This bibliography provides a source for reviews of the state-sponsored Parisian exhibitions of painting and sculpture (Salons) held during the July Monarchy and Second Republic (1831–1851). It includes an extensive list of references, each presented in a standard format, with titles, dates and ordering codes based upon the holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. It is indexed both by authors and by periodicals. The essays and articles that are catalogued are of fundamental importance in establishing a picture of contemporary reactions to art in mid nineteenth-century France, and yet the standard work by Maurice Tourneux, Salons et expositions d'art à Paris, 1801–1870, has been out of print for several decades.

By incorporating and correcting the relevant material from Tourneux, and adding new references gathered from unpublished nineteenth-century manuscript bibliographies and a broad sample of the periodical press, this work offers a substantial increase in the volume and range of criticism available for analysis by cultural and literary historians.
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Compiled by NEIL McWILLIAM
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SALON CRITICISM IN PARIS FROM THE JULY MONARCHY TO THE SECOND REPUBLIC, 1831–1851

NEIL McWILLIAM

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PREFACE

Comprising over 1,800 references, the present volume draws on approximately 1,500 periodical runs held in the Bibliothèque nationale and associated libraries, as well as including critical reviews published in book and pamphlet form during the July Monarchy and Second Republic. Listings have been generated from material incorporated in the Catalogue collectif des périodiques (Paris, 1967–82) and the Catalogue général des livres imprimés (Paris, 1897–1981), as well as from additional references contained in unpublished card indexes in various Paris libraries. Though the vagaries of dépôt légal have left inevitable gaps in holdings for the 1830s and 1840s, the range of sources consulted contains a bewildering variety of titles, many of which reveal an unexpected wealth of writing on the Salon. By attempting as systematic a survey as practically possible, research for this bibliography has highlighted critical reviews in hitherto neglected areas of the press, at the same time as substantially expanding the number of references available through existing repertoires, most notably Maurice Tourneux’s Salons et expositions d’art à Paris 1801–1870. Essai bibliographique (Paris, 1919).

Such a quantitative increase clearly has its own value, widening the evidential base on which historians can draw in assessing variations in the critical reception of a particular object or genre. Yet, in a number of important respects, the size and diversity of the listings presented here do more than simply amplify existing sources; rather, they significantly disrupt some of the protocols habitually applied to the interpretation and understanding of nineteenth-century art-critical writing.

Readings of this material predominantly assume a relatively refined level of intellectual exchange between commentators on the Salon and their original audience – an assumption implicit in the concentration on privileged voices such as Planche, Thoré and Baudelaire, and in the hermeneutic techniques applied to their texts. More broadly, criticism has generally been equated with the nature of the sources from which it derived: namely, a select range of journals and periodicals conspicuously directed towards an articulate minor-
Preface

Full enfranchised within the political and cultural discourses of public life. Such a perspective has sustained a view of criticism as an unproblematically homogeneous genre, produced by a definable category of journalistic commentators, consumed by a narrowly demarcated readership and working within a familiar set of literary and evaluative conventions. In so far as texts have deviated from this pattern, they tend to have been marginalised as rendering little of value for an understanding of the artistic field; their language has been dismissed as apparently facile, their cultural significance minimised in comparison to ostensibly more revealing texts.

Many of the references collected here correspond to what might be described as this more vernacular form of criticism. Appearing in a broad spectrum of popular publications, these reviews are symptomatic of the dramatic inflation in journalistic activity which followed the July revolution. Often resembling in style and lightness of tone the pamphlet literature which served as a medium for much salon criticism until the early years of the nineteenth century, this body of writing is dispersed across a range of journalistic sites which frequently have only the most tenuous relationship with cultural commentary. For historians more familiar with the verbal density and judgmental weight of more ‘legitimate’ critical texts, much of this writing may seem frustratingly opaque. Laconic in their brevity, disconcertingly flippant or eccentrically focused (phrenological, gastronomic, maritime Salons), such reviews demand different modes of reading if their full cultural resonance is to be unlocked, readings which reininsert them in the rich and complex journalistic field from which they derive. Such a process disturbs any preconceived notion of art criticism’s generic unity; rather, the diverse constituencies addressed within what was becoming an increasingly fragmented cultural market-place fostered a myriad of languages whose particular codes inflect and inform the conventions of writing about art. Targeting readers – a growing preoccupation of the period – implied not only new, more specialist titles, but also ways of adapting standard journalistic fare, such as the Salon, to reflect the interests and identity of their notional audience. Such considerations helped shape reviews in a variety of ways, frequently lending a consistency of tone with a journal’s other editorial matter far stronger than any countervailing voice inherent to the genre of criticism in its own right. In their variegated nature, writings on the Salon thus demand interrogation less as transparent vehicles of aesthetic opinion than as examples of cultural commentary profoundly embedded in a highly formalised journalistic structure. Decoding these texts entails not merely an attentive reading of their internal language and conventions, but equally supposes regard for the
socio-cultural connotations of the publications in which they are framed.

In the same way as the references collected here prompt re-evaluation of Salon criticism’s conhesiveness as a genre, so inspection of the roll-call of authors responsible for their production challenges preconceived notions of the professional identity of the art critic. In common with the earlier and later periods catalogued in accompanying volumes, the 1830s and 1840s reveal an authorial profile dominated by figures for whom criticism was an infrequent, or even a one-off, activity. The rarity of unbroken commentary on the exhibitions of the period points to a perception of criticism less as a specialised activity requiring accumulated familiarity with contemporary art than as one journalistic task among many, which versatile writers could take in their stride. Once again, broader examination of the press points to an explanation for the non-specialist’s domination of reviewing. The rarity of commentary on the visual arts, outside the few weeks of the Salon, and the paucity of magazines specifically devoted to the subject, militated against the growth of art journalism as a distinctive activity. Nor would such a development have been consistent with the overall pattern of the period’s press which, despite the move towards specifically targeted titles, tended still to rely on freelance contributors with general editorial skills rather than specialist knowledge. Thus, while in areas such as the daily press reviewing was often undertaken by the journal’s regular theatre critic or book reviewer, in other periodicals, such as women’s magazines, Salon criticism seems habitually to have been farmed out to a non-staffer capable of providing the requisite copy within the stipulated deadline.

This constellation of factors should, then, caution against the somewhat hermetic readings often applied to critical texts, readings underpinned by a tacit conviction in both the specificity of the genre within the journalistic field and the privileged nature of the objects which engage the reviewer’s attention. Due regard for the material setting of critical writing, and the implications this has for an understanding both of the writers assessing the exhibition and the audiences to whom they appealed, should alert us to the broader resonances within these texts and foster an address capable of reinserting them into their originating milieu. This demands a re-examination of the language of the Salon informed by an openness to the discursive continuities between criticism and other forms of social practice. It is through such a re-orientation of interest that the texts referenced in this bibliography could acquire an unsuspected eloquence, elucidating not only the social rituals of a particular institution, but offering deeper insights into the culture within which it was sustained.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Work on this bibliography has been a long haul. Its completion, after devouring more vacations than I care to remember, owes a great deal to a number of individuals and organisations without whose help – practical and pastoral – this project could never have grown into more than a card index labelled ‘Journals – to investigate’. Financial support from a number of bodies has been crucial in underwriting my research. Grants from the British Academy, the Twenty-Seven Foundation and the J. Paul Getty Trust helped to finance collection and computerisation of references, while the Service des affaires internationales of the Ministère de la culture, de la communication, des grands travaux et du bicentenaire made a major contribution to the production of the finished text. The assistance offered by the research team working on the Base de données sur les œuvres exposées au Salon, under the auspices of the CNRS and the Ministère de la culture, proved invaluable: without the unstinting patience and generosity with which I was allowed access to their computer facilities, the logistical problems involved in completing the project could well have sunk it entirely.

In different ways, my colleagues working on the earlier and later sections of the larger bibliographical survey of criticism have contributed significantly to the appearance of my own volume. Christopher Parsons, above all, has been a constant source of encouragement, help and wise advice. His efforts, together with Martha Ward, in developing the original format for presenting individual references considerably facilitated my own research, as did their collection of bibliographical sources relating to the Salon of 1850–51. Help, too, was offered by Vera Schuster, who not only solved accommodation problems in Paris but also used her own valuable research time to check many of the reprints noted here, and by Richard Wrigley, who worked through a number of journals and reviews on my behalf.

The project’s successful realisation owes much to the unfailing confidence and support of Professor Francis Haskell, who also did much to stimulate my initial interest in nineteenth-century French art criticism. In Oxford, too, Jon
Acknowledgments

Whiteley of the Ashmolean Museum, and Noëlle Brown and Régine Page of the Department of the History of Art, each contributed to the bibliography’s gestation and growth.

An undertaking of this nature would be impossible without the efficient assistance of the libraries whose holdings form the basis of the survey presented here. Despite protracted disruption in 1987–88, the Bibliotheque nationale has proved an endlessly fascinating place in which to work. The staff in the Salle des imprimés, the Salle des périodiques and the Cabinet des estampes have been consistently helpful in responding to enquiries and tracking down elusive volumes, as have their colleagues at the Arsenal, the Opéra and the annex in Versailles.

Much of the processing of references was undertaken at the University of East Anglia, which provided extensive material support for this aspect of the project. In particular, I owe a great deal to Dan Smith of the Computer Centre for his ingenuity in dealing with the arcanae of the microprocessor, and to Cliff Elliott, for his good-natured tolerance in sharing office space with the bibliography. Both Sarah Knights in Norwich and Pascale Mêker in Paris proved exemplary in the intelligence and efficiency with which they transferred references to the computer; my obligation to each of them is considerable.

Finally, a number of friends and colleagues participated in this venture through their varying forms of support: Suzanne Sabater, for the material assistance she provided in collecting references; Catherine Dreyfus, for generously putting me up in Paris; Pamela Divinsky, for solving a particularly tricky accommodation problem; François and Marie Bouchard, for their help and encouragement; and Ruth Harris and Iain Pears, for their unfailing friendship, all made working on this bibliography less onerous than it otherwise would have been. In particular, I owe a great deal to Olga Grlić, whose comradeship helped me keep a sense of proportion throughout the hectic final months during which the project was completed.
GUIDE TO USAGE

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION

This bibliography is a guide to critical reviews of the Salon exhibition published in Paris between 1831 and 1851. Articles and caricatures which do not specifically address any of the exhibited works but describe instead other aspects of the exhibition, such as prize-givings, have been excluded. An exception to this rule has been made, however, for articles that form an integral part of a critic’s published *compte rendu*; these articles have been catalogued in their entirety, regardless of the content of individual sections. Contemporary articles discussing particular reviews of the Salon have been listed as part of the main reference itself, except for those instances where a critique of a particular *compte rendu* gives rise to substantial independent comment on exhibited works. Here, the article has been catalogued separately and cross-referenced with the review to which it refers.

Multi-author reviews are listed individually under each contributor’s name, with appropriate cross-referencing. On those occasions where a series of articles combines signed and unsigned instalments, unsigned articles have been catalogued separately only where internal evidence indicates the involvement of more than one author.

TRANSCRIPTION

Author’s names, articles and journal titles, issue numbers and dates have been transcribed as they appear in the publication, except that capitalisation has been standardised and dates have been abbreviated. Information which has been supplied to supplement or correct the original publication is enclosed in square brackets.
Authors are listed under the name or initials with which they signed their reviews. Users will find the names of those authors whose pseudonyms or initials could be identified in square brackets; question marks have been added to indicate tentative attributions. Variations in the published spelling of writers’ names is retained in the text; the index adopts standard spellings, in line with the printed catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale, and incorporates authors’ forenames, where these are known. Entries in the index enclosed in square brackets indicate attributions to anonymous reviews; question marks are retained where these are tentative. In instances where abbreviations or pseudonyms have been identified, the index is cross-referenced accordingly, and the published signature appended in square brackets to the reference after the proper name.

CALL NUMBERS

Unless otherwise specified, the call number listed at the end of each entry is that used in the Département des imprimés or the Département des périodiques of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. This information should allow easy cross-referencing with widely accessible guides such as the Catalogue collectif des périodiques and the Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale. Call numbers from other library collections, or other departments of the Bibliothèque nationale, are offered only when the Département des imprimés or the Département des périodiques do not possess a copy of the publication or their copy lacks issues that may contain reviews. In certain instances, users will find some variations from the call numbers listed here, as an increasing proportion of the Bibliothèque nationale’s book stock is transferred to microform.

VARIANTS AND REPRINTS

Wherever possible, full and partial reprints of Salon articles that appeared during the nineteenth century have been appended to references. The term réimpression has been used only on those occasions when a subsequent text was completely faithful to the original; otherwise, reprints are indicated as items for comparison.
Guide to Usage

UNVERIFYABLE REFERENCES

If a review listed by Tourneux or Grate (see Bibliography of works consulted) could not be located, their references have been cited and annotated accordingly.
## ABBREVIATIONS

### GENERAL

| ANON.  | anonyme | anonymous  |
| col.   | colonne | column     |
| fol.   | folio   | folio      |
| gr.fol.| grand folio | large folio |
| mf.    | microfilm | microfilm |
| n      | numéro  | number     |
| n.s.   | nouvelle série | new series |
| p.     | page    | page       |
| pér.   | période | period     |
| s.     | série   | series     |
| s.d.   | sans date | no date of publication |
| s.l.   | sans lieu | no place of publication |
| supp.  | supplément | supplement |
| t.     | tome    | tome       |
| vol.   | volume  | volume     |

### MONTHS

| janv. | janvier | January |
| févr. | février | February |
| avr.  | avril   | April   |
| juil. | juillet | July    |
| sept. | septembre | September |
| oct.  | octobre | October |
| nov.  | novembre | November |
| déc.  | décembre | December |

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Abbreviations

LIBRARIES

Arsenal Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal
B.N. Bibliothèque nationale:
Annexe de Versailles
Dépt. des estampes
Dépt. des imprimés
Dépt. de la musique
Dépt. des périodiques
Réservé
Opéra Bibliothèque – Musée de l’Opéra (sous les auspices de la Bibliothèque nationale)