

American Artists in Munich

Artistic Migration and Cultural Exchange Processes

edited by

Christian Fuhrmeister, Hubertus Kohle
and Veerle Thielemans



Deutscher Kunstverlag Berlin München

Münchener Universitätschriften des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte
Volume 8

LMU

and, simultaneously,
Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München
Volume 21

ZI

This volume presents the proceedings of the conference "American Artists in Munich. Artistic Migration and Cultural Exchange Processes," October 9–11, 2007, organized by the research group "Forschungen zur Künstlerausbildung / Research on the Formation of Artists" in cooperation with the Terra Foundation for American Art and with support of the Amerika Haus München e.V.



TERRA
FOUNDATION FOR AMERICAN ART

The conference received additional support from



Landeshauptstadt
München
Kulturreferat



Publication of the proceedings was generously aided by

TERRA
FOUNDATION FOR AMERICAN ART



ZI LMU

Landeshauptstadt
München
Kulturreferat

AKADEMIE DER
BILDENDEN KÜNSTE
MÜNCHEN



The articles were prepared for publication
by Christian Fuhrmeister.

Cover illustration:

Margrit Behrens, ZI, using a detail from a wood engraving by H. Nisle, ca. 1895
(Academy of Fine Arts, Munich, Image Collection)

The German National Library registers this publication
in the German National Bibliography;
detailed bibliographical data is available in the internet
via <<http://dnb.ddb.de>>.

Typesetting and Layout: Miriam Heymann
Scans: Camscan, Stiefenhofen

Print and binding: DZA Druckerei zu Altenburg GmbH, Altenburg

Fonts: Adobe Garamond/The Sans

© 2009 Deutscher Kunstverlag Berlin München
ISBN 978-3-422-06833-9

Contents

Christian Fuhrmeister and Veerle Thielemans

Introduction 7

Hollis Clayson

Voluntary Exile and Cosmopolitanism in the Transatlantic Arts Community,
1870–1914 15

Frank Büttner

The Academy and Munich's Fame as a City of Art 27

Susanne Böller

American Artists at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich 1850–1920 43

Ekkehard Mai

The Impact of the Art Academy at Düsseldorf on the Evolution of American Art ... 57

Ursula Frohne

"A kind of Teutonic Florence." Cultural and Professional Aspirations
of American Artists in Munich 73

Helmut Hess

Making Art and Money. Art Publishers and American Artists in Munich 87

Eric Rosenberg

J. Frank Currier, Munich and the Anxious State of American Art ca. 1880 99

Diane Radycki

American Women Artists in Munich, or *Die Frauen ohne Schatten* 109

Kathleen Curran

Munich's Architecture and the Modern American Institution 125

André Dambrowski

Wilhelm Leibl in Paris: International Realism during the Late Second Empire 135

Conclusion

The examples described here – churches, public libraries, and museums – were nationally recognized institutions. They were built or founded in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Germany's intellectual contributions to education, art history, and philosophy were highly valued. It was not simply a matter of artistic and architectural exchange, it was also Germany's institutions that were considered valid and relevant for the young United States.

Finally, there is newness to take into consideration. Munich was a young capital, which Ludwig I put on the artistic map. His desire for instant history often fueled Americans as well. America had no real Romanesque churches, so why not build new ones? It had no old palaces like the Louvre or the Pitti to exhibit art, so why not construct instant old interiors? It was Munich's solution to solving the problem of the modern institution in a new, industrial world that factored in the vibrant artistic exchange between the two countries.

Notes

- 1 Information for aspects of this essay is expanded upon in Kathleen Curran, *The Romanesque Revival: Religion, Politics, and Transnational Exchange* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).
- 2 Upjohn to Woods, 11 May 1850, Chapel Papers, Bowdoin College Archives.
- 3 For a history of the Ludwig-Missionsverein, see Theodore Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States (1838–1918)* (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1933); P. Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., *Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern* (Munich: Priester-Missionsbund in Bayern, 1939).
- 4 Ostendarp and his pupil Raphael Pfisterer painted several churches in the Mid-Atlantic region. Information on the Studio of Christian Art may be found in the archives of Saint Mary's abbey, Newark, New Jersey. See also Curran, *The Romanesque Revival* (see note 1), 92.
- 5 For information on Henry Englebert, I am indebted to Augustine Curley, O.S.B., Saint Mary's, Newark, NJ.
- 6 George Ticknor, *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor* (Boston: J.R. Osgood & Co., 1876), I:72 n.
- 7 See Curran, *The Romanesque Revival* (see note 1), 227–240 for information on the public library movement.
- 8 Sarah Bradford Landau and Carl W. Condit, *Rise of the New York Skyscraper, 1865–1913* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 42.
- 9 See, for example, Kathryn E. Holliday, *Leopold Eidlitz: Architecture and Idealism in the Gilded Age* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008).
- 10 The impact of cultural history on the American art museum is the subject of my book (in progress) with the (working) title "Atmosphere and Art: Cultural History and the Transformation of the American Museum."
- 11 *Communications to the Trustees*, 4 vols. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1904–6).
- 12 See, for example, Charles R. Richards, *Industrial Art and the Museum* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), 12. Richards discusses major European cultural history museums and includes several illustrations of the Bavarian National Museum.
- 13 Barber to Morris, 27 April 1910 [Morris file], Barber Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- 14 Morris to Barber, 24 May 1910 [Morris file], Barber Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives. As a result of Morris's and Barber's visit to Munich, the Pennsylvania Museum installed its first period rooms in 1910–11. Barber also admired Paris's Musée de Cluny, Berlin's Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and London's Wallace Collection.

André Dombrowski

Wilhelm Leibl in Paris: International Realism during the Late Second Empire¹

Artists in the nineteenth century – perhaps the most international century the world had yet experienced – albeit deeply marked by their nationality, still often saw themselves above and beyond it. Their ambiguous production of distance from the national norm can be heard clearly in the letter Edgar Degas wrote to James Tissot on the De Gas brothers' cotton-exchange office stationary on November 19, 1872, during his extended stay in New Orleans that winter:

The practical Englishman seems to be bristling with mania and prejudices. One feels at once that there is rivalry with the mother country. – Mother country? But Germans are arriving in their thousands, half the shops in Broadway have names like Eimer and Wolf, Schumaker and Vogel, etc. Texas is full of Germans. The other day a French maid whom René had engaged before leaving arrived on a small German boat. In the hold, like niggers in Biard's pictures, were 651 German emigrants fleeing the Vaterland, misery and a new war with Russia or fair France.²

Enabled by his own aristocratic status and sense of privilege, Degas deftly summarized the scope of nineteenth-century migration, its speed, volume, and social ordering. As an artist traveling freely, without the imperative to forge a new life, Degas felt himself distanced from the nationalist and economic forces shaping the new continent and its social map, yet he was simultaneously fascinated by them. An aesthetic of wartime dislocation ("a new war with Russia or fair France"), of a world up for grabs, was distinctly operative here and not just here; it is a hallmark of other painters traveling in Western Europe and the US as well.

Wilhelm Leibl, born in 1844 in Cologne and thus Prussian by birth, left Munich, where he studied, for Strasbourg and eventually Paris on November 13, 1869. He would return in June or July of 1870, just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War.³ At the time, the early forces of Munich realism seemed briefly to have relocated to France. The episode has always been considered pivotal for Leibl's oeuvre and career: in Paris he followed a prominent aristocratic clientele that promised early commercial success; received his first medal and critical acclaim at the Salon of 1870 (achievements he would have to wait until the 1880s to see replicated in Munich); and – perhaps most importantly – was exposed to recent currents of French realist painting. Prior to his sojourn, Leibl had had only limited exposure to the new French trends at the 1869 International Art



1 Wilhelm Leibl,
Young Parisian Woman,
1869, oil on wood,
64,5 × 52,5 cm.
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum,
Cologne

Exhibition in Munich.⁴ Here, he first encountered Gustave Courbet's work, and also met the infamous painter himself. Courbet would remain Munich realism's "artistic guide" for the next two decades at least, even while, or perhaps because, he lived in political exile in Switzerland during the last years of his life (he died in 1877).⁵ That Courbet, and not Manet or the rising Impressionists, became *the* model for avant-garde painting in Munich in the late 1860s and into the 1870s – and remained so longer than in France itself – has been famously referred to by the critic Adolph Bayersdorfer in 1874 as the "Courbetsche Infektion," or the "Courbet infection."⁶

For Leibl, the trip to Paris and the encounter with Courbet was the stimulus for some of the most intriguing paintings of his early career. Paintings that in many accounts are taken as among the first expressions of Munich realism were in fact produced during his stay in the French capital, where Leibl briefly made the city's iconographies and typologies his own. They included the pair of paintings that were to set off his life-long interest in the typologies of female age and piety (best exemplified later by his *Three Women in Church* at the Hamburger Kunsthalle, painted between 1878 and 1882): the so-called *Young Parisian Woman*, formerly often referred to as *Die Kokotte*, and the *Old Parisian Woman*, left unfinished (figs. 1–2). When Leibl painted versions of both a young and an

2 Wilhelm Leibl,
Old Parisian Woman,
1869/70, oil on wood,
81,5 × 64,5 cm.
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum,
Cologne



old woman of Paris, he used their titles to self-consciously insinuate himself into the Frenchness of realism. Showing one woman smoking, Leibl deliberately situated his painting in line with the most Parisian of modern female typologies, that of the modern *Parisienne*, so often painted by Manet, Monet and their contemporaries in the late 1860s.⁷ The type was usually best exemplified by a young fashionable lady of uncertain class status, often in the public mind associated with prostitution; the old woman, in contrast, attends to her rosary and thus performs a more traditional role. Thus a central issue in seeking to understand the import of Leibl's time in Paris turns on international realism's implicit class strategies and ethics. These two paintings, with their mix of Parisian realist strategies, mapped over thematic interests already developed while in Munich, became emblems of the possibilities and limitations of international realism just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War.

Leibl in Paris also underscores how the complex triangulation of political forces that had to be navigated when choosing between France, Prussia and Bavaria after and just before 1870 and 1871 affected foreign artists. While much work remains to be done, it seems likely that in the early years of the 1870s, Munich absorbed some of the more liberal political and artistic tendencies that were foreclosed in the other territories of the

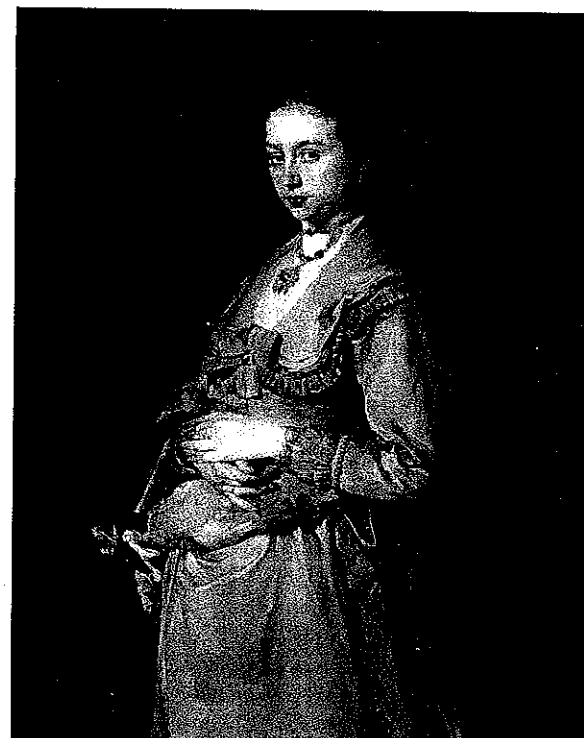
newly founded German Kaiserreich. Indeed, it is possible that these developments were partly responsible for the rise of a Munich realist avant-garde at precisely this moment, while Prussian artists, especially in Berlin, had to negotiate an emerging "imperial style" in part modeled in pronounced contrast to French art.

This essay proceeds from the fact that Munich realism's origins in Leibl make it in fact far more international and cross-cultural (Paris/Munich; Prussia/Bavaria) than is generally acknowledged. As some other essays in this volume demonstrate in greater detail, it was in Munich that some of the most prominent American painters developed their realist impulses at exactly this moment in the 1870s. They included, most famously, Frank Duveneck, Frank Currier and William Merritt Chase, and it is worth understanding the nature of this Parisian/Bavarian realist moment of the Munich school – and its amalgamated and international status – before it could be absorbed, challenged and exported by them.⁸

This study, then, is fundamentally concerned with the national and site-specific roots of a style like realism. Unlike a "universal" classicism and the highly "universalized" individualism generally associated with romanticism, by definition "realism" offered socio-historical specificity and oriented itself fully toward the contemporary world. "Realism" – at least in Courbet's version – promised to make manifest the ties between the painter and the specific (and deeply classed) conditions of painterly production, more so than had been heretofore permissible in large-scale painting. Realism also offered the modern painter and his audiences a means to mirror, investigate and critique the social circumstances of an historical present. But as a style made of, and for, local consumption, realism hardly seems suited to travel and translation. As T. J. Clark has famously argued, the very different criticisms of Courbet's large-scale paintings – when they were shown in 1850 and 1851 in Ornans, where Courbet was from, and subsequently Besançon, Dijon and finally Paris – underscore realism's essential local quality.⁹ The increasing distance from the images' origins only amplified the fraught dynamics of cultural transfer already present in the earliest forms of 1840s realism. How can realism retain its "national," "topical" and "contextual" import even in its earliest transcultural and international exchanges? In the late 1860s and 1870s, it was only beginning to be evident that "realism" could offer successful models for different national styles keyed to different local and national circumstances. Well before other European and American followers emerged, Leibl's visit to Paris was one of the earliest test-cases for the translatability of Courbet's "realism."

Leibl's experience in Paris made the problematic of realism's "site-specificity" tangible for him, and perhaps also for his followers, and such questions matter in determining how it came to pass that "realism" was a key Munich export in the 1870s and 1880s. Indeed, Leibl knew well how to construct pictorial models for a realist art nonetheless legible from a foreigner's perspective. Degas, too, worried over such questions, but came down firmly against the possibility of cultural translation, as in his November 1872 letter to the Danish painter Lorenz Frølich then still in Paris: "[i]t is not good to do Parisian art and Louisiana art indiscriminately, it is liable to turn into the *Monde illustré*. – And then nothing but a really long stay can reveal the customs of a people, that is to say their charm. – Instantaneousness is photography, nothing more."¹⁰

3 Wilhelm Leibl,
Portrait of Mina Gedon,
1869, oil on canvas,
119,5 × 95,7 cm.
Bayerische Staats-
gemäldesammlungen –
Neue Pinakothek, Munich,
Inv.-Nr. 8708



For a painter eager to distinguish himself within his young Munich cohort in Karl von Piloty's studio, Paris was a godsend. Leibl had entered the atelier in late 1867 and now competed there among Munich's youthful painterly elite. His training was traditional: an apprenticeship in Cologne before enrolling in the Munich *Kunstakademie*, through which he had slowly progressed, from Hermann Anschütz's beginning painting instruction via Arthur von Ramberg's – a historic genre painter's – studio through to Piloty, then the most prominent history painter in Munich. The painting *The Critics* completed in 1868 received some acclaim among his fellow students and is often considered among Leibl's earliest mature pictorial statements, even if he would abandon the pathos of such scenes, not least the critic's overly dramatic hand, for contemporary genre paintings that are much less narrativized and staged.¹¹ The other major aspect of his early work besides contemporary genre was portraiture, and the *Portrait of Mina Gedon*, wife of the sculptor Lorenz Gedon and pregnant at the time of the painting, is the work that would lead him to Paris; it would indeed be shown eventually at the Paris Salon of 1870 (fig. 3).

But the portrait was first exhibited at the comprehensive "1. Internationale Kunstausstellung" in Munich in 1869, to great acclaim. Notable for its fine balance between individual characterization and seventeenth-century prototype, that is between careful

observation and Van Dyck-ian compositional methods, it is even replete with a *memento-mori*-like insect placed as an ornament on Mina's hat. The portrait's inclusion in this exhibition marked a crossroad for Leibl. It was at this point that he started to voice a clear opposition to the dominant strands of academic history painting, including its subgenre historic genre painting.¹² Piloty's contribution to the 1869 exhibition (parts of which Leibl himself had completed in Piloty's studio) received his especial scorn, for he wrote to his brother Ferdinand on July 29, 1869: "Piloty has exhibited a historical picture: 'The Announcement of Maria Stuart's Death Verdict.' It is the weakest of Piloty's paintings and, in my opinion, one of the worst pictures of the exhibition."¹³ Obviously such overly dramatic oedipal renunciations speak as much to the system of emulation and competition in which Leibl found himself as to his own proclivity to exaggerate (he regularly overemphasized, as is well known, certain facts about his education and success in the letters to his family). But they also point to the ways in which the dominant strands of Munich academic painting by Kaulbach and Piloty – and their large-scale theatric historic genre works – began slowly to lose their hold over the younger generation of artists studying in Munich, who then began to look for artistic models elsewhere.

Among these models was a younger group of artists, mostly from France and Belgium. In the letter to Ferdinand of July 1869, Leibl enumerated a list long considered, with few exceptions, to have been the inspiration for realism in Munich: "Among the French are noteworthy: Courbet, Millet, Roybet, Couture, Meissonier, Ribot, Troyon and others, among the Dutch Alma Tadema, and among the Belgians especially, compared to the exhibition as a whole: Steevens [sic]. One cannot compete with such artists, but with those from Munich."¹⁴ This last statement shows Leibl's acute sense of self-positioning within the larger European contemporary art context. Yet this circle of realist and modern history painters were not Leibl's own selection, but had rather been brought to his attention by the exhibition committee as representatives for King Ludwig II. It was these officials who opened Munich's doors to the more progressive elements within French painting in order to foster closer cultural ties with France (and not coincidentally as an affront to Prussia, where Courbet especially could not have been exhibited in the late 1860s). Courbet received, and accepted, one of his earliest public awards in Munich: the cross of the Saint Michael's order from the Bavarian king. At the same time, Courbet visited Ramberg's studio, where he is said to have socialized with Ramberg's students including Leibl and Rudolf Hirth du Frènes. As a result, pictorial modes still somewhat unpalatable to the French were thus made acceptable to Leibl even in advance of his trip to Paris. And this was despite the fact that a number of critics in Munich contested the merits of a Millet or Courbet, accusing Millet of socialist tendencies and Courbet of complete formlessness.¹⁵

At this same time, the Comte Robert Tascher de la Pagerie, who was a (distant) relative of Napoléon III., visited Leibl in Piloty's studio around October 16, 1869, accompanied by the aristocratic couple Jules et Sophie de Saux. They were especially interested in his *Portrait of Mina Gedon*. Sophie de Saux was in fact none other than the influential French Salon painter working under the pseudonym "Henriette Browne," who had made her name exhibiting portraits, genre and oriental subjects, such as harem scenes and other exclusively female spaces like the convent.¹⁶ Leibl called her "Juliette Braun" in

a letter shortly after their meeting, having obviously little idea, if any, who she was.¹⁷ But Sophie and her husband convinced Leibl to come to Paris, contribute to the Salon, and paint her portrait, allowing him to travel largely outside the academic structures of Paris during his stay. The young painter was inevitably flattered by the prospects.¹⁸ One month after their meeting, he left for Paris and told his parents he was to stay with the aristocratic couple on rue Jean Goujon, in the chic and newly Haussmannized 8th arrondissement between Avenue Montaigne and the Palais de l'Industrie¹⁹ – a prospect, though, that never seems to have materialized.

Not much is known about Leibl's contact with Henriette Browne after he arrived in Paris in November 1869. We do not know whether her portrait commission was ever finished nor whether others materialized for the young painter as she had promised. The portrait has long been considered lost, although some scholars believe the *Woman in Black*, today at the Oblastní galerie Liberec (Czech Republic), is a possible contender, even though it seems likely that it was not painted until about 1872.²⁰ Instead of reaching out to Courbet and other French contacts, Leibl remained for the rest of his stay deeply committed to the German artists then in Paris. In the catalogue to the 1870 Salon, he was listed as from Cologne and student of Piloty – "né à Cologne (Prusse), élève de M. Piloty" – and his Parisian address was given as "Rue Duperré, 9" in the 9th arrondissement, the studio of his friend Fritz Paulsen (and not all too far from Place de Clichy, where Manet worked at 34, Boulevard des Batignolles).²¹

Leibl's circle in Paris, it seems, consisted of mostly painters from Munich and Frankfurt. We have proof only that he visited the studios of Jean-Léon Gérôme and Alfred Stevens, and there is no evidence of contact with other non-German painters in Paris.²² Among the Germans, he seemed especially friendly with Victor Müller and Otto Scholderer, both from Frankfurt – the latter famously painted by Fantin-Latour into his *Atelier in the Batignolles* (Paris, Musée d'Orsay). He also spent time with Hans Thoma and Louis Eysen, though how much is unknown.²³ Otto Scholderer, too – despite his deep ties to the group around Manet and Fantin-Latour – returned to Germany around the time of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in July 1870, and his circle would shortly thereafter constitute the core of Southern German realist practice. In the years just following the war, many of the above painters practiced in Munich with close ties to Leibl. During these few years – not surprisingly, and in part, we must assume, for political reasons – many of the German painters formerly in Paris around Leibl arrived *not* in Prussian Berlin, Cologne, or Düsseldorf, but in Munich.²⁴

At the Salon of 1870, Leibl praised Courbet, which was to be expected, even though that year was certainly not Courbet's strongest showing to date: the Salon included two seascapes, one of his wave paintings and a coastal view of Étretat.²⁵ The picture Leibl singled out in particular was Mihály Munkácsy's *The Convict's Last Day*, for which the artist received a gold medal at the Salon – a typical period piece of contemporary genre – but Leibl seems to have admired it precisely for a careful psychological and physical analysis of the lower classes that nonetheless does not turn it into a history painting.²⁶ In a letter of May 5, 1870, he even congratulated the Hungarian painter – who had studied in Munich between 1866 and 1868 (where they presumably met) before moving to Düsseldorf, and then settling in Paris in the early 1870s.²⁷ In one of his few statements

evincing awareness of nationalist rivalry, Leibl wrote: "Finally, I want to say that the French, against your expectations, behaved very nobly in providing your painting with a space better than you could have wished for."²⁸ The remark is notable, because Leibl's construction – "your expectations" – signals his own distance from what he took to be the Hungarian painter's (and his circle's) francophobia.

The choice of Munkácsy's picture is perhaps not all that curious given that the painting was one of the Salon successes in 1870. But Leibl's choice also makes clear that more radical realist Parisian practices were not to his taste, despite the fact that Scholderer had much closer ties to Manet's circle than to Courbet's. The more recent realist and early impressionist paintings at the Salon that year, which were heavily criticized at the time, included Manet's *The Music Lesson*, and Renoir's *The Bathers*.²⁹ And while Manet had been present with two paintings in the 1869 Munich exhibition as well, they earned notably less commentary.³⁰ Leibl's deep admiration for Courbet apparently left no room for even a single remark on the newer tendencies, evidence of his careful editing of the full scope of French realism.

Leibl's own contribution to the Salon – his *Portrait of Mina Gedon* – was certainly very well received in Paris, and honored with a gold medal from the state. Leibl's gloating self-assessment, which he sent to his parents on May 6, 1870, avers: "Even before the exhibition here opened, the jury made the following praise of my painting: 'This time, the Germans are exhibiting differently than in previous years; there is especially a portrait by a unknown painter named Leibl, which in terms of painting overshadows everything else in the exhibition.'"³¹ In fact, there are only a few mentions of Leibl in the French press in 1870, and while most praise the portrait in no small measure, it also becomes clear that French critics understood it as much as a remaking of 17th-century traditions as a new proposition for modern portraiture: "Leibl, a continuer of Rubens," said Félix Jahyer;³² "an excellent female portrait, by Mr. Leibl, which is inspired, from the start, by Van Dyck's portraiture," stated Henri Trianon;³³ "[o]ur friend W. Bürger would have adored the portrait of the young woman, by M. Leibl, of Cologne, student of Piloty; it's an imitation – but not a *pastiche*, of Rembrandt's manner," claimed Marius Chaumelin;³⁴ and René Ménard mentioned – in the most careful assessment of the portrait's mobilization of old-master prototypes for its realist practice – that "[w]e would love to see, on the side of the young lady with the veiled look who makes M. Cabanel's success this year, [...] the beautiful portrait of the women in a blue robe by M. Lehmann, close to that lady painted by a German, M. Leibl, whose painting does not precisely recall nature, but exhales a perfume of the old school that singularly slices through the middle of our modern works."³⁵

But Jules Castagnary, in his "Salon de 1870" for *Le Siècle*, expressed most pointedly some of the painting's contradictions, between past and present, studio-model and bourgeois sitter: "M. Leibl's young girl is not of the same aristocratic origin as M. Jalabert's model. In the familiar fashion, with which she carries her hat, suspended by its strings, in her arms, we see that she is of the people or of the *petite bourgeoisie*. Maybe even she has ties to the arts. Her disinterestedness leads to that assumption."³⁶ The critic was of course correct about Mina – as wife of a sculptor – belonging to the "artistic milieu." But hardly

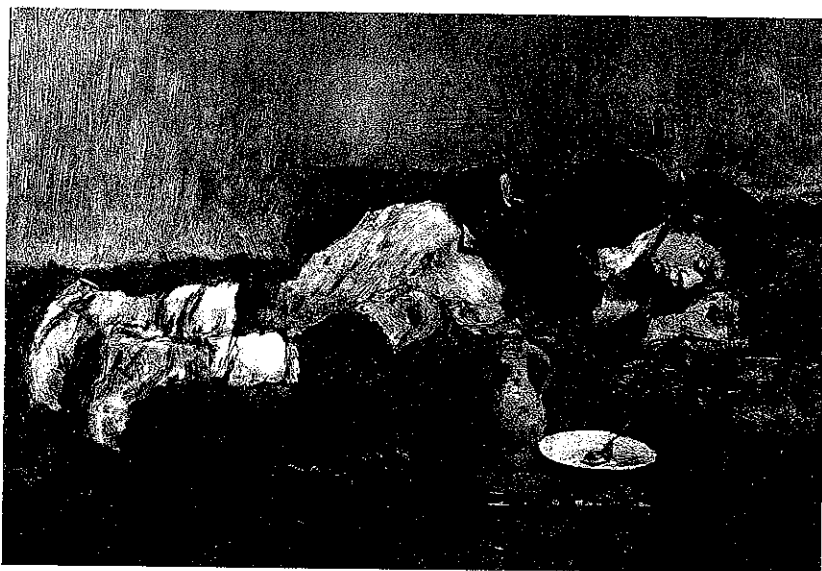
anything in the portrait gives such a reading away, just as much as she refuses, as Castagnary insinuated, to give away anything about herself. This critique, written by one of the most important critics of the 1860s, would certainly not have escaped Leibl's eyes, especially because it was so different, in its emphasis on questions of classed forms of expression, from the terms of German art criticism at the time. Castagnary critiques the German painter in the same terms that he often brought against Manet and his followers – that his figures could not be easily placed within normative social hierarchies, reveling (so Castagnary and others argued) in the class instabilities of Haussmann's Paris.³⁷

Echoing Manet's particularly metropolitan portrayal of the modern individual, Leibl deliberately placed Mina ambiguously between an identity as a model posing in van Dyck-ian manner and a real *petite bourgeoisie* sitting for her portrait (assuming differences between modeling, acting and "being" could still be thought operative in the portrait at all). Within Munich realism, such worries over the urban instabilities of class and over the status of the model (who for the French had become an emblem of the performative qualities of modern life in Paris) were unusual. But they do appear beyond Leibl's work, as in Theodor Alt's painting *The Painter Hirth du Frènes with a Model in His Studio*, in which the model is oddly immobilized; or in Wilhelm Trübner's *In the Studio* or *On the Daybed*, both of 1872, in which the viewer is left to decide whether he is watching a model on break, or a model posing so as to resemble a model on break (fig. 4).³⁸ The *Portrait of Mina Gedon* thus fit the concerns of Parisian art criticism and avant-garde practice better than many of Leibl's other early paintings and was thus readily adapted by his followers back in Munich in the early 1870s. But Leibl as well seems to have taken to heart the lessons offered to him by the Parisian reception of his portrait in the subsequent paintings he produced in Paris.

The young *Savoyard Boy*, for instance, signed explicitly "Paris 1869," takes its subject-matter from the lowest classes then to be found in Paris and situates the model within current debates over European national formation and French aggression, since the annexation of Savoy by France in March 1860 had precluded either the border region's merging with Switzerland or its remaining with Italy (fig. 5). Here, Leibl found a modern type, even if asleep, deeply tied to the same forces of European state rivalry that enabled



4 Wilhelm Trübner, *In the Studio*, 1872, oil on canvas, 82 x 61 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Inv.-Nr. 8108



5 Wilhelm Leibl, *Sleeping Savoyard Boy*, 1869, oil on canvas, 44 × 64 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. no. GE-5780

and shaped his own visit to France. But he also established a complicated genealogy for this modern European type, anchoring the painting Manet-like through seventeenth-century proto-types of Italian and Spanish baroque genre-painting. In these months, he also painted the head of *An Italian*, as Fritz Paulsen who kept the painting in his Paris studio later testified.³⁹ Though never made fully explicit in Leibl's letters, it is striking how often he insisted on a nationalistic framing of his models – as in “Italian,” “Savoyard,” “Parisian” – while at the same time, in a notable break with Courbet, echoing Manet's ambiguous merger of these types with markedly older national schools and styles.⁴⁰

Leibl's most careful attempt at mixing modern Parisian typologies with the interests of Munich realism is to be found in his pair of Parisian women – the *Young Parisian Woman* and the *Old Parisian Woman* (figs. 1–2). Curious and exceptional they are indeed on many fronts, and the morbid, metropolitan, demi-monde type of *The Young Parisian Woman* would never again enter Leibl's pictorial world after Paris. This alone amply testifies to Leibl's exile from the conditions of its production – testifies, that is, to his distance, geographic and ideological, from the phantasmatic Parisian experience where everything, for a brief moment, seemed possible. Leibl gave the painting its title in 1872 and 1873, when it was shown publicly first in Munich and then Vienna (William Merritt Chase eventually purchased it from the painter in 1878).⁴¹ By emphasizing the model's urban French roots, he showed that a female typology of cultural situatedness was at the

very heart of his pictorial endeavor. In the painting, we see a model, floating ungrounded on a middle-eastern carpet-like tapestry, with a ceramic pitcher in the back, all reminiscent of Vermeer's most typical accessories. She is dressed in a black historicizing costume with a large white seventeenth-century style collar, reminiscent of van Dyck's sitters. And she is also wearing an odd hat with white feather and sports a long orientaling clay pipe, all of which make her as much an historical artifact as a modern *Parisiennne*.⁴² Yet, for all that her face is distinctly modern, self-confidently staring at her viewers – and thus not unlike Manet's *Olympia* which Leibl here seems to have assimilated, clothed and historicized. Leibl's type is an odd representative of the *Parisiennne*, that is to say, at once of her moment and not.

And in choosing to have the young woman smoke, Leibl explicitly established a link to the more stereotypical representations of modern Parisian female vice, found in contemporary popular imagery such as Paul Gavarni's frequent depictions of smoking *cocottes* and courtesans of the 1840s and 1850s (fig. 6).⁴³ Such images, which traded on middle-class fears of freedom from gender norms, could not have escaped Leibl in Paris, since they were frequently reedited and adapted by the 1860s French illustrated press. Yet, as Anton von Perfall recalled, he later refuted such a connection, insisting on the titles “The Parisian” or “The French Woman,” and distinctly disliked the often invoked “Die Kokotte.”⁴⁴ The painting, then, bears all the markers of having been painted by a foreigner in Paris – despite the luscious free paint-handling for which it has often been admired (what in the Leibl-literature is memorably and famously referred to as “pure painting,” or “reine Maleirei”).⁴⁵ It takes on modern stereotypes and augments them with props of old master painting, an analog of the mechanisms of cultural and chronological dislocation that would have marked his stay in Paris in general – and for which Manet can be taken as the model. The *Young Parisian Woman*, a type Leibl chose precisely for her national difference, thus also became a measure for self-identification for the painter, now briefly “other” himself.

Such a reading of the painting becomes more complicated, however, once we place the *Old Parisian Woman* next to the young one – a painting of an old woman engaged in prayer over her rosary, accompanied not by a range of decorative objects, but a piece



6 Paul Gavarni, *Sans ouvrage*, n. d.; illustrated in *L'œuvre célèbre de Gavarni. 479 dessins originaux* (Paris: Collection Hetzel, n. d., 1860s). Mortimer Rare Book Room, Smith College Libraries, Northampton, Massachusetts

of bread on a simple stool. She is slim and marked by her age and the presumably simple circumstances of her life. Also wearing black with a white collar, but much less ostentatiously than her companion, she no longer looks viewers directly in the eye. Taken together, the flaunting of moral codes in the *Young Parisian Woman* becomes much more pronounced in comparison to the moral standards the older one upholds. These are stark, orthodox, and overly dramatic choices between moral and immoral conduct. Here, past and present, the order and disorder of contemporary Parisian femininity are contrasted; modernist and traditionalist stereotypes called forth to reinforce presumptively mutually exclusive ethical codes. In fact, the *Old Parisian Woman* took up a theme already developed by Leibl in Munich, in his drawing of his elderly Aunt Josepha with a rosary of 1868 or 1869, and thus by extension these pictures also contrast Munich with Paris, where the iconography of the *Young Parisian Woman* – in contrast to the old – was fully born.⁴⁶

Something fundamental was at stake here, it seems: about the social and moral order itself, and the ways in which modern realist painting could either counter or celebrate the uncertainties produced by social, cultural and geographic shifts. Parisian “realism” in the 1860s was no longer tied exclusively to “lower” subjects, the peasant life of the previous decade, but had now been brought into the realm of modern bourgeois capitalism, its forms of leisure and suburban life. Nonetheless, even around the time of Leibl’s visit, realist practice had not been able to shed the contemporary critical debate that transvalued its aesthetic decisions into public negations of morality. In 1863, the idealist poet and critic Victor de Laprade, for instance, summarized in an article entitled “The Origins of Realism,” what he perceived to be the conceptual and moral underpinnings of realism: “Instead of instructing mankind, fortifying and reuniting it, it [realism, AD] troubles their intelligence, enervates their hearts and shatters their moral bonds. True art serves as a principle of order; art so materialist as that of realism is nothing but a dissolvent.”⁴⁷ Leibl, in contrast, sought a very different kind of realism than the one decried by Laprade, one that showed the “dissolvent” of the social in equal measure as, and in dialectic tension with, principles of order. He understood realism not as a set of strict ideological propositions, but as an open question. Realist painting, as Leibl’s two women show, did not necessarily carry any singular social or historical understanding – that, at least, Paris made clear to him.

Indeed, Leibl achieved in Paris a pair of paintings that demonstrate a rare and explicit sense of a foreign painter trying to negotiate a position between two opposing visions of local belonging. As a foreigner, Leibl had reason to doubt the promise implicit in Manet’s flâneur – that ever so easy metropolitan performance of superseding exclusive codes of membership through mere comportment. An outsider, he may very well have come to understand how powerfully this fantasy of metropolitan social freedom was itself distinctly classed, and distinctly Parisian. But at the same time, Courbet’s careful archeology of class difference threatened to reify the very historical boundaries he pitted himself against. So Leibl paints two opposing portraits, one of a young woman, the other of an old, the first in a distinctly Manet-manner and the other clearly in Courbet’s vein. Taken together, these two portraits are like a lab experiment, trying on and testing the sociopolitical implications of French realism for a German artist.

7 Frank Duveneck,
The Cobbler's Apprentice,
1877, oil on canvas,
100,3 cm × 70,8 cm.
Taft Museum of Art,
Cincinnati, Ohio, Bequest
of Charles Phelps and
Anna Sinton Taft, 1931



The desire to create visually a female taxonomy in terms of age, ethics and nationality is perhaps Leibl’s most explicit revision of French realist tendencies. Though the iconography was utterly Parisian in that it was first developed and made explicit there, in Bavaria Leibl made it his own. And more than that, Leibl’s Parisian interlude also allowed him to briefly pitch his Bavarian realism with its assured “moral” topography of class and identity against the more ambiguous French prototype. As I hope to have shown, it was his *Young Parisian Woman* who delighted in the modern and fundamentally metropolitan instabilities and displacements of her era (not unlike Castagnary’s reading of *Minna Gedon*), while the *Old Parisian Woman* was the very image of a stolid and legible typology of lower-class life. It should come as no surprise that Leibl developed his Manet-ian version almost exclusively while in Paris, while the second, associated with an earlier non-Parisian version of realism established by Courbet, became its antidote in both Paris and Bavaria. After the initial flirtation, images in line with themes like “Die Kokotte” became

much rarer in his oeuvre. Leibl, in explicitly pitting these female figures against one another, established concrete pictorial links between national/regional belonging and gender and class identity, mobilizing a specifically realist iconography keyed to the ways in which the national and the urban map over one another in the international art world.

Leibl would return to Munich around the outbreak of the war – we cannot be sure exactly when – and begin his *Gathering at a Table* or the *Tischgesellschaft* and other portraits and genre scenes.⁴⁸ Notably, none of these would look back to the young *Parisiennne*, but instead offered a much more grounded and legible sense of local and class belonging. Courbet's model of an empathic realism alive to rootedness, bent by history, knowing its place, was the realism best able to depict a Bavarian real even if it meant willfully abandoning all that Paris had taught him. For German-American realists, for similar reasons of moral ordering, legibility and rootedness, the lower-class "types" also appear to have held the greater interest: see for example such well-known paintings as Duveneck's *The Cobbler's Apprentice* (fig. 7). Such lower-class subjects, and their clearly demarcated social positions, perhaps mirrored and balanced the expatriate artists' sense of their own dislocation.

But in Friedrich Pecht's 1875 assessment of Leibl's now lost *Female Peasants of Dachau*, or the *Dachauerinnen*, we can glimpse just how fraught – cross-cut with national, class and historical rivalries – international realism had become in Munich by the early and mid-1870s:

An effort to combine individualism with that which pleases was even less evident in three studies of female peasants from Dachau, which Leibl exhibits, who here emphasizes quite systematically the beautiful in the ugly, in the most extreme deformations of God's likeness. To borrow this cult of ugliness from some certain French painters was even less necessary, especially since our Old-German masters achieved some remarkable results in that genre, and without offending through impudent cynicism which makes the school of Courbet so despicable.⁴⁹

It was a deeply ideological naivety for Pecht to assume that realism, at least the kind Leibl promoted and his international followers eagerly accepted, could ever fully shed its French roots and become an exclusively Germanic form of expression. Artists travel after all.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank the organizers/editors of the *American Artists in Munich* conference and volume for their generous inclusion of this contribution, especially Christian Fuhrmeister, Hubertus Kohle, and Veerle Thielemans. Warm thanks also to Hollis Clayton for her insightful comments on Leibl, and to Jonathan D. Katz for editorial guidance that is always in equal parts savvy and generous. All translations from the German and French, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

- 2 Edgar Degas to James Tissot, New Orleans, November 19, 1872. *Edgar Degas, Letters*, ed. Marcel Guerin (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1947), 17–18. See also Gail Feigenbaum, ed., *Degas and New Orleans. A French Impressionist in America*, exh. cat. (New Orleans: Museum of Art, 1999).
- 3 The most extensive recent biographical treatment of Wilhelm Leibl and his oeuvre is Boris Röhl, *Wilhelm Leibl. Leben und Werk* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms, 1994). The book has informed much of the present study. See also Götz Czymmek and Christian Lenz, eds., *Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag*, exh. cat. (Munich: Neue Pinakothek and Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1994); Thomas Wiercinski, *Wilhelm Leibl. Studien zu seinem Frühwerk* (Saarbrücken: Staden, 2003); Beate Söntgen, *Sehen ist alles. Wilhelm Leibl und die Wahrnehmung des Realismus* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2000).
- 4 On the 1869 exhibition, see *München 1869–1958. Aufbruch zur modernen Kunst*, exh. cat. (Munich: Haus der Kunst, 1958), here section one "Rekonstruktion der Ersten Internationalen Kunstausstellung 1869," 17–80.
- 5 See especially the standard work: Werner Hofmann and Klaus Herding, eds., *Courbet und Deutschland*, exh. cat. (Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle and Frankfurt a. M.: Städtisches Kunstinstitut, 1978/79).
- 6 Adolph Bayersdorfer, "Neue Kunstbestrebungen in München," in idem, *Adolph Bayersdorfers Leben und Schriften*, ed. Hans Mackowsky (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1908), 234. Quoted in Röhl, *Wilhelm Leibl. Leben und Werk* (see note 3), 129.
- 7 See, most recently, Dorothee Hansen, ed., *Monet und Camille. Frauenportraits im Impressionismus*, exh. cat. (Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen, 2005), 6.
- 8 The literature on these figures is vast and can be found in other essays in this collection, but for an orientation, see Katharina and Gerhard Bott, eds., *Vice Versa. Deutsche Maler in Amerika und Amerikanische Maler in Deutschland 1813–1913*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 1996).
- 9 See T. J. Clark, *Image of the People. Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
- 10 Edgar Degas to Lorenz Frölich, New Orleans, November 27, 1872. Guerin, *Edgar Degas, Letters* (see note 2), 22.
- 11 See Czymmek and Lenz, *Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag* (see note 3), 230–1.
- 12 In 1869, he looked at paintings that defined the contemporary standards of history and historic genre painting, such as Wilhelm von Kaulbach's *The Meeting of Maria Stuart and Elizabeth I.* of 1867–8 (*Die Begegnung von Maria Stuart mit Elisabeth I.*, present whereabouts unknown), and Ludwig Knaus' *What the Old Sing, the Young Twitter* (*Wie die Alten sangen, so zwitschern die Jungen*, painted in several versions), which Leibl had seen in a different version in the established Düsseldorf painter's studio, but felt that it had been repainted "mit dem Unterschiede, dass die Kostüme aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert sind und das ganze im Freien spielt, was übrigens nicht sonderlich zum Vortheile wirkt." Leibl to Ferdinand Leibl, Munich, July 29, 1869. Wilhelm Leibl, *Briefe mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar. Gesamtverzeichnis des schriftlichen Nachlasses*, ed. Boris Röhl (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms, 1996), 52. On Knaus, see Ulrich Schmidt, ed., *Ludwig Knaus, 1829–1910* (Hanau: Hans Peters, 1979).
- 13 "Piloty hat ein Historisches [sic] Bild: 'Die Verkündigung des Todesurtheils der Maria Stuart' ausgestellt. Das ist das schwächste Bild Pilotys und meiner Meinung nach eines der schlechtesten Bilder der Ausstellung." Leibl to Ferdinand Leibl, Munich, July 29, 1869. Leibl, *Briefe mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar* (see note 12), 54. On Piloty, see Reinhold Baumstark and Frank Büttner, eds., *Großer Auftritt. Piloty und die Historienmalerei*, exh. cat. (Munich: Neue Pinakothek, 2003).
- 14 "Unter den Franzosen sind hervorragend: Courbet, Müller, Roybet, Couture, Meissonier, Ribot, Troyon und andere, unter den Holländern Alma Tadema, unter den Belgiern vor Allen und in der ganzen Ausstellung: Steevens [sic]. Mit solchen Leuten kann man nicht konkurieren [sic], wohl aber mit den Münchnern." Leibl to Ferdinand Leibl, Munich, July 29, 1869. Leibl, *Briefe mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar* (see note 12), 52. Compare Boris Röhl, "Wilhelm Leibl et Gustave Courbet. Réflexions de Leibl sur ses rapports avec la peinture moderne française," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 127 (1996): 95–106.
- 15 See Sabine Hansky, *Die Internationale Kunstausstellung von 1869 in München. Die französische Malerei in der zeitgenössischen Pressekritik* (Munich: Uwe Freund, 1994).
- 16 For a brief biography on Henriette Browne, see Stephanie Jaekel, "Wilhelm Leibl in der französischen Kunstkritik," in *Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag* (see note 3), 143–154, here 151. For the most sustained interpretation of Browne's painting, see Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism. Race, Femininity, and Representation* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), 85–190. And a typical Salon review of Browne's portraits and genre scenes around the time of her acquaintance with Leibl can be found in Thomas Grimm, "Le clan des femmes peintres," *Le Petit Journal* 2707 (May 31, 1870).

- 17 "Die Dame, die ich male, ist, wie ich höre, die beste Malerin in Paris und malt unter dem Namen Juliette Braun, [...]" Leibl to his parents, Munich, October 24, 1869. Leibl, *Briefe mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar* (see note 12), 59.
- 18 "[V]or meiner Abreise wird von der Pilotyschule ein Abschiedessen mir zu Ehren abgehalten, wie bei der Abreise Makart's, und die ganze Schule fühlt sich durch die mir von den Franzosen bezeugte Achtung geehrt." Leibl to his parents, Munich, October 24, 1869. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
- 19 "Wie ich höre, ist die rue Jean Goujon eines der schönsten Stadtviertel in Paris." Leibl to his parents, Munich, October 17, 1869. *Ibid.*, 57.
- 20 See, most recently, Christof Trepesch and Shahab Sangestan, eds., *Sehen ist Alles. Meisterwerke des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Liberec/Reichenberg*, exh. cat. (Augsburg: Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen, 2007), 102–7.
- 21 *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées le 1er mai 1870* (Paris: Charles de Mourgues, 1870), 220. The *Portrait de Mme ****, as the *Portrait of Mina Gedon* was listed in the catalogue, carried the exhibition number 1692. Fritz Paulsen, who specialized in contemporary genre scenes and interiors, very much like Alfred Stevens, exhibited with some regularity at the Paris Salon. In the 1869 Salon catalogue, Paulsen was listed as follows: "PAULSEN (Fritz), né à Mecklenburg-Schwerin, élève de M. Piloty. Rue Duperré, 9." *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées le 1er mai 1869* (Paris: Charles de Mourgues, 1869), 252.
- 22 See Röhl, *Wilhelm Leibl. Leben und Werk* (see note 3), 84. Before moving into Fritz Paulsen's studio, Leibl briefly visited the Frankfurt painter Friedrich Steinhardt, then also in Paris, who was a friend of Otto Scholderer, Hans Thoma and Erwin Hanfstaengl, the son of the famous Munich art dealer, who also resided in Paris at the time.
- 23 Eysen studied with Léon Bonnat and with Otto Scholderer in Paris, when the latter was only nine years his senior. See Eberhard Ruhner, *Der Leibl-Kreis und die Reine Malerei* (Rosenheim: Alfred Förg, 1984). On Victor Müller, see Evelyn Lehmann, *Der Frankfurter Maler Victor Müller, 1830–1871* (Frankfurt a. M.: Waldemar Kramer, 1976). And on Scholderer, see most recently Manfred Grosskinsky and Birgit Sander, eds., *Otto Scholderer 1834–1902. Die neue Wirklichkeit des Malerischen. Zum 100. Todestag*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt a. M.: Haus Giersch, 2002). The correspondence between Scholderer and Fantin-Latour is currently being edited by Mathilde Arnoux for the Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art in Paris. See also Peter Kropmanns, "... Je vis entièrement dans le passé." Otto Scholderer (1834–1902), la collection La Caze et Charadin," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 53, no. 1 (2003): 76–82.
- 24 See Michael Petzet, ed., *Wilhelm Leibl und sein Kreis*, exh. cat. (Munich: Lenbachhaus, 1974). Leibl, for instance, desperately tried to avoid conscription into the Prussian army, with success, we must assume. See Röhl, *Wilhelm Leibl. Leben und Werk* (see note 3), 101–3.
- 25 At the 1870 Salon, Courbet showed no. 671, *Le Mer orageuse*, and no. 672, *La Falaise d'Étretat, après l'orage*. See *Explication des ouvrages* (see note 21), 1870, 87. See Laurence des Cars et al., eds., *Gustave Courbet*, exh. cat. (Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 2008), 274–96.
- 26 In the catalogue to the 1870 Salon, the painting is listed as no. 2063 with the title *Le dernier jour d'un condamné*, and Munkácsy as "né à Munkacs (Hongrie), élève de l'Académie de Düsseldorf." See *Explication des ouvrages* (see note 21), 1870, 269. The listing also contains the following description of the painting: "En Hongrie, trois jours avant l'exécution, le public est admis dans la prison à visiter le condamné qui va expirer son crime. L'argent donné par les visiteurs est destiné à faire dire les messes des morts."
- 27 The online enrollment archive of the Munich Kunstakademie indicates that, between 1866 and 1868, he was a student in the class of Sándor (Alexander) von Wagner, see http://matrikel.adbkl.de/05ordner/mb_1841-1884/jahr_1866/matrikel-02297. I thank Christian Fuhrmeister for this reference.
- 28 "Schließlich bemerke ich noch, daß sich die Franzosen gegen Eure Erwartungen sehr nobel benommen und Deinem Bilde einen Platz eingeräumt haben, wie Du ihn besser Dir nicht wünschen kannst." Leibl to Mihály Munkácsy, Paris, May 5, 1870. Leibl, *Briefe mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar* (see note 12), 70.
- 29 Édouard Manet, *The Music Lesson*, 1870 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Auguste Renoir, *Bather with a Griffon*, 1870 (Museu de Arte de São Paulo).
- 30 Édouard Manet, *The Spanish Singer*, 1860 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); for the 1869 Munich exhibition, the painting was listed as no. 1384 by "Manet, Édouard, in Paris" and received the title *Der Spanische Sänger* – Édouard Manet, *A Philosopher (Beggars in a Cloak)*, ca. 1864–67 (The Art Institute

- of Chicago), no. 1361 in Munich, entitled *Der Philosoph*. A concrete pictorial connection between Leibl and Manet has been proposed by Peter Wegmann, "Le facturier le plus étonnant: Wilhelm Leibls Dorfpolitiker in Paris und unerwartete Verwandtschaften mit Edouard Manets *Au Café*," *Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Zürich* 6 (1999): 207–221.
- 31 "Bevor die hiesige Ausstellung noch eröffnet war, hatte sich die Jury über mein Bild ausgesprochen und zwar so: 'Diesmal haben die Deutschen ganz anders ausgestellt wie früher; da ist besonders ein Portrait von einem unbekannten Maler Namens Leibl, das an Malerei alles in der Ausstellung übertrifft.' [...] Die Zahl der Bilder, die hier ausgestellt sind, beträgt an 4000, worunter die berühmtesten jetzigen Maler sind. Die meisten sind einig, dass ich das schönste Bild in der Ausstellung habe." Leibl to his parents, Paris, May 6, 1870. Leibl, *Briefe mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar* (see note 12), 71–2. On Leibl's portrait practice in general, see Robert Neuhaus, *Bildnismalerei des Leibl-Kreises. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Technik der Malerei der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1953).
- 32 "Leibl, un continuateur de Rubens." Félix Jahyer, "Salon de 1870," *Le Diable* 16 (June 4, 1870): 7–8. On the French reception of Leibl's paintings from 1869 to 1889, see Jaekel, "Wilhelm Leibl in der französischen Kunstkritik" (see note 16), 143–54, where the passages from Ménard and Chaumelin that follow are quoted. And several recent publications by the Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art in Paris have investigated the image of German art in France in the nineteenth century more broadly. Uwe Fleckner and Thomas W. Gaetgens, eds., *De Grünewald à Menzel. L'image de l'art allemand en France au XIXe siècle. Passages 6* (Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 2003); Friederike Kitschen and Julia Drost, eds., *Deutsche Kunst – Französische Perspektiven, 1870–1945. Quellen und Kommentare zur Kunstkritik. Passagen 9* (Berlin: Akademieverlag, 2007).
- 33 "Un excellent portrait de femme, par M. Leibl, qui s'inspire, en commençant, du portrait de Van Dyck, mais qui, pour mériter une nouvelle médaille, ne devra plus, désormais, s'inspirer que de son propre sentiment." Henri Trianon, "Salon de 1870," *Le Messager des théâtres et des arts* 44 (June 12, 1870): 1–2. Compare Edmond Duranty's extended assessment of the portrait's historic references: "M. Leibl est un sectateur dédaigneux et preste de Rembrandt et de Rubens gris-roux. Son portrait, qui a un cadre extraordinaire, un cadre d'honneur que M. Leibl semble avoir décerné lui-même à la supériorité de son oeuvre, serait une toile remarquable, si le pastiche devait inspirer une grande estime. Il est évident que venir jeter une sorte de copie de gens très forts, très libres, très coloristes, à travers la froideur glaciale et pénible de nos portraitistes, c'est vouloir jouer un mauvais tour à ceux-ci. Mais si nos dits portraitistes, si gênés vis-à-vis leurs modèles, se mettaient à réexporter en Allemagne des copies de Rembrandt ou de Rubens, ils noteraient M. Leibl dans leur foule. Peut-être même a-t-il eu tort de leur révéler ce truc. Ils n'y pensaient pas. Ils ne songeaient plus à leurs aïeux. Qui sait maintenant si dans deux ans ils n'iront pas déloger M. Leibl de la confiance des bourgmestres de Cologne?" Edmond Duranty, "Le Salon de 1870," *Paris-Journal* 126 (May 8, 1870): 2.
- 34 "Notre ami W. Bürger aurait raffolé du portrait de jeune femme, de M. Leibl, de Cologne, élève de Piloty; c'est une imitation, – mais non un pastiche, – de la manière de Rembrandt: même largeur et même puissance de modelé, même clair-obscur chaud et transparent, même finesse et même énergie d'expression, même intensité de vie. La tête, dont les cheveux blonds sont relevés et retenus par un ruban rouge, a un charme irrésistible. Les mains sont accusées avec une ampleur magistrale. Le bracelet et le collier d'or sont d'un ton superbe. Une médaille a été décernée à ce chef-d'oeuvre; il n'y en a jamais eu de mieux méritée." Marius Chaumelin, "Salon de 1870," in *idem, L'art contemporain* (Paris: Renouard, 1873), 421; originally published in 1870 in *La Presse*.
- 35 "On aimerait à voir, à côté de la jeune dame au regard voilé qui fait cette année le succès de M. Cabanel [no. 438 – *Portrait de Mme la Duchesse de V.*, AD], [...], le beau portrait de femme en robe bleue de M. Lehmann [no. 1689 – *Portrait de Mme J. C.*, AD], près de cette dame peinte par un Allemand, M. Leibl, dont la peinture ne rappelle pas précisément la nature, mais exhale un parfum d'école ancienne qui trahit singulièrement au milieu de nos ouvrages modernes." René Ménard, "Salon de 1870," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 4, no. 6 (July 1870): 38–71, here 51.
- 36 "La jeune fille de M. Leibl n'est point de si aristocratique condition que le modèle de M. Jalabert [no. 1435 – *Portrait de S.A.I. Mme La Grande Duchesse Marie Nicolaewna*, AD]. A la façon familière dont elle porte au bras son chapeau suspendu par les brides, on voit qu'elle est du peuple ou de petite bourgeoisie. Peut-être même touche-t-elle aux arts. Sa désinvolture prête à cette supposition." Jules Castagnary,

- "Salon de 1870," in idem, *Salons* (1857–1870) (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), vol. 1, 390–441, here 402; originally published in 1870 in *Le Siècle*.
- 37 Compare, for instance, Castagnary's assessment of Manet's *The Balcony* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), shown at the 1869 Salon: "Sur ce Balcon j'aperçois deux femmes, dont une toute jeune. Sont-ce les deux sœurs? Est-ce la mère et la fille? Je ne sais. Et puis, l'une est assise et semble s'être placée uniquement pour jouir du spectacle de la rue; l'autre se gante comme si elle allait sortir. Cette attitude contradictoire me déroute." Jules Castagnary, "Salon de 1869," in idem, *Salons* (1857–1870) (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), vol. 1, 327–389, here 365; originally published in 1869 in *Le Siècle*. See T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life. Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984).
- 38 Theodor Alt, *Der Maler Hirth du Frères mit Modell im Atelier*, 1870 (Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin). Wilhelm Trübner, *Auf dem Kanapee*, 1872 (Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin). Wilhelm Trübner, *Im Atelier*, 1872 (Neue Pinakothek, Munich). See Ruhmer, *Der Leibl-Kreis und die Reine Malerei* (see note 23), 146, 170–1.
- 39 Wilhelm Leibl, *Ein Italiener*, 1869 (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne). See Czymmek and Lenz, *Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag* (see note 3), 246–7.
- 40 Compare Michael Fried's provocative if contested analysis of Manet's historical sources and their nationalism: Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), ch. 1 (first published in 1969).
- 41 See Czymmek and Lenz, *Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag* (see note 3), 248–9.
- 42 On the history and iconography of women smoking, see, among many other titles, Detlef Bluhm, "Carmenten. Von rauchenden Frauen: Emanzipation und Männerphantasien im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in idem, *Auf leichtem Flügeln ins Land der Phantasie. Tabak und Kultur von Columbus bis Davidoff* (Berlin: Transit, 1997), 81–96. Dolores Mitchell, "The New Woman as Prometheus: Women Artists Depict Women Smoking," *Woman's Art Journal* 12 (1991): 3–9.
- 43 The example illustrated here, chosen among many others for its similarity to the posture of Leibl's *Young Parisian Woman*, stems from a large-scale edition of Gavarni's imagery in book-form, where it appears among a few unedited images at the very beginning of the volume: *L'oeuvre célèbre de Gavarni. 479 dessins originaux* (Paris: Collection Hetzel, n.d., 1860s), n.p.; Mortimer Rare Book Room, Smith College Libraries.
- 44 Anton von Perfall, "Wilhelm Leibl in Unterschondorf. Erinnerungen," *Kunst und Künstler* 9 (1911): 432–441, here 436. See also Dieter Voth, *Anton von Perfall. Ein Jäger und Künstlerleben* (Leopoldsdorf: Hubertus, 1999).
- 45 Compare Leibl's letter about modern French art to his brother Ferdinand, Paris, May 12, 1870. Leibl, *Briefe mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar* (see note 12), 75–76.
- 46 Wilhelm Leibl, *Tante Josepha*, ca. 1868–69, drawing (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne). See Czymmek and Lenz, *Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag* (see note 3), 234–5.
- 47 "Pour les romanciers et les poètes du réalisme, une affection de l'âme et l'état correspondant des organes ne sont pas choses distinctes: la joie et la crainte, la haine et l'admiration, l'amour et la jalousie se réduisent, dans leur système, à certains phénomènes physiologiques. [...] au lieu de les [les hommes, AD] instruire, de les fortifier et de les réunir, il trouble leur intelligence, énerve leur cœur et brise entre eux les liens moraux. L'art véritable est un principe d'ordre; l'art ainsi matérialisé n'est plus qu'un dissolvant." Victor de Laprade, "Les origines du réalisme," *Le Correspondant* 22 (March 25, 1863): 541–557, here 541–542, 552.
- 48 Wilhelm Leibl, *Die Tischgesellschaft*, 1872–73 (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne). See Czymmek and Lenz, *Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag* (see note 3), 284–93.
- 49 "Das Individuelle mit dem Gefälligen zu vereinen, gelang um so weniger dreien Studien von Dachauer-Bäuerinnen, welche Leibl ausstellte, der hier ganz systematisch das Schöne im Hässlichen, in der möglichsten Verunstaltung von Gottes Ebenbild zu suchen schien. Diesen Kultus der Hässlichkeit überdies noch gewissen Franzosen zu entlehnen, war umso weniger notwendig, als unsere Altheutschen darin auch schon Erkleckliches geleistet haben, ohne durch den frechen Zynismus zu beleidigen, der diese Courbetsche Schule so widerwärtig macht." Friedrich Pecht, *Allgemeine Zeitung* 120 (April 30, 1875). Quoted in Röhl, *Wilhelm Leibl. Leben und Werk* (see note 3), 135–6.

Katherine Manthorne

The Bavarian Beginnings of Eliza Greateorex: From New York to Southern Germany, 1870–1872

At critical junctures in the formation of American visual culture, the art of Europe has exerted an authoritative pull. Art history scholarship, which has grown exponentially since World War II, has privileged Paris as the western art capital. It emphasized France's influence on American artists and underestimated the impact of their experiences in other countries. Current discussions on globalism provide alternative models for conceptualizing art-making as the product of multivalent conversations, and for recognizing that Northern Europe and especially Germany had played a far greater role in those conversations than is generally credited. The oeuvre of Eliza Greateorex (b. 1819 Ireland, d. 1897 France) provides a case in point: the example of an artist whose peregrinations from Ireland to New York, and to and from France and Bavaria, provide fresh evidence for re-thinking these cultural exchange processes. She was a painter and graphic artist whose rank as "the first of the women artists of America to win international artistic recognition"¹ was rooted in the issues of transfer, migration, and bi-national exchange at stake in the *American Artists in Munich* conference and publication. This success was built in part on her Bavarian beginnings.

Who Was Eliza Greateorex?

Eliza Greateorex (née Pratt) left Ireland with her family in 1840 and settled in New York. In 1848 she married Henry Wellington Greateorex, an organist and composer of ecclesiastical music who had died within a decade, leaving her a widow with four children: a stepson Francis Henry, a son Thomas and two daughters Kathleen Honora and Eleanor Elizabeth, both of whom became artists. While Eliza must have received some art instruction in her native Ireland — the daughter of a Methodist minister, growing up in a cultured household —, her husband's untimely death prompted her to pursue art-making more seriously, and she recognized the need for further instruction. Interested initially in landscape painting, she took further studies in New York from 1854 to 1856 under William W. Wotherspoon.²

She had been steadily making a name for herself in the late 1850s in New York City painting the scenery of the Hudson River and of upstate New York — the same scenery featured in the work of leading male landscapists Asher B. Durand, Frederic Church, John Kensett, and George Inness. In the years after the Civil War (1861–1865), as water-