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# INGRES'S PORTRAITS AND THEIR MUSES

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Toward the end of a century in which the most revolutionary art attempted to annihilate visible, earthbound realities and waft us to more exalted, imaginary domains, it may come as a shock to realize that the venerable traditions of portraiture are once again alive and well. While the conquests of modernism temporarily buried artists' recurrent fascination with the unique data that add up to a particular person, the late twentieth century has witnessed infinite legions of singular people—formerly threatened by Machine Age uniformity and the iconoclasm of abstract art—begging to be scrutinized once more. Wherever we look in the last decades, particular faces keep turning up, whether in the paparazzi portraiture of Andy Warhol, the private worlds of Gilbert & George, the disarmingly magnified mug shots of Thomas Ruff and Chuck Close, or the self-portrait disguises of Cindy Sherman and Yasumasa Morimura. And, as usual, the concerns of new art change the way we look at old art. Amazingly, we had to wait until 1996 for eight decades of Picasso's art to be surveyed for the first time as the work of an important portraitist,<sup>1</sup> much as other recent exhibitions have turned to older masters such as Degas and Renoir<sup>2</sup> in order to focus exclusively on their achievement as interpreters of specific people. In this recent rearrangement of subject priorities, many artists once neglected by modernism have taken on unexpected allure, so that, for instance, the cosmopolitan territory of high-society portraiture circa 1900—the world of Sargent, Boldini, Zorn, Blanche<sup>3</sup>—has begun to take shape as an important chapter in the history of art.

As for Ingres, however, his achievement as a portraitist hardly needed to be rediscovered. Both in his paintings and drawings, the scrupulous depiction of his contemporaries—whether family, friends, wealthy patrons, or sitters as famous as Napoleon and Cherubini—had always formed a major category of his work that demanded equal time with his intellectually more ambitious paintings. Given Ingres's own position as guardian of the academic faith that put the depiction of mere con-

temporary mortals on a far lower level of subjects than, say, the idealized recreation of Jupiter or the Virgin, posterity's clear preference for his portraiture over his history painting would presumably have made the master turn in his grave. Yet, like his own teacher David, Ingres never stopped making portraits, mirroring through his sitters the rapidly changing fashions, decor, and personalities of two-thirds of the nineteenth century, from 1800 to 1867, the year of his death. Moreover, like David, he gave his portraits almost as much prominence in the official displays of his work as he did his narratives from mythology, the Bible, or history; they usually figured in the Paris Salons, where he exhibited regularly from 1802 to 1834, as well as in later group shows or one-man exhibitions that took place outside the Salon.

Most telling was what was shown at Ingres's official apotheosis, a major retrospective of sixty-nine<sup>4</sup> paintings held in 1855 on the occasion of the Exposition Universelle. Though he often grumbled about wasting his time on something as lowly as portraiture—after being cajoled back to earth by the entreaties of the rich and the famous, the high and the mighty, when he should have remained in the company of Homer and the Virgin—he apparently had no objections at all to mixing together with his most ambitious history paintings more than a dozen portraits of his contemporaries. And this number would total more than forty if one expanded the definition of his portraiture to include a state portrait and an allegory of Napoleon I, a Neo-Roman profile bust of Prince Napoleon, two scenes of Pope Pius VII holding services in the Sistine Chapel, and a group of Neo-Gothic portraits of members of Louis-Philippe's family masquerading as their namesake Christian saints in the guise of cartoons for stained-glass windows.

Installation shots of the 1855 retrospective (figs. 2, 3) show clearly how Ingres's portraits were integrated into the totality of his work rather than being relegated to a different part of the display; they also demonstrate with equal clarity the continually shifting proportions of the facts of portraiture and the fictions of ideal art that he



Fig. 2. View of the Ingres installation at the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1855

often juggled to blur the distinction between these two realms. Even looking at the most famous symbol of Ingres's academic orthodoxy, *The Apotheosis of Homer* (fig. 4), which had originally been designed as a ceiling painting for the Louvre but had been moved for the retrospective from these mythological heavens to a vertical wall much closer to earth, we begin to realize that it, too, is a portrait gallery. Looked at this way, the painting, with its ritualized veneration of eternal classical values, is hardly so incompatible with the portraits of two of Ingres's illustrious contemporaries that were hung directly below

it, on either side of *The Virgin with the Host*: those of Comte Mathieu Molé (fig. 158), a prime minister under Louis-Philippe, and Comtesse Louise d'Haussonville (cat. no. 125), a distinguished woman of letters (and granddaughter of Madame de Staël). The attention Ingres has given to the details of his sitters' clothing and hairstyles, for instance, also belongs to the same vision with which he reincarnated the cultural titans of a more recent past—Shakespeare, Poussin, Molière, Gluck, et al.—whose appearances he could reconstruct from historical data copied from portraits made by their own contemporaries. For want of such information, the features of most of the classical men (and one woman, Sappho) in the upper ranks tend to be generically antique. Moreover, cropping these relative newcomers to the classical Hall of Fame at the waist makes them appear to be rising from the gravity-bound domain of the real world below the frame, just beginning their arduous, stepwise ascent to the most idealized heights of classical perfection.

In the 1855 installation, that real world is firmly anchored in Ingres's sharp-eyed depictions of sitters culled from the history of his own lifespan: the First Empire, the Bourbon Restoration, the July Monarchy, and the Second Empire. Yet these nineteenth-century men and women could also be transported by him to a realm of ethereal purity, where the classical gods reside forever. Napoleon, for instance, was presented by Ingres at the 1855 retrospective as both the most palpable of mortals and the most airborne of deities. In a painting of



Fig. 3. View of the Ingres installation at the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1855

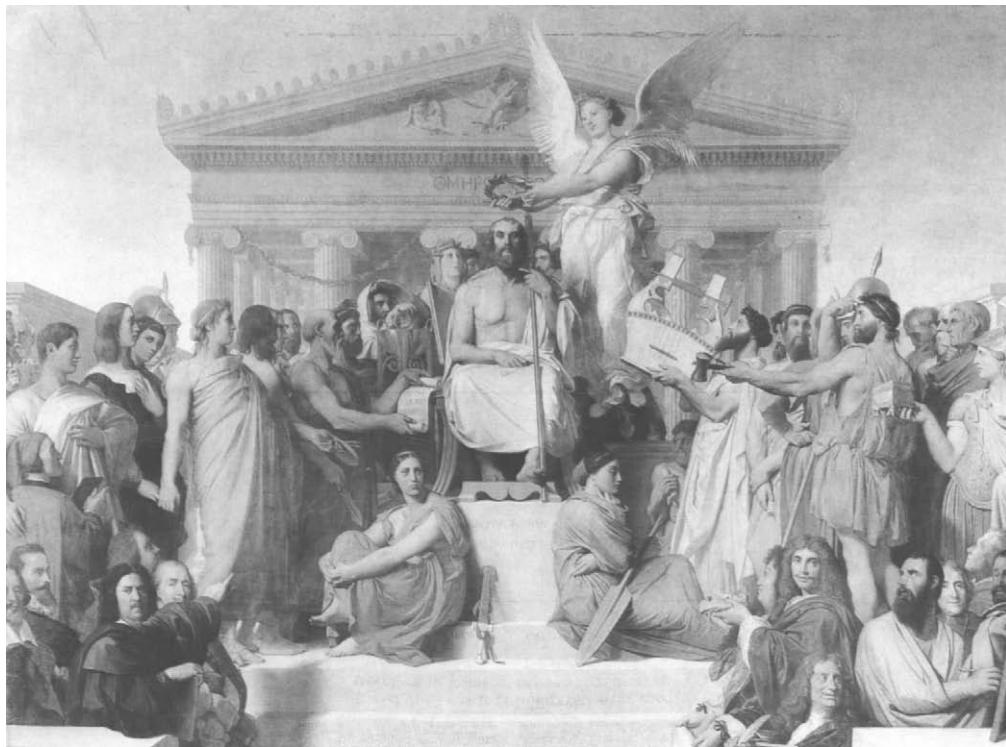


Fig. 4. *The Apotheosis of Homer*, 1827 (W 168). Oil on canvas,  $59\frac{7}{8} \times 79\frac{7}{8}$  in. ( $152 \times 203$  cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

1804 (cat. no. 2), the thirty-five-year-old emperor-to-be is shown as he appeared in Liège on August 1, 1803, wearing a consular uniform rendered with such precision of red velvet and gilded ornament that we feel it could almost be lifted right out of the painting and placed on a mannequin in a museum vitrine. But in another, posthumous vision of Napoleon I (fig. 5), commissioned in 1853 as a ceiling decoration for the salon of the new emperor, Napoleon III, at the Hôtel de Ville, the ancestral emperor has soared even higher than the empyrean of Homer. Now presented in a state of ideal nudity like an antique god or warrior, Napoleon I, accompanied by a wreath-bearing allegory of Fame, is borne to the Temple of Immortality in a golden quadriga, while on the horizon below, a mountainous view of the exiled Napoleon's final residence, Saint Helena, is left behind, an earthbound memory of nineteenth-century historical fact.<sup>1</sup>

But even in his portraits of people less susceptible to mythmaking than Napoleon, Ingres would often attempt to cross the seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the demands of portrait likeness and the Olympian heights of the academic tradition. In doing so, he was reviving the situation confronted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, from the 1760s on, often adjusted the empirical requirements of painting recognizable portraits of friends and aristocratic patrons to his own idealistic dream that Britain might at last absorb the abstract beauty of form and myth that was the legacy of Greco-Roman and Continental art. Working against the nineteenth century's ever-increasing demand

for pictorial truths that were visible, specific, and material, Ingres tried in countless ways to elevate his portraits to more exalted planes than mere mirror images. At times, he would openly quote a broad span of art-historical sources that could cover antiquity and the Middle Ages as well as such old-master paragons as Raphael, Holbein, Bronzino, and Poussin. Elsewhere, he would juxtapose perceived facts with allegorical fictions. And often, he would subtly adjust the posture and expression of his sitter, so that they might evoke the mythic aura of an ideal personage culled from classical or Christian imagery.

So it was that hanging beneath *The Apotheosis of Napoleon* at the 1855 retrospective were three portraits that may well represent the range of Ingres's varying mixtures of the extremities of modern facts and inherited fictions. In the middle hung a portrait of a patron of the arts and one of the primary organizers of the Exposition Universelle, Prince Napoleon (fig. 6). Its placement directly under the apotheosis of the prince's uncle Napoleon I, as well as its repetition of the round format of the lofty allegory, helped to mythologize the newest political branch of the Bonaparte family tree—an allusion further underlined by the transformation of the image of the thirty-three-year-old sitter into a Roman profile portrait bust in *trompe l'oeil* relief, as if the new prince had assumed the attributes of a Roman ruler. It was the kind of historical disguise that harked all the way back to one of Ingres's earliest portrait drawings, that of the French actor Brochard in the costume of a helmeted Roman (cat. no. 16), also



Fig. 5. Study for "The Apotheosis of Napoleon I," 1853 (W 271). Oil on canvas, diam. 19 1/4 in. (48.9 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris

executed in a style that imitated the classical cameos and medallions whose compressed, shadowless spaces so often inspired Ingres.<sup>6</sup> (Ironically, both these ostensibly timeless Napoleonic allegories of 1855 were victims of the rapid reversals of nineteenth-century politics and would be destroyed by fire during the Commune of 1871.)



Fig. 6. Napoléon-Joseph-Charles-Paul Bonaparte, called Prince Napoleon, 1855 (W 277). Destroyed

Flanking the bust of Prince Napoleon were two portraits of other famous contemporaries that descended to the most empirical world of photographic truth. "Photographic" may be an anachronism in the case of the portrait of the businessman and journalist Louis-François Bertin (cat. no. 99), first shown at the Salon of 1833, since the invention of photography was not officially declared until 1839. But Ingres, like Delaroche, Horace Vernet, and other painters working at the same time as the pioneer photographers, Niepce and Daguerre, often seemed to share their positivist goals of capturing absolute visual truth. Moreover, Ingres's own master, David, had already pointed the way to *Monsieur Bertin*. Some of his male portraits—that of Cooper Penrose (1802; San Diego Museum of Art) and, above all, that of his friend and fellow political exile in Brussels, Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (fig. 7)—prefigure Ingres's masterful deception of offering nothing but unedited visual facts. And they also employ the monochromatic tonalities that foreshadow the sepia tints so conspicuous in *Monsieur Bertin* and in early photography. In the portrait of Sieyès, David, though as much a propagandist for classical idealism as Ingres, nevertheless makes us marvel at the rendering of the glints of light that touch the chair arm and the tobacco box and at the painstaking record of every wayward curl of the sitter's closely cropped auburn hair. This hyperrealist vision is pushed further in Ingres's depiction of Bertin, as if we were observing the sitter and his setting with a still more powerful magnifying glass. Now the touches of light on the chair arm and, still more diminutive, on the watch fob contain reflections of a mullioned window; and the myriad locks of disheveled hair, along with the wrinkles and creases of flesh and clothing, appear to have reached an even greater infinity of detail. Moreover, the head-on impact of Sieyès—an almost palpable presence who stares directly at the spectator—is, if anything, further intensified: Bertin's overwhelming bulk and scrutinizing gaze can instantly humble the viewer. Ingres's mimetic genius reaches its fullest statement here. Not only does he create a daguerreotype *avant la lettre*, but he also offers to late-twentieth-century eyes an unexpected ancestry for the quasi-photographic, confrontational portraiture of Alfred Leslie and Chuck Close.

Yet Ingres's illusion of unmediated reality (for which there were, after all, as many preparatory drawings as there were for most of his ideal figures [see cat. nos. 100, 101, figs. 178, 179]) could also echo backward through the corridors of art history. One critic in 1833 was reminded of the obsessively realist portraits of wrinkled old men

and women that had made the modest fame of the German painter Balthasar Denner (1685–1749; fig. 294).<sup>7</sup> But in our century, a far loftier prototype has been cited—Ingres's lifelong idol, Raphael,<sup>8</sup> who, in his portrait of Leo X (almost as weighty a presence as Bertin), had also included a window reflection on the glistening knob of the papal chair. Apart from locating Ingres's inspiration in such contradictory sources as Denner and Raphael, responses to this seemingly unmitigated record of perception could also transform it into a social symbol transcending the particular sitter. So it was that in 1855, Théophile Gautier, surely Ingres's most observant, articulate, and tolerant critic, referred to the then-deceased sitter as a "bourgeois Caesar,"<sup>9</sup> a quip that might have been equally applicable to Prince Napoleon, portrayed nearby. Indeed, for Ingres's contemporaries, as for us, *Bertin* could quickly move from mere looking-glass truth to a social symbol of the July Monarchy, much as the *Comte de Pastoret* (cat. no. 98), with its close paraphrase of the refined demeanor of a portrait by Bronzino (fig. 174),<sup>10</sup> could become a symbol of the revival of ancien régime aristocracy during the Bourbon Restoration.

Paired with Bertin, on the left side of Prince Napoleon, was a portrait of one of the artist's close friends, the renowned Florentine composer Luigi Cherubini, who had lived and worked in Paris since 1788 and whose musical and artistic ties with Ingres had already been confirmed in 1826, when his *Coronation Mass* was performed in the cathedral of Ingres's native city, Montauban, to celebrate the installation of *The Vow of Louis XIII*.<sup>11</sup> Cherubini's portrait exists in two versions, which repeat as well as contradict each other. In one, dated 1841 (cat. no. 119), the sitter, then eighty-one years old, seems to belong to the same quasi-photographic domain as Monsieur Bertin—a largely monochromatic ambience in which we can scrutinize every last wrinkle of the composer's black cape and aging flesh, and every last curl of his white hair and Legion of Honor rosette. Should we choose to look more closely, we can even read the titles on the spines of three of his operatic scores—*Médée*, *Ali Baba*, *Les Deux Journées*—propped up behind him on a table. These past achievements move into the present tense with the quill pen and blank music score, on which he will soon jot down the (to us) inaudible sounds that must account for his expression and pose of intense concentration (index finger and hand against temple, as in many daguerreotypes of the 1840s). We seem to be intruders here in the cloistered realm of genius at work, where the sitter is consistently anchored to such material facts as a chair and a table.



Fig. 7. Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825). *Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès*, 1817. Oil on canvas,  $33\frac{7}{8} \times 28\frac{3}{8}$  in. (86 × 72 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts

That Ingres could aspire to far more exalted climes is revealed by the other version of the portrait (fig. 8).<sup>12</sup> One of the first paintings ever to be recorded as a daguerreotype, in late 1841,<sup>13</sup> it was acquired by the king in June 1842, shortly after the composer's death. When this more ambitious version was exhibited at the 1855 retrospective, to the left of Prince Napoleon, it was subtitled "portrait historique." The use of the word "historique" suggests a shift from the empirical world to the eternal realm of history painting—a feat accomplished not only by removing the modern table and chair from Cherubini's study and letting his arm rest on a polychrome, Neo-Pompeian column base, but, more conspicuously, by including behind him the classical personification of Terpsichore, the Muse of Choral Song and Dance, who with one arm cradles her lyre and with the other inspires and protects her human charge. The conceit recalls Reynolds's earlier efforts to lift from earth to heaven such contemporary sitters as the actor David Garrick, who is torn between the Muses of Comedy and Tragedy, and the actress Sarah Siddons, who is raised to Michelangelesque heights as the Tragic Muse. But in Ingres's vision of modern genius and timeless Muse, the

collision of these separate realms is much harsher, forcing us to seesaw rapidly between sharp-focus truth and classical idealization.

It is a clash that is spatial as well as conceptual, for the startlingly abrupt foreshortening of Terpsichore's arm makes her hover, despite her sculpturesque modeling, like a displaced spirit, oddly compressed between the opposing realms of near and far, fact and fiction. Yet her ideal character, underlined by the marble whiteness of her tunic, is also tinged with a surprising reality, as if she were coming to life. The flesh of this Muse is pink, her lips and cheeks red. And as her features take on a specificity, we begin to realize that they in fact belong to a particular person whose portrait Ingres drew in 1841, Clémence de Rayneval, the sister of the French ambassador to Rome (fig. 9).<sup>14</sup> The Muse, then, begins to slip from Olympus down to the realm of contemporary portraiture, and the painting is almost transformed into a double portrait. She can, however, ascend once again to a different sphere of eternity, evoking another recurrent source of inspiration for Ingres, Poussin's *Self-Portrait* of 1650 (fig. 10). This venerable image of the ancestral deity of French classical painting (whose time-bound features and clothing had already been reincarnated by Ingres on the foreground steps in *The Apotheosis of Homer*) contains at the left a mysterious female profile, an unexpected presence that has

been interpreted most persuasively as a personification of the art of painting,<sup>15</sup> a personal muse who, like Cherubini's Terpsichore, could elevate the sitter to a far higher plane.

Poussin's muse was to trigger Ingres's imagination in a far more magical way when her image later reappeared as a mirror reflection in the 1856 portrait of Madame Inès Moitessier (fig. 1, cat. no. 134). This feminine profile—like Poussin's muse, which might at first be perceived as simply a fragment of a canvas stacked against the walls of the artist's studio—may be read initially as an optical truth that happens to mirror the sitter's own profile at exactly the right angle. Yet the sitter and her reflection swiftly soar far above the laws of optics. For one, Madame Moitessier's pose has been recognized since Ingres's own lifetime as having a Pompeian origin: it is now well known that she is assuming, almost as in a learned charade, the pose of an allegorical figure (usually identified as Arcadia) in a fresco from Herculaneum that was often copied in the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup> So it is that, for all the material splendor of her setting and costume (her spectacular white silk dress bursting with bouquets of roses was the latest word in Second Empire fashion), Madame Moitessier seems transformed before our eyes into something remote and oracular—a metamorphosis that unfolds still further when we go through the looking glass that covers almost the entire wall behind her. There, the descendant of Poussin's muse presents an even more unapproachable female persona, a filmy vision of ideal beauty and mystery whose eyes, like those of a classical bust, will remain forever open and whose profile, like that on an ancient relief, transports her to the same incorporeal realm in which Ingres, the year before, had located Prince Napoleon. But even in this otherworldly mirror image, we are obliged to return to mid-nineteenth-century reality by the full disclosure of the elaborate lace and ribbons adorning Madame Moitessier's cache-peigne cap. And, back on our side of the mirror, we begin to realize that this motionless sphinx can return to earth as a grande dame seated on a tufted pink damask sofa so palpable that, together with the gilt console and peacock-feathered fan, it might be moved to a period room displaying the conspicuous luxury of Second Empire decorative arts.

In this and many other portraits, the contemporary prose of a sitter's features, clothing, and surroundings could merge seamlessly with the poetic extremes of Ingres's ideals of purity of form and nobility of subject, ideals he attempted to isolate in his many icons of classical and religious perfection. One of the most famous of

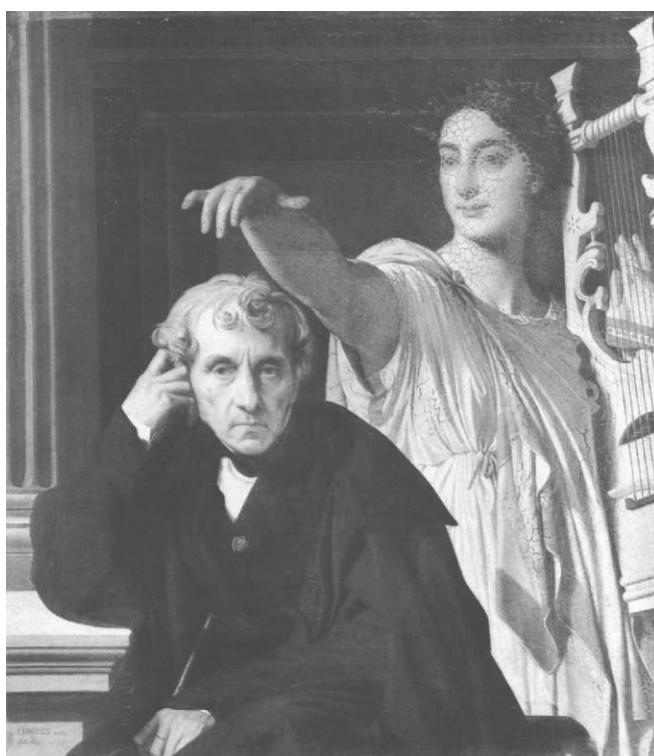


Fig. 8. *Cherubini and the Muse of Lyric Poetry*, 1842 (W 236). Oil on canvas,  $41\frac{3}{8} \times 37$  in. (105.1 × 94 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig. 9. *Clémence de Rayneval*, 1841. Pencil, charcoal, and white highlights on paper, pasted on Bristol board,  $14\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$  in. (37  $\times$  27 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

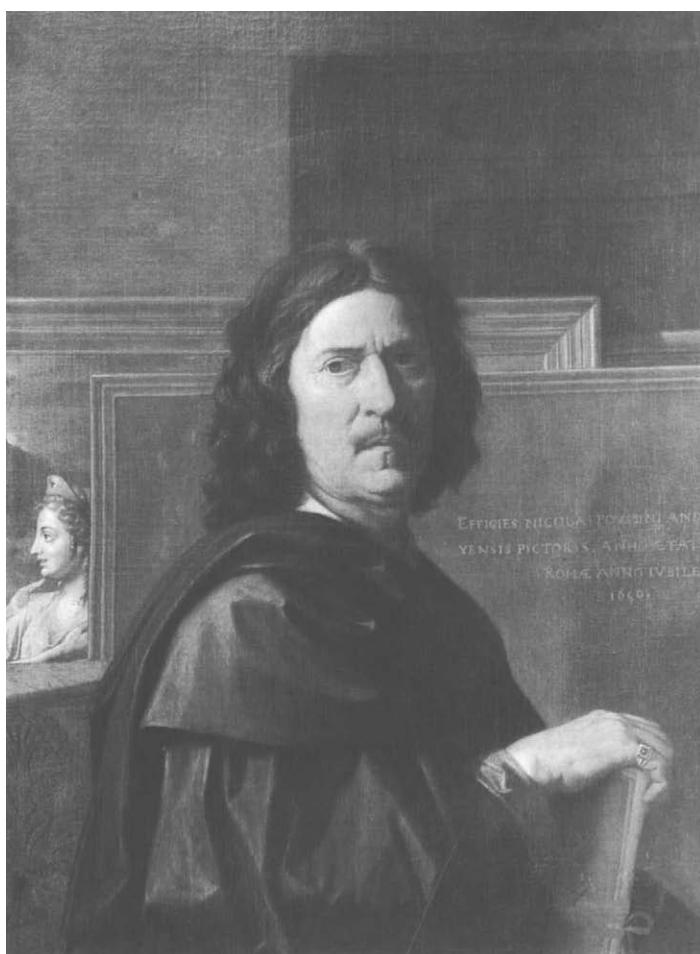


Fig. 10. Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665). *Self-Portrait*, 1650. Oil on canvas,  $38\frac{1}{8} \times 29\frac{1}{8}$  in. (98  $\times$  74 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

these, the 1854 *Virgin with the Host* (fig. 11), was hung directly below *The Apotheosis of Homer* at the 1855 retrospective, affirming in Christian terms the axis of symmetry so conspicuous in the classical hierarchy above it. This inflexible ideal could even be adapted to the images of the wealthy and powerful women who managed to coax Ingres into recording them for posterity. In this, Inès Moitessier was twice blessed. Her reincarnation via Poussin and Roman painting as a modern sibyl was preceded, in the 1851 portrait (cat. no. 133), by her transformation into something akin to Ingres's many fearsome images of the Virgin as the celestial epitome of feminine power and majesty. Holding her pearl necklace and fan as if they were emblems of regal authority, Madame Moitessier seems to reign from a height that would humble a mortal spectator. Her implacable frontal gaze, fixed forever in the perfect oval of a head crowned by a halo of roses, further coincides with Ingres's fantasies of the Virgin's imperious beauty. Yet if Madame Moitessier doubles here as Ingres's queen of a Christian heaven, she might also be transported to Olympus as a descendant of David's 1799 portrait of Madame de Verninac (fig. 41), referred to as a "calm and beautiful Juno."<sup>17</sup>

Juno and Minerva were, of course, no strangers to Ingres, and they, too, provided ideal molds for his portraits. In 1854, when he depicted them as part of a series of six decorative medallions of deities for the Paris residence of the architect Jacques-Ignace Hittorff, his friend and occasional collaborator, Juno subtly bore the features of the architect's wife. As for Minerva, she needed only to remove her helmet to reveal her identity with Hittorff's daughter Isabelle (fig. 12).<sup>18</sup> Isabelle was again painted by Ingres, in precisely the same round-medallion format (fig. 13), not later than 1856, the period of Inès Moitessier's deifications.<sup>19</sup> Here, young Isabelle, in her early twenties, is transformed into one of the more bizarre creatures of Ingres's imagination, a head of such fearful symmetry and egg-shaped perfection that it might belong to an alien race. Beneath the unnaturally pure arcs of her eyebrows, which appear to continue uninterrupted into the bridge of her nose, she looks down from an abstract blue Olympus with the haughty, walleyed gaze that so often prevents Ingres's sitters from communicating with mere earthlings. Again we see that, like a modern Pygmalion, Ingres could turn ideal marbles into living beings or, reversing directions, could metamorphose his sitters into divinities.

In this context, it is telling that one of the most important Ingres discoveries of the last decades was a painting of 1852–53 described by the artist as an “ébauche pour une Vénus, portrait-tableau,” that is, a study for a painting of Venus that was also a portrait of a woman who, in fact, can be identified as Antonie Balay, a member of a grand family from Lyons (fig. 14).<sup>20</sup>

These recurrent contacts with Olympian ideals of the human face and body—culled largely from a repertory of painting and sculpture by ancient Romans who themselves had often recreated their imperial rulers as gods and goddesses—may partially account for the way Ingres’s sitters, particularly women, so often transcend recognizable likeness, making us wonder about the proportions of modern flesh to ancient marble that fuse miraculously in order to create, for instance, the *Comtesse d’Haussonville* (cat. no. 125). Although we may recognize some of the antique sources—statues of Polyhymnia and Pudicity, among others<sup>21</sup>—that seem part of the sitter’s very being, would we recognize this person herself were she to rise from the dead? We are persuaded, however, that we would immediately recognize her dress or the bric-à-brac on her mantelpiece—a guess that was confirmed in 1985 by Edgar Munhall’s illuminating study, which brought to light the jewelry, the porcelains, the fabrics that Ingres had fixed forever on the mirrorlike surface of his canvas.<sup>22</sup> Of such tangible facts, costume (whether modern or historical) usually had the lion’s share of Ingres’s attention. It was certainly one of the reasons for his attraction to Holbein’s portraits, which must also have appealed to him for their low-relief modeling as well as their precision of outline, which often silhouetted the sitters against monochrome backgrounds made even flatter by inscriptions giving their names and dates (a device Ingres himself would use in the portraits of Bertin and Madame Moitessier, among others). When Ingres copied one of the versions of Holbein’s famous portrait of Henry VIII (fig. 15),<sup>23</sup> he scrutinized every detail of the king’s clothing and jewelry as fully as he did the face. But this was precisely what he would also do when drawing living sitters, such as the painter Charles Thévenin (cat. no. 74). With a quick change of wardrobe, Ingres’s drawing of Holbein’s sixteenth-century king might slip unnoticed into his painstaking accounts of how nineteenth-century people looked and dressed.

Of Ingres’s many hybrids of contemporary portraiture and remembered art and history, none reaches more stupefying heights than the state portrait of Napoleon on his imperial throne (cat. no. 10), which, in its willful



Fig. 11. *The Virgin with the Host*, 1854 (W 276). Oil on canvas, mounted on wood, diam. 44½ in. (113 cm). Musée d’Orsay, Paris

eccentricity, provoked a battery of hostile criticism at the Salon of 1806.<sup>24</sup> By comparison, other official portraits of 1805–6 by Ingres’s contemporaries, including David, François Gérard, and Robert Lefèvre, offer relatively conservative solutions to the problem of legitimizing the brand-new emperor of France. Lefèvre’s Napoleon, for instance (fig. 68), looks as though he had quietly usurped the throne of a Bourbon monarch. In his ermine and velvet robes (which now, however, bear the symbol of the Napoleonic bee), he stands before the imperial globe, scepter in hand, in a variation of the aloof posture of command and superiority familiar to the succession of eighteenth-century state portraits that begin in 1701 with Rigaud’s *Louis XIV* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and end in 1789 with Callet’s *Louis XVI* (Musée Bargoin, Clermont-Ferrand). The turbulent gulf between the ancien régime and the Empire seems to have been bridged uneventfully.

By contrast, Ingres’s vision of Napoleon presents a startling, though eerily timeless intruder, whose almost extraterrestrial character is intensified by the icy overhead lighting, which one critic likened to moonbeams.<sup>25</sup> Such otherworldliness is also underlined by the obsessively detailed replication of Napoleon’s coronation regalia, an awesome profusion of luxurious textures, patterns, and precious jewels and metals fit for a celestial god—an abundance that, on more earthbound levels, would be a recurrent theme in Ingres’s portraiture,



Fig. 12. *Minerva*, 1864 (W 267). Oil on canvas, diam. 13 in. (32 cm). Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne



Fig. 13. *Isabelle Hittorff, later Madame Gaudry*, before 1856. Oil on canvas, diam. 13 in. (33 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble

whether in the drawn copy of Henry VIII's doublet or the spectacular painted inventories of his female sitters' wardrobes and jewel boxes. Perhaps most strange is Napoleon's posture, which imposes a titanic immobility upon the swift reversals of political power that marked the origins of modern French history.

Many sources have been proposed for this image of omnipotent authority, including the supreme deities of the classical and the Christian worlds: on the one hand, Phidias's Olympian Jupiter (which Ingres would use more literally for his *Jupiter and Thetis* of 1811 [fig. 92]) and, on the other, Jan van Eyck's God the Father from the Ghent altarpiece (then displayed in Paris as part of Napoleon's loot; fig. 75).<sup>26</sup> To this fusion of classical idealism and Late Gothic hyperrealism can also be added an encyclopedic portrait gallery of pre-Bourbon French monarchs, an association that would permit Napoleon to join a more venerable dynasty. The *Recueil des roys*, a popular late-sixteenth-century compendium of historical texts and images ranging from Clovis to François I (who had commissioned the survey), might well have provided archetypes of French medieval authority that could push Ingres's youthful imagination to still further excesses.<sup>27</sup> Such works as the sixteenth-century fantasy portrait of the sixth-century Frankish king Clotaire I (fig. 16) foreshadow the magical mold of supernatural power and splendor into which Ingres would fit the new emperor, who, during



Fig. 14. *Venus on Paphos* (Antonie Balaÿ), 1852. Oil on canvas, 36 × 27 3/4 in. (91.5 × 70.5 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 15. After Holbein. *Henry VIII*, ca. 1815–20(?). Graphite on paper,  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$  in. (24 x 17.5 cm). Private collection



Fig. 16. *Clotaire I*, from *Recueil des roys*, late sixteenth century. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2848, fol. 20r

the time his portrait was exhibited, was hardly fixed for eternity in the remote corridors of history but was instead leading his troops against the Prussians. Ingres himself, we might add, also kept one foot in reality. At the same Salon, he exhibited a self-portrait of 1804 (see cat. nos. 11, 147) that, although later repainted, originally showed the artist before a blank canvas. With a greatcoat casually tossed over one shoulder in a preview of the way he would depict the cape of another genius at work, Raphael (fig. 127),<sup>28</sup> he presents himself, cloth in hand, preparing what would in later reworkings of the painting become the underdrawing for the portrait of his friend the lawyer Jean-François Gilibert (cat. no. 5). And this virtual advertisement for his professional credentials was gloriously amplified at the Salon with the family portraits commissioned by a minor civil servant of the Empire, Philibert Rivière (cat. no. 9, figs. 57, 58).<sup>29</sup>

While these early masterpieces clearly announce that Ingres could descend from Napoleon's Valhalla to deal for a moment with less famous contemporary patrons and their offspring, even they hold constant reminders of more high-minded things. In the earliest of the three

Rivière portraits, and the one most indebted to David, the paterfamilias is seated next to a haphazard array of objects that turn out to be calculated references to recent as well as remote genius. The bindings of the books inform us that two of the volumes contain the works of Rousseau, whereas the name on the unbound cahier is Mozart, who, being only twenty-four years Ingres's senior, would later figure in *The Apotheosis of Homer* as the immortal closest to the painter's own generation. In the foreground of this still life of books and papers, art is added to music and literature in the form of a print after Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* (fig. 17), which had already mesmerized the precocious Ingres by the early 1790s, when he saw a copy of it made by his first art teacher, Joseph Roques—an epiphany he later described as being "like a star that had fallen from heaven."<sup>30</sup> Raphael's painting, in fact, went on to live many different lives in Ingres's work. It could be an appropriate stage prop in his narrative scenes from sixteenth-century historical legend, including *Henry IV Playing with His Children* (W 113; Musée du Petit Palais, Paris) and *Raphael and the Fornarina* (fig. 127), or the source of a headdress he favored, a turban known

as a *scuffia*, which is also worn in Raphael's portrait of La Fornarina (fig. 60) and which turns up often in Ingres's bathers and odalisques as well as in his recreations of the story of Raphael and his legendary love and inspiration.<sup>31</sup>

Formally speaking, the coiling rhythms of flesh and fabric in the *Madonna della Sedia* may also provide a point of departure for Ingres's portrait of Philibert Rivière's wife, Sabine (cat. no. 9), who in fact looks as though she were painted by a far more daring artist than the one who painted her husband. As revealed by X rays,<sup>32</sup> she was originally seated against a chairback, but the perpetuum mobile of arabesques, beginning with the Neo-Gothic quatrefoil pattern inscribed on the furniture frame in the lower right, finally triumphed over such a gravity-bound, sedentary structure. The result is a coloratura aria on a theme by Raphael, in which a dominant motif of the *Madonna della Sedia*—the mixture of a chair fragment with a cushioning roundness of clothing and exposed flesh—is brought to the highest pitch of caressing embellishment. Raphael's lucid circularity becomes a serpents' nest of ovoid patterns; his amply modeled figures and draperies are compressed to shadowless reliefs; his decorative fringes now quiver like sea anemones with delicately pulsating life. As for the robust limbs and soft, plump fingers of Raphael's mother and infants, these normative anatomies are attenuated to audacious extremes, as if the sitters' flesh and bones were elastic enough to obey the artist's every command. In Ingres's hands, Raphael's more generalized rendering of textures takes on the sharp-focus precision of clothing and jewelry perceived as if through a magnifying glass, permitting us to discern every stitch of the cashmere shawl's minuscule pattern of exotically stylized leaves and fruit.

Raphael's ghost would be reincarnated in countless and often unexpected ways throughout Ingres's career, inhabiting his portraits as well as his more explicit homages to what he considered the perfection of the master's religious art. For instance, the portrait of the Rivières' thirteen-year-old daughter, Caroline (fig. 58), has been seen as recalling, in its almost embalmed pose and gesture, Raphael's *La Fornarina* (fig. 60), which also haunted many of Ingres's nudes.<sup>33</sup> Then there is the drama of the parted green curtains that Raphael used to disclose the luminous vision of *The Sistine Madonna* (fig. 18). When he painted *The Vow of Louis XIII* (fig. 146), Ingres resurrected this *trompe l'oeil* theater as an undisguised acknowledgment of his venerable prototype, but this Raphaelesque motif was also echoed more subtly in his portraiture. The similar curtains in the background of the

1804 *Bonaparte as First Consul* (cat. no. 2), which are drawn back to reveal the cathedral of Saint-Lambert in the Liège suburbs (damaged by Austrian bombardment in 1794 and later reconstructed, thanks to Napoleonic benevolence), might be only a coincidental parallel to the religious revelation of the Raphael's heavenly draperies. However, their appearance in the uncommonly dramatic portrait of Caroline Murat (cat. no. 34) is probably a much closer paraphrase. Here, the parted green curtains create the sudden illusion of grandeur, allowing us to see for a moment the queen of Naples, who reigns above us in an image that, as Carol Ockman has pointed out,<sup>34</sup> mirrors almost exactly Ingres's consular portrait of Bonaparte, the sitter's brother. Caroline's head, framed by window mullions and crowned by a flurry of black plumes, rises even higher than the clouds of Vesuvian smoke that are disclosed against the spectacular, blue-skied view of her kingdom's most famous landmark. Later, in 1828, Ingres used the same curtains descended from Raphael's Christian skies in a harem bathing scene (fig. 19), where they produce the clandestine effect of a gentleman's peephole view into an erotic paradise.

Ingres would have claimed that his greatest and most sustained loyalties were to Raphael, but, like Picasso, he could find inspiration in any chapter of art history and could use his sources in the most overt as well as covert ways. His portraits, as much as his subject paintings,



Fig. 17. Raphael (1483–1520). *Madonna della Sedia*, ca. 1512. Oil on wood, diam. 28 in. (71.1 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Florence



Fig. 18. Raphael (1483–1520). *The Sistine Madonna*, ca. 1512–13. Oil on wood,  $104\frac{3}{8} \times 77\frac{1}{8}$  in. (265 × 196 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

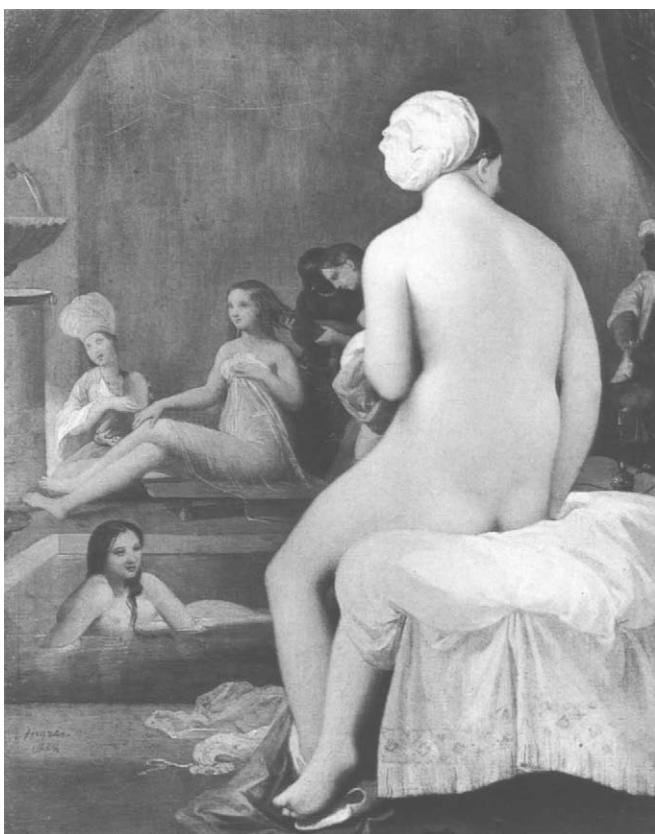


Fig. 19. *La Petite Baigneuse*, or *Intérieur de Harem*, 1828 (W 205). Oil on canvas,  $13\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$  in. (35 × 27 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

reflect this encyclopedic diversity of references. Raphael and Poussin might be predictable ancestors, but others, like Boucher, may come as a surprise, especially for an artist who was a student of David. Ingres had entered the master's studio in 1797 as a seventeen year old, just in time to share the welling dissension of those fellow students who felt David had not gone far enough in purging himself of the lingering decadence of the ancien régime. As for David's heroic effort at regressing to a more purified realm of Greek rather than Roman art, *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* of 1799 (fig. 42), these young Turks hurled such insults as "Vanloo," "Pompadour," and "Rococo."<sup>35</sup> Indeed, many of Ingres's paintings and drawings from 1800 to 1806 (including the double portrait of the stiffly posed, cylinder-necked Harvey sisters [cat. no. 22]) reflect the preference for archaic art and literature that would give David's most rebellious students the name "Les Primitifs."

Yet the Rococo traditions the younger generation wanted to exterminate in art as in politics would keep emerging in unexpected guises. In his study of the *Comtesse d'Haussonville*, Munhall introduced as one source of inspiration Boucher's famous 1756 portrait of Madame

de Pompadour (fig. 20), which provides a lineage for the mirror background to the sitter's meditative pose.<sup>36</sup> Especially for an artist like Ingres, who had worked on David's austere portrait of Madame Récamier in 1800 (fig. 306),<sup>37</sup> Boucher's painting could hardly have symbolized better the detested art of the Rococo. But its legacy in Ingres's portraiture was continually fruitful, starting about 1814, with *Madame de Senonnes* (cat. no. 35), which offers a virtual Western pendant to the exotic luxury and indolence of the famous odalisque Ingres painted at the same time (fig. 101). Like Boucher's portrait, *Madame de Senonnes* contrasts the material opulence of the sitter's dress and jewelry with a filmy mirror background that also reflects a *profil perdu* and a bit of the billowing upholstery that cushions her pose of studied relaxation, a far cry from Madame Récamier's tense, upright posture on the hardest of chaises longues. As in the Boucher portrait, the potentially cloying surfeit of Madame de Senonnes's wardrobe (which includes, as a throwaway, the same kind of cashmere shawl worn by Madame Rivière) is instantly alleviated by the gold-framed vista of another room, hazily defined by rectilinear fragments of pilasters. The foreground congestion of feminine fashions, almost



Fig. 20. François Boucher (1703–1770). *Madame de Pompadour*, 1756. Oil on canvas, 79 × 62 in. (200.7 × 157.5 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich

accessible to touch, shifts abruptly to an atmospheric void, a welcome breathing space for the eye and the imagination. This shifting contrast of near and far, of material density versus glassy illusion, became one of Ingres's most evocative themes, brought to further heights in his portraits of the Comtesse d'Haussonville (cat. no. 125) and Madame Moitessier (cat. nos. 133, 134).

In view of the intense nostalgia for Rococo luxury that characterized so many aspects of Second Empire life and style, it is also plausible to consider the late portrait of Madame Moitessier (cat. no. 134)—a full-scale resurrection of the *style Pompadour* so hated by David and his students—the more chiseled counterpart of Winterhalter's fashion-plate portraits of Empress Eugenie and her entourage. Here again, Ingres turned his master's swans into peacocks, leaving decades behind him the spare, white sinuosity of style and costume that marked so many Davidian paragons of femininity from the early century. Indeed, his rendering of Madame Moitessier's fringed and beribboned dress, with its tumbling roses, may find its closest rival in Boucher's loving description of Madame de Pompadour's extravaganza of green taffeta, festooned with lace and garlands of roses.

Whether he was faced with a queen of the drawing room or an emperor of France, a businessman or a bourgeois family, Ingres, throughout seven decades of painting and drawing his contemporaries, never stopped adapting the facts of living people and ephemeral fashions to a multitude of references in the history of Western portraiture. Moreover, the taut contours and crystalline perception that marked his style could immobilize these mirrorlike images, transforming a variety of social and psychological types into icons. His genius, of course, was inimitable, but his portraits constantly provided themes for countless variations that would be reflected in the work not only of his own students but of many later generations.<sup>38</sup> Such is the case in the 1838 portrait of Isaure Chassériau by Amaury-Duval, the first student to enroll in the atelier Ingres opened in Paris in 1825 (fig. 21).<sup>39</sup> The young sitter, herself the niece of an Ingres student, Théodore Chassériau, offers a precocious painted version of that hybrid of sacred and secular divinity Ingres so often created for his patrons. The girl's hypnotic stare and fixed symmetry are also found in earlier portrait drawings by Ingres of young women whose aura of sanctity suggests they may be playing the role of a Vestal Virgin or a novice in a nunnery. Already members of this pious sorority are Mademoiselle Jeanne Hayard (1815; cat. no. 51) and Mademoiselle Louise Vernet (1835; cat. no. 112), each of whom becomes a figure in an imaginary shrine. In Amaury-Duval's portrait, the framelike molding on the rear wall further distances the sitter from prosaic reality, much as the wreath of roses in her hair strengthens the aura of ritual mystery. This transformation into an ideal cult object is enforced by the Ingresque purities of line and contour, the perfect symmetry of her sloping shoulders matching the cylindrical clarity of her folded arms. On reaching maturity, Isaure, we feel, might well turn into the haughty, standing divinity that Ingres envisioned in his first portrait of Madame Moitessier (cat. no. 133).

Ingres's iconic portrait formulas were reflected as well in the work of still later nineteenth-century generations. The portraits of Gérôme, for instance, often rely as closely on Ingres's prototypes as do his marmoreal nudes. In one of an unidentified woman, perhaps the artist's wife (fig. 22), we may again feel the ghost of Ingres.<sup>40</sup> It was a particularly topical presence, given the fact that the painting probably dates from the years just after the master's death on January 14, 1867, which was quickly commemorated with a huge retrospective (584 works) that permitted the Parisian art world to see, among other things, Ingres's long-term achievement as a portraitist.<sup>41</sup>

The 153 portraits shown—25 paintings and 128 drawings—included the 1806 *Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne* (cat. no. 10), whose political and aesthetic excesses prompted Cézanne's parodic response, a grotesquely "enthroned" portrait of his pitifully deformed painter friend, the dwarf Achille Emperaire (fig. 23).<sup>42</sup> But Gérôme's position, of course, was one of respect, not youthful rebellion, and his portrait from the late 1860s seems, with its assorted memories of the comtesse d'Haussonville and Madame Moitessier, almost a reverent composite of Ingres's achievement. Nevertheless, the master's poetry has been translated into a far more literal prose, with Gérôme playing Ter Borch to Ingres's Vermeer. Typically, Gérôme adds more information to Ingres's more selective realities, including the full-length display of the sitter's dress and train, a mirror reflection not only of the back of her head but of a family portrait (possibly the sitter's father), and a beloved dog clutched over her heart. To be sure, Ingres, too, could occasionally include a pet dog in a portrait drawing, as in *Madeleine Henriette-Ursule Claire and Her Dog Trim* (cat.

no. 73), but in the painted portraits, his more high-minded self would always win out.

If Ingres's definitive depictions of well-to-do contemporary women were reliable points of departure for nineteenth-century establishment portraiture, as they often were, in subtler ways, for the milieu of Degas, Tissot, and Whistler, his no less decisive characterizations of men also cast a long shadow. As just one example, there is the unforgettable portrait of Bertin (cat. no. 99), which created a norm for depictions of prominent men of action and power, whether intellectual or executive. Two official portraits of the 1890s may illustrate this legacy. One is Constant's depiction of a major patron of the Louvre, Alfred Chauchard (fig. 24),<sup>43</sup> who scrutinizes us from his quasi-photographic monochrome setting as severely as did Bertin, whose portrait, in fact, entered the Louvre in the same year (1897) that Chauchard's stern image appeared at the annual Salon. Another is the commemorative portrait of Ernest Renan, painted by Léon Bonnat in 1892, the year of the great historian's death (fig. 25). He, even more than Chauchard, has inherited Bertin's probing gaze and hands-on-thighs energy, as well as his no-nonsense simplicity of setting and monochrome palette.<sup>44</sup> The Renan portrait was exhibited at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900, where it might well have reinforced the authority of the Bertin portrait for two artists who must have seen it there, Vallotton and Picasso. Both of them, it turned out, would soon absorb Bertin's image in their portraits of Gertrude Stein. Picasso, in 1906, deftly reincarnated this formula for heavyset men of action and letters in what is perhaps, among other things, a joking comment on Stein's ponderous bulk and sexual preference (fig. 26). One year later, Vallotton turned to the same source for his portrait of Stein (fig. 27), pointing out the resemblance, right down to the pudgy fingers, in an even more direct way than Picasso.<sup>45</sup>

It was Picasso, above all, who rejuvenated Ingres's portraiture for the twentieth century in ways both apparent and stealthy; in fact, his ongoing dialogue with the master is so long and so complex that it warrants a full-length study. For instance, he recreated his own mirror image in 1917 in the guise of Ingres's early self-portrait of 1804;<sup>46</sup> he transformed Marie-Thérèse Walter into the seated Madame Moitessier;<sup>47</sup> he mimicked Ingres's portrait drawing style as an appropriate language to record an upwardly mobile milieu of the Parisian art world, including the wives and children of the dealers Georges Wildenstein and Paul Rosenberg, who handled modern artists as well as Ingres.<sup>48</sup>



Fig. 21. Eugène-Emmanuel Amaury-Duval (1808–1885). *Israëlle Chassériau*, 1838. Oil on canvas,  $46 \times 35\frac{3}{4}$  in. ( $117 \times 90$  cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes



Fig. 22. Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904). *Portrait of a Lady* (Marie Gérôme?), ca. 1866–70. Location unknown

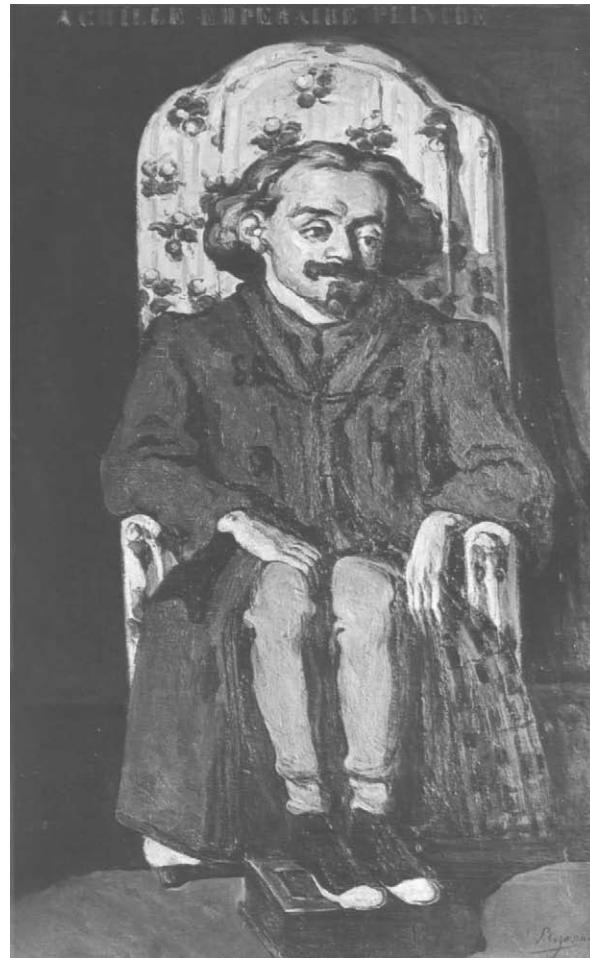


Fig. 23. Paul Cézanne (1839–1906). *Achille Emperaire*, 1867–68. Oil on canvas,  $78\frac{3}{4} \times 47\frac{1}{4}$  in. (200 × 120 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Picasso particularly loved to materialize the specter of Ingres within his own domestic confines, envisioning his wife or lover in the role of this or that Ingres sitter. His first wife, Olga Khokhlova, was the constant object of this pictorial alchemy that blurred the boundary between art and life. Just before their marriage in June 1918, he had Olga pose seated in an upholstered armchair, fan in hand, as if she were in the lap of Ingresa luxury, and then photographed her (fig. 28). The photograph, in turn, was transformed into a painting (fig. 29; now datable as spring 1918, not 1917)<sup>49</sup> that appears to be an eerie resurrection of the 1807 portrait of Madame Duvaucey (fig. 87). Suddenly, Olga has inhabited the body and spirit of Ingres's sitter, whether one looks at the part in the center of the smoothly groomed dark hair that crowns the perfectly oval head, or the cameolike modeling of porcelain flesh that runs from the neck through the tubular arms in sensual contrast with the inky blackness of the dress. And the strange expression of wistful aloofness mixed with confrontation adds yet another echo of Ingres.

With Olga as medium, Ingres's ghosts often turned into flesh in Picasso's new domestic milieu. During the summer of 1920 at Juan-les-Pins, he could see his wife relaxing in a peignoir, instantly transform her head, shoulders, and décolletage into the imperious standing portrait of Madame Moitessier (cat. no. 133), and then bring this exalted reference back to earth with the joke of an obtrusive pair of bare feet (fig. 30). Or, as he spied Olga reading, one shoe on and one shoe off, in the cushioning embrace of an armchair (fig. 32), he might see, instead, the seated Madame Moitessier (cat. no. 134), one finger of her unforgettably invertebrate hand on her temple. Olga can also appear in the guise of Madame Marcotte de Sainte-Marie (cat. no. 97), reenacting her dour countenance and withdrawn posture in an odd collage of paper drawings mounted on canvas (fig. 31).

Such adaptations of Ingres's portraiture seem to quote not only his sitters' postures and moods but also his own wide pictorial vocabulary, which can move from an almost pure outline to an illusion of fully modeled

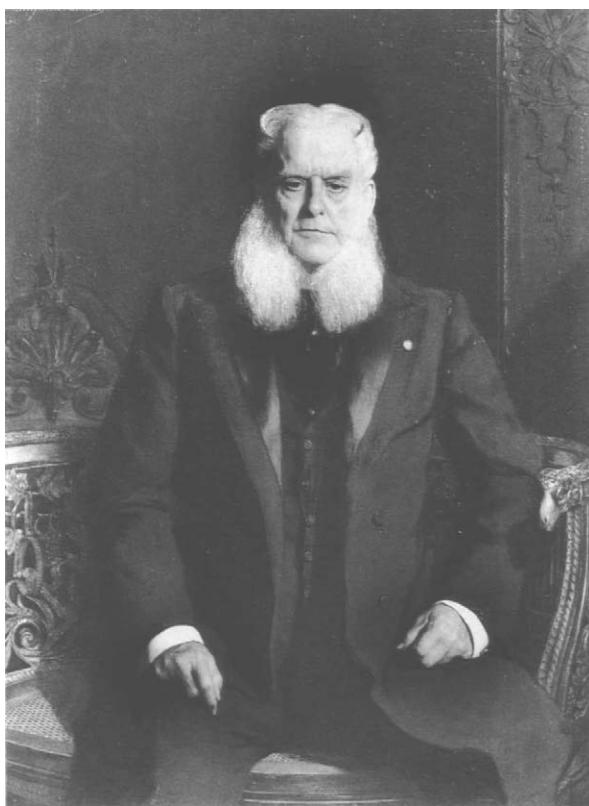


Fig. 24. J.-J.-B. Benjamin-Constant (1845–1902). *Alfred Chauchard*, 1896. Oil on canvas,  $51\frac{1}{2} \times 38\frac{1}{4}$  in. (130.5 × 97 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 25. Léon Bonnat (1833–1922). *Ernest Renan*, 1892. Oil on canvas,  $43\frac{1}{4} \times 35\frac{3}{8}$  in. (110 × 90 cm). Musée Renan, Tréguier, France

anatomy and clothing that is nevertheless undermined by the insistent spatial compression. The 1918 portrait of Olga (fig. 29), for instance, provides just such a parallel, creating almost a collage effect of juxtaposed fabric and flesh patterns. Such illusory textures and volumes are immediately contradicted by the surprising expanse of unfinished canvas marked here and there by tentative pencil and paint marks, a reminder of the plain paper background exposed in a rapidly improvised *papier collé*. It is an effect related to such an overtly Cubist painting as that inspired in the summer of 1914 by an earlier lover, Eva Gouël, generally titled *Portrait of a Young Girl* (fig. 33), a “portrait” that might be considered a witty update of Ingres’s *Madame Rivière* (cat. no. 9). Picasso here translates the master’s decorative profusion of shawls, lace, upholstery, and jewelry into his own Cubist patchwork quilt, which includes a feathery, serpentine boa rhyming with the upholstered curves of the armchair; an elaborate hat adorned with flowers that match the corsage on her breast; a jabot of speckled lace falling over her elongated, puffy sleeves; and snippets of a floral wallpaper pattern.<sup>50</sup> As for the sitter herself, her head and body have disappeared under this surfeit of feminine fashions, leaving exposed only one ungloved hand which, in its relieflike

modeling, recalls the flattened anatomies of *Madame Rivière*’s visible flesh.

It should be remembered that when it was first exhibited, *Madame Rivière* shocked critics because of its rejection of conventional modeling, its anatomical distortions, its effect of blond, unshadowed flatness—all characteristics that would, to Cubist eyes, give the painting a surprisingly topical look.<sup>51</sup> Seen this way, *Madame Rivière* has that quality of abruptly colliding patterns which Picasso explored in his pasted-paper cutouts, a scrapbook style that he imitated in the completely painted surface of the 1914 “portrait.” Picasso’s attraction to *Madame Rivière* and its progeny was, in fact, articulated clearly in 1921 in an article written for *L’Esprit nouveau* by Roger Bissière, who, in the aftermath of Cubism, tried to bridge the gap between new and old masters. Referring to *Madame Rivière*, among others, Bissière stressed how Ingres’s portraits anticipated those of Cézanne and Picasso by challenging, with their “living geometry, everything that was once understood by aerial perspective,” and by asserting how “the painting remains an inflexibly flat surface in which distant planes are wrenched to the foreground.”<sup>52</sup> Picasso had clearly seen this point earlier, and he may also have found inspiration in *Madame Rivière*’s



Fig. 26. Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). *Gertrude Stein*, 1906. Oil on canvas,  $39\frac{3}{8} \times 32$  in. ( $100 \times 81.3$  cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Gertrude Stein



Fig. 27. Félix Vallotton (1865–1915). *Gertrude Stein*, 1907. Oil on canvas,  $39\frac{1}{2} \times 32$  in. ( $100.3 \times 81.2$  cm). Baltimore Museum of Art



Fig. 28. Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). *Olga*, spring 1918. Photograph. Musée Picasso, Paris



Fig. 29. Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). *Olga in an Armchair*, spring 1918. Oil on canvas,  $51\frac{1}{8} \times 35$  in. ( $130 \times 88$  cm). Musée Picasso, Paris



Fig. 30. Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). *Olga in a Robe*, summer 1920.  
Graphite on paper,  
 $15\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{5}{8}$  in. (38.5 ×  
32 cm). Private  
collection



Fig. 31. Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). *Olga*, 1921. Pastel  
and charcoal on paper, mounted on canvas,  $50 \times 38$  in.  
(127 × 96.5 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, on extended loan  
to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble



Fig. 32. Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). *Woman Reading (Olga)*,  
1920. Oil on canvas,  $65\frac{3}{8} \times 40\frac{1}{8}$  in. (166 × 102 cm). Musée  
National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture  
Georges Pompidou, Paris

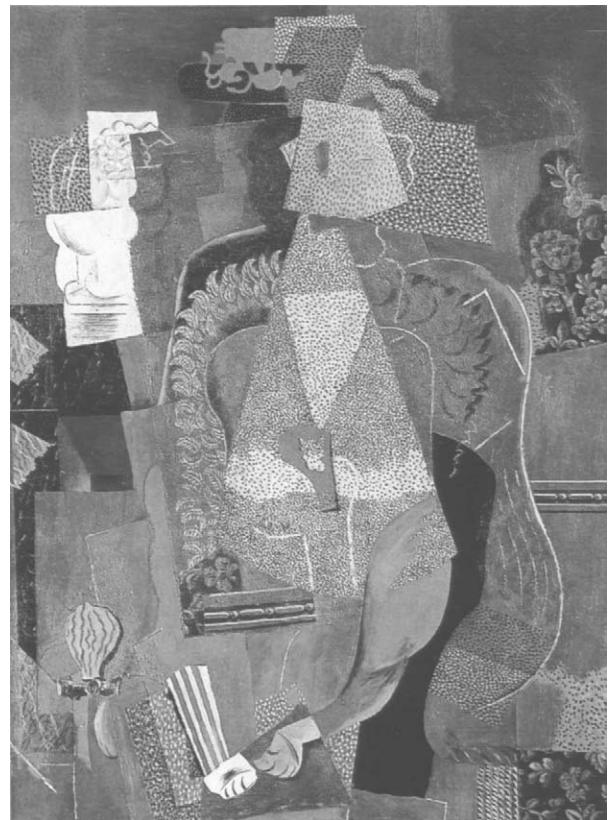


Fig. 33. Pablo Picasso (1881–1973). *Portrait of a Young Girl*,  
summer 1914. Oil on canvas,  $51\frac{1}{4} \times 38\frac{1}{8}$  in. (130 × 97 cm).  
Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de  
Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris



Fig. 34. Richard Pettibone  
(b. 1938). *After Ingres*, 1976. Oil  
on canvas, about  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 11$  in.  
( $27.3 \times 27.9$  cm). Collection Marc  
Moyens, Alexandria, Virginia



oval format, which he often used for Cubist figure paintings and still lifes, whose buoyant vocabulary of weightless, floating fragments was particularly suited to a tapered shape that minimized the downward pull of gravity. And in his mock portrait of an invisible Eva, he also revived most humorously Ingres's familiar lesson that "clothes make the woman."

Like other museum-goers, artists have never stopped marveling at the miraculous fusion of visible truths and abstract fantasies that marks the greatest of Ingres's portraits. Even during the evolution of the antirealist languages created by de Kooning and Gorky, Ingres's portraiture was often a talisman. We know, for example, that these two masters, on their frequent visits to the Metropolitan Museum, particularly venerated *Madame Leblanc* (cat. no. 88), whose walleyed gaze and fluid anatomy would often be resurrected in their figure paintings of the 1940s.<sup>53</sup> Much younger generations made other surprising deductions from the premises of Ingres's portraiture. Richard Pettibone, a pioneer of the art of replication who, as early as the 1960s, had made diminutive copies of works by such contemporaries as Stella and

Fig. 35. Cindy Sherman (b. 1954).  
*Untitled #204*, 1989. Color photograph,  
 $59\frac{3}{4} \times 53\frac{1}{4}$  in. (151.8  $\times$  135.3 cm).  
Edition of 6



Warhol, would in the next decade try his meticulous hand at creating equally small color reproductions of both the whole and the fragmentary details of paintings by Ingres, with results that look like jeweler's-glass views of the *Comtesse d'Haussonville* or the *Princesse de Broglie* (fig. 34).

The fullest homage to Ingres's portraiture, however, is surely found in one of Cindy Sherman's many anthologies of self-portraits, the 1989–90 series of old-master portrait icons. Turning to Ingres from Fouquet and Botticelli, Raphael and Holbein, she recreates herself as a synthesis of decors, wardrobes, and postures culled from the most opulent of the master's society women (fig. 35). From *Madame de Sennones* (cat. no. 35), for instance, she borrows the papers wedged into the mirror frame and reflected there together with the sitter's back; from *Madame Rivière*

(cat. no. 9), the rising and falling embrace of a sinuous shawl and the casual display of idle fingers adorned with precious-metal rings; from the first *Madame Moitessier* (cat. no. 133), the willfully wayward, off-center turn of a pearl necklace against a commanding bosom; from the second *Madame Moitessier* (cat. no. 134), the pensive head elegantly supported by an index finger and a curling wrist.<sup>54</sup> From these and many other Ingres quotations, Sherman fashions and then physically inhabits a new Ingres portrait—one that rushes back and forth from contemporary (now literally photographic) reality to the remote sanctuaries of history and art museums, shuffling past and present in what is diagnosed these days as a symptom of postmodernism. But, current categories aside, isn't that what Ingres was doing, too?

1. See New York, Paris 1996–97.
2. See Zurich, Tübingen 1994–95, and Ottawa, Chicago, Fort Worth 1997–98.
3. Beginning in the 1980s, all of these once fashionable painters who depicted an international Who's Who of sitters have had exhibitions devoted to their work.
4. Sixty-eight works by Ingres are listed in the catalogue of the Exposition Universelle of 1855 (there are twenty-five works under no. 3340 and four under no. 3375, as well as one portrait in the supplement, no. 5048); see Paris 1855. However, the installation shot also shows the unlisted portrait of Prince Napoleon, bringing the tally up to sixty-nine.
5. For Ingres's own description of the details of this complex allegory, see Delaborde 1870, no. 33.
6. For more on the origins of Ingres's attraction to bas-relief, see Cambridge (Mass.) 1973.
7. Maynard 1833, p. 58. For more on Denner and Bertin, see Rosenblum 1967a, fig. 117 and p. 137.
8. Pope-Hennessy 1970, p. 255.
9. Quoted on p. 514 in this catalogue.
10. Such a comparison is already found in Rosenblum 1967a, pp. 36, 114.
11. See Vigne 1995b, p. 174.
12. For the fullest account of this version, see Paris 1985, pp. 79–84.
13. See Lowry and Lowry 1998, pl. 48 and p. 122.
14. On the related portrait studies of Clémence de Rayneval, see Paris 1985, pp. 95–96.
15. See, for example, Paris, London 1994–95, p. 271 (English ed.), where Ingres's derivations from the painting are also mentioned.
16. For the first full account of the classical source for *Madame Moitessier*, see Davies 1936; see also Paris 1967–68, no. 251.
17. "belle et calme Junon." Maurois 1948, no. 26. Gautier (June 27, 1847) also referred to Madame Moitessier, when he saw the unfinished portrait in 1847, as "junonien" ("Junoesque"); see Rosenblum 1967a, p. 164.
18. On this commission, see Ternois and Camesasca 1984, pp. 118–19.
19. For a full discussion of the portrait of Isabelle Hittorff, see Paris 1985, pp. 124–28.
20. See ibid., pp. 129–33. For more about the *Venus on Paphos*, see Vigne 1995b, p. 280.
21. The classical Polyhymnia and one of its nineteenth-century sculptural reincarnations by Jean-Marie-Bienaimé Bonnassieux are illustrated in Rosenblum 1967a, p. 33. For a much fuller account of sources for this pose, see New York 1985–86, chap. IV.
22. New York 1985–86, especially chaps. VI and VII.
23. For a full account of this copy, see New York 1988c, no. 51.
24. For some of these antagonistic comments, see pp. 499–500 in this catalogue.
25. Voïart 1806, pp. 25–26.
26. See Rosenblum 1967a, p. 68, and Paris 1985, pp. 32–36.
27. This illustrated history of the French monarchy is fully discussed in Brown and Orth 1997, pp. 7–24.
28. As seen in the lifelong series of variations, begun in 1813, on the theme of a Bohemian young Raphael in his studio, balanced between the inspiration of love, in the form of La Fornarina in his lap, and the unfinished portrait on his easel.

29. On this family trio, see Paris 1985, pp. 18–31. Because the portrait of Monsieur Rivière was unmentioned by the critics, it has been suggested that it was either not included with the group or was too conservative to provoke comment.
30. “comme un astre du ciel.” Ingres to Roques, July 29, 1844, in Boyer d’Agen 1909, pp. 374–75. For a rich anthology concerning the shadow Raphael cast on Ingres and his contemporaries, see Paris 1983–84, pp. 122–23.
31. See Ribeiro 1995, p. 180.
32. Paris 1985, p. 28.
33. Ibid., p. 30.
34. Ockman 1995, p. 45.
35. Delécluze 1855, p. 421.
36. New York 1985–86, p. 118.
37. Ingres is known to have made drawings of some of the accessories in *Madame Récamier* (Musée Ingres Montauban, inv. 867.2531, 2532), and it has even been proposed that a drawing he made of the entire painting (fig. 307) may have been executed before rather than after David conceived the sitter’s pose. See Momméja 1891, p. 564, and Boyer d’Agen 1909, p. 13.
38. The impact of Ingres’s portraiture on later nineteenth-century generations is a rich topic. For some early comments, see Rosenblum 1967b.
39. For more on this portrait, see Montrouge 1974, no. 3, and Nantes, Paris, Piacenza 1995–96, p. 328.
40. On the identity of the sitter, see Ackerman 1986, no. 167.
41. See Paris 1867.
42. The satirical meaning of Cézanne’s portrait vis-à-vis Ingres’s *Napoleon* is discussed in Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1990, pp. 482–92.
43. On this, see Rosenblum 1989, p. 398.
44. On the Renan portrait and its lineage, see Rosenblum 1967a, pp. 136–37.
45. For more on the Vallotton portrait, see John Klein in New Haven, Houston, Indianapolis, Amsterdam, Lausanne 1991–93, pp. 117–18.
46. See Kirk Varnedoe in New York, Paris 1996–97, pp. 142–43.
47. For a full discussion of the dialogue between these two paintings, see Rosenblum 1977, pp. 100–105.
48. On this, see particularly Michael C. Fitzgerald in New York, Paris 1996–97, pp. 314–16.
49. For the revision of the date (from 1917 to 1918) and a discussion of the relation of the photographic portrait to the painted one, see Houston 1997–98, p. 162.
50. For the liveliest and most detailed account of this painting, see Richardson 1996, pp. 334–36. For further details on the collage accessories absorbed into the finished painting, see Paris 1998, pp. 58–65.
51. For some early remarks on the relationship of *Madame Rivière* to Cubism, see Rosenblum 1967a, p. 64.
52. “géométrie vivante, tout ce qu’on entendait jadis par perspective aérienne”; “le tableau demeure une surface inflexiblement plane où les plans éloignés sont violemment ramenés en avant.” Bissière 1921, p. 399. For more on Bissière and Ingres, see Ockman 1995, pp. 112–13.
53. On this, see Yard 1986, p. 71. Ingres’s portrait of Cherubini apparently left its effect on this circle, too, as evidenced in John Graham’s *Poussin m’instruct* (1944); see ibid., p. 96.
54. Three of these Ingres sources for Sherman’s portrait are illustrated in Krauss 1993, pp. 173–74.