

VOLUME ONE

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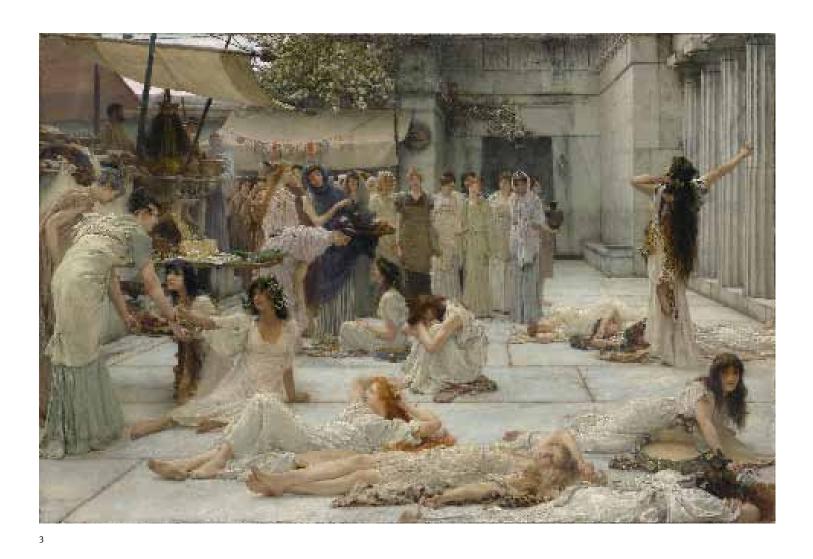
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3 | The Women of Amphissa 1887

Oil on canvas, 122.5 x 184.2 cm Lower right (in tambourine): L. Alma-Tadema op. CCLXXVIII 1978.12

Exhibited to popular acclaim at the Royal Academy in 1887, *The Women of Amphissa* gained official recognition at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, where it was awarded the gold medal. The obscure subject, complex composition, high finish, and profusion of archaeological artifacts intensify the visual impact of the large canvas. The painting was exhibited at the Academy's annual exhibition accompanied in the official catalogue by an unattributed quotation:

During the holy war that followed the taking of Delphi by the Phocians, it chanced that the Chyades, women sacred to Dionysos, were seized with religious frenzy, and, wandering aimlessly, came at night to the city of Amphissa, which was in league with Phocis, and their enemy. But, being weary, and unconscious of

danger, they lay down in the market-place and slept. When the wives of Amphissa heard this, they hastened to the spot, fearing lest the Chyades should suffer insult or injury; and standing round the sleepers, waited till they had awakened, then tended them and gave them food. After which, having asked leave of their husbands, they led the wanderers from the city, safe unto the boundaries of their own land.¹

Even with this passage, a version of which was also printed in Henry Blackburn's *Academy Notes*, ² the subject elicited debate. For example, the writer of "Echoes of the Week" in the *Illustrated London News* devoted space in two of his weekly columns to the problem. In his first notice, he questioned the identity of the "Chyades" and listed the various reference works he had consulted in search of the answer. ³ A week later, he reported that his correspondent, "Skia," "suggested that Chyades is only a misprint for Thyades." ⁴

This episode is important in highlighting the obscurity of the source Alma-Tadema chose for an important statement of his aesthetic agenda. While Alma-Tadema built his reputation on the highly detailed antique set-

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tings of his paintings, rarely do his works refer to a specific literary or historical text. *Women of Amphissa*, with its complex literary genesis, therefore, stands as an exceptional work in Alma-Tadema's production.

The original story comes from Plutarch's Moralia (Mor. 249E-F) in the section on the "Bravery of Women." Alma-Tadema had used this passage as a source for two other works, painted over a decade earlier: the unfinished Exhausted Maenads after the Dance (1874; Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam) and After the Dance (1875; private collection).5 While these paintings focus exclusively on the bacchantes, the diary of Alma-Tadema's Dutch friend, Carel Vosmaer, reveals that the literary source of the former was Plutarch. From Vosmaer's note that it represented "something from Plutarch . . . women who had taken part in the festival of Bacchus and, exhausted, fell asleep in the marketplace,"6 it is clear that Alma-Tadema's painting was referencing the Moralia. As J. F. Heijbroek has noted, however, Alma-Tadema did not own this volume.7 Moreover, when the Women of Amphissa was exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in 1889, the source was cited as George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (book II, chapter XVII), which was first published in 1876.8

Eliot's eponymous hero remembers the story of the Delphic women's hospitality and compassion after he intercedes in the attempted suicide of the Jewish girl Mirah. Having decided to take her to the mother and sisters of his Cambridge friend Hans Meyrick, Deronda worries during the journey to their house about their reception of this stranger. The chapter ends with his recall of "the beautiful story of Plutarch," and he reassures himself that the Meyricks will be equally understanding. Eliot's allusion to Plutarch is especially appropriate in the context of an attempted suicide, with Mirah's psychological distress paralleling the Bacchanalian frenzy of the maenads.

Alma-Tadema's choice of a contemporary source for an ancient story of female virtue is particularly apt when we consider his reputation for archaeologically accurate settings peopled with English-looking figures. Patricia Ivinski has, in fact, detailed both the specific sources for and the inaccuracies in Alma-Tadema's employment of ancient artifacts. 11 For example, she identifies the source of the relief sculpture above the doorway as fifth-century metopes from the Temple of Hera at Selinus, now at the Museo Archeologico Regionale in Palermo, Sicily. While Alma-Tadema placed these details in their proper architectural context, he adapted a fish plate from the British

Museum into the circular medallion on the pier topped by an ornament drawn from a funeral stele.¹² Indeed, the emphasis of so many considerations of this work, as well as Alma-Tadema's entire oeuvre, is often in the identification and assessment of accuracy of the artist's sources for his "accessories."¹³

The statement of the art critic for the *Illustrated London News*, however, alerts us to the grander motive behind Alma-Tadema's work. Writing that "archaeology for once, at least, is made subordinate to art, and in the waking wanderers, as well as in their ministering protectors, we have a series of elaborate studies, not of costume and pose, but of sentiment and emotion," 14 the reviewer hails the painting as Alma-Tadema's best. Even Claude Phillips, who first declares that Alma-Tadema, as a purveyor of the "category of *genre intime*," did not have the capacity to treat successfully a subject of "poetic import," concedes that there is "much to admire both in the conception and the execution of the picture." 15

The painting represents Alma-Tadema's foray into the Victorian discourse on the proper role of women in society. Here, the artist visualizes two types of women—the (literally) upstanding citizens of Amphissa and the exhausted worshipers of Dionysos. Alma-Tadema portrays the former as models of decorum and graciousness, their hair neatly bound up and garments carefully draped. The bacchantes, each posed in various stages of sleep and awakening, are allied with a more emotional, uncontrolled side of human nature. With the exception of the dramatically stretching figure on the right, they are all lying or sitting with their animal skins on the cool marble of the town's agora, their long hair loose and crowned with ivy.

Compositionally, the women of the title act out their role as protectors, surrounding the bacchantes on two sides. The majority of the Amphissans form a line toward the back as if in the role of the chorus in a Greek play. Forming the points of contact between the two groups, the three Amphissans on the left bend progressively further in a series of poses that reflect Alma-Tadema's interest in the stages of movement as demonstrated by Eadweard Muybridge's photographs. Typical also of Alma-Tadema's compositional techniques is the cut-off figure at the lower right corner. While fragmented figures and cut-off scenes are usually associated with modernist works by Manet and others, Alma-Tadema often used similar devices to emphasize the slice-of-life aspect of his scenes. 16

The stage set quality of the outdoor marketplace

not only reinforces the latent drama of the inevitable morning-after hangover of bacchanalian revelry, but also relates to Alma-Tadema's own work in designing scenery for the Victorian theater. ¹⁷ While his works of the 1860s (as exemplified by *Preparations for the Festivities* [cat. 1]) are characterized by crowded, Pompeian red interiors, Alma-Tadema's works after he had settled in London have a brighter palette and less compressed compositions. The profusion of marble in *Women of Amphissa* contributes to this lightening of tone. In fact, Alma-Tadema agreed with Frederick Dolman's comment that "the public won't let you paint much without blue sky and white marble in it," but added that he felt impelled "to find fresh features of interest, new points of achievement." ¹⁸

In the interview with Dolman, he dated his interest in marble to very early in his career. The initial moment of inspiration occurred in Ghent (not Italy) in 1858, when Alma-Tadema saw the marble smoking room of a clubhouse in the Belgian city. Alma-Tadema remembered the incident over forty years later, noting that "its wonderful whiteness and atmosphere made an extraordinary impression on me." 19 Nevertheless, in his paper "Marbles: Their Ancient Application," presented to the Royal Institute of British Architects, Alma-Tadema devoted his attention to Greece and Rome. 20

A key element in Alma-Tadema's reputation at the time was his Dutch origin and the effect of his national heritage on his artistic style. The opinion expressed by Claude Phillips in his review of the British contribution and successes at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris sheds light on contemporary debates over nationality and artistic style. He wrote that although Alma-Tadema had won the gold medal, this honor should not be seen as a reflection on the state of British art as the artist was born in Holland and trained in Belgium.²¹ Phillips was not alone in this assessment, and it has become a cliché that Alma-Tadema merely transposed the Dutch seventeenth-century genre mode onto scenes from the daily life of the Greeks and Romans.²²

Phillips also maintained that the artist's treatment was "calm" and "unemotional." Significantly, he described those qualities that "charm the beholder and explain the choice of the international jury."²³ Although the perceived lack of expressiveness formed part of the criticism of the artist's figure drawing, Alma-Tadema did indeed study the human figure. Writing to Thomas Armstrong, the Director of Art at the South Kensington Museum, in the same year that he was

finishing Women of Amphissa, Alma-Tadema voiced his advocacy of such study:

How gratified I was to see that the South Kensington schools take the figure decoration up. Applied to pots plates etc. & how good the results are already. Especially in view of this I was glad to see so many good figure studies, drawings, as well as sculpture, coming from various parts of the country, and in view of this I much regret that the female model is not used in your schools. The grace can only be studied from the female model.²⁴

His own working method of sketching directly onto the canvas—described by his sister-in-law, Ellen Gosse—resulted in a paucity of figure studies.²⁵ However, Gosse confirmed his practice of working from the live model,²⁶ and Patricia Ivinski identified the Amphissan woman in dark draperies in the center of the composition as Alma-Tadema's second wife, Laura Epps.²⁷ In fact, the numerous changes to the composition visible in X-rays of *Women of Amphissa* support the claim that he developed much of his composition on the canvas.

A measure of the significance that this painting held for Alma-Tadema himself was that he commissioned the sculptor William Reynolds-Stephens (1862–1943) to produce a copper frieze based on the composition for his studio in Grove End Road, Saint John's Wood. Alma-Tadema had moved to this house in 1886, having bought it from James Tissot, and supervised an extensive and expensive remodeling. ²⁸ Contemporary photographs of the studio, with its aluminum dome, show the bas relief.

With its dual literary sources and its archaeological details, *Women of Amphissa* nonetheless had resonance in a defining cultural discourse of the period. Rather than merely oppose the "Angel of the Hearth" to the "Fallen Woman," Alma-Tadema presents a more nuanced episode that challenged ideas restricting women to the confines of the private home. By portraying a very public moment of encounter, the artist in effect argues for the wider application of the civilizing effects of the domesticated woman. EP

PROVENANCE [Commissioned by Agnew's, London, 1887, sold to Thwaites, 30 Apr. or 15 July 1887];²⁹ Daniel Thwaites, Blackburn (1887–d. 1888); Eliza Amelia Thwaites, Blackburn, his wife, by descent (1888–d. 1907); Elma Amy Thwaites Yerburgh, London, her daughter, by descent (1907–d. 1946); great-

grandson of Thwaites; sale, Christie's, London, 24 Jan. 1975, no. 108; [Somerville & Simpson, London, sold to the Clark, May 1978]; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1978.

EXHIBITIONS London 1887, no. 305; Manchester 1887, no. 322A; Paris 1889a, Great Britain section, no. 2, lent by Mrs. Thwaites; London 1897, no. 38, lent by Mrs. Thwaites; London 1913a, pp. vii, 52, no. 198, lent by Mrs. Yerburgh; Williamstown 1983b, no cat.; Williamstown 1983c, no cat.; Williamstown and others 1991–92, pp. 96–98, no. 37, ill. on cover; Amsterdam—Liverpool 1996–97, pp. 232–34, no. 68, ill. (exhibited in Amsterdam only); New Haven—San Marino 2001–2, pp. 218–19, no. 67, ill.

REFERENCES Zimmern 1886, p. 26; Blackburn 1887, p. 11; Illustrated London News 1887a, p. 512; Illustrated London News 1887b, p. 517; Illustrated London News 1887c, p. 536; Magazine of Art 1887, p. 272; Magazine of Art 1889a, p. xxxiii; Magazine of Art 1889b, p. xxxvii; Phillips 1891, pp. 206-7; Monkhouse 1895, pp. 677-78; Temple 1897, p. 196; Zimmern 1902, p. 72; Standing 1905, pp. 79-81; Spielman and Layard 1905, p. 219; Dircks 1910, p. 31; Connoisseur 1913, p. 114; Collier 1913, p. 603; Spier 1913, p. 45; Swanson 1977, pl. 13; Apollo 1978, p. 273, ill.; Art Journal 1978-79, p. 139, ill.; GBA Suppl. 1979, p. 50, fig. 248; Faison 1982, pp. 322-23, fig. 258; Jenkins 1983, p. 605, pl. 27; Wood 1983, ill. opp. p. 48; Kestner 1989, p. 277, pl. 5-5; Swanson 1990, pp. 69, 233, 431, no. 317, ill.; Kroll 1991, p. 70, ill.; Tomlinson 1991, pl. 6; Kraemer 1992, ill. on cover; Hedreen 1994, pp. 79-92, fig. 1; Academic American Encyclopedia 1996, vol. 1, p. 305, ill.; Kern et al. 1996, pp. 76-77, ill.; Heijbroek 1996, pp. 168-69, fig. 7; Antiques 1997, p. 527, pl. 9; Cherry 2000, pp. 182-83, ill.; Barrow 2001, pp. 121, 131-34, 166, fig. 130; Jiminez 2001, p. 41; Satullo 2002, p. 38; Cahill 2005, p. 59; Radasanu 2010, ill. on cover.

TECHNICAL REPORT The canvas is a moderate-weave commercially primed linen (16 threads/cm) which was strip-lined in 1996. Ground staining is visible in several figures in the central portion of the image, where dark lines follow the canvas weave. An examination in 1978 indicated sensitivity to cleaning and the likely presence of a synthetic resin varnish. Some ground staining has been minimized with inpainting, as seen in ultraviolet light. Retouching is also found in several faces and along pentimenti where lower brushwork had become visible. There are some traction cracks scattered in the paint associated with the numerous changes by the artist, but the picture is generally in remarkable condition.

Many changes in the composition can be detected using normal, reflected, and infrared light, in combination with the X-radiograph. There is an extensive underdrawing, evident primarily in the architecture. On close normal-light viewing, the drawing lines of the frieze along the top of the painting extend beneath the tree foliage to its left. With infrared inspection, several diagonal perspective lines can be seen extending from the cornices. The surface of the rest of the painting has undergone considerable alteration. In reflected

light, many discarded brushstrokes and shapes can be seen, as if draperies were repainted, figures slightly repositioned, or accessories removed. The X-radiograph reveals even more extensive changes, including entire figures that were removed or replaced, and fountains, tambourines, and plates that disappeared as the painting progressed. There are so many alterations in the reclining foreground figures that their final forms are hard to decipher on the films. In general, the paint is of moderate thickness, applied in a combination of paste consistency in the light colors, with the dark passages and details glazed in a thinner application. The faces and flesh are painted using soft highlights and color over a warm-toned base layer.

- 1. London 1887, p. 15.
- 2. Blackburn 1887, p. 11.
- 3. Illustrated London News 1887a, p. 512.
- 4. Illustrated London News 1887c, p. 536.
- 5. S 162 and S 194. Although Vern Swanson proposes that John Collier's Maenads, exhibited at the 1886 Academy exhibition, was an influence on Alma-Tadema's choice of subject, it is clear from these earlier paintings that the artist had a long-standing preoccupation with the bacchantes of Plutarch's moral tale. See Swanson 1990, p. 233.
- 6. Quoted in Heijbroek 1996, p. 168.
- 7. Ibid.
- 8. Paris 1889a, p. 198.
- 9. Eliot 1876, p. 178.
- 10. Alma-Tadema himself admitted in a published interview with Frederick Dolman that "it has been said, I know, that some of my Greeks and Romans are too English in their appearance. But, after all, there is not such a great difference between the ancients and the moderns as we are apt to suppose." See Dolman 1899, p. 607.
- 11. Williamstown and others 1991–92, pp. 96–97. Rosemary Barrow points out that the inclusion of these architectural details, which had been discovered as recently as 1877, demonstrates the currency of the artist's knowledge. See Barrow 2001, p. 134.
- 12. Williamstown and others 1991–92, pp. 96–97. Richard Tomlinson also observes that the source for the architecture was the Athenian Propylaea, noting, however, that Alma-Tadema did not copy it exactly. See Tomlinson 1991, caption for color pl. 6.
- 13. Helen Zimmern's focus on Alma-Tadema's penchant for intense treatment of details is an early instance of this tendency. See Zimmern 1886 and Zimmern 1902. In a more recent analysis of Alma-Tadema and his work, Joseph Kestner also makes the connection of this characteristic and the artist's Dutch birth; however, he imparts a psychological interpretation to Alma-Tadema's stylistic traits. See Kestner 1989, pp. 271–72.
- 14. Illustrated London News 1887b, p. 517.
- 15. Phillips 1891, pp. 206-7.

- 16. Elizabeth Prettejohn discusses Alma-Tadema's compositional tendencies in "Antiquity Fragmented and Reconstructed: Alma-Tadema's Compositions," in Amsterdam-Liverpool 1996–97, pp. 33–42, and Prettejohn 2002, pp. 115–29.
- 17. For a discussion of Alma-Tadema's work for the London stage, see Barrow 2001, pp. 165–69.
- 18. Dolman 1899, p. 604.
- 19. Ibid., p. 605.
- 20. Alma-Tadema 1907, pp. 169-80.
- 21. Phillips 1891, p. 206.
- 22. For example, in his review of the Academy's memorial retrospective of 1913, A. Clutton Brock discusses Alma-Tadema's relationship to seventeenth-century Dutch genre painters. See Brock 1913, pp. 285–86. More recently, Christopher Wood has written that "his character, his temperament, and his art remained, to the end of his life, essentially Dutch." See Wood 1983, p. 106.
- 23. Phillips 1891, p. 207.
- 24. Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema to Thomas Armstrong, 3 Sept. 1887 (The Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema Collection: photographs and correspondence of the famous Victorian painter, University of Birmingham Library, Add. 28).
- 25. Gosse 1894, p. 493.
- 26. lbid., p. 494.
- 27. Williamstown and others 1991-92, p. 97.
- 28. For a discussion of the Grove End Road house and Alma-Tadema's other residences and interior designs, see Julian Treuherz, "Alma-Tadema, Aesthete, Architect and Interior Designer," in Amsterdam–Liverpool 1996–97, DD. 45–56.
- 29. A letter in the Clark curatorial file from Evelyn Joll of Agnew's, dated 5 Apr. 1979, states that Agnew's sold this picture along with another to Daniel Thwaites, of Blackburn, and that Thwaites's great-grandson sold this picture at Christie's some years before the date of the letter. Clark records indicate the first sale date as 15 July 1887, but Vern Swanson gives it as 30 Apr. 1887; see Swanson 1990, p. 233.

4 | Mrs. Ralph Sneyd (Mary Ellis Sneyd) 1889

Oil on panel, 30.5 x 23.8 cm Lower left (on chair arm): L. Alma-Tadema op. CCXCV Gift of Michael Coe in memory of Sophie D. Coe 1996.12

Alma-Tadema has been so closely associated with his depiction of scenes from ancient history that his portraits have inevitably been given little, if any, attention in the literature. Alma-Tadema himself complained that his portraits were the least recognized part of his oeuvre. When interviewed by Frederick Dolman in 1899, he noted: "People . . . always seem to forget that I paint portraits." The situation is typified in George Moritz Ebers's 1886 biography of his friend when, at the end of the book, he states that "Tadema has also proved himself a portrait painter." After this tantalizing comment, however, Ebers cuts off any discussion with the plea that because he has "already exceeded my allotted space, I am prohibited from mentioning separately the portraits." Helen Zimmern in her 1902 biography associates Alma-Tadema's portraits with the later phase of his career and praises "his wonderfully careful technique" and "perfection of finish." Nevertheless, she goes on to describe the inevitable resistance to associating Alma-Tadema with the portrayal of real-life, contemporary people rather than "blue skies, placid seas, spring flowers, youths and maidens in the heyday of life."3

Painted in 1889, the portrait of Mrs. Ralph Sneyd elicited notice when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy the following year. Chosen as one of the "Principal Pictures" of 1890 by Henry Blackburn in his Academy Notes, it is one of seventy-seven other portraits mentioned in the exhibition. While Blackburn restricted his commentary to a terse description of the sitter's apparel of "black dress with white stripes," the reviewer writing in the Illustrated London News praised the "transparency" of the "flesh-tints."

The common criticism directed at Alma-Tadema's figures was their lack of expression, exemplified by the *Art Journal*'s warning that "it should be understood explicitly that the general lack of attraction of his figures is due to their complete denial of spirituality." That this failing was generally accepted and presented a particular challenge to his portraiture is clear even from the writing of the artist's advocates. In an extended article on Alma-Tadema for the Christmas