

The background of the cover is a detailed 19th-century painting of a storm at sea. The sky is filled with heavy, dark, and turbulent clouds, with some light breaking through near the horizon. The sea is dark and choppy, with white-capped waves crashing against a sandy beach in the foreground. Several large sailing ships with multiple masts and sails are visible on the horizon, some appearing to be struggling against the wind. On the left side, a wooden pier or wharf extends into the water, with a few small figures of people on it. The overall mood is one of intense natural power and maritime drama.

**NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN PAINTINGS
AT THE STERLING AND FRANCINE CLARK ART INSTITUTE**

VOLUME ONE

Edited by Sarah Lees

With an essay by Richard Rand
and technical reports by Sandra L. Webber

With contributions by Katharine J. Albert, Philippe Bordes, Dan Cohen,
Kathryn Calley Galitz, Alexis Goodin, Marc Gotlieb, John House,
Simon Kelly, Richard Kendall, Kathleen M. Morris, Leslie Hill Paisley,
Kelly Pask, Elizabeth A. Pergam, Kathryn A. Price, Mark A. Roglán,
James Rosenow, Zoë Samels, and Fronia E. Wissman

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- ing, *Le dessinateur (The Artist)* (1853; Mildred Lane Kemper Museum, Saint Louis). In fact, neither the Phillips nor the Kemper painting seems to fit the 1878 description perfectly. In *Ottawa–Paris–Washington 1999*, p. 514, the first owner of the Phillips work listed is Paul Rosenberg, by 1901.
3. Pantazzi in *Ottawa–Paris–Washington 1999*, p. 24.
 4. *Ibid.*
 5. The Metropolitan painting is *Maison 1968*, vol. 1, no. I-201 and the Kröller-Müller is no. I-202.
 6. As *Maison* notes, however, such monograms are not a reliable basis for judging attributions of works overall, and, he states, “the question of the authenticity of a monogram is in fact of minor importance.” *Maison 1968*, p. 39.
 7. RSC Diary, 20 Oct. 1944. It might be noted that in a 1994 conservation report, the Phillips painting was described as having a “thick and extremely discolored surface coating,” from which a layer of yellow/brown grime was removed, leaving the varnish in place. Elizabeth Steele, conservation report, Phillips Collection files. Many thanks to Ms. Steele and to Karen Schneider for granting access to this information.
 8. See Venturi 1939, vol. 2, p. 208. Translation from *Ottawa–Paris–Washington 1999*, p. 28. Durand-Ruel had died in 1921.
 9. Certain experts, however, have raised doubts in conversation with Clark curators, including Michael Pantazzi to this author in 2001. The Ottawa venue of the 1999 exhibition may have been the only time that the Clark and Phillips works have been seen side by side.
 10. Laughton 1996, p. 149.
 11. Burnstock and Bradford 1998, pp. 217–22.
 12. Fuchs 1927, p. 46, published the painting as already belonging to Max Liebermann. According to Janda 1973, p. 122, Liebermann deposited this and a number of other paintings at the Kunsthaus Zurich in Sept. 1933, where they remained for several years. A letter to the Kunsthaus Zurich from Walter Feilchenfeldt of the Paul Cassirer gallery, dated 2 May 1933, lists this work among those to be deposited, and it was no. 3 on the Kunsthaus deposit list; see Vienna 1997–98, pp. 239–40. At Liebermann’s death in 1935, ownership passed either to his widow or to his daughter, Käthe, wife of Kurt Riezler, a philosopher and political theorist. The pictures, including this one, were sent to Amsterdam for exhibition from July to September 1938, after which, again according to Janda, they were returned to Riezler. The Riezlers emigrated to New York in December 1938 but retained possession of their collection; see Thomson 1980, p. 217. A number of works from the collection were sold or donated at about this time; this was probably approximately when this picture was sold to André Weil.

Jacques-Louis David

French, 1748–1825

103 | Comte Henri-Amédée-Mercure de Turenne-d’Aynac 1816

Oil on canvas, 71.8 x 56.2 cm
Below center, left: L. David / 1816
1999.2

David painted Henri-Amédée de Turenne (1776–1852) twice in 1816, when both were living in Brussels away from the Bourbon government in France. In a list of his works drawn up in Brussels in 1819, six years before his death, under the rubric “In my exile,” one finds both “portrait of M. de Turenne, bust” and “portrait of M. de Turenne, large scale,” with the full-length portrait of Maurice-Étienne Gérard (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) between the two.¹ The Williamstown canvas was thus the first to be executed, whereas the other (fig. 103.1), which early biographers describe as a “large scale repetition,”² was perhaps prompted by the enviously large scale on which Gérard chose to be portrayed.

While Turenne had closely linked his career and his fate to the Napoleonic regime since 1805, he was not a banished imperial officer.³ Although he was not a direct descendant of the great military commander of Louis XIV, as his family descended from a Turenne bastard branch recognized by testament in 1399, he most likely used the enormous prestige that his namesake enjoyed during the Revolution and Empire to further his own career. Enrolled as a volunteer in the army of the Pyrénées-Orientales in 1793–94, he ran into trouble during the Terror on account of his aristocratic lineage and chose to abandon military life for the next ten years. His remarkable second career in the army began only in 1805. Engaged in major campaigns with the Grande Armée all across Europe, he rose steadily in the military hierarchy. In 1809, he was gratified with a court appointment, as one of the sixty chamberlains of the emperor, and then in 1811 as Napoleon’s *maître de la garde-robe* (master of the robes).⁴ In 1813, he was accorded the title of *comte de l’Empire* (count of the Empire). Promoted to colonel by Napoleon on 8 March 1814, he was presumably present at his abdication on 6 April, since six days later he sent a letter of allegiance to Louis XVIII from Fontainebleau. Without wasting any time, he petitioned the Bourbon govern-

ment for a position corresponding to his rank; the new administration, however, was reluctant to confirm his recent nomination as colonel and give him a regiment. In February 1815, realizing that he was not to obtain satisfaction, he tried in vain to negotiate his retirement with a further promotion to *maréchal de camp* (field marshal), the Ancien Régime rank corresponding to *général de brigade* (brigadier general).

From March to June 1815, after Napoleon's return, which was to end with Waterloo, Turenne once again sided with him and was well rewarded. He was made *pair héréditaire de l'Empire* (hereditary peer of the Empire) on 2 June and the following day was upgraded to *maréchal de camp*. But in August 1815, without any hope of further active service, he wrote to the Bourbon war minister requesting permission to travel abroad, invoking his health, private affairs, and the education of his children requiring that he settle for a while in Switzerland. Although nothing proves an early contact with David, it is curious to note that Turenne planned to go to Switzerland just at the time that David was in self-exile in the area. Turenne probably departed only in early November 1815, and in December, police authorities sent back to the war minister in Paris, via Lyons, a report on his "bad behavior" and his "extremely improper and dangerous declarations" in Geneva, presumably criticism of the way the Bourbon regime was treating imperial officers. A brief allusion to David's esteem for Turenne in a letter of the comtesse Vilain XIII to her husband dated 5 July 1816 is the earliest confirmation of his presence in Brussels.

Whatever the exact circumstances of their meeting in Brussels may have been, it is easy to imagine David's fascination for the Napoleonic officer whose glorious military record and family names were so impressive. Turenne's troubles with the Bourbon military administration could only further endear him to the exiled regicide. It would seem, in any event, that David strongly invested himself in the first portrait, for although he had previously adopted the close-cropped bust format during the Empire, rarely does he attain a comparable degree of pictorial and psychological intensity. Turenne's ruddy, masculine face with its powdery, blushed complexion is fixedly frontal. Set against the dark hair and background, it comes forward, giving the impression of being over life-size, while the chest with the right shoulder pulled back, seems under pressure in the close-fitted military dress. This is suggested by the red line of the *passepoil* lining of the dark blue uniform, which con-



Fig. 103.1. Jacques-Louis David, *Portrait of Comte de Turenne*, 1816. Oil on panel, 112 x 81 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

trasts a scalloped effect of tension on one side of the chest and a smooth curve on the other that snakes up to embrace the neck. Standing with a firm grip on the sheath of the saber, affirming a strong physical, almost sculptural presence, Turenne is made to embody the force of character of the soldier-hero of the Empire, whose downfall is ignored.

As was common in Napoleon's army, the military uniform worn by Turenne is somewhat fanciful. The dark blue habit and plastron are characteristic of the *artillerie à cheval de la Garde impériale* (horse artillery of the Imperial Guard), but not the collar piece, which should be another color, nor the buttons, which should be decorated with crossed cannons. Another oddity is the lower edge of the plastron, which should not be straight but have an inverted V form, to allow for easier movement of the rider. The white culotte, visible at the lower edge of the canvas, is that worn by officers on social occasions.⁵ The epaulets have the thick fringes that identify the *officier supérieur*



(superior officer). The saber *à la mamelouk*, turned the wrong way, may mean that Turenne had been among the European officers of the *escadron des mamelouks de la Garde impériale* (mamluk squadron of the Imperial Guard). The saber, visibly an afterthought to animate the portrait, would have hung on the long blue cord encircling the chest *en sautoir*, whereas the shorter magenta-colored cord, called a *dragonne*, is a typical cavalry accessory meant to be worn loose around the wrist during combat and retain the weapon should it slip from the rider's hand.⁶

Turenne, who all his life seems to have been avid for honors and favors, wears four crosses. His family history had earned him the distinction of *chevalier* (knight) in the order of Malta at his birth. The characteristic medal with a black ribbon is the second from the left. Since 1809, he was *chevalier* in the order of the Legion of Honor and officer since 1813 (the first medal, a five-branch cross with a red ribbon). In 1814, he had been named *chevalier* in the military order of Saint-Louis (the third medal, also with a red ribbon, but with a four-branch cross). Less familiar is the medal on the right, an eight-pointed white enamel cross with a ribbon of black moire edged on each side with a white-blue-white stripe. This is the military order of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, awarded for outstanding acts of courage on the field of battle, which Turenne received in 1809, presumably during the Austrian campaign.⁷

That David painted a second portrait of Turenne so soon after this one is indeed curious. The implication is perhaps not so much that the sitter or the painter was not satisfied by the first image, but that something more might be made to figure on the canvas. Since in both paintings Turenne offers the same closed expression, the significant differences are not in the characterization, but in the format and the costume. These transform the spirit and possible destination of the portrait from an image fit for a gallery of military commanders to one for an aristocratic salon. Although in the second portrait the sitter's military career is still alluded to in the discreet row of striped ribbons that enumerate his decorations, the image proclaims first of all his civilian status. The first portrait revives an image of the Empire; the second fabricates one for the Restoration. The result is an uneasy combination of traditional elements carrying codified social signification with a more modern and democratic sense of abstracted space and a focus on the figure, that David and Élisabeth-Louise Vigée-Le Brun (1755–1842)

had imposed around 1788–90 as a new norm for the society portrait.

Unlike David, Turenne did not entertain the idea of remaining abroad. In June 1817, still living in Brussels, he was designated by diplomatic correspondence as a leading figure of the *mécontents* (malcontents), the French refugees still intriguing to “overthrow the yoke of the Bourbon House.”⁸ The date of his return to Paris is not known, although it was certainly before the end of 1817. On 6 October 1817, he was granted a further two months leave to remain in the thermal town of Spa. But Paris had been on his mind for a while, since David had given him a letter for Antoine Mongez dated 7 September, which he was to deliver on his arrival. In the postscript, the painter wrote: “I am amusing myself making heads of easel pictures for Mr le comte de Turenne, who will give you this letter. He has a passion for painting, I would very much like for him to see the works of your wife.”⁹ The comment suggests that David considered Turenne to be an enthusiastic admirer almost a year after painting his portraits. There may have been some subsequent exchange of correspondence after Turenne's departure, but any trace of letters has yet to be found.

In Paris, Turenne lived quietly with two preoccupations. The first was to keep pressing for his promotion to general, until 1827 when he was finally named *maréchal de camp honoraire pour toute retraite* (honorary field marshal for full retirement). The second was to travel: in 1818, to a spa in the Pyrenees and to Montpellier for family affairs; in 1821 and 1822, twice to Scotland, where one of his sons was in school. A military inspection in 1819 mentions his wealth, good health, and appropriate behavior, but the following year he is described as a political “malcontent,” suggesting a resurgence of opposition as the royal government became more unpopular. A final report on Turenne, shortly after his death in Paris in 1852, indicates that he had been blind for fifteen years: the military hero had outlived his hour, but as long as he could see them, he surely found solace contemplating the images David had captured of his virile glory fully intact. PB

PROVENANCE Comte Henri-Amédée-Mercure de Turenne-d'Aynac (1816–d. 1852); Comte, later Marquis, Sosthène-Paul de Turenne-d'Aynac, his grandson, Paris (by 1878, until at least 1880); de Turenne family, by descent (until 1999); [Marc Blondeau, Paris, sold to the Clark, Mar. 1999]; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1999.

EXHIBITIONS Paris 1878b, section 6, Portraits nationaux, no. 784, lent by de Turenne; Brussels 2000, p. 45, ill.; Los Angeles–Williamstown 2005, pp. 301–6, no. 48, ill.; Paris 2005–6, pp. 142–43, no. 55, ill.

REFERENCES Th[omé de Gamond]. 1826, p. 166; Coupin 1827, p. 56; Seigneur 1863–64, p. 367; Gonse and Guiffrey 1874–75, p. 428; David 1880–82, vol. 1, pp. 545, 649; Cantinelli 1930, p. 114, no. 145; Hauteceur 1954, pp. 259, 264; Wildenstein and Wildenstein 1973, p. 206, no. 1798, p. 227, no. 1938; Schnapper 1980, p. 286; Paris 1989–90a, pp. 21, 514, 623; Vogel 1999, E30; Bordes 2000, pp. 276–80, ill. on cover; Melikian 2000a, p. 7, ill.; Rosenbaum 2001, p. A20, ill.; Satullo 2002, p. 42; Allen 2004, p. 164, ill.

TECHNICAL REPORT The original canvas is a moderate-weight, plain-weave linen, glue-lined to a secondary canvas, and mounted on a six-member mortise-and-tenon replacement stretcher. The lining pressure has accentuated the irregular threads of the two canvases, leaving a weave impression on the surface. The top and bottom tacking margins have been extended and now form part of the image area. The fold-over crease is visible along the top edge, and old tack holes can be seen, especially in the infrared reflectography of the thinly painted lower edge. Both extensions are slanted in relation to the current stretcher's edges, suggesting that the original stretcher may have been out of square. The brushwork on these two strips appears to have some age. The painting was cleaned and inpainted by Alain Goldrach shortly after purchase in 1999, and in ultraviolet light, patches of older natural resin varnish can be seen in the darker passages. Older solvent abrasion along thread tops, especially in the coat, was noted prior to cleaning and accounts for some of the scattered retouching.

The canvas seems to have been stretched and prepared by the artist. Cusping is visible along the lower edge, and the texture of the whitish ground is irregular. At low magnification, large white pigment particles and clear rounded inclusions are detectable in the ground layer. The paint varies from thin and vehicular to a paste consistency, and has coarse and irregular particles throughout. A sketchy drawing below the face elements is faintly visible in normal and infrared light, as are several small artist's changes in the final paint. The proper right epaulet once extended further left, and the ribbon array over the medals was higher and more to the right. Reserves were left for some details, such as the red piping along the jacket front, while the piping runs beneath the sword hilt, perhaps indicating that the sword was not part of the original conception. There are no major age cracks, but there are scattered areas of small traction crackle, indicative of two or more paint layers applied in fairly quick succession.

with critical remarks on the status of the document, p. 16. On the Gérard portrait, see Los Angeles–Williamstown 2005, pp. 307–11.

2. "Répétition en grand." Th[omé de Gamond] 1826, p. 166; Coupin 1827, p. 56.
3. All the unreferenced documents relating to Turenne's biography and military career come from his personal file in Paris, Service historique de l'armée terre (Château de Vincennes), 8Yd2674; the individual documents are not numbered or in any order.
4. His nomination appears for the first time in the *Almanach impérial* of 1810 (published Dec. 1809), p. 72; the promotion appears in the 1812 edition, p. 71.
5. A comparison with David's *The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries* (1812; National Gallery of Art, Washington) helps to understand the singularity of Turenne's outfit. Napoleon is painted with a plastron whose cut is that of the regulation inverted V.
6. My thanks to Jean-Marie Haussadis and Frédéric Lacaille of the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, who detailed the military dress for me.
7. My thanks to Anne de Chefdebien and Élisabeth Pauly of the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, Paris, for their help in identifying the decorations.
8. During a period of tension between France and the Netherlands in the spring of 1817, resulting from the latter government's policy of moderation toward the French exiles, a Russian envoy sent as mediator met with Turenne and another representative of the refugees; see the report from Brussels, 19 June 1817, Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Pays-Bas, vol. 618, folios 146r–151v, reference to Turenne, folio 150 verso. The quote: "secouer le joug de la maison de Bourbon."
9. Jacques-Louis David to Antoine Mongez, 7 Nov. 1817, in Gonse and Guiffrey 1874–75, p. 428: "Je m'amuse à faire des têtes de tableau de chevalet pour M. le comte de Turenne, qui vous remettra cette lettre; il est passionné pour la peinture; je voudrais bien qu'il pût voir les ouvrages de ta femme." It is not clear what the "heads" for Turenne were, perhaps a reference to his drawings of expressive heads after sixteenth-century Flemish masters. In David's list of works from 1919 (see note 1), there are "painted study heads of men and women" and "lots of painted heads, among others: . . . a *Philosopher*, a Belisarius and the child who accompanies him," but these refer to works early in his career.

1. "Dans mon exil"; "Le portrait de M. de Turenne, buste"; "Le portrait de M. de Turenne, en grand." List reproduced by Antoine Schnapper in Paris 1989–90a, pp. 20–21,