

# Théophile Silvestre's *Histoire des artistes vivants*: Art Criticism and Photography

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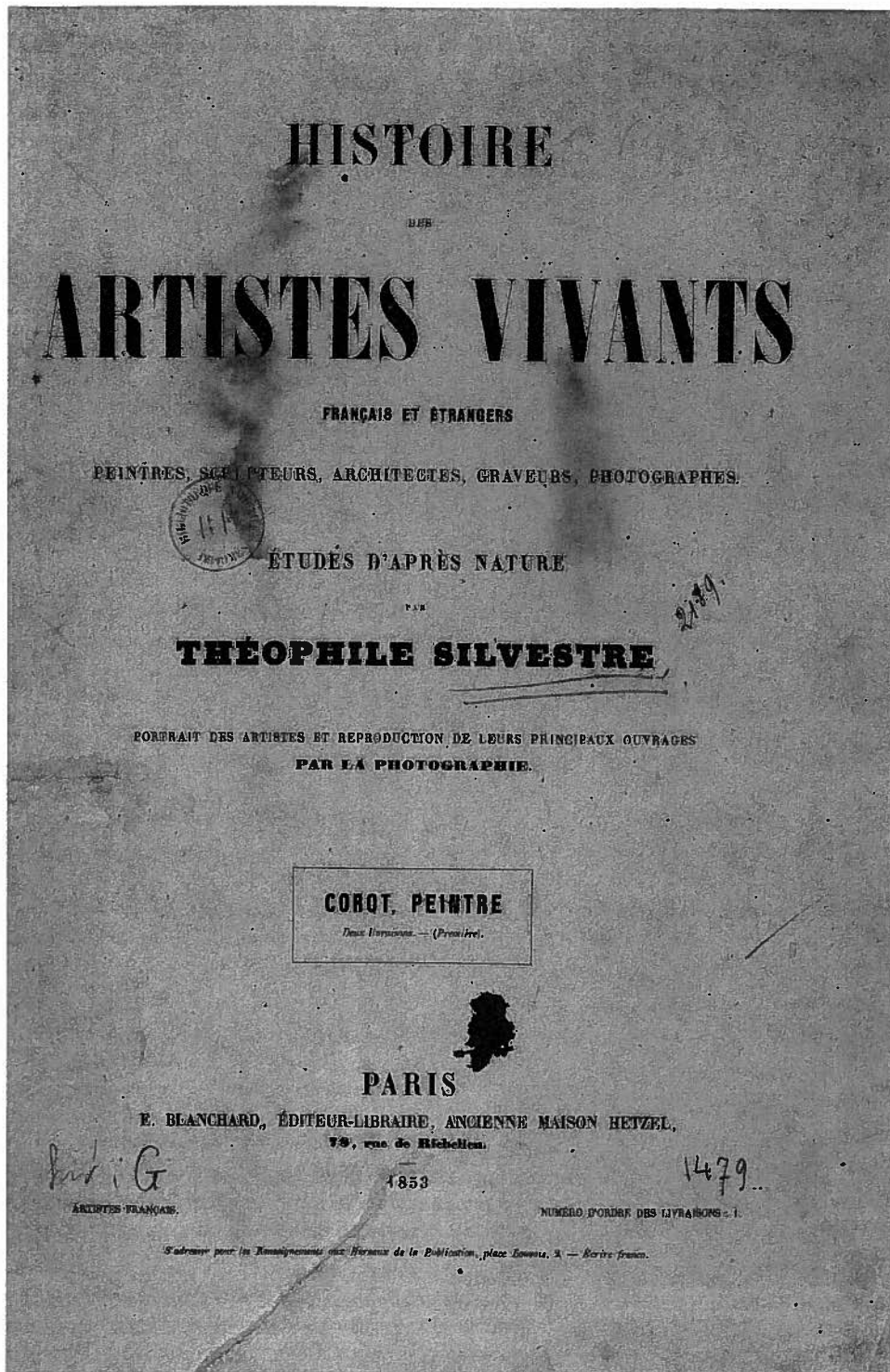
In its ambition and its novelty, Théophile Silvestre's *Histoire des artistes vivants français et étrangers: Études d'après nature* was arguably the most important large-scale project of contemporary art critical biography of the nineteenth century (Fig. 1). Originally meant to comprise one hundred installments on both French and foreign artists in a deluxe folio edition, the work ceased prematurely after having covered, between three separate editions produced within a space of three years, only eleven artists of the French school. What actually constituted Silvestre's work has long remained obscure, for the folio edition, which began to appear in July 1853, has been almost wholly lost; what we know of the project comes primarily through an inexpensive truncated edition published in 1856. The uncertainty of the corpus itself is noteworthy in a project that aimed to fix a "true" image of the artists and their works. Many of its chapters have nevertheless remained the founding, and sometimes the sole, account of a particular artist.<sup>1</sup>

Biography had been the primary form of art criticism since the Renaissance. In nineteenth-century France, it flourished in both popular and specialized forms, and by the late 1860s, as Nicholas Green has shown,<sup>2</sup> had become a major element in the system of marketing art: the life of the artist promulgated an ideal of individualism that accompanied the growing individualization of the market (away from more generalized "luxury consumption"), and the speculative value of the work increased as the biography guaranteed the artist a place in history.<sup>3</sup> Most art biography of this sort, however, was written after the death of the artist; as Green observes, the proliferation of biographies in the late 1860s occurred with the deaths of the major painters of the Romantic and Barbizon schools.<sup>4</sup> The occasional biographies of living artists that appeared, notably in the periodical press, were mostly short pieces, often tied to an event such as an exhibition or sale.<sup>5</sup> In its vast scope and its focus on the living artist, Silvestre's was already a fundamentally different kind of project. But it differed from these in more crucial ways, too. In both the project that it sought to realize and the fortunes it underwent, it concentrates many of the issues surrounding artistic biography and artistic identity at this formative period in the idea of the modern artist.

First, Silvestre's studies forgo the typological conventions of the genre (anecdotes, stereotypes of origin, of recognition of genius, of august patronage) in favor of direct quotation from the artists' conversations and writings, the latter largely unpublished and, for the most part, unknown.<sup>6</sup> Silvestre interviewed his subjects and their friends, gained access to their notebooks and diaries, solicited their personal memoirs, letters, recollections, and opinions: he was the only one, for example, to read and exploit Delacroix's journals during the painter's lifetime. This method sometimes had scandalous results: reporting Horace Vernet's indiscretions about

Ingres landed Silvestre in court. At the time, these accounts were meant to penetrate the private thought of public figures, in keeping with the vogue for personal biography in post-Revolutionary France. The biography of the artist, in particular, traditionally promised to reveal the nature of genius and the origins of creativity. In this context, Silvestre's "direct" approach sought to give a literal (and literary) "voice" to practitioners of the essentially "silent" visual arts, letting them speak for themselves in a dialogue with the critic or reader. "What true art-lover would not give," Silvestre asks rhetorically, "all the literary fantasies [that constitute the biographies of past artists], for a private conversation, for ten lines snatched from Michelangelo, Raphael, Holbein, Velasquez or Rembrandt?"<sup>7</sup> Such a citational text aimed to clear away the "fables" and "fantasies" that, in conventional biographies, left the historical subject, and thus the *true* source of creativity, obscured in the shadows of myth. Yet this "naturalist" thrust was hardly naive: Silvestre understood the complexities, and the techniques, of representation, as we shall see. That the artists' "own words" are chosen, cropped, framed, assembled, even commented on by the critic is presented as wholly consistent with, even necessary for, "truth."

Second, in this critical period of mechanical reproduction, Silvestre grasped the full potential of the new technologies. His was the first publication of its sort to reproduce contemporary paintings through photography, which had been previously thought inadequate to the task: the folio edition was accompanied by actual photographs taken directly from the original works and not, as was usually the case, from engravings of them.<sup>8</sup> The extent of this challenge was signaled in the prospectus: "It was claimed that photography, despite the progress it has continued to make and the results it has obtained, was limited to the easy reproduction of portraits, natural sites, engravings, etchings, drawings, sculptures and monuments; but it was forbidden to dare even to approach works of painting."<sup>9</sup> And in meeting it, the photographers were equated to artists: "Thanks to his perseverance, and to the noble participation of the best artists, long dedicated to the hardest experiments, to the most subtle manipulations, the author . . . has at last achieved his goal. The greatest difficulties inherent in the photographic reproduction of paintings have been overcome."<sup>10</sup> In addition, Silvestre included with each biography a photograph of the artist—another "first"—thus adding to the written portrait a visual one that would become an integral part of the artist's persona.<sup>11</sup> These calotypes, salt paper prints from paper negatives, were produced by some of the finest photographers of the time: Édouard Baldus, Louis-Auguste and Auguste-Rosalie Bisson, Henry Le Secq, Victor Laisné, Émile Defonds, perhaps Gustave Le Gray.<sup>12</sup> They are outstanding examples of the calotype process, with its characteristic softness, suppression of detail, and uncluttered composition, in contrast to the hard, clear precision of the



1 Cover page of Théophile Silvestre, *Histoire des artistes vivants*, first installment, Paris, 1853. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (publication in the public domain)

earlier daguerreotype or the emerging collodion process.<sup>13</sup> The prominence given to the new medium reflects the valorization of photography in this work; significantly, the original subtitle included photographers among the artists to be treated in it.

Photography was not just a means of reproduction or an art form to be included as a subject: it was also a figure of representation. Silvestre conceived his special form of critical biography in terms of the photographic process, sustaining an elaborate photographic metaphor throughout his methodological exposés. This does not mean “impersonal” or

“uncontroversial”—quite the contrary, as we shall see. Instead, images and text, joined through a common “photographic” aesthetic whereby reality represents itself directly, collaborate in ensuring the “veracity” of the account.<sup>14</sup> Such an approach was imperative in this case; with the artist still in the prime of life, the oeuvre necessarily unfinished, the judgment of posterity still a long way off, the history of the living artist, lacking the end points by which the art historical narrative was usually constructed, would not presume to present a definitive judgment—but it could put before the eyes of the reader the whole range of “living” evidence. For

Silvestre, the lack of such a work about artists of the past is an unbridgeable gap, one that condemns us to "fables and stories" and also means that we may be ever denied the possibility of truth. For the decisive factor in the formation of character, as he sees it, is utterly unpredictable, sometimes completely banal, and might be lost in the historical record: "The greatest vocation might have been determined in [the artist], perhaps, by such an apparently trivial circumstance that a historian might never have been able to discover it."<sup>15</sup> The photographic approach in image and text might hope to record this transient moment, this instantaneous, unnoticed truth at the basis of the historical subject.

Third, Silvestre's publication, blurring the line between personality and oeuvre, between biography and autobiography, and between the "image" and the "reality" of the artist, could not long remain uncontested: in April 1856 he was sued by one of his subjects, Horace Vernet, for misrepresentation and unauthorized use of original materials. This was a trial about the control of one's image and story, raising all the questions that continue to inform trials of celebrities today. Such a controversy was indeed inherent in the "photographic" approach itself; having the artists speak "for themselves" made them not only authors of their "own" image and story but also participants, willing or not, in the creation of a public image and story, beyond their control, which had the aura of truth. The artist could henceforth be interpreted like the oeuvre, and the controversy would rage no less fiercely. The trial of the *Histoire des artistes vivants* was that of art criticism under the new representational regime of photography.

The conception of the artist that emerges from this work is consistent with the critical project itself: the artist is studied as a "whole" character, in terms of life, work, thought, temperament, and physical appearance. The material publication supported this conception: in addition to direct quotations and photographs, Silvestre planned to include facsimiles of the signature, handwriting, and/or monogram of the artist, a catalog of the oeuvre complete with buyers and prices, a list of salons at which each exhibited, and an inventory of prizes and honors received. While the "whole" character, the merging of life and work, the mixture of physical and moral portrait can be found in earlier biographies of artists, the "photographic" directness in text and image represented a new approach altogether. Readers could draw their own conclusions from the evidence, which, although presented by the critic, nevertheless maintained its basis in reality. It is thus significant that this photographic element, so fundamental to the veracity of the *Histoire*, was threatened almost from the start. A modest quarto edition, published simultaneously with the folio one, had no photographs and contained instead wood engravings done *from* the photographs. And when the grand, initial project gave way, in 1856, to the cheap version, the photographic challenge was abandoned altogether. It was illustrated only by engravings, these from the portraits alone, not the works of art, and the sustained photographic metaphor by which the text claimed its truth disappeared without a trace. The loss of this innovative photographic element had a profound effect, moving Silvestre's publication, for all its originality and critical acumen, closer to the banal genre of

the "celebrity personality" and converting the "living artist" back into a myth.

Silvestre was a brilliant and creative critic with an uncanny aptitude for getting himself into more trouble than he may have deserved. Impetuous, passionate, and combative, uncompromising in his sense of principle and unconcerned with tact, he experienced in his own life a political turbulence that left him often on the losing side. A committed republican in the February Revolution of 1848 who later went over to the Second Empire, yet maintaining all the while close friendships with progressives, he left in his criticism traces of an ideological polemic that he increasingly suppressed in active life: a discourse of political opposition runs through the articles as, conversely, the author moves away from the political stance it expresses. This is not merely a matter of chronology, for Silvestre left this discourse largely in place in his revised editions of the work (1862, and posthumously in 1878). The survival of this opposition in his writing may be revealing of the nature of art criticism in nineteenth-century France. The *Histoire des artistes vivants* brings out especially well the codification of a "revolutionary" discourse in art writing as it all but disappears from the political sphere.

#### History of the Project

If he had had your tenacity or mine, he would have achieved something monumental.—Gustave Courbet to Alfred Bruyas, November–December 1854<sup>16</sup>

Given its importance, it is all the more surprising, and not a little alarming, that the composition of Silvestre's original 1853 publication is almost entirely unknown: we are uncertain as to how many installments actually appeared, which artists they covered, which photographs they included, of what their text consisted.<sup>17</sup> The only complete chapter known to have survived is the pair of installments on Camille Corot now in the Département des Estampes et de la Photographie of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.<sup>18</sup> No other edition of any of the other installments has come to light.<sup>19</sup> Although Silvestre recycled his 1853 text into the 1856 edition, there were differences, as a comparison of the two on Corot reveals: proper names specified in 1853 are replaced by general designations in 1856,<sup>20</sup> other remarks are toned down or omitted.<sup>21</sup> Obviously, references to the Exposition Universelle of 1855 were added after the first publication. More important, Eugène Delacroix's correspondence indicates that the 1853 version contained "errors" and "exaggerations" about his early life, and that the early text on Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres had much more about "personalities" than the later one did.<sup>22</sup> As for the illustrations, a composite album of photographs in the Réserve des Livres Rares of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, corresponding to the registration of each photograph in the *dépôt légal* (the national system of depositing a copy of every item published in France), suggests the range of artists and works meant to figure in the 1853 version—many more, in fact, than ultimately appeared in any of the published editions. While some of the photographic portraits have survived in public collections (and in some cases been widely reproduced), very few of the photographs of artworks are known

apart from those in the Bibliothèque Nationale album and in the integral Corot of the Département des Estampes. Some of Victor Laisné's negatives were later purchased by Nadar; a number of well-known photographic portraits signed by Nadar were in fact executed by Laisné for the original *Histoire*.<sup>25</sup>

Although many uncertainties remain, this confused and confusing situation can be clarified by bringing together numerous sources from the period: contemporary periodicals, diaries and letters, registers for the *dépôt légal*, internal references in Silvestre's writings, and his defense at the 1856 trial and the 1857 appeal. Identifying the corpus is not an act of mere bibliographic curiosity but an essential step for understanding the project, its goals, its means, its presuppositions, and its history.

Inspired, on the one hand, by advances in photographic techniques that promised as yet unrealized results in the reproduction of paintings and, on the other, by his own ambition to produce a "new" kind of art criticism that would ground his judgments in evidence drawn from the artists themselves, Silvestre launched his project in October 1852 with a letter sent to his potential "subjects":

Sir,

In applying myself to researching the history of past artists, I have found many contradictions and uncertainties in the documents that have come down to us. I hope to make myself more useful by producing less uncertain studies about artists alive today.

Through independence, sincerity, the most absolute disinterestedness and the most material information I can possibly gather, I am confident that I can write a book that will be more useful, more serious, and, especially, more honest than are the transient pages of contemporary criticism, all too often condemned to conforming to the market pressures of journalism and the book trade. Keeping equally away from servility and from fanaticism, in a word, from every parti pris, I have no other ambition than to be fair and lucid in my judgments. To achieve this degree of conviction and impartiality, anything short of which makes every book a public act of impudence, and sometimes a disfavor to society, I must absolutely, you can readily imagine, Sir, consult the artists personally. The interviews that they will be willing to grant me in their free time will guarantee for my book a vividness and authenticity that alone I could not give it, however acquainted I might be with the most famous works of modern art. I do not feel that I have the right, for whatever motive, to risk voluntarily presenting the diverse talents of their authors in a false light, or altering anything from their thought and their original inclination.

You will occupy, Sir, an important place in my collection: thus you will allow me, I hope, to consult with you. I count too much on your generosity of spirit and on the frankness of your convictions, not to be confident in advance that I will be understood and well received by you.<sup>24</sup>

Who were these artists? Clearly, the eleven who figured in the 1856 edition, at least: Ingres, Delacroix, Corot, Paul Chénard, Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Antoine-Louis Barye, Narcisse Diaz, Gustave Courbet, Auguste Préault, François Rude,

and, from the second series, Horace Vernet.<sup>25</sup> But the Bibliothèque Nationale album implies others as well: the photographic portrait, which was to be a hallmark of each biography, exists for four artists who do not appear in 1856—Jean Gigoux, Honoré Daumier, Philippe-Auguste Jeanron, and Pierre-Jean David d'Angers.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the album contains photographs of works of art by two painters for whom we have no photographic portrait; Constant Troyon, who appears in none of the known texts, is represented by his *Chemin couvert en Normandie* (Fig. 2) and Paul Delaroche by his *Portrait of Guizot*. In 1856, Silvestre published a series of aphorisms by Delaroche taken from an "unpublished chapter of the *Histoire des artistes vivants*," and he also figures later in Silvestre's catalog of the Bruyas collection, the *Galerie Bruyas* (1876). In the latter work, Silvestre indicated that the notices on two other artists—Thomas Couture and Victor Court—were drafted from material gathered for the *Histoire des artistes vivants*; indeed, a photographic portrait of Couture is in the Département des Estampes. To these nineteen we may add a number of artists on whom Silvestre wrote articles and notices, often in the context of the *Galerie Bruyas*, and who are mentioned by Élie Faure in 1926 as having been destined for the *Histoire des artistes vivants*: Achille and Eugène Devéria, Jules Dupré, Paul Huet, and Théodore Rousseau. Although Faure does not name his source, his statement is plausible. We know, for example, that Silvestre sent Rousseau the letter soliciting an interview and copied out his early correspondence;<sup>27</sup> in 1868 he published an article on him, which may have incorporated material gathered for the 1853 study.<sup>28</sup> Two exceptions to the strict pattern of artist subjects are also attested: a letter from Silvestre to the Montpellier collector Alfred Bruyas in 1854 reveals that he planned to devote a special chapter of the work to Bruyas's collection, a gallery of living artists suited to his history of the same,<sup>29</sup> and an article on the singer Gilbert Duprez, written in 1871 and subtitled, as the others are, "Étude d'après nature," is "extracted from the second volume, unpublished, of the *Histoire des artistes vivants*," a late addition to the original plan.<sup>30</sup>

Beyond these subjects, for which the evidence is certain, one may venture some less definite, but nevertheless compelling, possibilities for the remaining twenty-five or so initially destined for the French half of the project. First, the participation of Édouard Baldus is suggestive. As Malcolm Daniel observes, Baldus's photographic self-portrait from the same period, in the same style and format as those done for Silvestre, may well have been intended for the *Histoire des artistes vivants*.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Baldus's announcement, in April 1854, of his own publication of reproductions of works by contemporary painters must relate to his work for Silvestre, whose project had by then run into difficulties.<sup>32</sup> From an article in *La Lumière* and from Baldus's own stock book, these artists can be identified as Léon Bénouville, Raymond Brassat, Eugène Giraud, Ernest Meissonier, Frédéric de Mercey, Charles Simart, and Octave Tassaert.<sup>33</sup> At least two of the paintings in question—Bénouville's *Death of Saint Francis of Assisi* and Giraud's *Spanish Dancers*—were from the 1853 Salon and were thus almost certainly photographed for Silvestre, who had requested permission to have works photographed from the Salon;<sup>34</sup> the photographs would then have been offered for sale by Baldus himself when the *Histoire*

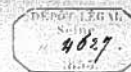
## HISTOIRE DES ARTISTES VIVANTS

Eus. et place Lorraine. 2.



2 Victor Laisné and Émile Defonds, *Chemin couvert en Normandie*, photograph after Constant Troyon, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (artwork in the public domain)

C. TROYON.



Victor Laisné et Émile Defonds, photographes.

CHEMIN COUVERT EN NORMANDIE

Fait au Fin du Indes de 1853.

appeared to lapse. Second, the rarity of works by Victor Laisné and his prominent role in Silvestre's project suggest that his photograph of a painting by Édouard Frère from the 1853 Salon, published in Louis Blanquart-Évrard's album of reproductions, *L'art contemporain*, of 1854 (plate 10), may originally have been meant for the *Histoire*, since Laisné's other photographs from the same Salon were all executed for Silvestre.<sup>35</sup> Finally, Silvestre may have later planned a chapter on Charles-François Daubigny; Pierre Miquel asserts that Silvestre visited the painter in 1868 to gather "biographical information,"<sup>36</sup> no doubt for the never published "second volume." Appendix II (see below) sets out the evidence for the project and makes plain its unprecedented range.

Work began in earnest in 1852; Courbet wrote to his parents on October 15, "An individual came to do a biography of me, which cost me three weeks' work. I had to go through and explain all the paintings that I've done in my life and all the phases through which I've passed to get where I am today, which was an incredible task." When his own works were photographed in mid-May 1853, he announced, "the biographical notice . . . will appear soon."<sup>37</sup> Delacroix sat for two photographs in December 1852, was interviewed early in 1853, and in February wrote to the owner of two of his paintings to ask permission for Silvestre to have them photographed.<sup>38</sup> Photographs of paintings exhibited at the 1853 Salon would have been taken between May 15 and July 15. The dates of registration in the *dépôt légal* for the thirty-two

photographs contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale album range from June 11 to November 5, 1853.<sup>39</sup>

An article in *La Lumière* of August 27, 1853, indicates that the first two folio installments, on Corot, appeared in July and the first half of August 1853, respectively; as noted above, these are the only installments currently known, and the registration of the first one seems to have sufficed for the whole series.<sup>40</sup> The third installment, on Delacroix, followed probably in September, as a letter from Silvestre to Bruyas announcing its appearance implies.<sup>41</sup> Delacroix, away in the country for the month of October, received his copy only on his return to Paris: on November 1 he thanked Silvestre for his "new article" and commented on the photographs of the *Massacre de Scio*, the *Liberté guidant le peuple*, and the *Femmes d'Alger*.<sup>42</sup> Although André Joubin identified this as the quarto edition, Delacroix is clearly referring to the folio one, which alone contained photographs: he evokes, for example, the "difficulty of obtaining reflections," a common problem in the photographic reproduction of paintings. The fourth installment (the second devoted to Delacroix) appeared by December 3 (as *La Lumière* of that date reports), and the fifth, also on Delacroix, was nearly ready: *L'Illustration* of October 29 and November 5, 1853, carried extracts from Delacroix's journal, taken from "the fifth installment, in press." This "trailer" for the fifth installment reveals how different the 1853 version might have been from the 1856 one we have today: the extracts in question do not figure in the 1856



edition and, after their transient appearance in *L'Illustration*, were not published until 1864, in Silvestre's *Documents nouveaux sur Eugène Delacroix*. Delacroix himself, while satisfied overall, evoked "errors" about his early life in the 1853 version that do not appear in the later one.<sup>43</sup>

Precisely how many installments the Delacroix monograph occupied remains unclear. The text published in 1856 is two and a quarter times the length of the Corot. Unless Silvestre substantially expanded the Delacroix essay for the 1856 edition, which I think unlikely, the 1853 version would have consisted of four or four and a half installments of eight pages each, corresponding to numbers 3–6 or 3–7. In any case, the project stalled. We know from Delacroix's journal that the end of the article on himself did not appear until April 1854.<sup>44</sup> In thanking Silvestre for it on April 14, he expressed his satisfaction at seeing the project "start up again."<sup>45</sup> The reason for the temporary suspension seems to have been a lawsuit between Silvestre and his backers over the woodcuts of the quarto edition.<sup>46</sup> This no doubt spurred Baldus, who had contributed so many photographs to the project, to announce his own series of photographic reproductions after the work of living artists.<sup>47</sup>

He was right to do so, for the work was delayed once more. Courbet observes in November or December 1854 that Silvestre "has wrecked a wonderful business,"<sup>48</sup> and there is no evidence pertaining to it for well over a year. However, in early September 1855, there must have appeared an article on Ingres: when, in December 1855, Silvestre sent Delacroix the "1856" version, Delacroix acknowledged having *already* received, as he was leaving Paris the preceding September (he left on the tenth), Silvestre's earlier article on Ingres, containing a certain number of potentially offensive passages about "personalities" that Delacroix felt should have been omitted.<sup>49</sup> This version must have been the folio one, since it is clearly different from, and prior to, the "new" 1856 one. The folio version may also have had a different photographic portrait, since the photograph of Ingres in the Bibliothèque Nationale album is not the one engraved for the 1856 edition. And if the 1853 article on Ingres was of the same length as the 1856 version, it would have taken up four installments, bringing the total to ten or eleven.

After this point, there is no evidence for any further folio installments. Every subsequent mention in both official and private sources refers to the 1856 articles: after numbers 1 and 2 on Ingres and Delacroix, respectively, there appeared the remaining nine that eventually constituted the 1856 volume: Corot (3), Chenavard (4), Decamps (5), Barye (6), Diaz (7), Courbet (8), Préault (9), and Rude (10) all appeared by summer 1856; Horace Vernet (11), initiating the never-completed second series, came out in 1857.<sup>50</sup>

### *Études d'après Nature*

In a long explanation of the idea behind the project, printed on the back cover of the first folio installment, the "eyewitness," citational approach to biography—reporting the artist's own words recorded in conversation or in personal writings, grasping traits of character that emerge in the free flow of an intimate chat, depicting the private space of creation, the studio—is distinguished from earlier artistic biographies, which are seen as "hearsay," "posthumous evocations," "ro-

mances invented after the fact." At the same time, it is linked directly with the innovative inclusion of photography.<sup>51</sup> A dense web of allusions and metaphors extends what had been already evoked by the subtitle of the work: *Études d'après nature*. From behind the rather anodyne pictorial connotations of the term "studies from nature" emerges its full photographic resonance: these "studies from nature," in which the artists speak in their own voice, are "animated by the breath of the artists themselves," much as photography was conceived by William Henry Fox Talbot as "the process by which natural objects may be made to delineate themselves," drawn by the "pencil of nature."<sup>52</sup> The text makes the connection between citational text and photographic image explicit: "each personality has left his own imprint, so to speak, as his physical image has fixed itself on the Daguerrean plate."<sup>53</sup> The printed verbal account, transmitting the artist's own words, is thus one with the photographic imprint that has formed itself via the action of light on the sensitized surface. The reproduction of the artist's signature at the end of each text or on the photographic portrait implies the subject's role in this process, thus blurring the distinction between biography and autobiography. The photographs of artworks, too, are presented as partaking of this directness: the book is a "découpage," a transfer, of the artist, and the photographs a "no less living transfer of their original works."

Early writings on photography insist on this "reality" of the photographic image. As the object's own "imprint," a "natural image," testifying sometimes to a reality that the human eye cannot see,<sup>54</sup> the photograph enjoyed a special status as a representational art form. Carol Armstrong has brought out the importance of the "truth" of the photograph, its Barthesian "emanation from the real," its "force of evidence," for the positivist objectives of early photographically illustrated books in England: the empiricism of the photographs was seen to support the positivist claims of the text, but also, in some cases, to provide a resistance to them.<sup>55</sup> Silvestre's project was based on the same concept of photographic truth and a similar parallel between the photographic image and the positivist methods of the text, as the allusion to "renseignements . . . positifs" in his letter to the artists at tests.<sup>56</sup> But he inverted the values: rather than use the photographic image only as support for the message of the text, he sought to create a form of text that would have the directness, autonomy, and truth-value of the photographs. This goal involved eschewing the conventions of the genre—Silvestre evokes, among others, Giorgio Vasari, Joachim von Sandrart, André Félibien, and unnamed "moderns," with their uncertain and unreliable sources, their "commonplaces," "sentimental ramblings," and "stylistic embellishments"—in favor of a more direct reporting that results from the author's personal, "positive" experience of the artists, whom he has "seen, heard, interrogated" about their "feelings, opinions and practices" "in every place, at every moment, on every subject."<sup>57</sup> Such an approach is also to be distinguished from self-portraiture: "If I had asked each of them for a self-portrait to illustrate this book," he says in the essay on Courbet, "the likeness would have been nil and the reader, instead of getting to know these famous men as they are, would have seen them only as Apollos, Christs and Prophets" (p. 272).<sup>58</sup>

In the articles, the personal "imprint," akin to the object's in a photograph, is diverse but constant. All the articles record conversations with the artists. In addition, Silvestre cites axioms, maxims, and aphorisms (Ingres, Delaroche, Préault, Chenavard), reproduces fragments from Delacroix's journal and notebooks, quotes the long autobiographical letter that Decamps composed in view of Louis Véron's *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris* (Paris, 1854), prints letters from James Pradier and Horace Vernet. He reproduces songs by Courbet, the poster from his 1851 exhibition, and the sign for the 1855 Pavillon du Réalisme, and cites the Realist manifesto from the 1855 catalog. He quotes published articles by Préault and Delacroix and reproduces Chenavard's explanation of the Panthéon murals and the wheel of the *Palingénésie sociale*, his calendar of a philosophy of history, that inspired them.

A vogue for memoirs or conversations with illustrious personages by eyewitnesses had flourished in the Romantic period. This might be considered a post-Revolutionary attempt to construct a more "democratic" heroic tradition, not so much after the ruin of the old system as after the ruin of the Revolution itself: the colorless, stratified atmosphere of the Restoration.<sup>59</sup> To this Romantic tradition, Silvestre's accounts add a midcentury concern for accuracy and truthfulness. One encounters here all the standard metaphors of realism: history must be as "rigorous as a set of minutes," as "positive as an autopsy," not a collection of "implausible anecdotes," lacking any "sure facts." Silvestre's "historian" must have both "faithfulness" to his subject and "independence" from it, combining the portrait painter with the "medical researcher" seeking the laws of physiology.<sup>60</sup>

Yet there was nothing impersonal about Silvestre's approach: these are highly polemical texts. He infuses his accounts with wit, irony, and sarcasm or, alternatively, earnestness and conviction, attitudes that the direct quotation and the photographic representation are meant to credit; to use the photographic analogy, the *qualitative* judgment emerges objectively *from the subject itself*. (The justification for the personal interview, as Silvestre's letter to the artists states, is his concern not to present them in a false light or alter their thought.) In this view, the historian organizes the evidence so as to make the truth emerge. Such a conception of photographic truth, involving an interpretative element, characterized much of the early writing about photography, distinguishing a "psychological," "intimate," "moral," "realist" resemblance from an "exact," "absolute," or "naturalistic" one.<sup>61</sup> Pose, angle, lighting, viewpoint, and background became legitimate means for bringing out the *real* character of the sitter, corresponding to the writer's rhetoric, voice, and selective quotation. The truth conveyed by the photographs and by the "photographic" text is thus a highly qualitative one. The interpretative element of the photographs was not lost on the caricaturist Marcelin who, in the *Journal Amusant* of September 6, 1856, brought out the distinction between a "natural" portrait and the *Histoire's* photographs. Ingres, *d'après nature*, is a majestic figure with a "high and powerful forehead," the "eyes of an eagle," an "aquiline nose," but in Silvestre's photograph a "constipated grocer"; Préault, *d'après nature*, has an expressive face, but in Silvestre's photograph looks like a "cantankerous Pole" (Figs. 3, 4). Silvestre's prac-

tice of keying his descriptions to the photographs, bringing ever closer the work of the camera and that of the critic, makes the judgment hard to resist.<sup>62</sup> In one of the best articles ever devoted to Silvestre, Jules Barbey d'Aureilly grasped the relation between realism and judgment in the *Histoire*: "the sense of reality is produced with such force, that the person least sympathetic to . . . his ideas accepts his portrayals as life, and is unable to doubt a depiction that resembles a true identity."<sup>63</sup>

The essay on Ingres, by far the most virulent, is a case in point. In the extant, "1856" text (the 1853 folio one being lost), the physical description of Ingres is a ludicrous caricature conveying an image of character: "this little bourgeois elephant, built of shapeless stumps," looking like a Spanish priest in bourgeois dress; with a bilious, brown coloring, his black eyes lively, suspicious, brooding; a narrow forehead receding to the top of a skull that is pointed like a cone; "big ears, veins bulging at the temples; a prominent nose, looking rather short because of its distance from the mouth" (p. 3). This verbal portrait of stuffy self-importance brilliantly translates Laisné's photographs: in the seated one (Fig. 5), which, as an engraving, accompanied the text quoted, the strong contrast of light and dark, particularly in the face, the hunching, hulking pose, the position of the head, which seems to sit directly on the body without a neck, the viewpoint from slightly above, making the head look disproportionately small, all match Silvestre's image of comical coarseness and pretension, of "trivial majesty" (p. 4). Its theatrical, "baroque" background, contrasting with the classical doctrines of the sitter,<sup>64</sup> corresponds to Silvestre's assertions about Ingres's character: a "consummate actor" with "one eye laughing, the other crying," cursing on the one hand and playing the victim on the other (p. 5). The standing, three-quarter portrait (Fig. 6), originally intended for the 1853 edition, gives an impression of corporeal bulk and affected seriousness, reinforced by what Anne McCauley sees as its almost "allegorical" pose;<sup>65</sup> but in its clear lines and soft background, it is somewhat nobler, the affected austerity softened, and perhaps humanized, by the light shining on the hair.<sup>66</sup>

The article on Corot, in contrast, has none of the mocking descriptive banter of the one on Ingres. He is always "good old Corot" (p. 88), a kind of republican hero, Silvestre implies, in his worker's frock and cotton cap with its tricolor braid; tall, of Herculean build, with large, powerful hands. Correspondingly, the photograph by Laisné and Defonds (Fig. 7) shows a man standing erect, the torso nearly filling the width of the picture, enhancing the impression of strength. At the same time, against a luminous background, he gazes far into the distance, his brows knitted slightly, conveying a hint of sadness. Indeed, Silvestre emphasizes the melancholy that emerges from under his usual cheerful expression and that also penetrates the oeuvre (p. 99). In another example (Fig. 8), an anxious Chenavard with furrowed brow and deep-set eyes represents visually this "soul strewn with its own ruins," this misanthropic ironist who is also a "fine man" (p. 108). Baldus achieves a strong contrast of light and dark on the two sides of the face and replicates the lines of the forehead and cheeks in the rivers of folds running down the coat. In the essay on Barye, Silvestre insists on the artist's simplicity and unpretentiousness, his intelli-

**MONSIEUR INGRES.**

D'après nature :

La majesté; un front haut et puissant, de grands yeux d'aigle qui fixeraient le soleil, un nez aquilin bien accusé, une bouche impérieuse, un menton carré et volontaire, des cheveux noirs vainqueurs du temps, une tête d'empereur romain ou de pape du moyen âge.

En photographie (*collection Sylvestre*) :



13111

Un épicier constipé.

3 Marcelin, caricature of J.-A.-D. Ingres after a photograph by Victor Laisné, from "À bas la photographie," *Journal Amusant*, September 6, 1856, 4 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the British Library F117, p. 4, col. 5)

gence and "probity," his unaffected openness, his modesty, integrity, and seriousness, his disdain of material gain, a description that matches the physical portrait of a man dressed "without extravagance or affectation," whose demeanor is "precise, correct, tranquil, dignified," whose face combines a vigorous structure and fine modeling, who looks straight at you "openly and steadfastly, without provocation or insolence," whose words seem to emerge only unwillingly from lips habitually "sealed by discretion" (pp. 190–91). In the photograph, by Laisné and Defonds (Fig. 9), Barye stands at ease, naturally, looking both grave and kind; two neat rows of bright buttons give accent to the fine tonal nuance of jacket, waistcoat, and trousers. Silvestre's description of their first meeting, as Barye prepared to leave the studio in the Louvre that he had enjoyed under the republican administration of Jeanron, dismissed in the "purge" of December 1849, highlights the artist's combination of impassioned conviction and stoical, unassuming courage: from the Louvre to the Maubert neighborhood, where the spectacle of misery is relieved only by the bullet holes of the 1848 revolution still studding the cornices (p. 190), the interviewer's trajectory

**MONSIEUR PRÉAULT.**

D'après nature :

Une bonne tête ronde, presque bourgeoise au premier aspect, mais s'illuminant tout à coup et mobile à l'excès; il sourit : c'est la finesse bienveillante de Beranger; il s'indigne : c'est la contraction furieuse d'un combattant de sa Taerie. — Il ne parle pas, il décoche.

En photographie (*collection Sylvestre*) :



13114

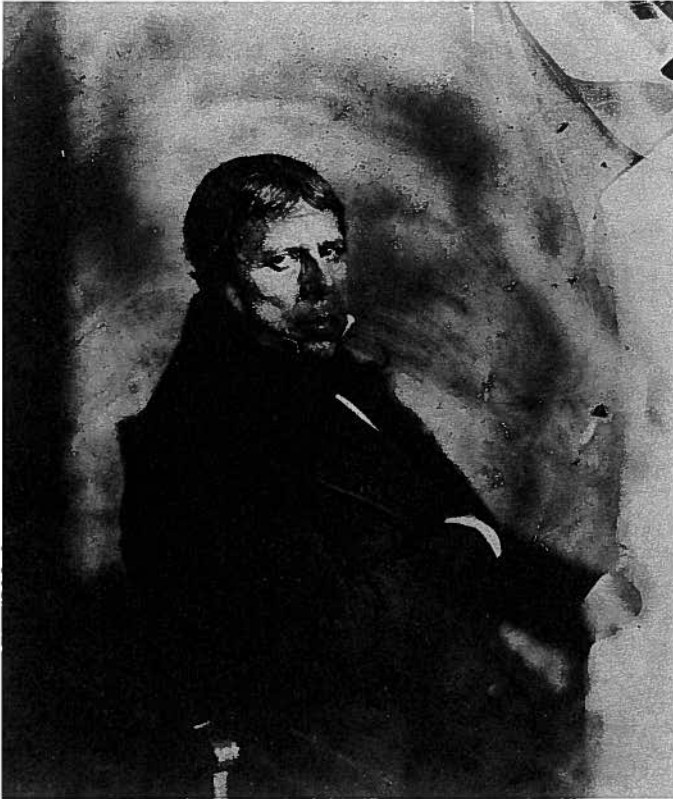
Un Polonais mauvaise tête.

4 Marcelin, caricature of Antoine-Auguste Préault after a photograph by Victor Laisné, from "À bas la photographie," *Journal Amusant*, September 6, 1856, 5 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the British Library F117, p. 4, cols. 2–3)

sets the stage for the appearance of this clearly admirable man.

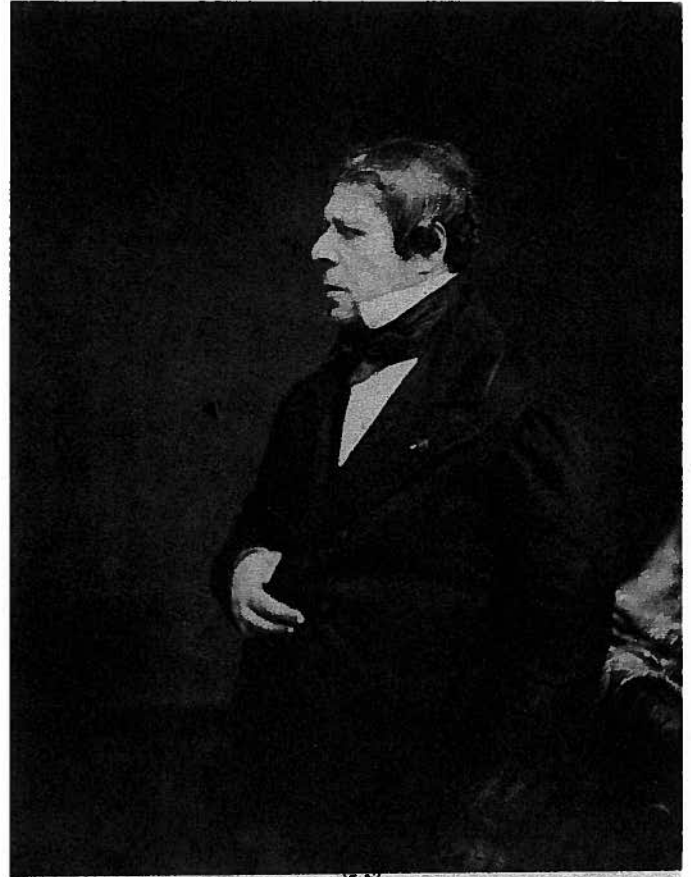
Although each artist probably chose the photographic portrait that he preferred from those produced, it was not necessarily flattering; as these examples show, the textual portraits that Silvestre drew from them are no less harsh or spirited. Similarly, an artist's own words in no way guarantee a flattering image. Even the revered Delacroix, whose style is praised for its Stendhalian wit, is chided for lapsing, in his published writings, into classical clichés, which Silvestre jokily enumerates (p. 70). He juxtaposes, without comment, Decamps's claims in his autobiographical narrative, quoted verbatim, and an account of the painter's actions, implying hypocrisy or self-deception (p. 179). The "ten lines snatched from a painter" for which we are supposed to be willing to sacrifice all the biographies ever written do not seem to be worth more than a good laugh when they are the sort of absurd axiom quoted from Ingres: "The navel is the eye of the torso" (p. 19).





5 Laisné, *Portrait of Ingres (Seated)*, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Eo 226 (artwork in the public domain)

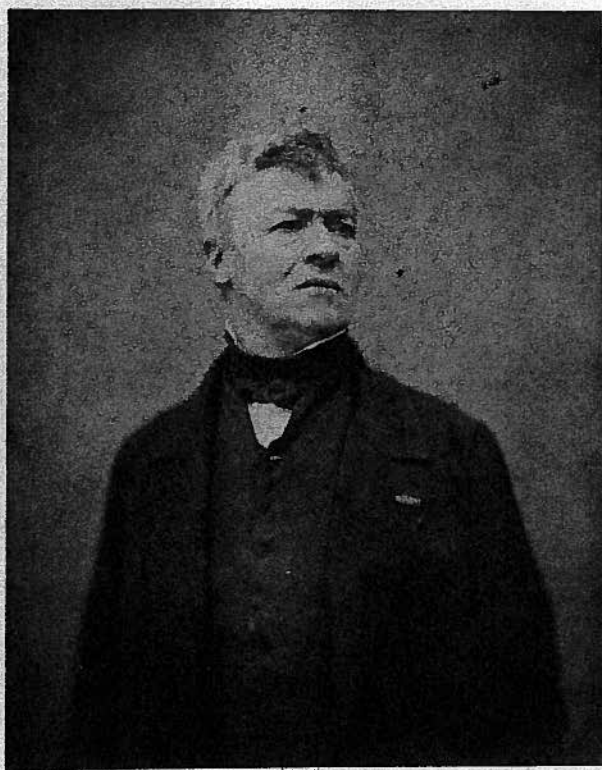
The photographs of artworks were, for the nineteenth century, arguably the most innovative and important element of the project. The essentially thankless task of reproducing a painting presented daunting difficulties.<sup>67</sup> Obviously, photography could not yet reproduce color, but worse, as Isabelle Jammes points out, it could not render even the gradation of tone. The tonal values of the painting came out either wrong or indistinct, giving the image a mushy appearance. The wrong angle or lighting could inadvertently highlight the texture of the support, which thus penetrated the image itself.<sup>68</sup> A letter published by McCauley from the administrator at the Louvre, Frédéric Villot, summarizes the main problems: the photograph is marred by false reflections and highlights off the painting's varnish; by exaggerated, deformed proportions from the roughness of the canvas and the buildup of paint; by false tonal values, particularly in the case of richly colored paintings, whose warm tones come out black or opaque in the photograph; by shadows that lose their transparency or become completely reflective.<sup>69</sup> Another problem lay in the "exactitude" of photographic reproduction, which, unlike manual reproduction, did not modify the image to take account of the reduced dimensions and the lack of color.<sup>70</sup> The little photographic reproduction of artworks done in this period had been limited to linear and usually monochrome works—engravings, drawings, monuments; the few examples of paintings were those dependent on line or on clear, pure colors, such as those of the primitives.<sup>71</sup>



6 Laisné, *Portrait of Ingres (Standing)*, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, N2 (artwork in the public domain)

The scope of Silvestre's project allowed for no such limitations. Moreover, the truth-value that it attributed to photography implied a significant role for reproductive photography, too, which could thus offer a "true" image of the work undoctored by the engraver or the art critic. Aspects of the painting ignored by the eye might be brought out in the photograph. This would later become a prominent feature of photographic criticism: Théophile Gautier argued in 1858 that "when it comes to painting, photography becomes an artist and interprets in its way the canvas exposed to its lens," sacrificing extraneous details in dark shadow, casting the primary objects in bright light, giving greater interest to large, "empty" paintings by bringing their scattered details closer together in a more compact space.<sup>72</sup> As with the other elements of the "études d'après nature"—the artists' own words, the photographic portrait—the reproduction of artworks involved an interpretative element that could bring out the painting's "reality."

The surviving photographs present some interesting results in this respect. If, unfortunately, two of those that pleased Delacroix are now too faded to be appreciated (the *Massacres at Chios* and *Liberty Leading the People*), the more sketchlike

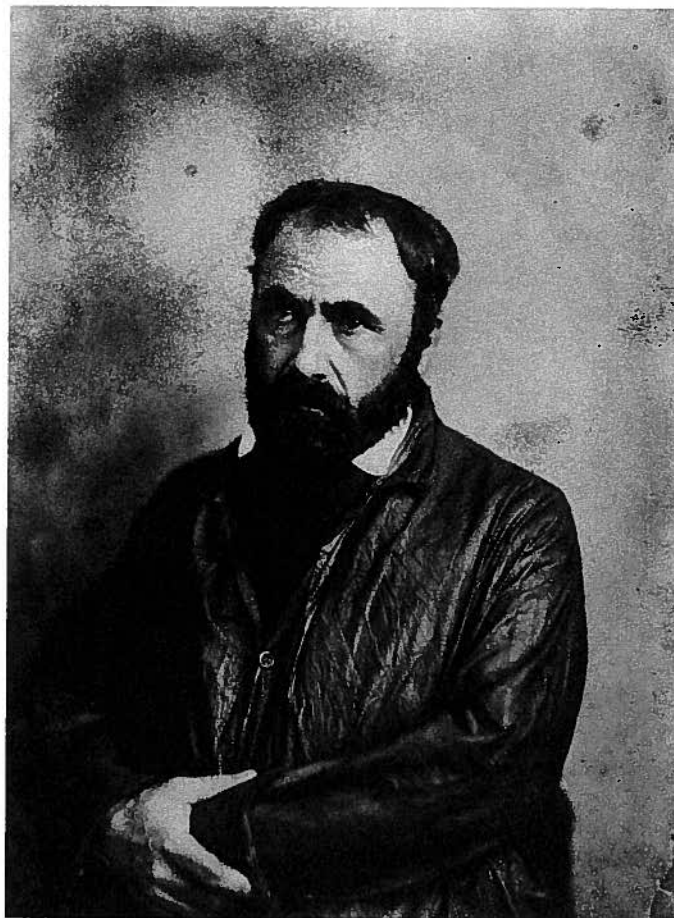


Photographie d'après nature par Victor Laloux et E. Dehance.

COROT (JEAN-BAPTISTE-CAMILLE)  
N2 à Paris, le 29 juillet 1794.

7 Laisné and Defonds, *Portrait of Camille Corot*, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, N2 (artwork in the public domain)

examples turned out especially well: Baldus's *Christ on the Cross* and Laisné's *Hamlet and the Grave Diggers* (Figs. 10, 11) render the nuances of tone and the atmospheric effect of the paintings. Baldus's *Jewish Wedding in Morocco* (Fig. 12) achieves effects of light that substitute for the brilliant colors of the painting. Silvestre's text draws out some of these effects—for example, the mystery and movement of *Christ on the Cross*: "the earth shakes, the sky grows dark, the sun shoots blood-red rays through the black clouds which a storm wind smashes one against the other and trails toward the earth like torn bands of crepe; the crowd enveloped in darkness grows fearful, recognizes the death of the righteous and the wrath of God" (p. 57).<sup>73</sup> Despite its graininess, Laisné's photograph of Courbet's *Wrestlers* conveys some of the strong contrast of musculature of the painting, but it softens the difference between the darkness of the wrestlers and the luminous background, a contrast that Silvestre criticizes in the original. Baldus's photograph of Courbet's *Young Ladies of the Village* (Fig. 13) creates contrasts stronger than those seen in the painting—whiter cliffs on the right, darker shadows on the hill under the cliffs on the left—which encircle the central figures more prominently and call attention to the strange-



8 Édouard Baldus, *Portrait of Chenavard*, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Eo 8 (artwork in the public domain)

ness of their scale. Le Secq's photograph of Corot's *View of the Coliseum* (Fig. 14) gives some sense of the extraordinary effect of light in Corot's Italian paintings, but without their sharpness and freshness; instead, the photograph imparts to the scene overall the atmospheric effect that, in the painting, one might notice in the trees and shrubbery of the foreground alone. Laisné's photograph of Corot's *View of Ville d'Avray* (Fig. 15), singled out for praise by *La Lumière's* reviewer (August 27, 1853), combines strong composition, in the long lines of slender trees, with atmospheric harmony, a dual effect that Silvestre emphasizes:

These paintings do not strike the eye harshly: a kind of gray smoke, vapor or dust, hovers over the terrain, passes slowly over the waters, envelops the trees, dulls the rays of light. Let us tear away this veil: immense depths in which everything bathes in transparent shadows and warm light open up to our delight, as though the artist is saying, "To enter truly into my painting, you have to have at least the patience to let the mist lift; one can only penetrate it slowly. . . ." (p. 95).<sup>74</sup>

The photograph conveys an impression of eeriness that corresponds to this "slow discovery" of the painting.

In the essay on Courbet, Silvestre allows himself a rare

moment of self-reflection about this interpretative element and its relation to truth. Criticizing Courbet's "sectarian" conception of realism, which "enslaves" one to the model, he evokes the "realism" of his own enterprise:

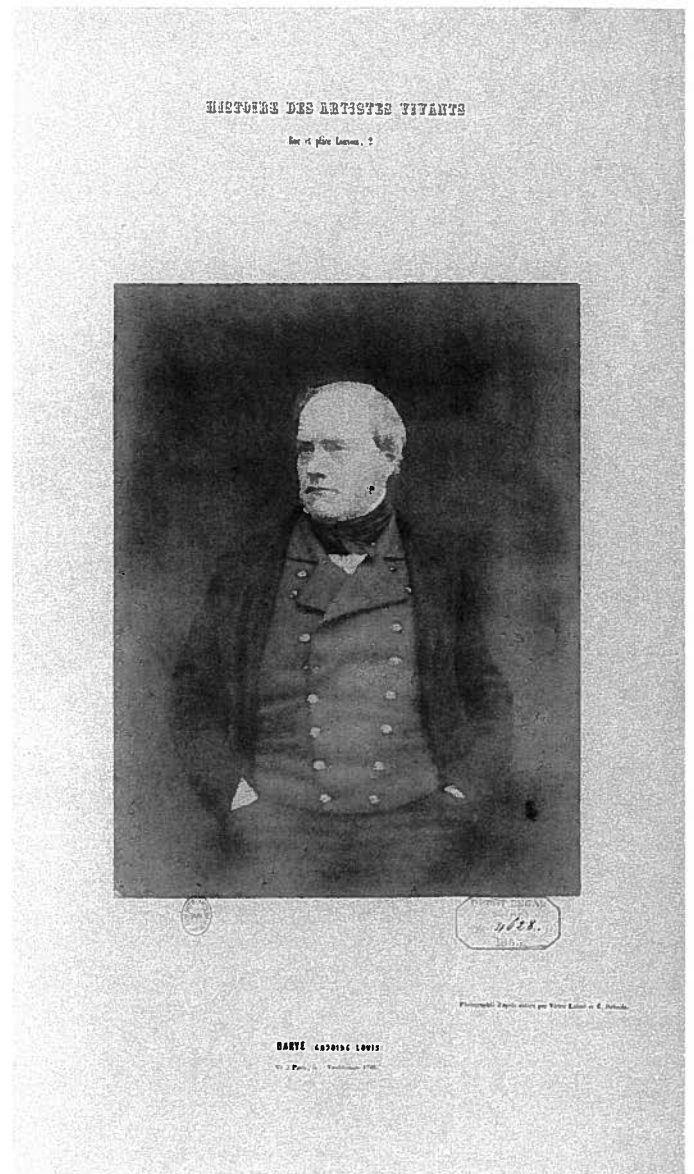
I share Courbet's dislike for those who are slaves to the past, and his love of studies of the present. I myself am, after a fashion, proving my worth as a realist, to use his expression, by trying to write the *Histoire des artistes vivants*. . . . Like him, I have not lost sight for a moment of the living model, and I apply myself to rendering it in all its truth. . . . Historical certainty must partake somewhat of the autopsy, of official minutes, of legal testimony, so as not to fall into table talk and novelistic fantasy. . . . History does not have the right to invent a figure, create a temperament, or gather its accounts from equivocal sources; rather, spurning unreliable traditions, choosing with wariness and lucidity incontrovertible points taken from nature by earlier writers, and armed with the lively force of intuition, it awakens and brings back before our eyes those generations slumbering in oblivion. . . . (pp. 274–75).<sup>75</sup>

The discourse of forensic science combines with an appeal to the reliability of evidence taken "from nature": choice and intuition, much like the photographic choice of angle, lighting, pose, and background, are acknowledged as elements in the construction of the "case." As his initial letter had implied, such an approach was meant to ensure "certainty" for the account; to endow it with "life and authenticity" through the direct involvement of the subject; and, not least, to remove it from the pressures of the market ("les spéculations du journalisme et de la librairie"). But the reference to "legal testimony" became more than a metaphor, as Silvestre was forced to argue his case literally before the court.

#### "Signed with His Own Hand, against Himself": The Trial of the *Histoire des artistes vivants*

The photographic model raised an obvious question. In these "studies from nature," where did "nature" end and "study" begin? The faithfulness of the photographs—reproductions meant to be "from nature," unlike the personal renditions of engravers—emerged in Delacroix's comments on the plates: the reflections did not come through on the photograph of the *Femmes d'Alger*. In contrast, he preferred the photographic portrait to the engraved one, evoking the "undeniable advantages" of photography, not subject to the skill of the engraver.<sup>76</sup> Courbet regarded the photographic portrait as *self-portraiture*, representing "a curious phase of my life, the ironic one, the man who succeeds against all odds," part of his pictorial "autobiography."<sup>77</sup>

The fidelity of the written portrait was even more subject to dispute. Delacroix felt that the positive account of himself outweighed the few errors, and he defended Silvestre's right to his own "perspective," but Courbet was less satisfied: "it's not me," he wrote, finding the quotations "awkward" and wishing that Silvestre had shown him the proofs. "He took all the substance out of my notes and then made the whole thing sound ridiculous."<sup>78</sup> The photographic model thus evoked a further issue. Who had authority over the image produced "directly" by the subject onto page or plate? Recourse to the

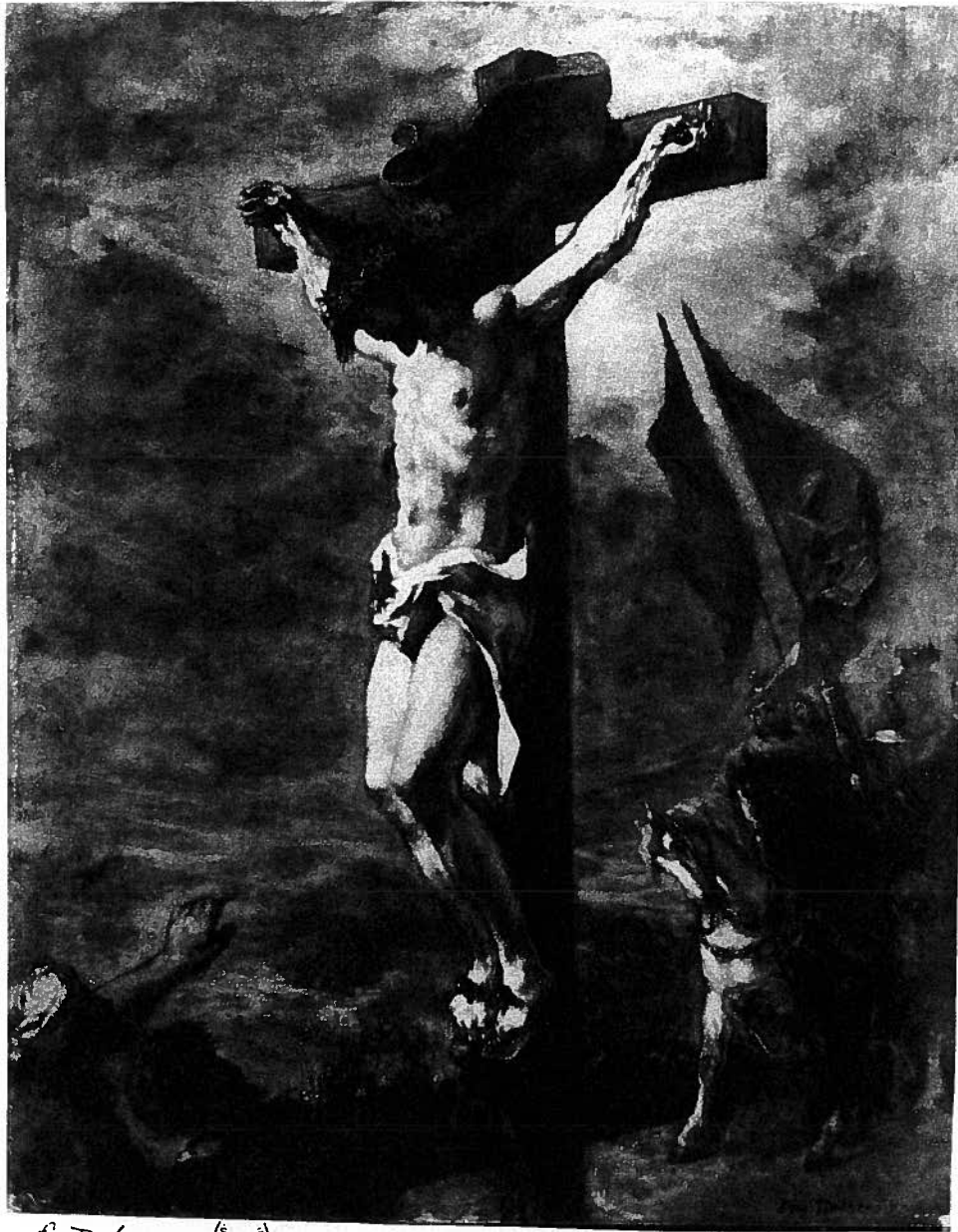


9 Laisné and Defonds, *Portrait of Barye*, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (artwork in the public domain)

subject's own words left the "ownership" of the study open to question. In April 1856, an order was served preventing the publication of the article on Horace Vernet, which was just about to appear.

The trial centered on the very features that distinguished the *Histoire* from other art critical biographies. As a preview to his essay on Vernet, Silvestre had published, in *L'Illustration* and *La Presse*, letters that Vernet denied having authorized him to reproduce.<sup>79</sup> The letters contained embarrassing remarks about Ingres, among others, which did not take long to reverberate in the halls of the Académie des Beaux-Arts.<sup>80</sup> They had an international resonance as well, for some of the letters, written from Russia in 1842, were taken to be insulting toward the czar and the imperial family, a diplomatically unwelcome situation in 1856, when Nicolas I had only recently died and France was seeking to repair relations with the country it had just defeated in the Crimean War.<sup>81</sup> Vernet had Silvestre's copy of the letters sequestered and a formal

*Histoire des artistes vivants.*

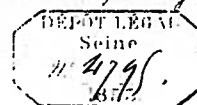


*E. Delacroix*



*Le Christ en croix.*

*Ed. Baldus, photographe*





THÉOPHILE SILVESTRE

## HISTOIRE DES ARTISTES VIVANTS



EUGÈNE DELACROIX



Victor Luzzan, Photograph.

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## HAMLET ET LES FOSSEURS.

Tableau tiré de la Galerie de M<sup>r</sup> le Ministre Collier.

11 Laisné, *Hamlet and the Grave Diggers*, photograph after Delacroix, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (artwork in the public domain)

prohibition issued on publishing in the *Histoire des artistes vivants* the prepublication extracts printed in *La Presse* and *L'Illustration*. The court ruled on July 26, 1856, that Silvestre had exceeded the terms of his agreement with Vernet by reproducing the letters *in extenso* rather than simply using them as material for his text—in other words, by letting the artist speak “for himself,” precisely what was meant to guarantee the truth of the account. He was ordered to return the

letters to Vernet and to publish only those extracts approved by the painter.<sup>82</sup>

Silvestre's defense at the 1856 trial and the subsequent appeal (July 7, 1857) relied on the same issues (and rhetoric) with which he had justified the project itself. This is especially so in the appeal, for which he dispensed with a lawyer and pleaded his own case: “no fine speeches, but positive facts, irrefutable evidence that M. Horace Vernet has signed, with

THEOPHILE SILVESTRE

## HISTOIRE DES ARTISTES VIVANTS



L. DELACROIX

LA NOCE JOIVE AU MAROC.

Tableau tiré de l'Album illustré de l'Exposition.

Edmond Bataille, photograph.

12 Baldus, *Jewish Wedding in Morocco*, photograph after Delacroix, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (artwork in the public domain)

his own hand, against himself."<sup>83</sup> That is, he based his case on the *self*inculcation provided by the artist's "own words," the "truth" that Vernet would have preferred to suppress.

Silvestre's approach proved even more devastating in court than it had been in print, for he used Vernet's "own words" to present the artist as vain and insecure, a pathetic figure conscious of his own demise and desperately ingratiating himself with a young journalist in an attempt to foster a favorable public image. In one of the published letters, to Prince Napoléon, Vernet "withdrew" his painting *Bataille de l'Alma* from the prince's patronage because of the latter's speech at the close of the Exposition Universelle, in which he had stated that "in his personal opinion," only Ingres represented the "eternal form of beauty."<sup>84</sup> Silvestre, at the trial, provided the crude background, quoting Vernet directly:

I am not very happy at having seen Ingres placed above me in the speech by Prince Napoléon at the awards ceremony of the Exposition Universelle. He, made a *grand officier*, I left a *commandeur*: he, the sole representative of the great traditions of beauty, come on now, you old prig, you sly devil! Why didn't they send him, that academic monk, where I myself went so willingly, to Africa or the marshes of Dobruja! But I have teeth and nails, and I use them on occasion against whomever, great or small. . . .<sup>85</sup>

Silvestre further revealed that in his interview, Vernet "especially praised my study from nature of M. Ingres, whose talent

I don't like any more than his character, and he did not cease to tear to bits the author of the *Martyrdom of Saint Symphorian* with an extremely funny wit."<sup>86</sup> When the article on Vernet finally appeared, it disclosed the details of this "praise":

Do you know, by the way, that you didn't half let him have it, that poor old Ingres, and he won't be pleased. . . . Such a cantankerous old man! His portrait is good. Ho ho, what a scowl! . . . That spoiled child, who thinks he always has the right to wreck everything!<sup>87</sup>

The near-apoplectic reaction of Ingres to these revelations is not hard to understand. In a letter, he rails against Vernet's "rage" and "shameless envy," as well as "that wretched Silvestre, who survives on poison and scandal" and who had punished the innocent victim (himself, Ingres) along with the guilty Vernet.<sup>88</sup>

If Vernet's lawsuit had been meant to limit this damage, it had the more significant effect of calling into question the whole "photographic" experiment in art criticism. This was a trial about the control of one's image and story taken directly, photographically, from life; about who had the right to biography; about the problematic relation between the press and public personalities. Henri Cauvain, the lawyer for the prosecution, argued that Vernet had been not only misrepresented but also misled—seduced, as the rhetoric would have it, against his will into granting Silvestre interviews and access to his private papers: Silvestre's "solicitations," his "tenacity" and "obsessions" overcame Vernet's "resistance" to

*Histoire des artistes vivants*

13 Baldus, *Young Ladies of the Village*, photograph after Gustave Courbet, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (artwork in the public domain)

the “banal pleasure one can experience in seeing one’s life and work in print,” drawing him into a kind of degraded liaison.<sup>89</sup> Cauvain also impugned Silvestre’s art historical leanings, contrasting his “disrespectful” article on Ingres with his “exaltation” of Courbet’s work, notably, the most “vulgar” and “realist” elements of the *Bathers*.<sup>90</sup>

The case for the defense rested accordingly on the new kind of art criticism represented by the *Histoire*. Adolphe Crémieux, Silvestre’s attorney, emphasized the critic’s broad approach to his subject—the artist seen as life, work, and character—and thus the validity of drawing judgments from seemingly extraartistic information such as personal letters.<sup>91</sup> In his appeal, Silvestre himself went further, bringing out both the complex relation between artists and journalists in the production of a potentially “marketable” image and his own aim of “objectivity.” Vernet is presented as a flatterer, complimenting the “young critic” to compensate for his own waning talent, concurring with his most acid judgments, operating his own kind of banal seduction spiced with not a few touches of bad taste:

M. Vernet did not need my praise; yet he embarrassed me sometimes by seeking it out. Was he hoping that I would blindly defend his talent, which he himself recognized had lost its way and was in decline? . . .

. . . He went on about everything with an inexhaustible flippancy and verve, laced with racy puns, non sequiturs, pantomimes and pirouettes. . . Tired at last of this inno-

cent, obscene or murderous tittle-tattle, I led him back to the history of art.<sup>92</sup>

Accuracy and truth, in contrast, required the direct approach of the *Histoire des artistes vivants*: as the letters “depict” the author “to perfection,” he published them as they were, rather than paraphrase or summarize them; they are a “pure” evidence that can communicate inherently the “true” image to the reader. “The public will know you better through your own words than through anything I could write myself,” he had assured Vernet, not without irony.<sup>93</sup> This is precisely the idea expressed in his initial letter to the artists, which he also quoted in full in his defense: the artist’s own words provide positive, material evidence that, like a photograph, “speaks for itself,” ensuring at once the “independence” of the author and the fairness and accuracy of the account, thus meeting the criteria of an “étude d’après nature.”

In quoting his letter, Silvestre links the objectives of the *Histoire des artistes vivants* to the issues of the trial: “You can see that I did not dishonestly solicit or force any of my subjects to take part. . . Nor did I abuse the privilege that painters so often claim for themselves of flattering or obligingly embellishing people who are common, vulgar and crotchety. . . I tried my best to give the true measure of my contemporaries.”<sup>94</sup> He describes himself as a kind of portraitist in words: “They were willing to pose for me, tell me their life story, explain their principles and their works. I did portraits in pen, as they have done portraits with a brush.”<sup>95</sup> As such,

THÉOPHILE SILVESTRE

## HISTOIRE DES ARTISTES VIVANTS



C. CORDY

H. Le Secq, Photograph

VUE DU COLYSÉE DE ROME.

Tableau tiré de l'Atelier de Théophile.

14 Henri Le Secq, *View of the Coliseum*, photograph after Corot, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (artwork in the public domain)

Silvestre sought the point at which the clarity and objectivity of the material presented ensure and confirm the rightness of his own judgments, however harsh they might be: "Pradier's unpublished correspondence, printed at the end of this study, will make the reader see that I am telling the truth. . . ." (p. 195). Although, by 1856, the project had lost its photographic component and its key analogy, the language preserves their traces; imparted by the object itself, this remains a "photographic" truth consistent with the original goals of the *Histoire* and its innovative use of the new means of reproduction. The verdict suggested to what extent these ambitions, running counter to the mythologizing traditions

of the artist, were in fact realized, however high the price to the author. The time was perhaps not yet right for a "photographic" art criticism.

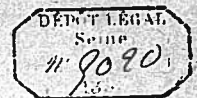
#### The Artist as Character

Silvestre's "photographic" experiment in criticism corresponded to a particular conception of the artist. Portrait, paintings, opinions, and attitudes were all part of the artist's image; the critic examined both "the man who thinks and the man who executes, ever inseparable"<sup>96</sup> and considered "in the same gaze the soul of the man and the work of the artist" (p. iii). The artists Silvestre most admired are accordingly



THÉOPHILE SILVESTRE

HISTOIRE DES ARTISTES VIVANTS.



C. COROT.

15 Laisné, *View of Ville d'Avray*, photograph after Corot, 1853, salt paper print. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des Livres Rares, G-1479 (artwork in the public domain)

Valter Laisné, photograph

VUE PRISE A VILLE-D'AVRAY. (ENVIRONS DE PARIS).

Tableau tiré de l'atelier de l'Artiste.

those who achieve an intellectual, moral, and emotional breadth: the boundaries of the visual arts are pushed back, the artist becomes at once "painter," "poet," "historian," and "psychologist," immersed in the complex "moral spirit" of the time. He found that Delacroix united all these qualities; Barye was an eminent man in both his character and his works, a moralist, philosopher, and poet able to cultivate all the genres (pp. 203–4, 207), a man equal to the artist (p. 191); in Rude, he honored "the probity of the man, the learning of the sculptor, the generous illusions of the citizen" (p. 324). Decamps lacked "a moral, religious, humanitarian idea" (p. 178); the failure of Chenavard's art is linked to the moral suffering that clouded his thought (p. 118); Ingres sacrificed emotion and human faculties to "manual practice" (p. 33). Meaning, passion, purpose, intelligence, conviction, sensitivity—features of *character*—recur throughout the essays as features of art, and, conversely, features of art metaphorically define character: Vernet's character consists "more of details than broad lines," like a bad picture (vol. 2, p. 8). Indeed, as a negative example, Vernet provided the occasion for the most succinct summary of Silvestre's ideal: "elevation of thought, depth of knowledge, breadth of soul, firmness of character, charm, vigor or nobility of execution [*hauteur de la pensée, profondeur du savoir, largeur de l'âme, solidité du caractère, charme, énergie ou noblesse de l'exécution*]" (vol. 2, p. 36). Silvestre's emphasis on the combination of man, artist, and work, of moral character and technical execution, was appreciated by some at the time. Barbey, for example, wrote: "His criticism penetrated the painting to reach back into the man, which all criticism of art and literature should do; for there is no art in itself, but only in fact and deed, and art is consequently always *someone*."<sup>97</sup> Silvestre professed his antiformalism robustly: "The voice of the poet, reduced to the sole value of well-ordered words and sonorous rhymes, is not the voice of poetry, but a vain noise which strikes the air" (p. 13). He called this ideal "humanitarian," "humanist," or simply "human," the quality of an art that "makes us see, as in the theater, humanity in a mirror," showing us not how we think we look but how we "actually do" (p. 27); he defends Courbet for reacting against academic artists who shun "Humanity" in favor of "Art" (p. 274). His own ideal possesses "morality" but not moralism, "social conviction" but not a utilitarian program (pp. 9, 12, 13). It is political in the broad but not narrow sense: Corot, described as we saw above in republican terms, is presented as unconcerned with the tumultuous events going on around him in 1848 (p. 97).

An intriguing political current runs below the surface of these essays. Silvestre draws on a metaphorical political discourse that may have corresponded to his own position in 1853 but from which he increasingly distanced himself. The former progressive who, by 1857, was carrying out missions abroad for the all-powerful minister of state, in 1853 still peppered his texts with reminders of the by-now largely suppressed or exiled republican ideal. He did not apply this language consistently and there are some notable counterexamples;<sup>98</sup> moreover, the lack of texts from 1853 and the uncertain dates of composition of the texts published in 1856 make impossible any attempt to establish an evolution in Silvestre's use of it. Nevertheless, it is prominent in the extant articles. The battle between color and line is discussed in

terms not of Romantic versus Neoclassical art but of revolution and reaction. While these terms had become commonplace since the 1820s,<sup>99</sup> Silvestre includes a noticeable number of allusions to popular revolution and its aftermath—Bonapartist absolutism, religious reaction, even coup d'état. Once again, the chapter on Ingres is revealing: Silvestre compares him to an ultramontane (the conservative partisans of the absolute power of the papacy) ranting against the "anarchic" group of modern painters that triumphed at the 1824 Salon. The comparison is perhaps too transferable, almost banally so, to 1853, for the power of the conservative clergy was one of the most prominent features of the early years of the Second Empire. Silvestre even refers to it in his essay on Chenavard in the context of the failed project of decorating the Panthéon after 1848: whipped up by the "ultramontane press" (p. 141), "the clergy reclaimed with full fanfare the Panthéon once again . . . and covered over the most illustrious tombs so that the hand of Rousseau would no longer show the traveler the torch of the French Revolution through the half-opened door of his bronze coffin" (p. 144). Louis-Napoléon had come to power with their help, and for the first several years they held sway over crucial government ministries. The figurative association of Ingres with this priestly caste thus had contemporary political resonance. Silvestre alludes to recent political affairs when describing Ingres's supposed lack of response to the fortunes of his country: during the Allied advance in 1814, Silvestre observes ironically, "[Ingres] gave himself over to his painting at the very moment when Russian cannons thundered from the heights of Montmartre. We saw him again, during the June days in 1848, impassively finishing his *Venus Anadyomene* to the sound of the tocsin on the streets of Paris. O happy indifference!" (p. 7). If Silvestre then leaves 1848 to return to the 1830s, he nevertheless preserves metaphorically the reminder of its sequel: Ingres returned to France with the *Vow of Louis XIII* "to stop the colorists' revolution and avenge the traditions of the Academy—an action that one might call his *coup d'État*." Elsewhere, the Romantics and colorists are associated with liberty and revolution, while academicism and Neoclassicism are linked with absolutism and repressive dictatorship. And the French Academy's hostility to Delacroix is like the National Guard's treatment of the "leader of an uprising" (p. 11).

Silvestre himself had started from a position of liberal republicanism. With an "immense sympathy for the suffering of the people and a great thirst for justice," he had been an ardent supporter of the 1848 revolution.<sup>100</sup> A representative of the interests of the republican politician Louis Blanc in the Haute Garonne Department, vice president of the club founded by the socialist revolutionary Auguste Blanqui, he had been named a *sous-commissaire* of the Republic (the office that replaced that of deputy prefect) and sent to the Ariège, his native department, where he would suffer his first disappointment in the revolutionary project. There he became embroiled in a dispute with some of the entrenched actors of the local political scene, whose influence he sought to reduce by transforming the local press. In a dramatic episode, his paper was banned and the existing issues seized and burned; despite his representations to the Ministry of Justice, the chief perpetrator remained in his post.<sup>101</sup> Silvestre resigned but

published the whole story in a proclamation posted locally and sent to the major national newspapers, denouncing the episode as an attack on freedom of the press and the "sacred rights" of the people, likening it to the Inquisition and the triumph of the Counter-Reformation:

A public servant, misleading public opinion, carried out, before the eyes of the People, the burning of a republican paper, the organ of their rights and their most sacred interests. . . . May [the Ariégeois] never forget a great fact of history: that in the cruelest times of tyranny, all writings that vigorously defended the interests of the People and of liberty were burned in this way, in the public square, by the hand of the executioner.

Long live the Republic! Long live the rule of the People!<sup>102</sup>

While writing the *Histoire des artistes vivants*, Silvestre still held relatively progressive views, attributing a certain "heroism" to the urban proletariat (p. 274), defending Courbet's "illustrious friend" the socialist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, whom he judged "one of our greatest writers" (p. 241), writing admiringly of Barye's republicanism (pp. 190–91), and treating with wry irony Decamps's cynicism about the February Revolution (p. 179). His long and close friendship with the republican leader Léon Gambetta, which Silvestre asserted was based on "the heart" rather than politics, and his fidelity to Blanqui indicate that he never entirely abandoned these sympathies.<sup>103</sup>

After the fiasco of the Vernet trial, however, he became increasingly involved with the regime; in need of money, the *Histoire des artistes vivants* now cut short, he obtained a commission from the minister of state to investigate the organization of the principal European museums and art institutions, beginning with Italy and Britain.<sup>104</sup> A series of official posts followed, most of them obtained through the intervention of Napoléon III's private staff.<sup>105</sup> Significantly, our most complete source for Silvestre's biography during the 1860s is his own letter of December 10, 1869, later printed by the commission in charge of publishing the papers seized in the Palais des Tuileries in 1870 as the *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale*; by the Third Republic, Silvestre was seen to have been close enough to the fallen regime to merit the compromising revelation of his correspondence with its most senior members.

From this letter, one can reconstruct Silvestre's troubled political fortunes in the latter years of the Second Empire. In July 1864 he had taken over the editorship of the newspaper *Le Nain Jaune*, which was meant to serve the interests of the regime; as a result of some catastrophic financial decisions, it failed after six months.<sup>106</sup> Supported by a one-year grant from the emperor of a thousand francs a month, he embarked, in January 1867, on a history of the Second Republic (*Histoire des idées, des caractères, des faits et gestes de la seconde République*), which the regime hoped to use as propaganda in the general elections of 1869. The work was intended to expose "the 1848 revolution with its systems, its sects, its leaders, its victims, its dupes," to show that "in place of confused ideas, the despair of poverty, the humiliation of the nation before a foreign power, and civil war, we have the government of His Majesty, Father and Savior of the country," and contrast the "prosperity and stability of the present"

with the "anarchy dreamed up by the ignorance, ambition, vanity and resentment of a tiny minority."<sup>107</sup> It was never completed, and Silvestre indicates that he had to resist intense pressure from "the Emperor's most zealous supporters" to publish a "banal and cursory" account that might influence the elections. He applied for the position of official historiographer for the city of Paris or the directorship of the Museum of Antiquities in the Hôtel Carnavalet, but was granted a temporary subsidy from the emperor's personal budget instead.<sup>108</sup> This expired in June 1869; Silvestre managed to eke out a living by writing political articles for the Bonapartist weekly *Le Dix Décembre*. The timing was significant, since the Second Empire was already beginning to falter, and the paper exerted little influence amid the loudening chorus of openly hostile opinion. On September 7, 1870, three days after the government fell, Silvestre left Paris for Cherbourg.

His letters to Alfred Bruyas from this period offer a vivid and fascinating perspective on the "année terrible." Silvestre's position had shifted and so had the times. The man to whom, in 1854, he had referred as "our dear Courbet . . . of whom I am ever sincerely fond," and whom, in 1856, he had praised for painting "peasants and proletarians, those martyrs to work" (p. 274), had become, following the demolition of the Colonne Vendôme under Courbet's watch on May 16, 1871, "that filthy egotist who sits enthroned and paddles about in the gutter, right at the level of his soul," a "monster," a "big, gross, unprincipled braggart" who has committed "moral suicide," a pathological egotist, a "communist Falstaff, whose mind is entirely in his belly" and who, in his secret envy, would not hesitate to send up in flames the masterpieces in the Louvre then in his care.<sup>109</sup> While Silvestre always claimed that his relations with the emperor had been purely personal and that the benefits that he had received had come without political conditions attached,<sup>110</sup> he nevertheless found himself in the firing line: he was told that the Communards had sent the police to his house to arrest him, and his residence on the quai du Louvre was barricaded and targeted.<sup>111</sup> His presence in Cherbourg was suspect to some, as rumors of a new "return from Elba" circulated; he denied this but maintained his personal ties with the exiled leader, visiting him at Chislehurst in the summer of 1872. By the end of September 1872 he was in dire financial straits, "without heat and soon without food," concerned for the safety of his wife and daughter, his possessions in Cherbourg having been seized and sold off.<sup>112</sup>

Within this long trajectory, the political discourse of the *Histoire* retained its critical currency. If, in 1853, Silvestre had intended to enliven and radicalize the rather tame theater of the visual arts by evoking the battles suppressed in the political field, his move away from republicanism did not affect his use of this language to indicate commitment, sincerity, principle, and *engagement* as qualities of the true artist. If, as Francis Haskell argued, political analogies in the later nineteenth century take on a life of their own, becoming detached from the subjects to which they apply,<sup>113</sup> Silvestre's presents an interesting variation: the detachment is not from the subject but from the writer who *uses* the analogy, and whose position one would expect to be reflected in it. The discrepancy points up all the more the force of the concept of art as a "politically" revolutionary activity, a form of opposition and dissent: a concept that, made possible by the Revo-

lution and developed in Romanticism, would dominate the modern view, regardless of any real political position with which the work, movement, or author was associated. What may have begun as a political position became a mark of moral character for the artist and the art.

#### From the *Histoire* to the *Galerie Bruyas*

From the depths of his catastrophic personal situation, Silvestre preserved a certain creative defiance, initiating bold new projects and ventures: on November 26, 1872, he laid out to Bruyas a grand plan for a publication on Bruyas's collection, a work that he envisaged as one of exceptional quality in both its intellectual and its material execution.<sup>114</sup> *La Galerie Bruyas* occupied Silvestre's last years, as, supported by a stipend from Bruyas, he returned to Paris and to art criticism. The collaboration was almost a natural one: in addition to concentrating on collecting the work of living artists, Bruyas had, as early as 1851, taken the unusual step of publishing a catalog, which he had planned to illustrate with photographic reproductions.<sup>115</sup> The connection with the *Histoire des artistes vivants* is obvious, but Silvestre's vision of modern art would influence the Bruyas collection more directly, too. Not only did Silvestre write the new catalog but, as adviser and agent to Bruyas, he also radically reshaped the collection, making it, as others have pointed out, moré comprehensive, less restricted to Bruyas's momentary artistic friendships, and greatly enhancing its quality.<sup>116</sup> Choice works by Delacroix (*Portrait of Aspasia*, watercolors of the Normandy coast and of flowers, studies for the *Femmes d'Alger*), Ingres (study for *Jesus among the Doctors*), Théodore Géricault (*Study of a Severed Arm and Legs*), Jacques-Louis David, Antoine Gros, Barye, Delaroche, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Chenavard (*Dante's Inferno*), and Courbet (the famous *Portrait of Baudelaire*) were added under his direction. As Jean Claparède observed, Bruyas's reference, in a letter to Silvestre, to "our gallery" was not a mere formula.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, the Bruyas collection came increasingly to resemble what we know of the *Histoire des artistes vivants*: nineteen of the twenty-seven painters seemingly destined for the *Histoire* came to be represented in the collection, and, as Ting Chang points out, the acquisitions filled out the existing holdings with works by "living artists" of the previous generation—that is, the generation of the *Histoire*—and not those of the early 1870s.<sup>118</sup>

As with the *Histoire*, about which Silvestre continued to speak of a second volume,<sup>119</sup> the *Galerie Bruyas* that he authored was, by the standard of nineteenth-century (and, for that matter, subsequent) catalogs, unparalleled. Each artist was treated in a brief monograph containing substantial critical interpretation and documentation on the artist and the individual works (the section on Delacroix alone occupied 145 pages). Extracts from other critics and writers, poems, plays, correspondence, writings and sayings of the artist, testimony from friends, colleagues, and students dialogue with one another and with Silvestre's own observations: the "photographic" and "eyewitness" approach of the *Histoire*, whereby a "true" judgment emerges from the evidence of the original sources, is thus at work here, too.<sup>120</sup> Although there are no illustrations save a photograph of Bruyas as frontispiece, thirty-three letters from artists to Bruyas, Silvestre, and others are reproduced in facsimile. Silvestre's introduction, if finished, would itself have been a major essay: he had written enough

of it for the printer to have reserved pages 19 through 80 for it and to have begun the pagination of the catalog after that. When Silvestre died suddenly on June 20, 1876, he had reached, following the alphabetical order, "Gérard." There is perhaps no greater testimony to the quality of his criticism than the sudden drop from full entries and rich commentary to the dry and unimaginative sequence of names, titles, dimensions, and dates that constitutes the rest of the catalog.<sup>121</sup> It is sadly typical that this work, for which he conceived the plan, did most of the research, and wrote nearly all the notices, remained unfinished, was published quasi-anonymously in a very small print run, and is now as unfindable as it is indispensable. The *Histoire* and the *Galerie* remain to this day arguably the essential sources on all the artists they cover.

#### ~~Cultural~~ and Social Reality

Silvestre's project may be seen to reflect the deep ambiguities of art at the origins of what we call modernity. His use of artists' writings, memoirs, and conversations, filtered through his own "passionate" lens, is progressive for its time, responding to the Baudelairean challenge, in the *Salon de 1846*, of a polemical art criticism, while giving due weight to the artists' reflections. Silvestre's concentration on the living artist corresponds to an increasing interest in the figure of the artist as a social actor. The application of photography is technically novel, certainly, but conceptually innovative, too, as text and photograph are seen to partake of a common aesthetic able to convey a reality directly and to ground a judgment in truth.

As the court's verdict proved only too well, however, showing a "photographic" reality might be a risky matter. The concept of the artist as a "total" character, who embraces the whole breadth of human experience, could not help but be affected by the loss of the innovative photographic element in text and image. Lacking its most important feature, the "photographic" directness that had justified the essays' critical trenchancy and marked their distinction from myth, the *Histoire* would henceforth approach a "celebrity" model, the popular genre of the artist-personality. This genre would be exploited by Courbet (whose self-publicity was sharply criticized by Silvestre) and by dealers who orchestrated the image of artists whom they wished to promote.<sup>122</sup> In this form, artistic biography would go on to have a great, if not always distinguished, future: the public's interest in artists' own words and conversely, artists' exploitation of this mode, would play a major part in the formation of art history as a discipline, as Green has shown.<sup>123</sup> Rather than its afterlife, it might be more instructive here to consider the *failure* of Silvestre's project.

For, shorn of its photographic *raison d'être*—its material photographs, its photographic metaphor, the most radical of its "photographically" direct texts—Silvestre's novel concept takes an ironic turn. The image of the artist as a total character, whose thoughts, actions, appearance, history, temperament, judgment all have value in the creation of an equally universal art, comes instead to function as a cultural *myth* that transfigures a less happy reality: that of the artist's *actual* social position and role, as these become increasingly constricted, defined, and circumscribed by the market, by the decline in state patronage, by the role of dealers and auctioneers, by publicity, advertising, and the art critical press so brutally portrayed in Émile Zola's *L'oeuvre*—by the institu-



tional changes, in other words, associated with modernity. If the representation of the artist in biography and portraiture had formerly measured an increase in social stature and prestige, Silvestre's project, beginning in photographic "truth" and ending in popular "celebrity," appears to do the opposite. As a cultural figure, the artist represented by the *Histoire* seems poised on the threshold of a crisis. In expanding the concept of the artist to humanistic dimensions, Silvestre's project may reflect, and even tacitly signal, the very impossibility of this ideal in the modern world.

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## Appendix 1

### Original editions of the *Histoire des artistes vivants*

(1) *Histoire des artistes vivants français et étrangers: Peintres, sculpteurs, architectes, graveurs, photographes; Études d'après nature par*

Théophile Silvestre. *Portrait des artistes et reproduction de leurs principaux ouvrages par la photographie*. Paris: E. Blanchard, 1853.

This is in folio format with the photographs on separate, individual sheets.

(2) A quarto edition published at the same time and having the same title, except that "photographie" is replaced by "gravure sur bois." The woodcuts (done from the photographs) are interspersed throughout the text, and there are slight differences of end matter.

(3) *Histoire des artistes vivants: Études d'après nature* par Théophile Silvestre. *Illustrée du portrait des artistes gravé à l'eau-forte sur acier, d'après le daguerréotype*. Paris: E. Blanchard, 1856.

This is in octavo format and was published in installments, one for each artist, between 1855 and 1856.

(3a) The installments were collected in a volume dated 1856 that retains the pagination of (3) and carries, on the title page: "*Histoire des artistes vivants français et étrangers. Études d'après nature par Théophile Silvestre. Première série. Illustrée de 10 portraits pris au daguerréotype et gravés sur acier*. Paris, E. Blanchard, 1856." It also adds a short introduction, which is a highly abridged version of the prospectus for the 1853 folio edition.

(3b) After this "first series," the second series ceased with its first installment (Horace Vernet); this was then bound in a volume (undated) with the first series, and "dix" changed to "onze" on the title page.

The crucial distinctions, apart from the format, are: photographs of artworks and portrait in (1), woodcuts of artworks and portrait in (2), steel engravings of portrait alone in (3).

## Appendix 2

### Evidence for the *Histoire des artistes vivants*

Letters in parentheses indicate the photographers: L = Laisné, LD = Laisné et Defonds, Lq = Le Secq, B = Baldus, Bi = Bisson brothers

Artist	BNF album		Other evidence	Faure	
	portrait-photo	BNF album artwork photo		1856	(ed. 1926)
Troyon		<i>Chemin couvert en Normandie</i> (LD)			X
Barye	X (LD)			X	X
Courbet	X (LD)	<i>Les baigneuses</i> (LD) <i>Les demoiselles de village</i> (B)	<i>Les lutteurs</i> (L) <i>La fileuse</i> (L?) <sup>124</sup>	X	X
Delacroix	X (LD)	<i>Le martyr de Saint Étienne</i> (LD) <i>L'entrée des Croisés à Constantinople</i> (LD) <i>Le Christ en croix</i> (B) <i>Hercule et Antée</i> (dessin) (Bi) <i>La noce juive au Maroc</i> (B) <i>Hamlet et les fossoyeurs</i> (L) <i>La Liberté guidant le peuple</i> (B) <i>Dante et Virgile aux enfers</i> (B) <i>Le massacre de Scio</i> (B) <i>Femmes d'Alger</i> (B)	portrait-photo (LD?) <sup>125</sup>	X	X
Chenavard	X (B)		<i>Entrée du paradis</i> (L) <i>Le purgatoire</i> (L) <i>L'enfer</i> (L) <sup>126</sup>	X	X
Corot	X (LD)	<i>Vue prise à Ville d'Avray</i> (L) <i>Vue de La Rochelle</i> (B) <i>Saint Sébastien</i> (L) <i>Le verger</i> (L) <i>Vue du Colysée</i> (Lq)	<i>Concert dans la campagne</i> (L) <i>Château de Pierrefonds</i> (L) <sup>127</sup>	X	X

Artist	BNF album portrait-photo	BNF album artwork photo	Other evidence	Faure 1856 (ed. 1926)
Rude		<i>La Marseillaise</i> (LD)		X X
David d'Angers	X (B)			X
Delaroche		<i>Portrait de Guizot</i> (LD)	aphorisms/text <sup>128</sup>	X
Jeanron	X (B)			X
Daumier	X (L)			X
Gigoux	X (L)			
Ingres	X (L) <sup>129</sup>	<i>Françoise de Rimini</i> (B)	<i>Portrait de Mme Devauçay</i> (B) <sup>130</sup> portrait-photo (L) <sup>131</sup>	X X
Decamps				X X
Diaz			portrait-photo (L) <sup>132</sup>	X X
Préault			portrait-photo (L) <sup>133</sup>	X X
H. Vernet				X X
A. Devéria				X
E. Devéria				X
Dupré				X
Huet				X
T. Rousseau				X
Couture			portrait-photo (L) <sup>134</sup>	X
Court			text <sup>135</sup>	
Bruyas Gallery			mention <sup>136</sup>	
Duprez			text <sup>137</sup>	
Baldus?			portrait-photo (B) <sup>138</sup>	
Bénouville?			<i>Mort de Saint François d'Assise</i> (B) <sup>139</sup>	
Brascassat?			<i>Vaches et chèvres</i> (B) <i>Le taureau</i> (B) <sup>140</sup>	
E. Giraud?			<i>Danseurs espagnols</i> (B) <sup>141</sup>	
Meissonier?			<i>Buveur de bière</i> (B) <sup>142</sup>	
de Mercey?			<i>Paysage</i> (B) <sup>143</sup>	
Simart?			<i>Bouquier de Minerve</i> (B) <sup>144</sup>	
Tassaert?			<i>Famille pauvre</i> (B) <sup>145</sup>	
E. Frère?			<i>Le goûter</i> (L) <sup>146</sup>	
Daubigny?			mention <sup>147</sup>	

## Notes

The initial idea of this article was presented in the session "The Witness: Writing the Life of the Nineteenth-Century Artist" at the 2003 annual conference of the College Art Association. I thank the organizer, Elizabeth Childs, for her extensive comments on that paper. I am grateful to Eric Bertin for bringing numerous references to my attention; to Marc Gotlieb for his constructive remarks; and to the two anonymous readers for *The Art Bulletin*

for their useful suggestions. Marie-Claire Saint-Germier, curator of the Réserve des Livres Rares of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, provided indispensable assistance in determining the history of the publication. I thank Karine Picaud, also of the Réserve des Livres Rares, for helping with reproductions. Translations are my own.

1. There has been much misidentification of the different editions in the scholarly literature. For a complete description, see Appendix 1.

2. Nicholas Green, "Circuits of Production, Circuits of Consumption: The Case of Mid-Nineteenth-Century French Art Dealing," *Art Journal* 48 (Spring 1989): 29–34; and idem, "Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Art History* 10 (March 1987): 59–78.
3. Green, "Circuits of Production," 32; and idem, "Dealing in Temperaments," 68.
4. Green, "Dealing in Temperaments," 68. Despite its title, Charles Blanc's *Histoire des peintres français au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Cauville, 1845) had almost as much material on earlier artists (Nicolas Poussin, Eustache Lesueur, Moïse Valentin) as on nineteenth-century ones, and none of the nine artists covered was alive at the time of writing. Auguste Galimard's *Les grands artistes contemporains* (Paris: Dentu, 1860), in which the author aimed to be "the Vasari of our time," never got off the ground, and the installment that survives, on the engraver Hyacinthe Aubry-Lecomte, was written after the latter's death.
5. Examples can be found in *L'Artiste* and *Le Magasin Pittoresque*.
6. On the genre of artistic biography, see Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment*, trans. A. Laing (1934; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); Rudolf Wittkower and Margot Wittkower, *Born under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists; A Documentary History from Antiquity to the French Revolution* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963); and Catherine M. Sousoff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), esp. fig. 1, "Schematic Structure of the Artist's Biography."
7. Théophile Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants," prospectus printed on the back cover of the first installment of the 1853 edition (see App. 1).
8. In contrast, as Isabelle Jammes indicates, most of the plates of "paintings" from Louis-Désirée Blanquart-Évrard's *Album photographique de l'artiste et de l'amateur* (Paris, 1851) were in fact from engravings (I. Jammes, *Blanquart-Évrard et les origines de l'édition photographique française* [Geneva: Droz, 1981], 77). Anthony Hamber shows decisively that this was the case for most photographically illustrated albums of artworks throughout the 1850s; see Hamber, "The Photography of the Visual Arts 1838–1850," pts. 1–4, *Visual Resources* 5, no. 4 (1989): 289–310, 6, no. 1 (1989): 19–42, no. 2 (1989): 165–80, no. 3 (1990): 219–42, at pt. 3, 165–73.
9. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants": "... on prétendait que la Photographie, malgré ses continus progrès et ses résultats obtenus, était bornée à la facile reproduction des portraits, des sites naturels, des gravures, des eaux-fortes, des dessins au trait, des sculptures et des monuments; mais on lui défendait d'oser même aborder les ouvrages de la Peinture." On the photographic reproduction of paintings, see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris 1848–1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), chap. 7; Hamber, "The Photography of the Visual Arts"; idem, "A Higher Branch of the Art": *Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839–1880* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1996), pt. 1, chaps. 2–4; Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); and I. Jammes, *Blanquart-Évrard*.
10. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants": "Grâce à sa persévérance, et au noble concours des meilleurs artistes, voués, depuis longtemps, aux plus âpres recherches, aux plus subtiles manipulations, l'auteur... est enfin arrivé à son but. Les plus grandes difficultés de reproduction photographique inhérentes aux tableaux peints ont été vaincues" (emphasis mine).
11. Portraits of the artist had accompanied biographies since the second edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* (1568), but the realistic connotations of photography would give the *Histoire's* portraits a special force. On the portrait of the artist as a genre, see Katherine T. Brown, *The Painter's Reflection: Self-Portraiture in Renaissance Venice 1458–1625* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000).
12. See Appendix 2. Le Gray (1820–1882), Louis Georges, and Louis Maccaire (1807–1871) are named in the prospectus, but no works by them for this project have been found. Little is known of Laisné, a painter and highly accomplished early artwork and portrait photographer whose work seems to have been largely associated with Silvestre's project. Defonds, known as Pigelet Defonds, was active from 1853 to the early 1860s and exhibited at the Société Française de Photographie in 1857 and 1859, but few of his works are known. See J. M. Voignier, *Répertoire des photographes de France au XIXe siècle* (Chevilly-Larue: Le Pont de Pierre, 1993); André Jammes and Eugenia Parry Janis, *The Art of the French Calotype, with a Critical Dictionary of Photographers 1845–1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); McCauley, *Industrial Madness*; and idem, *Likenesses: Portrait Photography in Europe 1850–1870* (Albuquerque: Art Museum, University of New Mexico, 1980).
13. See McCauley, *Likenesses*, 13–14. Over the course of the 1850s, the calotype process, requiring exposure times of up to a minute, survived mainly among artistic "amateurs," as shorter exposure times and greater clarity made collodion on glass the preferred method, after 1855, for popular commercial portraiture.
14. Carol Armstrong has emphasized the reality and authenticity of the photograph as a key aspect of the photographically illustrated book. See Armstrong, introduction to *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843–1875* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998).
15. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants."
16. G. Courbet, *Correspondance*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), no. 54-7: "S'il avait eu votre ténacité ou la mienne, il serait arrivé à une chose monumentale."
17. As I. Jammes, *Blanquart-Évrard*, 66, has shown, most photographic editions from the nineteenth century have known this same fate: almost none has remained intact, and the pages that would make a reconstitution possible—covers, title pages, tables of contents—have almost always disappeared. Hamber, "The Photography of the Visual Arts," pt. 1, 293, points out that photographs of paintings, considered "worthless documentary records," were especially vulnerable, and over the course of the twentieth century were usually thrown away.
18. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (henceforth BNF), Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie (henceforth Est.) Yb<sup>3</sup> 1242 fol. Another (incomplete) folio edition of the Corot, consisting of the first installment alone, is in the BNF's Réserve des Livres Rares of the Département des Imprimés (henceforth Rés.), G-1479. In addition, BNF Est. possesses one of the quarto editions of the Corot (Yb<sup>3</sup> 1243 pet. fol.).
19. André Joubin claimed in 1937, however, to have seen fragments of the folio and quarto editions of the Delacroix; *Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix*, 5 vols., ed. Joubin (Paris: Plon, 1935–38), vol. 3, 202 n. 2, 341 n. 3.
20. Compare 1853 (p. 11): "(Corot) also said about Delacroix as we left the duchesse d'Orléans' gallery, where you could see *The Murder of the Bishop of Liège, Hamlet, and The Prisoner of Chillon*: 'He is an eagle and I'm only a lark; I spout little chirps in my gray clouds' [(Corot) *me disait aussi de Delacroix en sortant de la galerie de Mme la duchesse d'Orléans, où l'on voyait l'Assassinat de l'Évêque de Liège, Hamlet et le Prisonnier de Chillon*: 'C'est un aigle et je ne suis qu'une alouette; je pousse de petits sifflets dans mes nuages gris']" and 1856 (p. 98): "He added, standing before the paintings of a great master: 'He is an eagle and I'm only a lark, I spout little songs in my gray clouds [Il ajoutait en présence des tableaux d'un grand maître: 'C'est un aigle et je ne suis qu'une alouette, je pousse de petites chansons dans mes nuages gris']."
21. In 1856 the mild phrase "One day we were discussing members of the Academy [Il fut un jour question d'académiciens]" (p. 100) replaces an ironic passage from 1853 about the Institut de France (p. 12): "If the Institute soon takes Corot into its noble membership, I think that it will have a hard time making someone prim and proper of this man so opposed to ceremony, to narrow convention and to false seriousness. I said to him on this subject: 'The Institute owed you a seat, after your great *Silenus* painting, in which Raphael's nymphs and Poussin's satyrs dance under classical trees' [Si l'Institut appelle bientôt Corot dans sa noble confrérie, je crois qu'il aura bien de la peine à faire un collet-monté de cet homme si opposé à l'étiquette, aux conventions étroites et à la fausse gravité. Je lui disais à ce propos: 'L'Institut vous devait le fauteuil, après votre grand tableau de *Silène*, où l'on voit danser les nymphes de Raphaël et les satyres du Poussin sous les arbres classiques']."
22. See nn. 43, 49 below.
23. Remi Parcollet notes Antoine-Louis Barye and Auguste Préault, to which can be added Honoré Daumier; Parcollet, "Théophile Silvestre, 1823–1876, et la reproduction photographique de la peinture" (mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Paris IV, 2001), 54–55. I thank Sylvie Aubenas for bringing this study to my attention and making it available to me.
24. "Monsieur, En me livrant à des recherches sur l'histoire des artistes morts, j'ai trouvé beaucoup de contradictions et d'incertitudes dans les documents qui nous sont restés. J'espère me rendre plus utile en faisant des études moins incertaines sur les artistes qui vivent de nos jours.  
Par l'indépendance, la sincérité, le désintéressement le plus absolu et les renseignements les plus positifs qu'il me sera possible de recueillir, j'ai la confiance d'arriver à écrire un livre plus utile, plus sérieux et surtout plus honnête que ne le sont les feuilles volantes de la critique contemporaine, trop souvent condamnée à suivre les spéculations du journalisme et de la librairie. Également éloigné de la servilité et du fanatisme, en un mot de tout parti pris, je n'ai d'autre ambition que celle d'être juste et lucide dans mes jugements. Pour

atteindre ce degré de conviction et d'impartialité au-dessous duquel tout livre est un acte public d'impudence, et quelquefois un mauvais service rendu à la société, je dois absolument, vous le sentez bien, Monsieur, consulter personnellement les artistes. Les moments d'entretien qu'il leur plaira de m'accorder à leurs heures perdues vaudront à mon livre un caractère de vie et d'authenticité, que seul je ne pourrais lui donner, quelle que soit, d'ailleurs, ma connaissance des ouvrages modernes les plus célèbres. Je ne crois pas avoir le droit, pour quelque motif que ce puisse être, de m'exposer volontairement à présenter sous un faux jour les talents divers de leurs auteurs, à rien altérer de leur pensée et de leur tendance originale.

Vous aurez, Monsieur, une place importante dans mon recueil: aussi me permettrez-vous, je l'espère, de vous consulter. Je compte trop sur la libéralité de votre intelligence, sur la franchise de vos convictions pour ne pas être assuré, d'avance, d'être bien compris et bien accueilli de vous."

From Silvestre's presentation at the 1857 appeal, *À MM. de la cour impériale de Paris: 1ère chambre; Audience de mardi, 7 juillet 1857; Mémoire de Théophile Silvestre, inspecteur des Beaux-Arts en mission, appelant contre Horace Vernet, peintre de l'Institut* (Paris: Pillet, 1857), 4. There he dates the letter October 15, although Pierre Miquel writes that the letter to Théodore Rousseau was dated October 2 (*Le paysage français au XIXe siècle, 1824-1874* [Maur-la-Jolie: Éditions de la Martinelle, 1975], 459), and by October 15 Courbet had already been meeting with Silvestre for a few weeks (see n. 37 below). The letter is reprinted in Élie Faure's edition of the *Histoire*, entitled *Les artistes français*, 2 vols. (Paris: G. Crès, 1926), vol. 2, 209-10.

25. Although the 1856 edition contains, at the end of the essay on Barye, extracts from the correspondence of the sculptor James Pradier, his death in June 1852, four months before Silvestre approached his potential subjects, suggests that he did not figure in the initial plan.
26. It is worth noting that, conversely, the BNF album is incomplete, lacking some photographic portraits and photographs of paintings known to have been done for the work (see App. 2, column 4).
27. Miquel, *Le paysage français au XIXe siècle*, 459. I thank Simon Kelly for this information.
28. Théophile Silvestre, "Théodore Rousseau," *Le Figaro*, January 15, 1868. See Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 1, 109.
29. Silvestre to Alfred Bruyas, April 23, 1854, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Département de la Bibliothèque et de la Documentation, Fonds Doucet (henceforth Doucet), MS 215, vol. 1. Silvestre acknowledges Bruyas's encouragement and announces his intention eventually to dedicate the work to him.
30. T. Silvestre, "G. Duprez: Étude d'après nature," introduction to G. Duprez, *La Mélodie: Études complémentaires vocales et dramatiques de l'art du chant* (Paris: Au Ménestrel, Heugel, [1871]), "Note de l'éditeur," i, and contents. This study, like the others, is preceded by a portrait of the artist (from a drawing by Carolus Duran dated November 12, 1871) and followed by twenty facsimiles of letters to Duprez from other artists. A copy of the whole work, which is extremely rare, is in the British Library (H.2225.a); a copy of Silvestre's text alone, lacking portrait and facsimiles, is in the BNF (LN-27-27533, misdated 1858 in the catalog). Written in 1871, it was probably published in 1873, the date of the *dépôt légal* (no. 6406).
31. Malcolm Daniel, *The Photographs of Édouard Baldus* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 260 n. 78.
32. Édouard Baldus, in *La Lumière*, April 8, 1854, quoted in *ibid.*, 260 n. 80.
33. Ernest Lacan, "Revue photographique," *La Lumière*, July 1, 1854, quoted in *ibid.*; stock book, printed in *ibid.*, app. 2.
34. I thank Sylvie Aubenas for this information.
35. Indeed, Blanquart-Évrard's album was assembled *post facto* from photographs commissioned by others (McCauley, *Industrial Madness*, 270).
36. Miquel, *Le paysage français au XIXe siècle*, 694.
37. Courbet, *Correspondance*, no. 52-4: "Un individu est venu faire ma biographie, ce qui m'a pris trois semaines de travail. Il m'a fallu passer en revue et expliquer tous les tableaux que j'ai faits de ma vie et toutes les phases par lesquelles je suis passé pour en venir où j'en suis aujourd'hui, ce qui a été un travail terrible." Also, *ibid.*, no. 53-3 (May 13, 1853).
38. See letter of December 26, 1852 (wrongly dated 1853 in Delacroix, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 185), which, despite Delacroix's reference to a portrait "in profile," seems from internal evidence to refer to his sittings for Laisné and Defonds; see also his letter of February 9, 1853, to the collector J. P. Bonnet (*ibid.*, 139). A letter dated February 2, 1853, from Delacroix to an unidentified correspondent who had come by in his absence with some "magnificent photographic prints," some "fine samples," and whom "he would have had much pleasure in receiving in his studio," probably marks his early dealings with Silvestre, who may have given him some of the first photographs taken for the project. The letter is in the George Eastman House, Rochester, N.Y. (AC D332), and is partially cited in Bann, *Parallel Lines*, 116 and n. 76, who suggests that the addressee is Eugène Durieu. This is unlikely, the tone of the letter being more formal than Delacroix would have used with Durieu, whom he knew very well by that date; and "magnifiques" would not seem to apply to Durieu's photographs of nudes, which Delacroix much appreciated but did not consider unequivocally successful (*Journal*, May 21, 1853). Silvestre wrote in 1871 that he interviewed Delacroix while Bruyas posed for his portrait by the painter ("G. Duprez: Étude d'après nature," i); the first sitting took place before March 9, 1853, and the rest after that date.
39. I thank Marie-Claire Saint-Germier for obtaining this information for me. The photographs were registered as they were executed, presumably according to the availability of the photographers, their sitters, and the works of art themselves; they did not follow the later order of publication. Thus, the *dépôt légal* series begins with a photograph of Troyon's *Chemin couvert en Normandie* (Fig. 2), whereas no article on Troyon ever appeared in any editions of the work.
40. *La Lumière* 39 (August 27, 1853): 139. The first installment was announced in the *Bibliographie de la France* on August 20, 1853 (no. 4984). This is the copy in the Réserve des Livres Rares of the BNF. The complete, two-installment copy in BNF Estampes belonged to Corot himself and is inscribed "À mon illustre ami Corot. Offert par l'auteur. Th. Silvestre." It contains some corrections in Corot's hand. The entry in the *Bibliographie* for the first installment included a description of the series in general. The work would be published in two formats simultaneously: a folio issue with separate photographic plates and a quarto issue with woodcuts interspersed throughout the text. Each installment would consist of eight pages of text and four illustrations. The monographs would vary in length, occupying one, one and a half, or multiple installments. Each folio installment, including the four photographs, would cost 20 francs; each quarto installment, 1 franc; the photographic plates were also available individually at 5 francs each. The entry for the first installment lists, in addition to the two double sheets, or eight pages, of text, "a plate printed by Bénard, Paris." One of the photographs in the BNF album, Le Secq's *Vue du Colysée* after Corot (Fig. 14), carries no *dépôt légal* number and thus may have been the plate registered with the text (I thank M.-C. Saint-Germier for this point). Some of the individual photographs preserved in BNF Estampes carry the same registration number as those in the BNF album: one copy was deposited in the library, the other in the Préfecture of the Seine.
41. Silvestre to Bruyas, n.d., in *Courbet à Montpellier*, exh. cat., Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 1985, 119 (undated). Years later Bruyas dated this letter July 1853, but this is too early. In October, Courbet told Bruyas that he left Paris for Ornans a few days after Silvestre's letter was written, spent three weeks in Switzerland, and then returned to Ornans. This chronology places the letter in September 1853.
42. Delacroix, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 341. Delacroix's letter was misdated by Joubin to 1856 but in fact dates from November 1, 1853. "New" probably means the next installment in the series (after the two on Corot): Delacroix comments on the piece as though it is the first one on him, and the three photographs mentioned are of paintings that, with the *Dante et Virgile*, are chronologically the earliest and thus likely to have accompanied the first installment.
43. Delacroix corrected these errors in his letter to Silvestre (*ibid.*): he did not give lessons to earn his living, he did not suffer from extreme poverty as a young man, he did not have a tragic childhood, he was not bored during the nine years spent at school. Cf. his letter to Louis Peisse, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 217.
44. Delacroix notes, with a certain irony toward himself: "I took with me the end of Silvestre's article about me. I'm very satisfied with it. Poor artists! They perish if no one pays attention to them" (*Journal*, April 12, 1854).
45. Delacroix to Silvestre, April 14, 1854, in Delacroix, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 203.
46. Courbet heard from Champfleury in October 1853 that "Silvestre is involved in a lawsuit with some associates for the woodcuts," and Silvestre himself told Bruyas on April 11, 1854, that he had had to sue his backers, "greedy and very ignorant people who tried to make all my work and all my ideas benefit their crass speculation"; *Courbet à Montpellier*, 121, 123-24 n. 2.
47. See n. 32 above.
48. Courbet to Bruyas, *Correspondance*, no. 54-7.
49. Delacroix to Silvestre, December 3, 1855, in Delacroix, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 307. Delacroix's letter indicates that he has received the new versions of the articles on himself and Ingres: these are the ones for the 1856 edition. He then congratulates Silvestre on the changes



- made to the article on himself (since 1853) and mentions an earlier version of the article on Ingres that he had discussed with the author.
50. The dates on which they were announced in the *Bibliographie de la France*, which are not the dates of publication but nevertheless provide a rough guide, are: no. 1 (Ingres), November 17, 1855; 2 (Delacroix), January 19, 1856; 3-9 (Corot, Chenavard, Decamps, Barye, Diaz, Courbet, Préault), June 7, 1856; 10 (Rude), June 28, 1856; 11 (Horace Vernet), February 21, 1857. No. 4, on Chenavard, was available already on January 8, 1856, when Delacroix noted in his journal Chenavard's apprehension about reading it; *L'Illustration* of April 5, 1856, reports that the eighth installment, that is, the one on Courbet, has just appeared. Vernet's, meant to complete the first series as no. 10 (*ibid.*), was due to appear in May 1856 but was delayed until 1857 because of the trial (see below). The installment on Rude was thus substituted for it.
  51. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants."
  52. William Henry Fox Talbot, *Some Account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing, or the process by which natural objects may be made to delineate themselves without the aid of the artist's pencil* (London: R. and J. E. Taylor, 1839); and *idem*, *The Pencil of Nature* (London: Longman, 1844).
  53. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants." McCauley alone, *Likenesses*, 55, has noted a link between this statement and the goal of "honest reporting." "Daguerrean" is here used as a general term for "photographic": the images are all calotypes, not daguerreotypes.
  54. Notably, for Fox Talbot, in the ultraviolet register; see Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 127-28. The terms quoted here come from Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, 3-5, quoted in *ibid.*, 114-15.
  55. Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 2, 10, 12.
  56. See n. 24 above.
  57. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants."
  58. Unless otherwise indicated, page numbers in the text refer to the 1856 edition (see Appendix 1).
  59. The *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, the account by Napoléon's private secretary of his conversations with the emperor in captivity, is the most famous example, but there were many more.
  60. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants."
  61. McCauley, *Likenesses*, 2-3, reviews these terms in the early photographic literature and relates them to the physiognomic tradition.
  62. Later, in writing the catalog entries for the *Galerie Bruyas*, Silvestre worked from photographs and then checked his work against the paintings; see Marion Haedeke, *Alfred Bruyas: Kunstgeschichtliche Studie zum Mäzenatentum im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1980), 212.
  63. Jules Barbey d'Aureville, "Théophile Silvestre," in *Oeuvre critique*, vol. 2 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006), 705. Twenty-two unpublished letters from Barbey to Silvestre passed in a sale at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on June 16, 2003 (Pierre Bergé et Associés, *Livres anciens et modernes*, sale cat., lot 4). I thank Eric Bertin for calling these letters to my attention.
  64. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Regards sur la photographie en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Berger, 1980), no. 78.
  65. McCauley, *Likenesses*, 5, compares it to Roger Fenton's 1854 image of Prince Albert posing as "Autumn."
  66. In the absence of the folio version, we do not know whether a different text accompanied this portrait.
  67. On reproductive photography, see n. 9 above.
  68. I. Jammes, *Blanquart-Évrard*, 76.
  69. McCauley, *Industrial Madness*, 285.
  70. *Ibid.*, 294, citing Henri Delaborde's "L'école française de gravure en 1853," in *Mélanges sur l'art contemporain* (Paris, 1866).
  71. I. Jammes, *Blanquart-Évrard*, 76-78. Villot noted that the few "relatively successful reproductions" had been made from paintings of a "monochromatic appearance" (quoted in McCauley, *Industrial Madness*, 285-86). While artists sometimes had their works photographed for private purposes, examples for public consumption all postdate Silvestre's project.
  72. Théophile Gautier, "Oeuvre de Paul Delaroche photographié," *L'Artiste*, March 7, 1858, 154. See Bann, *Parallel Lines*, 120-22.
  73. "[L]a terre tremble, le ciel s'obscurcit, le soleil traverse de lueurs ensanglantées les nuages noirs qu'un vent tempêteux roule les uns contre les autres et traîne vers la terre comme des crêpes déchirés; la foule enveloppée de ténèbres s'épouvante, reconnaît la mort du Juste et la colère de Dieu."
  74. "Ces tableaux ne sautent pas vivement aux yeux: une espèce de fumée grise, vapeurs ou poussière, rampe sur les terrains, passe lentement au-dessus des eaux, enveloppe les arbres, émousse les rayons lumineux. Déchirons ce léger voile: d'immenses profondeurs où tout se baigne dans les ombres transparentes et les tièdes clartés s'ouvrent à nos yeux ravis, ce qui fait dire à l'artiste: 'Pour bien entrer dans ma peinture, il faut avoir au moins la patience de laisser fuir le brouillard; on n'y pénètre que lentement. . .'"
  75. "Je partage l'antipathie de Courbet pour les esclaves du passé et son amour pour les études contemporaines. Je fais moi-même tant bien que mal mes preuves de réalisme, pour employer son expression, en essayant d'écrire l'*Histoire des artistes vivants*. . . Comme lui, je n'ai pas perdu un instant de vue le modèle vivant, et je m'attache à le rendre en toute vérité. . . La certitude historique doit participer en quelque sorte de l'autopsie, du procès-verbal et du témoignage judiciaire pour ne pas tomber dans des *anas* et dans les fantaisies romanesques. . . L'Histoire n'a pas le droit d'inventer une figure, de créer un tempérament, ou de glaner ses récits dans les recueils équivoques; mais en méprisant les traditions infidèles, en choisissant avec méfiance et lucidité des points incontestables pris d'après nature par les écrivains antérieurs, et en s'armant de la force vive de ses intuitions, elle réveille, pour les ramener sous nos yeux, les générations endormies dans l'oubli des temps."
  76. Delacroix, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 343, 202.
  77. In a letter, Courbet, *Correspondance*, no. 54-2, May 3, 1854, defines his self-portraits as a kind of "life writing" and includes among them the photographic portrait done by Laisné and Defonds for the *Histoire*.
  78. Delacroix, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 217; and Courbet, *Correspondance*, no. 56-5, August 1856: "Il a enlevé de mes notes ce qu'il y avait de substantiel, puis a mis le tout sur un ton demi-bouffon."
  79. *L'Illustration*, April 5, 12, 1856; *La Presse*, April 8, 9, 10, 11. Extracts are reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2.
  80. On October 11, 1842, Vernet had written from Warsaw of the favorable reception of his works, in contrast to those of Ingres's: "I have no other advantage than that of having followed [my lucky star], instead of trying to influence it by artificial means. The *fiasco* of Ingres here is proof of that. Society, which sooner or later takes into account each person's worth, not having been whipped up by a *claque*, let a success that had been nurtured in a hothouse die out. Fresh air killed it off. . . [Je n'ai d'autre avantage que celui de l'avoir suivie [ma bonne étoile], au lieu de chercher à la gouverner par des moyens factices. Le fiasco d'Ingres ici en est une preuve. La société qui, tôt ou tard, fait la part du mérite de chacun, n'ayant pas été excitée par une claque, a laissé mourir un succès mûri sous cloche. Le grand air l'a tué. . .]. In a letter from St. Petersburg (November 22, 1842), his claim to appreciate Ingres ends with a sting: "His school can be fatal, but it nevertheless results that he is himself, despite the ideas that he pillages from the ancients [Son école peut être fatale, mais il n'en résulte pas moins qu'il est lui-même, malgré les inspirations qu'il pille chez les anciens]." *Lettres intimes de M. Horace Vernet . . . pendant son voyage en Russie (1842 et 1843): Fragments inédits d'une "Histoire des artistes vivants par Théophile Silvestre"; Préface de Champfleury* (Paris, 1856).
  81. One letter reported somewhat rancorous remarks of Louis-Philippe's about Nicolas I; others presented members of the imperial family in an indecorous light or cast aspersions on Russian soldiers (see n. 82 below). The international issues are described in Silvestre's appeal, *À MM. de la cour*.
  82. Although the letters had to be omitted from the *Histoire*, they were nonetheless published anonymously in a separate volume (probably by Silvestre), *Lettres intimes de M. Horace Vernet*. In his preface, Champfleury cleverly praises the directness and liveliness of the letters, which he implies Silvestre had the good sense to recognize, and includes only a veiled allusion to Vernet's lawsuit at the end: "Artists, governed by sensation, will deny tomorrow what they affirmed today. It is all too easy for one who does not write to protest against the doctrines that are attributed to him" (6).
  83. Silvestre, *À MM. de la cour*, 3: "pas de beaux discours, mais des faits positifs, des preuves irréfutables que M. Horace Vernet a, de sa propre main, signées contre lui-même."
  84. Horace Vernet to Prince Napoléon, published in *La Presse*, August 8, 1856, quoted in *ibid.*, 7.
  85. Vernet, quoted in Silvestre, *À MM. de la cour*, 7, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 215: "Je ne suis pas trop content d'avoir vu Ingres mis au-dessus de moi par le discours du prince Napoléon, à la distribution des récompenses de l'Exposition universelle. Lui fait grand officier, moi resté commandeur: lui, le seul représentant des traditions du beau, allons donc, vieux cuisst! vieux sournois! Que ne l'envoyait-on, ce moine d'académie, là où je suis allé, moi, de si bon cœur, en Afrique ou dans les marais de la Dobrutska! Mais j'ai bec et ongles, et je m'en sers à l'occasion contre le premier venu, petit ou grand. . ."
  86. Silvestre, *À MM. de la cour*, 5, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*,

- vol. 2, 211: "Il vantait surtout mon étude d'après nature de M. Ingres, dont je n'aime ni le talent ni le caractère, et il ne cessait de déchirer l'auteur du *Martyre de saint Symphorien* avec une verve fort plaisante."
87. Vernet, reported by Silvestre, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 38-39: "Savez-vous au reste que vous n'avez pas trop bien arrangé ce pauvre Ingres, et qu'il ne sera pas content. . . un homme si hargneux! Son portrait est bien. Hum! hum! quelle mine renfrognée! . . . Ce vieil enfant gâté, qui se croit toujours permis de pisser sur le rôti!"
88. Ingres to Édouard Gatteaux, August 6, 1857, in D. Ternois, *Lettres d'Ingres et de Delphine Ingres à Édouard Gatteaux*, in *Actes du colloque "Ingres et Rome," Montauban, septembre 1986, Bulletin spécial des Amis du Musée Ingres*, [1986]: 17-61 at 56, letter 48. Ingres continues: "We live in a time when any obscure journalist can, as he likes, spread the blackest venom about his victim, without that poor soul having any recourse except a futile vengeance, which would only lead to a new scandal, and this often falls on the most honest individual, distinguished by his great talent, gentle. . . . [Nous vivons dans un temps où le premier obscur feuilletoniste peut à son gré répandre le fiel le plus noir sur sa victime, sans que celle-ci puisse avoir aucun recours que celui d'une vengeance impuissante qui ne ferait naître que nouveau scandale, et cela souvent sur l'individu le plus honnête, distingué par son haut talent, paisible. . . .]"
89. Henri Cauvain, reported by Silvestre, *À MM. de la cour*, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 211.
90. Henri Cauvain, reported in *Gazette des Tribunaux*, July 30, 1856.
91. Silvestre, *À MM. de la cour*, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 211.
92. *Ibid.*, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 212-13: "M. Vernet n'avait pas besoin de mes éloges; pourtant il m'humiliait parfois en les recherchant. Espérait-il que je défendrais aveuglément son talent dont lui-même . . . reconnaît les erreurs et le déclin? . . . Il se répandait sur toutes choses avec une légèreté, une verve intarissables, entremêlés de calembours grivois, de coq-à-l'âne, de pantomimes et de pirouettes. . . . Ennuyé enfin par ces effroyables salmigondis de commérages innocents, obscènes ou meurtriers, je le ramenais à l'histoire de l'art."
93. *Ibid.*, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 214.
94. *Ibid.*, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 210: "On le voit, je n'ai sollicité traitreusement ni pris de force aucun de mes modèles. . . . Je n'ai pas non plus abusé du privilège que s'arrogent si souvent les peintres eux-mêmes, de flatter, d'embellir avec complaisance des gens vulgaires, grossiers et quinteux. . . . J'ai . . . cherché de mon mieux à donner cette juste mesure de mes contemporains."
95. *Ibid.*, reprinted in Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 209: "Ils ont bien voulu poser devant moi, me raconter leur vie, m'expliquer leurs principes, leurs oeuvres. J'ai fait des portraits à la plume, comme ils ont fait des portraits au pinceau."
96. Silvestre, "Idée de l'Histoire des artistes vivants."
97. Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Théophile Silvestre," in *Oeuvre critique*, vol. 2, 712, cf. 705. Another critic wrote: "[he] places the character of the man well above the talent of the artist, and claims . . . that there is no talent without character"; Eugène Potrel, "Théophile Silvestre," *Le Figaro*, April 20, 1862, 2.
98. For example, the metaphor on which the essay on Courbet ends, allying common realism with peasantry and constitutional bourgeoisie, and imagination with empire (p. 277). This was later dropped; cf. Faure, *Les artistes français*, vol. 2, 150.
99. See Francis Haskell, "Art and the Language of Politics," in *Past and Present in Art and Taste: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 65-75, 68. On the "inverse" practice of using art criticism as a conduit for political debate, see Susan Siegfried, "The Politics of Art Criticism in the Post-Revolutionary Press," in *Art Criticism and Its Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France*, ed. Michael R. Orwicz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 9-28.
100. Potrel, "Théophile Silvestre," 1.
101. This was Joffrès, public prosecutor at the court of Foix. Joffrès had been mayor of Foix when a peasants' revolt on January 13, 1840, occasioned a massacre of civilians by the forces of order. Silvestre's account of the episode (see n. 102 below) is confirmed by reports in the press and by the court's ultimate dismissal of the case brought against the protesters (*Moniteur Universel*, January 18, 29, 1840, March 4, 1840). In 1848, from his position on the bench, Joffrès opposed Silvestre's attempts to take the paper out of the hands (and influence) of the préfecture. Silvestre characterized these people as "forces of reaction" and "enemies of the Republic."
102. Silvestre, *Première Lettre aux citoyens du département de l'Ariège par Théophile Silvestre, ancien sous-commissaire du gouvernement (démisionnaire): Darnaud, Durrieu, Joly, Joffrès, etc.* (Paris: Gustave Sandré, éditeur des oeuvres de Pierre Leroux, 1849): "Un fonctionnaire public, égarant l'opinion, a fait brûler, aux yeux du Peuple, un journal républicain, organe de ses droits, de ses intérêts les plus chers. . . . Que [les Ariégeois] n'oublient pas un grand fait de l'histoire: aux temps les plus cruels de la tyrannie, tous les écrits qui ont défendu énergiquement les intérêts du Peuple et de la liberté ont été brûlés ainsi, sur la place publique, par la main du bourreau. / Vive la République! Vive le peuple souverain!" The piece contains a paean to Auguste Blanqui, recently released from prison, "that great victim of royal vengeance [cette grande victime des vengeances royales]," "that man who, paralyzed by suffering in the whole of his being, had preserved a profoundly lucid mind, an iron will [cet homme qui, de tout son être paralysé par la douleur, avait conservé une tête profondément lucide, une volonté de fer]," of whom Silvestre seems to have later written a biography. The BNF catalog lists Th. Silvestre, *L. A. Blanqui: Étude historique* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis, 1862), of which, according to a manuscript note on the title page, only 301-505, containing the supporting documents, were printed. The first three hundred pages would presumably have been a text by Silvestre. Chapter 7 of his work *Plaisirs rustiques* (Paris: Charpentier, 1878) contains a portrayal of Blanqui that both Barbey and the novelist Léon Cladel considered "superb." See Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Théophile Silvestre," 717.
103. Bibliothèque Municipale, Montpellier, MS 1102, May 26, 1876. Silvestre died at Gambetta's house on June 20, 1876, having successfully intervened with his friend to secure the Legion of Honor for Bruyas. Potrel, "Théophile Silvestre," 1, maintains that Silvestre continued to visit Blanqui in prison and to "venerate" Proudhon, despite disagreeing with their opinions.
104. The mission lasted from 1857 to 1859. In July 1857 he returned from Italy for his appeal against the Vernet verdict; in late 1858 he went to London, where on January 19, 1859, he delivered a lecture before the Royal Society of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce.
105. In a letter of December 10, 1862, Jean-François Mocquard, the emperor's private secretary, recommended him for a post (Archives Nationales, Paris [hereafter AN], F18/290). A letter from H. de Laire, private secretary to the minister of the interior (April 17, 1863), offered him the post of *commissaire divisionnaire des chemins de fer*, which he refused (*ibid.*). He became *chef de bureau de la presse française* and then *inspecteur général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, a post he held from June 8, 1863, to June 29, 1864 (AN F18/2345). See Patrick Lahurie, *Contrôle de la presse, de la librairie et du colportage sous le Second Empire 1852-1870: Inventaire des articles F18/265-293, 552-555, 566-571 et 2345* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1995).
106. It ended in a scandal involving Silvestre's collaborator, Ulysse Pic, and Silvestre ended up being fined for illegal possession of a weapon; U. Pic, "Le Nain jaune—le revolver de Silvestre," in *Lettres gauloises sur les hommes et les choses de la politique contemporaine. . . .* (Paris: A. Favre, 1865), 147-202.
107. *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale* (Paris, 1870), 156-62: "à l'affolement des idées, au désespoir du paupérisme, à l'abaissement de la nation devant l'étranger et à la guerre civile succède le gouvernement de Sa Majesté, Père et Sauveur de la Patrie." The letter from Silvestre of December 10, 1869, is given as addressed to the emperor, but it refers to "l'Empereur" and to the addressee as though different: it may be to Prince Napoléon. See also Silvestre to Piétri, chief of police, January 2, 1867, in the same volume.
108. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1869.
109. Doucet, MS 215, vol. 1, letters 1, of April 23, 1854, and 16, of May 20, 1871. Silvestre had no doubt read the rumors circulating in the British press that Courbet had personally destroyed works of art in the Louvre; these prompted Courbet to write on this latter date a letter to the London *Times* denying the charge (*Correspondance*, no. 71-17).
110. Doucet, MS 215, vol. 1, letters 31 (spring 1872) and 34 (November 12, 1872).
111. *Ibid.*, letter 20 (July 1871).
112. *Ibid.*, letter 34 (November 12, 1872).
113. Haskell, "Art and Language of Politics," 71.
114. Doucet, MS 215, letter 36. Michel Hilaire notes that Bruyas had first invited Silvestre to compile a catalog of his collection in 1856; Hilaire, "A Gallery of Living Artists: Alfred Bruyas as Patron," in *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet! The Bruyas Collection from the Musée Fabre, Montpellier*, ed. Sarah Lees (Williamstown, Mass.: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2004), 26.
115. Hilaire, "A Gallery of Living Artists," 23; see also Ting Chang, "Bruyas, Paris, and Montpellier: Artistic Center and Periphery," in Lees, *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!* 48-49. These photographs, commissioned from the Montpellier photographer Huguet-Molines, have not been identified with certainty, but four photographs of works from the Bruyas collection accompany a letter from Bruyas to Courbet now in Doucet,

- carton 42. These may be the ones in question. See *Courbet à Montpellier*, 123–24.
116. See Hilaire, "A Gallery of Living Artists," 29–31; Chang, "Bruyas, Paris, and Montpellier," 52; and Jean Claparède, introduction to *Inventaire des collections publiques françaises: Montpellier; Musée Fabre; Dessins de la collection Alfred Bruyas et autres dessins des XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1962).
  117. Claparède, introduction to *Inventaire des collections publiques françaises*.
  118. Ting Chang, "Rewriting Courbet: Silvestre, Courbet and the Bruyas Collection after the Paris Commune," *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (1998): 116.
  119. Doucet, MS 215, vol. 1, letter 38 (December 2, 1872).
  120. Chang, "Rewriting Courbet," 116, observes that, as a history of art, the Galerie Bruyas was "not unlike a reformulated version" of the *Histoire*. But the photographic approach had by then become wholly literary; Silvestre had come to consider photography as largely an aide-mémoire.
  121. Bruyas, who had collaborated with Silvestre on the project, oversaw the printing of the first volume but died on January 1, 1877. The entire print run was given by Bruyas's family to the Musée Fabre, which then completed the work. See *La Galerie Bruyas*, editor's note to the second part; and Haedeke, *Alfred Bruyas*, 215.
  122. Green, "Dealing in Temperaments," 63ff.
  123. *Ibid.*
  124. In a letter, Courbet describes the photographing of *Les lutteurs*, *La fileuse*, *Les baigneuses*, and his own portrait (*Correspondance*, no. 53-3, May 13, 1853); Laisné having been involved in the other three, he was probably also the photographer of *La fileuse*. In another letter of the same date (no. 53-2), Courbet asks the duc de Morny, owner of the *Demoiselles de Village*, to authorize Silvestre to reproduce the painting as a photograph and as a woodcut from the photograph (corresponding to the two original formats of the *Histoire*). A copy of *Les lutteurs* is in BNF Est. (Eo226). There exists an unsigned photograph after Courbet's *Portrait de Jean Jurnet*, which Jean Adhémar attributes to Laisné for the *Histoire* ("Deux notes sur des tableaux de Courbet," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 90, no. 1307 [December 1977]: 200–204). But Courbet annotated it "1855," which indicates that it was probably done not for the *Histoire* but for his special exhibition, at which the portrait was reexhibited: in a letter of May 11, 1855, he tells Bruyas of his plan to sell photographs of his paintings, which Laisné was then making for him (*Correspondance*, no. 55-5).
  125. Alfred Robaut reproduces a second photographic portrait done for the *Histoire*, in *L'oeuvre complet de Delacroix* (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1885), no. 34 of the section "Portraits de Delacroix."
  126. These photographs "d'après des dessins tirés de la suite des compositions destinées à la décoration intérieure du Panthéon" are cited by Parcollet, "Théophile Silvestre, 1823–1876," 31.
  127. These two photographs are in the integral Corot of BNF Est., but not in either the BNF album or the *dépot légal*.
  128. Aphorisms recorded for the *Histoire des artistes vivants* in 1853 were published in *L'Illustration*, November 22, 1856, and subsequently in *La Galerie Bruyas*, 423–28.
  129. Interestingly, there exists a proof of this (standing) photograph annotated in Silvestre's hand "mauvaise épreuve. Th. S<sup>ure</sup>"; reproduced in Brooks Johnson, *Nineteenth-Century French Photography*, exh. cat., the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Va., 1983, no. 15.
  130. Eric Bertin plausibly associates with Silvestre's project this photograph, which, like the *Françoise de Rimini*, was by Baldus. See Bertin, "Les peintures d'Ingres: Estampes et photographies de reproduction parues du vivant de l'artiste," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres* 69 (1996): 50.
  131. A second photographic portrait (seated) by Laisné, which later inspired the engraving of 1856, is in BNF Est. (Eo 226).
  132. *La Photographie: Collection Marie-Thérèse et André Jammes, Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Photographs*, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, October 27, 1999, lot 147 (I thank Eric Bertin for this reference). The sale also included examples of the photographic portraits of Jeanron, Chenavard, Daumier, Corot, and David d'Angers (lots 147 and 16), all but one of which carried the printed series title of the *Histoire des artistes vivants*; they were thus produced for the 1853 edition.
  133. BNF Est. Eo226. This is different from the engraved portrait, also, according to Parcollet ("Théophile Silvestre, 1823–1876," ill. 21), after a photograph by Laisné.
  134. BNF Est. Eo226. Also, in *La Galerie Bruyas* (211), Silvestre references the note on Couture as "*Histoire des artistes vivants*, t. II, inédit."
  135. Referenced in *La Galerie Bruyas* as "*Histoire des artistes vivants*, t. II."
  136. See n. 29 above.
  137. See n. 30 above.
  138. BNF Est. Eo8 v. 1; see n. 31 above.
  139. *La Lumière*, July 1, 1854; Baldus stock book (see n. 33 above).
  140. Artist listed in *La Lumière*, titles in Baldus stock book (*ibid.*).
  141. Baldus stock book (*ibid.*).
  142. *La Lumière*, July 1, 1854.
  143. *Ibid.*
  144. Baldus stock book (see n. 33 above).
  145. *Ibid.*
  146. See Jammes, *Blanquart-Évrard*, 144ff.
  147. See n. 36 above.