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# Gericault's

## Zurich Sketchbook

## Its Contents and some Observations

## Marc Fehlmann

Théodore Gericault, detail of fig. l: Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Vinchon.

<sup>1</sup> Lüthy, Hans A., Géricaults «Zürcher Skizzenbuch». Zu einer Entdeckung, in: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, no. 3930, 18, 9, 1966.

<sup>2</sup> According to documentary evidence, the curators of the Zurich Fine Arts Society, from which the Kunsthaus Zurich eventually evolved, and later, the curators of the Kunsthaus Zurich, were always aware of Gericault's sketchbook in their collection. It is mentioned for the first time in the society's catalogue of 1925 (Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft, Verzeichnis der Skulpturen und Gemälde, Künstlerverzeichnis der Graphischen Sammlung, Zurich 1925, p. 105). It did not, therefore, lie forgotten until Lüthy's article of 1966, as Eitner believes (Eitner 1983, p. 336, note 53). For example, there were Lorenz Eitner, who, in 1971, perpetuated Lüthy's erroneous assumption that Gericault began to use the Zurich Sketchbook in 1813/14 (Lüthy, p. 246; Eitner, Lorenz, Géricault, exh. cat. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Detroit Institute of Arts, and Philadelphia Museum of Art, Los Angeles 1971, p. 88. The same assumption reemerged in Eitner 1972, p. 161), and Philippe Grunchec, who, in 1978, doubted the authenticity of some of the Zurich Sketchbook's drawings without, however, justifying his claim (Grunchec, Philippe, L'Inventaire posthume de Théodore Gericault [1791-1824], in: Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, année 1976, Paris 1978, p. 406).

<sup>4</sup> Sells, Christopher, A Revised Dating for Part of Géricault's «Chicago Album«, in: Master Drawings 27, no. 4, winter 1989, pp. 341-357.

<sup>5</sup> The issue of chronology will be treated in greater detail in my forthcoming thesis. However, it is worth mentioning that Gericault began to draw in the Zurich Sketchbook after his arrival in Rome in November 1816, presumably as late as February 1817, and that he continued to use it after his return to Paris until 1819 (the drawings for the Radeau de la Méduse B 1991, 1993 and 2007 are the last dateable works in the sketchbook).

Almost thirty years ago Hans A. Lüthy published his first article on a »recently rediscovered« sketchbook by Théodore Gericault.<sup>1</sup> His principal concern was to establish the existence of this hitherto little known document in the Kunsthaus Zurich.<sup>2</sup> From the same article one learns that the subsequently renamed >Zurich Sketchbook« contains material related to Gericault's Italian journey and to his Radeau de la Méduse. Since then, the sketchbook has been exhibited in the United States, Zurich, and Paris. Several scholars have identified and dated some of its drawings and proposed various hypotheses about them,3 but, as yet, no extensive study has appeared on the subject. The Paris retrospective of 1991-1992 again raised questions about Gericault's artistic development that remained unanswered. Among these questions two major issues relate to the Zurich Sketchbook: the need for a revised chronology of Gericault's oeuvre as proposed by Christopher Sells in 1989,<sup>4</sup> and the need for a closer study of Gericault's still rather ill-documented Italian journey. In this respect, the Zurich Sketchbook is vital, because it contains both documentary and stylistic evidence to support Sells' chronology,5 and the largest coherent group of drawings from Gericault's Italian period. Some of these drawings are dealt with here in detail, and a complete list of the sketchbook's contents is made available for the first time.

Lüthy noticed that most of the drawings in the Zurich Sketchbook are copies of Old Masters and antiquities which Gericault had seen in Rome and Naples.<sup>6</sup> Among these are five drawings »after Raphael«, i.e. paintings which at the time were believed to be authentic works by Raphael of which Gericault had seen three in the Museo Borbonico in Naples. These are copied on folio 12 recto (fig. 1), folio 18 recto, and folio 20 recto.<sup>7</sup>

While the models for these drawings are already known, the sitter for the halflength portrait on the left of folio 12 recto has not yet been identified. This sitter's identification might produce a new insight into Gericault's stay in Naples,

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Fig. 1: Théodore Gericault, Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Vinchon and head of Cardinal Giulio de Medici. pencil on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 12 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.



as this is, apart from the drawings in the Zurich Sketchbook, only documented in a letter by Mme Céleste Meuricoffre-Coltellini (1764-1828) addressed to Baron Gros (1771-1835).8 I believe that the sitter for this fine drawing must be the same as that for one of the portraits by Jean Alaux (1787-1864) of pensioners from the Villa Medici. Alaux's painting (fig. 2)9 shows the same gentleman with pronounced nose, deep-set eyes, side-whiskers and dark, dishevelled hair as depicted by Gericault. The identity of Alaux's model is given by the inscription in the picture's upper right corner as: » $\Lambda$ . VINCHON/Ier prix de peinture de 1814«. For that reason, I propose that the sitter for Gericault's drawing is Jean Baptiste Vinchon (1787-1855), who won the Rome Prize for history painting in 1814.10 Vinchon's stay in Rome is documented through his entry in the »Livre d'inscription des Pensionnaires à la Villa Médicis«, which reads: »Jean Baptiste Vinchon, Peintre agé de 28 ans, arrivé le 7. Avril 1816, Pension. depuis les Janv. 1815, départ 31. Dec. 1818«.11 Hence, Vinchon's sojourn in Rome falls precisely into the period of Gericault's Italian journey. It is, therefore, very likely that the two met and, perhaps, even travelled together, as Vinchon is the only model from the Zurich Sketchbook whose image one can safely identify and, at the same time, date with certainty to Gericault's stay in Naples.<sup>12</sup> Information about Vinchon is still scarce since, until recently, he has been one of the many 19th century artists whose achievements have lain forgotten. It was not until 1977, when Hans Naef presented his exhaustive study on Ingres' portrait drawings, that one began to take notice of Vinchon. Vinchon had been drawn by Ingres, and apparently cooperated with him in the decorations of the Musée Charles X in the Louvre.<sup>13</sup> Yet, finding his image among Gericault's Neapolitan drawings is of some importance, because it helps to amend the impression of Gericault's loneliness during his Italian sojourn as described by his first biographer,

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6 As note I. See also Lüthy, pp. 245-252, especially pp. 246, 248 and 250.

Folio 12 recto: (on the right) head of Giulio de Medici (erroneously identified by Lüthy, p. 248, as «Lodovico de Rossi« and repeated as such by Bazin, IV, p. 105) from the copy after Raphael's group portrait of Leo X, with his Nephews from the Museo Borbonico, now: Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (Molajoli, p. 37, no. 145, as Bottega di Raffaello Sanzio). Folio 18 recto: copy after La Madonna del Divino Amore by Francesco Penni (ca. 1488-1528) from the Museo Borbonico, now: Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (Molajoli, p. 37, no. 146), and folio 20 recto: copy after The Bridgewater Madonna from the Museo Borbonico, now: Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (not with Molajoli, but mentioned by Dussler, Luitbold, Raffael, Kritisches Werkverzeichnis der Gemälde. Wandbilder und Bildteppiche, Munich 1968, p. 42, no. 68). All these paintings were at the time considered to be authentic works by Raphael, as the entries in the catalogue of the Real Museo Borbonico prove. Cf. Niccolini, A./Liberatore, R./Becchi, G., et al., Real Museo Borbonico, 1st ed. in 16 vols., Naples 1824-1843, XIII (1843), pls. 32-34 (for folio 12), II (1825), pl. 33 (for

Bazin, I, p. 39, document 99. Mme Meuricoffre was a well known soprano at the time who celebrated her biggest successes in Vienna, Milan and Naples, In 1792 she married the Swiss banker Jean-Georges Meuricoffre (1760-1809) with whom she lived in Naples from then onwards. About the Meuricoffres in general see: Meuricoffre, Oscar, Consul Général Suisse, Souvenirs, Geneva 1881, pp. 5-38. About Céleste Meuricoffre see: Valabrega, Cesare, Gli album della Coltellini, in: La Scala, Rivista dell'Opera, October 1952, pp. 38-42.

folio 18), and XI (1835), pl. 30 (for folio 20),

Jean Alaux, Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Vinchon, 1816, oil on canvas, 47 x 36 cm, Rome, Académie de France à Rome, Villa Médici, Inv. P20. Cf. Brunel, Georges, Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, Nouvelle Série, 1 (Répertoires), Rome 1979, p. 165, P20.

<sup>10</sup> Grunchec, Philippe, Les Concours des Prix de Rome 1797-1863, 2 vols., Paris 1986, I, pp. 102-103, II, pp. 52-54, pp. 311-312.

Livre d'Inscription des Pensionnaires à la Villa Médicis, ouvert le premier Octobre 1807, p. 6, 7th entry. Three days after Vinchon's arrival at the Villa, he reported to the French authorities in Rome as is shown by entry number 571 in the »Régistre des Passeports visées 1814-18 de l'Ambassade de France près le Saint Siège, Rome, tome I, Ambassade de Mgr. Car tois de Pressiony, ancien Evêque de Saint Malo. ouvert le 31. 8. 1814«. This reads: »571, [date] Avril 10. 1816, [numéro du passeport] -, [nom et prénom] Jean Baptiste Vinchon, Iqualités Peintre, Jâgel 27, Ilieux de naissance] Paris, [départ] Paris, [déstination] Rome,

Fig. 2: Jean Alaux, *Portrait of Jean Baptiste Vinchon*, 1816, oil on canvas, 47 x 36 cm, Rome, Académie de France à Rome, Villa Médici.

[observations] Passeport de S. Haltesse/le Duc de Richelieu/en date du 30. 8bre 1815«.

12 In the Zurich Sketchbook, Gericault usually drew motifs from only one place onto a single page. This means that, for example, the classical reliefs on folio 43 recto were all drawn in the same gallery, or, that the Greek armoury on folio 90 recto was probably shown within the same showcase. This observation is crucial for any further identification in the Zurich Sketchbook. In addition, documentary and stylistic evidence rules out the possibility that Vinchon's portrait was drawn in Paris in the Musée Napoléon before 1815, where Raphael's original of *Leo X. with* his Nephews from the Pitti Palace was brought after the Treaty of Tolentino. It is also quite unlikely that it was drawn in Florence in the autumn of 1816 or 1817, because there is, despite Lüthy's and Bazin's assertions (Lüthy, p. 248; Bazin, IV, p. 104, B 1094), not a single drawing in the Zurich Sketchbook, whose subject one can safely situate in Florence. Unfortunately, there is no entry in the »Régistre des Passeports visés« to document Vinchon's journey to Naples. However, one must bear in mind that this register is not at all complete and that some of Gericault's known acquaintances and friends are also not included here or only mentioned once. For example Emilie de Sérent, Duchesse de Narbonne-Pelet, is recorded merely on her return to Paris in March 1817 (entry 1144), and Jean Victor Schnetz is but listed under 797 on 3rd October 1816

<sup>D</sup> Naef, Hans, Die Bildniszeichnungen von J.-A.-D. Ingres, 5 vols., Berne 1977-1980; about Vinchon: II, pp. 333-338, IV, p. 452, no. 242. Cf. also Grunchec 1986 (as note 10).

<sup>14</sup> Clément, Charles, Géricault. Etude biographique et critique, avec le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre du maître, Paris 1879, pp. 81-92, pp. 108-112.

<sup>15</sup> Most recent: Sagne, Jean, *Géricault*, Mesnil-surl'Estrée 1991, p. 135.

<sup>16</sup> The best survey, so far, on Gericault's acquaintances in Italy was given by Bruno Chenique (Chenique, Bruno, *Géricault, une vie,* in: Géricault, exh. cat. Grand Palais, Paris 1991, pp. 278-279).
<sup>17</sup> Cf. fos. 13, 23, 30, 36, 37, 44, 82, and 90.

 <sup>18</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 9363 (Pozzi, I, p. 124, no. 7).

 Napoli, INV. 9363 (POZZ), F. p. 124, IO. 7).
 I<sup>9</sup> Cf. Weege, F., Oskische Grabmalerei, in: Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 24, Berlin 1909, pp. 99-141.

<sup>20</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 6693 (Matz, II, p. 249, no. 106, pls. 144-146).
<sup>21</sup> For Gericault's erotic compositions see last: Michel, Régis, *Utalie Antique*, in: Géricault (as note 16), p. 72. Related to the same issue see the recently discovered *Couple Entwined with a Nude Spectator* (Milstein, Ann, *Neo-Classicism and Romanticism in French Painting 1774-1826*, exh. cat. Richard L. Feigen 8 Co., New York 1994, pp. 52-54, no. 16).



Charles Clément.<sup>14</sup> This notion of loneliness has not yet been completely abandoned.<sup>15</sup> The portrait of Vinchon indicates that another addition to Gericault's circle of Roman acquaintances has to be made.<sup>16</sup>

Of the other twenty-three sheets with drawings from Naples and its environs, there are still some which Bazin failed to include among the works from Gericault's Italian journey.<sup>17</sup> Of particular interest might be the rider depicted on folio 37 recto (fig. 4), which Gericault copied from a Lucanian tomb painting in the Museo Borbonico (fig. 3).<sup>18</sup> This drawing is one of the oldest records known today of such archaeological finds.<sup>19</sup> It might be surprising to see that Gericault copied such an early example of European painting but it is nevertheless typical of his interest that out of the whole panel he should have copied the horse and rider. One can recognise an overall pattern among the works in the Zurich Sketchbook showing the artist's preferred subjects. These correspond with his usual iconography. In this respect it is worth mentioning one particular sketch, a satyr approaching a nymph (fig. 6), copied by Gericault on folio 82 verso from an Antonine sarcophagus in the Museo Borbonico (fig. 5), $^{20}$  which links his erotic drawings of that time directly to a classical source. Other figures from the same piece are drawn on folio 44 recto (fig. 7). I do not suggest that Gericault took his ideas for erotic drawings from classical sources, but this sketch shows his sensitivity towards such subject matter.<sup>21</sup>



Fig. 3: Lucanian tomb painting from Paestum, fresco, II2 x 199 cm, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Fig. 4: Théodore Gericault, Horse and rider after a Lucanian tomb painting, pencil on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 37 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.

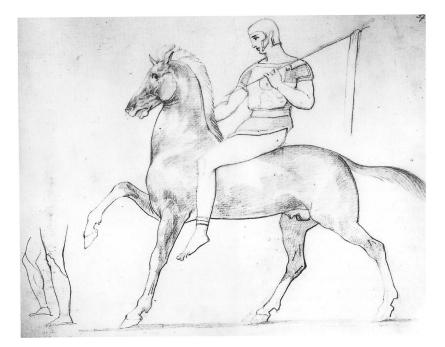
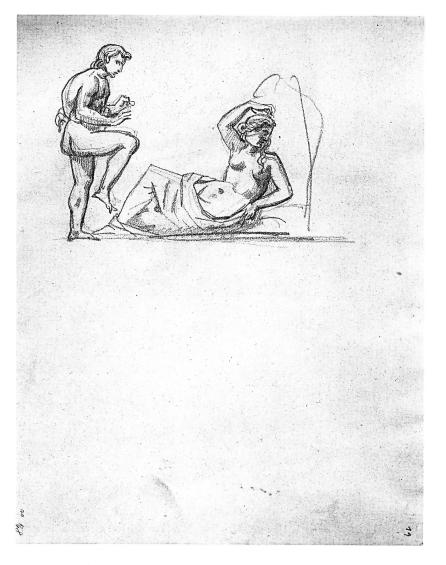




Fig. 5: Relief from an Antonine sarcophagus, 2nd century A.D., marble, ht 58 cm, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

Fig. 6: Théodore Gericault, Satyr approaching a nymph after an Antonine sarcophagus relief, pencil on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 82 verso of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.





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Fig. 7: Théodore Gericault, Two figures after an Antonine sarcophagus relief, pencil on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 44 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich. Fig. 8: Jacopo Zanguidi, called «Il Bertoja«, *Madonna col Bambino*, tempera on canvas, 106 x 90 cm, Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

Fig. 9: Théodore Gericault, Sketch after the *Madonna* col Bambino by Jacopo Zanguidi, pencil on paper, 21 x 27 cm, folio 36 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.

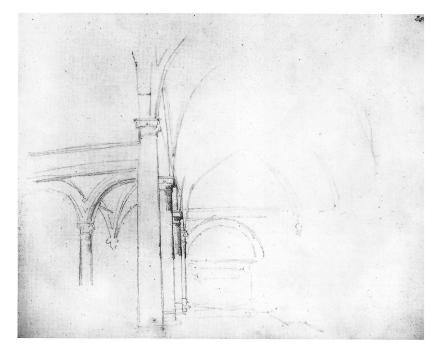




Fig. 10: Cloister of S. Maria la Nova, Naples, 16th century.

Fig. II: Théodore Gericault, Cloister of S. Maria la Nova, pencil on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 28 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.

Fig. 12: Théodore Gericault, Section of the Aurelian Walls on the Pinchio, pencil on paper, 21 x 26,8 cm, folio 55 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.



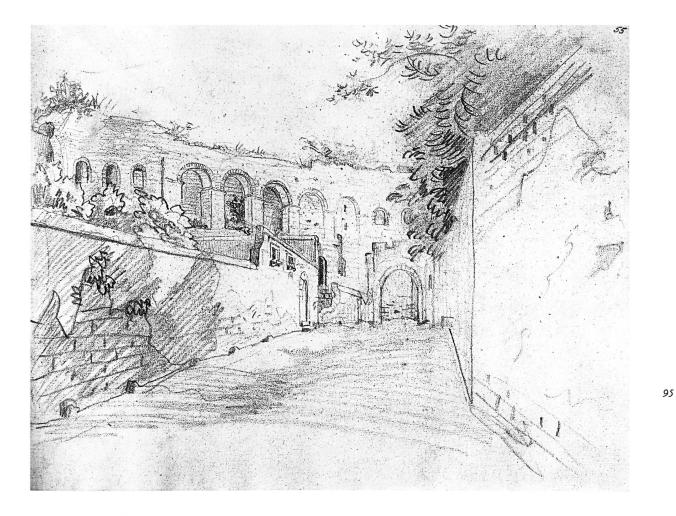
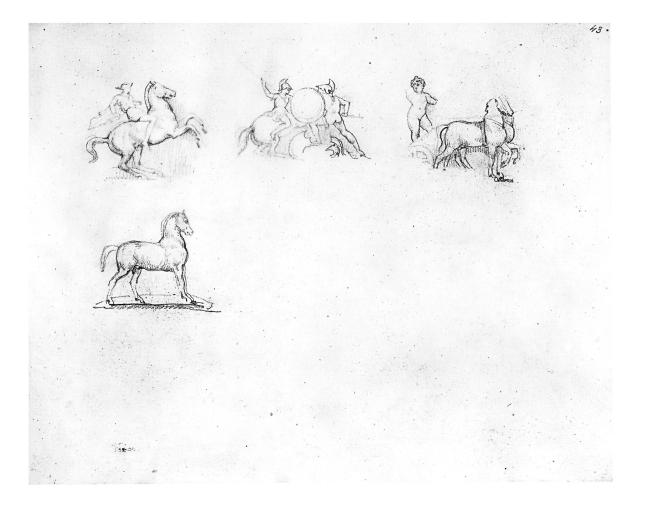


Fig. I3: Théodore Gericault, Various sketches showing among others antiquities from the Vatican Collections, pencil on paper, 2l x 18,2 cm, folio 5 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.

Fig. 14: Théodore Gericault, Sketches showing four classical reliefs from the Vatican Collections, pencil on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 43 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.





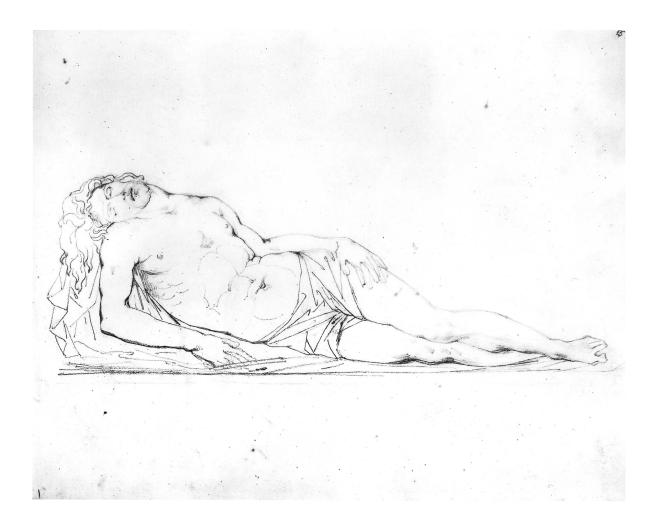




Fig. 15: Théodore Gericault, Corpus Domini, pencil on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 15 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.

Fig. 16: Anonymous, *Portrait of a Nobleman*, 16th century, oil on canvas?, measurements and present whereabouts unknown (formerly Rome, Borghese Collection).

Fig. 17: Théodore Gericault, Sketch after a Portrait of a Nobleman, pencil on paper, 21 x 27 cm, folio 42 verso of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.



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Fig. 18: Théodore Gericault, Copy after the Pietà per Vittoria Colonna by Marcello Venusti, pen and brown ink over pencil on paper, 21 x 27 cm, folio 41 recto of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.



Among the many drawings from Naples in the Zurich Sketchbook, there are also some standard copies of Old Masters and simple records of Gericault's travels. Folio 36 recto (fig. 9) showing the Madonna col Bambino by Jacopo Zanguidi (1544-1574) (fig. 8), which at the time was considered to be by Correggio,<sup>22</sup> belongs to this group as well as the sketch of the Cloister of S. Maria la Nova on folio 28 recto (figs. 10 and 11). The latter is one of the rare works in Gericault's oeuvre which depicts architectural motifs. The Zurich Sketchbook contains ten of these in total.<sup>23</sup> Although they have all been drawn during the artist's stay in Italy, they are still not listed by Bazin in full.24 One of these drawings, folio 55 recto (fig. 12), stands out from the others in its execution, as the majority of Gericault's architectural drawings usually have a sketchy quality to them. This particular work was drawn in Rome, after the artist's return from Naples, and shows a section of the Aurelian Walls on the Pinchio. The view is taken from the inside of the ancient fortification along a path which leads between high garden walls towards a gate in the background. Shrubs, bushes and trees hang over the masonry on the right and cast a long shadow to the left. Through the discoveries of Wheelock Whitney we know that Gericault lived in the Via San Isidoro in the Ludovisi guarter during his first Roman stay.<sup>25</sup> On the famous map of Gian Battista Nolli, and again on later ones, one can see how rural the area to the North of San Isidoro was at the time, and one might well assume that Gericault paused to execute this drawing while on a walk in that region. As the foliage indicates, the artist must have done this view during summertime. This explains why it could have been drawn only after his return from Naples.

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 <sup>22</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (Molajoli, p. 42, no. 1l8). For the attribution to Correggio see: Real Museo Borbonico (as note 7), V, 1829, pl. 31.
 <sup>23</sup> Cf. fos. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 39, 48, 49, 50, and 55.

<sup>23</sup> Cl. tos. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 39, 48, 49, 50, and 55.
<sup>24</sup> Cf. the following list of the sketchbook's contents. Concerning Bazin's oddities in his catalogue raisonnée see Lorenz Eitner's book reviews: *Théodore Géricault. Etude critique, documents, et catalogue raisonné. By Germain Bazin*, in: The Burlington Magazine 133, no. 1057, April 1991, pp. 253-257, and in: The Burlington Magazine 136, no. 1100, November 1994, pp. 771-773.

<sup>25</sup> Whitney, Wheelock, *Géricault in Italy: some dates and an address*, in: The Burlington Magazine 122, no. 925, April 1980, p. 255.

ig. 19: Marcello Venusti, *Pietà per Vittoria Colonna*, pil on canvas, 56 x 40 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese.



The Zurich Sketchbook contains additional drawings from Gericault's Italian period.<sup>26</sup> which have not as yet been published, identified and catalogued.<sup>27</sup> They include two more sheets with sketches of antiquities from the Vatican Collections on folio 5 recto and folio 43 recto (figs. 13 and 14), a Corpus Domini on folio 15 recto (fig. 15), and one sketch of a painting from the Borghese Collection in Rome. The latter shows on folio 42 verso (fig. 17) the same Portrait of a Nobleman as on folio 39 verso.<sup>28</sup> At the time, this painting (fig. 16) was believed to be by Raphael and to depict Cesare Borgia.<sup>29</sup> In addition, on folio 41 recto, there is a copy of the *Christo* deposto con la Madonna e due Angeli also called the Pietà per Vittoria Colonna by Marcello Venusti (1512-1579) (figs. 18 and 19), which was not considered by Bazin.<sup>30</sup> The total number of sheets in the Zurich Sketchbook with drawings after antiquities thus rises to eighteen, and the total number of copies of Old Master paintings to twelve. However, apart from the previously mentioned Roman relief on folio 82 (fig. 6), it is not possible to link the copies in the Zurich Sketchbook to any of Gericault's own creations or to see them as having been done with any other specific purpose in mind. They do, however, reveal a great deal about the artist's personal interests. his highly aesthetic choice, the ways in which he dealt with an artistic challenge, and his search for profit through both imitation and emulation. The drawing after Venusti's Pietà is a fine example of this. Here, as if to compensate for the apparent flabbiness and restraint of the model, Gericault imparted a deliberate strength and definition to the subject with his pen-strokes and cross-hatchings. He thus reveals a neo-classical predisposition which can be observed in many of the carefully

Gericault's Zurich Sketchbook

<sup>26</sup> Gericault stayed in Rome from mid-November 1816 to March 1817, and from early June to late September 1817. In between he travelled to Naples and Paestum. Before his first sojourn in Rome he stopped in Florence, and while returning from Rome he stayed in Siena and Florence (cf. Chenique las note 16l, pp. 276-279).
<sup>27</sup> Cf. fos. 2, 5 recto, 15, 42, 43, and 72 verso.

28 B 1098

<sup>29</sup> Not with Dussler (as note 7). Although it was sold by the Borgheses into a Rothschild collection in the late 19th century, its present whereabouts could not be traced.

 This drawing was illustrated in Lüthy's article of 1966 (as note 1). The Venusti: Galleria Borghese, Inv. 422 (Pergola, Paola della, *Galleria Borghese. 1 Dipinti*, 2 vols., Rome 1959, II, p. 138, no. 191).

executed drawings from his Italian sojourn. It is as much a part of his creative interpretation of his models as it is responsible for his selection of them. Another hint of his neo-classicism can be seen in his repeated copies after Raphael, the Renaissance master admired by many pioneering artists of the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> The *Portrait of a Nobleman* from the Borghese collection (fig. 16) did, as already mentioned earlier, twice attract Gericault's attention. While folio 39 verso is done in pen and wash, folio 42 verso records the portrait only in the sketchy outlines of a preliminary drawing (fig. 17), the execution of which Gericault seems to have abandoned at some point.

It is noteworthy that Gericault's copies of Old Masters in the Zurich Sketchbook deal exclusively with the human figure, while his drawings of antiquities also represent horses, or horses and riders. Stylistically they can be divided into two groups: those drawings which follow neo-classical principals, and those which document the subversion and complex stylistic digression from this ideal. One cannot, however, make an iconographic distinction between the two »styles« because they overlap each other chronologically within Gericault's Italian sojourn. In addition, there are a few scenes of street life which do not fit comfortably into either category of style.32 This, of course, changed after Gericault's return to Paris, as he no longer copied Old Masters but turned to more ambitious and more contemporary subjects.<sup>33</sup> Only a few drawings in the Zurich Sketchbook reflect this change. It is, therefore, odd to find on folio 84 verso the so called Cincinnatus<sup>34</sup> from the Louvre being copied at such a late stage (fig. 20). Nonetheless, the Cincinnatus stands as another example of Gericault's ambivalent position in this fruitful period of transition, a transition that began during his Italian sojourn and that carried through into the drawings of the Zurich Sketchbook.

#### Contents of the Zurich Sketchbook

On the following pages, I have made some basic additions to the entries in Germain Bazin's catalogue raisonné.<sup>35</sup> Although I believe that some of the drawing techniques as described by Bazin differ from the factual data, I will refrain from listing these discrepancies here as I plan to cover this in my forthcoming thesis.

The Zurich Sketchbook consists of ninety-two leaves, ninety of which are numbered from Ir[ecto] to 92v[erso], and which are paginated upside down, and in reverse, from 1 to 19 (not the original pagination), so that this second part ends on folio 82 verso. Ninety of these sheets are bound and belong to the original book, while two, folio 2 and folio 92, have been glued in at a later stage, and a further two, folio 5 and folio 11, have been cut lengthwise, presumably by Gericault himself. Two sheets from the original book, the ones following folio 76 and folio 81, have apparently been carefully cut out. The types of paper used in the sketchbook can be divided into five groups: 1) a whitish, cream-colored wove paper which shows the watermark »AL GIROUX A PARIS« (close to Heawood 3248, but without date)<sup>36</sup> for fos. 1, 3-22, 91, and the inside of the two covers; 2) a bright laid paper showing the watermark »VAN DER LEY« (Churchill 433 for the writing and Churchill 193 for the »Vryheit« over the globe and Strassburg Bend)<sup>37</sup> for fos. 23-42; 3) a group of various coloured wove papers, some of which bear the watermark of

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Cf. Lichtenstein, Sara, *Delacroix and Raphael* (Outstanding dissertations in the fine arts, thesis at the University of London, 1973), New York/London 1979.
 Cf. fos. 4, 38, 46, 89 verso, and 91 verso.
 Gericault returned to Paris in November 1817 (cf.

Chenique las note 161, p. 279). For the change of subjects cf. fos. 51, 52, and 53. <sup>34</sup> Paris. Musée du Louvre. Département des

Antiquités grecques et romaines, Inv. RF 83. For a complete list of all known copies after this statue see Vierneisel-Schlörb, Barbara, *Glyptothek München*. *Katalog der Skulpturen*, vol. II, Munich 1979, pp. 457-467. For its history see: Haskell, Francis/Penny, Nicholas, *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven/London 1988, pp. 182-184. Cf. also one of Gericault's early pen drawings which is now in Alençon and which shows the same sculpture from the back (B 255).

<sup>35</sup> Bazin, II, pp. 250-251. See also single catalogue entries listed below.

<sup>36</sup> Heawood, Edward, Watermarks mainly in the 17th and 18th Centuries, Hilversum 1950, no. 3248.

<sup>37</sup> Churchill, W. A., Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnections, Amsterdam 1935, reprint Den Haag 1990, nos. 193 and 433. »CANSON FRERES« for fos. 43-90; 4) a Bernese laid paper by Carl Ludwig Niklaus Kilchberger (Lindt 516 and 517)<sup>38</sup> for folio 92; and 5) an as yet unidentifiable buff paper for folio 2, which however seems to be identical with the Delagarde papers in the Chicago Album.<sup>39</sup> All drawings are in pencil unless otherwise stated. The list includes only those sheets which bear any drawings or notes.

Cover inside la: B 1089. With the note which names »Monsieur Colombel« Gericault was most probably referring to the »Colombelle«, who we know from a diary entry by Charles Robert Cockerell from 28th May 1821, according to which Gericault had dinner together with Colombel, Auguste, and Cockerell.<sup>40</sup> A certain Robert Alexander Colombel appears among the documents found by Christopher Sells,<sup>41</sup> and an »Alex. Colombel, auteur d'un Ecrit sur la Guerre de l'Orient«, and an »A. de Colombel« as author of »L'Angleterre et L'Ecosse à Vol d'Oiseau« can be found among the holdings of the British Library.<sup>42</sup> However, whether these »Colombels« are identical with Gericault's acquaintance remains to be proven.

Fol Ir: B 1090. Among various notes and sketches are two caricatures of a man with long hair. They might well represent the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, as the facial features correspond heavily with other contemporary caricatures of this artist.<sup>43</sup> Fol 2r: B 1725. Bazin and Eitner imply that the lady with protruding curls represents Alexandrine Modeste Caruel, Gericault's lover.<sup>44</sup> At the same time Bazin incongruously recognizes the children on this drawing as Elisabeth and Alfred Dedreux. However, I much prefer to identify the lady on folio 2 recto and verso with the children's mother Elisabeth Adélaide Dedreux-Collin, rather than with Gericault's lover, who, at the time, had nothing to do with the Dedreux-family. As folio 2 has been glued into the sketchbook at a later stage, we can only assume from the children's age, on stylistic grounds, and on little documentary evidence, that the drawings were done in Siena in autumn 1817, when Gericault met Mme Dedreux and her children on his way back to Paris.<sup>45</sup>

Fol 2v: B 1726. Cf. preceding comment.

Fol 3r: B 1110. Under the famous *Torso Belvedere*, from left to right, there are drawn: A Roman marble torso of a hero, nowadays in the Cortile Ottagono in the Vatican Collections,<sup>46</sup> the marble torso of a reduced replica of Praxiteles' *Apollon Sauroctonos*, and one of the many replicas of the *Lysippian Eros*, both of which are in the Vatican Collections.<sup>47</sup>

Fol 4r: B 1859.

Fol 5r: Among the various sketches there are: a fragment of a Roman sarcophagus,<sup>48</sup> a female draped figure from a 4th century B.C. Apulian vase, and a marble bust of Heracles, all from the Vatican Collections.<sup>49</sup>

Fol 5v: Some caricatures.

Fol 6r: B 1814.
Fol 7r: B 1816.
Fol 8r: B 1817.
Fol 9r: B 1202.
Fol 10r: B 1201.

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<sup>38</sup> Lindt, Johann, The Paper-Mills of Berne and their Watermarks 1465-1859, Hilversum 1964, nos. 516 and 517.

39 Cf. Eitner 1960, pp. 30-42.

<sup>40</sup> Rosenthal, Donald A., Ingres, Géricault and Monsieur Augustev, in: The Burlington Magazine 124, no. 946, January 1982, p. 10.

4 Sells, Christopher, New Light on Gericault, his Travels and his Friends, 1816-23, in: Apollo Magazine 123, no. 292, June 1989, pp. 390-395.

<sup>42</sup> Colombel, Alex., Du Parti qu'on Pourrait Tirer d'une Expédition d'Alger, ou de la Possibilité de Fonder dans le Bassin de la Méditerranée un Nouveau Système Colonial et Maritime, a L'Épreuve de la Puissance Anglaise, Paris (chez Delaunay) 1830; Colombel, A. de, L'Angleterre et L'Ecosse à Vol d'Oiseau, Souvenirs d'un Touriste, Paris 1853.

 Cf. the caricature attributed to Wilhelm Marstrand in Peters, Ursula, Künstlerleben in Rom, Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844). Der dänische Bildhauer und seine deutschen Freunde, Nuremberg 1991, p. 504, no. 3.90.
 4 Bazin, V, 1992, pp. 105-106; Eitner 1991, pp. 119-120.
 4 Bazin, J., p. 40, document 105. Pierre-Joseph

Dedreux-Dorcy's (1789-1874) arrival in Rome with his sister-in-law and her two children is documented by entry 1637 of 28th October 1817 in the «Régistre des Passeports visées 1814-18 de l'Ambassade de France«. <sup>46</sup> Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. 930 (Amelung, II, no. 19).

<sup>47</sup> Rome, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 194 (Amelung, I, no. 482); and for the Eros Inv. 1509 or 1659 (Amelung, I, no. 495 resp. 653).

<sup>48</sup> Rome, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 1543 (Amelung, I, no. 457).

<sup>49</sup> Rome, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 2029 (Amelung, I, no. 111).

Fol IIr: Caricatures of various male characters, one of which resembles Carle Vernet on folio 31 recto in the Chicago Album.<sup>50</sup>

Fol 12r: B 1096. Portrait of Jean Baptiste Vinchon and head of Giulio de Medici, the latter after the copy of Raphael's portrait of *Leo X. with his Nephews* from the Museo Borbonico.

Fol 13r: Two warriors from a presumably lost 4th century B.C. Lucanian tomb painting.<sup>51</sup>

Fol 14r: B 1291. Among these various sketches are some so-called »Five-pointdrawings« comparable to those done by Johann Heinrich Fuseli and Thomas Banks in Rome some two generations earlier.<sup>52</sup>

Fol 15r: Corpus Domini.53

Fol 17r: B 1820. Bazin incorrectly identifies the sitter as Alexandrine Modeste Caruel despite of Lüthy's correct proposal of 1988 which named the sitter as Mme Laure Bro, née de Comères.<sup>54</sup>

Fol 18r: B 1099.

Fol 19r: B 1091.

Fol 20r: B 1097.

Fol 2Ir: B 1094. Apart from the Parmigianino-portrait of *Gian Galeazzo Sanvitale*,<sup>55</sup> Gericault drew the following four busts of Roman emperors from the Museo Borbonico: from upper left to lower right there are Lucius Verus from a heroic statue,<sup>56</sup> the youthful Marc Aurel,<sup>57</sup> another bust of Marc Aurel of the same type but with some drilling in the eyes,<sup>58</sup> and a portrait of Claudius wearing the Corona Civica.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore there is no reason why the male profile on the lower left should depict the donor of Masaccio's *Trinità* of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, as Lüthy and Bazin claim.<sup>60</sup> First, this would be the only drawing in the whole sketchbook that would have been done in Florence, and second, the physiognomic features are too different from Masaccio's donor to be connected to it.

#### Fol 22r: B 1445.

Fol 23r: Draped male figure after a 5th century B.C. Attic red-figured vase which was once in the collection of Caroline Murat, Naples.

Fol 23v: B 1109.

#### Fol 24r: B 1104.

Fol 25r: B 1858. While Bazin avoids identifying the sitter, Eitner identifies the young pianist as Gericault's friend Louis-Alexis Jamar.<sup>61</sup> However, considering the resemblance of the drawing's model to B 10 and profiles on B 1859, this seems rather unlikely, because Jamar was - as is well known - blond.<sup>62</sup>

Fol 26r: B 1164.

Fol 27r: B 1162.

Fol 28r: B 1163. Cloister of S. Maria la Nova in Naples.

Fol 29r: B 1160.

Fol 30r: Staircase in a Neapolitan townhouse.

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50 B 723.

 Cf. Corrigan, Eileen, Lucanian Tomb Paintings Excavated at Paestum 1969-1972, New York 1979, pp. 624-626 (tomba 61), pp. 629-631 (tomba 84).
 Cf. Schiff, Gert, Johann Heinrich Füssli 1741-1825, Zurich/Munich 1973, p. 80 and nos. 618-629.
 Although the model for Gericault's drawing cannot be positively identified, the prototype for this

dead Christignees back to Bac, the prototype to this dead Christignees back to Bac, the prototype to this SS. Annunziata, Florence. A reliquary by Giuseppe Antonio Torricelli, once Art Market London, shows a somewhat similar Corpus Domini (*Halian Paintings and Sculptures of the 17th and 18th centuries*, exh. cat. Heim Gallery, London 1976, no. 35). Cf. also the small terracotta by an unknown Italian artist in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Penny, Nicholas, *Catalogue of European Sculptures in the Ashmolean Museum*, 1540 to the Present Day. Vol. 1: Italian, Oxford 1992, p. 182, no. 12).

 Lüthy, Hans A., Passion and Violence in Géricault's Drawings, in: Paris. Center of Artistic Enlightemment (Papers in Art History from Pennsylvania State University, IV), Philadelphia 1988, p. 172, fig. 7:16.
 Now: Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte

(Molajoli, p. 42, no. 111). <sup>56</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di

Napoli, Inv. 6095 (Pozzi, II, p. 162, no. 60). <sup>57</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 6090 (Pozzi, II, p. 162, no. 55).

 <sup>58</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 6093 (Pozzi, II, p. 162, no. 58).
 <sup>59</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di

Napoli, Inv. 6060 (Pozzi, II, p. 158, no. 32). 60 Lüthy, p. 248; Bazin, IV, p. 104. 61 Eitner 1991, pp. 281-283 and ill. 136.

62 Cf. the description of B 1752 in the catalogue of the

Cheramy collection as quoted by Eitner 1972, pp. 170-171.

Fol 31r: B 1746.

Fol 32r: B 1092.

Fol 33r: Female nude raising her arms above her head.

Fol 34r: B 1443. »Testa Carafa«.63

Fol 35r: B 1444. »Testa Carafa«.

Fol 36r: Sketch after the *Madonna Col Bambino* by Jacopo Zanguidi, called »Il Bertoja« (1544-1574), from the Museo Borbonico.

Fol 37r: Horse and rider after a 4th century B.C. Lucanian tomb painting from the Museo Borbonico.

Fol 38r: Mother and child.<sup>64</sup> Pen and brown ink with wash over pencil.

Fol 39r: B 1161.

Fol 39v: B 1098. Cf. comment to fol 42v.

Fol 40r: B 1093.

Fol 41r: Copy after *Christo deposto con la Madonna e due Angeli*, also called the *Pietà per Vittoria Colonna* by Marcello Venusti.<sup>65</sup> Pen and brown ink over pencil.

Fol 42r: Woman carrying a water jug.

Fol 42v: Sketch after the same *Portrait of a Nobleman* as on folio 39 verso, which, at the time, was believed to be by Raphael.<sup>66</sup>

Fol 43r: Four sketches after antique reliefs from the Vatican Collections. From upper left to lower right: rider from a Greek 5th century B.C. heroic relief,<sup>67</sup> two warriors from a fragmented Roman sarcophagus,<sup>68</sup> erote on a chariot from a fragmented Roman sarcophagus,<sup>69</sup> and a horse from another marble relief.<sup>70</sup>

Fol 44r: Two figures from an Antonine Dionysos sarcophagus from the Museo Borbonico.71

Fol 44v: B 1815.72

Fol 45v: B 1103.

Fol 46r: Sketches of fishermen throwing nets.

Fol 47r: B 1821.

Fol 48r: B 1167.

Fol 49r: B 1168.

Fol 50r: B 1169.

Fol 51r: B 2007.

Fol 52r: B 1993.

Fol 53r: B 1991.

Fol 55r: A section of the Aurelian Wall on the Pinchio.

Fol 56r: B 1819.

Fol 57r: B 1818.

Fol 72v: Sketch for La Mossa.73

Fol 82v: Satyr approaching a nymph after an Antonine Dionysos sarcophagus from the Museo Borbonico.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Now: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 4887 (cf. Pannuti, Ulrico, Intorno alla Cosidetta «Testa Carafa» del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, in: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung 95, 1988, pp. 129-157)

<sup>64</sup> Published in Géricault (as note 16), p. 70, ill. 123.
<sup>65</sup> Cf. note 30.

66 Cf. note 29.

 Rome, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 1900 (Amelung, I, no. 186).
 Rome, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 1738 (Amelung, I,

no. 301).

69 Rome, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 2134 (Amelung, I, no. 320).

<sup>70</sup> Rome, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 1609 (Amelung, I, no. 408).

71 As note 20.

<sup>72</sup> Bazin had strong doubts that the youth shown on this sheet represents Eugène Isabey despite the inscription by Johann Jakob Ulrich (1798-1877), the former owner of the Zurich Sketchbook, who may have met Isabey in person. Bazin's objection is based on the presumed young age of the boy. However, he erroneously gave Isabey's year of birth as 1804, instead of 1803 (Bazin, V, pp. 105 and 275).

This identification was kindly provided by Dr Hans
 A. Lüthy in April 1992.

74 As note 20.

Fig. 20: Théodore Gericault, *«Cincinnatus»*, black chalk on paper, 21 x 26,9 cm, folio 84 verso of the Zurich Sketchbook, Zurich, Kunsthaus, bequest of Johann Jakob Ulrich.

75 As note 34.

 Cf. Real Museo Borbonico (as note 7), IV, Naples 1827, pl. 44, as »Armature di Bronzo«.
 Bazin, II, p. 251.

<sup>78</sup> For Demetz see his obituary in: Polybion. Revue Bibliographique universelle, X (premier partie), Paris 1873, pp. 301-302. About parts of his collection see Catalogue de Tableaux et Dessins Anglais et Français [...] provenant de la Collection M. Demetz dont la Vente aura lieu Place de la Bourse Nº 2, Hötel des Commissaires-Priseurs, le lundi 27 janvier 1840 (Lugt, Répertoires, no. 15 639).

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Fol 84v: Hermes fixing his right sandal, so called *»Cincinnatus«* in the Louvre.<sup>75</sup> Black chalk.

Fol 85v: B 1106.

Fol 86v: B 1095.

Fol 87v: B 1107.

Fol 88v: B 1108.

Fol 89v: Sketch of two women with a child, and one of a male head. Pen and ink.

Fol 90r: Seven pieces of antique armoury from the Museo Borbonico.<sup>76</sup>

Fol 90v: B 1165.

Fol 91r: B 1166.

Fol 9Iv: Sketches of single figures showing a standing young woman looking to her right, a boy wearing a large hat sitting on a wall, and four children or putti playing with a goat.

Fol 92v: Writing by Heinrich Appenzeller, member of the library's commission of the Zurich Fine Arts Society 1898-1909: »Skizzenbuch/von/Jean Louis Théodore Géricault/von Paris/1791-1824«.

Cover inside 92a: Inscription by Johann Jakob Ulrich. A full transcription of this text has been published by Bazin.<sup>77</sup> However, the name of Ulrich's friend who gave him this sketchbook as a present must be read »Demetz« and not »Dullitz« as Bazin claims. Based on documentary evidence and over fifty letters by Demetz, which are still preserved in Ulrich's written estate, one can identify this friend as the French jurist, officer of the Légion d'Honneur, and art collector Fréderic Auguste Demetz (1796-1873).<sup>78</sup>

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