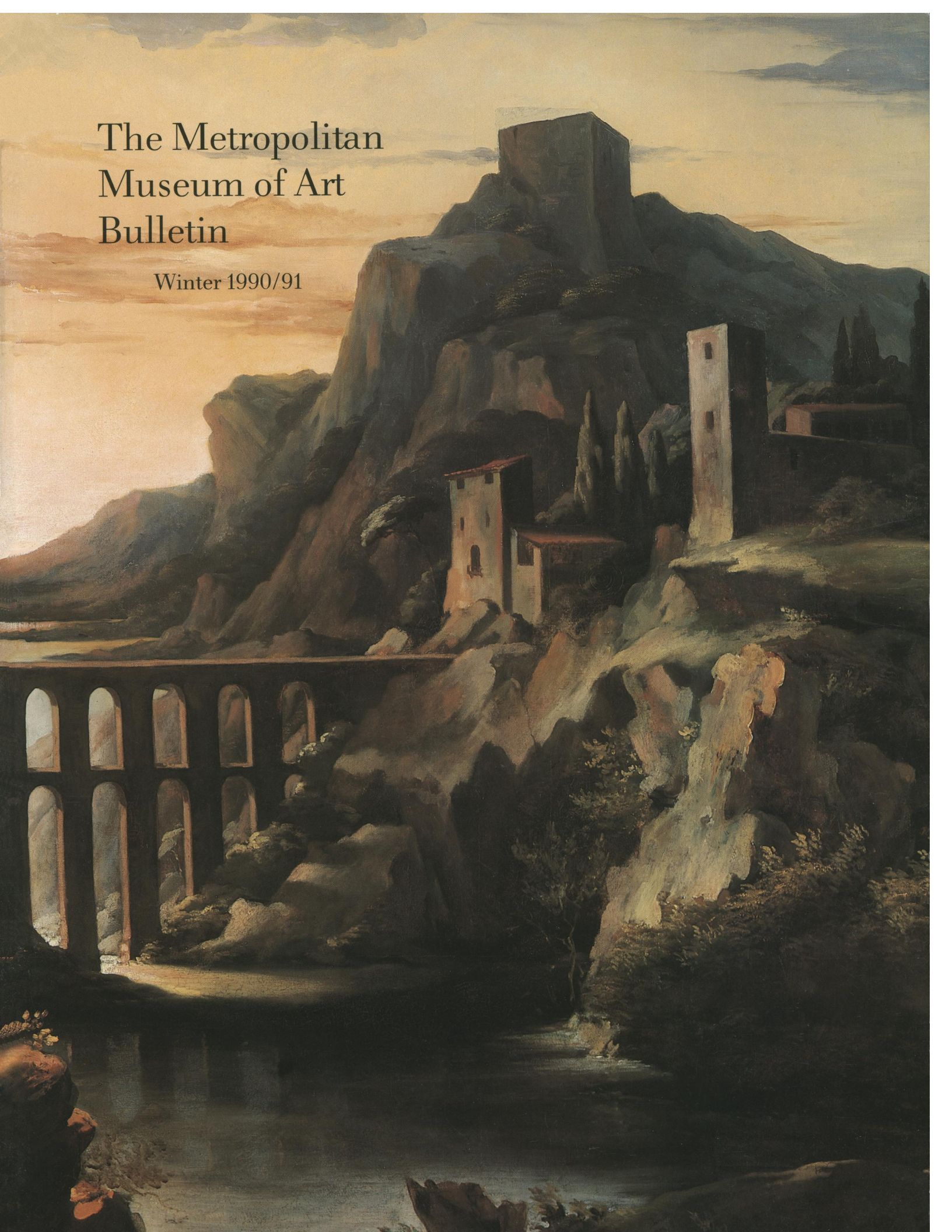


The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art  
Bulletin

Winter 1990/91





# *Gericault's Heroic Landscapes*

The Times of Day

Gary Tinterow

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART BULLETIN—Winter 1990/91

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*Note:*

*It has recently been demonstrated that Gericault wrote his name without an accent on the e, even though others during his lifetime spelled it Géricault, the spelling consistently used until now. In this publication Gericault's original orthography has been followed.*

*Page numbers after quotations in the text refer to works by these authors listed in the Bibliography.*

## Director's Note

In 1953, when *Noon: Landscape with a Roman Tomb* and *Evening: Landscape with an Aqueduct* were exhibited for the first time, scholars hailed the reappearance of these two pictures as the most important discovery in Gericault studies during this century. Lorenz Eitner—then a young specialist on Gericault, now a great authority—immediately published a long article on the two extraordinary landscapes, then thought to be the only examples of their kind by this artist. In 1959, however, *Morning: Landscape with Fishermen* appeared in a Paris sales room, having been out of view for exactly one hundred years. Since then, a number of intriguing facts have surfaced and a great many speculations have been made about these three pictures, including the provocative suggestion just last year that a previously unknown fourth picture, representing Night, has been in a South American collection since 1949.

To celebrate the Museum's acquisition in 1989 of *Evening: Landscape with an Aqueduct*, we are uniting publicly, for the first time, the three known panels of the series, the Times of Day, in an exhibition running from November 6, 1990, through January 13, 1991. Gary Tinterow, Engelhard Associate Curator of European Paintings, has spent the last year in the pursuit of information—whether it be in provincial archives or in the memories of private collectors—that might shed light on these glorious but enigmatic pictures. He reveals the fruits of his research in this *Bulletin*, which sets forth the history of these landscapes, as well as that of Gericault's brief and tempestuous career.

Philippe de Montebello  
Director

# Acknowledgments

“Trembling, I commenced this study,” Charles Clément confessed at the beginning of his excellent biography and catalogue raisonné of Géricault’s life and work (published in serial form in the 1860s and then republished, with corrections, in 1879). Equipped with a remarkable memory, fastidious notes, and the reminiscences of a number of artists, still living, who knew Géricault intimately, Clément was eminently suited to his task. If he trembled, writing only fifty years after Géricault’s death, novices such as myself, writing one hundred years later, can only quake. No nineteenth-century artist of Géricault’s stature remains as enigmatic; no oeuvre, despite its small size, so rife with problems of attribution; no chronology, despite its too-brief span, so inadequately documented. We still do not know precisely when Géricault painted his remarkable series of portraits of the insane, of which five out of ten are lost, nor do we know with certainty why he painted his studies of severed limbs and heads, perhaps the most extraordinary paintings of the nineteenth century. Despite a year of intensive research and a number of promising leads, we still do not know why or for whom Géricault painted the three enormous landscapes that are the subject of this study, nor whether he actually completed this series, the *Times of Day*, with a fourth panel that logically would be *Night*. But, thanks to the unsparing participation of the individuals named below, we are now much closer to a glimpse of the elusive truth. Although a definitive answer to the question of the identity of the original patron or the nature of the commission (if there was one) was not forthcoming (and perhaps never will be), at least we no longer need be blinded by the previously held assumptions regarding the history of these paintings—for in the last few months almost every notion has been proved false.

First thanks go to the Trustees of the Museum, the director, Philippe de Montebello, and Everett Fahy, John Pope-Hennessy Chairman of the Department of European Paintings, for their support of the acquisition of the magnificent landscape that this exhibition and publication celebrate. The exhibition would not have been possible without the generous participation of Hubertus von Sonnenburg and Christoph Heilmann, director and curator of the Neue Pinakothek, Munich, and Thérèse Burollet and Alain Daguerre de Hureaux, director and curator of the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. Without the support of Mahrukh Tarapor, assistant director of the Metropolitan Museum, quite simply there would be no exhibition. Sincere thanks are extended to the curators and collectors who generously shared works in their care. Diane Upright and Stefanie Maison are thanked for their help in securing loans.

A great number of individuals listened patiently while I endlessly rehearsed the mysteries surrounding the history of Géricault’s heroic landscapes, and each contributed something—by way of observation, insight, or information—to the outcome presented on these pages. Among the most patient were Jean Sutherland Boggs, Philip Conisbee, Peter Galassi, Michael Pantazzi, Joseph Rishel, and Jeremy Strick. In France, Sylvain Bellenger, Henri Loyrette, Régis Michel, and Anne Rocquebert could not have been more helpful. At the Metropolitan, David Kiehl and James Parker expertly answered innumerable questions. At Sotheby’s, Étienne Breton, Benjamin Dollar, Nancy Harrison, and Scott Schaefer all assisted willingly. Ay Whang Hsia of Wildenstein & Co., Inc., liberally shared her copious files. Wheelock Whitney, a longtime student of Géricault, was exceptionally generous with



Alexandre Colin  
(French, 1798–1875)  
*Géricault, after a Portrait  
of 1816* (detail), 1824  
Lithograph,  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926,  
26.75.3

his time, ideas, and archives. Lorenz Eitner, the *doyen* of Géricault scholars, was exceedingly tolerant of a trespasser in his vineyard and generous with the fruits of his knowledge.

A special category of thanks is due Robert McD. Parker, who conducted extensive research in Paris with the determination of a clever detective. He wishes to thank Brigitte Lainé of the Archives de Paris, Michelle Hermant of the Archives de l’Aisne, Claude Jacir of the documentation center of the Musée de la Légion d’Honneur, and Anne-Marie de Brem of the Maison Renan-Scheffer. He also thanks Denise Aimé-Azam and Jacqueline Dubaut for their conversations. Nat Leeb and the Comte de Saint-Léon granted me long and fascinating interviews, for which I am most grateful.

With her characteristic dedication, Anne M. P. Norton coordinated this exhibition and composed the provenances, exhibition histories, and bibliographical references for each work. As always, she first suggested a number of ideas that I have come to think of as my own. She would like to thank Sylvain Laveissière for his suggestion to look for Nat Leeb’s source in Chassériau’s work. Susan Alyson Stein contributed many valuable insights. Gretchen Wold patiently and intelligently sifted through mountains of information, and Isabelle de la Bruyère cheerfully performed any number of chores. Last, I would like to thank Katria Czerwoniak, for whom no book, no matter how obscure, was beyond the reach of the interlibrary loan service, and James F. Joseph, who patiently waited for me to finish this project.

This study is dedicated to the memory of four good friends—Guy Bauman, Eric Klarer, Peter Krueger, and Shiri Ledor—who, like Géricault, died tragically in their thirties.

# Chronology

*The documentation for the dates cited here may be found in Germain Bazin's excellent compilation of records and early reminiscences of the artist's life. See Bibliography, Bazin 1987a,b.*

- 1790 *February 16*  
Georges Nicolas Gericault, a forty-seven-year-old lawyer, marries Louise Jeanne Marie Caruel, thirty-eight, in Rouen.
- 1791 *September 26*  
Birth of Jean Louis André Théodore Gericault, in Rouen. He is their only child.
- 1795–1796 The Gericault family moves to Paris.
- 1806 Gericault is tutored by Monsieur Castel. Afterward he enrolls at the foremost boys' school in Paris, the Lycée Impériale.
- 1807 *May 9*  
The artist's maternal uncle, Jean-Baptiste Caruel, fifty, marries Alexandrine-Modeste de Saint-Martin, twenty-two. It is his second marriage, her first.
- 1808 *March 15*  
Death of the artist's mother, who bequeaths him a sizable income. He leaves school.
- November*  
Gericault enrolls in the studio of Carle Vernet.
- 1810 or 1811 Gericault enrolls in the studio of Pierre Narcisse Guérin at the École des Beaux-Arts.
- 1812 *April 10*  
Death of the artist's maternal grandmother, who leaves Gericault one-quarter of a large estate.
- November 1*  
Opening of the Paris Salon, where Gericault exhibits *Officier de chasseurs à cheval de la garde chargeant, The Charging Chasseur* (fig. 1), for which he wins a gold medal.
- 1814 *July 6*  
Gericault volunteers for the cavalry of the king's musketeers.
- November 1*  
Opening of the Paris Salon, where Gericault again exhibits *The Charging Chasseur*, along with *Artillery Exercise on the Grenelle Plain* (now lost) and *Le Cuirassier Blessé, The Wounded Cuirassier* (fig. 2). His paintings are criticized.
- 1814–1815 Enters into a romantic liaison with his aunt, Alexandrine-Modeste Caruel de Saint-Martin.
- 1815 *October 1*  
Gericault resigns from the musketeers.
- 1816 *March 18*  
Gericault competes for the Prix de Rome. He passes the first test but fails the second. He decides to travel to Italy at his own expense.



- 1816 *Spring*  
At the Château de Grand-Chesnay, the house of his uncle and aunt, Géricault works on a series of decorative landscapes (see no. 1, p. 34 in catalogue section).
- August 15*  
Géricault receives his passport for Italy and leaves in September.
- September 8*  
The first report of the shipwreck of the *Medusa* off the coast of Africa is published in a Paris newspaper.
- 1817 *September*  
Géricault leaves Rome for Paris and, on the way back, stops in Florence, where he meets Ingres.
- November*  
Corréard and Savigny's exposé of the shipwreck of the *Medusa* is published.
- 1818 *February 24*  
The enormous canvas on which Géricault will paint *The Raft of the Medusa* (fig. 3) is delivered to his studio.
- July 10*  
The canvas for one of the Times of Day is delivered to Géricault's studio. Two other canvases will be delivered August 4 and 18 (see nos. 5, 10, 11).
- August 21*  
Birth of Georges Hippolyte, the child of Géricault and his aunt, Alexandrine.
- 1819 *August 25*  
Opening of the Paris Salon, where Géricault exhibits *The Raft of the Medusa*. Criticism is mostly favorable, and the artist wins a prize. He is disappointed, however, that it is not more of a sensation and that the government fails to purchase it. Géricault suffers a breakdown after the Salon closes.
- 1820 *April 10*  
The artist embarks for London to exhibit *The Raft of the Medusa* at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. He travels to Brussels and meets Jacques Louis David.
- 1821 *December 21*  
Géricault leaves London for Paris.
- 1822  
Géricault suffers a riding accident and his health declines. Probably during the course of this year he paints the ten *Portraits of the Insane* (five of which are now lost) for the celebrated Parisian psychologist Dr. Georget.
- 1823 *February*  
Géricault is confined to bed.
- 1824 *January 26*  
Géricault dies. He leaves his estate and atelier to his father, who in turn writes a will leaving everything to the artist's illegitimate son. The latter will is rewritten. Géricault's son lives his life in seclusion.

# Introduction



Figure 1  
*The Charging Chasseur*  
Oil on canvas, 137 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 104 $\frac{7}{8}$  in.  
(349 x 266 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
Inv. 4885



Figure 2  
*The Wounded Cuirassier*  
Oil on canvas, 141 x 115 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.  
(358 x 294 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
Inv. 4886

“Where does that come from?” exclaimed Jacques Louis David (1748–1825), the most celebrated painter of his day, on seeing Géricault’s *Charging Chasseur* at the Salon of 1812, “I don’t recognize the touch.” Of course he could not have. The *Chasseur* (fig. 1) was the first work ever exhibited by Jean Louis André Théodore Géricault (1791–1824), the twenty-year-old pupil of Pierre Narcisse Guérin (1774–1833), a Neoclassical painter who had been a student of David’s. Without looking in his catalogue, David could not have even known that the author of the *Chasseur* had been enrolled in Guérin’s studio, since it betrayed nothing of the master’s restrained color, immobile compositions, and porcelainlike finish. The *Chasseur* was a brilliant amalgam of the Baroque brio of Rubens and the propagandistic military imagery of Baron Gros (1771–1835), Napoleon’s official painter of battles, and of Carle Vernet (1758–1836), a specialist in such scenes who had been Géricault’s first teacher. The young painter’s declaration of independence from his proper Neoclassical training was a calculated risk, but it was worth taking. The faults of drawing and the exaggerated proportions were excused by no less than Baron Vivant Denon, the influential director of the Musée Napoléon, as the Louvre was then called. Carried by the dash of its patriotic imagery, the *Chasseur* won Géricault a gold medal. However, the promise of his first picture was not fulfilled—at least as far as the critics were concerned—by his second Salon submission, *The Wounded Cuirassier* (fig. 2), shown in 1814. It was too easy to see in the anguished face of the retreating officer an analogy to the humiliations of France’s recent defeat and present political situation. (Paris was occupied by British and Russian troops, and the new government of Louis XVIII existed at their pleasure.) Much more daring than the *Chasseur* in its melancholic mood and asymmetric composition, the *Cuirassier* was most often criticized, oddly enough, not for these



Figure 3  
*The Raft of the Medusa*  
 Oil on canvas, 195<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 284 in.  
 (493.4 x 725.8 cm)  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
 Inv. 4884

characteristics but for its rough brushwork and lack of finish. Profoundly disappointed, Géricault redoubled his art studies despite his service in the king's musketeers. Once he had completed his voluntary tour of duty, he competed for the 1816 Prix de Rome, lost, but traveled to Italy anyway, thanks to a generous annuity bequeathed to him by his mother. At first discouraged, then emboldened by the sight of the monumental frescoes of Raphael and Michelangelo, he returned to France late in 1817, brimming with ideas for ambitious compositions. He also returned to what he called "the terrible perplexity into which I have recklessly thrown myself," an affair with his uncle's wife. Shortly after his arrival he ordered an enormous canvas on which to paint his submission to the 1819 Salon, giving himself over a year to prepare the masterpiece that he hoped would eradicate the memory of his misfortune at the 1814 Salon.

*The Raft of the Medusa* (fig. 3)—that "sublime model," as Delacroix called it in 1824—was the masterpiece. The power of Géricault's vision was such that he altered the course of French painting with this single work, an ode to man's incorrigible but pathetic hope when faced with nature's destructive force. Adopting David's heroic figural style in his challenge to the Neoclassical belief in the unequivocal superiority of man and reason over nature, he proposed a new and very modern idea of the expressive possibilities of art. He had attacked the reigning aesthetic at its very root, as J. A. D. Ingres (1780–1867) was quick to recognize: "I should like to see removed from the Louvre that picture of the *Medusa* and those two big *Dragoons* [*The Charging Chasseur* and *The Wounded Cuirassier*], its acolytes. . . then they will no longer corrupt the taste of the public, which should be accustomed solely to the Beautiful. . . I resent the *Medusa* and those other pictures of the dissecting room [Géricault's studies of human limbs]: they show us man only as a cadaver and reproduce only the ugly and the hideous. No! I object to them. Art should always be beautiful and should teach us nothing but the Beautiful" (p. 53). But Delacroix, who



as a young man had posed for Géricault, saw in the studies of cadavers “the best argument for Beauty as it ought to be understood.” He observed that “through it one sees everything that David always lacked, that power of the picturesque, that vigor, that daring which is to painting what the *vis comica* is to the art of the theater” (pp. 575, 574). Indeed, by exploring extreme states of emotion, on the one hand, and using motifs of everyday life, on the other, and with his very modern ambition to paint contemporary subjects combining the grandeur of Neoclassicism with the color and energy of Baroque art, Géricault sparked the lamp that illuminated the career of the great Delacroix, as well as of a host of so-called minor masters—Horace Vernet, Ary Scheffer, Eugène Isabey, Léon Cogniet. In the years after Géricault’s premature death in 1824, these painters were thought to epitomize Romanticism; but Géricault’s own contribution was never obscured. In 1828 Arnold Scheffer wrote that “Géricault is the head of this new school that proposes for its goal the faithful representation of strong and touching emotions, which rightly or wrongly is called the Romantic School” (p. 196). Géricault was, as Théophile Gautier wrote just a generation after his death, a “Romanticist long before Romanticism.”

Géricault applied the same vigor, daring, and power of the picturesque evident in his figure paintings to the Times of Day, a remarkable series of landscapes executed in summer and autumn 1818, the period when he made his dissecting-room still lifes (see fig. 10e, p. 51) and began work on *The Raft of the Medusa*. Superficially, the three landscapes (figs. 4–6)—*Morning* (no. 5), *Noon* (no. 10), and *Evening* (no. 11)—are no more than decoration, large assemblages of familiar motifs of old Italy, evocative enough to furnish a room with the strong perfume of nostalgia. In their composite quality, they anticipate the wallpaper murals that came into vogue in the mid-1820s (see fig. 7), just after Géricault’s death. On other levels, however, they are extraordinary. They constitute one of the last representations of the Times of Day, a popular eighteenth-century conceit, before Monet’s very different serial paintings of the 1890s on the same theme. They are perhaps the grandest examples of the genre of heroic landscape painted in Restoration France (1814–30), and in their complete rejection of naturalism and their frank appeal to the sensibility of the sublime, they are virtually unique examples of French Romantic landscapes. Essentially an Anglo-

Figures 4–6

The Times of Day, 1818

Each panel: oil on canvas,

approx. 98½ x 86¼ in.

(250 x 219 cm)

*Morning: Landscape with Fishermen* (no. 5)

Munich, Neue Pinakothek

*Noon: Landscape with a Roman Tomb* (no. 10)

Paris, Musée du Petit Palais

*Evening: Landscape with an Aqueduct* (no. 11)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

See also pp. 43, 48, 52



Figure 7  
 Dufour et Leroy  
*Landscapes of Telemachus: Mentor  
 Throws Telemachus into the Sea*, 1825  
 Printed wallpaper  
 Plate 21 from *Les chefs-d'oeuvre  
 du papier peint: Tableaux-Tentures  
 de Dufour & Leroy*. Paris: Librairie des Arts Décoratifs

Saxon nature-drama, as William Vaughan has called it (p. 180), true Romantic landscape painting, as practiced by Friedrich, Turner, Martin, Allston, and Koch, was not seen in France. Delacroix, for one, identified “those exaggerated effects, those dark skies, those contrasts of shadow and light” with English art (p. 663).

In eighteenth-century France the sublime, an aesthetic ideal that gained currency in the second half of the century, was often approached but rarely attained. Almost exclusively pursued by historical landscape painters, the notion of the sublime emerged as a reaction to the rigid categorization of genres. In 1708 the French art theorist Roger de Piles codified the definitions of two distinct types of landscape painting that were maintained by academicians and critics through the early nineteenth century, *paysage héroïque* and *paysage champêtre*. The first was a high-minded moral art identified with Poussin, exemplified, for instance, by the Four Seasons (figs. 8–11); the second a less rigorous, bucolic, and naturalistic style identified with Claude. Both types were considered inherently inferior to history painting, in which great ideas were rhetorically expressed by noble figures. Nevertheless, heroic landscape required both discipline and genius: It was, according to de Piles, “A composition of objects which in their own way extract from art and Nature all that is grand and extraordinary. . . . Nature represented if not how chance makes it be seen every day, at least, as one imagines it ought to be. This style is an agreeable illusion and a piece of enchantment” (p. 202). Denis Diderot (1713–1784), the French philosopher, wrote a great deal about landscape painting during the mid-eighteenth century, and in particular about the works of Claude Joseph Vernet (1714–1789). Diderot concurred with de Piles’s classification, but, in his desire to promote to the highest genres the work of the artists he admired, he set out to redefine the concept of history painting to include heroic landscape—as painted by Vernet. “I protest however that. . . the marines of Vernet, which offer all sorts of scenes and incidents [of high human drama] are for me just as much history paintings as *The Seven Sacraments* by Poussin” (*Oeuvres esthétiques*, p. 726). The key question was whether landscape could effectively communicate ideas. Diderot used the notion of the sublime, which he detected in Vernet’s best work, as the justification to elevate the stature of heroic landscape painting to that of history painting. In his definition of the sublime, Diderot



followed Edmund Burke: “Whatever is in any sort terrible . . . or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime.” Two years after Burke’s *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* appeared in French, Diderot wrote in his review of the Vernets shown at the 1767 Salon, “all that stuns the soul, all that imprints a feeling of terror, leads to the sublime” (*Salons*, III, p. 165). Vernet’s spectacular late *Shipwreck* (fig. 12), with its convincing representation of the threat of a watery death, is a good example of the kind of painting that transported Diderot to a sublime experience.

To stun the soul, to stir the mind was the highest ambition any artist could have, and by the end of the eighteenth century most artists and theorists agreed that landscape painters could achieve this goal, but only under the proper conditions. Pierre Henri Valenciennes (1750–1819), the principal French landscapist at the turn of the nineteenth century, summarized current thinking on landscape in his 1799–1800 *Elements of Perspective and Reflections and Advice to a Student*. He followed de Piles’s categorization of *paysage champêtre* and *paysage héroïque* (which he called *historique* to make an analogy to history painting), noting that “the first is painted with the feeling of color, the second with the color of feeling” (quoted in McMordie 1976, p. 65). However, Valenciennes was concerned that the increasing popularity of naturalist landscape painting would undermine the grand manner he hoped to instill in future generations of French painters. He therefore offered the following advice: “Nicolas Poussin, Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, and others have done what Homer, Virgil, Theocritus and all the famous poets would have done if they had painted with colors. They meditated on [the poets] and, in closing their eyes, they saw that ideal Nature,

Figures 8–11  
Nicolas Poussin  
(French, 1594–1665)  
The Four Seasons, 1660–64  
Each panel: oil on canvas, 46½ x  
63 in. (118 x 160 cm)  
*Spring* or *The Earthly Paradise*  
*Summer* or *Ruth and Boaz*  
*Autumn* or *The Spies with Grapes*  
from the *Promised Land*  
*Winter* or *The Deluge*  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
Invs. 7303, 7304, 7305, 7306



Figure 12  
 Claude Joseph Vernet  
 (French, 1714–1789)  
*Shipwreck*, 1787  
 Oil on canvas, 45 x 59 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.  
 (151.4 x 114.3 cm)  
 Hartford, The Wadsworth  
 Atheneum, The Ella Gallup  
 Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner  
 Collection

that Nature adorned with wealth of imagination, which only genius can conceive and represent” (p. 377). In other words, one should not permit visions of unidealized nature, or reality, to sully the canvas. This, however, was in contradiction to contemporary practice. At the end of the eighteenth century, more and more painters trekked into nature and brought back vibrant sketches that they then used as models for elements of their ideal views. Although Valenciennes, for example, never exhibited his exquisite oil sketches, a realist approach to landscape can be detected in the manner in which he treated individual motifs.

François Benoit has demonstrated that while heroic landscape was held in higher esteem by theorists at the beginning of the nineteenth century, naturalist or realist landscape was more popularly practiced and admired at this time. Between 1791 and 1814, one quarter of the paintings exhibited at the Salons were landscapes. Before 1806, composed, or “ideal,” landscapes constituted half of the landscapes shown, and topographical views, or “portrait” landscapes, the other half. Afterward, the balance tipped against the ideal. By the fall of the Empire, heroic landscapes comprised on average only one out of one hundred submissions to the Salon. In an attempt to countermand this trend, the government pressed the fine arts academy to create a Prix de Rome for landscape painters so that their studies, like those of history painters, could be inspired by the monuments and countryside of Italy. The



Figure 13  
 Pierre Henri Valenciennes  
 (French, 1750–1819)  
*The Ancient City of Agrigento*, 1787  
 Oil on canvas, 43 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 64 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.  
 (110 x 164 cm)  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
 M.N.R. 48

Figure 14  
*Study for Decorative Panel*  
 Graphite and wash on paper,  
 8 $\frac{5}{16}$  x 10 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (21.1 x 26.8 cm)  
 Bayonne, Musée Bonnat,  
 Inv. 802R



Figure 15  
 Detail of *Evening: Landscape with  
 an Aqueduct* (no. 11)



secretary of the academy, Quatremère de Quincy, resisted at first in part because he sought to maintain the priority of history painting over landscape painting and in part because he resented governmental interference in the academy's affairs (see McMordie 1976). He relented in 1817, but naturalism had already infiltrated even the most rigorously classical landscapes. Valenciennes and his followers assembled their idealized compositions from sketches made directly from nature and imbued their compositions with palpably realistic atmosphere (see fig. 13).

Gericault took a completely different course. His *Times of Day* are constructed not from nature studies but from the study of great art. In a purely intellectual manner, he appropriated motifs from the works of other painters and arranged them in compositions that conformed to the contemporary definition of heroic landscape, the highest category of landscape, as described in an 1817 treatise by C. J. F. Lecarpentier (1787–1877), a minor painter and essayist: “All that constitutes the composition of these paintings must be at once grand, noble, and simple. There should be some good pieces of architecture in the appropriate places, either as the imagination of the painter would represent them in their original state of splendor, with their beautiful forms and their good proportions assigned to them by the Greeks and Romans, or as the artist would content himself to imitate the vestiges that escaped the ravages of revolutions or the long series of centuries past” (p. 59). In theory, Gericault's *Times of Day* would even have satisfied the academy's criteria for great heroic landscapes, but, in fact, their disproportionate scale and obvious quotations from earlier paintings would have shocked them.

Rejecting completely the sweet, atmospheric realism of the naturalistic landscape painting of the early 1800s and the tired conventions of academic painting, Gericault reached back to the dramatic, animated *paysages à effet* of Joseph Vernet and to the muscular art of the seventeenth century as exemplified by the works of Poussin, Dughet, and Salvator Rosa. He closed his eyes to nature and dreamed of the grand manner. With vertiginous piles of mountains, leaden skies, gathering storm clouds, and desolate ruins he imparted terror of unknown forces into the soul and reached for the sublime. Virtually no artist in France practiced the style of painting reflected in Gericault's *Times of Day*. For analogous works, one must turn to the landscapes produced contemporaneously by foreigners in Italy, the center of the early nineteenth-century revival of heroic landscape: artists such as the German Josef Anton Koch (1768–1839) or the American Washington Allston (1779–1843) (figs. 16, 17). To be sure, Koch's panoramic vision reflected more realistic elements of nature,



Figure 16  
 Joseph Anton Koch  
 (German, 1768–1839)  
*The Schmadribach Waterfall*,  
 1821–22  
 Oil on canvas, 51 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 43 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.  
 (131.8 x 110 cm)  
 Munich, Neue Pinakothek,  
 Bayerische Staatsgemälde-  
 sammlungen



Figure 17  
 Washington Allston  
 (American, 1779–1843)  
*Elijah in the Desert*, 1818  
 Oil on canvas, 48 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 72 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
 (123.8 x 184.2 cm)  
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts,  
 Gift of Mrs. Samuel Hooper and  
 Miss Alice Hooper,  
 Acc. no. 70.1



while Allston's alluded to the imaginary worlds of Fuseli, Blake, and English poets, but both painters' works are imbued with the same strong essence of Italy—not the Italy that Claude saw bathed in light, but rather the Italy of Michelangelo's monumental Sistine Chapel and of the blasted trees and fantastic mountains depicted in the Dughets, Rosas, and Poussins in the Roman picture galleries. Before the discovery of an invoice for the canvases that established the date of the *Times of Day* as autumn to winter 1818, scholars debated whether Gericault painted them before or after his trip to Italy in 1816–17. True, the pictures do not convey Gericault's actual experience of the Italian countryside—one scholar even suggested that the artist could not have painted the sites so inaccurately once he had seen them—but it is unlikely that he would have conceived works in the genre of heroic landscape without having been to Rome. One has only to compare Gericault's first studies for landscape panels (fig. 14), probably executed before he left for Italy, to the three known canvases of the *Times of Day* (nos. 5, 10, 11), painted after he returned, to see a clear difference in approach. This early watercolor, although somewhat contrived, shows an attractive bucolic landscape that, with its agreeable distribution of lights and darks, would make a

handsome decoration. No idea is conveyed; he gives instead a pleasant prospect. The Times of Day, to the contrary, although superficially decorative, are at once far more ambitious and unsettling in their mood. The observer, like the figures in the landscapes, is overwhelmed. One's relationship to nature is called into question, and the mind races as Gericault's vision is checked against personal experience.

The enormous size of the Times of Day, approximately eight by seven and one-half feet, is one of the most significant features of the pictures. We cannot know whether the dimensions were determined by the specifications of a commission or whether they are a statement by Gericault on the importance he attached to them. Their size is surpassed in his oeuvre by just three of the four paintings (one now lost) that he exhibited publicly during his brief life, the vast *Raft*, *The Charging Chasseur*, and *The Wounded Cuirassier*—the last two being only slightly larger than the Times of Day. These paintings were all criticized for being too large and for not conforming to the conventional hierarchy of genre and relative size. C. P. Landon, a French critic, touched on the problem in his review of *The Raft* at the 1819 Salon: "We may feel surprised that the artist. . . should have used this immense frame and these colossal dimensions. Such grandiose proportions are normally reserved for celebrating events of a more general interest, such as a national festival, a great victory, the coronation of a sovereign" (p. 66). Delacroix, however, realized that supernormal scale was an integral part of Gericault's strategy. Recalling in 1853 his reaction when he stood before Rubens's immense *Raising of the Cross* in Antwerp, he wrote: "I think it is appropriate for me to take note here of the quite analogous way I have felt before Gros's battle pictures, and before the *Medusa*, especially when I saw it half finished. The essential thing about these works is their reaching of the Sublime, which comes in part from the size of the figures. . . . Proportion counts for very much in the greater or lesser power of a picture. Not only. . . would these pictures, executed in small size, be ordinary. . . but, were they merely life size, they would not attain the effect of the Sublime" (p. 335). The figures in the Times of Day are small, unlike those in *The Raft*, but their insignificant scale in comparison to the huge landscapes shows the same principles in operation. "*The Sublime*," Delacroix noted in his journal, "is most often due, curiously enough, to disproportion" (p. 554). The Neoclassical landscape specialists of the 1810s rarely embarked on such large landscapes, with or without figures. Their interest lay in approaching beauty, not the sublime, and big compositions carried risks that they were unwilling to take. However, gigantism may have been in the air during the Second Restoration. Comte Forbin (1777–1841), who arranged for the Louvre to purchase *The Raft of the Medusa* in 1824, exhibited at the 1817 Salon an eight-by-ten-foot canvas of Vesuvius erupting. And that same year Michallon received a commission to paint a huge landscape for the 1819 Salon, *The Death of Roland* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), which, at over six by nine feet, is also larger than Gericault's panels.

Nevertheless, large landscapes were much more frequent in the eighteenth century, when Joseph Vernet and Hubert Robert specialized in decorative landscape ensembles. The Times of Day were often the subjects of these series. Since the Renaissance, artists had demonstrated their mastery of a variety of effects by painting the four seasons, the months, or the times of day, but Joseph Vernet made a specialty

Figures 18–21

Louis Jacques Cathelin

(French, 1739–1804)

after Claude Joseph Vernet

(French, 1714–1789)

The Times of Day

Each plate: etching and engraving,

17 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 22 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (44.7 x 56.9 cm)

*Morning*

*Noon*

*Evening*

*Night*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

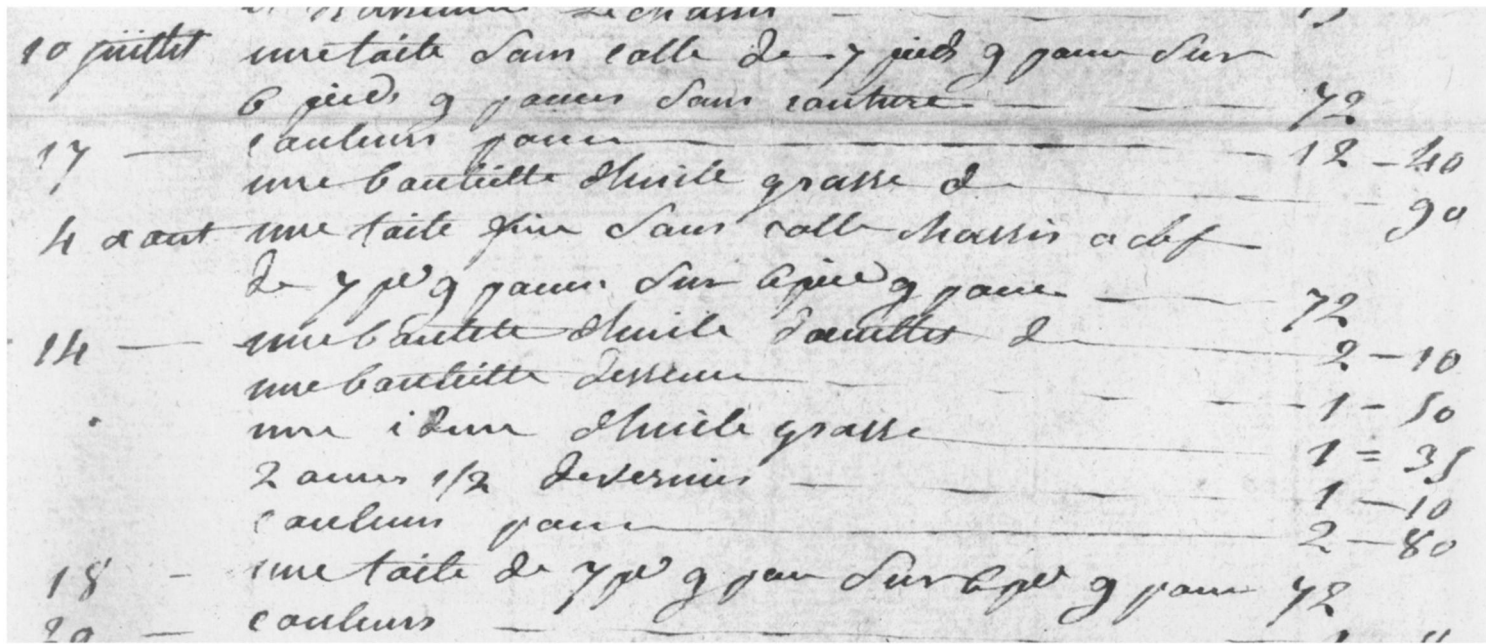
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953,

53.600.1674, 1673, 1672, 1671



of the latter. His greatest series of canvases, the Times of Day on land and sea, were painted for the billiard room of the Marquis de Laborde in 1766–67, and his best-known works were a ubiquitous set of engravings after paintings of the Times of Day that he had made in 1764–65 for the library of the Duc de Choiseul (figs. 18–21). Valenciennes, whose ideas often reflected those of Vernet, wrote that painters divided the day into four periods because “one finds . . . more decided contrasts, more pronounced oppositions, and more distinct effects at the instant determined for each division. . . . The freshness of the morning would be better sensed next to the burning horizon of evening, and one would better appreciate the calm of night and the soft silver light of the moon in placing it in opposition to the heavy atmosphere and obliterating rays of the sun at noon” (p. 427). Reading eighteenth-century descriptions of sets of the Times of Day, one immediately recognizes that in his pictures Gericault closely conformed to these conventions. Although scholars have debated the subjects of Gericault’s large landscapes, it can now be confidently stated that the motif of fishermen setting out and the cool, gray light identify the Munich picture as Morning; the thunderstorm and harsh blue sky establish the Paris picture as Noon; and the leisurely swimmers and “burning horizon” indicate the New York picture to be Evening.

# Provenance



Gericault's set of the *Times of Day* was virtually unique in Restoration France. Why did he paint them? Most of his pictures were made either for exhibition or for the artist's instruction and pleasure. However, the peculiar proportions, large scale, and identical size of the canvases of the *Times of Day* announce that they constitute a suite and that they were meant to hang together, perhaps in a specific place. If one discovered where the large landscapes were meant to hang, one might learn for whom they were painted. Particularities of their compositions, their palettes, and their scale might be explained by the conditions at the site for which they were destined. More important, hidden meanings might be revealed if one knew Gericault's relationship to the patron or recipient.

Gericault left nothing to explain his motive in embarking on the *Times of Day*. Few of his letters remain, and only rarely do these discuss the projects in which he was engaged. However, one crucial document has survived that categorically establishes the *terminus post quem* for the date of the landscapes: the invoice (fig. 22 and inside back cover) from the artist's supplier, Rey, for, among other articles, the three canvases delivered to Gericault's studio on July 10, August 4, and August 18, 1818. The dimensions correspond to those of *Morning*, *Noon*, and *Evening*. Miraculously, the invoice was discovered tucked into a copy of Clément's catalogue raisonné belonging to the Philadelphia collector Henry McIlhenny, who allowed it to be published in 1980 (Rosenthal 1980). Charles Clément (1821–1887), the artist's biographer, had actually seen only one of the three paintings, *Morning* (no. 5), which he called *Large Vertical Landscape*. In his catalogue Clément recorded that a pendant to it had been seen in the artist's studio in 1818–19, but he did not know the subject of the pendant, nor did he comment on the possible existence of other panels.

Figure 22  
Detail of bill for three canvases  
for the *Times of Day*  
(see also inside back cover).  
The Henry P. McIlhenny Archives,  
Philadelphia Museum of Art

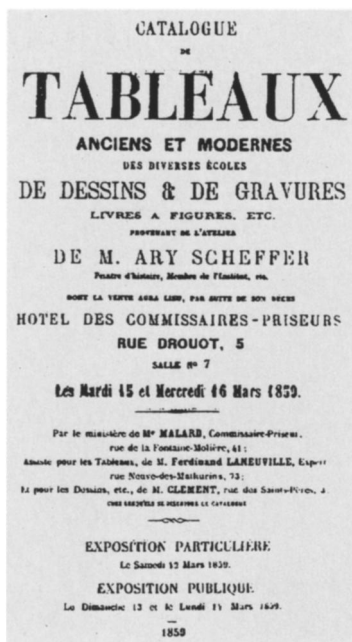


Figure 23  
Title page of the catalogue  
for the sale of the collection of  
Ary Scheffer, March 15–16, 1859

Apart from the delivery of the canvas, nothing else can be documented until thirty years later, when, on September 8, 1848, a Baron Désazard, living at 14 rue de la Rochefoucault, offered to sell *Morning* to the Louvre (Grunchec 1979a, p. 220). The painting was still for sale in March 1850, when the artist Eugène Louis Isabey wrote the director of the Louvre to recommend the purchase, for five thousand francs, of “a rare thing, beautiful in itself, and perhaps the only landscape by Gericault” (Archives du Louvre et des Musées Nationaux, p. 1850 mars). The director responded that his budget for the year had already been exhausted by the purchase of a Hobbema, a Velázquez, and other works by masters not yet represented in the museum.

*Morning* then reappeared in 1859, when Clément saw it at the posthumous sale (see fig. 23) of the collection of Ary Scheffer (1795–1858), a Romantic painter and lithographer who had studied with Gericault in Guérin’s atelier. At the time of his death, Scheffer’s collection constituted a fine survey of Gericault’s subjects: two horse studies after Rubens, a study of a bulldog (Paris, Musée du Louvre), paintings of a Turk and a head of a young man, and the large landscape. Scheffer also owned a number of exquisite drawings, notably some early studies for *The Raft of the Medusa*, as well as the entire Chicago album (see no. 1), which he probably assembled from two notebooks that he acquired at the posthumous sale of the contents of Gericault’s studio in 1824. In all probability, Scheffer bought all of his Gericaults—except possibly the landscape—at the studio sale, where masterpieces changed hands for a few francs. However, it is not known how, when, or where he obtained *Morning*; perhaps he bought it from Baron Désazard after the Louvre declined it in 1850. In any event, *Morning* was not listed in the posthumous inventory, prepared on June 22, 1858, of Scheffer’s rue Chaptal apartment and studio, although the other five Gericaults were. Scheffer could have kept the landscape at his quarters in Argenteuil, outside Paris, but the posthumous inventory of Scheffer’s effects at Argenteuil cannot be located.

A man named Dornan (or Dornon) bought *Morning* at the Scheffer sale for 1150 francs. Clément, who served as one of the experts for the sale, listed Dornan as the owner in his 1879 catalogue raisonné, but Dornan is not mentioned in any of the standard dictionaries of collectors. *Morning* remained out of view until 1959, when it was sold in a Paris auction by an anonymous collector from Bordeaux.

*Noon* (no. 10) and *Evening* (no. 11) made their first public appearance in a sale in Paris on May 30, 1903. Noted in the catalogue as pendants were “important decorative panels” called *Village on a Riverbank* [*Noon*] and *Landscape with Rocks and Structures* [*Evening*]. The catalogue also supplied the following information, which has misled researchers for the last thirty-five years: “These two paintings were painted by Gericault for his friend Marceau, whose house in Villers-Cotterêts they decorated. They come most recently from the Château de Montmorency.” In fact, Gericault probably did not have a friend named Marceau, the Times of Day almost certainly were never in Villers-Cotterêts, and it is impossible to document that they were installed in the Château de Montmorency in the years preceding the 1903 sale.

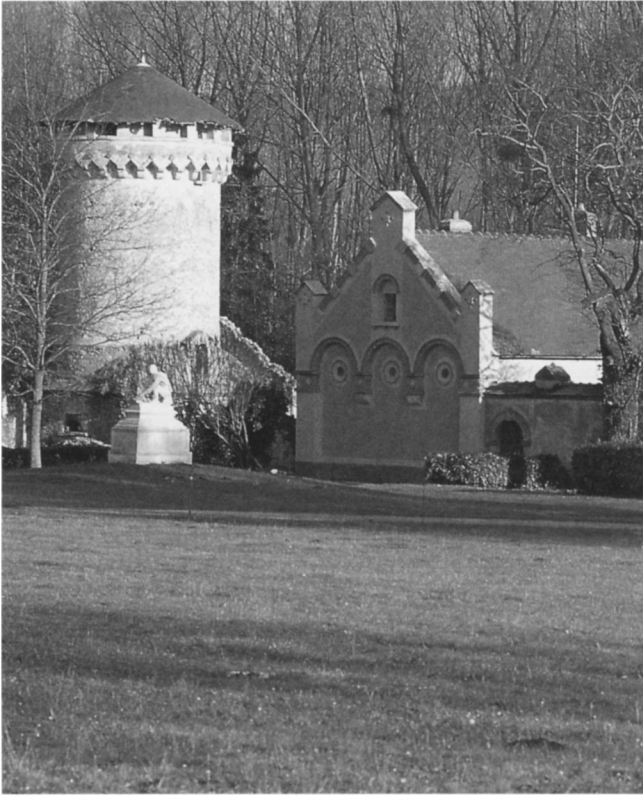
Modern scholars accepted the account given in the 1903 sale catalogue until 1980, when Hélène Toussaint (1980, p. 106) identified Marceau as Jean Henry Marsaux (1750–1840). Marsaux—who lived in the Hostellerie de la Croix-Rouge, a

seventeenth-century building at Villers-Cotterêts, northeast of Paris—came from a family of wealthy landowners and wood merchants who profited from the Revolution by buying up the lands of fleeing nobles. However, Marsaux’s name does not appear among Géricault’s papers or in his friends’ reminiscences, and no works by Géricault appear in the posthumous inventory of Marsaux’s possessions drawn up on July 29, 1840. He did own a set of pictures called *The Four Times of Day*, but they were the four engravings after Joseph Vernet’s paintings (figs. 18–21) and were valued at six francs. Marsaux owned only few pictures, of which none were by contemporary French artists, and thus it is unlikely that Géricault executed the large landscapes for him.

The reference to the Château de Montmorency is equally problematic, for there were several châteaux so-named. Charles Le Brun, Louis XIV’s court painter, built a house in 1670 at Montmorency, north of Paris, as his own pleasure pavilion. He enlarged it during his lifetime, but upon his death, the château was acquired by Crozat the Younger, who had the architect Cartaud restore it to Le Brun’s original design. The Cartaud/Le Brun building, called the Château d’Enguyen in the eighteenth century, became the residence of the Duc de Luxembourg. It was destroyed in 1878 and replaced by an enormous French Renaissance pile built in 1881–82 (fig. 24) by Cuvilliers for a newly rich speculator in stocks, Léopold Sée. He went bankrupt in the mid-1880s, and from July 24 to 29, 1886, the entire contents of the modern Château de Montmorency—“sumptuous furnishings, art objects, tapestries, carriages and plants”—were sold at the house. The two Géricaults were not listed in the sale. According to the town archivist, the property was purchased in 1886 by the Duc and Duchesse de Dino, who sold it in 1901. Since the paintings were not auctioned in 1886, they could have been brought to Montmorency by the Duc de Dino. It is reasonable to assume that they were removed later and consigned to the 1903 auction. However, the official account (*procès verbal*) of the 1903 sale indicates that the



Figure 24  
Château de Montmorency,  
built 1881–82 for Léopold Sée;  
purchased in 1886 by the Duc  
and Duchesse de Dino



Figures 25, 26  
A view (left) of the outbuildings of the Château de Jeurre, which include a tower similar to the one Géricault depicted in *Noon: Landscape with a Roman Tomb* (no. 10, right)

consignor of the majority of the lots (although the owner of the two Géricaults is not specifically cited) was René Petit-Leroy, whose address was given as 32 avenue Montaigne in Paris. Marie René Petit-Leroy (b. 1846) joined the French ministry of foreign affairs in 1867, served in Tangiers, Rome, and Berlin, climbed the ladder of bureaucratic success, and was awarded the medal of the Legion of Honor. He never lived at the Château de Montmorency, and if he was the consignor of the large landscapes, how he acquired them is a mystery.

A Monsieur Lavillé bought *Noon* and *Evening* at the 1903 sale for 1205 francs—almost the same price for the pair as that paid by Monsieur Dornan for *Morning* in 1859. Nothing is known about Lavillé, who bought three lots at the sale, but he may have been an employee of the auctioneer, Paul Chevallier. According to Nat Leeb (d. 1990), a Parisian painter and occasional art dealer who reputedly owned the landscapes from 1937 to 1949, *Noon* and *Evening* were in the possession of the Comte de Saint-Léon soon after Lavillé purchased them. Arthur, Comte Dufresne de Saint-Léon (about 1857–1947), was an extraordinary, eccentric collector, as interested in architectural fragments as he was in oriental porcelain or French painting. His primary residence was the Château de Jeurre, just outside Paris at Étréchy, where he and his father, Henri, assembled and restored the remains of follies that Hubert Robert and others had designed for gardens at Méréville, near Jeurre. Arthur de Saint-Léon also acquired large elements of the façades of important Paris town houses and rebuilt Jeurre in order to accommodate them. He haunted the Hôtel Drouot, the Paris auction house, where he was a frequent, impulsive purchaser. His grandson Louis de Saint-Léon remembered that his grandfather was a good friend of Jules Féral, the expert who organized the 1903 sale. Thus Féral could have brought *Noon* and *Evening* to his attention. And well he might, because Géricault's assemblage of fabricated Roman ruins reflected the same spirit that guided Saint-Léon at Jeurre, which even sported a crenellated tower like that in *Noon* (figs. 25, 26). Louis de Saint-Léon has indicated that there is only one room at Jeurre big enough to accommodate the two large landscapes, the Salon Rose, where he remembered that his grandfather had installed large, dark paintings in the ceiling. He recalled at least two large paintings, possibly flanking a third. At sixteen by forty-eight feet, the ceiling

would have been large enough to accommodate four. Admittedly, the ceiling would be a peculiar place for the landscapes, but at Jeurre a creative, eclectic spirit reigned.

Arthur de Saint-Léon had, in the words of his grandson, “dramatic” needs for money and went bankrupt during the 1930s. In 1937 a marshal sold off portable goods in one of the outbuildings at Jeurre, and it was then that Nat Leeb reputedly bought *four* panels of Gericault’s Times of Day. Just before *Evening* was auctioned in New York in May 1989, Leeb informed Sotheby’s office in Paris that he had purchased the four landscapes directly from Saint-Léon in 1937. As the pictures were too large to be brought into his house, he kept them in storage at a warehouse run by Atlantic Transports on the avenue du Maine. At the time of their purchase, he reputedly made drawings of the four compositions (figs. 29–32), photography being difficult to arrange. Leeb’s drawing of *Night* is the first document to appear that indicates Gericault painted four panels.

Leeb told Sotheby’s that the family of the Comte de Saint-Léon had acquired two of the panels (presumably *Morning* and *Night*) from the Duchesse de Montebello in the mid-nineteenth century, and that the other two, *Noon* and *Evening*, had been purchased before the First World War. According to Leeb, Arthur de Saint-Léon gave him a letter written by the Duchesse de Montebello to a Saint-Léon family member. Leeb said that he subsequently gave the letter to Pierre Dubaut, a knowledgeable French collector, dealer, and connoisseur of Gericault’s work, who meant to publish it. It was never published and cannot be found among Dubaut’s papers, but Leeb furnished Sotheby’s with a typed transcription.

21 July 1850

*My dear cousin,*

*Saturday I will deliver to you the frame for The Artillery Train. The other Gericaults do not have frames. My husband had the four landscapes painted to the dimensions of the walls of the drawing room. They were built into the paneling.*

*Very cordially yours,*

*L. de Montebello*

Sadly, the letter is most likely a forgery. Jean Lannes (b. 1769), later Duc de Montebello and Maréchal de France, one of Napoleon’s greatest marshals and closest friends, died as a result of a battlefield injury in 1809, nine years before Gericault painted the landscapes, and could not have commissioned them. However, it is conceivable that the letter is authentic, and de Montebello’s widow, sixty-eight years old when it was supposedly written, erred or misstated the facts in order to make a sale. Louise Guéhéneuc de Lannes de Montebello (1782–1856), a lady-in-waiting to Empress Marie-Louise, formed a considerable collection after her husband’s death, and when she died, five auctions were necessary to dispose of her goods. Among the



lots were a number of important paintings, including an oil sketch of *The Raft of the Medusa*, which she bought from Gericault's student Jamar (and which is now in the Louvre), but not the landscapes. The Times of Day were not mentioned in the inventory of her possessions made on July 5, 1856, or in the various wills probated from July 8 to 17, nor do they appear in the wills or inventories of two of her sons, Napoléon Lannes, Duc de Montebello, and Gustave Olivier, Comte de Montebello.

If the Duchesse had owned the landscapes, where would they have been installed? In 1818, when Gericault painted them, she was living in an enormous house at 62 rue de Varenne. Called the Hôtel de Mazarin, it was one of the grandest houses in Paris, renowned for its early Rococo decor. The de Montebellos acquired it in 1807, and, true to the fashion of the day, replaced the opulent Rococo interior with a severe but no less splendid interior. There were two nearly identical salons, back to back, fitted with overdoors, painted panels, and pier mirrors, which would leave little room for the large landscapes. The Duchesse sold the Hôtel Mazarin-Lannes in 1825 and moved down the street to 73 rue de Varenne. It is not inconceivable that the Gericaults were already installed in her new residence, the former Hôtel de Broglie, but the description of the contents sold in 1857 would seem to rule out that possibility. There were numerous tapestries, mirrors, painted panels by Boucher, and other large architectural elements that would have competed with the landscapes for available space. But if the paintings did not have frames, as indicated by the letter, they may have been rolled up out of view. If they were built into the wall panels of a salon, the "dear cousin" she addressed would not have to be told that they were not framed.

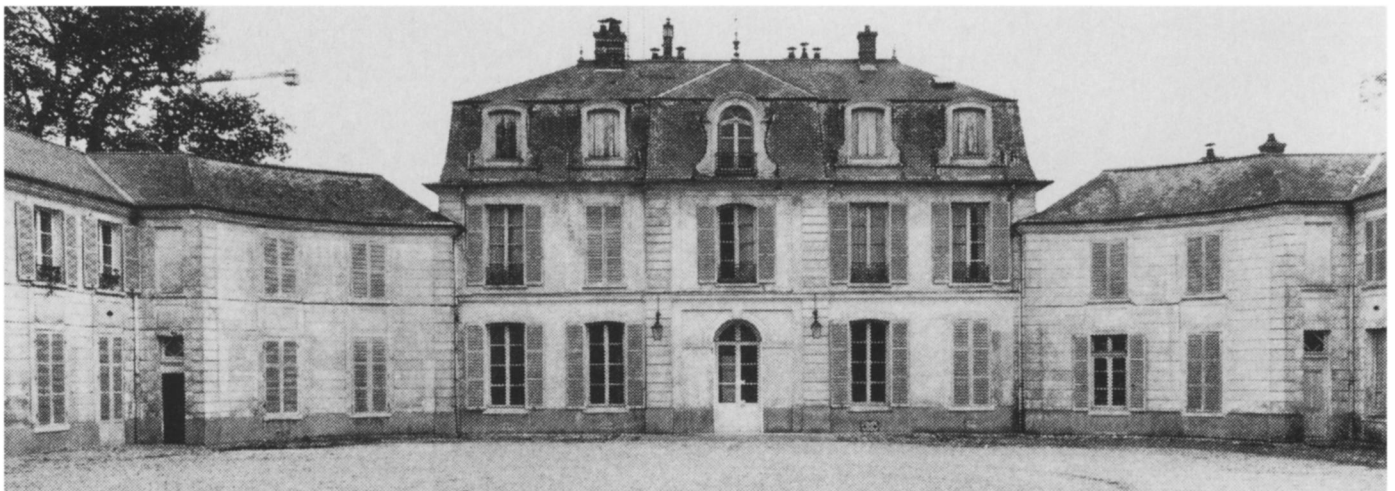
It is thus possible that the Duchesse de Montebello acquired the landscapes and sold them before her death, but it is not likely that she commissioned them. Moreover, for two reasons it is not possible, as Leeb would have it, that the Duchesse sold two of the landscapes to the Comte de Saint-Léon around 1850. First, since *Noon* and *Evening* could only have been purchased by Saint-Léon after their sale in 1903, *Morning* and *Night* would be the paintings sold in 1850. But we know that *Morning* was in the possession of Baron Désazard in 1848 and that it was included in the Scheffer sale in 1859, and thus it could not have belonged to Saint-Léon at this time. Second, although Leeb said that the envelope was addressed by the Duchesse to the Comte de Saint-Léon, the title was not in use until the last quarter of the nineteenth century: Arthur's father used the name Dufresne.

It remains to investigate clues to the origins of the landscapes in the artist's first studies for decorative panels. These drawings (see nos. 1, 2) were probably made in spring 1816 at the Château de Grand-Chesnay, the country house adjacent to Versailles that belonged to Gericault's uncle Caruel de Saint-Martin, and his aunt, the artist's mistress. Casting about for an important project in the months before he left for Italy, Gericault could well have sought both to flatter the uncle, who had encouraged his art studies as a youth, and to decorate the house of his lover. Jean-Baptiste Caruel (1757–1847) bought Chesnay in 1802. Said in the nineteenth century to have been planned by Mansart with gardens by Le Nôtre, it is, in fact, a rather ordinary house (fig. 27) designed by an anonymous builder during the late eighteenth century. A three-story structure only about thirty-six feet deep, with a mansard roof and dormers, it is flanked by wings enclosing an oval court. Chesnay still exists but in a completely altered state. After the death of Gericault's nephew Paul

Caruel de Saint-Martin, in 1889, the house was sold and completely rebuilt. The court façade was pushed forward ten feet, and the layout of the rooms changed. A detailed description of the property in 1802 gives a good indication of the disposition of the house as Gericault would have known it, but it is still difficult to determine where the three or four panels of the *Times of Day* could have been placed. No single room would have been large enough for three or more panels—although both the salon and the dining room could have held two.

The inventory made upon the death of the artist's uncle in 1847 reveals that the Caruels had some forty-four paintings and fifty-odd framed engravings at Chesnay. (No pictures are listed as having been in their Paris apartments in the so-called *Hôtel Cambacérès* at 23 rue de l'Université, which they acquired in 1821.) Gericault's works are not mentioned among them, but the collection included a pair of landscapes by Valenciennes, two paintings by Robert Lefèvre, and a painting attributed to Boucher. (The omission of Gericault is curious, since we know from a letter written by Clément in the mid-nineteenth century that the artist's aunt, who lived until 1875, kept watercolors, oil sketches, and albums of drawings by him in her room. Under normal circumstances they would have been inventoried, as were, for example, the old masters she brought in her dowry.) One lot, no. 141, is described as "four paintings representing the four times of day—300 francs" (Bazin 1987a, p. 106). No artist is given but the valuation is fairly high. One Valenciennes was appraised at 250 francs, the other at 200. Since Gericault's *Times of Day* are not signed, could they be the pictures listed as lot 141? Probably not, for the one fact known about the heroic landscapes is that the canvases on which Gericault painted them were delivered in July and August 1818. The third, and last, canvas was delivered on August 18, three days before Mme Caruel de Saint-Martin gave birth to Gericault's baby. Nothing is known of Gericault's relations with his aunt after the birth of their child, but it is virtually inconceivable that the artist's uncle would have permitted the pictures to be installed in his house after the events of summer 1818. Could Gericault, overcome by

Figure 27  
The main building at the  
Château de Grand-Chesnay,  
the country house of Gericault's  
uncle Caruel de Saint-Martin.



passion, have been so shortsighted as to have embarked headlong on a project destined for Chesnay just as his aunt was delivering their son? Yes. He was one of the most impetuous, contradictory, self-destructive yet brilliant artists of all time. But did he need to have a destination or a particular recipient for the series before he painted them? Not necessarily. He could have simply wished to try his hand at landscape painting, and, true to form, he did so with great, overscaled ambition. Perhaps at one moment he thought he might exhibit the set at the Salon.

Where, then, did the *Times of Day* go after the artist completed the three, and possibly four, panels? They probably remained in his studio in the faubourg du Roule. After that studio was dismantled, he probably stored them with friends—just as he stored his other large canvases, such as *The Charging Chasseur* and *The Wounded Cuirassier*—since they are not listed in the posthumous inventory of his belongings. The *Times of Day* may have been the works sold in his atelier sale as lot no. 18, “four sketches of landscapes,” for the small sum of ninety-two francs. In the dim vision of the appraisers, almost all of Gericault’s works, no matter what the size or level of finish, were described as studies or sketches. After the sale, the three known panels were dispersed and may not have been reunited until their appearance in the present exhibition.

Figure 28  
Thomas Hope  
(English, 1769–1831)  
*Drawing Room with Oriental  
Landscapes*  
Plate 6 from *Household Furniture  
and Interior Decoration Executed  
from Designs by Thomas Hope*  
London: Longman, Hurst, Rees,  
and Orme, 1807  
Hope’s design for a room shows  
how sets of landscapes could be  
integrated into a Neoclassical  
decor.



## The Fourth Landscape?



Art historians have speculated on the existence of a fourth landscape ever since the three known panels reappeared in the 1950s. However, there was no evidence to confirm that there had ever been an additional picture until last year, when Nat Leeb revealed the drawing that he had reputedly made of it in 1937. According to Leeb, he made drawings in lieu of photographing all four panels of the *Times of Day* (figs. 29–32), just before he bought them from the Comte de Saint-Léon.

Leeb's drawing shows a composition consistent with the other three pictures (nos. 5, 10, 11). A heavy sky is broken by the light of a full moon, which reveals a nude man washed up on a rocky beach, a victim of drowning mourned by a desolate companion—perhaps a woman. In the middle distance a wooden bridge connects a tower, possibly a Roman lighthouse, to a cliff surmounted by a belvedere or temple. These elements are free interpretations of structures found in an engraving by Pierre Mettais (1728–1759), a pupil of Boucher, who, like Joseph Vernet, later in the century, specialized in port scenes (fig. 33); they have been adapted and used here in precisely the same way that Géricault incorporated similar borrowed motifs in *Noon* and *Evening*.

No drawings in Géricault's oeuvre correspond exactly to the composition made by Leeb, but there are nonetheless some loosely related works. There is a similar wooden bridge, for example, drawn on a sheet of studies in Stockholm (fig. 34), which probably dates from the year before the *Times of Day*. A closer relationship can be found for the poses of the figures in Leeb's drawing, which are comparable to those of two figures, the so-called father and son, at the left in *The Raft of the Medusa*. The drowned man in the drawing is shown in a pose analogous to that of the dead youth in *The Raft*, albeit reversed, while the mourning companion assumes a pose roughly similar to that of the older man, or father. Leeb's drawing does not make the sex of the companion explicit, although there is some suggestion of a woman's rounded hips. If the mourner is female, then the composition, with its prominent tower, may refer to the myth of Hero and Leander. Musaeus, Ovid, and

Figures 29–32  
Drawings of *Morning* (no. 5), *Noon* (no. 10), *Evening* (no. 11), and the alleged fourth picture depicting *Night*, which Nat Leeb made reputedly in 1937, shortly before he purchased the set.



Figure 33  
Louis Simon Lempereur  
(French, 1728–1807)  
after Pierre Joseph Mettais  
(French, 1728–1759)  
*The Pasha's Promenade*, 1766  
Engraving and etching, 15¾ x  
18½ in. (39.9 x 46.9 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1946,  
46.127.1 (27)

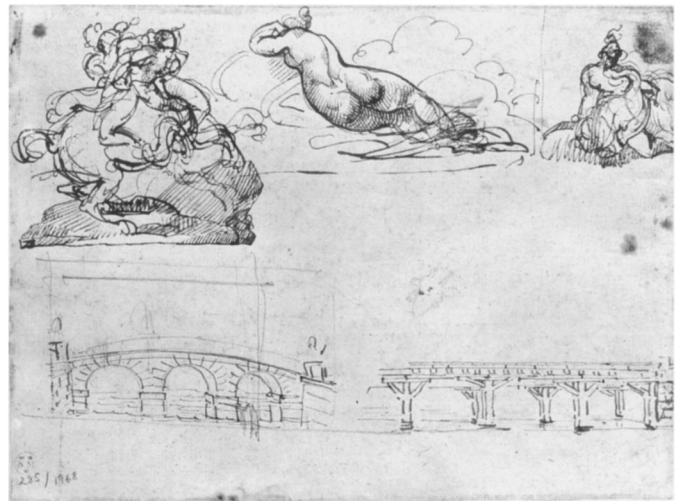


Figure 34  
*Sheet of Studies (recto)*  
Ink on paper, 7⅞ x 9⅛ in.  
(18 x 24.7 cm)  
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum,  
NMH 285/1968

Virgil recount that young Leander from Abydos swam the Hellespont for trysts with his beloved Hero, a priestess of Venus, who kept a torch burning atop a high tower to guide him. One night, just before reaching the shore, he failed. Horrified, Hero watched from the tower as Leander's body smashed against the rocks. In some accounts, Hero hurls herself from the tower and dies; in others, she races to the beach to retrieve Leander's corpse from the waves. Hero is usually shown dressed when she reaches her drowned lover on the beach, as in Taillasson's painting of 1798 (fig. 35), but in the Leeb drawing the mourning figure is nude. However, since no specific mythological or literary narrative has been identified in *Morning*, *Noon*, and *Evening*, there is no reason to expect to find a particular source for *Night*. The setting and figures refer only to a timeless, generic, Mediterranean antiquity.

A painted study of a recumbent nude in Alençon (fig. 36) offers the figure that is most similar to that of the drowned man in Leeb's drawing of *Night*. Strengthening the resemblance between the works, the study was finished with a seascape and rocks to suggest a shipwreck scene. The Alençon painting has been called a study for the dead youth at the left of *The Raft*, the son, but it more closely corresponds to a figure in one of Géricault's earlier studies for *The Raft*, *The Sighting of the Argus*, as shown in a drawing at Lille. The attribution of the Alençon painting to Géricault, wholly endorsed by Eitner, has been rejected by Grunchev (1978, no. A202; see also Eitner 1980, p. 209). The execution is atypically flaccid, and if it is by Géricault, it would constitute the sole surviving study in oil for an entire figure in *The Raft*. Even if it is not by Géricault, it may be a reflection, perhaps painted by one of the artist's students, of the figure in *Night*. However, since the existence of *Night* is conjectural, any relation



Figure 35  
Jean Joseph Taillasson  
(French, 1745–1809)  
*Hero and Leander*, 1798  
Oil on canvas, 99<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 125<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.  
(253 x 318 cm)  
Blaye, Musée des Beaux-Arts

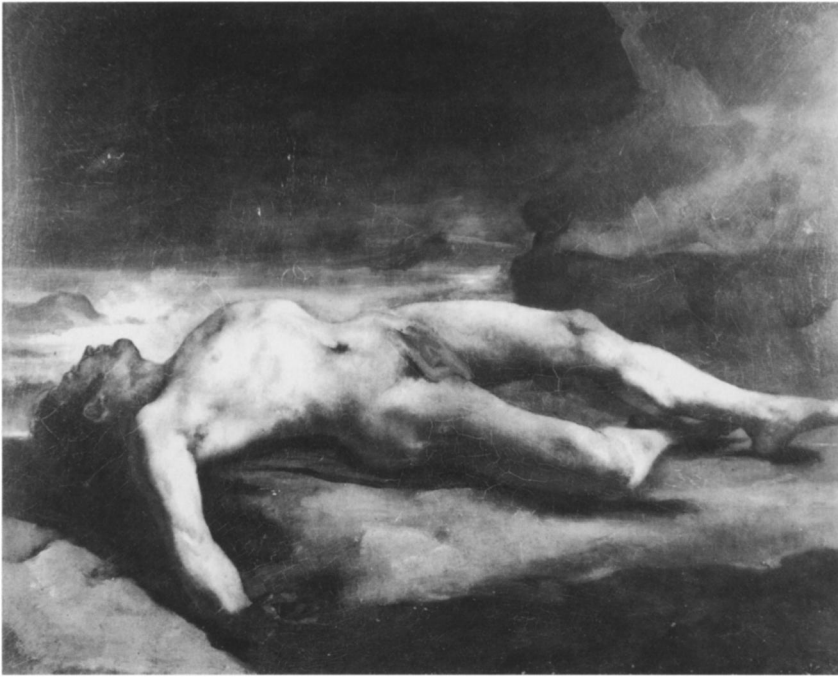


Figure 36  
 Attributed to Gericault (?)  
*Shipwrecked Man (?)*  
 Oil on canvas, 25½ x 31⅞ in.  
 (64.8 x 81.1 cm)  
 Alençon, Musée de Peinture,  
 Inv. 87

to other works in or out of Gericault's oeuvre can only be speculative.

Fearing persecution during the Occupation, Leeb quit Paris and went into hiding in Lyons and Marseilles. When he returned to the capital after the war, Leeb said that he found one of the four panels of the *Times of Day*, *Night*, extensively damaged by a leak in the warehouse in which it was kept. Restoration involved a virtually complete repainting. Because so little of the original picture remained, he could not sell the work along with the three in good condition. Leeb stated that Ladislav Bein, a Parisian picture dealer, bought *Night* and sold it to an individual in Rio de Janeiro, whereas another dealer, Alexandre Ujlaky, purchased the three others.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to confirm Leeb's account and certain details are suspect. His drawings of the three known paintings were probably traced from photographs or reproductions and are thus more accomplished than the awkward rendition of *Night*, for which there is no photograph—yet Leeb maintained that all

Figure 37  
 Claude Joseph Vernet  
 (French, 1714–1789)  
*Paul and Virginie*, 1789  
 Oil on canvas, 34¼ x 51⅞ in.  
 (87 x 130 cm)  
 Leningrad, State Hermitage  
 Museum,  
 Inv. 1759  
 One of the best-known eighteenth-century depictions of a shipwreck, the painting shows the drowned Virginie mourned by her lover, Paul, as described in the eponymous novel.



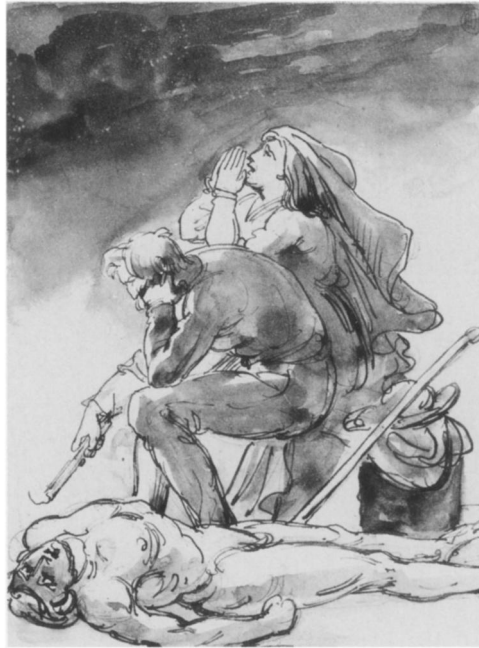


Figure 38  
*Parents Mourning over Their Dead Son*

Ink, watercolor, and graphite on paper, 6½ x 4⅞ in. (16.5 x 12.4 cm)  
Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University,  
Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, Acc. no. 1943.367

In September 1820 Géricault left Paris for a few weeks' vacation in Féricy, on the Seine near Fontainebleau. There he was moved by a newspaper account of a Parisian mason who fell to his death from scaffolding on the rue de Rivoli. In response, he made this moving drawing of parents mourning the senseless death of their son, raising the scene from the particular to a timeless grandeur with his classical style.

four drawings were made in 1937 in lieu of photographs. It is true that Leeb could have redrawn his copies, using reproductions of the three known panels as guides to improve them, before giving them last year to the Metropolitan. However, it is hard to believe that, if it did exist, no photograph of *Night* was made at the time of purchase, restoration, or sale. In an interview last year, Leeb remembered that in 1937, through the good offices of a woman he thought was Mme Boulès, wife of the “director” of the American embassy in Paris, the set of four panels was offered for purchase to the director of the Louvre, Henry Verne. Verne reputedly refused them because they were no more than “decoration.” Quite exceptionally, there is no record of such an offer for purchase at the Louvre—whereas, for example, there is ample documentation of Baron Désazard’s proposal to sell *Morning* to the Louvre in 1848. Furthermore, it appears that no one named Boulès worked at the American embassy in the years preceding the German occupation of France. Leeb was probably confusing the name Boulès with Bullitt, since William C. Bullitt was the highly visible American ambassador in Paris at the time. However, Bullitt was not married while he served in Paris.

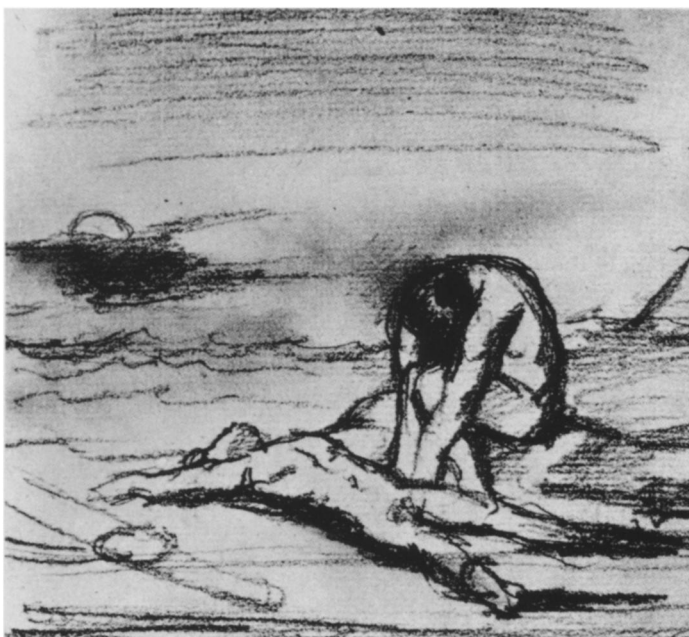
One cannot confirm Leeb’s statement that *Night* was exported to Brazil. Ladislav Bein, to whom Leeb allegedly sold the work in 1949, was not included in any of the business directories for that year. His office at 8 rue Drouot is first listed in 1950, but he did not have a telephone, a peculiar circumstance for an art dealer who could afford to buy a large Géricault, ruined or not. His firm had no successors, and his business papers, if he had any, cannot be found. Alexandre Ujlaky, on the contrary, was listed both years at 4 rue Drouot, and he did have a telephone. Philippe Brame, the Parisian art dealer, who in 1952 purchased *Noon* and *Evening*, the two paintings



reputedly handled by Ujlaky, bought them from yet another intermediary whose name was not recorded. He does not recognize Ujlaky's name. The present Comte de Saint-Léon, the grandson of the collector, was thirteen years old in 1937 and a frequent visitor to Jeurre. He doubts Leeb's story, but he did confirm details of it. He has no specific recollection of the Gericaults—yet he does remember pictures installed in the ceiling of the Salon Rose. When he was told Leeb's account of his grandfather's financial difficulties, he recognized that Leeb must have known his grandfather very well.

Leeb said last year that there was no one else alive who would have seen the fourth, missing, landscape. Regrettably, Leeb died this year with the enigma unexplained and with bothersome questions remaining. Leeb had been in contact with every important modern scholar of Gericault's work—among them Pierre Dubaut, the connoisseur, collector, and dealer, Lorenz Eitner, the greatest English-speaking authority, and Philippe Grunchev, the French author of several important studies—in an attempt to authenticate a painted copy he owned of Gericault's lithograph *The Coal Wagon*, which Leeb called *The Artillery Train*. Why, then, did he not reveal the existence of the fourth landscape and the drawing he had made of it until last year, forty years after he reputedly sold *Night*? Leeb had nothing to gain from inventing the existence of *Night*, and something to lose if he were exposed as a fabricator. Could Leeb have been clever enough to invent the fourth composition so persuasively? Is it crediting him with too much skill to believe that he recognized the process through which Gericault borrowed motifs from Vernet and Constant Bourgeois in the three known landscapes and then convincingly duplicated this procedure when he borrowed from Mettais, a very obscure artist, to create his rendition of *Night*? No,

Figure 39  
Théodore Chassériau  
(French, 1819–1856)  
*Shipwrecked*  
Graphite on paper, 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.  
(19.5 x 12 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
RF 26.080





he obviously knew the Gericault literature very well, in addition to the literature on Théodore Chassériau (1819–1856), a Romantic painter who combined elements of Ingres's style with Delacroix's imagery. In all probability, Leeb copied the figures in his *Night* from a sketch in the Louvre (see fig. 39) that reproduces a composition of a painting by Chassériau, *Shipwrecked*, of about 1835. (This painting, long lost, has only recently reappeared in a Paris private collection.) The relationship of the Chassériau drawing to Leeb's is too close not to be incriminating. While it is possible that Chassériau, who borrowed other poses from Gericault, may have based his composition on Gericault's fourth landscape, it is far more likely that *Night* was not painted.

For how can one explain away the inconvenient fact that only three canvases, and not four, were delivered to the artist's studio? There is no evidence to suggest that Gericault used more than one supplier, and the detailed invoice, covering the period from the artist's return from Italy in 1817 to his departure for London in 1820, clearly lists only three large canvases—in addition to the canvas used for *The Raft*. To recognize that Gericault painted but three panels has further implications. If there had been a commission for a decorative ensemble, the artist did not complete it, since the *Times of Day* are traditionally in sets of four. An incomplete commission would not have been installed, nor, indeed, in the absence of a commission, would Gericault have offered the three paintings as a gift or planned to exhibit them. Furthermore, two previously unpublished drawings in Bayonne (figs. 40, 41) indicate that Gericault had apparently conceived of a complete set of the *Times of Day* in a horizontal format before he painted the vertically oriented canvases now in Munich, Paris, and New York. The recto probably represents Noon and the verso Night. (Although the

Figure 40  
*Bark in a Stormy Landscape*  
(Noon)  
Gouache and watercolor on paper,  
4 1/8 x 5 7/8 in. (10.5 x 14.9 cm)  
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat,  
Inv. 713R



Figure 41  
*Port Scene (Night)*  
 Gouache and watercolor on paper,  
 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (10.5 x 14.9 cm)  
 Bayonne, Musée Bonnat,  
 Inv. 713V

fishermen's bark and the trees of the recto resemble those in *Morning* [no. 5] and there is a thunderstorm as in *Noon* [no. 10], both drawings are more conventional and dependent upon Vernet's landscapes than the compositions of the final paintings. See introduction, figs. 18–21.)

One thing seems likely: if Géricault had painted *Night*, he probably would have followed the eighteenth-century conventions of landscape in completing the series with the depiction of a shipwreck or drowning. Diderot considered Vernet's shipwrecks crucial to his sequences of landscapes, lending resolution and moral authority in addition to drama. The theme was so well established, as Lochhead has shown (1982, p. 85), that when, in 1781, the painter de Louthembourg built in London his *Eidophusikon*, a precursor to the diorama, the program always included a storm and shipwreck as the conclusion to the Times of Day. The sight of the aftermath of a shipwreck inspired a fear of nature's unfathomable power, the horrific black lining to nature's silvery clouds. Disaster scenes were the well-marked path to the sublime, that reservoir of deep feeling beyond the realm of the superficially beautiful. Soon after the three canvases of the Times of Day were delivered to his studio, Géricault became consumed with work on a greater essay on the sublime, *The Raft of the Medusa*—so much so perhaps that he never undertook the painting of the fourth Time of Day. Although in the absence of the fourth picture our experience of the series in the present exhibition will necessarily be incomplete, we can turn for resolution to Géricault's *The Deluge* (no. 13), his watercolor of *The Raft of the Medusa* (no. 14), and his *Drowned Woman and Child on a Beach* (no. 15) to contemplate the beautiful, and truly sublime, specter of death that haunts these landscapes.

## STUDIES FOR DECORATIVE PANELS

1816?  
 Graphite and wash (recto); graphite  
 (verso); on paper; 6¾ x 9¼ in. (17.2 x 23 cm)  
 The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of  
 Tiffany and Margaret Blake, 1947-35  
 folio 43

Germain Bazin recently identified the building just above the bird's beak at the far left of the verso drawing as the Château de Grand-Chesnay, the country house of Gericault's maternal uncle, Jean-Baptiste Caruel (1757–1847), later called Caruel de Saint-Martin. Caruel's second wife, Alexandrine-Modeste de Saint-Martin (1785–1875), was twenty-eight years younger than her husband and six years older than Gericault. She brought considerable wealth, some old master paintings, and a noble title to the Caruel family. She also brought great turmoil to her home when she became her nephew's clandestine lover sometime around 1814.

A number of pages from one of the artist's sketchbooks (now part of the album in Chicago that was assembled from several sketchbooks after the artist's death) show informal drawings of the environs of Grand-Chesnay and neighboring Versailles. Since other pages show newborn kids, it would seem that the sketchbook was used at Grand-Chesnay in the late spring or summer, but it is not known in which year. The Caruels stayed at Grand-Chesnay frequently after 1813, when the artist's uncle became mayor of the village. Gericault, a member of the king's musketeers from 1814 to 1816, was garrisoned nearby at Versailles in spring 1815. The following spring, he prepared for the Prix de Rome competition in Paris, but he could easily have escaped to Grand-Chesnay at a moment's notice. As will be demonstrated, there is good reason to believe that this portion of the sketchbook was used in spring 1816.

On both sides of this sheet Gericault sketched ideas for compositions in the grand manner that included game or exotic fowl. Somewhat amateurishly, he evokes paintings by Oudry, Desportes, Hondecouter, and the seventeenth-century Dutch game painters, but without referring to a known work. (His copies of similar paintings by Pieter Boel and



## Recto

Deshays were perhaps done concurrently.) On another sheet in the album are strangely artless drawings of fowl relating to several oil sketches of barnyard animals that seem to have been made at about the same time.

On the recto is a landscape with large trees in the foreground composed in a manner that conforms precisely to the definition of the picturesque as formulated by the eighteenth-century English writer William Gilpin—a composition repeated on folio 58. Gericault did not go on to paint any pictures using the homely picket gate, but seems instead to have developed his ideas in terms of tall and narrow decorative panels of the kind that were often fitted into the *boiserie* of French eighteenth-century rooms. On the verso Gericault eliminated animals from the vertical compositions and focused on assemblages of landscape motifs in an Italianate style. Additional sketches for these narrow panels appear on folio 42 recto of the same sketchbook and on a separate sheet

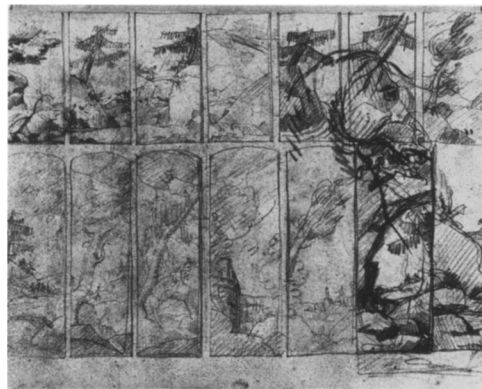


Verso

that includes fourteen sketches of panels, half of which seem to be for smaller panels or for overdoor paintings (fig. 1a). As Géricault worked on an idea, he typically drew small boxes on his page and filled them with alternative compositions: thus the sheet in Bayonne does not represent a cycle of fourteen panels but, rather, it shows him working out two or three compositional strategies.

Géricault elaborated his ideas for these panels on another sheet (fig. 1b) that

**Figure 1a**  
*Studies for Decorative Panels*  
 Graphite on paper, 8 3/16 x 10 3/16 in.  
 (21.1 x 26.8 cm)  
 Bayonne, Musée Bonnat,  
 Inv. 802 v



includes an important clue to the date of this project: a sketch at the upper left representing, according to Germain Bazin, *Oenone Refusing to Save the Dying Paris*. This obscure incident was the subject given for the third, and final, round of the Prix de Rome competition in March 1816. Although Géricault was eliminated before the final round, he made a number of drawings depicting the subject, as if he were still competing at the *École des Beaux-Arts*. His drawings of the dying Paris count among the few works securely datable to the first half of 1816, that is, before the artist's departure for Italy. Géricault's drawings of decorative landscapes in fig. 1b were made over the sketch of Paris, and thus cannot date before March 1816. Lorenz Eitner dated the sketchbook and related drawings to about 1814, but Christopher Sells, without referring to the landscape drawings, has recently suggested that this portion of the Chicago album dates to 1817–18. The later date would place this sheet just before the large landscapes, the *Times of Day*, which can be documented to summer and autumn 1818, but the style of this drawing is rather different from that of drawings known to date to 1817–18. Furthermore, while it seems likely that the drawings were done at the *Château de Grand-Chesnay*, it is improbable that the artist would have spent much leisure time there in spring 1818, when his aunt was five to six months pregnant with their illegitimate child.

Lorenz Eitner wrote in 1960 that "it is not impossible that [these] sketches represent the beginning stage in an enterprise which finally led to the painting of the two large panels." (Only two of the three large landscapes, *Noon* and *Evening*, which he dated to 1814, were then known, and Eitner did not associate the drawings with the *Château de Grand-Chesnay*.) One may now conclude that Géricault first conceived a project of decorative panels at his uncle's estate, probably in spring 1816, and that they

may well have been intended to adorn that house. One can further speculate that Géricault's large landscapes of 1818, although far more ambitious in scale and conception than the project represented in the 1816 sketches, originally may have been destined for Grand-Chesnay.

There is an important link between the early sketches and the final paintings: the figure of a seated male nude with an outstretched arm, first used in the Bayonne drawings (figs. 1a, 1b), reappears in the foreground of *Evening: Landscape with an Aqueduct* (no. 11). Géricault made a highly finished drawing from a live model in this pose (fig. 1c). Dated by most scholars to 1816, its relationship to the decorative landscape studies or to the *Times of Day* has not previously been noticed.



Figure 1b  
*Studies for Decorative Panels*  
 Graphite and wash on paper,  
 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>6</sub> in. (21.3 x 28.4 cm)  
 Bayonne, Musée Bonnat,  
 Inv. 745 v

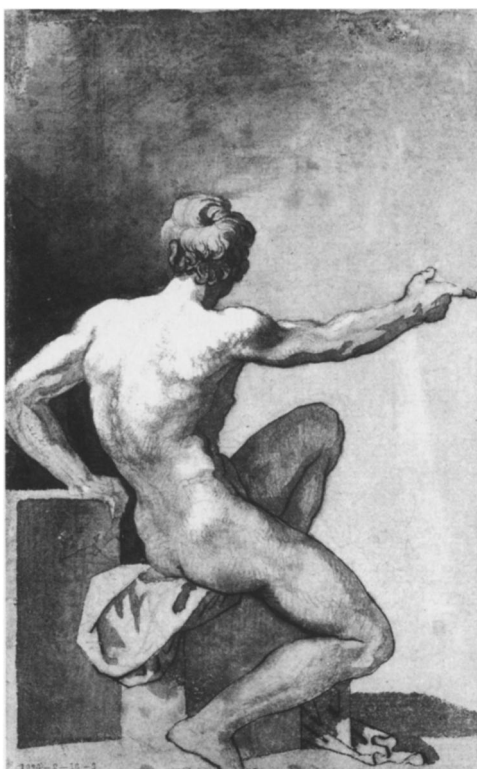


Figure 1c  
*Seated Nude (verso)*  
 Chalk, ink, and wash on paper.  
 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>6</sub> x 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>6</sub> in. (20.8 x 18.3 cm)  
 London, The British Museum,  
 1920.2.16.2

STUDIES FOR A COMPOSITION WITH A  
BOATING PARTY AND FOR VARIOUS  
MILITARY SUBJECTS

1816 or 1817–18  
Graphite (recto); brown ink, wash, and  
graphite (verso); on paper; 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>6</sub> in.  
(17.4 x 23 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of  
Tiffany and Margaret Blake, 1947.35  
folio 48

Recto



On the verso of this sheet the artist made what seem to be the first sketches for a composition with a musical boating party. Loosely based on a painting in the Louvre attributed in Gericault's day to Annibale Carracci (fig. 2a), the drawing shows women serenaded by a lutenist in Renaissance costume. Their gondola is propelled by a pole-wielding boatman, whose energetic pose characteristically preoccupied the artist. Over a dozen alternatives for this figure were drawn on two sheets now in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (inv. nos. 2085, 2086); some of those sketches may also relate to a similar figure in a watercolor, *Bark in a Stormy Landscape*, also in the Musée Bonnat (see p. 32). The same boating party as that seen here is more clearly drawn on the verso of folio 49 of the Chicago album (fig. 2b), where one woman is accompanied by two com-

Verso



panions. The two wash landscape sketches on folio 48 verso may be the artist's ideas for the sylvan setting wherein he would place the boating party.

In 1954, when Eitner published the first scholarly article on the landscapes now in Paris and New York, he recognized that the germ of the Paris picture, *Noon: Landscape with a Roman Tomb* (no. 10), may reside in these sketches of the boating party. In a fascinating twist, Gericault kept the boat in *Noon* but canceled the party. The festive mood of the troubadour costume piece becomes foreboding in the painting, and the serenaded woman is accompanied by a child as well as a man, who seeks pressingly to board the boat as if to be ferried across the river. A sense of urgency replaces the timeless idyll of the drawing.

What has not been sufficiently stressed in the past is the familial resemblance of the painting formerly attributed to Annibale Carracci—itself harking back to the Venetian tradition exemplified by Giorgione’s *Fête champêtre* (Paris, Musée du Louvre)—to Géricault’s set of large landscapes. *Noon*, in particular, displays a similar Roman bridge leading to a castellated tower, and the river and distant mountains are disposed in an analogous manner, albeit reversed. In his large landscapes Géricault obviously wished to recall the tradition of the composed landscape in the grand manner to which Annibale had made such a significant contribution and which his brother Agostino had popularized through engravings. But Géricault, appropriating past art without apology, made his works modern with a dramatic shift in mood and scale.

The recto of this sheet presents a kind of catalogue of Géricault’s ongoing projects, for which there are many sketches among the pages of this section of the Chicago album. They have been identified by Eitner as, from the top left: an equestrian figure for one of the paintings of the trumpeter of the Polish lancers; a Mamluk rider; Napoleon on horseback; a cavalry battle; and Xerxes attacked by two lions. On the second register is a wounded officer aided by the son of a pasha, a scene repeated more faintly below, and Mars and Hercules separated by Jupiter’s thunderbolt, repeated again to the right. At the bottom right is a sketch of a rearing horse, and, at the center, an Italianate landscape with a poplar or a cypress.

Eitner dates this sheet to about 1814, but Grunheec (1985, p. 115) suggests that some of the compositions sketched on the recto, such as that for the trumpeter of the Polish lancers, may date to after Géricault’s return from Italy in late 1817. Christopher Sells dates this portion of the Chicago album, the projected compositions of Polish lancers,



and the cavalry battle to 1817–18. However, it seems likely that Géricault worked on his first, unrealized project of decorative landscapes in spring 1816 (see no. 1). If this supposition is correct, then the sketches for the boating party on the verso may date to that year; otherwise, they would have been made upon Géricault’s return from Italy.

**Figure 2a**  
Giovanni Battista Viola  
(Italian, 1576–1662)  
*Concert on the Water*  
Oil on canvas, 15¾ x 20½ in.  
(40 x 52 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
Inv. 208



**Figure 2b**  
*Sheet of Studies (verso)*  
Graphite and pen on paper,  
6⅞ x 9⅞ in. (17.4 x 23 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago,  
Gift of Tiffany and Margaret Blake,  
1947.35 folio 49



## VIEW OF TIVOLI

1816–17

Watercolor, brown ink, and graphite on paper, 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (22.4 x 41.5 cm); signed and inscribed lower left: *Gericault pinx. / Tivoli*

Geneva, Galerie Jan Krugier



Like generations of French artists before him, Gericault recognized that an extended stay in Italy was crucial to his formation as an artist. To be seen, copied, and understood were the monuments of antiquity, the great frescoes and altarpieces of the Renaissance, and the splendid Baroque decorations of churches and palaces. Much of importance he already knew from reproductions, but he lacked firsthand experience of these works. In spring 1816, at the age of twenty-four, he competed at the *École des Beaux-Arts* for the *Prix de Rome*, a five-year stay at the French Academy in Rome with a free studio, classes, models, and a living allowance. He made it through the first round but lost in the second. Undeterred, he secured from his father permission to go to Italy, and with a family annuity in hand, he left in September 1816, ostensibly for a two-year trip—which he cut short by a year. He was profoundly impressed

by the experience. According to Clément, the artist's biographer, "He had trembled before the masters of Italy, had lost all self-confidence, and only slowly recovered from his agitation" (quoted in Eitner 1983, p. 100).

Although Gericault traveled extensively in Italy, he seems not to have been seduced by the country's fabled landscape. Unlike his illustrious French predecessors, Claude and Poussin, he was not intrigued by the picturesque ruins, which, with the exception of a few monuments such as the temples at Paestum, he did not draw. In contrast to the French landscape painters who arrived in Rome at about the same time—Bertin, Caruelle d'Aligny, Michallon, and Corot—he did not seek to capture the strong light and clear skies upon which an entire school of painting would be founded. Instead, he focused his ambitions on monumental figure painting. As Eitner succinctly observed,

“‘Nature’ as [Gericault] understood it was embodied in the human or animal form, not in mountains or trees” (1985, p. 142).

In this regard, Gericault responded to Italy much as the Neoclassical painters David and Ingres had. They, too, ignored the landscape for the most part but nevertheless left a few informal yet remarkable paintings and drawings of views they had experienced. Gericault, likewise, made only a small number of watercolors and drawings of Italian sites, but they tend to be carefully worked and formal. The greatest of them is this view of Tivoli, the hilltop town northeast of Rome whose cascades had been a favored motif of painters since antiquity. As an English artist wrote his patron in 1758, “This ancient city of Tivoli . . . has been the only school where our two most celebrated landscape painters, Claude and Poussin, studied” (quoted in Vaughan, p. 43). To make this watercolor, which he proudly signed *Gericault pinx.*,

he positioned himself at the belvedere on the via delle Cascatelle, the road that winds out of the city away from Rome, in order to obtain the best view of both the Grand Cascades and the Cascatelli; but in a characteristic departure, Gericault made the spectacular waterfalls, barely visible in the dark chasm at left, almost incidental to the picture. Refusing to highlight or subordinate particular elements, he instead delineated the entire scene before him with a meticulousness that borders on obsession. Most striking is his renunciation of naturalism: there is no attempt to suggest atmosphere, the time of day, or the particularity of his experience at that moment. Gericault’s image is so timeless that one would not be surprised to learn that it had been copied from an engraving—such as one of Gaspard Dughet’s numerous views of Tivoli. Even out in nature, Gericault sifted his observations through the filter of past art in order to achieve a grand manner.

## VIEW OF MONTMARTRE

1816–20?

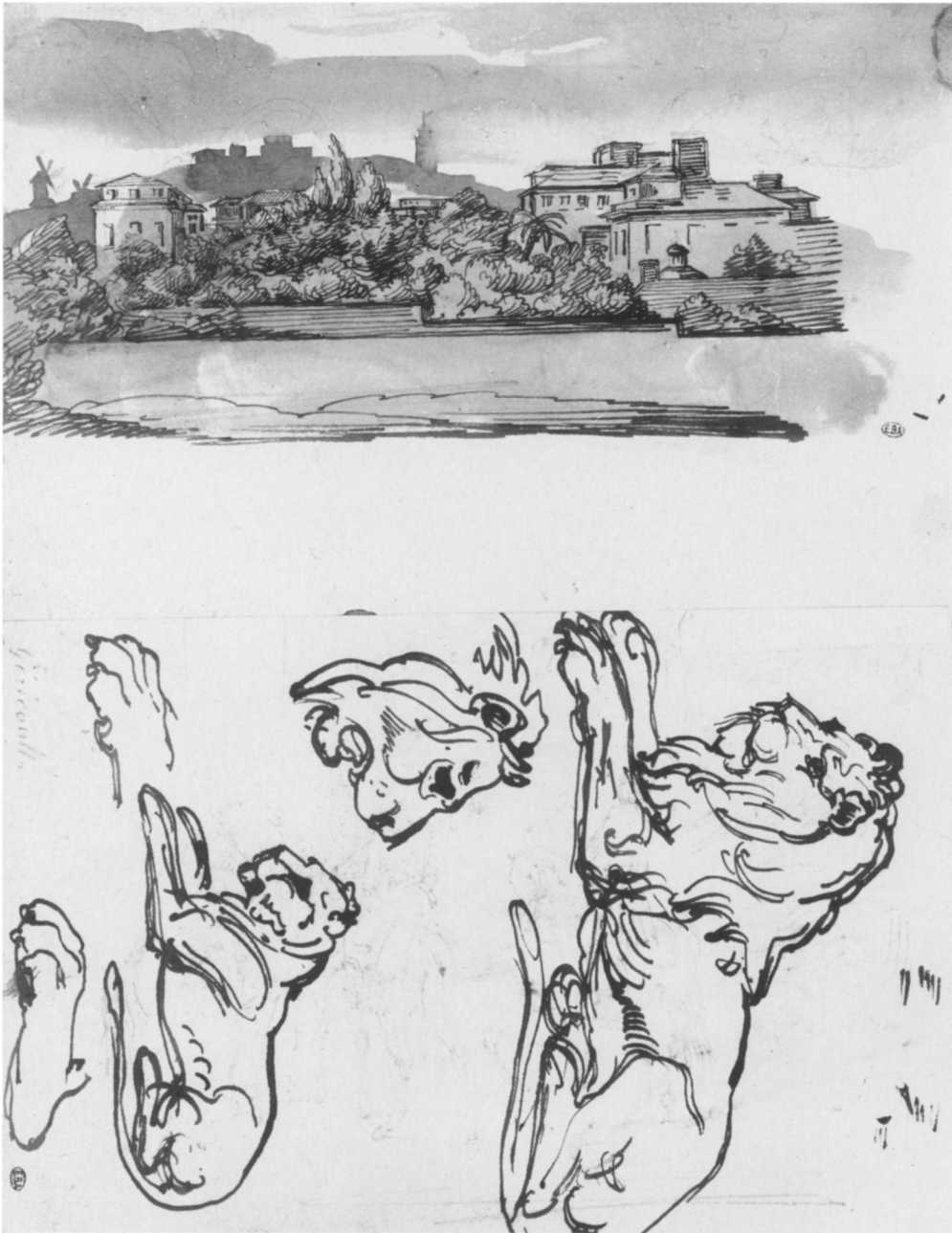
Watercolor, gouache, and graphite on paper, 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (18.7 x 26.4 cm); verso:*Lapith and Amazon*

Geneva, Galerie Jan Krugier



Throughout his career, Géricault consistently sought to extract the maximum expressive potential of any given motif. Here, he took the skyline of Montmartre, with its windmill made familiar by the paintings of Georges Michel, and, by strongly contrasting shadow to sky, rendered it mysterious and somewhat ominous. In preparation, he made a straightforward drawing, which he lightly colored (fig. 4a). But in the present watercolor, the effects are intensified and the opposite of what the viewer expects: the clouds appear to be blue and the sky white, and the sharp

daylight almost conceals rather than reveals the village below. There is nevertheless a vigorous substantiality given to all the forms—a landscape equivalent to his Michelangel- esque figural style. Although Géricault himself did not extensively develop this antipicturesque style, summed up in his large landscapes of 1818, the dramatic tonal contrasts he used here would be exploited in the next decade by Granet, the Romantic landscape painter, and in the next generation by Victor Hugo, for his remarkable ink drawings.



**Figure 4a**  
*View of Montmartre (detail)*  
 Graphite, wash, and gouache on  
 paper, 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (21.5 x 26.7 cm)  
 Paris, École des Beaux-Arts,  
 Inv. E.B.A., no. 973  
 Géricault frequently placed  
 unrelated sketches on the same  
 page. Although lions are usually  
 associated with the artist's stay in  
 London, he in fact drew them  
 throughout his career.

In 1813 Géricault and his father moved to 23 rue des Martyrs in Montmartre, a modest village on the heights just north of Paris that became a locus of artistic activity in the first years of the nineteenth century and remained so until the First World War. Since Géricault lived in the same building until his death in 1824, it is not known when the present landscape was made. It is one of a handful of drawings and watercolors of Montmartre executed for the artist's pleasure. Unfortunately, the drawing on the verso, a copy of an engraving in Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (1719) of a relief depicting a battle between a Lapith

and an Amazon, cannot be securely dated either. The style and subject of the verso, drawn before the landscape, suggest a date no later than 1815–16. Eitner dates the landscape to before Géricault's departure for Italy in 1816 (Bühler sale catalogue, no. 49), but the portentous mood and the combination of wash and gouache may both point to a date after the return from Italy in 1817. The work is similar in style, for example, to the three watercolor studies of sea and sky prepared in 1818–19 for *The Raft of the Medusa* (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. nos. 800, 801, and Paris, private collection).

5.  
**MORNING: LANDSCAPE WITH  
FISHERMEN**

1818  
Oil on canvas, 98 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 85 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.  
(250.5 x 217.8 cm)  
Munich, Neue Pinakothek, Bayerische  
Staatsgemäldesammlungen



In the cool, gray, diffuse light of early morning, five fishermen launch their boat. A large villa and a portion of an aqueduct, guarded by a fanciful bald mountain, hold the middle plane, while the snowcapped range, the source of the wide river, closes the distant view. An outsize umbrella pine and palm tree, indicators of the tropical Italian clime, dominate the foreground and establish the gargantuan scale of the series of the Times of Day.

During July and August 1818, at intervals of two to three weeks, Géricault's color merchant and supplier delivered three canvases of identical size, approximately eight by seven and one-half feet. On these canvases the artist painted this picture, now in Munich (no. 5), and those in Paris (no. 10) and New York (no. 11). It would appear that the present picture, *Morning*, was the first to be painted. That six related drawings survive, more than for either of the other two panels, suggests that the work was thoroughly prepared. The painting itself conforms closely to the preparatory drawings and was carefully executed with comparatively few pentimenti. *Noon* and *Evening*, to the contrary, seem to have been painted more spontaneously, with numerous revisions and some improvisations. Yet for all of the preparation, *Morning* is, in one respect, the most original of the works in the suite: although, like the others, it immediately announces its affinity to the decorative landscape tradition of Duguet and Joseph Vernet, it does not include any specific quotations from pictures by other artists. There are of course similar fanciful mountains to be found in landscapes from Poussin to Vernet, but such a motif was common currency. In his 1817 manual on landscape painting, Lécarpentier warned that "there are few objects in nature that have been so often disfigured in painting as rocky mountains," and he exhorted artists "to imitate their bizarre forms just as nature presents them, without deforming them or embroidering upon them" (1817, pp. 115–116). In its parts *Morning* is wholly Géricault's invention, although in its sum it is the most conventional work in the series; the artist took greater risks and liberties in the others.

This painting is the only one of the set of large landscapes that Clément knew.

He described it in his catalogue as "in the manner of Duguet" and mentioned it in the context of Géricault's marines—such as no. 15—which he thought were later than this landscape, to which he assigned a date of "perhaps" 1812–14. Because Clément wrote that the fishermen occupy the second plane of the composition (instead of the foreground), some modern scholars have suggested that he had not actually seen the painting. However, he most certainly did see it at the 1859 sale of Ary Scheffer's collection, for which he was listed in the catalogue as an "expert" consultant to the auctioneer. Clément recounted that a pendant to the painting had been visible in Géricault's studio, presumably the large space in the faubourg du Roule, while he was painting *The Raft of the Medusa*. No doubt Clément had been given this information by someone who had actually been there, such as Géricault's student A. A. Montfort. Curiously, Clément did not comment on the aesthetic merit of the painting, nor did he remark on its great size, which he accurately recorded to within a few centimeters. He did not speculate on the existence of the third panel, not to mention a fourth, and, to our great disappointment, he did not leave a single clue regarding the circumstances that led Géricault to make the set.

This painting was the last of the series to be rediscovered in this century. It reappeared at a Paris auction in 1959, while *Noon* and *Evening* (nos. 10, 11) were publicly exhibited in 1953. Thus when the seminal articles announcing the discovery of the other two were published, the existence of *Morning* was unknown. On the other hand, it was the only one of the series to appear in public in the nineteenth century, on the occasion of the 1859 auction of the Scheffer collection. It was probably visible for only two or three days before disappearing into private houses for exactly 100 years. In a review of the sale, Philippe Burty left the sole opinion recorded in the nineteenth century: "The fishermen are painted well enough [ont une assez grande tournure], but the sky is cold, the shadows black, and the ensemble is badly composed."

6.

STUDY FOR MORNING: LANDSCAPE  
WITH FISHERMEN

1818

Watercolor, brown ink, graphite, and  
black chalk on white laid paper, 9 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.

(23.2 x 20.7 cm)

Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Fogg  
Art Museum, Harvard University, Bequest  
of Meta and Paul J. Sachs



This study for *Morning: Landscape with Fishermen*, one of Gericault's most beautiful landscape watercolors, is all the more impressive for representing an imaginary scene. Unlike *View of Tivoli* (no. 3), which is a kind of miniature linear survey of the architecture of the hilltop town, this work is majestically composed of large planes receding in a convincing progression to the farthest range of mountains on the horizon. Working with great economy, Gericault needed only two colors of wash—blue and brown—to render the landscape and suffuse it with a unifying light.

This sheet represents an early stage of the composition for the Munich picture (no. 5): there are no trees in the foreground, and the boat, which has a mast and sail, is being pulled to the right. Nevertheless, all the features of the painting—save the pine and palm—are present here in embryonic form. In painting the large canvas, Gericault enlarged the cypresses and architectural elements and modified the profile of the fantastic rock, while reducing it slightly in size. Nevertheless, he remained true to the overall appearance of this watercolor. Its self-assured execution, with no revisions whatsoever, is probably an indication that it was preceded by earlier sketches, now lost, in which the artist worked out the basic composition.



Figure 7a  
*Sheet of Studies* (verso)  
Ink and wash on paper.  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
RF 11670 V

7.

## STUDIES OF FISHERMEN

1818

Brown ink on paper, 13 $\frac{1}{6}$  x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  in.

(33.2 x 20 cm)

Private collection

Apart from horses, little fascinated Géricault more than the human figure straining against a load. The two most ambitious projects of his stay in Italy, *The Race of the Riderless Horses* and *The Cattle Market*, are based on figures pushing, pulling, and restraining animals; to prepare for them, he executed several studies of nude models pulling ropes. Drawn after his return to Paris, these two sheets of studies for the five fishermen in *Morning* (no. 5) were not made from live models but from the artist's imagination, which by then was well stocked with an infinite number of poses observed under a variety of conditions.

These sketches were made after the Fogg watercolor (no. 6), in which the fishermen launch the boat to the right, but probably before the Dijon drawing (no. 9). The Herculean figures also pull to the right in a sketch on the verso of a drawing in the Louvre (fig. 7a). Géricault drew the fishermen pulling in both directions in a drawing in Bayonne (fig. 7b). It would appear that the sheet with the boat at upper right was the later of the two shown here, since the group in the upper register is closest to that in the final painting. In these sketches Géricault was careful to establish links between the figures in the group, by turning the heads to the left or right, so that they appear to work in concert.

8.

## STUDIES OF FISHERMEN

1818

Brown ink on paper, 5 $\frac{1}{6}$  x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  in.

(14.8 x 20 cm)

Private collection





9.

STUDIES FOR MORNING: LANDSCAPE  
WITH FISHERMEN AND EVENING:  
LANDSCAPE WITH AN AQUEDUCT

1818

Brown ink and graphite on paper,

7 1/8 x 5 1/8 in. (18 x 13 cm)

Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, Donation  
Granville DG 242



Although exhibited and widely reproduced since the first great Géricault retrospective in 1924, this drawing, like the watercolor in the *Fogg* (no. 6), had to wait for the reappearance of *Morning* (no. 5) in 1959 before it could be properly identified as a study for the large landscape. At the upper left Géricault tested the addition of the foreground trees to the composition already laid out in the *Fogg* watercolor. At the bottom of the sheet he repeated the composition but gave the mountain the new profile that appears in the painting. Apart from the position of the boat, which is still close to the center of the foreground, the painting conforms in every important respect to this drawing.

The sketch at the upper right has always been considered a variant of the same composition, but it is obviously quite different. With its central mountain and broad river, flowing from the distance at the left, it must be one of the very first sketches for *Evening* (no. 11). Had the bill for the delivery of three of the large canvases to the artist's studio in 1818 not been discovered, this sheet alone would be sufficient proof that Géricault simultaneously conceived the large canvases — or, at the very least, two of them, *Morning* and *Evening*—answering a question that has been debated by scholars for over thirty years.



Figure 7b  
*Sheet of Studies* (verso)  
Graphite on paper, 8 1/8 x 8 5/16 in.  
(20.6 x 21.1 cm)  
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat,  
Inv. 766

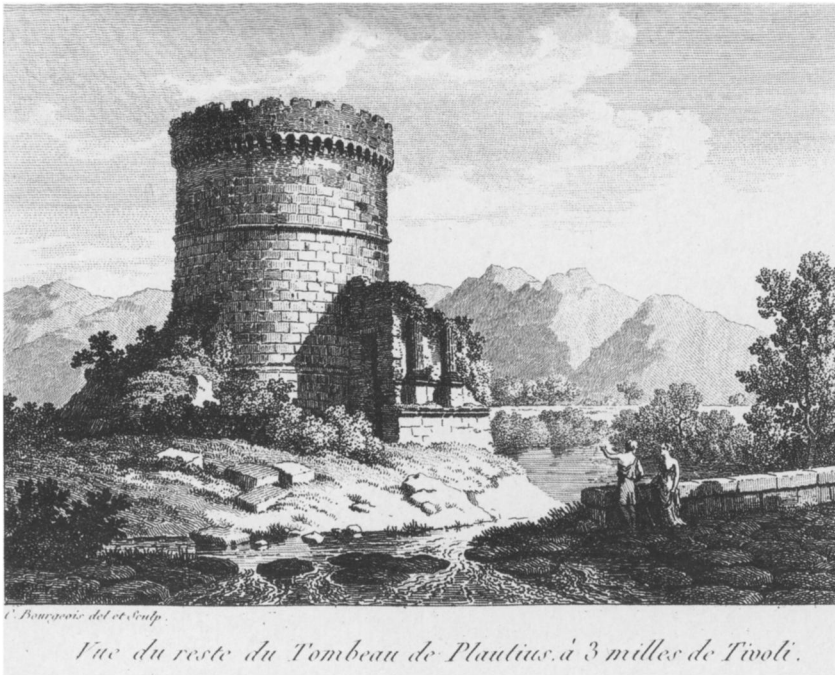
10.

NOON: LANDSCAPE WITH A ROMAN  
TOMB

1818

Oil on canvas, 98½ x 86¼ in. (250 x 219 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Petit Palais





A midday thunderstorm gathers in a deep-blue sky. The peaks of the farthest mountain range are already covered with snow, and sheets of rain fall in the middle distance. A strong wind blows the cypresses along the riverbank. A man, woman, and child, seeking to escape the tempest, implore a pair of fishermen in a small bark to carry them to safety; the bridge they might have taken is broken and impassable. Looming behind them is an ancient Roman tomb, and in its shadow two severed limbs hang from a pole. It is thus not simply a storm that frightens the family, it is the specter of death.

True to the established conventions of landscape painting, Gericault animated his depiction of Noon with a thunderstorm. Morning and afternoon had always been the times of day favored by landscape painters because the shadows resulting from the slanting light were necessary for the illusion of depth. The strong light of midday created problems pictorially. As Diderot noticed, objects at noon are virtually “inundated with light” (*Salons*, III, p. 272) and therefore flat in appearance. Valenciennes, the Neoclassical landscape painter and theorist, codified accepted practice when he wrote in an artist’s manual of 1799 that “noon is the most convenient hour to represent the terrible spectacle of a storm or hurricane” (p. 435).

Joseph Vernet was known and praised for his depictions of raging storms at high noon, and it is no coincidence that Gericault took Vernet’s celebrated landscape cycles as his model for the *Times of Day*. Gericault was familiar with the great Vernets in the Louvre and would have seen, if he did not own, the etchings after Vernet’s landscapes made by Carle Vernet, Joseph’s son and Gericault’s teacher. Gericault may also have studied, as Joanna Szczepinska-Tramer suggested in her exhaustive analysis of *Noon*, a painting by Vernet’s teacher, Adrien Manglard. Called *Landscape with*

Figures 10a, 10b  
 Florent Fidèle Constant Bourgeois  
 (French, 1767–1841)  
*View of the Tomb of Plautius, and  
 View of the Tomb of Cecilia Metella,*  
 from *Recueil de vues et fabriques  
 pittoresques d’Italie*, 1804.  
 Etchings, 17¾ x 22¾ in.  
 (45.1 x 56.8 cm)  
 S.P. Avery Collection, The Miriam  
 and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art,  
 Prints, and Photographs, The New  
 York Public Library, Astor, Lenox,  
 and Tilden Foundations

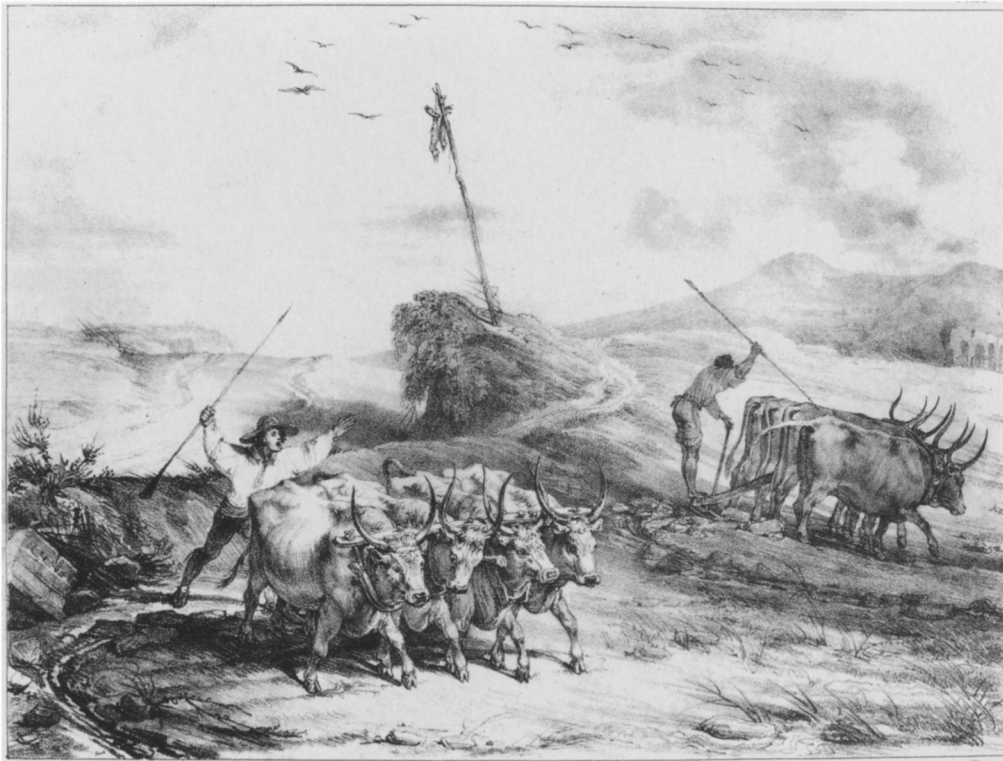


Figure 10c  
 Antoine Jean-Baptiste Thomas  
 (French, 1791–1834)  
*Ploughing*  
 from *Un An à Rome et dans ses  
 environs. Recueil de Dessins  
 Lithographiés*  
 [Paris, 1824]  
 Lithograph, 7¼ x 9⅞ in. (18.4 x 25 cm)  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
 Gift of Harry G. Friedman, 1967,  
 67.519

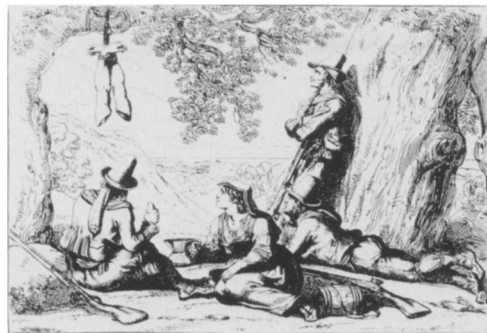
the *Capo di Bove*, it displays a Roman tomb similar to that in *Morning*, as well as a comparable relationship of figures to ground and sky to water. It hangs now, as it did in Gericault's day, in the Doria-Pamphili Gallery in Rome—along with an extraordinary collection of fine landscapes by Poussin, Claude, Gaspard Dughet, and Salvator Rosa, all of whom contributed to the tradition that Gericault chose to follow. Indeed, the impact of the Doria-Pamphili collection on Gericault's heroic landscapes was so strong that Szczepinska-Tramer was able to intuit that they could not have been painted before the artist's Italian voyage. Her observation was substantiated by documentation in 1980, when the invoice for the delivery of the three canvases in summer 1818 was discovered. Other pictures, such as the landscape with a boating party then attributed to Annibale Carracci (fig. 2a), had their effect as well.

Following the example of Vernet, Gericault assembled the motifs for *Noon* from a variety of sources, creating, for example, new monuments of antiquity with a few strokes of the brush. The large structure at the right is a conflation of the tombs of Plautius, near Tivoli, and Cecilia Metella, closer to Rome, both of which Gericault undoubtedly saw. However, for this painting he relied not on memory or sketches made from nature, but on etchings published by Constant Bourgeois in an album of 1804

(figs. 10a, 10b), taking the fragment of a wall with pilasters from the engraving of the tomb of Plautius and applying it to the basic structure of the tomb of Cecilia Metella. (Gericault also must have seen Bourgeois's 1817 lithograph of the tomb of Plautius.) The bridge, roughly based on the Ponte Rotto in Rome, also seems to have been adapted from engravings, but a specific visual source has not yet been identified.

The severed limbs hanging on a pole, easily overlooked yet unforgettable once they have been seen, constitute the one motif in the painting that Gericault painted from memory. It is unusual, given how little is known about Gericault's daily life, that we have the testimony of a fellow artist, A. J. B. Thomas, who probably was with Gericault when he encountered the sight. Thomas won the 1816 Prix de Rome that Gericault lost, and they both were in Italy in 1817. They seem to have accompanied one another on field trips and sketched side by side. In 1823 Thomas published an album of lithographs, *Un An à Rome*, in which he collected picturesque incidents of daily life that he had witnessed during his stay. In the note to plate xxxviii (fig. 10c), he described, "at the side of a road, a pole from which were hung severed arms and legs, on which crows fed. One frequently encounters this hideous spectacle in Italy, often in places far from any help. Bandits have committed a crime there, and

Figure 10d  
 Bartolomeo Pinelli  
 (Italian, 1781–1835)  
*The Brigands*, 1822  
 Etching, 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (27.7 x 19.7 cm)



their arms and legs are brought back to the spot after the execution of their punishment.” A copy of Thomas’s album was in Gericault’s possession at his death—by the time it was published, he was already mortally ill. As Szczepinska-Tramer has suggested, Thomas probably offered it to Gericault as a souvenir of their days in Italy. Pinelli, the nineteenth-century master of Italian genre scenes, also published an etching of bandits contemplating the hung limbs of a former partner in crime, but this work of 1822 (fig. 10d) could not be said to have influenced Gericault. Although Thomas refers to the spectacle as common, none of the usual writers on Italian custom—Lalande, Tambroni, Santo-Domingo, Stendhal—mentioned the practice, with the exception of Lady Morgan (see Szczepinska-Tramer 1974). Yet with Gericault’s intense interest in the macabre, one sighting would have been sufficient to sear it on his memory. The motif anticipates the subject of his greatest and most singular works, the still lifes of severed limbs (fig. 10e). Thought to have been studies for *The Raft of the Medusa*, a project we now know to have

Figure 10e  
*Study of Severed Limbs*  
 Oil on canvas, 20<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> x 25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.  
 (52 x 64 cm)  
 Montpellier, Musée Fabre,  
 Inv. 876.3.38



been contemporaneous with the painting of the *Times of Day*, they are clearly autonomous works that portray frankly the gruesome beauty of death, a subject broached only indirectly in *Noon*.

In some respects, the composition of *Noon* is the most daring of the series. With its warm white clouds billowing in a brilliant ultramarine sky, it begs comparison to a Poussin, but in his characteristically contrary manner, Gericault displaced the harmonic relationships of compositional elements that are central to Poussin’s style. The tomb is too large, the figures too small, and the bridge does not fit at all. The tomb is also placed dangerously close to the center of the composition, so much so that one senses that Gericault was deliberately rejecting the picturesque style. Gilpin, whose theories on the picturesque and the sublime promoted ideal compositions over nature, thought that motifs too irregular or too prominently placed passed from the picturesque to the realm he called “romantic.” He found, for example, that Arthur’s Seat, the large, ungainly hill at the center of Edinburgh, gave that city a romantic rather than a picturesque aspect: “A view with such a staring feature in it, can no more be picturesque than a face with a large bulbous nose can be beautiful” (quoted in Vaughan 1978, p. 38).

Eitner has expressed the opinion that if there is any narrative to be found in the *Times of Day*, it is probably autobiographical. This seems most true of *Noon*. The canvases for the landscapes were delivered to the artist’s studio just as his aunt was about to give birth to their child, a boy named Georges-Hippolyte. Thus one could easily associate Gericault’s personal plight with the image of the desperate man who seeks rescue and shelter from the brewing storm in *Noon*.

11.

**EVENING: LANDSCAPE WITH AN  
AQUEDUCT**

1818

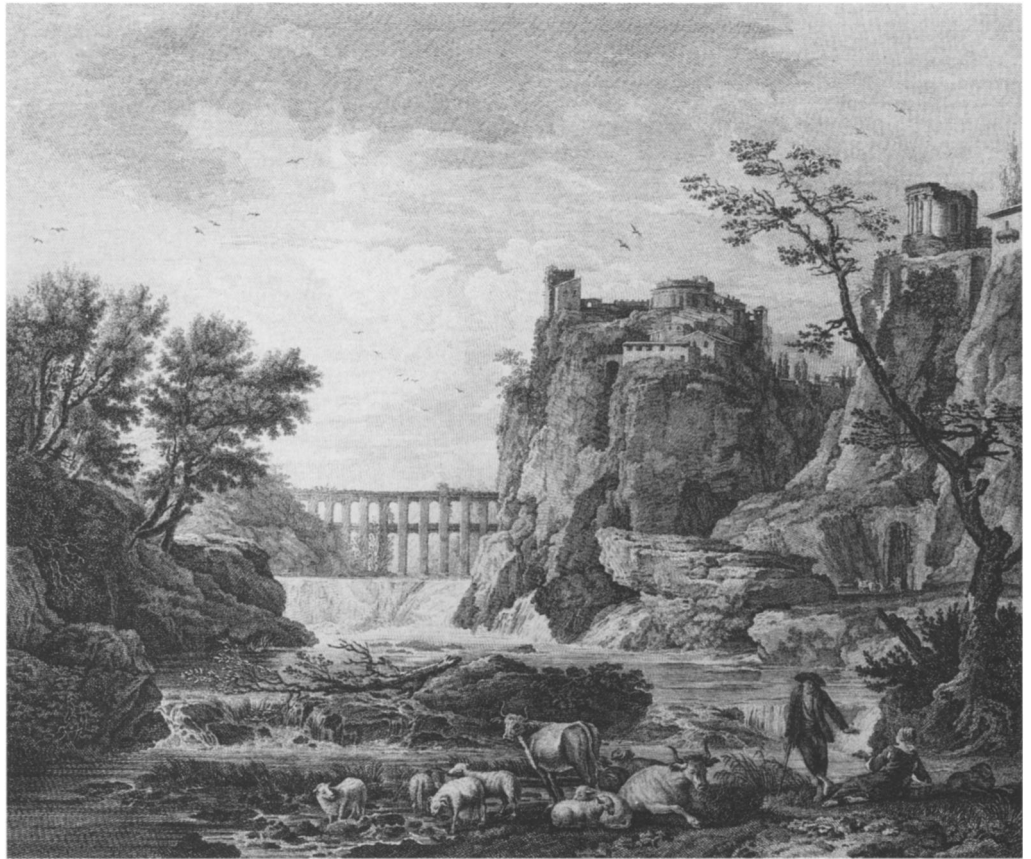
Oil on canvas, 98½ x 86½ in.

(250.2 x 219.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
Purchase, Gift of James A. Moffett, 2nd,  
in memory of George M. Moffett, by  
exchange, 1989, 1989.183

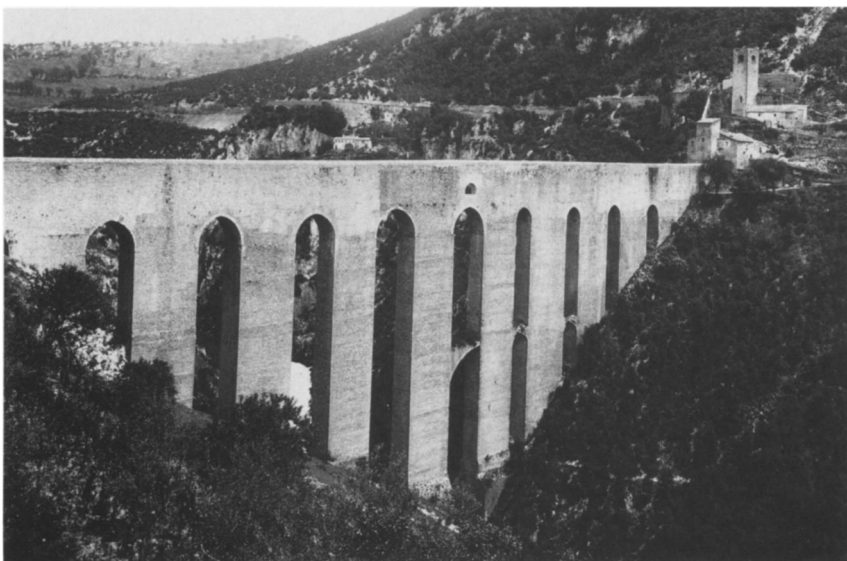


Figure 11a  
 Pierre François Basan  
 (French, 1723–1797),  
 after Claude Joseph Vernet  
 (French, 1714–1789)  
*The Cascatelli*  
 Etching and engraving, 7 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
 (18.2 x 21.7 cm)  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
 Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953,  
 53.600.1547



The warm glow of the setting sun staves off the encroaching steel-blue clouds of night. Slanting beams of light silhouette the ivy-covered ruins of the belvedere at the left, pass through the elegant arcade of the aqueduct, and strike the rocky cliff at the center before illuminating, with their last rays, the blasted tree at the far right. Bathers—perhaps the fishermen who launched their bark in *Morning* (no. 5), although Gericault gives them no

Figure 11b  
*Il Ponte delle Torri at Spoleto*



identity here—splash and play in the broad river that winds its way through all three of the *Times of Day*. One bather, seated at the left, converses with a shepherd in a Phrygian cap who listens patiently. Gericault developed this pose while working on his first project for the decorative landscapes in 1816 (see no. 1). Reasoning, or perhaps inquiring, the bather extends his right hand in a gesture recalling that of Oedipus in Ingres's *Oedipus and the Sphinx* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), a painting sent from Rome to Paris for exhibition at the École des Beaux-Arts in 1808, the year the seventeen-year-old Gericault began his apprenticeship with Carle Vernet.

With its transient effects of light, craggy rocks, and handsome Roman architecture, *Evening* comes closer to Joseph Vernet's spectacular *paysages à effet* than does *Morning* (no. 5) or *Noon* (no. 10). Here, we find Gericault emulating the Vernet whom Diderot admired in 1763, when he wrote: “It is Vernet who knows how to gather storms, open the cataracts of the sky and flood the earth; it is also he who knows how, when it pleases him, to dissipate the tempest, to return calm to the sea, and serenity to the skies” (*Salons*, I, p. 228). And Gericault, as if to make certain that his reference to the eighteenth-century master does not pass un-



Figure 11c  
 Claude Joseph Vernet  
 (French, 1714–1789)  
*Bathers*  
 Oil on panel, 28 x 27¼ in.  
 (71 x 69.2 cm)  
 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum,  
 Inv. 893

noticed, included specific motifs borrowed from some of Vernet's celebrated compositions. The aqueduct, for example, seems to be taken from Vernet's 1751 view of Tivoli (fig. 11a), which was engraved and thus readily accessible, although Vernet repeated variations of this aqueduct in other compositions as well. Géricault visited Tivoli during his stay in Italy (see no. 3), but he could only have known the aqueduct from Vernet's picture, since the structure existed only in Vernet's imagination. Although it looks convincing, it is a conflation of a specific bridge, the thirteenth-century Ponte delle Torri at Spoleto (fig. 11b)— nearly sixty miles from Tivoli— and a generic, double-tiered Roman aqueduct. While the lower buildings are based on those at Spoleto, the mountain crowned by a tower, the *repoussoir* at the left, and the subject of evening bathing are all adapted from Vernet (fig. 11c).



Figure 11d  
*Sheet of Figure Studies (verso)*  
 Graphite on paper, 13⅞ x 8¾ in.  
 (33.2 x 22.3 cm)  
 Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts,  
 Inv. 880.16.12





Figure 11e  
 Antonio Carracci  
 (Italian, 1583–1618)  
*The Deluge*  
 Oil on canvas, 65 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 97 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.  
 (166 x 247 cm)  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre  
 Inv. 230

Neither a plagiarist nor a slavish copyist, Gericault quoted from Vernet in order to underscore the novelty of his own conception. The vertiginous stack of compositional elements, the abnormally high horizon—suggested but not visible—the wide range of tone, and the intensity of hue reveal the antinaturalist and essentially Mannerist style of Gericault’s landscapes in opposition to the dramatic but nature-bound vision of Vernet or the timid and sometimes anemic Neoclassical compositions of Valenciennes. Vernet took liberties—with architecture, topographical sites, and meteorological phenomena—in order to give a more convincing impression of reality. Gericault here abandoned reality in order to suggest the sublimity of nature, which he interpreted as an awesome, Michel-angelesque force.

Gericault appears to have indicated the broad masses of the composition while applying the ground to the canvas. The cliffs

were prepared with a reddish-brown wash, still visible in the shadows, and the water with a gray ground. On the whole, the canvas is thinly painted. Gericault strove for maximum effect through economical means: only in the highlights—of the figures, the tree at the right, and of the cliffs and buildings in the middle distance—did he indulge in impasto, with brilliant passages of spontaneous brushwork. All of the vegetation was painted impromptu, and most of the profiles were freely drawn. In his finishing touches, Gericault reemphasized the contours to achieve sharp, sculptural definition. A drawing in Rouen (fig. 11d) may relate to the climbing bather at the right, a paraphrase of a figure in Carracci’s *The Deluge* (fig. 11e). Lorenz Eitner has kindly brought to my attention another drawing that is also in Rouen, an unusual black-chalk study of seated male nudes attributed to Gericault and formerly in the collection of the artist’s friend Lehoux.

## STUDIES OF BATHERS

About 1818?

Brown ink and graphite on paper.

6 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (17.3 x 23.2 cm)

The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of  
Tiffany and Margaret Blake, 1947.35  
folio 44

At first sight, these muscular nude bathers would appear to be studies for the bathers in *Evening*, the Metropolitan's landscape of 1818 (no. 11). The poses here, however, do not precisely correspond to those in the painting, and as a further deterrent to the precise fixing of the relationship of this drawing to the landscape, the drawing cannot be dated with certainty. It was removed from a sketchbook that Eitner dates to 1813–14 but that Christopher Sells dates to 1817–18. The sketch of Napoleon on horseback at the upper left is a study for a painting dated by most scholars to 1814, *Napoleon Giving an Order to an Officer of the Chasseurs* (Reims, Musée Saint-Denis). While it is unlikely that Géricault would conceive a Napoleonic composition after the defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the painting in Reims is in fact a copy after a work by Horace Vernet and thus could have been painted later. Géricault worked in this spirited, calligraphic drawing style both before and after his trip to Italy in 1816–17. One can therefore entertain a date of 1817–18 for the sheet, bringing it closer to the Metropolitan's landscape, but the pen work cannot be firmly dated on the basis of style alone.

Géricault based the figures on those in Michelangelo's design for a fresco, *The Battle of Cascina*, which showed bathing soldiers surprised by the enemy. One of the most copied compositions of the Renaissance, and an inspiration for later artists from Rubens to Degas, the fresco was never executed and was known only through prints (fig. 12a).



Figure 12a  
Marcantonio Raimondi  
(Italian, 1480–1527/34),  
after Michelangelo and  
Lucas van Leyden  
*The Climbers*  
Etching, 11 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (30 x 22.5 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer  
Bequest, 1917,  
17.50.56

13.

## THE DELUGE

About 1818

Oil on canvas, 38¼ x 51¼ in. (97 x 130 cm)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département  
des Peintures, RF 1950-40



Scenes of drowning, either primordial, as in the Deluge, or modern, as in shipwrecks, were omnipresent in public exhibitions in Paris and London from 1770 to 1830. In Paris alone over thirty such pictures were displayed during this period of marked social upheaval, which the theme may well reflect. Before this resurgence, one painting stood as the definitive statement on the subject: Poussin's *Winter, or Deluge* (fig. 13a), one of the Four Seasons painted between 1660 and 1664 for Cardinal Richelieu. On view in the Louvre when it

opened as a public gallery in 1790, the picture had been exhibited since 1750 in the Luxembourg Palace. As Richard Verdi has demonstrated, it was also considered Poussin's most famous painting. *The Deluge* prompted hyperbolic praise from temperaments as different as those of Diderot, the Rationalist, Chateaubriand, the Romantic, Constable, the naturalist English landscapist, and P. N. Guérin, the Neoclassical painter, who was one of Géricault's teachers. However, French artists, unlike their English counterparts, did

not often quote from Poussin's composition when painting their own. Two of the most significant works, Jean-Baptiste Regnault's painting of 1802 (fig. 13b) and its offspring, A. L. Girodet de Roussy-Trioson's *A Flood Scene* of 1806 (fig. 13c), conjure up horrific, moralizing scenes that focus on human despair in a manner recalling J. F. Fuseli's nightmarish illustrations engraved in 1802 for Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Although Gericault drew a copy of Girodet's painting, he deliberately renounced the theatrics of Regnault and Girodet for a much subtler investigation of Poussin's composition. An effort to rescue loved ones—women, children, the aged—is an anecdote common to all of these flood scenes, but Gericault, like Poussin, attempted to make the landscape, not the anecdote, convey the emotion. "Gericault understood these grand, dramatic scenes of nature and expressed them with real power," wrote Clément in the 1860s (1879, p. 73). This he accomplished by subordinating the scale of the figures to that of the dismal panorama of sea and sky. Both elements are worked in a near monochrome of gray-green, relieved only by the rose-colored underlayer that occasionally shows through the sky. Nowhere did Gericault use blue, the one color to be most expected.

In a drawing in the so-called antique manner of 1815–16—aptly described by Eitner as "Flaxman driven mad by Michelangelo"—Gericault copied a specific, and rather peculiar, motif from Poussin's *Deluge*, a man clinging to the ear of a swimming horse (fig. 13d). About the same time, he drew a finished wash drawing (Paris, private collection) closely related to the Poussin, which he must have studied at the Louvre, but he may also have referred to an engraved reproduction that he is known to have owned because it was included in the posthumous sale of his studio contents. The present picture is no more than loosely based



Figure 13a  
Nicolas Poussin  
(French, 1594–1665)  
*Winter or The Deluge*  
Oil on canvas, 46½ x 63 in.  
(118 x 160 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
Inv. 7306

on Poussin's composition. Two drawings specifically for this painting are known only through tracings by Gericault's friend Alexandre Colin (Switzerland, private collection); a third drawing, by Gericault, is at Rouen (inv. no. 171r). Although various authors have proposed dates for Gericault's *Deluge* ranging from 1810 to 1822, the style of the painting technique suggests that it was executed soon after the 1816–17 trip to Italy. The figures in this work are similar to those in the Metropolitan's landscape (no. 11), which can now be surely dated to 1818. In 1954, when the large landscapes were thought to date to 1814, Eitner correctly recognized the relationship of *The Deluge* to the land-

Figure 13b (left)  
Jean-Baptiste Regnault  
(French, 1754–1829)  
*The Deluge*, 1802  
Oil on canvas, 35⅞ x 28 in.  
(89.2 x 71 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
Inv. 7380



Figure 13c (opposite, above)  
Anne Louis Girodet de  
Roussy-Trioson  
(French, 1767–1824)  
*A Flood Scene*, 1806  
Oil on canvas, 174 x 134¼ in.  
(444.2 x 343.2 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
Inv. 4934

Figure 13d (opposite, below)  
*Study for The Deluge*  
Graphite, wash, and ink on paper,  
7⅞ x 10⅝ in. (18.1 x 26.2 cm)  
Private collection



scapes: “The resemblance is not merely a matter of their common orientation to seventeenth-century tradition. . . . It is, above all, a close stylistic similarity, one which extends to the color, to the figure types, the sharply drawn contours and sculptural volumes, and even to the very brushwork. Quite clearly, they belong together, and are not separated by a period of several years” (1954a, p. 134).

Although it is not surprising that Géricault chose the Deluge as a subject, it is intriguing to consider that he did so at a time of personal disturbance. His doomed affair with his aunt, played out during the tumult of Napoleon’s Hundred Days and the turmoil of the second Bourbon Restoration, must have contributed to the overwhelming sense of disaster that is the true subject of this picture. Géricault made two drawings of a man holding a drowned woman about 1815–16, that is, not long before he left his aunt to travel to Italy (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen, inv. no. 147; Angers, Musée Turpin de Crissé, inv. no. 4854). Awaiting the birth of their child after his return to France, he may have taken up the theme of drowning in the supposed fourth panel of the *Times of Day* (p. 27). After the child was born and sent away, Géricault created the great poem on drowning, death, despair, and hope, *The Raft of the Medusa* (see p. 9). *The Deluge* was probably also executed about this time.

Géricault painted this work on a canvas that he had already used. X-radiography has revealed that underneath *The Deluge* is a copy Géricault made about 1812–14 of the figure of Napoleon on horseback from Gros’s *Battle of the Pyramids* of 1810 (Musée de Versailles). The rose color faintly visible in portions of the sky is probably the earlier painting showing through.

## THE RAFT OF THE MEDUSA (REDUCTION)

1820  
 Watercolor and graphite on paper,  
 4 1/8 x 6 1/2 in.  
 (10.5 x 16.5 cm)  
 Geneva, Galerie Jan Krugier



If Géricault did paint *Night*, the fourth panel of the *Times of Day*, it would have been executed concurrently with *The Raft of the Medusa* (figs. 3, 14a), probably in the same large studio in the faubourg du Roule that he had rented in June 1818 to accommodate canvases of great size. Indeed, Clément recorded that a pendant to *Morning* (no. 5) had been seen in Géricault's studio while he was painting *The Raft*. It seems only logical that there would be links between the two enormous projects that simultaneously engaged the artist, and not only scale but subject connected them. Joseph Vernet had, by the mid-eighteenth century, established shipwreck scenes as appropriate to depict *Night* in cycles of the times of day, and Géricault had decided by early summer 1818 that a shipwreck would be the subject of his entry to the 1819 Paris Salon.

The grounding of the naval frigate *Medusa* off the coast of Africa in July 1816 was not an unusual event. However, the incompetence and cowardice of the aristocratic

captain and officers, and the inadequacy of the six lifeboats, which held only 250 of the 400 passengers and crew, were enough to raise serious questions at the Ministry of the Navy. But the account of the herding of 149 men and one woman onto a makeshift raft, the cutting by selfish officers of the ropes that bound the raft to the seaworthy lifeboats, and the ensuing mutiny, suicide, and cannibalism on the raft before the rescue ship, the *Argus*, was sighted thirteen days later, was the kind of sensational story that could bring down a government.

Two of the fifteen survivors (five of whom died of exposure soon after their rescue) were determined to make the truth known. Henri Savigny, a surgeon, wrote a report that, to the government's great embarrassment, was leaked to the press. Savigny was joined by Alexandre Corréard, a geographer, in pressing the government for compensation for the victims. In lieu of compensation they were harassed, and they took their case to the public for support. An expanded



Figure 14a  
*The Raft of the Medusa*  
 Oil on canvas, 193<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 284 in.  
 (493.4 x 725.8 cm)  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
 Inv. 4884

description of the disaster was published in November 1817, just after Géricault's return to Paris from Italy. The book was soon sold out, and demand was such that it went through several editions. Corréard even set up a shop called *Au Naufragé de la Méduse* in the arcade of the Palais Royal, where he sold the book and printed other political pamphlets.

Géricault tried depicting several episodes of the disaster before settling, in summer 1818, on the sighting of the rescue ship. Having begun with scenes crowded with figures, he simplified his conception until he arrived at the solution: a pyramidal composition of fifteen survivors straining toward the minuscule ship on the horizon, their pleading, outstretched arms interlaced with the limbs of cadavers. At the 1819 Salon, the second and grandest of the Restoration, it was prominently placed in the Louvre's most prestigious gallery, the Salon Carré (and lowered for better visibility halfway through the exhibition). It was well or poorly received, depending largely on the political

orientation of the viewer. Most agreed that the palette was too monochrome and the painting too dark. Some sensed its greatness. The artist was awarded a gold medal. What the critics did not know was that with this extraordinary fusion of Rubensian fervor and Michelangelesque *terribilità*, Géricault effectively overturned David's precepts of Neoclassicism, which had monopolized history painting in France for nearly two generations. The tide had already turned when Stendhal wrote in his review of the 1824 Salon that "the school of David can only paint bodies, it is decidedly inept at painting souls" (quoted in Holt 1966, p. 42). The undisputed preeminence of man over his environment and of reason over irrationality were undermined by Géricault's masterpiece. The next generation of painters, led by Delacroix, would no longer accept those principles on faith.

The same sensibility that created *The Raft* also created the cycle of large landscapes. For this reason alone it seems plausible that the fourth picture, *Night*, would have represented a disaster scene so as to resolve the ambiguity of *Morning*, *Noon*, and *Evening*, in which man is overshadowed by nature but not yet overwhelmed.

This watercolor, a reduction of the Salon painting, was executed by Géricault in preparation for a lithograph illustrating the 1821 edition of Savigny and Corréard's text. The artist's friends reported that he became dissatisfied with the composition after the exhibition in 1819, and in this reduction, he brought the raft closer to the foreground, raised the horizon line significantly, and enlarged the rescue ship—perhaps the final correction of his most celebrated painting.

15.

DROWNED WOMAN AND CHILD ON A  
BEACH

About 1822  
Oil on canvas, 19¾ x 23¾ in.  
(50.2 x 60.3 cm)  
Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts  
de Belgique, Inv. 3558



Clément recounted that this work was “a sort of imitation of a painting which Horace Vernet executed in Géricault’s studio, in the rue des Martyrs, for a Russian collector.” No painting known to be by Vernet resembles this picture, although Grunchev (1979b, pp. 53, 54) has suggested, and others following him, that an oil of the same composition in Lons-le-Saunier (fig. 15a) once attributed to Géricault may be the Vernet to which Clément referred. However, the technique of that painting is as alien to Vernet’s style as it is to Géricault’s, and Clément, generally exceedingly reliable, may have been misinformed on this issue.

Two illustrations of shipwreck scenes by Vernet—one for Taylor’s 1822 armchair-traveler’s guide, *Voyages Pittoresques*, the other for an 1823 edition in French of Lord

Byron’s poems (figs. 16a, 16b)—are often cited as antecedents of the present painting, but Géricault did not need the example of his good friend Vernet to invent this scene of a dead mother and child flung upon a rocky beach. Death, drowning, and parents mourning the loss of their children were recurrent themes in Géricault’s *oeuvre* from his return to Paris in late 1817 until his departure for England in 1820. This period corresponds to that in which the affair with his aunt reached an inescapable crisis and conclusion: the birth of their child, the revelation of their near-incestuous relations, and the forced separation of the lovers from each other and the child. In Paris in 1822–23, sick with the malady that would soon end his life, Géricault again took up the subject of death





Figure 15a  
Formerly attributed to Géricault  
*The Tempest*  
Oil on canvas, 50¾ x 76¾ in.  
(129 x 195 cm)  
Lons-le-Saunier,  
Musée des Beaux-Arts

by drowning in the present painting, in a smaller version in Paris (fig. 15b), which may be a preparatory sketch, and in *The Tempest* (no. 16).

On a sheet now in a private collection (fig. 15c), Géricault sketched several alternatives for the limp figures of mother and child—unnecessary if he were copying a painting by Vernet. And in a reversal of Vernet's typical composition for a vignette, Géricault made the figures very small in comparison to the setting. The painting is all the more poignant for the lack of attention given to the figures, treated as if they were flotsam cast ashore. Characteristically, it is the landscape, with its jagged rocks, and the

sea, with its remorseless succession of waves, that carries the emotion.

Grunchec (1978, no. 220) has recently suggested that the subject of this painting is based on a romantic tale of a shipwrecked pious woman of Portugal, Dona Luisa de Mello, but Eitner (1983, p. 358, n. 98) rejects this notion because the circumstances of the story differ greatly from the scene Géricault depicts. Dona Luisa, who did not have a child, miraculously survived her shipwreck by tying herself to her aged mother with a rope. However, it is true, as Grunchec pointed out, that a minor French painter, Coupin de la Couperie, exhibited an illustration of the



Figure 15b  
*The Tempest*  
Oil on canvas, 7½ x 9⅞ in. (19 x 25 cm)  
Paris, Musée du Louvre,  
RF 784

de Mello shipwreck at the Salon of 1824, and the description in the catalogue suggests it may have been similar in appearance to the present painting.

A lithographic copy of Géricault's painting was made by Charles Bouquet. Because Clément mentions the lithograph in his entry on the painting (*L'Épave*), we can be certain that the Brussels picture is the work he catalogued—and not the versions in Paris, Lons-le-Saunier, or yet another copy in Rouen. However, Grunchev has noted that Amédée Constantin lent to an 1826 exhibition in Paris a painting called *L'Épave*, which was specified both in the catalogue and in a review as a collaboration of Géricault and his friend Dedreux-Dorcy. An 1831 dictionary of modern French artists also mentions a collaborative work. The present canvas is sometimes identified as the painting formerly in Constantin's collection, but there is no proof of that; nor is there any visual evidence of it having been painted by two different hands. The inscription on Bouquet's lithograph gives only Géricault as the author. Yet problems remain. The conflict between Clément's reference to a painting by Horace Vernet and the 1826 exhibition of a picture jointly executed by Géricault and Dedreux-Dorcy has not been adequately explained.



Figure 15c  
*Sheet of Studies*  
Graphite on paper, 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.  
(30 x 22 cm)  
Private collection

16.

## THE TEMPEST

About 1822

Watercolor and graphite on white wove paper, 9 1/8 x 8 3/4 in. (23.2 x 21 cm); inscribed on verso: *Géricault/donné par M. Dedreux d'Orcy/1832*

The Art Institute of Chicago, Helen Regenstein Collection, 1965-13



This work seems to depict an episode following the shipwreck shown in the Brussels painting (no. 15). The dead mother and child, thrown upon the shore in the aftermath of the night's storm, are discovered the next morning by a monk, who lifts the wet sail and uncovers them. Unlike the oil painting, this watercolor has a strong illustrative appeal. Something has happened, and we, like

the monk, are made curious to learn what it was. Here, Géricault approaches the newly emerging style of Romantic illustration, which was developed by artists in his immediate entourage, Horace Vernet, Ary Scheffer, and Léon Cogniet. Vernet's lithographs of shipwreck scenes (figs. 16a, 16b), often discussed in relation to this work and the Brussels painting, are prime examples of the new style.

Essential to the style were Lord Byron's poems, which, with their dramatic events and exotic settings, captivated these artists. His narratives and descriptive passages influenced the look of early French lithographs as much as any other individual factor. In 1819 Vernet was the first French artist to illustrate a passage from Byron with his print *Conrad and Gulnare*, based on a passage from "The Corsair." After Byron's poems were published in French in 1823, Gericault immediately made a lithograph and a watercolor of *The Giaour*, in which the Christian crusader rides through a rocky landscape similar to that of *The Tempest*, as well as a suite of seven illustrations of episodes from Byron that were based on earlier English illustrations. He executed two of the lithographs himself and another five were transferred to the stone by a new, young associate, Eugène Lami, from oil sketches that Gericault had prepared. Historians have looked in Byron's writings for a passage that could have inspired *The Tempest* but none has been found.



Figure 16a  
Horace Vernet  
(French, 1789–1863)  
*Shipwrecked on the Beach of  
Pourville, 1822*  
Lithograph, 6½ x 7⅝ in.  
(16.5 x 18.7 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection,  
The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959,  
59.500.419



Figure 16b  
 Horace Vernet  
 (French, 1789–1863)  
*The Shipwreck of Don Juan*, 1823  
 Lithograph, 8 x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.  
 (20.3 x 16.2 cm)  
 Private collection

An inscription on the verso of this sheet indicates that it once belonged to Gericault's friend Dedreux-Dorcy. Grunhech (1979b, pp. 53, 54) has proposed that it was Dedreux-Dorcy, and not Gericault, who made the watercolor, but Eitner, who endorses this work as autograph, finds Grunhech's attribution difficult to sustain in the absence of comparable work by Dedreux-Dorcy. It is true, however, that the execution lacks Gericault's characteristic vigor. A complicating factor is the description by a contemporary critic of a painting of the same subject that was reputedly the joint production of Dedreux-Dorcy and Gericault (see no. 15). Gericault's student A. A. Montfort sketched a similar scene on a sheet now in the *École des Beaux-Arts*, Paris (fig. 16c). Whether or not this watercolor is by Gericault, it testifies to the strong appeal of this kind of imagery to the group of young artists in his immediate circle.



Figure 16c  
 Antoine Alphonse Montfort  
 (French, 1802–1884)  
*Sheet of Studies*  
 Graphite on paper.  
 Paris, *École des Beaux-Arts*

1. *Studies for Decorative Panels*, 1816?

PROVENANCE: Possibly included under nos. 70, 72, or 86 in the artist's posthumous inventory; probably included in the posthumous sale of Géricault's studio, Hôtel Bullion, Paris, November 2, 3, 1824, no. 42, as "Trente-trois calepins remplis d'études; figures, animaux, vues de paysages et compositions," for F 755; Ary Scheffer, Argenteuil, until 1858; his studio sale, Hôtel des Commissaires, Paris, March 15, 1859, no. 16, as "Un volume extrêmement curieux et rare, renfermant soixante-neuf feuillets couverts de croquis à la mine de plomb, à la plume et à la sépia, dont quelques-uns sont terminés," for F 1090; possibly A. A. Hulot, Paris, until 1894; sale, Paris, Hôtel des Commissaires, January 11–13, 1894, p. 69, as "Très Précieux Album, contenant soixante-quatre croquis par Géricault, la plupart dessinées au recto et au verso. Études pour ses tableaux et lithographies," for F 2,900 (the following annotation appears in an annotated copy of the catalogue at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: "Album donné par Géricault lui-même à feu Richesse et mis pour la première fois aux enchères à la mort de ce collectionneur, 1857"); Baron Joseph Vitta, Paris; César de Hauke, Paris; Tiffany and Margaret Blake, Chicago, until 1947; their gift to The Art Institute of Chicago in 1947.

EXHIBITIONS: None.

REFERENCES: Eitner 1954a, p. 135, nn. 17, 18, fig. 7 (verso); Eitner 1960, pp. 34–35, under folio 43; Grunchev 1976, p. 406, no. 53, p. 419, n. 115; Grunchev 1979b, pp. 43–44, 57, nn. 88, 89; Matteson 1980, p. 78, n. 20; Szczepinska-Tramer 1982, p. 140; Bazin 1989, pp. 34, 149, nos. 725 (recto) and 726 (verso), repr.; Sells 1989, pp. 341–57.

2. *Studies for a Composition with a Boating Party and for Various Military Subjects*, 1816 or 1817–18

PROVENANCE: See no. 1.

EXHIBITIONS: None.

REFERENCES: Eitner 1954a, p. 135, nn. 17, 18; Eitner 1960, pp. 37–38, under folio 48, repr.; Wells 1964, no. 4, pp. 14, 15, repr. (recto); Wiercinska 1967, p. 89, n. 30 (recto); Grunchev 1976, p. 406, no. 53, p. 419, n. 115; Grunchev 1979b, pp. 43–44, 57, nn. 88, 89; Matteson 1980, p. 78, n. 20; Szczepinska-Tramer 1982, p. 140; Bazin 1989, pp. 34, 61, 149–50, no. 727 (verso), repr. as "Recherches pour une scène galante du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle,"

pp. 208–9, no. 885 (recto), repr. as "Recherches pour Scènes Militaires"; Sells 1989, pp. 341–57.

3. *View of Tivoli*, 1816–17

PROVENANCE: Charles Gasc, Paris, about 1850; Joseph Rignault, Paris; Alfred Ströhlin, Lausanne; Hans E. Bühler, Winterthur, by 1956 until 1967; Bühler estate, 1967–85; sale, Christie's, London, November 15, 1985, no. 52, as "Vue de Tivoli," for £ 145,800.

EXHIBITIONS: 1953 Winterthur, p. 44, no. 157, plate xi, lent by private collection, Switzerland; 1959 Paris, no. 164, lent by Hans E. Bühler; 1989 San Francisco, p. 52, no. 20, repr. in color; 1990–91 New York and Geneva, p. 94, no. 58, repr. (not exhibited in New York).

REFERENCES: Hugelshofer 1947, p. 10, no. 14, repr. in color; Eitner 1954b, p. 258; Dubaut 1956, p. 9, no. 53, repr.; Eitner 1983, p. 114, fig. 99, p. 336, n. 54; Brugerolles 1984, p. 245, under no. 346.

4. *View of Montmartre*, 1816–20?

PROVENANCE: L. J. A. Coutan, Paris, until 1850; his wife, Mme L. J. A. Coutan, née Hauguet, Paris, until 1838; her brother, Ferdinand Hauguet until 1860; his son, Albert Hauguet, Antibes, until 1882; his wife, Mme Albert Hauguet, née Schubert, Antibes, until 1883?; her father, M. Jean Schubert, and her sister, Mme Milliet, Antibes; sale, Coutan-Hauguet collection, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 16–17, 1889, no. 180, as "Étude d'après nature: Montmartre"; Ackermann, Paris, by 1912; Hans E. Bühler, Winterthur, by 1956 until 1967; Bühler estate, 1967–85; sale, Christie's, London, November 15, 1985, no. 49, for £ 91,800.

EXHIBITIONS: 1907 Berlin (per Dubaut 1956); 1909 Munich (per Dubaut 1956); 1911 Rouen (per Dubaut 1956); 1912 St. Petersburg, no. 274, repr.; 1935 Basel (per Dubaut 1956); 1953 Winterthur, p. 43, no. 148; 1990–91 New York and Geneva, p. 93, no. 57, repr. in color.

REFERENCES: Meier-Graefe 1919, pl. 2; Dubaut 1956, no. 52, repr.; Eitner 1983, p. 44, fig. 28.

5. *Morning: Landscape with Fishermen*, 1818

PROVENANCE: Possibly one of the four landscapes catalogued in the posthumous sale of Géricault's studio, Hôtel Bullion, Paris, November

2, 3, 1824, no. 18, as “Quatre Esquisses de Paysages,” for F 92; possibly with Baron Désazard, Paris, by 1848 until at least 1850; Ary Scheffer, Argenteuil, until 1858; his studio sale, Hôtel des Commissaires, Paris, March 15, 1859, no. 28, as “Paysage, au premier plan des pêcheurs mettent à l’eau une barque,” to Dornan for F 1,150; Dornan, Paris, from 1859 until at least 1867; possibly with Comte de Saint-Léon, Château de Jeurre, Étrechy, until 1937; possibly to Nat Leeb, Paris, 1937–49; possibly to Alexandre Ujlaky, Paris, 1949; private collection, Burgundy, until 1959; sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 3, 1959, no. 52, as “Paysage d’Italie au petit jour,” for F 3,800,000; Julius Weitzner, London; to Huntington Hartford, New York, by 1960 until 1968; to Wildenstein & Co., New York, 1968–78; to the Neue Pinakothek, Munich, in 1978.

EXHIBITION: 1975 New York, no. 29.

REFERENCES: Burty 1859a, p. 47; Burty 1859b, p. 95; Clément 1867a, p. 235; Clément 1867b, p. 275, no. 13, as “Grand Paysage en Hauteur,” 1810–12; Clément 1879, pp. 72, 280, no. 16; Mongan and Sachs 1940, vol. 1, p. 371, under no. 692; Eitner 1954a, p. 131, n. 4, p. 132, n. 6; Huggler 1954, p. 234; Eitner 1959, pp. 119–20; Lebel 1960, pp. 328–35, 340–41, nn. 12–13, figs. 6, 10 (detail); Eitner 1963, pp. 22–23, 32–33, nn. 5, 12, 13; del Guercio 1963, p. 33; Anonymous 1964, no. 6, repr.; Mongan 1965, no. 41; Jullian 1966, pp. 897, 900–901, 902, n. 4, vol. 2, fig. 605; Berger 1968, p. 37, repr., p. 167, no. 20; Eitner 1971, pp. 18, 67, under no. 30, p. 68, under no. 31, p. 71, under no. 32; Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, pp. 299–317; Julia 1975, pp. 448–49, under no. 75; Geiger, Guillaume, and Lemoine 1976, pp. 26–27, under no. 37; Lemoine 1976, vol. 1, pp. 139–40, under no. 117; Grunchev 1978, pp. 106–7, no. 128, fig. 128; Zerner 1978, p. 480; Grunchev 1979a, pp. 218–21, under no. 19, fig. b; Steingraber 1979, pp. 245–48, fig. 6; D. Rosenthal 1980, p. 638, n. 6; Toussaint 1980, pp. 106–7, under no. 49, repr.; Eitner 1983, pp. 142–45, 340, nn. 24–27, 34, pl. 25 in color; Brugerolles 1984, p. 245, under no. 346; Harrison 1985, under no. 3; Harrison 1986, pp. 37–39, under no. 19, fig. 23; Eitner 1987, pp. 293, 294; Granville 1987, p. 280; Hashi 1987, pp. 78–80, under no. P-11, fig. 1; Eitner and Nash 1989, p. 54, under no. 26; Schaefer 1989, pp. 28–29, fig. 2.

#### 6. *Study for Morning: Landscape with Fishermen*, 1818

PROVENANCE: Early whereabouts unknown; Alfred Sensier, Paris, until 1877; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 10–15, 1877, no. 426, as “Paysage avec rochers,” for F 155; Mathey, Paris; Duc de Trévisse, Paris, by 1935 until 1938; his sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 19, 1938, no. 18, as “Pêcheurs tirant une barque,” for F 15,500; Maurice Gobin, Paris, 1938; Paul J. Sachs, Cambridge, Mass., 1938–65; on loan to the Fogg Art Museum, 1938–65; bequeathed to the Fogg Art Museum in 1965.

EXHIBITIONS: 1935 Paris, no. 28, as “Paysage italien,” 1816–17, Rome, lent by Duc de Trévisse; 1937 Paris, no. 92, as “Pêcheurs tirant une barque,” 1808–12; 1939 Brooklyn; 1943 Cambridge, Mass., p. 7, no. 10, as “An Italian Landscape”; 1945 Boston, p. 7; 1946 Cambridge,

Mass., p. 16; 1951 Detroit, no. 43, repr.; 1953 New York, p. 21, no. 35; 1965–67 Cambridge, Mass., and New York, no. 41, repr.; 1971–72 Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia, p. 67, no. 30, repr., as ca. 1815–16; 1989 San Francisco, p. 54, no. 26, as “Landscape with Fishermen,” 1818.

REFERENCES: Mongan and Sachs 1940, vol. 1, pp. 370–71, no. 692; vol. 3, fig. 363; Holme 1943, p. 12, pl. 98; Berger 1946, p. 22, no. 1, repr.; Eitner 1954a, p. 135, n. 20, fig. 9; Huggler 1954, pp. 234, 237; Huyghe and Jaccottet 1956, p. 166, no. 20, pl. 20; Lebel 1960, p. 329, fig. 7; Eitner 1974, p. 461, no. 5 (Eitner identifies this sheet as that described by Clément [1879, p. 328, no. 5], even though Clément specifically describes a sheet with two landscapes, not one. Clément may have had in mind the sheet with two landscapes, now in Bayonne [inv. no. 802]; or, if not, he refers to a lost drawing); Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, p. 299, n. 4; Geiger, Guillaume, and Lemoine 1976, pp. 26–27, under no. 37; Lemoine 1976, p. 139, under no. 117; Zerner 1978, p. 480, fig. 1; Steingraber 1979, pp. 246–47; Eitner 1983, p. 143, fig. 125; p. 340, n. 28.

#### 7. *Studies of Fishermen*, 1818

PROVENANCE: Earliest whereabouts unknown; possibly in the collection of Pierre-Jean David (the sculptor known as David d’Angers, 1788–1856), Paris; Paul Prouté S.A., Paris, 1978; Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London, by 1979; to the present owner.

EXHIBITION: 1979 London, p. 4, no. 5, pl. 3.

REFERENCES: Mongan 1965, under no. 41; Shone 1979, p. 394; Eitner 1983, p. 340, n. 28.

#### 8. *Studies of Fishermen*, 1818

PROVENANCE: See no. 7.

EXHIBITION: 1979 London, p. 3, no. 4, pl. 2.

REFERENCES: Mongan 1965, under no. 41; Shone 1979, p. 394, fig. 73; Eitner 1983, p. 340, n. 28.

#### 9. *Studies for Morning: Landscape with Fishermen and Evening: Landscape with an Aqueduct*, 1818

PROVENANCE: Early whereabouts unknown; Alfred Sensier, until 1877; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 10–15, 1877, no. 432, as Études de paysage (nos. 431 and 432 for F 16); Destailleurs, Paris; Jean Dollfus, Paris, until 1911; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 4, 1912, no. 50, as “Paysages,” to Sortais for F 105; Georges Sortais, Paris, 1912 until at least 1924; Duc de Trévisse, Paris; Pierre Dubaut, Paris, by 1937 until at least 1954; M. and Mme Pierre Granville, Dijon, 1956; given to the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, in 1969.

EXHIBITIONS: 1924 Paris and Rouen, p. 66, no. 178, as “Paysages,” 1819–21, Sortais collection; 1935 Paris, no. 29, as “Trois paysages,” 1816–17, private collection; 1937 Paris, no. 93, as “Paysages,” 1808–12, lent by P. Dubaut; 1953 Winterthur, p. 41, no. 135, lent by Dubaut; 1954 Paris, no. 36; 1976 Paris, pp. 26–27, no. 37, repr.

REFERENCES: Eitner 1954a, p. 135, n. 21; Huggler 1954, pp. 234–35, fig. 4, p. 237, n. 5; Lebel 1960, p. 329, fig. 8; Mongan 1965, under no. 41; Eitner 1971, p. 67, under no. 30; Eitner 1974,

p. 461, no. 5 (Eitner identifies this sheet as that described by Clément [1879, p. 328, no. 5] even though Clément specifically describes a sheet with two landscapes and not one. Clément may have had in mind the sheet with two landscapes, now in Bayonne [inv. no. 802]; or, if not, he refers to a lost drawing); Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, p. 299, n. 4; Lemoine 1976, pp. 139–40, no. 117, repr.; Steingraber 1979, pp. 246–47; Eitner 1983, pp. 142–43, fig. 124, p. 340, n. 28.

10. *Noon: Landscape with a Roman Tomb*, 1818

PROVENANCE: Possibly one of the four landscapes catalogued in the posthumous sale of Gericault's studio, Hôtel Bullion, Paris, November 2, 3, 1824, no. 18, as "Quatre Esquisses de Paysages," for F 92; subsequent whereabouts unknown; possibly at the Château de Montmorency, Montmorency, after 1886, until before 1903; possibly with René Petit-Leroy, Paris, until 1903; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1903, no. 22, as "Village au bord d'une rivière," together with no. 23 to Lavillé for F 1,205; possibly with Comte de Saint-Léon, Château de Jeurre, Étrecty, until 1937; possibly to Nat Leeb, Paris, 1937–49; possibly to Alexandre Ujlaky, Paris, 1949; Paul Brame and César de Hauke, Paris, 1952–54; to Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., New York, 1954–70; sale, Christie's, London, June 30, 1970, no. 20, as "Paysage classique; matin"; purchased by the Musée du Petit Palais, for 26,000 gns.

EXHIBITIONS: 1953 Winterthur, p. 31, no. 71, as "Paysage d'Italie par temps orageux," 1812–15, lent by Paul Brame and César de Hauke; 1956–57 Portland, Oregon, et al., p. 45, no. 72, fig. 72; 1958 New York, p. 6, no. 63; 1960 Dayton, Ohio, p. 135, no. 14, repr.; 1971–72 Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia, p. 15, n. 1, pp. 18, 67–68, 70–71, 178, no. 32, repr., as 1815–16; 1974–75 Paris, Detroit, and New York, pp. 448–49, no. 75, repr.; 1979–80 Rome, pp. 218–21, no. 19, repr. in color; 1980–81 Sydney and Melbourne, pp. 106–7, no. 49, repr.; 1987–88 Kamakura, Kyoto, and Fukuoka, pp. 78–80, no. P-11, repr.

REFERENCES: Clément 1867a, p. 235; Clément 1867b, p. 275, under no. 13, as 1810–12; Clément 1879, pp. 72, 280, under no. 16; Eitner 1954a, pp. 131–42, fig. 1, as 1814–16; Huggler 1954, pp. 234, 237, fig. 1; Aimé-Azam 1956, p. 126, as spring 1816; Eitner 1959, pp. 119–21; Lebel 1960, pp. 328–35, 340, nn. 8, 9, p. 341, nn. 16, 22, 24, fig. 1, as 1810–12?; Eitner 1963, pp. 22–23, 32–33, nn. 5, 12, 13; del Guercio 1963, pp. 33–34, 142, fig. 26; Jullian 1966, vol. 1, pp. 897, 900–901, 902, n. 4; Aimé-Azam 1970, pp. 152, 375; Eitner 1974, p. 448, under no. 16; Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, pp. 299–300, 303, 306–8, 310–13, as after 1817; Geiger, Guillaume, and Lemoine 1976, pp. 26–27, under no. 37; Lemoine 1976, pp. 139–40, under no. 116; Grunchev 1978, pp. 106–7, no. 130, fig. 130, pl. xxvii in color; Zerner 1978, p. 480; Steingraber 1979, pp. 246–47; D. Rosenthal 1980, p. 638, n. 6; Eitner 1983, pp. 142–45, 340, nn. 24–27, 31, 34, pl. 26 in color, as 1818; Mosby 1983, p. 84; Brugerolles 1984, p. 245, under no. 346; Granville 1987, p. 280; Eitner and Nash 1989, p. 54, under no. 26; Schaefer 1989, pp. 28–29.

11. *Evening: Landscape with an Aqueduct*, 1818

PROVENANCE: Possibly one of four landscapes catalogued in the posthumous sale of Gericault's studio, Hôtel Bullion, Paris, November 2, 3, 1824, no. 18, as "Quatre Esquisses de Paysages," for F 92; subsequent whereabouts unknown; possibly at the Château de Montmorency, Montmorency, after 1886, until before 1903; possibly with René Petit-Leroy, Paris, until 1903; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1903, no. 23, as "Paysage avec rochers et constructions," together with no. 22 to Lavillé for F 1,205; possibly with Comte de Saint-Léon, Château de Jeurre, Étrecty, until 1937; possibly to Nat Leeb, Paris, 1937–49; possibly to Alexandre Ujlaky, Paris, 1949; Paul Brame and César de Hauke, Paris, 1952–54; to Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., New York, 1954–88; on loan to The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia, from 1971–88; his sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 1, 1989, no. 110; to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EXHIBITIONS: 1953 Winterthur, p. 31, no. 70, as "Paysage d'Italie au coucher du soleil," 1812–15, lent by Paul Brame and César de Hauke; 1956–57 Portland, Oregon, et al., p. 45, no. 73, fig. 73, as "Landscape with an Aqueduct . . . Evening," lent by Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.; 1958 New York, p. 6, no. 64; 1960 Dayton, Ohio, p. 135, no. 15, repr.; 1965–66 New York, no. 14; 1971–72 Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia, p. 15, n. 1, pp. 18, 67–69, 71, 178, no. 31, repr., as 1815–16; 1986–87 Raleigh, North Carolina, and Birmingham, Alabama, p. 37, no. 19, repr.

REFERENCES: Clément 1867a, p. 235; Clément 1867b, p. 275, under no. 13, as 1810–12; Clément 1879, pp. 72, 280, under no. 16; Eitner 1954a, pp. 131–42, fig. 2, as 1814–16; Huggler 1954, pp. 234, 237, figs. 2, 3 (detail); Aimé-Azam 1956, p. 126, as spring 1816; Eitner 1959, pp. 119–21; Lebel 1960, pp. 328–35, 340, nn. 8, 9, p. 341, nn. 16, 22, 24, fig. 2, as 1812–16; Eitner 1963, pp. 22–23, 32–33, nn. 5, 12, 13; del Guercio 1963, pp. 33–34, 142, fig. 27, as 1815; Jullian 1966, pp. 897, 900–901, 902, n. 4; Berger 1968, p. 167, under no. 20; Aimé-Azam 1970, pp. 152, 375; Eitner 1974, p. 448, under no. 16; Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, pp. 299–300, 303, 306–7, 310–11, 313, as after 1817; Julia 1975, pp. 448–49, under no. 75; Geiger, Guillaume, and Lemoine 1976, pp. 26–27, under no. 37; Lemoine 1976, p. 139, under no. 117; Grunchev 1978, pp. 106–7, no. 129, fig. 129, pl. xxvi in color; Grunchev 1979a, pp. 218–21, fig. A, as after 1817; Steingraber 1979, pp. 246–47; D. Rosenthal 1980, p. 638, n. 6; Toussaint 1980, pp. 106–7, under no. 49, repr.; Eitner 1983, pp. 142–45, 340, nn. 24–27, 34, fig. 120, as 1818; Brugerolles 1984, p. 245, under no. 346; Harrison 1985, no. 3, repr.; Eitner 1987, pp. 293–94; Granville 1987, p. 280; Hashi 1987, p. 80, repr.; Schaefer 1989, pp. 28–29, repr. in color.

12. *Studies of Bathers*, about 1818?

PROVENANCE: See no. 1.

EXHIBITIONS: None.

REFERENCES: Eitner 1954a, p. 135, nn. 17, 18; Eitner 1960, p. 35, under folio 44, repr.;



Grunchec 1976, p. 406, no. 53, p. 419, n. 115; Grunchec 1979b, pp. 43–44, 57, nn. 88, 89; Matteson 1980, p. 78, n. 20; Szczepinska-Tramer 1982, p. 140; Eitner 1983, pp. 46, 328, n. 15; Sells 1989, pp. 341–57; Bazin 1989, pp. 45, 171, no. 788, repr.

13. *The Deluge*, about 1817–18

PROVENANCE: Possibly Julien de la Rochemore, Paris, in 1858; possibly his sale, Paris, March 22, 1858, no. 64, as “Scène du déluge, 1ère pensée du tableau,” to Garreau for F 27 (however, this is more likely the drawing in a private collection [Bazin 1989, no. 983]); A. de Girardin, Paris, by 1867; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 22, 1869, no. 26, as “Scène du Déluge,” to Ernest Gariel for F 10,000; Ernest Gariel, Paris; to his daughter, Mme Stéphane Piot, by 1924 until at least 1937; to her son, André Piot, until his sale to the Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1950.

EXHIBITIONS: 1924 Paris and Rouen, p. 58, no. 137, as “Scène du Déluge,” 1818–19, lent by Mme Stéphane Piot; 1937 Paris, no. 56, as “Scène du Déluge,” 1817–19, lent by Mme Stéphane Piot; 1966 Paris, no. 32; 1967 Paris, no. 358; 1968–69 Moscow and Leningrad, no. 56, repr.; 1971–72 Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia, p. 66, no. 29, repr.; 1975 Paris; 1976 Hamburg, pp. 208, 213, no. 164, repr.; 1984 Marcq-en-Baroeul and Dieppe, no. 20, repr.

REFERENCES: Clément 1867b, p. 290, no. 127, as “Scène du Déluge,” Mme la Vicomtesse de Girardin; Clément 1879, pp. 72–73, 309–10, no. 133, as “Scène du Déluge,” 1818–20, Mme la Vicomtesse de Girardin collection; Courthion 1947, p. 34, n. 1 (repr. from Batisser 1824 or 1842), p. 161; Eitner 1954a, p. 134, n. 14, pp. 135–37, 139, 140, fig. 6; Eitner 1960, pp. 11, 35; Lebel 1960, pp. 333, 335, figs. 3, 4 (detail); Eitner 1963, pp. 22–23, as 1815–16; Jullian 1966, vol. 1, p. 897, as pre-Italy; Granville 1968, pp. 139–46, figs. 1, 3 (x-ray), as post-Italy; Eitner 1974, p. 455, no. 133; Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, pp. 300, 311, 313; Grunchec 1978, pp. 105–6, no. 123, repr., as 1817–20; Verdi 1981, p. 397, n. 75, fig. 4; Eitner 1983, pp. 96–97, 344, n. 137, pl. 17 in color, as 1812–15; Grunchec 1985, p. 47, under no. 9, fig. 9a; Bazin 1989, pp. 78, 229, no. 934, repr.

14. *The Raft of the Medusa (reduction)*, 1820

PROVENANCE: Possibly Gericault’s gift to Alexandre Corréard, Paris, by 1820; Leclère fils, Paris, by 1867; M. Rouher, Paris; to his daughter, Marquise Samuel Velles de la Valette, Paris; to her family by descent; sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., London, March 30, 1977, no. 108, for £ 21,000.

EXHIBITIONS: 1989 San Francisco, p. 60, no. 41, repr. in color; 1990–91 New York and Geneva, pp. 92–93, no. 52, repr.

REFERENCES: Clément 1867c, p. 368, no. 126-b, as “Reproduction du tableau,” Leclère fils collection; Clément 1879, pp. 357–58, no. 139-b, as “Reproduction du tableau,” Leclère fils collection; Eitner 1972, p. 152, no. 28; Barran 1977, p. 311, fig. 124.

15. *Drowned Woman and Child on a Beach*, about 1822

PROVENANCE: Probably not the work included as no. 25 of the artist’s posthumous inventory, as “vue de mer”; probably not the work included in the artist’s posthumous sale, Hôtel de Bullion, Paris, November 2, 3, 1824, no. 19, as “Étude de paysage représentant une vue des bords de la mer par un temps orageux,” for F 86; possibly Amédée Constantin, Paris, until 1830; his sale, 52 rue Saint-Lazare, Paris, February 15, 1830, no. 190, as “Une femme, avec son enfant est jetée, à la suite d’une tempête, par une forte vague sur le rivage et contre un rocher”; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 11, 1892, no. 30, as “La Tempête”; possibly Delestre, Paris; Eugène Clarembaux, Brussels, until 1901; to the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, from 1901.

EXHIBITIONS: 1826 Paris as by Dedreux-Dorcy and Gericault, lent by Constantin (per Grunchec 1978, p. 122; and Eitner 1983, p. 358, n. 91); 1924 Paris and Rouen, p. 66, no. 176, as “L’Épave ou la Tempête”; 1936 Paris, p. 107, no. 735; 1952 London, p. 23, no. 21, as “The Wreck, or The Storm,” 1812–16 (not exhibited according to Eitner 1974); 1953 Winterthur, p. 38, no. 112; 1962–63 Charleroi, no. 2; 1963 Rouen, no. 2; 1971–72 Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia, p. 162, no. 117, repr.; 1979–80 Rome, pp. 249–52, no. 35, repr.; 1987–88 Kamakura, Kyoto, and Fukuoka, pp. 118–20, no. P-32, repr.

REFERENCES: Clément 1867b, p. 281, no. 63, as “Scène de Naufrage”; Clément 1879, p. 72, as “Scène de Naufrage,” p. 293, no. 67, as “La Tempête”; Fierens-Gevaert and Laes 1922, p. 172, no. 286; L. Rosenthal 1924, p. 54; Régamey 1926, p. 49; Oprescu 1927, pp. 158–59; Courthion 1947, p. 160; Eitner 1954a, p. 134, n. 12; Eitner 1955, p. 288, n. 28; Eitner 1959, p. 120; Eitner 1967, pp. 7–17, fig. 3; Joannides 1973, p. 667, n. 11; Eitner 1974, p. 451, no. 67; Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, pp. 316–17; Grunchec 1976, pp. 399, 411, nn. 2, 3; Berger 1978, p. 88, as “Wreckage”; Grunchec 1978, pp. 121–23, no. 221, fig. 221, pl. LIV in color; Grunchec 1979b, pp. 52–54, fig. 50, p. 58, nn. 153–57; Eitner 1983, pp. 256–59, 357, nn. 85, 88, 90, p. 358, nn. 91, 92, 93, 98, fig. 210.

16. *The Tempest*, about 1822

PROVENANCE: Possibly P. J. Dedreux-Dorcy, Paris, by 1832; Vicomte de Fosse; Ambroselli, Paris; S. Kleinberger and Co. Inc., New York, by 1964; Nathan Chaikin; to The Art Institute of Chicago.

EXHIBITIONS: 1971–72 Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia, p. 161, no. 116, repr.; 1976 Paris, no. 37, repr.

REFERENCES: Eitner 1967, pp. 7–17, fig. 1; Joachim 1974, pp. 132–33, no. 65, repr.; Szczepinska-Tramer 1974, p. 313, n. 5, p. 315, fig. 9; Grunchec 1978, p. 122, no. 221(3), fig. 221(3) (attributed to Dedreux-Dorcy); Grunchec 1979b, pp. 52–54, 58, nn. 162, 163, fig. 54 (attributed to Dedreux-Dorcy); Eitner 1983, p. 257, n. 94.

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- 1907 Berlin. *Géricault*. Berlin, Galerie Fritz Gurlitt, 1907. Per Dubaut 1956.
- 1909 Munich. *Empire und Romantik*. Munich, Galerie Zimmermann, 1909. Per Dubaut 1956.
- 1911 Rouen. *Millénaire normand*. 1911. Per Dubaut 1956.
- 1912 St. Petersburg. *L'Exposition centennale: French Painting, 1812-1912*. St. Petersburg, L'Institut Français, 1912. Per Dubaut 1956.
- 1924 Paris and Rouen. *Exposition d'oeuvres de Géricault*. Paris, Hôtel Jean Charpentier, April 24-May 16, 1924; Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 1935 Basel. *Dessins français*. 1935. Per Dubaut 1956.
- 1935 Paris. *Dessins aquarelles & gouaches par Géricault, 1791-1824*. Paris, Maurice Gobin, December 5-21, 1935.
- 1936 Paris. *Gros: Ses amis, ses élèves*. Paris, Petit Palais, 1936.
- 1937 Paris. *Exposition Géricault: Peintre et dessinateur (1791-1824)*. Paris, MM. Bernheim-Jeune, May 10-29, 1937.
- 1939 Brooklyn. *XIX Century French Drawings from the Collection of Paul J. Sachs*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1939. No catalogue published.
- 1943 Cambridge, Mass. *French Romanticism of the Eighteen Thirties*. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, January 16-February 12, 1943.
- 1945 Boston. *A Thousand Years of Landscape East and West: Paintings, Drawings, Prints*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, October 24-December 9, 1945.
- 1946 Cambridge, Mass. *Between the Empires: Géricault, Delacroix, Chassériau—Painters of the Romantic Movement*. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, April 30-June 1, 1946.
- 1951 Detroit. *French Drawings of Five Centuries from the Collection of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University*. Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, May 15-September 30, 1951.
- 1952 London. *Théodore Géricault, 1791-1824*. London, Marlborough Fine Arts Limited, October-November 1952.
- 1953 New York. *Landscape Drawings & Water-Colors: Bruegel to Cézanne*. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, January 31-April 11, 1953.
- 1953 Winterthur. *Théodore Géricault, 1791-1824*. Winterthur: Kunstmuseum Winterthur, August 30-November 8, 1953.
- 1954 Paris. *Gros, Géricault, Delacroix*. Paris, Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, opened January 9, 1954.
- 1956-57 Portland, Oregon, et al. *Paintings from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.* Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1956. A traveling exhibition, also shown at Seattle Art Museum; San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor; Los Angeles County Museum; Minneapolis Institute of Arts; City Art Museum of St. Louis; Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art; The Detroit Institute of Arts; and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; March 2, 1956-April 14, 1957.
- 1958 New York. *Paintings from Private Collections: Summer Loan Exhibition, 1958*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, summer 1958.
- 1959 Paris. *De Géricault à Matisse: Chefs-d'oeuvre français des collections suisses*. Paris, Petit Palais, March-May 1959.
- 1960 Dayton, Ohio. *French Paintings, 1789-1929 from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.* Dayton, Ohio, The Dayton Art Institute, March 25-May 22, 1960.
- 1962-63 Charleroi. *Géricault: Un Réaliste romantique*. Charleroi, Palais des Beaux-Arts, December 8, 1962-January 6, 1963.
- 1963 Rouen. *Géricault: Un Réaliste romantique*. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, January 19-March 11, 1963.
- 1965-66 New York. *French Landscape Painters from Four Centuries*. New York, Finch College Museum of Art, October 20, 1965-January 9, 1966.
- 1965-67 Cambridge, Mass., and New York. *Memorial Exhibition: Works of Art from the Collection of Paul J. Sachs (1878-1965), Given and Bequeathed to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts*. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, November 15, 1965-January 15, 1966; New York, Museum of Modern Art, December 19, 1966-February 26, 1967.
- 1966 Paris. *Delacroix et les paysagistes romantiques*. Paris, Musée Eugène Delacroix, May 19-July 19, 1966.
- 1967-68 Paris. *Vingt ans d'acquisition du Musée du Louvre, 1947-1967*. Paris, Orangerie des Tuileries, December 16, 1967-March 1968.
- 1968-69 Moscow and Leningrad. *Le Romantisme dans la peinture française: Exposition des oeuvres appartenant aux musées de France*. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, December 1968-January 1969; Leningrad, The Hermitage, through April 1969.
- 1971-72 Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia. *Géricault*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, October

Opposite: Detail of the bill for the three canvases for the Times of Day delivered to Gericault's studio on July 10, August 4, and August 18 (see p. 18)

- 12–December 12, 1971; The Detroit Institute of Arts, January 23–March 7, 1972; Philadelphia Museum of Art, March 30–May 14, 1972.
- 1974–75 Paris, Detroit, and New York. *French Painting, 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*. Paris, Grand Palais, November 16, 1974–February 3, 1975; The Detroit Institute of Arts, March 5–May 4, 1975; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, June 12–September 7, 1975.
- 1975 New York. *Nature as Scene: French Landscape Painting from Poussin to Bonnard*. New York, Wildenstein, October 29–December 6, 1975.
- 1975 Paris. *Delacroix et les peintres de la nature*. Paris, Musée Eugène Delacroix, June 24–December 25, 1975. No catalogue published.
- 1976 Hamburg. *William Turner und die Landschaft seiner Zeit*. Hamburger Kunsthalle, May 19–July 18, 1976.
- 1976 Paris. *Dessins du Musée de Beaux-Arts de Dijon*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, February 13–May 3, 1976.
- 1976–77 Paris. *Dessins français de l'Art Institute de Chicago de Watteau à Picasso: LXIIe exposition du Cabinet des dessins*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, October 15, 1976–January 17, 1977.
- 1979 London. *Nineteenth Century French Drawings*. London, Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, June 13–July 14, 1979.
- 1979–80 Rome. *Gericault*. Rome, Villa Medici, November 1979–January 1980.
- 1980–81 Sydney and Melbourne. *French Painting: The Revolutionary Decades, 1760–1830*. Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales, October 17–November 23, 1980; Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, December 17, 1980–February 15, 1981.
- 1984 Marcq-en-Baroeul and Dieppe. *Orages désirés, ou le paroxysme dans la traduction de la nature*. Marcq-en-Baroeul, Fondation Septentrion, March 3–June 3, 1984; Château-Musée de Dieppe, June 10–September 2, 1984.
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- 1986–87 Raleigh and Birmingham. *French Paintings from The Chrysler Museum*. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, May 31–September 14, 1986; Birmingham Museum of Art, November 6, 1986–January 18, 1987.
- 1987–88 Kamakura, Kyoto, and Fukuoka. *Gericault*. Kamakura, Museum of Modern Art, October 31–December 20, 1987; Kyoto, National Museum of Modern Art, February 2–March 21, 1988; Fukuoka Art Museum, March 24–April 24, 1988.
- 1989 San Francisco. *Gericault, 1791–1824*. San Francisco, The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, January 28–March 26, 1989.
- 1990–91 New York and Geneva. *Victor Hugo and the Romantic Vision: Drawings and Watercolors*. New York, Jan Krugier Gallery, May 4–July 27, 1990; Geneva, Galerie Jan Krugier, January–February 1991.

24	février 1818	une table de 22 pieds sur 15 sans colle charris et bnf tubais de charran	440
28	juin	une boîte à cauleux apied avec des accessoires huile grasse	40
		huile d'œuf	1
		un assortiment de cauleux	3
		avoir été est homme de l'entre et Melindre et Massin de charris	15
10	juillet	une table sans colle de 7 pieds 9 pouces sur 6 pieds 9 pouces sans couture	72
17		cauleux pour une bouteille	12
4	août	une table fine sans colle charris et bnf de 7 p 9 pouces sur 6 p 9 pouces	72
14		une bouteille d'huile d'œuf	2
		une idem d'huile grasse	1
		2 ans 1/2 de vernis	1
		cauleux pour	1
18		une table de 7 p 9 pouces sur 6 p 9 pouces	72
20		cauleux	1
4	avril 1819	avoir de la colle un bordon et faurris un charris pour un lit de grand homme pris cauleux	17
21	juin	huile d'œuf	1
		vernis double	2
		Le 17 janvier 1819 Lait un manequin d'homme nu de 6 a ont fait 6 mois 1/2	78
17	août	cauleux, huile, et vernis	4
31		cauleux	11
		deux tables de 6 a ont	3
		12 feuilles de papiers imprimés	7
		deux tables de 6	2
		2 ans de l'entre de la mode	40
10	juin	cauleux	90

476 = 75