

## *Inventory of Sculptures in Degas's Studio*

After Degas died in 1917 an inventory of the contents of his studio at 6 boulevard de Clichy was made. The eighty items listed below are to be found on the last four pages of the inventory; the value in francs is shown at the right. With the generous permission of Mrs. Caroline Durand-Ruel Godfroy this inventory was originally published by Anne Pinget in *Degas, Sculptures* (Paris, 1991).

Inventory of Mr. Degas's Estate Compiled in December 1917 and January 1918 by MM. Paul Durand-Ruel and Ambroise Vollard

### WAXES AND CLAY STATUETTES BY DEGAS

1	Group of women, bas-relief	100	38	Nude woman with her hands behind her back	100
2	Woman inside a tub	100	39	Ballerina with tutu and yellow blouse	2,000
3	Horse	50	40	Nude woman standing up, left arm detached	50
4	Woman covered with a cloth	1	41	Rough model, incomplete	20
5	Nude woman her left arm resting on her thigh	100	42	Torso lying down, incomplete	20
6	Woman covered with a cloth	1	43	Nude woman, right arm raised	100
7	Woman standing up, plaster	10	44	Nude woman, rough model	100
8	Torso covered by a cloth	1	45	Nude woman, right leg raised, incomplete	500
9	Clay covered by a cloth	10	46	Nude woman with a leg extended	100
10	Woman standing up with her hands on her hips	100	47	Nude woman with a leg extended	100
11	Nude woman left leg raised, right arm extended	100	48	Nude woman with a leg extended	100
12	Nude woman standing up	100	49	Nude woman standing up	100
13	Young girl, wax	100	50	Trotting horse	50
14	Nude woman standing up	100	51	Nude woman with her right arm raised	50
15	Nude woman right leg raised	100	52	Two jockeys (small waxes)	100
16	Clay covered by a cloth	10	53	Nude woman with her left leg and her arms extended	50
17	Nude woman adjusting her shoe	100	54	Nude woman with her left leg and her arms extended (larger)	100
18	Nude woman standing up with her hands on her hips	100	55	Trotting horse	50
19	Torso and fragments (green and brown wax)	50	56	Nude woman drying herself	100
20	Nude woman her right arm up	100	57	Nude woman holding her right foot	100
21	Nude woman raising her right leg	100	58	Nude woman drying herself	100
22	Nude woman, right arm extended	100	59	Horse with right leg raised	50
23	Nude woman her hands on her belly (brown wax)	100	60	Horse grazing	50
24	Nude woman her hands on her belly (green wax)	100	61	Horse (brown wax)	50
25	Woman standing up holding her right foot	100	62	Woman torso, rough model	10
26	Ballerina in tutu	100	63	Galloping horse	20
27	Woman standing up holding her right foot (brown clay)	100	64	Horse raising the front right fetlock and the rear left fetlock	20
28	Sculpture covered by a cloth	1	65	Horse, in bad condition	1
29	Galloping horse	50	66	Nude woman standing up	50
30	Woman in an armchair (small)	50	67	Horse	20
31	Woman in an armchair (large)	100	68	Woman with green basin	100
32	Horse (brown clay)	50	69	Galloping horse	100
33	Nude woman leaning, left leg missing	50	70	Nude woman standing up, plaster	100
34	Woman standing up holding her right foot	100	71	Woman standing up, rough wax model	1
35	Horse resting	50	72	Woman standing up, rough wax model	1
36	Trotting horse	50	73	Woman standing up right leg extended	50
37	The massage	100	74	Woman, rough model, woman lying on her back	1
			75	Woman drying herself, rough model	1
			76	Nude woman standing up	50
			77	Woman torso, attributed to Degas	1
			78	Woman torso, rough clay model	1
			79	Woman seating in armchair	100
			80	Rough model under a cloth	1

Subsequently A.-A. Hébrard cast seventy-three of the pieces; it is likely that the remaining seven are among those valued at one franc each.

## Hébrard Edition Contract

In 1918 the heirs of Edgar Degas signed a contract with A.-A. Hébrard to have the artist's sculptures cast in bronze. Through the generosity of Grégoire Triet, this document was originally published by Anne Pingéot in *Degas: Sculptures* (Paris, 1991).

Between the undersigned:

1. The heirs of Mr. Edgar Degas, thereafter named, and who are:

Jean Baptiste René De Gas, investor, residing in Paris, rue Théophile Gautier, No. 4

Jeanne Marie Augustine Fanny Fèvre [*sic*], of age and single, having no trade nor profession, living at La Colle (Alpes Maritimes), currently living in Paris at Hotel Peiffer, Passage de la Madeleine;

Acting in her own name and as legal trustee on behalf of:

Madeleine Marie Pauline, of age and single, a Carmelite nun, residing in Montbaron (Alpes Maritimes)

Henri Jean Auguste Marie Fèvre, industrialist, residing in Marseille, rue Saint-Ferréol, No. 7

And, Gabriel Edgard Eugène Fèvre, managing director, living in Montevideo (Uruguay) Avenida Millan, No. 267

So as she attests

And moreover in the name, and as acting on behalf of the aforementioned individuals.

Furthermore,

2. And, Mr. Adrien Hébrard in his capacity as manager appointed according to the bylaws of Société A. A. Hébrard et Cie, a partnership limited by shares, with a capital of one million, with its corporate office located 8 rue Royale in Paris,

Furthermore;

The following was agreed between the parties:

That the heirs of Mr. Edgar Degas assign reproduction rights for the sculptural work of the late Mr. Edgar Degas to MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie in accordance with the following conditions:

1. MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie will execute the casting of all the artwork at its own expenses and provide a bronze casting of each piece free of charge to the heirs of

Mr. Edgar Degas. These castings shall be stamped "Degas" and number 1.

2. In compensation for the abovementioned obligation, MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie shall cast a bronze of each of the works without paying the Degas heirs the royalty indicated below. Said castings shall be stamped "Degas" and bear a special mark.

3. MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie will, moreover, make twenty castings numbered from 2 to 21 and each shall be stamped "Degas," and will be marketed and sold exclusively by MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie, said company shall be in charge of crediting 25 percent of the net price of sale to Mr. Degas's heirs, after deducting all fees, factorage, or mark-downs. MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie may have to make disbursements or grants, in such a manner that Degas's heirs shall always receive 25 percent of the sum received by MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie.

4. It shall be formally understood that said edition shall be strictly limited to said twenty castings and after their execution, the parties shall be prohibited from having additional castings made; consequently, Mr. Degas's heirs will have to specify that the originals or castings they may assign or give up will not bear reproduction rights so that MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie can in turn guarantee to their clients that this is strictly a limited edition.

5. If MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie were to execute additional copies in a substance other than bronze, the 25 percent royalties would be based on the price of bronze copies, but such castings would not form part of the above specified twenty pieces, they shall be stamped "Degas" and bear a special marking.

6. Upon the completion of each semester, this meaning June 30th and December 31st of each year, MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie, shall render accounts for their sales and Mr. Degas's heirs shall be entitled to audit the edition book, and MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie's sales ledger at the company's corporate office. The 25 percent royalties shall be paid in full to Mr. Degas's heirs during the course of the following quarter.

Three originals made in Paris, May 13, 1918.

Signed: read and approved R. De Gas, J. Fèvre, MM. A. A. Hébrard et Cie.

## Distribution of Degas's Sculptures by A.-A. Hébrard before 1936

Prepared from the Hébrard Archives by Anne Pingéot

Because A.-A. Hébrard's ledgers list the names of the first buyer of each statuette (in cases where there is one buyer) before 1936, we can determine which types of work were the most popular. Horses dominated, with ballerinas proving more successful than the women washing and dressing. Five complete collections are indicated at the end of the register:

A. Mrs. Havemeyer for the Metropolitan Museum of New York

B. Halvorsen in New York

D. Halvorsen in London

E. Workshop [?]

O. Flechtheim [Germany] dispersed; it is no longer considered a complete collection

P. Musée du Louvre

The documents in the archives have been examined in order to reclassify the buyers by country and by alphabetical order within each city. In the listings below, the first number in *italics* corresponds to the number engraved in the bronze, the letter is that of the series, and the number in parentheses is that used in Hébrard's 1921 catalogue.

### Germany

*No city location provided*

FLECHTHEIM: 13 M (42); 14 I (1); 45 I (17); 59 I and J (33); 60 G and H (8); 65 G and H (40); 68 G (30); 70 G (13); 71 G (65)

SCHWARZ: 15 M (6) by Flechtheim

SIEGFRIED: 30 L (45) by Flechtheim

*Berlin*

FLECHTHEIM: 3 O (4); 6 H (9); 7 O (69); 10 O (52); 11 O (39); 13 O (42); 14 L (1); 15 K (6); 16 L and O (7); 18 O (5); 19 O (18); 22 O (46); 23 O (29); 27 O (70); 28 O (55); 38 H (47); 38 O (47); 41 F (22); 42 G and O (61); 47 N and O (41); 48 F and O (43); 49 H and O (51); 50 O (62); 51 O (23); 57 O (36); 59 G, H and O (33); 62 I, J and O (71); 63 F and G (24); 65 O (40); 67 O (32)

*Cologne*

FLECHTHEIM: 13 K (42); 16 M (7); 30 O (45); 38 J (47); 60 O (8); 68 O (30); 70 O (13); 71 H (65)

MUSEUM OF COLOGNE: 1 O (2); 15 O (6); all by Flechtheim

*Dresden*

MUSEUM OF DRESDEN: 73 F

*Düsseldorf*

FLECHTHEIM: 1 H (2); 3 G and H (4); 6 O (9); 7 G and H (69); 10 G (52); 16 K (7); 25 O (49) 29 O (14); 35 O (50); 38 G and I (47); 41 O (22); 56 O (37); 60 F, G, H (8); 63 O (24); 65 F (40); 68 F (30); 69 O (34); 70 F (13); 71 O (65)

*Frankfurt*

FLECHTHEIM: 6 G (9)

*Mannheim*

FLECHTHEIM: 18 G (5); 33 H (15)

### Belgium

*Brussels*

DENEUX: 30 K (45)

DEWEZ: 18 H (5)

LEIRENS: 1 J (2); 50 F (62)

PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS: 54 F (67)

### Egypt

*Cairo*

GAZIRAH MUSEUM: 40 S (35); 15 S (6); 4 S (44); 28 T (55) [28 S (55) not located]

### United States of America

*No city indicated*

GOODYEAR (?): 22 K (46)

PORTER: 16 F (7)

RICE: 66 J (38)

*Boston*

AMSWORTH MEANS: 22 L (46)

BIRD (Mrs. Morgan): 49 J (51)

SHAW MCKEAN: 13 I (42); 62 H (71); 66 I (38)

*New York*

ALLUT GALLATIN: 62 G (71)

BOOMER: 1 F (2)

CLARK: 4 G, J and K (44); 11 H (39); 15 H (6); 18 F (5); 22 F (46); 38 F (47) Paris; 47 F and H (41); 57 G and I (36); 58 G (10)

GUTMAN: 1 L (2)

HALVORSEN: 1-72 B (1-72)

HAVEMEYER: 1-73 A (1-73); 15 G (6)

HOCHSCHILD: 33 G (15)

LIEBMAN: 73 H

SHAW MCKEAN: 47 L (41)

VANDEBILT: 3 I (4)

WEBB: 4 O (44); 10 H (52); 13 L (42); 21 F (48); 25 G (49); 32 G (53); 35 G (50); 36 G (54); 38 K (47); 48 G (43); 49 K (51); 73 J

Providence

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN:  
15 I (6)

France

Carcassonne

LA COUR DE MONTALBA: 3 K (4); 28 N  
(55); 57 N (36)

Châteauroux

HÉLIN: 30 H (45)

Cherbourg

MALLE: 66 F (38)

Épinal

DORGET: 11 M (39)

Lyon

LAYET DRAMPT: 1 I (2)

VAUTHERET: 4 L (44); 22 H (46)

Paris

AZARIA: 16 N (7)

BENARD: 26 F (56); 40 F (35)

BERNHEIM: 15 J (6)

BILLOU: 1 K (2)

BLOCH: 11 L (39)

BLUMENTHAL: 2 I (3); 11 N (39); 13 J (42);

14 K and M (1); 45 H (17); 57 M (36)

CHAPPUIS: 39 F (27)

DR. CHARPENTIER: 13 F (42); 18 J (5);

28 I (55); 38 N (47); 40 N (35); 56 I (37)

DELAROCHE: 40 M (35)

DUFRENE: 28 M (55)

FAURE: 73 G

GOLDET: 3 M (4); 45 J (17); 51 F (23)

GUITRY: 16 J (7)

JANSEN: 4 H (44); 57 H (36)

JOUVENEL: 3 L (4)

KATZ: 45 F (17)

KELLERT-HUGUENIN: 38 M (47)

LAFON: 18 I (5)

LARIVIERE: 14 H (1)

LEDERLIN: 58 H (10)

LEUBA: 3 J (4)

MACKINLAY: 30 J (45)

MEYER: 69 J (34)

MOREAU: 45 G (17)

MURAT: 3 N (4)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE: 1-73 P (1-73)

D'OELSNITZ: 66 H (38)

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES: 41 G (22)

ROUART: 28 J (55)

SAINT-ALBIN: 13 H (42)

SCHMITT AND HATTU: 4 M (44); 30 I  
(45)

URION OR HURION: 4 F (44); 22 G

(46); 28 F (55); 33 F (15); 57 F (36); 58  
F (10); 69 F (34)

WALLER: 69 K (34)

WEILL: 22 N (46); 61 G (64)

DR. WIDMER: 28 H (55)

ZOUBALOFF: 2 F (3); 6 F (9); 11 F (39);  
14 F (1); 15 F (6); 31 F (26)

Great Britain

Glasgow

HALVORSEN: 2 G (3); 10 F (52); 11 J  
(39); 13 G (42); 22 M (46); 47 M (41);  
49 G (51); 53 G (66); 57 L (36)

London

ABDY: 26 G (56); 38 L (47)

HALVORSEN: 1-72 D (1-72); 3 F (4); 11 I  
(39); 14 G (1); 16 G, H, and I (7); 22 I  
and J (46); 29 F (14); 30 G (45); 40 I, J,  
K, and L (35); 47 I, J and K (41); 49 F  
(51); 56 F and G (37); 57 J and K (36);  
61 F (64); 62 F (71); 66 G (38)

LUSSADA: 7 F (69)

The Netherlands

Amsterdam

BIE LEUVELING TJEENK: 14 J (1)

HELDTING: 4 N (44); 11 K (39)

VON BEUNINGEN (?): 2 L (3)

Japan

MITSUI (?): 1 G (2); 2 H (3)

D'OELSNITZ: 28 L (55); "sold in Japan"  
69 H (34)

SHIGEMATSU: 59 F (38)

Switzerland

Lausanne

VALLOTTON: 5 F (11)

Zurich

BERNHEIM: 4 I (44); 11 G (39); 28 G

(55); 40 G and H (35); 42 F (61); 53 F  
(66); 69 G (34)

ZURICH MUSEUM: 69 I (34)

TANNER: 28 K (55); 30 F (45) by

Bernheim; 47 G (41) by Bernheim

Czechoslovakia

Prague, exhibit: 63 H (24)

Chronology  
of Sculptures

Unfortunately, Degas did not date any of his sculptures and he did not keep a diary of his work. This lack of an adequate chronology has resulted in numerous efforts to date the sculptures and to establish a feasible sequence of these works. In the absence of more extensive archival and art-historical documents, the dating proposed in earlier studies by Rewald, Cortenova, Beaulieu, and Millard remains hypothetical but useful. At the same time, it is confusing that the numbers incised on the sculptures are in a very different sequence from those used by A.-A. Hébrard in his first exhibition of the sculptures in Paris in 1921. The possible alternatives to date include an order based on the numbers incised on the sculptures, the order used by Hébrard in 1921, and the order established by John Rewald. The following order was originally published by Anne Pinget in 1991 (*Degas, Sculptures*) and includes details about the sculptures that can be documented. Pinget followed the order of the 1921 Hébrard exhibition because it was historically correct and offered the simplicity of classification by subject. An important conclusion is that we need to trace the numbering of studies from the finished work to a rough sketch and not conversely as had been done in 1921 by Hébrard.

1866-1887

Degas models his first horses after having exhibited his paintings at the official Salon of 1866 (*Steeplechase Scene*; see François Thiébaud-Sisson, "Degas, the Sculptor, Tells His Own Story," *Le Temps*, 23 May 1921)

1878-1881

*Study in the Nude for Dressed Dancer* and *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*: the model is Marie Van Goethem, at fourteen years old on 7 June 1879; the work is exhibited in 1881

ABOUT 1880

*Schoolgirl*: according to Ellen Andrée, drawing from the sketchbook documented in Theodore Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas* (Oxford, 1976), notebook 34, p. 13, 17, 19, used 1880-1884

1881-1882

*Gathering Apples* or *Funerary Relief*: clay destroyed; letter of J.-E. Blanche and Degas's letter to Lucie, 1882

1884

*Hortense Valpinçon*: bust destroyed; Degas's correspondence

1888

"But I didn't make enough horses. It is necessary that the women wait in their basins" (M. Guérin, ed. *Lettres de Degas*, 8th rev. ed. [Paris, 1945], no. 100, p. 127)

1889

*The Tub*: Degas to Bartholomé, 13 June 1889, *ibid.*, no. 108, p. 135

1892

*Mathilde Salle*: dated by Millard

1895

*Zandomeneghi*: unfinished and destroyed bust: Julie Manet, *Journal*, 1893-1899 (Paris, 1969); not identified: "He works a lot on the sculpture of a nude figure"—29 November 1895

BEFORE 1900

*Woman Rubbing Her Back with a Sponge, Torso; Spanish Dance* (second study, which must be the first study); *Dancer Looking at the Sole of Her Right Foot* (called fourth study, but must be the first study): These three sculptures were cast in plaster around 1900; their "finished" style indicates they were made before that date.

1903

"We must see the completion of this sculpture, even if we die of old age in the process" (not dated). "Damned sculpture, I should abandon it but it captivates me!" (Degas to Braquaval, *Degas unpublished*, Degas Colloquium, Musée d'Orsay, 1988, 396, 399)

1900-1910

*Dancer Looking at the Sole of Her Right Foot* (the so-called three first studies?): the model, Pauline, is described in Alice Michel, "Degas et son modele," *Le Mercure de France*, 1 February 1919, pp. 457-478; 16 February 1919, pp. 623-629.

## Selected Exhibition Records

These exhibition records were compiled from catalogues and other similar archival sources. All are included to facilitate future research. A complete exhibition record, when available, consists of the year of the exhibition, the title of the exhibition or catalogue, the name of the sponsoring institution, city, and country, dates of the exhibition, original catalogue numbers, and titles of works. Titles and notes (if any) are recorded as published.

1921 Paris, Galerie A. A. Hébrard, *Exposition des Sculptures de Degas*, May–June. N.B.—The casting of the bronze sculptures will be strictly limited to twenty-two editions. Twenty of them will be destined for sale. All editions will be marked with the name Degas (incised), the stamp of the founder cire perdue A. A. Hébrard (in relief), and a serial number for each bronze (from 1 to 73).

The twenty editions for sale will be marked with a letter from A to T. The two other editions reserved one for Degas' heirs, one for the founder, will be especially marked with a sign indicating their destination.

[The H designates the number that was inscribed on the cast bronze by the Hébrard Foundry and was annotated (not printed) on this catalogue and published in Anne Pingeot, *Degas, Sculptures* (Paris, 1991). *Étude* was printed in this catalogue as *état*, but crossed out. The order of sculptures used for this exhibition was repeated in the catalogues of many of the early exhibitions organized by Hébrard.]

1. *Arabesque croisée sur la jambe gauche, bras en avant (Première étude)*. H14
2. *Arabesque croisée sur la jambe droite, bras gauche en avant (Deuxième étude)*. H1
3. *Arabesque croisée sur la jambe droite, main droite près de terre, bras gauche en dehors*. H2
4. *Arabesque sur jambe droite, bras gauche dans la ligne*. H3
5. *Grande Arabesque, premier temps*. H18
6. *Grande Arabesque, deuxième temps*. H15
7. *Grande Arabesque, troisième temps (Deuxième étude)*. H16
8. *Grande Arabesque, troisième temps (Première étude)*. H60

9. *Position de Quatrième devant sur la jambe gauche (Première étude)*. H6
  10. *Position de Quatrième devant sur la jambe gauche (Deuxième étude)*. H58
  11. *Position de Quatrième devant sur la jambe gauche (Troisième étude)*. H5
  12. *Danseuse mettant son bas (Première étude)*. H52
  13. *Danseuse mettant son bas (Deuxième étude)*. H70
  14. *Danseuse mettant son bas (Troisième étude)*. H29
  15. *Danseuse attachant le cordon de son maillot*. H33
  16. *Danse espagnole (Première étude)*. H20
  17. *Danse espagnole (Deuxième étude)*. H45
  18. *Danseuse s'avancant, les bras levés (Première étude)*. H19
  19. *Danseuse s'avancant, les bras levés, jambe droite en avant (Deuxième étude)*. H72
  20. *Danseuse au tambourin*. H12
  21. *Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les hanches, jambe gauche en avant*. H8
  22. *Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les reins, jambe droite en avant (Première étude)*. H41
  23. *Danseuse habillée, au repos, les mains sur les reins, jambe droite en avant (Deuxième étude)*. H51
  24. *Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les reins, jambe droite en avant*. H63
  25. *Danseuse saluant (Première étude)*. H9
  26. *Danseuse saluant (Deuxième étude)*. H31
  27. *Danseuse se frottant les genoux*. H39
  28. *Danseuse agrafant l'épaulette de son corsage*. H64
  29. *Danseuse tenant son pied droit dans sa main gauche*. H23
  30. *Danseuse faisant le mouvement de tenir son pied (la main gauche manque)*. H68
  31. *La Révérence*. H34
  32. *Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit (Première étude)*. H67
  33. *Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit (Deuxième étude)*. H59
  34. *Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit (Troisième étude)*. H69
  35. *Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit (Quatrième étude)*. H40
  36. *Préparation à la danse, pied droit en avant*. H57
  37. *Étude de nu pour la danseuse habillée*. H56
- CHEVAUX
38. *Cheval de pur sang marchant au pas (le cou manque)*. H66
  39. *Cheval marchant au pas relevé*. H11
  40. *Cheval caracolant (trois jambes manquent)*. H65
  41. *Cheval au galop sur le pied droit*. H47
  42. *Cheval à l'abrevoir*. H13
  43. *Cheval s'enlevant sur l'obstacle*. H48
  44. *Cheval se cabrant*. H4
  45. *Cheval de trait*. H30

46. *Cheval faisant une descente de main*. H22
47. *Cheval arrêté*. H38
48. *Étude de cheval (les oreilles manquent)*. H21
49. *Cheval au galop sur le pied droit, le pied gauche arrière seul touche terre*. H25
50. *Jockey seul, allant sur le cheval précédent*. H35
51. *Cheval au trot, les pieds ne touchant pas le sol*. H49
52. *Cheval en marche (les oreilles manquent)*. H10
53. *Cheval au galop, tournant la tête à droite les pieds ne touchant pas terre*. H32
54. *Jockey pour le cheval précédent*. H36

### ETUDES DE FEMMES

55. *Torse*. H28
  56. *Le Tub*. H26
  57. *Femme enceinte*. H24
  58. *Femme assise dans un fauteuil, s'essuyant la nuque*. H44
  59. *Femme assise s'essuyant la hanche gauche*. H46
  60. *Femme assise dans un fauteuil, s'essuyant l'aisselle gauche*. H43
  61. *Femme surprise*. H42
  62. *Femme se coiffant*. H50
  63. *Femme se lavant la jambe gauche (Première étude)*. H17
  64. *Femme se lavant la jambe gauche (Deuxième étude)*. H61
  65. *Femme sortant du bain (fragment)*. H71
  66. *Femme s'éirant*. H53
  67. *Femme assise dans un fauteuil, s'essuyant le côté gauche*. H54
  68. *La Masseuse (groupe)*. H55
- DIVERS
69. *Tête, première étude pour le portrait de Mme S. H7*
  70. *Tête, deuxième étude d'après Mme S.* H27
  71. *Portrait, tête appuyée sur la main*. H62
  72. *La Cueillette des pommes (bas-relief)*. H37
  73. *Grande Danseuse habillée* (annotated in the printed catalogue)

1921 Zurich, Galerie Bernheim-Jeune & Co., *Exposition des Sculptures de Degas*, October–November.

1922 New York, The Grolier Club, *Prints, Drawings and Bronzes by Degas*, 26 January–28 February (set A—only seventy-two works, lent anonymously from the collection of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, New York).

1922 New York, Durand-Ruel Galleries, *Exposition Degas*, 6–27 December (set B—only seventy-two works, excluding the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*).

1923 London, Ernest Brown & Phillips Leicester Galleries, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Works in Sculpture of Edgar Degas*, introduction by Walter Sickert, February–March. *Étude* recorded in this catalogue as *État*.

1923 Rome, Casa Editrice d'Arte Enzo Pinci, *Seconda Biennale Romana, Mostra Internazionale di Belle Arti*, catalogue, *Sculpture di Edgar Degas 1834–1917*, 4 November 1923–April 1924 (seventy-three sculptures, including the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*). All seventy-three sculptures including the *Little Dancer* were exhibited in Sala 37—Francia; the catalogue listing is from number 31 to 101 (pp. 149–51).

1924 Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Exposition Degas, au profit de la Ligue franco-anglo-américaine contre le cancer: peintures, pastels et dessins, sculptures, eaux-fortes, lithographies et monotypes*, introduction by Daniel Halévy, 12 April–2 May; and at Galerie A. A. Hébrard (seventeen works). This catalogue includes *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* (as *Danseuse habillée*, cat. 290) and the change from *État* to *Étude*.

1925 New York, Ferargil Galleries, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Works in Sculpture of Edgar Degas*, introduction by Walter Sickert, 26 October–5 November (set B—all seventy-three works exhibited, including the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*). The exhibition of the complete sculptures was reviewed in *The New York Times* (1 November 1925, section 8, p. 14) and *The New York Herald Tribune* (25 October 1925, section 5, p. 8). *Étude* recorded in this catalogue as *État*.

1926 Prague, National Gallery of Art, *Edgar Degas (1834–1917)—The Sculptural Work*, introduction by V. V. Štech, 1–26 April (all seventy-three works).

1926 Berlin, Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, *Degas—Das plastische Werk*, introduction by Curt Glaser and Wilhelm Hausenstein, May; Munich, Moderne Galerie Thannhauser, July–August; Dresden, Galerie Arnold, September. This catalogue does not include *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*; however, by October of the same year it was present (as *Grande Danseuse habillée*), and *Étude* recorded in this catalogue as *État*.

1927 Düsseldorf, Germany, Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, *Pferdebronzen von Edgar Degas*, May.

1927 Berlin, Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, *Céanne, Aquarelle und Zeichnungen, Bronzen von Edgar Degas*, introduction by André Salmon, 19 May–16 June.

- 1929 Berlin, Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, *Seit Cézanne in Paris*, Katalog-Nr. 67–81, Plastik, Katalog-Nr. 11–19, 19 November–25 December (nine works).
- 1930 Düsseldorf, Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, *Kleinplastik*, Katalog-Nr. 15–17, 22 March–20 April.
- 1930 London, Galleries of Messrs Abdy & Co., *Exhibition of Bronzes by Edgar Degas, Race Horses Ballet Dancers*, November.
- 1931 Paris, Exhibition Musée de l'Orangerie, *Degas, Peinture, Sculpture*, introduction by Paul Jamot and Paul Vitry, 19 July–1 October (set P—all seventy-three works, including the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* as *Grande Danseuse habillée*, and *Étude* is recorded).
- 1932 Berlin, Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, *111 Portraits zeitgenössischer Künstler*, May–June.
- 1933 Northampton, Massachusetts, Smith College Museum of Art, *Edgar Degas: Paintings, Drawings, Pastels, Sculpture*, 28 November–18 December. Included four bronzes from the collection of Mr. Frank Crowninshield (26B, 42B, 43B, 54B).
- 1934 Buenos Aires, Galería Müller, *Degas Expositcion*, organized by Justin K. Thannhauser, 1–30 September 1934.
- 1935 New York, Jacques Seligmann & Co., *Exhibition of Bronzes and Drawings by Degas*, 29 April–18 May.
- 1937 New York, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, *Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings...thirteen Degas bronzes.... Property of the estate of the late Cornelius J. Sullivan*, 29 April–1 May.
- 1939 Cairo, Gazirah Museum, *Exposition de sculpture française*, introduction by George Grappe, Rodin Museum, February, and Alexandria, March.
- 1939 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *Sculpture by Painters*, 31 October–25 November.
- 1939 Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, *Rondom Rodin, Tentoonstelling Honderd Jaar Fransche Sculptuur*, organized Hans Ludwig C. Jaffe and John Rewald, 30 June 1939–2 January 1940.
- 1940 Chicago, The Arts Club of Chicago, *Sculpture by Painters*, assembled by Mr. Curt Valentin, Buchholz Gallery, New York, 2–27 January.
- 1941 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *From Rodin to Brancusi: European Sculpture of the Twentieth Century*, 11 February–8 March.
- 1942 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *Homage to Rodin: European Sculpture of Our Time*, 10 November–5 December.
- 1943 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *Bronzes by Degas, Matisse, Renoir*, introduction by Jacques Lipchitz, 19 October–13 November.
- 1945 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *Edgar Degas: Bronzes, Drawings, Pastels*, organized by J. K. Thannhauser, introduction Paul Valéry (1938), 3–27 January. The exhibition checklist is arranged chronologically according to John Rewald (*Degas, Works in Sculpture: A Complete Catalogue* [New York: Pantheon Books, 1944]).
- 1947 Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, *Works by Edgar Degas*, 5 February–9 March.
- 1948 Copenhagen, Denmark, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Edgar Degas*, introduction by Haavard Rostrup, 4–26 September. (set R—all works in the exhibition were noted as from Nelly Hébrard, except the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*, No. 20, S series).
- 1948 Stockholm, Galerie Blanche, *Edgar Degas, 1834–1917: Skulpturer och Monotypier, Målningar, Pasteller och Teckningar*, introduction by Gustaf Engwall, 9 October–7 November (set R—all works in the exhibition were noted as from Nelly Hébrard, except the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*, No. 20, S series), Stockholm, Sweden, Katalog nr. 10.
- 1948 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *Sculpture*, 9 October–7 November.
- 1948 Oslo, Norway, Nasjonalgalleriet, *Edgar Degas 1834–1917: Skulpturer*, introduction by Haavard Rostrup, November–December (set R—all works in the exhibition were noted as from Nelly Hébrard, except the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*, No. 20, S series).
- 1949 Paris, Galerie Max Kaganovitch, *Degas*, 11 June–11 July.
- 1949 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *Sculpture*, 26 September–14 October.
- 1950 London, Lefevre Gallery, *Degas*, May–June.
- 1950 New York, Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin, *The Heritage of Auguste Rodin: An Exhibition Assembled in Honor of the Diamond Jubilee of the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, 6 December 1950–6 January 1951.
- 1951 New York, Curt Valentin Gallery, *Sculpture by Painters*, 20 November–15 December.
- 1951 Bern, Kunstmuseum, *Degas*, introduction by Fritz Schmalenbach and Max Huggler, 25 November 1951–13 January 1952 (set Q—works in the exhibition were noted as Q series purchased 4 September 1951 by Lefevre Gallery, London, from Galerie Max Kaganovitch, Paris, through Frankart SA, except perhaps *Horse Balking*, No. 48, and others).
- 1951 London, Marlborough Fine Art, Ltd., *The Complete Collection of Sculptures by Edgar Degas*, introduction by John Rewald, exhibition held at Royal Society of Painters in Watercolor, 7–22 December (set S—works in the exhibition were noted as S series, except 4E, 15L, 19I, 28C, 40C and *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*, an unmarked cast).
- 1865–1881
- Picking Apples*, bas-relief, h. 17¼, w. 18¼ in.  
*La cueillette des pommes*, bas-relief, 45 × 47.5 cm, Bronze No. 37, Rewald pl. I  
Degas' friend Bartholomé remembered having seen in the painter's studio, well before 1870, a bas-relief showing in half life size several young women picking apples. He later saw it fall into pieces. Renoir also reported that he had seen a bas-relief 'beau comme l'antique,' which disintegrated in the studio of Degas. The present bas-relief probably is a replica on a smaller scale.
  - Horse at Trough*, h. 6½ in.  
*Cheval à l'abreuvoir*, 16 cm, Bronze No. 13, Rewald pl. II  
This sculpture was apparently used by Degas as a model for the horse in his composition *Mademoiselle Fiocre dans le Ballet "La Source"*, painted between 1866 and 1868; the sculpture therefore must have been executed during those same years.
  - Horse Standing*, h. 11⅓ in.  
*Cheval arrêté*, 29 cm, Bronze No. 38, Rewald pl. III
  - Horse Walking*, h. 8½ in.  
*Cheval marchant au pas relevé*, 22 cm, Bronze No. 11, Rewald pl. IV
  - Thoroughbred Horse, Walking*, h. 5¼ in.  
*Cheval de pur sang marchant au pas*, 13 cm, Bronze No. 66, Rewald pl. V
  - Horse Galloping on Right Foot*, h. 11⅞ in.  
*Cheval au galop sur le pied droit*, 30 cm, Bronze No. 47, Rewald pl. VI
  - Draught Horse*, h. 4 in.  
*Cheval de trait*, 10 cm, Bronze No. 30, Rewald pl. VII
  - Study of a Mustang*, h. 8½ in.  
*Étude de Cheval*, 22 cm, Bronze No. 21, Rewald pl. VIII
  - Horse Clearing Obstacle*, h. 11¼ in.  
*Cheval s'enlevant sur l'obstacle*, 28.5 cm, Bronze No. 48, Rewald pl. IX
  - Horse Walking*, h. 8¼ in.  
*Cheval en marche*, 21 cm, Bronze No. 10, Rewald pl. X
  - Horse Trotting, the Feet not Touching the Ground*, h. 8½ in.  
*Cheval au trot, les pieds ne touchant pas le sol*, 22 cm, Bronze No. 40, Rewald pl. XI  
The attitude of this horse corresponds to E. Muybridge's photograph of The Trot, phase 12. Taken in 1879, the series of photographs representing The Trot was first published in France in *Le Globe*, September 27, 1881. It is known that Degas was very much interested in photography, and Paul Valéry even affirms that the artist studied the movements of horses with the help of Muybridge's photographs. The *Horse Trotting* might be the result of such studies, since Muybridge's photograph of phase 12 proved for the first time beyond doubt that at certain phases of the trot none of the horse's feet touches the ground.
  - Horse with Head Lowered*, h. 7½ in.  
*Cheval faisant une "descente de main"*, 19 cm, Bronze No. 22, Rewald pl. XII
  - Rearing Horse*, h. 12⅞ in.  
*Cheval se cabrant*, 30.5 cm, Bronze No. 4, Rewald pl. XIII
  - Horse with Jockey; Horse Galloping on Right Foot, the Back Left only Touching the Ground*, h. 9⅞ in.  
*Cheval au galop sur le pied droit, le pied gauche arrière seul touchant terre; jockey monté sur le cheval*, 24 cm
  - Horse*, Bronze No. 25, Rewald pl. XIV
  - Jockey*, Bronze No. 35, Rewald pl. XV
  - Prancing Horse*, h. 10½ in.  
*Cheval caracolant*, 26.5 cm, Bronze No. 65, Rewald pl. XVI
  - Horse with Jockey; Horse Galloping, Turning the Head to the Right, the Feet not Touching the Ground*, h. 11¼ in.  
*Cheval au galop, tournant la tête à droite, les pieds ne touchant pas terre; jockey monté sur le cheval*, 28.5 cm
  - Horse*, Bronze No. 32, Rewald pl. XVII
  - Jockey*, Bronze No. 36, Rewald pl. XVIII
  - Study in the Nude for the Dressed Ballet Dancer*, h. 28½ in.  
*Étude de nu pour la Danseuse habillée*, 72 cm, Bronze No. 56, Rewald pl. XIX, executed 1879–1880

20. *Ballet Dancer Dressed*, h. 39 in. *Petite danseuse de quatorze ans*, 99 cm, wood base, Bronze No. none, Rewald pl. XX

The bronze statuette is dressed, like the original, in a muslin tutu and wears, behind her neck, a faded blue satin ribbon around her hair. Whereas the skirt of the original wax statuette was white, Mlle. Lefèvre, the niece of Degas, had the bronze casts dressed in a greyish-green skirt made of the same material as the original. The colours of the original wax statuette have not all been reproduced in the cast; the face is not coloured and the bodice, yellow in the cast, was originally white. Degas dressed the statuette in an original linen bodice, which he later covered almost entirely with wax; the original wax statuette is also said to have had satin shoes, those of the bronzes, however, are cast in metal. The wax statuette was listed in the catalogue of the 1880 exhibition of the impressionists (No. 34), but since it was not ready for the opening of the show, it was again listed in the catalogue of the exhibition in the following year (No. 12), and actually shown for the first time in 1881. Thus the statue was executed in 1880; Meier-Graefe's affirmation that it was shown as early as 1874 and Volland's report that it was to be seen at the 1878 World's Fair, are incorrect, so are Guérin's, Vitry's, Jamot's, etc., contentions, that it was exhibited in 1880, or Gsell's assertion that it had its place at the Salon des Indépendants in 1884.

1882–1895

21. *Dancer at Rest, Hands on Her Hips, Left Leg Forward*, h. 14¼ in.

*Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les hanches, la jambe gauche en avant*, 37.5 cm, Bronze No. 8, Rewald pl. XXI

22. *Dancer at Rest, Hands Behind Her Back, Right Leg Forward*, h. 17¼ in.

*Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les reins, la jambe droite en avant*, 43.5 cm, Bronze No. 26, Rewald pl. XXVII, same attitude as 23 and 52

23. *Dancer at Rest, Hands Behind Her Back, Right Leg Forward*, h. 17¾ in.

*Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les reins, la jambe droite en avant*, 44.5 cm, Bronze No. 41, Rewald pl. XXIII, same attitude as 22 and 52

24. *Dancer Moving Forward, Arms Raised*, h. 13¾ in.

*Danseuse s'avancant, les bras levés*, 35 cm, Bronze No. 19, Rewald pl. XXIV, same attitude as 26

25. *Dancer Adjusting the Shoulder Strap of Her Bodice*, h. 13¾ in.

*Danseuse agrafant l'épaulette de son corsage*, 35 cm, Bronze No. 62, Rewald pl. XXIX

26. *Dancer Moving Forward, Arms Raised, Right Leg Forward*, h. 27¼ in.

*Danseuse s'avancant, les bras levés, la jambe droite en avant*, Bronze No. 72, Rewald pl. XXVI, same attitude as 24

27. *The Tub*, h. 18½, w. 16½ in.

*Le Tub*, 47 × 42 cm, Bronze No. 26, Rewald pl. XXVII

In 1886 Degas exhibited a series of pastels representing women washing themselves, among them several women in the tub. It might be presumed, although none of these pastels shows any similarity with this sculpture as far as the pose of the model is concerned, that the sculpture was executed during the same period, that is around 1886. The original wax model of *The Tub*.

28. *Dancer Fastening the String of Her Tights*, h. 16¾ in.

*Danseuse attachant le cordon de son maillot*, 42.5 cm, Bronze No. 33, Rewald pl. XXVIII

29. *Head Resting on One Hand*, Bust, h. 4¾ in.

*Tête appuyée sur une main*, buste, 12 cm. Presumably a portrait of Mme.

Bartholomé, who died in 1887

30. *Head, Study for the Portrait of Mme S.*, h. 10¾ in.

*Tête, étude pour le portrait de Mme. S.*, 27 cm, black marble base; h. with base 16¾ in. (41.5 cm), Bronze No. 27, Rewald pl. XXX

31. *Head, Study for the Portrait of Mme S.*, h. 6¾ in.

*Tête, étude pour le portrait de Mme. S.*, 16 cm, black marble base; h. with base 11 in. (28 cm), Bronze No. 7, Rewald pl. XXXI

32. *Dancer Bowing* (also called *The Curtain Call*), h. 8¼ in.

*Danseuse saluant*, 21 cm, Bronze No. 9, Rewald pl. XXXII, same attitude as 33

33. *Dancer Bowing* (also called *The Curtain Call*), h. 8¾ in.

*Danseuse saluante*, 22 cm, Bronze No. 9, Rewald pl. XXXIII, same attitude as 32

34. *Dancer with Tambourine*, h. 10¾ in.

*Danseuse au tambourin*, 27.5 cm, Bronze No. 12, Rewald XXXIV

35. *Grande Arabesque, First Time*, h. 19 in.

*Grande Arabesque, premier temps*, Bronze No. 18, Rewald pl. XXXV

36. *Grande Arabesque, Second Time*, h. 19 in.

*Grande Arabesque, deuxième temps*, 43 cm, Bronze No. 15, Rewald pl. XXXVI

Walter Sickert reports that Degas showed him, in the early nineties, in his studio rue Victor Massé, the wax model of this sculpture.

37. *Arabesque over the Right Leg, Left Arm in Front*, h. 8 in.

*Arabesque ouverte sur la jambe droite, le bras gauche en avant*, 20 cm, Bronze No. 14, Rewald pl. XXXVII, same attitude as 38

38. *Arabesque over the Right Leg, Left Arm in Front*, h. 113 in.

*Arabesque ouverte sur la jambe droite, le bras gauche en avant*, 28.5 cm, Bronze No. 1, Rewald pl. XXXVIII, same attitude as 37

39. *Grande Arabesque, Third Time*, h. 17¼ in.

*Grande Arabesque, troisième temps*, 43.5 cm, Bronze No. 60, Rewald pl. XXXIX, same attitude as 40

40. *Grande Arabesque, Third Time*, h. 15¾ in.

*Grande Arabesque, troisième temps*, 40 cm, Bronze No. 16, Rewald pl. XL, same attitude as 39

41. *Arabesque over the Right Leg, Right Hand near the Ground, Left Arm Outstretched*, h. 10¾ in.

*Arabesque sur la jambe droite, la main droite près de terre, le bras gauche en dehors*, 21 cm, Bronze No. 2, Rewald pl. XLI

42. *Arabesque over the Right Leg, Left Arm in Line*, h. 11¾ in.

*Arabesque sur la jambe droite, le bras gauche dans la ligne*, 28.5 cm, Bronze No. 3, Rewald pl. XLII

43. *Fourth Position Front, on the Left Leg*, h. 22¾ in.

*Position de Quatrième devant sur la jambe gauche*, 57 cm, Bronze No. 58, Rewald pl. XLIII, same attitude as 44 and 55

44. *Fourth Position Front, on the Left Leg*, h. 22¾ in.

*Position de Quatrième devant sur la jambe gauche*, 56.5 cm, Bronze No. 5, Rewald pl. XLIV, same attitude as 43 and 55

45. *Dancer Looking at the Sole of her Right Foot*, h. 18 in.

*Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit*, 45.5 cm, Bronze No. 40, Rewald pl. XLV, same attitude as 49, 60 and 61

Around 1900 Degas asked the founder Hébrard to make plaster casts from several of his sculptures. It is evident that the artist chose for casting those of his works which he considered finished and also worth while to be preserved. Among these were this statuette as well as 47 and 51. Because these sculptures were cast around 1900, P. A. Lemoisne presumes that they were executed at that time. This seems doubtful however, since Degas had glass-cases under which he kept the statuettes for which he cared particularly. He may have done the wax models many years before the actual casting, but it is possible that he retouched them before he confided them to Hébrard.

46. *Dancer Ready to Dance, the Right Foot Forward*, h. 22 in.

*Préparation à la danse, le pied droit en avant*, 55.5 cm, Bronze No. 57, Rewald pl. XLVI

47. *Spanish Dance*, h. 17 in.

*Danse espagnole*, 43 cm, Bronze No. 45, Rewald pl. XLVII, same attitude as 66

48. *Dancer Rubbing her Knee*, h. 12¼ in.

*Danseuse se frottant le genou*, 31 cm, Bronze No. 39, Rewald pl. XLVIII, 1896–1911

49. *Dancer Looking at the Sole of her Right Foot*, h. 19¾ in.

*Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit*, 48 cm, Bronze No. 69, Rewald pl. XLIX, same attitude as 45, 60, and 61

50. *Woman Arranging her Hair*, h. 18¼ in.

*Femme se coiffant*, 46 cm, Bronze No. 50, Rewald pl. L

51. *Woman Rubbing her Back with a Sponge*, Torso, h. 19¼ in.

*Femme se frottant le dos avec une éponge*, torse, 48.5 cm, black marble base, Bronze No. 28, Rewald pl. LI

52. *Dressed Dancer at Rest, Hands behind her Back, Right Leg Forward*, h. 16¾ in.

*Danseuse habillée au repos, les mains sur les reins, la jambe droite en avant*, 42.5 cm, Bronze No. 51, Rewald pl. LII, same attitude as 22 and 23

53. *The Bow*, h. 13¾ in.

*La Révérence*, 33 cm, Bronze No. 34, Rewald pl. LIII

(In set A this sculpture received by mistake the No. 24, so that there were two numbers 24 and no 34; this mistake was corrected in later editions.)

54. *Woman Taken Unawares*, h. 16 in.

*Femme surprise*, 40.5 cm, Bronze No. 42, Rewald pl. LIV

55. *Fourth Position Front, on the Left Leg*, h. 16 in.

*Position de Quatrième devant sur la jambe gauche*, 40.5 cm, Bronze No. 6, Rewald pl. LV, same attitude as 43 and 44

56. *Dancer Putting on her Stocking*, h. 18¼ in.

*Danseuse mettant son bas*, 46 cm, Bronze No. 29, Rewald pl. LVI, same attitude as 57 and 58

57. *Dancer Putting on her Stocking*, h. 18 in.

*Danseuse mettant son bas*, 45.5 cm, Bronze No. 52, Rewald pl. LVII, same attitude as 56 and 58

58. *Dancer Putting on her Stocking*, h. 17 in.

*Danseuse mettant son bas*, 43 cm, Bronze No. 70, Rewald pl. LVIII, same attitude as 56 and 57

59. *Woman Getting out of the Bath*, fragment, h. 16¾ in.

*Femme sortant du bain*, fragment, 42 cm, Bronze No. 71, Rewald pl. LIX

60. *Dancer Looking at the Sole of her Right Foot*, h. 18 in.  
*Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit*, 45.5 cm, Bronze No. 67, Rewald pl. LX, same attitude as 45, 49, and 61
61. *Dancer Looking at the Sole of her Right Foot*, h. 19 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.  
*Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit*, 49.5 cm, Bronze No. 59, Rewald pl. LXI, same attitude as 45, 49, and 60.  
 In 1910 Degas again had a model pose in this attitude (See A. Michel: "Degas et son modèle," [*Le Mercure de France*, 1 February 1919, 457–478; 16 February 1919, 623–639].)
62. *Dancer Holding her Right Foot in her Right Hand*, h. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
*Danseuse tenant son pied droit dans la main droite*, 49.5 cm, Bronze No. 68, Rewald pl. LXII, same attitude as 65
63. *Woman Enceinte*, h. 17 in.  
*Femme enceinte*, 43 cm, Bronze No. 24, Rewald pl. LXIII
64. *Woman Stretching*, h. 14 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.  
*Femme s'étirant*, 36.5 cm, Bronze No. 53, Rewald pl. LXIV
65. *Dancer Holding her Right Foot in her Right Hand*, h. 20 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.  
*Danseuse tenant son pied droit dans la main droite*, 52 cm, Bronze No. 23, Rewald pl. LXV, same attitude as 62
66. *Spanish Dance*, h. 16 in.  
*Danse espagnole*, 40.5 cm, Bronze No. 20, Rewald pl. LXVI, same attitude as 47
67. *Woman Washing her Left Leg*, h. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.  
*Femme se lavant la jambe gauche*, 14.5 cm, Bronze No. 17, Rewald pl. LXVII
68. *Woman Washing her Left Leg*, h. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  in.  
*Femme se lavant la jambe gauche*, 20 cm, Bronze No. 61, Rewald pl. LXVIII
69. *Seated Woman Wiping her Left Side*, h. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.  
*Femme assise, s'essuyant le côté gauche*, 35 cm, Bronze No. 46, Rewald pl. LXIX
70. *Woman Seated in an Armchair Wiping her Neck*, h. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
*Femme assise dans un fauteuil, s'essuyant la nuque*, 31.5 cm, Bronze No. 44, Rewald pl. LXX
71. *Seated Woman Wiping her Left Hip*, h. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
*Femme assise, s'essuyant la hanche gauche*, 44.5 cm, Bronze No. 54, Rewald pl. LXXI  
 Note the two cork discs on the back of the arm-chair.
72. *Woman Seated in an Armchair Wiping her Left Armpit*, h. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
*Femme assise dans un fauteuil, s'essuyant l'aisselle gauche*, 31.5 cm, Bronze No. 43, Rewald pl. LXXII
73. *The Masseuse*, group, h. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ , l. 15, w. 12 in.  
*La masseuse, groupe*, 41 × 38 × 30 cm, Bronze No. 55, Rewald pl. LXXIII
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- 1952 Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, *Edgar Degas*, catalogue 87, assembled by Max Kaganovitch, Paris, and Max Huggler, Kunstmuseum, Bern, 8 February–24 March.
- 1952 London, Tate Gallery, *Degas*, introduction by Derek Hill, organized by the Edinburgh Festival Society, Royal Scottish Academy, and Arts Council of Great Britain; Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, 17 August–6 September 1952, London, Tate Gallery, 20 September–18 October 1952.
- 1953 New York, Curt Valentin Gallery, *Sculpture and Sculptor Drawings*, introduction by Aristide Maillol, 22 December 1953–24 January 1954.
- 1954 New York, Curt Valentin Gallery, *Contemporary Paintings and Sculpture*, September.
- 1954 New York, Curt Valentin Gallery, *In Memory of Curt Valentin 1902–1954. An Exhibition of Modern Masterpieces Lent by American Museums*, 5–30 October.
- 1955 New York, Curt Valentin Gallery, *Closing Exhibition, Sculpture Paintings and Drawings*, introduction by Ralph F. Colin, June.
- 1955 New York, Galerie Chalette, *The Sculptures of Edgar Degas*, assembled by Max Kaganovitch, Paris, 3–29 October.
- 1955 New York, M. Knoedler & Co., *Edgar Degas 1834–1917: Original Wax Sculptures*, introduction by John Rewald, 9 November–3 December; Richmond, The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 16 March–29 April 1956. This is the first exhibition of the original works in wax by Degas from which the series of bronzes were cast by A. A. Hébrard.
- 1958 Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *An Exhibition of Works by Edgar Hilaire Germain Degas 1834–1917*, introduction by Jean S. Boggs, March.
- 1958 London, Lefevre Gallery, *Degas Monotypes, Drawings, Pastels, Bronzes*, introduction by Douglas Cooper, April–May.
- 1958 New York, Galerie Chalette, *Sculpture by Painters*, 16 October–29 November.
- 1958 New York, Charles E. Slatkin Galleries, *Renoir, Degas: A Loan Exhibition of Drawings, Pastels, Sculptures*, 7 November–6 December.
- 1959 Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, *Degas*.
- 1968 New York, Wildenstein and Co., *Degas' Racing World: A Loan Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Bronzes*, for the benefit of the National Museum of Racing, Saratoga, 21 March–27 April.
- 1969 Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, Réunion des Musées nationaux, *Degas: oeuvres du Musée du Louvre: Peintures, pastels, dessins, sculptures*, 27 June–15 September.
- 1970 London, Lefevre Gallery, *Edgar Degas 1834–1917. In Aid of the Police Dependents' Trust*, introduction by Denys Sutton, 4 June–4 July.
- 1974 Dallas, Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, *The Degas Bronzes*, introduction by Charles Millard, 6 February–24 March.
- 1976 London, The Lefevre Gallery, *The Complete Sculptures of Degas*, catalogue and introduction by John Rewald, 18 November–21 December. First publication of the newly discovered MODÈLE set of bronze casts from the Hébrard Foundry.
- 1979 Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, *Degas, 1834–1917: Paintings, Pastels, Drawings, Prints and Sculpture*, National Galleries of Scotland and the Edinburgh Festival Society, in collaboration with the Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, catalogue by Ronald Pickvance, 13 August–30 September.
- 1982 Canterbury, Royal Museum, Arts Council, *The Sculptures of Degas*, 27 March–1 May; Plymouth, City Museum and Art Gallery, 8 May–12 June; Norwich Castle Museum, 22 June–18 July; Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, 5 August–4 September.
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## Degas, the Sculptor, Tells His Own Story

FRANÇOIS THIÉBAULT-SISSON

IT WAS IN 1897, in Clermont-Ferrand, toward the end of July or the beginning of August. One o'clock had just rung out. On my way back from Royat on foot, as I was crossing the Place Jaude diagonally, I bumped into a gray-bearded man shrouded in a bulky Inverness cape and absorbed in a reverie so deep that when I apologized, he looked startled. "What are you doing here, Monsieur Degas?" I cried.

—Ah, its you! What am I doing? I am bored to tears. For the past week I have been in Mont-Dore hospital for my throat. I had the bright idea of coming here for a little diversion this morning and I am no less bored here than I was back there.

—Allow me to try and divert you.

—You will never succeed in diverting me. I am a dead man, or all but dead, for the thought that he is going blind is death to a painter." And he explained that his eyesight had been failing for the past twenty years or so. Upon being consulted, the oculists had been unable to discover the cause. The special spectacles and other remedies that had been prescribed had in no way attenuated the malady.

I interrupted him: "You have not had lunch yet?" I asked. What do you say to the idea of having lunch with me? My hotel is more than comfortable. The proprietor is a friend of the arts; he has put paintings everywhere, in the office, in the dining room, in the smoking-room. You will not be obliged to look at them. Apart from which, he is an excellent cook." Whereupon I praised the merits of a particular omelet with stuffing of morels, which would certainly meet with his approval.

Degas was in no way infatuated with food; he was what gastronomes call a gourmet and he knew how to appreciate quality. He allowed himself to be convinced and off we went to lunch, arm in arm.

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François Thiébault-Sisson, "Degas, the Sculptor, Tells His Own Story," *Le Temps*, 23 May 1921, p. 3. This article has been referenced with an incorrect title and date. Another article by François Thiébault-Sisson, "Degas the Sculptor," was published by *Le Temps*.

Informed of the occasion, the hotel proprietor lived up to his reputation and the fare was exquisite. The profit was all mine for, with a mischievous glint in his eye, Degas submitted certain of his colleagues to a right dressing-down and submitted them to such wittily harsh yet accurate criticism that I wept with laughter. Little by little, my mood spread to my interlocutor and his sullen countenance began to brighten up. He was a different man by the time we got up from the table. Life no longer appeared so grim. "You are the best of doctors, despite the fact that there is no such thing as a good doctor," he muttered, smiling happily, "so I do not feel like parting company with you. It is time I returned to Mont-Dore. Pack your suitcase. You are coming with me."

The invitation was too tempting to be turned down. For two whole days I never left his side. My patience was never tried, neither by the horrible cooking nor by the mournful faces of the inmates, all of them ill and incapable of discussing any subject other than their health, nor by the inconvenience caused by the cold and bitter weather aggravated by incessant showers, nor by the immobility to which I was constrained, even during the periods when Degas was occupied by his inhalations. This patience was amply rewarded. Once he felt at ease, the man was a wonderful conversationalist and there was always substance to his conversation. He had read very widely, with immense thoughtfulness, and he had always retained the essence of what he read. Although he knew the eighteenth century inside out and in particular Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, he was no less at home in the nineteenth, despite the fact that the cast of his mind was ill-suited to this century. Neither the limp outpourings of Lamartine nor the unbridled lyricism of Byron nor the grand eloquent tirades of Victor Hugo struck a chord in his sensibility. He liked Caveau's verse better than that of Auguste Barbier and Beranger's songs better than Verlaine's. He preferred Mallarmé's conversation to his poetry, which, he confessed, he did not understand, although he perceived flashes of genius in it. In common with a great many of his contemporaries, he had a mind of the "juste milieu" of a Voltairian bent, bound above all to the real nature of things, a man who, whatever may occur, turns his

back upon exaltation, for whom cold reason is the only guide. Even if Degas was not, as was his venerated master, Ingres, a fanatic of draftsmanship, this natural inclination alone might explain the distance at which he always held Delacroix. "In art, he said, one is never entitled to disregard what is true."

"But this truth," he would add, "this truth may be rendered only if one does not seek out ugliness as a matter of principle and so much so that one remains blind to all else. I feel the utmost disgust for those platitudinous realists who today may be seen basing their interpretations of life solely upon the coarse side of human nature. The true realist dissimulates nothing but he places things where they belong; he classifies the features that go to make up his composition according to their degree of interest; in this way, he makes a series of choices and if his choices are judicious, this is style. This was how Chardin worked, who, while treating the most vulgar motifs with admirable conscientiousness, nonetheless succeeded in lending them elegance, grace and distinction."

It was in the course of these conversations that, in passing, Degas spoke of his attempts at modeling which his failing eyesight had led him to substitute for painting as a means of expression. When I inquired whether his new craft had cost him an effort, he cried: "But I have long been familiar with this craft! I have been practicing it for upward of thirty years, not, to tell the truth, continuously but from time to time, when I feel like it or need to.

— Why on earth should you need to?

— Have you read Dickens, Monsieur?

— Indeed I have.

— And have you read his biographers?

— None whatever.

— Impossible! So it is I who must inform you that whenever he came to a difficult passage in one of those scenes with several protagonists at which he excelled, whenever he lost his way in the complicated weave of his characters and did not know what lot should befall them, he got himself out of the knot, for better or for worse, by building figures to whom he assigned the names of the characters. When he had them on the table in front of him, he endowed them with the personalities which were possibly or necessarily suitable to each, he had them talk to each other, after the manner of Lemercier de Neuville playing with his *pupaççi*, and the situation instantly cleared up, the newly alert novelist resumed his task and brought it resolutely to successful conclusion. I instinctively adopted the same system. You are probably unaware that, about the year 1866, I perpetrated a *Scène de steeplechase*,

the first, and the only scene of mine to have been inspired by a racecourse. Now, while at the time I was reasonably well acquainted with 'the noblest conquest ever made by man' while I happened fairly frequently to mount one and had no great difficulty in telling the difference between pure-bred and a half-bred, whereas I was quite familiar with the anatomy and myology of the animal, which I had studied on one of those anatomical models to be found in any plaster caster's premises, I was totally ignorant of the mechanism that regulated a horse's movements. I knew infinitely less on the subject than a noncommissioned officer whose lengthy and attentive practice enables him to visualize the animal's reactions and reflexes, even when he is speaking of an absent horse.

Maret had not yet invented the device which made it possible to decompose the movements—imperceptible to the human eye—of a bird in flight, of a galloping or trotting horse. For his studies of horses, which are so sincere and which he used in his military canvases, Meissonier was reduced to parking his carriage for hours on end on the Champs-Élysées. There, alongside the footpath, he would study the horsemen and their handsome, frisky horses. Thus, this bad painter was one of the best-informed on horses that I have ever met.

"I wanted to do at least as well as Meissonier but I did not restrict myself to sketches. Very soon, it became evident that the information they provided would lead nowhere if I did not use them in modeling experiments. The older I became, the more clearly I realized that to achieve exactitude so perfect in the representation of animals that feeling of life is conveyed, one had to go into three dimensions, not merely because the activity itself requires prolonged observation from the artist and more sustained attention, but also because this is an area in which approximations are unacceptable. The most beautiful and the best-wrought drawing is always less than the precise, the absolute truth and thus leaves the way open to all that is fraudulent. You know the much-vaunted and in fact very worthy drawing in which Fromentin captured the stride of a galloping Arabian steed; compare it with reality and you will be struck far less by what it expresses than by what it lacks. The natural disposition and true character of the animal are absent from this enthusiastic improvisation by a very clever hand.

"The same is true of renditions of the human form, especially of the human form in motion. Draw a dancing figure. With a little skill; you should be able to create an illusion for a short time. But however



painstakingly you study your adaptation; you will achieve nothing more than an insubstantial silhouette, lacking all notions of mass and of volume and devoid of precision. You will achieve truth only through modeling because this is an art that puts the artist under an obligation to neglect none of the essentials. It is for this reason that, now that my bad eyes prevent me from undertaking a canvas, now that I am allowed only pencil and pastel, now more than ever I feel the need to convey my impressions of form through sculpture. I examine my model's nose and, in a series of sketches, fix its varied aspects, which I then collate in a tiny piece, the structure of which is solid and which does not lie.

— In fact, you are as much a sculptor as a painter, more so perhaps.

— Not at all! The only reason that I made wax figures of animals and humans was for my own satisfaction, not to take time off from painting or drawing, but in order to give my paintings and drawings greater expression, greater ardor, and more life. They are exercises to get me going: documentary, preparatory motions, nothing more. None of this is intended for sale. Can you see me designing my studies of horses after the manner of a Frémiet, with such wealth of picturesque detail, which never fails to startle the middle classes? Or can you see me bending my studies of nudes into attitudes of false elegance, like Carrier-Belleuse? You will never catch me scratching the back of a torso nor reveling in the palpitating flesh that you critics are always caressing when you speak of the academic sculptors of the Institut. What matters to me is to express nature in all of its aspects, movement in its exact truth, to accentuate bone and muscle and the compact firmness of flesh. My work is no more than irreproachable in its construction. As for the quiver of flesh—what nonsense! My sculptures will never have the feel of being finished which is the ultimate end in a sculptor's workmanship, and after all, since no one will ever see these rough sketches, nobody will dare to talk about them, not even you. From this day forward until my death this will all be destroyed by itself and this will be best for my reputation."

When he spoke these words, Degas little imagined that the "experiments" would survive, that they would take on an existence of their own and would make no less a contribution to his reputation than his paintings, pastels, and magnificent pencil drawings. In the Orangerie, where only two vitrines were needed to hold all of the sculptures, the set piece, *Danseuse habillée*, with its ragamuffin expression, executed in half-life-size, the only sculpture exhibited

by the artist during his lifetime, in 1880, as if he had been determined to complete it against whatever odds, occupies the center of the main room; these figures convey not just Degas's marvelous awareness, his knowledge, his insight into the individual character of each moment, of each shape, but their haughty disdain for conventional formulae make them prodigiously original works of sculpture.

Take this horse clearing an obstacle, this other galloping, whose hind left hoof is the only contact with the ground; take the dancers bending the sole of a foot, fastening their bodices, bowing or limbering up before the performance; take the women emerging from their baths, drying, stretching, combing their hair, and tell me if you know of a sculptor who has ever treated nature with such a desire to be truthful in all, with such restraint, and with such vigor.

When, after Degas's death, I saw the fissured wax shapes, weakened and dusty, with the armature breaking through the surface, I could never have imagined that casting would give them the freshness and keenness that is so striking in the Orangerie. It must be said that the casting was masterfully done; while respecting to a fault the accidents attributable to decay, Adrien Hébrard pried out of these tiny creations, from these *cire perdue* [lost wax] molds, expressions of the most immense savor. The warmth of tone and the charm of the patina with which he has coated them have contributed significantly to the effect, and we should consider ourselves fortunate that the disinterestedness of Degas's heirs, who have signed away all reproduction rights, and of M. Hébrard, who asked for no more than the cost price of the casts, have enabled the state to acquire the entire series of bronzes. We will see them again in the Louvre, where professional sculptors, complaining that this is not sculpture, will nonetheless frequently seek counsel and instruction. In this they will be showing wisdom and intelligence for which I congratulate them.

## Degas at Work

JOHN REWALD

THE STUDIO in which Degas did most of his modeling was the one in the rue Victor Massé, where he occupied three stories of a house opposite the famous *Bal Tabarin*. Degas had an apartment on the third floor, where he slept, whereas the floor above was given over to his collection; most notable among the rooms was a large drawing-room full of paintings and drawings, and a little dining room which had a glass case full of curios and several of Degas's statuettes—in wax or in plaster—under glass. The fifth floor was his studio. It was spacious but dark, for the large window, which formed all the north side, was almost entirely covered by a cloth curtain that reached quite low down. Only a dim light filtered in, reaching with difficulty to the end of the room. Everywhere this weak light was intercepted by cupboards, numerous easels entangled with each other, sculptor's easels, tables, armchairs, stools, several screens, and even a bathtub which Degas used for his *Baigneuses*. The corners were no less littered up; a number of empty frames were lined up beside empty stretchers, rolls of cloth and paper. The doors and high walls of maroon color were bare, with neither drawings nor paintings. Degas used to put away all his works in cardboard boxes and cupboards, or else he stacked them in a little room behind his studio. As for his more or less finished sculptures, they were kept on a long table at the end of the studio, where

they waited, either to be continued or slowly to disintegrate. This table, like all the rest of the studio, was covered with a thick layer of dust.

Degas had only a small space in the front of the studio, just below the window, in which to work. It was there, between the model's stand surrounded by a screen between the sculptor's easel and a stove, that he spent his mornings. He engaged his models four or five times a week, sometimes twice a day, and often continued to work after their departure. Dressed in a long sculptor's smock, he walked incessantly back and forth between the model and his statuette, using his thumb to get information which his tired eyes refused to give him. Even though, with his eyes almost closed behind their glasses, he constantly examined the outlines of the nude body to compare them with those of his work, and even though he was seated very close to the model, he could only dimly distinguish her shape, and had to get up at every instant to feel with his hand the curve of the hip or the position of a muscle which his thumb would model in clay. With the plumb-line he made certain that the poses of the model and of his statuette were absolutely identical; so great was his uncertainty, so small his confidence in his perceptive faculties, that he was even reduced to using a calipers—he who once liked to boast that he worked entirely from memory. This calipers he used rather clumsily, and with such sudden gestures that his models did not always escape a red gash on their legs or arms. Having checked the points of the large proportional calipers by means of measurements on the wall, he placed them on his figurine which he approached so closely that his long white hair often touched it. He did not cease to work while the model rested.

Posing for Degas was not easy; the hours were long, and the artist was so exacting that some models refused to work for him. The sight of a rounded back or a listlessly extended hand could make him roar with anger. He had a profound aversion for all so-called graceful poses, which were so popular in other studios, and nearly always insisted on poses that were full of action. But the difficulty of obtaining well-balanced poses in spite of the contortions which he made his models undergo was one of the least obstacles Degas encountered in his

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John Rewald, "Degas at Work," in *The Complete Collection of Sculptures by Edgar Degas* (London: Marlborough Fine Art Ltd., 1951). ©2001 Sabine Rewald. Reprinted by courtesy of Sabine Rewald.

The exhibition in London in 1951 included works from the S series, with the exceptions of 4E, 15L, 19I, 28C, and 40C. *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* was exhibited as an unmarked cast. At the time of the exhibition, all of the works had already been acquired by the Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand in Brazil. Duplicate sculptures were available for purchase.

models; far more serious were those presented by the material itself.

Having become weary of clay—of its handling and the damp cloths required—Degas had tried to use plastilene, although, as he said, it disgusted him. True it is that, in a spirit of economy, he liked to stuff his material with little discs of cork which kept coming periodically to the surface, and in the most unexpected places, making necessary constant repairs. When he had decided to use wax, he insisted again, for the same reason, on making his own, which always became too friable. With the wax Degas mixed convenient but coarse materials, such as tallow, which hardly increased the durability of his figures. Wax appealed to him because of its warm and lacquered reds and blacks. According to Paul Gsell, one of his *baigneuses* whose foot rests on a vase was a miracle of polychromy. “She was warmly tinted and as translucent as honey, and the vase streaked with green and red harmonized perfectly with the golden amber of the wax.”

The difficulties Degas encountered in the handling of these materials were mainly due to the inadequacy of his improvised armatures, which gave him many an unpleasant surprise and violent anger. Faithfully attached to the fatal habit of experimenting—even though he himself deplored it—Degas used to suspend with strings or support with props the projecting masses. As he forgot frequently to make thicker the parts around the joints, he could not prevent arms from failing, and the dried-out matter from developing cracks. Elsewhere he would use wire that was too thin, and that bent under the weight of the wax, or he made use of brush handles insecurely tied together, which would suddenly fall apart, dragging down with them the parts they were to uphold. Yet all these accidents, which so infuriated Degas, need not have been so frequent, had not his very methods of work practically provoked them: sometimes, when he was trying to improve a pose, Degas would simply pull an elbow aside, raise a knee, or twist a torso until his statuette could no longer resist these constant shocks. These changes of pose were therefore often accompanied by the collapse of the entire work. Degas would then start at once on a new statuette, but not always with the same enthusiasm: often he would leave it after working for several weeks, put it away on the long table at the back of his studio, and turn to something else. Degas generally took good care of the works which he put away on the long table, since he always had the firm intention of working on them again, when he should become tired of his new work.

It was this habit of leaving and taking them up again which was particularly fatal to the statuettes. When they had stayed in their corner for months, sometimes for a whole year, they were badly suited to be worked on again. Often, from the very first time he came back to them, it would happen that an arm or a leg would drop off. Degas would mend it at once, only to find, a few days later, another accident somewhere else. As long as the figure was modeled in plastilene, he could put it in shape again, but those in clay could almost never stand up against the tinkering. They would suddenly collapse, and before their pathetic remains all hope of a resurrection had to be abandoned.

Since he could work only with difficulty because of his failing eyesight, and had to struggle with courage and rage against all these accidents, Degas's works proceeded very slowly. Sometimes, even if he had been working for three months, his model could discern no progress in the work. But despite all mishaps the artist was not sparing of his efforts, especially as modeling was the only work of which he was capable. Every day he suffered more from his disability and the slowness which it imposed on him; in 1910 he pitifully exclaims in a letter to his friend Alexis Rouart: “I don't ever seem to get through with my con-founded sculpture.” Around 1911 Lemoine relates that Degas still spends all his time in his studio, working at his sculpture, but a year later the artist was forced to leave the house in the rue Victor Massé where he had lived for a quarter of a century, to make way for the wreckers. He rented an apartment and a studio—right near his former home—in a house on the boulevard de Clichy. Degas was to do no more work. As his eyesight was constantly failing, and as he felt uprooted after his enforced moving, he let himself slip into a demoralizing idleness. Even his growing fame did not make him leave his solitude, nor make him come out of his depression, since it could do nothing to relieve the powerlessness of his hands.

“Degas lives alone and almost blind, seeing nobody, without any kind of occupation,” Paul Lafond writes to George Moore. Thus did he spend his last years. He died in his apartment in the boulevard de Clichy, on the 27th of September, 1917, in his eighty-eighth year, without having modeled any more.

#### THE CASTING

Of about one hundred and fifty more or less well preserved works in sculpture discovered in the studio and the apartment of Degas after his death, and of which but

three had been previously cast in plaster, only about seventy either were intact or could be repaired. After Paul Durand-Ruel had made the inventory, these were deposited under Bartholomé's supervision in the cellar of the founder Hébrard, to protect them from German bombardments. Hébrard was to cast them at the end of the war, and actually began to do so at the close of the year 1919.

Wherever this was possible, the wax and clay originals were to be cast in the exact condition in which Degas had left them, but in many cases minor repairs and adjustments were necessary before the casting. Thus certain cracks had to be mended and dislocated members to be readjusted, as for instance the arms of the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* (No. 20) [cat. 73], which had fallen down. The parts of the armature that showed were suppressed wherever possible, but had to be maintained in cases where they link two separate parts, as in No. 5 [cat. 66], or where they replace unfinished details, as in No. 16 [cat. 65] (*Prancing Horse*). From all that is known, these repairs and adjustments were executed by Degas's friend, the sculptor Bartholomé.

The process chosen for the reproduction was the *cire perdue* or lost wax technique. This process requires that first a piece-mould in plaster be made from the wax or clay statuette, from which then a so-called original plaster model is cast. The plaster model serves for the entire edition of bronze casts, which was, in the case of Degas's sculptures, limited to twenty-two copies of each work. Therefore twenty-two negative molds of thick elastic gelatine or glue were made from every original plaster model.

A glue mould consists of two halves which, put together, contain an empty space of the shape and volume of the statuette. Its inside is covered with a thin layer of hot wax, and then filled with a core of fire-resisting material. Solid bars of wax are attached to the wax layer in order later to provide channels through which the molten bronze can flow to all parts of the sculpture or through which the air can escape. Pins hold the core suspended in the mould after the wax has been melted out. This melting out is obtained by placing the wax model, encased in its mould, in an oven and baking it until the wax is “lost.” The thin layer of air thus created in the shape of the sculpture, as well as the empty channels, are now ready to be filled with melted bronze, poured into the mould. When the metal has cooled, the mould is broken away, and the sculpture appears. All the channels and air vents have become solid bronze. They have to

be cut away and the surface of the bronze has to be cleaned. Once this is done, a chemical treatment provides the patina. For Degas's sculptures a special effort was made to retain the different colors of the wax originals through oxidation.

Altogether seventy-three sculptures by Degas were cast in bronze. Of these, seventy-two were cast between 1919 and 1921, and the seventy-third, No. 20 *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* some time later. All the original wax and clay statuettes were destroyed after the casting, with the exception of the wax figure for No. 20. Of the twenty-two bronze copies cast from every individual sculpture, twenty were marked A to T and destined for sale, while of the remaining two, one was reserved for the founder, and the other for the heirs of the artist. These two copies were especially marked, the one for the heirs bearing the letters HER. To each sculpture also was assigned its serial number, running from 1 to 72; only No. 20 was marked neither by a number nor by letters. With the exception of No. 20 therefore, each bronze cast bears an Arabic number which identifies the sculpture, and a letter which indicates to which of the twenty sets it belongs. Each bronze also shows the signature of Degas *incised* and the stamp of the founder (*cire perdue* A. A. Hébrard) in *relief*.

## Edgar Degas—Original Wax Sculptures

JOHN REWALD

FEW ARE the realms of art which did not attract Degas and none of them did he attempt without discovering new aspects. With the unerring instinct that distinguishes those who pursue a determined goal, he was always able to appropriate the elements that could be of use to his conceptions. Taking advantage of these elements with an absolute contempt for conventions, he was guided instead by a high-minded conscience for which any audacity was justified as long as it served art. Such was his need for self-expression and so insatiable was his avidity for perfection that all the techniques of art were not enough to exhaust his inventive powers. Not only did he draw and paint, make etchings and lithographs, experiment with monotypes, he also made sculptures and even wrote poetry.

In nearly half a century of work Degas created a considerable number of statuettes. Many collapsed under his fingers, many did not resist the ravages of time, only comparatively few have been saved. But enough are left to give us more than a memento of that art to which Degas devoted considerable work without yet wanting to share its fruits with others. As the only statuette he ever exhibited, the *Danseuse (Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen)* dressed in a gauze tutu, in 1881 aroused no more than cheap curiosity, not to mention alarm, Degas preferred to work for himself alone. In any case, since he was rarely satisfied with his own work, he could hardly find satisfaction in the opinions of others, even if flattering.

Thanks to his inborn sense of the exigencies of form, Degas does not seem to have had any special difficulty in learning the rudiments of sculpture. But one can assume that modeling taxed his patience heavily. For a painter there is hardly any

process more exasperatingly slow than modeling; it is not merely a question of physical effort, sculpture also demands a constant watching over such material details as the armature, the dampness of the clay (which, in fact, Degas seldom used), the hardness of the wax, etc. . . . , not to mention all the difficulties of casting. Degas permitted himself this sacrifice of time and energy since what he sought above all was the satisfaction given by the work. If he was always to remain ignorant of the “tricks of the trade,” it was because he preferred owing to a certain spirit of independence, his self-taught and often rather primitive methods to the cold science of the experts. Fearing neither round-about ways nor failures, he sometimes even hesitated to make use of advice—even when solicited—if he thought he could achieve his ends by his own means. Thus he preferred improvised armatures to the perfected and stable structures that experienced technicians would prepare for him. Doubtless he felt himself tied down by the ready-made armature, and saw in it hindrances to his inspiration, whereas the one he patched together any old way, and which he amplified and transformed according to his needs, left a greater margin for improvisation. The result was that his more or less well balanced models often collapsed or cracked, but it would seem that Degas was prepared to pay this price to preserve his freedom.

When age dimmed the artist’s eyesight to the point where he had to give up his paint brushes, pastel chalks, and pencils entirely, he gave himself over exclusively to modeling. In kneading wax he did with his fingers what he could no longer do with his eyes. As his self-imposed loneliness became more and more complete, the semi-darkness he lived in made him ever more irritable, and caused him to avoid with some surliness all contact with the outside world. In the enormous solitude of his studio his statuettes were his only consolation. “Here in this studio, I am always working with wax,” he wrote in 1903 to a friend, adding: “Without work, what a dismal old age!” And when the young Aristide Maillol dared to ask him whether it was true that he was doing sculptures, Degas answered angrily: “Who told you this?” On being informed that Maillol had learned it from one of Degas’s own friends, the

artist relented and said solemnly: “Yes, I model, and perhaps one of these days, I shall be cast in bronze!”

Degas was never cast in bronze during his lifetime. Aside from a few statuettes he had cast in plaster by A. A. Hébrard, and a few others he kept in his apartment under glass cases, his models lay covered with dust in the various corners of his studio; dried parts beginning to fritte, pieces of wax falling apart or melting. Thus about one hundred and fifty statuettes were found in Degas’s studio after his death in 1917, witnesses of a tremendous and significant effort that had remained almost completely unnoticed. Of these, according to Paul Durand-Ruel who made the inventory of the artist’s possessions, about one half were broken beyond repair. All those that could be saved were deposited under the supervision of the sculptor Bartholomé—one of Degas’s intimate friends—in the cellar of the founder Hébrard, to protect them from German bombardments. Hébrard was to cast them at the end of the First World War, and actually began to do so at the close of the year 1919.

Wherever possible, the wax originals were to be cast in the exact condition in which Degas had left them, but in some cases minor repairs and adjustments were necessary before the casting. The process chosen for the reproduction was the *cire perdue* or “lost wax,” technique in which A. A. Hébrard was the greatest master of his day. (He had cast many of Rodin’s works according to his highly perfected methods.) The extremely complicated *cire perdue* process has the great advantage over all other methods in that it achieves the highest possible fidelity to the original whose very surface—the surface kneaded by the artist—is so faithfully reproduced that even fingerprints re-appear on the bronze casts.

The *cire perdue* process requires that first a piece-mould in plaster be made from the wax statuette, from which a so-called original plaster model is then cast. The plaster model serves for the entire edition of bronze casts, limited in the case of Degas’s sculptures to twenty-two copies of each work. Therefore, twenty-two negative moulds of thick, elastic gelatine were made from every original plaster model. A gelatine mould consists of two halves which, put together, contain an empty space of the shape and volume of the statuette. Its inside is covered with a thin layer of hot wax, and then filled with a core of fire-resisting material. Solid bars of wax are attached to the wax layer in order later to provide channels through which the molten bronze can flow to all parts of the sculp-

ture or through which the air can escape. Pins hold the core suspended in the mould after the wax has been melted out. This melting out is obtained by placing the wax model, encased in its mould, in an oven and baking it until the wax is “lost.” The thin layer of air thus created in the shape of the sculpture, as well as the empty channels, are now ready to be filled with melted bronze, poured into the mould. When the metal has cooled, the mould is broken away, and the sculpture appears. All the channels and air vents have become solid bronze. They have to be cut away and the surface of the bronze has to be cleaned. Once this is done, a chemical treatment provides the patina. For Degas’s sculptures a special effort was made to retain, through oxidation, the different colors of the wax originals.

Owing to the incredible care taken by Hébrard and his workmen, especially Mr. Palazzolo, Degas’s original wax statuettes were not damaged during the process of casting and were subsequently re-enforced by exterior armatures to preserve them from deterioration. According to the contract signed between Degas’s heirs and Hébrard, the original wax statuettes became the property of Hébrard. During the Second World War and the German occupation, they were hidden once more in the cellar of Hébrard’s Parisian house and have only recently come to light again. (A few of the original wax statuettes have since disappeared.)

When, in 1944, I published the complete catalogue of *Degas: Works in Sculpture* (at a time when communication with Paris was still very difficult), I erroneously stated that “all the original wax statuettes were destroyed after the casting, with the exception of the wax figure of the *Danseuse* in a gauze tutu which is now in the Louvre.” I do not hesitate to admit that I am happy to have been wrong and to see gathered here, for the first time on public exhibition, all the original wax statuettes still in existence, including the famous *Danseuse*. One cannot help being deeply moved by these horses, these dancers, these nudes, which still bear the imprint of the artist’s nervous fingers. In front of these works we literally feel him catch the fleeting moment, recreate an instantaneous movement, vibrate in the excitement of his craft.

Ever since Degas’s works in sculpture have come to light and—in the form of Hébrard’s bronze casts—have found their way into innumerable museums and private collections, he has been acknowledged as one of the great sculptors of modern times. His passionate search for movement

John Rewald, *Edgar Degas, 1834–1917: Original Wax Sculptures* (New York: M. Knoedler & Co., 1956). ©2001 Sabine Rewald. Reprinted by courtesy of Sabine Rewald.

and his concept of mass confer upon his statuettes a greatness and a “modernity” that has scarcely been surpassed. While in his earlier works he had excelled in very smooth and more conventional modeling, his technique towards the end became increasingly choppy and rough. His hands modeled the wax with more energy, less care, and their feverishness seemed to be transmitted to the material. But this feverishness has nothing disordered about it, nor can it be attributed solely to his failing eyesight. The movements to which he had devoted a long life of searching he finally represented in a style which is itself teeming with agitation—by vibrating lines and forms that seem alive. In his hands wax was not an inert material; it is molded almost with frenzy, constructed in masses which no longer borrow from nature the smooth surface of human bodies, but express, right down to their rough texture, the pulsations of life and the breath of the creator.

## Degas's Bronzes—An Afterword

JOHN REWALD

DEGAS'S work in sculpture has had a strange fate, from almost total neglect to an apotheosis that goes far beyond the expectations of even those who admired it back in the days when the fragile pieces—often precariously balanced—cluttered the artist's studio. Only after the master's death was the founder Adrien A. Hébrard able to save them from what would have been slow but complete disintegration. Yet when Hébrard first exhibited a set of the expertly cast bronzes in 1921, public reaction was not altogether favourable. For what Degas had accomplished in three dimensions was what he had done also with color and line: endow his subjects with a new reality, see and depict them as they had never been shown before—for proof it is sufficient to compare his many figures of dancers—especially his famous *Petite danseuse de quatorze ans* (*Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*)—with the photographs of young members of the Paris Opera Ballet as they were generally represented in those days.

It took amazing perception and even courage for Mary Cassatt to write to her friend Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, “I have studied Degas's bronzes for months. I believe he will live to be greater as a sculptor than as a painter.” Not surprisingly, Mrs. Havemeyer was the first to reserve a complete set—indeed the set numbered A—of the newly cast bronzes which she subsequently lent to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Durand-Ruel purchased set B and exhibited it in New York in 1922. The Leicester Galleries showed another set in London in 1923 with a catalogue foreword by Walter Sickert. The Lefevre Gallery acquired two complete sets in the early 1950s, which were eventually all split up and all the pieces sold individually, as with practically all those that went to dealers.

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John Rewald, “Degas's Bronzes—An Afterword,” in *The Complete Sculptures of Degas* (London: The Lefevre Gallery, 1976). ©2001 Sabine Rewald. Reprinted by courtesy of Sabine Rewald.

With the help of the founder and the artist's heirs, the Louvre acquired set P in 1930, at the very time Mrs. Havemeyer bequeathed her set (with the exception of two pieces) to the Metropolitan Museum. A third complete set is owned by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek of Copenhagen. Only this last museum has arranged for the permanent display of the entire series. The Metropolitan Museum, on the other hand, treated the Havemeyer gift with a certain embarrassment. As late as 1946 its bulletin published an article in which Degas's “clay studies” were seen as the “principal amusement” of his old age and called sketches or experiments that “cannot be considered as serious works in sculpture in the academic sense of the word.” But the ultimate insult came with the statement: “It has been remarked by certain critics that the reduplication of these unfinished sketches in twenty sets of bronzes...is rather too plainly a franc-stretching gesture on the part of the [artist's] heirs.”

The *Bulletin* nobly resisted the temptation to reveal who these critics were. It seems doubtful whether, during the thirty years that have elapsed since, anybody can be found to subscribe to such a base insinuation. Quite to the contrary, the demand for Degas's bronzes has steadily risen, and so have their prices.

Since the first catalogue of Degas's sculpture was issued (with some difficulty because the topic did not appear promising to the publisher), a great deal has been written on the subject. That catalogue, published in New York in 1944, had to be established without access to any French sources and thus contained some rather serious errors. The most grievous of these was the affirmation: “All the original wax and clay statuettes were destroyed after the casting with the exception of the wax figure for *Petite danseuse de quatorze ans* or *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*, which is now in the Louvre.”

I was able to correct these inaccuracies in the second edition of the catalogue (Zurich, 1956) and also to complete the bibliography. Among the important studies that have appeared since are: M. Beaulieu, “Les sculptures de Degas—Essai de chronologie,” *La Revue du Louvre*, no. 6, 1969, and T. Reff, “To Make Sculpture Modern,” in *Degas—The Artist's Mind*, New York, 1976.

Unfortunately, Degas's sculpture has attracted not only scholars. The supreme confirmation of the high regard in which it is now held comes from those who ransom all great masters: forgers! In the case of Degas, counterfeits present themselves in two different forms. The more easily found out are attempts to adorn pieces by other, little-known artists with Degas's signature in the hope that they will thus command higher prices. None of these were of course included in Hébrard's initial exhibition of 1921, though some—cast in his foundry—bear his founder's mark, which has been carefully preserved after the name of the original artist was deleted. This type of fraud is likely to go on as long as there are crooks who imagine that they can find buyers for such wares.

The more dangerous fakes are so-called *surmoulages*, for which a mould is made from a genuine cast and then serves for new, more or less unlimited editions. These fraudulent casts carry the same markings and signature that appear in the original from which the mould was made, though they are usually more faint and blurred; they differ slightly in size and considerably in weight from their model since the alloy used is not identical with the secret one employed by Hébrard. Just the same, it is not always easy to detect such *surmoulages* at first sight, especially when they cannot be compared with a genuine cast.

A few years ago I discovered an authentic small Degas bronze in a foundry near Parma. When I asked what it was doing there, I was told that it had been brought in by a Degas heir (!). Hébrard allegedly having failed to make the number of casts allotted to all the other pieces, the foundry had been requested to “complete” the set by casting the “missing” number. This, of course, was a lie, but whether the founder was aware of it or not escapes my knowledge. I am afraid that much illegal casting is done in Italy where expert craftsmen are still to be found. Needless to add, such Italian foundries discreetly refrain from putting their own mark on these pieces.

It seems that the records concerning various manufacturing details and especially the alloy used for Degas's bronzes were kept by the Director of Hébrard's foundry, A. Palazzolo. Born in Milan in 1883, he had learned in Italy a remarkable method of applying the *cire perdue* process without actually losing the original wax piece, a method he later perfected in Paris. Around 1910, Palazzolo had known Degas and given him technical advice on how to reinforce his armatures. It was Palazzolo who was responsible for the excellent casts of the artist's salvageable statuettes. Late

in his life, Palazzolo retired to Milan and there released some Degas bronzes that carried casting numbers like the others but—in addition—were stamped FR MODELES (for “Founder’s Model”) as well as with Palazzolo’s monogram AP underneath the base.

As a matter of fact, Hébrard had never bothered to list all the Degas casts made in his foundry or to specify exactly how they were marked. The catalogue of the 1921 exhibition held at Hébrard’s gallery on the rue Royale had stated that twenty-two casts of each piece had been made, of which twenty were for sale, numbered A to T, the two remaining sets being reserved for the founder and for the artist’s heirs, “each bearing a mark indicating their destination.” The set of the heirs was marked HER (for “héritiers”).

Unfortunately, even this summary explanation was not altogether correct. While the work was in progress and before the sets had been marked, Hébrard discovered that some of the heirs—who disagreed with each other about the casting, the rights, etc.—did not care for their share of the set that was to be split up among them. He made a deal with them to buy back their pieces. Whereas the founder did cast a complete set for himself, marked HER (though he was not an heir), he marked HERD (for “héritiers Degas”) those casts that went to the heirs who wished to receive their due. But the part of the heirs’ edition which he had repurchased (about one half of the entire series) was not marked HERD; instead Hébrard marked it HER like his own set. As a result, there are pieces outside the A to T sets of which one is marked HER and one HERD, yet there are also others of which there exist two casts marked HER and none HERD. Most of these two sets have in the meantime come on the market, though the phrasing of the 1921 announcement had implied that they were not for sale. If this sounds confusing, it actually is.

Then, in the early fifties, came the startling and exciting revelation that the original wax pieces still existed in the cellar of Hébrard’s house on the Ile de la Cité in Paris (so that the *cire perdue* casting was almost a misnomer, although the casts were indeed made from duplicate wax models that had melted in the process). The original wax statuettes were exhibited at the Knoedler Galleries in New York in 1955 and were acquired by the American collector Paul Mellon, who presented several of them to the Louvre. A little later appeared two plaster casts of the *Petite danseuse de quatorze ans*, originating in Hébrard’s foundry, both since sold in the United

States. And now the Lefevre Gallery has been able to secure from Hébrard’s heirs the set being exhibited here, which is marked MODELE (plus the bronze number and the Hébrard stamp).

When I went to examine the newly emerged wax pieces in Hébrard’s cellar prior to their being shipped to Knoedler’s, I was able to make short notes on these pieces for inclusion in the second printing of my book on Degas’s sculpture. On that occasion I also noticed the set of bronzes now being shown, but paid no special attention to it and thus did not realize that it bore a mark different from the others with which I was familiar. Had this been pointed out to me, I would have mentioned this fact in the new edition of my catalogue.

At the very time when I saw these bronzes at Hébrard’s without paying any attention to them, Jean Adhémar alluded to the set in an interview with Palazzolo (“Before the Degas Bronzes,” *Art News*, Nov. 1955). His article not only explained the complicated and ingenious method of casting that had saved the wax originals, it also stated specifically that Hébrard himself, surprised and delighted with the technique used by the Italian craftsman, “decided to make a bronze master cast of each figurine, checking it meticulously against the original.” (The same system was apparently also used for the works of other artists.) It is quite obvious that the set which is shown here represents these master casts, since this is consistent with its marking: MODELE.

It is regrettable that, through sheer negligence, no mention was ever made of this set. It is true that it was not for sale and has remained in Hébrard’s cellar for more than half a century. Nevertheless, there can be no question but that it is a genuine set made at the time when the other series were cast. This, like the “discovery” of the original waxes, is an unexpected event, a supplement to an edition that was not quite as strictly limited and not quite as consistently marked as we had been led to believe. Hébrard, of course, did not realize that his casts would become subject to close scrutiny (or that there would be unauthorized *sur-moulages*), nor did he think of any evil when he failed to mention this entire set. But for us these careful casts represent a felicitous occasion, the more so since, as the French say, one should never complain *que la mariée est trop belle!*

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## Tables of Concordance

IN THE following table, the numbers in column H correspond to the catalogue numbers for the sculptures used in this volume; they match the numbers incised on the bottom of the sculptures by the Hébrard Foundry. The numbers in column P are those used in the Hébrard exhibition in Paris in 1921 and by Anne Pingéot in her 1991 inventory. The numbers in column R are those used by John Rewald in his critical catalogue published in 1956. A blank space indicates that the sculpture was not included in the named catalogue.

HÉBRARD			HÉBRARD			REWALD			REWALD			PINGÉOT			PINGÉOT			REWALD		
H	P	R	H	P	R	R	H	P	R	H	P	P	H	R	P	H	R			
1	2	38	38	47	3	1	37	72	38	1	2	1	14	37	38	66	5			
2	3	41	39	27	48	2	13	42	39	60	8	2	1	38	39	11	4			
3	4	42	40	35	45	3	38	47	40	16	7	3	2	41	40	65	16			
4	44	13	41	22	23	4	11	39	41	2	3	4	3	42	41	47	6			
5	11	44	42	61	54	5	66	38	42	3	4	5	18	35	42	13	2			
6	9	55	43	60	72	6	47	41	43	58	10	6	15	36	43	48	9			
7	69	31	44	58	70	7	30	45	44	5	11	7	16	40	44	4	13			
8	21	21	45	17	47	8	21	48	45	40	35	8	60	39	45	30	7			
9	25	33	46	59	69	9	48	43	46	57	36	9	6	55	46	22	12			
10	52	10	47	41	6	10	10	52	47	45	17	10	58	43	47	38	3			
11	39	4	48	43	9	11	49	51	48	39	27	11	5	44	48	21	8			
12	20	34	49	51	11	12	22	46	49	69	34	12	52	57	49	25	14			
13	42	2	50	62	50	13	4	44	50	50	62	13	70	58	50	35	15			
14	1	37	51	23	52	14	25	49	51	28	55	14	29	56	51	49	11			
15	6	36	52	12	57	15	35	50	52	51	23	15	33	28	52	10	10			
16	7	40	53	66	64	16	65	40	53	34	31	16	20	66	53	32	17			
17	63	67	54	67	71	17	32	53	54	42	61	17	45	47	54	36	18			
18	5	35	55	68	73	18	36	54	55	6	9	18	19	24	55	28	51			
19	18	24	56	37	19	19	56	37	56	29	14	19	72	26	56	26	27			
20	16	66	57	36	46	20		73	57	52	12	20	12	34	57	24	63			
21	48	8	58	10	43	21	8	21	58	70	13	21	8	21	58	44	70			
22	46	12	59	33	61	22	63	24	59	71	65	22	41	23	59	46	69			
23	29	65	60	8	39	23	41	22	60	67	32	23	51	52	60	43	72			
24	57	63	61	64	68	24	19	18	61	59	33	24	63	22	61	42	54			
25	49	14	62	71	29	25	64	28	62	68	30	25	9	33	62	50	50			
26	56	27	63	24	22	26	72	19	63	24	57	26	31	32	63	17	67			
27	70	30	64	28	25	27	26	56	64	53	66	27	39	48	64	61	68			
28	55	51	65	40	16	28	33	15	65	23	29	28	64	25	65	71	59			
29	14	56	66	38	5	29	62	71	66	20	16	29	23	65	66	53	64			
30	45	7	67	32	60	30	27	70	67	17	63	30	68	62	67	54	71			
31	26	32	68	30	62	31	7	69	68	61	64	31	34	53	68	55	73			
32	53	17	69	34	49	32	31	26	69	46	59	32	67	60	69	7	31			
33	15	28	70	13	58	33	9	25	70	44	58	33	27	61	70	27	30			
34	31	53	71	65	59	34	12	20	71	54	67	34	69	49	71	62	29			
35	50	15	72	19	26	35	18	5	72	43	60	35	40	45	72	37	1			
36	54	18		73	20	36	15	6	73	55	68	36	57	46	73		20			
37	72	1		74	74	37	14	1	74		74	37	56	19	74		74			



## Index of Titles

The catalogue numbers that precede the titles in this list are those of the following:  
 Under H are the catalogue numbers for the sculpture used in the present volume and, except for number 74 (which was cast later), match those incised on the bottom of the sculptures at the Hébrard Foundry. Under P are the numbers used in the Hébrard exhibition in Paris in 1921 and by Anne Pinget in the inventory she published in 1991. Under R are the numbers used by John Rewald in his critical catalogue, which was published in 1956.

H	P	R	TITLE
1	2	38	<i>Arabesque over Right Leg, Left Arm in Front</i>
14	1	37	<i>Arabesque over Right Leg, Left Arm in Front</i>
3	4	42	<i>Arabesque over Right Leg, Left Arm in Line</i>
2	3	41	<i>Arabesque over Right Leg, Right Hand Near the Ground, Left Arm Outstretched (First Arabesque Penchée)</i>
73	73	20	<i>Ballet Dancer, Dressed. See Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen</i>
34	31	53	<i>Bow, The</i>
9	25	33	<i>Curtain Call, The. See Dancer Bowing (The Curtain Call)</i>
64	28	25	<i>Dancer Adjusting the Shoulder Strap of Her Bodice</i>
9	25	33	<i>Dancer Bowing (The Curtain Call)</i>
31	26	32	<i>Dancer Bowing (The Curtain Call)</i>
33	15	28	<i>Dancer Fastening the String of Her Tights</i>
5	11	44	<i>Dancer, Fourth Position Front, on Left Leg</i>
6	9	55	<i>Dancer, Fourth Position Front, on Left Leg</i>
58	10	43	<i>Dancer, Fourth Position Front, on Left Leg</i>
23	29	65	<i>Dancer Holding Her Right Foot in Her Right Hand</i>
68	30	62	<i>Dancer Holding Her Right Foot in Her Right Hand</i>
40	35	45	<i>Dancer Looking at the Sole of Her Right Foot</i>
59	33	61	<i>Dancer Looking at the Sole of Her Right Foot</i>
67	32	60	<i>Dancer Looking at the Sole of Her Right Foot</i>
69	34	49	<i>Dancer Looking at the Sole of Her Right Foot</i>
19	18	24	<i>Dancer Moving Forward, Arms Raised</i>
72	19	26	<i>Dancer Moving Forward, Arms Raised, Right Leg Forward</i>
29	14	56	<i>Dancer Putting on Her Stocking</i>
52	12	57	<i>Dancer Putting on Her Stocking</i>
70	13	58	<i>Dancer Putting on Her Stocking</i>
57	36	46	<i>Dancer Ready to Dance, Right Foot Forward</i>
41	22	23	<i>Dancer at Rest, Hands Behind Her Back, Right Leg Forward</i>
63	24	22	<i>Dancer at Rest, Hands Behind Her Back, Right Leg Forward</i>
8	21	21	<i>Dancer at Rest, Hands on Hips, Left Leg Forward</i>
39	27	48	<i>Dancer in the Role of Harlequin. See Dancer Rubbing Her Knee</i>
39	27	48	<i>Dancer Rubbing Her Knee or Study for a Dancer as Harlequin or Dancer in the Role of Harlequin</i>
12	20	34	<i>Dancer with Tambourine</i>
30	45	7	<i>Draft Horse [Draught Horse]</i>
51	23	52	<i>Dressed Dancer at Rest, Hands Behind Back, Right Leg Forward</i>
2	3	41	<i>First Arabesque Penchée. See Arabesque over Right Leg, Right Hand Near the Ground, Left Arm Outstretched (First Arabesque Penchée); Grande Arabesque, Third Time (First Arabesque Penchée)</i>
60	8	39	<i>First Arabesque, Penchée. See Grande Arabesque, Third Time (First Arabesque, Penchée)</i>
18	5	35	<i>Grande Arabesque, First Time</i>
15	6	36	<i>Grande Arabesque, Second Time</i>
16	7	40	<i>Grande Arabesque, Third Time (First Arabesque Penchée)</i>
60	8	39	<i>Grande Arabesque, Third Time (First Arabesque, Penchée)</i>

## TITLES IN FRENCH

<i>Danseuse, arabesque ouverte sur la jambe droite, bras gauche en avant, deuxième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse, arabesque ouverte sur la jambe droite, bras gauche en avant, première étude</i>
<i>Danseuse, arabesque ouverte sur la jambe droite, bras gauche dans la ligne</i>
<i>Danseuse, arabesque ouverte sur la jambe droite, bras droit à terre</i>
<i>Danseuse faisant la révérence</i>
<i>Danseuse attachant l'épaulette de son corsage</i>
<i>Danseuse saluant, autrefois appelée première étude</i>
<i>Danseuse saluant, autrefois appelée deuxième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse attachant le cordon de son maillot</i>
<i>Danseuse, position de quatrième devant sur la jambe gauche, troisième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse, position de quatrième devant sur la jambe, première étude</i>
<i>Danseuse, position de quatrième devant sur la jambe, deuxième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse tenant son pied droit dans sa main droite</i>
<i>Danseuse faisant le mouvement de tenir son pied</i>
<i>Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit, autrefois appelée quatrième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit, autrefois appelée deuxième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit, autrefois appelée première étude</i>
<i>Danseuse regardant la plante de son pied droit, autrefois appelée troisième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse s'avancant les bras levés, première étude</i>
<i>Danseuse s'avancant les bras levés, deuxième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse mettant son bas, première étude, autrefois appelée troisième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse mettant son bas, dernière étude, autrefois appelée première étude</i>
<i>Danseuse mettant son bas, deuxième étude</i>
<i>Préparation à la danse, pied droit en avant</i>
<i>Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les hanches, jambe droite en avant, première étude</i>
<i>Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les reins, jambe droite en avant</i>
<i>Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les hanches, jambe gauche en avant</i>
<i>Étude pour une danseuse en arlequin, autrefois appelée Danseuse se frottant le genou</i>
<i>Danseuse au tambourin</i>
<i>Cheval de trait</i>
<i>Danseuse habillée au repos, autrefois appelée Danseuse au repos, les mains sur les hanches, jambe droite en avant, deuxième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse, grande arabesque, premier temps</i>
<i>Danseuse, grande arabesque, deuxième temps</i>
<i>Danseuse, grande arabesque, troisième temps, autrefois appelée deuxième étude</i>
<i>Danseuse, grande arabesque, troisième temps, autrefois appelée première étude</i>

H	P	R	TITLE	TITLES IN FRENCH
7	69	31	<i>Head, Study for Portrait of Mme. Salle</i>	<i>Tête, petite étude pour le portrait de Madame S. autrefois appelée première étude (Mathilde Salle)</i>
27	70	30	<i>Head, Study for Portrait of Mme. Salle</i>	<i>Tête, grande étude pour le portrait de Madame S. autrefois appelée deuxième étude (Mathilde Salle)</i>
62	71	29	<i>Head Resting on One Hand, Bust. See Woman Resting Head on One Hand</i>	
21	48	8	<i>Horse or Study of a Mustang</i>	<i>Étude de cheval (les oreilles manquent)</i>
48	43	9	<i>Horse Balking or Horse Clearing an Obstacle</i>	<i>Cheval se dressant dit autrefois cheval s'enlevant sur l'obstacle</i>
48	43	9	<i>Horse Clearing an Obstacle. See Horse Balking</i>	
47	41	6	<i>Horse Galloping on Right Foot</i>	<i>Cheval au galop sur le pied droit</i>
25	49	14	<i>Horse Galloping on Right Foot, Back Left Only Touching the Ground. See Horse with Jockey H25</i>	
32	53	17	<i>Horse Galloping, Turning Head to Right, Feet Not Touching the Ground. See Horse with Jockey H32</i>	
22	46	12	<i>Horse with Head Lowered</i>	<i>Cheval faisant une descente de main</i>
25	49	14	<i>Horse with Jockey; Horse Galloping on Right Foot, Back Left Only Touching the Ground [Jockey H35]</i>	<i>Cheval au galop sur le pied droit [Jockey H35]</i>
32	53	17	<i>Horse with Jockey; Horse Galloping, Turning Head to Right, Feet Not Touching the Ground [Jockey H36]</i>	<i>Cheval au galop tournant la tête à droite, les pieds ne touchant pas le sol [Jockey H36]</i>
38	47	3	<i>Horse Standing</i>	<i>Cheval à l'arrêt</i>
49	51	11	<i>Horse Trotting, Feet Not Touching the Ground</i>	<i>Cheval au trot, les pieds ne touchant pas le sol</i>
13	42	2	<i>Horse at Trough</i>	<i>Cheval à l'abreuvoir</i>
10	52	10	<i>Horse Walking</i>	<i>Cheval en marche</i>
11	39	4	<i>Horse Walking</i>	<i>Cheval marchant au pas relevé</i>
35	50	15	<i>Jockey [for Horse with Jockey H25]</i>	<i>Jockey du cheval précédent [pour le Cheval au galop H25]</i>
36	54	18	<i>Jockey [for Horse with Jockey H32]</i>	<i>Jockey du cheval précédent [pour le Cheval au galop H32]</i>
73	73	20	<i>Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen or Ballet Dancer, Dressed</i>	<i>Petite danseuse de quatorze ans</i>
55	68	73	<i>Masseuse, The</i>	<i>La Masseuse</i>
56	37	19	<i>Nude Dancer. See Study in the Nude for Dressed Dancer</i>	
37	72	1	<i>Picking Apples</i>	<i>Cueillette des pommes</i>
65	40	16	<i>Prancing Horse</i>	<i>Cheval caracolant</i>
24	57	63	<i>Pregnant Woman or Woman Enceinte</i>	<i>Femme enceinte</i>
4	44	13	<i>Rearing Horse</i>	<i>Cheval se cabrant</i>
–	74	74	<i>Schoolgirl (Woman Walking in the Street)</i>	<i>L'Écolière</i>
54	67	71	<i>Seated Woman Wiping Her Left Hip</i>	<i>Femme assise dans un fauteuil, s'essuyant la hanche gauche</i>
46	59	69	<i>Seated Woman Wiping Her Left Side</i>	<i>Femme assise s'essuyant la hanche gauche</i>
20	16	66	<i>Spanish Dance</i>	<i>Danse espagnole, autrefois appelée première étude</i>
45	17	47	<i>Spanish Dance</i>	<i>Danse espagnole, autrefois appelée deuxième étude</i>
39	27	48	<i>Study for a Dancer as a Harlequin. See Dancer Rubbing Her Knee</i>	
56	37	19	<i>Study in the Nude for Dressed Dancer (Nude Dancer)</i>	<i>Étude de nu pour la danseuse habillée</i>
21	48	8	<i>Study of a Mustang. See Horse</i>	
66	38	5	<i>Thoroughbred Horse Walking</i>	<i>Cheval pur-sang au pas</i>
26	56	27	<i>Tub, The</i>	<i>Le Tub</i>
50	62	50	<i>Woman Arranging Her Hair</i>	<i>Femme se coiffant</i>
24	57	63	<i>Woman Enceinte. See Pregnant Woman</i>	
71	65	50	<i>Woman Getting Out of the Bath, Fragment</i>	<i>Femme sortant du bain, fragment</i>
62	71	29	<i>Woman Resting Head on One Hand, Bust or Head Resting on One Hand, Bust</i>	<i>Portrait, tête appuyée sur la main</i>
28	55	51	<i>Woman Rubbing Her Back with a Sponge, Torso</i>	<i>Femme se frottant le dos avec une éponge, torse</i>
43	60	72	<i>Woman Seated in an Armchair Wiping Her Left Armpit</i>	<i>Femme assise dans un fauteuil s'essuyant l'aisselle gauche ou Femme d'essuyant</i>
44	58	70	<i>Woman Seated in an Armchair Wiping Her Neck</i>	<i>Femme assise s'essuyant la nuque</i>
53	66	64	<i>Woman Stretching</i>	<i>Femme s'étirant</i>
42	61	54	<i>Woman Taken Unawares</i>	<i>Femme surprise</i>
–	74	74	<i>Woman Walking in the Street. See Schoolgirl</i>	
17	63	67	<i>Woman Washing Her Left Leg</i>	<i>Femme se lavant la jambe gauche (première étude)</i>
61	64	68	<i>Woman Washing Her Left Leg</i>	<i>Femme se lavant la jambe gauche (deuxième étude)</i>

This book was designed by  
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Pierre-Simon Fournier.

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