obvious respect for each other's art. In her diary circa 1870 Marcello recorded the high esteem she had for Gounod's music. She appears to have been stirred by his music, to which she responded on an intimate level:

The music of Gounod reveals this soft and tender side of the heart, which belongs to A, and I see from my loge box where I am honored by my friends the place where I was [illegible word] seated next to A, overcome with love and poetry. Contrast – it is the law of life, of the heart also, and [of] all of these men who made promises to me, only one knew how to touch the unknown cords of my soul, not the most powerful but the most gently vibrating, and the most delicate.⁵⁷

Gounod and Marcello corresponded with each other between 1867 and 1870.

Forty-seven letters, some quite romantic in tone, from Gounod to Marcello have survived and are in the archives of the Fondation Marcello in Givisiez, but her replies have not been found and are presumed destroyed. Steven Huebner noted in his text, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* that “for Gounod [Marcello] was more than a fellow artist; she was a soulmate in speculative forays among higher spheres of art and beauty, a source of intellectual companionship to fill a void in his existence with the more earthbound

⁵⁷ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets (known as the *Extraits de cahiers et pages d'agenda*), Undated sheet, circa 1870, Archives F.M. “La musique de Gounod réveille ce côté suave et tendre du cœur, qui appartient à A, et je vois de ma loge où je suis fêtée par mes petits amis la place où j'étais [illegible word - magnère (?)] assise auprès d'A éperdu d'amour et de poésie. Contraste, c'est la loi de la vie, du cœur aussi, et tous ces hommes me voueraient, un seul a su toucher des cordes ignorées de mon âme, non les plus puissantes mais les plus doucement vibrantes, et les plus délicates.” “A” probably referred to Gounod's wife, Anna Zimmerman.

Anna.”⁵⁸ Since his wife was known for her jealousy, it is very possible that Gounod quickly destroyed any letters he received from Marcello, or his wife destroyed them after his death. Many of Gounod’s letters to Marcello are unsigned, which may be evidence of Anna’s jealousy.⁵⁹

At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, Gounod moved to London, where he was the guest of the English soprano Georgina Weldon (1837-1914). The correspondence between Marcello and him seems to have ended at this time. There are no extant letters at the Fondation Marcello by Gounod written after 1870, and there are no letters from Marcello to him among his London papers conserved at the Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman Center at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. Huebner has suggested that their friendship and letter writing may have cooled when Gounod’s admiration for Marcello shifted from a platonic to a romantic nature, but the composer’s move to London, the Franco-Prussian War, and Marcello’s declining health may have all similarly contributed to the ceasing of their communication.⁶⁰

Music-Inspired Works III: Dante, Gounod, and Symbolism: Marcello’s *Paolo and Francesca*

Another of Marcello’s works that was based in a traditionally Romantic and later Symbolist subject and that also had connections to an opera was her sketch *Paolo and*

⁵⁸ Huebner, 79.

⁵⁹ Although many of his letters are signed, some of Gounod’s letters to Marcello lack a signature, particularly if the letter in question is somewhat romantic in tone. This may have been done in an attempt on Gounod’s part to protect himself in the event that his wife discovered such letters. Many sources on the Gounod family make note of Zimmerman’s extremely jealous nature.

⁶⁰ Huebner, 79. The date of their estrangement is difficult to assess since many of Gounod’s letters to Marcello are undated.

Francesca. The lovers' story is best known from Dante's *Inferno*, where in Canto Five the poet meets the couple in the Second Circle of Hell, reserved for carnal sinners.

Francesca da Rimini, daughter of Guido Vecchio da Polenta, was married to Gianciotto, the deformed son of Malatesta da Verrucchio, Lord of Rimini. After ten years of marriage, Gianciotto caught his wife with his brother, Paolo, and stabbed the pair to death. As their story became legend, romanticized embellishments were added to it, and the facts were changed.⁶¹ Dante's writings held a preeminent status among sources used by Romantic and Symbolist artists, and Dante remained an important font of material for both Marcello and Gounod.⁶²

Marcello undoubtedly inspired Gounod to begin a project based on Dante's *Inferno*, particularly the story of the doomed love of Paolo and Francesca. Gounod never finished the opera score, nor did Marcello ever complete her sculpture of the same subject. This work, simply entitled *Paolo and Francesca*, was sketched in terra-cotta sometime around 1862 (fig. 5-1). It depicts two figures seated quite apart from each other on a bench. Although incomplete, the sketch provides a wonderful example of Marcello's working method. With only the slightest detailing of the faces and discreet tool marks that outline the clothing, the figures are almost entirely built up of small clay pieces pressed into shapes. Although the date of the sketch is unknown, in 1862 Marcello wrote about the theme in her personal diary:

⁶¹ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*. The Carlyle-Okey-Wicksteed Translation. (New York: Vintage Books, 1959).

⁶² This is not to say that other artists during the century ignored Dante's works. William Blake's illustrations for the *Inferno* include one of his more famous works, *Whirlwind of Lovers* (1827, also known as *The Circle of the Lustful*), and Auguste Rodin included many figures from the same text in his *Gates of Hell* (1800-1917), including a sculpture entitled *Paolo and Francesca* added to the *Gates* around 1887.

Francesca and Paolo are a reflection of this profound impression that the reading of Dante made on me. In this manner artistic creation must spring forth, sequel and consequence of an impression received, exterior manifestation of a state of the soul, where one becomes truly an artist from the moment one picks up the tools, one falls precipitously from the radiant contemplation of an Earthly paradise, to [an] existence full of perils, worries, sometimes errors, which is the lot of humanity, fallen from grace. Consequently let us work, we were condemned to work, by labor we shall achieve resurrection.⁶³

That the *Paolo and Francesca* sketch probably dates from the year 1862 is partly explained by the existence of this diary entry and also by Marcello's 1861 meeting in Rome with Carpeaux, where he had been working on his Dantesque subject *Ugolino and His Sons* (1860). However, Marcello's correspondence with Gounod and their mutual interest in Dante could just as strongly suggest a later date.

In an undated letter on official Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial stationary, Gounod wrote excitedly to Marcello regarding their mutual respect for Dante (and his submissive obsession with her):

Here I am now [immersed] in your, in our beloved Dante! Dante! who, with you, introduces me to Francesca! Dante, to whom I will now say "Altissimo Poeta," as he said to his guide in the immortal regions! Dante, whose orders I will listen to and whose hand I will not leave! Dante, with whom I will be able to call upon you at all hours of days and nights, you, my Francesca, my Beatrice! [...] One doesn't hate their creations and you have created so much of me that all I find in myself comes from you! O dear beloved! May Francesca bring you an echo of all that your image sings inside of me! [...] I know one thing; it is that if souls communicate by migrating at the end of this wretched world [,] it is yours that will be found merged in mine, like Francesca's in that of Paolo's – Marcello! Marcello! *Tu sei la mia maestra* [You are my master]!⁶⁴

⁶³ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 10 November 1862, Archives FM. "Francesca et Paolo sont un reflet de cette profonde impression que m'a fait la lecture de Dante, ainsi doit jaillir la création artistique, suite et conséquence d'une impression reçue, manifestation extérieure d'un état de l'âme où l'on est véritablement artiste, du moment où l'on prend l'outil, on déchoit, on passe de la radieuse contemplation du paradis terrestre à l'existence toute pleine de périls, d'inquiétudes, d'erreurs parfois qui est le partage de l'humanité déchue. Ainsi travaillons, nous y fûmes condamnés, par le labeur nous arriverons à la résurrection."

⁶⁴ Charles-François Gounod to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), undated letter on official stationary from the Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial, Archives FM. "[...] – me voici maintenant dans votre...dans notre bien-aimé Dante! Dante! – qui avec vous me montre Francesca! Dante à qui je vais dire maintenant altissimo poeta comme il la disait à son guide dans les régions immortelles! Dante dont je vais écouter les

Huebner has suggested that Gounod's failed attempt at romantically wooing Marcello, followed by adulterous guilt and a bout of depression, were the reasons his opera on the subject was never completed.⁶⁵ Gounod had wanted to save the two lovers from being damned at the end of his opera, but due to his strong religious beliefs, he could not bring himself to complete the opera in this way. He wrote to Marcello explaining why he changed the ending of his opera (which he continued to work on) from one that saved the lovers to one that damned them: "I have rewritten the epilogue of my poem and my conclusion is the same as Dante's. This solution gives me real relief. When I imagined myself grappling with heaven, on the threshold of the idea of adultery, courage failed me and I tore up the scene."⁶⁶ It is possible that some level of personal guilt about his feelings for Marcello contributed to his changing, and ultimately not finishing, his work.

Although Marcello's *Paolo and Francesca* is only a sketch of minor scale, it reveals her commitment to Dantesque themes. It was without doubt her interest in the subject of Dante's *Inferno* that inspired Gounod's project, albeit never realized. As such it is an important footnote to nineteenth-century musical history and relevant to any catalogue of Marcello's musically-based sculptures.

ordres et ne plus quitter la main! Dante avec qui je vais pouvoir désormais vous nommez à toutes heures des jours et des nuits, vous ma Francesca, ma Beatrix! [...] On ne hait pas sa créature et vous m'avez tellement créé que je ne trouve pas en moi que ce qui me vient de vous! – Ô chère bien-aimée! Francesca vous portera-t-elle un écho de tout ce que votre image chante en moi! [...] Je sais une chose, c'est que si les âmes s'ouvrent en se déployant au sortir de ce pauvre ici bas! C'est la vôtre qu'on trouvera enveloppée dans la mienne, comme celle des Francesca dans celle de Paolo – Marcello! Marcello! Tu sei la mia maestra!"

⁶⁵ Huebner, 79-80.

⁶⁶ Charles-François Gounod to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), undated letter, Archives FM. "J'ai refait l'épilogue de mon poème et je conclus comme Dante. J'éprouve une vraie délivrance de cette solution. Quand je me suis vu aux prises avec le paradis, sur le seuil de l'adultère, le courage m'a manqué, j'ai déchiré le tableau."

Music-Inspired Works IV: Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* and Marcello's *La Rosina*

Although neither the sculptural nor the musical compositions for Paolo and Francesca were ever completed by Marcello or Gounod, Marcello continued working on musical subjects, and produced, in 1869, a statuette entitled *La Rosina* (fig. 5-3a through 5-3c, 5-14). Marcello also made preliminary plasters for *Rosina*, showing a different choice of pose and stance (fig. 5-13). The figure represents the female lead in Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (The Barber of Seville), first performed in 1816. Originally written by the playwright Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732-1799), *The Barber of Seville* (1775) was the first of his trilogy that included *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784) and *The Guilty Mother* (1792).⁶⁷ The first two of these were extremely successful in the eighteenth century when they were performed in Paris, and they found renewed success after Rossini and his librettists converted them into operas in the early nineteenth century.

Although it cannot be asserted with certainty, it is thought that a Madame Isabella de Madrazo, the sister-in-law of the painters Rosalès and Fortuny, was the model for the statuette.⁶⁸ In a letter written to her mother on 22 July 1869, Marcello speaks of three figures on which she was working:

I have made three statuettes, one of Eléonore [*sic*] Wittgenstein, a pretty little coquette, the other of the little Madrazo, and one of a male musician playing an

⁶⁷ For a discussion of these plays in the context of marriage roles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives, and Lovers: Marriage and Its Discontents in Nineteenth Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 123-25.

⁶⁸ It seems from Marcello's writings that Madrazo was a singer, but she may have been a minor figure or an amateur, as she is not listed in Jean Gourret's *Encyclopédie des cantatrices* (1981) or his *Dictionnaire des cantatrices de l'opéra de Paris* (Paris: Éditions Albatros, 1987).

instrument. It is still unfinished but it has struck those who have seen it. It is all about movement; true, animated, amusing, and *voilà*, they are types.⁶⁹

Rosina is the main female protagonist in Rossini's *Il Barbiere*. The Count Almaviva, who saw Rosina in Madrid with her guardian, Doctor Bartolo, tries to serenade her at her window in Seville. Figaro, who is the family barber, explains that he might be able to help the Count reach the girl. After finding out that the Doctor wants to marry the girl, Figaro and the Count, with Rosina's help, come up with various schemes to confuse the Doctor and foil his plans for marriage. Rosina, with a letter she has written to the Count (whom she thinks is Lindoro, a poor wretch), is prepared to meet her lover in spite of the Doctor's wishes. After a number of comical events to foil the Doctor, Lindoro finally reveals to Rosina that he is the wealthy Count, affirms his authority over the Doctor, and wins Rosina, who becomes his countess.

On the front base of Marcello's statuette of the figure, Marcello carved with a tool the words "È già scritta....Al cospetto." This refers, although somewhat incorrectly, to lines in the libretto of the opera, neither of which Rosina actually says. In Act I, Figaro notes that Rosina has already written (*Già era scritto*) the letter to her beloved Lindoro, which will explain her devotion to him. The phrase "Al cospetto," literally means "in front of," but as interpreted in the libretto for *Il Barbiere* it means "Oh damnation!" Both Figaro and Doctor Bartolo repeat this phrase throughout the opera. A tiny letter is held in the left hand of Marcello's figure, thus providing a clue to the textual source (detail, fig.

⁶⁹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess d'Affry, 22 July 1869, Archives FM. "J'ai fait trois statuettes, l'une d'Eléonore Wittgenstein, la cocodette, l'autre de la petite Madrazzo, et une d'un musicien se complaisant dans son instrument. Ceci est incomplete encore, mais a [Trans. Note: illegible, but seems to be: saisi les gens que] c'est juste [*sic*] mouvement, vrai, animé, amusant, et voilà de types." Although Marcello mentions "Eléonore Wittgenstein" in this letter, it is more likely that she is referring to Princess Carolyne-Jeanne-Elisabeth von Sayn-Wittgenstein (née Iwanowska, 1819-1887), Liszt's companion.

5-3c). *La Rosina* was a perfect subject for Marcello to sculpt, since the character was a strong-minded woman; determined not to marry Bartolo, Rosina decides to take matters into her own hands by writing to her beloved, even before Figaro urges her to do so.

An additional related plaster, unfortunately damaged, can be found at the Fondation Marcello (fig. 5-18). Although the placement of the arms, the stance, and the turn of the head are different from the final version of *Rosina*, the white plaster contains similar characteristics, including the facial features and the style of the dress and shoes. This plaster is marked “premiere” under the base of the sculpture. There are two other versions of *Rosina* in terra-cotta found at the Fondation Marcello and at the Musée d’art et d’histoire in Fribourg. Another plaster statuette in severely damaged condition at the Fondation Marcello embodies a pose and composition different from that of the final version of *Rosina*, lending proof to the fact that Marcello worked on the statuette intensively (fig 5-13).

Marcello knew Rossini personally and she was certainly inspired by his musical contributions. Attached to a letter written in Italian by Rossini to Marcello is an autographed sheet of music, complete with a musical “sketch” (fig. 5-15). This seems to have been presented in exchange for a gift or purchase of a sculpture by Marcello, sent to him in 1864. In the only extant letter from Rossini to Marcello, whom she seems to have known very well, the composer thanked the sculptor for a gift and praised her:

Adorable Duchess, my poor health has kept me from replying before (as courtesy required), to your most kind letter of February 24th [of the previous month], this pledge of your constant goodness towards me. It announced the generous gift which now is in my possession and which constitutes the most beautiful ornament in my study. This *Lazzaroncina* [lit. little lazy girl] modeled by my S... (who is the most noble feminine type there could ever be, of the Colonna who sustains my old age in my earthly corner) was and ever will be my delight; thank you,

therefore, my esteemed Duchess and please be assured that my gratitude is equal to my admiration for you.

It saddens me that mourning will keep you far away from us for some time; may these days of delay, assisted by the wings of our endearment for you, fly quickly and restore the supreme joy of seeing you again. [You are] as beautiful as nature made you, as good as maternal influence wished you. My wife, who is most devoted to you, joins me in paying respect to the author of your days, your fortunate mother. I would also wish to assure you that I am second to none in my love and admiration for you. Please believe the truthfulness of our warm feelings of gratitude and adoration that I have written on this sheet of paper.⁷⁰

Although it is difficult to speculate which work Marcello sent to Rossini, it may have been the *Bust of the Duchess of San Cesario* (see fig. 4-4). The work was, as of two decades ago, part of the public collections of Paris that came from Rossini's personal collection (currently unlocated). Rossini requested a marble copy of the sculpture from Marcello in 1863, after it had been successfully exhibited in the Salon of that year.

In connection to Marcello's relationship with Rossini, it has been stated by Henriette Bessis in her 1980 text on the sculptor that she produced a painted portrait of the composer. However such a portrait is currently unlocated. Although a painting entitled *Portrait de Rossini* is reproduced in Bessis' *Marcello: Sculpteur*, it appears to have been misidentified in the text.⁷¹ The image is not a plausible likeness of the

⁷⁰ Gioachino Rossini to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), from Paris, dated 6 March 1864, Archives FM. "Adorable Duchessa, La malferma mia salute m'impedi' riscontrasse prima d'ora (come me ne correva debito) la pregiatissima vostra 24 P.P., essa, pegno della costante vostra bonta' per me. Mi annunciava il generoso dono che e' ora in mio potere e che forma il piu' bell'ornamento del mio gabinetto. Questa Lazzaroncina modelata dal mio S... (che e' il tipo femminile piu' nobile che esser si possa, dalla Colonna che sostiene la mia verchiazza, dal mio angolo terreno) fu' e sana' ognora la mia delizia; grazie, addunque o pregiatissima Duchessa piaciavi credere che la mia gratitudine ugualia' la mia ammirazione per voi. Duolmi che un triste lutto vi tenga ancora per qualche tempo lontana da noi, possan questi giorni di ritardo, col sussidio delle ali della nostra tenerezza per voi volare rapidi e rinnovare il sommo bene di rivedervi. Bella quale natura, vi fece, Buona quanto l'Influenza materna lo volse. Mia moglie, che vi e' devotissima, a me si unisce per ossequiare l'autrice dei vostri giorni, la fortunata madre vostra, io poi voglio siate verta che a nessun son secondo in amarvi ed ammirarvi, vogliate credere veritieri i caldi sentimenti di Riconoscenza e di adorazione che in questo foglio ho vergati." I am grateful to Laura Travagin and Diane Kelder for their advice on the translation of this letter.

⁷¹ Henriette Bessis, *Marcello: Sculpteur* (Fribourg, Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1980), 93.

composer, and the archives of the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg entitles the same work a portrait of the Comte de Circourt. Albeit that Marcello certainly had an opportunity to produce a portrait of Rossini either in Rome or Paris, there is no evidence that she actually did so. While in Rome she did, however, produce portraits of Liszt and Gounod, as will be discussed below.

Finally, it has been noted that Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux produced an image of the character Figaro in 1873 that could almost be a companion piece to Marcello's *Rosina* (compare figs. 5-3a and 5-16).⁷² Produced four years after *Rosina*, Carpeaux's *Figaro* is sculpted in a similarly colored terra cotta and exhibits a similar pose (*i.e.*, a bow or curtsy). Although evidence has not been found as to whether Carpeaux was familiar with the *Rosina*, it is entirely possible that he saw the work in Marcello's studio. The *Figaro* is an unusual work in Carpeaux's oeuvre, leading to the suggestion that Marcello's statuette inspired him to produce a similar terra-cotta figure of a character from Rossini's opera.

Music-Inspired Works V: Colossal Sculpture of William Tell

The story of William Tell undoubtedly would have been a subject of interest to Marcello because of her nationality, but she was also aware of the two most famous Romantic works based on Tell's life: Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell* (1805) and Rossini's opera *Guglielmo Tell* (1829). Interestingly, Dante also played a role in the conception of Marcello's sculpture of Tell. According to a diary entry dated 1 November 1863, she noted, "I have begun the William Tell. After having read a song of purgatory from Dante,

⁷² The connection between Carpeaux's *Figaro* and Marcello's *Rosina* was discussed by Anita Petrovski in a public lecture given at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg on 11 May 2004. Her connections between the two pieces will be published in a forthcoming brochure for the Musée d'art et

and having meditating on the character of my hero, I went to the studio where I began with a most violent emotion.”⁷³ Although the project was never completed, documentation at the Fondation Marcello suggests that she returned to the idea for the sculpture throughout her career.

William Tell is the legendary national hero of Switzerland. Although Tell’s story takes place in the early years of the thirteenth century, his tale is first recorded in the fifteenth century. It was at this time that Switzerland was ruled by Albert II, Duke of Austria, who placed Hermann Gessler in a powerful position as a governor, steward and bailiff of Uri. According to the legend, Gessler wanted to test the loyalty of the citizens of Uri to Austria, thus he placed his hat, decorated in the colors of Austria, on a pole in the center of town. All people were to bow to the hat when they passed it. Tell, who was from Bürglen, entered Uri with his son, Walter. It is not known whether Tell simply did not know of the order to bow to the hat or if he was directly defying the order, but in any case he failed to bow to it. For defying the order, Tell was challenged by Gessler to shoot an apple off of his son’s head by crossbow. After successfully hitting the apple, Tell was asked why he had brought two arrows, to which he replied that the second was to kill Gessler, had he missed the apple and accidentally killed his son. For this remark, Tell was condemned, and was placed on a boat bound for Küsnacht prison, northeast of Luzern. A southern wind (known in Switzerland as the Föhn) caused the boat to almost be smashed, until the crew untied Tell and asked him to steer. After bringing the boat to

d’histoire. I give special thanks to Ms. Petrovski for her continual advice and support of my own work on Marcello.

⁷³ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 5 November 1863, Archives FM. “Je commence le Guillaume Tell! Après avoir lu un chant du Purgatoire de Dante, et médité sur le caractère de mon héros, je vais à l’atelier où je débute par une plus violente émotion.”

safety, Tell fled across the canton of Schwyz. Gessler and his men came after him, but finally Tell used the second arrow to defeat the bailiff, piercing him in the heart. It is not known if the tale of the heroic archer who complied with an order to shoot an apple off of his son's head was based on a historical figure, but the events of Tell's story are often discussed as those which led to the end of Habsburg oppression and independence for Switzerland.⁷⁴ The Tell legend remains important to Swiss culture and identity.⁷⁵

Marcello's project for a sculpture of Tell seems to have progressed to the marble stage, as she had a *praticien* working on the piece, but parts of the work were destroyed during a shipment from Rome to Paris. Only written documents attest to the existence of these works; photographs, drawings, or other supporting material for the project have yet to be discovered. The colossal size of the sculpture appears to have presented daunting problems. Marcello complained in her writing about the difficulty involved in producing the piece, particularly concerning the heavy weight of the marble with which she had to work and the vast size of the sculpture. In addition she was troubled by vertigo whenever she climbed her ladder to work on the sculpture.⁷⁶

Other significant Swiss artists developed sculptures of William Tell during the same period. The *Monument to William Tell* in Lugano, Switzerland (fig. 4-18) by the Ticino-based sculptor Vincenzo Vela (1820-1891) was already in place at the lakeside by 1856. Marcello's former teacher Heinrich Max Imhof (1795-1869) had begun his Tell

⁷⁴ The classic for of the legend is retold in Aegidius (Gill) Tschudi's encyclopedia of Switzerland, *Chronicon Helveticum* (Bern: Selbstverlag der Allgemeinen Geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz [Auslieferung:] Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, 1968 [1734-36]).

⁷⁵ For a discussion of the modern influence of the Tell legend onto modern Swiss culture and identity, see Uli Windisch and Florence Cornu, *Tell im Alltag* (Zürich: Edition M, 1988).

⁷⁶ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 5 November 1863, Archives FM. "En escaladant mon échelle, je ressens des vertiges. . ."

Project in 1867, some years after hers (fig. 4-19); it was a project that engaged him until his death, and was never fully completed. Whereas for all of these artists, including Marcello, Tell was an important figure in their collective Swiss-consciousness, the influence of Rossini's opera (and Friedrich von Schiller's text, on which the opera is based) seems more evident in Marcello's project, based on her writings.

Marcello's concept for a colossal sculpture of Tell proved to be years ahead of its time. She seems to have wanted to propose the colossal sculpture to Tell's traditional home city of Aldorf, in the canton of Uri.⁷⁷ Many years later and after Marcello's death, in the 1890s, the Swiss government held a competition for an over-life sized bronze of the hero and his child. The commission was given to Richard Kissling (1848-1919), and his sculpture *Monument to William Tell and his Son* (1895) was given to and remains today at the Rathausplatz in Altdorf (fig. 5-17). Kissling's bronze remains one of the best-known images of Tell, and a highly popular public work of art. (The Swiss can identify it as easily as a New Yorker could the *State of Liberty* and Parisians the *Eiffel Tower*.) A native of Solothurn, Kissling was recognized as Switzerland's national sculptor by the turn of the century; but Marcello's concept and placement ideas for a sculpture of the same subject preceded his own by almost thirty years.

It is somewhat difficult to judge how important music was to Marcello's sculpture of Tell since it no longer exists and no sketches for it (either drawn or in terra-cotta or wax) have been uncovered. However, it was with her version of William Tell that her

⁷⁷ According to Henriette Bessis, Marcello kept a "Press Book" that contained a clipping which stated that "Marcello travaille maintenant à une statue colossale de Guillaume Tell, dont elle se propose de faire hommage à la ville d'Aldorf." See Bessis, 81. Unfortunately, this "Press Book" could not be located at the Archives FM, and the president of the Foundation Marcello could not verify its existence for me during my visit. In 2004, I created the only "Press-Books" that currently exist at the Fondation Marcello; I organized all of the original press clippings at the Fondation, chronologically and into archival binders.

aspirations toward the condition of music are most prevalent. She wrote of the need to “seize the harmony of the shapes, the lines, the reliefs, as the musician does with the flats, the sharps, the major and minor tones,” suggesting that she had the elements of music in mind while working on this sculpture.⁷⁸

Portraits of Composers and Singers I: Pauline Viardot

It is difficult to assess the importance of the music-related portrait sculptures that Marcello produced because many of them are now lost. This is particularly true of the portraits, which Marcello either sold or presented to their sitters as gifts. There is little visual record of these pieces (Marcello did not have photographs taken of all of her works), and today the only evidence scholars have that these sculptures in fact were made at all is found in her writing and correspondence. She did, however, obtain photographs of her sitters so that she could work on individual pieces without requiring the sitters to pose for long sessions, as may have been the case with her *Marguerite*. Despite the lack of visual documentation of these pieces, they are nevertheless worthy of consideration.

One of Marcello’s earliest sculptures of a musical personality was the portrait of Pauline Viardot (fig. 5-20), now untraced. The daughter of Manuel del Popolo Vicente Garcia, a well-known singer and minor composer, Pauline Viardot was a mezzo-soprano married to Louis Viardot, author, Spanish art specialist, art critic for *Gazette des beaux-*

⁷⁸ Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 1 November 1862, Archives FM. (See footnote number 27 for the original French text for this quotation.)

arts, and director of the Théâtre-italien.⁷⁹ Viardot's older sister, Maria Mailbran (1808-1836), was also an accomplished *cantatrice*. Viardot's major performances included roles in many of Rossini's operas such as *Il Barbiere de Siviglia* (performed in Paris at the Théâtre-italien), *La Donna del Lago* (Théâtre-italien), and *Othello* (in London). She also created the role of Sappho for Gounod's first opera of the same title, his first operatic endeavor. It was, moreover, through her influence and efforts that Gounod found for the work a librettist and a theater. His *Sapho* premiered on 16 April 1851 at the old Paris Opéra on the rue le Peletier. The Viardots hosted an enormously popular salon in Paris at which Marcello was in regular attendance, alongside such luminaries as Eugène Delacroix, George Sand (1804-1876), and Frederic Chopin (1810-1849). It was here that Marcello made the acquaintance of many other important musical personalities whose faces and works would provide her with ideas for many of her future sculptures.

Both Miolan-Carvalho and Pauline Viardot were the type of strong women that most interested Marcello as subjects for her works. Miolan-Carvalho and Viardot also had many things in common: they were both celebrities, married the directors of the theatres where they headlined, performed at the popular Théâtre-lyrique, and were connected professionally with Gounod. Although Viardot is usually credited with establishing Gounod's career by her performance in *Sapho*, it was Miolan-Carvalho who helped solidify the composer's reputation with her interpretations of the lead female characters in his more successful operas: *Faust* (1859), *Philémon et Baucis* (1860), *La*

⁷⁹ For Pauline Viardot's *milieu*, see Fitzlyon, *The Price of Genius*, 88-91. For information regarding the professional relationship between Gounod and Viardot, see Therèse Marix-Spire, "Gounod and His First Interpreter, Pauline Viardot [Parts I and II]," *The Musical Quarterly* 31:2-3 (April-July 1945), 193-211, 299-317. For Louis Viardot's interest in Spanish art, see Gary Tinterow and Geneviève Lacambre, et al., *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press/Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 33-34. See also Suzanne Desternes and Henriette Chandet, *La Malibran et Pauline Viardot* (Paris: Fayard, 1969).

Colombe (1860), *Mireille* (1864), and *Roméo and Juliette* (1867). In addition, both Miolan-Carvalho and Viardot also had a reputation for controlling (or trying to control) the direction of the opera in which they starred, often refusing to sing certain roles and having the arias of other singers cut if they outshone their own. Their power, on and off the stage, was well known within intellectual circles.

Although very little is known about the portrait of Viardot, Marcello appears to have produced it in 1865, around the time of her *Gorgone*. It seems to have been made as a gift or offering to Madame Revirard, Viardot's student, whom Marcello met in Aix-les-Bains. In common with the sculpture of the Gorgon, the portrait of Viardot was based on a character from an opera by Lully; it has been suggested that the work was an image of the mezzo-soprano in the role of Alceste.⁸⁰

Portraits of Composers and Singers II: Charles-François Gounod

Although much has already been said regarding Gounod, it should be mentioned that Marcello had sculpted his portrait in the late 1860s when the two were residing in Rome. As with most of Marcello's sculpted portraits, this one has not been located. Moreover, a document in Marcello's hand at the Fondation Marcello in Givisiez refers to the presence of the bust of Gounod as being located in a carton in her studio, yet this work has not been found there. Although Marcello's *Portrait of the Count Gaston de Nicolay* (see Chapter Four, fig. 4-5) has been established as an excellent likeness of the Count, it is worth mentioning that the sculpture also bares an uncanny resemblance to Gounod (fig. 5-21).

⁸⁰ This is according to Bessis, 78, but she does not cite her source. Given Marcello's interest in the operas of Lully, it is possible that the portrait of Viardot showed her as Alceste.

Marcello spent a large amount of time at the French Academy in Rome, housed in the Villa Medici, and dined often with Gounod and their mutual friend, the painter Ernest Hébert (1817-1908). In a letter dated 25 January 1869, Marcello wrote that it was Gounod's spirituality that truly impressed her: "Gounod and Hébert are my good friends, all the genius of Gounod does not inspire passion in me, he is so mystical."⁸¹ Earlier in his life Gounod had considered taking vows for the priesthood and although he ultimately did not do so, his oeuvre includes numerous religious pieces, hymns, and chamber music for the church.

It was four years later when Carpeaux completed his bust of the composer (fig. 5-22). Here again we have an instance where Carpeaux has produced a sculpture *after* Marcello had worked on the same or similar subject. Sculpted in London where Gounod was living in the early 1870s, the bust depicts Gounod loosely dressed, armless, with a gallant turn of the head. The heavy brow and bagginess under the eyes gives a sense of contemplation and depth to the expression. Unfortunately, as Marcello's bust of the composer is not extant, the level of dependency that Carpeaux's bust owed to her own cannot be argued.

Portraits of Composers and Singers III: Franz Liszt

While working on the bust of Gounod at the Villa Medici in 1869, Marcello also produced a statuette of the composer Franz Liszt, who had been living in Rome since 1861. Around this time Marcello also produced a statuette of Liszt's companion, the

⁸¹ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, Comtesse Lucie Maillardo d'Affry, 25 January 1869, Archives FM. "Gounod et Hébert sont mes bons amis, tout le génie de Gounod ne m'inspire pas de passion, il est si mystique."

Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, but the work is now lost. Although it cannot be proven without further investigation, it is possible that the two statuettes were meant as companion pieces.

Liszt was, like Marcello and her circle, continually interested in Romantic subjects and themes. He was the first composer to use the term “symphonic poem,” and created two orchestral works based on the writings of Dante and Goethe, the *Dante Symphonie* of 1856 and *Eine Faust-Symphonie* of 1857. Both Liszt and Marcello were similarly interested in Symbolist subjects and themes, and their production had a similar interdisciplinary nature. She often wrote to her mother about her life in Rome in the late 1860s, mentioning that she had dined with Gounod, Hébert and, on more than one occasion, with Liszt.

Marcello depicted the fifty-eight year old Liszt in a relaxed pose, with his arms and legs crossed, and with a smiling yet thoughtful expression on his face. The extant plaster, presently located at the Fondation Marcello (fig. 5-4), is well modeled and offers wonderful evidence of the artist’s facture, particularly in the base and the object on which the figure sits. Marcello’s correspondence reveals that Liszt’s companion, the Princess Wittgenstein, approved of the sculpture of the composer. On 30 October 1869, she wrote to her mother that “Princess Wittgenstein, good friend of Liszt, is so pleased with the statuette that I made of him, that she gave me a very nice hat as a gift.”⁸²

Although the body of correspondence between Marcello and Liszt is significantly smaller than that between her and Gounod, it is obvious that they had a similar and

⁸² Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Comtesse d’Affry (her mother), letter dated 30 October 1869, Archives FM. “La princesse Wittgenstein, bonne amie de Liszt, est si contente de la statuette que j’ai faite [de Liszt] qu’elle m’a donné un très joli chapeau.”

mutual respect for each other's work. Liszt seems to have been an important contact when Marcello exhibited three works (*Ananké*, *Bianca Capello*, and *La Gorgone*) at the Munich International Exhibition of Fine Arts, which ran from July to October 1869.

Marcello forwarded two important letters from Liszt to her mother, asking her to conserve them carefully.⁸³ The first, which Liszt wrote from Rome in September of 1869, describes the placement and early reception of Marcello's sculptures in Munich:

I have just, very late, fulfilled a promise that you have made to me, Madame Duchess. Please allow me some time like a worker and a correspondent with the latest news. You have already been told that your works were extremely admired at the exposition in Munich; in reporting this simple and natural fact I add that many artistic notables have been surprised to learn what gracious and radiant personality was hiding behind the pseudonym of Marcello. Kaulbach, Ramberg, Kalkreuth, etc., could not believe that such masterpieces did not come from the villainous masculine sex. The *Gorgone* and the *Bianca Capello* are perfectly placed, very visible in the large gallery.⁸⁴

At a later date in the same year, Liszt sent a second letter from the Villa d'Este, in which he translated a German critique of Marcello's work:

I assume that you have already received good news directly from the secretary of the Munich exhibition. Mr. Zumbach gave your letter to him right away but in his he neglects to inform me of the final result. However, I am sending you attached the original of Mr. Zumbach, and to facilitate your reading allow me to translate the sculptural passage as best as I can: 'My admiration for Marcello is very great....From my first visit to the exhibition her works had struck me by their monumental conception ('auffassung'). It is what distinguishes them in superiority from the bulk of productions of genre and from the fashionable pieces, modern and weak, which dominated almost everywhere your exhibition of the plastic arts. When later on I learned that a great woman of the aristocracy was the

⁸³ Marcello sent the 12 September 1869 letter from Liszt on 22 September 1869, and included a note with it, stating "Voici une lettre de Litz [sic] conservez la précieusement."

⁸⁴ Franz Liszt to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), from Rome, dated 12 September 1869, Archives FM. "Je viens bien tard remplir une promesse que vous m'avez promise, Madame la Duchesse. Daignez m'indulger comme un ouvrier et un correspondant de la dernière heure. On vous a déjà dit que vos oeuvres étaient fort admirées à l'exposition de Munich; en constatant ce fait simple et naturel j'ajoute que maintes notabilités artistiques ont été surprises d'apprendre quelle gracieuse et rayonnante personnalité se cachait sous le pseudonyme de Marcello. Kaulbach, Ramberg, Kalkreuth, etc., ne pouvaient croire que de telles oeuvres de maître, ne provenaient pas du vilain sexe masculin. La Gorgone et la Bianca Capello sont parfaitement placées, très en vue dans la première grand[e] salle."

author of the Gorgon, I frankly admit that some resistance to my first impression came over me, but gathering all my critical faculties I vigorously examined these same busts, which, in the end, won the most complete triumph.’⁸⁵

Although they did not have a prolonged correspondence with each other, surely Liszt and Marcello had much in common and enjoyed a good professional friendship. His generosity in keeping her abreast of the reception of her works in Germany reveals his respect for her as a fellow artist. She returned that respect in kind, through her sensitive portrait of the composer.

Chapter Conclusion

Although the study of music’s connections to the visual arts continues to be explored, clearly the aural medium greatly inspired visual artists, and its effect on Marcello was exceptionally strong. Evident in everything from her sculptural production to her choice of pseudonym, Marcello’s greatest inspiration derived from operas, arias, and music professionals of her time. Of the approximately sixty known sculptural concepts that Marcello created during her career, almost one-third were inspired by music or musicians.

She also viewed operas with an almost exclusive interest in the female protagonists. Instead of sculpting busts of Faust or Mephistopheles, she focused on

⁸⁵ Franz Liszt to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), from Villa d’Este, dated 9 November 1869, Archives FM. “Je suppose que vous avez déjà reçu directement de M. le secrétaire d’exposition de Munich des nouvelles satisfaisantes. M. Zumbach lui a remis de suite votre lettre, mais dans la sienne il néglige de m’informer du résultat définitif. Cependant je vous envoie ci-après l’autographe d’Zumbach, et pour vous en faciliter la lecture permettez-moi de traduire tant bien que mal le passage sculptural: ‘Mon admiration pour Marcello est très grande.... Dès ma première visite à l’exposition ses ouvrages m’avaient frappé par leur conception (‘auffassung’) monumentale. C’est ce qui les distingue supérieurement de la masse des productions de genre et d’articles de mode, modernes et amollis, qui dominaient presque partout votre exposition plastique. Quand plus tard j’apprenais qu’une grande dame du beau monde était l’auteur de la Gorgone, j’avoue franchement qu’un peu de défiance de ma première impression me gagna et ramassant toutes mes facultés critiques examinai vigoureusement ces mêmes bustes mais ceux-ci ont remporté le plus complet triomphe’” Zumbach seems to have been a curator at a museum in Munich.

Marguerite; instead of Figaro or Bartolo, she emphasized Rosina; instead of Perseus, the Gorgon is immortalized in her work. Marcello made these female characters centrally important figures, regardless of whether they held such a position in the original opera or textual source.

Marcello's profound respect and admiration for music is also evident in her writing and correspondence. In addition, she frequently attended musical performances, sketchbook in hand, and imported ideas for sculptures from the loge to her studio. Her polysensoriality, or the way in which she combined the tactile facture of her original sketches, her visual and aural experiences, and the influence of texts and sounds in her works, is overwhelmingly evident in her oeuvre. Thus, the art historical assumption that only later artists exhibit polysensoriality in their work is a fallacy. It is therefore impossible to understand Marcello's oeuvre without a discussion of the important role that music and musicians played in her career and in her personal life.

Finally, among the acquaintances she made in Rome were a number of important musicians and composers who inspired her work and became part of her intimate circle. The respect between artists and composers was often mutual; visual artists, performers, and composers frequented the same circles and inspired each other's works. The texts cited in this chapter written by Gounod, Liszt, and Rossini, can be taken as examples of this; similarly, the composer Camille Saint-Saëns's *March héroïque*, written in honor of the painter Henri Regnault after his death at Buzenval, is another such instance of mutual respect and exchange with regard to artists in Marcello's circle.

Some aspects of Marcello's oeuvre seemingly related to music have been omitted from this chapter because their discussion appeared to be more appropriate elsewhere in

this study or because there was not sufficient evidence that other works based on operas or composers exist or had once existed. Marcello's *Pythia*, treated in the previous chapter, may have been based on a character from Lully's 1675 opera *Thésée*, and was purchased for the grand foyer of the Opéra Garnier, but its connections to music cannot be as sufficiently established as those analyzed here. Surprisingly, Charles Bizet's *Carmen*, the 1875 opera based on the novel by Marcello's close friend Prosper Mérimée, did not inspire any known works by the sculptor. She was quite ill by the time of the *Carmen*'s premiere and had, for all intents and purposes, retired from making sculpture because of the physical strength it demanded. Further investigation, however, may still yield additional connections between Marcello's work and music, opera, composers, and singers.

Music was one of Marcello's many lifelong passions; another was collecting, particularly the work of members of her circle whom she admired. The following chapter will discuss Marcello's plans for a public museum that she hoped would showcase both her own art and the works of the artists she collected.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MUSÉE MARCELLO: AN ARTIST AS PATRON AND COLLECTOR

“The Swiss possess, relative to its small size, a number of rather considerable museums and collections, of which many have high importance. [...] In Fribourg, it is the Musée Marcello which attracts attention; it was founded by the Duchess Colonna, who gave her collection to the town of her birth; besides a great number of works by the generous and celebrated donor herself, this museum contains an important collection of paintings by great masters.”

-*La Suisse* (1907-08)¹

Chapter Introduction

The Duchess Colonna spent much of her life carving out a place for her work and developing relationships that would help to further her career. Like most artists, she strove for official recognition and acceptance. With that largely accomplished after the French and British governments had purchased her works, and after having achieved success at many Salon exhibitions, Colonna then sought to create a legacy that would make people remember her contribution as the artist “Marcello” and as a collector.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the history of that legacy, the Musée Marcello, and to correct and clarify existing information regarding the artworks therein. I will provide a historiography of the literature on the Musée Marcello, which no longer exists in its original setting or design. In addition, I hope to shed light on the personal connections between Marcello and the artists whose work she collected. In many cases her

¹ *La Suisse, Étude géographique, démographique, politique, économique et historique* (Neuchâtel: Administration des publications du dictionnaire géographique de la Suisse, 1907-08), 378. “La Suisse possède, relativement à sa faible étendue, un nombre assez considérable de musées et de collections dont plusieurs ont une haute importance. [...] A Fribourg c’est le musée Marcello qui attire l’attention; il a été fondé par la duchesse Colonna, qui en fit don à sa ville natale; outre un grand nombre d’œuvres de la généreuse et célèbre donatrice, ce musée renferme une importante collection de tableaux de grands maîtres.”

work influenced theirs as much as they influenced her own. Some of the artists mentioned at the end of this chapter are little known today, and it is my hope that this study will foster new interest in their work.

Comprised mainly of drawings, paintings, and watercolors, the Musée Marcello collection featured prominent artists in Marcello's time. It also contained many of her own works of sculpture, watercolors, and paintings; certainly these works were inserted among those of her distinguished colleagues to show her work as being equal to theirs. Marcello was also an avid collector of furniture, tapestries, and *objet d'arts*, many acquired during her travels, and some of these items were included in the bequest.

Although nineteenth-century collection lists and a short catalogue essay from 1980 discuss some of the artists mentioned herein, no catalogue describes the fifty-five year history of the Musée Marcello, the contemporaneous literature published at the time of its public debut, and the relationship of each of the artists in the collection to Marcello. In addition, no one has attempted to create a picture of how the original installation of the collection might have looked.² These themes will be explored and a brief catalogue of the works in the original collection will be provided. A chronology of historical events concerning the Musée Marcello is found at the end of this chapter.

The Musée Marcello: Origins and History of the First Twenty-Five years (1881-1906)

As her struggle with tuberculosis increased in the 1870s, Marcello thought more seriously about the future of her personal collection and of her own artworks. Like a

² For a very brief discussion of the Musée Marcello, see Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, *Marcello (1836-1879), Adèle d'Affry, duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna*, exh. cat. (Fribourg, Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg, 1980), 23 (Henceforth cited as Fribourg 1980). Some of the artists included in the museum are discussed on pages 42-59.

number of artists of her day, she planned for a private museum to be opened to the public after her death. While convalescing in Italy in 1876, she enlisted the help of her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, and her brother-in-law, the Baron Maurice d’Ottenfels, to insure that her last will and testament would be properly executed. At this time, she sent a letter to Ottenfels in Austria explaining her final wishes in detail:

My days are numbered. They have been shortened by the fatigues and concerns that are inseparable from artistic life. Restricted within the limits that prevented my development, I have not been able to accomplish all that I had dreamed of doing. It is thus natural that in compensation for what I have not been able to produce, there should remain a collection of what I have made, and these works, the products of my artistic life, should be brought together in my birthplace of Fribourg in Switzerland.³

In her last will and testament of 1877, Marcello further noted, “I want that this collection to remind one, as much as possible, of an atelier in its arrangement.”⁴ With Ottefels as executor (and her mother as executrix), she finalized her will on 28 November 1877, framing her conditions within ten legal articles. The gift to the canton of Fribourg was described in article number nine of her testament. One of the stipulations within this article required that the works remain together as a group and that they never be given away, sold, or otherwise disseminated. The article also included terms with regard to publishing a description of the donation in the museum catalogue and following specifics concerning pedestals and entranceway design. For example, Marcello directed that the

³ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to the Baron Maurice d’Ottenfels, undated, circa 1876-77, Archives of the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland (hereafter Archives FM). “Mes jours sont comptés. Ils ont été abrégés par les fatigues et les soucis inséparables de la vie artistique. Resserrée dans les limites qui ont empêché mon développement, je n’ai pas pu exécuter tout ce que je rêvais. Il est donc naturel qu’en dédommagement de ce que je n’ai pu faire, il reste un ensemble de ce que j’ai fait et que je réunisse ces travaux, produit de ma vie artistique, dans ma ville natale de Fribourg en Suisse.”

⁴ Testament of Mme la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna née d’Affry, 28 November 1877. Archives of the Musée d’art et d’histoire, Fribourg (Hereafter Archives MAHF). The original, written in Marcello’s hand, is deposited at the Archives de l’État de Fribourg, RN 6055, documents 417-422 (Hereafter Archives AEF). “Je désire que cette collection rappelle autant que possible un salon atelier par son arrangement.”

entranceway have gold letters emblazoned above the door reading “Musée Colonna d’Affry (Marcello).”⁵ She also provided a fund totaling 55,000 Swiss francs (a remarkable sum for the time) for maintaining the collection and for reproducing in marble and bronze her most successful sculptures. The marbles were to be completed by her preferred *praticien*, Narcisse Jacques, who was named as such in the testament.⁶ The Thiebaut Frères foundry cast the bronze reduction of her most successful work, the *Pythia*, for the museum.

Marcello’s correspondence suggests that she discussed with her family which works should be included and then placed her mother and the Baron d’Ottenfels in charge of the final decisions. Even with regard to her own sculptures, in the testament she asks only that the money be used primarily “for the reproduction in marble and bronze of [her] principal works,” without specifying which works from that group should be included.⁷ The process used to select works for the bequest is not entirely known. No specific works of art by other artists from her personal collection, except her portrait painted by Édouard Blanchard (see fig. 6-11), were mentioned in her testament to be designated for the museum. The State Council of Fribourg could not add to the collection without the permission of Marcello’s descendants, which would have again exhibited her family’s choices rather than

⁵ “Convention entre l’État de Fribourg et la Baron d’Ottenfels,” 14 May 1880, Archives MAHF. The original is deposited at the Archives AEF, Titres de l’État, No. 665, 14 May 1880. Marcello’s personal crest (a double crest with the Colonnas’ coat of arms on the left and the d’Affrys’ on the right) still exists above the door of the original Musée Marcello (see fig. 5-3a and 5-3b).

⁶ Testament of Mme la duchesse Colonna, 28 November 1877, Archives MAHF. The original is deposited at the Archives AEF, RN 6055, documents 417-422. For more information on Narcisse Jacques, see Appendix A in this volume. He was also Carpeaux’s student and *praticien*.

⁷ Testament of Mme la duchesse Colonna, 28 November 1877, Archives MAHF. The original is deposited at the Archives AEF, RN 6055, documents 417-422. “à la reproduction en marbre et en bronze de mes principaux ouvrages...”

her own.⁸ Works by women artists (other than Marcello herself), as well as the works she owned by such clearly important artistic figures as Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, are notably absent from the final bequest. Her sizable collection of works by such artists as Nélie Jacquemart, Berthe Morisot, and Rosalie Riesener, which today are still in the collection of the Fondation Marcello, attests to the fact that the Musée Marcello's lack of work by women entailed a deliberate choice, and that choice was left to Marcello's surviving family members, in particular her mother and Baron d'Ottensfels.⁹

Many explanations for such omissions of work by women or significantly successful male artists can be suggested. Perhaps these were works that Marcello thought, or that family members felt, should stay in their personal collection; her many portraits, for example, would have personal and genealogical value. Other works, such as her portrait by Gustave Courbet (now in Reims, see fig. 6-18), may have been originally kept in the family because of their high commercial value. Some works in her possession had sentimental value, including the many personal sketches made of her by Carpeaux and Riesener.¹⁰

Conversely, some works may have been specifically included to attract spectators. In order to catch the attention of a broad public audience, perhaps the family opted to choose works by artists who were especially popular at the time of the bequest. In

⁸ "Achat d'une oeuvre de la duchess Colonna pour le Musée Marcello," 2 September 1922, Archives AEF. "Une seule condition doit être observée, l'article 4 de la convention prévoyant qu'aucun objet 'd'art ou autre ne pourra être ajouté à la collection formant le Musée Marcello, sans le consentement préalable de la famille d'Ottensfels-d'Affry.'"

⁹ A small bronze animalier sculpture, signed "I. Bonheur," is conserved at the Château d'Affry in Givisiez. It is without doubt a work by Rosa Bonheur's brother, Isadore Bonheur (1827-1901), an animalier sculptor active in France at the same time as his sister. Although there are no works by Rosa Bonheur to be found at the Fondation Marcello, it seems entirely possible that the two female artists were acquainted with each other during Marcello's years in Paris, and Marcello may have in fact acquired the small bronze directly from Bonheur herself.

¹⁰ Family lore holds that Countess d'Affry, Marcello's mother, adored the painted portrait of her daughter by Riesener, and would not part with it. It remains at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg.

addition, the inclusion of her own artwork among those of some of the best-known male artists of the day suggests a conscious effort to create a context of “greatness” in which she (and her family) believed she belonged.

The State Council of the canton of Fribourg (Conseil d'état de Fribourg) took control of the Musée Marcello (or Musée Colonna, as it was sometimes referred) from the very beginning. On the day before her death (15 July 1879), Marcello wrote a codicil to be added to her testament, stating that she gave her family permission, five years after the opening of the Musée Marcello, to change the location of the museum from Fribourg to Bern or Geneva “if this appears preferable to my family for making my works better known.”¹¹ However, the family could not act on this codicil in 1886, five years after the opening of the Musée Marcello, because one of the stipulations the State Council demanded before accepting the gift in 1880 was that the museum and its contents would be the sole and exclusive property of the canton of Fribourg.¹² Additionally, the canton would be in charge of finding a location for the display of the collection, but was obliged to consult the family on its choice of the space.¹³

¹¹ Testament of Mme la duchesse Colonna, 28 November 1877, Archives MAHF. The original is deposited at the Archives de l'état de Fribourg, RN 6055, documents 417-422. See Codicil dated 15 July 1879. “J'ajoute que je laisse à la convenance de ma famille Ottenfels à son choix, après cinq ans, de l'installer à Berne ou à Genève si cela leur paraît préférable pour mieux faire connaître mes oeuvres.”

¹² Manual du Conseil d'état [de Fribourg], 13 February 1880, 123, Archives AEF. “Le musée Colonna devient la propriété définitive de l'état de Fribourg et celui-ci prend l'engagement formel de ne jamais aliéner quoi que ce soit des collections si généreusement offertes par la testatrice et par sa famille.”

¹³ Manual du Conseil d'état [de Fribourg], 13 February 1880, 123, Archives AEF. “Un local suffisant au rez-de-chaussée du lycée de Fribourg ou, au choix de l'État, dans un bâtiment special agréé par la famille.”

Not all of the works in the museum were replicas made by Narcisse Jacques.¹⁴

Some years after the establishment of the institution, Henri de Schaller, a museum official and writer for *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises*, underscored the importance of the four “original” sculptures in the Musée Marcello. In other words, these were the only four sculptures that were not replicated in marble by Marcello’s *praticien*, but were marble concepts, modeled by Marcello and carved by one of the *praticiens* in her employ, that were donated to the museum by the original purchasers after Marcello’s death. In an article published on the occasion of the death of Countess Lucie d’Affry, Shaller explained the origin of the donations:

We will only mention here those singled out among the numerous reproductions of the Duchess’s best works, the four original ones worthy of our admiration: the life-sized, full figure sculpture of the Princess Czartoriska, born Caraman-Chimay; the bust of Ananké, which Emile de Girardin, who had reserved it as his exclusive property, had experienced much sorrow in relinquishing; the delicious bust of the Baroness Keffenbrink born the Countess Kielmansegg, [...] and finally the Bacchante, of which the original, given up by the Prince of Beauffremont, has recently replaced the reproduction. The galleries of the museum were organized under the personal direction of Madame d’Affry [Marcello’s mother], and seconded by the Marquis of Thuisy and Miss Elisa de Boccard.¹⁵

¹⁴ A *replica* is the intentional reproduction of an existing sculpture into several examples, usually identical in composition, form and size. The term is used most often to refer to bronze casts, but can also be used in discussions of marble carvings. The term *replica* is often used interchangeably with *edition*, which is misleading: a replica is one of the products produced within an edition of a specific number decided upon by the artist or founder. For more information on how marbles and bronzes were produced during the nineteenth-century, see Chapter One and Appendix A of this dissertation.

¹⁵ H[enri] de Schaller, “La Comtesse d’Affry,” *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* (1898): 136. “Nous n’y reviendrons que pour signaler à côté des nombreuses reproductions des meilleures oeuvres de la duchesse quatre originaux, dignes de notre admiration: La statue en pied de la princesse Czartoriska née de Caraman-Chimay; le buste d’Ananké, dont Emile de Girardin, qui s’en était réservé la propriété exclusive, eut beaucoup de peine à se dessaisir; le délicieux buste de la baronne de Keffenbrinck née comtesse de Kielmansegg, [...] enfin la Bacchante, remplacé récemment la reproduction. Le salles du musée furent organisées sous la direction personnelle de Mme d’Affry, secondée par la marquise de Thuisy et Mlle Elisa de Boccard.”

Schaller also mentioned that Countess d’Affry contributed greatly to the museum’s enrichment and often visited the museum to pass moments to think about her daughter, as if the exhibition space acted, for the family, as a mortuary chapel or chamber.¹⁶

The bequest was mentioned in both the Swiss and French press soon after Marcello’s death.¹⁷ Within her obituary notice published in the Swiss journal *Freiburger-Zeitung* on 2 August 1879, an anonymous author noted, “As announced, the museum of Fribourg, according to the last will of the artist, has received the complete collection of her works (or at least replicas of them carved by the hands of her praticien after the originals) as a gift from the artist.”¹⁸ This statement did not mention the additional works bequeathed to Fribourg by artists other than Marcello, nor the “originals.” It also incorrectly implied that the works in question had been sent directly to the museum in Fribourg after Marcello’s death. In reality, the motion to accept the gift by the canton took some time, and was not passed until 14 May 1880, a few months before the first anniversary of Marcello’s death.¹⁹

Consisting of almost one hundred artworks from the bequest and housed at the Musée cantonal de Fribourg, the Musée Marcello included paintings and drawings by some of her artist-friends; examples of her own sculptures, paintings and graphics; and a portion

¹⁶ Schaller, 136. This is not unusual; Vincenzo Vela, the Swiss sculptor from the canton of Ticino, actually used his museum as his funerary chapel, as photographs from the period attest (see figure 5-45).

¹⁷ *Le Figaro* reported the donation on 10 August 1879, in a brief notice that outlined the major stipulations and articles of the bequest. See Le Masque de Fer, “Échos de Paris. À Travers Paris,” *Le Figaro* (10 August 1879), 1.

¹⁸ “Kanton Freiburg,” *Freiburger-Zeitung* (2 August 1879): 3. “Wie verlautet, wird das Museum von Freiburg gemäss dem letzten Willen der Künstlerin die vollständige Sammlung ihrer werke (wenigstens die Reproduktionen der in fremden Händen befindlichen Originale) zum Geschenk erhalten.” I give special thanks to James Blakeley for his advice concerning the translation of this article.

¹⁹ Titre de l’État, No. 665 (14 May 1880), Archives AEF.

of her collection of Gobelins tapestries and other objects.²⁰ It was a museum within a museum. Originally located in two rooms on the ground floor of the Musée cantonal (housed in the Lyceum, or Lycée, of the Collège Saint-Michel in Fribourg, fig. 6-1), the collection was opened to the public on 29 July 1881, more than two years after the artist's death. Although photographs of the first room are not extant, two images are known today of the second room (figs. 6-2a and 6-2b). Marcello's personal crest, complete with the Colonna and Affry coats of arms, was placed above the door of the main room on the ground floor, where it remains today (figs. 6-3a and 6-3b).

The museum opened to the public with a bit of fanfare, as shown by a public notice published in *La Liberté* the day before the opening:

On Thursday, 28 July, the inauguration of the Musée Colonna will take place. On this occasion, a *Requiem* service, sung by the *Choral Union* of Fribourg, will be celebrated, at 9 a.m. in the church of the College [of St. Michel] for the resting of the soul of the generous donor. The State Council and many invitees will assist officially in the ceremony.

After the funerary service at the church, the opening of the Musée Colonna will take place, in the Lyceum building, with the executrix of the testament [Countess Lucie d'Affry] formally donating the collection to the State Council.²¹

As Marcello died in Italy, and her body not immediately returned to Switzerland and interred in her family's burial place until some time after her death, the funeral mass was a necessary element to the opening-day proceedings. It marked not only the resting of her remains, but truly her homecoming, followed by the fulfillment of her final act, the opening

²⁰ For a historical overview of the Musée cantonal and its conversion into the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg, see Yvonne Lehnerr, "Le Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg," in *Fribourg et ses musées/Freiburg und seine Museen* (Fribourg: Banque de l'état de Fribourg, 1992), 73-93.

²¹ "Musée Colonna," *La Liberté* (27 July 1881): 3. "Jeudi 28 juillet courant, aura lieu l'inauguration du Musée Colonna. A cette occasion, un office de *Requiem*, chanté par l'*Union chorale* de Fribourg, sera célébré, à 9 heures, dans l'église du Collège pour le repos de l'âme de la généreuse donatrice. Le conseil d'Etat et plusieurs invités y assisteront officiellement. Après le service funèbre, aura lieu, au bâtiment du Lycée, la remise du Musée Colonna, par l'exécutrice testamentaire, entre les mains du conseil d'Etat."

of her museum and her final gift to her native land. Also significant is that on 28 July 1881, the official ceremonial passing of the collection from the family into the care of the canton took place; the collection was entrusted to Fribourg for protection and so that it could be made available to future admirers of art.

Two days after the inauguration, on 30 July 1881, a local newspaper, *Le Chroniqueur suisse*, detailed the events. Concerned about the poor attendance of members of the general public at the inauguration, the anonymous author wished to show public appreciation to the Affry family for the bequest:

We have learned indirectly that yesterday the inauguration of the Colonna Museum took place, a collection, we do not hesitate to say it, which is perhaps unique in Switzerland, and of which we will speak much more fully once we have had the opportunity to visit it.

We have learned, always from the same source, that the inauguration ceremony was opened by a requiem mass brilliantly sung by the Choral Union of our city. We believe we can be assured that if the public of Fribourg had known about it at the time, it would have demonstrated witness by its presence its respectful sentiments and sympathetic gratitude towards the family of the generous donor. Unfortunately, apart from the members of the State Council, the public was completely absent. There was not even a delegation from the Communal Council of Fribourg present. We do not know the motives for this exaggerated discretion on the part of the organizers of this event, which we would have liked to see more worthy of the magnificent monument that inspired it.

However, that which matters most to all of us today is that we convey, from all the inhabitants of Fribourg particularly, all of our gratitude to Madame Countess d’Affry. Thanks to her and to the artist deeply missed who has left to us her remarkable works, Fribourg finds herself endowed with an artistic collection that can well be the envy of other Swiss cities.²²

²² “Canton de Fribourg,” *Le Chroniqueur Suisse* (30 July 1881): 2. “Nous apprenons indirectement que hier a eu lieu l’inauguration du Musée Colonna, une collection, nous n’hésiterons pas à le dire, peut-être unique en Suisse, et dont nous parlerons beaucoup plus au long quand il nous aura été donné de la visiter. Nous apprenons, toujours d’après la même source indirecte, que la cérémonie d’inauguration s’est ouverte par une messe de requiem brillamment exécutée par l’Union chorale de notre ville. Nous croyons pouvoir assurer que si la chose eut été connue à temps, le public de Fribourg aurait tenu à témoigner par sa présence de ses sentiments de respectueuse et sympathique gratitude envers la famille de la généreuse donatrice. Malheureusement, à part les membres du Conseil d’Etat, le public faisait absolument défaut. Il n’y avait pas même une délégation du Conseil communal de Fribourg. Nous ne connaissons pas les motifs de cette discrétion exagérée de la part des organisateurs de cette fête que nous aurions voulue plus digne du monument magnifique qui en faisait l’objet. Mais ce qui nous importe avant tout aujourd’hui, c’est de nous faire les interprètes des habitants de Fribourg tout particulièrement pour exprimer à Madame la comtesse d’Affry toute notre reconnaissance. Grâce à elle et à l’artiste regrettée qui nous a laissés ses oeuvres

Regardless of the low attendance at the inauguration, to which the requiem mass itself may have contributed (possibly people thought the ceremony was a family affair), over time the Musée Marcello gained visitors and positive attention from the Swiss press.

The opening of the Musée Marcello was also announced outside of Switzerland. News of the new museum was reported even in the United States, as evidenced by an article in the *New York Times* from November 1881, which covered recent art events:

The Swiss town of Freiburg came into possession of all the art treasures of the Duchess Colonna de Castiglione-Aldovrandi at her death, according to the terms of her will. She was known to the arts under the title of Marcello, and left many pictures and sculptures by her own hand. A museum was opened at Freiburg last summer, in which are not only her own works, but several old masters, and a superb Vélasquez, and some forty specimens of modern masters in oils, water-colors, charcoal, or pencil. Many of the latter are personal gifts and souvenirs from friends and admirers among the artists. Specimens of work by Delacroix, Fortuny, Courbet, Regnault, Rude and Carpeaux have thus come into the ownership of Frieburg and are open to the traveling public.²³

An effort was certainly made to promote the museum both within the city of Fribourg and to the rest of the world. Advertising for the museum exists at the Fondation Marcello and the Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Fribourg. Period photographs of the exhibition rooms at the Lyceum detail their salon-style design and an eclectic mixture of antique furniture, paintings, sculptures, furniture, and *objet d'arts* (see figs. 6-2a and 6-2b). Art Nouveau-style brochures containing photographs of the works were

remarquables, Fribourg se trouve dotée d'une collection artistique que peuvent nous envier bien des autres villes suisses.

²³ Anonymous author, "Art Notes," *New York Times* (20 November 1881): 6. Some clarification of this paragraph is necessary: firstly, to my knowledge, there was never a work by the French sculptor François Rude (1784-1855) in the possession of the Musée Marcello or in Marcello's private collection. Secondly, the "superb Vélasquez" is a work by Luis Gonzales Vélasquez (1715-1764), not by the more famous Diego Vélasquez (1599-1660). Next, the earliest list of works exhibited at the museum, from 1881-82, does not include a work by Carpeaux as having been exhibited at the museum, although it is possible that the family lent one temporarily for the inaugural exhibition. Finally, the German spelling of the Swiss town of Fribourg is used here (*Freiburg*); I have retained the original spelling from the *Times* article. I thank Brian Edward Hack for bringing this article to my attention.

published by the turn of the century (fig. 6-4), publicity postcards were produced (fig. 6-5), and a discussion of the Musée Marcello was also included in many editions of the catalogue, published separately from that of the Musée cantonal de Fribourg. The small salon-like museum was Marcello's final accomplishment, intended to be a lasting testimony to her love for her birthplace, her friends, and her art.

The Musée Marcello: Changes, Exhibitions, and Redevelopment to 1963

The Musée Marcello no longer exists in the original form or location as agreed upon by the canton and the artist's family. The closing of the museum was due to a number of factors, including various conservation concerns, changes in location and directorship of the Musée cantonal (later the Musée d'art et d'histoire), and the construction of the new buildings for the Université de Fribourg. Although the Musée Marcello seems to have been in good condition in 1906, when a celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary was held,²⁴ by 1917 the Hôtel Ratzé was suggested as the new home of the Musée cantonal, with the exception of the Marcello collection.²⁵ In 1922 the Musée cantonal, without the Musée Marcello, was moved to the Hôtel Ratzé (fig. 6-6) and opened

²⁴ Many original letters documenting the history of the Musée Marcello are located in the Archives MAHF. The announcement of the twenty-fifth anniversary is found in a handwritten report titled "Rapport sur l'administration du Musée Marcello pendant l'exercice de 1906," signed by the director at the time, Max Techtermann. It reads in part: "Le vingt-cinquième anniversaire de la création de ce beau Musée, dû à la généreuse initiative de la grande Fribourgeoise que fût Marcello, secondé par sa famille et ses amis, tombant en l'année 1906, une touchante manifestation commémorative fût organisée dans les locaux mêmes du Musée Marcello." [The twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of this beautiful museum, due to the generous initiative of the great lady of Fribourg who was Marcello, managed by her family and her friends, falling in the year 1906, a touching manifestation was organized inside the very walls of the Marcello Museum.]

²⁵ Lehnher, 76. "En 1917, la comtesse de Saulxures manifesta l'intention de léguer ses collections à l'Etat de Fribourg. Ses propositions furent acceptées et, d'un commun accord, on décida de les installer à l'Hôtel Ratzé, à l'exception de la collection Marcello."

to the public on 10 December.²⁶ In 1936, the canton and the Collège Saint-Michel decided to use the lyceum space for other purposes and suggested moving the Musée Marcello to a new locale.²⁷ According to the 1936 annual report of the Musée Marcello, the works in the collection were “deteriorating imperceptibly,” and the curator continued in the report that “in effect, at the beginning of the year 1936, we seriously envision transferring [the collection] to the Augustins [near the chemin des Archives, formerly the location of the State Archives].”²⁸

The move of the Musée Marcello collection was also due, in large part, to the construction of the new main building of the Université de Fribourg on the site of the former Miséricorde cemetery, the building for which was officially begun in 1937. Letters in the archives of the Musée d’art et d’histoire suggest that the works had been removed from public view by this time, and by 1940 the administrative takeover of the building was complete.

Further evidence for the date of the collection’s location change is evidenced by the existence of a postcard published in 1980 in *La Liberté*, the oldest local newspaper in Fribourg still in publication (fig. 6-7). The postcard, published as part of a daily ephemera feature of the paper called “L’album de grand-père” (“Grandfather’s Album”), depicts the

²⁶ The Hôtel Ratzé, circa 1581-85, was built by Jean Fumal, whose dates are not known with certainty. Fumal was active in Fribourg after 1581 and died in the year 1596.

²⁷ According to a letter by Ed. Lateldin to Henri Broillet, 22 June 1936, the rez-de-chaussée of the Lyceum was to be changed into an “Aula maxima pour l’Université [de Fribourg].” Archives MAHF. An *aula maxima* is an atrium, or a large lecture and performance hall. The space is in fact used in this capacity today.

²⁸ Archives AEF, *Extrait du Rapport annuel, de 1936, du Conservateur du Musée d’art et d’histoire*, File “Musée Marcello, b.” “Les oeuvres exposées dans les sous-sols du Lycée ont été sur le point de quitter ces locaux sombres et malsains, où elles se détériorent insensiblement. En effet, au commencement de l’année 1936, on envisagea sérieusement leur transfert aux Augustins.” Original reports and letters concerning the Musée Marcello are located at the AEF in original documents and on microfilm.

Lyceum building with the words “Fribourg – Université” on its front. The caption below the published postcard notes that it represented

that which is called today the Lyceum, at the summit of the rue Saint-Michel. Since 1940 this building served, at the same time, the Collège Saint-Michel for courses at the Lyceum and the University where it served as a surrogate for the actual [University] building at Miséricorde.²⁹

The author here refers to the University’s Miséricorde branch, being built on the Avenue de l’Europe only a few kilometers away. The University building was begun in 1937 and completed in 1942 under the direction of the Turkish-born architect Denis Honegger (1907-1981).³⁰ There is no mention in the above text of the Lyceum building at the Collège Saint-Michel as having ever served as site of the original Musée Marcello. Thus by 1940 the Musée Marcello, or at least the Musée Marcello as it was originally realized, became history (and, by 1980, completely forgotten history).

The closing of the Musée Marcello after a short life of only fifty-five years was followed by numerous attempts by Marcello’s descendants to revive it. Documents from the period seem to suggest that the change of locale for the Musée Marcello was meant to be temporary, or at least this indication was relayed to the descendants. Whatever new space would be chosen for the collection, however, it would almost certainly fail to conform to the specifics of the testament, since the original museum was most certainly

²⁹ J.P., “L’album de grand-père,” *La Liberté* (11 July 1980): 11. “Elle représente ce qu’on appelle aujourd’hui le Lycée, au haut de la rue Saint-Michel. Jusqu’en 1940 ce bâtiment servit à la fois au Collège Saint-Michel pour les cours du Lycée et à l’Université où il tenait lieu des actuels bâtiments de Miséricorde.” I find the publication of this piece of ephemera particularly interesting because only two weeks later a major retrospective of Marcello’s works, complete with two, albeit small, catalogues, opened at the Musée d’art et d’histoire in Fribourg. Yet no one seems to have caught the omission of the Musée Marcello from the description of the building, or at least no one seems to have mentioned it elsewhere. *La Liberté* still often publishes a piece of ephemera, now usually an old photograph of Fribourg or the surrounding suburbs, under the title “Souvenir, quand tu nous tiens!” (“To Remember, When You Hold Us!”).

³⁰ For biographical information and architectural details on the Université de Fribourg, see Isabelle Rucki and Dorothee Huber, eds., *Architektenlexikon der Schweiz 19./20. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1998), 274.

designed with the specifics of the lyceum in mind. This was to the chagrin of the artist's descendants, who worked hard to save the collection from being totally disbanded. Letters in the archives of the Musée d'art et d'histoire suggest that around this time (that is, between 1936 and 1940) the collection of works from Marcello's bequest was moved, for the first time since 1881, to storage at the State Archives.

The change of heart in regard to the Musée Marcello's collection, and the ultimate reason why it was closed (rather than being immediately redisplayed), may have been the result of simple change of taste on the part of the canton and museum officials. By the late 1920s and mid 1930s, so much had changed within Europe's cultural landscape. Next to Pablo Picasso's paintings, films by Fritz Lang, the work of Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus, and new movements in art by other Swiss artists such as Le Corbusier, Giacometti, and the Zürich Dada group, Marcello's sculptures and the works of her academically-trained friends must have looked quite *retardataire*. The strong appreciation we have today for the art of the nineteenth century had not yet been cultivated, and there may have been a conscious attempt by the Fribourg museum officials to concentrate on their important medieval collection and on obtaining and exhibiting works by more modern Swiss artists. Additionally, the 1930s were a tumultuous time in Europe's history, and the First World War, and the onset of the Second, made lasting, disturbing impressions on people that nineteenth-century academic art could not salve.

The Baron Franz d'Ottensfels, the great-grand nephew of the artist, and Odette d'Alcantara, her grand niece and first biographer, began a campaign in the summer of 1942 to "find a possible solution and to save the Musée Marcello from destruction."³¹ Their

³¹ Baron Franz d'Ottensfels to Pierre de Zurich, 18 June 1942, Archives MAHF. "...trouver une solution possible et de sauver le Musée Marcello de la destruction."

efforts had some positive results. In 1947, after the rooms of the lyceum were in fact returned to the Collège Saint-Michel, the Marcello Collection was taken out of storage and placed on public view, thus marking its third move. The collection was first at the lyceum from 1881 to 1936/41, then it was moved to storage where it remained from 1941 to 1947, and then the works were split between the Hôtel Ratzé and a local monastery in 1947 until 1963. The works in the Musée Marcello collection were divided between the new museum of the canton, renamed the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, housed at the Hôtel Ratzé (at 12 rue de Morat, fig. 6-6) and an annex of the Monastery of the Visitation, quite a distance up the road (at 232, rue de Morat, fig. 6-8 and 6-50). In a paragraph published in *Le Fribourgeois* on 11 October 1947, the "Nouveau Musée Marcello" was announced:

On Tuesday afternoon at the Hôtel Ratzé, at the former prefecture, the new Musée Marcello was inaugurated, transferred from the ground floor of the high school and which had not found, for several years, a stable location. Because of a lack of space, the works were distributed in two rooms. The one at the Hôtel Ratzé contains works which were bequeathed by the duchess Colonna (Marcello), but which were not created by her. Another space on the rue de Morat contains a certain number of sculptures and paintings signed by the famous artist.³²

Another announcement of this temporary display, signed "R.H.," appeared in *Journal de Genève* on 14 October 1947:

Art amateurs recently had the pleasure of being invited to the inauguration of the new buildings where are exhibited the works of the duchess Colona [*sic*], better known by her pseudonym Marcello... The very young widow of Duke Carlo of Castiglione, of the Colona [*sic*] dynasty, Marcello, who possessed the rich temperament of an artist, gave her entire self with passion to art and left to her birthplace sculptures and paintings of a true artistic value. In addition to the personal works by Marcello, temporarily on view in a building on the rue de Morat,

³² "Le Nouveau Musée Marcello," *Le Fribourgeois* (11 October 1947): 2. The same text was published in *Journal d'Estavayer* on 14 October. "Mardi après-midi a été inauguré, à l'hôtel Ratzé, à l'ancienne préfecture, le nouveau musée Marcello, transféré du rez-de-chaussée du Lycée et qui n'avait pas retrouvé, depuis plusieurs années, d'emplacement stable. Faute de place, les oeuvres ont été distribuées dans deux salles. L'une à l'hôtel Ratzé, contient des oeuvres qui furent léguées par la duchesse Colonna (Marcello), mais ne furent pas créées par elle. Une autre salle, à la rue de Morat, contient un certain nombre de sculptures et de peintures signées par la célèbre artiste."

M. Bovy, a curator of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, has devoted a room of this museum to her very beautiful collection of paintings. It is a significant collection, due in part to her friendships, and in which we find some Delacroix, some Ernest Hébert, some Fortuny, and some very beautiful paintings by the Spanish school.³³

The above news article confirms reports in letters in the museum and Foundation Marcello archives, that from around 1936 until 1947 the Musée Marcello collection had been in storage and not on public view. This was not the second, but the third time that the Musée Marcello was relocated, according to an article by B. de Brémond entitled "Le nouveau Musée Marcello," published in *La Liberté*:

For the third time, the works of the Duchess Colonna, signed Marcello, have changed their location. From the Musée d'art et d'histoire, they have been transported to the convent of the Visitation, at 232 rue de Morat.³⁴

Although the splitting of the Marcello Collection between the monastery and the Hôtel Ratzé was temporary, it lasted more than a decade. By the late 1950s, the complete collection of the Musée Marcello was integrated into the holdings of the Musée d'art et d'histoire. Interest in Marcello was revived in Fribourg, and in 1959 the first major temporary exhibition of her works was held at the Hôtel Ratzé. The exhibition held that year entitled *Marcello et son temps*, although lacking a catalogue, was widely covered by the local press. The exhibition contained, according to the invitation to the opening

³³ R.H., "Les Arts à Fribourg," *Journal de Genève* (14 October 1947): 4. "Les amateurs d'art ont eu récemment le plaisir d'être conviés à l'inauguration des nouveaux locaux où sont exposées les oeuvres de la duchesse Colona [*sic*], plus connue sous son pseudonyme de Marcello. [...] Veuve fort jeune du duc Carlo de Castiglione, des princes Colona [*sic*], Marcello, qui possédait un riche tempérament d'artiste, s'adonna avec passion à l'art et laissa à sa ville natale des sculptures et des peintures d'une réelle valeur artistique. Outre les oeuvres personnelles de Marcello, exposées provisoirement en un immeuble de la rue de Morat, M. Bovy, conservateur du Musée d'art et d'histoire, a consacré une salle de ce musée à sa très belle collection de peintures. Collection importante, due en partie à ses amitiés, et où nous trouvons des Delacroix, des Ernest Hébert, des Fortuny, et de très belles peintures de l'école espagnole."

³⁴ B. de Brémond, "Le Nouveau Musée Marcello," *La Liberté* (18 October 1947): 9. "Pour la troisième fois, les oeuvres de la duchesse Colonna, signées Marcello, ont changé de décor. Depuis le Musée d'art et d'histoire, elles ont été acheminées vers le couvent de la Visitation, au 232 de la rue de Morat."

preserved in the archives of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, paintings, sculptures, original drawings, and autograph letters. One reviewer in *La Liberté* noted,

Saturday, M. Jean-Baptiste de Weck introduced the exhibition during the opening, with good will as well as efficiency. After greeting the director of public instruction, the president and the members of the Museum's commission, and the many family members of the artist, he expressed the wish that the works Marcello bequeathed to Fribourg, somewhat separated for now, would be reunited one day as a whole. And what location would be more appropriate for this purpose than the Hôtel d'Affry, given to the museum by a great Fribourgeois? You will not be able to tear yourself away from such an atmosphere and such a presence. Perhaps you will take with you, as I did, the vision of the elegant portrait that inspired Dietler, the engaging female who made Fribourg, her birthplace, appreciated in Italy, France, and elsewhere.³⁵

The "Hôtel d'Affry" (see fig. 6-47 and 6-48), traditionally known as the Maison d'Affry, mentioned in this review would have served as an excellent location for the Musée Marcello for a number of reasons. First, the building's final private owner, Pierre Aeby, directed in his testament that he would want it to serve either as a university building or as a museum, or, if possible, in both capacities. The Maison d'Affry would also have been a perfect location for the Musée Marcello because of its proximity to the Hôtel Ratzé (the two buildings face each other). Finally and most importantly, Marcello's great grandfather, Louis d'Affry (1734-1810), who was the first chief of State of Switzerland, once occupied the building.³⁶ Nevertheless, the State Council never accepted the suggestion that the Maison d'Affry function as the Musée Marcello.

³⁵ M.F., "Les Vernissages: *Marcello et son temps* (1836-1879)," *La Liberté* (27 July 1959): 5. "Samedi, M. Jean-Baptiste de Weck présenta l'exposition, lors du vernissage, avec autant de bonne grâce que de compétence. Après avoir salué le directeur de l'Instruction publique, le président et les membres de la commission du Musée, et la nombreuse famille de l'artiste, il formula le vœu que les oeuvres que Marcello a léguées à Fribourg, assez dispersées pour l'instant, reforment un jour un tout. Et quel cadre conviendrait mieux à cette fin que l'hôtel d'Affry, remis au musée par un grand Fribourgeois? Vous ne vous arracherez qu'à regret à un tel climat et à une telle présence. Peut-être emporterez-vous, comme moi, la vision de l'élégant portrait qu'a inspiré à Dietler la femme attachante qui fit aimer Fribourg, sa ville natale, en Italie, en France et ailleurs."

³⁶ See Chapter Two for information on Louis d'Affry.

The Maison d’Affry was the ancient home of Antoine de Reynold (1611-1684), and was sold in 1777 to Marcello’s great-grandfather Louis d’Affry. The building briefly served as the home of the Fribourg Society of Friends of the Fine Arts (La Société fribourgeoise des amis des beaux-arts) where at least one of Marcello sculptures (*Medje*), and some paintings by her and her cousin, Elisa de Boccard (1847-1925) were displayed in 1896 (fig. 6-49). The building remained in the possession of relations of the Affry family until the 1920s. In 1957, Pierre Aeby, the final private owner of the building (and the “great Fribourgeois” mentioned in the review above) gave the structure to the canton of Fribourg. Although numerous attempts were made by Jean-Baptiste de Weck (director of the Musée d’art et d’histoire from 1953 to 1960), to convert the Maison d’Affry into the new home of the Musée Marcello, the building required expensive restoration for conversion into a museum space. Yoki Aebischer, Fribourg artist and then president of the Société des amis des Musées de Fribourg, opposed Weck’s support of the use of the Maison d’Affry as the new Musée Marcello. His opinion was that the museum should concentrate on modern art and exhibitions of art by living artists and not to be concerned with “secondary” interests. After its eventual restoration in the early 1980s, the Maison d’Affry became the home of the Department of Antiquity Sciences of the Université de Fribourg in 1985.³⁷

After the posthumous publication of *Marcello* (1961) by Alcantara, the next director of the Musée d’art et d’histoire, Marcel Strub, proposed to permanently establish the works of Marcello in one wing of the museum. Plans to reinstall at least part of the

³⁷ For a more complete study of this building, see Aloys Lauper, “Rue Pierre-Aeby 16, Ancienne maison de Reynold-d’Affry,” in *Les fiches ville de Fribourg, recensement des biens culturels immeubles du canton de Fribourg* (Fribourg: Service des biens culturels, 2003), fiche number 017/2003.

original collection at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in the Hôtel Ratzé were approved in 1963.³⁸ That summer, Strub wrote to Marcello's living descendants,

I renew the expression of my deep gratitude for your pleasant hospitality and your benevolent understanding in the question of the refitting of the Marcello rooms. Your loan will enable us to give to the artist her rightful place in our museum and to pay respect to her, which appears to us to be only fair in our epoch.³⁹

The partial display of some of the sculptures and works from the collection was inaugurated on 17 October 1963. By the end of the same month, a street in Fribourg was renamed after Marcello.⁴⁰ To protect their legal interests, the family created the Fondation Marcello in 1962-63. Unfortunately, Strub's enthusiasm for Marcello's work and the refitting of the Marcello rooms was stunted by his accidental death in a car accident in 1969. Although Marcello's descendants continued to debate with the museum regarding article nine of her testament, negotiations withered. Not until seventeen years later, in 1980, did a retrospective exhibition reunite many works from the collection for the first time in decades.

To this day, however, a solution conforming to Marcello's testament has not been found. Only some artworks from Marcello's gift, mostly her own sculptures, paintings, and watercolors, are now permanently exhibited in a long corridor within the Musée d'art et d'histoire in the former slaughterhouse, connected to the Hôtel Ratzé by a subterranean tunnel (figs. 6-9a and 6-9b). The organization of the collection is not in the style of an

³⁸ Letter of Baron Snoy et d'Oppuers to Marcel Strub, dated 12 April 1963, Archives MAHF.

³⁹ Letter of Marcel Strub to the Baron and Baroness Snoy et d'Oppuers, dated 30 August 1963, Archives MAHF. "Je vous renouvelle l'expression de ma vive gratitude pour votre aimable accueil et votre bienveillante compréhension dans la question du réaménagement des salles Marcello. Votre prêt nous permettra de donner à l'artiste la place qui lui revient dans notre Musée et de lui rendre l'hommage qui nous paraît le plus juste à notre époque." It is not clear from the letter what was loaned to the museum by the descendants.

⁴⁰ F., "Une rue, un souvenir, la rue Marcello," *La Liberté* (31 October 1963): 16. The rue Marcello is located between the rue du Nord and the rue Jean-Grimoux in central Fribourg.

atelier, as the artist had requested it be exhibited. Many other works from the collection, including some of Marcello's most significant marbles, are in storage due to a lack of exhibition space. Much of the original bequest remains in storage or on extended loan, partly because of recent renovations at the Hôtel Ratzé. As for the art works of her colleagues, the corridor now includes only Georges Clairin's and Édouard Blanchard's portraits of Marcello (fig. 6-10 and 6-11), and Henri Regnault's *Portrait of Milans del Bosch* (fig. 6-12). Some of these works, including Gustave Courbet's *Landscape* (*Paysage* fig. 6-13), Regnault's *Spanish Mule Tender* (*Mutelier Espagnole* fig 6-14) and a study for Delacroix's *Punishment of Heliodorus* (*Le Châtiment d'Héliodore* fig. 6-15). These works were returned to public view in 2002 for the temporary exhibition *Un autre regard: Collection des XIXe et XXe siècles*. Informative fliers in German, French, and English have replaced the stylish brochures of the turn of the century, and wall text has been recently updated.⁴¹

Historiography of The Musée Marcello

There is a small body of literature dating to the opening of the Musée Marcello in 1881 that sheds light on its original formation and contents. Most of the literature on the history of the collection consists of brochures published by the Musée cantonal. Additionally, short articles in (mostly) Swiss periodicals were published during the time that the collection was at the Collège Saint-Michel. These writings form the basis for current knowledge of the original Musée Marcello.

⁴¹ I translated the French flier in 2001 and my English translation is now provided to museum visitors.

The Musée Marcello was much anticipated and was the envy of the neighboring Swiss towns of Neuchâtel and Bern. More than one year before the museum's opening to the public, in 1880 the local newspaper *Le Bien public* published a two-part article containing a short biography of Marcello and a résumé of her career. The author, A. Bachelin of Neuchâtel, expressed his sentiment that Fribourg should consider itself lucky to have been chosen as the recipient of such an extraordinary gift. As one of the earliest known published reports of the Musée Marcello after its opening, it is worth quoting at length:

We can no longer remain indifferent to the sentiments of affection that [Marcello] had kept for her homeland. In the milieu of artistic life and society, in the double success as a woman and as a sculptor, she kept a love for her paternal home and of her birthplace, as is shown by her testament of 28 November 1877 with the codicil of 15 July 1879, by which Mme Duchess Castiglione Colonna, born Countess d'Affry, bequeathed to the state of Fribourg the collection of her principal works reproduced through casting, in marble or bronze, as well as a collection of paintings by modern masters, tapestries, furniture, etc. – She added a sum of money for the cost of casting, and another for the decoration of the rooms where there will be reunited many diverse objects.

The state of Fribourg, as one understands it, hurried to accept the collection that was bequeathed to it, and its Grand Council has decided to create a museum that will carry the name Marcello. One can only be delighted about an event that will make the city of Fribourg a place of pilgrimage, obligatory for all who love the arts.

We must confess that many cities, among those which devote the most money to paintings and statuary, envy the fate of the city of Marcello's birth, which finds itself thus the possessor of one of the most beautiful collections in Switzerland, while so many others collect them with great efforts of patience, cost, and difficulty.

We congratulate our Fribourgeois neighbors for their good fortune; they should appreciate the importance of the gift that is being made to them; the collection that has just been entrusted to their care is the work of a great artist, and those who saw her sculptures in the exhibitions of Paris are still under the charm they inspired.

It is thus a veritable fortune for the arts that all the creations of Marcello are reunited; we hope that the museum that will contain them will be worthy of them, we hope that there they will find a space and the light which suits these dreams

which have become marbles and bronzes and that viewing them elevates the mind and touches the heart.⁴²

Thus the importance of the collection was acknowledged early on, even before it was installed in a public exhibition space. Bachelin's enthusiasm seemed infectious to other writers and authors, as negative reviews of the Musée Marcello during its existence are not to be found.

The earliest known publication written for museum visitors was a fourteen-page brochure. Written in May of 1881 by a family friend, Colonel Ferdinand Perrier, the brochure later accompanied the opening of the Musée Marcello in July of the same year. In the foreword to his text entitled *Le Musée Marcello à Fribourg*, Perrier praised the "generous benefactrix" and noted that,

At the very moment of the opening of the *Marcello* Museum (Duchess Colonna, in Fribourg), it seems to us appropriate and even necessary to offer to art amateurs and visitors of this interesting museum, not only a simple catalogue of the works of sculpture and painting that it contains, but also a special note on the life and numerous works of the eminent artist, who under the pseudonym *Marcello* acquired European renown. Taken at the prime of her life, beauty, and talent, she wanted, while dying, to endow her native city with a precious collection of extraordinary

⁴² A. Bachelin, "Variétés, Le Musée Marcello à Fribourg," *Le Bien public* (18 July 1880): n.p. [4]. "Nous ne pouvons rester indifférents non plus aux sentiments d'affection que l'artiste avait gardés pour sa patrie. Au milieu de la vie artistique et mondaine, dans le double succès de la femme et du sculpteur, elle conserve l'amour du foyer paternel et de la ville natale, ainsi que le prouve son testament du 28 novembre 1877 avec codicille du 15 juillet 1879, par lesquels Mme la duchesse Castiglione Colonna, née comtesse d'Affry, lègue à l'Etat de Fribourg la collection de ses oeuvres principales reproduites par le moulage, le marbre ou le bronze, ainsi qu'une collection de tableaux de maîtres modernes, de tapisseries, meubles, etc. – Elle y ajoute une somme pour les frais de moulage, et une autre pour la décoration des salles où seront réunis ces divers objets. L'Etat de Fribourg, on le comprend, s'est empressé d'accepter les collections qui lui étaient léguées, et son Grand Conseil a décidé la création d'un musée qui porterait le nom de Marcello. On ne peut que se réjouir d'un événement qui fera de la ville de Fribourg un pèlerinage obligé de tous ceux qui aiment les arts. Nous devons avouer que plusieurs villes, parmi celles qui consacrent le plus d'argent aux tableaux et aux statues, ont envié le sort de la ville natale de Marcello, qui se trouve ainsi posséder une des plus belles collections de la Suisse, alors que tant d'autres les recueillent à grand renfort de patience, de frais et de peine. Félicitons nos voisins fribourgeois de leur bonheur; puissent-ils apprécier l'importance du don qui leur est fait; la collection qui vient d'être confiée à leurs soins est l'oeuvre d'un grand artiste, et ceux qui ont vu ses statues dans les expositions de Paris sont encore sous le charme qu'ils faisaient naître. C'est donc une véritable fortune pour les arts que la réunion de toutes les créations de Marcello; espérons que le musée qui les renfermera sera digne d'elles, espérons qu'elles y trouveront l'espace et la lumière qui conviennent à ces rêves devenus marbres et bronzes et dont la vue élève les esprits et grandit les coeurs."

works justly appreciated by all connoisseurs and friends of the fine arts.⁴³

Perrier goes on to note that the biographical article following his remarks was paraphrased from the writings of Marcello's friend, the diplomat and author Count de Circourt, whose portrait Marcello had painted. The author attempts the style of a grand obituary, the kind published in a contemporary Italian arts magazine, a type of publication from which Marcello had not received great attention, despite all her years in Italy and her desire for acceptance by the Italian arts community. This brief article, one of the earliest such biographical sketches published after Marcello's death, provides a detailed overview of the artist's life and discusses her sculptures within a biographical context.⁴⁴ However, it contains neither an itemized list of the works in the collection nor a discussion of the works by her friends.

An early description of the Musée Marcello is found in an unsigned one-page article published in *L'Art moderne*, a journal produced in Brussels. Entitled "Marcello, Duchesse Colonna," the text appeared on 27 November 1881 and described the new addition to the Musée cantonal. It begins with a brief biographical sketch of the artist and is followed by a discussion of the bequest and the opening of the Musée Marcello that summer. Describing the first room, the author, possibly a family member, stated that

⁴³ Ferdinand Perrier, *Le Musée Marcello à Fribourg* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Galley Éditeur, 1881), 3. "Au moment prochain de l'ouverture du Musée *Marcello* (duchesse Colonna, à Fribourg), il nous paraît convenable et même nécessaire d'offrir aux amateurs d'art et visiteurs de cet intéressant Musée, non-seulement un simple catalogue des oeuvres de sculpture et peinture qu'il renferme, mais encore une notice spéciale sur la vie et les nombreux travaux de l'éminente artiste qui, sous le pseudonyme de *Marcello* s'est acquis une renommée européenne. Enlevée dans la fleur de l'âge, de la beauté et du talent, elle a voulu, en mourant, doter sa ville natale d'une précieuse collection d'oeuvres hors ligne et justement appréciées de tous les connaisseurs et amis des beaux-arts." The italics of the original text have been retained here.

⁴⁴ One year earlier, Ferdinand Perrier published an article entitled "La Duchesse Colonna et ses oeuvres (Marcello)," in *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* (1880): 28-34.

The museum occupies two rooms of the ground floor, simply decorated and well-lit by three large windows. In the first, a portrait of the duchess, full-length and life size, painted by Blanchard, seems to be the soul and the genius familiar to the place. A dozen busts in marble, among them the *Bianca Capello*, exhibited in 1863, which introduced the artist to the public right away, her bust of the *Dauphine* and of *Marie-Antoinette, prisonnière au Temple*, presented in 1867, *la Bacchante fatiguée*, *Phoebé*, her *Ecce Homo*, *le Chef Abyssin*, *Medjé*, stand out against the crimson of the wall coverings.⁴⁵

Although no photographs are currently extant of the first room, one can visualize its organization and setup based on this and other published descriptions (see fig. 6-16a and 6-16b). The essay continues with a description of the second room:

In entering into the second part, all the severity of the critic disappears: one penetrates into the privacy of the duchess; one again sees, arranged similarly to, the disorder of the studio, her furniture, her favorite trinkets, her faïence, her tapestries; on an easel, her self-portrait, in small dimensions, painted in the last years of her life, when the illness was already attacking her and would require her to abandon the all too difficult work of the chisel.

There is in this room of works of the first flush of youth, watercolors or painted sketches in oil, a large historical painting, *The Fieschi Conspiracy* [fig. 5-17], in which one obviously feels the influence of Paul Veronese, charcoals, drawings, of which a few are charming.

There is also the brilliant mosaic of studies, paintings, sketches, tacked to the wall like butterflies, which the friends of the duchess took delight in decorating her studio.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ "Marcello, Duchesse Colonna," *L'Art moderne* (27 November 1881): 309. "Le musée occupe deux salles du rez-de-chaussée, sobrement décorées, bien éclairées par trois grandes fenêtres. Dans la première, un portrait de la duchesse, en pied, de grandeur naturelle, peint par Blanchard, semble être l'âme et génie familier du lieu. Une douzaine de bustes en marbre, parmi lesquels la *Bianca Capello*, exposée en 1863, qui révéla l'artiste du premier coup, ses bustes de la *Dauphine* et de *Marie-Antoinette prisonnière au temple*, qui parurent en 1867, la *Bacchante fatiguée*, *Phoebé*, son *Ecce homo*, le chef abyssin [trans. note: last title not italicized in original] *Medjé*, se détachent sur le fond cramoisi des tentures." The Ottenfels family owned property in Belgium, so it is possible that they submitted this article for publication. Marcello's sister Cécile was likely the author.

⁴⁶ "Marcello, Duchesse Colonna," 309. "En entrant dans la seconde pièce, toute la sévérité du critique disparaît: on pénètre dans l'intimité de la duchesse; on revoit, disposés presque dans le désordre de l'atelier, ses meubles, ses bibelots favoris, ses faïences, ses tapisseries; sur un chevalet, son portrait peint par elle-même, en petites dimensions, dans les dernières années de sa vie, alors que déjà la maladie la minait et l'obligeait à abandonner le travail trop rude de l'ébauchoir. Il y a dans cette salle des oeuvres de la première jeunesse, aquarelles ou essais de peinture à l'huile, un grand tableau historique, la *Conjuration de Fiesque*, qui se ressent visiblement de l'influence de Paul Véronèse, des fusains, des dessins, dont quelques-uns sont charmants. Il y a aussi la brillante mosaïque d'études, de tableaux, de pochades, piqués au mur comme des papillons, dont les amis de la duchesse s'étaient plus à orner son atelier." *The Fieschi Conspiracy* (fig. 6-17), mentioned here, was Marcello's largest painting. Refused from the Paris Salon exhibition of 1874, it today hangs in an insurance company in Fribourg, on loan from the Musée d'art et d'histoire.

This description closely matches a period photograph of a room by Ernest Lorson (1843-1923), who took many of the known period photographs of Marcello's work (fig. 6-2a).⁴⁷ Ernest's son, Alfred Lorson (1868-1945), also took photographs of her sculptures and her atelier. Many of the Lorsons' images, large photographic prints of objects related to the history of Fribourg, illustrated *Fribourg artistique à travers des âges*, a cultural journal founded by Louis Grangier, an art historian and director of the Musée d'art et d'histoire at the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸

Louis Grangier's own *Catalogue du Musée cantonal de Fribourg* of January 1882 also describes the newly opened Musée Marcello. His essay traces the historical development of the Musée cantonal from its founding in 1823 and introduces the Musée Marcello to the visitor. Grangier supplies a brief biographical sketch of the Duchess's life followed by a numerical list of works in the order of their exhibition. From Grangier's text we can surmise with some accuracy how the two rooms were originally arranged; he catalogued the collection by assigning a number to each work, corresponding with the artists' names, artwork titles, and media on the list. (As a reference, I have provided Grangier's numerical list at the end of this chapter, with English translations where

⁴⁷ The Lorson family included four generations of photographers who worked in Fribourg from 1863 to 1947. The original photography studio was located at 31, avenue de la Gare. The photograph of the Musée Marcello is in the Archives FM and was reproduced in Fribourg 1980, 23. Although many of the original negatives in the Lorson family collection were destroyed in the twentieth century, the Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Fribourg holds the largest public archive of original glass plate negatives and prints by the Lorson family.

⁴⁸ *Fribourg artistique à travers des âges* was published from 1890 until 1914.

necessary.) Grangier's text remained in print for some years, and a "nouvelle édition" from 1887 provides more detailed information about some of Marcello's individual sculptures.⁴⁹

Marcello's works were also exhibited posthumously at venues outside of Fribourg. In 1883, a review in the *Journal de Genève* noted that three of her sculptures and four of her watercolors were part of the huge *Exposition nationale de Zürich: Les beaux-arts* of that year. Under the heading "Les oeuvres d'artistes décédés depuis 1860," the anonymous author admired her posthumous entries:

As for sculpture, one cannot help but notice the bust of Aug. Pyramus de Candolle by Dorcière; then the three busts by Marcello (Duchess Colonna) treated with strength and vigor. The four watercolors by the same artist are also true masterpieces and the public pauses with predilection in front of these submissions graciously made by the Museum of Fribourg and the absence of which would have been truly regretted.⁵⁰

The opening of the Musée Marcello and the posthumous exhibition of Marcello's works provided continued interest in her art for quite a few years after her death. To the publications mentioned above, we can add other primary sources. In 1883, Raoul Schropp's *Das Museum Marcello und Seine Stifterin* (*The Marcello Museum and her creations*, also published in Paris as *Le Musée Marcello*) introduced the museum to a German-speaking audience. Additionally, in 1885 Lina Greyerz published *Notice sur le Musée Marcello à Fribourg*, a brief, forty-five page text, translated into French from the original German by Louis Grangier. Although it repeated much of the biographical information in Grangier's earlier one, Greyerz's text was the most developed discussion of

⁴⁹ *Catalogue du Musée Marcello et des autres oeuvres d'art faisant partie du musée cantonal de Fribourg. Nouvelle édition.* (Fribourg: Imprimerie du chroniqueur Suisse, 1887), esp. pages 3-9.

⁵⁰ "Exposition nationale de Zürich: Les beaux-arts," *Journal de Genève* (14 September 1883): 1. "Dans la sculpture, il faut noter le buste d'Aug. Pyramus de Candolle par Dorcière; puis trois bustes de Marcello (duchesse Colonna) traités avec vigueur et largeur; les quatre aquarelles de la même artiste sont aussi de véritables chefs-d'oeuvre et le public s'arrête avec prédilection devant ces envois gracieusement faits par le musée de Fribourg et dont on eût vivement regretté l'absence."

Marcello's life and works to date; she recounts the life of the artist, followed by a discussion of the Musée Marcello and the works by Marcello within it. However, Greyerz did not discuss the works by other artists in the collection except for Blanchard's portrait of Marcello, which was displayed at (or near) the entrance.

The lyceum held both the Musée cantonal and the Musée Marcello, and the objects on view may have seemed a bit disjointed to new visitors. Discussing the "vaste édifice du Lycée" where the Museum was installed, Greyerz described its oddities:

In the hall that is used as the entrance, we notice on the left many treasures of national antiquities, including a sizeable cannon occupying the center. One would think they were entering an arsenal, and not a sanctuary of arts. After all, it is a transition rather well imagined from daily life to the contemplation of artistic works. Some steps lower one can find the door opening onto the first room, richly hung with burgundy damask and perfectly appropriate to the busts, statues, and the grand canvas that present themselves, at the same time, to the visitors gazes.⁵¹

Greyerz proceeds to describe each of the sculptures in the first room, providing synopses of each artwork, some more extensive than others. For example, her discussion of the companion sculptures of Marie-Antoinette is somewhat more detailed than those of the other sculptures and her observations are more descriptive than historical. Faced with the guestbook at the end of her tour, Greyerz noted, from a somewhat proto-feminist point of view, that Fribourg had much of which to be proud:

It is with as much pleasure as gratitude that we sign these pages, because the Musée Marcello gave us many hours filled with happiness. May the love for the art attract

⁵¹ Lina de Greyerz, *Notice sur le Musée Marcello à Fribourg*, trans. Louis Grangier (Fribourg: Imprimerie du chroniqueur Suisse, 1885), 13. "Dans le vestibule qui sert d'entrée, nous remarquons, à gauche, un énorme trophée d'antiquités nationales, dont un respectable canon occupe le centre. On croirait entrer dans un arsenal, et non dans le sanctuaire des arts. Après tout, c'est une transition assez bien imaginée de la vie journalière à la contemplation d'oeuvres artistiques. Quelques marches plus bas s'ouvre la porte qui conduit à la première salle, richement tendue de damas cramoisi et parfaitement appropriée aux bustes, aux statues et à la grande toile qui se présentent à la fois aux regards des visiteurs."

many visitors there! It is both a glory for the city of Fribourg, and living proof that Switzerland possesses women artists also.⁵²

Various brief publications were produced by the Musée cantonal for its visitors during the final years of the century, including Camille Roy's *Souvenir du Musée Marcello: Marcello et ses oeuvres*, published in 1905 and containing *L'ouverture d'un Musée*, a selection of poetry written by Marcello's sister, Cécile d'Ottensfels, a minor poet and playwright.⁵³ The poetry, stimulated by the sculptures and the close relationship between the sisters, provides an additional backdrop to the works. The poems were published with photographic illustrations. Her poem *L'ouverture d'un Musée*, originally published in 1888, was inspired by the sculptures on view at the Musée Marcello. Without openly stating that the artist in question was her deceased sister, the Baroness noted in the earlier publication the significance of the woman who inspired her poems:

The Musée Marcello in Fribourg, Switzerland, where the works of the Duchess Colonna, née d'Affry are gathered, who is so famous in the arts under the pseudonym "Marcello." Everyone knows her beautiful busts in the Musée du Luxembourg as well as the Pythia that decorates the hall of the Opera.⁵⁴

Ottensfels' poems present a description of the works and an almost palpable sense of standing in front of them in the original space. Visitors were meant to contemplate the sculptures, read the poetry, and enjoy the photographs for a multi-leveled artistic experience. This was a very modern way of viewing art in a gallery setting. One set of

⁵² Greyerz, 45. "C'est avec autant de plaisir que de gratitude que nous signons ces pages, car le Musée Marcello nous a procuré des heures pleines de jouissances. Puisse l'amour de l'art y attirer de nombreux visiteurs! C'est à la fois, une gloire pour la ville de Fribourg et un témoignage vivant que la Suisse possède aussi des femmes artistes."

⁵³ Little has been written on Cécile d'Ottensfels. For a brief critique, see Frédéric Wandelère, "En marge d'une exposition, Marcello vue par sa soeur," *La Liberté* (19-20 July 1980): 27.

⁵⁴ See also Cécile d'Ottensfels, *Bouquet de Pensées* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1888), 135. "Le Musée «Marcello» à Fribourg, en Suisse, où se trouvent réunies les oeuvres de la Duchesse Colonna, née d'Affry, si célèbre dans les arts sous le pseudonyme de «Marcello». Tout le monde connaît ses beaux bustes du Luxembourg ainsi que la Pythie qui orne le vestibule de l'Opéra."

particularly descriptive verses reveals Ottenfels' feeling that the act of making sculpture contributed to her sister's death:

C'est toi, sombre Gorgone
A l'étrange couronne
Qui nous menace en vain,
Car ta beauté fatale,
Sous les noeuds du crotale,
Garde un attrait divin;

It is you, somber Gorgon
Wearing a strange crown
Who threatens us in vain,
Because your fatal beauty,
Beneath the twisting of the snake,
Guards a divine attraction;

Car toujours la couleuvre
Siffle autour du chef-d'oeuvre,
Trop pur pour son regard,
Et quand l'art lui résiste
C'est au coeur de l'artiste
Qu'elle enfonce son dard!...

Because the viperine always
Hisses around the masterpiece,
Too pure for her to see,
And when art resists her
It is into the artist's heart
That she plunges her venom!...

C'est toi, beau Cheik farouche
Dont nul charme ne touche
L'oeil d'aigle ou de forban
Fauve éclair de ton âme
Qui luit comme la lame
De ton fier yatagan; [...]

It is you, handsome shy Shiek
Which no charm can touch
Eye of an eagle or of a shark
Wild beast of your soul
Who shines like the blade
Of your proud yataghan [sword]; [...]

Ah! C'est lui, c'est vous toutes,
Idoles de ces voûtes,
Legs du ciseau vainqueur,
C'est vous, enfants de pierre,
Dont la main meurtrière
Frappa l'artiste au coeur!⁵⁵

Ah! It is him, it is all of you
Idols of these arches
Legacy of the conquering chisel
It is you, children of stone
Whose murderous hand
Struck the artist at the heart!

Finally, an anonymous, four-page guide entitled *Musée Marcello, Fribourg*:

Collection léguée par la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna, marked the opening of the

"new" Musée Marcello in 1947.⁵⁶ Originally given to visitors as a guide to the portion of

⁵⁵ Ottenfels, 138-41. Republished in Camille Roy, *Souvenir du Musée Marcello: Marcello et ses oeuvres* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1905), 16-22.

⁵⁶ Author unknown, "Musée Marcello, Fribourg. Collection léguée par la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna" (Fribourg: "Office Multigraphe," c. 1947), not paginated. Archives of the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zürich, S2 6458, and the Archives MAHF. Although the guide is not dated, a copy found in the Archives MAHF contains the handwritten date "6-7 Octobre 1947."

Marcello's collection shown at the Hôtel Ratzé, it lists the artworks exhibited by the artist's friends, in the order that they were displayed. Translated from the French, its brief introduction reads as follows:

The personal works of the Duchesse Castiglione Colonna, known as the artist who used the pseudonym MARCELLO, are exhibited at 232 rue de Morat. The collection that she formed was due in large part to her friends. She was in contact with Delacroix, with Courbet, who painted her portrait which is now conserved at Givisiez,⁵⁷ with Ernest Hébert, director of the French Academy in Rome from 1867 to 1873, with Fortuny and the artists who were under his influence, in particular Henri Regnault and his friend Georges Clairin. Make a tour of the room by entering through the Sickinger room, in a clockwise direction. The works whose technique is not indicated are oil on canvas paintings.⁵⁸

This guide does not mention any works by Marcello within the room because they were at that time exhibited at the Monastery of the Visitation at 232 rue de Morat (see discussion above). This was the first time that the collection was divided between two separate locations, with Marcello's work being shown in an entirely different building from the works she had collected by her friends.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Courbet's portrait of Marcello (fig. 6-18) is now in the Musée des beaux-arts, Reims.

⁵⁸ "Musée Marcello, Fribourg. Collection léguée par la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna," 1947, not paginated. The original French reads, "Les oeuvres personnelles de la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna, connue comme artiste sous le pseudonyme de MARCELLO, sont exposées au No 232 de la rue de Morat. La collection qu'elle avait formée est due en grande partie à ses amitiés. Elle fut en relation avec Delacroix, avec Courbet, qui fit d'elle un portrait conservé à Givisiez, avec Ernest Hébert, directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome de 1867 à 1873, avec Fortuny et les artistes qui subirent son influence, en particulier Henri Regnault et son ami Georges Clairin. Faire le tour de la salle, en entrant par la salle Sickinger, dans le sens des aiguilles d'une montre. Les ouvrages dont la technique n'est pas indiquée sont peints à l'huile sur toile."

⁵⁹ A tourist's guide for Fribourg from this period also mentions the display of Marcello's works as being exhibited at the monastery. Pierre de Comte Zurich, *Guide historique et artistique de Fribourg* (Fribourg: Société pour le développement de Fribourg, 1946), 45. "Dans une partie du couvent sont, provisoirement exposées, les oeuvres de Marcello qui a tenu à les léguer à sa ville natale." [In a part of the convent are, temporarily exhibited, the work of Marcello, who was eager to bequeath them to her birthplace.]

Contents and Catalogue of the Musée Marcello: Works by “Fellow” Artists

Primary sources, such as exhibition lists or original catalogues, provide detailed information only about Marcello and those works by her that were originally displayed at the Musée Marcello. Since detailed discussions of her works can be found in my previous chapters as well as in Lina de Greyerz’s 1885 text, I will comment here only on the works exhibited at the Musée Marcello by fellow artists, which have previously received little attention.⁶⁰ For reference, I have furnished the 1882 list of works from the Catalogue of the Musée Cantonal at the end of this chapter. (The booklet published when the museum officially opened to the public in 1881, mentioned above, did not contain an exhibition checklist.) Thus, the remainder of this chapter will discuss works in the order that a visitor circa 1882 would have viewed them. I have organized the works herein according to the order in which they seem to have been displayed during the early years of the Musée Marcello so as to provide a sense of what one would have seen upon entering each of the two exhibition rooms.

The lyceum of the Collège Saint-Michel, which originally housed the Musée Marcello, still exists on the Bisée Hill in the Bourg area of Fribourg (see fig. 6-19). Located on the north east corner of a large plaza that also includes the Church of Saint Michel (1604-11) and the Collège Saint-Michel (1584-1613), it is accessible from the Escalier du Collège or the rue du Lycée, both of which cross the rue de Lausanne. The building still looks much like its representation in engravings made shortly after its

⁶⁰ In the interest of clarity, capsule biographies for each artist have been provided in Appendix B. Unless otherwise noted, all works mentioned below are currently owned by the Musée d’art et d’histoire in Fribourg.

construction in the 1840s (fig. 6-20).⁶¹ Upon entering the building, a visitor to the Musée Marcello in 1882 would have come upon a grand door surmounted by an entablature containing wall a sculpture depicting the coats of arms for the Colonna and the Affry families (which is still in place, see figs. 6-3a and 6-3b) and leading into a gallery, which, in accordance with the artist's testament, would have had the words "Musée Colonna d'Affry (Marcello)" inscribed in gold above the door. The works in this room contained sculptures by Marcello, all of which, with the exception of the *Abyssian Chieftain*, were representations of female figures (see list at the end of this chapter).

The only work displayed in this gallery (or at its entrance) by an artist other than Marcello was a portrait of her by Edouard Blanchard, entitled *Portrait de Marcello (Duchesse de Castiglione Colonna)*. The work was painted in 1876 and exhibited in the Paris Salon of the following year (see fig. 6-11); it was the only work Marcello specifically mentioned in her last will and testament to be placed in the museum, and was certainly one of her favorite portraits of herself. Marcello had commissioned Blanchard to paint this portrait in exchange for a cast of one of her sculptures. In a letter to the founder Barbedienne dated 28 March 1877, she asked for a cast of her *Gorgone* to be made for Blanchard, noting that it was "for the large portrait of me that he has just made in exchange for one of my works in bronze. He had at first requested the *Bianca Capello*, but then in drawing the *Gorgone* in his painting, he preferred it instead."⁶² Marcello was pleased with the painting, which was Blanchard's only Salon entry for 1877. She wrote to him from

⁶¹ For an architectural and technical discussion of the building, see Marcel Strub, *Les Monuments d'art et d'histoire du canton de Fribourg*, Vol. III (Basel: Éditions Birkhäuser Bâle, 1959), 147-49.

⁶² Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Ferdinand Barbedienne, 28 March 1877, Archives FM. "Pour le grand portrait qu'il vient de faire de moi en échange d'un de mes ouvrages en bronze. Il avait d'abord demandé la *Bianca Capello*, puis en dessinant la *Gorgone* dans son tableau, il l'a préférée."

Nice in 1877, "Believe me, dear Blanchard, it is not only because of the joy of thinking that this beautiful work is my portrait that I am delighted for its triumph, but because the success of a friend is a heartwarming thing, and you have been so good to me that I lack the words to tell you how very touched I am."⁶³

Marcello had originally expressed the desire to have two or three of her sculptures represented in the portrait, but was dissuaded by Blanchard's response: "This is a portrait of you that we are making, not a retrospective exhibition of your works, for which one does not need me . . . what I want to indicate is that the great lady whom I have painted is also, and at the same time, an artist."⁶⁴ He achieved this by showing her elegantly dressed, in a black dress with a silk cape she acquired during her travels and which is still conserved in Fribourg. She is depicted in an atelier setting, gesturing towards one of her best-known sculptures, *La Gorgone*.

Once visitors had completed their viewing of Blanchard's portrait and Marcello's over-life sized sculpture of the Princess Czartoriska (fig. 6-21), which faced it opposite, they would have viewed the thirteen other sculptures by Marcello in the first room. Afterwards, they would have continued to the second gallery, which contained paintings and drawings by both Marcello and her artist-friends.⁶⁵ Fourteen of Marcello's

⁶³ Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Edouard Blanchard, undated, circa 1877, Archives FM. "Croyez, cher Blanchard, que ce n'est pas seulement pour la joie de penser que cette belle oeuvre est mon portrait, que je me réjouis de son triomphe, mais parce que le succès d'un ami est une chose douce au coeur, et vous avez été si bon pour moi que je manqué de paroles pour vous dire combien je suis touchée."

⁶⁴ Blanchard to Marcello, postmarked 28 November 1876, Archives FM. "C'est un portrait de vous que nous faisons et non pas une exposition rétrospective de vos oeuvres, qui n'ont pas besoin de moi...Ce que je veux indiquer c'est que la grande dame que j'ai peinte est aussi et en même temps une artiste..." This letter is incorrectly cited in Fribourg 1980, 52-3, as bearing the date 28 May 1876.

⁶⁵ Although only eleven marbles and one bronze were originally planned for display, fourteen marbles and one bronze were listed on the exhibition list in 1881-82. It is unclear whether the second exhibition room was a completely different space as the first or if it was the same room separated into two pieces by partitions or a connecting wall.

contemporaries were featured in this gallery: Gustave Boulanger (1824-1888), Georges Clairin (1843-1919), Auguste Clésinger (1814-1883), Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838-1874), Ernest Hébert (1817-1908), Paul-Alexandre Protais (1826-1890), Henri Regnault (1843-1871), Tony Robert-Fleury (1837-1912), Eduardo Rosales Martínez (1836-1873), Louis Henri de Rudder (1807-1881), Jean-Victor Schnetz (1787-1870), and Attilio Simonetti (1843-1925). The room also contained a painting whose authorship was questioned but was attributed to Jean-Baptiste Greuze (now demoted to “Style of Greuze”), as well as several canvasses by unidentifiable or minor seventeenth-century artists of Spanish origin.

Although there is little material or first-hand accounts describing Marcello’s paintings, in some discussions of the Musée Marcello her paintings are mentioned in a positive light. In his review of contemporary art displayed in the Swiss National Exposition of 1883 held in Zürich, an author known only as “G.E.” mentioned the museum and explained that if Marcello had lived and continued with her exploration of painting, she would have been critically successful:

One can see all the works of Marcello in the museum that bears her name in Fribourg. There one still finds her paintings in oil, a procedure that was equally familiar to her [as sculpture]. She would have succeeded, the same in large-scale painting, if a premature death, preceded by a very long illness, had not shattered much too early the so brilliant career begun by this eminent artist.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ G.E., “Le Groupe 37, Art contemporain (II),” *Journal officiel illustré de l’Exposition Suisse* 24 (19 July 1883): 229. “On peut voir toute l’oeuvre de Marcello dans le musée qui porte son nom à Fribourg. Là on trouve encore d’elle des peintures à l’huile, procédé qui lui était également familier. Elle aurait réussi, même dans la grande peinture, si une mort prématurée, précédée d’une maladie assez longue n’avait pas brisé beaucoup trop tôt la carrière si brillamment commencée de cette éminente artiste.”

In addition to her paintings in oil such as *The Feschi Conspiracy* and her *Portrait of Mme de Tallenay*, this room contained watercolors, drawings in graphite and ink, and pastels by Marcello.

Upon entering this room, visitors would have first come upon Marcello's painted portrait of a Madame Bazire and one of her many watercolors, and then to Eduardo Rosales's *Etude de jeune homme en costume Renaissance* (Study of A Young Man in a Renaissance Costume, fig 6-22), which was described on the list simply as "*Dessin, crayon rouge.*" The drawing is inscribed, "A mon amie Made. Colonna / Rosales." Although the drawing is not dated, it seems to be related in style and subject matter to Rosales's masterpiece of 1863, *Testament of Isabella the Catholic* (Museo del Prado, Madrid), which received a gold medal at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. The drawing may have been a study for one of the figures within the painting. Rosales spent much of his time traveling between France, Italy, and Spain, as did Marcello, and he and Marcello certainly frequented the same social circles in the 1860s. According to Odette d'Alcantara's study on Marcello (1961), Rosales served as a model for Marcello's marble sculpture *La Bacchante fatiguée*, exhibited in the Salon of 1869.⁶⁷

Next the visitor would have encountered Gustave Boulanger's drawing *Cavalier arabe* (Arabian Horseman, fig 6-23) followed by his *Africaine* (African, fig. 6-24). These two works in Marcello's collection are excellent examples of Boulanger's Orientalist mode, which differed somewhat from his better-known Néo-Grec style. Boulanger entered the École des beaux-arts in 1846, won the Prix de Rome in 1849, and was the fellow

⁶⁷ Odette d'Alcantara, *Marcello, Adèle d'Affry, Duchesse Castiglione-Colonna 1836-1879, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée et ses amis* (Geneva: Éditions Générales, 1961).

pensionnaire of the architect Charles Garnier. It is possible that Marcello met Boulanger through Garnier, their mutual friend.

Certainly the most important artist represented at the Musée Marcello was Eugène Delacroix. Three of his studies were exhibited in the second gallery: *Lion couché* (Lion at Rest, 1849, fig. 6-25); *Le Martyre de saint-Just - Copie d'après Rubens* (The Martyrdom of Saint-Just, copy after Rubens, 1847, fig. 6-26); and *Equisse d'un tableau de la chapelle des SS. Anges à St.-Sulpice, Paris* (now known as *Le Châtiment d'Héliodore* or the Punishment of Heliodoros, 1852, fig. 6-15). Although it was given the incorrect title *Saint-Denys* on the 1882 list, the work now known as *Le Martyre de saint-Just - Copie d'après Rubens* is certainly the work that was exhibited in 1882.⁶⁸ In addition to the three works on view in 1882, Marcello also bequeathed Delacroix's *Hercule et le lion de Némée* (Hercules and the Nemean Lion, 1849, fig. 6-27) to the canton. Marcello seems to have owned the Delacroix works listed in Alfred Robaut's 1885 catalogue as numbers 1801, *Paysage à l'automne* (also known as *Paysage – Effet d'automne*), and possibly number 1745, *Renaud et Armide*.⁶⁹ Besides these, she also possessed a drawing after Le Brun, a study of hands and

⁶⁸ I gather this because today there is no work by Delacroix in the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg with the title *Saint-Denys*. The only image of a saint in the collection is that now identified as Saint-Just.

⁶⁹ Alfred Robaut, *L'Oeuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix* (Paris: Charavay Frères Éditeurs, 1885) and Adolphe Moreau, *E. Delacroix et son oeuvre* (Paris: Libraire des bibliophiles, 1873). "*Paysage à l'automne*, canvas, dimensions unknown, No. 217 in the posthumous sale. 490 fr. to the duchesse Colonna. Catalogued in Moreau, 322. "*Renaud et Armide*, canvas, H. om46, L. om56. No. 121 in the posthumous sale. 107 fr. to M. Andrieu, who gave it to madame la duchesse Colonna. – No. 119 of the posthumous exhibition on the boulevard des Italiens. Not catalogued by Moreau." According to Robaut, "We think that this study was entered in the gift made to the Musée cantonal de Fribourg by madame la duchesse Colonna. The curator of the museum, M. Max de Techtermann, whom we have consulted on this subject, believes we are mistaken." To date I have found no record of these works at either the Musée d'art et d'histoire or the Fondation Marcello.

feet, closely related to those kept at the Cabinet des dessins at the Louvre, and a number of important photographs.⁷⁰

Marcello most likely met Delacroix some time after she moved into her first Paris studio at 1, rue Bayard in 1859, a building owned by Léon Riesener, a painter and cousin of Delacroix's.⁷¹ Marcello and Delacroix had a mutual friend in Joséphine de Forget, a prominent social figure who was both Delacroix's cousin and his lover. The two artists were in contact with each other through letters and gatherings hosted by friends, as well as through Delacroix's student and assistant, Pierre Andrieu (1821-1892). One easily gathers from their letters that the two had mutual respect for each other's work: in a letter from 13 June 1862, Delacroix praised Marcello's talent, taste, and intelligence, and Marcello certainly admired him more than any other living artist of her day.⁷² She made copies after his works, purchased a number of his drawings and studies, and after his death visited private collections holding his works, including those at the home of Andrieu.

The two artists had a close, although brief, friendship. Both Marcello and Rosalie Riesener were mentioned in Delacroix's journal on 8 April 1860, and later he recalled

⁷⁰ Fribourg 1980, 55. "Elle possédait en plus un dessin d'après Le Brun (Cf. Les Nouvelles de l'estampe, No. 21, p. 15) et une étude de mains et de pieds, bien proche de celles conservées au Cabinet des dessins du Louvre, ainsi que quelques photographies."

⁷¹ See Chapter Two for a further discussion of the Rieseners.

⁷² Letter of Eugène Delacroix to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 13 June [1862], Archives FM. The letter was published, unabridged and in the original French, in Henriette Bessis, "Delacroix et la Duchesse," *L'Oeil* (March 1967): 22-29. There are seven extant letters from Delacroix to Marcello conserved at the Fondation Marcello; four have been discussed in Bessis's article mentioned here. Three others (dated 30 January 1862, 3 July [1862], and 8 July [1862]) are, to my knowledge, previously unpublished. The letters from Delacroix to Marcello dated 13 June 1862 and 23 September 1862 were partially published and translated into English in Jean Stewart, ed. *Eugène Delacroix, Selected Letters 1813-1863* (Boston: MFA Publications, 1970), 377, 379. In André Joubin's 1938 publication of Delacroix's correspondence, only the 13 June 1862 and the 23 September 1862 letters to Marcello are included. See Joubin, *Correspondance générale de Eugène Delacroix, 1858-1863* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1938), III: 286, note 2; III: 302; VI: 195, note 1; VI: 259, note 1; VI: 319, 336, 344, note 1; VI: 374, note 1.

Marcello's coming to his house for a visit with a Madame Barbier on 9 August of the same year. On 25 August 1860 he wrote to Andrieu: "The beautiful duchess visited me; she is still very occupied with painting, and has paid me far too many kind compliments. This is a great advantage, in her position, to find so much interest in the arts; this is not ordinarily the favorite pastime of attractive women."⁷³ He mentioned Marcello in a letter to the French politician Adolphe Thiers on 29 July 1861 and corresponded with her on 13 June 1862 and 23 September 1862.⁷⁴ Delacroix discussed her in two additional letters. On 4 October 1862 he wrote to Andrieu: "I regret very much that you were not able to join the beautiful Duchess; in every manner, it would have been beneficial to you,"⁷⁵ and then again on 21 May 1863: "I have seen the duchess two or three times with much pleasure: I believe that she misses you very much and would like to be involved with painting. I hear that she has had much success with her busts, for which the Empress has given her many great compliments: I think that she must be satisfied."⁷⁶ Marcello gave Andrieu a wreath of flowers to be placed on Delacroix's casket in August of 1863.⁷⁷

⁷³ André Joubin, *Correspondance générale de Eugène Delacroix, 1858-1863* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1938), 195. "J'ai eu la visite de la belle duchesse, toujours aussi occupée de la peinture, et m'ayant fait beaucoup de compliments infiniment trop aimables. C'est un grand avantage, dans sa position, de trouver autant de distraction dans les arts; ce n'est pas ordinairement le passe-temps de prédilection des jolies femmes."

⁷⁴ The 13 June 1862 letter is mentioned as Delacroix's response to that of 10 June 1862 in Arlette Sérullaz, exh. cat. *Médée furieuse* (Paris: Musée Delacroix/Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001), 103-4.

⁷⁵ Joubin, 343-44. "Je regrette bien que vous n'ayez pu aller joindre la belle duchesse; sous tous les rapports, vous y auriez profité."

⁷⁶ Joubin, 374. "J'ai vu la duchesse deux ou trois fois avec beaucoup de plaisir: je crois qu'elle vous regrette beaucoup et voudrait s'occuper de peinture. J'entends dire qu'elle a beaucoup de succès pour ses bustes, dont l'impératrice lui a fait de très grands compliments: je pense qu'elle doit être satisfaite."

⁷⁷ This action is mentioned in Dubosc de Pesquidoux, "Canton de Fribourg: la duchesse Colonna," *La Liberté* (5 August 1879): 2. "Aux funérailles du grand peintre, la duchesse voulut témoigner publiquement son admiration en déposant sur le cercueil un laurier d'or."

After Delacroix's death, Marcello purchased his *Lion couché* at the Andrieu sale and it was the first of Delacroix's works exhibited at the Musée Marcello.⁷⁸ Marcello made copies after his *Young Tiger Playing with his Mother*, a work similar to *Lion couché* now in the Louvre. One of these drawings is now in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.

Although it was exhibited under many different titles, causing some confusion in its provenance, *Le Martyre de saint-Just - Copie d'après Rubens* was also given to the canton as part of Marcello's bequest.⁷⁹ Delacroix made the copy from a painting by Rubens conserved at the Musée de Bordeaux. The work is not signed, but it has a Delacroix 1864 sale label on the back. *Le Martyre de saint-Just* was exhibited in the 1947 temporary exhibition of works held at the Hôtel Ratzé, but was again incorrectly titled, this time as *Le miracle de saint-Just (The Miracle of saint-Just)*, as noted in the guide for that exhibition.

The visitor in 1882 also would have seen *The Punishment of Heliodoros (Le Châtiment d'Héliodore)*, a painted study for one of the three murals in the Chapel of the Holy Angels at the Church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris. It relates to the apocryphal story of Heliodoros, a Syrian officer sent by the Hellenistic ruler Seleucus IV Philopator to plunder the Temple of Jerusalem. When Heliodoros arrived at the temple, the high priest Onias and the congregation prayed for intervention. At that moment, two angels and a horseman

⁷⁸ Robaut, 443. Although *Lion couché* is included in the 1885 Catalogue Robaut (as no. 1762), it is not catalogued by Moreau, but is similar to the work catalogued in Moreau, 276.

⁷⁹ Robaut, 474. (Cat. Robaut No 1942). "Canvas, H. om72, L. om53. No. 163 in the posthumous sale: 1,010 fr. To M. Piron. Piron sale, 1865: 310 fr. - Bequeathed by madame la duchesse Colonna to the Musée Fribourg, in Switzerland. Moreau, 320." Also according to the M.A.H.F. documents, "legs de Marcello (qui avait acquis l'oeuvre lors de la vente de la Coll. Piron, Paris, 1864, n. 163.)" See also Barbara Ehrlich White, "Delacroix's Painted Copies after Rubens," *The Art Bulletin* 49 (1967): 37-51.

appeared and proceeded to punish Heliodoros and his guards for their criminal intentions.⁸⁰

Delacroix's version of the subject was most likely inspired by Raphael's fresco of the same title in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican, which was well known through engravings and copies.

The authorship of *The Punishment of Heliodoros*, number eighty-six in the posthumous sale of Delacroix's works in December 1864, has been questioned in recent years. Marcello purchased the sketch, certainly believing that it was by the master, at the Delacroix sale held by Andrieu. Jack Spector, however, in his study of the murals, has suggested that Andrieu, not Delacroix, made this oil sketch in the early stages of the mural design for Saint-Sulpice.⁸¹ Andrieu, Delacroix's main assistant at Saint-Sulpice, was, according to Spector, often in charge of producing such sketches. This sketch is similar to another at the Musée Le Havre, but Spector observed that the latter is "freer and less detailed," thus it was more likely to have been painted by the master.⁸² Although the Robaut catalogue lists the Fribourg sketch as number 1786 and dates it to 1857, Spector suggests that it was painted earlier, around 1852, because Andrieu's *Agenda* for that year "contains some precious color notes for the paintings in the chapel, probably in connection

⁸⁰ II Maccabees 3: 1-40. The painting illustrates lines 24 through 27 in particular.

⁸¹ Jack J. Spector, *The Murals of Eugene Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice* (New York: College Art Association, 1967), 24, 84-87. The murals are also discussed in a number of texts on Delacroix, in particular Michele Hannoosh, *Painting and the Journal of Delacroix* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 181-203; Barthélémy Jobert, *Delacroix* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 203-33; Joyce C. Polistena, "The Role of Religion in Eugène Delacroix's Religious Painting: Intention and Distortion" (Ph.D. diss., CUNY Graduate School and University Center, 1997), 261-319; Maurice Sérullaz, *Les Peintures murales de Delacroix* (Paris: Les Éditions du Temps, 1963), 149-82; and Frank Anderson Trapp, *The Attainment of Delacroix* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 289-307.

⁸² Spector, 84.

with just such sketches.”⁸³ Nevertheless, today the work is displayed as an autograph Delacroix by the Musée d’art et d’histoire in Fribourg.

Finally, Marcello owned Delacroix’s *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* (*Hercule et le lion de Némée*), an image of Hercules skinning the Nemean lion so as to wear its pelt. This work was not exhibited in 1882 but seems to have been part of her original gift to the canton. It is a lunette study for a mural series containing eleven scenes from the story of the life of Hercules. Once located in the Salon de la Paix at the Hôtel de Ville, the completed murals were Delacroix’s last decorative project for a public building. The sketch currently holds a certain importance in Delacroix’s oeuvre because the entire mural project and most of the preparatory materials were destroyed when the Hôtel de Ville was set ablaze by Communard forces on 24 May 1871. Delacroix completed most of the studies for the project around 1852. Although not catalogued by Moreau, *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* is included in Robaut’s catalogue, as number 1131. The Robaut catalogue does not, however, mention that this work had been sold to Marcello, as he only knew it to have been sold as lot number forty-three at the posthumous Delacroix sale to Andrieu for 406 francs. Marcello acquired the work from Andrieu at the Delacroix sale of 1864.⁸⁴

Continuing through the room, both of Henri Regnault’s works hung side by side in 1882 at the Musée Marcello. His *Portrait of General Milan del Bosch* of 1868-69 (fig. 5-12) is still on view today in the permanent display of Marcello’s works; his *Spanish Mule*

⁸³ Spector, 84. Although Spector noted that “the Robaut Catalogue, No. 1786, assigns the Fribourg sketch to 1857, without giving a reason,” Robaut stated that “the composition is the same as that of no. 1332, it is closer to no. 1335 for the principal group.” Jobin dates the sketches for Saint-Sulpice to before the summer of 1850. According to Robaut, Moreau did not catalogue the work. A similar work is mentioned in Moreau, 233.

⁸⁴ Archives MAHF. “Legs de Marcello, qui avait dû l’acquérir d’Andrieu (vente Delacroix 1864, No. 121.)” See Sérullaz, 126-48, for a discussion of the murals at the Salon de la Paix.

Tender (Muletier espagnol, fig. 6-14), of the same period is often taken out of storage and has been on view recently at the Musée d'art et d'histoire. As noted in Chapter Three, Marcello arrived in Spain in the fall of 1868 where she joined Regnault and Clairin for an artistic sojourn. They all studied the works of Goya and Velázquez at the Museo del Prado where the work of Velázquez greatly affected Marcello's artistic direction. Regnault wrote to his father from Madrid remarking that he, Clairin and Marcello all worked in a room together making portraits of Milans del Bosc in the fall of 1868.⁸⁵ The Musée d'art et d'histoire preserves both the unfinished painting of Milan del Bosch by Regnault and Marcello's own bust of the General. Without doubt the painting was surely in Marcello's possession from the time of its completion, but solid evidence that the work was in her collection by 1872 is found in Henri Cazalis' *Henri Regnault: sa vie et son oeuvre*, published in that year.⁸⁶

The *Spanish Mule Tender* was known to Cazalis, and mentioned in his 1872 text on Regnault, where he described it as a sketch, and noted that "the head is covered with a large round hat of black velvet; [The figure has a] black beard, a black velvet vest, [and] a red necktie, tied around the neck."⁸⁷ Conversely, Cazalis does not mention the owner of the work, as he either did not know the work was in Marcello's collection or he simply failed

⁸⁵ Arthur Duparc, *Correspondance de Henri Regnault* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1890), 216. See Chapter Two in this volume for further discussion of Marcello's Spanish years.

⁸⁶ Henri Cazalis, *Henri Regnault: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1872), 170. "Le général Milanez del Bosck [*sic*], commandant de la Nouvelle-Castille. Ébauche. Le général est assis sur une table, les jambes pendantes. Bottes noires, costume de général, noir, très-simple. Une plaque de décoration sur la redingote. Les mains ne sont qu'indiquées. Ce tableau appartient à Mme la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna." [The general Milanez del Bosck, commander of New Castille. Sketch. The general is sitting on a table, his legs hanging. Black boots, costume of a general, black, very simple. A medal is placed on the English-style riding coat. The hands are only indicated. This painting belongs to Madame Duchess Castiglione-Colonna.]

⁸⁷ Cazalis, 151. "La tête est couverte d'un large chapeau rond de velours noir. Barbe noire, veste de velours noir; cravate rose, nouée autour du cou."

to note it. The *Spanish Mule Tender* was, like the *Portrait of General Milan del Bosc*, in her possession by the time of Regnault's death in 1871. For some unknown reason, Marcello requested that the sculptor Prosper d'Epinay (1836-1914) write her a letter certifying that Regnault had given her the painting. The letter, written on 14 March 1872, is conserved at the Fondation Marcello and certifies that this oil sketch was a gift from Regnault to her.⁸⁸ Marcello was deeply saddened to learn of Regnault's death, and her diaries include numerous poignantly written pages devoted to the sense of loss she experienced from this event. The Fondation Marcello holds additional drawings by Regnault that Marcello (and/or her family) decided not to part with and that were not included in her gift to the canton.

Auguste Clésinger, also represented in the collection, is today best known as a sculptor, but he painted too, and Marcello owned examples of his work in both media. His undated painting, simply titled *Landscape (Paysage, fig. 6-28)*, was given to the canton and displayed in 1882, while the family retained Clésinger's marble portrait bust of the Duchess. Marcello met Clésinger in Rome in 1860. She admired him as an artist, but was put off by his authoritarian attitude.⁸⁹ It was widely known that he was "afflicted with a streak of vanity," which did not win him many friends.⁹⁰ Not only did Marcello own the landscape illustrated here, but the Fondation Marcello has a life-size portrait bust he made

⁸⁸ Count Prosper d'Epinay to Duchess Colonna (Marcello), Paris, 14 March 1872, Archives FM. "Ma chère duchesse, Je certifiée que l'étude de l'Espagnol (la grande tête coiffée d'un drapeau) vous a été donner en ma présence par notre pauvre ami Henri Regnault. Votre ami, d'Epinay."

⁸⁹ Fribourg 1980, 54.

⁹⁰ Pierre Kjellberg, *Bronzes of the 19th Century: Dictionary of Sculptors*. Trans. Kate D. Loftus, Alison Levie and Leslie Bockol (Atglen, Penn.: Schiffer, 1994), 215. The text goes on to mention that during the course of his first stay in Rome he had changed his name From Jean-Baptiste to Auguste, "as he no doubt considered that more in line with his talent."

of her sometime around 1861-64 (fig. 6-29), in addition to several of his drawings. This portrait bust is iconographically similar to his bust of *Helen of Troy* from 1861 (see figs. 2-31a and 2-31b). Clésinger joined the Society of Photosculpture in 1864 and publicly promoted the sale of the Society's works in 1868 and 1870.⁹¹ It was probably Clésinger who informed Marcello about the photosculpture process (see Appendix A), and who also brought her work to the attention of members of the Photosculpture Society, mainly Girardin and Marnyhac. Both owned versions of her *Chef Abyssin* of 1870. Alexandre Estignard's *Clésinger, sa vie, ses oeuvres* of 1900 is the only existing catalogue devoted to the artist to date. The index of Estignard's text does not list any of Clésinger's works as being owned by Marcello.

Jean-Victor Schnetz was included in the Musée Marcello with two drawings, *Study of a Head for the Sacking of Aquileia by Attila* (*Etude de tête pour le sac d'Aquilée par Attila*, fig. 6-30a) of 1867 and *Head of an Elderly Man with a Beard* (*Tête de vieillard*, fig. 6-31) of 1867. Marcello certainly knew Schnetz in Rome where he was director of the French Academy, as she was a frequent visitor to the Villa Medici in the 1860s; it was there that she met Carpeaux, Clairin, Hébert, Regnault and many of her other acquaintances who had been *pensionnaires* or guests. Schnetz was director from 1841 until 1846, and was so popular that he was reappointed in 1853 and remained at that post until 1866. The composer Charles François Gounod wrote fondly of Schnetz in his memoirs, providing a simple but elegant picture of the man:

In the month of April, 1841, M. Ingres was replaced by M. Schnetz, a distinguished painter, who owed his success and his popularity principally to qualities of sentiment and expression. He was amiable, affectionate, of great natural intelligence, very cordial with the students, jovial, and with a gentle and benevolent

⁹¹ For a discussion of the Photosculpture technique, see Appendix A.

face, in spite of a thick hedge of black eyebrows that went to meet an abundant growth of hair neatly covering his whole forehead. M. Schnetz was, above all, of the type called a *bon enfant*. I passed the second and last year of my stay in Rome under his direction.⁹²

Both of Schnetz's drawings from the Marcello bequest were seen in a recent exhibition devoted to his work entitled *Couleurs d'Italie*. The accompanying catalogue is the most developed and comprehensive study of Schnetz's work to date.⁹³ *Etude de tête pour le sac d'Aquilée par Attila* bears a dedication that reads "A Madame la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna – Son serviteur dévoué – V.r Schnetz – Paris 7bre 1867." This study is related to the large painting entitled *Episode from the Sacking of Aquileia by Attila in 452* (*Épisode du Sac d'Aquilée par Attila en 452*, Musée de Picardie, Amiens, fig. 6-30b), considered one of Schnetz's most important works. Although the composition of the painting has been called "a little confusing,"⁹⁴ it is in fact organized with a very successful S-shaped composition of the figures that leads one's eyes through the action over the center of the canvas. The sketch in Marcello's collection, a study for the dramatic head of the equestrian warrior at the top center, most likely dates from 1841-45, although the date after his signature most likely reflects that of her receiving the work.

Little is known of Schnetz's *Tête de vieillard*, a delicate pencil drawing colored in with white and beige tones. Marcello may have acquired this drawing at the same time as

⁹² Charles François Gounod, *Memoirs of an Artist: An Autobiography*, trans. Annette E. Crocker, (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Co., 1895), 129-30.

⁹³ Laurence Chesneau-Dupin, et al. *Jean-Victor Schnetz, 1787-1870, Couleurs d'Italie* (Cabourg, France: Editions Cahiers du Temps, 2000). The drawings by Schnetz in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg collection are reproduced on pages 123 and 153.

⁹⁴ Chesneau-Dupin, 123. "Ce tableau dont il faut bien dire que la composition est un peu confuse, a peu séduit la critique du salon de 1845 mais a enthousiasmé les admirateurs italiens de Jean-Victor Schnetz." [This painting, whose composition, it is necessary to say, is a little unclear, failed to charm the critics of the Salon of 1845 but it did gain the enthusiasm of Jean-Victor Schnetz's Italian admirers.]

the other, *Study for the Sacking of Aquileia*, in 1867, for the dedications on both are almost exact.

As is the case with many academic painters from the period (and many of the painters Marcello knew so well), it seems that Ernest Hébert, the next artist whose work the visitor would have encountered, has been written out of art history, although in his day he was quite well known and respected. Peter Cooke recently noted that Hébert had “a glory so great in [his] own time as is [his] oblivion now.”⁹⁵ Hébert, later a director of the French Academy, was a great friend to Marcello and often allowed her to visit the Villa Medici at a time when women were not always welcomed there. Her presence and the attention Hébert afforded her may have been resented by the younger male *pensionnaires*.⁹⁶ The two made portraits of each other, although Marcello’s bust of Hébert is unlocated and it is not clear whether she ever completed it. Henriette Bessis seems to have thought the bust was completed and in the possession of the Musée Hébert or missing, but René Patris d’Uckermann notes, “Hébert finished her portrait after a number of sittings, sometimes stormy, but one does not know if her bust of Hébert which she began was ever finished.”⁹⁷ Regardless of the idea that the sittings may have been “stormy,” when her health began to

⁹⁵ Peter Cooke, “Ernest Hébert (1817-1908) and the Romantic Aftermath: From ‘Poetic Realism’ to Symbolism,” *Apollo* 146: 427 (September 1997): 32-36.

⁹⁶ René Patris d’Uckermann, *Ernest Hébert 1871-1908* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1982), 137. Uckermann states that her visits to the Villa Medici were so frequent that she seemed to abuse his hospitality. (“La duchesse Colonna fut, en 1869, une visiteuse si assidue qu’elle passait pour abusive.”)

⁹⁷ Uckermann, 137. “Hébert termina son portrait après des séances parfois orageuses, sans qu’on sache si le buste d’Hébert qu’elle commença parvint à l’achèvement.” He claims, however, in a footnote that Hébert’s drawing of Marcello “is at the museum in Fribourg, because the duchess Colonna founded the Musée Marcello in the town of her birth.” This is incorrect: The drawing is actually in the collection of the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, on loan to the Snoy estate in Brussels; it was never exhibited in Fribourg to my knowledge.

fail in the 1870s, Marcello began painting with greater zeal than ever before, and she looked to Hébert for advice. When the critics attacked her endeavors in painting, Hébert consoled her and encouraged her to continue her work in the medium.

Hébert was represented in the Musée Marcello in 1882 by two of his undated works, *Italienne* (Italian Woman, fig 6-32) and *Petite mendiante* (Little Beggar Girl, 6-33). Both seem to date from the early to mid-1850s (1853-55), when Hébert was visiting the village of San Germano in the Abruzzi Mountains and was focused on producing images of peasant life. He may have been influenced to work in the Italian peasant genre through the work of Schnetz. This painting and the drawing are closely related in style and subject matter to Hébert's paintings of this period such as *Les filles d'Alvito* (The Girls of Alvito, Musée Hébert, Paris, 1855) and *Les Cervarolles* (People of Cervara, Italy, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 1859). Also in the collection but not exhibited in 1882 was Hébert's drawing of *La Pythie, d'après Marcello* (Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, 1869, fig. 6-34).

The next artist whose work the visitor would have encountered was that of Marià (known as Mariano) Fortuny y Marsal. Fortuny was one of the most commercially popular Spanish artists of the mid-nineteenth century, in large part because Albert Goupil of Paris handled the sale of Fortuny's works and reproduced many of his paintings as prints. Although in the late 1860s and early 1870s Fortuny's works were extremely successful in Paris and he was often imitated, today his son, Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, is better known, mainly for his fashion and textile designs of the early twentieth century. Marcello studied watercolor with Fortuny and Simonetti in the late 1860s. Fortuny was represented in the Musée Marcello by works entitled *Head Study* (*Tête de Etude*), which must have been the work now known as *Study for the Head of a Man* (*Etude de tête d'homme*, fig. 6-

35); Roman Warrior (*Guerrier romain*) was probably the work now known as *The God Mars* (*Le Dieu Mars*, fig. 6-36), a study after their beloved Vélasquez's *El Dios Marte* in the Museo del Prado; and a drawing in sepia simply identified as Study (*Etude*).⁹⁸ The Musée d'art et d'histoire also holds *Two Studies of Nudes* (*Deux Études de nus*, figs. 6-37a and 6-37b) from Marcello's bequest, but it is unclear whether this sheet of drawings was the one identified as the study on view in 1882. It has been suggested that Fortuny depicted Marcello as the central blond figure in his most widely acclaimed painting, *The Vicarage* (also known as *The Spanish Wedding*, 1870), now in the Museu d'Art Modern, Barcelona. He also painted her portrait but its current whereabouts are unknown.

According to museum documents, Marcello purchased the next work, Courbet's *Paysage* (c. 1870, fig. 6-13), directly from him in 1870, around the time he painted her portrait (fig. 6-18). The painting is not mentioned in Robert Fernier's catalogue raisonné of the artist's work, but correspondence between the two artists suggests that the work is authentic. The Fondation Marcello owns a large cabinet photograph of Courbet, autographed with a dedication to Marcello, from the period of the painting.

Marcello probably met Courbet in the mid- or late 1860s when he painted her portrait. The date of the portrait has been in question for some time, but most sources ascribe it to 1869-70. Courbet's correspondence suggests that Marcello visited him in prison and helped ease him into his exile in Switzerland in the summer of 1873 by making

⁹⁸ Velasquez's *El Dios Marte* is catalogued as number 63 in the text *Museo del Prado, Inventario General de Pinturas, I. La Colección Real* (Madrid: Museo del Prado/Espasa Calpe, 1990), 37. It contains the description "Esta desnudo, sentado con un morrion en la cabeza y otras piezas de armadura á los pies." [He is naked, seated with a military hat on his head and other pieces of armature at his feet.] I give special thanks to Leticia Lara for her advice on this translation from Spanish to English.

introductions for him.⁹⁹ Although Courbet's Swiss period is regarded by some as that of his artistic decline, I have argued elsewhere that it was a time when he had experimented with new media, ran a large, almost "Warholesque" factory of assistants, and found new ways of exhibiting and marketing his work, a task at which he was always astute.¹⁰⁰ He produced nine known sculptures in his career, and at least four of them were made after he moved to Switzerland.¹⁰¹ Another work entitled *Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay*, once thought to be his best sculptural experiment (Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 1875), is now attributed to Marcello.¹⁰²

Marcello's bequest allowed a number of excellent watercolors by Attilio Simonetti to be given to the canton. Simonetti was the close friend of Mariano Fortuny, and their mutual interest in watercolor was passed on to other members of their artistic circle. Marcello studied watercolor with both artists, and owned a number of Simonetti's watercolors, three of which were exhibited at the Musée Marcello. Simonetti was one of the founders of the Watercolorists Association (Associazione degli acquarellisti) of Rome in 1875 and worked primarily in Rome and Naples. A great friend of Fortuny's, Simonetti

⁹⁹ Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Chu includes a letter from Courbet to Marcello dated 24 January 1872, in *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, 451-2. She is also mentioned in a letter to Olga de Tallenay, dated 28 November 1874, stating "I will always be grateful to Mme Colonna, persuaded as I am that she looked after me in prison." See Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, 539-40.

¹⁰⁰ See Caterina Y. Pierre, "Unjustly Neglected: Gustave Courbet in the 1870s" (Master's thesis, New York: City University of New York at Hunter College, 1996), *passim*.

¹⁰¹ Of course one could argue that his interest in sculpture had begun much earlier, as evidenced by his 1844 painting *Self-Portrait as a Sculptor* (New York, Private Collection). There also seems to be a medallion-shaped sculpture on the wall in the background of his *Painter's Studio* from 1854-5. This detail is rarely mentioned in discussions of the painting and yet it is interesting since four of his sculptures were made in the medallion format.

¹⁰² I have discussed this in my Master's Thesis and my findings were later published as "The Case of the Misattributed Mask," *Advocate* (April 2003): 9-10. Unfortunately in this publication, the captions for the images were accidentally reversed.

was the Spaniard's only true student. The three watercolors exhibited in Fribourg were Simonetti's *Italian Woman* (*Italienne*, fig. 6-38), *Serenade* (*Sérénade à la Madone*, fig. 6-39), an image of two men serenading an unseen female friend; and *Young Woman Carrying a Basket* (*Jeune femme portant un panier*, fig. 6-40), a delicate image of an Italian peasant, par excellence. The collection also included Simonetti's drawing after Marcello's *Bianca Capello*.

Marcello's collection also included works by artists now considered minor figures, although the current interest in European academic art may contribute to the revival of their careers. In particular, these artists included Clairin, Protais, Robert-Fleury and Rudder. The influential teacher Tony Robert-Fleury was represented in the second gallery of the Musée Marcello with his *Portrait of a Young Woman* (*Portrait de jeune femme*, fig. 6-41). The son of the painter Joseph Nicolas Robert-Fleury (1797-1890), Robert-Fleury was a long-time professor at the Académie Julian in Paris who taught many female artists during the late 1860s and 1870s.

Rudder exhibited drawings, lithographs, and paintings in Paris Salons spanning seven decades. He is known best as a painter of history and for his drawings *à la sanguine*, but he also produced religious subjects, genre scenes, and portraits. Marcello owned his *Head of an Elderly Bearded Man* (*Tête de vieillard*, fig. 6-42) a sanguine drawing of 1866, which was exhibited in the second gallery. In the Salon of 1866, Rudder exhibited two paintings and two drawings; one of the drawings was *à la sanguine*, entitled *Head of a Man* (*Tête d'homme*). Although quite possible, it is not clear whether Marcello's drawing is the one that was once exhibited in the Salon.

Protais' work was recently, although briefly, discussed in François Robichon's *L'Armée française, vue par les peintres, 1870-1914* (1998). Featured in the text was Protails' large and most significant painting *The Flag of the Army* (*Le Drapeau et l'armée*, 1878-81, Ministère de la Defense, salle des maréchaux, Paris), commissioned in 1878 from the Ministry of War and exhibited in the Salon of 1881.¹⁰³ His drawing entitled *Dead Soldier* (*Soldat mort*, fig. 6-43) was exhibited at the Musée Marcello around this time. The dead soldier in this drawing wears the same uniform as the soldiers in Protails' *The Flag of the Army*; thus the fallen soldier is meant to be French. This work may have been a study for a painting Protails exhibited in the Salon of 1866 entitled *Wounded Soldier* (*Soldat blessé*, current location unknown). The dead soldier motif held great popularity during the nineteenth century, especially in Paris, a city in almost constant turmoil for the length of the century. Protails may have taken as his sources the lower passages of Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* of 1830 (Louvre, Paris), Manet's *Dead Toreador* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), the latter shown in the Salon of 1864, and a well-known work reproduced by Goupil in 1863 entitled *Dead Soldier*, which at the time was attributed to Velázquez (fig. 6-44, National Gallery, London). Yet Protails' work predates Manet's lithograph of a dead National Guard soldier entitled *Civil War* of 1871-73 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).¹⁰⁴ Protails' *Dead Soldier* must have held important sentimental value for Marcello as a reminder of the death of her friend Regnault, who volunteered for military service in the Franco-Prussian War and was killed at Buzenval in January of 1871.

¹⁰³ François Robichon, *L'Armée française, vue par les peintres, 1870-1914* (Paris: Éditions Herscher, 1998), 42-43, 148.

¹⁰⁴ For a complete discussion of Manet's works, see Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Manet 1832-1883*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Abrams, 1983), 197-98, 326-28. See also *Manet/Velázquez: The French taste for Spanish Painting*, exh. cat. Gary Tinterow and Geneviève la Cambre, eds., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

Finally, Georges Clairin's two oil paintings, *Marcello dans son atelier* (Marcello in Her Studio, fig. 6-10) and *Corps de garde espagnol* (The Spanish Guard Corps, fig. 6-45), were also part of the collection. From Spain, Clairin and Regnault traveled to Tangier, where they set up a joint house and studio together. Marcello met Clairin and Regnault in Rome in 1868, and she joined them in Spain from September 1868 to January 1869. They met up again in Rome later in the year.¹⁰⁵ Regnault and Clairin were so close in their friendship that when they were apart from Marcello, the letters they sent to her were written on a single sheet of paper. Clairin kept up his correspondence with Marcello after Regnault's death, and his portrait of her was completed in 1871. Although it is certainly neither a flattering portrait nor one of his best works, Marcello (or her family) felt it to be interesting enough to include in her bequest to the canton. Possibly it was one of the portraits of her that they were willing to give to the canton because they were not as fond of it as they were of others in their collection. The *Corps de garde espagnol* of 1869 is typical of Clairin's Orientalist studies in oil, reminiscent of the sketches he and Regnault produced while in Spain with Marcello.

This would have concluded the tour of the second room of the Musée Marcello. Although the greater part of these works have not been on public view for some time, the current interest in academic art by formally trained artists may allow for reevaluation and a recapturing of their former glory. Recent interest in such art, evidenced by such major exhibitions as *1900: At the Crossroads* of 2000, and *Exposed: The Victorian Nude* of 2002, the recent reopening of the Dahesh Museum of New York (with its spacious galleries and its bronze version of Marcello's *Abyssinian Chieftain*), and the plethora of dissertations and

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter Three in this volume.

books being published on this subject, will no doubt help to foster new and continual research in this area.

Chapter Conclusion

Although the Musée Marcello no longer exists as it was originally designed, evidence of Marcello's personal design sense and passion for collecting remains evident at the Château d'Affry in Fribourg. There, one finds artworks by, for example, Carpeaux, Clésinger, Hébert, Regnault, Riesener, in addition to original plasters, drawings, copies of Old Master paintings (that Marcello either made herself or that she purchased during her travels), *cuirs de Cordoue* and Gobelins tapestries such as *Verdures des Flandres*. Her atelier in that canton is a rare example of a still-extant nineteenth-century studio that remains virtually unchanged since the artist's death. Another example of this is the atelier of Rosa Bonheur in By, near Fontainebleau, France; but overall very few original ateliers of female artists remain preserved in Europe (or in America for that matter). Although Marcello did not secure a permanent building to house her collection, as did Vincenzo Vela for his museum (fig. 6-46), she had hoped that the Canton and her descendants would be able to work together to keep the collection on permanent display. The conservation of Marcello's atelier, and the works that she collected that were not given to the canton, is due to the efforts of her descendants and the assistance provided by recent staff of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.¹⁰⁶ The atelier is also the only surviving example of what the

¹⁰⁶ Since Marcello died childless, her descendants derive from the child of her sister, Cécile d'Ottensfels. The suggestion that Marcello had twins *after* the death of her husband during her early years in Italy, a rumor that has recently surfaced in Fribourg, seems to me completely unfounded because solid evidence for the births does not exist. In her memoirs, Marcello herself regretted the fact that she never had any children.

original Musée Marcello may have looked like and what Marcello actually had in mind for its design. In Appendix C, I have included a list of the contents of the Musée Marcello in 1882, as well as a chronology of the history of the Musée Marcello in Appendix D.

CONCLUSION

Who was Marcello? What were her contributions to the history of art? If she has been so important to that history, why have art historians largely ignored her for more than 125 years?

For almost a decade I have pondered these questions in an attempt to re-present Marcello to the art historical community. Obviously she was a sculptor, painter, and draftsman who developed a unique style and various avant-garde themes in her sculptural work, and who was forgotten primarily because she lived and worked in several different countries, died young, and because documents concerning her life and career are not easily accessible to scholars. These answers, however, are overly simplified: to truly understand Marcello's significance, one must be fully aware of the cultural, historical and social contexts from which both she and her works emerged.

For most of the twentieth century, art historians ignored the large contributions of women artists to all aspects of culture. Feminist ideology within the field, beginning in the 1970s, began to change the misogynist stance in which the discipline was rooted; by the late 1990s, however, feminist methodology had become repetitive. Most feminist art historians felt that they had already discussed all the women worthy of attention, and other art historians were probably glad that they had stopped talking. The result of this returned the field to its original precept: if an artist is not studied, written about, sold at auction or taught in the classroom, then it is safe to assume that s/he did not exist or was not important. It was in part because of this incorrect assumption that I hoped to write about an important but underappreciated female artist.

In the case of Marcello, her expatriate status was also a major factor contributing to her being written out of art history. Such is the fate of many expatriate artists, because it is difficult for scholars to do research on a person who traveled and lived in a country, or countries, other than the one in which they were born. Marcello additionally had three names, each associated with a different country. Her birthname, Adèle d’Affry, was identified with the historically important Swiss family of Affry; her married name, Duchess Castiglione Colonna, was connected to the significant Colonna family of Rome; and her pseudonym, Marcello, also identified her as Italian. Yet she lived for almost two decades in France, without a French name to align her with that country. There is often an additional bias against artists who do not exhibit complete allegiance to their homeland. As a result, not one of the countries in which Marcello lived ever really championed her proudly as one of their own. Finally, her Swiss nationality specifically posed an obstacle; the history of Swiss art has rarely been incorporated into the canon, mainly because most Swiss artists before the twentieth century left Switzerland to pursue their studies and careers elsewhere.

Another main reason that Marcello has been neglected relates directly to the lack of attention paid to the history of sculpture by art historians. Whether scholars are aware of it or not, the commercial, critical and technical history of sculpture has not yet been fully integrated into the canon. This is especially true of sculpture of the Second Empire, which is difficult to categorize into neat, obvious types and styles. Sculpture followed a rhythm different from that of painting, and within sculpture the progression of styles is less apparent. Hence the term “eclecticism,” which one notices often in discussions of the sculptures of the period. Because sculpture production was, and remains, identified with

art that was sanctioned by the Academy, modern biases against academic art have limited its study.

As I have shown, sculpture production during the nineteenth century in both the artistic and technical sense was undoubtedly “gendered” as a field in which men were the foremost participants. Women like Marcello who dared to challenge this norm found themselves open to ridicule and rejection. Yet Marcello spent the length of her career creating a body of works that critics often likened to those of the best male contemporary sculptors. This was not an easy task to have accomplished, and yet, regardless of her many successes, she often felt discriminated against because of her gender, a subject on which she lamented in the final pages of her memoirs, written three days before her death.

The modernist canon of art history, with its neatly packaged styles and movements, is in need of a serious revision. Until scholars understand that Symbolism really began in the early 1850s, or that classicism never really ended, or that an artist could have worked in a romanticist vein throughout the 1890s, the true story of art and its inherent contradictions cannot be realized. Marcello’s Symbolist tendencies should not, therefore, be dismissed simply on the basis that she was active twenty years before the style was identified. She, like Baudelaire, was a predecessor of the Symbolist movement. The strict chronological organization of styles and art movements over a period of time is helpful for the basic study of art, but outside that preliminary point of departure, such constructions hinder more advanced thought in the field.

These two negations, that of the history of women in the fine arts and that of the history of sculpture, has led to the fractured nature of the annals of art history. This dissertation, however, was not intended to continue Marcello’s lament, but instead was

written to foreground her sculptural work within the history of art, in light of the contexts within which it was produced. Although the problems that all women artists faced during the period have been addressed and interlaced within this text, I have tried to present an overall analysis of Marcello's work with less emphasis on her gender and a more sharpened focus on her contributions to the field and to the artistic milieu in which she lived and worked.

Future Avenues of Research: Marcello and Italy

While this dissertation focuses mostly on Marcello's career in France, her reception in England, Germany and Spain has been briefly treated. Yet, despite her having spent many years of her life in Italy and having held an Italian aristocratic title, little has been unearthed concerning Marcello's reception in that country. Although it seems that she did not exhibit her work in Italy (she may not have had many opportunities to do so), her painted self-portrait (fig. C-1) was commissioned from the Uffizi Gallery in Florence during her lifetime. She retained a studio in Rome for most of her career, and was often a guest at the French Academy in Rome of directors such as Victor Schnetz and Ernest Hébert. It seems highly unlikely that her existence in Italy could go completely unremarked upon by anyone except herself in her own writings, particularly since there were so many women (both Europeans and Americans) working in Rome at the same time. The subject of Marcello's lifelong devotion to Michelangelo (and to the sculpture and history of the Italian Renaissance) could warrant a significant study within itself. Such an undertaking would require immersion in the primary Italian journals and art reviews between the years of 1854, when she first arrived in Italy, through her death in 1879, preferably by a scholar

fluent in Italian. Her sculpture entitled *La Belle Romaine* was depicted as an engraving in *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (published in Milan and Rome) in 1875. Her work was also discussed in an article in *Gazetta di Venezia* (published in Venice) in 1876. As her death was reported in *Corriere del Mattino* (published in Naples) and *Fanfulla* (published in Rome) it is not unreasonable to assume that Marcello was a known figure in Italy and that her works may have garnered extensive reviews during her lifetime by the Italian press.

Future Avenues of Research: Marcello and America

Marcello had also been written about in the equivalent of “gossip” or “style” sections of American newspapers, for example in the *Boston Post* and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. While Marcello was always preoccupied with her artwork, she was also willing to do her part for charity, fulfilling her aristocratic duties as the Duchess Colonna. The 1 March 1867 issue of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* recounts an event at a bazaar in Paris, held for the aid of Polish refugees by Colonna’s friends, the Czartoryski family. There she kept a stall where she offered some of her works to be sold for the cause. When a wealthy Russian gentleman slipped her a note containing the words “I should like to be permitted to kiss the hand of Marcello,” she replied that she would pass on the message: “I will convey your message to Marcello, count; but I must warn you, from what I know of that personage, that if the favor be granted you will have to buy it very dear.” She asked him to come back in ten minutes; when he did, she presented him with a letter noting, “Marcello consents, on the condition that M. le Comte R---- pays down five hundred francs for the destitute Poles.”¹ Stories such as these often surfaced in the American press, particularly when a

¹ “Five Hundred Francs for a Kiss,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1 March 1867): 4.

charitable or social event was at issue. Unfortunately, my numerous years of research have not uncovered much material with regard to American reviews or critiques of Marcello's art.

Although Marcello never traveled to the United States, her work was being sold in New York as early as the winter that followed her death. A.T. Stewart and Company's famous department store, located at Broadway and Fourth Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets, ran a large advertisement in the 14 December 1879 issue of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* offering "a superb collection of artistic bronzes by Guillot, Laurent, Marcello, Herpiche, Etc. Also, ancient and Modern." Stewart himself owned two Marcello bronzes, versions of *Chef Abyssin* and *Medje*, which he displayed prominently in the music room of his mansion on Fifth Avenue (fig. C-2) The pair was offered at the A.T. Stewart collection sale held at American Art Galleries on Twenty-Third Street on 31 March 1887, along with their matching Egyptian marble and gilt pedestals; it is not currently known if they sold, who might have purchased them, or where they are currently located.² It is also not clear whether Marcello even knew that Stewart had purchased the sculptures, or that he was planning to sell her work in his shop.

It is unclear why Marcello never traveled to America, where her work may have found an eager market. Yet the Civil War would have prevented her from traveling to the United States in the mid-1860s, and in the early 1870s, uncertainty in France in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War and the establishment of the Third Republic prevented her from

² *Sale Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection of Paintings, Sculpture, and other Objects of Art*, American Art Association, Managers, Thomas E. Kirby, Auctioneer. (New York 1887), 170. "[Lot #] 853, Pair of life Size Busts, "Arab Sheik," and companion, by Marcello. Height and diameter, 27 by 18 inches. 2 Pieces. [Lot #] 854, Pair pedestals, for the above, carved Egyptian marble, with green bronze and gold gilt ornaments. Height 43 inches. 2 pieces."

traveling much outside her native Switzerland. By the mid 1870s, she was too ill to travel long distances, and remained in Italy for the rehabilitative effects of the Mediterranean climate.

Unfortunately, American museums are only just beginning to collect works by Marcello. At this writing, only two American museums hold works by the artist: the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which purchased *Pythia* in 1973, and the Dahesh Museum of Art, which purchased *Abyssinian Chieftain* in 1998. Although little has been uncovered in terms of Marcello's impact on the United States, further investigation may yield clues regarding possible nineteenth- and twentieth-century American collectors of her work, previously unknown sculptures and paintings in American collections, and the reception of Marcello's art in the United States during her lifetime and after her death.

Future Projects

As there has not been a significant exhibition devoted to Marcello's artistic production in almost twenty-five years, a retrospective exhibition needs to be developed and produced. It is imperative that such an exhibition travel outside of Switzerland for it to have any real impact on the art world. Good art speaks for itself, and no amount of dissertation postulating can equal the response that one feels in front of an actual piece of art. Such an exhibition should include scientific analysis of the sculptures, and updated photography would also help foster new research. A reasoned and complete catalogue of her known sculptures would also assist in promoting scholarship in this area of study.

Conclusion

Much still needs to be done within the study of Marcello's work; there is no reason to believe that this text covers (or could cover) every aspect of Marcello's sculptural production. It is my hope that this text will not only illuminate the many issues discussed, but that it will foster new interest in Marcello's art. Such endeavors and further study will broaden equally our understanding of women's role in the history of art and the history of the sculptural medium.

This dissertation has attempted to describe the history of nineteenth-century sculpture while at the same time exploring the career of a significant artist and her contributions to that history. Marcello earned, during her lifetime, the attention and respect of critics and peers; it is important that now, in our own time, she receive the attention and respect she so rightfully deserves.

APPENDIX A

FOUNDRIES AND STUDIO ASSISTANTS EMPLOYED BY MARCELLO

Introduction

I found it helpful during my investigation of Marcello's sculpture to gather information concerning the foundries and assistants she employed to help with the production of her work. This appendix is a record of the foundries that Marcello used, including a brief history of each and lists of works that each cast for her, and a list of her known assistants.

In most cases during the nineteenth century, a foundry had the right to produce an unlimited number of casts, with or without the artist's consent. To my knowledge there were no limits set on the number of casts from Marcello's models that could be produced by each foundry. It is known that she retained the right during her lifetime to approve of each cast before it left the foundry, and wished that each cast be somehow unique, either in its size, patination, or electroplating (in French, *galvanoplastie*, or the application of an electric current to plate metal with zinc, originally by galvanic action). However, casts of her works were certainly made and sold after her death, as in the case of the Philadelphia *Pythia*, which bears the stamp of Fumière et Gavignot. This work was most likely cast after 1890, when the firm Fumière et Gavignot (with Thiébaud Frères) became active. Her works also remained in Barbedienne's sale catalogues through the early twentieth century, some thirty years after her death. For example, in the 1886 catalogue, casts of various sizes of Marcello's *Bianca Capello* and *La Gorgone* could still be purchased. These works were also listed for sale in later Barbedienne catalogues published in 1893, 1899, and 1911. The catalogue from 1911 was published by "G. Leblanc - Barbedienne, successeurs."

According to Kjellberg, information concerning nineteenth century founders “is incomplete and quite fragmented: almost all of them disappeared, and their archives are either lost or inaccessible.”¹ This remains true, and I have consulted as many sources as possible herein to create a somewhat coherent sense of the production of sculpture during Marcello’s years of activity.

Barbedienne

Barbedienne’s firm is today considered the largest, most productive, and most lucrative foundry of the nineteenth century. During its 116-year history (opened 1838; closed 1954) it has been said that they cast works for virtually every major sculptor of the era. The firm was founded by Ferdinand Barbedienne (1810-1892) and Achille Collas (1795-1859). Kashey and Reymert suggest that François Barbedienne, probably the brother of Ferdinand, was the founder of the firm.² In 1837 Collas had invented an apparatus, based on the pantograph, which mechanically reproduced sculptures (figure 1-23). Although previous versions of the pantograph method were in existence prior to 1837 in France and England,³ Collas’ improvements and final invention revolutionized the sculpture medium; the machine’s ability to mechanically reduce, reproduce, and enlarge sculptures in a variety of sizes, and with wonderful accuracy, democratized the medium. One could own a work by Marcello, for example, in the size she originally planned for it,

¹ Pierre Kjellberg, *Bronzes of the 19th Century: Dictionary of Sculptors*, trans. Kate D. Loftus, Alison Levie, and Leslie Bockol (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1994), 653.

² Robert Kashey and Martin L.H. Reymert, *Western Bronzes of the Nineteenth Century: A Survey*, exh.cat., (New York: Shepherd Gallery, 1973). The book is not paginated.

³ The sculptor John Bacon (1740-1799) invented a superior version of the point machine that was used in both England and France. At the turn of the century, Nicolas Marie Gatteaux (1751-1832), a French sculptor and medal engraver, had improved the pointing machine.

or in a reduced size for a reduced price, thus opening up purchasing opportunities to a middle-class market. According to Kjellberg, the international jury of the Exposition universelle of 1867 posthumously eulogized Collas, praising him and comparing him with Gutenberg. Certainly Collas' reduction machine was one of the most important artistic inventions of the nineteenth-century, matched only by the invention of photography, introduced to the public in the same year as the Collas reduction machine. After Collas' death in 1859, Barbedienne became the sole owner of the licenses and machines for the Collas reduction method.⁴

Barbedienne's main office was located at 30, boulevard Poissonnière and the studio was located at 63, rue de Lancry, in Paris. Specializing in producing art bronzes, copies of famous ancient and Renaissance sculptures, and decorative objects, its first contract to produce contemporary sculpture was in 1843, when it began to cast works for the sculptor François Rude (1784-1855). The firm employed numerous sculpture specialists (at its height some 300 men) who held positions as in-house architects and sculptors, marble-carvers (*ciseleurs*), mechanics (*monteurs*, literally "setters"), ornamental sculpture specialists (*sculpteur-ornemistes*), carpenters and cabinetmakers (*menuisiers et ébénistes*), goldworkers or gilders (*doreurs*), mould-makers (*mouleurs*) and clay modelers (*modelers*). As was the case in their arrangement with Marcello, Barbedienne bought the models from the artists outright, and retained the rights to reproduce the works on demand, with or

⁴ Réduction Mécanique, A. Collas, Breveté [certified]. Page 94 of the 1886 Barbedienne sale catalogue notes: "Les brevets, machines, et modèles, ayant appartenu à la Société A. Collas et Barbedienne, sont devenus la propriété exclusive de la maison F. Barbedienne. Les réductions par les procédés mathématiques de tous les chefs-d'oeuvre de la statuaire antique et moderne se continuent sous la direction de M. F. Barbedienne."

without the artists' consent. According to Kashey and Reymert, "[Barbedienne] also issued new editions after other founders as well as a great deal of posthumous editions."⁵

Barbedienne's foundry is probably most famous today for its production of works by Antoine-Louis Barye (1796-1875), who had himself single-handedly changed career standards in the field of sculpture by opening his own lost-wax casting foundry in 1838, the same year as Barbedienne. Barye obtained a commercial patent for casting small bronzes for middle class patrons. According to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Barye soon began to market his bronzes with the aid of a series of catalogues that permitted the purchaser to order from a variety of models. The earliest catalogue, published in 1847, stated that each bronze would be numbered and punch-marked, but the marking system was quickly abandoned perhaps because of its very success."⁶ His foundry had a sporadic history and was ultimately short-lived due to financial difficulties; after he went bankrupt in 1848, all of his sculptural models went Émile Martin (his original foundry partner) and Barbedienne. In 1858 Barye "redeemed [his models] and controlled their founding until his death in 1875."⁷ Barbedienne, along with a number of other founders, later repurchased many models at the Barye Estate Sale in 1876.

Although few sculptures were cast during the Franco-Prussian War due to the lack of orders and the need of metal for military purposes, Barbedienne received a contract from the French government to produce seventy canons for the war, keeping the foundry open for business. When Ferdinand Barbedienne died on 21 March 1892 he was publicly

⁵ Kashey and Reymart, n.p., in the back of the book under the title, "List of Foundrys [*sic*] and Founders Active in Western Europe During the Nineteenth Century."

⁶ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, wall-label text adjacent to their display of Barye sculptures.

⁷ Kashey and Reymart, n.p.

mourned and his massive tomb, decorated with a bust of Barbedienne by Henri Chapu (1833-1891) and three muses sculpted by Alfred Boucher (1850-1934; teacher of Camille Claudel), remains one of the most visited graves at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris (fig.1-27). The foundry opened branches in England, Germany, and the United States and continued under the direction of Gustave Leblanc, a nephew of Barbedienne, until the foundry's closing in 1954.

Prior to 1870, Marcello seems to have used Barbedienne as her exclusive founder. Around the time she was producing her *La Pythie* for the Paris Opéra, she decided to change founders, employing Maison Thiébaut/Thiébaut Frères on the advice of the Opera's architect Charles Garnier. According to Bessis, "In the beginning, it was Barbedienne that Marcello wanted to trust with the casting, but he asked for too much lead time (7 months) and she wanted the work to be ready for the Salon of [18]70."⁸

Although there is much information about Barbedienne in the major sourcebooks, at this writing there has been no large or exhaustive text devoted to the history of this foundry, and one is long overdue.

Marcello's sculptures cast by Barbedienne:

The Beautiful Helen (La Belle Hélène), 1861, (bronze statuette, M.A.H.F.)
Bianca Capello, 1863
La Gorgone, 1865
Marie-Antoinette au Temple, 1866 [F.M.]

⁸ Henriette Bessis, *Marcello: Sculpteur* (Fribourg: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1980), 160. "C'est à Barbedienne au début que Marcello voulait confier la fonte, mais il lui demandait un trop long délai (7 mois) et elle voulait qu'il fut prêt pour le Salon de 70."

Marnyhac

The history and production of the nineteenth-century foundry Maison Marnyhac is not fully documented; in fact, information about this foundry is absent from the major texts on nineteenth-century foundries such as Kjellberg, Berman, and Clapp.⁹ No one in the arts by the name of “Marnyhac” is listed in Thieme-Becker, Bénézit, Clapp, or Turner.¹⁰

A brief entry in Kashey and Reymert notes that the firm was located at 1, rue de la Paix and that it was active around 1870. It is likely that the foundry was most productive after the Franco-Prussian and Civil Wars in Paris (that is, after 1871), since the only foundries to survive the financial crisis of wartime was Barbedienne’s, who was contracted by the government to make canons, and Thiébaud Frères, who made arms. It was most likely founded by the artist François Willème de Marnyhac (1830-1905).

Marnyhac seems to have been a unique type of foundry, one that specialized both traditional types of casting and in “Photosculpture,” a process in which photographs were used to assist in the sculpture reproduction and sizing process. The process facilitated the modeling phase of sculpture (usually portrait sculpture) by using photographs of all angles of the subject, and then using these to point up a clay model. During the nineteenth century the marriage between sculpture and photography was extremely strong, and photography, believed to be able to capture scientific “truth”, was thus seen as an excellent scientific and mathematical tool in the sculpture reproduction process.¹¹ It should be remembered that

⁹ Harold Berman, *Bronzes: Sculptors and Founders 1800-1930* (Chicago: ABAGE, 1974); Jane Clapp, *Sculpture Index*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1970).

¹⁰ Jane Turner, *The Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove, 1996).

¹¹ See Geraldine A. Johnson, ed., *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension* (New York and Cambridge, 1998) and Dominique Païni, et. al., *Photographie/Sculpture*, exh. cat. (Paris: Centre National de la Photographie and Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1991).

the inventions of Collas' reduction method and Niepce and Daguerre's photography method (known as a daguerreotype) were almost exactly contemporary (1837). According to Léonce Bénédite's text on the sculptor Alexandre Falguière (1902) the history of Marnyhac and Photosculpture went hand in hand:

After the war Mr. De Girardin [...] decided to establish a huge firm to market art works to the masses. He launched the Société de la Photosculpture, directed by Marnyhac, a firm which [...] made busts from a model, using series of photographs taken from all sides, but which above all reduced or translated into marble numerous models supplied by a whole Pléiade of sculptors then in vogue [...] Among them were Clésinger, George Clère, and Falguière [the latter] supplied [...] a whole series of sketched models, which were modeled [*sic*] in marble [...].¹²

Although marbles are mentioned here, bronzes by Falguière and Clésinger also exist with the "Maison Marnyhac" stamp and seal (Figures 1-28a and 1-28b). Although Bénédite and Kashey note the opening of this firm after the war, an advertisement for a "Société Général de Photosculpture de France" can be found in the 8 June 1866 issue of *Le Moniteur universel*, with its address listed as "Boulevard Wagram, 42 (près l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile)." Paul Dalloz, director of *Le Moniteur universel* was one of the principal stockholders of this Society. The advertisement notes the firm's specialty: "Sculpture à l'aide de la photographie et du pantographe, brevetée en France et à l'étranger," boasted "cinq secondes de pose," and offered "entrée publique des Salons et Galeries d'exposition."

Michele Bogart and Phillippe Sorel have discussed photosculpture in recent publications. Bogart traces the history of the process and traces its brief popularity in both Europe and the United States, but she does not mention the Marnyhac foundry in her

¹² Quoted in Florence Rionnet, "Goupil and Gérôme: Two Views of the Sculpture Industry," in *Gérôme and Goupil: Art and Enterprise*, exh. cat. (New York: Dahesh Museum of Art, 2000), 45-53.

article.¹³ In a more recent essay entitled “Photosculpture – The fortunes of a sculptural process based on photography,”¹⁴ Phillippe Sorel explains that the photosculpture process was invented in 1859 by the French painter, sculptor and photographer François Willème de Marnyhac. Willème patented the process on 14 August 1860 and continued to improve on it until 1864. He opened his studio in 1862 “near the former Barrière du Roule, at 42, Avenue de l’Étoile, which later became the Avenue de Wagram.”¹⁵ The premises included a rotunda called the Salon de Pose, containing 24 cameras, which would take 24 simultaneous photographs of a subject that would then be used in the photosculpture reproduction process (figures 1-29a, 1-29b and 1-30). According to the press release for the exhibition entitled *Paris in 3D: From stereoscopy to virtual reality 1850-2000* at the Musée Carnavalet, “Willème photographed his model using 24 different lenses placed in a circle around the sitter and triggered [them] simultaneously. The photographs were then projected onto a screen on the back of which an artisan traced the outline of the form using a pointer attached to a pantograph. At the other end of the pantograph, a tool simultaneously cut out this form from a mass of clay, which was then reworked by the artist.”¹⁶ Joseph J. Beaman has additionally noted that “the silhouette of each photograph

¹³ Michele Bogart, “Photosculpture,” *Art History* 4:1 (March 1981): 54-65. While her article is well researched and remains a good starting point for the history of photosculpture in English, Bogart assumes in her article that photosculpture was used exclusively for portraiture. Although I agree that requests for portraits made up the bulk of photosculpture commissions, it was also used by any sculptor who wanted to make a sculpture without long (and expensive) sessions with a model. Bogart herself reproduces a photograph in her article of a woman in classical dress posing for a photosculpture in Willème’s studio, which is obviously not posed for a portrait.

¹⁴ Phillippe Sorel, “Photosculpture – The Fortunes of a Sculptural Process Based on Photography,” in *Paris in 3D: From Stereoscopy to Virtual Reality 1850-2000*, exh. cat., François Reynaud, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby, eds. (Paris: Paris musées/Booth-Clibborn Editions, 2000), 80-9.

¹⁵ Sorel, 82.

¹⁶ *Paris in 3D: From Stereoscopy to Virtual Reality 1850-2000*, exh. cat., François Reynaud, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby, eds. (Paris: Paris musées/Booth-Clibborn Editions, 2000), The press

was...used by an artisan in Willème's studio to carve out 1/24th of a cylindrical portion of the figure."¹⁷ Admiral Farragut posed for a photosculpture in the 1860s, as shown in figure 35. The ball over his head was a common object necessary in this process, as it would allow the 24 completed photographs to be correctly lined up during the tracing stage.

The "Société Général de Photosculpture de France" was established, according to Sorel, around this time with funds from a wealthy French banker named Pereire and from Paul Dalloz, the editor of *Le Moniteur universel*. Unfortunately, the photosculpture process was not very successful, and although the Société Général de Photosculpture de France continued to exist with Marnyhac promoting the process at the Wagram address into the 1870s, Willème closed his workshop on the premises in 1867. Marcello's friend Clésinger moved into Willème's space and converted it into a more traditional studio with the Salon de Pose rotunda converted into a traditional foundry.¹⁸ According to the Musée Carnavalet press release, only twenty sculptures made by this process are extant today. Since Marcello's *Abyssinian Chieftain* is not marked as a photosculpture, it is most likely not included in this number. Though the technique was revived in the early twentieth century, no major changes were ever made to the original process. Today, photosculpture is considered the earliest example of a modern technique called "rapid prototyping" and some have tried to advance the technique with laser technology. Unfortunate because it confuses matters, the word "photosculpture" is often used today to define contemporary works

release is available on the internet at: www.paris-france.org/musees/Musee_Carnavalet/dossier_presse_3D/principal_English.htm

¹⁷ Joseph J. Beaman, Chapter 3 of "Rapid Prototyping in Europe and Japan," JTEC/WTEC Panel Report, March 1997, at www.itri.loyola.edu/rp/toc.htm

¹⁸ Sorel, 82-3.

which are sculptures made out of photographs, in either a three-dimensional or collage-like manner.

Marcello may have employed Marnyhac to produce some of her casts of the *Abyssinian Chieftain*. A now-lost version of the *Abyssinian Chieftain* in marble and bronze, was sold to Marnyhac on 18 June 1870, during the Salon exhibition.¹⁹ On that day, Marcello copied the bill of sale for her personal records, noting that she had sold the bust to Marnyhac for 3000 francs and that she retained the right to produce future editions in marble or bronze.²⁰ Bessis lists Marnyhac's address as 42 avenue de Wagram, Paris, and notes that he was a founder with an atelier, which sold sculptures, bronzes, and molds, located at 1 rue de la Paix. The Salon cast that Marnyhac purchased (possibly a marble and bronze mixed-media piece²¹) was executed in Rome in 1869 and cast for the 1870 exhibition. Thiébaud may have cast it for the exhibition but this is uncertain, and as the work in question is lost, it is not possible to check for any identifying marks, stamps or seals. Émile de Girardin also purchased the marble cast of the *Abyssinian Chieftain* that he donated to the Musée du Luxembourg. This marble is believed to be the version now located in the collection of the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Although the photosculture process was originally used to create portrait busts and medallions, it also could have been used to successfully reproduce casts of marbles or bronzes already in existence, as was certainly the case with Marcello's *Abyssinian Chieftain*. Given the sales of *Abyssinian Chieftain* to Marnyhac and Girardin and her close

¹⁹ Salon of 1870, No. 4717.

²⁰ Draft of a letter or bill of sale in Marcello's hand, dated 18 June 1870, Archives FM. "Je reconnais avais reçu de M. Marnyhac, la somme de trois mille francs pour le bust en marbre du chef abyssin, qui est à l'exposition ne réservant le droit de l'éditer en marbre et en bronze. Fait à Paris ce 18 juin 1870. Marcello."

²¹ Bessis, 152.

ties to Clésinger (who used the Marnyhac foundry often and worked on the premises after 1867) it is most probable that Marcello did employ Marnyhac to produce casts of *Abyssinian Chieftain* and the smaller polychrome and mixed-media bronzes, although those currently known seem to lack foundry stamps and seals. Bronzes owned by the Marcello Foundation in Fribourg and the Dahesh Museum of Art in New York are fine casts that may have come from this foundry. They are similar in size and are produced with the use of polychromy/electroplating and a fine texture. A small foundry like Marnyhac often produced more exquisite and detailed casts overall because they did not have the pressure of constant demand, as did a foundry such as Barbedienne's.

It is unknown whether the Marnyhac firm closed or was subsumed by another company and now exists under another name. Today residential apartments, a real estate agency, and, somewhat fittingly, a specialty photography and camera shop, occupy the building at 42, avenue de Wagram.

Marcello's sculptures possibly cast by Marnyhac (no foundry marks exist on these works):

Abyssinian Chieftain, c. 1870, F.M.

Abyssinian Chieftain, c. 1870, Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

Abyssinian Chieftain, c. 1870, Private Collection, Zürich, Switzerland

Thiébaud et fils; Thiébaud frères

Thiébaud frères was one of the most productive foundries in the mid-nineteenth century. The firm was founded in 1789 by Charles Cyprien Thiébaud (1769-1830), who later went into partnership with his son Charles Antoine Floréal Thiébaud (b. 1794), who in turn left the business to his son Victor (b. 1828). During mid-century the foundry, renamed Thiébaud et fils and located at 144, rue de Faubourg Saint-Denis, Paris, had a successful business. Under Victor Thiébaud the foundry was at its height, producing works for the

major sculptors of the day and major public monuments such as the *St. Michel Conquering the Dragon* by François-Joseph Duret (1804-65) for the fountain on the place Saint-Michel and the *Napoleon I* by Augustin Dumont (1801-84) for the Vendôme column. In the late 1870s, Victor Thiébaut was beginning to lose his sight and thus left the business to his three sons Victor (1849-1908), Jules (1854-98) and Henri Léon (1855-99). Marcello began using the Thiébaut et fils foundry around 1869. Like Barbedienne, Thiébaut et fils manufactured arms during the war, and also resumed casting sculptures after the war, by such major sculptors of the day such as Barrias, Bartholdi, Dalou, Doré, and Mercié. In the late 1880s to early 1890s, Victor Thiébaut the younger found himself running the firm alone, and thus he yielded a part of the firm to Fumière et Gavignot. Bronzes cast after this merger are often marked "Thiébaut frères, Fumière et Gavignot SCT,"²² as is the cast of Marcello's *La Pythie* at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. After 1901, Thiébaut sold the firm, and, after numerous changes of hand, the foundry closed in 1926.

Marcello's sculptures cast by Thiébaut et fils:

Abyssinian Chieftain, 1870, unlocated (possibly the marble/bronze version purchased by Marnyhac in 1870, now lost/unlocated)

Pythia, 1870, Opéra Garnier, Paris

Pythia, 1870, M.A.H.F.(cast posthumously)

Fumière et Gavignot

As noted above, Fumière et Gavignot were the successors of the Thiébaut foundry and marked their casts "Thiébaut Frères, Fumière et Gavignot SCT" from the early 1890s to approximately 1901, when Thiébaut sold the firm. Fumière et Gavignot began their original firm around 1870, casting for artists such as Falguière, twenty years prior to joining forces with Thiébaut.

²² Kjellberg, 676.

The lack of archival information and scholarly research on nineteenth-century bronze foundries causes much bewilderment when evaluating bronzes from the period. Such confusion arose about the origins of the Philadelphia *Pythia* within the pages of Bessis 1980 text on Marcello:

Information is lacking on the origin of this sculpture; only the founder's mark is valueable, because one learns from it, if I read it correctly, that Gavignot sculpted this statue; understanding SCT to mean [the Latin] "sculpsit"....What concerns me of this is that the sons of Thiébaut were already founders. How would this Gavignot have worked [on this bronze]? After the recovered plaster of Thiébaut? After the *Pythia* of the Opéra?²³

Obviously Bessis was unaware of the merger between Thiébaut and Fumière et Gavignot after 1890. As successors to Thiébaut et fils, Fumière et Gavignot had the right to produce a reduced version of the *Pythia*, as Thiébaut was the original founder for the large version placed in the Opéra Garnier.

Marcello's sculptures cast by Fumière et Gavignot/Thiébaut Frères:

Pythia, 1870, Philadelphia Museum of Art, U.S.A

Pythia, 1870, (Sold by Sotheby's London, 12 December 2003).

A Note on *Praticiens* and other Assistants

Michel Terrapon mentions Marcello in connection with a few other workers in addition to her foundries, Barbedienne and Thiébaut (the latter he incorrectly spells "Thiébaud").²⁴ He does not make mention of Marnyhac, or the connection of Fumière et Gavignot with Thiébaut et fils or Thiébaut frères.

²³ Bessis, 166. "Les renseignements manquent sur l'origine de cette sculpture; seules les indications de fondeur sont précieuses, car l'on y apprend ainsi, si je lis bien, que c'est Gavignot qui a sculpté cette statue; comprenant le SCT comme sculpsit....Ce qui me confirme aussi dans cette idée, c'est que ce sont les fils de Thiébaut qui sont désormais les fondeurs. Comment donc aurait travaillé ce Gavignot? D'après le plâtre de Thiébaut retrouvé? D'après la Pythie de l'Opéra?"

²⁴ Michel Terrapon, "Questions de métier: A propos de l'oeuvre sculpté de Marcello," *Revue Suisse d'Art et d'archéologie* 38:2 (1981): 135-40.

Marcello employed her own *praticiens*, or professional carvers, in many cases to assist with the production of her works in marble. This was a common practice in the nineteenth century by both male and female sculptors. However, when male sculptors were found to have professional carvers in their employ, they were “forgiven,” as it was understood that the male sculptor was a creative genius who could not be bothered with the manual labor of carving that was thus left to a number of assistants with various talents and strengths. However, when female sculptors employed *praticiens*, it was seen as evidence of their own lack of skill and talent. This line of thought is developed further in the body of my text in Chapter One. Thus female sculptors were often less likely to publicize their use of *praticiens* outside the sculpture community. The debacle involving the American sculptor Harriet Hosmer is a perfect example as to why this was so.

Some of the names listed as Marcello’s *praticiens* in Bessis and in Michel Terrapon’s 1981 article “Questions de métier: A propos de l’oeuvre sculpté de Marcello,” are Victor Bernard (b. 1817, a friend and carver for Carpeaux with an active studio at 7, passage des Frères-Couronnés, Paris), Ambrogio Campi (active in Berne and Givisiez; Bessis refers to him as “Campi Ambrogio”; neither name is listed in Bénézit), Francesco Franzoni (active in Carrara, Italy and at 17, rue Daru, Paris, not in Bénézit, but possibly a relation to the Franzonis that are listed there with earlier dates who were active in Carrara from the eighteenth century), Pierre-Narcisse Jacques (1849-1904, a student of Carpeaux who was active in Nancy, Paris and Geneva), and Stephan Petit (not in Bénézit, but he had a studio at 16, rue Maublanc, Paris).²⁵ Terrapon mentions other assistants, but information about these workers is incomplete: Two *mouleurs* are mentioned, one “Cajani”, at passage

²⁵ Terrapon, 140.

Saint-Sébastien, Paris, and “Coli,” who worked at 58, rue Saint-Sabin and 24, petite rue Saint-Pierre, Paris. (Coli made gelatin molds, a process invented in 1844.) Other *praticiens* mentioned are “S. Collivert,” “Daumas,” of 11, chaussée du Maine, Paris, “Paggi,” who worked in Tessin (?) and Geneva, “Tegnagno,” of 36 rue Fessard, Paris, and “Toussaint,” of 13 rue de Dragon, Paris.

Pierre-Narcisse Jacques, who had a studio at 17, rue d’Enfer in Paris, was chosen by Marcello to produce casts in marble of her major works for the Musée d’art et d’histoire, Fribourg after her death, as laid out in her last will and testament, signed and dated 28 November 1877. Paris Salon *livrets* listed Jacques as a student of Carpeaux, and in fact the two were closely associated. Jacques’s studio was nearby one occupied by Carpeaux early in his career, at 25, rue d’Enfer, formally the studio of Carpeaux’s teacher, François Rude, and in fact Jacques also completed the marbles left in Carpeaux’s studio after his death.²⁶ Jacques was an artist in his own right, exhibiting portrait busts in the Paris Salon exhibitions of 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1880. Marcello died in 1879 and Jacques was soon at work completing her marbles for the Musée d’art et d’histoire in Fribourg; this may explain why his own work did not appear in the Salon of that year. Later Jacques became a “Professor of sculpture in stone and wood at the School of Industrial Arts in Geneva.”²⁷ Aside from the posthumous works produced by Jacques, Marcello worked very closely with the *praticiens* on the finished marbles, as evidenced by her numerous letters to them, most located in the archives of the Marcello Foundation in Fribourg.

²⁶ Jeanne L. Wasserman, ed., *Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, exh. cat. (Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 110, 112.

²⁷ Bénézit, vol. 6, p.14. “Professeur de sculpture sur pierre et sur bois à l’École des arts industriels de Genève.”

Terrapon also mentions a few other *marchands* (workers or merchants) including Antoine Basset of rue Béranger, Paris; Alphonse Giroux, of 43 boulevard des Capucines, Paris; M. Heggesser, of 28, rue Pigalle, Paris; and Auguste Klien, of 6 boulevard des Capucines, Paris.

As Terrapon suggests in his essay, every collaborative effort often is fraught with problems, and in sculpture production these problems often revolve around issues of scheduling and delays caused by assistants, the need for supplies and materials, arranging transportation of finished works, the level of control the assistant had and the limits on the liberties he could take with the finished product, and, of course and most importantly, money: costs and fees to be paid to these assistants. These problems are inherent to the medium, and all sculptors, male or female, deal with them during the course of their careers; Marcello was not spared these problems during her encounters with the people she employed. She insisted on trying all new techniques and forms of production, and worked hard to understand every aspect of the production of her works. As Terrapon noted, “She entered the system; [and] she seized upon all resources and means of the most modern forms of reproduction and diffusion.”²⁸ She also used photographs to survey and study her models and sketches, and to correct and foresee problems in works that had already been executed in more permanent media. Sculpture, as noted throughout this study, was an expensive medium, and such costs for materials and hired hands were to be expected.

²⁸ Terrapon, 140. “Elle est entrée dans le système; elle a saisi toutes les ressources des moyens les plus modernes de reproduction et de diffusion.”

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON ARTISTS IN THE MUSÉE MARCELLO
COLLECTION**Blanchard, Édouard-Théophile (1844-1879)**¹

Édouard-Théophile Blanchard was the son of the engraver Auguste Blanchard (1819-1898) and studied with François-Édouard Picot (1786-1868) and Alexandre Cabanel (1824-1889) at the École des beaux-arts in Paris. His oeuvre is comprised of mainly mythological scenes, landscapes and portraits. Blanchard won the Prix de Rome in 1868 with his *Death of Astyanax*. At the Salon he received a second-class medal in 1867 and a first-class medal in 1874. By 1877 he was *hors concours*.² He was known to have frequented high society in Paris and Rome and was part of Marcello's close circle of friends that included Henri Regnault, Georges Clairin, Ernest Hébert, and the composer Charles François Gounod. With Clairin and Regnault, he completed a restaurant panel sign (now lost).³ He died at the age of thirty-five, only a few months before Marcello, and left a wife and child. No text has yet been devoted to the study of Blanchard's works. In addition to Fribourg, his paintings can be found in museums at Bagnères-de-Bigorre, Cherbourg, and Paris.

¹ Although I have relied upon the catalogue raisonné or major text on each artist for information on their lives, many were also listed in Gérald Schurr, *1820-1920 Les Petits Maîtres de la peinture valeur de demain*, Four Volumes (Paris: Éditions de la Gazette, 1969-1975), 1 *passim*, especially where there was little or no information available from other sources.

² This was to be shown to be outside of the competition because of outstanding merit, and therefore the artist's work would not be subjected to jury scrutiny.

³ According to the 1999 edition of Bénézit, "Il réalisa, en collaboration avec G. Clairin and H. Regnault, un panneau pour une sale à manger."

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Portrait de Marcello (Duchesse de Castiglione Colonna), 1877, oil on canvas, signed on the base at the right: Ed Blanchard. H. 245 cm x L. 161 cm. [inches here]

Acquisition number M 61 (fig. 6-11).

Boulanger, Gustave-Clarence-Rodolphe (1824-1888)

Orphaned at fourteen, Boulanger was raised by his uncle, A.M. Desbrosses, who supported his nephew's interest in art. He studied with Pierre-Jules Jollivet (1794-1871) and Paul (Hippolyte) Delaroche (1797-1856). The latter had a great effect on Boulanger's development, and in Delaroche's atelier he met a number of the Néo-Grec painters of the 1840s and 1850s. The Néo-Grec style was one of the most popular revival styles of the century. Néo-Grec artists were interested in the reconstruction of antiquity and were particularly inspired by the ongoing excavations at Pompeii. This "group" included the artists Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), Henri-Pierre Picou (1824-1895), and Jean-Louis Hamon (1821-1874).

Boulanger's visits to Pompeii greatly influenced his work, and he specialized in scenes of the daily life of ancient Greeks and Romans and, like many of the artists in Marcello's circle, Middle Eastern subjects. He visited Algeria in 1845 and traveled to North Africa and the Near East in 1872 with Gérôme. The two works in Marcello's collection are examples of his Orientalist mode. Boulanger entered the École des beaux-arts in 1846, won the Prix de Rome in 1849, and was the fellow *pensionnaire* of the architect Charles Garnier. Their friendship led to a commission for Boulanger to paint a number of portraits of musical personalities in the Foyer de la Danse at

Garnier's Paris Opéra. Garnier devoted quite a few pages of his book, *Le nouvel Opéra* (1878-81), to Boulanger's panels (as well as to Marcello's *Pythia*).

In his later years, Boulanger was a member of the Institut de France and was an influential teacher at the Académie Julian.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Africaine (African), n.d., sanguine, signed: G. Boulanger. H. 0,315 x L. 0,18 cm.

Acquisition number M 62 (fig. 6-24).

Cavalier arabe (Arabian Horseman), n.d., drawing à la sanguine on beige paper, signed on the base on the left: G. Boulanger. H. 38 cm x L. 26 cm. M.A.H.F. acquisition number M 63. (Fig. 6-23)

Clairin, Jules-Georges-Victor (1843-1919)

Clairin was born in Paris in 1843, yet little is known of his early life. He entered the École des beaux-arts in 1861 where he studied under Picot and Isidore Pils (1813-1875). He first exhibited in the Paris Salon in 1866 and by 1868 traveled to Spain with Regnault. He admired the works of the Spanish painter Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (see below). Clairin was one of the last successful Orientalists in Paris, and continued to send Orientalist paintings to the Salons of the Société des Artistes Français until World War I. Today he is best known for his portraits of another female sculptor and actress, Sarah Bernhardt (née Bernard Rosine, 1844-1923). By the 1890s he had stopped traveling to North Africa and the Middle East, and concentrated mostly on

costume studies and theatricals. There is currently no major study or catalogue raisonné devoted to his life and work but his memoirs were edited by André Beaunier and published as *Les Souvenirs d'un peintre* (Paris: Charpentier, 1906). Clairin outlived most of his friends, dying at Belle-Ile-en-Mer, Morbihan in 1919.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Marcello dans son atelier (Marcello in her studio), 1871, oil on canvas, H. 64,5 cm x L. 77 cm. Acquisition number M 64 (fig. 6-10).

Corps de garde espagnol. (The Spanish Guard Corps), 1869, oil on canvas, signed at the left: G. Clairin 69. h. 0,82 x l. 1,05 cm. Acquisition number M 65 (fig. 6-44).

Clésinger, Jean-Baptiste (known as Auguste, 1814-1883)

Clésinger was a sculptor and painter, and the son of the sculptor Georges-Philippe Clésinger (1788-1852). At the age of eighteen, his father took him to Rome, where he studied with Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768/70-1844) and the architect Gaspare Salvi (1786-1849). The writer Alexandre Dumas and the publisher and writer Émile de Girardin were his friends and supporters. It was in 1847, his most important year, that he exhibited his *Woman Bitten By a Snake* (Paris, Musée d'Orsay) to great scandal and success.⁴ In the same year he married Solange-Gabrielle Dudevant, the daughter of George Sand. Their daughter Jeanne died of a minor ailment and they separated in 1852; he was later charged with bigamy. Clésinger was awarded the appointment of

⁴ See Patricia Mainardi, "French Sculpture, English Morals: Clésinger's *Bacchante* at the Crystal Palace, 1851," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (December 1983): 215-20.

Chevalier du Légion d'honneur and was raised to Officier in 1864. In that year, he joined the Society of Photosculpture and publicly promoted the sale of the Society's works in 1868 and 1870.⁵

Although his personal reputation was dreadful, his professional talents, especially in marble carving, were heralded and he was commercially very popular. The founder Barbedienne (who cast many of Marcello's works) bought the rights to his works in advance so that he could produce and sell them in a variety of sizes and media. Marnyhac, an important foundry involved with the photosculpture process, also produced many of Clésinger's works after 1870 (see Appendix A). Alexandre Estignard's *Clésinger, sa vie, ses oeuvres* of 1900 is the only existing catalogue devoted to the artist. The index of Clésinger's works in Estignard's text does not list anything by him as being owned by Marcello.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Paysage (Landscape), n.d., oil on canvas, H. 0,27 x L. 0,46 cm. Acquisition number M 66 (fig. 6-28).

Courbet, Jean-Désiré-Gustave (1819-1877)

Courbet was one of the most, if not the most, important painters of the mid-to-late nineteenth-century, although today his importance is often limited to his works of the late 1840s and early- to mid-1850s, and his commitment to Realism, a movement he fathered. His devotion to landscape painting as the ultimate form of Realism is

⁵ For a discussion of the Photosculpture technique, see Appendix A.

promoted most notably in his *Stonebreakers* (1849, formerly Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Dresden, now untraced⁶), workers representing “everyman” in a large landscape, and the *Painter’s Studio: A Real Allegory Determining A Phase of Seven Years of my Artistic Life* (1854-55, Paris, Musée d’Orsay), in which the central object is a landscape painting on an easel. The bibliographic material on this artist is immense, and his biography is well known among nineteenth-century scholars, thus it is not necessary to repeat it here. However, it is important to reiterate that he was largely self-taught, except for short stints at the Petit Séminaire in Ornans, the College Royal at Besançon, and at the private Academies Suisse and Lapin. Later he would publicly state that he did not believe art could be taught. His archenemy was the minister of Fine Arts, the Count Emilien de Nieuwerkerke (1811-1892), and in 1870 Courbet refused the prestigious Cross of the Légion d’honneur, on the principle that “When I am dead, they must be able to say of me, ‘That one never belonged to any school, to any church, to any institution, to any academy, and, above all, to any régime except the régime of freedom.’”⁷

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

⁶ Although the *Stonebreakers* is commonly believed to have been destroyed in 1945, the Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister in Dresden catalogued it as “missing” in 1987. While working on my Master’s Thesis on Courbet, I was made privy to a rumor known in Germany which held that the night before Dresden was bombed, many works of art were removed from the city and hidden, and that the *Stonebreakers* was among them. There is, unfortunately, no documented proof of this information to my knowledge.

⁷ Courbet to Maurice Richard, Paris, 23 June 1870. Published in *Siècle*, 23 June 1870. Reprinted and translated in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 378-80.

Paysage (Landscape), circa 1870, oil on canvas, signed on the base on the left: Gustave Courbet. H. 72 x L. 59 cm. Acquisition number M 67 (fig. 6-13).

Delacroix, Ferdinand-Eugène-Victor (1798-1863)

As with Courbet, Delacroix is considered one of the most accomplished and influential artists of the nineteenth century; thus it would not be beneficial to provide a brief capsule biography of him here. Suffice it to say that Marcello most likely met Delacroix sometime after she moved into her first Paris studio at 1, rue Bayard in 1859; the building was owned by Léon Riesener, a painter and cousin of Delacroix's.⁸ There are numerous letters written by Delacroix extant at the Archives of the Fondation Marcello. Additionally a figure study drawing by Delacroix is located at the Fondation. It is clear that Delacroix admired Marcello's sculpture and her persistence in producing paintings, as he noted in letters to his assistant Andrieu. These letters are discussed in Chapter Two.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Lion couché (Lion Reclining), 1849, oil on canvas, H. 31.5 x L. 67.5 cm. Acquisition number M 68. (Fig. 6-25)

Included in the 1885 Catalogue Robaut, No. 1762, Marcello purchased this work at the sale at M. Andrieu. It is not catalogued by Moreau, but is similar to the work catalogued in his text as No. 1050.⁹ Marcello knew of Delacroix's *Young Tiger*

⁸ See Chapter Two for a further discussion of the Rieseners.

⁹ See Moreau, 276.

Playing with his Mother, a similar work now in the Louvre, and made a copy after it.

Her drawing is now in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.

Le martyre de saint Just-Copie d'après Rubens (The martyrdom of Saint Just-Copy after Rubens), 1847, oil on cardboard, H 74 x L. 55 cm. Acquisition number M 69 (fig. 6-26).

This work was inspired by the painting by Rubens conserved at the Musée de Bordeaux. The work is not signed but it has a label on the back from the Delacroix sale of 1864. Also according to the M.A.H.F. documents, "legs de Marcello (qui avait acquis l'oeuvre lors de la vente de la Coll. Piron, Paris, 1864, n. 163.)" This work was incorrectly titled *The Miracle of St. Just-Copy after Rubens* in the guide found in Zurich.

Le châtiment d'Héliodore [or Héliodore chassé du temple. Esquisse.] (*The Punishment of Heliodoros, or Heliodoros Driven from the Temple. Study.*), 1852, oil on canvas, H. 56 x L. 38 cm. Acquisition number M 70 (fig. 6-15).

Hercule et le lion de Némée (Hercules and the Nemean Lion), 1849 (acc. M.A.H.F. 1852), oil on canvas, H. 24 x L. 47 cm. Acquisition number M 71. (Fig. 6-27)

This study for a tympanum in the Salon de la Paix at the Hôtel de Ville holds a certain importance in Delacroix's oeuvre because the finished painting was destroyed in 1871. Although not catalogued by Moreau, it is included in Robaut as number 1131. The Robaut catalogue does not, however, mention that this work had been sold to

Marcello; he only knew it to have been sold as lot number 43 at the posthumous Delacroix sale to Andrieu for 406 francs. According to the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg, the work was acquired from Andrieu at the Delacroix sale of 1864.¹⁰

Fortuny, Mariano y Marsal (1838-1874)

Mariano Fortuny was one of the most successful Spanish painters of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Under the wing of his paternal grandfather he studied the basics and later went to Barcelona with him to seek further artistic instruction. He studied most notably under Domingo Talamá (active 1838-1891 in Barcelona) and Claudio Lorenzale y Sugrues (1814-1889), the latter a follower of the German painter Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869). The lithographs of Paul Gavarni (the pseudonym of Chevalier Sulpice Guillaume, 1804-1866) inspired Fortuny, and in the 1860s the latter's own prints would have a flourishing market. In March of 1858 Fortuny arrived in Rome on a scholarship, where he was greatly inspired by the works of Velázquez (1599-1660) and Raphael Sanzio (1483-1520). In 1860 he was sent to Morocco to record scenes of the Spanish War; the trip changed his style one of strict academicism to one that utilized vibrant colors, freer brushstroke and a lighter palette. When he returned to Rome in later years, his style attracted many imitators and his work gave rise to the style known as *Fortunismo*. He received many commissions and Goupil and Company reproduced his works with great success. Fortuny had a successful year in Paris (1869-70).

¹⁰ Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, Archives. "legs de Marcello, qui avait dû l'acquérir d'Andrieu (vente Delacroix 1864, No. 121.)"

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Etude de tête d'homme (Study of the head of a man), vers 1868, oil on canvas, H. 46 x L. 35. Acquisition number M 72 (fig. 6-35).

This work was not listed on the flier from Swiss Institute for Art Research, Zurich. This must be the work that was listed for Fortuny without a title or any information.

Le dieu Mars (The god Mars), after Vélasquez, watercolor. H. 0,25 x L. 0,135 cm. Acquisition number M 73 (fig. 6-36).

This is a study after Velázquez's *Le dieu Mars* in the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Deux études de nus (Two Studies of Nudes), vers 1868, "lavis à l'encre sepia, rehausse de gouache blanche." Each, H. 22 x L. 13 cm. Signed "sur B, en bas à dr. (coupée): Fortuny." Acquisition number M 74 a + b (fig. 6-37a and 37b).

Style of **Greuze, Jean-Baptiste** (1725-1805)

Although Marcello certainly admired the work of Greuze, she was most likely not an expert at identifying his authentic works. The attribution of this work is questioned by the Musée d'art et d'histoire, as it had been when it first entered the collection of the Musée Marcello in 1881. The Catalogue de Musée cantonal de Fribourg of 1882, mentioned above, was the first to note that the work may have been an old copy after Greuze. Today the museum classifies the work as "attribution

insoutenable: copie médiocre.” It is unclear whether the work is a period copy after Greuze or a later copy in the manner of Greuze.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Tête de jeune fille (Head of a Young Girl), eighteenth century, oil on canvas, unframed.

Measurements not given. Acquisition number M 75.

Hébert, Antoine-Auguste-Ernest (1817-1908)

Born in Grenoble, Hébert began to study drawing at the age of ten. On the advice of his father he went to Paris to study law, but was drawn immediately to the world of art. While he continued his studies in law, he took lessons in drawing and painting with Pierre-Jean David d'Angers (1788-1856) and Delaroche. He entered the École des beaux-arts in 1836. Within three years he had accomplished much: he passed his law exams, won the Prix de Rome, and debuted at the Salon. While at the Villa Medici he worked under two influential directors, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) and Victor Schnetz (see entry on Schnetz, below). In later years he would himself become the director of the French Academy, holding the post from 1868 to 1873, and then again from 1885 to 1890. His most celebrated painting was *La Mal'aria*, exhibited in the Salon of 1850-51 (now in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris). Although most of his works fit into the category of Romanticism, his style changed with the times, and his productions from the 1880s and 1890s were categorically Symbolist. Hébert's life spanned almost the entire century, and he outlived most of his

friends; he even exhibited work at the Paris Exposition universelle of 1900. He died in La Tronche, Isère (near Grenoble) in 1908.

The most recent major text on Hébert's life and works is by a descendant, René Patris d'Uckermann, entitled *Ernest Hébert 1817-1908*, published in 1982.¹¹ One can today visit two separate branches of the Musée Hébert, one in Paris, known as la musée national Ernest Hébert, at 85 Rue du Cherche-Midi and the other in La Tronche, known as the Musée Ernest Hébert - Fondation Hébert-d'Uckermann.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Italienne (An Italian [woman]), n.d., oil on canvas, H. 0,42 x L. 0,31 cm. Acquisition number M 76 (fig. 6-32).

Petite mendiante (Little Beggar [female]), n.d., watercolor, H. 0,285 x L. 0,20 cm. On the left at the base: à Marcello Hébert. Acquisition number M 77 (fig. 6-33).

La Pythie, d'après Marcello (Marcello's *La Pythie*), 1869, pencil drawing in black and white (acc. M.A.H.F., "dessin aux deux crayons, papier gris"), H. 43 x L. 20,5 cm. On the base at the right, the monogram: H. Acquisition number M 78 (fig. 6-34).

Protais, Paul-Alexandre (1826-1890)

Protais studied with Amédée Auguste Desmoulins (dates unknown, active during the second half of the nineteenth century) and also served in the French Army

¹¹ René Patris d'Uckermann, *Ernest Hébert 1817-1908* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1982).

during the Crimean War as a soldier and an official painter of battles. He debuted as a soldier in 1855 and as a painter in the Salon of 1857. As would be expected, most of his subjects depict battles and scenes of the effects of war, and often reflect his painful experiences and, later in his life, his pessimistic view of war.¹² He exhibited military paintings in almost every Salon exhibition from 1857 to 1881.¹³ In 1865, he received the medal of the Légion d'honneur as a *chevalier* and was awarded again in 1877 as an *officier*. He won medals in the Salons of 1863, 1864, and 1865, thus earning him the label of *hors concours*. Some of his works were copied and sold as popular engravings; he was well known in his day and Eugène Giraud painted his portrait in watercolor as part of a long series of celebrity figures in 1869.¹⁴

Protais' work was recently, although briefly, discussed in François Robichon's *L'Armée Française, vue par les peintres, 1870-1914* (1998). Protais' large and most significant painting *Le Drapeau et l'Armée* (1878-81, Salle des Maréchaux, ministère de la Défense, Paris), commissioned in 1878 from the Ministry of War and exhibited in the Salon of 1881 was featured in the catalogue. His works can be found today in museums in Bayeux, Chantilly, Grenoble, Limoges, Marseille, Orléans, Paris, Rouen, and Versailles.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

¹² François Robichon, *L'Armée Française, vue par les peintres, 1870-1914* (Paris: Éditions Herscher, 1998), 148.

¹³ Protais did not exhibit in the paintings section of the salons of 1879 and 1880, probably because he was working on his large *Le Drapeau et l'Armée*, commissioned in 1878.

¹⁴ P.-A. Lemoisne, "Les soirées du Louvre, aquarelles d'Eugène Giraud conservées au Cabinet des Estampes," *Bulletin de la Société de L'Histoire de L'Art Français* II (1920): 275-352. The portrait is mentioned on page 338.

Soldat mort (Dead Soldier), n.d. [1866?], Drawing, with dedication ("to Mme la Duchesse Colonna") and signature. H. 0,27 x L. 0,51 cm. Acquisition number M 82 (fig. 6-43).

Regnault, Alexandre-Georges-Henri (1843-1871)

Regnault was considered a prodigy who, had he lived, may have become the greatest painter at the turn of the century. The son of the photographer and printmaker Henri-Victor Regnault (1808-1878), he was sent to Paris at the age of eighteen to study at the École des beaux-arts with Louis Lamothe (1822-1869) and Cabanel. He won the Prix de Rome in 1866 and quickly began work on large historical subjects. In 1868 he traveled to Madrid with Georges Clairin, whom he had met at the École in 1861. They later traveled together to Granada, Morocco, and Tangier. Marcello traveled with Regnault and Clairin to Spain and Rome between 1868 and 1869. The architecture, climate, people, and places he experienced heavily influenced Regnault, and he made many large Orientalist paintings of which *Salomé* (1870, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and *Execution without Judgement under the Moorish Kings of Granada* (1870, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) are the best known.

Although his Prix de Rome exempted him from military service, he volunteered as a foot soldier during the Franco-Prussian War. Shortly before the end of the war, Regnault was killed by a stray bullet in an instance of friendly fire that was said to have been responsible for the death of more than five hundred soldiers at Buzenval.¹⁵ He was twenty-seven years old. His naked body was brought to Père Lachaise cemetery

¹⁵ Rupert Christiansen, *Paris Babylon: The Story of the Paris Commune* (New York and London: Penguin, 1994), 257.

where Clairin found it and identified it as Regnault's. Clairin wrote in his memoirs of washing Regnault's face, matted with blood, while the sculptor Louis-Ernest Barrias (1841-1905) made a plaster death mask, later sent to the Musée Carnavalet.¹⁶

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Portrait du Général Milan del Bosc (Portrait of General Milan del Bosch), 1868-69, oil on canvas, H. 114 cm x L. 71. Acquisition number M 83 (fig.6-12).

According to the 1947 Musée Marcello Zurich guide, "Milan del Bosc[h], of whom Marcello created a very expressive bust, was, with General Prim, among the principal figures of the Spanish insurrection of 1868."¹⁷

Muletier espagnol, (Spanish Mule-Tender), 1868-69, oil on canvas, H. 66 x L. 64 cm. Acquisition number M 84 (fig. 6-14).

Robert-Fleury, Tony (1837-1912)

Tony Robert-Fleury was the son of the painter Joseph Nicolas Robert-Fleury (1797-1890), and he studied with Delaroche and Léon Cogniet (1794-1880). He debuted at the Salon of 1864 and won medals in 1866, 1867, and a medal of honor in 1870, chevalier of the Légion d'honneur in 1873, among other awards. He was a long time professor at the Académie Julian in Paris. Marcello knew him personally as there

¹⁶ André Beaunier, *Les Souvenirs d'un peintre* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1906), 195-97.

¹⁷ "Musée Marcello, Fribourg; Collection léguée par la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna," (c. 1947), 3.

exists a letter from him to her at the Archives of the Fondation Marcello. She briefly mentions him once in her memoirs.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Portrait de jeune femme (Portrait of a Young Woman), n.d., oil on wood, H. 0,22 x L. 0,16. Acquisition number M 85 (fig. 6-41).

Rosales Martínez, Eduardo (1836-1873)

Rosales was a Spanish prodigy who, like Regnault, died before he could realize his full potential. His battle with tuberculosis began when he was twenty and he was often destitute. He was able to make a trip to Rome that greatly influenced him. He won a gold medal at the 1867 Exposition universelle (for his *Testament of Isabella the Catholic*) and the Légion d'honneur in the same year. He traveled often between Paris, Rome, and his native Spain in the later 1860s, and certainly must have met Marcello during one of these excursions in the later 1860s. In 1873 he was offered the directorship of the Prado Museum in Madrid, which he refused, but he did accept the directorship of the Academia de España in Rome but he died soon after. Today many of his works are in the collection of the Prado in Madrid, and he has been the subject of a number of books published in Madrid.

Although textual evidence is lacking, Marcello's early biographer Odette d'Alcantara held that Rosales was the model for *La Bacchante fatiguée*, one of Marcello's most successful sculptures, exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1869 (see Chapter Three). It has been suggested that Marcello used Rosales' facial features for

this work, and she did make a drawing of him, which exists in the collection of the Fondation Marcello.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Etude de jeune homme en costume Renaissance (Study of a Young Man in a Renaissance Costume), n.d., Sanguine (red chalk?) heightened with white. (acc. M.A.H.F., “dessin à la sanguine rehaussée de gouache blanche / papier beige.) H. 26 x L. 14 cm. Signed at the left: “A mon amie Mad.e Colonna Rosales” Acquisition number M 86 (fig. 6-22).

Rudder, Louis-Henri de (1807-1881)

Although he has faded from art historical memory, Rudder exhibited drawings, lithographs and paintings in Paris Salon exhibitions over a period spanning seven decades. He is known best as a painter of history and for his drawings *à la sanguine*, but he also produced religious subjects, genre scenes, and portraits. Born in Paris, he studied at the Académie Suisse and the Académie Boudin where he met Honoré Daumier (1798-1879). Rudder also studied with Baron Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835) and Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet (1792-1845) at the École des beaux-arts in Paris. Rudder began exhibiting his work at the Paris Salon at the age of seventeen, but his name first appears in the Salon livret for 1834 (when he would have been twenty-seven). He received a third-class medal in 1840 and a second-class medal in 1848. Charles Baudelaire called him both “sérieux,” and “inférieurs,” in the same breath in

his salon review of 1845.¹⁸ Rudder was elected as a *chevalier* of the Légion d'honneur in 1863 and he was listed as *hors concours* in the salon livret of 1866. Many of his early paintings depicted characters from the writings of Shakespeare (for example his *Hamlet* of 1839); Sir Walter Scott (*Marimon*, 1838), and Victor Hugo (*Claude Frollo*, 1837). Rudder's later works are more religious in nature. His portrait of *Maréchal Soult* (not dated) is in the collection of the Château de Versailles, and is among many other works that the State purchased from him during his lifetime.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Tête de vieillard (Head of a Bearded Man), 1866, sanguine, H. 0,42 x L. 0,36. Signed at right: de Rudder 1866. Acquisition number M 87 (fig. 6-42).

In the Salon of 1866, Rudder exhibited two paintings and two drawings; one of the drawings was *à la sanguine*, entitled *Tête d'homme*. Although quite possible, it is not clear whether Marcello's drawing is that which was exhibited in the Salon.

Schnetz, Jean Victor (1787-1870)

Although his family was originally from the canton of Solothurn in Switzerland, Schnetz was born at Versailles. He descended from a long line of Swiss sculptors. A painter and printmaker, he entered the École des beaux-arts in Paris at the age of fifteen and studied under Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), François Gérard (1770-1837), Antoine-(Jean-)Louis Gros (1771-1835), and Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829). Schnetz had his Salon debut in 1808 and continued to exhibit there until 1867. He was greatly inspired by the Italian countryside and people, and these subjects made up the

¹⁸ Baudelaire, Salon de 1845.

large portion of his oeuvre. The correspondence between Schnetz and the Neo-classical painter and his great friend Francois-Joseph Navez (1787-1869) (conserved at the Bibliothèque royale des Bruxelles) has been instrumental to scholars in understanding Schnetz's life and artistic sensibilities.¹⁹ Schnetz's works are significant because they bridged current styles, in his case the styles of Neo-classicism and Romanticism. His important 1839 mural for the Hôtel de Ville, entitled *Battle at the Hôtel de Ville, 29 July 1830*, was destroyed in 1871. He was made a member of the Academy in 1837 and received the Légion d'Honneur in 1843.

Schnetz became the director of the French Academy in Rome in 1841 until 1846 and was so popular that he was reappointed in 1853, remaining at that post until 1866. Schnetz returned to Paris in 1866 and lived in a small apartment on the rue Cuvier near the Jardin des Plantes where he lived until his death in 1870 at the age of eighty-three.²⁰

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Etude de tête pour le sac d'Aquilée par Attila (Study of a head for the Sacking of Aquileia by Attila), 1867, drawing with three pencils on paper (in pen it is written on M.A.H.F. card "cintré"), H. 28,5 x L. 35 cm. Signed and dedicated on the base at the right (* cf verso). Dedication reads "A Madame la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna – Son serviteur dévoué – V.r Schnetz – Paris 7bre 1867" Acquisition number M 88. (fig. 6-30).

¹⁹ There has been a renewed interest in Navez in recent years, especially after the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York acquired his *Massacre of the Innocents* in the late 1990s.

²⁰ Laurence Chesneau-Dupin, et al. *Jean-Victor Schnetz, 1787-1870, Couleurs d'Italie* (Cabourg, France: Editions Cahiers du Temps, 2000). The drawings by Schnetz in the Fribourg collection are reproduced on pages 123 and 153.

Tête de vieillard (Head of An Old Man, light beard), 1867, drawing with three pencils on paper. H. 31 x L. 23 cm. Signed with dedication on the base at the left: * cf verso. Dedication reads; “A Madame – la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna Son dévoué-Serviteur et admirateur – Vr Schnetz” Acquisition number M 89. (fig. 6-31).

Simonetti, Attilio (1843-1925)

An Italian who was born and died in Rome, Simonetti was the close friend of Fortuny, and significant correspondence between the two was published in *Gazette des beaux-arts* in 1875. He worked primarily in Rome and Naples and in the Orientalist style. He was a member of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome and went to Morocco in 1860. He traveled with Fortuny and was one of the founders of the Watercolorists Association (Associazione degli Acquarellisti) of Rome in 1875. In 1880 he organized one of the most famous Roman carnivals of the period. According to the small catalogue, “Marcello s’initia à l’aquarelle dans son atelier (1869)” (Marcello was herself introduced to watercolor in his atelier.)

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

Italienne (Italian [woman]), n.d. [after 1863], watercolor. H. 0,37 x L. 0,19. Signed: A.S. Acquisition number M 79 (fig. 6-38).

This work is a drawing after Marcello’s *Bianca Capello*.

Sérénade à la Madone (Serenade of a Lady), n.d., watercolor. H. 43 x L. 28. Signed on the base on the right: Simonetti. Acquisition number M 80 (fig. 6-39).

Jeune femme portant un panier (Young Woman Carrying a Basket), n.d., watercolor.

H. 0,28 x L. 0, 18. Acquisition number M 81 (fig. 6-40).

According to the M.A.H.F., “No. 44 du catalogue de 1887. – Signalé comme sorti dans l’Invent. de 1924, et cependant present.” (Translate this properly. It seems like it means: “Noted as sold in the inventory of 1824, and yet [it is] present.”

Velazquez, Luis-Gonzales (1715-1764)

Luis Velasquez was an eighteenth-century painter active in Madrid, best known for his frescoes in the lunettes of the cupola of the Church of Saint-Gaétan in Madrid. Little else is known about him.

Represented in the original Musée Marcello by the following work(s):

(Studio of/Workshop of or old copy after), 17th Century, *L’Infante Marguerite* (The Infanta Marguerite), n.d., oil on canvas, no measurements given. Acquisition number M 90.

This painting is a replica, with variants, of the portraits of the Infanta by Velásquez. These period replicas were often made by Velásquez’s students, in particular Juan Carreno de Miranda (1614-1685).

Unknown Artists

Inconnu (unknown artist), **Spanish school, second half of the 16th century**, *Portrait d'une Infante* (either it is Portrait of the Infanta or Portrait of a Child)., n.d., oil on canvas, H. 1,10 x L. 0,79 cm. Acquisition number M 91.

Inconnu (unknown artist), **Netherlandish school, 17th century**, *Jeune garçon offrant des raisins à un singe* (Young Boy Offering Grapes to a Monkey), n.d., oil on canvas, H. 1,31 x L. 1,08 (?) Acquisition number M 92.

Also Listed in the Musée d'art et d'histoire card file:

Bianca Capello, drawing 18,5 x 18,5. MAHF acquisition number M 93. Noted on card:

"Ne figur (?) pas dans le catalogue de 1887. Mentionné de l'Invent. de 1924.

Six tapestries, MAHF acquisition numbers M 94-99.

APPENDIX C

ORIGINAL CONTENTS OF THE MUSÉE MARCELLO

Contents of the Musée Marcello, circa 1881-1882¹

Première salle – Sculptures [First Gallery – Sculptures]

Le portrait en pied de Mme la Duchesse Colonna (Marcello), figurant dans cette salle, a été peint en 1876 par *Edouard Blanchard*, artiste français mort en 1879. [The full-length portrait of Madame Duchess Colonna (Marcello), presented in this room, was painted in 1876 by *Edouard Blanchard*, a French artist who died in 1879.]

- 1). **Marcello:** Ananké (Original, 1866)
- 2). --- Chef abyssin (1870)
- 3). --- Marie-Antoinette au Temple (1866)
- 4). --- La Gorgone (1865)
- 5). --- La Belle Romaine (1866)
- 6). --- Marie-Antoinette-Dauphine (1866)
- 7). --- La Baronne de Keffenbrinck – Ascheraden (Original, 1877)
- 8). **Marcello:** Ecce-Homo (1877)
- 9). --- La Princesse Suzanne Czartoriska, née princesse de Caraman-Chimay (Statue original, 1869)
- 10). --- Bianca Capello (1863)
- 11). --- La Bacchante fatiguée (1868)
- 12). --- Phoebé (1875)
- 13). --- Medjé (1877)
- 14). --- Elisabeth, impératrice d’Autriche (1870)

Deuxième salle – peintures et dessins (Second Gallery – Paintings and Drawings)

- 1). **Marcello:** *Portrait de Mlle Bazire*. [Portrait of Miss Bazire]
- 2). --- *Etude*, aquarelle. [Study, watercolor]
- 3). **Rosales** († 1869): *Dessin*, crayon rouge. [Drawing, red crayon]
- 4). **Boulanger**, Gustave (1824 -): *Cavalier arabe*, crayon rouge. [Arabian Rider, red crayon]

¹ The following is a reprinted list of the contents of the Musée Marcello as published in *Catalogue de Musée Cantonal de Fribourg* (Fribourg: Imprimerie L. Fragnière, 1882), 13-16, with text by Louis Grangier. I have given English translations where necessary. I have left errors in place, following them with the abbreviation “[sic].” Original italics have been retained.

- 5). **Delacroix**, Eugène (1799-1863): *Lion couché*. [Seated Lion]
- 6). **Regnault**, Henri (1843-1871): *Muletier espagnol*, ébauche. [Spanish Mule Tender, oil
sketch]
- 7). --- *Portrait du Général Milanez del Bosck [sic]*, commandant de la Nouvelle-Castille, ébauche (1869). [Portrait of General Milans del Bosch, commander of New-Castella, sketch]
- 8). **Marcello**: *La Querelle*, aquarelle. [The Quarrel, watercolor]
- 9). **Clésinger**, J.B. (1821-): *Paysage*. [Landscape]
- 10). **Schnetz**, Jean-Victor (1878-1870): *Tête de vieillard*, aux trois crayons. [Head of an Elderly Bearded Man, in three pencils]
- 11). **Marcello**: *La Conjuraton de Fiesque*, tableau inachevé. [The Fieschi Conspiracy, unfinished painting]
- 12). --- *Etude*, aux tris crayons [Study, three pencils]
- 13). **Hébert**, Ernest (1817-): *Italienne*. [Italian Woman]
- 14). **Marcello**: *Le Luthier de Crémone*, dessin. [Luthier of Cremona, drawing]
- 15). **Delacroix**, Eugène: *Saint-Denys*. [Saint Denis, but probably: The Martyrdom of St. Just]
- 16). **Marcello**: *Chef indien*. [Indian Chief]
- 17). --- *Etude*, aquarelle. [Study, watercolor]
- 18). **Hébert**, Ernest: *Dessin d'après la Pythie de Marcello*. [Drawing after Marcello's Pythia]
- 19). **Fortuny** (1839-1869 [sic]): *Tête de etude*. [Head study]
- 20). **Marcello**: *La Polonaise*. [The Polish Dancer]
- 21). --- *Femme de Nice*. [Woman of Nice]
- 22). --- *Copie d'après Velasquez*. [Copy after Velasquez](Musée Rath).
- 23). --- *Le Carliste*, aquarelle. [The Carlist (a supporter of Don Carlos), watercolor]
- 24). --- *Turco assis*, plume. [Seated Turk, pen drawing]
- 25). **Hébert**, Ernest: *Une Mendiante*, aquarelle. [A Beggar, watercolor]
- 26). **Marcello**: *Un Incroyable*. [Incredible]
- 27). --- *Portrait de Mme de Talnay*. [sic] [Portrait of Madame de Tallenay]
- 28). **Courbet**, Gustave (1819-1877): *Paysage*. [Landscape]
- 29). **Marcello**: *Il Gessatore*, plume. [The Manager, pen drawing]
- 30). --- *Femme de brigand*, aquarelle. [Wife of a Thief, watercolor]
- 31). --- *Une Mendiante*, plume. [A Beggar, pen drawing]
- 32). **Fortuny**: *Guerrier romain*, aquarelle. [Roman Warrior, watercolor]
- 33). **Simonetti**, à Rome: *Italienne*, aquarelle. [Italian, watercolor]
- 34). **Marcello**: *Copie d'après Jean Bellini* (1875). [Copy after Giovanni Bellini]
- 35). **Delacroix**, Eugène: *Esquisse d'un tableau de la chapelle des SS. Anges à St. Sulpice* (Paris). [Sketch of a painting at the Chapel of the Holy Angels at St.-Sulpice (Paris)]
- 36). **Marcello**: *Portrait de jeune fille*, pastel. [Portrait of a young girl, pastel]
- 37). --- *Portrait de Mme Manet*, (inachevé). [Portrait of Mme Manet (Berthe Morisot), unfinished]
- 38). --- *Marchande de poisson*, à Naples. [Fish Merchant in Naples].

- 39). **Fortuny**: *Etude*, sepia. [Study, sepia]
- 40). **Schnetz**: *Tête de étude*, aux trois crayons. [Head Study, three pencils]
- 41). **Simonetti**: *Sérénade à la Madone*, aquarelle. [Serenade to a Lady, watercolor]
- 42). **Ecole espagnole**: *Une Infante* [Spanish School, The Infanta].
- 43). **Marcello**: *La Rieuse*, plume. [The Laughing Woman, pen drawing]
- 44). **Simonetti**: *Jeune femme*, aquarelle. [Young Woman, watercolor]
- 45). **Marcello**: *Portrait de Mme B.* [Portrait of Madame B.]
- 46). **Robert-Fleury**, Tony (1838-): *Portrait*. [Portrait]
- 47). **Marcello**: *Femme orientale*, aquarelle. [Oriental Woman, watercolor]
- 48). --- *Etude de Bédouin*, aquarelle. [Study of a Bédouin, watercolor]
- 49). **Greuze** (attribué) [Attributed]: *Tête*. [Head]
- 50). **Boulanger**: *Africaine*, crayon rouge. [African, red pencil]
- 51). **Marcello**: *Une Japonaise*, aquarelle. [A Japanese Woman, watercolor]
- 52). **Rudder**, Louis-Henri (1807-): *Tête de vieillard*. [Head of an Old Man]
- 53). **Protais**, Alexandre-Paul (1826-): *Soldat mort*, dessin. [Dead Soldier, drawing]
- 54). **Marcello**: *Fleurs*. [Flowers].
- 55). --- *Turco*, aquarelle. [Turk, watercolor]
- 56). --- *Esclave et Pacha*, aquarelle. [Slave and Pacha, watercolor]
- 57). **Clairin**: *Corps de garde tunisien*. [Tunisian Guard Corps].
- 58). **Marcello**: *Portrait de Miss Coks*. [Portrait of Miss Coks]
- 59). --- *Aquarelle*, d'après Gainsborough. [Watercolor, after Gainsborough]
- 60). --- *Portrait de Mme Mohl*. [Portrait of Madame Mohl]
- 61). --- *Tête de étude*. [Head Study]
- 62). --- *Un Laquais*, plume. [A Servant, pen drawing]
- 63). --- *Etudes*, aquarelle. [Studies, watercolor]
- 64). --- *Etudes*, plume. [Studies, pen drawings]
- 65). --- *Etude de jeune fille*, aux trois crayons. [Study of a Young Girl, three pencils]
- 66). --- *Portrait d'un Père Bénédictin*. [Portrait of a Benedictine Father]
- 67). --- *Une Religieuse*. [A Nun]
- 68). **Ecole flamande** [Flemish School]: *Jeune garçon avec un singe*.
[Young Boy with a Monkey].
- 69). **Velasquez**, Louis Gonzales (1715-1764): *Une infante*. [An Infanta]
- 70). **Clairin**: *L'Atelier de Marcello*. [The Studio of Marcello]
- 71). **Marcello**: *Portrait d'une Vénitienne*. [Portrait of a Venetian]
- 72). **Marcello**: *La Pythie* (bronze), réduction de celle du grand opera. [*Pythia*, (bronze)
reduced size of the work in the Grand Opera]. (1866)
- 73). --- *La Belle Hélène*, bronze. [The Beautiful Helen (of Troy), bronze]
- 74). **Michelangelo**: *Le Jour et la Nuit*, bronzes. [Day and Night, bronzes]
- 75). --- *Le Penseur*, bronze. [The Thinker, bronze]
- 76). **Marcello**: *La Rosina*, terre cuite. [Rosina, terra cotta] (1869).

Anciens meubles italiens (Renaissance), *Gobelins*, *Majoliques* de Florence, etc. [Also Renaissance furniture, Gobelins [Tapestries], Majolica of Florence, etc.]

The six tapestries are:

César tuant un géant invaincu [Caesar Killing an Undefeated Giant]

Verdure des Flandres [Greenery of Flanders]

Verdure des Flandres

Verdure des Flandres

Verdure des Flandres

Verdure des Flandres

APPENDIX D

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MUSÉE MARCELLO

Chronology of the Musée Marcello

- 28 November 1877 Adèle Colonna (Marcello) finalizes her Last Will and Testament. Article 9 of the Testament details the conditions of the donation of a selected group of her own sculptures and a large portion of her private collection. She allots 50,000 Francs (it is not clear if she meant French or Swiss francs) for the production of her most famous sculptures to be carved by her *praticien* Narcisse Jacques. She gives an additional 5,000 “francs” for the decoration of the rooms. The most important rules of the testament are that the works are to be shown all together, in a setting resembling an atelier, and they are never to be separated or sold.
- 15 July 1879 On the day before she dies, Marcello adds a codicil to her testament stating that if, after five years of the opening of her museum in Fribourg, her descendants felt that her works were not receiving the best critical and public exposure, they should exercise the right to move the collection to either the cantons of Bern or Geneva to make her works better known.
- 16 July 1879 Marcello dies in Castellemmare di Stabia, Italy (near Naples) from tuberculosis, with which she had battled for more than a decade.
- 1879-1880 Elisa de Boccard, Marcello’s cousin and fellow artist, and the Countess Lucie d’Affry, Marcello’s mother, are chosen to lead the members of the Commission of the Musée Marcello.
- 14 May 1880 An agreement (convention) is reached between the State of Fribourg and Baron Maurice d’Ottenfels, Marcello’s brother-in-law. In Article 1 of this convention, the Baron agrees to allow the Marcello Collection to become the definitive property of the State of Fribourg. It is also decided to install the Musée Marcello in two rooms on the ground floor of the lycée of the College St.-Michel. The

- collection of the Cantonal Museum of Fribourg (opened in 1823) is also displayed at the lycée.
- 29 July 1881 Musée Marcello opens to the public by official ceremony.
- 1889 The Catholic International University of Fribourg (now known as the Université de Fribourg) is founded. Course lectures are held in the lycée of the College St.-Michel, while the Cantonal Museum of Fribourg and the Musée Marcello are still displayed there.
- 2 March 1896 The reception room for the Société fribourgeoise des amis des beaux-arts is opened in the Maison d'Affry. The room is decorated with works by Marcello and her cousin Elisa de Bocard (fig. 6-49, these works were not part of the Marcello Collection). This building will later be considered as a possible home for the refitting of the Musée Marcello.
- 1917-1924 The Cantonal Museum of Fribourg (renamed the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg), which had also been installed in the lycée, is moved to the Hôtel Ratzé, at 12, rue de Morat in Fribourg. The Musée Marcello is not moved there.
- 22 June 1936 It is decided by museum officials that the lycée was to be changed into an *aula maxima* (large lecture hall) for the Université de Fribourg.
- 1939 Construction of the new University building, on the site of the old Miséricorde cemetery, begins at this time. Courses for the University continue to be held at the lycée.
- 1941 Construction of the Miséricorde campus of the Université de Fribourg is completed. It seems that by this time the Musée Marcello is closed to the public and the collection is moved to storage at the State Archives of Fribourg.
- 15 May 1942 Marcello's descendants, in particular Odette d'Alcantara and Fred de Diesbach, begin discussion of whether to bring legal action against the State of Fribourg for failing to uphold Marcello's testament. As their letters pass through Brussels and Germany, they are opened and read by Nazi mail control.

- 21 November 1942 The legal firm of Bartsch, Dupraz and Richter of Fribourg are secured to represent Marcello's descendants.
- 1944 The Marcello Collection is moved to the Monastery of the Visitation, at 232 rue de Morat, Fribourg.
- 17 September 1946 An agreement (convention) is reached between the descendants and the State of Fribourg, stating that the Marcello Collection is to be temporarily reinstalled at two separate locations. Marcello's own sculptures are installed at the Monastery of the Visitation (fig. 6-50) and the collection of works by her friends is installed at the Hôtel Ratzé. This agreement is to be acknowledged for a duration of ten years (until 1955-1956) to give the State time to find a new permanent home for the collection.
- 7 October 1947 Opening events held for the "inauguration" of the Musée Marcello at the Monastery of the Visitation and the Hôtel Ratzé.
- 1957 Pierre Aeby, Syndic of Fribourg, dies and wills his house to the State of Fribourg (fig. 6-47 and 6-48). This house, known traditionally as the Maison d'Affry and which is located across the street from the Hôtel Ratzé, was once the home of Marcello's great grandfather, Louis d'Affry, the first Chief of State of Switzerland. Aeby states in his testament that his final wish is that the building eventually be used as a museum or as part of the Université de Fribourg, or in both capacities.
- 3 April 1958 Discussion begins among Marcello's descendants and museum officials regarding whether to reinstall the Musée Marcello in the Maison d'Affry. The director of the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg, Jean-Baptiste de Weck, is positive about the possibility of the reinstallation. Weck is also a cousin to Marcello's descendants.
- 29 May 1958 Partial selection of the Marcello Collection is still exhibited at the Hôtel Ratzé.
- 13 June 1958 Weck drafts a plan for the reorganization of the Musée d'art et d'histoire's holdings, including the Marcello Collection. He reveals that the Maison d'Affry would require extensive restoration before it could be used as a museum space (fig. 6-48).

- Spring-Summer 1959 The exhibition entitled *Marcello and her Times* is held at the Hôtel Ratzé. No catalogue is published.
- 25 July 1959 Private funds are collected to acquire some pieces of Second Empire furniture to be destined for the Maison d’Affry if the Musée Marcello is refitted there.
- 29 July 1959 An author identified only as “M.F.” publicly suggests in the Fribourg daily *La Liberté* that the Maison d’Affry would be an excellent, and the most logical, location for the reinstallation of the Musée Marcello.
- 1960 Descendants agree to extend 1946 agreement, allowing the State of Fribourg an extra year to find a new location to reinstall the Musée Marcello according to Marcello’s testament. The State and museum officials are given a deadline of 1 January 1961.
- 14 January 1960 Yoki Aebischer, Fribourg artist and then president of the Société des amis des Musées de Fribourg, opposes Weck’s report that tried to support the use of the Maison d’Affry as the new Musée Marcello. His opinion is that the museum should concentrate on modern art and exhibitions of art by living artists and not to be concerned with “secondary” interests.
- 18 January 1960 It is estimated that the cost to restore the Maison d’Affry, to make it suitable as a museum, would be close to 170,000 Swiss Francs (CHF).
- December 1960 After more than eighteen years of deliberations, no agreement is reached between Marcello’s descendants and the State of Fribourg as to the reuniting and re-exhibition of the Musée Marcello as per the artist’s testament.
- 1961 Death of Odette d’Alcantara from a brief illness. As the major figure who lead the descendant’s fight for the proper acknowledgement of Marcello’s testament, her death greatly impedes the process of finding a new home for the Musée Marcello.
- 1962 Creation of the Fondation Marcello, Fribourg
- 17 October 1963 Marcel Strub, Jean-Baptist de Weck’s successor at the Musée d’art et d’histoire de Fribourg, “reinstalls” a portion of the Marcello Collection, including a selection of her

- sculptures and some of the works by her friends within the museum in the Hôtel Ratzé.
- October 1969 Strub dies in a car accident. Further proceedings concerning the refitting of the Marcello Collection come to a halt.
- 1980 The exhibition entitled *Marcello: Sculpteur* is held at the Hôtel Ratzé.
- 1981 The exhibition entitled *Marcello: Sculpteur* travels to the Musée Rodin in Paris.
- 1981-1982 Renovations and additions to the Hôtel Ratzé are completed. An exhibition space is opened in the town's former slaughterhouse, located directly across the street from the Hôtel Ratzé. The two buildings are connected to each other via an underground tunnel. Some of Marcello's works and works from the bequest are installed on the second floor of the slaughterhouse, where they remain to this day, virtually unchanged in their display and organization.
- 1983-1984 Restoration of the Maison d'Afry begins.
- 1985 The Maison d'Afry is opened as the Library and Department of Antiquity Sciences of the University of Fribourg. Plans to refit the Musée Marcello at that location are never again discussed.
- 2004 The partial exhibition of the Marcello Collection remains displayed on the second floor of the slaughterhouse, annexed to the Hôtel Ratzé. The bulk of the collection remains in storage facilities or depots, or on extended loan to area museums and public buildings (the dissemination of the works from the collection is actually contrary to the rules of the testament). The few works of art currently on display from the Marcello Collection are not designated with the title "Legs Marcello," or "Gift of Marcello," on any of the wall labels.
- Although the Musée d'art et d'histoire plans to create one room (in the style of a "Salon" or sitting room) dedicated to nineteenth-century art within the Hôtel Ratzé, no plans to reinstall the original Musée Marcello as Marcello wished it are in process as of this date.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Unpublished Sources

- a). Marcello's correspondence
- b). Marcello's diaries and personal writings
- c). Marcello's memoirs

II. Archives and Museum Documentation files (arranged alphabetically by location)

III. Monographs, Articles, Essays, Exhibition Catalogues and Dissertations which mention Marcello directly

- a). Known and unknown authors (arranged alphabetically by author or title)
- b). Musée Marcello

IV. Additional Sources on Marcello's Family and Swiss History (arranged alphabetically)

V. General Bibliography (arranged alphabetically)

- a). European Sculpture and Sculpture Techniques
- b). European Art, History and Literature, Nineteenth Century

VI. Netography/Internet Resources (arranged alphabetically by author or title)

I. Unpublished Sources

a). Marcello's correspondence

Fribourg, Switzerland Archives de la Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
 (Archives FM)

b). Marcello's diaries and personal writings

Fribourg, Switzerland *Archives de la Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.*
 (Archives FM)

c). Marcello's memoirs

Fribourg, Switzerland *Archives de la Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.*
 (Archives FM)

II. Archives and Museum Documentation files (arranged alphabetically by location)

Bern, Switzerland *Kunstmuseum Bern.*

Bern, Switzerland Schweizerische Landesbibliothek.

Bulle, Switzerland *Musée Gruérien.*

Fribourg, Switzerland *Archives de l'Etat, Fribourg (Archives AEF).*

(Files: Colonna; Colonna, Musée; Marcello; Musée Marcello, a; Musée Marcello, b.)

Fribourg, Switzerland	<i>Archives de la Fondation Marcello, Fribourg (Archives FM).</i>
Fribourg, Switzerland	<i>Archives de la Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg (Archives MAHF).</i>
Fribourg, Switzerland	<i>Bibliothèque cantonal et universitaire.</i>
Geneva, Switzerland	<i>Château de Penthes, Musée des Suisses à l'étranger.</i>
Gruyères, Switzerland	<i>Château de Gruyères.</i>
Montpellier, France	<i>Archives municipales, Ville de Montpellier.</i>
Neuchâtel, Switzerland	<i>Archives de la Musée de Beaux-Arts, Neuchâtel.</i>
New York, New York	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Accessions and Catalogues.</i>
New York, New York	<i>The New York Public Library.</i>
Paris, France	<i>Archives de la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, fonds Garnier.</i>
Paris, France	<i>Bibliothèque de Musée d'Orsay, Department des Sculptures.</i>
Paris, France	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale de France.</i> (Cabinet des Estampes et de la Photographie: Yb ³ 5116 - 4°) (Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet: ms 216)
Paris, France	<i>Le Centre Historique des Archives Nationales (Archives CHAN).</i> (Files: F/21/0128/; F/21/0160; F/21/237; F/21/0470; F/21/ 495A; F/21/ 485; F/21/539; F/21/2208A; F/21/2215; F/21/4500B; F/21/4909B; F/21/4910A.)
Paris, France	<i>Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie, Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet.</i> (Files: MS 216, MS 254 t.II.)
Zürich, Switzerland	<i>Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft (Archives SIK).</i> (Library Files: S2 6458; Documentation file, "Affry.")

III. Monographs, Articles, Essays, Exhibition Catalogues and Dissertations that mention Marcello directly

a). Known and unknown authors (arranged alphabetically by author or title)

Adriani. "Courrier." *Moniteur des arts*. (5 April 1867): 1.

_____. "Courrier." *Moniteur des arts*. (30 April 1875): 1.

Alcantara, Comtesse Odette d'. *Marcello, Adele d'Affry, duchesse Castiglione Colonna, 1836-1879, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée et ses amis*. Geneva: Éditions générales, 1961.

Alcantara, Saint-Gilles. "Marcello, Duchesse Castiglione-Colonna (I)." *La Liberté* (15-16 October 1955): 19.

_____. "Marcello, Duchesse Castiglione-Colonna (II)." *La Liberté* (22-23 October 1955): 19.

_____. "Marcello, Duchesse Castiglione-Colonna (III)." *La Liberté*

(29-30 October 1955): 19.

_____. "Marcello." *La Liberté* (2 August 1959): 18-19.

_____. "Marcello, duchesse Castiglione Colonna et Carpeaux (I)." *La Liberté* (31 March-1 April 1956): 23.

_____. "Marcello, duchesse Castiglione Colonna et Carpeaux (II)." *La Liberté* (7-8 April 1956): 19.

_____. "Marcello, duchesse Castiglione Colonna et Carpeaux (III)." *La Liberté* (14-15 April 1956): 19.

Angellier, Auguste. *Étude sur Henri Regnault*. Paris: L. Boulanger, 1879.

Apraxine, Pierre and Xavier Demange. "*La Divine Comtesse*": *Photographs of the Countess de Castiglione*. Exh. cat. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Astruc, Zacharie. "Le Salon." *L'Écho des beaux-arts* (10 July 1870): 1-3.

Avery, Charles. "From David d'Angers to Rodin: Britain's national collection of French nineteenth-century sculpture." *The Connoisseur* 179:722 (April 1972): 230-36.

Aubert, F. "La Sculpture au Salon de 1863, Portraits." *Le Pays* (8 July 1863).

Aunay, Alfred d'. "Gazette du jour. L'Opéra éclairé." *Le Figaro* (20 October 1874): 1.

Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums. *Pariser Schmuck vom Zweiten Kaiserreich zur Belle Epoque*. Exh. cat. Munich: Hirmer, 1989.

Auvergne, D.-G. d'. "Vivat, Franz Joseph und Elisabeth." *Le Figaro* (25 October 1867): 2.

Auvray, Louis. "Chronique des beaux-arts." *Revue artistique et littéraire* (July – December, 1863): 169-77.

_____. "Exposition des beaux-arts. Salon de 1863." *Europe artistique* (9 August 1863): 2-3.

Bachaumont. "La Vie à Paris." *Le Sport* (3 March 1880): 2-3.

Barbier, Auguste. *Souvenirs personnels et silhouettes contemporaines*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1883.

Beaunier, André. *Les Souvenirs d'un peintre*. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1906.

Bénézit, Emmanuel. *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*. Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976.

- Berset-Geinoz, Beatrice. "Adèle d'Affry, dite Marcello: Une biographie la duchesse a double vie." *La Liberté* (28-29 May 1988): 19.
- _____. "Marcello: artiste, aristocrate, et femme." *Femmes suisses* (June - July 1988): 23.
- Berthier, Joachim Joseph. "La Pythie: Bronze de Marcello." *Fribourg artistique à travers des âges* 23:7 (1912): n.p.
- _____. "La Duchesse Colonna d'Affry." *Fribourg artistique à travers des âges* 24:13-14 (1913): n.p.
- Bessis, Henriette. "Adolphe Thiers et la duchesse Colonna." Ph.D. diss., University of Paris I, 1972.
- _____. "Courbet en Suisse surveillé par la police française." *Gazette des beaux-arts* 98 (1981): 115-26.
- _____. "Courbet pendant la Commune: une lettre in édite du peintre à la duchesse Colonna." *L'Oeil* 157 (January 1968): 24-25.
- _____. "Delacroix et la duchesse Colonna." *L'Oeil* 147 (March 1967): 22-29.
- _____. "Duo avec Carpeaux." *Connaissance des Arts* 277 (March 1975): 84-91.
- _____. *Marcello: Sculpteur*. Exh. cat. Fribourg, Suisse: Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg, 1980.
- _____. "Marcello à Paris." *Marcello: Adèle d'Affry, duchesse Castiglione Colonna*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée Rodin, 1980.
- _____. "Marcello ou la duchesse Colonna." *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (7 January 1967): 153-59.
- _____. "Pourquoi une telle résonance de la Bianca Capello de Marcello dans les dernières années di XIXe siècle?" *Gazette des beaux-arts* (November 1982): 183-87.
- Bessis, Henreitte, Monique Laurent, Michel Terrapon, et. al. *Marcello: Adèle d'Affry, duchesse Castiglione Colonna*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée Rodin, 1980.
- Blanc, Charles. "Salon de 1866," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (June 1866): 28-71, 497-520.
- Blühm, Andreas, ed. *The Colour of Sculpture 1840 -1910*. Exh. cat. Translated by Rachel Esner and Charles Penwarden. Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders bv, 1996.
- Bonnin, A. "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1870. IV, Sculpture." *La France* (29 May 1870): n.p.

- Boullier, Alexandre. "Le Salon de 1870." *Le Journal illustré* (12-19 June 1870): 190-91.
- Bourgeois de Paris, Un. "Salon de 1863, La Comédie du salon, lettres d'un bourgeois de Paris." *La Gazette de Paris* (11 July 1863): 1-3.
- Bréton, Geneviève. "*In the Solitude of my Soul*": *The Diary of Geneviève Bréton, 1867-1871*. Edited by James Smith Allen. Translated by James Palmes. Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.
- Brun, Carl. *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon*. Frauenfeld: Verlag von Huber, 1905.
- Burty, Philippe. "L'Exhibition de la Royal-Academy." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1866): 96.
- _____. "Correspondance." *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* (13 May 1866): 149-50.
- Callias, Hector de. "Le Salon de 1863: La Sculpture." *L'Artiste* (1 July 1863): 3-7.
- Cantaloube, A[médée]. "Chronique aristique et littéraire: Buste de Bianca Capello par Marcello." *L'Illustrateur des dames et des demoiselles, journal des soirées de famille* (30 August 1863): 510.
- _____. "Les grandes Dames de l'Europe, la Duchesse Colonna de Castiglione." *L'Illustrateur des dames et des demoiselles, journal des soirées de famille* (3 April 1864): 154-56.
- Catalogue du Musée des beaux-arts de la ville de Neuchâtel*. Neuchâtel: Imprimerie Attinger Frères, 1910.
- Cazalis, Henri. *Henri Regnault: Sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1872.
- Challes, Macé de. "Salon de 1863 - La Sculpture et la gravure en médailles." *La Nation* (15 July 1863): n.p.
- Chaumière, Ch. "Emma!" *La Vedette* (23 June 1877): 329.
- Chesneau, Ernest. "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1865." *Le Constitutionnel* (1865) 1.
- _____. "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1863." *Le Constitutionnel* (2 June 1863): 1.
- _____. "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1869, Sculpture. II." *Le Constitutionnel* (18 May 1869): 2.
- Choffet, Jean-Claude. "L'Extraordinaire destin de Marcello," *Femina* (12 February 1982): 82-83.
- Clément, Charles. "Exposition de 1870." *Journal des débats* (12 June 1870): 1-2.

Clément-Carpeaux, Louise. *La Vérite sur l'oeuvre et la vie J.-B. Carpeaux (1827-1875)*. Paris: Dousset et Bigerelle, 1934-1935.

Clément-Janin, N., *La curieuse vie de Marcellin Desboutin: Peintre-Graveur-Poète*. Paris: Henri Floury, 1922.

"Le comtesse d'Affry." *Gazette de Lausanne et journal suisse* (17 April 1897): 1.

Cordey, Jean. "Une oeuvre d'art fribourgeoise a l'Opera: *La Pythie* de Marcello." *Pro Arte* 57 (1947): 18-21.

Courboin, F. "Colonna di Castiglione (Adèle d'Affry, duchesse)." *La Grande encyclopedie*. Vol XI. Paris: H. Lamirault, 1879.

"Cronaca." *Corriere del Mattino* (22 July 1879): 2.

Cudré-Mauroux, Stéphanie. "Une Artiste fribourgeoise attachante: Marcello." *Spectrum* (Université de Fribourg) 90/91: 1 (November 1990): 26-27.

Cuenod, Henri. "Marcello: Souvenir de la duchesse Colonna." *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* 21 (1887): 83.

Cupidon, Monsieur de. "Tout Paris, Jambe-de-fer." *Le Figaro* (14 June 1863): 5-6.

D., A.J. "Tableaux reproduits par *L'Illustration*." *L'Illustration, Journal universel* (1 August 1863): 85.

D[escloux], Ch[arles]. "Marcello, artiste officielle et romantique." *La Liberté* (14-15 July 1979): 17.

_____. "Marcello et ses pairs." *La Liberté* (26-27 July 1980): 27.

Delacroix, Eugène. *Journal de Eugène Delacroix*. Edited by André Joubin. Paris: Plon, 1932.

Diesbach, Fred de. "Pour un anniversaire, La Duchesse Colonna." *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* (1937): 134-40.

Diesbach, Ghislain de. *La Double vie de la duchesse Colonna*. Paris: Librairie académique Perrin, 1988.

_____. "La Duchesse Colonna, sculpteur." *Historia* 395 (October 1979): 41-47.

_____. "La Duchesse Colonna, un témoignage inédit sur la cour de Napoléon III." *Le Souvenir napoléonien* (October 1988): 33-40.

- _____. "Marcello, sculpteur et séductrice." *La Revue de Paris* 70:6 (June 1963): 72-85.
- _____. "Une Égérie du Second Empire: La duchesse Colonna de Castiglione, (I)." *Écrits de Paris* (November 1979): 115-25.
- _____. "Une Égérie du Second Empire: La duchesse Colonna de Castiglione, (II)." *Écrits de Paris* (December 1979): 118-25.
- Diesbach, Hélène de. "Marcello, la duchesse Colonna, née d'Affry." *La Femme suisse (un livret de famille)*. Neuchâtel: Gertrude Villiger-Keller, F. Zahn, 1910.
- Diesbach, Max de. "La Gorgone (par Marcello)." *Fribourg Artistique à travers des âges* (1901): n.p.
- _____. "Affry, Adèle d', duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna (Marcello)." *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon*. Edited by Carl Brun. Frauenfeld: Verlag von Huber, 1905.
- Domergue, Ch. M. "Exposition de peinture. III. Paysage." *L'Union du midi* (9 March 1877): 2-3.
- "The Duchess of Castiglione Colonna." *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper* (11 October 1873): 276.
- Dumesnil, Georges. "La Sculpture à l'exposition de 1863." *Le Courrier artistique* 3:2 (28 June 1863): 7-8.
- Duparc, Arthur. *Correspondance de Henri Regnault*. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1890.
- E., G. "Le Groupe 37, Art contemporain." *Journal officiel illustré de l'Exposition Suisse* 24 (19 July 1883): 228-29.
- Easterday, Anastasia. "Charting a Course in an Intractable Profession: Women Sculptors in 19th-Century France." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1997.
- Enault, Louis. "Mélanges, Salon de 1875, Sculpture." *Le Constitutionnel* (11 May 1875): 3.
- Etincelle. "Carnet d'un mondain." *Le Figaro* (4 October 1880): 1-2.
- _____. "Carnet d'un mondain, l'Hôtel d'Emile de Girardin." *Le Figaro* (29 May 1883): 1-2.
- "Evenings with Madame Mohl." *The Living Age* [New York] 199:2570 (7 October 1893): 45-52.
- "Exposition national de Zurich les beaux-arts." *Journal de Genève* (14 September 1883): 1

- Fanfulla. "Giorno per Giorno." *Fanfulla* (28 July 1879): 2.
- Fellenberg, Walo von. "Marcello." *Weltkunst* 50:16 (15 August 1980): 2183.
- Ferreyros, Christina. "The Conservation of Three Chinoiserie Decorative Paintings by Marcello." Master's Thesis, Antioch University, 1981.
- Fevrnet, X. "Ouverture de l'exposition." *Le Temps* (3 April 1867): 1-2.
- Fillonneau, Ernest. "Salon de 1863: Sculpture." *Moniteur des arts* (27 June 1863): 2-3.
- _____. "Un Buste de l'Impératrice." *Moniteur des arts* (26 January 1866): 2.
- _____. "Salon de 1866: Sculpture." *Moniteur des arts* (18 May 1866): 2.
- _____. "Salon de 1869: Sculpture." *Moniteur des arts* (11 June 1869): 1-2.
- _____. "Salon de 1870: Sculpture." *Moniteur des arts* (24 May 1870): 1-2.
- _____. "Chronique." *Moniteur des arts* (25 July 1879): 1.
- "Five Hundred Francs for a Kiss." *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1 March 1867): 4.
- Le Flâneur. "Le Salon." *Revue de Paris* ([1 May] 1867): 111-18.
- Fournier, Marie-Jose. "La Double vie de Marcello, duchesse romaine et sculpteur fribourgeois." *Tribune des Arts* 258 (February 1988): 20.
- "France." *Gazette de Lausanne et journal suisse* (28 December 1874): 1-2.
- "Fribourg." *Journal de Genève* (14 May 1870): 2.
- Fusco, Peter and H. W. Janson. *The Romantics to Rodin: French 19th-Century Sculpture*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980.
- Garnier, Charles. *Le Nouvel Opéra de Paris*. Paris: Ducher, 1878.
- _____. *Le Nouvel Opéra*. Paris: Éditions du Lintreau, 2001.
- Gasser, H.U. "Marcello." *Annabelle* 46 (1941): 30-33.
- Gautier, Théophile. "Salon de 1863." *Le Moniteur universel* 244 (13 September 1863): 1114-1115.
- Gautier, Théophile. "Salon de 1865." *Le Moniteur universel* (3 June 1865): [Pages]

- _____. "Salon de 1866." *Le Moniteur universel* 222 (10 August 1866): 1002-1003.
- _____. "Salon de 1869, Sculpture (IV)." *Le Moniteur universel* (6 June 1869): 795-96.
- Cham. "Actualities." *Le Charivari* (13 August 1878): 177.
- Goujon, J. *Salon of 1870*. Paris: Goujon, 1870.
- Haller, Lilli. "Marcello, le portrait d'une artiste." *Annales fribourgeoises* (1917): 118-26.
- Henriques, Claire W. "Marcello, Her Public Sculpture: Women of History and Myth." Master's Thesis, City University of New York at Hunter College, 1991.
- Houssaye, Arsène. *Les confessions: souvenirs d'un demi-siècle 1830-1880*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1891.
- I., En. "Canton de Fribourg. Beaux-Arts. La Duchesse Colonna." *Le Chroniqueur Suisse* (5 May 1870): 3.
- Isler, Ursula. "Pythia und Helena: Zur Ausstellung Marcello in Freiburg I. Ue." *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 195 (23-24 August 1980): 69.
- "Kanton Freiburg." *Freiburger-Zeitung* (2 August 1879): 3.
- Kuthy, Sandor. *Die Sculpturen und Objekte*. Bern: Kunstmuseum Bern, 1986.
- Kjellberg, Pierre. *Bronzes of the 19th Century: Dictionary of Sculptors*. Translated by Kate D. Loftus, Alison Levie and Leslie Bockol. Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1994.
- Jaccard, Paul-Andre. *Ars Helvetica VII: Arts et culture visuels en Suisse: la Sculpture*. Disentis: Pro Hevetia / Editions Desertina, 1992.
- Janson, H. W and Robert Rosenblum. *Nineteenth-Century Art*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984.
- Janson, H. W. *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985.
- _____. "Realism in Sculpture: Limits and Limitations." *The European Realist Tradition*. Gabriel P. Weisberg, ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Jenny, Hans. "Die Bildenden Künste - Ein Rückblick." *Confœderatio Helvetica die Vielgestaltige Schweiz*. Edited by Hans Richard Müller. Zurich: Friedrich Bohnenberger, 1936.

- Jordan, J. "A propos de Marcello: les deux Castiglione." *La Liberté* (25 August 1954): 5.
- L., A.-D. "Le Salon de 1870." *L'Illustration, Journal universel* (30 April 1870): 313.
- L., E. "Exposition de Paris de 1875." *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* (27 May – 8 June 1875): 1-2.
- L., Fr. "A Paris, au Grand Palais: Rehabilitation de l'art du Second Empire," *La Libre Belgique* (9 July 1979): [page].
- Lacave, Mireille. *Montpellier, la sculpture dans la ville*. Montpellier: Éditions de l'Equinoxe, 1990.
- "The Ladies' Club." *The Cosmopolitan* (4 May 1867): 94.
- Lagout, Edouard. "L'Equation du Beau: Statuaire." *Le Monde Illustré* (6 June 1863): 367-68.
- _____. *Esthétique nombrée: Application de l'Equation du Beau à l'analyse harmonique de la statuaire nouvelle*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1863.
- L'Alsacien, Louis. "Causerie d'un peintre sur l'Exposition de Nice de 1877." *Courrier de Cannes et de la Provence* (25 March 1877): 2.
- Laurent, Monique. "Musée Rodin – Marcello (1836-1879)." *La Revue de Louvre et des Musées de France* 4 (1980) 284-85.
- Le Masque de Fer. "Échos de Paris, à travers Paris." *Le Figaro* (23 July 1879): 1.
- _____. "Échos de Paris, à travers Paris." *Le Figaro* (25 July 1879): 1.
- _____. "Échos de Paris, à travers Paris." *Le Figaro* (10 August 1879): 1.
- Lemonnier, Camille. *Salon de Paris 1870*. Paris: V.A. Morel, 1870.
- Le Normand-Romain, Antoinette, Anne Pinget, Reinhold Hohl, Jean-Luc Daval, and Barbara Rose, eds. *Sculpture: The Adventure of Modern Sculpture in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Rizzoli, 1986.
- Leroy, Louis. "Salon de 1863. C'est pour avoir l'honneur de saluer la sculpture." *Le Charivari* (8 June 1863): 2-3.
- _____. "Revue des ateliers." *Le Charivari* (25 February 1862): 2.
- _____. "Salon de 1865." *Le Charivari* (13 June 1865): 2.

Leroi, Paul. "Salon de 1875." *L'Art* (May 1875): 374-75.

Loliée, Frédéric. *The Guilded Beauties of the Second Empire*. Adapted by Bryan O'Donnell. London: John Long, 1909.

_____. *Les Femmes du Second Empire*. Paris: Tallandier, 1912.

_____. *Les Grandes Dames de Compiègne sous le Second Empire*. Paris: Tallandier, 1912.

_____. *Women of the Second Empire*. Translated by Alice M. Ivimy. London and New York: John Lane, 1947.

Lieutier, Nelly. "Figures féminines contemporaines. la duchess Colonna di Castiglione, Marcello le Sculpteur." *La Vie domestique: Revue de la Famille* (16 January 1879): 17-18.

Lormel, Georges de. "Mme la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna (Marcello)." *L'Élégance parisienne* (27 April 1870): 1-2.

Mantz, Paul. "Le Salon de 1863 (II article)." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1863): 32-64.

_____. "Salon de 1865." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1865): 33-42.

"Marcello, Artiste officiel et romantique." *La Liberté* 236 (15 July 1879): 17.

Maubert, Franck. "Marcello, George Sand de la sculpture." *L'Express* 1536 (20 December 1980): 22.

Meeke, Sarah. "Fatal Glances: The Character of the Female Gaze as perceived in Marcello's Sculptures of Historical and Mythological Women, 1860-1870." Unpublished Thesis, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University at Selwyn College, 1993.

Ménard, René. "Exposition de Vienne." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (September 1873): 185-206.

_____. "Salon de 1870." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1870): 64.

Mérimée, Prosper. *Letters à la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna*. Edited by Pierre Trahard. Paris: Boivin, 1938.

_____. *Prosper Mérimée: Correspondance générale*. Edited by Maurice Parturier. Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1968.

Mirabal, H. de. "Un Bourgeois de Paris, Salon de 1863." *La Patrie* (25 June 1863): 2-3.

- Moatti, Jacques, Matine Kahane, and Thierry Beauvert. *L'Opéra de Paris: Palais Garnier*. Paris: Éditions Adam Biro, 1987.
- Monchaux, Didier de. "Salon de 1863. XVI Sculpture 2" *La Patrie* 23 (25 June 1863): 2-3.
- [Monnier, Marc.] "Le sculpteur Marcello, Patricienne fribourgeoise et duchesse italienne." *Bibliothèque universelle et revue suisse* IV (1879): 148-57.
- Montaiglon, Anatole de. "Le Salon de 1875." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1875): 5-34, 120-37, 489-521.
- Musée Rodin, *Marcello: Adèle d'Affry, Duchesse Castiglione Colonna*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée Rodin, 1980.
- N., Ch. "Nos Gravures: Le Grand escalier du nouvel Opéra." *L'Illustration, Journal universel* 65:1663 (1875): 17, 20, 23.
- "Necrologie." *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* (26 July 1879): 207.
- Nervo, Baron de. "Bal Costume de la Préfecture Nice-Salons." *Le Monde Élegant à Nice, Écho des Salons* (14 February 1877): 2-3.
- Nettement, Alfred. "Salon de 1865." *La Semaine des familles* (1 July 1865): 633-35.
- "Notizie Cittadine." *Gazetta di Venezia* (26 April 1876): 2.
- "Le Nouvel Opéra." *L'Illustration, Journal Universel* 65:166 (2 January 1875): 1,7,9.
- "Nouvelles." *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (26 March 1865): 117-18.
- Nué. "L'Exposition de peinture de 1870." *Figaro-Programme* (8 June 1870): 1.
- Ottenfels-d'Affry, baronne Cécile d'. *Bouquet de Pensées*. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1888.
- _____. "L'ouverture d'un musée, poésie." *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoise* 23 (1889) 32-38.
- "Paris au jour le jour." *L'Événement* (28 January 1866): 3.
- Pays, A.J. du. "Salon de 1863." *L'Illustration, Journal universel* (1 August 1863): 85.
- Pays, A.J. du. "Salon de 1863." *L'Illustration, Journal universel* (3 October 1863): 234-235.
- Pelloquet, Th. "Journal du Salon de 1863." *L'Illustration, Journal universel* (12 July 1863).

Pesquidoux, Dubosc de. "Beaux-Arts, Salon de 1863, paysagistes et sculpteurs." *L'Union* (8 August 1863): n.p.

_____. "Canton de Fribourg. La duchesse Colonna." *La Liberté* (5 August 1879): 2.

Petrovski, Anita. "*La Pythie*." Brochure (four pages). Fribourg: Société des amis du Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1999.

_____. "*Portrait de Berthe Morisot (1875)*." Brochure (four pages). Fribourg: Société des Amis du Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1999.

P[errier], C[olonel Ferdinand]. "Biographie V. La Duchesse Colonna et ses oeuvres (Marcello)." *Nouvelles Étrennes Fribourgeoises* (1880): 28-34.

_____. "Correspondance particulière de la Gazette." *Gazette de Lausanne et journal suisse* (15 January 1867): n.p.

Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire, Art in France under Napoleon III 1852-1870*. Exh. cat. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978.

Picche. "Cose di Napoli." *Fanfulla* (26 July 1879): 2.

Pierre, Caterina Yvonne. "Unjustly Neglected: Gustave Courbet in the 1870s." Master's Thesis, City University of New York at Hunter College, 1996.

_____. "Marcello's Heroic Sculpture." *Woman's Art Journal* 22:1 (Spring/Summer 2001): 14-20.

_____. "A New Formula for High Art: The Genesis and Reception of Marcello's *Pythia*." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (October 2003): Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org>.

Pimodan, Claude-Emmanuel-Henri-Marie de Rarécourt de La Vallée, Comte de. *Simple souvenirs, 1859-1907*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1908.

Pingeot, Anne, Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, and Laure de Margerie, eds. *Musée d'Orsay catalogue sommaire illustré des sculptures*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986.

Pingeot, Anne, et al, eds. *Le corps en morceaux*. Exh. cat. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990.

Pingeot, Anne, Philippe Durey, Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, Isabelle Lerot-Jay Lemaistre, Laure de Margerie, and Véronique Wiesinger, eds. *La Sculpture Française Au XIXe Siècle*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986.

Pingeot, Anne. "Rôle de la sculpture dans l'architecture: A propos de l'Opéra de Paris." *Revue Suisse d'art et d'archéologie* (1981): 119-34.

_____. *Sculpture in the Musée d'Orsay*. Paris: Éditions Scala, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995.

Pitou, Ange. "Causeries parisiennes." *Le Figaro* (20 September 1874): 1-2.

Pontmartin, A[mand] de. "Salon de 1869." *L'Univers illustré* (19 June 1869): 390-91.

_____. "Salon de 1870." *L'Univers illustré* (18 June 1870): 394-95.

Preston, Stuart. "Letter from Paris: Preserving the Patrimony." *Apollo* (January 1981): 50-52.

Ravenel, Jean. "Salon de 1865. La Sculpture." *Feuilleton de l'époque* (5 July 1865): n.p.

R., M. "Les Absents: Marcello." *La Vie moderne* (3 July 1880): 426-28.

R., M. "Salon. Exposition de Sculpture de 1879 à Paris." *Journal de St.-Petersbourg* (19 June –1 July 1879): 1.

Regnault, Henri. *Correspondance de Henri Regnault*. Edited by Arthur Duparc. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1890.

Rembrandt. "Art, Artists and Exhibitions, the French Exhibition of 1866." *The Turf, Field and Farm* 3:6 (11 August 1866): 90-91.

Robin, Balthasar. "Chronique de la semaine." *Le Courrier artistique* (30 April 1865): 189.

_____. "Chronique de la semaine." *Le Courrier artistique* (14 May 1865): 198-99.

Romain, Serge. *Joseph Fricero 1807-1870, Peintre-Voyager*. Paris: Chez Jacques Ferrand, 1993.

Rousseau, J. "Salon de 1863." *L'Univers illustré* (9 July 1863): 251.

_____. "Salon de 1863." *L'Artiste* (1 July 1863).

_____. "Chronique des arts." *L'Univers illustré* (29 August 1866): 550-51.

"The Royal Academy." *Art Journal* (1 June 1866): 171-72.

Ruffieux, Roland, ed. *Encyclopedia du Canton de Fribourg*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1977.

- Ryan - Gurley, Elisabeth. "Berthe Morisot: Quatre portraits inédits par Marcello." *L'Estampille* 178 (February 1985): 14-21.
- Saint Victor, Paul de. "Salon de 1863." *La Presse* (19 July 1863): n.p.
- _____. "Salon de 1870." *La Liberté* [France] (12 June 1870): 1-2.
- "Salon de 1863." *L'Union* (12 June 1863): n.p.
- Schaller, Henri de. "Nécrologies, La comtesse Lucie d'Affry." *Nouvelles étrences fribourgeoises* (1898): 130-37.
- Scudo, P. "Revue Musicale." *Revue des deux mondes* (1 August 1863): 749-56.
- Shennan, Margaret. *Berthe Morisot: The First Lady of Impressionism*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1996.
- Souvenance, G. "Un Original." *Le Figaro* (21 May 1883): 1.
- Stephan. "Salon de 1863." *Le Menestrel* (12 July 1863): 253.
- Stewart, Jean, ed. *Eugène Delacroix, Selected Letters 1813-1863*. Boston: MFA Publications, 1970.
- Terrapon, Michel. "Adèle d'Affry, Sculpteur." *La Liberté* 236 (14-15 July 1979): 17.
- _____. "Questions de métier." *Marcello, Adèle d'Affry, duchesse Castiglione-Colonna*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée Rodin, 1980.
- _____. "Questions de métier: A propos de l'oeuvre sculpté de Marcello." *Revue Suisse d'art et d'archéologie* 38:2 (1981): 135-40.
- Thémines, M. de. "Salon de 1869, IV. Sculpture." *La Patrie* (13 May 1869): n.p.
- _____. "Salon de 1870, XIV." *La Patrie* (21 June 1870): n.p.
- Thoré-Burger [Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré, known as Willem Bürger]. "Salon de 1865." *Salons de W. Bürger, 1861-68, Préface par T. Thoré*. Paris: Libraire Rencoard, 1870.
- Trebla, A. di. "Exposition de peinture. VI. Le buste de Bianca Capello." *L'Union du midi* (3-4 April 1877): 2.
- Uckermann, René Patris d'. *Ernest Hébert: 1817-1908*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1982.
- "Variétés." *Journal de Genève* (1 July 1875): 2-3.

"La Vie des arts." *L'Oeil* 302 (September 1980): 90-91.

Véron, Théodore. *De L'art et des artistes de mon temps*. Paris and Poitiers: Librairie Henri Oudin, 1875.

Viel-Castel, H. Comte de. "Salon de 1863." *La France* (27 June 1863).

Viéville, Dominique, et.al. *De Carpeaux à Matisse, la sculpture française de 1850 à 1914 dans les musées et les collections publiques du nord de la France*. Exh. cat. Lille: Édition de l'association des conservateurs de la région Nord-pas-de-Calais, 1982.

Viollet-Le-Duc, A. "Salon de 1863." *Journal des Débats* (24 June 1863).

Wandelère, Frédéric. "En marge d'une exposition: Marcello vue par sa soeur." *La Liberté* (19-20 July 1980): 27.

W., J.-B. "Chronique." *Chronique internationale des beaux-arts* (16 March 1867): 125-26.

Wolff, Albert. "La Sculpture au Salon." *Le Figaro* (29 May 1870): 1.

_____. "Gazette de Paris." *Le Figaro* (10 May 1873): 1.

W., W. "Opéra! Great Attraction! Opéra!" *Le Figaro* (10 January 1875): 1-2.

X. "Ministère des beaux-arts: ouverture de l'exposition publique des ouvrages des artistes vivants pour 1870." *Moniteur des arts* (26 April 1870): 1.

Yriatre, Charles. "Le Salon de 1876." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (August 1876): 135-36.

Zacharie. "Salon de Paris de 1876." *Journal de St.-Petersbourg* (7-19 May 1876): n.p.

Zurich, Pierre de. *Guide Historique et Artistique de Fribourg*. Fribourg: Société pour le développement de Fribourg, 1946.

b). Musée Marcello

"Art Notes." *New York Times* (20 November 1881): 6.

Bachelin, A. "Le Musée Marcello à Fribourg (I)." *Le Bien public* (16 July 1880): 4.

Bachelin, A. "Le Musée Marcello à Fribourg (II)." *Le Bien public* (18 July 1880): 4.

Brémond, B. de. "Le Nouveau Musée Marcello." *La Liberté* (18 October 1947): 9.

- Bovy, Adrien. "Au Musée Marcello." *La Liberté* (29 August 1953): 5.
- _____. "Au Musée Marcello." *La Liberté* (31 August 1953): 5.
- Brun, Carl. "Aus der Kunsthalle der Schweizerischen Landesausstellung (I)." *Schweizerische Bauzeitung* (4 August 1883): 25-28.
- _____. "Aus der Kunsthalle der Schweizerischen Landesausstellung (II)." *Schweizerische Bauzeitung* (11 August 1883): 31-32.
- "Canton de Fribourg." *La Chroniqueur Suisse* (30 July 1881): 2.
- C., H. "Confédération." *Journal de Vevey* (9 August 1881): 3.
- F., M. "Les Vernissages, Marcello et son temps." *La Liberté* (27 July 1959): 5.
- Grangier, Louis. *Catalogue du Musée Cantonal de Fribourg*. Fribourg: L. Fragniere, 1882.
- _____. *Catalogue du Musée Marcello et des autres oeuvres d'art faisant partie du Musée Cantonal de Fribourg*. Fribourg: Imprimerie du chroniqueur Suisse, 1887.
- Greyerz, Lina de. *Notice sur le Musée Marcello à Fribourg*. Translated (from German to French) by Louis Grangier. Fribourg: Imprimerie du chroniqueur Suisse, 1885.
- H., R. "Les Arts à Fribourg." *Journal de Genève* (14 October 1947): 4.
- La Suisse, Étude géographique, démographique, politique, économique et historique*. Neuchâtel: Administration des publications du dictionnaire géographique de la Suisse, 1907-08.
- Lehnherr, Yvonne. "Le Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg." *Fribourg et ses musées/Fribourg und seine Museen*. Fribourg: Banque de l'Etat de Fribourg, 1992.
- Le Masque de Fer. "Échos de Paris, à travers Paris." *Le Figaro* (10 August 1879): 1.
- "L'Inauguration du Musée Marcello." *Gazette de Lausanne et journal Suisse* (30 July 1881): 2-3.
- "Musée Colonna." *La Liberté* (27 July 1881): 3.
- "Marcello, Duchesse Colonna." *L'Art Moderne*. [Brussels] 39 (27 November 1881): 309.
- Musée Marcello, Fribourg: Collection léguée par la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna*. Fribourg: Office Multigraphe, 1947.

Musée Marcello, Fribourg: Oeuvres de Marcello. Fribourg: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1947.

"Le Nouveau Musée Marcello." *Le Fribourgeois* (11 October 1947): 2.

Perrier, Colonel Ferdinand. *Le Musée Marcello à Fribourg.* Fribourg: Imprimerie Galley Éditeur, 1881.

P., J. "L'album de grand-père." *La Liberté* (11 July 1980): 11.

Reiners, Heribert. "Bilder von Eugène Delacroix in Freiburg (Schweiz)." *Kunst und Künstler* 29 (June 1931): 351-54.

Rucki, Isabelle and Dorothee Huber, eds. *Architektenlexikon der Schweiz 19./20. Jahrhundert.* Basel, Berlin, and Boston: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1998.

Roy, Camille, ed. *Souvenir du Musée Marcello: Marcello et ses oeuvres.* With poems by baronne Cécile d'Ottensfels d'Affry. Fribourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1905.

Schropp, Ralph. *Das Museum Marcello und Seine Stifterin.* Zurich: Verlag von Casar Schmidt, 1883.

_____. *Le Musée Marcello.* Paris: Société anonyme de publications périodiques, 1882.

IV. Additional Sources on Marcello's Family and Swiss History (arranged alphabetically)

Andrey, George, et. al. *Fribourg 1803 Capitale de la Suisse.* Fribourg: Archives d'État et de la ville de Fribourg, 2003.

Andrey, George and Alain-Jacques Czouz Tornare. *Louis d'Affry, 1743-1810, Premier Landamman de la Suisse, La Confédération suisse à l'heure napoléonienne.* Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 2003.

Benali-Chatton, Anne-Marie. *Le Manoir de Givisiez: Une histoire, une fondation.* Givisiez: Oertig à Givisiez, 1996.

Blanchard, Raoul and Hubert Foerster, eds. *Fribourg 1798: Une Révolution culturelle?* Exh. cat. Fribourg: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1998.

Castella, Gaston. *Histoire du canton de Fribourg, depuis les origines jusqu'en 1857.* Fribourg: Fragnière, 1922.

Dierauer, Johannès. *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse.* Lausanne: Librairie Payot, 1918.

- Diesbach, Max de. "Louis d'Affry: Premier Landamman de la suisse et la diète fédérale de 1803." *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte*. 29 (Zürich, S Höhr, 1904): 169-88.
- Diesbach Belleruche, Benoît de. *La Famille d'Affry*. Fribourg: Intermède Belleruche, 2003.
- Guillon, Édouard. *Napoléon et la Suisse, 1803-1815, d'après les documents inédits des Affaires Étrangères*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1910.
- Maillardoz, Philippe de. *Mémoire sur ma participation aux événements de Fribourg en 1847*. Lausanne: Association Semper Fidelis, 1996 [1850].
- Monnier, Victor. *Bonaparte et la Suisse: Travaux préparatoires de l'Act de Médiation (1803)*. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 2002.
- Rochat, Jocelyn and Chantal Tauxe. "Napoléon, le faiseur de Suisse." *L'Hebdo* 30 (24 July 2003): 39-46.
- Ruffieux, Roland and François Walter, eds. *Histoire du Canton de Fribourg*. Fribourg: Imprimerie Fragnière, 1981.
- Tornare, Alain-Jacques Czouz. *1803, Quand Fribourg était capitale de la Suisse*. Exh. cat. Fribourg: Imprimerie St-Paul, 2003.
- Waeber-Antiglio, Catherine. *Hauterive, la Construction d'une abbaye cistercienne au moyen age*. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1976.

V. General Bibliography (arranged alphabetically)

a). European Sculpture and Sculpture Techniques

- À fleur de peau: Le moulage sur nature au XIXe siècle*. Exh. cat. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001.
- Barbedienne, Ferdinand. *Catalogue des bronzes d'art*. Paris: Capiomont, 1893.
- _____. *[Catalogue des] Bronzes et objets d'art*. Paris: G. LeBlanc-Barbedienne, Successeurs, 1911.
- Bassett, Jane and Peggy Fogelman. *Looking at European Sculpture: A Guide to Technical Terms*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1997.
- Baudry, Marie-Thérèse and Dominique Bozo. *La Sculpture, méthode et vocabulaire*. Paris:

- Imprimerie nationale, 1978.
- Benoist, Luc. *La Sculpture romantique: art et artists*. Edited by Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, Paris: Gallimard, 1994 [1928].
- Berman, Harold. *Bronzes: Sculptors and Founders 1800-1930*. Chicago: ABAGE, 1974.
- Bindman, David and Malcolm Baker. *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Bogart, Michele. "Photosculpture." *Art History* 4:1 (March 1981): 54-65.
- Charneau, Roger and Antoine Stéphanie. *Les Ailes et le sablier: le jardin-musée du Père-Lachaise*. Paris: Éditions Cercle d'Art, 1997.
- Child, Theodore. "Ferdinand Barbedienne: Artistic Bronze." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 73:436 (September 1886): 489-504.
- Clapp, Jane. *Sculpture Index*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1970.
- Elsen, Albert E. *Origins of Modern Sculpture: Pioneers and Premises*. New York: Braziller, 1974.
- Fergoni, Flavio, et al. *Rodin and Michelangelo: A Study in Artistic Inspiration*. Exh. cat. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1997.
- Forrest, Michael. *Art Bronzes*. Westchester, PA: Schiffer, 1988.
- Hargrove, June. *Les Statues de Paris*. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1989.
- Hoffman, Malvina. *Sculpture Inside and Out*. New York, Bonanza, 1939.
- Hosmer, Harriet Goodhue. "The Process of Sculpture." *Atlantic Monthly* 14:86 (December 1864): 734-37.
- Jackson, Harry. *Lost Wax Bronze Casting: A Photographic Essay on this Antique and Venerable Art*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1972.
- Janson, H.W. and Peter Fusco, eds. *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture in North American Collections*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980.
- Johns, Christopher M.S. *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Johnson, Geraldine A., ed. *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension*.

- New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Kashey, Robert and Martin L.H. Reymert. *Western European Bronzes of the Nineteenth Century: A Survey*. New York: Shepherd Gallery Associates, 1973.
- Kowal, Dennis and Dona Z. Meilach. *Sculpture Casting: Mold Techniques and Materials, Metals, Plastics, Concrete*. New York: Crown, 1972.
- La Sculpture du XIXe siècle, une mémoire retrouvée. Les Fonds de sculpture*. Collected Colloquium Papers, Rencontres des l'École du Louvre. Paris: Le documentation française, 1986.
- Licht, Fred. *Sculpture 19th and 20th Centuries*. History of Western Sculpture Series. Consultant editor, John Pope-Hennessy. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1967.
- Miller, Sanda. "Sculpture and Art History." *Art History* 23:4 (November 2000): 633-38.
- Mills, John W. *Encyclopedia of Sculpture Techniques*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1990.
- Mitchell, Claudine. "Intellectuality and Sexuality: Camille Claudel, the *Fin-de-Siècle* Sculptress." *Art History* 12:4 (December 1989): 417-47.
- Mirolli, Ruth, ed. *Nineteenth-Century French Sculpture: Monuments for the Middle Class*. Exh. cat. Louisville, KY: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1971.
- Païni, Dominique, et. al. *Photographie/Sculpture*. Exh. cat. Paris: Centre National de la Photographie and Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991.
- Partridge, William Ordway. *The Technique of Sculpture*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1895.
- Poletti, Michel and Alain Richarme. *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, sculpteur, catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre édité*. Paris: Expressions contemporaines/Les Éditions de l'amateur, 2003.
- Poulet, Anne L. *Jean-Antoine Houdon: Sculptor of the Enlightenment*. Exh. cat. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2003.
- Reynaud, François, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby, eds. *Paris in 3D: From Stereoscopy to Virtual Reality, 1850-1900*. Exh. cat. Paris: Paris Musées/Booth Clibborn Editions, 2000.
- Rheims, Maurice. *La Sculpture au XIXe Siècle*. Paris: Arts et Métiers, 1972.
- Rich, Jack C. *The Materials and Methods of Sculpture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

- Schwartz, Emmanuel. *Les sculptures de l'École des beaux-arts de Paris, Histoire, doctrines, catalogue*. Paris: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 2003.
- Shapiro, Michael Edward. *Bronze Casting and American Sculpture 1850-1900*. Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1985.
- Silverman, Debora. *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Slobodkin, Louis. *Sculpture: Principles and Practice*. New York: Dover, 1949.
- Sorel, Phillippe. "Photosculpture - The Fortunes of a Sculptural Process Based on Photography." In *Paris in 3D: From Stereoscopy to Virtual Reality, 1850-1900*. Edited by François Reynaud, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby. Exh. cat. Paris: Paris musées/Booth Clibborn Editions, 2000.
- Trachtenberg, Marvin. *The Statue of Liberty*. New York: Penguin, 1977.
- Wagner, Anne Middleton. "Art and Property: Carpeaux's Portraits of the Prince Impérial." *Art History* 5:4 (December 1982): 447-71.
- _____. *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Wasserman, Jeanne L. *Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*. Exh. cat. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Wennberg, Bo. *French and Scandinavian Sculpture in the Nineteenth-Century: A Study in Trends and Innovations*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1978.
- West, Alison. *From Pigalle to Préault: Neoclassicism and the Sublime in French Sculpture, 1760-1840*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Williamson, Paul, ed. *European Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. *Sculpture: Processes and Principles*. New York and London: Penguin, 1977.

b). European Art, History and Literature, Nineteenth Century

- Angellier, A. *Étude sur Henri Regnault*. Paris: Boulanger, 1879.

- Ariès, Philippe and George Duby, eds. *Histoire de la vie privée, Tome 4, De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*. Volume edited by Michelle Perrot. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987.
- Bac, Ferdinand. *Intimités du Second Empire*. Paris: Hachette, 1931-1932.
- Ballière, Henri. *Henri Régnault (1843-1871)*. Paris: Didier, 1872.
- Balzac, Honoré de. *Cousin Bette*. New York: Penguin, 1965 [1846].
- Baudelaire, Charles. *Oeuvres Complètes*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1961.
- _____. "The Salon of 1846." *Art in Paris 1845-1862*. Edited and translated by Jonathan Mayne. London: Phaidon, 1965.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Illuminations*. Edited by Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken, 1969.
- Boime, Albert. *Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1987.
- _____. *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Phaidon Press, 1971.
- Bréton, Geneviève. *Journal 1867-1871*. Paris: Éditions Ramsay, 1985.
- Brettell, Richard R. *French Salon Artists: 1800-1900*. Chicago: The Art Institute, 1987.
- Bulletins des la Société des Amis de Gustave Courbet*. Paris/Ornans: La Société des Amis de Gustave Courbet, vol. 1, 1947 - ff.
- Burchell, S.C. *Imperial Masquerade: The Paris of Napoleon III*. New York: Atheneum, 1971.
- Burroughs, Bryson. "Salomé by Henri Régnault." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 11: 8 (August 1916): 163-66.
- Callen, Anthea. "The Body and Difference: Anatomy training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the later nineteenth century." *Art History* 20:1 (March 1997): 23-60.
- Casati, C. Charles. *Lettres royales et lettres missives inédites*. Paris: Didier, 1877.
- Cassou, Jean, et. al., *Encyclopédie du Symbolisme, Peinture, Gravure et Sculpture, Littérature, Musique*. Paris: France Loisirs, 1988.
- Castagnary, Jules Antoine. *Salons: 1857-1879*. Paris: G. Charpentier et E. Pasquelle, 1892.

- Castries, Duc de. *Monsieur Theirs*. Paris: Librairie académique Perrin, 1983.
- Chesneau, Ernest. *Le Statuaire Carpeaux, sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: A. Quantin, 1880.
- Chu, Petra ten-Doesschate. *The Letters of Gustave Courbet*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Clairin, Georges. *Souvenirs d'un peintre*. Edited by Andre Beaunier. Paris: Fasquelle, 1906.
- Clement, Russell T., Annick Houzé and Christiane Erbolato-Ramsey. *The Women Impressionists: A Sourcebook*. Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Christiansen, Rupert. *Paris Babylon: The Story of the French Commune*. New York: Penguin Books, 1994.
- Davillier, Baron. *Fortuny: sa vie, son oeuvre, sa correspondance*. Paris: Chez Auguste Aubry, 1875.
- Delacroix, Eugène. *Journal d'Eugène Delacroix*. Edited by André Joubin. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1938.
- Dijkstra, Bram. *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-De-Siecle Culture*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Duncan, Alastair. *Art Nouveau Sculpture*. New York: Rizzoli, 1978.
- Dussler, Luitpold. *Die Zeichnungen Des Michelangelo*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag Gambh., 1959.
- Escholier, Raymond. *Eugène Delacroix et sa "consolatrice."* Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1932.
- Estignard, Alexandre. *Clésinger, sa vie, ses oeuvres*. Paris: Libraire H. Floury, 1900.
- Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris. Catalogue général publié par la commission impériale*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1867.
- Falloux, Alfred Comte de. *Madame Swetchine, sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Didier, 1860.
- _____. *The Writings of Madame Swetchine*. Translated by Harriet W. Preston. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1869.
- Fernier, Robert. *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Gustave Courbet*. Catalogue Raisonné. Lausanne: Bibliotheque des Arts, 1977.
- _____. *Gustave Courbet*. New York: Praeger, 1969.

- Fuller, Margaret. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. New York, W.W. Norton and Co., 1971 [1845].
- Fundació Caixa de Pensions. *Fortuny (1836-1974)*. Exh. cat. Barcelona: Centre Cultural de la Fundació Caixa de Pensions, 1989.
- Garb, Tamar. *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth Century Paris*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- _____. *Women Impressionists*. New York: Rizzoli, 1986.
- Garber, Majorie and Nancy J. Vickers, eds. *The Medusa Reader*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
- Gilman, Margaret. *Baudelaire the Critic*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.
- Guiral, Pierre. *Adolphe Theirs, ou de la nécessité en politique*. Paris: Fayard, 1986.
- Hamilton, George Heard. *Manet and His Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986 [1954].
- Harris, Anne Sutherland and Linda Nochlin. *Women Artists: 1550-1950*. Exh cat. Los Angeles: Knopf, 1978.
- Hautecoeur, Louis. *Les Beaux-Arts en France: Passé et Avenir*. Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1948.
- Hemmings, Frederick William John. *Culture and Society in France: 1848-1898*. New York: Scribner's, 1971.
- Higonnet, Anne. *Berthe Morisot*. New York: Harper and Row, 1990.
- _____. *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Hooper, Lucy H. "From Abroad: Paris Letters." *Appleton's Journal: A Magazine of General Literature* 14 (31 July 1875): 154-56.
- Jouin, Henry, ed. *Nouvelles Archives de L'Art Français: Revue de L'Art Français Ancien et Moderne, Dix-Septième Année*. Tome XVI. Paris: F. de Nobele, Libraire de la Société, 1900.
- Koch, Michael. *Pariser Schmuck vom Zweiten Kaiserreich zur Belle Epoque*. Munich: Hirmer, 1989.

- Larousse, Pierre. *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*. Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1867.
- Lathers, Marie. *Bodies of Art: French Literary Realism and the Artist's Model*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001.
- Legrange, Léon. "Du Rang des Femmes dans les Arts." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (October 1860): 30-43.
- Lethève, Jacques. *Daily Life of French Artists in the Nineteenth Century*. Hilary E. Paddon, trans. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972.
- Lindsay, Jack. *Gustave Courbet: His Life and Art*. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.
- Mainardi, Patricia. *Art and Politics of the Second Empire*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987.
- _____. *End of the Salon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- _____. *Husbands, Wives, and Lovers: Marriage and Its Discontents in Nineteenth-Century France*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Marmier, Xavier. *Journal (1848-1890)*. Edited by Eldon Kaye. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1968.
- Mathews, Patricia. *Passionate Discontent: Creativity, Gender, and French Symbolist Art*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Mayne, Ethel Colburn. *Enchanters of Men*. London: Methuen, 1909.
- Mead, Christopher Curtis. *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1991.
- Meissner, A.G. *Histoire de la vie et de la mort de Bianca Capello*. Paris: Maradan, 1790.
- Moreau, Adolphe. *Eugène Delacroix et son oeuvre*. Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1873.
- Moses, Claire Goldberg. *French Feminism in the 19th Century*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984.
- Nieuwerkerke, M. le Comte De. *Rapport sur les Travaux de Remaniement et d'accroissement réalisés depuis 1849 dans les Musées Impériaux*. Paris: Librairie académique Didier, 1863.
- O'Donnell, Elliott. *Fatal Kisses in History and Tradition*. London: J. Hamilton, 1929.

- Osborn, Laughton. *Bianca Capello: A Tragedy*. New York: Moorhead, Simpson and Bond, 1868.
- Polistena, Joyce C. "The Role of Religion in Eugène Delacroix's Religious Paintings: Intention and Distortion." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York Graduate School and University Center, 1997.
- Powell, Kirsten, and Elizabeth C. Childs. *Femmes d'esprit: Women in Daumier's Caricature*. Middlebury, VT: The Christian A. Johnson Memorial Gallery at Middlebury College, 1990.
- Querlin, Marise. *La Princesse Mathilde: Souveraine sans couronne*. Lausanne: Éditions Recontre, 1966.
- Reid, Jane Davidson. *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Richardson, Joanna. *La Vie Parisienne: 1852-1870*. New York: The Viking Press, 1971.
- Robaut, Alfred. *L'Oeuvre complet du Eugène Delacroix: Peintures, dessins, gravures, lithographies*. Paris: Charavay Frères Éditeurs, 1885.
- Roos, Jane Mayo. *Early Impressionism and the French State, 1866-1874*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Rouart, Denis, ed. *Berthe Morisot: Correspondence*. Translated by Betty W. Hubbard. New York: Moyer Bell Limited, 1987 [1957].
- Rousseau, Theodore, Jr. "A Guide to the Picture Galleries." *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 12 (January 1954): 7, 54.
- Rucki, Isabelle and Dorothee Huber, eds. *Architektenlexikon der Schweiz 19./20. Jahrhundert*. Basel, Boston and Berlin: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1998.
- Salles, Catherine. *Le Second Empire: 1852-1870*. Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1985.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Sloane, Joseph C. *French Painting Between the Past and the Present*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Spector, Jack J. *The Murals of Eugene Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice*. New York: College Art Association of America, 1967.
- Steegmann, Mary G. *Bianca Cappello*. Baltimore and London: Norman, Remington and Co.,

and Contable and Co., Ltd., 1913.

Stuckey, Charles F. and William P. Scott. *Berthe Morisot: Impressionist*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1987.

Wilenski, R. H. *Modern French Painters*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1963.

Williams, Roger L. *The World of Napoleon III: 1851-1870*. New York: The Free Press, 1957.

Wilson, H. Schütz. *History and Criticism: Being Studies on Conciergerie, Bianca Cappello, Wallenstein, Calderon, Carlyle, Goethe, Faust, Taine*. London: T.F. Unwin, 1869.

Yeldham, Charlotte. *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1984.

Zeidler, Paul Gerhard. *Bianca Capello: Die Zauberin Von Venedig (Historischer Roman)*. Berlin: Peter J. Oestergaard Verlag, 1927.

Zola, Émile. *Salons: 1840-1892*. Edited by Fredrick William John Hemmings and Robert J. Niess. Geneva: E. Droz, 1959.

VI. Netography/Internet Resources (arranged alphabetically by author or title)

Davin, François. 2001. *Charles Gounod: His Life, His Works* [online]. Croissy-sur-Seine: François Davin. [cited 1 January 2002]. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.charles-gounod.com>

Diesbach-Bellerroche, Benoît de. 2001. *Site Généalogique et Héraldique du Canton de Fribourg* [online]. Fribourg: Intermede Bellerroche. [cited 6 December 2001]. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.diesbach.com>

Fondation Le Manoir. 2001. *Le Manoir: residence pour personnes âgées* [online]. Fribourg: Fondation Le Manoir. [cited 20 December 2001]. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.lemanoir.ch>

Goldberg, Edward (director). 1995-2002. *The Medici Archive Project* [online]. Florence: The Medici Archive Project [cited 21 January 2002]. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.medici.org>

Jorio, Marco (director). 2001. *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse on the Swiss National Library Server* [online]. Berne: Rédaction Centrale DHS. [cited 20 January 2002]. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.dhs.ch>

Pierre, Caterina Y. 2005. *Marcello, Adèle d'Affry, Duchess Castiglione Colonna* [online].

New York: High Aspirations, Inc [cited 7 March 2005]. Available from the World Wide Web:<http://www.marcellosculpture.com>

NOTE TO USERS

Copyrighted materials in this document have not been scanned at the request of the author. They are available for consultation in the author's university library.

462-733

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]