

studije  
muzeja  
mimara

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I. HENRI LEHMANN: *HENRI LEHMANN:*  
CRTEŽ *STUDIJA* *THE DRAWING STUDY*  
*I SKICA OCEANIDA* *AND SKETCH OF OCEANIDS FROM*  
IZ MUZEJA MIMARA *THE MIMARA MUSEUM*

II. JEAN VEBER: *JEAN VEBER:*  
CRTEŽ *DVIJE STUDIJE* *THE DRAWING TWO STUDIES*  
*ZA LUTTE* *FOR THE LUTTE*  
*DES FEMMES DANS LE DEVONSHIRE* *DES FEMMES DANS LE DEVONSHIRE*  
IZ MUZEJA MIMARA *FROM THE MIMARA MUSEUM*

Slaven Perović



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I. HENRI LEHMANN:  
CRTEŽ *STUDIJA I SKICA OCEANIDA*  
IZ MUZEJA MIMARA

II. JEAN VEBER:  
CRTEŽ *DVIJE STUDIJE ZA*  
*LUTTE DES FEMMES DANS LE DEVONSHIRE*  
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U zbirci crteža Muzeja Mimara čuva se crtež pod nazivom *Ženski akt viđen s leđa*, veličine 196x196 mm, kojeg je inventarni broj ATM 2054. Pripisan je Henriju de Toulouse-Lautrecu (1864-1901), a navedeno je da je nacrtan u tehnici pastela. Mislim kako je riječ o crtežu Henrija Lehmana (1814-1882), da bi ispravniji naziv bio *Studija i skica Oceanida (sl. 1)* i da je nastao najvjerojatnije 1850. g., ili u razdoblju između 1844. i 1850. g. u tehnici crayona Conté, sangvine i bijele krede na papiru, što ću ovim člankom pokušati pokazati.

*The drawing collection of the Mimara Museum holds a drawing entitled Female Nude from Behind, 196 x 196 mm, inventory number ATM 2054. It is ascribed to Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901) and is stated to be drawn in pastels. I think that in fact it is a drawing of Henri Lehmann (1814-1882) and that a more correct title would be Study and Sketch of Oceanids (Fig. 1), and that it was probably created in 1850 or in the period between 1844 and 1850, and the technique is Conté crayon, sanguine and white chalk on paper, as I shall endeavour to show in this article.*

Carl Ernst Rudolf Heinrich Salem Lehmann rođen je u Kielu 14. travnja 1814. g., a umro u Parizu 30. ožujka 1882. g. Njegov otac, Leo Lehmann (1782-1859) bio je hamburški sitnoslikar i portretist. Njegova majka, Friederika djevojački se zvala Dellevie i bila je kći zlatara. Godine 1814. Hamburg je bio pod francuskom okupacijom, a kako su nadirale ruske snage, Friederika Lehmann sklonila se kod prijatelja u Kiel, gdje se Heinrich tada i rodio. Roditelji, koji su bili Židovi, pokrstili su se pa je i Lehmann kršten u evangeličkoj luteranskoj crkvi. Bio je najstariji od sedmero djece - brat Rudolf (1819-1905), kojega je podučavao slikarstvu, istaknuo se kao portretist. Heinrichu Lehmannu je, kao sedmogodišnjaku, najveća zabava bilo crtanje. U roditeljskoj je kući vladalo intelektualno ozračje: priređivali su se koncerti, čitala njemačka i francuske kazališna djela i primali su se umjetnici koji su doputovali u Hamburg. Godine 1831. napustio je školu i počeo nakratko učiti slikanje kod svoga oca, ubrzo kod slikara G. Hardoffa starijeg, a zatim kod A. Bendixena. Iste su ga godine roditelji poslali u Pariz<sup>1</sup> u obitelj majčine najmlađe sestre koja se kretala u pariškim umjetničkim krugovima. Njezin suprug, bankar Auguste Léo bio je i školovani glazbenik kod kojega su dolazili Meyerbeer, Liszt, Chopin, Heine i drugi. Ta je obitelj bila povezana i s barunom Françoisom Gérardom (1770-1837) i Jakobom Ignazom

*Carl Ernst Rudolf Heinrich Salem Lehmann was born in Kiel on April 14, 1814; he died in Paris on March 20, 1882. His father, Leo Lehmann (1782-1859) was a Hamburg miniaturist and portraitist. His mother Friederika, whose maiden name was Dellevie, was the daughter of a goldsmith. In 1814 Hamburg was occupied by the French, and since the Russian troops were approaching, Friederika Lehmann found refuge with friends in Kiel, where Heinrich was subsequently born. The parents, who were Jewish, were converted and Lehmann was christened in a Lutheran church. He was the oldest of seven children; his brother Rudolf (1819-1905), whom he taught painting, made his name as a portraitist. Heinrich Lehmann, as a seven-year-old, had his most fun in drawing. In his parents' house there was an intellectual setting. Concerts were put on, French and German theatrical works were read, and artists who had travelled to Hamburg were entertained. In 1831 Heinrich left school and started to learn painting, first for a brief time with his father, and then soon at the painter G. Hardoff Sr, and after that with A. Bendixen. In the same year, his parents sent him to Paris<sup>1</sup>, to the family of his mother's youngest sister, who moved in Parisian art circles. Her husband, the banker Auguste Léo, was a trained musician who would be vis-*

1. Henri Lehmann, *Studija i skica Oceanida*, Muzej Mimara, Zagreb  
*Henri Lehmann, Study and Sketch of Oceanids, Mimara Museum, Zagreb*

ited by Meyerbeer, Liszt, Chopin, Heine and others. This family was connected with Baron François Gérard (1770-1837) and Jakob Ignaz Hittorff (1792-1867)<sup>2</sup> at whose house Henri<sup>3</sup> made the acquaintance of Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833), Louis-Léopold Robert (1794-1835), Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) and other important artists. With a recommendation from Guérin he started to learn from Ingres. In 1835 he first exhibited at the Salon. He introduced himself to the public with the picture *Départ du jeune Tobie emmené par l'Ange Gabriel*<sup>4</sup> and three portraits for which he won a second class medal. That same year, Henri's brother Rudolf came to Paris, and they were to share a workshop. As a foreigner, Henri could not compete for the Prix de Rome, and accordingly paid his own costs for his trip to Rome.

He arrived there in 1838 and stayed until January 1842. In 1839, in November, his brother Rudolf joined him. At that time the director of the Villa Medici was Ingres, who without doubt had the profoundest effect on Lehmann. Lehmann worshipped him, and Ingres in turn was very able to get talented young artists to work for him. Here he met Liszt, who socialised with Ingres. He became friendly with Countess Marie d'Agoult.<sup>5</sup> At that time the students of the Villa Medici comprised: Paul Jourdy (1805-1856), Dominique-Louis Papety (1815-1849), Charles-Octave Blanchard (1814-1842), Jean-Gilbert Murat (1807-1863), Isidore Pils (1813-1875), Eugène-Ferdinand Buttura (1812-1852), Ernest Hébert (1817-1908) and Pierre-Nicolas Brisset (1810-1890). He became close to Hébert and began a friendship that was to last. In Rome he did portraits of Marie d'Agoult and of Franz Liszt, some devotionally-inspired pictures and pictures suggested by everyday life in Rome. The whole time he drew much, very often portraits, among which an important one is that of Stendhal made in Civitavecchia in August 1841, now in the Musée Stendhal in Grenoble. He then drew a number of portraits of friends and fellow painters that he intended to put into an album to give to Marie d'Agoult. While in Rome, he could not skip the colony of Germany painters. Joseph Anton Koch (1786-1839) was sick by then, but his influence on the younger generations was still considerably to be felt. Johann Anton Ramboux (1790-1866) returned to Rome, a former pupil of David, he felt a powerful pull from the influences of the quattrocento, and joined the Nazarenes. Also there was Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1805-1874) whose satirical illustrations in pencil were appreciated by Lehmann, who drew caricatures himself. The frescos of Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) drew his atten-

Hittorffom (1792-1867)<sup>2</sup> kod kojega je Henri<sup>3</sup> upoznao Pierre-Narcissea Guérina (1774-1833), Louis-Léopolda Roberta (1794-1835), Jean-Auguste-Dominiquea Ingres (1780-1867) i ine značajne umjetnike. Po Guérinovoj preporuci počeo se školovati kod Ingres. Godine 1835. izlagao je prvi put na Salonu. Publici se predstavio slikom *Départ du jeune Tobie emmené par l'Ange Gabriel*<sup>4</sup> i tri portreta za što je dobio medalju drugog reda. Iste godine u Pariz je došao Lehmannov brat Rudolf s kojim je dijelio radionicu. Kao stranac, Henri Lehmann nije se mogao natjecati za *Prix de Rome* pa je otputovao u Rim o svome trošku.

Tamo je stigao potkraj 1838. g. i ostao je do siječnja 1842. g. Godine 1839., u studenom, pridružio mu se i brat Rudolf. Direktor Ville Medici tada je bio Ingres koji je na Lehmannu nedvojbeno najviše utjecao. Lehmann ga je obožavao, a ovaj je znao privoljeti mlade nadarene umjetnika da rade za njega. Tu je zatekao Liszta koji se družio s Ingresom. Prijateljski se zbližio s groficom Marijom d'Agoult.<sup>5</sup> Za to vrijeme, šticienici Ville Medici bili su: Paul Jourdy (1805-1856), Dominique-Louis Papety (1815-1849), Charles-Octave Blanchard (1814-1842), Jean-Gilbert Murat (1807-1863), Isidore Pils (1813-1875), Eugène-Ferdinand Buttura (1812-1852), Ernest Hébert (1817-1908) i Pierre-Nicolas Brisset (1810-1890). S Hébertom se zbližio, i to je prijateljstvo potrajalo. U Rimu su nastali portreti Marije d'Agoult i Franza Liszta, nekoliko slika vjerskoga nadahnuća kao i slike nadahnute rimskom svakodnevicom. Cijelo je vrijeme mnogo crtao, često portrete među kojima se ističe Stendhalov portret nastao u Civitavecchiji u kolovozu 1841. g., a koji se čuva u Muzeju Stendhal u Grenobleu. Nacrtao je tada i niz portreta prijatelja i kolega slikara koje je naumio složiti u album i darovati Mariji d'Agoult. Boraveći u Rimu, nije mogao zaobići koloniju njemačkih slikara. Joseph Anton Koch (1786-1839) bio je tada bolestan, ali se njegov utjecaj na mlade generacije još i tada znatno osjećao. U Rim se vratio Johann Anton Ramboux (1790-1866) koji se pridružio Nazarencima; bivši je Davidov učenik u sebi otkrio snažnu sklonost utjecajima quattrocenta. Tu je bio i Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1805-1874) čije je satiričke ilustracije olovkom Lehmann, koji je i sam crtao karikature, cijenio. Pažnju su mu privukle i freske Friedricha Overbecka (1789-1869). Osim što je poput Nazarenaca svojom umjetnošću uzdizao vjeru, poput njih crtao je portrete čistim crtama oštrom olovkom ili crayonom Conté. Istovremeno je improvizirao crteže perom i tušem. Upoznao je i mnoge francuske umjetnike koji



su dolazili u Rim, a posebno se divio stilu i eleganciji crteža kolege iz Ingresove radionice - Anne-François-Louisa Janmota (1814-1892). S domaćim slikarima nije imao mnogo dodira.<sup>6</sup>

Godine 1840. vratio se u Pariz, gdje je dobio medalju prvoga reda za djela izložena na Salonu. Iste godine otputovao je ponovo u Rim, koji je 1842. g. napustio zauvijek kako bi se nastanio u Parizu. Počeo je redovito izlagati na Salonu, a to će nastaviti do kraja života. Slikao je povijesne, vjerske ili svjetovne slike, portrete i krajolike. Godine 1844. naslikao je *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée* (sl. 2).<sup>7</sup> O toj će slici u nastavku članka još biti riječi. Uz vjerske slike i portrete, od 1846 do 1850. g. posvetio se slikanju djela nadahnutim Shakespeareom, *Hamletu* i *Ofeliji*. Često je prikazivao mitološke ili romantično-literarne teme. Počeo je dobivati i narudžbe, primjerice oslikavanje Chapelle des Jeunes Aveugles u crkvi svetoga Merrija u Parizu. Osim za crkvu, Lehmann je slikao i za francusku vladu i pariške gradske vlasti. Opsežniji radovi, posvećeni oslikavanju Hôtel de Ville, Palais du Luxembourg i Palais de Justice. Vlada je sustavno naručivala oslikavanje službenih reprezentativnih

2. Henri Lehmann, *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée* (mjesto čuvanja nepoznato)  
Henri Lehmann, *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée* (whereabouts unknown)

tion. Like the Nazarenes, as well as using his art to elevate religion, he also drew portraits with clean lines with a sharp pencil or Conté crayon. At the same time he improvised drawings with pen and ink. He got to know many French artists who came to Rome, and was particularly struck by the style and elegance of the drawings of a fellow student from the Ingres workshop - Anne-François-Louis Janmot (1814-1892). He did not have much contact with the painters of the country.<sup>6</sup>

In 1840 he returned to Paris, where he won a first class medal for works shown at the Salon. In the same year, though, he travelled again to Rome, which in 1842 he left to settle down for good in Paris. He started showing his work regularly at the Salon, and was to do so until the end of his life. He painted history, religious or secular paintings, portraits and landscapes. In 1844 he painted the picture



3. Henri Lehmann, *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné*, Musée départemental des Hautes-Alpes, Gap  
Henri Lehmann, *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné*, Musée départemental des Hautes-Alpes, Gap

prostorija i otkupljivala njegove slike izložene na Salonu. Francusko državljanstvo dobio je 1847. g. Godine 1848. pridružio se narodnoj gardi. Iste je godine za djela izložena na Salonu dobio medalju prvoga reda.

Lehmann je u dva navrata slikao *Oceanide*. Na istu su temu nastale dvije slike različitih ugođaja. Na prvim

*Oceanidama* počeo je raditi 1844. g.,<sup>8</sup> razrađujući najprije ideju pripremnim crtežima, kojih je nekoliko sačuvano. Slika *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée* (sl. 2), za koju danas ne znamo gdje se nalazi, bila je izložena na Salonu 1846. g. Očito je da je bio zaokupljen ne samo temom *Oceanida* nego i kompozicijom u kojoj ljudska tijela tvore piramidu ili su u odnosima s prirodnim elementima piramidalno poslagana. Godine 1847. naslikao je *La Vierge au pied de la croix* zvanu i *Mater dolorosa*<sup>9</sup> za crkvu Saint-Louis-en-l'Île u Parizu, a iste godine nastala je slika *Les Sirènes appelant Ulysse*<sup>10</sup> - na obje su slike likovi piramidalno poslagani.

Godine 1850. nastala je druga slika nadahnuta mitom o Prometeju, *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 3).<sup>11</sup> Sliku je 11. lipnja 1849. g. naručilo Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova (cijena u iznosu od 6000 franaka) za Musée du Luxembourg. Slika je 1883. g. bila predana Louvreu, a 1913. g. pohranjena u Musée départemental des Hautes-Alpes u Gapu, gdje se i danas nalazi. O toj je slici Lehmann zapisao u *livre de raison*, u rujnu 1849. g., u stupcu *Skice i crteži. Prometej*. U travnju 1850. g.: *Prometej započet na platnu*. U lipnju iste godine: *Studije, crteži slikane skice za Prometeja. Nabačen prvi Prometej*. U rujnu: *Prometej za galeriju Luxembourg*.<sup>12</sup> Iste je 1850. g. Ingres olovkom nacrtao njegov portret.<sup>13</sup>

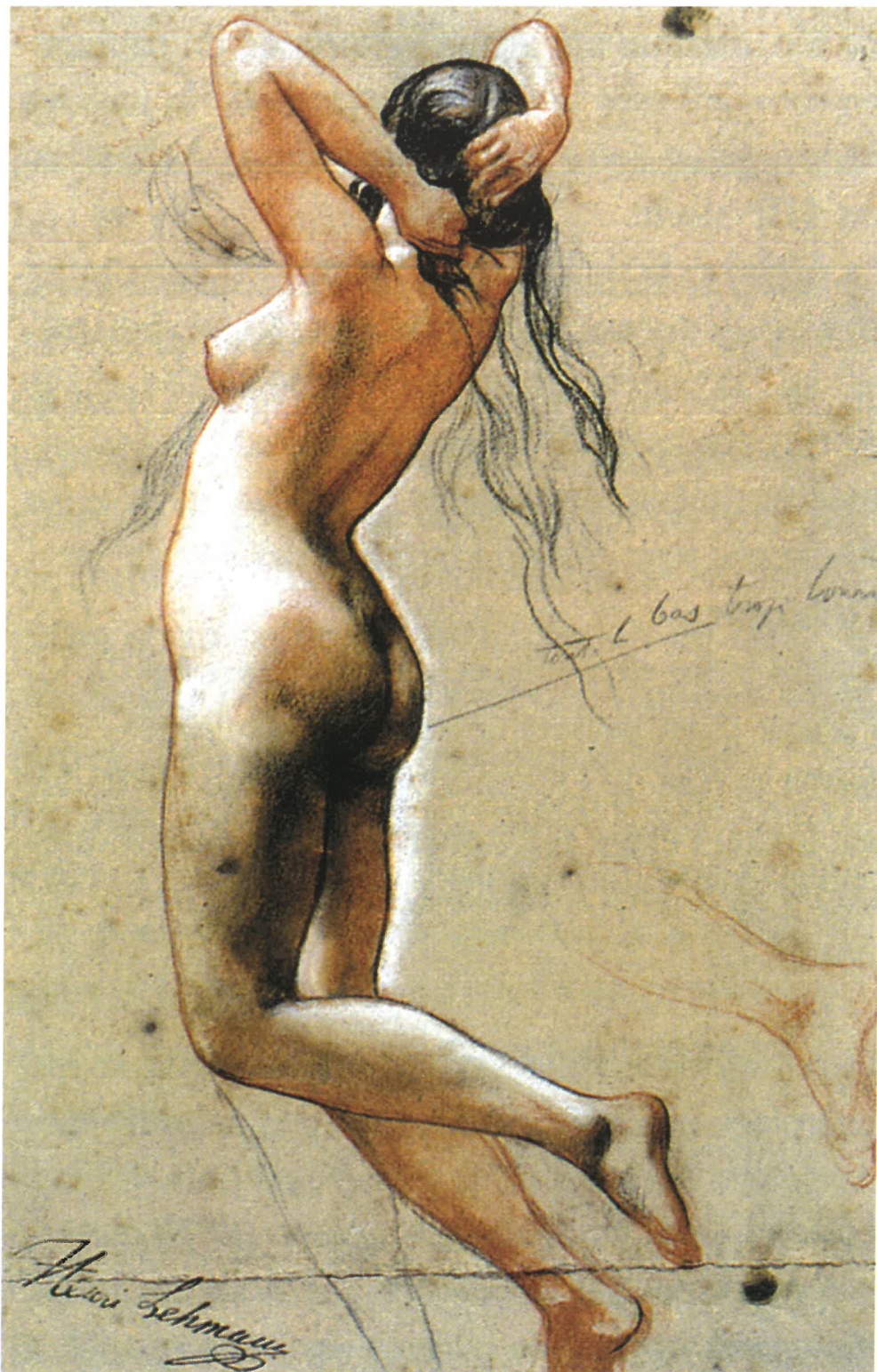
Oženio se 1851. g. Louise-Alexandrinom Casadavant.<sup>14</sup> U prvoj polovini pedesetih družio se s Delacroixom koji u svojim dnevnicima spominje večere kod Lehmana. Godine 1855., na Salonu za vrijeme Svjetske izložbe, Lehmann je izložio dvadest i jednu sliku. Postavši članom Akademije 1864. g., i aktivno je sudjelovao u njezinom radu. Iste je godine ustanovio nagradu Henri Lehmann kako bi potaknuo očuvanje klasičnoga nasljeđa. Godine 1867. u Parizu je umro Ingres. U ime svih bivših učenika, a kao njegov najbolji učenik, Lehmann je održao govor. Profesorom na École des Beaux-Arts postao je 1875. g.,<sup>15</sup> a zbog zdravstvenih razloga povukao se 1881. g. Umro je u svojoj palači na broju 23, rue Balzac u Parizu 30. ožujka 1882. g.<sup>16</sup>

Lehmann je stvarao djela na klasičan način. Čekao je da ideja sazrije razrađujući ju u pripremnim crtežima. Zatim ih je prenosio na pauspapir, crtao raster, uvećavao ih služeći se raznim tehnikama. Nakon što bi izradio mnoge inačice, prenosio ih je na kartone, izrađivao u tehnici *grissaillea* i slikao skice uljenim bojama. U svakom je trenutku njegova stvaranja crtež

Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée (Fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> This picture will be discussed in more detail below. As well as religious pictures and portraits, from 1846 to 1850 he devoted himself to painting works inspired by Shakespeare, Hamlet and Ophelia. He often depicted mythological or romantic and literary topics. He started to win commissions, for example for the painting the *Chapelle des Jeunes Aveugles* in the church of St Merri in Paris. As well as for the Church, Lehmann painted for the French government and the municipal government in Paris. There were larger works, too, devoted to the decoration of the Hotel de Ville, Palais du Luxembourg and Palais de Justice. The government systematically commissioned paintings for its grand official premises and purchased paintings of Lehmann's shown at the Salon. He obtained French citizenship in 1847. In 1848 he joined the National guard. The same year, he won a first class medal for works exhibited at the Salon.

Lehmann painted Oceanids twice. There was the same subject in two pictures, but the moods were different. He started working on the first Oceanids in 1848, first of all working out the idea with preparatory sketches, some of which are extant. The painting Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée (Fig. 2), the current whereabouts of which are unknown, was shown at the Salon in 1846. Clearly he was occupied not only with the topic of Oceanids but also with the kind of composition in which human bodies created a pyramid or that were arranged pyramidally in their relations with the natural elements. In 1847 he painted *La Vierge au pied de la croix*, also called *Mater dolorosa*<sup>9</sup> for the church of Saint-Louis-en-l'Île in Paris; in the same year the picture *Les Sirènes appelant Ulysse*<sup>10</sup> was painted - and in both paintings the figures were arranged in a pyramid.

In 1850 a second picture inspired by the myth of Prometheus was painted: the *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (Fig. 3).<sup>11</sup> This was ordered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (for 6000 francs) for the Musée de Luxembourg. In 1883 the picture was ceded to the Louvre, and since 1913 has been kept in the Musée départemental des Hautes-Alpes in Gap. In September 1849, Lehmann wrote of this painting in his *livre de raison*, in the column: *Sketches and drawings: "Prometheus"*. In April 1850: "Prometheus started on canvas." In June of the same year: "Studies, drawings of a painted sketch for Prometheus. First Prometheus roughed out." In September: "Prometheus for Luxembourg gallery"<sup>12</sup>. In that same year, Ingres drew a portrait of him in pencil.<sup>13</sup>



zauzimaov povlašteno mjesto.<sup>17</sup> Ovaj je izniman ingresovski umjetnik, iako je crtao na tradicionalistički način, slijedeći važne lekcije prošlosti, stvorio nizove crteža koji posvjedočuju njegovu veličinu. Jacques Foucart ga, zbog plodnosti i majstorstva, svrstava među najvažnije crtače XIX. stoljeća.<sup>18</sup>

Jednom od spomenutih nizova pripada i crtež iz Muzeja Mimara *Studija i skica Oceanida* (sl. 1), i to nizu pripremnih crteža za jednu od dvaju slika što prikazuju Oceanide koje oplakuju Prometeja. Nacrtao je tradicionalnom tehnikom "triju olovaka" - crayonom Conté,<sup>19</sup> sangvinom i bijelom kredom - kojom je na nekoliko mjesta istaknuo najosvjetljenije dijelove tijela. Mimarin crtež tehnikom nastanka odgovara dvama crtežima iz Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans koji nose isto ime, *Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 4. i 5) iz 1850. g. za koje je u katalogu navedeno da su također nacrtani tehnikom crayona Conté, sangvine i bijele krede.<sup>20</sup>



4. Henri Lehmann, *Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné*, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans

*Henri Lehmann, Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans*

*In 1851 he married Louise-Alexandrine Casadavant.<sup>14</sup> In the first half of the fifties he was friendly with Delacroix, who mentions dinners at Lehmann's in his diaries. In 1855, at the Salon during the World Exposition, Lehmann exhibited twenty one pictures. He became a member of the Academie in 1864 and became active in its work. In the same year he set up the Henri Lehmann Prize, in order to encourage the preservation of the classical heritage. In 1867, Ingres died in Paris. On behalf of his former students, and as his best student, Lehmann gave a speech. In 1875 he became<sup>15</sup> a professor at the École des Beaux-Arts, retiring for health reasons in 1881. He died in his mansion at 23, rue Balzac in Paris on March 30, 1882.<sup>16</sup>*

*Lehmann produced his works in the classical manner. He waited until the idea should be ripe, working it out in preparatory drawings. Then he transferred them onto tracing paper, drew a grid, enlarged them, making use of many techniques. After he had done many versions, he transferred them onto cardboard, worked on them in grisaille technique and painted sketches in oils. At every moment in his creative work the drawing held a privileged place.<sup>17</sup> This outstanding student of Ingres, although he drew in the traditional manner, following the important lessons of the past, created numbers of drawings that witness to his greatness. Jacques Foucart, for his productivity and masterfulness, included him among the most important draughtsmen of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>.*

5. Henri Lehmann, *Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné*, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans

*Henri Lehmann, Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans*

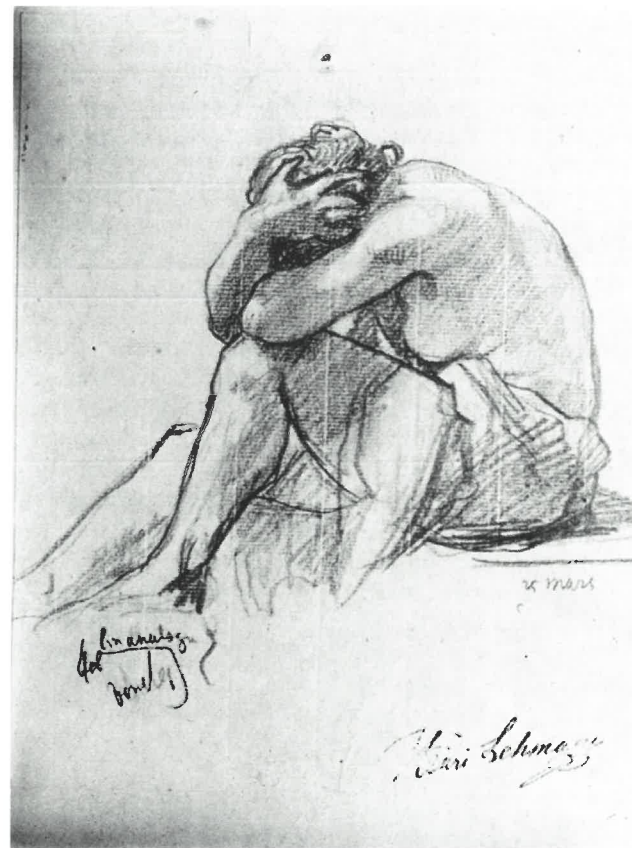
The drawing from the Mimara Museum, Study and Sketch of Oceanides (Fig. 1) is from one of these series, a preparatory sequence for one of the two pictures that show the Oceanides weeping for Prometheus. It is done with the traditional three-pencil technique - Conté crayon<sup>19</sup>, sanguine and white chalk, with which latter he would highlight in a few places the most illuminated parts of the bodies. In the technique used to create it, the Mimara drawing corresponds to two drawings from the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans that have the same name Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné (Fig. 4. & 5) of 1850 that in the catalogue are also stated to be drawings in Conté crayon, sanguine and white chalk<sup>20</sup>.

The drawing shows a female nude from behind, with lowered head, leaning against a rock, with her right arm bent at the elbow. The legs are bent and concealed by the body, only the ankles and feet visible. Parts of the flesh colour in the shadow are rendered with sanguine, and the reflection of the skin is conjured up in the lightest places with white chalk, or else the paper support, ivory in colour, is left without any pigment. The paper has a reticular grid. The distances between the rather strongly expressed vertical lines on the paper are of 25 mm. He put on Conté crayon over the sanguine in order to darken the parts of the body on which there are deeper shadows, and the contours of the whole body were firmly edged with thick Conté crayon; apart from this in places black or red pentimenti are seen. The shadow of the body leaned on the rock is rendered with slanting, dense and parallel strokes with Conté, which the artist did not press very hard, and on the same, right hand side of the body, below the ribs to the hip, one more narrow shadow is produced with sanguine on top of the Conté. And in the drawing the sanguine Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné (Fig. 4) goes beyond the edge, and not only the sanguine, but white chalk as well. The fingers of the right hand, which is resting on the head, are masterfully limned with just a few strokes. The impression of brown hair



6. Henri Lehmann, *Étude pour Finances - Etude de silhouette nue vue de face la tête tournée vers la droite*, private collection  
Henri Lehmann, *Étude pour Finances - Etude de silhouette nue vue de face la tête tournée vers la droite*, Private collection

Na crtežu je prikazan ženski akt s leđa, podignute glave, naslonjen na stijenu, s desnom rukom svijenom u laktu. Noge su svijene i skrivene tijelom, a vidljiva su samo stopala i članci. Dijelovi inkarnata u sjeni dočarani su sangvinom, a odsjaj puti dočaran je na najsvjetlijim mjestima bijelom kredom, ili je podloga od papira boje bjelokosti ostavljena bez pigmenta. Papir je rešetkastog rastera. Razmaci su između jače izraženih okomitih crta na njemu širine 25 mm. Crayon Conté nanosio je preko sangvine ne bi li tako potamnio mjesta na tijelu koja su u dubljoj sjeni, a obrise je cijeloga tijela čvrsto obrubio podebljanim crayonom Conté, a izvan toga se mjestimice vide crni ili crveni pentimenti. Sjena tijela naslonjena na stijenu dočarana je ukošenim, gustim i usporednim potezima crayona Conté koji umjetnik nije jako pritiskao, a na istoj, desnoj strani tijela, ispod rebara pa do kuka, dočarana je još jedna uža sjena sangvinom preko crayona Conté. I na crtežu *Feuille d'études pour la désolation*



*des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 4) sangvina izlazi izvan ruba, ali ne samo sangvina nego i bijela kreda. Prsti su desne šake, koja je naslonjena na glavu, majstorski naznačeni s nekoliko poteza. I dojam smeđe kose dočarao je Lehmann kombiniranjem crayona Conté i sangvine, a pramenovi koji padaju na desnu stranu prikazani su usporednim valovitim crtama na sličan način na koji je prikazana kosa žene na *Étude pour Finances - Étude de silhouette nue vue de face la tête tournée vers la droite* (sl. 6).<sup>21</sup>

Na Lehmannovu crtežu *Étude pour une Océanide* (sl. 7),<sup>22</sup> ženski je lik prikazan s lijevoga boka i drži se desnom rukom za glavu dok je kosa prikazana slično onoj s Mimarinog crteža. Taj je crtež nacrtan na papiru rešetkastog rastera na kojem su razmaci između jače izraženih okomitih crta rastera širine 25 mm, kao i na *Studiji i skici Oceanida*. Ispod *Océanide* Lehmann je rukopisom naveo: *25 mars*.<sup>23</sup> Prema donjem lijevom kutu na Mimarinom crtežu, ispod pete desnog stopala, napisano je istim, Lehmannovim rukopisom: *1 avril*<sup>24</sup>

7. Henri Lehmann, *Étude pour une Océanide*, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans  
Henri Lehmann, *Étude pour une Océanide*, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans

is produced by a combined Conté and sanguine effect; the locks that fall on the right side are shown with parallel wavy drawings in a way similar to that in which the hair of the woman in is shown - *Étude pour Finances - Etude de silhouette nue vue de face la tête tournée vers la droite* (Fig. 6).<sup>21</sup>

In Lehmann's drawing *Étude pour une Océanide* (Fig. 7)<sup>22</sup> the female figure is shown from the left side, and is holding her head with the right hand, while her hair is shown similarly to that in the Mimara drawing. This drawing is drawn on squared paper, the differences between the more strongly expressed vertical lines being 25 mm, as in the Study and Sketch for Oceanides. Below *Océanide*, Lehmann wrote: *25 mars*.<sup>23</sup> Towards the left hand corner of the Mimara drawing, below the heel of the right foot, the same Lehmann handwriting writes: *1 avril*<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 1), and then there are two more, illegible, signs written more lightly. If the drawing from the Mimara Museum was created as a study for the second Oceanides picture, these data could suggest that it was created a week after the drawing from the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans (Fig. 7). In other words, the drawing was created at the beginning of the month in which Lehmann wrote in his livre de raison: "Prometheus begun on canvas"<sup>25</sup>. Lehmann dated his draw-



8. Henri Lehmann, *Étude d'adolescent nu accroupi*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen  
Henri Lehmann, *Étude d'adolescent nu accroupi*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen

ings very often, the date sometimes stating just month and day, sometimes the year as well.

I think that the date for Study and Sketch of Oceanids (Fig. 1) might well have confused whoever ascribed the drawing to Henri Toulouse-Lautrec; the date, 1. avril could perhaps have been read as J (eanne) Avril. Still closer to the left hand corner, in the same Conté crayon, the drawing Study and Sketch of Oceanids is signed with the artist's monogram, the joined letters H and L (Fig. 1). Above the first vertical line of the H another short line is drawn, and it looks as if it is one more letter in the monogram, the letter T. I do not know if Lehmann drew this line accidentally, but it is certainly one of the causes for the false attribution to Toulouse-Lautrec. This monogram was used by Lehmann to sign the drawing of 1843 Étude d'adolescent nu accroupi<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 8) from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen. He also signed the drawing Étude pour un roi mage from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille produced in 1854<sup>27</sup> with monogram, but the different one. In this case, from the middle of the horizontal line that links the two verticals creating the capital H, downwards drops the vertical of the L. This is the monogram that Lehmann used to sign the drawing Étude de draperie féminine sur personnage suggéré (Fig. 9) from the Musée Sainte-Croix in Pitiers.<sup>28</sup> On the drawing Académie de femme drapée<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 10) from a private Parisian collection he signed with a monogram similar to that from the Mimara drawing. According to this we can conclude that Lehmann combined his initials into different monograms. Most of his drawings bear the stamp of the workshop done according to the artist's signature (L1664g).<sup>30</sup> Drawings that have a monogram and a workshop stamp could be those that were found in the workshop after the artist's death, at which time they were stamped.

To the left of the female nude from behind in the Mimara Museum drawing there is a summary drawing of a figure with a raised head. It is shown in profile, with long hair that falls down the shoulder (Fig. 1). This sketch can be compared with the study of the lifted female head located in the upper right corner of the drawing Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné (Fig. 5). The positions of the heads are similar, although they are shown in mirror image. The head, neck and back are shown, and the remaining part of the body is masked by the female nude from behind. From this figure to the left edge of the sheet is a part of the paper that, except at the very bottom, is without

(sl. 1), a zatim još dva nečitljiva znaka napisana svjetlije. Ako je crtež iz Muzeja Mimara nastao kao studija za drugu sliku *Oceanida*, ti bi podatci mogli upućivati kako je nastao tjedan dana nakon crteža iz Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans (sl. 7). Značilo bi i da je crtež nastao na samom početku mjeseca u kojem je Lehmann u *livre de raison* naveo: *Prometej započet na platnu*.<sup>25</sup> Lehmann je vrlo često datirao svoje crteže, u nadnevku pokatkad navodeći samo dan i mjesec, a kadšto i godinu.

Mislim kako je nadnevak na *Studiji i skici Oceanida* (sl. 1) mogao zbuniti osobu koja je taj crtež pripisala Henriju de Toulouse-Lautrecu. Naime, 1. avril je mogao netko pročitati kao J (eanne) Avril. Još je bliže lijevom donjem kutu, istim crayonom Conté crtež *Studija i skica Oceanida* potpisan umjetnikovim monogramom, spojenim slovima H i L (sl. 1). Iznad prve okomite crte slova H povučena je još jedna kraća crta pa izgleda kao da je posrijedi još jedno slovo u monogramu, slovo T. Ne znam je li Lehmann slučajno povukao tu crtu, ali je ona sigurno jedan od uzroka za pogrešno pretpostavljenu atribuciju Henriju de Toulouse-Lautrecu. Takvim se monogramom Lehmann potpisao i na crtežu iz 1843. g. *Étude d'adolescent nu accroupi*<sup>26</sup> (sl. 8) iz Musée des Beaux-Arts u Rouenu. Monogramom, ali različitim od ovoga, potpisao se i na crtežu *Étude pour un roi mage* iz Musée des Beaux-Arts u Lilleu, nastalom 1854. g.<sup>27</sup> Na tome se monogramu, iz sredine vodoravne crte koja spaja dvije okomite crte tvoreći tako tiskano slovo H, spušta okomita crta slova L. Takovim se monogramom Lehmann potpisao i na crtežu *Étude de draperie féminine sur personnage suggéré* (sl. 9) iz Musée Sainte-Croix u Pitiersu,<sup>28</sup> a monogramom sličnijim onom s Mimarina crteža na crtežu *Académie de femme drapée*<sup>29</sup> (sl. 10) iz privatne pariške zbirke. Prema navedenome možemo zaključiti kako je Lehmann slagao svoje inicijale u različite monograme. Većina Lehmannovih crteža nosi pečat radionice načinjen prema umjetnikovu potpisu (L.1664g).<sup>30</sup> Crteži koji na sebi imaju i monogram i pečat radionice mogli bi biti oni koji su se u radionici zatekli nakon Lehmanove smrti kada su zatečeni crteži dobili pečat.

Na crtežu iz Muzeja Mimara, lijevo od ženskog akta s leđa, crayonom Conté sumarno je nacrtan lik podignute glave. Prikazan je iz profila, duge kose koja pada niz ramena (sl. 1). Ta se skica može usporediti sa studijom podignute ženske glave smještene u gornjem desnom kutu crteža *Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 5) iz 1850. g. Položaji glava su slični, iako su glave zrcalno

prikazane. Prikazani su glava, vrat i leđa, a ostali dio tijela zaklonjen je ženskim aktom s leđa. Od tog lika do lijevog ruba lista, dio je papira koji je, osim pri samom dnu, bez pigmenta, a dolje seže do stopala ženskog akta koja su malim dijelom nacrtana preko njegovih rubova. Taj je dio bio otrgnut i vidljivi su, ne prostim okom nego pod povećalom, tragovi lijepljenja na pozadini. Verso je taj komad znatno svjetlije boje. Kako su dijelovi stopala crtani preko ruba lijepljenja, pretpostavljam da je sam Lehmann zalijepio poparan papir.

Ostaje dvojba za koju je od slika nadahnutim Oceanidama i Prometejem nastao Lehmannov crtež iz

any pigment, going down to the feet of the nude that are slightly drawn over the edges. This part was torn, and there are visible (not to the naked eye but with a magnifying glass) traces of pasting on the back. The verso of this piece is of much lighter colour. Since the parts of the foot are drawn over the edge of the pasting, I must conclude that Lehmann himself pasted the torn paper.

It is still unclear which painting inspired by the Oceanids and Prometheus was the project for which the Mimara drawing was made. In 1844 he drew the Étude de femme nue, trois-quarts de dos, acoudée (Fig. 11)<sup>37</sup> on paper in sanguine and gouache.



9. Henri Lehmann, *Étude de draperie féminine sur personnage suggéré*, Musée Sainte-Croix, Pitiers  
Henri Lehmann, *Étude de draperie féminine sur personnage suggéré*, Musée Sainte-Croix, Pitiers

10. Henri Lehmann, *Académie de femme drapée*, privatna zbirka, Paris  
Henri Lehmann, *Académie de femme drapée*, Private collection, Paris

The author wrote the date in the bottom left: 4. déc. 44.<sup>32</sup> This picture is connected with the Mimara work without any doubt. The position of the body is similar and could seem like an original for the same painting, but I have the impression that it was created before the Mimara piece. The Oceanids from the picture Les Océanides

11. Henri Lehmann, *Étude de femme nue, trois-quarts de dos, acoudée*, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans

Henri Lehmann, *Étude de femme nue, trois-quarts de dos, acoudée*, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans

Muzeja Mimara. Godine 1844. nacrtao je u tehniци sangvine i gvaša na papiru *Étude de femme nue, trois-quarts de dos, acoudée* (sl. 11).<sup>31</sup> Vrijeme nastanka zapisao je autor dolje, lijevo: 4 déc. 44.<sup>32</sup> Taj je crtež bez dvojbe povezan s Mimarimim. Položaj je tijela sličan i može djelovati kao predložak za istu sliku, ali imam dojam kako je nastao prije negoli Mimarim. Oceanide sa slike *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée* (sl. 2) djeluju rezignirano umirene. I pripremni crteži za tu sliku odišu takvim duhom. Tijela su im oblija, a glave spuštene, osim kod druge odozgor, koja gleda ispred sebe. Na slici *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 3), Oceanide su egzaltirane i poneke djeluju kao da im je uzore



Lehmann našao u prikazima antičkih Bakhantica. Desno od središnje Oceanide koja ima podignute ruke, smještena je Oceanida prikazana s leđa, a koja joj se naslanja na koljena. Za taj je lik, lako je moguće, Mimarina Oceanida bila zrcalna *idea prima*. Još jedan važan detalj povezuje Mimarim crtež s *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 3), a to je skica Oceanide podignute glave (sl. 1).<sup>33</sup> Druga Oceanida slijeva na slici *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 3) gleda prema gore, podignute glave, a kosa joj pada niz ramena. I podignuta glava s već spomenute studije na crtežu *Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 5) iz 1850. g. odgovara skici s Mimarinog crteža. Likove podignutih glava Lehmann je ponovo crtao 1851. g. na crtežu *Au pied de la croix* i pripremnim crtežima za taj rad.<sup>34</sup> Spomenut ću ovdje još jednom papir rešetkastoga rastera, na kojem su razmaci između jače izraženih okomitih crta širine 25 mm, a na kojem su nastale *Studija i skica Oceanida* (sl. 1) i *Étude pour une Océanide* (sl. 7) koje bi mogle biti povezane i nadnevcima.

Dakako, ne smije se posve odbaciti mogućnost da je Mimarim crtež nastao 1. travnja 1844. g. i da je Lehmann stvarajući sliku odustao od prikazivanja Oceanide podignute glave i da je tu ideju iskoristio pet godina kasnije.

Mislim da će biti teško s potpunom sigurnošću utvrditi godinu u kojoj je nastao crtež *Studija i skica Oceanida* (sl. 1) iz Muzeja Mimara. Iako mi je bliža pomisao kako je nastao 1. travnja 1850. g.,<sup>35</sup> kao pripremni crtež za Oceanidu okrenutu leđima na slici *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (sl. 3), ostaje i mogućnost da je nacrtan šest godina ranije, kao pripremni crtež za *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée* (sl. 2). Zato mislim kako bi za sada bilo najispravnije navoditi kako je crtež nastao 1. travnja 1850. (ili 1. travnja 1844. g.)<sup>36</sup> godine.

pleurant le sort de Prométhée (Fig. 2) seem resigned and calm. The preparatory drawings for this painting exclude the same kind of spirit. Their bodies are more rounded, and their heads drooping, except for the second from the top, which is looking in front. In the picture *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (Fig. 3), the nymphs are exalted and some seem as if Lehmann had found their originals in depictions of Bacchantes of antiquity. To the right of the central Oceanid, who has a raised arm, is an Oceanid shown from the rear, resting on the first's knees. It is very possible that for this figure the Mimara Oceanid was the mirror-image idea prima. One more important detail links the Mimara drawing with *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (Fig. 3), and this is the sketch of the Oceanid with a raised head (Fig. 1).<sup>33</sup> The second Oceanid from the left in the *Désolation* (Fig. 3) is looking upwards, with raised head, hair falling down her shoulders. The raised head from the study already mention in the drawing *Feuille d'études pour la désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (Fig. 5) of 1850 corresponds to the sketch in the Mimara drawing. Lehmann again drew figures with raised heads in the drawing *Au pied de la croix* and in preparatory drawings for this piece<sup>34</sup>. I would mention here once again the squared paper on which the distances between the stronger verticals are 25 mm, also used for the Study and Sketch of an Oceanid (Fig. 1) and the *Étude pour une Océanide* (Fig. 7) which might be linked in the dates.

Thus the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Mimara drawing was created on April 1, 1844, but that when he created the painting, Lehmann gave up on the idea of showing Oceanids with raised heads, but used the same idea five years later.

I think it would be hard to determine with complete certainty the year in which the drawing from the Mimara Museum Study and Sketch of Oceanids (Fig. 1) was done. Although I would incline more to the idea that it was created on April 1 1850<sup>35</sup> as a preparatory drawing for the Oceanid with her back turned in the picture *Désolation des Océanides au pied du roc où Prométhée est enchaîné* (Fig. 3), it is still possible that it was drawn six years earlier as a preliminary drawing for *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée* (Fig. 2). Thus it seems that the most correct thing is, for the moment, to state that the drawing was produced on April 1, 1850 (alternatively April 1, 1844)<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In 1831 he wrote to his parents from Paris: "It seems to me that I would be happiest if I became a great draughtsman." - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, Henri Lehmann 1814-1882: catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre, I, Association Les Amis de Henri Lehmann, Nantes, 1984, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Architect born in Cologne; he designed the church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, the Gare du Nord and other things. - Ulrich THIEME und Felix BECKER, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, XVII, Verlag E. A. Seemann, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 152-153.

<sup>3</sup> As he is known in art history by the French version of his name - Henri Lehmann - I shall so refer to him in the remainder of this article.

<sup>4</sup> Departure of Young Tobias with the Angel Gabriel Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. no. 2257.

<sup>5</sup> Born Marie Catherine Sophie Countess de Flavigny (1805-1876), known under her pen name of Daniel Stern. From 1835 to 1839 she lived with Franz Liszt (1811-1886), bearing him three children. - [http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie\\_d'Agoult](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie_d'Agoult) (2 October 2009).

<sup>6</sup> MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, I, 1984, p. 44-46.

<sup>7</sup> Oceanids Weeping the Lot of Prometheus, 100x120 cm, place held and owner unknown, size mentioned in the Archives of the Louvre. - *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112 and II, pp. 79-80, figures 269, G 269 and D 273-D 278.

<sup>9</sup> Virgin at the Foot of the Cross, also called Mater Dolorosa, *Ibid.*, pp. 112-115, and II, pp. 81-85, figures 281 and D 287-D 296 A-E (save for D 290).

<sup>10</sup> Sirens Calling Ulysses, *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117 and II, p. 87, figures 306 and D 308.

<sup>11</sup> The Desolation of the Oceanids at the Foot of the Rock on which Prometheus is Enchained. - *Ibid.*, p. 125-129 and II, pp. 98-102, figures 347, 349, G 351, D 351-D 359 and D 290.

<sup>12</sup> Lehmann kept his livre de raison on 62 unbound sheets, from his arrival in Paris in 1831 to a few months before his death, October 1881. The notebook was of the Italian format, sized 210-295 mm, and he kept the records in 9 columns, headed ideas, drawings and sketches, cartoons and studies, figures or copies, portraits and painted studies, sketches and portraits, observations, income. In the first column the date is given - month and year. *Ibid.*, pp. 55 and 125-126.

<sup>13</sup> Pencil, 317x238 mm, private collection (on loan to the Metropolitan Museum in New York).

<sup>14</sup> Widow of Victor-Désiré-Michel Oppenheimer; thanks to this union, he became financially independent.

<sup>1</sup> Godine 1831. pisao roditeljima iz Pariza: *Čini mi se da bih bio najsretniji kada bih postao velik crtač.* - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, Henri Lehmann 1814-1882: catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre, I, Association Les Amis de Henri Lehmann, Nantes, 1984, str. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Arhitekt rođen u Kölnu; projektirao je crkvu Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Gare du Nord i dr. - Ulrich THIEME und Felix BECKER, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, XVII, Verlag E. A. Seemann, Leipzig, 1924., str. 152-153.

<sup>3</sup> Kako je u povijesti umjetnosti poznat po francuskom obliku svoga imena - Henri Lehmann - tako ću ga nadalje nazivati u ovom članku.

<sup>4</sup> Odlazak mladog Tobije s anđelom Gabrielom, Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. br. 2257.

<sup>5</sup> Rodena Marie Catherine Sophie vikontica de Flavigny (1805-1876), poznata pod spisateljskim pseudonimom Daniel Stern. Od 1835. do 1839. g. živjela je s Franzom Listzom (1811-1886), s kojim je imala troje djece. - [http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie\\_d'Agoult](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie_d'Agoult) (2. listopada 2009).

<sup>6</sup> MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, I, 1984., str. 44-46.

<sup>7</sup> Oceanide oplakuju Prometejevu sudbinu, 100x120 cm, mjesto čuvanja i vlasnik nepoznati; veličina spomenuta u Arhivu Louvrea. - Isto, str. 110.

<sup>8</sup> Isto, str. 110-112. i II, str. 79-80., slike 269, G 269 i D 273-D 278.

<sup>9</sup> Bogorodica pod križem zvana i Mater Dolorosa, Isto, str. 112-115. i II, str. 81-85., slike 281 i D 287-D 296 A-E (osim D 290).

<sup>10</sup> Sirene zovu Odiseja, Isto, str. 116-117. i II, str. 87., slike 306 i D 308.

<sup>11</sup> Očaj Oceanida u podnožju stijene o koju je okovan Prometej. Isto, str. 125-129. i II, str. 98-102., slike 347, 349, G 351, D 351-D 359 i D 290.

<sup>12</sup> Lehmann je vodio livre de raison na 62 neuvezana lista, od dolaska u Pariz 1831. g. do nekoliko mjeseci prije smrti, listopada 1881. g. Bilježnica je bila talijanskog formata, veličine 210x295 mm, a evidenciju je vodio u 9 stupaca pod nazivima ideje, crteži i skice, kartoni i studije, slike ili kopije, portreti i slikane sudije, krokiji i portreti, opažanja, prihod. U prvom je stupcu naznačen nadnevak: mjesec i godina. - Isto, str. 55. i 125-126.

<sup>13</sup> Olovka, 317x238 mm, privatna zbirka (posuđen Muzeju Metropolitan u New Yorku).

<sup>14</sup> Udovicom Victor-Désiré-Michela Oppenheimbera; zahvaljujući tome braku, postao je novčano nezavisan.

<sup>15</sup> Među inim studentima, Georges Seurat (1859 - 1891) postao je njegovim učenikom 19. ožujka 1878. - FRANÇOISE CACHIN, ROBERT L. HERBERT, *Seurat: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 9 avril-12 août 1991*, RMN, Paris, 1991., str. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Podatke za kratku biografiju Henrija Lehmana crpio sam iz MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, I, 1984., str. 11-41.

<sup>17</sup> Isto, str. 51.

<sup>18</sup> JACQUES FOUCART, *Dessins d'Henri Lehmann (1814-1888), la donation Baderou au musée de Rouen*, Études de la Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France 1, Éditions de RMN, Paris, 1980., str. 172.

<sup>19</sup> Ime je dobila po proizvođaču, Nicolas-Jacquesu Contéu (1755-1805) koji je oko 1800. g. počeo proizvoditi štapiće za crtanje koji su bili načinjeni od zbijenog pigmenta povezanog masnim vezivom. Izradivali su se različitih čvrstoća, a bili su crni, crveni ili bijeli. Ostavljali su dosta dorečene tragove bogate pigmentom koji, ako bi se razmazali prstom, ne bi davali raznolike i istančane tonove kakvi se mogu postići uporabom ugljena. - KIMBERLY SCHENCK, Glossary u: JAY MCKEAN FISHER ... [et al.], *The Essence of Line: French Drawings from Ingres to Degas*, Catalog of an exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art, June 19-Sept. 11, 2005; Walters Art Museum, June 19-Sept. 11, 2005; Birmingham Museum of Art, Feb. 19-May 14, 2006; and at the Tacoma Art Museum, June 9-Sept., 17, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> List sa studijama za Očajavanje Oceanida u podnožju stijene na kojoj je okovan Prometej, crayon Conté, sangvina i bijela kreda, 337x207 mm, inv. br. 851 B1 i crayon Conté, sangvina i bijela kreda i grafitna olovka, 303x230 mm, inv. br. 851 B2. - ISABELLE KLINKA, MEHDI KORCHANE, *Le dessin au temps de passions: Collections romantiques des Musées d'Orléans*, Exposition présentée du 7 novembre 1997 au 31 mars 1998 au Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, Orléans, 1997. - Nepaginirani katalog. Kataloške jedinice 47. i 48.

<sup>21</sup> Studija za Financije - Studija nage siluete odnaprijed, glava okrenuta udesno, crayon Conté, 201x83 mm, privatna zbirka. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984., I, str. 210., II, str. 197.

<sup>22</sup> Studija za Oceanidu, crna kreda, 230x184 mm, inv. br. 851 C2, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984., I, str. 129., II, str. 102.

<sup>23</sup> 25. ožujka.

<sup>24</sup> 1. travnja.

<sup>25</sup> Isto I, str. 55. i 125-126.

<sup>15</sup> Among other students Georges Seurat (1859-1891) enrolled in his class March 19<sup>th</sup> 1878. - ROBERT L. HERBERT, FRANÇOISE CACHIN, Georges Seurat (1859-1891), *Catalog of the exhibition "Seurat, 1859-1891" held at the Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, from April 9-August 12, 1991, and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from September 24, 1991-January 12, 1992*, RMN, Paris, 1991, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> The facts for this brief biography came from MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, I, 1984, pp. 11-41.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51

<sup>18</sup> JACQUES FOUCART, *Dessins d'Henri Lehmann (1814-1888), la donation Baderou au musée de Rouen, Etudes de la Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France 1, Éditions de RMN, Paris, 1980, p. 172.*

<sup>19</sup> Took its name from the producer, Nicolas-Jacques Conté (1755-1805) who in ca 1800 started producing drawing sticks that were made from compacted pigment held together with a gum binder and grease. They were made in various hardnesses, red, white and black. They left fairly well articulated traces rich in pigment that, if it were rubbed with the finger, would not produce such diverse and sophisticated tones as can be achieved with the use of charcoal. KIMBERLY SCHENCK, Glossary in: JAY MCKEAN FISHER ... [et al.], *The Essence of Line: French Drawings from Ingres to Degas, Catalog of an exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art, June 19-Sept. 11, 2005; Walters Art Museum, June 19-Sept. 11, 2005; Birmingham Museum of Art, Feb. 19-May 14, 2006; and at the Tacoma Art Museum, June 9-Sept., 17, 2006.*

<sup>20</sup> Sheet with studies for the mourning of the Oceanids at the foot of the rock on which Prometheus is enchained, Conté crayon, sanguine and white chalk, 337x207 mm, inv. no. 851 B1 and Conté crayon, sanguine and white chalk and graphite pencil, 303x230 mm, inv. no. 851 B2. - ISABELLE KLINKA, MEHDI KORCHANE, *Le dessin au temps de passions: Collections romantiques des Musées d'Orléans, Exposition présentée du 7 novembre 1997 au 31 mars 1998 au Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, Orléans, 1997. - Unpaginated catalogue, catalogue entries 47 and 48.*

<sup>21</sup> Study for Finances - Study of a nude silhouette from the front, face turned to the right, Conté crayon, 201x83 mm, private collection. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984, I, p. 210, II, p. 197.

<sup>22</sup> Study for an Oceanid, black chalk 230x184 mm, inv. no. 851 C2, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984, I, p. 129, II, p. 102.

<sup>23</sup> March 25.

<sup>24</sup> April 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* I, p. 55. and 125-126.

- <sup>26</sup> Study of a naked adolescent sitting with arms around knees, *black chalk, pen wash and sanguine*, 164x162 mm, inv. no. 2641 A. - Henri Lehmann (1814-1882), portraits et décors parisiens, *catalogue par Marie-Madeleine Aubrun*, 7 juin-4 septembre 1983, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1983, p. 74.
- <sup>27</sup> 310x200 mm, black chalk with white highlights on coloured paper. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984, I, p. 137, II, p. 113.
- <sup>28</sup> 220x100 mm, Crayon Conté, inv. no. 972-17-1. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, Henri Lehmann (1814-1882), portraits et décors parisiens, 7 juin-4 septembre 1983, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1983, p. 111.
- <sup>29</sup> 230x127 mm, black chalk, 1852
- <sup>30</sup> FRITS LUGT, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes; Supplément*, Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye, 1956, p. 229.
- <sup>31</sup> Study of a nude woman, shown from three-quarters rear, leaning on elbows, 170x150 mm, inv. no. 851 A 3, *Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans*. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984, I, p. 112, II, p. 80.
- <sup>32</sup> December 4, 1844
- <sup>33</sup> *At the transition point between hair and face there is a light blue blotch, and three faint blotches of the same colour to the right of the face, clearly an accidental spattering of the paper.*
- <sup>34</sup> At the foot of the Cross - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984, I, p. 131, II, p. 104. *Among the illustrations for the catalogue entry devoted to Lehmann's La Vierge au pied de la croix of 1847, Patrick Ramade included among the preparatory drawings Étude de tête féminine tournée vers la droite (286x235 mm, black chalk, private collection). This female head, looking up, is a preparation for the painting Au pied de la croix of 1851.* - PATRICK RAMADE, *Première idée*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, 12 juin-14 septembre 1987, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, Rennes, 1987 and MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984, I, p. 114. and 131, II, p. 83. and 104.
- <sup>35</sup> *In the same month in which he wrote in his livre de raison: "Prometheus begun on canvas"*
- <sup>36</sup> *Although there is one drawing entitled Les Océanides that bears Lehmann's date Oct 1841 - 135x202 mm, pencil, inv. no. 1153, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, the others are studies for the Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée of both the Oceanids and Prometheus, created in December 1844.* MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984, I, pp. 110-112, II, pp. 78-80.
- <sup>26</sup> *Studija nagog adolescenta koji sjedi obgrliuši koljena*, crna kreda, laviranje perom i sangvina, 164x162 mm, inv. br. 2641 A. - Henri Lehmann (1814-1882), portraits et décors parisiens, catalogue par Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, 7 juin-4 septembre 1983, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1983., str. 74.
- <sup>27</sup> 310x200 mm, crna kreda s bijelim istacima na obojenom papiru. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984., I, str. 137., II, str. 113.
- <sup>28</sup> 220x100 mm, crayon Conté, inv. br. 972-17-1. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, Henri Lehmann (1814-1882), portraits et décors parisiens, 7 juin-4 septembre 1983 Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1983., str. 111.
- <sup>29</sup> 230x127 mm, crna kreda, 1852. g.
- <sup>30</sup> FRITS LUGT, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes; Supplément*, Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye, 1956., str. 229.
- <sup>31</sup> *Studija gole žene prikazane s tričetvrt leđa, nalakćene*, 170x150 mm, inv. br. 851 A 3, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984., I, str. 112., II, str. 80.
- <sup>32</sup> 4. prosinca 1844.
- <sup>33</sup> Na prijelazu kose i lica nalazi se svijetlo plava mala mrlja, a još tri tanke mrlje iste boje nalaze se desno od lica, očito slučajno poprskane po papiru.
- <sup>34</sup> *Pod križem* - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984., I, str. 131., II, str. 104. Među ilustracijama za katalošku jedinicu posvećenu Lehmannovoj slici *La Vierge au pied de la croix* iz 1847. g., Patrick Ramade je među pripreme crteže uvrstio i *Étude de tête féminine tournée vers la droite* (286x235 mm, crna kreda, privatna zbirka). Ta je ženska glava, podignuta prema gore, priprema za crtež *Au pied de la croix* iz 1851. g. - PATRICK RAMADE, *Première idée*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, 12 juin-14 septembre 1987, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, Rennes, 1987. i MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984., I, str. 114. i 131., II, str. 83. i 104.
- <sup>35</sup> U istome mjesecu u kojem je zapisao u *livre de raison: Prometej započet na platnu*.
- <sup>36</sup> Iako postoji jedan crtež naziva *Les Océanides* koja nosi Lehmannov nadnevak *oct 1841 - 135x202 mm*, olovka, inv. br. 1153, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans - ostale su studija za *Les Océanides pleurant le sort de Prométhée*, kako Oceanida, tako i Prometeja, nastale u prosincu 1844. g. - MARIE-MADELEINE AUBRUN, 1984., I, str. 110-112., II, str. 78-80.

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## II. JEAN VEBER: JEAN VEBER:

### CRTEŽ DVIJE STUDIJE THE DRAWING TWO STUDIES ZA LUTTE FOR THE LUTTE

### DES FEMMES DANS LE DEVONSHIRE DES FEMMES DANS LE DEVONSHIRE IZ MUZEJA MIMARA FROM THE MIMARA MUSEUM

Izvorni znanstveni rad,  
siječanj 2010.

U zbirci crteža Muzeja Mimara čuva se francuski crtež nazvan *Dva crteža na jednom listu papira*. Vodi se pod inventarnim brojem ATM 2053. U zbirku je ušao kao djelo Augustea Renoira (1841-1919) nastalo u tehnici olovke i laviranoga tuša na debljem papiru. Ovim ću radom pokušati pokazati kako mu je autor Jean Veber (1864 ili 1868-1928).<sup>1</sup> Crtež je nacrtan tehnikom crayon Conté i laviranjem kistom smeđe tinte na debljem požutjelom papiru, a velik je 248x322 mm. Mislim kako bi bilo ispravno nazivati ga *Dvije studije za Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*<sup>2</sup> (sl. 1).

O Jeanu Veberu (Pariz, 13. veljače 1864 ili 1868 - 28. studenog 1928) naći ćemo šture podatke u leksikonima. Édouard-Joseph donosi najopširniju biografiju i pregled stvaralaštva.<sup>3</sup> Navodi ga kao slikara, crtača i ilustratora, rodenoga Parižanina. Bénézit dodaje da je bio i slikar genre scena, akvarelist, graver kao i slikar murala.<sup>4</sup> Otac mu je bio Eugène Veber, francuski rodonačelnik umjetničkih crteža-predložaka za izradu čipki. Kada je imao sedamnaest godina, počeo je naukovanje najprije kod Théodorea Maillota (1826-1888), a zatim, dvije godine potom, kod Jules-Éliea Delaunaya (1828-1891) i Alexandrea Cabanela (1823-1889) u École des Beaux-Arts u Parizu. Oko 1890. g. učio je u klasi Eugènea Anatolea Carrièrea (1849-1906). Iste je godine prvi put izlagao na Salonu. Godine 1897.,<sup>5</sup> 10. ožujka, kada je prvi put samostalno izlagao, predstavio ga je publici Anatole France<sup>6</sup> koji je napisao: *Kao karikaturist postigao je slavu koja neće tamnjeti... Nizom sjajnih ulja na platnu stvorio je cjelovit vilinski svijet... Smjestio je patuljke i vile u začarane krajolike. Pravi je Jean Veber slikar koji je naslikao l'Or i L'homme aux poupées, onaj koji slika bogatim namazima, koji smionim i iskrenim kistom stvara likove poput skupine hrvačica u le Bouge.*<sup>7</sup> Na toj je izložbi priređenoj kod jednog od najznačajnijih galerista i trgovaca umjetninama, Georgesa Petita, izložio 55 slika, 17 akvarela, 16

Original scientific paper,  
January 2010

*The drawing collection of the Mimara Museum holds a French drawing currently named Two drawings on one sheet of paper. It is recorded under inventory number ATM 2053. It came into the collection as the work of Auguste Renoir (1841-1919), done in pencil and ink wash on thick paper. In this paper I shall endeavour to show that the artist was in fact Jean Veber (1864 or 1868-1928).<sup>1</sup> The drawing is done in Conté crayon and brush and brown ink wash on fairly thick yellowed paper; the size of the sheet is 248x322 mm. I think it would be more accurate to call this Two Studies for the Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1).*

*We can find only scant remarks about Jean Veber (Paris, February 1868 - November 28, 1928) in the lexicons. Édouard-Joseph has the largest biography and review of the works.<sup>3</sup> He quotes him as painter, draughtsman and illustrator, Parisian born. Bénézit adds that he was also a painter of genre scenes, a watercolourist, engraver and mural painter.<sup>4</sup> His father was Eugène Veber, French progenitor of artistic drawings that were prototypes for lace-making. When he was seventeen, Veber started learning first of all with Théodore Maillot (1826-1888), and then, two years later, with Jules-Élie Delaunay (1828-1891) and Alexandre Cabanel (1823-1889) in the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. About 1890 he was learning in the class of Eugène Anatole Carrière (1849-1906). In the same year, he exhibited for the first time at the Salon. In 1897<sup>5</sup> on March 10, when he had his first individual show, he was presented to the public by Anatole France<sup>6</sup>, who wrote: As caricaturist he has achieved a fame that will not be dimmed... With a string of brilliant oils on canvas he has created a whole elfin world... He has placed dwarfs and fairies in enchanted landscapes. The real Jean Veber is the painter who painted l'Or and*

*L'homme aux poupées*, who paints with rich impastos, who with a bold and candid brush creates figures like the group of women wrestlers in *le Bouge*.<sup>7</sup> At this exhibition, put on at one of the most important gallerists and art dealers, Georges Petit, he showed 55 paintings, 17 watercolours, 16 lithographs and 70 drawings, as we are told by Louis Lacroix, who has written the most extensive book about Veber to date.<sup>8</sup> With his brother Pierre Veber, a writer, he worked on the chronicles of the Vebers; he did portraits of Anatole France, Marcel Schwob<sup>9</sup> and Ferdinand Brunetière.<sup>10</sup> He exhibited at the Société nationale des Beaux-Arts, and, inspired by fairy tales and legends, in 1905 and 1906, he painted the salon of Edmond Rostand's wife<sup>11</sup> in *Cambo-les-Bains*. Fairy tales inspired him to a whole series of cartoons for tapestry. As powerful painter who also had a feeling for caricature, who was also shot through with emotions, he was compared with Goya. Among the most important works are *Les Lutteuses*.<sup>12</sup> Not only did he have a considerable oeuvre of lithographs, but also illustrated books and did cartoons for the tapestries of Gobelins and Beauvais.<sup>13</sup> He published his caricatures in the humorous magazines *Rire*<sup>14</sup>, *Assiette au beurre*, *Gil Blas*, *Journal*, *Illustration* and others. In 1907 he was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. His second and last individual show was in the Allard Gallery, where he exhibited 56 paintings and numerous drawings.<sup>15</sup> In 1912, Apollinaire<sup>16</sup> praised his "lyrical irony"<sup>17</sup>. When he was fifty, a great patriot, he volunteered to go to the front at the beginning of the Great War, and returned as a decorated officer. In the trenches he did many drawings that he later turned into lithographs. He wrote numerous letters, published in the book *J'y étais!*, *Un peintre dans la Grande Guerre*<sup>18</sup>. Letters to his wife are preserved, as is correspondence with Countess Greffulhe.<sup>19</sup> Veber's works are kept in the Musée du Petit Palais u Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, Musée Carnavalet in Paris, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires,<sup>20</sup> in the Département des Arts graphiques in the Louvre, where two drawings are held,<sup>21</sup> and, most likely, in the Mimara Museum in Zagreb.

litografija i 70 crteža, o čemu nas izvješćuje Louis Lacroix koji je napisao zasada najopširniju knjigu o Veberu.<sup>8</sup> S bratom Pierreom Veberom, književnikom, radio je na kronikama Veberovih; naslikao je portrete Anatolea Francea, Marcela Schwoba<sup>9</sup> i Ferdinanda



Brunetièrea.<sup>10</sup> Izlagao je u Société nationale des Beaux-Arts, a nadahnut bajkama i legendama, 1905. i 1906. g. oslikavao je salon supruge Edmonda Rostanda<sup>11</sup> u *Cambo-les-bainsu*. Bajke su ga nadahnule i za niz kartona za tapiserije. Kao snažnog slikara sa smislom

1. Jean Veber, *Dvije studije za Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, Muzej Mimara, Zagreb  
Jean Veber, *Two Studies for the Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, *Mimara Museum, Zagreb*

In the Mimara drawings, there are two depictions of naked female wrestlers.<sup>22</sup> Each picture is framed with thin brush and crayon lines. In the left hand frame, placed a little higher, there are two standing female figures, shown wrestling. The woman on the left, with lighter hair, is taller, and stands with

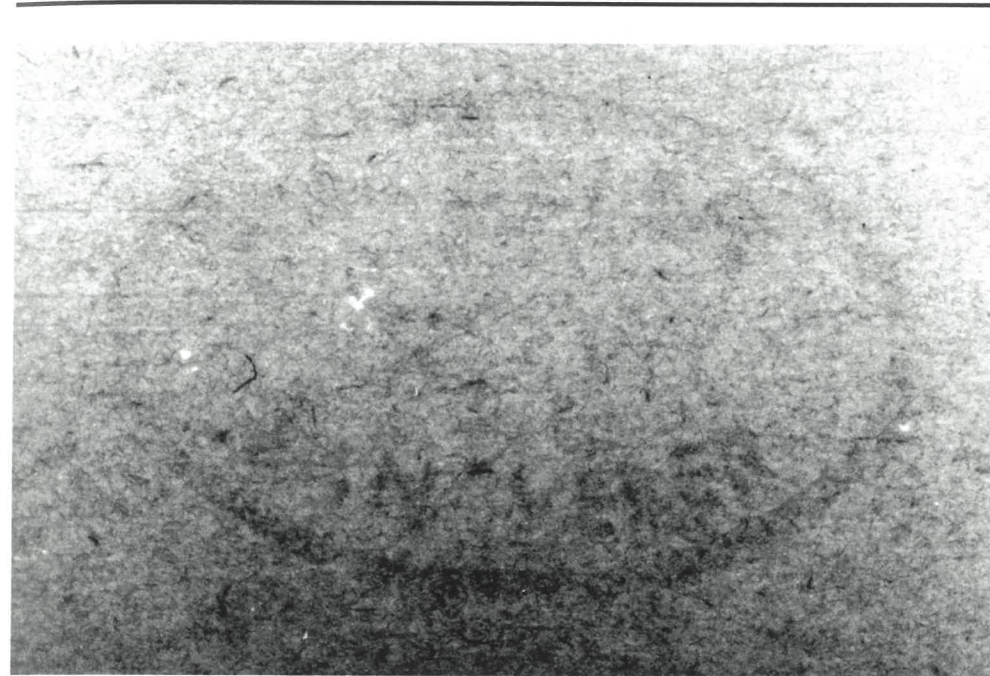
legs apart, leaning to the right. With her left arm she is holding the other woman, darker haired, under the armpit, and with the right is endeavouring to free herself of the grip of the other woman's arms that have her tight around the waist; the woman's head is pressed against her breast. Both figures are drawn in with repeated crayon strokes so as to emphasise the rhythm of the drawing. This manner of repeating the lines is typical of Jean Veber. The left leg of the shorter woman is drawn in two positions, as if it were drawn during the time of actual movement. From their feet, diagonally to the right, the shadow on the floor is shown in wash. Behind them, the people in the audience who are in the shadow are shown in crayon, and the paper is darkened with a thin brown brushed wash. In the lower right corner of this frame, a sketch of the head and right arm of the taller woman is drawn. Left of the right leg of the taller women are three short thicker brush strokes, and from them to the right, the paper is torn all the way to the edge.

In the right hand frame, these two women are shown again, with the proviso that the taller woman is holding the shorter around the neck with her left arm. The taller woman, as in the first drawing, is braced against the ground with legs apart, endeavouring to resist the attempts of the shorter to get free of her, while the legs of the shorter woman are indicated with many strokes and thus leave an impression of constant movement, like that left by the legs of the dog on the Balla picture *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*.<sup>23</sup> Here too the shadow of the two is figured with light brown wash. In this frame the public in the background is darkened more strongly in brown wash. To the left behind the wrestlers a figure with a high hat stands out, and to the right the shapes of two more figures are limned. To the right of the wrestlers, outside of the spectatorship, a figure in a long robe is sketched in, it recalls Rodin's *Balzac*.<sup>24</sup> Between this figure and the lower right hand corner of the paper there is a faded, hardly visible, reddish, horizontally placed oval stamp (Fig. 2). Within its lower edge there is an inscription the beginning of which cannot be seen, in capitals: AN VEBER. Along the upper edge there are the two letters ER, while in the centre there is a hardly visible V. This is from the stamp that was made for the second sale of the inventory of Veber's Paris workshop and that was impressed on the works of the artist that had not been signed (Lugt 2480 b).<sup>25</sup>

za karikaturu, a prožetog osjećajnošću, uspoređivali su ga s Goyom. Među najznačajnija nabrojena djela spadaju i *Les Luttesuses*.<sup>12</sup> Uz značajan litografski opus, ilustrirao je knjige i izrađivao kartone za tapiserije za Gobelins i za Beauvais.<sup>13</sup> Objavljivao je svoje karikature u humorističkim časopisima *Rire*,<sup>14</sup> *Assiette au beurre*, *Gil Blas*, *Journal*, *Illustration* i inim. Godine 1907. proglašen je vitezom Legije časti. Njegova druga i posljednja samostalna izložba bila je u Galeriji Allard, i tu je izložio 56 slika i brojne crteže.<sup>15</sup> Apollinaire<sup>16</sup> je 1912. g. pohvalio njegovu "lirsku ironiju".<sup>17</sup> Kao pedesetogodišnjak i veliki domoljub, na početku Prvoga svjetskog rata, dragovoljno se prijavio za bojišnicu s koje se vratio kao časnik s odličjem. U rovovima nastali su mnogi crteži prema kojima je kasnije izrađivao litografije. S bojišnice je napisao mnoga pisma objavljena u knjizi *J'y étais! Un peintre dans la Grande Guerre*.<sup>18</sup> Osim pisama upućenih supruzi, sačuvala se i prepiska s groficom Greffulhe.<sup>19</sup> Veberova djela čuvaju se u Musée du Petit Palais u Parizu, Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, Musée Carnavalet u Parizu, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes u Buenos Airesu,<sup>20</sup> u Département des Arts graphiques u Louvreu, gdje se čuvaju dva crteža,<sup>21</sup> i, sva je prilika, u Muzeju Mimara u Zagrebu.

Na Mimarinom crtežu dva su prikaza golih hrvačica.<sup>22</sup> Svaki je prikaz uokviren tankim potezima kista i crayona. U lijevom kadru, malo više postavljenom, dva su stojeća ženska lika prikazana kako se na hrvu. Lijeva je žena, svjetlije kose, viša, a stoji raširenih nogu, nagnuta udesno. Lijevom rukom drži drugu, tamnokosu ženu ispod pazuha, a desnom se pokušava osloboditi stiska njenih ruku kojima ju je obgrlila oko pojasa, naslonivši joj glavu na prsa. Oba su lika ocrtna ponavljajućim potezima crayona koji naglašavaju ritam crteža. Taj je način ponavljanja crta svojstven Jeanu Veberu. Lijeva je noga niže žene nacrtana u dva položaja, kao da je crtana za vrijeme samog pomicanja. Od njihovih stopala, dijagonalno udesno, laviranjem je prikazana sjena na podu. Iza njih, crayonom su naznačeni ljudi u publici koja se nalazi u sjeni pa je papir zatamnjen rijetkim smeđim laviranjem kistom. U donjem desnom kutu toga kadra nacrtana je skica glave i desne ruke više žene. Lijevo od desne noge više žene, tri su kratka deblja poteza kistom, a od njih udesno, do ruba, papir je poderan.

U desnome kadru ponovno su prikazane te dvije žene, s tim da viša žena drži lijevom rukom oko vrata nižu. Viša se, kao i na prvom crtežu, raširenih nogu uprta o



tlo, nastoji oduprijeti pokušajima niže da ju pomakne, dok su noge niže naznačene mnogim potezima i tako ostavlja dojam neprestanog pomicanja, poput onoga koji ostavljaju noge psa na Ballinoj slici *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*.<sup>23</sup> I tu je sjena dviju žena dočarana svjetlosmeđim laviranjem. U tome je kadru publika u pozadini jače zatamnjena smeđim laviranjem. Lijevo iza hrvačica ističe se lik s visokim klobukom, a desno su naznačeni obrisi dvaju likova. Desno od hrvačica, izvan gledateljstva, skiciran je lik u dugoj halji koji podsjeća na Rodinova *Balzaca*.<sup>24</sup> Između toga lika i donjeg desnog kuta papira izbljedjeli je, jedva vidljiv, crvenkast, vodoravno postavljen ovalni pečat (sl. 2). Unutar njegova donjeg ruba teče natpis kojemu se ne vidi početak, velikim slovima: AN VEBER. Uz gornji se rub naziru zadnja dva slova ER, dok se u sredini desno jedva vidi slovo V. Tu je posrijedi pečat koji je izrađen za drugu prodaju inventara Veberove pariške radionice i koji se udarao na nepotpisana umjetnikova djela (sl. 3) (L.2480b).<sup>25</sup> Godine 1936. priređena je prva prodaja u radionici, i to 25. svibnja. Prodajom je rukovodio stručnjak Pierre Lamy, a bilo je ponuđeno na prodaju sto slika i crteža. Pečat izrađen za prvu prodaju neznatno je manji negoli onaj za drugu prodaju i u sredini nema nikakvih natpisa. Uz gornji rub teče natpis: ATELIER, a uz donji: JEAN VEBER. Druga prodaja koju je također vodio Pierre Lamy održala se 9-10. veljače 1938. g. i bila je popraćena

2. Jean Veber, *Dvije studije i jedna skica za Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, detalj s pečatom, Muzej Mimara, Zagreb  
Jean Veber, *Two Studies and One Sketch for the Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, detail with mark, Mimara Museum, Zagreb

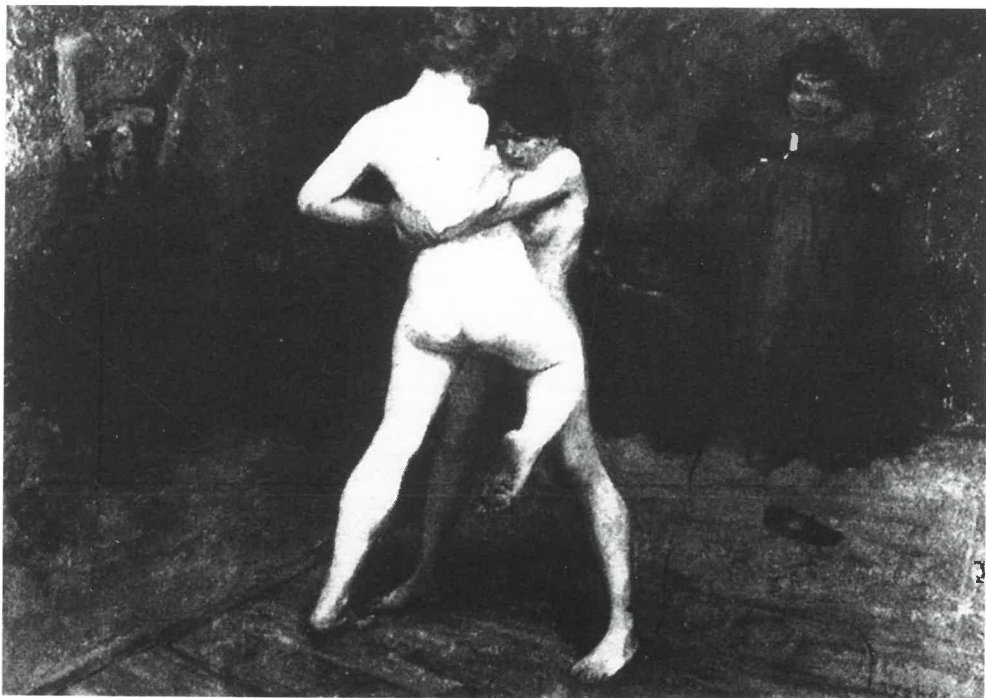


3. Pečat druge prodaje radionice Jeana Vebera, (L.2480b)  
Mark of the second sale of Jean Veber's workshop, (L.2480b)

In 1936 the first sale in the workshop was held, on May 25. The sale was run by the expert Pierre Lamy, and a hundred pictures and drawings were offered for sale. The stamp made for the first sale was slightly smaller than that for the second sale, and in the centre it has no kind of inscription at all. Alongside the upper edge runs the legend ATELIER and along the lower: JEAN VEBER. The second sale was also run by Pierre Lamy and was held on February 9 and 10, 1938; it was accompanied by a catalogue with a preface by Lamy. Eighty two drawings were sold, with 25 watercolours and gouaches, some sets of illustrations, sketches and the like, 49 Veber pictures and 6 paintings of various artists. Stamps were impressed on the front side of unsigned works. Apart from the inscriptions like those on the first stamp, on this one there was also, in the centre the following: 2° V.<sup>26</sup>

The external edges of the thick, strong paper on which the drawing was created are of a darker colour and were clearly once covered with passe-partout. To the left of the centre of the

4. Jean Veber, *Les Lutteuses* (mjesto čuvanja nepoznato)  
Jean Veber; *Les Lutteuses* (whereabouts unknown)



katalogom s Lamyjevim predgovorom. Prodavala su se 82 crteža, 25 akvarela i gvaševa, nekoliko kompleta ilustracija, krokija i sl., 49 Veberovih slika i 6 slika različitih autora. Pečati su udarani na prednju stranu nepotpisanih djela. Osim natpisa poput onih na prvom pečatu, na ovome je u sredini još pisalo: 2° V.<sup>26</sup>

Vanjski rubovi debljeg čvrstog papira na kojem je nastao crtež, tamnije su boje i očito su bili prekriveni passe-partoutom. Lijevo od sredine donjeg ruba, rukopisom je napisano olovkom: *d. grau*. Predmnijevam kako je tu riječ o uputi za boju passe-partouta ili okvira. Na poledini, uz gornji rub, vidljivi su isprekidani ostaci osušenog ljepila s ljepljive trake, a uz gornji rub, desno i lijevo, zalijepljene su papirnate vrpce kojima je crtež bio učvršćen za podlogu. Na poledini se vidi i natpis olovkom, postavljen dijagonalno odozdo prema gore, prema gornjem desnom kutu: *20x30*. Nedostaje komadić donjeg desnog kuta papira.

Za vrijeme mog studijskog boravka u Parizu u srpnju 2008. g., u dokumentaciji Musée d'Orsay, nastojao sam naći što više podataka o tome slabo istraženom umjetniku. Tu sam pronašao fotokopiju stranice kataloga Drouotove dražbe koja se održala 29. lipnja 1988., na kojoj je na prodaju ponuđeno Veberovo ulje



na platnu na kojem su prikazane dvije gole žene koje se hrvu, *Les Lutteuses*<sup>27</sup> (sl. 4). Slika veličine 74x101 cm, na dražbi se prodavala pod brojem 214, s naznakom da je potpisana dolje desno. Vrijednost joj je bila procijenjena na 25.000 - 30.000 francuskih franaka. Godina nastanka slike nije spomenuta. Na tu su slici žene prikazane u položaju različitim od onoga s Mimarinoga crteža. Viša hrvačica, svjetlije kose prikazana je s leđa, dok je niža, tamne kose okrenuta prema gledateljima. Lijevo od njih, iz gledateljstva vidi se lik podignutih ruku, a desno lik koji stoji, podbočenih ruku, koji bi mogao biti sudac i čiji položaj odgovara položaju balzakovskoga lika s Mimarinoga crteža.

U Zbirci Sonntag čuva se Veberova slika *Nude wrestling*<sup>28</sup> (sl. 5). U članku koji se na tu sliku odnosi, autor je napisao da je Veber barem u jednoj prilici boravio u Devonshireu, gdje je gledao žene koje se hrvu. Pretpostavljam kako mu je izvorom podataka bio sam Werner Sonntag.<sup>29</sup> Louis Lacroix navodi da je Veber 1899. g. u Société nationale des Beaux-Arts izložio sliku pod naslovom *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, a koja se nekada nalazila u zbirci Morosof.<sup>30</sup>

5. Jean Veber, *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, Zbirka Sonntag  
Jean Veber, *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, Sonntag Collection

lower edge, in handwritten pencil *d. grau* is written. I believe that here we have instructions for the colour of the passe-partout or frame. On the back, alongside the upper edge, there are visible intermittent remnants of dried adhesive from sticky tape, and along the upper edge, right and left, there are paper strips pasted, once used to fix the drawing to the base. On the back there is also a pencil inscription, placed diagonally from bottom to top, towards the top right hand corner: *20x30*. A piece of right hand corner of the paper is missing.

During the time of a research trip in Paris in July 2008, I attempted to find in the documentation of the Musée d'Orsay as much information as possible about this poorly investigated artist. Here I found a photocopy of the page of the catalogue of the Drouot

auktion held on June 29, 1988, at which a Veber oil on canvas showing two nude women wrestling called *Les Lutteuses*<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 3) was offered for sale. The painting, sized 74x101 cm, was sold as no. 214, with the remark that it was signed bottom right. The value was estimated at 25,000-30,000 francs. The year the painting was made was not mentioned. In this painting, the women are shown in a position that is different from that in the *Mimara* drawing. The taller wrestler, with lighter hair, is shown from behind, while the shorter woman, with darker hair, is turned towards the viewers. To the left of them, from the spectators, can be seen a figure with raised arms, and to the right a standing figure, with arms on hips, who might be a referee, the position of whom corresponds to the position of the Balzac-like figure from *Mimara* drawing.

A Veber painting *Nude Wrestling*<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 4) is kept in the *Sonntag* Collection. In the article relating to this painting, the author wrote that Veber was at least one time in Devonshire, watching female wrestling. I assume that the source of this information was Werner Sonntag himself.<sup>29</sup> Louis Lacroix states that in 1899 in the *Société nationale des Beaux-Arts* Veber exhibited a painting called *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire* which was once in the *Morosof* Collection.<sup>30</sup> I am of the opinion that *Nude Wrestling* and *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire* are one and the same painting.

Very clearly, the *Mimara* depictions of women wrestling are studies for this painting. Here, as in the drawings, the taller woman has lighter hair, and the shorter one darker. The right hand *Mimara* drawing corresponds to the painting in almost all the details. The only exception is the position of the right leg of the shorter woman, which in the left hand study corresponds to that in the painting. This picture wants the Balzacian figure standing right of the women (referee?), which does appear in the picture from the *Drouot* auction.

Women wrestlers were clearly a topic that absorbed Veber. Female wrestling was a sport that can be seen in depictions created in very ancient times. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it underwent a real flowering.<sup>31</sup> Veber, as we have seen, was present at female combats, and the *Mimara* drawing, probably, was created during the time of a bout between female wrestlers in Devonshire.

For the moment we know that he painted two paintings on the topic. On March 10, 1897, Anatole France, at the

Mislim da su *Nude wrestling* i *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire* jedna te ista slika.

Mimarini su prikazi žena koje se hrvu očigledno studije upravo za tu sliku. I tu, kao i na crtežima, viša žena ima svjetliju kosu, a niža tamnu. Desni Mimarini crtež odgovara slici gotovo u svim pojedinostima. Jedina je iznimka položaj desne noge niže žene, koji na lijevoj studiji odgovara onome sa slike. Na toj slici nedostaje balzakovski lik koji stoji desno od žena (sudac?), a koji se pojavljuje na slici s *Drouot*ove dražbe.

Hrvačice su očito bile tema koja je zaokupljala Vebera. Žensko je hrvanje šport koji susrećemo na prikazima nastalim već u antičko doba. U devetnaestom je stoljeću doseglo pravi procvat.<sup>31</sup> Veber je, kao što smo vidjeli, nazočio borbama žena, a Mimarini je crtež, vrlo vjerojatno, nastao za vrijeme jedne borbe žena hrvačica u Devonshireu.

Zasad znamo kako je naslikao dvije slike o toj temi. Anatole France je 10. ožujka 1897. g., na otvorenju prve Veberove samostalne izložbe spomenuo skupinu hrvačica u *le Bouge*. Veber je nacrtao i crtež koji je povod ovome članku, a 1902. g. izradio je litografiju na kojoj su prikazane hrvačice, *Les Lutteuses*.<sup>32</sup>

Uskoro nakon njega, Kees Van Dongen je toj temi posvetio jednu sliku, nazvavši ju također *Les Lutteuses*,<sup>33</sup> a na njoj je naslikao deset hrvačica. Na ovom je mjestu potrebno spomenuti i prikaze muških hrvača, i to Courbetove *Les Lutteurs* koji su nastali 1853. g., iz Szépművészeti Múzeum u Budimpešti<sup>34</sup> kao i *Les Lutteurs* Alexandra Falguièrea (1831-1900), naslikane 1875. g., iz Musée d'Orsay u Parizu,<sup>35</sup> a prikazane u borilačkom zahvatu koji je sličan onome na zagrebačkom crtežu.

Veber je u svoje crteže i slike gotovo uvijek unosi elemente fantastičnoga. Svaki njegov crtež ljudskog lika ostavlja dojam nestvarnoga, kao da je promatran u snu u kojem savršeno funkcionira, ali javi ne pripada u potpunosti. Razlog tome bi mogla biti faza za vrijeme koje je nastao "cjelovit vilinski svijet" i nesvjesno nastavljanje crtanja i slikanja s otklonom. K tome je često, kao ilustrator-karikaturist stvarao svijet napučen likovima neprirodnih proporcija.<sup>36</sup> Ponavljanje crta kojima obrubljuje likove, njemu svojstveno, čini te likove vibrirajućima, pa čak i *Kubaricu* iz Département des Arts graphiques u Louvreu. Njegovi su gipki likovi pokatkad sazđani od dugih, lagano savijenih crta, koje

mekano povlači jednu uz drugu. Mnogi su likovi na crtežima nastalim za vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata upravo tako nacrtani.

Louis Lacroix, u knjizi *Jean Veber, une grande figure française*, navodi godinu 1899. kao vrijeme nastanka Veberove slike *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*,<sup>37</sup> a kojoj je očito prethodio Mimarini crtež. Primjereno tome, mislim da ne griješim pretpostavljajući kako je Veberov crtež iz Muzeja Mimara, *Dvije studije za Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*, nastao najvjerojatnije u Devonshireu, potkraj druge polovine desetog desetljeća XIX. st. u preposljednjoj ili posljednjoj godini XIX. stoljeća, tj. 1898. ili 1899. godine.

Zahvaljujem Antoinettei Mayol na pomoći oko prikupljanja literature.

opening of the first Veber individual exhibition, mentioned the group of women wrestlers in *le Bouge*. Veber also made a drawing that was the occasion for this article, and in 1902 made a lithograph in which wrestling women were shown, *Les Lutteuses*.<sup>32</sup>

Soon after him, Kees Van Dongen devoted a picture to this topic, also calling it *Les Lutteuses*<sup>33</sup>, showing, however, ten women wrestlers. At this point we should also mention depictions of male wrestlers, such as Courbet's *Les Lutteurs*, created in 1853, from the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest<sup>34</sup> as well as *Les Lutteurs* of Alexandre Falguière (1831-1900), painted in 1875, from the Musée d'Orsay in Paris,<sup>35</sup> depicted in a wrestling hold similar to that in the Zagreb drawing.

Veber almost always put some elements of the fantastic into his drawings and paintings. Every drawing of his of the human figure leaves an impression of something unreal, as if it were seen in a dream that functioned perfectly, but did not belong quite fully to the waking world. The reason for this might have been the phase during which he created the "complete fairy world" and the unconscious continuation of drawing and painting from a remove. In addition, quite frequently, as illustrator and caricaturist, he created a world populated with people of unnatural proportions<sup>36</sup>. The repetition of the lines with which he contoured the figures, so typical of him, makes the figures vibrate, even the Cook from the Département des Arts graphiques in the Louvre. His limber figures are sometimes composed of long, lightly curving lines, which the artist draws softly one next to the other. Many of the figures in drawings made in WWI are done in this very way.

Louis Lacroix, in the book *Jean Veber, une grande figure française*, states the year 1899 as the time in which the painting *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire*<sup>37</sup> was created; it was for this work that the *Mimara* drawing was obviously the model. Correspondingly, then, I think that I will not be far wrong in thinking that the Veber drawing in the *Mimara* Museum Two Studies for the *Lutte des femmes dans le Devonshire* was very likely done in Devonshire, at the end of the second half of the 1890s, in the penultimate or the last year of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that is, in 1898 or 1899.

I would like to thank Antoinette Mayol for assistance in assembling the references.

- <sup>1</sup> BÉNÉZIT and GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE give 1868 as the year of Veber's birth. All other writers, including the artist's great-grandson, Pierre Veber, in the foreword *J'y étais*, say that it was 1864. - EMMANUEL BÉNÉZIT, Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, Tome XIV, Librairie Gründ, Paris, 1999, p. 81.; GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE, Dictionnaire des petits maîtres de la peinture, 1820-1920, Les Éditions de l'Amateur, Paris, 2008, pp. 716.
- <sup>2</sup> Women Wrestling in Devonshire.
- <sup>3</sup> RENÉ ÉDOUARD-JOSEPH, Dictionnaire biographique des artistes contemporains, 1910-1930, tome troisième, Librairie Gründ, Paris, 1934, pp. 378-379.
- <sup>4</sup> EMMANUEL BÉNÉZIT, 1999, pp. 81-82.
- <sup>5</sup> In that year his painting *La Boucherie* was accepted at the Salon; in it, Bismarck was shown as a butcher, standing in front of a shelf on which human heads were arrayed. A few days later, the picture was taken out of the exhibition. After that event, Veber left the Salon des Artistes Français and joined the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, with which he began to exhibit in 1898, becoming a member in 1901.
- <sup>6</sup> Jacques Anatole François Thibault (1844-1924), French writer, academician and Nobel prize winner. - GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE, 2008, pp. 716; JEAN VEBER, *J'y étais!*, Un peintre dans la Grande Guerre, Éditions Italiques, Triel-sur-Seine, 2006, p. 9.
- <sup>7</sup> RENÉ ÉDOUARD-JOSEPH, 1934, pp. 378-379.
- <sup>8</sup> LOUIS LACROIX, Jean Veber, une grande figure française, Imprimerie du Sud-Ouest, Toulouse, 1929, p. 143. (1867-1905), French writer.
- <sup>9</sup> (1849-1906), French literary historian, critic, academician.
- <sup>10</sup> (1868-1918), French dramaturge, academician.
- <sup>11</sup> There will be further discussion of this painting.
- <sup>12</sup> French state-directed tapestry workshops.
- <sup>13</sup> In Rire, Veber sometimes used the pseudonym Pupett. - LOUIS LACROIX, 1929, p. 9.
- <sup>14</sup> LOUIS LACROIX, 1929, p. 143.
- <sup>15</sup> Guillaume Apollinaire, a Pole, naturalised Frenchman, real name Wilhelm Albert Włodzimierz Apolinary de Wąż-Kostrowicki (Rim, 1880 - Paris 1918), French poet and writer.
- <sup>16</sup> GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE, 2008, p. 716.
- <sup>17</sup> JEAN VEBER, 2006.
- <sup>18</sup> BÉNÉZIT i GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE donose godinu 1868. kao godinu Veberova rođenja. Svi ostali autori, uključujući i umjetnikovoga praunika, Pierre Vebera, u predgovoru *J'y étais!*, navode 1864. godinu. - EMMANUEL BÉNÉZIT, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, Tome XIV., Librairie Gründ, Paris, 1999., str. 81.; GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE, *Dictionnaire des petits maîtres de la peinture*, 1820-1920, Les Éditions de l'Amateur, Paris, 2008., str. 716.; JEAN VEBER, *J'y étais!*, *Un peintre dans la Grande Guerre*, Éditions Italiques, Triel-sur-Seine, 2006., str. 9.
- <sup>19</sup> *Hrvanje žena u Devonshireu.*
- <sup>20</sup> RENÉ ÉDOUARD-JOSEPH, *Dictionnaire biographique des artistes contemporains, 1910-1930*, tome troisième, Librairie Gründ, Paris, 1934., str. 378-379.
- <sup>21</sup> EMMANUEL BÉNÉZIT, 1999., str. 81-82.
- <sup>22</sup> Te mu je godine na Salon bila primljena slika *La Boucherie*, na kojoj je Bismarck prikazan kao mesar koji stoji ispred police na kojoj su poslagnane ljudske glave. Nakon nekoliko dana, slika je uklonjena iz postava. Nakon tog događaja Veber napustio je Salon des Artistes Français i priklonio se Sociéti Nationale des Beaux-Arts, gdje je počeo izlagati 1898. g., a kojeg je članom postao 1901. g.
- <sup>23</sup> Jacques Anatole François Thibault (1844-1924), francuski književnik, akademik i nobelovac. - GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE, 2008., str. 716.
- <sup>24</sup> RENÉ ÉDOUARD-JOSEPH, 1934., str. 378-379.
- <sup>25</sup> LOUIS LACROIX, *Jean Veber, une grande figure française*, Imprimerie du Sud-Ouest, Toulouse, 1929., str. 143. (1867-1905), francuski književnik.
- <sup>26</sup> (1849-1906), francuski povjesničar književnosti i kritičar, akademik. (1868-1918), francuski dramaturg, akademik.
- <sup>27</sup> O ovoj će slici još biti riječi.
- <sup>28</sup> Francuske državne radionice tapiserija.
- <sup>29</sup> U časopisu *Rire*, Veber se pokatkad potpisivao pseudonimom Pupett. - LOUIS LACROIX, 1929., str. 9.
- <sup>30</sup> LOUIS LACROIX, 1929., str. 143.
- <sup>31</sup> Guillaume Apollinaire, Poljak, prinaroden Francuz, pravim imenom Wilhelm Albert Włodzimierz Apolinary de Wąż-Kostrowicki (Rim, 1880 - Pariz 1918), francuski pjesnik i pisac.
- <sup>32</sup> GÉRALD SCHURR & PIERRE CABANNE, 2008., str. 716.
- <sup>33</sup> JEAN VEBER, 2006.

- <sup>19</sup> Rodena princeza Marie Anatole Louise Élisabeth de Riquet de Caraman-Chimay (1860-1952), rođakinja Montesquioua, uzor Marcelu Proustu za lik Orianne de Guermantes. - JEAN VEBER, 2006., str. 301.
- <sup>20</sup> RENÉ ÉDOUARD-JOSEPH, 1934., str. 378-379.; EMMANUEL BÉNÉZIT, 1999., str. 81-82.
- <sup>21</sup> *La cuisinière - Kubarica*, crayon Conté, sangvina i olovka na kartonu, 249x318 mm, inv. br. RF 40216 i *Le maréchal-ferrant - Kovač*, crayon Conté, sangvina i olovka na papiru boje bjelokosti, 239x307 mm, inv. br. RF 40217.
- <sup>22</sup> O ženskom hrvanju pogledati: <http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old1-e.shtml> - (20. siječnja 2010).
- <sup>23</sup> Giacomo Balla (1871-1958), *Dinamizam psa na uzici*, 1912. g., ulje na platnu, 89,9x109,9 cm, inv. br. No. 1964:16, Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.
- <sup>24</sup> Taj je lik bio razlogom zbog kojega sam u jednom trenu pomislio kako bi autor crteža mogao biti Rodin. K tome, hrvačice su me podsjetile na Rodinove saphističke crteže.
- <sup>25</sup> FRITS LUGT, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes, Supplément*, Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye, 1956., str. 360.
- <sup>26</sup> *Deuxième vente* - Druga prodaja. FRITS LUGT, 1956., str. 360.
- <sup>27</sup> Nepoznato mjesto čuvanja.
- <sup>28</sup> Werner Sonntag je novinar, pisac i maratonac; autor je monografije *Kampfes Lust*, Ostfildern, Laufen und Leben, 2002. Nisam uspio stupiti u kontakt s njim pa raspoložem samo reprodukcijom slike nezavidne kakvoće. - <http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old2-e.shtml> (27. siječnja 2010).
- <sup>29</sup> "(...) Ako su Englezi mislili da trebaju otputovati u Pariz ne bi li vidjeli tako nešto, varali su se. Na engleskom su se selu žene hrvale u štalama i pokrajnjim prostorijama za šaku novčića sakupljenih na tanjuru. Francuski slikar Jean Veber je najmanje jednom prilikom nazočio takvom događaju, kada su hrvačice bile gole, dok je gledateljstvo tih ponižavajućih prizora uglavnom bilo ženskog spola. (...)" - G. Levv, <http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old2-e.shtml> - (2. veljače 2010).
- <sup>30</sup> LOUIS LACROIX, 1929., str. 45. i 133.
- <sup>31</sup> <http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old2-e.shtml> (27. siječnja 2010).
- <sup>32</sup> *Les Lutteuses*. - LOUIS LACROIX, 1929., str. 135.

- <sup>19</sup> *Born Princess Marie Anatole Louise Élisabeth de Riquet de Caraman-Chimay (1860-1952, in the family of Montesquiou, model of Proust for Orianne de Guermantes.* - JEAN VEBER, 2006, p. 301
- <sup>20</sup> RENÉ ÉDOUARD-JOSEPH, 1934, pp. 378-379.; EMMANUEL BÉNÉZIT, 1999, pp. 81-82.
- <sup>21</sup> *La cuisinière - Cook, Conté crayon, sanguine and pencil on card, 249 x 318 mm, inv. no. RF 40216 and Le maréchal-ferrant - Smith, Conté crayon, sanguine and pencil on ivory coloured paper, 239 x 307 mm, inv. no. RF 40217.*
- <sup>22</sup> *For female wrestling, see http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old1-e.shtml* - (accessed Jan 20, 2010).
- <sup>23</sup> *Giacomo Balla (1871-1958), Dynamism of a leashed dog, 1912, oil on canvas, 89.9x109.9 cm, inv. no. No. 1964:16, Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.*
- <sup>24</sup> *This figure was a reason for me to think at one moment that the author of the picture might have been Rodin. In addition, the wrestlers reminded me of Rodin's Sapphic drawings.*
- <sup>25</sup> *FRITS LUGT, Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes, Supplément, Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye, 1956, p. 360.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Deuxième vente - second sale. FRITS LUGT, 1956, p. 360.*
- <sup>27</sup> *Current location unknown.*
- <sup>28</sup> *Werner Sonntag is a journalist, writer and marathon runner. He is author of the book Kampfes Lust, Ostfildern, Laufen und Legben, 2002. I have not managed to get in contact with him and have just the reproduction of a picture of not very good quality - http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old2-e.shtml (Jan 27, 2010).*
- <sup>29</sup> *(...) If the English assumed that they had to visit Paris for such a sight, they were mistaken. In rural England, women wrestled in barns and in back rooms for a handful of coins tossed upon a plate. On at least one occasion, witnessed by the French painter Jean Veber, the wrestlers were naked and the spectators at the degrading scene were predominantly female. (...) G. Levv, http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old2-e.shtml - (Feb 2, 2010).*
- <sup>30</sup> *LOUIS LACROIX, 1929, pp. 45 and 133.*
- <sup>31</sup> <http://www.fscclub.com/history/zhened-old2-e.shtml> (Jan 27, 2010).
- <sup>32</sup> *Les Lutteuses. - LOUIS LACROIX, 1929, p. 135.*

- <sup>33</sup> 1907, oil on canvas, 105,5x164 cm, inv. no. 2006.12.2, Nouveau Musée National du Monaco. <http://eaobjets.wordpress.com/2009/01/09/kees-van-dongen-a-laffiche-du-musee-des-beaux-arts-de-montreal/> (Jan 27, 2010). <http://www.artcotedazur.fr/Vers-un-Musee-National-d-envergure.html> (Jan 27, 2010).
- <sup>34</sup> Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), oil on canvas, 252x159 cm, inv. no. 502 B. - Gustave Courbet: en revoltör lanserar sitt verk, utställningskoncept Jörg Zutter, i samarbete med Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Nationalmuseum Stockholm, Stockholm, 1999, p. 56.
- <sup>35</sup> Oil on canvas, 24x19 cm, inv. br. RF 1995 19. [http://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres/notice.html?no\\_cache=1&numid=070003&cHash=747d9ce5bf](http://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres/notice.html?no_cache=1&numid=070003&cHash=747d9ce5bf) - (Jan 27, 2010).
- <sup>36</sup> After working very successfully with his brother Pierre, for some years, he decided to stop doing illustrations, since he thought that work for periodicals took him away from his art, and he was afraid that if he continued he would never be a painter any more - HUGUES DELORME, Jean Veber, *L'humour contemporain*, Deuxième série, No 2, Les Laboratoires Le Brun & Mictasol, Paris, (?), p. 4.
- <sup>37</sup> LOUIS LACROIX, 1929, p. 135.
- <sup>33</sup> 1907. g., ulje na platnu, 105,5x164 cm, inv. br. 2006.12.2, Nouveau Musée National du Monaco. <http://eaobjets.wordpress.com/2009/01/09/kees-van-dongen-a-laffiche-du-musee-des-beaux-arts-de-montreal/> (27. siječnja 2010). <http://www.artcotedazur.fr/Vers-un-Musee-National-d-envergure.html> (27. siječnja 2010).
- <sup>34</sup> Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), ulje na platnu, 252x159 cm, inv. br. 502 B. - *Gustave Courbet : en revoltör lanserar sitt verk*, utställningskoncept Jörg Zutter, i samarbete med Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Nationalmuseum Stockholm, Stockholm, 1999., str. 56.
- <sup>35</sup> Ulje na platnu, 24x19 cm, inv. br. RF 1995 19. [http://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres/notice.html?no\\_cache=1&numid=070003&cHash=747d9ce5bf](http://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres/notice.html?no_cache=1&numid=070003&cHash=747d9ce5bf) - (27. siječnja 2010).
- <sup>36</sup> Nakon vrlo uspješne suradnje s bratom Pierreom, koja je potrajala nekoliko godina, odlučio je prestati crtati ilustracije jer ga je rad za časopise udaljivao od njegove umjetnosti i bojao se, nastavi li, da više neće biti slikar. - HUGUES DELORME, *Jean Veber*, *L'humour contemporain*, Deuxième série, No 2, Les Laboratoires Le Brun & Mictasol, Paris, (?), str. 4.
- <sup>37</sup> LOUIS LACROIX, 1929., str. 135.

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