chapter 1 of David J. Getsy, *Rodin: Sex and the Making of Modern Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 29-57.

1876
MICHELANGELO AND RODIN'S DESIRES

Rodin's position as the reputed father of modern sculpture rests on two interdependent claims: first, that he introduced into the medium of sculpture a deeper capacity for a personalized, expressive style and, second, that his characteristic approach toward sculptural practice and subject matter revolved around a more frank and engaged exploration of the nude body as the site of emotional, and often sexualized, investment. Over the course of his long career, Rodin increasingly came to be seen as the sculptor who implied or displayed sexual passion as a means to unleash the evocative power of the human form, thus rescuing sculpture from the supposed lifeless conventionality of previous statues.[1] As Leo Steinberg remarked, "Nineteenth-century sculpture was Baudelaire's 'tiresome art,' dedicated chiefly to conventional communal goals. Rodin restored to inward experience what had been for at least a century a branch of public relations."[2] This refocusing on "inward experience" in sculpture centered, for Rodin, primarily on the nude. As I discussed in the Introduction, Rodin's liberation of sculpture from convention came to be seen as an analogue or a symptom of the sexual liberty many ascribed to both his work and his persona.

In what follows, I shall discuss Rodin's early formulation of this agenda beginning in his pivotal year of 1876. Just before his first major recogni-

19 (*facing page*) Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, in 1882 with Michelangelo's *David* and plaster casts from the 1875 Michelangelo exhibition. Alinari Archives, Florence.

32 tion with the *Age of Bronze*, Rodin underwent a period of intensive artistic self-evaluation that took the form of a pilgrimage to Italy. It was there that he confronted the one predecessor that he sought to emulate and to rival more than any other – Michelangelo. The Florentine sculptor's works had already exerted a powerful influence over Rodin, but this encounter with Michelangelo made that desire more intense as well as more conflicted. From that moment on, Rodin would repeatedly draw on this precedent – so much so that it became commonplace for others to regard him as the modern Michelangelo.[3] Kirk Varnedoe once asserted, "Rodin's trip to Italy might rightly be seen as one of the seminal events in modern art."[4] This "seminal" moment centered on the role model of Michelangelo, for it was in the Florentine artist's work and his legendary *terribilità* that Rodin learned a pivotal lesson in how bodies matter to sculpture and how the medium could employ them to be both universally expressive and deeply personal.

The influence of Michelangelo on Rodin has been well documented, and the trip in 1876 has often been cited as the catalyst for the sculptor's subsequent success.[5] Rather than repeat these accounts, I shall focus on a small group of works made by Rodin in relation to his experience in Florence in 1876: the highly finished drawings after the allegorical figures in Michelangelo's Medici Chapel. A close analysis of these works reveals that his response to Michelangelo was more complex and particular than has been recognized. More than just a stylistic borrowing, Rodin took from Michelangelo a thematic question about the artistic investment in the nude human form. Rodin saw in Michelangelo's famous nudes what he believed to be evidence of another artist who blended the emotional and the sexual in his expressive rendering of the body. In short, Rodin recognized in the Medici Chapel a sexual positioning from which he could learn but, as will be seen, could not share. Through an examination of the drawings after the Medici Chapel and the subtle, but nevertheless significant, alterations Rodin made from his motif, I shall argue that this episode offered a primary formulation of Rodin's remaking of the modern sculptor in relation to the sexual. That is, just as Rodin's mature career began, his struggle with Michelangelo over the meanings of the nude and its relation to the sculptor set the terms for his subsequent patterns. More than just establishing the importance of sex as subject matter through which Rodin could invest viewers in his sculpted bodies, he would come to rely on a sexualizing use of the nude as the primary sign for his expressivity and subjectivity. In this, the recognition of Michelangelo's desires became both the impetus and the obstacle to Rodin's own desire of making himself Michelangelo's modern equivalent.

In February of 1876, Rodin left his home in Brussels to travel to Italy. The purpose of this trip was to search for inspiration. For many years, Rodin had been struggling with his career. The repeated refusals of admission to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, long hours of labor on decorative work for other sculptors, and a failed business venture had left the thirty-six-year-old artist with little remaining confidence and a meager existence for his family, composed of his companion Rose Beuret and their child Auguste. In the previous months, he had devoted much of his time and energy to a freestanding male nude statue that had floundered.[6] The trip to Italy was an extraordinary gamble, and Rodin bet his and his family's future on it.

Although Rodin's short trip took him throughout Italy where he saw a number of ancient and Renaissance works, his experience centered on Michelangelo first and foremost. "Michelangelo revealed me to myself, revealed to me the truth of forms," the sculptor later recalled.[7] Michelangelo was an ambivalent precedent for many nineteenth-century sculptors because of his characteristic contortion of figures and the ease with which some of his followers transformed his style into the hyperbolic and inhuman forms of Mannerism. The traditions of academic sculpture (in which, at this time, Rodin still hoped to intervene) favored a more delicately constructed and unobtrusively naturalist attitude toward the human body. Donatello's path offered more appeal for most sculptors in Second Empire and early Third Republic France. The so-called *néo-florentin* sculptural trend of the 1860s and 1870s (including prominent sculptors such as Paul Dubois and Antonin Mercié) more often took

fifteenth-century rather than sixteenth-century Florence as its model. Rodin's search for innovation and individuality predisposed him against Donatello because of this fad. In the 1860s, however, Michelangelo continued to function as an alternative for independent-minded sculptors. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux strategically used the mixed reputation of Michelangelo to his own advantage with his 1860–61 *Ugolino and His Sons*. In that work, the heavy-handed citation of Michelangelo's exaggerated forms served to signal Carpeaux's self-styled independence from academic norms.[8] Later, Rodin too confessed, "My liberation from academicism was through Michelangelo."[9]

At this point, however, Rodin was primarily committed to working in relation to the Salon system and its academic norms, and the male nude on which he was working reformed, rather than rebelled against, the lithe style of his day.[10] Nevertheless, Rodin found himself drawn to Michelangelo's work. Concurrent with the creation of the male nude statue (which eventually became the *Age of Bronze*), Rodin was also completing allegorical figures for the Loos Monument in Antwerp with his business partner Antoine van Rasbourgh.[11] A study for an allegorical figure of Navigation bears resemblances to the twisting of the figures from the Medici Chapel and, in particular, the seated Lorenzo de' Medici.[12] Remembering this work some thirteen years after his Italian trip, Rodin claimed to have been surprised that his sailor resembled Michelangelo's sculpture:

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> [I]t was while I was making the figure of the sailor that I was struck with its resemblance to the statues of Michelangelo, though I had not had him in my mind. The impression astonished me, and I wondered what should cause it. I had always admired Michelangelo, but I saw him at a great distance. My studies had been a blind search after the movement of figures, and in making this one, I was, for the first time, impressed with its resemblance to the compositions of the great Florentine. I tried to understand and explain it to myself, but could not.[13]

Drawn to Michelangelo, Rodin increasingly closed the "great distance" from which he saw the Renaissance artist. Prior to 1876, however, Rodin's

20 Auguste Rodin, *Study of a Seated Man* (possibly for *'The Sailor'* for the Loos Monument), *c.*1874–5. Wax, 36.8 × 23.8 × 19.1 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, purchased through the William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 58-61. Photograph: Robert Newcombe.

knowledge of his work had come primarily from the artist's later *Slaves* in the Louvre and from casts and prints. The trip to Florence was intended to further Rodin's education, and it was inspired, in part, by his realization about the Loos Monument figure.

This trip, however, also came at a time when Michelangelo's reputation was being re-evaluated, and that re-evaluation centered on Florence. When Rodin went there in 1876, he saw not only the works that resided there but also an attempt to survey comprehensively the artist's legacy. In 1875, Florence had hosted a colossal celebration of the quadricentennial of Michelangelo's birth. That year in Florence was filled with festivals, exhibitions, and new monuments. The Casa Buonarroti was opened to the public as a museum, and works that could not be brought to Florence for the exhibitions were represented by plaster casts. Although Rodin arrived just after the celebration year, the exhibitions were still on view by the time he reached Florence in February. In short, he would have been able to see, in some form or another, nearly all of Michelangelo's major works in one place.[14] As Roger Ballu wrote in *L'Art* in 1875, "See Michelangelo in Florence and see him in entirety, what a festival."[15]

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Despite the spectacle of Michelangelo available to him in Florence, Rodin's experience of the Medici Chapel in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo proved the most indelible. While he was aware of the sculptures from reproductions, being face to face with this work in its architectural context affected Rodin most deeply. He recalled: "In looking at the Medici tombs I was more profoundly impressed than with anything I have ever seen. I mean as a matter of impression, simply."[16] This recollection was not mere nostalgia. In the only extant document from Rodin's Italian journey – a letter to his partner, Rose – he expressed his initial admiration and excitement:

> Nothing that I have seen in photographs, in plaster casts, gives any idea of the Sacristy of San Lorenzo. It is necessary to see the tombs in profile, in three-quarters. I have spent five days in Florence, it is only today that I saw the sacristy, so, for five days I was cold. Here are three lasting impressions that I have received: Reims, the walls of the Alps, and the Sacristy, in front of which one does not analyze the first time one sees it. To tell you that since the first hour in Florence I have been making a study of Michelangelo won't surprise you, and I believe the great magician is letting me in on some of his secrets. However, none of his pupils, nor his masters, does as he does, which I do not understand, because I search in his followers, but the secret is only in him, him alone. I made sketches in the evening in my room, not after his works, but after all of his structures – the systems that I make in my imagination in order to comprehend him. So, I feel I succeeded in giving to them the allure, this something without a name that only he can give.[17]

Rodin immediately recognized in the work of Michelangelo a challenge to move beyond the staid academic practices and timid naturalism common to French sculpture at that time. This influence, however, was not primarily stylistic. As his biographer and friend Judith Cladel remarked, "Without a doubt, [Michelangelo] exerted over him the double magic of his genius and of his personality; but, also, an affinity of sentiments."[18] That is, Michelangelo's work functioned for Rodin as more than a repository of technique. It conveyed the character on which Rodin sought to model himself. Determined to learn Michelangelo's compositional principles, Rodin embarked on a lengthy, if haphazard, study of the Renaissance sculptor's work. There are only a handful of drawings done on site at the Chapel (for instance, a sketchbook drawing of *Dawn* from the tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici, now in the Musée Rodin, MR D.270) and none of the studies Rodin claimed to have executed in the evenings have been securely identified. On returning from Florence, Rodin continued his investigations into Michelangelo's compositional principles by sketching live models in Michelangelo's characteristic poses in order to uncover the "secrets" of the "great magician." Also after his return to Paris in 1877, Rodin took a fresh look at the plaster casts of the Medici Chapel figures in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and created a group of highly finished drawings of *Day*, *Night*, and *Dawn*, as well as of the *Medici Madonna* and a "Cupid" then attributed to Michelangelo.[19]

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Large in format at roughly twenty by twenty-four inches each (50 × 60 centimeters), these charcoal on paper works are decidedly not swift, portable studies. Equally unlike the quick, determined sketches and his later infamous erotic drawings and watercolors, these works are not easily classifiable as the compositional studies Rodin mentioned in his letter. Rather, coming after a period of study of poses and composition that lasted several months, they represent a more concerted attempt to grapple with these figures in their entirety.

Before proceeding any further, I must acknowledge a major obstacle confronting the interpretation of these drawings. An aggressive attempt at restoring the drawings in the 1960s all but obliterated their initial character. Fortunately, there are photographs of the drawings pre-dating this restoration. While not perfect, they nevertheless give a better sense of the original subtlety of the drawings. By contrast, as Varnedoe lamented, "we can readily see that the crude clumsiness of line and unconvincing rendering of volume now evident in [these drawings] are attributable to the work of a restorer. The change in these drawings is so devastating that one is in truth no longer justified in attributing them to Rodin."[20] Despite this difficulty, I believe that the drawings (in their original state) must still be investigated, and that the archival photographs provide sufficient visual evidence to do so. Accordingly, I refer primarily to these earlier archival photographs (reproduced here) rather than the extant drawings.

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It has been debated exactly when these drawings were executed but it is generally accepted that they date to 1877 or perhaps 1876 and that their impetus was Rodin's journey to Italy. They were probably based primarily on the plaster casts in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and done as a means of reflecting on the lessons of the trip to Florence and his study of Michelangelo's principles.[21] Regardless, it is clear that the Medici Chapel was the target of Rodin's concentrated attention, and the elaborate drawings of the three famous allegorical figures, in particular, attest to Rodin's attempt to go beyond the mere recording of the compositional format.[22] He painstakingly copied these sculptures in a manner akin to an academic study. The important point about the drawings is not the exact time and place when they were executed but how they, as a group, signal the deep engagement with the precedent of Michelangelo.

These drawings do not offer a simple transposition of Michelangelo's sculptures into the medium of drawing. Both the large charcoal drawings and the numerous quick compositional sketches from 1876–7 evidence little direct stylistic influence on Rodin. As Varnedoe argued,

> [Copying] did not have a simple role in Rodin's practice – it was always connected with a search for more personal assimilation of the source. Characteristically, Rodin found himself troubled by a disjunction he felt, a gap between his understanding of Michelangelo's formal devices, gained through drawings, and his intuition of Michelangelo's deeper spiritual energy, which he could not satisfy himself that he had yet captured.[23]

The struggle with Michelangelo, that is, extended beyond technique. Rodin himself recalled, "I also had my doubts about [Michelangelo's] being conscious of these principles [of composition], or that he was the consummate artist and man that many think he is."[24] It is exactly such a conflicted interrogation of Michelangelo's character (what Varnedoe called "deeper spiritual energy"), rather than his style, that became crucial in these works. The large charcoal drawings might at first be overlooked as mere copying because, compared with the more dramatic sketches, they seem to resemble their motif the closest. Consequently, they have often been disregarded because they appear "traditional" in style. However, in certain crucial details of the drawings of the reclining allegorical figures, imitation is redirected. For all their initial appearance as faithful academic studies, they nevertheless mutate Michelangelo's sculptural bodies in crucial ways. Under the guise of faithful mimesis Rodin transformed these bodies into his own.

Michelangelo's sculptures for the Medici Chapel remain among his better-known works. The statues of the powerful, seated Medicis have often been cited by artists, as was the case with Carpeaux and Rodin. However, the allegorical figures of the times of day have proven more dif-

21 Michelangelo, *Day*, from the Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence, 1521–34. Marble, 185 cm l. Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

22 Auguste Rodin, study after Michelangelo's *Day*, 1876–7. Charcoal on paper, 48.4 × 62.7 cm. Musée Rodin, Paris, D.5118. Photographed before restoration as published in Joseph Gantner, *Rodin und Michelangelo* (Vienna: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1953).

ficult to assimilate because of the significant departure from naturalism that Michelangelo made in them. Each of the twisted figures exhibits an over-articulated and exaggerated musculature that exceeds conventional modes of representing the human body.

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Of Rodin's three Medici Chapel works, the drawing after *Day* perhaps most closely approximates Michelangelo's sculpture. It appears as if his vantage point was from slightly below left of the sculpture. This particular angle of vision has the effect of placing primary emphasis on the broad plane and muscular topography of the back. Consequently, as the complex three-dimensional form was re-described on the two-dimensional surface of the drawing, the plane created by the left leg is made to appear parallel to that of the back. In effect, the elaborate and powerful torque of Michelangelo's figure has been compressed in Rodin's drawing. This has the secondary effect of obscuring the face of the figure, which is barely discernible over the shoulder. Even in the archival photograph of the somewhat damaged drawing, the deep furrows of the back muscles stand out as the most prominent feature. By contrast, Rodin seems more tentative when rendering the figure's left arm and lower extremities. This results in a drawing of *Day* that appears even less natural than Michelangelo's sculpture in its pose, in which Rodin effectively blocked off the torso with the now exaggerated shoulders and muscled back. Similarly, in the other academic-style drawing after a male nude by Michelangelo, the related drawing of the so-called *Cupid*, Rodin chose an angle of viewing and a heaviness of shadow that obscured the degree to which the young

23 Michelangelo, *Night*, from the Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence, 1521–34. Marble, 194 cm l. Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

boy's legs were spread in the original. In both these drawings, Rodin treated the male body as something that was closed off, and he accomplished this through subtle alterations of the figures and the angle from which he chose to make his drawings.

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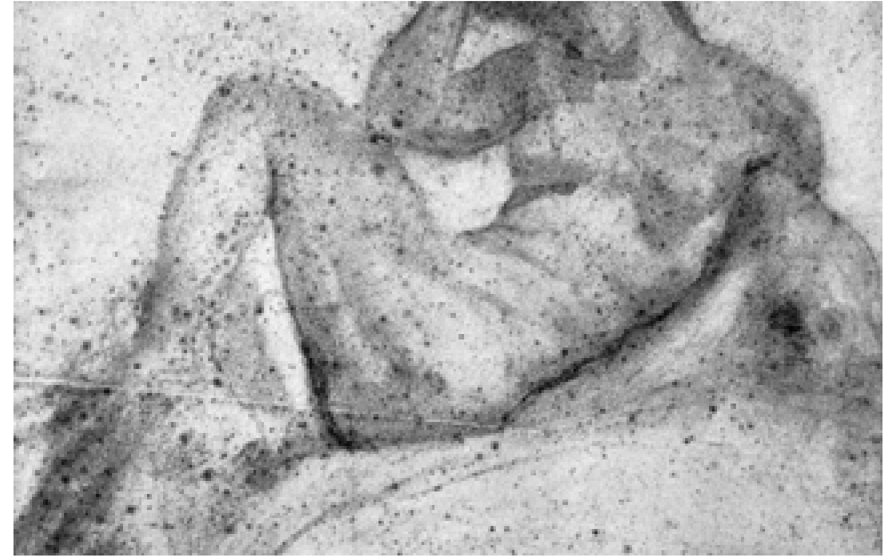
Rodin's drawing after *Night* extends these subtle liberties taken with Michelangelo's work. Again, the figure appears to have gone through a process of flattening but this time the effect of that flattening is to mitigate Michelangelo's twisting of the body. *Night*'s right elbow appears to have been moved slightly and the waist compressed, thereby lessening the spiral form of Michelangelo's work. The focus is on the body itself, and little attention has been given to the face or to the extremities. Despite the fact that the figure of *Night* is almost as muscled as that of *Day* (especially in the abdominal section), there is comparatively little play with



24 Auguste Rodin, study after Michelangelo's *Night*, 1876–7. Charcoal on paper, 48.4 × 62.7 cm. Musée Rodin, Paris, D.5119. Photographed before restoration as published in Joseph Gantner, *Rodin und Michelangelo* (Vienna: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1953).

shadow. Rodin exaggerated the musculature of *Day* through the emphasis on light and dark on the back, but, by contrast, he smoothed over variations in the brawny midsection of *Night*. Instead, the emphasis on shade has been moved up to the long shadow cast by the right breast above the torso, which Rodin has made more convex in shape. If one follows this upward path, one can also note the way in which the muscular arm of *Night* has been made thinner and less articulated. However, Rodin's most significant alteration to *Night* occurred when he reached the breasts.

The breasts of Michelangelo's *Night* have long been the subject of speculation and jest, for they are noticeably attached to what in many other respects appears to be a male body. In fact, it has been argued that Michelangelo's preparatory drawing for the statue (*c.*1520, British

Museum, London) indicates that the body and proportions were taken from a male nude. Throughout his career, Michelangelo returned to the male nude as his primary focus, and some have seen in the figure of *Night* perhaps the clearest evidence of his sustained preference for it over the female. Such concerns had been registered in the writing about Michelangelo since the sixteenth century. In Ludovico Dolce's 1557 text *L'Aretino*, the author argued that Raphael was superior to Michelangelo on the grounds that Raphael correctly attended to the differences between the sexes, whereas Michelangelo "does not know or will not observe those differences."[25] Two centuries later, this observation was also famously made by J. J. Winckelmann, who remarked, "Michelangelo is perhaps the only one who may be said to have equaled antiquity, but he did this only in his strong, muscular figures, in bodies of the heroic age, and not his delicate youthful figures or his females, who in his hands become Amazons."[26]

Such commentary continued into the nineteenth century. One of the many publications that discussed the 1875 quadricentennial celebration of Michelangelo was the newly launched journal *L'Art*, which in its first year published a special issue dedicated to the Florentine sculptor. It has been suggested that Rodin would have seen this issue in Belgium, especially as it coincided with his planning for his trip to Italy and contained much detailed information about the events in Florence.[27] In that special issue, the Italian artist Giovanni Dupré defended Michelangelo's abnormal bodies:

> As for the artistic merit of these sculptures, I will say, always with a feeling of profound respect, that manifestly the expression appears forced, that the movement is not natural, that the form is exaggerated; but these audacities, although apart from common nature and of ordinary sensations, are compensated by so many original beauties, that, if they were removed, the work would cease to appear as it is – terribly sublime.[28]

A similar subtle registration of the unconventionality of Michelangelo's nudes, and in particular the masculinization of *Night*, can be found in

Charles Baudelaire, whose book *Les fleurs du mal* (1857) was a central influence on Rodin (and for which he did illustrations). In that book, Baudelaire indirectly called attention to the peculiarity of the breasts in his poem "L'Idéal" where he dismissed the current fashion for the frail and feminine (une "troupeau gazouillant de beautés d'hôpital"). Instead, the powerful or masculinized woman such as Lady Macbeth or *Night* were his ideal:

> Ou bien toi, grande Nuit, fille de Michel-Ange,
> Qui tors paisiblement dans une pose étrange
> Tes appas façonnés aux bouches des Titans![29]

In short, it was precisely the supposedly non-feminine aspects of Lady Macbeth (with her "âme puissante au crime") and *Night* (whose "appas façonnés aux bouches des Titans") that appealed to Baudelaire. By the 1870s, the notion of Michelangelo's female nudes as masculinized had become commonplace enough for Théophile Gautier to use it as a foil against which to praise the snow sculpture of *Resistance* created by Alexandre Falguière during the Siege of Paris. Falguière, he wrote, conveyed a "delicate grace" that the Florentine sculptor's works lacked because he "has not given to his 'Resistance' the robust, almost virile form and the Michelangelesque muscles the subject seems to call for."[30] In her analysis of Falguière's *Resistance*, Hollis Clayson has argued that Gautier contrasted the cliché of Michelangelo's masculinized female nudes to *Resistance* in order to claim an erotic receptivity for the latter. She notes: "Falguière's arrestlingly brawny figure must have reminded Gautier of Michelangelo's masculinized females, but he understood that Michelangelo's nudes were too unconventional to be erotically available."[31]

For centuries up to the 1870s (and beyond), the problematic sex of Michelangelo's female nudes (and of *Night*'s body in particular) was a primary issue in the responses of viewers and critics.[32] The ambiguities would have been immediately visible to anyone engaging in the sustained looking required to create a highly finished drawing such as Rodin's. His work indicates that he not only registered this question but responded to

it as well. In Rodin's drawing, the unconventionally muscular body of *Night* has been made more "female." While still staying within the narrow parameters of the academic study drawing, Rodin nevertheless made the body of *Night* softer and thinner. Rodin's drawing remakes the muscular globes of Michelangelo's work into wider, more naturalistic breasts. Again, even though hard to discern in the archival photograph, it is nevertheless apparent that what are the most prominent geometric elements on Michelangelo's figure have become, in Rodin's version, softer and more integrated with the body on which they are placed. While I am cautious about seeing the restored drawing as evidence, it nonetheless also reiterates that the figure of *Night* was transformed in Rodin's drawing into a more credible and naturalistic female body. He edited, in effect, the ambiguous sexual difference in Michelangelo's sculpture and put the figure back in line with normative expectations of the female nude.

25 Auguste Rodin, study after Michelangelo's *Night* (post-restoration). Charcoal on paper, 48.4 × 62.7 cm. Musée Rodin, Paris, D.5119. Photograph: Jean de Calan/Musée Rodin, Paris.

The figure of *Dawn* was subjected to a similar transformation, though this time Rodin was not faced with such a radically unconventional marking of sex. While still over-muscled to some extent, the body of Michelangelo's *Dawn* is, in comparison with *Night*, more conventionally female in its musculature. The breasts, in particular, seem more credible. Rodin nevertheless softened this body as well but added to it the uncompromising viewing angle from the extreme lower right. In short, as with the rendering of *Night*, Rodin re-asserted himself through his copying after Michelangelo's sculpture, transforming the sculptor's female nudes to suit his perspective. What the drawing after *Dawn* makes clear, however, is that Rodin was not just normalizing the female bodies but, rather, was seeing them as potential sites of sexual desire. His representation of *Dawn* makes this explicit by positioning the viewer on an axis with her genitalia, which are rendered by the overworked and repeated strokes that establish the lines of the inner thighs and the space between them. The feet, however, are barely sketched. Indeed, they are almost erased even though they would have been the closest and the clearest to the artist's viewing position. As in the other drawings, Rodin deploys light and dark strategically. Heavy lines outline the figure, but much shadowing has been used to exaggerate the position of the left leg, making it appear as if it is raised higher than in Michelangelo's work. Whereas the drawing after *Night* transformed the female body into a more sensualized and conventional nude, Rodin's drawing after *Dawn* extends this process of de-masculinizing Michelangelo's figures by staging a sexually charged viewing angle. This particular angle would be deployed by Rodin later in his career in a number of his erotically charged drawings of the female nude (in MR D.2479 or MR D.1379, for example). Because of the exaggeration of the style and themes from the other drawings after the Medici Chapel, the drawing after *Dawn* has often been understood as the culmination of the investigations of this series.[33]

In making these studies, Rodin found himself caught between, on the one hand, the demands of the precise and detailed academic study and, on the other, his lack of sympathy with Michelangelo's masculinized

26 Michelangelo, *Dawn*, from the Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence, 1521–34. Marble, 206.1 cm l. Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

27 Auguste Rodin, study after Michelangelo's *Dawn*, 1876–7. Charcoal on paper, 61 × 73.7 cm. Musée Rodin, Paris, D.5117. Photographed before restoration as published in Joseph Gantner, *Rodin und Michelangelo* (Vienna: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1953).

28 Auguste Rodin, *Female Nude*, n.d. Graphite on paper, 30.7 × 20.1 cm. Musée Rodin, Paris, D.2479. Photograph: Jean de Calan/Musée Rodin, Paris.

female nudes. When it came to the choice of whether to replicate Michelangelo's forms or not, Rodin found himself implicated. The demands of "Nature," which Rodin would invoke over the course of his career, led him to "correct" Michelangelo's works in subtle ways. His drawing after *Dawn* makes clear that Rodin wanted to be able to see these female nudes as open to *his* sexual investment. While the metamorphosis of *Night* is admittedly subtle, Rodin's choice of such an intentional angle from which to render *Dawn* leaves little doubt about what he was looking to see in those bodies.[34] Indeed, in Raphael Rosenberg's catalogue of drawings after Michelangelo's Medici Chapel figures may be found some analogous points of view in earlier drawings but none that so directly focus and work over the space between the legs.[35] It is not known exactly how the plaster casts from which Rodin probably worked were installed in the Ecole when he was making these large-format drawings. Nevertheless, the angle of sight postulated in these drawings cannot be attributable to installation alone, and Rodin directed his interest in this angle at that articulated and heavily worked area where Dawn's legs meet.

One of the few mentions of these drawings in the Rodin literature, by Denys Sutton, similarly noted that the drawings "establish [Rodin's] gift for being able to absorb something of Michelangelo's spirit and impart to it his own renderings."[36] Sutton's reference to the drawings occurred in his discussion of the question of whether Rodin was homosexual (there was a spurious accusation made in 1912 in relation to Rodin's enthusiasm for Vaslav Nijinksy). In distancing himself from this claim, Sutton wrote: "Rodin was fascinated by Michelangelo on another count; he found in this master's art a strange and tantalizing mixture of the male and the female [. . .] There was every reason, then – temperamental as well as artistic – why Rodin should have turned to Michelangelo for inspiration."[37] Sutton's biography, though flawed, nevertheless took as its titular aim the examination of the importance of the sexual in Rodin's life and work and it is unsurprising that he, too, saw in these drawings evidence of both identification and disidentification with Michelangelo on erotic grounds.

In the end, Rodin re-oriented Michelangelo's female nudes and made them more amenable to a normative sexual object choice – one that reinstalled the traditional dynamics of power, vision, and erotics in the relationship between the male artist and the female body. Rodin's drawings, in other words, register and repudiate the potential to see in Michelangelo's masculinized women the evidence of alternate pathways of desire, namely the homoerotic. In this regard, Rodin's works contribute to widespread debates in the latter part of the nineteenth century about the meaning of ambiguous sexual difference in Michelangelo's works.

Questions of same-sex desire and its registration in art had circulated in Italian Renaissance discourses about artistic practice.[38] In particular, the specific issue of Michelangelo had become by the nineteenth century a broadly debated topic – even if these debates often occurred in highly veiled terms. John Addington Symonds, the British late nineteenth-century biographer of Michelangelo, offered for his time one of the more determined attempts to see in Michelangelo's works a precedent for modern homoeroticist identities and aesthetics.[39] Stopping just short of saying this outright, he related Michelangelo's masculinized women to the artist's lack of sexual investment in them. In his biography of the artist, Symonds wrote, "Michelangelo neither loved, nor admired, nor yielded to the female sex. Therefore he could not deal plastically with what is best and loveliest in the female form. His plastic ideal of the woman is masculine. He builds a colossal frame of muscle, bone, and flesh, studied with supreme anatomical science."[40] Symonds's sustained interest in the question of Michelangelo's desire was exemplary of the then growing trend to see in Michelangelo's works and character evidence of the homoerotic. Symonds, as well, is useful to consider in that he was one of the scholars participating in the European-wide re-evaluation of Michelangelo that occurred in the 1860s and 1870s. In particular, Symonds was instrumental in analyzing, translating, and disseminating recent discoveries about Michelangelo's poetry, around which many of the debates about Michelangelo's desire surfaced.

Until 1863, Michelangelo's poetry had been known almost exclusively through the edition prepared by his grandnephew in 1623. In 1863, Cesare Guasti issued a new edition of Michelangelo's sonnets based on his work with the original manuscripts. Guasti had discovered that the earlier edition had multiple alterations of Michelangelo's writings. In the seventeenth-century edition of the poetry, the sculptor's descendant dutifully altered aspects of the poems that might tarnish Michelangelo's posthumous reputation, including any hints that at least a few of the love sonnets were addressed to the young gentleman Tommaso de' Cavalieri.[41] In its special issues on Michelangelo in 1875, *L'Art* referred to Guasti's more accurate publication. Similarly, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* offered a more extensive French translation of some of the sonnets from this edition that same year.[42] In the decade since their initial publication, Guasti's edition had become more widely read and translated, and it was this corrected version of the sonnets that Rodin would have known and which incited numerous debates about the emphasis on male beauty and specifically about the role of Cavalieri in Michelangelo's poetry. This became even more problematic when Gaetanò Milanesi published Michelangelo's letters in 1875, including letters that voiced love for the young gentleman.[43] Any revelations about Cavalieri were carefully managed in subsequent discussions of Michelangelo, often being displaced to discussions of Neoplatonism or humanism.[44] The problem of Cavalieri's role was repeatedly addressed in French, Italian, English, and German discussions of Michelangelo in the 1870s. For instance, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* issue devoted to the Michelangelo quadricentennial, A. Mézières noted that Michelangelo's first letter to Cavalieri "finishes with even stranger protests of devotion and which singularly prompt one to reflect."[45] He then proceeded to repeat and expand the specious theory (first voiced by Milanesi) that the poems and letters addressed to Cavalieri were actually intended for the widowed Vittoria Colonna. Mézières concluded, "One would understand that he says to a woman what is hardly said to a man."[46]

Thus, around the time of the quadricentennial celebration in 1875, one of the central topics for discussion about Michelangelo was the sculptor's

poetry and what it revealed about his life. The efforts in 1875 to 1876 to depict Michelangelo as the quintessential artist sought to link his artistic output and claimed that his genius could be found in sculpture, painting, architecture, drawing, and poetry. This was not only the case with journals such as *L'Art, Le Temps*, and the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, but also was one of the fundamental tenets of the multifarious events taking place all year long in Florence. Connected in this way, the poetry, especially in its unexpurgated version, echoed what some viewers of Michelangelo's sculpture had long questioned – the emphasis on male beauty over female beauty.[47] The attempts to link Michelangelo's works to prove the ubiquity of his talent, that is, also brought other themes to the surface.

In this context, one can understand why journals such as the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* took care to manage the possible interpretations of Michelangelo's sonnets by stressing the relationship with Vittoria Colonna. Such was also the case in the special issue *L'Art* devoted to Michelangelo in which Paul de Musset made a point of including a brief mention of Colonna in his discussion of the Medici Chapel: "Moreover, the letters and the poems addressed to Victoria Colonna, the most virtuous woman of her time, testify that Michelangelo felt love and expressed it in the noblest and most elevated style. This evidence was not necessary: one is not a great artist without having such heart."[48] Despite the assertion that "this evidence was not necessary," it was the biographical issue of Colonna and its use as "proof" that repeatedly emerged in the writings about Michelangelo in the mid-1870s. Even though rarely stated openly, the questions raised by Cavalieri's presence in Michelangelo's poetry were carefully forestalled. Rodin may still have been developing his opinion about the poetry and its meanings at this time, but the issues raised by the poetry represent a larger and long-running set of questions about the differential emphases given to male and female beauty in Michelangelo's oeuvre.[49] These questions would have been evident to anyone who had puzzled over the swooning *Slaves*, the heroically muscled bodies in Michelangelo's painting, or the entirely unconventional identification of the sex of *Night*. Such was the case with Rodin, who spent

time and effort examining and transcribing that body with care, precision, and purpose.

Decades later, Rodin spoke directly about Michelangelo's desires to Paul Gsell, co-author of his widely read dialogues on art. Rodin remarked,

> And look even when Michel-Angelo drew or sculpted young boys, he was charmed with their youth. That this passion prompted the disorders celebrated by Virgil, I refrain from pretending. He was both furiously in love and pure. His incandescent letters to Cavalieri this young Florentine, so wonderfully handsome, are strangely mysterious. He professed, you know, Plato's theories. He bowed before masculine and feminine physical perfection as before God's reflection, anyhow his art absorbed all his vehemence. At least his works clearly reveal a burning devotion for strong muscularity. He was practically mad about it and satisfied his desire by the frenzy of his work. But if this effervescence remained entirely in his thought why should he be reproached therewith?[50]

Calling attention to the importance of Michelangelo's desires as the key to understanding the sculptor's power, Rodin was fairly frank (if conflicted) in his admission of the nature of Michelangelo's "burning devotion." Nevertheless, he assured Gsell, and perhaps himself, that the Florentine remained "pure" since this passion "remained entirely in his thought." Coming many years after his pivotal encounter with the work in the Medici Chapel, Rodin's remarks convey not just the core lesson learned from Michelangelo but the continued ambivalence of his respect for him as well.

When Rodin visited Florence in 1876, he questioned how Michelangelo's artistic choices could be interpreted. Coming face to face with the problem of sexual difference in the Medici Chapel, Rodin struggled with Michelangelo's works, seeing in them something he aspired to while also seeing something with which he could not identify. Michelangelo had imprinted sculpture with his subjective perspective; that much Rodin knew. Further, in the range and ambition of the work, it was evident to

him that the Florentine provided the prototype for the kind of artist he wanted to be – one whose works were also wholly unique, deeply personal, yet universally evocative. Remember, he wrote to Rose from Florence, "I believe the great magician is letting me in on some of his secrets. However, none of his pupils, nor his masters, does as he does, which I do not understand, because I search in his followers, but the secret is only in him, him alone."[51] "Him alone" – only in Michelangelo and his works was the secret evident. At the same time that Rodin desired such individuality and expressivity for himself, he struggled with the idiosyncrasies of Michelangelo's work and what they said about his priorities. In making his replication of Michelangelo's sculpture, Rodin had only two choices: to copy exactly or to alter. For Rodin, whose other declared teacher was Nature itself, such aberrations could not have been mindlessly repeated. The lack of adherence to natural bodies was immediately and glaringly evident (as, indeed, it is to many viewers of the Medici Chapel less well-trained in examining the human form). He later remarked to Paul Gsell that "At every turn, Michelangelo's figures contradicted the truths I thought I had finally acquired."[52] Rodin, faced with Michelangelo's unnatural bodies and unfeminine females, adhered to the rules he had set for himself (the academic drawing) but deviated from accuracy in order insert his own subjective imprint on the nudes.

As Judith Butler has argued, it is precisely at such moments of dissonance or disruption that a normative heterosexuality is at pains to reiterate itself as the "natural" ground against which such "unnatural" configurations are made visible. She argued that "compulsory heterosexuality often presumes that there is first a sex that is expressed through a gender and then through a sexuality" and that it "naturalizes itself through setting up certain illusions of continuity between sex, gender, and desire."[53] Rodin's drawings after Michelangelo's female nudes provide a visualization of his recourse to such a chain of associations. Rather than fully identify with Michelangelo, he effected the normalization of the figures' sex and the reassertion these figures' positions within a heterosexual economy. Not only is *Night* made into less of a masculine woman but

both she and *Dawn* are also re-fashioned as the objects of the male artist's subjective desire – except now the artist is Rodin and that desire is unequivocally heterosexual. The sexualized viewing angle and focus of the drawing of *Dawn* leaves little doubt that Rodin wanted to see these bodies as reflecting and encouraging that desire. Rodin no more saw the "truth" of Michelangelo's sexuality in these figures than has any other investigator and I am not claiming (as many have) that the unconventional bodies of the Medici Chapel allegories are "evidence" of Michelangelo's sexuality. What I am arguing, however, is that these works' disruptions of the "regulatory ideal" of normative sexual difference sparked in Rodin an urge to assert his own subjectivity, and sexuality, in the act of imitating and normalizing them.[54] His failure to identify fully with his reading of how desire was oriented by Michelangelo resulted in a defensive assertion of the natural in which Rodin's own investments remained intact. Nevertheless, this struggle with Michelangelo deepened his respect for the formal and semantic power of the Florentine artist and, I contend, also solidified his understanding that that power derived from a personal engagement with the human form as evoking desire. Rodin, in turn, went on to expand on that intimate basis for sculpture to foreground sexual desire and passion as his universal themes.

He did learn much from Michelangelo on this sojourn, and perhaps no lesson was more important than this imperative to find a means to visualize and convey his own persona in the work of art. Significantly, the site at which this intervention was most evident – for Michelangelo and for Rodin – was the sexual reciprocity of the nude body as the object of the sculptor's desire. As the site where the human form and personal desire overlap most clearly, the sexual became for Rodin the primary way of visibly registering his subjectivity in the medium of sculpture. It was the potential for seeing Michelangelo's work as the product of homoeroticism, of an inverted desire, or even of a kind of impotence that Rodin recognized yet wished to reject. Later speaking of what he called the "spiritual significance" of Michelangelo's technique, Rodin claimed that "his sculpture expresses the painful withdrawal of the being into himself, restless energy, the will to act without hope of success, and finally the martyrdom of the creature who is tormented by his unrealizable aspirations."[55] As part of this crucial point in his career, Rodin turned away from that inverted orientation that he did not wish to share. Instead, he placed evidence of his sexual investment in the female nudes rendered by the drawings. This is what the drawing after *Dawn* suggests most strongly: that regardless of Michelangelo's intent, Rodin needed to establish the character of *his* relationship with these female nudes.

This assertion of his own perspective was what he meant when he recalled the experience of 1876 to his assistant Antoine Bourdelle some decades later. He copied Michelangelo but did it in his own "spirit": "Michelangelo who summoned me to Italy gave me precious glimpses and I copied him in my spirit, in certain of my works before understanding it."[56] Rodin's subsequent discussions of Michelangelo focused primarily on the questions of the proper modeling of the body and its movements, but he continued to look back to this encounter in 1876 as pivotal. In that same letter to Bourdelle, Rodin went on to argue that Michelangelo's presence persisted in his work, manifesting itself again in an understanding of movement and in the practice of drawing that increasingly gained importance for him in the 1890s and after: "from there, my drawings came a long time after, still; and where Michelangelo will be found so natural, that one will not suspect him there. *By an analysis that we could make, dear friend*, one would find him. It is thus Michelangelo who is most generative for me."[57] The later drawings of which he speaks are almost exclusively of the female nude and the area of his artistic practice where he most openly and relentlessly explored the sexual desire.[58] Importantly, it was in these works that Rodin thought the influence of Michelangelo left its traces.

In 1876, Rodin formulated this agenda by being backed into asserting his own subjective motivations. He struggled with Michelangelo's character, and he found that it was on the level of the sexual investment that the nude figure gained its most important emotional charge. The aberrant body presented in Michelangelo's female nudes became, in Rodin's

versions, acceptable objects of heterosexual desire. His subsequent career repeatedly deployed his own sexualized look and touch as the foundation for his art, and it was through this connection between the subjective passions and their visualization in and on the human body that he renovated the conventions of the statue at the end of the nineteenth century. Rodin's formulation of modern sculpture is, in many ways, indebted to this strategy. Acting as a catalyst for this process, Michelangelo, in other words, gave Rodin the question rather than the answer of how to make sculpture both personally invested and aimed at a more universal rhetoric. I readily admit that the drawings offer subtle evidence at best, but my argument does not, ultimately, rest on them. They stand for Rodin's larger struggle with his identification and disidentification with Michelangelo in the mid-1870s – an encounter that he recalled throughout his life as providing the catalyst for his artistic agenda and career. As a precedent, Michelangelo was a difficult one, and Rodin developed from the Florentine sculptor's "secrets" an approach to sculpture that was – by contrast – frank and open in its expression of his desire.

The impact of this encounter did not immediately manifest itself in Rodin's sculpture. If anything, his major statues after his return from Florence – the male nudes of the *Age of Bronze* and *St. John the Baptist Preaching* – evidence a fidelity to "natural" bodies and show him turning away from, rather than embracing Michelangelo and his aberrations. By the early 1880s, however, he found in his work on the *Gates of Hell* and related figures an arena in which he could increasingly unleash the sexual in his representations of sin and passion, opening the "secret" to sculpture that he had learned from Michelangelo. This became his signature mode and the character of his development of a modern idiom for sculpture. To recall Geffroy, "The passionate expression of desire and the mimicry of consummation have found in Rodin a poet both comprehensive and implacably true."[59] In the 1870s, the reputation of Michelangelo was also centered on the questions of love and passion, and Rodin emerged from his struggle with the unequalled figures of the Medici Chapel armed with a new understanding of how the nude statue must be

32, 33

made both personal and public. Again, the letter to Bourdelle acknowledges this debt:

> My liberation from academicism was through Michelangelo who freed me by teaching me (by observation) rules diametrically opposed to what had been taught to me (School of Ingres) [. . .] It was he who held out his powerful hand to me. It was over this bridge that I crossed from one circle to another. He was the mighty Geryon who carried me.[60]

The closing reference is to the version of the Geryon myth offered by Dante in the *Inferno*, in which Geryon is a monster with both a scorpion tail and the face of a just man. Dante devoted much of the XVIIth Canto to describing his flight on Geryon's back, and he characterized his journey and his transporter with a mixture of fascination and fear. Michelangelo himself looked to Dante as a source, and no doubt Rodin's reading of Dante and of Michelangelo were filtered through each other. Choosing this metaphor for Michelangelo's influence, Rodin, too, acknowledged that his "liberation" came from a source that was both powerful and ambivalent. Rodin's reaction to that powerful ambivalence of Michelangelo's precedent placed the question of the sexual at the center of his formulation of modern sculpture. Not only would Rodin go on to explore the subject matter of passion, he would infuse his practice and persona with a performance of his own desires to the point where, by 1900, Rodin's name, work, and touch were wedded to the thematics of sex.

12 Auguste Rodin and Paul Gsell, *Art: Conversations with Paul Gsell*, trans. J. de Caso and P. Sanders (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 52.

13 "est l'expression même de l'amour physique, des ces désordres, des ses souffrances [. . .] Rodin, bourrelé de désires et de remords, et pétrissant, d'un pouce infatigable, ses ardents souvenirs [. . .] Toute production, littéraire or artistique, est une création. Pour créer, il faut être deux." Léon Daudet, "La nouvelle orientation de la critique," *L'Action française*, December 15, 1938.

14 See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Vol. 1, An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (1976; New York: Vintage, 1990). Foucault later summarized (and critiqued) one intention of this book as "a history of the way in which sex was obscured and travestied by this strange life-form, this strange growth which was to become sexuality." Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 190.

15 Penelope Curtis, *Sculpture 1900–1945: After Rodin* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

16 Wagner, "Rodin's Reputation."

17 Elie Faure, "The Last of the Romantics Is Dead" (1918), in *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 158. On Faure, see Serena Keshavjee, "Natural History, Cultural History, and the Art History of Elie Faure," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 8, no. 2 (2009), n.p. (online journal).

18 "L'amour n'a pas été le seul générateur des formes et de mouvements adopté par l'artiste, mais il a été un des principaux. L'expression passionnée du désir, la mimique de la possession, ont trouvé en Rodin un poète compréhensif et implacablement vrai." Gustave Geffroy, "Auguste Rodin," in *Claude Monet. A. Rodin* (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1889), 72. Compare my translation with Butler, *Rodin in Perspective*, 70.

19 Weinberg, *Art of Rodin*, 18.

20 Higonnet, "Myths of Creation," 21.

21 Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1979), 35.

22 On the series of sketch models, see Musée Rodin, *1898, le Balzac de Rodin* (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1998).

23 Elsen, *Rodin*, 101.

24 Rainer Maria Rilke, "The Rodin-Book: Second Part" (1907), *Where Silence Reigns*, 135.

25 Eric Gill, "M. Rodin's Secret," October 23, 1934, Eric Gill Papers, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California Los Angeles, Series 1, Subseries 11, Box 35, Folder 1.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

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1 However, the heroizing narratives that dominate the understanding of Rodin rely on a denigration of academic practices and a reduction of the variety of modes within them in which sculptors worked. This trope became widespread and, in particular, the sophistication and variety of mid-nineteenth-century sculpture in France, Italy, and Britain were retrospectively denied in narratives featuring the later nineteenth-century origins of modern sculpture.

2 Leo Steinberg, "Rodin" (1963), *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 393.

3 For a recent collation of some of the main instances of this see Claire Black McCoy, "'This Man Is Michelangelo': Octave Mirbeau, Auguste Rodin, and the Image of the Modern Sculptor," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 5, no. 1 (2006). For a discussion of the issue of modernity in some nineteenth-century French writings on Rodin and Michelangelo, see her earlier Claire Christian Black, "Rodin, Michelangelo, and the Discourse of Modernity: A Study of Rodin Criticism" (Ph.D. diss., Virginia Commonwealth University, 1998).

4 Kirk Varnedoe, "Rodin's Drawings: 1854–1880," in *Auguste Rodin: Drawings and Watercolors*, ed. Ernst-Gerhard Güse (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 19.

5 See, e.g., Léonce Bénédite, *Musée Rodin: Catalogue sommaire des oeuvres d'Auguste Rodin et autres oeuvres d'art de la donation Rodin* (Paris: Imprimerie Beresniak, 1924); Joseph Gantner, *Rodin und Michelangelo* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1953); Albert Alhadeff, "Michelangelo and the Early Rodin," *Art Bulletin* 45, no. 4 (1963): 363–7; Casa Buonarroti, *Rodin and Michelangelo: A Study in Artistic Inspiration* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1997); Black, "Rodin, Michelangelo, and the Discourse of Modernity," 83–116.

6 Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 99–100.

7 Judith Cladel, *Rodin: The Man and His Art*, trans. S. K. Star (New York: Century, 1918), 99.

8 See Anne Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 150–60.

9 "Ma libération de l'académisme a été par Michel-Ange." Rodin to Emile-Antoine Bourdelle, 1906, quoted in Judith Cladel, *Rodin: Sa vie glorieuse et inconnue* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1936), 112. On this source see below, n. 60.

10 For a discussion of the *néo-florentin* trend and Rodin's relationship to it see Ruth Butler, "Rodin and the Paris Salon," in *Rodin Rediscovered*, ed. Albert Elsen (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1981), 19–49.

11 On the partnership with Rasbourgh see Antoinette Le Normand-Romain and Claudie Judrin, eds, *Vers l'âge d'airain: Rodin en Belgique* (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1997), 88–101.

12 The study for the allegory of Navigation is in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (see fig. 20). Given that the execution of the final statue was altered by Antoine van Rasbourg, this model was probably closer to the original design. See Alhadeff, "Michelangelo and the Early Rodin."

13 T. H. Bartlett, "Auguste Rodin, Sculptor" (1889), in *Auguste Rodin: Readings on His Life and Work*, ed. A. Elsen (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 30. On Bartlett see below, n. 16.

14 For a more extensive account of the 1875 quadricentennial, see Casa Buonarroti, *Rodin and Michelangelo*, and the earlier and slightly different Casa Buonarroti, *Michelangelo nell'ottocento: Il centenario del 1875* (Milan: Charta, 1994).

15 "Voir Michel-Ange à Florence et le voir tout entier, quelle fête." Roger Ballu, "Le quatrième centenaire de Michel-Ange Buonarroti," *L'Art* 1, no. 3 (1875): 73.

16 Bartlett, "Rodin," 31. As Richard Shiff argued, the term "impression" was a highly charged word in the 1880s that linked visual registration of the particularities of a scene and the artist's subjective engagement with it. See Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism: A Study of the Theory, Technique, and Critical Evaluation of Modern Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1984). Rodin's addition of "simply" may not, in this regard, be that simple. Any interpretation along these lines must remain speculative, however, as one does not have Rodin's words in French. Bartlett's interviews with Rodin in the late 1880s were only published in English. On Bartlett, see Thomas Somma, "Rodin's 'American Connection': Truman Howe Bartlett (1835–1922) and Paul Wayland Bartlett (1865–1925)," *Journal of the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University* 3, 2002–2003 (2005), 204–10.

17 "Tout ce que j'ai vu de photographies de plâtres, ne donne aucune idée de la sacristie de St Laurent[. I]l faut voir ces tombeaux de profil, de trois quarts. [J]'ai passé cinq jours à [F]lorence, ce n'est qu'aujourd'hui que j'ai vu la sacristie[;] eh bien[,] pendant cinq jours j'ai été froid. Voilà trois impressions durables que j'ai reçu[:] Reims, les murailles des [A]lpes et la Sacristie[.] [D]evant[,] on analyse pas la première fois que l'on voit[.] Te dire que je fais depuis la première heure que je suis à [F]lorence, une étude de Michel Ange ne t'étonnera pas et je crois que le grand magicien me laisse un peu de ses secrets. Cependant aucun de ses élèves, ni de ses maîtres, ne font comme lui[,] ce que je ne comprends pas, car je cherche dans ses élèves directs, mais ce n'est que dans lui, lui seul, où est le secret. [J]'ai fait des croquis le soir chez moi, non pas d'après ses oeuvres, mais d'après tous les échafaudages[,] les systèmes que je fabrique dans mon imagination pour le comprendre[;] eh bien, je réussi selon moi à leur donner l'allure[,] ce quelque chose sans nom que lui seul sait donner." Auguste Rodin to Rose Beuret, [February] 1876. Alain Beausire and Hélène Pinet, eds, *Correspondance de Rodin*, 4 vols. (Paris: Editions du Musée Rodin, 1985–1992), 1: 33. Rodin reiterated this story to Bartlett a decade later; see Bartlett, "Rodin," 31.

18 "Sans doute, [Michel-Ange] exerce sur lui le double prestige de son génie et de sa personnalité; mais, aussi, une affinité de sentiments [. . .]" Cladel, *Rodin: Sa vie*, 110.

19 The additional two related drawings are MR D.5116 (after *Medici Madonna*) and MR D.5115 (after "Michelangelo's Cupid"). Varnedoe argued that the latter work (a reworking of a *Narcissus* now attributed to Valerio Cioli but sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in 1866 as a Michelangelo) could only have been known to Rodin as a plaster cast, thus confirming that Rodin executed the large-format drawings after his return from Florence. See Varnedoe, "Rodin's Drawings," 24, and further n. 21 below. On the plaster casts of Michelangelo's work in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, see Charles de Tolnay, "'Michel-Ange dans son atelier' par Delacroix," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1962), 43; Alhadeff, "Michelangelo and the Early Rodin," 365–6, n. 16.

20 Varnedoe in Ernst-Gerhard Güse, ed., *Auguste Rodin: Drawings and Watercolors* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 319, cat. 7.

21 For discussion, see Kirk Varnedoe, "Rodin as a Draftsman – A Chronological Perspective," in *The Drawings of Rodin*, ed. A. Elsen and K. Varnedoe (New York: Praeger, 1971), 109–10, nn. 58–61. It is generally agreed that the works were made in 1876 or 1877, but in 1963 Alhadeff offered a dissenting view on stylistic grounds in his "Michelangelo and the

Early Rodin," 365–6, n. 16. Varnedoe refuted Alhadeff's claim that the works were done in the 1850s but remained undecided on their exact dates in relation to the Florentine trip. He reassessed his interpretation in Varnedoe, "Rodin's Drawings," 22–6, arguing also that "The studies were almost certainly made around 1877, in Paris, from casts of Michelangelo's sculpture," in Güse, *Auguste Rodin*, 319, cat. 7. Varnedoe's hypothesis that the drawings were made in Paris after plaster casts in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1876 or 1877 was questioned (though not unequivocally refuted) by Christopher Riopelle in Casa Buonarroti, *Rodin and Michelangelo*, 90–95. Riopelle argued that the drawings were executed in Florence in 1876 from the works and casts at the quadricentennial exhibitions.

22 The suite of five drawings is thematically consistent as a whole but the three drawings after the allegorical Medici figures themselves form a distinct subgroup. It is this subgroup that deals with the adult nude, which, for reasons stated below, became the site of Rodin's negotiation of Michelangelo's precedent.

23 Varnedoe, "Rodin's Drawings," 26. For further discussion of the engagement with Michelangelo, see Kirk Varnedoe, "Early Drawings by Auguste Rodin," *Burlington Magazine* 116, no. 853 (1974): 197–204.

24 Bartlett, "Rodin," 31–2.

25 Quoted in James Saslow, "'A Veil of Ice between My Heart and the Fire': Michelangelo's Sexual Identity and Early Modern Constructs of Homosexuality," *Genders* 2 (1988), 78. As Saslow discussed in this article, there is substantial evidence of homoeroticism in Michelangelo's artistic and literary output as well as evidence of attempts to obscure or to code its legibility in his self-presentations.

26 "Michelangelo ist vielleicht der einzige, von dem man sagen könnte, daß er das Altertun erreichet; aber nur in starken muskulösen Figuren, in Körpern aus der Heldenzeit; nicht in zärtlich jugendlichen, nicht in weiblichen Figuren, welche unter seiner Hand zu Amazonen geworden sind." J. J. Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755), trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger Norton (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1987), 24–5.

27 Flavio Fergonzi, "The Discovery of Michelangelo: Some Thoughts on Rodin's Week in Florence and Its Consequences," in *Rodin and Michelangelo: A Study in Artistic Inspiration*, Casa Buonarroti and Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1996), 53.

28 "Quant au mérite artistique de ces sculptures, je dirai, toujours avec un sentiment de profond respect, que manifestement l'expression en parait forcée, que le mouvement n'en est pas naturel, que la forme en est exagérée; mais ces hardiesses, bien qu'en dehors de la commune nature et des sensations ordinaires, sont compensées par tant d'originales beautés, que, si on les supprimait, l'oeuvre cesserait de paraître ce qu'elle est, terriblement sublime." Giovanni Dupré, "Les tombeaux des Médicis à San Lorenzo: Courtes considérations artistiques," *L'Art* 1, no. 3 (1875), 119.

29 "or Michelangelo's great daughter, Night,/who slumbrously contorts the marble charms/he carved to satiate a titan's mouth." Charles Baudelaire, *Les fleurs du mal* (1857), trans. Richard Howard (Boston: David R. Godine, 1985), 25, 203.

30 "na pas donné à la Résistance ces formes robustes, presque viriles, ces grands muscles à la Michel-Ange que le sujet semble d'abord demander." Théophile Gautier, *Tableaux de siège: Paris, 1870–71* (Paris: Charpentier, 1871), 140. Translation from Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870–71)* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 277.

31 Clayson, *Paris in Despair*, 277.

32 For discussions, see Seymour Howard, "Eros, Empathy, Expectation, Ascription, and Breasts of Michelangelo (A Prolegomenon on Polymorphism and Creativity)," *Artibus et Historiae* 22, no. 44 (2001): 79–118; Frederika Jacobs, "Aretino and Michelangelo, Dolce and Titian: *Femmina, Masculo, Grazia*," *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 1 (2000): 51–67; David Summers, "Form and Gender," in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, ed. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 384–412; Yael Even, "The Heroine as Hero in Michelangelo's Art," *Woman's Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (1990): 28–31; Rona Goffen, "Renaissance Dreams," *Renaissance Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1987): 682–706.

33 E.g., Varnedoe, "Rodin as a Draftsman," 109–10, n. 60.

34 Rodin also chose not to depict the male nude *Dusk*, the figure which, like its pendant *Dawn*, reveals the torso more fully.

35 Raphael Rosenberg, *Beschriebungen und Nachzeichnungen der Skulpturen Michelangelos* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000).

36 Denys Sutton, *Triumphant Satyr: The World of Auguste Rodin* (London: Country Life, 1966), 32; see also pp. 102–3.

37 Ibid., 31.

38 The literature is vast, but with reference to Renaissance sculptors see, e.g., James Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986); Leonard Barkan,

Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism (Stanford University Press, 1991); Adrian Randolph, *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

39 On Symonds's search for historical forebears for homoeroticist identities and on his use of Michelangelo see David Getsy, "Recognizing the Homoerotic: The Uses of Intersubjectivity in John Addington Symonds's 1887 Essays on Art," *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 1 (2007): 37–57; Alex Potts, "Pungent Prophesies of Art: Symonds, Pater, and Michelangelo," in *John Addington Symonds: Culture and the Demon Desire*, ed. John Pemble (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 102–21.

40 John Addington Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti* (New York: Modern Library, 1892), 172. He understood the Medici Chapel nudes, in particular, as exemplary evidence. In his earlier writing on Michelangelo, he had remarked: "In each of [the Medici Chapel allegories] there is a palpitating thought, torn from the artist's soul and crystallised in marble." John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts* (1877), new ed., 7 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1897), 3: 306.

41 For an extended discussion of the biographical material relating to Michelangelo and Cavalieri as well as of the emergence of a homoerotic characterization of the sonnets (by Symonds and others) in response to the 1863 Guasti edition, see Lene Østermark-Johansen, *Sweetness and Strength: The Reception of Michelangelo in Late Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 191ff.

42 Saint-Cyr de Rayssac, "Quinze sonnets de Michel-Ange," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 11 (1875), 5–18.

43 Gaetanò Milanesi, ed., *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1875).

44 A slightly later, but emblematic, example is Gabriel Thomas, *Michel-Ange poète: Etude sur l'expression de l'amour platonique dans la poésie italienne du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance* (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1892). In discussing the writings on Michelangelo's poetry since Guasti's edition, Thomas noted how the poems had been grouped or dated. For him, these groupings revolved round the question of the different attitudes expressed in the poems and, by extension, the persons to whom they may or may not have been addressed. While never mentioning the issue of Cavalieri as addressee of some of the sonnets, the "explications répugnant" were nevertheless approached indirectly yet forcefully by Thomas. "De telles contradictions suffisent à démontrer combien est incertaine la base de toutes ces appréciations. Sans informations nouvelles, on ne pourrait sérieusement classer les poésies de Michel-Ange selon ces différentes amours hypothétiques, et dont on ignorerait au surplus la moindre circonstance. Nous verrons à quel point ces explications répugnent à ce que nous savons de ce grand homme et de la nature de son esprit" (70). Later discussions were more explicit, as with Romain Rolland, "Michel-Ange," *La revue de Paris* 13, no. 2 (1906), 795–822, who concluded that Michelangelo's love for Cavalieri was "Le sphinx de cet amour ardent et trouble, et chaste malgré tout" as well as an "amitié morbide."

45 "termine par des protestations de dévouement encore plus étranges et qui donnent singulièrement à réfléchir." A. Mézières, "Michel-Ange, poète," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 13 (1876), 214.

46 "On comprendrait qu'il dit à une femme ce qui ne se dit guère à un homme." Ibid., 215.

47 It would take the present analysis too far afield to discuss the wide and varied response in art and writing to Michelangelo's focus on male beauty, of which there are many from nineteenth-century France. E.g., one could look to a painting such as Jean-Léon Gerôme's *Michelangelo* of 1849 to see the ways in which Michelangelo's emphasis on youth and on the male form have been managed.

48 "D'ailleurs les lettres et les vers adressées à Victoire Colonna, la plus vertueuse femme de son temps, témoignent que Michel-Ange a ressenti l'amour et l'a exprimé dans le style le plus noble et le plus élevé. Cette preuve n'était pas necessaire: on n'est pas un grand artiste sans avoir beaucoup de coeur." Paul de Musset, "La chapelle de San Lorenzo," *L'Art* 1, no. 3 (1875), 151–2.

49 There are multiple references to Michelangelo's sonnets throughout the published accounts of Rodin's conversations. See esp. Auguste Rodin and Paul Gsell, *L'Art: Entretiens réunis par Paul Gsell* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1911) and Helene von Nostitz Hindenburg, *Dialogues with Rodin*, trans. H. L. Ripperger (New York: Duffield & Green, 1931).

50 "Et tenez, même quand Michel-Ange dessinait ou sculptait des adolescents, il était épris de leur jeunesse. Que cette passion l'ait porté aux égarements célébrés par Virgile, je me garderais de le prétendre. Il était à la fois furieusement amoureux et chaste. Ses lettres incandescentes à Cavalieri, ce jeune Florentin merveilleusement beau, sont étrangement mystiques. Il professait, vous savez, les théories de Platon. Il se prosternait devant la perfection physique masculine et féminine comme devant le reflet de Dieu. D'ailleurs son art accaparait toute sa véhémence. Du moins, ses ouvrages révèlent

clairement une brûlante dévotion pour les fortes musculatures. Il en était littéralement fou et satisfaisait son désir par la frénésie de son travail. Mais si cette effervescence resta tout entière dans sa pensée, pourquoi la lui reprocherait-on?" Quoted in Paul Gsell, "Les dessins de Rodin," in *Douze Aquarelles de Rodin* (Geneva and Paris: Editions Georg, 1920), 10. Contemporaneous translation from Paul Gsell, "Drawings by Rodin," in *Twelve Aquarelles by Auguste Rodin*, trans. Ronald Davis (Geneva and Paris: Georg Editions, 1920), 10. The conversations reported in this text likely took place in the first decade of the twentieth century around the same time or after those published as Rodin and Gsell, *Art*. However, Gsell refrained from publishing these and related comments, which deal more openly with Rodin's attitude toward desire, until after the sculptor's death.

51 Auguste Rodin to Rose Beuret, [February] 1876, as quoted above, n. 17.

52 "Ils démentaient à tout moment les vérités que je croyais avoir définitivement acquises." Rodin and Gsell, *L'Art*, 266. Trans. in Auguste Rodin and Paul Gsell, *Art: Conversations with Paul Gsell*, trans. J. de Caso and P. Sanders (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 92.

53 Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," in *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*, ed. Diana Fuss (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 28–9 and 27. For development of these questions see Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993); Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).

54 As Butler has argued, "'Sex' is a regulatory ideal whose materialization is compelled, and this materialization takes place (or fails to take place) through certain highly regulated practices." Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 1.

55 "sa statuire exprime le reploiement douloureux de l'être sur lui-même, l'énergie inquiète, la volonté d'agir sans espoir de succès, enfin le martyre de la créature que tourmentent des aspirations irréalisables." Rodin and Gsell, *L'Art*, 266; Rodin and Gsell, *Art*, 91–2.

56 "Michel-Ange qui m'a appelé en Italie m'a donné de précieux aperçus et je l'ai copié dans mon esprit, dans certaines de mes oeuvres avant de le comprendre." Rodin to Emile-Antoine Bourdelle, July 18, 1907, reprinted in Edmond Campagnac, "Rodin et Bourdelle d'après des lettres inédites," *La grande revue* (1929), 14.

57 "de là mes dessins qui sont venus longtemps après cependant; et où on retrouvera du Michel-Ange tellement naturel, que l'on ne l'y soupçonnera pas. *Par une analyse que nous pourrions faire, cher ami*, on le retrouverait. C'est donc Michel-Ange qui est plus générateur pour moi." Ibid. Italics original.

58 On Rodin's later drawings and the contexts for eroticism see Kirk Varnedoe, "Modes and Meanings in Rodin's Erotic Drawings," in *Rodin: Eros and Creativity*, ed. Rainer Crone and Siegfried Salzmann (Munich: Prestel, 1992), 203–9; Brigitte Mahuzier, "Rodin's Sapphic Designs," *GLQ* 7, no. 3 (2001), 391–400; Claudine Mitchell, "Rodin and the Baudelairian Legacy: Arthur Symons on the Sculptor as Poet," in *Rodin: The Zola of Sculpture*, ed. Claudine Mitchell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 73–94; Claudine Mitchell, "Metaphor & Metamorphosis: Rodin in the Circle of Mallarmé," *Journal of the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University* 3, 2002–2003 (2005), 111–27; Catherine Lampert, "Rodin's Drawings and Late Works: 'What to Keep and What to Sacrifice'," in *Rodin*, ed. Catherine Lampert and Antoinette Le Normand-Romain (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), 155–67.

59 "L'expression passionnée du désir, la mimique de la possession, ont trouvé en Rodin un poète compréhensif et implacablement vrai." Gustave Geffroy, "Auguste Rodin," in *Claude Monet. A. Rodin* (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1889), 72. Compare my translation with Ruth Butler, ed., *Rodin in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 70. Judith Cladel remarked on Rodin's transition begun with the trip to Florence and flowering, as I discuss in the next chapter, with the *Gates of Hell* commission: "Rodin, in his slow acquisition of knowledge, now understood that he had gone to Florence and to Rome to seek for something that was at his disposal in Paris and everywhere else: the living and vigorous modeling of the human body. [. . .] And now his work, until then marked by a gravity – except for the small figures of the Carrier-Belleuse period – and an inherited austerity, began to overflow into the realm of love and the flesh, depicting passionate impulsiveness and the carnal hungers of the soul. [The *Gates of Hell*] became a great poem of extraordinary sensuality whose characters desired, possessed, and destroyed one another; it was a mirror held up to lustful humanity, and Rodin was now crowned by writers as the poet of the flesh, the sculptor of voluptuousness." Judith Cladel, *Rodin*, trans. James Whitall (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937), 78–9. Orig. in Cladel, *Rodin: Sa vie*, 145.

60 "Ma libération de l'académisme a été par Michel-Ange qui m'ayant appris (par l'observation) des règles diamétricalement opposées à ce que l'on m'avait appris (école d'Ingres), m'a libéré [. . .] C'est celui qui m'a tendu sa main puissante. C'est par ce pont que j'ai traversé d'un cercle à l'autre. C'est

le puissant Géryon qui m'a transporté." Rodin to Emile-Antoine Bourdelle, quoted in Cladel, *Rodin: Sa vie*, 112. Cladel gave a date of "vers 1906" for the letter but this is the same letter that Campagnac dated to July 18, 1907; above, n. 56). Neither published source gives the full text of the letter and the references to Michelangelo's "main puissante" and Geryon occur in Cladel's version only. The letter is not given in Beausire and Pinet, *Correspondance de Rodin*.

1900

1 For extended recent discussions of Rodin's reception in Britain, see Claudine Mitchell, ed., *Rodin: The Zola of Sculpture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) and Catherine Lampert and Antoinette Le Norniand-Romain, eds, *Rodin* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006). On his American reception, see "Symposium: New Studies on Rodin," *Journal of the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University* 3, 2002–2003 (2005): 93–225. See also Michael Kuhlemann and Hélène Pinet, *Vor 100 Jahren: Rodin in Deutschland* (Munich: Hirmer, 2006). On East Asia, see Musée Rodin, *Rodin: Le rêve japonais* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 14–21.

2 For discussion of an alternative formulation of a modern idiom for sculpture see David Getsy, *Body Doubles: Sculpture in Britain, 1877–1905* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004). For an overview of Rodin's status in the period see Penelope Curtis, *Sculpture 1900–1945: After Rodin* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

3 Constantin Brancusi, "Homage to Rodin" (*c.*1950), in *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 150.

4 Aristide Maillol, interview with Judith Cladel, 1930s, in ibid., 148.

5 For a useful account of these events see Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 99–112. For detailed discussions of this work see Albert Elsen and Rosalyn Frankel Jamison, *Rodin's Art: The Rodin Collection of the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 37–48, and David Getsy, "Encountering the Male Nude at the Origins of Modern Sculpture: Rodin, Leighton, Hildebrand, and the Negotiation of Physicality and Temporality," in *The Enduring Instant: Time and the Spectator in the Visual Arts*, ed. Antoinette Roesler-Friedenthal and Johannes Nathan (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2003), 296–313.

6 "dans cette oeuvre d'une réalité remarquable des traces de moulage sur nature." Charles Tardieu, "Le Salon de Paris – 1877 – La Sculpture," *L'Art* 3 (1877), 108.

7 Rodin wrote to the Belgian paper that initially made the charge: "On se demande si ma figure n'a pas été moulée sur nature. Si quelque connaisseur veut me faire le plaisir de s'en assurer, qu'il veuille bien me le faire savoir je le mettrai en présence de mon modèle il pourra constater à quel point un interprétation artistique doit s'éloigner d'une copie servile." Rodin to *L'Etoile belge*, January 29–February 2, 1877, in Alain Beausire and Hélène Pinet, eds, *Correspondance de Rodin*, 4 vols. (Paris: Editions du Musée Rodin, 1985–1992), 1: 35.

8 See Elsen and Jamison, *Rodin's Art*, 42–4.

9 T. H. Bartlett, "Auguste Rodin, Sculptor" (1889), in *Auguste Rodin: Readings on His Life and Work*, ed. A. Elsen (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 46.

10 Leo Steinberg, "Rodin" (1963), *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 385.

11 Albert Elsen, *The Gates of Hell* (Stanford University Press, 1985), 3–11. See also Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, "The Gates of Hell: The Crucible," in Royal Academy of Arts, *Rodin*, 55–63.

12 Frederick Lawton, *The Life and Work of Auguste Rodin* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1907), 105. English original.

13 Rodin quoted in Bartlett, "August Rodin, Sculptor," 69. Bartlett's extended essay on Rodin, which was first serialized in *The American Architect and Building News* 25 (1889), remains one of the highly important sources for understanding the self-image promoted by Rodin. Without exception, all of Rodin's statements need to be understood as components of a larger process of mythologization and brand management, by himself or by his chroniclers. For a study of the construction of Rodin's mythologized persona, such as this book, his reported statements nevertheless register the concerns contributing to the formulation of that mythology. On Bartlett see Thomas Somma, "Rodin's 'American Connection': Truman Howe Bartlett (1835–1922) and Paul Wayland Bartlett (1865–1925)," *Journal of the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University* 3, 2002–2003 (2005): 204–10.

14 See Rosalind Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant-Garde: A Postmodernist Repetition," *October* 18 (1981): 47–66.

15 The singular, yet ambivalent, precedent was Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. On the shifts in Carpeaux's career see Anne Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux:*

RODIN

Sex and the Making of MODERN SCULPTURE

David J. Getsy

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Page i Unknown photographer, *Auguste Rodin*, *c.*1890–1900.
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